

REDUPLICATION IN FORDATA

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A discussion of the reduplication process in Fordata, an Austronesian language spoken in the northern part of the Tanimbar archipelago, is presented. The phonological forms of Fordata reduplication are described using an autosegmental approach. The reduplication process in Fordata is shown to be syllabic reduplication of disyllabic stems, where the associations of the C-V template are via a phoneme-driven process, as opposed to a template-driven process. There is also a pre-associated /a/ in the C-V template, which by convention, overrides the normal phoneme-driven association. In addition, surface constraints regarding geminates and consonant clusters affect the surface form of reduplicated words. Syntactically, Fordata reduplication has several functions, the most common ones being the nominalization of transitive and intransitive verbs, as well as adjectivization of stative verbs. Examples illustrating these various syntactic functions are also presented.

1 INTRODUCTION

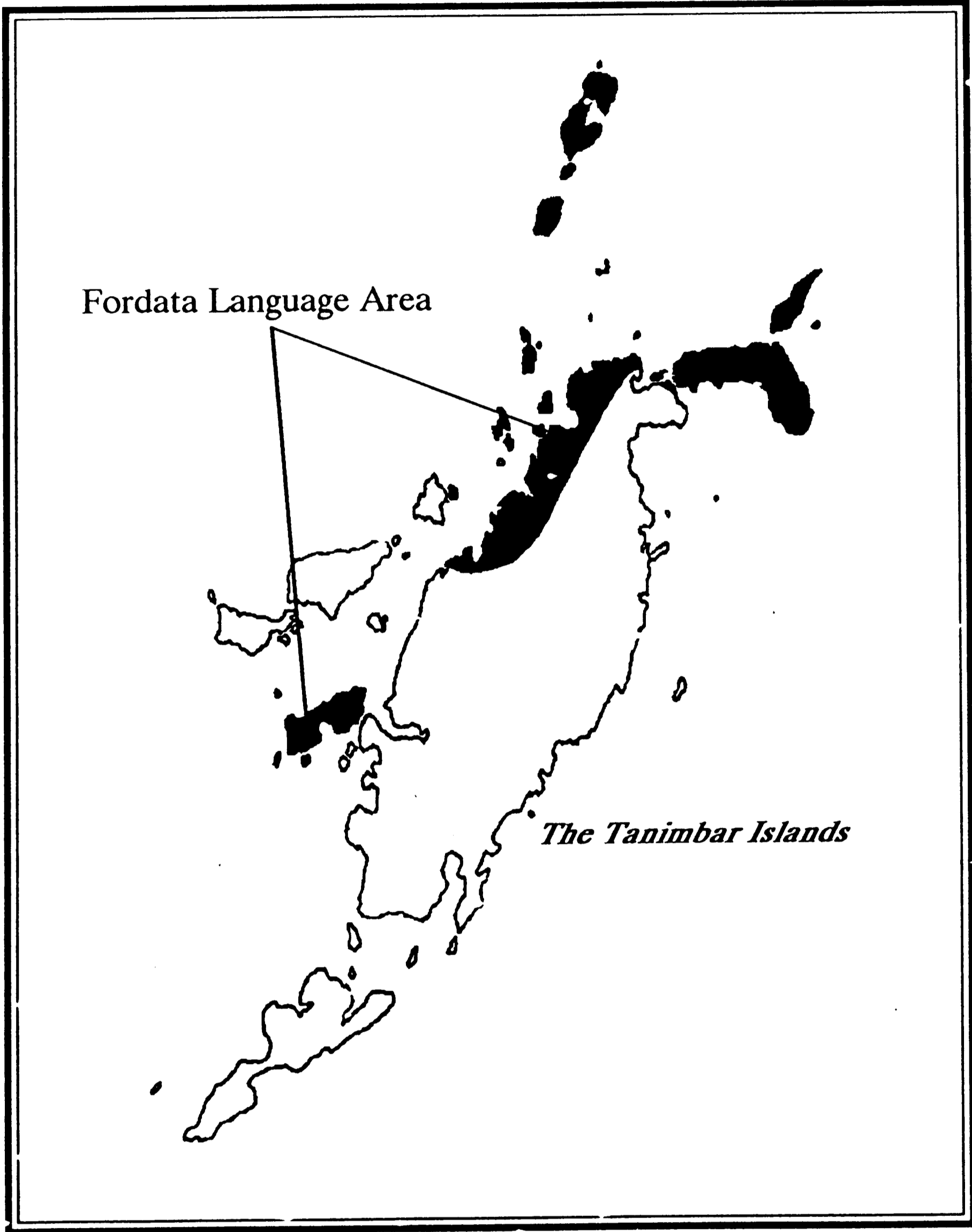
Fordata is an Austronesian language that is spoken mainly in the northern part of the Tanimbar archipelago, which lies in the southern part of Maluku, in eastern Indonesia. It is the lingua franca on the islands of Fordata, Larat, Lutur, Nus Wotar, Labobar, Molo, Maru and northwestern Yamdena, along with one island, Sera, in the southern part of Tanimbar.

In addition to the above areas, the larger provincial cities of Saumlaki and especially Ambon have sizable communities of Fordata speakers. The current number of speakers is approximately 23,000-25,000.

In Fordata, reduplication has several syntactic functions, with the most common ones being the nominalization and adjectivization of verbs. The phonological forms of reduplication are not complex and are not affected by function. The Fordata language has two dialects, which we will refer to as Fordata and Sera; within the Fordata dialect, three subdialects are present. The reduplication patterns have been observed to follow the same patterns in both the Fordata and Sera dialects.

2 PHONOLOGICAL FORMS

The Fordata reduplication process is mainly a simple syllabic reduplication, with the exception of full reduplication, where the stem is copied intact. Only disyllabic stems are involved in reduplication. We will analyze reduplication in Fordata using an autosegmental approach. Marantz (1982) proposes that the stem is affixed (in Fordata, prefixed) with the appropriate C-V skeletal template, the entire phonemic melody of the stem is copied over to the C-V skeleton, then associated to the C and V slots



Map 2: Fordata Language Area

<u>kat</u> -katak	'DUP-pinch'
<u>la</u> -lolak ³	'DUP-visit, check out'
<u>ma</u> -mumak	'DUP-to steam s.t. with coconut juice'
<u>mar</u> -merat	'DUP-to be clean'

CV.CV:

<u>lab</u> -leba	'DUP-carry on one's shoulder'
<u>dar</u> -diri	'DUP-to stand'
<u>wal</u> -walu-an	'DUP-eight'
<u>lar</u> lora	'watermelon'
<u>tav</u> teva	'top shell'

Bases with the C-V patterns CVVC and CVV reduplicate only the CV of template, as predicted by McCarthy and Prince (1986:94), who stated that the template will not skip the second V in a CVVC stem to complete the entire CVC skeletal structure by using the second C. This is as expected if the reduplication is phoneme driven:

CVVC:

<u>ka</u> -kear	'DUP-dig'	*kar kear
<u>la</u> -laar	'DUP-sail'	*lar laar
<u>ba</u> -buuk	'DUP-to smoke'	*bak buuk
<u>qa</u> -qiar	'DUP-white'	*qar qiar

CVV:

<u>sa</u> -saa-n	'dup-one'
<u>ra</u> -roa	'DUP-far'
<u>la</u> 'au	'sad'
<u>qa</u> -qai	'DUP-clear a garden'

Stems having the C-V pattern VCVC associate only with the VC segments of the template:

VCVC:

<u>am</u> -umat	'DU-cook salted fish'
<u>al</u> aliq	'DUP-different'

Full reduplication is found in Fordata, but with limited use. To date, few examples have been found. In full reduplication, the stem is copied as normal and the template is the C-V pattern of the stem; there are no pre-associated phonemes in such instances, and stress is evenly distributed on both morphemes. Below is an example of the full reduplication process:

leba		leba+leba		leba+leba		lebaleba
	-->		-->		-->	'DUP-carry'
CVCV+CVCV		CVCV CVCV		CVCV CVCV		

Forms with the C-V patterns CVCV and VCVC have been recorded:⁴

VCVC:

<u>teva</u> -teva	'top shell'
<u>leba</u> -leba	'DUP-carry'

VCVC:

<u>amar</u> -amar	'DUP-day'
<u>ovan</u> -ovan	'DUP-night'

3 SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS OF REDUPLICATION

As mentioned previously, one of the main syntactic functions of reduplication in Fordata is the nominalization of verbs. The following are derived from transitive and intransitive verbs:

fal-folat dawan DUP-close big 'big door'	n-folat '3S-close (a door)'
tan-tunu-n ra r- si- karas DUP-roast PL 3P RCP bite 'the fire ants bite'	u-turu '1S-roast'
ia wel ni dak-doku-n na?a ini 3S NEG 3S Poss DUP-sit at here 'its position isn't here'	t-dcku '1Pi-sit'
var-vara aleman DUP-carry heavy 'heavy responsibility'	n-vara '3S-carry'

Another of the main functions of reduplication is adjectivization of stative verbs (some of which are adjectives which obligatorily take person marking); such reduplicated forms function as noun-phrase modifiers. The obligatorily marked stative verb forms are shown to the right:

wanat val-vuli-n rice DUP-red 'red rice'	na-vuli '3S-red'
quui qa- qiar sand DUP-white 'white sand'	na-qiar '3S-white'
mata-n ra was-wosu eye-3P:POSS PL DUP-tired 'his sleepy eyes'	n-wosu '3S-sleepy'
afa ovi mak-mukur thing these DUP-round 'these round things'	n-mukur '3S-round'
afa fan-fonak thing DUP-hide 'secret thing'	n-fonak '3S-hide'

Nouns can also be reduplicated to be used as modifiers of other nouns:

ia sar-sira-n fish DUP-salt 'salted fish'	sira 'salt'
mata-η lav-lova eye-1P:POSS DUP-fog 'my cloudy eye'	lova 'fog'

Such reduplicated forms may function as nominals in their own right:

ia n- ka?a kad-kedan 3S 3S-know DUP-little 'he knows a little bit'	kedan 'little'
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Cardinal and ordinal numbers are not reduplicated except for special

purposes. The function of a reduplicated number is 'by x numbers' or 'in x numbers':

tamata tal-telu-n	i-telu
people <u>DUP</u> -three	'QNT-three'
'people in groups of three'	

A little-used function is to express customary or regular behavior, which is signified by full reduplication:

vai amar-amar	amar
language <u>DUP</u> -day	'day'
'every day language'	
ovan-ovan u- dava oa	ovan
<u>DUP</u> - night 1S-look for 2S	'night'
'every night I looked for you'	

There are a significant number of reduplicated forms with no post-nucleus coda, to which a word-final /-n/ is added. The only concrete statement that can be made at this point is that all reduplicated numbers have this consonant added, and both nouns and adjectives are also found with this added /-n/; its specific function is not known. In the examples below, the cardinal numbers and the verb forms are shown on the right, while the reduplicated forms with word-final /n/ are shown to the left.

Numbers:

sa-saa-n	i-saa
<u>DUP</u> -one	'QNT-one'
'by ones'	
vat-vutu-n	vutu
<u>DUP</u> -ten	'ten'
'by tens'	

Nouns:

ban-bana-n	u-bana
<u>DUP</u> -go	'1S-go'
'journey, path'	
mat-mata-n	t-mata
<u>DUP</u> -dead	'1Pi-dead'
'death'	
lak-leka-n	n-leka
<u>DUP</u> -fall	'3S-fall'
'the falling'	

Adjectives:

val-vuli-n	na-vuli
<u>DUP</u> -red	'3S-red'
'red, reddish'	
sar-sira-n	n-sira
<u>DUP</u> -salt	'3S-salt'
'salty'	

4 SUMMARY

Fordata shows two major types of reduplication: CVC with /a/ preassociated, and (less frequently) full reduplication. The association is phomeme driven. Various syntactic functions of reduplication are evident, some of which are restricted with regard to the mechanisms they use. A final suffix /-n/ occurs on some forms; its function is not yet clear.

NOTES

1. For examples of template-driven reduplication in Tagalog, See French (1988).
2. The entries in which the morphemes are not separated by a hyphen are obligatorily reduplicated; that is, there is no unreduplicated form of these morphemes.
3. The reduplicated forms *lal-lolak and mam-mumak become la-lolak and ma-mumak after applying the geminate reduction rule.
4. The usage of some of these forms varies from village to village. Tevateva is rendered tavteva in several villages. Lebaleba is an old word meaning 'canoe' and has been for the most part replaced by another term.

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