

REDUPLICATION IN YAREBA

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0. INTRODUCTION

There are two main types of reduplication in Yareba:¹ complete word reduplication, and partial reduplication which adds just one CV syllable to a word. Both types of reduplication exhibit a similar range of meanings. Nouns and adjectives reduplicate to show plurality. Depending on the type of verb, reduplication of verbs indicates either plurality of the object or subject, or an action that is multiple, repeated or continued.

Generally speaking, reduplication of verbal forms is different from reduplication of non-verbal forms. When verbal forms completely reduplicate, either the first vowel or all the vowels of the reduplicated form are replaced by *a*, whereas when non-verbal forms completely reduplicate, both forms are identical.² Verbal forms are partially reduplicated in a number of ways, but non-verbal forms reduplicate the first CV only.

1. COMPLETE REDUPLICATION

Complete reduplication occurs in complex verbs, secondary and tertiary verbs, adjectives and nouns.

1.1. COMPLETE REDUPLICATION OF COMPLEX VERBS³

A complex verb is a unit of two words. The first may not be inflected

in any way, whereas the second is affixed for aspect, tense, number, person, and mood.

Some, but not all, complex verbs show full reduplication of their first word. Of these, some only occur in the reduplicated form, and some always have a significant vowel change occurring along with reduplication.

About twelve complex verbs whose first word ends in *ari* fully reduplicate to indicate a plural object and repeated action.

ísu kosári usínu *'he scraped a stick outwards'*

ísu kosári kosári usínu *'he scraped the sticks outwards'*

nío bijári usínu *'he gritted his teeth'*

nío bijári bijári usínu *'he repeatedly gritted his teeth'*

Some complex verbs which are onomatopoeic only occur in the reduplicated form.

kúama káu káu usínu *'the dog barked'*

úkuma úku úku usínu *'the mourning dove cooed'*

dána góí góí usínu *'he knocked'*

When some complex verbs reduplicate, either the first or all the vowels of the reduplicated part are always replaced by *a*.

Replacement of the first vowel by *a* indicates a plural object.

káiyama iwíji usínu *'he inflicted a wound with a knife'*

káiyama iwíji awíji usínu *'he inflicted wounds on many objects with a knife'*

odéi fufúno usínu *'he crumbled a loaf of sago'*

odéi fufúno fafúno usínu *'he crumbled loaves of sago'*

Replacement of all vowels by *a* indicates plurality of manner or place of the action or plurality of the kind of object.

ísuma birúru usínu *'he twirled the stick'*

ísuma birúru barára usínu⁴ *'he twirled the stick in different ways'*

gusúna usínu *'he gathered one kind of food'*

gusúna gasána usínu *'he gathered many kinds of food'*

náma bisísi usínu *'the rope slipped'*

náma bisísi basása usínu *'the rope slipped from one place to another'*

Some other complex verbs which only occur in a reduplicated form may have the first vowel or all the vowels of the reduplicated form replaced by *a* to indicate a plural subject. Plurality must also be shown in the inflection of the verb.

tówima síri síri usínu *'the snake flicked its tongue'*

tówima síri sára ufta *'the snakes flicked their tongues'*

wadía rúfu rúfu usíni *'he shook the cloth'*

wadía rúfu ráfa ufta *'they shook the cloth'*

údimá gíno gíno usínu *'the duck waddled'*

údimá gíno gána ufta *'the ducks waddled'*

1.2. COMPLETE REDUPLICATION OF SECONDARY AND TERTIARY VERBS⁵

A secondary verb suffixed with -ebe *'and then'* may be reduplicated to express continuation of the action.

dobér-ebe dobér-ebe imósinu *'he searched and searched and then he rested'*

mán-ebe mán-ebe mán-ebe maidáni ótoro fári *'he went up and up and up and then he arrived at the top of the mountain'*

A tertiary verb (suffixed with -e) may be reduplicated and followed by a durative form of u- *'do'* to express a repeated action.

náú-i *'he sniffed'*

náú-e náú-e utébi *'he kept sniffing around'*

ér-i *'he looked'*

ér-e ér-e utébi *'he kept looking around'*

1.3. COMPLETE REDUPLICATION OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

Complete reduplication of nouns and adjectives signifies a distributive plural, that is, not several things as a group, but several individual, distinct, or different things.

ána *'tree'*

ána ána *'many distinct trees'*

aná *'who'*

aná aná *'who and who'*

ogó *'water'*

ogó ogó *'many distinct bodies of water'*

sadéi *'two'*

sadéi sadéi *'by twos'*

In a few instances there is a change from initial-syllable to second-syllable stress.

éba *'hole'*

ebá ebá *'different holes'*

síni *'thorn'*

siní siní *'different thorns'*

dáma *'meat'*

damá damá *'different meats'*

1.4. Two instances of complete reduplication have been observed in which m- is prefixed to the reduplicated form, and two problematic instances in which b- is prefixed to the reduplicated form. In one of

these examples the first vowel of the reduplicated form is also replaced by a.

igéra usínu 'he stared'
 igéra magéra usínu 'he stared intently'
 áika 'different'
 áika máika 'different ones'
 uyár-i 'he stood up'
 uyár-e buyár-e usínu 'he tumbled about'
 iwáwa usínu 'he made a mistake'
 iwáwa áta báta usínu 'he made many mistakes'

2. PARTIAL REDUPLICATION

Partial reduplication has been noted in more verbal than non-verbal forms, and with a greater variety of ways of reduplication.

2.1. PARTIAL REDUPLICATION OF COMPLEX VERBS

Complex verbs may be marked for repeated action or plural object by reduplicating the first CV of the first word of the unit.

iwlji usínu 'he inflicted a wound'
 iwlwiji usínu⁶ 'he inflicted many wounds on one object'
 éta anfa 'move away'
 etáta anfa 'move away from everything'
 ábe sá 'throw it away'
 abébe sá 'throw them all away'

There is a set of complex verbs whose first word ends in gari, the majority of which reduplicate the first CV of the first word to indicate a plural object:

awégari usínu 'he capsized it'
 awéwégari usínu 'he capsized them'
 serígari usínu 'he by-passed him'
 šesérigari usínu 'he by-passed them (one after another)'
 fisúgari usínu 'he pinched him'
 fifísugari usínu 'he pinched them'

There is another set of complex verbs whose first word ends in ari. Of these many do not seem to reduplicate, a few show full reduplication (see 1.1.), and a few show partial reduplication and replace ari by egari.

gowári usínu 'he poked a hole in the ground'
 gogówégari usínu 'he poked holes in the ground'

dofári usínu 'he flattened it'
 dodófégarí usínu 'he flattened them'

Three verbs show other changes when they reduplicate.

jugári usínu 'he felled a tree'
 jujúwégari usínu 'he felled trees'
 gogófari usínu 'he dented it'
 wowófégarí usínu 'he dented them'
 jegírarí usínu 'he knelt'
 jejérigarí usínu 'he knelt repeatedly'

2.2. PARTIAL REDUPLICATION OF PRIMARY VERBS

In the second person singular imperative form, a limited number of verb stems partially reduplicate to indicate a plural object. They are all listed below in one of five patterns.

(1) The first CV of the stem reduplicated:

adí-a 'trample it!' adidí-a 'trample them!'
 róí-a 'strip it off!' roróí-a 'strip them off!'

(2) The second CV of the stem reduplicated:

tasí-a 'tear it!' tasisí-a 'tear them!'

(3) The initial consonant of the stem added as a suffix and the stress moves to the -a suffix:

fomú-a 'break it!' fomuf-á 'break them!'

(4) The final vowel of stem changed, the initial consonant suffixed, and the stress moves to the -a suffix:

ma furí-a 'break the stick!' ma furuf-á 'break the sticks!'
 ma burí-a 'pluck the flower!' ma burub-á 'pluck the flowers!'

(5) The final vowel of stem lost, the initial consonant suffixed, and the stress moves to the -a suffix:

doróí-a 'go through the hole!' dorod-á 'go through the holes!'
 boróí-a 'reveal it!' borob-á 'reveal them!'

2.3. PARTIAL REDUPLICATION OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

Partial reduplication of the first CV of nouns and adjectives shows plurality.

báka	'egg'	ba báka	'eggs'
rátu	'small'	ra rátu	'small pl.'
ráu	'good'	ra ráu	'good pl.'
iéta	'food'	ié tata	'foods'
emétu	'thing'	emé metu	'things'
íni	'root'	in íni	'roots'

When an adjective modifies a noun both words are reduplicated to mark plurality.

iéta ráu 'good food'

iétata raráu 'good foods'

2.4. Most nouns and adjectives show plurality either by complete reduplication (1.3.) or by partial reduplication (2.3.). However, a few nouns, most of which are kinship terms, take one of several plural marking enclitics instead.

awéta 'woman'

awéta-bo 'women'

uwára 'person'

uwára-bo 'people'

kúa 'dog'

kuá-siri 'dogs'

bóro 'pig'

boró-siri 'pigs'

awéra 'husband'

awéra-si 'husbands'

amáí 'sore'

amáí-ma 'sores'

arúma 'daughter'

arúma-mi 'daughters'

bába 'my father'

babá-mutu 'my fathers'

káka 'my elder brother'

kaká-mutu 'my elder brothers'

In addition a few nouns and adjectives are intrinsically plural and do not reduplicate.

masígu 'comrades'

fáíya-were 'many'

nesía 'all'

N O T E S

1. Yareba is spoken by some 750 people in the Middle Musa Valley which is in the Tufi Sub-District of the Northern District of Papua. The data presented here were gathered under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics from 1963 to 1967. We are grateful to Alan Healey for his many hours of help in organising and revising this paper for publication. This research has been supported in part by the New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics Research Fund.

2. The first five examples under 1.1. and the examples under 1.4. are the only exceptions to this statement that we have found.

3. Complex verbs are more fully described in Weimer 1964. Although phonemic stress has not been marked in Weimer 1964 or in Yareba literacy materials and translations, it has been marked throughout the present paper to show how it is affected by reduplication.

4. When the last two CVs of the first word are the same, the preferred form of the reduplication would be to drop the final CV of each word: fsuma bfru bára usfnu. However, both forms of reduplication are permissible.

5. Secondary and tertiary verbs are two types of dependent verbs also described in Weimer, 1964.

6. This same word can be noted under Section 1.1. where its fully reduplicated form (along with a vowel change to a) has a different meaning.

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