OUR BULA SPIRIT AWAITS YOU!

The Usage of Interlingual Compound Words Consisting of English and the Fijian Greeting *Bula* in Fijian Tourism Advertisement Online

Jonathan Ruus

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Supervisor: Joseph Trotta

Examiner: Anna-Lena Fredriksson

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Abstract

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Author: Jonathan Ruus

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Abstract: This study investigates the Global English variety spoken in the South Pacific Island nation Fiji, often referred to as Fiji-English. Specifically, this paper examines how interlingual compound words consisting of the Fijian greeting bula + various English words are used in Fijian tourism advertisement on the social media platform *Instagram*. This was done by using both a quantitative and a qualitative approach. Firstly, data was gathered manually from the Instagram posts of the official Instagram page for tourism in Fiji as well as from the pages of five Fijian resorts. Thereafter, the data was used to create a specialized corpus consisting of 214,032 words. Three commonly used interlingual compounds and the contexts in which they appear were identified. Subsequently these three words were analyzed with a qualitative discourse analysis in order to explain how and why these words are used in Fijian tourism advertisement. The results show strong indications that interlingual compound words consisting of bula + various English words are used in Fijian tourism advertisement in order to display the uniqueness of the destination and its people. Generally, the words emphasized a type of unique 'Fijiness' and the authentic, happy and welcoming attitudes of the Fijian people. Fiji-English is a growing field of research and this study aims to fill in a gap concerning how a unique characteristic from the Fiji-English vocabulary is used in Fijian tourism advertisement.

Keywords: English, Fiji, Fiji-English, Global Englishes, Linguistics, Corpus linguistics, Instagram, Tourism, Advertisement, Discourse analysis

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	1
2. Aim & Research Questions	
3 Background	
3.1 Basic Terms & Concepts	
3.1.1 Global Englishes	
3.1.2 Lingua Franca	
3.1.3 Vernacular Languages	
3.1.4 Diglossia	
3.1.5 Basilect and Acrolect	
3.1.6 Hybrid Words	
3.1.7 Compounding	
3.2 Theoretical Framework: Corpus Linguistics and Discourse Analysi.	
3.3 Instagram	
3.4 The Language Situation in Fiji	
3.4.1 The Multilingual Complexity of Fiji	
3.4.2. Previous Research on Fiji English	
3.4.3. Hybrid Words in Fiji-English	
4. Material and Method	
4.1 Material Selection Process and Choice of Material	
4.2 Method	
4.2.1. Collection and Compiling of Data	
4.2.2. Analyzing Data	
, ,	
5. Results & Discussion	
5.1 BULA Corpus Findings	
5.1.1 Bula Spirit	
5.1.2 Bulanaire	
5.1.3 Bula Smile	
5.1.4 Prevalence of Interlingual Compound Words	
5.2 Comparative analysis	
5.2.1 The Official Instagram Account for Tourism in Fiji	
5.2.2 Five Fijian Resorts	26
5.2.3 Comparison	
6. Conclusion	28
References	36

1. Introduction

English is a global language and the foremost contact language or lingua franca of the world today. Jenkins (2014, p. 6) explains that this is partly due to how colonization involved mother tongue English speakers from England, Scotland and Ireland migrating to different parts of the 'new world', bringing their language with them. Additionally, Jenkins (2014, p. 5) discusses that the trend of non-native speakers of English using the language as a contact language among themselves rather than to communicate with native speakers has resulted in there being more non-native English speakers than native speakers in the world today. Taking this into account makes it hard to measure the exact number of English speakers. However, according to Ethnologue (2022) there are approximately 1,452,000,000 English speakers today, which makes it the most spoken language in the world.

Naturally, different variations of English have developed around the world where English is spoken, which has given rise to the linguistic concept of 'World Englishes' or 'Global Englishes'. The formal study of these different 'Englishes' first started in the late 1970s and has now developed into a wide and complex area of study in the field of sociolinguistics (Kachru, 1992, p. 1).

One of these Global Englishes can be found in The South Pacific Island nation Fiji, where English plays an important role as the language of education, international commerce and government, as well as a lingua franca between the different ethnic groups of the country (Siegel, 1989, p. 48). Fiji was colonized by the British in 1874 and by 1879 the first migrant workers from India arrived (Siegel 1989, pp. 49-50). Consequently, Fiji became a multicultural as well as a multilingual country where the indigenous iTaukei Fijians and the descendants of the Indian laborers have developed a unique form of Global English often referred to as Fiji-English (Manghubai & Mugler, 2003, pp. 384-385).

This study investigates how a specific characteristic of Fiji-English makes its way into Fijian tourism advertisement on the social media platform *Instagram*. Fiji-English is a growing field of research in the Global English paradigm, but very little research exists on how it is used online. Furthermore, it is a variety commonly used in colloquial speech and informal settings (Kumar, 2001, p. 188). Therefore, it is interesting to conduct a study that can examine how characteristics of Fiji-English is used online in tourism advertisement. This was done by conducting a quantitative and qualitative study that combined corpus linguistics and discourse analysis. Specifically, this paper focuses on interlingual compounds consisting of the Fijian

greeting *bula*, (meaning roughly 'hello', or 'welcome', see section 3.4.3 for further discussion) compounded with various English words. Ultimately, this project aims to bridge a gap in the current research, and thus, make a small contribution to this growing area of research.

2. Aim & Research Questions

The aim of this study is to conduct research on the Global English variety spoken in Fiji, commonly known as Fiji-English. In particular, this study aims to create a greater understanding of the prevalence of Fiji-English characteristics in Fijian tourism advertisement on the social media platform *Instagram*. This is done by examining interlingual compounds consisting of *bula* + an English word. In order to pursue the aim of this study and answer the questions of how and why these interlingual compounds are used in Fijian tourism advertisement, the following research questions are asked:

- 1. How prevalent is the usage of interlingual compound words consisting of *bula* + an English word in Fijian tourism advertisement on *Instagram*?
- 2. Which interlingual compound word consisting of *bula* + an English word is the most common?
- 3. Is there a difference in the quantity of interlingual compound words when comparing the official government *Instagram* page for tourism compared to the *Instagram* pages of private resorts?
- 4. What meaning is conveyed by interlingual compound words using *bula* + an English word used in Fijian tourism advertisement?

3 Background

The background section provides the theoretical framework and the context of this study. Firstly, some relevant linguistic terminology is defined and explained in 3.1. Secondly, subsection 3.2. presents the theoretical framework, namely, corpus linguistics and discourse analysis. Thereafter, 3.3 discusses the social media platform *Instagram* and its role in linguistic studies. Lastly, sub-section 3.4 places this study into a context by providing a brief overview of the language situation in Fiji as well as previous research done on Fiji-English, including the observation of interlingual compound words.

3.1 Basic Terms & Concepts

This sub-section defines some essential linguistic concepts by providing a description of the terms: Global Englishes, lingua franca, vernacular languages, diglossia, basilect and acrolect, hybrid words and compound words.

3.1.1 Global Englishes

When conducting research in the field of Global Englishes, it is significant to elaborate on what is meant by a Global English variety. This essay concurs with Galloway and Rose's (2015) definition of Global English as a broad umbrella term that incorporates both the concept of the different linguistic varieties of World Englishes as well as English as a lingua franca spoken around the world.

The concept of World Englishes became a formal subject of study after two conferences in Honolulu in 1978. These conferences started the formal discussion on different kinds of English spoken around the world, with emphasis on the sociolinguistic and political contexts of the countries where the different varieties of English were spoken as well as the sociolinguistic and linguistic profile of each variety of English (Kachru, 1992, p. 1). Traditionally, varieties of world Englishes are commonly categorized as being English as a native language (ENL), English as a second language (ESL) or English as a foreign language (EFL). ENL refers to countries where English traditionally has been the first language spoken, namely, places such as the US, the UK and Australia, while ESL refers to former British colonies such as Nigeria, Bangladesh and India where English has become a second language. Countries where English is spoken even though it does not serve a purpose within the country but rather as a means of communication with foreign ENL and ESL speakers fall into the category of EFL (Jenkins, 2014, pp. 10-11). Another model that has been influential when it comes to classifying world Englishes is the Three Circle Model by Kachru (1992) illustrated in figure 1.

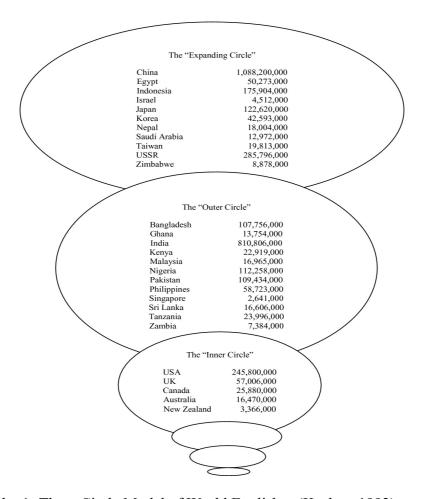


Figure 1: Kachru's Three Circle Model of World Englishes (Kachru, 1992).

Kachru (1992, p. 5) explains that the varieties in the inner circle are classified as "norm providing" because of how they provide the norms and standards of English while the varieties found in the outer circle are classified as "norm developing", meaning that they have generally well-established norms but also contain some confusion regarding linguistic norms and standards. Lastly, he refers to the expanding circle as "norm-dependent" since they depend considerably on the norms and standards of the inner circle speakers.

However, it is worth noting that both of these ways of categorizing different kinds of Englishes have received criticism since Global English is a complex field where it can be difficult to classify an English-speaker as belonging purely to one category (Jenkins, 2014, pp. 15-16).

3.1.2 Lingua Franca

A lingua franca is a language used for communication between people whose native languages are not mutually intelligible (Britannica Academic, 2008). The term originates from a pidgin language used around the Mediterranean Sea for bridging language barriers (Brosch, 2015, pp.

72-73). However, the language primarily associated with lingua franca today is English due to it being increasingly used as a global contact language among non-native English speakers around the world (Jenkins, 2014, p. 5). This is the case in Fiji where English has become an important Lingua Franca spoken by both of the major ethnic groups in Fiji (see section 3.4.1 for further discussion).

3.1.3 Vernacular Languages

Another term that is relevant when researching language in Fiji is the term vernacular languages since the influence of English as a Lingua Franca has led to other languages becoming vernacular. Initially, the term was used to describe low prestige local varieties of European languages that later became French, Italian and Spanish, in contrast to Latin which had high prestige. However, the meaning has changed to a general term that describes a sort of social dialect differentiated from the standard language (Yule, 2020, p. 303). In essence, the language a person grows up with and uses for everyday informal social interactions is considered the vernacular language of that speaker (Wardhaugh, 2010, p. 24).

3.1.4 Diglossia

The linguistic term diglossia refers to how some speech communities contain two or more varieties of the same language used in different contexts and for different purposes. Commonly, there is a "high variety" used in writing and formal settings and a "low variety" used in specific informal settings such as everyday conversation (Ferguson, 1959). Furthermore, diglossia can occur in multilingual societies as well as in societies with different dialects, registers or languages functionally differentiated otherwise (Kumar, 2001, p. 194). The multilingual complexity of Fiji has resulted in several cases of diglossia.

3.1.5 Basilect and Acrolect

In the field of Global Englishes, the basilect refers to a colloquial use of English while the acrolect is a more standardized form. Commonly, the basilect is used for informal intranational communication in contrast to the acrolect which is often used for formal settings and international interaction. However, the view of the basilect as a variation used exclusively for intranational communication is problematic, as it is used for international communication more and more (Jenkins, 2014, p. 17). The present study examines if words consisting of *bula* + an English word is prevalent in Fijian tourism advertisement which can be considered discourse typically belonging to the acrolectal end.

3.1.6 Hybrid Words

Hybrid words are compounds or lexical collocations that comprise of items from more than one language (Tent, 2001, p. 228). They can consist of either free morphemes or of a bound morpheme or particle affixed to a free morpheme. A pragmatic function of hybrid words is that they can describe elements such as events, social customs and items that are distinctive to a specific society (Tent, 2001, p. 228). This essay uses the term interlingual compound when referring to hybrid compound words consisting of *bula* + an English word.

3.1.7 Compounding

The basic definition of compounding is that it is a word formation created by putting together two separate words with each other to form a new word containing a new meaning (Yule, 2020, p. 61). This can be done with a wide range of word classes, for example, book (noun) + case (noun) = bookcase or fast (adjective) + food (noun) = fast food (Yule, 2020, p. 61). However, Scalise and Vogel (2010) point out that the exact definition of a compound is debated by linguists, why, it is far from uncontroversial to provide an exact definition. Therefore, to simplify, this essay uses the basic definition of compound words since the core of this study lies in researching the usage of certain words found in Fiji-English created by the act of compounding, not in researching the complex grammatical constituents of a compound word.

3.2 Theoretical Framework: Corpus Linguistics and Discourse Analysis

The present study uses corpus linguistics and discourse analysis as its theoretical framework. A corpus is a balanced set of texts in a searchable computer-readable form, either consisting of written text, transcribed spoken discourse or a combination of both (Wray & Bloomer, 2006, p. 206). It is often used in order to conduct research on certain language phenomena and to refer to a wider tendency in languages. Corpus linguistics can be categorized into corpus-driven and corpus-based research. The former uses the corpus as the primary or only source of data for the study and is commonly found in the form of a specialized corpus focusing on data with certain criteria. On the contrary, a corpus-based approach uses the corpus mainly to give examples that might concur with the main idea of the study (Baker, 2006, p. 16). This paper uses a corpus-driven approach by creating a specialized corpus.

Discourse analysis is a close analysis of a text and can be used to reveal and understand social meanings of discourse (Page, Barton, Unger & Zappavigna, 2014, p. 94). Jones (2019) describes how discourse analysis focuses on how people use language in real life interactions

and how it aims to explain the way language fit into the social world. He states that "it can help us to understand why people interact with one another the way they do and how they exert power and influence over another" (Jones, 2019. p. 5). Hence, discourse analysis is a valuable tool that can create an understanding of social relationships and why people interact in certain ways.

This paper uses discourse analysis on a specialized small-scale corpus in accordance to how Baker (2006) encourages the combination of these two approaches. He suggests that the quantitative techniques used in corpus linguistics are efficient for detecting language patterns. Thereafter, a qualitative analysis can efficiently analyze small volumes of data and explain the social context in addition to how the language is used.

3.3 Instagram

Instagram was founded in 2010 and it is a social media platform where users can create an account to share photos and videos. An *Instagram* post consists of a photo or video together with a piece of text known as a caption. Additionally, hashtags (marked by a # symbol) are often found in *Instagram* captions. They are a kind of social tagging that creates searchable social media discourse and can include initialism, a word, concatenated phrase or an entire clause (Zappavigna, 2015, p. 275).

When doing research on language used in *Instagram* captions, it is important to acknowledge both text and hashtags since, as Zappavigna (2015) explains, hashtags can have numerous linguistic functions, e.g. serving as "topic-markers", linking the post to an existing collective and expressing meaning or attitudes. When acting as a "topic-marker", hashtags possess the ability to perform a range of communicative functions, such as labeling content, enacting relationships and organizing text (Zappavigna, 2015, p. 288).

3.4 The Language Situation in Fiji

Fiji-English is a variety of Global English heavily influenced by a multicultural context, therefore, a brief overview of the language situation in Fiji is provided in section 3.4.1. Thereafter, section 3.4.2 presents previous research on Fiji-English and section 3.4.3 discusses the phenomenon of interlingual compound words found in Fiji-English.

3.4.1 The Multilingual Complexity of Fiji

Due to its colonial past, Fiji is a multicultural as well as a multilingual country (Manghubai & Mugler, 2003). The three main languages are English, Fijian and Fiji-Hindi but there are a

number of other languages spoken in Fiji. Some of them are: Standard Hindi, Rotuman, Samoan, Tongan, Gilbertese, Tuvaluan, Gujarati, Tamil, Urdu, Punjabi, Telugu, Malayalam, Mandarin and Cantonese (Tent, 2001, p. 209). Fiji has two major ethnic groups consisting of approximately 56.8% indigenous iTaukei Fijians and 37.5% descendants from Indian laborers often referred to as Indo-Fijians, according to the 2007 census of population (Fijian Government, 2007).

The native language of the indigenous iTaukei Fijians is an Austronesian language called Fijian and it belongs to the Central Pacific subgroup, where some close relatives include languages spoken in Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands (Manghubai & Mugler, 2003, p. 376).

When the British colonized Fiji they brought a significant number of Indian laborers to work at plantations. The majority of those first imported laborers spoke a wide variety of Hindi dialects which resulted in them speaking a pidginized version of Hindi to communicate. Consequently, the mixture of pidginized Hindi with influence of Fijian and English led to the creation of a local variant of Hindi (Siegel, 1989, pp. 48-49). This variant of Hindi is now known as Fiji-Hindi and is spoken by nearly all of the Indo-Fijian population (Hopf, McLeod, & Geraghty, 2016, p. 96).

Colonization also introduced the English language in Fiji, and it has become an influential lingua franca even though only approximately 1-3% of the population speak English as their mother tongue (Manghubai & Mugler, 2003, p. 371). Siegel (1989) claims that English became the lingua franca since it is an international language as well as a neutral language that is not the native language of any of the major ethnic groups. In addition to being used for communication between the ethnic groups it is also the language used for official purposes in Fiji, such as international commerce, education, media and government.

The current education policy states that children can be taught in their mother tongue up until grade 3 before switching to English as the medium of instruction (Manghubai & Mugler, 2003, p. 400). Although, a study by Shameem (2007) showed that contrary to popular belief, English normally becomes the dominant language of instruction even earlier than that. The dominance of English in Fiji has led to Fijian and Hindi being spoken as vernacular languages (Kumar, 2001). Furthermore, the multicultural influence from both the iTaukei as well as the Indo-Fijian population on the English language has resulted in the unique English variation commonly known as Fiji-English (Manghubai & Mugler, 2003, p. 385).

Nonetheless, the language situation in Fiji is complex since there are three de-facto official languages, yet none of the three major languages has been declared the official national language (Kumar, 2001, p. 192). The 2013 constitution states that all these languages are equal,

although English is still the dominant language of the country and there is currently no structural language planning enforced to promote multilingualism (Goundar, 2019, p. 66). The multilingual complexity of Fiji has resulted in several instances of diglossia, where English, Standard Hindi, and the Bau dialect of Fijian are considered to be varieties with high status. In contrast, Fiji-English, Fiji Hindi and local dialectal varieties of Fijian are generally considered to be varieties with low status (Kumar, 2001, p. 194).

3.4.2. Previous Research on Fiji English

The first example of qualitative research on Fiji English was conducted by Kelly (1975), who investigated English spoken colloquially by students in the capital city of Suva. This research was extended into a diachronic study of spoken Fiji English by Siegel (1991, as cited in Zipp, 2014). Siegel (1989) also wrote a paper on the history and role of the English language in Fiji where he classifies the unique variety of English spoken in Fiji as one of the world's 'new Englishes' or 'non-native Englishes'. He illustrates some characteristics of Fiji English such as the unique vocabulary and the intonation pattern, for example how questions begin at a higher pitch and then end with a falling rather than a rising intonation, which has become a stereotype for Fiji-English throughout the South Pacific (Siegel, 1989 p. 55). Moreover, he points out that Fiji-English has different variations as it is a linguistic continuum with most typical characteristics only occurring in the lower basilectal end while some features range from the lower end to the upper acrolectal end of the continuum (Siegel, 1989, p. 55).

The fact that Fiji English is a linguistic continuum can make the defining of Fiji-English difficult which has led to scholars using a wide variety of labels to describe the lower variation (Zipp, 2014). However, for simplicity, many researchers choose to use the term Fiji-English to refer to the whole continuum (See for example: Siegel, 1989; Tent, 2001; Zipp 2014).

In a comprehensive study on Fiji-English, Tent (2001) explains that the most distinctive feature of Fiji-English is its unique vocabulary consisting of elements such as borrowings, reborrowings, semantic shifts, hybrid compounds, new coinages and calques. Furthermore, he concludes that the unique Fiji-English lexis contains a very distinctive mix of Fijian and Hindi loans and that the impact of Fijian on the vocabulary is about double the amount of the impact from Hindi.

Most of the studies on Fiji-English focus on the basilectal end (Kelly, 1975; Siegel, 1989; Kumar, 2001), however, that is starting to change. The compilation of a corpus consisting of Fiji-English as part of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE) started in 2005 (Zipp, 2014) and is currently developing (University of Zurich, 2021). Additionally, Zipp's (2014) book

Educated Fiji English: Lexico-grammar and variety status contain a comprehensive corpus-based study that focuses on prepositional constructions in written educated Fiji English. The data found in the book will be part of the upcoming ICE corpus and Zipp (2014) writes that the "orientation of research changes from the basilectal and mesolectal ends of the continuum towards the acrolectal end, because the ICE family of corpora samples texts from educated speakers along a range of more or less formal registers" (Zipp, 2014, p, 17).

Lastly, studies on how Fiji-English is used online are very scarce. Although, a small pilot study by Huber (2015) used the tool *Facebook Graph Search* to examine the language choices of Fijian citizens on Facebook. The aim of the study was to determine if English, Fijian or Hindi was preferred by the users. When observing the posts written in English some typical features of Fiji-English could be discovered among the posts.

3.4.3. Hybrid Words in Fiji-English

Hybrid words are common in Fiji-English due to the multicultural influence from the iTaukei and the Indo-Fijians. (Tent, 2001, p. 228). Most of the hybrid words in Fiji-English consist of English and Fijian free morphemes e.g. *Full Kasou* = totally/completely drunk [Fijian *kasou* 'drunk']. Although rarer, hybrids consisting of English and Hindi free morphemes exist as well, e.g. *no ghar* = homeless, destitute [Hindi *ghar* 'house']. Sometimes both compounds of the hybrid share the same or a very similar meaning e.g. *bure house* = a traditional Fijian house [Fijian *bure* 'house']. This is done to emphasize certain things unique to Fiji, meaning that a bure house refers to a traditional Fijian house and not any sort of house. (Tent, 2001, p. 230). This paper focuses on hybrid words involving the Fijian word *bula* which is a widely used greeting in Fiji that can be translated to 'hello' or 'welcome'. Though, *bula* literally translates to 'life' in English and can therefore be used to wish someone a good life or health when said in the formal phrase *Ni sa bula Vinaka* (Raiwasa, 2020). Specifically, this study investigates how tourism advertisement uses hybrid words that are interlingual compounds consisting of *bula* and various English words. Some examples of such interlingual compound words are:

- Bula smile = 'a welcoming smile' (Tent, 2001).
- *Bula shirt* = 'an open-necked short-sleeved shirt with a tropical design', possibly a reference to the Hawaiian *aloha shirt* (Tent, 2001).
- *Bula spirit* = A spirit embedded in the Fijian culture that is characterized by kindness and hospitality. Definitions include the "desire to be kind and generous to everyone they

meet" (Pacific Tourism Organisation, 2020) and "a way of life that celebrates the good and the bad with overwhelming joy and spirit" (Tourismfiji, 2017).

• Bulanaire = 'Someone that is rich in happiness' (Tourismfiji, 2019).

4. Material and Method

Sub-section 4.1 presents the material used in this study along with the limitations and the material selection process. This is thereafter followed in 4.2 by a description of the method. 4.2.1 explains the process of collecting and compiling the data while 4.2.2 explains how the collected data was analyzed.

4.1 Material Selection Process and Choice of Material

The process of material selection was straightforward. To study how Fiji-English is used in official contexts online was deemed a suitable research field due to Fiji-English often being spoken in specific informal domains (Kumar, 2001, pp. 188-190). However, the fact that as of 2022, a corpus of English in Fiji is still in progress (University of Zurich, 2021) meant that a large-scale corpus-based study on online usage of Fiji-English was not possible for this paper. Instead, data found online was used as a source of data. In particular, this study focused on the *Instagram* pages of five Fijian resorts as well as the official *Instagram* page for tourism in Fiji, named *tourismfiji*. By collecting data manually from posts from various Fijian *Instagram* pages it was possible to create a small, specialized corpus using the software *Antconc*, and thus, conduct a corpus-driven study.

Page et al. (2014) lists nine important points to keep in mind when selecting social media data for qualitative research:

- **Platform**: research often focuses on only one specific platform, e.g. *Facebook*, *Twitter*, *Instagram*.
- **Time:** research can focus on data found in a limited time period.
- Number of utterances/texts or word length: e.g. the last 100 tweets from a particular account or the last ten blog entries.
- **Identity of author(s):** e.g. gender, age, nationality, ethnicity, status within a particular community etc.
- **Popularity of text**: e.g. number of likes, number of retweets.

- **Self-selection by participants:** data chosen as exemplary of a particular practice by participants themselves.
- Language(s)/ language varieties: data that contain instances of particular language or language variety.
- **Topic:** contextual information what the text is about.
- Presence (or absence) of a particular feature: e.g. a specific word, syntactic structure, word class etc.

(Page et al. 2014. pp. 92-93)

Page et al. (2014) discusses that these criteria can be used in combinations to help a researcher in being neutral and avoiding cherry-picking of data that only supports their claim. This list was therefore used when selecting the source of data for this study.

Due to the time limit and limited scope of the present study, the source of data was narrowed down to posts regarding Fijian tourism advertisement on the social media platform *Instagram*. It was beyond the scope of this study to study the use of hybrid words consisting of *bula* + various English words on other social media platforms and online resources. *Instagram* was chosen since it is a popular and engaging social media platform with users of various demographics, as well as a platform with frequent updates from the official *tourismfiji* page and various Fijian resorts. Additionally, solely written discourse found in captions and hashtags were studied, which means that instastories, reels, pictures and spoken discourse in videos were not included. The resorts chosen were the 5 highest ranked resorts on the travel site *Tripadvisor* at the time of this study.

To summarize, the material selection resulted in focusing on using material from *Instagram* in the form of written discourse on posts of the official *Instagram* page for Fijian tourism as well as the *Instagram* pages of five Fijian resorts. In addition, the software *Antconc* was used to create a unique specialized corpus. Table 1 illustrates the sources of data.

Table 1: Data of *Instagram* pages as of October 10, 2022

		Number of	
Name	Number of posts	followers	Time span
Tourismfiji	2713	162 000	June, 2013 – October 2022
Resort 1	1094	19 000	March, 2015 – October 2022
Resort 2	220	12 900	July, 2019 – October 2022
Resort 3	829	16 700	July 2015- October 2022
Resort 4	216	3152	November, 2014 – October 2022
Resort 5	1221	40 000	January, 2017- October 2022

4.2 Method

This study uses a triangulation approach consisting of both quantitative and qualitative elements. Quantitative collection and charting of data from various *Instagram* pages give a solid overview of the prevalence of interlingual compound words using *bula* + an English word. The discourse analysis then resulted in a qualitative aspect that established a deeper insight on how and why Fijian tourism advertisement online uses hybrid words consisting of the interlingual compounding of *bula* + an English word. According to Baker (2006), combining a corpus with a discourse analysis is an effective way of uncovering linguistic patterns and then providing the findings with meaning. Moreover, the corpus can back up or expand on the discourse analysis. Thus, the powerful combination of a corpus and discourse analysis was deemed a fitting method for this study as it provides it with a high level of effectiveness and validity.

4.2.1. Collection and Compiling of Data

The collection of data was done by manually gathering written discourse from captions consisting of text and hashtags, found in posts on the social media platform *Instagram*. To begin with, all the selected *Instagram* pages were analyzed individually, and all written discourse was categorized and compiled into a word document. Thereafter, the text was converted into a txt file so that it could be put into the software *Antconc*. In order to conduct a comparative analysis, two corpora were created, one for the official *tourismfiji* page and one for the various resorts. These were later combined into one corpus consisting of 12058 types and 214032 tokens,

hereafter referred to as the BULA corpus. Finally, the collected data was compiled into tables as can be seen in section 5.

Some challenges emerged when using the corpus software. For instance, when searching for open compounds such as *bula spirit* the wordlist function will not find the word. Instead, searching for the word with the N-gram function will detect it since N-grams are connected strings of text or speech that commonly occurs in a sequence. Additionally, using the wildcard function marked by an asterisk (*) after or before a word will detect variations such as both *bulanaire* and *bulanaires*. In this study, the analyzed text contained hashtags, which can be problematic when using a software such as *Antconc*. This is due to hashtags not using spaces, meaning that a term like *bula spirit* is written as #bulaspirit. Moreover, whole phrases can be written as one, for instance #ourbulaspiritawaitsyou. As a consequence, it is easy to miss all the different variations when determining the prevalence of a word. Therefore, it was necessary to first search for *bula* to detect compound words with high frequencies, then for instance bula spirit* in N-grams and *bulaspirit* in wordlist in order to find all the different variations of a word like *bula spirit*.

4.2.2. Analyzing Data

The BULA corpus showed what interlingual compound words were most commonly used and to what extent such words are used in Fijian advertisement on *Instagram*. Thus, it was possible to conduct a detailed qualitative analysis on the context of the most commonly used words, when aiming to answer the question of how and why these words are used online in Fijian tourism advertisement. Each *Instagram* page was first individually analyzed in order to rule out any differences between the different pages in regard to meaning and how the words were used. Subsequently, an analysis focusing on what context the words were used in was done by using various functions in *Antconc* such as KWIC (Key word in context), collocates and the word function. Lastly, a discourse analysis was conducted on each of the interlingual compound words consisting of *bula* + an English word found in this study. This was done by providing examples from the BULA corpus text containing these words and then performing the qualitative discourse analysis on them.

5. Results & Discussion

This section presents and discusses the results of the study. Firstly, 5.1 presents the findings of the quantitative data in the BULA corpus including a qualitative discourse analysis. Secondly, 5.2 conducts a comparison between the *tourismfiji* account and the accounts of the resorts.

5.1 BULA Corpus Findings

When analyzing the data from the different *Instagram* accounts, several *bula* compounds could be observed. However, some of them did not seem to convey a new meaning, e.g. *bula welcome*, where the word *bula* is used as a greeting similar to its original meaning. Other compounds had too low frequencies or inconsistent use to be considered as genuinely established words.

Nonetheless, three major interlingual compounds consisting of *bula* + an English word could be observed in the BULA corpus. This section will therefore analyze the three words *bula spirit, bulanaire* and *bula smile* by first searching for the word in the BULA corpus to determine the contexts and then provide examples from the various *Instagram* posts. The KWIC, Collocate and Word function are used where it is possible in order to uncover linguistic patterns. Thereafter, examples containing these patterns as well as exceptions of the patterns are given a thorough discourse analysis in order to provide possible explanations on why specific words are used.

5.1.1 Bula Spirit

All the forms of *bula spirit* that occur in the BULA corpus are visualized in Table 2.

Table 2: Bula spirit variations

Type	Frequency
bulaspirits	290
ourbulaspiritawaitsyou	240
bula spirit	109
bulaspirit	29
bulaspiritawaitsyou	6
ourbulaspiritwawaits	3
bula spirits	2

The occurrences where *bula spirit* is written as a closed compound are different variations of hashtags while the open compounds are instances of the word written in the main text.

When using the collocate function in *Antconc* to search for the closed compound 'bulaspirit*', other hashtags that act as topic markers appear. The top five collocates are:

- 1. fijitrip
- 2. sotatale
- 3. thisisfiji
- 4. bucketlist
- 5. fijisunset

Seemingly, the hashtags used alongside #bulaspirit work as topic-markers for travelling in general e.g. #bucketlist or as topics associated with Fiji, e.g. #fijitrip, #fijisunset, #thisisfiji and #sotatale (a Fijian phrase that roughly means 'see you later'). Accordingly, #bulaspirit is placed in a context of topic-markers for Fijian tourism. Moreover, another linguistic function of hashtags discussed by Zappavigna (2015) is how they can carry meaning and attitudes. An example of this is the hashtag #ourbulaspiritawaitsyou where bula spirit occurs in a whole clause that via a hashtag functions as not only a topic-marker but also conveys a statement, and thus, meaning.

When searching for the open compound 'bula spirit*' with the collocate function in Antonc, the top ten most frequent collocates including both the left and right contexts are:

- 1. awaits
- 2. our
- 3. you
- 4. then
- 5. back

- 6. until
- 7. again
- 8. share
- 9. nature
- 10. a

The collocate function gives a hint of the context surrounding the word, however, in order to obtain a greater understanding of the meaning of *bula spirit*, the KWIC function can be used to examine concordances. When searching for '*bula spirit**', the KWIC function sheds a light on the most frequent contexts of the word in the BULA corpus, as illustrated by Table 3 & 4.

Table 3: KWIC search, left context of bula spirit

Frequency	Left context			Hit
11	until	then	our	Bula Spirit
5	you	back	our	Bula Spirit
4	to	share	our	Bula Spirit

Table 4: KWIC search, right context of bula spirit

Frequency	Hit	Right context		
52	Bula Spirit	awaits	you	(emoji)
10	Bula Spirit	is	in	our
2	Bula Spirit	is	waiting	for

Table 3 & 4 shows the most frequent contexts of the word *bula spirit* both when observing the three most frequently occurring words to the left as well as the three most frequently occurring words to the right.

Naturally, to understand the meaning conveyed, some examples of posts from the corpus that contain these concordances needs to be analyzed. Firstly, a typical usage of *bula spirit* is illustrated in (1).

(1) The Bula Spirit is in our nature and we can't wait to share it with you. Our Bula Spirit awaits you.

Here the *bula spirit* is regarded as something unique Fijian, that is in their very nature. Moreover, they want the reader to visit Fiji so they can share it. This uniqueness can also be observed in the next example.

(2) From warm Bula spirit to all-day fun-in-the-sun, you can't beat a Fiji holiday! We pride ourselves on providing luxury through authentic Fijian experiences.

In (2) it is clearly stated that the *bula spirit* is part of the authentic Fijian holiday experience, and thus, it is used to market the destination.

(3) Bula spirit is something we embrace every moment of every day. It's something we like to share with all of our guests who stay with us and something that we send off with them when they return home.

In (3) it is claimed that the *bula spirit* leaves lasting impressions on the guests as something they can bring with them home. This could be used as a market strategy to display the uniqueness of the destination, as you not only get the beaches and the sun in Fiji, you get the lasting *bula spirit* as well.

The act of using the word *bula spirit* in marketing increased significantly during the Covid-19 pandemic which is exemplified in figure 2.



tourismfiji The Wairiki Catholic Mission is one of the oldest Churches in Fiji. Located on the garden island of Taveuni, this Church is one of the most significant pieces of architecture on the island.

Just one of the many cultural and heritage sites across our islands that we can't wait to share with you when the time is right.

Our Bula Spirit Awaits You!

@gardenislandresort

P Wairiki, Taveuni Island, Fiji

#Fiji #Taveuni #OurBulaSpiritAwaitsYou

Figure 2: Screenshot: Insta post Wairiki Catholic Mission, September 24, 2020

The slogan containing *bula spirit* is used two times in this post, first in the text and then again as a hashtag. The context is essential here, as this was posted when Fiji was in lockdown because of the Covid-19 pandemic, meaning that "when the time is right" refers to a post-pandemic time. Evidently, not only the remarkable sites of Fiji await the reader, but also the unique authentic Fijian *bula spirit*. Consequently, *bula spirit* is used to market Fiji and persuade the reader to consider it as a future destination, when the time is right.

However, bula spirit is not exclusively used for marketing purposes, as is evident by (4).

Our thoughts are with the areas of Fiji who suffered damage and we hope to pull together to rebuild and get us back on our feet as soon as possible. Whatever happens our Fijian BULA SPIRIT remains alive and well.

This was written shortly after the devastating tropical cyclone Winston in 2016. In addition, another similar usage of *bula spirit* after another tropical cyclone can be seen in (5).

(5) We can finally enjoy the clear skies and calm waters. May the Bula spirit embrace and protect our beloved islands.

Clearly, the *bula spirit* can be used in different contexts. Nonetheless, in the BULA corpus it is mainly used as a way of marketing the destination, which makes sense since the discourse is found in tourism advertisement.

5.1.2 Bulanaire

The BULA corpus contains the two variations *bulanaire* and *bulanaires*. Also, the data of this study shows that the word *bulanaire* is almost exclusively used in the form of hashtags. Of the 55 occurrences in the BULA corpus, only 6 instances can be found where the word is not used as a hashtag. The primary function of the word is therefore seemingly to indicate a topic and make the content searchable, corresponding to the linguistic functions of hashtags that Zappavinga (2015) discusses. When searching for '*bulanaire**' with the collocate function in Antonc, solely words used as other hashtags appear in the top ten list:

- 1. fijimemories
- 2. fijihappiness

- 3. findyourhappiness
- 4. welovefiji
- 5. traveltheworld
- 6. wanderlust
- 7. findyourhappy
- 8. adventure
- 9. outrigger
- 10. seeyousoon

This list shows that the most common collocates are other topic markers associated with Fiji e.g. #fijimemories, #fijihappiness and #welovefiji. Also, hashtags concerning happiness e.g. #findyourhappy and hashtags linked to travelling, e.g. #wanderlust and #adventure. A search with the KWIC function in *Antconc* generates the same result, namely, the word being surrounded by other hashtags. This confirms the function of the word *bulanaire* as a topic marker for tourism in Fiji, which is further exemplified in figure 3.



tourismfiji Here in Fiji, family extends beyond the land.

@oceanventuresfiji captured their #FijiHappyMoment meeting new friends from the ocean.

Some people say it's our connection with nature that makes us rich in happiness. #FindYourHappy #Bulanaires

Tag your #FijiHappyMoment with us to share with the world.



Figure 3: Screenshot Insta post bulanaire caption

The screenshot in figure 3 provides an example of how the word *bulanaire* is used as a searchable topic-marker by *tourismfiji*, accompanied by the hashtag #FindYourHappy.

Interestingly, the word is occasionally written in hashtag form even when occurring in the main text of the post, as can be seen in (6).

(6) What is a #Bulanaire? It's when you're rich in happiness. If you want to be part of the #BulanaireClub, we'll be waiting for open arms! Join us in Fiji, where happiness starts as soon as you arrive.

This usage of the hashtag ties in with Zappavigna's (2015) explanation on how "metadata is incorporated into the primary communication and performs particular functional roles in the discourse itself" (Zappavigna, 2015, pp. 277-278). In other words, hashtags can integrate into the clausal structure of a post as in this example where the hashtag #bulanaire is integrated in the post as a noun.

Another example of *bulanaire* being used in this manner can be observed in (7).

(7) Meet the #Bulanaires – those who are rich in happiness.

Zappavigna (2015) also discusses that some studies consider another function of hashtags to be the act of forming communities, which might be the case in posts such as (6) and (7). Meaning that, using a hashtag before *bulanaire* results in the post not only functioning as a gloss that introduces the reader to the meaning of the word itself, but also introduces the reader to the community of *bulanaires*.

Despite this, there are rare occasions in the BULA corpus where the word appears without a hashtag, as in (8).

(8) "I am privileged and honoured to be selected as a Bulanaire for 2020. Fiji is about happy people, happy place. To be a brand ambassador, it gives great honor to be able to share our Bula Spirit with all of the guests that have chosen us as their holiday destination...".

This quote is by an employee of one of the resorts that has been selected as a brand ambassador by *tourismfiji*. Generally, the word *bulanaire* is heavily linked to branding and a way to market the people of Fiji to tourists. Thus, this implicates that the word functions as a way to communicate the easy-going, authentic and happy attitudes of the Fijian people.

As a result, it can be suggested that *bulanaire* typically is used as a way to market the happy attitude of the Fijian people to tourists, similarly to how the word *bula spirit* often highlights the unique and authentic Fijian spirit for marketing purposes.

5.1.3 Bula Smile

The BULA corpus contains four variations of bula smile as can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6: Bula smile variations

Туре	Frequency
bulasmiles	47
bula smiles	12
bula smile	9
bulasmile	1

The most frequent usage of the word *bula smile* in the BULA corpus is in the form of the hashtag #bulasmiles which constitutes 47 of the total 69 occurrences. This can be explained by the fact that it is used particularly frequent as a hashtag throughout the posts of one of the resorts observed in this study. When searching for the closed compound '*bulasmile**' with the collocate function in *Antconc*, the top five results before and after the headword are:

- 1. instalike
- 2. bestoftheday
- 3. denarauisland
- 4. photography
- 5. tourismfiji

This list consists of two other hashtags related to Fiji #tourismfiji and #denarauisland (Denarau island is a location in Fiji) as well as the more general #instalike, #bestoftheday and #photography. Clearly, the most common collocates to the closed compound *bulasmile(s)* are topic-markers of different kinds, indicating that #bulasmiles is used as a way to indicate topic, in line with Zappavigna's (2015) discussion of the functions of hashtags. This is seemingly the primary function of this hashtag, particularly, it may be used as a way to indicate the uniqueness of Fiji similarly to how the words *bulanaire* and *bula spirit* often are used.

However, something that differentiates the interlingual compound *bula smile* from the other two compounds studied in this paper, is the fact that it has not been part of a major marketing campaign. Consequently, there are fewer main text occurrences of the word, leading to difficulties in finding linguistic patterns for the open compound *bula smile(s)* in the BULA corpus. When using both the collocate and the KWIC function, the only suggested pattern that is possible to interpret is the case of the word 'big' being a collocate of *bula smile(s)*. An instance of this is exemplified in figure 4.



Figure 4: Screenshot Insta post, bula smile caption.

In this screenshot, the big *bula smile* is directed towards the reader as a greeting from Fiji. This type of greeting can be observed in other posts as well, for example in (9).

(9) BULA SMILES from our impeccable staff.

In (9), the *bula smile* is given from the staff of a resort, corresponding to the way that the word is most often used by the resorts observed in this study, as further exemplified in (10).

(10) Your lunch complimented with BULA smiles!

The message in (10) is short and concise, when eating lunch at this resort you not only get your food, but also a complimentary *bula smile*. This usage of the word is identical to how it is used by other resorts as well. The way that resorts states that their staff will treat the guests to *bula smiles* can be considered a marketing tool that indicates that the reader will enjoy a high standard of service if deciding to go to Fiji. Therefore, the usage of *bula smile* might be a way of promoting the genuine welcoming attitudes of the Fijian people. Suggesting that, the word *bula smile* is sometimes used for marketing purposes as a way to display the uniqueness of Fiji and the welcoming smiles of the Fijian people.

Nonetheless, there are posts where there are no indications of the word being used for marketing purposes. Additionally, it is not only the Fijian people who can give a big *bula smile*, as can be seen in (12).

(12) Make sure to give your tata ('father') a big BULA smile today.

Evidently, the word can be used in other contexts than marketing and it is not exclusively the Fijian people who can give a *bula smile*.

In brief, the examples from the BULA corpus shows that *bula smile* is used in its original meaning, namely a 'welcoming smile', as defined by Tent (2001). Furthermore, even if there are exceptions, a possible explanation for the prevalence of the word in tourism advertisement could be that it is related to marketing the Fijian people.

5.1.4 Prevalence of Interlingual Compound Words

To summarize, three main compound words could be observed in the corpus, although, due to suffixes and the use of hashtags several variations of each word exist, as illustrated by Table 7.

Table 7: variations BULA corpus

Туре	Frequency
bulaspirits	290
ourbulaspiritawaitsyou	240
bula spirit	109
bulaspirit	29
bulaspiritawaitsyou	6
ourbulaspiritawaits	3
bula spirits	2
bulasmiles	47
bula smiles	12
bula smile	9
bulasmile	1
bulanaire	30
bulanaires	25

All these variations can be summarized into *bula spirit(s)*, *bula smile(s)* and *bulanaire(s)* since the instances where *bula spirit* and *bula smile* are written as closed compounds occur when they are used in hashtags. Compiling the words into these three main forms makes it possible to determine their prevalence, as revealed by Table 8.

Table 8: BULA corpus main compounds

Interlingual compound	Times occurring in the corpus
bula spirit	679
bula smile	69
bulanaire	55

As can be seen, *bula spirit is* by far the most used interlingual compound consisting of *bula* + an English word. Moreover, another approach to further determine the prevalence of these words, is to examine how many of the *Instagram* posts in this study that uses at least one of these compounds, either in the text or as a hashtag. This is determined in figure 5.

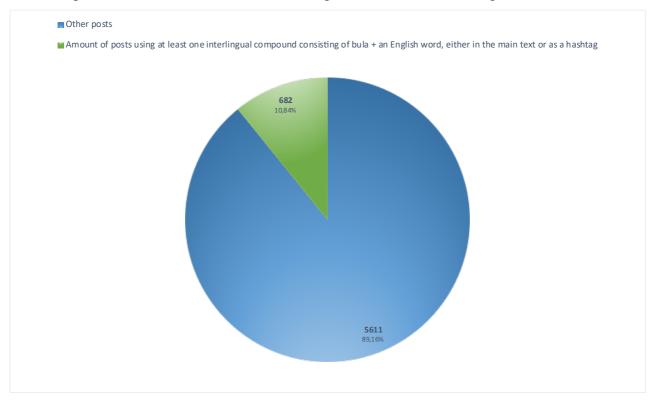


Figure 5: percentage of posts using at least one interlingual compound consisting of *bula* + an English word.

Figure 5 shows that approximately 10.8% of the total 6293 *Instagram* posts contained an interlingual compound consisting of *bula* + an English word. As a consequence, it is safe to say that this characteristic of Fiji-English is an established part of the discourse used in Fijian tourism advertisement on *Instagram*.

5.2 Comparative analysis

This subsection investigates whether there is a difference in usage of interlingual compound words when comparing the *tourismfiji* account and the accounts of the five resorts.

5.2.1 The Official Instagram Account for Tourism in Fiji

Table 9 provides the data collected from the *tourismfiji* account, with data ranging from 2013 to October 2022.

 Table 9: Data from tourismfiji

					Percentage of
				Number of posts	posts using at
				using at least	least one
				one interlingual	interlingual
	Bula spirit	Bula smile	Bulanaire	bula compound	bula compound
Tourismfiji	298	4	21	238/2713	≈ 8.77 %

The account *tourismfiji* uses the interlingual compound *bula spirit* the most, which can be explained by the slogan *Our bula spirit awaits you* that was used during the national lockdown caused by the Covid-19 pandemic. Even though *bula spirit* was first used in a post from February 2016, its use increased significantly during Covid-19 both in text but also in the form of the hashtag #ourbulaspiritawaitsyou. Likewise, the word *bulanaire* also saw an increased usage during an earlier marketing campaign. In contrast, the least used interlingual compound *bula smile* is only used a handful of times in the text of the captions. Thus, the marketing campaigns have affected the prevalence of compounds consisting of *bula* + an English word significantly. For instance, 8.77 % of posts on the *tourismfiji* account contains at least one type of interlingual *bula* compound. However, when examining the time period between 2020.01.01 and October 2022, that percentage goes up to 49.68% of posts.

5.2.2 Five Fijian Resorts

Table 10 presents the data collected from posts of the five resorts observed in this study, with data ranging from 2014 to October 2022

Table 10: Data from five Fijian resorts

				Number of posts using at least one interlingual	Percentage of posts using at least one interlingual bula
	Bula spirit(s)	Bula smile(s)	Bulanaire(s)	bula compound	compound
Resort 1	323	2	28	327/1094	≈ 29.8 %
Resort 2	-	51	5	52/220	$\approx 23.6 \%$
Resort 3	1	2	-	2/829	$\approx 0.24 \%$
Resort 4	29	3	-	29/216	≈ 13.4 %
Resort 5	28	7	1	34/1221	$\approx 2.78 \%$

As can be seen in Table 10, all the resorts in this study used interlingual compounds consisting of *bula* + an English word to some extent. The highest percentage of interlingual compounds per post belongs to Resort 1 where it is used in approximately 29.8% of their posts. On the other hand, Resort 3 only uses it three times in all of their posts, which measures to a percentage of approximately 0.24% of posts. Resort 1 uses the interlingual *bula* compounds significantly more than the other resorts since they use the hashtag #bulaspirits continually throughout a large amount of their posts. The same goes for the word *bulanaire* which is used more by Resort 1 than the other resorts due to the use of it in hashtags. On the whole, the resorts seem to follow the same trends and marketing campaigns as *tourismfiji*.

As a result, *bula spirit* is the most used compound in three of the five resorts. However, Resort 2 does not use it at all as they instead favor the hashtag #bulasmiles. In addition, *bula* smile is the only interlingual compound encountered in posts of all the resorts. Overall, *bula spirit(s)* is generally the most popular interlingual compound among the resorts observed in this study.

5.2.3 Comparison

The private resorts and the official *Instagram* account for tourism in Fiji have a lot in common in the way they use these three interlingual compound words. Firstly, the marketing campaign conducted by *tourismfiji* during the Covid-19 pandemic resulted in an increased usage of the word *bula spirit*, something that was followed by the private resorts as well. The same type of mirroring could be observed during the campaign that used the interlingual compound

bulanaire. Evidently, different marketing campaigns have had a big impact on the frequency of the words. Additionally, the sporadic usage of the word bula smile is shared by all the subjects of the study as it has not been part of any major marketing campaign. In general, there seems to be a consensus on how these interlingual compounds are used. This strongly suggests that this unique form of Fiji-English vocabulary is used consistently in Fijian tourism advertisement on *Instagram*, not only by the official tourismfiji account but also by the various resorts.

6. Conclusion

This corpus-driven study has conducted research on a unique characteristic found in the Fiji-English vocabulary, and thus, it has answered four research questions.

It was possible to answer the first research question of this study by observing the data found in the BULA corpus. That question asked how prevalent the phenomenon of using an interlingual compound consisting of bula + an English word is in Fijian tourism advertisement on *Instagram*. To begin with, it is clear that there are three major interlingual compounds used in Fijian tourism advertisement on *Instagram*, namely, *bula spirit(s)*, *bula smile(s)* and *bulanaire(s)*. Also, these types of compounds can be found in 10.8% of the posts examined in this study, proving an established usage of the words.

Additionally, the BULA corpus answers the second research question regarding which interlingual compound is the most common. Undoubtedly, the data shows that it is *bula spirit*, owing largely to the fact that the word was part of a marketing campaign conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Concerning research question three, which asks whether there is a difference in the quantity of interlingual compound words when comparing the *tourismfiji* account and the data of the five private resorts. The answer to that question is no, thanks to the data of this study it is evident that they both use these words in a similar way. Generally, they both use *bula spirit(s)* the most and share approximately the same quantity of interlingual compound words in their posts.

Finally, research question number four asked what meaning is conveyed by compound words consisting of *bula* + an English word. After performing a discourse analysis on *Instagram* posts using the words it is suggested that all three often are used as topic-markers and as a way to promote the uniqueness of Fiji. This is particularly true for the word *bulanaire* as it is linked to branding and is seemingly exclusively used as a marketing tool that conveys the authentic and happy attitudes of the Fijian people to tourists. Similarly, *bula spirit* is often used to

promote the authentic spirit of the Fijian people, although, there are posts where *bula spirit* is used in different contexts as well. Both *bulanaire* and *bula spirit* have been featured in major marketing campaigns, where the most notable one is the *Our bula spirit awaits you* campaign conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic. On the other hand, the word *bula smile* has not been part of a major marketing campaign. Nonetheless, a discourse analysis indicates that *bula smile* is also commonly used as a way to express and convey an authentic Fijian characteristic to tourists. This ties in with how Tent (2001) explains that hybrid words can describe elements distinctive to a specific society.

In conclusion, it has been showed that three interlingual compounds consisting of the Fijian greeting *bula* + an English word are used consistently in Fijian tourism marketing on *Instagram*. Furthermore, it has been suggested that these words are often used as marketing tools to display the uniqueness of the destination. This is done by emphasizing the authenticity of the country and the friendly and welcoming attitude of the Fijian people. Thus, the destination is differentiated from other tourism destinations around the world as a kind of 'Fijiness' is emphasized. Consequently, this study has illustrated the versatile usage of interlingual compounds belonging to the Fiji-English vocabulary, and thus, a small contribution to this growing area of research has been made.

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