

## REDUPLICATION IN JAVANESE

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### Abstract

This paper aims at describing Javanese reduplication system which focuses on forms, functions, and grammatical meanings. The data are extracted from Javanese textbooks and added with sentences of my own creation whose grammaticality and acceptability are previously tested with several native speakers. Using distributional methods equipped with its various technical analysis, this study found that Javanese reduplication can be classified into at least four linguistic forms. They are full reduplication, partial reduplication, sound modification reduplication, and affix-combined reduplication. Javanese reduplication can either perform inflective or derivative function in relation to its potentiality to maintain and change the word identity. Finally, with regard to the grammatical meanings, Javanese reduplication can at least express eleven grammatical meanings, i.e. plurality, diversity, continuity, intensity, attenuation, reciprocity, artificiality, collectivity, rate, astonishment, and contrast. Many of these grammatical meanings are context sensitive.

Keywords: reduplication, grammatical function, grammatical meaning

### Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan sistem reduplikasi dalam bahasa Jawa dengan fokus perhatian pada bentuk, fungsi, dan aneka makna gramatikalnya. Dengan menggunakan data yang diambil dari buku-buku teks berbahasa Jawa dan data dari hasil kreasi penulis yang sebelumnya telah diujikan secara empiris dengan penutur-penutur asli bahasa Jawa, dengan metode distribusional dan sejumlah teknik analisisnya, penelitian ini berhasil menemukan bahwa dari segi bentuk, reduplikasi bahasa Jawa dapat dibedakan sekurang-kurangnya menjadi empat jenis, yakni reduplikasi penuh, reduplikasi sebagian, reduplikasi berkombinasi dengan perubahan bunyi, dan reduplikasi berkombinasi dengan afiksasi. Reduplikasi-reduplikasi itu dapat bersifat inflektif dan derivatif dilihat dari potensinya untuk mengubah atau mempertahankan kelas kata bentuk dasarnya. Akhirnya dalam kaitannya dengan makna gramatikalnya, reduplikasi dalam bahasa Jawa dapat mengungkapkan sekurang-kurangnya 11 makna, yakni pluralitas, keberagaman, kontinuitas, intensitas, pelemahan, kesalingan, ketidakastian, kolektivitas, demi, keheranan, dan pertentangan. Banyak di antara makna-makna gramatikal reduplikasi bersifat peka konteks.

Kata kunci: reduplikasi, fungsi gramatikal, dan makna gramatikal

## INTRODUCTION

One of the many things that significantly differentiates between European languages and Asian languages is the existence of various types of reduplication words in Asian languages that are absolutely very hard to find in European languages. Even though there are reduplicative forms in English, such as *pooh-pooh*, *goody-goody wishy*, *harum-scarum*, *brain-drain*, etc., these reduplicatives do not serve a grammatical form and semantic function (Sapir, 1921: 76). In a far

narrower scope, nearly all languages in the Indonesian archipelago, especially those that belong to the Austronesian family group, poses reduplicative words yielded by reduplication processes as a means of morphological device to derive or inflect new words. This paper will try to describe the reduplication processes in Javanese, one of the most widely spoken local languages in Indonesia.

Reduplication process in Javanese is considered interesting, at least viewed from three respects. First, from the formal aspects, Javanese reduplication can be done through a number of processes. For example, the base form *guyu* ‘laugh’ can yield a variety of reduplicative forms, such as *ngguyu-ngguyu* ‘always laugh’, *ngguya-nguuyu* ‘always laugh’, *digeguyu* ‘it is laughed’, *geguyon* ‘joke, or material to be laughed’. The base *tulung* ‘help’ can yield *tetulung* ‘to help, help’, *tulung-tinulung* ‘help each other’, *tulang-tulung* ‘always shouting help’, etc. Second, reduplication forms in Javanese can express many kinds of meaning, such as ‘many’ in *jaran-jaran* ‘horses’, ‘always’ in *joran-jaran* ‘always horse’, ‘artificial’ in *jaran-jaranan* ‘fake horse’, etc. Third, Javanese reduplication can perform derivative function (to change the category) as well as inflective function (to maintain the category) of the base forms to be reduplicated, although their semantic entities slightly or greatly changes. For instance, the adjective *alon* ‘slow’ and *suwe* ‘long’ can yield the adverb *alon-alon* ‘slowly’, or *suwe-suwe* ‘longer and longer’; the verbal base *tuku* ‘buy’ can yield several types of verbal reduplication with various kinds of meaning such as *tuku-tuku* or *tuka-tuku* ‘always buy, continuously buy’, *tetuku* ‘how to buy, everything concerning to buy something’, or *tetukon* ‘something have been bought’. These three aspects, i.e. types, functions, and meanings of reduplication will become the focus of discussion focus in this paper.

## PREVIOUS STUDIES

Superficial discussions on types of reduplication and their grammatical meanings with examples extracted from various languages are commonly found in linguistic textbooks. There are several types of reduplication (Bauer, 1988: 25-26), such as “full reduplication” in which the entire base is reduplicated as shown in (1), (2), and (3) below taken from Afrikaans:

- (1) *amper* ‘nearly’ > *amper-amper* ‘very nearly’
- (2) *dik* ‘thick’ > *dik-dik* ‘very thick’
- (3) *drie* ‘three’ > *drie-drie* ‘three at a time’

Different from (1), (2), and (3), examples (4) and (5) are for “partial reduplication” in which only part of the words is repeated, and may be placed at the beginning and end of the base. Example (4) is taken from Motu, a language of Papua New Guinea. In this language the reduplicated forms are placed at the beginning of the base.

- (4) *tau* ‘man’ > *ta-tau* ‘men’
- mero* ‘boy’ > *me-mero* ‘boys’

Example (5), which is taken from Maori, places the reduplicated part at the end of the base form.

- (5) *aahua* ‘appearance’ > *aahua-hua* ‘
- hiikel* ‘step’ > *hiikel-kel* ‘hop’
- maakuu* ‘moisture’ > *maakuu-kuu* ‘rather moist’

As far as the meanings are concerned, Bauer states that the iconic meanings of reduplication can indicate plurality, intensity, and repetition. However, there is also an exception as reduplication can also be used to grammatically express ‘future tense’, such as found in Tagalog. Consider (6), (7), and (8) below, in which {-um-} is an active diatesis marker.

- (6) sumulat ‘to write’ > su-sulat ‘will write’
- (7) bumasa ‘to read’ > ba-basa ‘will read’
- (8) ?umaral ‘to teach’ > ?a-?aral ‘will teach’

Not different from what has been described by Bauer, an expert finds about the same number of reduplication types in world languages (Tzetal, Mandarin, Malay, Sundanese, Turkish, Thai, Walpiri, etc.) (Katamba, 1993: 181-1997), but he can identify much more grammatical meanings. Despite grammatical meanings that have been mentioned by Bauer, such as plurality, intensity, and repetition, Katamba (1993) finds other meanings in his data collection, those are augmentative meaning to signal an increase in size, frequency or intensity, like in (9), and diminutive meaning with connotation of endearment or attenuation, like in (10) and (11).

- (9) dolu ‘full’ > dopdolu ‘quite full’  
dii ‘to be good’ > diidii ‘to be extremely good’
- (10) xoyamac ‘child’ > xoyamacxoyamac ‘small child’
- (11) kee ‘old’ > kee-kee ‘elderly’  
kaw ‘old’ (things) > kaw-kaw ‘oldish’

Meanwhile, Samsuri (1978: 191-192) by using examples obtained from Indonesian, Javanese, and some local languages in Indonesia, classifies three types of reduplication, such as full reduplication (12), reduplication with modification of one or more sounds (13), partial reduplication of initial or final base forms, accompanied or not accompanied by metathesis (14).

- (12) buku ‘book’ > buku-buku ‘books’.  
rumah ‘house’ > rumah-rumah ‘houses’  
anak ‘child’ > anak-anak ‘children’
- (13) bali ‘go back’ > bola-bali ‘go and back several times’  
mangan ‘eat’ > mangan-mengen ‘eating frequently’
- (14) adanuk ‘long’ > adadanuk ‘very long’  
apisi ‘small’ > apapisi ‘very small’  
dakal ‘big’ > dadakal ‘very big’  
abikan ‘near’ > ababikan ‘very near’

Using Javanese terms, Kridalaksana classifies several types of Indonesian reduplication, and five of them belong to morphemic reduplications, i.e. *dwi lingga* (full reduplication), *dwi purwa* (initial syllabic reduplication), *dwi wasana* (final syllabic reduplication), *dwilingga salin swara* (internal change modification), and *trilingga* (triple syllabic reduplication) (2009: 88-90). Indonesian reduplication can at least express 23 interrelated grammatical meanings. As far as Indonesian reduplication is concerned, the most comprehensive study on this matter has been carried out by Simatupang (1983). He has described several aspects of reduplication that includes types, functions, and grammatical meanings of reduplication, either contextual and non-

contextual meanings. Unfortunately, he does not strictly distinguished between morphemic and semantic reduplication.

By first excluding repetition and pseudo-reduplication, and without considering the possibility of reduplication forms to experience reduplication process, Poedjosoedarmo et al. can classify more types of Javanese morphemic reduplication (1981: 35-68), i.e. *dwi lingga* (full reduplication), such as *omah-omah* 'houses', *abang-abang* 'all red', etc.; *dwi purwa* (initial syllabic reduplication), such as *tetuku* 'how to buy, to buy repeatedly', *tetandur* 'to grow repeatedly', etc.; *dwi wasana* (final syllabic reduplication), *dwi-dwi purwa*, such as *tetandur-tetandur* 'to grow repeatedly', *tetuku-tetuku* 'to buy repeatedly', *dwi lingga salin swara* (reduplication with internal modification, such as *bola-bali* 'go and back repeatedly', *molah malih* 'continuously changed', etc. and *dwi-dwi wasana*, such as *cengenges-cengenges* 'to laugh repeatedly', *dwi dwi purwa salin swara*, such as *tetuka-tetuku* 'always buy', and *dwi dwi wasana salin swara*, such as *cengangas-cengenges* 'always laugh'. Uchlenbeck carries out a more simple classification than Poedjosoedarmo, et al. He does not mention "dwi wasana" (final syllabic reduplication) as part of Javanese reduplication type, and categorize "dwi purwa" (initial syllabic reduplication) as result of transposition process (1982: 101-109). Finally, Subroto et al. tend to focus their description on Javanese reduplication forms, but have not described its function and grammatical meanings in complete and systematic ways (1992: 38-46). A comparative study about reduplication has been carried out by Fabricius (1998) that concerns with Australian Languages. Subiyanto has also conducted comparative study on three local languages in Indonesia, Indonesian, Javanese, and Sundanese concerning grammatical meanings of one types of reduplication, i.e. full reduplication, particularly verbal reduplication (2018: 33-41). Meanwhile Kardana's (2002) research concerns with reduplications which occur in Balinese personal pronouns.

Although a lot of matters have been discussed regarding Javanese reduplication, this paper will prove that there are still many other interesting issues concerning reduplication types, rules of sound change, grammatical meanings, and reduplication functions that are still liable to discuss on which the linguists have never paid any attention.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Bauer states that there are at least nine types of morphological processes found in world languages (1988: 19-41). Not any single world language has completely all those processes, even though nearly all languages exploit most of them. Bauer's finding is not far different from (Bloch and Trager, 1942: 56-59; Ramlan (1987: 51-82). Those nine processes respectively are affixation (15), reduplication (16), modification bases (17), zero modification (18), shortening bases (19), compounding (20), alphabet-based formation (21), unique morphs (22), and suppletion (23).

(15) Javanese

- m- + laku 'walk' > mlaku 'to walk'
- di- + pisah 'separate' > dipisah 'to be separated'
- in- + sawang 'see' > sinawang 'to be seen'
- an + pangan 'eat' > panganan 'food'

(16) Javanese

- mlaku 'to walk' + mlaku > mlaku-mlaku 'sight seeing'
- tuku 'to buy' + tuku > tuka-tuku 'always buying'

tuku ‘to buy’ + tuku > ‘tetuku’ ‘the way to buy’  
cengenges ‘to laugh’ + cengenges + -an > cengenges-cengenges ‘continuously laughing’

(17) English

sing + {past} > sang  
sing + {past participle} > sung  
arise + {past} > arouse  
arise + {past participle} > arisen

(18) English

sheep + {plural} > sheep  
cut + {past} > cut  
cut + {past participle} > cut  
put + {past} > put  
put + {past participle} > put

(19) French

move (masculine) > movez (feminine) ‘bad’  
bla (masculine) > blas (feminine) ‘white’  
peti (masculine) > petit (feminine) ‘little’  
fo (masculine) > fos (feminine) ‘false’

(20) Indonesian

kambing ‘goat’ + hitam ‘black’ > kambing hitam ‘scape goat’  
meja ‘table’ + hijau ‘green’ > meja hijau ‘court, trial’  
makan ‘eat’ + hati ‘heart’ > makan hati ‘sad’  
orang ‘people’ + tua ‘old’ > orang tua ‘parent’

(21) Indonesian

komandan batalyon ‘battalion commandant’ > danyon  
pertahanan sipil ‘civil defence’ > hansip  
inspektur jenderal ‘inspector general’ > irjen  
zeni tempur ‘combat troop’ > zipur

(22) Javanese

abang mbranang ‘very red’  
ijo royo-royo ‘very green’  
biru kecu ‘very blue’  
jaran teji ‘big horse’

(23) English

go + {past} > went  
good + {comparative} > better  
good + {superlative} > best  
good + {-ly} > well

All reduplication processes generally involve “segmental constituent copying”. However, the ways the constituent copying to be carried out are various. As far as Javanese reduplication is

concerned, the variety of reduplication process yields many types of reduplications in a line with the grammatical functions and grammatical meanings they can express.

## METHOD

Some data presented in this paper are obtained from linguistic text books. Most of them which constitute Javanese reduplications together with their context of usage are my own creation, as I have been living in Yogyakarta for 44 years. The data are constructed through introspective methods whose grammaticality and acceptance are previously checked with several Javanese native speakers. The data are first classified according to their reduplication types. Further, they are classified according to the inflective and grammatical functions through distributional method and its repercussion techniques, such as negation, interruption, permutation, etc., and by inspecting their occurrence or position within the phrases and sentences. For identifying their grammatical meaning, paraphrase and expansion techniques are extensively applied. The data are presented orthographically, followed by their word to word and free translation.

## RESEARCH FINDINGS

The following sections will consecutively describe types, functions, and grammatical meanings of Javanese reduplication. The description will begin with the simplest to the most complicated problems shown within each section.

### Types of Javanese Reduplication

Simply Javanese reduplication can be classified into four types, i.e. full reduplication, reduplication with sound modification, partial reduplication, and reduplication combined with affixation process.

#### *Full Reduplication*

Full reduplication constitutes the most simplest type of reduplication in Javanese in which the reduplicated constituents are entirely copied. Those constituents may be monomorphemic base forms as well as complex forms consisting two or more morphemes which has undergone morphological processes. For example *omah-omah* 'houses', *bakul-bakul* 'merchants, sellers', *lunga-lunga* 'always go', *mlayu-mlayu* 'running', *mlaku-mlaku* 'take a walk'. Consider (24) to (28) below:

- (24) Oma-omahe ana Kintamani payone saka seng.  
House def. in Kintamani roof def. from iron sheeting  
'With regard to the houses in Kintamani, the roofs are made of iron sheeting'
- (25) Ing dina Minggu bakul-bakule padha teka.  
on day Sunday merchant (red.) progressive coming  
'On Sunday, many sellers are coming'
- (26) Aben diparani, dheweke lunga-lunga terus.  
Every time to be looked for (s)he go cont.  
'Every time someone wants to see him, he is never at home'

- (27) Saiki ponaanku wis isa mlayu-mlayu.  
now nephew I pos. already able to run repeatedly  
'Now, my nephew is already able running'
- (28) Suk Desember, aku arep mlaku-mlaku menyang Australia.  
tomorrow Desember, I will walk to Australia.  
'Next December I will travel to Australia'

In (24), (25), and (26), the base form being reduplicated, i.e. *omah* 'house', *bakul* 'seller', and *lunga* 'go' are monomorphemic bases, while in (25) and (26) are polymorphemic ones which consist of intransitive affix {*ma-*} plus *layu* 'run' and {*ma-*} plus *laku* 'walk'.

### **Reduplication with Sound Modification**

Reduplication with sound modification is slightly different from full reduplication in case of one or two sounds of the base (constituent being modified) is or are changed following certain rules. In Javanese the modified sound(s) is or are vowels. For example, *bola-bali* 'always repeated', *mloya mlayu* 'always running', *tuka-tuku* 'always buy', *cengangas-cengenges* 'always laugh', etc. There are several rules concerns with this internal modification. First, the base forms occur in the final position following modified constituents as shown in (29) – (31) below:

- (29) Dikandhani malah ngguya-ngguyu.  
being adviced, even always laughed.  
'He always laughed when someone gave him advice.'
- (30) Bengi iki aku arep mloka-mlaku menyang Malioboro.  
Night this, I will take walk to Malioboro  
'To night, I will take walk to Malioboro'
- (31) Dheweke tingak-tinguk nggoleki kancane.  
He turned his head to find friend his pos.  
'He always turned his head to find his friend.'

*Ngguyu* 'laugh', *mlaku* 'to walk', and *tinguk* 'turn head' in (29), (30), and (31) always occurs behind the constructions because *\*ngguyu-ngguya*, *\*mlaku-mloka*, and *tinguk-tingak* do not exist in Javanese. So, (32), (33), and (34) are unacceptable.

- (32) \*Dikandhani malah ngguyu-ngguya.  
(33) \*Bengi iki aku arep mlaku-mloka menyang Malioboro.  
(34) \*Dheweke tinguk-tingak nggoleki kancane.

Second, the vowel of the final syllable of the preceeding elements must be /a/ (35) and (36). Meanwhile, if the first syllable of the initial constituent consisting /a/, the vocalic structure of the syllable of the beginning constituent should be /ɔ/ and /a/, (37) and (38) although other less common possibilities may also permitable (see Sudaryanto et als. 1982, 34-35).

- (35) Gaweane ming tura-turu.  
work his poss. only sleeping  
'His work is just only sleeping'

- (36) Bok   tuku,   timbangane   nyilah-nyilih.  
better   buy,   than           always borrow  
'You'd better buy, than just borrowing'
- (37) Rungokake,   aja           ming   tokan takon  
listen imp.,   don't       just   asking  
'Please listen, dont just asking question'
- (38) Aku wis       bola-bali       mrona-mrono  
I   have   always       go there  
'I have been there for many times'

This type of reduplication only relates with vowels, and does not involve the changes of consonants, such as found in Indonesia *sayur mayur* 'various kinds of vegetable', *coreng moreng* 'full of streaks and scratches', etc.

### ***Partial Initial Syllabic Reduplication***

Javanese reduplication may also be constructed by partially copied the initial syllable of the base forms. For example, from the word *saji* 'to serve' can be reduplicated to yield *sesaji* 'offerings', *tandur* 'to grow' to yield *tetandur* 'everything about to grow', *lembut* 'soft' to yield *lelembut* 'supranatural creature', etc. as shown by (39), (40), and (42) below:

- (39) Sesajine       digawe   saka apa?  
offerings def.   be made   from what  
'What are the offering made of'
- (40) Aku   babar pisan   ora       ngerti   bab   tetandur.  
I       at all           do not   understand   about   how to grow.  
'I completely do not understand anything about how to grow'
- (41) Biyen       aku seneng   maca   jagating           lelembut  
past time   I   like       reading   the world of   poss.   supranatural  
'In the past I liked to read *the supranatural world*'

The vowel of the first syllable of the reduplication is changed into schwa /ə/, and it is maintained if the vowel of such position is already /ə/. Many Javanese learning and linguistic text books (Poedjosoedarmo et als., 1981; Daryanto, 1999: 60-62) also mention the existence of partial final syllabic reduplication. However, it seems that this type of reduplication is very difficult to be categorized as reduplication because the base forms are synchronically no more recognized. For example *mbegagah*, *njepaplang*, *pecucu*, *penyinying*, *cenining*, etc. In didactic Javanese grammars, these words are yielded from final syllabic reduplication, in which the penults *ga*, *pa*, *cu*, *nyi*, and *ni* are respectively copied from *gah*, *plang*, *cu*, *nying*, and *ning*. However, the base forms *\*mbegah*, *\*njeplang*, *\*pecu*, *\*penying*, and *\*cening* never exist in the use of Javanese. Based on these facts, it is hard to believe that partial final syllabic reduplication can be found in Javanese.



### ***Reduplication Combined with Affixation***

In Javanese, reduplications are often combined with affixation processes. There are many affixes used to form this type of reduplication, such as {-an}, {sa-/e}, {ka-/an}, {-e}, {ka-/e}, {-in-}, etc. Consider the following (42) to (47):

- (42) Aku ora isa nukokake mobil tenanan, ning mung mobil-mobilan  
 I not can to buy ben. car real but just car artificial  
 'I cannot buy a real car (for you), but just a toy car'
- (43) Nek isa sacepet-cepete.  
 if can as quick as possible  
 'If you can, do it as quick as possible'
- (44) Juve karo Dewi kerungon-rungon swara ibune.  
 Juve and Dewi were lingered voice mother def.  
 'Juve and Dewi were lingered their mother's voice'
- (45) Cepet-cepete, ya paling ora telung tahun  
 shortest def. yes at least three years  
 'The shortest time, at least three years'
- (46) Kaloro-lorone saiki wis diamanke aparat  
 all two def. now already to be safe apparatus.  
 'The two of them are already caught by the apparatus'
- (47) Karo kanca kudu tulung tinulung  
 with friend must help each other  
 'With friend we must help each other'

### **Grammatical Functions of Javanese Reduplication**

With regard to its grammatical functions, Javanese reduplication may or may not change the category of the base forms. The reduplication which change the grammatical category of the base is called inflective reduplication (see Verhaar, 1996: 143), and one that does not is called derivative reduplication.

#### ***Inflective Reduplication***

The changes from *mlaku* 'walk' to *mlaku-mlaku* 'take a walk', *ganti* 'change' to *gonta-ganti* 'always change', *buku* 'book' to *buku-buku* 'books', *mobil* 'car' to *mobil-mobilan* 'toy car', etc. are inflective in character because all these changes do not alter the category (parts of speech) the base forms being reduplicated for both *mlaku* and *mlaku-mlaku* are nouns; *ganti* and *gonta-ganti* are verbs; book and books are nouns; and *mobil* and *mobil-mobilan* are nouns. Observe (48) to (55) below.

- (48) Biyen aku mlaku aben dina menyang kampus  
 Past time I walked everyday to campus  
 'Previously I walked everyday to campus'

- (49) Sesuk aku arep mlaku-mlaku turut sawah  
tomorrow I will take a walk along rice field  
'Tomorrow I will take a walk along the rice field.'
- (50) Aku arep ganti klambi  
I will change dress.  
'I will change my dress.'
- (51) Penyanyine gonta-ganti klambi.  
singer the def. always change dress.  
'The singer always chang dress'
- (52) Dheweke ngerti bukune ana meja.  
He know book def on table  
'He knew the book was on the table'
- (53) Aku kerep maca buku-buku seratane.  
I often read books write he  
'I often read the books he have written'
- (54) Bapak mundhut mobil dhek wingi.  
Father buy car on yesterday  
'Yesterday father bought a car'
- (55) Bapak tuku mobil-mobilan kanggo adhik.  
Father buy toy car for my brother  
'Father bought toy car for my younger brother'

### ***Derivative Reduplication***

In many cases, reduplication can also function to change the category of bases on which the reduplication processes are applied. For example, *alon* 'slow' is adjective while *alon-alon* 'slowly' is 'adverb', compare (56) and (57), *bapak* 'father' is noun and *bapak-bapak* 'old like of an age to be a father' is 'adjective', compare (58) and (59), *lembut* 'soft' is adjective while *lelembut* 'supranatural creature' is noun', compare (60) and (61), *isa* 'can, be able to' is adjective while *saisa-isane* is adverb, *suwe* 'long' is adjective while *suwe-suwene* is adverb, compare (61) and (62).

- (56) Mlakune alon banget  
walk his poss slow very  
'His walk is very slow'
- (57) Dheweke ngleboake mobil alon-alon  
he put in the car slowly  
'He put in the car slowly'
- (58) Bapakku isih sugeng  
father I poss. still alive  
'My father is still alive'

- (59) Sing jenenge Khojat jebule wis bapak-bapak.  
the name Khojat apparently already of an age to be a father'  
'Someone named khoja is apperently a man of an age to be a father'
- (60) Sambele diblender nganti lembut  
sauce the def. is blended untill soft  
'The sauce is mixed untill soft'
- (61) Dheweke ora percaya babar pisan karo bangsane lelembut.  
'He does not believe at all with anything about supranatural creature'  
'He does not believe in anything about supranatural creature at all'
- (62) Aku isa main biola  
I can play violin  
'I can play the violin'
- (63) Aku arep main saisa-isane  
I will play as I can  
'I will play the best I can'

### **Grammatical meanings of Javanese Reduplication**

Grammatical meanings can be expressed by Javanese reduplication are various, and many of them are context sensitive or context dependent. This is in line with what stated by Leech that everything related to linguistic meanings is relatively sensitive of contextual use. Javanese morphemic reduplication can express many gramatical meanings whose identity are relatively easy to change in any kind of context (1983: 2). Those meanings are plurality, diversity, continuity, intensity, attenuation, reciprocity, artificiality, collectivity, rate, astonishment and contrast.

#### ***Plurality***

Plurality is probably the most common grammatical meanings expressed by reduplication. Linguistic units, either simple or complex, belong to noun category through full reduplication which will yield complex forms expressing plurality. For instance, *wit-wit* 'trees', *panganan-panganan* 'food', *suket-suket* 'grass', *omben-omben* 'drinks', *gawang-gawang* 'window or door frames', etc. See (64) to (68) below.

- (64) Wit-wite ning ngarep kantor kalurahan wis ditegor.  
trees def. in front office head village already be chopped down  
'The trees in front of head village office have already been chopped down'
- (65) Aja jajan panganan-panganan sing marai lara.  
Do not imp. buy foods that cause sick  
'Don't buy foods that can cause you sick'
- (66) Rabuk kui isa mateni suket-suket ana kana.  
fertilizer that can kill grass being there  
'That fertilazer can eradicate the grass growing there'

- (67) Nek lunga mengka, aja lali toko omben-omben.  
 if go later don't imp. forget buy drinks  
 'If you go later, don't forget to buy drinks'
- (68) Gawang-gawange omah wis lapuk  
 Window frames pos. house already rotten  
 'The window frames of the house are already rotten'

In adjectival base reduplication, the plurality is implicatively suggested by the grammatical subject even though it is not grammatically marked. See (69) to (71) below.

- (69) Mahasiswane pinter-pinter  
 student def. clever  
 'The students are clever'
- (70) Klambine ijo-ijo  
 shirt def. green  
 'The shirts are green'
- (71) Kukune ireng-ireng  
 nail def. black  
 'The nails are black'

### **Diversity**

Close to meaning of plurality, noun reduplication combined with {-an} affixation in Javanese can be used to express diversity or variety. So, *woh* 'fruit' and *woh-wohan* 'variety of fruits', *watu* 'stone' and *watu-watuan* 'variety of stones', *wit* 'tree' and *wit-witan* 'various kinds of tree', etc. Consider (72) to (74) below.

- (72) Ning Klakah okeh woh-wohan.  
 in Klakah many fruit  
 'There are many kinds of fruit in Klakah'
- (73) Dheweke hobi ngoleksi watu-watuan.  
 he hobby to collect various kinds of stones  
 'His hobby is collecting various kinds of stones'
- (74) Wit-witan apa wae ana nang kono.  
 various kinds of tree what just being at there  
 'Any kind of tree can be found there'

The grammatical meaning of 'diversity/variety', can also be constructed by verbal base initial syllabic reduplication combined with {-an}, such as the formation of *tandur* 'grow' becoming *tetanduran* 'variety of plants', *saji* 'serve' becoming *sesajian* 'various offering', *serah* 'serve' becoming *seserahan* 'bride price'. See (75) to (77) below.

- (75) Iki hama sing isa ngrusak tetanduran.  
 This pest that can spoil plants  
 'This is the pest that can destroy plants'

- (76) Wong-wong padha nggawa sesajen menyang kuburan.  
 people all bringing cont. various offering to cemetery  
 ‘Many people are bringing various offering to the cemetery’
- (77) Serah-serahane komplit  
 dowry def. complete  
 ‘The dowry is complete’

### Continuity

If the base forms of reduplication are verbs and demonstratives, the full and sound modification reduplication will yield complex forms expressing ‘continuity’, such as *mara-mara* ‘always coming’, *lunga-lunga* ‘always go’, *iku-iku* ‘always that’, *kona-kono* ‘always there’, stc. See (78) to (81) below in which *lunga* and *mara* are verbs, and *iku* and *kona* are demonstratives.

- (78) Nek urung diwenehi, dheweke mara-mara terus.  
 if not yet be given he come continuously  
 ‘If he has not been given (something) yet, he would always come’
- (79) Kowe kok lunga-lunga wae  
 you why go just  
 ‘Why do you always go out?’
- (80) Sing diomongke kui-kui wae.  
 that to be talked that only  
 ‘What he talks about is always that’
- (81) Kok sing menang kona-kono wae  
 why that win there just  
 ‘Why the winner is always them’

### Intensity

Reduplication of adjective and verb combined with {sa-e} in Javanese is used to express intensity. So, *cepat* ‘quick’ and *sacepet-cepete* ‘as quick-as possible’, *akeh* ‘many, much’ and *saakeh-akehe* ‘as many/ much as possible’, *isa* ‘can’ and *saisa-isane* ‘the best I can’, and *oleh* ‘get’ and *saoleh-olehe* ‘the least I can get’. See (82), (83), and (85) below.

- (82) Nek isa sacepet-cepete.  
 if can as quick as possible  
 ‘If you can, do it as quick as possible’
- (83) Nek pengin mari ngombe banyu putih saakeh-akehe  
 if want recover drink water white as much as possible  
 ‘If you want to recover, drink mineral water as much as possible’
- (84) Aku arep nyanyi saisa-isane.  
 I will sing as I can  
 ‘I will sing the best I can’

- (85) Pokoke aku arep nggawake kowe saoleh-olehe.  
 mainly I will bring ben. you whatever I can get  
 ‘Mainly, I will bring whatever I can get for you’

Intensity can also be expressed by adjectival reduplication combined with {-e}, but with slightly different meaning. In Javanese *akeh* ‘many/a lot’ and *akeh-akehe* ‘at maximum’, *suwe* ‘long’ and *suwe-suwene* ‘the longest time’, *cilik* ‘small’ and *cilik-cilike* ‘the smallest (size)’. See (86), (87), and (88).

- (86) Gajine akeh-akehe ya 20 juta rupiah.  
 salary def. at maximum part. 20 millions  
 ‘The salary maximally is 20 million rupiahs’
- (87) Suwe-suwene aku lunga paling-paling telung minggu  
 longest time I go at the most three week  
 ‘The longest time I will go is three weeks’
- (88) Cilik-cilike omahe wong sugih mesti luwih gedhe  
 smallest house def. people rich must more big  
 tinimbang omahe wong biasa  
 than house def people ordinary  
 ‘No matter how small the house of the haves, it must be larger than that of the ordinary people’

### Attenuation

The reduplication process can also be exploited to attenuate or to reduce the semantic intensity of the bases being reduplicated. For example, the meaning of *mlaku* ‘walk’ but *mlaku-mlaku* ‘take a walk’, *mangan* ‘eat’ but *mangan-mangan* ‘to eat in unserious atmosphere’, *lungguh* ‘seat’ but *lungguh-lungguh* ‘sitting in a relaxed atmosphere’. Consider (89), (90), and (91) below.

- (89) Aku aben dina Minggu mlaku-mlaku ning Kampus Bulakusumur.  
 I every day Sunday take a walk in campus Bulaksumur  
 ‘Every Sunday I take a walk in Bulaksumur Campus’
- (90) Acarane mung mangan-mangan.  
 program def. only eating  
 The program is just only eating together’
- (91) Ing musim panas akeh mahasiswa dha lungguh-lungguh nang jaba  
 In season hot many student cont. sitting in outside  
 ‘In summer many students are sitting outside’

In here the earnest sense of the Javanese verbs (*mlaku* ‘walk’, *mangan* ‘eat’, and *lungguh* ‘sit’) is reduced by the full reduplication process. Finally, the earnestness can also be constructed by full adjectival reduplication, such as *ireng* ‘black’ and *ireng-ireng* ‘rather black’, *putih* ‘white’ and *putih-putih* rather white, as shown in (92) and (93) below.

- (92) Sukari wonge ireng-ireng.  
 'Sukari person def. rather black'  
 'Talking about Sukari, the person is rather black'
- (93) Sapa ta cah lanang sing putih-putih kui.  
 who part. child boy that rel. rather white that dem.  
 'Who is that rather white boy'

### **Reciprocity**

Reduplication of verb or adjectival bases combined with {-an} will result reduplicative forms expressing grammatical meaning reciprocity. For example, *nyek* 'insult' and *nyek-nyekan* 'insult each other', *tulung* 'help' and *tulung-tolongan* 'help each other', *akeh* 'much, many' and *akeh-akehan* 'compete to have more', *esuk* 'morning' and *esuk-esukan* 'compete which one is earlier'. See (94) to (97) below.

- (94) Hendro nyek-nyekan karo kancane.  
 Hendro insult each other with his friend  
 'Hendro and his friend insulted each other'
- (95) Karo kanca kudu tulung-tolongan  
 with friend must help each other  
 'With a friend, you must help each other'
- (96) Demokrasi dudu masalah akeh-akehan  
 democracy not problem which one is more  
 'Democracy is not a matter of one more than the others'
- (97) Esuk-esukan tangi, yuk!  
 earlier recip. wake up let us  
 'Let us compete to wake up earlier'

In literary style, with regard to reciprocity, the verbal base is reduplicated with the infix {-in-} combination. So, (95) can be altered to become (98).

- (98) Karo kanca kudu tulung-tinulung.  
 with friend must help each other  
 'With a friend, you must help each other'

The other example is (99) below.

- (99) Wong loro kui sawang-sinawang  
 people two that look at each other  
 'The two people looked each other'

### **Artificiality**

In Javanese *mobil* means 'car' but *mobil-mobilan* means 'toy car', as well as *gunung* means 'mountain' but *gunung-gunungan* means 'fake mountain'. See (100) and (101) below:

- (100) Bapak   tuku   mobil-mobilan   kanggo Yoga.  
 father   buy   toy car           for   Yoga  
 ‘Father bought a toy car for Yoga’
- (101) Nara   nggawe   gunung-gunungan   nganggo pasir  
 Nara   make   fake montain       using   sand  
 ‘Nara is making fake mountain using sand’

Contextual usage can solve ambiguity between *mobil-mobilan* ‘fake car’ and *gunung-gunungan* ‘fake mountain’ and ones which express meaning of deversity. See (72), (73) and (74) above.

### Collectivity

The base of reduplication might be number. The full reduplication combined with suffix { -e } will yield reduplicative form expressing ‘collectivity’. For example, *loro-lorone* ‘both of them’, *telu-telune* ‘all three’, etc., except *siji* ‘one’ because *siji-sijine* means ‘the only’. See (102), (103), and (104) below:

- (102) Loro-lorone   lulusan   Gadjah Mada.  
 all two   def.   graduate   Gadjah Mada  
 ‘Both of them are Gadjah Mada graduates’
- (103) Telu-telune   wis   manten  
 all three def.   already   get married  
 ‘All three have already got married’
- (104) Dheweke   siji-sijine   sing   urung   pensiun  
 he           only def.   that   not yet   retired  
 ‘He is the only one who is not retired yet’

### Rate

Different from *loro-lorone* ‘both of them’ and *telu-telune* ‘all three’ which express collectivity, full reduplication of numbers express rate. So, *loro* means ‘two’ and *loro-loro* means ‘two by two’, *papat* means ‘four’ and *papat-papat* ‘four by four’, as shown in (104) and (105) below.

- (105) Tamune   teka   loro-loro  
 guest   come   two by two  
 The guests came two by two
- (106) Amerga   kamare   cupet,   sing   besuk   entuk   mlebu   papat-papat  
 Because   room def.   small   that   visit   allow enter   four by four  
 ‘Because the room was very small, the visitors were allowed to enter four by four’

### Contrast

Despite expressing plurality, in very limited contextual usage, the full reduplication of Javanese adjectives is used to bear contrast, such as *jauh-jauh* in (106) means ‘although it is far’, *cilik-cilik* in (107) ‘although he is small’.



- (107) Adoh-adoh tak parani.  
 far I go  
 'Although it is far, I will go there'
- (108) Cilik-cilik ning mangane akeh  
 small but eating grd. a lot  
 'Although he is small, he eats a lot'

### ***Astonishment***

Several reduplicative verbs combined with {-e} affixation is used to express 'astonishment, such as *gelem* 'be willing to', *kober* 'have time to', etc. will change their meaning into 'how can he is willing to' and 'how can (s)he have time' in *gelem-geleme* and *kober-kobere* as demonstrated in (109) and (110) below.

- (109) Aku ora ngerti gelem-geleme dikongkon rana  
 I not know how he is willing to be asked to go there  
 'I did not know how he was willing to be asked to go there'
- (110) Kober-kobere gawe disertasi, gaweane akeh.  
 How can he have time, to make dissertation work def. a lot  
 'How can he manage his time to write a dissertation with a lot of work'

### ***Suddenness***

Frequently, the full reduplication of verb of the same structural distribution will yield reduplicative forms expressing 'suddenness'. For example, *teka* 'come' and *teka-teka* 'all of a sudden', *bali* 'return, come back' and *bali-bali* 'upon coming', etc. See (111) and (112) below.

- (111) Teka-teka, dheweke nyalahke aku  
 come suddenly he blame me  
 'All of a sudden, he threw the blame on me'
- (112) Bali-bali, dheweke ngamuk.  
 return suddenly he run amuck  
 'Upon getting home, he run amuck'

### **CLOSING REMARKS**

Each language has its own individuality. With regard to word formation, there is no language that exploits all types of word formation devices to construct their base form to yield complex forms. English and other European languages, for instance, do not use reduplication process to construct their polymorphemic words. These languages use other strategies to achieve this purpose, such as affixation, internal change, zero modification, etc. However, Javanese and several local languages in the Indonesian archipelago use extensive types of reduplication for expressing various grammatical meanings which are mostly iconic. And, what has been described above clearly proves that reduplication in Javanese constitutes one of the central grammatical issues in most widely spoken local languages in Indonesia. There are at least three crucial and complicated problems related to Javanese reduplication. They are problems concerning forms, functions, and

grammatical meanings. This research paper found that Javanese reduplication at least can be expressed in four linguistic types, i.e full reduplication, reduplication with sound modification, partial reduplication, and reduplication combined with affixation. With regard to its function, Javanese reduplication can be differentiated into two types, i.e. inflective reduplication which has no potentiality to change word identity and derivative reduplication which has the potentiality to change the word identity. Finally, Javanese reduplication processes can be exploited to express various grammatical meanings, and some of them are context sensitive. Those grammatical meanings are plurality, diversity, continuity, intensity, attenuation, reciprocity, artificiality, collectivity, rate, astonishment, and contrast. Although final syllabic reduplication (*dwi wasana*), such as *cengenges* and *cekikik* both mean ‘continuously laugh’ and triple reduplication (*tri lingga*), such as *dag dig dug* ‘anxious’ in some books are regarded as reduplication, in this paper they are neglected because their base forms are difficult to identify even though diachronically they possibly come from onomatopoeic sound of laughter *kik* and *nges* or heart beat *dug*.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

cont: continuous  
def: definite  
grd: gerund  
imp: imperative  
part: particle  
pos: possessive  
recip: reciprocal

## NOTE

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