

Reduplication With Sound Modification In Indonesian

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to seek the rules regarding kinds and distribution of base forms, and sound changes, and grammatical meanings of sound modification reduplication in Indonesian. By using data primarily gathered through intuitive method and added with ones extracted from Indonesian linguistic text books, it is found that the reduplication bases can be identifiable and unidentifiable. Identifiable base can be placed either initial or final. The sound involved can be one or more vowel as well as consonant. Reduplication with consonant sound change always places its base in initial position. Reduplication with unidentifiable base forms can involve more than one vowels, consonant or vowel and consonant altogether. The unidentified base leads to suspect that the whole forms can be actually pseudo reduplication, or combinations double unique morphs.

Key Words: reduplication, base, morph, sound modification

Introduction

As far as morphological processes are concerned, reduplication is one of the most important processes in Indonesian. In this language, reduplication processes can take many forms, express various grammatical meanings, as well as grammatical functions. With regard to the forms, there are full reduplication, partial reduplication, reduplication with sound modification, and reduplication combined with affix addition. Reduplication may express various grammatical meanings, such as plurality, diversity, artificiality, reciprocity, etc. Reduplication can bears inflectional and derivation functions. This paper will focus its attention on reduplication with sound modification. Some problems which will be addressed including: 1. Does this type of reduplication always have identifiable base forms. If it does, how does this base forms structurally distribute? If it does not, how can this problem be explained? 2. In identifiable or unidentifiable based reduplication, is the changing sound vowel or consonant? Does it just involve a single or more than one sound? How does this changing sound structurally distribute? 3. What are the grammatical meanings possibly expressed by reduplication with sound modification processes in Indonesian. These three matters have not been so far discussed profoundly by Indonesian linguists who had paid

attention to reduplication in their linguistic works.

Simatupang (1983) in his doctorate dissertation entitled *Reduplikasi Morfemis Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian Morphemic Reduplication) found that based on forms which he calls “type”, mentions there are 16 types of reduplication, and reduplication with sound modification belongs to one of these types. Simatupang states that all of sound modification reduplication have identifiable base although in some cases the bases are difficult to determine, because they no more find in the use of Indonesian but still can be found in local languages from which they possibly come from. In this case, Simatupang does not differentiate between diachronic and synchronic approach. Simatupang has also tried to formulate the sound changes rules of this type of reduplication, but the rules are still obscured and unclear. Accordingly I will try syn-chronically to formulate them with more number of data. Simatupang's discussion on Indonesian reduplication constitutes the most comprehensive account for reduplication related to Indonesian. Ekowardono (2019, 258-260) with regard to sound modification modification only states that the modified sound can either vowel, such as *bolak-balik* 'back and forth' and consonant, such as *sayur mayur* 'various vegetable' for expressing speaker's dissatisfaction. The same thing has been done by Ramlan (1987, 75-77), Setyadi (2011, 81-82), Verhaar (1996, 152), Keraf (1991, 50-51) in which the changing sound can either be vowel or consonant. The same condition happens concerning with discussion of the same matter in local languages in Indonesia. Using just a single examples, *nyalak-nyeluk* 'repeatedly calling' Uhlenbeck (1982, 111-113) only superficially discuss this type of reduplication with its function to express annoyance. Meanwhile, Wijana (2021, 29-47) mentions that reduplication with sound modification is one among 4 types found in Javanese, the most widely spoken local languages. The other types are full reduplication, partial initial syllabic reduplication, and affix addition combined reduplication. He further states that this type of reduplication just involves vowel sound change in which, the final syllable of initial part of reduplication word consists of vowel /a/, while the final syllable of the final part may consist of any vowel. In other words, the vowel of this part is unpredictable. No Javanese reduplication form that belongs to this type is involving consonant. And, reduplication of this type does not find in Kaili language (Sofyan et als. 1979).

Theoretical Frame Work

The linguistic processes by which words can be built in world languages are various,

and each languages exploits those processes differently. According to Bauer (1988, 19-41) there are at least 9 processes of morphological or word formation. Those are affix addition, reduplication, base modification, zero modification, base shortening, lexeme combination, alphabet-based formation, unique morphs, and suppletion. With regard to reduplication, all words yielded from this morphological process have base form (Ramlan (1987, 75-77). So, reduplication process is essentially a base copying element (Katamba, 1993, 180-197). It has been suggested above that in languages recognizing reduplication, this morphological process can be either total or partial, progressive or regressive, combined with or without affix addition, with or without sound modification. Accordingly there are total or full reduplication, such as *rumah* 'house' becoming *rumah-rumah* 'houses'; partial reduplication, such as *kasih* 'love' and *kekasih* 'fiance(e)'; progressive reduplication, such as *gerak* 'move' becoming *gerak-gerak* 'every move'; regressive reduplication, such as *balik* 'back' becoming *bolak-balik* 'back and forth'; progressive reduplication like *serba* 'all' becoming *serba-serbi* 'various'; reduplication combined with affix addition, such as *mobil* 'car' becoming *mobil-mobilan* 'toy car', reduplication with sound modification, such as *coret* 'cross' becoming *corat-coret*, or without sound modification, like *datang* 'come' becoming *datang-datang* 'continuously come'. Despite this variety of meanings, reduplication may have derivative or inflection functions to change or maintain the categorical base forms. By this theoretical basis, this paper try to explain all sound change reduplication problems have been outlined above.

Method

This research begins with data collecting. They are first gained from my intuition as Indonesian native speaker, and added with ones extracted from *Indonesian Standard Dictionary* (Sugono et als., 2014) and ones found in Indonesian linguistic text books used as references of this paper. First of all, the reduplication bases are identified by examining their lexical meaning, and their possibility to stand alone or undergoing various morphological process. For instance, the base form of *tindak tanduk* 'behavior' is *tindak* instead of *tanduk* because *tindak* has lexical meaning 'act', *tanduk* does not even though there is word *tanduk* which means 'horn' as result of homonym class. In addition *tindak* can be changed into *tindakan* 'action', *ditindak* 'to be executed', *ditindaklanjuti* 'to be followe up', etc. While, no poly morphemic words can be derived from *tanduk* which has meanings related to 'action'. Further, all of them are classified a long with distribution of the base forms in poly

morphemic word structure, the sounds undergoing modification, and various grammatical meanings possibly bear by the reduplication processes.

Research Findings

After observing all gathered data, it is found that not all of them have identifiable base forms. Some data which are so far regarded as sound modification reduplication by several scholars have their base forms difficult to identify together with their relevant problems. Accordingly, this paper will firstly analyze these two types of reduplication.

Reduplication with Identifiable Base Forms

Reduplication with clear base forms are those having meaningful bases, and they are possible to derive other poly morphemic words through various morphological processes. Reduplication forms such as *bengkak-bengkak* 'warped, bent', *sayur mayur* 'various vegetable', *corat-coret* 'scrawled', *colak-colek* 'pinch lightly', etc. in All of these examples, one element of the reduplication forms are base because of their lexical meaning and potentials to derive other poly morphemic words. *Bengkak* 'bent', *sayur* 'vegetable', *coret* 'scratch', and *colek* 'pinch' these elements can be found as the base forms of *membengkokkan* 'to bend', *menyayur* 'to prepare vegetable', *coretan* 'scratch (noun)', and *mencolek* 'to pinch'. Conversely, Despite of the absence of lexical meaning. not any poly morphemic forms can be derived from *bengkak*, *mayur*, *corat*, and *colak*. The forms such as **membengkak*, **memayur*, **mencorat*, **coratan*, **mencolak*, **colakan*, etc. can not be found in the use of Indonesian.

For the base distribution, identifiable base reduplication can distribute in initial as well as final position. The reduplication words such as *basa-basi* 'live service', *cerai-berai* 'be scatered', *gerak-gerik* 'move', *tindak-tanduk* 'behavior', *sayur-mayur* 'variety of vegetable', *kusut-musut* 'all in tangle', *kerut-merut* 'wrinkled', dsb. have their base in intial position. Meanwhile, reduplication words such as *bolak-balik* 'back and forth', *ceplas-ceplos* 'speak uninhibitedly', *colak-colek* 'pinch lightly', *corat-coret* 'scrawled', *getak-getuk* 'pound lightly', etc. place their base in final position. The sound change can either be vowel or consonant. This matter will be discussed consecutively in the following discussions.

The reduplication forms like *corat-coret* 'scrawled', *basa-basi* 'lip service', *serba-serbi* 'various', *ceplas-ceplos* 'speak uninhabited', *kedap-kedip* 'continuously blink', *tindak-tanduk* 'behavior', etc. are constructed by vowel modification. Wherever the base elements

are placed, the vowel's final syllable of the initial elements must be /a/, while the vowels of the other elements are random or unpredictable. Most of vowels being changed are single, and in very few cases may also be more, such as *orak-arik* 'shaking violently', *bolak-balik* 'back and forth', *tindak-tanduk* 'behavior', etc.

With regard to reduplication forms constructed by consonant change, the base elements are always initials, and the consonant changes have no fixed rule. For instance, *lauk-pauk* 'various side dishes', *coreng-moreng* 'full of scratch', *kacau balau* 'disorder', and *coreng-moreng* 'full of scratch', *Lauk* 'various side dishes' constitutes the base because it can stand alone as a word, such as *Ia membeli lauk* 'he bought side dishes' but never **Ia membeli pauk*. From *coreng* it can yield *mencoreng* 'to scratch' but not **memoreng*. From *kacau* it can be derived *kekacauan* 'disorderliness', *pengacau* 'someone who makes disorderliness', or *dikacaukan* 'being disordered'. No word such as **kebalauan*, **pembalau*, or **dibalaukan* ever been found in the use of Indonesian. These three reduplication words can not be conversely structured because **pauk lauk*, **balau-kacau*, **moreng-coreng* are all unacceptable. Finally all sound modification reduplication belong to this type only involve single consonant. The other examples are *tegap-begap* 'well built', *kerut-merut* 'wrinkled', and *serta-merta* 'instantly'.

Reduplication with Unidentifiable Base Forms

In Indonesian there are many reduplication with sound modification forms that have no clear bases. Polymorphemic words such as *huru-hara* 'disturbance', *hingar-bingar* 'tumultuous', *compang-camping* 'in tatters', *mondar-mandir* 'move back and forth', *komat-kamit* 'moving lips but not speaking', *ombang-ambing* 'bop up and down', *desas-desus* 'rumor', etc. These reduplication forms do not have base, but many scholars so far treat them as polymorphemic forms resulted from sound modification reduplication process (Kridalaksana, 1989, 89; Verhaar, 1996, 152). No element of these words can stand alone or undergoing any kind morphological processes.

The sound change involved in this type of reduplication can be vowel single or two vowels. *Desas-desus* 'rumor' just only involves a single vowel, [a] <> [u]. *Mondar-mandir* 'move back and forth' and *compang-camping* 'in tatters' are involving two vowels, [o] <> [a], and [a] <> [i]. In *hingar-bingar* 'tumultuous', a single consonant is involved, [h] <> [b].

For applying morphological processes, the whole words must be involved. Therefore, the words *berkomat-kamit* 'to move lips but not speaking', *mengombang-*

ambingkan 'to bop up and down', *diombang-ambingkan* 'to be bop up and down', *terombang-ambing* 'being bopped up and down unintentionally'. In the use of Indonesian, the words **mengombang*, **mengambing*, *memondar*, *memandir*, *dimondar*, *dimandir*, etc. could not be found. This is suggesting that there could be other possible explanation regarding this matter.

The first explanation, words such as *huru-hara* 'disturbance', *hingar-bingar* 'tumultuous', *compang-camping* 'all tatters', *komat-kamit* 'lips move but not speaking', etc. could not be a reduplication but pseudo reduplication along with *kupu-kupu* 'butterfly', *kunang-kunang* 'firefly', *kura-kura* 'turtle', etc. However, for the last three, the reduplication is full, while in the three formerly mentioned is not full, but involving one or more sound modification. The other possible explanation is that both elements of unidentifiable base reduplication are unique morphs, i.e. a morpheme that can only occur with one certain morpheme, such as *cran* only with *berry* in English, *gulita* 'dark' only with *gelap* 'dark' in Indonesian, *royo-royo* 'green' only with *ijo* 'green' in Javanese for constructing *cranberry*, *gelap gulita* 'very dark', *ijo royo-royo* 'very green' (See Hendro Kumoro & Wijana, 2019, 60-67; Wijana, 2018; Ramlan, 1987, 81-82). In this case, *huru*, *hingar*, *compang*, and *komat* can only respectively occur with *hara*, *bingar*, *camping*, and *kamit* and vice versa. This fact indicates that Indonesian compound words may consist of two unique morphs. By this assumption the forms like *beras-petas* 'various rice', *beras ketas* 'various rice' similarly do not constitute reduplication words but words that consist of a single unique morph, *petas* and *ketas* that only occur with *beras* 'rice'

Functions and Grammatical Meanings

Generally Indonesian sound modification reduplication does not have derivative function, that is the function to change word category. However from the data collection, it is just one datum shows this function, i.e. *serta merta* 'instantly'. *Serta* 'and' categorically belongs to conjunction, while *serta merta* belongs to adverb. The rest data show no categorical changes. Meanwhile, like other types of reduplication, grammatical meanings can be expressed by sound modification reduplication are iconic in characters. Those senses are mostly related to plurality or diversity, such as *sayur-mayur* 'many, various vegetables', *lauk-pauk* 'various side dishes', *kuih-muih* 'assorted cake', *gerak-gerak* 'moves', *serba-serbi* 'various' etc.; continuity such as *kedap-kedip* 'continuously blink', *kelap-kelip* 'continuously blink', *kempas-kempis* 'panting', *colak-colek* 'continuously pinch'; intensity, such as *kusut*

musut 'very tangled', *morat-marit* 'messy', etc.

Conclusion

From all data which are so far regarded as sound change reduplication, it can be concluded that there are two types of reduplication, i.e. Reduplication with identifiable base and reduplication with unidentifiable base. Reduplication which belongs to the first type may places its base elements in sound initial and final position. The changing sound involved might be vowel or consonant, single or more than one. If vowel is involved, the final syllable of the initial element (regardless base or non base) of reduplication must contain [a], while the vowel's syllable of the final element is unpredictable. Reduplication forms which involve consonant changes always places its base in initial position. Reduplication with unidentifiable can involve more than one vowels, consonant or vowel and consonant altogether. The unidentifiable of the base tends to rise a suspect that those forms could be pseudo reduplication or poly morphemic words consisting of unique morphs. This problem should be deepened with more serious studies.

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Data Supplement in Alphabetical Order

anggup-angcip 'up and down'
 basa-basi 'lip service'
 bengkok-bengkok 'bendings'
 bolak-balik 'back and forth'
 bolang-baling 'revolve'
 carut-marut 'abusive'
 ceplas-ceplos 'talking as it wish'
 cerai-berai 'separated'
 colak-colek 'pinch lightly'
 compang camping 'in tatters'
 corat-coret 'scratch'
 coreng-moreng 'full of dirty marks'
 desas-desus 'rumors'
 gerak-gerik 'moves'
 getak-getuk 'continuously pounding'
 hiruk-pikuk 'very noisy'
 hingar-bingar 'tumultuous'
 huru-hara 'disturbances'
 kacau-balau 'disordered'
 kasak-kusuk 'lobbying, intrigue'
 kasak-kisik 'lobbying, intrigue'
 kedap-kedip 'continuously blink'
 kelap-kelip 'flickering'
 kempas-kempis 'panting'
 kerut-merut 'wrinkled'
 kocar-kacir 'in disorder'
 komat-kamit 'moving lips but not speaking'
 kuih -muih 'assorted cake'
 kusut-musut 'all in tangle'
 lauk-pauk 'various side dishes'
 lika-liku 'bending, details'
 mondar-mandir 'move back and forth'
 morat-marit 'messy'

olak-alik 'move to and fro'
orak arik 'to make something disorder'
ombang-ambing 'bop up and down'
onyak-anyik 'dally'
pontang-panting 'run in any direction'
porak-parik 'in disorder'
ramah-tamah 'friendly'
remeh-temeh 'trivial'
remeh-cemeh 'of no importance'
sayur-mayur 'various vegetable'
selang-seling 'alternately'
serba-serbi 'various'
serta-merta 'instantly'
siat-siut 'sizzling'
tegap-begap 'ell built'
tindak-tanduk 'behavior'
ulang-alik 'back and forth'
utak-atik 'tinker with'