

Morphemic Reduplications in *Geguritan*

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Abstract

The research investigates morphemic reduplication in terms of its kinds and meanings in Javanese poetry, widely known as *geguritan*. This descriptive qualitative study obtained the data from an anthology of *geguritan*s entitled *Cathetan Kanggo Lintang* by Irul S. Budianto. An interpretative method was conducted after the data were noted, listed, verified, and classified based on the kinds of meanings of reduplication as proposed by Wijana. The research findings show that the types of reduplication found in the *geguritan*s can be classified into four: full reduplication, reduplication with sound modification, partial initial syllabic reduplication, and reduplication combined with affixation. In addition, only nine out of 12 categories of the meanings of reduplication were found in the data: plurality, diversity, continuity, intensity, attenuation, reciprocity, artificiality, collectivity, and rate. The absence of the other three categories is due to the difference between the language style used in *geguritan* and the language used in daily conversation, in which *geguritan* tends to consider the poetic style of language. In contrast, everyday conversation employs more straightforward language choices that the speakers and the hearers can easily understand.

Abstrak

Reduplikasi Morfemis dalam Geguritan

Penelitian ini bertujuan mengkaji reduplikasi morfemis dari segi jenis dan arti dalam puisi berbahasa Jawa, yang lebih dikenal dengan istilah *geguritan*. Data dalam penelitian kualitatif deskriptif ini diperoleh dari antologi *geguritan* berjudul *Cathetan Kanggo Lintang* karangan Irul S. Budianto. Setelah dicatat, dibuat daftar, dan diverifikasi, data diklasifikasikan berdasarkan jenis dan arti reduplikasi sebagaimana diusulkan oleh Wijana. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa jenis reduplikasi yang ditemukan dalam *geguritan* dapat dikategorikan dalam empat jenis: reduplikasi penuh, reduplikasi dengan modifikasi bunyi, reduplikasi pada bagian awal suku kata, dan reduplikasi yang dikombinasikan dengan afiksasi. Selain itu, hanya sembilan dari 12 kategori arti reduplikasi yang ditemukan dalam data, yakni: bentuk jamak, keanekaragaman, kontinuitas, intensitas, pengurangan, bentuk timbal balik, artifisialitas, kolektivitas, dan nilai hitungan. Tidak ditemukannya ketiga kategori lainnya dikarenakan perbedaan antara penggunaan gaya bahasa dalam *geguritan* dan bahasa yang digunakan dalam percakapan sehari-hari, di mana *geguritan* cenderung mempertimbangkan gaya bahasa puitis, sedangkan pilihan bahasa yang digunakan dalam percakapan sehari-hari cenderung lebih sederhana agar dapat dipahami oleh penutur dan pendengar dengan lebih mudah.

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1 Introduction

As a distinctive feature that differentiates humankind from other species of creatures, language is used as a means of communication and interaction to convey ideas, ask for and provide information, give directions, or even express emotions. This multifunctional reason enables various viewpoints to discuss the same entity: language phenomenon.

The existence of language phenomenon is inseparable from the nature of language as a part of the culture. Undeniably believed as a cognitive or social phenomenon, language is the key instrument by which we can assimilate our culture (Dąbrowska, 2020; Wahiba, 2008). In this regard, many forms of culture can be portrayed through language, including poetry. The ‘tough’ language used in poetry is considered the second stage of language, which is decisive for expressing feelings and can build vital emotional aspects of life (Mittal, 2016). In other words, poetry can promote literacy, enhance emotions, and even connect people from heart to heart through interpretations they can make.

Since poetry is a product of linguistic, cultural, and even racial expressions (Cambridge University Press and Assessment, 2022), it is evident that any culture can have poetical expressions produced in its local language, and Javanese is no exception. Javanese poetry is known as *geguritan* (Setyawan & Saddhono, 2020). The term *geguritan* is derived from the word *gurit* in the Javanese language, which means writing, drawing, or canto, so *geguritan* is interpreted as a literary work in the form of a poem or poetry written or uttered in the Javanese language. In its traditional form, *geguritan* is written following a particular rhyme. Recently, it has developed into free poems with less or no consideration of the rules of rhyme and poetic meter. As a remarkable and developing modern Javanese literature, *geguritan* is taught at schools and often contested.

One of the most well-known *geguritan* writers is Irul S. Budianto, whose works have been published in various media. His writings from 1989 until 2009 are compiled in his firstly published *geguritan* anthology entitled *Cathetan Kanggo Lintang*. This anthology provides 152 titles of *geguritan*, which makes this work quite comprehensive in the enrichment of language expressions and styles. In the *geguritans*, Irul S. Budianto uses many reduplications which are interesting to discuss.

Reduplication is a morphemic process of repeating the primary form of a word, either in total or partial or even by phonological change (Chaer, 2003). It is similar to Ramlan (2009) and Solichi (1996), who believe that reduplication is a total or partial repetition of a grammatical unit, with or without phoneme variation. Furthermore, reduplication is commonly found in languages in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia (Verhaar, 1988). It can be used in the language to explain and express plurality or intensity (Sapir, 1994), and this also applies to the Javanese language. Thus, reduplication needs serious attention, including in the Javanese language.

Reduplication in the Javanese language can be examined regarding its kinds and meanings. In terms of kinds, Poedjosoedarmo et al. (1981) divided Javanese reduplication into eight: (1) *dwilingga*, which is a complete repetition, (2) *dwilingga salin swara*, which is a complete repetition with a change of vocal sound, (3) *dwipurwa*, which is a repetition of the initial syllable marked with a vocal change on its additional first syllable into /ə/, (4) *dwi dwipurwa*, which is a complete repetition of *dwipurwa*, (5) *dwi dwipurwa salin swara*, which is a repetition of *dwipurwa* with vocal change(s), (6) *dwiwasana*, which is a repetition of the final part of a word, often called vague repetition because its basic and repetition form is unclear, and the repetition form has become a complete word, (7) *dwi dwiwasana*, which is a repetition form of *dwiwasana*, and (8) *dwi dwiwasana salin swara*, which is a repetition of *dwiwasana* with vocal change(s). Accommodatively, Wijana (2021) synthesizes and simplifies the kinds of Javanese reduplication into four: (1) full reduplication, the simplest type of reduplication in Javanese in which the reduplicated element is completely reduplicated, e.g., *omah-omah* that means houses; (2) reduplication with sound modification, which is reduplication involving

vowel sound change on the word base, e.g., *bola-bali* which means doing something repeatedly; (3) partial initial syllabic reduplication, which is constructed by copying the initial syllable of the basic form, and the vowel of the first syllable of the reduplicated form is often changed into schwa /ə/, and if it sounds /ə/ already, it is maintained, e.g., *sesaji* which means offerings; and (4) reduplication combined with affixation, which refers to reduplication involving the addition of affix(es) in the base element, such as *-an*, *sa-/-e*, *ka-/-an*, *-e*, *ka-/-e*, *-in-*, and so on, e.g., *tulung-tinulung* which means helping each other, and *mobil-mobilan* which means artificial car. Wijana (2021) eliminates the partial final syllabic reduplication (which is known as *dwiwasana*) since he considers the base forms are difficult to be recognized, e.g., *mbegagah*, *pecucu*, etc., and their primary forms (*mbegah*, *pecu*, etc.) do not exist in the Javanese language.

In terms of meaning, reduplications can have various kinds, and many depend on the context of the use (Leech, 1983; Wijana, 2021). Sumarlam (2004) proposes eight kinds of the aspectual meaning of Javanese reduplication, namely: (1) iteration, (2) continuation, (3) durative attenuation, (4) durative diminution, (5) iterative reciprocation, (6) habituation, (7) ingression, and (8) continuative intention. Becoming more detail, there are 12 categorizations of the meaning of Javanese reduplication proposed by Wijana (2021): (1) plurality, in which reduplication belongs to noun category that is constructed through full reduplication indicating plurality, e.g., *wit-wit* that means trees, or reduplication in adjective word in which the plurality is suggested by the subject even though it is not grammatically marked, e.g., *mahasiswa pinter-pinter* which means the students are clever; (2) diversity, in which noun reduplication is combined with the suffix *-an* to express variety or diversity, e.g., *woh-wohan* which means a variety of fruits; (3) continuity, in which the basic form of reduplication is a verb, sometimes followed by sound modification, illustrating an action that is done continuously, e.g., *lunga-lunga* /luŋa luŋo/ that means always going out; (4) intensity, which is in the form of reduplication of adjective or verb to express the intensity, e.g., *sacepet-cepete* which means as quickly as possible; (5) attenuation, in which the reduplication of verb can be used to attenuate or reduce the semantic intensity of the action being reduplicated, e.g., *lungguh-lungguh* which means sitting in a relaxed atmosphere; (6) reciprocity, in which the verb or adjective word-base reduplication can be used to illustrate reciprocal work/action, e.g., *nyek-nyekan* which means insulting each other; (7) artificiality, in which the reduplication of noun-base word combined with suffix *-an* can be employed to indicate resemblance or imitation, e.g., *mobil-mobilan* which means fake/toy car, and the context at which the word is used can differentiate this artificiality meaning to the one with the meaning of diversity; (8) collectivity, in which a number-based reduplication with suffix *-e* can indicate collectivity, e.g., *loro-lorone* which means both of them; (9) rate, in which full reduplication of numbers can express rate, e.g., *tamune mlebu loro-loro* which means the guests come in two by two (in pairs); (10) contrast, in which full reduplication of Javanese adjectives, in limited contexts, can also be employed to show contrast, e.g., *cilik-cilik mangane akeh* which means although he is small, he eats a lot; (11) astonishment, in which reduplicative verbs combined with the suffix *-e* are used to express astonishment, e.g., *kober-kobere gawe disertasi, gaweanmu akeh* which means how can you have time to write a dissertation, while you have a lot of works to do; (12) suddenness, in which a complete reduplication of verb of the same structural distribution can be used to express suddenness, e.g., *teka-teka kowe nyalahke aku*, which means you suddenly come then blame me.

Previous studies have been conducted related to reduplication. Ismiati (2021) investigates the types, functions, and morphological processes of reduplication in the Sumbawa Besar dialect from recorded conversations and interviews with native speakers. Her study describes the three types of reduplication found in the Sumbawa Besar dialect: full reduplication, partial reduplication, and reduplication with the phoneme variation. It also discusses the functions of reduplication in the Sumbawa Besar dialect to switch the word classes from an adjective into an adverb and switch the noun words from the singular form to the plural form. Ratu and Maru (2017) describe the forms and



meanings of reduplications in the Mongondow language. The forms include complete reduplication, reduplication of the lid on the word base, reduplication of the initial syllables, and reduplication with affixes. The use of reduplication in the Mongondow language conveys several meanings of actions, such as stating plural indeterminate, stating the meaning of reciprocal work, stating the meaning of collective and distributive items, describing command or advice, describing the continuous intensity, describing the tool/place, describing the superlative, describing 'becoming more', and describing the actions done with pleasure or comfort. Mustafa (2022) focuses on reduplicated patterns and how affixation is treated in reduplication in Acehnese early literary works. The reduplication patterns in Acehnese come in the form of total and partial reduplications involving rhythmic and lexical reduplications. His study sees reduplication as a language formation process in the Aceh language, in which only prefixes *meu-*, *peu-*, and *teu-* are found in the reduplication in this language. Kentner et al. (2022) find that reduplicative morphology contributes to word's affective meaning and esthetic evaluation in German poetic works. They discuss two types of reduplicative patterns: full reduplication and [i-a]-vowel-alternating reduplication, in which their use can increase the perceived euphony, cuteness, and familiarity. Research conducted by Putri (2017) describes the comparison of reduplications found in the Javanese language and the Indonesian language. Her study concludes that both languages have reduplication forms that are related to each other. However, in Javanese, there is a kind of reduplication that brings an entirely different form from its basic form, usually involving sound changes, such as *modhang-medheng* (repeatedly eating) which is derived from the basic form *madhang* which means 'eat'.

Those aforementioned relevant studies mainly focus on the patterns and meanings or functions in specific languages, while only several studies discuss the reduplication found in literary works. Nevertheless, seeing how reduplication is applied in different settings might enrich scientific knowledge in language studies. However, the phenomenon of reduplication in the Javanese language, especially in a literary work like *geguritan*, has not been studied yet. Therefore, this research aims to investigate morphemic reduplication in terms of its kinds and meanings in *geguritan*. The findings of this research are beneficial to see how reduplication is applied in the Javanese literary works and how it is different to the language used in daily conversation.

2 Methods

This research is a descriptive study employing a qualitative research design. The collected data are 525 words indicating reduplication from 133 *geguritan* titles obtained from the anthology of *geguritan* entitled *Cathetan Kanggo Lintang* written by Irul S. Budianto. In collecting the data, the researchers employed the observation and document analysis techniques by repeatedly reading the *geguritans*, then noting and listing the data as native speakers of the Javanese language. Data verification was done by consulting two experts in the Javanese language field. The data were then classified based on the kinds and meanings of reduplication by Wijana (2021). As Wijana affirms that reduplication occurs in words that have primary forms, he eliminates *dwiwasana* since words indicating *dwiwasana*, such as *konang-konang* (firefly), *was-was* (anxious), and *ayang-ayang* (shadow), are considered as complete words that cannot be separated, so they are not categorized as and do not experience reduplication. Moreover, he believes that the sound modification involved in Javanese reduplication occurs on vowels and does not involve changes in consonants like usually found in the Indonesian language (Wijana, 2021), such as *sayur-mayur*, which means various kinds of vegetable. Therefore, this study's data were adjusted to identify words indicating reduplications referring to Wijana. In analyzing the data, the researchers employed an interpretative content analysis technique to transform the qualitative input of the data into quantitative data in order to see more precise indications of the research findings. The instruments involved in this study to collect and analyze the data were the researchers' role as the key instrument.

3 Results and Discussion

This section discusses the findings of the research based on the research questions related to the kinds and meanings of reduplication in the *geguritan* anthology. Of the 157 titles of *geguritan*, 133 contain reduplicative words. In discussing the research result, this section is divided into two. The first subsection presents the kinds of reduplication, and the following subsection elaborates on the meanings found in the *geguritan*.

3.1 The Kinds of Reduplication

Regarding its kinds, reduplication in Javanese can be categorized into four: full reduplication, reduplication with sound modification, partial initial syllabic reduplication, and reduplication combined with affixation.

Table 1. The Kinds of Reduplication in *Geguritan* Anthology of *Cathetan Kanggo Lintang*

No.	Kinds of Reduplication	Number of Occurrence	Percentage (%)
1.	Full reduplication	288	54.85
2.	Reduplication with sound modification	18	3.43
3.	Partial initial syllabic reduplication	121	23.05
4.	Reduplication combined with affixation	98	18.67
Total		525	100

In the research, as presented in Table 1, of the 525 data indicating reduplication, the most frequently used kind of reduplication is full reduplication with 54.85% of occurrence, followed by partial initial syllabic reduplication at 23.05%, reduplication combined with affixation at 18.67%, and reduplication with sound modification at 3.43% of usage. Each of these is presented as follows.

3.1.1 Full Reduplication

Wijana (2021) describes full reduplication as an entire copy of the reduplicated constituents. The constituents can be morphemic bases or complex forms consisting of more than one morpheme which has experienced a morphological process. Most reduplicative words found in the *geguritan* titles are in full reduplication, either in the basic form of the word or in morphologically processed words. Instead of adding special markers like the morpheme *-s/es* in English, the Javanese language employs full reduplication to mark plural nouns, making full reduplication unavoidable for the language to be used. In addition to marking plural nouns, full reduplication can also be used to mark adverbs in the Javanese language. While English can mark adverbs by adding the morpheme *-ly* after an adjective, the Javanese language can use full reduplication of an adjective word instead. For example, the word *alon* means ‘slow,’ and its reduplicative form, *alon-alon*, means ‘slowly.’ The following are examples of the occurrence of full reduplication found in the *geguritan* anthology.

- (1) *marang **kembang-kembang** ing plataran*
‘to the **flowers** in the yard’
- (2) *saiki **alon-alon** disulap dadi sawernane wewangunan*
‘is now **slowly** turned into kinds of building’
- (3) *godhong-godhong kumleyang pating blesar tiba ing plataran*
‘**leaves** are drifting, falling scattered on the yard’
- (4) *nalika wengi sansaya sepi, **lintang-lintang** lumayu mbaka siji*
‘when the night becomes quieter, the **stars** are running one by one’
- (5) *pawongan-pawongan tansah nandhang miris nyawang kumilate thathit*
‘**people** always feel worried seeing the lightning of the thunder’

The words written in bold in examples (1) to (5) are the reduplicative forms of the bases. The base form *kembang*, which means ‘flower,’ is changed into *kembang-kembang* (flowers), the base of

alon, which means ‘being slow,’ into *alon-alon* (slowly), the base of *godhong* which means ‘leaf’ into *godhong-godhong* (leaves), the base of *lintang* which means ‘star’ into *lintang-lintang* (stars), and the base *pawongan* which means ‘figure’ into *pawongan-pawongan* (people or figures). While examples (1), (2), (3), and (4) contain monomorphemic bases being reduplicated, example (5) contains a polymorphemic base, in which its basic form, *pawongan*, is derived from affix *pa-*, a base of *wong* (person), added with the suffix *-an*.

3.1.2 Partial Initial Syllabic Reduplication

The second most used reduplication in the *geguritan* anthology of *Cathetan Kanggo Lintang* is the partial initial syllabic reduplication. As Wijana (2021) believed, it is constructed by copying the initial syllable of the base forms. It is usually marked by the vowel of the first syllable being changed into schwa /ə/. It is also supported by Prasetya and Wuquinnajah (2022), who state that in partial reduplication, the base forms experience reduplication only partially.

- (6) *Sumarah enggal cecawis wedang gula batu*
‘Having self-acceptance immediately **served** with drinks with lump sugar’
- (7) *unine gesrekane gegodhongan krana angin*
‘the sound of the friction of **various kinds of the leaf** because of the wind’
- (8) *rambut dawa lan liring mripate bisa nggogrogake atine jejaka sadesa*
‘her long hair and eyes glance can make the hearts of the **boys** in the whole village fall’

Examples (6), (7), and (8) are some lines from several *geguritans* written by Irul S. Budianto in the anthology, which contain partial initial syllabic reduplication. The reduplicative word *cecawis*, which means ‘serving or making something available,’ is constructed by the base form *cawis*, which means ‘ready or available.’ Its initial syllable, *ce-*, is a result of copying the initial base form, changing the sound into schwa. In addition, *gegodhongan*, which means ‘various kinds of leaf,’ is constructed from the copied initial syllable *go-* changed into *ge-*, *godhong* (leaf), and the suffix *-an*. The reduplicative form *jejaka*, which means ‘boys,’ is constructed by *je-* derived from its copied initial syllable of *ja-*, followed by *jaka* (boy).

3.1.3 Reduplication Combined with Affixation

The third most used reduplication in the *geguritan* anthology is reduplication combined with affixation. Wijana (2021) asserts that reduplication in Javanese is often combined with the affixation process. Various affixes can be involved in the affixation process, including *-an*, *sa-/e*, *ka-/an*, *-ing*, *-e*, *ka-/e*, *di-*, *-in-*, *-um-*, etc.

- (9) *ombak teka sagunung-gunung tansah gulung-gumulung*
‘the waves are coming **as big as the mountain** always **convolving to each other**’
- (10) *njilma kangen sing mesthi disembadani pengin nyandhing prawan sing diimpi-impi*
‘embodied into a longing that must be brought into reality, the desire of accompanying the girl **being dreamt of**’

The use of reduplication combined with affixation is seen in examples (9) and (10). The base form of *sagunung-gunung*, which means ‘as big as the mountains’ in example (9), is *gunung* (mountain), in which the affixation is done by applying the prefix *sa-*. The reduplicative form *gulung-gumulung* is constructed by the base form of *gulung*, which means ‘rolling’ reduplicated with infix *-um-*. In example (10), *diimpi-impi*, which means ‘being dreamt of,’ is constructed by the base form *impi* (dream) with the prefix *di-* in the first part.

3.1.4 Reduplication with Sound Modification

The least used reduplication in the data is reduplication with sound modification. Unlike the Indonesian language, which can have reduplication modification in consonants, the modified sound

in Javanese reduplication is a vowel (Wijana, 2021). He also concerns with two rules in sound modification used in reduplication: (1) the base form is positioned in the second part of the modified constituents, and (2) the vowel of the final syllable of the first part of reduplication must be /a/.

- (11) *sangisore rembulan miyar-miyur*
 ‘under the moon (continuously) **moving flexibly**’
- (12) *tangise simbok sing rumangsa ketar-ketir atine*
 ‘the weeping of mom whose heart **feels worried (continuously)**’

In example (11), *miyar-miyur* (continuously moving flexibly) is constructed from the base form *miyur*, which means ‘flexibly moving’ with a sound modification in the first part of the reduplication from /u/ into /a/. In addition, example (12) presents *ketar-ketir* (continuously being worried) formed by reduplicating the base form *ketir*, which means ‘worried’ with a sound modification of /i/ into /a/ in the first part.

3.2 The Meanings of Reduplication

Reduplication is one of the ways of creating a new word (Sunardi, 2012) to convey certain effects, expressions, or meanings. Wijana (2021) states that reduplicative words' meaning is context-dependent. He divides the meaning of reduplication in Javanese into 12: expressing plurality, diversity, continuity, intensity, attenuation, reciprocity, artificiality, collectivity, rate, contrast, astonishment, and suddenness.

Table 2. The Meanings of Reduplication in Geguritan Anthology of Cathetan Kanggo Lintang

No.	Meanings of Reduplication	Number of Occurrence	Percentage (%)
1.	Plurality	262	49.91
2.	Diversity	88	16.76
3.	Continuity	66	12.57
4.	Intensity	45	8.57
5.	Attenuation	16	3.05
6.	Reciprocity	30	5.71
7.	Artificiality	13	2.48
8.	Collectivity	1	0.19
9.	Rate	4	0.76
10.	Contrast	0	0
11.	Astonishment	0	0
12.	Suddenness	0	0
Total		525	100

As presented in Table 2, of the 12 meanings of reduplication in Javanese proposed by Wijana (2021), only nine meanings are found in the data. The dominantly used meaning is to express plurality, with 49.91% of occurrences, followed by expressing diversity, at 16.76% of occurrences, expressing continuity at 12.57%, expressing intensity at 8.57%, expressing reciprocity at 5.71%, expressing attenuation at 3.05%, expressing artificiality at 2.48%, expressing rate at 0.76%, and expressing collectivity at 0.19%. Meanwhile, the meanings of reduplication expressing contrast, astonishment, and suddenness are not found in the data. Those three meanings deal with the reduplication meanings in the context use of daily conversation. Thus, since the data were taken from *geguritans*, whose language tone is different from the tone used for daily conversation, those three meanings rarely exist in literary work discourse, especially in this research.



3.2.1 Plurality

The most frequently found meaning of reduplication is expressing plurality. The words that belong to this meaning of reduplication are commonly in the form of nouns, although they can also be found in adjectives in some cases.

- (13) *badhut-badhut* turut dalam adol gendhing mbarang sulapan
'the **clowns** walking on the street selling a magic show'
- (14) *tanpa nate nyawang lan nyisihake wanita-wanita* liyane
'without ever seeing and setting other **women** aside'
- (15) *dina-dinaku* mung dakisi tangis
'**my days** are only filled in by weeping'
- (16) *temene ana sing nyisa sawise kokudhal esem tipismu: perih tatu-tatu*
'actually there is something left after you gave your light smile: the poignant **wounds**'
- (17) *pengangen banjur mulur-mulur* marang dina kepungkur
'the thoughts are then **slowly becoming longer (crawling)** to the past days'

In examples (13), (14), (15), and (16), the meaning of reduplication is a plural expression of nouns, in which *badhut-badhut* means 'clowns,' *wanita-wanita* means 'women,' *dina-dinaku* means 'my days' with the addition of *-ku* as a possessive marker, and *tatu-tatu* means 'wounds'. In addition, example (17) shows reduplication meaning of plurality in the form of an adjective, in which *mulur-mulur* means 'becoming longer slowly' derived from *mulur* with a complete or full reduplication. This term can express plurality because the word *mulur-mulur* modifies the noun *pengangen* (thoughts/ideas). The line *pengangen banjur mulur-mulur marang dina kepungkur* infers that the thoughts are crawling slowly to memories.

3.2.2 Diversity

The second most found meaning of reduplication is to show the diversity or variety of something. In noun form, reduplication showing diversity is usually marked by affixation *-an*. In verbal base, the meaning of diversity/variety can be constructed using initial syllabic reduplication involving affixation *-an*.

- (18) *gegodhongan* gogrok kumleyang
'(**various**) leaves fall drifting'
- (19) *ing pucuking wit-witan* ngganter swarane gagak
'on the tip of (**a variety of**) trees, the crow is cawing'
- (20) *rikala geguritan* sing wis dilairake pijer ndhupaki raine dhewe
'When the (**various**) writings born always kick his face'

Examples (18), (19), and (20) show the meaning of a variety of objects written in bold. The reduplicative word *gegodhongan* (a variety of leaf) is derived from a partial initial syllabic reduplication of the noun base *godhong* which means 'leaf' involving the suffix *-an*. The word *wit-witan* (a variety of tree) is a reduplication of the noun *wit* (tree) involving affixation *-an*. The word *geguritan* (a variety of writings) is a result of a partial initial syllabic reduplication of the verbal base *gurit* which means 'to write' involving the suffix *-an*.

3.2.3 Continuity

The third commonly-found meaning of reduplication in the data is to indicate the continuity of an action or something. The base form of reduplication indicating continuity can vary, but the most used ones are in the form of verbs or demonstratives.

- (21) *anakku, yen ana wong lanang kepengin ngelus-elus* ireng rambutmu
'my daughter, if a man wants to **caress (continuously)** your black hair'

- (22) *winih-winih katresnan lan kamanungsan wis **diorak-arik** lakune peradaban*
'the seeds of fondness and humanity have been **continuously stirred up** by the civilization'

Examples (21) and (22) show the continuous actions using reduplication combined with affixation. The word *ngelus-elus* (continuously caressing) in example (21) is constructed by the prefix *ang-* and reduplication of verb base *elus*, which means 'to caress,' while the word *diorak-arik* (being continuously stirred up) in example (22) is constructed by an affixation *di-*, followed by a reduplication with a sound modification of the verb base *arik* that means 'to stir.'

3.2.4 Intensity

The following meaning of reduplication found in the data is to show the intensity of something. The pattern marker of this meaning of reduplication is hard to define, as it depends so much on the context of use.

- (23) *nyendhal ati lanang nganti kumetab **sar-saran***
'attracting the hearts of men until they are **throbbing in shock**'
(24) ***kimplah-kimplah** umbul Pengging*
'the **abundant (amount of water)** Pengging water spring'

In example (23), the reduplicative word *sar-saran*, which means 'throbbing in shock,' is derived from the reduplication of *sar*, which means 'being shocked,' added with the suffix *-an*. It is used to refer to the intensive heartbeat due to the shock. Example (24) shows the reduplication meaning of intensity of quantity by using the word *kimplah-kimplah*, which means 'being abundant/excessive' to refer to the high intensity of quantity of the amount of water in Pengging water spring. It is a form of full reduplication of the word *kimplah*, which means 'being full.'

3.2.5 Reciprocity

The fifth mostly found meaning of reduplication in the data is to show reciprocal actions. It is typical for the reduplication of the verb or adjective bases combined with the suffix *-an* to construct reduplication expressing reciprocal actions. Moreover, some infixes, such as *-in-*, *-um-*, etc., can be combined with verbal bases to construct reduplication showing reciprocity.

- (25) *raseksa-raseksa lan satria lagi **adhep-adhepan***
'the giants and knight are **facing to each other**'
(26) *ombak teka sagunung-gunung tansah **gulung-gumulung***
'the waves are coming as big as the mountain always **convolving to each other**'

Example (25) shows the reduplication of *adhep*, which means 'to face to a certain direction,' combined with the suffix *-an* to form *adhep-adhepan*, which means 'to face to each other.' Example (26) is an example of infix *-um-* in the verb base *gulung*, which means 'convolving or to convolve' to form a reduplication of *gulung-gumulung* which means 'to convolve each other' to refer to the wave.

3.2.6 Attenuation

Attenuation becomes the sixth most found meaning of reduplication in the data. A reduplication process can also aim to attenuate or reduce the semantic meaning of the base word being reduplicated. It means a specific action is done relaxingly or less seriously. It is often marked by a full reduplication of verbs or an initial syllable reduplication.

- (28) *mlayu menyang kamar mancal kemul **rengeng-rengeng** elegi*
'running towards the room kicking the blanket **faintly (relaxingly) singing (in hum)** the elegy'

The reduplication form *rengeng-rengeng*, which means ‘faintly and relaxingly singing in hum,’ is derived from the word *rengeng* which means ‘humming.’

3.2.7 Artificiality

Artificiality represents the tendency to be similar to or the replication of something. The suffix *-an* or prefix *sa-* can be combined with nouns to construct reduplication showing artificiality. In example (27), the reduplicated form *sagunung-gunung*, which means ‘burns’, is derived from the base *gunung*, which means ‘mountain,’ and is used to express the indication of the similarity between the size of the wave and the size of the mountain.

- (27) *ombak teka sagunung-gunung*
‘the waves are coming as **big as the mountain**’

3.2.8 Rate

A full reduplication of numbers in the Javanese language can indicate rate. Example (29) is an example of an expression of rate in the form of reduplicated word *siji-siji* (one by one), derived from the base form *siji*, which means ‘one.’

- (29) *tatkala sing padha teka nenepi ngicir siji-siji ninggal tai-tai*
‘When those who came for meditation go **one by one** leaving excrement’

3.2.9 Collectivity

A full reduplication of numbers added with a suffix *-e* might indicate reduplicative words expressing collectivity. Example (30) shows this kind of meaning of reduplication. The reduplicative form *loro-lorone* (two of them) is derived from the base form *loro*, which means ‘two.’ In this case, the term ‘two of them’ refers to the authority and wealth mentioned before.

- (30) *nalika Dasamuka kumawani nggelar crita panguwasa lan bandha, loro-lorone atunggal sing kudu dijunjung*
‘when Dasamuka was courageous to tell stories of authority and wealth, **both of them** are the things which need to be respected’

The findings of this research identify the absence of three other categories of the meanings of reduplication as proposed by Wijana (2021), namely showing contrast, astonishment, and suddenness, in the *Cathetan Kanggo Lintang geguritan* anthology written by Irul S. Budianto. The use of reduplication to show contrast brings together two things with nonlinear meanings to be compared. An example of this category is *gedhe-gedhe isine sithik*, which means ‘although it is big, it contains only a little substance.’ The reduplicative form of the primary word *gedhe* which means ‘big’ is contrasted to the word *sithik* which means ‘little/few’ (the word *sithik* can be used to refer to both countable and uncountable nouns). The use of reduplication to show astonishment casually adds the suffix *-e* or *-ne* after the reduplicative verbs to react to something considered uncommon, strange, or extraordinary. An example of this category is *gelem-geleme nggawakke tase, kuwi abot*, which means ‘how can you agree to bring his bag, it is heavy.’ The word *gelem* which means ‘agree’ is reduplicated, added with the suffix *-e* to express the feeling of being astonished about the extraordinary condition of someone willing to bring another person’s bag. The speaker of this expression generally knows how the interlocutor usually behaves, or at least has a common understanding of the normal condition, so when it is considered extraordinary, this expression can be used. The last category of reduplication meaning not found in the *geguritan* anthology is the reduplication showing suddenness, marked by a complete reduplication with the same distribution, to refer to an unexpected or sudden condition. An example of this category is *tangi-tangi aku ora eling apa-apa*, which means ‘I suddenly woke up and did not remember anything.’ The word *tangi-tangi* is a reduplicative form of *tangi* which means ‘wake up’. The reduplication form of *tangi-tangi* describes a condition of waking up suddenly. Those

three categories of the meaning of reduplication are considerably used in conversational settings and are less used in literary works due to the directness and casual tones they bring.

Although *geguritan* is considered as modern Javanese poem in which, unlike traditional poems, the poets do not strictly adhere to the poetic rules of language use (Jannah et al., 2022), the poets remain to hold the poetic license which enables them to choose any language style they want freely (Setyawan & Saddhono, 2021). The language styles they choose can emerge as special characteristics in the works they produce. *Geguritan* is characterized by the use of simple and compact language but employs more connotative words to depict and symbolize something that the poets want to express (Setyawan & Saddhono, 2021). Thus, it is clear that *geguritan* has a different way of interpreting the meaning conveyed by the words used in the lines. The words used by the poet sometimes need to be interpreted both denotatively and connotatively to understand the meaning of the poetry involving the context. This is due to the language styles used by the poet and the tendency that poetry associated with the use of beautiful words, in which the richness of the meaning in poetry is obtained from compressing many language elements (Annisa, 2018; Hayati, 2016). Therefore, the words used in *geguritans* often convey a meaning that is contextual and poetical. Bringing the words or expressions commonly employed in daily conversation would make the *geguritans* less poetic, so some categories of the meaning of reduplication are not found in the data.

4 Conclusion

The research findings have revealed four kinds of reduplication used in *geguritan*: full reduplication, reduplication with sound modification, partial initial syllabic reduplication, and reduplication combined with affixation. Regarding the meaning of reduplication, only nine out of 12 categories were found in the data: plurality, diversity, continuity, intensity, attenuation, reciprocity, artificiality, collectivity, and rate. The absence of the three other categories (reduplications expressing contrast, astonishment, and suddenness) is because the language style employed in *geguritan* tends to be more connotative and is different from the language used in daily interaction. In contrast, the categorization made by Wijana and other experts is based on the standard language and language used in the context of daily conversation.

The use of reduplication in *geguritan* as depicted in this research can give different points of view of how reduplication can be applied in the Javanese language, other than in the conversational context. The study investigated the kinds and meanings of reduplication in *geguritan*. However, the data are still limited to the *geguritan* by Irul S. Budianto, while other poets might have different styles in using reduplications in their works. Thus, further studies can be conducted related to the use of reduplication in other literary works. The study can be broadened into investigating the language style used by the poets under the umbrella of stylistics.

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