

Chapter 9

REDUPLICATION

There are various meanings attributed to reduplication in Malay and Indonesian. The reduplication of nouns and pronouns most commonly shows individuality as opposed to unity. The reduplication of adjectives and adverbs shows intensity or emphasis, and the reduplication of verbs, repetitiveness, continuation or generality. Other more restrictive meanings also occur and are included in the discussion which follows. It should be remembered, however, that since reduplication can show a wide variety of meanings, it may not always be possible to distinguish among the various meanings for any one use. More than one of the potential meanings may be possible at any one time.

9.1 Reduplication of nouns (i) Singular and plural meanings

The reduplication of nouns is often interpreted as indicating plurality. In other words, if *pelabuhan* means "port", then *pelabuhan-pelabuhan* means "ports". This, however, is not the case. The nonreduplicated form of the noun may have both singular and plural interpretations depending on its context and use. The true function of noun reduplication is to show individuality within a group. Examine the following utterances.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. <i>Singapura menjadi pelabuhan yang utama di Asia Tenggara.</i></p> <p>Singapore became the main port in Southeast Asia.</p> | <p>1. <i>Singapura menjadi pelabuhan yang utama di Asia Tenggara.</i></p> <p>Singapore became the main port in Southeast Asia.</p> |
| <p>2. <i>Pedagang dari seluruh dunia datang ke pelabuhan Malaysia.</i></p> <p>Traders from all over the world came to Malaysian ports.</p> | <p>2. <i>Pedagang dari seluruh dunia datang ke pelabuhan Indonesia.</i></p> <p>Traders from all over the world came to Indonesian ports.</p> |

Pelabuhan in the two preceding utterances means both "port" and "ports". What is important in the use of nonreduplicated nouns is that the referent is considered unitary. In utterance 2 the Malaysian/Indonesian ports, no matter how many there might be, are seen as a single unit. In other words, in the context of this utterance, all ports are seen as one group.

If the speaker or writer did not wish this meaning to be conveyed, then he or she would reduplicate the noun *pelabuhan*. The intention, then, would be to consider the ports of

Malaysia/Indonesia not as a single unit, but as a number of individual units. It is for this reason that reduplication is said to indicate individuality or variety and not plurality.

3. *Pedagang dari seluruh dunia datang ke **pelabuhan-pelabuhan** Malaysia.* 3. *Pedagang dari seluruh dunia datang ke **pelabuhan-pelabuhan** Indonesia.*

Traders from all over the world came to **(the various different)** Malaysian **ports**.

Traders from all over the world came to **(the various different)** Indonesian **ports**.

This same distinction may be exemplified in other utterances as well.

4. *Rakyat Malaysia terus belajar **bahasa** asing seperti Inggeris, Arab dan Perancis.* 4. *Rakyat Indonesia terus belajar **bahasa** asing seperti Inggris, Arab dan Prancis.*

The people of Malaysia continue to study foreign **languages** such as English, Arabic and French.

The people of Indonesia continue to study foreign **languages** such as English, Arabic and French.

*Rakyat Malaysia terus belajar **bahasa-bahasa** asing seperti Inggeris, Arab dan Perancis.*

*Rakyat Indonesia terus belajar **bahasa-bahasa** asing seperti Inggris, Arab dan Prancis.*

The people of Malaysia continue to study **(a variety of different)** foreign **languages** such as English, Arabic and French.

The people of Indonesia continue to study **(a variety of different)** foreign **languages** such as English, Arabic and French.

5. *Orang asli memakai sedikit pakaian saja yang dibuat daripada **kulit** kayu.* 5. *Orang asli memakai sedikit pakaian saja yang dibuat daripada **kulit** kayu.*

The aborigines wear scant clothing made from tree **bark**.

The original inhabitants wear scant clothing made from tree **bark**.

*Orang asli memakai sedikit pakaian saja yang dibuat daripada **kulit-kulit** kayu.*

*Orang asli memakai sedikit pakaian saja yang dibuat daripada **kulit-kulit** kayu.*

The aborigines inhabitants wear scant clothing made from **(various kinds of)** tree **bark**.

The original inhabitants wear scant clothing made from **(various kinds of)** tree **bark**.

The difference between the two utterances in 4 is that, in the first, the speaker or writer's intention is to group all the foreign languages mentioned as one unit, while in the second it is the intention to treat the languages individually as separate foreign languages and not as a single group. In 5, the first utterance makes the statement that

the aborigines' / original inhabitants' clothing is made from tree bark. It is not indicated whether there is one bark which is used or many. The second utterance gives this additional information and states definitely that various types of bark are used.

9.1 Reduplication of nouns

(ii) Unitary or individual meanings

When using reduplication, it is important to remember the type of information you wish to convey. It is not a question of distinguishing between singular or plural, as mentioned, but of distinguishing between whether something is seen as a unit or as many individual parts. Much Malay and Indonesian writing, particularly translations from English texts, base reduplication on the singular-plural distinction in English and, therefore, use reduplicated forms of nouns where they are completely unnecessary.

The distinction between unitary and individual meaning can be seen clearly in the following utterance.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 6. <i>Wayang kulit memainkan cerita-cerita dari cerita pahlawan Hindu seperti Ramayana dan Mahabarata.</i> | 6. <i>Wayang kulit memainkan cerita-cerita dari cerita pahlawan Hindu seperti Ramayana dan Mahabarata.</i> |
|--|--|

The wayang kulit portrays (**various different**) stories from the stories of Hindu heroes such as the Ramayana and the Mahabarata.

The wayang kulit portrays (**various different**) stories from the stories of Hindu heroes such as the Ramayana and the Mahabarata.

The use of *cerita-cerita* indicates that the stories depicted by the wayang kulit are to be taken as separate and individual. Their origin, however, from the stories of Hindu heroes such as the Ramayana and the Mahabarata, are to be taken as a unit. This is shown by the use of the nonreduplicated form *cerita*. This distinction is not shown formally in English where a plural translation is used for both the reduplicated and nonreduplicated form. The same distinction between unitary and individual is true of the following set of utterances.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 7. <i>Ada banyak kumpulan orang asli yang tinggal di bukit dan hutan Semenanjung Malaysia. Kumpulan-kumpulan yang besar terdiri daripada orang Senoi, Jakun dan Semang.</i> | 7. <i>Ada banyak kelompok penduduk asli yang tinggal di sebelah barat Pulau Sumatera. Kelompok-kelompok yang besar terdiri dari orang di Pulau-pulau Nias, Mentawai dan Enggano.</i> |
|---|--|

There are many **groups** of aborigines who live in the mountains and forests of Peninsular Malaysia. The largest **groups** comprise the Senoi, Jakun and Semang.

There are many **groups** of original inhabitants who live in the western part of Sumatra. The largest **groups** comprise the people of Nias, Mentawai and Enggano Islands.

In the first utterance, the aboriginal peoples are considered together as a single group. In the second they are considered separately. Therefore, in the first utterance, *kumpulan*^M / *kelompok*^L is used in its nonreduplicated form, and in the second, in its reduplicated form.

Reduplication may also be used to disambiguate potentially ambiguous reference.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>8. <i>Kaum Melayu di Malaysia berketurunan orang-orang yang dahulunya berasal dari Malaysia sendiri, dan juga dari Sumatera, Jawa, Sulawesi dan Kalimantan sebelum pulau-pulau itu menjadi wilayah Republik Indonesia.</i></p> | <p>8. <i>Kaum Melayu di Malaysia keturunan orang-orang yang dulunya berasal dari Malaysia sendiri, dan juga dari Sumatera, Jawa, Sulawesi dan Kalimantan sebelum pulau-pulau itu menjadi wilayah Republik Indonesia.</i></p> |
|--|---|

The Malays in Malaysia are descendants of people who originally came from Malaysia itself, and also from Sumatra, Java, Celebes and Borneo before those **islands** became part of Indonesia.

The Malays in Malaysia are descendants of people who originally came from Malaysia itself, and also from Sumatra, Java, Celebes and Borneo before those **islands** became part of Indonesia.

Here, *pulau-pulau* is used to refer to all of the islands which precede it in the list: *Sumatera, Jawa, Sulawesi* and *Kalimantan*. If the nonreduplicated form *pulau* were used, then the utterance could be interpreted so that only the last island, *Kalimantan*, was being referred to and not all of the islands that precede it. While this usage is not incorrect, it leaves the interpretation up to the reader. Such an interpretation will be based on the reader's general knowledge of the situation.

9.1 Reduplication of nouns

(iii) Not used with words of quantity

Since reduplication shows individuality and not unity, reduplicated nouns are not generally used with modifiers of quantity such as *banyak* and *semua* which treat the nouns they modify as a group. This is not an absolute prohibition, but a general tendency, and students will come across exceptions in their reading.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>9. <i>Banyak permainan orang Melayu dibawa dari luar negeri.</i></p> <p>Many Malay games were brought from outside the country.</p> | <p>9. <i>Banyak permainan orang Indonesia dibawa dari luar negeri.</i></p> <p>Many Indonesian games were brought from outside the country.</p> |
| <p>10. <i>Semua rumah di desa biasanya mempunyai halaman yang ditanami dengan tumbuhan-tumbuhan yang berguna.</i></p> | <p>10. <i>Semua rumah di desa biasanya mempunyai halaman yang ditanami dengan tumbuhan-tumbuhan yang berguna.</i></p> |

All of the houses in a village have a garden which is planted with useful plants.

All of the houses in a village have a garden which is planted with useful plants.

9.1 Reduplication of nouns (iv) Not used with numbers

Numbers never directly precede a reduplicated noun. It is possible to say the first utterance of each set in utterance 11, but not the second.

11. *Dua kumpulan orang asli yang tinggal di Semenanjung Malaysia lebih mundur dari yang lain.*

**Dua kumpulan-kumpulan orang asli yang tinggal di Semenanjung Malaysia lebih mundur dari yang lain.*

Two groups of aborigines that live in Peninsular Malaysia are more backward than the others.

11. *Dua kelompok penduduk asli yang tinggal di sebelah barat Pulau Sumatera lebih terbelakang daripada yang lain.*

**Dua kelompok-kelompok penduduk asli yang tinggal di sebelah barat Pulau Sumatera lebih terbelakang daripada yang lain.*

Two groups of original inhabitants that live in the western part of Sumatra are more backward than the others.

It is interesting that even though reduplication indicates individual parts of a group, these parts cannot be counted in the normal way. One would have to say the following if a reduplicated noun is used with a number.

12. *Dua dari kumpulan-kumpulan orang asli yang tinggal di Semenanjung Malaysia lebih mundur dari yang lain.*

Two of the groups of aborigines that live in Peninsula Malaysia are more backward than the others.

12. *Dua dari kelompok-kelompok penduduk asli yang tinggal di sebelah barat Pulau Sumatera lebih terbelakang daripada yang lain.*

Two of the groups of original inhabitants that live in the western part of Sumatra are more backward than the others.

9.1 Reduplication of nouns (v) With the suffix *-an*

Kumpulan is an example of a noun derived from the verb root *kumpul* [to gather together]. The affix *-an* is suffixed to the root to give the noun *kumpulan* [that which is gathered together] or [a group] (see Section 6.3(vii)). It is this derived noun which is then reduplicated: *kumpulan-kumpulan*. While this is the more common type of reduplication, there is another type as well in which the root is first reduplicated, and then derived as a noun when suffixed with *-an*. There may be, however, differences in the preferred forms in Malaysia and Indonesia, and this is mentioned in the discussion which follows.

The verb root *tanam* [to plant] is one example where differences exist in Malaysia and Indonesia. In Indonesia the root is first suffixed with *-an* and then reduplicated, *tanaman-tanaman*, and in Malaysia the root is first reduplicated, and then suffixed with *-an*.

13. *Orang Senoi tidak menggunakan baja untuk menyuburkan **tanaman-tanaman** mereka.* 13. *Orang Mentawai tidak menggunakan pupuk untuk menyuburkan **tanaman-tanaman** mereka.*

The Senoi do not use fertiliser to enrich their **crops**.

The Mentawai do not use fertiliser to enrich their **crops**.

For the verb *tumbuh* [to grow], reduplication and suffixation follow the same pattern in Malaysia and Indonesia. The verb is first reduplicated and then suffixed.

14. *Orang asli percaya semua benda seperti pokok, batu, **tumbuh-tumbuh-an** dan matahari ada penunggu.* 14. *Penduduk asli percaya semua benda seperti pohon, batu, **tumbuh-tumbuhan** dan matahari ada rohnyanya.*

The aborigines believe that all things such as trees, stones, **plants** and the sun have spirits.

The original inhabitants believe that all things such as trees, stones, **plants** and the sun have spirits.

There are a few noun roots which are first reduplicated and then suffixed with *-an*. *Sayur* [vegetable] and *buah* [fruit] are first reduplicated, *sayur-sayur* and *buah-buah* respectively, and then suffixed with *-an*: *sayur-sayuran* and *buah-buahan*.

15. *Orang asli hidup dengan menangkap ikan, memburu, dan memungut **buah-buahan** hutan.* 15. *Penduduk asli hidup dengan menangkap ikan, memburu, dan memungut **buah-buahan** hutan.*

The aborigines live by catching fish, hunting, and gathering the **(various) fruits** of the forest.

The original inhabitants live by catching fish, hunting, and gathering the **(various) fruits** of the forest.

16. *Ada juga orang Hindu yang makan **sayur-sayuran** saja kerana agamanya melarang mereka makan daging segala jenis binatang.* 16. *Ada juga orang Hindu yang makan **sayur-sayuran** saja karena agamanya melarang mereka makan segala jenis daging binatang.*

There are also Hindus who only eat **(various types of) vegetables** because their religion forbids them from eating the flesh of all types of animals.

There are also Hindus who only eat **(various types of) vegetables** because their religion forbids them from eating the flesh of all types of animals.

When *-an* is suffixed to reduplicated nouns, however, the result may not always be a noun indicating individuality or variety. There are certain nouns where this combination of reduplication and suffixation indicates diminution. *Rumah* for examples, means

"house", while *rumah-rumahan* is "a playhouse", or any other small representation of a house. *Kuda* is a "horse", but *kuda-kudaan* is a "rocking horse" or any other smaller version of a real horse.

9.1 Reduplication of nouns (vi) Imitative or rhyming reduplication

Another type of reduplication is sometimes referred to as imitative or rhyming. Most commonly the root is reduplicated with a change in one or more of its vowels or consonants. There are exceptions, however, as the Indonesian utterance in example 18 shows. The function of reduplication is as previously described, to individualise within a group. Imitative or rhyming reduplication is basically nonproductive. This means that a speaker cannot create this type of reduplication as he or she can with the type described above, but can only use the forms that already exist. This type of reduplication is applicable to both nouns and verbs (see Section 9.6(iv)). The following are some common examples.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>17. <i>Tidaklah sopan jika orang muda mengambil nasi dan lauk-pauk sebelum orang tua atau pun tamu.</i></p> <p>It is not polite if young people help themselves to rice and (various different) main dishes before elders or guests.</p> | <p>17. <i>Tidaklah sopan jika orang muda mengambil nasi dan lauk-pauk sebelum orang tua atau pun tamu.</i></p> <p>It is not polite if young people help themselves to rice and (various different) main dishes before elders or guests.</p> |
| <p>18. <i>Dalam pergaulan, biasanya orang mengunjungi sahabat dan saudara-mara.</i></p> <p>In socialising, people usually visit friends and (various) relatives.</p> | <p>18. <i>Dalam pergaulan, biasanya orang mengunjungi sahabat dan sanak-saudara.</i></p> <p>In socialising, people usually visit friends and (various) relatives.</p> |

9.1 Reduplication of nouns (vii) Partial reduplication

There are a few nouns which undergo what is called partial reduplication. Only the first consonant of the root is reduplicated, and to this is added the vowel *e* representing the "schwa" or *pepet* (see Section 1.1). While there has been some revival in the use of this type of affixation to create new vocabulary items, particularly in Malaysia, the process cannot really be considered active. In other words, you may not create reduplicated nouns by using this process, but may only use nouns which already exist in this form.

Three nouns which are commonly reduplicated in this way are *tetangga* [neighbour], *tetamu* [guest], and *lelaki* [man]. These examples do not serve to individualise, although at one time they might have fulfilled this function. *Tetamu* is simply an alternative for *tamu* and *lelaki* an alternative for *laki-laki*. *Tetangga* is the only way to express the meaning "neighbour" using this root. *Tangga* alone means "step" or "stair".

In Malaysia the indefinite pronoun *siapa-siapa* [whoever, anyone] has an alternative form, *sesiapa* which is formed in the same way as the nouns previously described (see Sections 4.5.1(i) and 9.2).

9.1 Reduplication of nouns

(viii) *Para*

The opposite effect of reduplicating a noun to show individualisation is achieved by preceding a noun by *para*. *Para* can only precede nouns that refer to humans, serving to show that the humans referred to are to be considered a group sharing particular characteristics.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 19. <i>Para petani di satu daerah menanam tanam-tanaman mereka pada masa yang sama.</i> | 19. <i>Para petani di suatu daerah menanam tanaman-tanaman mereka pada saat yang sama.</i> |
|---|--|

The farmers in one region plant their crops at the same time.

The farmers in one region plant their crops at the same time.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 20. <i>Para isteri memasak hidangan pulut kuning berlauk telur.</i> | 20. <i>Para istri memasak hidangan ketan kuning berlauk telur.</i> |
|---|--|

The wives cook a dish of yellow glutinous rice served with eggs.

The wives cook a dish of yellow glutinous rice served with eggs.

While *para* is not commonly used, it does serve the purpose of emphasising that what follows is to be considered a group. If this emphasis is not required, *para* would not be used. Utterance 19, for example, would appear as follows without *para*.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 21. <i>Petani di satu daerah menanam tanam-tanaman mereka pada masa yang sama.</i> | 21. <i>Petani di suatu daerah menanam tanaman-tanaman mereka pada saat yang sama.</i> |
|--|---|

Farmers in one region plant their crops at the same time.

Farmers in one region plant their crops at the same time.

9.2 Reduplication of pronouns

When the interrogative or question pronouns are reduplicated they become indefinite. This form of the indefinite pronoun is common in Malaysia. In Indonesia, the reduplicated form is used most commonly in negative utterances, the form with *saja* in positive utterances (see Section 4.5.1(i)). The individualising function of reduplication, as with the nouns presented above, can also be seen with the pronouns.

- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>siapa</i> | who |
| <i>siapa-siapa</i> | whoever, anyone (any one person) |
| <i>tidak siapa-siapa</i> | no one (no one person) |

CHAPTER 9

Siapa boleh masuk ke sini?
Who can enter here?

Siapa boleh masuk ke sini?
Who can enter here?

Siapa-siapa boleh masuk ke sini.
Anyone can enter here.

Tidak siapa-siapa boleh masuk ke sini.
No one can enter here.

2. *apa* what
apa-apa whatever, anything (any one thing)
tidak apa-apa nothing (no one thing)

Mahu minum apa?
What do you want to drink?

Mau minum apa?
What do you want to drink?

Apa-apa boleh.
Anything will do.

Saya tidak mau minum apa-apa.
I don't want to drink **anything**.

3. *mana* which
mana-mana whichever, any which one
tidak ... mana-mana none (no one thing)

Cik mahu yang mana?
Which one do you (Miss) want?

Nona mau yang mana?
Which one do you (Miss) want?

Mana-mana boleh.
Any one will do.

Saya tidak mau yang mana-mana.
I don't want any of them.

4. *mana* where
mana-mana wherever, anywhere (any one place)
tidak ... mana-mana no where (no one place)

Di mana mahu berhenti?
Where do you want to stop?

Di mana mau berhenti?
Where do you want to stop?

Di mana-mana.
Anywhere.

Saya tidak mau berhenti di mana-mana.
I don't want to stop **anywhere**.

5. *bila*^M when
kapan^I when
bila-bila^M whenever, anytime (any one time)
kapan-kapan^I at some time

Bila mahu mula?
When do you want to begin?

Kapan mau mulai?
When do you want to begin?

Bila-bila encik mahu.

Whenever you (Mr.) want to.

Kapan-kapan mampir ke rumah saya.
Kita bisa mulai waktu itu.

Drop by my house **some time**. We can begin then.

9.3 Reduplication of adjectives and adverbs

The reduplication of adjectives and adverbs generally shows intensity or emphasis.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. <i>Orang yang tinggal jauh/jauh-jauh macam Nazir terpaksa naik bus.</i></p> <p>People who live far/very far away like Nazir have to take the bus.</p> | <p>1. <i>Orang yang tinggal jauh/jauh-jauh seperti Nazir harus naik bus.</i></p> <p>People who live far/very far away like Nazir have to take the bus.</p> |
|---|--|

A reduplicated adjective suffixed with *-an* may also show intensity or emphasis.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>2. <i>Dulu perayaan Puja Pantai disambut secara besar-besaran, tetapi sekarang ia dianggap sebagai satu temasya biasa saja.</i></p> <p>Before the festival of Puja Pantai was celebrated in a big way, but now it is considered as just an ordinary event.</p> | <p>2. <i>Dulu perayaan Bersih Pantai disambut secara besar-besaran, tetapi sekarang perayaan itu dianggap sebagai satu tamasya biasa saja.</i></p> <p>Before the festival of Bersih Pantai was celebrated in a big way, but now it is considered as just an ordinary event.</p> |
|---|---|

The meanings indicated by reduplication may be ambiguous. In addition to showing intensity and emphasis, reduplication also has a generalising function (see Section 9.6). In the Indonesian utterance in example 3, *panas-panas* may be interpreted as "very hot" (indicating intensity) or "somewhat hot" (showing generality). We are, however, dealing as much with tendencies in interpreting meaning, as well as with potential ambiguity. In the Indonesian utterance, *panas-panas* would first be interpreted as "somewhat hot" and only subsequently as "very hot" if for some reason the first interpretation did not seem to fit the situation or the context of the conversation. In Malaysia, however, you would get the opposite interpretation. *Panas-panas* would first be interpreted as "very hot" and only subsequently as "somewhat hot". These dominant meanings are shown in the following examples.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>3. <i>Teh Cina dihidangkan panas/panas-panas dan dituangkan ke dalam mangkuk kecil tanpa tangkai.</i></p> <p>Chinese tea is served hot/ very hot and poured into small cups without handles.</p> | <p>3. <i>Teh Cina dihidangkan panas/ panas-panas dan dituangkan ke dalam mangkuk kecil tanpa tangkai.</i></p> <p>Chinese tea is served hot/ somewhat hot and poured into small cups without handles.</p> |
|---|--|

The generalising function of reduplication is quite a common feature of Indonesian. An adjective such as *berani* [brave] when reduplicated to become *berani-berani* means

CHAPTER 9

"somewhat brave" or "having the nerve to do something". *Berani-berani* is not as strong or direct a statement as *berani*.

4. *Orang yang tinggal di seberang jalan saja **berani-berani** bilang dia datang dari jauh!*¹.
Someone who lives just across the street **has the nerve** to say he has come from far!

Reduplication may also have an individualising function (see Section 9.1(ii)). This function further adds to the complexity of determining an exact meaning. We are again dealing with general tendencies in interpreting meaning, as well as potential ambiguity. In the Indonesian utterance in example 5, *cantik-cantik* would probably first be given an individualising interpretation. In the Malaysian utterance, however, the initial interpretation would be intensity or emphasis.

Words are always part of utterances, utterances are part of conversations, and conversations are a part of human communication. Nothing exists in a vacuum, and a proper interpretation of potential meaning will always depend up one's knowledge of what is going on at the present time, and what went on before that.

5. *Orang asli menenun kain sarung yang **cantik/ cantik-cantik**.* 5. *Penduduk asli menenun kain sarung yang **cantik/ cantik-cantik**.*

The aborigines weave sarongs that are **beautiful /very beautiful**.

The original inhabitants weave **beautiful sarongs/ various types of sarongs that are beautiful**.

Ambiguity in interpreting reduplication as intensity or individualisation can also be found with the reduplication of adverbs. The proper interpretation will depend on the full context of the utterances. Both possibilities are discussed in the following examples.

6. *Sebahagian daripada Orang Jakun tinggal di **tepi-tepi** pantai dan sungai.* 6. *Sebahagian Orang Laut tinggal di **tepi-tepi** pantai dan sungai.*

Some of the Jakun live **right on** the coast and the banks of rivers. (OR)
Some of the Jakun live (**at various places**) on the coast and the banks of rivers.

Some of the Orang Laut live **right on** the coast and the banks of rivers. (OR)
Some of the Orang Laut live (**at various places**) on the coast and the banks of rivers.

The first interpretation is intensive or emphatic, indicating that the Jakun/Orang Laut live 'right on' the coast or banks of rivers, and not just 'next to' these places. The second interpretation shows the individualising function, indicating that there may not be just one place on the coast or the rivers where the Jakun/Orang Laut live, but many such places.

The reduplication of adjectives and adverbs prefixed with *ber-* also gives meanings which may be emphatic or individualising.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>7. <i>Biasanya beberapa keluarga orang Senoi tinggal bersama-sama dalam sebuah rumah panjang.</i></p> <p>Usually several Senoi families live together in one longhouse.</p> | <p>7. <i>Biasanya beberapa keluarga orang Ot-Siang tinggal bersama-sama dalam sebuah rumah panjang.</i></p> <p>Usually several Ot-Siang families live together in one longhouse.</p> |
| <p>8. <i>Kesusasteraan kaum India berbeza-beza menurut tempat asalnya.</i></p> <p>Indian literature differs according to its place of origin.</p> | <p>8. <i>Kesusasteraan India berbeda-beda menurut tempat asalnya.</i></p> <p>Indian literature differs according to its place of origin.</p> |

The reduplication of the roots in *bersama* and *berbeza*^M/*berbeda*^I not only serves to individualise the various families in utterance 7 and the various literatures in utterance 8, but also to emphasise that they, respectively, have joined together or are different.

9.4 Reduplication of conjunctions

Intensity or emphasis may also be conveyed by the reduplication of other parts of speech, the conjunction *kalau* [if], for example. *Kalau* simply means "if". *Kalau-kalau* is more emphatic, translating as "if there is the possibility that".

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. <i>Pihak lelaki akan pergi ke rumah ibu bapa si gadis untuk menanyakan kalau-kalau anak perempuan yang hendak dipinang itu sudah bertunang atau belum.</i></p> <p>Representatives of the man will go to the house of the woman's parents to ask if there is the possibility that the daughter he hopes to court is already engaged or not.</p> | <p>1. <i>Pihak laki-laki akan pergi ke rumah orang tua si gadis untuk menanyakan kalau-kalau anak perempuan yang ingin dipinangnya itu sudah bertunangan atau belum.</i></p> <p>Representatives of the man will go to the house of the woman's parents to ask if there is the possibility that the daughter he hopes to court is already engaged or not.</p> |
|--|--|

9.5 Reduplication of numbers and time phrases

(i) Numbers

When numbers are reduplicated, they may also show intensity and emphasis, or individualisation. There may also be some ambiguity involved, with both meanings possible. In utterance 1 emphasis and individualisation are tied together. The emphasis of not living in one place is tied to the individualisation of having more than one place to live.

CHAPTER 9

1. *Orang Semang tidak tinggal lama **di satu tempat/ di satu-satu tempat.***
1. *Penduduk Kepulauan Mentawai sampai belum lama waktu yang lalu, tidak tinggal lama **di satu tempat/ di satu-satu tempat.***

The Semang do not live for a long time **in one place/in any one place.**

The inhabitants of the Mentawai islands, up until recently, did not live for a long time **in one place / in any one place.**

This mixture of emphasis and individualisation may be seen in examples with ordinal numbers as well. The reduplication of ordinal numbers, however, is becoming less common in Indonesia.

2. *Saya bercadang untuk mengunjungi **keempat/ keempat-empat** negara di mana orangnya bertutur bahasa Melayu, iaitu Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei dan Singapura.*
2. *Saya berencana untuk mengunjungi **keempat/ keempat-empat** negara di mana orangnya bertutur bahasa Melayu, yaitu Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei dan Singapura.*

I plan on visiting **the four** countries where people speak Malay, that is Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei and Singapore.

I plan on visiting **the four** countries where people speak Malay, that is Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei and Singapore.

The reduplication of *keempat* serves both to emphasise that there are four countries which are being considered, and also to individualise them within the group.

Intensity or emphasis alone is clearly evident in the following example.

3. *Wayang kulit telah dikenali **beribu-ribu** tahun dulu.*
3. *Wayang kulit telah dikenal **beribu-ribu** tahun yang lalu.*

The wayang kulit has been known for **thousands** of years.

The wayang kulit has been known for **thousands** of years.

9.5 Reduplication of numbers and time phrases

(ii) Time phrases

The reduplication of certain nouns referring to parts of the day may indicate intensity or emphasis. Utterances 4 and 5 show emphasis.

4. ***Pagi-pagi** dia datang hendak keluar memancing.*
4. ***Pagi-pagi** dia datang ingin keluar memancing.*

Early in the morning he comes wanting to go out fishing.

Early in the morning he comes wanting to go out fishing.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>5. <i>Malam-malam</i> abang telepon dan beritahu dia nak sampai pagi ini.</p> <p>Late at night (my) older brother called to say he was arriving this morning.</p> <p>Reduplicated nouns referring to divisions of time such as "day", "week", "month" and "year" may be interpreted as emphatic. They may also, however, be given an interpretation of repetition or continuation which is discussed for verbs in Section 9.6(i).</p> | <p>5. <i>Malam-malam</i> kakak laki-laki telepon dan beritahu dia mau sampai pagi ini.</p> <p>Late at night (my) older brother called to say he was arriving this morning.</p> |
| <p>6. <i>Hari-hari</i> pada musim menuai para petani bekerja di sawah.</p> <p>Every day during the harvest season the farmers work in the rice fields.</p> | <p>6. <i>Hari-hari</i> pada musim panen para petani bekerja di sawah.</p> <p>Every day during the harvest season the farmers work in the rice fields.</p> |
| <p>7. <i>Perayaan Kaamatan</i> boleh berlarutan hingga <i>berminggu-minggu</i>.</p> <p>Celebrations for the Kaamatan festival can go on for weeks.</p> | <p>7. <i>Perayaan Tabut</i> bisa berlarut-larut hingga <i>berminggu-minggu</i>.</p> <p>Celebrations for the Tabut festival can go on for weeks.</p> |

9.6 Reduplication of verbs

(i) Repetitiveness, Continuation, and Generality

The most common meaning of reduplication in verbs is to show repetitiveness, continuation or generality of an action. Examine the following utterance.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. <i>Kaum India</i> melarang seorang ibu memijak bumi, <i>berjalan-jalan</i> dan mengerjakan kerja-kerja berat sepanjang masa berpantang sesudah melahirkan anak.</p> | <p>1. <i>Orang India</i> melarang seorang ibu memijak bumi, <i>berjalan-jalan</i> dan melakukan pekerjaan berat sepanjang waktu berpantang sesudah melahirkan anak.</p> |
|---|---|

The Indians forbid a mother from stepping outside, **walking around**, and carrying out heavy work during the period of abstention after giving birth to a child.

The Indians forbid a mother from stepping outside, **walking around**, and carrying out heavy work during the period of abstention after giving birth to a child.

Compared to *berjalan* which means "to walk", usually to a particular place, *berjalan-jalan* means "to walk around", usually with no particular destination in mind. The reduplication emphasises the repetitiveness of the action, or the generality of having no particular destination in mind. The next examples are similar.

CHAPTER 9

2. *Orang Senoi tidak **merayau-rayau** mencari makanan kerana mereka bercucuk tanam.*

The Senoi people do not **wander around** looking for food because they are farmers.

3. *Ketika diberi nama, bayi yang baru dilahirkan dipangku **bergilir-gilir** oleh orang tua-tua.*

When given a name, the newborn child is held on the lap **in turn** by the older people.

2. *Orang Nias tidak **merayau-rayau** mencari makanan karena mereka bercucuk tanam.*

The Nias people do not **wander around** looking for food because they are farmers.

3. *Ketika diberi nama, bayi yang baru dilahirkan dipangku **bergilir-gilir** oleh orang tua-tua.*

When given a name, the newborn child is held on the lap **in turn** by the older people.

9.6 Reduplication of verbs (ii) Intensity and emphasis

In addition to showing repetitiveness or continuation, the reduplication of verbs may also show intensity or emphasis. In utterance 4, both interpretations are possible. In 5 the intended meaning is most probably emphasis.

4. *Chu Yuan **bercita-cita** untuk mengamankan negeri China, tetapi dia tidak berjaya.*

Chu Yuan **fervently hoped** to bring peace to China, but he did not succeed. (OR) Chu Yuan repeatedly hoped to bring peace to China, but he did not succeed.

4. *Sultan Agung **bercita-cita** merebut Batavia dan mengusir orang-orang Belanda dari bumi Indonesia.*

Sultan Agung **very much hoped** to seize Batavia and drive the Dutch from Indonesian soil.

5. *Budak Melayu dipantangkan melawan atau bercakap **menengking-nengking** kepada ibu bapanya.*

Malay children are forbidden from opposing or speaking **disrespectfully** to their parents.

5. *Anak Indonesia pantang melawan atau berbicara **mendengking-dengking** kepada orang tuanya.*

Indonesian children are forbidden from opposing or speaking **disrespectfully** to their parents.

9.6 Reduplication of verbs

(iii) Immediacy

The reduplication of certain verbs shows immediacy. They carry meanings such as "as soon as" and "at the moment that".

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>6. <i>Sampai-sampai, mereka terus makan.</i></p> <p>As soon as they arrived they ate.</p> | <p>6. <i>Sampai-sampai, mereka langsung makan.</i></p> <p>As soon as they arrived they ate.</p> |
| <p>7. <i>Bangun-bangun saya dengar bang.</i></p> <p>As soon as I woke up, I heard the (Moslem) call to prayer.</p> | <p>7. <i>Bangun-bangun saya dengar bang.</i></p> <p>As soon as I woke up, I heard the (Moslem) call to prayer.</p> |

9.6 Reduplication of verbs

(iv) Imitative or rhyming reduplication

This type of reduplication, discussed for nouns in Section 9.1.6, also applies to verbs. Here the root is reduplicated with a change in one or more of its vowels or consonants. The most common meaning attributed to such reduplication is repetitiveness.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>8. <i>Gerak-geri dalam tarian India terbagi dua.</i></p> <p>The (various) movements in Indian dancing are divided into two (groups).</p> | <p>8. <i>Gerak-gerik dalam tarian India terbagi dua.</i></p> <p>The (various) movements in Indian dancing are divided into two (groups).</p> |
| <p>9. <i>Bas bandaraya pergi bolak-balik dari sempadan ke pusat bandaraya.</i></p> <p>The bus goes back and forth from the city limits to the city centre.</p> | <p>9. <i>Bis kota pergi bolak-balik dari perbatasan ke pusat kota.</i></p> <p>The bus goes back and forth from the city limits to the city centre.</p> |

9.6 Reduplication of verbs

(v) Reciprocity

The final type of reduplication which applies to verbs indicates reciprocity. The verb root is reduplicated, and the reduplicated root is then prefixed with *meng-*. Examples are *tulis-menulis* [to write to one another], *tolong-menolong* [to help one another], and *pandang-memandang* [to observe one another]. Only the last two verbs are exemplified below.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>10. <i>Orang-orang di kampung yang dilanda banjir tolong-menolong supaya cepat memulihkan keadaan mereka.</i></p> <p>People in the villages hit by floods help one another so that they can quickly improve their situation.</p> | <p>10. <i>Orang-orang di kampung yang dilanda banjir tolong-menolong supaya cepat memulihkan keadaan mereka.</i></p> <p>People in the villages hit by floods help one another so that they can quickly improve their situation.</p> |
| <p>11. <i>Kedua-dua pahlawan pandang-memandang hendak mencapai peluang untuk menerkam.</i></p> <p>The two heroes observed each other looking for an opportunity to strike.</p> | <p>11. <i>Kedua jagoan pandang-memandang untuk mencapai peluang menerkam.</i></p> <p>The two heroes observed each other looking for an opportunity to strike.</p> |

9.7 Reduplication resulting in idiomatic expressions

There are also reduplications which have come to mean something different from the nonreduplicated root. *Berhati*, for example, means basically "to be inclined to act in a particular way", while *berhati-hati* means basically "to be careful". Although it is possible to see how the two forms might be related, they function in essentially different ways.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. <i>Berhati-hatilah supaya tidak jatuh. Licin di atas.</i></p> <p>Be careful so that you don't fall. It is slippery up there.</p> | <p>1. <i>Berhati-hatilah supaya tidak jatuh. Licin di atas.</i></p> <p>Be careful so that you don't fall. It is slippery up there.</p> |
| <p>There are other examples as well. <i>Jangan</i> means "don't", while <i>jangan-jangan</i> means "let it not be" or "(I) hope not"; <i>diam</i> means "quiet", while <i>diam-diam</i> means "in secret" or "on the sly", and <i>tiba</i> means "to arrive" while <i>tiba-tiba</i> means "suddenly". The following utterances exemplify these uses.</p> | |
| <p>2. <i>Jangan-jangan dia datang sebelum kita pergi.</i></p> <p>(I) hope he doesn't arrive before we go.</p> | <p>2. <i>Jangan-jangan dia datang sebelum kita pergi.</i></p> <p>(I) hope he doesn't arrive before we go.</p> |
| <p>3. <i>Diam-diam orang itu keluar dari rumah.</i></p> <p>Secretly that man came out of the house.</p> | <p>3. <i>Diam-diam orang itu keluar dari rumah.</i></p> <p>Secretly that man came out of the house.</p> |
| <p>4. <i>Tiba-tiba hujan.</i></p> <p>Suddenly it rained.</p> | <p>4. <i>Tiba-tiba hujan.</i></p> <p>Suddenly it rained.</p> |