

THE FUNCTIONS OF REDUPLICATION IN INDONESIAN*

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Précis:

In this paper a conceptual framework for the functions of reduplication is given. These functions are: 1) diffuseness, or indefiniteness, 2) simile, and 3) intensity or the idea of approaching a limit. The different types of diffuseness are: subject reduplication, multiple actor and reciprocal verbs; verbs with multiple goals; aspectual reduplication, or repetitiveness and continuousness; multiple locations and lexical decomposition. It is demonstrated through the use of the redundancy test that reduplication is used to indicate diffuseness and not plurality. The second function, simile, deals with words that mean "to be like something", "to pretend to be like something", and metaphor. (The former two are not discussed here since they have been discussed in another paper.) There are three types of metaphor. They include cases in which: 1) the concrete meaning of an attributive is used non-literally, 2) the action of verb is applied non-literally, and 3) animal terms are used to refer to people. The third function is intensity. A definition of reduplication, which it is hoped will be useful for typological studies, is given.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Reduplication has three basic semantic functions in Indonesian: 1) Distributive Force or Indefiniteness (which can also be called Diffuseness), 2) Simile, and 3) Intensiveness. Distributive force involves cases in which the goal of the verb is not definite, and indefinite pronouns like "someone" and "anyone" which do not refer to a specific person. Simile involves cases in which the verb means "to be like something" or "to pretend to be like something" which contain the idea that the subject is not really the something referred to. Intensiveness includes cases that convey the idea of approaching a limit (se-adj-adj-nya 'as adjective as possible'). I should like to suggest, although it is not the purpose of this paper to prove it, that these three functions--distributive force, simile and intensiveness--are really manifestations of the same underlying process in which diffuseness and negation are intrinsically related, and that diffuseness, negation and the idea of approaching a limit (not quite attaining a certain state or being a certain thing) are semantic products of reduplication.

Reduplication also has other grammatical functions in various Austronesian languages, and specifically has the function of creating "adverbs" in Indonesian. An example of this type is as follows:

- (1) Ia masuk diam-diam
she enter quiet RED
'She enters quietly.'

The unreduplicated form of sentence (1) is not acceptable, as can be seen in sentence (2):

- (2) *Ia masuk diam
she enter quiet
'*She enters quiet.'

The word diam 'quiet' must be reduplicated in this context. Examples of this type will not be dealt with here because of lack of space, and because many of these grammatical functions, i. e. functions which involve changing the particular class to which a word belongs, do not involve the problems of semantics with which I propose to deal.

1.1 Definition of Reduplication

In this paper we should like to make the distinction between functional reduplication and accidental reduplication. Functional reduplication is that in which the word base is completely or partially reduplicated and the form produced has a semantic relation to one of the three functions of reduplication mentioned above. Accidental reduplication is that in which the word base is reduplicated, but there seems to be no semantic relation to the three functions of reduplication above. There are forms such as se-olah-olah 'as if', se-akan-akan 'as if', and ber-pura-pura 'pretend' which do not seem to be derived from the words olah 'manner', akan 'will' or pura 'bag', and therefore some linguists would say that these are not true cases of reduplication (Soenjono Dardjowidjojo personal communication). However, since these forms seem to have a strong semantic relation with other verbs which when reduplicated have the meaning "to pretend", we include them in the category of functional reduplication. (This point is discussed in more detail in "Reduplication and Negation in Indonesian," section 4.2, NUSA, volume 4, pp. 1-14, 1977.) There are, however, other words which refer to animals which are frequently reduplicated in Indonesian, such as kunang-kunang 'firefly' and kupu-kupu 'butterfly'. We would not include these in functional reduplication, but would rather put them under the category of accidental reduplication, because 1) there seems to be no semantic relation between these words and the three functions of reduplication mentioned above, and 2) similar words for animals are not reduplicated in other Indonesian languages (the Javanese word for "butterfly" is kupu and some Florenese languages do not seem to reduplicate terms for animals, for example.)

1.2 Typological Note

I should like to suggest that functional reduplication may be useful in typological studies of the Austronesian languages, since it seems to be a widely occurring grammatical process which, as far as I know, has similar functions in many languages of the Malayo-Polynesian family. Other reduplicated forms which do not conform to functions 1), 2) and 3) of reduplication mentioned above also occur in many languages of the world, but in the opinion of this writer such accidental forms would probably not be as widespread nor as useful as functional reduplication for typological and comparative purposes.

In the first section of this paper I will discuss the distributive function of reduplication in a framework in which the agent or actor, the direct object, locative and time statements are conceived of as NP's related to the verb, or as arguments of the verb. When reduplication applies to the verb, one of these various aspects becomes diffuse, depending on which

argument of the verb is affected by the reduplication process.

In the second section of this paper we will discuss a function of reduplication, which can be called "simile". This function can be manifested in Indonesian by different combinations of grammatical processes. One process is that in which the affix pair ke- -an and reduplication are applied to concrete nouns and adjectives, the second is that in which reduplication and the affix -an are applied to concrete nouns. These two types of reduplication are similar to the English forms "pseudo-noun", "-ish", and "to pretend to do or be verb". The use of reduplication in forming metaphors will also be discussed in this section.

In the third section we will discuss intensive functions of reduplication, which include: 1) so-called "adverbial" forms which give a superlative or intensive sense to the verb and 2) forms in which a sense of intensity or emotional immediacy is conveyed.

2.0 DISTRIBUTIVE FORCE

In this section we propose to illustrate the first function of reduplication as it manifests itself in a relatively straight forward way. In these cases when reduplication is applied to a verb, it has the function of either making the immediate arguments of the verb either multiple or diffuse. The possible arguments (or related NP's) a verb can have are the agent or actor, the direct object, a statement of time or aspect, objects which are incorporated into the basic meaning of the word (which would be implied by the lexical decomposition of the word.)¹

2.1 Subject Reduplication: Reciprocal or "Multiple Actor" Verbs

When reduplication applies in such a way that the subject is the argument affected, the result will be a reciprocal or "multiple actor" verb. The following is an example of a "multiple actor" verb:

- (3) Kelompok anak itu ber-sembur-sembur-an.
group child that spray spit RED
'That group of children is spraying spit together.'

We can also say:

- (4) Kelompok anak itu sembur-menyembur.
group child that spray spit RED RECIP
'That group of children is spraying spit at each other.'

Examples (5), (6), (7) and (8) indicate that either verb-men-verb or ber-verb-verb--an may be used for multiple actor verbs.

- (5) Mereka peluk-memeluk.
they embrace RED RECIP
'They embrace each other.'
- (6) Mereka ber-peluk-peluk-an.
they embrace RED
'They embrace each other.'
- (7) Mereka saing-mensaing-i.
they compete RED
'Two people or two groups of people compete.'

- (8) Mereka ber-saing-saing-an.
they compete RED
'Two or more people (or groups of people) compete'

Another example in which the reduplication of the verb conveys the meaning that there are many actors is (9).

- (9) Saya dapat melihat dengan jelas orang
I can see with clear person
itu, karena sama sekali tidak ada
that because at all not exist
yang meng-aling-aling-i.
which block RED

'I can see that person clearly, because none of a number of possible things is blocking the way.'

For contrast let us look at sentence (10) which is the unreduplicated form of (9).

- (10) Saya dapat melihat dengan jelas orang
I can see with clear person
itu, karena sama sekali tidak ada
that because at all not exist
yang mengalingi.
which block

'I can see that person clearly, because nothing is blocking the way.'

Both (9) and (10) mean "I can see that person clearly, because there is nothing blocking the way". However, in (9) the reduplicated form conveys the idea that there could be many things blocking the way, whereas in (10) the unreduplicated verb tells us that there could only be one thing blocking the way. The contrast of a reduplicated and an unreduplicated verb in the same sentence-frame is taken as evidence that what is claimed above, i. e. that reduplication conveys the idea that there are many actors, is the actual function of reduplication in that particular environment or context. Therefore, substitution of reduplicated and unreduplicated forms in the same sentence-frame is used in this paper as a criterion for proof.

2.2 Verb with Multiple Goals

Reduplication can be used to give the meaning that the verb has multiple goals. In the following sentence (sentence (11)) reduplication with vowel variation conveys the meaning that the cane has many curves in it, whereas the unreduplicated verb in sentence (12) conveys the meaning that the verb has only a single goal.

- (11) Tongkat itu bengkok-bengkok.
cane that curvy RED
'That cane is crooked.'
- (12) Tongkat itu bengkok.
cane that curve
'That cane has a single curve in it.'

2.3 Redundancy Test

People often seem to think that the reduplication of nouns makes those nouns plural. This idea is not quite accurate. Reduplication of a noun tends to make the number associated

with the noun diffuse or indefinite. In order to support this point we will apply below what I call the redundancy test. The purpose of this test is to try to ascertain whether a grammatical process has a particular function by making this function lexically explicit in a sentence. Let us combine sentence (11) with a specific statement of number and see what the result will be.

- (13) *Tongkat itu bengkok-bengkok tiga tempat.
cane that curve RED 3 place
'That cane is curved in three places.'

We can see from sentence (13) that the function of reduplication in sentence (11) is indeed diffuseness or indefiniteness, since reduplication cannot occur in this case with a number that indicates the specific number of curves that occur in the cane. The unreduplicated form can occur, however, with a specific statement of number as is illustrated in sentence (14)

- (14) Tongkat itu bengkok tiga tempat.
cane that curve 3 place
'That cane is curved in three places.'

The same contrast between reduplicated and unreduplicated forms of the verb can be seen in the following sentences.

- (15) Meja ini ber-tonjol.
table this bump
'This table has a single bump in it.'

The unreduplicated form of the verb is used to refer to a single item.

- (16) Meja ini ber-tonjol-tonjol.
table this bump RED
'This table is bumpy.'

The reduplicated form is used to refer to an indefinite number of bumps.

- (17) *Meja ini ber-tonjol-tonjol tiga.
table this bump RED 3
'This table has three bumps in it.'

As in sentence (13) above the reduplicated form cannot occur with a specific statement of number.

The redundancy test may have two results. 1) A sentence may become completely unacceptable as in (13) and (17) above. 2) Another result of the redundancy test can be a change in the emphasis and intonation of a sentence, and recognition by speakers of the language that the sentence is redundant, but in an acceptable fashion. This is what happens in the following sentence where a specific statement of number can occur with reduplication when it is used to indicate repetition.

- (18) Ia meng-geleng-geleng-kan kepalanya
he shake RED head-his
tiga kali menandakan ia tidak setuju.
three time show he not agree
'He shook his head repeatedly three times to indicate he did not agree.'

The redundancy test seems to indicate that there is an

absolute incompatibility between reduplication and definite number to indicate plurality, but aspectual redundancy can be combined with definite number without the complete loss of grammaticality.

2.4 Aspectual Reduplication: To do something many or several times

Reduplication of the word-base can also mean to do something many or several times. This can be taken as an example of the property of distributive force applying to the time argument of the verb.

- (19) Ia meng-geleng-geleng-kan kepalanya
she shake RED head-her
menandakan ia tidak setuju.
show she not agree
'She shook her head several times to indicate that she did not agree.'

If the verb in (19) is not reduplicated, there will be no idea of repetition associated with it, as is illustrated in sentence (20).

- (20) Ia meng-geleng-kan kepalanya
she shake head-her
menandakan ia tidak setuju.
show she not agree
'She shook her head once to indicate she did not agree.'

The same holds true for examples (21) and (22).

- (21) meng-ungkit-ungkit
pry open RED
'to pry open several times'

- (22) meng-ungkit
pry open
'to pry open once'

The use of reduplication to indicate repetition and continuousness is very productive in Indonesian.

2.5 Locative Aspect of the Verb: Reduplication implies alternation in the direction of the action of the verb

When reduplication is applied to the locative facet of the underlying meaning of the verb, it often implies alternation in the direction of the action. Some examples follow:

- (23) Dia mencoba meng-unggut-unggut
he try shake loose RED
tanaman itu supaya dapat
plant that so that be able
dicabutnya.
to be pull(ed) up
'He tried to loosen that plant by shaking it back and forth several times, so that it could be pulled up.'

The use of the reduplicated verb in (23) conveys the idea that the subject is working the plant back and forth so

that it can be pulled out of the ground. If the verb is not reduplicated, the idea conveyed is that the action of shaking occurred just once and there was no back and forth movement of the plant.

- (24) Dia mencoba meng-unggut tanaman itu
 he try shake loose plant that
 supaya dapat dicabutnya.
 so that be able to be pull(ed) up
 'He tried to loosen that plant by shaking it (once), so that it could be pulled up.'

Other examples in which the reduplication of the verb implies alternation of direction (having multiple locations as the "goal" of the verb) are as follows:

- (25) Saya me-nimbang-nimbang buku itu.
 I weigh RED book that
 'I am testing the book's weight by moving it up and down.'
- (26) Saya menimbang buku itu.
 I weigh book that
 'I weigh the book.'

In sentence (25) the use of the reduplicated verb conveys the idea that the book is being moved up and down to test its weight. There is no such idea of movement in sentence (26).

- (27) Sakit itu ber-pindah-pindah.
 sick that move RED
 'That illness moved to many different places on a person's body.'
- (28) Sakit itu ber-pindah.
 sick that move
 'That illness spread.'

Again in (27) reduplication gives the idea that the action of the verb has many locations, whereas this idea is not conveyed in (28).

2.6 Lexical Decomposition: Objects or arguments seem to be incorporated into the basic meaning of the verb

Examples in which arguments or objects seem to be incorporated into the basic meaning of the word are:

- (29) Mereka datang ber-ratus-ratus.
 they come hundred RED
 'They come in hundreds.'
- (30) Gedung itu ber-tingkat-tingkat.
 building that level RED
 'That building has many stories.'

These and other examples of this type could be analyzed by the lexical decomposition of the word.

2.7 Indefiniteness or Diffuseness

The discussion thus far has been made with the intention of giving the reader some uncomplicated examples of the

various ways in which "distributive force" can manifest itself in the different arguments of the verb. In this section we will give some examples which indicate that "distributive force" is related to "diffuseness" or "indefiniteness". We should like to make the following points in this section: 1) As mentioned on page 2, diffuseness is not the same as plurality, and the function of reduplication in Indonesian is not to mark the plural. Reduplication of a noun does not mean the noun is plural, but diffuse. This fact can be clearly seen in the following example (sentence (32)) where reduplication cannot be used with a specific number marking the plural:

- (31) Ia mempunyai tiga anak.
 she have three child
 'She has three children.'
- (32) *Ia mempunyai tiga anak-anak.
 she have three child RED
 *'She has three children.'

(These examples correspond to examples (13), (14), (16) and (17).) 2) Reduplication is used to form indefinite pronouns, such as siapa-siapa 'whoever' and ke-mana-mana 'everywhere'. 3) When speaking of verbs, diffuseness can mean the action is done without serious intent, indirectly or that the action is done in a somewhat random way. For example, in (33) the person goes directly to his goal, but in (34) the person takes a round-about way and his actual purpose might not be to go to the market at all, but he could really intend to use walking as a medium for meditation or relaxation.

- (33) Ia ber-jalan ke pasar.
 she walk to market
 'She walks to the market.'
- (34) Ia ber-jalan-jalan ke pasar.
 she walk RED to market
 'She is taking a stroll to the market.'

The relation of reduplication to definiteness can be seen by two additional facts: 1) As seen in sentences (13) and (32), reduplicated forms are sometimes completely incompatible with grammatical items, such as numbers, which make words specific. This is also true with certain verbs whose meaning becomes "diffuse" when reduplicated. An example would be mem-beli which when unreduplicated means "to buy", and which when reduplicated (mem-beli-beli) means "to go shopping". The diffuse form cannot be used with a specific object, as is illustrated in sentence (35).

- (35) *Ia mem-beli-beli tiga barang.
 she buy RED three thing
 *'She goes shopping for three things.'
- (36) Ia mem-beli tiga barang.
 she buy three thing
 'She bought three things.'

In sentence (36) above we can see that the unreduplicated form of the verb beli can take an object. 2) Just as there are cases where a reduplicated verb cannot take an object, as in sentence (37) below, conversely there are cases

where an unreduplicated verb must have an object, as in (41).

(37) *Ia mem-buat-buat kursi.
 he make RED chair
 *'He makes (repetitive or diffuse) a chair.'

(38) Ia mem-buat kursi.
 he make chair
 'He makes a chair.'

In the following sentence the reduplicated verb can occur without an object.

(39) Dia me-raba-raba dalam gelap.
 he grope RED in dark
 'He gropes in the dark.'

The unreduplicated verb in sentence (40) must have an object. Since there is no object, the sentence is unacceptable.

(40) Dia me-raba dalam gelap.
 he grope in dark
 'He gropes in the dark.'

If the unreduplicated form of the verb is followed by an object, the resulting sentence will be acceptable.

(41) Saya me-raba benda itu dalam gelap.
 I feel thing that in dark
 'I feel that thing in the dark.'

The examples above suggest that many reduplicated forms cannot take specific grammatical objects.

3.0 SIMILE

In the first section of this paper we discussed the first function of reduplication, i. e. "distributive force", as it relates to multiple and reciprocal subjects, the possession of non-specific properties (such as bumpiness in sentences (15), (16) and (17)), repetitiveness, alternation in the direction of the action of the verb and diffuseness. There are many cases in which the reduplication of a word tends to give the word a meaning like "to be like something" or "to pretend to be like something". Since forms of this type have already been discussed extensively in another paper ('Reduplication and Negation in Indonesian' section 3 and 4, NUSA volume 4, pp. 1-14), we will not discuss them again here but will confine our discussion here to metaphor which is a type of simile.

3.1 Metaphor

In this section we will discuss the relation between reduplication and metaphor, which often seem to be associated in Indonesian. Metaphor can be regarded as a negation of the literal meaning of a word, so that it can be extended to non-concrete contexts in which a word can be used. Metaphor and simile seem to be manifestations of a similar phenomenon. The negation of the non-literal meaning of a word in metaphor is mentioned by Bolinger (in George Lakoff, "Hedges: A Study in Meaning Criteria

and the Logic of Fuzzy Concepts", in Papers from the Eighth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, pp. 197-198.)

There seem to be three types of metaphoric usage of verbs in Indonesian: 1) those cases in which the concrete meaning of an attributive is used in a non-literal context. In these cases the non-reduplicated form of the verb can be used in the same sentence frame in which the metaphoric usage occurs, but cannot have the same meaning. For example:

(42) Matanya ber-kaca-kaca.
 eye-his glass RED
 'His eyes shone with tears.'

(43) *Matanya ber-kaca.
 eye-his glass
 *(sentence has no meaning).

(44) Matanya ber-nyala.
 eye-his shine
 'His eyes are fiery.'

(45) Matanya ber-nyala-nyala.
 eye-his shine RED
 'His eyes are brightened in anger.'

2) The second type of metaphoric usage is that in which the action of the verb is applied in a non-literal sense.

(46) Saya harus mencuri untuk dapat
 I must steal for-to be able
 membaca buku cabul.
 read book pornographic
 'I have to steal the pornographic book in order to read it.'

Sentence (46) is an example in which the unreduplicated verb curi 'steal' must be interpreted literally. If the m-verb in this context is reduplicated, it takes on a non-literal meaning, as can be seen in sentence (47).

(47) Saya harus men-curi-curi untuk
 I must steal RED for-to
 dapat membaca buku cabul.
 be able read book pornographic
 'I am trying to read this pornographic book stealthily without being observed.'

Sentence (48) is similar in its metaphorical properties to sentence (47). Please notice that (49), the unreduplicated form of (48), is unacceptable.

(48) Dia ber-lari-lari anjing.
 he run RED dog
 'He trots (runs like a dog does).'

(49) *Dia ber-lari anjing.
 he run dog
 *(no meaning).

3) Another type of metaphor is one in which there seem to be fixed terms that attribute certain properties of

plants or animals to people. There are many such uses of animal and food terms in English, for example: "He's a real fruitcake." Edmund Leach has written an article on "Anthropological Aspects of Language: Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse," (in Eric Lenneberg, ed., New Dimensions in the Study of Language) in which he also deals with this idea. Some examples of this type are as follows:

- (50) Panas-panas tahi ayam.
hot RED shit chicken
'Hot as chicken shit.'

Sentence (50) means something is hot one moment and cool the next.

- (51) Dia malu-malu kucing.
he shy RED cat
'He acts shy, but he's as sassy as a cat.'

Sentence (51) is a mild insult and is used in teasing.

- (52) Dia jinak-jinak merpati.
she tame RED dove
'She's as tame as a dove.'

Sentence (52) can also mean "she seems easy to get, but if you really want to have her, she doesn't want you". This is closer to praise than to being an insult. In the examples above, the properties mentioned could be contradictory in that the person discussed seems to be one way, yet really is another, or they could also be regarded as multiple properties in that the person discussed has multiple facets.

There are many questions about metaphor, i.e. the choice of animals used, the formation of metaphor and the restrictions on metaphor in Indonesian, and also restrictions on the predictability and productivity of metaphor, which we cannot go into here. In addition to the examples given above many onomatopoeic words and words for tools seem to be based on a metaphoric extension of the meanings of their word bases. For reasons of time and space these will also have to be omitted here.

4.0 INTENSIVENESS: Introduction

In the preceding sections we have discussed the first two functions of reduplication which were mentioned on the first page of this paper, i.e. distributive force and simile. In this section we will briefly discuss the third function of reduplication, intensiveness. There are several different ways in which reduplication occurs with this function: 1) the reduplication of "adverbial" forms which give a superlative on intensive sense to the verb. Examples of this type are habis-habis-an 'completely', and se-adjective-adjective-nya or se-modal-modal-nya which means "as adjective as possible" or "as modal as possible". These examples seem to represent the idea of approaching a limit, but not quite reaching it. 2) Another type of emphasis is that in which the verb is reduplicated and a sense of intensity or emotional immediacy is conveyed. 3) Reduplication can be used to convey annoyance and the sense that events are contrary to the speaker's expectation.

4.1 "Adverbial" Forms are Reduplicated and Indicate the Idea of Approaching a Limit

Some examples of this type are as follows:

- (53) Ia bekerja habis-habis-an.
she work finish RED
'She's using all her energy on her work.'

Some speakers prefer (54) or (55) to (53). This seems to be a matter of the choice of one particular lexical item instead of another.

- (54) Ia bekerja sungguh-sungguh.
he work really RED
'He's really working.'

- (55) Ia bekerja mati-mati-an.
she work die RED
'She's working for dear life.'

One may ask, "How are these forms related to the idea of approaching a limit?" Sentences (53) and (55) could be paraphrased as "she is working so hard she has almost used up all her energy" and as "she is working so hard she is almost dead", respectively. If the person worked an infinitesimal amount more, she would reach another state, i.e. death. However, the state indicated by the adjective is never quite reached. (Therefore, these forms seem also to have a sense of negation in them.)

Another similar example is given in sentence (56).

- (56) Tak habis-habis-nya ia makan.
no finish RED he eat
'There's no end to his eating.'

According to Harimurti Kridalaksana, an Indonesian linguist, forms of the type se-adj-nya, se-adj-adj-nya, se-adj mungkin ('possible') and adj-adj have the same meaning, i.e. "as adjective as possible". There may be some exceptions to this statement, however. If we look at the forms se-modal-modal-nya and se-modal-nya, we will see that they do not always have the same meaning, as is illustrated in sentences (57) and (58).

- (57) Perhatikanlah gambar itu se-bisa-bisa-nya.
pay attention to picture that able RED
'Pay attention to that painting as much as you are able.'

- (58) Perhatikanlah gambar itu se-bisa-nya.
pay attention to picture that able
'Pay attention to that painting whenever you can, whenever circumstances permit you.'

In (57) the reduplicated form seems to be associated with a root or personal modal, whereas the unreduplicated form seems to be associated with an epistemic or impersonal modal.

In the examples that follow a relation can be seen between reduplicated forms and the superlative degree:

- (59) Se-tinggi-tinggi-nya pangkat yang bisa
high RED level which able

dicapai oleh seorang keluaran
 be reach(ed) by person graduate
 sekolah rendah biasanya hanyalah
 school low usually only-emph. pt.
 sampai penilik saja.
 reach inspector just
 'The highest level that a graduate of grammar school can achieve is usually only that of inspector.'

The meaning of sentence (59) is the same as that of (60).

(60) Paling tinggi pangkat yang bisa
 most high level which able
 dicapai oleh seorang keluaran
 be reach(ed) by person graduate
 sekolah rendah biasanya hanyalah
 school low usually only
 sampai penilik saja.
 reach inspector just
 'The highest level that a graduate of grammar school can achieve is usually only that of inspector.'

In the example that follows the reduplicated adjective has the same meaning as the adjective that occurs with the word terlalu 'too', provided that the sentence is a negative imperative.

(61) Janganlah mengangkat anak bayi itu
 do not lift child baby that
 tinggi-tinggi.
 high RED

'Don't lift that baby too high.'

(62) Janganlah mengangkat anak bayi itu
 do not lift child baby that
 terlalu tinggi.
 too high

'Don't lift that baby too high.'

(61) and (62) have the same meaning. In the context of the negative imperative tinggi-tinggi is equivalent to terlalu tinggi 'too high'. An example in which the adjective itself can be reduplicated and get the meaning "very adjective" is as follows:

(63) Keluarga saya semua sehat-sehat.
 family I all healthy RED
 'My family is all really fine.'

The unreduplicated form of the verb does not have an intensive meaning.

(64) Keluarga saya semua sehat.
 family I all healthy
 'My family is all healthy.'

4.2 Verb Reduplication Conveys Emotional Intensity or Immediacy

Simple intensity or emotional immediacy can be conveyed

by reduplication. In the following sentence the unreduplicated verb conveys the sense of a neutral statement, whereas the reduplicated form (66) is more intensive.

(65) Hukum tidak akan mem-beda-kan
 law not fut. -distinguish
 orang berkulit hitam dan orang
 people skin black and people
 yang berkulit putih.
 who skin white

'The law does not distinguish between people whose skins are black and those whose skins are white.'

(66) Hukum tidak akan mem-beda-beda-kan
 law not fut. distinguish RED
 orang berkulit hitam dan orang
 people skin black and people
 yang berkulit putih.
 who skin white

'The law does not distinguish between people whose skins are black and those whose skins are white.'

Examples (67) and (68) are similar to (65) and (66).

(67) Saya meng-harap-kan kedatangannya.
 I expect coming-his
 'I hope he will come.'

(68) Saya meng-harap-harap-kan kedatangannya.
 I expect RED coming-his
 'I am really hoping he will be coming.'

Sentences (67) and (68) are both presuppositionally neutral, i.e. the complement sentence is not presupposed to be either true or false in either sentence and the speaker does not actually know whether the person spoken about will come or not. However, these two sentences differ in that (67) is just a statement, whereas in (68) there is a greater sense of intensity and expectation. Greater emotionality is conveyed in (67) than in (68). In many cases of reduplication the use of reduplication conveys a sense of emotional immediacy, a sense that the speaker and listener are experientially close to the event or events being discussed. Sometimes this usage is translated as the present participial in English by Gonda and others.

(69) Pertandingan sepakbola antara UM
 contest football between name
 dan Mich State sangat seru.
 and name name very exciting
 Sedang serunya pertandingan itu
 while excitement contest that
 berjalan tiba-tiba hujan lebat.
 go on suddenly RED rain heavy

'The football game between U of M and Mich State was very exciting. At the moment when the game was exciting suddenly it started to rain heavily.'

(70) Pertandingan sepakbola antara UM
 contest football between name
 dan Mich State sangat seru.
 and name name very exciting
 Sedang seru-serunya pertandingan itu
 while excitement RED contest that
 berjalan tiba-tiba hujan lebat.
 go on suddenly RED rain heavy
 'The football game between U of M and Mich
 State was very exciting. At the moment when
 the game was exciting suddenly it started to
 rain heavily.'

Sentence (69) is less stressed than (70). In (70) you can feel the excitement of the game. Another example of the way in which reduplication can convey a sense of emotional immediacy, which might find its equivalent in the English participial, can be seen in (71) and (72).

(71) Ada sepotong kayu ter-apung di atas air.
 exist a piece wood float on water
 'There is a piece of wood floating on the water.'

(72) Ada sepotong kayu ter-apung-apung
 exist a piece wood float RED
 di atas air.
 on water
 'There is a piece of wood floating on the water.'

In (72) the listener gets the sense that he can see the many floating movements of the piece of wood.

4.3 Reduplication Can be Used to Convey Annoyance

The third type of reduplication in this section is that which is associated with expressions of annoyance. In these cases the presupposition is that the situation as discussed should not be as it is. Reduplication conveys the annoyance and impatience of the speaker, for example:

(73) Ia berjanji datang jam sebelas,
 she promise come hour eleven
 tapi sampai jam duabelas kita
 but until hour twelve we
 tunggu ia juga tidak muncul.
 wait she also not appear
 'She promised to come at eleven o'clock, but
 we have waited until twelve o'clock and she
 has not shown up yet.'

The sentence above (73) is a statement of fact without emotion. In the following sentence where reduplication occurs a sense of annoyance is conveyed, and the presupposition of (74) is that she, the person spoken about, should have been able to show up many many times.

(74) Ia berjanji datang jam sebelas,
 she promise come hour eleven

tapi sampai jam duabelas kita
 but until hour twelve we
 tunggu ia juga tidak muncul-muncul.
 wait she also not appear RED
 'She promised to come at eleven o'clock, but
 we have waited until twelve o'clock and she
 still has not shown up.'

The facts of (75) and (76) are similar to those of (73) and (74).

(75) Pekerjaan itu tidak selesai, meskipun
 work that not finished although
 sebetulnya saya mengharapkan bisa
 actually I hope able
 selesai.
 finished
 'That work is not finished, although I really
 hoped it could be finished.'

(75) is statement of fact which does not convey any strong emotion.

(76) Pekerjaan itu tidak selesai-selesai,
 work that not finished RED
 meskipun sebetulnya saya mengharap-
 although actually I hope
 kan bisa selesai.
 able finished
 'That work is not finished, although I really
 hoped it could be finished.'

In (76) where the verb is reduplicated the speaker is expressing annoyance.

5.0 CONCLUSION

5.1 Theoretical Implications

In this paper we have presented three functions of reduplication: 1) diffuseness, or indefiniteness, 2) simile, and 3) intensity or the idea of approaching a limit. This is not meant to be an exhaustive analysis, but a conceptual framework into which most cases of reduplication seem to fall. We should like to suggest that these three functions are actually semantically related to each other in a deep way, and could be regarded as manifestations of the same underlying concept. This underlying concept could perhaps be given the title diffuseness-negativity, since all of the three functions of reduplication above seem to be related to negativity. The idea of approaching a limit contains the negative idea of not quite attaining a certain state, and simile of course means "to be like something" or "not to really be a certain thing, but just to appear to be like it", and diffuseness seems to contain a general negative idea or blurring of boundaries. Therefore, we should like to hypothesize that negation and diffuseness are semantically related concepts and that functions 1), 2) and 3) of reduplication are actually semantically akin to each other and are not disparate concepts.

5.2 Specific Problems

In closing we should also like to mention that many things about reduplication remain unexplained. One thing which is as yet unexplained is how the native speaker knows which words can be reduplicated and which cannot, and how he or she knows what a particular word will mean when reduplicated. The native speaker is obviously guided by clues which probably depend on the semantic and morphological nature of specific words. It seems a detailed study of the underlying semantic nature of Indonesian words, especially verbs, would be in order.

Another aspect of reduplication which could bear investigation is that which has to do with specific morphological problems such as "multiple actor" verbs. There are some speakers for whom ber-verb-verb-an implies multiple actors and verb-meN-verb implies reciprocity. However, as Professor Dardjowidjojo has pointed out (personal communication) this is not true for all speakers.

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N O T E S

* 1. The present paper is a revised version of one presented to the First International Conference on Comparative Austronesian Linguistics, Hawaii, 1974. It is a sequel to my paper "Reduplication and negation in Indonesian", in: Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo (ed.), Miscellaneous Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia, Part III, Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA, Jakarta 1977 (Series NUSA, Linguistic Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia, vol. 4), pp. 1 - 14.

2. My thanks to my Indonesian friends at the University of Michigan who acted as my informants and without whose help I could not have written this paper. They were Monica Djohansyah and I Gusti Ngurah Oka, Harun and Diah Al Rasjid, Professor Wojowasito, Danielo Ajamiseba, and Diyan Surjotjondro. I should also like to thank Professor Harimurti Kridalaksana of the University of Indonesia, and Professor Alton Becker of the University of Michigan for their criticism and advice. In addition I should like to thank Professor Soenjono Dardjowidjojo of the Department of Indo-Pacific Linguistics of the University of Hawaii and Bambang Kaswanti Purwo, who have been kind enough to criticize the paper for me,

and my fellow students at the University of Michigan, Ann Borkin and Fred Lupke, who criticized it from the theoretical point of view. My thanks also to other friends and associates who have helped with this paper.

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1. The writer is aware of Lakoff and others' analysis of adverbs as higher predicates, and has not presented that analysis here, since how adverbs work in Indonesian has not yet been investigated. If the analysis of adverbs as higher predicates fits Indonesian, than it should be possible to adjust the framework given here to that analysis.

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