JAVANESE REDUPLICATION: A STUDY ON PANGKUR JENGGLENG TV PROGRAM

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Abstract
This paper reported a small-scale research on Javanese reduplication found in Pangkur Jenggleng Padepokan Ayom Ayem TV program which was aired in a local TV station in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Since only few studies are conducted to discuss Javanese reduplication, this study was conducted to fill in the gap in the literature by asking these two questions: a) What are the types of reduplications found in Pangkur Jenggleng Padepokan Ayom Ayem TV Programs? and b) What are the semantic functions or categories of those reduplications? The results of this study confirm the previous studies on Javanese reduplication which reported that full reduplication (without any lexical category changes) are more frequently used than other types of reduplications in Javanese language. This study also confirms the results of previous studies that the dominant semantic functions of Javanese reduplication are repetition and pluralization. Further studies on Javanese reduplication were suggested to gain more knowledge as well as to preserve the Javanese language.

Keywords: reduplication, Javanese language, Pangkur Jenggleng, semantic categories

Introduction
Reduplication is the repetition of a morpheme, part of a morpheme or phonological material for semantic or grammatical purposes (Finegan, 2015). Javanese, like other Austronesian languages such as Bahasa Indonesia, has a great deal of reduplication. Javanese is spoken in the central and eastern part of Java island in Indonesia. It is the native language of more than 42% (98 million) of Indonesian population (Badan Pusat Statistik Indonesia, 2011).

There have been many studies conducted to study Javanese language, most of them focused on Javanese speech levels (Oakes, 2009). Javanese has three levels of language (Iyake, 2011; Robson, 1992 in Oakes, 2009): ngoko (low), madya (middle) and krama (high or elevated). However, only very few studies are conducted about Javanese reduplication, one of them is Iyake's study (2011).

Filling in the gap in the literature, this study discussed reduplication in Javanese language by replicating Iyake's study (Iyake, 2011). Iyake's study

reported types of reduplication in Javanese and the semantic functions of each reduplication. She found that Javanese has reduplicated words which derive from a bound root (lexicalized reduplication or lexical doubling, see also Suharno,1982), full reduplication from an independent word (there are two subtypes, the first is reduplication without any grammatical and phonological changes, the second is with phonological changes), and the last type is full reduplication from an independent word with grammatical changes. Iyake then provided detailed semantic categories or functions and examples of reduplicated words for each type of reduplication.

However, unlike Iyake's study, of which the data were from the interviews with speakers of Javanese (she did not mention how many speakers), some dictionaries and from the data provided in Poedjosoedarmo, Wedhawati, and Laginem's book (Poedjosoedarmo, Wedhawati, & Laginem, 1981), the data in this study were from some episodes of the recorded Javanese-spoken TV Program called Pangkur Jenggleng Padepokan Ayom Ayem which are aired on government-based local TV station (In Yogyakarta, Indonesia). This popular weekly entertainment TV program describes recent issues happening in Indonesia generally and Yogyakarta specifically (one of the thirty-four provinces in Indonesia) where the actors and actresses sing some tembang (a Javanese term for song) in the form of pangkur (one of the Javanese genres of songs), dance traditional Javanese dances and perform humorous (sarcastic, and sometimes, vulgar) monologues or dialogues with each other and with the audience. Through those dialogues the moral values or messages are usually delivered. Moreover, this study was not limited to report Ngoko (low level Javanese language) as it was in Iyake's study, but also included Madya (middle level Javanese language), and Krama (high or elevated Javanese language). It used the same categorization of reduplication types and semantic functions reported in Iyake's study. This study's purposes were to confirm Iyake's findings on types of reduplication in Javanese language, and to give more recent examples for the semantic categories or functions proposed by Iyake. Therefore, the research questions in this study were formulated as follows: a) What are the types of reduplications found in Pangkur Jenggleng Padepokan Ayom Ayem TV Programs? and b) What are the semantic functions or categories of those reduplications?

Research Method

In the current study, five episodes of recorded Javanese local TV Program Pangkur Jenggleng Padepokan Ayom Ayem (aired in Oktober – November 2016) which were shared in YouTube were used as a source of the data. Each episode runs for approximately fifty-minutes. Those five episodes were selected since, first, they were the most popular ones during those two-month periods (based on the number of views and likes in YouTube). Second, the topics of those episodes were interesting since they cover the most up to date issues in Indonesia and in Yogyakarta, and third, they had comparatively longer duration time (more than fifty minutes) than any other episodes therefore the chance to encounter reduplications in the dialogues was higher. I downloaded those episodes from YouTube (e.g.: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XzDMuzxn8Bw), watched and listened to the dialogues or monologues done by the actors or actresses

carefully, and then transcribed them. I read the transcribed dialogues twice to get the general impressions of the content and context of the dialogues.

In order to identify the reduplication in the transcribed dialogues, the definition of reduplication proposed by Iyake (2011) was used in this study. Iyake stated that reduplication is "the repetition of a word or phonological material within a word for semantic or grammatical purposes" (p. 6). Examples of reduplication are andeng-andeng or a mole (lexicalized reduplication where bound roots are duplicated), bocah-bocah (full reduplication without grammatical/lexical category and phonological changes; here bocah means child and it is reduplicated into bocah-bocah which means children), tuka-tuku (full reduplication with phonological changes; tuku means buy, and tuka-tuku means keep buying things), and partial reduplication (lara which means sick, becomes lelara which means sickness). Those reduplications have their own semantic functions or categories. I used the definitions and categories of semantic functions proposed by Iyake (2011), Robson (1992), Kiyomi (1993), and Suharno (1982). Kiyomi had done an extensive study on semantic categories or functions, and she argued that the most frequent meanings of reduplications across language families in her study are plural and totality for nouns, intensity for adjectives and adverbs, repetition and intensity for verbs. These definitions and categories were my predetermined coding categories (Creswell, 2014; Maxwell, 2013) to analyze the data. I highlighted any reduplications encountered and listed the sentences where those reduplications occurred in the appropriate columns in the matrix (see Appendix A Reduplication Matric). I also referred to Javanese dictionary, online resources (Poerwadarminta, 1939; Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, n.d.), and reference books on Javanese grammar to help me identify the part of speech of the roots of the duplicated words, to help me decide to which reduplication types and semantic categories those reduplications belong. I presented the results of the analysis in Table 1.

Findings and Discussion

In order to answer the first research question of this study, Table 1 shows the types of reduplication found in the dialogues. More complete results can be found in Appendix A.

Table 1.
Types of Reduplication in Javanese

Types of reduplication	Lexicalized reduplication	Full reduplication without grammatical change		Full reduplication with grammatical change	Partial reduplication
		Without phonological change	With phonological change		
Number of occurrences Total: 68	9	29	14	16	0
	12%	43%	21%	24%	0%

As shown in Table 1, the most dominant type of reduplication is full reduplication without grammatical and phonological changes which has 29 out of 68 occurrences (43%). In total, 43 (or 64%) out of 68 total utterances of reduplication was full reduplication without grammatical changes. Since full

reduplication is quite abundant in Javanese language, it is easier for the artists to use those reduplications whenever and wherever they need them or to create a new full reduplication. This might explain the high frequency of full reduplication occurrences in the data. This result confirms the previous studies on Javanese reduplication which reported that full reduplication (without any lexical category changes) are more frequently used than other reduplications in Javanese language (Hurch, 2005; Iyake, 2011; Kiyomi, 1993; Oakes, 2009).

Next, to answer the second research question of this study, Table 2 presents the semantic functions of the reduplication. The classification of semantic functions is adopted from Iyake's study (2011), with some additional categories from Kiyomi (1993) and Robson (1992).

Table 2.
Semantic Functions of Reduplication

No	Semantic categories		Examples
Lexicalized reduplication			
1	Body parts	1	*Andeng-andeng*
2	Description of movement	2	*Ongkang-ongkang*
3	Place	1	*Ancik-ancik*
3	Others	3	*Moga-moga; mugi-mugi*
Full reduplication: no grammatical change			
1	Noun pluralization	10	"Takonono **simbah-simbah** kae" =Just ask **some old people** there (in the audience)
2	Adjectival pluralization	2	"Aku duwe jarik **apik-apik**" =I have **many beautiful** traditional clothes"
3	Intensification (Adjective and adverb)	3	"Arepo **sepuh-sepuh** ki do pada **semangat-semangat**" =Even though they are **old**, they are **so full of spirit.**
4	Repetitive/repetition (verbs) (c.f. continuation, Kiyomi, 1993)	27	"Mau tas ngalem koyo ngana kok saiki **mekok-mekoke**" =Before this you praise (me), now (you) **called me stupid** (repeatedly)
5	Similarity and imitation	1	"Oh, ono **wong-wongan**" =Oh, (there is a) **scarecrow**
6	Reprove (cf. Mild exasperation, Robson, 1992)	3	"Wong urip ki yo nganggo luput, **ngerti-ngerti** kok bener" =People living in this world make mistake, (they) **don't suddenly** do things right.
Full reduplication: with grammatical changes			
1	Verbal use (Category change: N x 2→ V, or Adj x 2→V; see Kiyomi, 1993)	3	N x 2 → V "Kudu **ngati-ati**" =(You) must **be careful** Adj x 2→ V "Nggihpun, kulo tak **cepak-cepak**

No	Semantic categories		Examples
			rumiyin" =Ok, I will **prepare** things first.
	Verbal use: Negation	3	"30 yuta kok ora ana **apa-apane**" =30 million and there is **nothing (no proof of payment)**
2	Adverbial use	6	"**alon-alon** wae waton kelakon" =**Slowly** but the most important thing is done
Other:			
	Competition (Robson, 1992)	2	"Tinimbangane awake dhewe mengko **saing-saingan, ketok punjul-punjulan,** piye nak pentas bareng wae? =Instead of **competing**, why don't we perform together?
	Indefinite pronoun (Robson, 1992)* (this, according to Kiyami, can be categorized as plurality)	2*	"Nak wong sial niku **napa-napa mboten entuk**" =Well, unfortunate person don't get **anything**

As shown in Table 2, the first most common semantic function of reduplication in Javanese is repetition or repetitive meaning (27 occurrences) and the second most common one is noun pluralization (10 occurrences). These findings again support the results of previous studies that the dominant semantic functions of Javanese reduplication are repetition and pluralization (Kiyomi, 1993). Some of the meanings of reduplications in this data cannot be analyzed using semantic categorization proposed by Iyake (2011). Robson's semantic functions of Competition and Indefinite pronoun were used to categorize the data. However, some overlapping terms (e.g. repetition by Robson, 1992; repetitive by Iyake, 2011; and continuation by Kiyome, 1993) were combined because they refer to approximately the same meaning.

One interesting thing about the data shown in Table 2 is that Javanese, like many other languages in Austronesian family, is common to have category changes (Kiyomi, 1993). As the data show, reduplicated nouns can sometimes produce Verbs (N x 2 □ V), or reduplicated adjectives can sometimes produce verbs (Adj x 2 □ V). As Kiyomi argued that, which this study can support, this category change is a very productive process in Austronesian languages.

Even though the purpose of this study is to record any reduplication regardless of the speech levels, it is interesting to note that most of the reduplications found in this study were Ngoko reduplications since most of the utterances were spoken in Ngoko (low level Javanese). Only very few of them are spoken in Ngoko Alus which is slightly above Ngoko, but not yet Madya or middle level Javanese (The differences between those levels including Krama or high level are beyond the scope of this paper to discuss). This is understandable since the main purpose of Pangkur Jenggleng Padepokan Ayom Ayem is to deliver moral values or messages through simple real life stories of common

people and through one type of Javanese tembang or songs (which is Pangkur). Pangkur which means "move backward" is a type of songs usually used to deliver advices about life, friendship, and love. It is a type of songs one sings when she or he gets older and wants to retreat from worldly matters. Since this local TV program is very popular and most of the audience who watch this program (both in the studio and at home) are common people, the use of Ngoko or Ngoko alus will enable the artists to achieve the main purpose of this program easily, and it will create closer and more intimate relationship with the audience.

Conclusion

This study was limited since the collected data were only from five episodes of Pangkur Jenggleng (in November 2016). This study will gain a lot more insights and understanding if various sources of data (spoken and written data, real-life, impromptu speech compared to prepared and rehearsed performances) are considered. The purpose of this study was to identify types of reduplications and their semantic functions not only in Ngoko level (Iyake's 2011 study), but also from Madya and Krama level. However, since I collected data only from a TV program which in fact has more Ngoko level reduplication in it, the only data that I obtained was mostly reduplication in Ngoko level. This study will report more comprehensive results if more samples of the episodes from the same program or from other TV programs are collected and analyzed. The local TV program that airs Pangkur Jenggleng also has other favorite programs (e.g. Angkringan, Ketoprak) directed to different audience which certainly use different register of Javanese language. The interesting thing is that since Pangkur Jenggleng is very popular, other local TV Program in other areas in Java island also have similar programs, and they are popular as well. This might be the other sources of data collection.

Since the research questions of this study were to find types of reduplications and their semantic meanings, one interesting finding about reduplication which is phonological changes found in this study was not explored. Further research should be conducted to find out more about this phenomenon and whether there are any phonological rules governing these (mostly) vowel shifts.

Further research on reduplication and other topics in Javanese language should be conducted since conducting research has two advantages: gaining more knowledge about the language being studied and at the same time preserving it. I gain a lot more knowledge about my own my mother tongue and I become more aware of how precious this language is since it is part of my identity of Javanese people with wisdoms, culture, and moral value contained in the language. If this language disappears, then the wisdoms and the culture of Javanese people will disappear as well.

Questions that my study raise are, what are the types and semantic functions of reduplication in Madya and Krama level of Javanese? Will those levels have the same frequency of occurrences of full reduplication without grammatical changes? What are the factors that might influence Javanese speakers to choose particular types of reduplication? What are the influences of new technology (i.e. social media) and the politically massive use of Bahasa Indonesia as the national language and English as the first official foreign language in Indonesia to Javanese language and its speakers? Since Javanese language is a compulsory

subject in elementary and secondary schools in Central Java, what is the appropriate teaching method to teach Javanese language to those students? How does technology help teachers and students learn Javanese language? What is the role of technology to help preserve Javanese language and other local languages? Those are the questions that future researchers need to answer.

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