

LINGUISTICS PATTERN ON ACEHNESE REDUPLICATIVE SYSTEM: CLASSIFICATIONS AND MEANINGS

Ika Apriani Fata^{1*}, Bukhari Daud², Lussi Maunira³, Eka Wahjuningsih⁴

¹English Education Department, Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Universitas Syiah Kuala, Banda Aceh 23111, Indonesia

²English Education Department, Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Universitas Syiah Kuala, Banda Aceh 23111, Indonesia

³English Education Department, Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Universitas Syiah Kuala, Banda Aceh 23111, Indonesia

⁴English Education Department, Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Universitas Jember, Jember 68121, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The significance of reduplication in language studies was to construct a linguistics pattern. However, linguists tend to disregard the functions of individual creativity and the core language meaning-making approach at the discourse level. Therefore, we should investigate this intriguing topic more to describe the repetition of words. Many studies analyzed classification reduplication in Acehese through documentation techniques, in contrast, this current study investigated classifications and meanings of reduplication in Acehese through observation and interview. Sulaiman's paradigm as the framework stated that reduplication had three parts: complete, affix, and ablaut reduplication. In addition, the researchers used the Ali et al. framework, which suggested eight meanings of reduplication, mainly grammatical meanings. The findings revealed that full reduplication was the most common among the 100 data of utterances. Furthermore, the meanings of reduplications are to convey the collective and distributive meaning, to express resemblance, and to express simultaneously and continuously were not discovered. The current study looked at how people could use morphological perspectives on reduplication in community discussions. Acehese reduplication may vanish.

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* Corresponding Author:

Email address: ika.apriani@unsyiah.ac.id (I. A. Fata)

A. Introduction

In language studies, the significance

of reduplication was to build a linguistic pattern.¹ However, linguists often overlook

¹ John Alderete and Kayleigh MacMillan, "Reduplication in Hawaiian: Variations on a Theme

of Minimal Word," *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 33, no. 1 (2015): 1–45,

individual creativity² and the core language meaning-making technique at the discourse level.³ In addition, Dansieh conveyed that this was a fascinating issue that needed more research to describe the repeating words.⁴

The study examined the many types of repetition words, reduplicated forms, and reduplication meanings. All regular word-formation processes are based on words. A new word is created by applying a regular rule to an existing word. Both the new and existing words belong to major lexical categories. Morphological processes are generally formed by combining morphemes with words, morphemes with morphemes or words with words to create new words from existing words or morphemes. Affixation, reduplication, and compounding are examples of morphological processes.

Morphology and semantics are the branch of linguistics that discuss word

formation, the effect of word changes, and their meaning.⁵ In Indonesian, there are five word-formation processes: derivation, affixation, reduplication, compound words, and abbreviation.⁶

In contrast, the morphological processes found in Acehnese are affixation, reduplication, and composition. However, there is undoubtedly a typical characteristic of those languages, such as Acehnese. Acehnese has its morphological process in the context of word formation. One of the morphological processes with many unknown structure formations is a reduplication. Sulaiman, in 1999 gave examples of reduplication words in Acehnese such as *rumoh-rumoh* 'houses,' *meutam-tum* 'pounding thud,' and *meujak-jak* 'walks.'⁷ These examples show that Acehnese also has repeated words.

Reflecting closely, the relationship between linguistics and syntax morphology has long been established. Another

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-014-9255-7>.

² Iris Berent et al., "The Double Identity of Linguistic Doubling," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 113, no. 48 (2016): 13702–7, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1613749113>.

³ C.J. Brainerd et al., "Semantic Ambiguity and Memory," *Journal of Memory and Language* 121 (2021): 104286, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jml.2021.104286>.

⁴ Solomon Ali Dansieh, "The Pragmatics of Reduplication: Implications for Translating," *Journal of Pragmatics* 43, no. 1 (2011): 164–74, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.07.029>.

⁵ Mark Dingemans, "Ideophones and Reduplication: Depiction, Description, and the Interpretation of Repeated Talk in Discourse," *Studies in Language* 39, no. 4 (2015): 946–70, <https://doi.org/10.1075/sl.39.4.05din>; Hossep Dolatian and Jeffrey Heinz, "Modeling Reduplication with 2-Way Finite-State Transducers," in *The Fifteenth Workshop on Computational Research in Phonetics, Phonology, and Morphology* (Brussels, Belgium: The Special Interest Group on

Computational Morphology and Phonology, 2018), 66–77, <https://doi.org/10.18653/v1/W18-5807>; Ika Apriani Fata, "Veil or Evil? Spotlighting Women Portrayal through Semiotics Analysis," *Register Journal* 11, no. 1 (2018): 19–26, <https://doi.org/10.18326/rgt.v11i1.19-36>;

Mohammad Ali Salmani Nodoushan, "Lexemes, Practs, and Those Who Have yet to Decide," *Linguistik Online* 81, no. 2 (2017): 77–93, <https://doi.org/10.13092/lo.81.3648>.

⁶ Abdul Chaer, *Morfologi Bahasa Indonesia: Pendekatan Proses (Morphology of Indonesian: Process Approach)* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 2008), 25; Ezard, *Morfologi dan Sintaksis Bahasa Kaili* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2000), 45; J. Gonda, "The Functions of Word Duplication in Indonesian Languages," *Lingua* 2 (1949): 170–97, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0024-3841\(49\)90022-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/0024-3841(49)90022-4).

⁷ Budiman Sulaiman, *Bahasa Aceh* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, 1999), 52.

important aspect of syntax and morphology is that language makes unlimited use of a finite set of rules or principles, which led to the development of generative linguistics in the twentieth century.⁸ Language is a system for combining its components in a variety of ways that can deliver various meanings.⁹ Therefore, the context of a word within a sentence will determine its meaning. Positive and negative meanings can be conveyed through language along with other meanings.¹⁰ One of the system's evidence can be seen in the word order limitation. How many possible combinations can we get from five words like man, ball, a, the, and kick if a sentence is made up of words. What is more, are all of these sentence combinations grammatical. Mathematically, the number of possible 5-word combinations is 5 (factorial), which equals 120 instances. However, only six of the 120 possible combinations are grammatically correct.

Reduplication is a widespread phenomenon in Austronesian (AN) languages. Numerous articles have examined the function of reduplication in various AN languages (cf. Mosel in 2008,¹¹ Johnston in 2007,¹² Harrison in 2003,¹³

Taylor in 2012,¹⁴ Gonda in 1949,¹⁵ Ezard in 2000).¹⁶ In the Acehese language spoken in northern Sumatra, Indonesia, reduplication occurs as well. This paper aims to outline and illustrate the functions of this process in Acehese.

Many previous studies examined Aceh and its culture, but only a few looked at reduplication in Acehese. The earlier study was conducted by Sulaiman in 1999.¹⁷ His research describes the structure of the Acehese language as a whole, including the reduplication in Acehese. He argues that the types of reduplication in Acehese are divided into full reduplication, affix reduplication, and ablaut reduplication. Full reduplication consists of the repetition of verb, noun, adjectives, and number, whereas affix reduplication is present only in the verb. In addition, ablaut reduplication is a full repetition with sound variations.

Acehese is one of the local Indonesian languages spoken in the Aceh province. This province is located on the northern tip of Sumatra Island, Indonesia. Acehese belongs to the Chamic language families, a branch of the Malayo-Polynesian and an extension of the

⁸ S. P. Harrison, "Reduplication in Micronesian Languages," *Oceanic Linguistics* 12, no. 1/2 (1973): 407–54, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3622862>.

⁹ Harrison, 78.

¹⁰ Ika Apriani Fata et al., "The Characteristics of Linguistic Features Enfolded in Suicide Notes," *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies* 17, no. 2 (2021): 720–35.

¹¹ U. Mosel, "Reduplication in Tolai and Tok Pisin" (Paper presented to the 12th Congress of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea, 2008), 27.

¹² Ray Johnston, "Rationales for Reduplication: An Oceanic Case" (Paper presented to the 19th Annual

Congress of the Linguistic Society of Australia, 1977), 44.

¹³ Harrison, "Reduplication in Micronesian Languages," 65.

¹⁴ A. J. Taylor, "Reduplication and Negation in Indonesian," in *Miscellaneous Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia*, ed. Soeporno Poedjosoedarno, NUSA Linguistic Studies in Indonesia and Languages in Indonesia (Jakarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA, 2012), 1–14.

¹⁵ Gonda, "The Functions of Word Duplication in Indonesian Languages," 70.

¹⁶ Ezard, *Morfologi dan Sintaksis Bahasa Kaili*, 25.

¹⁷ Sulaiman, *Bahasa Aceh*, 31.

reduplication in Acehnese is used for emphatic stress.²¹

Previous studies such as conducted by Ali et al, 2004²² & Sulaiman, 1999²³ examined types of reduplication based on documentation technique; however, this current study investigates Acehnese reduplication and classification through observation and interview. Furthermore, the participants are Acehnese aged 28-45 and observation situated in a coffee shop and sets everyday life and public area.

Thus, this current study is guided by the research question: What are the classifications of Acehnese reduplication found in a community contextual setting? And what are the meanings of classifications of Acehnese reduplication found in a community contextual setting?

B. Method

This study aimed to seek out reduplication classifications in Acehnese in a community contextual setting and the meaning of reduplication itself. Therefore, this research fell under ethnographic study, a study designed in qualitative research. This description of reduplication in Acehnese discusses the various types of reduplication as well as the meaning of reduplication in Acehnese. After that, the researchers used ethnographic interviews to create authentic conversational situations. Ethnographic interviews are

classified based on their structure or control.²⁴ The first type of interview is the less structured or ethnographer-managed interview.

1. Participants

All participants provided informed consent, and their responses to the interview were kept confidential. They were not required or permitted to inform their family and those close to them about distressing materials. Ages between 28-45 years. Their L1 (First language) was Acehnese and they lived in Aceh. Their speaking in daily life was in Acehnese.

Fairness amount between male and female participants also applied among total of 48 participants. After hearing about the study's objectives, the respondents voluntarily agreed to participate. As for the interview, purposive sampling was chosen to gain more insightful meaning the data which was reduplication words following. Ten informants were selected, with the most reduplication and the oldest ages, because they were socially engaged in the community. All interview items were designed in Acehnese, the participants' mother tongue i.e. *Peu makna meujak-jak, pak?* (What is the meaning of taking a walk, sir), to ensure that no items in the interview were misunderstood, as suggested by Gay in 2000.²⁵

²¹ Mark Durie, *A Grammar of Acehnese on the Basis of a Dialect of North Aceh* (Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1985), 65.

²² Hanoum, Hanafiah, and Sulaiman, *Sistem Morfologi Kata Kerja Bahasa Aceh*, 1.

²³ Sulaiman, *Bahasa Aceh*, 44.

²⁴ Bernard, H Russel, *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (New York: Rowman Altamira, 2017), 31.

²⁵ Geneva Gay, *Culturally Responsive Teaching: Theory, Research, and Practice* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2020), 79.

Table 1.
Demographic of the Participants

Variable	Frequency (%)	Total
		N = 48
Gender		
Female	23 (45%)	
Male	25 (55%)	
Age		
28-30	9 (18.75%)	
31-35	13 (27.08%)	
36-40	10 (20.83%)	
>40	16 (33.33%)	

In ethnographic design, the observation of participants is suggested in daily activity,²⁶ thus it was set at coffee shop. In administrating the results, video camera recorded employed then to gain reliability of those utterances, the head of village (*geuchiek*) assigned to verify the data (reduplication) as suggested by Gnawali, et al. in 2013.²⁷ Afterwards, all target reduplication was designed as interview item to seek out the meaning of reduplication based on participants' response, following Neuman.²⁸

2. Ethical Considerations

This study required all participants to provide informed consent, and their responses in the interviews were kept confidential. They were not required or permitted to explain personal information or things that were uncomfortably close to them.

This study lasted for nearly one-year time allocation in 2018. This current study still relevant since almost two years (2019-

2021) we had lockdown, limited interaction in community setting. And it is assumed that community conversation will add or reduce a few context in 2021 until 2022. Furthermore, Based on the current study preliminary observation, the maximum time of people interaction will create an enjoyment atmosphere so that the natural setting of community appeared. Also, the current study takes a year to observe and record people interaction in community setting. The interview was held in a nearby coffee shop to better understand individual creativity and the core language meaning-making approach at the discourse level.

C. Results

1. Classifications of Reduplication

a. Full Reduplication

Full reduplication is the repetition of a whole of the origin words without including other elements. For example, the phrase *jak* (walk), when repeated, becomes the word *jak-jak* (take a walk). Full reduplication is often pronounced in Acehnese because almost all kinds of words can be reduplicated by repeating all the basic shapes. The researchers found 50 total reduplication words in Acehnese from the ethnographic interview. It consists of the repetition of the verb, repetition of the noun, and repetition of adjectives. Some of the data were presented and discussed below.

²⁶ Bernard, H. Russell, 36.

²⁷ Omprakash Gnawali et al., "CTP: An Efficient, Robust, and Reliable Collection Tree Protocol for Wireless Sensor Networks," *ACM Transactions on*

Sensor Networks 10, no. 1 (2013): 1-16, <https://doi.org/10.1145/2529988>.

²⁸ M. Neuman, *Rethinking Borders* (London: Routledge, 2014), 30.

It is merely possible that the total of the reduplication among 100 utterances in the context of the Acehnese conversation turned out that 50% belonged to the full reduplication, while 25% were into the ablaut reduplication. A total of 25% belong to affixes reduplication. The discussions are:

(E1) S1 : “*Oh, bek ka panceng emosi lôn, meunyoë beungeh lôn gawat.*”

[Oh, don't provoke my emotions. It would be dangerous if I am angry.]

S2 : “*Ku to'oh that lôn, paleng ka gule-gule lam anoe.*”

[I know that you will **roll over** in the sand.]

(E2) S1 : “*Nyoe adak singoh adek puwo pih jeut.*”

[It is okay if you return it tomorrow.]

S2 : “*Yang betoi bang? Hana pue-pue nyoe?*”

[Seriously, brother? Is it **okay**?]

S1 : “*Hana pue-pue.*”

[It is **okay**.]

(E3) S1 : “*Tapi hana buet sapue, Abi. Makajih leuh Suboh geu eh lom.*”

[But he has nothing to do, Abi. So, he slept again after dawn.]

S2 : “*Oh, meunan nyoe. Lon ku teupue pubuet, jih hana ji teupue pubuet. Meumanok mantong ji teupue keumireuh. Kon jeut i jak peugot pageu-pageu.*”

[Oh, is that so. I know what to do while he does nothing. Even a hen knows how to dig the ground; foraging. Why doesn't he make **the fences**?]

(E4) S1 : “*Bak lôn amat-amat rupa gopnyan, lagèe-lagèe na tom meurumpok lôn ngon gopnyan.*”

[When I look at her face, it **seems** like I ever met her.]

(E5) S1 : “*Pue urusan gata? galak-galak lôn lah!*”

[What is your business? It is **up to me!**]

Based on the examples above, several words are included in full reduplication. In (E1), the word *gule-gule* (rolling over) is full reduplication. The word **gule-gule** comes from the word *gule* (rollover). The word *gule* is classified into a verb, and when it is repeated as the word *gule-gule*, it is still classified into a verb. In (E2), the word **pue-pue** (something) comes from *pue* (what). Both the word *pue* and the word *pue-pue* are classified into a noun. But, based on the context of the conversation above, the word *pue-pue* means 'it's okay.' In (E3), the word **pageu-pageu** (fences) comes from *pageu* which means fence. Both the word *pageu* and the word *pageu-pageu* are classified as nouns. In (E4), two words are repeated in conversation. The words are *amat-amat* and *lagèelagèe*. But, only the word **lagèe-lagèe** (looks like) is included in full reduplication in Acehnese.

In comparison, the word *amat-amat* (observe) could not be categorized because it is Indonesian. The word **lagèe-lagèe** comes from *lagèe* (like), classified into an adjective. In (E5), the word **galak-galak** (up to) comes from the word *galak* (like). Both the word *galak* and *galak-galak* are classified into an adjective. In addition

to the data above, the following examples are also include in full reduplication.

(E6) : “*Hai Mai, bek trep, **bagah-bagah** laju.*”

[Hai Mai, don't take a long time, **hurry up!**]

(E7) : “*Pue **me'ah-me'ah**, meseu neu plueng neu kalon ngon aneuk mata!*”

[**No excuse!** Mind your step while running.]

(E8) : “*Hai Abi, uroe nyoe acara **bit-bit**, malee teuh i deungoe i gop tip uroeneumeuraya su sabee.*”

[Hi Abi, today is **the real** event. It is shameful if people hear your loud voice every day.]

(E9) : “*Hai dek, nyan ulee ka top ilee, bek rho **ôk-ôk** keuh lam u. Euntreuk watee pajoh khauri ka luat **gop-gop**.*”

[Hi sister, please cover your head, and don't let your **hair** fall into the grated coconut. Later, if people eat the feast, they will be disgusted.]

(E10) : “*Pane na ta **boh-boh** saka, kon lôn peugot ie dua neuk keu jamee.*”

[I'm not **wasting** sugar. I'm just about to serve beverages for the guest.]

In (E6), **bagah-bagah** (hurry up) comes from *bagah*, which translation is quick. The word *bagah* is classified into an adjective, while *bagah-bagah* is classified as an adverb. In (E7), the phrase **me'ah-me'ah** (really sorry) comes from *me'ah* (sorry). The word *meah* or *meah-meah* is derived into verb. Based on the conversation context above, the sentences

'Hana meah-meah! can be translated as 'No excuse!'. In (E8), the word *bit-bit* (real) comes from the word *bit* (valid). Therefore, both the words *bit* and *bit-bit* are classified into an adjective. In (E9), two words are repeated in conversation, i.e., the words **ôk-ôk** (hairs) and the **gop-gop** (people). The word *ôk-ôk* comes from *ôk* (hair) classified into nouns. At the same time, the word *gop-gop* comes from *gop* (people), which is classified into nouns. In (E10), the word *boh-boh* (wasting) comes from *boh* (waste). Therefore, the word *boh* is classified as a noun, while *boh-boh* is classified as a verb.

b. Affixes Reduplication

Affixes reduplication is a type of reduplication that occurs in the primary form of affixing. The affixes reduplication word can appear by affix first, or it could be by repetition rather. In Acehnese, there are three kinds of affixes: reduplication accompanied by adding a prefix, infix, and suffix. From the ethnographic interview, the researchers found 25 affixes in reduplication words, notably the addition of a prefix. However, the researchers do not see the conversation's affixes reduplication words with infix and suffix. Therefore, some of the data related to affixes reduplication were presented and discussed below.

(E11) : “*So nyan ngon Abi **geumayang-mayang**. Hana tom ku ngieng si inong nyan.*”

[Who is that who **was joking** with Abi? I have never seen her before.]

(E12) : “*Kapalo, that mesra dua geuh geurhom-rhom kertah lom. That palak kuh.*”

[Oh my God, both of them are very intimate while **throwing** papers at each other. I am very annoyed.]

(E13) : “*Ban dua awaknyan reubah meugule-gule.*”

[Both of them are falling **roll over**.]

(E14) : “*Di gop nyan nah, siat-at geuyu bak geutanyoe.*”

[He likes to command me all the time.]

(E15) : “*Bèk ta meudeungki-deungki keu gop.*”

[Do not be spiteful of each other.]

Based on the examples above, several words are included in Affixes reduplication. In (E11), the word **geumayang-mayang** (joking) comes from the addition of the prefix *geu-* and the phrase *mayang* (jokes). Both the word *mayang* and the word *geumayang-mayang* are classified into a verb. In (E12), the word **geurhom-rhom** (throwing) comes from the addition of the prefix *geu-* and the word *rhom* (throw).

The word *rhom* is classified into a verb, but when repeated as *geurhom-rhom*, it still stays as a verb. In (E13), the phrase **meugule-gule** (rolling over) comes from the addition of prefix *meu-* and the word *gule* (rollover). The word *gule* is classified into verb, and it still stays as a verb when repeated as the word *meugule-gule*. In (E14), the phrase **siat-at** (all the time) comes from the addition of prefix *si-* and the word *-at*. The word *-at* is classified

into a noun, but when repeated as *siat-at* is grouped into an adverb. In (E15), the word **meudeungki-deungki** (spiteful each other) comes from the addition of prefix *meu-* and the word *deungki* (spiteful). Therefore, the word *deungki* is grouped as an adjective, while *meudeungki-deungki* is classified as a verb.

c. Ablaut Reduplication

Ablaut reduplication is a full repetition with sound variations. The word which is reduplicated is by changing vowels of words that nearly rhyme. From the ethnographic interview, the researchers obtained 25 ablaut reduplication words. Some of the data were presented and discussed below.

(E16) : “*Peue su jéh cab-cib lagèe aneuk manok ban cèh?*”

[What kind of **tweet sound** is that? It is like the sound of a chick newly hatched.]

(E17) : “*Soe buka pintô ‘at-‘iet sabé?*”

[Who always opens the door with a **chirping sound**?]

(E18) : “*Hai Na, ka padum uroe nyoe that bhak-bhòk até kuh, alèh pakon.*”

“[Hi Na, my heart is always **pounding** in a few days, I do not know why]”

(E19) : “*Kah bèk c’èh-c’oh that di keue gop.*”

[You do not **pace** in front of people]

(E20) : “*Pue krèh-kroh that di sinan?*”

[What is so **annoying sound** there?]

Based on the examples above, several words are included in ablaut reduplication. In (E16), the word ***cab-cib*** (tweet) is classified as a noun. The word ***cabcib*** is the imitative sound of chicks or bird which is newly hatched. In (E17), the words '***at 'iet*** (chirp sound) are classified into nouns.

The words '***at-'iet*** is an imitative of shrunk sound from the wood branches or the door that rubbed. In (E18), the word ***bhak-bhok*** (constantly pounding) is classified into adjective. The word ***bhak-bhok*** is an imitative sound of pulse repeatedly. In (E19), the word ***c'èh-c'oh*** is organized into adjective. The word ***c'èh-c'oh*** can be translated as paced. In (E20), the word ***krèh-kroh*** (annoying) is classified into an adjective. The word ***krèh-kroh*** is the imitative sound of buzzing.

2. The Meanings of Reduplication

The meaning of reduplication intended in this study is the meaning which is contained reduplication in Acehnese. Acehnese's reduplication is changing the grammatical meaning to a basic form when it is repeated into a word and formed in sentences.

The reduplication in Acehnese also depends on the classification of the basic structure of the repeated word and at the level where the reduplication occurs. In this study, the meaning of reduplication in Acehnese as a process of reduplication is described based on the framework promoted by Ali et al. in 2004.²⁹ There are eight meanings of reduplication in

Acehnese, namely 1) to express indefinite plural, 2) to express that the action being taken seriously (intensity), 3) to express that an action done repeatedly, 4) to express mutual action, 5) to express diversity or miscellaneous, 6) Contains the collective and distributive meaning, 7) to express a resemble, and 8) to express togetherness and continuity. Eventually, it was found that the data showed only five meanings of reduplication in Acehnese.

a. Expression of an Indefinite Plural

Expression of indefinite plural means the reduplication of words to express something more than one. Several reduplication words have the meaning to express indefinite plural as follows:

(E21) : "*Bek ka ma'en ngon apui nyak, euntreuk habeh tutong **rumoh-rumoh** gop.*"

[Do not play with the matches, son! It will burn the people's **houses**.]

(E22) : "*Ka habeh **jambee-jambee** gop di cok le jih!*"

[He has taken all the people's **guavas**.]

Based on the example above, the word ***rumoh-rumoh*** in (E21) is the reduplicated word from the word ***rumoh***. The form of ***rumoh***, which means as 'house' stated that there is only one house. In comparison, the word ***rumoh-rumoh*** which means as 'houses' stated expression of indefinite plural. Therefore, it can be concluded that the reduplication of

²⁹ Ali et al., 2004.

rumôh-rumôh stated that there is more than one house would burn if the son played with the matches.

In (E22), the word *jambee-jambee* is a reduplicated word that comes from *jambee*. The form of *jambee*, which means 'guava,' stated there is only one guava. While the word *jambee-jambee* means 'guavas,' stated an expression of indefinite plural. The word *jambee-jambee* means more than one guavas have been taken.

b. Expression of Action Being Taken Seriously (Intensity)

According to Ali et al., Acehnese's intensity can also interpreted as something that occurs or is done for a long time, for example: *teuingat-ingat* 'remembered'. Several words that have the meaning to express that the action being taken seriously as follows:

- (E23) : "*Lon bit-bit ku peugah, hana ku peungeut.*"
[I tell it **truly**. I am not lying.]
- (E24) : "*Bek toe-toe ngon apui, tutong euntreuk!*"
[**Keep away** from fire, you will get burned!]
- (E25) : "*Gadoh ji meupoh-poh dua jih lagee manok laga.*"
[Both of them are **hitting each other** like cockfighting.]

Based on the example above, the word *bit-bit* in (E23) comes from the word *bit*. The word *bit-bit*, which means truth, states an action taken seriously or intensity. It can be said that the reduplication of *bit-bit* stated that they are seriously telling the truth, not lying. In

(E24), the word *toe-toe* comes from the word *toe*. The word 'toe' means 'near or close', the word *toe-toe* also means 'close', this is because the repetition of the word emphasizes the severe thing, then the repetition of the word *toe* happens. Therefore, the word *toe-toe* states that action is taken seriously or intensity.

In (E25), the word *meupoh-poh* comes from the prefix *meu-* and the repeated word of *poh*. The word *meupoh-poh* which means 'hitting each other,' stating an action taken seriously or intensity. The reduplication word 'meupoh-poh' noted that both people keep hitting each other.

c. Expression of Actions Done Repeatedly

Several words have the meaning to express that an action is done continuously as follows:

- (E26) : "*Inong nyan that carong ji keutèp-keutèp jaroe watee ji menari.*"
[She is very good at **snapping** fingers while dancing.]
- (E27) : "*So nyang keutôk-keutôk pinto mantong beungoh?*"
[Who is **knocking** on the door in the early morning?]

Based on the example above, the word *keutèp-keutèp* in (E26) is a reduplicated word from the phrase *keutèp*. The form of *keutèp* means 'the sound of snapping the finger.' In contrast, the phrase *keutèp-keutèp* implies that the woman keeps repeating to snap her fingers. Therefore, it shows that the word *keutèp-*

keutèp is included in the expression of actions done repeatedly.

In (E27), the word *keutôk-keutôk* (knocking) is a reduplicated word from the word *keutôk*. The form of *keutôk*, which means 'knock,' stated that the sound of knock occurs only once. While the word *keutôk-keutôk* which means someone keeps knocking on the door. It shows that the word *keutôk-keutôk* is included in the expression of action done repeatedly.

d. Expression of Mutual Action

Several words have the meaning to express mutual action as follows:

- (E28) : “*Oh lheueh nyan geumeujôk-jôk bungkoh kado.*”
[Afterwards, they **give each other** a bundle gift.]

Based on the sentence above, the word *geumeujôk-jôk* in (E28) comes from the addition of the prefix *geu+meu* and the reduplicated word *jôk*. The word *geumeujôk-jôk*, which means 'give each other,' stated the mutual action's expression. The word *geumeujôk-jôk* means there is an activity of giving something to each other.

e. Expression of Diversity or Miscellaneous

Several words have the meaning to express diversity or miscellaneous as follows:

- (E29) : “*Bèk tapeu ket-kot droe, euntreuk teusie.*”
[Don't **move a lot**, the knife will slash you.]
- (E30) : “*Su honda kah gr'am-gr'um that.*”
[Your motorcycle is too **noisy**.]

Based on the sentence above, the word *ket-kot* in (E29) means cannot be silent, always move, move, not peaceful. In (E30), the word *gr'am-gr'um* means the sound of noise by vehicle. Therefore, both the word *cab-cib* and the word *gr'am-gr'um* are included in the expression of diversity or miscellaneous.

According to the examples about the types of reduplication and its meanings in Acehnese, reduplication words are often used by Acehnese speakers in their daily conversation. Reduplication is the informal wordplay chosen to convey intensity and playfulness while applying unique sounds and words. Reduplication in the language is doubling a word, root, or stem to enlarge significant changes or hidden meanings. The repeated form can be returned to the original form as the smallest language unit, which contains the meaning.³⁰ While the

³⁰ Carmen Saldana, Yohei Oseki, and Jennifer Culbertson, “Cross-Linguistic Patterns of Morpheme Order Reflect Cognitive Biases: An Experimental Study of Case and Number Morphology,” *Journal of Memory and Language* 118 (2021): 104204, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jml.2020.104204>; Jodi Tommerdahl and Cynthia D Kilpatrick, “The

Reliability of Morphological Analyses in Language Samples,” *Language Testing* 31, no. 1 (2014): 3–18, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0265532213485570>; Jeroen van de Weijer and Firdos Atta, “A Unified Analysis of Two Reduplication Processes in Saraiki,” *Acta Linguistica Academica* 67, no. 3 (2020): 370–82, <https://doi.org/10.1556/2062.2020.00022>.

form which is in repeated form has gained a new meaning.

In other words, the process of reduplication happen shows a particular substance. For example, the term 'eh-eh' is the result of reduplication because the form of that word with the basic form 'eh' has a different meaning (the word 'eh' means 'sleep,' while 'eh-eh' means 'dozing'). From this study, it can be seen that reduplication is an important phenomenon in language studies. A study from Muriithi in 2021 that observed the morpho-phonological effects in Gikayu language reduplication claims that when a word is reduplicated, it delivers various meanings.³¹ For instance, "he" which means give and "hee-a-hee-a" means give a little.

This is in line with the statements of Issa et. al.,³² Kalaga,³³ & Kwon, Nahyun,³⁴ that reduplication in linguistic forms has long been studied in terms of various formalist theories.

The study of reduplication has generated great interest in understanding many properties associated with the word-formation process. The study of how words are combined to form phrases and causes in sentences of a specific language is

known as syntax.³⁵ Syntax assists us in producing clear sentences that "sound right," in which words, phrases, and clauses each serve a purpose and are properly sequenced to form and communicate complete sentences with meaning. Words are combined into phrases by syntax rules, and phrases are combined into sentences by syntax rules. It not only focuses on the correct word order for a language, but it also aids in demonstrating the relationships between the meanings of a group of words. A sentence can be meaningless if it lacks proper syntax. It is critical to understand that while each language has its own syntax, it varies from one language to the next.

In addition, reduplication is found in a wide range of languages and language groups, its level of linguistic productivity varies, and it is sometimes used interchangeably with repetition. Wang and Vihman claimed that both repetition and reduplications had been used interchangeably because they overlap at some point, such as in the Malay language.³⁶ Reduplication is associated, cross-linguistically, with a fairly large

³¹ Gerald Njuki Muriithi, "Morpho-Phonological Effects in Gikuyu Language Reduplication," *European Journal of Applied Linguistics Studies* 3, no. 2 (2021): 79–97, <https://doi.org/10.46827/ejals.v3i2.245>.

³² Saddam H. M. Issa et al., "Lexical Semantic Activation in Bilinguals: Evidence Through Blocked Naming Task," *Linguistics and Culture Review* 5, no. S1 (2021): 860–66, <https://doi.org/10.21744/lingcure.v5nS1.1470>.

³³ Aleksandra Kalaga, "The Semantics of Morphological Conversion in Old English," *Anglica. An International Journal of English Studies*, no. 30/2

(2021): 33–52, <https://doi.org/10.7311/0860-5734.30.2.02>.

³⁴ Nahyun Kwon and Shaoyun Yu, "Experimental Evidence for the Productivity of Total Reduplication in Japanese Ideophones and Ordinary Vocabulary," *Language Sciences* 66 (2018): 166–82, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2017.09.005>.

³⁵ Diane Larsen-Freeman and Michael H. Long, *An Introduction to Second Language Acquisition Research* (London: Routledge, 2014), 66.

³⁶ Toby L. Whitehead, *Basic Classical Ethnographic Research Methods* (College Park: University of Maryland, 2015); Virve-Anneli Vihman, "Language Interaction in Emergent Grammars: Morphology and

subset of the derivational and inflectional semantic and syntactic operations that morphology can perform.³⁷

As a result, The researchers found three types of reduplication in Acehese: full reduplication, affixes reduplication, and ablaut reduplication. It is in line with Sulaiman's findings.³⁸ He said that there are three types of reduplication in the Acehese language: full reduplication, affixes reduplication, and ablaut reduplication. There were 100 reduplication words which are found from the random conversation. The researchers found 50 full reduplications, 25 affixes reduplication, and 25 ablaut reduplication. Data analysis shows that full reduplication words were often seen and heard in Acehese than affixes reduplication and ablaut reduplication. It is due to many basic words in Acehese that can be repeated. In Acehese, the affixes' reduplication not only occurs in reduplicated form combined with an ordinary affixes but also in reduplicated form combined with pronoun affixes, for example. *jak* 'go', *jijak-jak* 'he walks'.

In line with that, Mustafa claimed that reduplication in Acehese appeared in total

reduplication (*dara-dara*, *preh-preh*, *linjka-linjka*); partial reduplication (*mamandum*, *guuguratan*, *māmārahēt*); lexicalized reduplication (*jron-jron*, *toʔtoʔ*, *mubrenj-brenj*); rhythmic reduplication (*ʔapoh-ʔapah*, *tuloŋ-mūloŋ*, *kaʔā-kaʔū*); and affixation in reduplication (*bit-bit*, *buhə-buhə*, *sagoə-sagoə*).³⁹

Full reduplication is the type of reduplication which applies reduplication of the entire word.⁴⁰ The repeated words often produce the plural forms or give an intensity. A few samples of full reduplication words found in this study such as the word *gule-gule* (rolling over) belong to repetition of verb, the word *pue-pue* (something) and *pageu-pageu* (fences) belong to repetition of noun. While the word *lagèe-lagèe* (looks like) and *galak-galak* (up to) belong to repetition of adjective.

Affixes reduplication is the type of reduplication that combines the reduplicated word with the affix. It was assumed the particular affixes involve their bases to be reduplicated. However, the unaffixed reduplicated base either does not take place freely or does not occur with a meaning that is part of the affixed reduplicated construction.⁴¹

Word Order in Bilingual Children's Code-Switching," *Languages* 3, no. 4 (2018): 1–23, <https://doi.org/10.3390/languages3040040>.

³⁷ Dolatian and Heinz, "Modeling Reduplication with 2-Way Finite-State Transducers," 67.

³⁸ Sulaiman, *Bahasa Aceh*, 52.

³⁹ Faisal Mustafa, "Patterns of Acehese Reduplication in Early Literary Works," *OKARA: Jurnal Bahasa dan Sastra* 16, no. 1 (2022): 51–71, <https://doi.org/10.19105/ojbs.v16i1.6112>.

⁴⁰ Charles A. Kauffman, *Reduplication Reflects Uniqueness and Innovation in Language, Thought and Culture* (New York: College of Pennsylvania, 2015), 33; Gerrit Kentner, "On the Emergence of

Reduplication in German Morphophonology," *Zeitschrift Für Sprachwissenschaft* 36, no. 2 (2017): 233–77, <https://doi.org/10.1515/zfs-2017-0010>;

Yuèyuán Lǐ and Dan Ponsford, "Predicative Reduplication: Functions, Their Relationships and Iconicities," *Linguistic Typology* 22, no. 1 (2018): 51–117, <https://doi.org/10.1515/lingty-2018-0003>.

⁴¹ Anikó Lipták and Andrés Saab, "Hungarian Particle Reduplication as Local Doubling," *Acta Linguistica Academica* 66, no. 4 (2019): 527–74, <https://doi.org/10.1556/2062.2019.66.4.3>;

Carl Rubino, "Reduplication: Form, Function and Distribution," in *Studies on Reduplication*, ed. B. Hurch (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 11–29;

Sulaiman stated there are 39 total of affixes in Acehnese, consists of 18 prefixes (such as: *meu-*, *peu-*, *beu-*, *neu-*, *teu-*, *keu*, *si-*, *seu-*, *ku-*, *lon-*, *ta-*, *ka-*, *ji-*, *geu-*), 4 infixes (such as: *-eum-*, *-eun-*, *-eul-*, *-eur-*), and 17 suffixes (such as: *-ku*, *-lon*, *-meu*, *-teu*, *-neu*, *-keu*, *-ji*, *-geu*). It is slightly different with Durie who stated that Acehnese has both prefixes and infixes, but there are no suffixes.⁴² In this research, the researchers found that the affixes reduplication words only by adding a prefix, while the addition of infix and suffix were not found in this study.

There are a few sample of affixes reduplication words found in this study such as: the word *geumayang-mayang* (joking) and *geurhom-rhom* (throwing) belong to prefix of pronouns for third singular and plural person *geu-*, *siat-at* (all the time) belong to prefix *si-*, while the word *meugule-gule* (rolling over) and *meudeungki-deungki* (spiteful each other) belong to ordinary prefix *meu-*.

Ablaut reduplication is the type of reduplication which apply the changing vowel of words that nearly rhyme. Mansfield et al., assumed many colorful examples of reduplication cause a reflection of the richness and uniqueness of language, thought, and culture as presented by those who use this format to create words to describe explicit or

implicit parts of the world around us.⁴³ There are a few samples of ablaut reduplication words found in this study such as: *cab-cib* expresses the mock sound of chicks or bird which is newly hatched, *'at-'iet* expresses the imitative of shrunk sound from the branches of the wood or the door that rubbed, *bhak-bhòk* expresses the imitative sound of pulse repeatedly, *c'èh-c'oh* expresses the action such as paced, and *krèh-kroh* expresses the mock sound of buzzing.

The researchers also drew a comparison between this study and other similar studies but in a different dialect of Acehnese. In terms of meaning, the meaning of reduplication in Acehnese can be classified based on the context of the sentences used. Hanoum et al. assume the meaning of reduplication is the meaning contained in the final form, which is the result of word repetition.⁴⁴ It is because the meaning of the base word will be different after the word is reduplicated. In this research, the researchers only found five meanings of reduplication in Acehnese, namely the expression of indefinite plural, the expression of action being taken seriously, the expression of actions done repeatedly, the expression of mutual action, and the expression of diversity or miscellaneous. While the meanings of reduplication that is purposed

Shuyuan Liu and Celeste Kinginger, "The Sociocultural Ontogenesis of International Students' Use of Pragmatic Strategies in ELF Academic Communication: Two Contrasting Case Studies," *Journal of Pragmatics* 186 (2021): 364–81, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2021.10.022>.

⁴² Durie, *A Grammar of Acehnese on the Basis of a Dialect of North Aceh*.

⁴³ John Mansfield, Sabine Stoll, and Balthasar Bickel, "Category Clustering: A Probabilistic Bias in the Morphology of Verbal Agreement Marking," *Language* 96, no. 2 (2020): 255–93, <https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2020.0021>.

⁴⁴ Hanoum, Hanafiah, and Sulaiman, *Sistem Morfologi Kata Kerja Bahasa Aceh*, 56.

to express the collective and distributive meaning, to express resemble, and to express togetherness and continuity were not found. It is contrary to Hanoum et al.'s findings, which found all of Acehnese's eight meanings of reduplication.

The last one is research investigated by Kauffman, who studied about reduplication reflects uniqueness and innovation in language, thought, and culture. In his research, he divides the type of reduplication into eight-part, i.e. 1) full reduplication, 2) partial reduplication, 3) reduplication in baby-talk, 4) rhyming reduplication, 5) ablaut reduplication, 6) Reduplication in Onomatopoeia, 7) Name Doubling (Reduplication), and 8) Shm-Reduplication. He also stated that applying repetition words results in grammatical or lexical diversity, which makes depth or smooth changes in meaning. So, the uses of reduplication are 1) Forming plurals, 2) Verb tenses, 3) Intensity, Amplification, Enhancement, 4) Specificity, 5) Diversity and Collectivity, 6) Similarity, 7) Playfulness, 8) Aimlessness and Vagueness, 9) Reciprocity, 10) Statements on Life. Kauffman in 2015 also uses several languages in the world from various families, groupings, or isolated distinctions that apply reduplication, including Arabic, Basque, Bella Coola, Bengali, Chinese, Dakota, Fijian, Fox, Hindi, Hebrew, Indonesian, Japanese, Javanese, Kannada, Malay, Ojibwa, Paiute, Persian, Russian, Salish, Samoan,

Sioux, Swahili, Tagalog, Tamil, Turkish, Twi, Vietnamese, Warlpiri, and Yoruba.⁴⁵

In *Early Literary Works*, Mustafa discussed the data derived from documentation. It is proved that reduplication that appeared in Acehnese was total reduplication and partial reduplication.⁴⁶ In contrast, the current study discusses reduplication from daily practice utterances in a public coffee shop. The reduplication will actually embrace the language concept, and language enrichment in daily life through community practises.

Studying Acehnese is a part of Language maintenance in one's mother tongue is important for various reasons, including: Cultural Identification. The connection of a child to their mother tongue language is so important to their self-esteem, emotional development, and mental health that it is one of the UNESCO rights of a child. Language maintenance in the mother tongue helps children maintain their sense of identity as they navigate their new country. Having that sense of self would give them the confidence to face the challenges of moving, making new friends, and focusing on their favorite subjects in school. According to research, children must be proficient in their native language to achieve academic success in their new and native languages. Maintaining their mother tongue language allows them to reap the benefits of a multilingual lifestyle without confusion.

⁴⁵ Kauffman, *Reduplication Reflects Uniqueness and Innovation in Language, Thought and Culture*.

⁴⁶ Faisal Mustafa. "Patterns of Acehnese Reduplication in Early Literary Works". OKARA:

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D. Conclusion

Full reduplication was discovered to be the most common type of reduplication among 100 examples of data. There are 50 full reduplication words, 25 affix reduplication words, and 25 ablaut reduplication words found. Furthermore, the study discovered five meanings of reduplication in Acehnese, namely (1) to express indefinite plural, (2) to express serious action, (3) to express repeated action, (4) to express mutual action, and (5) to express diversity or miscellaneous. However, this current study discovered no meaning of reduplication to express collective meaning, resembling, togetherness, or continuity. It assumed that Acehnese does not have a lower sense of repetition expression, so it is best to investigate the sociolinguistic reasons for these findings.

As a result, studying Acehnese as language maintenance of the local language. Important connections to family and other community members may be lost if there is no native language perseverance. Parents can prepare their children to interact with the native language community, both in the region and abroad, by encouraging native language use. The child's first language is critical to their identity. Maintaining this language helps the child value culture and contributes to a positive self-concept. Later in the future, research may discuss the connection between language and children's positive self-concept.

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