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# Reduplication in Standard Malay and Japanese

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## 1. Classification of Malay and Japanese reduplication

The reduplication process in Malay has been analysed and classified into ten groups according to the morphological changes that each word undergoes when reduplicated (Asmah 186-197, 1975). Liaw and Abdullah Hassan (1994:166), illustrated a simplified version of the classification carried out by Asmah, i.e. they categorized the morphological structure of the Malay reduplication into the following six categories:

- a. Whole reduplication (e.g. *buku-buku*, *rumah-rumah*),
- b. Rhyming and chiming reduplication, i.e. the reduplication characterized by the repetition of any component of the root; syllable, consonant or vowel (e.g. *bolak-balik*, *sedu-sedan*),
- c. Partial reduplication, which is characterised by the repetition of the first syllable of the root (e.g. *kekuda*, *jejenang*, *tetamu*),

- d. Reduplication infixed with *-em-* (e.g. *turun-temurun*, *gilan-gemilang*),
- e. Reduplication characterised by the root that cannot stand by itself unless it is reduplicated (e.g. *kura-kura*, *sia-sia*), and
- f. Reduplication characterized by the affixation process such as suffix *-an*, prefixes *ber-*, *meN-*, *se-*, *ter-* and circumfix *meN-kan* (*buah-buahan*, *berbual-bual*, *melihat-lihat*, *terketar-ketar*, *kehijau-hijauan*)

Among the six categories mentioned above, I shall particularly focus, on the (1) whole reduplication, (2) partial reduplication (3) rhyming and chiming reduplication and (4) reduplication characterized by affixation, in which the insertion of the infix *-em-* categorised above as 'd' is included in order to classify the Malay reduplication in contrast to the Japanese one.

Reduplicated word formation in Japanese is cited as one of the morphological characteristics of Japanese (Nomura, 1977; Martin, 1988; Morioka, 1997), and it is frequently discussed when it appears in onomatopoeias (Kumatani, 1973; Suzuki, 1978; Inoue, 1984; Shibatani, 1990; Kadooka, 1993). However, not many linguists have attempted to focus on the morphological structure of the reduplication itself, as well as on the type of the words that are reduplicated. Japanese reduplication is principally observed in native Japanese words (Martin, *ibid*), that is, in the words which are not of Chinese origin except some onomatopoeic words (See p.19), and also in those words which comprise less than three syllables (Nomoto, *ibid*; Martin, *ibid*; Hayakawa, 1990). Tamamura, one of the few linguists who concentrated specifically on the morphological structure of reduplication, gives the following examples as components of the Japanese reduplicated word formation.

- 1. Syllable *yu-* in *yuyushi*
- 2. (*Na*-adjective and verb) stems *shizu-* and *sube-* in *shizu-shizu* and *sube-sube*
- 3. (*I*-adjective) stems *taka-* and *noru-* in *taka-daka* and *noru-noru*
- 4. (Free) words *sore* and *naku* in *sore-zore* and *naku-naku*
- 5. Clause '*ima ka*' in *ima ka*, *ima ka to*

Based on the above-mentioned examples, I shall illustrate the following morphological classification of Japanese reduplication (Example 5, given above is excluded as the repetition of the combination of a word and particle occurs on a syntactic level):

- 1 Reduplication characterized by the repetition of the first syllable of the root word,  
(In this category, the first syllable of a root word appears reduplicated as the first component of the reduplicative (e.g. *tsu-tsuku*, *ku-kuru*)).
2. Reduplication characterized by the repetition of word stem, and  
(In this category, it is the stem word which is reduplicated (e.g. *yasu-yasu*, *naga-naga*)).
3. Reduplication characterised by the repetition of free word  
(A free word which belongs to word classes such as noun, verb and adverb appears reduplicated (e.g. *yama-yama*, *naku-naku*, *tada-tada*)).

## 2. Reduplicated word formation in Malay and Japanese

To contrast the morphological system of the Japanese reduplication with that of the Malay one, this chapter provides examples of the reduplicated words by categorising the Malay and Japanese reduplications into the four and three classification groups given above respectively. Tables 2.1 (1) – 2.2. (3) are given after each of the seven subsections in order to provide a clearer picture of how the words are reduplicated under each category according to the following factors.

- i) Type of reduplication,
- ii) Class of words that undergo the reduplication,
- iii) Function of the reduplication, i.e. class-maintaining and class changing.

The Malay reduplicated words that appear in this section were examples extracted from Asmah (*ibid*:185-223) and Liaw & Abdullah Hussan (*ibid*:166-172), whereas the Japanese ones were extracted from Tamamura (1986:220-237, 1997:105-111), and Hayakawa (1990: 9-16).

### 2.1 Malay reduplication

#### (1) Whole reduplication

In this category, a whole word, whether simple or complex undergoes reduplication. This process is observed in words of all classes indicating class-maintaining as well as class-changing functions.

## a) Nouns

Reduplication in the noun class is present in Malay. As shown in the following examples, both concrete and abstract nouns can be reduplicated.

rumah-rumah = houses	(rumah = house)
fikiran-fikiran = thoughts	(fikiran = thoughts)
orang-orang = persons	(orang = person)

This rule also applies to loan-words such as *teknik-teknik* 'techniques', *implikasi-implikasi* 'implications', *teknologi-teknologi* 'technologies' and others, which appear frequently in Malay today. This phenomenon suggests that most Malay words representing nouns are ready to undergo the whole reduplication process including the words which are and will be incorporated into Malay as loan words.

The whole, yet class-changing, reduplication of Malay nouns is represented by the following examples.

hati-hati = careful	(hati = liver)
ribut-ribut = to make noise	(ribut = storm)
hari-hari = each day	(hari = day)
pagi-pagi = early morning	(pagi = morning)

## b) Verbs

The whole reduplication of Malay verbs can be class-maintaining, e.g. *makan-makan* (to eat in company and while away the time), or class-changing; e.g. *duduk-duduk* (to sit around aimlessly):

Example:

curi-curi = secretly, stealthily	(curi = to steal)
masak-masak = with great care	(masak = to cook)
kira-kira = more or less	(kira = to count)
tiba-tiba = suddenly	(tiba = to arrive)
sudah-sudah = belonging to the past	(sudah = completed)
buru-buru = hasty	(buru = to hunt)

## c) Adjectives

Adjectives maintaining class, also undergo the reduplication process e.g. *baik-baik* (very good, good (with plural subject)), *putih-putih* (very white, white or fair (with plural subject)). The class-changing reduplication of an adjective root to form an adverb in Malay is productive:

## Examples:

<i>lambat-lambat</i> = slowly	( <i>lambat</i> = slow)
<i>dalam-dalam</i> = deeply	( <i>dalam</i> = deep)
<i>tajam-tajam</i> = sharply	( <i>tajam</i> = sharp)
<i>dekat-dekat</i> = close by	( <i>dekat</i> = close, near)
<i>panjang-panjang</i> = in great length	( <i>panjang</i> = long)

## d) Adverbs

Adverbs maintaining class appear reduplicated:

## Examples:

<i>dulu-dulu</i> = long ago	( <i>dulu</i> = before)
<i>dekat-dekat</i> = very near	( <i>dekat</i> = near)
<i>hampir-hampir</i> = almost (with emphasis)	( <i>hampir</i> = almost)

## e) Numeral classifiers

In Malay, the nouns which are constructed from the numeral prefix *se-* (meaning one) followed by a numeral classifier can undergo the whole reduplication (Asinah, *ibid*: 220):

## Examples:

<i>sebijibijibiji</i> = one by one (of small round things)	( <i>sebijibiji</i> = one of small round things)
<i>setitiksetitik</i> = drop by drop	( <i>setitik</i> = a drop of)

Table 2.1. (1)

Malay Whole Reduplication

Class of word that is wholly reduplicated	Class-maintaining	Class-changing
Noun	rumah-rumah; fikiran-fikiran orang-orang; teknik-teknik; implikasi-implikasi, teknologi-teknologi	hati-hati, ribut-ribut; hari-hari, pagi-pagi
Verb	makan-makan; dukuk-duduk	curi-curi, masak-masak; kira-kira; tiba-tiba; sudah-sudah; buru-buru
Adjective	baik-baik; putih-putih	lambat-lambat; dalam-dalam; tajam-tajam; dekat-dekat; panjang-panjang
Adverb	dulu-dulu; dekat-dekat; hampir-hampir	
Se- + noun		sebijji-sebijji, setitik-setitik

## (2) Partial reduplication

In this type of reduplication, it is only the first syllable of the root that undergoes the reduplication process, and it applies mainly to the noun class indicating the class maintaining function (Asmah, *ibid.*: 189). When the vowel of the first syllable of the word is /a/, or /u/, its quality changes to become the central vowel, that is /e/ when repeated in the context (Asmah, *ibid.*: 189-190):

Examples:

te-tamu = guest	(tamu = guest)
le-langit = palate	(langit sky)
ke-kura = tortoise	(kura = tortoise)
le-laki = male, man	(laki = husband)

## Class-changing

Examples:

pepejal = a solid (pejal = firm, solid)  
 cecair = a liquid (cair = in liquid form)

Table 2.1 (2) Malay Partial Reduplication

Class of word that is partially reduplicated	Class-maintaining	Class-changing
Noun	te-tamu; le-langit; ke-kura; le-laki	pepejal; cecair

## (3) Rhyming/chiming reduplication

A partial reduplication in which any component of the root word, i.e. a syllable, a consonant or a vowel can be reduplicated, is generally known as rhyming/chiming reduplication (Asmah, *ibid*:193). This type of reduplication occurs in nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and certain words which cannot stand by themselves unless they are reduplicated.

## (a) Nouns:

Class-maintaining

Examples:

gunung-ganang = mountains (gunung = mountain)  
 bukit-bukau = hills (bukit = hill)

## (b) Verbs:

## (i) Class-maintaining

Examples:

mandi-manda = while away the time bathing in company  
 (mandi = to bathe)  
 bolak-balik = go forward and backward (balik = to go back)

## (ii) Class-changing

Examples:

sedu-seduan = sob, sobbings	(sedu = to sob)
tindak-tanduk = action	(tindak = to act on)
bengkok-bengkok = very winding	(bengkok = to bend, to curve)
kacau-bilau = very confusing	(kacau = to mix)

## (c) Adjectives

## (i) Class-maintaining

Examples:

terang-benderang = very bright	(terang = bright)
karut-marut = nonsensical (of plural subject)	(karut = nonsensical)

## (ii) Class-changing

Examples:

gopoh-gapah = in great haste	(gopoh = hasty)
serba-serbi = all varieties	(serba = various)

## (d) Adverbs

Class-maintaining

Examples:

serta-merta = there and then, suddenly	(serta = along with)
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## (e) Words which cannot stand by itself

The following examples illustrate the case in which neither one of the two components can stand on its own:

dolak-dalik = going forward and backward (of speech)
haru-biru = in great confusion
mundar-mandir = walk about with no intention
porak-peranda = in great disorder

Table 2.1. (3) Malay Rhyming/chiming Reduplication

Class of word that is partially reduplicated	Class-maintaining	Class-changing
Noun	gunung-ganang; bukit-bukau	
Verb	mandi-manda; bolak-balik	sedu-sedan; tindak-tanduk; bengkang-bengkok; kacau-bilau
Adjective	terang-benderang; karut-marut	gopoh-gapah; serba-serbi
Adverb	serta-merta	
Words that cannot stand by itself	dolak-dalik; baru-biru; mundar-mandir; porak-peranka	

## (4) Reduplication characterised by affixation

In this category, a root word occurs as a reduplicated component, and one of the components appears either prefixed (*men-*; *ber-*, *se-*), suffixed (*-i*; *-an*), or infix (*-em-*) when it undergoes the reduplication. Some reduplicatives appear with the circumfix *ke-an*.

## (a) Nouns

Class-maintaining

Examples:

- anak-*ber*anak = parent(s) and child(ren) (anak = child)  
 adik-*ber*adik = brothers and sisters (adik = younger sibling)  
 tali-*tem*ali = strings (tali = string)  
 jari-*jem*ari = fingers (jari = finger, fingers)

## (b) Verbs

Class-maintaining

Examples.

- men*angis-*angis* = keep on crying (tangis = to cry)  
*mem*baca-*ba*ca = keep on reading (baca = to read)  
*ber*bual-*bu*al = to keep on conversing (berbual = to converse)

tawar-*menawar* = to bargain with each other (tawar, menawar = to bargain)

pandang-*memandang* = to look at each other (pandang, memandang = to look)

cinta-*mecintai* = to love each other (cinta, mencintai = to love)

tutup-*menutupi* = to cover each other (tutup, menutupi to cover)

(ii) Class-changing

Examples.

turun-*temurun* = descendants (turun = to descend)

(c) Adjectives

(i) Class-maintaining

Examples:

*sepandai-pandai* = cleverest (pandai = as clever)

*setinggi-tinggi* = tallest (tinggi = as tall)

*gilang-gemilang* = lustrous, glittering (gemilang = shining bright)

*kemerah-merahan* = reddish (merah = red)

*kebodoh-bodohan* = rather stupid (bodoh = stupid)

(ii) Class-changing

Examples:

*sepuas-puasnya* = with the utmost satisfaction (puas = satisfied)

*sekuat-kuatnya* = with all the strength (kuat = strong)

*lama-kelamaan* = as time goes by (lama = long (of time))

(e) Numbers and Quantifiers

Class-changing

Examples.

*beribu-ribu* = in thousands (ribu = thousand)

*beramai-ramai* = (in) a large group (ramai = many)

Table 2.1. (4) Malay Reduplication Characterized by Affixation

Class of root word that is reduplicated	Class-maintaining	Class-changing
Noun	anak-beranak; adik-beradik; tali-temali, jari-jemari;	
Verb	menangis-nangis; membaca-baca; tawar-menawar; pandang-memandang; berbual-bual; cinta-mecintai, tutup-menutupi;	turun-temurun
Adjective	sepandai-pandai, setinggi-tinggi; gilang-gemilang; kemerah-merahan; kebodoh-bodohan	sepuas-puasnya; skuat-kuatnya; lama-kelamaan
Numbers and quantifiers		beribu-ribu; beramai-ramai

## 2.2. Japanese Reduplication

Under the Japanese reduplication process shown below, when the first syllable of the first component of a reduplicative begins with the voiceless consonants such as /ch/, /h/, /k/, /s/ and /t/, they undergo the voicing process when reduplicated as indicated by the symbol\*

- (1) Reduplication characterized by the repetition of the first syllable of the root word

The first syllable of certain verbs appears reduplicated:

tsu-tsku = to pick, to peck                      (tsuku = to push, to stab)  
ku-kuru = hang oneself, to bind              (kuru = to wind)

Table 2.2. (1) Japanese Reduplication Characterized by the Repetition of the First Syllable of the Root Word

Class of word that is partially reduplicated	Class-maintaining	Class-changing
Verb	tsu-tsuku; ku-kuru	

(2) Reduplication characterized by the repetition of word stem

Stems of words which belong to verb and adjective classes are reduplicated under this category. Certain numbers of reduplicatives appear with the adjectival suffix *-shii* to function as adjective, whereas many other reduplicatives become adverbs followed by the adverbial marker *-to*.

(a) Verbs

Examples:

nare-nareshii = friendly, presumptuous (nare-ru = to get used to)  
 hare-\*bareshii = cheerful, refreshing (hare-ru = to get cleared up)

(b) Adjectives

Examples:

yowa-yowashii = weak (to the speaker's eyes)	(yowa-i = weak)
ita-itashii = painful (to the speaker's eyes)	(ita-i = painful)
niga-nigashii = unpleasant	(niga-i = bitter)
karu-garushii = frivolous	(karu-i = light)
omo-omoshii = serious, solemn	(omo-i = heavy)
naga-nagashii = lengthy	(naga-i = long)
noro-noro <i>to</i> = slowly	(noro-i = slow)
haya-*baya <i>to</i> = early	(haya-i = early)
huka-*buka <i>to</i> = deeply	(fuka-i = deep)
taka-*daka <i>to</i> = upward	(taka-i = high)
chika-*jika = soon, in the near future	(chika-i = near, close)

**Table 2.2. (2)** Japanese Reduplication Characterized by the Repetition of Word Stem

Class of word stem that is reduplicated	Class-maintaining	Class-changing
Verb		nare-nareshii; hare-bareshii
Adjective	yowa-yowashii; ita-itashii; niga-nigashii, karu-garushii; omo-omoshii; naga-nagashii	noronoro to; haya-baya to; huka-buka to; taka-daka to; chika-jika

(3) Reduplication characterized by the whole repetition of free word

Under this category, any free word, that is, a word which can constitute the sentence on its own is wholly reduplicated. The word may belong to various parts of speech such as noun, verb, adjective and adverb.

(a) Nouns

Examples:

- |                       |                    |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| yama-yama = mountains | (yama = mountain), |
| ki-*gi= trees         | (ki = tree),       |
| ie-ie = houses        | (ie = house),      |
| mura-mura = villages  | (mura = village)   |

(b) Verbs

Examples:

- |   |                   |
|---|-------------------|
| naku-naku = unwillingly, against one's wish | (naku = to cry)   |
| miru-miru = instantly, immediately          | (miru = to watch) |

(c) Adjectives

Examples:

Reduplication of a whole adjective without deleting the adjectival suffix-*i* rarely occurs. A few exceptions are observed, however, in the words which are used by mothers as nursery language. This type of reduplicative is often followed by the verb *suru* 'do':

Examples:

takai-takai (suru) = to lift up babies and children high into the sky (takai = high)  
 kirei-kirei (suru) = to clean babies' and children's body, hands or feet  
 itai-itai (suru) = to hurt somebody else

A few *na*-adjectives, that is, adjectives of Chinese origin may appear in a reduplicated form:

Examples:

betsu-betsu = individually, (betsu = different)  
 iya-iya = unwillingly (iya = unwilling, undesirous)  
 suki-\*zuki = priority, a matter of taste (suki = be fond of)

(d) Adverb

Examples:

nao-nao = all the more (nao = more)  
 tada-tada = merely, simply (tada = merely)

Table 2.2. (3) Japanese Reduplication Characterized by the Whole Repetition of Free Word

Class of word that is wholly reduplicated	Class-maintaining	Class-changing
Noun	yama-yama; ki-gi; ie-ie; mura-mura	
Verb	naku-naku; miru-miru	
Adjective		<u>Nursery language</u>  takai-takai suru; kirei-kirei suru; itai-itai suru  <i>Na</i> -adjective  betsu-betsu; iya-iya; suki-zuki
Adverb	nao-nao; tada-tada	

### 3. Contrasting the morphological structure of reduplication between Malay and Japanese

Having observed the morphological characteristics of reduplicated word formation in Malay and Japanese, I shall now discuss how the reduplication of the two languages relate to each other on a morphological level.

Words that belong to adjective, adverb, noun and verb classes are wholly reduplicated in Malay, and the entire noun reduplication in particular is productive. This morphological process is also observed in Japanese when certain types of nouns, and the free form of a limited number of verbs and adjectives are reduplicated. The number of Japanese noun and adjective reduplication, however, is not as productive as in Malay. Observe the following table.

Table 3.1 Malay and Japanese Whole Reduplication

Class of word that is wholly reduplicated	Malay	Japanese
Adjective	tinggi-tinggi	takai-takai (nursery language)
Adverb	<i>hampir-hampir</i>	tada-tada
Noun	rumah-rumah	ie-ie
Verb	makan-makan	naku-naku

Partial reduplication in Malay is characterized by the repetition of the first syllable of the word or that of the stem. In Japanese, the repetition of the first syllable is observed in a considerable number of verbs. However, the first syllable of the root component does not undergo any change even though it has the vowel /a/ or /u/ in Japanese, whereas in Malay, such vowel are replaced with /e/ when reduplicated as shown in the following table.

Table 3.2. Malay and Japanese partial reduplication characterized by the repetition of the first syllable of the root word

Malay	Japanese
lelaki	tsutsuku
jejenang	tataku
tetangga	kukuru
pepatah	sasaru

The repetition of the stem is observed in some Japanese colour nouns and colloquial onomatopoeias, where *ma/Q/-* and *su/Q/-* are the prefixes to each word. The table given below shows the examples of Japanese reduplicatives, of which formation resembles to that of Malay ones.

Table 3.3. Malay and Japanese Reduplication Characterized by prefixes

Malay	Japanese
menangis-nangis	ma/Q/shiro-shiro
	ma/Q/aka-/Q/aka
	ma/Q/ki-/Q/ki
sepandai-pandai	s /Q/pon-pon
	su/Q/ten-ten

In Malay, any component of the root word, i.e. a syllable, consonant or vowel can be reduplicated, and this type of process appears in what is called rhyming and chiming reduplication (Asmah, *ibid*:193; Liaw & Abdulah Hassan, *ibid* :166). This type of reduplicatives is not bound to fixed rules. According to Asmah (*ibid*: 193), this fact 'is presumably due to the fact that emphasis is given to the euphonic value of such words rather than to the recurrence of such forms according to set rules' Asmah concludes that this explains clearly the reason behind the non-productivity of such reduplicatives. The 'euphonic value' of words is precisely what the onomatopoeia functions as. (The term onomatopoeia as used in this case includes the following three notions. 1. phonomimes that stand for those conventionalised mimetic expressions of natural sound; 2. phenomimes which depict states, conditions or manners of the

external world; 3. psychomimes which symbolise mental conditions or states (Shibatani, *ibid*:843), that is, those words which symbolically to evoke the images of the state of things and matters). The reduplication system which appears in Malay rhyming and chiming words corresponds to the one which is characterized by the formation of Japanese onomatopoeia. It is interesting to note that this type of reduplication, in contrast to that in Malay, is significantly productive in Japanese:

Examples:

- (1) mecha-kucha *ni* = in disorder, in great confusion (mecha-kucha *na* = disorderly)

musha-kusha *to* = irritating state of one's mind

uro-choro *to* = one's sneaking or flittering way of being (walking) that bothers the others

nora-kura *to* = lazy and slow way of one's way of living

- (2) ai-mai *ni* = ambiguously (ai-maina = ambiguous)

aku-seku *to* = restless way of one's working manner

hatsu-ratsu *to* = one's vivid and active manner of being

kon-ton = chaos

The reduplicated words which belong to group (1) in the above examples cannot be reduced to a single root, that is, each component of the reduplicative cannot stand on its own. Those words that belong to group (2) can be divided into two components, each of them forming one Chinese character. However, that Chinese character is not commonly used by itself in modern Japanese. These reduplicated words were originally Chinese onomatopoeia (Suzuki, 1978:140). The first type of reduplication is productive, almost to an extent that the number of this type of reduplicated onomatopoeia may correspond to the creativity of each speaker. The number of the second type of reduplication is also large, however, it is not due to the creativity of the speakers, but to the numerous Chinese onomatopoeia that had been imported in earlier days.

The Malay reduplication characterized by affixation, particularly the one in which the reduplicated stem appears with suffix corresponds to the Japanese reduplication where the adjectival suffix *-shii* is attached to the repeated stems of verbs and adjectives. Certain nouns also appear reduplicated and

followed by this adjectival suffix. In Japanese, however, the second component of the reduplicative does not appear with a prefix as it does in Malay. Observe the following table.

Table 3.4. Malay and Japanese reduplication characterized by suffix

Malay	Japanese
cinta-mencintai	baka-bakashii
tutup-menutupi	mizu-mizushii

#### 4. Meaning of Reduplication in Malay and Japanese

This section discusses the meanings conveyed by the reduplication that are common in Malay and Japanese. When giving the pair of Malay and Japanese samples below which correspond to the meanings (1)-(5), I shall try to look for the one which also shares the same meaning of the reduplicative whenever it is possible to do so.

(1) Plurality conveyed by the noun reduplication

Examples:

rumah-rumah = houses (rumah = house)

ie-ie = houses (ie = house)

(2) Intensification conveyed by some adjective reduplication

Examples:

(i) putih-putih = very white (putih = white)

masshiro-shiro = intensively white (shiro = white)

(ii) dalam-dalam = deeply (dalam = deep)

huka-buka = deeply (huka-i = deep)

(3) Continuation of action conveyed by the verb reduplication

Examples:

menangis-nangis = keep on crying (tangis = to cry)

naki-naki = while crying (naku = to cry)

## (4) Individualisation of a root word

Examples:

hari-hari = each day (hari = day)

sore-zore = individually (also followed by *-ni*), individual (followed by *-no*)

(sore = it)

Examples shown in (1) and (4) represent the whole noun reduplication that is class-maintaining and class-changing respectively. It is interesting to note that the class-maintaining reduplication in (1) conveys the meaning of plurality of the noun-root whereas the class-changing (to adverb) reduplication in (4) conveys the opposite meaning, namely, the individualisation of the concept denoted by the noun-root both in Malay and Japanese.

## (5) Enumeration

Examples:

setitik-setitik = drop by drop (setitik = a drop of)

itteki-itteki = drop by drop (itteki = a drop)

## (6) Meaning associated with the root word

Both Malay and Japanese have certain number of reduplicatives, of which meaning is a product of an association with its root word.

Malay

Examples:

(1) buat-buat = to pretend (buat = to do, to make)

(2) buru-buru = hasty (buru = to hunt)

(3) curi-curi = secretly (curi = to steal)

(4) hidup-hidupan = living things (hidup = to live)

(5) jadi-jadian = creation (jadi = to become)

(6) kira-kira = more or less, approximately (kira = to count)

(7) masak-masakan = with great care (masak = to cook)

(8) mati-matian = wholeheartedly (mati = to die)

(9) tiba-tiba = suddenly (tiba = to arrive)

The above examples represent the case where Malay verbs are reduplicated whether maintaining or not maintaining the class. In examples (4) and (5), each reduplicative denotes an abstract notion derived from the meaning of its verb-root. In the rest of the examples, the meaning of each reduplicative is associated with the action described by the verb-root. The process of associating the meanings with the roots presented in (2), (3) and (8) seems to be universal. On the other hand, one may need to be familiar with the Malay culture to associate the meaning of the reduplicative with that of the root word, as shown in examples (1), (6), (7) and (9).

#### Japanese

##### Examples:

- (10) karu-garushii = frivolous (karui = light)
- (11) mizu-mizushii = fresh (mizu = water)
- (12) mono-monoshii = dignified, exaggerated, stately, pretentious  
(mono = item, object)
- (13) omo-omoshii = serious, solemn (omoi = heavy)
- (14) shira-jirashii = barefaced, easy to be read (for the lies), (shiro = white)
- (15) sora-zorashii = feigned, false (sora = sky)

In these Japanese examples, adjective and noun roots are reduplicated to function as an abstract adjective. The relationship between the abstract meaning of the reduplicative and its root word is clear in examples (10), (11) and (13). However, some explanation may be required for the abstract meanings of each reduplicative associated with its root word in (12), (14) and (15). Each root word that appears in these three examples has one or more than one meaning which is implicit and that originates from the old connotation of the word. For example, *mono* (12) used to mean 'what is ought to be said or to be done' (Kindaichi, 1962), and today its reduplicated form is still used to indicate 'some supernatural being who is awesome to human beings'. *Shiro* (14) describes the state of 'a blank', 'emptiness' or 'transparency'. One of the meanings of *sora* (15) is 'lie' which originated from the old meaning, 'to pretend to be ignorant of something' (Kindaichi, 1962). It is significant to note that the original or old meanings of these root words have been received through the process of reduplication.

## 5. Possible reasons behind the productivity and non-productivity of certain reduplication in Japanese

In contrast to Malay, whole noun class-maintaining reduplications in Japanese stays in its limited number, whereas reduplication in onomatopoeia, particularly the one in the onomatopoeic adverb is productive to an extent that its number corresponds to the creativity of each speaker. This section attempts to assume the possible reasons promoting the phenomena.

Martin (*ibid*) states that noun reduplication comprises short native Japanese nouns, that is, those short nouns which are not of Chinese origin. However, not all native Japanese nouns that are short can be reduplicated. Examining the components of old noun reduplication on a semantic level, Tamamura (1986:230-231) claims that concept which denotes time, location, number or human being is predominantly observed in the component of the reduplicative. Both Tamamura (*ibid*:236) and Hayakawa (1990:14) agree that one of the functions of the noun reduplication is to indicate and specify the number or the individuality of the quality of the item denoted by the root component. According to Tamamura (*ibid*), noun reduplications such as *kami-gami* (gods), *hito-bito* (people) and *yama-yama* (mountains) represent the fact that these words are considered to be that which denotes unity where each individual word is different from the other. He mentions that this explains why the items of 'nil individuality' such as *mushi* (bugs) and *ushi* (cow) do not have the reduplicated form. Tamamura concludes that old noun reduplications are composed of basic nouns, and that those nouns should have been used in daily life with high frequency (*ibid*:237). In connection to Tamamura's statements, which also observe the types of noun reduplications frequently cited in his as well as Hayakawa's research, I shall classify the noun reduplications into four categories, based on the meaning conveyed by each component of the reduplicative:

Examples.

### (1) The root component indicates an element of nature

yama-yama = mountains (yama = mountain),

ki-\*gi = trees (ki = tree),

hana-\*bana = flowers (hana = flower),

hi-\*bi = days (hi = sun, day)

## (2) The root component indicates a certain type of community

ie-ie = houses	(ie = house),
mura-mura = villages	(mura = village)
machi-machi = town	(machi = town)
kuni-*guni = countries	(kuni = country)

## (3) The root component indicates 'god'

kami-kami (kami-gami)\* = gods (kami = god)

## (4) The root components indicates human beings

hito-*bito = people	(hito = person)
ware-ware = we	(ware = ego, I)

It is not feasible to state that all the nouns containing the above-mentioned semantic features can appear reduplicated. For example, the nouns containing the semantic feature [+ nature] such as *mizu* 'water', *umi* 'ocean' or *kumo* 'cloud' do not appear in the reduplicated form. However, considering the nature of the four semantic features and the fact that all the nouns concerned are originally Japanese (that is, they are not of Chinese origin), one might assume that these nouns relate to the fundamental world-view of the Japanese of earlier days. It is significant to note that *kami-gami* (gods) were believed to 'exist' in the elements of nature such as *yama* (mountain) and *ki* (trees) by *hito-bito* (people) who 'lived' in the community, i.e. *ie-ie* (houses), *mura-mura* (villages), *kuni-guni* (countries). The non-productivity of Japanese original noun reduplication appears to be natural if the formation of this type of reduplications had already been completed in those days within the semantic criteria mentioned above.

On the contrary, the reduplicated onomatopoeia is markedly productive in Japanese. The number increases further if combined with that of the onomatopoeia which consists of Chinese characters. The class membership that is predominant in Japanese onomatopoeia is represented by adverbs. Native speakers of Japanese tend to use adverbs abundantly to support the expression provided by adjectives and verbs. The use of onomatopoeic adverbs is one of the characteristics Japanese style. Following Malay sentences and their Japa-

nese translations well illustrate the context where the onomatopoeic adverbs are used effectively. For instance, the Malay sentences and their Japanese translations are extracted from the novel; "*Seroja Mashi di Kolam*", by Adibah Amin (1968), and its Japanese version; "*Suro ja no Hana wa Mada Ike ni*", by Matsuda Mayumi (1988), respectively. (The sentences which appear in brackets are given to clarify the context where onomatopoeia exists in tandem with its Malay counterparts. The number in brackets indicates the page from where the discourse is extracted. Many of the sentences are part of these conversations which appear in the novels.)

1 (i) Latifah masih menjadi tanda soal yang mendebarkan. (27) girl's name still become question mark rp heart-throbbing Latifah has become a question mark (mystery) (to him) which makes his heart throb.

(ii) Kanojo no koto wo kangaeruto waku-waku shitekuru. (28) she pt issue pt when thinking throb become (He) becomes excited thinking about her.

Adibah Amin describes a boy's state of mind when directed towards the seductive and mysterious woman *Latifah* by using metaphoric expressions, '*yang mendebarkan*' 'heart-throbbing' (for 'seductive') and '*tanda soal*' 'question mark' (for 'mysterious'). *Tanda soal yang mendebarkan* is a noun phrase in which '*yang mendebarkan*' functions as an attributive modifier for '*tanda soal*'. The corresponding Japanese part to '*yang mendebarkan*' is a reduplicated onomatopoeic verb '*waku-waku-shitekuru*' 'become excited'. This verb constitutes the predicate of the sentence, thus it is indispensable in the structure of the Japanese version.

2. (i) (Mereka sangka aku anak-anak gadis lagi.)

(They think I am still a young girl.)

Sambunganya sambil tergelak kecil. (3)

she continues while laugh small

She continues laughing in a small voice (quietly).

(ii) (Watashi no koto wo mada musume da to omotte...)

((They) think that I am still a young girl....)

Kusu-kusu to waraigoe wo morashinagara iu. (6)

giggle pt laughter pt give say

(She) says while giving laughter in a giggle. (She says in a giggle.)

The type of laughter is explained in Malay; *tergelak kecil* with the adjective *kecil* 'small' being used as an adverb of manner. This way of laughing is translated into Japanese by using a reduplicated onomatopoeic adverb *kusu-kusu to* which imitates the sound of one's giggling manner is inilated.

3. (i) Badannya yang tambun itu. (89)

his body rp fat/plump art

His body which is fat.

(ii) Koro-koro-to futotta karada. (86)

rolling fat body

(His) rolling fat body.

In examples 1 and 2, the onomatopoeic words are indispensable for the formation of the translated sentence, whereas in example 3, *koro-koro-to* 'rolling' functions as a complementary element for the adjective *futotta* 'fat' which corresponds to *tambun* 'fat' in Malay. However, the translator is aware that *futotta* alone does not transmit satisfactorily what *tambun* means. Thus the reduplicated onomatopoeic adverb *koro-koro-to* is complementary in a syntactic aspect whereas it is indispensable in terms of technique for the translation.

## 6. Conclusion

The Japanese reduplication system has been explained, both at the morphological and semantic levels in contrast to the Malay reduplication system. The above analysis indicates that Malay and Japanese reduplications share some morphological patterns when systematically contrasted.

Table 6.1 shows the morphological resemblance found in the reduplication process of the two languages: (The following symbols are used in the table:

N = noun, V = verb, A = adjective, ADV = adverb,  
 P = prefix, Su = suffix, S = the first syllable of the root word,  
 S1 = syllable type 1, S2 = syllable type 2,  
 W = syllable which undergoes the reduplication,  
 I = number which indicates '1', NC = numeral classifier)

Table 6.1 Morphological resemblance of Malay and Japanese reduplication

Class of word that is reduplicated class of word of the reduplicative	Japanese	Malay
N-N N	yama-yama	rumah-rumah
N-N ADV	toki-doki	pagi-pagi
V-V ADV	naku-naku	curi-curi
A-A ADV	noronoro	lambat-lambat
PR-R A	ma/Q/aka-/Q/aka	sepandai-pandai
S1W-S2W ADV	mecha-kucha	haru-biru
INC-INCADV	itteki-itteki	setitik-setitik

As illustrated in the above table, various Japanese reduplication patterns show an interesting morphological resemblance to those of Malay, (when taken independently from the matter of productivity of each reduplicative in the two languages). That is to say, most Malay nouns are ready to undergo the whole reduplication whereas such reduplication in Japanese is not productive. On the other hand, the number of Malay rhyming/chiming reduplicative is relatively small while the Japanese onomatopoeic reduplicative is productive.

In Malay, the process of adjective and verb reduplication is characterised by the repetition of the root that appears affixed, whereas such reduplication in Japanese is characterised by the repetition of the stem that is followed by deri-

vational suffixes. The meaning conveyed by the reduplication differs depending on the derivational suffixes (e.g. *takai-takai* (nursery language); *taka-daka to* (upward), *naki-naki* (while crying); *naku-naku* (unwillingly)). This phenomenon reflects the fact that Japanese adjective and verb conjugate, and the conjugation affects the formation as well as the meaning of the reduplication.

The reduplication process yields some changes in the meaning of the root word, among which the followings are common in Malay and Japanese:

1. Plurality
2. Intensification
3. Continuation of action
4. Individualization of a root word
5. Enumeration
6. Abstract meaning

Reduplication	Meaning	Example
Plurality	Plurality	Hand (hand) → Hands (hands)
Intensification	Intensification	Small (small) → Smaller (smaller)
Continuation of action	Continuation of action	Run (run) → Running (running)
Individualization of a root word	Individualization of a root word	Hand (hand) → Hand (hand)
Enumeration	Enumeration	One (one) → One (one)
Abstract meaning	Abstract meaning	Hand (hand) → Hand (hand)

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