

Integrating Reduplication Patterns in The Western Flores Languages

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Published: 30/04/2024

How to cite (in APA style):

Salahuddin. (2024). Integrating Reduplication Patterns in The Western Flores Languages. *Retorika: Jurnal Ilmu Bahasa*, 10(1), 293-305. DOI: <http://10.55637/jr.10.1.6345.293-305>

Abstract-This study aims to look at the reduplication patterns in the Western Languages of Flores, i.e., MRK Language Subgroup (Manggarai, Rembong, and Komodo). These three languages are grouped according to the results of the calculation of the percentage of similar languages made by Fernandez (1996). Data was collected through secondary data collection from pre-existing datasets, including field notes and dictionaries. Direct interviews with native speakers representing each language strengthen secondary data with more in-depth information. The analysis revealed that there are similar patterns found in full reduplication accompanied by changes in vowel phonemes as in *laki-lako* 'going everywhere' in Manggarai, *zupak-zapaq* 'hassle' in Rembong, and *cuki-cake* 'naughty' in Komodo. Partial reduplication, on the other hand, generally takes the form of adding or removing final phonemes in repeated words, for example, *bingi-bangas* 'dull-witted' in the Manggarai Language, *daki-dekang* 'helping each other' in the Rembong Language, and *hipi-hapek* 'going here and there' in Komodo Language. The Rembong Language has a distinctive partial reduplication, the presence of rhyme sounds at the beginning as in *ghali-ghewe* 'miserable life' and at the end of words as in *kameq-mok* 'sucks'. Partial reduplication in Komodo Language only involves the repetition of the initial syllable as in *kekaro* (*karo-karo*) 'walkings'. It is hoped that this research can be a reference for further research to explore more deeply reduplication in the MRK Language, either refuting the results in this research or supporting it by providing more data.

Keywords: Komodo Language, Manggarai Language, Reduplication Patterns, Rembong Language, Western Flores Languages

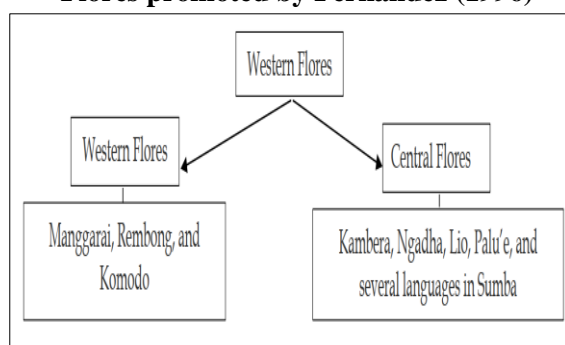
I. INTRODUCTION

This present study attempts to integrate reduplication patterns in several languages of the Western Flores subgroup based on Fernandez's classification (1996). The division of languages in Flores was fully explained when Fernandez (1996) divided the languages originating from Proto-Flores into several subgroups. The languages in Flores can be divided into two groups, Western Flores and Eastern Flores.

Western Flores includes two subgroups of languages, such as Western Flores, which includes Manggarai, Rembong, and Komodo languages, and Central Flores, which consists of the Ngadha, Lio, Fade, Palu'e, Sikha, and Muhang Languages. From these divisions, we can conclude that there is no definite language division in the Languages of Flores. These languages are grouped based on specific categories, such as lexicostatistical calculation

factors and syntactic structures. The languages found in Western Flores are grouped based on the calculation of the percentage of cognates and shows that languages such as Manggarai, Rembong, Kambera, Ngadha, Lio, and Palu'e form separate subgroups under the auspices of Proto Flores. Some missionaries, such as Verheijen, refer to these as isolated languages. He concluded that these languages have reached their lowest point in which affixes are no longer found to form a morphological word. The voice system is not indicated through the chance of the verb but is directly marked in the arguments.

Figure 1. Language division in Western Flores promoted by Fernandez (1996)



By integrating here, the researcher uses different sources from previous studies to help build a credible argument about the reduplication patterns in several Western Flores Languages. The narrowing of the focus is based on the cognate proportions of Western Flores Languages calculated based on their kinship, concluded by Fernandez (1996). Fernandez argues that the Western Flores Subgroup, alongside the East Flores Subgroup, was directly descended from Proto-Flores. The Western Flores Subgroup consists of the MRK subgroup (Manggarai, Rembong, and Komodo Languages) and the NLP subgroup (Ngada, Lio, and Palu'e). According to Fernandez (1996:44), these two subgroups form a bipartite hoop to form a higher subgroup, which is then known as the Western Flores (FB) subgroup.

Reduplication is a word-formation process in which some portion of a word is repeated, either totally or partially (Mattiello, 2013). There have been several pieces of research about reduplication in Austronesian Languages, especially languages spoken in Indonesia. A research report under the title "Reduplication in and around Indonesia" carried out by the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (2011) has provided an

exhaustive insightful reference about how reduplication possibly happens in the languages being reviewed. Other research focuses on Austronesian Languages or, more specifically, on Malayo-Polynesian languages, including Tukang Besi, Mangap-Mbula, Limos Kalinga, Tamambo, Gayo, and Balinese are documented in a study entitled "Reduplication in Austronesian" (Serzisko et al., 2012). Most of this research concludes that reduplication is very productive in Austronesian Languages that indicate plurality, iterative, or intensity (Serzisko et al., 2012).

Several scholars have explicitly investigated the reduplication pattern in the languages focused on in this research. Manggarai Language, a language spoken in the most western part of Flores Island, has been documented by many linguists, including the native speaker of the language and foreign researchers. Research on the topic of reduplication in the Manggarai Language has been carried out by Jer et al. (2020) and Jehane (2021) and also by Mangga (2018) in his dissertation entitled "*Reduplikasi Morfemis Bahasa Manggarai Tipe, Fungsi dan Makna*" as well as a research report by Datang (1995) entitled "*Reduplikasi Morfemis Bahasa Manggarai*". Most of these researches focused on the particular dialect of the Manggarai Language which directly impacts to the diversity of the output.

The reduplication process in the Manggarai Language is generally occurs in two-syllabic words with a VCVC pattern. Several researchers have stated that many forms of reduplication occur with a phoneme change in the word being repeated. For instance, the base word *lako* 'walking' can be reduplicated into *lako-lako* 'going everywhere'. This reduplication word shows the grammatical meaning of an activity carried out intensely. In a more detailed explanation, Jehane (2021) divided the reduplication of phoneme changes into two types: reduplication without changes in vowel phonemes and reduplication with changes in vowel phonemes. On the other hand, Jer et al. (2020) examined the contrast between reduplication in the Rahong and Kolang Dialects. They concluded that there are two types of reduplication in the two dialects, such as the reduplication of phonological changes and syntactic changes.

Meanwhile, Datang (1995) reports reduplication in the Manggarai Language, especially the Kempo Dialect, has many variations. The types of reduplication described

include reduplication, which states a lot, increasingly, exclusivity, collectivity, intensity, displeasure, more than usual, actions that are carried out in a relatively long time, and the habit of doing actions. This meaning can occur in various word class reduplication. Furthermore, a study by Mangga (2018) shows that reduplication in the Manggarai Language only has a lexical function and does not have a grammatical function. The meaning contained due to the reduplication process has context-free and context-bound meanings with their respective sub-meanings.

Rembong Language has received much influence from the surrounding languages, such as the Manggarai Language in the East Manggarai Regency and the Northern Ngada. (Asplund, 2020). Some researchers explained that the Rembong Language is independent, while others said that this language is a dialect of the Manggarai Language spoken in East Manggarai. However, the results of lexicostatistical calculations carried out by Fernandez show that the percentage of kinship between the Manggarai and Rembong Languages is 70%, or in other words, they are two different languages.

Documentation regarding the Rembong Language is well described by Verheijen (1977) in "*Bahasa Rembong di Flores Barat*" and also by Hammarström et al. (2020) on the glottolog.org website. Furthermore, a description of the Rembong Language reduplication process is documented briefly in a dissertation belonging to Schmidt (2013) entitled "Morphosyntax of Wangka, a Dialect of Rembong-Riung". In his research, Schmidt stated that the Rembong Language does not use a reduplication form to express plurality but instead uses a determiner that comes after the noun. However, as the language develops, which receives influence or contact from Indonesian, many forms of reduplication resemble those found in Indonesian. The reduplication commonly explained is the repetition of the entire basic form, whether in the noun, verb, adjective, or adverb word class. He explained that, for instance, the verb *pongga* 'hit' is reduplicated to express reciprocity, together with the reciprocal pronoun *kanens* 'each other'. When it appears in a whole sentence, this reduplication will become *pongga-pongga kanens* 'hitting each other'. From the data presented, it can be concluded that the repetition of this basic form causes a change in the semantic meaning of the repeated word.

One other language that is close to each other is the Komodo language. Fernandez calculated the percentage of the close relationships between the Manggarai and Komodo Languages and produced a smaller presentation than the Manggarai and Rembong Languages. A study conducted by Forth (1988) on linguistic data documented by Verheijen (1987) concluded that much of the vocabulary used by the Komodo Community is loanwords from the Bima and Manggarai Languages. Forth estimates that only around 40% of the terminology used is native to the Komodo Language. These loanwords in the Komodo Language are a direct result of the extended relationship between the Bima, who dominated Manggarai, and the Komodo Islands at that time, which involved the migration of the Bima people to the island. On the other hand, the Manggarai Language loanwords in this language emerged as a result of contact with the Manggarai people, who were said to have been exiled by the Bima Kingdom on the island. Thus, language contact between the three languages is possible and results in vocabulary absorption from the languages in contact.

Nonetheless, Fernandez views these three languages as eventually creating separate subgroups under the Western Flores Subgroup. The particular reason for this circumstance is that compared to other languages in West Flores, these three languages have a high cognate percentage. Komodo Language is spoken on the island of Komodo to some extent under the administrative area of West Manggarai Regency. Verheijen (1987) also researched the language in his book entitled "*Pulau Komodo: Tanah, Rakyat, dan Bahasanya*". Margono et al. (1987) described the Komodo language in the book "*Struktur Bahasa Komodo*" and briefly explained reduplication in the Komodo Language. In this research, he explained that the Komodo Language has a reduplication process similar to Indonesian. Reduplication in Komodo only changes the grammatical meaning but is an idiomatic formation. The forms of reduplication shown include full reduplication and reduplication of morpheme changes that can occur in various types of word classes.

This research focuses on the MRK Language Subgroup promoted by Fernandez based on several previous studies and tries to formulate contrasts of reduplication patterns between languages found in West Flores. While research on the reduplication patterns of Western

Flores Languages has yet to be thoroughly explored, this research seeks to produce the first to examine the reduplication patterns of languages in West Flores. A study entitled “*Reduplikasi Bahasa Flores*” conducted by Timung (2020) did not involve the languages found in Flores anyhow but instead focused on describing the Manggarai Language’s system of reduplication. The researcher dares to say that this study’s results are not representative, specifically discussing reduplication in West Flores Languages. This research is, therefore, the first study to focus on reduplication patterns of languages in West Flores, though, eventually, not all languages in this area can be explained perfectly due to the lack of relevant information. The point is considering the classification of languages based on the syntactic structure suggested by Datang (1995) and based on the percentage of cognate words by Fernandez above, the Manggarai, Rembong, and Komodo Languages are a subgroup under the auspices of the West Flores Language. Apart from that, several others are still under the auspices of the Western Flores Language group but are classified into the Central Flores Language, which are other languages excluded from the MRK Subgroup. The language grouping can be depicted as seen in the following chart.

Studying reduplication in several related languages is considered necessary because it could help the researcher to prove whether the findings of this present study could support these three languages’ relationship, as stated by Fernandez, in which they are classified into one subgroup on account of the high degree of cognition. Since these three languages have a high degree of cognition and are geographically close to each other, language contact is possible. With that being said, they might share some similarities in their vocabularies. The researcher in this study assumes Manggarai, Rembong, and Komodo Languages (MRK Subgroups) have similar reduplication patterns that can be generated and integrated. At the same time, this seeks to examine what Blust (2013) has stated, that reduplication predominantly exists in Austronesian Languages, including Western Flores. Comparative studies have only started to show the wide variety of reduplicative patterns found in these languages’ families and the various features they serve. This research surveys some of the main kinds and capabilities of reduplication, organizing the material using a copying sample. It does not pretend to be

descriptively exhaustive nor to provide complete analyses of the data.

Reduplication is a morphological process that involves repeating the primary form of a word either entirely or only in part. However, in other cases, reduplication is also a grammatical process of suffixation applied to a morphological root, whereas, in a phonological process, the duplicated part forms an inherent part of the phonological root (Dixon, 2010, p. 27). As previously mentioned, the MRK Group’s Language is a language that does not have affixation, so the word formation process is only through reduplication or compound words (Elias, 2020). Studying the reduplication patterns within specific language families can clarify historical relationships and determine grammatical similarities. This research also provides readers with an understanding of reduplication in Austronesian Languages in West Flores. Thus, to carry out a reduplication analysis of these three languages, it is necessary to consider the appropriate method to answer the objectives of this research.

II. METHODS

This study uses qualitative research approach design to form a systematic explanation and conclusion. This research design helps researchers observe phenomena that appear in specific communities. Qualitative research observes shared culture, reports specific events, and traces oral histories in a certain population (Maxwell and Reybold, 2015). Data collection methods that are generally used involve direct observation and interaction with the phenomenon being studied, including personal interviews with individuals who have experience or knowledge of the phenomenon being studied and document analysis or other forms of data collection that apply to the phenomenon. This research aims to compare the reduplication patterns in the language regions of West Flores and find ways to integrate their similarities. A qualitative approach is suitable to achieve this goal, which involves thematic analysis or grounded theory to identify patterns, themes, and categories within the data. The results validate the MRK group’s classification based on morphological processes, specifically the presence of reduplication, and provide an overview of this pattern in the three languages.

Blust (2013) states that reduplication has been heavily exploited in Austronesian languages. Nonetheless, there is still a need to

explore more about this phenomenon. Researchers are looking for any gaps that previous researchers have yet to investigate; in other words, this research aims to fill the gap in which integrating the reduplication in Western Flores languages has not been previously done by any other researchers. Applying qualitative research methods to this research will help form an in-depth study of reduplication patterns in the languages investigated by using the data collection methods offered in this approach.

Reduplication data for the Manggarai Language and Komodo Language were obtained by conducting direct interviews with informants, namely NA (23) for the Komodo Language and YS (59) for the Manggarai Language. The main criterion for selecting informants is that they are at least native speakers and are the informant's first language. Researchers recorded and recorded all information submitted by informants. Data that is considered representative is selected and entered into the data tabulation.

To support these data, I also use secondary data obtained from the results of previous research documentation. Data on the reduplication of the Rembong Language was obtained from research conducted by Schmidt (2013) entitled "Morphosyntax of Wangka, a Dialect of Rembong-Riung". This study provides complete information about the forms of Rembong Language reduplication and examples. A collection of Rembong Language vocabulary translated into Indonesian in Verheijen's (1977) work entitled "*Bahasa Rembong di Flores Barat*" was also taken as secondary data for comparison. I also use a dictionary to support the data collected through interviews. Indonesian-Manggarai Dictionary, compiled by Lon et al. (2018), presents a lot of data on the reduplication of the Manggarai Language from different dialects. Apart from that, Verheijen's (1987) paper entitled "*Pulau Komodo Tanah, Rakyat, dan Bahasanya*" also provides a collection of Komodo language vocabulary accompanied by a handful of examples of reduplication.

The data that has been published must have gone through a verification process with the appropriate methods. One of the reasons for collecting secondary data is to avoid duplication of work that has been done, as well as being able to answer specific research questions and test several hypotheses (Mora, 2022). The data is then grouped based on word class, e.g., verb type reduplication is separated from adjective reduplication. The next step is to look at the

reduplication pattern and the meaning contained therein. This pattern includes the differences and similarities of reduplication in the three languages investigated.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

There are three common types of reduplication in the Western Flores Languages: full reduplication, full reduplication with vowel alternation, and partial reduplication. Classification goes through the sorting stage by observing the form and meaning of the reduplication data. The data for each type is classified based on its type and is presented in tables. These tables provide information on the types of reduplication, examples of reduplication in the language being studied, and their English meanings. Additionally, sentence examples are provided to give context for using these reduplications.

1. Full Reduplication

This is the most common reduplication pattern found in the Western Flores languages. The term 'full reduplication' means the base words are fully repeated. In the three languages examined here, full reduplication is substantial in creating word formation in different word classes.

Data regarding reduplication in the Manggarai Language were obtained from previous research conducted by Jehane (2021) and Jer et al. (2020) and based on the results of interviews conducted with informant YS (61).

Table 1. Examples of full reduplication in Manggarai

Types of Reduplication	Examples in Manggarai	Their Meaning in English
Noun reduplication	<i>Watu-watu</i>	Stones
	<i>Mbaru-mbaru</i>	Houses
	<i>Salang-salang</i>	Streets
Verb reduplication	<i>Lako-lako</i>	Walkings
	<i>Duang-duang</i>	Adding more and more
	<i>Cau-cau</i>	Holding on
Adjective reduplication	<i>Miteng-miteng</i>	Looking so black
	<i>Mese-mese</i>	Very big
	<i>Lewe-lewe</i>	Very long

Adverb reduplication	<i>Hema-hema</i>	Quietly	reduplication	<i>Reba-reba</i>	Fanning
	<i>Gula-gula</i>	Early morning		<i>Pate-pate</i>	Spattering
	<i>Tuil-tuil</i>	Too dark		<i>Plai-plai</i>	Runnings
Adjective reduplication			Adjective reduplication	<i>Maja-maja</i>	Shy
				<i>Kide-kide</i>	Small
				<i>Kondang-kondang</i>	Big
				<i>Mado-mado</i>	Slowly
				<i>Nari-nari</i>	Slowly
				<i>Teme-teme</i>	Truly
Adverb reduplication			Adverb reduplication	<i>Rope-rope</i>	Hastily
				<i>Nende-nende</i>	Too long
				<i>Ma-ma</i>	Too long
				<i>Wou-wou</i>	Hurriedly
				<i>Wodo-wodo</i>	A lot
		<i>Sekio-sekio</i>	A little bit		

Data regarding reduplication in the Rembong language were obtained from Schmidt's dissertation (2013) and from the Indonesian-Rembong dictionary compiled by Verheijen (1977).

Table 2. Examples of full reduplication in Rembong

Types of Reduplication	Examples in Rembong	Their Meaning in English
Noun reduplication	<i>Sura-surak</i>	Letters
	<i>Anak-anak</i>	Children
Verb reduplication	<i>Wendal-wendal</i>	Kicking
	<i>Pongga-pongga</i>	Hitting
	<i>Ghio-ghiol</i>	Running
	<i>Enda-enda</i>	having fun
	<i>Wet-wet</i>	Staggered
Adjective reduplication	<i>Balong-balong</i>	Very lazy
	<i>Na-na</i>	Sometimes
	<i>Ngazo-ngazo</i>	Firstly
Adverb reduplication	<i>Izo-izo</i>	Everyday
	<i>Maler-maler</i>	Tomorrows
	<i>Di'a-di'a</i>	Carefully

Based on research conveyed by Margono et al. (1987) and data collected from an interview with informant NU (23), below are examples of reduplication found in the Komodo language.

Table 3. Examples of full reduplication in Komodo

Types of Reduplication	Examples in Komodo	Their Meaning in English
Noun reduplication	<i>Gola-gola</i>	Candies
	<i>Ata-ata</i>	People
	<i>Wie-wie</i>	Smells
	<i>Roka-roka</i>	Friends
	<i>Urang-urang</i>	Rains
Verb	<i>Karo-karo</i>	Walkings

Full reduplication in Western Flores languages can be elaborated as follows.

1.1 Fully Reduplicated Nouns

In the above data, full reduplication is commonly found in nouns to show plurality.

Manggarai

- (1) *Mbaru-mbaru situ ruis salang mese.*
Houses those near street big
(Those houses are near big streets)

Rembong (Schmidt, 2013)

- (2) *Anak-anak sndong mbrang iwo '=ns lgur.*
Children these afraid keep=3PL
thunder
(The children are afraid of thunder the entire time)

Komodo

- (3) *Sere ne Roka-roka ku.*
They this friends of mine
(These are friends of mine)

In these three languages, reduplication of nouns is generally to show pluralism by repeating the entire base word, as in *mbaru-mbaru* 'houses'.

1.2 Fully Reduplicated Verbs

Furthermore, full reduplication also occurs in verbs, as seen in the examples below.

Manggarai

- (4) *Neka cau-cau wuk daku.*
Don't touch hair mine
(Do not touch my hair)

The clause (4) shows how the base word *cau* 'touch' is reduplicated to *cau-cau* to express intensity. Reduplication *cau-cau* explains that the activity of holding someone's hair has been carried out repeatedly. At the same time, the word *neka* in this clause is a form of prohibition to stop the activity of holding one's hair, which is carried out continuously.

Rembong (Schmidt, 2013)

- (5) *Siza ta'u zua pongga-ponnga' kane'=ns.*
3PL CLF two hit-hit RECP=3PL
(The two of them hit each other)
- (6) *Ghiol-ghiol dok lat sa'it ale sekola.*
Run-run else late arrive west school
(Run quickly, or else you will be late for school)

In Schmidt's opinion (2013), the reduplication in example (5) *ponnga-ponnga* 'hitting' that is followed by a reciprocation *kane'=ns* 'each other' indicates the meaning of reciprocity. Additionally, the reduplication *ghiol-ghiol* in example (6) shows the action taken by someone intensely.

Komodo

- (7) *Hia plai-plai lale ekang.*
He run-run PREP-in home
(He is running at home)

In the Komodo language above, the reduplication *plai-plai* is used to describe an activity done by someone that is currently happening. The Komodo language does not have a particular marking case to indicate present progressive like English or Indonesian.

1.3 Fully Reduplicated Adjectives

These three languages duplicate adjectives to describe the 'degree' of the object being described along the line of English by using the word 'very' to express degree.

Manggarai

- (8) *Mese-mesed nakeng situ.*
Big-big fish those
(Those are big fishes)

- (9) *Nakeng situ mese-mese de.*
Fish those big-big
(Those fishes are big)

- (10) *Nakeng mese-mese taung haeng dise.*
Fish big-big all caught their
(All fishes that they coughed are all big)

In example (8) above, the article *de* is attached to the end of the reduplication 'mese-mese' to refer to the described fish. The form of reduplication in this example can be followed by the word '*taung*' to state that there is not just one large fish. Meanwhile, examples (9) and (10) use reduplication to describe large fish.

Rembong (Schmidt, 2013)

- (11) *Siza balong-balong=s*
3PL lazy=3PL
(They are very lazy)

Full reduplication of the Rembong adjective serves to express intensity. The base word *balong* 'lazy' is reduplicated into *balong-balong*, which means 'very lazy' marked with a marker =*s*.

Komodo

- (12) *Kodang-kodang iha e.*
Big-big fish Ø
(The fishes are big)

As in the case of the Manggarai language example (8) above, the Komodo language also has a form of reduplication of an adjective that expresses degree.

1.4 Fully Reduplicated Adverbs

Besides the three-word classes above, reduplication can also occur productively in adverbial word classes. Consider the discussion of examples of full adverbial reduplication in each language below.

Manggarai

- (13) *Lako gula-gula hami diang.*
Walk early morning we tomorrow
(We will walk in the early tomorrow morning)

In the sentence above, *gula-gula* indicates that an activity will be carried out earlier than it should be. Besides that, the repetition of the base form of *gula* 'morning' into *gula-gula* describes

that the 'walk' activity will be carried out early in the morning but not sure what the exact time of 'early meaning' is mentioned by the speaker.

Rembong (Schmidt, 2013)

- (14) *Tango wu' na-na' meket wu'.*
 Wait only sometimes look only
 (We wait, and we sometimes just look)

The adverbial *na* 'now' is reduplicated to become *na-na'* and therefore changes its meaning to 'sometimes' but does not change its word class.

Komodo

- (15) *Moke nende-nende.*
 Don't be too long
 (Don't be too long)

In the context of the sentence (15) above, *nande-nande* is used to express the duration of an activity. The repetition of the primary word *nende* 'long' to *nende-nende* 'too long' causes a change in word class and its meaning.

To such a degree, full reduplication exists in the three languages. This type of reduplication is prevalent to appear in different word classes. The researcher finally sums up some essential points of full reduplication pattern in Western Flores languages; first, full reduplication occurs productively in creating word formation; secondly, full reduplication of nouns expresses plurality; third, full reduplication of verbs expresses intensity; and fourth, full reduplication of the adjective indicates the level of degree.

2. Full Reduplication with Phoneme Change

The third language also has a unique reduplication pattern, namely a full reduplication accompanied by a change in vowel phonemes. Blust (2013) refers to this phenomenon as full reduplication with coda dropping. Instead of categorizing it as full reduplication, the researcher considers it partial reduplication only because some phonemes are missing in the duplicated words.

Table 4. Full Reduplication with phoneme changes in MRK Language

Manggarai Language	
<i>Daki-deka</i>	Talkative
<i>Hami-hema</i>	Being quiet
<i>Baki-beka</i>	Being exaggerated
<i>Laki-lako</i>	Going everywhere
<i>Hidi-hada</i>	Hurriedly

Rembong Language

<i>Bingko-bangko</i>	Mangrove
<i>Tumbang-tambung</i>	Piled up
<i>Zupak-zapaq</i>	Hassle
<i>Amik-omoq</i>	Cheerful
<i>Rungkuk-rangkaq</i>	Scramble
<i>Siluk-saluk</i>	Mazy

Komodo Language

<i>Cuki-cake</i>	Naughty
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Table 4 above presents examples of reduplication with sound changes in the three languages investigated. The basic pattern of this reduplication is to maintain the consonant phoneme and allow the vowel phoneme in the base word to change in the word being repeated, whether before or after the base word.

In the Manggarai language, the rewards before the base word (e.g., *daki-deka* has the base word *deka*) always have the pattern C-a-C-i. Apart from that, there are also reduplications of phoneme changes that the root word cannot identify, so their occurrence is mandatory to create a complete meaning (e.g., *hidi-hada* reduplication does not have a root word). An example of such reduplication in the Manggarai language means doing something excessively and continuously.

- (16) *Baki-beka ome tombo.*
 Exaggerate if talk
 (Exaggerate when talking)
- (17) *Neka laki-lako ntaung.*
 Do not walk always
 (Do not always walk)

Clause (16) above emphasizes that someone likes to exaggerate when speaking. In contrast, clause (17) explains that the act of 'walking' is carried out continuously without pause, for example, playing outside the house. Both partial reduplication clause (16) and clause (17) have a root word located in the second part (e.g., *beka* and *lako*).

Unlike the Rembong language, this kind of reduplication makes identifying patterns and essential words difficult. Changes in vowel phonemes tend to be random but still rhyme while maintaining the consonant phonemes so that nothing is removed except for changes in vowel phonemes. However, in some instances, such as the word *bingko-bangko*, it can be seen that the primary word is *bangko* 'bamboo', which

was absorbed directly from the Manggarai language but experienced a change in meaning to 'mangrove' in the Rembong Language when it underwent a reduplication process. Likewise, the reduplication of *siluk-saluk* 'mazy' in Rembong language is similar to the partial reduplication of *silu-salok* "speak impolitely" in Manggarai Language, which does not have a basic form.

This form of reduplication with phoneme changes tends to vary in the Rembong Language, which can be found in all word classes. In the *bingko-bangko* example above, it can be ascertained that apart from being expressed in full reduplication, the Rembong Language also says a plural meaning in this kind of reduplication. Meanwhile, reduplication with phoneme changes in verb and adjective word classes tends to mean doing something excessive and continuously.

Like the Manggarai and Rembong Languages, the Rembong Language has a reduplication pattern with the same phoneme changes. Verheijen's (1987) paper entitled "*Pulau Komodo tanah, rakyat, dan bahasanya*" also includes a collection of Komodo Language vocabulary translated into Indonesian. A number of vocabularies are also added with examples of forms of reduplication such as 'naughty' *cuki-cake*.

- (18) *Hu re dera cuki-cake ne.*
He/she Ø hard being told Ø
(She/he is hard to be told)

Clause (18) above explains that the person being discussed has a stubborn grin, or in Komodo language, it is called *cuki-cake*. This example of reduplication has the same pattern as the word *siluk-saluk* 'mazy' in the Rembong language, whose base cannot be identified but is different from *baki-beka* 'being exaggerated', whose base word can be identified. Thus, the three languages have the exact reduplication with phoneme changes but differ in meaning.

3. Partial Reduplication

Partial reduplication is a partial repetition of an essential word. In MRK languages, the most common form of partial reduplication is the deletion of one of the phonemes in a repeated word whose basic structure is unknown. The following is a review of the conditions of partial reduplication in each language.

3.1. The Pattern of Partial Reduplication in Manggarai Language

Partial reduplication of the Manggarai Language is distinctive. That being said, many specific conditions need to be considered regarding this kind of reduplication process, one of which is the dialect factor. Each dialect of the Manggarai Language has a different pattern for forming reduplicated words, generally reflected in the difference in vowel change. Some conditions must be noted regarding partial reduplication patterns with sound changes in the Manggarai Language. There are two types of partial reduplication in Manggarai. First, the reduplicated form comes before the base word and generally has a CVCV pattern; it can be either C-a-C-i or C-i-C-i.

Table 5. Partial reduplication with C-a-C-i pattern in Manggarai

<i>Hali-holes</i>	Move freely
<i>Cali-celong</i>	Borrowing intensively
<i>Cali-caluk</i>	Taking turns
<i>Wadi-wedol</i>	Acting like crazy

The C-a-C-i pattern can be found in *cali-celong*, *cali-caluk*, *hali-holes*, and *raci-rucuk*. This form of reduplication can appear in the verb and adjective classes and is often considered an informal variation. It is called that because these forms of partial reduplication can also be expressed as full reduplication, such as *hali-holes* do not have a different meaning from *holes-holes*. Still, the form *hali-holes* are more commonly used in everyday conversation.

- (19) *Hami toe nganceng hali-holes.*
1st PL-PRON no can move freely
(We cannot move freely)

Clause (19) contains partial reduplication of *hali-holes* whose essential words can be identified in the second part: *holes* 'turn around'. Reduplication of this form expresses turning around activities carried out continuously, for example, when someone is in the middle of a crowd, causing that person to be unable to move or change places. However, clause (19) has a different meaning; for example, clauses like this are commonly used when someone expresses their inability to help someone who wants to owe

money.

- (20) *Cali-caluk labar-n boneka hitu.*
Alternate play-PRON doll that
(Play the doll alternately)

Clause (20) explains that playing activities are reciprocally or alternately between two or more participants. *Cali-caluk* reduplication has the root word *caluk*, which also has other reduplication variations, such as *caluk-caluk* reduplication, which generally states the same thing.

- (21) *Weki diha raci-rucuk.*
Body his-POSS thin
(Her/his body is thin)

The partial reduplication in clause (21) has the root word *rucuk*, an adjective. This reduplication does not change the meaning of the root word even though it is stated in the reduplication form because using only the word *rucuk* in clause (21) is still acceptable. However, changes to *raci-rucuk* reduplication always have a negative meaning, usually to insult other parties.

Second, the C-i-C-i pattern can be found in word examples *sibi-sabok*, dan *bingi-bangas*. The C-i-C-i pattern does not have a base word. This actively demonstrates that the whole words must be present together.

Table 6. Partial reduplication with C-i-C-i pattern in Manggarai

<i>Sibi-sabok</i>	Bad-behaved
<i>Bingi-bangas</i>	Dull-witted
<i>Imi-amas</i>	Afraid

It cannot be determined the base word of *bingi-bangas* 'dull-witted' since they do not contain any meanings if separated.

- (22) *Neka sibi-sabok agu ata tu'a.*
Do not bad-behaved with elderly
(Do not be bad-behaved with the elderly)

Clause (22) above is an example of partial reduplication with the C-i-C-i pattern, in which the word in the initial position is filled with an /i/ phoneme. This reduplication pattern emphasizes that there are no essential words that are repeated, or in other words, the word *sibi-sabok* has no meaning if only one part of it appears, so it is different from the first pattern above.

3.2. The Pattern of Partial Reduplication in Rembong Language

Partial reduplication in the Rembong Language tends to be more diverse, although, in some examples, it still resembles forms absorbed from Manggarai as a neighboring language. I identified three types of reduplication patterns in the Rembong Language.

The first pattern is the removal or addition of the final phoneme accompanied by a change in the vowel phoneme. This omission or addition occurs in words ending in a consonant phoneme, as shown in Table 6 below.

Table 7. Partial Reduplication with phoneme omission in Rembong

Examples in Rembong	Their Meaning in English
<i>Pomo-pamang</i>	Courteous
<i>Rewe-rewos</i>	Drugs
<i>Ghio-ghiol</i>	Running
<i>Kombe-kambel</i>	Deceiving
<i>Daki-dekang</i>	Helping each other
<i>Ndawi-ndawar</i>	Unraveled
<i>Dingku-dangkun</i>	Consecutive
<i>Nggumi-nggomok</i>	Laughed out loud
<i>Piqu-paqus</i>	Pretending
<i>Lipi-lapat</i>	Go to and fro
<i>Ghela-ghalang</i>	Untidy
<i>Lio-laon/liao-laot</i>	Quiet
<i>Nope-napeng/kiwu-kawur</i>	Busy
<i>Rame-remak</i>	Joy
<i>Giru-garut</i>	Scramble

It should be noted that the deletion and addition of phonemes in reduplicated words are random; in other words, they can be located in the initial or final position. For example, reduplication with the removal of phonemes usually occurs in words whose base form is at the end of the term, such as *rewo-rewos* reduplication, which has the base word *rewos* 'drug' at the end. On the other hand, the addition of a phoneme occurs when the base word is at the beginning so that the base word that gets an addition accompanied by a change in phoneme is located at the end.

The second pattern rhymes at the beginning of the word partial reduplication. This means there is a similar rhyme at the front between the primary and repeated words.

Table 7. Partial reduplication that rhymes at the initial position of Rembong Language

Examples in Rembong	Their Meaning in English
<i>Ghali-ghewe</i>	Miserable life
<i>Mbiri-mbisar</i>	Splashed
<i>Ghozo-ghamar</i>	Polite
<i>Ninggi-ningsing</i>	Picking
<i>Kaweq-kawar</i>	Mazy
<i>Ngelo-ngetos</i>	Fertile
<i>Ndanda-ndak</i>	Glue

Partial reduplication in Table 7 shows examples of repetition at the beginning of rhyming words. Examples of reduplication of *ghali-ghewe* 'miserable life' and *ghozo-ghawar* 'polite' explain that the vowel phoneme that comes after the consonant phoneme /gh/, which experiences repetition, can experience phoneme changes. In other examples, the partial repetition form that rhymes at the beginning is steady or does not experience repetition except for the syllables that come after it.

The third pattern is partial reduplication with rhyme at the end. This form of reduplication is not much different from the form of partial reduplication in the second pattern; it's just that the difference is the rhyme at the end of the repeated word.

Table 8. Partial reduplication that rhymes in the final position of Rembong Language

Examples in Rembong	Their Meaning in English
<i>Kameq-mok</i>	Sucks
<i>Embaq-rembaq</i>	Exchange
<i>Isuk-iruk</i>	Tidy up
<i>Runggu-bunggu</i>	Crops
<i>Petok-welok</i>	Going round and round

3.3. The Pattern of Partial Reduplication in Komodo Language

The only thing that can be noticed from the Komodo language regarding the pattern of partial reduplication is that it shows the same pattern as seen in the Manggarai Language, particularly CVCV pattern reduplication, whose root can be identified.

Table 9. Partial reduplication with C-i-C-i pattern in Komodo

Examples in Komodo	Their Meaning in English
<i>Hipi-hapek</i>	Going here and there

The reduplication of *hipi-hapek* can be compared to the form of reduplication in the Manggarai *bingi-bangas* language and the Rembong *lipi-lapat* language, which do not have a root word, or in other words; both must be present simultaneously. That being said, it has the same pattern as in the C-i-C-i pattern, which is then located in front of the reduplicated word. The base word *hepak* 'blink' is reduplicated by changing the vowel sound with the phoneme /i/ and omitting the closed consonant /k/ at the end.

- (23) *Liwa tenggo hipi-hapek mu ne.*
 You strong going here and there you Θ
 (You are always going everywhere)

Hipi-hepak has the same meaning as the partial reduplication of *lipi-lapat* in the Rembong language, which also has similarities (or can be assumed to have adopted a similar form) with the reduplication of the Manggarai language, namely *lipi-lopet*, which means speaking without knowing the direction or telling a lot of lies. Thus, this kind of reduplication in the Komodo language aims to describe an activity carried out continuously and repeatedly.

Another unique pattern in partial reduplication in the Komodo language is the repetition and abbreviation of the first syllable in essential words and combining them into one unit, as in the sample words *kekaro* 'walkings' and *nenari* 'slowly'.

Table 10. Partial reduplication by repeating and abbreviating the first syllable

Examples in Komodo	Their Meaning in English
<i>Jejapi (Japi-japi)</i>	Pearl-shell
<i>Kelengang (Lengang-lengang)</i>	Supine
<i>Kelosa (Losa-losa)</i>	To take out
<i>Nenari (Nari-nari)</i>	Being slow
<i>Kekaro (Karo-karo)</i>	Walkings

These two words result from partial reduplication in which full reduplication of the

words *karo-karo* and *nari-nari* shorten to become *kekaro* and *nenari*. This is done by copying the first syllable and attaching it to the base words. It needs to be noted that in these two examples, the vowel phoneme in the first syllable is changed to the phoneme /i/.

IV. CONCLUSION

This present study investigates reduplication patterns in three languages in West Flores, namely the MRK Group Languages (Manggarai, Rembong, and Komodo). After elaborating on the reduplication patterns in the Western Flores Languages, the researcher finally concluded that these languages share the same reduplication pattern. This also confirms Blust's (2013) statement, which states that reduplication is very productive in Austronesian Languages, including Western Flores. The kinship relationship between languages and close geographical location allows language contact, thus causing similarity in vocabulary and reduplication patterns in the three languages. These three languages have full reduplication and partial reduplication, respectively.

Full reduplication of nouns shows the plurality of the object being discussed. The reduplication of verbs has various functions in each language. Full reduplication of verbs expresses different things in each language, intensity in the Manggarai Language as *inas* in *cau-cau* 'touching repeatedly', reciprocity in the Rembong Language as in *ponnga-ponnga kanens* 'hitting each other', and describes the present continuous in the Komodo Language as in *plai-plai* 'running'. The reduplication of adjectives in these three languages both function to express degree of qualities and human natures, for example, small or large as in *mese-mese* 'big' in Manggarai or *kide-kide* 'small' in Komodo, *balong-balong* 'very lazy' in Rembong, and so on. Meanwhile, full reduplication of the adverb appears to modify the verb such as duration of time as in *izo-izo* 'everyday' in Rembong, *rope-rope* 'hastily' in Komodo, *hema-hema* 'quietly' in Manggarai.

In addition to full reduplication, all three languages recognize full reduplication with phoneme changes (vowel alternations). Changes usually only occur in vowel phonemes and have a unique pattern in each language, as in *baki-beka* 'being exaggerated' in Manggarai, *zupak-zapaq* 'hassle' in Rembong, and *cuki-cake* 'naughty' in Komodo. This type of full reduplication can occur in all word classes in the three languages.

Meanwhile, partial reduplication that has something in common is the omission or addition of a consonant phoneme at the beginning. Examples of partial reduplication with reduction segment of base words include *cali-caluk* 'taking turns' in Manggarai, *piqu-paqus* 'pretending' in Rembong, and *hipi-hapek* 'going here and there' in Komodo. Another distinctive form of reduplication is found in the Rembong Language, which has reduplication with rhymes at the beginning and end, for example, *ghali-ghewe* 'miserable life' represents the partial reduplication with rhymes at the initial position, and *kameq-mok* 'sucks' represents the partial reduplication that rhymes in the final position as well as partial reduplication with repetition and shortening of syllables in the Komodo Language as in *kelosa (losa-losa)* 'to take out'.

This study only focuses on a limited number of languages from the West Flores Subgroup. Moreover, the data used in this study is based on several previous studies. Nonetheless, the researcher still corroborated the data by conducting interviews. The researcher suggests that future studies should better investigate reduplication in a broader scope to understand reduplication patterns in the Western Flores Language. Further investigation of partial reduplication is fascinating, particularly in Rembong language, which displays unique characteristics.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author thanks the anonymous reviewer who has contributed constructive criticism. All errors in writing this article are solely from the author

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