



P-ISSN 2355-2794  
E-ISSN 2461-0275

## Reduplication as a Word-Formation Process in the Jamee Language: A Variety of Minang Spoken in South Aceh

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### Abstract

*One of the processes of word formation is reduplication which words or morphemes are repeated. This study focuses on reduplication in Jamee language. This descriptive qualitative study aims at finding out forms of reduplication and the meaning contained in the reduplication in Jamee. The data were collected through ethnographic interview by recording ten native speakers of the Jamee language who live in Labuhanhaji sub-district, South Aceh. They were chosen through purposive sampling. A total of 261 reduplication words were obtained during the interviews, and they were analysed using three stages; data reduction, data display and data verification. Based on the results of data analysis, it was found that there are four types of reduplication in the Jamee language: full reduplication, partial reduplication, lexicalized reduplication, and affixed reduplication. The study also shows that reduplication in Jamee language can be in the forms of verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and pronominals. Despite previous studies show that there is no infix in the Jamee language, hence it does occur in this study even though it is rarely used in this language. It is assumed that it may have come into the language through the borrowing from Bahasa Indonesia.*

**Keywords:** Reduplication, Jamee language, word-formation process.

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**Citation in APA style:** Aziz, Z. A., & Nolikasari, V. (2020). Reduplication as a word-formation process in the Jamee language: A variety of Minang spoken in South Aceh. *Studies in English Language and Education*, 7(1), 43-54.

Received December 3, 2019; Revised February 20, 2020; Accepted February 25, 2020

<https://doi.org/10.24815/siele.v7i1.15693>

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Jamee, one of regional languages in Indonesia, is a native language of the people who live in some regencies in the province of Aceh, including South Aceh regency, Northwest regency and West Aceh regency. Jamee language has four dialects, i.e. Tapaktuan dialect, Samadua, Susoh and Mereubo (Abdullah et al., 1991). Jamee language is similar to the Minang language in terms of lexical item (Yunisaridewi, 2014). Abdullah et al. (1991, p. 1) say that Jamee language is a combination of Minang language and Acehnese, and the similarity could be seen in the vocabulary use, such as the word *rancak* ‘beautiful’ is used in both Minang language and Jamee language.

One of the rarely-investigated language features of Jamee language is reduplication. It is a morphological process (Aziz et al., 2019) where a part or the complete word is copied to the base form with a “slight phonological change” (Brinton, 2000, p. 91; Lieber, 2009, p. 80). In general, reduplication has two main types; total and partial (Khanzan & Alinezhad, 2010). These two types are different by the way they are formed. Total reduplication is when the whole word or root is repeated while partial reduplication occurs when a part of a word is repeated (Nadarajan, 2006).

There have been two studies conducted regarding Jamee Language covering reduplication. One is conducted by Abdullah et al. (1991) and the other is by Yusuf et al. (1998). These studies cover three kinds of reduplication in Jamee language, i.e. full reduplication, rhyming reduplication and reduplication with affixes. However, they only discussed the forms and meanings of reduplication in Jamee language. The number of participants was restricted between one and four persons; therefore, the results were less comprehensive. Yusuf et al. (1998) had analysed reduplication with six prefixes and three suffixes in Jamee language. Those are /ma-/, /di-/, /ba-/, /ta-/, /ka-/, /sa-/, /-kan/, /-nyo/, and /-an/. Nevertheless, they only provided the example of reduplication words with the suffixes devoid of describe the roots and how they are formed. In addition, the researchers covered more reduplication words as well as the roots and the way they are formed. Thus, in this study, the discussion is more extensive. The data were obtained from the larger number of participants. This present study is, therefore, investigating in more depth the reduplication formed in Jamee language.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Reduplication is a morphological process of forming new words where the entire or parts of free morphemes are copied and attached to the base by adding or changing a few syllable (Brinton, 2000; Haspelmath & Sims, 2010; Lieber, 2009; Nadarajan, 2006; Valli & Lucas, 2002). The process of forming a reduplication word is determined by form of the base word (Inkelas & Downing, 2015). Reduplication is as important as root and pattern in morphology (Aronoff & Fudeman, 2011). It plays an important role in word formation process in many languages in the world (Khalid, 2015). It is used frequently in the world’s languages such as Austronesia, Australia and South Asia (Crawford, 2015). Reduplication may change the meaning but the derived meaning is still related to the meaning of the base word (Sneddon, 1996). For example, a base word *anak* ‘child’ becomes *kekanak-kanakan* ‘childish’ and a word *tolong* ‘help’ to *tolong-menolong* ‘mutual help’. The meaning depends on the certain combination of the base and the affix.

## 2.1 Types of Reduplication

In general, reduplication processes are divided into two main categories; total reduplication and partial reduplication (Rubino, 2005). Total reduplication is the doubling process of the whole part base of word, stem and root without changing either consonant or vowel (Lieber, 2009). In Indonesia, not only free words as *lompat-lompat* ‘jumping’, *pelan* ‘slow’ but also words consist of affixes such as *perubahan-perubahan* ‘changes’ can be reduplicated (Sneddon, 1996, p. 15)

Partial reduplication refers to “only a part of the word is being repeated” (Lieber, 2009, p. 81; Olsson, 2015, p. 2). It is formed by copying part of the base word such as duplicating a consonant or lengthening a vowel (Rubino, 2005). Partial reduplication is not only repeated the beginning of a base, but also the medial and the end (Rubino, 2005).

According to (Kauffman, 2015) reduplication is divided into eight types. Those types are based on examples in several languages in the world such as Indonesia, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Javanese, Persian, Malay, Hawaiian, Turkish, Bella Coola, Bengali, Dakota, Fijian, Fox, Hindi, Hebrew, Ojibwa, Paiute, Salish, Samoan, Sioux, Tagalog, Tamil, Vietnamese, Warlpiri, and Yuroba.

### 2.1.1 Full reduplication

This type of reduplication occurs when the entire word is being repeated. For example, is *neshif-neshif* ‘completely dried out’ in Arabic, and *wali-wali* ‘easy going’ in Hawaiian (Kauffman, 2015, p. 3). Rubino (2005, p. 21) says that “in Indonesian, full reduplication of temporal noun is used to derive temporal adverbial, verb to produce adverbial, i.e. *pagi-pagi* ‘early in the morning’ is derived from *pagi* ‘morning’, *tiba-tiba* ‘suddenly’ from *tiba* ‘arrive’”.

### 2.1.2 Partial reduplication

It is categorized as partial reduplication when only the syllable is duplicated, such as *waahine* ‘women’ from root word *wahine* ‘woman’ in Māori language of New Zealand, and *chatul* ‘cat’ becomes *chatatul* ‘kitten’ from Hebrew (Kauffman, 2015, p. 3). Ilocano (Austronesian, Philippines) divided types of partial reduplication based on the word classes which being reduplicated, those are partial root, simple root, a partial stem or a full word such as *ubing* ‘child’ into *ubbing* ‘children’, *na-lukmeg* ‘fat’ into *nalulukmeg* ‘fat, distributive’, *ag-tilmon* ‘swallow’ into *ag-tilmotilmon* ‘swallow repeatedly’ (Rubino, 2005, p. 12). Besides, Sheela (2011) points out that rhyming reduplication which changes consonant of the first morpheme and ablaut reduplication changes one of the vowels are grouped into partial reduplication.

### 2.1.3 Reduplication in baby-talk

Reduplication in baby-talk or motherese occurs when infants begin to speak; they develop such reduplicated words to simplify a process of producing their lexical items i.e. in French, *dodo* is derived from word *dormir* ‘to sleep’ (Leroy & Morgenstern, 2005, p. 2). According to Aitchison (1994), as cited in Michelucci et al. (2011), this type of reduplication is also called as onomatopoeia. Then, the examples

of reduplication in baby-talk which commonly found in English are ‘mama’, ‘papa’, ‘dada’, ‘poo-poo’, ‘bay-bay’, ‘buh-buh’, ‘bye-bye’, ‘putt-putt’, and ‘choo-choo’ (Brinton, 2000, p. 91). Those words are found at difference ages until an infant is able to pronounce words fully (Kauffman, 2015).

#### 2.1.4 Rhyming reduplication

It produced new word by duplicate root word changing the consonant while the vowel remains the same i.e. ‘super-duper’ in English (Piechnik, 2015, p. 31). (Kauffman, 2015, p. 3) categorized rhyming reduplication as total reduplication which cannot be found in all languages, only English and Russian have many examples of the expression; such as ‘love-dovey’, ‘hanky-panky’ in English, and *plaksa-vaksa* ‘cry baby’, *kashka-malashka* ‘porridge’ in Russian.

#### 2.1.5 Ablaut reduplication

This type of reduplication also not widely used in world languages which the process of the reduplication is formed by changing vowels such as *kasa-koso* ‘rustle’ and *gata-goto* ‘rattle’ in Japanese (Kauffman, 2015, p. 3). Piechnik (2015, p. 31) and Brinton (2000, p. 91) also give examples of ablaut reduplication in English: ‘chit-chat’, ‘zig-zag’, ‘mingle-mangle’, ‘tick-tock’, ‘flip-flop’, ‘mish-mash’, ‘wishy-washy’ and ‘clip-clop’. From those examples, it could be seen that ablaut reduplication produced reduplicated words through two phases: copying the syllable and then change the vowel for the second syllable (Wang, 2005).

#### 2.1.6 Reduplication in onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeia is found in many languages in the worlds, consists of words imitate of sound produced by nature and other things, such as noises made by cars, animals, etc. (Kauffman, 2015; Michelucci et al., 2011). Moreover, the way of imitate a sound of something is different in all languages. For instance, a dog’s sound to a Japanese speaker is *wanwan*, to a Russian *gavgav*, to a Spanish speaker *gufguf*, a Korean *mungmung*. This type is also categorized as full reduplication.

#### 2.1.7 Name doubling

This kind of reduplication is the same as the name where it duplicate name of someone, for instance nickname in English ‘Jo-Jo’, ‘Jay-Jay’, ‘Jon-Jon’ and so on (Kauffman, 2015, p. 3). It commonly found in English and Chinese (Kauffman, 2015). As usual, reduplicated names produced by doubling one syllable of name to make the name simplify to be pronounced; its functions are similar as reduplication in baby-talk (Wong, 2003).

#### 2.1.8 Shm-reduplication

This type of reduplication is used to convey irony, sarcasm, wit, poking fun, linguistic humour and more by applying *shm-* (Kauffman, 2015, p. 4; Obrst, 2012, p. 51), and the examples in English are ‘money-shmoney’ and ‘unbelievable-

shmunbelievable’. It always produces rhyming pairs and the domain of shm- is in the right edge (Podobryaev, 2012).

## 2.2 Jamee Language

Jamee language is one of languages in Aceh and the majority of its speakers are located in South Aceh and a few others spread around West Aceh, Southwest Aceh, Simeulue and Singkil (Salmina, 2013). Native speakers of Jamee language are called as *Aneuk Jamee* ‘comer’ since they migrated from Lubuk Sikaping, Pariaman, Rao, and Pasaman in 17<sup>th</sup> century (Idami, 2017, p. 2). Jamee language is a combination between Minang Language and Acehnese, and it has four dialects: Tapaktuan, Samadua, Susoh and Mereubo (Abdullah et al., 1991). Minang and Jamee languages are almost similar, the similarity could be seen in vocabulary used both in Minang and Jamee language such as *rancak* ‘beautiful’ (Yunisaridewi, 2014, p. 2). The other examples are given by Yunisaridewi (2014, pp. 40-58) as follows:

**Table 1.** Vocabulary in Minang and Jamee languages.

Minang Language	Jamee Language	Meaning
<i>Surek</i>	<i>suRek</i>	Letter
<i>Hangek</i>	<i>Angek</i>	Hot
<i>Mancaliak</i>	<i>Mancaliak</i>	Looking at
<i>Tatunggang</i>	<i>Tatunggang</i>	Spill
<i>Pai</i>	<i>Pai</i>	Go

## 3. METHODS

The method applied in this study is descriptive qualitative. In a qualitative methodology, the data are provided in the form of description which covers someone’s words either in writing or speaking forms and someone’s behaviour that can be recognized (Taylor et al., 2016). This study was done under the purpose to give a clear explanation about the object analysed. It was conducted in Labuhanhaji South Aceh district, the origin region which Jamee language is spoken. Labuhanhaji is one of the sub-districts in the district where the ethnic of Jamee speakers consist of 20.049, Acehnese speakers consist of 13.141 and Javanese speakers consist of 213 (Djunaidi et al., 2000). (Djunaidi et al., 2000) indicate that Aneuk Jamee ethnic most live in Labuhanhaji sub-district.

There are four possible data sources in qualitative research: interviews with participants, observations, written documents and artefacts (Polkinghorne, 2005). In this study, the data were obtained from unstructured interviews or ethnographic interviews, which Bernard et al. (2016) call it as the casual conversation but not informal either since ethnographic interview is asking participants’ opinion about something. Ten language informants were interviewed with the criteria: (1) middle-age, that is between 37 and 54 years old as proposed by Williams and Garrett (2002), (2) native speakers of Jamee language, (3) having good pronunciation, and (4) staying in Labuhanhaji most of the time.

The informants were interviewed and discussed about a variety of topics on daily activities, occupation, world cup, experiences and health where the Jamee speakers mostly use the reduplication. The authors invited each of the informants to talk about

the topics and during the conversation they were as much as possible directed and aimed to produce reduplication. It should be noted that one of the authors is the native speaker of Jamee and she always chose the topics of conversation that made and triggered the informants to produce the reduplication without their consciousness.

The data were analysed by following the procedures proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994) which were data reduction, data display and data verification. Liu and Motoda (2012) explain that data reduction is a process of selecting, simplifying, and transforming the data of field note or transcription. In the display stage, the thematic information by using a table presented and provided the reduplication words in Jamee language. In the stage of conclusion and verification, the reduplication words in Jamee language were confirmed and separated based on the types to further analyse the distribution and the meaning.

#### 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

From the conversation with the ten informants in their daily life settings, this study had identified various types of reduplication words in Jamee language, and those are full reduplication, partial reduplication, rhyming reduplication and reduplication with affixes.

##### 4.1 Full Reduplication

Full reduplication involves the exact repetition of a similar word. This type of reduplication is most common in daily conversation in Jamee language since most full reduplication undergoes full reduplication. The repetition of such form can be in verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs, as in the examples below.

**Table 2.** Full reduplication in Jamee language.

Root word	Reduplicated word
<i>Caliek</i> 'look at'	<i>Caliek-caliek</i> 'look at something continuously'
<i>Gata</i> 'itchy'	<i>Gata-gata</i> 'itchy continuously'
<i>Dusanak</i> 'one of the relatives'	<i>Dusanak-dusanak</i> 'relative'
<i>Kadang</i> 'maybe'	<i>Kadang-kadang</i> 'some time'

Table 2 shows the full reduplication in Jamee language. It had been categorized into several classes of word such as verb, adjective, noun, pronominal and adverb. The reduplication does not change the class of word such as in the reduplication word *caliek-caliek* which is derived from the root word *caliek* which both are verbs. However, the original word changes its meaning slightly after reduplication.

##### 4.2 Partial Reduplication

This is a form of reduplication word that involves the reduplication of only a part of word. Such reduplication is not very productive in the Jamee language. The partially reduplicated words in the Jamee language are shown in Table 3 below.

**Table 3.** Partial reduplication in Jamee Language.

The words	Reduplicated words
<i>Manggigi</i> ‘tremble’	<i>Manggigi-gigi</i> ‘keep tremble’
<i>Basuo</i> ‘meet someone’	<i>Basuo-suo</i> ‘meet someone more than one time’
<i>Manangih</i> ‘crying’	<i>Manangih-nangih</i> ‘keep crying’
<i>Sekitar</i> ‘approximately’	<i>Sekitar-kitar</i> ‘approximately (not really clear)’
<i>Sakajap</i> ‘just for a moment’	<i>Sakajap-kajap</i> ‘repetition of an event by having a break in a short time’

The examples in Table 3 indicate that partial reduplication in the Jamee language duplicate the second and third syllable of the root word. For instance, *manggigi* ‘tremble’, after duplicating the second and the third syllable /-gi-/ and /-gi/, the reduplication word change to *manggigi-gigi* ‘keep trembling’. The first syllable /mang-/ in the word is not a prefix because word *gigi* ‘tooth’ has no related meaning with *manggigi*.

### 4.3 Lexicalized Reduplication

After interviewing ten native speakers of Jamee language, the authors found four lexicalized reduplications in the Jamee Language. The class of words is verb, adjective and noun. It is when the root word must be in the reduplication form. Those examples are provided in Table 4.

**Table 4.** Lexicalized reduplication in Jamee language.

Base Words	Part of Speech	Reduplication Words
<i>Mondar-mandir</i>	Verb	<i>Mondar-mandir</i> ‘go back and forth’
<i>Sio-sio</i>	Adjective	<i>Sio-sio</i> ‘useless’
<i>Dekak-dekak</i>	Noun	<i>Dekak-dekak</i> ‘counting frame’
<i>Rawa-rawa</i>	Noun	<i>Rawa-rawa</i> ‘marsh’

From the examples in Table 4, it shows that the words are fully reduplicated. However, it cannot be considered as full reduplication since the non-reduplicated parts cannot stand alone.

### 4.4 Affixed Reduplication

Based on the results of ethnographic interview with the language informants, it was found that there were some reduplication words with affixes in the Jamee language. Those were divided into several categories according to the types of affixes which the root words were inserted such as prefix, suffix, infix and confix. Some of data on reduplication with affixes in the Jamee language were presented and discussed below.

#### 4.4.1 Prefixal reduplication

Prefix is one of affixes in the Jamee language which is attached to the initial of a base word. The examples of prefixal reduplication are provided in Table 5.

**Table 5.** Prefixal reduplication in Jamee language.

Base word	Prefixes	Reduplicated word
<i>Bagaruang</i> ‘have a hole’	/ba-/	<i>Bagaruang-garung</i> ‘have holes’
<i>Mambukak</i> ‘opening’	/ma-	<i>Mambukak-bukak</i> ‘opening something repeatedly’
<i>Gilo</i> ‘crazy’	/ba-/	<i>Bagilo-gilo</i> ‘enthusiastic’
<i>Baluluak</i> ‘with mud’	/ba-/	<i>Baluluak-luluak</i> ‘full of mud’
<i>Cilok</i> ‘steal’	/ma-/	<i>Mancilok-cilok</i> ‘steal something more than one time’

To form the reduplication, the prefixes in the Jamee language can be attached to verbs, adjectives and nouns. As observed the examples in Table 5, prefixal reduplication changes class of word from adjective and noun into verb. Besides, verbs undergo prefixal reduplication with semantic value of action is doing. The prefix is not duplicated in the process of reduplication, it only duplicates the root word. In addition, some of the data above indicate that the reduplication words are formed through morphophonemic process such as *mancilok* ‘someone is stealing’ by adding the prefix /ma-/ to the root word *cilok* ‘steal’ and the prefix is changed to /man-/.

#### 4.4.2 Suffixal reduplication

Suffixal reduplication is the repetition of the end of the root word. Such type of reduplication takes place to the right of the root word as a suffix. There are three examples of this type of reduplication words in Jamee language that was found during the data collection, and they are presented in Table 6. From the table, it is clear that the base words are reduplicated followed by the adding of suffix /-an/.

**Table 6.** Suffixal reduplication in Jamee language.

Root words	Suffixes	Reduplication words
<i>Ikhlas</i> ‘sincere’	/-an/	<i>Ikhlas-ikhlasan</i> ‘try to get sincere’
<i>Kenang</i> ‘remind about’	/-an/	<i>Kenang-kenangan</i> ‘keepsake’
<i>Sio-sio</i> ‘useless’	/-an/	<i>Sio-sioan</i> ‘make something useless’

#### 4.4.3 Infixal reduplication

It was also found a type of infixal reduplication in the Jamee language. This reduplication is formed by adding infix /-em-/ to the second duplicated word. It seems that such reduplication is not used productively as it was only one example appeared in this study. The infixal reduplication found in this study is *turun-temurun* ‘being inherited’ which is formed by from word *turun* ‘go down’ and infix /-em-/. Base word *turun* is classified into verb and the reduplication does not change the class of word. In term of meaning, it noted that the reduplication does not change the meaning of the root word excessively.

#### 4.4.4 Confixal reduplication

The other type of reduplication found in the Jamee language in this study is the combination of prefixal and suffixal reduplication. In Jamee language, base words that were classified into adjective and verb are doubled by adding the combination of prefix and suffix elements as a single morphological unit. All those were attached by prefix /sa-/ and suffix /-nyo/to create reduplication. The examples of such reduplication can be found in the following table.

**Table 7.** Prefixal and suffixal reduplication in Jamee language.

Base words	Prefix & suffix	Reduplicated words
<i>Indak</i> ‘no’	/sa-/ /-nyo/	<i>Saindak-indaknyo</i> ‘minimal’
<i>Karing</i> ‘dry’	/sa-/ /-nyo/	<i>Sakaring-karingnyo</i> ‘really dry’
<i>Lengkap</i> ‘complete’	/sa-/ /-nyo/	<i>Selengkap-lengkapnyo</i> ‘as complete as possible’
<i>Sampai</i> ‘arrive’	/sa-/ /-nyo/	<i>Sasampai-sampainyo</i> ‘to arrive timely’

The result of data analysis of reduplication shows that there are four types or forms of reduplication used by the speakers of the Jamee language in their daily conversation. Those are full reduplication, partial reduplication, lexicalized reduplication, and affixed reduplication. These types of reduplication have different semantic contributions in the language. It has been established that reduplication in this language conveys meaning such as plurality, emphasize, repetitive, new words, mutual action, intensity, interconnected, approximation and collective. However, the reduplication word contributions in Jamee language are not always as simple predictable since the words are reduplicated in the similar way that the words may convey more than one meaning.

It was found in this study that full or complete reduplication was established to be the most common and productive type of reduplication in the Jamee language. The reduplication occurs in various ways in class of verb, noun, adjective, adverb and pronominal. In the process of analysis, it was found that in the class of nouns, there are some nouns and a verb look as if they are reduplicated but do not have syllables that are repeated and at the same time there is no root word. This is categorized as lexicalized reduplication. It refers to the form of the reduplication where the word and the root word are similar, which the root words have two morphemes and they cannot be separated.

In addition, the result indicated that there is reduplicated word to which affixes can be attached. The distribution showed the affixes are added to full reduplication in class of verb, noun, and adjective. Such reduplication was divided into prefix, suffix, infix and combination of prefix and suffix (circumfixes). This type of reduplication most commonly formed by inserted prefixes to produce reduplication. Then, some reduplicated words are produced through morphophonemic process when they attached to certain root words. For example, word *bukak* is added by prefix /ma-/, the prefix changes into /mam-/ when it inserted to word. According to [Ramlan \(2001\)](#), morphophonemic refers the changes of phoneme as a result from the merging of one morpheme and another. [Parera \(1990\)](#) says that changing of morpheme is based on the sound surround it which relates to the correlation of the morpheme and phoneme.

In Jamee language, reduplicated words in class of verb in general do not change either the meaning or class of word excessively but add another morpheme to give more explanation of the meaning which was contained by the root word. However, the other class of words often transformed both the meaning and the class of word after reduplication process.

Compared with the previous study which was conducted by [Yusuf et al. \(1998\)](#), the results of this study are slightly different in the forms of reduplication in Jamee language. [Yusuf et al. \(1998\)](#) point out that the Jamee language has three types of reduplication: total reduplication, rhyming reduplication and reduplication with affixes. In this previous study there is no partial reduplication found, and it may probably be happened as the informants were limited. Then, in this present study, there

is no rhyming reduplication since it focuses on the Labuhanhaji dialect, while Yusuf et al. (1998) obtained data from four dialects of Jamee language.

Furthermore, based on the result of analysis, it was also found an infix /-em-/ in reduplication. Yusuf et al. (1998) state that there are three types of affixes in Jamee language, those are prefix, suffix and confix. Yusuf et al. (1998) point out that there is no infix in Jamee language. However, in this study, it does occur even though it is rarely used in Jamee language. It may have come into the language through the borrowing from Bahasa Indonesia.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Based on the results discussed above, it can be concluded that the Jamee language has four types of reduplication, namely full reduplication, partial reduplication, lexicalized reduplication, and affixed reduplication. The reduplication in the language is formed by duplicate root words classified into verb, noun, adjective, adverb and pronominal. As the data have been discussed, it showed that full reduplication is the most common type of reduplication in Jamee language.

Based on the conclusion above, other studies on types and meanings of reduplication in the Jamee language can be investigated, and this study can be of a reference for the next research, particularly in morphology studies. Apart from that, this study is still done in types of reduplication in the Jamee language. Hopefully there will be a study of reduplication in Jamee language discussing about the functions. This study can contribute to the documentation of the Jamee language spoken in South Aceh and other Jamee speaking areas.

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