

Variation of the Meaning of Front Syllable Reduplication in Bajo Language: A Linguistic Anthropological Approach

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Abstract—Bajo tribe is known to possess adequate knowledge and experience of the sea, passed from one generation to another. The knowledge, which differed from other tribes, was stored in the lexicons, such as reduplication. Therefore, this research aimed to evaluate the variations associated with the reduplication of the initial syllable of Bajo. The method used was linguistic anthropology with data collected from three Bajo fishing villages in West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) Province, Indonesia, through observation and in-depth interviews with four key informants and 10 accompanying informants in 2022 and 2023. The data were analyzed with a linguistic anthropological method, namely domain analysis, taxonomy, and interpretation of meaning. The result showed 24 reduplications, which used imperfect repetition with two initial syllables originating from 24 primary lexemes. The reduplication led to the degradation of meaning from specific and general to abstract and specific, respectively. Physical degradation of meaning occurred in nouns related to fishing gear and target biota. The degradation led to the abstraction of meaning related to the sea and coastal plants in secondary lexemes. Reduplication in primary lexemes of verb, adjective, and adverbial categories experience degradation of meaning in a narrowing pattern from abstract/general to more specific connotations.

Index Terms—fish, meaning, reduplication, sea, syllable

I. INTRODUCTION

Bajo language is a significant characteristic of the Bajo tribe initially known for the nomadic means of livelihood. However, over the past two decades, the people had increasingly settled in aquatic environments, particularly on small island clusters or sandbars, often isolated from the mainland (Lahamendu et al., 2022). The people preferred remote coastal areas sheltered from the open sea, and this choice of settlement location was closely associated with the reliance on marine resources, as means of livelihood.

Life by the sea deeply influenced Bajo language with maritime themes. These were intrinsically connected to the sea-oriented culture continuously upheld and developed, while adapting to the immediate environment. The culture was deeply intertwined with every aspect of the sea (Abbas, 2022), reflecting awareness, expressed and cultivated through interaction with the marine environment (Sather, 1997). This tribe also named trivial land-based substances that may not interest agrarian tribes.

Specific terms related to the sea differed from other tribes (Sartini & Sanubarianto, 2022), such as Bugis, Makassar, Selayar, and Buton who also engaged in rice fields, and gardens, daily. The terms were regarded as a unique characteristic, containing a special conceptual meaning about living in harmony. The sea was considered family and the knowledge was consistently developed and passed from one generation to another according to experiences.

The unique knowledge led to the reference of sea-related substances differently (Wierzbicka, 1997), enabling significant understanding of this ecosystems. The knowledge of the Bajo tribe was traced through language, particularly the lexicon of naming both living and non-living creations related to the sea (Suhandano, 2015; Duranti, 1997). For example, the word *tabbeh* meaning seabed cliff does not exist in other tribes, and perhaps cliffs with slopes between 20 and 40 degrees. Furthermore, waters above the cliff were termed *tatabbeh* or deep sea. The lexicon described the area containing the waters from the seabed to the surface. Therefore, Bajo tribe referred to both forms by the same term, using reduplication. The initial meaning expressed by the reduplication was broader, but it appeared as a form of degradation. In Bajo, the terms higher and lower were used to describe the deep seabed, and coast or surface, respectively. This phenomenon certainly differed from the agrarian culture, considered sacred and physically high as the cosmos. Additionally, it can only be studied using a linguistic anthropological method (Suhandano, 2021). The two terms, cliffs and deep sea, would be considered different, if only a linguistic method was applied. The linguistic anthropological method possesses linguistic and cultural relationships. The repetition of the first two syllables (Raimy, 2006) /*ta-*/ reduced the meaning of the base (high in Bajo language), and surface (low) (Khashimova, 2022). The use of the words high and low does not have a bad connotation, rather it described the sacredness of the place.

Based on the explanation, this research examined the reduplication of syllables used by Bajo tribe. The reduplication process is characterized by a variety of cultural meanings, depicting how knowledge of the sea enabled the people to live in harmony.

II. THEORETICAL REVIEW

The two adopted theories, focused on reduplication and linguistic anthropology. Both were combined to describe the reduplication of the first two syllables related to cultural meanings significant to the sea and associated concepts. Reduplication is an aspect of morphology, defined as a grammatical, imitative, and lexical repetition process (Khashimova, 2022). The first repetition focused on the meaningful construction of word forms. The second is the repetition of sounds originating from objects or living things. While, the third referred to the complete or incomplete repetition of words, with grammatical and lexical repetition serving as the basis of this research. The two processes were centered on Bajo linguistic phenomenon, which repeated lexeme and, in some cases, after the affixation. This current research specifically outlined the incomplete repetition of initial syllables in Bajo language (Raimy, 2006). Raimy further stated that this process manifested in the repetition of consonants and vowels (CV) in the initial syllable of the primary lexeme.

Linguistic anthropology refers to the use of language data to understand social and cultural phenomena (Nurmansyah et al., 2019), including ethnic groups (Suhandano, 2021). Spradley (2016) and Ahimsa-Putra (2022) also stated that social phenomena could be monitored through language. Therefore, this phenomenological research, used oral speech from the ethnic group investigated, as the primary data source. Both showed that oral speech was a combination of sounds heard when communicating, and also perceived as knowledge. In accordance with this result, Boas proposed the theory of cultural relativity (Boas, 1940), which stated the understanding of a nation or community depended on the spoken language, implying it was the major access to understanding culture. Sapir proposed the theory of linguistic relativity, which stated the culture of a nation was expressed through language (Sapir, 1956). Whorf proposed the theory of linguistic determinism, that the culture of a nation was reflected in the language used (Whorf, 1956). The research by Sapir-Whorf was consistent with the theory formulated by Boas that every language used by an ethnic group has internal logic. All three agreed that culture could be expressed through language, which Duranti termed culture knowledge (Duranti, 1997). In addition, Duranti, stated that the culture of an ethnic group was perceived as a means of knowledge.

Linguistic anthropological research is an interdisciplinary field aimed to disclose the cultural phenomena of a nation using spoken language as the primary data. The spoken language is realized through a series of interactive processes with nature and the social environment. This is continuously passed down from one generation to another, and developed following natural changes, including the sea. Additionally, individual experience gradually becomes shared, and the

collective view of the ethnic group. A review of the lexicon used by an ethnic group led to knowledge of the immediate environment—the sea for Bajo tribe.

III. METHODOLOGY

A. Material

This research used primary data from marine lexicons (Duranti, 1997), including living and non-living creatures related to the sea. The lexicon was directly composed based on the oral speech of Bajo tribe in West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) Province, Indonesia (Moleong, 2021). This tribe communicated and interacted with the sea and ecosystem daily, using several utterances. The lexicon used as data was either in form of words or phrases, comprising primary and secondary lexeme. In addition, the secondary lexeme is a repetition of two or more initial syllables. Data were obtained from three villages, namely Bajo Pulau Village, Sape District, Pulau Bungin Village, Alas District, and Pulau Maringkik Village, Keruak District, in Bima, Sumbawa, and East Lombok Regencies, respectively. The first two villages are located in the waters of Sumbawa Island, with the first at the eastern tip of NTB Province, bordering the waters of East Nusa Tenggara Province, precisely Labuan Bajo. The second village is situated in the northern part of Sumbawa Island, specifically in the waters of Flores. The third village is in the southern waters of Lombok Island, directly bordering the Indian Ocean.

B. Method

The data collection methods consisted of observation and interviews (Mahsun, 2019). The oral speech on the daily marine and social activities of Bajo tribe in the three villages were observed to obtain the initial data. This was realized by living with the people in 2022, for a month specifically from June to July, and two months in 2023 from November to October. The oral speech was recorded using audio recordings. After the verification of spelling and reduplication, the initial data served as the basis for conducting in-depth interviews (Moleong, 2021). Furthermore, interviews were held with four main informants and ten ordinary respondents, to obtain a thorough explanation of the observation process. The main informants were Bajo figures, highly experienced in sea and culture related issues. The ordinary informants consisted of the people who worked as fishermen or engaged in other marine activities such as fisheries and seaweed cultivation.

This research applied the semantic analysis comprising domain and taxonomy, suggested by Spradley (2016) and Ahimsa-Putra (2022). The first analysis grouped the lexicons found into categories based on the knowledge of Bajo tribe. Furthermore, discerning whether a lexicon fell into a particular category based on usage is important at this stage. The second analysis is taxonomy, responsible for placing each lexicon at a certain point that shows attachment to others, either at a higher or lower level. This analysis was helpful in the classification made using the domain to determine which lexicon could be used as an umbrella. There is often more than one group in a particular domain, as a result, the meaning implied by each lexicon, including the cultural relationship with others was evident. This facilitated the interpretation of the reduplication system adopted by Bajo tribe (Rampton et al., 2015; Danesi, 2004).

IV. RESULTS

This current research reported approximately 24 reduplications of Bajo marine lexicons. These were not grouped based on linguistic units but word categories. If the lexicons were grouped using the first analysis, it would automatically amount to 23 classifications, resulting in the inability to show varying domains. These lexicons consisted of 24 primary and secondary lexemes due to reduplication. Furthermore, the lexemes were divided into four categories, namely nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbials (Aziz & Nolikasari, 2020).

TABLE 1
REDUPLICATION OF MARINE LEXICONS OF BAJO

	Lexeme	Literal Meaning	Secondary Lexeme	Literal Meaning
	<i>noun</i> <i>fish</i>			
1	<i>bandah</i>	milkfish	<i>babandah</i>	young milkfish
2	<i>berah</i>	rabbitfish	<i>beberah</i>	young rabbitfish
3	<i>boko</i>	green turtle	<i>bolleh</i> <i>boboko</i>	little snail
4	<i>boko</i>	green turtle	<i>boboko</i>	small green turtle
5	<i>bonte</i>	<i>pugau</i> fish (2 kg)	<i>bobonte</i>	<i>pugau</i> fish seed (<i>bonte</i>)
6	<i>dolok</i>	one-time	<i>dodolok</i>	small (<i>rume</i> fish) seed
	<i>boat</i>			
7	<i>jungkoh</i>	(small) boat	<i>jujungkoh</i>	smaller boat
8	<i>leppa</i>	boat	<i>leleppa</i>	boat (shorter)
	<i>plant</i>			
9	<i>leppik</i>	betel (nut)	<i>leleppik</i>	equipment (of ritual)
10	<i>pisah</i>	banana	<i>pipisah</i>	plants on the shore
	<i>fishing gear</i>			
11	<i>pana</i>	arrow	<i>pappana</i>	Part of arrow
12	<i>rekkah</i>	tool	<i>rerekkah</i>	tools to catch a snail
13	<i>bollok</i>	bamboo	<i>bobollok</i>	sheath of arrow
	<i>sea</i>			
14	<i>tabbeh</i>	cliff	<i>tatabbeh</i>	middle of the sea
	<i>verb</i> <i>biota</i>			
15	<i>sooh</i>	uphold	<i>sosoooh</i>	hatchet shell
	<i>marine activities</i>			
16	<i>narias</i>	bend	<i>nanarias</i>	bend/gap
17	<i>ngibeh</i>	around	<i>ngingibeh</i>	to get around
18	<i>n(s)usur</i>	trace	<i>numusur</i>	down
19	<i>juluk</i>	give	<i>jujuluk</i>	tipping
20	<i>bangi</i>	stay the night	<i>babangi</i>	stay the night (shorter)
	<i>boat</i>			
21	<i>jollor</i>	stab (from below)	<i>jojollor</i>	boat
	<i>adjective</i>			
22	<i>(ng)idah</i>	lucky	<i>ngingidah</i>	ritual for lucky
	<i>adverbial</i>			
23	<i>(ny)senoh</i>	is about coming	<i>nyenyenoh</i>	coming
24	<i>narai</i>	moderate	<i>nanarai</i>	smooth/slow

The noun category comprised 14 primary lexemes grouped into four domains, such as fish, boats, plants, and fishing gear. The fish domain consisted of six primary lexemes, including *bandah* milkfish, *berah* rabbitfish, *boko* green turtle, *bonte pugau* fish, and *dolok* one-time. The first two syllables of the primary lexeme *bandah* milkfish /ba-/ were repeated, becoming *babandah*, meaning small milkfish. Similarly, the first two syllables of *berah* rabbitfish /be-/ were repeated becoming *beberah*, meaning small rabbitfish. The primary lexeme *boko* green turtle was considered the marine biota, with the first two syllables /bo-/ repeated to become *boboko*. This secondary lexeme has two meanings, namely small snail, or turtle. When combined with the primary lexeme *bolleh* (snail), it becomes *bolleh boboko*, meaning tiny snail. The second pronunciation depicts small green turtle without any additional attribution. Meanwhile, the first two syllables of the primary lexeme *bonte pugau* fish /bo-/ were repeated to become *bobonte*, meaning small *pugau* fish. The first two syllables of *dolok*, meaning one-time /do-/ were repeated to become *dodolok*, depicting small mackerel.

The boat domain comprises two lexemes, including *jungkoh* and *leppa*. The first two syllables of *jungkoh* /ju-/ were repeated becoming *jujungkoh*, meaning a boat without a catamaran. Similarly, the first two syllables of *leppa* /le-/ were repeated becoming *leleppa*, depicting a boat without a catamaran. The plant domain comprised two lexemes *leppik* betel/nut and *pisah* banana. The first two syllables of both /le-/ and /pi-/ were repeated becoming *leleppik* and *pipisah*, implying a folded betel leaf brought to sea, and a plant on the beach, respectively.

The fishing gear domain constituted three primary lexemes, including *pana* arrow, *rekkah* tool, and *bollok* bamboo. The first two syllables of *pana* arrow /pa-/ gets repeated becoming *pappana*. This secondary lexeme simply depicts all parts of the arrow used to catch fish by diving. Furthermore, the first two syllables of *rekkah* tool /re-/ were repeated, becoming *rerekkah*, a tool for catching snails. The first two syllables of *bollok* bamboo /bo-/ were repeated, becoming *bobollok*, describing an arrow sheath used to catch fish by diving. The marine domain comprised only one lexeme, *tabbeh* cliff. The two initial syllables /ta-/ were also repeated, becoming *tatabbeh*, meaning deep sea.

The verb category comprised seven primary lexemes grouped into three domains, namely biota, marine activity, and boat. The biota domain consisted of only one primary lexeme, *sooh* uphold, whose two initial syllables /so-/ were repeated, becoming *sosoooh*, used to describe a hatchet shell. The boat domain had one primary lexeme, *jollor* stab from below, similarly, the two initial syllables /jo-/ were repeated becoming *jojollor*, meaning a boat without a catamaran. The marine activity domain consisted of five primary lexemes, including *narias* bend, *ngibeh* around, *n(s)usur* trace, *julluk* give, and *bangi* stay the night. The first two syllables of *narias* bend /na-/ gets repeated, becoming *nanarias*, used to describe bend or gap. However, the first three syllables *ngibeh* around /ngi-/ were repeated, becoming *ngingibeh*, meaning to surround. The first two syllables of *n(s)usur* trace /nu-/ were repeated, to become *nunusur*, depicting to follow. The initial two syllables of *julluk* /ju-/ were repeated, becoming *jujulluk*, used to describe investing in sea resources. The first two syllables of *bangi*, /ba-/ were repeated, becoming *babangi*, implying visiting the sea for a period of 4 to 10 days.

The adjective category constituted a primary lexeme, (*ng*)*idah* lucky. The three initial syllables /ngi-/ were repeated, becoming *ngingidah*, depicting a ritual of gratitude and prayer. The adverbial category consisted of two primary lexemes, namely (*ny*)*senoh* is about coming and *narai* moderate. Furthermore, the first three syllables of (*ny*)*senoh* is about coming /nye-/ were repeated, becoming *nyenyenoh*, implying gentle breeze. For *narai* moderate the first two syllables /na-/ were repeated, becoming *nanarai*, meaning calm or slow.

The first two syllables of virtually all 24 primary lexemes were repeated except *ngibeh* around, *idah* lucky, and *senoh* is about coming—the second and the third used both affixation and repetition. In addition, the primary lexeme *susur* trace required affixation and repetition (Raimy, 2006). Indonesian grammar served as the basis for understanding certain regional languages, including Bajo. The combination of consonant sounds (*n* and *g*) and (*n* and *y*) do not have a written equivalent using one syllable, therefore, both were considered as two syllables, and were represented in phonetics as ŋ and ñ. It was reported that all repetitions in Bajo language used two initial syllables, either from primary lexemes or affixes.

V. DISCUSSION

This section focused on interpreting the repetition of two syllables in Bajo language. The three primary lexemes were derived from fish name, such as *bandah* big milkfish, *berah* big rabbitfish, and *bonte* big *pugau* fish. In addition, there was only one marine biota, termed *boko* big green turtle. After the repetition process, the four secondary lexemes became physically smaller than the primary ones. According to Bajo tribe, it is similar to seeds and unsuitable for catching or consuming. The inclusion of big in each gloss differentiates the meaning of the primary lexemes from the repetition of the first two syllables (Raimy, 2006). This implied that marine biota with names pronounced by repeating the first two syllables were relatively small fauna types, including seeds. The names depicted that Bajo tribe applied wisdom in managing marine ecosystems such as fauna. Related ecosystems suitable for catching fish had names that did not require repetition, while the reverse was the case for those unsuitable. This caused the fishermen to abandon fishing gear, such as nets with small hole diameter, to avoid being exposed to unsuitable fish. Moreover, these individuals were also forced to abandon bottom fishing methods, using nets targeted at fish types with names requiring the repetition of syllables.

The Bajo tribe—initially engaged in the consumption of turtles, although this practice had been stopped in the past few decades. As a result, the naming process is related to the treatment of the biota (Shubhi et al., 2024). Turtles are no longer captured, and live freely in locations guarded by Bajo tribe, such as in Sarengek Islands, located north of Bungin Bay (Bajo tribe settlement, Pulau Bungin Village). In these islands, there are no settlements, apart from the history of Bajo tribe migration to NTB Province. The areas were also characterized by mangrove forests on the islands, considered the breeding habitat for two types of turtle families (*boko* ‘green turtle’ dan *kulitang* ‘hawksbill turtle’). The first family consisted of four kinds of turtles, while the second comprised two kinds. This implied that each turtle with a name pronounced repeatedly was considered a baby and protected by not being caught, including allowed to live freely on the islands or the habitat.

The secondary lexeme *boboko* which depicts tiny snail, makes an analogy of the black and brownish spots on the back of the turtle, similar to those on relatively tiny snails. As a result, the syllables of both names were repeated for the meanings. The last primary lexeme in the fish domain was *dolok* one-time, whose secondary lexeme meant a small mackerel with a diameter of less than 1 ounce. This repetition used the analogy to prove the fish was in the growth stage and should not be caught. The meaning, one-time reminded the Bajo tribe of the implemented rule, that any fish under certain level of development must not be caught. This was proven by the adult specie which has a particular physical form called *rume* rabbitfish, and was caught by using more selective fishing gear such as spears (*ladoh* in Bajo language). Adult fish were caught using a spear, or a large-diameter net in a communal fishing system adopted by Bajo tribe (Bahri, 2017; Artanto, 2017).

The fishing gear domain constituted three primary lexemes derived from the names of the tools, including *pana* arrow, *rekkah* fishing gear, and *bollok* bamboo. After the repetition of the first two syllables, the secondary lexemes, derived the meaning from arrow and bamboo. This implied all parts of the arrow and sheath types, despite not made of bamboo. The meanings become more abstract, for example, any part of the arrow, whether assembled or unassembled, can be called *pappana*. All sheaths with holes, were shaped in a similar manner as bamboo were called *bobollok*. Compared to the two fishing tools, the primary lexeme *rekkah* fishing gear, for general usage, becomes more specific and adopted to catch a type of snail after the repetition process.

The sea domain consisted of a primary lexeme, whose name was derived from the seabed cliff, described as a slope from the seabed area closer to the coast, which tends to become steeper towards the middle of the sea. The result of the repetition process depicted an area in the middle of the sea. This was between *boelalang*, specifically before *tatabbeh* and *tarusan*. The first lexeme is closer to the shallow area, while the second is further away, and has a broader meaning.

The biota and boat domains in the verb category both comprised a primary lexeme, including *sooh* uphold and *jollor* stab from below. The results of the reduplication were analogous to the base word. Secondary lexeme *sosoo* hatchet shell analogizes the back of a shell-like object held above the head. This analogy criticized the reference, as depicted by the base word, which implied carrying all objects above the head. The repetition process was used to describe the shape of the shell back, in a similar manner as lifting the shell. The secondary lexeme *jojollor* a boat without a catamaran analogizes how the spear stabs with prolonged physical form were used in choppy waters. The boat movement, which appeared to stab the waves, was analogous to the name. The meaning was more specific, namely hitting the waves according to the physical form.

The marine activity domain constituted five primary lexemes, such as *narias* bend, *ngibeh* around, *n(s)usur* trace, *julluk* give, and *bangi* stay the night. The results of the repetition process tended to lead to more specific meanings. The lexeme *narias* generally implied to bend physically, with the result of the repetition meaning entry of rainwater through the gap in the boat body and roof. However, the repetition of the primary lexeme *ngibeh* means around a specific part of the waters near an island. The repetition of the first two syllables *n(s)usur* depicted the edge of a body of water during sea activities. A similar case was observed with the following primary lexemes *julluk* give and *bangi* stay the night. The repetitions of the first two syllables produced a more specific meaning than the original word. Secondary lexeme *jujulluk* implied the contribution of joint capital for sea development, performed during the daily fishing system (*pongkak pula hari*). Secondary lexeme *babangi* means carrying out activities related to catching fish for 4 to 10 days (Husnan et al., 2024). This was part of the analogy of staying overnight with a specific purpose. Repetition of the verb category produced a more specific or brief meaning than the primary lexeme.

Repetition of the secondary lexeme in the adjective category produced specific meanings. The primary lexeme (*ng*)*idah* was used to describe lucky, a situation where an individual gets meaningful results, including the outcome of a fish catch. The repetition of the first two syllables produced specifically meant a gratitude ritual for desirable outcome, including prayers for good luck. The repetition of secondary lexemes in the adverbial category led to a more specific meaning. Primary lexeme *ny(s)enoh* meaning is about coming, namely the dynamic condition of the waters. The repetition of the first two syllables produced a meaning undoubtedly related to the seawater condition, which is gentle. Similarly, the repetition of *narai* moderate becomes *nanarai* calm or slow, meaning seawater conditions that are less choppy, with current considered suitable by Bajo tribe for catching fish using nets.

Reduplication in this language, specifically using two initial syllables, either from the primary lexemes or affixation, had degraded meaning. This hypothesis was based on evidence of dissimilarities in meanings from primary lexemes or affixation to the secondary. However, the degradation pattern varies, for example secondary lexemes of marine biota tend to be less meaningful. This depicts the development process of biota is still in the growth or seedling stage. The meaning communicates a message related to remembering the local wisdom of catching marine biota using fishing gear, selective towards the growth stage. For example, the use of spears and nets with large diameter meshes ensured biotas were not caught, remaining sustainable resources.

The repetition of the primary lexeme of plants with specific meanings becomes more abstract. This is because the people are not interested in agrarian culture, prompting the use of a plant analogy to produce a more abstract or general concept. For instance, fishing gear has two degradation patterns, the repetition of arrow changes to a more abstract meaning. Moreover, arrows are used to catch coral fish and lobsters, differing from tools for catching snails, leading to the specific repetition of one biota. This depicted that a more abstract or general meaning was used for various biota types with a physically large size. However, a more specific meaning was used to describe repetition processes for certain types of captured biota. For the sea, the repetition of primary lexeme, referring to specific, becomes broader. This broad meaning tends to lead to a general concept. *Tatabbeh* defines the deep part of the sea, with references that cannot depict a specific limit. The benchmark is the part of the water above the cliff (*tabbeh*), which served as a reference.

Reduplication in primary lexemes derived from the verb category focused on two degradation patterns, repetition that produces analogous and narrowing meaning. Furthermore, analogous described uphold and stab, with the first used for a shellfish whose shell is physically similar to the object being held. This was because only part of the body was visible in the habitat, with remaining buried in mud or sand. The second analogy described a spear that the fishermen used to catch large fish. The tool is swung from above the boat or under the water. Therefore, the type of boat modification was called *jojollor*. The boat does not have a catamaran, and the back, cut off to accommodate the engine and fishing gear comprising a long rod moved while catching a *cakalan* cob. This description confirmed that analogy also experienced degradation of meaning—the narrowing results from the repetition of the primary lexemes, which have broad connotations. Repetition causes the general meaning of directing the entrance of water into the boat or staying overnight for 4 to 10 days to more than four and less than 10 days. Similarly, giving has a general connotation, such as covering the costs or capital for going to the sea together. *Ngibeh* and *susur*, used to describe broad, implied circling and tracing certain waters when Bajo fishermen go fishing. Secondary lexeme *ngingibeh* meant going through certain waters, particularly small islands,

regarded as part of seafaring strategy. Additionally, the secondary lexeme *nunusur* was used to specifically explore the waters of an island.

The repetition of primary lexeme in the adjective category experienced degradation by narrowing meaning from abstract to more specific—for example, *lucky*, experienced degradation, describing related rituals. As for repetition in the adverbial category, degradation led to narrowing of meaning. *Ny(s)enoh* is about coming, classified as abstract, referred to dynamic seawater conditions. These changes are predicted due to natural factors such as wind and currents. The secondary lexeme *nyenyenoh* described a specific meaning produced by repetition. The exact change was observed in the primary lexeme *narai* moderate, meaning the condition of the seawater was classified as abstract, having no apparent reference. The condition of this medium tends to be closer to seawater, big waves, strong currents, and winds. It could also be close to waves, currents and winds that are slightly strong. The result of the repetition process produced a specific meaning, for example medium, was used as a reference to describe the condition of seawater, as either calm or slow even when there are waves, currents, and winds.

Based on the explanation, repetition causes the degradation of meaning, referred to as a quality marker of duration (Khashimova, 2022). The use of the term degradation centered on the evidence presented showing a decrease in quality, which in this research was referred to the narrowing and an expansion of meaning to become abstract or general. Specifically for the noun category, degradation occurred by the reduction in physical form of the initial reference or the meaning of the primary lexeme which served as a reference. For example, the change from a slender boat to a smaller one, including the use of a catamaran to a vessel not equipped with this instrument.

VI. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, linguistic anthropological research on repetition in Bajo language, showed the local wisdom of the tribe. The knowledge gained from interacting with nature and humans was recorded in marine lexicon. Repetition in secondary lexemes produced meanings that differed from the primary lexemes used as references. The degradation pattern either narrowed or expanded the meaning, with the narrowing observed in nouns, both fishing gear and the target. The expansion of meaning was evident in abstract or general concepts, particularly in primary lexemes. However, those with specific meanings, became secondary lexemes with more abstract connotations. This abstraction centered on accepting aspects, other than the primary lexeme reference. The primary lexeme *pisah* banana was transformed to *pipisah* plants found around the coast. Part of *pipisah* comprised other standing, waving, and green plants seen from the middle of the sea. A similar concept was also shown by the secondary lexeme *tatabbeh* deep sea, represented by the darker blue color compared to other parts closer to the coast, which tended to be lighter. The color was another part of the primary lexeme *tabbeh* cliff, located at either the sea depth or surface.

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