

Reduplication in *Tembang Dolanan* Javanese Children Songs

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Abstract. Reduplication is a common word formation process found in Javanese children songs for conveying particular meanings. Their reduplication processes are unique compared to other languages. This paper aimed to describe and explain the reduplication processes and possible meanings of the lyrics in Javanese children's songs. The data from different sources, namely documents, the internet, and resource persons for triangulation. The corpus analysis was conducted to identify the processes and meanings. It was found that the lyrics of Javanese children songs employ full reduplication, partial reduplication, partial reduplication of the last syllable, and reduplication accompanied by sound change. Besides, those songs contain the function of reduplications with derivational and inflectional. In addition, reduplication was aimed for emphasis of positive meaning and strengthen messages and moral values for the children.

Keywords: *reduplication, Javanese language, tembang dolanan*

1 Introduction

The Javanese language (*Basa Jawa*) surely needs no further elaboration towards how it is generally perceived by the linguistics or cultural communities, such as in terms of how it is one of the most spoken languages in Indonesia and how it sits alongside the Indonesian language, down to all sorts of uniqueness that is contained within or affected by it. However, what will always be interesting (and valuable at the same time) to discuss is how close this language is to the lives of the Javanese people [1], and that this close relationship packs some dense values, reflections of life, and creativity of many forms in the language [2]. Javanese can be found being used in both oral and written situations in many given contexts, especially given how this language even has several levels of politeness [3]. As a relatively old language with rich cultural history as well as being prominently oral in nature, Javanese gave birth to many literary arts. The most notable one is shadow puppets (*wayang*), but there are also other forms of oral works of literature employing or playing with the language, such as verse (*parikan*) and songs (*tetembangan*).

One of the differences between the two latter forms of literary traditions and *wayang*, in particular, is that they have a diverse range of audiences, especially age-wise. *Tetembangan* specifically is easier still to enjoy as it is more flexible in form compared to *parikan*, and needless to say that due to its nature of being musical, it can cover a wider range of moods or situations. With songs sung in Javanese seeing some rise in popularity quite lately albeit

mostly about adult love/heartbreak, arguably attention on the younger audience should also be added, considering how lyrics in songs (accompanied by the music) are easier to absorb and memorize in general. This is perhaps even truer with the tendency that what we expose to our young would highly affect their overall development.

In Javanese, children songs are referred to as *tembang dolanan* [4]. The term directly translates to “Javanese children folk songs” in English. The songs generally fall into this category are those sung by children while playing traditional games or other fun activities [2], [4]. Some of the writers of *tembang dolanan* are known, while others remain as, say, oral legends or oral traditions without clear knowledge on how they came to be are unknown [5]. Despite being a consumption for children with playful times, many lyrics of *tembang dolanan* carry with them extensive modifications in the words and phrases they are using. One of the morphological processes that typically occur in the lyrics of *tembang dolanan* is reduplication. This paper focuses especially on the reduplication processes found in the lyrics of *tembang dolanan* in Javanese.

In morphology, reduplication is a common word formation process, and this is also true in the case of Javanese. Soepomo et al. [6] mention that there are at least four ways for reduplication (and by extension affixation) to take place in Javanese words: 1) *dwilingga* (full reduplication), 2) *dwilingga salin swara* (full reduplication with a sound change), 3) *dwipurwa* (opening [of the word] reduplication), and 4) *dwiwasana* (closing [of the word] reduplication). It is perhaps also worth mentioning that in Soepomo et al. [6], the reduplication process in Javanese particularly is regarded to be intertwined with affixation—even inseparable at times—and thus analysed alongside it, at least when dealing with certain words. Brief examples of these reduplication processes are given below:

<i>Full Reduplication</i>	<i>Full Reduplication with Sound Change</i>	<i>Opening [of word] Reduplication</i>	<i>Closing [of word] Reduplication</i>
<i>sluku-sluku</i>	<i>bola-bali</i>	<i>peparing</i>	<i>cengenges</i>
<i>esuk-esuk</i>	<i>megal-megol</i>	<i>sesami</i>	<i>ndepipis</i>
<i>bareng-bareng</i>	<i>uslak-usluk</i>	<i>geguyu</i>	<i>bedhudhug</i>
<i>mlaku-mlaku</i>	<i>guya-guyu</i>	<i>lelakon</i>	<i>pethunthung</i>

Table 1. Examples of reduplications in Javanese according to Soepomo et al. [6]

The reduplication processes in Javanese can influence the root words semantically (i.e. altering the meaning of the root) and grammatically (providing additional information to a given context) [7], or sometimes both simultaneously. For example, the full reduplicated form of the adjective *enak* (tasty or nice) could see at least two branches of modification linguistically, both as a derivation and inflection. In a sentence such as “*Pelem sing dituku bapakku enak-enak,*” the reduplication of *enak* functions as a plural marker, saying that the father bought some mangoes, all of which taste good. Thus, that example can be translated into English as “The mangoes my father bought *all* taste delicious.” Meanwhile, in a sentence like “*Enak-enak turu kelingan utang,*” the full reduplication of *enak* changes the adjective into an adverb which also implies a sudden change from a good situation to a lesser desired one. That very sentence could be translated into English as “I was having a *very nice* sleep and

suddenly remembered all my debt.” These sorts of morphological processes are what this study tried to explore in Javanese children songs or *tembang dolanan*.

There have been quite a number of studies looking at *tembang dolanan* (see [7]–[11]), most of which cover the general aspects of the language, be it written or spoken. Wijana [7], for example, focused on reduplications found in written, textual Javanese (albeit some of the data are his own creations instead of taken from Javanese textbooks). His study described the functions of particular morphological process in Javanese, especially in terms of changes in meaning and grammatical functions. Similar to Wijana [7], Miyake [8] also discussed reduplications in Javanese (i.e. in the language use as a whole), focusing on full reduplication and reduplication with vowel shifts in particular. Their findings are, we find it fair to say, similar or comparable at the very least. Likewise, another study from Prasetyo [9] tried to have a look on reduplication process in Javanese—its types and semantic modifications—in use (i.e. the data was taken from a local TV program airing an entertainment show). His findings showed that from the data he gathered, the Javanese used in the TV program employed all reduplication processes that can be found in Javanese in general except partial reduplication. An even more general view of reduplications in Javanese can be seen in Subiyanto [10], where he compared full reduplication (some with affixations and sound modification) in Javanese, Sundanese and Indonesian, seeing the three languages as similar as they belong to the same Austronesian family. Related to children songs, meanwhile, Sukoyo [11] believed that Javanese songs are effective in cultivating students’ characters by ways of carrying values and moral teachings. The findings there suggest a persistence of the general perception towards *tembang dolanan* in Javanese that it strongly and effectively delivers moral and teaching values to the children’s character development in this modern 21st century time. From these recent approaches to Javanese in general, the morphological processes contained within (especially reduplication), and the implications carried along with them, we can see quite a gap in the interest so far with specific attention taking morphological approaches towards Javanese targeted to children specifically. Alongside, the research questions of this study are (1) What are the types of reduplication in *tembang dolanan*? (2) Do they have derivational and inflectional function? This gap in particular is what this very study tries to fill in, in ways and discussion that will be presented in the following sections.

2 Research Method

Considering the topic of interest, this study was carried out using a qualitative descriptive method, referring back highly to “*Morfologi Bahasa Jawa*” by Soepomo et al. [6] for the main (four) reduplication processes in Javanese. Thirty five titles of *tembang dolanan* were selected as the main data, most of which were taken from Farida et al. [4], while others came from internet sources and previous related research (see [12], [13]). The data selection was mainly driven by whether or not the songs contain reduplicated words in the lyrics.

After the data were gathered, analysis on it followed shortly after. The analysis stage is mainly comprised of categorisation, morphological “breakdown”, and a little bit of semantic/meaning determination. Categorisation in this context dealt with where (as in what category, following Soepomo et al. [6]) the reduplications we found from the data fell into. The morphological “breakdown” stage concerned with how specifically the reduplication process(es) happened

for words in which each category occurred. Here we would like to give another emphasis on one point in reduplications in Javanese (and by extension to the language in general) which we have touched a little earlier in the introduction, that some words would fall nicely into these four main processes of reduplication (*dwilingga*, *dwilingga salin swara*, *dwipurwa*, and *dwiwasana*), while others would not, suggesting that the rules in Javanese are far from exceptions as Podlaskowski [14] sees—the details of which will be presented in the next section. In addition, the two general branches of effects in any morphological process made to a word (i.e. inflectional or derivational) were also presented as a supplementary description. The little semantic touch in the analysis also addressed whether or not the reduplication processes the words produced changed their meaning; and if did, showed what that change was.

The data-driven findings were presented backwards, meaning that instead of showing the data first and then what categories they fell into, the categories we found from the data were shown first followed by what belonged to each category. In addition to categorisation, we also tried to provide their syntactic (inflectional) and/or semantic (derivational) implications in the language—if at all present. The descriptive nature of this study was also accompanied by the words' English equivalence (translation).

3 Findings and Discussions

Findings

This section focuses on presenting the data gathered, followed by their respective analyses according to the theoretical framework mentioned previously. It is worth mentioning, we believe, that due to the different occurrence frequency of the reduplicated words in the 35 selected titles of *tembang dolanan*, it is better not to show all of them—but rather a representative few—pseudo-randomly, that, we believe, represents the appropriate categories they fall in.

3.1. Full reduplication

In general, the full reduplication process in the Javanese children songs was the same as found in quite a number of other languages, in that the root word is said/written twice (thus, duplicated fully) without modification, be it in terms of the syllable or sound. From what we gathered, this type of reduplication was the most frequent to occur (35 words), but quite a lot of them represented the same process both in word-form changes and meaning changes, so we kindly neglected them in the analysis.

No.	Root	English translation	Reduplicated form	English translation	Lyrics
1.	<i>paran</i>	somewhere	<i>saparan-paran</i>	wherever	<i>Mrana-mrene mung saparan-paran</i> (song: <i>Kupu Kupu</i>)

No.	Root	English translation	Reduplicated form	English translation	Lyrics
2.	<i>ambra</i>	reckless	<i>ngambra-ambra</i>	many	<i>Ana witing waluh, ngambra-ambra</i> (song: <i>Wit Adhikah, Woh Adhakah</i>)
3.	<i>awe</i>	irviting	<i>ngawe-awe</i>	waving (repeatedly)	<i>Rembulane wis ngawe-awe</i> (song: <i>Padang Bulan</i>)
4.	<i>age</i>	hurry (up)	<i>age-age</i>	in a hurry	<i>Aja age-age nyebar, srantekna den sabra</i> (song: <i>Paman Tani Utun</i>)
5.	<i>lela</i>	lullaby	<i>lela-lela</i>	lullaby	<i>Tak lela-lela ledhung</i> (song: <i>Tak Lela-Lela Ledhung</i>)
6.	<i>rame</i>	crowded	<i>rame-rame</i>	in a crowded manner/toget her	<i>Aja rame-rame simbah putri lagi sare</i> (song: <i>Aja Rame-Rame</i>)
7.	<i>cilik</i>	small	<i>cilik-cilik</i>	(mostly) small	<i>Dhuku cilik-cilik</i> (song: <i>Dhondhong Apa Salak</i>)

Table 2. Full Reduplication

From table 2 above we can see some cases of additional morphological processes besides full reduplication (i.e. affixation), specifically in excerpts number 1, 2, and 3. In those instances the reduplication precedes the affixation—that is, the affixation happens after the root word is fully reduplicated. Functionally, those morphological processes derive new words, or derive new meanings. The rest of the excerpts in the table above (4, 5, 6, and 7), meanwhile, show no additional morphological process aside from full reduplication. However, their function still varies between inflectional and derivational. The changes in meanings or part of speech those reduplication processes entails can be seen in table 3 below.

No.	Root	Part of speech	Reduplicated form	Part of speech
1	<i>paran</i>	Adv.	<i>saparan-paran</i>	Adj.
2	<i>ambra</i>	Adj.	<i>ngambra-ambra</i>	Adj.
3	<i>awe</i>	Verb	<i>ngawe-awe</i>	Verb
4	<i>age</i>	Verb	<i>age-age</i>	Adv.
5	<i>lela</i>	Noun	<i>lela-lela</i>	Noun
6	<i>rame</i>	Adj.	<i>rame-rame</i>	Adv.
7	<i>cilik</i>	Adj.	<i>cilik-cilik</i>	Adj.

Table 3. Reduplication processes and their inflectional-derivational functions

3.2. Full Reduplication with Sound Change

The second reduplication type in these Javanese children songs is full reduplication with a sound change. The sound change here might occur at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of the word. From our data we only encountered a few words falling into this category, as can be seen in table 5 below.

No.	Root	Part of speech	English translation	Reduplicated form	Part of speech	English translation	Lyrics
1	<i>sur</i>	Adj.	pouring	<i>sar-sur</i>	Adj.	steadily/always pouring	<i>Sar-sur kulonan, mak mak gemake rete te (song: Sar Sur Kulonan)</i>
2	<i>longo</i>	Verb	blank staring	<i>longa-longo</i>	Verb	often/always blank staring	<i>Longa-longo koyo kebo (song: Wajib Dadi Murid)</i>
3	<i>sanggal</i>	Verb	touching (sb/sth) with one's hip	<i>nyanggal-nyanggal</i>	Verb	repeatedly touching (sb/sth) with one's hip	<i>Masih untung nyanggal nyanggal ati lega (Rek Ayo Rek)</i>

Table 5. Full reduplication with sound change

In the case of *sur* (and thus *sar-sur*), the word can also be seen as an onomatopoeia which represents sound of the object it depicts (in this case water flowing/pouring) more, rather than the action done towards the object itself, therefore not strictly requiring any meaning.

3.3. Opening [of the word] Reduplication

The third type of reduplication in Javanese (and what we found in the data) is *dwipurwa* (opening [of the word] reduplication). This type of reduplication repeats the first syllable of the word only, with or without a change in the sound (or vowel as it were). From the data, however, we only found one instance of word falling into this category which can be seen in table 6 below.

No.	Root	Part of speech	English translation	Reduplicated form	Part of speech	English translation	Lyrics
1	<i>sakit</i>	Adj.	ill	<i>sesakit</i>	Noun	ill people	<i>Mampeni sesakit sakelangkung pinter (song: Nami Kula Kamid)</i>

Table 6. Opening (of the word) reduplication

3.4. Closing [of the word] reduplication

The fourth process of reduplication in Javanese following Soepomo et al. [6] is closing (of the word) reduplication. Similar to *dwipurwa*, this type of reduplication might also occur with or without a sound change. Examples of this type of reduplication include words like *cenges* → *cengenges*, *penthung* → *pethunthung*, and *ndhepis* → *ndhepipis*. The data we gathered, however, show no instance of words in this category occurring in any of the lyrics. In addition to reduplication, some words in this category might also see affixation, such as *cengenges* → *cengengesan*. The suffixes they might see also come in different flavours like *-i*, *-an*, *-en*, etc. This sort of complex morphological process is discussed exclusively below.

3.5. Affixation-reduplication (or reduplication-affixation)

In Soepomo et al. [6], this particular morphological process is not considered belonging to the four main reduplication processes we discussed earlier, mainly because reduplication is not the core morphological process, nor can it stand on its own—meaning that some words in Javanese are bound to have these sorts of modified forms from their respective roots. In our data, meanwhile, words belonging to this category occurred very often, some of which can be seen in table 7 below.

No.	Root	English translation	Reduplicated form	English translation	Lyrics
1.	<i>joged</i>	dancing	<i>jejogedan</i>	dancing together	<i>Lincet-lincet jejogedan</i> (song: <i>Kancil</i>)
2.	<i>tangis</i>	crying	<i>tetangisan</i>	crying together	<i>Mimblik-mimblik tetangisan</i> (song: <i>Kancil</i>)
3.	<i>jagong</i>	hanging out	<i>jejagongan</i>	hanging out together	<i>Ya padha dolanan sinambi jejagongan</i> (song: <i>Padang Bulan</i>)
4.	<i>bareng</i>	together	<i>bebarengan</i>	together	<i>Rek ayo rek rame-rame bebarengan</i> (song: <i>Rek Ayo Rek</i>)
5.	<i>isin</i>	shy (adj)	<i>angisin-isini</i>	shameful (v)	<i>Mung solahmu angisin-isini</i> (song: <i>Menthok-Menthok</i>)

Table 7. Affixation-reduplication

The words shown in table 7 above experience the same form of morphological modification—albeit in different variants or flavours—that is, they all have suffixes, as well as reduplicated part of the root acting as their prefixes (except for word number 5). This process is similar to that of *dwipurwa* (opening [of the word] reduplication). Examples number 1 to 4 have the same affixation rule similar to “*ke-[x]-an*” in Javanese (which serves multiple purposes), but instead of *ke-*, the prefix is taken from the modified first syllable of the word, thus looking (our sounding) like *dwipurwa*. The modification of the first syllable here is changing its vowel (from anything) into /ê/ ([ə]), therefore we see *joged* → *jejogedan*, *tangis* → *tetangisan*, *jagong* → *jejagongan*, and *bareng* → *bebarengan*. In terms of meaning or function, this

affixation-reduplication process changes the base or root meaning into having the sense of togetherness (in a setting with more than two people involved) or to each other (in a setting with only two people involved).

Different from the first four, excerpt number 5 experience a different variant of this morphological process, mainly due to this process having to use full reduplication *isin-isin* and add the affixation *ng-i* → *ngisin-isini* and add the *a-* → *angisin-isini*. The root *isin* is adjective and become *angisin-isini* verb, it contain of derivational function.

3.6. Front-placed final syllable reduplication

The last type of reduplication that we found is a form of partial reduplication where the last syllable of the word is said twice but said first. In other words, this process might look like a full reduplication with an addition of clipping all but the last syllable of the first reduplicated instance. Take the word *gajah* (elephant), for example. Instead of having *gajah-gajah* (as in *dwilingga* or full reduplication), the part of the first instance that remains is *jah*, therefore we see *jah-gajah*. This particular type of reduplication occurs frequently in Javanese, but only twice in the data we gathered, which can be seen in table 8 below.

No.	Root & English translation	Reduplicated form	Lyrics
1.	<i>semut</i> (ant)	<i>mut, semut</i>	<i>Jah-gajah mreng tak kandhani jah</i> (song: <i>Gajah-Gajah</i>)
2.	<i>gajah</i> (elephant)	<i>jah, gajah</i>	<i>Mut-semut semut ireng</i> (song: <i>Semut</i>)

Table 8. Front-placed final syllable reduplication

This type of reduplication only serves one purpose in Javanese, which is to call someone (or something in the case of our excerpts above). In calling someone, we would generally find their names undergoing this sort of reduplication, where the last syllable of their name is said twice and first, such as *Ko-Joko* (for the name *Joko*) or *Lang-Galang* (for the name *Galang*).

Discussions

In the findings above, the characteristics of transformation of word-formation belong to the types of reduplication. In the previous research, many of the writers mentioned the types of reduplication lead to the *Morphologi Basa Jawa* [6] and found out based on the textual or contextual. This paper was guided by the book, with *tembang dolanan* to take the data. Even the data were collected in textual; however, we found the contextual function of reduplication, it is front placed final syllable reduplication. This reduplication has its condition, it can be applied in Javanese only and used by Javanese people. It might happen in other countries. In fact, English do not use this type of reduplication to call somebody's name. They call the name in unity and care less about the reduplication, but in Javanese we call someone's name by calling it twice and clipping the last syllable. By doing clipping the last syllable, it requires the types of reduplication. This finding has not been mentioned before in any kinds of journal.

To sum up, our study has found out some types of reduplication applied in the Javanese children song. The reduplications as proposed by Soepomo et. al. [6] were found here, namely: full reduplication, sound change reduplication, opening (of the word) reduplication, closing (of the word) reduplication. In addition, two other kinds of reduplication were also found, namely, affixation reduplication, front-placed final reduplication. Here it shows that many kinds of reduplications were commonly found in Javanese children songs which might be used to make the song interesting for children. In addition, it was used to convey certain meanings through some changes in meaning as found by Wijana [7], such as *longa longo* meaning to “repeatedly” blank stare, emphasizing frequency of certain actions. In addition to its forms, the reduplications were also purposely meant to provide moral values and character development as found by Sukoyo [11] which for children will be more effective if delivered through fun activities, such as children songs. The use of reduplication could be also meant to be easier for the children to memorize and retain the contents of the words in their memory that can be reminders or guidelines in their daily life.

4 Conclusions

This study has found out six types of reduplications used in Javanese children songs, comprising full reduplication, full reduplication with a sound change, opening of the word reduplication, closing of the word reduplication, and affixation reduplication. Based on the six types of reduplication in our findings, all of the reduplications have derivational and inflectional processes, depending on how the word-formation was processed with the specific condition. The unique finding of word-formation in our study is the morphological process with certain rules, front-place final syllable of the reduplication. The condition of this clipping happens frequently among Javanese people. This reduplication might occur through one condition, by calling someone (or something in case) and clipping the last syllable. In case, it might happen not in Javanese language, but in other local or foreign languages. The many kinds of word processing indicate how Javanese is rich in word formation processes that have formal and semantic characteristics. This richness however needs to be further validated by looking at other sources in Javanese, such as short stories, magazines, and other sources to reveal the complexity of the language. It is also suggested that future researchers can do more analysis on Javanese children songs by looking at syntactic, sociolinguistic, or discourse aspects to enrich the real language use which can be further integrated into Javanese language education at formal schools to preserve the language from language extinction as more younger generations tend to prefer other languages than Javanese, such as Indonesian in their daily communications, or even English as a form of code switching to show their respective identity.

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