

# [Contemporary indonesian phonology and morphology: some evidence of language chang...](https://assignbuster.com/contemporary-indonesian-phonology-and-morphology-some-evidence-of-language-change-and-innovations-assignment/)

Contemporary Indonesian Phonology and Morphology: Some Evidence of Language Change and Innovations The Roundtable Meeting, Leiden University, Leiden, 26′ 28 March 2008 Bambang Kaswanti Purwo Atma Jaya Catholic University Abstract For almost half a century Indonesian cannot refrain from having to bear with the mass and rapid influx of English loanwords. Since 1970s there has been a strong pressure, initiated by Pusat Bahasa (the Language Center), for the change from Dutch-soundlike loanwords, such as tradisionil, universil, komersiil, into English-soundlike loanwords, such as tradisional, universal, komersial, respectively.

Although some Dutch-based forms like riel are much more likely to be used than the more English-soundlike real, forms like terealisir have been replaced by terealisasi, terorganisir by terorganisasi, memproklamirkan by memproklamasikan. The Dutch-based forms are “ prefix plus verb-root”, while the English-based forms are “ prefix + noun-root”. A great number of verbalized English loanwords following this pattern (e. g. merevisi, mengklasifikasi, melegitimasi) are productive, while the native Indonesian verbs with this pattern, verbs whose base is a noun, are not productive: e. g. engelas, mengetik (the transitive type, the noun being instrumental) and membatu, mendarat (the intransitive type, the noun being the destination). With these examples to illustrate, the present paper is interested to see to what extent the mass and rapid influx of English loanwords has shaken the Indonesian phonology and morphology. 1. Introduction For almost half a century Indonesian cannot refrain from having to bear with the mass and rapid influx of English loanwords. There have been two sequential strong streams of external influence on Indonesian: Portuguese and Dutch first, then English.

The Dutch influence took place soon after Indonesian independence until the end of the sixties, and English took over the dominance. The stream has not only had an affect upon the phonology, but also the morphology of Indonesian. 2. Phonology The basic (base) word constructions in Indonesian is of twelve types (Halim 1974, as quoted in Lauder 1995a). One of the striking features is that there is no consonant clusters. | Nomor | Konstruksi Kata | Contoh | | 1. | KV-KV | lu-pa | | 2. | KV-KVK | ma-kan | | 3. KV-VK | ka-in | | 4. | KV-V | ma-u | | 5. | KVK-KV | tan-da | | 6. | KVK-KVK | lom-pat | | 7. | VK-KV | ang-ka | | 8. | VK-KVK | ar-wah | | 9. | V-KV | i-ni | | 10. | V-KVK | a-nak | | 11. | V-VK | a-ir | | 12. | V-V | i-a | (Halim 1974: 182)

A sequence of two consonants is possible, as exemplified in constructions 5′ 8, but in restricted combinations. Halim’s study of 500 words of two-syllable structure reveals that the permissible sequence of two consonants is of two types. The first type (70% of the occurrences), exemplified in 5′ 7, is a nasal followed by its homorganic consonant. The second type (30%) is initiated with a trill (e. g. arti), sibilant-like consonants (e. g. pasti, bahwa) or voiceless velar (e. g. paksa, waktu). The basic syllable structure is V, VC, CV, CVC. Lauder’s (1995b) frequency counting reveals that CV and CVC are predominant.

Of 32. 489 base words (entries) in Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI) 1993 CV occurs 49. 52%, CVC 33. 48%, VC 5. 05%, and V 4. 92%. The consonant clusters emerging up to 1990s only reach 3. 65%. The highest syllable structure with CC is CCV (2. 14%). CVV and CCVC are around 1%, while CVCC, VV, VCC, CCVCC, CCCVC, and CCV are under 1%. | No. | Konstruksi suku kata | Persentase | Contoh | | 1. | KV | 49, 52% | ra-pat | | 2. | KVK | 35, 48% | du-duk | | 3. VK | 5, 05% | im-bang | | 4. | V | 4, 92% | i-tik | | 5. | KKV | 2, 14% | sas-tra | | 6. | KVV | 1, 11% | san-tai | | 7. | KKVK | 1, 07% | trak-tor | | 8. | KVKK | 0, 21% | kon-teks | | 9. | VV | 0, 17% | au-la | | 10. VKK | 0, 08% | Eks | | 11. | KKVKK | 0, 06% | kom-pleks | | 12. | KKKVK | 0, 05% | struk-tur | | 13. | KKKV | 0, 05% | in-stru-men | In what follows the discussion of how Indonesian deals with the foreign closed syllables, consonants /f/, vowels /e/ and /e/, sound and spelling. 2. 1 Adapting the Foreign Closed Syllables Closed syllables are possible in Indonesian when the final consonant is voiceless. xcept when they are palatal. It is also possible to have closed syllable ending in nasals (e. g. malam, bukan, yang) or lateral (e. g. nakal ‘ naughty’). The comparison between the loanwords in (1) to those in (2) may tempt one to arrive at the following explanation. The loanwords in (1) is accepted to have a CVC structure because they share the conditions as described in the previous paragraph. When the loanwords end with final voiced consonants, the CVC structure is not accepted and is to be modified into open syllables. (1) bel, cek, gang, lem, ras, ton (2)a. eriode [periode] ( period b. metode [metode] ( method c. dekade [dekade] ( decade [dikeid] d. tube [tube] ( tube [tju: b] The same explanation underlies the reason for a form like imej ‘ image’ to be rejected in standard Indonesian and, for a reason discussed in 2. 2. 3, such a form is accepted in standard Malay. 2. 2 The Advent of Consonant Cluster Two types of consonant clusters under discussion here: initial and final. 2. 2. 1 Initial Consonant Cluster Lauder’s (1995b) counting of consonant clusters in the 1993 dictionary (KBBI 1993) reveals that syllables with CC amounts only 3. 65%.

Small though the frequency is, the variety of cluster is around thirty kinds. [pic] Grafik 1: Frekuensi Gugus Konsonan pada Awal atau Tengah Kata (Lauder 1995b) These are the number of the lexical items (listed in the dictionary (KBBI)) containing consonant clusters in initial or medial position. [kr-] 213; [pr-] 181; [st-] 145; [pl-] 85; [kl-] 83; [sp-] 68; [br-] 64; [gl-] 51; [gr-] 48; [sk-] 40; [ps-] 33; [sw-] 31; [str-] 27; [-fr-] 26; [fl-] 25; [bl-] 22; [dr-] 20; [sl-] 5; [sf-] 5; [skr-] 4; [pn-] 3; [skl-] 2; [tm-] 1; [kn-] 1; [sm-] 1; [gn-] 1; [sn-] 1; [bd-] 0; [sv-] 0; [ft-] 0; [spl-] 0; [cz-] 0; dan [pt-] 0.

Of these consonants [s-] is the most widely distributed as the first consonant in the clusters, occurring in twelve different clusters, while [-r] and [-l] are the most widely used as the second consonant in the clusters, the former in eight, the latter in seven clusters. When comparing occurrences of [sk-] and [kl-] below, one may raise the following questions. [kl-], as counted by Lauder (1995b), occurs more frequently when compared to [sk-]. But why is it that [sk-] is more firmly accepted as a cluster in Indonesian and [kl-] is less so, as reflected in (3) and (4)?

In words such as listed in (4a) [kl-] is firmly accepted as consonant cluster, but not in (4b-c). Why is that the case? Why not the word with [kl-] but kelab, instead, that is selected as the standard form (listed in the dictionary (KBBI))? Why among speakers of Indonesian there seems to be a confusion, as reflected in (4c): between accepting the foreign [kl-] in (4c) as a consonant cluster or not counting it as a cluster (by adapting it to the basic syllable structure of CV)? (3)a. skor ( score b. skala ( scale c. skema ( scheme (4)a. klasifikasi, klasik, klarifikasi, klarinet b. elas ( klaas; gelas ( glass c. kelab (KBBI), klab (more sound-based), klub (more visual-based) A possible explanation is that, as the first consonant in the cluster, the distribution of [s-] is four times wider (in twelve types of cluster) in comparison to [k-] (only in three types of cluster). The same explanation may be used as a possible answer to a question raise toward the move launched by Pusat Bahasa about two decades ago. They advocated the addition of a schwa to the [kr-] and [tr-], both of which are a borrowing from Javanese: kraton ( keraton ‘ kingdom’, trampil ( terampil ‘ skillful’.

As Lauder (1996) reported, [kr-] is the most frequently found cluster of all 255. 704 words in the dictionary (KBBI 1993). What makes the Javanese imported [kr-] not accepted as a consonant cluster? For a firm acceptance as a consonant cluster, it is not the higher frequency of occurrence but the wider distribution in different kinds of cluster that is possibly counted for. The same explanation also holds for [tr-]: [tr-] does not have a wide distribution across different kinds of cluster. [s-] has the widest distribution across different kinds of CC and the only CCC accepted in Indonesian also starts with [s-]: str- and skr- 5) a. strata, strategi b. struktur, instrumen, instruksi, konstruksi c. skripsi, transkripsi It is worth noting here that although these words with CCC- are accepted in standard Indonesian, one may heard speakers of Indonesian convert these CCC- into CeCC: [setres] in place of [stres], [setreng] in place of [streng], [setrip] in place of [strip]. 2. 2. 1 Final Consonant Cluster [pic] Grafik 2: Frekuensi Gugus Konsonan pada Akhir Kata (Lauder 1995b) These are the number of the lexical items (listed in the dictionary (KBBI)) containing consonant clusters in final position. -ks] 59; [-ns] 34; [-rm] 17; [-ps] 6; [-rf] 6; [-rs] 5; [-lm] 3; [-lt] 3; [-rk] 3; [-rt] 3; [-nk] 2; [-rtz] 2; [-sk] 2; [-lf] 1; [-lk] 1; [-ls] 1; [-rb] 1; [-rd] 1; [-rg] 1; [-rp] 1; [-rps] 1; [-ft] 0; [-ld] 0; [-mf] 0; dan [-rk] 0. The two final clusters that are highest in frequency are exemplified below. Indonesian speakers that have difficulty in pronouncing these loanwords tend to drop the final [-s]. (6)a. seks ( sex (also: faks, indeks, kompleks, paradoks) b. kans ( kans, chance (also: ambulans, intens, respons)

The sequence of [-ks] is interpretatively problematic with respect to hyphenation, when in intersyllabic position. In the standard language [-ks] is treated differently depending on the environment. MABIM (1991) advocated [-ks] in (7) as a consonant cluster, while that in (8) it is not. In the former case, [-ks] is a consonant cluster because of the parallelism between eks- and in- or im-). Such parallelism is absent in (8) and, thus, [ks] is not a cluster. The sequence of consonants is split into two syllables. The ability to distinguish “ which one is which” here requires a linguistic knowledge of these foreign words. 7)a. eks-tra (‘ in-tra) b. eks-por (‘ im-por) c. eks-ter-nal (‘ in-ter-nal) (8)a. ek-ses b. ek-strem c. ek-sis-ten-si d. ek-so-ga-mi The same holds for [ns]. [ns] is a cluster in (9) because the root is a free form Indonesian. [ns] in (10) is not a cluster. It is a consonant sequence split into two syllables. The roots in (10) cannot stand on its own in Indonesian. The ability to see that fusi (9), for example, is different from skrip (10) also requires a linguistic knowledge about the words in question. (9)a. trans-mi-gra-si b. trans-fu-si c. trans-ak-si (10)a. tran-sen-den b. ran-sit c. tran-skrip The following foreign clusters, [-lm], [-rk], [-rt], [-rd], [-rm], [-st] and [-tm], however, are not accepted in Indonesian. There are three ways as to how to deal with these final-syllable clusters if they are not accepted: (i) add a schwa in between the CC, creating a new syllable with a CVC pattern (as in (11), (ii) add a vowel to follow the CC, splitting the CC into two syllables (as in (12)), and (iii) delete the final C (as in (13)). (11)a. kalem ( calm b. merek ( merk (12)kartu ( kaart (13)a. standar ( standard b. ekspor ( export (also: impor, paspor, rapor) . tes ( test The final -CCC is not accepted in Indonesian (the third C is dropped to yield CC). (14) teks ( text [tekst] (also: konteks) 2. 2 The Advent of New Phonemes Four new consonants (/f/, /z/, /sh/, and /x/) and two new vowels (/e/ and /o/) emerge in contemporary Indonesian. The emergence of these new phonemes in Indonesian, consonant [f] and vowels [e] and [o], was noted, among others, by Samsuri (1960), Stokhof (1975), and Alieva et al. (1991), and Lauder (1996). Only consonant /f/ and vowels /e/ will be discussed below. 2. 2. 1 Consonant /f/ Two issues may be raised here.

After /f/ was accepted as a phoneme in Indonesian and a phoneme different from /p/, what to do with the loanwords which used to not accept /f/ and adapt the foreign phoneme into /p/, as in the words like Pebruari ‘ February’ and kopi ‘ coffee’? The second issue is to do with how to spell phoneme /f/ in Indonesian. Only voiceless labio dental consonant is accepted in Indonesian, not the voiced one: /v/. How to handle the spelling of the foreign words with /f/ and of those with /v/? The acceptance of /f/ as a new phoneme in Indonesian triggered the spelling change of the words as exemplified in (16).

Although only the voiceless labiodental consonant is admitted, graphemes f and v are adopted, both of which represent a single phoneme /f/. Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia (KUBI) 1976 recorded Pebruari and Nopember with p, not f or v and remained so until the printing of KUBI 1983. It was in KBBI 1988 that f and v entered the scene, replacing p. The policy of importing /f/ apparently tend to put more weight on the visual representation of the sound rather than the sound itself. (16) a. Pebruari (KUBI 1976, 1983) ( Februari (KBBI 1988) b. Nopember (KUBI 1976, 1983) ( November (KBBI 1988) c. propinsi ( provinsi

Phoneme /f/ is written either as f or v depending on how the foreign phoneme was originally written. (17) a. festival b. verifikasi Now that /f/ has been accepted as phoneme in Indonesian, the loanword such as kafe and kafetaria, not found in KUBI (1976, 1983), started to appear in KBBI 1988 with the grapheme f. This is unlike koffie ‘ coffee’, which entered the Indonesian dictionary much earlier; the Dutch word was adapted into the Indonesian sound and spelled with p rather than f: kopi. (18)a. kafe ( cafe b. kafetaria ( cafetaria However, no change from p to f has been initiated thus far for kopi, unlike the case in (17).

Should such a change be made, there won’t be any ambiguity of the word kopi, as exemplified in (19). (19)a. kopi ( koffie (Dutch) b. kopi ( copy The case of kopi is just one example. The following question remains: should p in kopi as well as in other cases be changed into f or v like the move exemplified in (17)? The second issue with the acceptance of /f/ as an Indonesian new phoneme is exemplified in (20). The choice of f or v in (20) is conditioned by quite a complex linguistic knowledge about the base word and its affixation process. Such a process may be described into the following three rules: . v turns into f when it is word final 2. v remains v when it is not word final 3. v is treated as word (base) final when the word base goes with the Indonesian affix (not with the imported affix) and it, thus, follows rule 1 (20) a. kreatif ( creatief, creative b. kreativitas ( creativiteit, creativity c. kekreatifan ( ke-creative-an The rules still hold true even when the imported suffix is ‘ ness, and not ‘ ity, as exemplified in (21). (21)a. efektif ( effective b. efektivitas ( effectiveness (\*effectivity) c. keefektifan ( ke-effective-an 2. 2. 2 Vowel /e/

Of the six vowels studied in Lauder (1996), the two vowels of the lowest frequency are /o/ and /e/, with /e/ being the lowest of all. Lauder’s frequency counting of 255, 704 words from KBBI 1993 reports: /a/ 49, 3%; /i/ 17, 5%; /e/ 15, 1%; /u/ 11, 7%; /o/ 3, 2%; and /e/ 3, 1%. [pic] Grafik 3: Frekuensi Vokal (Lauder 1996) The order of frequency of occurrence of these vowels is similar to Zubkova’s (1966, as quoted by Lauder 1996 from Alieva 1991) study forty years ago: /a/ 50%; /i/ 17%; /e/ 15%; /u/ 11%; /o/ 3, 6%; /e/ 2, 2%; /au/ 0, 52%, dan /ai/ 0, 43%. Vowel /e/, the third in the order of frequency, was not found in older Malay.

In contemporary Indonesian, the distribution of this vowel is restricted: not found in word final position, be it in open or closed syllables (Laksman 1996: 129). One may find some words that end with [e], such as macet ‘ stuck’, but those are imported from Javanese. The onlly original Indonesian word with with ‘ er is sumber. For years Alisjahbana had advocated the spelling of the word be changed into sumbar, with no avail. There is no original Indonesian words with -CeC, except one example Some Indonesian words with -en and -et are imported from Javanese: [e] as in panen ‘ harvest’, kabupaten [e] ‘ district’ and [e] as in macet ‘ stuck’.

In what follows the vowel of the lowest frequecy, /e/, will be discussed in comparison to /e/. Specifically, the comparison is not at the phonemic level, i. e. /e/ vs. /e/. It is at the phonetic level: between sound [e] and the allophones of /e/: [e] and [e]. The starting point is the spelling: which sound is represented by the grapheme? The discussion is in the following order: the open syllables, followed by the closed syllables. 2. 2. 2. 1 e in open syllables Instances of e in word final positions are new in contemparary Indonesian and are found only in loanwords. They are most likely to be [e], as exemplified in (22). 22)a. kode ( code b. episode ( episode c. fase ( phase d. pose ( pose e. volume ( volume [also: rute, persentase, reportase, etalase, privilese] Some instances of e, however, are pronounced as /e/ in standard Indonesian, as in ide [ide] ‘ idea’, elite [elite] ‘ elite’. The strong pressure of the number of words ending in [e] is a possible reason for a number of Indonesian speakers to confound the use of [e] and [e] in word final position (23a-c) or even not in word final position (23d). A way out for such a confusion is drop the final vowel, such as in (23b). (23)a. ide ‘ idea’: [ide], [ide] b. lite ‘ elite’: [elite], [elite], [elit] c. atase ‘ attache’: [atase], [atase] d. misteri ‘ mistery’: [misteri], [misteri] 2. 2. 2. 2 A Sequence of e in Open Syllables In a sequence of two syllables, the original Indonesian pattern is “[e]-[e]” (24). The loanwords exhibit two different patterns: (i) the Portuguese way and (iii) the Dutch way. The loanwords from Portuguese has a pattern of “[e]-[e]” (25), both in a sequence two open syllables or open and closed syllables. (24)a. cedera b. segera c. kelelawar d. genderang (25) a. selera b. belerang c. jendela d. lentera e. bendera From Dutch two patterns are imported.

The first one is the reverse of that from Portuguese: not “[e]-[e]”, but “[e]-[e]” (26). The second pattern is “[e]-[e]” (27). (26)a. elemen [elemen] b. elegan [elegan] c. rekening [rekening] (27)a. televisi [televisi] b. federasi[federasi] c. generasi [generasi] d. relevan[relevan] Compare the Dutch-based loanwords with the English pattern. The two Dutch patterns ((26) and (27)) are realized into a single pattern in English: “[e]-[e]” (28). The English pattern has no effect on a sequence of e in open syllables. (28)Ind. Eng. a. elemen [elemen][element] b. elegan [elegan][elegent] c. elevisi [televisi][televisn] d. relevan[relevan][relevent] 2. 2. 2. 3 e in closed syllables The grapheme e in closed syllables of CeC is realized into three sounds: [e], [e], and [e]. All of the three are imported first from Dutch, then English. It is not easy for those not familiar with Dutch and English to trace how to pronounce the -CeC imported from Dutch and English. To illustrate, compare how the following two loanwords are pronounced: kabel and tabel. The two look alike and differ only in the initial consonant, but kabel is pronunced as [kabel] and not [kabel], and tabel is [tabel] and not [tabel].

The grapheme e listed in (29) and (30) share the same environment. Despite the similarity of the final CeC in the two lists, the former has the [e] reading (29), while the latter the [e] reading (30). (29)CeC ‘ [e] a. barter b. titel c. garmen d. stiker e. transfer [also: carter, kader, kanker, karakter, meter, gender] (30)CeC ‘ [e] a. kontingen b. konsumen c. kabinet d. konser e. kontes f. target [also: responden, paten, protokoler, visioner, primer] The third list below has more or less the same environment as the first two, but with the reading of e different from the two lists. The e of the loanwords in (31) are realized as [e].

They are imported from the Dutch words with -een, -eet, -eek, such as in heterogeen, homogeen, concreet, compleet, aptheek. (31) CeC ‘ [e] a. heterogen b. homogen c. konkret d. komplet e. apotek The standard form is written as e, but one may find occurrences of these words written as heterogin, homogin, konkrit, komplit, apotik. The fact that one can hardly find explanations as to why kabel is pronunced as [kabel] and not [kabel], why tabel is [tabel] and not [tabel] may be a possible reason for some speakers of Indonesian to confound the use of [e] and [e] as in (32). (32)a. momen: [momen], [momen] b. novel: [novel], [novel]

The variant in (32) does not affect the meaning, but the change from [e] to [e] in (33a) and from [e] to [e] in (33b) does affect the meaning. (33)a. mental (bounced) vs. mental (cognition) b. konsen (concern) vs. konsen (concentration) Another confusion is between [e] and [e], as exemplified in (34), as mixture of the CeC pattern in (31) and (30). (34) a. lensa: [lensa], [lensa] b. pesta: [pesta], [pesta] A final example of a problem with grapheme e is when the grapheme is in combination with i, as exemplified in (35). In words like (35a) the grapheme ie is pronounced as [ie], while in others like (35b) ie is pronounced as [i]. (35)a. ie] karier, pasien, klien b. [i] diesel, hierarkhi The advent of these varieties may trigger the need to add diacritical marks to the grapheme e. 2. 2. 2. 4 A Sequence of e in Two or More Syllables The original Indonesian pattern of a sequence of two closed syllable with e is “[e]-[e]” (36). The pattern of some Dutch- and English-based loanwords (37) is the same as the native Indonesian pattern. (36)[e]-[e] a. benteng b. lengket c. pendek d. sendeng (37) [e]-[e] a. respek b. bengkel c. fermentasi Two different patterns are imported: “[e]-[e]” (38) and “[e]-[e]” (39). The former is imported from Dutch, English, and also Javanese (e. . pencet ‘ to push [the button]’), while the latter is from Dutch. (38)[e]-[e] a. permen b. persentase (39)[e]-[e] a. stempel b. senter c. bemper As for a sequence of three closed syllables, one may come across four patterns. (40) a. Mercedes [e]-[e]-[e] b. regenerasi [e]-[e]-[e] c. independen [e]-[e]-[e] / [e]-[e]-[e] d. referensi [e]-[e]-[e] / [e]-[e]-[e] 2. 2. 3 Sound and Spelling How are foreign words absorbed or incorporated into the system of another language? In Japanese almost all English closed syllables are adapted into open syllables, as exemplified in (34). (34)a. beer ( /biru/ b. business ( /bi-ji-ne-su/ . chart ( /chatto/ d. disco ( /disuko/ e. McDonald ( /ma-ku-do-nal-do f. ice cream ( aisu krimu g. sweets ( /sui: tsu/ One may come across a Japanese learning Indonesian produces an utterance, such as in (35). [air ‘ water’ ( airu; dingin ‘ cold” ( dinginu] (35)minta airu dinginu ‘ May I ask for cold water? ‘ A comparison between contemporary (standard Malay (Mal. ) and contemporary (standard) Indonesian (Ind. ) strikingly reveals that in adopting English words Mal. is likely to pick up the auditory elements (sound-based) while Ind. the visual elements (spelling-based). Compare the examples below. (36) Dutch/Eng.

Mal. Ind. a. modern moden modern b. solution solusyen solusi c. komputer kompyute komputer d. status steites status The latest guidelines provided by Pusat Bahasa for integrating foreign words into Indonesian indicate that there are degrees of integration, categorized into three. Penyesuaian Ejaan (KBBI 1993: 1173): Dalam perkembangannya, bahasa Indonesia menyerap pelbagai bahasa lain, baik dari bahasa daerah maupun bahasa asing, seperti Sanskerta, Arab, Portugis, Belanda, dan Inggris Berdasarkan taraf integrasinya unsur serapan dalam bahasa Indonesia dapat dibagi atas tiga golongan besar

Pertama, unsur-unsur yang sudah lama terserap ke dalam bahasa Indonesia yang tidak perlu lagi diubah ejaannya. Misalnya, sirsak, iklan, otonomi, dongkrak, pikir, paham, aki Kedua, unsur asing yang belum sepenuhnya terserap ke dalam bahasa Indonesia, seperti shuttle cock, real estate. Unsur-unsur ini dipakai di dalam konteks bahasa Indonesia, tetapi pengucapannya masih mengikuti cara asing. Ketiga, unsur yang pengucapannya dan penulisannya disesuaikan dengan kaidah bahasa Indonesia.

Dalam hal ini diusahakan agar ejaan bahasa asing hanya diubah seperlunya sehingga bentuk Indonesianya masih dapat dibandingkan dengan bentuk aslinya. (1) for already integrated loanwords: change of spelling not necessary (e. g. sirsak, iklan, otonomi, dongkrak, pikir, paham, aki) (2)for not yet-fully-integrated foreign elements: foreign sound is acceptable (e. g. shuttle cock, real estate) (3)for sound and spelling adaptable to the Indonesian rules: foreign spelling is to be modified when necessary (the resulting Indonesian spelling should be comparable to the foreign pelling) 2. 2. 3. 1 Loanwords of the first catogory It is not clear what criteria to determine the “ already integrated loanwords”. If the loanwords listed from (37) to (45) below also belong to list of the loanwords of the first category, they do not follow the first guideline of “ no change is necessary” . Since the seventies there have been a number of spelling changes. They can be classified as of two types. The first is the change from /p/ to /f/, as discussed in (17), and rewritten as (37), and from /e/ to /i/, as in (38).

The second is the spelling changes from the Dutch-soundlike into the English-sound like loanwords (see the rest of the examples). The change of spelling from /p/ to /f/ one may witness from comparing the Pusat Bahasa dictionary (KBBI) to the dictionaries before the publication of KBBI (e. g. KUBI). The list includes all loanwords containing /p/ whose original foreign sound is /f/. For no clear reason, however, a loanword like kopi (( koffie (Du. ), coffee (Eng. ) retains its /p/. (37) a. Pebruari (KUBI 1976, 1983) ( Februari (KBBI 1988) b. Nopember (KUBI 1976, 1983) ( November (KBBI 1988)

The Dutch originated loanwords praktek (praktijk) is another victim of the spelling change policy: [e] was changed to [i] for the sake of sound harmony when side by side with to the related loanword praktikum. (38) praktek ( praktik (cf praktikum] The second type of spelling change is exemplified by the change from ‘ il (Du. ‘ eel) to ‘ al (Eng. ‘ al) and from ‘ er (Du. ‘ air) to ‘ ar (Eng. ‘ ar). (39)from Du. ‘ eel to Eng. -al a. tradisionil ( tradisional b. universil ( universal c. komersiil ( komersial (40) from Du. ‘ air to Eng. -ar a. populer ( popular (cf popularitas) b. regular ( regular c. ekuler ( sekular Almost all of the loanwords earlier written as ‘ il can be easily transferred into ‘ al, as exemplified in (39), but there is a problem with some words (see (41) and (43)) and, thus, ‘ il is retained in the words listed in (41). The equivalent of \*prinsipial is nonexistent in English. The Dutch moreel and the English moral are of different meaning. The meaning of the Dutch materiil is not the same as that of the English material. The word \*prinsipial is not listed in Indonesian dictionaries, moril and moral, materiil and material are used each with a different collocation. (41)a. rinsipiil b. moril c. materiil (42) a. perbedaan prinsipiil b. dukungan moril dan materiil c. dilema moral d. toko material The Dutch originated word orisinil, which was modified into orisinal, requires a word of comment. The equivalent English word is original and, thus, if it is the English word that is taken basis for the loanword, the resulting form should either be orijinal (43c), if sound-based, or original (43d), if spelling-based. (43)a. orisinil ( orisineel [Dutch] b. orisinal [selected as the standard form] c. orijinal ( original [Eng. sound-based] d. original ( original [Eng. spelling-based]

Another word formation which may raise a problem in the future is the words exemplified in (45). A difference between the Mal-way and the Ind-way is illustrated in (44): English-based (Mal. ) and Latin- (instead of Dutch)-based (Ind. ) (44)Eng. Mal. Ind. a. faculty fakulti fakultas (( Du. fakulteit) b. quality kualiti kualitas (( Du. kualiteit) It is confirmedly established for the use of univeristas (45a), but less so for (45b-c). One may come across the use of the two variants in the written text for the loanwords in (45b-c). although the standard form is the one with ‘ itas (KBBI 2005). 45)a. universitas ( universiteit (Dutch), university (Eng. ) b. komoditi/komoditas ( \*komoditeit (Du. ), commodity (Eng. ) c. selebriti/selebritas ( \*selebriteit (Du. ), celebrity (Eng. ) The Dutch original for the loanwords in (45b-c) are nonexistent, nevertheless the form with ‘ itas is taken as the standard form. Interestingly, a recent loanword with no Dutch equivalence of ‘ iteit, similar to the case in (45b-c), listed in KBBI (2005) as loanword with ‘ iti, following the Mal-way, not the Ind-way (46). The word sekuritas is listed in the dictionary with another meaning. 46) sekuriti ( \*sekuriteit (Du. ), security (Eng. ) (47) sekuritas ‘ bukti utang atau bukti pernyataan modal (mis. saham, obligasi, wesel, sertifikat, deposito)’ (KBBI 1988, 2005) 2. 2. 3. 2 Loanwords of the second catogory This second category accommodates some foreign words to be used in written Indonesian (e. g. shuttle cock, real estate). One possible reason for the need to have this separate category is that ‘ both in terms of the visual and auditory character ‘ the foreign words in question are difficult, if not impossible, to be adapted to the Indonesian system.

There has been an attempt, on the one hand, to forcefully made an adaptation to the Indonesian system, but not without resistance from the users. (48)a. budget ‘ bujet b. bakery ‘ bakeri c. real estate ‘ real estat On the other hand, there has never been any effort to modify the words such as listed in (49) to comply with the Indonesian sound system. These words are always used ‘ in spoken as well as in written Indonesian texts ‘ as they are spelled and pronounced in English. (49) a. stroke [setrok] b. tape recorder c. basement [bismen] d. [penyanyi] band [ben] e. file f. gang(ster)

A possible reason for retaining the English spelling of tape in (49b) is the ambiguity from the view point of its visual as well as auditory characteristics of the word. When written in Indonesian as tape, as in (50) the word may be pronounced differently. When the word is pronounced as [tip] ‘ this is the way the word is commonly pronounced in the Indonesian texts (not as [teip]) ‘ it is intended to be a short form of tape recorder. When pronounced as [tape], the word is used to mean ‘ fermented sticky rice’. (50)ngasih tape [written] ( a. give a tape recorder (tape [tip]) b. give fermented sticky rice (tape [tape])

When written, to avoid the ambiguity in (50), the word is more likely to be written as tape in combination with recorder. When spoken, tip may have two different interpretations. The first interpretation is the same as meaning (a) of tape in (50). The second meaning is ‘ extra money you give, for example, to a waiter’. (51) /ngasih tip/ [spoken] a. give a tape recorder b. give a tip 2. 2. 3. 3 Loanwords of the third catogory Of these three categories the words in the second category is the least in number, while the words of the third category outnumbered those of the other two. But the third category is the most vulnerable area.

The guidelines prescribed for the third category (52) are vague. (52) a. The foreign spelling is only to be modified when necessary. b. The modified form (of the Indonesian spelling) should be comparable to the foreign spelling. What is meant by “ when necessary”, when applied to the choice of whether to drop or not to drop the final e (53), to retain the final consonant cluster (54) or to drop the final C of the consonant cluster (55), to retain the final consonant cluster or to add a schwa in between the CC (56)? (53)a. kode ( code (1) b. skor ( score (4) (54)a. kompleks ( complex (6) b. esponse ( respons (6) (55)a. standar ( standard (13) b. test ( test (13) c. ekspor ( export (13) The retention of e in (53a) requires a word of comment. One possible explanation for e to be retained in (53a) is that principle (52b) is to be interpreted as follows. Indonesian is more likely to take the spelling-based rather than the sound-based approach (see (36) for the examples). Example (53b), however, is a counter evidence to this approach. It is also unclear what is meant by “ should be comparable to the foreign spelling”. Which form is more comparable to the foreign spelling: film or kalem (56)? 56)a. film ( film (14) b. kalem ( calm (11) What is principle (52b) for? It may cause a problem for Indonesian speakers to pronounce the words in question. Does the difference spelling in (56) reflect the difference in pronunciation? Or, how to pronounce film in (57a) and perfilman in (57b)? (57) a. film [film] or [filem] b. perfilman [perfilman] or [perfileman] Similarly, if the English-based loanword modern is written as (58a) so as to be comparable to the foreign spelling, and thus follows the way adopted in (56a), which one is easier for Indonesian speakers to pronounce: (a) or (b) of (59)? 58)a. modern b. moderen (59)a. memodernkan b. momoderenkan In additon to the question as to when to drop the final C of the final consonant cluster and when to retain it (see the discussion of (54) and (55) above), the same question also applies to (60) and (61). This is the area of difficulty for the users of Indonesian to learn from the principles in (52). The question as to when to drop d and when to retain d in (60) is not easy for speakers of Indonesian who are not familiar with English to handle. (60)a. standar- ‘ menstandarkan b. standard- ‘ standardisasi [KBBI 2005: 1089] c. standarisasi

It is also difficult for many speakers of Indonesian to see when to use f and when, instead of f, v is used. Consequently, (60c) and (61c) are common errors that Pusat Bahasa has taken the pain to correct and most of the time with no avail. (61)a. kreatif- (kekreatifan) b. kreativ- (kreativitas) c. kreatifitas The application of principle (52a) to the words in (62) is not without a problem. The spelling of these words is exactly like the English spelling (except (62), with a minor change from c to k), but Indonesian speakers are more likely to pronounce the words using the first option, rather than the second.

Thus, there is a wide gap between the sound and the spelling, which is not typical of Indonesian. (62) a. bus [bis] or [bus] b. truk[trek] or [truk] c. plus [ples] or [plus] d. klub[klep] or [klap] The mass influx of Engish-based loanwords since the seventies has caused the use of Engish-based loanwords like sale take over the earlier existence of the possibly Dutch-based loanwords like obral. Tiket has taken over the position of karcis and dirigen is becoming less and less used and is replaced by konduktor. The spelling of the loanword is comparable to the English word, but the pronunciation is exactly like the original word. 63)a. dirigen b. konduktor [kendakter] ‘ conductor in a choir, orchestra’ Thus, if one asks what principle is adopted for the loanword konduktor: spelling-based or sound based? The answer is the two approaches are adopted at the same time in a single word. (This is unlike examples in (53), where only one approach is applied each time. ) The application of the two approaches into a single word is also apparent in (64a), unlike the words in (64b) and (64c), to which only one approach is applied, i. e. the spelling-based one. (64) a. pemain organ ‘ organist’ [orgen] b. organis ‘ organist’ [organis] c. rgan vital ‘ vitunlal organ’ [organ] 3 Morphology Two topics are under discussion here: verb formation and creativity in coining new word formation. 3. 1 Verb Formation [There have been two sequential strong streams of external influence on Indonesian verb morphology: Dutch first, English follows. The Dutch influence took place soon after Indonesian independence until the end of the sixties. ] The affect to the Indonesian verb morphology is simpler. The verb is formed by adding the Dutch verb (as the base) to prefix meN- or di-, as exemplified in (1). (1) a. annuleren ( menganulir, dianulir (KBBI 2005: 59) . signaleren ( mensinyalir, disinyalir (KBBI 2005: 1073) c. sorteren ( menyortir, disortir (KBBI 2005: 1085) The verbs as listed in (1) may only go with meN- or di-, while the verb such as in (2) requires the use of meN-/-kan or di-/-kan. (2) proclameren ( memproklamirkan, diproklamirkan After the seventies, when the mob of English-based loanwords entered the scene, the Dutch influence faded away, and was soon replaced by English. This stream of influence is more complex than the earlier one and can be divided into two types of verb formation. The first maintained the Dutch rule, i. e. prefix plus verb”. Prefix meN- or di- is attached to the English verb. The verb form is unmodified because the auditory (i. e. sound) as well as the visual (i. e. spelling) characteristics are difficult to be adapted to the Indonesian system. The verb is written in italics and a hyphen marks the boundary between the prefix and the verb base (3). (3) a. meng-attach, mem-blow up, mem-follow up, meng-explore, men-charge b. di-attach, di-blow up, di-follow up, di-explore, di-charge Some verbs, as exemplified in (4), can be adapted partially to the Indonesian sound and spelling system. 4) a. mengekspos, merekrut b. diekspos, direkrut Unlike the verb base in (3), which is unmarked, the verb attached to the prefix retains the active-passive verb inflection: meN- goes with the unmarked English active verb (5a) and di- goes with the passive verb (5b). (5)a. mem-publish b. di-published Some verbs retain the ‘ ing form and the ‘ ing verb may either go with meN- or di-, not counting on what the inflection means. The resulting form may either follow the pattern in (3) or in (4), depending on the adaptability of the English to the Indonesian sound and spelling system. 6) men-screening, di-screening (7) a. memposting, diposting b. melaminating, dilaminating c. membacking, dibacking The second type of verb formation follows the rule of “ prefix plus deverbal noun”. Consider (8) and (9). (8) a. mengoleksi b. mengoreksi c. memproduksi d. merevisi (9)men-treatment, di-treatment [bagaimana mentreatment air laut sehingga bisa digunakan …] In (10) it is not clear whether the verb formation follows the first or the second type. The base word like export, claim, control, program can either be a verb or a noun. (10)a. mengekspor b. mengklaim c. mengkontrol d. memprogram

Since 1970s there has been a strong pressure, initiated by Pusat Bahasa (the Language Center), for the formation of loanwords to be oriented towards English-sound like rather than Dutch-sound like. Dutch-based verb formation like in (1) is to be English-based. The question is which rule to use: “ prefix + verb” or “ prefix + deverbal noun”? The former is exemplified in (1) through (7), the latter in (7). It is not the first but the second rule that is adopted. The “ prefix + verb” pattern of the used to be Dutch-base verb formation was modified into “ prefix + deverbal noun” pattern. Compare (11a) and (11b). Other examples are in (12). (11)a. engakomodir ( meN- + accomoderen [prefix + verb] b. mengakomodasi ( meN- + accomodation [prefix + deverbal noun] (12) a. melegalisir ( melegalisasi b. merealisir ( merealisasi(kan) c. menolerir ( menoleransi One may trace the shift from the Dutch to the Pusat Bahasa way in the lexical entries of the latest edition of KBBI, some of which are exemplified in (13). (13) verb noun akomodir(akomodasi (KBBI 2005: 21) legalisir ( legalisasi (KBBI 2005: 65) tolerir ( toleransi (KBBI 2005: 1204) Some sort of equation of akomodir to akomodasi in (13) does not reflect the interlanguage correspondence in (14). (14)DutchEnglishIndonesian ccomodatie accomodationakomodasi legalisatielegalizationlegalisasi tolerantietolerancetoleransi Not all Dutch-based verb formation, however, can be modified into English-based pattern. The verbs listed in (1) are examples of the Dutch survivals. To recapitulate, there are two different ways of forming the meN- (or di-) verbs, exemplified in (a) and (b) below: meN- + verb, meN- + deverbal noun. The deverbal noun, but not the verb, may also be attached to meN-/-kan (15c). (15)a. mem-predict b. memprediksi c. memprediksikan The presence of ‘ kan requires further elaboration: -kan may be optional (a), or obligatory (b), or never be used (c). 16)a. merealisasi(kan) b. mengkoordinasi\*(kan), mendiskusi\*(kan) c. mendominasi(\*kan), mereduksi(\*kan) The presence or absence of ‘ kan may indicate a difference in meaning, as illustrated by the base words demonstrasi and operasi. Both demonstration and operation have no less than two meanings in Dutch as well as in English (MacMillan English Dictionary). (17) demonstration a. an occasion when a large group of people protest about something b. an occasion when someone shows how something works or how to do something When ‘ kan is absent, the verb has the meaning of (17a). When ‘ kan is present, the verb has the meaning of (17b) 18) a. berdemo(nstrasi), didemo(nstrasi) = (17a) b. mendemonstrasikan = (17b) Operation has no less than three meanings. (19)operation a. action to achieve something b. cutting body medically c. controlling machine, etc. Beroperasi has the meaning of (19a), mengoperasi the meaning of (19b), and mengoperasikan the meaning of (19c). (20) a. beroperasi = (19a) b. mengoperasi = (19b) c. mengoperasikan = (19c) Just as the native verb formation may have a pair of ber- and meN- (e. g. bekerja ‘ mengerjakan, berdoa ‘ mendoakan), it is also possible for the verb formation with loanword to have the same pair. (21) intransitivetransitive specific Obj] a. berproduksi ‘ memproduksi b. berdiskusi ‘ mendiskusikan c. berefleksi ‘ merefleksikan d. berkomentar ‘ mengomentari e. berinisiatif ‘ menginisiatifi Some native ber- verbs have no meN- transitive pair (e. g. berenang, bertanding) and so do these loanwords with ber-. (22)bereksperimen, berkampanye, berkonsultasi, berinteraksi, berkonsentrasi, berkolaborasi, berargumentasi Some native ber- verbs may mean ‘ to possess’ (e. g. beruban, berkekuatan); the same may be exemplified with the loanwords with ber-. (23)bermerek, berlabel, berfungsi, berspesialisasi, berpotensi, berprestasi, erkualifikasi, berkapasitas, berambisi, berinisiatif It is also possible to express greetings with loanwords with ber- as one can also do with native ber- verbs: e. g. Selamat Bertanding. (24) a. selamat beraktivitas b. selamat berkongres / berseminar / berkonferensi To express “ stative passive” two possible prefixes may be used: ber- (25) or ter- (26) (e. g. berserak ‘ scattered’, terencana ‘ planned’). In the last few years the following two forms are in competition: berakreditasi and terakreditasi for the equivalence of accredited. (25)berlokasi ‘ located’, berkomitmen ‘ committed’ 26)terkontrol ‘ controlled’, termotivasi ‘ motivated’, terorganisasi ‘ organized’, terdiskriminasi ‘ discriminated’, termarjinalisas ‘ marginalized’, terkontaminasi ‘ contaminated’, terobsesi ‘ obsessed’, terprovokasi ‘ provoked’ 3. 2 Creativity in coining new word formation Two cases are exemplified below: (a) the interaction of loanwords with native affixes and (b) the creation of new loanword formation with foreign affixes based on analogy but the coined loanwords lack corresponding equivalence. Cases of (a) are exemplified in (27) and 28), cases of (b) in (29) through (35).

A quick glance at the use of the two variants in (26) gets the impression that there is no difference in meaning between the two. The additon of ‘ an gives a flavor of “ indonesian”-ness. The variants in (27), however, differs in meaning; the per-/-an sprouts the sense of plurality of issues, matters. (27)a. kritik ‘ kritikan b. posting ‘ postingan (28)a. ekonomi ‘ perekonomian ‘ economic matters’ b. politik ‘ perpolitikan In the following examples, the words listed in (a) do exist in English, but those in (b), (c) and the rest do not. (29)a. aktor ( actor b. koruptor ( \*corruptor c. provokator ( \*provocator (30)a. eporter ( reporter b. miliser ( [‘ members of a mailing list] (31)a. pianis ( pianist (n. ) b. humoris ( humorist c. hobiis ( hobbyist d. reformis (\*reformist (reformer) (32)a. argumentatif ( argumentative b. fasilitatif ( \*facilitative c. diskriminatif ( \*discriminative (discriminatory) d. implementatif ( \*implementative e. variatif ( \*variative (33)a. nasionalisasi ( nationalization b. kaderisasi ( \*caderization c. inventarisasi ( inventarisatie, \*inventarization (inventory) d. localization ( localisatie, \*localization (34)a. aktivitas ( activity b. agresivitas ( aggressiviteit, \*aggresivity (aggressiveness) c. utinitas ( \*routinity If such creation of new word formation expands further to include base words which are of native origin, as for example in (35a-b), the foreign suffix may be promoted for acceptance in the list of native affixes. (35)a. pancasilais b. agamis (36)a. turinisasi b. kuningisasi Recapitulation When you are in Rome, do as the Romans do. But, when you are dealing with Indonesian, a language which for more than half a century has been flooded with influence from Portuguese, Dutch, and finally English, the question remains: whose rules to use: the guest or the host rules?

Portuguese influence only permeated the phonology, not the morphology, and the phonotactic system of the two languages is similar with regard to close correspondence between sound and spelling as well as the syllable structure. But both Dutch and English have injected rules different from the Indonesian system. In the area of closed syllables Indonesian can so far maintain its own rule, but the other areas of phonology and of morphology are vulnerable. Dutch and English rules are in competetion, while the Indonesian rules have no strong and solid ground. REFERENCES Alieva, N. F. et al. 1991.

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