

ADAPTATION OF POLYMORPHEMIC EUROPEAN LOANWORDS IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIAN

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1 INTRODUCTION

Affixes are seldom transferred directly from one language to another. In general borrowed elements have the status of words. Borrowed polymorphemic words enter the recipient language as autonomous signs, as unmotivated elements, uniting a particular form with an independent meaning; that is: within the word-form no parts can be distinguished to which semantic features are attached that function within the word-meaning. However, some bilingual speakers may be conscious of the motivated character of loanwords in the source language. This creates the possibility of analogical extension of morphological categories with foreign affixes (Weinreich 1974 :31-32).

In order to examine affixes of European - that is of Dutch and English - origin, the obvious approach would be to examine thoroughly how polymorphemic loanwords are adapted in Indonesian, rather than listing affixes of European origin (cf. Verhaar 1984). Such a procedure enables us to distinguish at least four cases:

1. words that are considered to be polymorphemic on historical grounds only, enter the Indonesian language as totally unmotivated, like the Dutch compound *maarschalk* 'marshal', which is adapted as *marsekal* or *marsekalak*, and the Dutch derivational formation *reflectie* 'reflection', which is adapted as *refleksi*;
2. words that are polymorphemic in the source language, but unmotivated in the recipient language, like the Dutch compound *stopfles* 'glass jar with stopper', which is adapted as *stoples*, *setoples* or *toples*, and the derivation *riolering* 'sewage-system', which is adapted as *riolering*;
3. words that are polymorphemic in the source language, and also in the recipient language, but nonproductively, like Dutch derivational formations ending in *-atie*, which are adapted as words ending in *-asi*, like *segmentasi* 'segmentation' (the monomorphemic counterpart *segmen* occurs in Indonesian as an independent word);
4. words that are polymorphemic in the source language, and also in the recipient language, but which belong to a morphological category that can be extended; in other words: with a productive morphological rule new words can be added to the vocabulary, e.g. words ending in *-isasi* like *spiralisasi* 'the introduction of IUD's in family planning' (de Vries 1984).

2 ADAPTATION OF DERIVATIONS

2.1 SUFFIXATION

2.1.1 Adjectival suffixation

The adjectival polymorphemic loanwords show a rather complex picture.

The following words are borrowed from Dutch; in the source language these words end in *-isch/is/* (cf. Grijns et al. 1984).

(1) <i>anakronis</i>	'anachronistic'	anachronisch
<i>anakronistis</i>	'anachronistic'	anachronistisch
<i>ark(h)ais</i>	'archaic'	archaïsch
<i>bombastis</i>	'high-flown'	bombastisch
<i>demagogis</i>	'demagogic'	demagogisch
<i>didaktis</i>	'didactic'	didactisch
<i>dinamis</i>	'dynamic'	dynamisch
<i>dogmatis</i>	'dogmatic'	dogmatisch
<i>drastis</i>	'drastic'	drastisch
<i>egoistis</i>	'egotistic'	egoïstisch
<i>egosentris</i>	'egocentric'	egocentrisch
<i>ekonomis</i>	'economic'	economisch
<i>empiris</i>	'empirical'	empirisch
<i>fantastis</i>	'fantastic'	fantastisch
<i>harmonis</i>	'harmonious'	harmonisch
<i>hipnotis</i>	'hypnotic'	hypnotisch
<i>hypnotis</i>		
<i>idilis</i>	'idyllic'	idyllisch
<i>kronis</i>	'chronic'	chronisch
<i>kronologis</i>	'chronological'	chronologisch
<i>logis</i>	'logical'	logisch
<i>matematis</i>	'mathematical'	mathematisch
<i>materialistis</i>	'materialistic'	materialistisch
<i>medis</i>	'medical'	medisch
<i>mekanis</i>	'mechanical'	mechanisch
<i>metodis</i>	'methodical'	methodisch
<i>monolitis</i>	'monolithic'	monolitisch
<i>nasionalistis</i>	'nationalistic'	nationalistisch
<i>naturalis(tis)</i>	'naturalistic'	naturalistisch
<i>optimistis</i>	'optimistic'	optimistisch
<i>otokratis</i>	'autocratic'	autokratisch
<i>otomatis</i>	'automatic'	automatisch
<i>paternalistis</i>	'paternalistic'	paternalistisch
<i>patologis</i>	'pathological'	pathologisch
<i>pedagogis</i>	'pedagogical'	pedagogisch
<i>p(e)raktis</i>	'practical'	praktisch
<i>plastis</i>	'plastic'	plastisch
<i>polemis</i>	'polemic'	polemisch
<i>pornografis</i>	'pornographic'	pornografisch
<i>pragmatis</i>	'pragmatic'	pragmatisch
<i>skeptis</i>	'sceptical'	sceptisch
<i>tektonis</i>	'tectonic'	tectonisch

<i>telefonis</i>	'by telephone'	telefonisch
<i>toksís</i>	'toxic'	toxisch

Spelling pronunciation is found in *dema-gogis*, *dogmatis*, *egoistis*, *egosentris*, *logis*, *patologis*, *pornografis* and *pragmatis*, for Dutch letter *g* represents /ɣ/, and Dutch *ch/x/* is adapted as /k/, as in *krono-logis*. Remarkable is the shorter form *naturalis* beside *naturalistis*, for *naturalis* 'naturalist' as a noun seems also possible (from Dutch *naturalist*), although not found in the data. The element *-is* is seldom used as a suffix for adding new words to the Indonesian vocabulary; I have found *Pancasilais* 'conform Pancasila' only.

The following words are borrowed with *-ik*, although the source language is probably Dutch, with the exception of *arktik* and *domestik*; their source is almost certainly English. The take-over of adjectivalizing *-ik* for *-is* is modeled on English *-ic*. This development is recommended by the Indonesian government in official and scientific language use.

(2) <i>arktik</i>	'arctic'	arctisch (?), Eng. arctic
<i>domestik</i>	'domestic'	Eng. domestic
<i>futuristik</i>	'futuristic'	futuristisch
<i>isokromatik</i>	'isochromatic'	isochromatisch
<i>konsentrik</i>	'concentric'	concentrisch
<i>seismik</i>	'seismic'	seismisch
<i>supersonik</i>	'supersonic'	supersonisch
<i>ultrasonik</i>	'ultrasonic'	ultrasonisch

The rise of words ending in *-ik* is supported by several adjectives with a Dutch source ending in *-iek/ik/*, with the accent on the suffix. The suffix *-isch* does not bear word accent. In Indonesian however, a language without stress-timed word accent, borrowings like *domestik* (see (2)) and *polemis* (see (1)) are intonationally handled like the formations in (3).

(3) <i>fanatik</i> , <i>panatik</i>	'fanatical'	fanatiek
<i>fisik</i> , <i>pisik</i>	'physical'	fysiek
<i>kubik</i>	'cubic'	kubiek
<i>otentik</i>	'authentic'	autentiek

The spelling with *p* (*panatik*, *pisik*) is officially discouraged.

In a number of cases both the older form with *-is* and the newer one with *-ik* occur:

(4) <i>analitis/analitik</i>	'analytic'	analytisch
<i>antibiotis/antibiotik</i>	'antibiotic'	antibiotisch
<i>dialektis/dialektik</i>	'dialectical'	dialectisch
<i>diplomatis/diplomatik</i>	'diplomatic'	diplomatisch
<i>eksotis/eksotik</i>	'exotic'	exotisch
<i>eksentris/eksentrik</i> , <i>nyentrik</i>	'excentric'	excentrisch
<i>erotis/erotik</i>	'erotic'	erotisch
<i>genetis/genetik</i>	'genetic'	genetisch
<i>herois/heroik</i>	'heroic'	heroisch
<i>kritis/kritik</i>	'critical'	kritisch

<i>olimpis/olimpik</i>	'olympic'	olympisch
<i>puitis/putik</i>	'poetic'	poëtisch
<i>satiris/satirik</i>	'satirical'	satirisch
<i>volkanis</i> , <i>vulkanis/</i> <i>volkanik</i>	'volcanic'	vulkanisch

The occurrence of *satirik* 'satirical' makes it possible to use the noun *satiris* 'satirist' also, in place of older *saterikus* from Dutch *satyricus* 'satirist'. The suffix *-ist* in English (and also the suffix *-ist* in Dutch with the same morphological status) bears word accent, but in Indonesian, a language without stress-timed word accent, an opposition between *satiris* 'satirist' and *satiris* 'satirical' does not exist. By consequence the word form *satiris* is homonymous. Furthermore, it is not true that a Dutch source and an English one are competing. Categories ending in *-is* and ending in *-ik* are competing, although historically based on respectively Dutch and English categories. For example, the occurrence of *kritik* 'critical' has been made possible by the existence of the Dutch-based borrowing *kritis* and the category of words ending in *-ik*, not an English source word **critic*. Interference of Dutch *kritiek* 'critical' with stress on the last syllable is also possible.

A totally different case is *elektris*, *lektris* 'electric' from Dutch *electrisch* besides *listrik*, *lestriik*, *lesterik* 'electricity'. The forms ending in *-ik* are nouns, and never used as adjectives. Probably their source is obsolete Dutch *elektriek* 'electricity, electric', adapted with dissimilation of the two *k*'s.

Two cases ending in *-al* allow also *-is*:

(5) <i>diktatoris/</i> <i>diktatorial</i>	'dictatorial'	diktatoriaal
<i>tropis/tropikal</i>	'tropical'	tropisch

In the first case the ending *-(i)al* in the Dutch borrowing *diktatorial* is replaced by *-is*, the only case of expansion of *-is*, and in the second case the form ending in *-is* occurs on a par with the English borrowing ending in *-al*.

The following words, ending in *-al*, are borrowed from Dutch words ending in stressed *-aal/al/*.

(6) <i>diagonal</i>	'diagonal'	diagonaal
<i>doktoral</i>	'doctoral'	doctoraal
	examination'	
<i>feodal</i>	'feudal'	feodaal
<i>frontal</i>	'frontal'	frontaal
<i>horisontal</i>	'horizontal'	horizontaal
<i>hormonal</i>	'hormonal'	hormonaal
<i>il(l)egal</i>	'illegal'	illegaal
<i>instrumental</i>	'instrumental'	instrumentaal
<i>integral</i>	'integral'	integraal
<i>internasional</i>	'international'	internationaal
<i>kolonial</i>	'colonial'	koloniaal
<i>komunal</i>	'communal'	communaal
<i>kontinental</i>	'continental'	continentaal
<i>kuintal</i> , <i>kwintal</i>	'quintal'	kwintaal

<i>labial</i>	'labial'	labiaal
<i>legal</i>	'legal'	legaal
<i>leksikal</i>	'lexical'	lexicaal
<i>liberal</i>	'liberal'	liberaal
<i>lokal</i>	'local'	lokaal
<i>loyal, loyar</i>	'loyal'	loyaal
<i>maksimal</i>	'maximal'	maximaal
<i>marjinal, marginal</i>	'marginal'	marginaal
<i>masal</i>	'wholesale'	massaal
<i>masinal</i>	'mechanical'	machinaal
<i>mental</i>	'mental'	mentaal
<i>mineral</i>	'mineral'	mineraal
<i>minimal</i>	'minimal'	minimaal
<i>modal</i>	'modal(ly)'	modaal
<i>multilateral</i>	'multilateral'	multilateraal
<i>nasal</i>	'nasal'	nasaal
<i>nasional</i>	'national'	nationaal
<i>netral</i>	'neutral'	neutraal
<i>nominal</i>	'nominal'	nominaal
<i>normal</i>	'normal'	normaal
<i>optimal</i>	'optimal'	optimaal
<i>oriental</i>	'oriental'	oriëntaal
<i>palatal</i>	'palatal'	palataal
<i>paradoksal</i>	'paradoxal'	paradoxaal

The spelling with *kw* (*kwintal*) is discouraged. Spelling pronunciations occur in *diagonal, illegal, integral, legal, marginal* (but not in *marjinal* in which /d/ occurs, probably under the influence of English *marginal*), for Dutch *g* is pronounced as /ɣ/. Dissimilation is found in *loyar* besides *loyal*. In Dutch *machinaal* the phoneme /ʃ/ is replaced by /s/: *masinal*. In Dutch *nationaal* the *t* is pronounced as [ts] or [s]; in the borrowing /s/ occurs: *nasional*.

The following words ending in *-al* are borrowed from English, but the phonemic shape is adapted in accordance with the borrowings mentioned in (6), that is the English suffix /əl/ is replaced by /al/.

(7) <i>aksentual</i>	Eng. accentual
<i>audiovisual</i>	Eng. audiovisual
<i>bilingual</i>	Eng. bilingual
<i>biseksual</i>	Eng. bisexual
<i>editorial</i>	Eng. editorial
<i>eksepsional</i>	Eng. exceptional
<i>inisial</i>	Eng. initial
<i>psikologikal</i>	Eng. psychological
<i>sabatikal</i>	Eng. sabbatical
<i>tipikal</i>	Eng. typical
<i>transendental</i>	Eng. transcendental

However, it is possible that some of these cases are borrowings from Dutch, but the suffix is replaced by *-al*, influenced by the great number of words ending in *-al* (see (6)) and by the governmental efforts to replace suffixes that are Dutch in origin by English suffixes. Dutch sources could be *bilinguaal, initiaal* and *transcendentaal* (with *-aal*, but *initieel* and *transcendenteel* also occur, and probably the words ending in *-aal* are influenced by English as well), and *audiovisueel, biseksueel, exceptioneel*, (with *-eel* (see below) which is replaced by *-al*), and *psychologisch, tipisch* (with *-isch*, which is also replaced by *-(ik)al*). No comparable Dutch sources can be shown for *edito-*

rial and *sabatikal*.

A different case is the noun *ofisial* from English *official*.

Many words ending in *-il* are borrowed from Dutch words ending in *-eel/el/*, which bears word accent:

(8) <i>insidentil, incidentil</i>	'incidental'	incidenteel
<i>institutionil</i>	'institutional'	institutioneel
<i>idiil</i>	'imaginary'	ideëel
<i>individuil</i>	'individual'	individueel
<i>informil</i>	'informal'	informeel
<i>komersiil, komersil</i>	'commercial'	commercieel
<i>konfidensiil</i>	'confidential'	confidentieel
<i>konseptuïl</i>	'conceptual'	conceptueel
<i>(in)konstitu-tionil</i>	'(in)constitu-tional'	(in)constitu-tioneel
<i>kriminil</i>	'criminal'	crimineel
<i>kulturiil</i>	'cultural'	cultureel
<i>materiil, materieel</i>	'material'	materieel
<i>moril</i>	'moral'	moreel
<i>opisi(i)l, ofisiel, opisiel</i>	'official'	officieel
<i>polisionil</i>	'(action) of the police'	politieel
<i>potensiil</i>	'potential'	potentieel
<i>prinsipiil</i>	'in principle'	pincipieel
<i>profesionil</i>	'professional'	professioneel
<i>proseduril</i>	'procedural'	procedureel
<i>prosentuïl</i>	'procentual'	procentueel
<i>redaksionil</i>	'editorial'	redactioneel
<i>rituïl</i>	'ritual'	ritueel
<i>sensationil</i>	'sensational'	sensationeel
<i>sensuïl</i>	'sensual'	sensueel
<i>spirituïl</i>	'spiritual'	spiritueel
<i>tradisionil</i>	'traditional'	traditioneel

In an increasing number of cases forms with *-al* occur besides forms ending in *-il*, as a result of the growing influence of English, supported by governmental language use:

(9) <i>aktual/aktuïl</i>	'actual'	actueel
<i>amoral/amoril</i>	'amoral'	amoreel
<i>eksperimentaal/ experimentil</i>	'experimental'	experimenteel
<i>emosional/ emosionil</i>	'emotional'	emotioneel
<i>esensial/ esensiil</i>	'essential'	essentieel
<i>faktual/faktuïl</i>	'factual'	factueel
<i>finansial/ finansil</i>	'financial'	financieel
<i>formal/formil</i>	'formal'	formeel
<i>fundamental/ fundamenteil</i>	'fundamental'	fundamenteel
<i>funksional/ funksionil</i>	'functional'	functioneel
<i>gradual/graduïl</i>	'gradual'	gradueel
<i>hiperseksual/ hiperseksuïl</i>	'hypersexual'	hyperseksueel
<i>im(m)oral/ im(m)oril</i>	'immoral'	immoreel
<i>intelektual/ intelektuïl</i>	'intellectual'	intellectueel
<i>irasional/ irasonil</i>	'irrational'	irrationeel

<i>kontroversial/</i> <i>kontro-</i> <i>versi(i)l</i>	'controversial'	controversieel
<i>konvensional/</i> <i>(in)konven-</i> <i>sionil</i>	'conventional'	conventioneel
<i>operasional/</i> <i>operasionil</i>	'operational'	operationeel
<i>original/</i> <i>orisinil</i>	'original'	origineel
<i>rasional/</i> <i>rasionil</i>	'rational'	rationeel
<i>seksual/sèksuil</i>	'sexual'	sexueel
<i>sentimental/</i> <i>sentimentil</i>	'sentimental'	sentimenteel
<i>struktural/</i> <i>strukturil</i>	'structural'	structureel
<i>tradisional/</i> <i>tradisionil</i>	'traditional'	traditioneel
<i>universal/</i> <i>universil</i>	'universal'	universeel
<i>visual/visuil</i>	'visual'	visueel

The form *original* is influenced by the English spelling: the affricate /dʒ/ is replaced by /g/ in accordance with spelled g. The form *orisinil* is adapted to the Indonesian phoneme system which indicates the less official status of *orisinil*: in contrary with its counterpart it is transferred to Indonesian through oral language use.

A special case is *homoseksuil* 'homosexual' from Dutch *homoseksueel*, which is a noun in Indonesian - in Dutch both noun and adjective - besides the shortened form *homo* (which also occurs in Dutch), and *homoseks* and *homoseksualis*, both Indonesian formations, the latter influenced by nouns ending in *-is*.

Besides *moril* (adj.) the noun *moral* 'moral' occurs, from Dutch *moraal* (noun). The existence of *moral* (noun) obstructs a possible adjective *moral*; the form *imoral* (adj.) is not obstructed by an homonymous noun; adjectives with *im-* are derived from adjectives.

Figure I gives a summary of the forms ending in *-il*, *-is*, *-al*, and *-ik*.

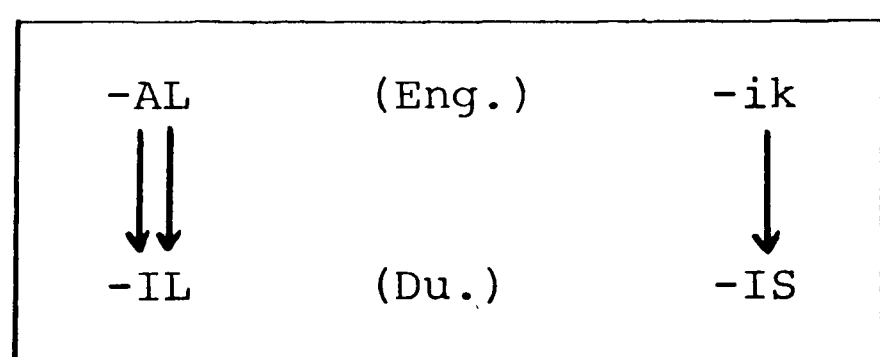


Figure I
Adjectives ending in *-il*, *-is*,
-al and *-ik*.

Capitals mean that many loanwords occur. Arrows mean rivalry of English-based forms; in the case of a double arrow the rivalry is much greater. The appeal of forms ending in *-al* shows to be greater than of the forms ending in *-ik*, due to the smaller number of these words compared with the number of words ending in *-is* (and *-al*). The forms ending in *-al* do not influence

the forms ending in *-is*, neither do the forms ending in *-ik* those with *-il*.

What obstructs the rise of *-ik* is the rather complicated distribution of *-ic* and *-ical* in English (*logic* is a noun, but *logical* an adjective), the greater number of words ending in *-is*, and the existence of many nouns in Indonesian ending in *-ik* (e.g. *semantik* 'semantics' and *statistik* 'statistics', from Dutch *semantiek* and *statistiek*).

Other adjectival borrowings that are polymorphemic in the source language are negligible; some forms ending in *-if* are found: *informatif* 'informative' and *introspektif* 'introspective', from Dutch *informatief* and *introspectief*, ending in /if/.

The endings *-al*, *-ik*, *-il* and *-is* are foreign suffixes in Indonesian: in no case are these elements attached to native stems (with the exception of *Pancasilais*). The question arises if words ending in these elements are polymorphemic. A word is polymorphemic if some aspect of its form corresponds systematically with an aspect of its meaning, and/or an aspect of its syntactic valence. Morphological categories are sets of words between which there exists formal, semantic and/or syntactic proportionality. The words ending in *-al*, *-ik*, *-il* and *-is* have formal aspects in common. These formal aspects correspond with systematic syntactic features: all those words are adjectives. However, in a paradigmatically based morphology a category never exists on its own: besides the polymorphemic category a category with words that are motivated to a lesser degree, occurs. Indeed, such words are found, like *eksperimen(t)* besides *eksperimental*, *satire* besides *satiris* and *satirik*, and *kultur* besides *kulturil*. But these monomorphemic words are exceptions; mostly the elements that remain without the suffix are bound forms. The suffixes are quasi-suffixes. By means of these quasi-suffixes foreign models can be adapted to Indonesian.

2.1.2 Substantival suffixation

Words ending in *-ir*, *-or* and *-ur* (and rare cases ending in *-ar* and *-eur*) denote male - or rather unmarked - human beings mostly. Their sources are Dutch - sometimes English - words ending in *-aar*, *-eur*, *-ier* and *-or*.

Words ending in *-or* are borrowed with *-or*; the Dutch form /or/ is adapted as /or/:

(10) <i>agitator</i>	'agitator'	agitator
<i>agresor</i>	'aggressor'	aggressor
<i>diktator</i>	'dictator'	diktator
<i>il(l)ustrator</i>	'illustrator'	illustrator
<i>improvisator</i>	'improviser'	improvisator
<i>komentator</i>	'commentator'	commentator

<i>korektor</i>	'corrector'	corrector
<i>kreator</i>	'creator'	creator
<i>kurator</i>	'curator'	curator
<i>literator</i>	'man of letters'	literator
<i>manipulator</i>	'manipulator'	manipulator
<i>orator</i>	'orator'	orator
<i>organisator</i>	'organizer'	organisator

To these words can be added *jenerator* 'generator' from Dutch *generator*, not denoting a human being, and the native formation *mistifikator* with the Dutch counterparts *mystificatie* 'mystification' and *mystificeren* 'to mystify'.

Words ending in *-ier* are borrowed with *-ir*; Dutch *-ier/ir/* bears word stress:

(11) <i>avontirir</i> ,	'adventurer'	avonturier
<i>avonturir</i>		
<i>ban(g)kir</i>	'banker'	bankier
<i>brigadir</i>	'brigadier'	brigadier
<i>marinir</i>	'marine'	marinier
<i>opsir</i>	'officer'	officier

The monomorphemic counterpart of *avontirir/avonturir* is *avontir/avontur* 'adventure', from Dutch *avontuur*, in which /y/ is borrowed as /i/, or - with spelling pronunciation - /avontur/.

The Dutch vowel /ö/ does not exist in Indonesian. Words ending in *-eur* /ör/, bearing word stress, are borrowed in several ways.

Some are adapted with *-ur*:

(12) <i>(re)daktur</i>	'editor'	redacteur
<i>direktur</i>	'director'	directeur
<i>komendur</i>	'commander'	commandeur
<i>likuiditur</i>	'liquidator'	liquidateur

Besides *(re)daktur*, *hōpdaktur* 'editor-in-chief' also occurs, in which the first element *hop-* is the adapted Dutch noun *hoofd* 'head' (*hoofdredacteur*).

Other words ending in *-eur* are adapted with *-ir*, in accordance with the words mentioned in (11):

(13) <i>advisir</i>	'advisor'	adviseur
<i>donatir</i>	'donator'	donateur
<i>eksportir</i>	'exporter'	exporteur
<i>importir</i>	'importer'	importeur
<i>kontrolir</i>	'inspector'	controleur
<i>montir</i>	'fitter'	monteur
<i>regisir</i>	'stage director'	regisseur

Some words are adapted with the ending *-ur* and *-ir*:

(14) <i>amatur/amatir</i>	'amateur'	amateur
<i>formatur/</i>	'former of	formateur
<i>formatir</i>	a Cabinet'	
<i>instruktur/</i>	'instructor'	instructeur
<i>instruktir</i>		
<i>oditur/oditir</i>	'prosecuter'	auditeur

Finally, some words are adapted with the ending *-ur* and *-or*:

(15) <i>administratur/</i>	'administrator'	administra-
<i>administrator</i>		teur
<i>ambasadur/</i>	'ambassador'	ambassadeur
<i>ambasador</i>		

<i>kondektur/</i>	'conductor'	conducteur
<i>konduktor</i>		
<i>translatur/</i>	'translator'	translateur
<i>translator</i>		

To these cases can be added *interiur* and *interior*, not denoting human beings, from Dutch *interieur* and English *interior*. One word is borrowed with *-ur*, *-ir*, and *-or*: *aktur/aktir/aktor* from Dutch *acteur* and English *actor*.

Two words ending in *-eur* are adapted with *-or* only: *kolaborator* 'collaborator' (from Dutch *collaborateur*), and *kreditor* 'creditor' (from Dutch *crediteur*); compare *autor* 'author', although the spelling *auteur* also is found.

The only word ending in *-ar*, borrowed from Dutch, is *martelar* 'martyr' from *martelaar*.

The overall picture is rather clear, as Figure II demonstrates.

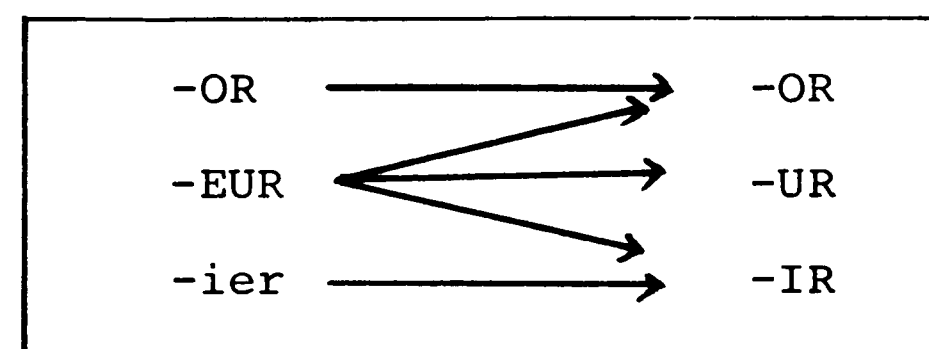


Figure II
Substantives ending in *-or*, *-ur*, *-ir*

Capitals indicate the occurrence of relatively many loanwords or source words. Arrows stand for replacements.

All these words have formal aspects in common, /or/, /ur/ or /ir/, that correspond with systematic syntactic features - the formations are nouns - and systematic semantic features: they denote 'actors'. However, monomorphemic counterparts are rare, as in the source languages. With the exception of *mistifikator* no new nouns are added to the vocabulary, and even *mistifikator* is not formed on the base of a native monomorphemic word, or a word that is polymorphemic, but motivated to a lesser degree. The elements /or/, /ur/ and /ir/ are not suffixes in every respect. They can at best be considered quasi-suffixes. For example, by means of the quasi-suffix *-or*, *auteur* can be adapted as *autor*. There is one category denoting human beings that cannot be denied productivity, i.e. the category of nouns ending in *-is*. The following words are borrowed from Dutch words ending in *-ist/Ist/*, bearing word stress in that language:

(16) <i>anarsis</i> ,	'anarchist'	anarchist
<i>anarkis</i>		
<i>antagonis</i>	'antagonist'	antagonist
<i>ateis</i>	'atheist'	atheïst
<i>altruïs</i>	'altruist'	altruïst
<i>defaitis</i>	'defeatist'	defaitist
<i>determinis</i>	'determinist'	determinist
<i>egois</i>	'egoist'	egoïst

<i>eksisten-</i>	'existentialist'	existentialist
<i>sialis</i>		
<i>ekstremis</i>	'extremist'	extremist
<i>evangelis</i>	'evangelist'	evangelist
<i>fasis</i>	'fascist'	fascist
<i>fatalis</i>	'fatalist'	fatalist
<i>federalis</i>	'federalist'	federalist
<i>filatelis</i>	'philatelist'	filatelist
<i>finalis</i>	'finalist'	finalist
<i>generalis</i>	'generalist'	generalist
<i>gitaris</i>	'guitarist'	guitarist
<i>idealis</i>	'idealist'	idealist
<i>ilusionis</i>	'illusionist'	illusionist
<i>imperialis</i>	'imperialist'	imperialist
<i>impresionis</i>	'impressionist'	impressionist
<i>individualis</i>	'individualist'	individualist
<i>industrialis</i>	'industrialist'	industrialist
<i>jurnalis</i>	'journalist'	journalist
<i>kapitalis</i>	'capitalist'	kapitalist
<i>kartonis</i>	'cartoonist'	cartoonist
<i>kategis</i>	'catechist'	catechist
<i>kolumnis</i>	'columnist'	columnist
<i>komponis</i>	'composer'	componist
<i>komunis</i>	'communist'	communist
<i>kursis</i>	'person taking a course'	cursist
<i>markonis</i>	'radio operator'	marconist
<i>marksis</i>	'marxist'	marxist
<i>materialis</i>	'materialist'	materialist
<i>Metodis</i>	'Methodist'	Methodist
<i>nasionalis</i>	'nationalist'	nationalist
<i>netralis</i>	'neutralist'	neutralist
<i>nihilis</i>	'nihilist'	nihilist
<i>notulis</i>	'writer of minutes'	notulist
<i>novelis</i>	'writer of short stories'	novellist
<i>nudis</i>	'nudist'	nudist
<i>okulis</i>	'oculist'	oculist
<i>oportunis</i>	'opportunist'	opportunist
<i>optimis</i>	'optimist'	optimist
<i>organis</i>	'organist'	organist
<i>orientalis</i>	'orientalist'	oriëntalist
<i>panteis</i>	'pantheist'	pantheïst
<i>parasutis</i>	'parachutist'	parachutist
<i>pianis</i>	'pianist'	pianist
<i>politeis</i>	'polytheist'	polytheïst
<i>radiologis</i>	'radiologist'	radiologist
<i>rasionalis</i>	'rationalist'	rationalist
<i>rasis</i>	'racist'	racist
<i>realis</i>	'realist'	realist
<i>resepsionis</i>	'receptionist'	receptionist
<i>residivis</i>	'recidivist'	recidivist
<i>reformis</i>	'reformist'	reformist
<i>revisionis</i>	'revisionist'	revisionist
<i>royalis</i>	'royalist'	royalist
<i>sadis</i>	'sadist'	sadist
<i>seminaris</i>	'seminarist'	seminarist
<i>separatis</i>	'separatist'	separatist
<i>sosialis</i>	'socialist'	socialist
<i>sofis</i>	'sofist'	sofist
<i>sovinis</i>	'chauvinist'	chauvinist
<i>spesialis</i>	'specialist'	specialist
<i>telefonis</i>	'operator'	telefonist
<i>telegrafis</i>	'telegraphist'	telegrafist
<i>teroris</i>	'terrorist'	terrorist
<i>turis</i>	'tourist'	toerist
<i>trotskyis</i>	'trotskyist'	trotskyist
<i>utopis</i>	'Utopean'	utopist
<i>vandalis</i>	'vandal'	vandalist

As stress is not distinctive in Indonesian,
**telegrafis* has become *telegrafist*, thus

becoming a minimal difference with *tele-*
grafis 'by telegraph', an opposition which
does not exist between *utopis* 'Utopean'
and *utopis* 'Utopean' (adj.). In the
source language the noun *utopist* has final
stress, the adjective *utopisch* stress on
the second syllable, not on the suffix.

The great number of formations ending
in *-is* has facilitated the awareness of
the motivated character of them. This
awareness has created the possibility of
making new words. New formations are
mainly based on proper names: *Soekarno**is*,
*Suharto**is*, *Narro**is*, sometimes with abbre-
viations as their base: *P.P.P.-is*, and
rarely on the base of other nouns, as *mo-*
toris 'motor driver' with the monomorphemic
counterpart *motor*.

Remarkable are words ending in *-(i)si*:
(*seorang*) *musisi* 'musician', *politisi*
'politician' and *teknisi* 'technician',
borrowed from Dutch plurals *musici*, *poli-*
tici and *technici*.

Words ending in *-itas* and *-itet* are
generally abstract nouns. Their sources
are Dutch words ending in stress bearing
-iteit/itsit/. Since the late forties
the ending *-itet* is replaced by *-itas* by
language engineers. The ending *-itas* is
borrowed from Latin, supported by the use
of Latin in the Dutch university community,
e.g. on official bulls and in popular stu-
dent songs (Verhaar 1984). One could say,
that *-itas* is the only suffix that is bor-
rowed immediately, and not as a part of a
word. Affixes are seldom transferred
from one language to another as separate
units. This is only possible if language
engineers - supported by official language
use - create such an affix. Their efforts,
however, are not succesful in every re-
spect.

The following words are still in use
with *-itet*:

(17) <i>heterogenitet</i>	'heterogeneity'	heterogeniteit
<i>kausalitet</i>	'causality'	causaliteit
<i>mobilitet</i>	'mobility'	mobilititeit
<i>mortalitet</i>	'mortality'	mortaliteit
<i>netralitet</i>	'neutrality'	neutraliteit
<i>plausibilitet</i>	'plausibility'	plausibiliteit
<i>produktivit</i>	'productivity'	productiviteit
<i>radioaktivitet</i>	'radioactivity'	radioactiviteit
<i>rentabilitet</i>	'remunerative- ness'	rentabiliteit
<i>resiprositet</i>	'reciprocity'	reciprociteit

To these words may be added the concrete
noun *sositet* 'club', also found as the
abbreviation *so(o)s*, from Dutch *sociteit*
and *soos*.

Of course, it would be possible to
coin, for example, *mobilitas*, but it has
not been found yet. Some of these words
have a special meaning, for example *renta-*
bilitet; furthermore, this word is not
supported by a comparable English model.
The form *produktipitet* in stead of *produktivit*
is often used, expecially in every day language
use, but ofisially strongly discouraged. Be-
sides *radioaktivitet*, *aktivitas* also occurs,

but in the compound only the form with *-itet* is found. Finally, *sositet* 'club' is a typical colonial word; to the extent that the remembrance of this colonial institution continues, the word may occur.

More interesting is the abundance of cases of two forms - with *-itas* and *-itet* - which indicates that language planning is not successful in every respect:

(18) <i>ef(f)ektivitas/</i>	'effectivity'	effectiviteit
<i>ef(f)ektivitet</i>		
<i>elastisitas/</i>	'elasticity'	elasticiteit
<i>elastisitet</i>		
<i>fakultas/</i>	'faculty'	faculteit
<i>fakultet (obs.)</i>		
<i>fasilitas/</i>	'facility'	faciliteit
<i>fasilitet</i>		
<i>homoseksualitas/</i>	'homosexuality'	homoseksuali-
<i>homoseksua-</i>		teit
<i>litet</i>		
<i>integritas/</i>	'integrity'	integriteit
<i>integritet</i>		
<i>intensitas/</i>	'intensity'	intensiteit
<i>intensitet</i>		
<i>kreativitas/</i>	'creativity'	creativiteit
<i>kreativitet</i>		
<i>kriminalitas/</i>	'criminality'	criminaliteit
<i>kriminalitet</i>		
<i>kualitas, kwali-</i>	'quality'	kwaliteit
<i>tas/kualitet,</i>		
<i>kwalitet</i>		
<i>kuantitas, kwan-</i>	'quantity'	kwantiteit
<i>titas/kuanti-</i>		
<i>tet, kwanti-</i>		
<i>tet</i>		
<i>likuiditas,</i>	'liquidity'	likwiditeit
<i>likuiditas/</i>		
<i>likuiditet</i>		
<i>mayoritas/</i>	'majority'	majoriteit
<i>mayoritet</i>		
<i>mentalitas/</i>	'mentality'	mentaliteit
<i>mentalitet</i>		
<i>minoritas/</i>	'minority'	minoriteit
<i>minoritet</i>		
<i>paritas/paritet</i>	'parity'	pariteit
<i>p(e)rioritas/</i>	'priority'	prioriteit
<i>prioritet</i>		
<i>publisitas/</i>	'publicity'	publiciteit
<i>publisitet</i>		
<i>realitas/</i>	'reality'	realiteit
<i>realitet</i>		
<i>rivalitas/</i>	'rivalry'	rivaliteit
<i>rivalitet</i>		
<i>subyektivitas,</i>	'subjectivity'	subjectivi-
<i>subyektivitas/</i>		teit
<i>subyektivitet,</i>		
<i>subyektivitet</i>		
<i>superioritas/</i>	'superiority'	superioriteit
<i>superioritet</i>		
<i>totalitas/</i>	'total'	totaliteit
<i>totalitet</i>		
<i>universitas/</i>	'university'	universiteit
<i>universitet</i>		
<i>vitalitas/</i>	'vitality'	vitaliteit
<i>vitalitet</i>		

The spelling with *kw* (e.g. *kwalitet*) is officially discouraged. The form ending in *-itas* is mainly found in written language use, especially in newspapers and magazines. The form ending in *-itet* is mainly found in oral language use, espe-

cially of the generation of forty years and older. This indicates that the form ending in *-itas* is gaining ground.

In some cases a third rival occurs, ending in *-a*:

(19) <i>aktivitas/</i>	'activity'	activiteit
<i>aktivitet,</i>		
<i>aktipitet/</i>		
<i>aktiva</i>		
<i>kapasitas/</i>	'capacity'	capaciteit
<i>kapasitet/</i>		
<i>kapasita</i>		
<i>kontinuitas/</i>	'continuity'	continuïteit
<i>kontinuitet/</i>		
<i>kontinuita</i>		
<i>otoritas/</i>	'authority'	autoriteit
<i>otoritet/</i>		
<i>otorita</i>		

The form *otoritet* also means 'someone belonging to the authorities', a concrete noun.

Finally, there are many words which only have an *-itas* ending:

(20) <i>abnormalitas</i>	'abnormality'	abnormaliteit
<i>absurditas</i>	'absurdity'	absurditeit
<i>afinitas</i>	'affinity'	affiniteit
<i>agresivitas,</i>	'aggressiveness'	agressiviteit
<i>-ifitas</i>		
<i>aktualitas</i>	'actuality'	actualiteit
<i>ambiguitas</i>	'ambiguity'	ambiguïteit
<i>brutalitas</i>	'brutality'	brutaliteit
<i>egalitas</i>	'evenness'	egaliteit
<i>ekspansibili-</i>	'expansibility'	ekspansibili-
<i>tas</i>		teit
<i>ekstremitas</i>	'extremity'	extremiteit
<i>entitas</i>	'entity'	entiteit
<i>esensialitas</i>	'essentiality'	essentialiteit
<i>fertilitas</i>	'fertility'	fertiliteit
<i>fleksibilitas</i>	'flexibility'	flexibiliteit
<i>formalitas</i>	'formality'	formaliteit
<i>homogenitas</i>	'homogeneity'	homogeniteit
<i>identitas</i>	'identity'	identiteit
<i>im(m)oralitas</i>	'immorality'	immoraliteit
<i>imunitas</i>	'immunity'	immuniteit
<i>individualitas</i>	'individuality'	individuali-
		teit
<i>kredibilitas</i>	'credibility'	credibiliteit
<i>legalitas</i>	'legality'	legaliteit
<i>loyalitas</i>	'loyalty'	loyaliteit
<i>modalitas</i>	'modal'	modaliteit
<i>objektivitas,</i>	'objectivity'	objectiviteit
<i>-ifitas</i>		
<i>oportunitas</i>	'opportunity'	opportuniteit
<i>otentisitas</i>	'authenticity'	authenticiteit
<i>plastisitas</i>	'plasticity'	plasticiteit
<i>potensialitas</i>	'potential'	potentialiteit
<i>profitabilitas</i>	'profitability'	profitabili-
		teit
<i>pubertas</i>	'puberty'	puberteit
<i>relativitas,</i>	'relativity'	relativiteit
<i>-ifitas</i>		
<i>seksualitas</i>	'sexuality'	sexualiteit
<i>sekularitas</i>	'secularity'	seculariteit
<i>selektivitas,</i>	'selectivity'	selectiviteit
<i>-ifitas</i>		
<i>senilitas</i>	'senility'	seniliteit
<i>solidaritas</i>	'solidarity'	solidariteit
<i>spontanitas</i>	'spontaneity'	spontaniteit
<i>sportivitas,</i>	'sportmanship'	sportiviteit
<i>-ifitas</i>		

<i>stabilitas</i>	'stability'	stabiliteit
<i>validitas</i>	'validation'	validiteit
<i>variabilitas</i>	'variability'	variabiliteit
<i>vari(e)tas</i>	'variety'	variëteit

<i>demokratisasi</i>	'democratization'	democratisering
<i>dramatisasi</i>	'dramatization'	dramatisering
<i>formulasi</i>	'formulation'	formulering
<i>instrumentasi</i>	'instrumentation'	instrumentering
<i>investasi</i>	'investment'	investering
<i>karakterisasi</i>	'characterization'	karakterisering
<i>konstataasi</i>	'ascertainment'	constatering
<i>modernisasi</i>	'modernization'	modernisering
<i>motorisasi</i>	'motorization'	motorisering
<i>otomatisasi</i>	'automation'	automatisering
<i>periodisasi</i>	'periodization'	periodisering
<i>reservasi</i>	'reservation'	reservering

Some of these cases merit special discussion. The suffix is *-itas*; that is why *varitas* occurs, although *varietas* is still in use. The form *varitas* is totally adapted to the morphological category. There is one case that is not adapted: *pubertas*. In this form Dutch-based *-tet* is replaced by *-tas*. The formation *seksualitas* is also found in *biseksualitas* 'bisexuality' (Dutch *bisexualiteit*) and the native formation *hiperseksualitas* 'hypersexuality'. The form *loyalitas* also occurs in the original formation *monoloyalitas* 'loyalty to one person or party'.

Monomorphemic counterparts occur in several cases. The element *-itas* (*-itet*) has to be considered a genuine suffix, although it is so far not attached to Indonesian, that is native words.

Two words are borrowed from Latin directly: *sanitas* 'hygiene' and *trinitas* 'trinity'.

In Indonesian approximately 350 loanwords ending in *-asi* are found, either with one Dutch counterpart with *-atie/atsi/* or */asi/*, with word stress on the penultimate, or with two Dutch counterparts, namely one ending in *-atie*, and one ending in *-ering/erIn/*. All these forms are listed in the Appendix of de Vries (1984); here two examples will suffice:

- (21 a) *deklarasi* 'declaration, voucher' *declaratie*
- (21 b) *sublimasi* 'sublimation' *sublimatie/*
sublimering

The forms listed in (22) are of a wholly different kind: their Dutch models bear the main stress on the final syllable, and they have a totally different categorial meaning:

- (22) *aristokrasi* 'aristocracy' *aristocratie*
autokrasi 'autocracy' *autocratie*
birokrasi 'bureaucracy' *bureaucratie*
demokrasi 'democracy' *democratie*
diplomasi 'diplomacy' *diplomatie*
fantasi 'fantasy' *fantasie*
farmasi 'pharmacy' *farmacie*
plutokrasi 'plutocracy' *plutocratie*
supremasi 'supremacy' *suprematie*
teokrasi 'theocracy' *theocratie*

There are other Indonesian words ending in *-asi* that are comparable with the examples of (21), but which do not originate from Dutch models directly, because only the forms with *-ering* are current in Dutch:

- (23) *aklimatisasi* 'acclimatization' *acclimatise-*
ring
alternasi 'alternation' *alternering*
birokratisasi 'bureaucratization' *bureaucrat-*
tisering

In some cases Dutch dictionaries do not list the words ending in *-ing*, although they could be derived from verbs:

- (24) *eksperimentasi* 'experimentation'
kalibrasi 'calibration'
laminasi 'lamination'

In the following examples the source is not Dutch, but English:

- (25) *afiksasi* affixation
afirmasi affirmation
deeskalasi de-escalation
defoliiasi defoliation
denuklirisasi denuclearization
depolitisasi depolitization
disosiasi dissociation
efeminasi effemination
ekstensifikasi extensification
intensifikasi intensification
matrikulasi matriculation
persuasi persuasion
sanitasi sanitation (also meaning 're-organization')

The element *-asi* functions as a quasi-suffix, by which Dutch words ending in *-atie*, but also in *-(er)ing*, and English words ending in *-ation* or *-asion* can be adapted to Indonesian. The element *-asi* is never attached to native forms.

The quasi-morphological status of *-asi* has facilitated the development of a real suffix *-isasi* that can be attached to native nouns, especially in the language use of the government, of newspapers, radio and television. The following examples could be borrowed from English, in the first case even from Dutch:

- (26) *amerikanisasi* americanization *amerikanisatie*
indonesianisasi indonesianization
sasi
komputerisasi computerization
kristenisasi christianization
westernisasi westernization

In the following examples the monomorphemic counterpart is mostly of foreign origin, but with the exception of *jet* and *pinus* commonly used:

- (27) *belandanisasi* 'netherlandization' *Belanda*

<i>jetisasi</i>	'the introduc- tion of jet aircraft'	jet	<i>isolasional- isme</i>	'isolational- ism'	isolationa- lisme
<i>kader(n)isasi</i>	'cadre forma- tion'	kader	<i>isomorfisme</i>	'isomorphism'	isomorfisme
<i>komporisasi</i>	'the introduc- tion of fur- naces in brickyards'	kompor	<i>jurnalisme</i>	'journalism'	journalisme
<i>kondomisasi</i>	'the introduc- tion of condom use'	kondom	<i>kanibalisme</i>	'cannibalism'	kannibalisme
<i>pinusisasi</i>	'planting of pine-trees'	pinus	<i>kapitalisme</i>	'capitalism'	kapitalisme
<i>spiralisasi</i>	'the introduc- tion of IUDs in family planning'	spiral	<i>katabolisme</i>	'catabolism'	katabolisme
<i>polderisasi</i>	'the making of polders'	polder	<i>kolektivisme</i>	'collectivism'	collectivisme
<i>pompanisasi</i>	'the introduc- tion of pump- ing systems'	pompa	<i>kolonialisme</i>	'colonialism'	kolonialisme
<i>traktornisasi</i>	'the introduc- tion of tractors'	traktor	<i>konservatisme</i>	'conservatism'	conservatisme
			<i>mekanisme</i>	'mechanism'	mechanisme
			<i>metabolisme</i>	'metabolism'	metabolisme
			<i>mikroorga- nisme</i>	'micro-orga- nism'	microorganisme
			<i>monisme</i>	'monism'	monisme
			<i>monoteisme</i>	'monotheism'	monotheïsme
			<i>narsisme, narsisisisme</i>	'narcissism'	narcisme, Eng. narcis- sism
			<i>naturalisme</i>	'naturalism'	naturalisme
			<i>neologisme</i>	'neologism'	neologisme
			<i>nepotisme</i>	'nepotism'	nepotisme
			<i>nihilisme</i>	'nililism'	nihilisme
			<i>okultisme</i>	'occultism'	occultisme
			<i>oportunisme</i>	'opportunism'	opportunisme
			<i>optimisme</i>	'optimism'	optimisme
			<i>organisme</i>	'organism'	organisme
			<i>panteisme</i>	'pantheism'	pantheïsme
			<i>patriotisme</i>	'patriotism'	patriotisme
			<i>perfeksion- isme</i>	'perfection- ism'	perfectionisme
			<i>pesimisme</i>	'pessimism'	pessimisme
			<i>politeisme</i>	'polytheism'	polytheïsme
			<i>pragmatisme</i>	'pragmatism'	pragmatisme
			<i>profesional- isme</i>	'profession- alism'	professiona- lisme
			<i>provinsial- isme</i>	'provincialism'	provincialisme
			<i>rasialisme</i>	'racialism'	racialisme
			<i>rasionalisme</i>	'rationalism'	rationalisme
			<i>realisme</i>	'realism'	realisme
			<i>sadisme</i>	'sadism'	sadisme
			<i>sektarianisme, sektarisme</i>	'sectarianism'	sectarisme, Eng. secta- rianism
			<i>sekularisme</i>	'secularism'	secularisme
			<i>sensualisme</i>	'sensualism'	sensualisme
			<i>sinisme</i>	'cynicism'	cynisme
			<i>snobisme</i>	'snobism'	snobisme
			<i>sofisme</i>	'sophism'	sofisme
			<i>socialisme</i>	'socialism'	socialisme
			<i>spiritisme</i>	'spiritualism'	spiritisme
			<i>spiritualisme</i>	'spiritualis- tic tendency'	spiritualisme
			<i>surrealisme</i>	'surrealism'	surrealisme
			<i>terorisme</i>	'terrorism'	terrorisme
			<i>totaliterisme</i>	'totalitarian- ism'	totalitarisme
			<i>unitarisme</i>	'unitarism'	unitarisme
			<i>utopisme</i>	'utopism'	utopisme
			<i>vandalisme</i>	'vandalism'	vandalisme
			<i>vegetarisme</i>	'vegetarian- ism'	vegetarisme
			<i>vitalisme</i>	'vitalism'	vitalisme
			<i>westernisme</i>	'westernism'	Eng. western- ism

A special case is *reboisasi* 'reforestation' from French *bois* 'forest'.

Many Dutch words ending in *-isme* are transferred to Indonesian:

(28) <i>absolutisme</i>	'absolutism'	absolutisme
<i>anabolisme</i>	'anabolism'	anabolisme
<i>ateisme</i>	'atheism'	atheïsme
<i>banditisme</i>	'banditry'	banditisme
<i>barbarisme</i>	'barbarism'	barbarisme
<i>behaviorisme</i>	'behaviorism'	behaviorisme
<i>bilingualisme</i>	'bilingualism'	bilingualisme
<i>biomagnetisme</i>	'biomagnetism'	biomagnetisme
<i>dadaisme</i>	'dadaism'	dadaïsme
<i>deisme</i>	'deism'	deïsme
<i>determinisme</i>	'determinism'	determinisme
<i>dilettantisme</i>	'dilettantism'	dilettantisme
<i>dogmatisme</i>	'dogmatism'	dogmatisme
<i>egoisme</i>	'egoism'	egoïsme
<i>egotisme</i>	'egotism'	egotisme
<i>eklektisisme</i>	'eclecticism'	eclecticisme
<i>eksklusivisme</i>	'exclusivism'	exclusivisme
<i>eksotisme</i>	'exotism'	exotisme
<i>ekspansionisme</i>	'expansionism'	expansionisme
<i>ekspresionisme</i>	'expression- ism'	expressionisme
<i>empirisme</i>	'empirism'	empirisme
<i>erotisme</i>	'erotism'	erotisme
<i>fanatisme</i>	'fanaticism'	fanatisme
<i>fasisme</i>	'fascism'	fascisme
<i>fatalisme</i>	'fatalism'	fatalisme
<i>federalisme</i>	'federalism'	federalisme
<i>feminisme</i>	'feminism'	feminisme
<i>futurisme</i>	'futurism'	futurisme
<i>hedonisme</i>	'hedonism'	hedonisme
<i>hipnotisme</i>	'hypnotism'	hypnotisme
<i>humanisme</i>	'humanism'	humanisme
<i>ilusionisme</i>	'illusionism'	illusionisme
<i>impresionisme</i>	'impression- ism'	impressio- nisme
<i>infantilisme</i>	'infanti- lism'	infantilisme
<i>intelektualisme</i>	'intellectu- alism'	intellectu- alisme
<i>internasional- isme</i>	'international- alism'	internatio- nalisme

The forms with *-isme* are abstract nouns. English models have supported the acceptance of Dutch sources; in some cases the source is English: *narsisisisme*, *sektarianisme* and *westernisme*. The element *-isme* is used as a suffix for adding new words

to the Indonesian vocabulary (I have found *bapakisme* 'paternalism' and *sukuisme* 'clan-ship, tribalism'), or used as a quasi-suffix for adapting European words to Indonesian, like e.g. *-asi*.

However, in one respect the form *-isme* is exceptional. The main concern of Sutan Alisjahbana and other language engineers has been: "to stimulate and control the growth of the national language in such a way that it can develop into an optimally efficient tool for the communicative needs of a modern society, and into an adequate and worthy bearer of the cultural values of the nation" (Grijns 1981: 7). A precondition for a balanced growth of Indonesian is "to define and preserve its identity, by which it distinguishes itself typically from other, related as well as foreign languages" (Grijns 1981: 7).

One of the characteristics of the Indonesian word form is the absence of shwa in the final syllable, whether open or closed. Preserving the identity of Indonesian implies the adaptation of foreign words in conformity with the characteristic word structure rules. Consequently, Alisjahbana himself writes *apel* 'apple' and *elita* 'elite', both words borrowed from Dutch, to wit *appel* and *elite*, with final shwa. On the other hand, Grijns (1981) points out that "the occurrence of *pepet* in the last syllable is already an established fact in the structure of the Indonesian word, as is shown by the existence of such minimal pairs as [apəl] 'apple' and [apal] 'to know by heart'" (Grijns 1981:9). On shwa in final position the same author says that "Foreign words like [elitə] or [kodə] are in common use by educated people. The spelling *elita*, *koda* would mean coining a new form which does not exist. One *could* propagate such forms, of course, but introducing them into the standard spelling would only be justified after they had been widely accepted" (Grijns 1981:10). Furthermore, we have to keep in mind the strong interference, in Indonesian, of Javanese, which does allow of *pepet* vowels in final syllables.

The spelling of words ending in *-isme* has never changed; I counted the spelling *idealisma* and *nasionalisma* only once in newspapers during the years 1969 to 1972. The shwa in *-isme* supports the use of final shwa in general. The elaboration to the domain of adaptation of all words ending in shwa is therefore justified. But there is another reason. As has been shown, the element *-asi* functions as a quasi-suffix by which European words ending in *-ation* (English), or *-(er)ing* (Dutch) are adapted to Indonesian. To avoid the final shwa such elements are used also, as we shall see.

The following words have always a final *-e*, aside from words ending in *-isme*:

(29) <i>akolade</i>	'brace'	accolade
<i>ambasade</i>	'embassy'	ambassade
<i>andante</i>	'andante'	andante (cf. It.)
<i>arbitrase</i>	'arbitration'	arbitrage
<i>arde</i>	'earth, elect.'	aarde
<i>aubade</i>	'aubade'	aubade
<i>barikade</i>	'barricade'	barricade
<i>bedinde</i>	'domestic servant'	bediende
<i>berurte</i>	'apoplexy'	beroerte
<i>blokade</i>	'blockade'	blokkade
<i>bombasme</i>	'pomposity'	bombasme
<i>bona fide</i>	'bona fide'	bona fide
<i>brigade</i>	'brigade'	brigade
<i>bute</i>	'penalty'	boete
<i>dekade</i>	'decade'	decade
<i>ekstase</i>	'ecstasy'	extase
<i>episode</i>	'episode'	episode
<i>etalase</i>	'shop window'	etalage
<i>etape</i>	'halting place, stage'	etappe
<i>fase, pase</i>	'phase, also elect.'	fase
<i>fenotipe</i>	'phenotype'	fenotype
<i>frase</i>	'phrase'	frase
<i>fraude</i>	'fraud'	fraude
<i>geminte, haminte</i>	'municipality'	gemeente
<i>gendarme</i>	'gendarme'	gendarme
<i>genotipe</i>	'genotype'	genotype
<i>globe</i>	'globe'	globe
<i>halte</i>	'stopping place'	halte
<i>hektar(e)</i>	'hectare'	hectare
<i>higiene</i>	'hygiene'	hygiëne
<i>himne</i>	'hymn'	hymne
<i>invalid</i>	'invalid'	invalid
<i>kamoflase, kamufalse</i>	'camouflage'	camouflage
<i>kampanye</i>	'campaign'	campagne
<i>kapoce</i>	'condom'	kapotje
<i>kolase</i>	'collage'	collage
<i>kolese</i>	'lecture'	college
<i>komune</i>	'commune'	commune
<i>konduite</i>	'conduct-sheet'	conduite
<i>laktose</i>	'lactose'	lactose
<i>limonade</i>	'lemonade'	limonade
<i>lose</i>	'theatre-box'	loge
<i>malese, malaise</i>	'depression'	malaise
<i>maltose</i>	'maltose'	maltose
<i>margarin(e)</i>	'margarine'	margarine
<i>marinade</i>	'marinade'	marinade
<i>marge</i>	'margin'	marge
<i>marine</i>	'marine'	marine
<i>masase</i>	'massage'	massage
<i>menage</i>	'house keeping'	menage
<i>menopause</i>	'menopause'	menopause
<i>move</i>	'move'	Eng. move
<i>oase</i>	'oasis'	oase
<i>olimpiade</i>	'Olympiad'	olympiade
<i>opname</i>	'admission in hospital'	opname
<i>orde</i>	'order, regime'	orde
<i>palisade</i>	'palisade'	palisade

<i>parafrase</i>	'paraphrase'	<i>parafrase</i>
<i>pace</i>	'daddy'	<i>paatje</i>
<i>peranye</i>	'fringe, frill(s)'	<i>franje</i>
<i>periode</i>	'period'	<i>periode</i>
<i>persentase, prosentase</i>	'percentage'	<i>percentage</i>
<i>piramide</i>	'pyramid'	<i>pyramide</i>
<i>pleonasme</i>	'pleonasm'	<i>pleonasme</i>
<i>pomade</i>	'pomade'	<i>pommade</i>
<i>pose</i>	'pose, posture'	<i>pose</i>
<i>prestise</i>	'prestige'	<i>prestige</i>
<i>reklame</i>	'advertising'	<i>reklame</i>
<i>rente(n)</i>	'interest'	<i>rente</i>
<i>reserve, serap</i>	'reserve'	<i>reserve</i>
<i>ritme</i>	'rhythm'	<i>ritme</i>
<i>ronde</i>	'round, mil.'	<i>ronde</i>
<i>rouge</i>	'rouge'	<i>rouge (Fr.)</i>
<i>rute, route</i>	'route'	<i>route</i>
<i>sabotase</i>	'sabotage'	<i>sabotage</i>
<i>salto mortale</i>	'salto mortale'	<i>salto mortale</i>
<i>satire</i>	'satire'	<i>satire</i>
<i>sekte</i>	'sect'	<i>secte</i>
<i>serebece, serebet, serbet</i>	'serviette'	<i>servet(je)</i>
<i>sintese</i>	'synthesis'	<i>synthese</i>
<i>sirene, serine, sirine</i>	'siren'	<i>sirene</i>
<i>sice, sitye</i>	'table & chairs'	<i>zitje</i>
<i>slahorde</i>	'battle-array'	<i>slagorde</i>
<i>solenoid</i>	'solenoid'	<i>solenoid</i>
<i>spionase</i>	'espionage'	<i>spionage</i>
<i>suite</i>	'suite, room'	<i>suite</i>
<i>sukade</i>	'candied peel'	<i>sukade</i>
<i>tante</i>	'aunt'	<i>tante</i>
<i>timbre</i>	'timbre'	<i>timbre</i>
<i>tonase</i>	'tonnage'	<i>tonnage</i>
<i>trapeze</i>	'trapeze'	<i>trapeze</i>
<i>tube</i>	'tube'	<i>tube</i>
<i>urine</i>	'urine'	<i>urine</i>
<i>vakature</i>	'vacancy'	<i>vacature</i>
<i>vitrase</i>	'lace, vitrage cloth'	<i>vitrase</i>
<i>voltase</i>	'voltage'	<i>voltage</i>
<i>volume</i>	'volume'	<i>volume</i>

A number of words ends in *-ase* (from *-age* /aʒə/), some end in *-asme* (from *-asme*), I counted *entusiasma* once; many of them are restricted to the language use of educated people, but several are commonly used also e.g. *tante*, *voltase*, *sice/sitye* and *orde*. In some cases the form without final *-e* is also found, but less frequently, e.g. *hektar*. It is always possible that the form with *-e* is replaced by the form ending in *-a* by some author, but I did not find them, and these forms are undoubtedly restricted to written language use.

In other cases a form without *-e* is used beside the form with *-e*; in this way the borrowing is adapted in accordance with the canonical word structure:

(30) <i>amper/ampere</i>	'ampere'	<i>ampère</i>
<i>blus, belus/ bluse</i>	'blouse'	<i>blouse</i>

<i>kapsul/kapsule</i>	'capsule'	<i>capsule</i>
<i>monotip/ monotipe</i>	'monotype'	<i>monotype</i>
<i>ofert/oferte</i>	'offer, bid'	<i>offerte</i>
<i>perdom/ perdome</i>	'damn(ed)'	<i>verdomme</i>
<i>prototip/ prototipe</i>	'prototype'	<i>prototype</i>
<i>rutin/rutine</i>	'routine'	<i>routine</i>
<i>sekretares/ sekretarese</i>	'female secretary'	<i>secretaresse</i>
<i>tep/tipe</i>	'variety, type'	<i>type</i>

In other cases the form is adapted without *-e* only:

(31) <i>albumin</i>	'albumen'	<i>albumine</i>
<i>ambulan(s)</i>	'ambulance'	<i>ambulance</i>
<i>kokain, koka</i>	'cocaine'	<i>cocaïne</i>
<i>morfin</i>	'morphine'	<i>morfine</i>
<i>nomad</i>	'nomad'	<i>nomade</i>
<i>oksid</i>	'oxide'	<i>oxyde</i>
<i>operet</i>	'operetta'	<i>operette</i>
<i>penisilin</i>	'penicillin'	<i>penicilline</i>
<i>preambul</i>	'preamble'	<i>preambule</i>
<i>premis</i>	'premise, premiss'	<i>premise</i>
<i>rulet/rolet</i>	'roulette'	<i>roulette</i>
<i>sarden</i>	'sardine'	<i>sardine</i>
<i>sirkuler</i>	'circular letter'	<i>circulaire</i>
<i>skor</i>	'score'	<i>score</i>
<i>toksin</i>	'toxin'	<i>toxine</i>
<i>vaselin, paselin</i>	'vaseline'	<i>vaseline</i>
<i>vitamin, pitamin</i>	'vitamin'	<i>vitamine</i>

Besides *nomad*, *nomaden* is also found. To these words can be added the adjective *valid* 'valid' from Dutch *valide* (English *valid*?). The form *sarden* is less used than *sardencis*, (*seekor*) *dencis* from Dutch *sardientjes*, a plural diminutive.

The replacement of *-e* by *-a*, supported by language engineers, has been successful in the following cases:

(32) <i>anoda</i>	'anode'	<i>anode</i>
<i>antena</i>	'antenna'	<i>antenne</i>
<i>balada</i>	'ballad'	<i>ballade</i>
<i>bromida</i>	'bromide'	<i>bromide</i>
<i>diagnosa</i>	'diagnosis'	<i>diagnose</i>
<i>dioksida</i>	'dioxyde'	<i>dioxyde</i>
<i>formula</i>	'formula'	<i>formule</i>
<i>glukosa</i>	'glucose'	<i>glucose</i>
<i>insektisida</i>	'insecticide'	<i>insecticide</i>
<i>karantina</i>	'quarantine'	<i>quarantaine</i>
<i>klausula</i>	'clause, proviso'	<i>clausule</i>
<i>laguna</i>	'lagoon'	<i>lagune</i>
<i>legenda</i>	'legend'	<i>legende</i>
<i>notula</i>	'minute, notes'	<i>notulen</i>
<i>nuansa</i>	'nuance'	<i>nuance</i>
<i>salada, selada</i>	'salad'	<i>salade</i>
<i>seniwa</i>	'nerves, nervous'	<i>zenuwen</i>
<i>sultana</i>	'raisin, sultane'	<i>sultane</i>
<i>visita</i>	'visit'	<i>visita</i>

Besides *notula*, *notulen* also occurs; the final *-n* can be deleted in spoken Dutch. Besides *seniwa* also occur: *seniwan*, *senu*, *sinu*, *seniwen*, *senèwen*. With the exception of *salada* and *visita* these words are restricted to technical or scientific language use. Words without final vowel are also adapted with the ending *-a*, in accordance with the Indonesian word structure: in most cases a monosyllabic word is avoided: *astronautika* (from English *astronautics*), *lensa* 'lens' (from Dutch *lens*), *linguistika* besides *linguistik* 'linguistics' (from Dutch *linguïstiek*), *metafora* 'metaphore' (from Dutch *metafoor*), *nama* 'name' (from Dutch *naam*), *norma* 'norm' (from Dutch *norm*), *organa* from English *organ*, *persona* 'person, in grammar' (from Dutch *persoon*), *pigura* 'figure' (from Dutch *figuur*) and *pompa* 'pump' (from Dutch *pomp*). The Dutch verb *strijken* 'to iron' is adapted as *seterika*, *strika*. In other cases a form with and a form without *-a* occur: *pak/pakta* 'pact' (from Dutch *pact*), *problem*, *problim/problema* 'problem' (from Dutch *probleem*), *skets*, *sekèt/sketsa* 'sketch' (from Dutch *schets*) and *sonet/soneta* 'sonnet' (from Dutch *sonnet*). Remarkable is the reverse in *optik* 'optics' from Dutch *optica*, and *matematik* besides *matematika* 'mathematics' (from Dutch *mathematica*) and *mekanik* besides *mekanika* 'mechanics' (from Dutch *mechanica*); in the last examples English models have played a role.

The promotion of words ending in *-a* instead of words ending in *-e* has resulted in alternants in the following cases:

(33) <i>akta/akte</i>	'document, certificate'	<i>acte</i>
<i>elektroda/elektrode</i>	'electrode'	<i>electrode</i>
<i>entusiasma/entusiasme</i>	'enthusiasm'	<i>enthousiasme</i>
<i>idealisma/idealisme</i>	'idealism'	<i>idealisme</i>
<i>logaritma/logaritme</i>	'logarithm'	<i>logaritme</i>
<i>nasionalisma/nasionalisme</i>	'nationalism'	<i>nationalisme</i>
<i>pagoda/pagode</i>	'pagoda'	<i>pagode</i>
<i>parada/parade</i>	'parade'	<i>parade</i>
<i>saga/sage</i>	'saga'	<i>sage</i>
<i>stepa/stepe</i>	'steppe'	<i>steppe</i>
<i>tila/tile, tule</i>	'tulle, net'	<i>tule</i>
<i>yuta/yute</i>	'jute'	<i>jute</i>

The occurrence of final shwa is an established fact in the speech of educated speakers, and to a lesser degree also in the speech of the lower class, in so far that these borrowings are seldom used by lower class speakers. The spelling however, shows a certain degree of variation, and has more final *-a*'s than the spoken language. The spelling of final *-a* has increased during the last decade, at least in newspapers. The efforts of language engineers appear to have been successful to a certain degree. In many cases spoken final *-a* must be regarded as a spell-

ing pronunciation, but it can be expected that the use of spoken final *-a* will increase at the cost of final shwa. This increase is promoted by the linguistic insecurity which results from the fact that Indonesian is a second language for most Indonesians. Also, this increase of final *-a* is due to the fact that, in a community with a rich variety of vernaculars, a standard language is above all a written language. Finally, a standard language is a product of conscious manipulation. The philosophy of the Indonesian language engineers is clear: there should be no exceptions to the basic rules of word structure, for otherwise there would be no norm in facing the extensive influx of foreign and regional patterns, which would be detrimental to the identity of the national language (Grijns 1981:9).

But there remains more to be said. Influenced by English models a second alternative has appeared: the ending *-is*, as in the following cases:

(34) <i>antitesis</i>	'antithesis'	<i>antithese</i> , Eng. <i>anti-thesis</i>
<i>katalisis</i>	'catalysis'	<i>katalyse</i> , Eng. <i>catalysis</i>
<i>metastasis</i>	'metastasis'	Eng. <i>metastasis</i>
<i>neurosis</i>	'neurosis'	<i>neurose</i> , Eng. <i>neurosis</i>
<i>paralisis</i>	'paralysis'	<i>paralyse</i> , Eng. <i>paralysis</i>
<i>parentesis</i>	'parenthesis'	<i>parentese</i> , Eng. <i>parenthesis</i>
<i>tesis</i>	'thesis'	<i>these</i> , Eng. <i>thesis</i>

These forms are supported by older borrowings from Dutch with the ending *-is*, like *dosis* 'dose' (from *dosis*) and *katarsis* 'catharsis' (from *katharsis*).

Forms with *-is* are replacing forms with *-e* in some cases:

(35) <i>hipnosis/hipnose</i>	'hypnosis'	<i>hypnose</i> , Eng. <i>hypnosis</i>
<i>narkosis/narkose</i>	'narcosis'	<i>narcose</i> , Eng. <i>narcosis</i>
<i>psikosis/psikose</i>	'psychosis'	<i>psychose</i> , Eng. <i>psychosis</i>

In other cases the form with *-is* replaces the form with *-a*:

(36) <i>analisis/analisa</i>	'analysis'	<i>analyse</i> , Eng. <i>analysis</i>
<i>basis/basa</i>	'base, basis'	<i>basis</i> , Eng. <i>basis, base</i>

The last example is rather complicated. Dutch *basis* 'base, basis' is borrowed as *basis*, also meaning 'base, basis'.

English *base* is borrowed as *basa* with the meaning 'base, foundation'. In this case the form ending in *-is* originates from Dutch, and the form ending in *-a* has the English model ending in written *-e*.

In four cases all competing endings are found:

(37) <i>hipotese/</i> <i>hipotesa/</i> <i>hipotesis</i>	'hypothesis'	hypothese
<i>metamorfose/</i> <i>metamorfosa/</i> <i>metamorfosis</i>	'metamorpho- sis'	metamorfose
<i>osmose/osmosa/</i> <i>osmosis</i>	'osmosis'	osmose
<i>psikoanalise/</i> <i>psikoana-</i> <i>lisa/psiko-</i> <i>analisis</i>	'psychoana- lysis'	psychoana- lyse

Finally, in many cases the final shwa in Dutch models is replaced by *-i*, especially in words ending in *-age/ažə/* and in *-tje* (diminutive):

(38) <i>bagasi</i>	'luggage, bagage'	bagage
<i>borci</i>	'small collar'	boordje
<i>kontroversi</i>	'controversy'	controverse, Eng. contro- versy
<i>logi</i>	'big build- ing'	loge
<i>medali,</i> <i>mendali</i>	'medal'	medaille
<i>panci</i>	'pan'	pannetje
<i>peci</i>	'cap'	petje
<i>poci</i>	'teapot'	potje
<i>privilesi</i>	'privilege'	privilege
<i>sapersi,</i> <i>sepersi,</i> <i>parsi</i>	'asparagus'	asperge
<i>seloki</i>	'small drink of hard liquor'	slokje
<i>sopi</i>	'alcoholic drink'	zoopje (obs.)
<i>sparpoci</i>	'money-box'	spaarpotje
<i>stelasi</i>	'scaffold- ing'	stellage
<i>karbonaci</i>	'pork meat'	karbonaadge
<i>vanili, panili,</i> <i>paneli,</i> <i>kerneli</i>	'vanilla'	vanille

In the same way Dutch *pop* 'doll' is lengthened to *popi*. Besides *karbonaci*, *karbonacis* (from Dutch plural *karbonaadjies*) and *kermanici* occur. Dutch plurals *boontjes* 'beans' and *taartjes* 'pastry, cake' are borrowed as *buncis* and *tarcis*; *kaartje* 'ticket' as *karcis*.

Forms with *-i* are found beside forms with *-e* in the following cases:

(39) <i>garase/garasi</i>	'garage'	garage
<i>lace/laci</i>	'drawer'	laatje
<i>pantomime/</i> <i>pantomimi</i>	'pantomime'	pantomime
<i>reserse/</i> <i>sersi</i>	'criminal in- vestigation'	recherche

sampanye/ 'champagne' champagne
sampanyi

We have seen that Dutch *orde* 'order, regime, class' is adapted to Indonesian as *orde*; Dutch *orde* 'religious order' is adapted as *orde*, *ordi*, *urdi* and *wardi*.

Two remarkable cases still have to be mentioned; besides *metode/metoda* 'method' (from Dutch *methode*) *metodos* also occurs. Besides *doane* 'customs' (from Dutch *douane*) *doano* is found also. In both cases final shwa is avoided in a rather unusual way.

We hope to have justified the extensive treatment of the phonological adaptation of foreign final vowels, or rather final endings. We have - doing so - gone beyond morphology, and the focus of the present paper: the adaptation of polymorphic foreign models. But on the one hand some foreign affixes are quasi-affixes only, because they are elements by which foreign models are adapted to Indonesian (as was the case with e.g. *-asi*), and on the other hand phonological segments (as *-a*), or clusters of segments (as *-is*) are used for the same reason, which is to adapt foreign words.

2.2 PREFIXATION

As has been said above, a polymorphic word in the source language in general becomes monomorphemic in the recipient language. But some bilingual speakers may be conscious of the motivated character of in origin polymorphemic loans. This creates the possibility of analogical extension.

A word is polymorphemic if some aspect of its form corresponds systematically with an aspect of its meaning and/or its syntactic valence. The borrowings are all non-native in the source language, and by consequence still more non-native in the recipient language: most of them originate from Latin. In the source language monomorphemic counterparts are lacking very often, even more so in the borrowing language. For example: *deductie* 'deduction' can hardly be considered to be polymorphemic in Dutch, for **ductie* is lacking, although *inductie* and *productie* ('induction', 'production') occur. In Indonesian *deduksi*, *induksi* and *produksi* are also found, but their polymorphemic status is no more clear than in Dutch. The same applies to words beginning with *eks-* (e.g. *eksplisit* 'explicit' from Dutch *expliciet*), with *in-* (e.g. *informasi* 'information' from Dutch *informatie*), with *intro-* (e.g. *introspeksi* 'introspection' from Dutch *introspectie*), with *kon-* (e.g. *konfirmasi* 'confirmation' from Dutch *confirmatie*), with *ob-* (e.g. *obyek* 'object' from Dutch *object*), with *oto-* (e.g. *otomat* 'automatic machine' from Dutch *automaat*), with *per-* (e.g. *permissi* 'permission' from Dutch *permissie*), with *pseudo-* (e.g. *pseudonim* 'pseudonym')

from Dutch *pseudoniem*), with *sub-* (e.g. *subyektif* 'subjective' from Dutch *subjeetief*), with *super-* (e.g. *supersonik* from English *supersonic*), and *ultra-* (e.g. *ultrasonik* from English *ultrasonic*).

In other cases a monomorphemic counterpart exists - but not always -: words beginning with *a-* (e.g. *apolitik* 'apolitical' from Dutch *apolitiek*), with *dis-* (e.g. *dislokasi* 'dislocation'; from Dutch *dislocatie*), with *in-* (not to be confused with *in-* in *informasi*) (e.g. *intransitif* 'intransitive' from Dutch *intransitief*), with *intra-* (e.g. *intramuskular* from English *intramuscular*), with *kripto-* (e.g. *kriptografi* 'cryptography' from Dutch *cryptografie*), with *makro-* (e.g. *makrokosmos* 'macrocosm' from Dutch *macrokosmos*), with *mili-* (e.g. *mililiter* 'millilitre' from Dutch *milliliter*), with *neo-* (e.g. *neokolonialisme* 'neocolonialism' from Dutch *neokolonialisme*), with *non-* (e.g. *nonagresi* 'non-aggression' from Dutch *non-agressie*), with *over-* - not of Latin origin - (e.g. *overproduksi* 'overproduction' from Dutch *overproductie*), with *pre-* (e.g. *prehistoris* 'prehistoric' from Dutch *prehistorisch*; moreover, a native prefix *pra-* is available), with *re-* (e.g. *rekonstruksi* 'reconstruction' from Dutch *reconstructie*), and with *sub-* (e.g. *subtitel* from English *subtitle*). In no way are these elements used to add new formations to the vocabulary, with the exception of *reboisasi* 'reforestation' (with the French base *bois* 'forest').

Another reason to use great care in handling prefixation is that these elements never function as quasi-affixes, by which foreign words are adapted to Indonesian, as is the case with many suffix-like elements.

The discussion of prefixation is restricted to clear cases. Besides the polymorphemic word a monomorphemic word occurs. The meaning of the polymorphemic word is clear; in other words the semantic value of the morphological category with a certain prefix is clear to the - educated - speaker. As a consequence, the morphological category could be expanded with new formations. A characteristic of prefixation is that the word class never changes, at least with the categories under discussion, another difference with suffixation. The polymorphemic word belongs to the same word class as the monomorphemic base. The same prefix can be added often to both nouns and adjectives. A separate discussion is not necessary.

The following words with *anti-* occur in vocabularies:

(40) <i>antibiotik</i>	'antibiotic'	Eng. antibiotic
<i>antitesis</i>	'antithesis'	antithese, Eng. antithesis
<i>antitoksin</i>	'antitoxin'	antitoxine, Eng. antitoxin

The category is supported - beside the predicative use of *anti* - by words like *antimon* 'antimony' (Dutch *antimonium*), *antinomi* 'antinomy' (Dutch *antinomie*), *antipati* 'antipathy' (Dutch *antipathie*), *antipode* 'antipodes' (Dutch *antipode*), *antiseptis* 'antiseptis' (Dutch *antiseptis*), *antiseptikum* 'antiseptic drug' (Dutch *antisepticum*), *antiseptis* 'antiseptic' (Dutch *antiseptisch*), and with a different meaning - 'before' in stead of 'against' - *antisipir* 'to anticipate' (Dutch *anticipieren*). The category is productive: *anti-Soekarno*, *antikomunis* 'anticommunist', *anti-Golkar*, *antipemerintah* 'anti-government'.

The following words with *hiper-* occur:

(41) <i>hiperseksual</i>	'hypersexual'	hypersexueel, Eng. hypersexual
<i>hiperseksualitas</i>	'hypersexuality'	hypersexualiteit
<i>hipersensitif</i>	'hypersensitive'	hypersensitief

The category is supported by words like *hiperbol* 'hyperbola' (Dutch *hyperbool*) and *hipertensi* 'hypertension' (Dutch *hypertensie*). The category is unproductive, although I noted the form *hiperharmonis* 'hyperharmonious' (cf. Dutch *harmonisch*).

Although *infrastruktur* occurs in vocabularies only, I noted with the prefix *infra-* also *infrafasultas* 'the intern organization of the faculty', the hybrid *infrarakitan* with *rakitan* 'structure', *inframerah* 'infra-red' with *merah* 'red', besides *lewat merah* 'infra-red'.

The following words with *kontra-* occur:

(42) <i>kontrabas</i>	'double bass'	contrabas
<i>kontrarevolusi</i>	'counterrevolution'	contrarevolutie
<i>kontraspijasi</i>	'counterespionage'	contraspijasi

The small category is supported by words like *kontradiksi* 'contradiction' (Dutch *contradictie*), *kontradiktif* 'contradictory' (a native formation, cf. *kontradiksi*), *kontrasepsi* 'contraception' (Dutch *contraceptie*), *kontraseptif* 'contraceptive' (Dutch *contraceptief*). The category is productive: *kontra-Soeharto*, *kontra-Islam*, *kontra-pancasila* 'against pancasila', the five-point Indonesian state ideology'.

The following words with *multi-* occur:

(43) <i>multijutawan</i>	'multimillionaire'	
<i>multikompleks</i>	'very complex'	
<i>multilingual</i>	'multilingual'	multilinguaal
<i>multilateral</i>	'multilateral'	multilateraal

The category is supported by words like *multiplek(s)* 'multiplex' (Dutch *multiplex*) and *multiplikasi* 'multiplication' (Dutch

multiplicatie).

The first words in (43) are Indonesian formations, *multijutawan* on the base of *juta* 'million' and the suffix *-wan* denoting human beings, and *multikompleks* on the base of the loanword *kompleks*. The category cannot be expanded unrestrictedly.

Although words beginning with *pro-* do not occur in vocabularies, I noted: *pro-Sadikin*, *pro-Israel*, *pro-doctorandus* or *pro-drs* (in newspapers, after a proposal to eliminate academic titles below Ph.D.), *pro-pancasila*, *pro-Golkar*, *pro-spiral* (the use of IUDs in stead of condoms). In these instances the borderline between prefixation and compounding is vague.

3 ADAPTATION OF COMPOUNDS

Compound words or phrases too may be transferred to Indonesian: *indehoy* 'to make love' (from Dutch prepositional phrase *in het hooi* 'in the hay'), or *indekos* 'boarding' (from Dutch *in de kost* 'boarding, litt. in the board'), and *kosbas* 'landlord' (from Dutch *kostbaas*), or *sprekdelik* 'offence consisting in the expression of views considered to be contrary to the public interest' (from the Dutch legal term *sprekdelict*). These loans have been adapted to the phonological system of Indonesian, but not to the morphological system. To say it in a different way: they have been dealt with as if they were monomorphemic words. Other examples are:

(44) <i>bohlam</i>	'bulb'	booglamp (obs.)
<i>bulsak, bolsak, boslak</i>	'mattress'	bultzak (obs.)
<i>hopagen</i>	'police sergeant'	hoofdagent
<i>hopbiro</i>	'central police office'	hoofdbureau
<i>hopdaktur</i>	'editor-in-chief'	hoofdredacteur
<i>hopkantoor</i>	'head office'	hoofdkantoor
<i>hoprol</i>	'leading part'	hoofdrol
<i>letersetter</i>	'typesetter'	letterzetter
<i>kakus</i>	'lavatory'	kakhuis (obs.)
<i>kudehel</i>	'go to hell'	Eng. go to hell
<i>motorpit</i>	'motorcycle'	motorfiets
<i>pakbon</i>	'trade union'	vakbond
<i>pan(e)kuk</i>	'pancake'	pannekoek
<i>pasfoto</i>	'passport photo'	pasfoto
<i>paspor</i>	'passport'	paspoort
<i>pelbed</i>	'camp-bed'	veldbed
<i>pelp(e)les</i>	'water bottle, mill.'	veldfles
<i>pelopor</i>	'pioneer'	voorloper

<i>pelpolisi</i>	'field police'	veldpolitie (obs.)
<i>polmah</i>	'written authorization'	volmacht
<i>porman</i>	'chief'	voorman
<i>pors(e)tel</i>	'proposal'	voorstel
<i>porserter,</i> <i>porseter</i>	'chairman'	voorzitter
<i>poskar,</i> <i>postkard</i>	'postcard'	Eng. postcard
<i>pospaket</i>	'postal packet'	postpakket
<i>relban</i>	'railway'	railbaan (obs.)
<i>rendefu</i>	'rendez-vous'	rendez-vous (Fr.)
<i>ritsleting,</i> <i>resleting,</i> <i>seleteng</i>	'zip'	ritssluiting
<i>rusbang,</i> <i>rosbang</i>	'bench, divan'	rustbank
<i>sekelwak</i>	'guard, mill.'	schildwacht
<i>sirkam</i>	'comb'	sierkam (obs.)
<i>sirlak</i>	'shellac'	sierlak (obs.)
<i>sirsak, sursak,</i> <i>zuurzak</i>	'Ind. fruit'	zuurzak
<i>spanrok</i>	'tight-fitting skirt'	spanrok (obs.)
<i>stoples,</i> <i>setoples,</i> <i>setopeles,</i> <i>toples,</i> <i>stopeles</i>	'glass jar with stopper'	stopfles (obs.)
<i>tap(e)lak</i>	'tablecloth'	tafellaken
<i>telat, terlat</i>	'too late'	te laat
<i>twedehan(s),</i> <i>tuwedehan</i>	'second hand'	tweedehands
<i>watermantel</i>	'water-cooled machine gun'	watermantel (obs.)
<i>waterpas</i>	'water level'	waterpas
<i>waterpruf</i>	'waterproof'	waterproef
<i>yashem</i>	'kind of jacket'	jashemd (obs.)

Some supplementary remarks have to be made. The word *booglamp* is not known in modern Dutch in the meaning 'bulb'. Probably the word was coined in the beginning of this century in Indonesia. The word *bultzak* is colonial Dutch; the usual word is *matras*. The word *kakhuis* 'lavatory' does not exist in contemporary Dutch anymore, and neither do *veldpolitie* and *railbaan*; the latter was probably borrowed in Indonesia in the nineteenth century. The words *sierkam* 'comb' and *sierlak* 'shellac' do not occur in contemporary Dutch either as compounds; they were probably borrowed in colonial times also. The same applies to the Dutch compounds *spanrok* 'tight fitting skirt', *stopfles* 'glass jar with stopper', *watermantel* 'water-cooled machine gun' and *jashemd* 'kind of jacket'.

Remarkable is the alternant *terlat* besides *telat* 'too late', an analogical formation to *terlambat*, also meaning 'too late'. Also remarkable is the word *pelopor* 'pioneer', in which the element *por-* (Dutch *voor-*) is replaced by the Indonesian prefix *pe-*, denoting an agent.

Of course, if historical compounds are not motivated in Dutch anymore, they are unmotivated in Indonesian also; e.g. Dutch *maarschalk*, with the original meaning 'groom' (the element *maar-* means in origin 'horse' and the element *-schalk* means in origin 'servant', but both elements do not occur in modern Dutch as free forms) is transferred to Indonesian as *marsekal* or *marsekalak* with the meaning - both in Dutch and in Indonesian - 'marshal'. The same applies to Dutch *kattebel-letje* 'small note' (originally Italian *cartabello* 'booklet') which is adapted as *katabelece* (the first part *kata-* is identified with *kata* 'word'), to Dutch *snaphaan* 'flintlock gun' which is transferred to Indonesian as *senapang*, and to Dutch *ragebol* 'ceiling mop', the source of *ragbol*.

In *airledeng* besides *ledeng* 'water-works, company's water' the first element *air* 'water' is a translation of Dutch *water*, the second element *ledeng* is a phonological adaptation of Dutch *leiding*; the Dutch model is *waterleiding*. In cases like this a beginning awareness of the motivated character arises, although the order of the elements is not Indonesian. Morphological adaptation would have lead to *ledeng air*, which - by the way - can be heard in the oral language, but is never written on the water-rate. The beginning awareness of the motivated character is also found in *hopmandur* 'chief', a compound of Dutch *hoofd* 'head' and *mandur* 'foreman', a commonly used word, originating from Portuguese.

Adapted to the morphosyntactic structure of Indonesian are *kantor pos* and *wesel pos*, respectively 'post office' and 'postal order', from Dutch *postkantoor* and *post-wissel*. Besides *weselpos*, *poswesel* also occurs; the writing in one word reflects the unmotivated character. The shortened form *wesel* (from Dutch *wissel*) occurs also. In *kantor pos* and *wesel pos* the canonical order of Indonesian occurs: the determinatum precedes the determinans. The same applies to *jin lepis* from English *Levi's jeans* and to *rok mini* 'mini skirt' from Dutch *minirok*. In *wol kayu* 'woodwool' the first element is borrowed from Dutch: *wol* 'wool'; the second element is Indonesian: *kayu* 'wood', a hybrid compound or loanblend, like *kol kembang* 'cauliflower' (from Dutch *kool* 'cabbage' and Javanese *kembang* 'flower') and *pemegang buku* 'book-keeper' (Indonesian *pemegang*, derived from *pegang* 'to hold fast', and from Dutch *boek* 'book').

Besides loanwords, loan translations occur also: *luar negeri* 'foreign country' (from Dutch *buitenland*, literally 'outside-country'), *kalimat majemuk* 'compound sentence' (from Dutch *samengestelde zin*), and *tata buku* 'book keeping' (from Dutch *boekhouding*).

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