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—i.e., 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 maraschol or maraschal, and the Dutch derivational formation reflectie 'reflection', which is adapted as reflectë;

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 stopfles, setopfles or toplees, and the derivation rioler from 'sewage-system', which is adapted as riolerë;

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 segmentasë 'segmentation' (the polymorphemic counterpart segment 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 -kas like spirakasë '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/-(cf. Grijns et al. 1984).

(1) anachronie 'anachronic' anachronisch
anachronistie 'anachronicist' anachronisch
arkhistie 'archaic' archaisch
bombaristie 'high-flown' bombastisch
demagogue 'demagogic' demagogisch
didactie 'didactic' didactisch
dinamie 'dynamic' dynamisch
dogmatis 'dogmatic' dogmatisch
drastie 'drastic' drastisch
egotistie 'egotistic' egotistisch
egoentricie 'egoentric' egoentrisk
ekonome 'economic' ekonomisch
empirië 'empirical' empirisch
fantastie 'fantastic' fantastisk
harmonie 'harmonious' harmonisk
hypnotie 'hypnotic' hypnotisk

idilie 'idyllic' idyllisk
kroniek 'chronic' chronisk
kronologie 'chronological' chronologisk
logis 'logical' logisk
matematiek 'mathematical' matematisk
materialis 'materialistic' materialistisk
media 'medical' medicinsk
mekaniek 'mechanical' mekanisk
methodiek 'methodical' methodisk
monolitie 'monolithic' monolitisk
nasionalistie 'nationalistic' nationalistisk
naturalistie 'naturalistic' naturalistisk
optimistie 'optimistic' optimistisk
otokratie 'autocratic' autokratis
otomatie 'automatic' automatisk
patologie 'pathological' pathologisk
pedagogie 'pedagogical' pedagogisk
praktiek 'practical' praktisk
plastie 'plastic' plastisk
polakie 'policeman' polisisk
pornografie 'pornographic' pornografisk
pragmatie 'pragmatic' pragmatisk
spectie 'sceptical' sceptisk
tektonie 'tectonic' tectisk
Spelling pronunciation is found in demogogia, dogmatism, egoism, egoentría, logic, pathologie, pornography and pragmatism, for Dutch letter g represents /j/, and Dutch ch/ is adapted as /k/, as in kronologische. Remarkable is the shorter form naturalis beside naturalista, for naturaltis '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 Panaasila's '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) arktik 'arctic' arktisch (?), Eng. arctic
domestik 'domestic' Eng. domestic
futuristik 'futuristic' futuristisch
isokratisk 'isochromatic' isochromatisch
kongentrisk 'concentric' concentrisch
seismik 'seismic' seismisch
supersönisch 'supersonic' supersonisch
ultrasönisch '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 -ich does not bear word accent. In Indonesian however, a language without stress-timed word accent, borrowings like domek (see (2)) and polems (see (1)) are intonationally handled like the formations in (3).

(3) fanatik, panatik 'fanatical' fanatiek
fisik, pisik 'physical' fysiek
kubik 'cubic' kubiek
otentik '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) analitik/analitik 'analytic' analytisch
antibiotik/antibiotik 'antibiotic' antibiotisch
dialektik/dialektik 'dialectical' dialectisch
diplomatik/diplomatik 'diplomatic' diplomatisch
ekositik/ekositik 'exotic' exotisch
ekontentría/ekontentría, nyentrík 'eccentric' excentrisch
erotik/erotik 'erotic' erotisch
genesis/genetik 'genetic' genetisch
heroe/heroik 'heroic' heroïsch
kritik/kritik 'critical' kritisch

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 kritika and the category of words ending in -ik, not an English source word 'kritisch'. Interference of Dutch kritiek 'critical' with stress on the last syllable is also possible.

A totally different case is elektris 'electric' from Dutch elektrisch besides listrik, lectrik, 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) diktatorial/ 'd dictatorial diktatorial
tropial/tropical 'tropical' tropisch

In the first case the ending -(ial) 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/ai/.

(6) diagonal 'diagonal' diagonaal
doktoral 'doctoral' doctoraal
feodal 'feudal' feodaal
frontal 'frontal' frontaal
horizontal 'horizontal' horizontaal
hormonal 'hormonal' hormonaal
illegal 'illegal' illegaal
instrumentaal 'instrumental' instrumentaal
integral 'integral' integraal
international 'international' internationaal
kolonial 'colonial' koloniaal
komunal 'communal' communaal
kontinentaal 'continental' continentaal
kwintal, kwintal
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
bear word accent:

(8) *identil* 'incidental' *incidenteel*
*institutionil* 'institutional' *institutioneel*
*idiil* 'imaginary' *ideel*
*individuil* 'individual' *individueel*
*informil* 'informal' *informeel*
*komenstil*, *komenstil* 'commercial' *commercial* *commercieel*
*konfidenstil* 'confidential' *confidentieel*
*konseptuil* 'conceptual' *conceptueel*
*(in)konsistuit* 'constitutional' *(in)constituutio-ntial* *tioneel*
*kriminil* 'criminal' *crimineel*
*kulturil* 'cultural' *cultureel*
*materiil* 'material' *materieel*
*mortil* 'moral' *moreel*
*opti(i)il*, *opti(i)il* 'official' *officieel*
*opti(i)il*, *opti(i)il* 'official' *officieel*
*poliisil* 'police' *politieneel*
*potensiil* 'potential' *potentieel*
*prinsipiil* 'in principle' *pincipeel*
*professionil* 'professional' *professioneel*
*proseduril* 'procedural' *procedureel*
*procentuil* 'procentual' *procentueel*
*redaktionil* 'editorial' *redactioneel*
*rituili* 'ritual' *ritueel*
*sensationil* 'sensational' *sensationeel*
*sensuil* 'sensual' *sensueel*
*spirituil* 'spiritual' *spiritueel*
*traditionil* 'traditional' *tradietioneel*

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

(9) *aktual/aktuUil* 'actual' *actueel*
*amoral/amoril* 'amoral' *amoreel*
*ekperimental/ experiimentuil* *experimenteel*
*emisioonal/ emisionil* 'emotional' *emotioneeel*
*esentil/ essentil* 'essential' *essentieel*
*faktual/faktuUil* 'factual' *factueel*
*finansial/ financiel*
*formal/formuUil* 'formal' *formeel*
*fundamental/ fundamenteel*
*fungsional/ functioneel*
*gradual/graduUil* 'gradual' * graduueel*
*hiperseksual/ hyperseksueel*
*im(m)oral/ im(m)oril* 'immoral' *immoreel*
*intelektual/ intellectueel*
*intelektuUil* 'intellectual' *intellectueel*
*irational/ irrationeeel*

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 ori-
gin by English suffixes. Dutch sources
could be *bilingual, initial* and *trans-
cendental* (with *-al*, but *initiell* and
*transcendenteeel* also occur, and probably
the words ending in *-aal* are influenced
by English as well), and *audiovisueel, bise-
sekueel, exceptioneel*, *(with *-eel* (see
below) which is replaced by *-al*), and
psychologisch, *tipisch* *(with *-isch*, which
is also replaced by *-ik*). No compara-
ble Dutch sources can be shown for edito-
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 homosekuil '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 homoseka and homoseksualis, both Indonesian formations, the latter influenced by nouns ending in -is.

Besides moril (adj.) the noun moral 'moral' occurs, from Dutch moreal (noun). The existence of moral (noun) obstructs a possible adjective moral; the form immoral (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.

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/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>Dutch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agitator</td>
<td>'agitator'</td>
<td>agitator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aggressor</td>
<td>'aggressor'</td>
<td>aggressor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diktator</td>
<td>'diktator'</td>
<td>diktator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il(illustrator)</td>
<td>'il(illustrator)'</td>
<td>il(illustrator)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>improviser</td>
<td>'improviser'</td>
<td>improviser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kommentator</td>
<td>'kommentator'</td>
<td>kommentator</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To these words can be added generator, from Dutch generator, not denoting a human being, and the native formation mistifikator with the Dutch counterparts mystificatie 'mystification' and mistificeren 'to mystify'.

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

(11) avontiririr, 'adventurer' avonturier
ban(g)kiriirt 'banker' bankier
brigadiriirt 'brigadier' brigadier
mariniirit 'marine' marinier
opaiirit 'officer' officier

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

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

Some are adapted with -ur:

(12) (re)dakturir 'editor' redacteur
direkturir 'director' directeur
komendiir 'commander' commandeur
likuddieir 'liquidator' liquidateur

Besides (re)dakturir, hopadakturir '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) adviarir 'advisor' adviseur
donaiirit 'donator' donateur
eksoportir 'exporter' exporteur
importirir 'importer' importeur
kontrolirir 'inspector' controleur
montirir 'fitter' monteur
regisirir 'stage director' regisseur

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

(14) amatur/amatiir 'amateur' amateur
formaturir 'a Cabinet' formateur
inistrur/instruktirir 'an instructor' instructeur
odituri/oditiirir 'prosecuter' auditeur

Finally, some words are adapted with the ending -uir and -oir:

(15) administratur/ -uir administrateur
ambassadors/ -oir ambassadeur

To these cases can be added interior and interior, not denoting human beings, from Dutch interieur and English interior. One word is borrowed with -ur, -uir, and -oir: aktur/aktur/aktur from Dutch acteur and English actor.

Two words ending in -eur are adapted with -or only: kolaboratur 'collaborator' (from Dutch collaborateur), and kreditur 'creditor' (from Dutch crediteur); compare auteur '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.

Capitals 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) anaris, anarkis, antagonis, ateis, altruism, debeatis, determinis, egois

'anarchist' 'anarchist'
antagonist' 'antagonist'
'atheist' 'atheist'
altruist' 'altruist'
defeatist' 'defeatist'
determinist' 'determinist'
egoist' 'egoist'
As stress is not distinctive in Indonesian, 'telegrafis' has become 'telegrafist', thus becoming a minimal difference with 'telegrafis' 'by telegraph', an opposition which does not exist between 'utopis' 'Utopian' and 'utopis' 'Utopian' (adj.). In the source language the noun 'utopis' has final stress, the adjective 'utopisch' stress on the second syllable, not on the suffix. The great majority of formations ending in -ia 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, Suharto, Narois, sometimes with abbreviations as their base: P.P.R.-ia, and rarely on the base of other nouns, as motor's 'motor driver' with the monomorphemic counterpart 'motor'.

Remarkable are words ending in -(i)ei: (see ring) musi 'musician', politi 'politician' and teknii 'technician', borrowed from Dutch plurals musi, politi and teknii.

Words ending in -itor and -itet are generally abstract nouns. Their sources are Dutch words ending in stress bearing -iteit/icit/. 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 student songs (Verhaar 1984). One could say, that -itas is the only suffix that is borrowed 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 successful in every respect.

The following words are still in use with -itet:

(17) heterogenitet 'heterogeneity' heterogeniteit
causalitet 'causality' causaliteit
mobilitet 'mobility' mobiliteit
mortaltet 'morality' mortaliteit
neutralitet 'neutrality' neutraliteit
plausibilitet 'plausibility' plausibilititeit
productivitet 'productivity' productiviteit
radioaktivitet 'radioactivity' radioactiviteit
rentabilitet 'remunerative' rentabiliteit
ness'
resiprosetet 'reciprocity' reciprociiteit

To these words may be added the concrete noun soeset 'club', also found as the abbreviation so(e)et, from Dutch soeseeit and soed.

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 rentabilitet; furthermore, this word is not supported by a comparable English model. The form produktivetet in stead of produktivitet is often used, especially in every day language use, but officially strongly discouraged. Besides radioaktivitet, aktivitet 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) ef(f)ektivitas/ef(f)ektivitet 'effectivity' effektivetit
elastisitas/elastitett 'elasticity' elasticiteit
fakultas/fakultet (obs.) 'faculty' faculteit
facilitas/facilitet 'facility' faciliteit
homoseksualitas/homoseksualitet 'homosexuality' homosexualiteit
integritas/integritet 'integrity' integriteit
intensitas/intensiteit 'intensity' intensiteit
kreativitas/kreativitet 'creativity' creativiteit
kriminalitas/kriminalitet 'criminality' criminaliteit
kwalitas/kwaliteit, kwalitet 'quality' kwaliteit
kuantitas, kwam-
titas/kuantiti-
tet, kwanti-
tet 'quantity' kwantiteit
likuiditas, likwiditas/ likwiditeit 'liquidity'
minoritas/minoritet 'minority' minoriteit
majoritas/majoritet 'majority' majoriteit
mentalitas/mentalitet 'mentality' mentaliteit
meningitas/meningitet 'mentality' mentaliteit
minoritas/minoritet 'minority' minoriteit
paritas/paritet 'parity' pariteit
p(e)rrioritas/prioritet 'priority' prioriteit
publivitas/publivitet 'publicity' publiciteit
realitas/realitet 'reality' realiteit
rivalitas/rivalitet 'rivalry' rivaliteit
subjekativitas, subjekativitet, subjektivitet 'subjectivity'
superioritas/superioritet 'superiority' superioriteit
totalitas/totalitet 'total' totaliteit
universtitas/universitet 'university' universiteit
vitalitas/vitalitet 'vitality' vitaliteit
veribilitas/veribilitet 'validity' validiteit

The spelling with ku (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-

(19) aktivitas/aktivitet 'activity' activiteit
kapasitas/kapasitet 'capacity' capaciteit
kontinuitas/kontinütet 'continuity' continuiteit
otoritas/otoritet 'authority' autoriteit

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) abnormalitas 'abnormality' abnormiteit
agritas 'agriculture' aërgrieft
agritas, agritas 'agriculture' aërgrieft
aktualitas 'actuality' actualiteit
ambiguitas 'ambiguity' ambiguititeit
brutalitas 'brutality' brutaliteit
egalitas 'evenness' egaliteit
ekspanibilitas 'expansibility' expansibiliteit
ekstremitas 'extremity' extremiteit
entitas 'entity' entiteit
esenzialitas 'essentiality' essentialeit
fertilitas 'fertility' ferteiteit
fleksibilitas 'flexibility' flexibiliteit
formalitas 'formality' formaleit
homogenitas 'homogeneity' homogeniteit
identitas 'identity' identiteit
immoralitas 'immorality' immoraleit
immunitas 'immunity' immuiniteit

The spelling with ku (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-

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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 -et is replaced by -tas. The formation seksualitas is also found in bloksexualitas 'bisexuality' (Dutch bloxsexualiteit) and the native formation hypersexualitas 'hypersexuality'. The form loyalitas also occurs in the original formation monoloyalitas 'loyalty to one person or party'.

Monomorphic counterparts occur in several cases. The element -itas (-i-tas) 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 the Dutch counterpart with -atte/atse/ or /asi/, with word stress on the penultimate, or with two Dutch counterparts, namely one ending in -atte, and one ending in -ering/erling/. All these forms are listed in the Appendix of de Vries (1984); here two examples will suffice:

(21 a) deklarasi 'declaration, declaratie voucher'

(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 categorical meaning:

(22) aristokrasi 'aristocracy' aristocratie
autokrasi 'autocracy' autocratie
burokrasi 'bureaucracy' bureaucratie
demokrasi 'democracy' democratie
diplomasi 'diplomacy' diplomatie
familasi 'family' familie
farmaasi 'pharmacy' farmacie
pustakasi 'library' bibliotheek
publikasi 'publication' publicatie
supremasi 'supremacy' supremaat
teknologi 'technology' technologie

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' acclimatizing
alternasi 'alternation' alternering
birokratisasi 'bureaucratization' bureaucratizing

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) affiksasi 'affixation'
afirmasi 'affirmation'
deescalasi 'de-escalation'
depoltasi 'depolitization'
dissociasi 'dissociation'
effemisasi 'effeminization'

The element -asi functions as a quasi-suffix, by which Dutch words ending in -atie, but also in -ing, and English words ending in -ation or -ation 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'
indonesisasi 'indonesianization'
komputerisasi 'computerization'
kristenisasi 'christianization'
westernisasi 'westernization'

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

(27) belandanisasi 'netherlandization' Belanda
A special case is reboisasi 'reforestation'.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>absolutisme</td>
<td>absolutisme</td>
<td>absolutism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anabolisme</td>
<td>anabolisme</td>
<td>anabolism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atheisme</td>
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The forms with -isme are abstract nouns. English models have supported the acceptance of Dutch sources; in some cases the source is English: narisitisme, 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 'clanship, 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 [apel] 'apple' and [apal] 'to know by heart'" (Grijns 1981:9). On shwa in final position the same author says that "Foreign words like [elite] or [koda] 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 idealisima and nasionalisima 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:
A number of words ends in -ase (from -age /aʒ/), 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, vote, sitye and more. In some cases the form without -e is also found, but less frequently, e.g. hectar. 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) amper/ampere 'ampere' ampare
blue, bleue/blouse 'blouse' blouse

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 sardensis, (sekor) densis from Dutch sadertenis, a plural diminutive.

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

(31) albumin 'albumen' albumine
ambulan(e) 'ambulance' ambulans
alcohol(s) 'alcohol' alcohol
argosy 'argosy' argosy
asbestos, serebeck, serbet, serbet 'serpent' serpens
at least 'at least' at least
au 'au' au
bacterium 'bacterium' bacterium
beak 'beak' beak
bilaterally 'bilaterally' bilaterally
bottle 'bottle' bulle
bouquet 'bouquet' bouquet
bride 'bride' bride
build 'build' build
butcherage 'butcherage' butcherage
butter 'butter' butter

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

(32) anoda 'anode' anode
antena 'antenna' antenne
balada 'ballad' balada
bromida 'bromide' bromide
diagnoza 'diagnosis' diagnosis
dikotida 'dioxide' dioxide
forma 'formula' formule
glukosa 'glucose' glucose
insecticide 'insecticide' insecticide
kramantina 'quarantine' quarantaine
klauwula 'claws, claw' klauwula
laguna 'lagoon' lagune
legenda 'legend' legende
notula 'note, notes' notes
nuance 'nuance' nuance
salada, selada 'salad' salade
sentixa 'nervous, nervous' senex
sultana 'sultana' sultane
visita 'visit' visita
Besides *notula, notulen* also occurs; the final -n can be deleted in spoken Dutch. Besides *senua* also occur: *senuan, senu, sinu, senuwen, senwen*. 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*), *lenaa 'lens' (from Dutch lens)*, *linguistika* besides *linguistik* 'linguistics' (from Dutch *linguëstiek*), *metafora 'metaphore' (from Dutch *metafoor*), *nama 'name' (from Dutch *naam*), *norma 'norm' (from Dutch *norm*), *organa 'organ' from English *organ*, *persoona 'person, in grammar' (from Dutch *persoon*), *figuur 'figure' (from Dutch *figuur*) and *pompa 'pump' (from Dutch *pomp)*. The Dutch verb *strijken 'to iron' is adapted as *siterika, 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, sket/sktdaa 'sketch' (from Dutch *sketch* and *sonet/soneta 'sonnet' (from Dutch *sonnet*).

Remarkable is the reverse in optik 'optics' from Dutch *optica*, and *matematik beats* matematika 'mathematics' (from Dutch *matematica*) 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) *akta/akte* 'document, acte certificate'
*elektroda/elektrode* 'electrode'
*entusiasma/entusiasme* 'enthusiasm'
*idealia/idealisme* 'idealism'
*logaritma/logaritme* 'logarithm'
*nacionalismo/nationalisme* 'nationalism'
*pagoda/pagode* 'pagoda'
*parada/parade* 'parade'
*bagna/bage* 'sage'
*stepa/stepie* 'steppe'
*titla/tile, tule* 'tule, net'
*yuta/yute* 'jute'

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) *antitesis* 'antithesis'
*katalisis* 'catalysis'
*metastasis* 'metastasis'
*neurosis* 'neurosis'
*paralisis* 'paralysis'
*parenthesis* 'parenthesis'
*thesis* 'thesis'

dosis 'dose' (from *dosis*) and katakais *catharsis* (from *kathomasis*).

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

(35) *hipnosis/hypnose* 'hypnosis'
*narkosis/narkose* 'narcosis'
*psikosis/psykose* 'psychosis'

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

(36) *analisis/analyse* 'analysis'
*basis/basa* 'base, basis'

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) hipoteze/hipoteza/hipotesis 'hypothesis' hypoteese metamorfose/metamorfa/ metamorfosi 'metamorphose' metamorfose omosoe/omosa/osose 'osmosis' osose psikoanalize/psikoana- lisa/psikoanalists 'psychoanalysis' psychoanalyse

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

(38) bagasi 'luggage, bagage' bagage boradi 'small' boordje kontroversi 'controversy' controverse, Eng. controversy logi 'big building' loge medali, mendali 'medal' medaille panasi 'pan' pannetje petai 'cap' petje poet 'teapot' potje privilegi 'privilege' privilegieasperet, asperi, panei, pane, pani 'asparagus' asperge

e soloki 'small drink of hard liquor' slokje sopi 'alcoholic drink' zoopje (obs.) sparpoet 'money-box' spaarpotje stelasi 'scaffolding' stellage karbonaai 'pork meat' karbonaadje vanili, vani 'vanilla' vanille, kermeli

In the same way Dutch pop 'doll' is lengthened to popi. Besides karbonaadje, karbonaai (from Dutch plural karbonaadjes) and kermeli occur. Dutch plurals boontjes 'beans' and taartjes 'pastry, cake' are borrowed as buncis and tarcis; taartje 'ticket' as karata.

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

(39) garase/garasti 'garage' garage lace/lasti 'drawer' laatje pantomine/ pantombi 'pantomime' pantomime resorose/reorasti 'criminal investigation' recherche

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

Two remarkable cases still have to be mentioned; besides metode/metoda 'method' (from Dutch methode) metodos also occurs. Besides douane '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 done so - gone beyond morphology, and the focus of the present paper: the adaptation of polysemic 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. -asti), and on the other hand phonological segments (as -a), or clusters of segments (as -ie) are used for the same reason, which is to adapt foreign words.

2.2 PREFIXATION

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

A word is polysemic 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 monosemorphic counterparts are lacking very often, even more so in the borrowing language. For example: deduusi 'deduction' can hardly considered to be polysemic in Dutch, for 'duction is lacking, although induutie and productie ('induction', 'production') occur. In Indonesian deduusi, induu and produksi are also found, but their polysemic status is no more clear than in Dutch. The same applies to words beginning with ek- (e.g. eksplicit, 'explicit' from Dutch expliciet), with in- (e.g. informatie 'information' from Dutch informatie), with intro- (e.g. introspekte, 'introspection' from Dutch introspectie), with kon- (e.g. konfirmatie 'confirmation' from Dutch confirmatie), with ob- (e.g. obiek 'object' from Dutch object), with afo- (e.g. aautomat 'automatic machine' from Dutch automaat), with per- (e.g. permissie 'permission' from Dutch toegestane), with pseudo- (e.g. pseudonym 'pseudonym').
from Dutch *pseudonim*, with sub- (e.g. subyektif 'subjective' from Dutch subjectief), with super- (e.g. supersontik from English supersontik), and ultra- (e.g. ultrasonik from English ultrasonic).

In other cases a monomorphic counterpart exists - but not always - in words beginning with a- (e.g. apolitik 'apolitical' from Dutch apolitiek), with dis- (e.g. dialokasi 'dislocation'; from Dutch dialocatie), with in- (not to be confused with in- in informasi) (e.g. intranatif 'intrinsice' from Dutch intranatief), with intra- (e.g. intramuskular from English intramuscular), with kripto- (e.g. kriptografic 'cryptography' from Dutch cryptografie), with makro- (e.g. makrokosmos 'macrocsm' from Dutch makrokosmos), with milii- (e.g. milliliter 'millilitre' from Dutch milliliter), with neo- (e.g. neokolonialisme 'neocolonialism' from Dutch neokoloniaalisme), with non- (e.g. nonagresi 'non-aggression' from Dutch non-agressie), with over- - not of Latin origin - (e.g. overproduksi 'overproduction' from Dutch overproduktie), with pre- (e.g. prehistoria 'prehistoric' from Dutch prehistorisch; moreover, a native prefix is available), with re- (e.g. rekonstruksi 'reconstruction' from Dutch reconstruutie), and with sub- (e.g. subtitali 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 polymorphic word a monomorphic word occurs. The meaning of the polymorphic 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 polymorphic word belongs to the same word class as the monomorphic 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) antibiotik 'antibiotic' Eng. antibiotic
antitesis 'antithesis' antithese, Eng. antithesis
antitokain '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 antipatie), antipode 'antipodes' (Dutch antipode), antiseptikum 'antiseptic drug' (Dutch antisepticum), antiseptik 'antiseptic' (Dutch antiseptisch), and with a different meaning - 'before' in stead of 'against' - antisipir 'to anticipate' (Dutch antisipieren).

The category is productive: anti-Soebaro, anti-communist, anti-Soekar, antipemerintah 'anti-government'.

The following words with hiper- occur:

(41) hipereksual 'hypersexual' hypersexueel, Eng. hypersexual
hipersexuali- 'hypersexuality'
hipersensitif 'hypersensitive' hypersensitief

The category is supported by words like hiperbol 'hyperbola' (Dutch hyperboel) and hiptensii 'hypertension' (Dutch hypertensie). The category is improductive, although I noted the form hiperharmonis 'hyperharmonious' (cf. Dutch harmonisch). Although infrastruktur occurs in vocabularies only, I noted with the prefix infra- also infrafakultas 'the internal organization of the faculty', the hybrid infrarakitan with rakitan 'structure', inframerah 'infra-red' with merah 'red', besides levat merah 'infra-red'.

The following words with kontra- occur:

(42) kontrabas 'double bass' contrabas
kontrarevolu- 'counterrevolution' tion
kontraspion-'counter- espionage'
ase

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-pansaatla 'against panaasila, the five-point Indonesian state ideology'.

The following words with multi- occur:

(43) multijutaan 'multimillionaire'
multikompleks 'very complex'
multilingual 'multilingual'
multilateral 'multilateral'

The category is supported by words like multiplek(s) 'multiplex' (Dutch multiplex) and multiplikasi 'multiplication' (Dutch...
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: *indehoj* 'to make love' (from Dutch prepositional phrase *in het koor* 'in the choir'), or *indekos* 'boarding' (from Dutch *in de kast* 'boarding, litt. in the board'), and *koebas* 'landlord' (from Dutch *koebbaas*), or *spreekdik* 'offence consisting in the expression of views considered to be contrary to the public interest' (from the Dutch legal term *spreekdik*). 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 monomorphic words. Other examples are:

(44) **bohlan** 'bulb' booglamp (obs.)

*bulbak*, *bolbak* 'mattress' bultak (obs.)

*hopagen* 'police sergeant' hoofdgent

*hopbiro* 'central police office' hoofdbureau

*hopdaktur* 'editor-in-chief' hoofredac-

teur

*hopkantor* 'head office' hoofdkantoor

*hoprol* 'leading part' hoofdrol

*letterkantur* 'typesetter' letterzetter

*kakus* 'lavatory' kakuis (obs.)

*kudekal* 'go to hell' Eng. go to hell

*motorpits* 'motorcycle' motorfiets

*pakbon* 'trade union' vakbond

*pan(e)kuk* 'pancake' pannekoek

*passfoto* 'passport photo' pasfoto

*passör* 'passport' paspoort

*pelbed* 'camp-bed' veldbed

*pelp(e)les* 'water bottle, mill.' veldfles

*pelpor* 'pioneer' voorloper

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 *bultak* is colonial Dutch; the usual word is *matras*. The word *kakuis* 'lavatory' does not exist in contemporary Dutch anymore, and neither do *vedelpolitië* 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' and *stopfles* 'glass jar with stopper', *watermantel* 'water-cooled machine gun' and *jashem* 'kind of jacket'.

Remarkable is the alternant *terlat* besides *telat* 'too late', an analogical development to *terlambat*, also meaning 'too late'. Also remarkable is the word *pelo- por* '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 marékal or marsekalak with the meaning - both in Dutch and in Indonesian - 'marsekal'. The same applies to Dutch kattebelletje 'small note' (originally Italian cartabellotto 'booklet') which is adapted as katabeloece (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 leding 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 wessel pos, respectively 'post office' and 'postal order', from Dutch postkantoor and postwissel. Besides wesselpos, postwissel also occurs; the writing in one word reflects the unmotivated character. The shortened form wessel (from Dutch wissel) occurs also. In kantor pos and wessel pos the canonical order of Indonesian occurs: the determinate precedes the determiners. The same applies to jin lehti from English Levi's jeans and to rok mint '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 'bookkeeper' (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'), kalim 'mamouk' 'compound sentence' (from Dutch samengehitid sih), and tata buku 'book keeping' (from Dutch boekhouding).

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