EVIDENCE FOR THE EMERGENCE OF NEW BOUND MORPHEMES IN INDONESIAN

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Abstract

In the last three and a half decades the form of Indonesian found in the mainstream print media has undergone significant changes. In 2001 I completed a longitudinal study of these changes using a 5% random selection of twenty registers of a broad cross-section of mainstream Indonesian newspapers and magazines from each of the years 1966 and 1996. The lexical selection was done principally using the lexicographic principles of Burchfield (1983) and Svensén (1993) in the context of Hudson's (1998) definition of 'standard language'. A database was created that recorded and classified each item in terms of nine variables. Amongst the findings there is clear evidence of the adoption into the prestige form of Indonesian found in the print media of at least eight English bound morphemes which have been adopted as new productive prefixes. They are *anti*, *eks*, *ekstra*, *makro*, *mikro*, *non*, *super* and *ultra*. The evidence for their having become productive, rather than their just being part of words adopted by the process of direct borrowing, is their combination with Indonesian morphemes to create new words.

1. Introduction

This is a study of morphological borrowing from English into Indonesian. The investigation was limited to the mainstream print media, as opposed to the broadcast media, and the so-called *koran kuning* (= 'yellow newspapers')

which are characterised by much more colloquial non-standard language. The reason for limiting the study in this way was the need to keep it within the parameters of 'standard language' and the difficulty of obtaining audio-tapes and videotapes of Indonesian on radio and television.

The reason for the choice of the time period was that it represents the period of the New Order, when Suharto, backed by the Indonesian Armed Forces, Sino-Indonesian interests and foreign investors, committed Indonesia to an extensive process of national development based on western models of economic and technological progress. This represented a significant move away from the anti-western Old Order policies of Sukarno, and was characterised by policies of economic modernisation and westernisation which gave Indonesia a period of western (mainly American) economic, technological, cultural and educational influence unparalleled in its previous history.

Although the research focus is the mainstream print media I do not pretend to offer the suggestion that it is in this area alone that the phenomenon can be observed. Nor would I attempt to suggest that the observations from the print media can be extrapolated into more widespread oral discourse or outside the formal middle class registers which are to be found in the mainstream print media. My findings only cover the influence of English within the print media studied. They are only relevant to the forms of the language sampled in the registers to be found in the daily newspapers, weekly news magazines and monthly lifestyle magazines read by the Indonesian middle class elite. Statements made in the article refer to the materials studied only and do not necessarily apply to the language in general.

1.2 Definition of 'Standard Indonesian'

Hudson (1996: 32) states that standard languages are the result of a direct and deliberate intervention by society. 'Standard Indonesian', or what the Indonesian Centre for the Construction and Development of the [Indonesian] Language *(Pusat Pembinaan dan Pembangunan Bahasa)* call *Bahasa Baku*, is not so much a language that is used for private spoken or written communication as a language that is used for public spoken and written communication. This includes such things as academic conferences, parliamentary speeches, television and radio broadcasts and the discourse of official government communication and prestige newspapers, magazines and academic publications.

Hudson states (1996: 34) it must be possible to use the selected variety in all the functions associated with central government and with writing: for

example, in the parliament and law courts, in bureaucratic, educational and scientific documents of all kinds and, of course, in various forms of literature. The linguistic need of Indonesian for extra linguistic items to describe the modern world is therefore one of the factors driving the language's lexical expansion.

3. Data selection in the context of the 'historical principle' of representativeness

The 'historical principle' of representativeness, used from the time of Murray and Whitney in the nineteenth century through to Burchfield in the twentieth, has been for the lexical item to have been found at least three times in three different publications by three different authors on three different occasions. This became the first criterion I employed for the inclusion of a word or phrase in my database.

Burchfield states 'the first requirement of a lexicon is that it should contain every word occurring in the literature of the language it professes to illustrate' (Burchfield 1983: xxxvi) even if such words were 'unlikely to be familiar to the ordinary person' (1983: xxxv). The implication of this for my study was to err on the side of broad inclusiveness from the standard language. The principles I chose to use as a basis for my lexical selections were the ten lexicographic principles of Svensén (1993).

3.1 Svensén's principles for lexical data selection
Authenticity
Svensén (1993: 40) states that, in order to be sure that a certain linguistic occurrence is authentic, 'the lexicographer must find evidence for it in independent sources'. For Svensén, 'evidence' normally means evidence from written sources and he considers that 'the requirement of authenticity [of material from written sources] is fairly easily met for isolated words taken out of context'.

Representativeness
Svensén (1993: 42) states that it is necessary to make sure that every word and expression occurs often enough and is sufficiently representative of the standard language. However, he states that for passive databases such as those compiled for this study other rules apply. He states that the requirement of

representativeness means that a word or expression must occur sufficiently frequently in the texts regardless of whether or not an individual might actually consider using it. Thus, although many words entered into the database may at first glance raise the eyebrows of pedantic linguistic nationalists, especially entries from the Advertising register and entries of unusual length, so long as the entries fulfilled the criteria of frequency in written sources and 'representativeness' in terms of Svensén's second principle, they have been included.

Coverage

Svensén (1993: 42) states that it is not enough to be certain that all the selected words are authentic and representative. He maintains it is necessary to also make sure that the database covers the largest possible range within the area of language to be examined. The methodological implication of this for constructing the database of my study was to ensure that not just the same number of words was sampled for each publication, but that an equivalent range and number of registers was sampled. For this reason a double random selection method was applied to registers as defined by Halliday (1985).

Suitability

Svensén (1993: 42-3) suggests compound and derivative forms need not be excluded as they illustrate how words can form compounds and derivatives.

The Prescriptive Aspect

Svensén (1993: 45) maintains that it is usual to include in the expressional aspect only such items as from a linguistic point of view are 'permitted' or 'correct'. Hence, by this principle misspellings, in terms of the *Pedoman Umum Pembentukan Istilah* (= 'Guide To The Formation of Technical Terms') (1997) of the Indonesian Government's *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* (= 'Centre for the Construction and Development of the [Indonesian] Language'), have been corrected in my database.

The Social Aspect

Svensén (1993: 45) states that the use of language is influenced not only by linguistic norms, but also by social standards: 'certain words and certain meanings of words are socially charged'. Hence, by this principle words from the lifestyle magazines such as, *anti jerawat* (= 'anti-acne') and *anti ketombe* (= 'anti-dandruff') may be objected to by many linguistic purists. However,

Svensén maintains that the commonest of the socially accepted words and expressions belonging to these levels of style should be included in the database as the social aspect is closely related to the stylistic one.

The Stylistic Aspect
Svensén (1993: 46) suggests that databases should 'aim to contain a fair number of words from a range of stylistic levels'. In terms of his first six principles, the principle of inclusion in the database of words from 'the commonest of the socially acceptable levels' should therefore be inclusive of, for example, commonly encountered words from the more commonly encountered registers, even though many Indonesians would be unlikely to come across them in rural settings.

The Temporal Aspect
Svensén (1993: 47-8) states that fashionable words have high frequency but are very short-lived. He maintains it is therefore up to the lexicographer to decide which words will survive. Utilising this principle I have included relatively new words such as *ultra ungu* (= 'ultraviolet') and *mikrogelombang* (= 'microwave') in my database. Although such words are new, they are common-place, especially in the registers to do with modernity such as advertising, and science and technology. I have included such words in the database because I believe these technologies are likely to become more widely known rather than less common in the years to come.

The Geographical Aspect
Svensén's (1993: 48) comments about sampling in as many linguistically distinct geographical regions as possible relate to lexical collecting for dictionary creation. As all the mainstream Indonesian print media are based in Jakarta a wider geographical sampling did not need to be undertaken.

The Technical Language Aspect
Svensén (1993: 50) considers that technical language is of great significance to the lexicographer. He states that over 40% of the headwords in *Webster's Third Dictionary* are technical. He further states that a flow of technical terms into the general language can be expected in the areas which everyone encounters in the course of education and through the mass media.

4. The concept of 'register' applied in the study

Halliday describes 'register' as 'a variety of language, corresponding to a variety of situations' (Halliday and Hassan 1985: 39). He explains that this is a concept of the kind of variation in language that goes with variation in the context of a situation. Since it is a configuration of meanings, Halliday maintains that a register must also include the expressions, the lexico-grammatical and phonological features that typically accompany or realise those meanings. He considers that the characteristics of particular registers are what he calls 'indexical features', indicators in the form of particular words and grammatical signals, that have the function of indicating to the participants that this is the register in question, as in the phrase 'once upon a time'. 'Once upon a time' he states is an 'indexical feature' that serves to signal the fact that what follows is a traditional tale.

Halliday states that the category of register will vary, from something that is closed and limited, to something that is relatively free and open-ended. That is to say, he considers there are certain registers in which the total number of possible meanings is fixed and finite and may be quite small, whereas in others the range of the discourse is much less constrained. He states that there are styles of meaning associated with these registers, which simply have to be learnt. He further states that there is no situation in which the meanings are not to a certain extent prescribed for us. He argues that registers are the semantic configurations that are typically associated with particular social contexts.

Halliday's concept of register is as true of Indonesian as it is of English. For instance, the register characteristics of a biographical article in *Gadis* magazine (a tri-monthly magazine for teenage girls) are quite different to the register characteristics of an economic discourse in *Gatra* (a quality weekly news magazine for the educated elite.) The biographical register of *Gadis* tends to be informal and conversational in style and makes a lot of use of *Bahasa Jakarta* (= 'Jakarta language').[1] My impression is that *Gadis* considers one of its principal mandates to be to introduce its readers to the latest English language teenage jargon from overseas, especially in the language domains of fashion, advertising, pop music, the performing arts generally and celebrity gossip. For instance, words such as *hobby, regular fit, hepi* (= 'happy'), *casual, fans, oke* (= 'okay'), *surprise, sensitif, identitas, siluet* (= 'silhouette'), *play girl* and *model* are frequently met in *Gadis*, but would definitely seem out of place in the registers of *Gatra* that concern Business and Economics,

Crime and the Law, The Environment, International Affairs, Military Affairs, National Affairs or Science and Technology.

On the other hand, most of the registers of *Gatra* are characterised by the formal grammatical structures of the elite described by Anderson (1990). In these registers the English loanwords that are more likely to be found are words such as *multinasional, skala global, globalisasi, internasionalisasi, perindustrian, komersial, teknostruktur, melikuidasikan, dieksploatasikan, dimerger, didistribusikan, mengkalkulasi, menargetkan, mentransformasikan, konglomerat, kapasitas, kredit, franchise* and *suplier*.

The methodological implication of Halliday's concept for my study was that it was necessary for me to identify the principal registers of the print media I wished to survey in order to ensure that an appropriate representation of Indonesian language registers was sampled. The registers in the print media that I chose to study were: Advertising, Book Reviews, Business and Economics, Celebrity Gossip, Crime and the Law, Editorials, Education, The Environment, Health, International Affairs (international news, strategic developments and diplomatic news), Letters to the Editor, Military Affairs, National Affairs (social issues, religion, politics, development issues), The Performing Arts (music, television, cinema, theatre and ballet reviews), Science and Technology, Sport and The Visual Arts (architecture, design, fashion, painting, home decoration, sculpture).

5. The design of the research model

The random sampling methodology for the selection of the data was that recommended by Cochran (1977: 82). This was broadly speaking double random sampling of 5% of the content of two each of the newspapers and magazines for each year surveyed. With respect to ensuring that the widest possible coverage was made of each of the pertinent registers in each of these publications, forty eight registers were identified, and an attempt was made to sample at least 1000 words from each pertinent register in each publication. However, in the case of some registers less than 1000 words were available, whereas in the case of others a random selection system had to be devised as some registers were not represented in every issue. For instance there was simply no material on the environment in 1966 publications, whereas in 1996 the environment was a common register in both news and lifestyle publications. The system for selection of registers was based on the amalgamation of less

frequently-occurring registers into 'register groupings' around common themes. Where more than one article in a particular register was available for sampling, a random number table was used in order to ensure that articles by the same writer were not repeatedly sampled. In this way as broad a range of sub-groupings within each register as possible was surveyed.

When choosing the registers and stories to be sampled, a similar method was employed. Not all of these were to be found in every issue of every publication. Some of these only occurred once or twice in the material sampled. In order to simplify the management of the data, many of these registers were combined to shorten the list of registers. Table 1 summarises how these registers were combined.

With the newspapers from 1966, as there were only four pages to each issue, every page was sampled from cover to cover. With the newspapers from 1996, in order to make a random selection of sub-registers and establish a basis of comparison with the 1966 newspapers, each page was divided into four quadrants and each quadrant numbered from 01 to 64. Then either the first two or last two digits of each number in the random number table starting with the first column were used to randomly select sixteen quadrants from each issue that was sampled. (16 x 4 page quadrants = 4 pages).

With magazines, once each issue to be sampled had been chosen between 20 and 40 pages from each issue were sampled depending on the total number of sub-registers which were available for sampling. This was usually between 20 and 25 registers. 1000 words was sampled from each register available.

6. The recording of the data

The data was recorded using the *Microsoft Office 97* version of *Microsoft Access*. This enabled the construction of the database in terms of nine distinct criteria. The criteria were:

1. Each discrete individual word;

2. The form class (noun, verb or adjective) it belonged to;

3. The year it was first encountered;

4. The publication in which it was first encountered;

5. The register the word was usually found in;

Table 1: Summary of how the initial registers were amalgamated

Final Register	Also Includes
Advertising	Beauty advice, travel advice
Book Reviews	
Business and Economics	Banking, business technology, finance, economics and management
Celebrity Gossip	
Columnists	Horoscope, relationship advice
Crime and the Law	The legal system, the police, new laws, sensational trials
Editorial	
Education	
The Environment	
Health	
International Affairs	Special reports on international figures and issues
Letters to the Editor	
Military Affairs	
National Affairs	Metropolitan issues, provincial issues, media, religion, regular columnists, special reports on national issues, biographies of national figures
Performing Arts	Theatre, dance, movies, television, mainly pop music and profiles of music industry celebrities
Science and Technology	Scientific developments, information technology, new products
Sport	
Visual Arts	Architecture, design, fashion advice, home and garden decoration advice, visual arts reviews

6. Special word features which needed to be noted such as full, partial or non-incorporation, extraordinary length, inherent word formation or a unique new meaning different from the original meaning;

7. The frequency with which the word was encountered across the sample. Some caution needs to be exercised in extrapolating from a word's frequency in written sources to its frequency in spoken language. Although many words may have high levels of frequency in the media from which the database was compiled, this does not necessarily correlate with levels of frequency in spoken usage;

8. The word's distribution across the various registers sampled. This was an important indicator of the penetration and usage of words in the written language domains;

9. The type of print media in which the word was most commonly found: news, lifestyle or news and lifestyle. This was also an important indicator of the language domains in which words were to be found. For instance, while many words relating to women's fashion and personal products such as *ultra feminin* and *super nyaman (=* 'super comfortable') are widespread in the bi-monthly, tri-monthly and monthly women's lifestyle magazines, they are almost unknown in the daily newspapers and weekly news magazines. Conversely, many words relating to weekly news magazines are characterised by many words relating to business, economic and political issues, such as *non traded* and *non komersial*, while being common in men's lifestyle magazines and some news magazines, are just about unknown in women's lifestyle magazines.

7. The data

Each lexical item was entered into a *Microsoft Access 1997* database table. The *Microsoft Access* software played an important role in preventing the inclusion of duplicates. Every effort was made to remove as many words as possible which may have entered the language from Dutch. However, in the process, the close linguistic similarity between English and Dutch may have meant that some items that had actually entered the language from English may have been excluded. Likewise, that same close linguistic similarity between English and Dutch may have meant that some lexical items in the

database that entered the language from Dutch have been included in error.

Many items that were only found in the 1996 materials may well have already been in existence in 1966, but because of the random selection process simply did not turn up in the materials that were examined. Likewise, many items which were only found in certain registers or only one type of news or lifestyle media may well have been found in more if it had been possible to survey every edition of every newspaper and magazine which was examined instead of a random sample. The special features which were recorded were whether or not the item was an example of inherent word formation, full, partial or non-integration, a word of extraordinary length, a replacement of an earlier lexical item or a unique new meaning.

8. The evidence for new bound morphemes

There is evidence in the database of the adoption of at least eight English bound morphemes which have been adopted as new productive prefixes in Indonesian. They are *anti, eks, ekstra, makro, mikro, non, super* and *ultra*. The evidence for their having become productive, rather than their just being part of words adopted by the process of direct borrowing, is their combination with Indonesian morphemes to create new words. Head words in Indonesian are usually modified with either a prefix or a combination of a prefix and a suffix. For example, *dengar* = 'hear'. *Pendengar* = 'listener'. *Didengarkan* = 'listened to'. It is not surprising, therefore, that some of the more commonly encountered English prefixes have been adopted with Indonesian adaptation. Tables 2 to 10 illustrate the evidence in the database for this claim. If a single date appears after the item it is only to be found in the publications from that year.

Fifteen of these seventeen lexical items are from the 1996 entries. Only the lexical items *anti agama* and *antipenjajah* come from the 1966 and 1996 entries. The reason for the adoption of *anti-* as a new productive bound morpheme is not a consequence of a very large number of types. It is also not a consequence of a particularly large number of tokens, as there were only 296 of these. English has certainly influenced the adoption of *anti-* through the simultaneous adoption through direct borrowing and borrowing with adaptation of the lexical items below in Table 3.

However, the adoption of *anti-* as a new productive bound morpheme is more likely to be a consequence of westernisation and the power of the advertising industry than any other factor, as nine of these eleven entries come

Table 2: Words featuring *anti-* as a new productive bound morpheme

anti agama (= "anti- religion") 1966 and 1996	anti-maksiat (= "anti-vice") 1996
anti api (= "fire retardant") 1996	anti Mega (= "opposed to Megawati") 1996
anti bakteri (= "anti-bacteria") 1966 and 1996	anti-nyeri haid (= "anti-period pain") 1996
anti-demam (= "anti-fever") 1996	antipembatalan (= "anti- abolitionist") 1996
anti jerawat (= "anti-acne") 1996	anti-pencuri (= "anti-theft") 1996
antikekerasan (= "anti-violent") 1996 only	antipenjajah (= "anti-colonial") 1966 and 1996
anti ketombe (= "anti-dandruff") 1996	anti-penyiksaan (= "anti-torture") 1996
anti kudis (= "anti-scabies") 1996	anti-rasialis (= "anti-racist") 1966

Table 3: Direct borrowing or borrowing with adaptation of loanwords from English beginning with the prefix *anti-*

anti statik 1996	anti teroris 1996	anti-oksidan 1996	anti-sosial 1996
anti strategis 1996	anti-aging 1996	anti-revolusi 1996	anti-virus 1996
anti stres 1996	anti-korosi 1996	anti-Rusia 1996	antiterorisme 1996

from the Advertising register. It is interesting that the status of *anti-* in terms of its orthography has still not been determined, either in the examples of direct borrowing or new word creation. The fact that it occurs before the word it qualifies clearly suggests it is considered to be a prefix rather than an adjective. In terms of the number of tokens for these types, in the entire database there are only 281 tokens, so in this case the adoption of *anti-* as a new productive bound morpheme can be said to be linguistically interesting, but not very significant so far. This is not to say that in the future we are not to see many more such lexical curiosities from the Indonesian advertising industry.

The next example of a new bound morpheme is *eks-/ ex-/ eks/ ex* , which

is to be found as both a prefix and a suffix, though there do not seem to be any established spelling or syntactic conventions for it yet. It was not found in the newspapers and magazines surveyed as an unbound morpheme, but follows the Indonesian syntactic pattern for noun and adjective modifiers in three of

Table 4: Words featuring *eks-/ ex-/ eks/ ex* as a new productive bound morpheme

anggota eks (= ex member) 1996	ex PKI (= ex Indonesian Communist Party) 1966
eks menteri (= ex minister) 1996	ex-pemulung (= ex leader) 1996
eks-ketua (= ex head) 1996	karyawan eks (= former employee) 1996
ex komandan 1996	redaksi eks (= former editor) 1996
ex letkol (= ex lieutenant colonel) 1966	

the examples below, *anggota eks, karyawan eks* and *redaksi eks*. See Table 4. *Anggota eks, eks-ketua, ex-pemulung, karyawan eks* and *redaksi eks* are all lexical items from the 1996 entries in the database. *Eks-menteri, ex komandan, ex letkol* and *ex PKI* are all lexical items from the 1966 entries. Only *eks menteri* is to be found in both the 1966 and the 1996 entries. This is not to say that the other items have dropped out of the language in the period between 1966 and 1996. It is just that they were not found in the sample of the print media that were examined. Like *anti-*, the reason for the adoption of *eks-/ ex- / eks/ ex* as a new productive bound morpheme is not a consequence of a very large number of types, or a particularly large number of tokens. Rather, most of these words represent loan translations from English, with the exception of *ex-pemulung*, which is a rendering of a Javanese concept of power. There seems to be doubt in the minds of the individuals who first coined these loan translations as to whether *eks/ex* is a prefix or a suffix. If it is a prefix, then *anggota eks, karyawan eks* and *redaksi eks* should not have been coined. If it is a suffix, then it should not have preceded the nouns *menteri, ketua, komandan, letkol, PKI* and *pemulung*. It would therefore appear that it can function as either a prefix or a suffix. Unlike the new bound morpheme *anti*, for which there is no Indonesian synonym, it is of interest that *eks* is used as a synonym for the Indonesian words *bekas* and *mantan*. There is also an absence

of accord as to what is the standard orthographic rendering of the English. All of the examples from Table 4 are from the Advertising register and registers concerning matters of national importance and are to be found in both news and lifestyle media with a medium level of average frequency (an average of

Table 5: Words featuring *ekstra* as a new productive bound morpheme

ekstra hati-hati (= extra careful) 1996	ekstra rendah (= extra low) 1996
ekstra keras (= hardcore) 1996	ekstra tinggi (= extra high) 1996

five to ten tokens).

Table 5 shows lexical items which are from the 1996 entries. They are all from registers concerning matters of national importance and the Advertising register. With the exception of *ekstra rendah*, which is only to be found in the 1996 lifestyle media, they are to be found in both news and lifestyle media with a high level of average frequency (more than 10 tokens). *Ekstra* functions as both a new bound morpheme, and an independent word. The major Indonesian reference dictionary, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, considers *ekstra* to be both a noun, (= 'supplement') and an adverb (= 'very or extraordinary'). In the four examples given it is used as a bound morpheme such as *pra-* or *tata-*, but not attached to the word it is bound to.

As with the new bound morpheme *eks*, there seems to be some confusion in the minds of many Indonesians as to whether the new bound morphemes *makro* and *mikro* should precede or follow the words they are qualifying.

Table 6: Words featuring *makro* and *mikro* as new productive bound morphemes

makroekonomi 1996	mikrogelombang (= microwave) 1996
ekonomi makro 1996	mikronutrien 1996
mikro kaset 1996	mikroprosesor 1996
mikrobiologi 1996	gelombang mikro (= microwave) 1996

Table 6 illustrates this.

All of the lexical items in Table 6 are from the 1996 entries in the database. Although most of these items superficially appear to be examples of direct borrowing with adaptation, at least two major Indonesian reference dictionaries, the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* and Echols and Shadily's *Kamus Indonesia Inggris* recognise *makro-* and *mikro-* as prefixes, which explains why both *makroekonomi* and *mikrogelombang* are to be found. However, *ekonomi makro* and *gelombang mikro* are also to be found. Some Indonesians obviously consider *makro* and *mikro* in the same way as *ekstra*.

Table 7 lists the words from the database that feature the new bound

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Table 7: Words featuring *non* as a new productive bound morpheme (all exclusively from 1996)

non-gizi (= non-nutritious)	nonpembuktian (= non-authentication)
non-Islam	non-pemerintah (= non-government)
non-libur (= non-holiday)	non-pesantren (= non-orthodox Islam)
non-masyarakat (= non-social)	non-pri (= non-indigenous Indonesian)
non-migas (= non oil and gas)	non-pribumi (= non-indigenous Indonesian)
nonmiliter (= non-military)	non-teknik (= non-technical)
non-muslim	nonteknis (= non-technical)

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morpheme *non*.

Table 7 is one of the largest groups of examples of a new productive bound morpheme in the entire database. All of the examples date from 1996 and come from the registers of matters of national importance and Advertising, with the exception of *non-libur,* which comes from the Performing Arts register. The examples have a high average frequency (average frequency of 10.23 tokens) and are to be found in all news publications as well as some lifestyle publications. In 1966 *non-* only formed part of directly borrowed loanwords or loanwords with adaptation such as *non-cooperation, non komunis, non ritualitas, non sportif, non stop* and *non vested interest*. The

Table 8: Directly borrowed loanwords and loanwords with adaptation starting with *non(-)* in the 1996 entries in the database

non komersial	nonfiksi	nonproduktif
non ritualitas	nongenetik	non-stop
nonekonomi	non-karir	nontarif
nonesensialis	nonmiliter	nontraded
non-fat	non-OPEC	non-turbo

influence of the directly borrowed loanwords and loanwords with adaptation from the 1996 database entries in Table 8 no doubt assisted the process of adoption of *non-* as a new productive bound morpheme.

Table 8 includes the words from the database that are characterised by the new bound morpheme *super* as either a prefix or suffix. Like the new bound morphemes *eks, mikro* and *makro* there is still no accepted convention for either the spelling convention of *super* with an indigenous word or the syntax to be followed.

The lexical items in Table 9 are all from the registers which relate to matters of national importance, and they are all from the database entries from 1996. *Bonus super, super brutal* and *super jenius* have been included in the table because they are not in common use in English and are obvious

Table 9: Words featuring *Super* as a new productive bound morpheme (all exclusively from 1996)

bonus super	super pendek (= extremely short)
super brutal	super sibuk (= very busy)
super gizi (= super nutritious)	supergizi (= super nutritious)
super gurih (= super tasty)	supergurih (= super tasty)
super jenius	super-nyaman (= extremely comfortable)

neologisms created by Indonesians for Indonesians rather than being direct borrowings from English or loan translations with adaptation. It is of interest that *super gizi, super gurih, super pendek, super-nyaman* and *super sibuk* are all from the Advertising register, as *super* has the character of a buzz-word in both the English and Indonesian advertising industries. The lexical items in Table 9 have no doubt been influenced by directly borrowed loanwords such as *super model, supermarket, supersonic* and *superstar* and loanwords with adaptation from the 1996 database entries such as *supergrup*. Although the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* recognises *super* as an adjective, its use as a prefix both with and without a hyphen in the examples *supergizi, supergurih* and *super-nyaman* and its use as a separate but obviously bound morpheme in each of the other examples with the exception of *bonus super* suggests that in common usage few Indonesians accept the *Kamus Besar's* interpretation of its syntactic function.

Table 10 lists the examples to be found in the database of words

Table 10: Words featuring *ultra* as a new productive bound morpheme

ultra bersih (= ultra clean) 1996	ultramoderen (= ultra modern) 1996
ultra-alus (= ultra-fine) 1996	ultra prestisius 1996
ultra feminin 1996	ultra segar (= ultra fresh) 1996
ultrakuam (= significantly more than) 1996	ultraungu (= ultraviolet) 1966 and 1996

characterised by the new bound morpheme *ultra*.

The items in Table 10 are all from the list of 1996 entries in the database with the exception of *ultraungu*, which is from the list of 1966 entries. These entries occur principally in newspapers and news magazines with a medium level of frequency in the register of Advertising and a low level of frequency in the registers of Health and Science and Technology. What is of interest is that in addition to the example of direct borrowing *(ultramoderen)* and direct borrowing with adaptation (*ultra feminin, ultramarin* and *ultraprestisius*), there are also loan translations with adaptation (*ultra bersih, ultra-alus, ultrakuam, ultra segar* and *ultraungu*). This conclusively demonstrates that *ultra* has crossed an important linguistic threshold from being considered simply a linguistic

'marker' of a particular type of loanword acquired through direct borrowing to being able to be considered as a new productive bound morpheme in its own right. Of further interest is the fact that there is some variation in the orthographic representation of *ultra*. The Indonesian advertising executives who chose to create the words *ultra bersih, ultra prestisius* and *ultra segar* obviously consider it a separate word, while those who created neologisms with it in the scientific, medical and technological registers have followed the guide offered by the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, that is, that it can be considered a prefix. Whatever its orthographic representation, in all instances of its use, English rules of morphosyntax are employed with respect to its positioning relative to the word it qualifies.

9. Summary of Findings

This article has presented evidence of an important process of lexical creation in the Indonesian print media. At least eight prefixes directly borrowed or orthographically adapted from English, the prefixes *anti, eks, ekstra, makro, mikro, non, super* and *ultra*, have been borrowed as new bound morphemes, and have begun to be employed in combination with Indonesian base words for the purpose of creating loan translations. In closing it must be mentioned that in more recent editions of the same media surveyed there is also a small amount of evidence that other prefixes are beginning to be considered for borrowing for the same purpose. Some of the examples found recently, but not found in the database of the 1966-1996 material, include *mega-bintang* (= 'mega-star'), *mega jutawan* (= 'mega millionaire') *and mega komplek* (= 'mega complex').

Note

1 A casual, informal register of standard Indonesian as used in Jakarta. It is characterised by a mixture of standard Indonesian, its own unique grammatical forms, abbreviation of words from the standard register, the more colourfully expressive Javanese verbs and adjectives, its own unique emphatic particles and its own unique vocabulary items.

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