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STRATEGI MENINGKATKAN KUALITAS OLAH BAHASA UNTUK CERITA PENDEK SISWA SEKOLAH DASAR DENGAN PENDEKATAN GENRE-BASED

Djatmika, Fitri Akhmerti Primasita, Agus Dwi Priyanto

UNGKAPAN BAHASA ALE RASA BETA RASA DALAM KOMUNIKASI SOSIAL DI MALUKU DAN PEMBENTUKAN KARAKTER

L. H. Wenno

KAJIAN PUISI JERMAN MODERN MELALUI METODE SEMIOTIK

Jolanda Tomasow

NILAI BUDAYA DALAM PERIBAHASA KEI TENTANG PENGELOLAAN WILAYAH PESISIR

Wilma Akihary

SUNTINGAN NASKAH MURWAKALA

Siti Masitoh

NEUROLINGUISTICS PERSPECTIVE ON LEXICAL PERCEPTION AND SEMANTIC DISORDER OF AUTISM SPECTRUM DISORDER

Rohmani Nur Indah

NEGATIVE TRANSFER OF INDONESIAN COLLOCATIONS INTO ENGLISH AND IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Mashadi Said

NATIVIZATION AND USE OF BORROWING WORDS IN BAHASA INDONESIA

Saifuddin Ahmad Husin

LONGER EFL VOCABULARY RETENTION: LEARNING IN CONTEXT OR IN ISOLATION

Hesthi Herusatoto

MIND MAPPING: A BRAIN-BASED WRITING STRATEGY

Ary Setya Budhi Ningrum

THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN SCIENTIST IN AGORA

Mundi Rahayu

QIROAH FII AAFAAQ MUSHTHALAHAY AL-THAB'T WA AL-SHAN'I FII AL-NAQD AL-'ARABY AL-QADIIM

Muhammad Majid al-Dakeel

DIRASAH MU'JAMIYYAH: NASY'ATUHA WA NADZARIYYATUHA WA MADAARISUH

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Abstract

Bahasa Indonesia, the national language of Indonesia, has traditionally borrowed items from the world's classical languages, Sanskrit and Arabic. However, elements from European languages, especially English, have also massively influenced the expansion of Bahasa Indonesia's lexicons. Massive influx of the latter has caused a controversy among Indonesia's linguists and other experts. Should greater loan be made from the former, as traditional source of borrowings, or should Bahasa Indonesia borrow more from the latter, as the language of modernity symbol in Indonesia? The controversy has been cleverly resolved with the adaptation and combination of elements of seemingly conflicting sources to serve specifically Indonesian objectives. In the lexical modernization of Bahasa Indonesia, despite the apparent irreconcilability of the two approaches to the use of foreign borrowings, Indonesians are effectively utilizing in a systematic manner the diverse foreign languages that their rich and varied history has made available to them.

Keywords

Lexical Borrowing, Nativization, Bahasa Indonesia, Language Modernization

Introduction

Bahasa Indonesia had been adopted as a national language since 1928, although Indonesia did not obtain its independence until 1945. The adoption of Bahasa Indonesia as a national language was a part of opposition to the Dutch colonialism. When Indonesia was proclaimed independent in 1945, Bahasa Indonesia had already become the primary pan Indonesia language, and was declared Indonesia's single national official language. Since the independence of Indonesia the lexicon of Bahasa Indonesia has been expanded by a large number of direct borrowings from foreign languages. The flowing in of foreign words has triggered a major controversy among Indonesian linguists; should such loan-words from non-Indonesian languages come primarily from foreign languages from which Bahasa Indonesia has traditionally borrowed, especially Sanskrit and Arabic, or should greater use be made of the European languages, particularly English, the so-called language of modernity symbol in Indonesia? With regard to the European languages, the English language has now taken over the position of the Dutch language. Soon after the independence of Indonesia the teaching of the Dutch language was terminated and has been practically taught and used in a very limited domain. The only domain in

which Dutch is still extensively used is in the area of law.

The Definition of Borrowing

Haugen (1958: 772) said that the study of linguistic borrowing is included in the field of language contact. Language contact is considered by some anthropologists as but one aspect of culture contact, and borrowing as an example of cultural diffusion, the spread of culture from people to people. The view of borrowing is accepted by most linguists in the field from Sapir to Haugen.

Sapir (1921:192) states that whatever the degree or nature of the contact between cultural groups, it is generally possible to lead to some kind of linguistic interinfluencing, and that the 'simplest kind of influence that one language may exert on another is the 'borrowing' of word.

Haugen, whose research upon different forms of linguistic borrowing was primarily responsible for renewed interest in the field, refers to borrowing as "linguistic diffusion". He defined borrowing as "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another" (1953: 363). In line with Haugen, Crystal (1991: 41) simply said that "borrowing refers linguistic forms being taken over by one language or dialect from another".

However, Crystal elaborated further that in addition to borrowings of lexical items, less commonly though, sounds and grammatical structures may be borrowed.

Bloomfield divides the sphere of borrowing into cultural, intimate, and dialect borrowing (1933: 444). Borrowing is "cultural" when the boundaries of each linguistic community correspond to distinct geographical and political boundaries. It is intimate when the two languages involved are used within the same political domain. Dialect borrowing refers to the adoption of linguistic features from within the same speech area. The latter category is a valuable one for it allows distinction to be made between innovations introduced through foreign influences - whether they be through cultural or intimate borrowing - and those which may be simply of domestic origin. However, the former is of important account in this particular discussion about borrowing involving several distinct unrelated and geographically as well as genetically remote languages, Bahasa Indonesia on the one hand and Sanskrit, Arabic, Dutch and English on the other.

Socio-cultural Factors Determining Borrowing

A central concern of linguistics is the identification of the conditions which lead to borrowing. It is recognized that there are both stimuli and resistance to consider, and that both of these may be structural or non-structural (socio-cultural) in nature (Weinreich, 1953: 63-7). Weinreich (1953), Haugen (1958) and Hasselmo (1961) are of the view that lexical borrowing is governed largely by socio-cultural factors. The socio-cultural factors which have been cited in the literature as affecting borrowing include:

First. The relative status (i.e. prestige) of the two languages. Most writers hold the view that the direction of borrowing is from the prestigious language to the less prestigious language. Bloomfield (1933: 644) states this very clearly: "In all cases, ... it is the lower language which borrows predominantly from the upper". Hoeningwald (1962:1-5) discusses the relation between socially "downward" and "upward borrowings, suggesting that the latter were only "need-filling", while the former were mainly "prestigious".

One actual case-study of the role of prestige in borrowing is that by Ball (1971) for Swahili. Ball (p.131-137) demonstrates convincingly that the cultural circumstances which made Arabic the prestige language in the past have made English the prestige in the twentieth century, and this has led to the latter supplanting the former as the primary source of borrowings.

Second. Designative Adequacy or Inadequacy of a Vocabulary. The existence of an adequate vocabulary reduces the necessity for borrowing. However, it does not prevent it as shown by the presence of "unnecessary borrowings of everyday designations for things which have excellent names in the language which is spoken" - these borrowings being a consequence of the source language being endowed with prestige (Weinreich, 1953: 59).

The most obvious motive for borrowing is to fill a gap in the borrowing language. The need to designate new things, inventions, techniques, discoveries, and concepts is a universal cause of lexical innovation.

First. Attitudes towards Borrowing. Speaking of attitudes of borrowing, Jespersen (1922: 210) observed that borrowing may be considered a kind of fashion or fashionable habit in some speech communities. The massive borrowings in Japanese is of this attitudinal factor.

Second. Cultural Incompatibility. When cultures come into contact, the result is diffusion of culture items, both material and non-material. However, not all culture items diffused will be accepted; some, in fact, may be rejected. The principles of selectivity and rejection of vocabulary usually have its basis in the non-material side of culture (Devereux & Loeb, 1943: 133-147).

Third. Historical Circumstances of Contact. Political-social conditions such as war, conquest, colonization, and migration establish the dominance of one language over the another and lead to intimate borrowing. Intimate borrowing is one-sided; the borrowing goes predominantly from the upper or dominant language to the lower. Yet, with the change in of a political and cultural conditions, the speaker of a lower language may make an effort to cease and even undo the borrowing.

Historical Background

According to Indonesia's National Language Institute (Pusat Bahasa) official list, there are 748 distinct languages most of which are generally related through the Malayo-Polynesian language family, whose speakers have over centuries shared a common lingua franca, Malay, which during the Dutch colonialization was adopted as the second official language of the Dutch East Indies.

These languages also have had a long history of contact with foreign languages. In the pre-colonial era, the two languages having the greatest linguistic influence on the area were Sanskrit ,

introduced by Hindu priests accompanying Indian merchants who settled on the coasts of Sumatra and Java in the early centuries A.D. and Arabic, brought as the language of Islam by Arab-Gujarati traders who began arriving en masse in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The adoption and spread of Hinduism and Islam inevitably resulted in the adoption of many Sanskrit and Arabic words in the lexicon of Malay and the regional languages (Beg, 1979; Gonda, 1973).

The sixteenth century was the beginning of the arrival of European explorers and missionaries. Although the Dutch came later than the Portuguese, their presence in this southeast Asian archipelago lasted the longest and therefore their language was the first European language which had a major impact on the Indonesian people. Dutch once became a code of modernity among Western-oriented urban elites especially in the domains of discussing matters ranging from Western fashions and amusements to writing love letters. For these domains the lexicons of Malay were considered not yet be equipped (Alisyahbana, 76: 61).

During the latter period of colonialization, close to Indonesia, English was the dominant language of Indonesia's immediate neighbors –Australia and Papua New Guinea in the southeast, the Philippines in the north, and Malaysia and Singapore in the northwest. In addition, English is the primary language of the United States, which has had tremendous political and economical influence on Indonesia. Therefore, for several reasons, English has now replaced Dutch among the Indonesians as Indonesia's 'first foreign language'.

Process of Borrowing

The following methods may be distinguished in the creation of new vocabulary Bahasa Indonesia:

First. borrowing of the foreign word (as in 'status')

Second. integration of the foreign word morphologically and/or phonologically (as in 'kelas' and 'berita' from the English *class*, and Sanskrit *vrita* respectively)

Third. translation of the foreign word (as in 'pencakar langit' from *skyscraper*), and

Fourth. semantic extension of an existing word (as in 'penyiar' is from 'siar', the example itself is a nativized borrowing from Arabic [ʃiʔr] 'to spread the feeling', used as the equivalent of the English word *broadcaster*).

These methods do not represent successive stages in the creation of vocabulary: they are different ways of coping with the introduction of new notions in a civilization. There is a certain tendency, however, to go through them successively, starting with the wholesale borrowing of foreign words, which are then gradually adapted to the structure of the language. The actual choice of a new word depends on many factors, such as the nature of the notion to be translated and the cultural and political circumstances. Often, a new notion is introduced in the form of a close approximation of the foreign word. Such foreign loans are usually printed in between brackets or transliterated and written in quotation marks. Thus, one may find today in popular scientific texts word like 'self-esteem' in a text, followed by the equivalent word in Bahasa Indonesia 'harkat'. A similar procedure is sometimes followed with proper newly introduced concepts.

Which language to borrow from?

Morphological and Phonological Considerations - There is general agreement among Indonesia's linguists that, whenever feasible, new lexical items should be derived morphologically from stems already exist in Bahasa Indonesia or through loan translations of foreign terms, since such constructions are most immediately comprehensible to the majority of Indonesians. What have been subjects of dispute, however, are the particular foreign languages to be chosen from when borrowing is considered necessary. One faction argues for using principally resources from the foreign languages traditionally used in Indonesia, especially Sanskrit and Arabic. The other faction is in favor of using borrowings from European languages, mainly English (Alisyahbana, 1977:87).

With regard to non-European sources, Malay has had long history of borrowing from Sanskrit and Arabic and such borrowing has resulted in well-established rules for nativizing words from these languages, as reflected in the following table 1.

Prior to the arrival of the Europeans, the absorption of foreign language elements – especially those of Sanskrit and Arabic- in the archipelago where Malay was used as lingua franca involved the introduction of foreign sounds into Malay phonological inventory such as the Sanskrit /v/ and /bh/ which were substituted with the available sounds in Malay, /w/ and /b/. Likewise, the Arabic /f/ and /ʃ/ were substituted with /p/ and /s/ respectively. During this time of Sanskrit and Arabic introduction and absorption to the language, the nonexistence of long vowels and

syllable internal consonant clusters in Malay was maintained.

Unlike the absorption and introduction of the Sanskrit and Arabic, the process of borrowing from the modern European languages have not been very consistent, as noted in the following table 2.

Although elements from Portuguese and Spanish are not of the main focus of discussion, but their presence in Bahasa Indonesia is quite significant and therefore is worth mentioning as a comparison to the other European languages especially English and Dutch. As seen from the above table, borrowings from these two sources seem to fit especially the syllable structure of Malay language. The labiodental /f/ sound from Portuguese and Spanish becomes its closest labial sound /p/ in Malay. Whereas borrowing from Dutch *fabriek* becomes *pabrik* in Bahasa Indonesia, similar to the borrowing of Arabic *fikr* which becomes *pikir*, *fotografi* and *universitas* retain /f/ and /v/ from their Dutch sources. According to Alisyahbana (1976:107), this reflects the introduction of labiodental sounds /f/ and /v/ into Bahasa Indonesia's phonological inventory during the Dutch colonial time. Besides, the constraint against syllable internal consonant clusters in Malay is somehow violated in borrowings of four or more syllables as in *fotografi*, *biografi*, *birokrasi*, etc.

However, the other examples from Dutch and English indicate the borrowings from these languages can generally be nativized into Bahasa Indonesia as easily as lexical items from Sanskrit and Arabic. These examples also, therefore, indicate that the issue underlying the controversy is not about which language should be used as sources of borrowing, rather it is attitudinal in nature. Proponents of borrowings from European languages note that lexical items from these languages, notably English, are fast becoming the basis for developing international terminology of modernization. They argue that a modern Indonesian lexicon based on this terminology will help Indonesia to interact with other nations, particularly the more advanced countries, and to benefit quickly from international advances in science and technology. On the other hand, advocates of the opposing view hold that Bahasa Indonesia's lexicon should remain more in keeping with Indonesian traditions and culture. As noted earlier, Malay has long borrowed extensively from Sanskrit and Arabic. Sanskrit in particular has a special status due to the vestiges of classical Hindu civilizations that still pervade contemporary Indonesian culture. Indonesia's political leaders in the era of the New Order under Soeharto regime as well as military are generally the group who provide many new terms in attempting to promote

feelings of nationalism among the population. These leaders frequently utilize Sanskrit sources since the era of Hindu influence is generally considered not only the flowering of Indonesian culture but also the zenith of Indonesian political power in Southeast Asia. In line with this, Alisyahbana (1976:109) stated that words derived from Sanskrit command considerable respect as legacies of the powerful kingdoms of Indonesia's past.

Contrary to the habit of the political and military leaders of resorting to the status and authority of Sanskrit, other sectors of Indonesian society are looking to the European languages, particularly English, to acquire the prestige associated with modernity and internationalism. Chief among these have been the new bureaucratic elites who direct Indonesia's larger businesses, academic institutions, and government agencies. This class generally graduate from Indonesia's best universities and often study in English-speaking countries as well, many of them even get their undergraduate, master's, and doctorate degree exclusively in English-speaking countries. Other factors having very significant influence on the spread of use of English are the media and celebrities. Whereas the first group of elites mostly use English in business, political, management, and office domains, the other use it mainly in the domain of entertainment, fashion, and popular cultures. Such use of English by Indonesia's leaders has had a considerable impact on the many Indonesians who have not mastered English in the school system. A large sector of Indonesia's non-elite population emulate the speech pattern of these elites, following a tendency noticed more than a half century ago by Bloomfield (1933:440): "the speaker of a language favors the forms which he has heard from certain other speakers who, from some reason of prestige, influence his habit of speech... a speaker will imitate those whom he believes to have the highest social standing." In Indonesia it has been observed that "because government leaders and educated people are held up as examples to be followed, their habit of mixing English words into their speech in their own language is imitated by others who have little or no knowledge of English" (Quinn, 1975:46).

The result is widespread borrowing of English words into Bahasa Indonesia, especially in the written mass media. These borrowings are used not only by the journalists who write regularly in these publications, but also by many of the readers. English words are used simply because they add to the status of the writer. Another reason to use borrowings is if they are stated in Bahasa Indonesia they may carry a particular connotation.

Therefore, using English borrowings is more appropriate to convey new meanings.

Another domain in which English borrowings are used both for status and to carry new meanings is in modern commercial enterprises, such as factories, large trading companies, department stores, and beauty salons. Words such as the following are commonly used in the areas mentioned above despite the existence of their equivalents in Bahasa Indonesia (in bracket) : *efektif* (tepat guna) 'effective', *efisien* (tepat daya) 'efficient', *kredit* (piutang) 'credit', *manajer* (pimpinan) 'manager'. However, if these concepts are used in discussing a small business, traditional business, such as a tailor shop or a small food stall, the English words will be less likely to replace words from Bahasa Indonesia (Alisyahbana, 1977:89).

English borrowings frequently occur in hybrid compounds with words from Bahasa Indonesia, even from other foreign languages. Examples are *polusi udara*, 'air pollution', in which the English borrowing *polusi* replaces Bahasa Indonesia *pengotoran*, and *kontak senjata*, 'gunshot exchange' where the English borrowing *kontak* replaces Bahasa Indonesia *hubungan*. More interesting examples come from some foreign hybrids such as *Mahkamah Konstitusi* 'Constitution Court' and *Mahkamah Agung* 'Supreme Court' in which the Arabic *mahkamah* 'court' is used in compound with the English *constitution* and Sanskrit/old Javanese *agung* (literally 'great').

Conclusion

The controversy concerning the use of European or non-European languages is generally resolved

according to the domain and the function of the borrowing. A further striking example of how these criteria determine which foreign words enter Bahasa Indonesia is a small set of hybrids containing borrowings from both Sanskrit, Arabic, and European languages. For example, one government of Indonesia during the New Order Era called itself the *Kabinet Karya*, 'Work Cabinet', a compound in which the European borrowing *kabinet* connotes modernity while the Sanskrit root *karya*, as opposed to Malay *kerja*, links to the government with its prestigious Hindu predecessors. Similarly, the *dwifungsi*, 'two functions', the military doctrine during the New Order regime, in which the Sanskrit prefix *dwi* legitimizes the fact that in addition to its military role, the Indonesia armed forces was also performing the modern function of coordinating the economic, social, and cultural development of the nation. As previously mentioned, Bahasa Indonesia also utilizes foreign words altogether to express concept inexist or not prestigious if otherwise expressed in Malay words such as the name of Indonesian flag *bendera dwiwarna*, 'bicolor flag' in which Spanish/Portuguese *bandera* is used in juxtaposition with Sanskrit *dwi*, two, and *warna*, color.

These demonstrate a pattern that has pervaded Indonesian society and culture throughout Indonesia's history: the adaptation and combination of elements of seemingly conflicting sources to serve specifically Indonesian objectives. In the lexical modernization of Bahasa Indonesia, despite the apparent irreconcilability of the two approaches to the use of foreign borrowings, Indonesians are effectively utilizing in a systematic manner the diverse foreign languages that their rich and varied history has made available to them.

Table 1
Absorption and Nativization of Elements from Sanskrit and Arabic

Sanskrit		Nativized			
		Bahasa Indonesia		Derived forms	
/b ^h asa/	language	bahasa	language	berbahasa	to use language
/śāstra/	theory, learning	sastera	letters (as in faculty of letters)	kesusasteraan	literature
/sahodara/	brother	saudara	brother, you	persaudaraan	brotherhood
/vṛita/	news	berita	news	memberitakan	to report

Arabic					
/sihhah/	health	sehat	healthy	kesehatan	health
/'a:dah/	habit	adat	traditional law		
/fahm/	understanding	paham	understand	memahami	to comprehend
//art/	condition	syarat	condition	bersyarat	conditional

Table 2
Absorption and Nativization of Elements from European Languages

European Languages		Nativized Bahasa Indonesia		
Dutch			Derived	
fabriek	factory	pabrik		-
fotografie	photography	fotografi	mem(f)oto	to take picture
universiteit	university	universitas		-
electresiteit	electricity	listrik		-
cooperatie	cooperative - cooperation	koperasi	berkoperasi	to cooperate - be a member of cooperative
English				
television		televisi		-
orientation		orientasi		
stop		stop	menyetop	to stop
class		kelas	berkelas	to have a (quality) class
Portuguese / Spanish				
tempo	time	tempo - waktu	-	
bandera	flag	bendera	berbendera	carry a flag (as for a ship)
soldado	soldier	serdadu	-	
fiesta	party	pesta	berpesta	to have a party
camisa	shirt	kemeja	berkemeja	to dress

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