

POTENTIAL WORDS IN INDONESIAN LANGUAGE: A STUDY OF GENERATIVE MORPHOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

The research aimed to identify potential words in the Indonesian language and sought to explain why these words were not included in Indonesian vocabulary lists or were difficult to realize in natural conversations. In order to achieve these goals, data were collected using introspection, documentation, and interview methods. Furthermore, the collected data were analyzed using a generative morphology approach, mainly related to concepts of potential words. According to the approach, each language has (1) a List of Morphemes (LM), (2) Word Formation Rules (WFR), and (3) a Filter (F). WFR stated that every language was capable of producing new potential words, yet not all those potential words could easily pass through the filter to enter the lexicon of actual words used in real life. The potential words discussed in the research were restricted to those showing morpho-syntactic interconnection among Indonesian affixes. The results indicate that numerous potential words in the Indonesian language are constructed out of such affixal interconnection. However, the potential words do not surface in the lexicon for two reasons: first, because the words fail to compete with others that compensate for their absence; second, because the words are difficult to manifest due to their low frequency in everyday speech.

Keywords: *potential words, generative morphology, Indonesian language*

INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian language is categorized as one of the sub-family of Malay languages. Linguists have conducted many Indonesian language studies, including morphological studies. However, the last five years of research in the study of Indonesian morphology have been dominated by the study of morphological interference (Johan & Rindawati, 2018; Nasution & Ramayanti, 2018; Mutoharoh, Sulaeman, & Goziyah, 2018; Rofiq & Afida, 2020; Damayanti, Saleh, & Usman, 2021), contrastive analysis (Kusumastuti, 2017; Mirdayanti, Safa, & Kaharuddin, 2018; Ahmad, 2019), morphological analysis of literary (Sutrisna & Adawiyah, 2021), and newspaper (Sutrisna, 2017). Few studies conducted by previous researchers discuss generative morphology in Indonesian, namely research undertaken by (Setiadi, 2005) and (Kaharuddin, Darwis, & Usman, 2019). The findings of Setiadi (2005) show the benefits of

applying the Generative Transformation Theory to the language teaching approach, while Kaharuddin, Darwis, and Usman (2019) show the benefits of Generative Transformation Theory on single-sentence learning in the Indonesian language for Early Childhood Education (PAUD) students. However, these researches do not show the potential words or words that arise due to the interconnection between affixes and do not explain why the potential words do not exist in a natural conversation.

Studies of the potential words in the Indonesian language entail the generative morphology approach because such an approach is expected to bridge the problem of discrepancies between the words listed in the dictionaries and the ones used by speakers' daily communication. Sometimes, a dictionary does not accommodate all the words of everyday language usage because it has not been developed to meet informal language; meanwhile, at the same time, sometimes language users are impeded from using

certain words because these words are not found in a dictionary. Those problems result from derivational processes through which language users can create new lexemes. Indeed, speakers of a language are intuitively creative in forming new words in everyday utterances using words compatible with the rules or grammar of the language.

In addition, the study of generative morphology is closely related to the existence of potential words in the Indonesian language. For example, Indonesian speakers do not only recognize the word *ketiduran* ‘overslept’ but also recognize that the word consists of the confix *ke-/-an* and the root *tidur* ‘sleep’. As such, Indonesian speakers also know similar words such as *kehujanan* ‘caught in the rain’, *kecurian* ‘got stolen’, *kesurupan* ‘being in a trance’, *kerasukan* ‘being possessed by a spirit (in a trance)’ as a result of the same affixation process. However, there is a gap in the coinage of the Indonesian lexicon regarding the existing pattern. The researchers wonder why some potential words are not realized as expected, despite having similar categories attached to the affix. For example, why are the words *menjelekkkan* ‘discredit’ and *mengotori* ‘to litter’ realized (acceptable), while such words as **mengindahkan* ‘*to beautify’ and **membersihi* ‘clean up’ are not realized?

Furthermore, why does the word *pukulan* ‘hit’ (correlated to the word *memukul* ‘to hit’) exist, while the word **bunuhan* ‘killed one or victim’ (correlated to the word *membunuh* ‘to kill’) does not? The unavailability of the potential words, at least, can be observed by the absence of such words in the *Great Dictionary of Indonesian Language or Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (KBBI). It indicates that the issue potential word stocks that have not been exploited by the speakers of the Indonesian language simply because they are not listed in the KBBI or are not used in everyday utterances. Based on the phenomena mentioned, the research aims to identify potential words in the Indonesian language and explain the reasons why these words are not recognized in Indonesian language vocabulary. The results of this research are expected to find potential words in Indonesian that can be used to enrich the KBBI.

The concept of potential words, following the Word Establishment Rule (WER) in the Indonesian language, can only be applied in a morphology, not a syntax study. For this reason, the role of generative morphology theory is considered essential; hence, this becomes the theoretical base applied in this research.

The generative morphology theory is one of the theories developed by linguists initially inspired by proponents of the Universal Grammar (UG) theory (Cook & Newson, 2010). Apart from the controversies among linguists (Lin, 2017, 2019; Kim, 2018; Christensen, 2019), this theory continues to gain broad recognition and support. One of the main implications of evolution is the ‘birth’ of the Word Formation theory proposed by Halle (1973).

According to Halle (1973), a native speaker of a language has tacit competence, which helps

them both recognize and understand how the words in the language are formed. English speakers, for instance, recognize the word ‘invisible’ as a word consisting of *in + visible* morphemes, including their recognition (understanding) of its formation. Armed with such mental recognition of word formation and interpretation, the speakers can judge the word ‘*visible-in’ as unacceptable simply because it violates the rules of English word formation.

Furthermore, potential words occur due to the productivity of language users’ competence and the speaker’s ability to exploit the morphotactics of the language. In this case, no semi-productive concept is worthy of recognition because, in practice, it is complicated to determine which word-forming processes should be classified as semi-productive.

Figure 1 shows a generative morphological scheme from Halle’s model.

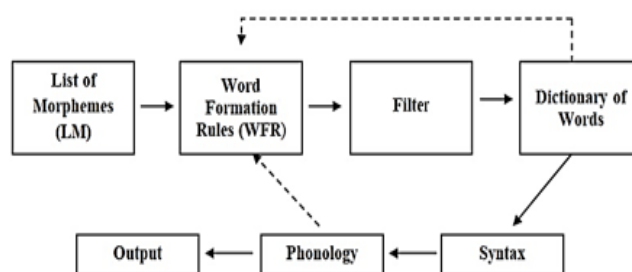


Figure 1 Halle’s Model of Generative Morphological Scheme

According to Halle (1973), morphology consists of three main components: List of Morphemes (LM), Word Formation Rules (WFR), and Filter. In the LM, two kinds of members are found: roots (which are the basis) and various affixes, both derivational and inflexional. The lexical items listed in the LM are not only given in the order of phonetic segments but must also be affixed with relevant grammatical information.

The second component, the WFR, includes all rules relating to the word formation of morphemes in the LM. In this sense, the WFR and LM determine potential words in the language. Therefore, the WFR produces both words that are indeed words and potential words that do not yet exist in reality. Potential words are actually generated from the possibility of implementing the WFR and LM, but they do not exist or are not commonly used.

The third component, the filter, processes the words produced by the WFR by assigning some idiosyncrasies, such as phonological, lexical, or semantic idiosyncrasy (Halle, 1973; Operstein, 2018). Idiosyncrasy is a description added to WFR-generated words that are considered ‘strange’, but these strange words are known as potential words. Such words are assumed to exist because they comply with the WFR principles of the language. However, a filter, as a component in generative morphology, prevents these words from being realized in actual use, as illustrated in Figure 2.

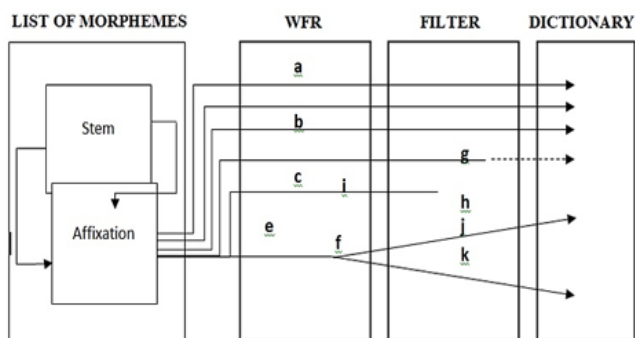


Figure 2 Revised Halle's Model of the Operation of the Generative Morphological Scheme (Simpfen, 2008)

However, it is important to note that in many instances, the idiosyncrasy is determined by the language origin of the base. For instance, in English, the suffix *-an* represents the semantic notion of nationality. Singapore is the name of a country, and Singaporean refers to people sharing the same nationality. It is expected that Norway has its correlation to **Norwegian*, but the word is simply non-existent in English. The term for nationality shared by the people of Norway is Norwegian. How does this formation become such and relate to the base to which the suffix is attached? Norwegian is derived directly from its Latin origin *Norwegia* and not from its anglo-germanic *Norway*, which etymologically combines the form of north and way.

Moreover, the language origin selects (collocates) its language origin affix in its formation. The French word *assist*, for instance, French base *-ant* affix for nominalization *assistant*, while the Germanic word *help* selects *-er* in *helper*. This situation may also be observed in Indonesian *pe-* and *kunjung* 'visit', which results in *pengunjung* 'the visitors' but someone who attends an invitation, for instance, is not **pehadir* (*pe-* + *hadir* 'attend') but *hadirin* (*hadir* + *-in*) 'attender'. The varying treatment of these two-word bases relates to the language of origin (Malay and Arabic). Apart from that, this research focuses on the interconnection between affixes attached to existing words, not their etymological word.

METHODS

Apart from some benefits of a field method, the data in this research are collected using introspection, documentation, and interview methods. It means that first of all, the researchers search for data in the Indonesian language by utilizing their intuition as native speakers. After that, the data are verified by interviewing some Indonesian speakers and searching the use of the language in actual practices, such as in newspapers or online media. Furthermore, the collected data are analyzed using a generative morphology approach, mainly related to concepts of potential words.

To find out whether words can be called potential or not, further analysis is carried out by applying the principle of equal comparison (HBS) and differential comparison (HBB) (Mahsun, 2017). In this case, the researchers compare all the relevant determinants with all the specified data elements. This is done because comparing means also looking for similarities and differences between the two things being compared. By using this method, it can be known whether a certain lingual unit (word or potential word) is acceptable or not in the context of a sentence.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The results of the research indicate that there are several potential words in Indonesian as a derivative form of the interconnection of several affixes in Indonesian. These interconnections can at least be grouped into six combinations, namely the interconnection between affix *ber-*, *pe-*, and *per/-an*; (a) the interconnection between affix *me(N)/-kan*, *memp-*, *per-*, and *per/-an*; (b) the interconnection between affix *me(N)/-i*, *memp-*, *me(N)/-kan*, and *pe(N)-*; (c) the interconnection between affix *me(N)/-i*, *memp-*, *me(N)/-kan*, and *pe(N)-*; (d) the interconnection between affix *pe-* and *pe(N)-*; (e) the interconnection between affix *me(N)/-kan* and adverbial words; (f) the interconnection between affix *di-*, *ter-* and *me(N)-*. Each of these combinations will be further elaborated on in the following discussion.

In combination (a), by referring to the WFR of the Indonesian language, it can be seen that the affixes *ber-*, *pe-* and *per/-an*, morphologically, have a close relationship. This is proven by the existence of some morphological sequences that can be arranged according to the affixes' interconnection. However, in some cases, certain possible words assumed to exist in the Indonesian language or to be listed in the dictionary or KBBI do not surface. The interconnection of the affixes can be formulated and exemplified in Figure 3.

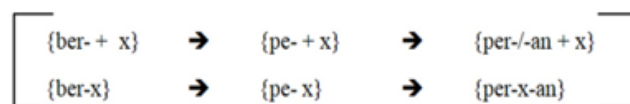


Figure 3 The Interconnection between Affix *ber-*, *pe-* and *per/-an*

The formulation in Figure 3 gives access to an arrangement of some morphological series, ranging from affix *ber-*, *pe-* to affix *per/-an*, respectively, as seen in Tables 1, 2, and 3.

The words **berjabat*, **perjabatan*, **berlaut*, **petanding*, and **perlatihan* shown in Tables 1, 2, and 3 do not manifest in the Indonesian language; such words can hardly be found in everyday speech. However, the word **petempur* is acceptable and frequently used in everyday language. It means that the gap between

the potential words in the Indonesian language and their representation in the KBBI is arguably preceded by the presence of such words in daily speech. Such words arise from the language users' creativity and tacit linguistic competence in the language. The word **petempur* is used as it is compliant with the WFR of the Indonesian language. The absence of this word in the KBBI is somewhat surprising because it is difficult to find a word used in everyday speech with a similar meaning. Although **pejuang* is a potential word in the

Indonesian language, the 'semantic field' of the word **pejuang* is distinct from that of **petempur*. **Pejuang* means someone who does not always have to fight because *perjuangan* 'fighting' is linked to battlefields, while **petempur* usually connotes someone who fights in an arena.

Furthermore, Indonesian language users only consider the word **berjabat* to have a meaning connected to *berjabat tangan* 'shake', but as shown in the example, **berjabat* also has another possible

Table 1 The Morphological Series of Affix *ber-*

prefix <i>ber-</i> + base	complex form	meaning (V)
<i>ber-</i> + <i>dagang</i> 'sell'	<i>ber-dagang</i>	'to trade'
<i>ber-</i> + <i>tinju</i> 'punch'	<i>ber-tinju</i>	'to box'
<i>ber-</i> + <i>kebun</i> 'garden'	<i>ber-kebun</i>	'to do gardening'
<i>ber-</i> + <i>tani</i> 'farm'	<i>ber-tani</i>	'to farm'
<i>ber-</i> + <i>silat</i> 'traditional martial art'	<i>ber-silat</i>	'to fight'
<i>ber-</i> + <i>jabat</i> 'take a position'	<i>*ber-jabat</i>	'to take an (administrative) position'
<i>ber-</i> + <i>laut</i> 'sea'	<i>*ber-laut</i>	'to sail'
<i>ber-</i> + <i>tempur</i> 'fight'	<i>ber-tempur</i>	'to battle'
<i>ber-</i> + <i>tanding</i> 'compete'	<i>ber-tanding</i>	'to compete'

Table 2 The Morphological Series of Affix *pe-*

prefix <i>pe-</i> + base	complex form	meaning
<i>pe-</i> + <i>dagang</i> 'sell'	<i>pe-dagang</i>	'seller'
<i>pe-</i> + <i>tinju</i> 'punch'	<i>pe-tinju</i>	'boxer'
<i>pe-</i> + <i>kebun</i> 'garden'	<i>pe-kebun</i>	'gardener'
<i>pe-</i> + <i>tani</i> 'farm'	<i>pe-tani</i>	'farmer'
<i>pe-</i> + <i>silat</i> 'silat'	<i>pe-silat</i>	'fighter'
<i>pe-</i> + <i>tarung</i> 'fight'	<i>pe-tarung</i>	'fighter'
<i>pe-</i> + <i>jabat</i> 'take position'	<i>pe-jabat</i>	'official'
<i>pe-</i> + <i>laut</i> 'sea'	<i>pe-laut</i>	'fisherman'
<i>pe-</i> + <i>tempur</i> 'fight'	<i>*pe-tempur</i>	'fighter'
<i>pe-</i> + <i>tanding</i> 'compete'	<i>*pe-tanding</i>	'fighter'

Table 3 The Morphological Series of Affix *per-/an*

Confix <i>per-/an</i> + base	complex form	meaning
<i>per-an</i> + <i>dagang</i> 'sell'	<i>per-dagang-an</i>	'commerce'
<i>per-an</i> + <i>tinju</i> 'punch'	<i>per-pertinju-an</i>	'boxing'
<i>per-an</i> + <i>kebun</i>	<i>per-tani-an</i>	'farming'
<i>per-an</i> + <i>silat</i>	<i>per-silat-an</i>	'fighting'
<i>per-an</i> + <i>tarung</i>	<i>per-tarung-an</i>	'fighting'
<i>per-an</i> + <i>perlautan</i>	<i>per-laut-an</i>	'fighting'
<i>per-an</i> + <i>jabat</i>	<i>*per-jabat-an</i>	'marine/maritime'
<i>per-an</i> + <i>latih</i>	<i>*per-latih-an</i>	'training'

meaning, namely ‘to hold an (administrative) position’. However, the **berjabat* meaning ‘to hold an (administrative) position’ is absent from daily utterances, even though *jabat* in *berjabat* ‘shake’ and **berjabat* ‘hold position’ are different morphemes, apart from the fact that both words meet WFR principles of the Indonesian language. In this case, it can be seen that the absence of **berjabat* ‘to hold a position’ could be due to the existence of the other word in the Indonesian language, namely *menjabat*, that is given meaning ‘to hold a position’ (as can be seen in the example 1). However, in reality, the word *menjabat* ‘to hold an (administrative) position’ has a more specific meaning and is more likely to be used to emphasize someone holding a ‘temporary position’ or as an acting officer, for instance, because the official holder of the position must undertake another activity or task for a relatively long period, preventing him/her from completing his/her duties as can also be seen in example 1 and 2. The different contexts in which these two words are used are demonstrated in the following examples.

- (1) *Orang itu men-jabat sebagai*
He/she that MEN-posit as
gubernur sementara.
governor while
‘He/she served as a temporary governor.’
- (2) *Orang itu sudah *ber-jabat sebagai*
He/she that already BER-posit as
gubernur
governor
‘He/she has served as a governor for five years.’

In addition, the word **perlatihan* ‘training’ does not appear in Indonesian language vocabulary lists or the KBBI because, in the context of the ‘world or activity of training’, everyday speech is frequently emphasized on the subject of training rather than the role of the coach or trainer. In reality, there are numerous coaches, such as soccer coaches, badminton coaches, etc. Another reason why the word **perlatihan* does not appear could be the fact that ‘the world of training’ is not considered ‘a place to train trainers’, even though speakers of the Indonesian language often use the term ‘Training of Trainer’ (ToT), which has an equivalent

meaning to the word **perlatihan*. This use is different from the case of *petarung* or *pertarungan*, which is an acceptable word in Indonesian because the *petarung* ‘fighter’ (a person who fights) is the key actor in the ‘world of fighting’ in a *pertarungan* ‘fighting’.

Based on the combination (b), there must be collocated words in the language, including the Indonesian language. These words are usually based on the semantic view, known as the sharing of the ‘semantic domain’. Following this formulation, it can generate other words in a morphological series from these collocative words by combining them with the same affix. Figure 4 shows the interconnection between affix *me(N)-/-i*, *memper-*, *me(N)-/-kan*, and *pe(N)-*.

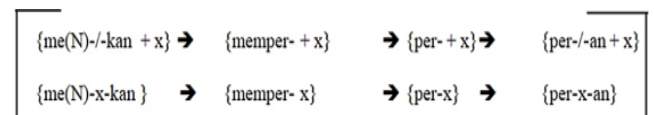


Figure 4 The Interconnection between Affix *me(N)-/-i*, *memper-*, *me(N)-/-kan*, and *pe(N)-*

Based on the formulation, some morphological series can be arranged, as shown in Table 4. In the Indonesian language, the words *mencantikkan*, ‘making beautiful’, and *memburukkan* causing to deteriorate are rarely used, though they are included in the KBBI. Perhaps, the KBBI teams chose to list these words since they are under the WFR of the Indonesian language. On the other hand, the words **memperjelek* ‘to worsen’ and **memperburuk* ‘to worsen’ are not included in the KBBI despite their frequent use in natural daily speech. The absence of these words from the KBBI is caused by the existence of the similar words *menjelekan* ‘to discredit’ and *memburukkan* ‘making worse’, even though the latter have a different meaning to **memperjelek* and **memperburuk*. As is widely known among Indonesian speakers, the affix *memper-* has a grammatical meaning: ‘to turn something into a higher state (it is commonly observed to attach on adjective base)’. It means that when saying **memperburuk* ‘worsen’, there is an assumption of worsening intensity. Thus, it is unfortunate that these two words do not make words in the KBBI.

Furthermore, as shown in Table 4, the word **mengindahkan* ‘beautify’ is not found in everyday

Table 4 The Words Derived from Interconnection between Affix *me(N)-/-kan*, *memper-*, *per-*, and *per-/-an* Affixation

Base/root (Adjective)	Confix <i>me(N)-/-kan</i>	Prefix <i>memper-</i>	Prefix <i>per-</i>	Confix <i>per-/-an</i>
<i>jelek</i> ‘bad’	<i>men-jelek-kan</i>	<i>*memper-jelek</i>	<i>*per-jelek</i>	<i>*per-jelek-an</i>
<i>cantik</i> ‘beautiful’	<i>men-cantik-kan</i>	<i>memper-cantik</i>	<i>per-cantik</i>	<i>*per-cantik-an</i>
<i>buruk</i> ‘bad’	<i>mem-buruk-kan</i>	<i>*memper-buruk</i>	<i>per-buruk</i>	<i>*per-buruk-an</i>
<i>indah</i> ‘lovely’	<i>*meng-indah-kan</i>	<i>memper-indah</i>	<i>per-indah</i>	<i>*per-indah-an</i>
<i>bagus</i> ‘nice’	<i>mem-bagus-kan</i>	<i>memper-bagus</i>	<i>per-bagus</i>	<i>*per-bagus-an</i>
<i>baik</i> ‘good’	<i>mem-baik-kan</i>	<i>memper-baik</i>	<i>per-baik</i>	<i>per-baik-an</i>

language and is also not listed in the KBBI, even though the word is compliant with the WFR of the Indonesian language. It makes sense because, in the Indonesian language, *indah* has a polysemous meaning 'beautiful' and 'to care or obey'. Therefore, the word **mengindahkan*, 'making beautiful' cannot be found due to the existence of *mengindahkan*, 'going with/obeying the rule'. It is also interesting to note that in the KBBI, it can be found the word *membaguskan* 'to make something better', but the word **memperbagus* 'to make something better' is absent from the list, despite being frequently found in daily speech. It may be argued that the inexistence of **memperbagus* in the KBBI is compensated by *membaguskan*.

Combination (c), as shown in the morphological series in Table 5, can be found in words such as *mengotori* 'to litter' and *mencemari* 'to contaminate' in the Indonesian language, yet the words **membersih* 'to cleanse' and **mengeruhi* 'to litter' do not exist, even though these words are identical to *mengotori*; they are collocated or are in the same semantic domain, namely 'resulting situation'. In addition, the words *mempercemar* 'to contaminate' and *memperkotor* 'to make something dirtier' exist, but the word **memperbersih* 'to make something cleaner' is inexistent. The absence of the word **membersih* 'to cleanse' may be due to the already existing word *membersihkan* 'to cleanse'. This lexical motivation also applies to the absence of **mengeruhi* 'makes something muddier', which is compensated for by *mengeruhkan* 'to muddy', which has a close equivalent meaning. Similarly, the words **memperbersih* 'make something cleaner' and **memperkeruh* 'makes something more muddied' are not found in daily speech for the same reason; these words have been compensated by the existence of

the word *mencemari* 'pollutes'. In addition, the word **pengeruh* 'polluter' is not listed in the KBBI nor in daily utterances. However, this word intuitively meets the principles of the WFR in the Indonesian language and is morphologically similar to *pengotor* 'dirtier', *pembersih* 'cleaner', and *pencemar* 'polluter'. Based on these facts, it can be observed that, instead of being parallel to *pengotor*, *pembersih*, and *pencemar*, the word **pengeruh* has been prevented from appearing by the words *pengotor* and *pencemar*. Further details of those words can be shown in Figure 5 and Table 5.

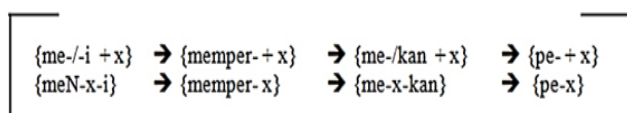


Figure 5 The Interconnection between Affix *me(N)/-i*, *memper-*, *me(N)/-kan*, and *pe(N)-*

Combination (d) in the Indonesian language, the affix *pe(N)-* has a grammatical meaning relating to a 'person who carries out the act mentioned in the base form'; for example, *penatar* means a 'trainer'. The affix *pe(N)-* correlates with the affix *pe-*, which has a grammatical meaning relating to the *petatar* 'trainee' or 'a person who is trained'. The same principle is exhibited by the words *penyuruh* 'principal' or 'person who gives an order' and *pesuruh* 'person who is given an order', as shown in Table 6.

By observing the words in the example shown in Table 6, it can be seen that each pair of words has a close field of meaning or interconnection. Those words have not only the same morphological structure but also a semantically meaningful closeness, where the prefix *pe(N)-* indicates 'someone who acts upon someone else' and the prefix *pe-* indicates 'someone

Table 5 The Interconnection Between Affix *me(N)/-i*, *memper-*, *me(N)/-kan*, and *pe(N)-*

Gloss (Adjective)	Confix <i>me(N)/-i</i>	Prefix <i>memper-</i>	Confix <i>me(N)/-kan</i>	Affix <i>pe(N)-</i>
<i>Kotor</i> 'dirty'	<i>me-ngotor-i</i> 'dirties'	<i>memper-kotor</i> 'makes something dirtier'	<i>me-ngotor-kan</i> 'dirties'	<i>pe-ngotor</i> 'dirtier'
<i>bersih</i> 'clean'	<i>*mem-bersih-i</i> 'cleans'	<i>*memper-bersih</i> 'makes something cleaner'	<i>mem-bersih-kan</i> 'cleans'	<i>pem-bersih</i> 'cleaner'
<i>keruh</i> 'turbid/ muddy'	<i>*me-ngeruh-i</i> 'muddies'	<i>*memper-keruh</i> 'makes something more muddied'	<i>me-ngeruh-kan</i> 'muddies'	<i>*pe-ngeruh</i> 'polluter'
<i>cemar</i> 'contami-nated'	<i>men-cemar-i</i> 'pollutes'	<i>memper-cemar</i> 'makes something more polluted'	<i>men-cemar-kan</i> 'pollutes'	<i>pen-cemar</i> 'polluter'

Table 6 The Interconnection Between Affix *pe-* and *pe(N)-*

Affix <i>pe(N)-</i> + base	Affix <i>pe-</i> + base
<i>penyuruh</i> 'person giving an order'	<i>pesuruh</i> 'person given an order'
<i>penyuluh</i> 'person giving an explanation'	<i>pesuluh</i> 'person given an explanation'
<i>penatar</i> 'trainer'	<i>petatar</i> 'person given training'
<i>pengajar</i> 'teacher'	<i>*peajar</i> 'pupil'
<i>pengarah</i> 'director'	<i>*pearah</i> 'person given a direction'
<i>penceramah</i> 'preacher'	<i>peceramah</i> 'person given a religious recitation'

who is acted upon'. In other words, their semantic notion is opposed to one another. Affix *pe(N)*- implies active, volitional, while the *pe-* expresses the 'passive', non-volitional state. This morphological split relates to the distinct semantic notion. However, based on the data provided in Table 6, it can be seen that the words **peajar*, **pearah*, and **peceramah* do not exist, even though these words have a morphological relation or interconnection with the words *pengajar*, *pengarah*, and *penceramah* and a semantic relation with the words *pesuruh* and *pesuluh* as they contain the prefix *pe-*.

It is hypothesized that the absence of the word **peajar* is due to its morphological makeup being intercepted by the word *pelajar* 'student', which has the interconnection to the word *belajar* 'to learn'. It may also be argued that an additional factor leading to the absence of **peajar* is that the word violates the WFR of the Indonesian language, as the affix *pe-* cannot be followed by a word with an initial vowel. However, this explanation does not solve the problem because it raises another question: if the absence of **peajar* is intercepted by the word *pelajar*, why does the same not apply in other cases? For example, why can the absence of **pearah* not be compensated for by the word **pelarah*? This problem seems complicated, but the solution has already alluded to the word *pelajar* can compensate for **peajar* because it has an interconnection to *belajar*; however, the word **pearah* cannot be compensated for by the word **pelarah* because the word **berarah*, referring to the meaning of 'directing', does not exist in the Indonesian language.

Combination (e) in the Indonesian language contains complex words derived from the interconnection between affix *me(N)*-/*-kan* and adverbial words preceded by preposition *ke*, as seen in Table 7.

Based on the examples shown in Table 7, it can be observed that words such as *mengesampingkan*, *mengetengahkan*, *mengeluarkan*, *mengebelaangkan*, *mengesiskan*, *mengemukakan* (1) are accepted

words in the daily utterances of Indonesian language speakers and these words are included in the KBBI. However, the words **mengemukakan* (2), **mengeataskan*, **mengebawahkan*, **mengedalahkan*, **mengepinggirkan*, **mengeseberangkan*, and **mengesebelahkan* cannot be found. In fact, in terms of the principles of the Indonesian language WFR, these words constitute similar categories. Suppose the meaning in the affix *me-/kan* attached to the stems is consistent. In that case, these words should be able to pass through the filter into the KBBI because they have the potential to be realized in the everyday speech of Indonesian language speakers. However, the gap in the absence of these words can be explained. The word **mengemukakan* (2) 'put something in front', is not realized because it fails to compete with a similar word, namely *mengemukakan* (1), meaning 'present/state'. Therefore, **mengemukakan* (2) is blocked from appearing. The unrealized words shown in Table 8, namely **mengemukakan*, **mengeataskan*, **mengebawahkan*, **mengedalahkan*, **mengepinggirkan*, **mengeseberangkan*, and **mengesebelahkan*, though grammatically acceptable, also fail to compete with other existing words which compensate for their absence. However, it is worth noting that the meanings of the words given in the examples in Table 8 are not identical.

In combination (f), the affix *ter-* and *di-* are used to word passive verbs. However, the meanings of passive verbs formed by both affixes are different. Affix *ter-* has 'unintentional-impersonal meaning', while affix *di-* has 'deliberated meaning', as shown in Table 9.

As mentioned, one of the meanings of the affix *ter-* in the Indonesian language is 'unintentional'. For example, *tertembak* means 'accidentally/unintentionally shot'. The affix *ter-* is usually related to the affix *di-* and affix *me-*, which has the grammatical meaning 'to act'. In this case, for example, *tertembak* is related to the 'activity' of *menembak*, meaning 'to shoot'. The word *menembak* 'shoots' is a deliberated

Table 7 The Potential Words Derived from the Interconnection between Affix *me(N)*-/*-kan* and Adverbial Words

Words	Morphological Process	Meaning
<i>mengesampingkan</i>	[<i>me [ke samping]</i> ADV + <i>kan</i>]V	'put something aside'
<i>mengetengahkan</i>	[<i>me [ke tengah]</i> ADV + <i>kan</i>]V	'put something in the middle'
<i>mengeluarkan</i>	[<i>me [ke luar]</i> ADV + <i>kan</i>]V	'put something outside'
<i>mengebelaangkan</i>	[<i>me [ke belakang]</i> ADV + <i>kan</i>]V	'put something behind'
<i>mengemukakan</i> (1)	[<i>me [ke muka]</i> ADV + <i>kan</i>]V	'tell, state, say'
<i>*mengemukakan</i> (2)	[<i>me [ke muka]</i> ADV + <i>kan</i>]V	'put something in the front'
<i>*mengeataskan</i>	[<i>me [ke atas]</i> ADV + <i>kan</i>]V	'put something on the top'
<i>*mengebawahkan</i>	[<i>me [ke bawah]</i> ADV + <i>kan</i>]V	'put something below'
<i>*mengedalahkan</i>	[<i>me [ke dalam]</i> ADV + <i>kan</i>]V	'put something inside'
<i>*mengepinggirkan</i>	[<i>me [ke pinggir]</i> ADV + <i>kan</i>]V	'put something to the other side'
<i>*mengeseberangkan</i>	[<i>me [ke seberang]</i> ADV + <i>kan</i>]V	'bring something across'
<i>*mengesebelahkan</i>	[<i>me [ke sebelah]</i> ADV + <i>kan</i>]V	'put something to the other side'

Table 8 The Compensational Words

Unexisting Words	Compensation
*mengemukakan	mengedepankan 'put something in front'
*mengeataskan	memperatas 'put something higher'
*mengebawahkan	memperbawah 'put something lower'
*mengedalamkan	memperdalam 'dig something deeper'
*mengepinggirkan	menepikan 'put something to the side'
*mengeseberangkan	menyebrangkan 'bring something across'
*mengesebelahkan	menyebelahkan 'put something to the side'

Table 9 The Words Derived from the Interconnection between Affix *di-* and *me(N)-*

Prefix <i>di-</i> 'deliberately'	Prefix <i>ter-</i> 'unintentionally'	Prefix <i>me-</i>
<i>di-tembak</i> 'shot'	<i>ter-tembak</i> 'shot'	<i>me-nembak</i> 'to shoot'
<i>di-bunuh</i> 'killed'	<i>ter-bunuh</i> 'killed'	<i>mem-bunuh</i> 'to kill'
<i>di-bawa</i> 'carriedA'	<i>ter-bawa</i> 'carried'	<i>mem-bawa</i> 'to carry'
<i>di-lempar</i> 'thrown in'	<i>ter-lempar</i> 'thrown in'	<i>me-lempar</i> 'to throw'
<i>di-dipukul</i> 'hit/bitten'	* <i>ter-pukul</i> 'hit/bit'	<i>me-mukul</i> 'hit/beat'
<i>di-dipukul</i> 'hit/bitten'	<i>ter-pukul</i> 'emotionally hurt'	<i>me-mukul</i> 'to hit/beat'

act, even though the affix *me-* does not always carry the meaning of 'intentional (volitional)' or 'deliberated', as exemplified in (3). Apart from that, the result of the deliberated act in words attached to the affix *me-* leads to an 'unintentional' meaning if the affix *me-* in the word of *menabrak* 'to hit/crash' does not deliberately target the crashed object. The same applies in the case of the word *menembak* 'shoot'; if the object is not targeted and is thus shot unintentionally, the affix *ter-* is used.

- (3) *Dia me-nabrak pohon itu.*
She/he MEN-hit tree the
'He crashes into the tree.'

The problem is that, though there are various acceptable combinations of words that the affix *ter-* can for, the formation is impeded when the action has no encyclopedic experience. Take, for example, the word *mengupah* 'to (deliberately) pay'. Can someone accidentally give a salary to someone who has no right to it? It may be possible, but it is a rare action. For this reason, the word **terupah* 'unintentionally given a salary' does not exist.

Consider further the next word *terlempar* 'thrown'. In the Indonesian language, this word means 'unintentionally thrown' and is widely used when referring to the object used for throwing moves, as shown in the example (4), or when referring to the state of a moving object which has been thrown as a result of the jerking of another object, as is exemplified by (5). However, the word *terlempar* is rarely used when the object thrown is intentionally hit, as in example (6), or when an additional object is inadvertently thrown, as in example (7).

- (4) *Dia me-lempar batu itu,*
She/he MEN-throw stone the,
kemudian batu itu pun
then stone the ART
terlempar
TER- throw
'He/she throws the stone, then the stone is thrown.'
- (5) *Kuda itu ter-jatuh, lalu*
Hores the TER-fall then
pengendaranya ter-lempar ke sisi jalan
rider TER- throw to side road
'The horse falls, then the rider is thrown to the side of the road.'
- (6) *Dia me-lempar pohon itu, lalu*
She/he MEN-through tree the, then
*pohon itu *ter-lempar.*
Tree the TER- throw
'He/she throws the tree, then the tree is thrown.'
- (7) *Dia me-lempar pohon itu, tapi*
She/he MEN-through tree the but
yang ter-lempar adalah pohon lain
that TER- throw is tree other
'He/she throws the tree, but the thrown is another tree.'

Semantically, it would be difficult for the word *terlempar*, as used in example (6), to enter the KBBI because it is not possible for a deliberate throwing action to result in something being unintentionally thrown. As such, the word **terlempar* in (6) is directly blocked by the filter and is never used in Indonesian. However, the case mentioned in example (7) is different as this action can be realized in everyday life.

It should, therefore, be possible for the word to pass into the vocabulary of Indonesian language speakers and can be included in the KBBI. If this is the case, why is the word considered strange and never used by Indonesian speakers? It may be hypothesized that its absence is because the referential meaning of the word has already been associated with or taken by the word *terlempar* in the examples (4). This case is, thus, an example of the ‘elsewhere principle’ as the different words compete.

From all the explanations, it can be seen that there are many potential forms in Indonesian if wanting to elaborate further. However, so far, there have been no encouraging findings from previous researchers, such as what has been obtained in this research. In fact, if people want to examine the potential words in Indonesian, there are many.

However, the research has certain limitations. The researchers do not explore all the potential forms that exist. This is because the work takes a long time, costs a lot, and the number of teams is much larger. This is because many forms of affinity or other morphological processes still have not been explored in depth. After all, the number of affixes in Indonesian is vast, and the interconnection between these affixes is extensive. However, this finding will open the horizon that the Indonesian language is very rich, so it can still be explored further. Thus, this finding can strengthen the theory of generative morphology and can also be useful for enriching the KBBI.

CONCLUSIONS

Many potential words in the Indonesian language are according to the WFR. The examples elaborated above constitute just a fraction of the many other possibilities that still require explanations. It is because almost every morphological series of complex words have the potential to word new potential words and are akin to being incorporated into the Indonesian language. However, not all of these potentials turn accessible for the formation of a new word because they must pass through the filter in the first place. Moreover, in the Indonesian language, another reason potential words do not appear in everyday conversations or the KBBI is that they fail to compete with other existing words.

These potential words may resemble pre-existing words albeit with different meanings, as is illustrated by **berjabat* ‘to hold a position’ and *berjabat* ‘to shake hands’; alternatively, the potential words may be different from the pre-existing words but may have the same (or a close) meaning, as in the case of **membersihhi* ‘to make something clean’ and *membersihkan* ‘to make something clean’. Another obstacle to realizing such potential words in the Indonesian language is that the circumstances under which the potential word would be implemented are rare, as in the case of **terupah* ‘unintentionally given salary’. Though fulfilling the WFR principles, this

word is rarely found as the action rarely happens in real life, so the word is obstructed from being realized.

Future studies of potential words (including potential words in the Indonesian language) need to be further intensified. It is required not only to enrich the existing vocabulary of the language but also to deepen the theoretical understanding of generative morphology, a study still very rare in Indonesia. In addition, studies of the potential words of a language (such as Indonesian) are of strategic value as they can be used as a basis for developing a dictionary in the language.

In addition, further research is needed to examine potential forms in bahasa Indonesia or the Indonesian language in a much larger number of teams. It would be strategic if the team also involved stakeholders, such as the Indonesian Language Development Agency (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa) and the KBBI development team. Thus, the Indonesian language will develop rapidly, leaving other Malay languages, such as Malay, used in neighboring countries.

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