



# On Synonymous Lexeme Combination in Indonesian

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## ABSTRACT

This article deals with synonymous lexeme combinations with the attention focus on the category, semantic relations, order patterns, and language origin of the combined elements. The data gathering is carried out through introspective methods by evoking intuitively the writer's ability as an Indonesian native speaker. After being tested empirically with other native speakers, the collected data are further classified according to the four problems becoming the research attention focus. By applying several analytical techniques, such as permutation, substitution, extension, etc., it is found that the combined constituents can be referential and non-referential categories. The referential combination can be between nouns and adjectives, and the non-referential categories can be between conjunctions and prepositions, copula and copula, and particle and particle. Concerning the constituent's semantic relations, the elements being combined can be between containing more intensive and less intensive, polite and less polite, literary and non-literary, wider and narrower meanings, dialectal and non-dialectal, and other types of semantic relation. Meanwhile, there is still no clear rule underlying the combination order pattern except the inclination of the phonologically longer syllabic constituents to be placed in final positions. Finally, the synonymous couplings can be built by Indonesian and Indonesian, Indonesian and Arabic, Indonesian and Javanese, Javanese and Javanese, and Arabic and Arabic lexeme.

**Keywords:** *Lexeme, Synonymous, Combination, Constituent*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Compounding is a morphological process which is considered universal because of its existence can be found in any language. With regard to Indonesian, this word formation is one of morphological processes in spite of affix addition, reduplication, and zero modification. Compounding is carried out by combination of two morphemes to construct new forms whose meaning is slightly or totally different from the meanings of the elements by which they are combined. The elements being combined can be those of having or not having semantic relation. The Indonesian compound *daftar hitam* 'black list', *kamar mandi* 'bath room', *rapor merah* 'red report', etc. are consecutively coming from two semantically unrelated base forms, i.e. *daftar* 'list' and *hitam* 'black' to mean 'list for targeted person', *kamar* 'room' and *mandi* 'take a bath' to refer to a room for taking a bath', and *rapor* 'report book' and *merah* 'red' for referring to 'a bad student performance report book'. In these three compound examples, there are no semantic relation between their constructing elements, except their attributive function of the following elements to the compound heads. Meanwhile, there are also a lot of Indonesian compounds to be built up by elements that have semantic relations. The Indonesian compounds such as *tinggi rendah* 'high and low', *tua muda* 'old and young', *laki bini* 'husband and wife', etc. are respectively formed by elements having antonymous relation. Meanwhile, *asal mula* 'the beginning of', *bimbang ragu* 'doubtful, hesitate', and *bujuk rayu* 'persuasion' are built by the elements having synonymous relations in which *asal* 'origin', *bimbang* 'doubtful', and *bujuk* 'to persuade' have the same meaning with *mula* 'initial', *ragu* 'doubtful', and *rayu* 'to seduce' although the total synonymous pairs never exist in any language. As suggested by the title, this article will concern about lexeme combinations bound up by synonymous relations.

A very comprehensive study on Indonesian lexeme combination has been done by Kridalaksana (1988, 22-23). He states that there are several types of relation that hold between the lexeme being combined in Indonesian. Those types are substantive such as in *anak panah* 'arrow', *obat rindu* 'longing healer', *daya pikir* 'thinking power'; attributive such as *ambil pusing* 'take care of', *baik hati* 'kind hearted', *gatal mulut* 'talkative'; coordinate, such as *cerdik cendekia* 'intellectual', and combinations whose one of its element cannot become a derivation base, such as *anasional* 'non-national', *antipati* 'antipathy', *triwulan* 'a quarter year'. Because of the broad scope of Kridalaksana's study, he cannot go further to do deeper analysis to each type of relation. The other researches closed to Kridalaksana's research are ones done by Ramlan (1981, 145-150), Verhaar (1996, 293), Kridalaksana et al. (1985, 124-126), and Wijana (2022, 459-

486) and Wijana (2023, 1-10). Ramlan in his grammar book entitled *Sintaksis* (Syntax) states that there are 8 possible semantic relations that hold between noun phrase elements in Indonesian. Those relations are addition, such as found in *suami istri* ‘husband and wife’, *nusa bangsa* ‘land and nation’, etc., alternation in *senin atau selasa* ‘monday or Tuesday’, *ayah atau ibu* ‘father or mother’, etc., similarity, such as found in Bapak Soeharto, presiden RI ‘Mr. Soeharto, the presiden of republic of Indonesia’, *Gadjah Mada, universitas perjuangan* ‘Gadjah Mada, Struggle university’, etc., qualification, such as found in *acara terakhir* ‘final program’, *pohon rindang* ‘shaddy tree’, etc., limitation, such as found in *Jendela rumah* ‘house window’, *pembangunan Indonesia* ‘Indonesian development’, etc., determiner or demonstrator, such as found in *pekarangan luas itu* ‘the large yard’, *penggilingan padi itu* ‘that rice mill’, etc., quantity such as found in *dua orang petani* ‘two farmers’, *sepuluh helai sarung* ‘ten pieces of sarong’, etc., and call, such as found in *Bapak Menteri* ‘Mr. Minister’, *Kak Amin* ‘brother Amin’, etc. What Ramlan has done, it is not far different from Verhaar’s works (1996) which has revealed several semantic relations possibilities concerning elements of attributive noun phrase. Those relations are possessive, agent, double serial, double noun phrase attributive, appositive, possessive attribution, and quantitative. Kridalaksana et als.’ study about the same topic is successful in revealing more types of semantic relations. There are 16 types of relations, several among those relations are possessive, such as *buku perpustakaan* ‘library book’, locative, such as *ayam kampung* ‘village or local chicken’, partitive, such as *lereng gunung* ‘mountain slope’, instrumental, such as *lempar lembing* ‘javelin throw’, etc. For limiting the number of possibilities of semantic relations that hold between the constituting elements of the noun phrase, Wijana (2022a, 459-486; 2022b, 487-502) tries to confine his study on noun phrases referring to animal names. In this study he finds various kinds of semantic relations, such as name (*ayam beroga* ‘jungle fowl’, *bangau tontong* ‘leptoptilos javanicus’, *elang sikap* ‘wide winged eagle’, etc.); habitat (*angsa laut* ‘pelican’, *anjing air* ‘otter’, *anjing kampung* ‘mongrel’, etc.); origin (*ayam bangkok* ‘Thailand chicken’, *kera Belanda* ‘Dutch ape’, *jalak Bali* ‘Balinese Stirling’, etc.), *food resource* (*lalat buah* ‘fruit fly’, *belalang daun* ‘leaf grasshopper’, *kumbang bangkai* ‘carcass beetle’, etc.); product (*ayam pedaging* ‘broiler’, *lebah madu* ‘honey bee’, *ulat sutra* ‘silk worm’, etc.), function (*merpati pos* ‘post pigeon’, *anjing gembala* ‘sheep dog’, *kuda pedati* ‘cart horse’, etc.); shape (*ayam pungguk* ‘tailless chicken’, *udang galah* ‘large prawn’, *cacing pita* ‘tape worm’, etc.); state (*babi kate* ‘genetically small pig’, *kumbang panjang* ‘long beetle’, *wereng coklat* ‘brown west pest’, etc.), possession (*kera ekor panjang* ‘long tailed ape’, *domba ekor kurus* ‘thin tailed sheep’, *tuna sirip biru* ‘blue finned tuna’, etc.); behavior (*ayam ketawa* ‘laughing crow chicken’, *kuntul malam* ‘night heron’, *kumbang penggerek* ‘drilling beetle’, *kutu loncat* ‘jumping ticks’, etc.); and cause (*nyamuk malaria* ‘malaria musquito’, *semut gatal* ‘ant that causes itching’, *nyamuk cikungunya* ‘mosquito that causes dangue like fever’, etc.). Wijana (2022b, 487-502) studies various possibilities of relation that hold between attributive noun phrases elements using *soto* ‘chicken (beef) soup’ as the head of construction. He found various possibilities of semantic relations. Those are related with “soto name”, such as origin (*soto Lamongan* ‘Lamongan soto’, *soto Kudus* ‘Kudus soto’, *soto Madura* ‘Madura soto, etc.), ingredient (*soto daging* ‘meat soto’, *soto sapi* ‘beef soto’, *soto tangkar* ‘rib soto’, etc.), and way of serving (*soto pisah* ‘separated soto’, *soto campur* ‘mixed soto’ and “restaurant names”, such as ownership (*soto Pak Sholeh* ‘Mr. Sholeh Soto’, *soto pak Marto*, ‘Mr Marto Soto’, *Soto Pak Tembong* ‘Mr. Tembong soto’, etc.) identity (*soto Mekar Jaya* ‘Mekar Jaya soto’, *soto melati* ‘melati soto’, *sabar menenti* ‘sabar menanti soto’, etc.), location (*soto Kadipiro* ‘Kadipiro soto’ *Soto Tan Proyek* ‘Tan Proyek soto’, *soto sawah* ‘sawah soto’, etc., way of serving, keeping, and preparing (*soto batok* ‘coconut shell soto’, *soto kendhil* ‘earthen ware soto’, *soto kual* ‘wide mouthed cooking pot’) effect (*soto seger* ‘fresh soto’, *soto kemepyar* ‘bright soto’, *soto kemringet* ‘sweaty soto’), appearance and taste (*soto sampah* ‘rubbish soto’, *soto setan* ‘devil soto’).

## 2. OBJECTIVES

This paper will concern synonymous lexeme combination phrase, i.e., lexemes that have the same or synonymous meaning. This kind of phrase, in term of Kridalaksana’s classification belongs to coordinate relations, specifically whose elements semantically have the same meaning. This paper constitutes my further interest after finishing my research on principles of antonymous lexeme combination in Indonesian (Wijana, 2023. 1-10). For this matter, Wijana found that there are several categories of combination principles in antonymous combination, such as phonological, semantic, as well as stylistic principles.

## 3. THEORETICAL REVIEW

As far as phrase and compound constructions are concerned, there are so far three types of construction to find. Those are attributive, coordinate, and appositive (Ramlan, 1981). The first relate with constructions consisting of head and attribution, such as *bunga mawar* ‘rose flower’, *sedang pergi* ‘is going’, *merah sekali* ‘very red’, etc. *Bunga* ‘flower’, *pergi* ‘go’, and *merah* ‘red’ are the heads, and *mawar* ‘rose’, *sedang* ‘in progress’, and *sekali* ‘very’ are the attributes’. Meanwhile coordinate constructions are built by two or more elements that have the same status level. No element of the construction constitutes the attribute of the other. For instance, *ayah ibu* ‘father and mother’, *panjang*

*pendek* ‘long and short’, *buku pensil* ‘book and pencil’, etc. Finally, the appositive concerns with one whose elements extra linguistically have the same meaning, such as *Soekarno, the first Indonesian president*, *Ali, anak Pak Amir* ‘Ali, Mr. Amir’s son’, etc. However, in synonymous lexeme combinations, the elements being combined are not always between content words, but also functional ones that are non-referential in character, such as *agar supaya* ‘in order to’, *demi untuk* ‘for’. The other problem is, according to the theory of synonym, the synonymous pairs have never had total or complete identical meaning which can be substituted one with another in all contexts of usage. The differences among the synonymous pairs can concern in relation with narrower and wider scope of meaning, more formal and less formal of meaning, literary and non-literary of meaning, dialectal and non-dialectal variation of meaning, intensive and non-intensive meaning, more polite and less polite of meaning, and other stylistic variation of meaning (Wijana, 2010, 54; Ullmann, 1972). Based on this theoretical framework, there must be various possibilities of synonymous pairs that can be used to construct synonymous combination lexeme in Indonesian. In spite of these two matters, the combination in many cases is frozen or irreversible. So, there must be various structuring principles which govern the construction possibilities of synonymous lexeme combinations. For example *caci maki* ‘insult and swear’, *asal mula* ‘origin’, *cantik molek* ‘very beautiful’, etc. Are impossible to find to be structured as *\*maki caci*, *\*mula asal*, *\*molek cantik*, etc. This paper will try to address several matters related to synonymous lexeme combinations, various categories of lexeme possibly combined, semantic relation of synonymous lexeme being combined, the ordering principles of the combinations, and the language origin of the combined elements.

#### 4. METHODS

All data presented in this paper are gathered through introspective method by evoking my own native ability in using Indonesian. Some of them are coming from *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian Big/Standard Dictionary) (Sugono, et als. 2014). All data are further classified according to their categories and semantic relation types, order patterns, and language origin of elements being combined. Several distributional techniques (Sudaryanto, 2015, 59-102), such as extension, substitution and permutation, are exploited for conforming the appropriateness of data whose grammatical acceptability is empirically tested with other native speakers.

#### 5. FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

##### 5.1. Research Findings

###### 5.1.1 Categories of Element of Synonymous Lexeme Combination

Most of synonymous elements being combined constitute referential linguistic units. There are two possibilities of parts of speech that can be combined, nouns (1-4) and adjectives (5) s.d. (8), such as seen in the following examples:

- (1) Budi pekerti ‘attitude or behavior’
- (2) Cacat cela ‘defect, blemish’
- (3) Awal mula ‘beginning’
- (4) Doa restu ‘prayer’
- (5) Cerdik pandai ‘clever, intelligent’
- (6) Indah permai ‘beautiful, nice’
- (7) Gegap gempita ‘very noisy’
- (8) Halus mulus ‘very smooth’

Meanwhile, there are also several data found constituting non referential linguistic units. Those are conjunction (9) and the other is preposition (10) and (11), copula (12), and auxiliary (13):

- (9) Agar supaya ‘in order to’
- (10) Demi untuk ‘for’
- (11) Hingga sampai ‘untill’
- (12) Adalah merupakan
- (13) Amat sangat ‘very’

In more formal styles, (9) to (13) are regarded redundant, and their use must be avoided, and substituted using their equivalents consisting just single conjunction, preposition, copula, or single auxiliary (See Wijana, 2008, 46-51).

### 5.1.2. Semantic Relation Types of Synonymous Lexeme Being Combined

After having observed the data carefully, it is found that there are various possibilities of synonymous relations that hold between the elements combined. Those relations are between lexeme that has a more intensive and less intensive meaning, more polite and less polite meaning, more literary and non-literary meaning, wider and narrower scope of meaning, and other types of relation.

#### 5.1.3. Less Intensive and More Intensive Relation

Synonymous pairs can be realized between words that have more intensive and less intensive meaning. For example, the Indonesian word *sepak* 'kick', according to "Standard Indonesian Dictionary" refers to 'any hitting action using foot' while the word *terjang* 'to lung' refers to 'attacking using foot palm'. So *terjang* in this matter has more intensive meaning than *sepak*. Therefore, the lexeme combination *sepak terjang* is constructed by synonymous elements of having more intensive and less intensive meaning. Indonesian word *babak* means 'chafed', and *belur* means 'skinned bruised' in which the later has more intensive meaning than the former. So, the compound *babak belur* 'skinned and bruised' is built by two synonymous elements one of which containing more and intensive meaning. The same thing happens to *bebas merdeka* 'free and independent'. *Bebas* is a common word to mean 'free', but *merdeka* is used to express 'free' in relation to 'invasion'. So, *bebas* has less intensive meaning in relation of the core meaning 'free' than *merdeka*. *Bebas merdeka* as well as *sepak terjang* and *babak belur*, is a compound containing synonymous elements of having less and more intensive meanings. The other examples are (14), (15), and (16) below in which *gelak* 'laughter' has more intensive meaning than *tawa* 'laugh', *belia* 'very young' has more intensive meaning than *muda* 'young', and *permai*, in relation with nature, has more intensive meaning than *indah* 'beautiful' :

(14) Gelak tawa 'hearty laughter'

(15) Muda belia 'very young'

(16) Indah permai 'very beautiful'

Several of combinations have elements constituting unique morphs, such as *benderang*, *gempita*, *balau*, etc. that only can respectively exist with *terang*, *gegap*, and *kacau*, to construct *terang benderang* 'very bright', *gegap gempita* 'noisy', and *kacau balau* 'disorder'.

#### 5.1.4. More Polite and Less Polite Relation

The word *cerdik* 'cunning' is synonymous with *pandai* 'clever', but different with regard to their connotation although the core meaning or denotation is the same. *Cerdik* has negative connotation, and *pandai* is neutral. The same as *cerdik cendekia* 'intelligent' in which *cerdik* has worse connotation than *cendekia*. *Bujuk* 'to persuade' and *rayu* 'to seduce' are synonymous, but *bujuk* has negative connotation because it contains sense of deceiving. So, *cerdik pandai*, *cerdik cendekia*, and *bujuk rayu* in (16), (17), and (18) are synonymous lexeme combinations containing less polite and more polite elements:

(17) Cerdik pandai 'intelligent'

(18) Cerdik cendekia 'Intelligent'

(19) Bujuk rayu 'seduction'

The other examples are (20), (21), (22), and (23) below:

(20) Hamba sahaya 'I'

(21) Tipu daya 'tactics'

(22) Tipu muslihat 'tactics'

(23) Daya upaya 'effort, endeavor'

*Hamba* is more polite than *sa(ha)ya* that both mean 'I', but *hamba* is used to refer to the speaker when they are speaking to the interlocutor who is a king. *Sa(ha)ya* is used for speaking to any respected person. *Daya* in relation *terpedaya* 'to be unintentionally deceived', *memperdaya* 'to deceive', *diperdaya* 'to be intentionally deceived' seems

to have worse connotation than *tipu* ‘deceive’ and *upaya* ‘effort’. Meanwhile, *muslihat* historically Arabic borrowed word means ‘tricky strategy’ is often to be combined with *tipu* ‘deception’ to construct *tipu muslihat* ‘deceiving tactics’. Shortly, the last for examples are synonymous lexeme combination containing less polite and more polite elements.

### 5.1.5. Literary and Non-Literary Relation

The synonymous pairs to be combined may also between one belongs to ordinary style and its equivalent used in literary one. The word *hati* in Indonesian is literally used to refer to ‘liver’ and metaphorically is done to refer to ‘heart’. To construct more intensive expressions, this word often co-occurs with its more literary style equivalent *sanubari* ‘heart’ to yield *hati sanubari* ‘bottom of heart’. *Duka* ‘sad’ has already had literary nuance. The ordinary expression for it is *sedih* ‘sad’. To intensify the expressions, the Indonesian speakers often combine it with the more literary expressions *nestapa* to yield compound *duka nestapa* ‘deep sadness’. *Hutan* ‘forrest’ in ordinary Indonesian has at least three synonymous literary equivalents, *wana*, *rimba*, *belantara*. *Wana* comes from Old Javanese, while the others *rimba* and *belantara* are from Malay origin. *Hutan* is often combines with *rimba* and *belantara* but never done with *wana*. Accordingly, there are *hutan rimba* and *hutan belantara* to refer to ‘jungle’, but none *\*hutan wana* because it never exists in the use of Indonesian. Consider (24), (25), (26), (27), and the unacceptable \*(28).

(24) *Hati sanubari* ‘the bottom of heart’

(25) *Duka nestapa* ‘deep sadness’

(26) *Hutan rimba* ‘jungle’

(27) *Hutan belantara* ‘jungle’

(28) *\*Hutan wana*

The other examples are (29), (30), and (31) below:

(29) *Gundah gulana* ‘anxious’

(30) *Mega mendung* ‘cloud’

(31) *Asal mula* ‘beginning’

*Gundah* ‘anxious’, *mendung* ‘cloud’, and *asal* ‘beginning’ are ordinary or common words. On the other hand *gulana*, *mega*, and *mula* are not common words because their use can only be found in literary styles.

### 5.1.6. Wider and Narrower Semantic Relation

*Kampung* ‘village’ contains a broader semantic sense than *halaman* that just refers to ‘yard’. *Sanak* ‘relatives’ refers to a wider concept than *saudara* which only means ‘sibling’. *Panas* covers a wider sense compared to *terik* because it relates to anything associated with ‘heat’, while *terik* only does in relation to ‘sun heat’. *Kecil* ‘small’ is anything to have small size while *mungil* ‘cute’ in relation to certain thing, such as doll, lips, etc. *Intan* refers to ‘diamond’, one type of jewel, and *berlian* and *permata* refer to various kinds of jewel. Synonymous combination of this type of relation can be seen in (32) to (37) below:

(32) *Kampung halaman* ‘hometown’

(33) *Sanak saudara* ‘relative’

(34) *Panas terik* ‘very hot’

(35) *Kecil mungil* ‘small and cute’

(36) *Intan berlian* ‘jewel’

(37) *Intan permata* ‘jewel’

### 5.1.7. Dialectal and Non-Dialectal Relation

The synonymous combinations can possibly be constructed by Indonesian words and its dialectal variation. Some words borrowed from Javanese remains dialectal variation, cannot become standard vocabulary items after entering Indonesian inventory. Such as the use of *sanak* ‘relative’ in *sanak saudara* ‘relative’, and *gamblang* ‘clear’ in *terang gamblang* ‘very clear’ below:

(38) *Sanak saudara* ‘relative’

(39) Terang gamblang ‘clear’

### 5.1.8. Other Types of Synonymous Relation

In spite of those four types of semantic relations, there seem still many other possibilities of relation that still need to deepen in order to reveal this type of lexeme combination. For example *sawah ladang* ‘rice field’ is combined by different semantic relation, in which *sawah* refers to ‘irrigated rice field’, and *ladang* does to the non-irrigated one’. *Putih* ‘white’ refers to color, and *bersih* refer to ‘clean’, an adjective to which the color often associated. So, the combination *putih bersih* is made possible by the existence of metonymy relation, as well as *halus* and *mulus* in *halus mulus*, in which the former relates with everything, while the later does with skin. In *Jejak langkah*, one lexeme *jejak* ‘trace’ has different length size compared to *langkah* ‘step’ in which the former is shorter than the later. Consider (40) to (43) below:

(40) Sawah ladang ‘rice field’

(41) Putih bersih ‘white and clean’

(42) Halus mulus ‘soft and smooth’

(43) Jejak langkah ‘trace and step’

### 5.1.9. Order of Synonymous Lexeme Combination

It is really very hard to determine the rules or principles that govern the order of synonymous lexeme combination. Which lexeme precedes and which lexeme follows the other in the construction are difficult to rule out. Some time the more intensive meaning elements precede the less ones (44) and (45), and in some time the less ones precede the semantically more intensive elements (46) and (47).

(44) Gelak tawa ‘laugh’

(45) Sunyi sepi ‘quiet’

(46) Babak belur ‘skinned and bruised’

(47) Duka nestapa ‘very sad’

In the following (48) and (49) the semantically more polite elements precede the less ones, meanwhile in (50) and (51) and (52) the other way around happens.

(48) Hamba sahaya ‘I’

(49) Tipu daya ‘tactics’

(50) Cerdik cendekia ‘intelligents’

(51) Fakir miskin ‘the poor’

(52) Bujuk rayu ‘persuade’

The same thing happens with regard to lexeme combinations containing literary and non literary elements. The more literary elements can precede the ordinary ones (53), (54), and (55), and in (56), (57), and (58) the ordinary or common words precede the more literary ones.

(53) Demi untuk ‘for’

(54) Warta berita ‘news’

(55) Mega mendung ‘cloud’

(56) Duka nestapa ‘sadness’

(57) Hati sanubari ‘heart’

(58) Indah permai ‘beautiful’

Finally, the wider scope meaning elements can also precede and follow the narrower ones, and vice versa, In (59) and (60) the narrower constituents are placed initial, while in (61) and (62) are done final:

(59) Intan berlian ‘jewels’

(60) Intan permata ‘Jewels’

(61) Kampung halaman ‘home town’

(62) Sanak saudara ‘relative’

However, there seems two phonological principles which possibly determine the combination ordering. In many cases, it is shown that many synonymous combinations are built by elements or constituents having rhyming patterns, such as final syllabic rhyming in *halus mulus* ‘smooth’, *asal muasal* ‘origin’, *sebab musabab* ‘cause’, *warta berita*, etc., final sound rhyming, such as *cumbu rayu* ‘persuasion, flirt’, *caci maki* ‘swear’, *hitam legam* ‘very black’, etc., and initial sound rhyming, such as *cacat cela* ‘defect’, *cerdik cendekia* ‘intelligent’, *gegap gempita* ‘very noisy’, etc. There is no clear rule that governs the lexeme combinations whose elements consist of linguistic units containing disyllabic constituents. However what is clear is combinations consisting of disyllabic and three syllabic constituents. Nearly all combinations of this kind are placing the longer constituents in final positions. In other words the shorter elements precede the longer ones. Consider (63) to (67) below:

(63) Periuk belanga ‘earthenware’

(64) Porak poranda ‘disordered, scattered and tattered’

(65) Gegap gempita ‘noisy’

(66) Gundah gulana ‘restless’

(67) Kampung halaman ‘home town’

Examples (63) to (67) will be unacceptable to be changed into (68) to (72) below:

(68) \*Belanga periuk

(69) \*Poranda porak

(70) \*Gempita gegap

(71) \*Gulana gundah

(72) \*Halaman kampung

In the data collection, there are only two data show violation of this rule, i.e. *angkara murka* ‘self centered, greedy’ and *gembira ria* ‘very happy’, as seen in (73) and (74), and the unacceptability of (75) and (76):

(73) Angkara murka

(74) Gembira ria

(75) \*Murka angkara

(76) \*Ria gembira

#### 5.1.10. Language Origin of Combined Synonymous Elements

As far as the language origin is concerned, there are many languages that are possible to be combined to construct the synonymous lexeme combinations. The construction can be built by Indonesian and Indonesian, Indonesian and Arabic, Indonesian and Javanese, Javanese and Javanese. Examples (77) to (82) are combinations of Indonesian and Indonesian:

(77) Caci maki ‘swear and insult’

(78) Cantik molek ‘nice, beautiful’

(79) Cegah tangkal ‘protect, prevent’

(80) Cerdik cendekia ‘intelligent’

(81) Demi untuk ‘for’

(82) Harum semerbak ‘pragrant’

Meanwhile, (83) and (87) below constitute lexeme combinations combining Indonesian and Arabic. *Restu* ‘bless’, *miskin* ‘poor’, *hati* ‘heart’, *sebab* ‘cause’, and *subur* ‘fertile’ are Indonesian words, while *doa* ‘prayer’, *fakir* ‘poor’, *sanubari* ‘heart’, *musabab* ‘cause’ are Arabic’.

(83) Doa restu ‘prayer and blessing’

(84) Fakir miskin ‘the poor’

(85) Hati sanubari ‘bottom of heart’

(86) Sebab musabab ‘cause’

(87) Subur makmur ‘prosperous’

Examples (88), (88), and (89) are combinations of Indonesian and Javanese units.

(88) Sanak saudara ‘relative’

(89) Warta berita ‘news’

(90) Budi pekerti ‘behavior’

Finally example (91) and (93) consecutively constitute combination containing Javanese and (91) Arabic borrowings.

(91) Tedeng aling-aling ‘protective screen’

(92) Candak kulak ‘caught and seized’

(93) Akil balig ‘matured’

## 6. CONCLUSION

From everything that has been described above, it can be concluded that the synonymous lexeme combinations can be either between referential or content elements or non-referential or functional elements. The referential elements combinations can be between nouns or adjectives. Meanwhile, the non-referential combinations can be between conjunctions or prepositions. Regarding the semantic relations, the combined elements are possible to carry out between the lexeme containing more intensive and less intensive, polite and less polite, literary and non-literary, wider and narrower meanings, and other types of semantic relation. So far, there is still unclear either formally or semantically the rules that govern the ordering of the Indonesian synonymous lexeme couplings, except the inclination for the phonologically longer syllabic constituents to be placed following the shorter ones. With regard to the language origin, there are several possibilities of combinations, i.e Indonesian and Indonesian, Indonesian and Arabic, Indonesian and Javanese, and Javanese and Javanese. There are also no clear rules which lexeme to be placed initial or final regarding the language origin. There must be other researches which should be urgently done to reveal several problems concerning synonymous lexeme combinations that have not been satisfactorily answered in this research paper.

## 7. COMPETING INTEREST STATEMENT

This article is free from any conflict of interest regarding the data collection, analysis, and the publication process itself. Either replicate or modify the previous sentence for this part.

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