

## AN OVERVIEW OF INDONESIAN LOANWORDS FROM FRENCH

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### Abstract

When two languages come into contact, they exert a reciprocal influence, often unbalanced. A phenomenon that often occurs in case of language contact is the absorption or borrowing of lexical elements, which will enrich the vocabulary of the receiving language. In this article, we deal with words adopted from French in Indonesian and vice-versa. This research shows that most of the words of French origin in Indonesian/Malay language were borrowed through Dutch. Historical background explains why there are no direct loanwords from French language in Indonesian. Nowadays, a second batch of words originating from Old French finds their way into Indonesian through English. On the other hand, very few words from Malay-Indonesian origin were borrowed in French, and their route was not straight either: they were conveyed through Portuguese or Dutch. Phonological adaptation and shift of meaning may have happen when the words were loaned from French to Dutch language or later, when adapted from Dutch into Indonesian language. The data analysed in this article may help teachers of French as a Foreign Language in Indonesia, as well as teachers of Indonesian as a Foreign Language in French-speaking countries, to predict which words will be immediately recognized by their students, and when they should pay extra-attention to *faux-amis* (cognates whose meanings differ).

**Keywords:** language contact, loanwords, borrowing, French, Indonesian, Portuguese, Dutch.

The presence of *Carrefour* supermarkets in big Indonesian cities, or the French Cultural Centres known as *Institut Français d'Indonésie*<sup>1</sup>; the back-and-forth of French-made cars such as *Citroën*, *Renault* or *Peugeot* on the road; various handbag brands and cosmetics such as *Louis Vuitton*, *Elle*, *Lancôme*, *Yves Saint Laurent*, or *Christian Dior* wore by celebrities, imitated by middle class women; romantic Indonesian movies ending happily in Paris (better if *Tour Eiffel* shows in the background); French football players more popular than their *Président de la République*; and many other icons demonstrate a cultural connection between Indonesia and French, even if it is mostly based on stereotypes and *clichés*. Only Indonesian academics have heard about French writers, philosophers and intellectuals. Such a positive image of France is surprising because Indonesia and France had virtually nothing in common all along their respective histories<sup>2</sup>. It is a matter of fact that French cultural life did not reach Indonesia directly, but only via Dutch influence, when the archipelago was under colonial rule by the Netherlands until 1942. The favourable, romantic and glamorous image of France has been retained among the Indonesian upper class, a collective opinion almost not affected by post-war Hollywood movies, which recycle again and again the same *clichés*. While this French cultural influence was intermediated and quite superficial, one can easily detect dozens of

words of French origin in Indonesian today. On the other hand, dozens of Indonesian words occur in French.

### METHOD

The data for this study was collected from two distinct sources. Firstly, an oral corpus was gathered from conversations in urban environments<sup>3</sup> in a multiplicity of social interactive contexts by adult Indonesian native speakers, using standard Indonesian. These conversations were not elicited, but random and spontaneous. In addition, we obtained some more occurrences from news broadcasts, social/political discussions, interviews and advertisements on Metro TV. These data were acquired over a one-month period (January 2016). As a matter of fact, the loanwords from French surfacing in our corpus were rather limited, and each one occurred too scarcely to allow a quantitative analyse, which would not have been statistically valid.

We then turned to classical linguists literature, various glossaries and dictionaries, as well as an online database on cross-linguistic borrowings by Haspelmath & Tadmor (2009). Most of the lexicographical publications on Indonesian lack etymological indications; the Indonesian-French dictionary by Labrousse (1984) was maybe the first to mention etymology of each entry when possible.

Our lexical references in Dutch owe a lot to Steinhauer & Moeimam's dictionary (2005). Jones (2008) published a glossary of loanwords in Indonesian and Malay, to date the most exhaustive reference on this topic. We also explored Indonesian glossaries on law and civil engineering. Browsing through these various sources, we could confirm that most, but not all the loanwords we had gathered were already mentioned in the KBBI, a reference dictionary by Alwi et al. (2001); to put it another way, we came across specialized terms that were absent from the KBBI dictionary, belonging for instance to law or civil engineering terminologies.

However, the aim of this article is not to set up an exhaustive list of loanwords from French in contemporary Indonesian, but to explain how and when these borrowings happened. Therefore, to avoid a long, boring list of entries, in the following sections we analyse selected words only, considered as representative examples, while additional data may be browse through in the annexe of this article. Finally, we will discuss some pedagogical implications of the similarity between loanwords and their etymons, either for Indonesian students of French and for French-speaking students learning Indonesian.

### **Sociolinguistic features of lexicon borrowing in Indonesian**

Before dealing with the question of loanwords from French, let us examine to which extent Indonesian is open to lexicon borrowing. Indonesian (*bahasa Indonesia*), or Malay as it was called before the independence, has an Austronesian substrate. Malay-Indonesian borrowed words from Indian languages (most of them originating from Sanskrit), various Southeast China languages, Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, Dutch, and English. These borrowings have been progressively assimilated into Malay-Indonesian since approximately 1300 years ago, and each "layer" of loanwords corresponds to a historical period, although there were some overlaps. Many Indonesian speakers believe that almost all their national language vocabulary has been borrowed from foreign sources, and sometimes they seem to regret this situation, as if it were offending for their sense of national pride. However, this is not true. Austronesian lexical substrate is still predominant in Indonesian (none of the foreign influences overstepped it), Malay-Indonesian syntax has not been modified by language contacts, and moreover there is nothing exceptional in extensive vocabulary borrowing into a living language. English borrowed a great number of French words in the 11<sup>th</sup> - 12<sup>th</sup> centuries; French<sup>4</sup> absorbed dozens of Italian words in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and today borrows many English words. Indonesian is not different, the number of its borrowed lexicon is not especially huge, compared to other living languages. More surprising is the geographical diversity of the

borrowing sources: from Asia, Middle-East and Europe.

Foreign languages spoken outside Indonesia are not the sole source of loanwords into Indonesian. The Indonesian government, through *Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa* (The Agency of Language Development and Guidance, under the Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia), commonly called *Badan Bahasa*, may propose a borrowing from a regional language of Indonesia into Indonesian, or a neologism (creating a new word) to refer to an emerging concept. After all, many governments do not own any linguistic administration, for instance the United States of America, and there nobody cares if new words are borrowed from foreign languages and do not resemble to an Anglo-Saxon word. However, in Indonesia, like in many other countries, the national language plays a central role in national identity and cohesion, see Steinhauer (1994). Identity (either national, ethnical, regional, or smaller communities) is always defined by a series of features that must clearly differ from other people's identity features. These features include national symbols (flag, anthem...), cultural artefacts and tradition (food, clothes, arts...) and immaterial heritage (festivals, local wisdom, oral literature...) including language. Without sharing these kind of features, no people could consider themselves as a community, and no community could feel proud of itself.

Indonesian language, *bahasa Indonesia*, may be the most tangible feature that bounds together the Indonesian people and nation. The loyalty to the national language is obvious because people use Indonesian for various purposes in inter-ethnic communication, instead of a regional language which would exclude one of the addressees. Nobody would use a foreign language in this case, although within urban upper class English may be heavily mixed with Indonesian, a switch-code strategy aimed at showing one's social rank. No effort is needed to keep away the influence of foreign languages, as opposed to Malaysia where English is in competition with Malaysian during interactions between distinct ethnics. In Indonesia, even if the speakers share the same regional language<sup>5</sup> or master English language, they tend to choose *bahasa Indonesia*, especially outside home.

This is very similar to the mind-set of a French citizen who is proud to speak French, and reluctant to use English with a foreigner, even if he/she would be able to<sup>6</sup>. This is why the *Badan Bahasa* (Agency of Language Development and Guidance), reflecting government's view, is reluctant with lexicon borrowings from foreign languages, and prefers "domestic" borrowings, within the huge regional languages stock of Indonesia (for instance from Javanese to Indonesian). Alternatively, the *Badan Bahasa* may promote the revival of an old 'archaic' Malay word, almost forgotten, with a revamped

meaning. However, Indonesian speaker's attitude toward foreign languages as a source of additional lexicon is in contrast to their attitude towards cognates from various regional languages, which also contribute to the Indonesian lexicon. For example, the lexical elements borrowed from Javanese are not felt as originating from a foreign language although both of the languages (Javanese and Malay-Indonesian) are clearly classified apart. From the point of view of Indonesian (non-linguist) speakers, words of Sanskrit origin are completely melted with Austronesian basic lexicon of Malay-Indonesian, although they retain some non-Austronesian phonological features, especially consonant pairs, for instance *swasta* "private" (CCVCCV), while Austronesian root words "prefer" consonant-vowel alternation, for example *kenapa* "why" (CVCVCV). Phonological adaptation<sup>7</sup> is always possible, even for very exotic phonological structures (from Dutch, Russian, Chinese, etc. in Indonesian), for instance English *software* [sɔftwe:] > Indonesian [sɔfwɛr]; we will comment on this topic when dealing with borrowings from Dutch. Besides, semantic shifting may also occur: the *signifié* (meaning) of a loanword may slightly differ from the original *signifié*, or even shift to an entirely new meaning. We will give examples of semantic shifting below, in the section "Semantic features of loanwords into Indonesian".

An alternative to borrowing is neologism, using existing roots and affixes in order to create a new word from scratch, for instance *reksadana* "mutual fund" < *reksa* "control, watch over" + *dana* "fund"<sup>8</sup>. However, following an implicit democratic process, only the speakers (the Indonesian speaking community) will adopt or reject a neologism. *Piranti lunak*, the literal translation of *software* proposed by the Badan Bahasa was not adopted in effect by the public, while *unduh* (a borrowing from Javanese) is overtaking on its equivalent English borrowing *to download*, see Grangé (2015). Many other examples and discussions can be found in Samuel (2005).

Like neologisms, the assimilation of a loanword greatly depends on the openness of the receiving speaking community. This openness is difficult to define, as it involves history, international relations, collective opinion and *clichés* about foreigners (do we prefer adopting words from a particular language and avoid borrowing from another?), sociology and governance. Let us keep in mind that language is an essential component of collective identity, as a community (or a nation, which is a large, politically bound, community). The most open is a speaking community, the easiest is the adoption of new words. Therefore, considering the diversity of borrowing sources in Indonesian, we can argue that Indonesians have been and are still an open speaking community. Open but proud: none of the

colonial languages, especially Portuguese and Dutch, have replaced Malay-Indonesian. Indonesian speakers borrowed what they wanted, adapted what they needed, from the foreigners' languages. The reason why there are many Portuguese, Dutch, English loanwords. Another highly represented European language among Indonesian borrowed vocabulary is French. Why do we find so many words of French origin, do they result from language contact in the past?

### A short history of relations between Indonesia and France

According to Dorléans (2001, 2006), contacts between Indonesia and France started around 1650, but remained very tiny; only a few French navigators and merchants trying to buy spices roamed through the archipelago, mostly in Sumatra. The French never established a permanent trading post in the Nusantara archipelago (today's Indonesia and Malaysia). However, the colonization history of Indonesia by the Dutch<sup>9</sup> includes a brief direct link between Indonesia and France. Because of the French Revolution wars in 1795, the French Republic, then the Napoleon Empire occupied the Kingdom of Netherlands. Herman Willem Daendels was sent by Napoleon as General Governor of the Netherlands Indies during the French rule over Netherlands. Daendels had been a Dutch officer in the French Republic army, then a supporter of Napoleon. He is recalled today in Indonesia as a merciless general, initiator of heavy taxes in nature over Javanese peasants, very far from the ideals of the French Revolution. During the short French rule over Dutch Indies (1808-1811), news bulletin in French circulated in Batavia. However, there was no significant language contact between French<sup>10</sup> and Malay speakers during this brief period, too short to explain the amount of French loanwords in Indonesian today. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and until the first world war, some French citizens lived and worked in Batavia, mainly in the domain of gastronomy and fashion. French young men were also recruited as soldiers in the Dutch colonial army, besides other European adventurers. However, they were not integrated to the Indonesian people, and had virtually no influence on local languages.

Therefore, loanwords from French into Indonesian must have been conveyed through a third, intermediate European language: a few words through Portuguese, dozens of words through Dutch during the colonial period, and nowadays through English. When did these three European languages borrow significant number of French words? The last was the first. English is full of French lexicon adopted around the 11<sup>th</sup> century, following the conquest of England by Guillaume II of Normandy. Portuguese borrowed some French words a long time ago as well, around the 12<sup>th</sup> century, far before the Portuguese sailors began venturing through the

Indonesian archipelago. Later, many French words were adopted in Dutch, especially between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>11</sup>. We have seen that Napoleon's rule entailed many interactions between French and Dutch, not always as friendly as they are today. The Civil Code, which is still the base of law in France since Napoleon, was adopted in Netherlands, then partially implemented in Netherlands Indies, and still provides the general legal frame in Republic of Indonesia today.

On the other hand, influence from Malay-Indonesian language over French language is tiny, bound to loanwords that refer to fauna, flora and cultural artefacts. In 1889, during the *Exposition Universelle* (International Fair) in Paris, a so-called *village javanais* (Javanese village) entertained visitors with music, dance and food. French composer Debussy was deeply charmed and influenced by the gamelan he had heard there. Painter Douanier Rousseau was probably influenced by Raden Saleh, who lived in Paris for many years at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Some books relating trips made in Java by French travellers, and coming up with a bunch of exotic clichés, for instance Beauvoir (1868), met some success among French readers. Nevertheless, this overall influence is negligible, and again, it is obvious that the Malay-Indonesian loanwords adopted in French were intermediated by another language: Dutch of course, but also, at an earlier stage, Portuguese, as will be shown below.

To sum up this historical overview, an indirect cultural connection between Indonesia and France existed, and its traces can be found in lexical data. In other terms, there are no examples of direct vocabulary borrowing from French into Indonesian (except one word, maybe). All were adopted via Portuguese, Dutch, and very recently through English. Indonesian language is also a donor for European languages, and the small amount of Malay-Indonesian loanwords in French today all came through Portuguese and Dutch.

### French loanwords through Portuguese in Indonesian

Portuguese were the first Europeans to wander in

French	>	Portuguese	>	Malay-Indonesian
blouse [bluz]	>	blusa ['bluzɐ]	>	blus "blouse, women dress"
gelée [ʒələ]	>	geleia [ʒə'leja]	>	selé / selai "jam, marmelade" <sup>12</sup>
béret <sup>13</sup>	>	barrete [bɐ'ret(ə)]	>	baret "round flattish cap, especially military cap"
terrasse [teras]	>	terraço [tə'rasu]	>	teras "terrace, platform"
cantine <sup>14</sup>	>	cantina [kɛ'tinɐ]	>	kantin "canteen"

Other examples can be picked up from Ambon Malay<sup>15</sup>:

caleçon [kalsɔ̃]	>	calção [ka'ʃɐw]	>	kalsan "men long underwear"
chapeau / chapel	>	chapéu [ʃɐ'pɐw]	>	capio [tʃapjo] "hat"

Nusantara archipelago in the years 1540, setting trading posts and small military forts in the Spices Islands (Moluccas) then Flores, Solor and Timor. A brief account of the influence of Portuguese over Malay can be found in Sneddon (2003, pp. 79-82), as well as some examples. Unsurprisingly, most of the words originating from Portuguese refer to artefacts that were new in Nusantara archipelago at that time: vegetables, furniture, cooking instruments, weapons, religion and holidays terms. Long after the Portuguese power had passed in Southeast Asia, a Portuguese Ambassador to Jakarta, Pinto da França (1970) wrote a probably exhaustive list of 79 loanwords from Portuguese into standard Indonesian, beside many examples from Malay dialects (Ambon, East Flores) which have adopted far more Portuguese lexicon. Indonesian words originating from Portuguese include (Portuguese > Indonesian): *garfo* > *garpu* "fork" ; *mesa* > *meja* "table"; *queijo* > *keju* "cheese"; *carreta* > *kereta* "cart, carriage"; *boneca* > *boneka* "doll-puppet"; *janela* > *jendela* "window"; *passear* > *pesiar* "to take a walk"; *domingo* > *minggu* "Sunday". A longer list is annexed to this article.

French and Portuguese are both Romance languages, therefore when two words resemble, this similarity obviously comes from their Latin etymon. However, some borrowings have been documented from French to Portuguese and reciprocally. A few examples are quoted by Walter (1994, p. 208). Our following etymological notes about Portuguese have been adapted from the online database Infopedia (2003-2016), and for French from TLFi (2016). According to Piel (1989, p. 5), most of the borrowings from French to Portuguese happened during the 12<sup>th</sup> century, through political, cultural and literary contacts. However, very few of these words made their way into Malay-Indonesian. The following words can reasonably be regarded as loanwords originating from French, conveyed into Malay-Indonesian through Portuguese around the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The last example above is obviously a loanword from French, because among Romance languages, only French modified the Latin words beginning by /ka/ > /ʃa/ or /ʃe/, for example Latin *capra* [kapra] > French *chèvre* [ʃɛvr] “goat”. Following this rule, Latin *cappellus* became Old French *chapel* [ʃapɛl] “hat”. Then the two last phonemes aligned on the plural pronunciation, *chapeau* [ʃapjo], and ultimately [ʃapo], but the borrowing into Portuguese had occurred previously, when it was still pronounced [ʃapjo].

### French loanwords through Dutch in Indonesian

In Indonesian, most of the loanwords from French were imported via Dutch. To put it another way, Dutch language borrowed a fair number of words from French, then Malay-Indonesian borrowed

many words from Dutch. Between the two consecutive borrowing processes, the time gap may amount to centuries. This indirect borrowing process, where Dutch acts as receiver language (from French) and donor language (to Indonesian) can be represented as follows: French → Dutch → Malay-Indonesian

These particular loanwords represent a significant proportion of the overall loanwords from Dutch in Indonesian. Maier (2005) argues that loanwords from Dutch amount to 20% of Indonesian lexicon; this figure may be exaggerated, and is not accounted for by quantitative justification<sup>16</sup>. Among the loanwords from Dutch in Indonesian, a significant subset is of French origin. Examples are displayed below; a more complete list is annexed to this article.

French	>	Dutch	>	Malay-Indonesian
banqueroute [bākrut]	>	bankroet	>	bankrut “bankruptcy”
biscuit <sup>17</sup> [biskʊi]	>	beschuit	>	biskuit “biscuit”
bordel [bɔrdɛl]	>	bordeel	>	bordil “brothel”
bourgeois [burʒwa]	>	bourgeois	>	borjuis “bourgeois, middle-class or wealthy people”
chauffeur [ʃofœr]	>	chauffeur	>	sopir “driver”
coup d’état [kudeta]	>	coup (d’état)	>	kudeta “coup d’état, putsch”
enquête [āket]	>	enquête	>	angket “inquiry, investigation”
estafette [estafet]	>	estafette	>	estafet “dispatch rider, military messenger”
lieutenant [ljɔtənā]	>	lieutenant	>	letnan “lieutenant”
logement [lɔʒəmā]	>	logement	>	losmen “accommodation”
prévôt <sup>18</sup> [prevo]	>	prévost	>	provos “provost marshal”
restaurant [Rɛstorā]	>	restaurant	>	restoran “restaurant”
réservoir [rezɛrvwar]	>	reservoir	>	reservoir “tank, reservoir”
trottoir [trotwar]	>	trottoir	>	trottoar “sidewalk, pavement”
civil [sivil]	>	civil	>	sipil “civil, non-religious, non-military”

The subset of loanwords that can be tracked down to French emerged on a random basis in Indonesian. The Malay-Indonesian speakers had no preferences or dislikes for Dutch words that “sounded” more Romance than Germanic. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that some lexical fields are over-represented: law, military hierarchy or civil engineering vocabulary. Almost all the military grades are transparent between French and Indonesian today. This is probably due to language contact between French and Dutch during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Civil engineering lexicon probably followed this path, as will be exemplified below. On the other hand, automobile and mechanical vocabulary is authentically Dutch (sometimes English), for instance *kopling* “clutch” from Dutch *koppeling*, or *menyetir* (root word *setir*) “to drive” from Dutch *stuur*. Obviously, when cars began to roam European roads a century ago, Netherlands was free from French political influence, and language contact had become

minimal, probably limited to luxury, mode, gastronomy and that kind of *chic* artefacts and services which still root the *clichés* about France. Therefore, only one Indonesian word related to automobile industry has its source in French: *sopir* “driver”, from *chauffeur*, but in French it meant literally “the man who heats”, i.e. loads coal into the locomotive boiler to heat the steam. And this reflects a previous period, mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, when railway transportation appeared in Europe, and French was still a donor language for Dutch.

A significant number of loanwords from French were initially neologisms belonging to the field of science, technology and human sciences, shaped mostly during the Renaissance period (16<sup>th</sup> century), by combining Latin and/or Old Greek roots and affixes. They are easily recognizable, for instance French *nécrologie* [nekrolozi] “obituary column<sup>19</sup>” formed with Old Greek *nekros* “dead” and *logos* “word, discourse”, hence *nekrologi* [nekrologi] in Indonesian, with the same meaning. Many Indonesian words are suffixed with *-si*,

corresponding to the Dutch suffix *-tie or -(s)sie* [si] and French *-tion* [sjɔ̃], although not all of these words can be undoubtedly matched with a French etymon. Forming neologisms on Old Greek or Latin

roots was common for many European scholars. Some examples are displayed below, picked up from the lexical field of civil engineering.

<b>French</b>	>	<b>Dutch</b>	>	<b>Malay-Indonesian</b>
érosion	>	erosie	>	erosi “erosion”
agrégat	>	aggregaat	>	agregat “aggregate”
buse	>	buis	>	buis “pipe, conduit”
ciment	>	cement	>	semen “cement”
irrigation	>	irrigatie	>	irigasi “irrigation, watering”

Another Indonesian lexical field hosts many loanwords from French via Dutch: law and justice. However, because most of these words sound very close to their Latin etymon, a French origin is often disputable. The following examples are doubtlessly

adopted from French, because they have undergone a meaning change from Latin to French, and this new meaning has been handed over along with the loanwords in receiving languages.

<b>French</b>	>	<b>Dutch</b>	>	<b>Malay-Indonesian</b>
sommat <sup>20</sup>	>	somatie	>	somasi
cassation <sup>21</sup>	>	cassatie	>	kasasi
compromis	>	compromis	>	kompromi
discipline	>	discipline	>	disiplin (ilmu) “science field”
discipline <sup>22</sup>	>	discipline	>	disiplin “discipline, obeying to a higher authority or regulation”

Again, many of these words are linked to legal topics reflect the French suffix *-tion* [sjɔ̃] > Dutch *-tie or -(s)sie* [si] > Indonesian *-si* [si], for example *konklusi* “conclusion”, *eksepsi* “exception”, *ekstradisi* “extradition”, *yurisprudensi* “jurisprudence”. The French nominal suffix *-oire* [war] is retained in Indonesian, although the /wa/ often split into two distinct vowels, i.e. /oa/, for instance *transitoire* > *transitoar* “temporary”.

deeply contrasted with Indonesian, for instance *stuur* > *setir* “to drive”.

Let us observe phonological implications of these borrowings. Malay-Indonesian and Dutch words own a priori contrasting phonological features; many phonemes are not shared by these two languages, and the word phonological structure seems conflicting, because Malay-Indonesian phonemes are preferably distributed on an alternation basis between consonants and vowels, hence CVCV... However, when Dutch is the donor language, some loanwords may show the “touch and feel” of original Indonesian words, as remarked by Chaer (2007, pp. 16-17) : *aki* “battery” or *loket* “ticket counter” may not be felt as loanwords by Indonesian speakers, while *abonemen* “subscription” or *indekos* “room to let” remain easily recognizable as borrowings<sup>23</sup>. The adaptation of foreign words into Indonesian follows different processes, depending on whether the word originates from a West-Malayo-Polynesian language or a more alien language, Indo-European for instance, but also depending on the particular phonological structure of each word. Any phonological obstacle can be overtaken through adaptation: any Dutch root word could be adopted into Indonesian, even though its phonological shape

Phonological rearrangement from French to Dutch has been generally transmitted to Indonesian, for instance French *arbitrage* [arbitraʒ] > Dutch/Indonesian *arbitrase* [arbitrasə] “arbitration”. When the last syllable in French ended by two consonants like /bl/, the epenthesis of a schwa /ə/ has reintroduced the vowel-consonant alternation usually heard in Indonesian, for example *excusable* [ɛkskyzabl] > *ekskusabel* [ɛkskyzabəl] “excusable, possibly forgiven” or *cadastre* [kadastrə] > *kadaster* [kadastr̥] “cadastre, land register”.

Other phonological adaptations into Indonesian include the devoicing of French /v/, getting closer to a [f], for example *variation* [varjasjɔ̃] > *variasi* [farjasi] “variation”. The /f/ is more occlusive in Indonesian and tends to /p/: *faillite* [fajit] > *pailit* [pajlit] “insolvability, bankruptcy”. Inversely, by hypercorrection a /v/ may appear, while the etymon simply had a /p/, for instance *punir* > *memvonis* “punish”. The consonant /z/ is also devoiced, tending to /s/: *inclusif* [ɛ̃klyzif] > *inklusif* [inklusif] “inclusive”. Besides, a phonological adaptation in two steps is not uncommon, for instance French *logement* [lɔʒəmã] > Dutch *logement* [lɔʒəmən] > Indonesian *losmen* [lɔsmən] “accommodation”. In addition, French words adopted in Dutch often retained their original spelling, even though these words had undergone phonological adaptation into Dutch. French *bourgeois* [burʒwa] spells alike in Dutch, although pronounced [burʒwis]; ultimately, when adopted in Malay-Indonesian, the spelling<sup>24</sup> was rearranged to reflect the actual pronunciation, in

that case *borjuis* [bɔʁʒwis] or [bɔʁʒuwis]. On the other hand, a subset of Indonesian legal terminology has retained the French spelling and more less its pronunciation<sup>25</sup>, probably because this terminology is highly specialized and in use only among lawyers and legal professionals.

### French loanwords through English in Indonesian

The period of intense borrowing from French (especially its Normandy dialect) into English during the 11<sup>th</sup> century is well documented, see for instance Walter (1994, pp. 379-386). It explains a great number of synonyms in English, for instance (the second is a French loanword) *to begin / to commence; to end / to finish; to give up / to abandon; to help / to assist; to look for / to search for; folk / people; wish / desire; clever / intelligent*. Beside phonological adaptation, many of these loanwords have shifted, partially or totally, to a different meaning, for instance English *actual* “real, true” from French *actuel* “current, nowadays”. Oppositely, in English a loanword may stick to the Old French definition, while the meaning of the corresponding word in Modern French has evolved its own way. This phenomenon is a well-documented source of *faux-amis* (literally “false friends”): words phonologically similar, also called cognates, but whose meanings differ, and may entail misunderstanding in communication between native and non-native speakers. For example, *money* comes

from Old French *monoie*, but nowadays *monnaie* in French only means “small change” or “currency”.

Since the 20<sup>th</sup> century, English acts as a global lingua franca and an “universal donor language”. English words are now intensively borrowed in French, in Indonesian and many other languages. Words that originated from Old French centuries ago may even cross back the English Channel or the Atlantic Ocean, to be eventually re-introduced in French! They sometimes go unnoticed, because of their phonological shape; in addition, they may bear a different meaning. For instance, Old French *chalenge* “dispute, attack” had been adopted in English, then forgotten in French; but *challenge* was recently borrowed from English, and now means in French “sport competition” or “very difficult task”. For these historical reasons, some words of French origin have been recently borrowed in Indonesian through English, which had absorbed it almost a thousand years ago.

In some cases, it is doubtful whether an Indonesian word originates from Dutch or, more recently, from English; Jones (2008) indicates for the entry *biséksualitas* « based on Dutch *biseksualiteit* or English *bisexuality* ». This remark applies to many recent scientific and philosophical terms shaped with Old Greek or Latin roots. For the following examples, the corresponding Dutch words are totally different, therefore an English origin for these loanwords in Indonesian is highly probable.

French	>	English	>	Malay-Indonesian
accessibilité	>	accessibility	>	aksesibilitas
abrasion	>	abrasion	>	abrasi
fondation	>	foundation	>	pondasi “building foundation”
conspiration	>	conspiration	>	konspirasi
pénalité	>	penalty	>	penalti “strike in football or rugby games after a fault”
ressort	>	resort	>	resort

The last example is worth commenting on, because the French word *ressort* [RƏSɔʁ] “concerned, or under an authority” has been borrowed twice: firstly through Dutch, forming *resor* [resor] in Indonesian, meaning administrative authority, for instance *Kepolisian resor kota* “city district police”. Secondly through English *resort* [rə'zɔrt] > resort [risort] “housing complex or condominium”. More meaning shifts like this one will be exemplified below.

Any loanword in Indonesian fits into the regular Indonesian syntax. As any other root, a loanword can be affixed, with Agent Voice prefix *meN-* or Patient Voice *di-*, for instance *mengakses*

(*meN-akses*) “to access”, *diakses* “accessed”, *pengaksesan* “the action of accessing”. However, some loanwords resist to the sandi<sup>26</sup> rule: *survei* > *mensurvei* “to survey”, while the strict sandi application would produce *menyurvei*.

### Indonesian loanwords into French

Almost all the loanwords from Malay-Indonesian in French are related to fauna, flora and cultural artefacts. This is unsurprising, if we consider the climatic and geographic differences between Europe and Indonesia. These loanwords were conveyed through Portuguese and, more often, through Dutch.

Malay-Indonesian	>	Portuguese	>	French
rotan	>	rota, rotim	>	rotin [rotɛ̃]
bambu	>	bambu	>	bambou [bābu]
jong	>	junco	>	jonque [ʒɔ̃kə]
kakatua	>	cacatua / catatua	>	cacatoès [kakatoɛs]

<b>Malay-Indonesian</b>	>	<b>Dutch</b>	>	<b>French</b>
durian	>	doerian	>	dourian / durian
rambutan	>	ramboetan	>	ramboutan
orang hutan	>	orang-oetan	>	orang outang [orã utã]
batik	>	batik	>	batik
gong	>	gong	>	gong
kris	>	kris	>	kriss
getah perca	>	guttapercha	>	gutta percha
kapuk	>	kapok	>	kapok
manggis	>	manggistan	>	mangoustan
satai	>	saté	>	saté
<b>Malay-Indonesian</b>	>	<b>English</b>	>	<b>French</b>
amuk	>	amok	>	amok
kecap <sup>27</sup>	>	ketchup	>	ketchup
lahar	>	lahar	>	lahar
sarung	>	sarong	>	sarong
agar-agar	>	agar-agar	>	agar-agar

It is uncertain whether the last series of words were introduced in French through English; they probably originate from Peninsular Malaysia, which was under British colonial administration. The French word *camphre* “camphor” may have been borrowed before the colonial era, through Arab or Persian; its etymon is *kapur barus*. Finally, *matahari* “sun” is known in France with a totally different meaning: it was the stage name of a famous dancer at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>28</sup>.

#### Semantic features of loanwords into Indonesian

Alike any other language, in Indonesian the usage of a foreign term provides simplicity and effectiveness in expressing new concepts, when the speakers feel their language lacks for an appropriate word. Cross-linguistically, borrowings can be classified into three types, after Matthews (1997) and Crystal (1997):

**Loan concept:** a new concept or artefact appears, and its existing name in a foreign language is adopted into the receiving language, for instance *televisi* or *wine* in Indonesian, or *bambou* in French.

**Loan translation** or **calque**<sup>29</sup>: an foreign idiomatic expression is literally translated into the receiving language, for instance *skyscraper* translated *pencakar langit* in Indonesian, *gratte-ciel* in French, or *white collars*, Indonesian (*pekerja kerah putih*, French *cols blancs*).

**Loan blend:** a hybrid phenomenon, where part of the expression or word compound is borrowed, while another part is “native”, for instance *studi banding* “comparative survey”, where *studi* < Dutch *studie* “study” and *banding* “compare” is Malay. Loanwords of different origins can be combined, for example *apél bendéra* “flag rising attendance monitoring” from *apél* “call (names)” < Dutch < French *appel* and *bendéra* < Portuguese *bandeira* “flag”.

‘Loan translation’ and ‘loan blend’ are not intensively used in Indonesian. We will focus on the ‘loan concept’ type of borrowing, which represents the huge majority of occurrences. Through borrowing, a *signifiant* (a compound of phonemes) is imported into the receiving language and may be phonologically adapted. This *signifiant* sticks to a *signifié* which refers to something (*réfèrent*), either concrete or abstract in the speaker’s environment or imagination. The most banal case of borrowing, labelled “loan concept”, is triggered by the apparition of a new artefact or technology, leading to the borrowing of a foreign word, which already refers to this new concept. Some linguists, like Lehman & Martin-Berthet (2000) distinguish a subset of these “loan concept”, called xenism<sup>30</sup>, which refer specifically to a concept definitively “alien” for practical reasons; for instance *tundra*, a kind of forest in very cold areas like Siberia, cannot refer to any landscape in Indonesia. An infinite number of words referring to artefacts, traditions or food linked to a particular community lead obviously to borrow its vernacular designation. Most of the loanwords from Indonesian into French displayed above are examples of xenism<sup>31</sup>. There is no reason why Indonesian *gamelan* (a percussion orchestra) should be translated differently in French, Chinese or Spanish; and there is no reason to modify the *signifiant* and *signifié* of the noun *cognac* [kopak] (a French brandy), in Indonesian.

Of course not all the ‘loan concepts’ are xenisms. New technologies adopted globally in the 20<sup>th</sup> century have invaded our daily life, altogether with their names, generally borrowed. *Televisi* “television” or *mobil* “car” are not bound to any particular country or culture, and nobody cares where the objects referred to by these words have been invented and where they are manufactured. ‘Loan concepts’ borrowing type is not limited to nouns, it applies to verbs as well (in Information



Technologies usage for instance) and to some adjectives or adverbs. On the other hand, grammatical words (morphemes) are almost not concerned, because they come under syntax, which is less likely influenced by language contact.

Besides the sudden apparition of new concepts, the need for expressing existing concepts in a more refined way also motivates borrowing; for instance, Indonesian recently adopted the word *wine*, probably because the noun *anggur* was semantically too wide, encompassing vine, grapes and wine. However, there may be no pragmatic reason in adopting a loanword when a concept can already be expressed by an existing word. In this case, borrowing has sociological grounds: a trendy, attractive foreign word supplants an existing word, for mysterious reasons. Language is also a social game, and some speakers may want to appear *cool*, smarter, or mark their social group by distinctive lexical features. Using foreign words (code shifting) while equivalent words are available in the local

language is a way of manifesting one's original personality, education or leading social position. After all, exhibiting some kind of difference, superiority or attractiveness vis-à-vis other speakers is certainly a strong vector of evolution within every human language.

As a consequence of the borrowing process, shifts of meaning are frequent. The loanword *signifié* may be more or less divergent from the etymon *signifié*. It may become polysemic (polysemy increase), or on the contrary lose one of its possible meanings (polysemy reduction). Semantic narrowing or widening of the *signifié* also happen: the concept expressed by the loanword may be more limited than the etymon, or inversely. In some extreme cases, through borrowing the original *signifié* drifts to a completely different meaning. The following examples illustrate various shifts in meanings between the foreign etymon (French) and the loanword in Indonesian.

<b>French</b>	>	<b>Dutch</b>	>	<b>Malay-Indonesian</b>
<i>appel</i> "to call"	>	<i>appel</i>	>	<i>apel</i> "monitoring the presence of someone (often a group)"
<i>adjutant</i> "adjutant, military officer"	>	<i>adjudan</i>	>	<i>ajudan</i> "(1) officer ; (2) assistant to an important person"
<i>bourgeois</i> "(1) people who live in cities as opposed to villagers or farmers. (2) The rich people who exploit the poor's working force."	>	<i>bourgeois</i>	>	<i>borjuis</i> only meaning (2) was retained
<i>ironi</i> "satire, ridicule someone with elegant, indirect jokes"	>	<i>ironi</i>	>	<i>ironi</i> "event or situation contrary to expectations and with bad consequences"
<i>courant</i> "usual, current"	>	<i>courante nieuws</i> "bulletin, news"	>	<i>koran</i> "newspaper"
<i>permisi</i> "authorization or soldier leave permission"	>	<i>permissie</i>	>	<i>permisi</i> "excuse-me, sorry (when passing near another person)"
<i>plaisir</i> "pleasure"	>	<i>plezier</i>	>	<i>plesiran</i> "private trip, touristic excursion" (with suffix <i>-an</i> )
<i>piquet</i> "(1) upright wooden stick. (2) standing up guard"	>	<i>piket</i>	>	<i>piket</i> "guard duty on day or night (usually in military units or hospitals)" meaning (2)
<i>sukses</i> "(1) getting good opinions from the public, esp. for an artist, a movie, a book. (2) succeeding (exam, business)"	>	<i>succes</i>	>	<i>sukses</i> only meaning (2) was retained

These examples illustrate various shifts of meaning: semantic narrowing (*apel*, *permisi*), semantic widening (*ironi*); polysemy increase '1 to 2' (*ajudan*), polysemy reduction '2 to 1' (*burjuis*, *piket*, *sukses*); shift to a completely different meaning (*koran*, *plesiran*).

Lastly, we came across two puzzling Indonesian words: *dong* and *didong*. The first word, *dong*, is very frequent, to recommend and advise an action, for instance *makan dong!* "eat please!" It

resembles much to French *donc* [dɔ̃k], used in the same context and for the same purpose: *mange donc* "eat please!". Some Indonesians even pronounce and spell it *donk*.

The second expression is archaic, and was in use probably only in Betawi (Batavia/Jakarta dialect): *orang didong* "French man, French people". Its origin is amazing: French people were used to say *dis donc!* "How come!"; literally "say please!". Some French people lived in Batavia a

century ago. Betawi people humorously coined this expression, because they heard it so often that it seemed perfect for designing French people. *Dong* is absent from Jones' loanword glossary (2008), while *didong* is correctly identified as a loanword from French. We believe that *dong* and *didong* are the unique loanwords that were borrowed directly from French into Indonesian, through a language contact limited in space (Batavia) and time (end of 19<sup>th</sup> century - beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century).

### Implications for language teaching

The data gathered in this article may help teachers of French as a Foreign Language in Indonesia, as well as teachers of Indonesian as a Foreign Language in French-speaking countries, to predict which words would be immediately recognized by their students, and when they should pay extra-attention to *faux-amis*. A *faux-ami* is a word in a foreign / second language which resembles phonetically to a word in one's mother language<sup>32</sup>, but bears a (partially or totally) different meaning. Whenever these *faux-amis* occur during the learning process, they can lead to a false interpretation, because the learner will firstly assume that the cognate showing up in a foreign language means exactly the same as the corresponding term in his/her mother language. It can lead to misunderstandings when using the second language in real communication, as exemplified below.

Firstly, the polysemy may have been imported along with the loanword: this is the case of the

#### French

application "care, caution"  
 condition "requirement, specification"  
 éditeur "publisher"  
 issue "exit, way out"  
 journal "daily newspaper"  
 location "rent (house, cars...)"  
 diète "starvation diet"  
 route "road"  
 artiste "singer, musician, painter, dancer"

In some case, the *faux-ami* appears very fine-drawn. For instance, French adjective *domestique* "inside home" seems equivalent to English *domestic* or Indonesian *domestik*. But it cannot be used for transportation; hence in English *domestic flight* or Indonesian *penerbangan domestik* cannot be translated as *\*vol domestique* in French, but only *vol intérieur*, literally "interior flight"<sup>34</sup>. This is a contextual constraint on the usage of this adjective; contextual constraints apply to many words (be they cognates or not), and this represents the highest level of difficulties in mastering a foreign language. Using a word or a phrase perfectly understandable, but sounding unusual or weird in a particular context reveals the tiny difference between an

Indonesian word *disiplin* "obedience to an institution" or "knowledge domain", just as the polysemy displayed by the French etymon *discipline* (see above, note 22). More puzzling examples also occur: the Indonesian word *partai* displays a rather unusual case of homonymy. Depending on the context, it may be translated as "political party" or "part", especially when speaking about goods to be sold. Therefore, the phrase *partai besar* may mean either "big political party" or "in big parts (of merchandise)". This is rather confusing for a learner of Indonesian, and the teacher should be aware of that, although he/she does not need to explain that *partai* (political) is loanword from Dutch *partij*, while *partai* (parts of goods for sale) was borrowed long before that from Portuguese *parte* "part".

As already stated, there are plenty of loanwords from French in English, borrowed almost one thousand years ago. Quite often, original word and loanword meanings drifted apart. Unsurprisingly, *faux-amis* occurring between French and English are often mirrored in Indonesian, for instance *sukses* "success" while the French etymon (borrowed in English), *succès* now means "be famous, be popular", especially for artists. This can lead an Indonesian learner to tell "*j'ai du succès à l'examen*", which in fact does not mean he/she passed the exam, but that he/she was admired, praised publicly, and maybe applauded. Other frequent examples are listed below; these loanwords were conveyed into Indonesian through English.

#### Indonesian

aplikasi "application (request)"  
 kondisi "state or quality of something"  
 editor "editor"  
 isu "issue, important topic"  
 jurnal "journal" (for instance IJAL)  
 lokasi "location place"  
 diet "diet"<sup>33</sup>  
 rute "route, way taken to a destination"  
 artis "singer or actor"

excellent second language speaker and a native speaker.

Teachers of French as a Foreign Language (FLE) in Indonesia, just like teachers of Indonesian in French speaking countries, should be aware of these correspondences between French and Indonesian vocabulary. Obviously, their students will notice this likeness, and may tend to overuse cognates because this subset of the lexicon is obviously easy to remember. Nevertheless, this similarity and easy memorisation of these words may lead the learners to misuse the *faux-amis*.

It would be absurd to teach preferably cognates words to learners of French / of Indonesian; it may make them feel safe and familiar for a while with the foreign language they approach, but it may also

lead them to believe that the language they begin to learn comprises a high percentage of cognates, which is wrong. However, there is no inconvenient in introducing step by step these cognates, but the teachers should systematically make students aware of the shifts of meaning: semantic narrowing or widening; polysemy increase or reduction; contextual constraints and *faux-amis* (shifts to a slightly different, or completely different meaning); so that the learners will be able to pick up the right word when they speak or write. Long definitions and comments are poorly effective. It is recommended to present a series of sentences where the cognates appear in various contexts. Finally, some students are required to propose a short explanation of the semantic features and constraints of the cognate.

### CONCLUSION

Indonesian does not own an especially huge number of loanwords compared to other living languages. The most striking feature of Indonesian lexicon is that it has been enriched by several layers of loanwords at various periods and from diverse parts of the world: India, Southeast China, Middle-East, and finally Europe: Portuguese, Dutch, and more recently English. There have not been noticeable relations between Indonesia and France all along their Histories; therefore, no significant direct language contact happens. However, many Indonesian words can be tracked down to French lexicon, even as it was centuries ago. These borrowings were indirect: Portuguese and Dutch had adopted some French lexicon, then contributed, years or centuries later, to Indonesian lexicon. Therefore, some French words, totally assimilated in Portuguese or Dutch, were randomly introduced into Malay-Indonesian. Very few words were adopted into Indonesian through Portuguese, much more through Dutch. Quite recently, in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, English became the main donor language for Indonesian, and inevitably conveyed very old French words that had been assimilated in English during the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Besides the historical background of these borrowing, we have presented two kinds of modifications that go along with borrowing: phonological adaptation and semantic features. Phonological adaptation of foreign words into Malay-Indonesian include reinstating the alternation between consonants and vowels (CVCV...) and

devoicing of /v/ and /z/. Semantic features of ‘loan concept’, the most frequent type of borrowing into Indonesian, show shifts of meaning, either the loss of one of the meanings (in case of polysemy) or even a complete shift to a different meaning.

Loanwords from French through Dutch are especially numerous in the lexical field of army, civil engineering and law, due to historical contacts between France and the Netherlands. Lexical field of fashion, perfumes, and gastronomy are well represented, and may have been conveyed through English as well. On the other hand, some Indonesian words have been adopted in French, mainly fauna and flora-related items, a type of ‘loan concept’ which is labelled xenism because it sticks to a foreign culture and to its vernacular designation.

Finally, the introduction of French vocabulary into Indonesian and vice-versa is totally due to the accidents of history, and was conveyed by other European languages. Therefore, speakers from both countries use these loanwords without any idea where they come from, which is fine. These French words in Indonesian and these Indonesian words in French may be viewed as colourful witnesses of global history and signs of language vitality. In this article, we used many times the verb “to borrow”, but no need to return these loanwords: keep it as a *kado* < *cadeau* “gift”.

Teachers of French as a Foreign Language (FLE) in Indonesia, and teachers of Indonesian in French speaking countries, should be aware of these correspondences between French and Indonesian vocabulary. However, it would be inefficient and boring to explain the etymology to the students. Instead, the cognate word should be presented in various contexts to point at its semantic features, otherwise the students will not be able to choose the right word. Further research could address systematically these issues, and eventually provide the teachers with a loanwords glossary highlighting and commenting on the *faux-amis* in Indonesian, from various source languages.

### Annex: loanwords from French into Indonesian

These two wordlists are not exhaustive. More examples can be found in Jones (2008).

#### 1. Loanwords from French, through Dutch, into Indonesian

Indonesian word is displayed in the left column, its French etymon in the right column

abolisi	<	abolition	aksen	<	accent	ambulans	<	ambulance
administrasi	<	administration	aksi	<	action	amfibi	<	amphibie
advokat	<	avocat	akte	<	acte	anulir	<	annuler
agen	<	agent	aktif	<	actif	anonim	<	anonyme
agregat	<	agrégat	akur	<	accord	antena	<	antenne
akademi	<	académie	ala	<	à la	antik	<	antique
aklamasi	<	acclamation	amatir	<	amateur	apatis	<	apathique
akreditasi	<	accréditation	ambisi	<	ambition	aransemen	<	arrangement

arbitrase	<	arbitrage	dialek	<	dialecte	inklusif	<	inclusif
argumentasi	<	argumentation	dialog	<	dialogue	insinyur	<	ingénieur
arloji	<	horloge	diare	<	diarrhée	inspektor	<	inspecteur
arsip	<	archive	dikte	<	dictée	instalasi	<	installation
arsitek	<	architecte	dipan	<	divan	insting	<	instinct
arsitektur	<	architecture	diploma	<	diplôme	institut	<	institut
arteri	<	artère	diplomasi	<	diplomate	instruksi	<	instruction
artikel	<	article	direktur	<	directeur	instruktur	<	instructeur
artileri	<	artillerie	disiplin	<	discipline	instrumental	<	instrumental
artisan	<	artisan	dobel	<	double	intern	<	interne
asuransi	<	assurance	documenter	<	documentaire	intim	<	intime
atase	<	attaché	dokter	<	docteur	intonasi	<	intonation
atlet	<	athlète	dokumentasi	<	documentation	intrik	<	intrigue
atraksi	<	attraction	domisili	<	domicile	introspeksi	<	introspection
atribut	<	attribut	donor	<	donneur	intuisi	<	intuition
aubade	<	aubade	duane	<	douane	invalid	<	invalide
bagasi	<	bagage	egois	<	égoïste	inventaris	<	inventaire
balada	<	ballade	ekonom	<	économe	irigasi	<	irrigation
balkon	<	balcon	eksemplar	<	exemplaire	jurnal	<	journal
bandit	<	bandit	ekskavasi	<	excavation	kabel	<	câble
bandrol	<	banderole	eksklusif	<	exclusif	kader	<	cadre
bangku	<	banc	ekstrim	<	extrême	kadet	<	cadet
bank	<	banque	elementer	<	élémentaire	kado	<	cadeau
bankrut	<	banqueroute	epilepsi	<	épilepsie	kafé	<	café
baret	<	béret	erosi	<	érosion	kalem	<	calme
barikade	<	barricade	eselon	<	échelon	kaliber	<	calibre
basis	<	base	estafet	<	estafette	kalkulasi	<	calcul
batalyon	<	bataillon	etiket	<	étiquette	kalori	<	calorie
batere	<	batterie	etnis	<	ethnique	kampanye	<	campagne
bayonet	<	baïonnette	faktur	<	facture	kamuflase	<	camouflage
beton	<	béton	famili	<	famille	kanal	<	canal
biografi	<	biographie	farmasi	<	pharmacie	kandidat	<	candidat
biro	<	bureau	favorit	<	favori	kans	<	chance
biskuit	<	biscuit	feodal	<	féodal	kantin	<	cantine
blus	<	blouse	fiktif	<	fictif	kapasitas	<	capacité
bon	<	bon	filateli	<	philatélie	kapel	<	chapelle
bordil	<	bordel	fisika	<	physique	kaptan	<	capitaine
bordir	<	broderie	fisiologi	<	physiologie	karakter	<	caractère
borjuis	<	bourgeois	frekuensi	<	fréquence	karantina	<	quarantaine
botol	<	bouteille	fungsi	<	fonction	kariér	<	carrière
brigade	<	brigade	gaji	<	gagé	karnaval	<	carnaval
brokat	<	brocart	garansi	<	garantie	karoseri	<	carrosserie
bros	<	broche	garasi	<	garage	karton	<	carton
brosur	<	brochure	garnisun	<	garnison	kartu	<	carte
brutal	<	brutal	gas	<	gaz	kasasi	<	cassation
bufet	<	buffet	grafik	<	graphique	kaset	<	cassette
buket	<	bouquet	granat	<	grenade	kasir	<	caissier
buis	<	buse	grosir	<	grossiste	kassa	<	caisse
bulat	<	boulette	grup	<	groupe	katapel	<	catapulte
bulevar	<	boulevard	gubernur	<	gouverneur	kilometre	<	kilomètre
bus	<	bus	hektar	<	hectare	kios	<	kiosque
butik	<	boutique	honorér	<	honoraire	klas	<	classe
cokelat	<	chocolat	hotel	<	hôtel	klasik	<	classique
dansa	<	danser	ide	<	idée	klausul	<	clause
debet	<	débit	ideal	<	idéel	klien	<	client
debitur	<	débiteur	idealis	<	idéaliste	klinik	<	clinique
debut	<	début	identifikasi	<	identification	klisé	<	cliché
defilé	<	défilé	identik	<	identique	koalisi	<	coalition
delegasi	<	délégation	identitas	<	identité	kolega	<	collègue
demokrasi	<	démocratie	idiot	<	idiot	koleksi	<	collection
depot	<	dépôt	imitasi	<	imitation	kolektif	<	collectif
despotisme	<	despotisme	impas	<	impasse	kolera	<	choléra
detil	<	détail	implisit	<	implicite	kolom	<	colonne
desimal	<	décimale	imun	<	immune	kolonel	<	colonel
devisa	<	devise	industri	<	industrie	koloni	<	colonie
diagonal	<	diagonale	infeksi	<	infection	kolonial	<	colonial
diagram	<	diagramme	injeksi	<	injection	komandan	<	commandant

kombinasi	<	combinaison	militer	<	militaire	refleks	<	reflexe
komentar	<	commentaire	milieu	<	milieu	regional	<	régional
komisaris	<	commissaire	mineral	<	minéral	registrasi	<	régistration
komisi	<	commission	mode	<	mode	rekapitulasi	<	récapitulation
komite	<	comité	mutasi	<	mutation	rekrut	<	recruter
kompensasi	<	compensation	naif	<	naïf	rektor	<	recteur
komplikasi	<	complication	nasional	<	nation	reservoir	<	réservoir
komplrit	<	complète	navigasi	<	navigation	rédi	<	reçu
komposisi	<	composition	netral	<	neutre	rédi	<	résine
kompromi	<	compromis	nikotin	>	nicotine	residivis	<	récidiviste
kondisi	<	condition	nomor	<	nombre	resor	<	ressort
koneksi	<	connexion	obligasi	<	obligation	restoran	<	restaurant
konferensi	<	conférence	operasi	<	opération	rute	<	route
kongres	<	congrès	opini	<	opinion	rutin	<	routine
konotasi	<	connotation	oranye	<	orange	sabotase	<	sabotage
konsekuen	<	conséquence	organisasi	<	organisation	sadis	<	sadique
konsensus	<	consensus	orisinil	<	original	salut	<	salut
konsentrasi	<	concentration	otentik	<	authentique	sandal	<	sandales
konspirasi	<	conspiration	otodidak	<	autodidacte	sanksi	<	sanction
konstitusi	<	constitution	otomatis	<	automatique	saos	<	sauce
konsulat	<	consulat	otonomi	<	autonomie	sardèn	<	sardine
kontingen	<	contingent	pabrik	<	fabrique	sekrup	<	écrou
kontrak	<	contrat	pailit	<	faillite	seledri	<	céleri
kontras	<	contraste	paket	<	paquet	semen	<	ciment
kontrol	<	contrôle	palem	<	palme	sentimeter	<	centimètre
kontrolleur	<	contrôleur	panik	<	panique	sentral	<	central
konvoi	<	convoi	panorama	<	panorama	sepéda	<	vélocepede
korset	<	corset	parade	<	parade	serius	<	sérieux
koran	<	courant	paragraf	<	paragraphe	sérsan	<	sergent
krayon	<	crayon	paralel	<	parallèle	sertifikat	<	certificat
krem	<	crème	parasit	<	parasite	servis	<	service
kudeta	<	coup d'état	parfum	<	parfum	simbol	<	symbole
kuldesak	<	cul-de-sac	partai	<	parti "polit. party"	simpati	<	sympathie
labil	<	labile	payet	<	paillette	sinyal	<	signal
laboratorium	<	laboratoire	perkedel	<	fricadelle	sipil	<	civil
lampu	<	lampe	peron	<	perron	somasi	<	sommation
lapor	<	rapport	persis	<	précis	sop	<	soupe
laten	<	latent	piket	<	piquet	sopir	<	chauffeur
legalisasi	<	légalisation	plafon	<	plafond	tablet	<	tablette
legion	<	légion	plesir(an)	<	plaisir	tambur	<	tambour
letnan	<	lieutenant	polisi	<	police	tante	<	tante
losmen	<	logement	portabel	<	portable	teras	<	terrasse
maksimal	<	maximal	portal	<	portail	terminal	<	terminal
maniak	<	maniaque	pos	<	poste	terompet	<	trompette
mantel	<	mantel	pot	<	pot	tipe	<	type
manuver	<	manœuvre	présidén	<	président	toilet	<	toilette
maritim	<	maritime	provos	<	prévôt	trotoar	<	trottoir
marmot	<	marmotte	rabat	<	rabattre	variasi	<	variation
mars	<	marche	radiator	<	radiateur	vas	<	vase
mayones	<	mayonnaise	radikal	<	radical	ventilasi	<	ventilation
menit	<	minute	rapor	<	rapport	vital	<	vital
menu	<	menu	rayon	<	rayon	vitrase	<	vitrage
merk	<	marque	reaksi	<	réaction	volume	<	volume
mesin	<	machine	realisasi	<	réalisation	yuridis	<	juridique
meter	<	mètre	redaksi	<	rédaction	zeni	<	génie
metode	<	méthode	reduksi	<	réduction			
mikrofon	<	microphone	referensi	<	référence			

## 2. Loanwords from Portuguese into Indonesian

Data adapted from Pinto da França (1970), Jones (2008) and other sources. Indonesian word is displayed in the left column, its Portuguese etymon in the right column. A

subset of loanwords from French, through Portuguese, into Indonesian are underlined, and commented in the section "French loanwords through Portuguese into Indonesian" above.

akta <	acta	kemah <	kema	pesiar <	passear
algojo <	algoz	kemeja <	camisa	pesta <	feita
antero <	inteiro	kereta <	carreta	pigura <	figura
armada <	armada	lelang <	leilão	pita <	fitra
bangku <	banco	lemari <	armario	rantai <	corrente
bantal <	avental	lentera <	lanterna	risiko <	risco
<u>baret</u> <	barrete	mandor <	mandaro	roda <	roda
bendera <	bandeira	martil <	martelo	ronda <	ronda
biola <	viola	meja <	mesa	sabun <	sabão
<u>blus</u> <	blusa	mentega <	manteiga	saku <	saco
bola <	bola	meski <	mas que	sekolah <	escola
bolu <	balo	Minggu <	Dominggo	<u>selé / selai</u> <	geleia
boneca <	boneca	Natal <	Natal	sepatu <	sapato
<u>capio</u> <	chapéu	noda <	nodoa	serdadu <	soldado
cerutu <	charuto	nyonya <	senhora	sisas <	sisas
dadu <	dado	padri <	padre	tempo <	tempo
denda <	renda	palsu <	falso	tenda <	tenda
garpu <	garfo	partai <	parte "a part"	<u>teras</u> <	terraço
gereja <	igreja	Paska(h) <	Pascoa	terigu <	trigo
jendela <	janela	pegang <	pegar (?)	tinta <	tinta
kaldera <	caldeira	peluru <	pelouro	tolol <	tololo
kaldu <	caldo	pena <	pena	trigu <	trigo
<u>kalsan</u> <	calção	peniti <	alfinete	tukar <	trocar
<u>kantin</u> <	cantina	peranko <	franco		
keju <	queijo	persero <	parceiro		

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- <sup>1</sup> IFI, previously known as Centre Culturel Français – CCF
  - <sup>2</sup> On the other hand, most French people do not own any precise image of Indonesia, not even a single *cliché*, although they may have watched TV documentaries on the fascinating natural landscapes of Indonesia.
  - <sup>3</sup> Mostly in Bandung, West Java, a city of approximately 2,6 million inhabitants.
  - <sup>4</sup> French itself is not else than a daughter of Latin, which 2000 years ago replaced almost all the languages in Gaule (the ancient name of many small kingdoms, now France). Only twenty words of *gaulois* (languages of Gaule) remain in French today.
  - <sup>5</sup> Regional language would be more likely used at home, if all family members belong to the same linguistic community.
  - <sup>6</sup> However, being proud of its identity does not mean that one dislikes foreign cultures, or different traditions. French language differentiates *patriotisme* (love of one's country), and *nationalisme*, which sounds quite negative, because it leads to regard other people, other cultures, as “wrong” or “inferior”, and paves the way to injustice or even violence. Often, Indonesians are praised for their tolerance and openness, while they do love their country, hence a strong *patriotisme*. This may be because Indonesians are used to interact with people from various islands within their immense archipelago, with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.
  - <sup>7</sup> Phonological features of a borrowed word may facilitate, or hamper, its adoption. For instance, Italian words fit themselves so easily into French that nowadays they go unnoticed.
  - <sup>8</sup> The roots *reksa* and *dana* are both of Sanskrit origin, still a prestigious and preferred source for shaping neologisms in Indonesian. This tendency is comparable to the use of Old Greek and Latin in European languages, especially since the Renaissance (16<sup>th</sup> century) in which concerns France, to create scientific, technical and philosophical terminology.
  - <sup>9</sup> The Dutch rule over the Indonesian archipelago is divided into two distinct stages: firstly a private company, the VOC (East-India United Company) during two centuries, until its bankruptcy in 1799. The VOC had progressively controlled Java, the Moluccas and various coastal areas elsewhere. Then the Kingdom of Netherlands established a colonial administration over the archipelago, from the end of Napoleonic wars (1816) until the conquest of Southeast Asia by the Japanese (1942). Altogether, this Dutch presence amounts to almost 350 years, entailing extensive language contact, although the colonial administrative staff usually used Malay or Javanese for their interactions with the *pribumi* (local population).
  - <sup>10</sup> Very few French soldiers were assigned in Batavia during Daendels rule as General Governor.
  - <sup>11</sup> The king of France Louis XIV had attacked the Netherlands in 1672, and occupied it partially until 1678.
  - <sup>12</sup> The verb *geler* “to gel” was already in use in Old French during the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and the noun *gelée* appears in texts circa 10<sup>th</sup> century, according to TLFi (2016). From the meaning of frost (solidified water under 0° C.), it already referred to the solidified state of any liquid, especially food (for instance grease, pudding, agar-agar...) The Latin etymon was *gelata*, but was abridged in French, hence *gelée*. Therefore, its adoption in Portuguese from French, and not directly from Latin is obvious, like some other cooking and food terms.
  - <sup>13</sup> The word *béret* “round flattish cap, usually black” was pronounced [beret], but in contemporary standard French, the last consonant has been dropped, hence [bere] or [ber].
  - <sup>14</sup> The word *cañina* had been initially borrowed from Italian into French. This is also the case for the following word, *caleçon* “men long underwear”, from Italian *calzoni*.
  - <sup>15</sup> Language contact between Portuguese and Malay was significant in the Moluccas, the spice islands, from 16<sup>th</sup> century until the 17<sup>th</sup> when Portuguese strongholds were overtaken by the Dutch VOC. Moreover, after Malaka fell to the hand of the Dutch in 1641, many Portuguese and Malays fled to Ambon and Larantuka (East Flores).
  - <sup>16</sup> The number of words in Indonesian is unknown, just as in any other language... Encompassing all the specialized lexical fields (terminologies of every science, technology, arts, culture...) it should reach tens of thousands words, like any other living language spoken by millions of speakers, with a dynamic books and media industry. However, this question has no importance, because not a single human knows the whole lexicon of his/her mother language.
  - <sup>17</sup> From the verb *cuire* “to cook, to bake”, past participle *cuit*, while the prefix *bi-* indicates that this kind of cookie is baked twice.
  - <sup>18</sup> In French, the circumflex mark (^) is the typographical remnant of an erased /s/. In Old French, this word spelled *prévost* [prevost], and was adopted in Dutch and English before it lost its two final consonants, thus in contemporary French *prévôt* [prevo]. See also Old French *hospital*, now spelled *hôpital* and pronounced [opital].
  - <sup>19</sup> A necrology is a short article in newspaper or journal, following the death of a person of some public importance and outlining his/her life.
  - <sup>20</sup> From the French verb *sommer* “to require, to summon”
  - <sup>21</sup> From the French verb *casser* “to break, to crush”

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- <sup>22</sup> In the reference dictionary for Indonesian *KBBI* by Alwi et al. (2001), we can find two sub-entries for *disiplin*, reflecting a semantic change which happened long ago in French. From the Latin *discipuli* “pupils, students” emerged the French word *discipline*, bearing a meaning of obedience and submission, otherwise the pupils might be beaten by the schoolmasters. Beside, the meaning of *discipline* as “things learned, domain of knowledge, science field” remained, hence the polysemy today in Indonesian: *disiplin (ilmu)* “science field” and *disiplin* “attitude of a person who obeys a higher authority or a regulation”.
- <sup>23</sup> The typical phonological structure of Indonesian words is based on the alternance between consonants (C) and vowels (V), hence CVCV... There is a tendency to align loanwords phonological structure on this alternance, often by an epenthesis of a schwa /ə/ between to consonants. In addition, any word longer than two syllables is either an affixed root or a loanword. Therefore if a word longer than two syllables has no recognizable Indonesian affixes (for instance verbal prefix *meN-*, nominal affix *-an*, etc.), it must be a loanword.
- <sup>24</sup> At least in 1972, when the EYD, *Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan*, “refined spelling reform” was adopted in the Republic of Indonesia.
- <sup>25</sup> These terms are less likely known by the general speakers, either in Francophone countries and in Indonesia: *force majeure; fait accompli; abus de pouvoir; droit de visite; à charge / à décharge; nul et non avenu*.
- <sup>26</sup> The sandi is a morphophonetic rule, consisting in the epenthesis of a nasal consonant between the prefixes *meN-* or *peN-* and the stem.
- <sup>27</sup> The word *kecap* in Malay-Indonesian was previously borrowed from a Southern Chinese language.
- <sup>28</sup> Matahari was a Dutch lady who had learn Javanese dance and who performed in various cities in Europe. She was accused of spying for the Germans during the WWI and executed by the French army in 1917.
- <sup>29</sup> *Calque* is a French word, adopted in English, which means the result or action of copying a drawing on a transparent paper (rice paper), so that one can reproduce the same shape on another surface.
- <sup>30</sup> In French *xénisme*, shaped on the Old Greek root *xenos* “foreign”.
- <sup>31</sup> *Bamboo, rotan, gong* and *cacatoès* are not xenisms anymore. European language speakers use these words without knowing they originally referred to plants or artefacts specific to the Malay World.
- <sup>32</sup> These phonologically similar words are often called *cognates*, regardless of their respective meaning; for instance, Indonesian *televisi* is a cognate of English *television*, sharing the same meaning.
- <sup>33</sup> A rare issue involving grammar is worth to notice. The word *diet* “diet” is sometimes falsely analysed by Indonesian speakers as Patient Voice *di-* prefix + base word *\*et*, hence *\*di-et*.
- <sup>34</sup> However, through ‘loan translation’ or ‘calque’ from English, an increasing number of speakers in France would indeed say *vol domestique*.