

PRINCIPLES OF ANTONYMOUS LEXEMIC COMBINATION IN INDONESIAN

PRINSIP-PRINSIP PERPADUAN LEKSEM BERANTONIM DALAM BAHASA INDONESIA

I Dewa Putu Wijana^{1*}

¹Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Gadjah Mada University

*Corresponding Author: putu.wijana@ugm.ac.id

Informasi Artikel:

Dikirim: 2/9/2022; **Direvisi:** 5/11/2022; **Diterima:** 16/11/2022

Abstract

This article deals with Indonesian lexemic combination whose elements consisting of lexemes having antonymous meaning. By using data collected introspectively whose grammaticality and acceptability are tested with other Indonesian native speakers, it is found that the combinations are governed by three main principles, i.e. formal, semantic, and stylistic principles. The formal principle can further be classified into rhyming, phonological, and length principle. While, the semantic principle can be differentiated into marked, diametric and chronological, equity, idiomatic, and gender principle. Those principles seems to be hierarchical whose dominance has not been revealed in this research. Therefore, the more serious research concerning this matter is urgently needed.

Keywords: *antonymous, combination, lexeme, principle*

Abstrak

Artikel ini berkenaan dengan kombinasi leksem yang memiliki makna berlawanan. Dengan menggunakan data yang dikumpulkan secara introspektif yang kegramatikalannya dan keberterimaannya diujikan terlebih dahulu dengan penutur asli yang lain, ditemukan bahwa penggabungan leksem-leksem dikendalikan oleh tiga prinsip utama, yakni prinsip formal, semantik, dan stilistik. Prinsip formal lebih jauh dapat dibedakan menjadi prinsip irama, fonologis, dan panjangnya satuan linguistik. Sementara, prinsip semantik dapat dibedakan menjadi prinsip kemarkahan, diametris, kronologis, kesamaan, idiomatik, dan gender. Prinsip-prinsip ini tampaknya bersifat hierarkhis, yang dominansinya belum dapat diungkapkan dalam penelitian ini. Oleh karena itu, penelitian yang lebih serius mengenai prinsip penggabungan ini perlu segera dilakukan.

Kata kunci: berantonim, kombinasi, leksem, prinsip

INTRODUCTION

Bauer (1988:19—44) states that there are at least 9 types of word formation (see also Wijana, 2022:17—38). Among them, lexemic combination is one of the most common ways to construct new words. In this matter various types of lexeme are combined. Those lexemes can be ones with the same or different categories, or ones with synonymous or antonymous meanings. This paper will focus its discussion on lexemic combination which consist of antonymous constituents, such as *baik buruk* 'good and bad', *kawan lawan* 'friend and enemy',

antar jemput 'deliver and pick up', *cepat lambat* 'fast or slow', etc. in which *baik* 'good' has opposite meaning with *buruk* 'bad', *kawan* 'friend' is the antonym of *lawan* 'enemy', *antar* 'deliver' is antonymous of *jemput* 'pick up', *cepat* 'fast' is the opposite of *lambat* 'slow', etc. This paper seeks to find the principles that determine the possibilities of the combination. Why *kawan lawan* 'friend and enemy' is possible, but **kawan musuh* never or rarely exist in the use of Indonesian? In fact, *musuh* has the same meaning with *lawan* 'enemy'. Why in the use of bahasa Indonesia *laki bini* 'husband and wife' and *suami istri* 'husband and wife' are acceptable, but **laki istri* and **suami bini* are not. In fact both *bini* and *istri* are synonymous. Further more, as far as the order is concerned, why the order of *datang pergi* 'come and go' is hardly possible to be reversed becoming **pergi datang*, *pulang pergi* 'come and go' is difficult to change becoming **pergi pulang*, *kuat lemah* can not be changed into **lemah kuat*, etc. So, there might be some principles that govern their order possibilities. All of this problems have not been profoundly discussed by linguists, especially those who are interested in word formation problems. Mostly, the discussions concerning this matter relate with semantic relation of the combined lexemic combination whether to construct compounds or phrases, and none of them do with the principles underlying the order and the possibilities of their combinations.

Kridalaksana (1988:22—23) in his dissertation entitled "*Beberapa Prinsip Penggabungan Leksem dalam Bahasa Indonesia*" (Some principles of Lexemic Combination in Indonesian) only describes formal relation of Indonesian lexemic items to be combined. He mentions that there are several types of lexemic combination in Indonesian. Those are substantive, such as *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', coordinative, such as *cerdik cendekia* 'intellectual', and combinations whose one of its element can not become a derivation, such as *anational* 'non-national', *antipati* 'antipathy', *tri wulan* 'a quarter year'. In his other articles (Kridalaksana et als., 1985:124—126) found that with regard to the semantic relation, the combination yields not less than 16 types of possible relation, such as possessive, locative, partitive, instrumental, etc. Meanwhile, Ramlan (1981:145—150) can only find 8 types of semantic relation for all construction types of noun phrase combination elements. Those are addition in *suami istri* 'husband and wife', *nusa dan bangsa* 'land and nation', etc.; alternation, such as *senin atau selasa* 'Monday or Tuesday', *ayah atau ibu* 'father or mother', etc.; resemblance, such as *Bapak Soeharto, president RI* 'Mr. Soeharto Mr. Soeharto, the president of Republic of Indonesia'; qualification, such as *pohon rindang* 'shady tree', *rumah bagus* 'beautiful house', *binatang buas* 'wild animal', etc.; modification, such as *jendela rumah* 'house window'; *anggota DPR* 'legislative member', *buku sejarah* 'history book', etc.; reference, such as *pekarangan luas itu* 'the large land', *penggilingan padi ini* 'this rice mill', *mahasiswa yang rajin itu* 'the delligent student', etc.; number, such as *dua orang petani* 'two farmers', *lima kilo gram beras* 'five kilograms of red rice', *dua puluh liter minyak tanah* 'twenty litres of carosene', etc.; summon, such as *Kak Amin* 'Brother Amin', *Bapak Menteri* 'Mr. Minister', *Dr. Soedibyo* 'Dr. Soedibyo', etc (see also Wijana, 2021:459, 459—486). What has been done by Ramlan principally is not different from Verhaar (1996:293) who differentiates the attributive elements into noun and non noun, and the combinations between them yield several semantic relation possibilities, such as possessive, agentive, double serial, double phrase attributive, appositive, possessive attribution, and quantitative.

Leech (1993:21) states that grammar of a language is rule governed, while pragmatics which concerns with the use of language is principle controlled. Based on this assumption, in any language there should be a lot of rules that govern the linguistic constituent structuring. Consequently, there are many principles seem to govern the combination of linguistic constituents, and lexical combinations are no exception. The rules are certainly including formal as well as semantic aspects of the language. Several of the rules are so far clearly be seen in readily accepted linguistic premises and principles, such as premise of symmetry, premises of environmental conditioning, principle of ease of articulation, principle of perceptual separation, etc. (see Samsuri, 1978:130—131; Wijana, 2016:9—10). By symmetry premise, the sound system of any language tend to be symmetrical. For example, if a language (Indonesian) has three kinds of stops, such as bilabial [p, b], alveolar [t,d], palatal [c,j], and velar [k,g], it will also has 4 kinds of nasal, bilabial [m], alveolar [n], palatal [ny], and velar [ng]. If a language (English) has just three kinds of stop bilabial [p, b], alveolar [t,d], velar [ng], it will also only have three nasals, bilabial [m], alveolar [n], and velar [ng]. There is no nasal [ny] in English because of the nonexistence of palatal stop [c,j] in this language. Environmental conditioning premise states that the sounds of language tend to be influenced by their phonological conditions. Accordingly, the phonological structure of any language tend to be similar. So, the sequences or structures of *mb, mp, nt, nd*, etc. are more possible to find than *mt, mc, ns, nk*, etc. Assimilation is tend to be much more in number than disimilation. Meanwhile, principle of ease of articulation causes the language speakers tend to choose the combinations which show beauty rhyming combination than ones that do not. Combination of *cepat lambat* 'fast and slow'; is more favorable than **cepat pelan, kawan lawan* 'friend and enemy' is preferred than *kawan musuh*, etc. All of these facts lead to an assumption that there might be several formal, semantic, as well as stylistic principles that govern the ordering and combining possibilities of Indonesian lexical items, including those of having antonymous relations.

METHOD

All data presented in this paper constitute my own creation as a native speaker who can use Indonesian in all modes of skill, speaking, writing, reading, and listening. Firstly, the data which contain combination of lexemes with antonymous meaning are introspectively created. Further, their structures and collocations are modified using various techniques, mainly permutation and substitution (see Sudaryanto, 1993:49—79). By permutation technique, the possible and impossible lexemic order can be identified. For example, to enable identifying that in Indonesian only idiomatic expression order *kaki tangan* is allowed, and *tangan kaki* is only used for referring literal meaning, permutation technique is applied. Consider (1) to (3) below:

- (1) Orang itu tidak memiliki kaki tangan.
Man that not have foot hand
The man does not have foot and hand
- (2) Orang itu tidak memiliki tangan kaki.
Man that not have hand foot
The man does not have hand and foot
- (3) Dia adalah kaki tangan musuh.
He is foot hand enemy
He is our enemy's accomplice

(4) *Dia adalah tangan kaki musuh.

By this techniques, it can then be proved that lexemic combination of both orders of *kaki tangan* and *tangan kaki* are allowed in Indonesian as far as the literal meaning of the construction is want to be maintained. To prove that there might be a principle which governs the combination of *pria wanita* is carried out by applying substitution technique. The substitution of *wanita* with its synonymous equivalent *perempuan* will result the ungrammatical or less acceptable **pria perempuan*. The grammaticality and the acceptability of all data are tested empirically with other native speakers. Further, they are classified a long with the principles that govern their possible element order and combination.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

A careful examination on the data collection found that the order and combination of the antonymous elements are determined by several interrelated structuring principles. Those are formal, semantic, and stylistic principle. These principles will be consecutively presented in the following sections.

Formal Principle

Formal principle structuring suggests that the lexemic ordering and its combination are determined by formal aspects of the combined elements. There are several formal principles to be found with regard to this matter. Those are rhyming principle, phonological principle, and length principle.

Rhyming Principle

The combination possibility of *kawan lawan* 'friend enemy' *cepat lambat* 'quick and slow', *hutang piutang* 'debt and credit', *tulang belulang* 'bone and skin', *kakek nenek* 'grandpa and grandma', *pria wanita* 'man and woman', *sorga neraka* 'heaven and hell', *suami istri* 'husband and wife', *laki bini* 'husband and wife', *tua muda* 'young and old', etc. seem to be governed by rhyming principle as shown by the bold elements of the combination. The rhyming can be between syllabic or part of syllabic, and the final sound of the constituting elements. By this principle, though, one element of the combination has synonymous equivalents, their substitution will not be commonly acceptable. So, the lexemic combination such as **teman lawan*, **cepat pelan*, **tulang kulit*, **ope nenek*, **pria perempuan*, **pria bini*, **usur muda*, etc. do not exist in the use of Indonesian because they are lack of rhyming principle. The other examples are *suka duka* 'happy and desperate' and *tua muda* 'old and young'. These combinations can not be changed into **suka sedih*, **senang duka*, and **uzur muda*, etc.

Phonological Principle

Phonological principle relates to the kinds of vowel consisted in the elements to be combined. In this matter the elements which consist of [a] in the first or in the second syllable tend to be placed in initial position, and one that consist [i] tend to be placed non initial. For examples, *datang pergi* 'come and go', *jual beli* 'sell and buy', *kaya miskin* 'rich and poor', *kembang kempis* 'swell and subside', *kurang lebih* 'more or less', *besar kecil* 'big and small',

kurang lebih, etc. This combination are hardly possible to be reversed as **pergi datang*, **beli jual*, **miskin kaya*, **kempis kembang*, ?*lebih kurang*, **kecil besar*, and ?*lebih kurang*.

Length Principle

The lexemic combination may combine words that contain the same or different number of syllable. In other words, the elements to be matched can be the same length, longer, as well as or shorter. With regard to the length principle, the lexemic combination commonly places the shorter elements preceding the longer ones. The longer elements come first and followed by the longer ones. For example, *sorga neraka* 'heaven and hell', *hutang piutang* 'debt and credit', *cuci seterika* 'washing and ironing', *sedih gembira* 'sad and happy', *kian kemari* 'there and here', *mata telinga* 'eye and ear', *pria wanita* 'man and woman', etc. In all these examples, constituents consisting of two syllables *sorga* 'heaven', *hutang* 'debt', *cuci* 'washing', *sedih* 'sad', *kian* 'there', *mata* 'eye' and *pria* 'man' are preceding one of consisting three syllables *neraka* 'hell', *piutang* 'debt', *seterika* 'ironing', *gembira* 'happy', *kemari* 'here', *telinga* 'ear', *wanita* 'woman', etc. These constructions rarely exist in their reversed forms. Consider? *neraka sorga*, **pitang hutang*, ?*seterika cuci*, **gembira sedih*, **kemari kian*, **telinga mata*, ?*wanita pria*, etc. The other examples are *jantan betina* 'male and female' and *serah terima* which are also difficult to be reversed into **betina jantan* and **terima serah*.

Semantic Principle

Semantic principle can be distinguished into several sub principles, such as unmarked and marked principle, diametric and chronological principle, equity principle, idiomatic principle, and gender principle. This principles will be described in the following sections.

Unmarked and Marked Principle

A lot of antonymous lexemic combinations concern with adjectives which have contrastive meaning. And, one of the adjective consisting the combinations has status of marked and the other is unmarked (Kreidler, 1998:100—101; Wijana, 2010:55—56). For example, between *panjang* 'long' and *pendek* 'short', *tinggi* 'high' and *rendah* 'low', *panjang* and *tinggi* are unmarked, and *pendek* and *rendah* are marked. This statement is based on the fact that language speakers are possible to construct sentences (5) and (6), but impossible to do (7) and (8):

- (5) Tegel ini panjangnya 40 Cm.
Tile this long the 40 Cm
The length of this tile is 40 Cm.
- (6) Berapa tinggi tembok ini?
How high wall this
How high is this wall?
- (7) *Tegel ini pendeknya 40 Cm.
Tile this short the 40 Cm
The short of this tile is 40 Cm.
- (8) *Berapa rendah tembok ini?
How low wall this
How low is this wall?

Based on this principle, the contrastive adjective combinations will generally place the unmarked elements preceded the marked ones. For examples *besar kecil* 'big small', *panjang pendek* 'long and short', *cepat lambat* 'slowly', *jauh dekat* 'far and near', *kaya miskin* 'rich and poor', *tinggi rendah* 'high and low', etc. This combinations are never reversedly constructed because **kecil besar*, **pendek panjang*, **lambat cepat*, **dekat jauh*, **miskin kaya*, and **rendah tinggi* are not allowed in Indonesian grammatical structure.

Diametric and Chronological Principle

Human beings are familiar with eight directions. With regard to the Indonesian, those directions are *timur* 'east', *barat* 'west', *utara* 'north', *selatan* 'south', *barat daya* 'south west', *barat laut* 'north west', *tenggara* 'south east', and *timur laut* 'north east'. All of them constitutes mononymous pairs one and another. However, The four main directions *timur*, *barat*, *utara*, dan *selatan* are more familiar than the rest four others. Accordingly, in Indonesian only these four directions can possibly be combined, and the combination just between the diametric opposed directions, instead of of orthogonal or non diametric opposition. So, there will only be *barat timur*, and *utara selatan* in the use of Indonesian, and the combination of orthogonal directions, such as **utara barat*, **utara timur*, **selatan timur*, **barat selatan*, etc. are not found.

Different from diametric principle which concerns about direction, chronological principle relates with successive events in which one occurs after the other, or one places after another. For example, in human perception, morning is the beginning of life. Morning happens before noon, and noon happens before evening or night, etc. By this principle, the semantically contrastive lexemic combination allows the structure of *siang malam* 'night and day', *pagi sore* 'morning and evening', *senin kamis* 'monday and thursday', *awal akhir* 'beginning and end', *sebab akibat* 'cause and effect', *ujung pangkal* 'beginning and end', *anak cucu*, *tanya jawab* 'question and answer', *antar jemput* 'deliver and pick up' etc.

Equity Principle

Equity principle governs that the referents of lexemes to be combined should belong to the equal status. For example, *ibu* 'mother' should be combined with *ayah* 'father', *kakek* 'grand father' should be done with *nenek* 'grand mother', *adik* 'younger brother' with 'kakak', *saudara* 'brother' and *saudari* 'sister' because they belong to the same generation. So, in Indonesian there are combinations of *ayah ibu* 'father and mother', *kakek nenek* 'grandpa and granma', *adik kakak* 'younger and older brother/sister', *saudara saudari* 'brother and sister', etc. By this principle, the combination of **ayah nenek* 'father and grandma', **ibu kakek* 'mother and grandpa', **ayah adik* 'father and younger brother', **ibu kakak* 'mother and older sibling', etc. are not possible.

Idiomatic Principle

Several combinations of lexemes can produce idioms, i.e linguistic units that have very different meaning which can not be traced through the words from which they are composed. For examples *kaki tangan* literally means 'foot and hand', but for idiomatic expressions it means 'enemy's accomplice'. *Darah daging* literally means 'blood and flesh', and idiomatically can be used to mean 'habit'. *Hitam putih* literally means 'black and white', and its idiomatic meaning is 'certainty, legality'. To Maintain the idiomatic meanings the structure of these expressions can

not be modified into **tangan kaki*, **daging darah*, and **putih hitam*. The following examples show the use of those three lexemic combination as idioms.

- (9) Dia kaki tangan Belanda.
 He hand foot Dutch
 'He is Dutch's Accomplice'
- (10) Pekerjaan mencuri baginya sudah menjadi darah daging.
 Work stealing for him already become blood flesh
 'Stealing has become life habit for him'
- (11) Sekarang sudah hitam putih
 Now already black white
 Now, it has already been clear'

Sentences (9), (10), and (11) can not be expressed as (12), (13), and (14):

- (12) *Dia tangan kaki Belanda
 (13) *Pekerjaan mencuri baginya sudah menjadi daging darah.
 (14) *Sekarang sudah putih hitam.

The other example is *tanah air* that literally means '*water and land*', and its idiomatic meaning is 'father land'. As an idiomatic expression, it can not be reversed into *air tanah* because it means 'ground water'. For this matter compare (15) and (16) below:

- (15) Pahlawan telah berjasa pada tanah air.
 Hero has give service to land water
 'The heroes have given their service to the father land'
- (16) Persediaan air tanah semakin terbatas.
 Supply water land getting limited
 The supply of ground water is getting more and more limited'

Gender Principle

Many data show that lexemes with male referents tend to be placed preceding ones with female referents. This might be closely related with the different role played by man and woman within the society. For examples *yatim piatu* 'fatherless and motherless', *jantan betina* 'male and female', *laki bini* 'husband and wife', *kakek nenek* 'grandpa and grandma', *pria wanita* 'man and woman', *suami istri* 'husband and wife', *laki perempuan* 'man and woman', etc. These combination can not be reversed, or at least are more favorable than their reversal counterparts. Consider **piatu yatim*, *?betina jantan*, **bini laki*, **nenek kakek*, **wanita pria*, **istri suami*, and **perempuan laki*.

Stylistic Principle

In many cases, the data collected show that the combination should or tend also follow stylistic principle. The elements to be combined should have or belong to the same style. For example, *suami istri* 'husband and wife'. The word *suami* 'husband' and *istri* 'wife' belong to the same style. Both of them comes from Old Javanese and it might be able to be traced their origin in Sanskrit *Svami* 'husband and *Stri* 'wife'. *Laki bini* which means 'husband and wife' is also composed of words belonging to the same style. Both of them belong to informal or colloquial Indonesian commonly used in Jakarta Dialect. *Pria* 'man' and *wanita* 'woman' both

are coming from Sanskrit. *Laki-laki* is a formal Indonesian word to refer 'man', and its counterpart for combination is formal Indonesian *perempuan* which means 'woman'. Their combination then results *laki-laki perempuan* 'man and woman'. *Yatim piatu* 'fatherless and motherless' is also a combination consisting of same stylistic elements. Both *yatim* and *piatu* are *Arabic* borrowings which respectively means 'fatherless' and 'motherless'.

CONCLUSION

Lexemic combinations constitute one of the most important ways of word formation in any language. The lexemes to be combined can be either ones having synonymic meaning or ones that have antonymous meanings. As far as antonymous lexemic combination is concerned, to yield grammatically acceptable linguistic constructions, the combination can not be done at random, but it should follow certain principles. There are at least three kinds of interrelated principle which govern the antonymous combinations. Those are formal, semantic, and stylistic principles. Formal and semantic principle can respectively be distinguished into rhyming, phonological, and length principle. While, the semantic principle can be differentiated into marked and unmarked, diametric and chronological, equity, idiomatic, and gender principle. All principles that govern the antonymous combinations seem to be hierarchical. However, which principles are more dominant to the others are still obscured. Accordingly, more serious researches which concern with these combination principles are urgently needed.

REFERENCES

- Bauer, L. 1988. *Introducing Linguistic Morphology*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Kreidler, Ch.W. 1998. *Introducing English Semantics*. London: Routledge.
- Kridalaksana, H. 1988. *Beberapa Prinsip Penggabungan Leksem dalam Bahasa Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Kridalaksana, H., L. R. Montolalu, F. Utoro Dewo, S. Elias, H. Sutami, M.H. Siswanto, S.E. Bala & S. Jelalu. 1985. *Tata Bahasa Deskriptif Bahasa Indonesia. Sintaksis*. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Leech, G.N. 1993. *Principles of Pragmatics*. Longman.
- Ramlan, M. 1981. *Sintaksis*. Yogyakarta: UB Karyono.
- Samsuri. 1978. *Analisa Bahasa*. Jakarta: Airlangga.
- Sudaryanto. 1993. *Metode dan Teknik Analisis Bahasa: Pengantar Penelitian Wahana Kebudayaan secara Linguistik*. Yogyakarta: Duta Wacana University Press.
- Verhaar, J.W.M. 1996. *Asas-Asas Linguistik*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Wijana, I D.P. 2010. *Pengantar Semantik Bahasa Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Wijana, I D.P. 2016. *Metode Linguistik: Identifikasi Satuan-Satuan Lingual*. Yogyakarta: A Com Press.
- Wijana, I D.P. 2021. "Semantic Relations of Animal Names Noun Phrase elements in Indonesian". *Linguistic Issues: Compilation of Working Papers*. Yogyakarta: TS Publisher.
- Wijana, I D.P. 2022. *Morfologi*. Yogyakarta: Cakra Media Utama.

LIST OF DATA IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

anak cucu 'decendant'
antar jemput 'deliver and pick up'
atas bawah 'above and below'
adik kakak 'sibling, younger and older brother/sister'
awal akhir 'beginning and end'
ayah ibu 'father and mother'
atas bawah 'above and below'
basah kering 'wet and dry'
besar kecil 'big small'
baik buruk 'good and bad'
bongkar pasang 'construct and distrust'
buka tutup 'close and open'
bulan bintang 'moon and star'
bumi langit 'earth and sky'
cepat lambat 'slowly'
cuci seterika 'wash and iron'
darah daging 'blood and flesh'
datang pergi 'come and go'
depan belakang 'front and back'
hidup mati 'dead and alive'
hitam putih 'black and white'
hutang piutang 'debt and credit'
jantan betina 'male and female'
jauh dekat 'far and near'
jiwa raga 'body and soul'
jual beli 'sell and buy'
kawan lawan 'friend and enemy'
kakek nenek 'grandpa and grandma'
kaki tangan 'foot and hand'
kaya miskin 'rich and poor'
kembang kempis 'swell and subside'
keluar masuk 'enter and out'
ke sana kemari 'to and fro'
keras lemah 'hard and soft'
kian kemari 'to and fro'
kiri kanan 'left and right'
kuat lemah 'strong and weak'
kurang lebih 'more or less'
laki bini 'husband and wife'
laki perempuan 'man and woman'
makan minum 'eat and drink'
makan tidur 'eat and sleep'
maju mundur 'progress and regress'
mata telinga 'eye and ear'
muka belakang 'front and bak'
naik turun 'rise and fall'

pagi sore 'morning and evening'
panas dingin 'hot and cold'
panjang pendek 'long and short'
pasang surut 'low and high tide'
pria wanita 'man and woman'
pulang pergi 'go back'
salah benar 'right and wrong'
sana-sini 'here and there'
sandang pangan 'food and clothing'
sebab akibat 'cause and effect'
sedih gembira 'sad and happy'
Senin Kamis 'monday and thursday'
serah terima 'give and take'
siang malam 'night and day'
suami istri 'husband and wife'
surga neraka 'heaven and hell'
suka duka 'happy and sad'
susah senang 'happy and sad'
tanah air 'father land'
tanya jawab 'question and answer'
tangan kaki 'hand and foot'
tarik ulur 'pull and extend'
tua muda 'young and old'