

## INDONESIAN VERBAL PREFIXES: MAPPING FORMS AND FUNCTIONS

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### ABSTRAK

Asumsi umum tentang imbuhan verbal dalam Bahasa Indonesia adalah mereka merupakan penanda kalimat (aktif vs pasif) yang muncul dalam bentuk yang berbeda tergantung jenis kata kerja yang terikat dengan imbuhan tersebut. Imbuhan *Me-* merupakan penanda kalimat aktif yang muncul pada kata kerja transitif. Imbuhan *Ber-* merupakan penanda kalimat aktif yang muncul pada kata kerja intransitif. Imbuhan *Di-* merupakan penanda kalimat pasif yang memerlukan agent (pelaku). Imbuhan *Ter-* adalah penanda kalimat pasif yang tidak memerlukan agent (pelaku) dan kalimat pasif yang tidak sengaja. Asumsi tersebut terbukti tidak sepenuhnya benar. Meskipun dalam beberapa situasi imbuhan verbal berfungsi sebagai penanda kalimat, imbuhan verbal tidak sepenuhnya berfungsi sebagai penanda kalimat di situasi lain. Ada kata kerja intransitif yang diawali *Me-*, ada kata kerja transitif yang diawali *Ber-*, ada yang bisa diawali keduanya, dan ada yang tidak bisa diawali keduanya. Hasil yang dikumpulkan tidak membuktikan bahwa asumsi umum benar, namun ada pola yang tergambar antara imbuhan verbal dan jenis kata yang bisa mengambilnya. Ada pemetaan yang lebih rumit antara bentuk dan fungsi dari imbuhan verbal di Bahasa Indonesia dan jenis kata yang bisa mengambil mereka. Pemetaan ini kemungkinan melibatkan aturan, fitur, dan batasan diluar lingkup sintaksis.

Kata kunci: Prefix, Voice Marker, Transitive, Intransitive, Passive

### INTRODUCTION

Indonesian employs plenty of suffixes to take important roles within the grammar. These important roles are passive markers, discourse markers, and possessive pronouns to name a few. Different suffixes have different functions from one another. These functions, however, are not very well defined nor are they clearly understood by the speakers. Some suffixes have multiple functions in different constructions and some have overlapping functions with other suffixes. Take the suffix *-nya* for example. This suffix has multiple function within the grammar, from the third person singular possessive pronoun (1) to a definite determiner (2)

- |                             |      |           |           |
|-----------------------------|------|-----------|-----------|
| (1). Kucing-nya             | Ari  | lari      | ke pasar  |
| Cat-POSS                    | Ari  | run       | to market |
| Ari's cat ran to the market |      |           |           |
| (2). Kucing-nya             | lari | ke pasar  |           |
| Cat-DET                     | run  | to market |           |
| The cat ran to the market   |      |           |           |

This kind of problem also exists within the verbal domain. Indonesian has 4 verbal prefixes namely *Me-*, *Ber-*, *Di-*, *Ter-*. The general assumption on these prefixes is that they are all voice markers that take forms depending on the type of voices and the kind of verbs they are attached to. The prefix *Me-* is an active voice marker on a transitive verb, *Ber-* is an active voice marker on an intransitive verb, *Di-* is a passive voice marker of an agentive passive, and *Ter-* is a passive voice marker of a non-agentive and accidental passive. However, in practice, this assumption is not always true. In this paper, I would like to present several cases and implore the questions: What are the real functions of Indonesian verbal prefixes? What are the rules that govern these multiple functions of Indonesian verbal prefixes?

### Methodology and Theoretical Background

The methodology that is used for this investigation is by trying multiple combinations between the prefixes (*Me-*, *Ber-*, *Di-*, and *Ter-*) and different classes of words (nouns, transitive verbs, intransitive verbs, and adjectives). Each class of word will have their own table that consists of 10 words that will be combined with all of the prefixes. One sentence will be created from different forms of the word+prefix combination. In total, there are 6 sentences from a single word in different voices, namely: bare active, *Me-* active, *Ber-* active, bare passive, *Di-* passive, and *Ter-* passive. Each sentence will have their

corresponding translation. Ungrammatical sentences will be given the asterisk mark. Some unacceptable word+prefix combinations will have their alternate form with the additional suffix *-kan*, *-i*, or *-an*. Each example will be color-coded with each color bearing similar patterns between examples. For example, green signifies that the word and its combinations with various prefixes are in line with the general assumption/hypotheses made before the experiment.

There have been attempts in the past in describing Indonesian verbal prefixes. *Me-* is seen as a marker that is attached to the verb as an active voice marker (Cole, 2016). *Ber-* is seen to be an intransitive marker (Sommerlot, 2020) and it has the grammatical meaning of state of being (root) (Sudana, 2009). Both *Di-* and *Ter-* are passive voice markers that differ in the volitionality aspect. *Di-* is seen to be a marker for canonical passive that yields volitionality feature in it, while *Ter-* is seen to be a marker of non-canonical passive that does not yield volitionality feature in it (Udayana, 2022). The suffix *-kan* is often described as a valence increasing morpheme or as a marker of increased transitivity (Kroeger, 2008). The suffix *-i* has similar function and can be used alternatively to the suffix *-kan*. The difference is that the suffix *-i* indicates that the object is the goal of the action while the suffix *-kan* indicates that the object is the displaced theme (Kroeger, 2008). From these definitions, I drew the general assumption and proceeded with the investigation.

### ***Me-***

There are 2 major patterns involving the prefix *Me-* in this investigation, one that does not need the help of the applicative *-kan/-i* and one that needs the help of the applicative *-kan/-i*. Most transitive verbs demonstrated the first pattern. The verb *Baca* (read), *Makan* (eat), and *Kirim* (send) will turn into *Membaca*, *Memakan*, and *Mengirim* respectively when it is attached with the prefix *Me-*. This pattern is the pattern that is in line with the initial assumption.

The second pattern appears when the prefix *Me-* is attached to the word other than transitive verbs. Intransitive verbs, nouns, and some adjectives will have the help of the suffix *-kan/-i* to take the prefix *Me-*. The intransitive verb *Kerja* (work), the noun *Suara* (voice), and the adjective *Senang* (happy) can take the combination *Me-* + *-kan/-i* and turn into the transitive verbs *Mengerjakan* (to do something), *Menyuarakan* (to voice something), and *Menyenangkan* (to make someone happy). From this investigation, it can be said that the combination of *Me-* + *-kan/-i* is a way in the Indonesian grammar to make a transitive verb out of non transitive verbs.

These two patterns have an interesting dynamic. The first pattern, one that does not need the applicative *-kan/-i*, can be extended further with the applicative *-kan/-i*. So, the transitive verb *Mengirim* can be extended further into *Mengirimkan* (to send something to someone/to send someone something). What happens here is that the applicative *-kan* increases the valency of the verb and makes it into a ditransitive verb. However, not every transitive verb can be a ditransitive verb, as it is not possible to have the verb *Memakan* to be a ditransitive verb \**Memakankan*.

The second pattern, however, cannot omit the applicative *-kan/-i* as it is necessary for them to retain the applicative to be a transitive verb. It is possible for these derived transitive verbs to let go of their prefix *Me-* and take only the applicative *-kan/-i*. For example, the derived transitive verb *Mengerjakan* can be reduced to *Kerjakan* and is still grammatical. This form is an imperative form.

There are certain verbs that do not conform to these major patterns of *Me-*. The first word is the intransitive verb *Tunggu* (wait). The verb *Tunggu* is expected to have the combination of *Me-* + *-kan/-i* as it is an intransitive verb. However, in practice, it takes only the prefix *Me-* and becomes *Menunggu*. Instead, it is less acceptable to have ?*Menunggukan*. Another deviation is the intransitive verb *Lompat* (jump). Similarly with *Tunggu*, *Lompat* does not need the applicative *-kan/-i* to be the transitive verb *Melompat*. However, differently from *Tunggu*, *Melompat* can be combined further with the applicative *-kan/-i* to be *Melompati* (to jump over something).

### ***Ber-***

*Ber-* by far showed the highest number of patterns in this investigation. The first pattern is where it is a marker for an intransitive verb, the pattern that is in line with the assumption. The intransitive verbs *Kerja* (work) and *Lari* (run) will turn into *Berlari* and *Bekerja* respectively.

The second pattern is where *Ber-* implies that there are more than one party involved in this action and these parties do this action in a reciprocal way. For example, the verb *Kirim* (send) and the noun *Kelahi* (fight) will have this implied meaning when they are attached with the prefix *Ber-*. They become *Berkirim* (send each other something) and *Berkelahi* (fight each other)

The next pattern is when the prefix *Ber-* is attached to a noun, like *Sinar* (ray) and *Semangat* (spirit). In this pattern, the verb becomes a stative verb, as in *Bersinar* (shining) and *Bersemangat* (excited). This pattern exhibits a problem where the word class of this derived form is quite ambiguous between a verb and an adjective. This kind of problem also exists in English through the sentence “He is shining”. The word “shining” can be read as both a verb and an adjective. It is worth noting that not all nouns can take the prefix *Ber-*. The noun *Tangis* (cry) and *Tawa* (laughter) cannot take the prefix *Ber-*. Hence the derived verb *\*Bertangis* and *\*Bertawa* do not exist.

Next is a pattern where the prefix *Ber-* is attached to an adjective. The adjective *Senang* (happy) can be attached with the prefix *Ber-* and turn into a verb only when it is reduplicated. So, the derived verb is *Bersenang-senang* (to have fun). This pattern is not always applicable with any other adjectives. It is okay with the adjective *Sakit* (painful) and it will turn into *Bersakit-sakit* (to make every effort to do something), but less acceptable with the adjective *Sedih* (sad) to be *Bersedih-sedih* (to mope). *Bersedih-sedih* may be more acceptable in the colloquial variants.

The last pattern involves intransitive verbs with the combination of *Ber-* + *-an*. Some intransitive verbs are unable to take the prefix *Ber-* on its own, contrary to the general assumption prior to the investigation. They can take the prefix *Ber-*, however, once they are combined further with the suffix *-an*. The definition and description of this suffix has been really scarce in the literature. It can be attached to a verb through the combination of *Ber-* + *-an*, but it is commonly a suffix within the nominal area and not verbal area. This pattern can be shown from the intransitive verbs *Datang* (come) and *Jatuh* (fall)

The derived verb *\*Berdatang* and *\*Berjatuh* are not well accepted amongst the speakers. However, when they are combined further with the suffix *-an* to become *Berdatangan* and *Berjatuhan*, they become widely acceptable. Both *Berdatangan* and *Berjatuhan* imply multiple agents doing the action continuously over a period of time. In the case of *Berjatuhan*, it means something plural falling over for a certain period of time. It can be used to describe hail or to describe an abnormal situation where fruits or birds are falling to the ground.

There is one word that shares this pattern but not necessarily the same meaning. The intransitive verb *Pergi* (go) cannot take the prefix *Ber-* on its own and requires the suffix *-an* to be a derived verb. However, unlike *Berdatangan* and *Berjatuhan*, *Berpergian* does not imply multiple agents doing the action continuously over a period of time, but it is often interpreted as the action was done in a high frequency regardless of the number of the agent involved. So, *Berpergian* roughly translates as travelling frequently.

## Di-

The general assumption is that the prefix *Di-* is a voice marker for agentive passive. Since it is a passive marker, it is expected that *Di-* can take transitive verbs. In fact, *Di-* indeed can take transitive verbs and mirror the behaviour of *Me-* within the data collected. Verbs that can be combined with the prefix *Me-*, can be combined with the prefix *Di-*. Verbs that need to be combined further with the suffix *-kan* after they take the prefix *Me-*, need to be combined further with the suffix *-kan* to take the prefix *Di-*. The examples for this pattern are the verbs *Masak* (cook) and *Menang* (win) to be *Dimasak* (cooked) and *Dimenangkan* (won by someone) respectively

There's only one verb in the collected data that has different behaviour between *Me-* and *Di-*. The verb *Kalah* can take the prefix *Me-* and can be combined further with the suffix *-kan*. *Mengalah* means to let someone win while *Mengalahkan* means to defeat someone. This pattern is not mirrored with the prefix *Di-*. The verb *Kalah* cannot take the prefix *Di-* unless it is combined further with the suffix *-kan*. So, the verb *\*Dikalah* is not grammatical but the verb *Dikalahkan* is grammatical.

The behaviour of the prefix *Di-* with intransitive verbs also mirrors the behavior of the prefix *Me-* with intransitive verbs, and this is very much expected. Most of the intransitive verbs can only take the prefix *Me-* when they are combined further with the prefix *-kan*, and this also applies to the prefix *Di-*. Some of the examples are *Didatangkan* and *Dijatuhkan* as opposed to *\*Didatang* and *\*Dijatuh*.

Similarly, since the verb *Tunggu* can take the prefix *Me-* and cannot be combined further with the suffix *-kan*, this verb is also able to take the prefix *Di-* but cannot be combined further with the suffix *-kan*. It is important to note that, even with intransitive verbs, the prefix *Di-* only manifests itself in an agentive passive. Up to this point, the behaviour of *Di-* aligns with the general assumption.

Once again, the behaviour of the prefix *Di-* is similar with the prefix *Me-* when they are attached to the nouns. Most of the nouns in the collected data can only take the prefix *Me-* when they are combined further with the suffix *-kan*, or in some cases with the suffix *-i*. This applies to the behaviour of nouns

with respect to the prefix *Di-*. Some of the examples are *Disuarakan* and *Ditangisi* instead of *\*Disuara* and *\*Ditangis* respectively.

The noun *Pesan* (message/order) can take both the prefix *Me-* and the combination of *Me-* + *-kan*. *Memesan* has the meaning of to order. *Memesankan* is a ditransitive verb that means to leave a message to someone to do something. Both derivations can be passivized to form *Dipesan* and *Dipesankan* respectively.

The remaining noun in this list is the word *Tawa* (laughter). The word *Tawa* is unable to take neither the prefix *Me-* nor *Ber-*. The first consequence is that the word *Tawa* cannot be combined further with the suffix *-kan* or *-i*. The next consequence is that it cannot take the prefix *Di-* and, hence, cannot be combined further with the suffix *-kan* or *-i*. It is worth mentioning that the noun *Tawa* can be turned into a verb by taking the prefix *Ter-* instead of *Me-* or *Ber-*. The derived verb becomes *Tertawa* (laugh). Uniquely, the verb *Tertawa* can then be combined with the combination of *Me-/Di-* + *-kan* to be *Menertawakan* (to laugh at) and *Ditertawakan* (being laugh at) respectively

The behaviour of adjectives that can take the prefix *Me-* and *Di-* from the collected data showed a similar pattern with the other word classes, although with lower grammatically acceptable examples. Adjectives like *Tinggi* (tall) take the combination of *Me-* + *-kan* to be the derived verb *Meninggikan* (to increase something in height). Similarly, this kind of adjectives are also able to take the combination of *Di-* + *-kan*. The example for this is the derived verb *Ditinggikan* (to be made higher).

Another pattern involves the suffix *-i* alongside the suffix *-kan*. Adjectives like *Bodoh* (stupid) can take the combination of *Me-* + *-i* in addition to the combination of *Me-* + *-kan*. So the derived verb can be *Membodohi* (to trick/outwit someone) and *Membodohkan* (to make someone stupid). Consequently, the adjective *Bodoh* can also take both the combination of *Di-* + *-kan* and *Di-* + *-i* become *Dibodohi* (get outwitted by someone) and *Dibodohkan* (made stupid by someone) respectively.

*Ter-*

The general assumption is that *Ter-* is a non agentive/accidental passive voice marker. The expectation would be that the behaviour of *Ter-* with transitive verbs is going to be similar with the behaviour of *Di-* with transitive verbs. It turns out, the behaviour of *Ter-* and *Di-* are very different in contrast to the assumption. The general pattern of *Ter-* with transitive verbs is that *Ter-* signifies the state of the noun with respect to the verb and/or the action was done accidentally or non-voluntarily. The transitive verbs that can take the prefix *Ter-* are *Baca* (read) and *Kirim* (send) among others. The verb *Terkirim* can have 2 interpretations. The first interpretation is that the noun is in the state of being sent. The second interpretation is that the noun is sent accidentally. The different interpretations are heavily dependent on the context.

It is not common for the words attached to the prefix *Ter-* are able to be combined further with the suffix *-kan* or *-i*. Among the few is the word *Kalah* (lose). It is not possible to have the word *\*Terkalah* but it is possible to have the word *Terkalahkan* (beatable). Oftentimes, it is preceded with the negation *Tidak*. On the other hand, there are transitive verbs that are unable to take the prefix *Ter-* or the combination of *Ter-* + *-kan/-i*. One of examples is the verb *Masak* (cook) as the word *\*Termasak* is not widely acceptable.

Surprisingly, there are no intransitive verbs that can take the prefix *Ter-* from the collected data except the verb *Jatuh* (fall). The word *Terjatuh* (fell) can be read as accidentally/non-voluntarily fell but it is debatable whether or not it can be read as the state of being fallen. Other intransitive verbs like *Kerja* (work) and *Lari* (run) cannot take the prefix *Ter-* or the combination of *Ter-* + *-kan/-i*. As a result, the words *\*Terlari* and *\*Terkerja* are not acceptable in Indonesian.

There are a couple of nouns that can take the prefix *Ter-* without having to be combined further with the suffix *-kan/-i*. The nouns are *Pesan* (message), *Tawa* (laughter), and *Nama* (name). The word *Terpesan* can be read as accidentally ordered or the state of being ordered. The word *Tertawa* simply means laugh. The word *Ternama* means famous as it becomes an adjective. *Terpesan* is less favourable compared to *Dipesan*.

The next pattern is the combination of nouns with the prefix *Ter-* and the suffix *-kan/-i* resulting in a stative verb. The noun *Semangat* (spirit) and *Suara* (voice) are the primary examples for this pattern. The noun *Semangat* and *Suara* will turn into the verbs *Tersemangati* and *Tersuarakan* respectively. *Tersemangati* means getting encouraged by someone/something and *Tersuarakan* means a state of being voiced.

The prefix *Ter-* has a shift in meaning when it is attached to adjectives. When it is attached to adjectives, it functions as the superlative marker, similar to the suffix *-est* in English. So, it is pretty

straightforward that a lot of adjectives are able to take the prefix *Ter-*. The adjectives *Baik* (good), *Tinggi* (tall), and *Sedih* (sad) can take the prefix *Ter-* and turn into *Terbaik* (best), *Tertinggi* (tallest), and *Tersedih* (saddest). Some adjectives can be combined further with the suffix *-i* to form a derived verb. One example is the adjective *Sakit* (painful). It can take the prefix *Ter-* to be the superlative form *Tersakit* (most painful), and it can be combined further with the suffix *-i* to form the derived verb *Tersakiti* (hurt). However, this cannot be applied to all adjectives.

There are some adjectives that cannot take the prefix *Ter-*. The adjectives *Senang* (happy) cannot take the prefix *Ter-*. Thus, the superlative happiest in Indonesian is not *Tersenang* but it is *Paling Senang*. This is similar in English where superlatives can take two forms in the form of the suffix *-est*, as in “biggest”, and with the help of the word “most”, as in “most beautiful”. In Indonesian, it is between the prefix *Ter-* and the word *Paling*, with *Paling* as the equivalent word for “most”. Interestingly enough, the word *Paling Senang* is less favoured in comparison to the word *Paling Bahagia* when it comes to translating the word ‘happiest’ in standard Indonesian. *Paling Senang* is more colloquial, compared to *Paling Bahagia*

### Interesting cases

There are a number of words that do not conform to the patterns listed above. The first pattern here involves several verbs that can take all prefixes without having to be combined further with the suffix *-kan* or *-i*. From the collected data, there are 6 verbs that share this pattern. The verbs are *Pegang* (touch), *Sambung* (connect), *Gulung* (roll), *Tiup* (blow), *Putar* (spin), and *Latih* (train). It is yet to be seen what allows these verbs to be able to take all of the verbal prefixes .

So, when it is connected with the prefix *Me-*, the verb *Menyambung* becomes a ditransitive verb (to connect A and B). When it is connected with the prefix *Ber-*, the verb *Bersambung* becomes a stative verb (A is connected to B). When it is connected with the prefix *Di-*, the verb *Disambung* becomes a passive verb (B is being connected (to A) by C). When it is connected with the prefix *Ter-*, the verb *Tersambung* also becomes a stative verb (A is connected with B). There’s a visible pair of prefixes that form similar meanings within this pattern. The prefix *Me-* and *Di-* are active verbs with *Me-* is the active voice and *Di-* is the passive voice. The prefix *Ber-* and *Ter-* are passive verbs with *Ber-* is the active voice and *Ter-* is the passive voice.

Even more interesting, all of these verbs are able to be combined further with the suffix *-kan*, *-an* and *-i*. The verb *Menyambungkan* means to connect A to B, the verb *Bersambungan* means A and B are in the state of connected to each other, the verb *Disambungkan* means B is being connected to A, and the verb *Tersambungkan* means A is in the state of being connected to B. These 8 forms of the verb *Sambung* have subtle yet crucial differences in meaning, as shown above.

Another interesting pattern found from the collected data is that there are a couple of word-prefix combinations that are possible and well-accepted in the dialect of Pontianak Malay, but they are not well-accepted in Standard Indonesian. The words are the verb *Mati* (die) and *Kejar* (chase). It is possible to attach the prefix *Ter-* to the verb *Mati* to form the verb *Te(r)mati* (accidentally turned off) in Pontianak Malay. Similarly, it is possible to attach the verb *Kejar* to the prefix *Ber-* to form the verb *Be(r)kejar* (running, in a state of chasing someone/something). *Te(r)mati* is usually used when someone accidentally turns off something, usually electronic devices like lights or television. *Be(r)kejar* is usually used to describe someone when they are running and rushing somewhere. In the pronunciation. The *r* in *Ber-* is optional and usually omitted in spoken Pontianak Malay. These verbs, however, are not able to be combined further with the suffix *-kan* or *-i*. Furthermore, it is not clear whether these verbs are ungrammatical in Standard Indonesian or they are simply less favored by the speakers.

The last pattern is the pattern where the word is able to take multiple prefixes. From the collected data, the nouns that showed this pattern are *Tawa* (laughter) and *Henti* (a state without movement). The derived verbs are *Tertawa* (laugh) and *Berhenti* (stop). Interestingly, they can be combined further with the combination of *Me-* + *-kan* and *Di-* + *-kan*. So, the verbs *Men(t)ertawakan* (to laugh at) and *Memberhentikan* (to stop something/someone) are possible in Indonesian. The reason on why these nouns are able to take multiple verbal prefixes is still unclear and further studies need to be done.

### CONCLUSION

From the collected data, it can be concluded that the prefix *Me-* is not an active voice marker for transitive verbs but rather a prefix that transitivizes any word, from noun to intransitive verbs. In some cases the suffix *-kan* or *-i* is required to complete this transitivization process. This explains the prevalence of the

prefix *Me-* in the Indonesian word formation system and its grammar. Interestingly, however, the initial assumption of the prefix *Di-* still holds after the experiment. It is still a passive voice marker for agentive passive. Since the prefix *Di-* mirrors the active voice sentences, especially ones that contain the prefix *Me-*, the type of passive where the prefix *Di-* appears is most certainly an agentive one.

We can conclude that the prefix *Ber-* is not an active voice marker for intransitive verbs. It is still difficult to classify the prefix *Ber-* into one definitive role. It can imply multiple agents doing simultaneous action for a period of time when it is attached to a verb and combined further with the suffix *-an* (*Berdatangan/Berjatuhan*). It can be read as an adjective when it is attached to a noun, and it will be read as having the noun (e.g. *Bersinar/Bersempang*). It is unable to be attached to an adjective except when it is reduplicated in a rare case (*Bersenang-senang/Bersakit-sakit*). As its function varies depending on the type of words that it is attached to, it is difficult to define the function of *Ber-* in general.

Lastly, the general assumption of *Ter-* is not true as it is not a marker of accidental or unvolitional passive. It has other functions outside of it. From the collected data, we can conclude that *Ter-* has three major functions. The first function is as a marker of an accidental passive, as in *Terkirim*. The second function is to describe the state of the noun with respect to the verb, as in *Terkirim*. The last function is as a superlative marker of an adjective, as in *Terbaik*. This is in line with the work from Suastini and Apriliani (2018). Although it is similar to *Ber-* in a way that it has different functions depending on the type of words that it is attached to, the prefix *Ter-* shows a clearer function in each situation. However, the question remains on how this prefix gains multiple functions in the first place.

It is clear that the initial assumption on these prefixes can be considered as an overly simplified way in understanding these verbal prefixes. This experiment proved that these prefixes have multiple functions within Indonesian grammar. It is not possible to draw a one-to-one line between form and function for these verbal prefixes. It is still unclear on what rules that govern these verbal prefixes. What allows them to manifest in different places? What allows them to function differently? What allows them to have multiple functions in the first place? These kinds of questions remain unanswered up to this point. Hopefully, future research can unveil the rules that govern Indonesian verbal prefixes.

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