

**THE RELATION OF
VERBAL INDONESIAN AFFIXES *meN-* AND *-kan*
WITH ARGUMENT STRUCTURE**

MA Thesis

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September 2004

*I dedicate this thesis to
my beloved mom and my wonderful soul mate
"Ibu dan Mas Fri"*

Abstract

This thesis addresses the system of verbal Indonesian affixes *meN-* and *-kan*, and how they are related to the argument structure of the verb they attach to. Using the Theta System of Reinhart (2000,2001) it is claimed that both affixes have nothing to do with addition of argument structure as has been assumed in previous literature. *-kan* is used to mark causative verbs that contain $[/+c]$, while *meN-* licenses a root to be the head of VP (that is, marks it as a verb), and also marks subject prominence when the meaning of the verb is eventive.

Acknowledgement

I am grateful to many people for their helpful assistance and advices. I express my greatest gratitude to Prof. E.J. Reuland who not only supervised me in writing this thesis with full of patience and friendship, but also always encouraged me in this study from the beginning. I express my sincere appreciation to my fun-mates during my stay in Utrecht, Amy, Jo, and Mpi, who help me with the judgment of sentences in this thesis. I thank Lauren Butler who has spent her time to edit this thesis. I particularly wish to express my sincere gratitude to all my colleagues in Program Studi Belanda of University of Indonesia and also NEC Jakarta that gave me a chance to go deeper in Linguistics. Last but not least, I express my loving thanks to my family in Jakarta who provided me the encouraging and understanding during my study in Utrecht University. To my husband and my mom, I can only express my wholehearted appreciation.

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I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis addresses the system of verbal Indonesian affixes and how they are related to the argument structure of the verb they attach to. Indonesian is the national language of Indonesia, which stretches over thousands of inhabited islands, from Sumatra in the west to Irian Jaya in the east, with a population of more than 200 million. Indonesian was proclaimed as the national language of unity on the 28th of October of 1928 when the second Indonesian Youth Congress was held in Batavia. In the congress the chairman of the nationalist young students read the draft of a resolution that is known as *Sumpah Pemuda* “The Youth Pledge” where one of three oaths is stated saying that “we the sons and daughters of Indonesia” should uphold the language unity, the Indonesian language Bahasa Indonesia. That day is regarded as the founding day of the Indonesian language. Sneddon (2003) noted that at that time only about 5% of the population were native speakers. However Bahasa Indonesia originated from Malay that was the principal lingua franca among speakers of the hundreds of languages in the Indonesian archipelago. Sneddon (2003) noted that estimates that 550 languages are spoken in Indonesia, or one tenth of all languages in the world, are not excessive. The Indonesian nationalists at the beginning of the 20th century were already convinced of the need of a single language to maintain the unity of the multiethnic and multilingual community. When the Japanese occupied Indonesia after the Dutch in 1942, Indonesian immediately replaced the use of Dutch in administration and education. Since the independence day of Indonesia, the 17th of August of 1945, Indonesian has the status of national language in the true sense. According to the last census in 1990, 83% of the total 190 millions populations speak Indonesian. But the native speakers are still the minority, 15,5 % of the total population. Nevertheless, it must be taken into consideration that the census allowed only ‘one language of the home’. In fact, the majority of speakers of languages other than Indonesian are bilingual. Indonesian is now used in mass media, as the language of all government business and of education. Indonesian is used where people from different places with different languages communicate to each other.

Immediately after Indonesian replaced the use of Dutch in administration and education, the plan to standardize Indonesian began formally. The developments involved mainly the language of education and literature, and not the language of everyday interaction. Thus began a process of differentiation into two different forms of language, formal and informal. The formal variety is used in education, and in all government business, in the law and mass media and other formal activities, while the informal variety is the language spoken at home and used in informal interactions. As a result of language-planning activities and under the influence of the mass media, the formal variety is standardized. On the other hand, the informal one varies from place to place, influenced by the speaker's mother tongue. In this work I will confine myself to standard Indonesian.

Indonesian is morphologically rich. Therefore is it fascinating to explore the relation between the various forms of morphological marking and argument structure in this language.

Indonesian word order is very simple but rich with morphological marking. It has several affixes that can modify a stem changing aspects of its meaning and/or evoke different structures. One of those is *-kan* which is believed to add an argument. Musgrave (2001) stated that *-kan* is a causative that adds an agent subject. Cole and Son (2002), basing themselves on Burzio's generalization argued that what this prefix adds is the internal argument and that the creation of the theta marked external argument that gives causative interpretation is just a secondary effect.

- (1) a) Gelas itu pecah
glass that break
"That glass breaks"
- b) *Anto memecahkan gelas itu*
Anto meN-break-kan glass the
"Anto breaks the glass"

Next to the suffix *-kan*, which is analyzed as the affix that adds an argument, the verb in (1b) also contains prefix *meN-*. Sneddon (1996) noted that *meN-* is an active voice marker in contrast with *di-* that marks passive.

- (2) *Gelas itu dipecahkan oleh Anto*
glass that di-break-kan by Anto
"That glass is broken by Anto"

The claim that *-kan* is the affix to add an argument is a bit confusing since there are also verbs that only contain the prefix *meN-* without the suffix *-kan* that should add the internal argument, which is not available in the intransitive counterpart.

- (3) a) *Anto membuka toko.*
Anto meN-open store
“Anto opens a store”
- b) *Toko Anto buka*
store Anto open
“Anto’s store opens”

This mismatch in the distribution of affixes is the main interest in this work. In this study I would like to explore what the properties of those affixes are and how they are actually linked and mapped onto syntax.

In exploring the explanation of this puzzle, I will use the framework of Reinhart (2003) towards argument structure. Reinhart (2003) proposed a system representing the interface between the system of concepts and the computational system (to be discussed more elaborately in the next section). However, as we will see, assessing the roles of the affixes *meN-* and *-kan* in terms of her system should be done with care. *meN-* and *-kan* are found in both unaccusatives and unergatives. According to Reinhart (2003) unaccusatives are derived from transitive forms. However, the transitive entries of *pecah* and *buka* in the examples above contain affix(es), namely *memecahkan* and *membuka*. So, it seems that the corresponding unaccusative is obtained by dropping the affix. In other cases unergatives appear to be basic entries which transitives can be derived from with the same affixes, *meN-* and *-kan*. How can we explain learnability then, if in some cases a child should learn that the transitive form contains an affix and that she should use some operation to get rid of both the affix and an argument, whereas with the same affixes, for some other verbs, things are exactly the other way around?

Adopting Marantz’s theory of lexical structure, I will argue that *meN-* and *-kan* have nothing to do with argument structure. *-kan* is used to mark causative verbs with a lexical causative agent as its grammatical subject, while *meN-* licenses a root to be the head of a VP (that is to be a verb), marks the subject as prominent and makes the meaning of the verb eventive.

A brief overview of Indonesian will be given in Section 2. In this section, I will sketch the structure of Indonesian verbs and the role of affixes. Section 3 contains a summary of

Reinhart's Theta System. A discussion of previous approaches to *meN-* and *-kan* and their problems will be presented in Section 4. In Section 5, I will present a solution to those problems. This paper will be closed with Section 6, which concludes the results of the investigation.

II

DELIMITATION OF STUDY

2.1. The Structure of the Indonesian Verb and the Roles of Affixes

Indonesian is an SVO language where the verb always follows the subject, while the position of others is more free. Tense and agreement in Indonesian are not morphologically marked.

- (4) a) *Dulu Anto membuka toko*
formerly Anto meN-open store
“Formerly Anto opened a store”
- b) *Sekarang mereka membuka toko*
now 3P_{ers}P_{lu} meN-open store
“Now they open a store”

Verbs in Indonesian are mostly affixed. There are three types of affixes that are attached to the base, namely prefixes, suffixes and circumfixes (also called discontinuous affixes). Traditionally it is thought that according to their functions these affixes belong to two types: derivational and inflectional. When a derivational affix is attached to a base it changes a word to another class, whereas an inflectional affix does not change the category of the word. Sneddon (1996) noted that *meN-* is an inflectional affix that signals active voice. A more detailed illustration of affixes in Indonesian presented in the following.

2.2. Overview of Verbal Affixes

Indonesian has the verbal prefixes *ber-*, *di-*, *meN-*, and *ter-*. Besides these, there are also the suffixes the *-an*, *-i*, and *-kan* and there is a circumfix *ke-an* as well. Prefix *ber-* and *meN-* occur with active verbs. *meN-* usually takes a verb, noun, adjective as its base and occasionally also an adverb, particles, numbers and pronoun, but *ber-* can only have a verb or a noun and occasionally also number as its base. Traditionally it is believed that *ber-* marks intransitive verbs and *meN-* marks transitive. But in fact there are also verbs with

meN- that cannot have an object, whereas sometimes verbs with prefix *ber-* can have an object as well. Consider the following sentences:

- (5) a) *Anto melompat*
Anto meN-jump
“Anto jumps”
- b) *Anto berlari*
Anto ber-run
“Anto runs”
- c) *Anto berburu rusa*
Anto ber-hunt deer
“Anto hunt for deers”

Next to active affixes, there also three types passive affixes, i.e. *di-* which marks canonical passive, *ter-* which marks passive perfect, and circumfix *ke-an*, as exemplified below.

- (6) a) *Rumah itu dibakar*
house that di-burn
“That house is burned”
- b) *Rumah itu terbakar*
house that ter-burn
“That house has been burned”
- c) *Rumah itu kebakaran.*
house that ke-burn-an
“That house is burned”

Verbs suffixed with *ber-* can be suffixed with *-an* and *-kan*. Verbs prefixed with *meN-* can occur with the suffix *-kan* and *-i*. Sneddon (1996) relates verbs with the affix *ber-...-an* to multiple participants or reciprocal.

- (7) a) *Anak-anak berlarian di lapangan*
child-child ber-run-an in field
“Children run in the field”
- b) *Mereka berpelukan.*
They ber-hug-an
“They hug each other”

Verbs with the affixes *ber-...-kan* have mostly a noun as their base and mean “having N” as exemplified in (8a). But there are also some verbs that can occur as the base of these affixes. Sneddon (1996) stated that verbs affixed with *ber-...-kan* that have verbs as the base correspond to the noun form of the base, which is suffixed with *-an*. For example the verb *bertuliskan* in (8b) corresponds to the meaning *tulisan* “something written” and means “having something written”.

- (8) a) *Filsafat Indonesia berdasarkan Pancasila.*
 Philosophy Indonesia ber-based-kan Pacnacasila
 “The Indonesian philosophy is based on Pancasila”
- b) *Foto-foto presiden dan para menteri bertuliskan “for sale”*
 Photo-photo president and P_{LURAL} minister ber-write-kan “for sale”
 “The photos of the president and ministers had “for sale” written on them”

A verb containing the suffix *-kan* always occurs as a transitive verb. Following Kaswanti (1997 inter alia), Cole and Son (2002) stated that this suffix shows the properties of both causative and applicative as shown in their examples below.

- (9) a) *Mary tewas*
 Mary dead
 “Mary is dead”
- b) *Ia menewaskan Mary*
 3P_{ers}S_{ing}N_{om} meN-daed-kan Mary.
 “He killed Marry”
- c) *Saya memanggangkan biscuit untuk Eric semalam.*
 1P_{ers}S_{ing} meN-bake-kan biscuit for Eric se-night.
 “I baked a biscuit for Eric last night”
- d) *Saya memanggangkan Eric biscuit semalam.*
 1P_{ers}S_{ing} meN-bake-kan Eric biscuit se-night.
 “I baked Eric a biscuit last night”

While suffix *-kan* can mean either causative or applicative, suffix *-i* usually only means applicative i.e. that the object is the benefactive.

- (10) *Saya menanami halaman belakang kita dengan pohon.*
 1P_{ers}S_{ing} meN-grow-i yard back 1P_{ers}.P_{lural} with tree
 “I grew a tree in our backyard”

2.3. A Closer Look at Affixes *meN-* and *-kan*

There are lots of works that touch upon the prefix *meN-*, but there is not yet a comprehensive study that investigates the function of *meN-*. Most of them illustrate the distribution of *meN-* and falsify the traditional thought of the function of this prefix without giving a full explanation what this prefix is actually for. This affix is interesting to investigate since the distribution of *meN-* leaves a few questions behind, especially as regards the morphology-syntax-lexicon interface. The same case happened with the suffix *-kan* that in many theories has a close relation to argument structure.

Sometimes some verbs, which usually occur with the prefix *meN-* like the verb in (3a), repeated here as (11a), can be found in their bare form without affix as shown in (11b). To which class the sentence (11c) belongs is still in debate. Chung (1976) has shown some evidence that the object of (11c), which she referred to as Object Preposing, behaves more like a subject than just a topic of the sentence.

(11) a) *Anto membuka toko.*

Anto meN-open store

“Anto opens a store”

b) *Anto buka toko*

Anto open store

“Anto opens a store”

b) *Toko Anto buka*

store Anto open

“Anto opens the store”

Arka and Manning (1998) claim that the agent of such sentences is the core argument, so a passive analysis of such sentences like in (11c) is untenable. I will come back to this issue in the discussion of the solution. But it should be noted that the sentence in (11c) involves movement of the object just as in passives. It is also important to note that an object preposing sentence and also a passive can be derived only from a bare transitive verb or verbs that contains *meN-*. If the verb also contains the suffixes *-kan* or *-i*, the suffixes remain; only *meN-* is deleted in cases of object preposing and substituted by *di-* in passive.

(12) a) *Eric dipanggangkan biskuit semalam*

Eric di-bake-kan biskuit se-night.

“ Biscuit is baked for Eric last night.

b) *Eric saya panggangkan biscuit semalam.*

Eric 1P_{ers}S_{ing} bake-kan biscuit se-night.

“I baked a biscuit for Eric last night”

c) *Halaman belakang kita ditanami pohon.*

yard back 1P_{ers}P_{lural} di-grow-i tree

“Our backyard is grown with a tree ”

d) *Halaman belakang kita saya tanami pohon.*

yard back 1P_{ers}P_{lural} 1P_{ers}-S_{ing} grow-i tree

“I grew a tree in our backyard”

Now let us consider some types of verbs in Indonesian with respect to argument structure. Like noticed above, *meN*-verbs can either be transitive or intransitive. It thus follows that both unaccusative and unergative verbs may contain *meN*-.

(13) a) *Air itu membeku*

Water that meN-freeze

“The water freezes”

b) *Anto menangis*

Anto meN-cry

“Anto cries”

Both verbs in (13) have *meN*-, but *membeku* is unaccusative while *menangis* is unergative. Actually the difference between the two is a bit difficult to test in Indonesian, since this language does not use auxiliaries to form past perfect. But they are still different in several points. Since unaccusative only have an internal argument, it can be modified to be a past perfect passive with *ter-* but cannot be modified to be an agentive noun with *pe-* whereas in the case of unergatives this is the other way around. The test may not work out perfectly for all verbs, but at least the result is never judged totally wrong.

(14) a) *Anto jatuh*

Anto fall

“Anto fall”

b) *Anto terjatuh*

Anto ter-fall

“Something made Anto fall”

- c) *Anto penjatuh*
 Anto peN-fall
 “Anto is a faller”
- d) *?Air itu terbeku*
 water that ter-freeze
 “Something made the water freeze”
- e) **Air itu pembeku¹*
 water that peN-freeze
 “That water is a freezer”
- (15) a) *Anto jalan*
 Anto walk
 “Anto walks”
- b) *Anto terjalan*
 Anto ter-walk
 “Something made Anto walk”
- c) *Anto pejalan*
 Anto peN-walk
 “Anto is a walker”
- d) **Anto tertangis*
 Anto ter-cry
 “Something made Anto cry”
- e) *Anto penangis*
 Anto peN-cry
 “Anto is a crier”

Another piece of support for this assumption is that unaccusatives can be marked with *ter-* directly. *ter-* is an affix that in other cases is used to mark a verb as passives. A form with past perfect interpretation can be derived from a transitive verb by substituting the affix *meN-* with *ter-* as exemplified in (16). Normally if the transitive counterpart contains the suffix *-kan* or *-i*, these suffixes remain like in (16b), but some unaccusative verbs can have *ter-* attached directly to the one-place verb form like in the examples in (14) above even though the transitive counterpart contains a suffix. (14a) and (14b) are

¹ This sentence is also correct, but with the meaning that the water is the one that freezes something.

have a slightly different shade of meaning. In (14a) the agent of the event *jatuh* “fall” is reduced, but the interpretation of (14b) still contains the cause of the fall of Anto.

- (16) a) *Ia memikirkan ide itu*
 3P_{ers}S_{ing}N_{om} meN-think-kan idea that
 “He thinks about the idea”
- b) *Ide itu tidak terpikirkan*
 Idea that not ter-think-kan
 “That idea does not cross someone’s mind”

meN- is always present in verbs that have an object clitic. Even though sometimes *meN-* is optional for some verbs that can appear bare, the prefix *meN-* becomes obligatory if the object is an enclitic.

- (17) *Anto membukanya*
 Anto meN-open-3P_{ers}A_{cc}
 “Anto opens it”

In sum, *meN-* usually can be attached to a verb, noun, and adjective. Verbs with *meN-* can be transitive or intransitive. Passive and object preposing can only be derived from bare transitive verbs or verbs with *meN-*. This prefix is always omitted if there is movement across the verb. But *meN-* is always present if the object turn out to be an enclitic.

As noted in the previous section, *-kan* can be causative or applicative. Just like *meN-*, this suffix can be attached to a verb, noun, and adjective. It is widely assumed that this suffix adds a theta role, since the derived forms with *-kan* normally contain an extra theta role compared to what its bases have. Refer again to examples in (9). It is then understandable to think that this suffix is responsible for the addition of the verbal structure argument, since *-kan* always retains in canonical and perfect passive like those touched upon before.

III

THETA SYSTEM OF REINHART

Following Chomsky and Fodor's modular view of the cognitive system, Reinhart (2000, 2001) proposed a central system that represents the interface between the system of concepts and syntax, and indirectly the interface between the system of concepts and the inference system. The system is the so-called Theta System that contains:

- i. Lexical entries as coded concepts with formal features defining the argument structure of verbs²;
- ii. Marking procedures that determine the merging properties of arguments and assign an $ACC_{usative}$ feature if suitable; and
- iii. Arity operations on lexical entries, which generates new entries or new option of realization.

3.1. Lexical Entries

The outputs of the Theta System, which are represented by theta θ -features are inputs to syntax, and are legible to the Inference System. In order to be legible for both syntax and inference, they have to be formally coded. In terms of two binary features: +/-c (cause change) and +/-m (mental state), Reinhart argues that eight feature clusters correspond to what has been labelled θ -roles³. The /+c feature is associated with a role perceived as a sufficient condition for the event, whereas /+m feature is related to some sort of mental state of the participant that entails animacy.

- | | | | |
|------|------|--------|---------------|
| (18) | i. | [+c+m] | Agent |
| | ii. | [+c-m] | Instrument |
| | iii. | [-c+m] | Experiencer |
| | iv. | [-c-m] | Theme/Patient |
| | v. | [+c] | Cause |

² The assumptions of Theta System has been elaborated for the category verb only. This system has not yet been extended to cover argument structure involving category shifts and going outside the verb category.

³ In her dissertation, Marelj has shown strong argument for the existing of the ninth logically [] or empty feature cluster which completed the system.

- vi. [-c] Recipient Goal/ Benefactor
- vii. [+m] Subject Matter/Source
- viii. [-m] Sentient

(19) Notation:

- [α] = Feature cluster α .
- / α = Feature and value α . (E.g. the feature /+m occurs in the cluster [+c+m], [-c+m], and [+m])
- [/ α] = A cluster of which one feature is / α . (E.g. [/-c] cluster are [-c+m], [-c-m], and [-c])
- [+] = A cluster of which all features have the value +.
- [-] = A cluster of which all features have the value -.

The first four clusters are fully specified, while the rest are underspecified. Note that the clusters are labelled by the role that they are the most typically related to. There is no one-to-one relation between the cluster and the traditional labels, except for the fully specified cluster [+c+m] which is interpreted constantly as the agent role and the fully specified minus cluster [-c-m] that is also related consistently to the theme or patient role. The mixed clusters (18ii) and (18iii) have more interpretations. Mostly they are interpreted as instrument and experiencer respectively, but they also correspond to roles that are not covered by any θ -role identified so far. The underspecified, unary cluster, [+c] may be related to agent or instrument, since this cluster can be interpreted either as an animate or inanimate cause [+/-m]. The unary clusters [+m] and [-m] itself can also be interpreted as [+/-c] which is either a sufficient condition for the event or not. [+m] if it corresponds to animacy and [-m] if animacy is irrelevant to the event.

Reinhart (2000, 2001) based the usage of θ -features on Shens's (1985) perception-driven causal relation, namely enable, cause and motivate. The relation 'enable' holds when one event is conceived as a necessary condition for the second event. For example, someone must have entered a pool before he drowned in the pool. Thus entering the pool is a necessary condition for his drowning, but entering the pool is not a sufficient condition for drowning since many people enter a pool and swim without drowning. When one event performs a sufficient condition for another event, then the relation 'cause' holds. For instance, the falling of a glass is a sufficient condition for its breaking. The relation 'motivate' holds when enable or cause relation holds, and in addition a mental state mediates the event. Reinhart relates the perception causal relation 'cause' to the feature

/+c and ‘motivate’ to /+m. The relation ‘enable’ is not related to anything since all selected arguments can be viewed as a necessary condition for other events. Consider sentences like:

(20) Lucy worries about her health

her health in (6) is a [-m] subject matter role that can be interpreted either as [+c-m] or [-c-m]. If *her health* is a sufficient condition of the worry, then it is perceived as the cause of the event. But if another cause is present, such as a doctor that makes her worry about her health, then *her health* is no longer the sufficient condition of her worry and it will be interpreted as /-c.

A theta grid of verbs cannot contain non-distinct clusters. That entails that not all clusters can be realized together, since unspecified clusters that can have two interpretations might be non-distinct to other unary clusters. This constraint is summarized in (21).

(21) Cluster Distinctness Constraint

- (a) Two non-distinct theta-clusters cannot be both realized on the same predicate.
- (b) Distinctness: two feature cluster α and β , are distinct iff:
 - i. they share at least one feature, and
 - ii. there is at least one feature or value which they do not share.

An example of this is the unary cluster [+c], which is non-distinct from [-m] since they both can be interpreted as [+c-m].

In this system, lexical entries originated in the lexicon may consist of one, two or three feature clusters. Verb classes can vary depending on this number and the composition of the clusters.

3.1.1. One-place verbs

All unergative verbs are one place predicates, but they differ in respect to the composition of the clusters. Agent unergative selects [+c+m] as their external argument. Some of them are listed below.

(22) V ([+c+m]) - *walk, run, march, gallop, hurry, wander, dance, work*

- a) Max/*the table walks fast
- b) Max/*the office works hard

Theme-unergatives select [-c-m] as their external argument.

(23) V ([-c-m]) - *glow, shine, beam, glare, glimmer, sparkle, babble, flash, buzz, click, whistle, squeal, stink, bleed, drip, sweat, radiate; shudder, tremble, flower*

a) The light glowed brightly

b) The bell buzzed

Other unergatives verbs have [+m] as their argument like in (24).

(24) V ([+m]) - *laugh, cry, sleep*

a) Max/*the table laughed

b) Max/*the table cried

c) Max/*the table slept

3.1.2. Two-place verbs

Some two-place verbs select a [+c] argument while others choose fully specified [+c+m]. Verbs that select [+c] as their external argument may select an agent or an instrument because of the unspecified mental state. Furthermore, these type of verbs are distinguished by their internal role. Some verbs take [-c-m] as a theme, others select an experiencer [-c+m].

(25) V ([+c], [-c-m]) - *break, open...*

a) The wind/Max/the key opened the door

b) The storm/Max/the stone broke the window.

c) The heat/Max/the candle melted the ice.

(26) V ([+c], [-c+m]) - *worry, amuse, scare, surprise... ,*

a) Max/the noise/the gun scared Lucie.

b) Fred/Fred's behavior /the discussion surprised Lucie

c) The doctor/her doctor worries Lucie

Reinhart (2000,2001) argues that all verbs that take the feature cluster ([+c], [-c-m]) universally have an unaccusative alternation that is derived from the two-place counterpart as the basic entry.

(27) a) The door opened

b) The window broke

c) The ice melted

Such a case is also realized with verbs that select an experiencer. Those verbs could also have a one-place alternation. But they alternate as unergatives.

(28) a) Lucie scared

- b) Lucie surprised
- c) Lucie worried

Furthermore, verbs that select [+c+m] as their subject have an animate agent. These verbs do not vary in their internal argument. They always select [-c-m] as theme.

(29) V ([+c+m], [-c+m]) - *eat, shave, dress, ...*

- a) The baby/*the spoon/* hunger ate the soup.
- b) Lucie/*the razor/*the heat shaved Max.
- c) Lucie/*the snow/*the desire to feel warm dressed Max

Some of these verbs have a reflexive one-place alternation as result of bundling of the arguments that will be discussed in Section 3.1.3.

The existence of unary clusters is then considered to differentiate sets of verbs from other sets, because operations are sensitive to it. Take for example the sets of verbs described above. Verbs that take [+c] can undergo an operation resulting in unaccusative verbs, whereas verbs with [+c+m] could not.

3.1.3. Three-place verbs

Unlike the verbs noted above, some verbs that select [+c+m] behave differently. Those are verbs like *peel, cut, screw, sow* and *drill* which Reinhart (2000,2001) called manner verbs. These verbs are associated with two conditions that are both sufficient for the event. In this system it can be stated that those verbs select two arguments which contain /+c, of which only one is obligatorily realized.

(30) V ([+c+m], [-c-m], [+c-m]) - *peel, cut, screw, sow, drill*

- a) Max peeled the apple (with the knife)
- b) The knife peeled the apple.

At least one of the two argument with /+c must be present. Following Idan Landau, Reinhart (2000,2001) noted that manner verbs also involve verbs like *fill*, because they also need two sufficient conditions, which differ from instrument.

(31) V ([+c], [-c-m], [+c-m]) - *fill*

- a) Max/the hose/ the storm filled the pool with water.
- b) The water filled the pool.
- c) The pool_i filled t_i with water.

The verbs discussed in this section are base entry. Operation resulting in derived entries will be discussed in Section 3.3., but first let us see the marking procedures of these verbs listed in the lexicon.

3.2. Marking Procedures

The thematic roles as part of semantic categories must be linked to syntactic position. In the literature it has been noted that linking should be deducible from the verb's semantic selection facilitated by the principle of UG. In this system the linking procedures are stated in the UG rules and generalizations below:

(32) Marking Procedure:

- a) Given an n-place verb-entry, $n > 1$,
- b) Mark a [-] cluster with index 2.
- c) Mark a [+] cluster with index 1.
- d) If the entry includes both a [+] cluster and a fully specified cluster $[/\alpha, /-c]$, mark the verb with the ACC feature.

(33) CS merging instructions.

- a) When nothing rules this out, merge externally.
- b) An argument realizing a cluster marked 2 merges internally;
An argument with a cluster marked 1 merges externally.

Verbs listed in the lexicon undergo the marking procedures, which provide them with merging instructions for syntax, namely, assigning indices to the feature clusters (the arguments). One place verbs get no index since only verbs with more than 1 argument that get index 1 or 2. Following the instruction in (33a), one-place verbs merge externally when nothing rules that out.

(34) Unergative Derivation

- a) The bell buzzed.
- b) Base entry: *buzz* ([-c-m])
- c) Marking: inapplicable
- d) Merging: External

Two-place verbs are marked with indices. A [+] cluster is marked with index 1 and a [-] cluster with index 2. The ACC feature is assigned if a verb has a [+] cluster and a fully specified cluster $[\alpha, /-c]$.

(35) Transitive Derivation

- a) Max ate an apple
- b) Base entry: *eat* ([+c+m], [-c-m])
- c) Marking: *eat_{acc}* ([+c+m]₁, [-c-m]₂)
- d) Merging: [+c+m]₁ merges externally, [-c-m]₂ merges internally

Three-place verbs do not differ much from the transitive derivations above, but it is important to note that mixed clusters do not get indices, since they are neither plus nor minus clusters. These mixed clusters can merge externally according (33a) when nothing rules this out. Like in the sentence (36a) the agent [+c+m] is present, thus the mixed cluster cannot merge externally. But if the agent is absent, then *a knife* with the cluster [+c-m] can merge externally.

(36) Manner Verbs Derivation

- a) Max peeled an apple with a knife
- b) Base entry: *peel* ([+c+m], [-c-m], [+c-m])
- c) Marking: *peel_{acc}* ([+c+m]₁, [-c-m]₂, [+c-m])
- d) Merging: [+c+m]₁ merges externally, [-c-m]₂ merges internally, [+c-m] merges externally if nothing rules it out.

During the derivation, merged indices and ACC feature are erased, since they are only legible to CS. But the theta features, which are legible to the semantics to express the verbal concept are passed on through the derivation.

3.3. Arity Operations

There are three types of operations that can apply to the verb's grid, namely saturation, reduction, and expansion.

3.3.1. Saturation

Saturation, which can be equated with the label 'variable binding', is an operation where one of the arguments is still present semantically, but is unavailable for syntactic

purposes, with the elimination of accusative case as the effect. An example of saturation is passive which application is illustrated in (37).

- (37) a) wash (θ_1, θ_2)
 b) Saturation: $\exists x$ (wash (x, θ_2)
 c) Max was washed $t \equiv \exists x$ (x washed Max)

3.3.2. Reduction

A reduction operation reduces one of the arguments of verb's entry. There are two reduction operations, namely reflexivization and expletivization.

Reflexivization reduces θ_2 of a transitive entry, resulting in a one-place entry. The operation takes place as follow:

- (38) a) $V_{acc}(\theta_1, \theta_2) \rightarrow R_s(V)(\theta_1)$
 b) $R_s(V)(\theta_1) = (\lambda x (V(x,x)))(\theta_1)$

For example:

- (22) a) $shave_{acc}([+c+m]_1, [-c-m]_2)$: Lucie shaved him.
 b) $R_s(shave)([+c+m]_1)$: Max shaved.

Reflexivization simply bundles θ_1 and θ_2 , so that the role targeted by the operation is semantically still present.

This is not the case with expletivization, which can only apply to [+c] argument, eliminates the argument altogether. The resulted entry just denotes to the property of the one-place verb that only has one argument.

- (39) a) $V_{acc}(\theta_1 [+c], \theta_2) \rightarrow R_e(V)(\theta_2)$
 b) $R_e(V)(\theta_2) = V(\theta_2)$

For examples:

- (40) a) $open_{acc}([+c], [-c-m]) \rightarrow R_e(open)[-c-m]$
 b) $worry_{acc}([+c], [-c+m]) \rightarrow R_e(worry)[-c+m]$

3.3.3. Expansion

Expansion or entry changing operations, which add an argument, can be viewed as a concept-formation operation. An example of this operation is lexicon causativization or better called agentivization. This lexicon operation can apply either to one or two place

verbs, but it always adds an agent role [+c+m] and not a cause role [+c] as exemplified in the following sentences:

- (41) a) Max/*the leash/*hunger walked the dog to his plate.
 b) Max/?the whip/*the rain galloped the horse to the stable..

It is the property of the lexicon operation and not the property of the verbs that disable agentivization to take [+c] as agent, because syntactically such causation is allowed.

- (42) a) The rain made the horse gallop to the stable.
 b) The cold weather made him wear a coat.

Agentivization applies by simply adding an agent role [+c+m], but if the original syntactic structure of the verbs involves [+c] feature, then the operation must pass through two steps:

- (43) a) *Decausativize*: Change a /+c feature to a /-c feature.
 walk([+c+m]) → walk([-c+m])
 b) *Agentivize*: Add an agent role.
 walk([-c+m]) → walk([+c+m],[-c+m])

With respect to marking procedures, attention must be paid to the procedures as formalized in the generalization below:

- (44) Relevant generalizations of lexical operations:
 b) Saturation and reduction apply to the marked entry (i.e. after marking).
 c) Expansion applies to the verbal concept (i.e. before marking)

The marking procedure assigns the indices based on the value of the thematic role. Since saturation and reduction do not change the value of the cluster, these operations apply after marking. Take the following as illustration:

- (45) a) *awaken*: ([+c][-c+m])
 c) *awaken*: ([+c]₁ [-c+m]₂)
 d) Expletivization: *awaken* ([-c+m]₂)
 e) Mary_i awakened t_i.
 f) Saturation: ∃x (*awaken* (x, [-c+m]₂))
 g) Mary_i was awakened t_i.

On the other hand, agentivization affects the value of the feature cluster by adding a role to the theta grid. The linking for the base and the derived entry is not the same, since the argument of the base merges externally, whereas in the derived entry the same argument must merge internally as exemplified below:

- (46) a) *walk*: [+c+m]
b) The dog_[+c+m] walked
c) Agentivization: *walk*: ([+c+m]₁ [-c+m]₂)
d) She_[+c+m] walked the dog_[-c+m]

We saw how this system can link the system of concepts to both inference and syntax. From some examples it is also shown that the Theta System can account for the syntactic differences between unergative and unaccusative verbs, which has been a problem for many approaches. It is important to determine to what extent it works universally.

IV

meN- and *-kan*

4.1. Previous approaches to *meN-*

In Indonesian language textbooks, *meN-* is usually declared to be an active marker and/or a prefix with function to indicate that the subject of an utterance is the agent or actor, that is, the one responsible for carrying out an action (Mintz (2002)). This is in accordance with what Arka (2000) states, namely that *meN-* signifies the actor subject mapping. Some native speakers also gloss *meN-* as prefix that can form transitive verbs.

The understanding of *meN-* sketched above is deeply rooted among native speakers of Indonesian and also rooted in studies of traditional Indonesian linguistics. Remarks about *meN-* are usually just a description of the distribution of this prefix or just superficial discussion in relation to other topics. The approaches are summarized below.

Kaswanti (1989) addresses what older grammarians such Mees (1950), Fokker (1951), Kähler (1956), Teeuw (1971) and Danoesogondo (1976) stated about *meN-* i.e. as representing agent focus. Kaswanti showed that even though the absence of *meN-* is a common practice in informal Indonesian, not all *meN-*'s of transitive verbs can be left out. He gave the following examples as illustration.

- (47) a) *Lebih baik kamu yang menyewa mobil itu.*
More good 2P_{ers}S_{ing} COMP meN-rent car that.
“It is better if you are the one who rents that car”
- b) *Lebih baik kamu yang sewa mobil itu.*
More good 2 P_{ers}S_{ing} COMP rent car that.
“It is better if you are the one who rents that car”
- c) *Lebih baik kamu yang menyapu kamar itu.*
More good 2 P_{ers}S_{ing} COMP meN-brush room that.
“It is better if you are the one who sweeps that room”
- d) **Lebih baik kamu yang sapu kamar itu.*
More good 2 P_{ers}S_{ing} COMP brush room that.
“It is better if you are the one who sweeps that car”

In explaining what *meN-* is, Kaswanti described the functions of that prefix in contrast with bare verb, namely that *meN-* is used when the speaker gives a response to the listener or narrates something, when the person narrated is the third person, when emphasis is on the (main) verb, when the speaker asks for confirmation of a fact, when the action affects directly the addressee, when it is an indirect imperative, when a modal is present, and as a backgrounding device. Most of his approach is thus discourse-semantic.

Voskuil (1996) also approaches the presence or absence of *meN-* from the point of view of discourse-semantic functions. One use of the bare active is to present a past event as if it is happening before one's eyes; it often adds an emotive overtone. He took examples out of a novel where both bare verb and prefixed verb occur with the same construction. He notes that the example in (48a) suggests anger on the part of the speaker, while in (48b) the speaker strikes a reconciliatory tone.

- (48) a) *Kenapa kamu ingin bunuh saya kemarin?*
 Why 2P_{ers}S_{ing} want kill 1P_{ers}S_{ing} yesterday
 “Why did you want to kill me yesterday?”
- b) *Kenapa kamu ingin membunuh saya kemarin?*
 Why 2P_{ers}S_{ing} want meN-kill 1P_{ers}S_{ing} yesterday
 “Why did you want to kill me yesterday?”

Voskuil also observes that the bare active is selected when a speaker wishes to elicit affirmation by the hearer as exemplified in (49).

- (49) *Saya mau bersihkan ubin, ya.*
 1P_{ers}S_{ing} want clean-kan tile, yes.
 “I will clean the tiles, okay?”

He added that the use of bare active in combination with a future tense marker or a modal suggests certainty, conviction, or determination. Substituting morphological active verbs would deprive the sentence of the nuance, making them appear more tepid.

But in addition to addressing discourse-semantic issues, Voskuil also explain the structural characteristic of *meN-*. He emphasizes that *meN-* is neither a transitivity marker nor a marker agentivity, because *meN-* also occurs in intransitive verbs. In his point of view, *meN-* marks voice that blocks A-bar movement of the direct object and licenses zero anaphora (pro) in object position. Consider his examples:

- (50) a) Buku ini saya baca
 book this 1P_{ers}S_{ing} read
 “I read this book”
- b) *Buku ini saya menulis
 book this 1P_{ers}S_{ing} men-write
 “I wrote this book”
- c) Buku_i ini saya mau baca *t_i*.
 book this 1P_{ers}S_{ing} want read
 “I want to read this book”
- d) Buku_i ini saya yang menulis *pro_i*.
 book this 1P_{ers}S_{ing} C_{om} men-write
 “As for this book, it is me who wrote (it)”

The prefix *meN-* blocks object movement in (50b), which is unblocked in (50a). Voskuil argues that (50d) does not involve movement, as movement would violate subjacency. He argues for an analysis in which (50d) has a zero anaphor in object position that is bound by the left dislocated noun phrase.

4.2. Previous approaches to *-kan*

As explained in the former section, *-kan* is conceived as a suffix that can add an argument as exemplified in (9). Cole and Son (2002) argue that *-kan* adds an internal argument to a verb which has only a single, internal argument (e.g. unaccusative verb). In unaccusatives, the argument that is assigned the theme role cannot be syntactically internal because the verb does not subcategorise for an internal syntactic argument. *-kan* adds a new position, and the theme is realized syntactically in that position. Following Burzio’s generalization, they assume that the apparent causative involves a discrepancy between syntactic subcategorization and the theta role assignment.

- (51) syntactically realized (case marked) internal argument <-> theta marked subject

The creation of a theta marked external argument is a *secondary* effect of the addition of the internal argument by *-kan*. The causative interpretation, thus, is a secondary effect of the addition of an internal argument to the argument structure.

Kroeger (2002) noted that the suffix *-kan* is often cited as classic example of “valence increasing” as what Chung (1976) describes as an “object-creating” suffix, which promotes an oblique argument or adjunct to core argument status and thereby increases the syntactic transitivity of the verb. But he argues that there are two homophonous suffixes *-kan*, which he refers as *-kan₁* (instrumental/causative/displaced theme) and *-kan₂* (benefactive). He remarks that *-kan₁* occurs with roots of all types: transitive, intransitive, ditransitive, also adjective and noun and creates a monotransitive clause, while *-kan₂* applies only to transitive roots and creates a ditransitive clause. Thus *-kan₂* always increases the syntactic valence of the verb but in the presence of *-kan₁* the syntactic valence of the verb may increase, decrease or remain the same. This suggests that *-kan₁* cannot be treated as a normal “valence increasing” affix, but instead must be associated with a template of some kind which determines the argument structure and subcategorization properties of the output form.

On the other hand, Kana (1986) notes that it will be accurate to say that *-kan* registers the presence of a benefactive in a verb’s argument structure, regardless of whether the benefactive is after the verb, whether the benefactive is an oblique, or not mentioned explicitly at all. *-kan* in other verbs signals the addition of a subject. Thus according to her, *-kan* does not add an argument structure, but just signals beneficiary.

4.3. The Problems of the of *meN-* and *-kan*

Following the former approaches, the acquisition of the Indonesian lexicon is much simpler and more economic. Children learn the stems of words. By adding a certain affix, they can create a new entry. For example children acquire the verb *pecah* as a stem or as a one-place verb and by adding the affix *-kan* children will have a new entry with two arguments. This is parallel with the concept of C_{AUSE} of Pesetsky (1995), which assumed that transitive verbs are derived from one-place verbs with a C_{AUSE} affixation. But then we are faced with another problem. How would children know the different derivations of these verbs? How would they know that for the word *pecah* and *baris*, they will need an agent that can be either human or not [+c] for *pecah* and agent that has to be a human [+c+m] for the word *baris*? How do children know the different syntactic properties of these two types of verbs? Reinhart has signalled the problem of the derivation that Pesetsky assumed, because for some unergatives and reflexives the operation has to add

an agent [+c+m], but a cause [+c] to unaccusative and experiencer entries. She also noted, as pointed out by Friedeman that it is odd to allow lexical causativization for unaccusative in a language such as French that does not have lexical operations. Using the former approaches of *meN-* and *-kan*, it is then difficult to see how morphology, syntax, and lexicon are connected.

Let us now see how the Theta System works for Indonesian. In this system, transitives are the base forms of one-place unaccusative verbs, whereas one-place unergative verbs are the base forms of transitives as we saw in Section 2.

- (52) a) pecah_{acc} ([+c]₁[-c-m]₂)
 b) *Max memecahkan gelas itu*
 Max meN-broke-kan glas that
 “Max broke the glas
 c) Expletivization: pecah ([-c-m]₂)
 d) *Gelas_i itu pecah t_i*
 Glas that broke
 “The glass broke”
 e) Saturation: \exists (pecah (x, [-c-m]₂))
 f) *Gelas_i itu dipecahkan t_i*
 Glas that di-broke-kan
 “The glass is broken”

Different than English, most transitive verbs in Indonesian are morphologically marked, while some intransitive are not. In example (52) transitive *memecahkan*, which thematically would be expected to be the basic entry, is marked, whereas the derived verb *pecah* occurs bare.

In line with the system, an unergative can appear in a sentence with its bare form. Again, in the transitive form the verb is also morphologically marked.

If we look at the saturation operation of both (52) and (53) it seems that *-kan* is a suffix that marks the adding of a role since it is retained in passive sentence while *meN-* is a transitive marker in contrast with *di-*.⁴

- (53) a) baris ([+c+m])

⁴ Dardjowidjojo (1967) divided *meN-* in two classes: *meN*₋₁ as a transitive marker in contrast with *di-* and *meN*₋₂ that derives intransitive verbs.

- b) *Tentara itu (ber)baris*
 Soldier that (ber-)march
 “The soldier marches”
- c) Agentivization: $\text{baris}_{\text{Acc}} ([+c+m]_1, [-c+m]_2)$
- d) *Max membariskan tentara itu*
 Max meN-march-kan soldier the
 “Max marches the soldier”
- e) Saturation: $\exists (\text{baris } (x, [-c-m]_2))$
- f) *Tentara_i itu dibariskan t_i*
 soldier that di-march-kan
 “The soldier is marched”

Just like other transitive verbs, the basic verbs of reflexive are also marked by *meN-*. The result of reflexivization is sometimes unmarked like (54). But there is a residue of accusativity, which turns to be absorbed by *diri*. Reflexivization is a complicated phenomenon since the result of this operation is for some verbs to remain unmarked, while others are marked with different markers. The prefix *meN-* in (55) for example remains, while in (56) the reflexive form is marked by *ber-*.

- (54) a) $\text{bunuh}_{\text{Acc}} ([+c+m]_1, [-c-m]_2)$
 b) *Anto (mem)bunuh temannya.*
 $\text{Anto}_i \text{ meN-kill friend-3S}_{\text{ingGen}}$
 “Anto kills his friend”
- c) Reflexivization: $\text{bunuh } ([+c+m]) = (\lambda \text{Anto } (\text{bunuh } (\text{Anto}, \text{Anto})))$
 $([+c+m])$
- d) *Anto bunuh diri*
 $\text{Anto}_i \text{ kill self}_i$
 “Anto kills himself”
- (55) a) $\text{jual}_{\text{Acc}} ([+c+m]_1, [-c-m]_2)$
 b) *Anto menjual kuda*
 $\text{Anto meN-sell horse}$
 “Anto sell horses”
- c) Reflexivization: $\text{jual } ([+c+m]) = (\lambda \text{Anto } (\text{jual } (\text{Anto}, \text{Anto})))$ $([+c+m])$

- d) *Anto menjual diri*
 Anto_i meN-sell self_i.
 “Anto sell himself”
- (56) a) cukur_{Acc} ([+c+m]₁, [-c-m]₂)
- b) *Anto mencukur temannya /kumisnya*
 Anto men-shave friend-3S_{ing}G_{en}/moustache-3S_{ing}G_{en}
 “Anto shave his friend/his moustache “
- c) Reflexivization: (cukur) ([+c+m]) = (λAnto (cukur (Anto, Anto)))
 ([+c+m])
- d) *Anto bercukur*
 Anto ber-shave
 “Anto shaves”

Reinhart noted that some languages have a morphological marking, which could be analysed as the residue of the accusative feature or the residue of a thematic role (marking that a lexical operation has taken place). That is parallel to what Vinokurova (to appear) predicted, namely that the basic entry will be the unmarked one and the derived ones will be morphologically marked. The word *diri* in the reflexive could be categorized as the residue of the accusative feature. But what about the affixes? Indonesian could then be an empirical challenge for the system, since the prediction of the system does not seem to be right. On one side some of the base entries appear to be unmarked one, but other base entries are marked. This poses a problem for learnability. Children should then acquire a verb with the affix and then derive another entry from it without affix. On the other hand, children will learn a verb without the affix and then change it into an entry with affix. In that way children have to learn two kinds of derivation for the same affix, in this case *-kan*. That sort of acquisition is redundant and not economic.

If *meN-* is perceived as a transitive marker, then it will raise the same problem like the suffix *-kan*. If the prefix *meN-* is analysed as an active marker or as marker of agentivity, in contrast with *di-* that marks passive, then it is difficult to describe the function of prefix *meN-* in unaccusative verbs, which have no agent. Besides this, it is also difficult to explain the comparison of *meN-*verbs with verbs carrying the prefix *ber-*. It is then also unclear why some verbs are prefixed by *meN-* whereas others remain bare, unprefixed.

V

Towards a Solution

5.1. *meN-* and *-kan* Have Nothing to Do with Theta Roles

The explanations offered of the behaviour of the prefix *meN-* and suffix *-kan*, both in the previous approaches and in Reinhart's system, leave open a number of questions. The analyses of *meN-* and *-kan* in the literature to date are specific to Indonesian, with no attempt of generalization, while Reinhart's theta system is an attempt to explain languages universally. So let us try to explain this property of Indonesian within the later framework and try to find an alternative explanation for the asymmetry.

The alternative I will explore is that the prefix *meN-* and the suffix *-kan* have nothing to do with thematic structure. Evidence that *meN-* has no relation with argument structure is the fact that some verbs like *buka* can also occur as a bare verb with a transitive meaning as shown in sentences (3) and (11) and repeated here again in (57).

- (57) a) *Anto buka toko*
Anto open store
"Anto opens a store"
- b) *Anto membuka toko*
Anto meN-open store
"Anto opens the store"
- c) *Toko Anto buka*
Store Anto open
"Anto's store opens"

In contrast with (57b), (57a) is a correct sentence with different shade of meaning. The sentence with a bare form means that Anto opens a store and he becomes the owner of the store, whereas the sentence with prefix *meN-* means that he did an action of opening a store so that people can start buying stuff. Also, the prefix is absent in imperative sentences without eliminating the transitive meaning.

- (58) a) *Buka toko!*
open store

“Open a/the store!”

b) Jangan buka toko!

Not open store

“Do not open a/the store”

However the prefix *meN-* is always retained if the object of the sentence is the enclitic *-nya* as already noted in the last section.

(59) a) * *Anto bukanya*

Anto open-3P_{ers}A_{cc}

“Anto opens it”

b) *Anto membukanya*

Anto meN-open-3P_{ers}A_{cc}

“Anto opens it”

The data shown that *meN-* does not mark transitivity. Moreover we have already seen that there are also intransitive verbs that contain *meN-* like exemplified in (5) and (13).

Musgrave’s (2001) suggestion, that it is better to take *meN-* as a marker that the subject of the verb is the actor contrary to *di-* where the agent of the verb is the patient, is untenable since there are unaccusative verbs prefixed by *meN-* where their subject is the patient and not the actor of the event. Voskuil’s (1996) assumption that *meN-* is an active voice marker is also not enough since there are active verbs marked by *ber-*. Besides, Cole, Hermon, and Tjung (2003) have argued that there is also an object relative clause that involves object movement of active sentences in Jakarta Indonesian. They showed that the relative clause in (61a), which can be translated into formal Indonesian as in (61b) with the same construction, is active because the modal *bisa* is inserted between the subject and the main verb, which is not in accordance with the characteristic of object preposing that Chung assumed. Thus, next to *ber-* there are also other active sentences with a zero prefix like the sentence below that can not be said to reflect object preposing.

(60) a) *Dan [yang gua bisa jalanin Ø], ya gue jalanin*

And COMP 1P_{ers}S_{ing} can walk-in yes 1P_{ers}S_{ing} walk-in

“And whatever I can do, I do it.”

b) *Dan [yang saya bisa jalani Ø], saya jalani.*

And COMP 1P_{ers}S_{ing} can walk-in 1P_{ers}S_{ing} walk-in

“And whatever I can do, I do it.”

It should be obvious now to conclude that the prefix *meN-* is a structural morpheme that has nothing to do with theta roles. But it is untenable to describe this prefix just as an active marker or a signal of an agentive subject.

Just like in the case of *meN-*, one should seriously consider the possibility that the of the transitive nature of verbs is not added by the suffix *-kan*, but actually already made in the lexicon where the description of the thematic properties of the concept is given, while the suffixes only mark the causative and applicative properties. The marking with *-kan* is only due, then, to syntactic needs. Let us just take the unaccusative verb *pecah* “break”. The concept of the event “break” always involves something broken and the cause of the breaking. In accusative sentences both arguments appear. The cause is realized as the subject and the patient as the object. This is the basic concept. The unaccusative is derived by reducing the external argument. Unergative is different. The concept of the event “walk” just involves the one who walks. The transitive counterpart is made by adding a new thematic role. If the addition of the internal argument needs *-kan*, then this suffix must retain anytime the argument present. But consider the following nominalization:

- (61) a) *Anto memecahkan gelas itu*
Anto meN-broke-kan glass that
“Anto broke the glass”
- b) *Anto pemecah gelas*
Anto peN-break glass
“Anto is the breaker of the glass”

The prefix *peN-* forms nouns from verbs that refer to the actor of the action expressed by the verb. The nominalization (61b) showed that the concept *pecah* still contains an internal argument *gelas* like (61a) without the presence of suffix *-kan*. This is a strong argument that suffix *-kan* also has nothing to do with the lexical argument.

The fact that *meN-* and *-kan* have nothing to do with theta relation as assumed raises the question of what exactly their functions are.

5.2. The Function of the Suffix *-kan*

If some transitive counterparts of both unaccusatives and unergatives behave the same with respect to affixation, then they must have a property in common that is responsible

for their having *-kan*. In the Theta System transitive verbs always consist of a [+c] and a [-c] role, completed by an accusative feature. All verbs suffixed by *-kan* are always transitive, but not the other way around. Not all transitive verbs are marked by *-kan*. As has been discussed, some transitive verbs can occur bare like the verb *buka* in (57a). Besides, there are also transitive verbs with suffix *-i* that cannot co-occur with *-kan*.

- (62) a) *Anto menidurkan anaknya*
 Anto meN-sleep-kan child-3P_{ers}S_{ing}G_{en}
 “Anto makes his child sleep”
- b) *Anto meniduri anaknya*
 Anto meN-sleep-i child3P_{ers}S_{ing}G_{en}
 “Anto sleeps on his child”

Let us now take a look from another side at the verbs suffixed by *-kan*. Levin and Rappaport go in line with Reinhart with respect to the derivational history of unaccusative verbs. They assume that both entries have a lexical representation like the following:

- (63) [[x DO-SOMETHING] CAUSE [y STATE]]

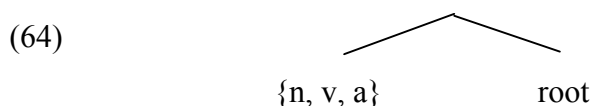
For example the verb *pecah* “break” would be like [[x DO-SOMETHING] CAUSE [y BROKEN]] whether it is used as a transitive verb or as an unaccusative verb. If *break* is used as an unaccusative, the *x* is bound during the mapping from the lexical semantic representation to the argument structure. If we would translate this causative idea in Reinhart’s framework we would say that the predicate has undergone expletivization and the *x* is reduced. The suffix *-kan* signals such a causative predicate. However if we follow Levin and Rappaport strictly, *-kan* should also be used for unaccusative, which is obviously not the case. An unaccusative differs from its base in that the former does not contain [+c], nor an accusative feature. Thus if this is combined with the hypothesis that *-kan* signals a causative predicate that has [+c] cluster, it predicts that it is used when the base form of an unaccusative is used, but not when the unaccusative form is used, since the unaccusative forms do not have a [+c] cluster. This is exactly what we expected.

I posit that transitive counterparts of unergative have a similar causative lexical representation as the unaccusatives. Therefore *-kan* is used. The unergative forms however do not have this causative representation so they do not have *-kan*, even though they may have [+c] clusters. This is the right prediction.

If we compare this to other transitive forms, we see that verbs with the suffix *-i* do not have a causative meaning, but are applicatives. Again this gives the right prediction. It is true that some verbs with *-kan* have an applicative meaning. Following Cole and Son (2002) and Kroeger (2002) I assume that suffix *-kan* is an ambiguous suffix that marks either causative or applicative. For more discussion of the difference between causative and applicative *-kan*, I refer to their study. The only problem comes from some causative verbs that can occur in their bare form. I save the discussion about this after we already have gone through discussion about prefix *meN-*.

5.3. The Function of the Prefix *meN-*

Marantz (1997) claims that the lexicon just consist of roots. All roots in the lexicon are category-neutral; they become nouns in a nominal environment and become verbs in a verbal environment created by a head bearing category features as shown below:



If we look at the characteristic of *meN-* it does not seem different than the little *v* of Marantz. A root is attached to the little *v* that gives the root the category verb (traditionally, of course, the root itself was believed to be marked as adjective, noun or verb). At a first glance it seems that the prefix *meN-* also behaves syntactically like little *v* in that it introduces a subject and has the capability to assign accusative case. From (65) it is appears that when the object is an enclitic *-nya*, *meN-* becomes obligatory because *-nya* should check accusative case. The doubt of Musgrave (2001) whether sentences with *di-* are passive may have a point here since *di-* is also able to have enclitic *-nya* as the agent of an event.⁵ Verbs with *meN-* are the real opposite of verbs with *di-*. But there are some other affixes that sometimes can have an object, like *ber-* as exemplified in (65c). But the object of these verbs must be a noun.

- (65) a) *Anto memburu rusa*
 Anto meN-hunt deer
 “Anto hunts for a deer”

⁵ Voskuil (1996) argues that the endclitic *-nya* in passive is genitive rather than accusative. This is a debatable issue since Indonesian does not have a concrete differences between this two cases.

- b) *Rusa diburunya*
Deer di-hunt-3P_{ers}S_{ing}
“A deer is hunted”
- c) *Anto berburu rusa*
Anto ber-hunt deer
“Anto hunts for deers”
- d) **Anto berburunya*
Anto ber-hunt-3P_{ers}S_{ing}
“Anto hunts for it”

Vinokurova (to appear) argues against Marantz’s approach and shows that the lexicon also has a computational ability. Following Reinhart’s Theta System, Vinokurova argues that the category of words is not a syntactic matter, but it is computed in the lexicon. The thematic properties of roots determine the category of the root: \emptyset argument \rightarrow noun, 1 argument \rightarrow adjective, and at least 2 arguments \rightarrow verb. She further argues that morphosyntactic properties are also determined by the thematic properties. The approach can be summarized as follows:

(66) Inherent meaning of a concept \rightarrow thematic properties \rightarrow category \rightarrow morphosyntactic properties.

In her dissertation, Vinokurova argues that all verbs have at least two arguments. One-place verbs are derived from a transitive counterpart. She stressed that there are no inherently intransitive verbs: they all must be derived and cannot be primitive. This is in line with the derivatin of unacusative verbs in the Theta System. But she also presents evidence that unergative verbs have a derivational history, unlike what is stated in Theta System. Unergative verbs are not the basic entry but derived through a denominal derivation. From adjective we can also derive a verb by adding a thematic role. And the adjective itself can also be derived from verbs. She notes that adjectives sometimes look like unaccusative verbs because they are derived from one. All the operations can take place in the lexicon, because adjective and verb in the lexicon are already listed with their argument(s). But nouns are argumentless. So adjectives or verbs that are derived from nouns must be derived in the syntax.

If these two approaches are combined we may find an explanation of the properties of verbs with *meN*-. I assume that lexicon consists of roots with thematic information that can be computed with some operation resulting in new concepts. The roots listed in the

lexicon are bare, without any affixes. But their category is fixed thanks to the information of their thematic roles. The affixes are added in the syntactic component, where they are needed to mark some property of the verb, for example to mark a lexicon operation that has taken place. As noted above *-kan* signals causative verbs that contain [/+c]. The prefix *meN-* marks a clause with subject prominence or what others call subject voice in contrast with *di-* that marks object prominent. Every time the object is an enclitic the prominence must be marked. This explains why *meN-* is always present if the internal argument turns out to be the enclitic *-nya*, even though the verb can appear in the bare form. I assume that in Indonesian a root need a licensing to take the head position of VP, like *meN-* and *di-*. But some verbal roots have this licensing inherently. That accomodates why some verbs can occur bare while others cannot.

Another question now arises: how can we explain that some roots that can occur bare sometime also occur prefixed, and how can we explain that some roots occur with prefix *meN-* and others take another prefix?

Let us first take a look at the verb *memburu* and *berburu* in (67). They do not differ in respect to theta arguments. If there is no different in thematic structure, aspect may be the place to find an explanation. Sentences with the verb *memburu* and *berburu* in (66) show a slight difference. The one with affixes *ber-* present the picture that Anto is going to a forest and if he is lucky he will see a deer to be shot, while the verb with *meN-* the interpretation of a pure event, where Anto is running after a deer to shoot it. This is supported by the judgement of native speakers that verbs with affix *ber-* cannot be used in a specific context.

- (67) a) ?*Anto berburu seekor rusa jam 6-12*
 Anto ber-hunt se-tail deer hour 6-12
 “Anto hunts for a deer at 6-12”
- b) *Anto memburu seekor rusa jam 6-12*
 Anto mem-hunt se-tail deer hour 6-12
 “Anto hunts for a deer at 6-12”

Following Bennet and Partee (1972), Reinhart notes that events denote temporally only one interval i.e. they do not have sub-intervals, while states do. The verb *memburu* is eventive, because the sentence (67b) does not entail that at any time shorter than 6 hours Anto hunts a deer. It is true that the sub-interval property is also absent in (67b), but it is not because *berburu* is also eventive. It is because the verb *berburu* can not be followed

by a specific object. If we use an non-specific object then the difference, becomes clear. If (68a) is true, then there must also be some time unit shorter than the given 6 hours, in which Anto hunt for deer. While (68b) is true if Anto hunt for deer for a period not shorter than 6 hours.

- (68) a) *Anto berburu rusa jam 6-12*
 Anto ber-hunt deer hour 6-12
 “Anto hunts for deer at 6-12”
- b) *Anto memburu rusa jam 6-12*
 Anto mem-hunt deer hour 6-12
 “Anto hunts for a deer at 6-12”

Indonesian speakers have a tendency to select the affixe *ber-* if the verb is stative, but *meN-* can still be used with another kind of shade of meaning, namely, continuous event. While (69a) means that it is his state that he is a deer hunter, (69b) means he keeps hunting deer for years.

- (69) a) *Anto berburu rusa bertahun-tahun*
 Anto ber-hunt deer ber-year-year
 “Anto hunts for deer for years”
- b) *Anto memburu rusa bertahun-tahun*
 Anto mem-hunt deer ber-year-year
 “Anto hunts for a deer for years”

Reinhart also noted that the state-event distinction has also to do with termination. While past tense events entail that the event has ended, a past tense state does not. If we have a past tense of the sentences in (69), it entails that in (69a) Anto has hunted deer for years and he is still doing that while (69b) means that Anto has hunted for deer but now he has quit doing that.

If *meN-* marks eventive, we will expect that we will not find the characteristic properties of eventive verbs in bare verbs. Because the root *buru* cannot occur bare, let us go back to example (57) repeated in (70).

- (70) a) *Anto buka toko*
 Anto open store
 “Anto opens a store”
- b) *Anto membuka toko*
 Anto meN-open store

“Anto opens the store”

c) *Toko Anto buka*

Store Anto open

“Anto’s store opens”

(70a) is stative, while (70b) is eventive. The distinction is very clear if we put the sentence in the past tense. As noted above, sentence (70a) means that Anto opens a store because he is now beginning to run a store. The past tense of this sentence entails that Anto still owns the store. Whereas the past tense of (70b) entails that the Anto is not doing the process of opening anymore. Differing from bare verbs in (70a), (70c) is also an event. The past tense of (70c) means that the store is no longer in the process of opening, it is already open. Thus while *meN*-verbs are usually eventive and *ber*-verbs are stative, bare verbs are unspecified: they can be both, eventive or stative. This characteristic of *meN*- explains the discourse effect of *meN*- described by Kaswanti (1989) and Voskuil (1996), that this prefix is usually used as a backgrounding device and makes it possible to present a past event that cannot be represented by bare verbs. *meN*-verbs are thus eventive which includes accomplishments and achievements.

VI

Conclusion

The Theta System is the system that represents the interface between the system of concepts and syntax; and indirectly also the interface between the system of concepts and the inference system. In this system lexical properties are marked in such a way that they are legible for syntax. Investigations of morphological marking in Indonesian led to a new view of *meN-* and *-kan*, which seemed at a first glance to constitute a challenge for Reinhart's view on the theta system. Both affixes have nothing to do with addition of argument structure as has been assumed in previous literature. *-kan* is used to mark causative verbs that contain [+c], while *meN-* licenses a root to be the head of VP (that is, marks it as a verb), and also marks subject prominence when the meaning of the verb is eventive.

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Appendix A

Verbs with the Prefix *men-* and the Suffix *-kan*⁶

1. With Verbs as the Stem

mengacu	mengeluarkan	merisak
mengacung(kan)	mengelupas	merisik
mengada(2/kan)	mengembalikan	meriung
mengadat	mengembangkan	merobohkan
mengadon	mengembangbiakkan	merogoh
mengadu(kan)	mengempit	merogok
mengaduk	mengemplang	merombak
mengajak	mengena (i/kan)	meronda
mengajukan	mengenal (i/kan)	merongos
mengalih(kan)	memperkenankan	merongrong
mengalingi	mengenang	meronta(-ronta)
mengalir (i/kan)	mengencingi	merontokkan
mengamati	mengepit	merosok (kan)
mengambang	mengepot	merosot (kan)
mengambil (i/kan)	mengepruk	merujuk (i)
mengambrukkan	mengepung	merumpi
mengancam	memngerik	merumung
menganggap	mengerjap	merunduk
menganggur	mengeroyok	merunduk
mengangkat	mengerubungi	merungut(-runtut/kan)
mengangkut	mengerubuti	meruntuh (kan)
mengangsur (kan)	mengerumuni	meruwat
menganjurkan	mengkhitan	menyabet
mengantar (kan)	mengibarkan	menyabot
mengantri	mengibaskan	menyabung
menganut	mengikis	menyadap
menganyam	mengkilap	mengesahkan
mengapung (kan)	mengilik(-ngilik)	menyaingi
mengarak	mengirim (i/kan)	menyajikan
mengarsir	mengisik	menyalin (i/kan)
mengarungi	mengitar (i)	menyalip
mengasah	mengobarkan	menyalir
mengasonggan	mengobok(-ngobok)	menyalurkan
mengasuh	mengocok	menyamaratakan
mengatur	mengosek	menyambar
mengaur	menguak	menyambi
mengawasi	mengucek(-ngucek)	menyambit (i/kan)
mengayak	mengucilkan	menyambung (kan)
mengayomi	mengulum	menyambut
membabat	mengumpulkan	menyampai (kan)

⁶ Based on *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (2002).

membaca	menguncup (kan)	menyampang
membacem	mengunjungi	menyamper (i)
membacok (kan)	menguntit	menyampirkan
membahas	mengunyah	menyamun (i)
membakar	mengupas	menyandar (i/kan)
(balas-)membalas	menguras	menyandung
membanggang	mengutik(-ngutik)	menyanggah
membangkitkan	mengutip	menyanggrah
membanguni (kan)	melacak	menyanggupi (kan)
membanjiri	meladeni	menyangka (kan)
membanjur	melalui	menyangkal
membanting	melamar	menyangkut (kan)
membantu	melambai(-lambai/kan)	menyangrai
membaringkan	melambung (kan)	menyangsang
membasmi	melamun	menyanjung(-nyanjung/kan)
membasuh	melancong	menyantap
membaurkan	melanda	menyapih
membawa(kan)	melangani	menyarap
membayari (kan)	melanggar	menyaring
membeberkan	melansir	menyasak
membedol	melantak	menyasar
membekam	melantarkan	menyatroni
membekap	melantik	menyatupadukan
membekuk	melantun (kan)	menyebar (kan)
membela	melaporkan	menyebarkan
membelek	melarang	menyebut (kan)
membeli (kan)	melarat	menyediakan
membeliak (kan)	melarikan	menyedot
membelok (kan)	melatih	menyeduh
membelot	melawat	menyeka (i/kan)
membludak	melayani	menyekap
membenahi	melayat	menyekat (i)
membenam (kan)	meleber	menyelak
membentak	meledak	menyelam (i/kan)
membentang (i/kan)	meledak	menyelang-nyeling (kan)
membentrokkan	meleduk	menyelenggarakan
membenturkan	melego	menyelenting
memberaki	melelapkan	menyelesaikan
memberangkatkan	meleleh	menyeletuk
memberantas	melembung	menyelial
memberi (kan)	melempar	menyelinap (kan)
memberitahu (kan)	melenceng	menyeliling (i/kan)
memberondong	melenggak(-lenggok/kan)	menyelip (i/kan)
memberontak	melengos	menyelir
membersit (kan)	melengser (kan)	menyelisik
membetot	melenting	menyelisipkan
membiak (kan)	melentung	menyelundup (i/kan)
membidik (kan)	meletup	menyelusuh
membikin	meletus	menyelusup
membimbing	melewati (kan)	menyelusur (i/kan)

membina	melibas	menyemayamkan
mem(per)bincangkan	melibatkan	menyembellih
membingkis	meliburkan	menyembuhkan
memblokir	melihat	menyembunyikan
membocorkan	melimbang	menyempal
memboikot	melimpah (i/kan)	menyempat (i/kan)
membolak-balik	melindas	menyengaja (kan)
membolos	melindungi (kan)	menyenggol
membonceng	melingkup (i)	menyentak (kan)
membongkar	melinting	menyentil
membopong	melipat	menyentuh (kan)
mrmborong	melipur	menyerah (i/kan)
memboyong	meliput	menyerak(-nyerak/kan)
membredel	melirik	menyerang
membuang	meloloskan	menyeranta
membuat (kan)	melompat (i/kan)	menyerap
membubarkan	melongo	menyerbu (kan)
membuka (i/kan)	melongok	menyerempet
membuntingi	melontar (i/kan)	menyeret
membuntukan	melorot (i/kan)	menyergap
membunuh	meluber	menyerobot
memburui (kan)	melucuti	menyeropot
memburu(-buru)	melukis (kan)	menyerosoh
mencabut (i/kan)	meluluhkan	menyertai (kan)
mencadangkan	meluluskan	menyeruak
mencakup	melumasi	menyeruduk
mencampakkan	melumuri (kan)	menyetel
mencampur (i/kan)	melunasi (kan)	menyetop
mencangkok	meluncur (kan)	menyetor (kan)
mencantelkan	melupakan	menyetujui
mencantolkan	memafhumi	menyiagakan
mencantumkan	me(per)mainkan)	menyiapkan
mencapai	memajukan	menyiarkan
mencaplok	memakan (i/kan)	menyibak(-nyibak/kan)
mencari (kan)	memakbulkan	menyidik
mencarter	memaki(-maki)	menyinggung
mencatat	memaklumi (kan)	me(per)nyilakan
mencatuk	memakmumi	menyilih
menceboki	memandekkan	menyimak
mencecerkan	memandikan	menyimbur (i/kan)
mencegah	memasuki (kan)	menyimpan (kan)
mencegat	mematikan	menyinambungkan
mencekal	memekarkan	menyinggahi (kan)
mencekam	memenangi (kan)	menyinggung
mencekik	meminta (i/kan)	menyingkap (kan)
mencelakai	meminum (i/kan)	menyingkir (i/kan)
mencempulung (kan)	memohon m (kan)	menyingsatkan
mencengkram	memuai	menyingsing
menceploskan	memuat (i/kan)	mensinyalir
mencerai (kan)	memudik (kan)	menyiram (i/kan)

mencerocos	mengemukakan	menyisih (kan)
mencibir	memulai	menyisip (kan)
mencivil	memulur	menyisir
mencicip (i)	memuncrat	menyitir
mencincang	memunculkan	menskors
menciprat	memundurkan	menyodok
mencium	memungkiri	menyodorkn
mencoba	memuntahkan	menyongsong
mencoblos	memurkai	menyontek
mencocol	memurtadkan	menyorong(-nyorong/kan)
mencoleng	memusnahkan	menyortir
mencolok	menaiki (kan)	menyosoh
mencomot	menanap	menyosor
mencopot	menasakhkan	menyudikan
mencuat	menaungi	menyuguhi (kan)
mencuci (kan)	mengaga (kan)	menyulang (i/kan)
mencukur	mengenas (kan)	menyuling
menculik	menobatan	menyumbang (kan)
mencuplik	menukilkan	menyumbang
mendaki	menyanyi (kan)	menyundul
mendandani	mengobral (kan)	menyundut
mendatang (i/kan)	mengobrol (kan)	menyungkit
mendayu	mengoceh	menyungkur
mendebarkan	mengodol(-odol)	menyuntik (kan)
mendekam	mengogah	menyunting
mendekap	mengogam	menyuruk (i/kan)
mendengarkan	mengogok	menyusul (i/kan)
mendepak	mengoja	menyusup (kan)
mendesak	mengojok	menabok
mendiamkan	mengolah	menabrak
mendidih?	mengolak(-aluk)	menabun
mendidik	mengoles (kan)	menabur (i/kan)
mendirikan	mengombang-ambing (kan)	menadaburkan
mendiskreditkan	mengomel (i)	menagih
mendompleng	mengompreg	mentahbiskan
mendongak	mengomprong	mengetahui
mendorong	mengondokkan	menakhlikkan
mendrop	mengongkang-ongkang	menaklik
menduduki (kan)	mengongkoki	menaklukkan
menduga	mengonyah-anyih	menamatkan
mendukung	mengonyok	menambal (kan)
mengedarkan	mengonyot	menambat
mengedit	mengopak-apik	menampak (kan)
mengeja	mengoper	menampar (i/kan)
mengejan	mengorak	menampi
mengejawantah	mengoret-oret	menampik
mengejek	mengorok	menampilkan
mengekspos	mengotak-atik	menampung
mengelak	mengoyak(-oyak)	menanak
mengelukan	mengoyok	menanam (i/kan)

mengelus	memacek	menancap (kan)
mengembat	memacuk	menandangi
mengemis	memaes	menanggali (kan)
mengempet	memagut	menangguhkan
mengendap(-endap/kan)	memajang (kan)	menanggulangi
mengendus	memakai (kan)	menanggung (kan)
mengentas	memaksa (kan)	menangkal (kan)
mengenten	memalingkan	menangkap (kan)
mengeram (i/kan)	memaperkan	menangkarkan
mengeret	memamitkan	menangkis
memforsir	memampang (kan)	menantang
menggadaikan	memancal	menarik
menggagalkan	memancar (kan)	me(per)narung (kan)
menggagaskan	memancung	menatap (i)
menggali	memancur	menatar
menggampar	memanggang	menatih
menggandeng (kan)	memanggil (kan)	menautkan
mengganggu	memangkas	menawan
mengganjar	memangku	menawar (i/kan)
menggantung (i/kan)	memanjat (kan)	menayang (kan)
mengganyang	memantau	menebah (kan)
menggapai	memantik	menebak
menggaplok	memantul (kan)	menebang (i)
menggarap	memapar (kan)	menebar (i/kan)
menggaruk(-garuk/kan)	memapas	menebas (kan)
menggasak	memapras	menebeng
menggauli	memarkir	menebus
menggayuti (kan)	memasang (kan)	meneguk
menggebrak	memasrahkan	menegun
menggebu-gebu	memaut (kan)	menekan (kan)
menggebuk (i)	memecah (kan)	meneken
menggecek	memecah-belah (kan)	menekik
menggedor	memecat (kan)	menekuk
menggegaskan	memedulikan	menekur (i/kan)
menggelepar(-gelepar/kan)	memegang	menelan
menggeletak (kan)	memegat	menelangkupkan
menggelimangi	memejamkan	menelanjangi (kan)
menggelincirkan	memelest (kan)	menelantarkan
menggelinding	memelihara (kan)	menelungkup (kan)
menggelundung	memelintir	menelusuri
menggelut (i)	memelonco	menembak (i/kan)
menggembar-gemborkan	memeloroti	menembus (i)
menggempleng	memelotot (i)	menempa
menggembungkan	memeluk (i)	menempel (i/kan)
menggempur	memencar(-mencar/kan)	menemplok
menggenang (i)	memencet	menempuh
menggencet	memencil	me(per)nempur (kan)
menggenjot	memendam (kan)	me(per)nemu (i/kan)
menggerai	memenggal	menendang
menggerayangi	memensiun (kan)	menengadahi (i/kan)

menggerebek	memepet (i/kan)	menenggak
menggerecok	mengeper	menenggelamkan
menggeremet	memerah	menengkari (kan)
menggerepe	memeram	menengkurapkan
menggerogoti	memeranjatkan	menengok (i)
menggerundel	memeras	menenteng
menggerus	memercayai	menepis
menggesek (kan)	memereteli	menerap (kan)
menggeser	memperhatikan	menerbangi (kan)
menggetok	memeriksa (i/kan)	menerbitkan
menggigit	memerinci	menerima (kan)
menggilas	memeringis	menerjang
menggiling	memerkosa	menerjemahkan
menggilir	memerseksi	menerjuni (kan)
menggiurkan	memetik (i/kan)	menerka
menggoda (i)	memiara	menerkam
menggodok	memicing (kan)	menerkap
menggojlok	memijat	menerobos
menggolong(-golong)kan	memijit	menerpa
menggondol	memikat	menerus (kan)
menggongseng	memilih (kan)	menetap (i/kan)
menggoreng	memimpin	menetas (kan)
menggorok	meminang	menewaskan
menggosok(-gosok)kan	memincuk	meniada (kan)
menggotong	memincut	meniarap (kan)
menggoyang(-goyang)kan	memindah (i/kan)	meniduri (kan)
menggubah	memingit	menikung
menggubris	meminjam (i/kan)	menilap
menggugah	memintal	mengetim
menggugurkan	memintas (i/kan)	menimang(-nimang/kan)
mengguling (kan)	memipil	menimbrung
menggulir	memipiskan	menimbul (kan)
menggumuli	memipit	menimpa (kan)
menhabisi (kan)	memiting	menimpali
menghafal (kan)	memopok (kan)	menimpuk (i)
menghajar	memoroti	menindas
menghalang (i)	memprakirakan	menindih
menghalau	memugar (i/kan)	menindik
menghambat	memugas	meninggal (i/kan)
menghambur(-hambur)kan	memulangi (kan)	meninjau
menghamili (kan)	memulas	meniru (kan)
menghampar (i)	memulihkan	menisik
menghancurkan	memulung	meniti
menghangus (kan)	memungkas	menitip (kan)
menghantam	memungut	menitis
menghantar (kan)	memuntal	meniup (kan)
menghanyutkan	mempunyai (kan)	menobatan
menghapus (kan)	memusing (kan)	menodong (kan)
mengharap (kan)	memutar (kan)	menolak (kan)
menhasut	memutar balik (kan)	menoleh (kan)

menghela	memutuskan	menolong
menghempas	meraba (i)	menomboki
menghias (i)	meracak	menongkrong (i)
menghibur	meracau	menongol
menghidangkan	meracik	menonjok
menghidupi (kan)	meragas	me(per)nonton (kan)
menghilang (kan)	meraih	menoreh
menghimbau	merajah	mentraktir
menghimpun	merajang	mentransfer
menghindar (i/kan)	merajuk (i)	menuang (i/kan)
menghinggap (i)	merambah (i)	menuding(-nuding/kan)
menghiraukan	merambak (kan)	menuduh (kan)
menghirup	merambat (kan)	menuju (i/kan)
menghisap	merampas (i)	menujuhbulan (i)
menghubungi (kan)	merampat (kan)	menukar (i/kan)
menghuni	merampungkan	menukik (kan)
menghujam	meramu	menular (i/kan)
menghunos	merangai	menulis (i/kan)
mengikuti (kan)	meranggah	menumbangkan
mengikuti (serta/kan)	merangkak (kan)	menumbuh (i/kan)
mengimbau	merangkap (kan)	menumpahi (kan)
mengincar	merangkul	menumpang (i/kan)
mengindahkan	merangkum (kan)	menumpas
mengingat (i/kan)	merangkap	menumplakkan
mengintai	merantuk (kan)	me(per)nunangi (kan)
mengintip	merasani	menunda (kan)
mengiringi	merasuk	menunduk (kan)
menjabarkan	meratap (i)	menunggang (kan)
menjabat	meraup	menungging (kan)
menjadi (kan)	meraut	menunggu (i/kan)
menjaga (kan)	merawat	menungkup (kan)
menjahit	merayah	menunjal
menjajah	merayan	menunjang (kan)
menjajaki	merebah (kan)	me(per)nunjuk (i/kan)
menjalin	merebak	menuntun
menjambret	merebus	menuntut
menjamin	me(per)rebut (kan)	menurun (i/kan)
menjangkit	merecik (kan)	menurut (i/kan)
menjatuhi (kan)	mereda (i/kan)	menusuk (kan)
menjawab	meredusir	mengubah(kan)
menjebolkan	mereguk	mengubek-ubek
menjegal	meregup	menguber
menjelajah (i)	merejan	mengubrak-abrik
menjelang	merejang	mengucek(-ucek)
menjelma (kan)	mereka(-reka)	mengudut
menjelujur	merekah	mengujarkan
menjemput	merekat (kan)	menguji (kan)
menjemur	mereken	mengukir (i/kan)
menjenguk	meremas(-remas)	mengulang (i)
menjepit	merembes (i)	mengulas

menjepret	merembet	mengulik
menjerang	merempuh	mengulur (kan)
menjerumuskan	merenangi (kan)	mengumpet
menjewer	merencah	mengumpil
menjilat (i)	merendam (i/kan)	mengundang
menjinjing	merendangkan	mengunduh
menjinjit	merengat (kan)	mengundur (kan)
menjiplak	merenggut	mengungkap (i/kan)
menjitek	merengket	mengangkat-angkat
menjiwit	merengkuh	mengungkit-ungkit
menjorok	merengut	mengungsi (kan)
menjotos	merenta-renta	mengunjuk (kan)
menjual	merenung (i/kan)	mengunjur (kan)
memperjuangkan	merenyah	menguntil
menjulang	meresan	menguntir
menjunjung	meresap (i/kan)	mengupak
menjuntai	meretek	mengupam
mengais(-ngais)	merias	mengupar
mengalah (kan)	mericau	menguruk
mengarang(-ngarang)	merilis	mengurungkan
mengasihi	merinai	mengurus (i/kan)
mengawini (kan)	merincis	mengurut (kan)
mengebut	meringih	mengusai (kan)
mengecam	meringik	mengusap
mengecup	meringis	mengusir
mengeduk	meringkik	mengusung
mengejan	meringking	mengusut
mengejar(-ngejar)	meringkuk	mengutak-atik
mengelantang	meringkus	mengutarakan
mengelola	meringsing	mengutik-utik
mengeloni	merintang (i/kan)	mengutus
mengelotok	merintas	mewajibkan
mengeloyor	merintah	

2. With Nouns as the Stem

mengabdikan	mengoleksi	menyalahgunakan
mengabjad(kan)	mengomando	menyalak
mengabolisikan	mengkombinasi (kan)	menyalami
mengacara(kan)	mengom(-ngompom)	menyalatkan
mengagunkan	mengonsep	menyalep
mengairi	mengkonsultasikan	menyalib (kan)
mengajar (i/kan)	mengontak	menyamak
mengakali (kan)	mengontrak	menyambal
mengakar	mengontrol	menyampah
mengalami	mengorbankan	menyamping (i/kan)
mengalamatkan	mengorek	menyampo
mengalokasikan	mengoreksi	menyampul (i)
mengalunkan	mengkredit (kan)	menyandang (kan)
mengamanahkan	mengkritik	menyandera (kan)

mengampuni (kan)	mengkualifikasi	menyanding (i/kan)
mengamputasi	menguasai (kan)	menyandiwarakan
mengamuk	mengubur	menyangga
menganaktirikan	mengulahi	menyanggul (kan)
menganalisis	menguliti	menyangkarkan
menganalogikan	mengumandangkan	menyangkutpautkan
mengancang(-ancang)	mengungkung	menyantet
mengancar-ancar	menguning	menyapa
mengandaikan	menguping	menyapu (kan)
menganan-angankan	menguret	menyarani (kan)
mengangguk	mengurung (kan)	meyarangkan
menangin-anginkan	melagukan	menyarikan
menganiaya	melahirkan	menyarung (kan)
mengantisipasi	melaknat	menyatai
mengapit	melakoni	menyayur
mengaplikasikan	melaksanakan	menyebabkan
mengarahkan	memberlakukan	menyebrang (i/kan)
mengarit	melambangkan	menyedekahi
mengarsipkan	melandasi (kan)	menyegel
mengartikan	melangit	menyejarah (kan)
mengasami	melangkah (i/kan)	menyekolahkan
mengasapi	melantai	menyekresi
mengsosiasikan	melapisi	menyekrup
mengaspal	melaraskan	menyekutui (kan)
mengasramakan	mengelas	menyela
mengasumsikan	melatari	menyelang(-nyelang/kan)
mengasuransikan	melaut	menyelat (kan)
mengatapi	melawan	menyelawat
mengatasi (kan)	melayang(-layang/kan)	menyeleksi
mengautopsi	melayari (kan)	menyelempangkan
mengawaki	melecut (i)	menyelendang (i/kan)
memngawali	melegalisasi	menyelimuti (kan)
mengawang-awang	melelang	me(per)nyelihkan
membagi(-bagi(kan))	melembaga (kan)	menyelubung (i/kan)
membahayakan	melengking	menyemai (kan)
bahu-membahu	melenguh	menyemak (kan)
membaja	melepuh (kan)	menyemangati (kan)
membajak	meletakkan	menyemarak (kan)
membalik (kan)	melilit (kan)	menyemat (kan)
membalutkan	melingkari (kan)	me(per)nyembah (kan)
membandingkan	melintangi (kan)	menyembahyangi (kan)
membantah	melintasi	menyemboyankan
membantai	meliuk(-liku)i (kan)	menyembur (i/kan)
membaptis	meloak (kan)	menyemen
membara	melokalisasikan	menyemir
membariskan	melolong	menyemprit
membatangi	memperlombakan	menyemprot (i/kan)
membatasi	meloncat (i)	menyemur
membatik	melonjak(-lonjak)	menyenandungkan
membatin	melonjor (kan)	menyendi

membantu	melubangi	menyendok
membraui	meludahi	menyengat
membawahi (kan)	melukai	mempersengketakan
membayang-(bayangi/)/kan	memaafi (kan)	menyengsarakan
membebani (kan)	memadu	menyeni
membebek	memahkotai	mempersenjatai
membedakan	memakamkan	menyensus
membedah	memanfaatkan	menyenteri
membedaki	memanifestasikan	menyentralisasi
membekali	memanipulasi	menyenyumi
membekas	memantrai	menyepak (kan)
membel	memanusiakan	menyepatui
membelah	memarkahi	menyepuh
membelai	me(per)masalahkan	menyeragamkan
membelakangi	memasyarakat (kan)	menyerahterimakan
membelanjai (kan)	mementegai	menyerapahi
membelenggu	memerah (i/kan)	menyerbuk (i/kan)
membelit (kan)	mrmiliki	menyerepi
membendakan	memimpikan	menyerikan
membendung	meminati	menyerikati (kan)
membentengi	meminyaki	menyeringai
membentuk	memisalkan	menyerit
membeo	memitoskan	menyerok
memberangus	memodali	menyeru (kan)
memberitakan	memoderatori	menyerum
memberkahi	memodernisasi	menyerut
memberkaskan	memoncongkan	menyervis
memberkati	memonitor	menyesal (i/kan)
membias (kan)	memonopoli	menyesar (kan)
membiasai (kan)	memotivasi	menyetarakan
membicarakan	memotori	menyetarafkaan
membidani	memukimkan	menyeterui
membidangi (kan)	memula (kan)	menyetir
membangkai	memumikan	menyetrap
membintangi	memuseumkan	menyetrika
membisikkan	memusiki (kan)	menyetrip
membius	memusuhi	menyetrum
memblender	memusyawarahkan	menyetubuhi
memblokade	memutasikan	menyetujui (kan)
membom	menafkahi (kan)	menyewa (kan)
membonsai	menahkodai	menyiasat (i/kan)
membordir	menalarkan	menyidangkan
memborgol	menamai (kan)	menyifatkan
membuahi (kan)	menanah	menyihir (i/kan)
membuai	menanti(-nanti/kan)	menyikapi
membual	menapaskan	menyikat
membukit	menasihati (kan)	menyiksa (i)
membuktikan	menasionalisasi (kan)	menyiku
membukuakan	menazarkan	menyikut
membungkus	menegara	menyilang (kan)

membuntut (i)	menegosiasikan	menyilat
membunyikan	menerakakan	menyimpang (kan)
mencabang	mengeong	menyimpul (kan)
mencacap	mengiang(-ngiang)	menyimulasi (kan)
mencaci(-maki)	meniaga (kan)	menyinar (i/kan)
mencakar	meniatkan	menyinden
mencalonkan	menikah (i/kan)	menyindir (kan)
mencambuk	menilai	menyinetronkan
mencanangkan	meninabobokan	menyintesis
mencandu	meningratkan	menyirat (kan)
mencangkul (i)	menodai	menyirep (i)
mencap	menominasikan	menyirih (i/kan)
mencapit	menomori	menyisai (kan)
mencat	menormalisasikan	menyisik (i)
mencatut	menujum (kan)	menyisir
mencekok (i/kan)	menyala (kan)	menyita
mencela	mengobati (kan)	menyitat
menceletuk	mengobjekkan	menyiulkan
mencemooh	mengobor (i)	menskedulkan
mencengkam	mengobservasi	menskenariokan
menceramahi	mengojek (kan)	mensketsa
mencerca	mengoksidasi	menskor
menceritai (kan)	mengolah	me(per)nyoalkan
mencerminkan	mengolok-olok	menyodomi
mencetak	mengombak	menyogok
mencetus (kan)	mengomong (kan)	menyokong (kan)
menciduk	mengompol	mengesol
mencipta (kan)	mengompreng	menyopir (i)
mencirikan	mengonarkan	menyoraki (kan)
mencolek	mengonggokkan	menyorot (i)
mencontoh (i/kan)	mengongkosi	mensosialisasikan
mencopet	mengonslah	menyosok
mencoreng	mengoperasi	menspekulasikan
men(corat-)coret	mengoposisi	menspion
mencubit	mengorangkan	mensponsori
mencucur (kan)	mengorat-oret	menstandarkan
mencukil	mengorbit (kan)	menstarter (kan)
mencumbu (i)	mengorganisasi	menstensil
mencungkil	mengornamenkan	menstimulasi
mendar	mengorok-orok	menstratakan
mendaftar	mengotaki	menstrukturkan
mendagangkan	mengotonomikan	menyuakakan
mendaging	mengotot	menyuap (i/kan)
mendahulu (i)	memacak (kan)	menyuarakan
mendakwa	memacari	menyubordinasikan
mendalang (i/kan)	memacu	menyubversikan
mendalihkan	memacul	menyudut (kan)
mendanai	memadan (kan)	menyulam
mwndarat (i/kan)	memagar (i/kan)	menyulap
mendasar (i/kan)	memahami (kan)	menyulih (i)

mendata	memahat	menyuluh (i)
mendaulat	memairi	menyumbat
mendaurl	memajaki	menyumbui
mendayagunakan	mengepak (kan)	menyumpah (i)
mendayung (kan)	memaku (kan)	menyumpal (kan)
mendebat (kan)	memalang (i/kan)	menyumpit
mendefinisikan	memalu(-malu)	menyunahkan
mendelegasikan	memanah (i/kan)	menyunat (i/kan)
mendemonstrasi	memancang (kan)	menyunting
mendempul	memancing	menyuplai
mendenda	memandang (i)	menyurat (i/kan)
mendendangkan	memandu (kan)	menyuruh (kan)
mendengungkan	memanen	menyurvei
mendepositokan	memanggung (kan)	menyusu (i/kan)
mendera	memangkal (kan)	menyusuk
menderet (kan)	memanitai	menyusun (kan)
mendermakan	memantang (kan)	menyusur (i)
mendeskrripsikan	memantati	menyutradarai
mendeteksi	memantek	menyairkan
mendewakan	memantuni (kan)	mensyaki
mendikte	memapan (i)	mensyaratkan
mendindingi	memaraf	mensyariatkan
mendiskriminasi	memarakkan	mensyarikat
mendiskualifikasikan	memarang	mensyirikkan
mendiskusikan	memarit	mensyukuri
mendistribusikan	memarodikan	menabelkan
mendoakan	memarut	menabiri
mendobrak	memasak (kan)	menabligkan
mendogma	memasang (kan)	menabukan
mendokumentasikan	memasarkan	menabuh
mendominasi	memasok (kan)	menabung (kan)
mendongeng (kan)	memasung (kan)	menadah (kan)
mendongkel	mematenkan	manafakurkan
mendongkrak	mematil	menafsirkan
mendulang	mematok (kan)	menahapkan
mendunia	mematri (kan)	menahkikan
mengekor	mematuk	menahun
mengekspresikan	mematung (kan)	menajin (kan)
mengeksploitasi	memayungi (kan)	menakar (i)
mengekspor	memecut	menakbirkan
mengeliminasi	memeda	menakdirkan
mengembargo	memedang	menakhsiskan
mengembel(-embel)i	memedaskan (a)	menahtakan
mengemban	memedomani	menakik
mengembun	memekik (kan)	menakrifkan
mengendap	memelitur	menksikan
mengerang	memelopori	menaksir
mengesokkan	memencak-mencak	menakwilkan
mengesot(-esot)	mempengaruhi	menalak
mengevakuasi	memenjara (kan)	menalangi

memfasilitasi	mementaskan	mempertalikan
menfilmkan	mementung	menalkinkan
memfitnah	memepes	menambah (i/kan)
memfokuskan	mengeper	menambak
memformulasikan	memerankan	menambang (kan)
memfosil	memerangi	menamengi
memfotokopi	memerangkap	menampang
memfungsikan	memerawani	menamu (i)
menggabungkan	memerban	mengetanahkan
menggaet	memercik (i/kan)	menandai (kan)
menggairahkan	memerikan	menandak
menggaji	memerintah (i/kan)	menandatangani
menggalangkan	memperkarai (kan)	menanding (i)
menggambar (i/kan)	mempermisikan	menandu
menggandakan	memernis	menanduk (kan)
mengganjal	memerosot (kan)	menangani
mengganti	memersekoti	menanggali
menggarami	memersen (kan)	me(per)nanggungjawab (kan)
menggaris (i/kan)	memersepsikan	menangis (i/kan)
menggelembung	memersonifikasi	menangkupkan
menggeleng	memersuasi	menanwinkan
menggeliat	memesan (i/kan)	menanya (i/kan)
menggeliitik	memesona (i/kan)	menapai
menggelorakan	memestakan	menapak (i/kan)
menggelungkan	memetakan	menapak tilas (i)
menggemakan	memetak-metak	menarakan
menggembala (kan)	memetikan	menarafkan
menggembok	memetuaikan	menerbiahkan
menggenggam	memialangkan	menargetkan
menggentar (i/kan)	memicu	menari (kan)
menggerak(-gerak)kan	memidana	menarifkan
menggergaji	memidatoka	menarikhkan
menggertak	memihak (i/kan)	menaruh (i/kan)
menggerung	memijak (kan)	menashih (kan)
menggerutu	memijar (kan)	menasrifkan
menggetar (kan)	memikir (i/kan)	menasyhidkan
menggores	memikul (kan)	menasyrikan
meng(per)gunakan	memilin(-milin)	menata
menggulung	memiloti	menataki
menggumpal	meminggir (i/kan)	menato
mengguna-gunai	memiutangkan	menauhidkan
menggunjing	memojok (kan)	menertawai (kan)
mengunting	memokoki (kan)	meneaterkan
menggunung	memoles (i/kan)	menebing
mengahadap (i/kan)	mempolitikkan	menegur (i)
menghakimi	memompa (kan)	menekap (i/kan)
menghamba (kan)	memondok (kan)	menelaah
menghardik	memonten	meneladan (i)
menghargai	mengepos (kan)	menelepon
mengharukan	memotong(-motong/kan)	menelur (kan)

menghasilkan	memotret	menemani
menghasratkan	memprakarsai	menembang
menghayati	mempraktekkan	menempati (kan)
menghentikan	memprediksi	menempeleng
menghibahkan	mempresentasikan	menenderkan
menghijau (kan)	mempribadikan	me(ng)nengah (i/kan)
menghikayatkan	mempribumikan	menenggang (kan)
menghipotesiskan	memprivatisasikan	menenun
menghisab	memproduksi	menenung
menghitam (kan)	memprogram	menepak
menghujani	memproklamasikan	menepi (kan)
menghujat	mempromosikan	menepuk
menghukum	mempropagandakan	menepung
mengibaratkan	memprosakan	menerawang
mengidam(-idam)kan	memproses	meneriaki (kan)
mengikatkan	memprotes	menernakkan
mengiklankan	memproyeksikan	meneropong (i)
mengikrarkan	memplikasikan	meneror
mengilhami (kan)	memuingkan	mengetes
mengilustrasikan	memuisikan	menetek (i/kan)
mengimami	memuja(-muja)	menetes (i/kan)
mengimani	memuji (kan)	mengetik
mengimbuhi	memukat	me(per)nikai (kan)
mengiming-imingi	memukau	menikam (kan)
mengimplikasikakn	memukul (i/kan)	menilang
mengimpor	mengepul	menilik
menginduk	memuncak	menimba
menginjak(-injak)kan	memunggung (i)	menimbun (i/kan)
menginkubasi	memuntung (kan)	menindak (kan)
menginspeksi	memupuk	meningkat (kan)
menginstruksikan	memusakai	meninju (kan)
menginterupsi	memusar	menipu
mengintimidasi	memusatkan	menitahkan
mengintroduksi	memutih (kan)	menitik (i)
mengiris	menqasar	menitikberatkan
mengisi (kan)	merabas	menohok (kan)
mengisolasi (kan)	merabuni (kan)	menokohi (kan)
menjajar (kan)	meracun (i)	menoleransi
menjala	meradang	menolok
menjalani (kan)	meraga (kan)	menongkat (kan)
menjambak	meragam (kan)	menonjol (kan)
menjamu	meragi (kan)	menopang
menjamur	merahasiakan	menopengi
menjanda	meraja (i/kan)	menopikkan
menjangka (kan)	merajam	menorpedo
menjangkau	merajut	menotal
menjanjikan	merakit	mentradisi
menjarah	meraksasa	mentraktor
menjarak (kan)	merakyat (kan)	mentransformasikan
menjaring (kan)	meralat	mentranskripsikan

menjawab	meramal (kan)	mentransmigrasikan
menjawab	merampai	mentransmisikan
menjebak	merampok	mentransmutasikan
menjejak (kan)	merancang (kan)	mentransplantasikan
menjembatani	merangkakan	mentranspor
menjerat	merangkai (kan)	mengetren
menjerit	merangsang	mentrompetkan
menjilid	merantai	menuahi (kan)
menjimak	merantau	me(per)tuan (kan)
menjiwai	meranting	menubruk (kan)
menjodohkan	merasa (i/kan)	menubuhkan
menjumlah (kan)	merasi (kan)	menudung (i/kan)
menjuru	merasionalisasi	menugal (kan)
mengabari (kan)	meratifikasi	menugasi (kan)
mengabulkan	meraum	me(per)nuhankan
mengkafani	meraung	menuil (kan)
mengkafirkan	merawi (kan)	menukangi
mengail	merayap (i)	menulahi
mengaitkan	mereaksi	menulang (i)
mengkaji	merealisasi	menumbuk (kan)
mengalengkan	mereduksi	menumis
mengalikan	merekspor	menumpu (kan)
mengalungkan	merefleksikan	menumpuk (kan)
mengkambinghitamkan	merehab	menunas (i)
mengancingi (kan)	merehabilitasi	menunggak
mengandangi (kan)	merekam (kan)	menutuli (kan)
mengandung	merekayasa	menutup (i/kan)
mengantongi	mereklamasikan	me(per)nuturkan
mengantuk	merekomendasi	menguak
mengapalkan	merekonstruksi	menguangkan
mengarungi	merekrut	menguap (i/kan)
mengaruniai	merelai (kan)	menguban (i)
mengkaryakan	merelevansi	mengucap (i/kan)
mengasihi	merelokasi	mengudara (kan)
mengata(-ngatai)kan	merelung	mengujung
mengatalogkan	mengerem	mengukupi
mengkategorikan	meremang	mengukur
mengkatrol	me(per)rembukkan	mengulek
mangatup	merencana (kan)	mengumpamai (kan)
mengawal	merenda	mengumpam (kan)
mengawatkan	merenovasi	mengumpat
mengayuh	merentang (i/kan)	mengundi
mengecap	merepatriasi	menguntai
mengecoh	mereportasekan	mengupah (i/kan)
mengedipkan	mereproduksi	mengupayakan
mengekang	meresepkan	mengupil
mengelabui	meresosialisasikan	mengurap
mengelilingi (kan)	merespons	menguras (i/kan)
mengelompokkan	merestorasi	mengusahakan
mengeluh (kan)	merestrukturasi	mengusik

mengemudikan	merestui	mengusulkan
mengencani	meresumekan	mengutang (i/kan)
mengendalikan	merevisi	memvaksinasi
mengendarai	merintis	memvariasikan
mengentuti	meriset	memvisualisasikan
mengepak(-ngepak)kan	meriwayatkan	memvonis
mengepalkan	meroket	mewabah
mengepalai	merokok	mewadahi
mengepang	meromantisisme	mewakafkan
mengepul	merongga	mewakili (kan)
mengerahkan	meronggeng	mewalikan
mengerat	merotan	mewantek
mengerjakan	merumpun	mewanti-wanti
mengerling	merumput (i)	mewarisi (kan)
mengernyit	merumuskan	mewarnai (kan)
mengerok	me(per)rundingk (kan)	mewartakan
mengeruk	merungkup	mewasiatkan
mengerut	merunut (i)	mewasiti
mengesankan	merupa (i/kan)	mewataki
mengetam	merusuk	mewatasi
mengetuai	merutinkan	mewawancarai
mengetuk	menyabdakan	mewayangkan
mengkhayal (kan)	menyabit	mewejang
mengkhianati	menyablon	mewiraswastakan
mengiaskan	menyabuni (kan)	mewiridkan
mengibuli	menyadur	mewisuda
mengipasi (kan)	menyahut (i)	mewujud (kan)
mengira(-ngira)	menyajak (kan)	menzarah
mengisahkan	menyaksikan	menziarahi
mengklakson	menyakukan	menzinai
mengklarifikasi	menyalahartikan	

3. With Adjectives as the Stem

mengabadi(kan)	mengeruh (kan)	merecok (i)
mengabaikan	mengesalkan	meredam (kan)
mengabsahkan	meng(per)ketat	meredup (kan)
mengabstrakkan	mengkawatirkan	meregang (kan)
mengacak	mengkhususkan	meremajakan
mengadili	mengisruhkan	meremehkan
mengagungkan	mengokohkan	meremukkan
mengakrabkan	mengosongkan	merendah (kan)
mengaktifkan	mengotori	merenggang (i/kan)
mengaktualkan	menguatkan	merenyuk (kan)
mengakuri (kan)	menguduskan	merepotkan
mengamankan	mengufurkan	meresah (kan)
mengandalkan	mengukuhkan	meresmikan
menganekaragamkan	mengurus (kan)	meretak (kan)
mengaron	melabuhkan	meriangkan
mengasini (kan)	melacur (kan)	meribut (kan)

mengasingkan	melainkan	meridai
mengawetkan	melajang	merikuhkan
membaguskan	melaju (kan)	merimbun
membahagiakan	melalaikan	merincukan
membaik (kan)	melambankan	merindang
memandel	melampau	merindingkan
membangakan	melancarkan	merindukan
membanyol	Melancip (kan)	meringankan
membarui	melangsingkan	meringkai (kan)
membasahi (kan)	melanjutkan	meringkaskan
membatalkan	melantang (kan)	merisaukan
membebasakan	melapangkan	merobek
membedakan	melarutkan	merombengkan
membeku (kan)	melatahkan	merugi (kan)
membelalakkan	melawak	merukunkan
membenarkan	melayukan	merumitkan
membenci	melazimkan	meruncing (kan)
membengkak	melebar (kan)	merunyamkan
membengkok (kan)	melebih(-lebih)kan	merusak (kan)
membeningkan	melebur	me(per)rusuh (i)
memberanikan	melecehkan	meruwetkan
memberantak	melegakan	meruyupkan
memberati (kan)	melekat (i/kan)	me(per)nyabarkan
memberesi (kan)	melelahkan	menyadari (kan)
membersihkan	melemahkan	menyahihkan
membesar (kan)	melembek (kan)	menyakiti (kan)
membetuli (kan)	melembutkan	menyaktikan
membiasakan	melendung	menyalahi (kan)
membinasakan	melengah	menyamai (kan)
membingungkan	melengang (kan)	menyamar (kan)
membisu	melengkapi (kan)	menyangsikan
membobol (kan)	melengkung	menyantun (i)
membodohi	melentik (kan)	menyarat (i)
membohongi	melenyapkan	menyaru (kan)
memboroskan	melepas (kan)	menyebalkan
membosankan	melerai (kan)	menyedang (kan)
membulat (i/kan)	melestarikan	menyedapkan
membuncit (kan)	meletihkan	menyederhanakan
membungkam	melezatkan	menyedihkan
membungkuk	melicinkan	menyedikit (i/kan)
membuntal	melompong	menyegani
memburuk(-burukkan)	melonggari (kan)	menyegarkan
membusuk	mengeluskan	menyehatkan
membusung (kan)	melowongkan	menyeimbangkan
mencabik(-cabik)	meluangkan	menyejahterakan
mencabuli	meluaskan	menyejuk (kan)
mencahar	meluhurkan	menyelamati (kan)
mencair (kan)	melumat (kan)	menyelidik (i)
mencederai (kan)	melumer (kan)	menyelingkuhkan
mencemari (kan)	melumpuhkan	menyembarangi

mencemaskan	melunak (kan)	menyembronokan
mencemburui (kan)	meluruskan	menyempit (kan)
mencengangkan	memabukkan	menyempurnakan
mempercepat	memacetkan	menyemu (i/kan)
mencerahkan	memahalkan	menyenangi (kan)
mencerdaskan	memahir (i/kan)	menyendat
mencereweti	memaksimalkan	menyenggal
menceriakan	memalukan	menyengaukan
mencermati (kan)	memandulkan	menyenggangkan
mencerna (kan)	memanis (i/kan)	menyengit
mencero bohi	memanjakan	menyentosakan
mencinta (i)	memantapkan	menyentralkan
menciut	memarahi (kan)	menyepakati
mencocokkan	memasak (v)	menyepelekan
mencondongkan	memasygulkan	menyepi
mencuil	memasyhurkan	menyeramkan
mencukupi (kan)	mematangkan	menyerasikan
mencurangi	memegahkan	menyeratkan
mendalam (i/kan)	memelas	menyerempak
mendamaikan	mementahkan	menyeriusi
mendambakan	memerdekan	menyerong (kan)
mendampingi	memesrakan	menyeronokkan
mendangkalkan	meminikan	menyerpih
mendatar	meminimalkan	menyesakkan
mendekat (i/kan)	memiringkan	menyesatkan
mendewasakan	memiskinkan	menyialkan
mendingin (kan)	memubazirkan	menyiangi
mendongkol	memudahkan	menyia-nyiakan
mendurhakai	memudahkan	menyibukkan
mendustai (kan)	memufakati (kan)	menyigapkan
mengelok (kan)	memuliakan	menyilam (kan)
mengenakkan	memungkari	menyilap
mengencerkan	memurahkan	menyilaukan
mengentengkan	memuramkan	menyimbah
meng(per)eratkan	memurnikan	menyingkat (kan)
menggaduhkan	memuskilkan	menyinkronkan
menggagahi	memustahilkan	menyipitkan
menggalakkan	menajiskan	menyirnakkan
menggampangkan	menakali	menyobek(-nyobek/i)
mengganas	menanarkan	menyolidkan
menggandrungi	menasional (kan)	menyombong (i/kan)
mengganjil (kan)	menetralkan	menyopani
menggatakan	menihilkan	menstabilkan
menggeger (kan)	menikmati	mensterilkan
menggelapkan	menisbikan	menyesuaikan
menggelepai	menista (kan)	menyuburkan
menggelisahkan	menonaktifkan	menyucikan
menggemari (kan)	menormalkan	menyukai (kan)
menggemaskan	menyamankan	Menyukarkan
menggembirakan	menyaringkan	menyukkseskan

mengembosi	menyatakan	menyulitkan
menggemparkan	mengogel	menyungguh(-nyungguhi)kan
menggemukkan	mengolang-aling (kan)	menyungsang (kan)
menggemuruh	mengoleng(-oleng)	menyunyi
menggenapi (kan)	mengoptimalkan	menyuram (kan)
menggencar (kan)	mengoptimumkan	menyuruti (kan)
menggencat	mengorak-arik	menyusahi (kan0)
menggenduti (kan)	mengotomatiskan	menyusut (i/kan)
menggeram (kan)	memadai (kan)	menyuwir
menggiatakan	memadami (kan)	menswastakan
menggigil	memadat (i/kan)	menaati
menggilakan	memadu (kan)	menabahkan
menggoblok(-goblok)kan	memahitkan	menahan (i/kan)
menggoyahkan	memalak (i)	memperrtajam
mengguncang	memalsukan	menakjubi (kan)
menggundul (i)	memampat (kan)	menakut (i/kan)
menghalalkan	memanas (i/kan)	menakzimkan
menghaluskan	memandai (kan)	me(per)tampam
menghampakan	memanjang (kan)	menandaskan
menghangat (i/kan)	memantas	menanduskan
mengharamkan	memperparah	menanggap (i/kan)
mengharumkan	mengepas (kan)	menangkaskan
menghebat (kan)	memastikan	menanjak (kan)
menghebohkan	mematahkan	menawar (i/kan)
menghemat	mematuhi	menebak (kan)
mengheningkan	mematut (kan)	meneduh (i/kan)
menggherankan	memayahkan	menegak (kan)
menghina	memedihkan	menegang (i/kan)
menghormati	memegalkan	menegapkan
mengiba(-iba)kan	memejalkan	menegarkan
mengimbangi (kan)	memeka	menegas (kan)
mengimplisitkan	memekakkan	meneguhkan
memperindah	memekatkan	menekuni (kan)
menginsafi (kan)	memelankan	meneledorkan
mengintensifkan	memenatkan	meneliti
menjahati	memendek (kan)	menenang (kan)
menjanggalkan	memengap (kan)	menenarkan
menjarang(-jarang/kan)	memengkol	menentramkan
menjebloskan	memeningkan	menentu (i/kan)
menjelaskan	mementingkan	menepat (i/kan)
menjejali (kan)	memenuhi	menerampilkan
menjelek(-jelek)kan	memepat	menerang (i/kan)
menjemukan	memerlahan (kan)	menerikkan
menjengkelkan	memesat (kan)	menertibkan
menjernihkan	memilukan	meniapkan
menjinakkan	memipihkan	menimbang(-timbang/i/kan)
mengaburkan	memisah (i/kan)	menimpang (kan)
mengacau (kan)	memongahkan	meninggi (kan)
mengagumi	memopulerkan	menipis (kan)
mengalutkan	memorak-porandakan	meniris (kan)

mengasari	memositifkan	menirus
memperkaya	memuaskan	menua (kan)
mengebali (kan)	memucat	menulikan
mengebiri	memudar (kan)	menumpat (kan)
mengecewakan	memunahkan	menumpulkan
mengecil (kan)	memunggal	menuntaskan
mengecut	meragukan	mengumumkan
mengejang	merajinkan	mengungguli
mengejutkan	meramaikan	mengurai (kan)
mengemas (i/kan)	meramping (kan)	mengusang
mengembungkan	merancukan	mengusili (kan)
mengempiskan	meranggas	mengutamakan
mengencang (kan)	merapat (i/kan)	mengutuhkan
mengendur (kan)	merapikan	memvisualkan
mengental (kan)	merapuhkan	memvitalkan
mengenyal	merasionalkan	mewangi (kan)
mengenyangkan	merata (i/kan)	mewaspada (kan)
mengeramatkan	merawan (kan)	meyakini (kan)
mengeras (i/kan)	merayakan	menzalimi
mengeringkan	merayu	

4. With Adverbs as the Stem

Menganggarkan	Menghampiri	menyendiri (kan)
Membarengi	mengingini (kan)	menyudahi (kan)
membolehkan	Memestikan	menelentang (kan)
Mendadak	Memungkinkan	menidakkan
mendapat (i/kan)	Memerlukan	menubikan
Mengharuskan	memontang-pantingkan	Menunaikan
Menghendaki	me(per)nyegerakan	menunggang-langgangkan

5. With Particles as the Stem

mengaduh	mengesampingkan
mengamini (kan)	memperoleh
membiarkan	menguntukkan
mengecualikan	menyepertikan
mmengedepankan	menentang (i/kan)

6. With Numeralia as the Stem

mendua (kan)	menyatu (kan)
mengesakan	menyeluruh (i)
memaruh	meniga
memertamakan	menunggal (kan)

7. With Pronoun as the Stem

mengaku (i/kan)

