

# The Analysis of the Semantic Function of the Prefix N- in Basilectal Jakarta Indonesian<sup>1,2,3</sup>

Lanny Hidajat

This study analyzes the distribution of the nasal prefix N- (henceforth, N-) in Basilectal Jakarta Indonesian (henceforth, bJI) in order to examine if N- also functions as a progressive viewpoint aspectual marker. In previous studies, N- is generally regarded as active voice morphology (Tjung, 2006; Cole et al., 2006; Hidajat, 2010).<sup>4</sup> As shown in (1a), the verbs in bJI active transitive sentences is marked by N-. On the other hand, the verbs in passives are marked by the prefix DI-, as shown in (1b).

- (1) a. **The verb *cuci* ‘wash’ is marked by N- in an active transitive sentence:**

*Oh, Tante Yanti nyuci mangkoknya?*

EXCL aunt yanti N-wash bowl-DET

‘Oh, I am washing the bowls?’

(EXPYAN; 23:7)

- b. **The verb *cuci* ‘wash’ is marked by DI- in a passive sentence:**

*Oh, mobilnya dicuci.*

EXCL car-DET PASS-wash

‘I see, the car is washed.’

(EXPLIA; 36:10)

It is important to point out that bJI active sentences can also be marked by the null affix, as shown in (2).

- (2) **The verb *cuci* ‘wash’ is marked by a null affix in an active transitive sentence:**

*Michael cuci piring.*

Michael  $\phi$ -wash plate

‘You (Michael) wash the plates.’

(RINMIC; 18:0)

Interestingly, although bJI active sentences can be marked by both N- and the null affix, the analyses on the naturalistic corpora of JI child directed speech (henceforth, CDS) show that bJI speakers tend to produce active sentences with the null affix more frequently than with N-. In their CDS corpus, Tjung (2006) and Cole et al. (2006) found 417 simple actives

<sup>1</sup> Thanks for Anne Peng and Yanti for their suggestions on this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the examples in this paper were spontaneous child directed utterances from the Jakarta Field Station (henceforth, JFS) database (Gil and Tadmor, 2007); some others were from various *chicklits* published by publishing companies in Jakarta and the neighboring areas. The excerpts from *chicklits* were searched by using Google Buku. For the examples from the JFS database, the speaker code and age are given. There are also a number of examples which were self-elicited. The grammaticality of the examples which were self-elicited was verified with other JI speakers.

<sup>3</sup> Abbreviations used in the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses in all the given examples in this chapter and the subsequent ones are as follows: DI-, the prefix indicating passive sentences; N-, the nasal prefix indicating active sentences in bJI;  $\phi$ -, the null affix indicating active sentences in bJI; TRU ‘truncation’; NEG ‘negation’; RED ‘reduplication’; EXCL ‘exclamation’; PROGRESS ‘progressive’; PFCT ‘perfective’; FUT ‘future’; DET ‘determiner’; REL ‘relative pronoun’; -IN, the causative suffix in bJI; LOC ‘location’.

<sup>4</sup> See Gil (2003) for the claim that N- merely marks the presence of the Actor in the semantic argument structure of a verb.

marked by the null affix.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, there were only 99 simple actives marked by N-. Correspondingly, in her CDS corpus, Hidajat (2010) found 3,160 active verbs marked by the null affix and there were only 377 active verbs marked by N-.<sup>6</sup>

One factor that potentially causes bJI speakers' preference for the null affix over N- is related to the phonology. N- is unlikely to be affixed to a polysyllabic stem which begins with voiced consonants (Sneddon, 1996).<sup>7</sup> This means that there are fewer verbs that can appear with the nasal prefix N- than the verbs which appear with the null prefix.

The question in this study is whether N- can also function as an aspectual marker. This question is inferred from the claim that the prefix *meN-* in Malay actually functions as a progressive viewpoint aspectual marker (Soh and Nomoto, 2009). Is it possible that the reason why bJI speakers prefer to produce active sentences with the null affix than with N- is because N- cannot be used in the sentences which are incompatible with a progressive-like meaning? To examine the possibility that N- is also progressive viewpoint aspectual marker, the distribution of N- will be analyzed below.<sup>8</sup>

Although N- is active voice morphology, it is not a very productive prefix in terms of the types of the verbs it can be affixed to. N- generally can be affixed to eventive transitive and ditransitive verbs, as shown in the following sentences:

(3) a. **N- is affixed to imperfective *kejar* 'chase'**

*Ni ulernya lagi (ng)ejar ayam...*  
this snake-DET PROGRESS (N-)chase chicken  
'This snake is chasing the chicken.'

(EXPOKK; 25:5)

<sup>5</sup> Note that adult directed speech (henceforth, ADS) is different from CDS with respect to the use of N-. Adults tend to use N- as frequently as the null affix when they are talking to other adults. In one ADS corpus, Tjung (2006) and Cole et al. (2006) found 231 simple actives marked by N- and 199 simple actives marked by the null affix. In another ADS corpus, there were 99 simple actives marked by N- and 127 simple actives marked by the null affix. To account for this difference, Tjung (2006) and Cole et al. (2006) argue that JI adults use the mesolectal variety of JI when they are talking to other adults and the basilectal variety when they are talking to young children.

<sup>6</sup> Both the CDS corpus analyzed by Tjung (2006) and Cole et al. (2006) and the one analyzed by Hidajat (2010) were extracted from the JFS database, which is a corpus of naturalistic data containing over one million utterances of ten JI-speaking children and their caregivers who were studied longitudinally over the course of four years (Gil and Tadmor, 2007). However, the CDS corpus analyzed by Tjung (2006) and Cole et al. (2006) and the one analyzed by Hidajat (2010) were derived from different data sets.

<sup>7</sup> As explicated by Sneddon (1996), when N- is affixed to a polysyllabic stem which begins with voiced consonants, either one of the following two phonological operations may occur. The first is that N- assimilates to the place of articulation of the first consonant and then it is produced immediately before the first consonant. The second possible process is the schwa [ə] is inserted between N- and the first consonant. In this case, N- does not undergo the assimilation process.

		First process	Second process
i.	N- + [b]aca 'read'	→ [mb]aca	[ŋəb]aca
	N- + [d]orong 'push'	→ [nd]orong	[ŋəd]orong
	N- + [g]antung 'hang'	→ [ŋg]antung	[ŋəg]antung
	N- + [j]aga 'watch.over'	→ [nj]aga	[ŋəj]aga

As pointed out by Sneddon, younger JI speakers rarely produce the forms which are the result of the first process. In addition, according to Tadmor (p.c.), JI speakers are also unlikely to produce the [ŋ ə] sound before verbs, which is the result of the second process, because JI speakers prefer to produce two-syllable words than three-syllable words.

<sup>8</sup> I assume that the semantic function of N- is in addition to its syntactic function. That N- has a syntactic function is reflected in the fact that object extraction is blocked when verbs are affixed by N- but permitted when verbs are affixed by the null affix (Tjung, 2006; Cole et al., 2006; Hidajat, 2010).

b. **N- is affixed to perfective *pukul* ‘hit’**

*Kalo Mbak Rininya (m)ukul Tante, boleh, nggak?*

if EPIT Rini-DET (N-)hit aunt may NEG

What if Rini hits me, is it okay or not?

(EXPYAN; 23:7)

c. **N- is affixed to perfective *kasi* ‘give’**

*Ica (ng)asi apa sama Tante Dini?*

Ica (N-)give what with aunt Dini.

Lit. You gave what to Aunt Dini?

(EXPERN; 25:2)

However, N- generally cannot be affixed to stative transitive verbs, such as *kenal* ‘recognize’, *tau* ‘know’, and *ingat* ‘remember’, except a few, such as *kira* ‘reckon’ (becomes *ngira*) and *sangka* ‘suspect’ (becomes *nyangka*), as shown in the following sentences:

(4) a. ... *dia (ng)ira aku mahasiswa luar negeri...*

3sg (N-)reckon 1sg student out country

‘...he thought that I was a foreign student...’

(Habiiballah, 2005: 63)

b. ... *dia (ny)angka kalo adiknya tuh selebritis yang lagi*

3sg (N-)suspect if younger.sibling-DET that celebrity REL PROGRESS

*menyebarkan popularitas...*

MEN-spread-KAN popularity

‘...he thinks that his younger sister is a celebrity who wants to be more popular...’

(Alina, 2007:163)

It is important to point out that speakers are more likely to produce *kira* ‘reckon’ and *sangka* ‘suspect’ with the null affix than with N-. In JFS database, out of 30 active sentences produced by adult participants (i.e., speakers who were between 12 and 80 years old) containing *kira* ‘reckon’, there is only one sentence in which *kira* ‘reckon’ is affixed by N-. In addition, there are only three active sentences containing *sangka* ‘suspect’ and all of them are marked by the null affix.

N- has a wider distribution with stative verbs when they are also affixed by the suffix -IN (henceforth, -IN).<sup>9</sup> For instance, the stative verb *ingat* ‘remember’ can appear with N- only when it is affixed by -IN, as shown in (5b):

(5) a. ... *kapan terakhir kali dia (\*ng)ingat sama gue.*

when TER-end very 3sg (\*N-)remember with 1sg

‘When was the last time he remembered me?’

(Nie, 2006: 38)

b. *Dia ngingetin gue sama Jingga...*<sup>10</sup>

3sg N-remember-IN 1sg with Jingga

‘She reminds me of Jingga’

(Fitrina, 2006: 195)

<sup>9</sup> -IN in bJI has multiple functions. It can bring forth causative interpretation, benefactive interpretation, as well as iterative interpretation. In addition, it can also be an object marker and a locative marker (see Sneddon (2006) for some details regarding -IN). According to Cole and Son (2004), Sneddon (2006), and Son and Cole (2008), the suffix -IN in JI replaces the suffix -KAN and the suffix -I in Standard Indonesia.

<sup>10</sup> In this sentence, *ngingetin* is interpreted as ‘reminding someone unintentionally’. Therefore, N- is not optional (see fn. 11).

It is important to point out that stative verbs turn into non-statives when they are affixed by the suffix -IN. In (5b), IN- causes the stative *ingat* ‘remember’ to turn into the causative *ingatkan* ‘to remind someone of/about something’<sup>11</sup>. This means that, in the case of N-stative verbs-IN, N- is actually affixed to causative verbs instead of stative verbs.

N- can also be affixed to intransitive verbs. However, the distribution of intransitive verbs with N- is limited as well as erratic. N- can be affixed to some unergative verbs, such as *lompat* ‘jump’, as in (6a), and *umpet* ‘hide’, as in (6b), but not to other unergative verbs such as, *lari* ‘run’, as in (7a), and *terbang* ‘fly’, as in (7b).

- (6) a. *Si cowok imut (nge)lompat keluar.*  
 PERS male tiny (N-)jump go.out  
 ‘The cute male jumped out (of the bus).’ (Andries, 2007: 5)
- b. *Mataharinya \*(ng)umpet di gunung.*  
 sun-DET N-hide LOC mountain  
 ‘The sun is hiding behind the mountain.’ (EXPBET; 25:0)
- (7) a. *Orangnya (\*nge)lari, ‘waa’.*  
 person-DET (\*N)-run EXCL  
 ‘The persons are running, ‘oh’.’ (EXPOKK; 25:1)
- b. *Gajahnya (\*n)terbang, ya, Kel?*  
 Elephant-DET (\*N)-fly yes TRU-Michael  
 ‘Michael, the elephant is flying, right?’ (EXPYAN; 23:10)

Correspondingly, N- can be affixed to some unaccusative verbs, such as *leleh* ‘melt’, as in (8a), and *sangkut* ‘hooked’, as in (8b), but not to other unaccusative verbs such as, *jatuh* ‘fall’, as in (9a), and *tinggal* ‘reside’, as in (9b).

- (8) a. *...kirain ada drum minyak.tanah \*(nge)gelinding...*  
 reckon-IN exist drum kerosene N-roll  
 ‘...I thought a kerosene drum rolled down...’ (Oetoyo, 2007: 6)
- b. *Mobilnya \*(ny)angkut, ya?*  
 car-DET N-sunk yes  
 ‘The cars are hooked (into each other), right?’ (EXPYAN; 23:11)
- (9) a. *Itu, sapinya (\*nge)jatuh, Pris.*  
 that cattle-DET (\*N-)fall TRU-Pris  
 ‘Look, the cattle fell down, Priska.’ (DITPRI; 15:0)

<sup>11</sup> The causative *ingatkan* ‘remind’ can also appear without the nasal prefix N-. Both *ingatkan* and *ingat* mean ‘remind’. This fact shows that the causative alteration is the result of affixing -IN instead of N-. However, it is important to point out that the meaning of *ingat* is slightly different from *ingatkan*. In the case of *ingatkan*, the action of reminding can be done either intentionally (remind someone about) or unintentionally (remind someone of). In contrast, *ingat* only means that the action of reminding is done intentionally. Further discussion on this matter is given below.

- b. *Kamu (\*n)tinggal di mana?*  
 2sg (\*N-)stay LOC which  
 ‘Where do you live?’

(EXPLIA; 34:11)

Note that, when N- is affixed to intransitives, it can be optional, as exemplified in (6a), but it can also be mandatory, as exemplified in (6b), (8a) and (8b).

N- appears more freely with intransitive verbs which have been transitivized as the result of being affixed by the suffix -IN. As shown in the following sentences, *terbang* ‘fly’ and *jatuh* ‘fall’ can be affixed by N- if they are also affixed by the suffix -IN, which brings forth causative interpretation.

- (10) a. **N- + *terbang* ‘fly’ + -IN → *nerbangin* ‘to make something fly’**

... *sampe-sampe dia nerbangin pesawat kertas...*

RED-arrive 3sg N-fly-IN airplane paper

‘...so that he flied a paper airplane...’

(Yunadi, 2007:24)

- b. **N- + *jatoh* ‘fall’ + -IN → *ngejatohin* ‘to make something fall’**

...*Lupus berdiri di belakangnya sambil ngejatuhin baki kaleng...*

...Lupus BER-stand LOC behind-DET while N-fall-IN tray can

‘...Lupus stood behind her and dropped the can try...’

(Hilman, 2008: 69)

Interestingly, N- can also be affixed to nouns. Only a limited number of nouns can appear with N-, some of them are: *kopi* ‘coffee’ (becomes *ngopi* ‘drinking coffee’), *tetangga* ‘neighbour’ (becomes *nenangga* ‘going to a neighbor’s house’), *rujak* (a kind of dish) (becomes *ngerujak* ‘making or eating rujak’), *supir* ‘driver’ (becomes *nyupir* ‘drive’), and *obat* ‘medicine’ (becomes *ngobat* ‘taking drugs’). Nouns which are affixed by N- become unergative verbs, as exemplified in (11).

- (11) a. *Tante ngopi.*

aunt N-coffee

‘I’m drinking coffee.’

(JNBRIS; 37:7)

- b. *Kita ngerujak di pinggir kali.*

1pl N-rujak LOC edge river

‘We are eating *rujak* at the river edge.’

(Putri, 2008:107)

- c. *Begini..., kau ngobat, ya?*

like.this 2sg N-medicine yes

‘Okay... you are using drugs, aren’t you?’

(Oh, 2004: 104)

The fact that N- generally cannot co-occur with stative verbs indicates that N- is restricted to stative sentences. This assumption is supported by the fact that sentences with N-verbs can co-occur with adverbs like *sengaja* ‘deliberately’, as shown in (12), and become complements of *maksa* ‘force’ and *ngebujuk* ‘persuade’, as shown in (13) (Lakoff, 1966 (as cited in Levin and Rappaport Hovav, 1996)).

- (12) *Tara kan gak sengaja nendang muka Fandy.*  
 Tara KAN NEG on.purpose N-kick face Fandy  
 ‘Tara did not kick Fandy’s face on purpose.’ (First Reader Team, 2007: 201)
- (13) a. *Gue sempet mikir mau maksa dia ngulang ngambil S3 jurusan belanja sayuran aja.*  
 1sg manage N-think want N-force 3sg N-repeat N-take S3 direct-AN  
 shopping vegetable just  
 ‘I’ve thought about forcing him to take another Ph.D. program in shopping for vegetables.’ (Dewi, 2008: 8)
- b. *Pertama, kita bisa ngebujuk anak-anak untuk nyetak label nama...*  
 first 1pl can N-persuade RED-child for N-print label name  
 ‘First, we can persuade our friends to print name labels.’ (Hilman, 1995:28)

Furthermore, sentences with N-verbs can co-occur with adverbs like *pelan-pelan* ‘slowly’, as shown in (14) (Maslida, 2005 (as cited in Soh and Nomoto, 2009)).

- (14) *...terus tangannya pelan-pelan memegang tangan gue.*  
 continue hand-DET RED-slow N-hold hand 1sg  
 ‘...then his hand slowly held my hand.’ (Aprianti, 2008:11)

In addition, similar to sentences with active verbs marked by the null affix, sentences with N-verbs can appear in pseudo-cleft sentences, as shown in (15b). In contrast, stative sentences cannot appear in pseudo-cleft sentences, as shown in (15c) (Dowty, 1979 (as cited in Soh and Nomoto, 2009)).

- (15) a. *Dan satu2nya yang elo bisa lakuin adalah ikut “berjalan”*  
 and RED-one-DET REL 2sg can do-IN that.is  $\phi$ -follow BER-walk  
*menuju sesuatu, Nad.*  
 MEN-direct SE-one TRU-Nadya  
 ‘And the only thing that you can do is keep moving on, Nadya.’ (Huwae, 2007: 32)
- b. *Yang hendak Stefani lakuin adalah nyari Damar lewat imajinasinya.*  
 REL intend Stefani do-IN that.is N-look.for Damar go.by imagination-  
 DET  
 ‘What Stefani will do is looking for Damar through her imagination.’  
 (Aprilia dan Wong T, 2006: 44)
- c. *Yang hendak gue lakuin adalah \*suka/ \*sayang/ \*inget sama elo.*  
 REL intend 1sg do-IN that.is  $\phi$ -like  $\phi$ -compassion  $\phi$ -remember with 2sg  
 ‘What I will do is \*like/ \*care about/ \*remember you.’ (self-elicited)

So far, I have presented evidence that supports the assumption that sentences containing N-verbs are non-statives. However, there is a twist to this assumption which is the fact that N-verbs are generally not allowed in imperatives. According to bJI speakers, the following utterances are ungrammatical if the verbs are affixed by N-.

- (16) a. *Kejar/ \*ngejar kak Icanya!*  
 φ-chase/ N-chase TRU.older.sibling Ica-DET  
 ‘Chase Ica!’ (EXPDAL; 28:4)
- b. *Potong/ \*motong kuenya!*  
 φ-cut/ N-cut cake-DET  
 ‘Cut the cake!’ (MOTHIZ; 34:4)
- c. *Tulis/ \*nulis ‘Praba’, ‘Mas Praba!’*  
 φ-write/ N-write Praba EPIT Praba  
 ‘Write ‘Praba’, ‘Mas Praba’!’ (EXPOKK; 24:4)

Furthermore, BJI speakers rarely use N-verbs in imperatives. This fact is reflected in the result of the observation of a corpus extracted from the JFS data base which shows that, out of 394 child directed utterances containing N-verbs, there are only 21 imperatives (5.3%).<sup>12,13</sup>

The fact that N-verbs are restricted from imperatives suggests that sentences with N-verbs are actually statives. This conjecture is based on the argument that only non-statives can occur as imperatives (Dowty, 1979 (as cited in Levin and Rappaport Hovav, 1996, and Soh and Nomoto, 2009)). The possibility that sentences with N-verbs are statives contradicts the possibility that N- also functions as a progressive viewpoint aspectual marker.

The assumption that N- also functions as a progressive viewpoint aspectual marker is also refuted by the fact that sentences containing N-verbs can be modified, not only by *lagi*, which is a progressive aspectual marker (PROGRESS), but also by *dah/ udah*, which is a perfective aspectual marker (PFCT), as shown in (17). Note that *dah/ udah* can also modify active sentences containing verbs which are affixed by the null affix, as shown in (18).

- (17) a. *Ya kan Ica udah make juga tuh.*  
 yes KAN Ica PFCT N-use also that  
 ‘But you’ve already had one on you.’ (MOTRIS; 24:2)
- b. *Kamu dah nyuci?*  
 2sg PFCT N-wash  
 ‘Have you washed?’ (JINBRIS; 39:6)
- (18) a. *Nih, nih, Opanya udah, udah pake baju tuh.*  
 this this grandpa-DET PFCT PFCT φ-use garment that  
 ‘Look, look, Grandpa has got dressed, look.’ (EXPYAN; 23:1)

<sup>12</sup> The corpus under observation consists of the utterances containing N-verbs produced by adult participants (speakers between 12 and 80 years old) in the RIS data set. The observation was restricted to the N-verbs which were not affixed by the suffix -IN or the determiner -NYA.

<sup>13</sup> The reason why the number of N-verbs that can appear in imperatives is quite high is because the N-verb in 11 out of 21 imperatives with N-verbs is *nulis* ‘write’, which is derived from the stem *tulis* ‘write’. In active sentences, *tulis* can be affixed by either N- or the null affix. However, BJI speakers tend to produce *nulis* instead of *tulis*. This is reflected in the fact that, in the corpus under observation, there are 48 non-imperative utterances containing *nulis*. In contrast, there is only one non-imperative utterances containing *tulis*.

- b. *Udah cuci piring.*  
 PFCT  $\phi$ -wash plate  
 ‘(They) have washed the dishes’

(JIAPIT; 31:11)

The fact that *dah/ udah* is allowed in sentences containing N-verbs is also reflected in the observation of the aforementioned corpus which shows that the number of the non-imperative utterances modified by *dah/ udah* (i.e. 5 utterances) is only slightly smaller than the number of the ones modified by *lagi* (i.e. 6 utterances). This finding shows that bJI speakers do not have any preference for *lagi* over *dah/ udah* for the kind of the aspectual marker that can modify sentences containing N-verbs.

To reiterate, the fact that N- is rarely affixed to stative verbs indicates that sentences containing N-verbs are non-statives. This assumption is supported by the fact that sentences containing N-verbs can be modified by agent-oriented adverbs, such as *sengaja* ‘deliberately’ and *pelan-pelan* ‘slowly’ and become the complement of *maksa* ‘force’ and *ngebujuk* ‘persuade’. In addition, verbs affixed by N- can appear in pseudo-cleft sentences. However, the fact that N-verbs are not allowed in imperatives suggests sentences containing N-verbs are actually statives, which subsequently denies the possibility that N- also functions as a progressive viewpoint aspectual marker. That N- in bJI does not function as a progressive marker is evidenced by the fact that sentences containing N-verbs can be modified by a perfective aspectual marker *dah/ udah*.

The discussion so far leads to the conclusion that N- is not a progressive viewpoint aspectual marker. Then what hinders bJI speakers from affixing N- to active verbs as frequently as the null affix aside from the phonological reason? In addition, how does one account for the fact that the meaning of some verbs is affected by whether they are affixed by N- or the null affix? For instance, both *ngingetin* and *ingetin* means ‘remind’. However, in the case of *ngingetin*, the action of reminding can be done either intentionally (remind someone about) or unintentionally (remind someone of). On the other hand, *ingetin* only means that the action of reminding is done intentionally (see fn. 11). Other examples of the verbs which are affixed by the null affix that have different meanings from their N-verbs counterpart are listed in (19):

(19)

N-verbs	Meanings	$\phi$ -verbs	Meanings
<i>N-turut</i>	obey; willing to obey	$\phi$ - <i>turut</i>	to be together with
<i>N-tempel</i>	to stick; sticky	$\phi$ - <i>tempel</i>	to stick
<i>N-kalah</i>	act of submission	$\phi$ - <i>kalah</i>	to be defeated

To account for the above facts, I will refer to the study of the prefix MEN- in Standard Indonesian (henceforth, SI) by Kaswanti Purwo (1988). According to Kaswanti Purwo, in the discourse, MEN-verbs and bare verbs (i.e. verbs which are affixed by the null affix) have different functions. One function that distinguishes MEN-verbs from bare verbs in the context of the narrative discourse is that MEN-verbs function as a backgrounding device while bare verbs function as a foregrounding device. Kaswanti Purwo elucidates his argument by pointing out that the verbs in the subordinate clauses in (20) and (21) are MEN-verbs instead of bare verbs.



- (20) *Diam-diam kupandangi muka besar itu sambil mengerumiti kerak nasi goreng.*  
 RED-silent 1sg-watch-I face big that while MEN-nibble crust rice fried  
 'I quietly watched the huge face as I nibbled crusts of fried rice.'  
 (Pramodya, 1963: 23 (as cited in Kaswanti Purwo (1988: 214))
- (21) *Ketika aku membuka mataku matahari telah tinggi*  
 when 1sg MEN-open eye-1sg sun already  $\phi$ -high  
 'When I opened my eyes, the sun was already high.' (Kaswanti Purwo, 1988: 215)

It is highly possible that N-verbs in bJI have the same discourse functions as MEN-verbs in SI. The foregrounding function of N-verbs is reflected in the fact that bJI speakers assume that (22a) which contains the N-verb *ngejer* 'chase' and (22b) which contain the null affix verb *kejer* 'chase' should be used in different discourse contexts although they have the same meaning. (22a) is only good for a narration. On the other hand, although (22b) can also be used for a narration, it is more suitable for an exclamation. This fact is reflected in the position of the sentence stress. In (22a), only the subject *gua* can be the recipient of the heaviest stress. In contrast, in (22b), the recipient of the heaviest stress can be either the subject *gua* or the verb *kejer*.

- (22) a. *Gua ngejer anjing itu sampe depan sekolahan.*  
 1sg N-chase dog that arrive front school-AN  
 'I was chasing the dog up to the school.'
- b. *Gua kejer anjing itu sampe depan sekolahan.*  
 1sg  $\phi$ -chase dog that arrive front school-AN  
 'I was chasing the dog up to the school' or 'I **chased** the dog up to the school.'

Further evidence for the possibility that N-verbs in bJI and MEN-verbs in SI share the same discourse function is that, similarly to N-verbs, MEN-verbs are also restricted from direct imperatives (Kaswanti Purwo, 1988).

To conclude, the present study is intended to investigate if N-, which functions as active voice morphology in bJI, also functions as a progressive viewpoint aspect marker. This question was raised because bJI speakers prefer to mark active verbs by affixing them to the null affix instead of N-. Based on the fact that sentences with N-verbs are not allowed in imperatives and can be modified by the perfective aspectual marker *dah/udah*, I conclude that N- is not a progressive viewpoint aspect marker. I also assume that it is possible that N- actually has the same discourse function as the prefix MEN- in SI. This issue is subject to further study.

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