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## Complements to *ber*-verbs are pseudo-incorporated

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In Indonesian, the prefix *ber-* blocks extraction of complements (Soh (1998)):

- |     |                            |     |   |
|-----|----------------------------|-----|---|
| (1) | Siapa $t_i$ ber-main gitar | (2) | Apa <sub><i>i</i></sub> Ali (*ber-)main $t_i$ ? |
|     | <i>who BER-play guitar</i> |     | <i>what Ali BER-play</i>                        |
|     | ‘Who plays the guitar?’    |     | ‘What does Ali play?’                           |

**Proposal:** complements to *ber-* are pseudo-incorporated (Massam (2001)). ***ber-*** derives intransitive verbs, in opposition to transitive *meN-*. With V bases, *ber-* alternates with *meN-* to yield intransitive vs transitive verbs. Some verbs take complements despite *ber-*; these specify habitual action on an indefinite object, in contrast to their transitive *meN-* variant:

- |     |                             |     |                             |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|
| (3) | Ali ber-main gitar          | (4) | Ali me-main gitar           |
|     | <i>Ali BER-play guitar</i>  |     | <i>Ali MEN-play guitar</i>  |
|     | ‘Ali plays the guitar’      |     | ‘Ali is playing the guitar’ |
|     | (habitual action, indef. O) |     | (specific action, def. O)   |

**Analysis:** P(seudo) N(oun) I(ncorporation) (Massam (2001)) involves the juxtaposition of V and NP. PNI properties include: **(i)** valency reduction (intransitive *ber-* vs transitive *meN-*); **(ii)** N is adjacent to V, **(iii)** can’t be a DP, **(iv)** is indefinite and non-referential, and **(v)** has obligatory low scope. Since only adjectives may modify the object, it is an NP. In the *meN-* variant, these properties are absent. A PNied nominal is derived via head movement and PF constraints (Baker (2014)). Objects may extract when *ber-* is absent as bare verbs are ambiguous as to whether their object is PNied or not. I discuss how PNI can be extended to **(i)** clausal complements, which also cannot be extracted from, and **(ii)** the more well-known blocking effect of *meN-*, which has been linked to - seemingly non-PNI-related - Agreement (Cole et al. (2008)) and CED (Fortin (2006)) effects.

**References:** • Baker, M. (2014): PNI as covert NI. • Cole et al. (2008): Voice in Malay. • Fortin, C. (2006): Reconciling meng- and NP movement. • Massam, D. (2001): PNI in Niuean. • Soh, H.L. (1998): Certain restrictions on A-bar movement in Malay.