Complements to ber-verbs are pseudo-incorporated: deriving a further extraction asymmetry in Indonesian

**Problem:** In Indonesian, the intransitive prefix ber- blocks extraction of complements (2): Soh (1998):

(1) Ali *ber-main* gitar
(2) Apa t i yang Ali (*ber-*main t i?)
   
Ali BER-play guitar what REL Ali BER-play
   
’Ali plays the guitar’ ’What does Ali play?’ (the subject may extract)

**Proposal:** ber- blocks extraction because its complement is pseudo-incorporated (Massam (2001)).

**Use of ber-:** ber- derives intransitive verbs, in opposition to transitive meN- (Sneddon (2010)). With N or Adj bases, the verb means ‘have / be qualified by’. With V bases, ber- alternates with meN- to yield intransitive and transitive verbs, respectively. Some verbs can take complements despite bearing ber-; these specify habitual action on an indefinite object (3), in contrast to their transitive meN- variants (4):

(3) Ali *ber-main* gitar
(4) Ali *me-main* gitar
   
Ali BER-play guitar Ali MEN-play guitar
   
’Ali plays the guitar’ habitual action; indef. O ’Ali is playing the guitar’ specific action; def. O

**ber- complements are pseudo-incorporated:** P(seudo) N(oun) I(ncorporation) (Massam (2001)) involves the juxtaposition of V and NP. PNI properties all apply to ber- verbs and their complements: (i) the verb is reduced in valency, as intransitive ber- surfaces instead of transitive meN-; (ii) the noun exhibits strict adjacency to V (25). (iii) resistance to intervening and DP-level material (5). (iv) indefiniteness (5) and non-referentiality (7), and (v) obligatory low scope (not shown here). Since only adjectives may modify the object (7), the complement must be an NP. In the meN-variant, properties (ii)-(v) are absent:

(5) Ali *ber-main* (*dua*) gitar (*ini) (6) Ali *me-main* (dua) gitar (ini)
   
Ali BER-play two guitar this Ali MEN-play two guitar this
   
’Ali plays two / this guitar(s)’ ’Ali is playing two / this guitar(s)’
   
(7) *Ali ber-main* [gitar bagus], tapi aku belum pernah me-lihat-nya,
   
Ali BER-play guitar good but 1sS never MEN-see-3sO
   
’Ali plays a good guitar but I have never seen it’

**Analysis:** Levin (2015) proposes that nominals must host Case in KP to be licensed. In the absence of KP, NPs must be licensed via strict adjacency of N and V, and subsequent PF-merger of the two heads. The Case filter is obviated as N is regrouped as part of V. In line with Fortin’s (2006) insight that transitive meN- surfaces only in the presence of objects, intransitive ber- surfaces instead. The PNLed nominal’s indefinite, non-referential and low-scope reading thus falls out from its missing DP (Dayal (2011));

(8) [VP [V play] [NP guitar good]] \( \Rightarrow \) [VP [V play+guitar] [NP _ good]] \( \Rightarrow \) [VP ber- [VP [V play+guitar] [NP _ good]]]

**Insert intransitive ber-**

Objects may extract when ber- is absent because bare verbs are ambiguous as to whether their object is PNLed or not. If not, the object is a licensed KP which need not be adjacent to V. Objects of unprefixed verbs should thus be definite or indefinite, the action habitual or specific - this is borne out (transitive verbal bases need not carry ber- or meN-, but may remain bare; either prefix disambiguates the structure).

**Conclusion / open issues:** PNI derives a further subject / non-subject asymmetry in Indonesian - these are common in Austronesian. I discuss how PNI can be extended to (i) clausal complements (9), 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.

(9) Siapa, yang Ali (*ber-jharap* [t i akan masak di rumah])?
   
who REL Ali BER-hope FUT cook at home
   
’Who does Ali hope will be cooking at home?’