A CONTEXTUAL GRAMMAR OF

ACEHNESE SENTENCES

by
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RULES REGARDING THE USE OF
MICROFILMED DISSERTATIONS

For my wife and my children

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 **Ethnography**

Acehnese is an Austronesian language spoken by some two
and a half million people in the Province of Aceh in
northern Sumatra, Indonesia. It has been found to have some
connection with Mon-Khmer and Cham on the Southeast Asian
mainland.[1] The Acehnese live mainly in the coastal plains of
the province. They live in all four "kabupatens" (Aceh is
divided into eight "kabupatens" (counties)) along the coast
facing the Strait of Malacca: in Greater Aceh (Capital:
Banda Aceh), which also extends to the west coast facing the
Indian Ocean, in Pidie (Capital: Sigli), in North Aceh
(Capital: Lhokseumawe), and in East Aceh (Capital: Langsa).
The Acehnese share East Aceh with the Tamiang people, who
speak Tamiang, a variant of Malay. The Tamiang live in the
area around the town of Kualasimpang, an area bordering on
the Province of North Sumatra (Medan).

In the west coast, the Acehnese share two other
kabupatens with the Aneuk Jamee: in West Aceh (Capital:

[1]See Blagden (1929), Collins (1969), Cowan (1948), and
Shorto (1975).

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Meulaboh) and in South Aceh (Capital: Tapaktuan). In these
kabupatens the Acehnese and the Aneuk Jamèe mixed together
without dividing the area. Most people here are bilingual.
They speak both Acehnese and the language of Aneuk Jamèe
natively. The language of Aneuk Jamèe is a version of
Minangkabau spoken in the Province of West Sumatra, from
where the ancestors of the Aneuk Jamèe came. The name Aneuk
Jamèe is the old name given to their ancestors, meaning 'the
guest people;' from aneuk 'child, subjects, people,' and
jamèe 'guest.' aneuk here probably means 'subjects,' which
might have been used by the authority at the time to refer
to these new subjects, as opposed to the indigenous
subjects.

The Acehnese also live on the islands near Banda Aceh,
especially on the islands of Weh (Sabang) and Breueh. Sabang
is a port town and has the status of "Kotamadya", which is
more or less equivalent to the rank of a kabupaten.

Besides the Acehnese, the Tamiang, and the Aneuk Jamèe,
there are three other language groups living in the mainland
of Aceh: the Gayonese (the Gayo people), the Alas (the Alas
people), and the Kluet people. The Gayonese live mainly in
the kabupaten of Central Aceh (Capital: Takengon) and some
in the kabupaten of Southeast Aceh; the Alas live in the
kabupaten of Southeast Aceh (Capital: Kutacane); and the
Kluet people live in the mountain area of South Aceh. The
language of Alas has a very close similarity with the
language of Karo, a neighboring language in the Province of

North Sumatra. During my research on the morphology of Alas
in 1978, the informants told me that the Alas could
understand most of the conversation in Karo, and so could
the Karo people most of the conversation in Alas. The two
languages share many similar words.

Another important language group is the Simeulu people,
who live on the island of Simeulu (Capital: Sinabang), to
the West of Meulaboh, in the Indian Ocean. The language is
also called Simeulu.

1.2 The Four Major Dialects of Acehnese

Acehnese can be divided into four major dialects. In
Asyik (1972), the names of the four dialects were given as
Banda Aceh (for the dialects used in Greater Aceh and
Sabang), Pidie (for the dialects used in Pidie), Pasè (for
the dialects used in North Aceh and East Aceh), and Meulaboh
(for the dialects used in West Aceh and South Aceh). These
names are inconsistent. Two dialects were named after the
areas (Pidie and Pasè) but the other two were named after
the capital towns of the kabupatens (Banda Aceh and
Meulaboh). Nowadays they are all named after the kabupatens
where they are used: Greater Aceh (for Banda Aceh), Pidie,
North Aceh (for Pasè), and West Aceh (for Meulaboh).[2] Since
the dialect used in East Aceh is the same as that used in
North Aceh, the two dialects are grouped under one name:

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[2]See for example Asyik (1978b) and Durie (1985).

North Aceh dialect.

The Greater Aceh dialect consists of many subdialects. The most notable difference among these subdialects is the pronunciation of final a. In some areas the final a is pronounced [a], just as in all other major dialects. This is especially in the areas of Montasiek, Krueng Raya, Indrapuri, Seulimum, and Lam Tamot. In some other areas the final a is pronounced as [ə] (schwa) or [əa]. This pronunciation can be found in the areas in the vicinity of Banda Aceh, Ulee Lheue, Lhok Nga, Samahani, and in some other nearby areas. Words, such as, mata 'eye,' tika 'mat,' and guda 'horse' are pronounced [matə], [tikə], and [gudə] respectively. In a rather small area between Banda Aceh and Lhok Nga, the final a is pronounced more or less like [ɛa]. hana 'there is no, not,' and kaya 'rich,' for example, are pronounced [hanɛa] and [kayɛa] respectively.

The pronunciation of final a as [ə] or [ɛa] constitutes a feature distinguishing Greater Aceh dialect from other dialects. Another difference is found in the pronunciation of s. In general, what is an [s] in other dialects is a [θ] (dental fricative) in Greater Aceh dialect, similar to the English th in the word thing. Words, such as, susu 'milk,' sikat 'brush,' and asap 'smoke' are pronounced [θuθu], [θikat], and [aθap] respectively.

In the areas around the town of Banda Aceh and Ulee Lheue, the consonant r is pronounced as a voiced velar fricative [ɣ]. Words like baroe 'yesterday' and karu 'noisy'

are pronounced [baɾɔə] and [kaɾu]. In addition to this, in many areas in Greater Aceh, a final i following an r is pronounced very close to [e]. For example, turi 'to recognize,' bri 'to give,' and pakri 'how' are pronounced [ture], [bre], and [pakre] respectively. In the dialects around Banda Aceh and Ulee Lheue (where r becomes [ɣ]), the three words are [tuɣe], [bɣe], and [pakɣe].

To the southeast of Greater Aceh dialect, on the other side of Mount Seulawah, facing the Strait of Malacca, is Pidie dialect, which covers the kabupaten of Pidie. This dialect also has some dialectal variations but not as many as those in Greater Aceh dialect. In general, this dialect is marked by a rather far back [a] compared with the [a] in other dialects.

There are two other distinguishing features that mark this dialect. First, when a back vowel is followed by [h] in a final syllable, it is replaced by a diphthong with [i]. For example, patah 'broken,' tikōh 'mouse,' koh 'to cut,' and pruh 'to blow' are pronounced [pataih], [tikoih], [kɔih], and [pruih] respectively. Second, Pidie dialect replaces what is [u] in other dialects into [ɯ] (written eu) and what is [ɯ] in other dialects into [u] when these vowels are in the first syllable of a two- or three-syllable word. Words, such as beukah 'broken,' teubèe 'sugar cane,' seukè 'pandanus,' teubai 'thick,' meusapat 'together, and teuōt 'knee' are pronounced [bukaih], [tubɛə], [sukɛ], [tubai], [musapat] and [tuʔot]. Here [ɯ] is repalaced by

[u]. In the following words, [u] is replaced by [ɰ]. rukok 'cigarette,' rugoe 'to suffer a loss,' and mupakat 'to confer' are pronounced [rɰkok], [rɰgɔə], and [mɰpakat].

These distinguishing characteristics are not shared by a large portion of Pidie in the east bordering on North Aceh. Beginning from Trieng Gadeng to the east, the dialect used is the same as the dialect of North Aceh. In the western part, in the direction of Banda Aceh, beginning from Padangtiji, people speak a dialect which does not have the features specific to Pidie dialect as mentioned above, which makes it very similar to North Aceh dialect.

Next to Pidie dialect to the east is the dialect of North Aceh, which covers two kabupatens, North Aceh and East Aceh. This dialect is relatively phonologically homogeneous. There are some differences in the usage of certain words here and there, for example, abang 'elder brother' and cutda 'elder sister' are more common in the areas to the east of Bireuen, dalém 'elder brother' and cutpo 'elder sister' are more common in the areas to the west of Bireuen.

North Aceh dialect is marked by the use of the pronoun lōng 'I,' which is not found in either Greater Aceh or Pidie, except in the eastern portion of Pidie where the dialect is similar to North Aceh dialect. In Greater Aceh and Pidie, people use lōn 'I.' This pronoun is also used in North Aceh dialect, but is considered the polite form of lōng. North Aceh dialect is not phonologically marked, that is, unlike Greater Aceh dialect, it does does not have a

special sound that is not shared by at least one of the other three dialects, and unlike Pidie dialect, it does not change [ɯ] into [u] and [u] into [ɯ] in the initial syllable of two-syllable words as shown in the examples in the paragraphs dealing with Pidie dialect, and it does not change the single vowels [a], [u], [o], and [ɔ] into [ai], [ui], [oi], and [ɔi] when these vowels are followed by [h] in a final syllable. In this cases, the North Aceh dialect is in accord with the other two major dialects.

The fourth major dialect is West Aceh dialect, which is on the west coast of Aceh, to the south of Greater Aceh dialect. This dialect is used in two kabupatens, West Aceh and South Aceh. Most speakers here are bilingual, speaking both Acehnese and the language of Aneuk Jamee (Basa Aneuk Jamee). This dialect is very similar to the dialect of North Aceh, except for the intonation, which has been influenced by the language of Aneuk Jamee. This dialect also uses both the pronouns lōng and lōn.

The similarity between this dialect to North Aceh dialect is so close that when a speaker from North Aceh dialect meets and talks with a speaker of this dialect, he cannot immediately realize that he is talking with somebody from a different dialect. He may realize it only when he hears a special expression with a special intonation, which is specific to West Aceh dialect, an intonation similar to the intonation in an equivalent sentence in Minangkabau. If the North Aceh speaker is familiar with this dialect, he

will be able to tell that the other speaker is from West
Aceh dialect, but if he is not, he might just wonder why
this person speaks in a rather different intonation.

It is worth noting that the grammar book for elementary
schools, Tatabahasa Atjeh (1968) and some reading books were
written by a teacher writer who came from this dialect, the
late Djauhari Ishak.

In a mountain area between Banda Aceh and Meulaboh,
there is a small dialect, called Daya. Geographically, this
dialect is in the area of West Aceh, but it is separated
from the rest by unoccupied mountain areas. This dialect is
marked by the replacement of the final [ɔə] by [ai]. Thus,
baroe 'yesterday,' beusoe 'iron,' taloe 'rope,' and jaroe
'hand' are [barai], [bɯsai], [talai], and [jarai]
respectively in this dialect.

Aside from phonological differences, there are also
differences in the choice of words or in the use of certain
expressions. For example, in some areas in Greater Aceh,
people used the word nyak for 'mother,' whereas in other
dialect ma or mak. In Greater Aceh, barōh means 'below,' in
North Aceh and Pidie it means 'north.' For 'below' they use
the word (di) yup. In North Aceh they say galak for the
meaning 'to like,' but in Pidie they say harok. Both
dialects have these words, but each dialect often uses one
and rarely the other. In North Aceh, harok has a stronger
meaning than galak. Besides, it is only used for things that
one likes, not for food. In Pidie it can be used for both.

There are many other examples; one or two may be really new for people of other dialects. Misunderstanding may sometimes result when a speaker from one dialect uses a word which means one thing in his dialect and another in the hearer's dialect. As for the differences in the pronunciation of certain sounds, they rarely cause a problem in comunication. A speaker from a dialect that does not use the voiced velar fricative [ɣ], for example, may be slow in understanding the first word he hears containing this sound, but not after that. I often had relatives or guests from my village who came to Banda Aceh, and they often talked about their first experience talking with people from Greater Aceh dialect.

It is important to note, however, that we may sometimes find people who exaggerate saying that people from the other dialect speak so differently that they do not understand them. I have heard such an exaggeration several times. I think we all do this. Of course, we do not really mean so when we say it. Maybe what we mean is that our own dialect is better than other dialects, which is of course not true.

1.3 Previous Works on Acehnese

A relatively recent and complete bibliography on various works on Acehnese is Carlson (1983). And a good analysis of some previous linguistic studies of Acehnese can be found in the introductory chapter of Durie (1985). I have

nothing much to add to what Durie has said. Instead of repeating Durie, I will refer the reader to the two sources. However, the reader may be interested in knowing what the Acehnese themselves have done for their language.

Other than epic poetry "hikayats" (which are numerous) and novels (which are rather rare), works on Acehnese by the Acehnese had been very limited in the past. During the Dutch era, their works were limited to writing reading books for elementary schools. Two important names are Moehammad Djam from Greater Aceh dialect and H. Aboebakar from Pidie dialect. The former was the author of Batjoet Sapeue (Miscellaneous), 1911, and the latter was the co-author (together with L. de Vries) of Lhèe Saboh Nang (The Three Siblings), three volumes, 1932, and Seunambat Lhèe Saboh Nang (The Second Series of the Three Siblings), two volumes, 1932.

In the early days after the independence, there was an active writer from North Aceh dialect, Teungku Haji Ismail Ya'kub, who wrote mostly religious books and stories for school children, not in Acehnese, but in Indonesian. But later, in 1950's, he also wrote a reading book in Acehnese for elementary schools. Unfortunately, Acehnese was not a required subject in the curriculum at the time. So, his book was not widely used and was soon forgotten.

In 1966, a seminar on Acehnese was held by Universitas Syiah Kuala. Several papers were read, dealing with spelling, grammar, etc. Among them is Anzib's "Tata Bahasa

Atjeh." At that time, school curricula had just been modified to include the local regional language as a subject in schools in every region or province throughout the country. As a result, there was a pressing need for textbooks. To fill this need, the first Acehnese grammar book for elementary schools, <u>Tatabahasa Atjeh</u>, by Djauhari Ishak, was published in Banda Aceh. This was followed by his <u>Djeumpa I-VI</u> (1972), reading books. The dialect of the author is West Aceh.

In 1971, a collection of Acehnese proverbs, <u>Hadih Madja</u> (Proverbs) by M.Hasjim, M.K. was published in Banda Aceh. It contains more or less a thousand proverbs and wise words.

The first non-textbook work, which was written based on research, was my master's thesis, <u>Atjehnese Morphology</u> (219 pages), written at IKIP Malang in 1972. (The thesis is in English.) This thesis is based on North Aceh dialect, which is my dialect. Although the main focus was on the morphology of the language, a long section was also devoted to the phonology of the language, which was analyzed based on the phonemic approach. The most important parts of the morphological discussions are chapters I through IV, which deal with free forms, bound forms, and morphophonemics. There is an appendix of onomatopoetic words, given in the form of a diagram and symbols. It contains more or less a thousand onomatopoetic words, which can only be read with a key given there. Asyik (1978b) was written based on this source.

Other important points in the thesis are (1) a list of
nineteen special words (p.104) and the following discussion
(these words are discussed here under "tu-words" in
2.2.1.4), and (2) the division of Acehnese into four major
dialects, which has now been accepted, except for the names.
These names were changed later in Asyik (1978b). The group
of nineteen words have been considered by Durie as a part of
speech, which he called "the epistemological classifiers".

Since then this writer has written several other papers
on Acehnese (see the Bibliography).

In 1974, a team from the Fakultas Keguruan, Universitas
Syiah Kuala, conducted a research and produced a report
Structur Bahasa Aceh.

In 1976 through 1980, there were a series of research
projects on Acehnese conducted by Universitas Syiah Kuala
and IAIN Arraniry (Islamic Institute), funded by "Proyek
Pelita" (Five Year Development Plan Project) from the
Central Government. Those research projects were not limited
to Acehnese, but also to Gayonese (with which the writer was
involved several times), Alas (the writer was also on this
team), Simeulu, and some other language research projects.
The research on Acehnese produced among other things
Struktur Bahasa Aceh (The Structure of Acehnese), Cerita
Rakyat (A Collection of Folklores), Sistim Morfologi Kata
Kerja (Verbal Morphology), and Sistim Perulangan
(Reduplication). The studies were not based on one
particular dialect, but rather on all dialects.

In 1977 Budiman Sulaiman wrote <u>Bahasa Aceh</u> Vol.1, a reading book with grammatical notes and exercises for schools. The second volume was published in the following year. The language is based on North Aceh dialect.

At present, Acehnese has adopted a new standard spelling produced by a team in "Seminar Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Aceh", held by Universitas Syiah Kuala in 1979. This new spelling is a modification of the spelling created by Snouck Hurgronje (1893), which had been in used in many old works. The need for a new standard spelling was prompted by a chaos of spellings in various writings, especially in several new "hikayats", reading books, and the writing of place names and street names. Each author and person seemed to write in his own way. For example, some people used [oo] for high-mid back vowel [o] and [ee] for mid-high front vowel [e]. Some others even confused the central high vowel [eu] with [ue].

An Acehnese-Indonesian dictionary has also now been completed by a team from Universitas Syiah Kuala and others.

1.4 <u>A Short Note on Phonology</u>

This section will briefly deal with phonetic inventory, orthograpy, syllable structure, and word stress. There is also a subsection which deals with the tradition of writing borrowed words.

1.4.1 <u>Phonetic Inventory</u>

Acehnese sound system consists of single consonants, consonant clusters, single vowels (oral and nasal), and diphthongs.

1.4.1.1 <u>Consonants</u>

There are twenty-five single consonants in Acehnese. They consist of the following:

a). Nine stops, which consist of five voiceless stops, [p t c k ? (=glottal stop)], and four voiced stops, [b d j g]. The Acehnese [t] is slightly retroflex.

b). Four fricatives: [f s š h]. [f] is a borrowed consonant from Arabic and used only in borrowed words. Although this consonant is written [f], it is not quite [f] in Acehnese. Instead of labio-dental, it is very often closer to bilabial.

I used to consider [š] as a borrowed consonant.[3] But now I realize that it is a native consonant. It is used in native words, although only in two interjection words. It is used in <u>huš</u> (also: <u>hus</u>) 'an interjection used to shoo an animal away' and <u>šuk</u> 'an interjection used to shoo an animal away.' Sometimes only [š] is used, but long: <u>šššššš</u>!

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[3]See, for example, Asyik (1972) and Asyik (1978a).

c). Nasals. Nasals consist of ordinary nasals, [m n ñ̃
ŋ] and "funny" nasals, which are marked here with an
underlining: [m̲ n̲ ñ̲ ŋ̲]. All vowels following an ordinary
nasal in Acehnese become nasalized. But this is not the case
with the vowels following the funny nasals. They remain oral
vowels. For example, the [a] in nap 'to hide by lowering
oneself, to take shelter' has the same quality as the [a] in
rap 'near.'

d). Liquids. Liquids are [l] and [r]. The Acehnese [r]
can be considered as a trill, but it is not a perfect trill
as found in Spanish.

e). Semi-vowels: [w] and [y].

Chart of Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops					
Voiceless stops	p	t	c	k	ʔ
Voiced stops	b	d	j	g	
Fricatives	f	s	š		h
Nasals					
Ordinary Nasals	m	n	ñ̃	ŋ	
Funny Nasals	m̲	n̲	ñ̲	ŋ̲	
Lateral		l			
Trill		r			
Glides	w		y		

In addition to single consonants, there are twenty-five consonant clusters that are used initially, and some of them medially, but not at the end of the word. We can divide these consonant clusters into three groups: those with [h] as the second element, those with [r] as the second element, and those with [l] as the second element.

(a). Consonant clusters with [h]: [ph th ch kh bh dh
     jh gh nh lh rh].

Lawler (1977) and Durie (1985) treat these as aspirated unit phonemes or phones /p^h/, /t^h/, /c^h/, /k^h/, etc. I treat them as clusters because they are split by the infix -eun- when the words (adjectives) containing them are used with meu- ... -eun- discussed in 2.3.1.2. For example, mupeuneuhét 'rather bitter' (from phét 'bitter'), and meukeuneuhie '(it) tastes a little bit like bad cooking oil' (from khie '(it) tastes like bad cooking oil'). However, examples are rare, which is also true of other words beginning with consonant clusters; not many words beginning with consonant clusters can be used with meu- ... -eun-.

(b). Consonant clusters with [r]: [pr tr cr kr br dr
     jr gr].

(c). Consonant clusters with [l]: [pl -   cl kl bl -
     jl gl].

1.4.1.2 <u>Vowels</u>

Acehnese vowels consist of ten oral vowels and seven nasal vowels. The oral vowels consist of three high vowels [i ɯ u], three mid-high vowels [e ə o], three low-mid vowels [ɛ ʌ ɔ], and one low vowel [a]. The vowel that is symbolized by [ʌ] is an unrounded back vowel. ([ʌ] is not distinguished from [ɔ] in some areas of Greater Aceh dialect, especially around Banda Aceh and Ulee Lheue.) The two groups of vowels are presented in the following charts.

Oral Vowels

High	i	ɯ	u
High-mid	e	ə	o
Low-mid	ɛ	ʌ	ɔ
Low		a	

Nasal vowels consist of all these vowels, except the series of high-mid vowel [e ə o].

Nasal Vowels

High	ĩ	ɯ̃	ũ
Low-mid	ɛ̃	ʌ̃	ɔ̃
Low		ã	

Besides single vowels, there are seventeen diphthongs,

which can be distinguished between those that end with [ə]

and those that end with [i].

(i) Diphthongs with [ə].

Oral Diphthongs

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iə   wə   uə

ɛə   ʌə   ɔə

Nasal Diphthongs

ĩə   w̃ə   ũə

ɛ̃ə

(ii) Diphthongs with [i] are [əi ui ʌi oi ai ãi ɔi].

1.4.2 Orthography

Most literature works in Acehnese which are written in
Roman alphabet basically use the spelling developed by
Snouck Hurgronje (1893). After Indonesia became independent,
Acehnese spelling changed several times following the
changes in Indonesian spelling, but the changes are mostly
the replacement of certain symbols by some others. The

present standard Acehnese spelling is a modification of the old spelling done by Universitas Syiah Kuala in 1979. Based on this spelling, the consonants and the vowels are as follows.

[i]. Consonants

Most of the consonants shown in the previous chart are used in writing. The consonants that are replaced by other symbols are the following.

a). Final glottal stop is written as k

> galak for [gala?] 'to like'
> rusōk for [ruso?] 'rib'
> ciriek for [ciriə?] 'kettle'

Initial and medial glottal stops in words are not written.

> siat for [si?at] 'a moment'
> laōt for [la?ot] 'sea'

Deviating from this rule, medial glottal stop will be used in transcribing some data in this dissertation. This is necessary to help the reader who is not familiar with Acehnese to read correctly the words that may cause problems. For example, beuet represents two different words in Acehnese: the one-syllable word beuet ([bwət]) 'to read Quran, to study religion' and the two-syllable word beu?et ([bwʔət]) 'to lift.' Another example is the word rapai,

which is [rapaʔi] 'traditional Acehnese tamborine or drum.'
A glottal stop will also be used rather arbitrarily in
several other forms of words that may cause some problems as
to where the syllable break should be placed, especially
when the sequence of vowels can be interpreted as a
diphthong, or a long vowel (by the reader who does not have
the time to read all the explanation about the spelling).
Some of such examples are <u>seuʔi</u> for <u>seui</u> ([swɯʔi]) 'not
feeling well,' <u>seuʔuem</u> for <u>seuuem</u> ([swɯʔuəm]) 'hot,' <u>seuʔiet</u>
for <u>seuiet</u> ([swɯʔiət]) 'tame,' and <u>keuʔeueng</u> for <u>keueueng</u>
([kwɯʔuəŋ])'spicy, hot.' No glottal stop seems necessary
for words such as <u>laōt</u> 'sea,' <u>beuö</u> 'lazy,' <u>tu'i</u> 'very
bitter,' and <u>laén</u> 'other,' because <u>aō</u>, <u>uö</u>, <u>u'i</u> ([ui�]) and <u>aé</u>
are not likely to be interpreted as diphthongs.

b). Palatal fricative [š] is written as <u>sy</u>.

    <u>syèh</u> for [šɛh] 'the leader in a traditional "seudati"
    dance or other forms of performance, including the
    religious ones'
    <u>syukō</u> for [šuko] 'to be grateful to God'
    <u>syètan</u> for [šɛtan] 'Satan, devil'

c). Ordinary nasals [ñ] and [ŋ] are written as <u>ny</u> and <u>ng</u>
respectively.

    <u>nyan</u> for [ñan] 'that'
    <u>nyum</u> for [ñum] 'taste'

singèt for [siŋɛt] 'leaning'

singa for [siŋa] 'lion'

d). Funny nasals [m n ñ ŋ] are written as mb, nd, nj, and
ngg respectively, which are the actual forms used in Greater
Aceh. These consonants are long in medial position.

teumbōn for [tшmon] 'fat'

keurandam for [kшraɲam] 'a small container for lime'

nje for [nə]'to squeeze sugarcane with a special tool'

nggang for [ŋaŋ] 'stork'

The consonant chart of the new spelling is as follows.

Consonants

p	t	c	k	k (=ʔ)
b	d	j	g	
f	s	sy		h
m	n	ny	ng	
mb	nd	nj	ngg	
	l			
w	r	y		

[ii]. Vowels

The only vowels from the previous charts that are used
without any change in the new spelling are [i], [u], and
[a]. Other vowels are changed or spelled as follows.

a). [ɯ] is written as eu.

    beukah for [bɯkah] 'broken'

    sudeu for [sudɯ] 'leaning'

b). The high-mid vowels [e], [ə], and [o] are written as é,
e, and ō.

    putéh for [puteh] 'white'

    rhet for [rhət] 'to fall'

    tulō for [tulo] 'sparrow'

c). The low-mid vowel [ɛ] is written as è and the other two
low-mid vowels, [ʌ] and [ɔ] are written the same as o.
But in this dissertation, [ʌ] will be written as ö and
[ɔ] will be written as o.

    prèh for [prɛh] 'to wait'

    böh for [bʌh] 'to throw away'

    koh for [kɔh] 'to cut'

d). Nasal vowels are the same as the oral ones, but each is
marked in standard Acehnese orthography with an inverted
comma, which is placed on the left shoulder of each
vowel, or the initial vowel in the case of diphthongs or
the central high vowel eu ([ɯ]). The inverted comma is
replaced by the symbol (') for typewriter. Thus, the
oral nasals are as follows. Note that unlike the
standard spelling, two different symbols are used here
for [ʌ] and [ɔ].

'i̱ for [ī]   'e̲u for [w̃]   'u̲ for [ũ]

'e̲ for [ɨ̄]   'o̲ for [ʌ̃]   'o̲ for [ɔ̃]

'a̲ for [ã]

'i̱-'i̱ for [ĩʔi] 'the sound of "musang" (civet cat) or

of a whining'

'e̲t for [ɨ̄t] 'short'

'a̲p for [āp] 'to put into the mouth (food)'

ta̲'eun for [taʔw̃n] 'cholera epidemic'

is̱'o̲t for [isʌ̃t] 'to shift (while sitting)'

'u̱-'u̱ for [ūʔũ] 'the sound of a truck or heavy rain

from a distance'

'o̲h for [ɔ̄h] 'when, till, manner'

The following are charts of single vowels as used in

this dissertation.

Oral Vowels

----

i   eu   u

é   e   ō

è   ö   o

a

Nasal Vowels

'i   'eu   'u

'ẽ   'ö̈   'o

'a

[iii]. **Diphthongs**

1). Diphthongs with [ə]: The [ə] in diphthongs with [ə] is
written as e.

a). Oral diphthongs with [ə] are:

ie for [iə]   eue for [ɯə]   ue for [uə]

ẽe for [ʌə]   öe for [ʌə]   oe for [ɔə]

Examples:

wie for [wiə] 'left'

thèe for [thʌə] 'to realize, to be aware of'

keue for [kɯə] 'front'

lagöe for [lagʌə] 'particle for surprise'

bue for [buə] 'monkey'

bloe for [blɔə] 'to buy'

b). Nasal diphthongs with [ə] are the same as the oral

nasals, except they are marked with an inverted comma

(or the symbol (')). There are four nasal diphthongs.

'ie for [ī͡ə]   'eue for [w̃͡ə]   'ue for [ũ͡ə]

'èe for [ɛ̄͡ə]

Examples:

p'iep for [pī͡əp] 'to suck'

s'èe for [sɛ̄͡ə] 'relative'

'eue for [w̃͡ə] 'to creep'

'uet for [ũ͡ət] 'to swallow'

2). Diphthongs with [i]: Among these diphthongs, only one is
nasal. The diphthongs are:

ei for [ə͡i]   ui for [ui]

ōi for [oi]   ai for [ai]

ȫi for [ʌi]   'ai for [ãi]

oi for [ɔi]

Examples:

hei for [hə͡i] 'to call'

bhōi for [bhoi] 'a kind of sponge cake'

lagȫina for [lagʌina] 'very'

boinah for [bɔinah] 'property'

phui 'light (not heavy)'

gatai 'itchy'

h'an for [hãn] 'not'

1.4.3 <u>Writing Borrowed Words</u>

Many borrowed words have been adapted into the Acehnese system, phonologically and morphologically. The only exceptions are religious phrases and expressions, which are usually pronounced in their original pronunciations, or as closely as possible. All other Arabic loan words that end in [b] and [d], either in words or syllables, are pronounced with a final [p] and [t]. However, in writing the original voiced final sounds are represented. These are found in many words and people's names. The data in this dissertation are written following this tradition. In addition to this, some new borrowed words from Indonesian with their original pronunciation will be written in their original forms.

1.4.4. <u>Words</u>

Many words in Acehnese are monosyllabic and disyllabic. Words of more than two syllables are also found. Most words consisting of more than two syllables are derived by affixation.

1.4.4.1 <u>Syllable Structure</u>

Acehnese has the syllable structure (C)(C)V(C), where C is a consonant and V a vowel or a diphthong.

Examples:

> V   : <u>u</u> 'coconut;' <u>ie</u> 'water'
>
> CV : <u>sa</u> 'same, one;' <u>cue</u> 'to steal'
>
> CVC : <u>tak</u> 'to cut;' <u>duek</u> 'to sit'
>
> CCV : <u>bri</u> 'to give;' <u>glue</u> 'slippery'
>
> CCVC: <u>prèh</u> 'to wait;' <u>pluek</u> 'to peel'
>
> VC : <u>éh</u> 'to sleep, to lie down;' '<u>uet</u> 'to swallow'

1.4.4.2 Word Stress

Word stress in Acehnese (marked here with (^)) falls on the last syllable of the word but not on the suffix; when a suffix is added to a word, the stress remains where is was, that is, on the syllable before the suffix.

> <u>bak</u>^ 'tree'
>
> <u>maté</u>^ 'to die'
>
> <u>beurangkapat</u>^ 'anywhere'
>
> <u>meutulak-tulak</u>^ 'to push each other'

In a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase, the stress is also on the last syllable (of the last word).

(i) NP's:

> <u>rumoh barō</u>^ 'house new (new house)'
>
> <u>rumoh barō tōké Suléman</u>^ 'house new merchant Suleman (merchant Suleman new house)'

(ii) PP's:

> di rumoh^ 'in house (in the house/at home)'
>
> bak binèh rumoh^ 'at side house (beside the house)'

In a verb phrase the stress is normally on the last syllable too.

> koh kayèe^ 'to cut wood (to cut the wood)'
>
> pula padé^ 'to plant rice'
>
> duek di rumoh^ 'sit in house (stay at home)'

However, when the last constituent is keudéh 'EMP,' a time adverb, or an adverb following a PP, the stress is on the word immediately preceding this constituent.

> jōk keu jih^ [keudéh] 'give for he EMP (give it to him)'
>
> duek [di rumoh^] [jinoe] 'sit in house now (stay at home now'
>
> jép kupi^ [euntreuk] 'drink coffee later'
>
> dòng [bak jalan^] [di luwa] 'stand on road outside (stand on the road outside)'

1.5 Purpose of the Study, Data, and Methodology

The puspose of this study is to describe Acehnese sentences, with special focus on complementation and relative clauses. The agreement system is also an important part of this study. It is not the purpose of this grammar to

prove or disprove any particular theory of grammar.

This grammar is based on the dialect of North Aceh. The data were collected primarily from the area around Teupin Punti (my village), 15 km to the east of Lhokseumawe. Additional data were also collected from informants from Matang Glumpang Dua, a town to the west of Lhokseumawe, near the town of Bireuen. The data were collected by taping conversations and stories from the informants. Since I myself am a native speaker of this dialect, I did not do much elicitation. There were also data from East Aceh in the form of taped speeches and stories, which I obtained through a friend. I also had some commercial tapes containing commedies and plays by performing groups from around Bireuen. Written data consisted of my previous works, stories from Budiman Sulaiman (1977), Durie (1985), and some hikayats.

However, I did not limit myself to using only the data from this field research. They are somewhat limited in forms. They did not contain all forms of sentences. If I had limited myself to these data, many forms of sentences would have been left undescribed. Sometimes I had to use my own sentences. They are natural sentences, the sentences known and used by any native speaker such as myself. Most of the time, I created new sentences based on the sentences from the taped or written data. The variant sentences in examples consisting of more than one variant are all created sentences. They are variants that are used in daily life,

except those marked as unacceptable.

In analyzing the data, the technique used is basically descriptive. In explaining certain phenomena, some generative terminologies are used, but by no means is this grammar based on generative theory. The terms are used because they seem familiar to many readers. My goal is to describe Acehnese sentences using my linguistics knowledge, my native speaker's intuition about the language, and my previous experiences doing research on Acehnese, the Gayo and the Alas languages.

The descriptions given in this grammar are not entirely syntactic. Many phenomena in Acehnese cannot be explained by syntax alone. Subject omission is one of the examples that cannot always be explained by syntax. Subject omission in complex sentences, such as in coordination, relative clauses, and sentences involving the so-called Equi, are in the domain of syntax, but subject omission in conversations and stories is not. Subject (also object) omission here is contextually governed. Here, the subject must be used when it is first introduced into the conversation or story, and it must be omitted later, unless another participant interrupts its continuity, or for some other reasons. These are described in the relevant chapters.

There are other phenomena that are syntactically inexplicable: for example, some types of enclitic omissions and the necessity of enclitics, proclitic omission, the necessity and the omission of head NP's in relative clauses,

the choice between the two different ways of relativizing an object or a dative, the use of the "subject-focus" di in some environments, etc.

These phenomena are explained in terms of context. Hence, this grammar is called a contextual grammar of Acehnese sentences.

In a way, this grammar is in complement to Durie's grammar, in the sense that the focus here is on the parts of grammar that have not been fully discussed in Durie, that is, complex sentences, specifically, complementation and relativization. It does not, however, mean that this grammar is in every way in line with Durie. Besides the differences in the techniques and the theoretical contents (of which there is none in the present grammar), there are also differences in some other points, for example, the questions of word order, the so-called raising to object phenomenon, and some other points of grammar.

1.6 The Organization of the Study

The main concern of this study is complex sentences. However, three chapters are also devoted to other important topics to prepare the reader to better understand the discussions on complex sentences. The discussions are organized in the following manner.

Chapter 1 is the introduction, which consists of six sections, each deals respectively with a discussion on

ethnography, the dialects, previous works on Acehnese, a short note on phonology, the purpose of the study, and the organization of the study.

Chapter 2 contains a discussion on the derivations of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. These are necessary because in Durie (1985) adjectives are considered as verbs. In this grammar, adjectives are treated separately from verbs. Therefore, the derivations of these classes of words need to be treated again. They are relevant to the discussion of agreement systems, which is discussed in Chapter 4. The discussion on the derivation of nouns is a little bit different from that in Durie (1985). Nouns are not only derived by the infix -eun-, but also by some other prefixes. The discussion on adverbs introduces many forms of adverbs usually found in sentences. Many of them have never been discussed before.

Chapter 3 contains five sections, each discusses respectively the controversial issue of word order, intonation, basic sentence structure, the use of the word di, which is glossed here as SFC ("subject-focus"), and sentence-initial nyoe 'this' and nyan 'that.'

Chapter 4 discusses the use of pronominal clitics as agreement markers or cross-referencing. Several previous statements both in Asyik (1982a) and in Durie (1985) are reconsidered and some new statements are made. Subject omission is discussed in this chapter. This is relevant here because subject omission in Acehnese is possible due to the

presence of pronominal clitics in predicates. Another
important point discussed in this chapter is the division of
verbs into verbs of Class 1 (those that take proclitics) and
verbs of Class 2 (those that take the optional enclitics).

Chapters 5 and 6 discuss complementation and relative
clauses respectively.

CHAPTER 2

DERIVATION OF FOUR CLASSES OF WORDS

This chapter is not intended to deal with all aspects of morphology. Much of morphology has been discussed in some previous works, in Asyik (1972), Asyik (1982b), and the most recent and detailed discussion in Durie (1985). This chapter is mainly concerned with the description and derivation of four major classes of words: nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Since all of these are dealt with in one chapter, the description is rather brief and illustrative sentences have to be kept to a minimum. The main difference between the present discussion and the discussion given in Durie is that verbs and adjectives are treated here as two separate parts of speech, whereas in Durie they both are considered verbs.

There are similarities and differences between adjectives and verbs in Acehnese. Both adjectives and verbs can be used attributively, for example, ureueng sakét 'sick person' and ureueng döng 'the standing person.' Both sakét and döng are actually the reduced forms of relative clauses. The full forms of the two phrases are ureueng nyang sakét 'the person who is ill' and ureueng nyang döng 'the person who is standing' respectively. (A complete discussion on

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this is given in Chapter 6.)

However, adjectives are different from verbs in some other aspects. As will be shown in 2.3, adjectives are different from verbs in comparative constructions. And adjectives, but not verbs, are the main source of adverbs of manner. This is discussed in 2.4. All adjectives, but not all verbs, can be used as noun modifiers. This is discussed in 3.3.4.

The discussion in this chapter is divided into four main sections, dealing with nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. The section on nouns gives some description on pronouns and their prefixal and suffixal forms, which have very important functions in Acehnese grammar. Also important is the subsection on pronoun ordering constraints. Three small sections deal with three other types of nouns, which are also important and are often found in Acehnese sentences. They are titles, measure nouns, and classifiers and measure phrases. The section on noun derivation discusses the derivation of nouns by three affixes: -eun-, beurangka-, and sa-.

The second section discusses the derivation of verbs by the following affixes: meu-, peu-, teu-, tu-, -eum-, qi-, and ceu-. This is followed by the last two sections dealing with the derivation of adjectives and adverbs.

2.1 <u>Nouns</u>

Nouns are such words as <u>kayèe</u> 'wood,' <u>ureueng</u> 'person,'
<u>kamèng</u> 'goat,' <u>peunajōh</u> 'food,' <u>éleumèe</u> 'science,' and all
words used to name things and ideas. Other important words
that belong to nouns are pronouns, titles, measure nouns,
classifiers, and onomatopoetic words. The first four
sections below will briefly deals with all of these words,
with the exception of onomatopoetic words.[1] Noun derivation
is discussed in the last section.

2.1.1 <u>Pronouns</u>

Acehnese pronouns make distinctions in age and
politeness. In some literature, the term 'familiar' is used
for some pronouns, such as <u>kèe</u> 'I (vulgar),' <u>kah</u> 'you (for
children),' and <u>jih</u> 'he/she. The term 'familiar' for
Acehnese is misleading. This term is appropriate for English
and many other Indo-European languages. In these languages,
'familiar' has a positive sense, something preferred in a
certain situation. When two persons have become close
friends, they will use familiar terms towards each other,
they will call each other by his first name. In a language
that distinguishes between familiar and polite form of
pronouns, such as French <u>tu</u> and <u>vous</u>, the familiar form is

---

[1]A complete listing and some discussion of Acehnese
onomatopoetic words can be found in Asyik (1978). They first
appeared in Asyik (1972: 211-7) in the form of a schematic
diagram.

used in such a situation. It indicates closeness and friendliness.

On the other hand, the Acehnese kah and jih are words for insult that can start a fight if used to older persons or respected young persons, such as a teacher. These pronouns are only good when used by grown up persons to children, or by children among themselves. Even among children these words are used carefully. A small boy cannot use kah or jih to a big boy, unless he is a real bully. Children use these pronouns to each other if they are more or less of the same age. Some young men who have grown up together and have used these words since their childhood may continue to use them as long as they are still young and unmarried. As soon as a young man gets married, or gets a respected job or a respected position in the community, his friends cannot used kah or jih anymore to him.

So, the level of politeness in Acehnese pronouns has to do with age and respect. kah and jih are used based on age and respect. Therefore, these pronouns cannot be termed as 'familiar.' Nor can kèe. kèe is not used by people who care about being polite. It does not only insult another polite adult, but also gives an indication that the speaker is not a "refined" person.

Acehnese pronouns do not distinguish between singular and plural, except the first person pronouns. However, it does not mean that the same pronouns can be used for plural without the help of other words. Second and third person

pronouns are usually made into plural by adding a word with the meaning 'all.' The most commonly used word is <u>mandum</u> or <u>dum</u> 'all,' such as <u>gata mandum</u> 'you all (of younger adult),' <u>gopnyan mandum</u> 'they (respected),' etc. If the number is known, the number should be used, for example, <u>kah man duwa</u> 'you two,' <u>jih man peuet</u> 'they four,' etc. Without these modifiers, these pronouns are always interpreted as singular, or else, incorrect (if the context requires a plural pronoun).

Sometimes <u>nyoe</u> 'this' or <u>awak</u> 'people' is used to make second person pronouns plural, such as <u>gata nyoe</u> 'you all (of younger adult),' or <u>awak gata</u> 'you all (literally: your people),' <u>kah nyoe</u> 'you all (of children),' or <u>awak kah</u> 'you all (children).' But this way of pluralizing these pronouns are often avoided because a second person pronoun with <u>nyoe</u> gives a patronizing effect, and therefore rude when used to older or respected persons, and pluralization with <u>awak</u> gives an impression that the speaker wants to disassociate himself from the persons he is addressing.

Sometimes noun phrases are used for third person plural pronouns. Instead of <u>gopnyan mandum</u> 'they (respected),' <u>ureuengnyan</u> 'those people, they (far)' or <u>ureuengnyoe</u> 'these people, they (near)' are used, and instead of <u>jih mandum</u> 'they (of younger person),' <u>awaknyan</u> 'those people, they (far)' or <u>awaknyoe</u> 'these people, they (near)' is used.

In the dialect of North Aceh, there are two forms of neutral singular first person pronoun: <u>lōng</u> and <u>lōn</u>. Between

these two pronouns, lōng is the more commonly used form. lōn, which is the only form of this category in the dialects of Greater Aceh and Pidie, is considered a polite form in North Aceh dialect.

Acehnese pronouns consist of full forms and bound forms, that is, their prefixal and suffixal forms. The full forms are presented below in Table 1 and the bound forms in Table 2. The only pronoun that does not have a bound form is lōntuwan 'I (very polite),' which is actually a noun phrase consisting of lōn 'I' and tuwan 'master.' In places where other pronouns are represented by their bound forms, this pronoun is represented by its full form.

Sometimes the reflexive forms with droe 'self' are used instead of pronouns. This is formed by combining droe with the suffixal form of a pronoun. This is how the pronoun droeneuh 'you' was historically formed. The original pronoun which has been replaced by droeneuh is no 'you (respected), which is still in used in some areas in Greater Aceh dialect. This word fits very well with the two bound forms, neu- and -neuh.

Not all pronouns can be replaced by their reflexive forms. There are seven reflexive forms that are sometimes used in place of the ordinary pronouns. They are: droelōn/droelōng for lōn/lōng, droekuh for kèe, droeneuh for no (no is found only in Greater Aceh), droeteuh for gata, droekeuh for kah, droegeuh for gopnyan, and droejih for jih.

Table 1: Pronouns

Person	Pronouns
1st :	lōntuwan/ulōntuwan 'I (very polite)'
	lōn/lōng 'I'
	kèe 'I (vulgar)'
	Plural: geutanyoe 'we (inclusive)'
	kamoe 'we (exclusive)'
2nd :	droeneuh 'you (respected; of older persons)'
	Plural: droeneuh mandum 'you all'
	gata 'you (of younger adult)'
	Plural: gata mandum 'you all'
	kah 'you (of children)'
	Plural: kah mandum 'you all'
3rd :	droeneuhnyan 'he/she (very respected; used for prophets, "ulama" (very revered cleric), one's own parents (by respected adults))'
	Plural: droeneuhnyan mandum 'they'
	gopnyan 'he/she (respected; of older person)'
	Plural: gopnyan mandum 'they;' also: ureuengnyan 'they (far)' and ureuengnyoe 'they (near)'
	jih 'he/she/it (of younger person, non-muslim foreigner (except one's own teacher or an old person), animal, unrespected entity)'
	Plural: jih mandum 'they (only for person);' also awaknyan 'they (far)' and awaknyoe 'they (near)'

The following table shows the prefixal and suffixal forms of pronouns. Those of the second and third person pronouns are the same for singular and plural.

Table 2: <u>Pronominal Affixes</u>

Pronouns	Prefix	Suffix	Gloss
<u>lōntuwan</u>	-	-	'I'
<u>lōn</u>/<u>lōng</u>	lōn-/<u>lōng</u>-	-lōn/-<u>lōng</u>	'I'
<u>kèe</u>	ku-	-kuh	'I'
<u>droeneuh</u>	neu-	-neuh	'you'
<u>gata</u>	ta-	-teuh	'you'
<u>kah</u>	ka-	-keuh	'you'
<u>droeneuhnyan</u>	neu-	-neuh	'he/she'
<u>gopnyan</u>	geu-	-geuh	'he/she'
<u>jih</u>	ji-/i-	-jih/-ih	'he/she/it'
<u>geutanyoe</u>	ta-	-teuh	'we (inc.)'
<u>kamoe</u>	meu-/teu-	-meuh/-teuh	'we (exc.)'

In addition to all these pronouns, there are also some indefinite pronouns. Most of them are "<u>tu</u>-words" (2.2.1.4), and words derived from them with <u>beurangka</u>- 'any' (2.1.5.2).

    1. <u>gop</u> 'someone'

    2. <u>soe</u> 'who,' <u>beurangkasoe</u> 'anyone'

    3. <u>peue</u> 'what,' <u>beurangkapeue</u> 'anything'

4. <u>töh</u> 'which, any,' <u>beurangkatöh</u> 'any (of several things)'

5. <u>pat</u> 'where, place,' <u>beurangkapat</u> 'anywhere'

6. <u>ho</u> 'to where, place,' <u>beurangkaho</u> 'to anywhere'

7. <u>ri</u> '(any) one,' <u>beurangkari</u> 'any (of several)'

8. <u>dit</u>/<u>dum</u> 'number,' <u>beurangkadit</u>/<u>beurangkadum</u> 'any number'

2.1.1.1 Glossing Conventions

To indicate levels or politeness, some subscripts will be used in the glosses of pronouns and their bound forms. However, the following are not marked with a diacritic: (1) the third person pronoun <u>jih</u> 'he/she/it/they' and its prefixal and suffixal forms <u>ji-</u> and <u>-jih</u> when used for animals or unrespected entities; (2) <u>geu-</u> '3' (from <u>gopnyan</u> 'he/she$_r$') when used for children with the meaning 'you$_v$' or 'one' as in <u>Bèk lagèe nyan geu-meututō</u> 'Don't like that 3-talk (One should not talk like that)'; and (3) first person pronouns, except <u>kèe</u>.

The subscripts and the pronouns to which they are applied are:

$_v$: (vulgar). This is used for <u>kèe</u> and its bound forms.

$_r$: (respected). This is used for <u>droeneuhnyan</u> (mandum), <u>gopnyan</u> (mandum), <u>ureuengnyoe</u>, <u>ureuengnyan</u>, and their bound forms. It is also

used for the prefix geu- when the prefix is used for an unspecified respected entity.

yr : (of younger person, respected). This is used for gata and its bound forms.

y : (of children, younger person). This is applied to kah, jih, awaknyoe, awaknyan, and their bound forms.

Two other subscripts are $_{exc}$ and $_{inc}$ for 'exclusive' and 'inclusive' respectively, which are used for kamoe and geutanyoe and their bound forms.

2.1.1.2 The Use of Pronominal Affixes

Pronominal affixes in Acehnese are used for three different purposes: (1) as agreement markers or cross-referencing clitics, (2) as the reduced forms of possessors or possessive endings, and (3) as the reduced forms of objects.

[i]. As agreement markers. (This is discussed in Chapter 4.)

1. Jih teungöh ji-duek-duek jéh-pat.

   He$_y$ PROG   3$_y$-sit-sit   there

   'He is sitting around overthere.'

2. Gopnyan reubah-geuh baroe.

   He$_r$ fall-3$_r$ yesterday

   'He fell yesterday.'

3. Aneuk nyan saket-jih.

   Child that ill-3_y

   '*That child is ill.*'

[ii]. As possessive endings:

4. Ka-kalon ureueng nyan. Bajee-geuh raya that.

   2_y-look person· that Shirt-3_r big very

   '*Look at that man.*   *His shirt is very big.*'

5. Adoe-keuh   ka   ji-klik.

   Little brother-2_y PERF 3_y-cry

   '*Your little brother/sister is crying.*'

[iii]. As the reduced forms of objects: (only the suffixal

forms)

6. Bek   ka-peuklik-jih

   Don't 2_y-make cry-3_y

   '*Don't make him cry.*'

7. Di gopnyan ka   sabe   geu-bantu-keuh

   SFc he$_r$ PERF always 3_r-help-2_y

   '*He has always helped you.*'

2.1.1.3 Pronoun Ordering Constraints

In Acehnese sentences, pronouns or pronominal affixes
may sometimes occur side by side. But sometimes such
ordering may cause ungrammaticality. The ordering of

pronouns and pronominal affixes in Acehnese is governed by the following constraints.

8. Constraints on Pronoun Ordering.

[i] Two pronominal suffixes cannot be ordered in succession in a sentence.

[ii] Two identical pronouns cannot be placed one after another in succession.

[iii] Monosyllabic pronouns and pronouns in their reflexive forms cannot immediately follow their suffixal forms.

Although an object can be reduced and cliticized to the verb, as shown by examples (6) and (7) above, it cannot be reduced and cliticized to the verb which already has an enclitic. This violates constraint [i]. Thus, (9b) is ungrammatical.

9. a) Na galak-keuh ureueng döng nyan?
   AUX like-2$_y$ person stand that
   'Do you like the person who is standing there?'

   b)*Na galak-keuh-geuh?
   AUX like-2$_y$-3$_r$
   'Do you like him?'

The ordering of two consecutive prefixes is also prohibited, but this is not stated in (8) because there is

not any grammatical process comparable to the one shown by
(9) that can create an order of two consecutive prefixes.

The unacceptability of the following sentences results
from the violation of constraint [ii].

10. *Ji-kalön jih jih.

    3_y-see he_y he_y

    'He saw him.'

11. *Geu-hei gopnyan gopnyan.

    3_r-call he_r he_r

    'He is calling him.'

The following sentences are in violation of constraint
[iii], hence, they are unacceptable.

12. *Ji-rhah bajèe-jih jih.

    3_y-wash shirt-3_y he_y

    'He is washing his shirt.'

13. *Teungöh lön-seumanoe aneuk-lön lön.

    PROG   1-bathe   child-1   I

    'I am bathing my child.'

14. *Nyoe-pat bajèe-keuh kah.

    Here   shirt-2_y you_y

    'Here is your shirt.'

15. *Deuek-kuh droekuh.

    Hungry-1_v I_v

    'I am hungry.'

2.1.2 Titles

Titles are words used before a person's name, as in
(16) and (17), or before the word by which a person is
called, as in (18).

16. Si   Amin mantöng bak sikula.

    Title Amin still   at   school

    'Amin is still at school.'

17. Teungku Taléb gurèe   kamoe.

    Title   Taleb teacher(for religion) we$_{exc}$

    'Teungku Taleb is our religious teacher.'

18. Supo aneuk si   dara nyan?

    Whose child title girl that

    'Whose child is that girl?'

A person's name or the word by which a person is called
is never used without a title. Some title words are nouns,
such as kinship terms, words for respected professions or
trades, etc. The titles, except si, are sometimes used to
address a person without mentioning the person's name. It is
politer to call an older or respected person by his title
than to mention his name; calling his name may be considered
rude unless the caller is at the same age and status or it
is necessary to mention the name. Respected persons are
often called by his place, for example, Teungku di Bayu

'"Teungku" from Bayu.' The following are some of the title words.

si   : There is no English equivalent to this word. It is used for a person that is proper to be referred to as <u>jih</u> (children or younger persons, unrespected persons, etc.).

<u>Teungku</u> : 'religious scholar, cleric.' Used for a religious scholar or cleric. It is also used for a grown up male for whom pronoun <u>gopnyan</u> is used. For a teacher and a person with a position in the government, the Indonesian title <u>Bapak</u> 'Mr.' or <u>Ibuk</u> 'Mrs./Miss/Ms.' is used.

<u>Tuwangku</u> : Title for male decendants of Aceh Kings.

<u>Pocut</u>   : Title for female decendants of Aceh Kings. In some areas it is equivalent to <u>Cut</u>.

<u>Teuku</u>/<u>Ampōn</u> : Title for male local nobles.

<u>Cut</u>   : Title for female local nobles.

<u>Panglima</u>: 'army commandant/commander'

Titles based on professions:

<u>Guru</u>   : 'teacher'

<u>Utōh</u>   : 'carpenter'

<u>Keurani</u> : 'clerk, train conductor'

<u>Tōké</u>   : 'merchant'

<u>Geuchik</u> : 'village chief'

<u>Imum</u>   : 'a person who is in charge of religious

affairs in a village'

<u>Waki</u>   : 'assistant (of a king or a village chief)'

<u>Mandō</u> : 'foreman'

Titles from kinship terms:

<u>abang</u>/<u>dalém</u>   : 'elder brother'

<u>cutda</u>/<u>da</u>/<u>cutpo</u>: 'elder sister'

<u>apa</u>   : 'uncle'

<u>macut</u>   : 'aunt'

<u>wa</u>/<u>ayah wa</u>   : 'great uncle'

<u>wa</u>/<u>mawa</u>   : 'great aunt'

<u>ayah</u>   : 'father'

<u>ma(k)</u>   : 'mother'

<u>nèk/teungku nèk</u> : 'grandmother/grandfather'

Only kinship terms for older persons are used as titles
that can precede a name. Kinship terms such as <u>adoe</u> 'younger
brother/sister' or <u>aneuk keumuen</u> 'nephew/niece' cannot be
used before a name.

2.1.3 Measure Nouns

Measure nouns are words used to indicate certain
measurements, such as length, height, depth, width, volume,
weight, etc. The following are some of the measure nouns.

<u>arè</u> 'a two-litre measuring container'

<u>cupak</u> 'a half of an <u>arè</u>'

kai 'a fourth of an <u>arè</u>'

gantang 'two <u>arè</u>'

beulakai 'a half of a <u>kai</u>'

reugam 'a fistful'

jumpét 'a pinch'

manyam 'three and a third gram (of gold or silver)

hah 'an ell'

deupa 'a fathom'

2.1.4 Classifiers and Measure Phrases

     Classifiers are words used to describe a relative shape
or the kind of the noun being modified by a measure phrase.
A measure phrase consists of the following elements:

$$\text{NUMBER} - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{MEASURE NOUN} \\ \text{CLASSIFIER} \end{array} \right\}$$

Some of the classifiers are:

     (1) <u>droe</u> 'self;' this classifier is used for human
beings and supernatural beings.

     19. Duwa droe ureueng ka u dalam.
        Two CL   person IN to inside
        'Two persons are already inside.'

     (2) <u>boh</u> 'fruit;' this is used for everything that does
not have a special classifier. This includes buildings,

furniture, tools, almost everything in the market, natural objects, countries, etc.

20. Lang gampōng geutanyoe na duwa boh krueng.

    In   village we$_{inc}$ exist two CL river

    'There are two rivers in our village.'

boh can also be used to replace classifiers bak when the head noun is rukok 'cigarette,' and krèk.

21. Neu-bri saboh/sibak rukok.

    2$_r$-give one-CL   cigarette

    'Please give me a cigarette.'

(3) krèk/krak 'piece;' this word is used with pieces of long objects, pencils, pens, rifles, spears, swords, etc. The word by itself is also a noun meaning 'piece' when used with other objects, such as wood, etc., as a result of cutting.

22. Sikrèk kènsè ditnan   yum?

    One-CL pencil that-much price

    'Is it that much just for one pencil?'

(4) bak 'tree;' this word is used as a classifier for trees, cigarettes, and other long cylindrical things. The word is also a noun, as in bak pisang 'banana tree,' which can be preceded by this classifier, resulting in a sequence of two words bak, one as a classifier and the other as a noun.

23. Peuet bak bak u   payah koh.
    Four CL tree coconut must cut
    'Four coconut trees will have to be cut.'

(5) <u>peureudèe</u> *'tree trunk, a bunch or a clump of grass;'* This classifier is always preceded by the classifier <u>boh</u>.

24. Ka teulet   saboh peureudèe padé raya that.
    IN pulled-out one-CL CL   rice big very
    'I have pulled out a very large bunch of rice.'

(6) <u>neuk</u> - a variant of <u>aneuk</u> *'child, fruit stone, a mini size of an object, an object that comes out from another object;'* this word is used for human children and animal youngs, grains, stones (of whatever size), arrows, bullets, bombs, rockets, missiles, fruit stones, and young trees.

25. Nyoe-pat sineuk aneuk batèe ubé   rumoh
    Here   one-CL child stone as-big-as house
    'There is a stone here as big as a house.'

The phrase <u>duwa neuk</u> is often used to mean *'some'* or *'a little, very little,'* used both for countable and uncountable things.

26. Duwa neuk ji-bri keu nèk.
    Very little 3_y-give for grandmother
    'He gave grandmother only a little.'

27. Duwa neuk treuk ie lang ciriek.

Very little more water in kettle

'There is very little water left in the kettle.'

(7) ōn 'leaf;' this is used for leaves, paper, thin boards, and most other thin objects. Just as bak 'tree,' ōn is also a noun that can be modified by classifier ōn, resulting in two words ōn occurring side by side.

28. Ka rhet siōn ōn mamplam lang tima ie.

IN fall one-CL leaf mango in bucket water

'A mango leaf has fallen into the bucket.'

(8) yue 'leaves with long stems;' this classifier is used for banana and palm leaves, some vegetable leaves, such as spinach.

29. Duwa yue ōn bayam; ka lōn-boh-jih.

Two CL leaf spinach PERF 1-throw-away-3

'It was only two pieces of spinach leaves; I have thrown them away.'

(9) gö 'handle;' this classifier is used only for pieces of roof made of sago tree leaves or any such leaves woven on a thin two-meter long stick (hence, gö 'handle') into pieces of roof. In other context, gö is a noun which means 'handle.'

30. Limŏng gö ŏn bubŏng treuk ka sép.

    Five CL leaf roof   more IN enough

    'Five more pieces of roof will be enough.'

2.1.5 **Noun Derivation**

Nouns in Acehnese can be derived with the infix -eun-
'noun forming infix' and the prefixes beurangka- 'any, ever'
and sa- 'same, one.'

2.1.5.1 -eun-

The infix -eun- has the function of forming nouns from
verbs and adjectives. Infixation always requires a two-
syllable stem. Infixation in monosyllabic words involves a
process of stem formation by which the monosyllabic words
are made disyllabic before the insertion of the infix.[2]

2.1.5.1.1 **Infixation in Two-Syllable Words**

Two-syllable words that can normally be infixed with
-eun- are those beginning with a stop or an [s]. -eun- is
infixed between the initial consonant and the vowel.

tarék 'to pull;' teunarék 'thing which is pulled; the

state of pulling'

---

[2]This was also treated in Asyik (1972:116-122), Asyik
(1982b), and Durie (1985: 145-9).

<u>pajŏh</u> 'to eat;' <u>peunajŏh</u> 'food'

<u>balŏt</u> 'to wrap;' <u>beunalŏt</u> 'paper, etc., for wrapping'

<u>salén</u> 'to copy;' <u>seunalén</u> 'the copy'

31. Gŏt ta-pubuet gŏt b<u>eun</u>alah.

Good 1$_{inc}$-do good return

'If we do something good we will get good return.'

32. K<u>eun</u>irém droeneuh ka   lŏn-teurimŏng.

Thing-sent you$_r$ PERF 1-received

'I have received the package that you sent.'

The stem for infixation can also be a verb formed with
prefix <u>peu</u>- 'causative prefix' (2.2.1.2). -<u>eun</u>- (also -<u>eum</u>-
(2.2.1.5)) is infixed into <u>peu</u>-, that is, between <u>p</u> and <u>eu</u>.
For example, <u>peuduek</u> 'to put, to place' (from <u>peu</u>- + <u>duek</u>
'to sit') becomes <u>peuneuduek</u> 'the arrangement, decision'
after infixation with -<u>eun</u>-. From <u>peugŏt</u> 'to make, to repair
(to cause to become good)' we derived the noun <u>peuneugŏt</u>
'the making.'

33. Nyoe hana gŏt p<u>eu</u>neugŏt-jih.

This NEG good making-3

'This one has a poor quality (not well made).'

34. Ta-turŏt lagèe p<u>eun</u>euduek ureueng-tuha.

1$_{inc}$-obey like arrangement elders

'We obey all the arrangements by the elders.'

2.1.5.1.2 Infixation in One-Syllable Words

Monosyllabic words are made into two-syllable stems to make infixation possible. There are two methods of forming stems from one-syllable words: by epenthesis and by adding a reduplicative prefix. The choice between these methods depends on the phonetic shapes of the words.

[i]. Epenthesis. This method is used for words beginning with consonant clusters [Cl] or [Cr], where C is a stop, but not [ʔ]. A new stem is formed by inserting an [eu] between the two consonants of the initial consonant cluster, producing a two-syllable stem. -eun- is infixed between the initial consonant and the inserted [eu].

> trom 'to kick with one's heel;' teuneurom 'the kick'
> prah 'to press, to milk;' peuneurah 'a wooden tool for
> pressing coconut dough in making oil, thing which is
> pressed by this method'
> drin 'to push with one's body;' deuneurin 'thing which
> is pushed with one's body'
> plah 'to split;' peuneulah 'the split, the cut on the
> water supply to let the water out, dam'

35. Bèk raya that ji-teubiet ie   bak peuneulah.
    Don't big very 3-go-out water at the opening
    'Don't let too much water come out from the
    opening.'

36. Le that ceuneurōh mantöng.

Many very frying still

'*There is still a large quantity of things to be
fried.*'

[ii]. <u>Reduplicative prefix</u>. This method is used for
words beginning with a consonant or a consonant cluster in
the form of [Ch], where C is a stop or a liquid. A
reduplicative prefix is formed by copying the initial
consonant of the word and epenthesizing an [<u>eu</u>] between this
consonant and the previous initial consonant of the word.
-<u>eun</u>- is infixed inside this reduplicative prefix.

As an illustration, infixation of -<u>eun</u>- into a verb
such as <u>sék</u> 'to weed' is done by infixing -<u>eun</u>- into the
created two-syllable stem *<u>seusék</u> (<u>seu</u>- (reduplicative
prefix) plus the root <u>sék</u>). -<u>eun</u>- is infixed between the
initial <u>s</u> and <u>eu</u> of the reduplicative prefix, resulting in
<u>seuneusék</u> 'weeding, the space where weeding takes place, the
state of weeding, the result of weeding.'

<u>tak</u> 'to chop;' <u>teuneutak</u> 'thing which is chopped, the
chopping'

<u>gom</u> 'to turn upside down, to used a bowl-like fish
trap;' <u>geuneugom</u> 'a bowl-like fish trap'

<u>khōp</u> 'to cover with a hemispherical object;' <u>keuneukhōp</u>
'thing which is covered with this object, the way of
covering something with this object'

37. Bajee nyoe ka   teuplöh ceuneucop-jih.

Shirt this PERF open   sewing-3

'This shirt has a loose thread at the sewing.'

The method of forming stems by adding a reduplicative
prefix is also used for verbs of which the stems are
normally formed by epenthesis. Thus, a verb like gruep 'to
embrace' can have two derivations with the same meaning,
g-eun-euruep or g-eun-eugruep 'thing or person that is
embraced, the state of embracing.'

2.1.5.1.3 **Variants of -eun-**

This infix has three other variants, which are
phonologically conditioned. They are discussed below in
pairs.

[i]. {-eun- : -un-}. In some dialects, the vowel [eu]
of -eun- often becomes [u] if the vowel immediately
following -eun- is [u]. This gives a variant in the form of
-un-.

gulōnq 'to roll;' gunulōnq 'roll; the state/quality of
rolling'

tulak 'to push;' tunulak 'thing that is pushed, the
exchange; the state of pushing'

[ii]. {-eun- : -eul-} and {-un- : -ul-}. The [n] of
-eun- or -un- is in free variation with [l] with certain
stems having the first syllables closed with a nasal
consonant. This is a kind of dissimilation which occurs in
almost all verbs of this form.

gantoe 'to change;' geunantoe/geulantoe 'the
substitute'

sambai 'to make a kind of spicy salad (also as noun);'
seunambai/seulambai 'a kind of spicy salad'

With a few other similar stems, however, the [n] never
varies with [l]. There is no phonological explanation for
this phenomenon. These verbs are exceptions.

bantu 'to help;' beunantu (*beulantu) 'the help'

gantung 'to hang;' geunantung (*geulantung) 'hanger;
the state of hanging'

simpan 'to put away;' seunimpan (*seulimpan) 'thing put
away'

2.1.5.1.4 Free Variation: [t]-[s]

Following an infixation of -eun- into a word beginning
with [t], the initial [t] can often be replaced by an [s].
This does not apply to words beginning with a consonant
cluster beginning with [t].

<u>tirut</u> 'pointed, smaller and smaller;' <u>teunirut</u> or

<u>seunirut</u> 'the slope of a pointed or a cone-like object'

<u>tamah</u> 'to add;' <u>teunamah</u> or <u>seunamah</u> 'the addition'

38. Ka rayek-keuh; h'an ji-theun lé lang seulingkue.

    IN big-2$_y$ NEG 3-stand anymore in baby-sling

    'You are big now; you are too heavy for a baby-

    sling (a baby-sling cannot bear your weight

    anymore).'

39. Pue lang seunijik-neuh?

    What in handle-2$_r$

    'What is in your small bag (held on a string)?'

2.1.5.1.5 **Initial Syllable Omission**

In non-derived nouns consisting of three syllables,
where the initial syllable is <u>seu</u>-, the initial syllable can
be omitted if the second syllable begins with a liquid.

    <u>seulasa</u> or <u>lasa</u> 'hall at the end of traditional house'

    <u>seulingka</u> or <u>lingka</u> 'around'

    <u>seulawét</u> or <u>lawét</u> 'since'

    <u>seulanga</u> or <u>langa</u> 'a kind of tree with fragrant

    flowers'

    <u>seuramoe</u> or <u>ramoe</u> 'the front and back halls of a

    traditional house'

First syllable omission also occurs in derived nouns. In some of these nouns, the omission is optional, but in some others obligatory. This is described in the following three sections.

[i]. <u>Optional Omission</u>. The omission of the initial syllable of nouns derived by -<u>eun</u>- is optional when the first syllable is <u>seu</u>- and the second syllable begins with [1]. A form of this kind is found when -<u>eun</u>- is infixed in a stem beginning with an [s] or [t] and the initial syllable is closed with a nasal consonant.

> <u>sanggōi</u> 'to put one's hair up in a knot or a bun;'
> <u>seunanggōi</u> or <u>seulanggōi</u> or <u>langgōi</u> 'bun (of hair)'
> <u>tumpōk</u> 'to pile up;' <u>teunumpōk</u> or <u>seunumpōk</u> 'pile;'
> <u>seulumpōk</u> or <u>lumpōk</u> 'pile of rice sheaves'
> <u>tampai</u> 'to patch;' <u>teunampai</u> or <u>seunampai</u> or <u>seulampai</u>
> or <u>lampai</u> 'patch'

[ii]. <u>More Common Forms</u>. When -<u>eun</u>- is infixed into one-syllable words beginning with a bilabial consonant or a liquid, the consonant of the reduplicative prefix (which is added to form two-syllable stems) is always replaced by an [s], resulting in three-syllable nouns beginning with initial syllable <u>seu</u>-. These are the kind of words whose first syllables can be omitted. Between the two forms (complete and with the first syllable omitted), the form

with the first syllable omitted is the most commonly used
form.

pheuet 'to carve;' seuneupheuet or neupheuet

'carving'

mueng 'to put on one's lap;' seuneumueng or seuleumueng
or leumueng 'lap'

wöt 'to stir, to mix;' seuneuwöt or neuwöt 'thing which
stirred or mixed, the way of stirring'

léng 'to pour out;' seuneuléng or neuléng 'the liquid
which is being poured out'

lhat 'to hook up;' seuneulhat or neulhat 'hook'

rhéng 'to spin;' seuneurhéng or neurhéng 'the spin,
thing which is spun'

40. 'Etnha panyang ka neubeuet-keuh?
    How-far long   IN study-(of religion/Quran)-2$_y$
    'How far is your study of religion/reading Quran?'

[iii]. Obligatory Omission. The omission of the
initial syllable is obligatory in nouns derived from two-
syllable words beginning with [m], liquids, or glottals,
and from one-syllable words beginning with nasals, except
[m], glottals, [d], [j], or [y].

marit 'to speak;' narit 'message, words said'

lakèe 'to ask for;' neulakèe 'thing asked for'

raba 'to feel with hand;' neuraba 'the act of feeling
with hand'

ikat 'to tie;' neuikat 'the tying'

hayak 'to shake;' neuhayak 'the shaking'

noh 'to put someone in stocks;' neunoh 'stocks'

nie 'to press sugarcane with a kind of tool;' neunie
'the sugarcane which is pressed by this tool'

ek 'to climb;' neuék 'the ascending'

iōk 'to give;' neuiōk 'thing given'

yue 'to order;' neuyue 'an order, person that receives
an order'

41. Padup   neudōng tabéng nyoe?
    How-much height   screen this
    *What is the height of this screen?'

42. Ci kalōn siat,   ka gōt neungui-lōn?
    Try see   a-moment IN good dressing-1
    *Please look at me; is my dressing good?'

2.1.5.2 beurangka-

These prefix has the meaning 'any, ever' (as in the
English 'whoever') and is used exclusively with seventeen
"tu-words." (See 3.2.1.4.) However, only nine of these words
are used to derive nouns, namely items (1) through (5), (7),
(8), (15), and (16) from the list given in 3.2.1.4.

beurangkasoe 'whoever, any person'

beurangkapeue 'whatever, anything'

beurangkatōh 'any, any one'

> beurangkari 'any, any one, any person'
> beurangkadit 'any amount, any number'
> beurangkabé 'any size'
> beurangka'èt 'any length'

43. Beurangkapo aneuk göt meunyo göt ta-peurunoe.

    Anybody's   child good if   good 1_{inc}-teach

    'Any child will be good if we teach him something

    good (no matter whose child he is).'

44. Beurangkadum   yum   geu-bloe meunyo gopnyan.

    Whatever-amount price 3_r-buy   if   he/she$_r$

    As for him/her, he/she will buy it whatever the

    price is.'

The combination of beurangka- with other words produces adverbs.

2.1.5.3 sa-

This prefix is used with all seventeen words that can be used with beurangka-, but only eight of these are used with sa- alone with the meaning 'the same, one.' the other nine are used with sa- and a negative word, such as hana, h'an, bèk, etc., or the word saboh 'one.' The eight words that can be used with sa- alone are peue, pat, ho, jan, ban, dit, dum, and bé. But from these, only one word is used to derive a noun, namely sapeue 'one,' as in sapeue mantöng 'one only.'

Out of the nine words that can be used with <u>sa</u>- and a negative word or <u>saboh</u>, only six produce derived nouns. They are themselves nouns. The six words are <u>peue</u>, <u>töh</u>, <u>ri</u>, <u>dit</u>, <u>dum</u>, and <u>po</u>. The negative sentences containing this words are used as responses or as an emphatic denials. Usually an emphatic particle <u>pih</u> 'EMP' is used.

> <u>hana satöh pih</u> 'none of those (that you asked
> "which")'

> <u>hana sadit pih</u> 'none of the amount (that you asked)'

45. Hana sari pih, pue ka-tanyŏng.
> NEG any EMP what 2_y-ask
> *'None among those (that you asked which one),*
> *what is the use of asking.'*

In combination with <u>saboh</u>, we have only two nouns. The meaning of the compounds is 'one each; one of this and one of that.'

> <u>saboh sapeue</u> 'one of these and one of that'
> <u>saboh sapo</u> 'one each'

<u>sa</u>- has its variant, <u>si</u>- 'one,' which is used with some measure nouns, classifiers, and some other words, including three of the "<u>tu</u>-words", <u>peue</u> 'what, -thing,' <u>pat</u> 'where, -place,' and <u>ho</u> 'where, -place.' Among these three "<u>tu</u>-words", only <u>peue</u> produces a noun with <u>sa</u>-.

sipeue 'one thing'

sikrèk 'one CL'

sidroe 'one CL'

sithōn 'one year'

siribèe 'one thousand'

sideupa 'one pathom'

2.2 Verbs

Verbs are words such as jak 'go,' duek 'to sit,' reubah 'to fall,' lumpoe 'to dream,' sangka 'to think,' and many other words describing all kinds of activities. Some verbs are non-derived, such as kalōn 'to see,' pajōh 'to eat,' etc., and some others are derived from nouns, adjectives, and other words. The following section will give a brief discussion on verb derivation.[3]

2.2.1 Verb Derivation

There are four important prefixes and one infix used to form verbs from nouns, adjectives, and other words. They are meu-, peu-, teu-, tu-, and -eum-. In addition to these, some verbs are also derived with the prefixes gi-, keu-, and pronominal prefixes.

Almost all derived verbs belong to verbs of Class 1, as

[3]Discussions on these are also found in Asyik (1972: 88-150) and Durie (1985: 71-100).

defined in 4.2, that is, verbs that must be used with
pronominal proclitics when they are used as predicates,
except those derived with pronominal prefixes because
pronominal prefixes cannot occur in succession (2.1.1.3).
There are only five groups of these derived verbs that
belong to verbs of Class 2, that is, verbs that take
optional pronominal enclitics; they consist of four groups
of verbs derived with meu- and all those derived with teu-.
This will be indicated at relevant sections below.

2.2.1.1 meu-

For the reader who is familiar with Indonesian, it is
useful to note that the Acehnese meu- and the Indonesian
ber- are cognate and they show many similarities in meaning.
meu- has its variant, mu-, which is used with words
beginning with bilabial sounds, as in the last two examples
below.

kayëe 'wood;' meukayëe 'to look for wood'
batëe 'stone;' mubatëe 'to contain stones'
minyeuk 'oil;' muminyeuk 'oily'

The prefix meu- forms not only verbs, but also
adjectives and adverbs. All verbs that are derived with meu-
are intransitive. The only exceptions are verbs that are
derived from transitive verbs in their reduplicated forms.

2.2.1.1.1 Noun Stems

Many verbs are derived from nouns with the prefix meu-.
In forming verbs from nouns, meu- has the following
meanings.

a). In many verbs derived from nouns, meu- has the
meaning 'to produce.' Things can be produced biologically,
as for example:

> meuōn 'to produce leaves'(from ōn 'leaf')
>
> mubulèe 'to grow body hair/feather' (from bulèe 'body
> hair/feather')
>
> muboh 'to have fruit' (from boh 'fruit')

> 46. Bak   drien · geutanyoe ka ji-muboh.
>   Tree "durian" we$_{inc}$ IN 3-have-fruit   .
>   'Our "durian" trees are beginning to have fruit.'

To produce may also have the sense 'to excrete
something,' usually liquid. These verbs are used with an
optional pronominal enclitic.

> meuʔie 'to excrete water' (from ie 'water')
> meugeutah 'to excrete sap' (from geutah 'sap')
> meudarah 'to bleed' (from darah 'blood')

> 47. Ka jeuet prah pliek   nyoe, ka muminyeuk.
>   IN can   press coconut-dough this IN have-oil
>   'This coconut dough can be pressed now; it is
>   beginning to produce oil.'

Some verbs with meu- indicates that things are produced
by acting it out or by using vocal organs, such as dancing,
singing, speaking

> meuseudati 'to dance a "seudati"' (from seudati 'a
> traditional dance (usually for men)')
> meusu 'to produce voice' (from su 'voice')

48. Geutanyoe bèk tuwö ta-meuseulaweuet keu Nabi.
    We$_{inc}$ don't forget l$_{inc}$-say prayer for Prophet
    'We should not forget to say prayer for the
    Prophet.'

Some games are also produced by acting them out. The
verbs for these games are formed with meu-.

> meucabang 'to play checkers' (from cabang 'a kind of
> checkers')
> mubibét 'to play "bibet" game' (from bibét 'a game
> using long sticks as a bat and short sticks to be hit
> as a ball')

49. Jak ta-meucabang.
    Let l$_{inc}$-play-checkers
    'Let's play checkers.'

Things are also produced manually or by means of some
tools, such as making cooking oil, salt, etc.

muminyeuk 'to make cooking oil' (from minyeuk 'oil')

meusira 'to make salt' (sira 'salt')

meutika 'to make mat' (from tika 'mat'), etc.

50. Na   neu-meutika lawét nyoe?

AUX 2$_r$-make-mat time this

'*Are you making mats nowadays?*'

b). meu- also means 'to have, to carry.' The resultant
verbs are used with optional enclitics.

meuaneuk 'having children, seeds, bullets' (from
aneuk 'child, seed')

meulungkè 'having antlers' (from lungkè 'antlers)

meubeudé 'having gun' (from beudé 'gun')

51. Awaknyan meubeudé-jih mandum.

They   have-guns-3 all

'All of them have guns with them.'

c). Some verbs are formed from kinship terms or titles.
The meaning of meu- here is 'to use the kinship term or
title to someone.'

meuabang 'to call someone elder brother' (from abang
'elder brother')

meukah 'to call someone kah' (from kah 'you$_y$')

meuteungku 'to call someone "teungku"' (from teungku
'religious scholar')

52. Bèk geu-<u>meukah</u> keu aduen   droe.

Don't 3-call-"kah" to elder-brother self

'*One should not say "kah" to one's own elder*

brother.'

d). In some verbs, the meaning of <u>meu-</u> is 'to use.'

Depending on the kinds of nouns used as stems, the meaning

'to use' can vary, for example, 'to use as weapons,'

<u>meusikin</u> 'to use a knife as a weapon' (from <u>sikin</u>

'knife')

<u>mubeudé</u> 'use (carry) a gun' (from <u>beudé</u> 'gun')

'to use as a support,'

<u>meutungkat</u> 'to use a walking stick' (from <u>tungkat</u>

'walking stick')

<u>meusingkèe</u> 'to rest on one's elbow' (from <u>singkèe</u>

'elbow')

'to use as a means of transportation,'

<u>meujalō</u> 'to use a canoe' (from <u>jalō</u> 'canoe')

<u>meugeulitan angèn</u> 'to ride a bicycle' (from <u>geulitan</u>

<u>angèn</u> 'bicycle')

'to use on the body (cosmetics, medicine, clothes, etc.),'

<u>mubeudak</u> 'to use cosmetic powder' (from <u>beudak</u>

'cosmetic powder')

<u>mubajèe</u> 'to put on shirt' (from <u>bajèe</u> 'shirt')

'to use musical instrument,'

> meurapa?i 'to beat a "rapai"' (from rapa?i 'Acehnese
> tambourine')
>
> mubéula 'to play the violin' (from béula 'violin')

and 'to use in the sense to receive the service from.'

> meugurèe 'to learn (from a teacher)' (from gurèe
> 'teacher')
>
> meudukōn 'to ask the help of a healer' (from dukōn
> 'healer')

53. Geu-meusilat   jeuet, tapih bèk geu-meusikin haré.
    3-play-"silat" okay   but don't 3-use-knife EMP
    *'It is all right if you want to do self defence,
    but don't use a knife.'*

54. H'an ék   lé   lōn-meusingkèe lagèe nyoe.
    NEG able anymore 1-rest-on-elbow like this
    'I cannot rest on my elbows like this anymore.'

55. Meunyo h'an trōk-keuh ka-meukeurusi.
    If   NEG reach-2_y 2_y-use-chair
    'If you cannot reach it, use the chair.'

56. Adak   pih ta-meumoto geutanyoe ka teulat.
    Even-if EMP 1_{inc}-use-car we$_{inc}$ IN late
    'Even if we used a car/bus, we were already late.'

57. Hana lōn-jak lé   u rumoh sakét; ka lōn-meudukōn.
    NEG 1-go anymore to house ill   IN 1-use-healer
    *'I do not go to the hospital anymore; now I go to
    a healer.'*

e). Some verbs are formed from words for addictive
material (such as opium, coffee, tobacco, etc.). meu- here
has the meaning 'to become addicted to, or to drink, eat,
smoke, etc. (by a person who has become addicted to it).'

meukupi 'he has become addicted to coffee' (from kupi
'coffee')

meurukok 'to smoke cigarettes' (from rukok
'cigarette')

meucandu 'to become addicted to opium' (from candu
'opium').

58. Peue, di kah ka ka-meurukok?
    What SFC you_y IN 2_y-smoke-cigarette
    'Have you started smoking cigarettes?'

f). Verbs are also formed from words for places to live
in, such as words for house, barrack, office, tent, nest,
etc. The meaning of meu- here is 'to occupy the place or to
build one (if there is none) and occupy it.'

meuasrama 'to occupy a place as a barrack, or build
one and occupy it' (from asrama 'barrack,
boardinghouse')

meuʔeumpung 'to built a nest' (from eumpung 'nest')

meukantō 'to build or occupy a place as an office'

(from kantō 'office')

59. Ka ji-meuʔeumpung geumoto nyan-pat.

   IN 3-make-nest   wasp   there

   'Wasps are building their nest there.'

g). meu- also has the meaning 'to look for.' The stems
are words for objects that are usually collected or taken
from woods, rivers, lakes, sea, or fields, which do not
belong to a person.

meuudeueng 'to look for shrimps' (from udeueng
'shrimp')

meukreueng 'to look for clams' (from kreueng 'clam')

meuawé 'to look for rattans' (from awé 'rattan')

60. Na pakat ta-jak meuudeueng singöh?

   AUX agree 1_{inc}-go find-shrimp tomorrow

   'Would you like to go to catch shrimps tomorrow?'

h). There are verbs in which meu- means 'to manage (a
company), to run (a shop), etc. or to work for the company
that owns it.' The stems are words like shop, bus or truck,
etc. Similar to this meaning is the meaning 'to work in (a
place)' when used with words for places where people
traditionally work, for example, ricefields, hills, sea,
etc.

       meukeudè 'to run a shop' (from keudè 'shop')

       mumoto 'to manage a bus or truck group, to work on a
       bus or truck' (from moto 'car, bus, truck')

       meuglé 'to clear a spot in the hill and make it into
       a dry farm' (from glé 'hill') .

61. Lawét nyoe ka lōn-meupeurahō.

    Time this IN 1-work-in-boat

    'Nowadays I work in/run a boat.'

j). meu- has the meaning 'to raise, to grow' in verbs
formed from the stems consisting of words for livestocks or
plants that are grown for food or money.

       meulumo 'to raise cows' (from lumo 'cow')

       meukacang 'to grow peanuts' (from kacang 'peanut')

       mubawang 'to grow onion' (from bawang 'onion')

62. Thōn nyoe lōn-neuk mubawang bacut.

    Year this 1-want   grow-onion a-little

    'This year I want to grow some onions.'

k). There are some verbs in which meu- means 'to sell
from place to place.' The stems are words for objects that
are traditionally sold from place to place.

       meusira 'to sell salt from place to place' (from sira
       'salt')

       meukanöt 'to sell cooking pots from place to place'
       (from kanöt 'cooking pot')

meuʔeunɡkōt 'to sell fish from place to place' (from

eunɡkōt 'fish')

63. Hana lōn-meuʔeunɡkōt lé, hana lé geulitan-angèn.

NEG 1-sell-fish anymore NEG anymore bicycle

'I do not sell fish anymore, I do not have a

bicycle anymore.'

1). meu- means 'to work as' in verbs formed from words

for certain trades.

meuutōh 'to work as a carpenter or house builder'

(from utōh 'carpenter, house builder')

meudukōn 'to work as a healer' (from dukōn 'healer')

meukuli 'to work as a labor' (from kuli 'labor').

64. 'Oh lheueh nyoe lōn-piyōh lōn-meukuli.

When finish this 1-stop   1-work-a-labor

'After this I will stop working as a labor.'

m). meu- means 'to play in or with, to get soaked with'

in verbs formed from words for certain mass nouns (such as

mud, ground dirt, water, rain, etc.) with which or in which

children usually like to play, and often make themselves

dirty or get soaked with it.

meuabèe 'to play on the ground or in ground dirt'

(from abèe 'dirt, ash')

meuleuhop 'to play with mud, to be covered with mud'

(from leuhop 'mud')

<u>meuujeuen</u> 'to play in the rain' (from <u>ujeuen</u>
'rain')

65. Nyan harapan sakét-keuh ka-<u>meuujeuen</u>   sabé.
    That is-going ill-2_y 2_y-play-in-rain always
    *You are going to get ill (if) you play in the rain
    all the time.*

n). When used with the following stems, <u>meu</u>- means 'to
move in the direction of the place stated by the stem.'

<u>ili</u> 'down river;' <u>meuili</u> 'to go down the river'
<u>udék</u> 'up river;' <u>mudék</u> 'to go upstream' (from
<u>meuudék</u>, a form which is not used anymore)

66. H'an keumah ta-<u>mudék</u>   jinoe, ie   tajam that.
    NEG possible 1_{inc}-go-upstream now water quick very
    *It is not possible to go upstream at the moment;
    the stream is very strong.*

o). Some verbs are formed from words for occasions that
are usually celebrated or observed. The meaning of <u>meu</u>- here
is 'to celebrate, to observe.'

<u>meuuroe raya</u> 'to celebrate the religious festival'
(from <u>uroe raya</u> 'religious festival')
<u>meulimóng</u> 'to observe the fifth day after the death
of a family member'(from <u>limóng</u> 'five')
<u>mumakmeugang</u> 'to celebrate the slaughtering day by
cooking meat' (from <u>makmeugang</u> 'slaughtering day').

67. Di lōn lōn-mumakmeugang di gampōng.

    SFC I   1-celebrate-"makmeugang" in village

    'I am celebrating "makmeugang" day in the village.'

p). In some verbs, meu- means 'to look like or to appear in the form of.' These verbs are used with an optional enclitic.

> mubayang 'appear in one's mind' (from bayang 'shadow')
>
> mubeuno 'appear in the form of a ghost, vaguely visible as a big object in the dark' (from beuno 'ghost')
>
> meujuh'om 'to look like a bush' (from juh'om 'bush')

68. Got-that ka meujuh'om aneuk kayee nyan-pat.

    Very   IN like-bush child tree there

    'Those small trees there look very much like a bush.'

2.2.1.1.2 Adjective Stems

In forming verb from adjectives, meu- has the following meanings.

a). In some verbs with adjective stems, meu- means 'to undergo the condition stated by the stem.'

> meusakét 'to undergo the pain or the difficulty' (from sakét 'sick, painful')

mupayah 'to take the trouble' (from payah 'difficult')

meuseunang 'to have a good time, to enjoy oneself' (from seunang 'happy')

69. Alah, bèk neu-jak mupayah that harê keu lōn.
    Oh   don't 2ᵣ-go take-trouble very EMP for I
    'Oh, please don't take all the troubles for me.'

b). meu- means 'to make or to perform something in a way described by the stem adjective.' The stems are adjectives indicating sizes or duration of time.

meurayek 'to do in a larger scale' (from rayek 'big')

meutrép 'to take longer time in doing something' (from trép 'long time').

70. Bak geu-niet geu-meurayek kali u keue   nyoe.
    At 3ᵣ-intend 3ᵣ-make-big time in front this
    'He intends to hold a big ritual gathering this time.'

c). In some verbs, the meaning of meu- is 'to adopt an attitude as stated by the stem toward someone.' The stems are adjectives used to describe how good or how bad the relation between two persons.

meugöt 'to be in good terms again (with someone), to make up' (from göt 'good, nice')

mubrōk 'to be in bad terms (with someone)' (from brōk 'bad')

mumasam 'to be in bad terms' (from masam 'sour')

71. Jih ka ji-mumasam   ngön lōn lawét nyoe.

He$_y$ IN 3$_y$-in-bad-terms with I   time this

'He and I are in bad terms nowadays.'

d). In verbs where the stems are reduplicated adjectives used adverbially, the meaning of meu- is 'to compete.'

meutajam-tajam 'to compete in speed' (from tajam 'fast')

meutrép-trép 'to compete in maintaining longer duration' (from trép 'long time, slow')

meuteuga-teuga 'to compete in strength' (from teuga 'strong').

72. Jak ta-mubagah-bagah lheueh.

Let 1$_{inc}$-soon-soon   finish

'Let's compete to be the first to finish.'

2.2.1.1.3 Verb Stems

When the stems are transitive verbs, the derived verbs are intransitiv

In forming new verbs from other verbs, meu- has the
following meanings.

a). meu- means 'done unintentionally.' Both transitive
and intransitive verbs can become the stems. Verbs of this
group are used with optional pronominal enclitics.

mupök 'to hit something with one's head by accident'
(from pök 'to hit with one's head')
meutulak 'to push by accident' (from tulak 'to
push')
meukoh 'to cut by accident' (from koh 'to cut')

73. Moto nyan ka meujak keudroejih.
    Car that IN move by-itself
    'That car moved by itself.'

74. Ku-neuk tanyöng suai buet, ka meutanyöng suai laén.
    1-want ask about job IN unint.-ask about other
    'I had intended to ask about a job, but I
    mistakably asked about something else.'

In some dialects around Bireuen, meu- can be used with
such words as tanyöng 'to ask' and piké 'to think' (see
Durie (1985: 92)) without producing the meaning of
unintentionality as it does in other dialects. But meu- in
those words seems to correspond to the infix -eum-. It might
be the case that this meu- is a variant of infix -eum- (see
2.2.1.5.5) with the function of detransitivization, although

this is rather strange because the verbs do not belong to those discussed in 2.2.1.5.5.

b). Some verbs with _meu_- have a 'reflexive' meaning. The stems are transitive verbs but the resultant verbs are intransitive.

meuteugön 'to lean while supporting oneself on one's hand' (from teugön 'to press with one's hand')

meuhintue 'to hang (on something)' (from hintue or sintue 'to hang')

meuʔeunthö 'to rub oneself on something' (from eunthö 'to rub')

75. Bèk ka-meuhintue bak taloe adèe ija.
    Don't 2ᵧ-hang   at rope dry clothes
    '*Please don't hang on the clothesline.*'

Note that the infix -_eum_- also appears in the form of _meu_- when used with hintue and eunthö, but the prefix _meu_-, -_eum_- does not have a 'reflexive' meaning.

c). In some verbs, _meu_- has the meaning of 'a reciprocal action.' The stems are verbs for activities that can be done by someone against someone else. Usually the stems are reduplicated.

mupoh 'to beat each other' (from poh 'to beat')

meutak 'to chop each other' (from tak 'chop')

meutop 'to stab each other' (from top 'to stab')

76. Pakön ka ji-<u>meukalön-kalön</u>   awak   nyan duwa.

Why   IN 3$_y$-look-at-each-other people that two

'Why are those two boys are looking at each other?'

d). When used with reduplicated-verb stems, <u>meu-</u> means 'the same activity done by more than one person for the same goal.' The stems are transitive verbs.

<u>meupeugöt-peugöt</u> 'everyone takes part in making or

repairing' (from <u>peugöt</u> 'to make, to repair')

<u>meungieng-ngieng</u> 'everyone take some responsibility

in overseeing and taking care' (from <u>ngieng</u> 'to see,

to take care')

<u>mubantu-bantu</u> 'everyone takes part in helping' (from

<u>bantu</u> 'to help')

77. Buet nyoe h'an asé meunyo hana ta-<u>mubantu-bantu</u>.

Work this NEG finish if   NEG 1$_{inc}$-each-help

'This work cannot be done unless each of us lends a

helping hand.'

e). When the stems are intransitive verbs in the reduplicated forms, <u>meu-</u> means 'the same activity done by more than one person but done individually or separately and not for a common goal.'

<u>meudöng-döng</u> 'everyone is standing' (from <u>döng</u> 'to

stand')

<u>meubeudöh-beudöh</u> 'everyone is standing up' (from

<u>beudöh</u> 'to stand up')

meuteubiet-teubiet 'everyone is going out' (from

teubiet 'to go out').

78. Jamee bak rumoh nyan ka geu-meuteubiet-teubiet dum.

Guest at house that IN 3_r-everyone-go-out all

'All the guests from that house are beginning to

leave one by one.'

f). In some verbs formed from reduplicated verbs, meu-

means 'to compete.'

mupluenq-pluenq 'to compete in running' (from pluenq

'to run')

meutakat-takat 'to compete in aiming at a target'

(from takat 'to aim at')

meutarék-tarék (taloe) 'to compete in a tug of war'

(from tarék 'to pull').

79. Bak meutakat-takat tameh talipun lheueh keu kee.

At compete-aim-aim pole telephone go to I_v

'In the contest of aiming at a telephone pole, I

won.'

2.2.1.2 peu-

Like meu-, peu- also has a variant, pu-, which is the

result of the same vowel rounding rule that changes [eu] of

a prefix into [u] in the context of #bil.C --- + bil.C,

where # is a word boundary and + is a syllable boundary.

Thus, <u>peu</u>- becomes <u>pu</u>- when used with words beginning with a bilabial consonant.

<u>teupat</u> 'straight;' <u>peuteupat</u> 'to straighten'

<u>ubat</u> 'medicine;' <u>peuubat</u> 'to administer medicine'

<u>patah</u> 'broken;' <u>pupatah</u> 'to break'

<u>mat</u> 'to hold;' <u>pumat</u> 'to cause to hold'

<u>peu</u>- has a 'causative' meaning when used with verbs or adjectives, but when used with nouns it has several meanings. This is described below.

2.2.1.2.1 <u>Noun Stems</u>

The prefix <u>peu</u>- has several meanings when used with nouns. They are the following.

a). When used with mass nouns for material that is usually put on or into something else, such as sugar, salt, water, egg, oil, etc., <u>peu</u>- means 'to put the material indicated by the stem into or on something.'

<u>peusira</u> means 'to salt' (from <u>sira</u> 'salt')

<u>puboh manok</u> mean 'to put egg' (from <u>boh manok</u> 'egg')

<u>peuʔie</u> 'to put water' (from <u>ie</u> 'water')

80. Tapè   nyoe hana got ji-<u>peuraghoe</u>.

Fermented-rice this NEG good 3-put-yeast

'*This fermented rice was not well-sprayed with yeast.*'

b). Some verbs are formed from kinship terms and titles. With these stems, peu- means 'to call someone by that word.'

> peuapa 'to call someone uncle' (from apa 'uncle')
>
> peujih 'to use pronoun jih to someone' (from jih 'he$_y$'
>
> pumacut 'to call someone aunt' (from macut 'aunt')

81. Ō, ka lōn-pumacut droeneuh; droeneuh cutda-lōn.

   Oh IN 1-call-aunt you$_r$ you$_r$ elder-sister-1

   'Oh, I called you aunt; you are actually an elder sister to me.'

When used with words that indicate social status, such as the words for 'king' and 'slave,' the prefix peu- means 'to treat as.' For example, peunamiet means 'to treat someone as slave,' which is derived from namiet 'slave.'

The meaning of peu- is very similar to that of meu- when used with kinship terms and titles; both means 'to call.' But with such words as namiet 'slave,' raja 'king,' etc., they are different. With these words, meu- can either means 'to work as' or 'to treat as,' whereas peu- can only mean 'to treat as.' They are also different in structure; verbs with peu- take a direct object, as in (82), whereas those with meu- take an oblique object, as in (83).

82. Di kah ka-<u>peuabang</u>   jih.

SFC you$_y$ 2$_y$-call-elder-brother he$_y$

'*You should call him elder brother.*'

83. Di kah ka-<u>meuabang</u>   <u>keu</u> jih.

SFC you$_y$ 2$_y$-call-elder-brother to he

'*You should call him elder brother.*'

c). <u>peu</u>- also means 'to cause (to become),' for
example, <u>peuabeuek</u> 'to cause to become a marshy place' (from
<u>abeuek</u> 'pond, marsh'). But when used with words for nations,
languages, religions, or beliefs, it means 'to turn someone
into, to cause to become, to translate into.'

<u>peukaphé</u> 'to make someone infidel' (from <u>kaphé</u>
'infidel')

<u>peuacèh</u> 'to make someone an Acehnese, to translate
into Acehnese' (from <u>acèh</u> 'Acehnese')

84. Boh ka-ci <u>peuinggréh</u>   kalimat nyoe.

-   2$_y$-try turn-into-English sentence this

'*Now then, try to say this sentence in English.*'

d). When the stems are words for tools or body parts
that can be used to do something, <u>peu</u>- means 'to use as
tools, to do it with.'

<u>puparang</u> 'to chop' (from <u>parang</u> 'big knife')

<u>peuulèe</u> 'to hit with the head (as in soccer), to
push head first (tail follows)' (from <u>ulèe</u> 'head')

<u>peugaki</u> 'to push with one's leg, to kick' (<u>gaki</u>
'leg')

85. Meunyo h'an ka-tren   ku-<u>peugeulawa</u>-keuh.

If   NEG 2_y-come-down 1-use-"geulawa"-2_y

'*If you don't come down I will throw at you with a*
"geulawa" (stick).'

e). <u>peu</u>- also has the meaning 'to give, to provide
with.'

<u>pupèng</u> 'to give money, to make someone rich' (from
<u>pèng</u> 'money')

<u>peutaloe</u> 'to give rope, to tie' (from <u>taloe</u> 'rope')

<u>pubu</u> 'to provide food, to feed' (from <u>bu</u> 'rice')

86. Di kah mantong geu-<u>pubajèe</u> lè ayah-keuh.

SFC you_y still 3_r-buy-shirt by father-2

'*Your father still have to buy shirts for you.*'

f). When <u>peu</u>- is used with words for body sides, it
means 'to turn the body side toward an object or place the
object at one of the body sides.'

<u>peulikōt</u> means 'to turn one's back to, to leave the
place' (from <u>likōt</u> 'back')

<u>peugeuniréng</u> means 'to make it sideways' (from
<u>geuniréng</u> 'side')

<u>peuuneun</u> 'to place the object on the right side, to
turn right' (from <u>uneun</u> 'right')

87. Lumo geutanyoe ka ji-<u>peukeue</u> bak padé gop.

　　Cow we_{inc}　　IN 3-turn-face to rice people

　　'Our cows are going to other people's rice.'

g). With words for directions, <u>peu-</u> means 'to cause to move to.'

　　<u>peulaōt</u> 'to cause to move to sea' (from <u>laōt</u> 'sea')

　　<u>peuili</u> 'to cause to move downstream' (from <u>ili</u>
　　'downstream')

　　<u>pubarat</u> 'to cause to move to west' (from <u>barat</u>
　　'west')

88. Neu-<u>peuili</u>　　　　　beu trōk　bak teupin　　jéh.

　　2_r-move-downstream DES arrive at river-port that

　　'Move it downstream till that port.'

2.2.1.2.2 Other Stems

With all other words, the function of <u>peu-</u> is 'causative transitive.'

[i]. <u>With verbs</u>.

　　döng 'to stand;' peudöng 'to cause to stand'

　　jak 'to go;' peujak 'to cause to go or move'

　　pajōh 'to eat;' pupajōh 'to cause to eat'

　　lét 'to chase;' <u>peulét ceurapè</u> 'to cause (a dog) to
　　chase a weasel'

89. Jéh-pat ceurapè. Ka-<u>peulét</u>   bak asèe.

There   weasel   2$_y$-cause-chase to dog

'*There is the weasel. Have it chased by the dog.*'

<u>peulét</u> is used without a causative meaning in some
dialects around Bireuen, as in Matang Glumpang Dua, just as
the bare verb <u>lét</u> in other dialects. While in all other
dialects they say <u>lōn-lét manok</u> 'I am chasing a chicken,' in
these dialects they say both <u>lōn-peulét manok</u> and <u>lōn-lét
manok</u> for the same meaning, 'I am chasing a chicken.' To
people from other dialects, <u>lōn-peulét manok</u> means that 'the
subject causes another agent (a dog, etc.) to chase a
chicken.'

[ii]. <u>With adjectives</u>

<u>teubai</u> 'thick;' <u>peuteubai</u> 'to cause to become thick'

<u>bangai</u> 'stupid;' <u>pubangai</u> 'to cause to become stupid,
to fool'

<u>mupat</u> 'known (place);' <u>pumupat</u> 'to cause the place to
be known, to determine the location'

<u>sa</u> 'the same, one;' <u>peusa</u> 'to cause to become the
same'

90. Lōng-<u>peuubit</u> apui?

1-make-small fire

'*Shall I make the fire smaller? (Shall I turn it
down?)*'

The verb peugöt which is used to mean 'to make' and 'to repair' has its origin from peu- 'to cause' and göt 'good,' which means 'to cause to become good,' which is close to the meaning 'to repair.' The original meaning of peugöt is 'to make look good, to improve the quality.' It is still used for that meaning besides those two meanings above. For example in:

91. Ka-döng beu göt nak lön-peugöt sapai bajee-keuh.
    2_y-stand DES good so 1-make-good hand shirt-2_y
    *'Stand well so that I can make your sleeves look
    good.'*

[iii]. With adverbs. peu- can be used not only with one-word stems, but also with long phrases.

    teulat 'late;' peuteulat 'to cause to become late'
    duwa gö 'twice;' peuduwa gö 'to cause to become
    twice'
    tiep uroe 'every day;' peutiep uroe 'to cause to
    become every day'
    keunoe 'to here;' peukeunoe 'to cause to be here'
    u keue 'to the front;' peu-u keue 'to cause to be in
    the front'

92. Göt that, ka-peusithön-sigö   ka-jak bak löng.
    Good very 2_y-make-one-year-one-time 2_y-go to I
    *'That is really very good; you make your visiting
    me a once-a-year event.'*

[iv]. <u>With numerals and quantifiers</u>

<u>saboh</u> 'one;' <u>peusaboh</u> 'to cause to become one, to unite'

<u>le</u> 'many;' <u>peule</u> 'to cause to become many, to multiply'

<u>tujōh</u> 'seven;' <u>peutujōh</u> 'to cause to become seven'

93. Baroekōn saboh, nyoe ka geu-<u>peuduwa</u>. Peue lom?
    In-past one   this IN 3$_r$-make-two What more
    *There used to be only one; now the number has
    been made two. What's more do you want?'*

2.2.1.3 <u>teu-</u>

This prefix is used with verbs and some adjectives but it does not form verbs from adjectives. When used with verbs, it has the meaning of 'unintentionality.' (Cf. Indonesian <u>ter-</u>)

<u>teusipak</u> 'to kick by accident' (from <u>sipak</u> 'to kick')
<u>teulet</u> 'to pull out by accident' (from <u>let</u> 'to pull out')
<u>teupèh</u> 'to touch by accident' (from <u>pèh</u> 'to hit, to beat, to touch')

94. Ka <u>teugidŏng</u> bungŏng lōn.

    IN trample-on flower I

    'You have trampled on my flower.'

Still related to the meaning of 'unintentionality' is
the sense that what happens with regard to one's physical or
mental activities is not under one's control. For example,
<u>teupiké</u> 'to come to mind,' <u>teuingat</u> 'to remember, to
recall,' <u>teudŏng</u> 'to stop (because something keeps one from
moving),' etc. The verbs are derived from <u>piké</u> 'to think,'
<u>ingat</u> 'to remember,' and <u>dŏng</u> 'to stand, to stop'
respectively.

95. Nyoe barō <u>teuingat</u>-lōn nan aneuk nyan.

    This now remember-1 name child that

    'Now I remember the name of that child.'

Both <u>teu</u>- and <u>meu</u>- have an 'unintentionality meaning.'
In this sense, the two prefixes are generally the same.
However, <u>meu</u>- can have the meaning that 'the action has been
done to the wrong object by accident.' If one had been
cutting bad branches of a fruit tree, and during that time a
branch bearing fruits was also cut by mistake, one would say
as in (96).

96. Ka <u>meukoh</u> cabeueng muboh.

    PERF cut-unintentionally branch having-fruit

    'I have cut the branch with fruits on it.'

Another example:

97. Ka <u>meutet</u>   surat saboh.

PERF burn-unintentionally letter one

'*I have burnt a letter (while burning other pieces of paper).*'

A very clear contrast can be seen between the phrases <u>pisang teutet</u> and <u>pisang meutet</u>. The former is a common phrase for 'baked banana.' The latter is not a fixed phrase; one might use it if one found a banana burned accidentally while burning something else. Similar to this is the expression <u>ōk teukoh</u> 'hair cut (styled (cut) hair),' that is when one is talking about a kind of hair style for men. The phrase <u>ōk meukoh</u> does not refer to hair styles, but rather to hair (it can be a piece of hair) which has accidentally been cut.

However, this distinction is not always apparent. For example, both <u>bajēe meugeusŏk</u> and <u>bajēe teugeusŏk</u> are used to refer to 'shirts that have been ironed.' And there are also many other expressions where <u>meu-</u> is used instead of <u>teu-</u>. For example, one says <u>ka meusipak batēe</u> '(I) have kicked a stone' when one happens to have kicked a stone while walking.

As a matter of fact, the choice is often lexically based; with some words only <u>teu-</u> is used, such as <u>teuduek-jih</u> 'he fell in a sitting position' rather than *<u>meuduek-jih</u>; <u>teusie jaroe-jih</u> 'he cut his hand by accident' rather than ?<u>meusie jaroe-jih</u>, etc. With some other words only <u>meu-</u>

is used, as in <u>ka meuculok mata-jih</u> 'he has pierced his eyes

by accident' and not ?<u>ka teuculok mata-jih</u>, <u>meugeuntön-jih</u>

'he was accidentally pinned down' and not ?<u>teugeuntön-jih</u>.[4]

2.2.1.4 <u>tu</u>- and "<u>tu</u>-words"

This prefix has the meaning 'to know (how/what), to

sense.' It is only used with nineteen special words as

listed in Asyik (1972: 104). It is important to copy all

these words here because some references are made to them in

several other sections. As a collective name, they will be

referred to as "<u>tu</u>-words".[5] This is an arbitrary name, which

is based on the fact that among the prefixes that are used

with them, only <u>tu</u>- can be used with all of them. The

listing is given here in a slightly different order from the

original one.

This group consists of several kinds of words; five of

them are question words and the others are words with the

meanings: place, time, manner, reason, thing, person, and

measures for amount, length and volume. Some glosses are

marked with a hyphen (-) to indicate that these meanings

appear only when the words are used with a prefix, and it is

these meanings that we are primarily concerned with.

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[4]For a different account, see Durie (1985: 87-8).

[5]This group of words is considered in Durie (1985: 151)
as a part of speech, called "epistemological classifiers".

Table 3: "tu-words"

---

1. soe 'who, -person' (a question word)

2. peue or pue 'what, -thing' (a question word)

3. töh 'which (one), -one' (a question word)

4. pat '(in) where, -place' (a question word)

5. ho '(to) where, -place' (a question word)

6. -nè '-(from) where, -origin' (a bound morpheme)

7. jan 'time, -place'

8. -kön '-reason' (a bound morpheme)

9. ri 'any, -thing, -person'

10. kri or ki 'as, -manner'

11. ban 'as, -manner, -form'

12. 'oh 'time, -manner'

13. dit 'a little, -amount'

14. dum 'all, -amount'

15. 'èt 'short, -length/-distance'

16. bé 'as large as, -size'

17. po 'owner'

18. nyum 'taste, feeling'

19. bèe 'smell'

The following are verbs formed from these words with

the prefix tu-.

    tusoe 'to know (the person), to recognize'

    tupeue 'to know (the thing), to understand'

    tutöh 'to know which one'

    tupat 'to know (in) where, to know the location'

tuho 'to know (to) where, to know the direction'

tunè 'to know the origin'

tujan 'to know the time'

tukön 'to know the reason'

turi 'to know which person/thing, to recognize'

tukri 'to know the manner'

tuban 'to know the manner, to know the appearance'

tu'oh 'to know the manner'

tudit 'to know the number or amount'

tudum 'to know the number or amount'

tu'èt 'to know the length/distance'

tubé 'to know the size'

tupo 'to know to whom it belongs'

tunyum 'to sense the taste/feeling'

tubèe 'to sense the smell, to smell'

98. Na neu-tusoe ureueng nyang ban trōk   nyan?

    AUX 2ᵣ-know-who person who just arrive that

    *Do you know the person who has just arrived?'

99. Hana lōn-tunyum   masén atawa tabeue.

    NEG 1-sense-taste salty or   tasteless

    *I did not taste it salty or tasteless.'

2.2.1.5 -eum-

    This infix has the function of forming intransitive
verbs from transitive ones with the meaning of 'prolonged

activity.' It is also used with intransitive verbs to give this meaning to the verbs. Infixation with -eum- is similar to that with -eun- discussed in 2.1.5.1; it requires a two-syllable stem.

2.2.1.5.1 With Two-Syllable Words

Two syllable words that can be infixed with -eum- are those beginning with stops other than [b], and [s]. The stops are [p t d c j k g]. -eum- is infixed between the initial consonant and the following vowel.

garō 'to scratch (tr.);' geumarō 'to scratch (int.)'

sampōh 'to sweep (tr.);' seumampōh 'to sweep (int.)'

tarék 'to pull (tr.);' teumarék 'to pull (int.)'

jarōm 'needle, to give an injection (tr.);'

jeumarōm 'to give an injection (int.)'

100. Hèk-lōn lōn-seumalén siuroe seupōt.

Tired-1 1-copy (int.) one-day dark

'I am tired of copying (something) all day long.'

2.2.1.5.2 With One-Syllable Words

Similar to the process of forming stems in the infixation of -eun- into monosyllabic words, two methods are used to make monosyllabic words disyllabic, depending on the phonological shapes of the roots. These two methods are

"epenthesis" and "reduplicative prefix", which are very similar to those applied to roots for the infixation of -eun- discussed in 2.1.5.1.2.

[i]. Epenthesis. One-syllable words beginning with consonant clusters [Cl] or [Cr], where C is a stop, are made two-syllable stems by epenthesizing the vowel [eu] between the two consonants of the clusters.

>> trom 'to kick with one's heel (tr.);' teumeurom 'to
>> kick with one's heel (int.)'
>> glét 'to wind a rope around something (tr.);'
>> geumeulét 'to wind with a rope (int.)'

> 101. Hana asi   teumeurom.
>   NEG allowed kick (int.)
>   'No kicking please.'

[ii]. Reduplicative Prefix. One-syllable words beginning with a consonant or a consonant cluster in the form of [Ch], where C is a stop, are made two-syllable stems by adding a reduplicative prefix. For example, a monosyllabic root such as sék 'to weed (tr.)' is made disyllabic by adding seu- (reduplicative prefix) to the root, resulting in *seusék.   -eum- is infixed between the initial s and eu: seumeusék 'to weed (int.)'

> tak 'to chop (tr.);' teumeutak 'to chop (int.)'
> koh 'to cut (tr.);' keumeukoh 'to cut (int.)'

gōt 'to pull (tr.);' geumeugōt 'to pull (int.)'

tham 'to prohibit (tr.);' teumeutham 'to prohibit (int.)'

dhōt 'to snap at (tr.);' deumeudhōt 'to snap (int.)'

102. Pakŏn galak-keuh that ka-deumeudhōt?

    Why   like-2$_y$ very 2$_y$-snap (int.)

    'Why do you like snapping (at somebody)?'

It is also common for monosyllabic words beginning with consonant clusters [Cl] or [Cr] to be made two-syllable stems by adding a reduplicative prefix.

crōng 'to scoop out (liquid) (tr.);' ceumeurōng or ceumeucrōng 'to scoop out (liquid) (int.)'

kr'ot 'to cut by clipping or using a pair of scissors (tr.);' keumeur'ot or keumeukr'ot 'to clip (int.)'

glueng 'to kick (tr.);' geumeuglueng 'to kick (int.)'

103. Soe ceumeucrōh/ceumeurōh bak dapu?

    Who fry (int.)   at   kitchen

    'Who is frying in the kitchen?'

2.2.1.5.3 Variants of -eum-

Like -eun- discussed in 2.1.5.1.3, -eum- often becomes -um- when the vowel of the first syllable of the stem is [u].

tulak 'to push (tr.);' tumulak 'to push (int.)'

tuléh 'to write;' tumuléh 'to write (int.)'

culék 'to gouge, to pick (tr.);' cumulék to gouge, to pick (int.)

2.2.1.5.4 Frication of [p]

When -eum- is infixed into a word beginning with [p], the initial [p] of the word or stem is changed into [s].[6] In monosyllabic words, it is the [p] of the reduplicative which is changed into [s].

pula 'to plant (tr.);' sumula 'to plant (int)'

pajōh 'to eat (tr.);' seumajōh 'to eat (int)'

pr'iek 'to tear (tr.);' sumupr'iek 'to tear (int.)'

pluek 'to peel (tr.);' sumupluek 'to peel (int.)'

pheuet 'to carve (tr.);' sumupheuet 'to carve (int.)'

poh 'to beat, to kill (tr.);' sumupoh 'to beat (int.)'

104. Lheueh sumula nyoe lōn-jak saweue aneuk di Medan.

After planting this 1-go   visit   child in Medan

'After this planting time, I will go to Medan to visit my child.'

---

[6]The process of this change is described in Asyik (1982b).

2.2.1.5.5 Initial Syllable Omission

Initial syllable omission analogous to the one described in 2.1.5.1.5 (infixation of -eun-) is also found in the infixation of -eum-. While such omission in 2.1.5.1.5 changes -eun- into neu-, the omission here changes -eum- into meu-. One of the example showing this is meuyue 'to order (int.),' which is derived from yue 'to order (tr.).' Since the function of this prefix is that of -eum-, the prefix has been considered as a disguised form of -eum- (Asyik, 1982b).

The change of -eum- into meu- occurs when -eum- is infixed into words beginning with [b], nasals, liquids, glottals, and glides. Unlike the omission discussed in 2.1.5.1.5, which is limited to monosyllabic roots, the omission here occurs also in disyllabic words.

bungkōh 'to wrap (tr.);' mubungkōh 'to wrap (int.)'

mita 'to look for (tr.);' mumita 'to look for (int.)'

nje 'to squeeze (sugarcane) with a kind of tool (tr.);' meunje 'to squeeze (sugarcane) with a kind of tool (int.)'

ngieng 'to see, to look at (tr.);' meungieng 'to look at (int.)'

hue 'to pull (tr.);' meuhue 'to pull (int.)'

ukō 'to measure (tr.);' meuukō 'to measure (int.)'

lipat 'to fold (tr.);' meulipat 'to fold (int.)'

<u>reulöh</u> 'to destroy (tr.);' <u>meureulöh</u> 'to destroy (int.)'

<u>weuek</u> 'to divide (tr.);' <u>muweuek</u> 'to divide (int.)'

105. Uroe nyoe awak   nyoe ji-<u>meuhue</u>.

Day this people this 3_y-pull (int.)

'*Today these people are pulling (piles of grass from the ricefield).*'

106. Meunyo hana carong ka-<u>muweuek</u>, bri lōn-weuek.

If   NEG clever 2_y-divide   allow 1-divide

'*If you are not good at the job of dividing things, let me do it.*'

2.2.1.6 <u>gi</u>-

This prefix is used to form transitive verbs from the following four verbs.

<u>duek</u> 'to sit;' <u>giduek</u> 'to sit on something, to ride'

<u>döng</u> 'to stand;' <u>gidöng</u> 'to tread, to trample on'

<u>blōh</u> 'to step into water, to walk in water;'

<u>giblōh</u> 'to tread, to trample on'

<u>lhö</u> 'to knead with feet;' <u>gilhö</u> 'to tread, to trample on'

107. Neu-<u>gidöng</u> bak ujöng taloe.

2_r-tread   at end   rope

'*Please tread on the end of the rope.*'

2.2.1.7 ceu- and -eur-

As used in Asyik (1972: 90 and 99-102), this prefix
represents several prefixes that are used to form verbs from
onomatopoetic words. The prefixes are ceu-, keu-, geu-, and
leu-. Except for geu-, each of these prefixes has two other
variants. The variants of ceu- are ca- and cu-; the variants
of keu- are ka- and ku-; and the variants of leu- are la(N)-
and li-. With only one exception, the distribution of these
allomorphs is not phonologically definable. Each of them is
used with a certain group of words. The only phonological
constraint is that prefixes with voiceless consonants are
used with words beginning with voiceless consonants and
those with voiced consonants, except [l], are used with
words beginning with voiced consonants.

> tuk 'sound of knocking on a board;' keutuk 'to beat
> something that produces such a sound, to knock at the
> door;' *geutuk
> d'um 'the sound of beating a drum;' geud'um 'to beat
> a drum or anything that produces such a sound;'
> *keud'um
> phuk 'the sound of beating a soft object or mud with
> the face of a concaved object;' kaphuk 'to beat eggs,
> to stir mud with legs'
> pl'um 'the sound of dropping a big stone into the
> water;' ceupl'um 'to plunge into the water'

kr'èh 'the sound of scratching on a board;' cakr'èh
'to scratch something'

tak 'the sound of beating a piece of bamboo with a
stick;' lantak 'to insert a piece of object into a
hole by hitting on the other end, as a wedge or a
pole on the ground'

108. Ka-ceupl'um droekeuh keunan   laju lang krueng.
     2$_y$-plunge   yourself to-there soon in   river
     '*Just jump there into the river.*'

109. Nyoe ku-leub'ak bak rueng-keuh sigö.
     This 1$_y$-beat   at   back-2$_y$ one-time
     '*Look, I will beat (with the sound "b'ak") you (at
     the back) (if you don't stop that).*'

To give the impression of a stronger and slightly
prolonged sound effect, the infix -eur- is used. Only three
allomorphs of ceu- can be used with this infix, namely,
ceu-, keu-, and geu-. -eur- is infixed into these prefixes,
resulting in the forms ceureu-, keureu-, and geureu-
respectively.

        d'ing 'sound of small bell;' ceureud'ing 'to beat a
        small bell'
        tèk 'sound of falling small object;' keureutèk 'to
        create a sound "tek"'
        b'um 'the sound of falling coconut tree;' geureub'um
        'to create a sound "b'um"'

It should be noted that words derived with these prefixes are not only verbs, but also nouns. The only exceptions are those derived with li- and la(N)-, which can only be verbs.

>110. Ban lōn-tulak, geureub'um reubah-jih.
>
>>When 1-push   "geureub'um" fall-3
>
>>*'When I pushed it, it fell down with the sound "geureub'um".'*

2.2.1.8 Pronominal Prefixes

Pronominal prefixes do not really form verbs in the way other prefixes discussed earlier do. But any word used with these prefixes is treated as a verb. Many nouns and adjectives are used as verbs in this way.

>guru 'teacher;' ji-guru 'he works as a teacher'
>
>keurani 'clerk;' ji-keurani 'he works as a clerk'
>
>gasa 'rude, rough;' lōn-gasa 'I treated (him) rudely'
>
>muda 'young;' lōn-muda 'I enjoyed all the good time of a young man'

>111. Ka   lheueh lōn-muda uroe-jéh.
>
>>PERF finish 1-young old-day
>
>>*'I already enjoyed all the good time of a young man long ago.'*

112. Peue ka-dŏng ka-mandō mantŏng?

What 2_y-stand 2_y-foreman only

'*Why are you just standing there and overseeing us*

(like a foreman)?'

2.3 Adjectives

Adjectives are words such as raya 'big,' meuh'ai
'expensive,' sakét 'ill,' putéh 'white,' seunang 'happy,'
and all words denoting the state of being. Adjectives are
different from verbs in that they can be used in comparative
degrees with leubèh 'more' and paléng 'most' without an
object. Very few verbs can be modified by leubèh and paléng;
they are verbs for liking and disliking, such as galak 'to
like,' banci 'to hate,' etc. Although these verbs can be
modified by leubèh and paléng, they are different from
adjectives; they have to be used with an object. The object
can only be omitted if it has already been mentioned in the
preceding sentence. No such requirement is necessary for
adjectives. Compare the comparative construction for the
adjective carong 'clever' and the comparative construction
for the verb galak 'to like' below.

(a). An example of a comparative construction with an
adjective.

113. Jih leubèh carong nibak geutanyoe.

He$_y$ more clever   than   we$_{inc}$

'He is cleverer than we.'

(b). An example of a comparative construction with the verb
galak 'to like':

114.a) Jih leubèh galak-jih keu kah nibak ureueng jéh.

He$_y$ more   like-3$_y$ to you$_y$ than   person   that

'He likes you better than that person does.'

b)*Jih leubèh galak-jih nibak ureueng jéh.

He$_y$ more   like-3$_y$ than   person   that

2.3.1 Adjective Derivation

Adjectives can be derived from nouns and verbs by
prefixes meu-, meu- ..., -eun-, and teu-.

2.3.1.1 meu-

This prefix is used to form adjectives from nouns,
verbs, and "tu-words".

2.3.1.1.1 With Nouns

When used with nouns, meu- has the following meanings.

a). With some nouns, especially mass nouns, meu- means
'having.' In most cases, the derived adjectives are
equivalent to the English adjectives formed from nouns with
the ending -y, such as 'watery,' rocky,' etc.

> meuʔie 'watery' (from ie 'water')
>
> mubulèe 'hairy, having feather' (from bulèe 'body
> hair, feather')
>
> meuasap 'smoky, having smoke' (from asap 'smoke')

115. Göt-that meuangèn hinoe.
> Very   windy   here
> 'It is very windy here.'

b). When used with words for nations, celebrities,
dignitaries, or animals, with which a person may be likened,
meu- means 'like.'

> meuputroe 'like a queen' (from putroe 'queen')
>
> mubanggali 'like a Sikh (referring to the head
> dress)' (from banggali 'Sikh')
>
> mubui 'like a swine' (from bui 'boar, swine').

116. Gopnyan göt-that meuteungku.
> He_r   very   like-cleric
> 'He has all the look of a cleric.'

2.3.1.1.2 With Verbs

meu- has the following meanings when used with verbs.

a). With some verbs <u>meu</u> - means 'can be done.' Some adjectives with this prefix can be translated with the English adjectives ending with '-able.' These adjectives are usually used in negatives or questions.

> <u>meugrak</u> 'movable, can be moved' (from <u>grak</u> 'to move, to lift')
>
> <u>meulipat</u> 'bendable, can be folded' (from <u>lipat</u> 'to bend, to fold')
>
> <u>meujeu'euet</u> 'elastic' (from <u>jeu'euet</u> 'to stretch')

117. Mu   bacut   h'an <u>meugrak</u>; geuhön that.

Even a-little NEG   movable heavy very

'*I did not move even a little; it is very heavy.*'

b). <u>meu</u>- may also mean 'in progress,' which is equivalent to the meaning expressed by the English 'present participles.'

> <u>meugulé</u> 'rolling' (from <u>gulé</u> 'to roll')
>
> <u>meuhayōn</u> 'swinging, rocking' (from <u>hayōn</u> 'to swing, to rock')
>
> <u>muputa</u> 'turning' (from <u>puta</u> 'to turn')

118. Pakön <u>meuhayōn</u> panyöt?

Why   swinging lamp

'*Why is the lamp swinging?*'

c). meu- is also used to form verbal adjectives denoting 'the result of an action.' Most of these adjectives are equivalent to the English 'past participles.'

> meuuké 'carved' (from uké 'to carve')
>
> meugeusŏk 'pressed' (from geusŏk 'to rub, to iron')
>
> meucètak 'printed' (from cètak 'to print')

119. Rumoh meuculék nyan rumoh tōké Leman.

House carved that house merchant Leman

'That house with carved walls is merchant Leman's.'

2.3.1.1.3 With "tu-words"

meu- is also used with seventeen "tu-words" (from (1) through (17) (see 2.2.1.4)) to form adjectives. In these derived adjectives, meu- means 'known.' Among these adjectives are the following.

> meusoe 'known (the person)'
>
> mupat 'known (the location)'
>
> meunè 'known (the origin)'
>
> meujan 'known (the time)'
>
> meu'èt 'known (the length)'

120. Gopnyan ureueng meusoe.

He/she$_r$ person known

'He/she is a respected person.'

2.3.1.2 meu- ....-eun-

These two affixes are used together as a discontinuous morpheme with the meaning 'rather, almost, a little bit.' They are used with adjectives and some verbs.

    sijuek 'cool;' meuseunijuek 'rather cool'

    kuwien 'to bend;' meukunuwien 'rather bent'

    sakét 'painful;' meuseunakét 'rather painful'

Note that -eun- is replaced by neu- when the stems have the phonetic shapes as discussed in 2.1.5.1.5, subsections [ii] and [iii].

    hijō 'green;' meuneuhijō 'rather green'

    itam 'black;' meuneuitam 'rather black'

-eun- is also replaced by neu- when the stem begins with [g] or [m].

    galak 'to like;' meuneugalak 'having a feeling to like (something)'

    gabuek 'busy;' meuneugabuek 'rather busy, to look busy'

    malèe 'shy;' meuneumalèe 'rather shy'

    mamèh 'sweet;' meuneumamèh 'rather sweet'

The following is an exception. Both -eun- or neu- is acceptable.

    mirah 'red;' mumeunirah or meuneumirah 'rather red'

121. Bajèe gopnyan meuneumirah.

Shirt he$_r$ rather-red

'*His shirt is a little bit red.*'

2.3.1.3 teu-

teu- is used to form adjectives from verbs. It is also
used with adjectives.

[i]. With Verbs. When used with verbs, teu- means 'can
be done.' Some of the adjectives derived with this prefix
are equivalent to the English adjectives ending in '-able.'
These adjectives are mostly used in negatives and questions.

let 'to pull out, to uproot;' h'an teulet 'cannot be
pulled out'

hah 'open mouth;' Ék teuhah? 'Can (that) be opened?'

tōp 'to shut, to cover;' h'an teutōp 'cannot be shut'

[ii]. With Adjectives. teu- is used with adjectives in
their reduplicated forms. Reduplication of adjectives has
either the function of 'weakening the meaning' or the
meaning of 'repeated action.' The meaning of teu- is 'in the
condition.'

beungèh 'angry;' teubeungèh-beungèh 'angry every once
in a while'

bungkōk 'hunchbacked;' teubungkōk-bungkōk 'rather

hunchbacked'

tahe 'amazed;' teutahe-tahe 'amazed and unaware of
one's surrounding'

122. Gopnyan teubungkōk-bungkōk bacut.

He_r   rather-hunchbacked a-little

'He is a little bit hunchbacked.'

2.4 Adverbs

We will be concerned with some frequently used adverbs.
They are adverbs of time, adverbs of place, adverbs of
reason, adverbs of purpose, adverbs of frequency, and
adverbs of manner.

2.4.1 Adverbs of time

These adverbs are words used to indicate points in
time, for example, bunoe 'just now,' beuklam 'last night,'
uroe jéh 'last time,' baroesa 'the day before yesterday,'
lusa 'the day after tomorrow, etc.

Some adverbs of time are PP's formed with preposition
bak 'at,' teungöh 'during, in the middle of,' dalam/lam/lang
'in,' etc.

bak malam nyan 'at that night'

lang buleuen Muharram 'during the month of
"Muharram"'

teungöh watée mugréb 'during the sunset (time for
"mugreb" praying)'

Two adverbs of time are formed from jan 'time'
(2.2.1.4) with the prefixes beurangka- 'any' (2.1.5.2) and
meu- 'known' (2.3.1.1).

beurangkajan 'any time, whenever'
meujan 'at a known time'

[i]. Future Time Adverbs. Adverbs for future time in
Acehnese are formed with the phrase u keue or di keue 'to/in
front (in the future).' The phrase u keue is usually used
when the subject plans to do something, whereas di keue for
an activity or event that will take place in a future time.

buleuen u/di keue 'next month'
jeumeu'at u/di keue 'next week'
uroe jeumeu'at u/di keue 'next Friday'
thōn u keue 'next year'

123. Buleuen di keue padé nyoe masak.
    Month   in front rice this ripe
    'This rice will be ripe next month.'

124. Bak lōn-agak, buleuen u keue lōn-beurangkat.
    In 1-plan   month to front 1-leave
    'I plan to leave next month.'

[ii]. <u>Past Time Adverbs</u>. To form adverbs of past time, Acehnese uses words for month, week, year, etc. followed by a relative clause or a phrase for past time, such as <u>nyang ka leupah</u> 'which already past,' <u>dilèe</u> 'past time,' etc.

<u>thōn nyang ka leupah</u> 'last year'

<u>jameun dilèe</u> 'long long ago'

<u>buleuen nyang ka u likōt</u> 'month which already at back (last month)'

<u>lhèe uroe nyang ka leupah</u> 'three days ago'

2.4.2 **Adverbs of Place**

Many adverbs of place are names of places and PP's, which indicate locations, directions, sources, etc.

[i]. <u>Locational Adverbs</u>. The prepositions which are used to form locational adverbs are <u>di</u> 'in, from,' <u>bak</u> 'in, at, to, from,' <u>dalam/lam/ lang</u> 'in, inside,' <u>ateueh</u> 'on, above,' <u>rap</u> 'near,' <u>toe</u> 'near,' and some other derived prepositions formed with <u>di</u>, such as <u>di yup</u> 'under, below,' <u>di geunirèng</u> 'beside,' etc.

<u>di rumoh</u> 'in the house, at home'

(<u>mantöng</u>) <u>bak sikula</u> '(still) at school'

<u>di yupmoh</u> (from <u>di yup rumoh</u>) 'under the house'

<u>lang krueng</u> 'in the river

a). *di becomes hi-*. di 'in, at' becomes hi- when used with three bound forms of demonstratives: -noe (from nyoe 'this'), -nan (from nyan 'that (near)'), and -déh (from jéh 'that (far)').

> hinoe 'in here'
>
> hinan 'in there (near)'
>
> hidéh 'in there (far)'

[ii]. Directional Adverbs. Directional adverbs are formed with the preposition u 'to,' and bak 'to, from.'

> u keudè 'to town'
>
> (jak) bak Rabu '(go) to a Wednesday (market place)'
>
> ji-woe bak sikula 'he comes back from school'

a). *bak vs. u*. In many cases, bak 'to' and u 'to' are interchangeable, but u, and not bak, must be used for names of places, towns, and countries, such as u Banda 'to Banda Aceh,' u Meusé 'to Egypt,' etc. 'To school' is always bak sikula. Another difference between bak and u is that u can be used for all directions, horizontally and vertically, whereas bak is only used for horizontal directions. u ateueh mèja 'to the top of the table' (*bak ateueh mèja); u yup keurusi 'to under the chair' (*bak yup keurusi); u còng tampòng 'to the top of the roof' (*bak còng tampòng); etc.

b). *u becomes keu*. Similar to the change of di 'in'

into <u>hi</u>- discussed in [i.a] above, <u>u</u> becomes <u>keu</u> when used
with the bound forms of demonstratives -<u>noe</u>, -<u>nan</u>, and -<u>déh</u>.

> <u>keunoe</u> 'to here'
>
> <u>keunan</u> 'to there (near)'
>
> <u>keudéh</u> 'to there (far)'

The following adverbs of place are derived from some
"<u>tu</u>-words" with the prefixes <u>beurangka</u>- 'any' (2.1.5.2) and
<u>meu</u>- 'known' (2.3.1.1).

> <u>beurangkapat</u> 'anywhere, wherever'
>
> <u>beurangkaho</u> '(to) anywhere, (to) wherever'
>
> <u>beurangkanè</u> 'from anywhere'
>
> <u>mupat</u> 'known location'
>
> <u>meuho</u> 'known direction/whereabout'
>
> <u>meunè</u> 'known origin'

2.4.3 Adverbs of Reason

The most common forms of these adverbs are clauses
preceded by <u>keureuna</u> or <u>sabab</u> 'because.'

> ... <u>keureuna sakét-jih</u> 'because he is ill'
>
> ... <u>sabab ujeuen</u> 'because it was raining'

125. Sakét-geuh keureuna le that geu-pajōh boh drien.

Ill-3$_r$ because many very 3$_r$-eat   fruit durian

'*He is ill because he ate too much durian.*'

2.4.4 Adverbs of Purpose

These adverbs are made up of <u>nak</u> 'in order to' or <u>mangat</u> 'in order to' and a clause, or the verb <u>neuk</u> 'want to' and its complement. The negative of <u>nak</u> is <u>bèk</u> or <u>nak</u> <u>bèk</u> 'in order not.'

> ... <u>nak bagah trōk-teuh</u> 'in order we can arrive soon'
>
> ... <u>nak rayek</u> 'in order it becomes big'
>
> ... <u>mangat rijang ta-woe</u> 'in order we can go home soon'
>
> ... <u>lōn-neuk duek siat</u> 'I want to sit for a moment'

126. Ka-bantu-jih nak   bagah lheueh.

2_y-help-3_y in-order quick finish

'*Please help him so that (the work) can be done soon.*'

127. Toh lōn-mat bèk   reubah.

Let 1-hold in-order-not fall

'*Let me hold (it) so that (it will) not fall.*'

2.4.5 Adverbs of Result

These adverbs are usually in the forms of clauses preceded by <u>ngōn</u> 'with, till' or <u>hingga</u> 'till.' Very often these clauses end with the particle <u>keudéh</u> 'RES'

(3.3.3.4.2). The clause following <u>ngön</u> is usually in the form of an adjective.

> <u>ngön gléh keudéh</u> 'till it is clean'
>
> <u>ji-klik ngön hèk-jih</u> 'he cried until he became tired'
>
> <u>hingga putéh keudéh</u> 'till it is white'

128. Lön-rhah ngön gléh keudéh.

1-wash   till clean RES

'I washed it till it was really clean.'

2.4.6 Adverbs of Frequency

The most frequently used adverbs of frequency are the following.

> <u>sabé</u> 'always'
>
> <u>kayém</u> or <u>rigap</u> 'often'
>
> <u>jareueng</u> 'rarely'
>
> <u>töm</u> 'ever (in negative and question)'
>
> <u>h'antöm</u> 'never' (from <u>h'an</u> 'NEG' and <u>töm</u> 'ever')

Other adverbs of frequency are formed with <u>tiep</u> or <u>jeuep</u> 'every' and <u>gö</u> 'time.'

> <u>tiep uroe</u> 'every day'
>
> <u>jeuep malam</u> 'every night'
>
> <u>siuroe sigö</u> 'one day one time (once a day)'
>
> <u>sibuleuen duwa gö</u> 'one month two times (twice a month)'

Some adverbs are used to indicate that an activity
continues for a period of time, or happens regularly once in
one such period, for example, throughout the year or once a
year, thoughout the month or once a month, etc. These
adverbs are formed by combining meu- with certain time
units, such as month, year, week, etc.

> meuthōn 'throughout the year, once a year'
>
> meujeuem 'throughout the hour, once in every hour'
>
> meujeumeu'at 'throughout the week, once a week'

> 129. Meuthōn lōn-prèh, nyoe barō trōk ka-woe.
>
> All-year 1-wait   this just arrive 2$_y$-come-home
>
> *'I have been waiting for years, now at last you*
>
> *have come home.'*

2.4.7 Adverbs of Manner

Most adverbs of manner are derived from adjectives,
some are in their original forms. As an example, meulèk
'slow' is an adjective in geulitan meulèk 'slow train,' but
an adverb in meulèk ji-jak 'walk/run slowly.' Other examples
of adverbs derived from adjectives are:

> raya (ji-meusu) 'big 3$_y$-speak (he spoke loudly)'
>
> teulat (trōk) 'late arrive (arrived late)'
>
> gōt (ji-peugōt) 'good 3-make (it was made well)'
>
> manyang (ji-ék) 'high 3-climb (it rises high)'

Unlike adjectives, adverbs of manner are often
reduplicated. Most of the time, the reduplication is
obligatory, especially when used after the verb. A sentence
can either be unacceptable or have a different meaning if
the adverb is not reduplicated.

> bacut-bacut ka-peuseuk 'move slowly/carefully'
>
> bacut ka-peuseuk 'move some of it'
>
> ka-böh jioh-jioh 'throw it away far from here'
>
> *ka-böh jioh '*throw distant away'
>
> ka-jak peuleuheuen-peuleuheuen 'go slowly'
>
> *ka-jak peuleuheuen
>
> ka-kheun rayek-rayek 'read it loudly'
>
> ka-kheun rayek 'say the word "rayek"'

Sometimes, it is possible to use the words without
reduplicating them, but the pronunciation of the last
syllable must be stressed and dragged a little. Usually the
word keudéh 'EMP' is also used. Hyphens (--) are used in the
following examples to indicate the lengthening of the
syllables.

> lön-böh jio--h keudéh 'I threw it far away'
>
> ji-jak meulè--k keudéh 'he walk very slowly'

bagah 'quick' can be used in either form, reduplicated
or not.

> jak bagah/bagah-bagah 'walk quickly'

Some adverbs of manner are phrases consisting of ngön
'in a manner, with' or beu 'in a manner, DES' and
adjectives. The phrases with beu are usually used in
imperatives.

> ji-duek ngön göt keudeh 'he is sitting in a proper
> manner'
>
> lön-mat ngön köng keudeh 'I held it tight'
>
> duek beu göt 'sit well (correctly)'
>
> döng beu cöt 'stand upright'

Some adverbs of manner are formed with meu- 'like' and
the three bound forms of demonstratives given in (2.4.2,
i,a).

> meunoe 'like this'
>
> meunan 'like that'
>
> meudeh 'like that'

130. 'Oh lön-peugah meunoe, bèk ka-peugah meudeh.
    When 1-say   like-this don't 2$_y$-say   like-that
    'When I say like this, don't say like that. (Don't
    argue too much.)'

The following adverbs are from the "tu-words", kri
'manner,' ban 'manner,' and 'oh 'manner,' formed with
beurangka- 'any' and meu- 'known.'

> beurangkakri 'in any manner'
>
> beurangkaban 'in any manner' (also: 'in any shape')

beurangka'oh 'in any manner'

meukri 'in a proper manner'

muban 'in a proper manner'

meu'oh 'in a proper manner'

kri and 'oh are also used to form negative adverbial
phrases in the form of: hana/h'an meu-... sa-... Each word
is used in both places marked by dots.

hana meukri sakri 'not in a proper manner'

hana meu'oh sa'oh 'not in a proper manner'

Some adverbs are used to indicate in what manner things
are bought or sold. These adverbs are formed with meu- 'in a
manner' and words denoting certain units or numerals. This
adverb is equivalent to the English phrase by the + unit.

lōn-publoe meuraga 'I sell it by the basket'

lōn-bloe meukilo 'I bought it by the kilo'

lōn-publoe meureutōh 'I sell it by the hundred'

Some adverbs of manner are derived from onomatopoetic
words and other expressives. As adverbs, these word are
usually in the reduplicated forms.

soe jak tèh-toh 'who is walking with the sound "teh-
toh"'

lōn-jak hudah-huduh 'I walked in a hurry'

ji-pubuet cula-caloe 'he worked hard with a lot of
movement'

Some adverbs from these words are derived with <u>meu</u>- 'in a manner.' The stems are reduplicated.

<u>ji-khém meuhah-hah</u> 'he laughed with the sound "hah-hah"'

<u>lōn-plueng meucru-cru</u> 'I ran very rapidly'

<u>meu</u>- is also used in combination with the prefix <u>ceu</u>- and sometimes in combination with -<u>eur</u>- (2.2.1.7).

<u>reubah-jih meugeureub'um</u> 'he fell with the sound "geureub'um"'

<u>hana meukeureutek ji-jak</u> 'he walked without the slightest sound as "keureutek"'

<u>lōn-tiek meuleub'ak</u> 'I dropped it with the sound "leub'ak"'

<u>meu</u>- is not used when the word is placed before the verb. In this position, the word is not reduplicated. These adverbs are pronounced with a stress on the last syllable followed by a low pitch throughout the rest of the predicate. The stressed words are marked below with the symbol (^). The sound or the imitation indicates the suddenness of the action.

<u>krie^ ji-klik</u> 'he suddenly cried with the sound "krie"'

<u>t'am^ lōn-tampa-jih</u> 'I slapped him (without giving any warning) with the sound "t'am"'

geureub'um^ reubah-jih 'he suddenly fell with the

sound "geureub'um"'

2.5 Summary

This chapter has treated four parts of speech: nouns,
verbs, adjectives and adverbs, with the focus on their
derivations. The affixes used to derive nouns are the infix
-eun-, the prefixes beurangka- and sa-. Verbs can be derived
with six prefixes and an infix. The prefixes are meu-, peu-,
teu-, tu-, gi-, and ceu-, and the infix is -eum-. In
addition to this, pronominal prefixes are also used to form
verbs. Three forms of affixes are used to derive adjectives:
meu-, teu-, and meu-...-eun-

Some of the points discussed here are very important
for later discussions in other chapters. The discussion on
pronouns and their bound forms is important for the
understanding of how agreement works in Acehnese and the
idea of subject or agent cliticization. These both are
discussed in Chapter 4. The subsection on the constraints on
pronoun ordering is closely related to the discussion given
in 3.4 of Chapter 3. Titles, measure nouns, classifiers and
measure phrases are very common elements found in Acehnese
sentences; they are parts of noun phrases discussed in
Chapter 3. Therefore, special subsections have been devoted
to treating them in this chapter.

For the discussion on the agreement system, which is

given in Chapter 4, the separation of verbs from adjectives
is important. Based on how verbs agree with their subjects,
they are divided into two main groups, which I later call
verbs of "Class 1" and verbs of "Class 2." The derived verbs
that have been discussed in this chapter are also divided
into these two classes; the majority belong to Class 1. This
is discussed in Chapter 4.

The separation of adjectives from verbs is also
important for the discussion on the derivation of adverbs of
manner, which has been treated in this chapter. A separate
category adjective is also useful for the discussion on
relative clauses in Chapter 6, especially the discussion on
stacked relative clauses in 6.1.7.

The so-called "tu-words" given in 2.2.1.4 are used in
forming verbs and adverbs, which have been discussed here.
"tu-words" are used in the discussions on some forms of
complements treated in 5.2.1.3 of Chapter 5 and some forms
of head NP's treated in 6.1.3.1 of Chapter 6. They are also
used in forming question words with the prefix pa-, a bound
variant of the question word peue or pue 'what,' for
example, padum 'how many/much,' pajan 'when', etc. Although
no discussion on this formation is given here (it can be
found in Asyik (1972) and in Durie (1985)), many questions
words formed from these words are used in the data.

The discussion on seven types of adverbs in this
chapters has its importance for Subsection 3.3.3.4.1 of
Chapter 3 on the positions of adverbs in sentences.

SENTENCES

3.1 Word Order

There is no agreement among writers concerning the word order of Acehnese sentences. One claim is that word order in Acehnese is SVO, as in Lawler (1975 and 1977) and Asyik (1982), although none of these papers deal with Acehnese typology. A serious discussion on Acehnese typology was first given in Durie (1982) where it was argued that word order in Acehnese was VO lé-A (A for "agent") for transitive verbs and VS for intransitive verbs. A very comprehensive treatment on the subject can be found in Durie (1985). However, no basic word order is proposed. This is because word order in Acehnese is considered free in the sense that it does not encode grammatical relations. But there is a statement which actually defines the basic word order. It says that the pre-verb position (Core Topic position in Durie's account) in Acehnese sentences is a position used to foreground participants whose identity is already known.(See Durie (1985:191).) Thus, the basic word order must look like this:

_____ - <u>VERB</u> - (<u>ARGUMENT</u>) - (<u>ARGUMENT</u>)

where the blank is the Core Topic position to which an argument can be topicalized. This is in line with the position given in Durie (1982).

It is always difficult to avoid a controversy in determining Acehnese word order because constituents in Acehnese sentences can be moved rather easily. However, I think there are several reasons in favor of SVO word order. First, from an intonation point of view, sentences with SVO word order seem to be basic. In this type of sentence, intonation moves smoothly from one level to another, whereas in sentences that begin with verbs, the intonation is more like the intonation of sentences with topicalization. This is also reported in Durie (1985: 197). Durie noted that in sentences with no Core Topic (Durie's term), the predicate phrase often bears an intonation peak, but after such a predicate phrase there is a much sharper drop in intonation than after a Core Topic. This is shown by two sentences together with the intonation from Durie, copied here as (1) and (2) and glossed in the method used here.

1. Ka   geu-woé   gopnyan. (8-88)
   PERF 3_r-go-home he_r
   'He has gone home.'

2. Carong that gopnyan. (8-90)
   Clever very he_r
   'He is very clever.'

Compare also the intonation of the following sentences.
(3) has a subject-predicate word order, whereas (4) a
predicate-subject word order.

3. Gopnyan ka   lheueh geu-jép kupi.
   He/she_r PERF finish 3_r-drink coffee
   'He/she has drunk some coffee.'

4. Ka   lheueh geu-jép kupi   gopnyan.
   PERF finish 3_r-drink coffee heshe_r
   'He/she has drunk some coffee.'

Halim's (1969) study of Indonesian intonation shows
similar change of intonation when the word order is changed.
His study is supported by instrumental evidence. He
distinguishes three pitch levels: 1 for low, 2 for mid or
neutral, and 3 for high. In addition, he uses subscripts:
$[_r]$, which means rising, and $[_f]$ for falling, and symbols
[/] for non-final pause, and [#] for final pause. These
figures and symbols are used to marked intonation. He notes
the change of intonation from $233_r/231_f$ into $232_f/211$ when
"retraction" applies to a sentence. (Retraction is defined
as a process by means of which a segment of the sentence is
brought away from the focus.) This is shown by the
following two examples from his dissertation (p. 137),
copied here as (5) and (6). (6) is the outcome of retraction
applied to (5).

5. Orang itu guru   saya. (122)
   2-   33$_r$/ 2-   3 1 ǂ

   Person that teacher I

   'That person is my teacher.'

6. Guru   saya orang itu. (123)
   2-.   3 2$_f$/2- 11   ǂ

   Teacher I   person that

   'It is my teacher, that is what that person is.'

Note that the primary data used in Halim's study were
the language as spoken by the author and his family, that
is, the Indonesian as spoken in Palembang. The mingographic
graphs in his dissertation show that words in his dialect
are stressed on the penultimate. That is the reason that the
word <u>saya</u> in (5) has a high pitch on the syllable <u>sa-</u>,
instead of on the last syllable -<u>ya</u>, as in some other
dialects, such as the Indonesian spoken in Aceh or
Minangkabau. This high-low pattern remains the same when the
word order is inverted. Because of this high-low pattern of
word stress, the drop of intonation from predicate phrase to
the subject phrase is not so sharp in Halim's dialect. If
the data had been taken from a speaker whose mother tongue
is Acehnese, the intonation pattern would have been
different. It is very likely that instead of 232$_f$/211, the
pattern is 223/111, which conforms with Durie's description.
    Secondly, if we compare the order VO lé-A and the order
that begins with the A ("agent"), that is AVO, the latter

seems to be the basic order for the reason that the A in AVO does not need an "agent marker," whereas in the VO lé-A word order the agent marker lé is needed to mark the NP as an agent.

There is a study which I think very relevant to the question of Acehnese word order. It is a study by Diffloth (1974) on Semai, a Mon-Khmer language of Malaya. It is relevant to compare Acehnese with a Mon-Khmer language because it has been shown that there is a close relation between Acehnese and Mon-Khmer languages.[1] Cowan (1948) has shown similarities in syntax, morphology and pohonology between Acehnese and Mon-Khmer languages. The data in Diffloth show a very close similarity between Acehnese and Semai, both in word order and in the use of pronominal clitics on verbs. In both languages the verbs always agree with the 'deep' subject, whatever the order is. (See the OVS word order in the examples.)

In Diffloth's account, SVO is considered the basic word order in Semai for transitive constructions. When the order is changed into VSO or OVS, la- is added before the S or the Agent to mark the agentivity. (See the examples.) If we compare this with Acehnese, we will see that this is also the case in Acehnese. Corresponding to the Semai la is lé in Acehnese. Just as in Semai, the SVO order does not require the use of lé. But in the VSO and OVS orders, lé is needed before the S or the Agent. As a result, we have such word

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[1]See Blagden (1929), Collins (1969), Cowan (1948 and 1974), and Shorto (1975).

orders as OV lé-S (or OV lé-A) and VO lé-S (or VO lé-A), in
addition to the SVO word order. Compare the structures of
the two languages through the data in (7) below. For easy
comparison, the Acehnese data are placed under the Semai
data, which are taken from Diffloth.

7. SVO: <u>Semai</u> : ?en ?n-ca.? tley ?ajeh

                I 1-eat   banana that

                'I ate that banana.'

<u>Acehnese</u>: lōn lōn-pajōh pisang nyan

                I 1-eat   banana that

                'I ate that banana.'

VSO: <u>Semai</u> : ?n-ca.? la-?en tley ?ajeh

                1-eat   by-me banana that

                'That banana was eaten by me.'

<u>Acehnese</u>: lōn-pajōh lé lōn pisang nyan

                1-eat   by me banana that

                'That banana was eaten by me.'

OVS: <u>Semai</u> : tley ?ajeh ?n-ca.? la-?en

                banana that 1-eat   by-me

                'That banana was eaten by me.'

<u>Acehnese</u>: pisang nyan lōn-pajōh lé lōn

                banana that 1-eat   by me

                'That banana was eaten by me.'

3.2 Intonation

Intonation varies a great deal, depending on the mood
of the speaker, contexts, shift of emphasis, etc. A
declarative sentence, which usually have a falling
intonation, may instead have a rising intonation when the
speaker is angry, for instance. When a word in a sentence is
stressed, the voice tends to be high on that word, which may
change the contour of intonation. A yes/no question, which
usually has a rising intonation, may be uttered with a
falling intonation, for example, when the question is
addressed to younger persons or children, or when the
speaker is not in the mood of speaking or speaking softly.
Therefore, it is not possible to discuss all these
variations because they are unlimited in number. What we are
concerned with here are the basic intonation patterns of
some sentence structures. What we mean by "basic intonation
pattern" here is the intonation pattern most commonly found
in a certain type of sentence structure.

We can distinguish four important types of intonation
in Acehnese: intonation of sentences with the order subject-
predicate, intonation of sentences that begin with a
predicate, intonation of sentences involving topicalization,
yes/no question intonation, and intonation of questions with
question words. Intonation of subjectless sentences belongs
to the first type of intonation, unless they are yes/no
questions.

3.2.1 <u>Intonation in "Subject-Predicate" Sentences</u>

Intonation of the first type is found in declarative sentences of the form subject-predicate. The voice begins from low and rises to the high peak on the last syllable of the subject phrase and descends gradually to low at the end of the sentence. The high peak on the subject will be referred to as the "primary peak" and the peak or voice level more or less between this peak and the low level will be referred to as the "secondary peak or level".

8. Ureueng nyan ka   geu-woe.
   Person that PERF 3_r-go-home
   'That person has gone home.'

9. Aneuk nyan ji-pajōh kacang.
   Child that 3_y-eat   peanut
   'That child is eating peanuts.'

10. Keudè nyoe hana geu-buka uroe nyoe.
    Shop this NEG 3_r-open day this
    'This shop is not open today.'

If the subject consists of a long phrase, the initial low level voice moves rather levelly from the beginning of the sentence till the point where it begins to rise to the high peak on the last syllable of the subject phrase.

11. Aneuk-miet nyang sakét brat   bargésà   ka puléh.

Child-small that   ill heavy the-other-day PERF well

'*The child who was very ill the other day is well now.*'

Although the end part of the intonation is drawn here
with a straight (decending) line, in actual speech we often
hear that the line is not a smooth one. This is because
there is usually a stress in the predicate phrase, either at
the end or somewhere in the middle, depending on the kinds
of words used. In rapid speech, this stress can be very
weak. Sometimes the stress is not used, for example, when
the speaker is not in the mood of speaking, when speaking
softly, etc. The place of the stress (when it is used) can
be defined as follows.

[i]. The stress is on the last syllable of the
predicate phrase if this predicate phrase (1) ends with a
VP, an adjective, an NP, a PP (either as a predicate, or a
PP immediatly preceded by a verb), or (2) is an aspect word
(or modal), or an adverb. The stress will be marked here
with the symbol (^) after the syllable that receives the
stress, not on the intonation contour.

a). A verb or an adjective. A verb or an adjective can
either be a predicate or a relative clause.

12. Jih ka   ji-jak^. (Pred.)

Hey PERF 3y-go

'He has gone.'

13. Gopnyan ureueng (nyang) peurintah^. (Rel. Clause)

He/sher person   who   order

'He/she is the person who orders (us). He/she is

the person who gives the orders.'

14. Ureueng nyan raya panyang^. (Pred.)

Person that big tall

'That man is big and tall.'

15. Kah aneuk geusuen^. (Rel. Clause)

Youy child coward

'You are a coward child.'

b). An NP. An NP can either be a predicate NP or an object

NP.

16. Teungku wa-jih   keurani^. (Pred.NP)

Title   great-uncle-3y clerk

'His great uncle is a clerk.'

17. Cutda teungoh geu-croh eungkot^. (Obj.NP)

Sister PROG   3r-fry   fish

'Sister is frying fish.'

c). A PP: a predicate or a PP immediately following a verb,
such as an adverb (except adverb of time), a dative phrase,
an agentive phrase, etc.

18. Sikin droeneuh bak dapu^. (Pred.)
    Knife you$_r$ in kitchen
    'Your knife is in the kitchen.'

19. Jih ka   ji-jak bak sikula^. (Adv.)
    He$_y$ PERF 3$_y$-go to school
    'He has gone to school.'

20. Nyoe neu-jok keu gopnyan^. (Dat.)
    This 2$_r$-give to he$_r$
    'Please give this to him.'

21. Jeuem pyoe geu-bloe lé ayah^. (Agent)
    Watch this 3$_r$-buy   by father
    'This watch was bought by father.'

22. Ayah ka   geu-jak u kanto^. (Adv.of Place)
    Father PERF 3$_r$-go to office
    'Father has gone to the office.'

23. Lon lon-duek hinoe^. (Adv.of Place)
    I   1-sit   here
    'I am sitting here.'

If the word preceding a PP is a direct object and the PP is an adverb of place, the stress can either be on the object or on the PP. The stress is on the PP if the the PP functions as a modifier of the object, or if the place is important.

24. Kamoë-meu-jép   kupi^ bak keudè.
    We_exc 1p_exc-drink coffee in town
    'We will drink some <u>coffee</u> in town.'

25. Kamoë-meu-jép   kupi   bak keudè^.
    We_exc 1p_exc-drink coffee in town
    'We will drink some coffee <u>in town</u>.'

26. Ka   lòn-bòh   ie lang glah^. (PP as Modifier)
    PERF 1-throw-away water in glass
    'I have thrown away the water in the glass.'

d). Aspect word.

27. Di gopñyàn ka^.
    SFC he_r   PERF
    'He has (finished/got/done/seen/etc. it).'

e). An adverb.

28. Ureueng nyan kayém^.
    Person   that often
    'That person often (come here/help me/etc.).'

29. Nyan mantöng^.

That still

'That (thing) is till (here)/still (exist).'

[ii]. The stress is in the middle of the predicate phrase if some other constituents are added to the sentences discussed in [i] above. This includes adding a suffix to the last word of the predicate phrase. (d) and (e) are exceptions if the added constituents are the omitted predicate nuclei, such as verbs, adjectives, or PP's.

30. Gopnyan hana geu-jak^ baroe.

He_r NEG 3_r-come yesterday

'He did not come yesterday.'

31. Gopnyan geu-jak keunoe^ yōh golom neu-woe droeneuh.

He_r 3_r-go to here when not yet 2_r-return you_r

'He had come here before you came home.'

32. Aneuk nyan ji-poh adoe^-jih.

Child that 3_y-beat little sister-3_y

'The boy beat his little sister.'

When a sentence contains a degree word, such as <u>that</u> 'very,' an adverb of manner, or an adverb of frequency, the stress is placed on this word or adverb.

33. Goppyan sabe^ geu-jak.

    He$_r$ always 3$_r$-go.

    'He goes all the times.'

34. Aneuk nyan teuga that^ ji-plueng.

    Child that strong very 3$_y$-run

    'That boy runs very fast.'

3.2.2 Intonation in Subjectless Sentences

Intonation in subjectless sentences is usually the same
as the intonation that have been discussed above, except
that the part of intonation on the subject is missing. Words
that are ordinarily stressed in complete sentences are also
stressed here.

35. Ka   geu-jak^.

    PERF 3$_r$-go

    'He has gone.'

36. Teungoh geu-pajoh bu^ di dalam.

    PROG   3$_r$-eat   rice in inside

    'He is eating rice inside.'

37. Sabe^ ji-peugah haba.

    Always 3$_y$-tell story

    'They are always talking.'

3.2.3 <u>Intonation in "Predicate-Subject" Sentences</u>

There is a drastic change of intonation when word order
is changed into predicate-subject, but this change is quite
regular and predictable once we know the place of the stress
in a sentence in its subject-predicate order. This stress
position is important because the voice rises here when the
sentence is in the predicate-subject order. It rises to a
level a little lower than the primary peak and drops sharply
to low on the subject and continues at that level throughout
before it falls off at the end of the sentence.

Examples:

38. Ka   geu-jak gopnyan.
    PERF 3$_r$-go   he$_r$
    '*He has gone.*'

39. Golom   geu-pajoh bu ureueng nyan.
    Not yet 3$_r$-eat   rice person that
    '*That person has not eaten rice yet.*'

If the stress is not at the end of the sentence in a
sentence having subject-predicate word order, the voice at
this position is raised to the level of primary peak and
from here it falls to a level a little higher than secondary
level before it falls sharply to low on the subject.

40. Palak-geuh ureueng nyan.

    Frustrated-3$_r$ person that

    'The man is frustrated.'

41. Geu-bloe eungkōt surē tiep uroe ureueng nyan.

    3$_r$-buy   fish   tuna every day person   that

    'The person bought tuna fish every day.'

3.2.4 Topicalization Intonation

A topicalization intonation is characterized by a rise
to the primary level followed by a sharp drop, very similar
to a topicalization in English. In Acehnese, a
topicalization intonation is needed when an object or some
other constituent of VP is fronted before the subject.

42. Batee di manok nyan ji-pajōh.

    Stone SFC hen that   3-eat

    'It is a stone that the hen is eating.'

The same intonation is used when a fronted predicate
phrase contains a fronted constituent.

43. Di keude geu-duek ureueng nyan.

    In town 3$_r$-live person   that

    'That person live in town.'

Every time fronting occurs within the predicate phrase, the same type of rise and sharp drop of intonation, from the fronted material to the constituent behind it, occurs although the word order of the sentence is subject-predicate. However, the intonation peak on the fronted material is a little bit lower than that on the subject.

44. Di gopŋyan boh mamplam geu-pajōh.
    SFC he$_r$ fruit mango 3$_r$-eat
    It is a mango that he is eating.

There is an exception to this rule. Most time adverbs can move freely from the end of the sentence to the beginning without causing any change in intonation.

45. Baroe aneuk ŋyan ji-klik siuroe seupōt.
    Yesterday child that 3$_y$-cry one-day afternoon
    Yesterday the child cried all day long.

3.2.5 Intonation in Yes/No Questions

Yes/no question intonation begins in the same way as the intonation in declarative sentences but ends with a rising voice. Another difference is that when the voice rises at the stress position, it rises to the height of primary peak and continues at that height until it rises again at the end of the sentence.

46. Gopnyan hana geu-jak?

    He$_r$ NEG 3_r-go

    'Didn't he go?'

47. Di kah ka lheueh ka-jep kupi bunoe beungoh?

    SFC you$_y$ PERF finish 2_y-drink coffee this morning

    'Have you drunk coffee this morning?'

48. Na neu-jak bak keude euntreuk seupot?

    AUX 2_r-go   to town later   afternoon

    'Are you going to town this afternoon?'

Sometimes pue or peue 'what' is used at the beginning of a yes/no question. In this position this word does not function as a question word. This word is used here to alert the hearer that the speaker is going to ask a question. In terms of the intonation of the sentence, this word stands quite separately from the rest of the sentence.

49. Peue, awak nyoe ka lheueh ji-pajoh bu?

    What people this PERF finish 3_y eat rice

    'Have all these people eaten rice?'

50. Peue, ji-meu'en rayang aneuk-miet nyan?

    What 3_y-play kite child   that?

    'Are those children playing kites?'

3.2.6 <u>Intonation in Questions with Question Words</u>

Questions with question words have falling intonation.
Question words or phrases bear the primary peak, which
usually begins at the peak level and drops to the secondary
peak level at the end of the question words or question
phrases and stays at that level throughout the first word or
phrase and then drops to the low level until the end of the
question.

51. Soe buka geureupōh manok bunoe beungōh?
    Who open henhouse hen just now morning
    'Who opened the henhouse this morning?'

52. Pat neu-bloe bubōk kupi nyoe?
    Where 2$_r$-buy powder coffee this
    'Where did you buy this coffee powder?'

53. Padit uroe jamee nyan geu-dōm hinoe?
    How many day guest that 3$_r$-stay-the-night here
    'How many days is the guest going to stay here?'

54. 'Etnha jiōh Bulōh Blang Ara ngōn Lhōkseumawe?
    How far distant Buloh Blang Ara from Lhokseumawe
    'How far is Buloh Blang Ara from Lhokseumawe?'

3.3 Basic Sentence Structure

In this section we will be concerned with the basic
structure of Acehnese sentences and the structures of the
two major sentence constituents, verb phrase and noun
phrase.

Despite the fact that a sentence in Acehnese can begin
with either the subject or the predicate, and it can even
consist of only a predicate or a subject, we will assume
that it has a basic structure. This is not unusual because
this kind of assumption is also made by linguists dealing
with Indonesian, a language which also allows several types
of word orders in a sentence. It may be useful to give here
a comparison between Indonesian and Acehnese sentences in
various word orders. Readers with some Indonesian background
will benefit from this comparison in understanding the
nature of Acehnese structures. It should be noted that
Indonesian is considered as an SV language.[2] The following
variations of word order are common in both languages.

[i]. Subject-predicate:

    Indonesian: Dia pergi ke pasar.

                He   go   to town
                'He is going to town.'

---

[2]See Kaswanti Purwo (1985).

Acehnese: Jih ji-jak u keudè.

He 3-go   to town

'He is going to town.'

[ii]. Predicate-subject:

Indonesian: Belum   berangkat ayah.

Not yet leave   father

'Father has not left yet.'

Acehnese: Golom   geu-beurangkat ayah.

Not yet 3_r-leave   father

'Father has not left yet.'

[iii]. Subject follows object in predicate-subject order:

Indonesian: Belum makan nasi anak itu.

Not yet eat rice child that

'That child has not eaten rice yet.'

Acehnese: Golom ji-pajōh bu aneuk nyan.

Not yet 3-eat rice child that

'That child has not eaten rice yet.'

[iv]. Object between subject and verb:

Indonesian: Kami pekerjaan ini dulu kami selesaikan.

We   work(n.)   this first we finish

'We are going to finish this work first.'

Acehnese: Kamoe buet   nyoe dilèe kamoe peulheueh.

             We   work(n.) this first we   finish

             'We are going to finish this work first.'

[v]. Subject between verb and agent in passive:

Indonesian: Sudah diambil sepotong ikan-mu oleh kucing.

             PERF 3-take one piece fish-2 by cat

             'The cat has taken a piece of your fish.'

Acehnese: Ka   ji-cok sikrèk eungkōt-kah lé mie.

             PERF 3-take one piece fish-2$_y$ by cat

             'The cat has taken a piece of your fish.'

Taking the SVO word order that was established in 3.1 as the basis, we assume that the basic structure of Acehnese sentences consists of two major constituents: subject and predicate.

3.3.1 **Subject**.

In reality, not all sentences in Acehnese have subjects. Most sentences in long conversations and stories are without subjects. In such conversations and stories, the subject is omitted after it is introduced at the beginning. If another subject taking the same pronominal clitics (which are used on the verb or adjective) intervenes, it is reintroduced again. If for some reasons it should be preceded by the "subject focus" <u>di</u>, for example for focus or

because the sentence should begin with predicate or object NP, the subject must appear again in full form. Subject omission following its introduction in stories and long conversations is governed by strict rules, either contextual or syntactic; it is obligatory. This is discussed in Chapter 4.

However, the subject is necessary if the omission of it makes the sentence unclear. For this reason, the subject of a nominal sentence with an NP predicate is not omitted, unless one is responding to a question in which the subject is mentioned. A third person subject is not omitted if the context is not clear. These types of sentences are frequently found in conversations consisting of two or three sentences.

Subjects in Acehnese sentences can be placed at the beginning or at the end of the sentence, that is, when the speaker wants to highlight the predicate. In sentences in which the predicate is an intransitive verb, an adjective, a PP, or an adverb, it is not difficult to find the subject; the subject is the NP before or after this predicate. But in sentences with transitive predicates, which may contain more than one NP, or when the predicate is also an NP, it is not always easy to tell which NP is the subject. In the case of sentences with transitive predicates, in some cases, the subject is the NP that the verb or adjective agrees with, provided that the NP is not preceded by the preposition le 'by.'

55. Ureueng nyan geu-tulōng si   Din.

    Person that 3_r-help   title Din

    'That person is helping Din.'

56. Si   Din ji-tulōng ureueng nyan.

    Title Din 3_y-help person that

    'Din is helping that person.'

57. Geu-tulōng si   Din ureueng nyan.

    3_r-help   title Din person that

    'That person is helping Din.'

58. Ureueng nyan si   Din ji-tulōng.

    Person that title Din 3_y-help

    'It is that person that Din is helping.'

geu- '3_r' is a pronominal clitic of gopnyan 'he/she$_r$'
or an NP equivalent in status with this pronoun, such as
ureueng nyan 'that person' in (55). ji- '3_y' is a pronominal
clitic of jih 'he/she$_y$' or an NP equivalent in status with
jih, such as si Din 'Din.' In (55) and (57), the verb is
used with geu-, which make it agree with ureueng nyan. This
indicates that ureueng nyan is the subject of the sentence.
In (56) and (58), the subject is si Din because in each of
these sentences the verb is used with ji- '3_y,' which is the
proclitic of jih or an NP like si Din.

Agreement clitics on the verb are useful signs for
determining the subject when the two NP's have different
pronominal clitics, as in (55) through (58). But in a

sentence where two such NP's have the same pronominal clitics, this method of determining the subject does not always work. A sentence such as (59) in the written form is always ambiguous, unless the context is clear. The immediate interpretation is that the NP before the verb (ureueng nyan 'that person') is the subject and the NP following the verb (apacut 'uncle') the object. But it is also possible that apacut is the subject and ureueng nyan the object when pronounced with a different intonation, as will be described later. Unlike in sentences (55) through (59) above, the proclitic on the verb here is not useful in determining which of the two NP's is the subject because both NP's take the same form of proclitic.

59. Ureueng nyan geu-kalön apacut.
    Person that 3_r-see   uncle-small

There is another way how one can mark the subject in Acehnese, especially when the subject is not the NP before the verb. In such a case, the subject is usually marked with the word di, glossed here as 'SFC' ("subject focus"). di is also used before the pre-verb subject. (di is discussed in 3.4.) When this word is used, the subject is clear, that is, the NP preceded by this word.

60. Di ureueng nyan geu-kalön apacut.
    SFC person that 3_r-see   uncle-small
    That person is looking at small uncle.

61. Ureueng nyan geu-kalön di apacut.

Person that 3$_r$-see   SFC uncle-small

'*It is that person that small uncle is looking at.*'

di is almost always used when word order makes the
subject ambiguous, that is, when the subject is not in pre-
verbal position. In speaking, not only *di*, but also
intonation is used to indicate the subject. As a matter of
fact, *di* may sometimes not be used; the subject is only
indicated by intonation. When the intonation is as in (62),
the subject is the first NP. This is also the intonation of
(60). When the intonation is as that in (63), the subject is
the second NP. (61) and (63) have the same intonation.

62. Ureueng nyan geu-kalön apacut.

Person that 3$_r$-see   uncle-small

'*That person is looking at small uncle.*'

63. Ureueng nyan geu-kalön apacut.

Person that 3$_r$-see   uncle-small

'*It is that person that small uncle is looking at.*'

Back to agreement clitics, there is also another
problem that we may face in finding the subject through
these clitics. Sometimes, agreement clitics are replaced by
the full forms of NP's. The problems arise when the full
forms that replace the proclitics are the agents of passive
sentences, which is more often than the replacement in

active sentences by subject NP's. (See 4.4.) The replacement of proclitics by agents, or "agent cliticization," is shown by the following example. In (b), <u>ureueng nyan</u> 'that person,' which is the agent from the <u>lé</u>-phrase, is used to replace <u>geu-</u> '3$_r$.' (To indicate this, the symbol (=) is used in this data). Sentence (c) is the same as sentence (b), except that it begins with the predicate.

64. a) Kayèe nyoe <u>geu</u>-koh lé ureueng nyan.

   Tree this 3$_r$-cut by person that

   'This tree was cut by that person.'

   b) Kayèe nyoe <u>ureueng=nyan</u>=koh.

   Tree this person-that-cut

   'This tree was cut by that person.'

   c) <u>Ureueng=nyan</u>=koh kayèe nyoe.

   Person-that-cut tree this

   'This tree was cut by that person.'

In actual writing or in texts, a sentence such as (c) is written without the symbol (=), as in (65).

65. Gopnyan cop bajèe nyoe.

   He/she$_r$ sew shirt this

In the written form, this sentence is rather ambiguous. It can either mean 'This shirt was made (sewn) by him/her,' in which case the subject is <u>bajèe nyoe</u>, or 'It is him/her who made (sewed) this shirt,' which makes the NP <u>gopnyan</u> the

head NP of a focus sentence and the subject of the verb cop
'to sew.' The ambiguity is due to the absence of a proclitic
on the verb.

In speaking, however, this sentence is clear because of
the intonation. If the intonation is as in (66), the subject
is gopnyan, but if the intonation is as in (67), the subject
is bajèe nyoe, and gopnyan is the agent cliticized to the
verb, similar to (64c). (67) is a construction equivalent to
the English focus sentences. Usually nyang 'who' is used,
but this can be omitted in Acehnese focus sentences. As a
result, it appears in the same form as a sentence involving
agent cliticization.

66. Gopnyan cop bajèe nyoe.
    He/she$_r$ sew shirt this
    'It is he/she who sewed this shirt.'

67. Gopnyan cop bajèe nyoe.
    He/she$_r$ sew shirt this
    'This shirt was sewn by him/her.'

All these examples show that we may sometimes have
problems if subjects are defined in terms of word order or
agreement clitics. As for di, this word is important to mark
the subject NP in a position not defined by the following
definition, that is, the NP1 position in a structure of the
form V-NP1-NP2. But since di is not always used in other
positions, it is not a dependable element to be used in the

definitions of subjects. Due to these facts, _di_, agreement

clitics, as well as word order considerations are not

incorporated into the definitions of subjects that are given

here. However, it should be noted that agreement clitics and

_di_ are very important elements, and maybe the only elements

other than semantic considerations, that can be used in

finding subjects in written texts. The definitions that are

given here are formulated in terms of intonation. Intonation

seems to be the only consistent element that can determine

subjects in all types of word order.

68. Definitions of Subject:

[i] In all sentences beginning with an NP, the subject

is the initial NP if the basic intonation pattern

of these sentences is as described in 3.2.1, that

is, the primary intonation peak rises on the last

syllable of the first NP.

[ii] In all sentences that end with an NP or two NP's

in succession (which may be followed by some other

elements), the subject is the last NP if the basic

intonation pattern of these sentences is as

described in 3.2.3, that is, the intonation rises

on the verb or the NP before the last NP and falls

sharply to low on the last NP.

[iii] In sentences of the form NP-NP-VP, the subject is

the first NP if the basic intonation pattern is the

one as in sentence (44) of 3.2.4, and the second NP
if the basic intonation pattern is the one as in
sentence (42) of 3.2.4.

This definition can be restated as follows.

[a] The first NP is the subject if the intonation rises
to the primary peak on the last syllable of the
first NP followed by a sharp drop to low and rises
again on the last syllable of the second NP,
slightly lower than the primary peak, and from here
it drops again sharply to low.

[b] The second NP is the subject if the sentence has a
topicalization intonation. This intonation is
marked by a sharp drop from the primary on the last
syllable of the first NP to low on the second NP
and continues at that height to the end of the
sentence.

Explanation: Each part of these definitions will be
clarified through the following examples.

[i]. The intonation pattern described in [i] can be
drawn as follows.

69. [NP] - [X]

(X is either a VP, NP, PP, Adverb, or Aspect word.)

In all sentences below, the initial NP is the subject.

70. Gopnyan carong that.

He/she$_r$ clever very

'He is very clever.'

71. Aneuk-miet nyoe golom ji-turi macut.

Child-small this not yet 3$_y$-recognize aunt

'These children do not recognize aunt yet.'

72. Kah hana soe sangka ek panyang-keuh lagee nyoe.

You$_y$ NEG who think will tall-2$_y$ like this

'Nobody thought you would grow this tall.' (Lit.:

You were not thought by anybody would be tall like

this.)

73. Rumoh gopnyan rap rumoh kamoe.

House he/she$_r$ near house we$_{exc}$

'His/her house is near our house.'

74. Di lon ka.

SFC I PERF

'I have (done/got/etc. it).'

75. Uroe nyoe uroe Rabu.

    Day   this day Wednesday

    'Today is Wednesday.'

Based on this definition, the initial NP in a sentence of the type "possessor focus construction" (Durie, 1985: 183-5) is the subject of the sentence.

76. Ureueng nyan sakét mata-geuh.

    Person that sore eye-3$_r$

    'That person has sore eyes.'

There is a difference between saying <u>mata ureueng nyan sakét</u> 'That person's eyes sore' and <u>ureueng nyan sakét mata-geuh</u>, as in (76). The former is used when one wants to comment about that person's eyes, whereas the latter when one wants to comment about that person, that is he is not well. <u>sakét mata</u> in (76) is a predicate. The fact that it is a predicate can be shown by its ability to combine with other predicates in coordination, such as in (77). (77) is a compound sentence derived by combining (76) with another sentence, <u>ureueng nyan teuga</u> 'That person is strong,' where <u>reueng nyan</u> in the two sentences refers to the same person.

77. Ureueng nyan sakét mata tapih teuga.

    Person that sore eye but strong

    'That person has sore eyes but strong.'

As a subject, <u>ureueng nyan</u> can be relativized, as in
(78), and undergoes obligatory omission in some complex
sentences, as in (79), just as the case with other subjects.

78. Ureueng nyang duek nyan sakét mata-geuh
    Person who   sit   that sore eye-3_r
    'The person who is sitting there has sore eyes.'

79. Keureuna (*gopnyan) hana geu-meuubat,   ureueng
    Because   he/she$_r$ NEG 3_r-take-medicine person

    nyan ka sakét mata.
    that IN sore eye

        'Because he did not take medicine, that person is
        suffering from sore eyes.'

[ii]. The intonation described by definition [ii] can
be drawn as follows.

80. [X /⌐ - [NP   ] - (Adverb)

    (X is either a VP, NP, PP, Adverb, or Aspect word.)

81. Ji-khém sabé   aneuk nyoe ka mulayi bunoe.
    3_y-laugh always child this IN begin some-time-ago
    'This child have been laughing all the time since
    some time ago.'

82. Mantŏng ureueng nyan bak Teungku Jali.

Still   person that at title   Jali

'*That person is still at Teungku Jali's house.*'

83. Ji-lét mie aneuk asèe nyan.

3-chase cat child dog that

'*That small dog is chasing a cat.*'

84. Mahasiswa aneuk keumuen   gopnyan.

College-student child nephew he/she_r

'*His/her nephew is a college student.*'

[iii]. Definition [iii] can be explained as follows. In sentences of the form NP-NP-VP, the subject is the first NP if the intonation is the one as drawn in (85), and the second NP if the intonation is the one as drawn in (86).

85. [NP   ] - [NP   ] - [VP   ]

86. [NP   ] - [NP   ] - [VP   ]

In (87), the subject is <u>keubiri nyoe</u> 'this sheep,' whereas in (88) <u>asèe nyan</u> 'that dog' is the subject.

87. Keubiri nyoe asèe nyan ji-pandang

Sheep   this dog   that 3-stare

'*It is that dog that this sheep is staring at.*' or

'*This sheep is staring at that dog.*'

88. Keubiri nyoe asèe nyan ji-pandang

Sheep   this dog   that 3-stare

'*It is this sheep that the dog is staring at.*'

In sentences of this form, the subject is usually preceded by **di** 'SFC.'

89. Di ureueng nyan Pak   Musa geu-tanyong.

SFC person   that title Musa 3_r-ask

'*It is Mr. Musa that that person is asking about.*'

90. Si   Amin di si   Din ji-lakèe lawan.

Title Amin SFC title Din 3_y-ask   challenge

'*It is Amin that Din is asking to challenge.*'

91. Nyan di lóng lóng-lakèe.

That SFC I   1-ask-for

'*That is the one that I am asking for.*'

3.3.2 Predicate

A predicate in Acehnese can consist of a VP, an NP, or a PP. Unlike English, no copula is used when the predicate is a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase.

92. Rumoh keulabèe nyan [rumoh lōn]$_{NP}$.

    House grey   that house I

    'That grey house is my house.'

93. Abang   di rumoh.

    Elder brother in house

    'Elder brother is in the house/at home.'

As already mentioned in passing before, verbs or
adjectives are made to agree with the subject. In passive
sentences, verbs are made to agree with the agent. Agreement
is marked by a pronominal clitic, which is used on the verb
or adjective. This is discussed briefly here. Further
discussion is given in Chapter 4.

94. Jih teungōh ji-pajōh bu.

    He$_y$ PROG   3$_y$-eat   rice

    'He is eating rice.'

95. Si   Ali golom   ji-woe   bak sikula.

    Title Ali not yet 3$_y$-come back from school

    'Ali has not come back from school yet.'

96. Lōn hana lōn-woe   cōt   uroe nyoe.

    I   NEG 1-come home vertical day this

    'I am not coming home this noon.'

97. Lōn ji-poh lé jih.

    I 3_y-beat by he

    'I was beaten by him.'

In (94), the verb is made to agree with the subject <u>jih</u> 'he, she' using <u>ji-</u> (or <u>i-</u>) '3_y', which is the prefixal form of that subject. <u>ji-</u> is also used as an agreement marker when the subject is an NP which is equivalent in status to a pronoun <u>jih</u>, such as <u>si Ali</u> in sentence (95). In (95), <u>lon-</u> 'I' is the prefixal form of the pronoun <u>lōn</u> 'I,' which is the subject of the sentence. In (97), <u>ji-</u> agrees with the agent <u>jih</u> 'he, she.'

Not all verbs take prefix agreement markers in agreeing with their subjects. Some verbs take suffix agreement markers, which are the suffixal forms of pronouns. Adjectives take only suffix agreement markers, except for several adjectives that can be used as verbs. The criteria determining prefix or suffix agreement is discussed in Chapter 4.

98. Gopnyan reubah-geuh bunoe.

    He_r fall-3_r just now

    'He fell just now.'

99. Lōn hèk-lōn that uroe nyoe.

    I   tired-1 very day this

    'I am very tired today.'

100. Di   kamoe h'an ék-meuh   kupi.

    SFC we$_{exc}$ NEG want-1p$_{exc}$ coffee

    'We do not want coffee.'

101. Ureueng nyan ka   trép   trók-geuh.

    Person that PERF long time arrive-3$_r$

    'That person arrived a long time ago.'

In (98), -geuh '3$_r$' is the suffixal form of pronoun
gopnyan 'he$_r$, she$_r$,' which is the subjec of the sentence. In
(101), -geuh is used because the subject NP ureueng nyan
'that person' is equivalent to pronoun gopnyan. -lōn '1sg'
in (99) and -meuh '1p$_{exc}$' in (100) are the suffix forms of
pronouns lōn 'I' and kamoe 'we$_{exc}$' respectively.

3.3.3 Verb Phrase Structure

This section consists of a brief description of verb
phrase structure and subsections dealing with tenses,
aspects, moods, and the positions of adverbs and particles.

A verb phrase consists of a verb or an adjective as its
core element and some other optional constituents, such as
NP's, PP's, complement clauses or S's, aspect words, modals,
adverbs, and particles. In addition to these, a verb or an
adjective may be accompanied by an obligatory or optional
agreement markers, the pronominal proclitics or enclitics.
Except for adverbs and particles, these constituents occur
in the following order.

$$\left(\left\{\begin{matrix} \text{Aspect} \\ \text{Modal} \end{matrix}\right\}\right) V \left(\left\{\begin{matrix} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{matrix}\right\}\right) (\text{PP}) (\text{PP})$$

Pronominal clitics are excluded from the structure because the rules that govern the use of these clitics are so complex that a special chapter is needed to discuss them. (They are discussed in Chapter 4.) Adverbs and particles cannot be given a fixed position in the structure because some of them are used before the verb and some others after the verb. (They are treated in 3.3.3.4.) Examples of sentences containing aspect words, modals, adverbs, and particles are given in relevant sections below. The following are sentences with a VP complement. (These are discussed in Chapter 5.)

102. Na   neu-tanyöng [padup   yum-jih]

AUX 2_r-ask   how much price-3

'*Did you ask what the price was*?'

103. Geutanyoe h'an geu-bri [jak saho   dilèe]

We$_{inc}$ NEG 3_r-allow go anywhere yet

'*We are not allowed to go anywhere yet.*'

3.3.3.1 **Tenses**

Unlike English or other Indo-European languages, Acehnese has no verb inflection for tenses. Present or past (time) in Acehnese is understood in context, or by the use

of certain adverbs of time, such as <u>jinoe</u> 'now' or <u>bak watèe</u> <u>nyoe</u> 'at this moment' for the present time actions, and <u>baroe</u> 'yesterday,' <u>beuklam</u> 'last night,' or <u>bunoe</u> 'just now' for the past time actions. Out of context, a sentence can always be translated in present or past. Most of the data in this dissertation can be translated in either present or past when they contain no adverbs of time.

104. Ayah   teungöh geu-peugah haba ngön jamèe.

Father PROG 3_r-tell   story with guest

'Father is/was talking with a guest.'

105. Gopnyan sakét-geuh.

He_r ill-3_r

'He is/was ill.'

106. Jinoe gopnyan ka   kaya.

Now he_r IN   rich

'He is rich now.'

107. Beuklam   jaga-lōn teungöh malam.

Last night awake-1 middle   night

'Last night I awoke in the middle of the night.'

3.3.3.2 Aspects

Aspects are expressed through the use of some words, that we will call aspect words. They are the following.

teungöh 'middle' (Progressive)

ka 'already' (Perfective, Inchoative)

golom 'not yet' (Inchoative)

keuneuk 'will, is going to' (Future)

ek 'will, is going to' (Future in questions)

108. Pancuri nyan ka   ji-drop lé peulisi.

Thief   that PERF 3-capture by police

'The thief has been captured by the police.'

109. Ka lōn-jak dilee.

IN 1-go   now

'I am leaving now.'

110. Cutda   Ti teungöh geu-sugōt ōk.

Elder sister Ti PROG   3$_r$-comb   hair

'Elder sister Ti is combing her hair.'

111. Bak u   nyoe keuneuk   reubah.

Tree coconut this is going to fall

'This coconut tree is going to fall.'

112. Ek ujeuen uroe nyoe?

Will rain day this

'Is it going to rain today?'

When used with pronomial clitics, keuneuk is a verb. keuneuk or neuk means 'want to, is going to' and it is used with proclitics and always followed by a complement clause.

113. Kamoe meu-keuneuk/neuk minah u rumoh barō.

We$_{exc}$ 1$_{exc}$-want   move to house new

'*We are going to move to a new house.*'

There are two other words ḗk which have nothing to do with ḗk above. These words ḗk are two different verbs, one with the meaning 'to climb' and used with proclitics, and the other with the meaning 'to want (in the sense to have no objection)' and used with enclitics. (And there is still another word ḗk, which is a modal; see 3.3.3.3. below.)

114. Jeuet neu-ḗk   u?

Can   2$_r$-climb coconut

'*Can you climb a coconut tree?*'

115. Di lōn ḗk-lōn dumpeue.

SFC I want-1 anything

'*I can eat anything.*'

3.3.3.3 Moods

The following words are used to express some moods in Acehnese.

> meuseuti '*must*' (Obligation and Probability)
>
> teuntèe '*must*' (Probability)
>
> payah '*must*' (Obligation)
>
> jeuet '*may, can*' (Permission)
>
> ḗk '*can, able*'· (Ability)

116. Lōn meuseuti lōn-woe   jinoe.
    I   must   1-go home now
    '*I must go home now.*'

117. 'Etnhoe hat meuseuti/teuntèe ka   trōk-geuh u Idi.
    This-far time must   PERF arrive-3_r to Idi
    '*At this hour he must have arrived in Idi.*'

118. Kamoe h'an jeuet meu-jak uroe nyoe.
    We$_{exc}$ NEG can 1_{exc}-go day this
    '*We cannot come today.*'

119. Buku nyoe h'an jeuet puwoe   u rumoh.
    Book this NEG may   bring home to house
    '*This book cannot be taken home.*'

120. Droeneuh payah neu-woe   siat.
    You$_r$ must 2_r-go home a moment
    '*You must go home for a moment.*'

121. Adak meu le lōn-bloe teuntèe lōn-bri rata mandum.
    If   if many 1-buy   will   1-give same all
    '*If I had bought many (of these), I would give to
    each of you (one).*'

122. Ék   neu-beu?et nyan sidroe-neuh?
    Can 2_r-lift   that alone-2_r
    '*Can you lift that by yourself?*'

Another word that is also used as modal of obligation
is <u>beu</u> with the meaning 'must.'

123. Beu ka-bayeue jinoe, meuh'an maté-keuh.

Must 2_y-pay   now   if not die-2_y

'You must pay now, or you will die.'

Lastly, the verb <u>na</u> 'to exist' is often used as a modal or an auxiliary with the function almost similar to that of the English <u>do</u>. It is used for emphasis, as in (124), in yes/no questions, as in (125), and contracts with negative word <u>h'an</u> 'not,' resulting in <u>hana</u> 'not, there is no.'[5]

124. Gopnyạn na geu-jak bak geutanyoe.

He$_r$ EMP 3_r-go to we

'He <u>did</u> come to our place.'

125. Na neu-jak u   meulasah beuklam?

AUX 2_r-go to "meulasah" last night

'Did you go to "meulasah" (village center) last night?'

126. Di gopnyan hana geu-turi   geutanyoe.

SFC he$_r$ NEG 3_r-recognize we$_{inc}$

'He doesn't recognize us.'

There are other words <u>jeuet</u>, <u>payah</u>, and <u>teuntèe</u> which are not modals. There are two words <u>jeuet</u>: a verb with the meaning 'to dare,' and an adjective with the meaning 'be

---

[5]When contracted with <u>na</u>, <u>h'an</u> loses it final [n] and the nasal quality of its vowel.

able, have the ability.' The verb jeuet is a Class 1 verb, which is used with a proclitic.

127. Jih h'an ji-jeuet jak lang uteuen sidroe-jih.

He$_y$ NEG 3$_y$-dare go to wood one-self-3$_y$

'He dare not go into the wood alone.'

The adjective jeuet is used in a complex sentence with a complement.

128. a) Di lōn h'an jeuet-lōn lōn-meututō basa Cina.

SFC I NEG able-1 1-speak language Chinese

'I cannot speak Chinese.'

Very often the verb of the complement of jeuet is omitted, resulting in a structure in which jeuet is followed by an NP. However, the omitted verb can always be re-inserted. Thus, instead of sentence (a), (b) is used for the same meaning as (a). See also (129), where the verb meu'ēn 'to play' has been omitted.

b) Di lōn h'an jeuet-lōn basa Cina

SFC I NEG able-1 language Chinese

'I cannot speak Chinese.'

129. Guru nyang ban trōk nyan jeuet-geuh bēula.

Teacher who just arrive that able-3$_r$ violin

'The teacher who has just arrived can (play) the violin.'

payah represents two different adjectives. When the
subjects are abstract nouns, it means 'difficult,' as in
(130) and (131), and when the subjects are human beings or
animals, it means 'tired,' as in (132).

130. Hitōngan   nyoe payah   that:
     Calculation this difficult very
     'This calculation (arithmatic problem) is very
     difficult.'

131. Payah   that ta-peugah-haba ngōn gopnyan.
     Difficult very 1_{inc}-talk   with he$_r$
     'It is difficult to talk with him.'

132. Keureuna payah-neuh that, nyoe-pat pèng bacut.
     Because tired-2_r very here   money some
     'Because you have been very tired (doing this),
     here is some money (for you).'

teuntèe is an adjective with the meaning 'certain.'
Very often it is followed by a complement.

133. Di lōn hana teuntèe lōn-jak.
     SFC I NEG certain 1-go
     'I am not sure if I can go.'

134. Sit meu urǫe treuk nyang golom teuntèe.
     EMP only day more which not yet certain
     'It is only the day that is not certain yet.'

3.3.3.4 **The Positions of Adverbs and Particles**

3.3.3.4.1 **Adverbs**

It is not possible to account for positions of all adverbs because they are very flexible and irregular, in the sense that some of them are used preverbally and some others postverbally. We will limit the discussion to some very frequently used adverbs.

[i]. Adverbs of place, time, reason, purpose, and result. The position of these adverbs is normally at the end of the sentence. However, some of them can also be placed at the beginning of the sentence for a highlight.

135. Ramè that ureueng bak keudè.

Crowded very people in market

'There are many people in the market.'

136. Gopnyan haha-geuh di rumoh bak watèe nyan.

He$_r$ not exist-3$_r$ in house at time that

'He was not at home at that time.'

137. Yōh jameun Ceupang, abang mantōng glah sa.

During era Japanese elder brother still grade one

'During the Japanese time, elder brother was still in the first grade.'

Adverbs of reason are usually preceded by keureuna or sabab 'because,' and adverbs of purpose by nak or supaya 'in

order to.' The negative of nak is bèk 'in order not.'
Another form of adverbs of purpose is a clause with the verb
neuk 'want to.' A purpose clause with neuk cannot be placed
before the main clause.

138. Hana lōn-bloe saka sabab mantöng le di rumoh.
NEG 1-buy sugar because still many in house
'I am not buying any sugar because there is still
much at home.'

139. a) Ka-meurunoe beu jeumöt nak carong-keuh.
2_y-learn DES diligent in-order clever-2_y
'Learn hard in order to become clever.'

b) Nak carong-keuh, ka-meurunoe beu jeumöt.
In-order clever-2_y 2_y-learn DES diligent
'In order to become clever, learn hard.'

140. Nyoe payah ta-keumiet bèk ji-pajōh lé manok.
This must 1_{inc}-guard in-order-not 3-eat by chicken
'This must be watched in order not to be eaten by
chickens.'

141. a) Lōn-jak keunan siat lōn-neuk jak rhah jaroe.
1-go to-there a moment 1-want go wash hand
'I am going there for a moment to wash my
hand.'

b) *Lōn-neuk jak rhah jaroe, lōn-jak keunan siat.
1-want go wash hand 1-go to-there a moment

Adverbs of result are expressed by phrases with <u>hingga</u>
'till, so that,' <u>beu</u> 'till, DES,' or <u>ngön</u> 'with,' each is
followed by a resultative clause and the particle <u>keudéh</u>
'RES, EMP,' which is optional with <u>hingga</u> and <u>beu</u> and
obligatory with <u>ngön</u>-phrases. <u>ngön</u> itself is optional in
those phrases. Unlike those with <u>ngön</u> and <u>beu</u>, phrases with
<u>hingga</u> cannot be fronted. <u>beu</u> is used only in imperatives.

142. Lōn-karat lōn-pubuet hingga lheueh poh sa uroe.

    1-hurry   1-do   till finish time one daytime

    'I hurried doing it so that I finished it at one

    o'clock p.m.'

143. Aneuk manyak nyan ji-klik ngön mirah-jih keudéh.

    Child baby   that 3_y-cry with red-3_y RES

    'The baby cried until it was red.'

144. Ka-wiet bu patah.

    2_y-break till broken

    'Break it until it is broken.'

145. Neu-poh-jih beu ji-klik.

    2_r-beat-3_y till 3_y-cry

    'Beat him until he cries.'

[ii]. Adverbs of frequency. Most adverbs of frequency
can only precede verbs. These are <u>biyasa</u> 'usually, often,'
<u>kayém</u> 'often, frequently,' <u>töm</u> 'ever (used in negative and

question),' <u>h'antöm</u> 'never,' <u>jareueng</u> 'rarely, seldom,' and
<u>rigap</u> 'often.'

146. a) Jih   biyasa teulat.

   He$_y$ usually late

   'He is usually late.'

b) *Jih teulat biyasa.

   He$_y$ late   usually

147. a) Aneuk manyak nyan h'antöm ji-klik.

   Child baby   that never   3$_y$-cry

   'That baby never cries.'

b) *Aneuk manyak nyan ji-klik h'antöm.

   Child baby   that 3$_y$-cry   never

   <u>biyasa</u>, <u>kayém</u>, and <u>jareueng</u> can also be fronted before
the subject.

148. Biyasa that jih lagèe nyan.

   Often very he$_y$ like that

   'He is very often like that.'

   <u>sabé</u> 'always,' <u>jan-jan</u> 'sometimes,' and <u>sigö-gö</u> 'once
in a while' can be used either before or after verbs, but
they are more often used before verbs. They can also be
fronted before the subject. Dashes are used in the examples
to indicate other possible positions of these adverbs.

149. ___ Di gopnyan sabé awai trōk-geuh ___.

SFC he$_r$ always early arrive-3$_r$

'He always arrives early.'

150. ___ Teungku wa jan-jan halōh that geu-meusu ___.

Title uncle sometimes small very 3$_r$-talk

'Big uncle sometimes talks very softly.'

[iii]. Adverbs of manner. Most adverbs of manner can be used before or after verbs. Placing them before verbs usually renders them an emphasis.

151. Trōk bak tutue lōn-jak peuleuheuen-peuleuheuen.

Arrive at bridge 1-go slow-slow

'When I arrived on the bridge, I walked slowly.'

152. Macut Halimah brat sakét.

Aunt Halimah heavy ill

'Aunt Halimah is very ill.'

153. Soe klik meu-'i-'i nyan?

Who cry MEU-"'i-'i" that

'Who is crying there with the sound "'i-'i"?

Adverbs derived from onomatopoetic words and other expressives cannot follow verbs unless used with meu-, as in (153).

154. a) Ban lōn-buka pintō, cru ji-plueng.

When 1-open door "cru" 3$_y$-run

'Whan I opened the door, he ran off dashing.'

b) *Ban lōn-buka pintō, ji-plueng cru.

When 1-open door 3$_y$-run "cru"

155. a) Ban lōn-peuceukok, tap patah.

When 1-bend "tap" break

'While I was bending it, it broke with a "tap"

sound.

b) *Ban lōn-peuceukok, patah tap.

When 1-bend break "tap"

3.3.3.4.2. Particles

In Jespersen's (1924) terms, "particles" include some of the prefixes and suffixes, articles, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections. For Acehnese, particles are roughly defined here as words that do not belong to the major parts of speech (such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc.) and are used for various functions, such as to give emphasis to the meaning of another word; to give a certain additional meaning to an expression, for example result, forgetfulness, surprise; or to indicate a certain feeling of the speaker, such as anger, indignation, etc. Some of them have also a meaning when used in certain constructions.

The following are some of the particles commonly found in sentences.

keudéh and haré/saré 'RES (result), EMP (emphasis)'
treuk 'then (to concede)'
cit ~ sit 'too, EMP'
röh 'impatient, indignant, angry, forgetful'
lagöe 'SUR (surprise)'
-keuh 'ASS (assertion, emphasis)'

The functions and positions of these particles are as follows.

[i]. keudéh and haré. keudéh and haré are incomplementary distribution in some imperative sentences. keudéh is used in commands and other non-negative imperatives, whereas haré is used in prohibitions and other negative imperative forms. The function of these particles here is 'to emphasized' (hence, 'EMP') the word or phrase before them. With this function, they have rather different meanings. When the speaker uses keudéh, he wants the addressee to do what he thinks is the right way to do things, but when he uses haré he wants the addressee not to do what the latter thinks (or what the speaker imagines the latter might think) ought to be done. keudéh here often corresponds to the English just in a sentence like Just leave it there. These words are used after the verb or adjective of the predicate.

156. a.1) Neu-jak peugah keudéh.

2_y-go   tell   EMP

'Just go and tell (him).'

a.2) *Neu-jak peugah haré.

    2_y-go   tell   EMP

b.1) Bèk   neu-jak peugah haré.

    Don't 2_y-go   tell   EMP

    'There is no need for you to go and tell

    (him). (You said you wanted to go/I think you

    have a plan to go and tell him. Don't.)'

b.2) *Bèk   neu-jak peugah keudéh.

    Don't 2_y-go   tell   EMP

keudéh can only be used in negative command if the word
bèk 'don't' is replaced by asabèk 'there is no need.' The
choice between keudéh and haré depends on the meaning that
the speaker wants.

157. a) Asabèk   neu-jak peugah keudéh.

    There-is-no-need 2_r-go   tell   EMP

    'There is no need for you to go and tell him.

    (That is what I think you ought not to do.)'

b) Asabèk   neu-jak peugah haré.

    There-is-no-need 2_r-go   tell   EMP

    'There is no need for you to go and tell him.

    (I know you wanted to go. Don't.)'

In declarative sentences with adjectives as
predicates, keudéh and haré are used for the following

meanings. <u>keudéh</u> implies 'indeed/I assure you,' whereas <u>haré</u>
implies 'indeed/I assure you, but unfortunately/it surprises
me that it does/undergoes something unexpected/etc/that it
is unlike what I thought (somebody told me)/that it is
different from ...'

158. a) Gŏt <u>keudéh</u>.

   Good EMP

   'It is really good. (Believe me.)'

   b) Gŏt <u>haré</u>.

   Good EMP

   'It is really good. (Why have you/has somebody
   thrown it away?)'

159. a) Aneuk-geuh carong <u>keudéh</u>.

   Child-3$_r$ clever EMP

   'His son is <u>clever</u>.'

   b) Aneuk-geuh carong <u>haré</u>.

   Child-3$_r$ clever EMP

   'His son is <u>clever</u>. (Unlike what I thought/
   somebody told me/quite unlike himself/but he
   does not send him to school.)'

160. Gopnyan teuga-geuh haré.

   He$_r$ strong-3$_r$ EMP

   'He is <u>strong/healthy</u>. (We were wrong. We thought
   he was ill/he was not strong.)'

keudéh has some other usages. The following explanation
applies only to keudéh. keudéh indicates 'result' when used
after adverbs of manner in the form of ngön/hingga 'till' +
adjective.

161. Lōn-ikat ngön kōng keudéh.

    1-tie   till strong RES

    'I tied it (in such a way that it is) strongly
    tied. (I tied it tightly.)'

keudéh is often used together with bah 'let,' beu (bu
before words beginning with a bilabial consonant) 'let,' or
bah beu 'let DES.' The phrase bah keudéh 'just let' can form
a sentence by itself, but beu or bah beu needs to be
followed by a verb, an adjective, or an NP or PP predicate.

162. a) Bah keudéh. (A response to an report/complaint)

    Let EMP

    'Just let (it goes/does it/be taken/be so/
    etc.)'

  b) *Beu (or bah beu) keudéh.

    Let   EMP

163. Beu (or bah beu) ji-jak keudéh. (VP Pred.)

    Let 3_y-go EMP

    'Just let him go.'

164. Bah beu hinan-jih keudéh. (PP Pred.)

       Let DES there-3   EMP

       'Just let it be there.'

165. Bah bu peulisi-geuh keudéh. (NP Pred.)

       Let DES police-3_r EMP

       'Even if he is a policeman (I don't care).'

Without <u>bah</u> or <u>beu</u>, <u>keudéh</u> is usually unacceptable in declarative sentences, unless the speaker is expressing his opinion about something, as in (158) through (160) above.

166.a)*Ureueng nyan teungöh geu-koh kayèe keudéh.

       Person that PROG 3_r-cut wood EMP

       'That person is cutting the wood.'

    b) Ureueng nyan bah/beu geu-koh kayèe keudéh.

       Person that let 3_r-cut wood EMP

       'Just let that person cut the wood.'

    c) Ureueng nyan bah beu geu-koh kayèe keudéh.

       Person that let let 3_r-cut wood EMP

       'Just let that person cut the wood.'

If the speaker wants another person's opinion about his intention or opinion, <u>keudéh</u> is used in a question.

167. Pue, lön-poh-keuh keudéh sigö?

       What 1-beat-2_y EMP   one-time

       'Do you want me to beat you?'

When a second person is the subject or a member of a collective subject of a non-stative predicate, the speaker's opinion becomes a suggestion.

168. Ta-jōk   keudéh keu jih.

1$_{inc}$-give EMP   to he$_y$

'*We had better give it to him.*'

169. Di kah ka-iem   keudéh.

SFC you$_y$ 2$_y$-shut-up EMP

'*You had better shut up.*'

keudéh can also be used in non-imperative sentences if the speaker is expressing an intention.

170. Lōn-publoe keudéh saboh.

1-sell   EMP   one-CL

'*I may just sell one of these.*'

Since the intention of a third person subject is unknown, and neither can one offer a suggestion to a third person subject, keudéh cannot be used with this subject.

171.*Geu-publoe keudéh saboh.

3$_r$-sell EMP   one-CL

'*He may (intend) to sell one.*'

172.*Di ureueng nyan geu-iem   keudéh.

SFC person that 3$_r$-shut-up EMP

'*That person had better shut up.*'

However, one can express an opinion about what a third person subject should or should not do. But one can only express it to oneself or to someone else. This is done by combining <u>keudéh</u> and <u>got</u> 'good, better.'

173. Di ureueng nyan got geu-iem keudéh.
SFC person that good 3_r-shut-up EMP
'That person had better shut up.'

<u>keudéh</u> can also be used with third person subject if the speaker is reporting or quoting what that subject has said about his intention or opinion, or what he says is his own impression or opinion about what the third person subject does or did, or the state of being of that subject.

174. Ureueng nyan geu-jak tajam keudéh.
Person that 3_r-walk fast EMP
'That person is walking very fast.'

175. Bajèe-geuh mirah keudéh.
Shirt-3_r red EMP
'His shirt is very red.'

176. Raya keudéh.
Big EMP
'It is really big.'

<u>keudéh</u> cannot be used with nouns alone or PP's alone, but when used after an NP or a PP in a VP, it gives an emphasis to the NP or PP that it precedes.

177. a) Neu-jép keudéh ubat   nyoe dilèe.

    2_r-drink EMP   medicine this for-now

    'Just <u>take</u> this medicine for now.'

b) Neu-jép ubat   nyoe keudéh dilèe.

    2_r-drink medicine this EMP   for-now

    'Just take <u>this medicine</u> for now.'

178. a) Neu-gantung keudéh gamba nyoe bak bintéh.

    2_r-hang   EMP   picture this to wall

    'Just <u>hang</u> this picture up on the wall.'

b) Neu-gantung bak bintéh keudéh gamba nyoe.

    2_r-hang   to wall   EMP   picture this

    'Just hang this picture up <u>on the wall</u>.'

In the same way, a dative can be emphasized by placing
it between the verb and <u>keudéh</u>, as in (b). In (c), the
direct object is emphasized.

179. a) Neu-bri keudéh tah   nyoe keu apa.

    2_r-give EMP   briefcase this to uncle

    'Please <u>give</u> this briefcase to uncle.'

b) Neu-bri keu apa   keudéh tah   nyoe.

    2_r-give to uncle EMP   briefcase this

    'Please give this briefcase <u>to uncle</u>.'

c) Neu-bri tah   nyoe keudéh keu apa.

    2_r-give briefcase this EMP   to uncle

    'Please give <u>this briefcase</u> to uncle.'

[ii]. _treuk_. _treuk_ is used immediately after verbs or
adjectives (with or without an enclitic). It is often used
together with _meu_ 'so' in the main clause of a construction
expressing cause and effect. _meu_ is placed before the verb
or adjective and _treuk_ after it. In this position, _treuk_
indicates that the action or the state is the direct
consequence of the action or state indicated in _keureuna_/
sabab (because) - clause or _ban_ (when) - clause.

Sentences with _treuk_ have a gradual rising intonation
on the predicate, but the final peak, which is on the last
syllable of the predicate phrase, is one level below the
final peak of yes/no question intonation.

180. Ban ji-kalön rimueng, meu ji-plueng treuk.
     When 3-see tiger   so 3-run   then
     '_When it saw the tiger, it ran off._'

181. Keureuna brat that, meu lön-boh   treuk ladöm.
     Because heavy very so 1-throw away then some
     '_Because they were very heavy, so I threw some of
     them away._'

treuk is also used in the main clause of future
conditional sentences, usually together with _kön_ 'why not.'
It indicates a concession or suggestion of the speaker,

which may sometimes be a reluctant or apathetic one,
depending on the situation.

182. Meunyo ék-keuh kön .ka-cok treuk.

If want-2_y why-not 2_y-take then

'If you want (to eat) it, why don't you take it?'

183. Meunyo sép pèng-keuh, ka-bloe treuk laju.

If enough money-2_y 2_y-buy then now

'If you have enough money, just buy it.'

There is an ordinary word treuk with the meaning
'more.' As an ordinary word, it is not pronounced with a
rising intonation as above.

184. Nyoe-pat saboh treuk.

Here one-CL more

'Here is one more.'

[iii]. cit. cit has its variant sit. They are in free
variation; I cannot see any syntactic or semantic
differences between these two variants. A speaker may at one
time use cit and at another sit in the same environment and
situation. As a particle, cit is used to give emphasis to
the meaning of the word that it precedes. It is used before
verbs, adjectives, and adverbs.

185. Gopnyan sit gòt akai.

He_r EMP good character

'He is a good man.'

186. Krueng nyoe sit sabé peunoh.

This river EMP always full

'This river is always full.'

187. Rimueng nyan sit ji-éh hinan di yup bak nyan.

Tiger   that EMP 3-lie there in under tree that

'The tiger is lying there under that tree.'

There are two ordinary words in the form of <u>cit</u> and they are also in free variation with <u>sit</u>. The first <u>cit</u> means 'only' and somewhat related to the particle <u>cit</u> because very often the nouns modified by this word are emphasized. The most common place of this <u>cit</u> is before the head NP of a focus sentence.

188. Sit rukok   nyang na ék-geuh.

Only cigarettes which AUX want-3$_r$

'The only thing he want (to eat, drink, etc.) is cigarettes.'

Very often the order is reversed so that the sentence begins with the relative clause, which is the subject of the sentence (6.2).

189. Nyang na   lön-kalön hinan sit apa Bénséh.

That AUX 1-see   there only uncle Benseh

'The only person I saw there was uncle Benseh.'

cit is often accompanied by _meu_, which also means 'only' when used in this combination.

190. Sit meu droeneuh nyang na peugah lagèe nyan.

Only only you$_r$ that AUX say   like that

'_The only person who talks about it like that is you._'

The second word _cit_, which has nothing to do with the particle _cit_, means 'too/either, also.' It is used after verbs, adjectives, and adverbs.

192. Ayah   geu-jak cit.

Father 3$_r$-go   too

'_Father is going too._'

192. Adak droeneuh h'an jeuet-neuh cit.

Even you$_r$ NEG able-2$_r$ also

'_Even if it were you, you would not be able (to do it) either._'

[iv]. _röh_. _röh_ is used in questions with several functions. The first function is to indicate that the speaker has forgotten the thing that he is asking. In questions with question words, it can either be placed immediately after the question word, after the verb, or after the object. Sometimes it is also used at the end of the sentence. Very often the question is preceded or

followed by a statement saying that one has forgotten it.
For this function, <u>rŏh</u> will be glossed 'FORG' for forget.

193. Padit   rŏh ka-jŏk pèng keu lŏn bunoe?
     How much FORG 2$_y$-give money to I   just now
     '(I have forgotten.) How much money did you give
     me just now?'

194. Soe rŏh nan ureueng nyan? Baroe   ka geu-peugah.
     Who FORG name person that Yesterday PERF 3$_r$-tell
     'What is the name of that person? He already told
     (me his name) yesterday.'

The second function of <u>rŏh</u> is to show impatience, anger
or indignation. With this function, this word will be
glossed 'INDIG' for indignant, impatient, or angry.

195. Peue rŏh   trép   that?
     What INDIG long-time very
     'Why is it so long?'

196. Peue rŏh   ka-peugah-haba sabé?
     What INDIG 2$_y$-talk   always
     'Why on earth are you talking all the time?'

Disappointment over the result or on realizing the fact
which is not as one has expected is often expressed by Ō
<u>peue rŏh</u> 'Oh what INDIG,' which means more or less 'Alas!'

197. Ō peue rȫh! Masam that lagȫe. Lōn-sangka mamèh.

   Oh what INDIG Sour very SUR   1-think   sweet

   'Alas! It is very sour. I thoght it was sweet.'

rȫh is also used in questions which are used when one
is arguing with sombody. It means something like the English
emphatic 'ever.' Usually it is used with emphatic <u>na</u>.

198. Pajan rȫh na lōn-pinyam pèng bak droeneuh?

   When INDIG AUX 1-borrow money from you$_r$

      'When did I ever borrow money from you? (I never
      did that.)

199. Dit-na rȫh na rȫh pèng kah bak layang nyoe?

   How much INDIG AUX involve money you to kite this

      'How much of your money is used for this kite? (I
      am sure very little or none.)'

[v]. <u>lagȫe</u>. <u>lagȫe</u> is used to indicate surprise that
something appears to be different from one has expected. It
will be glossed as 'SUR' for surprise. This word is used
either to show disappointment, when used with falling
intonation, or happiness, when used with mid-high pitch with
either falling intonation or sometimes with a slight rise at
the end instead of falling intonation. <u>lagȫe</u> is placed after
the verb or adjective of the predicate or at the end of the
predicate. If the verb or adjective is followed by a degree
word, such as <u>that</u> 'very,' <u>lagȫe</u> is placed after this degree
word.

200. Ji-pajōh lagöe.

     3-eat   SUR

     'It is eating (this). (I thought it was not.)'

201. Ka tuha that lagöe. (not: *lagöe that)

     IN old very SUR

     'It is very old. (You promised a new one./ You

     said it was still new. I am disappointed.)'

202. Mamèh that lagöe.

     Sweet very SUR

     'It is very sweet. (You said/I thought it was

     sour/bitter.)'

203. Nyan jeuet-keuh lagöe.

     That able-2_y SUR

     'You can do it! (You said/I thought you cannot.)'

If the predicate contains a direct object, lagöe is
usually placed after the object. But if the object is a
heavy NP consisting of an NP and a long modifier, lagöe is
placed after the verb and the NP is placed after it, as in
(b) below.

204. a) Hana ka-peuʔék   kayèe lagöe?

       NEG 2_y-bring-up wood SUR

       'Why didn't you bring up (fire)wood?'

b) Hana ka-peu?ék   lagöe kayèe nyang ka thō
   NEG 2$_y$-bring-up SUR   wood which IN dry

di leuen?

in front-of-house

*'Why didn't you bring up the (fire)wood which
is already dry in front of the house?*

Placing <u>lagöe</u> after a heavy NP object is also
acceptable, but there is a slight change in meaning. <u>lagöe</u>
has the effect of placing the focus on the word or phrase
before it. Thus, (c) is acceptable, but it means that the
addressee brought up (into the house) some firewood, but not
the firewood which is in front of the house, whereas (b) may
mean either (c) or that the addressee did not bring up any
firewood at all.

c) Hana ka-peu?ék   kayèe nyang ka thō di
   NEG 2$_y$-bring-up wood which IN dry in

leuen   lagöe?
front-of-house SUR

*'Why didn't you bring up the (fire)wood which
is already dry <u>in front of the house</u>?*

<u>lagöe</u> can also be placed after an aspect word or modal,
instead of after the verb or adjective, if the aspect word
or modal is going to be focused.

205. Ka   lagöe ji-woe.

    PERF SUR 3_y-come-back

    'He has come back. (I thought he had not.)'

206. Na lagöe neu-bloe.

    AUX SUR 2_r-buy

    'You have bought it. (I thought you had not.)'

207. Hana   lagöe.

    Not exist SUR

    'There is none. (You promised/said there were

    some. I am disappointed.)'

[vi]. -keuh. -keuh is listed among the suffixes in

Asyik (1972). This particle can be used with nouns, verbs,

adjectives, and all kinds of other words. Sometimes it is

used for an 'assertive' function; it is used to assert or

emphasize positively what was previously assumed. It is also

used just for emphasis. It is glossed here as 'ASS' for

'assertion' or 'emphasis.'

208. Jih-keuh nyang peureulöh mèja nyoe.

    He_y-ASS who   destroy table this

    '(Quite true) it is him who destroyed this table.'

209. Ka-pajöh-keuh nyan dilèe.

    2_y-eat-ASS   that first

    'Just eat that first.'

210. Meunyo ka   neu-böh,   ka-keuh.

If   PERF 2_r-throw away PERF-ASS

'If you have thrown it away, there is nothing we
can do about it now.'

3.3.4 Noun Phrase Structure

This section contains discussions on the order of
constituents within a noun phrase and the question of
plurality.

A noun phrase consists of a noun or pronoun as its
nucleus and some other optional elements, such as
determiners, titles, measure phrases, quantifiers, and S's.
Determiners consist of demonstratives, attributive NP's,
possessive NP's, adjectives, which are the reduced forms of
relative clauses, and other reduced relative clauses in the
forms of VP's and PP's. Some attributive NP's can also be
traced back to relative clauses, for example, subang meuh
'golden earrings' is from subang nyang geu-peugöt nibak meuh
'the earrings which are made of gold,' kayèe glé 'nountain
wood' from kayèe nyang geu-cok di glé 'woods which were
taken from the mountain,' etc. These elements are ordered in
the following structure. A possessive phrase can be in the
form of an NP, a noun or pronoun, or a pronominal suffix.

$$\left(\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Measu. Phr.}\\\text{Quantifier}\\\text{Title}\end{array}\right\}\right) \text{Noun} \left(\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Adjective}\\\text{Attrib. Phr}\end{array}\right\}\right) \text{(Poss) (S) (Dem.)}$$

211. [[duwa droe]_{MP}ureueng [sakét]_{ADJ}]_{NP}

      two CL   person   ill

   'two sick persons'

212. [[[[manok [agam]_{ADJ}] [lōn]_{POSS}] [nyan]_{DEM}]

      hen   male   I   that

   'that cock of mine'

213. [[[[manok [agam]_{ADJ}] [putéh]_{ADJ}] [lōn]_{POSS}]

      hen   male   white   I

   'my white cock'

When an NP is modified by two adjectives, the one that denotes an inherent nature or a (relatively) permanent state of the NP is placed next to the NP and the other after it, as in (a). (b) can only be used in a situation where all cows are crippled, and the speaker is referring to the one which is female. But usually the relative clause marker nyang is used before the second adjective.

214. a) lumo inŏng capiek

      cow   female crippled

     'crippled (female) cow'

   b) lumo capiek (nyang) inŏng

      cow crippled which   female

     'the (female) crippled cow'

A structure in which an NP is modified by another NP can sometimes be very complex, because the modifying NP is itself modified by another NP.

215. saboh tamèh bak manè glé Geulungku
     one-CL pillar tree 'mane' hill Geulungku

     nyang kunèng nyan
     that yellow that

     *'that yellow "mane" tree pillar from hill
     Geulungku'*

The position of a reduced relative clause in an NP is immediately to the right of the noun. If the noun is modified by a possessive phrase, the reduced relative clause in the form of an adjective is placed between the noun and the possessive phrase, provided that it contains no aspect words or modals. Most reduced relative clauses in the form of VP's, when placed between the noun and its possissive phrase, will either alter the meaning, give two interpretations, or become ungrammatical. It is always ungrammatical when the verb is intransitive.

216. aneuk ubit Teungku Amin nyang duek nyan
     child small title Amin who sit that
     *'the small child of Teungku Amin who is sitting
     there'*

217. ureueng kemeukoh kamoe

    person   harvest   we$_{exc}$

    'people who cut our rice'

218. a) aneuk lōn nyang duek nyan

       child I   who   sit   that

       'my child who is sitting there'

   b) aneuk duek lōn nyan

       child sit I   that

       'that adopted child of mine'

219. a) ureueng taguen bu kamoe

       person   cook   rice we$_{exc}$

       'person who is cooking our rice (he/she

       may not be a cook)'

   b) ureueng taguen bu kamoe

       person   cook   rice we$_{exc}$

       'person who cooks for us (our cook)

       (he/she may be doing something else now or

       may not be working for us anymore)'

220. a) aneuk lōn nyang dŏng nyan

       child I   who   stand that

       'my child who is standing there'

   b)*aneuk dŏng lōn nyan

       child stand I that

Acehnese NP's normally allow two adjectives in succession following a noun; a third adjective is expressed in the form of a relative clause.

221. luweue panyang tuha lōn
     trousers long old I
     'my old long trousers'

222. beusoe ceukok meugeuratan nyang raya nyan
     iron crooked rusty which big that
     'that big, rusty, crooked iron'

A compound adjective is treated as a single adjective. Some compound adjectives are originally two adjectives related with the conjunction ngōn 'and,' such as mirah putéh 'red and white,' and some others consist of two adjectives where the second adjective modifies the first adjective, such as mirah muda 'red young (linght red, pink).'

223. bajée mirah putéh tuha
     shirt red white old
     'the old red and white shirt'

Even when there is only one adjective, a relative clause is also sometimes used to give the focus on the nouns with certain qualities or states. Some of these, especially those used with objects, are only expressed with an adjective in English.

224. Ka-cok ija nyang gléh sikrèk.

    2_y-take cloth which clean one piece

    'Take/give me a piece of clean cloth.'

225. Pajan ta-rhah pingan nyang kuto nyoe dum?

    When 1_{inc}-wash dish which dirty this all

    'When are we going to wash all these dirty

    dishes?'

226. Aneuk-miet nyang salah ka geu-yue tamöng keunan.

    Child-small who guilty PERF 3_r-order enter there

    'Children who are guilty were asked to enter

    there.'

Most PP's that modify nouns are the reduced forms of relative clauses.

227. a) Bak u nyang bak binèh krueng ka reubah.

    Tree coconut which at side river PERF fall

    'The coconut tree which is on the bank of the

    river has fallen.'

    b) Bak u bak binèh krueng ka reubah.

    Tree coconut at side river PERF fall

    'The coconut tree at the bank of the river has

    fallen.'

228. a) Tè nyang lang cawan mantöng seu?uem.

    Tea which in cup still hot

    'The tea which is in the cup is still hot.'

b) Tè lang cawan mantóng seuʔuem.

      Tea in cup   still hot

      'The tea in the cup is still hot.'

Unlike adjectives, PP's cannot be inserted between nouns and possessive phrases.

229. a) Moto apa (nyang) di Bireuen ka   geu-publoe.

      Truck uncle which in Bireuen PERF 3$_r$-sell

      'Uncle's truck in Bireuen has been sold.'

    b)*Moto di Bireuen apa ka   geu-publoe.

      Truck in Bireuen uncle PERF 3$_r$-sell

      *'Truck in uncle's Bireuen has been sold.'

3.3.4.1 Plurality

Plurality of nouns in Acehnese is not indicated by any ending or inflection. The nouns remain the same whether they are used for singular or plural sense. Sometimes they are modified by a number in a measure phrase or a quantifier and sometimes no such modifiers are used; they are understood as singular or plural in context.

230. Le that manok di blang.

      Many very chicken in ricefield

      'There are many chickens in the ricefield.'

231. Baroe   lōn-bloe lhèe boh payōng.

    Yesterday 1-buy   three CL   umbrella

    'Yesterday I bought three umbrellas.'

232. Ka   na   peuet droe ureueng di meulasah.

    PERF exist four CL   person at "meulasah"

    'There are already four persons at "meulasah"

    (village center).'

233. Di leuen   na   duwa krèk trieng.

    In front yard there is two CL   bamboo

    'There are two pieces of bamboos in the front

    yard.'

3.3.4.1.1 Plurality by Reduplication

Sometimes a noun is reduplicated to indicate plurality.
It does not, however, mean that all types of reduplications
indicate plurality. Reduplication has several other
functions, such as 'repeated action,' 'emphasis,' etc. (see
Asyik, 1972: 158-69). The plurality function can be seen in
a sentence like (234).

234. Batèe-batèe lang kama manoe ka-peuduek keunoe.

    Stone-stone in   room bath 2_y-put   to-here

    'Put (all) the stones from the bathroom here.'

Durie (1985) strongly argues against the plurality
function of reduplication on the grounds that Acehnese is

not an inflected language that marks nouns as singular and
plural. Although this is a very sound argument, it is not
true of Acehnese. When an Acehnese says (234) with an
ordinary intonation (with the primary intonation peak on the
last syllable of the subject NP batèe-batèe lang kama
manoe), it means that there is an unspecified number of
batèe 'stone.' Reduplication here is synonymous with the
modification of the NP batèe by a quantifier with the
meaning 'all,' such as dum 'all,' mandum 'all,' or ubé-na
'all.' Sentence (234) is understood by the hearer as (235)
or (236), provided that the sentence is uttered with the
intonation as described above.

235. Batèe nyang lang kama manoe dum ka-peuduek keunoe.
     Stone which in   room bath all 2_y-put   to-here
     'Put all the stones from the bathroom here.'

236. Ubé-na batèe nyang lang kama manoe ka-peuduek
     All   stone which in   room bath 2_y-put

keunoe.

to-here

'Put all the stones from the bathroom here.'

It is not the case that the plural sense of
reduplication of nouns is the effect of any emphatic
function, because there is no emphatic function whatsoever
here. (234) can only have emphatic function if pronounced
with special intonation, with a stress on the last syllable

of the subject NP, and often with a sharp drop of
intonation. When this intonation is used, (234) can even
refer to just one stone.

Except for pronouns and some nouns that are clearly
singular, such as ma 'mother,' ayah 'father,' langèt 'sky,'
etc., all other count nouns have at least two readings when
reduplicated, viz., a reading with the plural sense, and an
emphatic reading. The first interpretation of reduplicated
ordinary nouns in ambiguous contexts (for example, an
isolated reduplicated noun) is always plurality. Emphatic
readings require a special intonation or clear contexts. A
word like aneuk-aneuk-kuh in isolation is understood as 'my
children.' It can only have an emphatic reading when used in
a sentence like (237) by a person who has only one child, or
more children, but with special intonation, placing the
stress on the last syllable of the second aneuk.

    237. Aneuk-aneuk-kuh sakét.

        Child-child-1   ill

        '(Because of that,) my child became ill.'

Thus, reduplication of most nouns in Acehnese has not
only an emphatic function, but also a plural function, and
as (234) shows, this function is not the effect of the
emphatic one. It does not, however, mean that reduplication
is used in every instance in which the nouns is used in a
plural sense. It is only an option that may or may not be
chosen, and it can only be used when the number of objects

is relatively big and unspecified. A number like two or
three, etc., is ordinarily mentioned in Acehnese, for
example, man peuet neuk aneuk batèe nyan 'all four CL child
stone that (all those four stones),' batèe nyan lhèe neuk
'stone that three CL (those three stones),' etc.
Reduplication here is equivalent to a number expressed by
the quantifier dum 'all' or other synonymous quantifiers.

The use of reduplication for plurality is constrained
by the following conditions: First, the noun must not be
modified by a number phrase or a quantifier, except mandum
'all' or other synonymous quantifiers. (238) is
ungrammatical because the noun batèe is modified by a
number, but (239) is not because the modifier is synonymous
to mandum 'all.'

> 238. *Lapan neuk batèe-batèe nyan ka-boh lang raga.
>
>   Eight CL   stone-stone that 2_y-put in basket
>
>   *'Put those eight stones into the basket.'*

> 239. Ubé-na raja-raja geu-teuka bak teumpat nyan.
>
>   All   king-king 3_r-come to place   that
>
>   *'All kings came to that place.'*

Second, the noun must be definite: i.e., modified by a
relative clause (especially when the predicate consists of a
verb or an adjective without an aspect word or modal), or by
demonstratives nyoe 'this' or nyan 'that,' or mandum 'all'
or other synonymous quantifiers, such as sigala 'all,' ubé-
na 'all,' etc.

240. Teungku-teungku   nyang meuh'eut-neuh keu kupi

"Teungku-teungku" who   want-2$_r$ for coffee

neu-langkah u dalam.

2$_r$-step   to inside

'You "teungkus" who want some coffee, please come

inside here.'

If the predicate of the relative clause contains an
aspect word or modal, or an adverb of frequency or adverb of
manner, the following options are possible: a) the noun is
reduplicated, b) the relative marker nyang is reduplicated
(usually the head NP is omitted in context), and c) the
aspect word or modal is reduplicated.

241. a) <u>Ureueng-ureueng</u> nyang ka   bayeue ka-tuléh.

Person-person   who   PERF   pay   2$_y$-write

'Write (the names of) those who have paid.'

b) (Ureueng) <u>nyang-nyang</u> ka   bayeue ka-tuléh.

Person   who-who   PERF   pay   2$_y$-write

'Write (the names of) those who have paid.'

c) Ureueng nyang <u>ka-ka</u>   bayeue ka-tuléh.

Person   who   PERF-PERF pay   2$_y$-write

'Write (the names of) those who have paid.'

242. a) <u>Ureueng-ureueng</u> nyang na jak ka geu-deungö.

   Person-person who AUX come PERF 3ᵣ-hear

   'Those who came heard it.'

  b) (Ureueng) nyang <u>na-na</u> jak ka geu-deungö.

   Person who AUX-AUX come PERF 3ᵣ-hear

   'Those who came heard it.'

  c) <u>Nyang-nyang</u> na jak ka geu-deungö.

   Who-who AUX come PERF 3ᵣ-hear

   'Those who came heard it.'

243. a) <u>Nyang-nyang</u> hana boh neu-koh keudéh.

   Which-which not-have fruit 2ᵣ-cut EMP

   'Just cut down those that do not have fruit.'

  b) Nyang <u>hana-hana</u> boh neu-koh keudéh.

   Which not-have-not-have fruit 2ᵣ-cut EMP

   'Just cut down those that do not have fruit.'

If the predicate of the relative clause is an adjective
followed by a complement, another possible option is to
reduplicate the adjective.

244. (Ureueng) nyang <u>carong-carong</u> meulangue seulamat.

   Person who clever-clever swim safe

   'Those who could swim jumped into were safe.'

In this regards, verbs of liking/disliking or verbs of
wanting are treated in the same way as adjectives.

245. Nyoe lōng-pakat nyang galak-galak meu'èn mantōng.

This I-invite   who   like-like   play   only

   'I ask only those who like to play (this game).'

246. Nyang tém-tém   bantu jak keunoe.

Who   want-want help come to-here

   'Those who want to help, please come here.'

In (247), <u>batèe</u> *'stone'* can be reduplicated because it
is modified by a demonstrative.

247. Batèe-batèe nyan ka-bōh lang raga.

Stone-stone that 2_y-put in   basket

   'Put all those stones in the basket.'

Third, reduplication can be used if the NP is the
predicate of a relative clause. In the following examples,
the reduplicated noun is the predicate of a relative clause.

248. Nyang tōké-tōké   geu-yue duek blahnoe.

Who   merchant-merchant 3_r-ask sit side-this

   *'Those who are merchants are asked to sit on
   this side.'*

249. Nyang prajurit-prajurit ji-yue maju u keue.

Who   private-private   3-order move to front

   *'Those who are privates were ordered to move to
   to the front.'*

Very often head NP's of relative clauses are omitted in
Acehnese. When this is done in sentences of the type (248)

and (249), we will have nouns reduplicated in a way which is not in conformity with the conditions given above. However, such reduplications are only allowed if they are substitutable by relative clauses where the reduplicated nouns follow nyang, which is indicative that they are reduced relative clauses.

250. Aneuk-miet-aneuk-miet h'an jeuet deungŏ.

     Child-child   NEG can   listen

     'Those who are children cannot listen.'

251. *Ureueng-ureueng bèk   dilèe geu-jak.

     Person-person   don't yet 3_r-go

     'Those who are persons should not go yet.'

252. Lintŏ-lintŏ   beu sapat   neu-peuduek.

     Bridegroom-bridegroom must one-place 2_r-place

     'Those who are bridegrooms should be asked to

     sit in one place.'

Another way plurality is marked in Acehnese is by reduplicating a modifier or predicate, usually words that modify quality or condition.

253. Boh   mamplam nyoe raya-raya.

     Fruit mango   this big-big

     'These mangoes are all big.'

254. Luweue-geuh panyang-panyang that.

Trousers-3$_r$ long-long   very

'*All his trousers are long.*'

255. Aneuk-geuh carong-carong.

Child-3$_r$ clever-clever

'*All his children are clever.*'

(255), for example, would never be used to refer to a person with only one child. This kind of reduplication is clearly plural.

3.4 di

This word (to be distinguished from the di 'in, at, from' and di-, a variant of ji- '3$_y$') has received more than one name; "function word" in Asyik (1972), "subject marker" in Asyik (1982: 8-9), and "focus marker" in Durie (1985: 207-9). The treatment in Durie (1985) is the most complete for the present time. According to Durie, this word is not only used to *focus subjects*, but also other NP's, including dative NP's. The example from Durie is copied here as (256) and glossed in the method used here.

256. Ka-bri di kèe duwa boh.

2$_y$-give SFC I   two   CL

'*Give me two.*'

di in this sentence can easily be replaced by
preposition keu 'for,' which is the only preposition used
for datives, as in (257).

257. Ka-bri keu kèe duwa boh.

2_y-give for I two CL

'Give me two.'

There is no question that the NP following keu in (257)
is the dative, but as to the status of the NP following di
in (256), there is a need for further discussion. In
sentences involving more than one NP omitted, as in (256),
di is very similar to keu, but in sentences like the
following, we can see that they are different.

258. Ka-bri keu lōn boh mamplam nyan.

2_y-give for I fruit mango that

'Give me that mango.'

259. Ka-bri di lōn boh mamplam nyan.

2_y-give SFC I fruit mango that

'(As for me), give me that mango.'

The two sentences look similar in form, and identical
in translation. But these two sentences are very different
in intonation. In (258), the verb and the dative is
pronounced as a single phonological unit with the stress on
the dative. In (258), the verb and the di phrase are
pronounced separately. The voiced is raised a little on the
verb, and the rest of the sentence receives low level

intonation. This is the intonation of sentences with the order subject-predicate where the verb has been fronted before the subject. Based on this evidence, one can conclude that lōn is the subject of this sentence, as defined in 3.3.1.

This is supported further by the fact that neither of the other two NP's, <u>kah</u> 'you' or <u>boh mamplam</u> 'mango fruit' can be made the subject of this sentence if <u>lon</u> is preceded by <u>di</u>.

260. *(Di) kah ka-bri di lōn boh mamplam nyan.

SFC you$_y$ 2$_y$-give SFC I fruit mango that

261. *Boh mamplam nyan ka-bri di lōn.

Fruit mango that 2$_y$-give SFC I

(261) is quite a good sentence if it is pronounced with topicalization intonation. This is the case when an object is fronted either before the subject or before the verb. As a topicalized sentence it means

It is that mango that I want you to give me.

In sentence (258), lōn is clearly coded as a dative, and either one of the other two NP's is forced to become the subject of the sentence.

262. Di kah ka-bri keu lōn boh mamplam nyan.

SFC you$_y$ 2$_y$-give for I fruit mango that

As for you, I want you to give me the mango.

263. Boh mamplam nyan ka-bri keu lōn.

Fruit mango that 2$_y$-give for I

'*Give me that mango.*'

The difference in status between the NP's following <u>di</u>

and the NP's following <u>keu</u> can also be seen in complex

sentences, such as the following.

264.a) Lheueh lōn-bri pisang keu gopnyan, teuka sōsah.

After 1-give banana for he$_r$ come worry

'*After I gave a banana to him, I became*

worried.'

b) Lheueh lōn-bri pisang di gopnyan, teuka sōsah.

After 1-give banana SFC he$_r$ come worry

'*After I gave him a banana, he became worried.*'

265.a) Kareuna sakét-jih, hana ji-bri ie keu kamèng.

Because ill-3$_y$ NEG 3$_y$-give water for goat

'*Because he was ill, he did not give water to*

the goat.'

b) Kareuna sakét-jih, hana ji-bri ie di kamèng.

Because ill-3   NEG 3$_y$-give banana SFC goat

'*Because the goat was ill, he did not give it*

water.'

Since datives are not the subjects, it is not difficult

to tell what the subjects of the clauses that contain them

in (264a) and (265a). Although the other NP's are not

present, it is possible in Acehnese to tell what the NP's
are because they are represented by the agreement markers on
the verbs. In (264a), the missing NP is lōn 'I,' and in
(265a) jih 'he/she_y,' and these NP's are the subjects of the
clauses under consideration in (264a) and (265a)
respectively. In these structures, these subjects, and not
the dative NP's, are also interpreted as the subjects of the
other clauses in the two sentences. In (264b) and (265b), it
is the NP's preceded by di which are interpreted as the
subjects of these two clauses, and not lōn and jih. This
indicates that the NP's preceded by di are not datives
because these clauses cannot take datives as their subjects.
These NP's cannot be the direct objects either, because in
both sentences the direct objects are ie 'water.' Since the
subjects of the two clauses can only be interpreted as
coreferential, these NP's must be the subjects of the
sentences. As will be shown later, when the subject of a
sentence is placed in a non-subject position, or when other
constituents are fronted to the beginning of the sentence,
the subject is usually preceded by di in Acehnese. When the
subject is placed at the beginning of the sentence, each of
the two sentences is as follows.

266. Gopnyan teuka sōsah lheueh lōn-bri pisang.

He_r   come worry after 1-give banana

'He became worried after I gave him a banana.'

267. Kamèng hana ji-bri pisang kareuna sakét-jih.

Goat   NEG 3_y-give banana because ill-3

'The goat was not given bananas because it was

ill.'

The data that have been considered here suggest that an NP preceded by di, despite the translation, is the subject of its clause.

Since di is always used with the subject, I want to keep "subject" as a part of the term for this word and I will choose one of its several functions as another part of its name, that is, the "focusing" function, and rename the word "subject focus." For whatever function it assumes, the word will be glossed "SFC."

3.4.1 **Functions**

The functions of di in Acehnese sentences consist of the following.

[i]. One of the functions of di is to place the subject in focus, as in the following examples.

268. Di kamoe hèk that uroe nyoe.

SFC·we_{exc} tired very day this

'We are very tired today.'

269. Di macut geu-neuk woe   u gampong singoh.

SFC aunt 3$_r$-want go home to village tomorrow

'Aunt wants to go back to village tomorrow.'

[ii]. The second function of <u>di</u> is to contrast a
subject from other subjects or two subjects from each other.
In (270), <u>di</u> contrasts the subject <u>gopnyan</u> 'he/she$_r$' who
does not eat chicken with other persons, already mentioned
or understood from the context, who do eat chicken. In
(271), the two subjects being contrasted are present and
preceded by <u>di</u>.

270. Di gopnyan h'an ék-geuh sie   manok.

SFC he$_r$ NEG want-3$_r$ meat chicken

'He does not eat chicken.'

271. Di apa geu-peusieng sie, di lon lon-cang gulè.

SFC uncle 3$_r$-cut   meat SFC I 1-cut vegetable

*'Uncle will cut the meat and I will cut
vegetable.'*

[iii]. The third function of <u>di</u> is purely syntactic. It
is used to overrule constraints [ii] and [iii] of the
Pronouns Ordering Constraints (POC) set forth in 2.1.1.3.
(272a) is ungrammatical because it violates constraint [ii]
of the POC; two identical pronouns cannot be placed next to
each other. However, when <u>di</u> is used, the constraint is
overruled. Thus, (272b) is grammatical.

272. a)*Teungöh ji$_j$-kalön jih$_i$ jih$_j$.

      PROG   3$_y$-look   he$_y$ he$_y$

      'He$_j$ is looking at him/her$_i$.'

    b) Teungöh ji$_j$-kalön jih$_i$ di   jih$_j$.

      PROG   3$_y$-look   he$_y$ SFC he$_y$

      'He$_j$ is looking at him/her$_i$.'

(273a) and (274a) are in violation of constraint [iii]
of the POC; monosyllabic pronouns and pronouns in their
reflexive forms cannot immediately follow their suffixal
forms. di is used to overrule this constraint, resulting in
grammatical sentences (273b) and (274b).

   273. a)*Sakét-jih jih.

      Ill-3$_y$ he$_y$

      'He is ill.'

    b) Sakét-jih di jih.

      Ill-3$_y$ SFC he$_y$

      'He is ill.'

  274. a)*Na neu-turi cuco-neuh   droeneuh?

      AUX 2$_r$-know grand-son-2$_r$ you$_r$

      'Do you recognize your grand-son?'

    b) Na neu-turi cuco-neuh   di droeneuh?

      AUX 2$_r$-know grand-son-2$_r$ SFC you$_r$

      'Do you recognize your grand-son?'

[iv]. Another syntactic function of <u>di</u> is to enable the subject to be in position between a transitive verb and its object. The order Verb$_{[tr]}$ - Subject - Object is ungrammatical unless the subject is preceded by <u>di</u>. Compare the ungrammatical (a's) and the grammatical (b's) below.

275. a)*Ka   ji-pr̄'iek jih bajèe barō-jih

      PERF 3$_y$-tear   he$_y$ shirt new-3$_y$

      'He has torn his new shirt.'

    b) Ka   ji-pr̄'iek di   jih bajèe barō-jih.

      PERF 3$_y$-tear   SFC he$_y$ shirt new-3$_y$

      'He has torn his new shirt.'

276. a)*H'an mèe geu-kalōn gopnyan asèe.

      NEG   like 3$_r$-see   he$_r$ dog

      'He does not like dogs.'

    b) H'an mèe geu-kalōn di gopnyan asèe.

      NEG   like 3$_r$-see   SFC he$_r$ dog

      'He does not like dogs.'

[v]. As long as constraint [ii] of the POC is not violated, a subject can always be placed after an object if such an order is needed. Sentences of this type are not ungrammatical, but unless the subject is marked with <u>di</u>, very often they sound rather awkward, especially when the subject is a monosyllabic word.

277. Ka ji-poh lōn di jih.
IN 3_y-beat I SFC he_y
'He is beating me.'

278. Hana ji-turi jih di si Noh.
NEG 3_y-know he_y SFC title Noh
'Noh does not know him.'

[vi]. di is also used when an object or a constituent
strongly tied to the verb or adjective (such as aspect
words, modals, adverbs of manner, and adverbs of frequency)
is fronted before the subject.

279. Bu di kamoe neu-bri dilèe.
Rice SFC we_{exc} 2_r-give first
'Please give us rice first.'

280. Sabé di ayahwa lagèe nyan.
Always SFC big uncle like that
'Big uncle is always like that.'

281. Sit meuseuti di kah ka-klik 'oh lōn-seumanoe.
EMP must SFC you_y 2_y-cry when 1-bathe
'You will surely cry any time I bathe you.'

The subject is also normally preceded by di when the
object is placed between the subject and the verb.

282. Di awak keumeukoh kupi ji-lakèe.
SFC people harvest coffee 3-ask for
'The rice cutters ask for some coffee.'

[vii]. <u>di</u> is also used in sentences beginning with the
subject without the function of focusing or contrasting the
subject. Its only function here is to give the subject an
initial unstressed word for a smooth and unabrupt beginning,
especially when the subject is a monosyllabic pronoun.

283. Di lōn hana lōn-tukön h'an ji-tém teungeut-lōn.

   SFC I   NEG 1-know why NEG 3-want asleep-1

   I do not know why I cannot sleep.

284. Di kah beu got akai,   beh?

   SFC you$_y$ DES good behaviour okay

   Please be nice, okay?

285. Di jih ka seunang-jih jinoe.

   SFC he$_y$ IN happy-3$_y$ now

   He has a happy life now.

3.5 Sentence-Initial "nyoe" and "nyan"

<u>nyoe</u> and <u>nyan</u> are demonstratives with the meanings
'this' and 'that' respectively. However, occurring sentence-
initially, they have a very different function. In this
position they function as an 'attention getter.' These words
are very often used when the speaker wants to alert the
listener of what he is going to say. No exact English
equivalent is possible to give because their meanings vary
considerably. In some sentences they may mean something like

'Look' or 'Listen,' in some others 'Be careful' or 'Beware,'
still in some others 'You see,' 'Well,' 'I tell you,' etc.
<u>nyan</u> is used when the speaker is referring to something or
an activity far from or not related to him/her, for instance
when he/she wants to say something like, "Be careful with
that/when you do that/when you are there/etc.," whereas <u>nyoe</u>
is used to refer to something or an activity near or related
to him/her, such as in saying something like "Be careful
with this/when you do this/when you are here/etc.," "Well, I
will do this...," etc.

286. Nyan   bèk   ka-patéh   jih.
     Be careful don't 2$_y$-believe he
     Be careful not to believe him.

287. Nyan   bu   bagah ka-woe
     Mind you must quick 2$_y$-come home
     *Mind you, you must come home as soon as
     possible.*

288. Nyan ka   beutōi droeneuh.
     Well PERF right you$_r$
     Well, you are right.

289. Nyoe singōh   beu awai ta-meusapat lom keunoe.
     Listen tomorrow DES early 1$_{inc}$-gather again here
     *(Listen), we will meet here again tomorrow as
     early as possible.*

290. Nyoe   kurusi nyoe karap saboh lumo yum-jih.

Look here chair this almost one-CL cow price-3

'*Look here, the price of this chair is almost as*

much as the price of a cow.'

291. Nyoe meunyo ji-hei bèk   ka-seuōt, beh?

Listen if 3_y-call don't 2_y-answer, okay?

'*Listen. Don't answer if he calls us, okay?*'

Sometimes <u>nyan</u> and <u>nyoe</u> are also placed at the end of

the sentence.

292. Bèk ka-mupaké-paké   nyan, beh?

Don't 2_y-fight-fight listen okay

'*Listen, please don't fight, okay?*'

Sometimes <u>nyoe</u> means more or less 'now.'

293. Lōn-neuk duek-duek siat   nyoe.

1-want   sit-sit   a-moment now

'*Now I am going to sit around for a moment.*'

294. Nyoe ka   jeuet ta-jak.

Now PERF can 1_{ic}-go

'*We can go now.*'

3.6 <u>On Passive</u>

In terms of morphological marking on the verb, Acehnese

does not have passive sentences. However, there is a

structure in Acehnese that has been referred to as Acehnese "passive" following the tradition of Dutch linguists. This structure is also treated as passive in Lawler (1975 and 1977). Although this has been rejected in Durie (1985 and 1987), the term "passive" will be used in this dissertation to refer to this type of structure.

Acehnese passive has the following characteristics:

1) The subject of a passive sentence is the object of its active counterpart. The subject here is meant the subject as defined in 3.3.1 in this chapter. When this subject is in the initial position, the intonation is as described in 3.2.1. Compare the intonation of the active and passive variants of the following sentences.

295. a) Aneuk nyan ji-tulak si Amin.

Child that 3_y-push title Amin

'That child pushed Amin.'

b) Si Amin ji-tulak lé aneuk nyan.

Title Amin 3_y-push by child that

'Amin was pushed by that child.'

2) The agent in a passive sentence is placed in an agent phrase, which is the lé-phrase (=by-phrase), as lé aneuk nyan 'by that child' in (b) above. This agent phrase

is often omitted in context, or if the agent is unknown or
not important, as in (296).

296. Meusijid nyoe geu-peugöt sireutōh   thōn nyang
     Mosque   this 3$_r$-make   one-hundred year which

     ka leupah.
     IN past

     'This mosque was built one hundred years ago.'

3) The agent phrase never precedes the verb. Its usual
place is after the verb. When a sentence begins with the
predicate, it is sometimes placed after the postposed
subject.

4) The verb in an Acehnese passive sentence is one of
those that can be followed by either a direct or indirect
object. tulak 'to push' in (295) is an example of verbs that
is followed by a direct object. Verbs that are followed by
an indirect object include such verbs as galak 'to like,'
banci 'to hate,' luwat 'to loathe, to hate,' meuh'eut 'to
want,' etc. These are verbs of Class 2 (4.3), that is, verbs
that are used with an enclitic. The object following these
verbs is usually preceded by the preposition keu 'to, for'
when the sentence is in the active form. This preposition is
omitted when the sentence is passive. Compare the active (a)
and its passive counterpart (b) below.

297. a) Gopnyan galak-geuh (keu) nyoe.

    He$_r$ like-3$_r$ to   this

    'He likes this one.'

    b) Nyoe galak-geuh lé gopnyan.

    This like-3$_r$ by he$_r$

    'He likes this one. (Lit: This one is liked by

    him.)'

This criterion excludes any other sentences with a lé-
phrase from passive category. As an example of such
sentences is <u>Ji-jak lé jih</u> '3$_y$-go by he$_y$ (He goes (to
performed an errand type of activity)),' where the verb
cannot be followed by an object.

5) The verb in an Acehnese passive sentence agrees with
the agent. This is shown by (295b) and (297b) above. In
(295b), the proclitic <u>ji-</u> '3$_y$' agrees with <u>aneuk nyan</u> and in
(297b) the enclitic -<u>geuh</u> '3$_r$' agrees with the pronoun
<u>gopnyan</u> 'he$_r$.'

3.7 Summary

The main topics that have been discussed in this
chapter are word order, intonation, basic sentence
structure, the 'subject focus' <u>di</u>, sentence-initial <u>nyoe</u> and
<u>nyan</u>, and Acehnese passive forms. Among these topics,
intonation is the most important. Intonation has been used
as an argument in determining the basic word order. Based on

intonation, the order subject-predicate is considered as the basic word order of Acehnese sentences. This has been adopted as the basis for assuming the form subject-predicate as the Acehnese basic sentence structure. Intonation has also been used here to define subject.

Intonation will be used in some other discussions in the following chapters. It is an important factor considered in the discussion on cliticization of agents, which is treated in Section 4.7 of Chapter 4. It is also used to determine whether or not two verbs occurring in succession are serialized, which is discussed in Section 5.1 of Chapter 5. Intonation is also used to determine the structure in which certain verbs are being used, when these verbs can occur in two different structures. One such verbs is <u>dawa</u> 'to accuse,' which can occur in the structure with a <u>nyang</u>-complement and in the structure with a transitive VP complement. This is discussed in Chapter 5.

AGREEMENT SYSTEM

Acehnese has an agreement system which is manifested in verbs and adjectives and some other words, especially adverbs. The system is unique in the sense that it is not quite the same as the agreement known in many Indo-European languages. Agreement in Acehnese is actually a kind of cross-referencing marked by pronominal clitics. These consist of proclitics and enclitics -- the prefixal and suffixal forms of pronouns. Sometimes the terms 'prefix agreement marker' is used for proclitics and 'suffix agreement marker' for enclitics.

1. a) Gopnyan geu-jak keunoe baroe.

   He$_r$ 3$_r$-go   to-here yesterday

   'He came here yesterday.'

   b) *Gopnyan jak keunoe baroe.

   He$_r$ go to-here yesterday

2. a) Di kamoe hana meu-turi   gopnyan.

   SFC we$_{exc}$ NEG 1$_{exc}$-recognize he$_r$

   'We do not recognize him.'

b) *Di kamoe hana turi gopnyan.

    SFC we$_{exc}$ NEG recognize he$_r$

3. Ayah ka leupah(-geuh) u keudè.

    Father PERF pass-3$_r$ to town/market

    'Father has gone to town.'

4. Si nyak reubah(-jih) bak jalan.

    Title small child fall-3$_y$ on road

    'Little sister fell on the road.'[1]

5. Ureueng nyan teuga(-geuh) that.

    Person that strong-3$_r$ very

    'That person is very strong.'

6. Abang mantong hèk(-geuh).

    Elder brother still tired-3$_r$

    'Elder brother is still tired.'

A sentence in which the predicate is an NP cannot have agreement.

7. Ureueng nyan keurani(*-geuh).

    Person that clerk-3$_r$

    'That person is a clerk.'

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[1] <u>si nyak</u> is an expression for affection; it is used for one's own baby, child, or little siter/brother/etc. It is also used for other person's baby, but only when talking to that person. It is translated as '(the/my/our/your) baby/child/ little sister/brother/etc.'

Normally, the proclitics and enclitics used on the predicate are the prefixal and suffixal forms of the subject. Recall from Chapter 3 (3.3.1) that the subject of an Acehnese sentence is determinable by intonation, independent of its word order. geu- '3$_r$' and meu-'1$_{exc}$' in (1) and (2) are the prefixal forms of the pronouns gopnyan 'he/she$_r$' and kamoe 'we$_{exc}$' respectively. -geuh '3' in (3), (5) and (6) is the suffixal form of gopnyan which is used for an NP subject equivalent in status to this pronoun, such as the subjects of (3), (5) and (6). However, the pronoun long 'I' is an exception.[2] This pronoun is often used with ku-/-kuh '1$_v$,' the prefixal and suffixal forms of kee 'I (vulgar).'

8. Di lŏng hana lŏng-/ku-woe   dilĕe.
   SFC I   NEG 1-   /1$_v$- go home yet
   'I am not going home yet.'

9. H'an ék-lŏng/-kuh nyan di lŏng.
   NEG want-1/-1$_v$ that SFC I
   'I don't want that.'

Agreement in non-verbal predicates is usually the result of verb omission. The most frequently omitted verb is na 'exist, there is' in sentences with locational adverbs.

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[2]In North Aceh dialect lŏng is an unmarked form, whereas lŏn, which is an unmarked form in the dialects of Pidie and Greater Aceh, is a polite form. (See 2.1.1.)

10. a) Ma   na-geuh di rumoh.

     Mother exist-3_r in house

     'Mother is in the house/at home.'

    b) Ma   di rumoh-geuh.

     Mother in house-3_r

     'Mother is in the house/at home.'

(10a) and (10b) are completely synonymous, except that the former is more emphatic.

11. Si   Din mantöng bak sikula.

     Title Din still   at   school

     'Din is still at school.'

12. Ayah   mantöng-geuh.

     Father still-3_r

     'Father is still here.'

When a sentence contain a directional adverb, the motion verb is not always necessary in Acehnese if the context is clear. The omitted verbs in sentences with directional adverbs vary considerably. They may include jak 'to go,' minah 'to move,' ék 'to go up,' tren 'to go down,' reubah 'to fall,' and many other verbs that denote change of position. When verbs are omitted, the predicate is an adverb. For an adverb predicate, optional enclitics are used, rather than obligatory proclitics.

13. Ureueng rumoh nyan ka   u Medan-geuh.

Person house that PERF to Medan-3_r

'The person in that house has gone to Medan.'

Responses are always short and usually consist of an adverb or an aspect word.

14. Beuklam-geuh.

Last night-3_r

'He (arrived) last night.'

15. Ka-jih di jih.

PERF-3_y SFC he$_y$

'He has finished it/has got it/etc.'

16. Beurangkakri-geuh.

Any manner-3_r

'In whatever manner he likes/he is/ he does/etc.'

The verbs denoting to eat, to drink, to smoke, etc. are often omitted when an aspect word is used.

17. Aneuk nyan golom   bu-jih

Child that not yet rice-3_y

'That child has not eaten/has not been given rice yet.'

Agreement with proclitics is obligatory, but agreement with enclitics is generally optional. Although they are optional, they are often used in sentences with human or

animal subjects. (From now on, no brackets are used to indicate optionality unless that is at issue.)

18. Gopnyan hana beungèh-geuh.

    He_r NEG   angry-3_r

    'He is not angry.'

19. Awak nyoe   ka deuek-jih that.

    People this IN hungry-3_y very

    'These people are very hungry.'

20. Manok kah talō-jih ngön manok lōng.

    Cock   you$_y$ lose-3   with cock   I

    'Your cock is lost to my cock.'

21. Aneuk lumo nyoe sakét-jih.

    Child cow   this ill-3

    'This calf is ill.'

The enclitics are not usually used on a verb or adjective in a VP when the entire phrase forms a single phonological unit. Such a phrase may consist of a verb or adjective and a complement or adverb, such as <u>patah duwa</u> 'break into two,' <u>reubah teuduek</u> 'fall in a sitting position,' <u>sakét brat</u> 'very ill,' <u>teuga that</u> 'very strong,' etc.

22. Nèk   si   Ti sakét brat.

    Grandmother title Ti ill   heavy

    'Ti's grandmother is very ill.'

23. Di lōn rhet ulèe dilèe.

    SFC I   fall head first

    'I fell down head first.'

When an enclitic is used in such a phrase, it is generally floated to the end of the phrase. Adverbs of time do not usually form a phonological unit with verbs, and as such, the enclitic is not floated to them, but rather to the words before them, as in (24).

24. Gopnyan rhet lam parék-geuh baroe.

    He$_r$ fall in ditch-3$_r$ yesterday

    'He fell into the ditch yesterday.'

25. Si   nyak ban jaga teungeut-jih.

    Title baby just awake sleep-3$_y$

    'The baby has just got up.'

Sometimes the enclitics cannot be floated to the end of the phrase although the entire phrase is a unit as described above. This is the case when the last word is a degree word or adverb of frequency.

26. a) Gopnyan palak-geuh   that.

    He$_r$ frustrated-3$_r$ very

    'He is very frustrated.'

    b) *Gopnyan palak that-geuh

    He$_r$ frustrated very-3$_r$

27. a) Ureueng nyan teukhém-geuh sabé.

    Person that smile-3_r always

    'That person is smiling all the time.'

  b)*Ureueng nyan teukhém sabé-geuh.

    Person that smile   always-3_r

Agreement in sentences with <u>hom</u> 'I don't know, who knows' and <u>bah</u> 'let, never mind, I don't care, who cares' as predicates show a rather strange phenomenon. Sometimes, agreement is made with something not expressed. The expressed subject is often only a part of a phrase which means something like "as far as it concerns me/he/you/etc.", "in my/his/your/etc. case", etc. Instead of using the whole phrase, only the the pronoun is used as the subject. When the pronouns is the dominant element in the speaker's mind, the verb is made to agree with this pronoun (or noun), but if the situation related to the subject in the mind of the speaker, the verb is made to agree with this unexpressed element, that is when agreement is marked with -<u>jih</u> '3.'

28. a) Di gopnyan hōm-geuh.

    SFC he$_r$ who knows-3_r

    'As for him, it is not our concern.'

  a) Di gopnyan hōm-jih.

    SFC he$_r$ who knows-3

    'As for his case, it is not our concern.'

29. Kriban di droeneuh? Di lōn hōm-jih.

    How   SFC you$_r$ SFC I I don't know-3

    'How about you?'   *'As for my case, I don't know.'*

30. a) Di kamoe bah teulat-meuh keudéh.

      SFC we$_{exc}$ let late-1$_{exc}$ EMP

      'Never mind us being late.'

    b) Di kamoe bah teulat-jih keudéh.

      SFC we$_{exc}$ let late-3   EMP

      'Never mind things being late for us.'

If one is told something like "you are very fat", as in sentence (31), the person can give one of the responses with <u>bah</u> 'let' as in (32). With response (a), he has himself in mind, and with response (b), he has his body in mind. However, in both cases, he uses <u>lōn</u> *'I'* as the subject of the sentence.

31. Droeneuh teumbōn that.

    You$_r$ fat   very

    'You are very fat.

32. a) Di lōn bah beu teumbōn-lōn keudéh.

      SFC I   let DES fat-1   EMP

      'Never mind my being fat.'

    b) Di lōn bah beu teumbōn-jih keudéh.

      SFC I   let DES fat-3   EMP

      'Never mind my body being fat.'

4.1 Subject Conditions

In my previous account of agreement system in Acehnese (Asyik, 1982: 5) I stated that agreement is manifested only in those sentences of which the subject or agent is animate or inanimate but performing some activity. Thus, agreement is found in sentences of which the subjects are human beings, animals, plants, and things that performs some activity, such as transportation means and other moving objects, natural objects that move or perform some kind of activity, such as the water in the river, the sun, the moon, wind, thunder, rain, clouds, earthquakes, flood, etc. In (33), (34), and (35), the subjects are human being, animal, and plant respectively. In (36), the subject is a thing that performs an activity, and in (37) through (39), the subjects are natural objects as described above. All of these subjects meet the condition for agreement.

33. Aneuk nyan ji-klik sabé.

    Child that 3_y-cry always
    'That child is always crying.'

34. Manok nyoe sakét-jih.

    Hen this ill-3
    'This hen is ill.'

35. Bak mamplam nyoe ka ji-muboh.

Tree mango this IN 3-have fruit

'*This mango tree has begun to bear fruit.*'

36. Moto nyoe ji-jak dari Banda Aceh trok u Bali.

Bus this 3-go   from Banda Aceh till to Bali

'*This bus goes from Banda Aceh to Bali.*'

37. Ka-prèh ji-bleut   mata uroe.

2_y-wait 3-open eye eye day

'*Wait until the sun shines.*'

38. Tutue geutanyoe ka   ji-bamè lé ie   raya.

Bridge we$_{inc}$ PERF 3-carry by water big

'*Our bridge has been carried away by the flood.*'

39. Brat that ji-tòh   ujeuen baroe.

Heavy very 3-discharge rain   yesterday

'*It rained very heavily yesterday.*'

These subject conditions now appear to me to be inaccurate. In the following sentences the subjects are neither animate nor performing any activities, yet the verbs are made to agree with their subjects.

40. Tamèh nyoe kabèh   ruhung-jih man-saboh-nyan.

Pillar this already have-hole-3 all over

'*This pillar has holes all around it.*'

41. Rumoh gopnyan ji-hadap u laŏt.

House he$_r$ 3-face   to sea

    '*His house is facing the sea.*'

42. Tanoh nyoe sit ka   sabé roh-jih.

Land this   EMP PERF always fallow-3

    '*This ricefield has always been left fallow.*'

43. Ho   ji-tren   jalan nyoe?

To where 3-go down   road   this

    '*Where is this road leading down to?*'

When the verb of the predicate is one of those that
take proclitics in agreeing with its subject, no matter what
kind of subject the sentence has, the verb must be made to
agree with its subject.

44. a) Mèja nyoe hana gŏt ji-dong.

      Table this NEG good 3-stand

      '*This table does not stand very well.*'

    b) *Mèja nyoe hana gŏt dong.

      Table this NEG good stand

45. a) Ek   ji-seuk guni nyoe meunyo lŏn-tarék?

      Will 3-move gunny this if   1-pull

      '*Will the gunny sack move if I·pull it?*'

    b) *Ek   seuk guni nyoe meunyo lŏn-tarék?

      Will move gunny this if   1-pull

Neither mèja 'table' in (44), nor guni 'gunny sack' in (45)
is animate and neither performs any activity, but both
require an agreement proclitic on the verbs. Verbs such as
dōng 'to stand' and duek 'to sit' always require a
proclitic, regardless of the subject conditions. Even when
the subjects are abstract NP's, proclitics are used, as in
the following.

46. a) Yum padé ka   ji-tren.
       Price rice PERF 3-go down
       'The price of rice has gone down.'

    b) *Yum padé ka   tren
       Price rice PERF go down

47. a) Nyan h'an ji-(mu)mat bak akai-lōn.
       That NEG 3-hold   on mind-1
       *'That will not hold to my mind (It does
       stand to reason).'*

    b) *Nyan h'an (mu)mat bak akai-lōn
       That NEG hold   on mind-1

48. a) Ubé nyang ka   neu-peugah nyan ho ji-tamōng?
       All that PERF 2_r-say   that where 3-enter
       'Where will all that you have said enter?'
       *(From what point of view should all that you
       have said be considered?')*

b) *Ubé nyang ka ñeu-peugah nyan ho tamóng?

All that PERF 2$_r$-say that where enter

The use of proclitics in sentences is then seen to be purely a syntactic requirement. Verbs like dōng 'to stand,' etc. in independent clauses must be made to agree with their subjects. The animacy condition of the subject is thus not important for proclitics.

However, this is not entirely the case when agreement is marked with enclitics. Here, the animacy condition of the subject is still important. Generally, enclitics are used in sentences with animate subjects. In sentences with inanimate subjects, enclitics can also be used under conditions discussed below. In sentences such as the following, however, the use of enclitics is unacceptable.

49. Tamèh nyoe raya(*-jih).

   Pillar this big-3

   'This pillar is big.'

50. Keureutah nyoe putéh(*-jih).

   Paper this white-3

   'This paper is white.'

51. Ie laōt masén(*-jih).

   Water sea salty-3

   'Sea water is salty.'

Compare also the following with (46). In both sentences, the subject is yum padé 'the price of rice,' but while in (46)

the verb must be made to agree with the subject, in the
following sentence the verb cannot be used with an enclitic.

52. Yum   padé rhet(*-jih) that jinoe siat.
    Price rice fall-3   very now   a moment
    'The price of rice is very low at the moment.'

Even with inanimate subjects that are considered to be
performing some activity, such as the sun, rivers, thunder,
rain, etc., which are considered in Durie (1985: 67-71) as
being animate, enclitics cannot be used.

53. Krueng nyoe panyang(*-jih).
    River this long-3
    'This river is long.'

54. Matauroe trang(*-jih).'
    Sun   bright-3
    'The sun is bright.'

55. Ajaran   agama   geutanyoe got(*-geuh) that.
    Teaching religion we_inc   good-3   very
    'The teaching of our religion is very good.'

This shows that the use of proclitic cross-referencing
in sentences such as (36) through (39) does not mean that
the subjects are treated as animate, because we would need
to treat them as animate when used with verbs that take
proclitics, but inanimate when used with verbs that take
enclitics and adjectives; this is unacceptable. It is,

therefore, necessary to redefine also the terms 'animate' and 'inanimate' for subjects in Acehnese sentences. Animate subjects or agents are those that consist of human beings, supernatural beings, animals, and plants, whereas inanimate subjects are those that consist of inanimate things, ideas, and other abstract nouns or NP's.

With inanimate subjects, enclitics can only be used when the verbs or adjectives imply some kind of change undergone by the subjects.

56. Yōh ie raya uroe-jéh, jalan nyoe ngop-jih.
    When water big last time road this submerged-3
    'During the flood last time, this road was under water.'

57. Moto nyoe siat-at maté-jih.
    Car this a-moment-moment die-3
    'This car is out of order every once in a while.'

58. Nyan meunyo ka-tiek lang ie lham-jih.
    That if 2_y-drop in water sink-3
    'If you drop that into the water, it will sink.'

Enclitics are often used when the predicate contains inchoative or aspect words, such as ka 'already,' karap 'almost,' golom 'not yet,' makén 'becoming (more), growing,' etc., directional adverbs, time adverbs that denote the progress of time, such as trép-trép 'eventually,' dudoe-dudoe 'sooner or later,' etc., or in meunyo-clauses (=if-

clauses) and their equivalents, which express some kind of change affecting the subject. This accounts for the grammaticality of two earlier sentences, (40) and (42), repeated below as (59) and (60) for convenience.

59. Tameh nyoe kabéh   ruhung-jih man-saboh-nyan. (39)
    Pillar this already have-hole-3 all over
    This pillar has holes all around it.

60. Tanoh nyoe sit ka   sabé roh-jih. (41)
    Land this EMP PERF always fallow-3
    This ricefield has always been left fallow.

61. Ie   nyan golom   ju-jih.
    Water that not yet boil-3
    That water is not boiling yet.

62. Kuwah nyoe ka masén-jih bacut lheueh lōn-bōh sira.
    Broth this IN salty-3 a little after 1-put salt
    *This broth has become salty a little after I put
    some salt in it.*

63. Bintéh nyoe ka itam-jih keunōng asap.
    Wall   this IN black-3 touch   smoke
    This wall has become black because of smoke.

64. Batèe nyang hinoe   ka   meugulé-jih jéh-ho.
    Stone which in-here PERF roll-3   to there
    *The stone which was here has rolled (fallen) down
    there.*

65. Trép-trép meugeuratan-jih sit.

Eventually become rusty-3 too

'It will eventually rust too.'

66. Nyan meunyo hana ka-tumpang singèt-jih keunoe.

That if   NEG 2$_y$-support leaning-3 to here

'Look, if you don't support it, it will lean to

this direction.'

With verbs that indicate movement or change of
postures, such as <u>meugulé</u> 'to roll,' <u>rhet</u> 'fall,' <u>teuduek</u>
'in sitting position, lie,' etc., inchoative or aspect words
are not always needed.

67. Buku nyoe, pat   nyang ta-peuduek rhet-jih.

Book this any place that 1$_{inc}$-place fall-3

'This book always falls wherever I put it.'

68. Pakön meusiseue-jih lagèe nyoe buku-keuh?

Why   scatter-3   like this book-2$_y$

'Why have all your books scattered like this?'

69. 'Oh teuka angèn, broh nyan keunoe meutamön-jih.

When come wind garbage that to here piled-3

'When wind comes, that garbage will pile up here.'

In conclusion, my earlier statement about subject
conditions needs revision. In connection with this, the
terms 'animate' and 'inanimate' have also been redefined.
Animate noun phrases are those that refer to human beings,

supernatural beings, animals, and plants. All others are inanimate.

The first criterion is whether the predicate governs agreement with proclitic or enclitic. Recall that predicate NP's are excluded from all agreement; other predicates must either govern one or the other mode, with the exception of a few ambivalent cases discussed below. If it is a proclitic predicate, the agreement is obligatory, whatever the nature of the subject.

If, however, it is an enclitic (non-NP) predicate, the next criterion is whether the subject is animate. If so, or in the case of an inanimate subject, if the predicate phrase is inchoative in the sense discussed above, then enclitic agreement is optional. In all other cases agreement is prohibited.

4.2 Subject Omission

Since proclitics and enclitics on the predicate are pronominal prefixes and suffixes which cross-reference subjects or agents, it is possible for Acehnese sentences to appear without subjects. Subject omission is very common in sentences in which the subjects are known. The most commonly omitted subjects are those of the first and second persons. In daily conversations, such sentences as the following are very common.

70. 'Etnha neu-jak?

    Where 2_r-go

    'Where are you going?'

71. 'Oh teubiet sikula ka-woe   laju u rumoh.

    When go out school 2_y-come back soon to house

    'Please come home soon after school.'

72. Mantŏng seu?i-lŏn.

    Still   not feeling well-1

    'I am still not feeling well.'

    Unlike the pronominal clitics of third person subjects,
each form of pronominal clitics of first and second person
subject, except ta-/-teuh '1_{inc}' or '2_{yr},' has only one
reference. Therefore, no ambiguity results when the subject
is omitted from the sentence. neu- '2_r' in (70) refers only
to the pronoun droeneuh 'you$_r$, ka- '2_y' in (71) refers only
to kah 'you$_y$,' and -lŏn '1' in (72) refers only to lŏn 'I.'
ta- and -teuh are ambiguous only when the speaker and the
person he/she is talking to is addressed with gata 'you$_{yr}$.'
In such a situation, the full forms of pronouns may
sometimes need to be repeated.

    Pronominal clitics of third person subjects always have
more than one reference unless clearly defined by the
context. For this reason, third person subjects cannot be
omitted as easily as those of first and second person. They
can only be omitted in clear context, such as prior mention,
by pointing at the subjects, etc. In conversations and

stories, subject omission is obligatory, but they are
omitted only after first being introduced, once or sometimes
twice. They will be introduced again if another subject
taking the same cross-referencing intervenes, or when the
speaker wants to use di before the subject for focus or
contrast, or for other reasons. The following is an excerpt
of a story, Haba si Tet Ma (A Man Who Burned His Mother),
which demonstrates the contexts when a subject is omitted
and reintroduced. There are three subjects in this story, a
mother (ma 'mother'), her son (aneuk agam-geuh 'her son'),
and this young man's wife (peurumoh-jih 'his wife'). I have
inserted $\emptyset_1$, $\emptyset_2$, and $\emptyset_3$ in the text to mark the missing
subjects for ma, aneuk agam-geuh, and peurumoh-jih
respectively.

73. (1) Jameun   dilèe, <u>bak saboh   rumoh tinggai sidroe</u>
        Old time past   in   one-CL   house live   one-CL

    ma,   aneuk agam-geuh ngön <u>peurumoh-jih</u>. (2) <u>Ma</u>
    mother child male-3_r and wife-3_y Mother

    nyan ka   tuha that-that, $\emptyset_1$ h'an ék   geu-jak meu
    that PERF old very very   -   NEG able 3$_r$-go   even

    saho   pih lé. (3) <u>Di aneuk-geuh sayang-jih</u>
    anywhere EMP anymore   SFC child-3_r love-3_r

    that keu gopnyan. (4) <u>Peue nyang $\emptyset_1$ meuh'eut-geuh</u>
    very to she$_r$ Whatever that -   want-3_r

    $\emptyset_2$ ji-peutrōk $\emptyset_2$ ji-jak mita keudéh keunoe.
    -    3$_y$-satisfy -   3$_y$-go find to there to here

    (5) Meulah   bacut,   <u>di jih klo-jih</u>. (6) <u>Di</u>
        Unfortunate a little SFC he$_y$ deaf-3_y SFC

    <u>peurumoh-jih h'an mèe sagai ji-kalön tuwan-jih</u>.
    wife-3_y NEG like at all 3$_y$-see mother-in-law-3_y

(7) Tiep uroe $\emptyset_3$ ji-peusuna $\emptyset_3$ ji-peugah nyang
Every day - 3_y-tell lie - 3_y-tell   which

hana-hana   bak lakoe-jih.
not exist-not exist to husband-3_y

(8) Bak siuroe $\emptyset_3$ ji-peugah bak lakoe-jih
At   one-day - 3_y-tell   to   husband-3_y

ma   tuha nyan geu-klik-klik $\emptyset_1$ geu-lakèe lakoe.
mother old that 3_r-cry-cry   - 3_r-ask for husband

Translation:

(1) *Once upon a time, there were three persons, a
mother, her son and his wife, who lived in a house.*
(2) *The mother was very old and could not move
anywhere anymore.* (3) *Her son loved her very much.*
(4) *Whatever she wanted, he would go everywhere to
find it and gave it to her.* (5) *Unfortunately, he
was deaf.* (6) *As for his wife, she hated her very
much.* (7) *Every day she told her husband lies and
fabricated bad stories about her.*
(8) *One day, she reported to her husband that the
old mother had cried and cried asking for a
husband.*

The three persons in the story are introduced in the
first sentence. In the next sentence, ma 'mother,' which is
the subject of the sentence, is introduced in the first
clause. In the second clause it is omitted and represented
only by the proclitic geu- '3_r.' Although another subject,
aneuk-geuh 'her son,' is introduced in the next sentence,
the subject ma continues to be represented by cross-
referencing alone in meuh'eut-geuh (4). This is because
aneuk-geuh, which interrupts the continuity of ma, takes a
cross-referencing with a different level of politeness;
thus, no ambiguity results. (The use of gopnyan 'she$_r$' in
(3) has nothing to do with the intervention by the subject
aneuk-geuh. The full form gopnyan is used here because it is

preceded by a preposition. A full form of pronoun or NP
should be used in a PP (except when the NP is a
demonstrative (2.4)), as also in bak lakoe-jih 'to her
husband' in (7).)

Likewise, after its introduction in (3), aneuk-geuh
'her son' is only represented by cross-referencing in the
clauses that follow: the last two clauses in (4), ji-
peutrōk, and ji-jak mita keudéh keunoe. The preceding
intervention of a clause in which ma is the subject does not
cut off the continuity of aneuk-geuh because the two are
distinguished by the level of politeness in their cross-
referencing.

Sometimes there is a need to focus or contrast a
subject, which is done by using "subject focus di." When
this is done, the subject has to be represented by a full NP
or pronoun, even in a clause where it is normally omitted.
This is what happened to subject aneuk-geuh in (5); as we
can see, this subject has been omitted in two consecutive
preceding clauses.

The third subject, peurumoh-jih 'his wife,' appears in
full in (6). In the next clauses it is omitted and
represented by cross-referencing, ji-peusuna, and ji-peugah
nyang hana-hana in (7), and ji-peugah bak lakoe-jih in (8).

If a subject is introduced twice in two consecutive
clauses or sentences in a story, the first time, as always,
it is introduced in its most complete form, that is, in the
form of an NP, which is often modified by a relative clause

or other modifiers. Actually it is not completely correct to say that a subject is introduced twice. What happens is this. At the beginning of a story, the subject is introduced. Sometimes, in the sentence that follows, it is highlighted or focused with di. The use of di always requires the full form of the subject, usually in the form of a pronoun because it is already introduced in its most complete form before being highlighted. See, for example, the following example of the opening paragraph of a story, Ureueng Tani ngön Peulandök ('A Farmer and A Mousdeer'). The subject that is under our attention here is ureueng tani 'farmer.' It is introduced in a full NP in the first sentence and replaced by a pronoun when highlighted with di in the following sentence before it is omitted in the clauses that follow (not included here).

74. Jameun   dilèe na   sidroe ureueng tani
    Old time past   there is one-CL person   farm

    geu-meuladang bak saboh glé. Asai ka beungöh
    3_r-do farming in   one-CL hill When IN morning

    uroe, di gopnyan ka   geu-teubiet dari rumoh
    day   SFC he$_r$ PERF 3_r-go out   from house

    ∅ geu-jak u ladang-geuh.
    3_r-go   to dry farm-3_r

Translation:

> Once upon a time, there was a farmer who dry farmed on a hill. Every morning he left his house and went to his farm.

As stated above, subject omission in conversation and stories is obligatory. The obligatoriness of subject

omission in stories can be shown using, for instance, the story in (73). We can do this by inserting the subjects where they are omitted. If we do this, the story will sound very strange to the ears of the Acehnese; it becomes unacceptable.

The same is true of conversation. The following is from a conversation between an informant and the subject's father the day after a contest in which the subject had taken part. The subject is introduced in the first sentence. In the following sentence it appears again in the form of a pronoun because di is used, not for focus, but because the subject is backgrounded to highlight the predicate, and this requires the subject to be preceded by di (see function (v) of di in 3.4.1). In the two clauses that follow, the subject is omitted. In her next response, again the informant placed the subject at the end of the sentence for the same reason as above; so, di is used and the subject has to be in full form again. Then it is omitted again in the following sentence.

The same as in the story above, subject omission in the middle of a conversation, as shown in the following, is also obligatory.

75. Q: Na   meuteumeung nomor   si   Iyah.
       AUX get   number title Iyah

    A: Na. Kali nyoe meuteumeung leumbōi sa   di jih.
       Yes Time this get   number one SFC she_y

       Nyang ka   leupah ∅ man duwa gō   leumbōi duwa.
       Which PERF past   - all two time number two

∅ Karap h'an ji-tém lé.
- Almost NEG 3_y-want anymore

Q: Peue lagu ∅ ji-ikōt?
What song - 3_y-choose

A: Lagu pop.
Song "pop"

Translation:

Q: *Did Iyah win (in the contest)?*
A: *Yes. This time she won first place. In the last two contests, she was second. She almost did not want to take part this time.*
Q: *What songs did she sing?'*
A: *"Pop" songs.*

The following is an account by an informant about his going to sea. The subject lōng 'I' is introduced in the first sentence and then omitted in all clauses that follows. However, in the version that is given below, I have inserted the subject in all clauses. The result is a story which is unacceptable to a native speaker. Notice also that the interruption of lōng by a third person agent tōké Taléb 'merchant Taleb' does not requires its reintroduction because they take different proclitics. Since the insertion of the omitted lōng is unacceptable, the word is starred.

76. Baroe di lōng lōng-jak u laōt. (*Lōng) trōk bak
Yesterday SFC I 1-go to sea. I arrive at

keudè tōké Taléb (*lōng) lōng-piyōh siat sabab
shop merchant Taleb I 1-stop a moment because

(*lōng) hèk-lōng that.
I tired-1 very

"Pue neu-jép?" geu-tanyŏng lé tōké Taléb.
What 2_r-drink 3_r-ask by merchant Taleb

"Hai, pue laén, kŏn kupi," lōng-kheun.
Well what else EMP coffee 1-say

> Lheueh (*lōng) lōng-jép kupi, (*lōng) lōng-teubiet
> After   I   1-drink coffee I   1-go out
>
> (*lōng) lōng-jak laju bak jalō.
> I   1-go   soon to canoe.

Translation:

> *Yesterday I went to the sea. When I arrived at*
> *merchant Taleb's coffee shop, I stop for a moment*
> *because I was very tired.*
> *"What do you want to drink?" he asked me.*
> *"What else, coffee, of course," I said.*
> *After I had drunk my coffee, I left and went*
> *to my canoe right away.*

It should be noted, that subject omission is also obligatory in some clauses in complex sentences, even when the sentences are in isolation, for example, in verb complement (see 5.3) and in coordination. In story (73), the omission of the subject of the clause ∅ geu-lakèe lakoe 'ask for a husband' in (8) is an example of subject omission in a verb complement; the clause is the complement of the higher clause verb geu-klik-klik 'she cried and cried (asking for a husband).' The following another such sentence which can be used without a context and clearly understood. The omission of the subject of its complement is obligatory.

77. a) <u>Apa   Jali</u> ka   geu-mulayi [∅ bloe padé].

       Uncle Jali PERF 3_r-begin   buy rice

       'Uncle Jali has started to buy rice.'

   b) *<u>Apa   Jali</u> ka   geu-mulayi [gopnyan bloe padé].

       Uncle Jali PERF 3_r-begin he_r buy rice

Subject omission is also obligatory in coordination.
The following is a sentence involving coordination, which
can be used in isolation and yet understood perfectly well.

78. a) [Di matauroe ji-teubiet di timu] [∅ ji-lōp

    SFC eye-day 3-come out in east   3-enter

    u barat].

    to west

    'The sun rises in the east and sets in the west.'

    b)*[Di matauroe ji-teubiet di timu] [matauroe

    SFC eye-day 3-come out in east   eye day

    ji-lōp u barat].

    3-enter to west

In story (74), the omission of the subject in ∅ geu-jak u
ladang-geuh 'he went to his farm' is due to coordination.

4.3 Criteria for Proclitics and Enclitics

The criteria for choosing proclitics or enclitics
cross-referencing is determined by the verbs or adjectives
of the predicate. Within this contex, we can divide Acehnese
verbs into two major groups: those that take proclitics and
those that take enclitics. For convenience, the former will
also be referred to as "Verbs of Class One" or "V1's" and
the latter "Verbs of Class Two" or "V2's". As a general

rule, volitional verbs take proclitics and non-volitional verbs take enclitics. Being non-volitional, all adjectives take enclitics.

But to this rule should be added a list of exceptions that consists of non-volitional verbs that consistently take proclitics instead of enclitics. One more list is also important; this list consist of mostly non-volitional verbs that can sometimes be used with proclitics when used volitionally. These are the only sets of exceptions.

As for other volitional and non-volitional verbs, they are fairly consistent and are easily recognizable from their meanings. In general, what is understood as volitional in English is also volitional in Acehnese, and what is non-volitional in English is non-volitional in Acehnese. Verbs such as _jak_ 'to go,' _pajōh_ 'to eat,' _tulak_ 'to push,' etc. are volitional verbs, whereas those such as _reubah_ 'to fall,' _teugantōh_ 'to stumble,' _meuhantōk_ 'to hit unintentionally,' etc. are non-volitional. However, it is useful to note that all derived verbs as discussed in 2.2.1 are volitional, except those derived with _teu-_, and four groups of verbs derived with _meu-_: three of them derived from nouns and one from verbs. The three groups derived from nouns (see 2.2.1.1.1) are those with the meanings: (i) 'to excrete liquid' (or meaning (a)), such as _meugeutah_ 'to excrete sap (the sap comes out from it),' (ii) 'to have, to carry' (or meaning (b)), as in _meubeudé_ 'having gun, carrying gun,' and (iii) 'to appear in the form' (or

meaning (p)), such as <u>mubeuno</u> 'to appear in the form of a ghost.' The non-volitional verbs derived from verbs (see 2.2.1.1.3) are those with the meaning 'done unintentionally' (or meaning (a)), for example, <u>meutarék</u> 'to pull unintentionally.'

Verbs that constitutes exeptions are given in tables 4 and 5 below. Table 4 contains several non-volitional verbs that take proclitics in agreeing with their subjects instead of enclitics. These verbs consist of verbs of sensation and some verbs of mental activity.

Table 4: Non-volitional verbs that take proclitics.
----

[i]. Verbs of sensation:

<u>eu</u> or <u>kalön</u> or <u>ngieng</u> 'to see, to look at'

<u>deungö</u> 'to hear, to listen to'

<u>rasa</u> 'to suppose, to feel, to taste'

Two of these verbs are derived with <u>tu-</u> 'to know' (2.2.1.4).

<u>tubèe</u> 'to smell'

<u>tunyum</u> 'to sense, to feel'

[ii]. Non-volitional verbs of mental activity:

<u>sangka</u> 'think (as in 'I thought he was rich')'

<u>kira</u> 'to think (same as <u>sangka</u>)'

<u>pham</u> 'to understand'

<u>thèe</u> 'to realize, to become aware'

<u>jeuet</u> 'to dare'

<u>takōt</u> 'to fear'

<u>lumpoe</u> 'to dream'

<u>chén</u> 'to wish to have/to see/to be with'

Seventeen more verbs that belong to this group are those derived with <u>tu-</u> from all "<u>tu-</u> words", except <u>tubee</u> and <u>tunyum</u>, which belong to (i) above. In other words, all verbs formed with <u>tu-</u> belong to this list. These verbs are listed in 2.2.1.4.

----

79. Na <u>lōn-deungō</u> ji-klik beuklam.

AUX i-hear 3_y-cry last night

'I heard her crying last night.'

80. Meunyo neu-cut'iet bak jaroe-geuh <u>geu-tunyum</u>.

If 2_r-pinch   on hand-3_r 3_r-feel

'If you pinch him on the hand, he will feel it.'

81. Hana <u>ji-thèe</u> deuek-jih watèe ji-meu'èn.

NEG 3_y-aware hungry-3_y when 3_y-play

'When he is playing, he forgets about becoming hungry.'

82. Na <u>neu-tujan</u>   ji-woe?

AUX 2_r-know the time 3_y-come back

'Do you know when he will be back?'

83. Beuklam   lōn-lumpoe sakét mata-lōn.

Last night 1-dream   sore   eye-1

'Last night I dreamed that I had sore eyes.'

Thus, V1's or Verbs of Class One consist of volitional verbs and several non-volitional verbs listed in Table 4, and V2's or Verbs of Class Two consist of all non-volitional verbs, except those listed in Table 4.

The second list is Table 5. This list contains verbs and adjectives that can be used either volitionally (with proclitics) or non-volitionally (with enclitics). Most of the verbs in this list are non-volitional but can be used volitionally, and others are volitional but can be used non-volitionally.

Table 5: Verbs and adjectives that can be used either volitionally or non-volitionally.

----

[i]. Verbs:

a). Verbs of liking/disliking:

galak 'to like, to love'

meuh'eut 'to want, to wish'

cinta 'to love'

gaséh 'to love, to feel pity'

sayang 'to love, to feel pity'

banci 'to hate'

luwat 'to loathe, to dislike'

b). Other verbs:

teuka 'to arrive, to come'

peurumeun 'to care'

beureusén 'to sneeze'

mutah 'to vomit'

batōk 'to cough'

horeumat 'to respect'

seugan 'to respect'

kiyanat 'to betray, to treat cruelly'

udép 'to live, to be alive'

maté 'to die, to be dead'

[ii]. Adjectives:

a). Adjectives of emotions:

ceumuru 'jealous'

deungki 'maliciously jealous'

beungèh 'angry'

malèe 'ashame, shy, to feel embarrassed'

seudèh 'sad'

sōsah 'worried'

weueh 'deeply sad'

inseueh 'feel sad for somebody'

rila 'willing'

saba 'patient'

syōk 'doubtful, suspicious'

yakin 'sure'

b). Other adjectives:

  ku'èh 'cruel'

  gasa 'rude, rough'

  muda 'young'

  mabōk 'drunk, crazy about'

  jaga 'awake'

----

a). Some examples with verbs:

 84. Jih hana galak-jih (keu) droeneuh.

   He$_y$ NEG like-3$_y$ to you-r

   'He does not like you.'

 85. Bèk ka-galak nyang lagèe nyan.

   Don't 2$_y$-like which like that

   'You must not like things like that.'

 86. Di lōn batōk-lōn.

   SFC I cough-1

   'I have a cough.'

 87. Bèk ka-batōk rap si nyak.

   Don't 2$_y$-cough near title baby

   'Don't cough near the baby.'

Two other verbs that can also be added to the list are
hanyōt 'carried by water' and hilé 'to flow,' which are non-
volitional verbs. They are sometimes used by a mother to

tell her child 'to get lost.' In this usage the verbs are used volitionally.

88. Tajam that hilé ie   di krueng.

Rapid very flow water in river

'*The water in the river is flowing very rapidly.*'

89. Ka-hilé keudéh, h'an mèe ku-kalön-keuh.

2_y-flow EMP   NEG like 1-see-2_y

'*Get lost, I don't like you.*'

b). Some examples with adjectives:

90. Sösah-jih that watèe ji-dengö haba nyan.

Worried-3_y very when 3_y-hear news that

'*He became very worried when he heard the news.*'

91. Keu nyan hana lön-sösah mu bacut pih.

For that NEG 1-worry even a little EMP

'*I don't make myself worry about that even a little bit.*'

92. Di lön hana saba-lön sagai nyang lagèe nyan.

SFC I   NEG patient-1 at-all which like that

'*I am not patient at all for things like that.*'

93. Neu-saba   duwa uroe treuk.

2_r-patient two day more

'*Please be patient for two more days.*'

These non-volitional verbs and adjectives may be used
voitionally, with obligatory proclitic, when the subject is
not an experiencer, but rather a doer, in the sense that he
makes a conscious effort to perform the activity or to have
the feeling denoted by the verb or adjective. However, if
one likes something because it interests one, it is
expressed with an enclitic, as in (84). An expression in
that form is a neutral statement. On the other hand, when
one makes a conscious effort to like something, the sentence
will be in the form of (85). It is not a neutral statement.
It is useful to note that prohibitions and denials with non-
volitional verbs and adjectives are frequently expressed in
this form.

94. Bèk   neu-yakin that peue nyang ji-peugah bak
    Don't 2_r-sure   very what which 3_y-say   at

    surat-kaba.
    newspaper

    *'Don't believe too much in what they say in
    newspapers.'*

95. Panè-na   lōn-beureusén ateueh jih.
    NEG   1-sneeze   on   he
    'I did not sneeze on him.'

Note that enclitics are also obligatory with some of
the words in Table 5 when followed by an object. This is
discussed in 4.5.

4.4 Proclitics Omission for Semantic Reasons

Proclitics in Acehnese assume a double function. They are syntactic elements which are obligatory on verbs in independent clauses. In sentences with human and animal subjects, they also have another function: they denote that the subject deliberately initiates an action, which is true most of the time. This is clearly seen when used with verbs and adjectives in Table 5 (4.3). However, there are occassions when the subject has no control over an activity, for example, when one does not go anywhere because of illness; one does not eat for days because one has nothing to eat or because one is very ill; one ought to behave or perform as prescribed by religious teaching, law, custom, the nature of one's job or occupation, etc.; or one acts in a certain way because one is unable to think right. These are the circumstances under which proclitics are dropped in order to give the meaning that the subject has no control over the activity that he/she performs.

96. Di lōn hana jak u blang thōn nyoe, sakét sabé.

    SFC I   NEG go to ricefield year this ill always
    *I did not work in the ricefield this year, I was
    ill throughout the year.*

97. Jih hana pajōh bu ka lhèe uroe; brat sakét-jih.

    He$_v$ NEG eat rice PERF three day very ill-3$_r$

    'He has not eaten rice for three days now; he is

    very ill.'

98. Ureueng pungo lagèe nyan jak uroe malam.

    Person crazy like that go day night

    'A crazy person like that will go day and night.'

99. Di gopnyan lam jak rōk-rōk   masa.

    SFC he$_r$ in go all the way time

    'He is in the job of going all the time.'

The following sentence is from a comedy tape sold in
Aceh. Upon hearing the story from a comedian, acting as a
stupid young man who had just got married, saying that he
had never slept with his wife since they got married because
his mother-in-law did not want her to sleep with him,
another comedian responded by telling him not to be stupid.
He told him that a wife should sleep with her husband. Since
'sleeping with her husband' that the man said is the rule of
marriage, not what a wife likes or does not like to do, the
verb is used without a proclitic.

100. Peurumoh geutanyoe éh   sajan geutanyoe.

     Wife   we$_{inc}$ sleep with we$_{inc}$

     'A wife should sleep with her husband. (Lit: *Our*

     wives sleep with us.)'

Due to the meaning sentences of this type convey, especially the meaning that the subject has no control over what he is doing, they are sometimes used to make an unfavorable comment about what someone is doing or has been doing. Compare the following pairs of sentences. Sentence (a) is used to imply that Mr. Piah has been overcome by his desire to go on talking for a long time and forgets his duty. The sentences gives a sense of discontent on the part of the speaker. Sentence (b) is a neutral statement saying that Mr. Piah is talking over there; it may either mean that he is talking with somebody or he is making a speech.

101. a) Pak Piah teungöh peugah-haba jéh-pat.

     Title Piah PROG   talk   over-there

     '*Mr. Piah is talking over there.*'

    b) Pak Piah teungöh geu-peugah-haba jéh-pat.

     Title Piah PROG 3_r-talk   over-there

     '*Mr. Piah is talking over there.*'

4.5 Structures Requiring Enclitics

Enclitics are not always optional. There are two types of sentences formed with verbs of Class 2 in which enclitics are not omitted.

[i]. Enclitics are required when the verb or adjective is followed by an (oblique) object. Objects following an

adjective must always be preceded by preposition <u>keu</u> 'for, toward, to.' Most verbs can be followed objects without <u>keu</u>, although the more common form is with this preposition. The following are some of non-volitional verbs and adjectives that can be followed by an object.

> <u>galak</u> 'to like, to love'
>
> <u>sayang</u> 'to pity, to love'
>
> <u>banci</u> 'to hate'
>
> <u>peurumeun</u> 'to care'
>
> <u>beungèh</u> 'angry'
>
> <u>sōsah</u> 'worried'
>
> <u>weueh</u> 'deeply sad'
>
> <u>seudéh</u> 'sad, feel sorry for'
>
> <u>mabōk</u> 'crazy about, drunk'
>
> <u>ceumuru</u> 'jealous'
>
> <u>deungki</u> 'maliciously jealous'

102. a) Gopnyan banci-geuh keu jih.

  He$_r$ hate-3$_r$ to   he/she$_y$

  'He hates him/her.'

  b) *Gopnyan banci keu jih.

  He$_r$ hate   to   he/she

  'He hates him/her.'

103. a) Peue, na ceumuru-keuh keu jih?

  What AUX jealous-2$_y$ to   she

  'Are you jealous of her?'

b)*Peue, na ceumuru keu jih?

What AUX jealous to she

'Are you jealous of her?'

The (b) sentences are acceptable only if the verbs and
the objects are treated as a close unit with the stress on
the last word. In other words, the sentences are not in
their normal forms.

With some verbs, pronoun objects are not always
acceptable without <u>keu</u>. For example, <u>galak</u> 'to like' can
take a pronoun object without <u>keu</u>, but <u>banci</u> 'to hate'
cannot.

104. Gopnyan galak-geuh (keu) droeneuh.

He_r like-3_r to you_r

'He likes you.'

105. a) Gopnyan banci-geuh keu droeneuh.

He/she$_r$ hate-3_r to you$_r$

'He/she hates you.'

b??Gopnyan banci-geuh droeneuh.

He/she$_r$ hate-3_r you$_r$

'He/she hates you.'

Among the verbs in the list above, <u>sayang</u> 'to love, to
pity' behaves like <u>galak</u>, but <u>peurumeun</u> 'to care' behaves
like <u>banci</u>.

[ii]. Enclitics are also regularly used in short
sentences in which the subject is preceded by the 'subject
focus' di and the sentences end with a verb or an adjective.

    106. a) Di lōn mantöng leumöh-lōn.

          SFC I   still   weak-1

          'I am still very weak.'

      b) *Di lōn mantöng leumöh.

          SFC I   still   weak

          'I am still very weak.'

    107. a) Di ureueng nyan teuga-geuh.

          SFC person that strong-3_r

          'That person is strong.'

      b) *Di ureueng nyan teuga.

          SFC person that strong

          'That person is strong.'

4.6 Enclitic Floating

    Enclitics are not always attached to verbs or
adjectives. They can be floated to the right and attached
to other constituents.

    108. a) Abang   reubah-geuh lang parék baroe.

          Elder brother fall-3_r in   ditch yesterday

          'Elder brother fell into the ditch yesterday.'

b) Abang   reubah lang parék-geuh baroe.

Elder brother fall   in   ditch-3_r yesterday

'Elder brother fell into the ditch yesterday.'

Enclitic floating is done when the verb and the following constituents form a close unit. The enclitics are attached to the last word of the unit. Words that can form close units with verbs or adjectives are adverbs of place, instrumental adverbs, and some adjectival adjuncts.

109. Ka-bri eumpeuen bèk   maté deuek-jih.

2_y-give food   in-order-not die   hungry-3

'Give (it) food in order it will not die.'

110. Awak   nyoe tinggai di likōt-jih dum.

People this leave   in behind-3_y all

'All of these people are still behind (stay behind).'

111. Macut teutop   ngòn duroe-geuh.

Aunt   get pricked with thorn-3_r

'Aunt hurt herself with a thorn.'

A predicate may contain more than one adverb of place, but usually only the first one forms a close unit with the verb. So, the enclitic may be floated to this adverb.

112. Lumo lōng meukeumat lang leuhop-jih di blang.

Cow   I   get-stuck in   mud-3   in field

'My cow has got stuck in the mud in the field.'

The enclitic from the verb bah 'let, who cares' is almost always floated to the the clause after it or to an adverb.

113. Jih bah ji-klik-jih keudéh.

　　Hey let 3_y-cry-3_y　　EMP

　　'Just let him cry.'

114. a) Awak　　nyan bah-jih hinan.

　　　　People that let-3_y　in there

　　　　'Let those people be there.'

　　b) Awak　　nyan bah hinan-jih.

　　　　People that let in-there-3_y

　　　　'Let those people be there.'

In some clauses, the enclitics from bah are floated to the predicate that consists of an NP.

115. Bah beu peulisi-keuh keudéh, hana yö-kuh.

　　Let DES police-2_y　EMP　　NEG　afraid-1

　　'Even if you are a policeman, I am not afraid.'

In sentences with locational and directional adverbs, enclitics are sometimes floated to these adverbs. Very often the verbs are deleted, resulting in PP predicates.

116. a) Ayah　mantöng na　　di rumoh-geuh.

　　　　Father still　exist in house-3_r

　　　　'Father is still in the house/at home.'

b) Ayah mantöng di rumoh-geuh.

Father still in house-3$_r$

'Father is still in the house/at home.'

117. a) Pak   Uma ka   geu-jak u Medan-geuh.

Title Uma PERF 3$_r$-go   to Medan-3$_r$

'Mr. Uma has gone to Medan.'

b) Pak   Uma ka   u Medan-geuh.

Title Uma PERF to Medan-3$_r$

'Mr. Uma has gon to Medan.'

118. a) Lōn na-lōn nyoe-pat.

I   exist-1 here

'I am here.'

b) Nyoe-pat-lōn.

Here-1

'I am here.'

4.7 Cliticization of Subjects and Agents

By cliticization here is meant the replacement of
proclitics by the full forms of subject NP's or agents. This
was first discussed in Lawler (1975a and 1975b), termed as
SPC (Subject Preclitic) rule. It has also been treated in
Asyik (1982) and Durie (1985).

Not all subjects in active sentences can be cliticized.
The only subjects that can be cliticized are two first-

person pronouns, lōn/lōntuwan 'I' and kamoe 'we$_{exc}$,' one second-person pronoun, gata 'you$_{yr}$,' and kinship terms and some titles of respect or occupations used to mean 'you.' Kinship terms are apa 'uncle,' ayah 'father,' abang 'elder brother,' etc. Among titles used to mean 'you' are teungku 'religious scholar,' utōh 'carpenter,' guru 'teacher,' tōké 'merchant,' etc. The symbol (=) is used in the data to connect the cliticized subject or agent with the verb.

119. Kamoe kamoe=prēh bak meulasah.
     We$_{exc}$ we$_{exc}$-wait at village center
     'We are waiting at the village center.'

120. Gata gata=duek hinoe.
     You$_{yr}$ you$_{yr}$-sit here
     'You, please sit here.'

121. Teungku teungku=piyōh u dalam.
     "Teungku" "teungku"-rest to inside
     'You "teungku", please rest inside here.'

Other subjects cannot be cliticized to the verb.

122. *Gopnyan gopnyan=woe teulat.
     He$_r$ he$_r$-come back late
     'He is coming home late.'

123. *Aneuk-miet teungōh aneuk=miet-meu'en bhan.
     Child-small PROG child-small-play soccer
     'The children are playing soccer.'

Pronouns, kinship terms, titles, and other NP's used in proclitic positions have the function of a proclitic. They constitute an unseparable part of a verb in a VP. They are attached to the verbs, just as proclitics are, and in the data this is marked by a hyphen. There is nothing can be inserted between these cliticized NP's and the verbs. As parts of the verbs, they do not have a stress; the stress is placed on the verbs or the following constituents that form single units with verbs.

124. a) Kamoe meusti kamoe=jak jinoe.

We$_{exc}$ must   we$_{exc}$-go now

'We must leave now.'

b) *Kamoe kamoe=meusti jak jinoe.

We$_{exc}$ we$_{exc}$-must   go   now

'We must leave now.'

125. a) Macut h'an jeuet macut=woe meunyo golom bu.

Aunt NEG can aunt-go home if not yet rice

'You aunt cannot go home if you have not eaten

rice with us yet.'

b) *Macut macut=h'an jeuet woe meunyo golom bu.

Aunt aunt-NEG   can go home if not yet rice

'You aunt cannot go home if you have not eaten

rice with us yet.'

When the subjects are cliticized to the verbs, they are often deleted.

126. Teungku=apa=jép   kupi?

    Title - uncle-drink coffee

    'Would you like to have some coffee, uncle?'

127. Hana lōntuwan=piyōh lé.

    NEG I-drop in   anymore

    'I cannot drop in now (I must hurry).'

Cliticization is also possible in passive sentences.
However, here it is not the subjects that are cliticized,
but rather the agents in the lé-phrases (by-phrases). Unlike
the subjects in active sentences, there is no restriction as
to what kind of agent can be cliticized; all kinds of agents
can be cliticized. Another difference is that when an agent
is cliticized, it cannot occur also in a lé-phrase.

128. a) Bak u   geutanyoe geu-koh lé gopnyan.

        Tree coconut we$_{inc}$ 3_r-cut by he$_r$

        'Our coconut tree was cut by him.'

     b) Bak u   geutanyoe gopnyan=koh (*lé gopnyan).

        Tree coconut we$_{inc}$ he$_r$-cut   by he$_r$

        'Our coconut tree was cut by him.'

129. a) Pue, raga nyoe neu-peugōt lé droeneuh?

        What basket this 2_r-make by you$_r$

        'Did you make this basket?'

b) Pue, raga nyoe droeneuh=peugŏt (*lé droeneuh)?'

What basket this you$_r$-make   by you$_r$

'*Did you make this basket?*'

Agent cliticization is often used to emphasize the actor-action meaning. The meaning expressed by this form is stronger than that expressed by ordinary passives.

130. Ka-kalōn padé jéh kabéh lumo=pajŏh.

2_y-see   rice that finish cow-eat

'*Watch the rice, it has been eaten by cows.*'

131. Kah sabé   gop=peungeut.

You$_y$ always people-cheat

'*You are always cheated by other people.*'

Most expressions used for cursing are in this form. It seems to be more effective than the ordinary passive form because the (evil) actor and its action are bound into a short phrase with the stress on the verb.

132. Beu rimueng=teugom-keuh keudéh.

DES tiger-catch-2_y EMP

'*I want you to be caught by a tiger.*'

133. Bah geulanteue=tak-jih keudéh.

Let lightning-chop-3_y EMP

'*Let him be struck by a lightning.*'

Agent cliticization is very commonly used in compounding NP's from complex NP's consisting of a noun and a relative clause in passive forms.

134. a) Boh   panah [nyang ji-kap lé tupè].

Fruit jack   which 3-bite by squirrel

'*A jack fruit which was bitten by a squirrel.*'

b) boh   panah tupè=kap

fruit jack   squirrel-bite

'*a squirrel-bitten jack fruit*'

135. Nyoe leuhop [ie=raya=ba].

This   mud   water-big-bring

'*This is the mud brought by flood.*'

4.8 Double Cross-Referencing

Sometimes, in addition to a proclitic, an enclitic is also used on the verb of Class 1, as for example the following:

136. Ureueng jéh teungöh geu-duek-geuh jéh-pat.

Person   that PROG 3_r-sit-3_r overthere

'*That person is sitting overthere.*'

137. Ayah   golom   geu-woe-geuh.

Father not yet 3_r-come back-3_r

'*Father has· not come back yet.*'

The function of double cross-referencing is to
emphasize the subject. This can only be done to subjects and
never to the agents in passives. The enclitics -geuh '3_r' in
(138) and -jih '3' in (139) are unacceptable because they
cross-reference the agents abang 'elder brother' and pancuri
'thief' respectively.

138. Kah   geu-hei(*-geuh) lé abang.

　　　You$_y$ 3_r-call-3_r by elder brother

　　　'You are called by elder brother.'

139. Teungku wa   ji-poh(*-jih) lé pancuri.

　　　Title   big uncle 3-beat-3   by thief

　　　'Big uncle was beaten by the thief.'

This is rather strange, considering that verbs in
Acehnese passive sentences agree with the agent. This is not
because transitive verbs cannot have double cross-
referencing, although it is true double cross-referencing
for these verbs often results in ambiguity, because when the
enclitic is attached to the objects, it may be interpreted
as a possessive marker. The following is an example in which
a transitive verb can be doubly cross-referenced when it is
in an active sentence, but not when the sentence is passive.

140. a) Apa   teungöh geu-sék jalan-geuh jéh-pat.

　　　　Uncle PROG 3_r-clean road-3_r there

　　　　'Uncle is cleaning the road (highway)

　　　　overthere.'

      b) Jalan teungöh geu-sék(*-geuh) lé apa   jéh-pat.

        Road PROG 3_r-clean-3_r by uncle there

        'The road is being cleaned by uncle overthere.'

Actually, although the verb <u>sék</u> 'to weed' is a
transitive verb, the phrase <u>sék jalan</u> 'to remove the grass
from the road' in (a) is treated as an activity. In effect,
the phrase is treated as an intransitive verb when braced
with double cross-referencing. As such, the verb and its
object constitute a phonological unit. Being a part of such
a unit, <u>jalan</u> cannot be extracted from the unit and made
into the subject of a passive sentence. This explains the
ungrammaticality of (b). (This sentence is quite grammatical
if -<u>geuh</u> is removed, which means that <u>sék jalan</u> is not a
phonological unit; thus, <u>jalan</u> can be extracted from the
phrase and made the subject of passive.)   .

    This is also shown by the fact that nothing can be
inserted between the verb and the object when they are
double cross-referenced. In (a) below, the verb and the
object is fairly loose unit, which can be separated by an
adverb <u>laju-laju</u> 'on and on, continuously,' but in (b), the
verb and the object is a phonological unit that does not
allow anything to occur between them.

   141.a) Maçut teungöh geu-taguen laju-laju bu   jéh-pat.

        Aunt PROG 3_r-cook   on-and-on rice there

        'Aunt keeps cooking more and more rice there.'

b) Macut teungöh geu-taguen-(*laju-laju)-bu-geuh

Aunt PROG 3_r-cook- on-and-on-rice-3_r

jéh-pat.

there

'Aunt keeps on doing her job cooking rice.'

There is not restriction as to which verb and noun can be treated as a phonological unit by double cross-referencing with the effect of a sense of intransitivity as shown in the examples above.

4.9 Agreement Variations in Some Constructions

In some constructions, agreement shows variations, which sometimes have a rather complex semantic implication. Variations are found in questions with question words, in imperatives, in compound sentences, in relative clauses, in complements, and in focus sentences.

4.9.1 In Questions with Question Words

In questions where question words are not the subject, agreement works as in simple declarative sentences.

142. Pajan geu-cèt rumoh nyoe?

When 3_r-paint house this

'When was this house painted?'

143. Padit   are neu-bloe breueh?

How many "are" 2_r-buy rice

'How many "are" (two-liter measure) did you buy

rice?'

144. Peue galak-neuh di droeneuh macut?

What like-2_r SFC you$_r$ aunt

'What do you like, aunt?'

In sentences where question words or question phrases
are the subject, agreement works rather differently for
verbs of Class 1 (verbs that take proclitics) on the one
hand and verbs of Class 2 and adjectives on the other. Verbs
of of Class 1 are always used without any proclitic cross-
referencing at all.

145. Soe (*ji-)cok bungkōh ureueng nyan?

Who (*3-)take package person that

'Who has taken that person's package?'

146. Peue (*ji-)pok tiyang léstrék nyoe?

What (*3-)hit pole electric this

'What has hit this electric pole?'

147. Ureueng panè   peugah haba euntreuk malam?

Person from where make speech later   night

'Where does the person who is going to make a

speech tonight come from?'

The rule for enclitics is basically the same as that for proclitics. Verbs (of Class 2) and adjectives cannot be cross-referenced with the subject.

148. Soe röh keunyèh(*-jih) that nyan?

    Who ever whiny-3_y very that

    'Who ever is very whiny there?'

149. Soe carong(*-geuh) meu'èn dabōh?

    Who clever-3_r play "daboh"

    'Who is clever at performing "daboh" dance?' [3]

However, in rare instances, enclitics can be used: specifically, when the speaker addresses questions to a group of people older than himself. Compare the following. In (b), the speaker addresses the question to a group of people that he respects, whereas in (a) the question is addressed to children (or treated as children).

150. a) Soe antara awak kah galak(*-keuh) kupi.

    Who among people you$_y$ like-3   coffee

    'Who among you people like coffee?'

    b) Soe antara teungku-teungku galak-neuh kupi?

    Who among "teungku-teungku" like-3_r coffee

    'Who among you "teungku" like coffee.'

---

[3] A dance accompanied by "rapai" (drum) beating during which the "daboh" dancer stabs himself with a "rencong" dagger without inflicting any wound to his body.

Questions with question words as subjects are parallel
to focus sentences. The question actually asks 'Who is the
one who .....?' Sometimes _nyang_ 'who, which' is used after
the question word, just as the case with focus sentences.

151. Soe (nyang) wiet bak bungŏng nyoe?
     Who   who   break tree flower this
     '_Who is the one who has broken this flower tree?_'

If the answers to this type of questions are given in
full, such answers are always focus sentences. In the
following, (b's) are answers to (a's). Notice that the verbs
in these sentences are not cross-referenced with the
subjects, which is the rule for verbs in focus sentences.
(See 4.9.7).

152. a) Soe rhah sipatu lŏn?
        Who wash shoe I
        '_Who washed my shoes?_'

     b) Ma   (nyang) (*geu-)rhah. Geu-peugah ka kuto.
        Mother who 3_r-wash 3_r-say   IN dirty
        '_It is mother who washed them. She said they
        are dirty._'

153. a) Peue gidŏng tika nyoe?
        What tread-on mat this
        '_What trod on this mat?_'

b) Bak ta-kalön dali, sang kamëng nyang (*ji-)

    At 1_{inc}-see fact seem goat which 3-

    gidöng-jih.

    tread-on-3

    *'Looking at the fact (footprints), it must
    (seems to) have been a goat that had trodden
    on it.'*

4.9.2 In Imperatives

A simple imperative with verbs of Class 1 can begin
with bare verbs without proclitics. But imperatives of this
form are rude when used to older persons and rather harsh
for children too, although they can also be made softer by
proper intonation. To show politeness to older persons,
proclitics must be used. They are also used to make the
imperatives softer for children or younger persons.

    154. Ba kalëng minyeuk nyan keunoe.

          Bring can oil that to here

          'Bring that oil can here.'

    155. Neu-piyöh keunoe bak keurusi.

           2_r-rest to here on chair

          'Please sit down here on the chair.'

156. Ta-peudöng   keunoe Vespa-teuh.
     2_{yr}-make stand to here Vespa-2_{yr}
     'Put your motor-scooter here.'

Imperatives with verbs of Class 2 (non-volitional
verbs) and some adjectives are formed with <u>beu</u> 'DES, must.'
This type of imperative is often used with enclitics.

157. Beu   göt akai-keuh meunyo ka-seutöt löng, meu
     Must good behavior-2_y if 2_y-follow I   if

     h'an, h'an ku-ba-keuh.
     not   NEG 1-bring-2_y

     *'You must be nice if you want to go with me, or I
     will not take you with me.'*

158. Bu   bagah bacut.
     Must quick a little
     'Please be quick a little bit.'

4.9.3 In Compound Sentences

Agreement in compound sentences is the same as that in
simple sentences. However, there is a variation in sentences
with a conjoined NP subject. Normally the verb agrees with
the subject as a whole, but sometimes it agrees with the
first NP in the subject. This happens when the first NP is
emphasized. The verb is rarely made to agree with the second
NP.

159. Gopnyan le bajèe barō-geuh, cuma jareueng geu-sōk.
     He$_r$ many shirt new-3$_r$ but rarely 3$_r$-wear
     '*He has many new shirts, but he does not wear them
     often.*'

160. a) [Lōn ngōn teungku nèk]   <u>meu</u>-éh   hinoe.
        I   and title grandfather 1$_{exc}$-sleep here
        '*Grandfather and I will sleep here.*'

     b) [Lōn ngōn teungku nèk]   <u>lōn</u>-éh   hinoe.
        I   and title grandfather 1-sleep here
        '*Grandfather and I will sleep here.*'

     c) *[Lōn ngōn <u>teungku nèk</u>]   <u>geu</u>-éh   hinoe.
        I   and title grandfather 3$_r$-sleep here
        '*Grandfather and I will sleep here.*'

When one of the two NP's is a first person pronoun,
either NP may be placed at the beginning of the compound,
even when the other NP is a very respected person. Therefore
it is quite possible to make the verb agree with either NP
by placing it at the beginning of the compound, as in (b).
But if one NP is a child or person of lower status and the
other is a very respected person, it is not common to begin
the compound with a child or person of lower status. Even if
such an order is chosen because one loves the child very
much, for instance one's own small child or a baby, the verb
cannot be made to agree with the first NP.

161. *[Si Maè ngön Teungku di Ujōng] ji-duek jéh-pat.
      Title Mae and "Teungku di Ujong" 3_y-sit there
      'Mae and "Teungku di Ujong" are sitting there.'

The more acceptable order is the one with the respected
person placed in the first position. If the NP representing
a child or person of lower status is going to be highlighted
by placing it at the beginning of the sentence, a different
construction is used, for instance, by making the NP the
subject and placing the other NP under a comitative PP with
ngon 'with' at the end of the sentence.

162. Si Maè ji-jak u meusijid ngön Teungku di Ujōng.
     Title Mae 3_y-go to mosque with "Teungku di Ujong"
     *'Mae has gone to the mosque with "Teungku di
     Ujong".'*

If the pronoun kamoe 'we$_{exc}$' is combined with a second
person pronoun as subject, the verb must be made to agree
with the subject as a whole, which is geutanyoe 'we$_{inc}$.'

163. Kamoe ngön droeneuh sigö   ta-beurangkat.
     We$_{exc}$ and you$_r$ same time 1_{inc}-leave
     'You and we are going to leave at the same time.'

Sometimes, a third person and a second person combine
as a compound subject in the order third person - second
person. If the second person pronoun is higher than or equal
to the third person NP, the verb can also be made to agree

with the second person, which is the second NP in the
subject.

164. Jih ngön droeneuh ka payah neu-prèh hingga lheueh
     He$_y$ and you$_r$ IN must 2$_r$-wait till   after

        awak   nyan.
        people that

        'He and you will have to wait until all those
        people (have got their turns).'

The rule for enclitics is rather different from that
for proclitics that has just been discussed. An enclitic can
only be used if the verb is made to agree either with the
whole subject or with the first NP, if this NP is equal to
or higher in status than the other NP.

165. [Ma   ngön ayah] golom   trök-geuh.
     Mother and father not yet arrive-3$_r$
     'Mother and father has not arrived yet.'

166. [Nèk   ngön si   nyak] hana-geuh   di dalam.
     Grandmother and title child not exist-3$_r$ in inside
     'Grandmother and little sister is not inside
     there.'

167. [Si Din ngön macut] leupah that deuek(*-jih).
     Title Din and aunt too   very hungry-3$_y$
     'Din and aunt is very hungry.'

4.9.4 In Relative Clauses

In relative clauses, proclitics are not used unless the clauses are passive. A complete discussion is given in Chapter 6. Only some examples are given here.

168. Ureueng nyang (*geu-)dhōt kah ka geu-woe.
Person who 3_r-snap you_y PERF 3_r-go home
'*The person who snapped at you has gone home.*'

169. Na neu-turi aneuk-miet nyang (*ji-)hei lōn?
AUX 2_r-recognize child-small who 3_y-call I
'*Do you recognize the child who called me?*'

170. Manok nyang geu-bloe lé apa ka maté. (Pass.)
Hen which 3_r-buy by uncle PERF die
'*The hen which was bought by uncle has died.*'

If the predicate of the relative clause is a Class 2 verb or an adjective, an enclitic can sometimes be used, but it is not considered a good form. Therefore, no enclitic is used in the following examples.

171. Ureueng nyang ban trōk nyan jamèe Teungku Din.
Person who just arrive that guest title Din
'*The person who has just arrived is "Teungku"*
Din's guest.'

172. Aneuk-miet nyang beungèh bunoe   ho   ka?
     Child-small who   angry   earlier where IN
     *Where has the child who were angry earlier gone?'

For further discussions on the use of enclitics for
respect and the switch of meanings from figurative to
literal when proclitics are used with some verbs, see
Chapter 6.

4.9.5 In Complements

Verbs that take proclitics and those that take
enclitics, including adjectives, behave differently in
complements. Verbs of Class 2 have no variations of
agreement in complements. Agreement in these complements
works in the same way as that in simple sentences discussed
earlier.

173. Manok droeneuh ka mulayi talō-jih.
     Cock you$_r$ IN begin lose-3
     *Your cock is beginning to lose.'

174. Di lōn meuh'eut-lōn kah seunang-keuh.
     SFC I   want-1   you$_y$ happy-2$_y$
     *I want you to be happy.'

175. Kamoe yakin-meuh nyang jih hana salah.
     We$_{exc}$ sure-1$_{exc}$ that   he$_y$ NEG guilty
     *We are sure that he is not guilty.'

176. Lōng-sangka beungèh-neuh.

    1-think   angry-2_r

    'I thought you were angry.'

Variations of agreement are found in complements containing verbs of Class 1. We will examine two types of complements, those where Equi takes place and those following the complementizer nyang 'that.'

[i]. In a construction where Equi takes place, agreement in the complement is determined by the types of verbs on the higher level. When the verb is jak 'to go, to make a move, to make an attempt,' neuk 'to intend, to want,' tem 'to want,' or one of such verbs, no proclitic is used with the verb of the complement.[4]

177. Apa   h'an geu-tém (*geu-)pubuet tanoh nyan.

    Uncle NEG 3_r-want 3_r-do   land that

    'Uncle does not want to do that land.'

178. Nyang hana lōn-jak (*lōn-)peugah sit bak jih.

    That NEG 1-go   1-tell   only to he_y

    'The only person that I did not (go to) tell

    (about it) is him.'

---

    [4] jak can also be followed by a verb with a proclitic, such as Ka-jak ka-peugah beu gö̈t-gö̈t '2_y-go 2_y-tell must good-good (Go and tell (him) in a good way),' but such a construction is a coordination, which is marked by a brief comma pause after jak.

In contrast with what has just been said, when the verb on the higher level is one like niet 'to intend, to plan,' teulah 'to regret,' meujanji 'to promise, meusumpah 'to swear,' etc., agreement should be present in the complement.

179. a) Bak lōn-niet h'an lōn-meugȫt lé.

At 1-intend NEG 1-reconcile anymore

'I intend (I have resolved) not to make up anymore (with him/her).'

180. b)*Bak lōn-niet h'an meugȫt lé.

At 1-intend NEG reconcile anymore

181. a) Geu-peugah geu-niet bagah geu-woe.

3_r-say 3_r-intend soon 3_r-come back

'He said he intended to come back early.'

b)*Geu-peugah geu-niet bagah woe.

3_r-say 3_r-intend soon come back

When the higher verb is one of those listed below, the verb of the complement can be with or without a proclitic. Some of the verbs of this class are:

ci 'to try'	tuwȫ 'to forget'
cuba 'to try'	mulayi 'to begin'
bacī (cuba ci) 'to try'	puphōn 'to begin'
tulōng 'to help'	puga 'to begin'
usaha 'to make an attempt'	sambōng 'to continue'
meukeusud 'to intend'	piyōh 'to stop'

meuhajat 'to intend'   peulheueh 'to finish'

teuingat 'to remember'

182. Payah neu-usaha (neu-)meurumpök ngön gopnyan.
     Must 2$_r$-attempt 2$_r$-meet   with he$_r$
     Please try hard to meet him.

183. Pajan ta-mulayi (ta-)peugöt   jalan rusak   nyoe?
     When 1$_{inc}$-begin 1$_{inc}$-repair road damaged this
     *When are we going to begin to repair this damaged
     road?*

The two forms of complements (with and without cross-
referencing) of two of the verbs in the list show a kind of
meaning contrast. This is found in complements of sambōng
'to continue,' and galak 'to like.' A complement without
agreement following the verb sambōng means that the subject
continues the same activity that he has been doing, whereas
a complement with agreement means that he continues with
another kind of activity. The complement with agreement can
also have the first meaning. In the following example, (b)
can also have the meaning of (a), but (a) cannot have the
meaning of (b).

184. a) Nyoe lōn-sambōng peugah haba-peulandök.
        This 1-continue   tell   story-mousedeer
        *Now I am going to continue telling the
        mousedeer story (that I (or someone else) have
        been telling).*

b) Nyoe lōn-sambōng lōn-peugah haba-peulandōk.

This 1-continue   1-tell   story-mousedeer

'Now I am going to continue (with something

else, that is) to tell you a mousedeer story.'

galak *'to like'* shows an interesting case. As a Class 2
verb, it is used with enclitics. But when it is followed by
a complement, it behaves rather strangely. When the verb of
the complement has no a proclitic, it cannot be used with an
enclitic, and when the verb of the complement is used with a
proclitic, it must be used with an enclitic. When the verb
of the complement is used without a proclitic, the sentence
means that the subject likes the activity and does it
regularly as a hobby, or he has acquired a habit of doing it
again and and again.

185. a) Gopnyan galak jak u keudè.

He$_r$ like   go to town

'He likes going to town. (He does it as a

hobby.)'

When a proclitic is used on the verb of the complement,
the sentence means that the subject likes to do the activity
at that particular moment. But, here too, the complement
with agreement can also have the meaning of the sentence
without agreement (185).

b) Gopnyan galak-geuh geu-jak u keudè.

He$_r$ like-3$_r$ 3$_r$-go   to town

'*He likes to go to town.*'

With other verbs on the list, the use of proclitics on the verb of the complement does not cause any difference in meaning. Proclitics are usually used to emphasize the subject or when the subject is a person respected by the speaker.

186.. Ci teungku=apa = buka prak rõt timu.

Try title - uncle -open window side east

'*Please, uncle, try to open the window on the east side.*'

The verb of the complement of <u>cuba</u> and all other verbs with the meaning 'to try,' <u>tulõng</u> 'to help,' and <u>meukeusud</u> 'to intend' are sometimes modified by <u>beu</u> 'DES, must.' When this word is used, the verb must be used with a proclitic.

187. a) Ka-ci beu ka-peuseungap droekeuh siat.

2$_y$-try DES 2$_y$-make quiet yourself a moment

'*Try to keep quiet for a moment, will you?*'

b)*Ka-ci beu peuseungap droekeuh siat.

2$_y$-try DES make quiet yourself a moment

Some verbs, such as <u>yue</u> 'to order,' <u>peurintah</u> 'to order,' <u>dawa</u> 'to accuse,' <u>tulõng</u> 'to help,' and <u>peuidin</u> or <u>bri</u> 'to permit, to allow' have both NP objects and

complements, where subject of the complements is coreferential with the higher object. When the higher verb is one of these verbs, except <u>peuidin</u> and <u>dawa</u>, the verb of the complement may not have a proclitic.

> 188. Uroe nyoe lōn-jak tulōng macut (*geu-)sumula.
> Day this I-go help aunt 3_r-plant rice
> '*Today I am helping aunt plant rice.*'

> 189. Aneuk kuto lagèe kah h'an geu-bri (*ka-)tamŏng.
> Child dirty like you_y NEG 3_r-allow 2_y-enter
> '*A dirty child like you is not allowed to enter.*'

<u>dawa</u> 'to accuse,' on the other hand, requires that the verb of the complement be used <u>with</u> a proclitic.

> 190. a) Cutda geu-dawa kah ka-peukuto mèja.
> Elder sister 3_r-accuse you_y 2_y-make dirty table
> '*Elder sister is accusing you of making the table dirty.*'

> b) *Cutda geu-dawa kah peukuto mèja.
> Elder sister 3_r-accuse you_y make dirty table

(b) is quite a good sentence if <u>kah</u> is stressed, but if this is done, we are dealing with a different type of structure for <u>dawa</u> where the verb is followed by a complement with a complementizer, which is discussed in (ii) below. In addition, this complement has also been made into

a focus construction, which causes the proclitic to be
dropped from its predicate, as in (c).

c) Cutda   geu-dawa kah (nyang) peukuto

   Elder sister 3_r-accuse you$_y$ who   make dirty

   mèja.

   table

     'Elder sister argues that it is you who made
     the table dirty.'

peuidin 'to permit, to allow' allows the verbs of its
complement to be used with or without a proclitic.[5]

191. Jeuet ta-peuidin gop   (ji-)tamŏng keunoe.

    Can 1_{inc}-allow people   3-enter   to here

    'Can we allow other people to come in here?'

The proclitic on the verb of the complement is
sometimes replaced by its subject when this subject is one
of those that can be cliticized to the verb (see 4.7). When
this is done, the higher object is often omitted.

192. a) Neu-peuidin kamoe meu-dŏng hinoe siat.

      2_r-allow   we$_{exc}$ 1_{exc}-stand here a moment

      'Please allow us to stand here a moment.'

[5]This is a correction to my earlier statement in Asyik
(1982a: 25).

b) Neu-peuidin (kamoe)   kamoe=dŏng hinoe siat.
   2$_r$-allow   we$_{exc}$ we$_{exc}$-stand here a moment
   'Please allow us to stand here a moment.'

193. a) Hana lŏn-peuidin gopnyan   geu-woe   laju.
      NEG 1-allow   he/she$_r$ 3r-go-home now
      'I do not allow him/her to go home now.'

   b)*Hana lŏn-peuidin (gopnyan)   gopnyan=woe laju.
      NEG 1-allow   he/she$_r$ he/she$_r$-go-home now
      'I do not allow him/her to go home now.'

To make an impersonal prohibition directed to public, the higher object is omitted and the verb of the complement is used without a proclitic.

194. Hana geu-peuidin   jak rŏt-noe.
     NEG 3$_r$-allow   go way this
     'It is not allowed to pass through this way.'

195. Hana geu-peuidin   peutamŏng sipatu u dalam.
     NEG 3$_r$-allow   bring in shoe to inside
     'It is not allowed to bring in shoes.'

In daily conversations, <u>bri</u> 'to allow' is more common than <u>peuidin</u>.

196. H'an geu-bri   duek hinan.
     NEG 3$_r$-allow sit there
     'It is not allowed to sit there.'

When the complement of <u>bri</u> or <u>peuidin</u> is passive, the
verb must be used with a proclitic.

197. a) Neu-peuidin jih   lōn-ba lé lōn?
        2$_r$-allow   he/she$_y$ 1-bring by I
        'Would you allow me to take *him/her*?'

    b) *Neu-peuidin jih   ba   lé lōn?
        2$_r$-allow   he/she$_y$ bring by I
        'Would you allow me to take *him/her*?'

[ii]. In complements which are preceded by a
complementizer <u>nyang</u> 'that' (which is optional), agreement
works in the same way as in independent sentences. Among the
verbs that take this type of complement are:

        <u>anggap</u> 'to consider'

        <u>dawa</u> 'to accuse (also: 'consider' in some Greater
        Aceh dialects)

        <u>thèe</u> 'to realize'

        <u>lumpoe</u> 'to dream'

        <u>sangka</u> 'to suppose, to think'

        <u>patéh</u> 'believe'

        <u>kalön</u> 'to see'

        <u>deungö</u> 'to hear'

198. Peue, hana ka-thèe   nyang [kah salah-keuh cit]?
     What NEG 2$_y$-realize that   you$_y$ guilty-2$_y$ too
     '*Don't you realize that you are guilty too*?'

199. a) Na tōm neu-dengō [buya   h'an ji-kap ureueng]?
       AUX ever 2ᵣ-hear crocodile NEG 3-bite person
       '*Have you ever heard that crocodiles do not*

       bite human beings?'

    b)*Na   tōm neu-dengō [buya   h'an kap ureueng]?
       AUX ever 2ᵣ-hear crocodile NEG bite person
       '*Have you ever heard that crocodiles do not*
       bite human beings?'

4.9.6 In Verbal Nominals

Clauses are also used in various other NP positions
besides complements. They are usually found in subject
positions and in NP position within PP's. When these forms
are used as impersonal statements commenting about an
activity that is true of all persons, such as saying
"smoking is not good for health," the verbs are either used
with the proclitic ta- '1ᵢₙc' from geutanyoe 'weᵢₙc' or
without any proclitic at all.

200. a) Le   that ta-teubiet   malam hana gōt.
        Many very 1ᵢₙc-go out night NEG   good
        '*Going out too much at night is not good.*'

    b) Le   that teubiet malam hana gōt.
        Many very go out   night NEG   good
        '*Going out too much at night is not good.*'

201. Peugah-peugah mantöng panè-na payah.

     Say-say   only   NEG   difficult

     'If it is only talking, it is certainly not
     difficult.'

202. Meuayang teungöh pajöh bu   hana sopan.

     Play   during eat   rice NEG polite

     'Playing while eating is not polite.'

In the following example, the clauses are NP's within
PP's. Sometimes the preposition can be omitted, as in (204).

203. Di jih reubah [bak   döng].

     SFC he$_y$ fall   during stand

     'He fell during standing. (He collapsed for no
     reason (not doing anything)).'

204. Töh   bu   keu ureueng woe   [(bak) ceumatok].

     Which rice for person come back from tilling

     'Where is the rice for those people who came back
     from tilling the ricefield?'

To describe an instrument, Acehnese uses phrases with
ngön *'with:'*

                (alat *'tool'*) + ngön + [verb ....]

205. Töh [alat ngön kurék nyoe]?

     Where tool with pierce this

     'Where is the tool for piercing this?'

206. Na pĕng, hana [ngön jak], h'an asé   cit.

Exist money NEG with go   NEG possible either

'If we have the money, but we do not have the

means to go there, it will not be possible (to do

anything) either.'

4.9.7 In Focus Sentences

Focus sentences are similar to relative clauses, both

in form and in agreement in the clause. When the verb of the

clause is a Class 1 verb, it is not usually made to agree

with the subject. (This is discussed in 6.2.)

207. Teungku Abah nyang ka (*geu-)keumeukoh bak kamoe.

Title   Abah who IN 3_r-harvest   at we$_{ecx}$

'It is "Teungku" Abah who has started to harvest

in our village.'

208. Lōng nyang (*lōng-)pula pisang b'eung nyan.

I   who   1-plant banana "b'eung" that

'It is me who planted that banana "b'eung" (a kind

of banana full of seeds).'

209. Gopnyan nyang kira   naphakah-keuh tiep uroe.

He$_r$ who   take-care subsistence-2_y every day

'It is him who takes care of your subsistence for

your daily needs.'

4.9.8 In Introductory Clauses

By "introductory clauses" is meant the clauses used to introduce a participant into a conversation. Sometimes the introduction is in a rather abrupt manner, in the sense that the participant is introduced at the time he does or undergoes an activity. Usually the sentence begins with bak watee nyan 'at that time' or other synonymous phrases followed by a clause in the order predicate-subject. The predicate are usually intransitive verbs and they are usually used without either a proclitic or enclitic.

210. Bak watee nyan, trok rimueng bak teumpat meulatang
     At   time that come tiger to place   animal

        nyan dum meusapat.
        that all gather

        'At that time a tiger came to the place where
        those animals were gathering.'

211. Teungoh kamoe-duek-duek lang anoe, teuka
     While   we$_{exc}$-sit-sit   on   sand come

        geulumbang raya that laju ateueh kamoe.
        wave   big very soon on   we$_{exc}$

        'While we were sitting on the sand, suddenly a big
        wave came right on us.'

212. Lheueh mandum ureueng geu-bri pandangan tapi hana

　　　After　all　　　person　3_r-give opinion　　but　　NEG

　　　　　cit　　　peunutōh, <u>beudōh</u>　Teungku Samad, geu-bri

　　　　　either decision　stand up Teungku Samad　3_r-say

　　　saboh　saran.

　　　one-CL suggestion

　　　'After all people had given their opinions but no
　　　decision were reached, Teungku Samad stood up and
　　　suggested a way out.'

4.10 Summary

This chapter has tried to present a complete account of
agreement system or cross-referencing in Acehnese, which is
a very important and unseparable part of Acehnese grammar.
The subject conditions, which has been described in previous
literature, are reviewed and modified. Only animate beings
are now considered as animate subjects. Subject omission in
various contexts has also been discussed. The most important
point dealt with here is the criteria for proclitics and
enclitics. In this section verbs were divided into two
classes: verbs of Class 1 (those that are used with
proclitics) and verbs of Class 2 (those that are used with
enclitics). Other topics discussed are proclitic omission,
structures requiring enclitics, enclitic floating,
cliticization of subjects and agents, double cross-

referencing, and agreement variations in some constructions.

Agreement plays an important role in later discussions
in chapters 5 and 6, on complementation and relative clauses
and focus sentences. The terms "Class 1" and "Class 2" which
refer to the types of verbs are not only used in discussing
agreement system, but also in discussing complementation and
relative clauses and focus sentences in the following two
chapters.

CHAPTER 5

COMPLEMENTATION

By complementation is meant a construction in which a
clause is embedded in a constituent of another clause. The
embedded clause is called the complement or the subordinate
clause and the clause in which the complement is embedded is
the main clause. The main clause is also referred to as the
higher clause or the matrix sentence, and the subordinate
clause as the lower clause. Two types of complements are
discussed here, NP complements (clauses embedded in NP's)
and VP complements (clauses embedded in VP's). In the
following example, the clause aneuk gopnyan ka ji-bloe moto
'his child has bought a car' has been embedded in the
position of the object NP of the verb peugah 'to tell.'

    1. Geu-peugah aneuk gopnyan ka   ji-bloe moto.
       3_r-say   child he/she$_r$ PERF 3_y-buy car
       'He/she said that his/her son had bought a car.'

    In (2), the complement is not embedded in an NP. The
verb neuk 'to want (to)' is one of the verbs that are never
followed by an NP. A phrase like ji-neuk guru, for example,
means 'he wants to work as a teacher.' guru 'teacher' in the
phrase is a verb with the meaning 'to work as a teacher.

(See 2.2.1.8.) Thus, the clause <u>bloe Honda nyan</u> 'buy that Honda (motorcycle)' in (2) is an example of a VP complement.

    2. Apacut geu-neuk bloe Honda nyan.

       Uncle 3-want   buy   Honda that

       'Uncle wants to buy that Honda (motor-cycle).'

5.1 <u>Verb Serialization</u>

It is useful to adopt the idea of verb serialization in explaining some phenomena in Acehnese complementation, for example, how an object NP from a VP complement moves to the subject position of the higher clause, as in the following sentence.

    3. Pisang nyoe geu-neuk bloe lé ureueng nyan.

       Banana this 3_r-want buy by person that

       'This banana is going to be bought by that person.'

In the active form of this sentence, <u>pisang nyoe</u> 'this banana' is the direct object of the lower clause, and <u>ureueng nyan</u> 'that person' is the subject of the main clause. The sentence is as in (4).

    4. Ureueng nyan geu-neuk bloe pisang nyoe.

       Person that 3_r-want buy banana this

       'That person wants to buy this banana.'

The verb <u>neuk</u> is equivalent to the English verb <u>want</u> or <u>be going to</u>. (3) cannot be derived from (4) by passive in the complement (for instance as in (5)), followed by raising and passive in the main clause. There can be no passive in the complement of <u>neuk</u> because this verb requires that the complement be subjectless and the omitted subject be coreferential with the subject of the main clause. Thus, (5) is ungrammatical.

5. *Ureueng nyan geu-neuk pisang nyoe geu-bloe.
   Person that 3_r-want banana this 3_r-buy

From the English standpoint, (5) is not unexpected because that is also the case with the English verb <u>want</u>. No passive in the complement is allowed from a sentence like <u>Bill wants to buy a car</u>, where the subject of the complement is coreferential with the subject of the main clause. What needs to explicated from this standpoint is the existence of (3) aṭ all.

A similar problem is found in the derivation of a passive sentence like (6), where the verb of the main clause is <u>cuba</u> 'to try.' The active form of (6), which is (7), more or less has the same pattern as the English sentence <u>Bill tried to repair the car</u>. But, while the English sentence cannot be made into passive (*<u>The car was tried to repair by Bill</u>), its Acehnese equivalent can, that is, sentence (6).

6. Radiō lōn teungöh geu-cuba peugöt lé ureueng nyan.

Radio I   PROG 3_r-try   repair by person that

'That person is trying to repair my radio. (Lit.: My

radio is being tried to repair by that person.)'

7. Ureueng nyan teungöh geu-cuba peugöt radiō lōn.

Person   that PROG 3_r-try   repair radio I

'That person is trying to repair my radio.'

Similar to (3), (6) is not derived through an
intermediate structure as below because, just as the case
with the complement of <u>neuk</u>, the complement of <u>cuba</u> cannot
be passivized if the subject of this complement is
coreferential with the subject of the main clause. (8) is
ungrammatical:

8. *Ureueng nyan teungöh geu-cuba radiō lōn geu-peugöt.

Person   that PROG 3_r-try   radio I 3_r-repair

To explain (3) and (6), it is necessary to use the
notion of verb serialization.[1] Verb serialization is defined
here as a process in which two or more verbs are combined
into a single phonological unit. This is marked not only by
form, but also by intonation. The entire unit of serialized
verbs is pronounced without a break, and nothing intervenes
between member verbs; the proclitic is used only on the

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[1]This notion is also used in Durie (1985:240-3) in
treating some sentences with serialized verbs, including
loosely serialized ones ("weak serialization").

initial verb. Instead of intonation contour, the symbol (=) will be used to indicate that the verbs connected with this symbol are serialized.

In the following example, the verbs neuk 'want to' and rhah 'to wash' are pronounced as a single unit without a break. The proclitic geu- '3_r' can only be used with the initial verb neuk 'want to.'

9. Ureueng nyan geu-neuk=(*geu-)rhah jaroe-geuh.
   Person that 3_r-want 3_r-wash hand-3_r
   '*That person is going to wash his hands.*'

When an enclitic is used, it is used with the last verb or adjective. Just as the proclitic on the initial verb, the enclitic on the last verb or adjective belongs to the entire series of verbs. For example, both jaga 'to be awake' and teungeut 'sleeping' take an optional enclitic, but when the two verbs are serialized, the enclitic is only used with the last member.

10. Di lōn ban jaga(*-lōn)=teungeut(-lōn).
    SFC I   just awake-1   sleep-1
    '*I have just got up from bed.*'

jaga teungeut is the reduced form of jaga nibak teungeut 'to be awake from sleeping.' This full form is also sometimes used, as in (11).

11. Di lōn ban jaga-lōn nibak teungeut.

    SFC I just awake-1 from sleep

    'I have just got up from bed.'

<u>jaga teungeut</u> is not derived from complementation. This
is an example of serialized verbs derived from sentences
with clausal adjuncts contained in a PP with <u>nibak</u> 'from.'
There are also some serialized verbs which are derived from
compound sentences, for example, <u>ngieng kalōn</u> 'to see and
see (to take care of), <u>ēk tren</u> 'to go up and down,' etc.[2]

12. Neu-tulōng=ngieng=kalōn aneuk dara lōn di Bandạ.

    2_r-help see see child girl I in Banda Aceh

    'Please see and help (advise) my daughter in Banda

    Aceh.'

But we will not be concerned with these types of verb
serialization. Our concern is verb serialization in
complementation.

In complementation, there are three groups of verbs and
two types of structures or syntactic frames in which the
process of verb serialization can occur. The structures are
actually inherent to the verbs, but since there are verbs
with ambivalent structures, it is useful to specify the two
structures. The three groups of verbs and their structures
are as follows.

---

[2] In Asyik (1972), these verbs were treated as compound
verbs.

[i]. Verbs of the first group consist of the following.

neuk (occasionally keuneuk) 'to want (to)'

keumeung (occasionally meung) 'to want (to), be going (to)'

jak 'to go, to keep (doing), to occupy oneself in'

meurunoe 'to learn'

lakèe 'to ask (for)'

These verb occur in a structure in which the subject of the complement is coreferential with the subject of the main clause. This is the first type of structure in which verb serialization can occur. As we will see later, there are other verbs that also occur in this structure, but in terms of verb serialization they do not belong to the group of neuk. Verbs that belong to the group of neuk differ from other verbs in that verb serialization is obligatory when the verb of the main clause is one of the verbs from this group.

13. Lōn-keumeung=(*lōn-)geusök bajèe dilèe.

    1-want   1-iron   shirt first

    'I want to iron a shirt first.'

14. H'an ék lōn-jak=(*lōn-)ingat nyan dum.

    NEG able 1-go   1-remember that all

    'I do not want to force myself to remember all

    those things.'

15. Abang   ka   geu-<u>jak</u>=(*<u>geu-</u>)<u>bloe</u> daweuet.

Elder brother PERF 3_r-go 3_r-buy   ink

'Elder brother has gone to buy some ink.'

16. Barō ji-meurunoe jak.

Just 3_y-learn   walk

'It (baby) is beginning to learn to walk.'

17. Pakön h'an ka-<u>lakèe</u>=<u>jak</u> ngön gopnyan?

Why   NEG 2_y-ask   go with he/she$_r$

'Why didn't you ask to go with him/her?'

Since serialized verbs function as a single verb,
sentences with these verbs behave very much like simple
sentences. Passive is formed in the same way as forming
passive from a simple sentence; the object is placed in the
subject position and the subject in a <u>lé</u>-phrase, which can
be omitted. This is how the passive sentences (3) and (6)
are formed. Other active-passive pairs:

18. a) Ureueng nyan geu-<u>neuk</u>=<u>cèt</u> rumoh geutanyoe.

Person that 3_r-want paint house we$_{inc}$

That person is going to paint our house.'

b) Rumoh geutanyoe geu-<u>neuk</u>=<u>cèt</u> lé ureueng nyan.

House we$_{inc}$ 3_r-want paint by person that

*'Our house is going to be painted by that
person.'*

19. a) Pertamina ji-<u>neuk=peugöt</u> jalan nyoe.

    Pertamina 3-want make   road this

    '*Pertamina is going to build this road.*'

b) Jalan nyoe ji-<u>neuk=peugöt</u> lé Pertamina.

    Road this 3-want make by Pertamina

    '*This road is going to be built by Pertamina.*'

When verbs are serialized, passive in the complement is prohibited. This is because such passive will cause the separation of the serialized verb by the fronted object NP of the lower clause, as shown by the (b) sentences below.

20. a) Ureueng nyan geu-<u>neuk=rhah</u> moto.

    Person that 3_r-want wash car

    '*That person wants to wash the car.*'

b) *Geu-<u>neuk</u> moto (geu-)<u>rhah</u> lé ureueng nyan.

    3_r-want car 3_r-wash by person that

21. a) Abang   geu-<u>keumeung=pula</u> pisang.

    Elder brother 3_r-want   plant banana

    '*Elder brother wants to plant a banana tree.*'

b) *Geu-<u>keumeung</u> pisang (geu-)<u>pula</u> lé abang.

    3_r-want   banana 3_r-plant by elder brother

[ii]. Verbs of the second group also occur in the same structure as that of <u>neuk</u>, but unlike <u>neuk</u>, verb serialization with verbs of this group is optional, although

sentences without verb serialization are not very common. Three of these verbs, ci 'to try,' tém 'to want,' and karat 'to hurry' are used in the following sentences.

22. Neu-ci (neu-)peugöt beu göt sipatu nyoe.

2_r-try 2_r-repair DES good shoe this

'*Please repair these shoes as good as possible (until they are good).*'

23. Neu-tém (neu-)peuutang lön meu duwa reutöh rupiya?

2_r-want 2_r-lend I about two hundred rupiah

'*Do you want to lend me about two hundred rupiahs?*'

24. Nyoe payah ta-karat (ta-)ba laju u meulasah.

This must 1_{inc}-hurry 1_{inc}-bring soon to "meulasah"

'*This must be brought to the village center soon.*'

Verbs that belong to this group are:

ci 'to try'	karat 'to hurry'
cuba 'to try'	tém 'to want to'
usaha 'to try'	puphön 'to begin'

[iii]. The second type of structure in which verb serialization can occur is the one where the complement is preceded by an object NP of the higher verb. In this structure, the subject of the complement is coreferential with this object NP.

One of the verbs that occur in this structure is yue 'to order.' Here, verb serialization is optional. Verb

serialization here can be described as follows. Sentence
(25a) is assumed to be the original structure. When verb
serialization applies, the verb of the complement is joined
together with the verb of the main clause and the object of
the main clause is placed after these verbs, as in (25b)
below, or after the object if there is an object. This is
explained further below.

    25. a) Ayah   geu-yue lōn jak u keudè.

            Father 3_r-ask I   go to town

            'Father asked me to go to town.'

      b) Ayah   geu-<u>yue=jak</u> lōn u keudè.

            Father 3_r-ask go I to town

            'Father asked <u>me</u> to go to town.'

Instead of (25b), we can also have (25c) when <u>jak u</u>
<u>keude</u> is at issue.

    25. c) Ayah   geu-<u>yue=jak</u> u keudè lōn.

            Father 3_r-ask go to town I

            'Father asked me <u>to go to town</u>.'

(26a) is the passive counterpart of (25a), and (26b) is
the passive form for both (25b) and (25c).

    26. a) Lōn geu-yue lé ayah   jak u keudè.

            I 3_r-ask by father go to town

            'I was asked by father to go to town.'

b) Lōn geu-<u>yue=jak</u> u keudè lé ayah.

I 3$_r$-ask go to town by father

'I was asked to go to town by father.'

In some sentences, verb serialization with <u>yue</u> places the object of the higher clause in a PP with <u>bak</u> 'to.' This is the case if the verb of the complement is transitive, or intransitive but it is one of those derived from transitive verbs by -<u>eum</u>- 'detransitivizing infix.'

27. a) Ma geu-yue lōn crōh eungkōt.

Mother 3$_r$-ask I fry fish

'Mother asked me to fry the fish.'

b) Ma geu-<u>yue=crōh</u> eungkōt <u>bak lōn</u>.

Mother 3$_r$-ask fry fish to I

'Mother asked me to fry the fish.'

28. a) Guru geu-yue kamoe seumampōh.

Teacher 3$_r$-ask we$_{exc}$ clean(int.)

'The teacher asked us to clean (the room).'

b) Guru geu-<u>yue=seumampōh</u> <u>bak kamoe</u>.

Teacher 3$_r$-ask clean(int.) to we$_{exc}$

'The teacher asked us to clean (the room).'

In sentences with other intransitive verbs, the backgrounded higher objects cannot be used with <u>bak</u>.

29. Ka lōn-yue=tamöng (*bak) jamèe.

    PERF 1-ask enter   to   guest

    'I have asked the guests to enter.'

30. Geu-yue=jak (*bak) geutanyoe lé-lé.

    3_r-ask go to we$_{inc}$ first

    'He asked us to go first.'

Sometimes, the higher object is placed in a PP with bak although the verb of the complement is intransitive and not one of those formed with -eum-. This is done when the verb has a purposive function and is used to perform an errand type of activity, for example to go to town to buy something for the house or for some other people.[3]

31. Ka lōn-yue=jak u keudè bak jih.

    PERF 1-ask go to town to he$_y$

    'I have asked him to go to town (instead of doing it myself or asking some other person) (in order to buy the thing that we need).'

32. Neu-yue=nom bak ureueng nyan.

    2_r-ask dive to person that

    'Ask that person to dive (in order to find the thing that has sunk).'

---

[3]When an intransitive verb is used in this sense, the actor can be placed in an agentive lé-phrase, similar to an agent in a passive sentence. The meaning is 'the errand or activity has been/will be done by X, where X is the agent. For example, Ka geu-jak lé ayah-keuh u keudè 'The task of going to town to buy the thing that we need has been done by your father.'

Compare the meanings of the two sentences above with those of their counterparts below where the higher objects are not in a PP with bak. In these sentences, the objects are just asked to go to the market in the first sentence and to dive in the second. No purposive implication is found here.

33. Ka   lōn-yue=jak u   keudè jih.

    PERF 1-ask   go to town he$_y$

    'I have asked him to go to town.'

34. Neu-yue=nom ureueng nyan.

    2$_r$-ask dive person that

    'Ask that person to dive.'

The following is a passive sentence that corresponds to the active (27a) or (27b).

35. Geu-yue=crōh eungkōt bak lōn lé ma.

    3$_r$-ask fry fish to I by mother

    'I was asked by mother to fry the fish.'

Other verbs that belong to the same group as yue in terms of verb serialization are:

    peuidin *'to allow'*

    bri *'to allow'*

    pakat *'to invite, to persuade, to discuss (with)'*

    paksa *'to force'*

<u>tulōng</u> 'to help'

<u>peurunoe</u> 'to teach'

<u>peuidin</u> and <u>peurunoe</u> are verbs derived with <u>peu-</u> from <u>idin</u> 'permission' and an obscure root *<u>runoe</u> 'to learn,' which occurs also in <u>meurunoe</u> 'to learn.' There are several verbs derived with <u>peu-</u> that belong to this group. Some of them are the following.

<u>peujeuet</u> 'to cause to be able, to train'

<u>peucarong</u> 'to cause to become clever'

<u>peuteuga</u> 'to cause to become strong'

<u>peubeuhe</u> 'to cause to become brave/bold'

<u>peugalak</u> 'to cause to like'

<u>peubeuö</u> 'to cause to become lazy'

<u>peujeumöt</u> 'to cause to become diligent'

36. Pingan nyoe h'an geu-bri=rhah bak aneuk-miet.

    Dish   this NEG 3-allow wash to child-small

    'These dishes are not allowed to be washed by
    children.'

37. Ho   neu-pakat=jak macut-lōn di droeneuh?

    Where 2_r-invite go aunt-1   SFC you$_r$

    'Where are you inviting my aunt to go?'

38. Bèk   ka-peucarong=mupaké aneuk-miet.

    Don't 2_y-train   quarrel child-small

    'Don't teach children to quarrel.'

These verbs are not entirely homogeneous. Not all of these verbs behave like yue in placing the higher object in a PP with bak. Among the verbs given in the list, only four sometimes behave like yue. They are peuidin, bri, pakat, and peugalak.

The reason they are different is that some of these verbs take an oblique animate object and a direct object when both these objects are present. But yue and peuidin can only have one object followed by a complement, although the complement is sometimes omitted in context. Examples: neu-yue (bak) jih 'Ask him (to do it),' neu-peuidin (keu) lōn 'Please allow me (to ...),' neu-bri nyan keu lōn 'Please give that to me,' neu-pakat nyan ngōn/bak jih 'Please discussed that with him,' and neu-peugalak nyan bak jih 'Make him to like that.' All other verbs in the list take only direct objects.

39. Bèk neu-peuidin=ba   si   nyak bak jih.
    Don't 2_r-allow   bring title child to he/she$_y$
    'Don't allow him/her to bring the baby.'

40. Jeuet ta-bri   =mè   nyoe bak aneuk nyan?
    Can 1_{inc}-allow bring this to child that
    'Can we allow this to be brought by that child?'

41. Neu-pakat=ba   beu tajam bak supé.
    2_r-ask   bring DES quick to driver
    'Please ask the driver to drive quickly.'

<u>pakat</u> is used with <u>ngön</u> 'with' when the subject and the object perform the activity together.

42. Ka-pakat=cah   uteuen nyan ngön jih.

2_y-ask   slash bush   that with he_y

'*Ask him to slash the bush together with you.*'

Verb serialization is not limited to combining two verbs. In a structure in which the complement has its own complement, verb serialization can combine all three verbs as serialized verbs, provided that the verb of the complement is one of those that allow verb serialization.

43. a) Apacut geu-neuk=yue lōn puliek u.

Uncle 3_r-want ask I   peel   coconut

'*Uncle wants to ask me to peel the coconut.*'

b) Apacut geu-<u>neuk=yue=puliek</u> u   bak lōn.

Uncle 3_r-want ask peel   coconut to I

'*Uncle wants to ask me to peel the coconut.*'

44. Kah geu-<u>yue=peurunoe=meulangue</u> lé ayah-keuh.

You_y 3_r-ask teach   swim   by father-2_y

'*I was asked by your father to teach you to swim*

(Lit: *You were asked to be taught to swim by your father.*)'

Serialization of more than three verbs are also common, especially when the first verb is a verb of <u>neuk</u>-group.

45. Rumoh nyoe lōn-<u>neuk=yue=karat=peugŏt</u> bak tōkang.

House this 1-want   ask hurry make   to carpenter

'*I want to ask the carpenter to hurry to finish*
this house.'

Longer series of verbs are also possible. It seems that
only human memory constraints affects the length of lines of
serialized verbs. An eight-verb line, as below, is still
easy to   understand (in Acehnese, at least).

46. Lōn-<u>neuk=jak=cuba=ci=yue =lakee=peurunoe=meu'ên</u>

1-want   go try try order ask   teach   play

bhan aneuk kepala sikula bak guru   olah-raga.

ball child head   school to teacher gymnastic

I want to try to ask the gymnastic teacher to
ask (the headmaster) (to allow him) to teach his
(the head master's) child to play soccer.'

Based on our definition of verb serialization, not all
verbs occurring side by side are serialized verbs. One such
example is shown by the following sentence.

47. Lōn-<u>sangka</u> <u>pajōh</u> bu   nyoe mantŏng.

1-think   eat   rice this only

'*I thought (we) were supposed to eat only this*
rice.'

The sequence <u>sangka pajōh</u> 'think eat' in this sentence
satisfies the formal characteristics for the verbs to be

considered serialized verbs; the two verbs occur side by side and only the first verb has a proclitic. However, both the meaning and the intonation show that they are separate verbs that belong to separate chunks of the sentence.[4]

48. Lōn-sangka pajōh bu   nyoe mantŏng.
    1-think   eat   rice this only
    'I thought (we) were supposed to eat only this rice.'

There is a short comma-like break between sangka and pajōh, which indicates they are not serialized verbs. In addition to this, sangka pajōh 'think eat' is not a normal meaningful unit.

Whether or not a series of verbs are serialized can also be tested with passive, if the last verb is transitive. As mentioned earlier, a passive sentence is formed by moving the object into the subject position and placing the subject in a le-phrase, leaving the serialized verbs intact. But if sentence (47) is passivized, the result is an ungrammatical passive sentence (49), which indicates that sangka pajōh in that sentence are not serialized verbs.

49. *Bu   nyoe lōn-sangka pajōh mantŏng (lé lōn).
     Rice this 1-think   eat   only   by I

---

[4]A sentence with sangka usually has a slight rise of intonation when the complement is a contrary-to-fact statement.

5.2 NP Complements

Clauses can be embedded in object NP's, subject NP's, and NP's within PP's, as shown in the following three sentences. In (50) and (51), the clauses <u>yum padé ka ji-ék</u> 'the price of rise has gone up' and <u>ka neu-teupue</u> 'you already knew' are embedded in an object NP. <u>ta-ceumangkōi lam musém ujeuen</u> 'we till (to till) in rainy season' in (52) and <u>(geu-)peugah haba</u> '(he) talk' in (53) are embedded in a subject NP and an NP within a PP with preposition <u>bak</u> 'at, in' respectively.

50. Lōn-deungö yum padé ka ji-ék.

    1-hear   price rice PERF 3-go-up

    '*I heard that the price or rice had gone up.*'

51. Ō, di lōng lōng-piké ka neu-teupue.

    Oh SFC I 1-think   PERF 2_r-know

    '*I thought you already knew it.*'

52. Ta-ceumangkōi lam musém ujeuen payah.

    1_{inc}-till   in season rain difficult

    '*Tilling during the rainy season is difficult.*'

53. Gopnyan carong bak (geu-)peugah-haba.

    He/she$_r$ clever at 3_r-talk

    '*He/she is good at talking.*'

5.2.1 Object NP Complements

Object NP complements are clauses embedded in object NP's. There are two types of object complements: complements that can be preceded by the complementizer nyang 'that' (hence: nyang-complements or nyang-clauses), and complements that cannot be preceded by nyang, referred to as "non-nyang-complements".

5.2.1.1 "nyang"-Complements

Complements of this type are complements of verbs belonging to the group of yakin or patéh 'to believe.'

54. Di lōn lōn-yakin nyang gata mandum hana salah.

     SFC I   1-believe that you$_r$ all   NEG guilty

     'I believe that you all are not guilty.'

Similar to the English complementizer that, nyang is optional. But in some instances where that is good in English, nyang is awkward in Acehnese. For example, nyang is not normally used following the verbs peugah 'to say,' jaweueb 'to answer,' kalon 'to see,' lumpoe 'to dream,' sangka 'to think, to suppose,' etc.

55. Geu-peugah (??nyang) gopnyan hana geu-woe jinoe.

     3_r-say   that   he/she$_r$ NEG 3_r-go-home now

     'He/she said that he/she did not go home now.'

56. Lōn-lumpoe (??nyang) keudè nyan ka tutōng.

　　1-dreamed　　　that　　shop　that IN burn

　　'I dreamed that that shop had burned down.'

However, if the sentence begins with a nyang-
complement, nyang must be used.

57. Nyang jih ka　　ji-woe　　kalheueh gop peugah.

　　That　he$_y$ PERF 3$_y$-go-home already people say

　　'That he has come back has already been told (to

　　me) by somebody else.'

Acehnese has a tendency to omit small words from a
sentence whenever such omission does not cause the
ungrammaticality of the sentence or the vagueness of the
meaning. This is true of the relative clause marker nyang
'who, which' (as in (58)), and conjunctions seureuta 'and'
(as in (59)) and tapi(h) 'but' (as in (60)). An example of
each of these is given below. Dashes indicate the places
where nyang 'who,' ngōn 'and,' and tapih 'but' have been
omitted. These words can easily be inserted in those places.

58. Ureueng ＿＿ peugōt rumoh geutanyoe golom trōk-geuh.

　　Person　　make　　house we$_{inc}$　　not-yet arrive-3$_r$

　　'The person (who) makes our house has not come

　　yet.'

59. Mie lagèe kah cit; ji-pajōh bu,__ ji-jép ie.
    Cat like you_y too 3-eat   rice   3-drink water
    *'A cat is just like you, it eats rice (and) drinks
    water.'*

60. Ka-peugah deuek,__ 'oh ku-bri bu h'an ka-pajōh.
    2_y-say   hungry when 1-give rice NEG 2-eat
    *'You said you are hungry, (but) when I gave you
    rice, you did not want to eat it.'*

The omission of ngōn and tapi are compensated by a
comma break intonation. This is also the case with
complementizer nyang. Instead of nyang, the voice is raised
a little accompanied by a short break.

nyang is not normally used when the subject of the
complement is omitted, unless the complement begins with an
adverb.

61. a) Lōn-thèe (??nyang) kön lōn-meulumpoe.
       1-realize that   NEG 1-dream
       'I realized that I was not dreaming.'

    b) Lōn-thèe nyang bak watèe nyan kön lōn-meulumpoe.
       1-realize that at time that NEG 1-dream
       *'I realized that at that time I was not
       dreaming.'*

62. Some formal characteristics of "nyang"-complements:
nyang-complements have the following
characteristics:

> [1] They are similar to independent sentences in having
> a subject and a predicate (except when the subject
> is the same as the subject of the main clause, in
> which case it may have to be omitted; the subject
> can also be omitted in context).
>
> [2] Agreement in these complements is the same as
> agreement in independent sentences.
>
> [3] The intonation patterns are the same as those of
> independent sentences. But the intonation here is
> rather weak, that is, the primary intonation peak
> is lower than the primary intonation peak of the
> main clause.
>
> [4] The complement is separated from the main clause
> by a short comma-like break.

The intonation of a sentence with a nyang-complement
can be drawn as follow. The comma break between the higher
verb (lumpoe) and the complement is marked here with a break
of intonation line. This break may not be very obvious in
rapid speech.

> 63. a) Lōn-lumpoe geutanyoe-ka ta-buka toko.
> 1-dream we$_{inc}$ PERF l$_{inc}$-open shop
> *'I dreamed that we had opened a shop.'*

Notice that the verb of the complement (a Class 1 verb) is used with a proclitic. The sentence will become ungrammatical if the proclitic is omitted, as in (b) below.

b)*Lōn-lumpoe geutanyoe ka   buka   toko.

1-dream   we$_{inc}$ PERF open shop

'I dreamed that we had opened a shop.'

When the complement begins with a predicate, as in the following, the intonation of this complement is the same as the intonation of a "predicate-subject" sentence (3.2.3).

64. Lōn-sangka neu-neuk jak u kewde droeneuh.

1-think   2$_r$-want go to town you$_r$

'I thought you were going to go to town.'

All types of intonation patterns of independent sentences as discussed in 3.2, except those of yes/no questions, can be found in nyang-complements, depending on what sentence-types they are expressed. We can have a predicate intonation if the complement is a subjectless clause, as in (65), a topicalization intonation, as in (66), etc.

65. Geu-peugah lé ayah neu-neuk jak keuwawé u laōt.

3$_r$-say   by father 2$_r$-want go fishing to sea

'Father said that you wanted to go fishing to the sea.'

66. Lōn-kalōn sikĭn geu-mat bak jaroe-geuh.

1-see   knife 3r-hold at   hand-3r

    'I saw it was a knife that he was holding in his hand.'

Intonation is especially important when we are dealing with verbs that can occur in two structures: NP-V-NP-Complement and NP-V-[nyang-Complement]. Since nyang is not usually used, the latter is the same as the former: both are NP-V-NP-Predicate. The predicates of the two types of complements are exactly the same.

One of the verbs that can occur in the two structures above is dawa 'to accuse.' Compare, for example, the predicate of the complement of (67) and that of (68). In both sentences, ji-neuk poh gopnyan is the predicate, although (67) is intended as a sentence of the structure NP-V-NP-Complement and (68) a sentence of the structure NP-V-[nyang-Complement].

67. Macut geu-dawa   aneuk nyan ji-neuk poh gopnyan.

Aunt 3_r-accuse child that 3_y-want beat she$_r$

    'Aunt accused that child of trying to beat her.'

68. Macut geu-dawa   aneuk nyan ji-neuk poh gopnyan.

Aunt 3_r-accuse child that 3_y-want beat she$_r$

    'Aunt made an accusation that the child was trying to beat her.'

Except for the meanings, there is no formal difference
between the two sentences. In the written form there is
actually only one sentence, that is, (69). The meanings

69. Macut geu-dawa aneuk nyan ji-neuk poh gopnyan.
Aunt 3_r-accuse child that 3_y-want beat she$_r$

given in (67) and (68) are based on how (69) is read, that
is, based on the intonation of the sentence. If <u>dawa</u> and
<u>aneuk nyan</u> are pronounced as a single unit, the NP <u>aneuk</u>
<u>nyan</u> is the direct object of <u>dawa</u>, and the sentence is as in
(67). But, if there is a comma-like break separating <u>aneuk</u>
<u>nyan</u> from <u>dawa</u>, and the intonation on <u>aneuk nyan ji-neuk poh</u>
<u>gopnyan</u> is that of a "subject-predicate" sentence, then
(69) is a sentence as in (68).

The intonation of the two sentences can be shown as in
(70) and (71) respectively. In (70), it is possible to have
a break between <u>aneuk nyan</u> and the following clause, but not
between <u>dawa</u> and <u>aneuk nyan</u>. In (71), the natural break is
between <u>dawa</u> and <u>aneuk nyan</u>.

70. Macut geu-dawa aneuk nyan ji-neuk poh gopnyan.
Aunt 3_r-accuse child that 3_y-want beat she$_r$
'Aunt *is accusing that child of trying to beat*
her.'

71. Macut geu-dawa aneuk nyan ji-neuk poh gopnyan.

    Aunt 3_r-accuse child that 3_y-want beat she$_r$

    'Aunt made an accusation that the child was
    trying to beat her.'

Some verbs have both a direct object and an oblique
object when they are used in a simple sentence. The order is
direct object followed by oblique object. But when a clause
in embedded in the direct object NP, this NP is shifted to
the right. One of such verbs is peugah 'to tell, to say.'
Compare the order of the the two objects in the simple
sentence (72) and the order of the objects in (73), where
the direct object NP is a clause.

72. Ka   lōn-peugah haba nyan bak gopnyan.

        PERF 1-tell   news that to he/she$_r$

        'I have told him/her about the news.'

73. Lōn-peugah bak gopnyan droeneuh ka   neu-woe.

    1-tell   to he/she$_r$ you$_r$ PERF 2_r-come-back

    'I told him that you have come back.'

Other verbs similar to peugah are:

    kheun 'to say'

    peuthèe 'to inform'

    peutrōk (haba) 'to convey (news)'

    peudeungō 'to cause (s.o.) to hear'

peuleumah 'to show'

lahé 'to express, to show'

74. Geu-lahé bak lōn gopnyan hana beungèh-geuh.

3_r-show to I he/she$_r$ NEG angry-3r

'He/she showed me (from the way he/she talked) that he was not angry.'

75. Neu-peutrōk bak jih kamoe hana jadèh meu-jak.

2_r-give-news to he we$_{exc}$ NEG decided 1_{exc}-go

'Please tell him that we have decided not to come.'

When the subject of a nyang-complement is the same as the subject of the main clause, one of the following rules applies to this subject.

[i]. If the subject is an actor or an undergoer of a non-adjectival verbal predicate, then it must either be omitted or replaced by a pronoun and focussed with the "subject focus" di. The second option is used to emphasize the actor; but this can only be done if the subject of the main clause is not a pronoun.

76. a) Ayah$_j$ geu-peugah (*gopnyan$_j$) hana geu-jak.

Father 3_r-say he$_r$ NEG 3_r-go

'Father said that he would not go.'.

b) Ayah$_j$ geu-peugah di gopnyan$_j$ hana geu-jak.

Father 3_r-say SFC he$_r$ NEG 3_r-go

'Father said that he would not go.'

77. a) Si   Ti₋ⱼ ji-lumpoe (*jih₋ⱼ) rhet-jih lang krueng.
      Title Ti 3ᵧ-dream   sheᵧ fall-3ᵧ in   river
      '*Ti dreamed that she fell into the river.*'

   b) Si   Ti₋ⱼ ji-lumpoe di jih₋ⱼ rhet-jih lang krueng.
      Title Ti 3ᵧ-dream DFC sheᵧ fall-3ᵧ in   river
      '*Ti dreamed that she fell into the river.*'

78. Gopnyan₋ⱼ geu-piké (*di gopnyan₋ⱼ) geu-jak ngön lōn.
    He/sheᵣ 3ᵣ-think   SFC he/sheᵣ   3ᵣ-go   with I
    '*He/she thought he/she was going with me.*'

79. Di lōn lōn-lumpoe ka   lōn-minah u rumoh laén.
    SFC I   1-dream   PERF 1-move   to house other
    '*I dreamed that I have moved to another house.*'

[ii]. If the subject is an undergoer of an adjectival predicate, it must be omitted. It can also be replaced by a pronoun and used with <u>di</u>. The adjective must always be used with an enclitic. (80b) is unacceptable because the adjective does not have an enclitic.

80. a) Macut geu-sangka (*gopnyan) seuʔi-geuh.
       Aunt 3ᵣ-think   sheᵣ   not-feeling-well-3ᵣ
       '*Aunt thought that she was not feeling well.*'

   b) *Macut₋ⱼ geu₋ⱼ-sangka seuʔi.
       Aunt 3ᵣ-think not-feeling-well-3ᵣ

c) Macut_j geu-sangka di · gopnyan_j seu?i-geuh.

Aunt 3_r-think   SFC she$_r$ not-feeling-well-3_r

'*Aunt thought that she was not feeling well.*'

There is another option that is used when the subject

of the complement needs to be expressed. Instead of using di

and a pronoun, a reflexive pronoun is used. This is more

common than using a pronoun with di. Unlike the other two

options, here the enclitic is usually not used, especially

when the reflexive pronoun is immediately followed by the

adjective. This is because two enclitics on two successive

words often sound awkward.

It should be noted that the reflexive pronoun is not in

the object position of the higher clause. This is clearly

indicated by the intonational break between the verb and the

reflexive pronoun.

81. Di   aneuk nyan ji-sangka droejih teuga that.

SFC child that 3_r-think himself strong very

'*That child thought he was very strong.*'

82. Meunyo na ka-meunaksu droekeuh kaya, beu jeumöt.

If   AUX 2_y-desire   yourself$_y$ rich must diligent

'*If you want to be rich, be diligent.*'

Recall from Chapter 2 (2.1.1) that reflexive pronouns

are also used as ordinary pronouns in Acehnese, for example,

Di droekuh hana ku-jak, which is the same as Di kèe hana ku-

jak 'I am not going.' However, unlike these two sentences, the use of reflexive pronouns in the complements is not a free choice; it is governed by a rule. In that position, and in that type of structure, only a reflexive pronoun can be used.[5]

The use of a pronoun with di as in (76b), (77b), and (80c) is due to a different reason. As discussed in (4.2), when an omitted subject needs to be used with di for focus or other syntactical reasons that require the use of di (3.4), the subject has to be used, and it should be used in its full form, either an NP or a pronoun. Here in the complements, the use of di is for focus; so, the subject has to be used in its full form, and in that position it has to be replaced by a pronoun.

Reflexive pronouns are also used in three other kinds of complements which are discussed below.

[iii]. If the subject of the complement is a subject of a passive clause, usually it is cliticized to the verb in the form of an enclitic, and the full form is omitted.

83. Di kah h'an sagai ka-patéh lōn-peugah lōn-ba-keuh.
    SFC you$_y$ NEG at-all 2$_y$-believe 1-say   1-bring-2$_y$
    'You don't believe I said I would take you along,
    do you?'

---

[5]The same phenomenon is found in Japanese and Egyptian Arabic. This was pointed out by Hitomi and Hena (personal communication).

84. Ji-peugah geu-poh-poh-<u>jih</u> sabé   lé apa-jih.
    3_y-say 3_r-beat-beat-3_y always by uncle-3_y
    'He said he was always beaten by his uncle.'

85. Lõng-deungö ji-peungeut-keuh lé si Maè, nyo?
    1-hear 3_y-cheat-2_y by title Mae yes
    'I heard you were cheated by Mae; is that true?'

The use of a pronominal subject with <u>di</u> is not very common in passive complements, but it can be used.

86. Pak   Jali geu-peugah di gopnyan ka ji-jõk buet.
    Title Jali 3_r-say   SFC he$_r$ PERF 3-give work
    'Mr. Jali said that he had been given a job.'

Reflexive pronouns can also be used, but they are usually good when there is a sense that the subject is a sufferer.

87. Bak watèe nyan lõn-tupeue droelõn ji-neuk poh.
    At   time that 1-know   myself 3-want beat
    'At that time I realized that they wanted to beat me.'

88. Di jih hana ji-tupeue droejih ji-neuk peucat.
    SFC he$_y$ NEG 3_y-know   himself 3-want   fire
    'He does not know that he will be fired.'

[iv]. If the complement has an NP or PP predicate, the subject must be used and it must be in the form of a reflexive pronoun.

89. a) Peue, ka$_j$-sangka droekeuh$_j$ raja$_j$?

What   2$_y$-think   yourself$_y$ king

'Do you think you are a king?'

b) *Peue, ka$_j$-sangka raja$_j$?

What   2$_y$-think   king

*'Do you$_j$ think a king$_j$?'

(b) is grammatical if raja is the predicate of a different subject, for example, nyan 'that,' so that the sentence means 'Do you think that is the king?'

The omission of the subject of the complement with a PP predicate does not cause ungrammaticality, but it causes the meaning to become vague.

90. a) Lōn-lumpoe droelōn ateueh bukét.

1-dream   myself   on   hill

'I dreamed that I was on a hill.'

b) Lōn-lumpoe ateueh bukét.

1-dream   on   hill

'I dreamed I/he/she/it was/you/they/we/ were on a hill.'

A complement with a PP predicate has another option; the subject can be cliticized to the PP in the form of an

enclitic. This is more common when there is no need to emphasize the subject.

91. Geu-sangka di laōt-geuh.

    3_r-think   in sea-3_r

    'He thought he was at sea.'

92. Lōn-lumpoe lang awan-lōn.

    1-dream   in   cloud-1

    'I dreamed that I was in the cloud.'

Most verbs that take nyang-complements correspond to the English verbs that take that-complements. There are many verbs that belong to this group. Some of them are the following.

    peugah 'to say'

    yakin 'to believe, to be sure'

    patéh 'to believe'

    peucaya 'to believe'

    jaweueb 'to answer'

    kalōn 'to see'

    lumpoe 'to dream'

    sangka 'to think, to suppose'

    meungaku 'to admit'

    anggap 'to consider, to assume'

    harap 'to hope'

    meuhajat 'to desire'

> <u>lakèe</u> 'to ask, to demand'
>
> <u>deungö</u> 'to hear'

5.2.1.2 <u>Non-"nyang"-Complements</u>

Complements of this type are also in the object position, but they do not belong to the <u>nyang</u>-complements. Most of them correspond to the English infinitival or gerundive complements.

93. Na ka-ingat (*nyang) ka-tōp pintō?
    AUX 2$_y$-remember that 2$_y$-shut door
    'Did you remember to shut the door?'

94. Hana lōn-tupeue (*nyang) peugah lé.
    NEG 1-know-what that say anymore
    'I don't know what to say anymore.'

We can distinguish two types of verbs that take this type of complement. This division is based on the manner of agreement in the complements containing verbs of Class 1. Verbs of the first type are those that require the use of a proclitic on the verb of the complement, and verbs of the second type are those that allow the verb of the complement to be used with or without a proclitic.

[i]. Among the verbs that belong to the first group are the following.

<u>ingat</u> 'to remember'

<u>theun</u> 'to bear'

<u>niet</u> 'to intend'

<u>angan-angan</u> 'to expect'

95. H'an ék ta-theun (*nyang) *(ta-)dŏng   lang uroe

 NEG able 1$_{inc}$-bear that   1$_{inc}$-stand in   sun

 tarék sabé.

 hot   always

 'One can't bear standing in the sun all the time.'

96. Lŏn-niet (*nyang) *(lŏn-)jak beu awai singŏh.

 1-intend   that   1-go   DES early tomorrow

 'I intend to leave early tomorrow.'

[ii]. Verbs of the second group allow the verbs of the complements to be used with or without a proclitic. However, the most common forms used are those without a proclitic.

97. Lŏn-meunaksu (*nyang) (lŏn-)kalŏn siat   nyang

 1-desire   that   1-see   a-moment which

 neu-mat nyan.

 2$_r$-hold that

 'I would like to see the thing that you are holding.'

98. Jih hana ji-takōt (*nyang) (ji-)jak sidroejih lang
    He_y NEG 3_y-afraid that   3_y-go   oneself   in

uteuen.

wood

'He is not afraid to go into the wood alone.'

Verbs that belong to this group are:

    meunaksu 'to desire'

    meuhajat 'to desire'

    takōt 'to fear'

    lawan 'to respond, to react'

    peusiblah 'to avoid'

5.2.1.3 Complements of "tu-verbs"

By "tu-verbs" is meant verbs formed with the prefix tu-
'to know' (see 2.2.1.4), for example, tupeue 'to know what,'
turi 'to know which one,' tupat 'to know where or the
location,' etc. The complements of these verbs are different
from other complements in that one element of these
complements is contained in these verbs, which are in the
higher clause. These verbs consist of a verbal morpheme tu-
with the meaning 'to know' and a nominal morpheme as its
object. So, each verb means 'to know NP,' and this NP is
either the subject, the object, or an adverb of the
complement.

99. Hana lōn-tusoe (geu-)duek jéh-pat.

    NEG 1-know-who 3$_r$-sit there

    'I don not know who is sitting overthere.'

100. Hana geu-tupeue peugah lé.

    NEG 3$_r$-know-what say anymore

    'He does not know what to say anymore.'

101. Na neu-tukōn ji-klik?

    AUX 2$_r$-know-why 3$_y$-cry

    'Do you know why he is crying?'

In (99), -soe 'who, the person' is the subject of the
complement, in (100), -peue 'what, the thing' is the object
of the complement, and in (101), -kōn 'why, the reason' is
an adverb belonging to the complement.

Sometimes, it is possible to insert a word equivalent
to the nominal morpheme of the verb in the complement, but
it is usually superfluous, and therefore, it is rarely done.

102. Hana lōn-tupat (pat) ji-éh mie.

    NEG 1-know-where where 3-sleep cat

    'I do not know where the cat is sleeping.'

103. Na neu-tudum (padum) droe jamèe?

    AUX 2$_r$-know-number how-many CL guest

    'Do you know how many guests we have?'

104. Panè ta-tujan   (pajan) ji-piyōh ujeuen nyoe.

    NEG 1_{inc}-know-time when   3-stop   rain   this

    'How can we know when this rain will stop?'

When the subject of the complement is different from the subject of the main clause, as in (101) through (104), agreement in the complement is the same as that in independent sentences. But when the subject of the complement is coreferential with the subject of the main clause, the verb of the complement can be used either with or without a proclitic, if it is a Class 1 verb. There is a different in meaning between these two forms. The one with a proclitic generally has a past time implication relative to the higher verb, whereas the one without a proclitic has a future time implication. This is broadly parallel to the difference between English finite and non-finite complement types.

105. Hana lōn-tupat lōn-peuduek keupiyah-lōn.

    NEG 1-know-where 1-put   cap-1

    'I do not know where I have put my cap.'

106. Hana lōn-tupat peuduek keupiyah-lōn.

    NEG 1-know-where put   cap-1

    'I do not know where to put my cap.'

107. Hana lōn-tukriban lé   lōn-peugŏt raga nyoe.
     NEG 1-know-how   anymore 1-make   basket this
     I do not know anymore (I do nont remember) how I
     made this basket.'

108. Hana lōn-tukriban lé   peugŏt raga nyoe.
     NEG 1-know-how anymore make basket this
     I do not know anymore how to make this basket.'
     (or: 'I do not know anymore what to do with this
     basket.')

The only "tu-verbs" that cannot have a complement with
a subject coreferential with the subject of the main clause
are tunyum 'to taste, to sense, to know the taste' and tubee
'to smell.' A complete list of "tu-verbs" is given in
2.2.1.4.

5.2.1.4 On Raising to Object

This section is not intended to give a comprehensive
analysis on raising to object phenomenon in Acehnese. The
only purpose is show that there is something similar to such
a phenomenon in Acehnese. Therefore, the discussion will
center around the data that exhibit this phenomenon.

Raising to object is a rule in generative grammar (a
theory developed based on English) that raises the subject
NP of the complement of certain groups of verbs and makes it
a derived object of the main clause. Such verbs include

believe, know, say, think, prove, hear, see, etc. A
sentence, such as Bill was believed to have seen Sally in
the hall, is assumed to have been derived from They believed
that Bill saw Sally in the hall by raising to object (They
believed Bill [to have seen Sally in the hall]) followed by
passive in the higher clause.

The existence of raising to object in Acehnese has
become a topic of controversy. The oldest papers that
treated Acehnese as a language that has raising to object
are Lawler (1975a) and (1975b). Later, in some sections of
Asyik (1982a), the analysis was also based on the assumption
that raising to object existed in Acehnese. The rejection of
the assertion that raising to object existed in Acehnese
first appeared in Durie (1982). It was repeated and
clarified further in Durie (1985: 244-258).

The following is Durie's first sentence that is used to
argue that there is no raising to object in Acehnese.

109. Kah ku-keumeung poh lé kèe. (9-95)
    You$_y$ 1-will   beat by I
    'I will beat you.'

kah is the object of the complement. If we return this
object into the complement, the sentence is either (110) or
(111).

110. Ku-keumeung poh kah lé kèe.
    1-will   beat you$_y$ by I
    'I will beat you.'

111. Kèe ku-keumeung poh kah.

    I   1-will   beat you$_y$

    'I will beat you.'

The question here is how the object <u>kah</u> of the complement
has been moved to the subject position of the main clause in
(109). It cannot have been moved by raising to object
followed by passive because passive in the complement is not
possible, as shown by the following sentence (from Durie).

112. *Ku-keumeung kah (ku-)poh lé kèe. (9-96)

    1-will   you$_y$ 1-beat by I

    <u>keumeung</u> is an Acehnese equivalent to the English <u>want</u>.
However, in terms of structure, this verb is not entirely
the same as <u>want</u>. <u>want</u> occurs in two types of structures; in
one structure, the the subject of the complement is the same
as the subject of the main clause, and in the other
structure, the subject of the complement is different from
the subject of the main clause.[6]

      a) Bill wanted [Bill invite Susan]
      b) Bill wanted [Joan invite Susan]

The surface structure of (a) is derived by Equi, whereas the
surface structure of (b) is derived by Raising to Object,
resulting in <u>Bill wanted to invite Susan</u> and <u>Bill wanted
Joan to invite Susan</u> respectively.

---

[6]See Postal (1974).

keumeung (also neuk 'to want') occurs only in one structure, which is more or less similar to (a). Unlike want, it never occurs in a simple sentence, and therefore, it is difficult to tell that it is a transitive verb like want. The fact is that it cannot be followed by an NP. It always occurs in a complex sentence with a complement where the subject of the complement is coreferential with the subject of the main clause, similar to an English infinitival complement with want, such as in Bill wanted to invite Susan. This is why raising to object is not possible in a sentence with this verb, just as there is no raising to object in the English sentence Bill wanted to invite Susan.

However, the fact that the object of the complement of a sentence with keumeung can be moved to the subject position of the main clause is strange from the English point of view. Our explanation is that keumeung is one of the verbs that require verb serialization, that is, keumeung and the verb of the complement always form a single phonological unit and function as a single verb in a simple sentence. The object of the complement is in effect the object of the serialized verbs. The sentence is passivized in the same way as passivizing a simple sentence: the object is moved to the subject position of the main clause and the subject is placed in a lé-phrase, resulting in a sentence as (109). This is discussed in 5.1 above. This, therefore, does not bear on the question of raising to object.

It is still a question as to whether or not raising to

object exists in Acehnese. There is some evidence showing the existence of this phenomenon. But before showing this, it is important to examine some facts about raising to object in English, because the idea of raising to object has its origin in English.

The phenomenon called "raising to object" in English is only found in a structure with a non-Equi-subject complement. This rule lifts the subject of such a complement and places it in the object position of the main clause. Among the verbs that take these complements are believe, consider, hear, know, claim, etc. (in Postal's (1974) terms, "B-verbs"), and want and wish (Postal's "W-verbs"). Raising to object is governed by these verb classes.

To find out whether or not raising to object exists in Acehnese, we need to consider sentences with verbs equivalent to these English verbs. But to avoid any complication with keumeung and neuk, two verbs which mean want but are different from it in structure, we will limit ourselves to the data containing B-verbs. But since the purpose of this section is only to show that something similar to raising to object exists in Acehnese, the examples examined here are limited to very few verbs.

Consider the following examples with the verbs anggap 'to consider.'

113. a) Guru   geu-anggap (nyang) geutanyoe salah.
       Teacher 3_r-consider that   we$_{inc}$ guilty
       The teacher considers that we are guilty.

b) Guru   geu-anggap-teuh   salah.

Teacher 3_r-consider-1_{inc} guilty

'*The teacher considers that we are guilty.*'

c)*Guru   geu-anggap   salah.

Teacher 3_r-consider guilty

In (113a), geutanyoe 'we$_{inc}$' is the subject of the complement. In (113b) the subject of the complement is missing and the higher verb has the enclitic -teuh '1_{inc},' which is the suffixal form of the subject of the complement. (113c) is unacceptable because salah has nothing to predicate. It will be acceptable if the proclitic on the verb does not refer to guru 'teacher,' and the sentence will mean that 'the teacher is considered guilty.'

We will focus on (113a) and (113b). It is not clear yet if this is a phenomenon of raising to object or just a set of two unrelated sentences. However, when the missing subject in (113b) is inserted in its place, the result is sentence (113a). The meaning of the two sentences also indicates that they are related.

We will also exclude the possibility that the verb anggap occurs in a structure of the form NP-V-NP-Complement. The verb is very much' similar to the English verb consider, which does not occur in that structure either. So, the NP which is represented by the enclitic -teuh is not the second NP shown in the structure NP-V-NP-Complement.

The only explanation to the phenomenon shown by the two sentences above seems to be one similar to the explanation of raising to object phenomenon in English. The subject of the complement is not omitted, but rather placed in the object position of the main clause and cliticized to the verb in the form of an enclitic.

It is not clear, however, if the subject of the complement is ever placed in this position in its full form. This is difficult to show in Acehnese because, unlike English, the predicate of the complement in Acehnese is always the same. In both (a) and (b) in the examples above, the predicate is salah. However, the following variant seems to indicate that the full form does occur in that position before passive.

114. Geutanyoe geu-anggap lé guru   salah.
     We$_{inc}$ 3$_r$-consider by teacher guilty
     'We are considered guilty by the teacher.'

It has been argued that both the subject and the object of the complement can be placed in the pre-verbal position of the main clause without having to go through raising to object and passive.[7] But, unless the optional complementizer nyang is omitted first, we may produce unacceptable sentences, such as the following.

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[7]See Durie (1982 and 1987).

115.*Geutanyoe geu-anggap lé guru nyang salah.

    We$_{inc}$ 3_r-consider by teacher that guilty

Since raising to object phenomenon exists, as shown by the pair of sentences above, it might be useful to adopt it in explaining such a phenomenon as in (114).

There are very few verbs to which the subject of the complement can be cliticized in the form of an enclitic. Among such verbs are <u>sangka</u> 'to suppose,' <u>tupeue</u> 'to know,' and <u>thèe</u> 'to realize, to be aware of.'

116. Hana lōn-sangka-keuh lagèe nyan akai.

    NEG 1-think-2_y like that behavior

    'I have never thought you have that kind of

    behavior.'

117. Meunyo beungèh-kuh hana ku-thèe-keuh teuga.

    If angry-1_v NEG 1_v-realize-2_y strong

    'If you make me angry, I don't care whether you

    are strong.'

With many other verbs cliticization of the subject of the complement in the form of an enclitic is not possible. However, passive in the form of (114) is very normal.

118. Kamèng droeneuh lōn-dengö ka neu-publoe.

    Goat you$_r$ 1-hear PERF 2_r-sell

    'I heard that you have sold your goat.'

119. Barang nyoe geu-harap lé Teungku Min bèk

Thing   this 3$_r$-hope   by title   Min not

ji-kalön lé gòp.

3-see   by people

'"Teungku" Min hopes that this thing is not seen
by anybody.'

To conclude, there seems to be a phenomenon in Acehnese
more or less similar to raising to object phenomenon in
English. However, further research is necessary to determine
whether or not it occurs in all verbs equivalent to the so-
called "B-verbs" in English, and how similar this phenomenon
to the one found in English or in what way they are
different.

5.2.2 Oblique NP Complements

Oblique NP complements in Acehnese consist of
complements of verbs and adjectives that usually take
oblique NP's, usually with prepositions keu 'to' or bak
'at,' for example, galak keu jih 'to like him/her,' ·meuhajat
keu kupi 'to desire for some coffee,' piké keu jih 'to think
about him,' meunang bak lōtré 'to win in a lottery drawing,'
beungèh keu mie 'to be angry at a cat,' weueh keu jih 'to
feel deeply sad for him,' etc. Some of these verbs are also
the verbs that take object complements discussed in the

preceding section, but here they are followed by oblique
complements, although prepositions may not be used.

120. Bèk   neu-piké keu   padé ji-pajōh lé tulō dilèe.
     Don't 2_r-think about rice 3-eat   by sparrow now
     *'Please do not think about the rice being eaten by
     sparrows for now.'*

121. Soe meunang bak muplueng-plueng bunoe beungöh?
         Who win   at compete-run-run past morning
     'Who won in the running competition this morning?'

Some adjectives never take an oblique object in a
simple sentence, but take an oblique complement in a complex
sentence. However, prepositions are not always necessary.
Among these adjectives are <u>carong</u> 'clever,' <u>jeumöt</u>
'diligent,' <u>beuö</u> 'lazy,' <u>mangat</u> 'easy, delicious,' and <u>payah</u>
'difficult.'

122. Gopnyan carong (bak) geu-peugah pakiban ta-peugöt.
     He/she$_r$ clever   at 3_r-say   how 1_{inc}-make
     'He/she is good at telling us how to do it.'

123. Jih jeumöt-jih (bak) ji-meurunoe.
     He$_y$ diligent-3_y at 3_y-learn
     'He is very diligent in studying (his lessons).'

The preposition <u>bak</u> can often be used before the
complement in which the subject is coreferential with the
subject of the main clause, but <u>keu</u> is rarely acceptable.

124. Meunyo malëe bak ta-teumanyöng sisat-teuh.

    If   shy   at 1_{inc}-ask   lose-way-1_{inc}

    'If   shy   at 1_{inc}-ask   lose-way-1_{inc}

    'If we are too shy to ask (for directions), we

    will lose our way.'

125. Jadèh bak h'an ku-ba-keuh meu ka-klik sabé.

    Certain at NEG 1-bring-2_y if 2_y-cry always

    'It is very likely that I will not bring you

    if you keep crying.'

126. Gopnyan galak-geuh (*keu) geu-keumawé   di laöt.

    He$_r$ like-3_r for 3_r-fish (int.) in sea

    'He likes to go fishing to the sea.'

127. Na luwat-keuh (*keu) ka-mat lintah?

    AUX loathe-2_y for 2_y-hold leech

    'Do you feel disgusted at touching a leech?'

When followed by a complement, most verbs that normally
need <u>keu</u> before an NP drop this preposition or replace it
with <u>bak</u>.

128. Jih galak bak meurawöh sabé.

    He$_y$ like at wander   always

    'He likes wandering about all the time.'

129. Gopnyan yakin-geuh bak geu-pubuet buet.

    He/she$_r$ serious-3_r at 3_r-do   work

    'He/she is serious in doing his work.'

Similar to NP complements, oblique complements are also divided into nyang-complements and non-nyang-complements.

[i]. "nyang"-Complements. The same rules that apply to the nyang-complements in the preceding sections apply also to oblique nyang-complements. Among the verbs and adjectives that occur with oblique nyang-complements are the following. These are verbs that take oblique object NP's with keu in simple sentences.

teuingat 'to remember'	tuwo 'to forget'
yakin 'to feel certain'	harap 'to hope'
hawa 'to desire'	banci 'to hate'
hajat 'to desire'	galak 'to like'
meuh'eut 'to desire'	harok 'to like'
luwat 'to loathe'	meuaté 'to like'
malèe 'shy, ashamed'	beungèh 'angry'
palak 'frustrated'	seunang 'happy'
weueh 'deeply sad'	teukhém 'tickled'

130. Kamoe harap lagèe ta-jak meunan   ta-woe.

We$_{exc}$ hope like 2$_{yr}$-go like-that 2$_{yr}$-come-back

'We hope that you will return savely in the same condition as you are today (the day you are leaving).'

131. Hajat-geuh that gata ta-woe siat

    Desire-3_r very you$_{yr}$ 2_{yr}-go-home a-moment

    'She wants it very much that you come back for a
    while.'

The subject of the complement is omitted when it is coreferential with the subject of the main clause.

132. Aneuk nyan ji-meudawa hana ji-meusulét.

    Child that 3_y-argue NEG 3_r-tell-lie

    'That child argued that he was not telling lies.'

133. Banci-teuh ta-meutulak kisah ngòn jih.

    Hate-1_{inc} 1_{inc}-exchange story with he

    'I hate to exchange words with him.'

Some of the verbs in the list allow verb serialization when the subject of the complement is coreferential with the subject of the main clause. When verb serialization takes place, the enclitic and the proclitic between the two verbs must be omitted.

134. Di lòn hajat meurumpòk siat ngòn gopnyan.

    SFC I desire meet a-moment with he/she$_r$

    'I want it very much to meet him/her for just a
    moment.'

135. Geutanyoe h'an jeuet malèe teumanyòng.

    We$_{inc}$ NEG can shy ask

    'You should not hesitate to ask questions.'

Among the verbs from the list that allow verb
serialization are <u>hajat</u> 'to desire,' <u>meuh'eut</u> 'to desire,'
<u>malèe</u> 'shy,' <u>galak</u> 'to like,' and <u>harok</u> 'to like.'

When <u>galak</u> and the verb of the complement are
serialized, it has the meaning 'to have preference, to like
as a hobby.'

136. Gopnyan hana galak peugah keu gop.

    He/she$_r$ NEG like talk about people

        'He/she does not like talking about other people.'

137. Jih galak jép kupi bak keudè. Panè teuduek pèng.

    He$_y$ like drink coffee at town How-can save money

        'He always drinks coffee in town. Of course, he
        cannot save any money.'

The verbs <u>teuingat</u> 'to remember' and <u>tuwö</u> 'to forget'
have a rather interesting interaction with ambient verbs
given in Table 5 in 4.3, namely Class 2 verbs which can also
be used with proclitics, for example, <u>galak</u> 'to like,' <u>mutah</u>
'to vomit,' <u>beureusén</u> 'to sneeze,' <u>meurumpök</u> 'to meet,'
etc. When <u>teuingat</u> (or <u>tuwö</u>) is the verb of the main clause
and one of the ambient verbs is the verb of the complement,
the meaning of the sentence is either that the subject
remembers to do something or remembers having done
something, depending on whether the verb of the complement
behave as a Class 1 or a Class 2 verb, that is, the sentence
has the former meaning if the ambient verb is used as a

Class 1 verb, and the latter meaning if the verb is used as a Class 2 verb. The meaning contrast is similar to the meaning contrast expressed by the English infinitival complement and gerundive complement following the verb remember or forget.

Compare, for example, the meanings of the following pair of sentences. In (138a), the verb meurumpök is used as a Class 1 verb, whereas in (138b) as a Class 2 verb.

138. a) Na   teuingat-neuh neu-meurumpök ngön jih?
        AUX remember-2$_r$ 2$_r$-meet   with he$_y$
        '*Did you remember to meet him*?'

     b) Na   teuingat-neuh meurumpök(-neuh) ngön jih?
        AUX remember-2$_r$ meet-2$_r$ with he$_y$
        '*Do you remember meeting him*?'

139. Bèk   tuwō-keuh ka-beureusén u luwa.
     Don't forget-2$_y$ 2$_y$-sneeze   to outside
     '*Don't forget to sneeze outside there.*'

140. Bèk   tuwō-keuh beureusén(-keuh) keunoe bunoe.
     Don't forget-2$_y$ sneeze-2$_y$ to-here just-now
     '*Don't forget your sneezing here just now.*'

[ii]. Non-"nyang"-Complements. Among verbs and adjectives that take oblique non-nyang-complements are the following. All of them take optional preposition bak 'at.'

<div align="center">

mubit 'to persist, to strive'

meurōh 'to participate'

carong 'clever'

jeumōt 'diligent'

beuö 'lazy'

</div>

141. Meunyo ta-mubit bak ta-pubuet, sijeuem ka lheueh.

    If 1_{inc}-persist in 1_{inc}-do one-hour IN finish

    'If we keep doing it, we will finish it in an

    hour.'

142. Ka-meurōh koh kah-kah   nak   rijang.

    2_y-join cut you_y-you_y in-order quick

    'Please join (them) to cut (rice) in order the

    work can be finished soon.'

5.2.3 Subject NP Complements

Subject NP complements are clauses embedded in subject NP's. There are two types of subject NP complements. One of them is in the form of a clause preceded by a noun. The most common nouns used are peukara 'matter,' suai 'question,' and hai 'matter.'

143. Peukara gopnyan h'an geu-jak meulah   bacut.

    Matter he/she$_r$ NEG 3_r-go unfortunate a-little

    'The fact that he does not want to go is a little

    unfortunate.'

144. Suai   talō geutanyoe hana teuntèe.
    Question lose we$_{inc}$ NEG certain
    *'As to the thought that we will lose, it is not
    certain.'*

The second type of subject NP complement is a clause
without a preceding noun.

145. H'an ta-tém   meu'èn makna-jih talō.
    NEG 1$_{inc}$-want play   mean-3   lose
    'To refuse to play means to lose.'

146. Gadōh ta-piké ' keu nyan rhet keu sōsah-teuh.
    Busy 1$_{inc}$-think to that fall to miserable-1$_{inc}$
    *'Thinking about that all the time makes us
    miserable.'*

147. Le   that ta-jép   kupi hana gŏt.
    Much too 1$_{inc}$-drink coffee NEG good
    'Drinking coffee too much is not good.'

Sentences with an adjective predicate are often used in
the predicate-subject order.

148. Mangat   that ta-duek di yup   bak kayèe nyoe.
    Pleasant very 1$_{inc}$-sit in under tree tree this
    'It is pleasant to sit under this tree.'

149. Leubèh gŏt   lōn-woe lōn dilèe.
    More   good 1-go-home I   first
    'I had better go home now.'

5.3 VP Complements

We can distinguish two types of VP complements:
intransitive VP complements and transitive VP complements.

5.3.1 Intransitive VP Complements

Complements of this type are found in VP's containing
intransitive verbs. Among these verbs are:

mulayi 'to begin'

piyōh 'to stop'

jeuet 'to dare'

tém 'to want to'

neuk or keuneuk 'will, be going to, to want to'

keumeung or meung 'will, be going to, to want to'

usaha 'to try'

ci 'to try'

cuba 'to try'

karat 'to hasten'

jak 'to go, to occupy oneself'

lakèe 'to propose'

Each of these verbs has the same type of complement.
The subject of the complement is coreferential with the
subject of the main clause.

150. Teungku Amin ka geu-mulayi geu-pula kacang.

Title   Amin PERF 3_r-begin 3_r-plant peanut

'"Teungku" Amin has started planting peanuts.'

151. Di lōn h'an lōn-jeuet jak sidroe-lōn.

SFC I   NEG 1-dare   go one-CL-1

'I dare not go alone.'

These verbs form a group in the sense that they are
verbs of Class 1 and they require that the verbs of the
complements must also be verbs of Class 1. Verbs of Class 2
and adjectives cannot be used in the complement.

152.*Ureueng nyan ka geu-piyōh reubah-geuh.

Person that PERF 3_r-stop fall-3_r

'That person has stopped falling.'

153.*Pakön neu-mulayi beungėh-neuh keu kamoe?

Why 2_r-begin   angry-2_r to we$_{exc}$

'Why are you beginning to become angry with us?'

If the verb of the complement is a Class 2 verb or an
adjective, the verb of the main clause must also be a Class
2 verb or an adjective. For example, the following are good
sentences.

154. Ureueng nyan hana teudōh reubah-geuh.

Person that NEG stop   fall-3_r

'That person keeps falling.'

155. Pakön galak-neuh beungèh-neuh keu kamoe?

    Why   like-2_r angry-2_r to we$_{exc}$

    'Why do you like being angry with us.'

There is another way to express (153). <u>mulayi</u> is used not only as a verb, but also as an auxiliary, like <u>keuneuk</u> (3.3.3.3). So, instead of (153), the following is used. Since <u>mulayi</u> in this sentence functions as an auxiliary, the sentence is a simple one. And as all other auxiliaries, it can occur with all kinds of verbs and adjectives, as long as no semantic conflict results.

156. Pakön mulayi beungèh-neuh keu kamoe?

    Why begin angry-2_r to we$_{exc}$

    'Why are you beginning to become angry with us?'

Three of the verbs in the list allow Class 2 verbs and adjectives in the complements, but only when <u>beu</u> 'DES' is used. The three verbs are <u>usaha</u>, <u>ci</u>, and <u>cuba</u>. <u>usaha</u> means that the subject makes a sincere attempt, but <u>ci</u> and <u>cuba</u> can sometimes have the sense that the subject is doing an experiment, besides the meaning of making an attempt.

157. Lön-usaha beu teugantöh-lön.

    1-try   DES stumble-1

    'I tried hard to stumble.'

158. Lön-ci beu teugantöh-lön.

    1-try DES stumble-1

    'I tried (as an experiment) to stumble.'

These three verbs are also different from the others in that they allow passive in the complement, but here too, beu must be used.

159. Ureueng nyan geu-usaha beu ji-drop-geuh.

Person   that 3_r-try   DES 3-capture-3_r

'*That person tried hard to be captured.*'

160. Neu-cuba beu geu-kalön-neuh.

2_r-try   DES 3_r-see-2_r

'*Please try to do something so he will see you.*'

cuba and ci are also used to soften a command. When the command is directed to an older person, a proclitic must also be used either on these verbs or on the verb of the complement. They are used together with the word siat 'a moment,' but in a command this word does not have this meaning. It is only used to soften the command.

161. Neu-cuba tarék taloe nyan siat. (To older persons)

2_r-try   pull   rope   that a-moment

'*Please pull that rope.*'

162. Ci mat beu kòng   siat. (To children)

Try hold DES strong a-moment

'*Please hold tightly.*'

Based on agreement in the complement, we can divide the verbs in the preceding list into two groups. The first group

are verbs that do not allow the verb of the complement to have a proclitic. These are neuk, keumeung, jak and lakèe.

163. Aneuk nyan ji-neuk (*ji-) ék bak mamplam.

    Child that 3_y-want 3_y-climb tree mango

    That child wants to climb the mango tree.

164. Bèk neu-jak peugah bak lōn nyang lagèe nyan.

    Don't 2_r-go tell   to I   which like that

    Don't tell me a thing like that.

165. Hana ku-lakèe meukawén ngön droeneuh.

    NEG 1_v-propose marry with you$_r$

    I did not propose to marry you.

All other verbs belong to the second group. They allow the verb of the complement to be used with or without a proclitic. But these verbs differ again in their preference between these two modes of agreement in the complement. Some verbs are more commonly used with the verb of the complement having a proclitic, some others are more frequently used with the verb of the complement without a proclitic. Verbs that belong to the former group are mulavi, piyōh, usaha, and karat. Those that belong to the latter group are tem, jeuet, ci, and cuba.

166. Ureueng agam ka geu-piyōh geu-peugah-haba.

    Person male PERF 3_r-stop 3_r-talk

    The men have stop talking.

167. Ji-pö reuōh-reuōh-teuh   ta-karat   ta-jak.

3-spout sweat-sweat-1_{inc} 1_{inc}-hurry 1_{inc}-go

'We perspired a lot from walking very fast.'

168. Neu-tém meutarōh h'an ujeuen?

2_r-want bet   NEG rain

'Do you want to bet that it will not rain?'

169. Hana si   nyak jeuet langue kuwala   nyoe.

NEG title baby can   swim river-mouth this

'No one (hero) can swim this river mouth.'

5.3.2 **Transitive VP Complements**

Transitive VP complements are found in the structure of
the form NP-V-NP-Complement, where the second NP is the
object of the main clause. One of the verbs that are
followed by an object and a complement is peuidin, as in the
following sentence.

170. Ayah h'an geu-peuidin lōn jula lōn-woe.

Father NEG 3_r-allow   I late 1-come-home

'Father does not allow me to come home late.'

peuidin is one of the verbs that allows the verb of its
complement to be used with or without a proclitic, that is,
if the verb of the complement is a Class 1 verb. But the
most frequently used form is the one where the verb of the
complement is used with a proclitic. Other verbs that treat

the verb of the complement in this way include the
following.

> <u>dawa</u> 'to accuse'
>
> <u>pubiyeue</u> 'to let'
>
> <u>tham</u> 'to forbid'
>
> <u>larang</u> 'to forbid'
>
> <u>theun</u> 'to check, to block, to prevent'

171. Ureueng nyan geu-dawa kah (ka-)rō   ie gopnyan.
     Person   that 3_r-accuse you$_y$ 2_y-spill water he$_r$
     *'That person is accusing you of spilling his
     water.'*

172. H'an jeuet ta-pubiyeue manok (ji-)tamōng u dalam.
     NEG can . 1_{inc}-let chicken 3-enter to inside
     *'Chickens should not be allowed to enter the
     room.'*

173. Hana lōn-theun jih (ji-)teubiet meunyo uroe.
     NEG 1-prevent she$_y$ 3_y-go-out if   day-time
     *'I do not prevent her form going out as long as it
     is during the day time.'*

The degree of the obligatoriness of the proclitic on
the verb of the complement increases when an aspect word or
modal is used.

174. Gopnyan geu-dawa lōn golom lōn-pulang ata gopnyan.

He$_r$ 3$_r$-accuse I not-yet 1-return   thing he$_r$

'*He accused me that I had not returned his thing yet.*'

Sometimes, the object of the higher verb is omitted. When this object is omitted, a proclitic or enclitic must be used on the verb or adjective in the predicate phrase of the complement.

175. Nyan sabab ka neu-pubiyeue ji-meu'ēn lang ujeuen.

That because IN 2$_r$-let   3$_y$-play   in   rain

'*That is because you have allowed him to play in the rain.*'

Other verbs also allow the verb of the complement to be used with or without a proclitic, but the form without a proclitic is more commonly used with these verbs. There are more verbs belonging to this group than to the previous one. Some of these verbs are:

> bantu 'to help'
>
> tulōng 'to help'
>
> ba 'to bring'
>
> pakat 'to invite, to ask, to challenge'
>
> lakèe 'to ask'
>
> yue 'to order, to command, ask'
>
> peurintah 'to order, to command'
>
> paksa 'to force'

ató 'to schedule, to direct'

peuróh 'to include'

seutöt 'to join'

peurunoe 'to teach'

bri 'to permit'

undang 'to invite'

maba 'to invite'

khayai 'to imagine'

176. Ka-jak bantu cutda-keuh   rhah pingan.

     2_y-go   help elder-sister-2_y wash dish

     'Help your sister wash the dishes.'

177. Neu-ba   kamoe hai jak kalon piyasan.

     2_r-bring we$_{exc}$ hey go   see   show

     'Please bring us to see the show.'

     When the verb of the main clause and the verb of the
complement are serialized, the object of the higher verb is
placed after the verb or the object of the complement. Verbs
that allow verb serialization are bantu, tulóng, pakat,
lakèe, yue, peurunoe, bri, undang, and maba.

178. Pakat=jak macut u keudè.

     Invite go aunt to town

     'Please ask aunt to go with you/us to town.'

179. H'an ji-bri=duek geutanyoe hinoe.

     NEG 3-allow sit we$_{inc}$ here

     'We are not allowed to sit here.'

When a higher object is placed next to serialized verbs, it can be cliticized to the last verb in the form of an enclitic. For example, geutanyoe in the sentence above can be cliticized to the verb duek, resulting in the following.

180. H'an ji-bri=duek-teuh hinoe.

      NEG 3-allow sit-1$_{inc}$ here

      'We are not allowed to sit here.'

181. Geu-yue =woe-keuh laju.

      3$_r$-order go-home-2$_y$ soon

      'You are asked to go home soon.'

bri and the verb of its complement are almost always serialized. As a result, the object of this verb is usually found at the end of the sentence.

182. H'an geu-bri=jak geutanyoe.

      NEG 3$_r$-allow go we$_{inc}$

      'He does not allowed us to go.'

183. Ji-bi =tamöng rötnoe?

      3-allow enter way-this

      'Is it allowed to enter (pass) this way?'

bri is often used for prohibition. In this use, the sentence is expressed in passive, usually passive in the main clause.

184. Droeneuh h'an ji-bri =jép   kupi lé dokto.
     You_r   NEG 3-allow drink coffee by doctor
     'You are not allowed to drink coffee by the
     doctor.'

185. Aneuk-miet h'an geu-bri =peukaru   hinan.
     Child-small NEG 3_r-allow make-noise there
     'Children are not allowed to make noise there.'

When the prohibition is focused on the object of the
complement, the second type of passive is made. The entire
sentence is treated as a simple sentence with serialized
verbs. The object of the complement is placed in the subject
position of the main clause and the subject is placed in a
lé-phrase, which can be omitted. The higher object is
normally placed in a PP with bak 'to, by' (5.1).

186. Rumoh h'an geu-bri=cèt bak droeneuh lé ayah.
     House NEG 3_r-allow paint by you_r   by father
     'Father does not allow you to paint the house.'
     (Lit.: *'The house is not allowed to be painted by*
     you.')

The NP's in a lé-phrase and a bak-phrase are both
agents, and both can be omitted when they are not important.

187. a) Bu h'an geu-bri=taguen bak kah.
        Rice NEG 3_r-allow cook by you_y
        '(Mother) does not allow you to cook rice.'

b) Bu h'an geu-bri=taguen lé ma.

Rice NEG 3$_r$-allow cook by mother

'Mother does not allow (you) to cook rice.'

c) Bu h'an geu-bri=taguen.

Rice NEG 3$_r$-allow cook

'Don't cook rice.'

tulōng is also used to soften a command, equivalent to
the English please. This word sounds politer than cuba or ci
discussed earlier. It is often used together with siat 'a
moment,' which does not mean 'a moment' when used in a
command. A command without the word tulōng with a proclitic
is rude to older persons. siat 'a moment' softens a command
for children.

188. Neu-tulōng=buka pintō siat. (For older persons)

2$_r$-help   open door a-moment

'Please open the door.'

189. (Tulōng)=buka pintō siat. (For children)

Help   open door a-moment

'Please open the door.'

Verbs in the following list are rather different from
the previous verbs. They take a complement in which the verb
indicates that the subject is in the process of performing
an activity. In English, this is expressed by the verb in
the progressive form.

kalön 'to see'

ngieng 'to see'

deungö 'to hear'

peuleumah 'to show'

lèwat 'to pass'

mat 'to hold'

teumeung 'to find'

drop 'to catch'

190. Na lön-kalön jih ji-hue kamĕng itam.

AUX 1-see   he$_y$ 3$_y$-pull goat black

'I saw him pulling a black goat.'

191. Pajan di droeneuh neu-deungö gopnyan geu-klik?

When SFC you$_r$ 2$_r$-hear   he/she$_r$ 3$_r$-cry

'When did you hear him/her crying.'

192. Lön-mat bak jaroe-jih teungöh ji-buka balang.

1-hold at hand-3$_y$ while 3$_y$-open jar

'I held him at the hand while he was opening the jar.'

Note that deungö 'to hear' is also a verb that takes a nyang-complement, as in (193) below.

193. Lön-deungö (nyang) gopnyan ka geu-beurangkat.

1-hear   that he$_r$ PERF 3$_r$-leave

'I heard that he had left.'

5.4 Summary

This chapter has discussed two types of complements, that is, NP complements and VP complements. NP complements are of three types: object NP complements, oblique NP complements and subject NP complements. VP complements consist of intransitive VP complements and transitive VP complements. Some forms of VP complements in Acehnese are rather strange from the English point of view in that the verbs of the main clause and the verb of the complement are treated as a single phonological unit, just as a single verb. This phenomenon was explained here using the idea of verb serialization.

CHAPTER 6

RELATIVE CLAUSES AND FOCUS SENTENCES

Focus sentences have several similarities to relative
clauses. For this reason they are treated in the same
chapter with relative clauses. They are discussed in the
second part of this chapter.

6.1 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are of two types: restrictive and non-
restrictive (or appositive). Our main concern here is
restrictive relative clauses. Non-restrictive relative
clauses are also discussed at the end of this section, but
only briefly.

A relative clause is a sentence embedded as modifier of
an NP. In terms of tree structure, an Acehnese relative
clause has a right branching structure. When an NP is
relativized, it is placed before the relative clause, which
is usually preceded by the relative marker nyang, glossed
variously 'who, which, that.' For example, when the NP
ureueng kamoe 'our people' in (1) is relativized, the
resulting sentence is (2), where ureueng kamoe functions as

the head NP of the relative clause <u>ka geu-keumeukoh</u> 'have
started to harvest,' which is preceded by <u>nyang</u>.

    1. Ureueng kamoe ka geu-keumeukoh.

       Person we$_{exc}$ PERF 3$_r$-harvest

       'Our people have started to harvest.'

    2. Ureueng kamoe nyang ka geu-keumeukoh ka leupah.

       Person we$_{exc}$ who   PERF 3$_r$-harvest   PERF leave

       'Our people who have started to harvest have left.'

    When an NP modified by a demonstrative is relativized,
it is broken up into two parts: the NP, which is placed
before the relative clause; and the demonstrative, which is
placed after it. In the following examples, the NP <u>ureueng</u>
<u>nyan</u> 'that person' in (3) is relativized, resulting in (4),
where the relative clause is placed between <u>ureueng</u> and
<u>nyan</u>.

    3. <u>Ureueng nyan</u> geu-koh kayêe.

       Person that 3$_r$-cut tree

       'That person is cutting a tree.'

    4. Hana lôn-turi <u>ureueng</u> nyang koh kayêe <u>nyan</u>.

       NEG 1-recognize person who cut tree that

       'I do not recognize the person who cut the tree.'

Compare the bracket structures of <u>ureueng nyan</u> of (3) in
(5a) and <u>ureueng nyang koh kayêe nyan</u> of (4) in (5b) below.
In (5b), the ralative clause <u>nyang koh kayêe</u> modifies the

head NP <u>ureueng</u> and <u>nyan</u> modifies the entire unit consisting
of the head NP and the relative clause.

5. a) [[ureueng]_{NP}[nyan]_{DET}]_{NP}

    person   that

    '*that person*'

   b) [[[ureueng]_{NP}[nyang koh kayèe]_{DET}]_{NP}[nyan]_{DET}]_{NP}

    person   who   cut tree   that

    '*the person who cut the tree*'

In a written sentence, a demonstrative following a
relative clause that ends with an object, as in (4), is
always ambiguous. It can either be interpreted as the
modifier of the entire unit consisting of the head NP and
the relative clause ([ureueng nyang koh kayèe] nyan 'the
person who cut the wood'), as in (4), or as the modifier of
the object NP of the relative clause (<u>ureueng nyang koh</u>
[kayèe nyan] 'the person who cut <u>that</u> wood') derived from a
sentence in which the object is modified by a demonstrative,
such as (6) below. If <u>ureueng nyan</u> in this sentence is
relativized, the resultant sentence usually ends with one
<u>nyan</u>, the same as in (4). It is quite possible to use both
demonstratives if both are important.

6. Ureueng nyan geu-koh kayèe nyan.

    Person that 3_r-cut tree that

    '*That person cut that tree.*'

In spoken language, such ambiguity is eliminated by intonation. If the demonstrative is the modifier of the object of the relative clause, the object and the modifier are pronounced as a phonological unit. But if the demonstrative is the modifier of the entire preceding unit beginning from the head NP, there is a one-syllable lapse separating the preceding unit, which constitutes an NP (and is pronounced as a single unit), and the demonstrative, which is the modifier of this NP.

6.1.1 Relative Clause Internal Structure

Based on the order of the two major constituents (subject and predicate) within the clause, we can distinguish three types of relative clauses in Acehnese. The three types have the following forms respectively: 1) ∅-Predicate, 2) Predicate- ["di"-Subject], and 3) Subject-Predicate.

[i]. ∅-Predicate. This is the form of a relative clause which results when the subject of a sentence is relativized. The relative clause is subjectless. This is discussed in detail in 6.1.4.

7. a) Kamèng nyan ji-pajŏh pisang.

    Goat   that 3-eat   banana

    'That goat is eating bananas.'

b) Na lōn-kalōn kamèng nyang pajōh pisang nyan.

AUX 1-see   goat   which eat   banana that

'*I saw the goat that had eaten those bananas.*'

8. a) Pisang nyoe ji-kap lé tupè.

Banana this 3-bite by squirrel

'*These bananas were bitten by squirrels.*'

b) Pisang nyang ji-kap lé tupè   nyoe ka brōk.

Banana which 3-bite by squirrel this IN rotten

'*The bananas which were bitten by squirrels are bad.*'

[ii]. <u>Predicate-["di"-Subject]</u>. This type of relative clause can be found when an object, a dative, or an indirect object is relativized. As will be discussed later in 6.1.5, this form is not commonly used. It is only used when there are more similar objects than one, and the one which is relativized acts or undergoes an action described by the verb that predicates or governs the head NP, while the others act or undergo a different type of action.

9. Bungōng nyang lōn-pula hinoe di lōn ka maté.

Flower   which 1-plant here SFC I IN die

'*The flower tree which I planted here has died.*'

10. Manok nyang geu-bri jagōng di macut ka ji-jak.

Hen   which 3$_r$-give corn   SFC aunt PERF 3-go

'*The hen to which aunt gave corns has gone.*'

11. Buet nyang hana galak-keuh di kah bèk ka-pubuet.
    Work which NEG like-2$_y$ SFC you$_y$ don't 2$_y$-do
    'Don't do the (kind of) work that you do not like.'

It should be noted that this is not the normal way of
relativizing an object or dative. The normal way is by
making the object or dative the subject (of passive). This
is discussed in 6.1.5. The comparison between this method
(which uses di before the subject) and the method using
passive form (which uses lé before the agent) is also
discussed in that section.

[iii]. Subject-Predicate. This is also one of the forms
of relative clauses that appears when a peripheral NP is
relativized. This is discussed in 6.1.6.

12. Na teuingat-neuh malam keudè nyan tutōng?
    AUX remember-2$_r$ night shop that burnt-down
    *'Do you remember the night when those shops burnt
    down?'*

6.1.2 nyang

The relative marker nyang is always optional, except
when the head NP is modified by possessor (6.1.2.1) or when
the head NP is omitted (6.1.3.3). nyang has two other
variants: nang and lang, which are in free variation, but
these variants are considered substandard.

13. Ureueng (nyang) meukat gulè   hinoe macut jih.
     Person   who   sell vegetable here aunt he$_y$
     'The person who sells vegetables here is his aunt.'

14. Neu-ci kalön ureueng (nyang) dong nyan.
     2_r-try see   person   who   stand that
     'Please look at the person who is standing there.'

In anticipation of the discussion in 6.1.3.3, the rule can be stated as follows. A relative clause in Acehnese can be preceded by both head NP and nyang, by head NP alone, or by nyang alone, but not without either of these. This can be shown by the following example.

15. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Ureueng nyang} \\ \text{Ureueng} \\ \text{Nyang} \\ *\emptyset \end{array} \right\}$ meukat gulè .....

     'The person who sells vegetables .....'

When the head NP is used, very often nyang is not used. In the following sentences, for instance, no nyang is used before the relative clauses peugöt kupi 'make coffee' and meulaöt 'work at sea.'

16. Panè na ta-peutaba kupi keu ureueng peugöt kupi.
     Where AUX 1_{inc}-offer coffee to person make coffee
          'Why should we offer coffee to the person who makes coffee.'

17. Bak ureueng meulaōt,   nyan suai   biyasa.
    To   person work-at-sea that matter usual
    'For people who work at sea, that is a common
    matter.'

18. Pue ta-yue   bak aneuk-miet beuō lagèe nyan.
    What l_{inc}-order to   child-small lazy like   that
    'There is no use asking such a lazy child to
    do it.'

    nyang is not usually used in a construction where the
    head NP and the relative clause have fused together as a
    unit. Usually a unit of this type consists of person and
    profession or trade, person and state, and also thing or
    animal and state or activity. Some of such units are fixed
    phrases.

19. Awak meu'èn bhan   ka ji-woe   di Jakarta.
    People play soccer PERF 3-return from Jakarta
    'The soccer team has returned from Jakarta.'

20. Ka asé   bu   keu ureueng keumeukoh?
    IN ready rice for person cut-rice
    'Is the rice ready for the rice cutters?'

21. Geu-peugōt geutanyoe lagèe lumo tarék geureubak.
    3_r-make we_{inc} like cow pull cart
    'He treats us like a cart bull.'

22. Pue neu-jak peugah nyan bak lōng ureueng bodoh.

    What 2$_r$-go say   that to I   person stupid

    'What is the use of your telling that to me, a

    stupid person.'

Many NP's with modifiers consisting of an adjective, a
verb or VP, a PP, or an NP are constructions with a head NP
and a reduced relative clause, that is, a relative clause
without nyang. For example, baǰēe tuha 'shirt old (old
shirt)' from baǰēe nyang tuha 'shirt which is old,' kayèe
thō 'wood dry (dry wood)' from kayèe nyang thō 'wood which
is dry,' ureueng tarék pukat 'person pull dragnet
(fisherman)' from ureueng nyang tarék pukat 'person who pull
dragnet (fisherman),' awak ban woe 'person just came back'
from awak nyang ban woe 'person who just came back,' ie lang
ciriek 'water in (the) kettle' from ie nyang lang ciriek
'water which is in the kettle,' and subang meuh 'earring
gold (gold earrings)' from subang nyang geu-peugōt nibak
meuh 'earrings which are made of gold.'

23. Ureueng tarék pukat   kabéh   woe   dum.

    Person   pull   dragnet already go-home all

    'All the fishermen have gone home.'

24. Kayèe thō payah   that ta-tak.

    Wood dry difficult very 1$_{inc}$-chop

    'It is very difficult to chop dry woods.'

An NP with an adverb as modifier is also a relative
construction in Acehnese. The adverb represents several
possible full forms of relative clauses. For example, baroe
'yesterday' in ureueng baroe 'person yesterday' might be the
reduced form of one of the relative clauses following the
head NP ureueng 'person' in ureueng nyang teuka keunoe baroe
'the person who came here yesterday,' ureueng nyang
meurumpŏk ngŏn geutanyoe baroe 'the person whom we met
yesterday,' ureueng nyang ta-kalŏn baroe 'the person that we
saw yesterday,' etc.

25. Ureueng baroe   guru   ban trŏk.
    Person yesterday teacher just arrive
    *The person (whom we met) yesterday is a (new)
    teacher who had just arrived.'

Sometimes the full form and the reduced form are used
interchangeably for the same meaning. In the following
examples, the full forms are used, but they can be replaced
by the reduced forms without any difference in meaning. So,
ija krŏng nyang barŏ 'the sarong which is new' can be
replaced by ija krŏng barŏ 'new sarong' and ureueng nyang
kaya 'the person who is rich' by ureueng kaya 'rich person.'

26. Ka geu-bloe ija krŏng nyang barŏ keu droeneuh.
    PERF 3_r-buy cloth sarong which new for you_r
    '(Mother) has bought a new sarong for you.'

27. Di gampōng gopnyan le   _ureueng nyang kaya_.

In village he/she$_r$ many person who   rich

'_In his/her village there are many rich people._'

It is the contexts that make the meanings of the full
forms and the reduced forms the same in these two sentences.
When one buys _ija krōng_ 'sarong' or any other piece of
clothes, it must be a new one. _ureueng nyang kaya_ in (27)
simply means _ureueng kaya_.

This is not always the case. In most other contexts,
nyang has a contrastive function, especially in phrases
where _nyang_ is not usually used. Compare, for example,
ureueng inōng 'women' in (28) with _ureueng nyang inōng_
'persons who are female (all adults who are not male)' in
(29) and _ie seuʔuem_ 'hot water' in (30) and _ie nyang seuʔuem_
'water which is hot (not _water_ which is not hot)' in (31).

28. Ureueng inōng halōh su-geuh.

Person female high voice-3$_r$

'_Women have high voices._'

29. Ureueng nyang inōng neu-yue tamōng u dalam.

Person who   female 2$_r$-ask enter to inside

'_Please ask women (not men) to come inside._'

30. Gaki-jih keunōng ie   seuʔuem.

Foot-3$_y$ thouch water hot

'_She spilled hot water on her foot._'

31. Ka-bi   ie   nyang seu?uem saboh glah.

    2_y-give water which hot   one-CL glass

    'Give me a glass of <u>hot</u> water.'

nyang is often used when the clause contains an aspect
word, a modal, or an adverb.

32. Ureueng nyang ka bayeue neu-tuléh bak buku.

    Person who PERF pay 2_r-write at book

    *'Write the names of those who have paid in the
    book.'*

33. Bak nyang mantōng na   boh   bèk neu-koh dilèe.

    Tree which still exist fruit don't 2_r-cut yet

    'Please don't cut the tree that still has fruits.'

6.1.2.1 <u>Situations Where "nyang" Must Be Omitted</u>

When a head NP and its relative clause as a unit are
modified by a possessor, nyang must be omitted. In other
words, relative clause reduction is obligatory under such a
circumstance.

34. a) Bajèe (nyang) barō ka   geu-rhah.

       Shirt which new PERF 3_r-wash

       'The new shirt has been washed.'

    b) [Bajèe (*nyang) barō] lōn ka   geu-rhah.

       Shirt   which new   I PERF 3_r-wash

       'My new shirt has been washed.'

35. a) Ureueng (nyang) meudiké   ka   trōk.

    Person   who   say-"dike" PERF arrive

    'The persons who are going to perform (sing) the

    "dike" (prayers for the Prophet) have arrived.'

  b) [Ureueng (*nyang) meudiké]   kamoe   ka   trōk.

    Person   who   say-"dike" we_{exc} PERF arrive

    'Our persons who are going to perform (sing) the

    "dike" (prayers for the Prophet) have arrived.'

The relative clause must also be reduced if the head NP
and the relative clause is modified by a proper name.

36. a) Aneuk-miet (nyang) meunari ka hèk-jih.

    Child-small who   dance   IN tired-3_y

    'The children dancers are tired.'

  b) [Aneuk-miet (*nyang) meunari] SD4 ka hèk-jih.

    Child-small who   dance   "SD4" IN tired-3_y

    'The children dancers from "SD4" (Elementary

    School 4) are tired.'

If the verb of the relative clause is transitive, the
presence or the absence of <u>nyang</u> makes a difference in
meaning. (37b) is an example of the same type as above.
<u>nyang</u> must be omitted because the entire phrase (the head NP
and the relative clause) is modified by <u>kamoe</u> *'we*$_{exc}$.'

37. a) Ureueng (nyang) peugŏt mŏn le pèng.

Person who make well much money

'*Persons who dig wells (well diggers) make a lot of money.*'

b) [Ureueng (*nyang) peugŏt mŏn] kamoe le pèng.

Person who make well we_{exc} much money

'*Our persons who dig wells (well diggers) make a lot of money.*'

(37b) is not an unacceptable sentence. nyang can be used, but the meaning of the sentence is different. It means '<u>The person who digs our well makes a lot of money,</u>' as in (37c) below. If we want the meaning as in (37b), nyang must be omitted.

37. c) Ureueng (nyang) peugŏt mŏn kamoe le pèng.

Person who make well we_{exc} much money

'*The persons who dig our well make a lot of money.*'

Even without nyang, (37b) is still ambiguous. It can also have the meaning of (37c). But usually the context gives the intended meaning. If the context is absent, (37b) is avoided. It needs to be expressed in a different way, such as (37d). Note that nyang must be used here because the relative clause modifies a head NP which is modified by a posessor. This is discussed in 6.1.2.2 below.

37. d) Ureueng kamoe *(nyang) peugŏt mŏn le pèng.

Person we$_{exc}$ who make well much money

'*Our persons who dig well make a lot of money.*'

6.1.2.2 Situations Where "nyang" is Required

nyang must be used when the head NP is omitted. This is discussed in 6.1.2. nyang must also be used when the head NP is modified by a possessor morpheme, word, or phrase. In (38a) below, nyang is optional, but in (38b) it is mandatory because the head NP bajèe 'shirt' is modified by the possessor lōn 'I.'

38. a) Bajèe (nyang) beukah ka lōn-bŏh.

Shirt which torn PERF 1-throw-away

'*I have thrown away the torn shirt.*'

b) Bajèe lōn *(nyang) beukah ka lōn-bŏh.

Shirt I which torn PERF 1-throw-away

'*I have thrown away my torn shirt.*'

(38b) can also be expressed as (38c). Note that nyang must be omitted in (38c) because the possessor modifies the entire unit consisting of the head NP (bajèe 'shirt') and the relative clause (beukah 'torn'). (See 6.1.2.1 above.)

38. c) Bajêe (*nyang) beukah lōn ka   lōn-bōh.

       Shirt   which torn   I PERF 1-throw-away

       I have thrown away my torn shirt.

Other similar examples:

39. a) Aneuk gopnyan nyang guru   ka ji-woe.

       Child he/she$_r$ who   teacher PERF 3$_y$-come-back

       His/her child who is a teacher has come back.

    b)*Aneuk gopnyan guru   ka ji-woe.

       Child he/she$_r$ teacher PERF 3$_y$-come-back

       His/her child who is a teacher has come back.

40. a) Rumoh kamoe nyang rayek ka reulōh.

       House we$_{exc}$ which big   IN damaged

       Our big house is damaged.

    b)*Rumoh kamoe rayek ka reulōh.

       House we$_{exc}$ big   IN damaged

       Our big house is damaged.

When the possessor is represented by an enclitic, the
omission of nyang does not make the sentence as bad as when
the possessor is a word, but it does not make it good
either.

41. a) Aneuk-geuh nyang ubit sakét.

       Child-3$_r$ who small ill

       His/her small child is ill.

b) ??Aneuk-geuh ubit sakét.

    Child-3$_r$ small ill

    'His/her small child is ill.'

42. a) Lumo-keuh nyang agam ka rayek?

    Cow-2$_y$ which male IN big

    'Is you colt big now?'

   b) *Lumo-keuh agam ka rayek?

    Cow-2$_y$ male IN big

    'Is you colt big now?'

If the predicate of the relative clause is a PP, <u>nyang</u> can be omitted, even if the head NP is modified by a possessor.

43. Rumoh gopnyan (nyang) di glé ka tutōng.

    House he/she$_r$ which in hill IN burn-down

    'His/her house on the hill has burnt down.'

44. Aneuk-lōn (nyang) di Jakarta karap ji-woe.

    Child-1   who   in Jakarta almost 3$_y$-come-back

    'My child who is in Jakarta is going to come back.'

<u>nyang</u> is obligatory if the relative clause contains an enclitic which is coreferential with the head NP. <u>nyang</u> is optional in (45a), but obligatory in (45b) because here the relative clause contains an enclitic (-<u>geuh</u> '3$_r$') which is coreferential with the head NP <u>ureueng</u> 'person.'

45. a) Ureueng (nyang) meuh'eut kupi   di luwa.

   Person   who   desire coffee in outside

   'The persons who wants some coffee are outside.'

   b) Ureueng *(nyang) meuh'eut-geuh kupi   di luwa.

   Person   who   desire-3_r coffee in outside

   'The persons who wants some coffee are outside.'

Although the relative clause in (46) contains an
enclitic (-neuh '2_r'), nyang is not obligatory. This is
because the enclitic is not coreferential with the head NP
ureueng 'person.'

46. Ureueng (nyang) rhah bajêe-neuh ka   geu-woe.

   Person   who   wash shirt-2_r PERF 3_r-go-home

   'The person who washes your shirts has gone home.'

nyang is also obligatory in constructions where
coreferential NP in relative clause is subject possessor and
a posessor copy in the form of an enclitic is present in the
relative clause (cf. English whose). This is understandable
because the enclitic is coreferential with the head NP. In
(47b), the possessor copy is -geuh '3_r.'

47. a) Ureueng (nyang) tutõng rumoh nyoe-pat.

   Person   who   burnt house   here

   'The person whose house has burnt down is here.'

b) Ureueng *(nyang) tutōng rumoh-geuh nyoe-pat.

    Person   who   burnt   house-3r   here

    'The person whose house has burnt down is here.'

nyang is obligatory in constructions in which the head
NP's are indefinite NP's consisting of "tu-words" (2.2.1.5),
such as jan 'time,' ri 'any,' 'oh 'time,' soe 'who,' peue
'what,' etc. Head NP's consisting of these words are
discussed in 6.1.3.1 below.

48. Neu-meulangkah bak lōn jan *(nyang) na watēe.

    2_r-come   to I any-time which exist time

    'Please come to my house whenever you have the

    time.'

49. Soe *(nyang) jeumöt lōn-bi pèng.

    Who   that   diligent 1-give money

    'I will give some money to those who are diligent.'

There are two question words formed from these words
which can also be used as indefinite head NP's. They are
pajan 'any time' and padum/padit 'any number.' When used
with these meanings, these head NP's must be used with
nyang. Normally, instead of these question words, jan 'time'
and dum/dit are used.

50. Kön ka-teurimōng laju padum/dum *(nyang) geu-jōk.

    Not 2_y-receive   soon any-number which 3_r-give

    '(It's a unfortunate that) you did not take right

    away whatever amount he gave.'

51. Ta-jak pajan/jan *(nyang) geu-yue jak.

   1_{inc}-go any-time   which 3_r-ask go

   'We will go/come whenever he asks us to go/come.'

6.1.3 <u>Head NP's</u>

In the examples that have been given so far, all
relative clauses are preceded by a head NP. This is not
always the case. Head NP's can be omitted in Acehnese. This
will be dealt with in Section 6.1.3.3 below. The previous
examples also show that the head NP always has the same
definite reference as the relativized NP. Section 6.1.3.1
will discuss some words used as head NP's which are
indefinite. Subsection 6.1.3.1.1 will also deal with some
words that contain head NP's.

6.1.3.1 <u>"tu-words" as Head NP's</u>

Except for -<u>nè</u> 'origin,' <u>kön</u> 'reason,' <u>po</u> 'owner,' <u>nyum</u>
'taste,' and <u>bèe</u> 'smell,' all the "<u>tu</u>-words" listed in
2.2.1.5 constitute special types of indefinite head NP's.
They are often used with the meaning 'any.' <u>nyang</u> is
obligatory in these cases.

52. a) Lön-cok saboh boh   mamplam.

    1-take   one-CL fruit mango

    'I took a mango.'

b) Ri *(nyang) lōn-cok brōk.

    Any   which 1-take rotten

    Any mango which I took was bad.'

Based on the kinds of NP's they represent, we can

divided them as follows.

[i]. Person:

    soe 'who, person'

    ri 'any'

53. Soe *(nyang) trōk   neu-yue tamōng u dalam.

    Anyone who   arrive 2ᵣ-ask enter to inside

    'Please ask anyone who comes to go inside.'

54. Bah geu-cok ri *(nyang) galak-geuh.

    Let 3ᵣ-take anyone who   like-3ᵣ

    'Let him take any one he likes.'

[ii]. Animal and thing:

    peue 'what, thing/animal'

    tōh 'any'

    ri 'any'

55. Bèk   ka-pajōh mandum pue *(nyang) geu-beuʔet.

    Don't 2ᵧ-eat   all   anything which 3ᵣ-serve

    'Don't finish everything she serves.'

[iii]. Place, time:

pat '(in) where, location'

ho '(to) where, direction'

jan 'time'

'oh 'time, when(ever)'

56. Pat   *(nyang) ta-keurija hinan ta-tinggai.

  Anywhere which 1_{inc}-work   there 1_{inc}-stay

  'One lives where one works.'

57. Neu-bayeue jan/'oh *(nyang) na.

  2_r-pay   any-time   which   exist

  'You (can) pay anytime you have (the money).'

Note that unlike 'oh in (57), 'oh in (58) cannot be
followed by nyang. Here, 'oh is a conjunction with the
meaning 'when.'

58. Neu-bayeue 'oh (*nyang) na   peng-neuh.

  2_r-pay   when   which   there-is money-2_r

  'You (can) pay when you have the money.'

[iv]. Manner, shape:

  kri 'manner'

  ban 'manner, shape'

59. Ka-peugŏt kri/ban *(nyang) galak-keuh.

  2_y-make   any-manner which   like-2_y

  'Make/do it as you like.'

kri and ban can be combined to form the question word kriban 'how,' which can also be used as an indefinite head NP.

60. Kriban *(nyang) ji-peugöt, ji-peugöt-jih keudéh.

How   which 3_y-make 3_y-make-3_y EMP

'*Just let him make however he likes.*'

[v]. Number, size, length/distance:

    dum/dup 'number'

    dit 'number'

    bé/ubé 'size, number'

    'oh 'length, distance'

    'èt 'length, distance'

61. Dit/dum/bé *(nyang) geu-bri lōn-teurimong.

Any-number   which 3_r-give 1-accept

'*I will accept any number he gives.*'

62. Bah ji-'eue 'èt/'oh *(nyang) trōk.

Let 3_y-creep any-distance which   arrive

'*Just let it creep as far as it can.*'

63. Ka-piléh bé/ubé *(nyang) ék ka-mè.

2_y-choose size   which can 2_y-carry

'*Please choose any size which you can carry.*'

ubé is also used as a conjunction with the meaning 'as big/much as,' as in (64). With this meaning, it is not a head NP, and therefore cannot be followed by nyang.

64. Ka-pasoe ubé   (*nyang) ék ka-mè.

    2_y-fill as-much-as which can 2_y-carry

    'Please fill (the bag) as much as you can carry.'

(64) is not unacceptable if nyang is used, but in that case, ubé is a head NP and the sentence means 'Please put into (the bag the one of) the size that you can carry.'

6.1.3.1.1 Head NP's within Words Formed with "tu-words"

As discussed in 5.2.1.3 (complements of "tu-verbs"), "tu-verbs" have a rather strange structure because these verbs actually consist of a verbal morpheme and its object. These are verbs from "tu-words" (2.2.1.4). Two other groups of words that also contain "tu-words" that can function as head NP's are (1) adjectives formed from "tu-words" with the prefix meu- 'known,' and (2) question words formed with the prefix pa- 'what' (a bound form of peue 'what').

The verbal morpheme of the "tu-verbs" is the initial syllable tu- which means 'to know.' In a sentence, such as (65) below, the head NP is -peue 'what,' which is the second morpheme of the verb tupeue 'to know (what).' The relative marker nyang is optional before the relative clause following "tu-verbs".

65. Hana lōn-tupeue (nyang) geu-peugah lé ureueng nyan.
    NEG 1-know-what which 3$_r$-say   by person that
    'I do not know what that person said.'

What is relativized here is something which <u>ureueng nyan</u>
'that person' had said but the person who reported it could   .
not hear clearly. So he used <u>peue</u> 'what' to represent what
he had not heard clearly. This is also the case in English.
What is unusual is the fact that <u>peue</u>, which functions as a
head NP, is not a free word, but rather a morpheme belonging
to the verb <u>tupeue</u>.

Among the verbs listed in 2.2.1.4, nine can precede a
relative clause and contain a nominal morpheme that can
function as the head NP. The nine verbs are:

<u>tusoe</u> 'to know who'

<u>tupeue</u> 'to know what'

<u>tupat</u> 'to know where'

<u>tuho</u> 'to know to where'

<u>turi</u> 'to know which one'

<u>tutōh</u> 'to know which one'

<u>tudum</u> 'to know the number'

<u>tudit</u> 'to know the number'

<u>tupo</u> 'to know the owner of'

66. Na neu-tupat   nyang leupie ètnhoe hat uroe?
    AUX 2$_r$-know-place which cool   this-far time day
    *'Do you know the place which is cool at this time
    of the day?'*

67. Meunyo ku-tusoe   nyang cok ata këe ku-poh-jih.
    If 1_v-know-person who take thing I_v 1_v-beat-3_y
    'If I knew the person who had taken my thing, I
    would beat him.'

68. Golom   ji-turi   nyang nyo ngön nyang kön.
    Not-yet 3_y-know-the-one which yes and which no
    'He does not know yet the one which is right and
    (the one) which is wrong.'

Similar to the nine verbs listed above are adjectives
formed from the "tu-words" with the prefix meu- with the
meaning 'known.' The "tu-words" within these adjectives
function as head NP's when the adjectives are followed by a
relative clause. One of these adjectives is meusoe 'known
(person).' In the following sentence, soe 'who, person' of
meusoe 'known (person)' is the head NP.

69. Ka meusoe   nyang cue   Vespa droeneuh?
    IN known-person who   steal Vespa you_r
    'Has the person who stole your Vespa (motor-
    scooter) been identified? (Lit.: Is the person who
    stole your Vespa already known?)'

The following are the adjectives that contain nominal
morphemes ("tu-words) that can function as head NP's.

        meusoe 'known (who/person)'
        mupeue 'known (what/thing)'

<div align="center">

mupat 'known (where/place)'

meuho 'known (to where/direction)'

meuri 'known (which one/thing/person)'

meutöh 'known (which one/thing)'

meudum 'known (number)'

meudit 'known (number)'

mupo 'known (owner of)'

</div>

70. Na meudum   nyang gadöh?

AUX known-number which lose

'Is the number of things which are missing known?'

71. Hana meuri   nyang beukah.

NEG known-the-one which broken

'It is not known (nobody knows) which one is

broken.'

These adjectives can also be found in combination with
the prefix peu- 'to cause' (2.2.1.2).

72. Neu-peumeuri   nyang ka beukah.

2$_r$-cause-known-the-one which IN broken

'Please mark the ones which are already broken.'

The third group of words that contain "tu-words" that
can function as head NP's are question words formed with pa-
'what.' They are question words for time, reason, manner,
and number.

> pajan 'when (what time)'
>
> pakön 'why (what reason)'
>
> pakriban 'how (what manner)'
>
> padum 'how many/much (what number)'
>
> padit 'how many/much (what number)'

73. Pajan   nyang lōn-jak ji-thèe.

    What-time which 1-go 3_y-know.

    'He always knows any time I go.'

74. Pakön   nyang h'an ka-peuingat-kuh.

    What-reason which NEG 2_y-remind-1_v

    'Why didn't you remind me? (What was the reason

    which (caused you) not to remind me?)'

75. Bōh   pakriban   nyang h'an rōh   bak ta-poh-jih.

    Well what-manner which NEG inclined at 1_{inc}-beat-3_y

    'How can one refrain oneself from beating him?

    (What is the manner which prevents one from beating

    him?)

6.1.3.2 Head NP Omission

Not all relative clauses in Acehnese are preceded by a
head NP. The following sentences, for instance, contain a
relative clause without a head NP, just as in the English
Who steals my purse steals trash.

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76. Nyang golom   thō   payah adèe   lom.

    Which not-yet dry (adj.) must dry (v.) again

    'Those which are not dry yet must be dried again
    (in the sun).'

77. Nyang ka   geu-koh ta-lhö   lé   bacut-bacut.

    Which PERF 3_r-cut 1_{inc}-knead first little-little

    'We will knead (by feet) (the rice) which has been
    cut little by little.'

78. Keu peue-teuh lom   nyang ka beukah.

    For what-1_{inc} again which IN broken

    'What's use (for us) to keep those that are
    broken?'

Head NP's can be omitted in context. The omission is
governed by rules almost similar to the rules that govern
the omission of subject (discussed in 4.2). The head NP is
omitted if the NP that is relativized has been introduced in
a preceding sentence, usually the nearest one. When the head
NP is omitted, the relative marker nyang must be used. Most
of the time, head NP omission in Acehnese relative clauses
corresponds to the substitution of the English head NP with
one or that (or those).

In the following conversation, the NP u 'coconut' is
introduced in the first sentence. In the next sentence it is
relativized twice without using a head NP. In each case,
nyang is coreferential with the NP u in the preceding
sentence.

79. Question: Pat lōn-peuduek u   nyoe dum?
              Where 1-put   coconut this all
              Where shall I put all these coconuts?

    Answer: <u>Nyang ka meupuliek</u> ka-peuek   u   rumoh,
            Which IN peeled   2$_y$-bring-up to house

            <u>nyang meukulét</u> ka-pasoe lang tōng.
            which have-skin 2$_y$-put   in   box

            *Bring those which have been peeled up
            into the house and put those that are
            still with the skin on in the box.*

The following is an excerpt of a story, <u>Si Nyak Amat</u>

<u>Ngeut</u> 'Amat, a Stupid Young Man.' His wife had said among

other things, 'Why are you sitting around? Why don't you go

out and find some (stupid) blind fish in a pond somewhere in

the field?' In this excerpt, the NP <u>eungkōt</u> 'fish' is

relativized three times in (4) following its introduction in

(3). In each instance the head NP is omitted; it cannot be

used there. I have inserted a <u>Ø</u> to mark the missing head NP.

    80. 1) Na padit na trép ji-jak, trōk bak saboh abeuek.
           AUX some AUX long 3$_y$-go arrive at one   pond

        2) Ji-meukeumah, ji-seuet   laju hana ji-piyōh-
           3$_y$-get-ready 3$_y$-scoop-out soon NEG 3$_y$-stop-

        piyōh. 3) Ban ka   thō, mulayi ji-kuep <u>eungkōt</u>.
        stop   When PERF dry begin 3$_y$-catch fish

        4) Le that ka   ji-teumeung, <u>na Ø nyang ubit</u>,
           Many very PERF 3$_y$-get   there-is which small

na ∅ nyang raya, tapih meusaboh hana ∅ nyang
there-is which big   but   even-one NEG   which

buta. 5) Ka-keuh, ji-bŏh   mandum eungkŏt nyan,
blind   IN-EMP   3ᵧ-throw-away all   fish   that

ji-beudŏh ji-woe.
3ᵧ-stand-up 3ᵧ-go-home

Translation:

1) *After walking for some time, he arrived at a*
pond. 2) *He got ready and (began) to scoop out the*
water from it continuously. 3) *When he had dried*
it, he began to catch the fish. 4) *He had caught a*
lot of fish; there were big ones and small ones,
but there was not even one which was blind. 5)
So, he threw all the fish away and went home.

Most English sentences that begin with <u>Those who/which</u>

begin with <u>Nyang</u> in the Acehnese equivalents.

81. Nyang hana jak baroe   geu-hei lé Keupala Sikula.

    Who   NEG go yesterday 3ᵣ-call by Chief   School

    '*Those who did not come yesterday are asked to see*

    the Headmaster.'

82. Nyang ka   geu-bri keu geutanyoe ka-bŏh lang raga.

    Which PERF 3ᵣ-give to weₒ₁ₙc   2ᵧ-put in basket

    '*Put those which have been given to us in the*

    basket.'

83. Nyang murid sikula hana payah bloe keureucih.

    Who   pupil school NEG must buy ticket

    '*(Those who are) School children don't need to buy*

    a ticket.'

Any word that can be used as a predicate in a sentence can be used as a predicate in a relative clause. These include aspect words, modals, adverbs, demonstratives, and question words. Many relative clauses which are not possible in English are possible in Acehnese. For example, the following are not acceptable in English: *those which are those, *that which is which, *that which is from where, *that which is already, *that which is this, *those which are four, etc. The equivalents to all of these are good constructions in Acehnese and are expressed with headless relative clauses, as in the last three examples above.

84. Nyang nyan ka-tamön keunoe.
    Which that 2$_y$-pile to-here
    'Pile all those here.'

85. Nyang töh   neu-bri keu lön?
    Which which 2$_r$-give to I
    'Which one are you going to give me?'

86. Nyang panè   nyang ka   ji-töh   boh?
    Which from-where which PERF 3-excrete egg
    'From where is the one that has started to lay eggs?'

87. Nyang ka, ka-keuh.
    Which PERF PERF-EMP
    'What is done is done. (Let by-gones be by-gones.)'

88. Nyang sa geu-peuduwa, nyang duwa geu-peulhèe.
   Which one 3_r-make-two which two 3_r-make-three
   '*He has changed what used to be one into two and*
   two into three.'

A head NP must be used in a conversation or story if
the NP which is relativized has not been introduced in the
preceding sentence, or if another NP that can be interpreted
as being coreferential with nyang interrupts the continuity
of the intended NP. For example, although the NP boh timōn
'cucumber' is introduced in (2) in the following excerpt,
when it is relativized in (3), the head NP must be used
because the continuity of this NP is interrupted by other
NP's. If the head NP is not used, the relative marker nyang
will be interpreted as being coreferential with the nearest
NP, which is capli 'chili.'

89. 1) Watèe buleuen Puasa lagèe nyoe, dum peue barang
       Time   month   Fasting like this all kind thing

   nyang ta-peureulèe meuh'ai. 2) Boh   timōn
   which 1_{inc}-need expensive   Fruit cucumber

   meuh'ai, gulè   meuh'ai, boh   peuték
   expensive vegetable expensive fruit papaya

   meuh'ai, capli meuh'ai. 3) Boh   timōn   nyang
   expensive chili expensive   Fruit cucumber which

   ubénoe   limōng-plōh saboh.
   size-this fifty   one

Translation:

   1) *During the Fasting Month like this, everything*
   that we need is expensive. 2) Cucumbers are
   expensive, vegetables are expensive, papayas are

expensive, and chili is expensive. 3) *A cucumber as
big as this is fifty (rupiahs).*

Relativizing an NP in a simple sentence always requires
the use of a head NP, unless the NP being relativized is
clearly indicated by the context, for example, by pointing
at the NP or directing the attention to it.

90. Nyang ka maté ka-koh keudéh.

    Which IN dead 2_y-cut EMP

    'Just cut down the dead ones.'

91. Hai. Nyang teuga bet nyoe jak keunoe siat.

    Hey! Who   strong lift this go here   a-moment

    *'Hey! Please come here any one of you who is strong
    enough to move this.'*

92. Nyang nyan peuduek hinoe.

    Which that put   here

    'Put that one here.'

6.1.4 Relativization of Subjects

When the non-passive subject of a sentence with verb of
Class 1 is relativized, the verb of the relative clause is
used without a proclitic.

93. Na neu-turi   aneuk-miet nyang (*ji-)duek nyan.

    AUX 2_r-recognize child-small who 3_y-sit   that

    'Do you know the child who is sitting there?'

94. Ureueng nyang (*geu-)peugöt rumoh kamoe ka sakét.
    Person who   3$_r$-make   house we$_{exc}$ IN ill
    'The person who makes our house is ill.'

This rule is relaxed when the verb is preceded by
aspect words and modals. When these words are present,
proclitics can be used.

95. Aneuk-miet nyang mantöng (ji-)jak sikula bèk
    Child-small who   still   3$_y$-go   school don't

    neu-yue meukat.
    2$_r$-order sell things

    *'A child who is still in school should not be
    asked to sit in the shop (to sell things).'*

96. Bèk neu-publoe manok nyang teungöh (ji-)töh   boh.
    Don't 2$_r$-sell hen   which PROG   3-excrete egg
    *'Please don't sell the hen which is producing
    eggs.'*

If the predicate of the relative clause is one of the
Class 2 verbs or an adjective, enclitics are not normally
used, although they are not unacceptable as long as the
subject is animate, just as in main clauses.

97. Ureueng nyang sakét nyan ka   u rumoh sakét.
    Person who   ill   that PERF to house sick
    *'The person who is ill has been brought to
    hospital.'*

98. Ka-böh   keudéh pingan nyang ka cumèh   nyan.

     2_y-throw-away EMP   dish   which IN chipped that

     'Just throw the dish that is already chipped.

     (Just throw that chipped dish away.)'

Enclitics must be used if the speaker wants to indicate respect, that is, when the subject is important or respected by the speaker. Sentence (99a) below sounds rude because the verb is not used with an enclitic while the NP which is relativized refers to respected persons.

99. a) Teungku-teungku   nyang meuh'eut keu kupi

     "Teungku-teungku" who   want   for coffee

       neu-langkah keunoe.

       2_r-step   to here

       'You "teungkus" who want some coffee, please

       come here.'

    b) Teungku-teungku   nyang meuh'eut-neuh keu kupi

       "Tengku-teungku" who   want-2_r for coffee

       neu-langkah keunoe.

       2_r-step   to here

       'You "teungkus" who want some coffee, please

       come here.'

It is interesting that some verbs must have a proclitic
when used figuratively with certain inanimate subjects,
especially in negatives. If the proclitic is omitted, the
sentence sounds strange because it implies that the
inanimate subject does something that it cannot actually do;
such an activity can only be done by human and animal
subjects.

> pajōh 'to eat' (when used with things that cut)
>
> isap 'to suck' (when used with pipes or porous objects
> that can suck liquid)
>
> p'iep 'to suck' (same as isap)
>
> mat 'to hold' (when the object is liquid, soot, dirt,
> or greasy material)
>
> theun 'to undergo, to hold'

100. a) Nyan sikin   nyang ji-pajōh karèt.
    That knife   which 3-eat   rubber
    'That is the knife that cuts rubber.'

   b) *Nyan sikin   nyang pajōh karèt.
    That knife   which eat   rubber
    'That is the knife that eats rubber (literally
    eats by chewing in the mouth).'

101. a) Nyoe keureutah   nyang ji-mat daweuet.
    This paper   which 3-hold ink
    'This is the paper that holds ink (can be
    written on it with ink).'

b) *Nyoe keureutah   nyang mat daweuet.

This paper   which hold ink

'This is the paper that is holding ink
(literally holding it with hands).'

When a passive subject is relativized, agreement in the
relative clause is the same as agreement in an independent
passive sentence.

102. Ija   krŏng nyang neu-bloe keu ayah   gŏt that.

Cloth sarong which 2_r-buy   for father good very

'The sarong which you bought for father is very
good.'

103. Neu-bri nyang geu-galak lé gopnyan.

2_r-give which 2_r-like   by he/she$_r$

'Give him/her the one that he/she likes.'

104. Bit   na lagèe neu-peugah lé droeneuh.

Indeed AUX like 2_r-say   by you$_r$

'It is exactly as you said it was/as you
predicted.'

In passive relative clauses, agents are very often
cliticized to the verbs (4.7).

105. a) Pisang nyang ji-pula lé jih ka ji-muboh.

Banana which 3_y-plant by he$_y$ IN 3-have-fruit

'The banana tree that he planted is beginning
to have fruit.'

b) Pisang nyang jih=pula ka ji-muboh.

Banana which he$_y$=plant IN 3-have-fruit

'The banana tree that he planted is beginning

to have fruit.'

106. Pingan nyang ka asèe=lieh nyan meusti ka-samak.

Dish   which PERF dog lick that must   2$_y$-"samak"

'The dish which was licked by the dog must be

cleansed ("samak"=to wash as prescribed in

Islam).'

Non-verbal predicates does not undergo any change when
their subjects are relativized.

107. Nyang aneuk-miet sabé   aneuk-miet.

Who   child-small together child-small

'Children must be placed together (with other

children).'

108. Haba nyang lang surat pakiban?

News which in   letter how

'What about the news in (his) letter?'

109. Jinoe ta-piké   nyang u keue.

Now   1$_{inc}$-think which to front

'Now we should think about things in the future.'

110. Neu-ci tanyòng yum   bajèe nyang nyan.

2$_r$-try ask   price shirt which that

'Please ask (him) the price of that shirt.'

6.1.5 Relativization of Objects and Datives

What we mean by "dative" in this description is the NP to which the direct object is given. Typically, a dative is an argument that receives the direct object of the verb <u>bri</u> 'to give' or <u>bloe</u> 'to buy.' A dative in Acehnese is always preceded by the preposition <u>keu</u> 'for.'[1]

A core NP occurring post-verbally cannot be relativized in Acehnese. Being in post-verbal position, objects (both direct and indirect objects) and datives cannot be relativized.

> 111. a) Ureueng nyan geu-pula kacang.
>
>   Person that 3_r-plant peanut
>
>   *'That person planted peanuts.'*
>
>   b)*Kacang nyang ureueng nyan geu-pula ka timoh.
>
>   Peanut which person that 3_r-plant IN grow
>
>   *'The peanuts which the man planted has grown.'*

Even if a copy of dative (as in (112b)) or indirect object (as in (113b)) is left behind, the sentence remains unacceptable when the dative or the indirect object is relativized.

---

[1] <u>keu</u> is also used before some other indirect objects; usually it means 'to,' or without a meaning at all.

112. a) Ayah geu-bri pèng keu aneuk nyan.

      Father 3_r-give money for child that

      'Father gave some money to that child.'

  b) *Aneuk nyang ayah geu-bri pèng keu(-jih) sakét.

      Child who father 3_r-give money for-3_y ill

      'The child to whom father gave some money was

      ill.'

113. a) Macut galak-geuh keu mie.

      Aunt like-3_r to cat

      'Aunt likes cats.'

  b) *Mie nyang macut galak-geuh keu(-jih) ka deuek.

      Cat which aunt like-3_r to-3   IN hungry

      'The cat which aunt likes is hungry.'

6.1.5.1 Two Methods

There are two methods an object or a dative can be relativized in Acehnese, but only the one, termed here as "Method One" (6.1.5.1.1), is the normal way of relativizing an object or a dative. The second method, termed as "Method Two" (6.1.5.1.2), is used only when the speaker wants to compare the activity or state performed or undergone by the relativized NP with the activity or state performed or undergone by another similar NP which are not relativized. The two methods are described separately first, but later they are contrasted with each other in 6.1.5.1.3.

6.1.5.1.1 **Method One**

This is the usual method used when an object or a
dative needs to be relativized. By this method, the object
or dative is made the subject of a passive sentence.

114. a) Kacang nyoe geu-pula lé ureueng nyan.

    Peanut this 3_r-plant by person that

    'These peanuts were planted by that person.'

    b) Kacang nyang geu-pula lé ureueng nyan ka timöh.

    Peanut which 3_r-plant by person that IN grow

    'The peanuts which were planted by that person

    is growing.'

115. a) Sipatu nyan geu-neuk bloe keu lōn lé ayah.

    Shoe that 3_r-want buy for I by father

    'Those shoes were bought for me by father.'

    b) Sipatu nyang geu-neuk bloe keu lōn lé ayah

    Shoe which 3_r-want buy for I by father

    ubit that.

    small very

    'The shoes that father bought for me were very

    small.'

116. a) Mie nyan galak-geuh lé macut.

    Cat that like-3_r by aunt

    'Aunt likes the cat. (Lit.: The cat is liked by aunt.)'

   b) Mie nyang galak-geuh lé macut ka deuek.

    Cat which like-3_r by aunt IN hungry

    'The cat aunt likes is hungry.'

117. a) Aneuk nyan geu-bri pèng lé ayah.

    Child that 3_r-give money by father

    'That child was given some money by father.'

   b) Aneuk nyang geu-bri pèng lé ayah sakét.

    Child who 3_r-give money by father ill

    'The child who was given some money by father was ill.'

Very often the agent from the le-phrase is cliticized to the verb (4.7). If the verb is used with a proclitic, the agent is cliticized and placed before the verbs, as in (118b), and if the verb is used with an enclitic, the agent is cliticized and placed after the verb, as in (119).

118. a) Kayee nyang geu-pula lé gopnyan ka maté.

    Tree which 3_r-plant by he$_r$ IN dead

    'The tree which was planted by him is dead.'

b) Kayèe nyang gopnyan=pula ka maté.

Tree which he$_r$=plant IN dead

'The tree which was planted by him is dead.'

119. Barang nyang hajat=droeneuh golom trōk.

Thing which desire you$_r$ not-yet arrive

'The merchandise that you want has not arrived yet.'

120. Nyan aneuk dara nyang galak=meuntri=Burhan.

That child girl who like nurse Burhan

'That is the girl whom nurse Burhan likes.'

121. Bèk ka-peudeuh bak lōng barang nyang luwat=lōng.

Don't 2$_y$-show to I thing which loathe-1

'Don't show me the thing that I hatɜ.'

122. Nyoe bonèka nyang beungèh=si = nyak.

This doll which angry title baby

'This is the doll which the baby is angry at.'

123. Aneuk nyang ayah = bri pèng sakét.

Child who father give money ill

'The child who was given some money by father was ill.'

Note that in (120) we assume that galak is a Class 2 verb. Since verbs of Class 2 take an enclitic, when the agent in a lé-phrase is cliticized to the verb, it is placed

after the verb. Thus, before agent cliticization, (120) is as (124).

124. Nyan aneuk dara nyang galak-geuh lé meuntri
     That child girl who   like-3$_r$ by nurse

     Burhan.

     Burhan.

     '*That is the girl whom nurse Burhan likes.*'

(120) can also mean '<u>That is the girl who likes nurse Burhan</u>' if <u>galak</u> is treated as Class 1 verb. Recall from 4.3 (see List 2) that <u>galak</u> is one of Class 2 verbs that can be used as a Class 1 verb, that is, when the action is volitional. If <u>galak</u> is a class one verb, the NP <u>aneuk dara</u> 'girl' is the subject of the active sentence and <u>meuntri Burhan</u> 'nurse Burhan' is the object. Before the subject is relativized, the sentence is as (125a).

125. a) Aneuk dara nyan ji-galak keu meuntri Burhan.
        Child girl that 3$_y$-like to nurse   Burhan
        '*That girl likes nurse Burhan.*'

Ambiguity is usually avoided by retaining <u>keu</u> in front of the indirect object (<u>meuntri Burhan</u>) when <u>galak</u> is a Class 1 verb, as in (125b).

     b) Nyan aneuk dara nyang galak keu meuntri Burhan.
        That child girl who   like to nurse   Burhan
        '*That is the girl who likes nurse Burhan.*'

6.1.5.1.2 Method Two

Objects and datives can also be relativized without
making them the subject of the sentence. The object or
dative is merely placed at the beginning of the sentence and
the subject is placed after the verb and used with di. This
is the method that produces relative clauses of the form
Predicate-["di"-Subject] discussed in 6.1.1 ([ii]). The use
of di before the postposed subject in the clause is
obligatory, and proclitic is also obligatory with Class 1
predicates.

126. a) Pisang nyoe hana geu-publoe di ureueng nyan.
        Banana this NEG 3_r-sell   SFC person that
        *'That person does not (want to) sell these
        bananas.'*

     b) Pisang nyang hana *(geu-)publoe *(di) ureueng
        Banana which NEG 3_r-sell   SFC person

        nyan ka   ji-pajōh lé kamèng.
        that PERF 3-eat   by goat

        *'The bananas which that person does not (want
        to) sell have been eaten by goats.'*

127. a) Bajèe nyoe hana galak-geuh di ureueng nyan.
   Shirt this NEG like-3_r SFC person that

   'That person does not like this shirt.'

b) Bajèe nyang hana galak-geuh *(di) ureueng nyan
   Shirt which NEG like-3_r SFC person that

   mantōng barō-barō.

   still   new-new

   'The shirts which that person does not like are still new.'

128. a) Aneuk nyan hana geu-bri sapeue di ureueng
   Child that NEG 3_r-give anything SFC person

   nyan.

   that

   'That person did not give anything to that child.'

b) Aneuk nyang hana *(geu-)bri sapeue *(di)
   Child who   NEG 3_r-give anything SFC

   ureueng nyan ka ji-klik.

   person that IN 3_y-cry

   'The child to whom that person has not given anything is crying.'

6.1.5.1.3 Method One versus Method Two

As stated above, Method One is considered as the normal way of relativizing an object or a dative. It can be used in all circumstances. On the other hand, Method Two cannot always be used. It can only be used when there is a need to compare the NP which is relativized (what it does or undergoes) with another similar NP (what it does or undergoes). It is not the NP's which are compared, but rather, what different activities they do or what different states they undergo.

When we say (126b), it implies that there are other bananas that he wants to sell, and these bananas are not eaten by goats. (127b) implies that besides the shirts that the man does not like, there are other shirts that he likes, and these shirts are not new. (128b) is used if we want to compare what the reactions of two or more children. The one who was not given anything was crying, but the others are not crying or happy.

If there is no need to make such a comparison, this method cannot be used. For example, if there is only one object, this method cannot be used because there is nothing to compare. (128b) will be unacceptable if there is only one child at the place. In such a context, the sentence must be expressed in the form of (128c) below, which is the form produced by Method One.

128. c) Aneuk nyang hana geu-bri sapeue (lé ureueng

    Child who   NEG 3_r-give anything by person

    nyan) ka ji-klik.

    that IN 3_y-cry

    'The child who has not been given anything (by

    that person) is crying.'

Compare also the following pair of sentences. (129a) is formed by Method Two and (129b) is formed by Method One. (129a) means that 'the shirt which mother washed is <u>now</u> torn,' and it implies that another shirt which was not washed is still in good condition. (129b) is a neutral statement saying that 'the shirt which was washed by mother was <u>already</u> torn or <u>is now</u> torn.'

129. a) Bajèe nyang geu-rhah di ma   ka beukah.

    Shirt which 3_r-wash SFC mother IN torn

    'The shirt which mother washed is now torn.'

    b) Bajèe nyang geu-rhah lé ma   ka beukah.

    Shirt which 3_r-wash by mother IN torn

    'The shirt which was washed by mother was

    torn.'

Method Two cannot be used if an object can undergo or do only one type of activity. In such a case, there is no comparison. Compare (130a) and (130b) below.

130. a)*Bu   nyang geu-taguen di ma   ka ju.

Rice which 3$_r$-cook   SFC mother IN boiling

b) Bu   nyang geu-taguen lé ma   ka ju.

Rice which 3$_r$-cook   by mother IN boiling

'The rice which is being cook by mother is boiling.'

(a) is unacceptable because the combination of bu 'rice' and ju 'boiling' indicates that the rice that the speaker is referring to is still being cooked. The rice which is not put on stove yet is not called bu in Acehnese; it is called breueh 'rice (as in the market).' If we say (a), it implies that there is another pot on the stove containing rice, and it must also be referred to as bu, meaning it is being cooked. Both the rice in the first pot (mentioned in (a) above) and the rice in the second pot (implied by (a)) can only undergo the activity taguen, or else, it will not be called bu. Since there is nothing to compare, (a) is unacceptable.

For the same reason, (131a) is unacceptable. Since tukang ceumeucop 'tailor' is not specified in this sentence, the phrase refers to tailors in general. If 'tailors' is the agent in a sentence and 'shirts' is the direct object, there is only one type of activity the the object ordinarily undergo, that is, 'be made' or 'sewn' (cop 'to sew'). So, there is not any other activity undergone by similar object to compare. That is the reason that (a) is unacceptable.

131. a) *Bajèe nyang ji-cop di tukang cemeucop göt.
       Shirt which 3-sew SFC person do-sewing good

   b) Bajèe nyang ji-cop lé tukang cemeucop göt.
       Shirt which 3-sew by person do-sewing good
       'Shirts which are made by tailors are good.'

Sometimes it is not the activity undergone by the head
NP which is compared, but rather the details described by
the adverbs or adjectival adjuncts, such as <u>itam</u> 'black' in
<u>geu-cèt itam</u> '3$_r$-paint black (painted black).' (132), for
example, means that the pieces of wood which were split into
four parts are already dry, implying that there are other
pieces of wood which were not split into four, and they are
not dry yet.

132. Kayèe nyang geu-plah peuet di apa   ka thö.
     Wood which 3$_r$-split four SFC uncle IN dry
     *'The pieces of wood which uncle split into four
     are already dry.'*

While (132) is a good sentence, (133) is not. It is not
acceptable if the adverb <u>bak mieng</u> 'on the cheek' is
stressed (as marked here with the symbol (^)). <u>bak mieng</u> is
the only locational adverb that can modify the verb <u>tampa</u>
'to slap.' Since <u>bak mieng</u> is the only place <u>tampa</u> is
performed, it does not make sense to imply that 'teacher
Adam' also performs <u>tampa</u> to another child, but not <u>bak</u>

<u>mieng</u>. That is what (133a) suggests; therefore, it is
strange and unacceptable.

133. a)*Aneuk nyang geu-tampa bak mieng^ di guru Adam

Child who 3_r-slap   at cheek SFC teacher Adam

ka ji-klik.

IN 3_y-cry

b) Aneuk nyang geu-tampa bak mieng^ lé guru Adam

Child who 3_r-slap   at cheek by teacher Adam

ka ji-klik.

IN 3_y-cry

'The child who was slapped on the cheek by
teacher Adam is crying.'

These examples show that the normal way to relativize
an object or a dative in Acehnese is by making it the
subject of the sentence. The second method is only used when
there is a need to make a comparison as described above.

6.1.5.2 <u>Topicalized NP's versus Fronted NP's</u>

It is important to note that the fronted NP (object or
dative) discussed in 6.1.5.1.2 (Method Two) above is not a
topicalized NP. Topicalized NP is marked by topicalization
intonation discussed in 3.2.4. A topicalized NP is stressed.
Some sentences with topicalized NP's are focus sentences in

Acehnese (6.2). The topicalized NP's are actually the head
NP's, which already have an optional relative marker nyang,
although very often it is not used. Therefore, a topicalized
NP cannot be relativized. In the following sentences, nyang
is purposely omitted. The symbol (^) is used to indicate
stress.

134. a) Kacang^ ji-pula aneuk nyan.

Peanut 3_y-plant child that

'*It is peanuts that the child planted.*'

b) *Kacang nyang ji-pula aneuk nyan ka timöh.

Peanut which 3_y-plant child that IN grow

135. a) Asèe^ ji-kalön kamèng nyan.

Dog 3-see goat that

'*It is a dog that the goat is looking at.*'

b) *Asèe nyang ji-kalön kamèng nyan itam.

Dog which 3-see goat that black

Some other sentences with topicalized NP's are not
focus sentences, yet the topicalized NP's cannot be
relativized either. The topicalized NP's are stressed NP's.

136. a) Bajèe nyoe^ neu-sōk di droeneuh.

Shirt this 2_r-wear SFC you_r

'*Please wear this shirt.*'

b) *Bajèe nyoe nyang neu-sōk di droeneuh gléh.

Shirt this which 2_r-wear SFC you_r clean

Object NP's are also topicalized within the predicate in Acehnese. Similar to the previous topicalized NP's, they are stressed and cannot be relativized.

137. a) Aneuk nyan kacang^ ji-pula.

Child that peanut 3_r-plant

'*It is peanuts that the child planted.*'

b.*Kacang nyang aneuk nyan ji-pula ka timoh.

Peanut which child that 3_y-plant IN grow

6.1.6 Relativization of Peripheral NP's

Peripheral NP's are adverbial NP's and NP's within PP's that functions as adverbs. Some adverbs are represented by a noun or NP, for example, <u>uroe</u> 'day,' <u>malam</u> 'night,' <u>buleuen</u> 'month,' etc. When these nouns are relativized, <u>nyang</u> is rarely used. Instead of <u>nyang</u>, a word for <u>time</u> is used, especially the word <u>watèe</u> 'time, moment' or <u>bak watèe</u> 'at the time' and <u>yōh</u> 'time, when.' The subject is either omitted (in context) or cliticized to the verb. The use of <u>watèe</u> or <u>bak watèe</u> is optional, and usually not used.

When an adverbial NP is relativized, the subject is usually cliticized to the verb or omitted in context.

138. a) Gopnyan geu-jak uroe Rabu.

He_r 3_r-go   day Wednesday

'*He left on Wednesday.*'

b) Na   teuingat-neuh uroe (watèe) gopnyan jak?

AUX remember-2_r day   time   he$_r$ go

'Do you remember the day he left?'

139. a) Ureueng nyan lahé jameun Beulanda.

Person   that born era   Dutch

'That person was born in Dutch time.'

b) Jameun (yōh) ureueng nyan lahé hana ta-rasa

Era   when person   that born NEG 1_{inc}-undergo

di geutanyoe.

SFC we$_{inc}$

*'We did not see the era (when) that person was
born.'*

140. Hana   gopnyan hinoe malam (nyang) bak watèe

Not-exist he$_r$ here night which   at time

tutōng   keudè nyan.

burnt-down shops that

'He was not here the night the shops burnt down.'

Sometimes the subject is placed after the verb. This is
less common than the method described above.

141. Uroe geu-beurangkat gopnyan reudōk that.

Day 3_r-leave   he$_r$ cloudy very

'It was very cloudy (dark) the day he left.'

The subject can also be placed in a pre-verbal position
if the predicate is a Class 2 verb or an adjective.

142. Peue malam malam lōn sakét?

   What night night I   ill

   What night was it the night I was ill?'

143. H'an tuwō-lōn sagai uroe watèe jih reubah hinoe.

   NEG forget-1 at-all day time he$_y$ fall   here

   I will never forget the day he fell here.'

Many other adverbs are PP's. When the NP in such a PP
is relativized, the preposition of the PP is placed at the
beginning of the relative clause, resulting a structure of
the form: Head NP + (nyang) + [(Prep.)Clause]$_{RC}$. The subject
of the clause is either omitted (in context) or cliticized
to the verb.

144. a) Gopnyan geu-dòng bak jalan.

       He$_r$ 3$_r$-stand at road

       He stood on the road.'

   b) Nyoe-keuh jalan bak gopnyan dòng.

       This-EMP road at he$_r$ stand

       This is the road where he stood.'

When the NP in a PP is relativized, some prepositions
are replaced by either bak *'to, in, from'* or keu *'for.'*
Prepositions that substitute for other prepositions are

usually optional, but the prepositions which are not
replaced are required before a relative clause. The rules
for preposition substitution are as follows.

[i]. Some single locational prepositions are replaced
by _bak_. They are _di_ 'in, at,' _dalam_/_lam_/_lang_ 'in,' and
ateueh 'on.' _bak_ 'in, at' is not replaced but it is included
here together with other prepositions which it replaces.

145. a) Macut geu-bōh ie   _lang_ ciriek.

      Aunt 3_r-put   water   in   kettle

      'Aunt keeps water in the kettle.'

     b) Ciriek (nyang) (_bak_) macut bōh ie   ka kuto.

      Kettle   which   in   aunt put water IN dirty

      'The kettle in which aunt put the water is

      dirty.'

146. a) Glah   nyan lōn-peuduek _ateueh_ mėja.

      Glass that 1-put   on   table

      'I put the glass on the table.'

     b) Mėja (nyang) (_bak_) lōn-peuduek glah   nyan

      Table which   at   1-put   glass that

      ka kuto.

      IN dirty

      'The table which I put a glass on is dirty.'

Besides bak, two other single locational prepositions
are also not replaced. They are antara 'between, among' and
rap or toe 'near.' The NP of a PP with the preposition
antara can be relativized in two different ways. One of
these ways is by extracting the NP from the PP and making it
the head NP. A copy in the form of an enclitic is left in
the PP and the preposition di 'in' is added before the
preposition antara, resulting in a compound preposition: di
antara 'in between.'

From sentence (147a) below, the NP duwa boh bukét 'two
hills' is relativized, resulting in (147b) where the NP is
represented by an enclitic and attached to antara.

147. a) Lōn-dōng antara duwa boh bukét.

　　　　1-stand　between　two CL　hill

　　　　'I was standing between two hills.'

　　b) (Duwa boh) bukét nyang lōn-dōng di antara-jih

　　　　Two　CL　hill　which 1-stand　in between-3

　　　　hana manyang.

　　　　NEG　high

　　　　'The two hills between which I was standing are
　　　　not high.'

The second method of relativizing an NP following
antara is a kind of paraphrasing. As an illustration, if one
of the hills in (147a) was on the left of the subject and
the other on the right, one would say something which means

'The hills which were on my left and my right ...,' and if
one of the hills was in front of the subject and the other
behind him, one would say 'The hills which were in front of
me and behind me ....' So, instead of (b), one can say (c).

    c) Bukét nyang di wie (di) uneun lōn-dōng nyan hana
       Hill which in left in right 1-stand that NEG

      manyang.

      high

      'The hills which were on the left and on the
      right (from the place) I was standing are not
      high.'

If <u>antara</u> means 'among,' that is, if one was standing
among trees, for example, one would say something with the
meaning 'The trees around me ....'

    148. a) Lōn-dōng antara bak kayēe dum.
         1-stand between trunk tree all
         'I was standing among trees.'

      b) Bak kayēe di siseulingka lōn-dōng nyan
        Trunk tree in around   I-stand that

        manyang-manyang that.
        high-high   very

        'The trees around (the place where) I was
        standing were tall.'

As expected by the coordinate NP constraint (Ross, 1967), an NP following <u>antara</u> cannot be relativized if it is one of the compound NP's connected by the conjunction ngön 'and.'

149. a) Gopnyan geu-döng antara rumoh ngön krueng.

    He$_r$ 3$_r$-stand between house ang river

    '*He was standing between the house and the*
    river.'

    b)*Rumoh nyang gopnyan geu-döng di antara (jih)

    House which he$_r$ 3$_r$-stand in between 3

    ngön krueng ka   reubah.

    and river PERF fall

    '**The house which he was standing between (it)*
    and the river has collapsed.'

    c)*Krueng nyang gopnyan geu-döng di antara rumoh

    River which he$_r$ 3$_r$-stand in between house

    ngön (jih) luwah that.

    and 3   large very

    '**The river which he was standing between the*
    house and (it) is very large.'

The NP following the preposition <u>rap</u> is relativized in the same way as relativizing an NP following earlier

locational prepositions, except that this preposition is not replaced; therefore, it cannot be omitted.

150. a) Jih ji-duek rap tamèh.

   He$_y$ 3$_y$-sit   near pillar

   'He is sitting near the pillar.'

   b) Tamèh *(rap) jih duek luen   that.

   Pillar   near he$_y$ sit   smooth very

   'The pillar near (the place where) he is

   sitting is very smooth.'

[ii]. Directional prepositions, u 'to' and bak 'to,' are replaced by bak.

151. a) Gopnyan geu-jak u krueng.

   He$_r$ 3$_r$-go   to river

   'He went to the river.'

   b) Krueng bak gopnyan jak jiòh that.

   River   to   he$_r$ go   far   very

   'The river which he went to is very far.'

[iii]. Source prepositions di or lam 'from' is replaced by bak and nibak 'from (from which something is made)' by keu 'for.'

152. a) Gopnyan geu-woe   di   kuwala.

   He$_r$ 3$_r$-return from river-mouth

   'He came back from the river mouth.'

b) Ka lōn-tupat kuwala   <u>bak</u> gopnyan woe.

IN 1-know   river-mouth from he$_r$ return

'*I know the river mouth from where he came back.*'

153. a) Ban ku-woe   <u>lam</u> uteuen.

Just 1$_v$-return from wood

'*I just came back from wood.*'

b) Uteuen <u>bak</u> ban ku-woe   nyoe seupōt that.

Wood   from just 1$_v$-return this dark   very

'*The wood from where I just came back is very dark.*'

154. a) Euncien nyoe ji-peugōt <u>nibak</u> meuh.

Ring   this 3-make   from   gold

'*This ring was made from gold.*'

b) Meuh nyang ji-peugōt <u>keu</u> euncien nyoe hana gōt.

Gold which 3-make   for ring   this NEG   good

'*The gold from which this ring was made is not good.*'

[iv]. The instrumental preposition <u>ngön</u> 'with, by means of' and comitative preposition <u>ngön</u> 'with' are not replaced. As stated earlier, prepositions which are not replaced cannot be omitted. However, instrumental <u>ngön</u> is an exception; it can be omitted.

155. a) Pintō nyoe ji-kurék ngön sikin.

    Door this 3-bore with knife

    'This door was bored with a knife.'

   b) Sikin (ngön) ji-kurék pintō nyoe tajam that.

    Knife with 3-bore door this sharp very

    'The knife that this door was bored with is
    very sharp.'

156. a) Droeneuh neu-peugah-haba ngön ureueng nyan.

    You$_r$ 2$_r$- talk   with person that

    'You were talking with that person.'

   b) Ureueng ngön droeneuh peugah-haba nyan peulisi.

    Person with you$_r$ talk   that policeman

    'The person who you talked to is a policeman.'

Some prepositions in Acehnese are compound, formed with the locational prepositions di 'in, at' or bak 'at, in' or directional preposition u 'to.' Among the compound prepositions formed with di and bak are:

    di keue 'in front of'

    di likōt 'behind'

    di geuniréng 'beside'

    di ateueh 'on top of, above'

    di yup 'below, under'

    di teungōh 'in the middle'

    di dalam 'inside'

<u>di luwa</u> 'ouside'

<u>bak binèh</u> 'at the side of'

Among the prepositions formed with <u>u</u> are:

<u>u ateueh</u> 'onto'

<u>u yup</u> 'to under'

<u>u luwa</u> 'to outside'

<u>u cōng</u> '(to) on top of (tree, high structure, etc.)'

There are three possible forms of sentence when an NP following a compound preposition is relativized: 1) the subject is placed after the verb; 2) the subject is cliticized to the verb; and 3) the subject is omitted (in context). A copy of relativized NP is optionally attached to the preposition. Each of the three possible forms is exemplified by (157b), (157c), and (157d) below. Unlike single prepositions, compound prepositions are not replaced when an NP following them is relativized.

157. a) Droeneuh neu-duek di ateueh mèja nyan.

You$_r$ 2$_r$-sit   at on   table that

'You were sitting on the table.'

b) Ho   ka mèja nyang neu-duek droeneuh di

Where IN table which 2$_r$-sit you$_r$ at

ateueh(-jih)?

on-3

'Where is the table you were sitting on?'

c) Ho   ka mèja nyang droeneuh duek di

Where IN table which you$_r$ sit   at

ateueh(-jih)?

on-3

'Where is the table you were sitting on?'

d) Ho   ka mèja nyang neu-duek di ateueh(-jih)?

Where IN table which 2$_r$-sit   at on-3

'Where is the table you were sitting on?'

158. Guci   nyang lōn-pasoe anoe u dalam-jih ka beukah.

"Guci" which 1-put   sand to inside-3 IN broken

'The "guci" (small-neck large water container)

which I filled with sand has broken.'

159. Moto nyang lōn-ék rōt likōt moto geureubak.

Car   which 1-climb from behind car cart

'The vehicle (car) which I got up from behind was

a truck.'

A preposition like <u>di likōt</u> 'behind' is sometimes
replaced by its opposite phrase when the NP following it is
relativized. This is due to the possibility of looking at
the relation between the subject and the NP from two
different angles. When one is sitting behind a table, it can
also mean that the table is in front of one if one is
sitting facing the table, or behind one if one is sitting

with the back toward the table. So, besides saying 'the
table that someone is sitting behind,' it is also possible
to say 'the table which is in front of someone,' as in (c)
below, or 'the table which is behind someone,' as in (d).

160. a) Gopnyan geu-duek di likōt mèja.

He$_r$ 3$_r$-sit   in back table

'*He was sitting behind the table.*'

b) Mèja   nyang geu-duek di likōt-jih geuhön that.

Table which 3$_r$-sit   in back-3   heavy very

'*The table behind which he is sitting is very
heavy.*'

c) Mèja   di keue gopnyan duek geuhön that.

Table in front he$_r$ sit heavy very

'*The table in front of (the place where) he is
sitting is very heavy.*'

d) Mèja   di likōt gopnyan duek geuhön that.

Table in behind he$_r$ sit   heavy very

'*The table behind (the place where) he is
sitting is very heavy.*'

6.1.7 Stacked Relative Clauses

"Stacked relative clauses" is the term used by
Stockwell *et al* (1973) to refer to a structure in which a
head NP is modified by more than one relative clause. Most

stacked relative clauses in their full forms in Acehnese
consist of two relative clauses.

161. Na   bajèe nyang panyang jaroe nyang ubit takue?
     Exist shirt which long   hand which small neck
     Do you have a long-sleeved shirt with a small
     neck?'

If there is a third relative clause, it must be reduced
and connected with a conjunction.

162. Na   bajèe nyang panyang jaroe nyang ubit takue,
     Exist shirt which long   hand which small neck

          seureuta (??nyang) teuplah dada?
          and   which   split   chest

     'Do you have a long-sleeved open front shirt with
     a small neck?'

Another alternative, if there are more than two
relative clauses, they are all reduced except the last one.

163. Bajèe putéh panyang jaroe nyang teuplah dada
     Shirt white long   hand which split   chest

          ka kuto   that.
          IN dirty very

     'The white long-sleeved shirt with open front is
     very dirty.'

164. Lumo inŏng pijuet nyang jak nyan ka capiek.

Cow female thin which walk that IN crippled

'*The thin female cow that is walking there is
crippled.*'

When an adjective followed by another adjective is also
a noun, ambiguity may result. (164) one of such examples.
<u>inŏng</u> 'female' is an adjective, but it is also used to refer
to a woman, impolitely. Thus, (164) can alsc mean '<u>The cow
of the thin woman who is walking there is crippled</u>.' To
avoid this ambiguity, the second (following) adjective is
sometimes expressed in the form of a full relative clause
with <u>nyang</u> accompanied with a short pause (marked with (|)
in (165)) before <u>nyang</u>. The presence of <u>nyang</u> makes the
ambiguous adjective distant from the following adjective,
which cannot otherwise be separated, even with intonation,
because when two or more adjectives modify the same head
noun, they are pronounced as a unit.

165. Lumo inŏng| nyang pijuet nyang jak nyan ka capiek.

Cow female which thin which walk that IN crippled

'*The thin female cow that is walking there is
crippled.*'

Relative clauses with adjectival predicates are often
reduced into adjectives. However, when they occur at the end
of three or more stacked relative clauses, they cannot
usually be reduced, because stacked relative clauses require

that the last modifier be expressed in a full relative
clause.

> 166. Lŏn-mita   kayèe panyang sulu *(nyang) tincu.
>
> 1-look-for wood long   straight which pointed
>
> *'I am looking for a piece of pointed straight long
> wood.'*

> 167. Jeuet ta-pasang banira mirah putéh lhèe sagoe
>
>   Can   1$_{in}$-put   flag   red   white three angle
>
>   *(nyang) barŏ bak moto geutanyoe?
>
>   which   new   at car we$_{inc}$
>
>   *'Can we put a new triangle red and white flag on
>   our car?*

This rule is sometimes relaxed if the relative clauses
consist of an attributive NP, an adjective, and color. In
this case, the third relative clause can either be in its
full form (which is more common) or reduced form.

> 168. Ho   ka beuneung plastik halŏh (nyang) itam?
>
>   Where IN thread   plastic thin   which black
>
>   *'Where is the black thin plastic thread?'*

> 169. Mè keunoe reunŏng trieng panyang (nyang) kunèng.
>
>   Bring here pole bamboo long   which   yellow
>
>   *'Bring here the yellow long bamboo pole.'*

Compound adjectives, for example, <u>panyang leunuet</u> 'tall and rather bent,' <u>mirah puteh</u> 'red and white,' etc., are treated as single adjectives.

170. Ureueng muda jamee nyang panyang leunuet nyan
     Person young guest who tall   bent   that

     awak   Langsa.
     people Langsa

     *The young stranger who is tall and rather bent is
     from Langsa.*

Stacked relative clauses with non-adjectival predicates usually allow only one relative clause to be reduced. The rest must be expressed in full form.

171. Ureueng dong bak jalan *(nyang) teungoh khem
     Person stand at road   who   PROG   laugh

     *(nyang) ngieng keunoe carong meu'en bhan.
     who   look   to-here clever play   soccer

     *The person who is standing on the road who is
     laughing and looking here is very good at playing
     soccer.*

If there are more than two full forms, the remaining one will have to be connected with a conjunction. And another sentence may be needed if there is still another clause.

172. Ureueng dŏng bak jalan *(nyang) teungŏh khém
Person stand at road   who   PROG   laugh

*(nyang) ngieng keunoe *(seureuta) geu-bet jaroe
who   look   to-here   and 3_r-raise hand

carong meu'èn bhan.
clever play   soccer

*'The person who is standing on the road who is
laughing, looking here and raising his hand is
very good at playing soccer.'*

6.1.8 Non-Restrictive Relative Clauses

Non-restrictive relative clauses are similar in form to
restrictive relative clauses. They come from two independent
sentences (Ross, 1967c, 6.158),[2] one of which modifies or
gives some detail about an NP in the other sentence. When
the two are combined, the one that modifies an NP becomes a
non-restrictive relative clause. For example, when (a.2)
below, which clarifies the NP nèk 'grandmother' of sentence
(a.1) are combined, as in (173b), (a.2) becomes a (non-
restrictive) relative clause modifying the head NP nèk.

173. a.1) Bèk   ka-jak jŏk   ruti kreueh keu nèk.
Don't 2_y-go give cake hard   to   grandmother
'Don't give the hard cake to grandmother.

---

[2] Quoted in Schachter *et al* (1974: 422).

a.2) Nèk   hana lé   gigoe.

Grandmother NEG anymore tooth

Grandmother does not have teeth anymore.'

b) Bèk   ka-jak jōk   ruti kreueh keu nèk

Don't 2$_y$-go give cake hard   to   grandmother

nyang hana lé   gigoe.

who   NEG anymore tooth

*'Don't give hard cake to grandmother, who does
not have teeth anymore.'*

174. a) Peue, h'an ék neu-mè   cit? Droeneuh agam.

What NEG can 2$_r$-carry too You male

'Can't you carry it either? You are a man.'

b) Peue, droeneuh nyang agam h'an ék neu-mè cit?

What you$_r$ who   male NEG can 2$_r$-carry too

'Can't you, who are a man, carry it either?'

When a non-restrictive relative clause is at the end of
the sentence, as in (173b), there is a slight comma
intonation after the head NP. But when it is in the middle
of the sentence, as in (174b), there is no comma intonation
after the head NP. The intonation is the same as that of a
head NP and its relative clause.

Unlike restrictives, non-restrictives can modify a
pronoun,

175. Nyan bèk   neu-tanyŏng bak lōng nyang hana
     That don't 2ᵣ-ask   to I   who   NEG

     teupue sapue.

     know   anything

     'Please don't ask that of me, who do not know
     anything (about it).'

a proper noun,

176. Lōn-neuk jak ngŏn Pak   Razali nyang na   moto.
     1-want   go with title Razali who   have car
     'I want to go with Mr. Razali, who has a car.'

a demonstrative,

177. Nyan nyang neu-mat nyan duwa reutōh.
     That which 2ᵣ-hold that two   hundred
     'That, which you are holding, is two hundred
     (rupiahs).'

and a unique noun (such as the sun, one's own father or
mother, one's house (the only house), etc.).

178. Bèk   ka-yue peugŏt nyan bak ayah-keuh nyang
     Don't 2ᵧ-ask make   that to father-2ᵧ who

     teungŏh sakét.
     middle ill

     'Don't ask your father, who is ill, to make that.'

179. Neu-jak keunoe u rumoh lōn nyang ramè ureueng.
     2$_r$-go   to-here to house I   which many people
           'Please come here to my house, where (you can
           find) many people. (There are many people here.)'

Non-restrictives are also different from restrictives
in the way an NP modified by a demonstrative is relativized.
Recall from 6.1 that when an NP modified by a demonstrative
is relativized, it is divided into two parts: the NP and the
demonstrative. The NP becomes the head NP, which is placed
before the relative clause, and the demonstrative is placed
behind the relative clause. If an NP <u>aneuek nyan</u> 'that
child,' for instance, is relativized and the relative clause
is <u>bloe pisang</u> 'buy banana,' the resultant form is <u>aneuk
[nyang bloe pisang] nyan</u> 'the child who is buying (some)
bananas.'

Unlike restrictives, non-restrictives do not separate
the demonstrative from the NP. The entire NP (including the
demonstrative) become the head NP.

180. Neu-yue tuléh bak aneuk nyan nyang na   pèna.
     2$_r$-ask write to child that who   have pen
           'Please ask that child, who has a pen, to write
           it.'

181. Salang ureueng nyan nyang sakét geu-prèh cit.
     Even   person that who   ill 3$_r$-wait also
           'Even that person, who is ill, wants to wait.'

Acehnese does not have a non-restrictive clause that
modifies the entire proposition, as in (182a). Instead, two
separate sentences, as in (182b), are used.

182. a) *Apa geu-peugah geu-neuk meukat ija, nyang

Uncle 3$_r$-say   3$_r$-want   sell   cloth which

lōn-piké göt that.

1-think good very

*'Uncle said that he wanted to sell cloth, which
I thought was a good idea.'*

b) Apa geu-peugah geu-neuk meukat ija. Bak

Uncle 3$_r$-say   3$_r$-want sell cloth At

lōn-piké nyan göt that.

1-think that good very

*'Uncle said that he wanted to sell cloth. I
think that is a very good idea.*

6.2 **Focus Sentences**

Focus sentences are similar in form to relative
clauses. In both relative clauses and focus sentences, the
head noun is followed by a clause consisting of nyang 'who,
which, that' and the clause. Agreement in focus sentences is
also the same as that in relative clauses, that is, the verb
of the clause is not usually made to agree with the subject

when this verb is a Class 1 verb. The only difference
between these two constructions is that the head noun of a
focus sentence is stressed, whereas that of a relative
clause is not. To mark the stress, (^) is used at the end of
the head noun in the data used here.

183. Ureueng nyan^ nyang (*geu-)peugöt pageue kamoe.
     Person that who 3_r-make   fence we$_{exc}$
     'It is that person who made our fence.'

184. Aneuk nyan^ nyang (*ji-)euntat surat kaba sabé.
     Child that who 3_y-deliver letter news always
     'It is that child who always delivers newspapers.'

The head NP of a focus sentence in Acehnese has the
function of a predicate with the nyang-clause as the subject
of the sentence. In focus sentences, the order is predicate-
subject, as in the (b) sentences below. The subject-
predicate order is shown by the (a) sentences. Notice the
subject intonation peak on the nyang-clauses in the (a)
sentences and the predicate-subject type of intonation in
the (b) sentences.

185. a) Nyang peugöt pintö geutanyoë utöh Tahé.
        Who   make   door   we$_{inc}$ title Tahe
        'The person who made our door is carpenter
        Tahe.'

b) Utōh Tahe^ nyang peugöt pintō geutanyoe.

Title Tahe who make door we_inc

'*It is carpenter Tahe who made our door.*'

186. a) Nyang kireueh bungōng lōng manok nyan.

Which scratch flower I hen that

'*(The animal) that scratched my flowers is that hen.*'

b) Manok nyan^ nyang kireueh bungōng lōng.

Hen that which scratch flower I

'*It is that hen that scratched my flowers.*'

Some of focus sentences in Acehnese are sentences with a topicalized NP. Such focus sentences are of the form: Head NP-("nyang")-V-"di"+Subject. There is an important difference between focus sentences of this type and relative clauses. Unlike in relative clauses, agreement proclitics on Class 1 verbs are obligatory in these focus sentences.

187. a) Ureueng nyan geu-mè pisang.

Person that 3_r-carry banana

'*That person is carrying bananas.*'

b) Pisang^ (nyang) *(geu-)mè di ureueng nyan.

Banana which 3_r-carry SFC person that

'*It is bananas which the person are carrying.*'

188. a) Gopnyan luwat-geuh keu tikŏh.

    H/she$_r$ loathe-3$_r$ to mouse

    'He/she feels disgusted at mice.'

    b) Tikŏh^ (nyang) luwat-geuh di gopnyan.

    Mouse which loathe-3$_r$ SFC he/she$_r$

    'It is mice that he/she feels disgusted at.'

Note that the enclitic -<u>geuh</u> '3$_r$' on the verb <u>luwat</u> 'to loathe' in (187b) is also obligatory, but here the obligatoriness of the enclitic is governed by a different rule. When a Class 2 verb or adjective is followed by an object, it must be used with an enclitic. (This is discussed in 4.5.)

With regard to the restrictions on head NP's, focus sentences in Acehnese is almost similar to non-restrictive relative clauses in that they allow pronouns, proper nouns, demonstratives, and unique nouns as head NP's.

[i]. Pronoun:

189. Lŏn^ nyang meusti lakèe meu'ah bak droeneuh.

    I who must beg pardon to you

    'It is me who must appologize to you.'

190. Gopnyan^ nyang peubeukah chok nèk.

    She$_r$ who break "chok" grandmother

    'It's her who broke grandmother's "chok"

    (tool for crushing arecanut and betelnut leaf).'

[ii]. Proper noun:

191. Teungku Musa^ nyang bri-khutbah Jeumeu'at nyoe.

"Teungku" Musa who preach　　Friday　　this

'It's "Teungku" Musa who will preach (in the

mosque) this Friday.'

[iii]. Demonstrative:

192. Ō, nyan^ nyang h'an ku-tém　di　kèe.

Oh that　which NEG I$_v$-want SFC I$_v$

'That's the one that I don't want (to do). (I

don't want to do that.)'

[iv]. Unique noun:

193. Ma^　　nyang hèk　that uroe nyoe.

Mother who　tired very day this

'It's mother who is very tired today.'

In connection with a group of verbs discussed in 6.1.4,

namely pajōh 'to eat,' mat 'to hold,' isap or p'iep 'to

suck,' and theun to undergo, to hold,' focus sentences are

very similar to relative clauses. Like relative clauses,

focus sentences require that these verb be used with a

proclitic when they are used figuratively with some

inanimate subjects, or else they will have a literal

meaning, which is not compatible with the subjects.

194. a) Sikin nyoe^ nyang h'an ji-pajōh sapeue.

   Knife this which NEG 3-eat anything

   'It is this knife which does not cut anything

b) *Sikin nyoe^ nyang h'an pajōh sapeue.

   Knife this which NEG eat anything

   'It is this knife which does not want to eat
   (by chewing in the mouth) anything.'

195. a) Papeuen nyoe^ nyang h'an ji-theun ta-gidöng.

   Board this which NEG 3-stand 1$_{inc}$-step-on

   'It is this board which is not strong enough
   to support us (if we stand on it).'

b) ?Papeuen nyoe^ nyang h'an theun ta-gidöng.

   Board this which NEG stand 1$_{inc}$-step-on

   'It is this board which does not allow anybody
   to stand on it.'

6.3 Summary

In general, only subjects can be relativized in Acehnese sentences. When an object or a dative is relativized, the relative clause following the head NP is always in the passive form. In other words, the object or dative is first made the subject of the sentence. The method of relativizing an object or dative in this way is termed here as Method One. It is also possible to relativize an object or dative without making it the subject of the

sentence. This method is termed as Method Two. This method has a very restrictive use. It can only be used if there is a need to make a comparison.

Peripheral NP's can also be relativized. Relativizing these NP's often involves the substitution of the prepositions preceding them.

Constructions similar to relative clauses are non-restrictive relative clauses. There is only one type of non-restrictive relative clauses in Acehnese, that is, those that modifies NP's. Unlike English non-restrictives, Acehnese non-restrictives are not always separated from the preceding NP's by a comma break.

Focus sentences are also similar in form to relative clauses, except that the head NP in relative clauses is stressed. Some focus sentences in Acehnese are nominal sentences in the order predicate-subject, where the subject is in the form of a relative clause.

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