

ff

1003

N

*MARK DURIE*

A GRAMMAR OF ACEHNESE  
ON THE BASIS OF A DIALECT OF  
NORTH ACEH



BIBLIOTHEEK KITLV



0050 7895

852 943 768

A GRAMMAR OF ACEHNESE  
ON THE BASIS OF A DIALECT OF NORTH ACEH

VAN HET KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT  
VOOR TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE

112

MARK DURIE

A GRAMMAR OF ACEHNESE

ON THE BASIS OF A DIALECT OF NORTH ACEH



1985

FORIS PUBLICATIONS

Dordrecht-Holland/Cinnaminson-U.S.A.



# VERHANDELINGEN

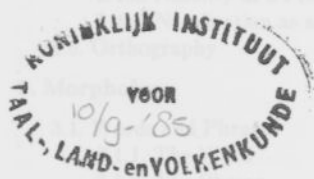
VAN HET KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT  
VOOR TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE

112

MARK DURIE

## A GRAMMAR OF ACEHNESE

ON THE BASIS OF A DIALECT OF NORTH ACEH



1985

FORIS PUBLICATIONS

Dordrecht-Holland/Cinnaminson-U.S.A.

*Published by:*

Foris Publications Holland

P.O. Box 509

3300 AM Dordrecht, The Netherlands

*Sole distributor for the U.S.A. and Canada:*

Foris Publications U.S.A.

P.O. Box C-50

Cinnaminson N.J. 08077

U.S.A.

A GRAMMAR OF ACHEHNESE

ON THE BASIS OF A DIALECT OF NORTH ACHEH



ISBN 90 6765 074 9

© 1985 Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden.

No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission from the copyright owner.

Printed in the Netherlands.

# Table of Contents

<b>Preface</b>	XI
<b>Conventions</b>	XII
<b>1. Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. The Place of Acehnese in Indonesia and South-east Asia	1
1.2. Previous Linguistic Studies of Acehnese	4
1.2.1. Phonology and Lexicography	4
1.2.2. Morphology and Syntax	5
1.3. Acehnese Literature	6
1.4. Methodology and Goals	6
1.5. A Special Note for the Reader	8
<b>2. Phonology</b>	<b>9</b>
2.1. General Phonological Characteristics	9
2.2. Phonetic Inventory	10
2.2.1. Consonant Phones	10
2.2.2. Vowel Segments	15
2.3. Phonemic Inventory	18
2.3.1. Consonant Phonemes	18
2.3.2. Vowel Phonemes	20
2.4. Phonotactics	20
2.4.1. Syllable and Word Structure	21
2.4.2. Distribution of Phonemes	21
2.4.3. Nasality as a Prosody	23
2.4.4. Nasalisation as a Regional Feature	25
2.5. Orthography	26
<b>3. Morphology</b>	<b>29</b>
3.1. Words and Phrases	29
3.1.1. The Word	29
3.1.2. The Phrase	30
3.1.3. Clitics	30
3.1.4. Words with Double Stress	31
3.1.5. Statistical Distribution of Word Types	31
3.2. Morphemes	31
3.2.1. Affixes and Stems	32
3.3. Conditioned Morphological Variation	32
3.3.1. Allomorphy Within the Word	33
3.3.1.1. Frication of %p%	33
3.3.1.2. Frication of %%%	34
3.3.1.3. Rounding of %u%	34

3.3.1.4. Vowel nasalisation	35
3.3.1.5. Syllabic denasalisation	35
3.3.2. Allomorphy Within the Phrase	36
3.3.2.1. Diphthong reduction	36
3.3.2.2. Rounding of %u%	36
3.3.2.3. <i>h</i> epenthesis	36
3.4. Free Morphological Variation	37
3.4.1. Syllable Loss	37
3.4.2. Vowel Alternation	38
3.5. Reduplication	38
3.5.1. Emphatic Reduplication	39
3.5.2. Phonological Patterning of Reduplication	42
3.5.3. Syllable Reduplication	43
3.6. Juxtaposition of Opposites	44
3.7. Parts of Speech	44
<b>4. Verbs</b>	<b>47</b>
4.1. Formal Characteristics	47
4.2. Verbal Argument Types	48
4.2.1. Variable Argument Frames	49
4.3. Incorporated Nominals	50
4.3.1. Locative Adjunct Incorporation	51
4.3.2. Detransitivising Undergoer Incorporation	51
4.3.3. Possessed Head of Undergoer Incorporation	52
4.3.4. Locative Undergoer Incorporation	53
4.4. Verbal Semantics	55
4.4.1. Agents and Undergoers	55
4.4.2. Datives	61
4.4.3. Subgroups of Intransitive Verbs	62
4.4.4. Metaphorical Agency	67
4.5. Verb Derivation	71
4.5.1. <i>TEU-</i>	72
4.5.2. <i>PEU-</i>	78
4.5.3. <i>MEU-</i>	86
4.5.3.1. Non-controlled <i>MEU-</i>	86
4.5.3.2. Controlled <i>MEU-</i>	88
4.5.4. <i>-EUM-</i>	94
4.5.4.1. Formation	94
4.5.4.2. Function	97
4.5.5. <i>GI-</i>	100
4.5.6. Onomatopoeic Derivatives	100
4.6. Why not Adjectives?	101
4.6.1. Morphological Criteria	101
4.6.2. Semantic Criteria	102



4.6.3. Syntactic Criteria	103
4.7. Verbs Used Nominally	103
<b>5. Nominals</b>	<b>107</b>
5.1. Formal Characteristics	107
5.2. Internal Structure of NP's	108
5.3. Possession	109
5.3.1. Formal Characteristics	109
5.3.2. Semantic Correlates	109
5.4. NP's as Predicates	111
5.4.1. Nominal Predicate Relations	111
5.5. Pronouns	116
5.5.1. Formation of Pronouns	116
5.5.2. Plural Reference	118
5.5.3. Used with Demonstratives	119
5.5.4. General Use and Meaning	119
5.5.4.1. Group reference	123
5.5.4.2. Mixing levels	123
5.5.4.3. Clash of person	124
5.5.4.4. Special use of reflexives	125
5.5.5. Function of Clitic Forms	125
5.5.5.1. Proclitics	125
5.5.5.2. Enclitics	126
5.5.5.3. Inanimate use of third person clitics	127
5.6. Titles	128
5.7. Demonstratives	130
5.7.1. Semantic Correlates	131
5.7.2. Used Pronominally	132
5.7.3. Allomorphy	133
5.8. Generics	134
5.9. The Measure Phrase	135
5.9.1. Numerals	137
5.9.1.1. Ordinals	138
5.9.2. Classifiers	138
5.9.3. Measure Nouns	139
5.9.4. Quantifiers	142
5.9.5. Measure Phrase Floating	143
5.10. Nominal Derivation: <i>-EUN-</i>	145
5.10.1. Formation	145
5.10.2. Function	147
<b>6. Epistemological Classifiers</b>	<b>151</b>
6.1. Introduction	151
6.2. Related Words	154

6.3. Allomorphy and Free Variation	154
6.4. Usage	155
6.4.1. To Form Verbs	155
6.4.2. As Nominals	157
6.4.2.1. With deictics	158
6.4.2.2. To head a relative clause	159
6.4.2.3. To form negatives	160
6.4.2.4. To form indefinite pronominals	160
6.4.3. To Form Interrogatives	164
6.4.3.1. Knowledge complements	166
6.4.3.2. Exclamations	167
6.4.4. With Pronominal Enclitics	167
<b>7. Prepositions</b>	<b>169</b>
7.1. Formal Characteristics	169
7.2. PP's as Predicates	169
7.3. Prepositional Semantics	170
7.3.1. <i>bak</i>	170
7.3.2. <i>dalam</i>	173
7.3.3. <i>di</i>	173
7.3.4. <i>keu</i>	174
7.3.5. <i>ngön</i>	176
7.3.6. <i>u</i>	177
<b>8. Clausal Syntax</b>	<b>179</b>
8.1. Basic Clause Structure	179
8.1.1. Ambient Clauses	180
8.2. Core Roles	180
8.2.1. Possessor Focus Constructions	183
8.2.1.1. Semantic correlates	185
8.2.2. The Place of Acehnese in Syntactic Typology	185
8.2.3. Mixed Languages and the Notion of *Subject*	188
8.2.4. Acehnese as a Subjectless System	190
8.3. Word Order	191
8.3.0.1. <i>lê</i>	194
8.3.1. Ordering of Adjuncts	196
8.4. Intonation	197
8.5. Ellipsis	198
8.5.1. Undergoer Clitic Referencing	201
8.6. Argument Cliticisation	205
8.7. <i>di</i>	207
8.7.1. Use	207
8.7.2. Constituent Ordering	209
8.7.3. Function	210

8.8. Adjuncts	211
8.8.1. Nominal Adjuncts	211
8.8.2. Prepositional Adjuncts	214
8.8.3. Verbal Adjuncts	214
8.9. Vocative	215
8.10. The Reflexive	216
8.10.1. Agent = Undergoer	216
8.10.2. Core Role = Peripheral	217
8.10.3. Agent = Possessor of Undergoer	218
8.10.4. Core Role = Possessor of Peripheral	219
8.10.5. An exception	219
8.11. The Comparative	220
8.11.1. Superlative with <i>si</i>	221
8.11.1.1. Formation	222
8.11.1.2. Use	222
8.12. Operators	223
8.12.1. With Predicates	224
8.12.2. Modifying non-Predicates	227
<b>9. Syntax beyond the Clause</b>	<b>231</b>
9.1. Relative Clauses	231
9.1.1. The Matrix Clause	231
9.1.1.1. Headed clauses	231
9.1.1.2. Headless clauses	232
9.1.2. Within the Relative Clause	234
9.1.2.1. Core relativisation	235
9.1.2.2. Peripheral relativisation	237
9.1.2.3. Propositional relative clause	239
9.1.3. Relative Focus	240
9.2. Verb Serialisation	240
9.2.1. Strong Serialisation	240
9.2.2. Weak Serialisation	242
9.3. 'Ambient' Embedded Clauses	243
9.4. Complementation	244
9.4.1. Intransitive Complements	247
9.4.1.1. Undergoer complements	247
9.4.1.2. Ability adjunct complements	250
9.4.1.3. Dative complements	251
9.4.2. Transitive Undergoer Complements	253
9.4.2.1. Jussive complements	256
9.5. Adjunct Clauses	258
9.6. Conjunctions	258
9.6.1. Subordinating	258
9.6.2. Co-subordinating	259

9.6.3. Coordinating	260
9.7. Non-Declarative Sentences	260
9.7.1. Questions	260
9.7.1.1. Yes/No Questions	260
9.7.1.2. Other Questions	262
9.7.1.3. Rhetorical doubting questions	265
9.7.2. Orders	265
9.7.3. Illocutionary Markers	266
9.7.3.1. <i>bah</i> 'just let'	267
9.7.3.2. <i>beu</i> = 'I want' - <i>bek</i> 'I don't want'	267
9.7.3.3. <i>bôh</i> = / <i>bêh</i> 'I exhort'	268
9.7.3.4. <i>meu(ng)</i> = 'it is surprising'	269
9.7.3.5. <i>nyo</i> = / <i>nyö</i> 'I believe, I agree, yes'	269
9.7.4. Negative Affirmative Sentences	269
9.8. Exclamations, Tags, Interjections and Responses	270
9.8.1. Exclamations	270
9.8.2. Interjections	270
9.8.3. Tags	270
9.8.4. Responses	271
<b>References</b>	<b>273</b>

## Preface

Mas'ud Hiliry and Bachtiar Usman first introduced me to Acehnese in Canberra. I thank them for that and for their continuing friendship. Mas'ud and Maya had me as a guest in their home for part of my last few months in Aceh.

I am very grateful to the Indonesian government and people, for permitting me to undertake research in their country. The good will and ready help that I enjoyed everywhere made my time enjoyable and rewarding in every way. I am particularly grateful to the Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia for facilitating my research in such a helpful way.

Universitas Syiah Kuala sponsored my research in Aceh through their Lembaga Bahasa (Language Centre). I thank Idries Ibrahim, the head of the Lembaga Bahasa, and Abdullah Ali, the rector of 'Unsyiah' for this. University staff helped me in many different ways, from providing letters of introduction to numerous government offices, to having an extra-long bed made when I first arrived.

I thank all my friends in Banda Aceh for their encouragement and moral support, but I want particularly to mention Nizamy Ahmad, Ibrahim Bewa and Qismullah Yusuf, who were so kind in so many ways.

I owe a debt of scholarship to Budiman Sulaiman and Abdul Gani Asyik of Unsyiah for their gracious discussions and correspondence with me about Acehnese. I have learnt a great deal from them and their written works.

I owe a debt of hospitality to the people of Côt Trieng village in Aceh Utara, especially to the village head Pak Geuchik Wahab Usman, and his family. I lived with his mother, who I know only as *mak nyang meutuwah*: she was a mother to me. Pak Wahab's brother Bang Din was also kind and gracious: I appreciated his welcoming friendship. I also remember with affection his brother Unzir and sister Noni. I remember my stay in Côt Trieng as a time of peace and joy. Boar hunting will never be the same again, and *eungkôt noh* never taste as delicious.

I have had many teachers, but I owe most of all to Teungku Yahya and Teungku Rahman of Côt Trieng. They devoted much time and energy to answering my questions and their names are constantly before me when I dip into my field notes.

Whilst I was in Aceh several Americans opened their homes to me which meant much to a wandering student. Robert Wessing often had me as a guest on the shortest notice; Bruce and Anne Harker gave me the run of their spacious house whilst they were overseas; Charles and Jan Darlos kept me and the three dogs company there; Charles and Pam Arnold cheered my spirits with music and offered me ice cream. Most of all I thank Vaughn and Rosella Collins for their ministry of friendship and their prayers. I'll always remember their tropical Santa.

This work is a revised version of my PhD dissertation, submitted at the Australian National University in February 1984. I would like to offer my thanks to those who commented on the dissertation and its ancestors: Abdul Gani Asyik, Avery Andrews, Pete Becker, Lance Castles, Hilary Chappell, David Durie, Bill Foley, Ian Green, Rodney Huddelston, Igor Melchuk, Andrew Pawley, Jack Prentice, Peter Riddell, Phil Rose, Tim Shopen, Sandra Thompson, P. Voorhoeve and Anna Wierzbicka.

## Conventions

*Some general phonological conventions are:*

C	consonant
V	vowel
N	nasal stop
	placed after a syllable to mark it as stressed

*Bracketing conventions are:*

/.../	phonemic transcription
%...%	an underlying morphemic representation
[...]	phonetic transcription
=	word boundary
-	morpheme boundary
#	syllable boundary

*Core Roles are abbreviated as:*

A	Agent: subject of a transitive verb or subject of a controlled intransitive verb
U	Undergoer: goal of verbs of giving or object of verbs of thought or emotion

*Pronouns are glossed as:*

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
pl	plural
1inc	first person including second person
1exc	first person excluding second person
fa	familiar
po	polite
neu	neutral

Two types of syntactic phrase are:

NP                    nominal phrase

PP                    prepositional phrase

Other conventions for glosses and examples are:

?                    a final rising interrogative intonation

≈                    'is the semantic equivalent of'

>                    'is realised phonemically as', or 'became historically'

!                    a speech act marker

\*                    ungrammatical sentence, non-occurring or hypothetical historical form

?                    marginally acceptable sentence

-AP-                the 'antipassive' infix *-eumeu-*, which derives intransitive verbs, usually from transitive roots

BE                    the verb *na* 'be, exist, be a fact that'

CAUS                the causative verb deriving prefix *peu-*

DC                    the verb deriving prefix *teu-* which forms de-controlled intransitive verbs

DES                    the desiderative illocutionary marker *beu=*

DONT                the prohibitive marker *bek*

EMPH                an emphatic marker

FM                    the focus marker *di*

IN                    the inchoative complement taking verb *ka*

INTR                the verb deriving prefix *meu-* which forms intransitive verbs

NEG                the operator *h'an* 'not'

NEGBE             a compound of *h'an* NEG and *na* BE to give *hana*

PIV                    pivot of a comparative

REL                    a relative clause marker

### Special Note on Translations

The English language requires one to express some semantic contrasts which are not usually marked in Acehnese, and the reverse is also true: some contrasts marked in Acehnese are not usually expressed in English. It will be helpful for the reader to keep the following points of Acehnese grammar in mind when reading translations of examples:

- Pronouns are not marked for gender, but they do encode contrasting levels of politeness.
- Nominals, including pronouns, are not marked for number or case.
- Verbs are not marked for tense or aspect.
- There are no articles in Acehnese.



# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. The Place of Acehnese in Indonesia and South-east Asia

Acehnese is a regional language of Indonesia, spoken by about 1,500,000 people, the vast majority of whom live in the Propinsi Daerah Istimewa Aceh 'The Special Province of Aceh', which is situated on the northern tip of Sumatra. The Acehnese are a people of the coast and coastal plains and the highest concentrations of Acehnese speakers are along the north and west coasts. They share their province with several other language groups.

In the central mountains are the Gayo people, and to the south of them, also in the mountains, are the Alas, who are linguistically close to the Karo Bataks. The Acehnese, Gayo and Alas are all ethnically Muslim peoples.

The west coast of Aceh, southwards from Meulaboh, is shared by Acehnese and Minangkabau speakers, whom the Acehnese refer to as *awak jamee* 'strangers' or *aneuk jamee* 'children of strangers', but both groups are relatively new to the West Coast, the Acehnese having come from the north, and the *awak jamee* from the south over the past several centuries. The two languages are geographically inter-mixed, and many people from the west are bilingual. Further to the south on the coast there are various Batak groups, and in the mountains of South Aceh there is a small group of several thousand called the Kluet, whose language is related to Alas and Karo.

To the east of the province Acehnese gives way on the coast to Tamiang, or *basa Teumieng*, as the Acehnese call it, which is a variant of Malay. In Langsa, the largest city of eastern Aceh, there is a linguistic mix and most children there of Acehnese parents do not acquire pure Acehnese. With the exception of the areas of language mixing on the West and East coasts, Acehnese village people traditionally live day to day life in a purely Acehnese linguistic environment.

The Acehnese traditionally divided their region into many small *nanggroe* 'kingdoms'. These were headed by a *raja* 'king' of the family of the *uleebalang*, the regional chieftains. These kingdoms were grouped into several major regions separated by geographical boundaries. At the very tip of northern Sumatra is Aceh Rayeuk 'Greater Aceh', which is a triangular valley bounded on two sides by mountains and in the north by the sea. Down its centre flows the *Krueng Aceh* 'Aceh river' and its main city is Banda Aceh 'Aceh harbour', which is also the capital of the province. To the east of Greater Aceh is Pidie, a very fertile well irrigated flood plain. Further east again is a series of coastal regions, none as fertile as Pidie or Greater Aceh, and none reaching as far inland, for the mountains stay close to the sea coast. The single most important region to the east of Pidie in centuries past was around Pase, a harbour kingdom. All the coastal regions east of Pidie have traditionally been grouped together in the minds of people from Pidie and Greater Aceh as 'the East', but today a distinction is made between the North Aceh - the regions immediately to the east of Pidie, including Pase - and East Aceh, where Acehnese gives way to the Tamiang language. On the west coast, before one reaches the area of language mix with Minangkabau immigrants, there is the ancient region of Daya, situated on a small river plain. This is now generally referred to as Lam No after its major town.

The extent of the Acehnese language today owes much to the expansion of the Acehnese coastal kingdom based in Banda Aceh. This began during the time of Sultan

Ali Mughayat Syah, when in the space of five years Daya, Pidie, and Pase were subjugated (Iskandar 1958:38). At least as important for linguistic history as this political expansion was the constant migration to the east and west coasts in succeeding centuries. Much of this was to sparsely settled areas to plant pepper, an important export from Aceh until the late nineteenth century. This migration was especially marked from Pidie, and up to the present day the people of Pidie are renowned for their enterprising trading which still leads them to migrate to regions outside their own.

From at least the fifteenth century the language of scholarship, royalty and trade in north Sumatra was Malay. A Chinese embassy in 1416 to the kingdom of Sumatra<sup>1</sup> reported that its language and customs were that of Malacca, i.e. Malay (Groeneveldt 1880:87). From Greater Aceh itself come several early Malay texts which deal with the activities, customs, and personalities of the port kings in Banda Aceh; the oldest manuscripts in Acehnese date from the 18th century, of redactions which appear to derive from as far back as the mid-17th century (Voorhoeve 1952). Such was the dominance of Malay that the history of Aceh, as written by scholars, is one of a Malay port state. There is little to be gleaned from these histories about the Acehnese language. However we do know that Marco Polo visited six kingdoms in North Sumatra in 1292 (Moule and Pelliot 1938:II, pp370-7). He named six kingdoms that he visited and describes them as each having their own language. Five of these were on the Acehnese coast: Ferlec (Perlak), Basman, Samara,<sup>2</sup> Dagroian,<sup>3</sup> and Lambri.<sup>4</sup> At Perlak, apparently the most civilised port, Marco Polo contrasted the port state, inhabited by traders and confessing Islam, with the uncivilised cannibals of the interior. If Marco Polo's account is to be believed, then the expansion of Acehnese probably involved the absorption or expulsion of other linguistic groups, one of whom could have been the Gayo from around Bireuen, west of Pase. In oral traditions of Bireuen the Gayonese are said to have once lived on the coast.

The name *Aceh*, which the Acehnese<sup>5</sup> give to their language and culture, is most closely associated with Greater Aceh - for in Greater Aceh is the Aceh River and Banda Aceh. The name of Aceh first appears in the historical record after 1500 (Iskandar 1958:31), when it was used to refer to the port kingdom at Banda Aceh. Nowadays it refers to the whole Acehnese speaking area, but a remnant of the old usage can be observed in that the people of Pidie still speak of 'going to Aceh' to mean Greater Aceh.

<sup>1</sup>In Pase: referred to by the Acehnese today as Syamtalira.

<sup>2</sup>Respectively Peusangan and Samalanga. See Cowan 1950.

<sup>3</sup>Somewhere in present day Pidie, and probably to be identified with Nakur of Chinese sources (Groeneveldt 1880:96-7) and Nagô of Acehnese oral tradition. The neighbouring mountain of Nakur which produced sulphur is probably the Seulawah Agam, a large volcanic peak between Pidie and Greater Aceh which is visible from the sea all along the eastern coast to the Lhök Seumawe bay. See Cowan 1950.

<sup>4</sup>Probably near present day Krueng Raya in Greater Aceh: see p3 below.

<sup>5</sup>In English it seems best to use the spelling *Acehnese*, because *Aceh* is the name the Acehnese use for themselves. This is the way native speakers spell the English term.

Acehnese is closely related to the Chamic languages, found in southern Vietnam and Cambodia. Chamic itself has been established as an Austronesian subgroup. Lee (1966) reconstructed a proto-Chamic vocabulary and phonology, clearly demonstrating the place of Chamic in Austronesian. He does not seem to have been aware of the close relationship with Acehnese, which was first pointed out by Niemann (1891), who noted morphological and lexical similarities. He tentatively suggested that this was due to a movement of people from Champa to Aceh. A close genetic relationship between Chamic languages and Acehnese was established without doubt by Cowan (1948, 1974), Collins (1975) and Shorto (1975), who each independently showed that Acehnese and Chamic should be regarded together as one Austronesian subgroup. Shorto suggests the name 'Achino-Chamic' for this grouping, and Cowan 'Chamo-Achehic'. Unfortunately neither Cowan nor Shorto seem to have been aware of Lee's 1966 reconstruction of proto-Chamic.

The status of the Aceh-Chamic relationship has been a matter of controversy. It has been clouded by the fact that Acehnese and Chamic languages show some features which are rather more Austro-asiatic than Austronesian (Lee 1974, Cowan 1981:523), and the status of Chamic as an Austronesian subgroup has been somewhat unclear at times. Blagden (1929) discounted a direct migration of people from Champa and suggested that the unique similarities between Acehnese and Chamic were due not to a close genetic relationship, but to similar influences on both languages from Austro-asiatic languages. Collins (1969) also argued this on the basis of lexico-statistical evidence which pointed to a closer relationship for Acehnese with Malay than with Chamic. Shorto (1975) refuted Collins' conclusions, and in any case Collins had independently changed his mind by the time of his 1975 doctoral dissertation. On the basis of the Austro-asiatic elements in Acehnese he showed that Acehnese had contact with old Mon, the Aslian languages of the Malay peninsula, and the languages of the Nicobar islands (Collins 1975). This, he argued, suggests that the Acehnese had once migrated from a common Aceh-Chamic region in the Indo-Chinese peninsula to the Malay peninsula, from where they migrated after a time to Aceh and absorbed elements of a Nicobar-like language. Such a language could have been one of those that Marco Polo referred to. What we know of the history of the South-east Asian region suggests that this is quite possible. The Chams were an important power based in the kingdom of Champa in what is now south Vietnam. They first appear in the historical record in the second century AD (Lebar, Hickey and Musgrave 1964), and were a significant power until their defeat in 1471 by the Vietnamese kingdom in the north. From Chinese sources we know that there were several kingdoms during this period on the trade route to China around the Isthmus of Kra, the Malay peninsula, and the gulf of Thailand. One such was Funan, which was centred on the lower Mekong. Several kingdoms in the Isthmus of Kra were subject to it. It was overwhelmed by the Khmers in the 6th century. We have no record of the language of Funan, but it could well have been a sister of early Chamic. During this period it would have been quite likely for Funan traders to have been established in the Malay peninsula and even in North Sumatra, which was in a strategic position for the trade with India. This could have been at Krueg Raya, which has been identified with Lambri (Iskandar 1958:29), a kingdom mentioned in Arabic, Chinese and European sources from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries (Cowan 1933).

The evidence of present day dialects suggests that Greater Aceh and Daya on the west coast form the oldest Acehnese speaking area, for these are where the greatest dialect variation is to be found. The dialects of Daya are particularly idiosyncratic as they are

isolated from Greater Aceh by a narrow and rocky stretch of coastland. Dialects in both regions differ even between neighbouring villages; over greater distances the differences can be so much as to make communication difficult. It is certainly the case that the distance of a few kilometres in Greater Aceh can involve a dialect contrast greater than that which would be achieved by travelling two hundred kilometres in North Aceh. Pidie, while having marked dialect variations, is not as varied as either Greater Aceh or Daya. In North Aceh there are even fewer variations, and these are more consistent with varying sources of migrations into the region than with a long inhabitation. This suggests that Greater Aceh (or perhaps Daya, though its geographical location makes it improbable), is the origin of Acehese in the region. This fits well with the associations that the name Aceh has with Greater Aceh.

## 1.2. Previous Linguistic Studies of Acehese

### 1.2.1. Phonology and Lexicography

The first works published on the Acehese language were van Langen's 1889 grammar and reader, and his dictionary of the same year. These suffer from numerous deficiencies. The grammar is not reliable, but the reader and dictionary are still valuable for their use of the traditional Arabic orthography. The greatest problem in both works is perhaps the treatment of the phonology, in which van Langen was confused by the vagaries of the traditional script. Snouck Hurgronje developed a good Latin orthography (Snouck Hurgronje 1892, 1906:II). This became the standard adopted by Djajadiningrat in his great dictionary of 1350 pages (Djajadiningrat 1934), and by Kreemer in his handy dictionary (Kreemer 1931). Unfortunately Kreemer did not distinguish the \*nasalised\* consonants, which Snouck Hurgronje used to mark nasal vowels. Cowan's recent outline of Acehese phonemes (Cowan 1981) follows Snouck Hurgronje's analysis. Snouck Hurgronje's influence on later scholars has been immense. As a result, certain idiosyncracies of his orthography were never questioned. Two problems were his inconsistent treatment of final [p<sup>◦</sup>] as *b* but final [t<sup>◦</sup>] as *t* (p20:v below), and his treatment of nasalisation as a contrast in nasal versus oral consonants (p24 below).

Snouck Hurgronje's field studies were restricted to the region of Banda Aceh, due to the political situation at the time (Snouck Hurgronje 1892:366), so he based his orthography on the dialects there. He was however aware of dialect variation, and his 1892 article is rich in dialect variants. It is likely that Snouck Hurgronje was influenced by dialects between Banda Aceh and the sea, a region accessible to him at the time. I had the opportunity to research a dialect in this region at Cot Langkuweueh which corresponded closely to Snouck Hurgronje's description, with certain differences which can be attributed to the effect of the passing of time.

The traditional Arabic based script can give little indication of dialect variation because it lacks the power to distinguish most of the important phonological contrasts. In any case the written language and its pronunciation is highly stylised. In North Aceh today people reciting *hikayat* poetry sometimes observe phonological contrasts that have been lost in their everyday dialect. Since scholars after Snouck Hurgronje concentrated their efforts on the written language, the dialect research he called for in 1892 has not yet

been undertaken.<sup>6</sup> Djajadiningrat's dictionary was based mainly on written sources, and his informant Teungku Muhamat Noerdin was from Gampông Pi. This dialect conforms closely to Snouck Hurgronje's standard; it is near the *Cot Langkuweuh* mentioned above.

An important consequence of this state of affairs is that the widespread and diachronically important contrast between [ʌ] and [ɔ] (p17 below) was only first described in the 1970's by Acehese scholars (Budiman Sulaiman 1977, Abdul Gani Asyik 1972).

The dialect being described in this grammar differs in many respects from Snouck Hurgronje's standard. One important phonological difference is that the syllable final sound he transcribes as *ʰh* (a palatal fricative) has been merged with *h*: *tikôh* 'mouse', *lampôh* 'garden' and *trôh* 'arrive'. Today this sound is regarded as characteristic of a Pidie pronunciation (although not all Pidie dialects have it). The merger with *h* is almost complete in the region of Banda Aceh, where only very old people still use it. I observed a woman from near Banda Aceh correcting her mother's pronunciation of this.

### 1.2.2. Morphology and Syntax

The study of Acehese morphology and syntax has been much neglected. The only source available until recently was Snouck Hurgronje's 1900 illuminating study of some miscellaneous grammatical topics. He also gave lectures on Acehese at the University of Leiden, and some lecture notes of his students are kept there and elsewhere, but regrettably nothing of this has been published. Cowan's 1981 outline of phonology and morphology is valuable, especially for its treatment of derivational morphology, but it is limited in scope. The recent works of Acehese speaking scholars on syntax and morphology are valuable, but virtually unobtainable outside Indonesia. Budiman Sulaiman's works (1977, 1978, 1979) have much interesting material and original insights. In them he describes his own dialect of Peudada in North Aceh. This description has gained much from these works and from Abdul Gani Asyik's writings (1972, 1978, 1982): his dialect is from near Lhök Seumawe, also in North Aceh. An Acehese-Indonesian dictionary has recently been produced at the Universitas Syiah Kuala, which is very large in scope; it has apparently been largely adapted from Djajadiningrat.

Acehese has attracted some interest from American linguists working within a Relational Grammar framework. Lawler's 1975 and 1977 studies were of the Montasiek dialect in Greater Aceh. They suffer from inadequacies of data which caused Lawler to view Acehese as a language with a fixed subject-verb-object word order. Perlmutter (1982) used this analysis as evidence to support the claim of Relational Grammar that there are distinct levels of grammatical relations: the specific claim for Acehese was that verbs agree with their first subject.

---

<sup>6</sup>Recently a team at Universitas Syiah Kuala has been conducting dialect research, but they have been hampered by lack of expertise and funds for such a difficult and time consuming project.

### 1.3. Acehnese Literature

Acehnese has a rich oral and written literature. For a survey of this I refer the reader to Snouck Hurgronje (1906:II). Voorhoeve 1955 includes a comprehensive bibliography of works on Acehnese language and literature up to that date. More recent works of interest are Drewes 1979 and 1980, and Siegel 1979. Also there have been over one hundred Acehnese language works published in Aceh and Jakarta in the past 40 years. These are virtually all poetry. They include traditional literature and works of modern poets.

The traditional *hikayat* epic poetry is still recited today; in less developed areas many villagers, both male and female, have the ability for this. The art is still alive. There are also story tellers whose long *haba* 'tales' can last as long as fifteen hours. I listened to one of such a length over three nights. There are several itinerant dramatic groups in Aceh today and their plays are very popular, dealing mostly with themes from village life.

Perhaps as many as two hundred and fifty cassette tapes have become commercially available in Aceh since the advent of cheap cassette machines. A wide variety of literary genres are represented, including some that have never been recorded in any other form, such as the recitation accompanying violin playing. I was able to purchase one hundred and fifty of these cassettes, and have had some transcribed by Drs Ibrahim Bewa. Some time in the future I hope to compile a catalogue of these tapes, and to publish some transcriptions.

### 1.4. Methodology and Goals

The Acehnese language is an important part of 'Acehnese-ness'. Fluency in it and a confession of the Islamic faith would seem to be the two most important characteristics that define what it means to be Acehnese. I found it essential for acceptance into Acehnese society to be as fluent as possible. The importance of language is perhaps accentuated by the difficulty that other peoples have in learning Acehnese well, for its phonetic difficulties are considerable. Few non-Acehnese people ever approach fluency. The importance of language to the Acehnese does not mean that they themselves are not being influenced by Indonesian. Educated people often sprinkle their speech with Indonesian words and idioms, sometimes because there may be no suitable Acehnese word for a modern concept; but often this is a way of expressing one's educational status. Women are much less likely to do this than men. This Indonesian influence presented a problem when I was researching this grammar. Another difficulty was linguistic variation across the generations, which was apparent everywhere. For example the diphthongs *oe* and *ee* are in most regions fast merging with *o* and *e*. In the dialect of this description teenagers are no longer able to distinguish these, but for those over forty years of age the contrast is usually very clear. The most pressing need seemed to be for a description of a conservative variety of Acehnese; I chose to describe Acehnese as I heard it spoken by older people.

Linguistic change has been speeded by the greater mobility of people today. Good roads and express buses have cut journeys that used to take a week down to a matter of hours. This has meant that the dialect region which is the most uniform and numerous in speakers has become something of a standard. This is North Aceh. North Aceh people

also have a reputation for being *halôh* 'refined' because they tend to use more polite forms of pronominal reference, especially the reflexive pronominals with *droe* (table 5-3) for ordinary non-reflexive reference. Speakers from minority dialects in Aceh Besar and Pidie will often prefer to speak Indonesian, or modify their dialect when speaking with people from North Aceh. I once observed someone from Pidie who, after several years in Banda Aceh, denied that he spoke in the dialect I knew to be his own. He had adapted his speech to the North Aceh standard. This represents a major change from Snouck Hurgronje's day, when the dialect of Banda Aceh was the prestige one (Snouck Hurgronje 1892:186). Today the Banda dialects are regarded as coarse by outsiders, if not by the Banda people themselves.

A dialect from North Aceh was chosen for this study partly because of its prestige and importance. A more important reason was that the scholars Budiman Sulaiman and Abdul Gani Asyik come from North Aceh and with their works on Acehnese available to me I had more to build on. Most importantly of all, the dialect of North Aceh is syntactically the most complex, with the fullest usage of pronominal enclitics. Many dialects in Greater Aceh do not use enclitics at all, and even the originally compounded polite second person pronoun *droe*<sup>1</sup>=*neu(h)* 'yourself' has been reduced to *dron*.

My main research was conducted in the village of Côt Trieng in Bireuen, where I lived with a family of two old women who were sisters, and an unmarried son. My linguistic environment was purely Acehnese, and as the son worked during the day I spent most of my time whilst at home in the company of the women. My main technique was to learn to speak and comprehend Acehnese as fluently as possible. An important factor that made this desirable and necessary was that from the outset my knowledge of the Indonesian language was poor - after the first few weeks my Acehnese was better, so Acehnese was the only practical language of elicitation. In any case many Acehnese villagers cannot speak Indonesian. I did relatively little direct elicitation and preferred to collect data from conversations and recorded narrative texts. This was richly rewarded as many difficult syntactic problems were only revealed to me in this way. Acehnese is particularly suited to this approach, for it has relatively little morphological complexity, and I found that syntactic phenomena were much easier to understand if I had a feel for the idiom. I was in the situation of having Djajadiningrat's excellent dictionary and virtually unlimited text materials, so the best thing seemed to be to maximise my own fluency in order to more easily listen to conversations and peruse texts for data. Most direct elicitation was spent in checking data from other sources.

The example sentences in this grammar are drawn from a variety of sources. Many come from my own observations of conversations, and from recorded texts. Some simpler sentences I have derived from my own knowledge of Acehnese. Others come from the grammatical descriptions of Budiman Sulaiman (1977, 1978, 1979) and Abdul Gani Asyik (1972, 1982), but I have tried to provide my own data wherever possible. Some examples are drawn from direct elicitation, but where syntactic phenomena were only observed in elicited data (this is quite rare) I indicate it in the text.

In analysing data the approach taken was eclectic. I did not in the first instance set out to test or prove any particular linguistic theories, although much of theoretical interest came to light. I was inspired by the idea that a language has a logic of its own which can best be interpreted by viewing it as an object worthy of study in its own right. One must be prepared for the unexpected, for problems about which the latest theories may have little to say. For the purposes of writing this grammar I viewed grammatical theory

as a tool for cracking hard nuts of description, but sometimes the tools seem inadequate and one only has one's bare hands. So this grammar has no preeminent theoretical motive. It attempts only to describe Acehnese as clearly as possible. I have tried to use simple language and to avoid taking too much for granted. This does not mean that this is an "a-theoretical" description. There is no such thing: I could only describe what my theoretical understanding told me was interesting and important in a grammar.

### 1.5. A Special Note for the Reader

This grammar owes most theoretically to Wierzbicka's approach to semantic analysis and to Foley and Van Valin's Role and Reference Grammar. Some of the approaches taken may seem unexpected to one unfamiliar with their work.

I hope that those who want to study Acehnese for its own sake will find this helpful and those who want to compare Acehnese with other languages will find what they seek without too much effort. With this in mind, there are certain limitations of this description I am aware of. The limit on the scope of a dissertation prevented a fuller analysis of complementation, clause operators, sociolinguistic questions, and higher levels of discourse. For this I make no apology; it seemed important above all to build up the base of lower level description. I would have liked to have included dialect materials, for which I collected some data, but there was a more urgent need to provide a reference grammar of one Acehnese dialect. The dialects are in any case so complex in their variety that a more than merely anecdotal account would have been a major project in itself.



## 2. Phonology

This chapter has the following structure. Section 2.1 is a brief overview of the phonological characteristics of Acehnese.

In section 2.2 the phones of Acehnese are introduced. A minimum of acoustic data is introduced here. This is provided because the writer is of the conviction that: "a good description of a language describes not only the phonological patterns within the language but also how the sounds may be characterised in terms of some absolute phonetic standards" (Ladefoged 1978).

In section 2.3 the phones are analysed into phonemes. Then in 2.4 an account is given of syllable and word structure, and of phoneme distribution. Certain problems with a phonemic analysis of nasality are pointed out and a prosodic analysis is offered as an alternative for these problems. I do not give a prosodic account of the whole phonology.

In section 2.5 the system of orthography is described which is followed in this grammar.

### 2.1. General Phonological Characteristics

In Acehnese word stress is upon the final syllable. The phonological form of final syllables is invariant: no morphophonemic rules affect final syllables. Most phonological contrasts are restricted to this final syllable: in particular consonant clusters, diphthongs, contrastive nasalisation and aspirated and murmured consonants occur only in this syllable. Many words are monosyllabic but disyllables are also common.

There is a set of contrasting oral and nasal monophthongs and corresponding sets of centralising diphthongs. Trubetzkoy (1977:86ff) provides two perceptually based parameters for categorising vowels: degrees of opening or intensity and degrees of localisation or tonal colour. This second parameter captures front-central-back and rounded-unrounded distinctions. The Acehnese vowels are arranged according to ten primary positions - the total number of oral monophthongs - with four degrees of opening and three localisation distinctions. There are seven nasal monophthongs with three degrees of opening - one less than the oral monophthongs. The sets of oral and nasal diphthongs are equal in number. They both have only two degrees of opening.

The structure of Acehnese syllables is C(C)V(C). The inventory of syllable final consonants is quite different from that of the syllable initial consonants. It is much smaller in number with fewer contrasts: there are for example four manners of articulation of the initial oral stops - voiced, murmured, voiceless and aspirated - with four contrasting positions of articulation, whilst in syllable final position there are only two oral stops. In several other respects the syllable final consonant inventory is much reduced, having much fewer nasals, no fricatives and no liquids.

Acehnese is of a phonological type characteristic of Austroasiatic languages (Collins 1975). This is due to its origins on the Southeast Asian mainland.

## 2.2. Phonetic Inventory

### 2.2.1. Consonant Phones

It is useful to distinguish three categories of consonants: ORAL OBSTRUENTS, GLIDES and NASALS. The first two terms are used rather idiosyncratically in this description. Oral obstruents are characterised by an obstructed oral tract, and a raised velum. They include the oral stops, fricatives, trills and laterals. Glides are characterised by an unobstructed oral tract. The velum may be lowered to give a nasalised glide, or it may be raised to give an oral glide. The nasalised glottal stop [ʔ] has a lowered velum at the glottal offset or onset. This is not audible. Nasal stops are characterised by an obstructed oral tract.

The consonants are displayed in tables 2-1 and 2-2. It is better to give the syllable initial and syllable final consonant inventories separately because they are quite distinct. All phonetic representations use International Phonetic Association symbols of 1975, except [S] which is described in p12:[v], and the 'funny nasals', described in p15:[vi].

[i] The term 'murmur' is used for different languages with quite different senses (Ladefoged 1978). An Acehnese murmured consonants are characterised by a whispery voice (Laver 1980:120-2,147-8) phonation type. The whispery voice is perceptually very salient at the onset of the following vowel. Spectrograms reveal that the murmured consonants are characterised by lowered Fundamental Frequency during the period of whispery voice and at the onset of modal voicing; by a delayed intensity peak for the following vowel; and by noise visible in the formants. Fischer-Jørgensen (1967) gives a lowered initial Fundamental Frequency, a delayed intensity peak, and higher formant noise among the characteristic features of breathy vowels in Gujarati. See Hombert (1978:90-1) concerning the characteristic lowering effect of murmured consonants on Fundamental Frequency. These characteristics are illustrated in figure 2-2. Some dialects also have murmured nasal stops.

[ii] The four categories of stop are:

- *voiceless aspirated*
- *voiceless unaspirated*
- *voiced modal*
- *murmured*

At least one clear acoustic parameter which resolves these categories is VOICE ONSET TIME (Lisker and Abramson 1964). (The statements made here are based on qualitative interpretation of spectrograms.) Voiceless aspirated stops have a voice onset lag; voiceless unaspirated stops have coincident or near coincident voice onset timing; modal voiced stops have a modal voice onset lead; murmured stops have a whispery voice onset lead

Table 2-1: Syllable Initial Consonant Phones

	<i>bilabial</i>	<i>alveolar</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>velar</i>	<i>glottal</i>
<b>oral obstruents:</b>					
<i>voiceless stops</i>	p p <sup>h</sup>	t t <sup>h</sup>	c c <sup>h</sup>	k k <sup>h</sup>	
<i>voiced stops</i>	b b <sup>h</sup>	d d <sup>h</sup>	j j <sup>h</sup>	g g <sup>h</sup>	
<i>trill</i>		r r <sup>h</sup>			
<i>flap</i>		ɾ ɾ <sup>h</sup>			
<i>lateral</i>		l l <sup>h</sup>			
<i>fricatives</i>		s	ʃ		
<hr/>					
<b>glides:</b>					
<i>voiced glides</i>	w w̃		j		ɥ ɥ̃
<i>voiceless glide</i>					h ĥ
<i>stop glides</i>					ʔ ʔ̃
<hr/>					
<b>nasals:</b>					
<i>plain nasals</i>	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
<i>funny nasals</i>	ṁ	ṅ	ɲ̃	ŋ̃	

Table 2-2: Syllable Final Consonant Phones

<i>oral stops</i>	p°	t°		
<i>glides</i>			j ĵ	h ĥ
<i>stop glides</i>				ʔ ʔ̃
<i>nasal stops</i>	m°	n°		ŋ°

and a modal voice onset lag.<sup>1</sup> Sample spectrograms are shown in figure 2-1.

[iii] Sometimes the bilabial and palatal aspirates are articulated as fricatives, without a stopped release. Thus often [ɸ] is pronounced instead of [p<sup>h</sup>]. Acehnese speakers interpret English [f] as this [ɸ].

[iv] Aspirated stops have several characteristics in common with the murmured stops which distinguish them from unaspirated voiceless and modal voiced stops: a delayed modal voice onset time (p10:[ij]), a noise source (at the glottis or place of articulation of the following vowel) during the period before the onset of modal voicing, a lowered Fundamental Frequency at the onset of the following vowel, and a delayed peak of intensity for the following vowel. The delayed peak of intensity is illustrated for murmured stops in figure 2-2.

[v] [S] is a sound for which there is no satisfactory IPA symbol. It is a laminal alveo-dental fricative with a wide channel area. These parameters are taken from Catford (1977:144-62). [S] can be approximated by holding the tongue tip in the position for English [θ] and then, without moving the tip, raising the back part of the blade until it forms a constriction against the alveolar ridge. CHANNEL TURBULENCE (Catford 1977) is generated from the alveolar ridge up to the teeth. Because of the wide channel area channel turbulence is low in intensity: less hiss is generated than for narrow English [s]. There is also dental WAKE-TURBULENCE (Catford 1977) because the airstream is channeled from the alveolar ridge down onto the teeth. To English speakers this sounds like a mix between their [s], which has dental wake-turbulence, but a narrow channel area (at the alveolar ridge), and [θ], which has a wide channel area (at the teeth) but no dental wake-

<sup>1</sup>The murmured stops have slightly less voice onset lead than the modal voiced stops. This is perhaps because the whispery voice of murmured stops has a greater rate of air flow through the glottis and the faster build up of pressure above the glottis shortens the possible pre-release voicing. See section [j]. Data presented in Lisker and Abramson (1964) indicate a shorter voice onset lead on average for \*voiced aspirated\* stops in Marathi, but the actual range of variation is almost coextensive with that of ordinary voiced stops.

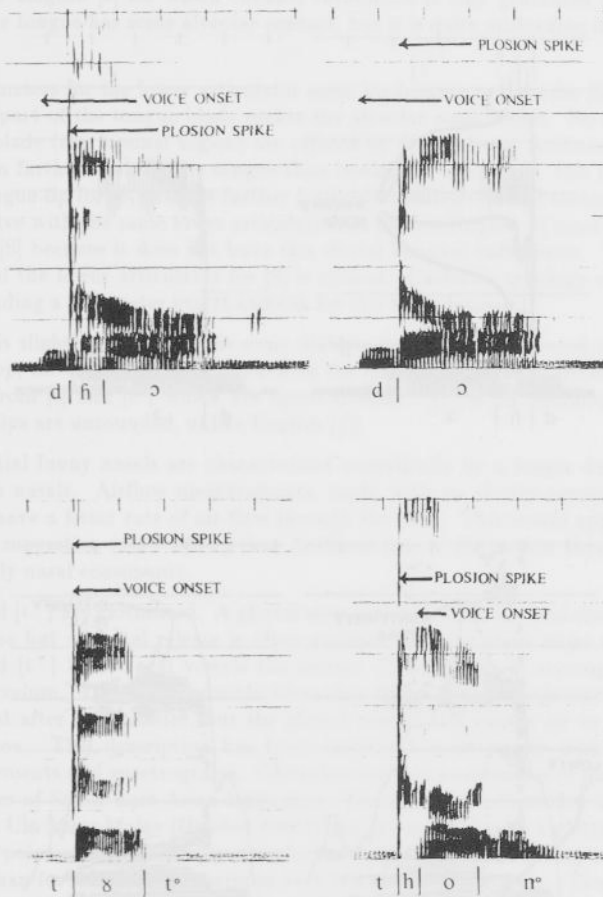
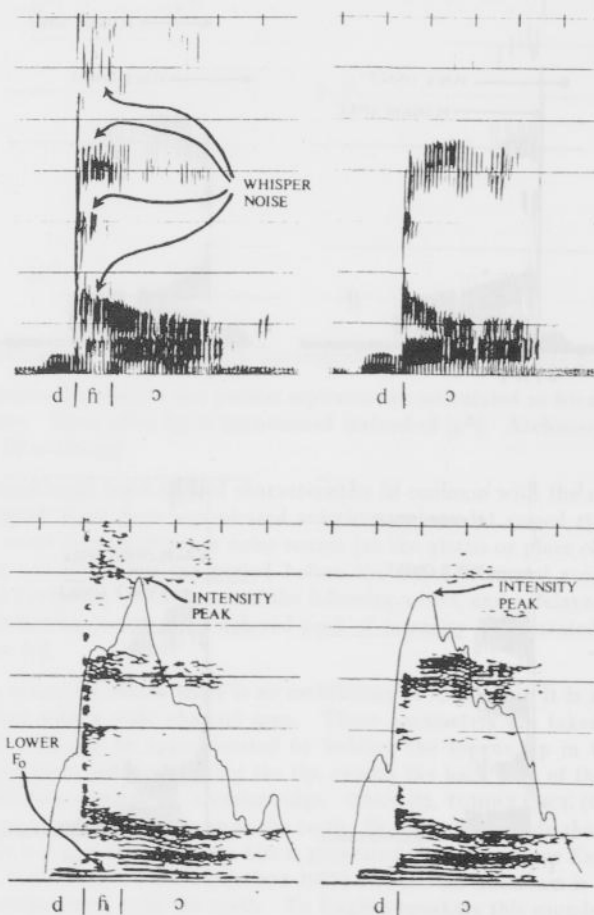


Figure 2-1: Voice Onset Timing of Stops

High shaped wide band spectrograms of [d<sup>h</sup>ɔ] 'forehead', [dɔ] 'blocked', [tɔt°] 'burn' and [t<sup>h</sup>on°] 'year'. The speaker is a male from Langsa in Aceh Timur. Recordings were made with a Nagra 42 in a sound-proof room. The horizontal lines mark frequency intervals of 1000 Hz. The vertical strokes through the 7000 Hz line mark time intervals of 10 cs.



**Figure 2-2: Murmured Consonants**

The upper pair are high shaped wide band spectrograms of [d<sup>h̃</sup>ɔ] 'forehead' and [dɔ] 'blocked'. The lower pair are high shaped narrow band spectrograms of the same utterances with a flat shaped amplitude contour superimposed. The horizontal striations represent 6dB amplitude increments. The speaker and the conditions of recording are the same as for figure 2-1.

turbulence. There is a convention to regard a fricative as dental if the tongue is in contact with the teeth, even though it may also be in contact with the alveolar ridge. This makes sense for English [θ] for which channel turbulence is only generated at the teeth even though the tongue has some alveolar contact, but it is quite misleading in the case of [S].

Catford's parameters for the lower articulator seem inadequate to describe [S], for which the back-most part of the tongue blade makes the alveolar constriction. No subdivisions of the tongue blade (the laminal region) are offered by Catford, yet Acehnese [S] makes this constriction further back on the tongue than laminal [s] of English: this is significant because the tongue tip for [S] extends further forward, creating channel turbulence at the teeth. A fricative with the same lower articulation as narrow English [s] must sound quite different from [S] because it does not have this dental channel turbulence. The further back position of the lower articulator for [S] is critical. Catford's typology could be improved by including a parameter *POSTLAMINAL* for this articulation.

Sometimes [S] is slightly affricated. In some dialects it is even pronounced as a lamino-alveo-dental stop, the tip of the tongue touching the teeth just as for the fricative. This is quite distinct from [t] and [t<sup>h</sup>] which are apico-alveolar. [ʃ] is an lamino-postalveolar fricative. The lips are unrounded, unlike English [ʃ].

[vi] The initial funny nasals are characterised acoustically by a longer duration than the initial plain nasals. Airflow measurements, made with an electro-aerometer, reveal that they also have a lesser rate of air flow through the nose. This would appear to confirm Catford's suggestion (1977:140-1) that Acehnese has a distinction between lightly nasal and heavily nasal consonants.

[vii] [p<sup>o</sup>] and [t<sup>o</sup>] are glottalised. A glottal stop coincides with the oral closure. There is no oral release but a glottal release is often audible, both for these stops and for [ʔ]. When [p<sup>o</sup>] and [t<sup>o</sup>] follow oral vowels the release of the glottis is accompanied by a lowering of the velum. This is not possible when they follow nasal vowels since the velum remains lowered after oral closure, but the glottal release still causes air to be released through the nose. This description has been confirmed qualitatively with the aid of airflow measurements and spectrograms. Glottalisation and nasalisation of final stops are common features of South East Asian languages. The actual manifestation of these features varies. In Ulu Muar Malay (Hendon 1966) final /p/ and /t/ have a glottal stop coinciding with the point of oral closure, just as for Acehnese, but the lowering of the velum occurs earlier than for Acehnese, sometimes even before the oral closure. Thus Ulu Muar Malay *cakap* 'speak' has variants [cakām<sup>o</sup>] and [cakap<sup>o</sup>].

[viii] Flapped [r] is occasionally pronounced as an approximant, particularly in the environment [a\_a].

### 2.2.2. Vowel Segments

The vowel segments are given in tables 2-3 and 2-4. They are transcribed using IPA conventions. The vowels are arranged spacially to aid the reader. The spacing itself is not intended to be an indication of vowel quality.

Table 2-3: Monophthongs

## oral:

<i>high</i>	i	ɪu	u
<i>high-mid</i>	e	ɛ	ɔ
<i>low-mid</i>	ɛ	ʌ	ɔ
<i>low</i>		a	

## nasal:

<i>high</i>	ĩ	ũ	ũ
<i>mid</i>	ẽ	ã	õ
<i>low</i>		ã	

The auditorily rounded vowels of Acehnese are articulated with only slight lip rounding. Acehnese give little impression of moving their lips or jaws when speaking. The lips are not far moved from rest position. This is especially true of [ʌ]. Variations in tongue shape and the position of the glottis can effect a "rounded" sound without significant lip-rounding. In an experiment Ladefoged (1967:139) showed concerning lip-rounding that "this feature of vowel quality is not easy to assess in auditory terms alone".

The unrounded back vowels, [u, ɛ, ʌ] are all somewhat central auditorily. They could equally well be described as backed central vowels. Phoneticians tend to be least consistent in their transcriptions of central and back unrounded vowels: the cardinal positions they work from are not always the same (Ladefoged 1967). I would not wish to be dogmatic about the exact placement of these vowels. It is striking that these vowels are central in the (acoustic) formant plot. It is advantageous to be able to talk in terms of a continuum when representing the three-fold contrast in Acehnese between front unrounded, back-central unrounded and back rounded vowels. Trubetzkoy (1977) provides



Table 2-4: Diphthongs

## oral:

high	i <sup>o</sup>	u <sup>o</sup>	u <sup>o</sup>
mid	ɛ <sup>o</sup>		ɔ <sup>o</sup>

## nasal:

high	ɪ <sup>o</sup>	ɯ <sup>o</sup>	ɰ <sup>o</sup>
mid	ɛ̃ <sup>o</sup>		ɔ̃ <sup>o</sup>

for this possibility with his degrees of localisation corresponding to differences in  $F_2$ . It is interesting to note that native speakers of Acehnese identify their back unrounded vowels with the front rounded vowels of European languages: thus [ʌ] with German *ö*. (Personal communication from Budiman Sulaiman.) This makes good sense in terms of degrees of localisation - both vowels are from the centrally localised class in their respective languages - but it cannot be accounted for in terms of the traditional articulation based rounded-unrounded and front-central-back contrasts.

The contrast [ʌ] : [ɔ] was not observed by Snouck Hurgronje (1892). He did his pioneering work with a dialect that had merged [ʌ] into [ɔ] (1.2.1). By far the majority of dialects have kept this contrast. Djajadiningrat (1934), Kreemer (1931), and Cowan (1981) follow Snouck Hurgronje in this. Lawler (1977) is inconsistent in his transcription of [ʌ], sometimes rendering it as [ɔ], sometimes as [ɔ].

In unstressed syllables vowels are considerably shorter and less distinct than in stressed syllables. Unstressed [u] tends towards [ɔ] in its pronunciation.

A formant plot of the oral monophthongs is given in figure 2-3. The three degrees of localisation are very apparent with the vowels aligned into three straight columns. The third and fourth formants are not represented here. There is however a significant difference between the back unrounded and the back rounded series in the intensity of their higher formants. The unrounded back vowels have relatively intense third and fourth formants: these are much weaker for the back rounded vowels. Compare the vowel formants of [tʰt<sup>o</sup>] and [t<sup>h</sup>on<sup>o</sup>] in figure 2-1. The acoustic closeness of [u] and [ɔ] is mirrored by their auditory closeness.

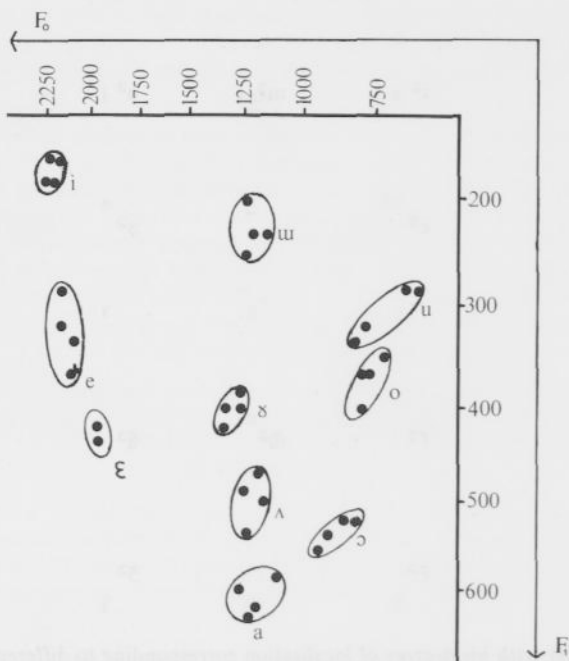


Figure 2-3: Formant Plot of Oral Monophthongs

The speaker is a male from the region of Caleue in Pidie. He had a consistently low Fundamental Frequency (about 100 Hz). This made it possible to obtain reasonably accurate measurements of the lower formants. The recordings were made with a Nagra 42 in a sound-proof room and analysed from narrow-band sections, supplemented with wide-band spectrograms. Frequencies are given in Herz. Each dot represents one measurement.

## 2.3. Phonemic Inventory

Any purely phonemic analysis of Acehnese has disadvantages, mainly because of its treatment of nasality. Nevertheless, for clarity's sake a phonemic analysis is offered here; then an alternative prosodic analysis is also presented.

### 2.3.1. Consonant Phonemes

The consonant phoneme inventory is given in table 2-5.

The following patterns determine allophony of consonants:

Table 2-5: Consonant Phonemes

	<i>bilabial</i>	<i>alveolar</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>velar</i>	<i>glottal</i>
<b>oral obstruents:</b>					
<i>voiceless</i>					
<i>stops</i>	p	t	c	k	
<i>voiced</i>					
<i>stops</i>	b	d	j	g	
<i>trill</i>		r			
<i>lateral</i>		l			
<i>fricatives</i>		s	ʃ		
<b>glides:</b>					
<i>continuant</i>					
<i>glides</i>	w		j		h
<i>stop</i>					
<i>glide</i>					ʔ
<b>nasals:</b>	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	

[i] Voiced [h] and [h̃] only occur intervocally. They are in complementary distribution with [h] and [h̃]. These are all allophones of /h/. The aspirate and murmured consonant series are analysed as phoneme sequences /Ch/. For example [b<sup>h</sup>] is analysed as /b/+h/. The unitary treatment of murmured and aspirated consonants can be motivated acoustically (p12:[iv]). Moreover at least two of the acoustic features shared by these stops - a delayed modal voice onset time, and a noise source during the period before the onset of modal voicing - are also shared by /h/. The /h/ is psychologically real to native speakers, who intuitively use *h* to transcribe these consonants, and it simplifies the description of the phonotactics. For example /phet/ 'bitter' forms a stem %puhēt%, which takes the infix /un/ to give /punuhet/ 'bitterness'.

[ii] The nasalised glides only occur in the environment of a nasal vowel in the same syllable: they are in complementary distribution with oral glides. Thus /w/ has allophones [w] and [w̃].

[iii] The funny nasals only occur in the environment of a following oral vowel or consonant, and this only in stressed syllables: [tiŋaj] 'to dwell', [m̃on°] 'dew', [ŋram°] 'angry'. They are in complementary distribution with syllable initial plain nasals, which always precede nasal vowels, and syllable final nasals. Thus /m/ has allophones [m̃], [m] and [m°].

[iv] Flapped [r] and [r<sup>h</sup>] only occur intervocally. They are in complementary distribution with [r] and [r<sup>h</sup>]. These have phonemic representations /r/ and /r+/h/ respectively.

[v] [p°] and [t°] are analysed as syllable final allophones of /p/ and /t/ respectively on the basis of their voicelessness, but they could equally well be analysed as /b/ and /d/. If one considers the significant contrast between initial voiced and voiceless stops as a difference in voice onset time then for these final stops this criterion is obviously meaningless. There is no phonotactic evidence to favour either solution and native speakers usually have no clear preferences either way. Snouck Hurgronje (1892:407) inconsistently treats [t°] as /t/ and [p°] as /b/. His reason for this is not clear. He writes that [p°] was pronounced like English /b/ in *cab*. This English final consonant is in fact partially voiceless. This explains why it might sound similar to Acehnese [p°], but English final /d/ as in *cad* is similarly partially voiceless. The major phonetic difference between such pairs as *cad*~*cat* and *cab*~*cap* is in the vowel length, not in the voicing of the final consonants (Ladefoged 1975:44). The Acehnese data gives a clear case of neutralisation of a contrast, and an analysis using archiphonemes (Trubetzkoy 1977:71ff) would capture this appropriately. In Malay and in other neighbouring languages there are morphophonemic grounds for regarding final [ʔ] as an underlying /k/, even though [k] and [ʔ] may contrast syllable initially. Consider Malay [rambut-an] 'a hairy fruit' from [rambut] 'hair'; but [kə-pendek-an] 'shortness' from [pendeʔ] 'short'. This kind of alternation does not exist in Acehnese and so the statement of Lawler (1977:22) that 'glottal stop represents underlying /k/ finally' is groundless.

### 2.3.2. Vowel Phonemes

Each vowel segment given in 2.2.2 is analysed as a distinct phoneme because they contrast minimally with each other. Abdul Gani Asyik (1972) provides a very complete set of minimal pairs. The diphthongs are treated as unit phonemes and not as sequences because of their syntagmatic and paradigmatic substitutability with monophthongs. To consider them as sequences would complicate the description of syllable structure.

### 2.4. Phonotactics

### 2.4.1. Syllable and Word Structure

A distinction is made for Acehnese between two types of syllable. Syllables that can bear stress have a structure  $C(C)V(C)$ . These we symbolise as **S**. (Stress in Acehnese is assigned at the level of the phrase, see 3.1.2.) Syllables that are never stressed have a structure  $CV(C)$ , with reduced possibilities of paradigmatic contrast compared to stressed syllables. These we symbolise as **s**. Words that can be stressed have a structure  $(s)^nS$  where  $n \geq 0$ . Clitics - words that are never stressed - are monosyllables; their segmental structure is like that of all other syllables that are never stressed. In the following description of phoneme distribution the term STRESSED SYLLABLE refers to the syllable type **S**, that can bear a stress, even though in actual usage it may be unstressed. UNSTRESSED SYLLABLE refers to syllable type **s**, which is never stressed.

### 2.4.2. Distribution of Phonemes

There are certain restrictions on phoneme distribution within syllables:

[i] Only the consonants  $/p,t,j,ʔ,h,m,n,\eta/$  can close syllables ( $p20:[v]$ ). Of these  $/p,t,j/$  are restricted to the final syllables of morphemes. This does not necessarily have to be a word-final syllable:  $/g\text{ɔ}p\eta\tilde{n}/$  'he, polite' <  $/g\text{ɔ}p/$  'other person' +  $/\eta\tilde{n}/$  'that'.

[ii] Only the following consonant clusters can occur within a syllable:  $/p,t,c,k,b,d,j ,g,r,l/$  +  $/h/$ ,  $/p,t,c,k,b,d,j ,g/$  +  $/r/$ , and  $/p,k,b,g/$  +  $/l/$ . One instance of  $/\eta r/$  is known:  $/\eta ram/$  [ $\eta ram^\circ$ ] 'angry'.

[iii] All vowels can occur in stressed syllables. The vowels with highest lexical frequency for unstressed syllables are  $/i,u,w,a,\tilde{i},\tilde{u},\tilde{a}/$ . It is rather unusual that these are all peripheral vowels. The least marked and commonest vowel of all in unstressed syllables is  $/w/$ , and this replaces schwa of other languages in borrowings. The most central vowel  $/\text{ɤ}/$  is in fact the least common in Acehnese, even in stressed syllables.  $/o,\text{ɔ},\epsilon,\tilde{\text{ɜ}},\tilde{\text{ɛ}}/$  also occur in unstressed syllables, usually in borrowings or derived words. There is a strong tendency to reanalyse these to one of the favoured vowels.

[iv] Diphthongs never occur in unstressed syllables. Moreover  $/\epsilon^\text{ɔ}/$  and  $/\text{ɔ}^\text{ɔ}/$  only occur in open syllables.

[v] Nasal vowels occur in unstressed syllables if and only if there is an immediately preceding nasal stop. This means the vocalic nasal-oral contrast is phonemically redundant for unstressed vowels.

[vi] Voiced oral obstruents (2.2.1) are only followed by nasal vowels in expressives:  $/g\tilde{\epsilon}\eta-g\tilde{\text{ɔ}}\eta/$  'jew's-harp',  $/d\tilde{a}\eta-d\tilde{i}\eta/$  'sound of falling iron',  $/b\tilde{\epsilon}h/$  'calf's cry'. This restriction does not apply to voiced consonant sequences of the form  $/Cr/$  or  $/Cl/$ :  $/m\tilde{a}ndr\tilde{\text{ɛ}}/$  'type of spicy drink'.

[vii]  $/j/$  does not occur before the high front vowels:  $/i,i^\text{ɔ},\tilde{i},\tilde{i}^\text{ɔ}/$ . Similarly  $/w/$  does not occur before the high back vowels:  $/u,u^\text{ɔ},\tilde{u},\tilde{u}^\text{ɔ}/$ . Thus the combination  $/\#wa/$  is possible but  $/\#wu/$  is not.  $/j/$  does not follow front vowels or diphthongs.

There are certain restrictions on phoneme distribution within morphemes:

[i] Where the initial consonant of a penultimate syllable is a nasal stop, and a glide or nasal stop intervenes between the two syllables, then the final vowel is nasal. Thus /māwā/ [māwā] 'rose'; /mūhāj/ [mūhāj] 'expensive'; /mūʔāh/ [mūʔāh] 'pardon'. Personal names allow idiosyncratic consonant sequences, including nasal + glide (p22:[ii]): In this case the final syllable is nasalised: /anwā/. Examples demonstrating the rule's conditioning are: /cahēt/ [cahēt°] 'sever with a knife attached to the end of a pole'; /māwarudi/ [māwarudi] 'rose' (this is a more formal variant of /māwā/). The rule does not hold if there is an intervening morpheme boundary, for example: /p-un-ājah/ 'exertion' < %un-% + %pajah% 'difficult'; /n-ūhun/ 'fish pond' which derives historically by syllable loss from the no longer occurring form /t-un-ūhun/ < %un-% + %tuhun% 'hold, contain'; /mā-ʔuj/ 'step-mother' < /mā/ 'mother' + /ʔuj/ 'step-'. /Sumājaŋ/ 'worship' < %Sumāh% 'honorable greeting' + %jaŋ% (a morpheme only occurring in this word). Virtually the same conditions for the spread of nasality are described by Robins (1957) for Sundanese and by McGinn (1982) for Rejang, a language of South Sumatra. Court (1970) describes spreading nasalisation as an areal feature of Indonesia. He provides a set of nasalisation 'laws' for Indonesian languages. His fifth law of nasalisation provides an alternative interpretation of /Sumājaŋ/:

Where nasality in an Indonesian language could ... run on from a nasal consonant in the penult into the last syllable and yet fails to do so in certain words, the initial nasal in such words corresponds to a sequence of nasal + homorganic voiced stop in other languages/dialects or in other styles of speaking.

Compare the Acehnese with Indonesian *sembahyang* 'worship'. Thus /Sumājaŋ/'s lack of nasalisation in the final syllable is evidence for the existence of a special phonological subsystem of Acehnese for borrowings, the form of the Acehnese word being influenced by speakers' perception of it as a loanword. Court (1970) gives similar examples from other Indonesian languages. No syllable initial [j] exists in Acehnese. Where it might be expected (for example in a borrowing) /j/ appears instead: /mājēt/ 'corpse' < Arabic *majjil* 'corpse'.

[ii] Only certain clusters of consonants can occur across syllable boundaries within the morpheme. /h#C/ and /ʔ#C/ appear to be possible, though unusual, for most C: /Sahbat/ 'companion, friend'; /dɔʔtɔ/ 'doctor', /laʔSa/ 'ten thousand'. /N#C(C)/ is possible for the following four combinations: /m#p(C)/, /n#t(C)/, /n#c(C)/, /ŋ#k(C)/: /mamplam/ 'mango'; /ʔuntruʔ/ 'later'; /runcoŋ/ 'Acehnese dagger'; /taŋke/ 'stalk'. (The palatal stop /c/ patterns as homo-organic with the dental nasal /n./) /ŋl/ and /ŋS/ and /mS/ also occur though unusual; /laŋSa/ 'place name'; /paŋlimā/ 'army leader'; /hamSah/ 'personal name'. Some clusters always, or almost always occur in personal names, which are invariably borrowed from Arabic: /hamSah/, /maSʔūt/. Names are phonologically idiosyncratic in other ways: note the syllable-final /S/ in the second name. Across morpheme boundaries these restrictions do not apply: /ban-dum/ 'all' < /ban/ 'just' + /dum/. /N#C/, where C is a voiced stop, can occur in borrowings, but not immediately before the final syllable: /baŋgali/ 'Bengali'.

### 2.4.3. Nasality as a Prosody

Acehnese is a language which does not sit comfortably in the phonemic corner of typological hyper-space (Lyons 1962). It is possible to phonemicise it but, as Lyons (1962:132) remarks: "That it is always *possible* to phonemicize a language does not prove that one always *should* phonemicize." The phonemic analysis of nasality offered above is phonetically transparent and efficient, but it is contradicted by native speakers' intuitions. Nasal vowels after nasal consonants are not thought of as marked for nasality. Their nasality is thought of as being conditioned by the preceding consonant: it is significant that no system of orthography developed for Acehnese (and there have been many developed by the Acehnese themselves, especially in recent times) has ever marked these vowels as nasal. Moreover the funny nasals, above analysed as allophones, are felt to be in contrast with the shorter, "plain" nasals. The contrast between [mã] and [ma] is felt to be in the consonant rather than in the vowel, and it is the second combination which is felt to be the specially marked one. All orthographies mark this contrast in a way which reflects this intuition. As a learner I sometimes mispronounced these combinations, and native speakers would indicate that my pronunciation of the stop was incorrect. When I needed informants to provide examples of nasal + oral vowel, they seemed to me to think in terms of finding instances of a special type of nasal stop.

It is interesting that no previous descriptions of Acehnese have adapted the phonemic analysis offered here, despite its advantages for phonetic description. Past analyses have avoided marking vowels after nasal stops as nasal but in so doing they have obscured the true phonetic situation. It is worth pointing out that these analyses are nevertheless "orthographically" more efficient. The vast majority of nasal vowels are preceded by nasal consonants and it is unnecessarily repetitive to mark them as nasal every time they occur. Table 2-6 contrasts the phonemic analysis given here with three other analyses.

Analyses III and IV treat the funny nasals phonemically as consonant sequences of nasal + voiced stop. There are phonotactic reasons for rejecting this analysis of funny nasals as sequences. It complicates the statement of syllable structure: [ŋ ram °] 'angry' would be given as /ŋgram/, with an unparalleled three consonant initial cluster; moreover these sequences are quite different from all other consonant sequences that can occur within the syllable (p21:[ii]). All other sequences consist of a stop followed by one of /h/, /r/ or /l/. Speakers literate in Acehnese know that funny nasals are written as voiced clusters but when questioned they mostly say that they are not consonant sequences, but a special kind of nasal. It is perhaps significant that in the traditional script, these "clusters" are sometimes written as plain nasals, without the voiced stop (Snouck Hurgronje 1892). Lawler and Abdul Gani Asyik (analysis II) treat the funny nasals as a separate phoneme series. Lawler calls them "funny nasals" and Abdul Gani Asyik "incomplete nasals".

Lawler and Abdul Gani Asyik have a contrast between what are essentially oral vowel phonemes (but phonetically nasalised after ordinary nasal stops) and nasal vowel phonemes. Budiman Sulaiman (analysis III) has a similar treatment of the vowels. Publications in Aceh since 1950 also use this analysis, but often omit to distinguish the nasal vowel phonemes at all, or distinguish them only inconsistently. Cowan and Djajadiningrat (analysis IV) base their descriptions on Snouck Hurgronje's pioneering work. Instead of having nasal vowel phonemes they use italics (Djajadiningrat), boldface (Snouck Hurgronje) or capitals (Cowan) to mark the preceding consonant as nasalised

Table 2-6: Phonemic Analyses of Nasality

<i>phonetic</i>	I	II	III	IV
[pa]	/pa/	/pa/	/pa/	/pa/
[mã]	/mã/	/ma/	/ma/	/ma/
[pã]	/pã/	/pã/	/pã/	/p̃a/
[ĩma]	/ma/	/ĩma/	/mba/	/mba/

- I this description
- II Lawler (1977), Abdul Gani Asyik (1972)
- III Budiman Sulaiman (1977), current orthographies
- IV Snouck Hurgronje (1892), Djajadiningrat (1934),  
Cowan (1981), traditional orthography

(sic). This artificial solution makes phonetic sense only if the consonant is a glide. In the case of, say, initial [p] in [pĩ<sup>o</sup>p<sup>o</sup>] 'suck' it makes no sense at all. The rationale behind the occasional italicised nasal stop that one comes across in Djajadiningrat (e.g. the entries for *seumah* and *tjoemoeët*) is incomprehensible. The traditional Arabic based script has a similar approach to Snouck Hurgronje's (he was no doubt influenced by it), but only consistently distinguishes a \*nasal\* glottal stop, written  $\xi$ .

All past descriptions omit to state the important fact that vowel nasalisation is the most salient and consistent phonetic indicator of the contrasts in nasality. Snouck Hurgronje (1892) remarks that for the sequence nasal + voiced stop (i.e. the funny nasals) the two consonants melt together to produce a new sound which is very close to ordinary nasals and that vowels after ordinary nasals are nasalised but he does not make this observation for vowels after his \*nasalised\* consonants. Abdul Gani Asyik (1972) points out that short and \*incomplete\* (funny) nasals differ in their length and in the degree of nasality of the following vowel. Lawler (1977) describes the \*funny\* nasals as having \*significantly reduced nasal air flow\* and being \*slightly longer than ordinary nasals\* and remarks that they \*do not produce the same allophones of vowels in their environment as do the plain nasals\*. But both Abdul Gani Asyik and Lawler obscure the important generalisation that what they call nasal vowel phonemes are a set of phones identical with the vowels following ordinary nasals. The vowels that are phonetically nasal have only three vowel height distinctions, irrespective of the consonantal environment, whilst



oral vowels have four.

Phonemic analyses of Acehnese are unavoidably problematical. The problems seem to derive from attempting to 'localise' nasalisation contrasts onto just one phoneme. Phonetically nasalisation spreads over more than just one segment: all oral consonant phonemes have nasalised allophones in syllable-final position when the preceding vowel is nasal, and syllable-initial glides are nasal when the following vowel is nasal. Phonologically too, nasalisation can spread and retract. Nasal stops can even be denasalised. Witness the dialect variants /mãndrēt/~bandrēt/ 'spicy drink', /ŋram/~grām/ 'angry', /lamī<sup>ə</sup>t/~nāmī<sup>ə</sup>t/ 'slave', /puj ampoh/~puj pãmpoh/ 'broom'. This all suggests a prosodic treatment of nasality should be less problematical than a phonemic one.

A prosodic treatment of nasality could regard nasal stops wherever they occur as nasal phonematic units, but nasal vowels and nasalised glides as instances of a syllable level nasal prosody. How could this approach account for native speaker's intuitions concerning the 'location' of the phonological contrast, since a syllable prosody is not placed at any one segment? A possible answer would be that intuition apparently prefers to locate the contrast at the first segment in the syllable which is phonetically nasal. If the initial consonant is nasal and the syllable bears the nasal prosody, the consonant is what is felt to be 'different'. The prosody is intuitively 'focussed' to the left of the syllable, although its domain is the whole syllable. The syllabic nasal prosody extends on the phonetic level up to the right hand syllable boundary: even for syllable-final /p/ and /t/ the velum is kept lowered (p15:[vii]).

The restrictions given in section 2.4.2 on the distribution of nasal vowels and consonants can now be succinctly re-expressed:

[i] An unstressed syllable bears the nasal prosody if and only if it begins with a nasal stop.

[ii] For expressives the nasal prosody can occur on any stressed syllable, irrespective of the syllable onset. For non-expressives a nasal prosody cannot occur if the syllable onset is /C(h)/ where /C/ is a voiced oral obstruent.

[iii] If a penultimate syllable is nasalised then the final syllable is also nasalised when its syllable onset can be phonetically nasal (i.e. if the final syllable begins with a glide or a single nasal stop). The spread of the prosody is in any case blocked by a morpheme boundary.

#### 2.4.4. Nasalisation as a Regional Feature

Acehnese is not the only language of Indonesia and Malaysia that has been described as having a special series of nasals - typically analysed as a sequence of nasal + voiced stop - with special neighbouring vowel allophones that are different from the allophones after ordinary nasals. Snouck Hurgronje (1892) points out that the sequence nasal + voiced stop 'melts' together to form a single sound in certain Malay dialects, producing phones he identifies with Acehnese funny nasals (as I term them). He does not indicate which dialects. Robins makes a similar observation for Sundanese and points out that these 'sequences' contrast with single nasal stops principally in the lack of nasalisation of the

following vowel:

Within a word, intervocalic sequences of nasal consonant followed immediately by a homorganic voiced plosive or affricate are frequently pronounced with a very light articulation of the non-nasal consonant ... In such cases the absence of nasality in the vowel following the plosive or affricate was found to be a more readily noticeable mark of the nasal + voiced consonant sequence as distinct from a single intervocalic nasal consonant. (Robins 1957:91)

Baihaqi A.K. et al (1977) describe a similar nasal series for Gayonese which they call 'non-nasal' nasals (*nasal laksengau*) in contrast to 'nasal' nasals (*nasal sengau*). A member of the Gayonese research team, Abdul Gani Asyik, informed me that these Gayonese special nasals are similar phonetically to the Acehnese funny nasals (personal communication). Court (1970), in an excellent survey of nasalisation in the Indonesian region, reports similar phenomena for Ulu Muar Malay from Malaya and for three Dayak languages. McGinn (1982) and Coady and McGinn (1982) describe a series of 'barred nasals' for Rejang which contrast with ordinary nasals and which would appear to be similar to Acehnese funny nasals. They make the observation: 'perceptually the main cue for this contrast ... lies in the vowel rather than the consonant' (p446). Coady and McGinn are not aware that this is a regional characteristic of Indonesia and Malaysia, for they refer to Rejang's barred nasals as 'a puzzling and rare phenomenon among the languages of the world' (p446) and claim that: 'These special nasals have not been reported in any other Sumatran language' (p437).

Acehnese appears to be unusual amongst the languages of the region in that it has nasal vowels occurring independently of a preceding nasal, e.g. /pĩ<sup>◌</sup>p/ 'to suck'. Ulu Muar Malay is like Acehnese in this respect. The following observation by Court for Ulu Muar Malay exactly fits the situation for Acehnese:

In a Trubetzkoyan analysis ... we would probably want to say ... that in the environment mediate or immediately following nasal consonants ... the non-nasal vowels were the *marked* terms, *but* that elsewhere the nasal vowels were the *marked* terms (p213-4)

## 2.5. Orthography

This orthography is similar to orthographies current in Aceh. A standard has been developed by scholars at Universitas Syiah Kuala. This orthography is described in a seminar report *Hasil Perumusan Seminar Pembinaan dan pengembangan Bahasa Aceh* published by Universitas Syiah Kuala. It is deficient in that it does not represent the contrast between /ʌ/ and /ɔ/ (2.2.2). This is also a deficiency of the standard of Djajadiningrat (1934) who followed Snouck Hurgronje (1892).

[i] /j / is written as *j* and /j/ as *y*.

[ii] /S/ is written as *s* and /ʃ/ as *sy*.

[iii] Syllable final /ʔ/ is written as *k*; syllable-initially it is simply omitted.

[iv] [m] and [m<sup>◌</sup>] are written as *m*, [n] and [n<sup>◌</sup>] as *n*, [ɲ] and [ɲ<sup>◌</sup>] as *ny*, and [ŋ] and

[ŋ<sup>o</sup>] as *ng*.

[v] Funny nasals are written as cluster of nasal + voiced stop: [îm] as *mb*, [îŋ] as *nd*, [îj] as *nj*, and [î] as *ngg*.

[vi] All other consonants are written exactly as for their phonemic representations.

[vii] Vowel nasalisation is indicated by ' preceding the vowel, but no indication is made at all for nasal vowels after nasal stops.

[viii] /i/, /e/ and /ε/ are written as *i*, *ê* and *e* respectively.

[ix] /u/, /ɔ/ and /ɤ/ are written as *eu*, *ě* and *õ* respectively.

[x] /u/, /o/ and /ɔ/ are written as *u*, *ô* and *o* respectively.

[xi] /a/ is written as *a*.

[xii] The schwa ending of the diphthongs is written as *e*, thus /ɔ<sup>ə</sup>/ as *oe*.

In this description, *words* is used to refer to one of two things: a lexical item (lexeme) or a phonological word. For instance, it is commonplace to refer phonological words as the phonological representation of a single lexeme. This is not the important fact about phonological words in this context.

[i] Phonological words can be segmented into syllables and are words with a finite life span as part of a single phonological word. The lexically based lexemes of the phonological word are lexemes with. This would not be the case for all languages. English has, for example, a single syllable and a single phonological word, but is composed of two lexemes (and etc).

[ii] Arabic has no inflectional morphology, so there is no divide in distinction between lexical and grammatical words of any language. For some languages, English included, this distinction is blurred. However, in the English lexicon, there are the grammatical word *single*, which is one of the inflectional forms of *sing*. However, in Arabic, no such distinction exists. This means that all phonological representations in Arabic are of lexical, not grammatical items. In English, one could say that the suffix *-ing* is originally a grammatical marker of the present participle, not part of the representation of the lexeme *sing* itself. Similarly, *John's* could be regarded as being composed of a lexical item and a possessive marker 's. There is no such phonological representation of grammatical categories in Arabic.

Although Arabic has no inflectional morphology, it does not mean the prefix, root, pattern or marker - it does have derivational morphology, using syllables and syllables to form words from other words. The same basic pattern is that of production, even the inflexion is "pre-fixed" in that they have less than syllables of a word, using the final syllable. This pattern is the production is a typical characteristic of Semitic (and other) languages, including Arabic (and other languages).

Words are easily segmentable into their component derivational morphemes and there are no suppletive paradigms like 'good, better, best' of English. In other phonological words are not particularly complex. The underlying form of a morpheme can usually be easily inferred from its surface allomorph.



## 3. Morphology

This chapter is an overview of the morphology of Acehnese. Three components of morphological structure are distinguished: morpheme, word and phrase. The basic characteristics of these three components are described here. In the final section of this chapter an overview of the parts of speech is given.

### 3.1. Words and Phrases

#### 3.1.1. The Word

In this description WORD is used to refer to one of two things: a LEXEME (Lyons 1968:197) or a PHONOLOGICAL WORD. For Acehnese it is convenient to define phonological word as the phonological representation of a single basic lexeme. There are two important facts about phonological words as defined here:

[i] phonological words can be segmented into syllables and conversely each syllable in a sentence is part of a single phonological word. The lexically based definition of the phonological word fits Acehnese well. This would not be the case for all languages. English *I'm*, for example, is a single syllable and a single phonological word, but is composed of two lexemes *I* and *BE*.

[ii] Acehnese has no inflectional morphology, so there is no need for a distinction between lexemes and grammatical words (Lyons 1968:196). For many languages, English included, this distinction is helpful. One can distinguish the English lexeme SING from the grammatical word *singing*, which is one of the inflectional forms of SING. However in Acehnese no such distinction exists. This means that all phonological representation in Acehnese is of lexical, not grammatical items. In English one could say that the suffix *-ing* of *singing* is a grammatical marker of the present participle, not part of the representation of the lexeme SING itself. Similarly *John's* could be regarded as being composed of a lexeme JOHN and a genitive marker 's. There is no such phonological representation of grammatical categories in Acehnese.

Although Acehnese has no inflectional morphology - it does not mark for gender, case, person or number - it does have derivational morphology, using prefixation and infixation to form words from other words. The more basic pattern is that of prefixation: even the infixes are "pre-fixed" in that they insert into the first syllable of a word, never the final syllable. This preference for prefixation is a typical characteristic of mainland Southeast Asian languages, to which Acehnese belongs typologically.

Words are easily segmentable into their component derivational morphemes and there are no suppletive paradigms like "good, better, best" of English. So, since phonological rules are not particularly complicated, the underlying form of a morpheme can usually be easily inferred from its surface allomorph.

### 3.1.2. The Phrase

Words form PHRASES, or stress groups, within utterances. A phrase can be separated from other phrases by pauses and it contains a single stressed word. It is convenient to distinguish two kinds of stress: PHRASE STRESS and WORD STRESS. Phrase stress falls on the stressed word in the phrase (usually the final or penultimate word). Word stress falls on the final syllable of a word. Thus /i<sup>ə</sup>/ 'water', /pa#de/ 'rice', /mũ#nã#Sah/ 'meeting house'. This stress is realised when a word is pronounced in its citation form, or when it is the stressed word in a phrase. When a word occurs in an unstressed position in a phrase all its syllables are pronounced unstressed. Such an unstressed word is termed CLITICISED. A phrase may consist of just one word. Phrases are indicated orthographically by connecting all words in each phrase with a word boundary marker =:

(3-1) ureueng=carõng=nyan<sup>l</sup>  
 person clever that

*that clever person*

(3-2) ka=geu=jak<sup>l</sup>=geuh  
 IN 3 go 3

*He has gone.*

(3-3) nyoe<sup>l</sup>=pat  
 this where

*here*

Stress is not usually marked when the stressed word is the last in its phrase. Thus (3-4) is to be interpreted as (3-5):

(3-4) ureueng=nyan ka=geu=jak=woe baroe  
 person that IN 3 go return yesterday

*That person returned yesterday.*

(3-5) ureueng=nyan<sup>l</sup> ka=geu=jak=woe<sup>l</sup> baroe<sup>l</sup>

### 3.1.3. Clitics

CLITICS are words which are never stressed in any context. For example in (3-4) *geu=* is a clitic but *ka* 'already' (glossed IN) and *jak* 'go' are only cliticised. They are not clitics since they may be stressed in a different context, cf. (3-2) and (3-6).

(3-6) ka<sup>l</sup>=geuh u =keude<sup>l</sup>  
 IN 3 to market

*He has gone to town.*

Clitics are a closed set. They include a variety of parts of speech. The most commonly occurring are pronouns and prepositions, but there are also clitic verbs, conjunctions and illocutionary markers. Some examples are:

- geu* 'he/she' - polite pronominal  
*keu* 'to' - preposition  
*pi* - contrast marker  
*meu* 'want' - verb  
*meu* 'surprise!' - illocutionary marker  
*meu* 'we exclusive' - pronominal

### 3.1.4. Words with Double Stress

Some words have a double word stress. These have a reduplicated structure (s)<sup>1</sup>S-(s)<sup>2</sup>S where *s* represents unstressed and *S* represents stressed syllables. The two parts are usually identical in form, but may vary slightly:

- ureueng*<sup>1</sup>-*ureueng*<sup>1</sup> 'people' (literally: 'person-person')  
*geunap*<sup>1</sup>-*nap*<sup>1</sup> 'every single one'  
*geureud*<sup>1</sup>*am*<sup>1</sup>-*geureud*<sup>1</sup>*um*<sup>1</sup> 'noise of thunder'  
*keudang*<sup>1</sup>-*keudôt*<sup>1</sup> 'crinkled'

There is a very small number of words which take a triple stress: *dee*<sup>1</sup>-*dee*<sup>1</sup>-*khueng*<sup>1</sup> 'cicada'. An example from Djajadiningrat (1934) is *tik*<sup>1</sup>-*tik*<sup>1</sup>-*gr*<sup>1</sup>*um*<sup>1</sup> 'sound of splashing water'.

Patterns of phonological variation in reduplication are described in detail in 3.5.2.

### 3.1.5. Statistical Distribution of Word Types

In actual discourse monosyllables (both clitics and non-clitics) are very common. Furthermore a relatively large proportion of basic vocabulary is monosyllabic. These tend to occur in discourse with greater frequency than disyllables, but in the vocabulary itself disyllables are more numerous. In a sample narrative passage of two hundred words there were 20% clitics (monosyllables), 29% monosyllabic non-clitic words, 44% disyllables, 5% tri-syllables, and 2% reduplicated words.

Most three and four syllable words are either derivative from disyllabic or monosyllabic roots like *mupeunutéh* %*mu*-*p*-*u*-*n*-*uteh*% 'whiteness' from *meu*- + *-eun*- + *putéh* 'white', or are special non-basic vocabulary such as names and religious terms (both usually borrowed from Arabic): *katijah*, a woman's name; *seumayang* 'worship'; *keureubeuen* 'charity'.

## 3.2. Morphemes

Although there is no inflectional morphology in Acehnese, there is derivational morphology. It is useful in describing this to distinguish ROOTS from AFFIXES. For example the verb *mupök* 'strike, collide' can be analysed as a combination of an affix *mu*- %*mu*% + a root *pök* 'to butt, collide with'. A dash is used to mark a morpheme boundary. Roots in Acehnese usually also exist as independent words. This needs some qualification.

Sometimes a root may not exist as an independent word, like *keujôt* in *teu-keujôt* 'surprised, startled'. But these exceptions are understandable: usually they are fossilised derivatives, the root having been lost as an independent word.

### 3.2.1. Affixes and Stems

Acehnese has both prefixes and infixes. There are no suffixes. All prefixed morphemes are monosyllables with a CV segmental structure. Thus *pu-bloe* 'to sell', *teu-khêm* 'to laugh', *gi-blôh* 'to step on in water'. There are not a large number of prefixes. They are *teu-* (4.5.1); *peu-* (4.5.2); *meu-* (4.5.3); *gi-* (4.5.5); *tu-* (6.4.1); and a set of onomatopoeic prefixes (4.5.6).

There are two infixes, *-eun-*, which derives nominals, and *-eum-*, which derives verbs. Although these are classified as infixes they both have a prefixing allomorph (5.10 and 4.5.4). Infixation is always into the first syllable of a disyllabic form, e.g.  $\%un\% + \%araj\%$  'clever' gives  $\%c-un-araj\%$  / $cun\bar{a}raj$ / 'cleverness'. For the description of infixation it is sometimes necessary to distinguish STEMS from roots: certain monosyllabic roots form a disyllabic stem to which the infix may be attached. Thus  $\%t\delta t\%$  'to burn, tr.' forms a stem  $\%tut\delta t\%$  to give  $\%t-un-ut\delta t\%$  'burning' and  $\%t-um-ut\delta t\%$  'to burn, intr.'. The rules of stem formation are different for *-eun-* and *-eum-* (although there are some similarities) so they are described separately in 5.10 and 4.5.4 respectively.

Since infixation is never into the final syllable of a stem or root and there is no suffixation it should be clear that word final syllables in Acehnese represent the final syllable of the root morpheme.

### 3.3. Conditioned Morphological Variation

There is not a great deal of allomorphy in Acehnese. It is moreover not always easy to draw a clear line between strict allomorphy and free variation. Quite typically a 'conditioned' variant will vary freely with its 'unconditioned' form. For example the underlying form  $\%j-un-am\bar{e}\%$  'bride price' from  $\%un\% + \%jam\bar{e}\%$  'guest' has free variants / $jun\bar{a}m\bar{e}$ / and / $julam\bar{e}$ /, with denasalisation of  $\%n\%$  to /l/ for the second variant under the conditioning of the following  $\%m\%$ . One could speak here of a conditioned free variant, or a variant that occurs according to an optional rule. This sort of thing is very common in Acehnese. Variation that has a characteristic phonological conditioning - even if the conditioning is optional, resulting in free variation - is described in this section. Purely morphologically conditioned variation is not described here, but in the sections dealing with the relevant parts of speech.

It is also not always easy to distinguish between phonologically and morphologically conditioned variation. For example the denasalisation rule affecting  $\%j-un-am\bar{e}\%$  above is usually optional, but for a few words it is compulsory. Thus  $\%c-un-aw\bar{i}\%$  'hook' gives / $culaw\bar{i}$ /, never \*/ $cun\bar{a}w\bar{i}$ /.<sup>1</sup> That the denasalisation is compulsory is an

<sup>1</sup>Abdul Gani Asyik informs me that in his dialect / $cun\bar{a}w\bar{i}$ / is more common than / $culaw\bar{i}$ /.



idiosyncratic feature of the root.

Allomorphy may be phonologically conditioned within the word (3.1.1) or within the phrase (3.1.2). This is an important distinction: these two domains of conditioning are described separately below.

### 3.3.1. Allomorphy Within the Word

#### 3.3.1.1. Frication of %p%

Underlying (morphophonemic) labial consonants are sometimes realised as /S/ in the environment of following labial. This only affects initial consonants of three-syllable words. Two general cases can be distinguished:

[i] when morphophonemic %p% is followed at the onset of the second syllable by %b% or %m% it is realised as /S/. This rule causes allomorphy of the causative prefix %pu-% (4.5.2) and of roots into which %-um-% (4.5.4) is infixed:

- %pu-mūʔ čn% > /Sumūʔčn/ 'to amuse, entertain'
- %pu-baro% > /Subaro/ 'to renew'
- %p-um-ajoh% > /Sumājoh/ 'to eat, intr'
- %p-um-upreh% > /Sumūpreh/ 'to wait, intr.'

That this only affects tri-syllabic words can be seen from:

- %pu-blɔʔ% > /publɔʔ/ 'to sell' (not \*/Sublɔʔ/)

For %pu-% derivatives this rule is also partly lexically conditioned: if the root is a nominal the rule does not apply and only /p/ is possible: %pu-% + %batɛʔ% 'stone' > /pubatɛʔ/ 'to stone' (not \*/Subatɛʔ/); when it is a verb, the rule is optional and both variants may be in free variation, thus /pumūʔčn/ 'to amuse, entertain' as well as /Sumūʔčn/ above. The /S/ variant is typically the commoner of the two. For the root %mījup% 'low' this variation has been lexicalised - it is no longer free. It has two derivatives with contrasting meanings: /pumījup/ 'to lower' and /Sumījup/ 'to bury'. With the infix %-um-% only /S/ is possible: %p-um-upɔh% > /Sumūpɔh/ 'to hit, intr' (not \*/pumūpɔh/).

[ii] when %n% or %l% intervenes between two labial consonants the first is realised as /S/. This rule causes allomorphy of roots into which the nominalising infix %-un-% (5.10) is inserted.

- %p-un-wpɔh% > /Sumūpɔh/ 'beating'
- %b-un-wblɔʔ% > /Sunūblɔʔ/ 'thing bought'
- %m-un-wmɛʔ% > /Sunūmɛʔ/ 'thing brought'

With %-un-% derivatives this rule is optional, but the /S/ variant is commoner. Thus the

<sup>2</sup>But Abdul Gani Asyik informs me that in his dialect this is acceptable.

preceding two examples also allow /bunũlɔʔ/ 'thing bought' and /mũnũmʔ/ 'thing brought'. This rule can also be seen at work in historical change where there is no infixation:

*seulimeng* 'fruit type' (cf. Malay *blimbing*)  
*seulumpuck* 'protecting flap on banana flower' (other dialects: *peulumpuck*)

### 3.3.1.2. Frication of %t%

Morphophonemic %t% is sometimes realised as /S/ according to the following rule:

%t% > /S/ / % =  $\left. \begin{matrix} 1 \\ r \\ n \end{matrix} \right\} VC(C)V(C) = \%$  where the final syllable is not /tV(C)/

This rule causes allomorphy of roots into which the nominalising infix %-u:n-% (5.10) is inserted:

%t-u:n-u:boʔ% > /Sunũboʔ/ 'pepper clearing'  
 %t-u:n-utroh% > /Sunũtroh/ 'something arrived'  
 %t-u:n-umpoʔ% > /Sulumpoʔ/ 'stack of rice sheaves' (for the realisation of %n% as /l/ see 3.3.1.5.)

The following example illustrates a condition of the rule:

%t-u:n-ut st% > /tunũt st/ 'something burnt' (not \*/Sunũt st/)

This is an optional rule. However the variant with /S/ is usually more common than that with /t/. This rule can be seen at work in historical change and borrowings where there is no infixation:

*seurasi* 'prawn paste' (Malay *terasi*)  
*seunaman* 'garden' (Malay *tenaman*)

In some cases where an historical change has occurred both variants exist in free variation:

*teulungkee*~*seulungkee* 'cooking tripod'  
*teuleupòk*~*seuleupòk* 'type of design' (Malay *telepuk*)

### 3.3.1.3. Rounding of %u%

Morphophonemic %u% is realised as /u/ in unstressed syllables in the environment of two labial consonants. This causes allomorphy of the prefixes %pu-% (4.5.2) and %mu-% (4.5.3), and also of roots into which the infix %-u:m-% is inserted:

%mũ-boh% > /mũboh/ 'to serve, intr.'  
 %pu-buʔ t% > /pubuʔ t/ 'teach to read Arabic'  
 %p-u:m-upɔh% > /Sumũpɔh/ 'beat, intr.'

This second example illustrates that in a generative framework frication of labials would be ordered before rounding of %u%, thus:

%p-u:m-upɔh% > %S-u:m-upɔh% > /Sumũpɔh/ 'beat, intr.'

This rounding is optional if the vowel in the following syllable is %u% and it is not the final syllable:

%pu-mũʔ āh% > /pũmũʔ āh/ 'forgive'

### 3.3.1.4. Vowel nasalisation

When a nasal is infix before a vowel of a root morpheme (5.10, 4.5.4), this vowel is nasalised:

%p-u n-ajoh% > /pũnājoh/ 'food delicacies'

%c-um-atəʔ % > /cũmātəʔ / 'to hoe, intr.'

Infixation is always into an unstressed syllable (3.2.1). This rule is a manifestation of the phonotactic constraint that nasal consonants in unstressed syllables are always followed by nasal vowels (p21:[v]).

### 3.3.1.5. Syllabic denasalisation

There are many freely varying pairs of words in Acehnese, one having an unstressed syllable including a nasal sequence  $N\tilde{V}$ , and the other having an equivalent oral sequence CV, where C is not a nasal. In these pairs /m/ varies with /b/, /n/ with /l/, and /ŋ/ with /j/. This 'free' variation has a conditioning environment: a following nasal stop in the same syllable, or an adjacent nasalised segment in the following syllable. It is not always possible to speak of one form as basic. However, speaking diachronically one can usually conclude that the fully nasalised form is the original one, so it is convenient to speak of the nasalisation being *retracted* by an optional rule:

/bandrēt/~/māndrēt/ 'type of spicy drink'

/laŋ/~/nāŋ/ - clitic relative clause marker

/lamīʔt/~/nāmīʔt/ 'slave'

/pujampoh/~/puŋāmpoh/ 'broom' (cf. Malay *penyapu*)

One might expect examples showing alternation of /ŋ/ and /g/, but /ŋ/ is rare in unstressed syllables. The only examples I know showing /ŋ/~/g/ variation occur in other dialects. I know of one case where the retraction is to the left; the dissimilatory environment is the nasalised preceding syllable:

/mūlaSah/~/mūnāSah/ 'meeting house'

In one case only it is clear that the fully oral variant is the basic one:

%ban-dum% > /mān-dum/~/ban-dum/ 'all' from *ban* 'every' + *dum* 'all'

Nasal retraction regularly causes allomorphy of the infix %-un-%, giving /-ul-/:

%c-un-awīʔʔ% > /cʉlawīʔʔ/ 'hook'

%g-un-untiʔ% > /gʉluntiʔ/ 'sty in eye'

%j-un-amēʔ% > /jʉlamēʔ/ 'bride price'

%S-un-amaj% > /S-ʉl-amaj/ 'spiced vegetables'

Like the pairs without %un-%, usually the retracted form is in free variation with an unretracted form. Thus the underlying morphophonemic %j-un-n-amẽ<sup>ə</sup>% 'bride price' of the preceding example has a realisation /jʉnãmẽ<sup>ə</sup>/ which is in free variation with the denasalised form. In a few lexically conditioned cases nasal retraction is not optional: /cuławĩ<sup>ə</sup>?/ 'hook' given above has no variant \*/cuñāwĩ<sup>ə</sup>?/.

### 3.3.2. Allomorphy Within the Phrase

#### 3.3.2.1. Diphthong reduction

Centralising diphthongs are reduced to monophthongs when the word they occur in is cliticised. (This is not usually indicated in transcriptions of examples.)

%ka% 'already' + %lhũ<sup>ə</sup> h% 'finished' + %bu% 'rice' > /ka=lhũh=bu<sup>l</sup>/ 'having had a meal'

%urɔ<sup>ə</sup>% 'day' + %pɔ<sup>ə</sup>% 'this' > /urɔ=pɔ<sup>ə</sup>/ 'today'

%i<sup>ə</sup>% 'liquid' + %mãndrẽt% 'drink type' > /i=mãndrẽt/ 'type of spicy drink'

%urũ<sup>ə</sup>ŋ% 'person' + %carãŋ% 'clever' > /urũŋ=%carãŋ%/ 'a clever person'

#### 3.3.2.2. Rounding of %u%

%u% is realised as /u/ under the same conditions as those given in 3.3.1.3, that is, in the environment of two labial consonants. This is optional (but within words it is compulsory):

%lon% 'I' + %mũ% 'want' + %poh% 'hit' > /lon=mũ=poh<sup>l</sup>/ 'I want to hit, tr.'

%bu% illocutionary marker + %patah% > 'break' /bu=patah<sup>l</sup>/ 'may (it) break'

%mũ% 'we' + %wɔ<sup>ə</sup>% 'go home' > /mũ=wɔ<sup>ə</sup><sup>l</sup>/ 'we go home'

#### 3.3.2.3. h epenthesis

Clitics which have no syllable-final consonant add /h/ when they are enclitics, and occur last in their phrase, cf. *neu(h)* and *pi(h)* in the following examples:

(3-7) droe<sup>l</sup>=neu ka=neu=jak<sup>l</sup>  
self 2 IN 2 go

*You have gone.*

(3-8) ka=droe=neu=jak<sup>l</sup>  
IN self 2 go

*You have gone.*

(3-9) lɔn<sup>l</sup>=pih sakêt  
I EMPH sick

*I am sick too!*

- (3-10) **peulandök<sup>l</sup> pi =ji=beudöh<sup>l</sup>**  
 mousedeer EMPH 3 rise

*The mousedeer got up.*

There is a type of exception that illustrates this rule. Consider: *droe=neuh=nyan<sup>l</sup>* 'he, she' (5.5.1). Here =*neuh* is formally enclitic to *droe*, so *h* is kept, even though *droe=neuh* 'you' is itself proclitic to *nyan*, forming a compound phrase. To account for this one needs to allow for a multi-level structure of phrases. The rule of *h* epenthesis works at the level of the inner phrase, before the demonstrative is added. Compare this example with (3-8) where =*neu*= is initially enclitic to *droe*=, yet it has no epenthetic *h*. This is always the case when Agent pronouns formed with *droe* (table 5-3) are cliticised before their verb (8.6).

Epenthesis does not occur for words which are cliticised, but are not clitics, i.e. for words that in another context could be stressed. In the following sentences =*ji(h)* is a clitic, *lé* a cliticised word:

- (3-11) **asee=nyan hana =lön=poh<sup>l</sup>=ji=lé**  
 dog that NEGBE 1 hit 3 any more

*I won't hit that dog any more.*

- (3-12) **asee=nyan hana =lön=poh<sup>l</sup>=lé=jih**

*I won't hit that dog any more.'*

### 3.4. Free Morphological Variation

There is much free variation in Acehnese that is not conditioned, not even by an optional rule. A comparable example would be the two Australian English pronunciations of *either* as [aɪ ð ə] ~ [ɪ ð ə].

#### 3.4.1. Syllable Loss

Acehnese has a productive tendency to drop initial syllables. This tendency has long been at work through the history of Acehnese:

- kee* 'I' (< PAN \*aku)  
*u* 'coconut' (< PAN \*niyuR)  
*yee* 'shark' (< PAN \*hi(y)u)  
*neuheun* 'fish pond' (< \**teuneuheun* < %u-n-% + %tuhu-n% 'to contain')  
*narit* 'something said' (< \**meunarit* < %u-n-% + %marit% 'to say')

In present day Acehnese many words have variant forms with one less syllable. Sometimes the variation is truly free, but in other cases the full forms are poetic or formal usage, or the reduced forms are colloquial in flavour, sometimes only appearing in certain fixed phrases. Syllable loss particularly affects words of three syllables. A word structure that seems to favour syllable loss to give free variation is a tri-syllable beginning with:

$$/ \left\{ \begin{matrix} t \\ s \\ c \end{matrix} \right\} w \left\{ \begin{matrix} l \\ n \\ r \end{matrix} \right\} / :$$

## [i] Free variants:

*seunibay~nibay* 'rice sheaves'  
*seulungkee~lungkee* 'antlers, pot stand'  
*gumulôh~mulôh* 'type of fish'  
*seuramoe~ramoe* 'front room in house'

## [ii] Special (formal) full forms:

*deungön* 'with'; usually *ngön*  
*bukön* 'not'; usually *kön*

## [iii] Special reduced forms:

*moh* 'house'; usually *rumoh*  
*neuk* 'child'; usually *aneuk*  
*nok* 'fowl'; usually *manok*  
 (Chickens are referred to colloquially as *neuk=nok*.)  
*ha* 'old'; usually *tuha*

## 3.4.2. Vowel Alternation

Unstressed vowels in Acehnese are particularly unstable, varying greatly across and within dialects. This variation does not have strictly regular conditioning: it occurs on a word for word basis. (Probably significant statistical patterning could be observed.) Virtually all variation involves /i/~/u/~/u/.

*geuleungku~geulungku* 'coconut rasp' (other dialects: *gulungku*)  
*kilêt~kulêt* 'skin, leather'  
*minyum~meenyum* 'taste like'  
*rumoh~reumoh* 'house'  
*rukok~reukok* 'cigarette'  
*sumubeuet~seumubeuet* 'teach to read Arabic, intr.'  
*seumiyup~seumeuyup* 'to bury'  
*sinirut~seunirut* 'point'  
*tuôt~teuôt* 'knee'

Stressed vowels also vary, but to a far lesser extent than unstressed vowels:

*ret~röt* 'road'  
*eungkôt~eungkët* 'fish'

## 3.5. Reduplication

Reduplication has various functions. All single-stressed words can be reduplicated for emphatic effect (3.5.1). However some words have reduplicated roots, including many

animal names:

- ulók<sup>1</sup>-ulók<sup>1</sup>* 'thoughtlessly set on one's own way'  
*bang<sup>1</sup>-bang<sup>1</sup>* 'butterfly'  
*gôt<sup>1</sup>-gôt<sup>1</sup>* 'bird type'  
*kili<sup>1</sup>-kili<sup>1</sup>* 'a type of metal link on a rope of a fishing net'  
*ubô<sup>1</sup>-ubô<sup>1</sup>* 'jelly fish'

and in a few cases reduplication is a word formation process: the root form may have a different meaning; it may even be a different part of speech:

- g'eng<sup>1</sup>-g'ong<sup>1</sup>* 'jew's harp'; *g'ong* 'sound of a jew's harp'  
*surôk<sup>1</sup>-rôk<sup>1</sup>* 'type of cricket'; *surôk* 'creep in a narrow passage'

Thus reduplication is:

- [i] a way of emphasising words;
- [ii] a structural feature of some word roots;
- [iii] a means of word formation.

In this description only the emphatic function of reduplication is given a detailed treatment.

### 3.5.1. Emphatic Reduplication

In Acehnese, as in other Southeast Asian languages, reduplication is used for emphatic stress. Any word can be reduplicated (except those that are reduplicated in their root form), with a wide variety of semantic effects. It has been a common mistake of grammarians to treat emphatic reduplication as a word formation process. The main 'false scent' for this is that often reduplication implies a plural sense, and this in languages that otherwise have no plural marking.

Unfortunately I cannot give a single semantic characterisation of reduplication. Often the effect is to indicate plurality or increased degree of the reduplicated word, but sometimes the reduplication seems best glossed by English *really*.

- (3-13) *si =gô ta=peh reulôh tambô-tambô*  
 one time 2 hit broken drum drum

*If you hit it once the drum will really be broken.*

- (3-14) *ma<sup>1</sup> -ma<sup>1</sup> =meuh ji=koh=ôk*  
 mother mother lexc 3 cut hair

*Our mother really did get her hair cut.*

When a reduplicated word occurs in the stressed position in its phrase it has a double word stress (3.1.4), as marked in (3-14). This is not normally indicated when the stressed word is the last in its phrase (3.1.2), as in (3-13).

In the most general sense reduplication implies something other than the usual, with

the emphasis being on something *more* than the usual:

- (3-15) beungeh=jih lagee=peue-peue  
angry 3 way what what

adak 'oh =ji=teumeung peulandök ji=kap  
so that when 3 get mouse deer 3 bite

ji=mamöh-mamöh ji=krep -krep tuleueng-tuleueng  
3 munch munch 3 crack crack bone bone

*He was as mad as anything, so that when he met the mouse deer he would bite [him], really chew [him] up, and really crack up all his bones.*

The emphatic effect of a reduplication can be categorised according to a few types:

[i] Reduplication of a nominal can have the effect of 'every' or 'more than one might think', or 'without the usual exceptions':

- (3-16) jamee-jamee geutanyoe ka=mandum u =rumoh  
guest guest we inc IN all to house

*All our guests are already in the house.*

- (3-17) ureueng-ureueng ka=trök bak=teupat=meu'en=bhan  
person person IN arrive at place play ball

*A crowd has arrived at the football field.*

- (3-18) jeuep-jeuep=ureueng ka=geu=jak u =keude  
every every person IN 3 go to market

*Every single person has gone to town.*

[ii] With a nominal, reduplication can also have the effect of contrastive stress: 'the contrary is not the case; it is not what one might think to be the case':

- (3-19) mak -mak ka=deuek  
mother mother IN hungry

*Mother is hungry too: even mother is hungry.*

- (3-20) bu -bu h'an=ék =ji=pajöh lê  
rice rice NEG can 3 eat more

*He won't/can't even eat rice any more.*

- (3-21) ka=rap =gadöh leuhô-leuhô sarê jeuet=ka=peh lê=kah tambô=asa  
IN almost lost leuhô-leuhô now can 2 hit by you drum asa

*The leuhô prayer time is almost past; you can hit the asa drum (later). (You can have a go, but not just now.)*

[iii] With a nominal of indefinite reference and with epistemological classifiers reduplication emphasises the indefiniteness:



- (3-22) lôn=gisa singöh -ngöh  
1 return tomorrow morrow

*I'll return sometime or other.*

- (3-23) beurang-rangka=pat jeuet=ka=duek  
any any where can 2 sit

*You can sit anywhere at all.*

- (3-24) jan -jan ji=jak bak=keude  
when when 3 go at market

*Sometimes he goes to town.*

- (3-25) si =droe<sup>1</sup>-droe<sup>1</sup>=jih na=sakêt  
one self self 3 BE sick

*Some of them are sick.*

- (3-26) na bubê-bê =beutêh  
BE size size calf (of leg)

*about as big as a (person's) calf*

[iv] With prepositions the effect is contrastive emphasis on the object NP of the preposition:

- (3-27) ji=tajô lam-lam=duroe  
3 rush in in thorn

*He went into thorns too.*

- (3-28) ka-tanyông bak-bak=jih  
2 ask at at 3

*Ask him too.*

[v] With stative verbs and operators whose semantics allow of various degrees, reduplication has the effect of emphasising a greater degree - greater than one might think:

- (3-29) geutanyoe ka=tuha-tuha, pane êk =ta =plueng  
we inc IN old old how can linc run

*We are already old, how can we run?*

- (3-30) jih ji=duek jeuôh-jeuôh  
he 3 sit far far

*He lives a long way away.*

- (3-31) jih sakêt=that-that  
he sick very very

*He is very sick.*

- (3-32) lë -lë =that ji=teumeung udeueng baroe  
 many many very 3 get prawn yesterday  
*They really got a lot of prawns yesterday.*

[vi] With verbs, reduplication can have the effect of reiterated or unending activity, not necessarily coming to any natural conclusion. This is especially common for non-controlled verbs:

- (3-33) bak=si =uroe keureuna hana =buet=nyang=laën  
 at one day because NEGBE work REL other  
 ji=jak-jak lam=beuluka  
 3 go go in thicket  
*One day, because he had nothing else to do, he went into a thicket.*

- (3-34) ji=duek-duek lam=rangkang  
 3 sit sit in platform  
*He is just sitting around on the platform.*

[vii] With verbs reduplication can also have the effect of contrastive emphasis: 'the contrary is not the case':

- (3-35) bada =seuueu-seuueu ji=pajöh  
 fried banana hot hot 3 eat  
*He eats fried bananas which are still hot.*

[viii] In a headless relative clause (9.1.1.2) reduplication of the verb emphasises that all possible referents are intended:

- (3-36) ka=hëy nyang=tëm -tëm =jak  
 2 call REL want want go  
*Call (all) those who want to go.*

### 3.5.2. Phonological Patterning of Reduplication

For most instances of reduplication a word is simply doubled, with no variation in its form. A stressed word reduplicated in this way has a doubled word stress, e.g. *ureueng<sup>1</sup>-ureueng<sup>1</sup>* 'person'. However a reduplication sometimes involves phonological variation between the two parts. This is essentially lexically conditioned, but certain regular phonological patterns can be discerned for this: (Abdul Gani Asyik (1972) has made a very full and detailed study of reduplication, to which this analysis is much indebted.)

- [i] Sometimes only the final syllable of the root is reduplicated:

*singöh<sup>1</sup>-ngöh<sup>1</sup>* 'sometime indefinite in the future'; *singöh* 'tomorrow'  
*bubê<sup>1</sup>-bê<sup>1</sup>* 'as big as'; *bubê* 'size - epistemological classifier'  
*utöh<sup>1</sup>-töh<sup>1</sup>* 'labourers'; *utöh* 'labourer'

[ii] The second part may have more syllables. This can happen when reciprocal verbal derivatives with *meu* (4.5.3) are reduplicated e.g. *poh<sup>1</sup>-mupoh<sup>1</sup>* 'to hit each other' from *mupoh* (< %*m*u-% + %*p*oh%). I only know two examples which are not reciprocal:

*c'iep<sup>1</sup>-mur'iep<sup>1</sup>* 'many noisy small children'  
*treueh<sup>1</sup>-tareueh<sup>1</sup>* 'of all kinds'

[iii] The stressed syllables may vary. Most commonly this affects the vowel, however the final consonant and sometimes the preceding consonant of the syllable may also vary. It is commonest to have an /a/~V alternation of vowels, where V is a high or high-mid vowel; /ε/~ɔ/ and /o/~a/ are also common patterns. Where the final consonant varies it is usually /ŋ/~t/ or /ŋ/~j/. Either, both, or none of the two parts may exist as independent words:

*geureubam<sup>1</sup>-geureubum<sup>1</sup>* 'sound of banging about'  
*puta<sup>1</sup>-putie<sup>1</sup>* 'brains'; *puta* 'to twist'  
*muda<sup>1</sup>-mudi<sup>1</sup>* 'young people'; *muda* 'young'  
*kreh<sup>1</sup>-kroh<sup>1</sup>* 'rustling dry sound'; *kreh* 'rustling dry sound', *kroh* 'rustling dry sound'  
*apôh<sup>1</sup>-apah<sup>1</sup>* 'very restless'  
*irang<sup>1</sup>-irôt<sup>1</sup>* 'zig-zag'; *irang* 'skew', *irôt* 'skew'  
*sang<sup>1</sup>-suy<sup>1</sup>* 'in disarray'; *suy* 'risen up' (cf. *meusuy-suy* 'in disarray')  
*kung<sup>1</sup>-keh<sup>1</sup>* in *aneuk=kung<sup>1</sup>-keh<sup>1</sup>* 'small tuna fish'  
*krôt<sup>1</sup>-kreuet<sup>1</sup>* 'having a sore body', *kreuet* 'sore'  
*garien<sup>1</sup>-garuen<sup>1</sup>* 'with relentless effort'  
*cula<sup>1</sup>-culoe<sup>1</sup>* 'floundering under great difficulties'  
*cré<sup>1</sup>-bré<sup>1</sup>* 'scattered'  
*meulueh<sup>1</sup>-puek<sup>1</sup>* 'filthy'  
*meuren<sup>1</sup>-dren<sup>1</sup>* 'hopelessly tangled'

[iv] There is occasionally phonological variation in an unstressed syllable. The only examples I know of are all from Abdul Gani Asyik (1972):

*calam<sup>1</sup>-malôm<sup>1</sup>* 'irregular'  
*cula<sup>1</sup>-caloe<sup>1</sup>* 'very busy and working very hard'  
*eumpah<sup>1</sup>-ampêh<sup>1</sup>* 'careless'  
*ruta<sup>1</sup>-rateu<sup>1</sup>* 'keep on going about looking for something'

### 3.5.3. Syllable Reduplication

For words of three syllables or more the emphatic semantic effect of doubling is achieved by simply reduplicating the initial syllable. The resulting construction has only a single word stress. In other dialects, but not in Bireuen, this is productive for disyllabic words too (Cowan 1981).

*syesyedara* 'relatives'; *syedara* 'relative(s)'  
*geugeutanyoe* 'we'; *geutanyoe* 'we'  
*peupeurumoh* 'wife'; *peurumoh* 'wife'

This type of reduplication can also be observed in fossilised formations:

*dendayang* 'maid of honour'; *dayang* 'maid of honour'  
*bubayang* 'shadow'; *bayang* 'shadow'

The roots themselves often do not occur independently. This is the case for some animal names with a reduplicated initial syllable for which Malay has fully reduplicated cognates:

*bubrang* 'otter' (Malay *berang-berang*)

The epistemological classifier formations of four syllables with *barang*= (6.4.2.4) are unusual in that instead of full reduplication they have syllable reduplication word internally:

*beurangrangka*=*soe* 'whosoever' < *beurangka*= 'any' + *soe* 'who'  
*beurangrangka*=*po* 'whosoever the owner' < *beurangka*= 'any' + *po* 'whose'

### 3.6. Juxtaposition of Opposites

In a formation that is phonologically identical with reduplication, two words of contrasting meaning can be combined to give a meaning that encompasses both:

*tuha*<sup>1</sup>-*muda*<sup>1</sup> 'old and young'  
*bloe*<sup>1</sup>-*publoe*<sup>1</sup> 'buy and sell'  
*uroe*<sup>1</sup>-*malam*<sup>1</sup> 'day and night'  
*beungöh*<sup>1</sup>-*seupôt*<sup>1</sup> 'morning and evening'  
*lakoe*<sup>1</sup>-*binoe*<sup>1</sup> 'men and women'

(3-37) *kapay na=ji=tamöng*<sup>1</sup>-*teubiet*<sup>1</sup> *kuwala*  
 ship BE 3 enter exit river mouth

*Ships enter and leave the mouth of the river.*

### 3.7. Parts of Speech

One can use various means of distinguishing and defining parts of speech; I take the approach that parts of speech are primarily to be distinguished according to their syntactic functions and secondarily according to their forms. The actual distinguishing patterns of function and form are idiosyncratic to the language being described. For Acehnese it is not usually possible to characterise parts of speech in terms of their form alone since root forms tend to be able to function directly as different parts of speech without morphological marking:

*na* 'be - verb'; 'existence - noun'  
*jeue* 'catch with a net - verb'; 'net type - noun'  
*ngön* 'friend - noun'; 'with - preposition'; 'and - conjunction'  
*cangkôy* 'hoe - noun'; 'to hoe - verb'

Only in a minority of cases does the form of a word leave no doubt as to its part of speech, for example derived words such as *peuneugöt* 'something made - noun' < *peugöt* 'make'. The infix *-eun-* used here can only form nouns.

Any cross-linguistic correspondences to classes of words in other languages are

primarily in terms of their meanings. These correspondences are expressed by the names given to the classes. In this respect there are a few characteristics of this description that may appear strange. There are two "new" parts of speech which are not usually distinguished by grammarians of Indonesian languages: the epistemological classifiers and the illocutionary markers. Also adjectives are not distinguished as a part of speech separate from verbs because there are no good formal grounds for doing this (4.6). I have endeavoured to provide a description which is economical in the number of its formal distinctions. One could distinguish adjectives on semantic grounds, or on a few very minor functional differences deriving from these semantic differences, but this would be to do violence to the system of contrasts based on major functional differences within the language. The approach adopted here thus seeks to avoid foisting parts of speech upon the language where they do not really fit.

The following parts of speech are distinguished:

- Verbs. These refer to actions, events and states. They include words with adjectival meanings such as size and colour, as well as the usual verbs like "go" and "speak".
- Nominals. These have several subcategories, including pronouns, titles, measure nouns, classifiers, numerals, quantifiers, locative nouns and demonstratives.
- Operators. These form a rather disparate class with several subcategories. Operators are used to modify other words and phrases.
- Prepositions. These are used to head prepositional phrases. Such phrases include nominals into a clause that are not direct arguments of the clause predicate.
- Epistemological classifiers. These categorise types of knowledge. From them are formed interrogatives and indefinites.
- Illocutionary Markers. These mark the illocutionary force of an utterance.
- Exclamations, Interjections and Responses. These do not require a full clause to support their occurrence. They include words like "yes", "aha", "really", "ahm", and a set of words used to address animals, like "gee-up!"
- Conjunctions. These link clauses together.



## 4. Verbs

### 4.1. Formal Characteristics

It is characteristic of Acehnese verbs that when they are used predicatively they support pronominal clitics referring to verbal arguments. (This has traditionally been regarded as inflection (Cowan 1981).)

- (4-1) **gopnyan ka=geu=jak u =keude**  
he IN 3 go to market

*He went to market.*

- (4-2) **gopnyan sakêt<sup>1</sup>=geuh**  
he sick 3

*He is sick.*

- (4-3) **ji=kap<sup>1</sup>=keuh**  
3 bite 2

*It'll bite you!*

Verbs may be used ATTRIBUTIVELY. In this case they appear after the noun and usually bear no inflection:

*ureueng=sakêt* 'sick person'

*ureueng=jak* 'person going'

Attributive usage is treated in detail in 9.1 on relativisation.

Acehnese verbs typically bear no distinctive morphological marking to indicate that they are verbs. They are not marked for aspect, mood or tense, nor do they have derivative participial constructions. They do not have the system of focus-marking verbal affixes so typical of Indonesian and Phillipines languages.

A distinctive characteristic of Acehnese is its use of complement taking verbs to express mood and aspect. Verbs are not marked directly for these categories: a complement taking verb is used instead. This precedes its complement:

- (4-4) **lôn=keumeung=jak u =keude**  
1 will go to town

*I will go to town.*

In examples (4-1) and (4-4) *ka* 'already' and *keumeung* 'will, want' are complement taking verbs, *jak* 'go' is the verb of the complement in both cases. Contrast the aspectual, complement use of *ka* - the special gloss IN (inchoative) is used for this - in (4-1) with its use in (4-5) as an independent verb.

- (4-5) **ka uroe**  
already day

*It is already day.*

The mechanics of these complementation structures are described in 9.4.

Time can be expressed using temporal adverbs:

- (4-6)    **lôn=jak baroe**  
           1    go    yesterday

*I went yesterday.*

- (4-7)    **lôn=jak singöh**  
           1    go    tomorrow

*I am going tomorrow.*

- (4-8)    **lôn=jak jinoe**  
           1    go    now

*I am going now.*

## 4.2. Verbal Argument Types

Acehnese has two main types of verbal argument. An argument which can take proclitic pronominals on the verb is termed an AGENT. One which can take enclitic pronominals is termed an UNDERGOER. The constraints of the use of these clitic pronominals are described in p201:[i]. Verbs can be classed into three groups according to the arguments they take. These are:

[i] verbs which take both an Agent and an Undergoer (4-3);

[ii] verbs which take only an Agent (4-1);

[iii] verbs which take only an Undergoer (4-2).

It is convenient to speak of verbs taking both an Agent and an Undergoer as TRANSITIVE verbs, those taking only one argument as INTRANSITIVE verbs. Note that the intransitives divide into two types: those with Agents and those with Undergoers. A second important terminological distinction is between CONTROLLED verbs, which take an Agent argument ([i] and [ii] above), and NON-CONTROLLED verbs, which take an Undergoer argument but no Agent ([iii] above). These distinctions are important in section 4.5 on verb derivation.

A third important type of verbal argument is the DATIVE. This may be expressed as a PP with the preposition *keu*, or as an independent NP (8.2, 4.4.2). Verbs taking Datives may be transitive or intransitive, as defined above; a verb cannot have a Dative as its only main argument, it must also have an Agent, an Undergoer or both. An important characteristic of Datives is that they can have a core syntactic status on a par with the Agent or Undergoer. They are not any less privileged syntactically. Some examples with prepositionally expressed Datives are:

- (4-9)    **ka=geu=bi    hadiah    keu=lôn**  
           IN 3    give present    DAT I

*He gave me a present.*



- (4-10) lôn lôn=malee keu=tuwan  
I 1 shy DAT parent-in-law

*I am shy of my parents-in-law.*

- (4-11) keu=jih hana =galak<sup>l</sup>=lôn  
DAT he NEGBE like 1

*I don't like him.*

Participants other than Agent, Undergoer and Dative are typically expressed as a prepositional phrase:

- (4-12) bek neu=peugah nyan bak=lôn  
DONT 2 tell that to I

*Don't tell me that.*

#### 4.2.1. Variable Argument Frames

Some Acehnese verbs have regular variations in the arguments they can take. This variation occurs without deriving a new verb by overt derivational morphology. It is quite distinct from the variation in arguments which such derivation almost always involves.

About thirty intransitive verbs (p66-67) can encode what is the same participant as either an Agent or an Undergoer:

- (4-13) gopnyan hana =inseueh<sup>l</sup> =geuh keu=lôn  
he NEGBE feel compassion 3 DAT I

*He has no sympathy towards me.*

- (4-14) gopnyan hana =geu=inseueh keu=lôn  
he NEGBE 3 feel compassion DAT I

*He has no sympathy towards me.*

There is a regular semantic contrast involved, which is described in 4.4.1.

Verbs with Dative arguments allow no variation in their argument status. For example, a particular verb cannot mark a participant as a Dative in one usage, and as an Undergoer or Agent in another.

A number of intransitive verbs which have the meaning of applying something to a place allow alternative frames to express these two non-Agent participants:

- (4-15) neu=têt panyöt ngôn=apuy =nyoe  
2 light lamp with flame this

*Light the lamp with this flame.*

- (4-16) neu=têt apuy =nyoe bak=panyöt  
2 light flame this at lamp

*Light this flame to the lamp.*

The two frames always use the prepositions *bak* 'at' and *ngön* 'with' of sentences (4-15) and (4-16). Thus:

	<i>thing applied</i>	<i>place</i>
<i>frame 1</i>	Undergoer	<i>bak</i> NP
<i>frame 2</i>	<i>ngön</i> NP	Undergoer

Verbs taking these frames include: (examples of arguments are given)

- lhap* 'wipe table with cloth'  
*ikat* 'tie sticks with rope'  
*rhöm* 'throw (at) mango with stone'  
*tët* 'light lamp with flame'

### 4.3. Incorporated Nominals

There are several distinct ways in which nominals can be incorporated onto the verbal phrase in post-verbal position. In all cases the suffixed nominal in question is attached directly onto the verb and bears the verbal phrase stress. The verb itself is not stressed. It and the suffixed nominal form an indivisible unit, a phrasal predicate. For example in (4-17) the verb is *jak* 'go'. It is unstressed. The locative nominal *sikula* 'school' bears the stress of the verbal phrase:

- (4-17) *ji=jak=sikula*<sup>1</sup>  
 3 go school

*He attends school.*

Incorporation is quite distinct from cliticisation of an Undergoer argument after the verb (8.6). In the latter case the verb still bears the main verb stress:

- (4-18) *peue caröng*<sup>1</sup>=*gopnyan*?  
 whether clever he

*Is he clever?*

The various incorporation strategies have the common feature that they create what is in effect a new predicate out of the verb and the incorporated nominal. However they do this without changing the underlying argument relations of the verb. The incorporated constructions do not have different Undergoer or Agent arguments from those of the base verb, although they may augment the argument set in other ways. In this respect incorporation is quite distinct from the variable argument frame possibilities described in 4.2.1, and from the verb derivations described in 4.5.

Four types of incorporation can be distinguished:

- [i] locative adjunct incorporation

- [ii] detransitivising Undergoer incorporation
- [iii] possessed Undergoer head incorporation
- [iv] locative Undergoer incorporation

#### 4.3.1. Locative Adjunct Incorporation

For certain fixed expressions involving intransitive verbs an adjunct locative NP can be incorporated after its verb:

- (4-19) **gopnyan ka=geu=woe =rumoh**  
 he IN 3 return house

*He has gone home.*

- (4-20) **ka=ji=jak=sikula si =agam=nyan**  
 IN 3 go school title boy that

*That boy is already going to school.*

Note that the Agent argument cannot intervene between the verb and the incorporated NP:

- (4-21) \***ka=ji=jak agam=nyan sikula**

The incorporated locative NP is not actually referential. A referential locative adjunct would not be incorporated. Compare the meaning of (4-20) with (4-23):

- (4-22) **soe duek rumoh=nyan**  
 who dwell house that

*Who lives in that house?*

- (4-23) **ka=ji=jak agam=nyan bak=sikula**  
 IN 3 go boy that at school

*That boy has gone to a/the school.*

#### 4.3.2. Detransitivising Undergoer Incorporation

For certain fixed expressions involving transitive verbs, an Undergoer NP can be incorporated after its verb. The result is a functionally intransitive predicate. Some common examples are:

*pajôh=bu 'dine'; literally: 'eat rice'*

*mat=jaroe 'shake hands in greeting'; literally: 'hold hands'*

*peugah=haba 'talk'; literally: 'say news/story'*

That these expressions are intransitive can be seen from their inability to mark the Agent with *lé*, normally possible for transitive Agents which follow their verb:

- (4-24) **ka=lôn=pajôh=bu (\*lê=lôn)**  
 IN 1 eat rice (by) I

*I have already eaten.*

These incorporated Undergoers, like the incorporated locative adjuncts, are not referential: contrast (4-24) with (4-25) where *bu* 'rice' is referential and contrastive:

- (4-25) **ka=lôn=pajôh bu lê=lôn**  
 IN 1 eat rice by I

*I am eating rice now (before I could eat other things, but not rice).*

#### 4.3.3. Possessed Head of Undergoer Incorporation

The logical head of an Undergoer argument can be incorporated after the verb. The possessor of the head is then free to assume all the syntactic status of an independent verbal argument. A similar construction exists for the subjects of non-verbal predicates (8.2.1). This incorporating construction is of some syntactic interest. It is discussed in 8.2.1. It is productive and very common for Undergoer arguments of transitive and intransitive verbs alike:

- (4-26) **lôn sakêt=ulee**  
 I hurt head

*My head hurts.*

- (4-27) **lôn ka=rhêt=gense**  
 I IN fall pencil

*My pencil has fallen.*

- (4-28) **ureueng=nyan ka=tutông=rumah<sup>1</sup>=geuh**  
 person that IN burnt house 3

*That person's house burnt.*

- (4-29) **gopnyan ka=lôn=têt =rumoh<sup>1</sup>=geuh**  
 he IN 1 burn house 3

*I burnt his house.*

For sentences (4-26)-(4-29) a paraphrase is possible with an independent compound Undergoer argument of head + possessor phrase:

- (4-30) **ka=lôn=têt rumah=gopnyan**  
 IN 1 burn house he

*I burnt his house.*

The possessor NP can be cross-referenced, as in (4-28)-(4-29), by pronominal enclitics. This is a standard way of marking the possessor: it is not Undergoer enclitic cross-referencing, although identical in form. Evidence that this is not Undergoer cross-referencing is that it cannot float to the right away from the verbal phrase (p201:[i]).

Compare sentence (4-31) with (4-32):

- (4-31) ureueng=nyan ka=tutōng=rumoh baroe<sup>1</sup> (\*=geuh)  
 person that IN burnt house yesterday 3

*That person's house burnt yesterday.*

- (4-32) gopnyan ka=leupah baroe<sup>1</sup> =geuh  
 he IN=pass yesterday 3

*He went yesterday.*

With intransitive verbs these constructions have an appearance of transitivity, particularly with the verb *na* 'exist, be located'. Possession in Acehnese can be expressed using *na* (or its negative counterpart *hana*) where English would use a transitive verb *have*:

- (4-33) lōn mantōng=na=ayah  
 I still BE father

*I still have a father.*

- (4-34) jih hana =bajee  
 he NEGBE shirt

*He doesn't have a shirt.*

- (4-35) gopnyan na=aneuk<sup>1</sup>=geuh duwa  
 he BE=child 3 two

*He has two children.*

Sentences such as these can be paraphrased with a single NP:

- (4-36) ayah =lōn mantōng=na  
 father I still BE

*I still have a father - my father is still alive.*

The possessed head can be interrogated. In this case it is preposed before the verb: see p263:[ii].

#### 4.3.4. Locative Undergoer Incorporation

There is a construction where an Undergoer argument of an intransitive verb is incorporated after the verb. This verb typically has a locative meaning and, if used without incorporation, the sense is that the Undergoer argument is located at some specified place in a particular way. For example the verb *keunōng* means 'to happen, to strike, to occur' and its Undergoer argument is the thing that strikes or occurs:

- (4-37) ujeuen ka=keunōng bak=lōn  
 rain IN struck at I

*The rain came in on me.*

- (4-38) ka=keunöng buleuen=sa  
IN struck month one

*It is the first month already.*

When the Undergoer is incorporated, the location of the happening or striking assumes the syntactic status of a Core Role, and the compound verb + incorporated Undergoer phrase is its predicate. The location must be thought of as affected:

- (4-39) lön ka=keunöng=ujeuen  
I IN=struck rain

*I got some rain on me.*

Cross-referencing of the additional argument is possible:

- (4-40) asee=nyan keunöng=geulawa<sup>1</sup>=jih  
dog that struck stick 3

*That dog was hit by a stick.*

By far the commonest verb to be used in this construction is *keunöng* 'occur, strike, coincide':

- (4-41) gopnyan keunöng=peunyakët  
he struck sickness

*The sickness got to him.*

- (4-42) jih ka=keunöng=seurapa=ureueng=chik  
he IN struck curse person old

*His parents' curse affected him.*

- (4-43) jih ka=keunöng=beudë  
he IN struck bullet

*He has been struck by a bullet.*

As can be seen from these examples, locative Undergoer incorporation would often be translated by a transitive English verb.

A few other verbs besides *keunöng* can take this construction:

- (4-44) rumoh<sup>1</sup>=lön rap =krueng  
house 1 near river

*My house is near the river.*

- (4-45) gop =pajöh boh =panah geutanyoe meuligan=geutah  
other eat fruit jackfruit we dirtying sap

*Someone else eats jackfruit; we get the sap on us. (a proverb)*

- (4-46) jih ka=tamöng=jën  
he IN enter spirit

*He has been entered by a spirit.*

This last example is rather idiosyncratic, *tamöng* 'enter' normally being a controlled intransitive verb; here it is treated as a non-controlled verb.

The incorporated locative Undergoer can be interrogated. In this case it is preposed before the verb: see p263:[ii].

#### 4.4. Verbal Semantics

The most fundamental semantic characteristics of Acehnese verbs are those which relate to their argument semantics. It is in terms of argument semantics that this section is organised. It needs to be kept in mind that the terms AGENT and UNDERGOER refer to grammatical categories defined in terms of the cross-referencing they take (4.2).

##### 4.4.1. Agents and Undergoers

One semantic characteristic of the Acehnese Agent is quite predictable and can be stated simply. It is always true of the Agent that *something happens because the Agent wants it and because of this everything else follows*.<sup>1</sup> Of course there may be consequences which exceed the intention of the Agent; only an initiating happening need be specified as intentional. To consider an English example, (4-47) might be analysed as: *something happens to Bill because of something that happens to a bullet because of something that happens to a gun because of something that happens to Fred's finger* (it pulled the trigger) *because Fred wanted it* (the finger to pull the trigger).

(4-47) *Fred shot Bill.*

Fred's intentions may extend further than his finger. He may have been intending to discharge the gun, but not in Bill's direction. This however is less important than Fred's initial intention. Similarly, for Acehnese *jak* 'go, walk' (sentence (4-48)): *something happens to the walker* (he moves forward) *because of something which happens to his legs because he wants it* (his legs to move).

(4-48) *lön teungöh=lön=jak*  
I middle 1 go

*I am going/walking.*

Because the Acehnese Agent is necessarily a wanting participant it follows that all in Acehnese Agents must be animate.

What is the semantic characteristic of the Acehnese Undergoer? In the case of the Agent it is that its wanting is the ultimate (the initial) cause. It is true of the Undergoer that it is involved in the ultimate (the final) effect - 'ultimate' in the sense of the semantic representation of the verb: there may be further consequences not expressed in the meaning of the verb but these are irrelevant. In an Acehnese sentence equivalent to (4-47)

<sup>1</sup>For this semantic explication I owe much to Wierzbicka semantics, a sophisticated and powerful methodology of semantic analysis. See in particular Wierzbicka (1980).

*Bill* would be the Undergoer because he is involved in the primary event for which all others are causes. But in (4-49) the primary event is the gun's discharge. *Bill* is a locative adjunct to what happens to the gun: *something happens to the gun because of something that happens to Fred's finger because Fred wanted it: the gun was pointing at Bill.*

(4-49) *Fred shot the gun at Bill.*

It is not sufficient to simply say that the Undergoer is the affected participant since all participants may be affected to varying degrees. What is crucial is that the Undergoer is the ultimately affected participant. What happens to it is because of everything else. By this way of thinking the definition of Undergoer can be applied to states as well as events. The chain of causation may involve states rather than events, with the Undergoer involved in the ultimate state. For example the intransitive verb *galak* 'happy' can also have a Dative argument, in which case its meaning is 'like'. Examples (4-50) and (4-51) illustrate this.

(4-50) *gopnyan galak* | =geuh that  
 he happy 3 very

*He is very happy.*

(4-51) *gopnyan galak* | =geuh that *keu=lôn*  
 he like 3 very DAT I

*He likes me a lot.*

For the 'like' use of *galak* something is said about *gopnyan* 'he' (e.g. he is happy) because of something about *lôn* 'I' (e.g. I am *gôt* 'pleasing, good'). In English too one likes things because they are pleasing, not the other way round. (4-52) is nonsense, but (4-53) is just rather cumbersome.

(4-52) \**Fred is pleasing to Bill because Bill likes him.*

(4-53) *Bill likes Fred because Fred is pleasing to him.*

When an event is described as having two participants but no intention, Acehnese allows only one Undergoer and no Agent, so one of the participants must be an oblique, as in (4-54).

(4-54) *ulee=lôn mupök bak =tameh*  
 head I bump against pillar

*My head bumped the pillar.*

As (4-54) shows, Undergoers may be inanimate, unlike Agents.

When a participant is both the ultimate intentional causer and the object of the ultimate effect it has semantic characteristics of both Agent and Undergoer, but it is invariably the Agent, with proclitic cross-referencing. Intention is more dominant than effect at the syntactic level. *jak* 'go, walk' is a good example. The class of intransitive verbs taking either an Agent or an Undergoer argument provides an interesting example of this. *galak* 'like' is a typical example. It is described above as having an Undergoer as liker and an oblique as what is liked, but it is also used in an intentional sense, with an Agent liker, as in (4-55).



- (4-55) **gata bek ta=galak keu=dara=nyan**  
 you DONT 2 like DAT girl that

*Don't you take a fancy to that girl.*

In this use of *galak* the liker *gata* 'you' is thought of as being able to choose to like the girl. A similar example comes from expressive usage. *matê* 'die' almost always has an Undergoer argument, but in the context of martyrdom in holy battle it can be intentional, taking an Agent, as in (4-56).

- (4-56) **rila ji=matê**  
 ready 3 die

*He was ready to go to his death.*

Besides the possibility for some words like *galak* of directly taking either an Agent or an Undergoer, the various derivative verbal morphemes can alter the argument roles of a particular root. The prefix *meu-* (4.5.3.2) can add the element of control to a basically uncontrolled root. Other morphemes delete or reduce the element of control, leaving an intransitive verb with an Undergoer. The simplest case is for a controlled intransitive root verb. The root Agent argument corresponds to the derivative Undergoer argument. The inherent Undergoer semantics of this argument is only revealed when its agentivity is suppressed. For example from the controlled verbs *jak* 'go' and *dông* 'stand' one gets *teu-jak* and *teu-dông*, as in (4-57) and (4-58).

- (4-57) **jih teu=jak teu=dông lagee =ureueng=gadôh=tuwah**  
 he DC go DC stand manner person lost mind

*He is wandering about stopping and starting as though out of his mind.*

- (4-58) **di=po =rimueng ka=teu-dông geunirêng=cidue**  
 FM lord tiger IN DC -stand beside branch

*The tiger (shocked) stopped up short next to a branch.*

These examples involve situations where the participant is not fully aware of himself, functioning with a defective or inconsistent will. The body has a will of its own. *teu-dông* can also be used for erect inanimate posture, with no element of control at all, as in (4-59).

- (4-59) **neu=pula batee=nyan beu=teu-dông**  
 2 plant stone that DES DC -stand

*Put in that stone so that it stands upright.*

Verbs of bodily or mental activity are often described as involuntary by using a decontrolled derivative, although their roots are usually controlled, as in (4-60) and (4-62).

- (4-60) **jih teu-batôk-batôk**  
 he DC -cough-cough

*He is coughing and coughing.*

- (4-61) **si=amat teu-khêm lagee =raya**  
Mr Amat DC smile manner big

*Amat is smiling (for joy).*

- (4-62) **beu=neu-ingat keu=lôn**  
DES 2 -remember DAT me

*Remember me!*

- (4-63) **gopnyan ka=han=teu-ingat<sup>l</sup> =geuh keu=lôn**  
he IN NEG DC -remember 3 DAT me

*He has forgotten me.*

Involuntary states may imply a stronger intensity of feeling, as in (4-64).

- (4-64) **jih teu-galak-galak keu=aneuk=dara=nyan**  
he DC -like -like DAT child girl that

*He is infatuated with that girl.*

When the root verb is transitive the result of decontrol is more complicated. The verbal semantic component characteristic of the Undergoer does not usually change - the same participant is involved in the ultimate effect - so the derivative has the same Undergoer. However the Agent's semantic characteristic is omitted from the meaning of the verb, so the initiating participant, deprived of its causative intention, cannot figure as a Core Role (8.2). At best it can be an oblique. It may still be thought of as a cause, but not an intending one.

- (4-65) **gopnyan na=lôn=timbak<sup>l</sup>=geuh**  
he BE 1 shoot 3

*I shot him.*

- (4-66) **teu-timbak<sup>l</sup>=geuh baroe**  
DC -shoot 3 yesterday

*He was accidentally shot yesterday.*

Example (4-66) has no Agent cross-referenced. If an argument occurs which would normally be an Agent it can only appear in an oblique-like phrase, as in (4-67), but it is strange to mention the cutter at all.

- (4-67) **bak =kayee=nyan ka=meu -koh (lê=lôn)**  
CLASS wood that IN INTR cut (by I)

*I accidentally cut down that tree.*

In accidental uses such as in sentence (4-67) the subjective, interpretive nature of meaning is particularly obvious. The activity of cutting down the tree is intrinsically intentional. The speaker could quite truthfully also have referred to his cutting down the tree as a controlled action. The accident was not that he cut down a tree, but that he cut down the wrong tree. Sentence (4-67) has a semantic component something like: *not because I wanted that tree to be cut down*. It is important here that controlled and non-controlled

uses of the same verb are not logically contradictory: they represent different ways of viewing the same event.

These non-controlled derivatives are most commonly used not for accidental actions but to indicate either a completed state or a state of ability, with no reference to an initiator. In the first case an initiator may be inferred by the hearer but, as for *broken* in English, it is not explicitly mentioned. Examples (4-69), (4-70) and (4-71) illustrate this completed state use.

- (4-68) lôn=crôh pisang  
1 fry banana

*I am frying bananas.*

- (4-69) pisang=nyan ka=teu-crôh  
banana that IN DC -fry

*Those bananas are already fried.*

- (4-70) eungkôt=teu-crôh  
fish DC -fry

*fried fish*

- (4-71) boh =u =nyan ka=teu-proh  
fruit coconut that IN DC -split

*That coconut is split. (Maybe it fell, maybe someone did it.)*

In the second case the abilitative use expresses whether the Undergoer can undergo the effect described. Since no action is involved there is no causal intention, as in (4-72) and (4-73).

- (4-72) krueng=nyan h'an=teu-langue  
river that NEG DC -swim

*That river cannot be swum.*

The root verb *langue* 'swim' is transitive, taking the thing swum as its Undergoer.

- (4-73) teu-peu-lingkông beusoe=nyan  
DC -CAUS-bend iron that

*That iron is bendable.*

The verb *ngieng* 'see' provides a fascinating illustration of these ideas. Wierzbicka (1980:109) gives a carefully argued explication of *see*. I have adapted this as follows, adding an element of intention:

Fred saw the moon -

Fred could say something about the moon  
*because* something happened in Fred's eyes

this something happened  
*because* the moon was in a place in front of Fred's eyes and  
*because* Fred had his eyes open

Fred had his eyes open  
because he wanted to

At the level of the ultimate effect (Fred could say something about the moon) both the moon and Fred are mentioned. This is a statement about Fred and the moon, so presumably either could be the Undergoer. One might expect that Fred would be the preferred Undergoer because if there were a further effect of *Fred could say something about the moon* it would involve Fred rather than the moon. For example Fred might feel sad, or happy, or peaceful at seeing the moon; he might realise it was night, and so on. One could imagine a context with an animate see-ee where the see-ee might suffer a further effect - a naked person might be ashamed at being seen - but in the case of the moon this could not happen. However Fred must be the Agent by virtue of his intentionally holding his eyes open so the Undergoer can only be the moon. This indeed is what happens in Acehnese, as in example (4-74).

(4-74) baroe            gopnyan na=lôn=ngieng<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
yesterday he            BE 1 see            3

*I saw him yesterday.*

But what happens when intention is modified? The abilitative derivative with *teu-* omits the see-ee altogether, transforming the see-er into Undergoer, as in (4-75).

(4-75) gopnyan hana=deuh    teu-ngieng<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
he            NEG visible DC -see            3

*He cannot see clearly.*

There is also an accidental derivative with *teu-*. In this case the act of having ones eyes open may be intentional, but what one sees is not included in the class of things that one was holding ones eyes open for. One might see something quite unexpected, perhaps even unwanted, as for example someone bathing naked. (The contrast in meaning between this and the normal use of *ngieng* is completely different from that between *see* and *look* in English.) In this case the agreement gets all mixed up. The see-er is cross-referenced as Undergoer, supplanting the cross-referencing of the see-ee, but the noun phrases themselves are marked as for normal seeing. For example in (4-78), the see-er noun phrase is marked by *lê*, the normal marking for Agents of transitive verbs; compare (4-78) with (4-76) and (4-77). Moreover although the see-ee is not cross-referenced on the verb it nevertheless appears after the verb as an unmarked noun phrase, which is typical of normal Undergoers; compare (4-78) with (4-77).

(4-76) ureueng=nyan na=ta-ngieng<sup>1</sup>=geuh lê=gata baroe  
person that BE 2 -see            3            by you yesterday

*You saw that person yesterday.*

(4-77) na=ta-ngieng ureueng=nyan lê=gata baroe  
BE 2 see            person that by you yesterday

*You saw that person yesterday.*

- (4-78) na=teu-ngiang<sup>l</sup>=teuh ureueng=nyan lë=gata baroe  
BE DC -see 2 person that by you yesterday

*You accidentally saw that person yesterday.*

Other verbs of sensation such as *deungö* 'hear' do not manifest the unusual characteristics of *ngiang*. This is presumably because hearing requires less initial volition: you have to open your eyes to see but your ears are always open.

The causative prefix *peu-* usually alters the element of intention. The most interesting cases are where the set of arguments used does not change. For example in (4-79) and (4-80) the same three arguments are used.

- (4-79) ka=lön=bloe kameng bak=jih  
IN 1 buy goat at him

*I bought a goat from him.*

- (4-80) ka=ji=pu- bloe kameng keu=lön  
IN 3 CAUS-buy goat DAT I

*He sold a goat to me.*

The ultimate effect of these two sentences is the same and it concerns the goat. Above all something is happening to the goat; the contrast between the two sentences is in the attribution of control. In the first sentence the buyer is the doer, in the second it is the seller. In English we make a similar contrast between *buy* and *sell*. If we were angry with a used-car dealer for selling us a bad car we would attribute responsibility to the seller by using *sell*: 'That crook sold me a lemon!', not: 'I bought a lemon from that crook!'. If we were to buy an item by mail from a catalogue we would not say 'World Record Club sold me that record', but 'I bought that record from World Record Club'.

An interesting characteristic of causatives is that they can allow two intending participant roles, as for example *peu-jak* 'cause to walk', where the causer is exercising his will to bring the walker to walk, and the walker, under the influence of the causer, is exercising HIS will to go through the motions of walking. The causer is the ultimate intending initiator, and therefore it is the Agent. The walker, not able to be Agent, is Undergoer, thus revealing its inherent Undergoer semantics:

- (4-81) teungö<sup>h</sup>=geu=peu-jak aneuk=miet<sup>l</sup>=geuh  
middle 3 CAUS-go child small 3

*He is walking his child.*

There are also two inherently intending participants for *bloe* 'buy': the buyer and the seller. However the buyer is thought of as the ultimately responsible controller. For *pu-bloe* 'sell' it is the seller who is thought of as initiating the transaction.

#### 4.4.2. Datives

The Dative is the third main argument type after Agents and Undergoers. Some formal characteristics of Datives are given in 8.2. Dative arguments can be encoded as NP's or as PP's with the preposition *keu*. They can express two distinct semantic types:

[i] the goal of a transitive verb:

- (4-82) (keu=)jih ka=lôn=bi peng  
 (DAT) he IN 1 give money

*I gave him some money.*

[ii] the object of emotion of an intransitive verb: the person or thing about which one is feeling something:

- (4-83) h'an=galak<sup>l</sup>=geuh (keu=)u =muda  
 NEG like 3 (DAT) coconut young

*He doesn't like young coconut.*

For verbs taking a goal Dative, the Agent is the source and the Undergoer the thing transferred. A Dative argument is possible only with a small number of verbs: I am only certain of *b(r)i* 'give' and *jök* 'give'. Many verbs are like *publoe* 'sell' which has an Agent seller and an Undergoer and the thing sold, but the goal - the buyer - can only be expressed as a PP. Thus *keu* in sentence (4-84) cannot be omitted:

- (4-84) keu=jih ka=lôn=publoe leumo  
 DAT he IN 1 sell cow

*I sold him a cow.*

Other verbs like *publoe* which allow only a prepositional goal are *peusiwa* 'rent' and *ba* 'take'.

The verbs taking an object of emotion Dative form a much larger class. They include both controlled and non-controlled intransitives. (Some are given in the lists on pp64,65,66.) The experiencer of the emotion is an Agent or an Undergoer, depending on whether the verb is controlled or not:

- (4-85) hana =ka=takôt sa =peue  
 NEGBE 2 fear one what

*You are not afraid of anything.*

- (4-86) gopnyan hana =peureumeun<sup>l</sup>=geuh buet=lagee=nyan  
 he NEGBE care 3 work way that

*He doesn't care about work like that.*

Objects of emotion in Acehnese are never expressed as Agents or Undergoers. They are always Datives. Dative objects of emotion do not have the semantic characteristics of either an Agent or an Undergoer. This is discussed in 4.4.1: see p56 in particular.

#### 4.4.3. Subgroups of Intransitive Verbs

Verbs that are intransitive in their root forms can be divided into three groups:

- those that take only an Agent;

- those that take only an Undergoer;
- and those have variable arguments, allowing both.

What semantic principles can account for the membership of a particular verb root in one of these subgroups? The semantic component of control - that of the Agent - is not always in itself a sufficient criterion: many roots allow this semantic component to be altered by the application of a derivative affix. One would prefer to consider the general semantic characteristics of a state or action apart from a consideration of whether it is controlled in particular instances. This may not always be possible, since the presence or absence of control may in fact be inherent in the verb's meaning in a way which cannot be altered, even by a derivative affix. For example *ék* 'feel the urge to, feel up to, like (food)' takes an Undergoer argument and contrasts minimally with *tém* 'want to, choose to' which takes an Agent. Neither of these two verbs can take an affix to alter the element of control in their semantics. With the exception of such verbs as these, one can usually deduce from certain semantic characteristics whether a verb root will be controlled or not in a particular instance. As a general principle it is true that a root verb takes the argument type which would most naturally be associated with its more general semantic characteristics. Walking, as a human activity, is most naturally controlled, so the root verb *jak* 'go' takes an Agent. Some verbs like *galak* 'like' whose semantic characteristics do not naturally incline them to either Agents or Undergoers may compromise by allowing either argument type.

It is significant that the meaning of a derivative verb is usually rather less general than that of its base, with more restricted connotations. Thus *teu-jak* 'walk aimlessly' implies that the walker is confused or thoughtless. Similarly *meu-tajam* 'to race' from *tajam* 'fast' implies the special context of a race. There are certain types of intransitive verbs which would seem to contradict this general principle. Verbs for bodily activities, for example, all have controlled roots. This makes sense for verbs like *manoe* 'bathe', *khêm* 'smile, laugh' and *tôh* 'excrete', but not for *muntah* 'vomit' and *beureusên* 'sneeze'. In this case there is a general principle that all bodily activities have controlled root verbs, although they may very often be used in their non-controlled derivative forms, as in sentences (4-60) and (4-61).

Here is a list of intransitive verbs, grouped according to their meanings and particularly their semantics of control. A minimum of comment is provided.

## Controlled Verbs

(Taking an Agent)

Animate posture or motion:

- beudöh* 'get up (from sitting or lying)'
- cruap* 'lie on stomach'
- dông* 'stand'
- ék* 'go up'
- éh* 'lie down to rest or sleep'
- iem* 'be still'

*jak* 'go'  
*lôp* 'enter'  
*trên* 'descend (e.g. steps)'

Bodily activity, including speech:

*batôk* 'cough'  
*beureusên* 'sneeze'  
*hah* 'open mouth'  
*khêm* 'laugh, smile'  
*klik* 'cry'  
*muntah* 'vomit'  
*manoe* 'bathe'  
*marit* 'talk'  
*seuôt* 'answer'

Thought/mental activity:

*agak* 'guess, suppose'  
*ingat* 'think of, remember'  
*kira* 'think'  
*lumpoe* 'dream'  
*pham* 'understand'  
*rasa* 'think, suppose'  
*tupeue* 'know what'  
*tusoe* 'know who'  
*tupal* 'know where'  
*waham* 'imagine, think'

Some emotions:

*chên* 'love, feel sympathy for'  
*dam* 'envy, hate'  
*keumeung* 'want, like'  
*têm* 'want, like'

## Non-Controlled Verbs

### (Taking an Undergoer)

Events not specifically animate:

*beureutôh* 'explode'  
*jeuet* 'become'  
*leupah* 'pass, reach'  
*reubah* 'topple over'  
*rhêt* 'fall'  
*rô* 'spill'  
*trôh* 'happen, arrive'



States not specifically animate, and quantifiers and numerals (5.9):

- bagah* 'fast'
- beukah* 'broken'
- brök* 'rotten'
- bulut* 'wet'
- göt* 'good'
- habéh* 'finish, used up'
- hana* 'not exist, not be located'
- jula* 'late'
- ka* 'already be'
- lheueh* 'loose'
- leumah* 'visible'
- mangat* 'delicious'
- mirah* 'red'
- na* 'exist, be located'
- panyang* 'tall'
- rayeuk* 'big'
- sijuek* 'cold'
- tan* 'not be, not exist'
- trêp* 'long (time)'
- tuha* 'old'

Many emotions:

- beureuhi* 'desire'
- deungki* 'envy'
- êk* 'like, feel inclined'
- kanjay* 'ashamed'
- ku'eh* 'envy'
- napsu* 'desire, lust'
- seudéh* 'sad'
- seugan* 'not want to'
- seunang* 'happy'
- teugiyen* 'desire'

Enduring personal attributes:

- beuhë* 'brave'
- beuö* 'lazy'
- caröng* 'clever'
- gasa* 'rude'
- gasién* 'poor'
- jeumöt* 'diligent'
- ngeut* 'stupid'

State of alertness:

- dawök* 'engrossed, concerned'

Pathological bodily or mental states:

*gatai* 'itchy'  
*gli* 'ticklish'  
*mabòk* 'drunk, high, seasick'  
*mumang* 'confused'  
*sakêt* 'sick, hurting'

## Variable Controlled/Non-Controlled Verbs

(Taking an Agent or an Undergoer)

There are a few instances of variable Agent/Undergoer verbs which involve metaphorical Agency. These are described in 4.4.4.

Many emotions:

*banci* 'hate'  
*beungeh* 'angry'  
*cinta* 'love'  
*galak* 'like'  
*gasêh* 'love, favour'  
*inseuch* 'feel compassion'  
*luwat* 'disgusted'  
*peureumeun* 'care'  
*rila* 'content, satisfied, feel ready'  
*sayang* 'like, feel sympathy for'  
*susah* 'unhappy, find things difficult'  
*takôt* 'afraid'  
*weueh* 'feel moved by'

Thought/mental activity:

*syök* 'suspect'  
*thee* 'know how to, intuit'  
*tuwö* 'forget'  
*yakin* 'believe, be sincere'

State of alertness:

*jaga* 'awake, keeping watch'

Ability and probability:

*jeuet* 'able'  
*keuneuk* 'likely to'

Beginning and ending:

*mulayi* 'begin'  
*piyöh* 'stop'

Motion:

*hanyöt* 'float, drown, buzz off!'

*ilê* 'flow, buzz off!'  
*teubiet* 'come out'  
*teuka* 'arrive'

*hanyöt* and *ilê* are used as genuinely controlled verbs only in the context of telling someone to 'get lost, buzz off or rack off'. In their literal meanings involving water flow *hanyöt* always takes an Undergoer and *ilê* can take an ordinary Undergoer, but can also take a metaphorical Agent (4.4.4). The contrast in meaning is idiosyncratic to these two verbs. *teubiet* is used with an Agent for animate motion and with an Undergoer for inanimate motion, but compare also its use with metaphorical Agency (sentence (4-97)).

Life and death:

*matê* 'die, dead'  
*udêp* 'live, alive'

Attitude, status, behaviour to others:

*horeumat* 'polite'  
*kaya* 'rich, act rich'  
*kiyanat* 'false, treacherous'  
*malee* 'shy, ashamed'  
*saba* 'patient'  
*seumatêh* 'obedient, credulous'

#### 4.4.4. Metaphorical Agency

There are certain regular usages which involve proclitic cross-referencing on verbs even though the semantic characterisation of Agents is not met (4.4.1): the argument corresponding to the Agent is not animate and thus is not an intentional initiator of the state or event being described. These usages are exceptions to the semantic characterisation, but they are metaphorical in a natural way and present no serious problems for the general validity of the characterisation. Five different types of metaphor can be distinguished:

[i] Human organisations may be regarded as animate and the ability to will something may be attributed to them. This sort of thing is natural enough and hardly needs comment. The cross-referencing clitic may be third person *ji=*, familiar, or *geu=*, polite; depending on the degree of respect one wanted to convey:

(4-87) *keu=jih ka=geu=bi peng lê=pomeurintah*  
 DAT he IN 3 give money by government

*The government has given him some money.*

[ii] A body of teachings, an argument for something, or something said may be treated as animate. The cross-referencing may be *ji=* or *geu=*:

- (4-88) geutanyoe ta =beuet nyang=geu=yue l =agama  
 we 1inc read REL 3 order by religion

*We read what religion tells us to.*

[iii] Moving vehicles controlled by humans can be used as Agent arguments of motion verbs which would otherwise only be used for animate motion. The cross-referencing clitic is always third person familiar *ji=*:

- (4-89) peurah  ji=woe di=la t ji=me eungk t ub  -ub  raya  
 canoe 3 return at sea 3 bring fish size size big

*Canoes return from the sea bringing huge fish.*

- (4-90) apol  ji=ph  u =buleuen  
 Apollo 3 fly to moon

*The Apollo flew to the moon.*

[iv] Natural processes involving water, wind, rain, cloud, mist, lightning, the sun, sound generation, spreading sickness and natural increase can be expressed with proclitic cross-referencing. The cross-referencing clitic is third person familiar *ji=*:

- (4-91) ujeuen ji=t h ie =raya=pi ji=teuka  
 rain 3 excrete water big too 3 arrive

*The rain fell and the floods came.*

- (4-92) bak =kayee=nyoe ka=ji=rheueng l =ie u =darat  
 tree wood this IN 3 drive by water to shore

*This tree was driven onto the shore by the water.*

- (4-93) keureutah ka=ji=pu -ph  l =angen  
 paper IN 3 CAUS fly by wind

*The wind blew the paper into the air.*

- (4-94) ji -beud h sag p  
 3 -stand up mist

*Mist appeared.*

- (4-95) buleuen ka=ji=t p l =awan  
 moon IN 3 cover by cloud

*The moon has been covered by cloud.*

- (4-96) teungku=Johan ka=ji=tak l =geulanteue  
 scholar Johan IN 3 strike by lightning

*Mr Johan was struck by lightning.*

- (4-97) mata=uroe ka=ji=teubiet  
 eye day IN 3 come out

*The sun has come out/risen.*

- (4-98) meungnyo ta =peh bacut -bacut hana =göt ji=meusu  
 if linc hit little little NEGBE good 3 make sound

*If one hits (the drum) softly (it) won't make a good sound.*

- (4-99) ka=ji=timoh kude  
 IN 3 sprout ringworm

*Ringworm has broken out.*

- (4-100) jagông=lôn göt =that ji=beudöh  
 corn I good very 3 stand up

*My corn is growing up very well.*

Treating such things as animate is quite a common feature of natural languages (Bally 1919). Most of the verbs used in this way normally have animate Agents. Many are verbs of animate motion and posture.

[v] Certain expressions of ability involve non-Agentive use of the third person familiar clitic *ji=*. Two cases may be distinguished: in the first there is an argument which corresponds to an Agent in certain semantic respects (though not that of control); in the second case there is no argument corresponding to an Agent. The following examples illustrate the first case:

- (4-101) parang=tumpöy ta =teumeutak h'an=ji=pajöh  
 parang blunt linc chop NEG 3 eat

*A blunt parang (large knife) won't cut (no matter how much) you chop away.*

- (4-102) breueh=nyoe ji=theun peuet=uroe treuk  
 rice this 3 endure four day more

*This rice will last four days more.*

The second case involves only the verbs *têm* 'want' and *theun* 'endure'. Most examples known are negative. In abilitative usage there is no argument corresponding to the wanter of *têm* or the endurer of *theun*:

- (4-103) h'an=ji=têm =masak boh =drien =nyan  
 NEG 3 want ripe fruit durian that

*[It] doesn't want that durian fruit to ripen: i.e. the durian won't ripen.*

- (4-104) lôn h'an=ji=têm =teungeut  
 I NEG 3 want sleep

*[It] doesn't want me to sleep: I can't get to sleep.*

- (4-105) lôn=mita habêh=lagee tapi hana =ji=têm =meuteumeung  
 I seek all way but NEGBE 3 want found, happen

*I tried all ways to look for [food], but [it] did not want [food] to be found: [food] was not to be found.*

- (4-106) h'an=ji=theun<sup>1</sup>=lê ureueng=lam=prahô=nyan  
NEG 3 endure more person in canoe that

[It] cannot bear people in the canoe any more.

Acehnese pronouns are all animate, thus *jih* or *gopnyan* 'he/she' could not be used to refer to any of these inanimate entities. However the reduced forms of the pronouns, *ji=* and *geu=* are used to "cross-reference" the metaphorical Agent arguments. This use of pronominal cross-referencing is quite distinct from its use with truly animate entities where the clitics are fully referential. Varying degrees of metaphorical animacy could be distinguished for these non-Agent proclitics. Closest to the truly animate usage would be those of paragraphs [i] and [ii] above, for these allow a distinction of politeness to be expressed, even though the metaphorical Agents are not human. Less referential than these would come the usages listed in the next two paragraphs; those with inanimate motion and natural processes. They also have a metaphorical Agent which has semantic characteristics (other than control) of the argument which would normally be Agent but no distinction of politeness can be expressed. Furthest from true animate usage is the abilitative use with *têm* where there is no argument which in any sense corresponds to the Agent. It is interesting that in a poetic context the proclitic can be referential and even second person:

- (4-107) hay ujeuen bek ka=tôh ilee  
hey rain DONT 2 excrete now

*Hey rain, don't you rain yet.*

In some syntactic respects metaphorical Agents of transitive verbs involving natural processes behave more like Undergoers than Agents. For true Agents the full NP can be cliticised in place of the reduced pronominal clitic, thus:

- (4-108) ka=aneuk=nyan=jak  
IN child that go

*That child has gone.*

This is not generally possible for metaphorical Agents:

- (4-109) \*ka=ujeuen=tôh  
IN rain excrete

*It has rained.*

Moreover these metaphorical Agents can have their possessed head incorporated after the verb, with a possessor topicalisation, just like an Undergoer (4.3.3):

- (4-110) aneuk=nyan golom =ji=timoh =tek  
child that not yet 3 sprout breast

*That girl has not yet begun to grow breasts.*

Metaphorical proclitic cross-referencing occurs with some intransitive verbs which would otherwise take Undergoer arguments. For example the verb *timoh* 'sprout' as used in sentences (4-99) takes metaphorical proclitic cross-referencing, but in its normal sense

of plant growth it takes an Undergoer argument:

- (4-111) *ka*=(*\*ji*)*timoh padê*  
 IN 3 sprout rice plant

*The rice has sprouted.*

The verbs *teubiet* 'go out' and *trôh* 'arrive' are similar cases. They are normally used with an Undergoer for inanimate motion, but they can take metaphorical Agent cross-referencing: with *teubiet* for the sun's motion, as in sentence (4-97), and with *trôh* for the appearance of emotions:

- (4-112) *ji*=*trôh dam dalam=dada*  
 3 arrive hate in breast

*He has a grudge.*

The verb *ilê* 'flow' can be used with a metaphorical Agent or simply with an Undergoer to refer to water flow (and see p67 for an idiomatic use with a true Agent).

- (4-113) *ie =krueng=nyoe tajam=that (ji=) ilê*  
 water river this fast very (3) flow

*The water in this river flows very fast.*

A similar case is *muboh* 'bear fruit':

- (4-114) *bak =kayee=nyan ka=(ji=) muboh*  
 tree wood that IN (3) bear fruit

*That tree has borne fruit/is bearing fruit.*

For *muboh* there appears to be a contrast in meaning expressed in the use of metaphorical Agent cross-referencing. With the proclitic the sense is active - the tree has given forth fruit - without the proclitic the sense is static -the tree has fruit on it. Like *muboh* are *mupucôk* 'sprout' and *meukheue* 'grow roots' (see p90).

#### 4.5. Verb Derivation

The major verb-forming morphemes of Acehnese have four underlying phonological forms: three prefixes, *teu-*, *meu-*, *peu-* and the infix *-eum-*. These have a variety of allomorphs. The rules determining allomorphy of the prefixes and the roots they attach to are given in 3.3.1, but the rules for infixing *-eum-* are given below in this section because these are idiosyncratic to this morpheme. Of these forms, the respective functions of *teu-*, *peu-* and *-eum-* can be characterised in a distinctive way and each one is treated as representing a single morpheme. *meu-*, however, has several distinct functions that cannot be regarded as similar and it is appropriate to distinguish several morphemes having this form. This analysis does not imply that each morpheme has only one function with one strictly defined meaning. On the contrary, morphemes manifest regular polysemy in much the same way that individual words can be regularly polysemous, but the range of functions and meanings is limited and characteristic functional and semantic features can be defined for the morpheme. For example *teu-* derives verbs with the common charac-

teristic that they have no Agent and thus no semantic component of control: the meaning may refer to an accidental event, an involuntary event, a state of ability, or a resultant state (4.4.1).

In addition to these main verb deriving morphemes there are a few of lesser significance which are treated after the main morphemes.

Two conventions are used for describing derivatives:

[i] The symbol *X* is used to refer to the meaning of the root word.

[ii] When a root is a verb, the correspondences between the meaning expressed by its argument and that expressed by the derivative's argument are represented as follows:

$$\begin{array}{l} A_r \approx A_d \\ U_r \approx A_d \end{array}$$

*A* stands for the semantics of an Agent (including the meaning of control) and *U* stands for the semantics of an Undergoer. The left side of the equation represents the root, the right side the derivative. This particular representation would be used when the root has both an Agent and an Undergoer argument and the derivative is a intransitive with a middle meaning. An example of this particular derivation would be *sadeue* 'to lean (something), tr.' as the root and *meusadeue* 'to lean (oneself), intr.' as the derivative.

#### 4.5.1. *TEU-*

*teu-* applies to a controlled root verb to form a non-controlled derivative. In other words derivatives with *teu-* have no Agent argument. *teu-* is glossed in examples with DC 'DeControlled'. There is a *meu-* derivative affix with a function and meaning only slightly different from *teu-*. The differences between these two morphemes are discussed on page 86. Four different types of non-controlled meanings can be expressed with *teu-*:

[i] accidental actions (actual event): there is an initiating participant who corresponds to an Agent, but the result of this participant's initiative is not fully what was intended;

[ii] involuntary events or states (actual event or state): there is a suspension or a complete absence of the normal control exercised by the Agent - the participant corresponding to the Agent is not in full control or has no control at all;

[iii] states of ability (preceding state): a state of ability is described, not an actual event or state and no reference is made to an Agent;

[iv] resultant states (resulting state): a state resulting from an event is described and no reference is made to an Agent.

The semantic characteristics of these uses are discussed in 4.4.1 in the general context of verbal semantics. They are considered here according to the various types of root verbs *teu-* can apply to:

[i] With non-controlled intransitive roots:



$$U_r \approx U_d$$

I know only two examples of this. It is natural that non-controlled verbs should not take *teu-* since *teu-* would add nothing to their semantics: it would be a vacuous affix. The examples I know of have reduplication of the root:

*lom* 'again, more' > *teulom-lom* 'desiring more and more'  
*seui* 'unwell' > *teuseui-seui* 'a little bit unwell'

[ii] With controlled intransitive roots:

$$A_r \approx U_d$$

There are a large number of such derivations, with the Undergoer of the derivative corresponding semantically (except for the element of intention) to the Agent of the root. The meaning is in each case that of an involuntary event or state. Various sub-groups can be distinguished by their semantic type:

a) Motion verbs - these derivatives are only used for animate motion which is less than fully intentional; an action where the participant is not fully aware of what he or she is doing. The action is aimless, without any clear purpose:

(4-115) *jih teu=jak teu=dōng lagee=ureueng=gadōh=tuwah*  
 he DC go DC stand way person lost mind

*He is stopping and starting like someone out of his mind.*

b) Posture verbs - these derivatives have two distinct uses. One is for animate posture which is less than normally intentional, exactly as for the motion intransitives. The other is for inanimate posture:

(4-116) *di=po =rimueng ka=teu-dōng geunirēng=cidue*  
 FM lord tiger IN DC stand beside branch

*The tiger (taken aback) just stood there next to the branch.*

(4-117) *teu-hah babah=kah sabē*  
 DC open mouth you always

*Your mouth is always open.*

(4-118) *pula batee=ulee=nyan beu=teu-dōng bek teu-ēh*  
 plant stone head that DES DC stand DONT DC lie down

*Set that headstone upright, not on its side.*

(4-119) *lē =that=ureueng matē teu-nyue -nyue*  
 many very person dead DC stretch out legs stretch out legs

*There were many dead people stretched out stiff.*

c) Bodily activity verbs - these derivatives involve an involuntary action of an animate participant. Verbs for bodily activities are typically controlled in their root forms. Derivatives often show reduplication since non-controlled bodily activities are often iterative:

- (4-120) *jih teu-batök-batök*  
 he DC cough cough

*He is coughing a lot.*

- (4-121) *si =amat teu-khêm lagee=raya*  
 title Amat DC smile way big

*Amat is smiling a lot.*

For *lôn* 'go naked' the normal usage is de-controlled since it is very strange for someone to be naked for its own sake. Normally nakedness is a side effect of something else, like being born. However a child may want to run around naked:

- (4-122) *aneuk=nyan ka=ji=lôn*  
 child that IN 3 naked

*That child is going around naked.*

d) Mental activity and emotion verbs - these derivatives involve an involuntary thought or an involuntary emotion, usually strong in intensity because it is involuntary.

- (4-123) *jih teu-ingat keu=lôn*  
 he DC remember DAT I

*He remembers me.*

- (4-124) *lôn ka=teu-pikê keu=jih*  
 I IN DC think DAT she

*I thought of her (all of a sudden).*

The stronger intensity sometimes must also be marked by reduplication of the root. Sentence (4-125) would be ungrammatical with just *teu-galak*:

- (4-125) *jih teu-galak-galak=that keu=aneuk=dara=nyan*  
 he DC like like very DAT child girl that

*He is infatuated with that girl.*

There are quite a few verbs which appear as though they are derivatives of this or the preceding class (the bodily activities) but whose roots only occur in derivative form:

*teukeujët* 'startled' cf. *peukeujët* 'to startle, tr.'

*teukeuta* 'shake, shiver' cf. *meukeuta-keuta* 'shake, shiver repeatedly'

[iii] With transitive roots:

$$\begin{aligned} A_r &\approx X_d \\ U_r &\approx U_d \end{aligned}$$

Transitive verbs with *teu-* involve either an accidental event, a state of ability, or a resulting state. The Agent argument of root verb does not appear in the argument structure of the derivative. The Undergoer of the root verb is the Undergoer of the derivative. In general a particular derivative may have any of the three possible meanings, except that

the meaning of a particular verb may make one use more probable. The resultant state derivatives are the commonest. They are particularly used for the effect of action upon inanimate participants:

- teucrôh* 'fried'; *crôh* 'fry'  
*teukoh* 'harvested'; *koh* 'cut'  
*teusuct* 'extracted'; *suet* 'extract'

For abilitative derivatives a quality of the Undergoer argument allows the action to be effected. Abilitative derivations are more common in the negative, but the positive is also possible:

- (4-126) *batee=nyan h'an=teu-grak*  
 stone that NEG DC move  
*That stone cannot be moved.*
- (4-127) *teu-peulinkông beusoe=nyan*  
 DC bend iron that  
*That iron can be bent.*
- (4-128) *krueng=nyan h'an=teu-langue*  
 river that NEG DC swim  
*That river cannot be swum.*

In all these abilitative derivations the Agent role is completely suppressed: it cannot even appear in a *lê* phrase:

- (4-129) \**teu-peulingkông beusoe=nyan lê=lôn*  
 DC bend iron that by I  
*(I can bend that iron.)*

Accidental derivatives are used with many different kinds of transitive verbs:

- (4-130) *teungôh=lôn=pajôh=bu ka=teu-kap =bibi*  
 middle 1 eat rice IN DC bite lip  
*While eating I bit my lip.*
- (4-131) *teu-timbak<sup>l</sup>=geuh baroe*  
 DC shoot 3 yesterday  
*He was accidentally shot yesterday.*
- (4-132) *bak =kayee=nyan ka=teu-koh*  
 tree wood that IN DC cut  
*That tree has been accidentally cut down (by me).*

Note that sentence (4-132) could also have a resultant state meaning: 'That tree has been cut down.' Sentence (4-130) shows incorporation of the possessed head *bibi* in the main clause. The possessor *lôn* 'I' is ellipsed from this clause. Derivatives with *teu-* are quite common with possessor topicalisation and possessed head incorporation (4.3.3), especially

for accidental actions damaging to the person doing them:

- (4-133) lôn ka=teu-kap =bibî  
I IN DC bite lip

*I bit my lip.*

- (4-134) lôn ka=teu-sie=jaroe  
I IN DC cut hand

*I cut my hand.*

- (4-135) gopnyan ka=teu-koh bak =u  
he IN DC cut tree coconut

*His coconut tree was cut down.*

Accidental derivatives with *teu-* marginally allow the initiator of the event -the "decontrolled Agent" - to appear after the verb marked with *lê* or the focus marker *di*. (The only examples I have of this were directly elicited.) The initiator NP does not usually occur topicalised in preverbal position (i.e. as Core Topic; see 8.2):

- (4-136) ka=teu-koh bak =kayee=nyan lê=kamoe  
IN DC cut tree wood that by we exclusive

*We accidentally cut down that tree.*

- (4-137) \*kamoe ka=teu-koh bak=kayee=nyan

- (4-138) ka=teu-koh bak =u di=gopnyan  
IN DC cut tree coconut FM he

*He accidentally cut down a coconut tree.*

The initiator can only be topicalised if the semantics of the verb or of the particular construction mean that it is thought of as affected, usually negatively, by what happens:

- (4-139) gopnyan na=teu-'uet tuleueng  
he BE DC swallow bone

*He accidentally swallowed a bone.*

- (4-140) geutanyoe na=teu-deungö beuklam su =rimueng  
we inclusive BE DC hear last night sound tiger

*We happened to hear the sound of a tiger last night.*

The next two comments are based only upon elicited data: it is apparently less acceptable to include the initiator NP if it is first or second person (not including first person inclusive and exclusive):

- (4-141) ka=teu-koh bak =kayee=nyan (\*lê=gata/\*lê=lôn)  
IN DC cut tree wood that (by you / by I)

*That tree was accidentally cut down (by you/me).*

The decontrolling derivative prefix *meu-* differs from *teu-* in allowing a wider range of

initiator arguments to be marked explicitly after the verb (4.5.3.1).

[iv] With verbs meaning 'see':

$A_r \approx 'U'_d$   
 $U_r \approx ??$

There are three verbs of seeing in Acehnese with very similar meanings:

*eu* 'see'  
*kalôn* 'see'  
*ngieng* 'see'

The *teu*-derivatives of these verbs have rather idiosyncratic cross-referencing characteristics (see p60). These accidental derivatives are of quite rare occurrence and I have not found any other verbs in Acehnese which share these unusual characteristics. The verbs that I have considered include those for *hear*, *feel*, *drink* and *swallow*. A semantic motivation for these characteristics is offered in 4.4.1. The most striking idiosyncrasy of these derivatives is that the see-er - Agent of normal seeing - is cross-referenced on the verb as Undergoer and the see-ee - Undergoer of normal seeing - has no cross-referencing:

(4-142) *lôn na=teu-ngieng*<sup>1</sup>=*lôn gopnyan baroe*  
 I BE DC see 1 he yesterday

*I accidentally saw him yesterday.*

Like a normal Undergoer, the see-er can be cliticised after the verb in place of its cross-referencing:

(4-143) *ureueng=nyan teu-ngieng*<sup>1</sup>=*geutanyoe baroe*  
 person that DC see we inclusive yesterday

*We accidentally saw that person yesterday.*

Both the accidental see-er and the see-ee NP's have certain syntactic properties typical of core arguments (8.2). They can for example both be topicalised in front of the verb, as in sentences (4-142) and (4-143). They can also both be relativised (9.1.2.1) and marked by the focus marker *di* (8.7). What is striking is that when the see-er occurs after the verb it is marked by *lê* just as if it were the Agent of a normal transitive verb (4-144) whilst the see-ee has no marking, just as if it were a normal Undergoer (4-142).

(4-144) *na=teu-ngieng*<sup>1</sup>=*geuh lôn lê=gopnyan*  
 BE DC see 3 I by he

*He accidentally saw me.*

Also the see-er, but not the see-ee, can be marked when it follows the verb with the focus marker *di*. This is a syntactic characteristic of transitive Agents as opposed to transitive Undergoers (p209):

(4-145) *soe teu-ngieng*<sup>1</sup>=*geuh di=ureueng=nyan baroe*  
 who DC see 3 FM person that yesterday

*Who did that person catch sight of yesterday?*

- (4-146) pue        na=teu-ngieng<sup>1</sup>=geuh (\*di=)droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh l6=gopnyan baroe?  
 whether BE DC see        3        (FM) self 2        by he        yesterday  
*Did he see you yesterday?*

Thus the see-ee NP has the syntactic characteristics of an Undergoer argument, but it is not cross-referenced at all, and the see-er NP has the syntactic characteristics of an Agent, but it is cross-referenced as an Undergoer.

With accidental seeing there appears to be a preference for first and second person see-ers. This is perhaps because first and second person referents are more salient as affected participants - seeing something that affected them - than third person referents, but this is just a speculation. See p209 for another instance of first and second person being more syntactically privileged than third person. Where there is potential ambiguity first and second person pronouns are interpreted as see-ers, third person nominals as see-ees:

- (4-147) geutanyoe    na=teu-ngieng baroe  
 we inclusive BE DC see        yesterday

*We saw (something) yesterday (not we were seen).*

- (4-148) droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh na=teu-ngieng baroe  
 self 2        BE DC see        yesterday

*You saw (something) yesterday (not you were seen).*

- (4-149) ureueng=nyan na=teu-ngieng baroe  
 person that BE DC -see        yesterday

*That person was seen yesterday (not that person saw something).*

The aversion to third person accidental see-ers is apparent in a constraint on relativisation (p236).

#### 4.5.2. PEU-

The derivative prefix *peu-* has a variety of meanings and functions. Its common characteristic is that it derives a controlled verb which, with very few exceptions, is always transitive. When the derivative is intransitive it has a middle meaning, with the Agent having the semantic characteristics of the Undergoer. Intransitive meanings are not productive: they form a small and restricted class. All the intransitive derivatives known to me are listed below. On the other hand the derivation of transitive verbs is productive and it would not be possible to list all these derivatives. The various types of derivative are best considered according to the different roots *peu-* can combine with - it is not restricted in its application to verbs.

[i] With epistemological classifiers: these form causative transitive verbs meaning 'ascertain, cause to be known'. For a description of these see chapter 6.

[ii] With nominals:

a) administer *X* onto/at Undergoer, provide Undergoer with *X*

- abee* 'dust'; *peuabee* 'to dust'  
*adat* 'custom'; *peuadat* 'to accustom'  
*agam* 'male'; *peuagam* 'to mate a female animal with a male'  
*angen* 'wind'; *peuangen* 'to expose to the wind'  
*asoe* 'flesh'; *peuasoe* 'to fatten'  
*kawên* 'marriage, intercourse'; *peukawên* 'to marry someone with someone else,  
 to cross in breeding (plants or animals)'  
*nan* 'name'; *peunan* 'to name'  
*naph* 'ah' 'breath'; *peunaph* 'ah' 'to give breath to (by God)'  
*ngôn* 'friend, companion'; *peungôn* 'to accompany'  
*pageue* 'fence'; *pupageue* 'to fence'  
*sabôn* 'soap'; *peusabôn* 'to soap'  
*saka* 'sugar'; *peusaka* 'to sugar'  
*su* 'sound, voice'; *peusu* 'to give voice to, to cause to sound'

b) cause Undergoer to be *X*

- aceh* 'aceh(nese)'; *peuaceh* 'to make into an Acehnese, translate into Acehnese'  
*buet* 'work'; *pubuet* 'to do, make a deed of'  
*jéh* 'that'; *peujéh* 'to do that to, cause to be that'  
*lawan* 'opponent'; *peulawan* 'to oppose'  
*lingkông* 'curve'; *peulingkông* 'to make into a curve'  
*namiet* 'slave'; *peunamiet* 'to enslave'  
*raja* 'king'; *peuraja* 'to make king'

The derivative *pubuet* 'to do work' also has an idiosyncratic intransitive use with the meaning 'to work'.

c) cause Undergoer to number *X*; *X* is a numeral, quantifier or Measure Phrase

- dit* 'few'; *peudit* 'to make few'  
*lë* 'many'; *peulë* 'to multiply'  
*lhee* 'three'; *peulhee* 'to make three'  
*saboh* 'one thing'; *peusaboh* 'to make one'

d) treat Undergoer as *X*, address or speak of Undergoer as *X*

- aceh* 'aceh(nese)'; *peuaceh* 'to treat as an Acehnese'  
*aduen* 'elder brother'; *peuaduen* 'to call *aduen*'  
*adoe* 'younger sibling'; *peuadoe* 'to call *adoe*'  
*kee* 'I, familiar'; *peukee* 'to call (self) *kee*'  
*meu=déh* 'that way'; *pumeudéh* 'to treat like that'  
*namiet* 'slave'; *peunamiet* 'to treat as a slave'  
*neu* '3rd person polite clitic'; *peuneu* 'to refer to using *neu*'  
*raja* 'king'; *peuraja* 'to treat as a king'

Sometimes this kind of derivative can be used intransitively with a PP replacing the Undergoer role:

- (4-150) *peue di=gata keu=ureueng=nyan ta=pu -polôm?*  
 whether FM you to person that 2 CAUS elder brother

*Do you call that person elder brother?*

e) place Undergoer at *X*, move or turn Undergoer towards *X*; *X* is a locative or temporal noun

*ili* 'downstream'; *peuli* 'to bring downstream'  
*keue* 'front'; *peukeue* 'to put up front'  
*eumpung* 'nest'; *peueumpung* 'to place in nest'  
*likôt* 'behind'; *peulikôt* 'to place behind'  
*singöh* 'tomorrow'; *peusingöh* 'to put off till tomorrow'  
*uneun* 'right'; *peuneun* 'to turn right'  
*wie* 'left'; *peuwie* 'to turn left'

intransitive derivatives:

*keue* 'front'; *peukeue* 'to go forward'  
*uneun* 'right'; *peuneun* 'to turn right'  
*wie* 'left'; *peuwie* 'to turn left'

f) use *X* on Undergoer; *X* is an instrument noun

*batee* 'stone'; *pubatee* 'to stone'  
*beudê* 'gun'; *peubeudê* 'to shoot'  
*jaroe* 'hand'; *peujaroe* 'to hand over'  
*kayee* 'wood'; *peukayee* 'to beat with a piece of wood'  
*taloe* 'rope'; *peutaloe* 'to tie up'  
*reuncông* 'knife type'; *peureuncông* 'to stab with a *reuncông*'  
*singkee* 'elbow'; *peusingkee* 'to elbow'  
*uneun* 'right'; *peuneun* 'to use the right arm on'  
*wie* 'left'; *peuwie* 'to use the left arm on'

The derivative *peubeudê* 'to shoot' can also be used intransitively with an understood Undergoer.

g) idiosyncratic derivatives

*agam* 'male person'; *peuagam* 'to act forcefully, intr.'  
*dada* 'breast'; *peudada* 'to push forward strongly, intr.'

[iii] With operators and non-controlled verbs:

a) cause Undergoer to be as the Undergoer argument of *X*

*barô* 'new'; *seubarô* 'to renew'  
*brök* 'rotten'; *pubrök* 'to cause to rot'  
*gah* 'known, famous'; *peugah* 'to say'  
*göt* 'good'; *peugöt* 'to make, fix'  
*jeuet* 'become'; *peujeuet* 'to create, make into'  
*malee* 'shy, ashamed'; *seumalee* 'to embarrass'  
*matê* 'die, dead'; *seumatê* 'to cause to die'



*miyup* 'below'; *seumiyup* 'to bury'  
*miyup* 'below'; *pumiyup* 'to lower'  
*na* 'exist'; *peuna* 'to create'  
*pányang* 'long, tall'; *pupányang* 'to lengthen, make tall'  
*rhët* 'fall'; *peurhët* 'to drop'  
*seuueu* 'hot'; *peusuueu* 'to heat'  
*tan* 'not exist'; *peutan* 'to obliterate, annul'  
*teuböh* 'thrown away'; *peuteuböh* 'throw away'

intransitive derivatives:

*rap* 'near'; *peurap* 'to approach'  
*toe* 'near'; *peutoe* 'to approach'

This is the most numerous and productive type of causative derivative. For an account of the difference between *seumiyup* 'to bury' and *pumiyup* 'to lower', see 3.3.1.1.

b) treat, declare or regard Undergoer as the Undergoer argument of *X*

*brök* 'bad'; *pubrök* 'to slander'  
*h'an* 'not'; *peuh'an* 'to forbid'  
*hareuem* 'forbidden'; *peuhareuem* 'to forbid';  
*hina* 'lowly, humble'; *peuhina* 'to humiliate'  
*jayêh* 'worthless'; *peujayêh* 'to treat as worthless'  
*jheuet* 'bad, evil'; *peujheuet* 'to slander'  
*kön* 'not, contrary'; *peukön* 'to contradict'  
*na* 'exist'; *peuna* 'to declare to be'  
*raya* 'big, great'; *peuraya* 'to brag about (self)'  
*sabê* 'of one size'; *peusabê* 'to treat as the same amount'  
*sah* 'legal, valid'; *peusah* 'to declare to be legal'

[iv] With controlled intransitive verbs: Meaning: cause Undergoer to be affected as the Agent of *X* is affected

*duek* 'sit'; *peuduek* 'to place'  
*êh* 'lie down to sleep'; *peuêh* 'to put down to sleep'  
*êk* 'to climb'; *peuêk* 'to bring up'  
*iem* 'keep quiet'; *peuiem* 'to silence'  
*jak* 'go, walk'; *peujak* 'to make to walk'  
*madeueng* 'to warm oneself'; *seumadeueng* 'to warm a woman after her pregnancy'  
*manoe* 'to bathe, intr.'; *seumanoe* 'to bathe, tr.'  
*meuen* 'to play'; *seumeuen* 'to entertain, play with'  
*plueng* 'run'; *puplueng* 'to steal'  
*phö* 'fly'; *puphö* 'to make to fly'  
*woe* 'go home'; *puwoe* 'to bring home'

intransitive derivatives:

*jak* 'go'; *peujak* 'to go'  
*teuka* 'arrive'; *peuteuka* 'to arrive'

*peuêk* also has the idiosyncratic meaning 'to send'. In these examples the degree to which

the Undergoer exercises intention can vary. In the case of *peudeuk* 'to place' the Undergoer is almost invariably inanimate and exercises no intention at all. On the other hand in the case of *peujak* 'to walk, tr.' the person or animal being caused to walk exercises some degree of will in moving its legs, even though it is being manipulated by the will of someone else. The Undergoer's will is subject to that of the Agent.

[v] With controlled transitive verbs: this kind of causative derivation is rather rare, except for a few derivatives like *publoe* 'sell' from *bloe* 'buy' which are extremely common. Various types of derivations can be distinguished according to the relationships between root arguments and the arguments of the causative. Some verbs take more than one type of derivative, for example *peungieng* 'to show' from *ngieng* 'see' can have its Undergoer corresponding to the root's Undergoer, as in 'show the book to him', or it can correspond to the root's Agent, as in 'show him the book'. All these causatives are transitive: they have both an Agent and Undergoer.

a) The causative derivative may have the same set of arguments as its roots:

$$\begin{array}{l} A_r \approx A_d \\ U_r \approx U_d \end{array}$$

Typically the derivative has a very similar meaning but more restricted possibilities for the Undergoer and adjunct PP's. For example *tēt* 'burn, light' can be used for burning something or for lighting a lamp. The causative *peutēt* can only be used for lighting something. Another example *ikat* 'tie' in its root form can have either the thing tied or the rope used as its Undergoer argument (4.2.1). The causative *peuikat* 'tie' is used in the restricted sense of tying something to something else. Thus sentences (4-151) and (4-152) would not be possible with *peuikat*:

(4-151) *neu-ikat beureukah=nyoe ngön=taloe=nyan*  
2 tie faggot this with rope that

*Tie this faggot with that rope.*

(4-152) *neu-ikat taloe=keuieng beu=köng*  
2 tie rope waist DES tight

*Tie your belt tight.*

(4-153) *sikin=nyan neu=peu -ikat ngön=taloe=keuieng*  
knife that 2 CAUS tie with rope waist

*Tie that knife to your belt.*

Similarly the root verb *jök* 'give' allows two recipient arguments: an intermediate recipient who receives directly from the giver, marked by the preposition *bak* and a recipient who is the ultimate beneficiary, expressed as a Dative. The derivative *peujök* cannot take an intermediate recipient:

(4-154) *lön=(\*peu-)jök buku=nyan bak=si =ali*  
1 (CAUS) give book that to title Ali

*I handed that book to Ali (for someone else).*

Sometimes the derived Undergoer tends to be metaphorical, as for *turôt* 'follow' and *peuturôt* 'to follow emotions'. Many transitive verbs cannot take this type of derivation. Of those that do, many involve a physically affected Undergoer argument, often undergoing motion or change in posture:

*buru* 'hunt'  
*diyeung* 'raise up'  
*euntat* 'accompany'  
*gantung* 'hang'  
*labô* 'bedaub'  
*poh* 'hit'  
*rôk* 'lock'  
*sadeue* 'lean'  
*sök* 'take off'  
*tamön* 'heap'  
*tulak* 'push'

b) The derived Undergoer may correspond to the Agent of the root. The causative Agent does not correspond to any argument of the root:

$$X \approx A_d$$

$$A_r \approx U_d$$

$$U_r \approx \text{Peripheral}_d$$

The Undergoer argument of the root corresponds to an adjunct phrase of the derivative, if it appears at all. The semantic characteristics of the root's Undergoer determine what kind of adjunct phrase it will correspond to. In the case of *bantu* 'help' the root's Undergoer corresponds to a benefactive PP of the derivative:

(4-155) *lôn=pu -bantu jih keu=kah*  
 1 CAUS help he to you  
*I had him help you.*

In the case of *langue* 'swim' and *jeumeurang* 'cross' the root's Undergoer corresponds to an adjunct locative phrase - either a NP or a PP - of the derivative.

(4-156) *guda =nyan ji=langue krueng*  
 horse that 3 swim river  
*That horse is swimming the river.*

(4-157) *neu=peu -langue guda =nyan meurandéh =krueng*  
 2 CAUS swim horse that other side river  
*Swim that horse across the river.*

(4-158) *neu=peu -langue guda bak=krueng=nyan*  
 2 CAUS swim horse at river that  
*Let the horse have a swim at that river.*

The causative of *ngieng* 'see' can also have a locative phrase corresponding to the root's Undergoer:

- (4-159) neu=peu -ngiang aneuk=miet =nyan bak=pasie  
2 CAUS see child small that at beach

*Show that child the beach.*

In the case of *nguy* 'wear' the root's Undergoer corresponds to an instrumental phrase of the derivative:

- (4-160) geu=peu -nguy lintô=barô ngôn=bajee=ijô  
3 CAUS wear bridegroom with shirt green

*They dressed the bridegroom with a green shirt.*

c) The derived Undergoer may correspond to the root's Undergoer and the derived Agent does not correspond to any argument of the root:

$$\begin{aligned} X &\approx A_d \\ U_r &\approx U_d \\ A_r &\approx \text{Peripheral}_d \end{aligned}$$

The Agent argument of the root corresponds to an adjunct phrase of the derivative, if it appears at all. The semantic characteristics of the root's Agent determine what kind of adjunct phrase it will correspond to. For sensory root verbs the root's Agent corresponds to either a benefactive PP with *keu*, a locative PP with *bak* 'at' or *ubak* 'to', or a locative NP. Verbs of this sort include *ngiang* 'see', *eu* 'see', *kalôn* 'see' and *deungö* 'hear':

- (4-161) neu=peu -deungö kaset =nyan keu=lôn  
2 CAUS hear cassette that to I

*Play that cassette to me.*

- (4-162) neu=peu -ngiang pasie bak/ubak=aneuk=miet =nyan  
2 CAUS see beach at /to child small that

*Show the beach to that child.*

- (4-163) aneuk=miet =nyan ka=lôn=peu -ngiang pasie  
child small that IN 1 CAUS see beach

*I showed the beach to that child.*

For the verbs *beuet* 'recite' and *jêp* 'drink' a benefactive PP with *keu* corresponds to the root's Agent:

- (4-164) gopnyan geu=pu -beuet basa =aceh keu=kamoe  
he 3 CAUS recite language Acehnese to we exclusive

*He teaches us Acehnese.*

- (4-165) neu=peu -jêp ie =nyoe keu=jih  
2 CAUS drink water this to he

*Have him drink this water.*

For some verbs involving action upon something else by direct physical contact, a

locative PP with *bak* 'at' or a locative NP corresponds to the root's Agent. Verbs that have this kind of derivative include *proh* 'split', *mat* 'hold', *sipak* 'kick', and *pap* 'fuck' (very rude usage):

- (4-166) *bek ta=pu -proh kanöt bak=aneuk=miet*  
DONT 2 CAUS split pot at child small

*Don't let the child split the pot.*

- (4-167) *neu=peu -sipak bhan=nyoe bak=jih*  
2 CAUS kick ball this at he

*Make him kick the ball.*

- (4-168) (*bak=*)*aneuk=nyan ka=lön=pu -mat keh*  
(at) child that IN 1 CAUS hold match

*I had the child hold the matches.*

- (4-169) *inöng nyan ji=pu -pap bak=guda*  
woman that 3 CAUS fuck at horse

*The woman was caused to be violated by a horse.*

The semantic reason for the locative is that the activity involves direct contact, and thus a shared location. That this is a genuine locative, not just a way of marking the causee, can be seen from sentence (4-170) where the PP encodes the part of the body where the holding is being done. The phrase *jaroe=jih* could not be an Agent of the root verb.

- (4-170) *neu=pu -mat nyoe bak=jaroe<sup>1</sup>=jih*  
2 CAUS hold this at hand 3

*Have him hold this in his hand.*

d) The derived Undergoer may correspond to the root's Undergoer and the derived Agent to an Adjunct of the root:

$PP\ Peripheral_r \approx A_d$

$U_r \approx U_d$

$A_r \approx PP\ Peripheral_d$

An adjunct of the derivative corresponds to the root's Agent. The root verbs having this type of causative have a recipient as Agent. The Undergoer is something transferred to the Agent from a source, who is encoded as a PP with *bak* 'at' or *nibak* 'from'. Three such verbs are *bloe* 'buy', *séwa* 'rent' and *nguy* 'borrow'. Their derivatives have the source as Agent and the recipient is a PP with *keu* 'to':

- (4-171) *lön=bloe buku=nyan bak/nibak=jih*  
1 buy book that at /from he

*I bought that book from him.*

(4-172) *ji=pu -bloe buku=nyan keu=lôn*  
 3 CAUS buy book that DAT I

*He sold that book to me.*

e) The derived Undergoer may correspond to the root's Undergoer and Agent simultaneously:

$$\begin{aligned} A_r &\approx U_d \\ U_r &\approx U_d \end{aligned}$$

These causatives have a reciprocal meaning of fighting each other:

*cang* 'chop'; *peucang* 'to cause to chop each other'  
*lët* 'fight'; *peulët* 'to set to fight each other (e.g. roosters)'  
*poh* 'hit'; *pupoh* 'to cause to hit each other'

### 4.5.3. MEU-

This prefix *meu* has several different functions and meanings which cannot be easily reconciled. A common characteristic of *meu*- derivatives is that they are all intransitive, but they may have either an Agent or an Undergoer argument: in some cases *meu*- derives a verb with an Agent from one that has no Agent; in others it derives a verb with an Undergoer from one that has no Undergoer. It would seem most convenient to separate the *meu*- derivatives into two types:

[i] those that are non-controlled and

[ii] those that are controlled.

#### 4.5.3.1. Non-controlled MEU-

This derives verbs with an Undergoer but no Agent argument. The various types of derivative are best considered according to the different roots *meu*- can combine with - it is not restricted in its application to verbs.

[i] With epistemological classifiers: these form verbs meaning 'is known'. For a description of these see 6.

[ii] With nominals: the general meaning expressed by these derivatives is 'the Undergoer has X'. Three subtypes can be distinguished:

a) 'X is located on or at the Undergoer':

*anoë* 'sand'; *meuanoë* 'sandy'  
*awan* 'cloud'; *meuawan* 'cloudy'  
*beudak* 'powder'; *mubeudak* 'powdery'  
*ie* 'water'; *meuie* 'watery, wet'  
*leuhöp* 'mud'; *meuleuhöp* 'muddy'

- (4-173) *ka=eu meung =meu-leuhöp* | =*kuh*  
 2 see surprise! DC mud 1

*You see I'm muddy!*

These derivatives are often used as argumentless verbs with no Undergoer (8.1.1):

- (4-174) *na=meuie lam=blang*  
 BE wet in rice field

*There is water in the rice fields*

b) 'X is possessed by the Undergoer' (in the sense that X and the Undergoer could form a compound possessive NP):

*aneuk* 'child, seed'; *meuaneuk* 'having children, seeds'  
*binoe* 'woman, wife'; *mubinoe* 'being married (of man)'  
*boh* 'fruit'; *muboh* 'having fruit (plants)'  
*gah* 'fame, reknown'; *meugah* 'known, famous'  
*geuneuriet* 'a rush, effort'; *meugeuneuriet* 'in a rush, extended to the limit'  
*iku* 'tail'; *meuiku* 'having a tail'  
*kawên* 'marriage, intercourse'; *meukawên* 'married, having had intercourse'  
*peunutêh* 'whiteness'; *mupeunutêh* 'a little bit white'  
*seuneurom* 'a kick'; *meuseuneurom* 'with a kick'  
*tuleueng* 'bone'; *meutuleueng* 'having bones'  
*untông* 'fortune, luck'; *meuuntông* 'lucky, fortunate'

- (4-175) *boh =drien nu -pangsa*  
 fruit durian INTR section

*Durians come in sections.*

c) 'the Undergoer is to be measured in X's'; X is a measure noun:

*hah* 'ell'; *meuhah* 'by the ell'  
*kilo* 'kilo'; *meukilo* 'by the kilo'  
*mu* 'bunch'; *mumu* 'by the bunch'  
*plôh* 'ten'; *muplôh* 'by the tens'  
*raga* 'basket'; *meuraga* 'by the basket'  
*ribee* 'thousand'; *meuribee* 'by the thousands'  
*thôn* 'year'; *meuthôn* 'by the year'

- (4-176) *ureueng aceh meu -ribee -ribee*  
 person Aceh INTR thousand thousand

*There are thousands of Acehnese people.*

[iii] With verbs: these derivatives have virtually the same characteristics as those with the prefix *teu-*. Like *teu-*, de-controlling *meu-* is only prefixed to controlled verbs. Certain differences can be observed however between these two prefixes. With transitive verb roots a characteristic difference seems to be that *teu-* has a stronger sense of the state resulting from the event that has taken place: *meu-* has more possibility of referring to the event itself. This is quite a vague characterisation and indeed it was extremely difficult to

elicit native speakers' intuitions about this, although all tended to agree that there was a difference but found it hard to say what the difference was. For example if one were to make a report that one had cut down a tree then (4-177) would be used:

- (4-177) **bak =kayee=nyan ka=teu-koh**  
tree wood that IN DC cut

*That tree is already cut down.*

If one were making the observation that a tree had been cut down then (4-178) would be better:

- (4-178) **bak =kayee=nyan ka=meu -koh**  
tree wood that IN INTR cut

*That tree has been cut down.*

Derivatives used adjectivally to refer to something having undergone a process are typically formed with *teu-*, thus:

- eungkôl=teucrôh* 'fried fish'  
*u=teutël* 'burnt coconut'

It perhaps reflects this difference that accidental derivatives with *meu-* much more readily allow the initiator to be expressed explicitly as a NP (see p76) in a *lê* phrase. The difference is especially clear for first and second person pronouns:

- (4-179) **ka=meu (/ \*teu)-koh bak =kayee=nyan lê=gata**  
IN INTR (DC) cut tree wood that by you

*You accidentally cut down that tree (the wrong tree).*

It seems that to some extent at least the preference for *teu-* or *meu-* is lexicalised, some roots tending to take the one, some tending to take the other. To describe this in detail would probably be very difficult. For intransitive controlled roots it seems that *teu-* is almost invariably used for involuntary actions whilst *meu-* is used for resulting states, thus *jak* 'go' gives *teujak* 'walk aimlessly' but *êk* 'go up, climb' gives *meuék* 'risen' (e.g. prices). Involuntary thoughts, emotions and bodily functions are usually formed with *teu-*: thus *teubatôk-batôk* 'coughing and coughing' and *teuingat* 'happen to remember'. Two exceptions are *meuchên* 'like' and *meudam* 'hate'. For abilitative derivatives there appears to be no preference for either prefix.

#### 4.5.3.2. Controlled MEU-

[i] With nominals: in several cases the nominal used for the derivative is a compound, for example *uroe=raya* 'festival (literally: 'big day')' gives *meu-uroe=raya* 'to celebrate a festival'.

- a) the Agent uses X; X is an instrument or a means

*beudak* 'powder'; *mubeudak* 'to powder oneself'  
*candu* 'opium'; *meucandu* 'to use opium'



*guda* 'horse'; *meuguda* 'to ride a horse'  
*itam-putêh* 'black-white'; *meuitam-putêh* 'to play a game with a black-white coin'  
*kruet* 'lime fruit'; *meukruet* 'use a lime to clean oneself'  
*layeue* 'sail'; *meulayeue* 'to sail'

- (4-180) *ureueng=nyan mu -bajee=panyang=sapay*  
 person that INTR shirt long sleeve

*That person is wearing a long sleeve shirt.*

- (4-181) *na=tôm neu=meu -pukat di=droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh?*  
 BE ever 2 INTR net FM self 2

*Have you ever used a fishing net?*

b) the Agent speaks using *X* (*X* is a pronoun or title); the addressee may be expressed as a PP with *ngôn* 'with'

*kah* 'you, familiar'; *meukah* 'to speak rudely to someone, calling them *kah*'  
*mapo* 'aunt'; *mumapo* 'call someone aunt'  
*syeedara* 'relative'; *meusyeedara* 'to call someone a relative'

- (4-182) *pue ka=meu -kee-kee kah kôn=ka=mu -polêm ngôn=gopnyan?*  
 why 2 INTR Ifa Ifa you not 2 INTR brother with he

*Why do you speak (so rudely) using kee? You ought to call him polêm (elder brother).*

c) the Agent acts as *X*, makes himself to be *X*

*bangi* 'opium addict'; *mubangi* 'to be an opium addict'  
*dukôn* 'native doctor'; *meudukôn* 'to act as a native doctor'  
*kuli* 'labourer'; *meukuli* 'to work as a labourer'  
*sapat* 'one place'; *meusapat* 'to come together in one place'  
*tumpök* 'heap'; *meutumpök* 'to form a group, e.g. sitting on the ground'  
*ulama* 'religious leader'; *meulama* 'to act as a religious leader'

d) the Agent lives or works at location *X*

*gampông* 'village'; *meugampông* 'to live in the village'  
*lampôh* 'garden'; *meulampôh* 'to work in a garden'  
*laôt* 'sea'; *meulaôt* 'to go fishing'  
*ranto* 'place where young men go off to work, to seek their fortune'; *meuranto*  
 'to be working on the *ranto*'

- (4-183) *hana =lôn=mu -blang thôn=nyoe*  
 NEGBE 1 INTR rice field year this

*I am not working in the rice fields this year.*

e) the Agent moves in the direction of *X*, goes via *X*

*laôt* 'sea'; *meulaôt* 'to go by sea'  
*uneun* 'right'; *meuneun* 'to go to the right'

*wie* 'left'; *muwie* 'to go to the left'

- (4-184) *ta=meu -illi watee=ie =surôt*  
2 INTR downstream time water ebb tide

*Go downstream at ebb tide.*

- (4-185) *ceupang =meu -darat di=lhök=seudu jameun*  
japanese INTR land at Lhok Seudu long ago

*The Japanese landed at Lhok Seudu long ago.*

f) the Agent enters or stays intentionally in a possessor relation to X

*binoe* 'woman'; *mubinoe* 'to marry a wife'

*guree* 'religious teacher'; *meuguree* 'to be under a teacher'

*naph'ah* 'breath'; *meunaph'ah* 'to breathe, take breaths'

*ulee=balang* 'local noble'; *meuulee=balang* 'be or place oneself under the protection of an *ulee=balang*'

This derivative is also used with metaphorical Agency for plant growth:

*boh* 'fruit'; *muboh* 'to fruit'

*pucök* 'sprout'; *mupucök* 'to sprout'

*ukheue* 'root'; *meukheue* 'to grow roots'

g) the Agent enacts, does X; X describes an activity or the product of an activity

*'i-'i* 'whimper'; *meu 'i-'i* 'to whimper'

*kawên* 'marriage'; *meukawên* 'get married'

*su* 'sound, voice'; *meusu* 'to give voice, make a sound'

*tutô* 'word'; *meututô* 'to speak'

*uroe=raya* 'festival day'; *meuroe=raya* 'celebrate a festival'

- (4-186) *gopnyan geu=meu- uroe=raya di=gampông<sup>1</sup>=geuh*  
she 3 INTR festival at village 3

*She is celebrating the festival in her village.*

h) the Agent looks for X or a product of X; X is something found in the forest or at the sea

*awê* 'rotan'; *meuawê* 'to look for rotan'

*dama* 'resin'; *meudama* 'to look for resin'

*eungkôt* 'fish'; *meueungkôt* 'to go fishing'

*kayee* 'wood'; *meukayee* 'to look for wood'

*kulat* 'mushroom, fungus'; *meukulat* 'to go mushrooming'

*pinyie* 'turtle'; *mupinyie* 'to look for turtle's eggs'

- (4-187) *meungnyo ta =meu -rusa bak=buleuen=seupôt*  
if 1inc INTR deer DES moon dark

*If one goes deer hunting, the moon ought to be dark.*

(4-188) ta =jak=meu -unoe beu=na=ta =ba pawang  
 linc go INTR bee DES BE linc take diviner

*If one goes looking for honey, one ought to take a diviner.*

[ii] With non-controlled verbs: this gives controlled intransitive derivatives. The Agent of the derivative corresponds to the Undergoer of the root:

$U_r \approx A_d$

*bucho* 'wet'; *mubucho* 'to get oneself wet: e.g. by standing in the rain'

*hek* 'tired'; *meuhek* 'to tire oneself'

*itam* 'black'; *meuitam* 'to make oneself black'

*leupie* 'cold'; *meuleupie* 'to expose oneself to the cold'

*payah* 'difficult'; *mupayah* 'to make an effort'

*rayeuk* 'big'; *meurayeuk* 'to act big'

*sakêt* 'hurting'; *meusakêt* 'to suffer with endurance'

*seunang* 'happy'; *meuseunang* 'to enjoy oneself, celebrate'

*trêp* 'long (time)'; *meutrêp* 'to take a long time'

Derivatives of this kind can have the special sense of reciprocal or competitive activity. They often occur with reduplication of the root (3.5).

a) reciprocal activity: for this the Agent also corresponds to the Dative argument of the root - the object of the emotion described:

$U_r \approx A_d$

$D_r \approx A_d$

*brôk* 'bad, rotten'; *mubrôk-brôk* 'to act badly to each other'

*jheuet* 'evil'; *meujheuet* 'to act badly to each other'

*jroh* 'good'; *meujroh* 'to act well to each other'

*masam* 'sour'; *mumasam* 'to be on bad terms'

*sakêt* 'hurting'; *meusakêt* 'to cause pain to each other'

(4-189) lôn ka=lôn=meu -gôt ngôn=jih

I IN 1 INTR good with he

*I have made it up with him.*

(4-190) awak =nyan gôt =that ji=meu -galak

people that good very 3 INTR like

*They really like each other.*

It is possible to have a compound derivative of this type with a possessed head NP (4.3.3) incorporated onto the root verb. The correspondence of arguments is then:

Possessor of  $U_r \approx A_d$

An example is *brôk=atê* 'bad liver: having a bad nature' which gives the derivative *mubrôk-brôk=atê* 'to be on bad terms'.

b) competitive activity; this derivative always has reduplication of the root

*away* 'early'; *meuaway-away* 'to race (to get there first)'  
*bagah* 'fast'; *mubagah-bagah* 'to race'  
*dilee* 'early'; *meudilee-dilee* 'to race'  
*manyang* 'high'; *mumanyang-manyang* 'to have a climbing competition'  
*raya* 'big'; *meuraya-raya* 'to compete in being the greatest'  
*reujang* 'fast'; *meureujang-reujang* 'to race'  
*tajam* 'fast'; *meutajam-tajam* 'to race'

It is possible to use a serial verb compound as the root for this kind of derivative:

*reujang*=*trôh* 'arrive quickly'; *meureujang-reujang*=*trôh* 'to race'

This type of derivative can also be used with quantifiers, which, although classed as nominal in this description, also have some properties of a non-controlled verb:

*dit* 'few'; *meudit-dit* 'compete in doing something the least'

[iii] With controlled verbs: there are three general types of meaning for these derivatives:

a) They may express a specific durative activity, not directed to a specific Undergoer or Dative argument, nor to any oblique. Sentence (4-191) is not acceptable because it has an oblique argument:

(4-191) \**gopnyan geu=mu -pikê keu=buet*  
           he           3   INTR think DAT work

(He is thinking of his work.)

The Agent of the derivative corresponds to the Agent of the root. The derivative has nothing corresponding to any Undergoer or Dative argument that the root may have.

$A_r \approx A_d$   
 $(U_r \approx X)$   
 $(D_r \approx X)$

*jak* 'go, intr.'; *meujak-jak* 'to go along'  
*juntée* 'hang down legs, intr.'; *meujuntée* 'to sit on and on with legs hanging down'  
*lakee* 'ask for, tr.'; *meulakee* 'to ask on and on for'  
*pikê* 'think, intr.'; *mupikê* 'to think at length, contemplate'  
*tanyöng* 'ask, tr.'; *meutanyöng* 'to ask, intr.'

This type of derivative expresses the sense that the Agent is affected. It is not normally possible with a transitive verb for which all the effect is directed towards the Undergoer. The usage in the following sentences illustrates this. What is being asked has marked consequences for the questioner:

- (4-192) *iblih meu -tanyöng bak=malaikat=maw'öt*  
 satan INTR ask at angel Mawot

*peue*<sup>l</sup>=*keuh adeuep* =*keu=kee?*  
 what EMPH punishment to I

*Satan asked of the angel Mawot: "What is my punishment?"*

- (4-193) *keu=peue neu=meu -tanyöng-tanyöng sabé bak=jih*  
 for what 2 INTR ask ask always at he

*What do you keep on asking him for?"*

b) They may express group, shared activity: This can involve the specific sense of competitive activity, just as for the derivatives from non-controlled verbs. The Agent of the derivative corresponds to the root's Agent and to its Undergoer, if it is transitive:

$A_r \approx A_d$   
 $(U_r \approx A_d)$

There is always reduplication of the root verb:

*lumba* 'to pass, tr.'; *meulumba-lumba* 'to race'  
*plueng* 'to run, intr.'; *muplueng-plueng* 'to race'  
*tarék* 'to pull, tr.'; *meutarék-tarék* 'to have a tug-of-war'

The derivative may simply have the meaning of shared activity. There is often reduplication of the root verb:

*jak* 'go, intr.'; *meujak* 'to go together'  
*éh* 'sleep, intr.'; *meueh* 'to sleep together'  
*döng* 'stand, intr.'; *meudöng-döng* 'to stand together'  
*lakee* 'ask for, tr.'; *meulakee* 'to ask for together'  
*piké* 'think, intr.'; *mupiké-piké* 'to think together'  
*woe* 'return, intr.'; *muwoe-woe* 'to go home together'

c) They may have a middle meaning. This type of derivative occurs with transitive verbs. The Agent of the derivative corresponds both to the Agent and the Undergoer of the root:

$A_r \approx A_d$   
 $U_r \approx A_d$

This middle derivative may be reflexive:

*gantung* 'hang, tr.'; *meugantung* 'to hang, intr.'  
*puta* 'turn, tr.'; *muputa* 'to hang, intr.'  
*sadeue* 'lean, tr.'; *meusadeue* 'to lean, intr.'

- (4-194) *bek ta=meu -som lam=beuluka*  
 DONT 2 INTR hide in thicket

*Don't hide in the thicket.*

The derivative may be reciprocal:

*cang* 'chop'; *meucang* 'to fight chopping at each other'  
*eu* 'see'; *meueu* 'to see each other'  
*poh* 'hit'; *mupoh* 'to hit each other'  
*s'ah* 'whisper'; *meus'ah* 'to whisper to each other'  
*wa* 'embrace'; *muwa* 'to embrace each other'

(4-195) *ka=ji=mu -pakë mie ngön=asee*  
 IN 3 INTR scold cat with dog

*The cat is arguing (fighting) with the dog.*

It is possible to have a derivative of this type with a possessed head NP (4.3.3) incorporated onto the root verb. The correspondence of arguments is then:

Possessor of  $U_r \approx A_d$

An example of this kind of derivative is *mumat=jaroë* 'shake hands' from *mat* 'hold' + *jaroë* 'hand'.

#### 4.5.4. -EUM-

##### 4.5.4.1. Formation

Although I refer to this morpheme as an infix, it also has a prefixed allomorph. The rules governing the application of *-eum-* are similar to those for the nominalising infix *-eun-* (5.10), but there are certain differences - enough to require a separate treatment of these two affixes.

[i] With roots of three or more syllables *-eum-* is prefixed as *meu-*. If the verb has a labial initial consonant the vowel of the prefix is rounded to *u* (3.3.1.3):

*peuranguy* 'to treat'; *mupeuranguy* 'to act'

[ii] With verb roots beginning with *b*, a glide, nasal stop or an unaspirated sonorant, *-eum-* is prefixed as *meu-*. If the verb has a labial initial consonant the vowel of the prefix is rounded to *u* (3.3.1.3):

*angköt* /ʔ aŋkɔt/ 'to transport, tr.'; *meuangköt* 'to transport, intr.'

*baë* 'to howl, wail'; *mubaë* 'to howl, wail'

*bloë* 'to buy, tr.'; *mubloë* 'to buy, intr.'

*bôh* 'to put in, tr.'; *mubôh* 'to put in, intr.'

*bri* 'to give, tr.'; *mubri* 'to give, intr.'

*ëk* /ʔ e ʔ/ 'to climb, rise'; *meuëk* 'to climb, rise'

*hëy* 'to call out to'; *meuhëy* 'to call out to, intr.'

*hila* 'to drag, tr.'; *meuhila* 'to drag, intr.'

*langue* 'to swim, intr.'; *meulangue* 'to swim, intr.'

*lët* 'to chase, tr.'; *meulët* 'to chase, intr.'

*mat* 'to hold, tr.'; *mumat* 'to hold, intr.'

*mbôh* 'to blow upon, tr.'; *mumbôh* 'to blow upon, intr.'  
*mita* 'look for, tr.'; *mumita* 'to look for, intr.'  
*nari* 'to dance'; *meunari* 'to dance'  
*ngieng* 'to see, tr.'; *meungieng* 'to see, intr.'  
*nyanyoe* 'to sing, tr.'; *meunyanoye* 'to sing, intr.'  
*nyue* 'to stretch out legs, tr.'; *meunyue* 'to sit with outstretched legs, intr.'  
*raba* 'to feel with fingers, tr.'; *meuraba* 'to feel, intr.'  
*ret* 'to graze, tr.'; *meuret* 'to graze, intr.'  
*uru* / *?uru* 'to imitate, tr.'; *meuru* 'to imitate, intr.'  
*wan-wan* 'to squeeze, tr.'; *muwan-wan* 'to squeeze, intr.'  
*yue* 'to order, tr.'; *meuyue* 'to order, intr.'

[iii] For all other disyllabic and monosyllabic verb roots *-eum-* is infixed as *-eum-*. The infixation is made into the initial syllable of a disyllabic stem. An initial *p* is dissimilated to *s* (3.3.1.1). For those roots which are already disyllabic, infixation may be made directly.

*cangkôy* 'to hoe, tr.'; *ceumangkôy* 'to hoe, intr.'  
*deungô* 'to hear, tr.'; *deumeungô* 'to hear, intr.'  
*gantông* 'to hang, tr.'; *geumantông* 'to hang, intr.'  
*jarôm* 'to inject, tr.'; *jeumarôm* 'to inject, intr.'  
*kalôn* 'to see, tr.'; *keumalôn* 'to look, see, intr.'  
*pajôh* 'to eat, tr.'; *seumajôh* 'to eat, intr.'  
*pubeuet* 'to teach, tr.'; *seumubeuet* 'to teach, intr.'  
*saluen* 'to cry insistently, stubbornly'; *seumaluen* 'to be a cry-baby'  
*tulak* 'to push, tr.'; *teumulak* 'to push, intr.'

For monosyllabic roots a disyllabic stem is formed to which the infix can apply. Three separate cases may be distinguished:

a) Monosyllabic roots beginning with *Cr* or *Cl* form a disyllabic stem by splitting the cluster with an epenthetic *eu*, or by reduplication of their initial consonant. Some roots allow both types of derivative. Thus the root *plah* 'to split' can form the stems *%peulah%* and *%peuplah%*. These respectively have the derivatives *s-eum-culah* and *s-eum-uplah* 'to split, intr.'. Dialects vary considerably as to whether they have direct infixation or reduplication or both for particular roots.

*creueh* 'to harrow, tr.'; *ceumeureueh* 'to harrow intr.'  
*drôh* 'to bark'; *deumeudrôh*~*deumeurôh* 'to bark'  
*glueng* 'to kick, tr.'; *geumeuglueng* 'to kick, intr.'  
*glick* 'to scratch, tr.'; *geumeuglick* 'to scratch, intr.'  
*grôh* 'to iron, tr.'; *geumeurôh* 'to iron, intr.'  
*gruep* 'to squeeze something round tr.'; *geumeugruep* 'to squeeze intr.'  
*kreh* 'to scrape, tr.'; *keumeukreh* 'to scrape, intr.'  
*kruy* 'to winnow, tr.'; *keumeuruy* 'to winnow, intr.'  
*klok* 'to scratch, tr.'; *keumeulok* 'to scratch intr.'  
*ple* 'to pour, tr.'; *seumuple* 'to pour, intr.'  
*preh* 'to wait, tr.'; *seumupreh* 'to wait, intr.'  
*pr'eut* 'to spit, tr.'; *seumupr'eut* 'to spit, intr.'

*trom* 'to kick, tr.'; *teumeutrom* 'to kick, intr.'

b) Other roots with an initial stop form a disyllabic stem by reduplication of their initial consonant with an epenthetic *eu*. Thus for example the root *jak* 'to go' forms the stem %*jeujak*% to give the derivative *jeu-meu-jak* and *poh* 'to hit' forms the stem %*peupoh*% to give the derivative *seumupoh* 'to hit, intr.' with dissimilation of the reduplicated *p* (3.3.1.1) and rounding of the epenthetic *eu* (3.3.1.3). The initial stop of the root may or may not be aspirated:

*cop* 'to sew, tr.'; *ceumeucop* 'to sew, intr.'

*dhôt* 'to scold, tr.'; *deumeudhôt* 'to scold, intr.'

*gom* 'to invert, tr.'; *geumeugom* 'to catch fish using a trap shaped like an inverted cup'

*jök* 'to give, tr.'; *jeumeujök* 'to give, intr.'

*kh'eh* 'to hit in the face, tr.'; *keumeukh'eh* 'to hit in the face, intr.'

*khêm* 'to smile, laugh'; *keumeukhêm* 'to smile, laugh'

*peh* 'to hit, knock, tr.'; *seumupeh* 'to hit, knock, intr.'

*pheuet* 'to chisel, tr.'; *seumupheuet* 'to chisel, intr.'

*sie* 'to cut, tr.'; *seumeusie* 'to cut, intr.'

*têt* 'to burn, tr.'; *teumeutêt* 'to burn, intr.'

*theun* 'to set (a trap), tr.'; *teumeutheun* 'to set a trap, intr.'

c) Monosyllabic roots beginning with *rh* or *lh* form an irregular disyllabic stem by prefixing %*seu*%:

*lhap* 'to wipe, tr.'; *seumeulhap* 'to wipe, intr.'

*lhöp* 'to dam, tr.'; *seumeulhöp* 'to dam, intr.'

*rhah* 'to wash, tr.'; *seumeurhah* 'to wash, intr.'

*rhöm* 'throw at, tr.'; *seumeurhöm* 'to throw, intr.'

The reason for this irregular stem formation is that *rh* always and *lh* almost always derive (historically) from *sr* and *sl*. Some dialects still have *sr* for *rh*. From these we can see what has happened. In these dialects the root *srah* 'to wash' forms a stem %*seurah*%, just as *plah* forms the stem %*peulah*%. This gives the completely regular derivative *s-eum-eurah* 'to wash, intr.'. For the Bireuen dialect, after *sr* > *rh*, *seumeurah* was changed to give *seumeurhah* by analogy with its root *rhah*: the *s* of the stem %*seurah*% was reanalysed as an irregular formation, not deriving from an underlying initial *sr* of the root. In some cases *lh* derives historically from *cl* or *tl*, and not from *sl*. This explains two unique derivations:

*lhö* 'to stamp, tr.'; *ceumeulhö*~*ceumeulö* 'to stamp, intr.'

*lhöh* 'to dismantle, tr.'; *teumeulhöh* 'to dismantle, intr.'

There is a tendency to generalise stems formed with %*seu*%. This can be seen from the variant form *s-eum-eulhöh* 'to dismantle, intr.'

Some roots taking reduplication of an initial *p* with dissimilation to *s* can lose the initial syllable %*seu*% to give the effect of prefixation. This is also the case for derivatives of roots beginning with *rh* and *lh* which usually take *-eum-* with the addition of an initial *s*:

*lhöh* 'to dismantle, tr.'; *meulhöh* 'to dismantle, intr.'



- pheuet* 'to chisel, tr. '; *mupheuet* 'to chisel, intr. '  
*pr'eut* 'to spit, tr. '; *mupr'eut* 'to spit, intr. '  
*ple* 'to pour, tr. '; *muple* 'to pour, intr. '

#### 4.5.4.2. Function

This infix creates derivatives from verbs. It gives intransitive derivatives with habitual or durative meanings. The meaning is not perfective. It is distinct from controlled *meu*-derivatives (4.5.3.2) in that there is no middle sense. In practice it may not be possible to distinguish the prefix *meu-* from the prefixed allomorph of *-eum-* on the basis of formal criteria alone. There is only the semantic criteria. For example *sadeue* 'to lean' is a transitive verb. Its derivative *meusadeue* 'to lean' is intransitive, meaning to lean oneself. This contrasts with *seumadeue* 'to lean' which is intransitive and refers to the activity of leaning something (not oneself). Similarly *meutanyöng* 'to ask, intr. ', from *tanyöng* 'to ask, tr. ', is used when one asks something specific which bears upon oneself, but *teumanyöng* 'to ask, intr. ' is used for the activity of asking questions in general. To further illustrate this difference I give all the disyllabic verbs in Djajadiningrat (1934) which begin with *j*. (Not all occur in the Bireuen dialect.) For this particular phonological structure the two morphemes are not homophonous:

Those which take *-eum-* only:

- jarôm* 'inject, tr. '  
*jaweuep* 'answer, tr. '  
*jeupat* 'wring, tr. '  
*julöh* 'sound water depth, tr. '  
*juruet* 'strip, tr. '  
*juthök* 'jab up at something with a stick, tr. '  
*juthuek* 'beat clothes in washing, tr. '

Those which take *meu-* only:

- jaba* 'to cluck (hen), intr. '  
*jakeuen* 'to chew the cud, tr. '  
*jangeun* 'to hum, intr. '  
*juntee* 'to let hang down legs'

One which can take both:

- jujuet* 'suck, tr. '

Of these verbs those taking the prefix involve something durative happening to or in the body of the Agent. These are inherently middle. Those taking the infix are punctual, involving something done to something else. *jujuet* 'suck', which takes both, can be thought of either as something done to something else, or as a middle activity, not specifically directed towards affecting the thing being sucked.

Often *-eum-* involves the sense of an action or state being typical of its argument. No specific event or state is referred to:

- (4-196) *kuwat* =that *ji=meu-hëy*  
strong very 3 -AP-call  
*He calls out (to people) a lot.*
- (4-197) *ka=hana =deuh<sup>l</sup> =lë* *lön=k-eum-alön*  
IN NEGBE visible anymore 1 -AP-see  
*I cannot see anymore.*
- (4-198) *nyan ka=ji=saluen si =agam*  
that IN 3 whinge title male  
*There he's gone and cried (said of a small child).*
- (4-199) *si =agam=nyan kuwat =that ji=s-eum-aluen*  
title male that strong very 3 -AP-cry  
*He's a real cry-baby (said of a small child).*

Often *-eum-* derivatives are used in a purposive context, usually serialised with the verb *jak* 'go':

- (4-200) *ayah geu=jak=c-eum-eucah u =glë*  
father 3 go -AP-cut to mountain  
*Father is going (forest) cutting up to the mountain.*
- (4-201) *ji=jak=mu-bloe*  
3 go -AP-buy  
*He is going shopping.*

They are also often used attributively to form agent noun compounds or compounds referring to the associated instruments or accompaniments of an action:

- buru* 'to hunt'; *asee=muburu* 'hunting dog'  
dog hunt  
*cangkôy* 'to hoe'; *alat=ceumangkôy* 'hoe, n.'  
tool hoe  
*kruy* 'to winnow'; *bu =keumeuruy* 'rice for winnowers'  
rice winnow  
*nari* 'to dance'; *si =meunari* 'dancer'  
title dance  
*poh* 'to hit'; *ureueng=seumupoh* 'fighter'  
person fight

Most *-eum-* derivatives form intransitive controlled verbs from controlled verbs. There are a few exceptions:

*gadöh* 'lost' is a non-controlled verb. It forms the derivative *geumadöh* 'having lost something', which is also non-controlled. *geumadöh* refers to the state of an owner of having lost something. It is idiosyncratic in that it either takes the possessor of what is lost as its Undergoer, or takes possessor focus (4.3.3):

- (4-202) lôn ka=g-eum-adöh=pok=pirak (\*tapi jinoe ka=meuteumeung)  
I IN -AP-lost pot silver but now IN found

*I have lost my silver pot (\*but now I've found it).*

- (4-203) lôn ka=gadöh=pok=pirak (tapi jinoe ka=meuteumeung)  
I IN lost pot silver but now IN found

*I lost my silver pot (but now I've found it).*

- (4-204) ureueng=nyan lë =that g-eum-adöh<sup>1</sup>=geuh beuklam  
person that much very -AP-lost 3 last night

*A lot of that person's belongings went missing last night.*

- (4-205) kense<sup>1</sup>=lôn ka=gadöh  
pencil 1 IN lost

*My pencil is lost.*

- (4-206) \*kense<sup>1</sup>=lôn ka=geumadöh

*paloe* 'struck by sudden misfortune' is non-controlled and it forms the derivative *seumaloe* 'unlucky, unfortunate, allergic', which is also non-controlled:

- (4-207) haba=nyan s-eum-aloe =that ta =peugah bak=gopnyan  
news that -AP-unlucky very linc say to he

*It would be very dangerous to tell that news to him.*

*takôt* 'to fear, be afraid', *tuwö* 'forget' and *gasêh* 'love' are intransitive and either controlled or non-controlled. The derivative *teumakôt* is non-controlled. It refers to a more lasting fear, an 'attitude' of fear rather than a particular instance:

- (4-208) pakön t-eum-akôt<sup>1</sup>=teuh keu=gopnyan  
why -AP-fear 2 DAT he

*Why are you afraid of him.*

*teumuwö* 'forgetful' is non-controlled:

- (4-209) t-eum-uwö<sup>1</sup>=kuh  
-AP-forget 1

*I am forgetful.*

*geumasêh* 'compassionate, generous' is non-controlled:

- (4-210) gopnyan geumasêh=that  
she generous very

*She is very generous.*

*patêh* 'believe' is transitive. Its derivative *seumatêh* 'obedient, credulous' can be either controlled or non-controlled:

- (4-211) *aneuk=nyan s-eum-atêh =that galak<sup>1</sup>=teuh keu=jih*  
 child that -AP-believe very like 1inc to he

*That child is very obedient, we like him.*

- (4-212) *beu=ka=s-eum-atêh*  
 DES 2 -AP-believe

*Obey!*

#### 4.5.5. GI-

This derives transitive verbs from four verbs of physical posture and motion. The derived verb's Undergoer is something sat or stood upon:

*blôh* 'to wade'; *giblôh* 'to step upon in water'

*döng* 'to stand'; *gidöng* 'to stand on'

*duck* 'to sit'; *giduck* 'to sit upon'

*lhö* 'to churn up with feet'; *gilhö* 'to tread upon and thus cause damage to'

- (4-213) *soe tiek ija di=sinoo ka=meu -gilhö bak=lôn=jak*  
 who throw cloth at here IN INTR tread on at 1 go

*Who threw the cloth here? It got trod on as I was walking.*

#### 4.5.6. Onomatopoeic Derivatives

There are quite a variety of verbalising prefixes which when attached to onomatopoeic nouns form verbs with the meaning 'to make the sound'. Abdul Gani Asyik (1972:99ff) discusses these in detail. There is nothing I can add to his description. The following examples are taken from his work. The prefix is separated from the root. Examples are given of all the prefixes.

*keu-tep* 'click fingers'

*ka-ph'op* 'beat up eggs'

*ku-têl* 'cackle (hen)'

*geu-dh'am* 'stamp foot on wood floor'

*ceu-dr'ie* 'to whip'

*ca-kr'eh* 'scrape bottom of pot'

*cu-kh'eng* 'quarrel'

*leub'ak* 'beat with a flat instrument'

*la-brak* 'run into, collide'

*li-p'ok* 'smear with mud-like material'

Usually the relationship between the sound and the meaning of the root is quite clear, for example *keutep* 'click fingers'; *tep* 'sound of clicking fingers', but sometimes it is not so clear, as with *cukh'eng* 'quarrel'; *kh'eng* 'sound of a snarling dog', or *cah'ap* 'walk with long strides'; *h'ap* 'sound of large wings flapping slowly'.

## 4.6. Why not Adjectives?

Lawler (1977) in his analysis interpreted the non-controlled intransitive verbs as adjectives. All other descriptions of Acehnese also assume they are adjectives,<sup>2</sup> except Perlmutter (1982), who raises the question of whether there is a class of adjectives distinct from verbs. I have brought together in this section a list of the reasons why I believe Acehnese has no class of adjectives. This is because this is likely to be a controversial aspect of this grammar. This section is not an integral part of this grammar: it contains no information not found in other places.

To call the non-controlled verbs adjectives is to identify them as a class with the adjective classes of other languages. I will show that such an identification is not appropriate considering some recognised morphological, semantic and syntactic characteristics of adjectives.

### 4.6.1. Morphological Criteria

One could argue that the compulsory nature of Agent cross-referencing is evidence that verbs having this "agreement" are the true verbs, the assumption being that verbs typically take agreement but adjectives do not. This is Cowan's (1981) justification for having a class of adjectives. In fact the assumption is false. Predicate adjectives in certain Indoeuropean languages (e.g. Icelandic) take agreement with their subjects, and in many languages verbs take no agreement (e.g. Thai). In any case with Acehnese it is not strictly a case of verbal agreement but of clitic cross-referencing. The full argument NP can even appear cliticised in place of the pronominal clitic (8.6):

(4-214) *gopnyan ka=geu=jak*  
 he IN 3 go

*He went.*

(4-215) *ka=gopnyan=jak*  
 IN he go

*He went.*

If Acehnese had tense or aspect marked on the verb that could have been evidence to distinguish verbs from adjectives, but there is none. In fact a verbal complementiser which marks aspect, like the inchoative marker *ka*, can occur with all types of predicates, even nominals like *beungöh* 'morning' in (4-218):

(4-216) *gopnyan ka=sakêt<sup>l</sup>=geuh*  
 he IN sick 3

*He is sick.*

<sup>2</sup>See Cowan (1981), Snouck Hurgronje (1900), Budiman Sulaiman (1977), Abdul Gani Asyik (1972).

- (4-217) jih ka=ji=jak  
he IN 3 go

*He went.*

- (4-218) uroe ka=beungöh  
day IN morning

*The day is already morning.*

#### 4.6.2. Semantic Criteria

On the basis of their semantic characteristics alone the non-controlled verbs cannot be called adjectives. While it is true that they include all the semantic types most typical of adjectives: dimension, age, value, colour and physical attributes (Dixon 1977), they also include many distinctly unadjectival notions, including uncontrolled events like *rhët* 'fall', *beureutöh* 'explode', *reubah* 'topple over', *lahë* 'be born', *gadöh* 'become/be lost' and uncontrolled states like *na* 'exist' *tan* 'not exist'. Many of the most typical adjectival notions have derived forms that take an Agent argument (4.5.3.2):

- (4-219) bek neu=meu -rayeuk lagee=nyan  
DONT 2 INTR big way that

*Don't act big like that.*

- (4-220) awak =nyan teungöh=ji=meu -tajam-tajam  
people that middle 3 INTR fast-fast

*Those people are racing (each other).*

- (4-221) hana =göt ka=meu -tuha meu=nan  
NEGBE good 2 INTR old way that

*It is not good that you act old like that.*

- (4-222) lön ka=lön=meu -göt ngön=gopnyan  
I IN 1 INTR good with he

*I have made good with him.*

Several human propensity notions which might be regarded as adjectival have root verbs which can be directly used with either an Agent or an Undergoer:

- (4-223) ka=pungö di=jih  
IN crazy FM he

*He is crazy.*

- (4-224) bek ka=pungö keu=dara=nyan  
DONT 2 crazy DAT girl that

*Don't go crazy (in love) over that girl.*

### 4.6.3. Syntactic Criteria

Syntactic criteria do not distinguish two classes in the way one might expect for a verb - adjective contrast. All verbs - not only non-controlled predicates - can be used attributively (9.1):

(4-225) ureueng=jak=nyan  
 person go that  
*that person walking*

(4-226) ureueng=pula =padê=nyan  
 person plant rice that  
*that person planting rice*

(4-227) ureueng=sakêt=nyan  
 person sick that  
*that sick person*

Operators like *that* 'very' which might be expected only to apply to adjectives certainly do not distinguish the non-controlled verbs as a class. They apply to some verbs not in this class and do not apply to others that are:

(4-228) ureueng=nyan carông=that  
 person that clever very  
*That person is very clever.*

(4-229) \*bom =nyan beureutôh=that  
 bomb that explode very  
*\*That bomb very exploded.*

(4-230) ka=lôn=galak=that keu=jih  
 IN 1 like very DAT he  
*I like him very much.*

One could, if one so chose, arbitrarily define the sub-class of verbs which *that* 'very' can modify as adjectives, but there would be no justification for calling them a separate part of speech, and it would certainly not correspond to the class of non-controlled verbs.

### 4.7. Verbs Used Nominally

Verbs can be used to head NP's in Acehnese. There is no formal marking to indicate the nominal function of these verbs. Three cases can be distinguished:

[i] The nominalised verb can be without reference to a specific state or event, referring to a general category, as in the English: *Eating is good for your health*. The NP in which the nominalised verb occurs can have any of the functions of a regular NP. It may for

example be a verbal argument (4-231, 4-232), the subject of a non-verbal predicate (4-233, 4-234), a nominal predicate itself (4-234, 4-235), or an attributive nominal (4-236, 4-237):

- (4-231) trën mangat, êk susah  
descend easy climb difficult  
*Descending is easy, climbing is hard.*
- (4-232) dibak=tan get na  
PIV not exist good exist  
*Existence is better than non-existence: something is better than nothing.*
- (4-233) udêp ngön=peng, matê<sup>1</sup>=pih ngön=peng  
alive with money die EMPH with money  
*Living is with money, dying is with money.*
- (4-234) mita gah pu =beuhê droe  
seek fame CAUS brave self  
*Seeking fame pretending to be brave.*
- (4-235) di=po =leumo buet<sup>1</sup>=jih tarêk langay  
FM title cow work 3 pull plough  
*A cow's work is pulling the plough.*
- (4-236) ji=peuget keu=alat phö u =buleuen  
3 make to instrument fly to moon  
*[It] was made as an instrument for flying to the moon.*
- (4-237) ji=kheun lê=peulandök narit =peuingat keu=rimueng  
3 say by mousedeer speech remind to tiger  
*The mousedeer said to the tiger something by way of a reminder.*

As (4-234) and (4-235) show, the verb can be nominalised along with one of its arguments, or even, as in (4-236), with oblique adjunct phrases. Normally a nominalised transitive verb requires an Undergoer to be present. This immediately follows the verb, and is part of the NP headed by the verb. When an Agent is included (this is rather uncommon), it immediately precedes the verb:

- (4-238) geu=deungö get =that su peulandök peh  
3 hear good very sound mousedeer hit  
*He hears that the sound of the mousedeer beating (the drum) was very good.*

When a nominalised verb is used attributively, the head noun refers to an instrument, product or some other associated thing which goes with the event or state described by the verb, e.g. *sadeuep=keumeukoh* 'harvesting knife', *bu=keumeuruy* 'winnowing food (i.e. for the winnowers)'. This attributive usage is quite distinct from normal attributive use of verbs in a relative clause structure, which is based upon their predicate relations (9.1.2), e.g. *ureueng=keumeukoh* 'a person who is harvesting', where *ureueng* is the Agent of *keumeukoh*.



[ii] The nominalised verb can be used in a NP headed by a temporal noun or a locative noun used temporally. Compare the use of a true noun *prang* 'war' in (4-239) with the verb nominalisation in (4-240).

- (4-239) *geutanyoe teungöh=prang*  
we inclusive middle war

*We are in the middle of a war.*

- (4-240) *jih teungöh=keumeukoh*  
he middle harvest (verb)

*He is in the middle of harvesting.*

The NP within which the nominalised verb occurs may function as a predicate (4-240) or an adjunct (4-241):

- (4-241) *bek seumajöh sira=jak*  
DONT eat time walk

*Don't eat while you are walking.*

Similarly a nominalised verb can be used to form a PP:

- (4-242) *lön=eu gopnyan lam=jak*  
1 see him in go

*I saw him while going.*

- (4-243) *bek ta=peu -adat droe|=teuh bak=p'iep rukok*  
DONT 2 CAUS custom self 2 at smoke cigarette

*Don't accustom yourself to smoking.*

[iii] Nominalised verbs are often used as adjuncts of non-controlled main verbs. The sense is always that of an habitual or durative action or state:

- (4-244) *gop =nyoe gadöh klik sabê*  
other person this stirred up cry always

*This person (here) is always upset, crying and crying.*

- (4-245) *jih kuwat =that seumupoh*  
he strong very fight

*He fights a lot.*

- (4-246) *gopnyan caröng meu'en gita*  
he clever play guitar

*He is clever at playing the guitar.*

Compare (4-246) with (4-247) which involves a true noun in an otherwise identical construction:

- (4-247) *gopnyan caröng basa=aceh*  
*He is clever (at) Acehnese.*



## 5. Nominals

### 5.1. Formal Characteristics

Nominals in Acehnese are characterised by the fact that they can head NP's, and as such they can be arguments of verbs, objects of prepositions, and predicates in their own right. Although nominals can be used predicatively, they do not always allow pronominal clitics cross-referencing their subject (but see 5.5.5). This distinguishes them from verbs:

(5-1) *gopnyan guru*<sup>1</sup> (\*=*geuh*)  
he teacher (3)

*He is a teacher.*

Other typical characteristics of nominals are that they can be modified by a relative clause (9.1); they can be enumerated and quantified (5.9); they can be possessed and possess other nominals (5.3); they can be marked as topic with *di* (8.7). Acehnese has no definite or indefinite articles, but nominals can be 'pointed to' by the use of demonstratives (5.7).

The following subclasses of nominals are given a separate treatment in this description:

- pronouns (5.5)
- title nouns (5.6)
- demonstratives (5.7)
- generic nouns (5.8)
- numerals (5.9.1)
- classifiers (5.9.2)
- measure nouns (5.9.3)
- quantifiers (5.9.4)
- manner nouns (p112:[iii])
- locational nouns (p114:[v])
- onomatopoeic nouns (p115:[vi])

Nominals are not marked for case, number or gender. Plural can sometimes be suggested by reduplication (3.5) but this is only an expression of emphasis which in context may indicate plural; it is not a plural inflection. It is more usual not to mark plural in any way.

## 5.2. Internal Structure of NP's

The unmarked internal structure of a NP is:

{Measure Phrase}{Generic}HEAD{Attribute}{Possessor}{Attribute}{Demonstrative}  
{Title}

Some examples are:

(5-2) **teungku = ali = putéh = nyan**  
scholar Ali white that  
TITLE - HEAD - ATTRIBUTE - DEMONSTRATIVE

*that Teungku Ali the white*

(5-3) **sa =boh = keubeue<sup>1</sup> = neuh nyang=ji=cu**  
one CLASS buffalo 2 REL 3 steal  
MEASURE PHRASE - HEAD - POSSESSOR ATTRIBUTE

*one of his buffaloes that were stolen*

(5-4) **aneuk = lôn = nyan**  
child I that  
HEAD - POSSESSOR - DEMONSTRATIVE

*that child of mine*

(5-5) **bak = pisang = manyang = lôn**  
tree banana high I  
GENERIC - HEAD - ATTRIBUTE - POSSESSOR

*my tall banana tree*

(5-6) **duwa=droe = ureueng = nyang=sakêt = nyoe**  
two CLASS person REL sick this  
MEASURE PHRASE - HEAD - ATTRIBUTE - DEMONSTRATIVE

*these two sick people*

This order is fairly rigid, but certain variations do occur. The demonstrative may for example immediately precede the Attribute, and the Measure Phrase may follow the Attribute:

*ureueng=nyoe=nyang=sakêt* 'this sick person'  
*ureueng = nyang=sakêt = duwa=droe* 'two sick people'

This and other variations are described in the relevant sections below. The internal structure of Measure Phrases is described in 5.9. The Attribute is formally treated as a Relative Clause in this description (9.1), even in the case of semantically adjectival attributes such as (the verb) *manyang* 'high' in (5-5).

## 5.3. Possession

### 5.3.1. Formal Characteristics

It is an important cross linguistic feature of nominals that pairs of nominals form compound NP's by means of a syntactic relationship which can be roughly termed possessive. One nominal can be regarded as the possessor, and is syntactically dependent upon the other - the possessed nominal, which is the head of the phrase. In many languages this syntactic relationship is marked by the use of a special genitive case form for the dependent, possessing nominal; in others the relationship is simply expressed by an order. The latter is the case for Acehnese. A head nominal always precedes its possessor, e.g. *ayah=geutanyoe* 'our father'. When the possessor is animate (and in certain circumstances when it is inanimate, see 5.5.5.3) it can occur in clitic form: *ayah<sup>l</sup>=teuh* 'our father'. Also characteristic of the possessive relation are the possessor focus constructions whereby the possessor within what would otherwise be a Core Role NP itself assumes the privileged syntactic status of a Core Role (8.2.1).

### 5.3.2. Semantic Correlates

It is only in loose sense that the term POSSESSIVE is used for this syntactic relationship, for possession is only one of its meanings. The term ADNOMINAL (Lyons 1968:295 ff.) is an attractive alternative. However I have avoided this here for the reason that it is also often used to refer to attributive use in general. One can for example have an attributive nominal, using a predicative nominal relation, as in *rumoh=batee* 'stone house'. This kind of attribution is distinct in its syntactic and semantic properties from the possessive. The term GENITIVE would be attractive, but it suggests a case form, and in Acehnese there is none. I have preferred the term possessive because at least it is suggestive of one of the most characteristic meanings expressed by this syntactic construction. I used it only to refer to the syntactic construction, not to any of its meanings.

In the most general sense the possessive construction expresses a binary semantic relation between two nominals such that the identity of the "possessor" specifies the identity of the head. Often this semantic relation is quite general, not dependent on any specific characteristic of one of the nouns' meaning. Examples of such general binary relations are given below. In each case the relation is that of the head to its "possessor" nominal. These are relations of many to one, for example of part to its whole, or of thing to its place: one part is contained in a single whole, but a whole has many parts; one thing cannot be in two places at once, but a place has many things located in it:

#### [i] part - whole:

*ulee=lôn* 'my head'

*pintô=rumoh* 'door of a house'

*kulêt=rimueng* 'skin of a tiger'

#### [ii] thing - location:

*ureueng=gampông=nyoe* 'people of this village'  
*batee=ulee* 'head stone'  
*leuen=rumah* 'front yard of a house'

[iii] **thing - time:**

*ureueng=jameun* 'people of the past'  
*bu=beungöh* 'morning rice'  
*seumayang=jumeu* 'at Friday worship'

[iv] **possession - owner:**

*honda=lôn* 'my motor bike'  
*rumah=lôn* 'my house'  
*peng=aneuk=nyan* 'that child's money'

[v] **thing - maker/doer**

*teunuléh=jih* 'his writing'  
*buku=gopnyan* 'his book (i.e. that he wrote)'  
*buet=gata* 'your work'  
*pikêran=lôn* 'my thoughts'

[vi] **thing - user**

*honda=lôn* 'my motor bike (i.e. the bike that I am using)'  
*kama=si=ali* 'ali's room'

Arguably ownership and time could be regarded as a type of location. They can both be expressed in Acehnese (and in English) with prepositions which are primarily locative, like *bak* 'at':

*bak=si =uroe* 'one day'  
 at one day  
*hana =seudeukah =bak=lôn* 'I have nothing for charity'  
 NEGBE charitable gift at I

Other binary relations are more dependent upon the meaning of the head nominal, which inherently, as part of its meaning, suggests another nominal to which it has a semantic relationship. For every king there is a country, for every man a wife, for every child a mother, for every friend the one he is a friend of. The head nominal is the one that implies the semantic relationship. This is equally true for Acehnese and English. Thus one can speak of *aneuk=si=Ali* 'Ali's child', because *child* implies the existence of a parent, but not of *ureueng=aneuk* 'child's person' to refer to the parent, because the noun *ureueng* 'person' does not imply the existence of a child. Of course some pairs of nouns imply each other: one can equally speak of *raja=nanggroe* 'king of the country' and *nanggroe=raja* 'country of the king'.

## 5.4. NP's as Predicates

NP's can function predicatively. A terminological distinction is made between a PREDICATE NP and the NP it predicates, the SUBJECT NP. Thus in (5-7) *lôn* is the subject, *ureueng aceh* the predicate.

(5-7) *lôn ureueng=aceh*  
I person Acehnese

*I am an Acehnese*

The term SUBJECT is only used in this description in the special sense of subject of a non-verbal predicate.

### 5.4.1. Nominal Predicate Relations

It is useful to classify nominal predicates according to the semantic relation between the predicate and its subject. These relations are termed NOMINAL RELATIONS. For example in (5-7) the nominal relation is that of identity: *lôn*, the subject, is identified with *ureueng aceh*, the predicate. This description distinguishes the nominal relations of:

- possession
- identity
- manner
- substance
- location
- sound
- time
- number or quantity

[i] The possession relation. As far as I know, this can only occur alone as a pure predicative relation with the epistemological classifier *po* 'whose, owner' as head of the predicate (p158:[ii]):

(5-8) *rumoh=nyan lôn | =po*  
house that I whose  
SUBJECT PREDICATE

*I own that house.*

The possession relation can be combined with the substance relation or the number/quantity relation to give a complex predicate relation (see below).

The possession relation can be expressed non-predicatively by an identity relation:

- (5-9) nyoe atra =jih  
this possession he

*This is his (literally: this is his possession).*

Often the possession relation is expressed (non-predicatively) with a possessor focus construction (8.2.1):

- (5-10) lôn hana =moto  
I NEGBE car

*I do not have a car (literally: my car does not exist).*

- (5-11) ureueng=nyan meu=nan buet<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
person that way that deed 3

or: buet=ureueng=nyan meu=nan  
deed person that way that

*That person's work is like that.*

- (5-12) rumoh=nyan bintêh<sup>1</sup>=jih semen  
house that wall 3 cement

or: bintêh=rumoh=nyan semen  
wall house that cement

*That house's walls are cement.*

The general phenomenon of possessor focus constructions is discussed in 8.2.1.

Possessor focus constructions may occur in combination with other nominal relations described below. This deserves special mention here because often the predicate nominal relation is not obvious when there is possessor focus, as for example in the first sentence in (5-11).

[ii] The identity relation. Any NP can function as a predicate of identity. The subject of such a clause always has given reference:

- (5-13) asce =raga =nyan eungkôt=sôrê  
contents basket that fish tuna

*The contents of that basket is tuna.*

- (5-14) nyoe atra =jih  
this possession he

*This is his.*

(5-15) is an example with possessor of subject focus:

- (5-15) di=gopnyan jêh aneuk<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
FM he that child 3

*That is his child.*

[iii] The manner relation. It is useful to distinguish the small, closed class of MANNER



## NOUNS:

*akay* 'mind, personality'

*lagee* 'manner'

*sang* 'manner'

These manner nouns, and the epistemological classifiers of manner and degree:

*ban* manner

*kri* 'manner'

(*b*)*ubê* 'size'

'*oh* 'how far, how long'

'*et* 'how short'

can head a manner predicate NP. A manner predicate specifies a characteristic of its subject:

- (5-16) *jih akay=badeuek*  
he mind rhinoceros

*He is like a rhinoceros (crude and heavy in his manner).*

- (5-17) *rumoh=nyan lagee=nyoe sit*  
house that way this too

*That house is like this too.*

- (5-18) *ureueng=nyan ubê =raksasa<sup>1</sup>=geuh*  
person that size giant 3

*That person is as big as a giant.*

- (5-19) *jêh ban aneuk=nyan, sira ji=jak ji=seumajôh*  
that way child that when 3 go 3 eat

*That child is like that: he eats while he's walking (very rude).*

*ban* has a variant *meu* (p134:[ii], 8.3):

- (5-20) *bek meu=aneuk=beulaga=raya*  
DONT way child slave big

*Don't (you be) like a great slave child.*

Compounds of *meu* = (an allomorph of *ban* 'manner') + a bound demonstrative (5.7.3) are particularly common with a possessor focus construction, as in (5-11) and (5-21). The head of the subject phrase is usually one of:

*ban* 'way'

*buet* 'work'

*lagee* 'way'

*rupa* 'appearance'

*bagoe* 'type'

*kri* 'manner'

- (5-21) *si =pancuri meu=nan lagee*  
 title thief way that way

*A thief is like that (literally: the way - lagee - of a thief is that way - meu=).*

With an animate subject, manner predicates with manner nouns can bear enclitic cross-referencing:

- (5-22) *gopnyan ka=lagee=nyan<sup>1</sup>=geuh*  
 he in way that 3

*He's like that now.*

- (5-23) *gopnyan kôn=meu=nan<sup>1</sup>=geuh*  
 he NOT way that 3

*That's really the way he is.*

[iv] The substance relation. The predicate can specify the substance of which the subject is composed:

- (5-24) *papeuen bintêh=nyan*  
 board wall that

*or: bintêh=nyan papeuen*  
 wall that board

*That wall is made of boards.*

The substance relation can be used in combination with the possession relation:

- (5-25) *rumoh=nyan bintêh=semen*  
 house that wall cement

*That house has cement walls.*

A comparison with (5-12) shows that this is formally quite distinct from a pure substance predicate relation with a possessor focus.

[v] The location relation. The predicate can specify the location of the subject:

- (5-26) *rumoh=nyan geunirêng=rumoh=lôn*  
 house that side house I

*That house is next to my house.*

- (5-27) *nyoe pat lôn*  
 this where I

*Here I am.*

Only locational nouns can head a locative predicate phrase. These are nouns which have the semantic component *place* as part of their meaning. They include:

- antara* 'place between'  
*ateuch* 'place above'  
*barôh* 'downhill, downstream'

blah 'side'  
 cōng 'top'  
 geunirēng 'place next to'  
 keue 'place in front'  
 likōt 'place behind'  
 luwa 'outside'  
 miyup/yup 'place below'  
 rōt 'road, way'  
 si 'side'  
 teungōh 'middle'  
 tunōng 'upstream, uphill'

[vi] The sound relation. An onomatopoeic predicate can specify the sound caused by the subject:

- (5-28) **peue h'a-h'i=that gōgajoe=nyan**  
 what h'a h'i very saw that

*Why is that saw screeching so much?*

- (5-29) **soe teh-toh di=rumah**  
 who bang bang in house

*Who is stomping about in the house?*

Acehnese has a remarkable variety of onomatopoeic words. Gani Asyik (1978) has compiled a very detailed list of more than one thousand, classified according to syllable structure. (Verbs can be derived from onomatopoeics: see p88:[i], 4.5.6.) Onomatopoeics have special phonological characteristics (p21:[vi]). Onomatopoeic predicates cannot take cross-referencing clitics:

- (5-30) **pancuri teh<sup>l</sup>-toh<sup>l</sup>(\*=jih) di=rumah**  
 thief bang bang (3) in house

*A thief is banging about in the house.*

[vii] The time relation. The predicate can specify the time of the subject:

- (5-31) **kanduri=nyan singōh**  
 feast that tomorrow

*That feast is tomorrow.*

[viii] The number or quantity relation. The predicate, a Measure Phrase, specifies the number or quantity of the subject:

- (5-32) **ureueng=gampōng rame=that**  
 person village many very

*There are many villagers.*

- (5-33) **tuhan si =droe**  
 god one CLASS

*God is one.*

With an animate subject the predicate can bear a cross-referencing clitic:

- (5-34) **tuhan si =droe<sup>1</sup> =neuh**  
 God one CLASS 3

The number or quantity relation can be used in combination with the possession relation:

- (5-35) **boh =drien lhee =boh =pangsa**  
 fruit durian three CLASS section

*A durian has three sections.*

- (5-36) **kamoe si =layeue**  
 we one level

*We are of one age: the same age.*

- (5-37) **kamoe sa =boh =ku**  
 we one CLASS father

*We have one (i.e. the same) father.*

## 5.5. Pronouns

Pronouns in Acehnese are all animate (but see 5.5.5.3), and typically human. They are given in table 5-1. For inanimate pronominal reference it is necessary to use a demonstrative. The pronouns do not systematically mark number (5.5.2). Most are ambiguously singular or plural. They do however encode different levels of politeness or familiarity.

The clitic forms of the pronouns are given in table 5-2. Most enclitic pronominals have an epenthetic *h* when they occur last in their phrase (3.3.2.3). When these clitics are cited in this grammar they are usually given with this epenthetic *h*.

A full set of reflexive pronouns is derived from the enclitics after the model of *droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh*. These are given in table 5-3. The formal structure of these pronouns is that of a complex NP with *droe* 'self, person' as the head and the enclitic as the possessor (as in English *yourself*). These can be used non-reflexively (5.5.4.4).

### 5.5.1. Formation of Pronouns

The polite first person *ulôn*, *ulôntuwan* and its other variants derive from the nouns *ulôn* 'slave' and *tuwan* 'lord'. The original use was literal: *tuwan* is itself used as a term of address, so *ulôntuwan* originally meant 'your slave, lord'. This pronoun (and all its variants) can be singular or plural, just as *ulôn*, as a noun, can be singular or plural.

*droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh* is formed from *droe* 'self, classifier for person' and *=neuh*. Its commonest use is polite 2nd person, but it is also used for very polite, reverential 3rd person reference, especially towards God, the prophets, saints, and living holy people. *neuh* is never used as an independent word. In *droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh*, it is a clitic, with the word stress on *droe*. A causative derivative *peuneuh* exists which means 'to refer to someone using *neuh*'. To disambiguate the 2nd and 3rd person uses of *droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh* it is common to use *nyan* with

Table 5-1: Pronouns

First Person	
a. familiar (sg.)	<i>kee</i>
b. polite (sg/pl)	<i>ulôn, lôn, ulông, lông, ulôntuwan, lôntuwan</i>
Second Person	
c. familiar (sg/pl)	<i>kah</i>
d. neutral (sg/pl)	<i>gata</i>
e. polite (sg/pl)	<i>droe<sup>1</sup>=neu(h)</i>
Third Person	
f. familiar (sg/pl)	<i>jih</i>
g. polite (sg/pl)	<i>gopnyan, götnyan</i>
(e. reverential (sg/pl))	<i>droe<sup>1</sup>=neu(h)</i>
First Person and Second Person inclusive	
h. neutral (pl)	<i>geutanyoe, tanyoe</i>
First Person exclusive of Second Person	
i. neutral (pl)	<i>kamoe</i>

Table 5-2: Clitic Pronouns

Pronoun	Proclitic	Enclitic
a. <i>kee</i>	<i>ku=</i>	<i>=ku(h)</i>
b. <i>ulôn, etc.</i>	<i>ulôn=, lôn=, ulông=, lông=, ulôntuwan=, lôntuwan=</i>	<i>=lôn, =lông</i>
c. <i>kah</i>	<i>ka=</i>	<i>=keu(h)</i>
d. <i>gata</i>	<i>ta=</i>	<i>=teu(h)</i>
e. <i>droe<sup>1</sup>=neu(h)</i>	<i>neu=</i>	<i>=neu(h)</i>
f. <i>jih</i>	<i>ji=, di=, i=</i>	<i>=ji(h), =i</i>
g. <i>gopnyan, götnyan</i>	<i>geu=</i>	<i>=geu(h)</i>
h. <i>(geu)tanyoe</i>	<i>ta=</i>	<i>=teu(h)</i>
i. <i>kamoe</i>	<i>meu=</i>	<i>=meu(h)</i>

the third person: *droe=neuh=nyan<sup>1</sup>* 'he/she'. The historical origins of *=neuh* are apparently 3rd person since *neuh* is cognate with a Chamic third person pronominal. This historical tendency for third person pronominals to become used as second person can be observed at work today: in some dialects (e.g. Meulabôh on the west coast) the 3rd person polite *geu-* has become the normal most polite second person pronominal clitic, to give four levels of second person clitics.

*geutanyoe* (of which *tanyoe* is a free variant) derives originally from \**geuta* (cf. Malay *kita* 'we, inclusive') and the demonstrative *nyoe* 'this'.

Table 5-3: Reflexive Pronouns

- a. *droe*<sup>l</sup>=*ku(h)*  
 b. *droe*<sup>l</sup>=*lôn*, *droe*<sup>l</sup>=*lông*  
 c. *droe*<sup>l</sup>=*keu(h)*  
 d. *droe*<sup>l</sup>=*teu(h)*  
 e. *droe*<sup>l</sup>=*neu(h)*  
 f. *droe*<sup>l</sup>=*ji(h)*, *droe*<sup>l</sup>=*i*  
 g. *droe*<sup>l</sup>=*geu(h)*  
 h. *droe*<sup>l</sup>=*teu(h)*  
 i. *droe*<sup>l</sup>=*meu(h)*

*gopnyan* was formed from *gop* 'other person' and the demonstrative *nyan* 'that'. *gõtnyan* derives from this by assimilation of *p* to *t* before *ny*.

### 5.5.2. Plural Reference

Expressing plurality with pronouns is rather complex since the pronouns themselves are ambiguous with respect to number, the exceptions being *kee* 'I', *geutanyoe* 'we, inclusive' and *kamoe* 'we, exclusive'. There are various ways in which the plural reference of a pronoun can be emphasised:

[i] When addressing more than one person a second person pronoun can be modified with the demonstrative *nyoe* 'this', which may in context produce the desired effect, *gata=nyoe* 'you all here'. *nyoe* may in context also be used for a singular referent.

[ii] A plural quantifier such as *dum* 'all' may be used with any pronoun except *kee* 'I'. This is quite unambiguously plural:

*ulôn dum* 'we all' (exclusive of addressee)

*dum*<sup>l</sup>=*jih* 'they all'

*lhee=droe=gopnyan* 'they three'

*kah dum* 'you all'

*ban =duwa=gopnyan* 'both of them'

just two he/she

- (5-38) *di=droe*<sup>l</sup>=*neuh ho*      =*neu=jak rame-rame*  
 FM self 2      whither 2      go many many

*Where are you all going in such a number?*

Combined with demonstratives the noun *awak* 'person' is often used pronominally with a plural sense, although it is sometimes also understood as singular. It may have first, second or third person reference.

*awak=nyoe* 'we, you (pl), these people, they (or I, you (sg), he/she)'

*awak=nyan* is sometimes mistaken by those describing Acehnese as a 3rd person plural pronoun, e.g. by Lawler (1977).

The noun *gop* 'other person, not one of us' is used similarly, but for 3rd person only:

*gop=jêh* 'those people (or that person)'

### 5.5.3. Used with Demonstratives

Pronouns can be used with demonstratives (5.7), with certain constraints: first and second person pronouns can only be used with *nyoe* 'this', but third person pronouns can be used with any of the three demonstratives:

*jih=jêh* 'he/she over there'

*lôn=nyoe* 'I'

*droe=neuh=nyan* 'he/she'

### 5.5.4. General Use and Meaning

The use of the various levels of politeness depends on a variety of factors, the most important single one being relative age of the speaker and the referent. As a general principle, speaking to an older person you would use the polite 1st and 2nd person form, and speaking of an older person you would use the polite *gopnyan*. Speaking to or of a younger person you would use the familiar pronominal forms.

Although age is the main factor, there are several complexities which are best discussed separately in the context of each of the three persons.

#### First Person

*kee* is used:

[i] between children.

[ii] sometimes between same sex friends of the same age, not children. It is not so used by people who would be considered to have a high status, office workers, for example. The greater the friends' ages the closer the friendship would have to be for *kee* to be used. This type of usage varies across dialects. Pidie people are known for their use of very familiar forms. Bireuen people for their more formal speech.

[iii] towards children.

[iv] towards an adult of a lower generation than oneself, i.e. to your grown-up children, or to someone young enough to be your child. This can be regarded as rude if the younger person is an adult.

[v] as an insult, e.g. towards someone you are about to kill, or with whom you are very angry.

[vi] towards animals.

[vii] towards someone whom you regard as being of much lower social status than yourself, although this may be regarded as insulting and arrogant.

[viii] speaking to oneself.

[ix] towards God.

The other first person pronouns can be roughly ordered according to degree of formality as follows:

<i>lông</i>		less formal
<i>ulông</i>		
<i>lôn</i>		
<i>ulôn</i>		
<i>lôntuwan</i>		
<i>ulôntuwan</i>		more formal

In Aceh Utara *lông* or *ulông* are the commonest in speech among adult equals in informal situations. They are also used in normal speech to someone older than oneself, or to anyone whom one wished to be polite to without being too formal. Children often use these to adults. *lôn* and *ulôn* are sometimes used in these contexts, but they are rather foreign to the region in this usage. In written language and language in a literary style *lôn* and *ulôn* are used instead of *lông* and *ulông*.

*lôntuwan* and *ulôntuwan* are used:

[i] in formal relationships, e.g. in a conversation with a village head about a matter involving his office, or with an important civil official. On such occasions use of (*u*)*lôntuwan* is reciprocal.

[ii] in public speaking on a formal occasion, as for example at a ceremony or when preaching.

[iii] towards someone who by their age or religious learning deserves special respect (sometimes to one's parents).

*geutanyoe* 'we, inclusive of second person' is completely neutral with respect to politeness. This pronoun, most especially in its clitic forms, is often used as an indefinite pronoun which could refer to anyone, the speaker or the addressee included. This is particularly for stating general truths about human activity or behaviour:

- (5-39) *bruek ta =peugöt keu=aweuek*  
 coconut shell linc make to ladle

*Coconut shells are made into ladles.*

- (5-40) *meunyo ka=lheueh ta =meukawën*  
 if IN finish linc marry



ureueng=inông=geutanyoe=nyan êh sa =jan =geutanyoe  
 person woman we inc that sleep one time we

*Once you are married your wife sleeps with you (said by one man to another).*

- (5-41) nyang=patôt aduen bek ta =kheun adoe,  
 REL appropriate elder brother DONT 1inc say younger brother  
 nyang=patôt meuntroe bek ta =kheun raja  
 REL appropriate minister DONT 1inc say king

*It is appropriate not to call an elder brother younger brother; it is appropriate not to call a minister king.*

*geutanyoe* is sometimes used patronisingly in the second person, most typically in statements which affirm general principles of behaviour:

- (5-42) geutanyoe ka=chik, bek ta =peurangy lagee=aneuk=manyak  
 we inc IN adult DONT 1inc act way child infant

*We're grown up now; let's not act like a child.*

## Second Person

*kah* is used whenever *kee* is used (see above).

*gata* is used towards a younger person who deserves respect. This particularly applies when speaking to adults younger than oneself. A teacher addresses young adult students with *gata*. Parents often address their adult children with *gata*, though this depends to some extent on the nature of the parent-child relationship. *gata* is used to address younger adult or teenage brothers and sisters. A husband addresses his wife as *gata*. In short using *gata* implies that the speaker has the superior status (usually he or she is older), but that the addressee deserves respect. *gata* is also used towards God, because it expresses both respect and intimacy; this usage does not imply that the speaker has superior status.

*droe*<sup>1</sup>=*neuh* is used whenever you wish to be polite and not imply that you are in the superior social position. For example it is used towards your parents and older people in general. It can be used towards younger people who are respected because of their learning. It is also used whenever it is appropriate to use (*u*)*löntuwan*. High status equals (e.g. office workers and graduates) use *droe*<sup>1</sup>=*neuh* towards each other. In more formal situations and towards people of an older generation it is in fact more polite to avoid the use of any 2nd person pronoun at all, but rather to use titles (5.6) such as *ayah* 'father', *pak*=*geuchik* 'head of the village', and *teungku* 'religious scholar'. Nevertheless even if the full pronoun form *droe*<sup>1</sup>=*neuh* is avoided its clitic pronominal forms *neu*= and =*neuh* are still used for cross-referencing these titles.

## Third Person

*jih* is used:

[i] of lower status equals or of younger people.

[ii] of animals.

[iii] of anyone you would address with *kah* or *gata*.

[iv] of anyone you do not respect, for example people of other ethnic groups (especially non-Muslims) and one's enemies.

[v] in informal situations, of people whom you would otherwise refer to more politely. Some male students at university often refer to their lecturers as *jih* if they have a generally disrespectful approach to life, but this would only happen among themselves. This type of usage would not extend to speaking of one's parents or of religious scholars. Acehnese speakers living outside the Acehnese speaking community tend to use *jih* a great deal to refer to everyone, except parents and other older relatives.

[vi] of spiritual beings of low status.

Between the various clitic forms for *jih* there is no difference in who they could refer to. However *di-*, *i-* and *-i* are more colloquial and do not appear in written Acehnese. Some native speakers when questioned would say that they are 'wrong' forms of *ji-* and *-jih*. In spoken Acehnese all variants are common. These intuitions about what are the correct forms are consistently held by all manner of speakers. They are not literate intuitions based on a written standard, because most Acehnese do not read or write their language. Acehnese writers describing their own language typically do not mention the colloquial forms (Abdul Gani Asyik 1972, Budiman Sulaiman 1976).

*gopnyan* is used:

[i] of older people (than the speaker).

[ii] sometimes of younger people of high status, for example a young religious scholar or the children of nobility. The use of *gopnyan* is more common in formal social situations; politeness in referring to others is also politeness to other participants in the conversation.

*droe*<sup>1</sup> = *neuh* is used:

[i] of the very old.

[ii] of the deceased, especially one's ancestors, saints and prophets.

Any of these can also be referred to as *gopnyan*, which is not in any respect impolite.

Sometimes the use of a third person clitic is necessary where a full pronoun cannot be used because the identity of the person or persons has not been established in the discourse. In such cases the choice of clitic, whether of *gopnyan* or of *jih*, depends on various contextual factors. When one does not know the age or status of those referred to, to use *geu-* and *-geuh* is polite. In less formal situations the clitic forms of *jih* are perfectly acceptable. Of course if one were very old oneself almost every one else is younger, so in a formal situation it might be perfectly polite to use the clitic forms of *jih* for indefinite reference.

- (5-43) boh =reuteuek ji =ba di=gampông u =peukan  
fruit bean 3 take at village to market

*Beans are taken from the village to market.*

- (5-44) na kapay karam di=laôt  
BE ship sink in sea

ureueng=lam=kapay geu=langue bak=peurahô=lôn  
person in ship 3 swim at boat I

*A ship sank at sea and the people in the ship swam to my canoe.*

- (5-45) ureueng=sakêt geu=ba u =rumoh=sakêt  
person sick 3 take to house sick

*The sick person was taken to hospital.*

- (5-46) rôt =nyoe ban geu(/ji)=peugöt  
road this just 3 (3) make

*This road was just made.*

The more polite pronominal for (5-46) could be used if one were thinking of the road as being made by the local authorities. The more familiar pronominal could mean you were thinking of the labourers who built the road, or that you were being rather informal about the authorities themselves.

#### 5.5.4.1. Group reference

When addressing or speaking of a group, one uses the most polite pronoun appropriate for some individual in the group. Thus when speaking of adults and children together one would use the pronominal form appropriate for adults. The following example is from a folk story where the tiger is otherwise referred to as *jih* and the person as *gopnyan*. Together they are referred to as *gopnyan*:

- (5-47) teuma leugat ban =duwa=gopnyan, ureueng=ladang  
thus immediately both two he person cultivation

=ngôn=rimueng, ka=geu=jak=mita ukôm  
with tiger IN 3 go seek law

*Thereupon the two of them, the farmer and the tiger, went off immediately to seek arbitration.*

#### 5.5.4.2. Mixing levels

It is not at all uncommon for a clitic pronominal to be used which does not formally agree in level of politeness with a co-referential independent pronoun in the same clause:

- (5-48) di=lôn hana =ku =thee gata ka=geu=bôh keu=waki lê=raja  
 FM Ipo NEGBE 1fa know you IN 3 make to assistant by king

*I didn't know you were made the king's assistant.*

- (5-49) di=lôn dônya=akhirat nyan aneuk<sup>1</sup>=kuh  
 FM Ipo world end that child 1fa

*Whatever may befall, that is my child.*

There are two possible reasons for this:

[i] the speaker is in the process of switching levels. In (5-48) this is what is happening. The tiger, who is speaking, had not realised that the mouse deer was the king's assistant, and is switching levels, to speak more politely.

[ii] it allows an intermediate level of politeness. The full independent pronoun is the more salient in determining the level of politeness, so the intermediate level is closer to that of the independent pronoun than to the clitic. The degree to which such 'disagreement' is allowed varies between dialects. Aceh Utara is fairly conservative in this respect. The more common disagreements are:

- lôn* or *lông* as independent pronoun with the clitics for *kee* (*ku=* and *=kuh*);
- droe<sup>1</sup>* = *neuh* as independent pronoun with the clitics for *gata* (*ta=* and *=teuh*);
- gopnyan* as independent pronoun with the clitics for *droe<sup>1</sup>* = *neuh* (*neu=* and *=neuh*).

### 5.5.4.3. Clash of person

Sometimes a pronominal clitic is co-referential with a NP which has a compound structure, and includes two nominals of different person. In this case there is potential uncertainty as to which nominal the clitic is to agree with in person. Two cases may be distinguished:

[i] the independent NP is a comitative compound of NP + PP. In this case the clitic may agree in person with the head NP or with the whole compound, but not with the comitative PP if it would disagree with the head. The following four examples are taken from Abdul Gani Asyik (1982:23):

- (5-50) lôn ngôn=adêk lôn=jak bak=sikula  
 I with younger brother 1 go to school

*I go to school with my younger brother.*

- (5-51) lôn ngôn=adêk meu =jak bak=sikula  
 I with younger brother 1exc go to school

*I and my younger brother (we) go to school.*

- (5-52) \*lôn ngôn=adêk ji=jak bak=sikula  
 I with younger brother 3 go to school

- (5-53) **adək ngön=lôn ji=jak bak=sikula**  
 younger brother with I 3 go to school

*My younger brother goes to school with me.*

[ii] the independent NP may be a possessive compound. In this case the clitic may agree with the head NP or with the possessor:

- (5-54) **awak =jeupang geu=poh lê=awak =geutanyoe**  
 person Japan 3 hit by person we inclusive

*The Japanese were killed by our people.*

- (5-55) **awak =geutanyoe ka=ta =poh awak =jeupang**  
 person we inclusive IN linc hit person that

*Our people were killed by the Japanese.*

The rule in this case is that the clitic agrees in person with the nearest nominal. In (5-54) *geu=* agrees with *awak*, and in (5-55) *ta=* agrees with *geutanyoe*. (5-56) is unacceptable because it breaks this rule:

- (5-56) **\*awak =jeupang ka=ta =poh lê=awak =geutanyoe**  
 person japan IN linc hit by person we inclusive

#### 5.5.4.4. Special use of reflexives

The pronouns formed with *droe=* after the manner of *droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh* (table 5-3) imply a level of politeness equal to their corresponding full pronominal forms when they are used as REFLEXIVES: *droe<sup>1</sup>=kuh* 'myself' is used in the same contexts as *kee* 'I', and so on. (These forms are particularly common in colloquial speech.) However these forms when they are used as independent pronouns and not as reflexives imply a greater politeness than their corresponding full forms: *droe<sup>1</sup>=kuh* 'I' and *droe<sup>1</sup>=keuh* 'you' are especially common together in contexts when *kee* and *kah* would appear rude. *droe<sup>1</sup>=keuh* 'you' is less formal than *droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh* but *droe<sup>1</sup>=kuh* 'I' is roughly equal to *lông* in its level of familiarity. Common informal use in Aceh Utara is *lông* or *droe<sup>1</sup>=kuh* interchangeably as independent pronouns with *ku-* and *-kuh* as the clitic forms.

### 5.5.5. Function of Clitic Forms

#### 5.5.5.1. Proclitics

Proclitic pronominals are only used to cross-reference an Agent argument of a verb (4.2). They are attached directly to the verb.

## 5.5.5.2. Enclitics

Enclitic pronominals are used in several different ways. In the most general sense they cross-reference predicated non-Agents. The details of these various uses are not given here, but in the relevant sections, as indicated below. In brief the uses are:

[i] to cross-reference an Undergoer argument of a verb (4.2). The clitics are attached directly to the verb, or they may "float" to the right, attaching to an adjunct phrase (p201:[i]).

[ii] to cross-reference the subject of a manner (p112:[iii]) or measure (p115:[viii]) nominal predicate, or of a prepositional predicate (7.2), or of an expression with locative Undergoer incorporation (4.3.4). The clitics are attached to the predicate phrase:

- (5-57) **gopnyan lagee =nyan<sup>1</sup>=geuh**  
 he manner that 3

*He is like that.*

- (5-58) **lōng si =droe<sup>1</sup> =lōng**  
 I one CLASS 1

*I am alone.*

- (5-59) **abang di=keude<sup>1</sup>=geuh**  
 elder brother at town 3

*Elder bother is in the town.*

- (5-60) **asee=nyan keunōng=geulawa<sup>1</sup>=jih**  
 dog that struck stick 3

*That dog was hit by a stick.*

[iii] to cross-reference the head (which may be ellipsed) of an adjunct Measure Phrase (p137:[iii]):

- (5-61) **ka=trōk mandum<sup>1</sup>=geuh**  
 IN arrive all 3

*They have all arrived.*

[iv] to cross-reference the Agent in certain exclamatory constructions (9.7.3). This is in addition to proclitic cross-referencing. The clitics are attached in the same way as Undergoer enclitics:

- (5-62) **bah geu=meukawen<sup>1</sup>=geuh**  
 let! 3 marry 3

*Just let him go and get married!*

[v] as the topic of certain epistemological classifier constructions. These are attached to the epistemological classifier morpheme (6.4.4):

- (5-63) hana =jan<sup>1</sup> =kuh ku=peulheueh  
NEGBE time 1 1 finish

*I don't have time to finish it.*

- (5-64) keu=pue<sup>1</sup> =neuh  
for what 2

*What is (that) as far as you're concerned.*

[vi] with a illocutionary marker to cross-reference the argument or subject of an understood predicate (9.7.3). These are attached to the illocutionary marker itself or to *that* 'very' which modifies it:

- (5-65) bek<sup>1</sup>=neuh  
DONT 2

*Don't you (do it).*

- (5-66) bah =that<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
let! very 3

*Just let him.*

[vii] to cross-reference the topic of the idiom *hôm* 'who knows!' (9.8.4). The clitics are attached to *hôm*:

- (5-67) (di=gopnyan) hôm<sup>1</sup> =geuh  
(FM he) who knows! 3

*Who knows as far as he is concerned.*

[viii] to cross-reference a possessor NP (5.3.1). The clitics are attached to the possessed NP:

- (5-68) jaroe<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
hand 3

*his hand*

Included here is the use of enclitics to form reflexive pronouns (table 5-3).

### 5.5.5.3. Inanimate use of third person clitics

The third person clitic pronominals - but not their independent pronouns - can be used without animate reference. Inanimate proclitic usage is described in some detail in 4.4.4.

Of the enclitics, only =*jih*, the familiar or impolite third person form can be used inanimately. (*jih* and its clitics are also used to refer to animals.) Two general cases may be distinguished:

[i] the enclitic can be used referentially, either:

- a) cross-referencing an inanimate possessor NP. This possessor NP is always 'focussed', with the syntactic status of a core role:

- (5-69) **rumoh=nyan bintéh<sup>l</sup>=jih reulöh**  
house that wall 3 ruined

*That house's walls are wrecked.*

- (5-70) **rumoh=nyan bintéh<sup>l</sup>=jih semen**  
house that wall 3 cement

*That house's walls are made of cement.*

This type of construction is described in section 8.2.1. See also 4.3.3.

b) or to form an inanimate reflexive pronoun *droe<sup>l</sup>=jih* (8.10.2):

- (5-71) **bak =kayee=nyan ka=reubah keu=droe<sup>l</sup>=jih**  
tree wood that IN fall by self 3

*That tree fell down by itself*

[ii] the enclitic can be used non-referentially with the nominal *-eun-* derivatives of verbs, as a sort of deictic:

- (5-72) **meungnyo get ta =pubuet, teuntee get peunayah<sup>l</sup>=jih**  
if good incc do certain good effort 3

*If one works hard/does something well, it is certain that the effort will be correspondingly great.*

*jih* is also used to give loan translations of Indonesian *-nya*, e.g. Acehnese *biyasajih* from Malay *biasanya*. For this usage the *jih* is stressed: it is not a clitic.

## 5.6. Titles

When referring to or addressing another person one normally uses a pronoun or a title. The use of a title is generally more polite than using a full pronominal form. There is quite a wide variety of words that may be used as titles. Many are kinship terms. All titles can be used for either second or third person reference. Some commonly occurring ones are:

*bang* 'elder brother' - this is a Malay term and is traditionally used as a title of respect for non-Acehnese

*cut* 'female noble - 'princess'

*ibu* 'mother' - this is a Malay term and is used to refer to the wife of someone in civil authority or superior in one's place of employment

*lêm* 'elder brother'

*macut* 'aunt younger than father/mother'

*pak* 'father' - also used for those in civil authority, or for a superior at one's place of work

*po* 'lord, master' - also used as a fairly neutral title for animals, children and hated people

*si* 'person' - the neutral title, used especially for people of low status relative to the



speaker, e.g. younger people  
*teuku* 'male noble'  
*teungku* 'religious scholar' - also used as polite title for any adult Acehnese  
*toké* 'merchant' - also used for Chinese  
*tuwan* 'lord' - also used towards whites

Titles can be used with a personal name, or with an attributive phrase that is not a name:

- (5-73) *teungku=jöhan hana =geu=teupue sa =pue*  
 title Johan NEGBE 3 know one what  
*Johan doesn't know anything.*
- (5-74) *teungku=di=lhöng geu=pureunoe löng basa =aceh*  
 title at Lhöng 3 teach 1 language Aceh  
*The religious scholar of Lhöng taught me Acehnese.*
- (5-75) *caröng si =nyoe ngön si =jêh*  
 clever title this PIV title that  
*This (child) is cleverer than that (child).*
- (5-76) *lön geu=böh nan si =panyang*  
 I 3 give name title tall  
*I was named Mr tall.*
- (5-77) *si =pancuri=nyan hana =lön=teumeung=drop*  
 title thief that NEGBE 1 manage catch  
*I didn't manage to catch that thief.*
- (5-78) *si =nyang=ji=poh na, si =poh ka=ji=plueng*  
 title REL 3 hit BE title hit IN 3 run  
*The one who was hit is here, the one who did the hitting has run off.*

Parents are often referred to as the father or mother of their child, e.g. *ma=si=din*, *ma=din* 'Din's mother', or even *ma=si=nyak*, *ma=nyak* 'mother of child' and *ma<sup>1</sup>=i* 'his/her mother' (often used for referring to one's wife). It is more common to refer to women than to men in this way.

All titles except for *po* and *si* can also stand alone:

- (5-79) *teungku ka=geu=langkah u =kanduri*  
 title IN 3 go to feast  
*He has gone to a feast.*

The titles *po* and *si* can be used to refer to an archetypal member of a class of people or animals:

- (5-80) *si =pancuri hana =ji=jak=piké nasip =ureueng=laén*  
 title thief NEGBE 3 go think fortune person other

*A thief doesn't think about the lot of others.*

- (5-81) *di=po =leumo buet<sup>l</sup>=jih tarék=langay*  
 FM title cow work 3 pull plough

*A cow's work is to pull the plough.*

Similar to this is the use of these titles for mythical folk tale characters that embody the characteristics suggested by their name, for example *si=meuseukin* 'Mr Poor Man', and *po=peulandök* 'Mr Mouse Deer'. A comparable name from English folk tale tradition would be *Brer Rabbit*.

## 5.7. Demonstratives

Acehnese has three demonstratives. These are given in table 5-4.

Table 5-4: Demonstratives

Free Form	Meaning	Bound Allomorph
<i>nyoe</i>	'this'	<i>noe</i>
<i>nyan</i>	'that, close'	<i>nan</i>
<i>jêh</i>	'that, far'	<i>dêh</i>

Each demonstrative has a bound allomorph which is morphologically conditioned. This is described in 5.7.3.

When used attributively demonstratives usually follow their head (but see p158:[ii]). Any attributive phrase usually precedes the demonstrative:

- (5-82) *soe peugöt nyanyi=göt =that=nyan*  
 who make song good very that

*Who composed that very good song?*

but they can follow, although this is rather unusual:

- (5-83) *soe peugöt nyanyi=nyan=göt =that*  
 Who composed that very good song?

Demonstratives do not necessarily have a restrictive meaning; they can even occur with otherwise definite or given NP's, including pronouns, names and possessed nominals:

*lôn=nyoe* 'this me'

*jih=nyan* 'that he'

*gata=nyoe* 'this you: you here'

(5-84) *kamoe* =*lhee* =*droe* =*nyoe*  
 we exclusive three CLASS this

*the three of us*

(5-85) *si* =*ali*=*jêh*  
 title Ali that

*that Ali over there*

(5-86) *peue buet*=*teuh*=*nyan*  
 what work 2 that

*What is that work of yours?*

The use of demonstratives with pronouns has been fossilised in the form of the first person inclusive *geutanyoe* < *geuta* + *nyoe* 'this we' (cf. the cognate Malay *kita* 'we inclusive').

### 5.7.1. Semantic Correlates

The contrast in meaning between the three demonstratives is rather subtle. The simple glosses given in table 5-4 use the idea of relative distance. This can be misleading. A more potent idea is that of DISCOURSE CONTEXT. *nyoe* and *nyan* are both used to refer to things that are thought of as contiguous with the discourse - either locationally contiguous with the space occupied by the speaker and addressee, or informationally contiguous in that they have already been mentioned in the current discourse.

*nyoe* and *nyan* can be contrasted with *jêh*, which refers to something that is 'other', not perceived as within the current informational context, nor locationally contiguous with the participants in the discourse. *jêh* is especially used if there is a perceived intervening boundary. For example the far side of a river or road is always referred to with *jêh*, because of the barrier formed by the road or river.

*nyoe* contrasts with *nyan* in that it refers to things which are located in the immediate context of the speaker; *nyan* is used for things which are not directly contiguous with the speaker, but which are nevertheless still located within the context of the current discourse of the speaker and addressee together. Thus *nyoe* is used for things close to the speaker, or for things the speaker has just referred to or is just about to refer to. *nyan* is used for things thought of as distanced from the speaker, including things close to the addressee, or things the addressee has just referred to.

It is interesting that the addressee himself is never referred to with *nyan*, because he is located with respect to the speaker. Thus *gata*=*nyoe* 'this you' refers to the addressee, but *gata*=*nyan* 'that you' refers to another, a third person the speaker would address as *gata*. The use of *nyan* with a second person pronoun always gives a third person reference. However things that are physically nearer the addressee than the speaker are referred to with *nyan* because they are thought of as located with respect to the addressee, not the speaker.

Both *nyan* and *nyoe* can also be used for things thought of as being relatively close to the speaker and addressee together, but not specifically close to either. For example if two people were standing at the foot of a coconut palm, a certain coconut up in the palm could be *boh*=*u*=*nyan* 'that coconut' (because it is high up away from the speaker) or

*boh=u=nyoe* because it is thought of as closer than other coconuts.

A further illustration of the principle of discourse context is that *nyan* is used for things said by the addressee, i.e. 'that which you said', *nyoe* for things the speaker says. e.g. 'this is what I mean'.

The present time is always referred to using *nyoe*, since it is the temporal context of the speaker. This is because there is no shift of reference frame from the present, the domain of the first person. The distant past can be referred to with *jêh* if it is thought of as being separated from the present by an intervening past time reference frame. Compare for example the contrast between *baroe=sa* 'yesterday' and *baroe=sa=jêh* 'the day(s) before yesterday'. The future is referred to only with *nyan*, since it is perceived as being contiguous with the present reference frame. *jêh* is not possible because the future is not thought of as separated from the present by an intervening reference frame.

A time or place frame within a narrative is always referred to with *nyan*.

### 5.7.2. Used Pronominally

Demonstratives can be used pronominally, as in (5-87) and (5-88). This usage is particularly common since there are no pronouns which can be used to refer to inanimate things.

- (5-87) *jêh umông=tanyoe*  
that field we inclusive

*That is our field.*

- (5-88) *jêh gunung =seulawah=agam, nyoe seulawah=dara*  
that mountain Seulawah Agam this Seulawah Dara

*That is the Seulawah Agam mountain, this is the Seulawah Dara.*

When referring to people it is possible, but rather familiar, to use these demonstratives as pronouns:

- (5-89) *nyan aneuk=lông*  
that child I

*That is my child.*

Demonstratives can also be used as locative pronouns, temporal pronouns, or manner pronouns:

*nyoe* 'here, now, this way'  
*nyan* 'there, then, that way'  
*jêh* 'there, then, that way'

- (5-90) *nyoe na peng*  
here BE money

*Here is some money.*

- (5-91) 'oh =ka=geu=woe bandum, nyan barô=ji=têm =pajôh  
when IN 3 return all than just 3 want eat  
*When they had all returned, only then did he want to eat (it).*
- (5-92) gopnyan nyang=paling=jêh  
he REL most that way  
*He's the one who's really that way, if you know what I mean.*
- (5-93) nyan di=gata mangat=that lagoe ku=deungö ta=pajôh  
that way FM you nice very emphatic 1 hear 2 eat  
*I (can) hear you're eating really very nicely in that way of yours.*

### 5.7.3. Allomorphy

The bound demonstrative allomorphs =noe, =nan and =dêh occur in several fixed expressions after:

[i] the nouns *rôt* 'road, way', *blah* 'side', and *si* 'side':

- (5-94) inông=nyan geu=duek di=gampông=blah=dêh  
woman that 3 sit at village side that  
*That woman lives in the village over there on that side.*
- (5-95) ka=i=jak rôt=nan  
IN 3 go way that  
*He went that way.*

With *blah* and *rôt* the bound forms of the demonstratives are in fact optional. Thus also *blah=jêh* 'that side', *rôt=nyan*, etc. On the other hand, with a following bound demonstrative *blah* itself has a free variant *bla=*, and *si* the free variant *hi=*. Thus the full list of compounds with a bound demonstrative allomorph is:

*rôt=noe* 'this way'; *rôt=nan* 'that way'; *rôt=dêh* 'that way'  
*blah=noe*, *bla=noe* 'this side'; *blah=nan*, *bla=nan* 'that side'; *blah=dêh*, *bla=dêh*  
'that side over there'.  
*si=noe*, *hi=noe* 'here'; *si=nan*, *hi=nan* 'there'; *si=dêh*, *hi=dêh* 'over there'

There are two fossilised forms *meuranoe* 'this side of' and *meurandêh* 'far side of':

- (5-96) baroe lôn=hëy ureueng=meurandêh=krueng  
yesterday 1 call person far side river  
*Yesterday I called to a person on the far side of the river.*

These two forms function as NP's and presumably derive from a now lost noun \*/mūran/. Note that the morpheme boundary between \*/mūran/ and /dêh/ has been lost (p22:[ii]), so *meurandêh* is pronounced [mūrañeh], not \*[mūrandeh]. (Cf. *ban-dum*, pronounced [bandum °].)

[ii] the epistemological classifiers (p158:[i]):

- ban* 'manner'  
*(b)ubê* 'size'  
*dit* 'how few'  
*dum* 'how many'  
*'et* 'how far, short'  
*'oh* 'how far'

Of these *ban* has a conditioned allomorph *meu*= (6.3) in its compounds, which typically function as adjunct manner phrases:

- (5-97) *lheueh=ji=kheun meu=nan, po =peulandök<sup>1</sup>=pih ji=jak laju*  
 finish 3 say way that lord mouse deer EMPH 3 go immediately  
*After speaking that way the mouse deer went off immediately.*

The others form compounds which are commonly used as quantifiers:

- (5-98) *ta=jak=blœ breueh dum =nan*  
 2 go buy rice how many that  
*Go buy that much/all that rice.*

- (5-99) *aneuk<sup>1</sup>=geuh ubê =noe =rayeuk*  
 child 3 size this big  
*His child is this big.*

With all these epistemological classifiers the bound forms of the demonstratives are optional. So one can say '*et=nyoe* 'this short' as well as '*et=noe, ban=nyan* 'that way' as well as *meu=nan* and *dum=jêh* 'all those, that many' as well as *dum=dêh*. Perhaps also *ji=noe* 'now' from the epistemological classifier *jan* 'when' =*noe* should be included here. This is now a fossilised form: there are no equivalent formations with =*nan* and =*dêh*.

[iii] the prepositions *keu* 'to' and *u* 'to'. These give the compounds:

- keu=noe* 'to here'; *keu=nan* 'to there'; *keu=dêh* 'to there'  
*u=dêh* 'to there'

Note that *u* only combines in this way with =*dêh*. These compounds are formally PP's. The demonstratives function as locative nominals 'here', 'there' and 'over there':

- (5-100) *ka=jak keu=dêh*  
 2 go to there  
*Go over there!*

## 5.8. Generics

Acehnese does not have a highly developed system of generic nouns, but there are some that because of their frequency of occurrence are worth noting here. For a discussion of languages with well developed generic systems see Dixon (1980:102-3). Generics and clas-

sifiers have some semantic similarities, for they distinguish general categories of nominals, but they are distinct in their functions. Classifiers are only used in enumerating nouns (5.9.2). The main generics are:

- aneuk* 'child, seed, sprout, small thing'
- bak* 'trunk, stalk, stem, plant with stiff stalk, stem or trunk'
- bijeh* 'seedling, seed for growing'
- boh* 'fruit, egg'
- bungöng* 'flower'
- cicêm* 'bird'
- eungkôt* 'edible sea-food, animal protein food'
- ie* 'liquid'
- ôn* 'leaf, leafy plant'
- sie* 'meat'
- ureueng* 'person'

Generics are particularly important when referring to plants and their parts. Each plant name, e.g. *mamplam* 'mango' is not usually used alone. A generic is required to specify exactly what part of the plant is referred to: *aneuk*=*mamplam* 'mango seed'; *bak*=*mamplam* 'mango tree'; *bijeh*=*mamplam* 'mango seedling'; *boh*=*mamplam* 'mango fruit'; *bungöng*=*mamplam* 'mango flower'; *ôn*=*mamplam* 'mango leaf'. For a few plants the name can stand alone in referring to the fruit, seed, leaf or the plant itself. Thus *timön* 'melon' and *pisang* 'banana' can refer to their fruits; *u* 'coconut' can refer to the tree or its fruit; *baköng* 'tobacco' can refer to the leaf; and *padê* 'rice' can refer to the plant or its seed. In all these cases the generic can also be used, e.g. *bak*=*padê* 'rice plant'. *bak*, *boh* and *ôn* are rarely used alone; to give a general term they are simply combined with a nominal like *kayee* 'wood', e.g. *boh*=*kayee* 'tree fruits'.

*ureueng* 'person' is very commonly used, even where it is redundant: *inöng* 'woman'; *ureueng*=*inöng* 'woman'. *aneuk* can be used for children, young animals, or seeds, but standing alone it refers only to children.

*cicêm* 'bird' and *eungkôt* 'fish' are used to refer to bird and edible fish types: *cicêm*=*kuek* 'crane'; *eungkôt*=*yee* 'shark'. Land animals and insects have no generic; they are referred to just by their name: *leumo* 'cow'; *geumato* 'wasp'.

*eungkôt* is also used for the non-vegetable accompaniment to rice, even if is not fish: *eungkôt*=*sie* 'meat'; *eungkôt*=*boh*=*manok* 'egg'. *sie* is used for the meat of slaughtered animals: *sie*=*keubeue* 'buffalo meat'. *ie* is used for consumable liquids and for watery liquids in general: *ie*=*kupi* 'coffee'; *ie*=*u* 'coconut juice'; *ie*=*teubee* 'sugarcane juice'; *ie*=*tek* 'mother's milk' (nipple liquid); *ie*=*rabin* 'cow's milk' (udder liquid); *ie*=*babah* 'saliva' (mouth liquid); *ie*=*mata* 'tears' (eye liquid). It is not used for liquids such as sap, paint, petrol, and blood.

## 5.9. The Measure Phrase

In this section the parts of speech expressing measurement are described. These are numerals, classifiers, measure nouns, and quantifiers. These four parts of speech are used to form a MEASURE PHRASE. This has the internal structure:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NUMERAL} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{MEASURE NOUN} \\ \text{CLASSIFIER} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{QUANTIFIER} \end{array} \right\} \{ \text{ENCLITIC PRONOMINAL} \}$$

In general, a nominal in Acehnese can be modified by a numeral only with the help of a classifier or measure noun; thus *tujöh=droe=ureueng* 'seven persons', not \**tujöh=ureueng*. Some nominals can be enumerated directly for two or more, but in the singular they always require a classifier. This is the case with pronouns e.g. *geutanyoe=duwa* 'we two - the two of us' but *lôn=si=droe* 'I alone (literally: the one of me)'. A quantifier requires no classifier or measure noun. It functions as a Measure Phrase by itself.

A Measure Phrase usually precedes but may also follow its head and is part of the same phonological phrase:

*breueh =si=are* 'an are of rice'  
*si=are = breueh* 'an are of rice'  
*yum =duwa=reutöh=rupiya* 'a price of one hundred rupiah'  
*lhee=krak=papeuen* 'three pieces of board'  
*peuet=thôn=umu* 'four years of age'

*ladôm=ureueng* 'some people'  
 some person  
*boh =u =nyan=dum* 'all those coconuts'  
 fruit coconut that all  
*ureueng=rame* 'many people, a crowd of people'  
 person many  
*lë =that=eungkôt* 'a lot of fish'  
 much very fish

For a Measure Phrase expressing a relative amount such as *lë* 'many' its relative degree is accentuated by placing it before its head, which is the quantitative standard:

*lë =ureueng* 'many of the people, most people'  
 many person  
*ureueng=lë* 'many people; several people'

If the Head has explicit reference given by a demonstrative then *lë* can only precede, the head being the standard against which the 'many' are measured:

*lë=ureueng=nyan* 'many of those people'  
 \**ureueng=nyan=lë*

Some Measure Phrases, like that consisting of the quantifier *mandum* 'all', are inherently restrictive, and their head at the same time has specific reference. In this case either order is possible, whatever the head may be:

*ban =duwa=geutanyoe* 'both of us'  
 just two we  
*geutanyoe=ban=duwa* 'both of us'



*mandum=ureueng=nyan* 'all those people'

*ureueng=nyan=mandum* 'all those people'

Some properties of a Measure Phrase are:

[i] It can be used predicatively (p115:[viii]).

[ii] It can be used pronominally, with omission of the nominal being enumerated:

(5-101) *neu=jök keu=lön sa =boh*  
2 give to I one=CLASS

*Give me one.*

(5-102) *lön=bloe si =are*  
1 buy one are

*I buy an are.*

(5-103) *ka=geu=jak duwa<sup>1</sup>=geuh*  
IN 3 go two 3

*Two of them went.*

(5-104) *teuma geu=seutöt dum<sup>1</sup>=geuh sarë*  
thus 3 follow all 3 immediately

*Thus they all followed.*

[iii] In both of the above usages, and when it is floated, a Measure Phrase can bear a pronominal enclitic cross-referencing its head (p126:[iii]). See sentences (5-34), (5-58); (5-61), (5-103), (5-104); (5-109).

### 5.9.1. Numerals

There are nine cardinal numerals in Acehnese:

<i>sa</i>	1
<i>duwa</i>	2
<i>lhee</i>	3
<i>peuet</i>	4
<i>limöng</i>	5
<i>nam</i>	6
<i>tujöh</i>	7
<i>lapan</i>	8
<i>sikureueng</i>	9

Higher numerals are formed by means of number measure nouns such as *ribee* 'thousand' (p140:[i]) in descending order of magnitude:

- (5-105) *peuet=blah=ribee =si=reutôh =lhee=plôh=limông*  
 4       teen thousand 1 hundred 3       ten 5  
*fourteen thousand one hundred and thirty five*

It is possible to express a certain number as being less by an amount than a round figure:

- (5-106) *limông=plôh kureueng duwa*  
 5       ten less       2  
*fifty less two: forty eight*

Halves are expressed thus:

- si=teungöh* 'half' (*teungöh* 'middle')  
*teungöh=duwa* 'a half of two: one and a half'  
*teungöh=lhee* 'a half of three: two and a half'

Other fractions thus:

- lhee=bagi=peuet* 'three divided into four: three quarters'

For counting, (i.e. counting out) the numerals are used exactly as given above, however for enumerating nominals *sa* 'one' has two morphologically conditioned allomorphs: *sa=* and *si=*. *sa=* is used with the classifier *boh* and with epistemological classifiers; *si=* is used in all other contexts, and with a few epistemological classifiers (6.4.2.4). *sa* as an independent word has the meaning 'the same, identical'.

### 5.9.1.1. Ordinals

Ordinals are formed from the preposition *keu* + a cardinal numeral. These are formally PP's. As well as the ordinal *keu=sa* 'first', there is *phôn*, or *keu=phôn* 'first'. An ordinal can be formed from the interrogative (6.4.3) *padum* 'how many'; *keu=padum* 'the how many-th'. Ordinals are used without classifiers, most commonly occurring in a relative clause with *nyang*, the relative marker:

- (5-107) *'oh trôh bak=langet nyang=keu=phôn...*  
 when arrive at heaven REL to first  
*When (he) arrived at the first layer of the heavens .....*

### 5.9.2. Classifiers

Classifiers describe the shape or type of the thing being enumerated. They are a small closed class and include:

- bak*           long cylindrical things: trees, cigarettes. As an independent nominal this is also the generic for trunk or stem.
- boh*           for everything for which one would not use another classifier. This is by far the commonest classifier. As an independent nominal this is also

the generic for 'fruit, egg'.

<i>droe</i>	people, especially adults. As an independent nominal this is also the reflexive pronoun (table 5-3).
<i>keupêng</i>	flat, thin things: planks, sheets of glass, letters, panels of cloth.
<i>krak/krak</i>	long thin things, things which come in cut pieces of a certain shape: pencils, guns, pikes, pieces of rope, pieces of paper, speech, branches.
<i>neuk</i>	seeds, small stones or balls, seedlings. This is related to the noun <i>aneuk</i> 'child, seed'.
<i>ôn</i>	flat, thin flexible things: leaves, paper, card, thin board. As an independent nominal this is also the generic for leaf.
<i>peureudee</i>	bole of a tree. Meaning as an independent nominal: 'bole of a tree'.
<i>yue</i>	leaf of a banana or palm. Meaning as an independent nominal: 'leaf of banana or palm'.

Only *boh* forms the singular with the allomorph *sa*= 'one'; all other classifiers use its alternative form *si*=. Here are some examples:

*si* = *droe* = *ureueng* 'one person'

*si* = *krak* = *kense* 'one pencil'

*kaca* = *si* = *keupêng* 'a pane of glass'

*padê* = *si* = *neuk* 'a grain of rice'

*sa* = *boh* = *boh* = *manok* or *boh* = *manok* = *sa* = *boh* 'one egg'

*sa* = *boh* = *manok* or *manok* = *sa* = *boh* 'one hen'

*si* = *yue* = *ôn* = *pisang* or *si* = *ôn* = *ôn* = *pisang* 'a banana leaf'

The preceding three examples illustrate the difference between generics and classifiers. The classifiers in each case have a proclitic numeral whilst the generics are themselves proclitic to the head nominal. When a generic can be omitted this distinction is particularly clear. The noun *pisang* 'banana' takes an optional generic *boh* to refer to its fruit. Thus one can say *sa* = *boh* = (*boh* =) *pisang* 'one banana'. However *mamplam* 'mango' must have the generic, thus *sa* = *boh* = *boh* = *mamplam* 'one mango', not: \**sa* = *boh* = *mamplam*.

The classifiers *yue* and *peureudee* can also themselves be enumerated with the classifier *boh*. This gives compound Measure Phrases, e.g. *ôn* = *pisang* = *sa* = *boh* = *yue* 'one banana leaf'.

The noun *padê* 'rice' in its sense of 'rice grain' has the idiosyncratic characteristic that it can be enumerated directly in the singular with *si* = 'one': *si* = *padê* 'one grain of rice'.

### 5.9.3. Measure Nouns

These form an open class. Various metric terms are the most recent major additions to this class. The following subcategories are distinguished:

- certain numbers
- volumes
- shapes
- weights
- lengths
- areas
- parts or sections
- extents of time
- some obsolete money terms
- terms for kinds

Although measure nouns can usually be enumerated directly, there are some which can be enumerated only in the singular with the aid of the universal classifier *boh*. These can be identified as measure nouns by their occurrence in Measure Phrases, e.g. *mu* 'bunch' in *pisang=sa=boh=mu* 'a bunch of bananas', and by the fact that for numbers higher than one they can be enumerated directly, e.g. *pisang=si=plöh=mu* 'ten bunches of bananas'. The following list includes many of the measure nouns. It is not intended to be exhaustive. Those that can also be enumerated with the classifier *boh* are indicated by \*.

[i] Numbers:

- pasang* 'pair'  
*blah* '-teens'  
*plöh* 'ten: -ties'  
*reutöh* 'hundred'  
*ribee* 'thousand'  
*laksa* 'ten thousand'  
*juta* 'million'

[ii] Volumes: If the *are* is taken as a standard, several other measures can be expressed in terms of it:

- beulakay* 1/8  
*kay* 1/4 (also a half coconut shell full)  
*cupak* 1/2  
*are* 1  
*gantang* 2 (traditionally also the weight of 48 spanish dollars)  
*naléh* 16  
*gunca* 160  
*kuyan* 1600

Other volume measures do not fit into this system - these can all also be enumerated with the classifier *boh*:

- ceukue* 'an open handful' \*

- geutu* 'a pinch between thumb and index finger' \*  
*jeumpêt* 'a pinch with the tips of the first three fingers' \*  
*paleuet* 'an open handful' \* (singular only with *sa=boh*)  
*pangkee* 'an armful' \* (singular preferred with *sa=boh*)  
*reugam* 'a fistful' \*  
*teugök* 'a swallow of liquid' \*  
*titep* 'a drop' \* (singular preferred with *saboh*)

[iii] Shapes: These all can occur with *boh*:

- cilet* 'a smear' \*  
*idang* 'a serving' \* (singular preferred with *sa=boh*)  
*geupay* 'a lump' \*  
*tumpök* 'a heap, lump' \*

[iv] Weights: Traditionally Acehnese had several weight systems, used for different types of transactions. This is a rough summary of the relationship between some of the weights:

- manyam* (about three grams)  
*bungkay* = 16 *manyam*  
*katoe* = 12 *bungkay* (about 1 kilogram)  
*piköy* = 100 *katoe*

[v] Lengths:

- deupa* 'a fathom - height of a man'  
*hah* 'an ell - elbow to the tip of the middle finger'  
*jaroe* 'a finger's width'  
*jeungkay* 'a span - from thumb to tip of middle finger'  
*keurunyong* 'fathom from the feet to upstretched tip middle finger'  
*langkah* 'a pace' \*  
*lhuek* 'length from the shoulder to tip of middle finger'  
*paleuet* 'a palm width' \* (singular preferred with *sa=boh*)  
*urat* 'a measure of thread'

[vi] Areas:

- kayee* 'a measure of cloth'  
*yök* 'a measure of rice field area'

[vii] Parts and Sections:

- blah* 'side, half'  
*cumeh* 'a quarter sliced lengthways' \*  
*irêh* 'a slice' \* (singular preferred with *sa=boh*)  
*khan* 'a piece, half'  
*lapêh* 'a layer, storey'  
*ulah* 'a section of citrus, onion'

[viii] Extents of Time:

- beungöh* 'morning'

- buleuen* 'month'
- gö* 'a time, an instance'
- kutika* 'instant' \*
- malam* 'night'
- thôn* 'year'
- uroe* 'day'

There are some idiomatic expressions for time with *si*= 'one' e.g. *si=klêp=mata* 'a moment' (literally: a blink of an eye) and *ranup=si=gapu* 'a short time' (literally: a lime of areca nut, the time taken to chew one quid of areca nut).

[ix] Obsolete Money Terms:

- pese* '1/2 cent'
- s'en* '1 cent'
- peng* '2 1/2 cents'
- bengo* '2 1/2 cents'
- tali* '1/4 dollar'
- reunggêt* '1 dollar' \*

The present standard of currency is called the *rupiya* in Acehnese. This is a measure noun, but it is enumerated in the singular with the classifier *boh*: *sa=boh=rupiya* 'one rupiah'. For higher numbers *rupiya* is enumerated directly: *limöng=rupiya* 'five rupiahs'.

[x] Terms for kinds:

- macam* 'kind' \* (in the singular only with *sa=boh*)

[xi] Metric Terms:

- lite* 'litre'
- kilo* 'kilogram, kilometre'
- mete* 'metre'
- gram* 'gram'
- sentî* 'centimetre' \*

### 5.9.4. Quantifiers

There are many lexical quantifiers and also many derived constructions which function as quantifiers. The most numerous are the derived constructions involving epistemological classifiers (6.4.2). Some lexical quantifiers are:

- (h)*abêh* 'all, used up'
- bacut* 'a little'
- dît* 'few'
- dum* 'all'
- jay* 'many, numerous'
- ladôm* 'some'
- laên* 'another, a different'
- lë* 'many, much'

*mandum~bandum* 'all'  
*masêng-masêng* 'severally, variously'  
*rame* 'crowded, many'

A few quantifiers either only precede or only follow their head. These are restricted in other ways; they cannot float or be used predicatively. Those that only precede include:

*tiép* 'every'  
*meung* 'only, even, approximately'

and one that only follows is:

*treuk* 'in addition'

### 5.9.5. Measure Phrase Floating

A Measure Phrase can "float", occurring separately from the phonological phrase of its head:

(5-108) *lë geu=taguen eungköt*  
 much 3 cook fish

*She cooked a lot of fish.*

(5-109) *geutanyoe beu=ta =jak duwa<sup>1</sup>=teuh*  
 we inclusive DES 1inc go two 1inc

*Let us go as two.*

This is possible only for Core Role NP's (8.2). The object NP of a preposition cannot have a floated Measure Phrase.

Measure Phrases can float in one of two ways:

[i] When its head is a Core Topic it may float to the right. In this case floating may simply involve a phonological phrasal discontinuity with the Measure Phrase immediately following its head. Compare (5-110) with (5-111), which has an unfloated quantifier:

(5-110) *boh =u =nyan mandum ka=rhët*  
 fruit coconut that all IN fall

*Those coconuts have all fallen.*

(5-111) *boh =u =nyan=mandum ka=rhët*  
 fruit coconut that all IN fall

*All those coconuts have fallen.*

It may float into the verbal complex, in between weakly bound elements in a complement verb sequence:

(5-112) *awak =jéh ka=mandum=ji=woe*  
 person that IN all 3 return

*Those people have all returned.*

- (5-113) awak =beulanda ka=mandum=ji=timbang lê=awak =tanyoe  
 person dutch IN all 3 shoot by person we

*The Dutch were all shot by our people.*

It may float past the predicate:

- (5-114) boh =u nyan ka=rhêt mandum  
 fruit coconut that IN fall all

*Those coconuts have all fallen.*

- (5-115) gopnyan geu=jak koh padê si =droe<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
 he 3 go cut rice one CLASS 3

*He went to cut rice alone.*

- (5-116) awak =jêh ka=ji=poh lê awak =tanyoe mandum  
 person that IN 3 hit by person we all

*Those people were all killed by our people.*

Contrast the preceding example with:

- (5-117) awak =jêh ka=ji=poh lê awak =tanyoe=mandum  
 person that IN 3 hit by person we all

*Those people were killed by all our people.*

[ii] When the head is not Core Topic, but follows the predicate, the Measure Phrase may still float. Usually this is to the left, around the predicate, but floating to the right also occurs (5-119):

- (5-118) mandum ka=ji=woe ureueng=nyan  
 all IN 3 return person that

*Those people have all returned.*

- (5-119) na ujeuen jinoe bacut  
 BE rain now little

*There is a little rain now.*

- (5-120) jameun di=aceh lê =that geu=puga lada  
 formerly in Aceh much very 3 grow pepper

*Formerly a lot of pepper was grown in Aceh.*

- (5-121) lê ka=ji=kap lê=asee ureueng  
 many IN 3 bite by dog person

*Many people were bitten by dogs.*

It appears to be the case that a Measure Phrase cannot float out of an Agent NP marked by *lê*. Thus in (5-121) the meaning could not be *Many dogs bit people*. However floating to the left from an Undergoer NP is possible even when there is an Agent Core Topic:



(5-122) *lë ureueng=nyan ka=geu=pajôh boh =drien*  
 many person that IN 3 eat fruit durian

*That person ate a lot of durian fruit.*

## 5.10. Nominal Derivation: -EUN-

### 5.10.1. Formation

Although I refer to this morpheme as an infix, it also has a prefixed allomorph. The rules governing the application of *-eun-* are similar to those for the verbal infix *-eum-* 4.5.4, but there are certain differences, enough to require a separate treatment of these two affixes.

[i] With all roots beginning with a glide, a nasal stop other than *m*, or an unaspirated sonorant, *-eun-* is prefixed as *neu-*:

*ék /ʔe ʔ/* 'to climb, rise'; *neuék* 'rise, n.'  
*hëy* 'to call out to'; *neuhëy* 'the act of calling out'  
*hija* 'to spell'; *neuhija* 'alphabet, spelling'  
*ikat /ʔikat/* 'to tie, bind'; *neukat* 'bonds'  
*lêng* 'to pour'; *neulêng* 'something poured'  
*nguy* 'to wear, use'; *neunguy* 'apparel, something used'  
*noh* 'to put in stocks'; *neunoh* 'stocks'  
*nyue* 'to stretch out legs'; *neunyue* 'an extended, long part of a spinning wheel'  
*rajah* 'to incant' *neurajah* 'holy water (from an incantation)'  
*yue* 'to order'; *neuyue* 'an order'

[ii] For monosyllabic roots that begin with *d*, *-eun-* is prefixed as *neu-*:

*döng* 'stand'; *neudöng* 'height'  
*duck* 'to sit'; *neuduck* 'seedbed'

[iii] For all other verb roots *-eun-* is infixal as *-eun-*. The infixation is made into the initial syllable of a disyllabic stem. Two morphophonemic rules affect infixation of *-eun-*: the *n* of the infix may be denasalised to *l* (3.3.1.5) and a stem initial *t* or labial consonant may be dissimilated to *s* (3.3.1.1, 3.3.1.2). For those roots which are already disyllabic, infixation may be made directly.

*bantu* 'to help'; *beunantu* 'help, n.'  
*cane* 'to whet'; *ceunane* 'sharpness of a blade'  
*daôm* 'to roar, purr'; *deunaôm* 'roar, purr, n.'  
*gantoe* 'to exchange'; *geulantoe* 'thing or person exchanged'  
*jawuep* 'to answer'; *jeunawuep* 'answer, n.'  
*karom* 'to brood (eggs)'; *keunarom* 'brooded over eggs'  
*manyang* 'high'; *meunanyang* 'height'  
*peugöt* 'to make, fix'; *peuneugöt* 'thing made'  
*publoe* %peu-bloe% 'to sell'; *seuneubloe* 'thing sold'

*singöh* 'tomorrow'; *seuningöh* 'tomorrow'  
*tuléh* 'to write'; *teunuléh* 'writing'  
*tumpök* 'to stack'; *seulumpök* 'stack of rice sheaves'

As the example with *publoe* 'to sell' (< *peu* + *bloe*) shows, where there is a different underlying morphophonemic form it functions as the stem for infixation.

[iv] For monosyllabic roots a disyllabic stem is formed to which the infix can apply. Three separate cases may be distinguished:

a) Monosyllabic roots beginning with *Cr*, *Cl*, or *Ch* where *C* is a stop, form a disyllabic stem by adding an epenthetic *eu* or by reduplication of their initial consonant. Some roots allow both types of derivative. Thus the root *dröh* 'to bark' can form the stems %*deuröh*% and %*deudröh*%. These respectively have the derivatives *d-eun-euröh* and *d-eun-eudröh* 'barking, n.' Dialects vary considerably as to whether they have direct infixation or reduplication or both for particular roots:

*bri* 'to give'; *beuneri* 'gift'  
*bloe* 'to buy'; *beuneuloe* 'thing bought'  
*chöp* 'to pierce'; *ceuneuchöp* 'piercing, n.'  
*creuch* 'to harrow'; *ceuneureuch* 'the act of harrowing'  
*glêt* 'to circle'; *geuneulêt* 'circle, n.'  
*glöng* 'to plant, stick in ground'; *geuneulöng* 'stake'  
*gröh* 'to iron'; *geuneuröh*~*geuneuröh* 'ironing'  
*gröp* 'to jump'; *geuneuröp* 'jump, n.'  
*kröt* 'to cut with pincers'; *keuneukröt* 'thing cut'  
*krut* 'to scrape'; *keuneurut* 'cow dung hoe'  
*phêt* 'bitter'; *peuneuhêt* 'bitterness'  
*pheuet* 'to chisel'; *peuneuheuet* 'carving, chiselwork'  
*plah* 'to split'; *peuneulah* 'splitting'  
*prah* 'to squeeze'; *peuneurah* 'tools for squeezing, a press'  
*tröh* 'to arrive'; *seuneutröh* 'arrival, something arrived'

b) Other roots with an initial stop form a disyllabic stem by reduplication of their initial consonant with an epenthetic *eu*. Thus the root *jak* 'to go' forms the stem %*jeujak*% to give the derivative *jeu-neu-jak* 'way, path' and *poh* 'to hit' forms the stem %*peupoh*% to give the derivative *seu-neu-poh* 'hitting', with dissimilation of the reduplicated *p* (3.3.1.1):

*ba* 'to bring'; *seuneuba* 'something brought'  
*cop* 'to sew'; *ceuneucop* 'sewing'  
*gom* 'to invert'; *geuneugom* 'a hemispherical fishing trap'  
*koh* 'to cut, harvest'; *keuneukoh* 'cutting, harvesting'  
*me* 'to bring'; *seuneume* 'something brought'  
*peh* 'to hit, knock'; *seuneupeh* 'beating, e.g. the work on a piece of beaten copper'  
*sie* 'to cut'; *seuneusie* 'cut, n.'  
*têt* 'to burn'; *teuneutêt* 'something burnt'

c) Monosyllabic roots beginning with *rh* or *lh* form an irregular disyllabic stem by

prefixing %*seu*%:

*lhak* 'to flay'; *seuneulhak* 'tannery, thing tanned'  
*lhat* 'to hang'; *seuneulhat* 'tool for hanging'  
*lheuch* 'finished'; *seuneulheuch* 'the last, the end'  
*lhöp* 'to dam'; *seuneulhöp*~*seuneulöp* 'dam, n.'  
*rhah* 'to wash'; *seuneurhah* 'washing'  
*rhông* 'to put away'; *seuneurhông* 'thing put away'

The reason for this irregular stem formation is that *rh* always and *lh* almost always derive (historically) from *sr* and *sl*. The *h* of the derivative above is a later analogical formation, thus *seuneulöp*, above, represents the original type. See p96:(c) for a discussion of this. In some cases *lh* derives historically from *cl* or *tl*, and not from *sl*. This explains the idiosyncratic forms:

*lhak* 'to flay'; *ceuneulhak* 'tannery, thing tanned' (see variant above)  
*lheuch* 'finished'; *teuneulheuch* 'the last, the end' (see variant above)  
*lhö* 'to stamp'; *ceuneulhö*~*ceuneulö* 'stamping'  
*lhöp* 'to dam'; *teuneulöp* 'dam, n.' (a now archaic form, see variant above)

There is a still active tendency to generalise the stems formed with %*seu*%.

Some *-eun-* derivatives can drop their initial syllable. This is most common for stems which have a final syllable identical in form with the underlying (monosyllabic) root:

*neucah* 'undergrowth to be cleared' < *ceuneucah*, root *cah* 'to clear'  
*neugröh* 'ironing, n.' < *geuneugröh*, root *gröh* 'to iron'  
*neujak* 'way, path' < *jeuneujak*, root: *jak* 'to go'  
*neukoh* 'cut, n.' < *keuneukoh*, root: *koh* 'to cut'  
*neulheuch* 'the last, the end' (only in *keu*=*neulheuch* 'the last') < *seuneulheuch*,  
 root: *lheuch* 'finished'  
*neulhông* 'seedbed' < *seuneulhông*, root: *lhông* 'to sow in a seed bed'  
*neume* 'thing brought' < *seuneume*, root: *me* 'to bring'

and for derivatives with an initial *s* from a disyllabic root:

*langgôy* 'bun of hair' < *seulanggôy*, root: *sanggôy* 'bun of hair'  
*nibay* 'sheaf or sheaves of rice' < *seunibay*, root: *tibay* 'a single small sheaf'

In three cases this syllable loss has become fossilised, with the full form no longer attested:

*neugöt* 'order, peace' < *-eun-* + *göt* 'good'  
*narit* 'thing said' < *-eun-* + *marit* 'to talk'  
*neuheun* 'fishpond' < *-eun-* + *theun* 'to contain, bear'

### 5.10.2. Function

This infix creates nominal derivatives. It is applied productively to verbs, but it also gives derivatives from other nominals and from a few epistemological classifier constructions. Although this is a productive prefix, there are also many lexicalised meanings,

which may exist side by side with a regular, predictable meaning. The semantic principles involved in the application of this infix are:

[i] With nominals: the derivative usually has a similar meaning to that of the root, but with a plural, less specific sense:

*jamee* 'guest'; *jeulamee* 'bride price'  
*sambay* 'sambal: hot sauce'; *seulambay* 'spiced vegetables'  
*singöh* 'tomorrow'; *seuningöh* 'tomorrow'  
*sinuet* 'a whip crack'; *seulinuet* 'lots of whip cracking'  
*tibay* 'a small sheaf of rice'; *seunibay* 'sheaf, sheaves of rice'

[ii] With epistemological classifiers:

*ban* 'manner'; *seuneuban* 'manner'  
*sa=bê* 'same size'; *seunabê* 'height'

[iii] With verbs: derivatives are formed from root verbs, and from causative derivatives with *peu-*. Certain different types of meaning can be distinguished:

a) The most generally productive meaning is that of an instance of the state or event itself. This meaning is always referential, not generic. Thus one would not use a derivative of this kind to say 'harvesting is fun'; one would use a nominalised verb (4.7), with no derivation. However one could use a derivative to say 'his harvesting is very skilled':

*göt* 'good'; *neugöt* 'peace, order'  
*gröh* 'to iron'; *geuneugröh* 'ironing'  
*jak* 'to go'; *jeuneujak* 'going'  
*koh* 'harvest'; *keuneukoh* 'harvesting'  
*kuneng* 'yellow'; *keununeng* 'yellowness'  
*laju* 'immediate, quick'; *neulaju* 'speed'  
*phêt* 'bitter'; *peuneuhêt* 'bitterness'  
*peugöt* 'to make'; *peuneugöt* 'make, brand'

b) Another productive meaning is that of the Undergoer of the verb. There is considerable lexicalisation of meanings so as to refer to only a particular type of Undergoer:

*brat* 'heavy'; *beuneurat* 'burden'  
*glöng* 'to plant in ground'; *geuneulöng* 'a stake'  
*gom* 'to invert'; *geuneugom* 'a hemispherical fishing trap'  
*karom* 'brood over'; *keunarom* 'brooded over eggs'  
*muntée* 'pound rice'; *meuluntée* 'rice for pounding'  
*nguy* 'to wear, use'; *neunguy* 'clothes'  
*pajöh* 'to eat'; *peunajöh* 'cakes (not rice)'  
*peugöt* 'to make'; *peuneugöt* 'something made'  
*puba %peuba%* 'to cause to take'; *seuneuba* 'bridal gift'  
*sangköt* 'to hang'; *seulangköt* 'scare crow'  
*tirut* 'pointed'; *teunirut* 'point of something'

*trêp* 'long (of time)'; *teuneurêp* 'a long time'

- c) For controlled transitive verbs the meaning may be the instrument or means typically used to perform the action. This tends to be lexicalised to a specific instrument:

*hija* 'to spell'; *neuhija* 'alphabet'

*ikat* 'to tie, bind'; *neukat* 'bonds'

*krut* 'to scrape'; *keuneurut* 'dung hoe'

*ku* 'to grate coconut'; *geulungku* 'coconut grater' (this is an irregular form)

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

*prah* 'to squeeze'; *neunoh* 'squeezing tools'

*sumpay* 'to plug'; *seulumpay* 'plug, n.'

*tampay* 'to patch'; *seulampay* 'patch, n.'

*tingkue* 'carry in sling'; *seulingkue* 'sling, n.'

- d) For controlled verbs the meaning can be something produced by the action:

*cane* 'to whet'; *ceunane* 'sharpness'

*cop* 'to sew'; *ceuneucop* 'thing sewn'

*daôm* 'to roar, purr'; *deunaôm* 'roar, purr, n.'

*glêt* 'to circle'; *geuneulêt* 'circle, n.'

*peh* 'to beat'; *seuneupeh* 'beaten metalwork'

*pheuet* 'to carve'; *peuneuheuet* 'carving'

*teubök* 'to clear forest'; *seuneubök* 'a cultivation in the hills'

*tulêh* 'to write'; *teunulêh* 'writing'

*yue* 'to order'; *neuyue* 'order, n.'

- e) For a few verbs the derivative can have the meaning of the place in which something is done:

*duck* 'to sit'; *neuduk* 'seedbed, base'

*jak* 'to go'; *jeuneujak* 'path, way'

*lhak* 'to flay'; *ceuneulhak* 'tannery'

- f) There are a few unclassifiable derivatives:

*bantu* 'to help'; *beunantu* 'helper'

*dông* 'to stand'; *neudông* 'height'

*malee* 'shy, ashamed'; *meunalee* 'genitals'



## 6. Epistemological Classifiers

### 6.1. Introduction

In Acehese there is a closed class of EPISTEMOLOGICAL CLASSIFIERS which occur frequently. These are morphemes used in contexts where knowledge is at issue: the knowledge of something's identity, existence or attribute. They encode epistemological categories. Acehese has 17 epistemological classifiers in a rich categorisation of types of knowledge. These are shown in table 6-1.

Table 6-1: Epistemological Classifiers

Stressed		
Monosyllabic	Other	
Allomorph	Allomorphs	
<i>pue~peue</i>	<i>pa=</i>	what, whether
<i>soe</i>	<i>seu=</i>	who, which of comparison
<i>töh</i>	-	which
<i>pat</i>	-	where, whence
<i>ho</i>	-	whither
<i>ne</i>	-	whence, how (of degree)
<i>jan</i>	<i>ji=</i>	when
<i>po</i>	-	whose (possessor)
<i>ri</i>	-	appearance, form
<i>kön</i>	-	reason, antecedent
<i>dum~dup</i>	-	how many
<i>dit</i>	-	how few
<i>ban</i>	<i>meu=, mu=</i>	how (manner)
<i>kri</i>	<i>=ki=, keu=</i>	how (manner)
<i>bê</i>	<i>(b)ubê</i>	how big (size)
<i>'oh</i>	-	how far, how long
<i>'et</i>	-	how short

#### Marginal Forms:

<i>nyum</i>	-	taste
<i>bee</i>	-	smell
<i>yum</i>	-	price

Epistemological categories divide up kinds of knowledge. They categorise reference, by distinguishing different things that can be known about parts of the world, and states and events in the world. The traditionally termed *interrogative pronouns* or *wh-* words of English encode epistemological categories. When we say in English *Who is Fred?* we are asking for information about Fred's identity. Part of our meaning could be paraphrased

as 'I want to know about Fred with respect to his identity as a person.' On the other hand *Where is Fred?* means we want to know about Fred with respect to his place. Epistemological categories can be reflected in a wide variety of expressions besides interrogative forms. In English a relative pronoun specifies the category of knowledge supplied by its relative clause. Consider *I saw the field where John died*. In this (headless) relative clause *where* specifies that the relative clause conveys knowledge about a place. In *I saw the field that John bought* the relative pronoun *that* specifies that the relative clause conveys knowledge about a thing. Epistemological categories are also often distinguished by indefinite pronouns. For example *somewhere* could be paraphrased as 'a place, I am not expressing any knowledge of the place's identity'. Specifying the epistemological category restricts the indefiniteness to that particular category of knowledge.

The most basic epistemological categories appear to be distinguished in all languages. Words for *who* (person), *where* (place), *what* (thing), *how* (manner), *whether* (existence of state or event) seem always to occur in some form. Human beings seem to prefer to divide their expression of knowing into categories that are universal. As striking as the underlying similarities are the differences that languages show in the formal expression of epistemological categories. In this respect epistemological categories are idiosyncratic to each language. This is particularly so in those categories that are not amongst the most basic ones. Many languages do not have separate interrogative forms for *whither* 'direction to' and *whence* 'direction from'. In modern English the locative interrogative *where* is used in conjunction with prepositions to express these categories of knowing, thus: *Where are you going to?* instead of *Whither are you going?* In Acehnese the epistemological classifier for place *pat*, can be used for 'whence', but not for 'whither', for which a different classifier form *ho* is always used:

- (6-1) *pat gopnyan*  
 where he  
*Where is he?*
- (6-2) *pat trök gopnyan*  
 where arrive he  
*Where has he come from?*
- (6-3) *ho geu=jak*  
 whither 3 go  
*Where is he going to?*

Epistemological categories are reflected in a range of parts of speech in addition to interrogatives, indefinites and relative pronouns. For example in Acehnese the fact that one epistemological classifier *pat* may be used for *where* and *whence*, but not for *whither*, is reflected in the prepositional system, where one preposition *di* 'at, from' is used for static location and source of motion and another, *u* 'to' is used for direction of motion. Some epistemological categories are often reflected as nouns. In English the interrogatives *what*, *where*, *who* and *how* have as nominal equivalents *thing*, *place*, *one* and *way* respectively. To some extent these nominals can stand in a paradigmatic relation to the *wh*- forms:

*what*~*anything*~*something*  
*where*~*anywhere*~*somewhere*



*who~anyone~someone*  
*how~anyway~somehow*

This relation is also apparent in terms like *thing-a-mee-jig* and *whose-a-whats-it*, where both the noun *thing* and the its *wh-* equivalent *what* are used. Such terms meaning 'I don't know what' use morphemes encoding epistemological categories because knowledge is at issue: one cannot remember the name of what one is referring to. In Australian English one can use *thingy* as an adjective: *Don't get thingy with me kiddo!*, meaning 'Don't act like that; I cannot think of the word to describe that'.

There is a range of characteristic constructions in which morphemes that encode basic epistemological categories can occur. All involve the semantic component of 'know'. If a language has an ignorative marker (Wierzbicka 1980) like English *wh* or Russian *k*, then it typically occurs in conjunction with morphemes which encode epistemological categories. The ignorative marking is used when ignorance, i.e. lack of knowledge, with respect to a particular epistemological category is expressed. In contrast to ignorative constructions, a deictic may be used to specify the knowledge, within the general category indicated by the epistemological morpheme. For example, in its locative and temporal pronouns, archaic English showed a paradigmatic contrast of *wh-*, the ignorative, with two deictics *h-* and *th-*. Thus:

*where~here~there*  
*whither~hither~thither*  
*whence~hence~thence*  
*when~(now)~then*

The epistemological categories of place, direction, source and time were marked respectively by the root forms *-ere*, *-ither*, *-ence* and *-en*. In modern English, this system of contrasts has only a fossilised expression. Deictic functions are instead expressed 'suppletively', mostly using parts of speech that, although they express epistemological categories, are formally quite distinct from the ignorative *wh-* forms. Thus *who* has deictic equivalents *this person*, *that person*, and *how* has *this way*, *that way* or *like this*, *like that*. *when* has deictic equivalents *now*, *then*.

In Acehnese there is no formal distinction of this kind between ignorative and deictic expressions. Forms used for the ignorative, such as *pat* 'where' are also used deictically: *nyoe pat* 'here' (literally: *this where*). It is possible in Acehnese to distinguish a class of forms purely as epistemological classifiers, without any component of the ignorative. In English three parts of speech, with three unrelated forms: an interrogative *how*, a noun *way* and a preposition *like*, all express the epistemological category of manner: one Acehnese morpheme, the epistemological classifier *ban* can be used to translate all of English's three forms.

Grammars can be particularly obscure in their treatment of epistemological categories because they may not fit easily into standard parts of speech. Epistemological categories transcend part of speech distinctions: *who* and *what* are basically nominal, but *how* is adverbial (or adjectival), and *whether* is traditionally classed as a conjunction. In Acehnese a unitary treatment of the epistemological classifiers is both possible and necessary because they stand out clearly as not belonging to other parts of speech, although they are used in various ways to form other parts of speech. This chapter describes these usages.

## 6.2. Related Words

For several of the epistemological classifiers there are words of related form and meaning which are worth noting.

*pat* 'where' is related to the noun *teumpat* 'place'.

*soe* 'who' is derived historically under the influence of stress from \**si*.<sup>1</sup> The neutral title noun *si*=, which is always unstressed, still displays the original vowel.

*ne* 'whence' has a related prepositional form which only occurs in the combination *ni=bak* (7.3.1).<sup>2</sup>

*po* is also a title noun meaning 'lord', and an independent noun meaning 'owner'.

*dum* or *dup* occurs as a quantifier meaning 'all' and it is clearly also related to the quantifier *ladôm* 'some'.

*dit* is also a quantifier meaning 'few'.

*'et* is also a verb (non-controlled) meaning 'short'.

The three marginal forms only occur in a few constructions typical of epistemological classifiers. They are basically nominal and can occur as nouns:

*nyum* is a noun meaning 'taste'.

*bee* is a noun meaning 'smell'.

*yum* is a noun meaning 'price'.

## 6.3. Allomorphy and Free Variation

*peue~pue* 'what' is basically a dialect variation. *pue* is typically Aceh Utara pronunciation, but *peue* is also used there as rather literary, 'careful' speech. In other dialects, e.g. in Pidie, only *peue* is used. Its unstressed allomorph *pa*= is used to form interrogatives from other epistemological classifiers. For example *pa=dum* 'how many', *pa=kön* 'why'. An historical change \**a* > *eue* has taken place under the conditioning of stress. Subsequent to this, in the North Aceh dialect *peue* > *pue*.

*seu*= is an unstressed allomorph of *soe* 'who'. The stressed allomorph *soe* may be used to form the interrogative of *po*: *soe po* 'whose', but more commonly this compound is pronounced as *seu=po*.

*ji*= is an unstressed allomorph of *jan* 'when'. It only occurs in the formation *ji=noe* 'now'.<sup>3</sup>

*dum* 'how many' is in free variation with *dup*, but only *dum* occurs in combination with a following bound demonstrative: *dum=nan* 'all those, that much'.

The allomorph *meu*= (*mu*= before labials) of *ban* 'how' is used interchangeably with *ban* to head manner NP's, but only *meu*= is used in compounds with a bound demonstra-

<sup>1</sup>Cf. the Indonesian *siapa* 'who' from *si* + *apa* 'what'.

<sup>2</sup>In other dialects there are also formations with demonstratives: *ni=déh* 'from there', *ni=noe* 'from here' and with the preposition *lam* 'in': *ni=lam* 'from in'.

<sup>3</sup>Other dialects have *jeu=noe*.

tive: *meu=noe* 'this way'.

*keu=* and *=ki=* are unstressed allomorphs of *kri* 'how'. *=ki=* only occurs in the interrogative compound:

*pa =ki =ban* 'how'  
what how how

and *keu=* only in the compound:

*keu=jeuct* 'why'  
how can

*bubê* or *ubê*, in free variation, is the uncompounded allomorph of *bê* 'how big'. *bê* only occurs as the final, stressed element in compound formations:

*nyan=bê* 'that big'  
*tu-bê* 'to know how big'

## 6.4. Usage

### 6.4.1. To Form Verbs

Epistemological classifiers are used to form verbs of knowing. There are three types:

[i] A transitive verb is formed by prefixing *tu-* to the epistemological classifier:

(6-4) *lôn=tu -soe ureueng=nyan*  
1 know who person that

*I know who that person is.*

(6-5) *lôn=tu -pat ureueng=nyan*  
1 know where person that

*I know where that person is.*

*tu-* derives historically from a root verb *\*thu*, (cf. Indonesian *tahu* 'to know'). As an independent verb *\*thu* has become *thee* 'to know'. (The vowel change occurred under the conditioning of stress.) It usually has a clausal Undergoer complement (9.4.2), or is used as a noun meaning 'knowledge':

(6-6) *ka=lôn=thee ayah sakêt*  
IN 1 know father sick

*I guessed father was sick.*

(6-7) *h'an=ji=bri thee keu=lôn*  
NEG 3 give know DAT I

*He wouldn't tell me.*

All the main epistemological classifiers except *tôh* 'which', and the marginal classifiers

*nyum* 'taste' and *bee* 'smell' can form a verb with *tu-*. The meaning is that the Agent knows something, as specified by the classifier, about the Undergoer:

- (6-8) lôn=tu -ri gopnyan  
1 know appearance he

*I know what he looks like: I am acquainted with him.*

- (6-9) lôn=tu -soe gopnyan  
1 know who he

*I know who he is.*

- (6-10) lôn=tu -ho gopnyan  
1 know whither he

*I know whither he is going.*

In the following example a complement clause is the equivalent of the Undergoer:

- (6-11) hana =ku=tu -jan mie=nyan ji=teuka keu=noe  
NEGBE 1 know when cat that 3 arrive to this

*I don't know when that cat arrived here.*

With *pue*, *tu-* undergoes a vowel dissimilation to give *teu-pue* 'to know what'.

[ii] An intransitive know verb is formed by prefixing *meu-* (4.5.3) to an epistemological classifier. This gives a non-controlled verb. *meu=* can apply to all the main classifiers and the marginal ones *nyum* and *bee*. The Undergoer argument is the thing or person known. The "knower" is not an argument of this verb type. The meaning is that the Undergoer argument is known with respect to the epistemological category specified by the classifier:

- (6-12) jih meu -ri that  
he INTR appearance very

*He is very famous.*

- (6-13) aneuk=nyang=lham di=laöt hana =mu -pat lom  
child REL sink in sea NEGBE INTR where yet

*The place of the child who drowned in the sea is not yet known. (i.e. The body has not yet been found.)*

- (6-14) peue ka=meu -jan teuka guree =geutanyoe nyang=barô?  
whether IN INTR when arrive teacher we REL new

*Is it known yet when our new teacher will arrive?*

[iii] A transitive know verb is formed by prefixing the causative prefix *peu-* (or its allomorph *pu-*) (4.5.2) to the epistemological classifier:

- (6-15) meung=nyo hana =meu -dum bek ta =peu -dum dilee  
if yes NEGBE INTR how many DONT 1inc CAUS how many yet

*If it is not known how many, let's not determine how many yet.*

The meaning of this verb is that the Agent argument causes something to be known, as specified by the epistemological classifier, about the Undergoer. For example *peu-dum* of the above example means 'to determine the number of, to count'. The epistemological classifiers which can form this type of know verb are: *pue, soe, tōh, pat, ho, ne, jan, ri, dum, kri, and nyum*.

#### 6.4.2. As Nominals

Epistemological classifiers can be used nominally in a wide variety of ways. They may be used standing alone, not as compounds. Typically they have specific but indefinite reference:

- (6-16) *ka-geu=jak ho =laën*  
IN 3 go whither other

*He has gone in another direction.*

- (6-17) *jan -jan ji=jak bak=keude*  
when when 3 go at market

*Sometimes he goes to market.*

With *dum* 'how many' and *dit* 'how few' the compound 'interrogative' forms with *pa=* (6.4.3) can also be used in this way:

- (6-18) *teuma na (pa=) dum =uroe lheueng barō ji=teumeē*  
thus BE (what) how many day interval then 3 meet

*Only after so many days did he get to meet [him].*

Note that in (6-18) the epistemological classifier is used as a quantifier. This is typical for all those classifiers that refer to degree: *dum~dup* 'how many', *dit* 'how few' *bē* 'how big', *'oh* 'how far, how long' and *'et* 'how short'.

*pue* is used in two special ways worthy of mention here:

[i] In expressions involving the sense of 'to matter' or 'to care'. This is usually in the negative:

- (6-19) *hana pue -pue*  
NEGBE what what

*It doesn't matter.*

[ii] In expressions meaning 'very':

- (6-20) *jih sakēt lagee =pue -pue*  
he sick manner what what

*He is very very sick.*

### 6.4.2.1. With deictics

Epistemological classifiers can form constructions which have definite reference. These are marked by the property that their definiteness is deictic rather than established in discourse. This is an important difference between definite use of an epistemological classifier like *pat* 'where' and of the noun *teumpat* 'place': *teumpat=nyan* could typically mean 'that place, the one we are talking about'; *nyan=pat* on the other hand means 'that place over there'.

Two main types of deictic constructions can be distinguished:

[i] Several epistemological classifiers can be specified by means of the demonstratives *nyoe* 'this', *nyan* 'that' and *dêh* 'that over there' in the form of their bound enclitic allomorphs *=noe*, *=nan* and *=dêh* (see p134:[ii]).

[ii] Several epistemological classifiers can have a preceding deictic expression. A demonstrative can precede the following epistemological classifiers:

- pat* 'where'
- ho* 'whither'
- ban* 'how'
- bê* 'how big (size)'
- 'oh* 'how far, how long'
- 'et* 'how short'

In this case the demonstrative is stressed and the epistemological classifier may be either cliticised or stressed:

- (6-21) *jêh*<sup>1</sup>*=ban aneuk=nyan, sira ji=jak ji=seumajôh*  
 that way child that while 3 go 3 eat

*That's the way that child is; he eats while he's walking.*

- (6-22) *nyoe pat lông*  
 this where I

*Here I am.*

*po* 'whose' can be specified by a preceding pronoun with the same accentuation as the preceding demonstratives:

- (6-23) *rumoh=nyan ulôn*<sup>1</sup>*=po*  
 house that I whose

*That house is mine.*

- (6-24) *buku=nyan kôn gopnyan po*  
 book that not he whose

*Isn't that his book.*

*pat* 'where' can be specified by a preceding preposition *di=* 'at'. The speaker is pointing

out the location of something to the addressee.<sup>4</sup>

- (6-25) di=pat lōng  
at where I

*Here I am.*

- (6-26) di=pat na kense  
at where BE pencil

*Here is a pencil.*

*or: There is a pencil.*

#### 6.4.2.2. To head a relative clause

Nominal usage of an epistemological classifier is most common when it heads a relative clause. The relative marker *nyang* (9.1) may or may not be used:

- (6-27) ka=ci ban nyang=galak  
2 try how REL like

*Try [it] which ever way you like.*

- (6-28) kadang na soe peureulee euntreuk  
maybe BE who need later

*May be there'll be someone [who] needs [it] later.*

- (6-29) soe nyang=sakêt jeuet ji=lakee obat keu=nan  
who REL sick can 3 ask medicine for that

*Whoever is sick can ask for medicine for it.*

As mentioned above (p157), *pa=dum* and *pa=dit* can be used interchangeably for *dum* and *dit* in this context:

- (6-30) jeuet neu=bayeue (pa =) dum nyang=na yum moto=nyan  
can 2 pay (what) how many REL BE price car that

*You can pay whatever the price of the car is.*

This kind of relative clause can be conditional, often with reduplication of the epistemological classifier:

- (6-31) ho -ho ji=jak lōn=seutöt  
whither whither 3 go 1 follow

*Wherever he goes I will follow.*

<sup>4</sup>This is not accepted by speakers of some other dialects.

- (6-32) ubê -bê na=trôk jamee tanyoe=teurimöng treuk  
 how many how many BE arrive guest we receive later

*As many guests as may arrive, we will receive them.*

#### 6.4.2.3. To form negatives

Some epistemological classifiers may be immediately preceded by a negative *h'an* or *hana* to give a non-referential pronominal construction. Possible combinations are:

*hana pue, h'an pue* 'nothing'

*hana soe, h'an soe* 'no one'

*hana pat, h'an pat* 'no where'

*hana ho* 'to no where'

*hana jan* 'no time, never'

*h'an ban* 'no way'

These are particularly used to form subordinate clauses of the following type:

- (6-33) h'an pat ta =duek  
 NEG where linc sit

*There is nowhere to sit.*

- (6-34) h'an soe jak  
 NEG who go

*There is no one going.*

- (6-35) h'an pue ta =cok  
 NEG what linc take

*There is nothing to take.*

#### 6.4.2.4. To form indefinite pronominals

Various pronominal derivative compounds are formed with epistemological classifiers.

*barang=*, or one of its free variant forms *beurang=*, *barangka=* and *beurangka=* can be preposed before any of the main epistemological classifiers. It is not used in any other contexts. In most cases an English pronominal with *any-* or *-ever* provides an appropriate translation. The sense is that it 'doesn't matter' what the actual referent may be; it remains unspecified and is unimportant to what is being said:

- (6-36) jih ji=peugah=haba ngön=barangka=soe  
 he 3 say news with any who

*He talks with anybody.*

- (6-37) ji=preh trök barangka=ri meulatang laên  
 3 wait arrive any appearance animal other

*He waited for some other (any other) animal to arrive.*



- (6-38) *ka=bloe barangka=pue nyang=murah-murah mantöng*  
 IN buy any what REL cheap cheap just

*Just buy whatever is cheap: it is all the same.*

*dum* 'every, all' (in its capacity as a quantifier and not as an epistemological classifier) can be preposed to epistemological classifiers to give a pronominal. Possible combinations are:

- dum=pue* 'everything'  
*dum=soe* 'everyone'  
*dum=pat* 'everywhere'  
*dum=ho* 'to everywhere'  
*dum=kri* 'everyway'

- (6-39) *dum=pat na=geu=meukat ija*  
 all where BE 3 sell cloth

*Cloth is sold everywhere.*

*si* = 'one' forms a pronominal with indefinite but specific reference. This contrasts for example with *barang=* pronominals, which have non-specific indefinite reference. There are only three of these derivatives:<sup>5</sup>

- si=pue* 'a certain something, a certain kind'  
*si=ho* 'a direction'  
*si=pat* 'a place'

- (6-40) *neu=cok si =pue treuk*  
 2 take one what more

*Take something more/one more kind.*

An apparently recent development in the dialect being described is the use of forms with *sa=* in this way. This has been observed with *sa=pue* and *sa=pat*. It is rather marginal, and not acceptable in other dialects.

- (6-41) *neu=cok sa =pue treuk*  
 Take something more.

*sa* = 'one' can form various kinds of derivatives with epistemological classifiers:

[i] In conjunction with a clausal negative it gives a pronominal with no reference. The following compounds can be used in this way:

- sa=pue* '(not) anything'  
*sa=pat* '(not) anywhere'  
*sa=ho* '(not) to anywhere'  
*sa=ne* '(not) from anywhere'  
*sa=jan* '(not) anytime: never'

<sup>5</sup>Abdul Gani Asyik informs me that *si=ri* 'form, appearance' can be used in interrogatives.

*sa=kön* '(not for) any reason'

*sa=dum* '(not) any amount'

*sa=dit* '(not) any amount'

*sa='oh* '(not) any distance'

- (6-42) *hana =lông=jak sa =ho*  
NEGBE 1 go one whither

*I am not going anywhere.*

- (6-43) *hana =ka=taköt sa =pue*  
NEGBE 2 fear one what

*You are not afraid of anything.*

A verb of knowing formed with *tu-* or *meu-* described above can be used in combination with *sa=* and the same epistemological classifier used to form the verb. The meaning is 'to know nothing at all' and 'nothing at all is known':

- (6-44) *jih hana i=teu -pue sa =pue*  
he NEGBE 3 know what one what

*He doesn't know a thing.*

- (6-45) *gopnyan hana meu -ne sa =ne*  
he NEGBE INTR whence one whence

*Nothing at all is known about where he comes from.*

The actual category of knowledge specified may be irrelevant when one is emphasising someone's ignorance:

- (6-46) *hana =geu=tu -'et sa ='et*  
NEGBE 3 know how short one how short

*or: hana =geu=tu -'oh sa ='oh*  
NEGBE 3 know how far one how far

*He doesn't know anything at all.*

The epistemological classifier *soe* 'who' would more usually form this sort of construction directly, without *sa=*:

- (6-47) *hana =meu -soe soe*  
NEGBE INTR who who

*It is not known who.*

[ii] *sa=* may be used with the meaning 'the same'. These pronominals are often used as NP adjuncts or as nominal predicates:

- (6-48) *jih sa =pat ngön=lôn*  
he one where with I

*He is in the same place as me.*

- (6-49) h'an=geu=bi êh sa =pat di=mak  
NEG 3 allow sleep one where FM mother

*The mother wouldn't allow [them] to sleep together.*

- (6-50) lampöh=nyoe ngön=lampöh=jêh sa =po<sup>1</sup> =jih  
garden this with garden that one whose 3

*This garden and that garden have the same owner.*

- (6-51) gopnyan sa =ban=that akay duwa<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
they one how very personality two 3

*They two have very similar personalities.*

The following compounds can be used in this way:

- sa=pue 'same thing'  
sa=pat 'same place'  
sa=ho 'to the same place'  
sa=jan 'same time'  
sa=po 'same owner'  
sa=kôn 'for the same reason'  
sa=dum 'same amount'  
sa=dit 'same amount'  
sa=ban 'same way'  
sa=bê 'same size'  
sa='oh 'same distance, length'  
sa='et 'same distance, length'<sup>6</sup>  
sa=nyum 'same smell'  
sa=bee 'same smell'  
sa=yum 'same price'

sabê 'same size' is more usually used in quite a different sense with a temporal meaning 'always, without interruption'. It is often reduplicated:

- (6-52) jih sabê -sabê geu=poh lê=ayah  
he always-always 3 hit by father

*He was always being beaten by his father.*

- (6-53) ban =sarê trök rimueng keu=nan ji=kälön po =peulandök  
just when arrive tiger to there 3 see lord mouse deer

*As soon as the tiger arrived, it saw the mouse deer.*

Sometimes it is just used for emphasis:

<sup>6</sup>Cf. also *santreut* 'same length'.

- (6-54) *pa =kri êk lagee=nyan sarê*  
 what how can way that EMPH

*How can that way do!*

[iii] *sa=* can be used in a distributive sense, where each of something is apportioned to a separate category, specified by the epistemological classifier. What is apportioned is usually expressed by a Measure Phrase which immediately precedes the epistemological classifier formation:

- (6-55) *sa =boh sa =po neu=bloe pena lê=ayah*  
 one CLASS one whose 2 buy pen by father

*Father bought one pen each (for them).*

- (6-56) *bek that ka=pakoe keu=ureueng sa =boh sa =ne*  
 DONT very 2 pay attention DAT person one CLASS one whither

*Don't pay much attention to (a group of) people who each come from a different place.*

- (6-57) *ka=geu=jak si =droe sa =ho*  
 IN 3 go one CLASS one whither

*They each went off in a different direction.*

The following formations are used in this way:

- sa=pat* 'in each place'  
*sa=ho* 'in each direction'  
*sa=ne* 'from each direction'  
*sa=po* 'each (owner)'

The idiomatic expression *bacut=sa=ho* 'approximately' (literally: 'a little either way') is derived in this way with the quantifier *bacut* 'a little'.

- (6-58) *bacut =sa =ho poh =limöng beungöh ulôn ka=jaga*  
 little one whither stroke five morning I IN awake

*At about five o'clock in the morning I was already awake.*

### 6.4.3. To Form Interrogatives

Interrogative words are formed from epistemological classifiers. Some epistemological classifiers can occur on their own as interrogatives. These are:

- pue* 'what?, whether?'  
*soe* 'who?, which of comparison?'  
*töh* 'which?'  
*pat* 'where?'  
*ho* 'whether?'

Others can appear alone, but only in conjunction with *na* 'be, exist' (9.4.1.1):

*dum~dup* 'how many?'

*dit* 'how few?'

(*b*)*ubê* 'what size?'

'*oh* 'how far/long?'

'*et* 'how short?'

- (6-59) 'oh na=trôk bunoe  
how far BE arrive earlier

*How far did [you] get to earlier?*

- (6-60) dum na yum nyan  
how many BE price that

*How much is that?*

*po* 'whose' forms an interrogative with *soe* 'who', either *soe po* or *seupo* 'whose?'

Several other epistemological classifiers form an interrogative with *pa=*. The simplest interpretation is to regard *pa=* as an allomorph of *pue* 'what'. However in the case of *pa=ne* 'whence', it is semantically and phonologically plausible to analyse *pa=* as an allomorph of *pat* 'where'. Here are the *pa=* interrogatives:

*pa=ne* 'whence?'

*pa=jan* 'when?'

*pa=kôn* 'why?'

*pa=dum~pa=dup* 'who many?'

*pa=dit* 'how few?'

*pa=ban* 'how?'

*pa=kri* 'how?'

The form *pa=ne* is not commonly used in its literal sense of 'whence'. It is more usual to simply use *pat* 'where':

- (6-61) pat trôk  
where arrive

*Where have [you] come from?*

or to combine this with a preposition: *di=pat* 'from/at where'. The Indonesian preposition *dari* 'from' is also used to give *dari=pat* 'from where' or even *dari=pae* 'from whence'.

A triple compound interrogative is: *pa=k(r)i=ban* 'how?', which is the productive equivalent of *pa=ban*. The latter is now only used in non-interrogative (6.4.3.1), idiomatic expressions such as:

- (6-62) lôn pa =ban bôh  
I what how put

*I don't know what to say.*

More rarely speakers will compound even up to four epistemological classifiers:

- (6-63) tōh pa =kri=ban seuneuban<sup>1</sup>=jih  
 which what how how manner 3

*What was it like?*

Certain idiomatic interrogatives are formed by compounding an epistemological classifier with another part of speech: *pu=buet* (< *pue + buet*) 'what deed' (*buet* 'work, deed'), *ho=rōt* 'which way' (*rōt* 'way, road'), *keu=jeuet* 'how can' (see p155), *pa=dum=yum* 'what price' (*yum* 'price').

These interrogative formations described above are not just used for direct questions. The following sections describe two of their other uses.

#### 6.4.3.1. Knowledge complements

Interrogative forms can be used in complement clauses where the verb of the higher clause has a semantic component involving 'know' and the complement clause, which is the Undergoer argument of this verb, is what is known. The epistemological classifier specifies the type of knowledge in question:

- (6-64) hana =ji=tēm peugah pa =kōn ji=poh adoe<sup>1</sup> =jih  
 NEGBE 3 want say what why 3 hit younger brother 3

*He won't say why he hit his younger brother.*

- (6-65) hana =teuntee pa =ne awak =jamee =nyan  
 NEGBE certain what whence person stranger that

*It is not certain where that stranger is from.*

- (6-66) pa =kri=ban raya sakēt=atē rimueng h'an ēk ta =bōh hareuga  
 what how how big hurt liver tiger NEG can linc give price

*One cannot evaluate how very upset the tiger was.*

- (6-67) lōn tanyōng soe gopnyan  
 I ask who he

*I am asking who he is.*

- (6-68) gata ta=tu -ri tōh si =amat  
 you 2 know appearance which title Amat

*You know how Amat is.*

Where the complement is abbreviated to just the epistemological classifier itself, as in English *I don't know why*, then either the derived interrogative or the epistemological classifier root may be used:

- (6-69) ta=ci kheun (pa =kri=)ban  
 2 try say (what how) how

*You try and say how (to do it).*

- (6-70) h'an ji=təm peugah (pa=) jan  
NEG 3 want say (what) when

*He won't say when.*

#### 6.4.3.2. Exclamations

The interrogative forms are used in certain types of exclamatory sentences, just as in English:

- (6-71) pa =ne jeuet lagee =nyan  
what whence can manner that

*How can that way be all right!*

- (6-72) pue hiro kah  
what concern you

*What business is it of yours!*

- (6-73) bek neu=cok honda =nyan kadang 'oh na=geu=jak treuk  
DONT 2 take motorbike that maybe how far BE 3 go later

*Don't take that motorbike: who knows where he may want to go later! (He - the owner of the bike - may need it later.)*

#### 6.4.4. With Pronominal Enclitics

A special characteristic of an epistemological classifier is that it can be immediately followed by a pronominal enclitic. The epistemological classifier is usually the final component of its NP before the enclitic. The syntactic function of the cross-referenced NP is such that it always could be available to be[Arked by *di*, the focus marker. In other words it may be a verbal argument (6-74)-(6-75), the subject of a non-verbal predicate, which may be the epistemological classifier NP itself (6-76)-(6-78), or a non-predicated topic with the semantic relation 'as far as *X* is concerned' (6-79)-(6-81).

- (6-74) hana jan<sup>1</sup> =kuh ku=peulheueh, bah si =nan keu=dêh  
NEGBE when 1 1 release let side that to there

*There is no time for me to finish it. It can just sit there!*

- (6-75) hana jan<sup>1</sup> =kuh di=kee ka=kap lê=kah  
NEGBE when 1 FM I 2 bite by you

bunoe ka=kheun h'an ka=kap  
earlier IN say NEG 2 bite

*I have never been bitten by you! Earlier you said you wouldn't bite me!*

- (6-76) nyoe ho<sup>1</sup> =kuh ka  
 this whither 1 already  
*I've got to here already.*
- (6-77) nyoe pat<sup>1</sup> =kuh  
 this where 1  
*Here I am.*
- (6-78) pa =jan<sup>1</sup>=geuh keu=noe  
 what when 3 to here  
*When did he get here?*
- (6-79) keu=pue<sup>1</sup>=neuh  
 for what 2  
 or: keu=pue di =droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh  
 for what FM self 2  
*What is [that] for as far as you are concerned? What are you using that for?*
- (6-80) ka=rhöm keu=döh lam=tamah, hana keu=pue<sup>1</sup>=kuh  
 2 throw to there in scrub NEGBE for what 1  
*Throw it over there into the scrub; it's useless to you.*
- (6-81) beurangka=kön<sup>1</sup>=geuh lë, pue peuduli kah  
 any why 3 now what concern you  
*Whatever one's (literally: his) reasons may be, what concern is it of yours!*

For certain idiomatic compounds of epistemological classifier + noun (p166) the enclitic can attach to the noun, not directly onto the epistemological classifier:

- (6-82) ho =röt<sup>1</sup>=jih  
 whither way 3  
*Who knows where he went!*
- (6-83) pu =buet<sup>1</sup>=neuh  
 what deed 2  
*'What are you up to?'*



## 7. Prepositions

### 7.1. Formal Characteristics

Prepositions head PP's (prepositional phrases). A PP most typically acts as an adjunct in a verbal clause (8.8). Most of the examples in the section are of this usage. It can also be a predicate in its own right (7.2), or occur attributively:

- (7-1) ureueng lam=gampông hek =that geu=pubuet nyan  
person in village tired very 3 work that

*People in the village work very hard at that.*

A PP can also be used to encode a non-core verbal argument like a Dative (8.2).

A preposition is always unstressed: the following NP bears the phrase stress of the PP.

### 7.2. PP's as Predicates

PP's can be predicates in their own right:

- (7-2) trieng keu=beunteueng  
bamboo to rail

*Bamboo is for rails.*

- (7-3) di=rumoh mak, ayah bak=beng  
at house mother father at coffee shop

*Mother is at home, father is in the coffee shop.*

- (7-4) bajee=nyoe keu=kah  
shirt this for you

*This shirt is for you.*

- (7-5) cuda ka u =rumoh|=geuh  
elder sister IN to house 3

*Elder sister has gone home.*

As this preceding example shows, a predicate PP can bear an enclitic which cross-references its animate subject.

Not all prepositional meanings can be expressed predicatively. Some that can are purpose (7-2), location (7-3), benefactive (7-4) and direction (7-5). The object or direction of thought or emotion (p174:[i]) cannot be used predicatively.

### 7.3. Prepositional Semantics

Prepositions form a small closed word class. In Acehnese their meanings are far simpler and more regular than in English. Even when used to encode verbal arguments, the semantic principles involved are regular and can be simply stated. Here are the prepositions with their basic meanings:

<i>bak</i>	location, source, goal
<i>dalam~lam~lang</i>	location in
<i>di~i~ni</i>	location, source of motion
<i>keu</i>	goal, benefactive
<i>ngön</i>	comitative, instrument
<i>u</i>	goal of motion

*dalam*, *lang* and *lam* are free variants. *di* and *i* are free variants, but *ni* is in complementary distribution with these two; it only occurs in preceding the preposition *bak* (7.3.1).

*dalam~lam~lang* and *ngön* could be regarded as nominals - they are homonymous with the nouns *dalam* 'inside part', and *ngön* 'companion, instrument, tool, friend'.

Prepositions can occur in the combinations:

<i>di=dalam</i>	location inside, motion from inside
<i>u=dalam</i>	motion into
<i>ni=bak</i>	source
<i>u=bak</i>	goal

#### 7.3.1. *bak*

*bak* is, in the most general sense, used for location at, and motion to or away from. The two contrasting directions of motion can usually be at least partially disambiguated by the addition of *ni*= 'location at, motion from' or *u* 'motion to':

[i] The cases where either *bak* or *ni=bak* can be used are:

a) For physical location when the location itself is in some sense the means of maintaining the position. For example it is used for location of a thing in a person's possession, and for supported location on or against something. There is often a physical interaction between the location and the thing located:

(7-6) *seumantöng=nyan meu -gantung bak=ön =pisang*  
*bat that INTR hang at leaf banana*

*That bat is hanging on a banana leaf.*

- (7-7) **kitab=nyan na bak=jih**  
book that BE at she

*That book is with her.*

- (7-8) **soe rika bungōng ni=bak=papeuen=meunasah =nyoe**  
who draw design at at board meeting house this

*Who drew the designs on the boards of this meeting house?"*

b) For temporal location, except that *ni=bak* is usually only used in fixed expressions:

- (7-9) **ni=bak si =uroe**  
at at one day

*one day*

- (7-10) **bak=buleuen=nyoe geutanyoe ta =trën u =blang**  
at moon this we inclusive inlc descend to rice field all

*In this month we go (to work) in the rice fields.*

- (7-11) **bek ta=meu -layeue bak=angen=brat**  
DONT 2 INTR sail at wind heavy

*Don't go sailing when there is a heavy wind.*

c) For the addressee of speech verbs, if a reply is expected (*u=bak* is used otherwise):

- (7-12) **bek neu=tanyōng (ni=)bak=lōn**  
DONT 2 ask (at) at I

*Don't ask me.*

d) For the source of receiving verbs (the Agent is the goal).

- (7-13) **geu=teurimōng boh =mamplam bak=ayah**  
3 receive fruit mango at father

*He received (took) a mango from his father.*

- (7-14) **ji=blœ breueh ni=bak=lōn**  
3 buy rice at at I

*He buys rice from me.*

e) To indicate that what is being said is an opinion:

- (7-15) **(ni=)bak=lōn hana =gōt meu=nan**  
(at) at I NEGBE good way that

*In my opinion that way is not good.*

f) To express the source of becoming:

- (7-16) ureueng=nyan jeuet (ni=)bak batee  
 person that become (at) at stone

*That person came (into being) from a stone.*

[ii] The cases where either *bak* or *u=bak* can be used are:

a) For the goal of motion when it is not a noun referring to a place, or when the motion is directed towards, but not necessarily reaching the goal.

- (7-17) ta =jak bak=teungku  
 1inc go to teacher

*Let's go to the religious teacher.*

- (7-18) lön=rhöm batee bak=boh =mamplam  
 1 throw stone at fruit mango

*I throw a stone at a mango.*

- (7-19) ji=ludah u =bak=tanöh  
 3 spit to at ground

*He spat at the ground.*

- (7-20) baroesa lön=jak u =bak=rumah=gopnyan,  
 the other day 1 go to at house he

hana =göt sambötan meu =bacut<sup>1</sup> =pih  
 NEGBE good connections even little EMPH

*The other day I went to his house, but the way wasn't even half good.*

b) For the addressee of speech verbs:

- (7-21) ka=peugah (u=) bak=lön pue -pue nyang=salah  
 2 say (to) at I what what REL at fault

*Tell me whatever is wrong.*

- (7-22) bek neu=tanyöng (u=) bak=lön  
 DONT 2 ask (to) at I

*Don't ask me.*

c) For the intermediate goal (direct recipient) of giving verbs (the Agent in the source):

- (7-23) ji=publoe breueh bak=lön  
 3 sell rice at I

*He sells rice to me.*

- (7-24) ji=jök buku=lön u =bak=mak  
 3 give book I to at mother

*He gave (handed) my book to mother.*

d) With some causative derived verbs to mark the participant that corresponds to the root's Agent (4.5.2):

- (7-25) **ka=pu -mat nyoe bak=jih**  
2 CAUS hold this at he

*Have him hold this.*

[iii] *ni=bak* (but not *bak* or *ubak*) is used as a comparative pivot (8.11).

### 7.3.2. *dalam*

*dalam* (and its free variants *lam*, *lang*) is used to indicate location within and motion into for most motion verbs:

- (7-26) **kah bek ka=neuraba lam=seupôt**  
you DONT 2 feel in dark

*Don't fumble around in the dark.*

- (7-27) **ji=jak-jak lam=beuluka**  
3 go go in thicket

*He went into the thicket.*

Only with inherently source oriented motion verbs like *teubiet* 'come out' *dalam* can express the source:

- (7-28) **ji=teubiet dalam=eumpung**  
3 come out in nest

*They came out from in the nest.*

*di=dalam* can be substituted for *dalam* in contexts of static location or source oriented location (e.g. 7-26, 7-28), *u=dalam* in contexts of goal oriented motion (e.g. 7-27).

*dalam* can be used temporally for a time within a given range:

- (7-29) **ji=jak lam=buleuen=nyoe**  
3 go in month this

*He will go during this month.*

### 7.3.3. *di*

*di* is used for static location, the source of motion, and the beginning of physical extent. It is most typically used with the special locational nouns (p114:[v]), or with any noun, like one of the following, which refers to a type of place:

*gampông* 'village'  
*keude* 'local town'  
*laôt* 'sea'

*leuen* 'front yard'

*rumoh* 'house'

- (7-30) *geu=woe di=keude*  
3 return at market

*He returned from the market.*

- (7-31) *soe teungöh=i=döng di=yup =bak =kayee=raya=nyan*  
who middle 3 stand at place below tree wood big that

*Who is standing underneath that big tree.*

- (7-32) *ka=khueng di=si =noe tröh u =peudada*  
IN drought at side this reach to Peudada

*There is a drought from here to Peudada.*

### 7.3.4. *keu*

*keu* is used:

[i] For the object of thought and emotion. These are Datives (4.4.2):

- (7-33) *beu=ingat keu=ureueng=chik*  
DES remember DAT person old

*Remember your parents.*

- (7-34) *lön hawa =that keu=pisang=peungat*  
I desire very DAT banana cooked in spices

*I really want a banana cooked in spices.*

- (7-35) *jih taköt keu=lön*  
he afraid DAT I

*He is afraid of me.*

[ii] For a goal of becoming:

- (7-36) *lön ka=jueuet keu=ureueng=gasien*  
I IN become to person poor

*I have become a poor person.*

- (7-37) *bruek=u geu=peugöt keu=aweuek*  
shell coconut 3 make to ladle

*Coconut shells are made into ladles.*

[iii] For a purpose:

- (7-38) peng =nyoe ka=bayue keu=wang =sikula  
money this 2 pay to money school

*Pay this money for the school fee.*

- (7-39) neu=geusök keu=putéh mantöng bacut  
2 rub to white just little

*Just rub it white a little.*

- (7-40) ma geu=taguen eungköt keu=geutanyoe=pajöh  
mother 3 cook fish to we eat

*Mother cooks fish for us to eat.*

[iv] For a benefactive or goal of giving:

- (7-41) neu=blöe sipatu keu=lön  
2 buy shoe to I

*Buy shoes for me.*

- (7-42) naleueng geu=koh keu=leumo  
grass 3 cut to cow

*Grass is cut for cows.*

[v] With some causative derivatives to mark the participant corresponding to the root's Agent or Undergoer when it can be thought of as beneficiary:

- (7-43) peu =jêp ubat =nyan keu=jih  
CAUS drink medicine that to she

*Make her drink that medicine.*

- (7-44) peu -deungö nyanyi=nyan keu=awak =jêh  
CAUS hear song that to person that

*Have those people hear that song.*

- (7-45) lön=pu -bantu jih keu=kah  
1 CAUS help he to you

*I will have him help you.*

[vi] In the special reflexive pronoun keu=droe 'alone, by itself' (8.10.2, 5-71).

[vii] For a goal of motion, but only with the bound forms of the demonstratives (5.7.3):

keu=noe 'to here'

keu=nan 'to there'

keu=dêh 'to there'

[viii] To form ordinals (5.9.1.1).

7.3.5. *ngön*

*ngön* is used in at least four distinct ways:

[i] for an instrument or means. There is not necessarily any Agent involved:

(7-46) *teu-top mata=lön ngön=duroe*

DC stab eye I with thorn

*My eye was stabbed by a thorn.*

(7-47) *lön=jak ngön=moto*

1 go with car

*I am going by car.*

(7-48) *ka=geulawa boh =u =nyan ngön=batee*

2 throw fruit coconut that with stone

*Throw at that coconut with stones.*

[ii] for a companion argument NP:

(7-49) *lön=jak u =keude ngön=si =ali*

1 go to town with title Ali

*I am going to town with Ali.*

(7-50) *ji=pajöh bu ngön=sie =manok*

3 eat rice with meat chicken

*He eats rice with chicken.*

(7-51) *ngön=rakan ji=cue kameng=lön*

with friend 3 steal goat I

*He and his friends stole my goat.*

In this category can be included the use of *ngön* for two co-participant in a reciprocal relation:

(7-52) *ji=marit ngön=lön*

3 talk with I

*He talked with me.*

(7-53) *ji=meulhö ngön si =pancuri*

3 wrestle with title thief

*He wrestled with the thief.*

(7-54) *rumoh=lön toe ngön=sikula*

house I near with school

*My house is near the school.*



- (7-55) **jih si =layeue ngön=lôn**  
she one level with I

*She is the same age as me.*

[iii] For the pivot of the comparative (8.11).

[iv] For certain expressions of manner:

- (7-56) **geu=jak ngön=ulee=meutikuy**  
3 go with head bent over

*He walked along with his head down.*

### 7.3.6. u

*u* is used for the goal of motion. Like *di* it is typically used with locational nouns:

- (7-57) **singöh lôn=woe u =banda=aceh**  
tomorrow 1 return to town Aceh

*Tomorrow I return to Banda Aceh.*

- (7-58) **ka=pu -phö batee=nyan u =ateueh=jih**  
2 CAUS fly stone that to top he

*Throw that stone onto him.*

*u* can also be used to express physical extent:

- (7-59) **rimueng meulueh-puek tanggoe u =singkee**  
tiger dirty reaching to elbow

*The tiger was dirty right up to its elbow.*



## 8. Clausal Syntax

### 8.1. Basic Clause Structure

In this description the clause is taken as a basic unit of syntactic structure. It is a lower level than the sentence, which may contain more than one clause combined in a variety of ways; it is a higher level than individual words and the phrases into which they are grouped. These levels can be arranged hierarchically as follows:

*word < phrase < clause < sentence*

Clauses are of two types, verbal and non-verbal. In each case the defining characteristic component of a clause is its PREDICATE. This may be a verb, with one or more verbal argument NP's (but see 8.1.1), or it may be a NP (5.4) or PP (7.2), with a single argument NP. In this description the term SUBJECT is used for the unique argument of a non-verbal clause, whilst ARGUMENT is reserved for an argument of a verbal clause. ARGUMENT is the verbal counterpart of SUBJECT. Here are two illustrative examples. (8-1) is a verbal clause with three arguments:

(8-1)	<b>gopnyan</b>	<b>lôn</b>	<b>=bi</b>	<b>peng</b>	<b>lê</b>	<b>=lôn</b>	
	he	1	give	money	by	I	
	ARGUMENT	--	PREDICATE	-	ARGUMENT	----	ARGUMENT
	(Dative)			(Undergoer)		(Agent)	

*I give him some money.*

(8-2) is a non-verbal clause, with a subject:

(8-2)	<b>ayah</b>	<b>=lôn</b>	<b>guru</b>
	father	I	teacher
	SUBJECT	-----	PREDICATE

*My father is a teacher.*

See 5.4 and 7.2 for treatments of non-verbal clause types.

In spoken discourse many clauses are structurally incomplete. A lot may be taken for granted. For example the English question *Where are you?* can be simply answered by *Here!*, with no overt subject or verb. A grammar should ideally provide an account of how clausal structures are reduced in context, and how the interpretation of these reduced structures is made by the hearer. This area of Acehnese syntax is not given a systematic treatment in this description. Furthermore, there is a lot in discourse that cannot be regarded as part of even an incomplete clause. Exclamations, commands, interjections, speech pause sounds - all these do not need to occur within a clause. These are given a brief treatment in 9.8.

### 8.1.1. Ambient Clauses

A predicate may occur with no given argument or subject. This gives an absolutely minimal clause structure. What is understood to be predicated is the present time, or the present place - hence the term AMBIENT.

An ambient predicate may be a non-controlled verb:

- (8-3) **tutông=that**  
hot very

*It is very hot.*

- (8-4) **di=si =noe mangat=that**  
at place this nice very

*It is very nice here.*

a NP:

- (8-5) **ujeuen**  
rain

*It is raining!*

- (8-6) **teungöh=geulanteue**  
middle thunder

*It is thundering.*

or a PP:

- (8-7) **sabê lam=lön=jak bak=gopnyan**  
always in 1 go at he

*I am always visiting him.*

Note that Acehnese has no dummy subject comparable to the English *it* which appears in the above translations.

### 8.2. Core Roles

It is extremely useful in describing Acehnese to use the idea of the syntactic CORE. An NP or PP that is not a predicate can be categorised according to its availability to certain important syntactic processes, or to a special syntactic status. A CORE constituent (henceforth I will use the term Core Role) is syntactically 'available'. A peripheral constituent is far less available. A Core Role is PIVOTAL for syntax; a peripheral constituent is less pivotal. Core Roles in Acehnese can be loosely characterised as including NP arguments of verbal clauses and subjects of non-verbal clauses. In other words, they are predicated NP's. Adjunct NP's (unpredicated NP's) and PP's, whether they are just adjuncts or predicated as verbal arguments, are always peripheral.

The most important diagnostic feature of Core Roles is their availability to occur in Core Topic position before the predicate. This is illustrated below:

- (8-8) lôn guru  
I teacher  
*I am a teacher.*
- (8-9) gopnyan ka=sakét<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
he IN sick 3  
*He is sick.*
- (8-10) jih ka=ji=jak  
he IN 3 go  
*He has gone.*
- (8-11) gopnyan ka=ji =poh lê=jih  
he polite IN 3fa hit by he familiar  
*He (gopnyan) was hit by him (jih).*

A clause can only have one Core Topic. Where a clause has more than one Core Role (possible with transitive verbal clauses), only one can occur as topic before the verb in this way. Compare (8-11) with (8-12).

- (8-12) \*gopnyan jih ka=ji=poh

Peripheral constituents can also be topicalised before the predicate, but this happens quite independently of core topicalisation and more than one peripheral constituent can be preposed:

- (8-13) ngôn=moto ureueng=agam=nyan ji=jak=sikula  
with car person male that 3 go school  
*That person goes to school by car.*
- (8-14) lam=uteuen=nyan jeuep-jeuep=malam  
in forest that each each night  
ayah hana =geu=jak sa =ho  
father NEGBE 3 go one whither  
*In the forest every night father didn't go anywhere.*
- (8-15) uroe=jêh keu=mak na=lôn=jôk peng si =ribee =rupiya  
day that DAT mother BE 1 give money one thousand rupiah  
*The other day I gave a thousand rupiah to mother.*

Three types of verbal arguments may be Core Roles: Agents, Undergoers and Datives (concerning Datives see 4.4.2). Of these three, Datives can also be expressed peripherally as a PP with the preposition *keu*. The difference between a peripheral and a core constituent can be illustrated most clearly with Datives, since they can be either peripheral or core. Sentence (8-16) shows a Dative NP as Core Topic; the Undergoer NP *lôn* 'I' cannot also appear topicalised before the verb since only one Core Topic is allowed, but (8-17) shows that it is possible to have an Undergoer as Core Topic and a Dative as a peripheral pre-verbal topic:

- (8-16) **gopnyan (\*lôn) hana =galak<sup>1</sup>=lôn**  
 he (I) NEGBE like 1

*I don't like him.*

- (8-17) **keu=gopnyan lôn hana =galak<sup>1</sup>=lôn**  
 DAT he I NEGBE like 1

Sentence (8-18) shows a Core Topic Dative with a transitive verb:

- (8-18) **gopnyan ka=lôn=bi peng**  
 he IN 1 give money

*I have given him some money.*

A Dative can also appear as a Core Role (i.e. with no preposition) in a non-topicalised position following the verb:

- (8-19) **h'an=êk<sup>1</sup> =teuh (keu=) u =muda?**  
 NEG like 2 (DAT) coconut young

*You don't like young coconut?*

- (8-20) **gopnyan hana =peureumeun<sup>1</sup>=geuh (keu=) buet=lagee=nyan**  
 he NEGBE care 3 (DAT) work way that

*He doesn't care about work like that.*

However this appears to be impossible with transitive verbs. Compare (8-1) with (8-21):

- (8-21) **\*lôn lôn=bi gopnyan peng**  
 I 1 give he money

*I give him some money.*

A transitive verb can have a Dative as topicalised Core Role:

- (8-22) **jih ka=geu=jôk buku=nyan lê=gopnyan**  
 he familiar IN 3po give book that by he polite

*He gave him a book.*

If the Dative is expressed as a PP there is no such constraint:

- (8-23) **keu=jih ka=geu=jôk buku=nyan lê=gopnyan**  
 DAT he familiar IN 3po give book that by he polite

*He gave him that book.*

When epistemological classifier constructions are used as Datives they are almost invariably expressed as Core Roles:

- (8-24) **teugoe<sup>1</sup>=pih gata hana =ta=peureumeun sa =peue**  
 thus but you NEGBE 2 care one what

*You don't care about anything.*

- (8-25) hana ka=takôt sa =peue  
NEGBE 2 fear one what

*You are not afraid of anything.*

An important feature of Core Roles is the way in which they are relativised: there are two types of relativisation, one for Core Roles and one for peripherals. This is described in 9.1.2. Another important characteristic is that they can be marked with the focus marker *di* (8.7):

- (8-26) di=kee ku=takôt keu=raja  
FM I (AGENT) 1 fear DAT king

*As for me, I fear the king.*

- (8-27) mie<sup>l</sup>=pih yô<sup>l</sup> =keuh di=kah  
cat only afraid 2 FM you (UNDERGOER)

*It is only a cat you are afraid of.*

- (8-28) ka=bri di=kee duwa=boh  
2 give FM I (DATIVE) two CLASS

*Give me two.*

- (8-29) di=teungku=jôhan ureueng=côt=trieng  
FM title Johan (SUBJECT) person Côt Trieng

*Mr Johan is a Cot Trieng (name of a village) person.*

### 8.2.1. Possessor Focus Constructions

It is a characteristic of both subjects of non-verbal clauses and Undergoers that their possessors can be focussed by giving them Core Role status and separating them from the Undergoer or subject NP head in the clause. The possessed head of the subject or Undergoer does not have Core Role syntactic status. This works slightly differently for verbal and non-verbal clauses:

[i] For verbal clauses the Undergoer head is typically incorporated after the verb. It may or may not bear a clitic cross-referencing the focussed possessor:

- (8-30) gopnyan ka=mupök =ulee<sup>l</sup> (=geuh) ngôn=pintô  
he IN struck head (3) with door

*He bumped his head on the door.*

This construction is described in 4.3.3.

There is a second strategy for possessor focus with verbs. The Undergoer head is placed before the verb, and the possessor in front of that. I only have data for intransitive verbs:

- (8-31) ureueng=nyan atra<sup>1</sup> =neuh tan  
 person that possession 3 not exist

*That person has no possessions.*

- (8-32) aneuk=miet =nyan bajee<sup>1</sup>=jih mirah  
 child small that shirt 3 red

*That child's shirt is red.*

- (8-33) di=kah jaroe<sup>1</sup>=keuh raya=that  
 FM you hand 2 big very

*You have very big hands.*

In all unelicited examples the Undergoer head bore a cross-referencing clitic when it preceded the verb. Informants suggested that this could be omitted when the *di* focus marker is used (compare 8-34 with 8-33), but that it is better to include it:

- (8-34) di=kah jaroe raya=that

*You have very big hands.*

[ii] For non-verbal clauses there are similarly two possible orders, but there is no incorporation of the subject head onto the predicate phrase:

- (8-35) ureueng=nyan gaki<sup>1</sup>=geuh beusoe  
 person that leg 3 iron  
 POSSESSOR SUBJECT HEAD PREDICATE

*That person's legs are (made of) iron.*

- (8-36) ureueng=nyan meu=nan buet<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
 person that way that work 3  
 POSSESSOR PREDICATE SUBJECT HEAD

*That person's work is like that.*

The more usual order is that of (8-35), with the predicate in final position. This is the reverse of the situation for verbs, where it is more usual for the Undergoer head to be incorporated after the verb. When the predicate follows the subject head it is compulsory to have a clitic cross-referencing the possessor:

- (8-37) gopnyan aneuk<sup>1</sup>=geuh jêh  
 she child 3 that

*Her child is that one.*

- (8-38) \*gopnyan aneuk jêh

The clitic is optional when the predicate precedes:

- (8-39) ureueng=nyan meu=nan buet<sup>1</sup>(=geuh)  
 person that way that work (3)

*That person's work is like that.*



### 8.2.1.1. Semantic correlates

The semantic principle underlying this construction is clear: if something can be said about an *X* belonging to *Y*, then one can think of this as being also about *Y*. There are cases where this focus on the possessor is not possible. For example an animate propensity or condition cannot normally be attributed via something which is not a part of one's own body. The following two sentences imply that *aneuk* and *leumo* are parts of *gopnyan*'s body, which makes them nonsense:

- (8-40) \**gopnyan caröng=aneuk*  
 he clever child

*(His child is clever.)*

- (8-41) \**gopnyan sakét=leumo*  
 he sick cow

*(He has a sick cow.)*

A typically inanimate condition or affect can be attributed via something or someone else:

- (8-42) *teungku=ali ka=matê=aneuk*  
 scholar Ali IN dead child

*Ali's child has died.*

- (8-43) *gopnyan ka=tutöng=rumoh<sup>1</sup>=geuh*  
 she IN burnt house 3

*Her house has burned down.*

- (8-44) *leumo=nyan ka=rhêt=aneuk<sup>1</sup>=jih*  
 cow that IN fall child 3

*That cow has suffered a miscarriage (i.e. its child has fallen).*

- (8-45) *lön ka=gadöh=gense*  
 I IN lost pencil

*I have lost a pencil.*

It is not surprising that there is no possessor focus for Agents. The characteristic semantic feature of Agents - volition - is not naturally attributable to the possessor via the possessed. It follows that the core syntactic status of a possessed Agent are not attributed to its possessor.

There is a construction similar to possessor focus involving focussing an Undergoer from a Relative Clause (9.1.3).

## 8.2.2. The Place of Acehnese in Syntactic Typology

Acehnese is of a syntactic type that is neither ergative nor accusative.<sup>1</sup> For the ergative type the "intransitive subject" is treated (in some way) like a "transitive object". A well known example is Dyirbal (Dixon 1972), which identifies "intransitive subject" and "transitive object" nominals by giving them the ABSOLUTIVE case. The transitive subject is given an ERGATIVE case inflection:

- (8-46) bay1                      yara      baninyu  
 noun marker-ABS man-ABS come  
*man comes*
- (8-47) balan                      jugumbil      baninyu  
 noun marker-ABS woman-ABS come  
*woman comes*
- (8-48) balan                      jugumbil      banggul                      yarangu      balgan  
 noun marker-ABS woman-ABS noun marker-ERG man-ERG hit  
*man hits woman*
- (8-49) bay1                      yara      banggun                      jugumbiru      balgan  
 noun marker-ABS man-ABS noun marker-ERG woman-ERG hit  
*woman hits man*

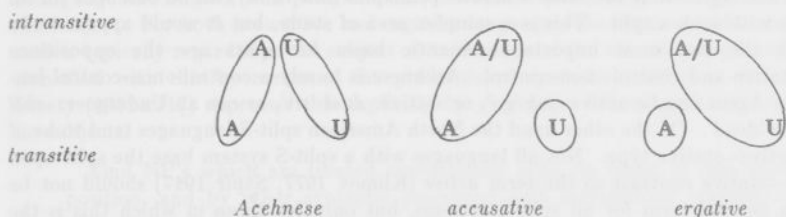
English is a language of a basically accusative type. It identifies the "intransitive subject" with the "transitive subject" - the NOMINATIVE function - by its position before the verb and by verb agreement. The "transitive object" - the ACCUSATIVE function - is identified by lack of verb agreement and by its position after the verb.

Acehnese is different from both Dyirbal and English in that an "intransitive subject" can be either an Agent, identified with the "transitive subject" function by use of proclitic pronominal cross-referencing on the verb, or an Undergoer, identified with the "transitive object" function by (optional) enclitic cross-referencing. Figure 8-1 symbolises these three syntactic types. A represents an Agent function, U an Undergoer function.

In one sense the ergative and accusative types have much in common. For both types there is a primary contrast between transitive and intransitive clauses, giving together a threefold system of syntactic functions: transitive subject, transitive object, and intransitive subject. Dixon (1972, 1979) suggests these as deep syntactic universals. The ergative and accusative types differ in the way they group these three functions, but they are the same in that they treat transitives as augmented intransitives: the basic intransitive argument type - the ABSOLUTIVE for an ergative type and the NOMINATIVE for an accusative type - is augmented in the transitive by a special exclusively transitive argument - the ERGATIVE or the ACCUSATIVE. Acehnese is significantly different from these two syntactic types. The transitive-intransitive contrast is not important in Acehnese since intransitive clauses are themselves split into two groups: those with

<sup>1</sup>In this section I use small letters to represent the ergative and accusative syntactic types and capitals to indicate ERGATIVE or ACCUSATIVE case marked nominals, or in the absence of case marking, an identification of verbal arguments which correspond to these cases.

Figure 8-1: Syntactic Types



Agents and those with Undergoers. The more basic contrast for Acehnese is not transitive-intransitive, but between clauses with an Agent and clauses with an Undergoer. So-called transitive clauses are in Acehnese a combination of these two basic types, not an augmentation of a single unmarked intransitive type.

The existence of the third linguistic type represented by Acehnese has been known for a long time, even though it is far less common than ergative or accusative types.<sup>2</sup> The phenomenon was first noticed at the beginning of this century in North American languages (Sapir 1917, Uhlenbeck 1916). It has attracted some interest over the past decade, from quite varied quarters. Klimov (1977, 1979) has devoted much work to the place of this type, which he calls *Active*, in linguistic typology. Dixon (1979) regards this as a specially marked type and calls it *split-S* or *fluid-S*. In his terminology S stands for the "intransitive subject" function. Acehnese is what Dixon calls a *fluid-S* language: "fluid" because some verbs, like *galak* 'like' can take either an Agent or an Undergoer argument. In a split-S language all verbs strictly pattern one way or the other. For the rest of this section I use SPLIT-S to refer to both types of systems.

Recently attention has been directed to this phenomenon in basically accusative languages such as Dutch and Italian. Since Perlmutter's Relational Grammar treatment of this (Perlmutter 1978), several other linguists have tackled the problem of how to fit this phenomenon into a general theory of syntax (Baker 1983, Rosen 1982, Burzio 1981, Marantz 1981, 1982). In the Relational Grammar treatment this phenomenon amounts to the existence of an initial stratum of some basic clauses which contain a 2-arc, but no 1-arc. In Acehnese these would be those clauses with an Undergoer but no Agent. More recently Perlmutter (1982) has in fact pointed out that Acehnese has such clauses.

The semantic basis for "splits" of the intransitive function has attracted much discussion (Klimov 1977, Perlmutter 1982, Rosen 1982, Merlan 1985). There appears to be a consensus that different languages split the "intransitive subject" in different ways: no universal semantic rules apply by which one can always determine which intransitive verb

<sup>2</sup>Languages other than Acehnese showing this kind of phenomenon include the American Indian languages Seneca (Chafe 1967), Dakota (Boas and Deloria 1941, Van Valin 1977), Tunica (Haas 1941), Hidatsa (Matthews 1965), Eastern Pomo, (McLendon 1978) Crow, (Kaschube 1967) Choctaw, (Heath 1977) and Mandan (Kennard 1936); the South American language Guaraní (Gregores and Suárez 1976); the Caucasian language Bats (Comrie 1973:241). I suspect the Aslian language Jah-Hut (Diffloth 1976) has a system of verbal agreement or clitic cross-referencing similar to that of Acehnese. This phenomenon has been observed in the syntax of various Indo-European languages recently. This is discussed below.

will treat its argument like a "transitive subject", which like a "transitive object". Linguists also agree that the same semantic principles (not rules) can be observed for all languages with such a split. This is a complex area of study, but it would appear to be true that the two most important semantic bases for splits are the oppositions active~stative and control~non-control. Acehnese is purely a control~non-control language: an Agent can be active: *jak* 'go', or stative: *duek* 'sit', as can an Undergoer: *rhët* 'fall'; *matë* 'dead'. On the other hand the North American split-S languages tend to be of a more active~stative type. Not all languages with a split-S system base the split upon an active~stative contrast so the term *active* (Klimov 1977, Sapir 1917) should not be used as a general term for all split-S systems, but only for those in which this is the semantic basis of the split.

### 8.2.3. Mixed Languages and the Notion of "Subject"

In practice, languages do not conform purely to any one of the three syntactic types described above. It is well known that many languages show a mix of characteristics (Dixon 1979, Kibrik 1979, Anderson 1976). The nature of the mix can vary tremendously. Just a few examples besides Italian and Dutch, which have already been mentioned above, are Choctaw, which Heath (1977) describes as having a split-S case marking system, but accusative switch reference patterning; Eskimo, which is an approximately equal mix of ergative and accusative characteristics (Johnson 1980, Woodbury 1977); Dyrbal (Dixon 1972) which has ergative case marking for nouns and is predominantly ergative in other respects, but has accusative case marking for pronouns; Archi (Klimov 1979), in which, for some tense/aspect forms of the verb, the verb agrees in an ergative pattern, but its auxiliary agrees in an accusative pattern and for other tense/aspect forms both verb and auxiliary agree ergatively. The existence of languages with mixed typological characteristics raises the question of how we are to define SUBJECT within such languages, and if we have a universal definition of SUBJECT, how are we to determine what is the subject in any given language? Before ergative and Split-S phenomenon were recognised it was universally accepted that the NP with the NOMINATIVE function was the subject and the NP with the ACCUSATIVE function the object. More recently considerable attention has been paid to the notion of subject in ergative and mixed ergative-accusative languages. Two different notions are often distinguished. One, "deep subject", is usually thought of as being much the same in all languages and is close to the semantic level of representation, corresponding at least partly to what is often called the AGENT semantic role. All linguists appear to agree on the existence of such a universal notion, although they differ widely about whether it should be a syntactic relation (as in Relational Grammar), a semantic role (as in Lexical-Functional Grammar), or something between semantics and syntax (as in Dixon 1979, and Role and Reference Grammar of Foley and Van Valin). I do not wish to discuss this notion of subject here. In Acehnese the Agent corresponds to this deep subject.

The other notion of subject is more syntactic and less semantic. It is often called the *surface*, or *final* subject. Some linguists prefer to call it a *syntactic pivot* (Dixon 1979, Foley and Van Valin 1984). Many linguists appear to accept that for a language like Dyrbal with predominantly ergative syntax, the ABSOLUTIVE NP should be regarded as the subject and that it has this subject without any underlying passive-like promotion

(Dowty 1982b, Dixon 1972, Kibrik 1979), and all linguists would appear to accept that for a language like English with predominantly accusative patterning the NOMINATIVE NP is the subject. For both accusative and ergative languages, the argument of an intransitive verb is typically regarded as the subject of its clause, and the transitive argument which is identified with this by means of the predominant syntactic pattern is also a subject. Dowty (1982a:117) expresses this explicitly by giving the following discovery procedure for subjects:

Find NP's which are treated syntactically alike (in terms of case marking, position, and by other syntactic processes) with intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs; these NP's are subjects.

The problem of mixed languages is somewhat more difficult. The most obvious approach would be to list ergative against accusative characteristics and assign the subject according to the most numerous pattern. This is what Dowty (1982b:113) suggests.

This can be considerably refined, which Dixon (1979) attempts by identifying some characteristics of imperatives, jussives and causatives as universally accusative and therefore not evidence for what is a subject in a particular language. These characteristics should be discounted when determining the basic type of a language. Syntactic characteristics that are universally ergative are hard to find (Dixon 1979: footnote 83). A likely candidate would be possessor focus constructions where the possessor in an NP is afforded a syntactic status equivalent to the whole NP of which it is a part. In Acehnese possessor focus is a property of an Undergoer; in Chinese it can be observed in body part passives as a property of a transitive object (Chappell 1983); in Tzotzil (Aissen 1979) it also appears to be a transitive object property; in Indonesian it is a property of intransitive non-agentive subjects. Another candidate could be 'affect' co-referentiality in verb serialisation or adjunct constructions like the Acehnese sentence of (8-50) and the structurally similar English sentence of (8-51), where *shoot* and *dead* have a co-referential transitive object and intransitive subject respectively:

(8-50) *gopnyan ka=lõn=poh matê*  
       he       IN 1   hit dead

*I beat him to death.*

(8-51) I shot him dead.

Dixon furthermore distinguishes purely morphological characteristics as being of lesser importance for determining the subject (*syntactic pivot*). He identifies syntactic restraints on co-reference in coordination and subordination as the primary characteristics of surface subjects. The way in which a basically transitive verb may be used intransitively, switch reference marking, and passive and antipassive constructions are, he says, also to be regarded as the typical indicators of how a language treats co-reference.

Split-S syntactic characteristics can present special problems for the syntactic pivot notion of subject. For both ergative and accusative patterning the intransitive argument is likely to share in any basic syntactic properties involving coordination and subordination. Furthermore one may safely assume that given a NOMINATIVE or ABSOLUTIVE surface subject, virtually all verbs, transitive or di-transitive, will have one argument - the surface subject - that also shares these syntactic properties; every verbal clause has a surface subject. Ergative and accusative patterning differ in which transitive argument is to be iden-

tified as surface subject. For these two syntactic types one can justify an ordering of syntactic relations, as in Dowty (1982a:117):

- [i] subject;
- [ii] object (what is left over for transitives);
- [iii] indirect object (what is left over for ditransitives).

This ordering is deeply embedded in the syntactic representations of Relational Grammar, with its 1-arcs, 2-arcs and 3-arcs. A Split-S system is potentially problematical for this schema because at some level of analysis one is forced to identify one type of intransitive argument as subject (the first syntactic relation), and the other as an object (the second syntactic relation). This is undesirable since it brings into question the ordering of grammatical relations, based as it is upon the idea of a transitive clause as something extra (an object) added onto an intransitive clause pattern. This problem can usually be resolved because in languages manifesting Split-S characteristics the predominant syntactic pattern is usually not split-S; often only the case marking is Split-S and the more important (according to Dixon 1979's criteria as described above) components of the syntax are accusative. The example of Choctaw has already been mentioned. Also in some European languages Split-S patterning appears only in a few marked constructions such as impersonal passives (Perlmutter 1978). The Acehnese data cannot be resolved so easily.

#### 8.2.4. Acehnese as a Subjectless System

When "looking for" a surface subject (the syntactic pivot) in Acehnese, one is confronted with the fact that its syntax shows neither ergative nor accusative characteristics. Certain syntactic characteristics are typical of the Agent, including the ability of an argument to occur as imperative addressee and the ability to be co-referential in jussive complements. Others are typical of the Undergoer, including the possessor focus construction and certain types of co-referentiality in serial verb constructions. None of these characteristics are amongst those regarded by Dixon (1979) as good criteria for determining the syntactic pivot. The characteristics typical of Agents are universally accusative in patterning and those typical of Undergoers are probably universally ergative (p189 above). Better tests prove quite fruitless: Acehnese has no switch reference marking; any argument can be ellipsed in context (8.5); there is no syntactic passive or antipassive to promote or demote arguments to or from a privileged syntactic status; there are no raising phenomena; both Agents and Undergoers can be relativised in the same way (9.1.2.1); there are no syntactic dummies - their existence would indicate that Acehnese has a surface subject that has to be filled, if only with a dummy. In Acehnese the Core Roles are equally available for any of these typical diagnostic tests of surface subject that are applicable. The closest thing in Acehnese to surface subject is the idea of Core Role.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>I would refer the reader to chapter 4 of Foley and Van Valin (1984) for a detailed discussion of pivots in a variety of languages. They describe various types of pivots, and several other languages besides Acehnese that are pivotless, i.e. having no surface subject category.

One might want to argue that what I call Core Topic - the core NP preceding its predicate - is the Acehnese subject.<sup>4</sup> It is true that a Core Topic has a pragmatic function similar, say, to an English subject, for native speakers of Acehnese will often equate the one with the other. However two reasons prohibit the identification of Core Topic as subject. Firstly there is no nexus between this Core Topic and any particular transitive verbal argument. There is no evidence that one argument (the Agent, say) is the "underlying subject". Any core argument can be the Core Topic without any special case marking or verb agreement to indicate a "passive" or "antipassive". Proclitic pronominals on verbs always cross-reference the Agent, and enclitics the Undergoer. This is irrespective of which argument is the Core Topic. Secondly it is quite possible, and very common, to have no overt Core Topic at all. This is not a type of anaphora, for both the Agent and the Undergoer may be present but follow the verb, as in (8-52). In actual discourse most verbal clauses have no Core Topic.

- (8-52) ka=l6n=poh jih l6=l6n  
IN 1 hit he by I

*I hit him.*

### 8.3. Word Order

Word order in Acehnese is free in one sense: it is not used to encode grammatical relations. The main single constraint on the ordering of grammatical relations is that a clause only has one Core Topic. There cannot be two Core Roles topicalised before their predicate (8.2). Except for this constraint, any ordering is possible. In particular a verb may come first followed by its Agent and Undergoer in either order:

- (8-53) ka=l6n=poh l6=l6n ureueng=nyan  
IN 1 hit by I person that

*I hit that person.*

- (8-54) ka=l6n=poh ureueng=nyan l6=l6n  
IN 1 hit person that by I

*I hit that person.*

It is not true that ordering is meaningless in Acehnese - far from it. Word order is strongly constrained by discourse-related factors. The Core Topic position is the most salient. It is used to foreground participants whose identity is already known (old information). The Core Topic position establishes something as topical for what follows. A clause with a Core Topic focuses on that participant's topicality. In subsequent clauses this topic is typically not referred to again with a full NP. Once it has been foregrounded it is sufficient to just keep track of it with cross-referencing pronominal clitics. It is understandable that in actual speech the majority of clauses have no Core Topic since the topic of discourse is usually understood from something that has already been said.

<sup>4</sup>This is the approach taken by Lawler (1975, 1977) and Perlmutter (1982) for Acehnese.

However, topicality may be reinforced by repeating the topical NP in Core Topic position. This could be necessary if there were an interruption in the discourse, or if something else had been temporarily in focus. The following example is taken from the beginning of a section of narrative contained in a short story. It describes what Apa Muhamat did in a flood. After being introduced as Core Topic in the first sentence, his topicality for what follows is reinforced with *gopnyan* 'he' as Core Topic again in the second sentence, and from then on he is simply tracked by pronominal clitics:

- (8-55) *apa =Muhamat teuma geu=hue laju keubeue sira geu=jak meuteukuy*  
 uncle Muhammat thus 3 lead then buffalo as 3 go bent over  
*lam=ujeuen. beungöh=nyan gopnyan away =that geu=teubiet*  
 in rain morning that he early very 3 go out  
*nibak=baroekön. teungöh=geu=jak teupikê lam=atê | =geuh*  
 PIVOT formerly middle 3 go think in liver 3  
*umöng neuduek | =geuh ka =rap =masak*  
 field seedbed 3 already almost ripe

*So uncle Muhammad then led off the buffalo as [he] walked along bent over in the rain. That morning he went out earlier than was usual. While [he] was walking [he] thought (in his liver) that the field for [his] seedbed would be almost ready.*

Core Topics are definite: they are old information. The predicate and what follows is the new information, the comment on the Core Topic. When a discourse topic is introduced with no previously established reference, it is not as a Core Topic, but in post-verbal position. For example the verb *na* 'be, exist' may be used to introduce it:

- (8-56) *na si =droe =ureueng=ladang geu=jak lam=uteuen geu=jak koh kayee*  
 BE one CLASS person farm 3 go in forest 3 go cut wood

*There was a farmer who went into the forest to cut wood.*

- (8-57) *dilee jameun dalam=sa =boh =uteuen*  
 once formerly in one CLASS forest

*na sa =boh =peulandök =agam*  
 BE one CLASS mouse deer male

*Once upon a time in a certain forest there was a male mouse deer. (The beginning of a cycle of mouse deer stories.)*

A position following the predicate is normal for a non-topical NP, e.g. *keubeue* in (8-55). However, the sentence final position may express a contrastive stress if the NP is definite:

- (8-58) *bek neu=cok nyan lê=droe | =neuh*  
 DONT 2 take that by self 2

*Don't you take that!*

- (8-59) *caröng gopnyan*  
 clever he

*He is the clever one.*



- (8-60) guree =aneuk=nyan gopnyan  
 teacher child that he

*He is the teacher of that child.*

With these orders the predicate itself is foregrounded, so it is placed in initial position; in (8-59) something is being said about cleverness: *As for cleverness: he is clever.* This accounts for the contrastive effect.

It is not always the case that a definite NP in post-verbal position implies contrast. Sometimes when referring to people it reinforces the level of politeness to use a full title or pronoun in a backgrounded position. Thus, if one were clearly about to leave one might say:

- (8-61) lôn=woe lôn dilee  
 I return I now

*I'll be going home now.*

There is no need to topicalise *lôn* since this is not so much a statement about oneself as an expected polite comment. If one's departure was unexpected, and one wanted to 'talk about' oneself, one might say:

- (8-62) lôn lôn=woe dilee  
 I I return now

*I am going home now.*

Since a new section of narrative discourse is often accompanied by core topicalisation, the appearance of a Core Topic can be itself a marker of a new section of discourse, a stylistic device. This was the case for sentence (8-55), which begins a new section within a short story.

Clauses that are background information are typically without Core Topics. For example the narrative that supports recounted speech is characterised by verb initial word orders:

- (8-63) lanja ji=kheun lê=peulandók u =bak singa "ampôn tuwanku..."  
 quick 3 say by mouse deer to at lion mercy! lord

*Immediately the mousedeer said to the lion "Have mercy, lord ....."*

In the preceding example the *peulandók* is the main topic of the discourse, but it is backgrounded in the narrative introducing speech, because the speech itself is what is foregrounded. Dependent adverbial clauses are also part of the background, so these are invariably without a Core Topic:

- (8-64) 'oh =lheueh=matê singa=nyan bandum meulatang sit ka=mangat=atê  
 when after die lion that all animal too IN nice liver

*When the lion died, all the animals were happy.*

Sentence (8-64) is interesting for another reason. The lion has been the topic of the story, and so when it is backgrounded after the verb, in a position normally assigned to non-topical indefinite NP's, that fact that it has been topical is emphasised by the demonstrative *nyan* 'that'.

8.3.0.1. *lê*

In transitive clauses an Agent NP that follows its verb is marked with the preposition *lê* except under conditions [i]-[iii] below.<sup>5</sup> This has a disambiguating function:

- (8-65) *aneuk*<sup>1</sup>=*lôn* *ka*=*ji*=*poh* *lê*=*aneuk*=*teungku*=*ali*  
 child 1 IN 3 hit by child title Ali

*My child was beaten by Teungku Ali's child.*

This disambiguating function is only really necessary when both Agent and Undergoer are third person. Otherwise the Agent proclitic is sufficient disambiguation.

In three cases *lê* may be omitted and in each case no ambiguity is caused by the omission. This confirms that *lê*'s main function is to disambiguate the Agent from the Undergoer.

[i] When the Agent is marked with the focus marker *dî*, *lê* is omitted:

- (8-66) *ka*=*i*=*poh* *kee* *dî*=*jih*  
 IN 3 hit I FM he

*I was hit by him.*

This is never a cause of ambiguity because a third person Undergoer of a transitive verb cannot be marked by *dî* if it follows the verb (8.7):

- (8-67) *ka*=*lôn*=*poh* (\**dî*)=*ureueng*=*nyan*  
 IN 1 hit (FM) person that

*I hit that person.*

[ii] When the Undergoer is cliticised on its verb, *lê* is optional. Since only the Undergoer can be cliticised in this position, there is no ambiguity:

- (8-68) *ka*=*ji*=*poh*<sup>1</sup>=*gopnyan* (*lê*=)*pancuri*=*nyan*  
 IN 3 kill he (by) thief that

*That thief killed him.*

A

[iii] When the Undergoer is interrogated, *lê* is optional:

- (8-69) *soe* *ji*=*poh* (*lê*)=*si* =*mat*  
 who 3 hit (by) title Mat

*Who was killed by Mat?*

This is not ambiguous because if the Agent were being interrogated, its proclitic cross-referencing would have to be omitted (p262:[i]):

- (8-70) *soe* *poh* *si*=*mat*  
 Who killed Mat?

<sup>5</sup>Cowan (1981: footnotes 9 and 44) describes *lê* as an "emphatic article", synonymous with the focus marker (my term) *dî*. This is quite inaccurate.

Besides its use to mark the Agent of transitives, there are a few other related uses:

[i] The (intransitive) *teu*-derivatives of transitive verbs marginally allow *lê* to mark the "decontrolled Agent", which is divested of its core syntactic status. See (4-136).

[ii] Intransitive verbs with a Dative can sometimes mark a following Agent or Undergoer NP with *lê*. Informants seemed to prefer this with an Agent rather than an Undergoer. The function in this case could perhaps involve disambiguating the Agent or Undergoer from the Dative since the Dative has no cross-referencing:

- (8-71) lôn hana =galak<sup>1</sup>=geuh (lê=)gopnyan  
I NEGBE like 3 (by) he

*He doesn't like me.*

- (8-72) buku=nyan gôt =that galak<sup>1</sup>=keuh (lê=)kah  
book that good very like 2 (by) you

*You like that book a lot.*

- (8-73) keu=jih hana geu=galak (lê=)gopnyan  
DAT she NEGBE 3 like (by) he

*He doesn't like her.*

*lê* can even be used to mark a possessor focussed NP with such a verb:

- (8-74) ta=ci pilêh nyang=galak=atê lê=gata  
2 try choose REL happy liver by you

*Try and choose the one which you prefer.*

The focus marker *di* cannot mark an intransitive Dative argument, so replacing *lê* in this case by *di* does not cause any ambiguity.

[iii] *lê* can be used with an intransitive verb which has an abilitative complement (9.4.1.2). It marks the Agent. I only have one example of this:

- (8-75) geu=jeuet=jak lam=uteuen (lê=)gopnyan  
3 able go in forest (by) he

*He dares to go into the forest.*

[iv] *lê* has one other use which is quite different from all those above. It can mark an Agent NP which precedes its (transitive) verb. The effect is always strongly contrastive:

- (8-76) lê=lôn lôn=blœ eungkôt, lê=jih ji=puwoe  
by I 1 buy fish by he 3 return

*I'm the one who buys fish - he's the one who brings it home.*

### 8.3.1. Ordering of Adjuncts

In principle adjunct phrases can occur in any order with respect to the predicate and its subject or argument(s). In practice however certain patterns are less marked than others.

If an adjunct phrase is part of the comment on the Core Topic, it will follow the predicate, and is grouped with it by the intonation pattern:

- (8-77) *gopnyan ka=geu=jak u =keude*  
 he IN 3 go to market

*He has gone to market.*

With no Core Topic, adjuncts phrases may precede or follow any Core Role NP's after the verb:

- (8-78) *ku=jak=seumayang kee dilee u =krueng*  
 I go pray I now to river

*I am going to the river to pray.*

- (8-79) *ka=geu=jak u =keude gopnyan*  
 IN 3 go to market he

*He has gone to market.*

An adjunct phrase may precede the predicate and Core Topic, if there is one. This can happen for at least two reasons:

[i] It may involve a topicalisation of the adjunct (see 8.2 and 8-91 concerning intonation):

- (8-80) *sa =ho h'an jeuet ku=jak*  
 one whither NEG can I go

*I can't go anywhere!*

- (8-81) *teungöh=malam ku=jak, nyan<sup>1</sup>=pih ka=ji=lueh*  
 middle night I go then EMPH IN 3 watch for

*Even when I walk in the middle of the night he is lying in wait for me.*

If one were to ask: "How did he go to Medan?" the answer could be:

- (8-82) *ngön=keurêta=apuy gopnyan ban geu=jak u =medan*  
 with vehicle fire he just 3 go to Medan

*He has just gone to Medan by train.*

When an adjunct phrase is interrogated it typically comes first:

- (8-83) *bak=soe ji=meureunoe basa =aceh*  
 at who 3 learn language Aceh

*Who is he learning Acehnese from?*

[ii] Background information is often preposed. This contrasts with [i] by having no intonation peak on the adjunct. Preposed background adjuncts are often temporal or locational:

- (8-84) di=teungöh=ret ka=meuteumee sa =boh =peulandök  
 in middle road IN meet one CLASS mouse deer

*In the middle of the road (he) came across a mouse deer.*

Connecting adverbials that indicate changes in time or place are preposed:

- (8-85) lanja ban =duwa=gopnyan geu=jak=mita huköm laén  
 quick just two he 3 go seek judge other

*And then both of them went to find another judge.*

An adjunct phrase can intervene between the Core Topic and its predicate, as for example *ban* in (8-82). This makes the adjunct part of the comment on the topic, not backgrounding, and gives it some salience at the same time:

- (8-86) aneuk=paléh bak=ji=éh h'an=jaga  
 child unlucky at 3 sleep NEG awake

*The wretched child won't get up from sleep.*

#### 8.4. Intonation

This is only a brief outline of intonation, giving only the most basic features of Acehnese sentence intonation. In 3.1.2 the role of stress in demarking phonological phrases was described. Phrase stress is also important for sentence level intonation patterns. Peaks and sudden rises in intonation occur on stressed syllables of phrases. A Core Topic NP is, for example, marked by a rise or peak in intonation, which is realised on the stressed syllable:

- (8-87) ureueng=gampông=mandum ká=geu=woe  
 person village all IN 3 return

*All the villagers have returned.*

Statements are characterised by an intonation that falls away at the end of a sentence, as in (8-87). With no Core Topic some other initial phrases may bear an intonation peak. This is often the predicate phrase, but after such a predicate phrase there is a much sharper drop in intonation than after a Core Topic:

- (8-88) ka=geu=woe gopnyan  
 IN 3 return he

*He has returned.*

- (8-89) mangat=that ta =pajöh boh =drien  
 nice very linc eat fruit durian

*It is very nice to eat durian.*

- (8-90) caröng that gopnyan  
clever very she

*She is very clever.*

A preposed adjunct phrase which bears an intonation peak has a pattern like that for a Core Topic:

- (8-91) ngön=moto lön=jak u =keude  
with car 1 go to market

*I go to market by car.*

Sometimes a clause with no Core Topic may have no peak at all, as for example when one makes a polite statement:

- (8-92) lön=jak lön dilee  
1 go I now

*I'll go now.*

A questioning intonation involves a high rise in pitch at the end of the sentence. This is focussed on the final phrase. Non-final phrases may be marked by a lesser rise in the intonation along the way to the final phrase:

- (8-93) peue gopnyan geu=jak u =keude?  
whether he 3 go to market

*Is he going to market?*

- (8-94) na=geu=jak u =keude euntreuk?  
BE 3 go to market later

*Is he going to market later?*

A statement with a clause final contrasting phrase (8-58)-(8-60) has a double peaked intonation pattern, with the second peak of the same order, or lower than the first.

- (8-95) caröng gopnyan  
clever he

*HE is clever.*

- (8-96) aneuk=lön kön=jih aneuk=lön si =amat  
child I not he child I title Amat

*HE is not my child: my child is AMAT.*

This is distinct from questions, which have the highest intonation peak at the end of the sentence.

## 8.5. Ellipsis

In Acehnese, ellipsis conditioned by discourse topicality is very common. It is this kind of ellipsis which is discussed here. Ellipsis may also be induced by syntactic structures,

such as those involved in complementation and relativisation. This are discussed in the relevant sections.

Two degrees of ellipsis may be distinguished: partial ellipsis, where an NP is omitted but is nevertheless still referenced by a pronominal clitic, and full ellipsis where an NP is omitted, with no pronominal clitic. Full ellipsis is the more constrained type. It occurs most typically across co-ordinated and subordinated clauses, or sometimes when there is just a sequence of action or events. Full ellipsis is conditioned by an immediately preceding instance of the NP omitted:

- (8-97) peulandök ji=cok eungköt laju ji=ba =plueng  
 mouse deer 3 take fish immediately 3 take run  
 ji=peuök u =cöng=kayee  
 3 lift to top tree

*The mouse deer took the fish and immediately took [it] away, running, and took [it] up to the top of the tree.*

Sometimes the context may be so clear that full ellipsis may be possible without any preceding instance of the NP. If I was being beaten I might say:

- (8-98) bek neu=poh lë  
 DONT 2 hit anymore

*Don't hit [me] anymore!*

In this description this full ellipsis is called GAPPING. In Acehnese there is no requirement, as in some languages (Foley and Van Valin 1984) that the gapped participant should have a privileged syntactic status. For example an Undergoer may be gapped even though there is another argument in Core Topic position:

- (8-99) lön lön=blöe boh =mamplam  
 I 1 buy fruit mango  
 adoe ji=jök laju keu=aneuk=miet  
 younger brother 3 give immediately DAT child small

*I bought a mango and my younger brother immediately gave [it] to a small child.*

An unrelativised participant in a relative clause may even be gapped:

- (8-100) abang<sup>1</sup> =jih nyang=koh kayee  
 elder brother 3 REL cut wood  
 adoe<sup>1</sup> =jih nyang=angköt  
 yngr brother 3 REL transport

*It was his elder brother who cut the wood and his younger brother who transported [it].*

- (8-101) gata ta=böh bu lön nyang=idang keu=jamee  
 you 2 dish out rice I REL serve DAT guest

*You dish out the rice and I will be the one who serves [it].*

As several of the above examples show, there is no requirement that the gapped par-

participant should be in a privileged position when first mentioned. Sentences like the following where it is the Core Topic are unusual:

- (8-102) *padé geu=kruy lè=cuda lheueh=nyan geu=sukat*  
 rice 3 winnow by elder sister after that 3 measure

*The rice was winnowed by the sister and then measured.*

In all of the above examples gapping is virtually compulsory, except that a second instance of the NP may be included if it is marked by a demonstrative. Compare (8-103) with (8-101) (and see 8-64 and the accompanying comment):

- (8-103) *gata ta=bôh bu lôn nyang=idang bu =nyan keu=jamee*  
 you 2 dish out rice I REL serve rice that DAT guest

Most commonly it is an Undergoer or a Dative that is gapped: Agent cross-referencing is compulsory, so it can only undergo partial ellipsis. PP phrase adjuncts can be gapped only when a special marker meaning 'too' is added:

- (8-104) *ayah geu=jak u =blang ma<sup>1</sup> =pih geu=jak*  
 father 3 go to field mother too 3 go  
 or: *ayah geu=jak u =blang ma geu=jak sit*  
 father 3 go to field mother 3 go too

*Father is going to the field and mother is going too.*

Manner adjuncts cannot be gapped in this way. The second instance of the adjunct must be expressed explicitly, if only by a co-referential manner phrase:

- (8-105) *geutanyoe ta =meu'ue duwa=yôk gopnyan geu=meu'ue meu=nan sit*  
 we 1inc plough two yoke he 3 plough way that too

*We plough with two yokes, he ploughs like that too.*

Predicates themselves may be gapped:

- (8-106) *mawa geu=êh di=ramoe=likôt cuma di=ramoe=keue*  
 elder aunt 3 sleep in room back yngr aunt in room front

*Elder aunt is sleeping in the back bedroom, younger aunt in the front bedroom.*

Predicate ellipsis is often facilitated by an operator meaning 'too':

- (8-107) *meung=nyo gata h'an=ta=têm =jak di=lôn<sup>1</sup>=pih h'an*  
 if yes you NEG 2 want go FM I too NEG

*If you don't want to go, then I don't [want to go] either.*

Partial ellipsis, with a clitic pronominal referencing the ellipsed NP, is less constrained than gapping. A wide variety of NP functions can be marked by clitic referencing (5.5.5): these can all undergo partial ellipsis. It is necessary that the NP in question is topical. This usually means that it has been mentioned before in the discourse. For example in (8-55) the topic *apa=Muhamat* is ellipsed several times and marked by Agent and possessor clitics, respectively *geu=* and *=geuh*. First and second person reference often occurs with ellipsis, because first and second person are inherently topical: one might cry out to



a stranger:

- (8-108) ho neu=jak  
with 2 go

*Where are you going?*

Inanimates can only be fully ellipsed, because pronominal clitics are animate.

### 8.5.1. Undergoer Clitic Referencing

Since Acehnese has no case marking and ellipsis of full NP's is very common, the pronominal clitics have the very important function of marking the syntactic relations, especially Agent and Undergoer (5.5.5). Agents are compulsorily referenced by proclitics (but see 9.1.2.1, p262:[i] and 9.4). This needs no comment here.

Undergoers are optionally cross-referenced by enclitics. There are several complexities:

[i] In the unmarked case the enclitics are applied directly to the verb, but they may be attached to an adjunct phrase to the right of the verb:

- (8-109) teungku=johan ka=leupah<sup>l</sup>=geuh u =keude baroe  
title Johan IN pass 3 to town yesterday

*Teungku Johan went off to town yesterday.*

- (8-110) teungku=johan ka=leupah u =keude<sup>l</sup>=geuh  
title Johan IN pass to town 3

*Teungku Johan has gone to town.*

- (8-111) teungku=johan ka=leupah keu=déh baroe<sup>l</sup> =geuh  
title Johan IN pass to there yesterday 3

*Teungku Johan went off there yesterday.*

- (8-112) keu=lôn hana =galak lè<sup>l</sup> =geuh  
DAT I NEGBE like anymore 3

*He doesn't like me anymore.*

Clitic floating only occurs for Undergoer cross-referencing. A possessor clitic, for example, cannot float:

- (8-113) ureueng=nyan ka=tutông=rumah<sup>l</sup>=geuh baroe  
person that IN burn house 3 yesterday

*That person's house burnt down yesterday.*

- (8-114) ureueng=nyan ka=tutông=rumah baroe<sup>l</sup> (\*=geuh)

In all cases there is no phrasal discontinuity pronounced between a verb and a floated clitic. The verb and the adjunct which bears the clitic cannot be stressed separately:

- (8-115) \*teungku=jòhan ka=leupah(¹) u =keude¹=geuh  
 title Johan IN pass to market 3

*Teungku Johan has gone to market.*

(8-110) could be transcribed:

- (8-116) teungku=jòhan ka=leupah=u=keude¹=geuh

Floating can only occur when the adjunct phrase(s) are part of the comment - what is being said about the Undergoer topic. Thus (8-109) could be an answer to: *What about Teungku Johan?*, (8-110) to: *Where did Teungku Johan go?* and (8-111) to: *When did Teungku Johan go?*. This last question could even be answered:

- (8-117) baroe¹=geuh

*Yesterday.*

Note that the adjuncts which can bear a floated enclitic are of the same semantic type as non-verbal predicates (p126:[ii]) and epistemological classifiers (6.4.4) that take enclitics in their own right. A more peripheral adjunct such as a comitative or instrument cannot take a floated clitic:

- (8-118) gopnyan ka=mupök ngön=bak =u¹ (\*=geuh)  
 he IN collide with tree coconut (3)

*He collided with a tree.*

- (8-119) gopnyan ka=leupah ngön=honda =nyan¹ (\*=geuh)  
 he IN pass with motorbike that (3)

*He went by on that motorbike.*

A clitic may be floated to the right around an Agent NP marked by *lé*:

- (8-120) ka=ji=poh lé=jih¹=kuh  
 IN 3 hit by he 1

*I have been hit by him.*

But not if the Undergoer NP is present:

- (8-121) (\*gopnyan) ka=ji=poh lé=jih¹=geuh

[ii] The use of an Undergoer enclitic implies a certain amount of topicality. For this reason it is rare to have both an Agent Core Topic and Undergoer cross-referencing. This was usually unacceptable to native informants if both Agent and Undergoer are third person:

- (8-122) \*jih ka=ji=poh¹=geuh  
 he IN 3 hit 3

*(He hit [him])*

but:

- (8-123) lôn ka=lôn=poh<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
I IN 1 hit 3

*I hit [him].*

There is never any problem when the Undergoer is the Core Topic. Informants found this a very acceptable ordering:

- (8-124) gopnyan ka=ji=poh<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
he IN 3 hit 3

*[He] hit him.*

The reason why two third persons are particularly bad together is perhaps that 1st and 2nd persons are inherently topical. For two third persons one needs a context which can establish both as topical. The only such examples I could find were when the Undergoer had been established as topical in a preceding backgrounding concessive clause:

- (8-125) pue nyang=neu=kheun lê=nabi kaphê hana =ji=patêh<sup>1</sup>=neuh  
what REL 3 say by prophet infidel NEGBE 3 believe 3

*Whatever the prophet said, the infidels wouldn't believe [him].*

- (8-126) ho nyang=geu=jak teungku=dawöt beureuêh lang=gampông  
whither REL 3 go title Daud Beureueh in village  
ureueng=gampông hana =i=poh<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
person village NEGBE 3 hit 3

*Wherever Teungku Daud Beureuêh went in the villages, the village people didn't kill [him].*

- (8-127) habip cöt=trieng hana =lê di=si=noe  
Habib Cöt Trieng NEGBE anymore at here  
teuntra ka=ji=cok<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
army IN 3 take 3

*The Habib of Cöt Trieng is not here anymore: the army have taken [him].*

[iii] In two circumstances Undergoer clitic referencing is compulsory. These are both with an intransitive verb that takes a Dative argument:

a) The enclitic is required when the Dative is relativised and the Undergoer NP does not immediately follow the verb:

- (8-128) pue nyang=galak<sup>1</sup>=neuh  
what REL like 2

*What do you like?*

In (8-129) the Undergoer immediately follows its verb.

- (8-129) *cuba ta=piléh tōh nyang=galak atê =gata*  
 try 2 choose which REL like liver you

*Try and choose whichever you like.*

b) The enclitic is required when a Dative follows its verb and is not marked with the preposition *keu*, i.e. it is encoded as a Core Role. The following sentence can only have the meaning given:

- (8-130) *gopnyan galak droe<sup>l</sup>=neuh*  
 he like self 2

*You like him.*

Here *droe<sup>l</sup>=neuh* 'you' must be the Undergoer, and *gopnyan* 'he' the Dative. If *droe<sup>l</sup>=neuh* were the Dative, *gopnyan* would be the Undergoer and would have to be cross-referenced as follows:

- (8-131) *gopnyan galak<sup>l</sup>=geuh droe<sup>l</sup>=neuh*

*He likes you.*

A few more examples like (8-131) are:

- (8-132) *mie êk<sup>l</sup> =jih tikōh*  
 cat like 3 mouse

*Cats like mice.*

- (8-133) *jih kayēm galak<sup>l</sup>=jih nyan*  
 she often like 3 that

*She often likes that.*

- (8-134) *h'an=êk<sup>l</sup> =teuh u =muda*  
 NEG like 2 coconut young

*You don't like young coconut.*

Certain exceptions to this can occur. Two involve cases where there is no ambiguity possible as to which NP is the Dative and which the Undergoer. If the Dative is clearly inanimate, then there is no potential for ambiguity and the clitic is not required:

- (8-135) *gata hana =peureumeun<sup>l</sup> (=teuh) sa =peue*  
 you NEGBE care (2) one what

*You don't care about anything.*

- (8-136) *gopnyan hana =galak<sup>l</sup> (=geuh) honda =nyan*  
 he NEGBE like (3) motorbike that

*He doesn't like that motorbike.*

Secondly, since Datives of intransitive verbs cannot be marked with the focus marker *di* (8.7), when the Undergoer is thus marked, there is no ambiguity and no clitic is necessary:

(8-137) *di=gopnyan galak droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh*

*He likes you.*

Thirdly, a relativised NP normally can have no clitic cross-referencing in the relative clause (9.1.2.1). However in the case of an intransitive verb with a Dative, the otherwise compulsory Undergoer enclitic is just optional:

(8-138) *mie nyang=ek<sup>1</sup> (=jih) tikôh*  
*cat REL like (3) mouse*

*It's cats that like mice.*

## 8.6. Argument Cliticisation

Agent and Undergoer NP's can be cliticised in the same position as their pronominal clitics, the Agent immediately before its verb:

(8-139) *ureueng=inông=geutanyoe=nyan êh sa =jan =geutanyoe*  
*person woman we incl that sleep one when we inc*

*That wife of ours (i.e. your wife) sleeps together with you.*

(8-140) *ka=gopnyan=jak*  
*IN he go*

*He has gone.*

and the Undergoer after its verb, or floated to the right:

(8-141) *carông<sup>1</sup>=ureueng=nyan*  
*clever person that*

*That person is clever.*

(8-142) *ka seunang di=rumoh=nyan<sup>1</sup>=gopnyan*  
*IN happy in house that she*

*She is happy in that house.*

(8-143) *honda =nyoe hana =galak lè<sup>1</sup> =gopnyan*  
*motorbike this NEGBE like anymore he*

*He doesn't like this motorbike anymore.*

It is not possible for there simultaneously to be a non-cliticised co-referential NP. Compare (8-144) with (8-145):

(8-144) *teungku=jôhan ka=geu=jak*  
*title Johan IN 3 go*

*Teungku Johan has gone.*

(8-145) *\*teungku=jôhan ka=gopnyan=jak*  
*title Johan IN he go*

There appears to be no constraint on the internal structure of a cliticised NP. The semantic effect of cliticisation is not clear, but it does seem to involve a focus on the verb itself, on the fact of the state or of the event having taken place. For example the following proverb contrasts two events, so the verb in the first clause has a cliticised Agent:

- (8-146) *gop =pajôh boh =panah geutanyoe meuligan=geutah*  
 other person eat fruit jackfruit we dirty sap

*Someone else eats jackfruit and we get dirty.*

In the following sentence it is the event of the rice being eaten that is emphasised:

- (8-147) *si =agam ji=jak keumiet padê bek tulô =pajôh*  
 title male 3 go guard rice DONT rice bird eat

*The boy is going to guard the rice so that the rice birds won't eat it.*

Undergoer cliticisation is often used in a *yes/no* question:

- (8-148) *pue carông<sup>l</sup>=gopnyan*  
 whether clever he

*He is clever?*

or for a simple statement of fact:

- (8-149) *carông<sup>l</sup>=gopnyan*

*He is clever.*

If the Undergoer follows the verb but is not cliticised, it is strongly contrastive, as in (8-59).

For the pronouns *lôn*–*lông* 'I' *kah* 'you' and *jih* 'he/she' there are no cliticised forms distinct from the regular pronominal clitics: *lôn*= and =*lôn* for *lôn*, *lông*= and =*lông* for *lông*, *ka*= and =*keu(h)* for *kah* and *ji*= and =*jih* for *jih*. Thus *ji=jak* 'he goes', not \**jih=jak*.

Some authors (Abdul Gani Asyik 1982, Lawler 1977) have pointed out that Agent cliticisation has the effect of emphasising the Agent. This needs further investigation. There appears to be something to this, although it is certainly not topicalisation in the way a Core Topic is topicalised. If cliticisation involves a focus on the verb, then since the Agent is packaged by cliticisation into the same phonological phrase as the verb, it too is focussed, but only in so far as it says something about the verb. Thus the emphasis is not a priori upon the Agent itself, as in a topicalisation, but on the Agent qualifying the verb. In English we can achieve this effect with the passive, and this is how Abdul Gani Asyik, who is very fluent in English and a native speaker of Acehnese, translates it; the following example is taken from Abdul Gani Asyik 1982:

- (8-150) *aneuk=nyan=koh kayee=nyoe*  
 child that cut wood this

*The wood was cut by the boy.*

It is interesting that Agent incorporation does not appear to be possible when the Undergoer deserves the greater level of politeness. Contrast (8-151) with (8-152) and

(8-153) with (8-154):

(8-151) \*gopnyan ka=asee kap<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
he polite IN dog bite 3

(He was bitten by a dog)

(8-152) kameng ka=asee kap<sup>1</sup>=jih  
goat IN dog bite 3

The goat was bitten by a dog.

(8-153) \*teungku=jöhan ka=asee=kap  
title Johan IN dog bite

(A dog bit Teungku Johan)

(8-154) asee=nyan ka=gopnyan =poh  
dog that IN he polite beat

He beat that dog.

I am not sure how to interpret this. Cliticisation of a NP referring to someone can be a polite alternative to using a clitic with no NP. This is a mark of politeness towards the person being referred to. In general, avoiding pronominal reference is an expression of politeness (see (5.6) and p121). (8-151) and (8-153) are unacceptable because the human being must attract any mark of politeness, not the dog. (8-152) is acceptable because the dog is only mentioned in the context of a goat, another animal.

## 8.7. *di*

*di*, or its free variant *i*,<sup>6</sup> is proposed before a Core Role NP to mark it as topical.

### 8.7.1. Use

*di* is particularly interesting because it allows the NP it precedes to occur in almost any position in the clause, except that it cannot occur within another constituent. This potential is fully realised in practice; NP's marked with *di* occupy a wide range of positions in the clause. Almost any type of NP with Core Role status can be marked by *di*, including: Agents:

(8-155) pue na=töm ta=deungö di=gata haba =peulandök?  
whether BE ever 2 hear FM you story mouse deer

Have you ever heard a mouse deer story?

<sup>6</sup>*ji* was once observed in elicited data as a third variant.

- (8-156) di=kamoe mu =woe  
FM we exc 1exc return

*We are returning.*

Undergoers:

- (8-157) hana =galak<sup>1</sup>=lôn di=lôn  
NEGBE happy 1 FM I

*I'm not happy.*

- (8-158) di=cangkôy=nyoe hana =göt sagay  
FM hoe this NEGBE good at all

*This hoe is no good at all.*

- (8-159) di=ureueng=nyan ka=lôn=poh<sup>1</sup>=jih  
FM person that IN 1 kill 3

*I have killed that person.*

Datives of transitive verbs:

- (8-160) ka=bri di=kee duwa=boh  
2 give FM I two CLASS

*Give me two!*

Subjects of non-verbal predicates:

- (8-161) di=gopnyan guru<sup>1</sup> =lôn  
FM he teacher 1

*He is my teacher.*

- (8-162) di=gopnyan ka=lagee=nyan<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
FM he IN way that 3

*That's the way he is!*

Possessor focussed NP's:

- (8-163) di=lôn hana =peurumoh  
FM I NEGBE wife

*I don't have a wife.*

- (8-164) di=jih teungku=ali ayah<sup>1</sup> =jih  
FM he title Ali father 3

*Teungku Ali is his father.*

the Location with a locative Undergoer incorporation (4.3.4):

- (8-165) ka=keunông=hukôm di=jih  
IN struck law FM he

*He was judged by the law.*



There are two exceptions, also mentioned at p194:[i] and p195:[ii]: Datives of intransitive verbs cannot take *di*:

- (8-166) (\**di*=)lôn hana =galak<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
 (FM) I NEGBE like 3

*He doesn't like me.*

and third person Undergoers of transitive verbs cannot be marked with *di* when they follow the verb. Compare (8-159) and (8-168) with (8-167):

- (8-167) ka=lôn=poh (\**di*=)ureueng=nyan  
 IN 1 kill (FM) person that

*I have killed that person.*

- (8-168) ku=poh<sup>1</sup>=keuh *di*=kah singöh  
 1 kill 2 FM you tomorrow

*I will kill you tomorrow.*

There is one type of NP, which is not a Core Role, to which *di* can apply. This has the semantic status of 'as far as X is concerned'. This meaning appears to be encoded by *di* itself: it does not depend upon predicate relations. I only know of a few examples:

- (8-169) u =teupe =kap keu=pue *di*=droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh  
 coconut squirrel bite for what FM self 2

*What is a coconut eaten out by squirrels good for as far as you are concerned?*

- (8-170) aneuk *di*=lôn aneuk *di*=gata  
 child FM I child FM you

*A child of mine is a child of yours.*

- (8-171) *di*=gopnyan hóm<sup>1</sup> =geuh  
 FM he who knows 3

*Who knows, where he's concerned!*

## 8.7.2. Constituent Ordering

Some ordering configurations that are only possible with *di* are:

[i] A focussed possessor NP may follow its head, even with a cross-referencing clitic:

- (8-172) ka=i=poh =mak *di*=lôn  
 IN 3 kill mother FM I

*They killed my mother.*

- (8-173) pue buet<sup>1</sup>=keuh *di*=kah  
 what work 2 FM you

*What is your work?*

- (8-174) *kön=hana hay bajee=barô di=jih*  
 NOT NEGBE hey shirt new FM he

*Hey, it's not that he doesn't have a new shirt.*

[ii] With locative Undergoer incorporation, the location, which has Core Role status, may follow the verb (8-165).

[iii] A NP may follow its reflexive (8.10.1), with or without a cross-referencing clitic on the reflexive:

- (8-175) *ka=jî=poh droe<sup>l</sup>(=jih) i =jih*  
 IN 3 kill self (3) FM 3

*He killed himself.*

[iv] An Agent NP can occur before its verb, even where the Undergoer NP is a Core Topic or is interrogated:

- (8-176) *peue piyasan teuma di=lôn lôn=peugôt*  
 which celebration thus FM I 1 do

*What shall I do to celebrate?*

- (8-177) *di=gata boh =keupila=nyoe ta=pajôh*  
 FM you fruit cassava this 1 eat

*You eat this cassava.*

With an Undergoer this is possible when the Agent is interrogated (8-178), but apparently not when it is an uninterrogated Core Topic.

- (8-178) *di=lôn soe ba*  
 FM I who take

*Who will take me?*

### 8.7.3. Function

The function of *di* is similar to that of a Core Topic, but the foregrounding effect of *di* is more strongly contrastive. A Core Topic is often used for foregrounding a participant as topical at its first appearance, i.e. as topical in comparison to other relatively non-topical participants, or with no comparison intended at all. In contrast to this *di* is used to focus on an already topical participant in contrast to other relatively topical participants, as for example in:

- (8-179) *di=kee ku=takôt keu=raja, kön=lagee=kah ulôk-ulôk*  
 FM I 1 fear DAT king NOT way you careless

*hana ka=takôt sa =pue*  
 NEGBE 2 fear one what

*As for me, I fear the king: unlike you, who are careless. You don't fear anything.*

For this reason *di* is often used with first and second person pronouns. About half the examples collected from texts were first or second person, usually with a two-way contrast as in (8-179) and (8-180):

- (8-180) *di=gop*                      *geu=jak u =blang*  
 FM other person 3    go to rice field  
*di=gata ta=duək di=rumah si =uroe seupōt*  
 FM you 2 sit in house one day evening

*Other people go to the rice field: you sit in the house all day long.*

## 8.8. Adjuncts

An ADJUNCT is a clause constituent that is not predicated by the clause predicate, and is not itself the predicate. Core Roles are never adjuncts, and neither are predicated PP's like the Dative in:

- (8-181) *keu=lōn na=geu=bi peng =bacut*  
 DAT I BE 3 give money little

*She gave me a little money.*

An adjunct can take a variety of forms. It can be an NP, PP, verbs, or one of a special class of lexical adjuncts, called OPERATORS. This section is divided according to these various types of adjuncts.

The general principles of ordering adjuncts within the clause are described in 8.3.1. In the subsections below more information is supplied on ordering, especially for operators, which are typically idiosyncratic in this respect.

### 8.8.1. Nominal Adjuncts

Various types of nominal adjuncts can be distinguished:

[i] Onomatopoeics (p115:[vi]) are used as nominal adjuncts:

- (8-182) *ph'ah geu=proh ph'oh lēn*  
 - 3 blow - extinguished  
*Ph'ah he blew [it], ph'oh [it] went out.*
- (8-183) *ji=catok keutak-keutak bak=bruek=mata*  
 3 hoe - - at shell eye  
*[The bees] hoed keutak-keutak at his eyebrows.*
- (8-184) *soe jak teh-toh di=rumah*  
 who go - - in house  
*Who is walking teh-toh in the house?*

[ii] Locational nouns (p114:[v]) can head an adjunct NP:

- (8-185) *gopnyan* *geu=jak* *röt=nan*  
 he 3 go way that

*He went that way.*

- (8-186) *di=po* *=rimueng* *ka=teu-döng* *geunirêng* *cidue*  
 FM title tiger IN DC stand beside branch

*The tiger was standing next to a branch.*

- (8-187) *kapay* *ji=döng* *ateueh=kuwala*  
 ship 3 stand top river mouth

*The boat has stopped at the head of the river mouth.*

- (8-188) *kapay* *teureubang* *ji=phö* *si =u =laöt*  
 ship flying 3 fly side to sea

*The plane flew off in the direction of the sea.*

Locational epistemological classifiers *pat* 'where', *ho* 'whither', 'et' 'how short', 'oh' 'how far', are used nominally to head adjunct phrases:

- (8-189) *ji=jak* *ho =laên*  
 3 go whither other

*He went off in another direction.*

- (8-190) *dum=pat* *na=geu=meukat* *ija*  
 all where BE 3 sell cloth

*Cloth is sold everywhere.*

[iii] Nouns referring to time can head temporal adjuncts. Preferred positions are before the predicate or clause finally after other adjuncts, but they may also occur between the predicate and the clause final constituent:

- (8-191) *jih* *cöt=uroe* *ji=jak* *u =sabang*  
 he middle of day 3 go to Sabang

*At midday he goes to Sabang.*

- (8-192) *meulatang=nyan* *ji=êh* *uroe*  
 animal that 3 sleep day

*That animal sleeps during the day.*

- (8-193) *na=ureueng=keumiet* *lingka =rumoh=gata* *beuklam*  
 BE person watch surrounds house you last night

*Someone was watching the surrounds of your house last night.*

- (8-194) *ta=grak* *dabeueh=nyoe* *siat* *ateueh=bahö =lôn*  
 2 move luggage this moment top shoulder I

*Put this luggage onto my shoulders for a moment.*

The epistemological classifier *jan* 'when' is also used nominally to head an adjunct phrase:

- (8-195) *ji =noe ji=duek di=sabang*  
 when this 3 sit in Sabang

*Now he lives in Sabang.*

- (8-196) *pa =jan ta =woe keu=noe*  
 what when linc return to this

*When will we return here?*

[iv] Manner nouns (p112:[iii]) can head manner adjuncts:

- (8-197) *si =amat teu-khêm lagee=raya*  
 title Amat DC laugh way big

*Amat laughs a lot.*

- (8-198) *bek lè meu=nan ka=marit*  
 DONT any more way that 2 talk

*Don't talk like that anymore.*

[v] The reason for something can be expressed as an adjunct, using the nouns *seubap* 'reason' and *meukeusut* 'purpose' or the epistemological classifiers *kön* 'why' and *pue* 'what, why':

- (8-199) *peue meukeusut trök droe<sup>l</sup>=neuh keu=noe*  
 what reason arrive self you to here

*What did you arrive here for?*

- (8-200) *pa =kön sakét<sup>l</sup>=gata*  
 what why sick you

*Why are you sick?*

[vi] Several verbs describing states of ability can have a single argument, either an Agent or Undergoer, which is animate, and is the participant which has the ability being described. The type of ability itself is expressed as an adjunct NP:

- (8-201) *di=kee h'an jeuet<sup>l</sup>=kuh dö'a*  
 FM I NEG can 1 pray

*I can't pray.*

- (8-202) *gopnyan ka=jeuet<sup>l</sup>=geuh basa =aceh*  
 he IN can 3 language Aceh

*He can [speak] Acehnese.*

- (8-203) *h'an êk<sup>l</sup>=geuh bu*  
 NEG can 3 rice

*He can't [eat] rice.*

- (8-204) *gopnyan caröng basa =inggrêh*  
 he clever language English  
*He is clever at English.*

The abilitative adjunct can be expressed prepositionally:

- (8-205) *bak=buet=lagee=nyan h'an=jeuet<sup>1</sup>=lôn*  
 at work way that NEG can 1  
*I can't [do] work like that.*

These abilitative adjuncts can consist of a whole clause (9.4.1.2):

- (8-206) *jeuet<sup>1</sup>=lôn lôn=peugah=haba basa =aceh*  
 can 1 1 speak news language Aceh  
*I can speak Acehnese.*

[vii] The instrument can be expressed as a NP adjunct (and also prepositionally with *ngön*, see 7.3.5):

- (8-207) *kayee=nyoe lôn=poh ureueng=nyan baroe*  
 wood this 1 hit person that yesterday  
*I hit that person with this piece of wood yesterday.*

## 8.8.2. Prepositional Adjuncts

There are various types of prepositional adjuncts. These are described in Chapter 7.

## 8.8.3. Verbal Adjuncts

Non-controlled stative verbs can be used as adjuncts to a predicate. These normally precede or immediately follow the predicate:

- (8-208) *trêp=that lôn=duek di=bireuen*  
 long very 1 sit in Bireuen  
*I lived in Bireuen for a long time.*
- (8-209) *gopnyan meulek geu=jak ngön=honda*  
 he slow 3 go with motorbike  
*He is driving his motorbike slowly.*
- (8-210) *neu=trên lanja u =dalam*  
 2 go down quick to inside  
*Go down inside quickly.*

- (8-211) lanja po =peulandök geu=suröt u =liköt  
 quick title mouse deer 3 retreat to back

*Quickly the mouse deer retreated backwards.*

## 8.9. Vocative

A vocative NP bears no marking to distinguish it as such. It may occur anywhere in the clause between phonological phrases. In the following example the vocative NP *dalêm* 'elder brother' could have occurred anywhere marked by \*:

- (8-212) \* pat \* neu=jak=ceumeulö \* uroe=nyoe dalêm  
 where 2 go thresh day this elder brother

*Where do you intend to thresh the rice today, brother?*

A vocative NP bears no grammatical relation to the predicate of its clause. It is not a Core Role NP and is not marked by *lê* or the focus marker *dí*. A co-referential Core Role NP can even occur in the same clause as the vocative:

- (8-213) pue buet<sup>1</sup>=keuh di=kah peulandök  
 what work 2 FM you mouse deer

*What is your work, mouse deer?*

- (8-214) hay teu ku=waki ta=peumeu'ah<sup>1</sup>=keuh lê=gata nyang=salah =lôn  
 hey lord assistant 2 forgive EMPH by you REL mistake I

*Hey, lord assistant (to the king), forgive me my mistake.*

- (8-215) neu=peumeu'ah lê=droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh hay teungku nyang=salah =lôn  
 2 forgive by self 2 hey title REL mistake I

*Forgive me, hey mister, my mistakes.*

In the following example (from Gani Asyik 1982) the vocative and the Agent NP are even identical in form:

- (8-216) kamoe kamoe =jak dilee  
 we inc we inc go now

*We are leaving now.*

All first and second person pronouns and title nouns, except for *si* and *po*, can be used alone as vocatives. Also a noun or a name is used in the vocative without a title:

- (8-217) ho ka=jak hay agam  
 whither 2 go hey male

*Where are you going boy?*

However in a non-vocative use such a noun or name would require a title, or a demonstrative:

- (8-218) *si =agam ka=i=jak*  
 title male IN 3 go

*The boy has gone.*

## 8.10. The Reflexive

The reflexive pronoun is *droe* 'self', which is also the classifier for people (5.9.2). This may occur alone, but it is often specified by a enclitic pronominal, e.g. *droe*<sup>1</sup>=*jih* 'himself, herself, themselves'. This is formally a possessive construction, like English *myself*. The use of these enclitics is optional in true reflexive usage. Reflexives can be used non-reflexively, and in this case the enclitic (5.5.4.4) is compulsory. The full set of reflexive forms is given in table (5-3).

### 8.10.1. Agent = Undergoer

When Agent and Undergoer arguments are co-referential, the use of the reflexive pronoun *droe* is compulsory:

- (8-219) *jih ji=rhah droe*<sup>1</sup>(=*jih*)  
 he 3 wash self (3)

*He washes himself.*

The reflexive pronoun is formally the Undergoer NP. *droe* by itself cannot precede the verb:

- (8-220) \**droe ka=geu=poh*  
 self IN 3 kill

*(He killed himself.)*

but with an enclitic pronominal this is possible:

- (8-221) *droe*<sup>1</sup>=*geuh ka=geu=poh*

*He killed himself.*

The Agent NP can never be reflexive:

- (8-222) \**gopnyan ka=geu=poh lδ=droe*<sup>1</sup>(=*neuh*)  
 he IN 3 hit by self (2)

The Agent NP is very commonly omitted:

- (8-223) *ji=rhah droe*<sup>1</sup>=*jih*

*He washes himself.*

- (8-224) *ji=suet droe u =luwa*  
 3 drag self to outside

*[He] dragged himself outside.*



If it is not omitted the Agent must be Core Topic, as in (8-219), marked with the focus marker *di* (p210:[iii]), or cliticised before the verb in place of the proclitic:

- (8-225) *ka=gopnyan=poh droe<sup>l</sup>(=geuh)*  
 IN he kill self (3)

*He killed himself.*

For decontrolled verbal derivatives with *teu-* (4.5.1) and *meu-* (4.5.3.1), a reflexive is still possible even though there is no Core Role Agent NP allowed. The reflexive is semantically, not syntactically conditioned:

- (8-226) *teu-sie droe*  
 DC cut self

*[He] accidentally cut himself.*

A decontrolled reflexive allows a Core Topic, co-referential with the reflexive, but as a possessor focussed NP, not as an Agent. (8-227) is possible because the reflexive pronoun is formally a possessive compound. See (4-133)-(4-135) and the accompanying discussion.

- (8-227) *jih teu=sie=droe<sup>l</sup>(=jih) baroe*  
 he DC cut self (3) yesterday

*He cut himself yesterday.*

Sentence (8-228) is unacceptable because *lôn* 'I' is not the possessor of *jih*: it could only be the Agent NP, and this is impossible with a *teu-* derivative:

- (8-228) *\*lôn teu=sie jaroe =jih*  
 I DC cut finger he

*(I cut his finger.)*

### 8.10.2. Core Role = Peripheral

When a Core Role is co-referential with the object NP of a PP, the latter must be a reflexive:<sup>7</sup>

- (8-229) *gopnyan sayang<sup>l</sup> (=geuh) keu=droe<sup>l</sup>(=geuh)*  
 he feel sympathy (3) DAT self (3)

*He feels sympathy for himself.*

- (8-230) *gopnyan na=peng bak=droe<sup>l</sup>=geuh*  
 he BE money at self 3

*He has some money on him.*

An adjunct PP consisting of *keu* + a reflexive can also be used to express the sense of

<sup>7</sup>I have no data for non-prepositional Datives.

'alone, by oneself, by itself':

- (8-231) lôn=duek lôn keu=droe  
1 sit I to self

*I sit by myself.*

- (8-232) rumoh=lôn reubah keu=droe<sup>1</sup>=i  
house I fall to self 3

*My house fell down by itself.*

*keu=droe* can also be used attributively immediately following its head:

- (8-233) nyang=yue raja=keu=droe<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
REL order king to self 3

*It was the king himself who ordered it.*

The fixed expression *sabê keu=droe* is used for expressing reciprocal action:

- (8-234) ureueng=nyan geu=mupakê sabê keu=droe<sup>1</sup>(=geuh)  
person that 3 quarrel always to self (3)

*Those people are always arguing with each other.*

### 8.10.3. Agent = Possessor of Undergoer

When an Agent and the Undergoer's possessor are co-referential, the latter must either be a reflexive:

- (8-235) geutanyoe ka=lheueh ta =peuget rumoh<sup>1</sup>=droe  
we IN finished linc make house self

*We have built [our] own house.*

or a pronominal enclitic:

- (8-236) geutanyoe ka=lheueh ta =peuget rumoh=droe<sup>1</sup>=teuh  
we IN finished linc make house self linc

*We have built our own house.*

or remain unmarked altogether:

- (8-237) geu=rhah jaroe  
3 wash hand

*[He] is washing [his] hands.*

- (8-238) (lôn) ka=teu-kap =bibi  
(I) IN DC bite lip

*(I) bit [my] lip.*

This third strategy is the unmarked one for body parts (8-238) and kinship relations:

- (8-239) *gopnyan geu=poh peurumoh*  
 he 3 beat wife

*He beats [his] wife.*

To use the reflexive in such cases is markedly contrastive, as in *his own wife*, not someone else's.

#### 8.10.4. Core Role = Possessor of Peripheral

When an Agent or Undergoer is co-referential with the possessor in a PP, the same possibilities apply as for 8.10.3, above:

- (8-240) *ji=pikê lam=atê (=droe<sup>1</sup>=jih)*  
 3 think in liver (self 3)

*She thought to herself in (her own) heart.*

- (8-241) *gopnyan geu=jôk boh =kayee keu=aneuk<sup>1</sup> (=geuh)*  
 he 3 give fruit tree DAT child (3)

*He gave (his) child a fruit.*

- (8-242) *lôn=mat jih bak=jaroe=droe*  
 1 hold he at hand self

*I took him by [his] own hand.*

- (8-243) *lôn=mat jih ngôn=jaroe=droe*  
 1 hold he with hand self

*I took him with [my] own hand.*

#### 8.10.5. An exception

Reflexive is optional when the NP used is a name or a first or second person pronoun, and the sense is strongly contrastive. This is rather a marked construction.

- (8-244) *cok ija =nyan keu=kah*  
 take cloth that to you

*Take that cloth for yourself.*

- (8-245) *si =ali galak<sup>1</sup>=jih keu=si =ali*  
 title Ali like DAT title Ali

*Ali likes himself.*

## 8.11. The Comparative

Acehnese has no derivational strategy for expressing comparative degrees of a stative verb. A verb in its root form can be used for a non-contrastive statement about something or someone, or it can be used contrastively. For contrastive usage the argument NP follows its verb (8.3):

- (8-246) *caröng jih*  
clever he

*He is the cleverer/cleverest.*

- (8-247) *jih caröng*

*He is clever.*

A standard of comparison may be given explicitly. This is encoded as a PP, with a preposition *ngön* or *ni=bak* as pivot (glossed PIV). As background information it occurs most naturally preposed before the verb (p197:[ii]):

- (8-248) *ngön=lön caröng jih*  
PIV I clever he

*He is cleverer than me.*

The standard may also follow:

- (8-249) *caröng jih ni=bak=lön*

*He is cleverer than me.*

Instead of a prepositional standard of comparison there may be a NP which refers to the group within which the comparison is being made:

- (8-250) *dalam=aneuk=gampöng=nyoe caröng jih*  
in child village this clever he

*Amongst the children of this village, he is the cleverest.*

- (8-251) *jih=ngön=lön caröng jih*  
he with I clever he

*Of he and me, he is the cleverer.*

It is more usual for the subject of comparison to precede its verb. This is possible with the pivot *ni=bak*, but not with *ngön*:

- (8-252) *jih caröng ni=bak=lön*

*He is cleverer than me.*

- (8-253) \**jih caröng ngön=lön*  
he clever PIV I

Sentence (8-253) could be acceptable, but only with the meaning: 'He is clever with you'.

If an operator of degree, such as *leubeh* 'more' is used, then (8-253) would be accept-

able, though it would not be by any means a preferred ordering:

(8-254) ?jih leubeh caröng ngön=lôn

*He is much cleverer than me.*

The subject of comparison cannot be ellipsed, not even with a enclitic pronominal to reference it:

(8-255) \*ngön=lôn caröng<sup>l</sup>=jih  
PIV I clever 3

To express an equal degree an adjunct of degree is used:

(8-256) jih sa =bê caröng ngön=lôn  
he same how big clever with I

*He and I are equally clever.*

The PP in (8-256) is comitative, not a standard of comparison. Compare the phrasal structure of (8-256) with (8-253), and compare the following two sentences with (8-248) and (8-255) respectively:

(8-257) \*ngön=lôn sa =bê caröng jih  
with I same how big clever he

(8-258) ngön=lôn sa =bê caröng<sup>l</sup>=jih  
with I same how big clever 3

*He and I are equally clever.*

(8-257) is unacceptable because the use of *sa=bê* implies a comitative sense, not a comparative, so the contrastive order with Undergoer post-posed is not appropriate.

The standard of comparison may be used to form an adjunct of degree:

(8-259) tuha rumah=nyan dum =rumah=nyoe  
old house that how much house this

*That house is as old as this house.*

A further way of expressing a comparison is with a headless relative clause (9.1.1.2). This has a contrastive meaning which implies a greater degree:

(8-260) jih nyang=caröng

*He is the one who is clever.*

### 8.11.1. Superlative with *si*

A nominal superlative is derived from verbs using *si=*, which otherwise has the meaning 'one' (5.9.1).

## 8.11.1.1. Formation

This derivation is formed of *si=* + a reduplicated *-eun-* nominalisation (5.10):

*si=keununeng-keununeng* 'the yellowest' < *kuneng* 'yellow'  
*si=neugöt-neugöt* 'the best' < *göt* 'good'

There is an idiosyncratic characteristic about the way *-eun-* is applied in these superlatives. For all monosyllabic roots the prefixing allomorph of *-eun-* may be used. This is irrespective of how the usual *-eun-* nominalisation is formed. Thus *phêt* forms *peuneuhêt* 'bitterness', but as a superlative it can also be *si=neuphêt-neuphêt* 'the bitterest'. Often the *-eun-* is even omitted altogether for superlatives:

*si=göt-göt* 'the best'  
*si=kuneng-kuneng* 'the yellowest'  
*si=phêt-phêt* 'the bitterest'

Sometimes, instead of the reduplication, *si=* may form a superlative with an operator that precedes its verb:

*si =palêng=trêp* 'the longest'  
 one most long

## 8.11.1.2. Use

The use of this superlative has certain special characteristics. It appears as Core Topic in its clause:

(8-261) *si =rayeuk-rayeuk ubê =noe sagay*  
 one big big how big this only

*The biggest is only this big.*

A superlative cannot be a clause predicate. This can be seen from the fact that *ureueng=barat* cannot be relativised from (8-261):

(8-262) *ubê =noe sagay nyang=si =rayeuk-rayeuk*  
 how big this only REL one big big

The superlative may be qualified by an operator such as *that* 'very', or by an attributive phrase:

(8-263) *si =miyup-miyup=that duwa=mete*  
 one low low very two metres

*The lowest is two metres.*

(8-264) *si =neutrêp-neutrêp=that lhee =jeuem*  
 one length length very three hour

*The longest is three hours.*

(8-265) *si =lâ -lâ =that lôt aneuk lam=plôk=nyoe*  
 one many many very fit match in box this

*hanya duwa=plôh =neuk sagay*  
 just two twenty CLASS only

*The very most matches that will fit in this box is only twenty.*

(8-266) *si =putêh-putêh ija =nyan neu=rhah kôn=dum =keureutah sagay*  
 one white white cloth that 2 wash not how much paper only

*The whitest you can wash that cloth is only as [white] as paper.*

It can also be modified by a possessive phrase like *buet* in (8-267):

(8-267) *si =neugôt -neugôt buet lagee=buet=nabi*  
 one goodness goodness deed way deed prophet

*The best of deeds is like that of the prophets.*

(8-268) *si =phêt -phêt ôbat pel =keunina*  
 one bitter bitter medicine pill Keunina

*The bitterest medicine is the Keunina pill.*

A superlative is often used as a backgrounding for a following statement:

(8-269) *si =rayeuk-rayeuk keh =ngôn=rukok, nyang=rayeuk buku*  
 one big big match box with cigarette REL big book

*As big as the match box and the cigarette may be, the book is the biggest.*

(8-270) *si =neugôt -neugôt ta =nguy sa =dum caröng jih=ngôn=lôn*  
 one goodness goodness linc use same how much clever he with I

*Whichever way you look at it, he and I are equally clever.*

(8-271) *si =neutrêp-neutrêp=that, geutanyoe di=si =noe lhee =jeuem*  
 one length length very we at side this three hour

*At the very longest we have been here three hours.*

(8-272) *si =mameh-mameh ureueng, ureueng=nyan gôt =budi=peukeureuti*  
 one sweet sweet person person that good character

*As far as people may be sweet, that person has a good character.*

## 8.12. Operators

Operators form an intermediate sized part of speech category. They modify predicates and are not themselves predicated. They do not occur independently as predicates, except sometimes with quite different meanings. They can also modify constituents other than predicates, including other operators (8.12.2). Operators encode aspectual and quantifying meanings. For example *that* 'very', and *mantöng* 'just' quantify the degree of something, and *golom* 'not yet' and *sabê* 'always, continuously' specify the aspect.

Operators do not only modify verbal predicates. For example, *that* 'very', can apply to onomatopoeic nominal predicates:

(8-273) *pue h'a-h'i=that sagoe=nyan*  
*what - - very saw that*

*Why is that saw screeching?*

Operators are a heterogeneous class. They have many variable features, for example their ordering, and this description is both incomplete and tentative.

### 8.12.1. With Predicates

Operators can be classified according to whether they precede or follow their predicate:

[i] Some operators that can both precede and follow their predicate are:

*bacut* 'a little'  
*bacut-bacut* 'slowly, gradually'  
*(keu)bit* 'really, truly'  
*mantöng* 'still'  
*raya* 'very'  
*sabé* 'always, continuously'  
*that* 'very'

(8-274) *jih mantöng sakét*  
*she still sick*

*or: jih sakét mantöng*

*She is still sick.*

(8-275) *jih sakét bacut*  
*she sick little*

*She is a little sick.*

(8-276) *jih bit =sakét*  
*she really sick*

*She is really sick.*

Of these operators, *that* 'very' more usually follows: *sakét=that* 'very sick', and may optionally be pronounced as one phonological phrase with the predicate. It can sometimes precede, by way of emphasis:

(8-277) *jih that sipadan buet=ngön=nan*  
*he very matching work with name*

*His work is very fitting to this name.*

Usually when it precedes it is in conjunction with a negative:



(8-278) **lôn hana =that=sakê**

I NEGBE very sick

*I am not very sick.*

[ii] Some operators only follow their predicate:

*keuh* 'even' - a marker of emphasis

*lagöyna* 'very' (from *lagoe* + *na*)

*mantöng* 'only, just' (compare with *mantöng* 'still', above)

*pih* 'too, even'

*sigeutu* 'rather' (from *si=* + *geutu*)

*sit* 'also'

*treuk* 'then, next'

Of these, *keuh*, *pih*, *sit* and *treuk* are enclitics:

(8-279) **ka=geu=jak<sup>1</sup>=pih**

IN 3 go even

*He has even gone.*

(8-280) **geu=jak<sup>1</sup>=treuk**

3 go next

*Then he went.*

A further four operators in this category have different meanings in the positive and negative. In the positive their meanings are:

*lê* 'now, immediately'

*lom* 'again'

*sagay* 'only'

*töm* 'at least once'

With a negative like *h'an* they have the meanings:

*lê* 'no longer'

*lom* 'not yet'

*töm* 'never'

*sagay* 'not at all'

These four operators are idiosyncratic in other respects. *töm* is only used in the positive after the complementiser *na* 'be':

(8-281) **na=töm=lôn=jak u =medan**

BE once 1 go to Medan

*I have been to Medan.*

In the negative it is only used with *h'an* 'not' or *hana* 'not be', and immediately follows them:

(8-282) **hana=töm=lôn=jak u=medan**

*I have never been to Medan.*

The other three always follow their predicate in the positive, but in the negative they can either follow the predicate, or the negative marker before the verb:

- (8-283) **gopnyan hana =sagay =caröng**  
 he NEGBE at all clever  
**OR: gopnyan hana=caröng=sagay**  
*He is not at all clever.*

In its negative meaning *lom* is always cliticised:

- (8-284) **gopnyan h'an=geu=têm =jak=meulangue<sup>l</sup>=lom**  
 he NEG 3 want go swim yet  
*He doesn't want to go swimming yet.*

If *lom* is not cliticised, it has its positive meaning of 'again':

- (8-285) **gopnyan h'an=geu=têm =jak=meulangue lom**  
 he NEG 3 want go swim again  
*He doesn't want to go swimming again.*

*lê* is optionally a clitic:

- (8-286) **keu=lôn hana =galak<sup>l</sup>=geuh lê**  
 DAT I NEGBE like 3 anymore  
**OR: keu=lôn hana=galak<sup>l</sup>=geu=lê**  
*He doesnt like me anymore.*

[iii] Some operators that only precede are:

- ban* 'very, completely, just now'  
*cukôp* 'enough, very'  
*golom* 'not yet'  
*habêh* 'completely, used up'  
*h'an* 'not'  
*kön* 'on the contrary'  
*kureueng* 'less'  
*leubeh* 'more'  
*leupah* 'very, very'  
*meu(eng)* 'even'  
*paléng* 'very, very'  
*sêp* 'enough, very'

- (8-287) **kön=bit bangay<sup>l</sup>=keuh that**  
 not really stupid 2 very  
*You're not really stupid! (i.e. you are stupid)*

- (8-288) **ban geu=beuet di=rumoh**  
 just 3 recite in house  
*He has just been reciting (the Koran) at home.*

- (8-289) *moto=nyan ka=habêh =reulöh*  
 car that IN completely wrecked

*That car is completely wrecked.*

- (8-290) *jih kureueng ji=tu -pue*  
 he less 3 know what

*He doesn't know much.*

Two of these operators, *kön* and *h'an* are used for negation, along with the illocutionary marker *bek* and the verb *tan* 'not be'. *h'an* is also compounded with the complementising verb *na* 'be' to give *hana* 'not be' (9.4.1.1). *kön* is used for negatives where a positive alternative is implied. It is required for negating nominal predicates expressing identity:

- (8-291) *kitab=nyoe kön=atra =kah*  
 book this not possession you

*This is not yours.*

- (8-292) *nyan ka=kön=gaki=peulandök*  
 that IN not foot mouse deer

*That's not the foot of a mouse deer: it's something else.*

- (8-293) \**nyan h'an gaki=peulandök*

- (8-294) \**nyan hana gaki=peulandök*

With other predicates *kön* has the meaning 'on the contrary':

- (8-295) *gopnyan kön=ji=jak u =meunasah*  
 he not 3 go to Meunasah

*It's not that he went to the Meunasah.*

### 8.12.2. Modifying non-Predicates

Operators can modify constituents that are not clausal predicates. These constituents are typically clausal adjuncts and NP modifiers:

[i] Adjunct verbs (8.8.3) can be modified with operators:

- (8-296) *tajam=that ji=jak*  
 fast very 3 go

*He is going very fast.*

as can verbs used attributively:

- (8-297) *ureueng=sakêt=that=nyan*  
 person sick very that

*that very sick person*

[ii] Nominal phrases that can be used predicatively can also be modified by operators. This occurs most commonly with Measure Phrases:

- (8-298) *lë =that geu=taguen eungkôt*  
 much very 3 cook fish  
*She cooked a lot of fish.*
- (8-299) *teungöh=ji=kalôn cukôp=lë =ureueng*  
 middle 3 see very many person  
*He is looking at a lot of people.*
- (8-300) *sa =boh sagay geu=cok boh =mamplam*  
 one CLASS only 3 take fruit mango  
*He took one mango only.*
- (8-301) *ban =duwa=gopnyan geu=jak=mita hukôm*  
 completely two he 3 go seek judge  
*Both of them went to see the judge.*

Manner nouns are also often modified by operators:

- (8-302) *jih beungeh lagee=that*  
 he angry way very  
*He is very angry.*

Operators can modify other operators:

- (8-303) *kôn=bit bangay<sup>1</sup>=keuh that*  
 not really stupid 2 very  
*It is not really so that you are very stupid.*
- (8-304) *h'an=that-that, lôn=peh bacut -bacut*  
 NEG very very 1 beat little little  
*Not very much, [but] just a little I beat [the drum].*
- (8-305) *leupah=that=sakêt*  
 very very sick

Some operators, including *kôn* 'not', *mantông* 'only, just' and *sagay* 'only' can be used as quantifiers to modify virtually any nominal:

- (8-306) *lôn=sagay nyang=sakêt*  
 I just REL sick  
*It's only me who is sick.*
- (8-307) *kôn=lôn nyang=sakêt*  
 It is not me who is sick.

(8-308) lôn mantông nyang=sakêt

*There's only me who is sick.*

(8-309) meu =singöh<sup>1</sup> =pih h'an=lheueh ta =beuet bap =nyoe  
 even tomorrow even NEG finish linc recite chapter this

*We won't even finish reciting this chapter by tomorrow.*

In this section we will discuss the use of the relative marker *nyang*. However, all other descriptions of Acehnese have treated the attributive use of a non-controlled noun, as in *nyang-sakêt* 'a sick person', as an adjectival function. I regard such as a relative clause. It is in the same relation to its head as *gak a-llang* in (8-1); both are treated here as relative clauses.

(8-1) *nyang-gak a-llang*  
 person go to rice field  
 'a person going/who goes to the rice field'

A relative clause is typically preceded by the prefixal relative marker *nyang*, but this is not always the case. In (8-11) *nyang* has several free variants: *nyang*, *ling*, *nying*, *nyie* and *nyig*. For clarity I simply use the formal form *nyang* - *nyang* is usually preferred, usually feel is the 'correct' form.

### 9.1.1. The Matrix Clause

#### 9.1.1.1. Headed clauses

A relative clause may have a head, in which case the head precedes the clause:

(9-2) *nyang-gak a-llang nyang-linggak h'aroe*  
 IN that person REL & that yesterday  
 'The person whom he struck yesterday is dead.'

(9-3) *nyang-gak a-llang nyang-sakêt h'aroe*  
 person REL sick IN arrive  
 'The sick person has arrived.'

Note that when *nyang* is used, there is a phrasal discontinuity between it and the head, but without *nyang* there is no such discontinuity. With a head, *nyang* is usually optional.

(9-4) *nyang-gak a-llang h'aroe*  
 The person whom he struck yesterday is dead.

(9-5) *nyang-sakêt h'aroe*  
 The sick person has arrived.

Certain principles affect the use of *nyang*:

[1] When the relative clause is heavy (i.e. lengthy) *nyang* may be required:



## 9. Syntax beyond the Clause

### 9.1. Relative Clauses

In this description Acehnese has no distinct category of adjectives (4.6). However, all other descriptions of Acehnese have treated the attributive use of a non-controlled verb, as in *ureueng=sakét* 'a sick person', as an adjectival function. I regard *sakét* as a relative clause. It is in the same relation to its head as *jak u=blang* in (9-1): both are treated here as relative clauses.

- (9-1) *ureueng=jak u =blang*  
person go to rice field  
*a person going/who goes to the rice field*

A relative clause is typically preceded by the proclitic relative marker *nyang*, but this may be omitted, as in (9-1). *nyang* has several free variants: *yang*, *lang*, *nyöng*, *ngôn* and *nanng*. For clarity I simply use the formal form *nyang* in examples, which native speakers usually feel is the "correct" form.

#### 9.1.1. The Matrix Clause

##### 9.1.1.1. Headed clauses

A relative clause may have a head, in which case the head precedes the clause:

- (9-2) *ka=matê ureueng nyang=ji=poh baroe*  
IN dead person REL 3 hit yesterday  
*The person whom he struck yesterday is dead.*

- (9-3) *ureueng nyang=sakét ka=trök*  
person REL sick IN arrive  
*The sick person has arrived.*

Note that when *nyang* is used, there is a phrasal discontinuity between it and the head, but without *nyang* there is no such discontinuity. With a head, *nyang* is usually optional:

- (9-4) *ka=matê ureueng=ji=poh baroe*  
*The person whom he struck yesterday is dead.*

- (9-5) *ureueng=sakét ka=trök*  
*The sick person has arrived.*

Certain principles affect the use of *nyang*.

[i] When the relative clause is heavy (i.e. lengthy) *nyang* may be required:

- (9-6) jih ji=bri seudeukah keu=ureueng  
 he 3 give alms DAT person  
 nyang=hana =deuh geu=eu sa =pue lë  
 REL NEGBE visible 3 see one what anymore

*He gave alms to the person who couldn't see anything any more.*

[ii] *nyang* is preferred when the relative clause does not immediately follow its head. There may be an intervening possessor NP, a demonstrative (5.2), or an operator:

- (9-7) nyoe euntiep<sup>l</sup>=neuh nyang=baroe tinggay di=meunasah  
 this purse 2 REL yesterday remain in meeting house

*This is your purse which was left behind in the meunasah yesterday.*

- (9-8) hana =ureueng nyang=jueuet=ëk puncak=seulawah=agam  
 NEGBE person REL can climb peak Seulawah Agam

*There is no one who dares to climb the Seulawah Agam (a mountain in Aceh).*

[iii] When *nyang* could otherwise be omitted, there is a tendency for it to be retained if the relative clause is contrastive. This is not quite a restrictive - non-restrictive distinction, for in (9-9) the relative clause, which does not have *nyang*, is restrictive but it is not contrastive:

- (9-9) keu=pue<sup>l</sup>=keuh u =teupe =kap  
 for what 2 coconut squirrel bite

*What good to you is a coconut eaten out by squirrels?*

This principle concerning the use of *nyang* is not invariable.

### 9.1.1.2. Headless clauses

A relative clause may be HEADLESS. Such clauses function nominally. They must be introduced by *nyang*.

- (9-10) lön=böh nyang=brök, nyang=göt lön=keubah  
 1 throw away REL rotten REL good 1 store

*I throw away the rotten ones, and put away the good ones.*

- (9-11) jih<sup>l</sup>=keuh nyang=ceumeucue  
 he EMPH REL steal

*He is the one who steals.*

- (9-12) nyang=teungöh=jak=jëh soe  
 REL middle go that who

*Who is that who is walking over there?*

A headless relative can itself function as the head of another relative clause:



- (9-13) na sit nyang=göt nyang=bak=narit=nyan  
BE too REL good REL at story that

*There is even something good in that story.*

A common way to give contrastive emphasis to something is to relativise it in a headless relative clause. With an equational matrix clause this construction can usually be translated by an English cleft sentence:

- (9-14) ji=catok nyang=ladöm bak=bruek=mata  
3 hoe REL some at shell eye

*Some of [the wasps] hoed at [his] eyebrows.*

- (9-15) gopnyan nyang=guru  
she REL teacher

*It is she who is the teacher.*

- (9-16) nyang=sök bajee=mirah si =amat  
REL wear shirt red title Amat

*The one who is wearing a red shirt is Amat.*

This construction is particularly common for interrogative sentences:

- (9-17) manok=töh nyang=boh<sup>1</sup>=jih rayeuk  
hen which REL egg 3 big

*Which hen has the big eggs?*

- (9-18) soe nyang=sakët di=sinoe  
who REL sick in here

*Who is it who is sick here?*

- (9-19) keu=pue nyang=ta=döng di =si =nan  
for what REL 2 stand at side there

*What are you standing there for?*

With *töh* 'which' it is common to have the headless relative *nyang=töh* as the interrogative:

- (9-20) nyang=töh si =amat  
REL which title Amat

*Which is Amat?*

- (9-21) nyang=töh nyang=sök bajee=mirah=lön  
REL which REL wear shirt red I

*Who was wearing my red shirt?*

### 9.1.2. Within the Relative Clause

There are two distinct types of relativisation, distinguished according to the syntactic function in the relative clause of the relativised participant.

[i] For Core Role relativisation a relativised Core Role NP is omitted from the relative clause itself, and the predicate is the first non-peripheral constituent: the relative clause has no overt Core Topic NP. This is understandable since the relativised NP is semantically the clause topic:

- (9-22) *lôn=ngieng ureueng nyang=bloë moto=nyan bunoe*  
 1 see person REL buy car that earlier

*I saw the person who bought that car earlier.*

- (9-23) \**lôn=ngieng ureueng nyang=moto=nyan bloë bunoe*  
 1 see person REL car that buy earlier

*(I saw the person who bought that car earlier.)*

- (9-24) *lôn=ngieng moto nyang=geu=bloë lê=ureueng=nyan bunoe*  
 1 see car REL 3 buy by person that earlier

*I saw the car that was bought by that person earlier.*

- (9-25) \**lôn=ngieng moto nyang=ureueng=nyan geu=bloë bunoe*  
 1 see car REL person that 3 buy earlier

*(I saw the car that was bought by that person earlier.)*

Note however that core relativisation does allow a peripheral phrase before the predicate:

- (9-26) *lôn=tu -soë ureueng nyang=baroe geu=ngieng lê=gopnyan*  
 1 know who person REL yesterday 3 see by he

*I know the person whom he saw yesterday.*

[ii] For peripheral relativisation, which can be by full ellipsis or by stranding, there is no constraint against having a Core Topic in the relative clause. In (9-27) and (9-28) the relative clauses have Core Topics *ureueng=nyan* and *lôn* respectively:

- (9-27) *lôn=jak bak=jalan nyang=ureueng=nyan lôn=kalôn baroe*  
 1 go at road REL person that 1 see yesterday

*I am going to the road where I saw that person yesterday.*

- (9-28) *jêh ureueng nyang=lôn h'an=lôn=têm peugah=haba ngôn=jih*  
 that person REL I NEG 1 want say news with he

*That is the person whom I don't want to talk with.*

There is a close parallel between topicalisation and relativisation. Just as core and peripheral topicalisation can occur together in the one clause (8-13)-(8-15), so a core relative clause can have a topicalised peripheral (9-26), and a peripheral relative clause can have a Core Topic. Thus the core and periphery are independent of each other with

respect to topicalisation and relativisation.

In several western Austronesian languages a constituent must be formally topicalised before it can be relativised. Foley and Van Valin (1984: chapter 4) show this for Palauan, in which topicalisation is marked morphologically on the verb. But in Acehnese, topics are only encoded by word order and intonation, so it is a moot point whether a relativised Core NP is to be regarded as the Core Topic of its clause, though ellipsed, or whether the relative clause simply has no Core Topic. The second analysis claims less, so it is the one adopted here. In any case the important point is that the relativised NP is topical for the relative clause at the appropriate level, either core or periphery. Core relativisation precludes an overt Core Topic. It is not surprising that relative clauses cannot include an NP marked with the focus marker *dí*, because this is a marker of strong topicality.

### 9.1.2.1. Core relativisation

A relativised Core Role is ellipsed from the relative clause. This ellipsis is complete: no cross-referencing is allowed (with three exceptions which are described below). This applies to Agents and Undergoers alike:

- (9-29) *lôn=ngiang ureueng nyang=(\*)geu=)bloe moto baroe*  
 1 see person REL (3) buy car yesterday

*I saw the person who bought a car yesterday.*

- (9-30) *baroe lôn=ngiang ureueng nyang=panyang<sup>1</sup>(\*)geuh)*  
 yesterday 1 see person REL tall (3)

*Yesterday I saw a person who was tall.*

- (9-31) *baroe lôn=ngiang ureueng nyang=i=poh<sup>1</sup>(\*)geuh) lê=sí =amat*  
 yesterday 1 see person REL 3 hit (3) by title Amat

*Yesterday I saw the person who was beaten by Amat.*

For non-controlled verbs with a Dative argument, the Undergoer enclitic can optionally be retained when the Undergoer is relativised:

- (9-32) *gopnyan nyang=galak<sup>1</sup>(=geuh) keu=pisang*  
 he REL like (3) DAT banana

*He is the one who likes bananas.*

Compare the following sentence where *galak* is used in its sense of 'happy', which has no Dative. In this case the enclitic is impossible, just as for (9-30) above:

- (9-33) *gopnyan nyang=galak<sup>1</sup>(\*)geuh)*

*He is the one who is happy.*

That the clitic is optionally retained with Datives can be related to the fact that [Br verbs taking Datives, enclitics are sometimes compulsory (p203:[iii]). This is part of a complex strategy for disambiguating a Dative, which is not cross-referenced, from an Undergoer. When a Dative is relativised the Undergoer clitic is required:

- (9-34) pue peunajöh nyang=galak<sup>l</sup>=neuh  
 what cake REL like 2

*What cakes do you like?*

With accidental seeing derivatives (p77:[iv]), the see-er enclitic is also optionally retained:

- (9-35) geutanyoe nyang=teu-ngieng<sup>(l=teuh)</sup> ureueng=nyan baroe  
 we REL DC see (1inc) person that yesterday

*We are the ones who accidentally saw that person yesterday.*

This situation is like that with a Dative: *teungieng* has an unmarked argument NP which is not cross-referenced - the see-er - so the enclitic is important as a disambiguator.

When one argument is relativised the other can be cliticised (8.6), or ellipsed:

- (9-36) kah nyang=poh<sup>l</sup>=gopnyan  
 you REL hit he

*You are the one who hit him.*

- (9-37) kah nyang=poh<sup>l</sup>=geuh  
 you REL hit 3

*You are the one who hit him.*

- (9-38) nyoe padê=keubeue=ret  
 this rice buffalo eat

*This is the rice that was eaten by buffaloes.*

Subjects of non-verbal predicates can be relativised as Core Roles:

- (9-39) ji=poh laju nyang=sidadu  
 3 kill immediately REL soldier

*They immediately killed those who were soldiers.*

- (9-40) ureueng (nyang)=lam=gampông  
 person (REL) in village

*people (who are) in villages*

- (9-41) nyang=bak=narit=nyan na sit nyang=göt  
 REL at story that BE too REL good

*There is also something good in that story.*

- (9-42) trieng=nyoe nyang=keu=beunteueng  
 bamboo this REL for rail

*This bamboo is for railings.*

In most cases a relative clause with a nominal predicate is headless, as in (9-39). It appears to be an idiosyncratic feature of substance predicates that they can be used attributively only without *nyang*. *teumpök=ek* 'a pile of shit', *rumoh=batee* 'a stone house'.

Other constituents that can be relativised as Core Roles are the location NP with locative Undergoer incorporation (4.3.4):

- (9-43) ureueng=nyan nyang=keunöng=huköm  
 person that REL struck law

*It is that person whom the law "got to".*

and a focussed possessor (4.3.3):

- (9-44) nyan ureueng nyang=geu=koh=ök lé=teungku=ali  
 that person REL 3 cut hair by title Ali

*That is the person whose hair was cut by Teungku Ali.*

- (9-45) nyan ureueng nyang=sakét=ulee<sup>l</sup>=geuh  
 that person REL hurt head 3

*That is the person who has a headache.*

Sentences (9-44) and (9-45) show that the possessor cross-referencing enclitic is optional. In main clauses this enclitic is under some circumstances compulsory (8.2.1), but with possessor relativisation it is always optional. Compare (8-37) with (9-46), and (8-33) with (9-47):

- (9-46) di=gopnyan nyang=jêh aneuk<sup>l</sup>(=geuh)  
 FM he REL that child (3)

*That is his child.*

- (9-47) di=kah nyang=jaroe<sup>l</sup>(=keuh) raya=that  
 FM you REL hand (2) big very

*You have very big hands.*

### 9.1.2.2. Peripheral relativisation

Peripheral relativisation is either by full ellipsis, or by STRANDING a pronoun or demonstrative in place of the full NP. Stranding only occurs with a NP which is the object of a preposition. The examples I have are all from elicited data. They involve a comitative (9-28) and a Dative:

- (9-48) lôn=kalôn aneuk=inöng nyang=geu=jök buku keu=jih lé=gopnyan  
 1 see child female REL 3 give book DAT she by he

*I saw the girl whom he gave the book to.*

I received the impression from informants that this is a marginal type of construction, as it is in English. One quite commonly hears stranded relative clauses such as in (9-49), but they would be rejected by an educated informant as ungrammatical:

- (9-49) *That is the sort of argument which he would disagree with it no matter how you expressed it.*

Stranding is not possible with an instrumental:

- (9-50) \*nyoe buku nyang=lôn=poh gopnyan ngôn=nyoe  
 this book REL 1 hit he with that

*This is the book with which I hit him yesterday.*

It is far more usual that peripherals are relativised by full ellipsis rather than by stranding. This always affects participants which could be expressed, as adjunct NP's if they were not relativised. Certain types may be distinguished which correspond to the types of NP adjuncts (8.8.1). There are locative, temporal, manner, reason, and instrumental peripheral relative clauses. These are headed by nouns which can also head equivalent adjunct NP's. It is therefore appropriate to refer to this as adjunct relativisation.

[i] Locative: Compare (9-52) with (9-51):

- (9-51) jalan=nyan ji=jak moto baroe  
 road that 3 go car yesterday

*A car went by that road yesterday.*

- (9-52) lôn=jak bak=jalan nyang=ji=jak moto baroe  
 1 go at road REL 3 go car yesterday

*I went to the road where a car went by yesterday.*

- (9-53) kamoe mu =woe di=teupat nyang=geu=meukat ija  
 we 1exc return at place REL 3 sell cloth

*We returned from the place where they sell cloth.*

[ii] Temporal:

- (9-54) ayah matê bak=masa (nyang)=lôn=duek di=Bireuen  
 father die at time (REL) 1 dwell at Bireuen

*My father died at the time I was living in Bireuen.*

[iii] Manner:

- (9-55) lagee (nyang)=ka=gop =peugah jih<sup>1</sup>=keuh pancuri  
 way (REL) IN other person say he EMPH thief

*As others have said, he is a thief.*

- (9-56) awak =nyan teuka lagee (nyang)=ji=rika  
 person that arrive way (REL) 3 describe

*That person arrived as it had been described.*

- (9-57) bubê (nyang)=ka=ta =kalôn jih meuhat jeuet keu=seedaga  
 how big (REL) IN linc see he surely become to merchant

*As can be seen, he will surely become a merchant.*

[iv] Reason:

- (9-58) pue seubap nyang=ta=döng sabê di=si =nan  
 what reason REL 2 stand always at side that

*Why do you keep on standing there?*

- (9-59) keu=pue nyang=ta=wöt nyan  
 for what REL 2 stir that

*What are you stirring that for?*

[v] Instrumental:

- (9-60) nyoe batee nyang=lön=rhöm boh =mamplam baroe  
 this stone REL 1 throw at fruit mango yesterday

*This is the stone I threw at the mango yesterday.*

- (9-61) nyoe kayee nyang=lön=poh ureueng=nyan baroe  
 this stone REL 1 hit person that yesterday

*This is the piece of wood that I hit that person with.*

Adjunct relative clauses can apparently only appear headless in stative equational clauses, with the special characteristic that the equation may be made with a PP:

- (9-62) di=blang nyang=ji=poh mie=nyan  
 at rice field REL 3 kill cat that

*It was in the rice field that he killed that cat.*

- (9-63) 'oh =dum =rimueng  
 how far how much tiger  
 nyang=ji=takôt lê=bubê =na=meulatang=laên  
 REL 3 fear by how big BE animal other

*It is even up to and including the tiger that all the other animals fear [me].*

### 9.1.2.3. Propositional relative clause

A headless relative clause is used to express a proposition, most commonly as the complement of a know verb. It is not clear what, if anything, is relativised. If *pue* 'whether' were regarded as a unique propositional adjunct NP, then this is what could be relativised:

- (9-64) yakin<sup>1</sup>=lön nyang=paseuti meunang<sup>1</sup>=jih  
 sure 1 REL certain win 3

*I am sure that he has certainly won.*

- (9-65) lön=teu -pue nyang=jih ka=ji=jak  
 1 know whether REL 3 IN 3 go

*I know that he has gone.*

- (9-66) *nyang=ku=wöt nyoe ka=tanyöng*  
REL 1 stir this 2 ask

*You ask me whether I am stirring this.*

### 9.1.3. Relative Focus

In 8.2.1 a way of focussing the possessor of an Undergoer or non-verbal subject is described. A very similar construction is possible for focussing an Undergoer argument in a relative clause where the Agent has been relativised:

- (9-67) *puncak=seulawah=agam hana =ureueng nyang=jeuet êk*  
peak Seulawah Agam NEGBE person REL can climb

*The peak of the Seulawah Agam, there is no one who can climb [it].*

- (9-68) *nanggroe=nyoe ulee=balang nyang=mat*  
country this head district REL hold

*This country, it is the ulee balang who controls [it].*

This construction needs further investigation.

## 9.2. Verb Serialisation

Serialised verbs share one or more arguments, and this becomes the basis for syntactic "welding" of their two clauses together, so that a compound clause is formed. In Acehnese there are various kinds of serialisation, some involving a stronger weld than others.

### 9.2.1. Strong Serialisation

The strongest type of serialisation combines two verbs so that they are pronounced as one phonological phrase. They are treated syntactically as one predicate, with a single set of arguments and adjuncts. In this strongest type of serialisation the two verbs share an Agent. The syntactic welding of the two verbs is marked by the fact that the Agent is only cross-referenced once, on the first verb. These serialisations can be classified according to what other arguments the two verbs contribute to the compound predicate.

[i] The two verbs can share an Agent argument, the first verb being intransitive. The second verb may or may not contribute an Undergoer. For this type the first verb is a posture or motion verb. *jak* 'go' is used extensively in this way to mark an inchoative aspect, not necessarily implying motion:



- (9-69) lôn=jak=meulangue  
1 go swim

*I am going swimming.*

- (9-70) bek ka=jak=pikê nyan  
DONT 2 go think that

*Don't go thinking that.*

- (9-71) ta =jak=poh kaphê  
1inc go kill heathen

*Let's go and kill the heathen.*

Nothing can intervene between the two verbs, not even a Core Role marked with the focus marker *dî*:

- (9-72) \*lôn=jak dî=lôn meulangue

Posture verbs can occur as the first verb, with the sense of co-temporal action or posture:

- (9-73) neu=duek=pajôh=bu dilee  
2 sit eat rice now

*Sit down and eat some rice first.*

- (9-74) kamoe meu =duek=peugah=haba  
we lexc sit say news

*We sat talking.*

*beudôh* 'get up to stand' is used with *êh* 'lie sleeping' in the idiosyncratic sense of 'get up from sleep':

- (9-75) gopnyan ban geu=beudôh=êh  
he just 3 rise sleep

*He just got up from sleep.*

[ii] The first verb can be transitive. I only know of *ba* 'take, carry' which can occur first in this type of serialisation. It combines with an intransitive motion verb. The serial compound is itself transitive, the Undergoer being the thing taken:

- (9-76) peng =nyan ka=ji=ba =plueng lê=pancuri  
money that IN 3 take run by thief

*The money was carried off by the thief.*

This is not a productive serialisation. Besides *plueng*, *ba* can combine with *phô* 'fly' and *jak* 'go'. There can even be double serialisation:

- (9-77) dî=kah h'an=lê ku=ba =jak=pajôh boh =kupila  
FM you NEG anymore 1 take go eat fruit *kupila*

*I won't take you eating *kupila* fruit anymore.*

### 9.2.2. Weak Serialisation

Weak serialisation does not require the two verbs to be joined as one phonological phrase. However the conjoined serialised compound is pronounced as a single clause, without the intonational discontinuity usual between separate clauses. Several types can be distinguished.

[i] The first verb is transitive and the second is non-controlled intransitive. The Undergoer is a shared argument. The second verb represents a state which is an intentional result of the action of the first verb:

- (9-78) awak =nyan ka=ku=poh matê  
 person that IN 1 strike die  
*I struck them dead.*

With this serialisation the second verb may be preceded by the illocutionary marker *beu*='I want':

- (9-79) neu=pajôh nyoe beu=habêh  
 2 eat this DES used up  
*Eat this all up.*

- (9-80) neu=peugôt rumah=nyan beu=gôt, bêh  
 2 build house that DES good do!  
*Build that house well, won't you!*

This kind of serialisation can also occur with a numeral as the second predicate:

- (9-81) eungkôt=nyoe ta=weuek duwa  
 fish this 2 divide two  
*Divide this fish in two!*

[ii] The two verbs share an Undergoer, and the first verb is intransitive. The first verb represents a state, not necessarily intended, resulting from the action of the second:

- (9-82) bit =sakêt<sup>1</sup>=jih that ji=kap lê=geumeuto  
 really hurt 3 very 3 bite by wasp  
*The wasps bit him really painfully.*
- (9-83) gatay that jaroe<sup>1</sup>=lôn ji=kap lê=jamok  
 itchy very hand 1 3 bite by mosquito  
*My hand is very itchy from mosquitoes biting it.*
- (9-84) glah =nyan beukah rhêt bak=dapu  
 glass that broken fall at kitchen  
*That glass is broken from falling in the kitchen.*

The second verb may have a locative Undergoer incorporation (4.3.4), with the shared argument as the focussed locative:

- (9-85) *jih matê keunông=ta'eut*  
 she die struck cholera

*She is dead from cholera.*

[iii] Both verbs have the same arguments: a shared Agent or Undergoer, or both. The two verbs express equivalently the same state or event:

- (9-86) *teuma ji=marit ji=lakee meu'ah*  
 thus 3 talk 3 beg forgiveness

*Thus he spoke, asking forgiveness.*

- (9-87) *hana =meu =jan ka=sidêk ka=peurêksa*  
 NEGBE INTR when 2 consider 2 examine

*You never consider or examine [anything].*

- (9-88) *meung=ku=piyôh hana =ku=wôt ...*  
 if 1 stop NEGBE 1 stir

*If I stop and don't stir ...*

- (9-89) *lôn rindu galak keu=gata*  
 I desire like DAT you

*I miss you and like you.*

Occasionally with a shared Agent argument in this type of serialisation the cross-referencing proclitic on the second verb is omitted, as on *pura-pura* in (9-90) and *peurêksa* in (9-91).

- (9-90) *po =peulandôk geu=surôt u =likôt*  
 lord mouse deer 3 retreat to back  
*pura -pura keumeung=jak=tôh ek*  
 pretend pretend want go excrete shit

*Immediately the mousedeer retreated, pretending to go and relieve himself.*

- (9-91) *ka=sidêk peurêksa dilee*  
 2 consider examine now

*Consider [it] first.*

### 9.3. "Ambient" Embedded Clauses

A clause may be embedded in an ambient nominal or prepositional predicate (8.1.1). A nominal predicate is often formed with *teungôh* 'middle' in this way:

- (9-92) *teungôh=lôn=mita kayee*  
 middle 1 seek wood

*I am looking for wood.*

A prepositional predicate with a similar meaning is formed with (*da/lam* 'in' (7.3.2):

- (9-93) *sabê lam=lôn=jak bak=gopnyan*  
 always in 1 go to he

*I am always visiting him.*

The Core Roles of the embedded clause are available to be the Core Topic of the whole construction:

- (9-94) *aneuk=miet =nyan teungôh geu=seu -manoe lê=ma<sup>1</sup> =i*  
 child small that middle 3 CAUS bathe by mother 3

*That child is being bathed by its mother.*

#### 9.4. Complementation

In this description COMPLEMENTATION is used to refer to a structure in which one clause is embedded as a predicated constituent of a verbal clause. It is convenient to speak of the MAIN, HIGHER clause in which the LOWER, SUBORDINATE clause is embedded. The lower clause is also referred to here as the COMPLEMENT clause. Complementation carries a heavy workload in Acehnese: complement structures occur often in discourse. This is a very large and complex area of Acehnese grammar. In lieu of a fully comprehensive description, an outline is presented here of the general characteristics of complementation, and some main types of complementation are described.

It is important to establish first what, for Acehnese, are the important syntactic characteristics of complementation. Let us consider the English sentence *I know he plays soccer*. The higher clause is *I know X*, where *X* is the embedded lower clause *he plays soccer*. This lower clause functions as the object of the higher verb *know*, it is what is known. In this particular sentence both clauses have relatively intact structures: *know* and *play* have full verbal phrases; they both have immediately preceding subjects with which they agree; and both are marked for tense. With other types of complementation the syntactic structure of the lower clause is not so well preserved. Often the syntactic integrity of the lower clause is sacrificed in the interests of creating a compound structure that conforms better to the canonical structure of a single clause, i.e. a structure with a single verb and a single set of verbal arguments. One can think of the lower clause as being syntactically bound into the upper clause. This can happen in English by raising an argument from the lower clause into the higher, and by rendering the lower verb infinite, so it is neither marked for tense, nor does it agree with its subject (which has been raised). For example in English *I want him to play soccer* the logical lower subject *he* has been fitted in as the surface object of the higher verb *want*, and the lower verb is formally tenseless and subjectless. An underlying structure of two clauses is expressed in a relatively mono-clausal form, with one fully inflected verb, and one subject.

The syntactic characteristics of Acehnese complementation are in some respects quite different from those of a language like English. Basic clausal syntax in Acehnese is very different from that of English so it is not surprising that clause binding strategies also differ. Acehnese does not use the same syntactic building blocks. The most important difference is that there is no raising phenomena to subject or object in Acehnese. An ar-

gument of a lower clause cannot be raised to Agent or Undergoer status in a higher clause. Pronominal clitics always reference the Agent and Undergoer arguments of the verb they attach to: raising to subject or object is not relevant to a description of Acehnese complementation. However Acehnese does have something reminiscent of raising, which affects possibilities for topicalisation, but not the grammatical categories of Agent and Undergoer.

It is an important characteristic of Acehnese clauses that they have no more than one Core Topic, and the NP's which can occur as Core Topic are restricted to the Core Roles. This is described in 8.2. In complementation the close binding of two clauses can be reflected by a fusion of their syntactic cores,<sup>1</sup> so that, in the most extreme cases, there is only one Core Topic, in front of the higher predicate, and Core Roles from either clause are eligible for Core Topic status. This is the case in:

- (9-95) kah ku=keumeung=poh lê=kee  
you 1 will beat by I

*I will beat you.*

The Core Topic in (9-95) is *kah* 'you', which derives its Core Role status from being the Undergoer of the lower verb *poh*. There is no Core Topic position in front of *poh*:

- (9-96) \*ku=keumeung kah (ku=)poh lê=kee

At the other extreme the two clauses may have quite separate syntactic cores, with distinct Core Topics: in (9-97) *lôn* and *jih* are the respective Core Topics for their verbs *teupue* and *woe*.

- (9-97) lôn lôn=teupue jih ka=ji=woe  
I 1 know he IN 3 return

*I know he has returned.*

In still other cases there is an intermediate state where the lower verb's Core Roles are eligible to be topicalised as the higher or lower Core Topic. The lower core is contained within the higher core, but still maintains a degree of independence, as there can be a lower Core Topic. There is not the complete fusion of cores illustrated in (9-95). Consider (9-98) and (9-99). They show the focussed possessor, a Core Role of the lower clause, as higher and lower Core Topic respectively:

- (9-98) aneuk=nyan geu=patêh lê=guru göt =akay  
child that 3 believe by teacher good personality

*That child was believed by the teacher to have a good personality.*

- (9-99) geu=patêh lê=guru aneuk=nyan göt=akay

*That child was believed by the teacher to have a good personality.*

<sup>1</sup>In the description offered here the fusion is the effect of complementation upon the syntactic core. An aspect of complementation which would be worth considering in some detail is the ordering and scope of adjuncts and operators. This is an important area for further research.

Another manifestation of clause binding in complementation is ellipsis of a Core Role and its cross-referencing from the lower clause. This is conditioned by a co-referential Core Role in the higher clause. It corresponds to the phenomenon called *Equi* in English, so it is convenient to term it *Equi* in Acehnese too. The effect of such ellipsis is that the common participant in question is only referenced in the higher clause. This serves to deprive the lower clause of some of its full clausal status, since one of its Core Roles is ellipsed from it. For example the verb *yue* 'order' can be used with an addressee Undergoer which is co-referential with the Agent of the lower verb. In this case the lower Agent is fully ellipsed from the lower clause:

- (9-100) *droe*<sup>1</sup>=*neuh* *geu*=*yue* *mita* *ôn* = 'u *sa* =*boh* =*yue* *lê*=*ayah*  
 self 2 3 order seek leaf coconut one CLASS CLASS by father

*You are ordered by father to look for a coconut frond.*

In (9-100) the shared argument is *droe*<sup>1</sup>=*neuh*. In a capacity as Agent of *mita* this would normally be cross-referenced by a proclitic, as in (9-101).

- (9-101) *droe*<sup>1</sup>=*neuh* *neu*=*mita* *ôn*= 'u *sa*=*boh*

That *droe*<sup>1</sup>*neuh* in (9-100) is the Undergoer NP of *yue*, and not just the topicalised Agent NP of *mita* can be seen from the fact that it cannot be moved around the lower verb in the way an Agent of *mita* normally could. Compare (9-102) with (9-103):

- (9-102) \**geu*=*yue* *mita* *ôn*= 'u *sa*=*boh*=*yue* (*lê*)*droe*<sup>1</sup>=*neuh*

- (9-103) *neu*=*mita* *ôn*= 'u *sa*=*boh*=*yue* *lê*=*droe*<sup>1</sup>=*neuh*

*Look for a coconut frond.*

In effect this compound structure with *yue* has an Agent in the higher clause, and two Undergoers, one from the higher and one from the lower clause.

Equi should not be confused with ellipsis in a lower clause of an NP where the clitic cross-referencing is maintained. This can be accounted for by the normal process of ellipsis in discourse 8.5. For example in (9-104) *gopnyan* is not possible in the lower clause simply because it has an antecedent *teungku*=*ali* preceding it so closely:

- (9-104) *teungku*=*ali* *h*'*an*=*galak*<sup>1</sup>=*geuh* (\**gopnyan*) *geu*=*jak*=*mita* *eungkôt*  
 title Ali NEG like 3 (he) 3 go seek fish

*Teungku Ali doesn't like to go looking for fish.*

Subclassification can be made by comparing the uses of a higher verb with and without complementation. The approach taken here is to relate the function of a complement clause with that of an equivalent non-clausal, NP constituent. A classification of types of complementation in Acehnese can in this way be related to its general taxonomy of NP constituents. For example the complement *aneuk*=*nyan* *gôt*=*akay* in (9-99) can be identified with the Undergoer *haba*=*nyan* in (9-105). One can classify this as an Undergoer complement.

- (9-105) *geu*=*patêh* *haba* =*nyan*  
 3 believe story that

*He believed that story.*

### 9.4.1. Intransitive Complements

#### 9.4.1.1. Undergoer complements

The commonest type of complementation is with a non-controlled higher verb, the complement clause functioning as its Undergoer. The Core Roles of the compound structure derive solely from the lower clause, since the upper verb has the complement as its sole argument. This type corresponds to complements in English with higher dummy subjects, like *It is good that you are going*. In Acehnese there are no dummies, so there is just the higher predicate, and its complement clause. The Core Roles from the lower clause are available to be the higher Core Topic, in front of the higher verb:

(9-106) *geutanyoe göt ta =woe laju*  
 we good inc return immediately

*It is good that we return immediately.*

The verbs that take this kind of complement can be classified according to their meanings. They can express:

[i] an ability:

*caröng* 'clever'  
*deuh* 'visible, audible'  
*ëk* 'can, feel able'  
*jeuet* 'can'  
*keumah* 'ready, arranged'  
*leumah* 'visible, audible'  
*mangat* 'easy'  
*mee* 'able, fitting'  
*payah* 'difficult'

[ii] a degree of probability:

*bakay* 'will, inevitable'  
*jadch* 'certain, decided'  
*meuseuti* 'must'  
*teuntee* 'certain'

[iii] an aspectual meaning:

*biyasa* 'usually'  
*ka* 'already'  
*keunöng* 'happen unexpectedly'  
*leupah* 'past'  
*lheueh* 'finished'  
*lulöh* 'succeed'  
*meulayi* 'begin'  
*meuteumeung* 'happen'

*na* 'actually, be the case that' - this has a special negative form *hana* 'not be' < *h'an*

+ na  
 rap 'almost'  
 rôh 'happen'  
 teuka 'arrive, happen'  
 tôk~trök 'arrive, happen'

[iv] a qualitative evaluation:

göt~get 'good'  
 mangat 'easy, nice' - this is also used for ability

All the above verbs can be used with regular NP Undergoers.

The aspectual verbs are usually pronounced as one phonological unit with the lower predicate:

(9-107) ka=geu=jak  
 IN 3 go

*He has gone.*

(9-108) na=geu=jak  
 BE 3 go

*He went./He does go.*

Of these *ka* 'already' and *na* 'be' are extremely common and deserve special discussion. *ka* is used for an event that has happened, or a state that has begun. It is glossed IN for inchoative:

(9-109) geutanyoe ka=chik  
 we IN adult

*We are adults.*

(9-110) ka=i=têm =jak  
 IN 3 want go

*Now he wants to go.*

*na*, and its negative form *hana* are used for actual states and events. They are not used when the speaker could be referring to something like a desire or future intention, not an actual reality. For example (9-111) means *He goes to town habitually* or *He has gone to town*: it is a fact, but (9-112) indicates an intention.

(9-111) lôn na=lôn=jak u =keude  
 I BE 1 go to town

(9-112) lôn lôn=jak u =keude  
 I 1 go to town

*I am going to town.*

The same semantic contrast exists in the negative:



(9-113) hana=lôn=jak

*I didn't go/I don't go.*

(9-114) h'an=lôn=jak

*I won't go.*

na or hana can be used to refer to future events, but only if they are inevitable; the statement is one of fact, not of intention:

(9-115) singöh na=ta =meu -uroe=raya  
tomorrow BE line INTR day great

*Tomorrow we are celebrating a festival.*

The close binding of the lower and higher clause with these verbs is shown in relativisation of a compound clause where clitic cross-referencing on the lower verb is omitted, just as for a relative clause with a simple predicate:

(9-116) nyan ureueng nyang=ka=(\*ji)=tamöng universitas  
that person REL IN (3) enter university

*That is the person who has entered university.*

This is not the case in other types of complementation; see (9-127), (9-128) below.

These non-controlled complement verbs can occur in series of more than one:

(9-117) ka=rap =geu=meu'ue baroe  
IN almost 3 plough yesterday

*He almost ploughed yesterday.*

(9-118) ka=jeuet=ji=tamöng ie lam=blang  
IN can 3 enter water in rice field

*The water can get into the rice field now.*

(9-119) bu =keumeury hana =lom=trök =geu=ba u =blang  
rice winnow NEGBE yet arrive 3 take to rice field

*The rice for the winnowers (to eat) has not yet been taken to the field.*

It is possible for these verbs to take a clause complement with a lower Core Topic. In this case there is no higher Core Topic:

(9-120) na=kira -kira =masak bu si =are=breueh  
BE about about cooked rice one are rice

ka po =rimueng geu=duek di=si =nan  
IN title tiger 3 sit at side that

*For about the time it takes to cook one are of rice the tiger sat there.*

This expresses a nuance of topicality quite different from that of a construction in which there is a higher Core Topic. In (9-120) for example the focus is upon the adjunct *na=kira-kira masak bu si=are=breueh*, so *po=rimueng*, a main actor in the discourse, is

relegated to the less prominent position as Core Topic in the lower clause.

#### 9.4.1.2. Ability adjunct complements

An intransitive verb expressing the ability of its Agent or Undergoer to do something can take a complement which functions as an adjunct of ability (p213:[vi]).

If the higher verb is non-controlled, then its Undergoer is co-referential with the lower Agent. The only Core Topic allowed occurs before the higher verb:

- (9-121) *jeuet*<sup>1</sup>=*geuh* *geu*=*lhö* *keurëta*=*angen*  
 can 3 3 pedal vehicle wind

*He can ride a bicycle.*

- (9-122) *nyan* *kön* *ka*=*jeuet* *ta*=*aphay*  
 that not IN can 2 recite

*You can recite that.*

- (9-123) *gopnyan* *h'an*=*deuh*<sup>1</sup> =*geuh* *geu*=*eu* *sa* =*pue* *le*  
 he NEG visible 3 3 see one what anymore

*He can't see a thing anymore.*

Verbs which take this kind of complement include:

*deuh* 'visible, audible'

*ëk* 'can, feel able to'

*jeuet* 'can'

*leumah* 'visible, audible'

*deuh* and *leumah* are unusual in that they allow identity of Undergoer-Undergoer as well as of Undergoer-Agent:

- (9-124) *di*=*gopnyan* *h'an*=*deuh*<sup>1</sup> =*geuh* *ta* =*eu* *lam*=*uteuen*=*nyan*  
 FM he NEG visible 3 iinc see in bush that

*He is not visible for us to see in that bush.*

The non-controlled verbs taking an ability complement can also be used with an Undergoer complement (9.4.1.1), but there is a clear semantic difference between the two usages. With the ability complement there is a statement of the ability of someone, the higher Undergoer, to do or undergo something. With an Undergoer complement there is a statement that what is expressed by the complement can or cannot happen. If one were to say that someone could not go to town at a certain time, perhaps because he was too busy, it would not necessarily be the case that he did not have the ability to go to the town, but that the action was not possible then. An Undergoer complement would be used for this, with no Undergoer cross-referencing possible on the higher verb:

- (9-125) *h'an* *jeuet*<sup>1</sup>(*=geuh*) *geu*=*jak* *u* =*keude*  
 NEG can (3) 3 go to town

*He cannot go to town.*

On the other hand, if one were saying that a baby, for example, could not walk because it was too young, then the second type would be used:

- (9-126) h'an=jeuet<sup>l</sup>=jih ji=jak  
 NEG can 3 3 go

*He cannot walk yet.*

With an ability complement, relativisation of the higher Undergoer is interesting in that not only is there the regular ellipsis of the higher verb's Undergoer enclitic, but the co-referential lower Agent proclitic is optionally also ellipsed:

- (9-127) jih ji=bi seudeukah keu=ureueng  
 he 3 give alms to person  
 nyang=hana deuh (geu=)eu sa =pue lê  
 REL NEGBE visible (3) see one what anymore

*He gave alms to the person who couldn't see anymore.*

- (9-128) buet=nyan meu -ri ureueng nyang=êk (geu=)pubuet  
 work that INTR appearance person REL can (3) do

*The person who would do that work would be famous.*

This contrasts with the situation with an Undergoer complement (9-116), where the lower Agent must be ellipsed.

*jeuet* 'can' also is used as a controlled verb, with an Agent. In this case its meaning is more like English *dare* than *can*; the ability is intentional. There is Agent-Agent co-reference to give a complement with Equi of the lower Agent:

- (9-129) h'an lôn=jeuet jak lam=uteuen  
 NEG 1 can go in forest

*I don't dare go into the forest.*

#### 9.4.1.3. Dative complements

A complement can function as a Dative of an intransitive verb. Compare (9-130) with (9-131):

- (9-130) lôn hana =seunang<sup>l</sup>=lôn keu=ureueng=nyan  
 I NEGBE happy 1 DAT person that

*I am not happy about that person.*

- (9-131) lôn hana =seunang<sup>l</sup>=lôn gopnyan geu=jak=woe  
 I NEGBE happy 1 he 3 go return

*I am not happy about his returning.*

A Dative complement is never marked by the preposition *keu* used with Dative NP's.

When the higher verb is non-controlled, the lower clause can have its own Core Topic (9-131), but a lower argument can also function as the higher Core Topic:

- (9-132) *gopnyan hana=seunang<sup>l</sup>=lôn geu=jak u =keude*  
 he NEGBE happy 1 3 go to town

*I am not happy about his going to town.*

The lower Core Roles are also able to take the focus marker *di*:

- (9-133) *hana=seunang<sup>l</sup>=lôn di=gopnyan geu=jak u=keude*

*I am not happy about his going to town.*

Some verbs which can take this kind of complement are:

- galak* 'like'  
*harok* 'like'  
*seunang* 'happy'  
*teuingat* 'remember'  
*teurasa* 'have a feeling that'  
*tuwö* 'forget'  
*yakin* 'certain'

Where a higher Undergoer is co-referential with a lower Core Role, there is ellipsis the lower clause:

- (9-134) *galak<sup>l</sup>=jih ji=meu'en bhan*  
 like 3 3 play ball

*He likes to play football.*

- (9-135) *di=geutanyoe hana =seunang<sup>l</sup>=teuh ta =jak=muprang*  
 FM we NEGBE happy 1inc 1inc go fight war

*We are not happy to go to war.*

- (9-136) *yakin<sup>l</sup> =lôn meunang<sup>l</sup>=lôn*  
 certain 1 win 1

*I am certain I will win.*

When the higher verb is controlled, Agent-Agent co-reference is usually required between the two clauses. The higher and lower verbs are pronounced as one phonological phrase, and the lower Agent undergoes Equi:

- (9-137) *lôn=meu =jak*  
 1 will go

*I will go.*

- (9-138) *na ji=ingat =cok peng bunoe*  
 BE 3 remember get money earlier

*He remembered to get the money earlier.*

- (9-139) *si =agam=nyan h'an=lôn=tém =ba*  
 title male that NEG 1 want take

*I don't want to take that child.*

Some verbs which can take this type of complement are:

*galak* 'like'  
*ingat* 'remember'  
*keumeung* 'want, will'  
*(keu)neuk* 'want, will;  
*meu* 'want, will'  
*têm* 'like, want'  
*tuwö* 'forget'

These complement structures only have a Core Topic, for which both the higher and lower Core Roles are eligible. Most of these verbs cannot be used with a non-controlled lower predicate:

(9-140) \**lôn hana =lôn=têm =teungeut*  
 I NEGBE 1 want sleep  
 (*I don't want to go to sleep*)

and they usually do not allow a different Agent in the lower clause:

(9-141) \**ji=galak lôn=woe laju*  
 3 want 1 return immediately  
 (*He wants me to return immediately*)

*ingat* and *têm* are exceptional in that they do not require Equi in the lower clause:

(9-142) *droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh beu=neu=ingat (neu=)jak keu=noe =röt*  
 self 2 DES 2 remember (2) go to this way  
*Remember to go this way.*

(9-143) *h'an=lôn=têm (lôn=)jak u =keude lôn*  
 NEG 1 want (1) go to town I  
*I don't want to go to town.*

*têm* also has a special use with metaphorical Agency (p69:[v]).

#### 9.4.2. Transitive Undergoer Complements

A wide range of transitive verbs can take an Undergoer complement. Verbs with the semantic component 'know', including perception verbs, take a complement clause which has its own Core Topic. The lower Core Roles are not available for the higher Core Topic position:

(9-144) *hana =ku=tu -jan mie=nyan ji=teuka keu=noe*  
 NEGBE 1 know when cat that 3 arrive to here  
*I don't know when that cat arrived here.*

(9-145) *ji=deungö nanggroe=aceh di=indonesiya*

3 hear country Aceh at Indonesia

*They heard that Aceh is in Indonesia.*

(9-146) *ka=ku=peugah kee ka=geu=böh keu=waki lë=raja*

IN 1 say I IN 3 make to assistant by king

*I have already said that the king has made me his assistant.*

(9-147) *lön=deungö soe klik lam=rumoh*

1 listen who cry in house

*I am listening for who is crying in the house.*

Some of these verbs are:

*deungö* 'hear'

*eu* 'see'

*kalön* 'see'

*meureunoe* 'learn'

*ngieng* 'see'

*peugah* 'say'

*pupue* 'determine what'

*peutanda* 'show'

*rasa* 'feel'

*seuöt* 'answer'

*teupue* 'know what'

*thee* 'know, intuit'

*tuho* 'know whither'

The know verbs derived from epistemological classifiers (6.4.1) can be used in a special construction with Agent-Agent co-reference and complete ellipsis of the lower Agent. The construction refers to a state of knowledge about what to do, as expressed in the complement.

(9-148) *ka=lön=tu -ho jak*

1N I know whither go

*I know where to go.*

(9-149) *h'an=ta =teu -pue peugah lë pa =ki =ban sakët=atë*

NEG 1inc know what say now what how how hurt liver

*One cannot know how to say how upset [he] was.*

(9-150) *hana =ji=tu -soe kalön*

NEGBE 3 know who look

*She did not know who to look for.*

There is a group of verbs which express an opinion which differ in their properties from the know verbs described above. Some of these verbs are:

*dawa* 'consider'

*harap* 'hope'  
*niet* 'intend, expect'  
*patéh* 'believe'

These can have a lower Core Topic, but also allow a lower Core Role to be the higher Core Topic (9-98, 9-99). These verbs do not have Equi when there is Agent-Agent co-reference:

(9-151) *geu=niet geu=ba moto u =lhók=seumaw'e eunteuk*  
 3 intend 3 take car to Lhok Seumawe later

*He expects to take the car to Lhok Seumawe later.*

For some verbs the complement expresses something wanted by the higher Agent, and the higher verb itself refers to an act which helps to bring this to pass. An example is *cuba* 'try'. For these verbs there is typically Agent-Agent co-reference, with optional Equi of the lower Agent:

(9-152) *geutanyoe teungöh ta =cuba (ta=) peuëk bubông*  
 we incl middle 1inc try (1inc) raise roof

*We are trying to raise the roof.*

(9-153) *ta=ci =peugöt nyoe lê=gata*  
 1 try make this by you

*Try to make this.*

(9-154) *ka=geu=mulayi (geu=)meu'ue*  
 IN 3 begin (3) plough

*He has begun to do the ploughing.*

(9-155) *lôn=lakee jak ngôn gopnyan*  
 1 ask go with he

*I asked to go with him.*

The lower clause does have its own Core Topic, but a lower Core Role can function as the higher Core Topic:

(9-156) *batee=nyan beu=neu=ci beuët lê=droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh*  
 stone that DES 2 try lift by self 2

*Try to lift that stone.*

Some verbs like this are:

*ci* 'try'  
*cuba* 'try'  
*lakee* 'ask, beg'  
*meukeusut* 'have the resolution to'  
*mulayi* 'to begin'  
*ôseuha* 'arrange, try'  
*pura* 'pretend'

Of these *pura* 'pretend' has the special sense that the Agent wants what is expressed by the complement to appear to be the case. It can also be used with Agent-Undergoer co-reference:

- (9-157) *nyan ji=pura -pura teungeut jih*  
 there 3 pretend pretend sleep he

*There he goes, pretending to be asleep.*

The verbs in this group can have their complements introduced by the illocutionary marker *beu*= 'I want' or by *nak*= 'I intend', a particle also used as a conjunction (9.6.1). With such an introducer the Agent proclitic must be retained:

- (9-158) *abang geu=meukeusut nak=geu=ceumeucah uroe=nyoe*  
 elder brother 3 intend DES 3 clear scrub day this

*The elder brother intends to clear scrub today.*

With *nak*= or *beu*=, Agent-Agent co-reference is not necessary:

- (9-159) *ureueng=nyan geu=öseuha beu=geu=peurêksa lê=dokto*  
 person that 3 arrange DES 3 examine by doctor

*That person arranged/tried to be examined by the doctor.*

#### 9.4.2.1. Jussive complements

When used without a clausal complement, a JUSSIVE verb like *yue* 'order, tell, ask' or *larang* 'forbid' takes what is ordered as the Undergoer:

- (9-160) *neu=yue buet nyang=göt lê=teungku*  
 3 order deed REL good by teacher

*The teacher ordered good deeds.*

The addressee, if mentioned, appears as a prepositional phrase with *bak* (7.3.1):

- (9-161) *lön=yue nyan bak=droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh*  
 1 order that at self 2

*I ask that of you.*

The most straightforward type of jussive has a complement functioning as Undergoer, with no addressee:

- (9-162) *geu=yue lön=peugöt pintö=nyoe*  
 3 order 1 fix door this

*He ordered that I fix this door.*

The lower verb can have Agent referencing, as in (9-162), or it may have none at all; the Agent is then unspecified:



- (9-163) pintô=nyoe geu=yue peugöt lê=gopnyan  
 door this 3 order make by he

*He ordered this door to be made.*

As with an NP Undergoer, the addressee may be referred to in a PP:

- (9-164) ka=lôn=yue bak=jih (ji=)peugöt pintô=nyoe  
 IN 1 order to he (3) fix door this

*I told him that he should fix this door.*

In sentence (9-164) there is co-reference between the addressee and the Agent of the lower verb, but this is not necessary. If the lower proclitic is omitted the sentence could also be translated *I told him that the door should be fixed*.

Jussive verbs can also be used in an alternative case frame with the addressee as Undergoer. The implication is that the addressee must do what is being ordered. The addressee is usually co-referential with the Agent in the lower clause, but may also be co-referential with the Undergoer. If it is co-referential with the Agent then this undergoes Equi:

- (9-165) soe yue<sup>1</sup> =neuh (\*neu=)jak keu=noe  
 who order 2 (2) go to here

*Who ordered you to come here.*

If it is Undergoer, then the enclitic may be retained:

- (9-166) lôn=yue piyôh<sup>1</sup>=geuh  
 1 order stop 3

*I told him to stop.*

The complement may be introduced with the illocutionary marker *beu*='I want' (see also p256) with a positive order and *bek* 'don't' with a prohibition. In this case the proclitic is required:

- (9-167) ka=lôn=yue jih beu=ji=peugöt pintô=nyoe  
 IN 1 order he DES 3 fix door this

*I told him to fix this door.*

- (9-168) ka=larang jih bek =ji=jak jeuôh-jeuôh  
 2 forbid she DONT 3 go far far

*Forbid her from going far.*

Permissive verbs like *peuidin* 'permit' and *b(r)i* 'allow' are very similar to the jussive verbs described above, except that the Agent proclitic in the lower clause may not be omitted:

- (9-169) gopnyan neu=bri geu=woe u =rumoh  
 he 2 allow 3 return to house

*Let him go home.*

Like the jussive verbs, these can be used with no lower Agent specified:

- (9-170) h'an=geu=bi    meu'en bhan di=si =noe  
 NEG 3    allow play    ball at side this

*He won't allow football to be played here.*

## 9.5. Adjunct Clauses

A subordinated clause can function as one of the adjunct types described in 8.8. An embedded clause may be the object of a preposition:

- (9-171) aneuk=palêh    bak=ji=êh    h'an=jaga  
 child unlucky at 3    sleep NEG awake

*The wretched child won't get up from sleep.*

or it may be the modifier of an adjunct noun:

- (9-172) jih sabê    geu=poh    lê=ayah    seubap=ji=ceumeucue  
 he always 3    beat by father reason 3    steal

*He is always being beaten by his father because he steals.*

- (9-173) watee=lôn=jak u =banda=aceh na=meureupök lôn ngön=gopnyan  
 time 1    go to Banda Aceh BE meet    I    with he

*When I went to Banda Aceh I met him.*

- (9-174) teungöh=geu=woe    geu=peugah=haba ngön=ngön  
 middle 3    return 3    say    news with friend

*While returning he talked with his friend.*

## 9.6. Conjunctions

### 9.6.1. Subordinating

Subordinating conjunctions precede a subordinate clause. The main and subordinate clauses can occur in either order. Some such conjunctions are:

*adak* 'if, even if'

*asay* 'as long as, if only'

*ban* 'just as soon as, just after' - as an operator this means 'just then, just now'

*beu=that (beu=)* 'as much as' - from *beu=*, an illocutionary marker and *that*, an operator

*böh* 'even though, it doesn't matter if' - also an illocutionary marker

*malêngkan* 'although, but'

*mangat* 'so that' - as a verb this means 'easy, nice'

*meu(ng)* or *meu(ng)=nyo* 'if' - also an illocutionary marker

*nak* 'so that'

*sampoe* 'until'

*sangkira* 'if only'

*si=golom* 'before' - as an operator *golom* means 'not yet'

*sira* 'whilst'

- (9-175) *ureueng=nyan geu=meujudi*  
person that 3 gamble

*sampoe atra*<sup>1</sup> =*geuh habéh* =*geu=publoe*  
until possession 3 used up 3 sell

*That person gambled until all his possessions were sold.*

- (9-176) *ban =ji=teu -pue na gopnyan di=rumoh ji=jak lè keu=déh*  
just 3 know what BE he at house 3 go then to there

*As soon as he knew that he was at home, he went there immediately.*

- (9-177) *mangat rijang trók, bu =bagah ta =jak*  
so that fast arrive DES fast linc go

*Let's go quickly so that we can arrive faster.*

- (9-178) *meu=ji=jak lôn=seutöt*  
if 3 go 1 follow

*If he goes I will follow.*

- (9-179) *asay hana =beungeh*<sup>1</sup>=*geuh lôn=gisa*  
as long as NEGBE angry 3 1 return

*As long as he is not angry I will return.*

- (9-180) *beu=that beu=lôn=peugah jih h'an=ji=patéh*  
as much as 1 say he NEG 3 believe

*As much as I say [it], he won't believe me.*

### 9.6.2. Co-subordinating

The co-subordinating conjunction pair *makên...makên...* 'the more the more' is used to join a pair of clauses, neither of which can be regarded as the main clause. Both clauses are introduced by *makên*.

- (9-181) *makên ta =nguy sikin=nyoe makên tajam*  
the more linc use knife this the more sharp

*The more one uses this knife the sharper it gets.*

### 9.6.3. Coordinating

Coordinating conjunctions join two main clauses. The conjunction introduces the second clause. Some coordinating conjunctions are:

*cuma* 'but'

*lom*<sup>1</sup>=*pih* 'as well' - *lom* and *pih* are also operators

*ngön* 'as well as, and' *ngön* is also a preposition 'with'

*tapi* 'but'

- (9-182) *lön=publoe öbat ngön=lön=kheun hikayat*  
1 sell medicine and 1 recite *hikayat*

*I sell medicine and recite epic poetry (for a living).*

- (9-183) *rumoh=nyan reulöh=bintéh, lom<sup>1</sup>=pih beukah jeundila*  
house that broken wall moreover broken window

*That house's walls are broken and its windows too.*

The conjunction *ngön* is also used to conjoin constituents within a clause:

- (9-184) *ji=kap bak=bruek=mata ngön=bak=jungka*  
3 bite at shell eye and at jaw

*[The wasps] bit at his eyes and at his jaw.*

- (9-185) *eungköt=nyan mirah=ngön=ijö*  
fish that red and green

*That fish is red and green.*

## 9.7. Non-Declarative Sentences

### 9.7.1. Questions

#### 9.7.1.1. Yes/No Questions

Propositional *yes/no* or *whether* questions can be formed in Acehnese simply by use of interrogative intonation (8.4), indicated in transcriptions by a question mark:

- (9-186) *neu=jak=woe?*  
2 go return

*Are you returning?*

- (9-187) *saköt<sup>1</sup>=droe=neuh?*  
sick self 2

*Are you sick?*

The complement verb *na 'be'* (9.4.1.1) is often used to indicate an actual event or action as opposed to something which may not have happened:

(9-188) *na=neu=jak=woe?*

BE 2 go return

*Did you return?/Do you (ever) return?*

(9-189) *na=kureueng yum<sup>1</sup> =jih?*

BE less price 3

*Does it have a lower price? (Could you give me a lower price?)*

Since the focus is on *whether* and not *what* or *who*, it is unusual to have a Core Topic in propositional questions, but it is possible:

(9-190) *gata na=ta=beuet basa =aceh?*

you BE 2 recite language Acehnese

*Do you read Acehnese?*

For propositional questions the interrogative word *pue 'whether'* may be used. It precedes the predicate, and may either precede or follow a Core Topic, if there is one:

(9-191) (*droe=<sup>1</sup>neuh*) *pue na=ək<sup>1</sup> =neuh bu?*

(self 2) whether BE like 2 rice

*Do you like rice?*

(9-192) *pue kee ka=keumeung kiyan?*

whether I 2 want deceive

*Do you mean to deceive me?*

Affirmative answers to propositional questions usually just repeat the first verb. An active verb will have its Agent proclitic included with the response:

(9-193) *Q: pue buta<sup>1</sup> =jih? A: buta*

whether blind 3 blind

*Is he blind?*

*Yes, he is blind.*

(9-194) *Q: pue neu=jak euntreuk? A: lön=jak*

whether 2 go later 1 go

*Are you going later?*

*Yes, I am going.*

(9-195) *Q: pue na=sakët droe<sup>1</sup> =neuh? A: na*

whether BE sick self 2 BE

*Are you sick?*

*Yes, I am.*

(9-196) *Q: pue ka=ji=jak? A: ka*

whether IN 3 go IN

*Has he gone?*

*Yes, already.*

When the verb is preceded by an operator, it is the operator which is given as the answer:

(9-197) Q: pue h'an=neu=jak? A: h'an  
 whether NEG 2 go NEG

*Aren't you going? No, I'm not.*

(9-198) Q: pue golom =ji=jak? A: golom  
 whether not yet 3 go not yet

*Hasn't he gone yet? No, he hasn't.*

A negative answer, like an affirmative, depends on the verb or operator used in the question. Where the affirmative answer *na* 'be' is appropriate (9-195), then *hana* 'not be' would be the negative answer. Where *ka* 'already' (glossed as IN) could be the affirmative (9-196), then *golom* or *h'an lom* 'not yet' is an appropriate negative. Where the affirmative could be the main verb repeated (9-193, 9-194), then *h'an* 'not' is its negative. In all situations the operator *kön* 'on the contrary' may also be used to give a contradicting negative response.

### 9.7.1.2. Other Questions

Non-propositional questions in Acehnese are formed with interrogative words (6.4.3). These questions do not have the final rising intonation of propositional *yes/no* questions. An interrogative word may function:

- as a Core Role;
- as the functional equivalent of an incorporated NP in locative Undergoer incorporation or possessor focus (4.3);
- as a peripheral constituent;
- as a non-verbal predicate.

[i] Core Role interrogatives occur as Core Topics in their clause. Typically no cross-referencing of the interrogative is allowed, just as for Core relativisation (9.1.2.1):

(9-199) soe (\*ji=poh si =ali  
 who (3) kill title Ali

*Who killed Ali?*

(9-200) soe neu=poh<sup>1</sup> (\*=jih) lë=droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh  
 who 2 kill (3) by self 2

*Who did you kill?*

(9-201) soe panyang<sup>1</sup> (\*=geuh)  
 who tall (3)

*Who is tall?*

However, as with Core relativisation, non-controlled verbs with a Dative argument allow Undergoer enclitic cross-referencing to be retained:

- (9-202) *soe galak*<sup>1</sup> (=geuh) *rukok*  
 who like (3) cigarette

*Who likes cigarettes?*

Datives can be interrogated as Core Roles:

- (9-203) *soe galak*<sup>1</sup> =neuh  
 who like 2

*Who do you like?*

[ii] When the interrogative has a function equivalent to the incorporated head of a focussed possessor (4.3.3), or to an incorporated locative Undergoer (4.3.4), then instead of being incorporated after the verb it is moved to the front, immediately before it. It is not the Core Topic, as can be seen in (9-204), where the focussed possessor *gopnyan* is the Core Topic. (9-204) is an interrogative counterpart of (9-205).

- (9-204) *gopnyan pue sakét*  
 he what hurt

*What (part) of him is hurting?*

- (9-205) *gopnyan sakét* =ulee  
 he hurt head

*He has a headache.*

Note in the following example that *ureueng* = *nyan*, the focussed location NP, is marked by *di*, a sign of its Core Role status:

- (9-206) *pue keunöng di* =ureueng =nyan  
 what struck FM person that

*What struck that person?*

The Core Topic cannot intervene between such an interrogative and the verb:

- (9-207) \**pue gopnyan sakét*  
 what he hurt

Neither can the verb take any Undergoer enclitic:

- (9-208) *gopnyan pue sakét*<sup>1</sup> (=geuh)

- (9-209) \**pue keunöng*<sup>1</sup> =jih

[iii] A peripheral interrogative can either stand alone as an adjunct NP:

- (9-210) *droe*<sup>1</sup> =neuh *pa* =jan *neu* =teuka *keu* =noe  
 self 2 what when 2 arrive to this

*When did you arrive here?*

- (9-211) *pa* =ki =ban *lön* =peugöt *nyoe* ilee  
 what how how 1 do this now

*How can I do this?*

- (9-212) gopnyan 'oh na=panyang  
 he how long BE tall

*How tall is he?*

- (9-213) pa =kön ta=döng sabê di=si =nan  
 what why 2 stand always at side that

*Why do you always stand there?*

or as the object NP in a prepositional phrase:

- (9-214) keu=pue ta=döng sabê di=si =nan  
 for what 2 stand always at side that

*Why do you always stand there?*

- (9-215) si =johan bak=soe ji=meureunoe basa =aceh  
 title Johan at who 3 learn language Acehese

*From whom did Johan learn Acehese?*

- (9-216) ngön=pue gopnyan geu=peugöt rumoh=nyan  
 with what he 3 make house that

*What did he make that house with?*

The preferred ordering for a peripheral interrogative is either immediately preceding or following the Core Topic, as in the preceding examples. Other orders do occur, but informants found them questionable:

- (9-217) gopnyan geu=peugöt rumoh=nyan ngön=pue  
 he 3 make house that with what

*What did he make that house with?*

[iv] Interrogatives can function as non-verbal predicates. These are usually placed before their subjects:

- (9-218) pa =kri=ban ureueng=nyan  
 what how how person that

*What is that person like?*

- (9-219) pa =jan kanduri=nyan  
 what when feast that

*When is that feast?*

- (9-220) pat gense =lön  
 where pencil I

*Where is my pencil?*



### 9.7.1.3. Rhetorical doubting questions

In rhetorical questions where a negative meaning is intended, interrogative words are typically used without their usual sense:

- (9-221) pa =ne      gopnyan    geu=têm =jak  
 what    whence    he            3    want    go

*There's no way he wants to go!*

- (9-222) pat    jeuet<sup>l</sup>=keuh  
 where    can        2

*There is no way you can!*

### 9.7.2. Orders

Orders can only be given to a second person Agent. This means that non-controlled verbs cannot be used in an order:

- (9-223) \*seunang  
 happy

*(Be happy!)*

When the Agent NP is topicalised in an order, then its cross-referencing proclitic is optional:

- (9-224) droe<sup>l</sup>=neuh (neu=)jak=woe    laju  
 self 2        (2)    go    return    immediately

*Go home immediately.*

- (9-225) kah (ka=)jak laju  
 you (2)    go    immediately

*Go immediately.*

If the Agent NP follows the verb, or is ellipsed, it is more polite to include the proclitic. With the respectively neutral and polite pronouns *droe<sup>l</sup>neuh* and *gata*, its omission is unacceptable in these circumstances:

- (9-226) neu=jak droe<sup>l</sup>=neuh u =rumoh  
 2    go    self 2        to house

*Go to [your] house.*

- (9-227) \*jak droe<sup>l</sup>=neuh u =rumoh

- (9-228) ta=peugöt ie    lê=gata  
 2    make    drink    by you

*Prepare a drink.*

## (9-229) \*peugöt ie lë=gata

This restraint on omission of the proclitic helps to establish politeness as soon as possible in the sentence. This is all the more important because one is issuing a command. When the pronoun precedes the verb, then the level of politeness has already been established, and the proclitic can be omitted (9-224). If the Agent is the familiar *kah* the proclitic can be dispensed with:

(9-230) jak kah keu=dëh  
go you to there

*Go over there.*

There is another factor also at work here; it is conducive to a higher level of politeness to be lengthy in addressing someone. So the more elliptical construction is used for familiar address, and the fuller one with the proclitic for polite address. For the same reason titles are preferred to pronouns in polite address (p121).

When the verb is transitive, and the Undergoer is the Core Topic, then the proclitic cannot be omitted, not even with the familiar pronoun:

(9-231) moto=nyoe ka=cok singöh lë=kah  
car this 2 take tomorrow by you

*Pick up this car tomorrow.*

A negative command is formed in the same way as a positive one, except that the prohibitive illocutionary marker *bek* is used. This precedes the predicate, following a Core Topic, if there is one:

## (9-232) moto=nyoe bek=ka=bløe lë=kah

*Don't you buy this car.*

(9-233) bek peh tambô=nyan  
DONT beat drum that

*Don't beat that drum.*

*bek* may also be used alone as a command, just like English *Don't!*

### 9.7.3. Illocutionary Markers

Acehnese has a small closed class of words which mark the illocutionary force of an utterance. One feature associated with these words is that an Agent of an intransitive verb, when used in an exclamatory sentence with one of these markers, can take enclitic cross-referencing, as well as its standard proclitic:

(9-234) bah geu=meukawën|=geuh  
let 3 marry 3

*Just let him go and get married!*

- (9-235) *bôh ka=jak<sup>1</sup>=keuh keu=dêh*  
do! 2 go 2 to there

*Get lost!*

Some of these illocutionary markers can take an enclitic themselves, either directly, or attached to an operator *that*. The enclitic references the subject or argument of an ellipsed predicate. For examples see p127:[vi].

### 9.7.3.1. *bah* 'just let'

*bah* precedes the predicate it modifies. It is used in main clauses, and may be modified by the operator *that*:

- (9-236) *bah meu=nan*  
let way that

*Just leave [it] like that.*

- (9-237) *bah beungeh<sup>1</sup>=geuh*  
let angry 3

*Just let him go and be angry.*

### 9.7.3.2. *beu*='I want' - *bek*'I don't want'

These two illocutionary markers are used slightly differently, but are similar enough in use and meaning to be grouped together. The main difference is that *beu*= is a proclitic, but *bek* can sometimes be stressed. They both usually precede a predicate:

- (9-238) *bu =mudah raseuki*  
DES easy fortune

*May fortune smile upon [you].*

- (9-239) *geutanyoe beu=ta =pubuet lagee=neu=peugah lê=guree<sup>1</sup> =teuh*  
we DES linc do way 3 say by teacher linc

*May we act as our teacher has said.*

- (9-240) *di=droe<sup>1</sup>=neuh bek =neu=seumikê lê*  
FM self 2 DONT 2 think anymore

*Don't you do anymore thinking.*

- (9-241) *bek =sakê<sup>1</sup>=neuh euntreuk*  
DONT sick 2 later

*You had better not be sick later.*

*beu*= and *bek* can both also be used to modify adjuncts and operators:

- (9-242) *bek* =*meu*=*nan ka*=*maguen*  
DONT way that 2 cook

*Don't cook like that.*

- (9-243) *beu*=*that neu*=*peh tambô*  
DES very 2 hit drum

*Hit the drum very (hard).*

They are often used to introduce a clause of result (p242:[i]). For *beu*= the sense is 'wanted result'; for *bek* 'result to be avoided'.

- (9-244) *neu*=*peugôt pintô*=*nyoe beu*=*gôt*  
2 fix door this DES good

*Fix this door well.*

- (9-245) *neu*=*peusom nyan bek ji*=*teu -pue lé*=*gop*  
2 hide that DONT 3 know what by other person

*Hide that so that no one else will know.*

For emphasis the result clause may be preposed:

- (9-246) *beu*=*gôt neu*=*cet rumah*  
DES good 2 paint house

*Paint the house well.*

*beu*= can also be used with a complement clause:

- (9-247) *lôn galak beu*=*neu*=*woe laju*  
I like DES 2 return immediately

*I want you to return immediately.*

Direct imperatives are not possible with non-controlled verbs (9.7.2), but an imperative effect may be achieved by using *beu*= and *bek* to modify a non-controlled verb, in conjunction a controlled main verb:

- (9-248) *neu*=*mat nyoe, bek reubah euntreuk*  
2 hold this DONT topple later

*Hold this: don't fall over.*

### 9.7.3.3. *bôh*=/*bêh* 'I exhort'

This illocutionary marker either precedes the predicate of the clause and is unstressed and pronounced *bôh*=, or it is uttered at the end of an order, in which case it is stressed and pronounced *bêh*. In the first case its use is not restricted to orders.

- (9-249) *bôh*=*ta =jak*  
do! linc go

*Let's go!*

- (9-250) *bek neu=tuwö keu=lön, bēh*  
DONT 2 forget DAT I do!

*Don't forget me.*

The stressed form *bēh* demands an affirmative response. Sometimes a speaker will repeat it several times *bēh! bēh!* until the addressee responds. On the other hand *bōh=*, used before a predicate, assumes agreement, and does not seek a response.

#### 9.7.3.4. *meu(ng)= 'it is surprising'*

*meu(ng)=* is a clitic, and immediately precedes a predicate. It marks surprise:

- (9-251) *meu =i=kap<sup>1</sup>=keuh*  
surprise! 3 bite 2

*If it didn't go and bite you!*

- (9-252) *ka=eu meung =meuleuhöp<sup>1</sup>=kuh*  
2 see surprise! muddy 1

*You see I'm muddy!*

This is formally related to the subordinating conjunction *meu(ng)= 'if'*.

#### 9.7.3.5. *nyo=/nyö 'I believe, I agree, yes'*

This either precedes a predicate, and is pronounced unstressed as *nyo=*, or it is used as an interjection or response. In the first case it indicates that what is being said is really true. In the second case it indicates agreement with something someone else has said.

### 9.7.4. Negative Affirmative Sentences

It is common in Acehnese to use a negative exclamatory sentence to imply a positive meaning:

- (9-253) *kön bit bangay<sup>1</sup>=keuh that*  
not really stupid 2 very

*You are really stupid!*

- (9-254) *bōh ta=bri h'an=jeuet=lön=wöt siat*  
do! 2 give NEG can 1 stir moment

*'Hey, do give me a go at stirring!'*

- (9-255) *bōh h'an ka=pumuntah dilee*  
do! NEG 2 undercook now

*'You'll go and undercook it - so don't!'*

## 9.8. Exclamations, Tags, Interjections and Responses

### 9.8.1. Exclamations

Some exclamations are given here. I do not fully understand all the differences in meaning. There is whole range of terms for getting animals to do things. Some are included here.

*alah* 'Well!'

*alah hay* 'Hey!'

*cih* sound made to shoo away a dog

*ê*

*eu<sup>h</sup>*

*ë*

*h'eu<sup>h</sup>*

*hus* sound made to shoo away hens, cows and buffaloes

*ka=paloe* 'blast!'

*ô* 'Oh!'

*ô ma* 'Oh mother!'

*pih* sound made to shoo away cat

*trus* sound made to shoo away a goat

*trrrr* sound made to make a buffalo turn right

### 9.8.2. Interjections

These are typically interpolated into what is being said, either by the speaker, or by someone listening:

*bah* 'just!' - also an illocutionary force marker

*bit=nyoe* 'really' - also an operator

*bit=bit* 'really'

*hay* 'Hey!'

*nyan* 'there!' - also a demonstrative

*nyan<sup>l</sup>=keuh* 'there!'

*nyo=bit* 'really'

### 9.8.3. Tags

Tags are used either preceding or following a sentence to emphasise it. The intention may be to draw the listeners attention, or to evoke a response. Some that precede are:

*cop* 'hey'

*iem* 'be quiet' - also a verb 'be quiet'

*ngiang* 'look' - also a verb 'see'

*tulông* 'help' - also a verb 'help'

Some that follow are:

- běh* - an illocutionary marker, see 9.7.3.3  
*jeuet* 'would you, OK?' - also a verb 'can'  
*kaman* 'so, there'  
*siat* 'please, just a moment' - also a noun 'moment'

#### 9.8.4. Responses

Some common single word responses are:

- nyō* 'yes' - an illocutionary marker, see 9.7.3.5  
*'eu* 'yes'  
*kōn* 'on the contrary' - also an operator  
*(ka=)jeuet* 'OK' also a verb 'can'  
*beutōy* 'truly' - also a verb 'true'

The expression *hōm* 'who knows' is often used in response to a question. The person about whom something has been asked may be referenced by an enclitic:

(9-256) *hōm*<sup>1</sup>=*jih*

*I don't know about him.*

This response is unusual in that the topic of the comment can be explicitly given, even with the focus marker *dī*, which is usually reserved for Core Roles:

(9-257) *(dī=)teungku=ali hōm*<sup>1</sup> =*geuh*  
 (FM) title Ali who knows 3

*Who knows as far as Teungku Ali is concerned.*





## References

- Abdul Gani Asyik: 1972, *Atjehnese morphology*, unpublished M.A. thesis, Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan Malang.
- Abdul Gani Asyik: 1978, *Bunyi Bahasa dalam Kata Tiruan Bunyi Bahasa Aceh*, Banda Aceh: Fakultas Keguruan, Universitas Syiah Kuala.
- Abdul Gani Asyik: 1982, 'System of agreement in Acehnese,' unpublished paper presented at the Department of Linguistics, University of Chicago.
- Aissen, J.: 1979, 'Possessor ascension in Tzotzil,' in L. Martin (ed.), *Papers in Mayan Linguistics*, Columbia, Montana: Lucas Bros. Publishers, 89-108.
- Anderson, S.R.: 1976, 'On the notion of subject in ergative languages,' in Li, C.N. (ed.), *Subject and Topic*, New York and London: Academic Press, 1-23.
- Baihaqi A.K. and others: 1977, *Struktur Bahasa Gayo*, Banda Aceh: IAIN Jami'ah Ar-Raniry and Universitas Syiah Kuala.
- Baker, M.: 1983, 'Objects, themes, and lexical rules in Italian,' in L. Levin, M. Rappaport and A. Zaenen (eds.), *Papers in Lexical-Functional Grammar*, Indiana University Linguistics Club, 1-46.
- Blagden, C.O.: 1929, 'Achinese and Mon-Kmer,' in *Feestbundel, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen bij gelegenheid van zijn 150 Jarig Bestaan 1778-1928. Vol. I*, Weltevreden: G.Kolff, 35-38.
- Boas, F. and E. Deloria: 1941, *Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences*, Vol. XXIII, Second Memoir: *Dakota grammar*, Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences.
- Budiman Sulaiman: 1977, *Bahasa Aceh. Vol. I*, Bireuen, Aceh Utara, Indonesia: Mahmudiyah.
- Budiman Sulaiman: 1978, *Bahasa Aceh. Vol. II*, Banda Aceh, Indonesia: Pustaka Faraby.
- Budiman Sulaiman: 1979, *Bahasa Aceh. Vol. I: second edition*, Banda Aceh, Indonesia: Pustaka Faraby.
- Burzio, L.: 1981, *Intransitive verbs and Italian auxiliaries*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Catford, J.C.: 1977, *Fundamental problems in phonetics*, Edinburgh University Press.
- Chafe, W.: 1967, *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology*, Vol. IV: *Seneca morphology*

and dictionary, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press.

- Chappell, H.: 1983, *A semantic analysis of passive, causative and dative constructions in standard Chinese*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University.
- Coady, J. and R. McGinn: 1982, 'On the so-called implosive nasals of Rejang,' in C. Rainer and others (eds.), *Gava': studies in Austronesian languages and cultures*, Dietrich Reimer, 437-449.
- Collins, I.V.: 1969, 'The position of Atjehnese among Southeast Asian languages,' *Mon-Khmer Studies* 3, 46-60.
- Collins, I.V.: 1975, *The Austro-Asiatic substratum in Acehnese*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Comrie, B.: 1973, 'The ergative: variations on a theme,' *Lingua* 32, 239-53.
- Court, C.: 1970, 'Nasal harmony and some Indonesian sound laws,' in *Pacific Linguistics*, Vol. 13: *Pacific linguistic studies in honour of Arthur Capell*, Linguistic Circle of Canberra, 203-217.
- Cowan, H.K.J.: 1933, 'Lamuri - Lambri - Lawri - Ram(n)i - Lanli - Lanwuli - Nanpoli,' *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 90, 421-4.
- Cowan, H.K.J.: 1948, 'Aanteekeningen betreffende de verhouding van het Atjèhsch tot de Mon-Khmer talen,' *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 104, 429-514.
- Cowan, H.K.J.: 1950, 'Nogmaals de Middeleeuwse Rijkjes op Noord-Sumatra,' *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* 57, 168-72.
- Cowan, H.K.J.: 1974, 'Evidence of long vowels in early Acehnese,' *Oceanic Linguistics* 13, 187-212.
- Cowan, H.K.J.: 1981, 'An outline of Acehnese phonology and morphology,' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 44, 522-49.
- Diffloth, G.: 1976, 'Jah-Hut, an Austroasiatic language of Malaysia,' in *South East Asian linguistic studies*, Australian National University, Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, 73-118.
- Dixon, R.M.W.: 1972, *Cambridge Studies in Linguistics*, Vol. 9: *The Dyirbal language of North Queensland*, Cambridge University Press.
- Dixon, R.M.W.: 1977, 'Where have all the adjectives gone?,' *Studies in Language* 1, 19-80.
- Dixon, R.M.W.: 1979, 'Ergativity,' *Language* 55, 59-138.

- Dixon, R.M.W.: 1980, *The languages of Australia*, Cambridge University Press.
- Djadiningrat, Hoesein: 1934, *Atjèhsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Dowty, D.R.: 1982a, 'More on the categorical analysis of grammatical relations,' in A. Zaenen (ed.), *Subjects and other subjects: proceedings of the Harvard Conference on the Representation of Grammatical Relations*, Indiana University Linguistics Club, 115-153.
- Dowty, D.: 1982b, 'Grammatical relations and Montague Grammar,' in P. Jacobson and G.K. Pullum (eds.), *The nature of syntactic representation*, D. Reidel, 79-130.
- Drewes, G.W.J.: 1979, *Hikajat Potjut Muhamat*, The Hague: KITLV.
- Drewes, G.W.J.: 1980, *Two Achehnese Poems*, The Hague: KITLV.
- Fischer-Jørgensen, Eli: 1967, 'Phonetic analysis of breathy vowels in Gujarati,' *Indian Linguistics* 28, 71-139.
- Foley, W.A. and R.D. Van Valin: 1984, *Functional syntax and universal grammar*, Cambridge University Press.
- Gregores, E. and J.A. Suárez: 1967, *A description of colloquial Guaraní*, The Hague: Mouton.
- Groeneveldt, W.P.: 1960, *Historical notes on Indonesia and Malaya compiled from Chinese sources*, Jakarta: C.V. Bhartara. A reprint of *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese Sources*, first published in *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 1888, 39.
- Haas, M.R.: 1941, 'Tunica,' *Handbook of American Indian Languages* IV, 1-143.
- Heath, J.: 1977, 'Choctaw cases,' in *Proceedings of the 3rd Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 204-13.
- Hendon, R.S.: 1966, *Yale University Publications in Anthropology*, Vol. 70: *The phonology and morphology of Ulu Muar Malay*, New Haven: Department of Anthropology, Yale University.
- Hombert, J.: 1978, 'Consonant types, vowel quality, and tone,' in Victoria A. Fromkin (ed.), *Tone: a linguistic survey*, Academic Press, 77-112.
- Iskandar, T.: 1958, *De Hikayat Atjéh*, 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Johnson, M.: 1980, *Ergativity in Inuktitut (Eskimo)*, in *Montague Grammar, and in Relational Grammar*, Indiana University Linguistics Club.

- Kaschube, D.V.: 1967, *Structural elements in the language of the Crow Indians of Montana*, Boulder: University of Colorado Press.
- Kennard, E.: 1936, 'Mandan grammar,' *International Journal of American Linguistics* 9, 1-43.
- Kibrik, A.E.: 1979, 'Canonical ergativity and Darghestan languages,' in F. Plank (ed.), *Ergativity*, Academic Press, 61-78.
- Klimov, G.A.: 1977, *Tipologija jazykov aktivnogo stroja*, Moskow: Nauka.
- Klimov, G.A.: 1979, 'On the position of the Ergative type in typological classification,' in F. Plank (ed.), *Ergativity*, Academic Press, 327-332.
- Kreemer, J.: 1931, *Atjèhsch Handwoordenboek*, Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Ladefoged, P.: 1967, 'The nature of vowel quality,' in *Language and Language Learning*, Vol. 15: *Three areas of experimental phonetics*, Oxford University Press.
- Ladefoged, P.: 1975, *A course in phonetics*, Harcourt Brace Janovich.
- Ladefoged, P.: 1978, 'Phonetic differences in and between languages,' *Working Papers in Linguistics* 41, 32-40.
- Langen, K.F.H. van: 1889, *Woordenboek der Atjehsche Taal*, 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Langen, K.F.H. van: 1889, *Handleiding voor de Beoefening der Atjehsche Taal*, 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Laver, John: 1980, *Cambridge Studies in Linguistics*, Vol. 31: *The phonetic description of voice quality*, Cambridge University Press.
- Lawler, J.M.: 1975, 'On coming to terms in Acheneese: the function of verbal disagreement,' in R.E. Grossman, L.J. Sam and T.J. Vance (eds.), *Papers from the Parasession on Functionalism*, University of Chicago.
- Lawler, J.M.: 1977, 'A agrees with B in Acheneese: a problem for Relational Grammar,' in Peter Cole and Jerrold M.Sadock (eds.), *Syntax and Semantics*, Vol. 8: *Grammatical Relations*, Academic Press, 219-48.
- Lebar, M., G.C. Hickey and J.M. Musgrave: 1964, *Ethnic groups of Mainland and Southeast Asia*, New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press.
- Lee, E.W.: 1966, *Proto-Chamic phonologic word and vocabulary*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University.

- Lisker, L. and A. S. Abramson: 1964, 'A cross-language study of voicing in initial stops: acoustical measurements,' *Word* 20, 384-422.
- Lyons, J.: 1962, 'Phonemic and non-phonemic phonology,' *International Journal of American Linguistics* 28, 127-33.
- Lyons, J.: 1968, *Introduction to theoretical linguistics*, Cambridge University Press.
- Marantz, A.P.: 1981, *On the nature of grammatical relations*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Marantz, A.P.: 1982, 'Grammatical relations and explanation in linguistics,' in A. Zaenen (ed.), *Subjects and other subjects: proceedings of the Harvard Conference on the Representation of Grammatical Relations*, Indiana University Linguistics Club, 1-24.
- Matthews, G.H.: 1965, *Papers on Formal Linguistics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, Vol. 3: *Hidatsa syntax*, Mouton.
- McGinn, R.: 1982, *Linguistic Studies of Indonesian and Other Languages in Indonesia*, Vol. 14: *Outline of Rejang grammar*, Universitas Atma Jaya, Jakarta: NUSA.
- McLendon, S.: 1978, 'Ergativity, case and transitivity in Eastern Pomo,' *International Journal of American Linguistics* 44, 1-9.
- Merlan, F.: 1985, 'Split-intransitivity: functional oppositions in intransitive inflection,' in J. Nichols and A. Woodbury (eds.), *Grammar inside and outside the clause.*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moule, A.C. and P. Pelliot (Eds.): 1938, *Marco Polo: The description of the world*, London: George Routledge and Sons.
- Perlmutter, D.M.: 1978, 'Impersonal passives and the unaccusative hypothesis,' in *Proceedings of the 4th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 157-189.
- Perlmutter, D.A.: 1982, 'Syntactic representation, syntactic levels, and the notion of subject,' in P. Jacobson and G.K. Pullum (eds.), *The nature of syntactic representation*, D. Reidel, 283-340.
- Robins, R.H.: 1957, 'Vowel nasality in Sundanese, a phonological and grammatical study,' in *Special Volume of the Philological Society, Studies in Linguistics*, Blackwells, 87-103.
- Rosen, C.: 1982, 'The interface between semantic roles and initial grammatical relations,' in A. Zaenen (ed.), *Subjects and other subjects: Proceedings of the Harvard Conference on the Representation of Grammatical Relations*, Indiana University Linguistics Club, 71-114.

- Sapir, E.: 1917, 'Review of Uhlenbeck 1916,' *International Journal of American Linguistics* 1, 82-6.
- Sawyer, J.O.: 1959, *Achinese historical phonology*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Californian, Berkeley.
- Shorto, H.L.: 1975, 'Achinese and mainland Austronesian,' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38, 81-102.
- Shorto, H.L.: 1977, 'Proto-Austronesian \*taqən: an anomaly removed,' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 40, 128-9.
- Siegel, J.: 1979, *Shadow and sound*, University of Chicago Press.
- Snouck Hurgronje, C.: 1892, 'Studiën over atjèsche klank- en schriftleer,' *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 35, 346-442.
- Snouck Hurgronje, C.: 1900, 'Atjèhsche taalstudiën,' *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 42, 144-260.
- Snouck Hurgronje, C.: 1906, *The Achehnese*, Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Trubetzkoy, N.S.: 1977, *Grundzüge der Phonologie*, Goettingen: Reprinted by Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
- Uhlenbeck, C.C.: 1916, 'Het Passieve Karakter van het Verbum transitivum of van het Verbum actionis in Taalen van Noord-Amerika,' *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijk Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde* 5 2, 187-216.
- Van Valin, R.D.: 1977, *Aspects of Lakhota syntax*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Voorhoeve, P.: 1952, 'Three old Achehnese manuscripts,' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14, 335-45.
- Voorhoeve P.: 1955, *Critical survey of studies on the languages of sumatra*, The Hague: KITLV.
- Wierzbicka, A.: 1980, *Lingua mentalis*, Academic Press.
- Woodbury, A.C.: 1977, 'Greenlandic Eskimo, ergativity and Relational Grammar,' in Peter Cole and Jerrold M.Sadock (eds.), *Syntax and Semantics*, Vol. 8: *Grammatical relations*, Academic Press, 307-36.



The Acehnese are a people of north Sumatra. Their language, numbering about 1,500,000 speakers, counts among the major regional languages of Indonesia, where it occupies an anomalous position, having affiliations with languages of the South-East Asian mainland. This reference grammar of the North Aceh dialect of Acehnese includes a detailed description of its phonology, morphology and syntax, presented in a manner which is intended to be accessible to readers from a wide variety of linguistic persuasions. Special jargon and abbreviations are kept to a minimum. The descriptions are richly illustrated with examples, most of which are taken from actual discourse, and provided with word for word glosses and English translations. An overly theoretical approach has been avoided, and priority is given to the clear presentation of data. The material is intended to be easily referred to by linguists, and special attention is paid to points of general interest, for example the status of the category adjective, and the treatment of nasalisation.

This work is the first systematic descriptive grammar of Acehnese published in a western language. The study of Acehnese by western scholars dates back almost 100 years to Van Langen's introductory work (1889). This was soon superseded by Snouck Hurgronje, whose essay in Dutch on selected topics of Acehnese grammar (1900) was a pioneer work in the field of Indonesian linguistics.

Mark Durie (1958) studied at the Australian National University in Canberra and completed his PhD in Linguistics there in early 1984 with a description of Acehnese grammar, of which this work is a revised edition. During 1984 he was in The Netherlands to study the Acehnese language holdings of various libraries in Leiden. He is currently a Fellow at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.



FORIS PUBLICATIONS

Dordrecht - Holland/Cinnaminson - U.S.A.

ISBN 90 6765 074 9