

THE AGREEMENT SYSTEM IN ACEHNESE*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Acehnese is an Austronesian language spoken by some two and a half million people in the Province of Aceh in northern Sumatra. It has been found to have connections with Mon-Khmer and Cham on the Southeast Asian mainland.¹

One aspect of Acehnese that has become a topic of interest in recent years is its system of verb agreement. Lawler (1975, 1977) has made an accurate analysis of those points in the system relevant to his topics. The system as a whole has hitherto been undescribed.

Agreement in Acehnese is unique (as it should be) and rather complicated even for certain native speakers, notably for those who grow up in towns. The system is manifested in verbs and adjectives, verbs behaving in one way and adjectives in another as far as agreement is concerned. Differences are even found between one group of verbs and another. Inconsistencies are also found.

In this paper I shall try to analyze the agreement system in various situations or contexts. The analysis is based mainly on my own dialect, namely the North Aceh dialect.² On the level of agreement, which is in the domain of syntax, there are no differences between one dialect and another, though differences do exist on the phonological and lexical levels.

**Editor's Note:* Inclusion of the present paper here is warranted by the theory of a Mon-Khmer substratum in Acehnese and by the fact that some of the features of the system described appear to have counterparts in Mon-Khmer.

¹See Blagden (1929) and Cowan (year unknown). Shorto (1975) states that Cowan (1947-8) charted resemblances in phonology, morphology and syntax, as well as lexicon between Acehnese and Cham. Collins (1969) affirms that both Acehnese and Cham contain a Mon-Khmer lexical substratum.

²For the four main dialects and lists showing dialectal differences see Asyik (1972: 1-4, 30-2) where I use the term "Pase dialect", since replaced by "North Aceh dialect". The latter is the most widespread dialect, covering two *kabupaten* ($\pm$ county).

The data will be presented in the standard Acehnese orthography in order to facilitate comparisons with other sources. The following features of this orthography should be noted:

- Syllable-final *k* represents [ʔ] save in certain recent loans.
- *F*, *sy* [ʃ] and *z* are borrowed sounds, and are often replaced by *ph*, *ch* and *d* respectively.
- *Mb*, *nd*, *nj* and *ngg*, termed "funny nasals" by Lawler (1977), are my "incomplete nasals" (Asyik, 1972 and 1978a). Their representation by more than one symbol is misleading inasmuch as they are unitary sounds except in a subdialect of Greater Aceh near the town of Banda Aceh. These nasals are different from ordinary ones in that they do not nasalize the following vowel: the *a* in the syllable *mba*, for instance, sounds the same as that in *ba* or *da*.
- A vowel with a raised comma or small "accent" stroke before it is nasalized.
- Except for diphthongs and the digraph *eu* [ɛ̃], an orthographic sequence of two vowels represents two syllables of which the second has initial [ʔ]; for example, *siat* is [siʔat].

The sounds of Acehnese can be arranged as follows:

VOWELS			
<i>oral</i>			
	<i>front</i>	<i>central</i>	<i>back</i>
<i>high</i>	i	eu	u
<i>mid</i>	é	e	ō
<i>low</i>	è	a	o
<i>nasal</i> ³			
<i>high</i>	'i	'eu	'u

³Instead of recognizing this set of nasal vowels, Cowan lists a partial series of nasalized consonants. Were this analysis adopted it would be necessary to include all native consonants except *y* in the nasalized set.

<i>low</i>	'è		'a		'o
CONSONANTS					
<i>stops</i>	p b		t d	c j	k g -k ⁴
<i>fricatives</i>		f	s z	sy	h
<i>nasals</i>	m		n	ny	ng
<i>incomplete nasals</i>	mb		nd	nj	ngg
<i>lateral</i>			l		
<i>trill</i>			r		
<i>semivowels</i>	w			y	

Diphthongs have *i* or *e* as their second member:

ie	eue	ue	-	-	ui
-	-	-	-	ei	ōi
èe	-	oe	-	ai	oi
'ie	'eue	'ue	-	-	-
'èe	-	-	-	'ai	-

Consonant clusters have *h*, *l* or *r* as their second member:

ph	pl	pr
bh	bl	br
th	-	tr
dh	-	dr
ch	cl	cr
jh	-	jr
kh	kl	kr
gh	gl	gr
nh		
lh		
rh		

⁴[?].

Agreement in Acehnese is marked primarily by pronominal prefixes and suffixes. The following table gives all forms of the pronouns:

SINGULAR				
<i>person</i>	<i>free form</i>	<i>prefix</i>	<i>suffix</i>	<i>gloss</i>
1	lōntuan	-	-	I ⁵
	lōn	lōn-	-lōn	I ⁶
	kèe	ku-	-kuh	I ⁷
2	droeneuh	neu-	-neuh	you ⁸
	gata	ta-	-teuh	you ⁹
	kah	ka-	-keuh	you ¹⁰
3	droeneuhnyan	neu-	-neuh	he/she ⁵
	gopnyan	geu-	-geuh	he/she ⁸
	jih	ji-	-jih	he/she ¹¹
PLURAL				
1	geutanyoe	ta-	-teuh	we ¹²
	kamoe	meu-	-meuh	we ¹³
2	droeneuh (mandum)	neu-	-neuh	you ⁸
	gata (mandum)	ta-	-teuh	you ⁹
	kah (mandum)	ka-	-keuh	you ¹⁰
3	droeneuhnyan	neu-	-neuh	they ⁵
	gopnyan	geu-	-geuh	they ⁸
	ureuengnyan	geu-	-geuh	they ¹⁴
	ureueng nyoe	geu-	-geuh	they ¹⁵
	awaknyan	ji-	-jih	they ¹⁶
	awaknyoe	ji-	-jih	they ¹⁷

Agreement in Acehnese is agreement between (a) the V (verb

⁵Very polite.

⁶Polite.

⁷Vulgar.

⁸Of older person.

⁹Of younger person, polite.

¹⁰To younger person or child.

¹¹Of younger person or thing.

¹²Inclusive.

¹³Exclusive.

¹⁴Of older persons, far.

¹⁵Of older persons, near.

¹⁶Of younger persons, far.

¹⁷Of younger persons, near.

or adjective) of the predicate and (b) the subject of an active sentence or the agent of a passive sentence, the latter being originally the subject of an active sentence. The unqualified term "subject" is here used to mean the subject of an active sentence; otherwise it will be called "subject of the passive sentence" or "derived subject"; the terms "doer" or "performer" will also be used where appropriate of the agent of the passive sentence.

Agreement is manifested in Acehnese only in those sentences of which the subject or agent is animate or inanimate but performing some activity. The following sentences show how Vs agree with their subjects or agents:

- (1) (a) Si¹⁸ Ali ji - koh kayèe.
 - Ali 3^Y cut wood/tree
 'Ali cut the wood.'

- (b) Jih ji - koh kayèe.
 he 3^Y cut wood
 'He cut the wood.'

- (2) Kamoe meu - jak u keudè.
 we^{ex} lp^{ex} go to market
 'We're going to the market.'

- (3) (a) Ayah galak - geuh moto nyoe.
 father like 3^O car this
 'Father likes this car.'

- (b) Gopnyan galak - geuh moto nyoe.
 he^O like 3^O car this
 'He likes this car.'

- (4) Kah sakét - keuh.
 you^Y sick 2^Y
 'You're sick.'

¹⁸A child's name in a sentence is always preceded by *si*. For details see Asyik (1972: 65-7).

- (5) Kayèe nyoe ji - koh lé jih
 wood this 3^y cut by he^y
*'This wood was cut by him.'*¹⁹

The above sentences show the use of pronominal prefixes and suffixes as agreement markers. In (1a) and (1b) *ji-* '3^y' agrees with the subjects *si Ali* and *jih* 'he^y'. In (2) *meu-* '1p^{ex}' agrees with *kamoe* 'we^{ex}'. In (3a) and (3b) *-geuh* '3^o' agrees with *ayah* 'father' and *gopnyan* 'he^o'. In (4) *-neuh* '2^y' agrees with *kah* 'you^y'. Finally, in the passive sentence (5) *ji-* '3^y' agrees with the agent *jih* 'he^y'. Note that the agent is always preceded by *lé* 'by'. Another thing these sentences show is that the verbs do not all take the same AM (agreement marker). The verbs *koh* 'to cut' and *jak* 'to go' take prefixes (hereafter pfx) whereas the verb *galak* 'to like' take a suffix (hereafter sfx), in this respect behaving like the adjective *sakét* 'to be sick', which also takes the sfx AM.

For the purposes of this paper I shall distinguish three kinds of Vs. Under V1 are included verbs like *koh* and *jak*; under V2 are included verbs like *galak*; and under V3 are included adjectives like *sakét*. It is fairly easy to recognize Vs of the V3 type, because they are all adjectives; it is not so easy to distinguish Vs of type V1 from those of type V2. Vs of type V1 include [+ erg] Vs; the problem is that there are [- erg] Vs belonging to the same type. The latter are verbs of perception ('to see', 'to hear', etc.) and some verbs denoting mental activities ('to know', 'to think', etc.). Hence Vs of type V1 may be said to comprise [+ erg] Vs plus those [- erg] verbs which designate sensory and certain mental activities. All of these [- erg] Vs must be listed. All other [- erg] Vs belong to V2.

Agreement in the case of V1 verbs is consistent in the sense that it obeys a set of rules, while that in the case of V2 and V3 verbs is not. Certain V2 and V3 verbs have optional AMs, while certain others have none at all. This is the case with V2 verbs that do not have an object, and with V3 verbs in general. On the other hand, V2 verbs which do have an object behave consistently.

The following are representative lists of Vs of each type:

1. V1:

koh 'to cut'

buka 'to open'

jak 'to go'

duek 'to sit'

¹⁹The Acehnese verb having no tenses, the data can be translated into the present or past.

peugot 'to make, fix'

poh 'to beat'

kalon 'to see'

pula 'to plant'

tupeue 'to know'

pajōh 'to eat'

2. *V2 with object:*

galak 'to like'

luwat 'to dislike, loathe'

meuh'eut 'to desire'

ék 'to hunger for, want'

banci 'to hate'

meucén 'to long for'

hawa 'to crave'

weueh 'to feel moved'

3. *V2 without object:*

reubah 'to fall, topple'

rhet 'to drop'

talo 'to lose'

meunang 'to win'

teugantoh 'to stumble'

patah 'to break'

4. *V3:*

sakét 'to be sick'

hèk 'to be tired'

seunang 'to be happy'

susah 'to be unhappy'

deuek 'to be hungry'

troe 'to be sated'

2. SENTENCES AND AGREEMENT MARKERS

Since agreement cannot be divorced from sentences, it is essential for the reader to know something of the latter. The basic sentence structure is SV(0) when the predicate contains a V; otherwise it is SNom. We are concerned here only with sentences of the SV(0) type. All of the sentences given earlier are of this type, and in each of these the subjects precede the V. It needs to be pointed out, however, that this is not always the case: variations occurs, and for these the AM is largely responsible. Specifically, the occurrence of an AM with the V makes it possible to begin a sentence with the V and place the subject after the V or to delete the subject altogether.

(6) (a) Ayah ka geu - jak

father (perf) 3^o go

'Father has gone.'

(b) Ka geu - jak Ayah

(perf) 3^o go father

'Father has gone.'

- (c) Ka geu - jak²⁰
 (perf) 3⁰ go
'He has gone'.

When subject backgrounding is done in a sentence containing an object or prepositional phrase, the subject is placed after that object or prepositional phrase:

- (7) Galak - jih keu mie aneuk nyan
 like 3^Y for cat child that
 'That child (boy) likes cats.'

- (8) Ka geu - jak u kanto Ayah
 (perf) 3⁰ go to office father
 'Father's gone to the office.'

- (9) (a) Geu - hei Ayah ureueng nyan
 3⁰ call father man that
 'That man is calling Father.'

- (b) Geu - hei ureueng nyan Ayah
 3⁰ call man that father
 'Father's calling that man.'

Unless we know the sentence pattern there is no way of knowing which of the two NPs in (9a) and (9b) is the subject: the AM is *geu-* whether the subject is *Ayah* or *ureueng nyan*.

This pattern does not apply in all cases, however. For if it is marked as such the first NP may be the subject of the sentence. The subject marker is *di*, placed before the subject; its function is to contrast the subject with other NPs in the sentence.

- (c) Geu - hei di Ayah ureueng nyan
 3⁰ call SM father man that
 *'Father is calling that man.'*²¹

²⁰When the subject is deleted any V must have an AM.

²¹The implication is that we would not do that.

When the subject marker is used, the subject can in fact travel along the sentence and sit wherever the speaker likes. This is illustrated by the series of sentences below. The movement of the subject not altering the basic meaning of the sentence, only the first example is glossed:

- (10) (a) Di Ayah ka rap h'an jadèh geu - pula
 SM father (perf) almost not take-place 3^o plant
 kayee nyan di lampōh baroe
 tree that in garden yesterday

'Father was about to cancel his intention to plant that tree in the garden yesterday.'

- (b) Ka di Ayah rap h'an jadèh geu-pula kayèe nyan di lampōh baroe.

- (c) Ka rap di Ayah h'an jadèh geu-pula kayèe nyan di lampōh baroe.

- (d) Ka rap h'an jadèh di Ayah geu-pula kayèe nyan di lampōh baroe.

- (e) Ka rap h'an jadèh geu-pula di Ayah kayèe nyan di lampōh baroe.

- (f) Ka rap h'an jadèh geu-pula kayèe nyan di Ayah di lampōh baroe.

- (g) Ka rap h'an jadèh geu-pula kayèe nyan di lampōh di Ayah baroe.

- (h) Ka rap h'an jadèh geu-pula kayèe nyan di lampōh baroe di Ayah.

The deletion of the subject of a sentence, seen in (6c), is very common when the subject/doer is already known. The most commonly deleted subjects are those of the first and second persons. Third-person subjects are deleted only after first being introduced into the conversation. They will be introduced again if another subject/doer taking the same AM intervenes. The following scrap of conversation between a wife and husband illustrates sentences without subjects except in the first instance:

- Wife: (a) Apa geu - tamong keunoe bunoe.
 uncle 3⁰ enter to here before now
'This morning Uncle dropped by.'
- (b) Lōn-yue piyōh - geuh, geu-peugah hana peue.
 1^s ask sit-down 3⁰ 3⁰ say not what
'I asked him to come in and sit down, but he said, "Never mind".'
- (c) Lheueh geu-dong-dong siat geu - beudoh geu -
 after 3⁰ stand rep moment 3⁰ get-up 3⁰
 woe laju.
 go-home soon
'After standing here for a while, he left and went home.'

- Husband: (d) Peue na geu - peugah?
 what there-is 3⁰ say
'What did he tell you?'
- (e) Kadang cit golom geu - pajōh bu.
 perhaps emph not-yet 3⁰ eat rice
'Maybe he hadn't had his lunch yet.'
- (f) Atawa peue lagèe-lagèe meukarat - geuh?
 or what like rep in-a-hurry 3⁰
'Or was he in a hurry?'

This is the normal way of speaking. The conversation would have sounded unnatural had the speakers kept repeating the subject once it had been introduced.

We have seen that the AM plays an important role in bringing about variations in the basic sentence structure. This is not without consequences for the AM itself. In a sentence that has lost its subject the AM is often replaced by a full pronoun or by a noun (or NP). The process is on this order:

- (11) (a) Kamoe meu - duek siat.
 we 1p^{ex} sit a-moment

'We're sitting for a while.'

- (b) Meu - duek siat.
 1p^{ex} sit a-moment

'We're sitting for a while.'

- (c) Kamoe duek siat.
 we sit a-moment

'We're sitting for a while.'

The replacement of the AM by a pronoun or NP is performed when the speaker wishes to emphasize the performer, which now represents the AM, and when use of a full sentence would not be appropriate. This is how sentences like the following are generated:

- (12) Aneuk nyan koh kayèe nyoe.
 child that cut wood this
'The wood was cut by the boy.'

- (13) Talo aneuk-miet nyoe.
 lose children this
'The children were lost.'

Like the *kamoe* 'we^{ex}' in (11c), *aneuk nyan* 'the boy' in (12) and *aneuk-miet nyoe* 'the children' in (13) replace pfx *ji-* '3Y' and sfx *-jih* '3p^y' respectively. Neither the one nor the other is in the slot of the subject or agent; hence neither is the subject or agent. They are AM substitutes. For this reason they are the AMs in the two sentences. That this is so is supported by the following facts. In the first place, the relation between these words and their Vs is so tight that no other words or elements can intervene. In the second place, together with the Vs they are uttered with the same intonation and speed as a V with an AM and not with the intonation of Subject + Predicate. In these latter positions words lean upon the V, and function as proclitics or enclitics.

What we have just seen is that the substitution of a noun or pronoun for the AM pfx or sfx takes place after the subject of the sentence has been deleted. This means that we cannot have a sentence with (1) a subject and (2) a full-pronoun or NP AM at the same time. This is true with one exception: in an active sentence with a V1 the AM may be replaced by a first-person pronoun subject or by a noun subject equivalent to 'you':

(14) Kamoe kamoe jak dilèe.
 we^{ex} [we^{ex}] AM go now
'We're going now.'

(15) Ayah Ayah duek hinan.
 you father [you father] AM sit there
'You sit there, please, Father.'

(16) Teungku²² Teungku langkah keunoe.
 you teungku [you teungku] AM step to-here
'Please come over here, Teungku.'

(17) *Aneuk nyan aneuk nyan duek hinan.
 child that [child that] AM sit there

(18) *Gopnyan gopnyan duek hinan.
 he^o [he^o] AM sit there

We this background we are now prepared to concentrate on agreement and to discuss it in various environments. These include simple, compound and complex sentences as well as focus sentences.

3. AGREEMENT IN SIMPLE SENTENCES

Most of the sentences that we have examined so far have been simple sentences. The Vs in these are always in agreement with their subjects or doers. Most of them have had only one subject + a V, while some have also had an object. Except in one or two sentences, there has been nothing intervening between the subject and the V. We now propose to test whether agreement is affected or not if such a word as *kayém* 'often' is inserted into the sentence:

(19) (a) Ayah geu - jak u keudè.
 father 3^o go to market
'Father went to the market.'

²²*Teungku* is a title for a religious person or teacher. It is also used as a title of respect for laymen, though teachers and office workers prefer the Indonesian *bapak* 'sir, Mr.'

(b) Ayah kayém geu - jak u keudè.
 father often 3⁰ go to market
'Father often goes to the market.'

(c) *Ayah kayém jak u keudè.
 father often go to market

(20) (a) Jih galak - jih nyan.
 he^Y like 3^Y that
'He likes that.'

(b) Jih kayém galak - jih nyan.
 he^Y often like 3^Y that
'He often likes that.'

(c) *Jih kayém galak nyan.
 he^Y often like that

(21) (a) Ureueng nyan saket - geuh.
 man that sick 3⁰
'That man is sick.'

(b) Ureueng nyan kayém saket - geuh.
 man that often sick 3⁰
'That man is often sick.'^{2 3}

(c) Ureueng nyan kayém saket.
 man that often sick
'That man is often sick.'^{2 3}

These sentences show that insertion of *kayém* 'often' does not affect agreement. It is not grammatically permissible to delete the AM when this word is used, except when V is *sakét*. This, however, has nothing to do with the insertion of *kayém*, for it is a characteristic of most V3s that they do not always require an AM. Thus with or without the presence of *kayém* the AM can be removed from (21c):

^{2 2}Or "...often gets sick."

(d) Ureueng nyan sakét.

man that sick

'That man is sick.'

Other words that can be inserted into sentences in the same manner as *kayém* are:

- Adverbs of frequency, such as *biasa* 'habitually', *hantom* 'never', *jareueng* 'seldom', and *sabé* 'always';
- Adverbs of manner, such as *tajam* 'quickly, soon', *meulèk* 'slowly', *meukarat* 'in a hurry', and *beurangkaho* 'carelessly';
- Negative adverbs/particles, such as *h'an* 'not', *kon* 'not (usually with noun)', *hana* 'there is no/not', *golom* or *gohlom* 'not yet', and *bèk* 'don't';
- Modal words, such as *jeuet* 'can, may', *bakai* 'will, inevitable', *meusti* 'must', and *teuntèe* 'will, must';
- Aspect words, such as perfective *ka* 'already' and continuative *teungoh* 'in progress, (in the) middle';
- The optative marker *beu* 'I hope'.²³
- The word indicating decision: *jadèh* 'have decided'.

All these forms occupy a position before the V with which they occur:²⁴

(22) Nyan teuntèe hék - jih that.

that must tired 3^Y very

'He must be very tired.'

(23) Jeuem - lōn ka maté - jih.

watch 1s (perf) die 3th

'My watch has stopped.'

(24) Beu ka - meurumpok ngon ureueng nyan.

(opt) 2^Y meet with man that

'I do hope that you meet the man.'

²³Cf. *bak*, occurring in the vicinity of Banda Aceh.

²⁴In Montasik, a subdialect of Greater Aceh, *jadèh* comes after the V.

We shall now consider how agreement works in the following types of sentence: simple active indicative statements, passive sentences, negative sentences, questions, and imperatives.

3.1. *Active indicative statements.*

Nearly all of the illustrative sentences given above have been simple statements; hence these have already been described in full. In statements Vs normally agree with their subjects or doers.

3.2. *Passive sentences.*

Passive sentences are formed with transitive verbs of type V1. The passive may also be formed with V2 verbs of the first group, but in this case the verb is treated as V1 — with the exception of *ek* 'to hunger, want'. Verbs of this class are also found in active sentences treated as V1.

Passive sentences are formed by transposing the object of the active sentence to the subject position and shifting the subject to a position after the verb. The latter undergoes no change: it keeps the same AM as before, since it continues to agree with the former subject, which is now the agent.

(25) (a) Apa geu - koh kayèe nyan.

uncle 3^O cut wood that

'Uncle cut the wood.'

(b) Kayèe nyan geu - koh lé Apa.

wood that 3^O cut by uncle

'The wood was cut by Uncle.'

(c) *Kayèe nyan ji - koh lé Apa.

wood that 3^Y cut by uncle

(26) (a) Kah got that galak - keuh keu buku nyan.

you^Y good very like 2^Y at book that

'You like the book very much.'

(b) Buku nyan got that galak - keuh lé kah.

book that good very like 2^Y by you

'The book is very much liked by you.'

(27) (a) Kah got that ka - galak keu buku nyan.

you good very 2^Y like at book that

'You like the book very much.'

- (b) Buku nyan got that ka - galak lé kah.
 book that good very 2^y like by you
'The book is very much liked by you.'

I find it difficult to give a satisfactory explanation of the circumstances under which V2 verbs are used as V1 verbs. As a native speaker I have the feeling that when the verb *galak* 'to like', for instance, is used with the sfx AM the subject is the experiencer, but when it is used with the pfx AM the subject is the doer — in the sense that he makes a conscious effort to have the feeling denoted by the verb. Thus sentence (26a) makes a neutral statement to the effect that the subject likes the book because the book interests him, whereas (27a) implies that the subject makes a conscious effort to like the book. The latter sentence may be taken as an indication of approval or disapproval of the subject's effort to like it, depending on the context. In any case, it is not a neutral statement. Verbs of type V2 are hence not used as V1s unless the speaker wishes to introduce this connotation.

It may be useful to note that prohibitions and denials are frequently couched in this form:

- (28) (a) Bèk galak - keuh nyan. [weak]
 don't like 2^y that
'Please don't like that.'
- (b) Bèk ka - galak nyan. [stronger]
 don't 2^y like that
'Don't (make an effort to) like that.'

Note also that when someone is accused of hating a cat he will typically deny doing so by saying

- (29) (a) Hana lōn - banci keu mie nyan.
 not ls hate at cat that
'I don't (make an effort to) hate the cat.'

but when he is making a neutral statement he will say

- (b) Hana banci - lōn keu mie nyan.
 not hate ls at cat that

'I don't hate the cat.'

3.3. Negative sentences.

The negative sentence is formed from an affirmative by inserting a negative adverb before the V. It has been stated earlier in this section that the insertion of a negative adverb into a sentence does not affect agreement. This is illustrated by the following:

- (30) Han meunang - keuh ngon jih.
 not win 2^Y with he^Y
'You cannot win (when you play) with him.'
- (31) Hana hək - keuh?
 not tired 2^Y
'Aren't you tired?'

3.4. Questions.

Both in yes/no questions and in those with interrogative words which are not the sentence subject, the V agrees with the subject or doer:

- (32) (a) Peue Ayah geu - pula kayèe?²⁵
 what father 3^O plant tree
'Is Father planting the tree?'
- (b) Peue kayèe nyoe geu - pula lé Ayah?²⁵
 what tree this 3^O plant by father
- (33) Na luwat - keuh keu leuhop?
 there-is loathe 2^Y at mud
'Do you loathe mud?'
- (34) Toh galak kah?
 which like [you^Y] AM
'Which one do you like?'

²⁵Peue 'what?' in these sentences does not function as a question marker. It is an attention-getter in a yes/no question.

- (35) (a) Ureueng nyan geu-bri peue keu kah?
 man that 3^O give what to you
'What did the man give you?'
- (b) Peue geu - bri keu kah lé ureueng nyan?
 what 3^O give to you by man that
'What was given to you by the man?'

Toh 'which' in (34) is a question-word but is not the subject of the sentence. Peue 'what' in (35b) is also a question-word and at the same time is the subject of the sentence. The sentence, however, is passive, and the V consequently has an AM agreeing with the agent.

When question-words are the subject, the rules of agreement for Vls differ from those for V2s and V3s. In this case Vls never take an AM. As for V2s and V3s, they normally do not take an AM either, though sometimes they do, specifically, when the speaker addresses questions to a group of people older than himself:

- (36) (a) Soe buka pintō nyan?
 who open door that
'Who opened that door?'
- (b) *Soe ji - buka pintō nyan?
 who 3^Y open door that
- (37) (a) Peue pajōh bu nyoe?
 what eat rice this
'What has eaten this rice?'
- (b) *Peue ji - pajōh bu nyoe?
 what 3^Y eat rice this
- (38) (a) Soe sakét?
 who sick
'Who is sick?'
- (b) Soe sakét - jih?
 who sick 3^Y
'Who is sick?'

- (39) (a) Soe galak rukok nyoe?
 who like cigarette this
'Who likes these cigarettes?'
- (b) Soe galak - geuh rukok nyoe?
 who like 3⁰ cigarette this
'Who likes these cigarettes?'

3.5. Imperatives.

In imperative sentences verbs of type V1 again differ from V2s and V3s. They differ both in formation and in agreement. While V1s can be used without modification to express the imperative, V2s and V3s must be attended by the optative word *beu* 'I hope'. In the imperative it is the V2s of list 2 that are consistent in agreement: they never drop the AM. Other Vs normally take an AM, too, but in an abrupt command the AM is dropped. Needless to say, commands of this type are rude when addressed to older persons.

- (40) (a) Buka pintō.
 open door
'Open the door.'
- (b) Neu - buka pintō.
 2⁰ open door
'Open the door.'
- (41) (a) Beu meunang.
 (opt) win
'(May you) win (the game).'
- (b) Beu meunang - keuh
 (opt) win 2^Y
'(May you) win (the game).'
- (42) (a) Beu luwat - keuh keu leuhop.
 (opt) loathe 2^Y at mud
'(I hope you) loathe mud.'
- (b) *Beu luwat keu leuhop
 (opt) loathe at mud

- (43) (a) Beu jeumot - keuh.
 (opt) diligent 2^Y
'Please be diligent.'

- (b) Beu jeumot.
 (opt) diligent
'Be diligent.'

Expressions with *beu* are also found with stative adjectives. Unlike the imperative sentences above, which can elicit an affirmative or negative response, these expressions cannot be so answered. No response is expected, because they are not imperatives; they are expressions of hope.

- (44) Beu panyang - keuh.
 (opt) tall 2^Y
'I hope you'll grow taller.'

To soften the force of imperatives and make them polite the words *tulōng* 'to help', *bantu* 'to help', *ci* 'to try', and *cuba* 'to try' are used at the head of imperative sentences. These four words can only be used in imperatives with Vls; they are, in fact, Vls themselves, which is why AMs are sometimes attached to them. Note, moreover, that they are not translated as they have been glossed, but are more or less equivalent to English 'please'. The first two words, *tulōng* and *bantu*, cannot be used when the action is for the subject's benefit.

- (45) (a) Tulōng neu - buka pintō.
 help 2^O open door
'Please open the door.'
- (b) Neu - tulōng buka pintō.
 3^O help open door
'Please open the door.'

To form a negative imperative or prohibition, the negative word *bèk* 'don't' is inserted before the V. When this is used with V2 or V3 imperatives, the word *beu* is deleted.

- (46) (a) Bèk neu - buka pintō nyan.
 don't 2^O open door that
'Don't open that door.'

- (b) Tulōng bèk neu - buka pintō nyan.
 help don't 2⁰ open door that
'Please don't open that door.'
- (c) *Bèk tulōng neu - buka pintō nyan.²⁶
 don't help 2⁰ open door that
- (47) (a) Bèk beuo - keuh.
 don't lazy 2^Y
'Don't be lazy.'
- (b) *Bèk beu beuo - keuh.
 don't (opt) lazy 2^Y

4. AGREEMENT IN COMPOUND SENTENCES

Agreement in compound sentences is the same as that in simple sentences. The sole variation is seen in sentences with a conjoined NP subject. Normally the V agrees with the subject as a whole, but sometimes it agrees with the first NP in the subject. This happens when the first NP is emphasized.

- (48) Jih kon hək - jih, tapi beuo - jih.
 he not tired 3^Y but lazy 3^Y
'He's not tired, but he's lazy.'
- (49) (a) Lōn ngon adék meu - jak bak sikula.
 I and little-brother lp^{ex} go to school
'My little brother and I are going to school.'
- (b) Lōn ngon adék lōn-jak bak sikula.
 I and little-brother 1^S go to school
'My little brother and I are going to school.'
- (c) *Lōn ngon adék ji-jak bak sikula.
 I and little-brother 3^Y go to school
- (d) Adék ngon lōn ji-jak bak sikula.
 little-brother and I 3^Y go to school

²⁶Bèk cannot be separated from the V.

'My little brother and I are going to school.'

5. AGREEMENT IN COMPLEX SENTENCES

In this section we shall examine agreement in relative clauses, complements, embedded questions, and other embedded sentences.

5.1. *Relative clauses.*

A relative clause is introduced by the relative pronoun *nyang* 'who, which', placed after the head noun or NP. In a relative clause with a V1 the word *soe* 'who' can sometimes be used as a relative pronoun. There is no change in the agreement in the matrix S, but agreement in the relative clause works differently. When the V of the relative clause is a V1, it does not have any AM except when the clause is in the passive. When the V of the relative clause is a V2 or V3 it normally does not take an AM either, but the clause is not ungrammatical if the V does have an AM. This happens when the doer is important or respected by the speaker.

(50) (a) Aneuk-miet nyang duek jéh golom ji-pajōh bu.

child who sit that not-yet 3^Y eat rice

'The child who is sitting over there has not had his meal yet.'

(b) *Aneuk-miet nyang ji-duek jéh golom ji-pajōh bu.

child who 3^Y sit that not-yet 3^Y eat rice

(51) (a) Aneuk-miet nyang geu-bri bu lé Ma ji - duek

child who 3^O give rice by mother 3^Y sit

jéh pat.

there

'The child who was given some rice by Mother is sitting there.'

(b) *Aneuk-miet nyang bri bu lé Ma ji - duek

child who give rice by mother 3^Y sit

jéh pat.

there

(52) (a) Aneuk-miet nyang luwat keu leuhop h'an ék-jih bu.
 child who loathe at mud not want^{3Y} rice
'The child who loathes mud does not want rice.'

(b) Aneuk-miet nyang luwat-jih keu leuhop h'an ék-jih bu.
 child who loathe^{3Y} at mud not want^{3Y} rice
'The child who loathes mud does not want rice.'

(53) (a) Teungku-Teungku nyang meuh'eut keu kupi neu-langkah
 teungkus who want for coffee 2⁰ step

keunoe.²⁷

hither

'You Teungkus who want some coffee, please come here.'

(b) Teungku-Teungku nyang meuh'eut-neuh keu kupi neu-
 teungkus who want 2⁰ for coffee 2⁰

langkah keunoe.

step hither

'You Teungkus who want some coffee please come here.'

Note that the relative pronoun *nyang* can always be deleted. Even the head noun can be deleted, though when this is done the relative pronoun should be kept in the clause:

(54) (a) Ureueng nyang talō baroe sakét - geuh.
 man who lose yesterday sick 3⁰
'The man who lost (was defeated) yesterday is sick.'

(b) Ureueng talō baroe sakét - geuh.
 man lose yesterday sick 3⁰
'The man who lost yesterday is sick.'

(c) Nyang talō baroe sakét - geuh.
 who lose yesterday sick 3⁰
'The man who lost yesterday is sick.'

²⁷Such an utterance sounds rude.

- (d) *Talō baroe saket - geuh.
lose yesterday sick 3^o

5.2. Complements.

As far as agreement is concerned, Vls and the other two groups of Vs behave differently in complements. We shall first examine complements with Vls.

In a construction where Equi takes place, agreement in the complement is determined by the types of Vs on the higher level. When the V is *jak* 'to go, make a move, make an attempt' or *neuk* 'to want', the verb of the complement does not take an AM:

- (55) (a) Bèk ka - jak piké nyan.
don't 2^y go think that
'Don't occupy yourself with that thought.'
- (b) *Bèk ka - jak ka - piké nyan.
don't 2^y go 2^y think that

There are many constructions with *jak* in the pattern AM_i-*jak* + AM_i-Vl. However, such constructions do not contain a complement but are compound sentences on the order of *ji-jak ji-cok* 'he went and took', which is different from a construction involving a complement such as *ji-jak cok* 'he went to take.'

In contrast with what has just been said, when the V on the higher level is one like *niet* 'to intend, plan' agreement should be present in the complement:

- (56) (a) Lōn - niet lōn - koh kayee nyan uroe nyoe.
ls intend ls cut wood that day this
'I intend to cut the wood today.'
- (b) *Lōn - niet koh kayee nyan uroe nyoe.
ls intend cut wood that day this

When the V of the matrix S is one of those listed below, the V of the complement normally does not take an AM. However, the sentence is still grammatical if it does. Some Vs of this subclass are:

<i>cuba</i> 'to try'	<i>puphōn</i> 'to begin'
<i>tulōng</i> 'to help'	<i>puga</i> 'to begin'
<i>usaha</i> 'to make an attempt'	<i>sambōng</i> 'to continue'
<i>meukeusud</i> 'to intend'	<i>piyōh</i> 'to stop'
<i>mulayi</i> 'to begin'	

(57) (a) Kamoe teungoh meu - cuba buka pintō nyoe.

we^{ex} (prog) lp^{ex} try open door this

'We're trying to open this door.'

(b) Kamoe teungoh meu - cuba meu - buka pintō nyoe.

we^{ex} (prog) lp^{ex} try lp^{ex} open door this

'We're trying to open this door.'

The "hope-expressing" word *beu* is sometimes used at the head of a complement. When this is done, the V of the complement will obligatorily agree with this subject. The last five verbs in the above list cannot take *beu* in the complements of the sentences they are in:

(58) (a) Ayah geu - meukeusud beu geu - kalon keudroe-

father 3^o intend (opt) 3^o see self

geuh ureueng nyan.

3^o man that

'Father intends to (be able to) see the man himself.'

(b) *Ayah geu-meukeusud beu kalon keudroe-geuh

father 3^o intend (opt) see self 3^o

ureueng nyan.

man that

The second type of construction to be discussed is that in which the process of Subject-to-Object Raising or Subject Deletion takes place. When the verb of the higher level is *yue* 'to order' the verb of the complement does not agree with the subject. On the other hand, when the verb is *peuidin* 'to allow' the complement verb agrees with the subject:

- (59) (a) Ka lōn - yue jih peugot pintō nyoe. [raising]
(perf) ls order he^Y repair door this
'I've asked him to repair this door.'
- (b) *Ka lōn - yue jih ji - peugot pintō nyoe.
(perf) ls order he^Y 3^Y repair door this
- (c) Ka lōn - yue peugot pintō nyoe. [deletion]
(perf) ls order repair door this
'I've asked someone to repair this door.'
- (d) Jih ka lōn - yue peugot pintō nyoe. [passive]
he^Y (perf) ls order repair door this
'He's been asked by me to repair this door.'
- (60) (a) Hana geu-peuidin droeneuh neu - woe. [raising]
not 3^O allow you^O 2^O go-home
'He doesn't allow you to go home.'
- (b) *Hana geu-peuidin droeneuh woe.
not 3^O allow you^O go-home
- (c) Hana geu-peuidin woe.
not 3^O allow go-home
'He doesn't allow (anybody) to go home.'
- (d) Droeneuh hana geu-peuidin neu - woe. [passive]
you^O not 3^O allow 2^O go-home
'You're not allowed to go home.'

The last V1 construction to be considered in this section is that in which the complementizer *nyang* 'that' can apply. In this type of construction the V of the complement always agrees with the subject:

- (61) (a) Kamoe tupeue nyang jih ka ji-jak éh.
we^{ex} know that he^Y (perf) 3^Y go go-to-bed
'We know that he's gone to bed.'
- (b) *Kamoe tupeue nyang jih ka jak éh.
we^{ex} know that he^Y (perf) go go-to-bed

Rules for V2s and V3s are simpler than those for the V1s above. The V of the complement usually agrees with the subject:

- (62) Adek mulai galak-jih eungkōt.
 little-brother begin like 3^Y fish
'My little brother's starting to like fish.'

In the above sentence the subject is deleted under identity. But the condition of identity is not always necessary. This is possible because the V has the AM which shows who/what the subject is:

- (63) Lōn - prèh talō - jih.
 ls wait lose 3^Y
'I'm waiting for him to lose.'

We can also have sentences such as the following, in which the complement has neither a subject nor an AM on the verb:

- (64) Lōn - prèh talō.
 ls wait lose
'I'm waiting to lose (until I lose).'

This, however, is derived from

Lōn - prèh lōn talō - lōn
 ls wait I lose ls

in which the AM can be deleted.

The subject cannot be deleted in a complement preceded by *nyang* 'that', but it can be deleted following the *nyang*-deletion:

- (65) (a) Yakin-lōn nyang jih pasti meunang-jih.
 sure ls that he^Y must win 3^Y
'I'm sure that he'll win.'
- (b) *Yakin-lōn nyang pasti meunang-jih.
 sure ls that must win 3^Y

- (c) Yakin - lōn pasti meunang - jih.
 sure ls must win 3Y
'I'm sure he'll win.'

5.3. *Embedded questions.*

In embedded questions, save those in which the subject is a question word, the V always agrees with the subject:

- (66) (a) Ayah geu - tanyong pajan ji - koh kayèe nyan.
 father 3⁰ ask when 3Y cut wood that
'Father asked when he had cut the wood.'
- (b) *Ayah geu - tanyong pajan koh kayèe nyan.
 father 3⁰ ask when cut wood that
- (67) (a) Geu - kalon peue na luwat geutanyoe keu leuhop.
 3⁰ see what there-is loathe [we^{inc}] AM at mud
'He's looking (to see) if we loathe the mud.'
- (b) *Geu-kalon peue na luwat keu leuhop.
 3⁰ see what there-is loathe at mud
- (68) Hana lōn-tupeue peue ji-pajōh lé mie.
 not ls know what 3th eat by cat
'I don't know what was eaten by the cat.'

The question word is not always necessary in an embedded question. This is the case when the verb of the matrix S contains the morpheme *tu-* 'to know' and the question word contains the morpheme that is used with *tu-*, as in (68), where the verb is *tupeue* 'to know (what)' (*tu-* + *peue* 'what') while the following question word is again *peue*.²⁸ If the subject of an embedded question is the subject of the matrix S, the question word and AM alike can be deleted — the question word first and then the AM. In this case, however, the meaning changes:

²⁸For a list of the morphemes that occur with *tu-* see Asyik (1972: 104). Exceptions to the rule given above are items 12, 18 and 19 in the list.

- (69) (a) Hana ji-tusoe soe ji-kalon.
 not 3^Y know who 3^Y see
'He didn't know whom he saw.'
- (b) Hana ji-tusoe ji-kalon. [Question word deletion]
 not 3^Y know 3^Y see
'He didn't know whom he saw.'
- (c) Hana ji-tusoe kalon. [AM deletion]
 not 3^Y know see
 - *'He didn't know {who saw (it).'
 who was looking (here).'*
 - *'He didn't know whom to see.'*
 - *'He had nobody to see.'*

Sentence (a) can also, in fact, have the second meaning given under (c). In order to have only this second meaning, the word *meusti* 'must' is inserted before the verb of the embedded sentence:

- (d) Hana ji-tusoe meusti ji-kalon.
 not 3^Y know must 3^Y see
'He didn't know whom (which person) to see.'

When the question word is the subject of the embedded question, the V of the embedded question does not normally take an AM. V2s and V3s do not obey this rule strictly:

- (70) (a) Ci ka-deungo soe klik.
 try 2^Y hear who cry
'Please listen (to see) who is crying.'
- (b) Ci ka-deungo soe ji-klik.
 try 2^Y hear who 3^Y cry
'Please listen (to see) who is crying.'

5.4. Other embedded sentences.

Some embedded sentences are found under the Adverb node. The Vs in such embedded sentences always agree with their subjects. If the subject of the embedded sentence is identical with that of the matrix S, it is always deleted:

- (71) Si¹⁸ Ali hana ji-pajōh bu sabab teungoh beungèh-jih
 - Ali not 3^Y eat rice because (cont) angry 3^Y
 keu mie.
 at cat

'Ali does not (want to) eat because he is still angry at the cat.'

- (72) Yōh ban trōk - lōn, jih mantong hēk jih.
 when just arrive 1s he^Y still tired 3^Y
'When I arrived, he was still tired.'

Another type of embedded sentence is one such as the following:

- (73) Peukara jih h'an ji-tém jak hana beungèh-lōn.
 matter he^Y not 3^Y want go not angry 1s
'That he doesn't want to go doesn't make me angry.'

This is a sentence in which the subject NP consists of an NP and an S. The V of the embedded sentence always agrees with the subject.

6. AGREEMENT IN FOCUS SENTENCES

In focus sentences the relative pronoun *nyang* 'who, which' is used to introduce a clause following the topicalized noun or NP. Within the *nyang* clause the rules for agreement are similar to those that apply to relative clauses: the V generally does not show agreement with the subject. In a clause with a V2 or a V3, however, we sometimes find agreement. The topicalized noun or unit is always stressed, and when the unit consists of more than one word it is usually the last word that is stressed.

- (74) (a) Aneuk nyoe nyang koh kayèe nyan.
 child this who cut wood that
'It is this boy who cut that tree/wood.'
- (b) *Aneuk nyoe nyang ji-koh kayèe nyan.
 child this who 3^Y cut wood that

- (75) (a) Mie nyang ék tikōh.
 cat which want mouse
'It is a cat that wants (to eat) a mouse.'
- (b) Mie nyang ék - jih tikōh.
 cat which want 3th mouse
'It is a cat that wants (to eat) a mouse.'

When the topicalized NP is the object, the V must have an AM — because the clause is in the passive form. *Nyang* in the clause can always be deleted, but the topicalized NP cannot:

- (76) (a) Tikōh nyang ji - pajōh lé mie.
 mouse which 3th eat by cat
'It's a mouse that the cat's eating.'
- (b) Tikōh ji - pajōh lé mie.
 mouse 3th eat by cat
'It's a mouse that the cat's eating.'
- (c) *Nyang ji - pajōh lé mie.
 which 3th eat by cat

Since the V in a sentence has an AM, it is also possible to topicalize the V. When this is done *nyang* is not used, because the V is not followed by a clause:

- (77) Ji - poh mie nyan di blang baroe.
 3^Y beat cat that in ricefield yesterday
'Somebody beat the cat in the field yesterday.'

Other elements in the sentence can also be topicalized and become the focus. When an adverb of place or time is topicalized, *nyang* is usually not needed. If *nyang* is used, the meaning is slightly altered to imply a contrast between the action occurring at the place or time specified and what may or may not occur at some other place or time:

- (78) (a) Di blang ji - poh mie nyan.
 in ricefield 3^Y beat cat that
'It's in the field that somebody beat the cat.'

(b) Di blang nyang ji - poh mie nyan.

in ricefield which 3rd beat cat that

'It was in the field that the cat was beaten (but here at home it's not beaten).'

7. CONCLUSION

Agreement in Acehnese is found both with verbs and with adjectives. It is marked by pronominal affixes or by pronouns or nouns substituting as affixes. It is found only in sentences in which the subject is the doer; this means that the subject must either be animate or be an inanimate object performing the action.

Adjectives and certain verbs that do not take an object are very inconsistent in showing agreement with their subjects. As far as agreement goes, such verbs and adjectives are very similar.

The present paper describes only the main features of Acehnese agreement. The system is so complicated that many problems have not been treated. Much further study is necessary before the system can be described in full.

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