

Two types of anticausatives in Acehnese

This paper presents new data and a syntactic analysis of the two types of anticausatives in Acehnese: unmarked anticausatives (1a) and marked anticausatives (1b). Unlike unmarked anticausatives, marked anticausatives have a special morphology, *i.e.*, the prefixation of *teu-* on top of overt/covert causative morphology (an overt Caus morpheme *peu-* in this example), which implies two different syntactic structures as proposed in Alexiadou et al. 2006. Provided the two types of anticausatives are structurally different, we predict that they will behave syntactically differently, still maintaining the overall difference between anticausatives and passives. I show that marked anticausatives behave differently from unmarked anticausatives as well as from passives in several respects; it reveals the presence of Caus component and the lack of Agentiveness in marked anticausatives, providing further empirical evidence of splitting VoiceP and *v*P in anticausative structure (Alexiadou et al. 2006).

Several tests reveal the syntactic difference among passives, unmarked anticausatives, and marked anticausatives. First, modification by *by*-phrase (*lé*+DP): although both unmarked and marked anticausatives, unlike passives, cannot be modified by *lé*-phrase in general, marked anticausatives allow a *lé*-phrase with a special meaning of *accidental actions* or *involuntary events/states* (Durie 1985), (2). Similarly, inanimate cause of the event can be expressed by *lé*-phrase in marked anticausatives, (3). Second, adverbial modification: passives but anticausatives can be modified by agent-oriented adverbs such as *meu-teugoh-teugoh* ‘cautiously,’ (4); marked and unmarked anticausatives behave the same in this respect. However, in case of *singaja* ‘on purpose,’ marked anticausatives allow the modification with a special meaning of ‘collective will,’ (5); this special reading disappears in combination of *singaja* and a *lé*-phrase. Third, *keu droe(-jih)* ‘by itself’: it can be present in unmarked anticausatives and (only marginally) in marked anticausatives, but cannot appear in passives, (6). Fourth, *supaya* ‘so that’ construction: marked anticausatives pattern together with passives, not with unmarked anticausatives. Fifth, unintentional/non-volitional actions can be expressed in marked anticausatives without changing the valency, (8); note the structural parallelism between marked anticausatives and passives.

The above data tell us that marked anticausatives lack explicit/implicit Agent argument, but license unintentional/non-volitional causers and causing events, arguing for distinct functional heads for agentivity and causation: VoiceP and *v*P (Alexiadou et al. 2006, Harley 2007). I analyze the anticausative morpheme *teu-* as an overt realization of Voice head marked with [-agent] feature which takes as complement an event-introducing Caus *v*P (cf. Pylkkänen 2000). This VoiceP analysis provides a non-volitional/unintentional Causer argument with a position to merge: for example, *lôn* ‘I’ in (8a) is analyzed to be base-generated in Spec/*v*P then move to higher position such as topic/subject. This analysis also captures the parallelism and the complementary distribution between the anticausative morpheme *teu-* and the ‘Agent agreement’ marker *geu-* (cf. Legate 2008, Lawler 1977).

SELECTED REFERENCES Alexiadou, A. et al. 2006. The properties of anticausatives crosslinguistically. *Phases of Interpretation*. Embick, D., 2004. On the Structure of Resultative Participles in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 35:3. Durie, M., 1985. *A Grammar of Acehnese*. Harley, H., 2007. Applicatives, causatives, and the Mirror Principle: *v*P-external subjects and Voice. Handout presented at Cornell. Lawler, J. M., 1977. A agrees with B in Achenese: a problem for Relational Grammar. In Cole & Saddock (eds.), *Grammatical Relations*. Legate, J., 2008. Passive Agreement in Acehnese. Handout presented at NELS 39. Pylkkänen, L., 2000. Representing Causatives. In Jackson, B. and T. Matthews (eds.), *Proceedings of SALT 10*.

- (1) a. Peurahô nyan ngop.
boat Dem sink
'The boat sinks/sank.'
- b. Peurahô nyan teu-peu-ngop.
boat Dem Acaus-Caus-sink
'The boat is/was sunk.'
- (2) a. Peurahô nyan geu-peu-ngop lé Hasan. ✓ *passive*
boat Dem 3Pol-Caus-sink by H
'The boat was sunk by Hasan.'
- b. *Peurahô nyan ngop lé Hasan. **unmarked anticausative*
boat Dem sink by H
'*The boat sank by Hasan.'
- c. Peurahô nyan teu-peu-ngop lé Hasan. ✓ *marked anticaus* with special meaning
boat Dem Acaus-Caus-sink by H
'The boat was sunk by Hasan (*unintentionally/non-volitionally*).'
- (3) a. Pintô nyan teu-buka lé angen. b. Hasan teu-peu-moe lé filom nyan.
door Dem Acaus-open by wind H Acaus-Cau-cry by film Dem
'The door has been opened by the wind.' 'Hasan has been made to cry by the movie.'
- (4) a. Peurahô nyan geu-peu-ngop {bacut-bacut / meu-teugoh-teugoh.} *passive*
'The boat was sunk slowly / cautiously.'
- b. Peurahô nyan ngop {bacut-bacut / *meu-teugoh-teugoh.} *unmarked anticaus*
'The boat sank slowly / *cautiously.'
- c. Peurahô nyan teu-peu-ngop {bacut-bacut / *meu-teugoh-teugoh.} *marked anticaus*
'The boat was sunk slowly / *cautiously.'
- (5) a. Peurahô nyan singaja geu-peu-ngop. ✓ *passive*
'The boat was sunk on purpose (by Hasan).'
- b. *Peurahô nyan singaja ngop. **unmarked anticausative*
'*The boat sank on purpose.'
- c. Peurahô nyan singaja teu-peu-ngop. ✓ *marked anticaus* with special meaning
'The boat was sunk on purpose (e.g., following the collective will of the people).'
- cf. *Peurahô nyan singaja teu-peu-ngop lé Hasan
'The boat was sunk by Hasan on purpose.'
- (6) a. *Peurahô nyan geu-peu-ngop keudroe(-jih) **passive*
'*The boat was sunk by itself.'
- b. Peurahô nyan ngop keudroe(-jih) ✓ *unmarked anticausative*
'The boat sank by itself.'
- c. ??Peurahô nyan teu-peu-ngop keudroe(-jih) ?? *marked anticausative*
'*The boat was sunk by itself.'
- (7) a. Mandum peurahô nyan geu-peu-ngop supaya ureueng hana geu-tinggai pulo nyan.
all boat Det 3Pol-Caus-sink so-that people Neg 3Pol-leave islandDem
'All the boats were sunk so that people cannot leave the island.'
- b. *Mandum peurahô nyan ngop supaya ureueng hana geu-tinggai pulo nyan.
all boat Det sink so-that people Neg 3Pol-leave islandDem
- c. Mandum peurahô nyan teu-peu-ngop supaya ureueng hana geu-tinggai pulo nyan.
all boat Det AntiC-Caus-sink so-that people Neg 3Pol-leave islandDem
'All the boats were sunk so that people cannot leave the island.'
- (8) a. Lôn teu-kap bibi gopnyan. cf. Lôn lôn-kap bibi gopnyan.
1Sg Acaus-bite lip 3Sg 1Sg 1Sg-bite lip 3Sg
'I bit her lip (unintentionally).'
- b. Lôn lôn-kap bibi gopnyan.
1Sg 1Sg-bite lip 3Sg
'I bit her lip (intentionally).'