PASSIVE AGREEMENT IN ACEHNESE
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The Problem: Lawler (1977) argued that Acehnese exhibits a passive in which the agent in the *by*-phrase triggers subject agreement, (1a). Durie's (1988) reply revealed errors in Lawler's data, and proposed instead that the construction consisted of a topicalized object and ergative-marked agent. In this talk, we present new data demonstrating that, despite Lawler's errors, his analysis was correct: the construction is indeed a passive. We present an analysis of the agentive agreement in terms of semantically interpretable features on the external argument introducing head.

The Passive: On a Lawler-style analysis of the construction in (1a) the thematic object occupies an A-position and the *lé* morpheme preceding the agent is a preposition comparable to *by*. On a Durie-style analysis, the thematic object occupies an A-bar position and *lé* is an ergative case marker that only appears when the agent is post-verbal. Several phenomena argue for a Lawler-style analysis on both counts. The theme behaves as though it occupies an A-position. First, pronominal binding: a raised quantificational theme may bind a pronoun in the *lé*-phrase but not vice versa, (2); if the theme had occupied an A-bar position, this binding would be ruled out as a Weak Crossover violation. Second, Condition C: a raised R-expression theme may be coindexed with a pronominal agent, (3); if the theme had undergone A-bar movement from a position below the agent, this should be impossible (see e.g. Lebeaux 1994, Fox 1999, on Condition C reconstruction effects). Third, control: under select matrix verbs, a raised theme may be controlled PRO, (4) (contra Durie 1988). Fourth, locality: in the double object construction, raising of the theme is blocked by the goal, which occupies a closer A-position, (5). In addition, the *lé*+DP behaves as a prepositional phrase. First, the *lé*+DP can appear before the subject, like PPs but unlike DPs, (6). Second, the *lé*+DP shows freedom of ordering with other PPs, while DPs do not. Third, the *lé*+DP patterns like PPs for wh-questions: like PPs but unlike DPs, *lé*+DP cannot be questioned with the complementizer *yang*, (7). We conclude that the construction is indeed a passive with the agent in a *by*-phrase PP.

Agreement: Given that the construction is a passive, how does the verb agree with the DP in the *by*-phrase rather than the raised theme? We propose that the apparent agreement is in fact the morphological reflex of semantically interpretable features on the little *v* that introduces the external argument. These features, including person, relative position in the social hierarchy, and inclusiveness, restrict the possible external arguments (adapting the Restrict operation of Chung & Ladusaw 2004). For example, the little *v ji-* in (3b) expresses not only that the DP in its specifier is an agent, but also that this DP is a low-ranking third person. This analysis explains the characteristics of this agreement in Acehnese. The agreement is found in passives, because passives include the external argument introducing little *v* (e.g. Marantz 2000, Embick 2004), and hence exhibit implicit agent effects. Since the features are interpretable features of little *v*, not uninterpretable features that require checking, we correctly predict that the agreement is present in passives even when the *by*-phrase is absent. Furthermore, we explain the oft-mentioned split-S (aka active-stative) property of the agreement (e.g. Durie 1988): it is present on transitive and unergative predicates, which combine with an external argument introducing little *v*, but is not present on unaccusatives, which do not. Finally, we correctly predict the position of the agreement low in the syntactic structure, below negation and aspectual markers, prefixed to the verb root.

Extensions: We discuss a related construction in which the thematic object is again raised to subject position, but the external argument appears in the specifier of *v*P instead of in a *by*-phrase, (8). Building on Cole & Hermon 1998 (on the Indonesian analogue) and Travis 2000 (on Tagalog), we show that the construction supports our analysis of the agreement morpheme as the realization of *v* – when the external argument remains in the specifier of *v*P, the agreement morpheme is obligatorily absent. This is explained through Sportiche's 1992 *Doubly Filled Voice Filter* (as adapted by Travis 2000 for related phenomena in Tagalog): the head and specifier of *v*P cannot both be overtly realized in this construction.

(1) a. Lôn ka **di**-kap lé asee.　　b. *Lôn ka **lôn**-kap lé asee.　　c.　cf: Asee ka di-kap lôn
　　　1sg Perf **3Fam**-bite by dog　　　1sg Perf **1sg**-bite by dog　　　　dog Perf 3Fam-bite 1sg
　　　"I was bitten by the dog''　　　"I was bitten by the dog"　　　　"The dog bit me"

(2) a. Tieptiep aneuk geu-lindong lé mak droe-jih
　　　every child 3Pol-protect by mother self-3Fam
　　　"Every child is protected by his/her mother"　　√COINDEXED

　　b. Aneuk geuh geu-lindong lé tieptiep mak
　　　child 3Pol 3Pol-protect by every mother
　　　"His/her child is protected by every mother"　　*COINDEXED

(3) a. Mie aneuk-aneuk miet nyan ji-poh lé awak nyan
　　　cat child-child small that 3Fam-hit by person that　　(note: awak nyan = "him/her/them")
　　　"The children's cat was hit by them"　　√COINDEXED

　　b. cf: Awaq nyan ji-poh mie aneuk-aneuk miet nyan
　　　　person Dem 3Fam-hit cat child-child small Dem
　　　　"They hit the children's cat"　　　*COINDEXED

(4) Aneuq miet nyan di-tém geu-peu-ubat lé dokto
　　child small that 3Fam-want 3Pol-Cause-medicine by doctor
　　"The child wants to be treated by the doctor"

(5) a. *Boh mamplam geu-jôk Fatima lé Ibrahim　　b. Fatima geu-jôk boh mamplam lé Ibrahim
　　　fruit mango 3Pol-give Fatima by Ibrahim　　　Fatima 3Pol-give fruit mango LE Ibrahim
　　　Lit: "The mango was given Fatima by Ibrahim"　　"Fatima was given the mango by Ibrahim"

　　c. cf: Boh mamplam geu-jôk keu Fatima lé Ibrahim
　　　　fruit mango 3Pol-give to Fatima by Ibrahim
　　　　"The mango was given to Fatima by Ibrahim"

(6) a. Lé uleue nyan aneuk miet nyan di-kap
　　　by snake that child small that 3Fam-bite
　　　"By the snake, that child was bitten"

　　b. cf: Dari blang lôn ka lôn-gisa　　c.　cf: *Ibrahim dokto ka geu-peu-ubat
　　　　from field 1sg Perf 1sg-return　　　Ibrahim doctor Perf 3Pol-Cause-medicine
　　　　"From the field, I returned"　　　　"Ibrahim, the doctor treated"

(7) a. Lé soe (*yang) aneuk miet nyan geu-jôk keu ureueng inong nyan?
　　　by who C child small Dem 3Pol-give to person female that
　　　"By whom was the baby given to the woman?"

　　b. cf: Soe (yang) geu-peu-ubat lé dokto?
　　　　who C 3Pol-Caus-medicine by doctor
　　　　"Who was treated by the doctor?"

　　c. cf: Keu soe (*yang) geu-jôk lé ureueng agam nyan aneuk miet nyan?
　　　　to who C 3Pol-give by person male that child small that
　　　　"To whom was the child given by the man?"

(8) Ibrahim ka dokto (*geu)-peu-ubat
　　Ibrahim Perf doctor 3Pol-Cause-medicine
　　"The doctor treated Ibrahim'"

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