1. Introduction
The goal of the study is to describe Acehnese’ causatives and anticausatives and to propose syntactic structures for them.

(1) a. Hasan geu-\textit{peu-reubah} aneuq nyan. \hspace{1em} (causative)
\begin{tabular}{lllllll}
H & 3-Caus-fall & child & Dem & \\
\end{tabular}
‘Hasan caused the child to fall.’

b. Pintô nyan \textit{teu-buka}. \hspace{1em} (anticausative)
\begin{tabular}{lllllll}
door & Dem & Acaus-open & & \\
\end{tabular}
‘The door opens/opened.’

1.1. Background
Voice alternations in Acehnese have drawn much attention since Lawler (1977) who claims that the agreement on the verb is triggered by the ‘underlying’ subject.

(2) Agreement with the ‘underlying’ subject in active and passive (Lawler 1977:224-225)

a. Gopnyan ka geu-\textit{côm lôn}. \hspace{1em} (active)
\begin{tabular}{lllllll}
3sg & Perf & 3-kiss & 1Sg & \\
\end{tabular}
‘She kissed me.’

b. Lôn ka geu-\textit{côm lé gopnyan}. \hspace{1em} (passive)
\begin{tabular}{lllllll}
1Sg & Perf & 3-kiss & by 3Sg & \\
\end{tabular}
‘I was kissed by her.’

These data triggered the well-known controversy over the status of ‘subject’ and ‘agreement’ (Lawler 1977, Perlmutter 1982, Durie 1988 among others; cf. Legate 2007).

* I would like to thank especially Julie Legate and John Whitman for extensive discussions and suggestions. I also would like to thank the participants of Research Workshop (Fall 2007), Molly Diesing, Masayuki Gibson, Zhiguo Xie, Jiwon Yun, and the audience at Research Workshop Student Presentation and a practice talk for their comments and criticisms. I am also grateful to my language consultant, Saiful Mahdi, for his time, patience, and grammaticality judgments.

† Acehnese, also called or spelled Atjeh, Atjehnese, Achinese, and Achehnese, is a Malayo-Polynesian language spoken mainly in the costal area of Aceh Province, the northern tip of Sumatra, Indonesia. The data presented in this study were elicited during Field Methods course offered at Cornell University, the spring semester 2007. The orthography that I use to present Acehnese data basically follows that used in Daud & Durie’s (1999) Acehnese-Indonesian-English Thesaurus.
Causative Alternation and Voice Morphology in Acehnese
Seongyeon Ko

1.2. Assumptions
(3) a. unaccusative verbs

\[
\text{VoiceP} \rightarrow \text{Voice'} \rightarrow \text{vP} \rightarrow \text{v'} \rightarrow \text{DP}
\]

\(\text{geu-unaccV due to lack of VoiceP}\)


b. unergative and transitive verbs

\[
\text{vP} \rightarrow \text{v'} \rightarrow \text{v}\n\]

The thematic subject agreement marker is assumed to be an overt realization of Voice head.

(4) **Unaccusativity Diagnostics** (cf. Durie 1987:366)
An unaccusative verb does not allow a proclitic agreement marker, unlike others.

a. Gopnyan **geu**-poh lôn. (transitive)
   3Sg 3-hit 1Sg
   ‘S/he hit me.’

b. Ureueng agam nyan **geu**-plueng. (unergative)
   person male Dem 3-run
   ‘The man runs.’

c. Lôn ka (*lôn*)-reubah. (unaccusative)
   1Sg Perf (*1)-fall
   ‘I fell.’

**Structure of this talk:**

§1 Introduction: background and assumptions
§2 Causatives in Acehnese
   • morphological causatives
     - lexical vs. syntactic causatives
     - structures of morphological causatives
   • periphrastic causatives
§3 Anticausatives in Acehnese
   • differences between anticausatives and passives
   • the distribution of the anticausative prefix w.r.t the agr marker and the caus head
   • structures of anticausatives
§4 Summary of the talk
2. Causatives in Acehnese
Acehnese has both morphological and periphrastic causative constructions.

2.1. Morphological causatives with the causative prefix peu-
The Acehnese causative prefix peu- can be attached to verbs, adjectives, and even nouns.

(5) Derivation from verbs
   a. unaccusative reubah ‘to fall’ → peu-reubah ‘to cause to fall’ (W8-2, 10-1)
      Hasan geu-\textit{peu-reubah} aneuq nyan.
      H 3-Caus-fall  child  Dem
      ‘Hasan caused the child to fall.’
   b. unergative moe ‘to cry’ → peu-moe ‘to make cry’ (W10-1)
      Fatimah geu-\textit{peu-moe} Hasan.
      F 3-Caus-cry  \(H\)
      ‘Fatimah caused Hasan to cry.’
   c. transitive pajôh ‘to eat’ → peu-pajôh ‘to make eat; feed’ (W10-1)
      Fatimah geu-\textit{peu-pajôh} (keu) Hasan boh mamplam.
      F 3-Caus-eat  to  Hasan mango
      Fatimah geu-\textit{peu-pajôh} boh mamplam *(keu) Hasan.
      F 3-Caus-eat  mango  to  \(H\)
      ‘Fatimah made Hasan eat a mango.’ ~ ‘Fatimah fed Hasan a mango.’

(6) Derivation from adjectives (stative verbs)
   a. raya ‘big’ → peu-\textit{raya} ‘to enlarge’ (W11-1, #17)
      Hasan geu-\textit{peu-raya} rumoh gopnyan.
      H 3-Caus-big  house  \(3Sg\)
      ‘Hasan enlarges his house.’
   b. deuh ‘visible’ → peu-\textit{deuh} ‘to show’ (W09-p-S, #22)
      Hasan geu-\textit{peu-deuh} (keu) Aisyah rumoh nyan.
      H 3-Caus-visible  (to)  A  house  Dem
      Hasan geu-\textit{peu-deuh} rumoh nyan *(keu) Aisyah.
      H 3-Caus-visible  house  Dem *(to)  A
      ‘Hasan showed Aisyah the house.’

(7) Derivation from nouns
   a. nan ‘name (n.)’ → peu-nan ‘to name (v.)’ (W10-p-S, #12)
      Lôn \textit{peu-nan} bayi lôn Fatimah.
      1Sg  Caus-name  baby  1Sg  \(F\)
      ‘I named my baby Fatimah.’
   b. ubat ‘medicine’ → peu-\textit{ubat} ‘to treat; cure’ (W10-2, #4i)
      Doto geu-\textit{peu-ubat} aneug miet nyan.
      doctor 3-Caus-medicine  child  small  Dem
      ‘The doctor treated the child.’

This suggests combination of Caus head with category-neutral Roots as in Distributed Morphology
(Halle and Marantz 1993, Marantz 1997, Embick and Noyer 2006 among others).
2.2. Subclasses of morphological causatives: lexical vs. syntactic causatives
Acehnese has a distinction between lexical and syntactic causatives, parallel to, e.g., Japanese (Harley 2006), Malagasy and Tagalog (Travis 2000).

(8) Acehnese lexical vs. syntactic causatives
   a. lexical causatives: one vP(VoiceP)
      \(\text{peu} + \) unaccusative base (5a)
      \(\text{peu} + \) adjective base (6)
      \(\text{peu} + \) noun base (7)
      simple unergative/transitive Vs
   b. syntactic causatives: iterative vPs (VoicePs)
      \(\text{peu} + \) unergative base (5b)
      \(\text{peu} + \) transitive base (5c)
      cf. "peu-peu-

Differences between lexical and syntactic causatives:

(9) Idiosyncracies of lexical causatives: non-compositional/idiomatic meanings
   a. Ibrahim \text{geu-peu-teupat rhueng} \text{ateueh kasô.} (W11-p-S, #7)
   \(\text{Lb} \) 3-Caus-straight spine above mattress
      ‘Ibrahim lay down on the mattress.’ (lit. ‘Ibrahim made his spine straight on the mattress.’)

   b. \text{Fatimah geu-peu-kalon (keu)} \text{Hasan rumoh nyan lôm.}
   \(\text{F} \) 3-Caus-see to \(\text{H} \) house Dem again
      ‘Fatimah showed the house to Hasan, and that had happened before.’
      ‘Fatimah showed the house to Hasan, and Hasan had seen it before.’
2.3. Structures of MCs

(11) Structure for the causative morpheme *peu-*

```
  VP
     │
     │
  VP   VP'
     │    │
  Voice Voice'
     │    │
   geu- geu'
     │    │
  XP   XP'
```

where XP is VoiceP or VP (=VP, AP, NP).

(12) **Lexical causatives:** v head takes as its complement a category-neutral Root.

a. *reubah* ‘to fall’

```
  vP
     │
     │
  φ   √
  DP  DP
  reubah aneuq ynan
```

Aneuq ynan reubah.  
child Dem fall  
‘The child fell.’

b. *peu-reubah* ‘to cause to fall; drop’

```
  VP
     │
     │
  VP   VP'
     │    │
  Voice Voice'
     │    │
   geu- geu'
     │    │
  √    √
  DP   DP
  Hasan Voice
       │    │
      geu- geu'
       │    │
    √    √
  √   √
  √   √
```

Hasan geu-peu-reubah aneuq ynan.  
H 3-Caus-fall child Dem  
‘Hasan caused the child to fall.’

(13) **Syntactic causatives:** v head takes as its complement a VoiceP, resulting in doubly-layered VoiceP structure (cf. Harley 2006)

a. *kalon* ‘to see’

```
  VP
     │
     │
  VP   VP'
     │    │
  Voice Voice'
     │    │
   geu- geu'
     │    │
   √    √
  DP   DP
  Hasan Voice
       │    │
      geu- geu'
       │    │
    √    √
  √   √
  √   √
```

Hasan geu-kalon rumoh ynan.  
H 3-see house Dem  
‘Hasan saw the house.’

b. *peu-kalon* ‘to show; to make see’

```
  VP
     │
     │
  VP   VP'
     │    │
  Voice Voice'
     │    │
   geu- geu'
     │    │
   √    √
  DP   DP
  Fatimah Voice
       │    │
      geu- geu'
       │    │
    √    √
  ∨   ∨
  ∨   ∨
```

Fatimah geu-peu-kalon Hasan rumoh ynan.  
F 3-Caus-see  H house Dem  
‘Fatimah made Hasan see the house.’
2.4. *Periphrastic Causatives*

A causative verb *peu-ət*, which itself is a derived causative form of *ət* 'okay, fine', is used to make periphrastic causative constructions.

(14)  
| a. Hasan geu-kalon rumoh nyan.  
| H 3-see house Dem  
| ‘Hasan saw the house.’  
| b. Fatimah geu-peu-kalon Hasan rumoh nyan. (morphological causative)  
| F 3-Caus-see H house Dem  
| ‘Fatimah showed Hasan the house.’  
| c. Fatimah geu-peu-ət Hasan geu-kalon rumoh nyan. (periphrastic causative)  
| F 3-Caus-ət H 3-see house Dem  
| ‘Fatimah made Hasan see the house.’

(15) Difference between morphological and periphrastic causatives

a. Morphological causative (MC): **monoclusal**

b. Periphrastic causative (PC): **biclausal**

Aspect/tense particle for caused act/event:  

* MC ✓ PC

(16) a. *Fatimah geu-peu-*(*ka lheueh*)-kalon (*ka lheueh*) Hasan rumoh nyan. (W16-p-S,#23)  
| F 3-Caus-(*Perf*)-see (*Perf*) H house Dem  
| ‘Fatimah made Hasan have already seen the house.’

b. Fatimah geu-peu-ət Hasan *ka lheueh* geu-kalon rumoh nyan. (W16-p-S,#24)  
| F 3-Caus-ət H Perf 3-see house Dem  
| ‘Fatimah made Hasan have already seen the house.’

Negation:

(17) Negation of causing act/event: ✓ MC ✓ PC (W15-p-S, #2)

| a. Lôn hana lôn-peu-moe aneuq agam nyan.  
| 1Sg Neg 1-CAus-cry child male Dem  
| ‘I didn’t make the boy cry.’  
| b. Lôn hana lôn-peu-ət aneuq agam nyan ji-moe.  
| 1Sg Neg 1-CAus-ət child male Dem 3-cry  
| ‘I didn’t make the boy cry.’

(18) Negative causation (cause someone not to do something): * MC ✓ PC (W15-p-S, #3)

| 1Sg 1-CAus-Neg-cry child male Dem  
| ‘I made the boy not cry.’  
| b. Lôn lôn-peu-ət aneuq agam nyan hana ji-moe.  
| 1Sg 1-CAus-ət child male Dem Neg 3-cry  
| ‘I made the boy not cry.’
Agent-oriented adverbials:

(19) a. **Only one reading in MC:**
   Fatimah geu-peu-kalon Hasan rumoh nyan ngon saba.
   F 3-Caus-see H house Dem with patience
   ‘Fatimah, with patience, made Hasan see the house.’
   cannot mean ‘Hasan saw the house patiently and Fatimah caused it.’
   
b. **Two readings in PC:**
   Fatimah geu-peu-get Hasan geu-kalon rumoh nyan ngon saba.
   F 3-Caus-okay H 3-see house Dem with patience
   (i)  ‘Fatimah, with patience, made Hasan see the house.’
   (ii) ‘Hasan saw the house patiently and Fatimah caused it.’

(20) **Structure of periphrastic causatives**

```
  VoiceP
     └── DP
         └── Voice
             └── vP
                 └── v' [peu]
                     └── vP [get]
                         └── TP
                             └── Hasan kalon rumoh nyan

Fatimah geu-peu-get Hasan kalon rumoh nyan.
F 3-Caus-okay H 3-see house Dem
‘Fatimah made Hasan see the house.’
```

**Summary:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>morphological causatives (MC)</th>
<th>periphrastic causatives (PC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>VoiceP</strong></td>
<td>causative verb <strong>peu-get</strong>, biclausal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>voice</strong> geu-</td>
<td>(A <strong>vCAUS</strong> head <strong>peu-</strong>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lexical causatives</td>
<td>syntactic causatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one <strong>VoiceP</strong></td>
<td>iterative <strong>VoicePs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

where XP is
i. **VoiceP**: syntactic causatives
ii. **XP**: lexical causatives
3. Anticausatives

‘anticausative’ = ‘change of state without an external argument’ (Alexiadou et al. 2006).

cf. Haspelmath (1993); ‘an intransitive verb derived from a transitive one.’

Two types of anticausatives crosslinguistically (Alexiadou et al. 2006, Schäfer 2007):

(21) English - unmarked (22) Italian - marked

a. John broke the window. a. Gianni ha rotto la finestra
   ‘John has broken the window.’

b. The window broke. b. La finestra si è rotta
   ‘The window REFLEX is broken.’

Acehnese has both types: the prefix teu- is used to derive a marked anticausative.

(23) Unmarked and marked anticausatives in Acehnese

a. Peurahô nyan ngop. (unmarked)
   boat   sink
   ‘The boat sinks/sank.’

b. Pintô nyan teu-buka. (marked)
   door    Acaus-open
   ‘The door opens/opened.’

cf. Hasan  geu-buka pintô nyan.
   H       3-open  door  Dem
   ‘Hasan opens/opened the door.’

3.1. Differences between anticausatives and passives

An implicit agent argument is present in passives, but absent in anticausatives (Alexiadou et al 2006):

• Passives but not anticausatives can be modified by by-phrases or agent-oriented adverbs.
• Anticausatives but not passives can be modified by by itself.

(24) lé DP phrase: allowed(optional) in passives, but prohibited in anticausatives

a. Pintô nyan geu-buka (lé Hasan). passive (W15-p-S)&
   door    Dem 3-open (by H)
   ‘The door is/was opened by Hasan.’

   door    Dem Acaus-open (*by H)
   ‘The door opens/opened (*by Hasan.’

Anticausatives cannot be modified by agent-oriented adverbs

(25) singaja ‘on purpose’

a. Pintô nyan singaja geu-buka lé Hasan. passive (W16-p-S, #4)
   door    Dem 3-open on.purpose by H
   ‘The door is/was opened on purpose.’

b. *Pintô nyan singaja teu-buka. anticausative (W16-p-S, #5)
   door    Dem on.purpose Acaus-open
(26) (pure) manner adverb vs. agent-oriented manner adverb

a. Pintô nyan geu-buka bacut bacut / meu teugoh teugoh (lé Hasan.) passive
door Dem 3-open slowly cautiously
‘The door is/was opened (by Hasan) slowly / cautiously.’

b. Pintô nyan teu-buka bacut bacut / *meu teugoh teugoh. anticausative
door Dem Acaus-open slowly *cautiously
‘The door opened slowly / *cautiously.’

Anticausatives but not passives can be modified by by itself

(27) keu droe(-jih) ‘by itself’

a. *Peuraho nyan geu-peu-ngop keu droe(-jih) passive
boat Dem 3-Caus-sink to self(-3Sg)
‘The boat was sunk by itself.’

b. Peuraho nyan ngop keu droe(-jih) anticausative (unmarked)
boat Dem sink to self(-3Sg)
‘The boat sank by itself.’

c. Peuraho nyan teu-peu-ngop keu droe(-jih) anticausative (marked)
boat Dem Acaus-Caus-sink to self(-3Sg)
‘The boat sank by itself.’

An implicit causer is possible in anticausatives: (cf. Alexiadou et al. 2006, Travis 2000)

• Inanimate cause
• Unintentional/non-volitional actor

(28) Inanimate cause of the event can be expressed by lé DP phrase (by-phrase)

a. Pintô nyan teu-buka lé angen. (W12-p-S, #3)
door Dem Acaus-open by wind
‘The door has been opened by the wind.’

b. Hasan teu-peu-moe lé filom nyan. (W14-p-S, #15)
H Acaus-Cau-cry by film Dem
‘Hasan has been made to cry by the movie.’

(29) Unintentional acts can be expressed with an anticausative without changing the valency

a. Lôn teu-kap bibi gopnyan. (W14-p-S, #5)
1Sg Acaus-bite lip 3Sg
‘I bit her lip (unintentionally).’

b. Lôn dön-kap bibi gopnyan. (W14-p-S, #6)
1Sg 1-bite lip 3Sg
‘I bit her lip (intentionally).’

Anticausatives lack an ‘agent’ argument, but have a ‘cause’ component which licenses inanimate or unintentional causer. ➔ distinct functional heads for agentivity and causation: VoiceP and vP (Alexiadou et al. 2006).

3.2. The distribution of teu-: teu- is in Voice

| Teu- and geu- are in complementary distribution. cf. geu-: a Voice head in (3) |

- **Teu-** can be attached only to unergative, transitive, and ditransitive verbs as in (30)-(32).
  cf. the causative prefix **peu-** can be attached to all kinds of verbs (except for ditransitive verbs).

(30) Unergative intransitive to anticausative
  a. Hasan ka **teu-moe**. (W14-p-S, #14ii)
     Hasan Perf Acaus-cry  
     ‘Hasan is in the state of crying.’
  b. Hasan ka **teu-peu-moe**. (W16-p-S, #14iii)
     Hasan Perf Acaus-Caus-cry  
     cf. (W14-p-S, #14iii)
     ‘Hasan has been made to cry.’

(31) Transitive to anticausative
  Pintô nyan **teu-buka**. (W12-p-S, #1)
  door Dem Acaus-open  
  ‘The door has been opened.’

(32) Ditransitive to anticausative
  a. Aisyah **teu-jōq** boh mamplam. (W16-p-S, #8)
     Aisyah Acaus-give mango  
     ‘Aisyah was given the/a mango.’
  b. Boh mamplam **teu-jōq** *(keu) Aisyah. (W16-p-S, #9)
     mango Acaus-give *(to) Aisyah.  
     ‘The/a mango has been given to Aisyah.’

- **Teu-** cannot be attached to unaccusative verbs, adjectives, and nouns: the same distribution as the thematic subject agreement marker **geu-**.

(33) Unattested/impossible cases (W16-p-S, #10)
  a. * teu-UnaccusativeV: **teu-reubah** (reubah ‘to fall’)
  b. * teu-Adj: **teu-beuhë** (beuhë ‘brave’)
  c. * teu-N: **teu-ubat** (ubat ‘medicine’)

- **Teu-** cannot co-occur with the agent agreement marker **geu-**, though both can occur independently at the same position as pre-verbal prefix/proclitic.

(34) **teu-** cannot co-occur with the agent agreement marker **geu**
  a. *Hasan **geu-teu**-kap. (W16-p-S, #11i)
     H 3-Acaus-bite  
     ‘Hasan has been bitten.’
  b. *Hasan **teu-geu**-kap. (W16-p-S, #11ii)
     H Acaus-3-bite  
     ‘Hasan has been bitten.’
Teu- is higher than peu-: cf. peu-: a little vCAUS head in (11)

- Teu- can co-occur with the causative prefix peu-.
- However, the prevailing ordering is Acaus-Caus (teu-peu-), not Caus-Acaus (peu-teu-).
- peu-teu- is not allowed in most cases.

(35) Acaus-Caus (teu-peu-) is okay, but *Caus-Acaus (*peu-teu-) is not.
      H Acaus-Cau-cry by film Dem cf. (W16-p-S, #14)
      ‘Hasan has been made to cry by the movie.’
   b. kap ‘to bite’ → teu-kap ‘bitten’ → *peu-teu-kap ‘to make bitten’
      *Lón (lón)-peu-teu-kap bibi lón. (W14-p-S, #4)
      1Sg (1)-Caus-Acaus-bite lip 1Sg
      ‘I made my lip bitten.’

Thus, I conclude that teu- is in Voice.

Summary:

- Distinct functional heads for agentivity and causation: VoiceP and vP
  - Agents are licensed only in passives, not in anticausatives.
  - Anticausatives still have Cause component: inanimate cause / unintentional actor
- Distribution of teu- → teu- in Voice
  - teu- is in complementary distribution with geu- (thematic subj agr marker):
    i. same distribution as geu-: teu-unerg/trans/ditransV vs. *teu-unaccV/Adj/N
    ii. cannot co-occur with the agent agreement marker geu-: neither *teu-geu-V nor *geu-teu-V
  - teu- is higher than peu- (little vCAUS head): teu-peu-V vs. *peu-teu-V

3.3. Structures of anticausatives

(36) Two available anticausative structures (Alexicadou et al. (2006)):
   a. Anticausative structure I: unmarked – (unaccusatives)
   b. Anticausative structure II: with special morphology

\[
\text{vP} \\
\text{vBE or BECOME} \\
\text{vopen} \\
\text{DP} \\
\text{the door}
\]

\[
\text{VoiceP} \\
\text{-ext. arg} \\
\text{Voice} \\
\text{-AG} \\
\text{vP} \\
\text{v'}
\]
Acehnese anticausative morpheme teu-: an overt realization of Voice head.

(37)  
\[
\text{VoiceP} \\
\text{Voice} \\
\text{teu-} \\
\text{AG} \\
\text{vP} \\
\text{v'} \\
\text{vCAUS} \\
\mathcal{V} \\
\]

(38)  
Examples:  
   a. teu- with lexical causatives (transitives)  
   b. teu- with syntactic causatives

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VoiceP} & \quad \text{vP} \\
\text{teu-} & \quad \text{v'} \\
\text{vCAUS} & \quad \mathcal{V} \\
\mathcal{P} & \quad \mathcal{O} \\
\text{kap} & \quad \text{DP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VoiceP} & \quad \text{vP} \\
\text{teu-} & \quad \text{v'} \\
\text{vCAUS} & \quad \mathcal{V} \\
\mathcal{P} & \quad \mathcal{O} \\
\text{pajôh} & \quad \text{DP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

- teu-kap  
  Acaus-bite  
- teu-peu-pajôh  
  Acaus-Caus-eat

This VoiceP analysis of teu-,

- gives a syntactic explanation for the incompatibility of teu- with unaccusative verbs:
  \[
  \text{teu-} \text{ requires as its complement a vP headed by vCAUS, not a vP headed by vBE/BECOME.}
  \]

- captures the parallelism/complementary distribution between Acaus teu- and Agr geu-:
  \[
  \text{Specified [+agent], geu- takes Agent DP.} \\
  \text{Specified [-agent], teu- suppresses the external argument.}
  \]

- provides a non-volitional cause argument with a position to merge.
supports the typology of Voice proposed in Schäfer (2007).

Æ Acehnese marked anticausatives instantiate anticausative-II in (40).

(40) Typology of Voice (Schäfer 2007:217-220)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interpretation</th>
<th>Spell-out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>active:</td>
<td>[Agent [Voice[Ø, agent] [v [Root]]]] (active)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passive:</td>
<td>[Voice[agent] [v [Root]]] (non-active)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anticausative-I</td>
<td>[Expl. [Voice[Ø,Ø] [v [Root]]]] (sich)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anticausative-II</td>
<td>[Voice[Ø] [v [Root]]] (non-active, clitic-si)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anticausative-III</td>
<td>[v [Root]] (unmarked)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Summary

✓ Acehnese causatives:
  ■ *peu*-: little v°CAUS
  ■ morphological vs. periphrastic causatives: v°CAUS *peu*- / monoclusal vs. causV *peu*-gët / biclausal
  ■ lexical vs. syntactic causatives: one VoiceP vs. doubly stacked VoiceP

✓ Acehnese anticausatives:
    ◆ in complementary distribution with *geu* (Voice° with [+agent] feature)
    ◆ higher than *peu*-
  ■ support the splitting of VoiceP and vP (Alexiadou et al. 2006)
    ◆ Anticausatives lack agents (cf. passives), but have Cause component.

References


Legate, Julie. 2007. The Subject in Acehnese. East and Southeast Asian Linguistics Discussion Group, Cornell University.


