Case-marking of O and S in Khmer*

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1. Introduction

1.1 The aim of the paper

In Khmer, the basic word order of the transitive clause is AVO, and both the subject and the object normally do not receive any morphological marking. But under a certain condition, the object NP and some of the intransitive subjects are marked with the locative preposition *nàv* (hereafter 'NEV')[1]. Example (1a) is a normal AVO clause, and (1b) is its alternative NEV variant. (The object NP is in square brackets.) Example (2a) is a normal intransitive clause, and (2b) is its alternative NEV variant.

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[1]NEV is a poly-functional morpheme. It has at least four more functions other than the function as an object marker.

1. NEV as a main verb, meaning 'stay, live':
   e.g. kɲom nàv kroŋ pnòmpèɲ
   1sg. NEV city Phnom Penh
   'I live in Phnom Penh City.'
2. NEV as an auxiliary which indicates imperfective aspect:
   e.g. kɲom nàv tae riən phèəsaasəh
   1sg. NEV PART study linguistics
   'I'm still studying linguistics.'
3. NEV as a preposition, introducing a locational/temporal NP into the clause:
   e.g. nàv pèel jòp, kɲom riən nàv ptèəh
   NEV time night 1SG study NEV home
   'In night time, I study at home.'
4. NEV as a conjunction which connects NPs into one unit (this usage is limited to formal speech style):
   e.g. prèəh-rèəcvàŋsaanuʔvàŋ nɯŋ màntrəj thɔm tooc
   king's family and government official big small
   nàv ʔɔh prɔɔcèəcɔn tèaŋ-puoŋ... [Cuon 1967:324]
   NEV all people all
   'the king's family, dignitaries of all ranks, and all the people.....'

In terms of orthography, (i) NEV of type 1 to 3 above, and (ii) NEV of type 4 and NEV in example (1b) and (2b), are written differently, but they are pronounced identically.

(1) a. nèəŋ baan dəŋ [kaa puut] (A V O)
3SG.F ASP be informed NOM true

b. nèəŋ baan dəŋ nèv - [kaa puut] (A V NEV O)
3SG.F ASP be informed NEV NOM true
'She knows of the truth.'

(2) a. kaət [krɔ̀h-tnak cɔɔraʔcɔɔ] (V S)
occur accident traffic

b. kaət nèv - [krɔ̀h-tnak cɔɔraʔcɔɔ] (V NEV S)
occur NEV accident traffic
'A traffic accident has occurred.'

The occurrence of NEV is very restricted. A cursory view reveals that approximately less than one tenth of all the candidate NPs (i.e. objects and some of the intransitive subjects) are marked with NEV. The aim of this paper is to clarify the condition which triggers this non-canonical marking on O and some of S.

NEV marking is a result of the interaction of several factors.

I. Substantive factors:
factors of a) nouns
b) predicates
c) the other constituents
II. Stylistic factors: formal, unexpected

In the following sections, I will discuss these factors one by one.

1.2 Overall view of NEV construction

Before going to the discussions, I will mention the outline of the NEV-marking which I will not discuss in detail in this paper.

1.2.1 Sentence types

In some languages, non-canonical marking on the core argument is restricted to a certain sentence type[2], however Khmer NEV marking is not restricted to a certain sentence type, i.e. NEV is used in various sentence types.

(3) Affirmative
kɔət baan sɔmdaeŋ nèv - [seeckdəj kòoròp] cɔmpɔ̀h kruu
3SG ASP express NEV NOM respect toward teacher
'S/He has expressed respect toward the teacher.'

[2]E.g. in Russian, genitive is used instead of accusative to mark object NP, but this phenomenon appears mainly in negated clauses (Timberlake 1975).

(4) Interrogative
taə kɔət baan tɔ̀ɔtuol nàv - [pɔ̀ədɔɔmèən dɔɔ lʔɔɔ] ɯɯɯ tèe ?
INT 3SG ASP receive NEV information REL good or FP
'Does s/he receive good news?'

(5) WH interrogative
taə kɔət baan khàəɲ nàv - [ʔəvəj klah] ?
INT 3SG ASP see NEV what some
'What did s/he see?'

(6) Negative
kɲom mɯn dael khàəɲ nàv - [tɔ̀ttha?phèəp dɔɔ lʔɔɔ] tèe
1SG NEG EXP see NEV scenery REL good FP
'I have never seen such beautiful scenery.'

(7) Imperative
sɔmdaeŋ nàv - [seeckdəj kòoròp] cɔmpòh kruu !
express NEV NOM respect toward teacher
'Express respect toward the teacher!'

1.2.2 Partial ergativity

NEV-marking pattern shows a partial ergative type, in that objects of transitive verbs and some of the intransitive subjects may (or may not) be marked with NEV, in contrast with transitive subjects and other intransitive subjects, which can never be marked with NEV.

In Khmer, there is one word order for transitive clauses: A+V+O, and two word orders for intransitive clauses: S+V and V+S.

(8) Transitive
kɲom baan bɔŋhaaɲ kòmnɯt rɔ̀ɔbɔh kɲom
1SG ASP show thought GEN 1SG
[A] [V] [O]
'I expressed my idea.'

(9) Intransitive: S+V
kɔət daə knoŋ prèj
3SG walk inside forest
[S] [V]
'S/He walked around in a forest.'

(10) Intransitive: V+S
khooc tòmnèək-tòmnɔ̀ɔŋ rɔ̀ɔvèəŋ kɲom nɯŋ nèəŋ
be broken relationship between 1SG and 3SG.F
[V] [S]
'The relationship between her and me is broken.'

The word order choice for intransitive clauses is complex. Figure 1 is the rough sketch of the correspondence between types of verbs and word order choice. (For detail, see Sakamoto, Ayako 2004.)

The positioning of intransitive subjects ('S') in Khmer is a mixture of 'split-S' and 'fluid-S' (Dixon 1979:80, 82) positioning. The 'split' is shown by a broken line. The 'fluid' is where two arrows are overlapping. For fluid-S, whether the verb prefers SV order or VS order is different between types of verbs. The preference degree is shown by the arrow from bottom to upward, i.e. verbs of existence/non-existence almost obligatorily take VS order; verbs of appearance/disappearance prefer to take VS order; and verbs of state are the least likely to occur in VS clause[3].

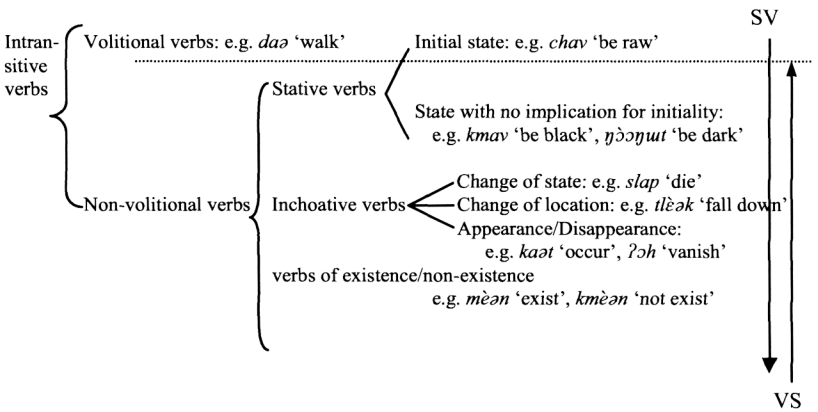

Figure 1. Word order patterns of Khmer intransitive verbs

I will call the S of SV intransitive clause – which is placed at the same position as the A of transitive – as 'S_A'. Similarly, I will call the S of VS intransitive clause – which is placed at the same position as the O of transitive – as 'S_O'. Among these four types of core arguments, i.e. A, O, S_A, and S_O, the NPs which may or may not be marked with NEV are O and S_O. A and S_A can

[3]Verbs of state take VS order only when they refer to changes of state as a result of the preceding causal events. Compare the following SV/VS pair;

a. SV: tmèŋ kmav
teeth be black
'Teeth are black.'

b. VS: kmav tmèŋ
be black teeth
'(e.g. you smoke too much, so your) teeth became black.'

Kmav 'be black' in SV refers to state of teeth, while *kmav* 'be black' in VS refers to change of color of teeth. This is why the stative verbs which refer to initial state and never fit 'become' sense, such as *chav* 'be raw', take only SV order and cannot occur in VS order. Meat, for example, becomes rotten, or dries up, but never becomes raw.

never be marked with NEV. The corresponding NEV variants for (8) and (10) are as follows.

(11) kɲom baan bɔŋhaaɲ nèv - [kòmnɯt rɔ̀ɔbɔh kɲom]
1SG ASP show NEV thought GEN 1SG
[A] [V] NEV [O]
'I expressed my idea.'

(12) khooc nèv - [tòmnèək-tòmnɔ̀ɔŋ rɔ̀ɔvèəŋ kɲom nɯŋ nèəŋ]
be broken NEV *relationship* between 1SG and 3SG.F
[V] NEV [S]
'The relationship between her and me is broken.'

NEV-marking on S_O is possible, but its frequency rate is very low. In my data, approximately less than 10% of all the examples are examples of NEV-marking on S_O. This may come from the fact that intransitive predicates which are likely to take NEV-marked S_O are very restricted, restricted to intransitive predicates of appearance (e.g. 'to occur') and disappearance (e.g. 'to vanish'). (The characteristics of predicates is discussed in section 3.) Thus, the possibility of the NEV-marking is the binary distinction, i.e. O/S_O VS. $*S_A/*A$, but in reality, the preference of the NEV-marking follows the "$O > S_O > *S_A, *A$" hierarchy[4].

1.2.3 Optional and obligatory NEV-marking

The NEV-marking on O/S_O is obligatory under some circumstances and optional under others. Among the examples of the NEV-marking on O and S_O in my data, those of the obligatory NEV marking constitute 35%, and those of the optional marking 65%.

The factors that make the NEV marking obligatory are syntactic. Haiman (1999:151) has noted that the NEV marking is obligatory 'only if the phrases that they introduce are separated (...) from the verbs with which they are in construction'. Examples include (13), in which *tɛ̀əŋ-ʔɔh* 'totally' intervenes between the verb and the NEV-marked NP.

(13) kɲom baan cam *tɛ̀əŋ-ʔɔh** ϕ /nèv - [sɔmdəj rɔ̀ɔbɔh kɔət]
1SG ASP memorize totally NEV words GEN 3SG
'I have completely memorized what s/he had said.'

[4]This ranking is essentially the same as the famous hierarchy, O > S > A (*A, for some grammatical phenomena), which is manifested in many grammatical phenomena of many languages, e.g. : the suffix *–ee* in English (*employee* (O) > *escapee* (S) > *A) (Comrie 1978:390), compounding of V and NP (O is the easiest to incorporate, e.g. *fox-hunting*, followed by S, e.g. *bird-chirping*, with A being most resistant to incorporation) (Comrie 1978:337, 390, for instance), the degree of acceptability of Possessor Respect in Japanese (Tsunoda 1996:585-588), and many others.

The NEV-marking is possible and optional only when the O/S_O in question immediately follows the verb. Examples include (14).

(14) kŋom baan cam ϕ/ nèv - [sɔmdəj rɔ̀ɔbɔh kɔət] tèəŋ-ʔɔh
1SG ASP memorize NEV words GEN 3SG totally
'I have completely memorized what s/he had said.'

As noted above, Haiman discusses the instances in which the NP in question is separated from the verb. But he does not consider the direction of the separation. In my analysis, the direction is strictly restricted to 'backward' as in (13). 'Forward' separation, such as topicalization is not allowed. Topicalized O NP may occur sentence-initially. Compare (15) and (16). A topicalized NP may be marked with one of the topic-marking prepositions, such as *pii* 'as for' or *ʔɔmpii* 'as for'. It may also have no preposition at all. But it can never be marked with NEV. See (16).

(15) untopicalized
nèək trəv tae bɔŋhaaŋ ϕ/nèv - [kòmnɯt rɔ̀ɔbɔh nèək]
2SG should PART show NEV idea GEN 2SG
'You have to show your own idea.'

(16) topicalized O
ϕ/ʔɔmpii - /*nèv - [kòmnɯt rɔ̀ɔbɔh nèək], nèək trəv
as for NEV idea GEN 2SG 2SG should
tae bɔŋhaaŋ
PART show
'As for your own idea, you have to show it.'

The restriction that O/S_O marked with NEV cannot appear in the topic position might be connected with the referential status of the O/S_O. O/S_O which is marked with NEV tends to be less referential (indefinite, inanimate, non-specific, etc.). I will discuss the characteristics of O/S_O in section 2.

2. Nouns

That an object marker (in Khmer, an O/S_O marker) sometimes appears and sometimes does not appear is not a rare phenomenon and can be seen in many other languages of the world. According to previous studies of other languages, one of the most crucial criteria for the occurrence of such markers is the referential status (definiteness, animacy, etc.) of the NPs (Timberlake 1975, Moravcsik 1978:267-72, Hopper and Thompson 1980:253, Onishi 2001:5, etc.).

We can consider roughly two types. One is that the NPs which are highly referential, and highly individuated, are likely to be marked with such a marker. Examples of such languages are Hindi: the postposition *ko* (*koo*) is used for objects which are human and specific in reference (Shapiro 1989:56, Hopper and Thompson 1980:256); Rumanian: the preposition *pe* 'on' is obligatory when the objects are free pronouns or proper names which are high in referential status (Mallinson 1986:88-89); Spanish: the preposition *a* is used only for definite human objects (Comrie 1989:134, Hopper and Thompson 1980:256); and the Chinese *ba* construction which is used when the objects are specific, definite, or generic (Frei 1956, 1957, Cheung 1973, Thompson 1973, Hopper and Thompson 1980:274-75, Li & Thompson 1981:465-66, Sun 1995, and many others).

The other is that the NPs which are lowly ranked in terms of referential status are likely to be marked with such a marker. One example of such a language is Russian: the genitive is likely to be used instead of the accusative for objects of negated verbs which are less individuated (indefinite, inanimate, etc.) (Timberlake 1975).

Khmer NEV on O/S_O might be placed intermediate between the former Hindi, etc. type and the latter Russian type; NEV is preferred with nouns which are overwhelmingly less individuated in terms of certain parameters, but overwhelmingly more individuated in terms of the other parameter.

In order to show this tendency, I examined my data[5] in terms of five parameters picked up from Timberlake (1975);

(a) Semantic parameters:
  (i) Properness: proper / common
  (ii) Abstractness: concrete / abstract
  (iii) Animacy: animate / inanimate
  (iv) Definiteness: definite / indefinite
(b) Syntactic parameter:
  (i) Modification: modified / unmodified

[5]The total number of NEV-NP data is more than five hundred (optional NEV is approximately 65%, and obligatory NEV is approximately 35%), which are gathered from written texts (newspapers, magazines, novels) and spoken texts (recorded from TV programs, internet programs, radio programs). Data which are gathered directly from my consultant's utterances are also included. NPs which are difficult for me to judge the classification in terms of a parameter concerned are excluded from the counting, e.g. the interrogative pronoun *ʔəvəj* 'anything ('what' in interrogative clause)' belongs to INANIMATE in terms of animacy parameter because this morpheme is used only for inanimate referent, but is difficult to classify in terms of properness, abstractness, and definiteness parameters because this morpheme has no implication for these parameters.

where the term on the left is more individuated and the term on the right is less individuated. The first four parameters are concerned with the relationships between the semantics of nouns and the degree of individuation, and the last parameter is concerned with the relationship between the syntax of the nouns and the degree of individuation. Timberlake (1975) did not classify them into two types like this. However, Khmer reality insists that the semantic parameters and the syntactic parameter have to be dealt separately. Khmer NEV is preferred with SEMANTICALLY LESS individuated and SYNTACTICALLY MORE individuated nouns, i.e. modified NPs are marked with NEV more often than unmodified NPs.

The strong tendency for this 'inverse proportion' is clearly shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Individuation of NEV-marked O/S_O

	more individuated	less individuated	total
Properness	proper 5 : 0.96% (1/4)	common 514 : 99.03% (188/326)	519
Abstractness	concrete 82 : 16.63% (48/34)	abstract 411 : 83.36% (144/271)	493
Animacy	animate 11: 2.12% (3/8)	inanimate 507 : 97.87% (174/333)	518
Definiteness	definite 53 : 10.25% (21/32)	indefinite 464 : 89.74% (167/297)	517
Modification	modified 473 : 91.66% (169/304)	unmodified 43 : 8.33% (18/25)	516

(*The numbers in brackets show the number of obligatory NEV and optional NEV (Obligatory/Optional).)

The number shows that NEV is overwhelmingly more likely to mark less individuated NPs in terms of the properness, abstractness, animacy, and definiteness parameters, but in terms of the modification parameter, the result is opposite from Timberlake's expectation, i.e. modified nouns are overwhelmingly more likely to occur with NEV than unmodified nouns.

This suits Khmer native speakers' intuition. Even if the noun has characteristics which are high in individuation in terms of a certain semantic parameter, it is also acceptable with NEV when the modifying element is added. According to my informant, example (17a), where the O is a concrete noun, which is highly individuated in terms of abstractness parameter, is awkward with NEV (I will use '*?' sign to indicate this degree of acceptability). But when a modifying element is added, the clause becomes totally acceptable.

(17) a. *? kɔət baan ʔaan nèv - [siəvphèv]
3SG ASP read NEV book
'S/he has read a book.'

b. kɔət baan ʔaan nèv - [siəvphèv *dɔɔ lbəj-lbaaɲ*]
3SG ASP read NEV book REL famous
'S/he has read a famous book.'

Similarly, the example (18a), where the S_O is an animate noun, is judged awkward, but when it is modified, the clause becomes totally acceptable.

(18) a. *? slap nèv - [mɔ̀ɔnuh]
die NEV people
'People have died.'

b. slap nèv - [mɔ̀ɔnuh *dɔɔ craən sɔnthuk-sɔnthɔəp*]
die NEV people REL many enormous
'An enormous number of people have died.'

The result that the degree of individuation and modification are in inverse proportion shows that we need more investigation about the relationships between the degree of individuation and modification. In Timberlake (1975), the modified nouns are said to be more individuated than the unmodified nouns, but in fact there are cases where the unmodified nouns are more individuated than modified nouns. *Rɔ̀ɔbuoh* 'wound', for example, is a concrete noun, but if it is modified by an abstract noun such as *sɔŋkòm* 'society', the NP as a whole becomes an abstract NP *rɔ̀ɔbuoh sɔŋkòm* 'a blot on society', which is less individuated than concrete nouns. Thus, the relationship between the degree of individuation and modification varies, depending on the types of modifying elements.

We cannot find a proper distinction of modification in Timberlake (1975); however, in examples such as the following, we can say that the referent of the NP is clearly individuated:

(19) a. the book over there
b. the book I bought yesterday

In contrast, in the Khmer example (17b), i.e. *siəvphèv dɔɔ lbəj-lbaaɲ* 'famous book', it is hard to say that the referent is individuated. That is, the modification here may not concern individuation. According to Tasaku Tsunoda (pers. comm.), the factor that triggers modification here may be a phonological one, i.e. the modifying elements are added in order to make the NPs phonologically 'longer' or 'heavier'. When examining my data, I can conclude that this phonological factor is crucial, i.e. the modification on NEV-

marked NP concerns the phonological heaviness of the NP, but it does not concern individuation, since the NEV-marked NPs do not need to be individuated as a result of modification. Compare (20a) and (20b) below. In (20a), it is possible to say that the referent is individuated as a result of modification, while as for the NEV-marked NP in (20b), it is hard to say that the referent is individuated even though the modifying element is added. However, both (20a) and (20b) are equally acceptable, regardless of the degree of individuation.

(20) a. nèəŋ pɔ̀njɔ̀l nəv - [kòmnɯt *rɔ̀ɔbɔh nèəŋ*] dɔl kɲom
3SG.F explain NEV idea GEN 3SG.F reach 1SG
'She explained her idea to me.'

b. nèəŋ pɔ̀njɔ̀l nəv - [kòmnɯt *dɔɔ sɔmkhan*] dɔl kɲom
3SG.F explain NEV idea REL important reach 1SG
'She explained an important idea to me.'

3. Predicates

The types of predicates which can occur in the NEV construction are not so strongly restricted to certain semantic categories; however, there are tendencies that predicates of certain semantic categories are likely to occur in the NEV construction. They are:

(i) verbs of giving and reception
(ii) verbs of appearance (including creation) and disappearance (including destruction)
(iii) verbs of completion

3.1 Verbs of giving and reception

[A] Verbs of reception

This lexical category includes receptions of:

(i) substantial referent: *tɔ̀ɔtuol* 'to receive', etc.
(ii) cognitive and visual referent: *crèəp* 'to be informed of', *dəŋ* 'to be informed of', *skɔəl* 'to recognize, to know', *jɔ̀l* 'to understand', *cam* 'to keep in mind', *khàəŋ* 'to see', etc.
(iii) experience: *rɔ̀ɔŋ* 'to receive (damages), to suffer, to encounter', *cuop* 'to encounter', etc.

(21) kɲom baan tɔ̀ɔtuol nəv - [pɔədɔɔmèən dɔɔ lʔɔɔ]
1SG ASP receive NEV information REL good
'I have received good news.'

(22) nèəŋ baan dəŋ nàv - [kaa pɯt] jaaŋ cbah-lɔəh
3SG.F ASP be informed NEV NOM true ADV clear
'She knows of the truth clearly. (*lit.* She has already been informed of the truth clearly.)'

(23) kɲom baan khàəɲ nàv - [proh dael mèan mòk plaek]
1SG ASP see NEV man REL have face strange
'I saw a man who has a strange face.'

(24) nèəŋ baan rɔ̀ɔŋ nàv - [krɔ̀h-tnak dɔɔ saahaav khòo-khàv]
3SG ASP receive NEV accident REL cruel violent
'She encountered a terrible accident.'

[B] Verbs of giving

This lexical category includes 'giving' of:

(i) substantial referent: *pdɔl* 'to supply', *bɔnthaem* 'to add', etc.
(ii) cognitive and visual referent: *còmrèap* 'to give information, to inform', *sɔmdaeŋ* 'to express', *bɔɲcèək* 'to clarify', *bɔŋhaaɲ* 'to show', *sɔmkɔəl* 'to demonstrate', *pònjɔ̀l* 'to make understand, to explain', etc.

(25) prɔɔteeh nuh nɯŋ pdɔl nàv - [còmnuoj tɯk-prak]
nation DET will supply NEV aid money

dɔl jàəŋ
reach 2PL
'That nation will supply funds to us.'

(26) nih bɔŋhaaɲ nàv - [caetaʔnaa rɔɔbɔh jàəŋ]
DET show NEV intention GEN 2PL
'This shows our inclination.'

What these verbs have in common is that these verbs are derived from certain base verbs by affixation, especially by causative prefixes and infixes[6]. e.g.

p-dɔl 'to supply' < prefix /p-/ + *dɔl* 'to reach'
pòn-jɔ̀l 'to make understand' < prefix /pòN-/ + *jɔ̀l* 'to understand'
s-ɔm-daeŋ 'to express' < infix /-ɔm-/ + *sdaeŋ* 'to be clear'

[6]Affixation is no longer productive in modern Khmer. Affixes may at one time have had clearly defined functions, however, a given affix now may have several functions. For detailed discussions on Khmer affixation, see Jenner 1969.

Verbs which have the semantic content 'giving', but do not contain affixes, are not likely to occur in NEV construction. For example, *cuun* 'to give', *ʔaoj* 'to give' and *prap* 'to tell', which belong to the 'giving' class semantically but which do not contain any affix morphologically, rarely occur in NEV construction. *ʔaoj* 'to give' is the typical verb of giving in Khmer, however, in my data, there is only one example in which *ʔaoj* 'to give' occurs in the NEV construction.

(27) soom ʔaoj nàv - [snae]...
please give NEV love
'Please give (me) love..'
(lyric from a song "Flower of Battambang")

Thus verbs which are likely to occur in NEV construction are not only restricted semantically, but also restricted morphologically.

3.2 Verbs of appearance (including creation) and disappearance (including destruction)

[A] Verbs of appearance (including creation)

(i) appearance: *kaət* 'to occur', *lèc* 'to appear', etc.
(ii) creation: *bɔŋkaət* 'to produce, to make (something) happen', *bɔŋkɔɔ* 'to make something happen', *sɔŋ* 'to build', *kɔɔsaaŋ* 'to build', etc.

(28) kaət nàv - [kdəj-kdam] laəŋ
occur NEV lawsuit DIR
'A trial has taken place.'

(29) rəəttha?phi?baal baan kɔɔsaaŋ nàv - [maccèə?mɔ̀ndɔl
government ASP build NEV center

dɔɔ tòmnàəp] laəŋ
REL modern DIR
'The government has built a modern center.'

[B] Verbs of disappearance (including destruction)

(i) disappearance: *ʔɔh* 'to vanish', *bat* 'to be missing', *bɔmbat* 'to cause (something) to disappear', etc.
(ii) destruction: *khooc* 'to be broken', *kɔmcat* 'to disperse', *bɔŋkhooc* 'to destroy', *bɔmplaaŋ* 'to ruin, to destroy', etc.

(30) bat nàv - [ʔəvəj ʔəvəj tèəŋ-ʔɔh dael
be missing NEV anything anything all REL

kɲom mèən]
1SG have
'Everything that I had is missing.'

(31) sɔŋkriəm baan bɔŋkhooc nàv - [tòmnɛək-tòmnɔ̀ɔŋ rɔ̀ɔvèəŋ
war ASP destroy NEV relationship between

kɲom nɯŋ nèəŋ]
1SG and 3SG.F
'The war has broken the relationship between her and me.'

3.3 Verbs of completion

Verbs which express completion of events, such as *bɔɲcɔp* 'to finish, to conclude' and *sɔmrac* 'to have done, to accomplish' are also likely to occur in NEV construction.

(32) jàəŋ trəv tae bɔɲcɔp nàv - [ʔuʔtrəttha?kam
1PL should PART finish NEV crime

prɔɔlaj puuc-saah]
perish race
'We should finish the genocide of the race.' (source: KP[7]:2)

(33) puok kèe mɯn-tɔən baan sɔmrac nàv - [kòol-bɔmnɔɔŋ
group 3 NEG.IMPF ASP accomplish NEV aim

rɔ̀ɔbɔh kèe] nàv laəj
GEN 3PL INPF FP
'They have not accomplished their aim yet.'

4. Other constituents

As we have seen in section 2 that the O/S_O nouns which are phonologically heavy with modifying elements are preferable in NEV construction. Similarly, the predicates which accompany adverbial phrases or other verbs are also more preferable than predicates which do not take adverbials or other verbs. These constituents which occur in NEV construction have either or both of the following two semantic functions.

[7]KP: svaeŋ rɔ̀ɔk kaa pɯt [Searching for the Truth], No. 12, Dec. 2000. Phnom Penh: The documentation center for Cambodia.

(i) adverbials or verbs which reflect *intensity* of the event
(ii) adverbials or verbs which reflect *completion* of the event

The examples of (i) include (34).

(34) nèəŋ skɔəl nàv - [kroŋ pnòmpèɲ] *jaaŋ cbah*
3SG.F know NEV city Phnom Penh ADV clear
'She knows Phnom Penh City well.'

The adverbial phrase in italic style expresses the high degree of her knowledge about Phnom Penh City, and if there are no such elements which express the intensity of the event, attaching NEV is judged awkward, because proper names are not preferred with NEV (as mentioned in section 2).

(35) *? nèəŋ skɔəl nàv - [kroŋ pnòmpèɲ]
3SG.F know NEV city Phnom Penh
'She knows Phnom Penh City.'

Similar examples:

(36) a. nèəŋ phàk nàv- [soʔraa] *jaaŋ craən sɔnthuk-sɔnthɔəp*
3SG.F drink NEV alcohol ADV many many
'She drinks alcohol a lot.'

b. *? nèəŋ phàk nàv - [soʔraa]
3SG.F drink NEV alcohol
'She drinks alcohol.'

An example for (ii) is as follows.

(37) baek nàv - [kaev] *ʔɔh rɔ̀ɔliiŋ*
be broken NEV glass vanish go out of
'All the glasses are thoroughly broken up (the glasses are broken and there are no more glasses.)'

The adverbial phrase in italic style express the completeness of the event, and if there are no such elements, NEV attachment is judged awkward.

(38) *? Baek nàv - [kaev]
be broken NEV glass
'Glasses are broken.'

Similar examples:

(39) a. kɔət riən *cɔp* nèv - [mèe-riən tèəŋ-ʔɔh]
3SG study end NEV text all
'S/He studied and finished all of the text.'

b. *? kɔət riən nèv - [mèe-riən tèəŋ-ʔɔh]
3SG study NEV text all
'S/He studied all of the text.'

The intransitive verb in italic style in (39a) expresses the completion of the event, and if there is no such element which expresses the completive aspectual property, the acceptability of NEV declines.

5. Speech style and content of speech

For any constituent factors given discussed above there are additional factors governing the use of NEV. That is, NEV is used preferably when (i) the style is formal, or (ii) the information conveyed is unexpected, unusual or unpredictable.

5.1 Formal style

NEV is used more often in formal speech style rather than in less formal, colloquial speech style. This might be seen from the fact that the other 'formal morphemes' tend to co-occur with NEV. In Khmer, there are several morphemes which are used in formal style. One of them is an interrogative marker *taə*, which is placed at the top of an interrogative clause of formal questioning (such as question sentences of an examination paper). In an interrogative clause with NEV, *taə* is optional grammatically, but is more preferable. My informant judged that (40a) is acceptable but is 'lacking' something, while adding *taə* as in (40b) is perfect.

(40) a. nèək baan khèəɲ nèv - [tɔ̀ttha?phèəp dɔɔ l?ɔɔ nɯŋ]
2 ASP see NEV scenery REL good DET
rɯɯ - tèe?
INT

b. *taə* nèək baan khèəɲ nèv - [tɔ̀ttha?phèəp dɔɔ l?ɔɔ
INT 2 ASP see NEV scenery REL good
nɯŋ] rɯɯ - tèe ?
DET INT
'Did you see that beautiful scenery?'

The other thing that might be related to the formality of the NEV construction is that the NEV is likely to be used in clauses whose semantic contents themselves are formal and elegant. For example, the event 'I expressed respect to the professor' might be more formal in its meaning rather than ordinary events such as 'I ate lunch', 'I washed shirts' etc.. The former event is acceptable and preferable with NEV, while the latter events are awkward when NEV is used.

(41) kŋom baan sɔmdaeŋ nèv - [kaa kòoròp] cɔmpòh kruu
1SG ASP express NEV NOM respect toward teacher
'I have respect to the teacher.'

(42) *? kŋom baan sii nèv - [baaj trɔŋ dael cŋaŋ]
1SG ASP eat NEV meal noon REL tasty
'I ate a delicious lunch.'

5.2 Unusual/unexpected information

NEV construction often expresses 'unexpected' or 'unpredictable' nuance, while construction without NEV has no implication for this. Thus NEV is preferable when the semantic content of the clause itself is unusual and unexpected one. For example, the event 'reading books', which is an ordinal event, and thus is not unexpected, is awkward with NEV, while the event 'reading (breaking) a secret code', which is not an ordinary event (not everybody can break a secret code), is preferably uttered with NEV.

(43) *? kɔət ʔaan nèv - [siəvphèv]
3SG read NEV book
'S/He reads books.'

(44) kɔət ʔaan nèv - [lèek koot]
3SG read NEV number code
'S/He breaks a code number. (lit. s/he reads a code number.)

Similar examples:

(45) a. *? nèəŋ jɔɔk nèv - [siəvphèv] ceŋ pii bannalaj
3SG take NEV book go out from library
'She borrowed a book out of the library.'

b. nèəŋ jɔɔk nèv - [siəvphèv] ceŋ pii bannalaj
3SG take NEV book go out from library

daoj kmèən ʔaʔnuŋŋaat
CONJ not exist permission
'She took a book out from the library *without permission*.'

NEV is awkward in (45a), since 'borrowing books from the library' is an ordinal event and is not an unexpected event. While in (45b), NEV is acceptable since 'taking books from the library *without permission*' is an unexpected, surprising event, and is preferable if the speaker wants to express this with surprise.

6. Conclusion

For the data examined, generally Timberlake's framework works well, but the parameter of modification seems to deviate from it. That is, a syntactic parameter may not always coincide with semantic parameters.

Table 2 is the list of all the factors governing the use of NEV which have been discussed in this paper. In Table 2, the terms in boldface is more likely to use NEV.

Table 2. Factors governing the use of NEV

Substantive
1) NOUNS
semantic properties
properness: proper/**common**
abstractness: concrete/**abstract**
animacy: animate/**inanimate**
denfiniteness: definite/**indefinite**
syntactic property
modification: **modified**/unmodified
(**phonologically heavy**/phonologically light)
2) PREDICATES
lexicon: general transitive, intransitive/**giving and reception** **appearance and disappearance** **creation and destruction** **completion**
morphology: base verbs/**derived verbs by affixation**
3) OTHERS
no other constituents/**verbs or adverbials of intensity, completeness**
Stylistic
ordinal/**formal, unexpected**

These factors must be related to each other in some way. However, subsuming all the parameters under one single rubric is difficult and is beyond the scope of this paper. Further research may make this possible, but at the same time this may be the reality about language.

ABBREVIATIONS

1SG:	1st person singular pronoun	DIR:	directionals
1PL:	1st person plural pronoun	EXP:	experience marker
2:	2nd person pronoun	FP:	final particle
2SG:	2nd person singular pronoun	GEN:	genitive
2PL:	2nd person plural pronoun	IMPF:	imperfective aspect marker
3:	3rd person pronoun	INT:	interrogative marker
3SG:	3rd person singular pronoun	LOC:	locative
3SG.F:	3rd person singular feminine pronoun	NEG:	negation marker
		NEG.IMPF:	imperfective negation marker
ADV:	adverbializer		
ASP:	completive aspect marker	NOM:	nominalizer
CONJ:	conjunction	PART:	particle
DET:	determiner	REL:	relativiser

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