

ABSTRACT

THE SYNTAX OF RESPECT: AGREEMENT AND ANAPHORA IN KHMER

The purpose of this study is to examine the syntax of anaphora and non-canonical agreement in Khmer. The Binding Conditions A, B, and C (Chomsky, 1981; Lasnik, 1989; Reuland, 2011) will be investigated in relation to the Khmer anaphoric system, which exhibits a non-canonical form of morphological agreement in a language where inflectional morphology such as gender, person, number and case, is otherwise absent. Condition A states that an anaphor must be bound by an antecedent. Condition B requires that a pronoun be free within its domain. Principle C states that an R-expression must be free (Chomsky, 1981). Seeming violations of these principles in Khmer will be shown to be the result of variations in surface form triggered by agreement. I will show that Khmer has a system of agreement between binder and bindee through a respect affix attached to the reflexive root. I posit that Khmer has grammatical phi-features which denote respect in relation to a syntactic binder. This non-canonical phi-feature triggers the appearance of unique surface properties not observed in languages without this agreement. The grammatical system licenses a copy, particularly with sloppy identity under ellipsis; the repetition of an R-expression is forced, in apparent violation of Condition C. This ‘name repetition’ is shown to be a proxy anaphor and not a true R-expression, since the copy is actually subject to Condition A (via Fiengo and May’s (1994) “vehicle change”; cf. Lasnik, 1989).

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THE SYNTAX OF RESPECT: AGREEMENT AND ANAPHORA
IN KHMER

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Khmer is the official language spoken in Cambodia. Khmer is a member of the Austroasiatic language family, in particular the Mon-Khmer language family. Khmer is spoken by “approximately 14 million people” (Haiman, 2011, p. xv).

The Khmer language has an intricate pattern of agreement in the anaphoric system. The respect marker is a mandatory agreement feature in the Khmer grammar and can be seen under anaphora where it surfaces as the respect marker attached to the lexical item [klɔŋ] (literally “body” in Khmer) which I analyze as an anaphoric root, rather than as an isolated reflexive marker (cf. Fisher, 1985). The respect marker appears as either the respectful variant [kəθ̌], or the non-respectful marker, [viə] or [ʔɑjn] and they act as obligatory indicators of agreement features for third-person referents. The anaphor thus has agreement with the antecedent, not in number or gender, but in degree of perceived respect. This feature will be referred to as plus or minus respect (+r/-r), and I propose that this feature should be added to the set of phi-features that drive grammatical processes in the syntax of Khmer. This suggests an interesting perspective for phenomena that we have known about in other languages, such as Japanese honorifics (Kishimoto, 2010): certain languages incorporate sociolinguistic features inside their formal grammars.

What has not been fully studied is the agreement marking that exists in Khmer anaphora, where it is impossible to refer to a third person anaphorically without using a morphological marker that signals levels of respect. Unlike other languages where the verb agrees with the subject in person, number, or gender features, the verb does not undergo morphological changes at all in Khmer, which is a typologically analytic or isolating language. However, agreement still surfaces

through the presence of morphemes attached to the anaphoric root [klɔn]. Three suffixed morphemes are used, [viə], [ʔɑjn], and [kɔθ̃]. Further, I propose here that the morphemes act as agreement markers exclusively in Khmer anaphora, agreement which indexes the binding relationship between antecedent and anaphor.

As every third party reference has the perceived social status of both the speaker and the third party (and potentially the audience as well) present within the anaphors, this presents a unique opportunity to address certain gaps in previous research concerning the Binding Theory, and why it appears that certain languages violate one or more of the Binding Principles. I will show that Khmer does not actually violate the Binding Principles, but rather that Khmer has surface variations triggered by ‘non-canonical’ agreement between the antecedent and the anaphor through the features +r or –r.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 On Binding Theory

Binding Theory has been the focus of extensive work since the early days of Principles and Parameters (see Chomsky, 1981; Lasnik 1989; Reuland, 2011). The property of binding satisfies two requirements: (a) coindexation (intended co-reference) between one syntactic object and another and (b) the structural property in which one syntactic object (the binder) c-commands the other (the bindee). The conditions of the Binding Theory are that a reflexive or reciprocal anaphor must be bound within its clause (Condition A), that a pronoun must be free in its clause (Condition B), and that an R-expression (usually descriptive NPs or proper names) must be free everywhere (Condition C) (Chomsky, 1981). Condition C most certainly applies to Khmer and there are no exceptions to Condition C. Therefore, constructions such as *via dʒodʒet sok*, or *he likes Sok*, is ungrammatical when ‘he’ refers to ‘Sok,’ according to my data.

Below are examples that illustrate the Binding Conditions. Example (1) illustrates that a reflexive anaphor must be bound in its own clause, as required by Condition A (bracketing indicates an embedded clause).

- (1) a. *Tom_i said [that himself_i would not eat all the appetizers].
b. Tom_i told himself_i [that he would not eat all the appetizers].

Example (2) illustrates that a pronoun must be free in its own clause though it can be bound across a clause boundary, and example (3) shows that an R-expression must be free.

- (2) a. Tom_i said [that he_i would not eat all the appetizers].
 b. *Tom_i told him_i [that he that he would not eat all the appetizers].
- (3) a. *Tom_i/He_i told Tom_i [that he would not eat all the appetizers].
 b. *Tom_i/He_i said [that Tom_i would not eat all the appetizers].

The bracketed portion constitutes the *binding domain* relevant for the Binding Conditions (Lasnik, 1989). According to Fisher (1985), long distance anaphora is allowable in the Khmer language. In fact, Fisher states that long distance anaphora in Khmer is a direct consequence of a “lack of agreement” in Khmer clauses (Fisher, 1985, p. 56). This claim will be reexamined in the data section.

2.2 On Fisher (1985)

Fisher’s (1985) thesis focused on the anaphoric expression [kluən] (‘self’) in Khmer. Fisher posits that the absence of agreement is what prompts [kluən] to accept embedded anaphoric expressions within a separate clause as the antecedent. In many other languages, the anaphor is not allowed to exist in an embedded clause, bound by an antecedent in the matrix clause. Fisher states this was possible in Khmer because of a “lack of agreement” (Fisher, 1985, p. 56).

According to Fisher (1985), [kəθ̌] is a mere pronoun. However, as I will show in the data chapter, [kəθ̌] and [viə] are not simple pronouns, but serve as agreement markers. According to the speakers I have consulted, [kluən] cannot be used in isolation, in direct contrast with the data presented in Fisher (1985). In this context, [kluən] would literally mean ‘body’, and it would cease to work as a reflexive.

The example below from Huffman (1970) cited in Fisher (1985), shows the long distance binding property of the anaphor.

(4) mit teəŋ neəq kit thaa
friend both class. think comp.

[kluən ciə kounsəh]

Self be student

haəy min səw miən luy phaəŋ

and negative hardly have money too

“The two friends reasoned that they are students and they hardly have any money, either”

(Fisher, 1985, p. 57, as cited in Huffman 1970, p. 231)¹

An interesting facet of Fisher’s work is her acknowledgement that there is a respect parameter on epithets (mostly kinship and occupational titles), which she refers to as +/-deference (1985). However, while she further subdivides these features into “+/- deference, +/- familiarity, and +/- intimacy”, this paper is concerned specifically with the +/- respect feature, which will be used as an umbrella term to cover all the sociolinguistic elements as defined by Fisher (1985, p. 159). I posit that, not only is there a respect parameter, but that it also triggers variations in the surface forms of anaphora that result in apparent violations of the binding conditions.

¹ This transcription is Fisher’s, which will not be used in this study.

2.3 On Huffman's Outline of Cambodian Grammar

Fisher (1985) drew heavily on Huffman's work in the grammar of Khmer (see Huffman, 1968, 1970). Huffman has a number of examples to illustrate the Khmer grammatical system. (5) below shows the basic SVO word order of Khmer.

(5) knõm tiñ qwəy haey trəlɔp tow ptěeh
 I buy something perfective return go house.

“After I buy something, [I'm] going back home.” (Huffman, 1968, p. 153)

In example (6) below, the element of emphasis is designated here through an independent particle [tee]. As I will show, sociolinguistic elements such as this emphatic particle, serve as syntactical structures in Khmer. Example (6) illustrates the manifestation of sociolinguistic properties through lexical items. The expression of topical emphasis is realized as /tee/, and as I will show, sociolinguistic elements such as emphatic particles and sociolinguistic agreement in anaphora are all embedded features in Khmer.

(6) knõm ǎmin tiñ qwey tee
 I negative buy anything emphatic particle

“I didn't buy anything!” (Huffman, 1968, p. 153)

2.4 On Vietnamese and Thai Anaphora

Aside from Fisher (1985), there is relatively little on the anaphoric system of Khmer in the published literature. There are, however, similarities cross-

linguistically between what manifests in Khmer anaphora and what manifests in Vietnamese and Thai anaphora.

Hoonchamlong's (1991) work on Thai anaphora splits R-expressions into two categories: "pure" and "not pure," where the "pure" type of R-expression must be free, thus allowing for the "not pure" R-expressions to apparently violate Binding Condition C. Hoonchamlong states that a "pure R-expression exists when the antecedent is not the title name" (Hoonchamlong 1991, p. 43). Below, (7) shows Hoonchamlong's example of titles / "not pure" R-expressions which can be bound (Hoonchamlong 1991). Below is the example from Hoonchamlong (1991, p. 39), reproduced exactly from his work.

- (7) [_{S1} khruul_i b@@k₂ waa₃ [_{S2} khruul_i may₃ waaN₃ phruN₃nii₄]]
 teacher say COMP teacher not free tomorrow
 (Hoonchamlong, 1991, p. 39)

Lasnik (1989) gives examples of what appear to be violations of Condition C in Vietnamese and Thai. Below is an example of an apparent violation of Condition C in Thai and Vietnamese. Example (8) is Thai and example (9) shows Vietnamese (Lasnik, 1989, p. 153).

- (8) cɔɔn khít wâa cɔɔn chàlààt
 John think that John smart
 "John thinks that John is smart."

- (9) John tin John sẽ thắng
 John thinks John will win
 “John thinks that John will win” (Lasnik, 1989, p. 153)

Lasnik’s data show that Vietnamese, unlike Thai, cannot have an R-expression repeated within the same clause. Thai not only has R-expression repetition, it also has the ability to repeat the R-expression within the same clause, such as in example (10), (Lasnik, 1989, p. 153). Compare this to example (11), where the same sentence is ungrammatical in Vietnamese (Lasnik, 1989, p. 154).

- (10) គ្រូ ច្បាប់ គ្រូ
 John likes John
 (11) *John គូរ John
 John likes John

Lasnik essentially claims that Condition C is suspended in these languages in those cases where the name is repeated. I claim below that such behavior in Khmer arises from the properties of the agreement system in anaphora, and that what looks like an R-expression on the surface is actually a proxy anaphor.

According to Griffith’s fieldwork in Khmer, R-expression repetition is grammatical in both short and long distance contexts (Griffith, personal communication, 2015). In chapter 3 I will examine this and find that, under certain circumstances, R-expression repetition is grammatical.

- (12) suk ដ្បូនដ្បូន suk
 Sok like refl-(-r)
 ‘Sok likes Sok.’

Lastly, Huang (2013) suggests that certain languages may use pragmatic information in the syntax as a licenser, whereas others use formal agreement for this purpose. Huang, in particular, notes that languages that mark “class” can have their own “discourse anaphora” (2013, p. 101). Huang notes that these types of anaphora appear when there is only one subject (2013) a fact which will be seen in Khmer as well.

2.5 Hinton (2005)

The pronominal system in Khmer is heavily encoded with the status of the speaker, audience, and the third person, as noted by Hinton (2005). Prior to the Khmer Rouge, the Khmer language had stratified pronouns for people of royalty, monks, and the elderly. During the Khmer Rouge regime, enforced language policies forbade the use of status-embedded pronouns and instead replaced all addresses with the word “comrade,” or [mit] (Hinton, 2005, p. 189). The Khmer Rouge also reversed the age-respect dichotomy. The marker [viə] for children was replaced with the honorary [kəθ̃] marker. The use of [viə] was used to refer to those older and more educated or higher in status than the “proletariat,” and anyone who opposed the regime (Hinton, 2005, p. 189). In this sense, it was used as a derogatory comment on the person (Hinton, 2005).

A fuller discussion of the enforced language changes, though pertinent to the field of sociolinguistics and to the pronominal system of Khmer, is beyond the scope of this paper (see Hinton, 2005). It is important to note, though, that the markers were not dropped from the language, but were simply reversed in their conventionalized reference by the Khmer Rouge, suggesting that they are syntactically regulated devices whose presence is required by the grammar; in other words, they are mandatory agreement markers (Hinton, 2005).

CHAPTER 3: DATA

The data were collected over a period of a year and a half. The speaker is a Cambodian-American Khmer-English bilingual, a first-generation American who was born in the United States after her parents fled the Khmer Rouge regime. Her older sister, older brother, and a younger cousin also contributed to the discussion.

My findings show that these markers--either the disrespectful [ʔɑjn] and [viə], or the respectful [kəθ̌⁷]⁷-- are the agreement affixes that reflect the coindexation relationship between the anaphor with the antecedent. It should be noted that the only difference across the cluster of sentences is the marker attached to the reflexive root [klun].

I also show that when long-distance anaphora creates a conflict when two subjects are used (i.e. strict versus sloppy identity), the sloppy or strict identity meaning is signaled by name repetition. With other languages, long-distance anaphora is not allowed and thus the pertinent antecedent would locally bind the anaphor. Khmer allows long-distance anaphora, which can cause ambiguity in such cases. Thus, apparent Condition C violations result. Also, it will be shown that, in extreme social situations, a title R-expression such as “Teacher” will be repeated in order to avoid the use of a specific marker. This functions as a proxy anaphor and not a true R-expression.

For simplicity’s sake, the references towards a polite and impolite referent will be noted here as being minus respect (-r) or plus respect (+r). This distinction is binary and there is no neutral respect marker, grammatically.

3.1 Single Clause Anaphora

In this section, I examine single clause anaphora. Also, I will examine the ungrammaticality of an absent pronominal respect affix in this subsection.

- (1) a) suk d̄ʒodʒɛt klɔn-viə
 Sok like refl-(-r)
 ‘Sok likes himself’
- b) suk d̄ʒodʒɛt klɔn-ʔɑjn
 Sok like refl-(-r)
 ‘Sok likes himself’
- c) suk d̄ʒodʒɛt klɔn-kəθ̄
 Sok like refl-(+r)
 ‘Sok likes himself’
- d) *suk d̄ʒodʒɛt klɔn
 Sok like body (literal meaning only)

Example (1) shows the three variants of anaphora that can appear in discourse. ‘Sok’ is an R-expression that acts as the antecedent. The word [klɔn] literally means ‘body’ in Khmer, on its own, and is used as the reflexive root in anaphora. In example (1a), the following [viə] does not mark gender or case. Rather, this marker is an agreement marker that is mandatory in anaphora. [klɔn-viə] indicates that the third party, himself/herself, does not require respect, thus [viə] appears. Example (1d) illustrates what occurs when there is no respect marker affixed to the reflexive. This statement, “Sok like body” means, literally, “Sok likes a body.” Sentence (1d) is not an anaphoric sentence. It is only through the presence of the affixes to denote level of respect that bind the anaphor to the antecedent.

What is pertinent to note (but out of the scope of this paper) is that [ʔɑjn] in example (1b) is not a pronoun that means ‘s/he’, whereas [viə] and [kəθ̄] can both be used potentially as pronominals as well as respect markers attached to the

reflexive [klɔn]. The distribution of [ʔajɲ] is unknown, however it shares the feature [-r] with [viə].

- (2) a. viə gɛtɑ:h̄t̄ klɔn-ʔajɲ tʃlæt
 He (-r) think-of refl-(-r) smart
 ‘He thinks of himself as smart’
- b. viə gɛtɑ:h̄t̄ klɔn-viə tʃlæt
 He (-r) think-of refl-(-r) smart
 ‘He thinks of himself as smart’
- c. kɔθ̄ gɛtɑ:h̄t̄ klɔn-kɔθ̄ tʃlæt
 He (+r) think-of refl-(+r) smart
 ‘He thinks of himself as smart’
- d. *kɔθ̄ gɛtɑ:h̄t̄ klɔn-ʔajɲ tʃlæt
 He(+r) think-of refl-(-r) smart
- e. *kɔθ̄ gɛtɑ:h̄t̄ klɔn-viə tʃlæt
 He(+r) think-of refl-(-r) smart

Example (2a) uses the non-respectful variant of ‘self,’ [viə]. [viə] also works as a pronoun, unlike [ʔajɲ], which has no corresponding pronoun which would indicate a third-party referent (except [viə], and only [viə]). When compared to examples (2b) and (2c), we can see that there is no agreement in this

sentence except for the respect parameter under anaphora. There is no subject-verb agreement, and no agreement between the antecedent and the anaphor in terms of gender or number. Without the appropriate agreement marker, the string is ill-formed. In (2d) and (2e), the featural mismatch between the bindee and the binder results in ungrammaticality. This mandatory respect phi-feature system in Khmer anaphora has not been fully documented in the previous binding literature.

The simple sentences shown in (2a), (2b), and (2c) illustrate the lack of finiteness, gender, and number agreement. Agreement *is* present, however, and appears in anaphora through ‘non-canonical’ phi-features. I argue that [respect] can be a genuine phi-feature in certain languages where the agreement feature on the antecedent triggers the appropriate phonological form in the anaphor.

3.2 Short and Long-Distance Anaphora

Short distance anaphora will be examined in this section, as more evidence that +/-r is a genuine phi-feature. After this, long distance anaphora will be analyzed as grammatical constructs, as per the findings of Fisher (1985).

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|----------------------|----------------------|------------|
| (3) | a) | kəθ̌ | k ^h ɛha:h | klɔn-kəθ̌ |
| | | He (+r) | to-lie | refl-(+r) |
| | | “He lies to himself” | | |
| | b) | viə | k ^h ɛha:h | klɔn-viə |
| | | He (-r) | to-lie | refl-(-r) |
| | | “He lies to himself” | | |
| | c) | viə | k ^h ɛha:h | klɔn-ʔaǰn |
| | | He (-r) | to-lie | refl-(-r) |
| | | “He lies to himself” | | |

In sentence (3), the honorary pronoun [kɔθ̃] does not show agreement in the verb “to lie to,” but in the anaphor affix, [kɔθ̃], where it serves to bind the anaphor to the antecedent. As is apparent by the fact that the same verb form manifests for all pronouns, the verb does not show agreement for person, gender, or number.

Continuing in the vein of Fisher’s work (1985) on long distance anaphora, examples (4a), (4b), and (4c) illustrates the anaphor in the embedded clause bound by the antecedent in the matrix clause. Similar to Fisher’s findings, I found that long-distance anaphora is present in this speaker’s dialect of Khmer as well.

- (4) a. kɔθ̃ præp klɔn-kɔθ̃ tʰa: ai klɔn-kɔθ̃
 He (+r) tell refl-(+r) comp. refl-(+r)...
- tʃop lam̩ la baiŋ
 stop play gamble
- “He told himself that he would stop gambling”
- b. viə præp klɔn-viə tʰa: ai klɔn-viə
 He (-r) tell refl-(-r) comp. refl-(-r)
- tʃop lam̩ la baiŋ
 stop play gamble
- “He told himself that he would stop gambling”

| | | | | | |
|-----|---------|----------------------|----------------|--------------|------------|
| (6) | nɛtkru | gɛtah | klɔn-koθ̄ | tʃia nɛtkru | leah |
| | teacher | think-that | body-refl (+r) | that teacher | good |
| | hei | koŋsɛh-koθ̄ | gɛtah | koθ̄ | gɛtah |
| | and | student-his(poss/+r) | think-that | he(+r) | think-that |
| | nɛtkru | leah | d̄ai | | |
| | Teacher | good | also. | | |

“Teacher thinks that he is a good teacher and his student thinks that he[teacher] thinks that Teacher is a good teacher, also.”

Example (6) is yet another piece of evidence that the agreement is seen through the respect markers (+r, -r). Due to the respect dynamic between teacher and his student, the only available pronoun to use is [koθ̄] for the teacher.

Even at a long distance, the subject is still clear due to the use of [koθ̄], which can only indicate the teacher in this sociolinguistic context. I have decided to explain some of the long-distance anaphora as discussed in Fisher (1985) as grammatical in certain environments due to the respect feature which allows the listener to establish each referent. The ability to be bound by the farthest subject could be attributed to the presence of +r or -r agreement, thus lending itself to an easy decoding process for speakers. Though I posit that long-distance anaphora is in part possible due to the sociolinguistic agreement suffixes, further research must be conducted to establish this hypothesis.

3.3 Strict Versus Sloppy Identity

Strict versus sloppy identity is examined here through ellipsis/VP anaphora (Fiengo & May, 1994).

- (7) $\widehat{d}\text{ʒon } \widehat{d}\text{ʒod}\widehat{z}\text{ɛt}$ klon-ʔajn heɪ Mɛri $\widehat{d}\text{ʒod}\widehat{z}\text{ɛt}$ poŋ
 John like refl-(-r) and Mary like also.

“John likes himself and Mary does, too.”

Example (7) is ambiguous for the Khmer speaker. To the speaker, this sentence can refer to either Mary as liking John also (an interpretation known as “strict identity”), or it could mean that *John likes himself* and *Mary likes herself*, too (an interpretation known as “sloppy identity”). Thus, ellipsis in these cases gives rise to ambiguity.

- (8) $\widehat{d}\text{ʒon}$ get-tah mɛri $\widehat{d}\text{ʒod}\widehat{z}\text{ɛt}$ klon-ʔajn
 John thinks -that Mary like refl-(-r)
 heɪ mɛri get-tah ɗaɪ
 and Mary think-that also.

“John thinks that Mary likes herself and Mary does, too.”

Here, the same ambiguity arises with long-distance anaphora. The fact that strict or sloppy identity can arise i.e., that the elided component could mean either *Sok likes himself* and *Mary likes himself, also* or *Sok likes himself* and *Mary likes herself, also* – suggests that either long distance or local anaphora is possible in the elided component. The result is that a speaker, in order to clarify the intended interpretation, would resort to repeating the phrase with a proxy anaphor in lieu of the similar respect form. Note that the full non-elided forms would contain the +/- respect forms of the anaphors which also give rise to the same ambiguity:

- (9) a. suk d̄ʒod̄ʒɛt klɔn- viə hei
 R-exp like refl-(-r) and
 mɛ.i d̄ʒod̄ʒɛt klɔn-viə ɖɑi:
 R-exp like refl-(-r) also
 ‘Sok likes himself and Mary likes himself/herself also’
- b. suk d̄ʒod̄ʒɛt klɔn-ʔɑjn hei
 R-exp like refl-(-r) and
 mɛ.i d̄ʒod̄ʒɛt klɔn-ʔɑjn ɖɑi:
 R-exp like refl-(-r) also
 ‘Sok likes himself and Mary likes himself/herself also’
- c. suk d̄ʒod̄ʒɛt klɔn-kəθ̄ hei
 R-exp like refl-(+r) and
 mɛ.i d̄ʒod̄ʒɛt klɔn-kəθ̄ ɖɑi:
 R-exp like refl-(+r) also
 ‘Sok likes himself and Mary likes himself/herself also’

Below are samples from the strict versus sloppy identity test without the verb phrase ellipsis. These data are included to broaden the understanding of how pronominals and anaphors work in more explicit environments. In sentence (10a), the identities have been resolved by using the pronoun [kəθ̄] by itself, as opposed to sentence (10b) in which the speaker uses [klɔn-kəθ̄] to refer to both John and Mary. These data are unique in that the produced sentence of (10b) is ambiguous to another listener.

- (10) a. $\widehat{d}z\text{on}$ $\widehat{d}z\text{od}z\text{et}$ $kl\text{un-k}\text{ə}\text{θ}^{\text{r}}$ $he\text{i}$ $M\text{eri}$ $\widehat{d}z\text{od}z\text{et}$ $k\text{ə}\text{θ}^{\text{r}}$ $p\text{ə}\eta$
 John like refl-(+r) and Mary like him (+r) also
- b. $\widehat{d}z\text{on}$ $\widehat{d}z\text{od}z\text{et}$ $kl\text{un-k}\text{ə}\text{θ}^{\text{r}}$ $he\text{i}$ $M\text{eri}$ $\widehat{d}z\text{od}z\text{et}$ $kl\text{un-k}\text{ə}\text{θ}^{\text{r}}$ $p\text{ə}\eta$
 John like refl-(+r) and Mary like refl-(+r) also

3.4 On Repetition of R-Expressions and Condition C

R-expression repetition is used in Khmer to diminish ambiguity in strict versus sloppy identity contexts. Also, in regards to the sociolinguistic effect of having an elder who is clearly not respectable, there appears to be an escape hatch to avoid disrespecting an elder while simultaneously avoiding the respect pronoun and anaphor. Attempts to elicit speech from a picture-prompted narrative of an angry middle-aged man with an elderly man resulted in a total omission of pronouns and a complete replacement of all pronouns with the generic word for ‘that one’ in order to avoid using any respect marker for a picture of a middle-aged man yelling at his elderly father. ‘He’ was replaced by ‘that one,’ and when the speaker was asked to guess his occupation and elaborate, she began to refer to the angry, middle-aged man as ‘Teacher’ throughout the entire narrative to avoid the third person pronoun.

- (11) $ni\text{?}\text{ə}\text{h}\text{e}\text{ə}$ $\text{ñj}\text{ə}\eta$
 that one

Rather than list this as evidence that Principle C does not apply, I propose that Khmer follows Principle C, and that the repeated name is actually a proxy anaphor. I also propose that the anaphor surfaces phonologically in the same form as the antecedent through Fiengo and May’s process of vehicle change (Fiengo & May, 1997, 288). This form becomes a substitute anaphor, which is why it appears

to violate Principle C's ban on R-expression repetition. This form is less marked than using an inappropriate form that lacks the required level of respect.

More evidence of the existence of a grammatical repetition of R-expressions comes from Griffith's field notes which observe grammatical repetition of R-expressions in Khmer (Griffith, personal communication, 2015). I found that, similar to Griffith's independent findings, the repetition of an R-expression was accepted as grammatical, though the informant stated it was uncommon. This might be the case for most contexts, however, in certain contexts (such as the picture-prompted elicitation described above), the repetition of R-expressions is grammatical. R-expression repetition will be used to avoid pronouns/anaphors, thereby transforming such elements phonologically into an R-expression via vehicle change.

Therefore, in certain sociolinguistic situations, theoretical constructions such as sentences in (12a), (12b), and (12c) below, would be appropriate. Furthermore, such repetitions followed by a clause in which VP ellipsis has applied are predicted to yield a sloppy identity reading, given that the repeated R-expression in these cases functions as a proxy anaphor.

(12)

- | | | | | |
|----|--------------|-----------|--------------|--------|
| a) | niʔoħeə ñjɔŋ | gɛtɑ:h̃t̃ | niʔoħeə ñjɔŋ | tʃlæt |
| | That-one | think | that-one | smart. |

“That one [he] thinks that one [himself] is smart.”

- | | | | |
|----|---------|----------|-------------------|
| b) | nɛtkru | d̥ʒoðʒɛt | nɛtkru |
| | Teacher | like | Teacher [himself] |

“Teacher likes Teacher [refl].”

c) nɛtkru gɛtah nɛtkru tʃlæt
Teacher think-that Teacher smart

“Teacher thinks that Teacher [refl] smart.”

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSIONS

I have shown in this paper that the Khmer language has built in agreement between antecedent and anaphor through a respect affix attached to-[klɔŋ], specifically one of these three: [klɔŋ-kəθ̄], [klɔŋ-viə], or [klɔŋ-ʔɑjn]. I have established that [klɔŋ] works as a reflexive marker only when accompanied by one of these three: [kəθ̄], [viə], or [ʔɑjn]. The data I presented show that Khmer has an agreement system which encodes respect, or the lack of respect, for a referent. For these reasons, I propose a new phi-feature [respect], with binary settings, denoted here as +r and -r. In Khmer, the pronominals, [kəθ̄] and [viə], act as both simple pronouns and also as an agreement affix attached to the reflexive root.

I have also presented new data in relation to local and long-distance anaphora in Khmer. Certain conditions pertaining to use were shown to override the ungrammaticality of R-expression repetition. I claim that this repetition is found to be a proxy anaphor and not a true R-expression under ellipsis with sloppy identity. Khmer does not violate the Binding Conditions, rather, Khmer shows agreement in +r and -r; the respect phi-feature, which yields surface effects the only apparently seem to violate the Binding Conditions.

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