Passive-like Affected Constructions: Evidence from Khmer (University of Delaware, Lan Kim)
This paper investigates previously overlooked data on Khmer passive-type constructions involving the verb *trau* 'hit, strike'. As described in Haiman (2011), *trau* appears to act both as a main verb (when it takes an NP) (1) and as a passive-like marker (when it takes an agent NP immediately followed by a lexical verb) (2). We argue that a unified analysis of *trau* is not possible. More specifically, we propose that main verb *trau* as an adversative marker is a ditransitive unaccusative verb with two internal arguments (experiencer and affecter) (3), whereas passive-like *trau* is similar to an English *tough*-predicate (4). Under this proposal, these uses of *trau* are historically related and share a core meaning of 'affect', but synchronically the predicates diverge by selecting different complements.

First, we show that the meaning of main verb *trau* is restricted to an adversative implication of physical affectedness and imposes selectional restrictions with respect to animacy: the experiencer is prototypically an animate entity but the affecter is a non-volitional entity such as a natural force or an inanimate entity (5). The two NPs selected by *trau* may also undergo argument inversion without a change in meaning (6). Given these facts, we propose that *trau* behaves syntactically as a ditransitive unaccusative involving two internal arguments without an explicit agent in its structure and that it has the semantics of *AFFECT* (3). Assuming that the inversion is triggered by the choice of which argument is raised from a position equidistant to the target, the movement of *trau* to Voice via *v* would result in the same distance for both the experiencer and the affecter (i.e. semantically vacuous inversion). Evidence for this comes from the control of PRO in an adjunct clause (7), in which the NP that appears before *trau* controls PRO, while the post-*trau* NP remains inside VP.

Unlike main verb *trau*, passive-like *trau* conveys a less restricted meaning of affectedness. We argue that passive-like *trau* (2) involves A'-movement of a null operator to the CP in the embedded clause and that the surface subject is non-thematic and licensed by predication, similar to an English *tough* construction. We assume that a co-indexation between the surface subject and the null operator is established via strong binding (following Chomsky 1986a). Evidence in support for an A'-dependency analysis comes from a series of diagnostic tests: long-distance passivization, island sensitivity, strong crossover, and resumptive pronouns. Long-distance passivization is possible where *trau* permits its internal argument to be contained in the infinitival complement clause of control verbs (8), but it also exhibits island effects (9). Strong crossover effects appear when the null operator moves across the coreferential pronoun c-commanding its gap (10). Lastly, a resumptive pronoun coreferential with the surface subject (the experiencer) is always licensed in an A'-position in place of a gap (2) and (8). The behavioral differences between main verb *trau* and passive-like *trau* thus follow from a difference in the complement which *trau* selects, namely NP versus CP. In addition, we provide three sets of facts to support the non-thematic status of the surface subject. Subject-oriented adverbs such as 'deliberately' can only be construed as referring to the action of the agent, but not the surface subject (11). Next, passive-like *trau* is also compatible with inanimate and sentential subjects (12). Finally, if passive-like *trau* theta-marks its subject, the latter part of (13) which negates the meaning of the prior beating event should not be contradictory to the former part; however, this is contrary to the data. Under our analysis, the surface subject is semantically licensed as the subject of a complex predicate, consisting of *trau* and its sentential complement. In particular, following Landau's (2011) notion of (non-)natural predicate, we posit that a CP involving a null operator is not a natural predicate, thereby semantically integrated as a lambda-predicate.

This study reveals an interesting parallelism with Chinese *bei* passives (Huang 1999, Ting 1998) in displaying A'-dependency properties and also lends empirical support to the so-called Southeast Asian areal phenomenon in which a lexical verb denoting an adversative meaning has been generalized as a passive-like marker via grammaticalization (e.g., Cole et al 2010 on Malay, Prasithrathsint 2006 on Thai, Simpson & Ho 2008 on Vietnamese). In our talk, we focus on similar constructions in Malay, Vietnamese and Thai, and discuss that, as originally suggested in Haspelmath (1990) and more recently in Comrie (2008), a general notion of passive should take into consideration these non-canonical passive constructions.

(1) Samnang   trau   kroap   kamplEng.   (2) Samnang$_1$ trau   Bopha$_2$ dal   (kuot$_{1/*2/*3}$).
    Samnang   trau   seed   gun   Samnang   trau   Bopha punch   3Sg
    'Samnang was affected by the bullet.'   'Samnang was affected by Bopha's punching him.'
    ('Samnang was hit by the bullet.')   ('Samnang was punched by Bopha.')

(3) a. [$_{VoiceP}$ [$_{vP}$ [$_{VP}$ Samnang *trau*   kroap   kamplEng]]]
    b. ⟦trau⟧ = λx.λy.λe. Affect(e) & Experiencer(e,y) &Affecter(e,x)
(4) a.[$_{VoiceP}$ Samnang$_i$ [$_{vP}$ *trau* [$_{CP}$ OP$_i$ [$_{TP}$ Bopha   dal   t$_i$]]]]
    b. ⟦trau⟧ = λP. λx. λe. Affect (e, P(x))

(5)Samnang   trau   ball/plieng/*Bopha.
    Samnang   trau   bal/rain/*Bopha
   'Samnang was adversely affected by the ball/rain/*Bopha.'
(6) a. Samnang   trau   kroap   kamplEng.   b. Kroap   kamplEng   trau   Samnang.
      Samnang   trau   seed   gun   Seed   gun   trau   Samnang
    'Samnang was adversely affected by the bullet.'   'Samnang was adversely affected by the bullet.'

(7) a.Tubeicie   PRO$_{1/*2}$ tuoc   kodaoi,   Samnang$_1$ nowtae   trau   kroap   kamplEng$_2$.
     Although   PRO   small   although Samnang   still   trau   seed   gun
     'Although being small, Samnang was still affected by the bullet.'
    b.Tubeicie   PRO$_{1/*2}$ tuoc   kodaoi,   kroap   kamplEng$_1$ nowtae trau   Samnang$_2$.
     Although   PRO   small although seed   gun   still   trau   Samnang
     'Although being small, Samnang was still affected by the bullet.'

(8) [Neari nEng Samnang]$_1$ trau   poli$_2$ bagncie   aoj   Bopha vaj   (pukket$_{1/*2/*3}$).
    Neari   and   Samnang   trau   police   order   for   Bopha beat   3Pl
    'Neari and Samnang were affected by the police's ordering Bopha to beat them.' (Neari and Samnang
    were beaten by Bopha, but it was the police who ordered Bopha to beat them.)

(9) *Samnang$_1$ kEcie buros   tael   Bopha$_2$ trau poli   bagncie aoj   t$_1$ vaj   (kuot$_2$).
    Samnang   is   guy   that   Bopha   trau police   order   for   beat 3Sg
    'Samnang is the guy that Bopha was affected by the police's ordering (Samnang) to beat him.'
    (Intended) 'Samnang is the guy that the police ordered to beat Bopha.'

(10) *Samnang$_1$ trau   Bopha borngkuab   kuot$_1$ vaj   (kuot$_1$).
     Samnang   trau   Bopha instruct   3Sg   beat   3Sg
     (Intended) 'Samnang was affected by Bopha's instructing him to beat (Bopha).'

(11) Daoi   mienbomnorng   Samnang   trau   Bopha dal.
     By   intentional   Samnang   trau   Bopha punch
     'Samnang was affected by Bopha's punching him intentionally.'
(12) Ka   bawkbaghchawt   Samnang   robos Neari trau   ke   krobknea   dEng.
     Nom cheat   Samnang   Poss Neari trau   3Pl   everyone   find
     'Neari's cheating of Samnang was known by everyone.'
(13) Kon   vaj   chEngkang,   #punte chEngkang   ot   trau   kon   vaj.
     Kid   beat   gangster   but   gangster   Neg   trau   kid   beat
     'The kid beat the gangster, but the gangster was not affected by the kid's beating him.'

Selected References Haiman, J. 2011. *Cambodian: Khmer.* John Benjamins. **Haspelmath**, M. 1990. The grammaticization of passive morphology. *Studies in Language* 14.1:25-71. **Huang, C.-T. J.** 1999. Chinese passives in comparative perspective. *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* 29. **Landau, I.** 2011. Predication vs. aboutness in copy raising. *NLLT* 29.3:779-813. **Prasithrathsint, A.** 2006. Development of the *thuuk* passive marker in Thai, *Passivization and typology: form and function.* John Benjamins.