

THE STATUS OF *MAN* AND *TEL* IN PRE-ANGKORIAN KHMER

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This paper will examine the function of the words *man* and *tel* as they are used in the relative clause construction. These words are found in the pre-Angkorian dated inscriptions from the period between A.D. 600 to 800. Lexicase dependency grammar is used in this analysis (Taylor 1971). This investigation expands on material covered in the author's master's thesis, "Syntax of Dated Pre-Angkorian Inscriptions Nouns and Noun Phrases."

The N₂ *man* or *tel* bears the lexical feature [+rltv]. In the indirect verbal relative clause construction, the N₂ *man* or *tel* is found either between the head noun of a noun phrase and a following verbal relative clause, or between the preposition *ta*₄ and the S of the relative clause.

The two possible syntactic analyses for this structure differ in the relationship postulated to hold between N₂ and the following S. In the first analysis, N₂ is the regent of S₂ and outside the verbal relative clause S₂, as in Thai (Savetamalya 1988). In the second analysis, the relative N₂ is a dependent of the verb inside the verbal relative clause S₂, as in English. These analyses are illustrated in the following diagrams.

In diagram #1, the [2([+rltv])] and [2([+prdc])] imply that N₂, the nominal relative noun *man* or *tel*, is functioning as a predicate attribute of the regent N₁. In the lexical matrix of N₂, [3([+V])] and [3[+fint]], mean *man* or *tel* requires a dependent verb as its complement. Thus *man* or *tel* function as 'complementizers', the marker of the beginning of a verbal relative clause.

In diagram #2, [3([+V])] in N₁ shows that the verb is an endocentric dependent of N₁, and [2([+rltv])] indicates that this verb expects a relative noun as

dependent. Thus the relative noun *man* or *tel* is the dependent of the verb in the relative clause S_2 , and this V, in turn, is the direct dependent attribute of the N_1 .

Diagram #1

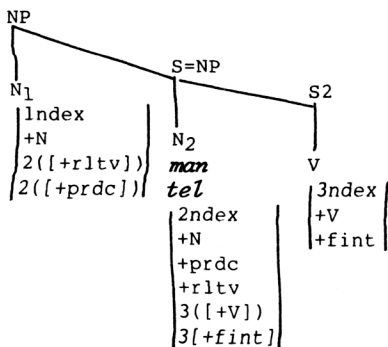
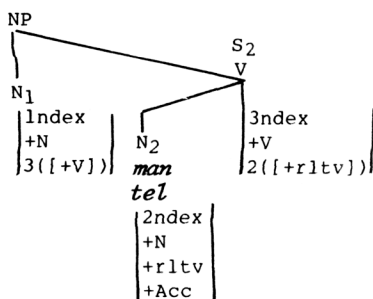


Diagram #2



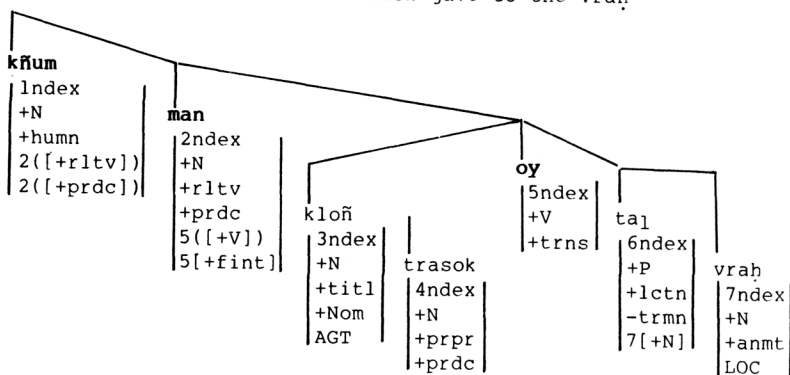
Examples 1a and 1b illustrate each alternative analysis.

1. EXAMPLE OF *MAN* OR *TEL* AS REGENT OF THE VERBAL RELATIVE CLAUSE

1a. (K.561:27-28)

kñum man kloñ trasok oy ta₁ vraḥ
 slave whom Baron Trasok give to Vrah

Slaves whom the Baron Trasok gave to the Vrah



In word 1 of example 1a the contextual features [2([+rltv])] and [2([+prdc])] imply that the relative predicate noun *man* is an adjunct to the noun *kñum*. In word 2, the contextual features [5([+V])] and [5[+fint]] imply that the noun *man* requires a verb as its complement and S is obligatory.

In this phrase, *kñum* [+humn] is the regent of the relative noun *man*. The relative noun *man* [+rltv, +prdc] is the predicate attribute to the regent noun *kñum*, and, in turn, is the regent of the verb *oy*, the head of this sentence *kloñ trasok oy ta1 vraḥ*. *Man* links its regent *kñum* to its dependent clause *kloñ trasok oy ta1 vraḥ*. *Man* directly dominates or cap-commands the following relative verbal clause. In turn, *man* is cap-commanded by the head of the noun phrase, to which it bears a predicate relation. In the relative verbal clause *kloñ trasok oy ta1 vraḥ*, there is a missing object of the verb *oy*. *Oy* is a ditransitive verb, meaning that it expects a Patient, an object that bears the Accusative case form. The prepositional phrase 'to the Vrah' *ta1 vraḥ*, with *vraḥ* [LOC] bears the Locus case relation, is the indirect object of the verb 'give' *oy*. Semantically *man* represents the missing object. *Man* [+prdc] is co-referential both with the head noun *kñum* and with the missing object of the verbal relative clause, thereby establishes a link of coreference between the head noun *kñum* and the missing argument of the verb *oy*.

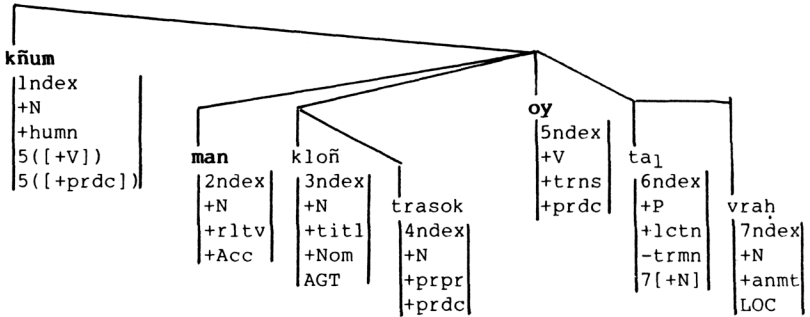
2. EXAMPLE OF *MAN* OR *TEL* AS DEPENDENT OF THE VERBAL RELATIVE CLAUSE

The same example is analyzed according to the second analysis in example 1b.

1b. (K.561:27-28)

kñum man kloñ trasok oy ta1 vraḥ
 slave whom Baron Trasok give to Vrah

Slaves whom the Baron Trasok gave to the Vrah



In example 1b, *kñum* [+humn] is the regent of the verb *oy*, and *oy* is the head of the relative clause *man kloñ trasok oy ta1 vraḥ*. The verb *oy* has: *kloñ trasok* as subject [+Nom, AGT], *ta1 vraḥ* as its indirect object, and *man* as a clause-initial [+Acc] topic dependent of the verb *oy*. *Man* is coreferential both with the head noun *kñum* and with the missing object of the head verb of the verbal relative clause *oy*.

After presenting the same data in each of these two alternative analyses, the structure in diagram #1 is preferable to the one in diagram #2 based on the evidence discussed in the following section. This preference implies that the word *man* or *tel* with lexical feature [+prdc] is the regent of a dependent verbal relative clause and links its regent to its dependent relative clause attribute.

3. ANALYSIS OF *MAN* OR *TEL* AS [+prdc] REGENT OF THE VERBAL RELATIVE CLAUSE

This section will show that *man* or *tel* is a relative noun and should function as predicate rather than the clause-internal topic in the relative clause NP-S construction. The [] is used in the tree diagram as a convenient way of indicating the position of the missing NP. It is not part of a formal lexicase representation.

3.1 *GUI* ~ *GI* AS REGENT OF *TEL* [prdc]

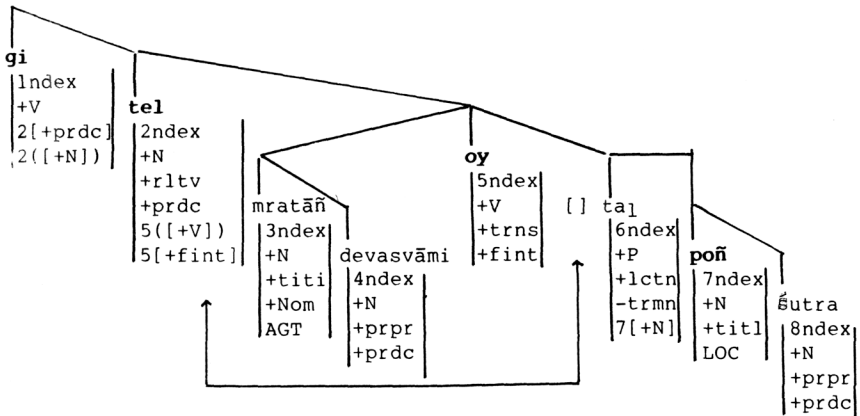
In this analysis, *gui* ~ *gi* is an intransitive copula verb and must have a predicate dependent noun as attribute. In example 2, *gi* is the regent of the clause, and is followed immediately by *tel* and a finite clause with a missing direct object. As copula verb, *gi*

requires a following [+prdc] NP, and since by the analysis represented in diagram #2, *man* or *tel* plus the following verbal clause is not an NP, only the analysis represented in diagram #1 can satisfy this requirement. Thus, the relative noun *tel* must be the head of the whole construction following *gi* and must bear the [+prdc] lexical feature in order to satisfy its regent's requirement. Example 2 justifies that *tel* is a predicate noun.

2. (k.154B:5-6)

gi tel mratāñ devasvāmi oy taḷ poñ śutra
is what Lord Devasvāmi give to Sir Śutra

This is what Lord Devasvāmi has given to Sir Śutra.



The copula verb *gi* is the regent of the dependent relative noun *tel* and requires a dependent predicate noun. *Tel* is *gi*'s complement and bears the [+prdc] function, which is grammatically like a CR case relation than a CF case form, in order to satisfy its regent's requirement. Therefore the relative noun [+prdc] is the regent of a verbal relative clause. *Tel* connects the verb of the higher clause *gi* to the subordinate clause *mratāñ devasvāmi oy taḷ poñ śutra*. The verb *oy* has *mratañ devasvāmi* as its subject, *taḷ poñ śutra* as its indirect object, and a missing direct object, which is linked to *tel* by the (RCCR).

3.2 GUI~ GI AS REGENT OF PP WITH TEL [+prdc] AS ITS SECONDARY LEXICAL HEAD

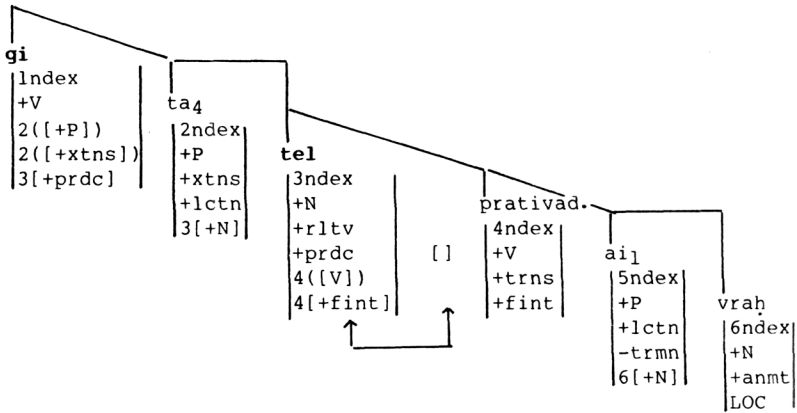
Example 3 is almost identical to example 2 except that the relative noun *tel* is the secondary lexical

head of the PP exocentric construction, with the preposition *ta₄* [+xtns] as its regent.

3. (k.341IN:3-4)

gi ta₄ tel prativaddha ai₁ vraḥ kammrateṅ 'añ
are that who devoted to to V. K. A.

Those who are ever devoted to the shining one Our High Lord



The prepositional phrase *ta₄ tel* is the dependent attribute of the copula verb *gi*. The preposition *ta₄* [+xtns] is the lexical head of the PP exocentric construction where *tel* is its dependent. *Ta₄* functions as the complementizer connecting the *tel* S construction to the regent copula verb *gi*. The relative noun *tel* [+prdc] is the regent of the verbal relative clause *prativaddha ai₁ vraḥ kammrateṅ 'añ*, and is linked to the missing subject of *prativaddha*.

3.3 GUI ~ GI AS REGENT OF MAN [+prdc]

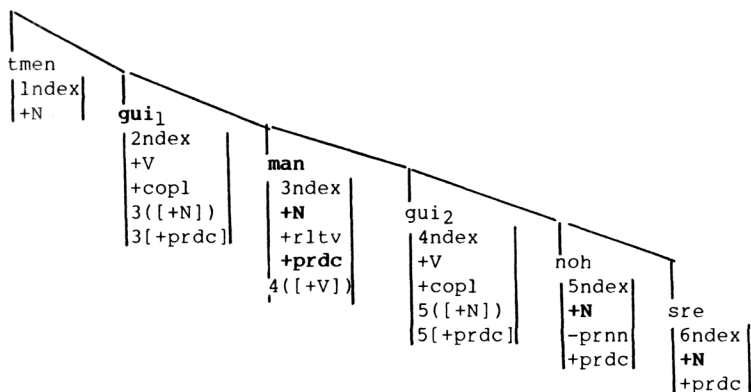
Example 4 shows the relative noun *man* is the head of a free noun phrase, the predicate noun, and is the regent of the verbal relative clause that follows it.

4. (k79:21)

tmeṅ gui₁ man gui₂ noḥ sre tel oy
owner is the one who is that ricefield which give

ta₁ vraḥ poṅ rudrabhava
to Vrah Sir Rudrabhava

Owner of the one, such that his ricefield, [he hereby] gives to the shining one: Sir Rudrabhava.



The copula verb *gui₁* requires a predicate noun [+N, +prdc] as its dependent, and the relative noun *man* satisfied this requirement.

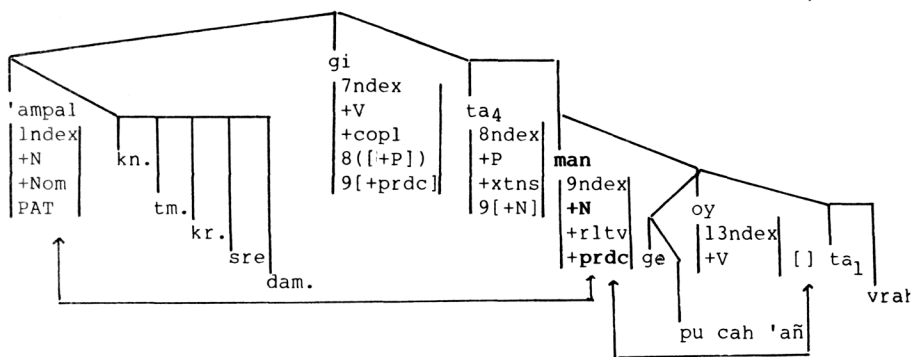
3.4 GUI ~ GI AS REGENT OF PP WITH MAN [+prdc] AS ITS SECONDARY LEXICAL HEAD

5. (k.49:13)

'ampal kñum tmur krapi sre damrin gui ta₄
all slaves cattle carabao ricefields plantations are of

man ge pu caḥ 'añ oy ta₁ vraḥ
what they Elder Lords Our give to Vrah

All of the slaves, cattle, carabao, ricefields (and)
plantations are what they Our Elder Lords gave to the Vrah.



The copula verb *gi* [6ndex] is the main verb of this sentence and has 'ampal as its subject and *ta man* as its predicate. The noun 'ampal is the regent of the coordinate predicate relative clauses *kñum, tmur, krapī, sre, damrin*, with a missing conjunction [don]. The predicate prepositional phrase *ta₄ man* has *man* as the regent of the relative clause *ge pu caḥ 'añ oy ta₁ vraḥ*. The copula verb *gi* in turn requires *man* to bear the [+prdc] feature.

These four examples help to establish the syntactical function of the relative noun *man* or *tel* [+prdc] due to its dependency relationship with its regent, the copula verb *gui ~ gi*, or the preposition *ta₄* in the exocentric construction, where this PP is also the dependent of the copula verb *gui*. The simplest analysis, then, is to claim that the two relative nouns *man* and *tel* should also be analyzed as [+N, +prdc] dependents with following verb-headed clausal complements.

3.5 [NP N₁ - COR - [+N, +prdc]]: MAN/TEL -S AS A [+prdc] ATTRIBUTE

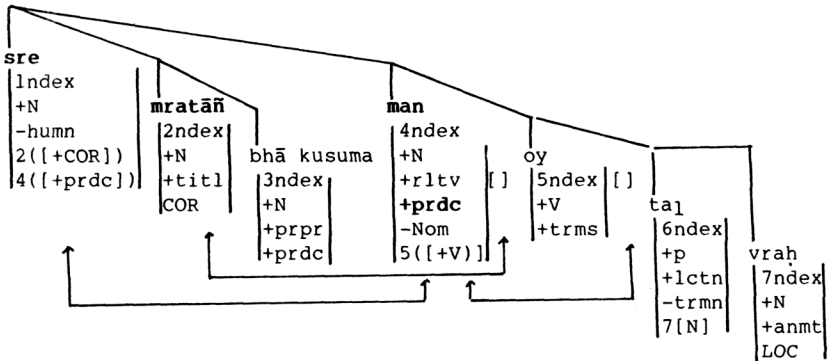
Syntactically, a noun phrase can have another noun phrase as its dependent. The nominal dependent can bear a CF and either a CR or [+prdc] as required by its regent. In the multiple dependent constructions, in terms of pre-Angkorian regular grammar order, the analysis shows that, when a noun cooccurs with both a possessive COR and an equative [+prdc] dependent, the possessive dependent always precedes its equative co-dependent.

Example 6 shows that *man* [+prdc] is preceded by its possessive co-dependent noun phrase. This type of regent-dependent relationship reinforces and conforms to the finding above (possessive-predicate sequencing). In addition the relative noun *man* or *tel* is interpreted as coreferential with its antecedent that is its regent through the Relative Clause Chaining Rules (RCCR).

6. (k.493:27)

sre mratāñ bhā kusuma man oy ta₁ vraḥ
ricefield Lord Bhā Kusuma which give to Vrah

Ricefield of Lord Bhā Kusuma, which [he] gives to the shining one



The tree in example 6 illustrates the regent noun *sre* as having two dependent attributes: (1) the possessive noun phrase *mratāñ bhā kusuma* where *mratāñ* is the regent and bears [COR] case relation to its regent *sre*; and (2) the relative clause construction *man oy tañ vraḥ* where the relative noun *man* is the regent of a verbal relative clause and bears the [+prdc] required by *sre*.

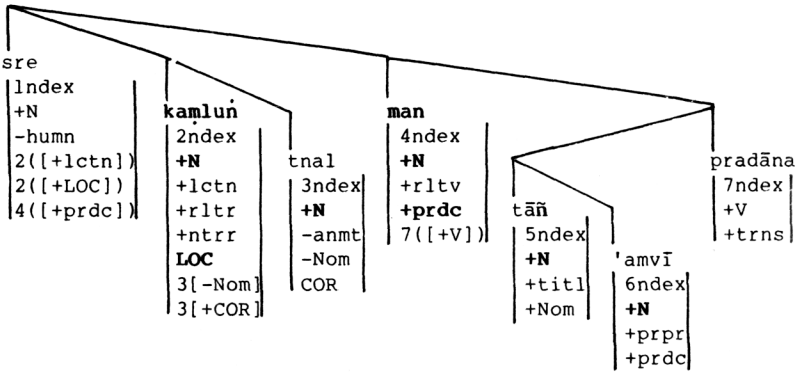
3.6 [NP N₁ - LOC - [+N, +prdc]]: MAN/TEL -S AS A [+prdc] ATTRIBUTE

In the multiple dependent noun phrase, if the regent noun has a LOC and a [+prdc] dependent, the locational noun phrase precedes its co-dependent predicate noun phrase. In example 7 the locational noun phrase is followed by its co-dependent predicate noun phrase *man*, supporting the analysis proposed here that *man* or *tel* constructions are NPs with head nouns bearing the feature [+prdc].

7. (k.493:26)

sre kuṃluṅ tnal man tāñ 'amvī pradāna
ricefield inside elevated road which Retainer 'Amvī gave

The ricefield inside of the elevated road which the Retainer 'Amvī gave [me]



In example 7, the regent noun *sre* has two dependent attributes: (1) the locational noun phrase *kamluñ tnal* where the relator noun *kamluñ* functions as LOC to its regent, and (2) the predicate noun phrase *man tāñ 'amvī pradāna* where the relative noun *man* functions as [+prdc] to its regent *sre*. This analysis accords with the regular LOC-[+prdc] dependent order in terms of the relationship among the co-dependents of a noun.

The four types of examples show: (1) the *man* or *tel* construction is a free NP, and is the predicate dependent of a copula verb (examples 2 and 4), (2) *man* or *tel* is the predicate dependent of a preposition *ta₄* [+xtns] in the exocentric construction, in turn *ta₄* is the dependent of a copula verb (examples 3 and 5), (3) the predicate noun *man* or *tel* [+N, +prdc] confirms and strengthens the pattern of pre-Angkorian regular grammar in 'possessive-predicate sequencing' (example 6), and (4) 'locative-predicate sequencing' (example 7) are established in the multiple dependent relationships.

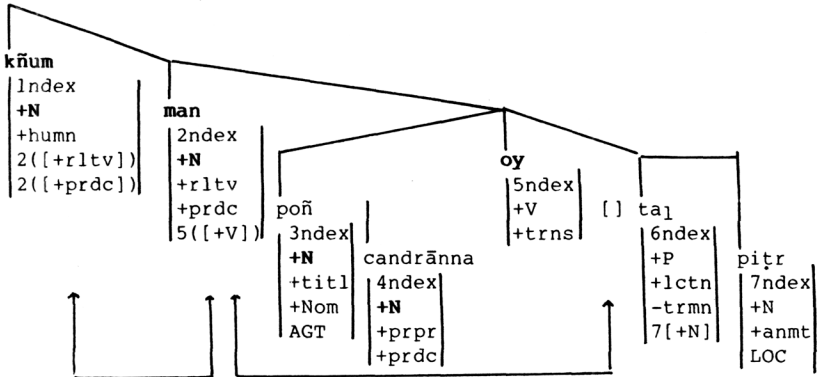
Earlier we said that the relative noun *man* is found between either its regent noun and its dependent verbal relative clause S₂ or its regent preposition and its dependent verbal relative clause S₂. In the following section, the focus is on noun functions as regents of *man* or *tel*.

4.1 MAN OR TEL [+prdc] FUNCTIONS AS THE MISSING OBJECT OF S=[+V]

The relative noun *man* or *tel* in examples 8 and 9 is interpreted as the missing object of the subordinate verbal relative clause and may be marked as coreferential with its human antecedent N₁ in the higher clause.

8. (K.561:27-28)

kñum man poñ candrāṅna oy taḷ piṭr
 slave whom Sir Candrāṅna give to dead
 slaves whom Sir Candrāṅna gave to the Dead



9. (k.561:33)

ge tel poñ bhavacandra pre tve sre
 they whom Sir bhavacandra command cultivate riceland
 They whom Sir Bhavacandra commanded to cultivate riceland

4.2 MAN [+prdc] FUNCTIONS AS THE MISSING INDIRECT OBJECT OF S=[+V]

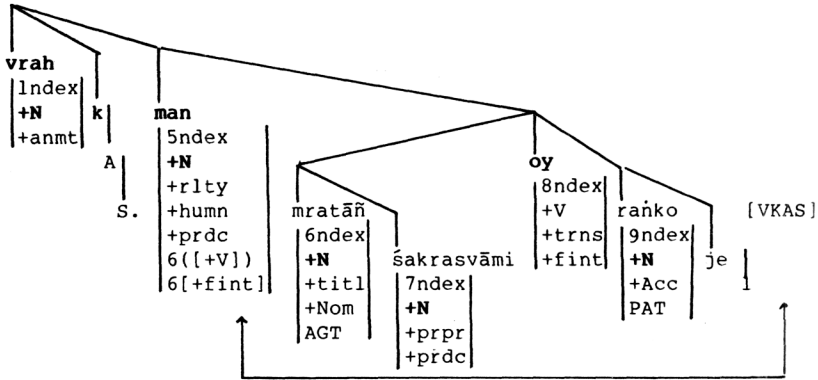
In example 10, the relative noun *man* is interpreted as the missing indirect object of the subordinate verbal relative clause and coreferential with its animate antecedent in the higher clause by (RCCR).

10. (k.904A:19-20)

vraḥ kammrāṭaṅ 'an śri tripurāntakesvara
 V. K. 'A Śri Tripurāntakesvara

man mratān sakrasvāmi **oy** raṅko je 1
 to whom Lord Sakrasvami give husked rice je 1

The V.K.'A. Śri Tripurāntakesvara to whom the Lord Sakrasvami gives 1 **Je** of husked rice [to VKAS]

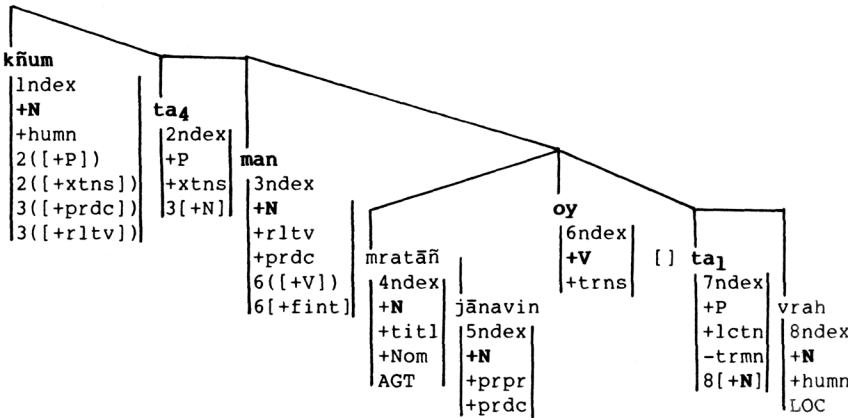


4.3 TA₄ MAN, WITH MAN [+prdc] FUNCTIONING AS MISSING DIRECT OBJECT OF S= [+V]

11. (k.561:30)

kñum ta₄ man mratañ jānavin oy ta₁ vrah
 slave that whom Lord Jānavin gave to Vrah

Slaves whom Lord Jānavin has bestowed upon the Vrah



In example 11, *kñum* [+humn] is the regent of the prepositional phrase *ta₄ man mratañ jānavin oy ta₁ vrah*. *Kñum* cap-commands the preposition *ta₄* and commands the relative noun *man* which, in turn, bears the lexical feature [+prdc] required by *kñum*. The relative noun *man*

is the regent of the verbal relative clause *mratāñ jānavin oy ta₁ vraḥ*, where *mratāñ jānavin* is the nominative agent of the verb *oy*. *Oy* has a missing direct object that is coindexed to *man*, that has *kñum* as its antecedent.

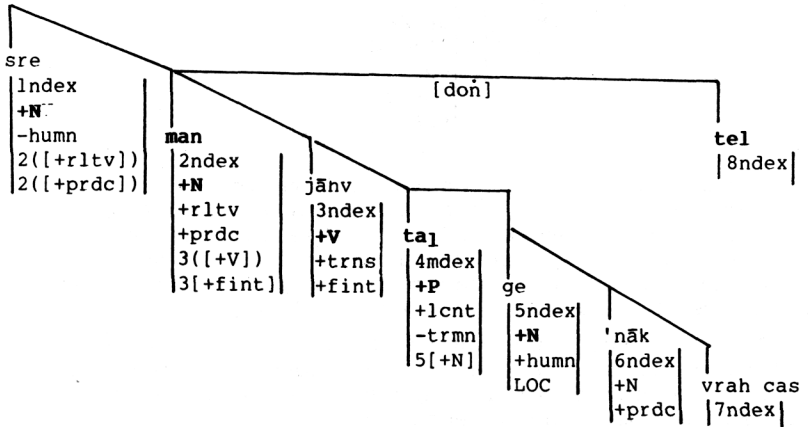
4.4 COOCCURRENCE OF *MAN* AND *TEL* WITH THE SAME ANTECEDENT

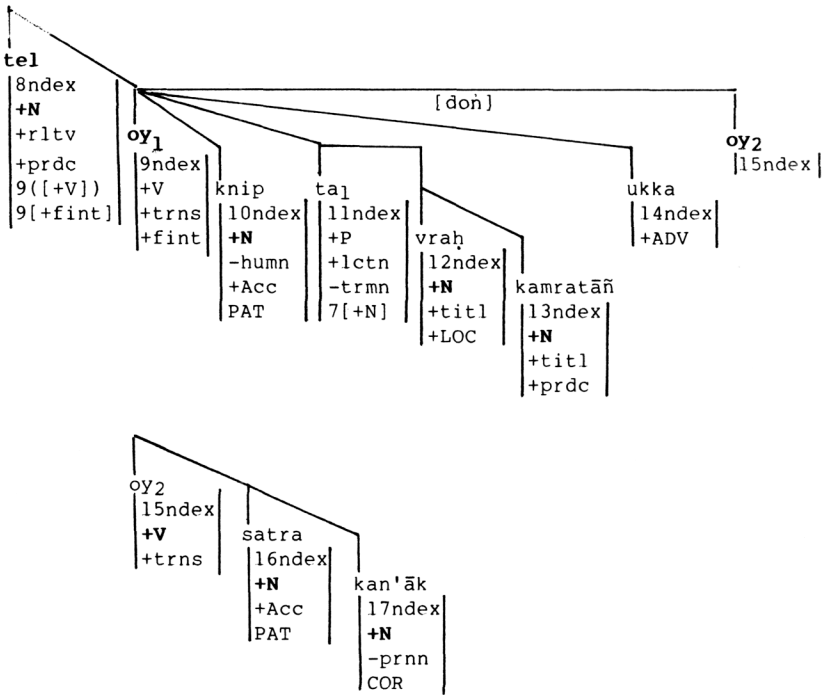
12. (k.493:28)

sre man jāhv ta ge 'nak vraḥ cas tel
ricefield which acquire from they people Elder Lord which

oy₁ knip ta₁ vraḥ kamratāñ ukka oy₂ satra kan'āk
give revenue to Vrah Kamratāñ also give offering Kan'āk

The ricefield which [I] acquired from the folk the Elder Lord, [and] which [I] gave as a source of revenue to the V.K. also [I] gave as the Kan'āk offering





Example 12 illustrates the grammatical equivalence of *man* and *tel*. The relative nouns *man* and *tel* cooccur in the same sentence, and both have the same antecedent 'ricefield' *sre*. Here *tel* is conjoined to *man*, and together they form a predicate coordinate relative clause with a missing conjunction [*doñ*].

The relative noun *man* is the regent of the verbal relative clause *jāhv ta₁ ge 'nak vraḥ cas*, with *jāhv* as its dependent verb. This verb *jāhv* has a missing subject and missing object. By context, the missing subject is *Jnanacandara*, and *man* is interpreted as the missing object, coreferential with its antecedent ricefields *sre*.

The relative noun *tel* is the regent of the coordinate verbal relative clause *oy ta₁ vraḥ kamratāñ ukka*, and *oy satra kan'āk*. These two relative clauses are conjoined with the missing conjunction [*doñ*].

Jnanacandara again the subject of these two verbs *oy's* and *tel*, is interpreted as its missing object that referred to *sre*.

As conclusion the identification of the words *man* and *tel* are found between the head noun N_1 of a noun phrase NP and a following verbal relative clause, as predicate relative nouns due to its dependency relationship with its regent, the copula verb *gui ~ gi*. *Man* and *tel* can be interpreted as the missing object, subject, an indirect object, dependent of a verb in the relative subordinate clause are marked as co-referential with its antecedent in the same or preceding clause by the RCCR. When the preposition *ta₄* intervenes between *man* or *tel* and the head noun, *ta₄* is analyzed as the complementizer of the equational predicate which is headed by *man* or *tel*.

This work will contribute to the understanding of historical syntax of the Mon-Khmer group, the typological change and a real convergence of the SEA language area.

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