

ABOUT *POLYFUNCTIONNALITY* IN KHMER : THE CASE OF *DAOY*

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The widely recognized *polyfunctionnality* of a large number of items in Khmer (cf. Haiman, 2011) makes it difficult to give them a well-defined characterization. In this respect, the case of *daoy* can be considered a good example. Associated to the *cognate* mon-khmer *t₁uy* ('to follow') in the Shorto dictionary, *daoy* presents a wide range of uses and values, most of them already occurring in Preangkorian and Angkorian Khmer (Jenner, 2009a et b). In Thai, *dooy* has uses comparable with those of *daoy* (Iwasaki & Ingkaphiron, 2005).

Headley in his dictionary puts forward a partial inventory of these uses: a. predicate '*attached to, to follow, to obey*' as well as '*to love intimately, sexually*'; b. preposition '*by, with, along*'; c. particle : indicator of an adverb: *in a ... manner* ; d. conjunction '*because*'. And besides *daoy* there is *daoy saa* presenting a set of values similar to those of *daoy*¹.

The classification adopted by Headley points out the polyfunctionnality of *daoy* alternatly defined as a V, a preposition, a particle or a conjunction. Moreover, we will see that some of the uses of *daoy* are not consistent with this repartition in four categories. As we will show, bringing *daoy* under such categories can only be justified by the the nature and the uses of the items it combines with. That is to say that the polyfunctionnality of *daoy* is not due to *daoy* proper, but to the items it combines with. It is therefore necessary to start with the distribution of *daoy*, and to set out the various types of context where it is to be met.

As a matter of fact, polyfunctionnality raises the question of the possibility to draw limits between lexicon and grammar in Cambodian. The distinction lexicon / grammar is more or less relevant for Indo-european languages. As I'll try to show, *daoy* has its own grammar.

The various constructions with *daoy* base on the pattern **X daoy Y** where X is a predicative relation : Subj. - Pred. - (Obj.) - (Adjunct)² which expresses an event ; Y in itself is not part of the event corresponding to X ; *daoy* put Y in relation with the event X

In this study, we will compare as far as possible the constructions involving *daoy* with similar constructions involving another item.

A. Y become a part of the event

A1 : Pred. in X is not realized by a Verb

(1) [cəəŋ kraoy daoy cəəŋ muk]
leg behind daoy leg before

The hind legs follow the forelegs (proverb)

(2) [koon nih daoy dambonmien nah]
son this daoy advices very

This son complies rigorously with the advice (given to him)

¹ Let's note the existence of a prefixed verb *ban* + *daoy* 'let', 'favour' . *bandaoy kyal* 'go with the wind'

² Obj and Adjunct are facultative constituents of the prédicative relation.

In (1) *daoy* means that the movement of the hind legs is directed by the movement of the forelegs (Y). As a proverb (1) means that youngsters must model themselves on old people, or the subordinates on their superiors, etc.

Example (2) is quite similar: ‘son’ is associated to an event whose nature is defined by the term Y (‘advice’) introduced by *daoy*: X behaves according to the advice given to him. In (2) *daoy* can be replaced by another item *taam* ‘to follow’ (optionally followed by *tæ* ‘only’):

(2a) [koon nih taam (tæ) damboonmien nah]
 son this to follow restr. advice very
 His son follows (scrupulously) the advice given to him

The difference between (2) et (2a) lies in the fact that (2), with *daoy*, gives a global assessment of the way the son behaves, whereas *taam (tæ)* focuses on the fact that the son takes into account the various pieces of advice given to him according to the circumstances. This interpretation of *taam* (2a) is confirmed by its role in other cases such as (3):

(3) koat tiv taam tæk
 3sg to go taam water

He follows the stream

In (3) the moving of the person is defined by the stream of the river ; in other words, the moving of the person varies according to the variation of Y and we will say that there is a ‘**co-variation**’ of X and Y. Co-variation means that the person chooses to match the variation of his moving to that of Y. This implies that he has an autonomy regarding Y. This accounts for the fact that in (2a) the negative form is possible, whereas it is not possible in (2) with *daoy* :

(2b) [koon nih min taam damboonmien]
 son this to follow advice

His son does not comply with the advice (given to him)

(2c)* [koon nih min daoy damboonmien]
 son this neg. daoy advice

(2b) means that the son chooses not to comply with the advice given to him : the point is that there is no co-variation of X and Y.

(4) [koat mien luy craən baan cie srəy daoy]
 3sg have money a lot that’s why girl daoy

He earns a lot of money. That is why the girls hook on him.

In (4) Y is not present, but it can be understood that it stands for the boy involved in the left context, presented as very wealthy. Here again, the event corresponding to X is not explicit: all that is said is that the behaviour of the girls is directed by Y (with all his wealth).

A2. Pred in X is a Verb. Y is an (external) argument of V

(5) [vie rəə ʔəyvan min dəŋ daoy ʔəy tiv klah tee]
 3sg take away things neg know daoy indef. go some part.

He took away all his belongings and nobody knows what else.

(5a) vie rəə ʔəyvan daoy ʔəy tiv klah tee]
 3sg take away things daoy indef to go some part
 He took away his belongings, but apparently not only his.

(6) [niv sok sok tiv rɔək riəŋ vie ʔaoy]
 to stay happy happy to go look for story 3sg give
 vie cee daoy teəŋ ʔaŋ]
 3sg insult daoy all 1sg

All was fine. But you pushed her to the breaking point, so she insulted you, and me by the way (though I had nothing to do with the matter)
 (5a) and (6) focus on an argument (Obj) of the predicative relation and *daoy* matches Y at this place of argument: *daoy* means that, apart from the one item involved, other items (Y) are involved / affected in or by the event with which they have in principle nothing to do. In return, taking those items into account reflects on the interpretation of the event.

A3. Pred is a Verb : Y is an adjunct

(7) [tɔj nih mien plieŋ tleak daoy kanlaeŋ]
 day dem. have rain fall daoy place

Today, it is raining in some places

(8) [vie niʔyiey trəv daoy peel peel klah niʔyiey
 3sg speak correct daoy time time some speak
 trəv peel klah min trəv tee]
 correct time some neg. correct part.

What he says is correct at times. He happens to speak sometimes correctly, sometimes not

(9) [kom ceh tae thaa ʔaa riəŋ nəŋ daoy mənuh tee]
 neg. know only say dem. story dem. daoy person part.

You must not talk rubbish. Regarding this story, it depends on the characters.

In (7) - (9), the event corresponding to X which is given as a basic general truth is to be reconsidered according to an element of variation (space in (7), time in (8), person in (9)). With Y, *daoy* introduces an element which makes it necessary to reconsider things in their context and to establish the frame within which this general truth is valid : X depends on where, or when it takes place, and who is involved. The fact that *daoy* Y frames the proposition X comes to introduce cases where the proposition X is not valid, as explicated by the sequence following *daoy* Y in (8).

This negative component introduced by Y regarding the proposition X is quite clear in (10) where *daoy* is followed by the negative particle *tee* :

(10) - [siəvphiv naa dael koat saseε sot tae lʔaa teəŋʔah]
 book indef. Relat. 3sg write pure only good all
 - [daoy tee kɔm ʔaan ʔaa muəy nuh ʔat kaət sah]
 daoy part. 1sg read dem. one dem neg. good at all

- All the books he writes are good. - It depends ! I have read one which is not good at all.

In (10) Y (*tee*) introduces a negative component which relativizes the positive assertion X.

In order to understand better the role of *daoy* Y in examples (7) – (10), it is worth comparing (11) with (12) using *taam* which has already been compared with *daoy* (example (2)):

(11) - [kon koat phalit lʔaa teəŋʔah] - [daoy tee]
 film 3sg make good all daoy part.

All the films he makes are good. - It depends on what films.

(12) - [kon koat phalit lʔaa teəŋʔah] - [taam riəŋ tee]
 film 3sg make good all taam story part.

- All the films he makes are good. - It depends on what films (you must judge each case in turn)

In (12) with *taam*, the positive /negative evaluation of the films is given for each film in turn, as is shown by the use of *riəŋ* ‘film / story’ after *taam* (reminding what has been called the co-variation of X and Y). On the other hand, (11) gives a global evaluation, introducing a negative element in a positive assertion presenting at first a general truth.

Some dictionaries consider *daoy* as a N which can mean (military) rank. Actually, this use of *daoy* can be compared with those which we have just discussed. Within the framework X *daoy* Y where Y is respectively *ponmaan* et *bəy* as categorizing X:

(13) [koat nəŋ daoy ponmaan - koat nəŋ daoy bəy]
 3sg deict. daoy how much 3sg deict. daoy three

- What is his rank ? He has rank three.

Synthesis: The analysis of this first series of examples made it possible to point out the following properties of Y as introduced by *daoy*.

- Y in itself is external to the predicative relation corresponding to X ;

- *daoy* introduces Y as a determination of X ;

- Y becomes part of the event X as a pole of regulation ;

- Taking Y into account determines the mode of validation / actualization of the event X.

Comparing *daoy* and *taam* made it possible to point out that with *taam* there is a co-variation of X and Y, which implies an autonomy of X regarding Y; whereas with *daoy* X has no autonomy regarding Y. This difference between *taam* et *daoy* can get further illustration by the following two series of data :

(14a) [vie tvəə daoy cət ?æŋ]
 3sg make daoy mine alone

He act as he pleases

(14b) *[vie tvəə taam cət ?æŋ]
 *3sg make taam mind alone

(15a) [vie tvəə daoy cət vie / ?æŋ kluən]
 3sg make daoy mind 3sg alone self

He does it as he pleases

(15b) [vie tvəə taam cət vie / ?æŋ kluən]
 3sg make taam mind 3sg alone self

He acts according to what his heart dictates / to how his feelings come through

In (14) *?æŋ* means that his heart is taken as an absolute reference, which makes covariation altogether impossible (cf. **taam*). In (15) the presence of a term corresponding to the subject of "act" (pronoun (*vie* or *kluən* 'itself')) makes it possible to introduce a co-variation, such as marked by *taam*.

(16a) [yəəŋ cam məəl taam sthaanphiep ceak sdaəŋ]
 1pl wait look taam situation manifest

We will act according to the situation such as it appears

(16b) *[yəəŋ cam məəl daoy sthaanphiep ceak sdaəŋ]
 *1pl wait look daoy situation manifest

(17a) [taam kɲom kɲom mɪn tvəə ?ɑŋcəŋ tee]
 taam 1sg 1sg neg. do in that way part.

As for me, I don't do it that way

(17b) *[daoy kɲom kɲom mɪn tvəə ?ɑŋcəŋ tee]
 *daoy 1sg 1sg neg. do in that way part.

(18a) [kɲom tvəə ?əy koat tvəə niŋ tvəə taam tae kɲom]
 1sg do indef. 3sg do deict. do taam restr. 1sg

Whatever I do, he does it just as I do it.

(18b) *[kɲom tvəə ?əy koat tvəə niŋ tvəə daoy tae kɲom]

1sg do indef. 3sg do deict. do daoy restr. 1sg

In (16) – (18) *taam* only is possible in so far as the realization of the event X is defined as integrating the variation of Y : there is a co-variation

B. Y is an **external component** of the event corresponding to X (addition)

B1. Y is a Noun : instrument, manner, etc

(19) [kaaŋje nih cie kaaŋje daoy day]
work this to be work daoy hand

This work is a manual one

(20) [nih cie kaʔseʔkam daoy neaŋkoal]
dem be agriculture daoy plough

This is swing plough agriculture

The type of instrument used to perform the activity corresponding to X is again to be found in the following examples :

(21) [strəy bambav koon daoy tik dah]
woman suckle child daoy water breast

The women feed their children with their milk

(22) [kaa ʔap muk daoy camhaay tik mien prayaoc dal sbaek]
Nom. clean face daoy steam water have use to skin

Cleansing the face with steam is good for the skin

(23) [tuuk nih daə daoy kyəl]
boat dem. drive daoy wind

This boat is a wind driven boat

This type of case is not limited to those where Y is the instrument involved in the event X :

(24) [koat tvəə bon daoy cət creah thlaa]
3sg do feast daoy mind clear transparent

He acts with generosity

B2. Y is a verb with the same subject involved in the event X :

(25) [vie tvəə daoy baŋkham tee vie kmien bamnaaŋ tvəə]
3sg do daoy force part. 3sg not have desire do
ʔaŋcəŋ tee]
in this way part

He acts under duress. He doesn't feel like acting this way

(26) [vie niʔyiey daoy mien ʔamnahʔamnaaŋ trəmtəv]
3sg speak daoy have proof correct

He says so on hard evidence

(27) [cao samlap koat daoy vay niŋ dambaŋ]
thief kill 3sg daoy hit with stick

The thief smashes him dead with a stick

B3. *daoy* and the agent complement (passive)

In the so called passive constructions formed with *trəv*³ the agent of the process can either come before the V or be introduced by *daoy*. A regular agent is normally introduced before the V, like *kee* in (47)⁴ :

³ About *trəv* cf. Paillard & Thach (2010) and Thach (2010)

⁴ As pointed out by Thach, the agent is not necessarily explicated

(28) koat trəv baan kee dəŋ cəŋ pii khæe haøy
 3sg hit get 3pl get rid go out two months part.
 He was thrown out two months ago

The use of *daoy* to introduce the agent in the passive construction is rather recent. It dates back to the 1944 Constitution, partly adopted from the French / English Constitution. It is mainly to be met in the newspapers, in particular when the use of the passive comes from a French or English translation. Moreover, the two modes of introduction don't have the same interpretation compare (29a) et (29b), (30a) et (30b)⁵ :

(29a) saʔməy saŋkriem phuum meemut trəv baan kəmtəc daoy
 time war village Memut trəv get destroy daoy
 kroapbaek ʔameriʔkaŋ
 bomb american

During the war, what destroyed Memut village were American bombs

(29b) * saʔməy saŋkriem phuum meemut trəv baan kroapbaek
 time war village Memut trəv get bomb
 ʔameriʔkaŋ kəmtəc
 american destroy

(30a) conlməh trəv baan poolih cap dak kuk
 criminal trəv get police arrest put jail

The criminal was arrested by the police

(30b) *conlməh trəv baan cap dak kuk daoy poolih
 criminal trəv get arrest put jail daoy police

According to Thach, the introduction of the agent by *daoy* induces a focus on this agent. On the other hand, when the identity of the agent is of secondary importance, the agent stands before the verb. In (29), the information is not in the first place about the destruction of the village itself but about who is responsible for it (the american bombs, whereas the USA were allied to Cambodia). Conversely, in (30) the important information is the arrest of the criminal, no matter who is responsible for it ('the police', according to its usual function). When the two constructions are possible, a difference can be observed in the interpretation: in (31) with *daoy* the focus is on the (*a priori* unexpected) identity of the kidnapers / backers of the kidnapping, whereas in (32) 'his proper friends' are merely presented as the agents of the kidnapping :

(31) [praathien kromhun toto trəv baan cap cumrit daoy
 president company toto trəv to get catch press daoy
 mithpheə robah kluən
 friend prep. self

The president of the Toto business has been kidnapped by his own friends

(32) [praathien kromhun toto trəv baan mithpheə robah kluən
 president company toto trəv to get friend prep. self
 cap cumrit
 catch press

The president of the Toto business has been kidnapped by his own friends

These constraints about what the agent stands for when introduced by *daoy* must be considered according to what we have called in A. the original exteriority of Y, meaning that at first Y has nothing to do with the event X (in other words, is not the agent of the process). Its relation with the

⁵ Examples (29) – (32) are borrowed from Thach (2010)

process comes secondarily, and comes to be interpreted as an agent within this relation. Thus the unexpected, shocking, outstanding character often taken by Y.

In short, let alone the case of passive sentences translated from French or English, we argue that the construction *daoy* Y does not stand for the agent complement. Moreover, in such examples as (32), where *trəv*, a passive marker, is absent, the term introduced by *daoy* is not interpreted as the agent of the process, but as a person who had an influence on how the event happened⁶ :

- (33) *saaraʔmonticiet* *dael* *kaasaan* *daoy* *look x cie* *ʔaakie*
 national museum relat. Build *daoy* M. X be building
 samkhan *muəy* *niv* PP
 important one in PP
 « The National museum which was built thanks to M. X is one of the most important buildings of Phnom Penh »

B4. Other cases

We now present two other series of data where Y is in close relation with the event X

1. Alternative between *daoy* and *taam*. In this series of data, *trəv* is to be met again, but as a marker of conformity⁷.

- (34a) *caiʔaəŋ məəl coh* *yəəŋ* *caec* *nih* *trəv* *daoy* *juttethoa* *haəy*
 2SG look PART. 1SG share dem. *trəv* *daoy* probity part

Look, the sharing I made is fair

- (34b) *caiʔaəŋ məəl coh* *yəəŋ* *caec* *nih* *trəv* *taam* *juttethoa* *haəy*
 2SG look PART. 1SG share dem. *trəv* *taam* probity part

Look, the sharing I made is fair

- (34c) *cacaaak* *kat* *caec* *nih* *mən* *trəv* *taam* *cbap* *knorj* *kaa*
 wolf cut share dem. neg. *trəv* *taam* law in matter
 cool hun knie tee
 enter part. recipr. part.

The sharing made by the Wolf is not in accordance with the law on the common investments.

The interpretation differs in that with *taam*, the locutor claims he acts in accordance with the rules governing the sharing. Just as in examples (2) and (16) – (18) there is a co-variation: the subject is autonomous meaning that he is free to keep to the rules or not. This is confirmed by the possibility of (34c), where the Wolf in charge of the sharing is presented as having failed to respect the rules. Conversely, with *daoy* Y is a term in an external position to the process: integrating him to the process means that the sharing was made in accordance with the rules (it is a global assessment). In (34c) *daoy* is not possible.

⁶ Other examples without *trəv* which show that the use of *daoy* to introduce an agent does not imply the presence of *de trəv*

- (a) [*videʔoo* *klip* *nih* *thaat* *daoy* *look* *soʔciet*]
 vidéo clip dem realize *daoy* Sir Socheat

This video clip is realized by Mr. Socheat

- (b) [*sonteaʔreaʔkaʔthaa* *nih* *nij* *tlaeŋ* *daoy* *look* *nieyɔək*]
 speech deict future read *daoy* Sir chairman

The speech will be delivered by the Chairman

On *trəv* and the passive, cf. also Hayman (2011 : 286 - 292).

⁷ Examples borrowed from Paillard & Thach (2010).

(35a) kɲom tʋəə trəv daoy kaakhamprəŋpraɛŋ robah kɲom
 1SG do trəv daoy firmness of 1SG

I succeeded (I made the right answer) thanks to my hard work

(35b) * kɲom tʋəə trəv taam kaakhamprəŋpraɛŋ robah kɲom
 1SG do trəv taam firmness of 1SG

In (35) the sentence with *daoy* is the only possible one: this can be explained by the fact that the hard work (as a pole of reference) is preparatory and independant from the exam. ; working steadily is what accounts for the success. In examples (36) and (37) the interpretation is quite different: with *taam* (36) there is a co-variation of the dance and the rhythm, whereas with *daoy* (37) Y relativizes the fact that he keeps up the rhythm: it may be the case for one rhythm, and not for another (cf. the above examples (7) – (10)).

(36) koat roam trəv taam caŋvak lʔaa nah
 3SG dance trəv taam rhythm good very

He dances in accordance with the rythm

(37) koat roam trəv daoy caŋvak
 3SG dance trəv daoy rhythm

He dances in accordance with some of the rhythms, but not with others

B5. About *prakaap daoy*⁸

prakaap is a prefixed verb formed with the prefix *pra-* and the verb *kap* which means: "to be in accordance with one's essence"⁹. The prefix *pra-* introduces an additional argument interacting with the argument of the basic verb ; in the present case, this argument is introduced by *daoy* which makes it an external term. This accounts for the interpretation of *prakaap daoy* as "full of", "overflowing": the N in the subject position gets a new identity through Y :

(38) [koat baan traɔlap tiv dal prateeh koat vɨŋ
 3sg baan come back go arrive country 3sg back
 prakaap daoy soʔvattheʔphiep]
 prakaap daoy security

He went back to his country safe and sound.

(39) [ʔaameerik niŋ saʔhaʔkum ʔəərop cumruŋ kaasəp
 U.S. and union europe insist investigation
 ʔaŋkeet læ khietkam nih prakaap daoy damlaaphiep]
 investigation on murder dem prakaap daoy transparency

The United States and the European Union intervened in order to make this murder investigated quite openly.

(40) [kaanje nih cie kaanje prakaap daoy krəəhthnak klaŋ nah]
 work dem be work prakaap daoy danger hard very

This work is a work that can be deemed dangerous

In (38) the conditions of his return are presented in accordance with the usual representation of what security means. In (39) the USA and the EU show their determination to have the case investigated quite openly (= to be in accordance with what open means, as a notion defined independantly from that case in particular). In (40), the work belongs to the kind of work listed as dangerous (the meaning of dangerous coming under a proper autonomous definition).

⁸ It's worth noting that *prakaap daoy* gives rise to a specific entry in the Buddhist Institute dictionary.

⁹ Cf. *kap tnam* 'effective medicine', *kruəsaa kap* 'family living in harmony'.

The verb *poo piŋ* ‘overflow’ (lit. *poo* ‘over abundance’ + *piŋ* ‘be full’) presents a semantic value comparable to *prakaap* :

(41) monuh nih poo piŋ tiv daoy ?amnuet
 person dem. poo piŋ go daoy vanity

This individual is a typical example of vanity, incarnates what vanity means

(42) [damnaə nih cie damnaə dæl poo piŋ
 travel dem be travel relat. poo piŋ
 daoy krəəhtnak bamphot
 daoy danger highly

This travel is part of the highly dangerous travels type.

C. Adverbials : *daoy* + Y is a specification of the event X

daoy is part of a huge number of expressions (several hundred) which can be characterized as ‘adverbials’¹⁰: in this case, the sequence corresponding to Y comes as an assessment on the conditions in which the event corresponding to X is realized. In order to understand better the specificity of the semantic value of *daoy*, let us compare those uses with another type of adverbials formed with *yaan* ‘manner’. We distinguish three cases:

- *daoy* and *yaan* are both possible with differing interpretations ;
- only *yaan* is possible ;
- only *daoy* is possible.

A general difference between *daoy* et *yaan* must be pointed out: whereas with *daoy* Y presents various realizations, with *yaan* Y is usually a term naming a property.

C1. *daoy* et *yaan* are both possible

(43a) [koat tvəkaa daoy yɔək cət tuk dak]
 3sg work daoy take mind let put

He really takes his job seriously

(43b) [koat tvəkaa yaan yɔək cət tuk dak]
 3sg work yaan take mind let put

He works conscientiously

(44a) [koat baan bat muk pii səlləpa? daoy ?aatkambaŋ]
 3sg baan disappear face from art daoy mystery

Why he vanished from the art world is a mystery

(44b) [koat baan bat muk pii səlləpa? yaan ?aatkambaŋ]
 3sg baan disappear face from art yaan mystery

He mysteriously disappeared from the art world

(45a) [koat ruəh niv daoy lumbaak]¹¹

¹⁰ This corresponds to what the Headley dictionary calls "particle"

¹¹ For want of space, we will not broach sharper distinctions: *pi ?bakk* just as *lumbaak* means 'difficult' : it can be used with *daoy* but hardly with *taam*. Actually, *pi ?bakk* comes under a representation (which is confirmed by the combination with *cət* ‘heart’ : ‘be unhappy’). On the other hand, *lumbaak* corresponds to a physical pain.

3sg live loc daoy difficult
 His life is synonymous of difficulty

(45b) [koat ruəh niv yaan lumbaak]

3sg live loc yaan difficult
 He lives with difficulty

(46a) [koat niʔyiey daoy sruəl]

3sg speak daoy easy
 He speaks in such a way as to avoid any conflict

(46b) [koat niʔyiey yaan sruəl]

3sg speak yaan easy
 He speaks easily, with much fluency

The difference of interpretation between *daoy* Y and *yaan* is comparable to that described above between *daoy* and *taam*. In the case of *yaan* Y, what is at stake is the specification of the mode of validation of the process expressed by the verb (in relation to the fact that with *yaan*, Y is most of the time a property). *yaan* Y is part of the predicative relation. In the case of *daoy*, Y comes as a global categorization of the event X, in accordance with its original exteriority

As in the cases where *daoy* is in competition with *taam*, the use of the negation is limited with *daoy* but not with *yaan* :

(47) [kroan tae prap koat t^haa c^hii kbaal ʔat tiv salaa yaan
 sufficient restr. tell 3sg say sick head neg to go school yaan
 sruəl]
 easy

I just have to say to my mother that I have a headache and I don't have to go to school (a child boasting to his chums)

???(48) [kroan tae prap koat t^haa c^hii kbaal ʔat tiv salaa daoy
 sufficient restr. tell 3sg say sick head neg to go school daoy
 sruəl]
 easy

However if *baan* (meaning succeed) is added, there is no more constraint on the use of *daoy* : neg.+V is interpreted as what is aimed at by the subject.

(48a) [kroan tae prap koat t^haa c^hii kbaal ʔat tiv salaa baan
 sufficient restr. tell 3sg say sick head neg to go school get
 daoy sruəl]
 daoy easy

I just have to say to my mother that I have a headache, and permission for not going to school is obtained easily

C2. Only *yaan* is possible

(49) [koat riəpcam pteah yaan sʔaat]
 3sg prepare house yaan nice

He nicely lays out his house

(50) [kromhun nih baan riik luutloah yaan chap rəhah]

- company dem baan thrive progress yaan quick quick
 knoŋ rəyea? peel pram chnam]
 in duration time five years
 This company has rapidly improved during 5 years
- (51) [koat baan tətʉəl cookcəy yaan sambaəm knong piʔphup səlləpaʔ]
 3sg baan get victory yaan big in world art
 He had spectacular success in the art world
- (52) [pʉək vie baan prəyut knie yaan saahaav]
 group 3sg get fight recipr. yaan cruel
 They fought cruelly one another.
- (53) [kmeəŋ srəy mneak trəv kee vief yaan dāmnam]
 child daughter one trəv 3sg hit yaan harsh
 A girl was harshly smashed.

In those five examples, Y is a property which specifies the mode of validation of the process. What is at stake is a determination **inner to** the predicative relation.

C3. Only *daoy* is possible

- (54) [koat tvəə riəŋ nih **daoy** ceetaʔnaa]
 3sg faire histoire ce daoy purpose
 He did that on purpose.
- (56) [kɲom cəŋ niʔyief daoy laek]
 1sg want speak daoy private
 I'd like to talk of that separately.
- (57) [koat niʔyief daoy prəyaol koat ʔat hien niʔyief traŋ tee]
 3sg speak daoy from afar 3sg neg. dare speak straight tee
 He says that in an indirect way. He dares not say it straight.
- (58) [daoy kdəykoorup ʔampii kɲom]
 daoy regard from 1sg
 With my best regards (at the end of a letter)

Note that in those five examples, Y is a N: those N stand for a judgement, a characterization or else an assessment about the event X.

D. Various expressions

We now give, not commented, a series of data illustrating other uses of *daoy*.

- (59) [mien daoy cuən]
 have daoy sometimes
 From time to time, at times, sometimes
- (60) [kɲom trəv tae tiv daoy khaan min baan]
 1sg must restr. go daoy fail neg. get
 I must go without fail
- (61) [kɲom min tvəə ʔvəy daoy kmien muulhaet nuh tee]
 1sg neg. do indef. daoy not have reason dem part
 I have never done anything for no reason
- (62) [kom niʔyief daoy kmien ʔamnahʔamnaŋ doocneh]
 neg.mod. speak daoy not have proof like that
 Don't speak like that without evidence
- (63) [kɲom rien mukviccie nih daoy min dəŋ thaa ʔaʔnakut]

1sg learn subject dem daoy neg. know say future
 kɲom niŋ tvəə kaŋjie ʔəy tee]
 1sg niŋ do work indef. part

I learn this subject without knowing what job I'll take in the future

(64) [koat niʔyiey daoy ʔət dəŋ thaa mien neak luəc sdap koat tee]
 3sg speak daoy neg. know say have person steal listen 3sg tee

He speaks unaware of eavesdroppers

(65) [pəəlroat kmae noam knie caak cəŋ pii tii lumniv
 citizen khmer amener ensemble quitter sortir de endroit habitat
 daoy klaac mien saŋkriem kaət laəŋ]
 daoy craindre avoir guerre se produire monter

All the Khmer inhabitants left their houses for fear of the war

daoy can also take part in **discourse markers** :

(66) daoy laek 'on the other hand, in addition'

(67) [**daoy haet nih** kɲom soom ʔaʔnuʔnaat cumriep look thaa...]
 daoy reason neg 1sg ask permission inform Sir say

Consequently, let me inform you that...

(68) tuəh yaaŋ naa kaa daoy
 even way indef. part. Daoy
 nevertheless, although

E. *daoy* in complex sentences: X and Y are propositions.

E1. *kaa daoy*

daoy preceded by the particle *kaa* is a specific case since it is postposed to the sequence corresponding to Y. The particle *kaa* (Thach, 2010) means a negative assessment of the selected value, without calling into question the selection of this value¹². The sentences with *kaa daoy* have a concessive value, meaning that Y is not the impediment it could have been to the validation of X (here the principal proposition). In this construction the exteriority of Y (a major characteristic of *daoy*) is interpreted through the transgression of the inference scheme.

- In some cases, the proposition Y *kaa daoy* is at the beginning of the sentence. In this case, Y is already present in the left context :

(69) [tbət vie ʔaakrak kaa daoy tae vie niv mien
 even though 3sg bad kaa-daoy only 3sg loc. have
 cət lʔaa klah dae]
 heart good some also

Even if he's bad, he is good hearted (at times)

(70) [tvəy tbət tae koat baan dəŋ thaa riəŋ nih niŋ tiv cie
 although restr. 3sg get know say story dem dem. go be
 doocneh kaa daoy tae koat kmien cumrəəh pseeŋ tee]

¹² For instance, to the suggestion to go to the movie, the locutor answers *tiv* (to go') *kaa* (part.) *tiv* ('to go') meaning that he comes round to this suggestion, even though it does not suit him *a priori*.

that way *kaa daoy* restr. 3sg not have choice other part
 Even though he knows it's not going to happen that way, he has no choice

(71) [tlay ponman *kaa daoy* *kaa* kɲom təɲ vie]
 expensive how much *kaa daoy* *kaa* 1sg buy 3sg

However expensive it be, I'm going to buy it

(72) [koat tvəə ʔakrak yaaŋ naa *kaa daoy* *kaa* kɲom niv tae
 3sg do bad way indef. *kaa daoy* part. 1sg stay only
 sralɔŋ koat dae]
 love 3sg also

Whatever the bad things he can do, I still love him

In the two first examples, the sequence with *daoy* is introduced by a subordinating word with a concessive value (*tvəy*) *tbət* meaning that whatever the pertinence of Y, it does not affect the assertion of X. The concessive structure is to be found in examples (71) and (72): as in (71) the high price which could have prevented from buying it is after all not taken into account in the decision to buy it.

- The proposition Y *kaa daoy* is postposed.

Example (73) also presents the subordinating word and the way it works is the same, but Y is not present in the left context. It must be noted that in this case, it is possible to remove *kaa daoy*, the difference being that with *kaa daoy* the fact that Y is not pertinent is pointed out.

(73) [kɲom cat tuk koat cie viirea? bəʔrah
 1sg consider leave 3sg be courageous man
 tvəy tbət tae koat cie cun baarəteeh *kaa daoy*]
 although only 3sg be person stranger *kaa-daoy*

I still consider him a hero, even though he is a stranger

In the example below, we have two occurrences of *kaa daoy*: we consider "men" on the one hand, "women" on the other hand to assert that being man or woman is, contrary to what one could think, of no consequence as regards the property "be human beings". An opposition is at first introduced and then taken as meaningless, since neither men nor women except the property "be human beings".

(74) [proh *kaa daoy* srəy *kaa daoy* sot tae cie mənuh dooc knie]
 man *kaa-daoy* woman *kaa daoy* pure only be human as together

Be they men or women, they are human beings, the ones just as the others.

In (75) *kaa daoy* is associated to *soombəy* 'even' which means that *a priori* the children are not part of the set of those who are to be under protection (the children are in an external position to this set). The presence of *daoy* reinforces this exteriority of the children regarding the property in question, and reinforces consequently the generalization of the the property as ruling any human being¹³.

(75) [neaknaa *kaa* trəv tətʉəl *kaa kaapie* dae soombəy
 indef. *kaa* must receive protection also even
 tae koʔmaa *kaa daoy*]
 only child *kaa-daoy*

Everybody (*kaa* : which is not evident) must have a protection, even the children

E2. *daoy* in complex sentences

¹³ Note that *kaa daoy* is optional in this sentence

We now give a series of data illustrating the place and function of *daoy* in the formation of various subordinating markers. Let's insist on the fact that *daoy* proper is not a subordinating word. In these examples, based on the pattern X *daoy* Y, Y is a proposition working as the framework for the interpretation of the proposition X. Whatever the various interpretations, these examples have in common the fact that the proposition *daoy* Y introduces an event or a speech establishing or restricting the interpretation of the proposition X.

(76) [vie min baan tiv bah cnaot daoy haet thaa pliej klang nah]
 3sg neg get go vote daoy reason say rain hard very
 He could not go voting, because it was raining hard (Khin, 2002 : 554)¹⁴

(77) [smiən khum min baan bət bəŋcii cməh coŋ kraoy]
 secretary village neg. get proclam list name end end
 niv saalaa khum tee daoy samʔaaŋ thaa pəəlroat min ceh ʔaksaa]
 loc local hall tee daoy assert say citizen neg. know letter
 The secretary of the town council has not posted up the list on the town hall, putting forward the pretext that the inhabitants cannot read.

(78) [knom saphay (trek haa / khəŋ / piʔbaak cət) nah daoy baŋ mək]
 1sg happy (leased/ furious /unhappy) very daoy old brother come
 leeŋ pteah knom]
 play house 1sg

I'm happy (pleased, furious, unhappy) that you came to see me.

(79) [daoy kluən cah peek koat kaa samrac cət min bantaa]
 daoy self old too 3sg kaa decide neg. continue
 kaanŋie rəbāh koat]
 work of 3sg

Since he's too old, he decided to stop working

(80) [vie min prəəm tiv saalaa daoy yək leeh thaa kdav kluən]
 3sg nég. accept go school daoy take pretext say hot self

He doesn't want to go to school, putting forward he has fever.

F. *daoy* and *daoy saa*

The item *saa* means 'essence, quintessence' (Headley). We argue that *saa* qualifies Y in its relation to X : Y is presented as essential / crucial regarding the interpretation of X. Comparing the same sequence with *daoy* on the one hand, *daoy saa* on the other hand gives a good illustration :

(81a) [knom cəŋ pii srok kmae daoy saa saŋkriem]
 1sg go out from country khmer daoy saa war

I left Cambodia because of the war

(81b) [knom cəŋ pii srok kmae daoy saŋkriem]
 1sg go out from country khmer daoy war

I left Cambodia because of the war

In (81a) *daoy saa* presents the war as the sole reason for leaving Cambodia, whereas in (81b) the war is presented as a reason for leaving Cambodia, but not excluding other reasons.

¹⁴ If the order of the propositions be changed, *kaa* must be introduced in the principal proposition after the subject.

F1. Only *daoy saa* is possible

daoy saa has intra-and inter-propositionnal uses

(82) [daoy saa riəŋ sneehaa A. prələŋ tleak](Hayman)
daoy saa story love A. to sit an exam fall

It's the failure of a love affair that made A. fail in him exam

(83) [vie ruəh daoy saa srəy]
3sg live daoy-saa woman

He lives thanks to women.

(84) [kɲom som daoy saa laan ke tiv psaa]
1sg ask daoy saa car 3sg go market

I went to the market taking advantage of someone's car.

(85) [koat ruəh daoy saa kee cəŋcəm]
3sg live daoy saa 3sg feed

He lives depending on somebody (he lives thanks to somebody who feeds him).

(86) [vie lii daoy saa kee]
3sg listen daoy saa 3sg

He knows that through the public rumour.

F2. Comparison of *daoy* and *daoy saa*

(87a) [vie tvəkaa daoy saa kee baŋkham]
3sg work daoy-saa 3sg force

He works because he is forced to (cause)

(87b) [vie tvəkaa daoy kee baŋkham aoy tvəə]
3sg travailler daoy 3sg force give do

He works under duress (work condition).

(88a) [vie slap daoy saa kee samlap]
3sg die daoy saa 3sg kill

He died because he was killed

(88b) [vie slap daoy kee samlap min mɛɛn daoy kyal kəɔ tee]
3sg die daoy 3sg. kill neg true daoy syncope part

He was killed by somebody, and not struck dead by a syncope (the way he died).

(89) [kɲom min tvəə samlaa daoy saa kmeɛŋ kmeɛŋ kmien slaapprie]
1sg neg. make soup daoy saa child child not have spoon

I didn't prepare a soup, because the children had no spoon

(90) [daoy kmeɛŋ kmeɛŋ kmien slaapprie kɲom təŋ 10]
daoy child child not have spoon 1sg acheter 10

Since the children have no spoon, I bought ten.

In these three examples where *daoy* and *daoy saa* are both possible, the interpretation differs : in (87a), (88a) and (89) with *daoy saa* the proposition Y shows the cause of Y, whereas with (87b), (88b) and (90) with *daoy* Y specifies the conditions in which X is actualized : in (87b) Y defines the conditions in which the work is done : the work is forced ; in (88b), Y defines the conditions of his death and in (90) Y points out the circumstances of the buying of the spoons was managed. In this respect, this use of *daoy* is similar to what we have called its adverbial uses.

Conclusion.

In this study we have tried to make out the semantic identity of *daoy* through and beyond the very wide range of its uses. Within the pattern X *daoy* Y, *daoy* means that the event corresponding to X gets determinations from an **external** term Y (unit, syntagm, proposition) which is taken into account only through its relation to X: Y is actualized within this relation and, in accordance with its semantic value, defines the interpretation of X. The polyfunctionality attributed to *daoy* depends mostly on the properties and the semantic value of Y.

The study of the various uses of *daoy* shows that it does come through the whole grammar or the Khmer language and that it plays a central role in the construction of sentences. But the various grammars at hand deal with it but incidentally.

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Abréviations :

1SG	1 person singular
2SG	2 person singular
3SG	3 person singular
1PL	1person plural
3PL	3person plural
DEICT	deictic
DEM	demonstrative
INDEF	indefinit
NEG	negation
PART	particle
RESTR	restriction