AFFIXATION IN MIDDLE KHMER WITH OLD
AND MODERN COMPARISONS

Judith M. Jacob
School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London

This paper is a statement on Khmer affixation, based on a synchronic study of the language of the Middle Khmer (Mid.K.) inscriptions. The material was inscribed between the years 1566 and 1747 A.D., and is to be found in the form of 117 pages of print published by the Buddhist Institute of Phnom-Penh with the title "Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor." The whole corpus has been examined. Other Khmer literature attributed to this period—the Ream Ker and the cbap, for example—has not been consulted specifically because the printed texts available to me depend on manuscripts which have been copied many times and could not possibly equal the inscriptions in reliability.

The method chosen for the presentation of this paper is intended to facilitate comparison with my earlier (1963) treatment of Khmer affixation, Old and Modern. The reader is referred to that article for the general discussion of the consonantantal nature of Khmer affixes, their position between the initial of the base and its vowel-nucleus, and the phonetic features of juncture which usually occur. The whole of Section II of that article, dealing with the graphic/phonetic contexts in which prefixes and infixes occur, may be taken as applying to Mid.K. This leaves two of the three questions there posed to be treated with
ference to Mid.K. The two questions are:

1. What phonological elements are prefixed or infixed?

2. What grammatical functions do they perform?

It is proposed to discuss these two questions and at the same time to compare the answers with the Old and Modern findings of the previous article. A complete list of the collected data, arranged according to the affix involved, is appended, with, where known, the equivalents in Old (O.K.) and Modern Khmer. (Mod.K.)

SECTION I.
The Phonological Elements Which May Be Prefixed Or Infixed

Table 1 shows the prefixes and infixes which have been found. An affix is regarded as established on a diachronic basis if an occurrence of the affixed form and its base has been found in the inscriptive material. Affixes occurring only in a derivative, i.e. for which the base has not been found and for which diachronic evidence of O.K. or Mod.K. is needed to prove their occurrence, are treated as only partially established for Mid.K. Their entries in the table are in parentheses.

The Mid.K. affixes are compared with the O.K. findings in Table 2 and with the Mod.K. affixes in Table 3. Y.A. Gorgoniev (1966), F. Huffman (thesis, 1967) and P. Jenner (thesis, 1969) have all treated Modern Khmer affixes much more fully than I have. All have postulated more affixes than I did in 1963. However for the purposes of establishing affixes in the limited material of the inscriptions and of making comparisons with Modern Khmer I have used the 1963 list. This contains only those affixes for which
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix Table</th>
<th>Infix Table</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Single Conso-
  nant Pre-
  fixed | Two Conso-
  nants Pre-
  fixed | Single Non-na-
  sal Conso-
  nant Infixed | Single Nasal Conso-
  nant Infixed | Two Conso-
  nants Infixed |
| Velar | k | kn (kr) | p | m | mn |
| Palatal | c | (cN) (Rd. cN) | n | rn |
| Dental | t | tN tr | N |
| Bilabial | p [m] | pN pr |
| Liquid | r | rN 1N |
| Sibilant | s | (sN) Sr |
| Glottal | ?N |

Notes to the above table:

Rd. = Reduplicated.

() indicates that only the affixed form and no base was found in the Mid.K. material.

[] m is enclosed in square brackets because in all examples it is a reduction of muoy 'one and as such does not merit inclusion.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix Table</th>
<th>Infix Table</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Single Consonant Prefixed</strong></td>
<td><strong>Two Consonants Prefixed</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid.K. lacks in comparison with D.K.</td>
<td>Rd. t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rd. n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common to both Mid.K. and D.K.</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional in Mid.K.</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rd.c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefix Table</td>
<td>Infix Table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lacking in Mid.K. in comparison with Mod.K.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Single Consonant Prefixed</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rd.k</td>
<td>Rd.ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rd.p</td>
<td>Rd.m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rd.c</td>
<td>Rd.ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>Rd.c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common to both Mid. and Mod.K.</td>
<td>( t )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( r )**</td>
<td>( pr )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( s )**</td>
<td>( rN )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional in Mid.K.</td>
<td>( sN )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1**]</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The infix spelled \( p \) in Mid.K. is spelled \( p \) but pronounced \( b \) in Mod.K.

** Mod.K. has a prefix \( r \sim l \). An allomorphic relationship between \( r \) and \( l \) would be difficult to establish for Mid.K. using only the synchronic material. However, it is not held that a prefix \( l \) of Mid.K. is lost in Mod.K.
other a large number of examples can be found in Mod-
Khmer or for which the meanings of the examples
are all very similar. The affixes which are common
at all stages are shown in Table 4. The results of
these comparisons are summarized in the following
three paragraphs:

Table 2. Comparison of Mid.K. with O.K. affixes.

The lack of reduplicated t, n, and m as
pared with O.K. is not a matter to which great
ight should be attached. All the O.K. examples
re in parentheses, indicating that the meanings
re not completely established, and I have no further
dence of such prefixes since the time of writing
article. The lack of the prefix dN in the Mid.K.
terial is also a slight matter. Again, the O.K.
try was in parentheses. In Mod.K. reduplicative tN
th second register, which would correspond to O.K.
, occurs only as a reduplicating prefix. O.K. mR is
so lacking. However, this is met in O.K. only in
atān, mratān and mrateñ, all of which may well be
different forms of one title, and in three names,
asañ, mrasir and mrahāñ.

The section of the table in which affixes common
both O.K. and Mid.K. are entered shows a substan-
ial number of two-consonant prefixes.

The most interesting information provided by the
K. material in comparison with O.K. is its addi-
tions. In O.K. the main single consonant prefix was
the main two-consonant prefixes were those composed
an occlusive consonant or r, l, ? with a nasal con-
nant. The striking additions in Mid.K. are the
erorganic single consonant prefixes, i.e. almost
the same consonants without the nasal consonant.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix Table</th>
<th>Infix Table</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single Consonant</td>
<td>Single Non-nasal Consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefixed</td>
<td>Infixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Single Nasal Consonant Infixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two Consonants Infixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Consonant</td>
<td>Two Consonants Infixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefixed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p &gt; b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kN</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cN</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tN</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rN*</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lN*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* For Mod.K. these could be analyzed as allomorphs of a prefix, r ~ lN. For earlier states of the language, however, such an analysis is difficult to justify.
prefixes. Here, the picture is very clear. Nothing is lacking in Mid.K. One infix (rn) is additional. However, since the total number of examples of the infixes rm and rn even in Mod.K. is very small compared with occurrences of other infixes, the absence of rn in O.K. is not surprising. Apart from this insignificant non-occurrence in O.K., the table indicates a remarkable stability in the infixes.

Table 3. Comparison of Middle with Modern Khmer affixes.

prefixes. First, an explanation is required about od.K. prefixes Rd. d and b, and about dn, bn. These are recorded as occurring in the prefix table of the 963 article. d and b are imploded sonant initial consonants which occur in Mod.K. with first register vowel nuclei. The Mid.K. material is graphic only. Po distinction in writing was yet clearly made between initial t and imploded d or between initial p and imploded b.2 The reader needs to realize that the absence in Mid.K. of Rd.t, and Rd.p represents a lack, in comparison with Mod.K. of Rd.t, d, p and b. Conversely, the presence of examples with tn and pn covers the development of Mod. tn, dn, pn, bn. Therefore n and bn are not marked as lacking in Mid.K. in the two-consonant prefix column.

The table shows that, although a large number of od.K. affixes were operative already in Mid.K., a major development of reduplicative prefixes took place during the time between Mid.K. and Mod.K. Prefixation has thus been becoming more complex even while the grammatical effect of earlier affixes has been growing less and less clear. In Mod.K. reduplication of an initial consonant, of an initial consonant complex or of a whole word is a live, word-forming process, whereas
the use of other affixes is more or less obsolete.

*Infixed.* The lack of the infix rm is not thought to be significant. (See remark re table 2.) Apart from this, the same infixedes are common to both states of the language. It should be noted that no features of affixation in Mid.K. have been lost to Mod.K.

Table 4. Diachronic comparison of phonology.

*Prefixes.* It is in the single-consonant prefix column that the main deficiency appears, when only affixes common to all stages are under consideration. O.K. lacked the variety of heterorganic single-consonant prefixes which are readily found in Mid.K. The latter lacked the reduplicative single-consonant prefixes which are current now.

With regard to the lack of heterorganic prefixed consonants, something may be offered by way of explanation. The Mid.K. material, though much smaller in quantity than the O.K., is richer in variety of subject matter. It contains passages of fervent prayer by devout Buddhists, information about the suppression of bandits, details of family bereavement, and even a long poem. Attributive verbs containing prefixes tend to belong to descriptive and lively language. Their meanings are narrower in comparison with their bases. This would apply at least to the examples of prefix k and to one example of prefix s given at the end of this paper. Perhaps, then, the lack of examples of these prefixes in O.K. may not mean that they were in fact absent from the language at that time. One might also argue that, if these prefixes were really an innovation from the 14th and 15th centuries A.D., their effect on the bases would surely be more distinct. There is also a possibility that some of the heter-
Organic prefixes were in fact present in O.K. in the form of nasalized prefixes, kn, etc. Several words in O.K. with the form CvNC(C) are known to have lost vN: e.g., kanmeñ 'youth' (Mod.K. kme:ŋ); tuñnot 'sugar-alm' (Mod.K. tnaot); ransi 'bamboo' (Mod.K. resvy); uñnāy 'Salvadora capitulata' (Mod.K. sna:y). None of these, unfortunately, is known to be an affixed form! However, such a process of reduction might have turned some of the nasalized prefixes of O.K. into the single-consonant prefixes of Mid.K.

With regard to the lack of reduplicative prefixes, words or pairs of words involving reduplicated initial consonants without prefixation are fairly common in Mid.K. The following have been noted in the inscriptions:

Kakepp kakapp 'make an effort to move along quickly in a climbing or crawling position'
Khmā khmāt 'eagerly try to'
KomdTr komdā 'be accompanied by, associated with'
Khyuh khya' 'tempest'
Khlap khλāc 'submit'
Khmee khmān 'peaceful'
Ghlāt ghlā 'separated'
Cañcim 'nourish'
Jjin', probably for jañjīn 'ponder'
Tomre tomrañ 'put to rights'
Thlā thlai 'pure, noble'
Dhan dhān 'belongings'
Pak papp 'crushed to the point of submission'
Pak paek 'broken in pieces'
Papuol 'incite, urge, suggest'
Bisai bises 'special, elevated'
vanveñ 'err, stray from the way'

It seems possible that the occurrence of reduplicative prefixes came as a consequence of the occurrence of words with reduplicative initial consonants. It should be mentioned that alliteration is a conspicuous feature of all Khmer poetry, including that attributed to the Mid.K. period.

**Infixed.** Generally speaking the infixedes have been the same from O.K. to Mod.K. The absence of the infixedes rn and rm from O.K. and rm from Mid.K. has already been mentioned as being of slight consequence. One other qualification of the above statement is required. It concerns the infixedes m and n occurring between the consonants of an initial sequence. Here modern practice is to confuse any nasal consonant in this position with n. In dictionaries, in erudite pronunciation and in writing, an original m seems to be preserved, e.g. the causative m infix in komcat 'disperse' v.tr. from khćat 'scattered'. In general, however, speakers replace m or n by a nasal consonant of which the articulation is determined by the context. It is homorganic with a following occlusive consonant but seems to vary in other contexts according to the speaker. I see in my data no evidence of any confusion in the spellings and misspellings of the Mid.K. inscriptions. The causative m infix is written m in all instances. Examples of n (utensil) are lacking except where the base has a single initial consonant, but I now suspect that n was never, even in O.K., preserved between two consonants unless the nature of the second consonant was favorable to its preservation.

Looking at Table 4, one feels that, although it is limited by including only the affixedes of O.K., it
 affixes contain the most common affixes to be found in a
basic Khmer vocabulary. This would seem to be be-
sause reduplication--the chief development of the
modern period--is chiefly involved in the vocabulary
of descriptive language.

SECTION II.
The Grammatical Functions Performed By
the Prefixes and Infixes

First, something should be said about the inter-
retation of functions. For O.K. there were so few
examples with definite known meanings that a function
as claimed on the strength of one or two clear pairs
of examples, derivatives and bases. For Mod.K. I have
ever felt that every instance of a derivative must
eveal a function. I have rather applied the princi-
le that for each affix the whole body of derivatives
and bases should be consulted to see what functions
seem conspicuous among them. For Mid.K. I first ap-
plied this principle synchronically. This process
established that for many prefixes and two infixes no
function can be demonstrated. Those for which a func-
tion can be demonstrated from examples in the Mid.K.
material are entered in Table 5. It will be seen that
ome basic Khmer affixes had to be omitted because the
examples did not satisfy the requirement that either
majority or a substantial minority of them should
how the function clearly. The infix n (utensil) for
instance is clear in two of the four Mid.K. examples
ut not in the others. Next, I applied a diachronic
method. If a function was exemplified in O.K. or Mod.
.. and even one example of it, with or without the
ase, occurs in Mid.K. with suitable meaning, the
unction is held to operate in Mid.K. Table 6 shows
he functions thus established and a comparison of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical Functions**</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Infix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Nominalizing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) General</td>
<td>pN, ?N, pr</td>
<td>mn,N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Utensil</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>rn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Object made</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Causative</td>
<td>p, pN, pr</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Frequentative</td>
<td>Rd.c</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Attributive verb</td>
<td>k, tr, r, l</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The Mid.K. prefixes c, t, s, kN, kΓ, cN, Rd. cN, tN, ɁN, sN, sr and infixes n (utensil) and m (agent) are left out of this table because their functions cannot be demonstrated from the examples only.

** The functions are numbered as in the 1963 article and as in Table 6. Omitted functions do not apply here.
## Table 6

### MIDDLE KHMER

Diachronic Comparison With Old Khmer and Modern Khmer Functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical Function*</th>
<th>Mid.K. Affixes</th>
<th>Mid.K. compared with O.K.</th>
<th>Mid.K. compared with Mod.K.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prefix</td>
<td>Infix</td>
<td>Prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Nominalizing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) General</td>
<td>pN</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>Lacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pr</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Utensil</td>
<td>?N</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Has</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>additional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rm</td>
<td></td>
<td>rn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Agent</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Object Made</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Causative</td>
<td>tN,p,</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>Has</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pN,pr</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>additional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rN</td>
<td></td>
<td>pr,pN,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Frequentative</td>
<td>Rd.c</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Has</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rd.cN</td>
<td></td>
<td>additional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensifier</td>
<td>cN</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Quantifier</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Proper name</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Attributive</td>
<td>k,kr,kN,</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Has</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tr,r,l**</td>
<td>rN</td>
<td>additional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These references are to points made in the discussion of Table 6.

** See note** to Table 3.
them with those of O.K. and Mod.K.

In Table 6 three items need a note of explana-
tion.

i. The list of grammatical functions.
In the 1963 table Nos. 1(e) and 5-7 concerned
Mon infixes and are omitted here. The only
entry made in them for Khmer was a tentative
?qN as a verbalizing prefix, based on one word
ampăn 'arrest' from păn 'get'. Since then
I have met ampăn as a verb and have even more
doubt about the entry.

ii. Mid.K. t and p. The reader is re-
mined that Mid.K. orthography, which is the
sole basis for the Mid.K. study, does not
for the most part distinguish between t and
imploded d, p and imploded b. Thus in the
table Mid.K. cannot be said to lack d or b,
since there was only t or p with which to
write them.

iii. Re Rd.c, it should be mentioned
that O.K. does have a word cîcày which looks
like a frequentative of cày but which usually
has a meaning 'spoil, do harm to', rather
far removed from the meaning of cày 'spend'.
It was not entered in the 1963 table.

Comparison of Middle Khmer with Old Khmer.

Mid.K. lacks a prefix kn (nominalizing) and a
prefix kn (proper name) as compared with O.K. For
both of these prefixes there were plenty of examples
in O.K., but the grammatical function was not very
clear and they were only tentatively claimed in the
table. No evidence of the infix n (quantifier) has
emerged from the Mid.K. material. Only two examples
re found in O.K., however.

Mid.K. affixes which perform the same function in O.K. are: the general nominalizing prefixes $N$, $?N$, $pr$; the causative prefix $p$; and the nominalizing infixes $mn$, $m$, $n$, and $p$.

The following prefixes are additional in Mid.K.: (utensils); the causative prefixes $pN$, $pr$, $tN$; replicated $c$ and $CN$, intensifying $CN$ and $SN$, and all the attributive verb prefixes. A new use of the infix $m$ as a causative infix is clearly established. The infix $rn$ (utensil) is also apparently new.

Comparison of Middle Khmer with Modern Khmer.

The Mid.K. functions as presented in this paper would not be numerous enough to be compared with the work on Mod.K. of Huffman (1967) or Jenner (1969), both of whom have given detailed analyses. My own list of functions for Mod.K., made for the 1963 article on the principles outlined above for the purpose of comparing them with the limited material of O.K., is the convenience of being easily referred to here.

Mid.K. lacks in comparison with Mod.K. several general nominalizing prefixes, a minor causative prefix, and almost all the reduplicative prefixes which are associated with frequentative and intensifying meanings. With regard to infixes, it lacks only $rm$.

With the exception of the reduplicative prefixes just mentioned, Mid.K. and Mod.K. have similar prefixes for the same functions. Infixes, apart from $rm$acking in Mid.K.) are the same in both periods and have the same functions.

Mid.K. has no affixes which are not still known
in the vocabulary of Mod.K. The Mid.K. examples for prefixes pr and rn suggest that their function was chiefly causative. This function, though still occurring in Mod.K. words with prefixes pr and rn, were not in fact entered for pr and rn in my 1963 table because other functions then seemed more characteristic of these affixes.

**Diachronic comparison of functions.**

The table shows several changes in affix functions, and in the affixes which perform the functions during the centuries under consideration (7th - 20th centuries A.D.). Some have become fossilized. Some seem to have made their first appearance. Some are still live processes today.

Two O.K. functions—-infix n (quantifier) and prefix kn (nominalization and proper name)—are not in evidence in the Mid.K. inscriptions. Although only two examples could be produced for the former while the latter was only tentatively claimed, each had a justification, the one by reason of Old Mon equivalents, the other because of numerous examples. In the 1963 article (p. 68) I offered a few examples from Mod.K. which just might be relics of n (quantifier). For kn (nominalizer and proper name) I think it is possible that a remnant may be recognized in a small number of words such as koncas 'old' (impolite word) from cas 'old' and in konchaot 'easy to fool' from chaot 'stupid'. O.K. slave names often indicate characteristics of the person and did not have to be nouns.

The rest of the O.K. affixes have also arrived at a state of fossilization, even though there are hundreds of Mod.K. words in which they can be per-
The fossilization may be described as follows. Though the function of many Mod. K. words containing 0.K. affix could in a given context be recognized means of the affix, there are also many words of similar construction in the use of which the original function does not operate any more. In addition to this, other, newer affixes have confused the picture. The infix m occurring between two consonants, for example, can be nominalizing or causative, at least since the Mid.K. period.

The single prefixed consonants which form attributive verbs may have come into use in the Mid.K. period. Similarly the use of m as a causative infix has not been noted before then. There is some evidence that new formations with the latter are being made in modern times. ⁴

The reduplicative prefixes (frequentatives and tensifiers) seem to have come into use much more fully since the Mid.K. period. The process of forming words by this method is still a live one. I think we may assume that at earlier stages the obsolete prefixes were just as alive.

It would seem that over-complexity may have led to the decline in use of the other affixes. The proliferation of single consonant prefixes, and the freedom to put an infixed nasal in the sequence so created have led to the separation of CN as a prefix. ⁵ By the time that the nasal consonant was representing the nominalizing infix, the causative infix and the nasal element of a prefix, the pronunciation of ṣn was being reduced to an unrecognizable neutral vowel anyway (e.g., Mod. colloquial ƙəsəoy for literate kɔmsəoy).

To summarize the diachronic situation in respect
of functions without reference to the affixes themselves, the four main grammatical effects of the Khmer affixes have been nominalization, causation, attribution, and repetition or intensification of meaning. The first two were well attested in O.K. but are now obsolete to the extent that new methods are used for the creation of nouns (ka:(r) or seckdvγ plus verb) and new phrases express causation (tiwγ: 'aoy, nœm 'aoy plus verb). The third, attribution, was just possibly new in Mid.K. times (but probably not) and is now more or less fossilized. The last seems to have developed considerably since Mid.K. times and to be definitely flourishing.

COMPLETE LIST OF COLLECTED MIDDLE KHMER DATA

Several derivatives and bases occur more than once and with a variety of spellings. It seemed desirable to give a reference for each item. Therefore a particular citation from an inscription---chosen largely for the clarity of its meaning in the context---is given and it is represented faithfully with its spelling, whether or not this happens to be typical, helpful and satisfactory for comparison with other related words cited with it. References give the Cambodian number of the inscription (and not the Arabic) and the line of the occurrence, both being taken from the printed text. I have followed S. Lewitz (1970, 1971) in using A, B, etc. to indicate the face of the inscription. The sign + precedes the citation of a base, if such has been found in Mid.K. It therefore marks the pairs of words (derivative + base) which form the synchronic evidence for the af-
Fixes placed in the tables without parentheses. The method of transliteration for Mid.K. is that of S. Lewitz⁶ and for O.K. that of G. Coedès while the transcription for Mod.K. is my own (1968).

The spelling was being developed during the period covered by the inscriptions so as to keep up with changes of pronunciation. In some examples derivative and base may seem more unlike each other than they need, because one has the new spelling and one the old. Certain features of the spelling which may need explanation are:

i. Gemination of the final consonant occurs as a device to mark the end of a word, as in O.K., or to indicate the shortening of a preceding vowel.

ii. In words which have o in O.K. and the long inherent vowel in Mod.K., the Mid.K. spelling is either o or a.

iii. New symbols were just coming into use to distinguish from e the vowel nuclei which were to become Mod.K. ae/è: and ae/ê:.. These occur only spasmodically in the earlier Mid.K. inscriptions.

The reader is reminded that aspiration or a short vowel may occur as features of juncture between the prefix and the initial consonant of the base. Similar features may precede an infix.

Single Consonant Prefixed

khcāt khcāy 38,11 'scattered' + cāy 37,9 'spend'. Cf. O.K. cat 'assign', Mod.K. cat 'send (a person)', ca:y 'spend', cat-ca:y 'organize (people)', khcat-khca:y 'scattered'.
khāpp 8,11 'firmly'. Cf. Mod.K. khâpp 'firm', cōp 'join' v.tr.

c chphōn 19,8 'older sibling, relative' (never used with p-ūn 'younger sibling') + phōn 20,20 'older sibling' (occurs frequently with p-ūn). Cf. Mod.K. cōp, bōp, with similar meanings.

Rd.c cacāy 27,14 'contribute' (re several people) + cāy 37,9 'spend' Cf. O.K. ciāy (?) which occurs chiefly with the sense 'spoil, do harm to'. Mod.K. ca:y 'spend'.

t thlān 3,17 'rise up' + hlān 34,23 'up'. Cf. O.K. thlān 'arrogant', la'n 'go up'.

p phcān 2,36 'do perfectly, perform as well as possible' + cān 38,44 'wish'. Cf. Mod.K. phcān, cōn, with similar meanings. phcān in phcān phcān 38,39 'outwit, overcome'. Cf. Mod.K. phcān 'defeat', phcān phcān 'outwit, overcome', cān 'be defeated'.

phdim 31,18 'put together for comparison, equal'. Cf. Mod.K. phīm id., tūm 'yoke' v.tr.. Cf. also 0.Mon., 0.K. dnem 'yoked animal'.

phgat 2,36 'attend carefully to, ensure' + gat 38,39 'exact (of time)'. Cf. Mod.K. phkūt in phkūt-phkūt 'provide, ensure', kūt 'provide, ensure', kūt 'exact (of time)'.

phjun 38,4 'place together' + jum 38,52 'around'. Cf. Mod.K. phcum, cūm, with similar meanings.

phtiān 38,5 'inform' + tyān 38,5 'know'. Cf. O.K. tyān 'know', Mod.K. pān 'inform against, accuse' dān 'know'.

phūr 31,18 'exchange'. Cf. Mod.K. pdo:(r) id. do:(r) 'barter'.

pjāpp 38,12 'fix, join together' v.tr. Cf. Mod. phcāp id., cōp 'join' v. intr.

plek 38,46 'special'. Cf. Mod.K. plaek id., laek 'different'.

prāpp 38,28 'quell, suppress'. Cf. Mod.K. prāp id., rāp 'low-lying'.

prten 38,19 'close associate' + rten 38,27 'continue one after the other'. Cf. Mod.K. prēn in prēn-lēn 'neighbors', rēn 'continue one after the other'.

[m] mnak 38,19 'one person' + anak passim 'person'. Cf. O.K. anak, Mod.K. mnēk, nēk, with similar meanings.
məsən 38,44 'hundred thousand' + saen 11,15 'hundred thousand' (classifier). Cf. Mod.K. məsən, saen, with similar meanings.

mtoŋ 25,29 'once' + toŋ 31,8,4 'occasion, time'. Cf. Mod.K. mdoŋ, doŋ, with similar meanings.

ralaŋ 38,22 'going beyond, passing beyond' + laŋ 9,49 'long (of time)'. Cf. Mod.K. rələŋ 'going beyond', ləŋ (i) 'going beyond' (ii) 'in the course of time'.

ralaŋ: occurs with raloc 16,24 'destroyed'. Cf. Mod.K. rələŋ 'melted; destroyed', ləŋ 'melt' v. intr.

rasaŋ 17,52 'released' + səŋ 38,46 'widely diffused'. Cf. Mod.K. rəsaŋ 'undone, released', səŋ 'spread, diffused'.

ltoŋ 6,41 'freed' + toŋ 31,8,22 'free, shake off' v.tr. Cf. Mod.K. rədəŋ ~ lədəŋ, doŋ, with similar meanings.

srut occurs with its base rut 39,17 'with all speed'. Cf. Mod.K. sro:t 'making haste', sro:t-rut 'with all speed'.

slin 10,8 'N. of a coin worth 4 pād' + lín 26,20. Alternative form of tamlín. Cf. O.K. slín, lín 'weight measures for silver'. Mod.K. sləŋ 'N. of an obsolete coin worth 4 bāt or 20 cents.'

Two Consonants Prefixed

kammpən 38,6 'keep secret' + pəmən 38,53 'put as a screen, place in front of'. Cf. Mod.K. kəmən 'secret', bən 'put as a screen, place in front of'.

kanlən 37,60 'pass (of time), be past, deceased' + laŋ 9,49 'long (of time)'. Cf. O.K. kanlən 'past, deceased', Mod.K. kənlən 'passed over; gone (of time)', ləŋ (i) 'going beyond' (ii) 'in the course of time'.

kumfə 39,21 'cause to be together, cause to be companions'. Cf. Mod.K. kəmdə:(r) id., do: 'crossing-place, ferry' (< Viet.)

kra-em 38,48 'sweet, pleasant'. Cf. Mod.K. 'aem 'sweet'.

kraval 38,41 'trouble'. Cf. Mod.K. krəvəl in krəvəl-krəvəl 'worry', vùəl 'go round; be disturbed in mind'. 
cN camlaek 37,53 'interesting'. Cf. Mod.K. cōmlaek
 id., laek 'different'.

Rd. cN jańjaek 38,11 'split, severed (plural)'. Cf.
Mod.K. cē:k 'parted, separated'.

jTējTēn 13,17 'measure of weight'. Cf. O.K. jyen
 id., Mod. cūncī:ṇ 'weighing scales', cūncī:ṇ
 'consider, ponder'.

tN dantap 9 32,30 '--teen' (in numerals). Cf. O.K.
tap 'ten', Mod.K. dōndop '--teen', dōp 'ten'.

dińhem 9 16,28 'swell up, be insolent'. Cf. Mod.
K. dōṅhaem 'breath, air which is breathed', haeṁ
 'puffed up, inflated'.

tamhau 38,50 'accompany'. Cf. Mod.K. dōṅhae 'in
procession', hae 'accompany'.

tāṃmhlān 10 34,23 'raise up' + hlaṅ 34,23 'up'.
Cf. O.K. tīn 'go up', Mod.K. dōmlaŋ 'elevate',
thlaŋ 'arrogant', laṅ 'go up'.

tantīn 39,20 'ask for hand in marriage' + tyīn
38,5 'know'. Cf. O.K. tiin 'know', Mod.K. dōṅtiīn
dīṇ, with similar meanings.

tamliṅ. 21,16 'measure of weight smaller than
jańjīn but greater than sliṅ'. + liṅ 16,8,8 'al-
ternative form of tamliṅ'. Cf. O.K. liṅ, sliṅ
 'weight measures for gold and silver', Mod.K.
dōmlīṅ, 'weight measure approximately equivalent
to 1 ounce (thīṅ); weigh'.

tr tra-a:l 17,47 'joyful'. Cf. Mod.K. tre'a:l id.,
a:l 'be eager to'.

trakāl 31,8 'new, novel, interesting' + kāl
'time'. Cf. Mod.K. trekāl, ka:l, with similar
meanings.

pN pambeṅ 38,32 'fulfil' + beṅ 38,47 'full'. Cf.
Mod.K. bōmpēṅ, pēṅ, with similar meanings.

pampkaeṅ 36,13 'break' v.tr. + paeṅ 38,11
 'broken'. Cf. Mod.K. bōmpkaeṅ, baṅ, with similar
meanings.

pampuoś 37,17 'cause to become a monk' + pūs
43 'be a monk'. Cf. O.K. pos 'be a monk', Mod.K.
bōmbu:es, bu:es, with meanings as in Mid.K.

paṅcām 31,8 'serve as, be used as' + cām 38,6
'reckon, remember'. Cf. O.K. cam 'provide', Mod.
K. bōncaṃ 'pawn' v.tr., precam 'be for the use
of, have reference to', cam, 'guard; remember'.

paṅcuh 4,8,21-2 'put down, place (ashes of the
dead) ceremonially' + cuh 2,30 'go down'. Cf.
O.K. cuh 'put down in writing', Mod.K. bōncoḥ
'cause to go down', coh 'go down'.

pandan 38,24 'soften' v.tr. + dan 38,8 'supple, soft'. Cf. Mod.K. bontüen, tüen with similar meanings.

pandātt 34,17 'yard-stick, ruler'. Cf. Mod.K. bontōt id., tōt in tōt-tōt 'accurate'.

pandūl 3,8,10 'words, speech' + dūl 32,14 'bear on the head, speak with respect'. Cf. O.K. pandval 'give order (re King's order), Mod.K. bontu:l 'words, speech (royal vocabulary)', tū:l 'carry on the head, speak respectfully'.

paŋgāp 17,73 'order' v.tr. + gāpp 38,22 'proper, suitable'. Cf. Mod.K. bōŋkēp, kēp, with similar meanings.

paŋhey 38,15 'finish' v.tr. + hey passim 'already'. Cf. Mod.K. bōŋhāey, hāey, with similar meanings.

pan-iss 2,24 'complete, final' + is 31,8,10 'all'. Cf. O.K. is 'all', Mod.K. bōŋ'cs, 'cs, with meanings as for Mid.K.

paŋket 19,11 'begotten, one's own (of a child)' + ket 8,6 'be born'. Cf. O.K. ket 'period of the waxing moon', Mod.K. bōŋkaet 'beget, give birth; one's own (of a child)', kaet 'be born, arise, happen; east'.

paŋkhān 38,5 'bring to naught, cause to be fruitless'. Cf. Mod.K. bōŋkhā:n id., kha:n 'miss, fail'.

paŋkhus 38,25 'cause to go wrong' + khus 19,26 'wrong' adj. Cf. Mod.K. bōŋkhos, khus, with similar meanings.

panluh 3,72 'cause to arrive, convey to' + luh passim 'by the time that, when'. Cf. O.K. loh 'as far as', Mod.K. luh 'when'.

pantāl 9,27 'lead to, produce a result'. Cf. Mod.K. bōndā:l 'result, lead to', dā:l 'spread (like fire)'.

pansam 37,55 'unite with, put together'. Cf. O.K. sam, phsam 'put together', Mod.K. phsām 'unite'.

paŋyol 18,35 'explain' + yəl 38,28 'see'. Cf. Mod.K. phuŋyəl 'explain', yuəl 'see; understand'.

prakop 3,60 'confer' v.tr. + kopr 3,52 'endowed with, possessing'. Cf. Mod.K. prəkōːp 'furnished with, endowed with', kōːp 'having sufficient, being in a state of ease'.
pramūl 38,12 'gather together' v.tr. + mūl 38,12 'into a whole, together'. Cf. Mod.K. pūmo:l 'gather together', mūl 'round; the whole'.

pratāp 34,10 'prepare, arrange'. The occurrences of pratāp 'offerings, gifts; prepare' 3,A,67 and of Mod.K. pradap 'arrange; utensil', rūṇḍap 'offerings', lūmāp 'sequence' suggests a root tap not found in Mod.K. but current in Mod. Mon., tōp 'arrange in sequence'.

pravaeñ 34,24 'length' + vaeñ 39,74 'long (of time)'. Cf. O.K. praveñ 'length', veñ (?) 'long'. Mod.K. praveñ 'length', veñ 'long'.

ramlān 3,B,36 'wipe out, banish'. Cf. Mod.K. rūmlē:ṇ id. lē:ṇ 'clean up, wash'.

rammlān 37,60 'pass (of time)' + lañ 9,49 'long (of time)'. Cf. Mod.K. rūmī:ṇ 'pass over, go beyond, past', lū:ṇ (i) 'going beyond' (ii) 'in the course of time'.

randāh 24,32 'thunderbolt'. Cf. Mod.K. rūṇṭē:ṇ id., tē:ṇ 'hit with palm, clap'.

rangoh 24,32 'fall off, come loose, be loose'. Cf. Mod.K. rūṇkū:ṇ id., kū:ṇ 'strike, beat'.

rantāpp 3,67 'offerings', 26,16 'prepare'. Cf. Mod.K. rūṇḍap id. Both would seem to relate, like Mid.K. pratāp 'prepare', antāpp 'next, after that' to a root *tāp not found in Khmer but current in Mod.Mon., tōp 'arrange in sequence'; cf. also Mod.K. lūmāp 'sequence'.

lamtoh 6,A,23 'free' v.tr. + toh 31,B,22 'free' adj. Cf. Mod.K. rūmdōh = lūmdōh 'free' v.tr., dōh 'take off (clothing), free' adj.

samlaeñ 31,B,21 'friend'. Cf. Mod.K. smlāp id. The occurrence of Mid.K. sraleñ, 4,B,4 'love' v., O.K. slave-name srałañ, Mod.K. love v. suggests a root *lap not yet found. lī sanlap 38,48 'feel faint, go weak'. Cf. Mod.K. sōnlōp id., lōp 'confused'. The occurrence of lōp in the Ream Ker (III, p. 12,1.9) 'rise in a cloud (re dust)' and of sraḷōp (loc.cit.) 'obscuring' and of trōlōp (III, p. 22,1.8) 'cloud over' suggest a literal 'obscuring' as the primary meaning of this base.

sragat 2,16 'concentrate' + gat 38,39 'exact (of time)'. Cf. Mod.K. srekūṭ in srekūṭ-srekūm 'concentrate in meditation', kūṭ 'exact (of time, quantity)'.

sr
sralah 15,10 'clear, free'. Cf. Mod.K. sralah id., ṭeə 'clear out of the way'.

sraleñ 4,B,4 'love' v. The occurrence of Mid.K. samlæñ 'friend', O.K. sralañ (slave-name), Mod. K. somlañ 'friend', sralañ 'love' v. suggests a root *lap not yet found.11

 ámbi 32,21 'from' + biy 38,15 'about'. Cf. O.K. ámbi 'from', Mod.K. ṭompl: 'from, about', pl: 'from, about, at (of past time).

ammcás 21,20 'master'. Cf. O.K. cas 'old', Mod.K. ṭomcas 'master', cas 'old'.

arle 2,40 'place' + le 26,8 'on, above'. Cf. O.K. arle, le, Mod.K. ṭonl:ə, ɬ:ə, with similar meanings.

aŋrüş 34,18 'file (metal tool)'. Cf. Mod.K. ṭonrù:s id., rù:s 'file down'.

antəpp 3,27 'next, after that'. Cf. Mod.K. ṭondap 'level, order; ordinary'. Both would seem to relate, like Mid.K. pratəp 'prepare', rantəpp 'offerings; prepare' to a root *tap not found in Khmer but current in Mod.Mon, top 'to arrange in sequence'.

Single Non-Nasal Consonant Infixed

Ipà 38,15 'epilogue' + lā 39,49 'take one's leave'. Cf. Mod.K. lə:ə 'take one's leave'.

rapTen 38,17 'training, method'. Cf. O.K. rəyan 'learn'. Mod.K. rəbien 'method, learning', riən 'learn'.

Single Nasal Consonant Infixed.

Where root has a single initial consonant:

chmuoн 31,22 'business-man'. Cf. Mod.K. chmuəp id., cù:əp 'do business'.

khnae 30,14 'cushion'. Cf. Mod.K. khnae id., kaey 'lean, rest'.

khnos 37,56 'grater'. Cf. Mod.K. khnaoś id., kaos 'grate' v.

phnuəs 3,A,44 'the religious life, monkhood' + pös 3,A,43 'be a monk'. Cf. O.K. phnos (slave-name), pos 'be a monk', Mod. K. phnuəs 'being a monk', buəs 'be a monk'.
snoñ 3,A,24 'paying back'. Cf. O.K. soñ 'repay'.
Mod.K. snoñ 'replacement', soñ 'repay'.

Where root has a 2-place initial consonant sequence:

\[\text{n, m} \quad \text{banrāy}^{12} 38,12 'resplendent' + \text{brāy} 4,C,22 'pretty, shimmering' Cf. Mod.K. puṇrī:ey, prī:ey, with similar meanings.\]

\[\text{camboh} 3,A,18 'towards, directed to' + \text{cboh} 31,B,14 'towards' Cf. Mod.K. cṃpūeh, chpūeh, with similar meanings.\]

\[\text{camhut} 31,B,29 'having the power to bring things to pass, efficacious' + \text{chut} 31,B,33 'effective' (especially of wishes for the future)'. Cf. Mod.K. cṃhbot 'effectiveness', chot 'effective', both used in connections with magic, prophecies, etc.\]

\[\text{camlañ} 12,15 'inaugurate + chloñ 10,4 'start'. Cf. O.K. cloñ 'inaugurate', Mod.K. cmlọ:ŋ 'inaugurate, take across, copy (a written document)', chloñ 'cross over, inaugurate'.\]

\[\text{camren} 3,A,77 'cause success, increase' + \text{cren} 9,37 'many'. Cf. O.K. camren, cren, Mod.K. cṃraen, crēn with similar meanings.\]

\[\text{caññhān} 9,16 'food of monks'. Cf. Mod.K. caññhan id., chan 'eat (of monks)'\]

\[\text{dammān} 34,11 'weight'. Cf. Mod.K. tūmṇu:en id., thū:en 'heavy'.\]

\[\text{damlāk} 38,32 'let fall' + dhlāk 38,12 'fall'. Cf. Mod.K. tūmłēek, thlēek, with similar meanings.\]

\[\text{dumloy} 38,22 'fault' + dhloy 38,18 'faulty, wrong'. Cf. Mod.K. thlō:y 'wrong' adj.\]

\[\text{gammpan} 38,4 'the hands cupped together'. Cf. Mod.K. kṃbōŋ id., kboŋ 'cup the hands together'.\]

\[\text{gammrrubbh} 37,49 'complete' v.tr. + grap 38,28 'all'. Cf. Mod.K. kūmrūp, krūp, with similar meanings.\]

\[\text{jammnā} 21, 11 'illness'. Cf. Mod.K. cūmnō: id. chū: 'ill'.\]

\[\text{jamrov} 34,24 'depth'. Cf. Mod.K. cūmrō:u id., crū: 'deep'.\]

\[\text{jumrah} 31,B,4 'clean' v.tr. + jrah 15,10 'free, uncluttered'. Cf. Mod.K. cūmrēah, crēah, with similar meanings.\]
kamtin 9,29 'owing a debt, bonded, enslaved'. Cf. O.K. kthin 'debt', Mod.K. komdvr 'owing a debt'.
kammarl 12,16 'cover' n. Cf. Mod.K. krmraj id., kral 'laid'.
ka\innal 17,48 'trouble' n. Cf. Mod.K. k\nnval id., khval 'troubled'.
kumsvoj 38,25 'weak'. Cf. Mod.K. komsaqy 'weak person; weak (of a person)', khsaqy 'weak'.
kumlamn 38,44 'strength' + khlan 38,44 'strong'. Cf. Mod.K. kmlmxn, khln, with similar meanings.
pamre 34,8 'serve' + prae 39,27 'use the services of, command'. Cf. O.K. pamre, pr, Mod.K. bmræ, præ, with similar meanings.
pammros 8,7 'time or state of servitude', 37,47 'freed person' + pros 9,44 'set free, save'. Cf. Mod.K. bmræos 'freed person', præos 'free, save (especially of saving of the Buddha)'.
pandáp 37,22 'next'. Cf. Mod.K. bntæp id., phtøp 'put next to each other'.
pandætt 34,17 'yard-stick, ruler'. Cf. Mod.K. bntæt id., phtæt in phln - phtæt 'meticulous', tøt in tøn - tøt 'accurate'.
pængam 3,14,14 'greet respectfully with palms placed together'. Cf. O.K. pængam id., Mod.K. bnkum id. The occurrence of phkum in phsom-phkum 'unite (in marriage)' suggests a root *kum 'together'.
pantm 21,15 'instruction' + phtm 16,12 'instruct'. Cf. Mod.K. bndm, phdm, with similar meanings.
pararãs (faulty spelling for *pamrãs' which the context confirms) 34,8, used with pamre, 'serve in various ways'. Cf. Mod.K. bmræ-трё-раст 'take on any task that comes', præ-pras 'use in various ways'.
sam-\at 3,21 'clean up' + s-\at 38,2 'nicely turned out, presentable, pretty'. Cf. Mod.K. sm\at, sm\at, with similar meanings.
samlin 38,46 'stare at'. Cf. Mod.K. smlkn id., sln 'still, fixed'.
sammræpp 4,23 'for the use of, serving as' + sræp 38,50 'ready at hand'. Cf. Mod.K. smræp, sræp, with similar meanings.
sammrec 38,15 'finish' v.tr. + srec 38,18 'finished'. Cf. Mod.K. smrac, srac, with similar
meanings.
samnakk 3,B,9 'stay at, in'. Cf. Mod.K. səmnəc id., snak 'stay overnight'.
samtaen 12,14 'expound' + staeñ 38,34 'clear'. Cf. Mod.K. somañəñ, sdañəñ, with similar meanings
samteč 1,16 'Highness' + stac 2,12 'prince'. Cf. O.K. stac 'go' (royal vocabulary), Mod.K. somač 'Highness', sdač (i) 'prince' (ii) 'go' (royal vocabulary).
tamkal 36,3 'place' v. Cf. Mod.K. domkol id., thkol 'resting, supported'.
tamlā 2,9 'purity' + thlā 36,2 'pure'. Cf. Mod.K. domlæa; thlæa, with similar meanings.
tāmmlæaŋ 34,23 'raise up' + thleñ 3,A,17 'rise up' + hlæñ 34,23 'up, rising'. Cf. O.K. tleñ 'go up', Mod.K. domlæaŋ 'elevate', thlæaŋ 'arrogant', laŋ 'go up'.
tammlay 37,8 'cost' n. + thlai 38,2 'valuable'. Cf. O.K. thlai 'dear', Mod.K. domlæay 'value', thlæay 'dear; cost' v.
tampar 34,13 'instrument for scraping, gouging out'. Cf. Mod.K. dombæa;(r) id., tba:(r) 'gouge out'.
tānvāy (sp. with ~ pronounced ñ) 15,15 'offering' + thvāy 4,A,22 'offer'. Cf. O.K. tānvāẏ, tvaẏ, Mod. dōnva:y, thva:y, with similar meanings.
tumrin, in tumreh tumrūn 36,27 'correct' v.tr. + tran 38,17 'having regard to, touching upon'. Cf. Mod.K. domrōn, dōmраe-dōmраn 'correct' v.tr., tr 'straight, towards, touching upon'.

mn ammnaŋ 38,42-3 'power' + ac 32,33 'have the power to'. Cf. O.K. ac, Mod.K. ?ɔmnə:c, ?a:c, with similar meanings.
amnass 37,24 'the end, having gone through all' is 30,18 'all'. Cf. O.K. is, Mod.K. ?ɔmna, ?əs, with similar meanings, ?ɔmrəh 'from then onwards'.
amnæt 38,39 'endurance, deprivation' + at 38,39 'be without, endure'. Cf. Mod.K. ?ɔmnət, ?ət, with similar meanings.
amnøy 31,B,19 'gift' + oy passim 'give'. Cf. O.K. amnøy, oy, Mod.K. ?ɔmnaøy, ?aøy, with similar meanings.
bvmnuk 2,6 'refuge'. Cf. Mod.K. púmnêek id., pêek 'attach to'.
bvmmol 38,21 'speech' + bol 32,18 'say'. Cf. Mod.K. púmnô:l, pô:l, with similar meanings.
cumnâny 38,21 'entanglement' + cañy 38,14 'compose'. Cf. Mod.K. cõmno:n 'tying, state of being tied', cõ:n 'tie, string together, compose'.
damnây 34,27 'prophecy' + dây 38,7 'prophesy'. Cf. Mod.K. tûmnâ:y, tî:y, with similar meanings.
dumnev 26,10 'beginning with'. This word, current in O.K. and apparently borrowed from Skt. damnepra, seems to have given rise to a base, deby 9,25 'then, next', rather than vice versa! Cf. Mod.K. tûmnê:p 'modern, recent', tî:p 'then, next'.
jañnum 8,4 'meeting, gathering' + jum 38,52 'around'. Cf. Mod.K. cûmnûm, cûm, with similar meanings.
gûmnit 19,4 'thought' + gît 3,B,35 'think'. Cf. Mod.K. kümnût, kût, with similar meanings.
gumnuor 38,9 'suitability, propriety, decorum'. Cf. Mod.K. kûmnû:e(r) id., kû:e(r) 'proper'.
kañnâc 39,28 'badly-behaved person; badly-behaved (of a person)'. Cf. Mod.K. kûmna:c id., ka:c 'behaving badly'.
kañnât 38,12 'pieces' + kat 4,B,22 'cut'. Cf. Mod.K. kûmnat, kat, with similar meanings.
kumnaeñ 38,36 'miserly'. Cf. Mod.K. kûmnân id., ka:n 'be very critical'.
kumnañr 31,B,32 'fixed, definite'. Cf. Mod.K. kûmnôt id., kot 'fix, note down'.
kumnet 13,32 'birth' + ket 8,6 'be born'. Cf. O.K. ket 'wax (of moon)', Mod.K. kûmnæt 'birth', kæt 'be born, wax (of moon)'.
pamnân 38,29 'wish'. Cf. Mod.K. bûmno:n id., pô:n 'wish'.
sammnân 32,21 'construction, restoration' + sâñ 32,21 'construct, restore'. Cf. Mod.K. sâmna:n 'that which has been constructed; one's destiny (which has been formed by earlier actions)', sâ:n 'construct, establish'.
samnal 38,32 'remainder' + sāly 38,6 'remain'. Cf. Mod.K. scmnol, sōl, with similar meanings.

smnūm 2,28 'request' n. + smūm 2,27 'request' v. Cf. O.K. som 'request' v., Mod.K. scmnom, sōm, with similar meanings.

tammāc 37,51 'finished' + tec 10,18 'come to an end'. Cf. Mod.K. dmnāc, 'end, breaking off', dāc 'torn, separated, ended'.

tammānī 18,22 'witness' + tTān 18,31 'know'. Cf. O.K. ṭaḥ, Mod.K. dmnyn 'knowing, news', ḍm 'know'.

tamūhāh 36,20 'continuation' + ṭa 39,38 'join'. Cf. Mod.K. twno:, to:, with similar meanings.

In suggesting that I might have had further evidence, I refer to the 7th volume of *Inscriptions du Cambodge* by G. Coedès, which appeared in 1964 and to my own gradual building up of a glossary of the O.K. vocabulary which is still in progress.

Devices for creating this distinction were being tried out during the two centuries of the Mid.K. inscriptions, showing that a differentiation in pronunciation was being made.

Here I am at variance with Huffman (1967), who maintains that causative m is preserved before any consonant, but am in agreement with Jenner (1969).

This I have by personal communication from S. Lewitz.

See Jenner, op. cit. p. 173 foll.

I have cited examples from inscriptions which Madame Lewitz has not yet published and have needed to represent words in which the diacritic " occurred. This is placed over the appropriate consonant in the transliteration.

Modern Khmer has the shortened inherent vowel an irregularity if the suggested relationships with Mod. rēō : and kɔːŋ are a fact.

The accent in the transcription represents a short vertical mark in a similar position in the Middle Khmer spelling.
9 dantap, dinhem. Orthographic confusion here produces the Skt. sonant symbol possibly in the attempt to distinguish ṭ and imploded d.

10 Also entered as an infixed form, owing to the occurrence in Mid. K. of thleñ, which could be interdiatate between hlæñ and taṃmhlaus.

11 As Jenner indicates, op. cit., p. 137.

12 The Vacanayukram Khmer suggests for this word ṣoṃprìsey the derivation, Pali vanṇa + Khmer rìsey. However, the possibility of its being an infixed form prìsey seems worth considering. The Pali-Khmer combination seems uncharacteristic of Khmer compounds, likely to have had the ɲ pronounced, and difficult to understand.

13 A rare instance for a Mid K. word having single initial p which is still pronounced p (and not b) in d. K. Owing to the spelling of the word, its infixed derivative bōṃno:ŋ has the formal pronunciation with initial b.
REFERENCES


*Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor*, Buddhist Institute, Phnom-Penh, 1958.


