AN EXAMINATION OF THE VOWELS AND FINAL CONSONANTS IN CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN PRE-ANGKOR AND MODERN KHMER

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Preparation of Table I
Summary of the information provided by Table I
PA-MK correspondences and OK Phonology
Appendix of examples with reference to Table I

This study is intended to be complementary to a paper on the correspondences between Old and Modern Khmer initial consonants (Jacob: 1977). Only Pre-Angkor Khmer (PA) is dealt with here, however, and not the Angkor dialect (A). It seemed desirable to limit the investigation to PA, partly because of the inclusion of A, with its different vowel-notations, would cause confusion and partly because the author now has a complete card-index of PA,² whereas that for A is still in progress.

The majority of correspondences between Old Khmer (OK) and Modern Khmer (MK) involve the same final consonant at both stages of the language. Two regular exceptions to this are final r, which has turned to zero in MK (except in the Battambang area) and final s, which has completely merged with the final aspirate in MK. An example of each final consonant of PA with its MK correspondence is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Final consonant</th>
<th>PA orthography</th>
<th>MK pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>sruk</td>
<td>/srok/</td>
<td>inhabited area, district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>sroŋ</td>
<td>/sroŋ/</td>
<td>bathe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>roc</td>
<td>/rb:č/</td>
<td>wane</td>
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<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>aŋ</td>
<td>/ʔaŋ/</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>ket</td>
<td>/kaat/</td>
<td>wax, be born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>mān</td>
<td>/mǐːaŋ/</td>
<td>have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final consonant</td>
<td>PA orthography</td>
<td>MK pronunciation</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
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<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>cap</td>
<td>/kap/</td>
<td>seize</td>
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<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>psam</td>
<td>/psam/</td>
<td>unite</td>
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<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>toy</td>
<td>/daoy/</td>
<td>along</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r – zero</td>
<td>dər</td>
<td>/tləː/</td>
<td>claim v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>jmol</td>
<td>/cməːl/</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>jəhv</td>
<td>/cləːv/</td>
<td>barter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>thəs</td>
<td>/θaːh/</td>
<td>tray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>vrah</td>
<td>/prəːh/</td>
<td>holy; god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zero</td>
<td>lvə</td>
<td>/lvəː/</td>
<td>fig</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These regular correspondences between 15 PA and 13 MK final consonants were taken as the basis of the comparison. A table was made, using over 200 well-established correspondences, so as to find out their frequency and versatility of occurrence with vowels and arrange them in order. This is the order in which they are presented in Table 1, except that h is placed next to s for easy comparison.

Up to this point, the enquiry had been made with only established vocabulary. When the validity of certain empty slots in the table was tested by reference to some less certain correspondences, however, it became apparent that a much wider variety of vowels and final consonants was probably in operation. The PA card-index was therefore searched for additional probable correspondences, as much in order to avoid claiming empty slots mistakenly as to try to fill more slots. This led to the preparation of Table 1, which forms the basis of this study.

PREPARATION OF TABLE 1

The vocabulary used comprises:

**Established Correspondences.** These consist of (i) correspondences established by the occurrence of the PA form in a grammatical context with clear meaning and (ii) correspondences established by analogy, the PA form being in a context which clearly indicates the kind of word to be expected. In a place name, for example, vrai forest and stuk pool are regularly followed by names of trees. Thus, a word such as ramteň, which on K.430 follows vrai, and which also has a form which suggests the correspondence, is held to be an established correspondence for MK /rʊmdeːŋ/ amomum galangas (zingibéracées).

**Names.** Although, as has just been stated, words occurring in place names may be held to be established when the context makes their nature clear, other words occurring either as place names or personal names
or parts of such names may be held to be probable but not established correspondences. Cambodian names, even now, are often names of animals, plants or objects; or they may be descriptive of physical or mental characteristics. Where such words are used as material for the present study the PA word is followed by 'N.' in the Appendix and, if the vowel-symbol in the table depends entirely on examples which are names, it is followed by an asterisk.

In identifying correspondences of the two categories just described, certain regular relationships between PA and MK initial clusters were regarded as being dependable. These are:

(1) The relationship between a MK base and a PA form consisting of base with name-prefix, kN. This prefix, which consists of initial k, neutral vowel a, as junction, and nasal consonant, was tentatively included in an analysis of OK affixes (Jacob:1963, pp.69-70). This now seems well substantiated by the preponderance of names beginning with kN in contrast to other prefixes and by information supplied by Mr. Kuoch Hak Srea, that a kN name-prefix is used as a term of endearment before girls' names still. Some examples are given below with a reference to the number of an inscription on which they occur and the MK equivalent:

kañcãñ 562 /cap/ malaria kandai 561 /têy/ cloth bag
kañjãh v 1030 /cl:av/ barter kansuc 582 /soc/ N. of insect
kantrT 748 /try/ fish kan-a 808 /?o:/ flute
kanden 926 /tlon/ candle kan-ek 18 /?aek/ noisy device attached to a kite

(2) The relationship between a MK base and a PA form consisting of base with infix -an-. This correspondence was mentioned before (Jacob: 197? ) but more examples have now been found, of which some are given here:

kanmoy 38 /kmu:ey/ nephew, niece kanmat 126 /chmat/ milk (cow)
kanmou 357 /khmou/ black, dark ransì 134 /rosi/y/ bamboo
tuñnot 9 /tno/t/ sugar-palm suññay 9 /snay/ salvadora capitulata
danhum 424 /thum/ scented, smell anlik 480 /polik/ melon

(iii) The relationship in which the PA form has the 'wrong' consonant as the first consonant of an initial sequence, i.e. surd where one expects sonant or vice versa. This type of relationship was accounted for as being due to loss of voicing in this pre-consonantal context and examples were given (Jacob:197?).

Table 1 represents the result of examining over 550 correspondences. Down the left side are arranged all MK vowels, the pairs of vowels produced on the two registers being kept together in accordance with
the written symbol with which they are now spelt, since the written
tradition is held to represent a development which has taken place
from a time when the surd and sonant initial consonants genuinely
represented surd and sonant initials and the vowel-symbols did not yet
represent vowels diverging according to register. In each slot is
placed one or more vowel-symbols, representing PA spellings found in
the correspondences. An asterisk indicates that the only examples
available are names. For symbols without an asterisk, established cor-
respondences are offered. The Appendix gives as far as possible two
examples for each vowel-symbol in the table, reading from left to right.

Notes with reference to Table 1

(i) It is held that the vowel occurring before y, v, c and h and
having in those contexts, in MK, the realisations aγ/έγ, au/εu, ac/έc
and aη/έη, according to register, may best be regarded as being a plus
final consonant. Strictly according to the conventions of the present
table, their representations on the second register would be: εωγ,
έω, έc and έη.

(ii) Short e/έ and ι in MK occur, in native words, apart from e in έη
and έγ mentioned in (i), only before h. Since MK long e: and ι: cannot
occur before h, the few examples of MK eh,έh and ιh are entered along
the e:,έ: and ι: lines to save space.

SUMMARY OF THE INFORMATION PROVIDED BY TABLE 1

1. USE OF THE PA VOWEL-SYMBOLS

(i) Consistency. It will be observed that in the case of two MK vowel-
pairs, PA correspondences were represented consistently by one vowel-
symbol with all final consonants. Thus PA vowels ~ MK aγ/έγ: were
exclusively represented by o and PA vowels ~ MK aη/έη: were exclusively
represented by e. Two other pairs were almost as consistent: PA
vowels ~ MK ί: were exclusively written with ί, (though a few PA words
of which the vowel ~ MK partner vowel a: were written with a) and PA
vowels ~ MK άε/έ: were all represented by e, with the exception of
kamratsn (written kamaratsn in the A period, however) and one non-
established word.

The short vowel-symbols, i and u, were fairly consistently used to
write respectively the vowels ~ MK ί/ώ and o/ύ. In each case, however,
some confusion of spelling with the more open vowels, e on the one
hand and o on the other, took place. Open i and u also represent
vowels ~ MK ίγ/λ: (open) and o:v/ύ:. The extent to which i and u occur
apart from these uses is minimal.
While ə, i and u were chiefly used to write vowels ~ one MK vowel-pair, a, o and e were used to write vowels corresponding with a variety of MK vowel-pairs. Table 2 summarises these uses.

(ii) Register difference. PA vowels ~ MK vowels of one register are sometimes represented by one vowel while correspondences with the MK partner vowel on the other register are not. It seems that this may indicate the beginning of a differentiation between the vowels of the two registers. The details are therefore summarised here:

(i) As was mentioned above, a occurs as well as ə to represent PA vowels ~ MK a:, but not ə:

(ii) u occurs alongside o or a to represent the vowel ~ MK ü, but not o.

(iii) The experimental va,və were used in the PA period to write the diphthong ~ MK ə in second register words only.

(iv) The experimental ya,yə were used in the PA period to write the diphthong ~ MK ie in first register words, while ya,yə occur in words ~ MK second register words.

2. MK VOWELS AND FINAL CONSONANTS FOR WHICH PA HAS NO CORRESPONDENCES

(1) The first observation which must be made is that MK əə/əə and ə: have no entries in the Table. To the best of the writer's knowledge, no correspondence for any of these vowels occurred in PA or A. The first occurrences which are datable are probably the following, all Thai loanwords, found in the Middle Khmer inscriptions (Inscriptions Modernes d'Angkor): ən on No.8 (1625 A.D.)1.19; krən and (rəŋ)-rən on No.12 (1638 A.D.), 11.16 and 19. ɪn(-iə) occurs on No.38 (1701 A.D.),1.26.

MK ə: is represented by only one correspondence in PA, gi,gui, ə/kəː/ that is, is. In MK, although it is not widely distributed, ə: occurs before ə,t,p and h.

(ii) An examination of the MK vowels and final consonants which are not represented in PA correspondences showed that the chief lack of correspondence occurred in connection with MK forms having the vowels ao/əː,əː/ and uːəːə and having palatal final consonants, c,h or y. It happens that many PA words ending in oː seem to have no correspondence with MK.

3. CORRESPONDENCES FOR WHICH TABLE 1 DOES NOT PROVIDE A SLOT

Although generally speaking the correspondence between 15 PA and 13 MK final consonants is regular and reliable, there are some exceptions:

(i) In spite of regular correspondences between PA and MK ń and PA
and MK ṇ, as in tin̄ - /dŋ/ know, duñ - /tèŋ/ buy, etc., there is an instance of ṇ going to ň: tmián, tmiän 557 (cf. MK /dɛŋ/ pluck strings) player of stringed instrument. MK /vɛŋ/ back, again also goes back to an old form with velar nasal final consonant. When this is considered in conjunction with the variation between ň and ṇ in the final consonant of several OK titles (tān and tān, mraṭān and mraṭān, steñ and steñ), it seems probable that we are dealing here with dialectal differences.

(ii) One PA word is written both with and without final r. Thus we have camkā 426, 115 and camkār 664 ~ MK /comka:/ plantation, market-garden. This may be a dialectal variation or a mistake. In Middle Khmer poetry r rhymed with l (Jacob:1966,232); this would suggest that at least it was not absent in the pronunciation of speakers in the earlier PA and A periods. One or two words which have in MK final l were written with r in PA:

kantor N. 1030 /kondol/ rat, mouse
sampor N. 910 /sōmbol/ complexion
knur N. 557 /khnol/ jack-fruit

(iii) Written s and h as final consonants, now both realised as the aspirate, were also rhymed together in Middle Khmer poetry. It is possible that already there was a merging of pronunciation of the two final consonants at the Middle Khmer stage and that it was after that that s was used in writing to indicate certain long vowels preceding it, while h indicated a short vowel preceding it. In any case, certain correspondences between PA s and MK written h seem acceptable. M. Caëdes identified PA pas with MK /bɔh/, written poh, for example, in interpreting PA pamas as grinder; and some names suggest such a correspondence, e.g. trases 765 /trəseh/, written traseh N. of a kind of woodpecker and kañcūh 956 /kñcoh/, written kañcūh N. of a small fish with two spears.

PA-MK CORRESPONDENCES AND OK PHONOLOGY

The question of what vowels were actually operating at the phonological level in PA times now faces us. In an earlier study (Jacob: 1960) the writer attempted to analyse OK phonology from a synchronic viewpoint. She would, however, be the first to admit that more progress has been made by diachronic methods. The combined vowel phonology of PA and A has been admirably tackled by Professor Sakamoto in a series of four articles (Sakamoto:1970-4). He uses two methods to analyse his material. One method is the examination of the spelling of the vowels in individual words corresponding with a given MK vowel, to show where there was confusion and where not. The confused spellings, taken in
conjunction with the MK corresponding vowel, show that a comparable distinction was already in operation but that it was a distinction for which symbols were lacking. The second method is the examination of the initial and final consonants of correspondences to show that where OK vowels, written with one symbol, correspond with MK words involving more than one MK vowel (quite apart, that is, from the question of MK divergence according to register), if no explanation of the divergence can be found in the initial or final consonants of the OK words, and if no correlation can be seen between particular vowels and particular final consonants, then one is at liberty to suppose that OK had the same distinctions as MK and that spelling ambiguities were tolerated.

Sakamoto's use of the first method was highly successful in sorting out the a and ā vowels so as to establish the phonemes which he writes *a and *ā. It was also successful in separating his *e (ᵅ ae/êː:) and *o (ᵅ o/ùː:) and *o (ᵅ u/e/ôː:]. The second method was used to establish that *e (ᵅ ae/êː:) and *o (ᵅ o/ùː:) were separate phonemically from *e (ᵅ e/êː:]. Here Sakamoto did not refer to initial consonants but his implication is that they provide no explanation of the MK differences. We have, for example, PA tem, tek ~ MK /daam, daek/; PA ceñ, cer ~ MK /caeŋ, ceː:/. PA vek, ver ~ MK /vē:k, vēː:/; PA pre, preñ ~ MK /praː, preːŋ/.

In some parts of his analysis, however, it seems that Sakamoto did not apply his methods where he might have done. In 'e de khmer ancien' he sets out to use the confused or non-confused spellings of individual words to define phonemes written with e. Having found no confused spellings for PA tamre, ampel, et, vane, ber or pi, ti, piñ, siñ, he deduces that the A spelling ya, which all these words later have, represented a fusion of two distinct PA sounds, *i and *e. In fact he had an example of confused spelling among his few words, in the word tamre, which was spelt two ways in PA times, with r as well as with e, and he knew that vne had later spellings vni and vnya. He could therefore have allowed these cases of confused spellings to assign the tamre set to *i. Similarly, in 'i, T, ya, yā de khmer ancien', p. 498, he concludes, in spite of the confused A spellings i, T, ya of *i and ya, yā of *ie, that the same diphthong phonetically was heard in the pronunciation of these two phonologically distinct vowels, *i and *ia, and that they were somehow distinguished again later so as to yield two separate MK vowels. It still seems to the present writer more satisfactory to assume that there was at least a difference in A between *ia (spelt ya and yā) and previously spelt e, ya, ye and yā in PA) and *i (spelt i, T and ya and previously spelt i, e in PA). The distinction made (Jacob:1961,359) between the short and long A diphthongs ia, ïa still seems therefore to be valid.
With most of Sakamoto's conclusions, however, the writer heartily agrees. His second method might now be applied further to the analysis of *a and *e. In paragraph 6 of 'a and ă de khmer ancien' Sakamoto examines his examples with reference to their final consonants to see whether short and long pairs may be substantiated in each case and decides that his twelve instances in which a PA vowel corresponds with both a short and a long vowel before the same consonant in MK are not enough to make a satisfactory conclusion. However, PA examples in the Appendix to this study indicate the occurrence of:

PA *a ~ both MK a: and MK a before k, n, m, p, l, s, t, c, ŋ.
PA *a ~ both MK ă: and MK ĕ-ă before ĕ, n, m, p, v.
PA *e ~ both MK ë: and MK ę before k, ŋ, n.
PA *e ~ both MK ē: and MK ĕ before k, ŋ, n,

Pre-vocalic consonants may - in one case only! - assist the conclusion. PA son 493 /sɔŋ/ pay back may be compared with PA sān 137 /sɔŋ/ build.
APPENDIX OF EXAMPLES WITH REFERENCE TO TABLE 1

As far as possible, two examples are given for each PA vowel-symbol entered on the table, reading from left to right along each line. When possible, different words have been chosen to illustrate different spellings of vowels corresponding with one MK vowel. N. = name. Pl.N. = place name. Numerals give a reference to an inscription. MK pronunciation is given between sloping lines.

aːk cāk N. 24 /caːk/ corypha pilearia. skāk N. 109 /skɑːk/ shelf, rack.

aːŋ kantrān N. 748 /traːŋ/ ficus pilosa. tanlān N. 74 /thaːŋ/ large earthenware cooking pot.

aː kralā 557 /kralːa:/ court. pkā 21 /phkaː/ flower.

aːm hām N. 129 /haːm/ forbid.

aːp cāp N. 559 /chaːp/ smelling of fish. sāp N. 877 /saːp/ woven basket for catching small fish. tarap 56 /deːraːp/ all the way, always.

aːl kantāl 79 /kɔnːtaːl/ middle. āl N. 357 /āːl/ be hasty. ampāl 389 /əmpaːl/ all.


aːy āh vāy 9 /tɔŋvaːy/ offering. svāy 134 /svaːy/ mango.

aː skār N. 76 /skːaː/ weasel. cpar 562 /kɔːp/ garden. cmār 424 /kʰmaːr/ fine, small.

aːt tmaːt N. 49 /tmaːt/ vulture.

aːc trāc 726 /traːc/ N. of large tree of dipterocarpus family, producer of excellent oil. tralāc 51 /traːlaːc/ N. of a variety of gourd.

aːn tmaːn 956 (cf. /tɔːn/ weave v.) weaver. kravān N. 561 /krevaːŋ/ cardamum. tpaːŋ, tpaŋ N. 18,66 /tbaːŋ/ weaving.

lːːŋ jān N. 24 /cːiaŋ/ artisan. vān N. 149 /plːaŋ/ sterculia foetida.

lːə nā 79 /nːaː/ at a time when, at, with regard to. mā 1029 /mlːə/ uncle.
mān 154 /mām/ have.
marām N. 149 /maraam/ finger. amvām Pl.N. 451 /plām/ place where stream runs into river or river into sea.
prāp N. 562 /prāp/ pigeon.
gvāl 689 /kvāl/ herd v.
mās 388 /mas/ gold.
kājāy N. 149 /kajāy/ Kaempferia pandurata.
dār 493 /dar/ claim. dmār 79 (cf. /dar/ claim) claimant.
jāhv 79 /jav/ buy, barter. jamanāhv 811 (cf. /jav/ barter) barter n.

ak canlakk 79 /canlakk/ sculpted object. prak 388 /prak/ silver.
cpāk Pl.N. 76 /cpak/ place where roots are exposed.
tlān 561 /tlan/ cobra. santan N. 137 /sandan/ Garcinia Mergusensis. cān N. 66 /can/ sandalwood.
cam 438 /cam/ guard. pram 607 /pram/ five. tām 689 /tam/ cook v. 1kām N. 560 /kam/ of a tree with very long branches and strong thorns.
cap 44 /cap/ seize. kracap 1029 /krap/ edible water-creeper.
snap Pl.N. 689 /snap/ thicket.
cal N. 138 /cal/ jealous.
cas, a cas 493,726 /cah/ old. pānas 137 /panah/ exchange.
kanias 416 /konias/ half. klah 726 /klaah/ some.
tnā 38 /tnā/ day, sun. tni 133 /tni/ expensive, costing.
srac 555 /srac/ achieved, finished. stac N. 560 /stac/ king; pre-verbal particle in royal vocabulary. kāc 790 /kac/ cut off. hāc N. 138 /hac/ restlessly looking for something new and different.
kau 18 /kaa/ outside. cau 51 /cau/ grandchild.
ān 561 /an/ I. tāraṁ 341 /tran/ small flat grass-covered area. kantān N. 689 /kandaan/ ourly. krān N. 557 /kran/ unwilling.

nak 422 /nēk/ person. vnāk 21 (cf. /nek/ be attached, wear) adornment, attachment.
ghān 505 /ghan/ storehouse. ramaṁ 129 /remān/ roe-buck.
plan 1029 /plan/ thatching grass. kandān N. 11 /kandān/ part of N. of three plants.
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SEN jamnăn 561 (cf. /sèn/ tread on) causeway.
SEM remam 557 (cf. /rèm/ dance v.) dancer. nam 137 /nèm/ lead, bring.
SEP raňap N. 557 /raŋëp/ calmed down. ramhăn N. 66 /rûmëp/ appease, silence v.tr.; kill.
EH vrah paśim /préh/ holy; god. hvah 502 /véh/ cut open.
ERY (strictly)
ERY bhai 582 cf. /mèpër/ twenty. vraí 18 /prè/ forest. vanli 561
/pûnë/ Zingiber cassumunar.
SET mat N. 66 /mèt/ mouth, edge.
EC (strictly)
EC luc 38 /lèc/ sink, set; west. kandec N. 904 /kànëc/ l. scabies
2. part of name of plant which stings when touched. vlac N. 11
/phèc/ forget.
EYU (strictly)
EYU dâu 76 /tùù/ go. tvau N. 54 /thpùu/ sorghum millet. nu, nuv 424,
939 /nùu/ and, with.
EN (strictly)
EN dùñ 424 /tèn/ buy.
OK kak N. 129 /kok/ N. of a rush grass. kantok 557 /këndëk/ Cestula
genicolata (Nyctogynées). campek 557 /combëk/ Buchanála fastigíata.
ON sañ 137 /son/ build. saññ 137 (cf. /son/ build) foundation.
sroñ 124 /sroñ/ bathe.
OM cam 561 /com/ as in /riëp com/ make ready, provide. psam 127
/psom/ unfit.
OP tap 388 /dop/ ten. trap 21 /trop/ egg-plant.
OL tnaí 493 /thnol/ main road. kaňval N. 22 /kõvəl/ trouble. cañol
N. 138 /chol/ surprised.
OH klas 505 /khloh/ parasol. tras N. 502 /trôh/ N. of tree which
grows in wet places; médic.
OH samthoh N. 8 /sâmthōh/ spittle. soh N. 24 /sōh/ exhausted.
UJK lak 22 /luëk/ sell. caruk 124 /crûk/ pickle.
UËN kamvañ 421 /kompëân/ waterfront. grañ 155 /krûëŋ/ N. of tree
with brittle wood. yuñ N. 79 /yûëŋ/ gleaming. camdoñ N. 424
/condën/ adolescent.
ÜEN pandan 726 /bontëân/ tame v. tr. lahvan N. 137 /lyûën/ graceful.
UEL candal 877 /contëûl/ support, stand n. rahval N. 926 /rëvûël/
busty. pradul Pl. N. 557 /pretûël/ opposite.
UŔH tнas 877 (cf. /hûnhèh/ object contrived with branches used to
channel fish into the place where they are to be caught) means of
directing water in gutter (?). kvas N. 24 /khûëh/ tall, high.
kavos N. 910 /khopûëh/ tall, high.
ûeh jmah 557 /chmùeh/ name. vlah 561 /phìëh/ double.
ûet rat 66 /rùët/ run

ô:n kañ 21 /ko:n/ bracelet, anklet. con 341 /ko:n/ put together, tie. phoñ 38 /pho:n/ all, too.
ô: ka 137 /ko:/ construct. ta passim /do:/ the one which, the. tmo 21 /thmò:/ stone. so 79 /so:/ white.
ô:m kan-am N. 648 /k'o:m/ pitcher. kraham N. 41 /kraham/ red.
ô:t tampar N. 155 /dombo:/ foursome, 4
ô:t trat N. 22 /trò:t/ hurrying, though weary, in quick spurt.

ô:n cgoñ N. 137 /chkò:n/ imperfect.
ô: lño 124 /lò:n/ sesameum. kambho 438 /komphò:/ N. of variety of fish, barbus macroepidotus.
ô:n mon N. 149 /mô:n/ mulberry.
ô:m kadam N. 424 /khtò:m/ hut. sagom N. 357 /skò:m/ thin (of human physique).
ô:p karap 21 /krò:p/ cover n.
ô: bhar N. 664 /phò:/ tell a lie.

ao sno 904 /snao/ sesbania paludosa.
aom karom 137 /kraom/ below. camnom 44 (cf. /caom/ enclose, enclosure.
aol sramol N. 18 /sramaol/ shadow.
aoy oy passim /?aoy/ give. toy 590 /daoy/ along, by.
aot tuñnot 9 /tnaat/ sugar-palm. sot 79 /saot/ in addition.
aoc kmoc Pl. N. /khaoc/ ghost.

ô:n moñ N. 138 /mò:n/ N. of area between Byo and Puresat. yoñ N. 451 /yò:n/ draw water in bucket at end of rope.

ô:n toñ 424 /do:n/ coconut. antoñ, antvoñ 124 (cf. /?ondo:n/ well n.) beehive, container for oil.
ô:n kon, kun 66 /ko:n/ child. paon 76 /phò:n/ younger sibling.
AN EXAMINATION OF THE VOWELS AND FINAL CONSONANTS IN CORRESPONDENCES
BETWEEN PRE-ANUKOR AND MODERN KIMER

o:m smom N. 127 /smɔːm/ beggar.
o: canhor, canhar 904, 341 /cənho:/ stream. vnur 341 /phno:/ mound.
hvar 726 /hoː/ flow.
o:t vnot N. 422 /phnoːt/ birthmark. slot N. 940 /sloːt/ good-natured.
o:c kroc 757 /kroːc/ citrus fruit. ptoa 726 (cf. /doːc/ like, as) equivalent.
o:v plu 76 /phlɔːv/ way, path. sru, srū 424, 726 /sroːv/ paddy.

ù:k dok, dvak 44, 341 /tʊːk/ boat.
ù:ŋ tnoŋ 415 (cf. /tʊːŋ/ beat drum) drummer.
ù: ru, rū 341, 664 /rʊː/ like, as.
ù:n jon, jvan 30, 74 /cʊːn/ offer. jammon 689 /cʊmʊːn/ offering.
ù: harnor, hranor 689, 124 /renʊː/ syrup.

u:a tao, taor N. 559, 149 /təuː/ terminalia tree.
u:an kalmon 124 /kɾəmuːn/ wax. pon 90 /buːn/ four.
u:ah pos 44 /buːə/ enter the religious life.
u:øy kənmoŋ 38 /kəmuːŋ/ nephew, niece. troy N. 137 /truːŋ/ new leaf.

ù:sk vnok, vnvak 134, 7 (cf. /pʊːsk/ group).
ù: mo N. 24 /muː/ wild rice.
ù:oy moy 137 /muːə/ one.
ù:ot kamdot N. 109 /tʊːət/ great-grandparent. vot N. 149 /pʊːət/ join forces, help at work.
ù:oc lveč 341 /luːət/ steal.

ok samruk 21 (cf. /səmroːk/ sink deep in) repoussé. sruk 79 /srok/ inhabited area, district. samlok 22 (cf. /səmləːː/-smlok/ variety of cooked dishes) cooking.
ong kamlun 44 (cf. /kəmləŋ/ group, place) inside. kurun 388 /kroːn/ king.

om kənum passim /kʰpəm/ servant. klamun 24 /kɾəmʊn/ maiden. kam 724 /kəm/ do not. kantrom N. 711 /tɾəm/ N. of kind of egret.
som 939 /som/ ask for. tvam 22 /dom/ piece.
oy canhoy 877 (cf. /əŋhɔ/ steamer; steamed food) container for burning in making perfume. sa-uy N. 28 /sɔːʊʔ/ putrid. uy N. 562 /ˈɔyl/ little basket.

ot kamput N. 561 /kəmbət/ having lost a limb.
ük duk 904 /tuk/ put, reserve, keep. vuk N. 8 /puk/ beard.
un ruñ 76 (cf. /ruñ/ in /ruñ-ruñ/ grand, splendid) big.
un mun N. 24 /mum/ spotty.
up dap 38 /tup/ block, impede. damaq 689 /tumup/ dam, barricade.
ul jul N. 137 /cul/ mend.
uh noh 79 /nuh/ that. loh, lvah 561, 341 /luh/ as far as.
uy duy N. 24 /titi/ owl.
ut mut 451 (cf. /mut/ out, pierce) harm. vut N. 11 /put/ pretend.

aak t-ek N. 149 /tæk/ l. N. of a creeper. 2. hiccough.
aaq takë N. 357 /thkaen/ lofty.
aa pre 561 /praen/ use, order. pamre 561 /bomraen/ servant.
aen camre 451 /comraen/ increase, prosper.
aem tem 560 /daem/ tree. phem 79 /phaem/ with young.
aeh pares Pl.N. 9 /praen/ deer.
aey ley 557 /laey/ at all. trey Pl.N. 1029 /traey/ the far side.
aat kan-et N. 155 /aet/ strain neck to see. ket 44 /kaest/ war (of moon); be born.

ì:q jeñ 79 /cæn/ foot, lower part (of hill, etc.). vlieñ 877 /flæn/ fire.
ì: jhe 66 /chi:/ wood. tve 127 /thv:/ do.
ì:m kamve N. 109 /khæhm/ deepse.
ì:p dep 726 /tæp/ then.
ì: l vrel N. 163 /præl/ careless.
ì: der 149 (cf. /comtæ:/ middle-sized) adolescent, middle-sized (?)..

aek tek 388 /daek/ iron. santek 689 /sundaek/ bean. cacäk (cf. /caek/) divided (?)
aæg kamrateñ 400 /kumdaen/ lord. prahveñ 424 /praæn/ length.
kammatän 561 /kumdaen/ lord.
aæ ple 561 (cf. /phlae/ fruit) produce, revenue. sre passim /srae/ ricefield.
aen pen N. 877 /baen/ thresh.
aem pa-em N. 127 /phæm/ sweet.
ael tel 66 /dael/ which, who.
ae tanker N. 134 /donkae/ tick, auras. her 44 (cf. /heæ/ go in procession) flow.
aev cehv N. 560 /caev/ row a boat. slev N. 357 /slaev/ having a squint.
AN EXAMINATION OF THE VOWELS AND FINAL CONSONANTS IN CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN PRE-ANGKOR AND MODERN KIMER

è:k ahvek 124 /vè:k/ ladle. tvek N. 480 /thrè:k/ baid.
è:ŋ reŋ 426 /rèːŋ/ weave, plait.
è: vave 562 /papè:/ goat.

iək canlek,canlyak 561,7 /səmlək/ clothing.
iəŋ camren 557 (cf. /ˈrɛn/ sing, /ˌkɑːmˈreŋ/ song) singer. kanteŋ
N., Pl.N. 562,76 /kəndleŋ/ commelina communis.
iəm hyam N. 109 /hiəm/ have a discharge.
iəp tkep N. 8 /tkiəp/ pînəh, nip.
iəl trel N. 563 /triːl/ N. of a creeper. kryel 134 /kriːl/ crane n.
iət kantyar N. 755 /kəndiə/ white ant. yer Pl.N. 421 /ˈpərən/ in
?i-e-memio/ go carefully along an edge.

ləŋ den N. 149 /tləŋ/ exaat.
lən den 388 /tləŋ/ candle. rmmen N. 424 (cf. /tlən/ learn) student.
ləp tgyap N. 904 /θkɪəp/ pînəh, nip.
ləh chdyăs 723 (cf. /ˈkɒntliəh-koʊtliə/ hampered.
ləv kandehv N. 808 /tləv/ blue jay. vñau 561 /pʰniəv/ guest.

eːk trasek Pl.N. 560 /træsək/ peitophorum dasyrachis.
eːŋ kanmeŋ,kanmiŋ 49,423 /kmeŋ/ young. pareŋ 451 /pɾeːŋ/ oil.
eːh ces N. 137 /ceːh/ cotton thread.
eh ceh N. 137 /ceh/ know how to. treh N. 149 /treh/ pluck stringed
instrument.
eː cer 38 (cf. /ceː/ long, as time proceeds) go, transgress.
eːmer 502 (cf. /ceː/ long, as time proceeds) transgressor.
tmir 137 (cf. /deː/ sew) one who sews, attaches. sir 133
/səːsəː/ write.

èː ge passim /kèː/ person. danle 904 /tuənlɛː/ river, Tonle Sap.
èːp vep N. 357 /pɛːp/ stick out lower lip.
èːh dves N. 607 /θvɛːh/ careless.
èː veh N. 76 /vɛːh/ slip off, avoid an encounter.
èː hvere 127 /vɛː/ help in turn, form a rota.

ʃk slik 560 /sliːk/ 400. anlik N. 480 /ʔolək/ melon.
ʃn sin 24 /sɔn/ further, too.
ʃp crup 726 /cɾuːp/ detach.
ʃl ampel 940 /ʔɔmbəl/ salt.
ʃh is 562 /ʔʃ,ʔəh/ all.
kampit N. 562 /kambt/ knife, spit 137 (cf. /sxt/ pour) libation.
samrat 30 /somrt/ husk, clean (rice).
dik 137 /tuk/ water.
cdin 134 /stun/ river, kaji N. 648 /khcun/ lamprey, numb-fish.
uden 389 /?otun/ container for fish sauce, tvin N. 726 /thpun/ blindfold, vin N. 562 /pun/ topmost, best.
dhem 560 /thnum/ yoke, pair.
valvel 817 /pepu/ taper-holder, amvil 129 /ompul/ tamarind.
vis N. 11 /puh/ venom, poison.
sgih N. 133 /skwuh/ slow.
kamvit N. 155 /pwt/ true, jin N. 76 /cut/ near.

vre 790 /pr/ Syzygium, kande N. 8 /khtl/ wild buffalo.
amvi 79 /ompul/ from, 3j 451 /c/ grandfather, ancestor.
vne 134 /phnl/ flower, ye 562 /pl/ female (?), laye N. 66 /lnl/ douroucouli monkey (?).
neh 388 /nih/ this, gnih 555 id.
ber 388 /pl/ two.
gi, gui 561 (both) /ku/ is, that is.
# TABLE 1

USES OF THE PA VOWEL-SYMBOLS, IN RELATION TO THE MK VOWELS
WITH WHICH THEY CORRESPONDED, BEFORE ALL FINAL CONSONANTS

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<td>ı: ı</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† Final v usually not written in PA following these vowels.
# TABLE 2
SUMMARY OF THE MK CORRESPONDENCES WITH PA VOWEL-SYMBOLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PA vowel-symbol</th>
<th>MK correspondences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Usual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā:</td>
<td>a:/lːə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a:/ɛə əə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a,o</td>
<td>o:/ʊə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>ao:/ʊː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o,u,ʊ,va</td>
<td>o:/ʊː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o,va,vã</td>
<td>uːə/ʊːə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e:/ɛː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e,ya,ye,yā</td>
<td>iə/ɪə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i (closed)</td>
<td>r:/ʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i (open)</td>
<td>ry/ɪː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u (closed)</td>
<td>oː/ʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u (open)</td>
<td>oːv/ʊː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ay/ɛːy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>au/ɛu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AN EXAMINATION OF THE VOWELS AND FINAL CONSONANTS IN CORRESPONDENCES
BETWEEN PRE-ANKOR AND MODERN KHMER

NOTES

1. This includes the texts published by G. Cœdès plus the texts of
K. 1029 and 1030 kindly supplied by Monsieur C. Jacques of the Ecole

2. The accent indicates second register.

3. r and l are not in opposition in this pre-consonantal context.

4. I am grateful to Mr. Kuoch Hak Srea for suggesting this
correspondence.
JUDITH M. JACOB

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