A DIACHRONIC SURVEY OF SOME KHMER PARTICLES (7TH TO 17TH CENTURIES)

Judith M. Jacob

Introduction
In modern spoken Khmer, grammatical relationships between the clauses of a sentence may be understood without the use of clause particles. Intonation and pause, together with the context in which the sentence is spoken, make the meaning clear. Thus, when a speaker says /mтай dau phsă̄r, kūn dau phañ/, intonation and pause mark off two separate phrases and the hearer will know from the context whether he is being told that it is 'because', 'if' or 'when' the mother is going to the market that the child will go too. Particles to express 'because', 'if' and 'when' are available but are not felt to be necessary. In modern written Khmer, the roles of intonation and pause are played by punctuation, in the form of full stops and of spaces between phrases; context still plays an important role, more so than in European languages, and particles occur frequently. When we turn to the inscriptions and the earliest non-inscriptional texts, punctuation is minimal and the contexts are unfamiliar to us in comparison with the communities for whom the texts were composed. On the inscriptions, punctuation occurs rarely, usually in the form of a circle indicating the end of a phrase. In poetry, the only formal pauses indicated are at the ends of verses and stanzas. The function of particles is, therefore, very important to our understanding. This paper is the result of the writer's interest in the form, meaning, grammatical usage and provenance of the particles occurring in Old and early Middle Khmer.

The period under review saw great change and development in the written Khmer language. The early texts have been regarded as struggling attempts to write prose; the complexities of Angkorian sentences seemed to show how difficult it was for the language to express the growing complications of Angkorian life. It is only on the Middle Khmer inscriptions that an easy style was found.

In order to consider the use of particles in these ten centuries, the following texts, (given here with an abbreviation which will be used throughout), have been used:

P.A.  Pre-Angkorian inscriptions, seventh–ninth centuries A.D.;
A.  Angkorian inscriptions, ninth–fourteenth centuries A.D.;

1. The transliteration used for all Khmer citations is that of Lewitz (1969). For modern pronunciation the writer’s transcription is used (Jacob 1968).
Middle Khmer inscriptions. Special attention was paid to texts dated between A.D. 1574 and 1630 (qerv. Lewitz 1970-72, nos. 1-16c).²

R. Reamker, the Khmer literary version of the Rāmāyaṇa. Special attention was paid to the first five Parts or 2542 stanzas, much or all of which was probably composed during the sixteenth century A.D. (qrv. Pou 1977a: 59).

L. Lpoek Aṅgar Vat. Poem about the creation of Angkor Wat, dated A.D. 1620.³

C. The old Cpāp'. Didactic moral poetry, regarded by Pou and Jenner (1979: 134) as dating from before the mid seventeenth century.

Mod. Modern, twentieth century. Examples are either colloquial or from twentieth-century writing.

The P.A., A., and Mid. texts of the seventh to seventeenth centuries are pre-eighteenth-century dated inscriptions on stone. They constitute the whole body of Khmer literature in prose. Although all are associated with religious foundations, the subject matter and style develop from the terse pre-Angkor texts chiefly concerned with lands, duties and provisions, to the Angkor texts in which more information is given about individuals or about historical events, territorial rights, disputes, etc., and to the Middle inscriptions in which the good works and Buddhist fervour of royal and other persons are described in fluent prose.

The Reamker represents, along with the old Cpāp', the earliest extant Khmer poetry. Though undated, it may be assigned to the early Mid period (at least as far as the early part of it is concerned). The oldest stanzas may well precede the earlier Mid. inscriptions. The first five Parts (i.e. the first 2542 stanzas) have been examined thoroughly and the results used for this paper because it was felt that the text would supply useful additional information, being a continuous narrative with many colloquial or semi-colloquial passages and having a more varied content and style than the inscriptions.

It was not expected that the Lpoek Aṅgar Vat would produce as great a variety of syntactic constructions as the Reamker, because insofar as it has a story, the narrative style is very simple and the non-narrative part of the poem is, on the whole, descriptive. The reason for its inclusion here as a text for examination is that it is now dated and the date, A.D. 1620, falls within the Middle period chosen for this study.

The old Cpāp', though assigned to a suitably early period, have a restricted range of syntactic constructions owing to the gnomic character. They were included for the sake of completeness.

The results of this research are presented in three sections. The first consists of comment, under various headings, on all the particles studied;

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2. The so-called "Middle" Khmer period is from the 16th to the 19th centuries A.D. Only the early Middle inscriptions (for which see Lewitz 1970-72; Pou 1977b; Khin Sok 1978, 1980a, 1980b) are relevant to this paper.

3. See Pou (1975a) for dating, Aymonier (1878) for text.
A diachronic survey of some Khmer particles

the second comprises six tables which show the grammatical usages of all the particles at various periods; the third gives citations from a text for each particle with each grammatical usage in each period. The indications of word categories are made in accordance with the writer's analysis of Khmer (Jacob 1968: 330-2).

SECTION I: Comment

Forms of the particles
As may be seen from looking at the examples, many Khmer particles have operated in the language constantly from the seventh to the twentieth centuries. Some, eg. neh, noh, nai and sot are still spelled exactly as they were in the P.A. period. Others have undergone spelling changes in accordance with regular phonetic or orthographic developments.4

However, not quite all the changes of spelling can be explained away. The form nihn would not be anticipated from old Khmer nu. It has developed alongside nu ~ nū. There was confusion over the word already in pre-Angkor Khmer, when it was written nau occasionally. Modern Khmer uses the form nihn, pronounced according to modern rules, except in formal circumstances, when nūv may be used for 'with' instead of nihn. nūv is, however, then pronounced exactly like the verb and particle nau.

The particle pi also develops in a puzzling way. The modern forms of the combinations toempī 'so as to', sūmpī 'even (with following noun)', gappī 'it behoves (one) to', are as expected (all are heralded in Mid. or C.) but, alongside pi in the combination doh pi in Mid. (See Table I: Condition), is the form peh, with the same meaning 'if'. In the Mid. period, open syllables were spelled with final -h. The form we are considering therefore is pe, Mod. poe 'if'. Were the forms pi and pe, future pi and poe, variants of the same word? If so, why did pi have such an unprecedented variant? Lewitz (1972: p. 110, n.3) does not comment on the relationship, if any, between the two words pi and pe, but relates pe to Mid. poe.

Compounded particles
Various combinations of particles occur, seeming to answer a need for reinforcement or greater precision, e.g. the relative pronoun man occurs in the P.A. period in combination with ta, another particle which fulfils the

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4. Improved devices, copied from the Thais, for representing different vowels, produced the changes from ley to loey, dep to doep, tempi to toempī, hey to hoey and tel to tacl. Vowels in open syllables were probably always pronounced long but were rarely written so; the more modern spellings of nu, ra, ru, pi, and amvi mark the long vowel. The diphthongisation of vowels in Angkorian Khmer, followed by a return to a pure vowel, is shown in the spellings of vom ~ vvoam ~ bum, syam ~ sī, loh ~ ivañ ~ luañ. Old Khmer initial r became an imploaded, voiced dental consonant, spelled with j. The diacritic ' was added in modern times to mark the characters i and k off as complete words. v was frequently written for the initial consonant which was later written b. Finally, the vowel a became an inherent vowel in many modern words and was shortened before h. Hence, phon ~ pham and daha ~ doh. Old spellings with final h instead of h account for the transcription daha. The transcription kāla is due to omission of the killer sign in the Khmer spelling.
relative pronoun function. *man* also occurs in combination with *gi*, both as a relative pronoun and as initiator of discourse, ‘i.e., then...’.

*gi* also seems to reinforce *pi* in its occurrences in which it may express either purpose or result. By the Mid. and Modern periods, however, *pi* is combined with *tem* and clearly then expresses purpose. In literary Khmer, *pi* ‘as it were’ is much used to introduce attributive verbs. Gradually *pi* in this use was combined with *hāk* and *tūc*. *hāk* *pi* *tūc* became current in modern times as a literary and poetic way to introduce a comparison. In C. *sūmpī* ‘when; even’ and *gappī* ‘it behaves’ are attested.

The use of *nau* as a final phrase particle, (f.) meaning ‘still’ is in evidence in modern Khmer only in combination with *foey* and usually in negative statements.

One sequence of particles which must not be construed as a combination of constituents which reinforce each other is *vwan tel* ~ *bum tael* ‘never’. Here, both particles contribute different meanings ‘not’ and ‘one who’, respectively.

**Changes of word-order ~ category**

A sphere in which changes seem to have taken place both within one period and from one period to another is that of the word order in which some forms occur. In the case of particles— which are catalysed according to their position in relation to verbs, nouns and phrases—this amounts to a change of word category. Five areas of change (with a possible sixth) have been observed:

1. **Position of the demonstrative particles** *neh* ‘this, these’ and *noh* ‘that, those’

   Tables 3 and 4 and the examples show these particles preceding the noun in the pre-Angkor period but following it from the Angkor period onwards. Although the movement from pre-Angkorian to Angkorian Khmer involves a change of area as well as of time, such a reversal as this does seem unusual (and the P.A. order is uncharacteristic of Mon-Khmer). Jenner (1982) discusses the possibility that *neh/noh* (and often *gi* ~ *gui* *neh*/*gi* ~ *gui* *noh*) placed before the noun are, in fact, the ‘phrasal head’, while the noun is attributive to it. *neh* *sre* or *gi neh sre* would then be ‘These are the ricefields’. It is tempting to see some such explanation of the word order, though one has also to explain sentences such as *oy gui noh sre sot* (K.79.18) ‘gives this ricefield also’ where *sre* is required as the object of the verb *oy*. Another possibility would be that *sre*, if given modern punctuation, would be in parentheses or follow a colon: ‘gives this (the ricefield) also’. Whatever theory is offered, however, it is very difficult to explain why there is no occurrence at all in P.A. of what we would call the normal order.

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5. A change of word order has also taken place in Khmer in the sequence of numeral and classifier. (See Jacob 1965: 161-2).

6. That is to say: a recognisably consistent form with a recognisably consistent meaning has to be regarded as performing more than one grammatical function.
2. Position of ru~rūva~rū 'like, as'
Tables 3 and 4 and the examples show that this particle occurs within the pre-Angkor period both preceding and following the noun. Perhaps the English use of the word 'like (such as)' which may also occur before and after a noun, e.g. 'like the moon' and 'flower-like', is comparable?

3. Position of ni~nī 'with reference to; at'
It seems possible that ni~nī, which occurs in both Tables 3 (P.A. and A.) and 4 (A. and Mid.) with meanings which could be equated, is another example of changed position. Occurrences of ni following a noun are rare and very restricted. They involve the words muḥ 'nose' and vnek 'eyes'. It is to Pou (1976: 340-1) that is owed the interpretation of the phrases muḥ ni and vnek ni as 'before' and 'in the presence' respectively.

4. Position of hey~hoey 'already; and then, and now'
In both Mid. and Mod. Khmer, as Tables 1 and 2 show, this form carries out two functions: that of marker (m.; occurring clause-initially), and that of final phrase particle.

5. Position of nai 'of'
The particle nai has the same spelt form, the same translation 'of' and the same pre-nominal use throughout Khmer, as Table 3 shows, but it also occurs phrase-finally in R., L., and C. with back reference to the subject of the sentence: 'of him/her/them', as is illustrated in the examples.

In Khmer poetry, sequences of alliterating words which do not convey much additional meaning to the sentence often occur at the end of a verse or stanza, where they are useful as rhymes or to provide the required number of syllables (qv. Jacob 1979: 124-5). Such sequences are ban'bek 'very', krāś' krael 'very', neh nā /noh nā 'this, these'/'that, those'. neh nai/ noh nai also occur in poetry. There are such occurrences with nai in R., L. and C.

6. Position of ai (?)
R. also provides an example of ai, normally a pre-nominal particle (pre-n.p.), in phrase final position:
R.1.29.1-2. doep an jīoe brah staṇ thlai, baṃs braḥ nārāya(n) ai, istūr nai lok traitā 'Then will I believe you, honoured sir, to be in the line of Nārāyanā, lord of the world, in the traitā'.

Foreign borrowings and Thai comparisons
ukk < Skt. ukra 'also' occurs phrase-finally in Khmer and has, therefore, been entered on Table 2 as f. It is attested only in the pre-Angkor period, whereas sot performed a similar role throughout all periods.

kāla, kāl < Skt. kāla 'time' is current throughout Khmer as a noun but also may be catalysed as a marker 'when' in the Angkor and modern periods.
ta, ta is a general dependent particle (g.) which may occur before words of any category, and may also act as a marker (m.). It seems just possible that ta was related to Skt. tā, the base of the demonstrative pronoun, as the present writer suggested on an earlier occasion (Jacob 1977: 166-7).

kār, kā. Occurrences on P.A. inscriptions of the form ka show no similarity to the particle kār, kā. Some may be construed as ka ‘to construct’. Some may be a shorthand form of kīm ‘serf’. In A. Khmer, the writer has noted occurrences of ka on only one inscription, K 34, of the tenth century; several very clear examples occur there, however. It seems extremely likely that it was borrowed by the Thais; it is attested on the Sukhothai inscriptions (Ishii et al. 1977). The particle has been treated here as both marker and pre-verbal particle (pre v.p.), both of which functions it performs fully in Modern Khmer. For the Mid. inscriptions under review there is only the one occurrence cited in examples where it is m. In R. it occurs frequently and seems always to be immediately pre-verbal. In L. it occurs pre-verbally, but does not in fact occur very frequently.

kti. (f.) ‘whether...or’. kti appears first in Mid. Khmer and was already well established in Sukhothai Thai. There is nothing in its form to prevent the theory that it came from Thai to Khmer. Having co-existed with the Khmer form of the same meaning, lāh, during the Mid. period, kti supplanted it completely.

ti. Table 1 and the examples show ti ‘earth; direction; focus’ in use as a marker. It has often been described as an indicator of the passive voice but in the opinion of the present writer the passive voice occurs only in the translation and there is no passive voice in Khmer. Clauses following ti have a form no different from other statements translated by the active voice. It seems rather to convey ‘person or thing in respect to which’.

The idea that in this usage ti indicates the focus of attention immediately provokes comparison with Mod. dl in its use, for example, at the beginning of a letter: mak A. jā dīraṭik ‘To A. whom I miss’ (lit. come A. being subject of regret-absence). Lewitz (1971: pp. 115-16, n. 8.) noted the similar usage when editing IMA 4. Thai /thi/ is also used to introduce the focus of attention and was well established at the Sukhothai period. Did the Khmers in the Mid. period borrow Thai /thi/? If so, either it was a literary loan based on spelling or Thai written initial d was not then aspirated when pronounced. (Similar parallels occur with Khmer gi and Thai khee ‘that is’, Khmer dān and Thai than ‘catch up’, but for these pairs there are Old Khmer occurrences with the expected initial consonants (gi and dan) and one assumes the loan was from Khmer to Thai. Whatever the direction of the borrowing of dl, the Khmers acquired from the Thais the use of it to form an ordinal numeral system. In R., dl seems rather like a new borrowing. It occurs with dis ‘direction’, des ‘country’, uttar ‘north’, and not alone. Although the Khmers may have borrowed dl from Thai /thi/, did the Thais borrow the focus usage from the earlier Khmer ti? Lewitz also suggests the possibility that Thai /thi/ was itself the borrowed form of Angkorian ti.
This particle seems clearly to be a loan from Thai since the parallel Thai form *tâa* was well established in the Sukhothai period and *tae* appears for the first time on the Mid. Khmer inscriptions. It is entered as a general particle on Table 6. Its limiting effect on meaning requires many different translations according to context: ‘only; just; exactly; simply (and no more).’ It seems to the present writer that *tae* has very much the same effect on meaning which the final phrase particle *gûh* ~ *gus* had during the A. and Mid. periods; in this case of replacement, however, a different word category and grammatical role are involved too. *tae* and *gûh* occurred alongside each other in early Mid. Khmer but *gus* then became obsolete.

However, there is a need to present a case for the comparison of *gûh* with *tae*. Lewitz (1970: p. 104, n.10) when translating a very difficult passage, at the beginning of her editions of the Mid. inscriptions, said that, with the negative particle, it means ‘not... at all, absolutely not’. For *gûh* in affirmative contexts, in IMA 3, 4 and 6, she gave no translation. There are A. period occurrences of *gus* ~ *gûh* where the translation ‘only, exactly, just’ suits very well. Two are cited in the examples. And later, Lewitz herself translated *gûh* as ‘seul’ and ‘seulement’, when editing the Mango Grove inscription. She explains (Pou 1978: p. 354, n.3) that she is taking ‘l’adverbe *gûh* “exclusivement”’ with the preceding verb. (This reference back to the preceding verb is a function characteristic of all particles catalysed as final phrase particles.)

*broh* ‘because’. This word is mentioned here because there are reasons for supposing that it also may have been borrowed from Thai. (In recent times it is also frequently combined with the verb ‘to say’, as it is in Thai.) Although Thai *phhra* /phro/ *‘due to’, because of* is attested on the Sukhothai inscriptions (Ishii 1977), it does not occur in Khmer until the modern period. (It does not, for example, occur on any of the *Inscriptions modernes d’Angkor* nor in the old *Cpâp*.') Nacaskul (1962: 185-7) held that the direction of borrowing for the comparable words Thai *ko* /ko/ and Cambodian *koh* /koh/ ‘island’ must have been from Cambodian to Thai because otherwise the Cambodian form would have had the final glottal stop *-k*. However, it seems possible to the writer that the loan may have been of a more literary and less colloquial nature. It may have been the spelled rather than the spoken form which was borrowed; both forms have the same written vowel and the final consonant which goes back to the same Indian symbol, the *visarga*.

Jenner and Pou (1980-81) construe *broh* as < *roh* ‘form, shape, manner’, thus suggesting a Mon-Khmer origin. Did the Thais originally acquire *broh* from Khmer?

The use of particles in R. (The Reamker Parts 1-5)
The R. occurrences have not been entered on the tables except when they are unusual or constitute the only mid-Khmer entry but they are given in the examples. It was possible to find every particle and usage for which

199
there was a Mid. inscriptions occurrence except:

*gi* *pi* occurs in R., as it does on the Mid. inscriptions, expressing purpose. Perhaps it is by chance only that *gi pi* was not also found to occur in the stanzas examined. *gi* does occur with *tû* several times, eg. 1.7.5-6.

*nâ ~ nûv. nûv* does not occur as a marker initiating discourse. Owing to the nature of the text, speech is initiated in many other ways: by exclamations of surprise or woe, for example, and frequently by the use of the title or name of the person addressed.

*bî*. No occurrence of *bî* meaning ‘at (past time)’ was found, but its absence may be due to chance.

*bek*. This is a non-occurrence which is not surprising because many other ways of expressing superlatives are used in R. and the poetry which followed it, e.g. *kanlan* ‘surpassing’, *krai* ‘very much’, *loes* ‘over and above’. *bek* does, however, occur in L. and C.

*man* occurs only with *gi*, and then not as an initiator of discourse. *man* was gradually being less used; one might expect that it would be used in combination. *man gi* in R. may be understood as ‘in that it is’.

*roh* was soon to disappear from the language. Perhaps, too, it was rather formal for poetry? *tâm* and *toy* ‘in accordance with’ were soon to replace it.

*lâh ~ loh* ‘whether...or’. The newly borrowed *ktî* (see p. 20 above) occurs several times in R. but not *lah*.

*viî* occurs as a verb ‘to return’ but not as f. ‘back again’.

There are, on the other hand, occurrences in Parts 1-5 of the *Reamker* of particles or usages which are not be found in the *Inscriptions modernes d’Angkor* 1-16c (Lewitz 1970-72): 7

*kûv, nâ f.* (Emphasis). The first belongs to poetry, the second, in Mod., to the colloquial.

*nûv, nai*. These forms fulfil a function, as a link between verb and object, which is new to them and in which they begin to replace *ta*. (See Table 3.) *nûv* continues to behave in this way in Mod. literary Khmer.

*nai* f. ‘of’. This is the use with back reference to the sentence subject, discussed under ‘Changes of word order ~ category’ (p. 19 above).

*nau* f. ‘still, continuously’. R., like L. and C. (see below), provides occurrences in Middle Khmer, a link between the A. period and Mod. *nau* *foey*. 8

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7. Further particles which are not on the Mid. inscriptions 1-16c, or in Mod. Khmer, e.g. *lgik in lgik pøe, leh* (related to Mod. *mleh*). See Pou 1977a: 120-4) occur in R. R. occurrences are not varied or numerous enough to make it possible to establish their word categories.

8. Did this use of the verb ‘to stay, live, remain’ as a final particle meaning ‘still’ go to Thai from Khmer? cf. Thai use of *yiuu*.
A diachronic survey of some Khmer particles

phañ, pre n.p. 'together with'. An unusual usage but one which is attested elsewhere.9
ra, vram tael. It seems surprising that they are in R., and not in the Mid. texts but this may just be by chance.
In addition to the above R. usages, the particles kā and tā have further uses in R. which are not in evidence in the other texts under investigation (i.e. up to A.D. 1630) and which the writer does not remember meeting in later literature. Examples of these uses are given separately here and they are not entered in the tables since it is felt that they are on the border-line between grammar and poetic style or licence.
kā. the normal Mid. use of kā to introduce a slight consequence 'and so' occurs passim. The following two citations illustrate the extra use:

1.14.1-5. yoeñ git smañ jā randah... neh ḫḷūv ḫūv dūl aṅ thā ḫoem brañ rāmādhirāj kā loek ḫddhī dhanā
'Ve thought it was claps of thunder... (but) now the envoy tells me about Prince Rām, how he raised the mighty bow'.
the cause: Prince Ram, who

2.2.1 sūry saeñ cāmn caeñ e ambar tūc brañ candr car tracañ kā beñ pūrnamī
The light of the Sun shining in the heavens was like that of the bright Moon, when it/which is full'.

kā seems to be a link, like a relative pronoun, between the clauses. No consequence is expressed.
tā is very much in evidence in R. Apart from its use as relative pronoun, as general dependent particle linking an attribute to a noun (the attribute including possessor or a noun in apposition) and as link between verb and object—all of which are illustrated in the examples and entered on the tables—tā also occurs between two nouns or two verbs of similar meaning, e.g.

2.23.1. kal' tā māyā 'tricks, wiles'
1.1.1. prasoer tā uttam 'admirable, superior'.

Evidence from Lpoek Aṅgar Vat

The following usages which were found in R. and not on the Mid. inscriptions occur in L.: the use of nai as a final phrase particle and as a pre-nominal particle linking verb to object; the use of nā as a final phrase particle adding emphasis and the use of nau as a final phrase particle. (See examples.) L. also corroborates the two further uses of kā and tā just illustrated above from R.:

9. I am grateful to Miss A. Compain, a missionary relief worker, for the information that speakers from Battambang use phañ in this way. She also drew my attention to similar usages in the translation of the Bible, where phañ is used pre-nominally in conjunction with rapas'.
Judith M. Jacob

kā as a kind of relative pronoun. 282.6. chlāk' rūp mahā yaksā vīrād muhimā kā chak' setā nām rat'.

'(They) had sculpted a relief of the mighty yaksā Birādhī who/as he was seizing hold of Setā to run off with her'.

tā between two nouns. 288.6 asur tā dāhān 'demon soldiers'.

ťā between two verbs. 289.14 grāvās tā gravi

'swinging-up-their-arms and brandishing (them)'.

It is noticeable, however, in reading L. that both tā and pi 'as it were' are used much less frequently than in R.

Evidence from the old Cpāp'

The composers of the Cpāp' did not use a great variety of syntactical constructions. They tended to repeat 'do's' and 'don'ts' and to prognosticate that 'if' certain actions were taken, a good or bad result would ensue. They used a familiar style of discourse which gives a modern colloquial impression. The texts do, in fact, furnish some very interesting occurrences of particles and in one case a non-occurrence of an expected one:

tā is occasionally used to attach an attribute to a preceding noun. Otherwise it has one, perhaps fossilised, use with lok or paralok, e.g. Hai Mahājan st. 2. oy pān ktf gāp'ta lok paralok 'and so gain advantage in this world or the next.'

toe. m. (Introduces a question). This word, familiar in Mod., was not found elsewhere in the early texts. It occurs in Kūn Cau st. 5. dic toe jumān 'It stings—say, how much?'

min. C. and L. provide what seems to be the earliest evidence for this colloquial negative particle, much used in Mod.

pi does not occur alone, as it does so frequently in R.; kum pi 'do not' is very common. Certain combinations with pi, not found elsewhere in the early texts, occur in C.: sūmph, translated as 'lorsque' by Pou but now meaning 'even', and gappi 'it behaves...to'. Both doh pi and doh poe occur in Hai Mahājan (st. 49 and 80 respectively) which strengthens the theory mentioned in Section I above that they are forms of the same variant word.

hetu. m. 'because'. The only earlier occurrences which have been noted of hetu as a clear marker of cause were those in A., where hetu is combined with man. In C. hetu is also used in combination with tpid, and, as in Mod., with tae.

kā most interestingly does not occur at all in the old Cpāp', but it does occur, for example, in the later Cpāp' Prus, st. 65.

Summary

It will have been observed that, not unexpectedly, some forms occur on more than one table, eg, hey ~ hoey, which functions as both m. and f. (Tables 1 and 2). However, there are also some forms, such as pi and man

202
(Table 1) and ta (Table 3) which occur in more than one section of a particular table; different meanings, semantic or syntactic, are indicated for the different sections in the left-hand column. It might be argued that two sections should be combined if they contain the same Khmer word, performing the same function, and the English 'translation' is the only difference between them. However, justification for the separation is claimed as follows: pi may introduce a clause of Cause or Purpose, which should surely be regarded as syntactically separate; man occurs in one section with nu and in another with tel, though nu and tel do not overlap. ta, when following a verb of giving, buying or speaking, links it to the indirect object, but in other contexts provides a link with the direct object.

The apparent confusion in P.A. and A. concerning cause and purpose (both introduced by pi) leads one to the conclusion that the meanings which Coedès worked out by reference to the whole inscription and to information from other inscriptions, etc., despite the lack of clarity in the text, were easily understood at the time because people were familiar with the whole context. We therefore return to what was said in the opening paragraph of this article, that Khmer syntax may be inexplicit unless there is a need for precision.

With regard to the borrowing of particles from Thai, Huffman concluded (1973: 491-502) when comparing modern Thai and Cambodian syntax, that Cambodian syntax was strongly influenced by Thai. It is significant too that, at the same early Mid. period considered here, a variety of Thai vocabulary was being borrowed by the writer or writers of the Reamker as a whole.

R. and C., and even L., offered likely material, heralding Mod. in one way or another. It was interesting to find that R., though probably predating Mid., had no roh or lah; that in L., while ta and pi occur, particularly in the passage describing the Angkor bas-reliefs, linking attribute to noun, their use is much less than in R.; that in L. and C., but not in R., bek and min are attested; and that kā does not occur in C. It is possible that some help towards dating the Reamker and early Cpāp' may come from an examination of the grammatical forms but great circumspection is needed.
## SECTION II: Tables

(R., L. and C. occurrences are entered in the tables only if there is no Mid. occurrence from the inscriptions.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indication</th>
<th>P.A.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>Mid.</th>
<th>Mod.</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Time</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'when (past)'</td>
<td>kāla</td>
<td>R. kāl</td>
<td>kāl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'when (by the time)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'until'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>luḥ nā</td>
<td>[tal’ (kāl nā)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Condition</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'if'</td>
<td>daha</td>
<td>daha</td>
<td>doḥ</td>
<td>poe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>doḥ pi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>peh (= pe)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'whether'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>doḥ (+ kti f.)</td>
<td>doḥ pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>doḥ jā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cause</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'the reason...'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pi...gi pi...</td>
<td>[pān jā...bi broḥ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'was because'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hetu man</td>
<td>(ta) pad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C. hetu,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hetu tae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'so as to'</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>kum...oy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'so that...(not)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kampi (so that...not)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gi pi</td>
<td></td>
<td>gi pi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tempi</td>
<td>ũempi (nį́ń)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tempi nu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Result</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'and so, and then...'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gi pi</td>
<td>dep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dep</td>
<td>doep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'with the result that'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>kā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kār</td>
<td>[pān jā]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Relative pronoun</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta man man</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>man gi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tel tel tel</td>
<td>R. tel</td>
<td>nā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ǝel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

204
A diachronic survey of some Khmer particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indication</th>
<th>P.A.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>Mid.</th>
<th>Mod.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Focus of attention</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'with respect to which'</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>dí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reported speech</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'that...'</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>thã</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Initiation of discourse</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Now...'</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nû</td>
<td>tpi (lit. and old-fashioned)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gi nu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>man</td>
<td>R. gi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Exhortation and Optation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'let...(not)...'</td>
<td>kampi</td>
<td>kampi</td>
<td>kum oy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'may...(not)...'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'do...not...'</td>
<td>R., C. kum</td>
<td>kum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'may...'</td>
<td>leñ</td>
<td>leñ</td>
<td>oy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Co-ordination</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'and (then)'</td>
<td></td>
<td>hey</td>
<td>hoey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 2: Final phrase particles (f.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>P.A.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>Mid.</th>
<th>Mod.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'already; by now, by then'</td>
<td></td>
<td>lhey</td>
<td>hey</td>
<td>hoey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'also'</td>
<td>ukk</td>
<td>sot</td>
<td>sot</td>
<td>sot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'and...too'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>phon</td>
<td>phan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'back, again, re-'</td>
<td>viñ</td>
<td>viñ</td>
<td>viñ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Emphasis)</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td>R. ra</td>
<td>rā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hoñ</td>
<td>hoñ</td>
<td>hoñ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R., C. kūv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R., L., C. nā</td>
<td>nā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'only'</td>
<td></td>
<td>gus</td>
<td>guh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Possession)</td>
<td></td>
<td>R., L., C. nai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'still, continuing'</td>
<td>a nau</td>
<td>R., L., C. nau</td>
<td>nau (+ loey)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'utterly; (not) at all'</td>
<td>ley</td>
<td>ley</td>
<td>loey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'very much; too much'</td>
<td>lah</td>
<td>lah</td>
<td>beg</td>
<td>bek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'whether...or...'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>loñ</td>
<td>kti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

205
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>P.A.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>Mid.</th>
<th>Mod.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'according to'</td>
<td>ṭuḥ</td>
<td>ṭuḥ</td>
<td>ṭuḥ</td>
<td>[ṭām, ṭoy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'all'</td>
<td>iss</td>
<td>is</td>
<td></td>
<td>as'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'As to...'</td>
<td>rī</td>
<td>rīy</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'at, in (place or time), with regard to'</td>
<td>ʔāi, ʔāy, tā</td>
<td>ʔāi, ʔāy, tā</td>
<td>i, e, a, t, tā</td>
<td>ʔa (place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'by (the time that)'</td>
<td>ʔālō, ʔālvaḥ</td>
<td>ʔālvaḥ tā gi</td>
<td>luḥ</td>
<td>[ʔal']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'from'</td>
<td>amūvi</td>
<td>amūvi</td>
<td>amūbi`</td>
<td>amūbi, bī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'in'</td>
<td>kaṃluḥ</td>
<td>kaṃluḥ</td>
<td>knuñ</td>
<td>knuñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'like, as, similar to'</td>
<td>rūva</td>
<td>rūva</td>
<td>R. tā</td>
<td>nūv (lit.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Link between verb and object)</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>R.,L. nai, nūv</td>
<td>R. tā</td>
<td>nūv (lit.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'near'</td>
<td>ḡiyān</td>
<td>ḡiyān</td>
<td></td>
<td>[jit]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'of'</td>
<td>nai</td>
<td>nai</td>
<td>nai</td>
<td>nai (lit.) [rapas']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'this, these/those'</td>
<td>neḥ/ṇoḥ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to (a place)'</td>
<td>lōḥ, lvaḥ, lvaḥ</td>
<td>lvaḥ</td>
<td></td>
<td>[dau]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to, for, from (re giving, speaking and buying)'</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>[dau]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'towards (N.S.E.W.)'</td>
<td>tī</td>
<td>tī</td>
<td></td>
<td>[khaṇ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'with, and'</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nūv (lit.) nīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'with, by means of'</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nū</td>
<td>nūv (lit.) nīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'with reference to'</td>
<td>nī</td>
<td>nī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

206
**A diachronic survey of some Khmer particles**

### TABLE 4: Post-nominal particles (post n.p.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indication</th>
<th>P.A.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>Mid.</th>
<th>Mod.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'all'</td>
<td>phon</td>
<td>phon</td>
<td>phon</td>
<td>phaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrog.: 'which?'</td>
<td>nā</td>
<td>nā</td>
<td>nā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'like, as'</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>ruv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location, Reference</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'this, these/that, those'</td>
<td>neh/neh</td>
<td>neh/neh</td>
<td></td>
<td>neh/neh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 5: Pre-verbal particles (pre-v.p.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indication</th>
<th>P.A.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>Mid.</th>
<th>Mod.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future time, possibility</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>nǐn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negation</td>
<td>vorn</td>
<td>vorn</td>
<td>buman</td>
<td>buman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>L., C. min</td>
<td>min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'never'</td>
<td>vorn tel</td>
<td></td>
<td>buman tel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Joins plural subject to verb) 'all'</td>
<td>syān ta</td>
<td>syīn, syīn ta</td>
<td></td>
<td>(siŋ = almost)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Result</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>kā</td>
<td>kā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 6: General particles (g.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indication</th>
<th>P.A.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>Mid.</th>
<th>Mod.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'all, complete with, as well'</td>
<td>dān</td>
<td></td>
<td>dāmān</td>
<td>dāmān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Link between noun and attribute)</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>tā (lit.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'only'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tae</td>
<td>tae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION III: Citations from texts

The particles entered in the tables are listed here in syllabary order under the heading of the oldest spelling, with citations illustrating the uses.

P.A. and A. citations are given with their Khmer (K.) reference number, as given in Coedès, face and line. Mid. citations are given with their Lewitz (1970-72) number, face and line.

R. citations have a reference to part, page, and line in the Reamker text of the Institut Bouddhique; L. to page and line; C. to the Ṗāp' title and the stanza. L. and C. citations are given only if no Mid. inscriptions occurrence has been found.

Where Mod. particles are related to the older forms, an example is given for comparison.

\[ka, kār, kā\]

[P.A. occurrences of the form ka show no similarity to the particle, so may be construed as > ka ‘to construct’; some may be a shorthand form of kiṃuṃ ‘serf’.

‘and so; accordingly’: Khmer m. or pre-v.p.

A. 349 sud 15. ka gi noh phdai krom noh ta jā daksina hon ‘and so it was these very territories presented as gifts’

Mid. 8.30 kār A, B, C, etc. \(^{10}\) jā saksi. ‘And so A, B, C, etc. were witnesses’.

R.1.9.11-12 stec moel as' bhūdhar loek rāddhi dhanā kā broes brah bhāktr prim priy. ‘As he watched all the kings (trying to) raise the mighty bow, an eager look came into his handsome face’.

Mod. nān niṅ khīṅ knāṅ' niṅ khīṅum hoey khīṅum kā khūc khāṅ mittabhāb rapas' yoeṅ. ‘You will be angry with me and I shall lose our friendship’.

Mod. poe dau kā dau. ‘If we’re going, let’s go.’

kāla, kāl ‘when (past time)’: Khmer m.

A.669.B.3. kāla samrāc homo... ‘When he had completed the sacrifice,...’

R. 2.67.12. kāl brah riem stec mak phgaṅ as' mahā rśi phaṅ śiṅ ar dadvīl brah ang. ‘When your brother came here and greeted all the great sages and paid them homage, they were delighted to receive him’.

Mod. e nandaka: hon, kāl samrec kīṭ rāthnā kholet hoey, kā krāp lā... ‘As for Nandaka, when he had achieved his own wish, he took his leave respectfully,...’

kūv (emphasis): Khmer f.

R.2.65.8. bum źin toem braḥ bhirit jā cneṅ kūv nā. ‘did not know Bhirut was in this mood!’

C. Kūn cau. 62. tae anak muoy kūv ra-ae ra-ūv ‘Now another person, constantly complaining’.

\(^{10}\) In the citations and their translations, A,B,C, etc. are space-savers used to replace the individual names of persons mentioned.
kum (exhortation): Kammer m.

R.2.50.2. aŋ aŋ sot kum prahæs. ‘And as for me, let me not be negligent’.
C. Hai Mahajjan. 58. kum khin prakaek jhol. ‘Don’t be angry, arguing and quarrelling’.
Mod. kum dhvoe. ‘Don’t do it’.

kampi, kum ph, kumphi

(i) (Exhortation): Kammer m.
P.A.724. kampi tve ‘gara le guh. ‘Do not build houses on the grotto’.
Mid. 6.B.8. kampi oy mok pyet pyen kambujadesa. ‘Let them not come to oppress Cambodia’.
R. 1.39.6 kum ph pâ git can dos. ‘Do not think of initiating a wrong’.

(ii) (Purpose): Kammer m.
Mid. 3.A.31. lek yas brah rajasantān... kumphi mān dharmmantarāy ley ‘to increase the glory of the royal line... so that there should not be any calamity (for them)’
R. 1.25.6 kum ph lan’ ‘so as not to be a long time’.

kamlun ‘in’: Kammer pre-n. p.
P.A. 560.11. sre kamlun tnal ‘ricefield within (the boundary of) the road’.
A. 291.22 sre kamlun vrah mandira ‘ricefield within the royal palace (grounds)’.

kti ‘even (if), ‘whether... or’: Kammer f.
Mid. 5.2. doh kān ān kti kmûy aŋ kti ‘whether it be my child or a nephew or niece or mine’.
R. 2.75.7-8 āc dap’ dal’ khyal’ dām 8 dis pok pak’ kti, ‘can even withstand the winds from all 8 directions’.
R. 2.73.6-7. doh brah bhirut ras’ lokti(y), luh paralok kti ‘whether Bhirut is alive in this world or has gone to the next world’.
Mod. doh prus kti sri kti ‘whether male or female’.

knuñ ‘in’: Kammer pre-n. p.
Mid. 8.7. knuñ pammros ‘in freedom’ (lit. in (state of) affrischment).
R. 2.61.9 knuñ brai ‘in the forest’.
Mod. knuñ sāstrā rõen râm kerti ‘in the manuscript of the Reamker’.

gi ph ‘and that was why’; ‘being an occasion for’, ‘and so’: Kammer m.
A. 222.16 man khûn nóh rat dau gi ph Tâñ oy Tai B... ‘That servant ran away; that was why Tâñ A. gave Tai B...’.
A. 450.14-15. pre guryāga gi ph vrah oy daksina ‘ordered (someone) to perform-the-sacrifice-to-the-guru so that (i.e. on that occasion,) His Majesty might give offerings’.
Mid. 6.A.11-12. rantāp kriyā phūjā samrap gi ph nîman brah sāugh phoń ‘prepare offerings in readiness for inviting all the monks’.
gus, guh ‘just, only; even (if)’: Kammer f.
A. 56.C.31. caṭa 1 camñāy gus gi ta bhūmi A. ‘at exactly the distance of 100 (measures of distance) is the territory A’.
A. 211.6 leñ oy camnām kalpanā neñ guh leñ rohī kalpanā vrah kamrateñ āñ... ‘let (them) provide only these provisions, letting them be in accordance with the provisions for the god...’
Mid. 3 A 78-9. doh pi anak phon vanveñ do lanlyin ai ta caturāpāybhūm guh... ‘Even if all these people err and go and fall into the four-domains-of-suffering...’
R.3.31.1. khnum cīl panro nay prāyōj(n) yak kusal pavar māngal guh ‘I went to them simply to serve them for the sake of attaining the highest merit’.

ňyan ‘near’: Khmer pre-n.p.
P.A. 155.18. sre ai řyan travān poñ ‘ricefield near Poñ’s reservoir’.
A. 239.33. sre x řyan vrah kamrateñ āñ ‘x (number of) ricefields near the sanctuary’.

tā. See ta.
tā dai. See dai.
toempī. See tempī.
tael. See tel.
nā. See nā.

(i) ‘who, which (rel. pronoun)’: Khmer m.
P.A. 561.20. ge ta sak gui ‘anyone who spoils (things) here’.
A. 56.3.27. ‘nak ta rām amvau ‘persons who plant sugar-cane’.
Mid. 2.5. kamrateñ ta jā bnumnak ‘the lord who is our refuge’.
R. 2.49.1. brah rām ɾlem ratn ta jā rāj putr cpan ‘the beloved older Prince Rām who is His Majesty’s oldest son’.

(ii) ‘the one who, the one which, the’: Khmer g. (linking an attribute to a noun)
P.A. 30.C.9. kūnum ta si ‘serfs, the males’.
A.19.21. dravya phon ta damnepra all the following goods’.
Mid. 6.B.3. is kīl ta lungh hoñ ‘for a long time indeed’ (lit. whole-of time particle, long indeed).
R.1.1.3 stambh dvār tā bicitr ‘decorated pillars and door’.
Mod. (lit.) āramm(n) ta ascāry neñ ‘this remarkable idea’.

(iii) ‘to, for, from, (re giving, buying, speaking)’; ‘at, in (re time, place)’; (a link between verb and object) Khmer pre-n. p.
P.A. 90.10. ge jon ple jhe ta vrah kamratān āñ ‘persons offering fruit to the god’.
P.A. 689 A.11 ku srac ta punya ‘Ms. Achieved good works’.
A.259 sud 8. duñ bhumi ta Vāp A. ‘buy a territory from Vāp A’.
A. 249.1 ta rājya vrah pāda kamrateñ āñ ‘In the reign of King...’

11. Jenner (1981) demonstrates, by illustrating the Old Khmer uses of ia, that this particle—
through found in a variety of contexts which suggest in translation a wide range of grammatical functions in European languages—functions consistently in Khmer as a linking particle. While
agreeing that the role of ia is always to be a mere link between other words, I separate the
examples here into three groups because for me ia is classified according to whether it links a clause or an attribute or forms an untranslatable connection between a verb and its direct or
indirect object.
Mid. 2.4. ǳuɫ ta bɾaɪ ‘humbly-inform the Lord’.
Mid. 6.A.36 sanmako ta vɾah səstʰa ‘resorting to the Lord’s teaching’.
Mid. 3.B.2 cɨl ta pəd moks ‘go on to the way of deliverance’.
Mid 8.24. kət ta kɨt neh ja ‘decide the case as being’.
R. 1.59.5. praməd ta bɾaɪ aŋ attack you, my lord’.

*ta pad. See pad.*

ta man ‘who, whom, which’ (rel. pronoun): Khmer m.
P.A. 562 26. kʰnuɲ tə man kloɲ A. oy ‘serfs which Kloɲ A. gave’.

*ti.*

(i) ‘earth; place; direction’: Khmer pre-n. p.
P.A. 688.4 tɪ tɨaɪ lʊc sruk ‘to the West of the village’.
A. 158.28 ʷtɪ puɾvva... daksɨna... paccɨma... uttara ‘to the East... South... West... North’.

(ii) ‘focus of action; in respect to which’: Khmer m.
P.A. 927.2. sɾə tə tel ti kʊɾak... tve ‘ricefield which Kurak... worked’.
A. 246-8. 3-4. dravya... ti aɲ yok ‘goods...which I take’.

*tempi, tempi nu, toempɨ njɨn ‘so as to’; Khmer m.*

Mid. 6.A.15 (prepare a sacrifice) tempi panluh do ta bɾaɪ nɨat ‘to send (merit) to kin’.
Mid. 3 A.28. tempi nu sən səsnə bɾaɪ təthɨɡat ‘so as to build up the teaching of the Tathɨɡat’.
R. 1.53-4 praɛ basudɨa toempɨ njɨn dɨvə oy kɨm tə praʃəɾaɛstr ‘turn the soil in order to bring peace to the people’.
Mod. kʰam rɨɛ toempɨ (nɨn) pən cənən hɨjɨ l-a ‘study hard in order to achieve a good education’.

tel, təel

(i) ‘who, whom, which’ (rel. pronoun): Khmer m.
P.A. 561.33 ge təl poɲ A. pre ‘personnel whom Poɲ A. orders’.
A. 958. Nord. 29. ri hɨmı təl sruk ta jmah kəməɲɨ sruk ‘as for the territory which (is in) the locality known as Kamnuɲ Sruk...’
R. 4.46.5. tɾɛc tɾaɲ’ pən mɨɾk təel jɨn səmɨɾau daɲ paɲcəlɨŋ. ‘He went his way, casting aside the animals, conscious that (lit. who be-conscious-that) he was heading straight towards Paɲcəlɨŋ’.
Mod. cor təel rət’ dau tɾuɲ ge cɨp’. ‘The thief who ran off was caught’.

(ii) ‘(not) ever’: Khmer pre-v.p.
A. 235.D.27 kule neh pʰon vəm təl cɛk mɨla. ‘the relatives never shared out (the functions of) the original branch’.
R. 4.11.3. bɾaɪ bəm təel mɨn hɨmɨn ‘the lord who has never had any imperfection’.
L. 269.10. bɨm təel ʔək ‘never failing (to do so)’.
C. Hai Mahajan 40. bɨm təel khus ‘is never wrong’.

211
Mod. gāt' bum tael dau aṅgar. 'He has never been to Angkor'.

tae, tae
‘only, but, just, exactly and no more’: Khmer g.

Mid. 9.46. oy paeñ tae hak anak ta reh pammros neh 'strike only those who have taken the freed people'.
R. 1.29.4. stec yak tae brah hasth chven bhūdhhar loek silp dhanī. ‘With only his left hand, the supporter of the earth raised the magic bow’.
Mod. nau sal' tae pi de. ‘There are only three left’.

tpit. See pad.
dañ. See doñ.

daha, doh, doh pi, doh pi 'if': Khmer m.

P.A. 1004.7. daha mān kāryya vrah kamratān aṅ ‘if there was work to be done for the lord’.
A. 843.C.13-4. daha ‘yat kule aṅ ‘if there-is-no descendent of mine’.
Mid. 4.C.5. doh anak amppāl ney vanven dau ai ta catarāpāyabhūm guh oy anak amppāl ney oy rru cei[n] ‘if all these persons lose their way in the four domains of suffering, even so let them escape’.
R. 3.12.9. doh brah pād stec ṭal’ oy brah dasabal... bidagh asūr ‘if the prince comes here, let that lord of the ten powers... destroy the demon’.
Mod. doh l-a kti akra ‘kti ‘Whether (it is) good or bad...’
Mid. 6B.4. doh pi mān rājasatrū... ‘If there should be (any) enemies of the king...’
R. 1.61.6 doh pi pā eṅ mān dukkh, aṅ bum bram sranuk ‘If you had troubles, my friend, I could not bring myself to be content’.
Mod. doh pi’anak gmān kār ‘vi, aṅjoeṅ mak leh phāḥ khīṃ. ‘Even if you do not have any business, do come and visit me at home’.

didai. See dai.

dep (depv, deo) ‘and so; and then’: Khmer m.

P.A. 726.A.8. dep ge crip ti ‘Then (i.e. after the purchase of the ricefield) they reserved the land’.
A. 207.7. man khmi sthāpana āsanā kamrataṅ jagat, dep thve camnaṃ kalpanā ‘He wished to establish the seat of the god and so he made a foundation, furnishing...’.
Mid. 17.35-8. gāppi yeṅ khīṃm pampūs anak A... deby yeṅ khīṃm oy rantāp phlae jheh... ‘It seemed a good idea to us to place Anak A. in a religious community... and so we prepared fruit... (i.e. for the ceremony)’.
R. 4.66.2-4. yal’ jāk’ jāti jā brah lohon ceṅ mak noh doep khīṃ prām proe yak as’ parbat mak... ‘We saw clearly what it was like: it was your blood flowing out. And so I gave the order to bring rocks...’
Mod. trūv pralāṅ jāp, deoāc cūl rīn pān. ‘You have to pass the exam, then you may go to the school’.

212
A diachronic survey of some Khmer particles

*doň, daň, dauň, dámň ‘all, complete with, as well’: Khmer g.\(^\text{1}\)

P. A. 18.2. oy sre daň kľum ‘give ricefields complete with serfs’.
Mid. 8.6. pros khnuım dámň grūv ‘free slaves, a complete family (of them)’.
R. 1.17.10. dámň bîr ksastrī ksastrā ‘both princes’.
Mod. kûn dámň pî nák ‘all three children’.

*doň, doň pî, doň pî. See daha.
*dámň See doň.

nâ, nā

(i) ‘at, in (place or time)’: Khmer pre-n. p.
P.A. 79.9. sruk nā jlaň kaol ‘village at Jlaň Kaol’.
A. 235 passim, nā kamraten jagat ta râja ‘before the lord of the world who is king’.
Mid. 6.A.6. mok nā sthān brah bisnulok ‘come to the place Brah Bisnulok (= Angkor Vat)’.
R. 2.49.3. sū rat’ dau nau nā brai ‘grimly-determined to flee and live in the forest’.

(ii) ‘with regard to’: Khmer pre-n. p.
A. 231.12. nā vrah janûvan ‘with regard to the royal gifts’.

(iii) ‘who, when’: Khmer m.
A. 878.2. dakśinā mratāñ khoñ A. nā chloñ prāsāda ‘honoraryarium for Mratāñ Kholoñ A. on-the-occasion-of inaugurating the tower’.
Mid. 6. A.33. mahāksetr phoñ nā groñ pranipat brah ‘the gods, makāksetr, who protect (the religion of) the Buddha’.
R. 1.25.12. nā brah staen mak tâl’ sthān aṅ neh brah staen mān amboe paṃmañ prāthnā ‘As you approach my encampment here, you have many demands!’.

(iv) (cf. Mod. nā ‘which, any, some’: Khmer post-n. p.
A. 348 nord 22. nu sre nā mān ‘with any ricefields (which) they had’.\(^\text{1}\)
Mid. 3.B.10. no kāl nā pî ‘at such time as’.
4.30 samner neh nā mūy ‘one of the novices’.
R. 2.31.5. it narnāi ‘nak rambēn ‘without any one thinking of...’
Mod. ‘nak nā tin? ‘Who (which person) knows?’

(v) (emphasis): Khmer f.
R. 4.34.3-4. bùm dān’ saby sây sanţī neh hoñ loey nā. ‘before this idea should spread at all’.
L. 269.1. prāsād neh en nā ‘This very palace...’

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12. Since 1968, I have realised that dámň, which may occur immediately preceding numerals (dámň bîr ‘both’) and verbs (dámň nāy ‘easily’) as well as nouns, should have been classified as g.
13. The A. example here might be considered, like the A. example in the previous paragraph, to illustrate nā (m.). However, nā ~ nā seems like natural Khmer and was the way Georges Coedès took it in editing 348.
C. Hai Mahājan 5. lampāk nās' nā. 'It will be very hard indeed (for you)'.
Mod. prayāṭn nā! 'Look out!'

ni, nī nīy

(i) 'with reference to': Khmer pre-n. p., m.
P.A. 44.A.7. ājñā vrah kamratān aṅ ni vrah kamratān aṅ āri... 'Edict of His
Majesty with reference to the God Čri...'
A.470.11. phtyaṅ ni pre... 'announced concerning the order to...'

A.245.91. dau vnek ni aṅ 'before my very eyes'.
Mid. 2.29. prākaṭ tūc samnām sātaprāṇidhān muhnī viṅ hoṅ 'exactly in
accordance with my earlier prayer'.
R. 8.5. (Pou 1979, st. 3663.) bi muṅ ni 'before, in times past'.

niṅ, niṅ

(i) 'with': Khmer pre-n. p.
Mid. 9.5. brom niṅ uk nā A. 'were-in-agreement with Uk źa A'.
Mod. khīṃ niṅ mitt samlāṅ' khīṃ 'my friend and I'.

(ii) 'shall, will': Khmer pre-v.p.
Mod. khīṃ niṅ dau 'I shall go'.

nu, nū, nūv, gi nu

(i) (Initiates discourse): Khmer m.
Some P.A. and A. occurrences are spelt nau, eg. 154.A.16; 957.18.
P.A. 493.20-1 ...canle kugala yau 3 ' nu man poṅ A. ktiṅ sre... '...3 yau of
double cloth. Now Poṅ A. released the ricefield...'
A. passim (e.g. 925,14) after date, preceding rest of text. (gi nu also occurs
similarly.)
Mid.4.B.25. nū tejah phalānisaṅ neṅ camren... 'Now the power of the fruit
of this merit may give prosperity...'

(ii) 'with, by means of': Khmer pre-n. p.
P.A. 424.B.6. man duṅ nu sru vrah 'which (they) bought with paddy from
the foundation'.
A. 239.24 sre neṅ kula A. ti duṅ nu krapī 2. 'This ricefield was bought by
the family/descendants of A. for 2 buffaloes'.
Mid. 4.C.9. banarāy nū tribhāsāmpāt 'resplendent with the three-fold
fortune'.
R. 1.2 hoṅ hoer nūv tej pl banīṅk 'go through the air with astonishing
power'.
Mod. aṅjoeṅ... kamsat nūv kilā prāṇāṅmā kaṅ 'invite (you) to amuse
yourselves with a cycling contest'.

(iii) 'and': Khmer pre-n. p.
P.A. 134.20 sre nu pdaī karoṅ nu damrīṅ 'ricefields and lowlands and
orchards'.

214
A. 215-6.10. yok sruk sre nu khūm phoñ 'took the villages, ricefields and all the serfs'.

Mid. 6.A.5. ok hluñ A. nu anak cov bhikkh B. 'Ok Hluño A. and the bhikkhu B'.

R. 1.3.11. nām rāj ta pabīr nīv brah anuj laksā 'brought the August prince and Laksmañ his young brother'.

Mod. (lit.) stī vā nīv gū kan dāmn jīnumān 'addressed them and all their playmates'.

(iv) 'shall, will, for the future purpose of': Khmer pre-v.p.

P.A. 341.nord 11. ge gi ta nu pi niraya 'they are the-ones-who will be for

Hell'.

A. 246-8.3.4. dravya ta rohī ti añ yok nu āras 'the goods according to (the

above list) were taken by me for a living'.

Mid. 2.6.7. sambau jā rat rūn ātmā ta jā nu nām chloñ 'a boat, splendid,
magnificent, to take (us) across'.

R. 1.43.4.5. tūc nīv cheh chur chāp vinās 'as if it would burn furiously and

be destroyed'.

(v) (connector between verb and object): Khmer pre-n. p.

R. 1.9.10. samtaēi nīv tej brah dhanā 'demonstrate the power of his bow'.

L. 289.14. khūm kān nīv tampañ 'Some held batons'.

Mod. (lit.) dadvul nīv dukkh tal' khlouon viñ 'meet with suffering

themselves in return'.

neh

(i) 'this, these': Khmer pre-n. p.

P.A. 79.12 sre sin panlass neh sre 'a further ricefield in place of this

ricefield'.

(ii) 'this, these': Khmer post-n. p.

A. 291.32 puja neh 'this cult'.

Mid. 6.A.20. jūn kusał-phal puny neh 'offer the fruits of this work-of-merit'.

R. 5.20.1-2. mak tal' sthañ brai neh 'come to this forest-place'.

Mod. kūn neh 'this child'.

nai, naiy

(i) 'of': Khmer pre-n.p.

P.A. 30.26. nivandha ta nai vrañ kammmratān añ 'provisions of the god'.

A. 207.15. thvāy dravya... neh jā nai kammmrateñ jagat 'offer these goods...
to be the possession of the lord of the world'.

Mid. 6.A.7. sthañ jammum nañ, devatā 'meeting place of the gods'.

R. 1.16.9. sthañ nai traytrēñā 'the dwelling of the thirty-three'.

Mod. (lit.) knūn nām nai brah rāj-rañṭhābhpāl 'in the name of the royal
government'.

(ii) 'of that (with back reference)': Khmer f.

R. 2.63.1-2. mān bal prāñ-muoy hmīn nai. 'He has a force of sixty
thousand (of him). There is a force of sixty thousand of his’. 
L. 290.22-291.1. jā sthāna brah maḥā īśī en naś, ‘being the dwelling-place of a great anchorite (of him)’.
C. Kīn cau 19. heu citā caṅ’ krep jaṅgāp klin naś, ‘because it wanted to taste and drink in the flavour of it’.

R. 3.1.4. pī tūc ‘nak tūt naś aggi’ ‘as if someone had lit a fire (in him)’.
L. 283.18. kā phtuoľ naś yakṣha maraṇā ‘(He) then felled the yakṣha to death’.

no, nov, nau, 4nau (also spelt nūv in R.)

(i) ‘at’: khmer pre-n.p.
A. 249.14-5. vneak vrah 4nau stuk vryāṇ ‘before (lit. eyes) the god at Lake Vryāṇ’.
Mid. 4.B.10. do no caturāpāyabhūm ‘go and dwell in the four domains of suffering’.
R. 1.1.6. pansāp bis nūv selā ‘dilute the poison on the stones’.
Mod. diṁ phdah nau bhnam beṅ ‘buy a house in Phnom Penh’.

(ii) ‘continuing, still’: Khmer f.
A. 235.C.7. pamre ta vrah pada A. ru nohh 4nau ‘continue serving King A. in that way’.
R. 1.4.6-7. brah thlaeā asūr kākanāsūr ksāy jīvit kā mar(ṇ) tuol nau. ‘The lord shot at the demon Kākanāśūr to take her life and so she fell dying and remained (fallen)’.
R. 1.62.11-63.1. jāl netr dhārā sasrāk’ sāṅjap’ sup naś. ‘His tears flowed freely and his face was downcast still’.
R. 2.6.10. toem jhūk sāt ‘mak jambāk’ dāmī daṅ doer naś. ‘The lotuses drifted along and, their stalks entangled, remained resting-on-each-other’.
R. 2.45.1-2. brah pād... nau mān brah janm mān naś loey? ‘Is the King still alive?’
L. 283.19-20. pradah sugrib yam naś ‘came across Sugrib still weeping’.
C. Hai Mahājan 87. kāl bliṅ naś ‘while it is still raining’.
Mod. Only the use with loey is current and this is characteristically in the negative, e.g. min dān’ dhvoe nau loey ‘has still not done so’.

noh

(i) ‘that, those’: Khmer pre-n.p.
P.A. 44.B.9. pammos ta pos gi noh vnām ‘religious personnel in that sanctuary’.

(ii) ‘that, those’: Khmer post-n. p.
A. 216.10. thve kuti noh piṅga kamraten jagat ‘build that cell to carry out the cult of the lord of the world’.
Mid. 8.11. pammros phoṅ noh ‘that the whole (matter of the) freeing-(of-slaves)’.
R. 1.14.1. kāl noh ‘that time’.

216
Mod. thnhai noh ‘that day’.

nau. See no, etc.

pad, ta pad, tpit

(i) ‘for the reason that’: Khmer m.

Mid. 8.3-6. ok hlun A. minmanr brah ariyasangs phon jamnum ta pad okk hlun B... pros khrum ‘Ok Hluon A. invited several noble monks to meet together because Ok Hluon B... had enfranchised slaves’.

R. 2.62.3-4. neh pad nān kaikeś ṭoṭoem ṭūjī bī brah rām mak oy bhirit. ‘This is because Kaiseš has taken the kingdom from Rām to give it to Bhirit’.

Mod. ilūv nān dau ṭak srūp viē e nā kā pān tpit kār vā huoś dau hoey. ‘And now, how can one undo what is done (lit. pull out and swallow again), for the matter has gone too far’.

(ii) tpit (Initiates statement): Khmer m.

R. 3.6.9. aṅg aṅ lūvneh na ttpit mān sansāy ambal’ nīn bhariyā hoey. ‘As for me at present, now there is a problem: I already have a wife to occupy my attention’.

Mod. In undated texts of folktale, printed in the twentieth century, tpit introduces the ‘hero’s’ tale of woe passim, when he meets Judge Hare.

pi, pī ‘for the purpose of, so that; because, the reason why; as it were’: Khmer m.

P.A.21.2 tmo pi vnāk ‘gems for the decoration’.

P.A. 451 sud 6. va cap pi hau ‘Mr. Catch (him) so as to employ (him)’.

A. 207.2. oy sroṅ kamraṭēn jagat cṛi A. pi jvān dravya ta amplā nēh ‘arranged for the ablutions of Lord Črī A. so as to (on the same occasion) give all these goods’.

A. 219.8. pi “yat kvan cau ley syan ta tāc santāna dau phon gi pi vrah pāda A. oy prasāda bhūmi ‘Because there were no children or grandchildren, their line being extinct, that was why His Majesty graciously gave land...’.

A. 207.32 yeṅ vvar māpata pi thve apavāda tyai ‘we shall not deceive in such a way as to make a denial of our knowledge’.

Mid. 2.25-6. pan paṇcakhandh ambi jät pi andol do mok ai ta sāsārabhabbh ‘depart this life so as to move to and fro in the state-of-transmigrarion’.

R. 5.63.6-7. nāv bhjum bal bānra pi mak thvāy ksatr ‘will assemble a force of monkeys to offer to the Prince’.

R. 3.1.11. yaksā pi dranāi ‘A fierce yakṣa’.

Mod. (Only occurs in compounds. See under ‘Compounded particles’, p. 17 above).

peh (= pe), poe ‘if, when (in future)’: Khmer m.

Mid. 8.43. peh mok srati ‘if (such a person) should come and complain’.

R. 1.57.7. poe parapāṃ yoeṅ yāṭrā viṅ mak yal’ pā. ‘When this is completed we shall come back and see you’.
Mod. pœūn kum kān’ dos doep khūm ḫān prāp’. ‘If you won’t hold it against me, then I’ll dare to tell you’.

pœūn.

phān. See phoṇ.

phoṇ, phaṇ

(i) ‘all’: Khmer post-n. p.
P.A. 127.12 ampall kule ge phoṇ ‘all the relatives of the personnel’.
A. 699.5. rājakule phoṇ ‘all the royal family’.
Mid. 3.A.25. nu brah ṅāṭi phoṇ ‘and the whole royal family’.
R. 1.8.9. dāt deb ksattr phoṇ ‘all envoys, gods and kings’.
Mod. ‘nak jīt khān phaṇ ‘all the neighbours’.

(ii) ‘both... and’: Khmer f.
Mid. 10.A. kat doṇ satparker dāmn 7 hey chloṇ phnūs phoṇ sot ‘cut banners for the 7 Books (of the Abhidhamma) and also made (the people) enter the religious life’.
R. dīl bhīṇa yam phaṇ ‘speaking and weeping at the same time’.
Mod. pos phaṇ hōey pok ut phaṇ ‘sweeps the house and does the washing and ironing’.

(iii) ‘together with’: Khmer pre-n. p.
R. 1.53.4. ‘nak yāṭrā phaṇ braṭ jēṣṭā ‘you journey together with your elder’.

bī. See amvi.

bek, bēg ‘too much, very much’: Khmer f.¹⁴
Mid. 2.15. tryak ar anumoderanā nu stac braḥ rājaputr bēg hoṇ ‘I most delightedly participated in what my son did’.
Mod. dhan’ bek ‘too heavy’.

būṁ, būm. See vom
būm tael. See tel.

man

(i) ‘who, whom, which’: Khmer m.
P.A. 561 A.27. khūm man poṇ A. oy ‘servants whom Poṇ A. is giving’.
A. 207.29. nā bhūmi nēḥ man vraḥ kamrateṇ aṇ  A. duṇ ta yeṇ ‘with regard to this territory which my Lord A. bought from us’.

(ii) ‘that’ (reported speech): Khmer m.
A. 843.C.13 kule aṇ tyaṇ man bhūmi nū upāya noḥ phoṇ vin āyatta ta santāṇa aṇ. ‘My family know that all those territories and their subsistence are returning to the authority of my line’.
Mid. (? ) 2.7-8. sramaddh bol man gi bhābbh jāt ‘the ocean: say that it is (taking gi as a verb but see man gi below) existence’.

¹⁴ This is also a change of mind about the classification of a particle as compared with Jacob (1968) when bek was assigned to the adverbial particle class.

218
(iii) (Initiates discourse): Khmer m.
A. 207.15 "man srāc thvāy dravya neh... dep dau ‘Now, having finished the consecration of those goods..., he then went...’

man gi

(i) ‘who, whom, which’: Khmer m.
Mid. 2.10. jāt ilīneḥ man gi luh ta 1499 čaka ‘this present life, which is in 1499 čaka’.
R. 5.35.5. neḥ yal’ man gi kal’ hoň ‘this (which) one may indeed see as being a trick’

(ii) (Initiates discourse): Khmer m.
Mid. 3.A.16. man gi ambī kāl jā prathamam samtec... pān thleń svey rājasampatt... ‘Now from the beginning of His Majesty’s ascending the throne...’

min

‘not’: Khmer pre-v.p.
L. 273.3 min oy yūr luh ‘not being a very long time’.
C. Hair Mahājan 62. min thlas’ dhloy ‘not making careless mistakes’.
Mod. gāt’ min dau de ‘He is not going’.

ra, rā (Adds emphasis): Khmer f.
P.A. 726.C.8-9 kūm vnāk poń yajamāna dai, klāh ra, tel oy ta āćrama, klāh ra, tel oy ta vraḥ ‘other servants of the section of Poń, some of whom he gives to the āćrama, some to the god’.
A. 205.8. pek sapp kule ta gi bhāga didai ra ‘divided (it) among all the relatives there, each having his share’.
R. 2.41.1. oh o braḥ jann skal’ skap’ rā pān yal’ hna puny putr epan. ‘Alas! Your life was completed, then, when you had the chance to see the merit of your eldest son’.
Mod. mak naeh rā. ‘Come here!’.

riy, rī ‘as for’: Khmer pre-n. p.
P.A. 518.D.1. rī ‘nak ta sok ‘as for anyone who corrupts...’.
A. 33.35. riy ‘nak ta pampāt dharmma... riy ta paripāla... ‘as for persons who destroy the foundation...; as for those who look after (it)...’
Mid. 4.23-4. rī jī dān pi neh ‘as for these 3 young men’.
R. 5.3.4-6. kāl noh ānu pāramitā rī braḥ suriyā bhūt āc āstaṅgat dau. ‘Then, owing to his perfection, the Sun (lit. as for the Sun) was unable to set’.
Mod. rī cau adhikār viṁ... ‘Now as for the abbot...’

ru, rū, ra

(i) ‘like’: Khmer pre-n. p.
P.A. 341.sud 5. pre thye pājā vraḥ kammratān aṅ ru lingapurvvā ‘ordered that the cult of the god should be carried out as (at) Lingapura’.

219
A. 235.71 rūva nohī ʻnau ʻcontinuing like that'.
Mid. 2.6. ḫa bnumnak trey trān pradhān ru sambau ʻis a refuge for (our) protection like a boat'.
R. 5.31.3. sabd sraek rū randah ʻthe sound of roars like thunder'.
(ii) ʻlike': Khmer post-n. p.
P.A. (Occurs frequently at the end of names.) 689.A.13. ku āl ru ʻMs. In-a-rush-like'.
A. 231.35 neh ruy ʻlike this'.

roh, rohī ʻin accordance with': Khmer pre-n. p.
P.A. 904.B.25. gi neh ta rohī nehī phōn tel...ʻIt is all these (things), in accordance with this (list just given), which...' A. 216.10. roh man steī vrāh jrai ta ʻjī dai kalpanā ʻin accordance with what the other Steī of the Sacred Fig-tree, ancestors (of this Steī) provided'.
Mid. 3.B.20. laen sthīt sṭhīr is kāl ta laṅgh roh brah cammaṅ prāthnā. ʻMay it remain firmly established for ever in accordance with the king's wishes'.

lah, loh ʻwhether... or': Khmer f.
P.A. 51.14. kon prasā lah cau prasā lah ʻwhether it be son-/daughter-in-law or grandson-/daughter-in-law...'
A. 842.24 caturthāṅca laha ṣasthāṅca lah ʻwhether it be a quarter or a sixth'.
Mid. 3.A.37. doh purus loh doh śīrī śīn ʻwhether it be male or (further) female...'

luh, loh, lah, luh nā

(i) ʻto': Khmer pre-n. p.
P.A. passim anvi... loh ʻfrom (a place)... to (a place)'.
A. 190.5-6. īvaḥ chok khadira ʻas far as Chok Khadira'.
A. 457.8 īvaḥ ta gi camkā ʻas far as the garden'.
(ii) ʻby the time that, by (a time)': Khmer pre-n. p.
P.A. 259.III 21. loh ta gi rājiya vrāh kamratān aṅ ʻby the time of/in the reign of Her Majesty'.
A. 855.5. īvaḥ ta gi 888 çaka ʻby 888 çaka'.
Mid. 2.9-10. luh jātī lāv ʻuntil this present life'.
R.1.5.2. luh bisākh ʻin April-May'.
(iii) ʻuntil, by the time': Khmer m.
Mid. 6.29. luh pān cūl ta pad moks ʻuntil (they) manage to enter the way of deliverance'.
R. 2.5.1. bilāp luh lat' ralāy ramsāy sok ʻwept until sorrow melted away'.
Mid. 3.A.43. luh nā pān pūs ʻuntil he would be able to enter the religious life'.
R. 2.81.6-7. luh sanlap' prah prān ʻuntil they fainted, writhing'.

220
Mod. *luh tra̱lap’ dau ṭhān devatā viñ... ‘When they arrived back in the dwelling of the gods...’*

*leñ, lae̱n* (Exhortation): Khmer m.

A. 219.5. *leñ jā bhūmyupāya nai sruk stuk ransi* ‘let the subsistence-of-the-territory belong to (be of) Bamboo Lake’.

Mid. 6.A.36 lae̱n pān pūs samnak ta bra̱h sāsthā ‘May he manage to become a monk, staying in the religion of the Buddha’.

R. 4.8.8. *lae̱n pān khmoc aṅ phño bhūdhār bīr bra̱h dhanū* ‘let it be possible for my body to be there for the two supporters of the earth’.

*ley, loey* ‘totally, utterly, at all’: Khmer f.

P.A. 557.Est 4. *va ahvān amve ley* ‘Mr. Avoid all action’(?).

A. 989.B.10-11. *daha “yat santāna ta puruṣa ley* ‘if there is no male descendant at all’.

Mid. 4.B.11-12. *ku̱mppi pros anak noh pān ley* ‘let (them) not be able to save those persons at all’.

R. 2.7.2. *paksi khluo̱n khla̱u bu̱m tīn toem da̱n jhūk loey* ‘the foolish bird had no idea that they were lotus stems’.

Mod. citti anak kamlo̱h... *min nāy nīn rasāy pān loey* ‘the boy’s feelings... were not at all easily appeased’.

*lo̱h. See luh*

*lva̱h. See luh.*

*lhey. See hey.*

*viñ, viñ* ‘again’: Khmer f.

A. 697.B.18. *cat sruk A. viñ* ‘restore the village A.’

Mid. 2.13. *sān ru̱ purān viñ* ‘reconstruct as of old’.

Mod. *tra̱lap’ dau phda̱ḥ viñ* ‘return home’.

*vōn, vva̱m, bvun, bu̱m* ‘not’: Khmer pre-v.p.


A. 85.2. *nau “nak ta vva̱m the toy kalpaṇā* ‘now persons who do not act in accordance with the arrangements...’

Mid. 2.17. *bu̱m dien* ‘not certain’.

R. 1.8.10. *bu̱m āc nīn loek dhanū pān* ‘were unable to raise the bow’.

Mod. *si̱evbha̱u neh bu̱m maen jā pravatti paṇlam rapas* ‘jan rūp nā loey.

‘This book is not in fact the story in disguise of any (real) person’.

*vo̱m tael. See tel.*

*sot* ‘in addition’: Khmer f.

P.A. 561.38. *o̱y antyanti sot* ‘finally gives in addition’.

A. 67.C.6. *dār prasāda... dār prasāda sot* ‘acquired the royal favour... acquired the further royal favour’.

Mid. 16a.8. *ri e anak ta jhar lek khmoc noh sot mān A., B., etc.* ‘As for those who took charge of the funeral, one may add, there were A., B., etc.’
R. 2.2.7. campjā sot mān phkā ‘and the Michelia too has a flower’.
Mod. riōn bren ri pad camrīn sot... ‘legends or songs, too...’

syān, syān ta, syīn ta

(i) ‘all’;\(^{15}\) Khmer pre-v.p.
(P.A. The rare occurrences of sīn are either in ambiguous contexts or are
instances of sīn ‘to officiate’.)
A. 207.27 "nak neḥ phon syān ta samayuga yok..., ‘all these people
together jointly took’.
Mid. 6.A.9. syīn jamnumm sumukkata (= sam mukha gata) ‘all met face to
face’.
Mid. 3.A.64-5. syīn ta jamnum samuggata (= sam mukha gata) ‘all met
face to face’.
R. 1.27.10 ksatr sabv prades hoḥ sīn cuḥ cūl ‘the princes of every country
all submitted to him’.

(ii). ‘almost: more or less: generally speaking’; Khmer pre-v.p.
Mod. mān babak... mun tampūn sa ruoc praphaeh sīn khmau ‘there were
clouds, white at first, then grey, almost black’.

hetu, hetu man, het tae ‘because’; Khmer m.
A. 348.nord.2. hetu man mān apavāda ‘because there were objections’.
L. 282.10. luon lom car cā hetu can’ smoḥ smān braḥ ang ‘she cajoled
(them) with her chatter because she wanted to make friends with
them’.
C. Kūn cau 30. hetu min sralān ‘because you do not like it’.
Mod. hetu tae mān saṅgrām ‘because there was war...’

hey, hey, hoey

(i) ‘and (then)’: Khmer m.
Mid. 6.1. anak cov bhikkh A. sān hey cah (= Mod. Khm. cār) cārk phon.
‘The monk A. reconstructed (this) and then wrote the inscription as
well’.
R. 1.41.9-11. tūc kūn koet bī udar hoḥ prae prās brāt’ phan hoey mak
prasab yal’ viṇ ‘as if (they were) their own children (who) had been
separated from them and were reunited, seen once again’.
Mod. as’ kamlām hoey jhi grun phan ‘exhausted and feverish too’.

(ii) ‘having already: already; by then: by now; and so’: Khmer f.
A. 413.II 53. adhiṣṭhān pvas lhey dep draṅ braḥ carat cuḥ ambi
subarnaprāśād ‘Being now ordained (lit. established in the religious
life), he descended from the golden tower’.
Mid. 6.A.11. surec hey deby yeṅ khiṃmm rantāp kravyā pūjā. ‘This done
(lit. finished already), we prepared the things-needed for the offering’.

\(^{15}\) I feel convinced, after observing for many years that pre-modern occurrences of sīn -
syān are preceded by a plural subject (or, rarely, singular but if so needing the translation
‘wholly’), that sīn - syān has the function of linking a plural subject to the verb. Frequently,
e.g. in R., the verb is separated from the subject by several words and sīn - syān is also useful
in marking the main verb.
R. 1.57.8-9. kūkhān stāp' brah pandūl phañ srec hoey camlañ dāmnī pī brah aŋ luh tal' troey. 'Kūkhān, having listened to the lord’s reply, took the three royal persons across to the other side.’
Mod. diñ ivān' hoey kā tralap' dau phdah. 'Having bought the things, (he) returned home'.
hoñ (Emphasis): Khmer f.
A. 215.35 tàc santāna yen hoñ 'our line is completely extinct'.
Mid. 8.51. sūm pān dauv ket nā tussidd hoñ 'pray to be reborn in the Tūsīta'.
R. 1.57.4. guor hoñ aŋ jhap' toy pā. 'It would indeed be good for me to stay with you'.
Mod. (Lit.) kum jrīet jraek gnā tūc kāl grā mun noh hoñ. 'Do not all push in front of each other like the previous time'.

loey. See ley.
as'. See is.
āy. See ai.
i. See ai.

is, iss, as' 'all': Khmer pre-n. p.
A. 207.27 yok iss dravya noh phon ta jā thlai bhūmi. 'take all those goods as the price of the territory'.
Mid. 4.3.31. is nāt gāt 'all his relatives'.
R. 1.13.12. as' dāmnī manuss ay tà lok 'all the men in the world'.
Mod. nissit dāmī as' 'all the students'. Also, however, as'='to have exhausted (the supply)', eg. as hoey 'That’s the lot' as' kaṃlāmīn 'tired' (out of strength).

ukk 'also': Khmer f.
P.A. 493.24. sre A., pradāna poñ ukk, man jāhv... ‘the ricefield A., a further gift of Poñ, which was acquired-by-exchange...’

e See ai.
ai, āy, i, e, a i ta, āy ta, ai ta
(i) 'to (re gifts)': Khmer pre-n. p.
P.A. 44.8.8-9 amnoy tān aŋ kloñ rañ[k] jo don poñ A. ai ta vraḥ kamaratān aŋ 'gifts of Tān A, chief of the husked rice, and of Poñ A. to the god'.
P.A. 561.7. ple tāday āy ta vraḥ kamaratān aŋ 'other revenues for the god'.
(ii) 'at, in': Khmer pre-n.p.
P.A. 38.4. sre ai travān 'the ricefield at the reservoir'.
P.A. 416.1.5. sre āy stu[k] anrok 'ricefield at Anrok Lake'.
P.A. 933.4. ai hari haralaya 'at Hariharalaya'.
A. 235.D.37. āy viṣaya jen vnām 'in the district of Jēn Vnām'.
Mid. 2.15. sucarīt sarddhā ai ta brah sāsnā brah tathāgat 'perfect faith in the teaching of the Tathāgat'.
Mid. 4.B.26. ī leh (= e loe) 'on high'.

223
R. 1.13.12. *as' dáməu manuss ay tū lok* 'all the men in the world'.
Mod. *e bhnam beñ* 'at Phnom Penh'.

(iii) 'as to': Khmer pre-n. p.
Mid. 9.32. *e saŋh sotr mān A., B., C.,* etc. 'as to the monks, there were A., B., C., etc.'.
R. 1.37.11 *e nān kairesi nā hetu citt drisyā diśthi drust kāc kān' khjāp* 'As for Kairesi, out of jealousy she wickedly persisted in her wrong attitude'.
Mod. *e khñum viñ, khñum min cūl citt* 'As for me, I do not like (it)'.

*amvi, ambi, bī* 'from': Khmer pre n.p.

P.A. 44.A.11 *amvi dik hera loh vrai tamponņ* 'from the spring to Cane Wood'.

P.A. 44.A.9. *amvi kāla* 'from the time'.

P.A. 149.2. *dār amvi ta vrah kamratān aĕ* 'claim from the god'.
A. 56.A.35. *amvi travahn trapeh dau ti uttara* 'from the Trapeak Reservoir to the north'.

Mid. 4.8. *ambi chnam* 'from the year... '.
R. 1.58.6-7. *pabitr camnāy phlāv nā stec nīn yātrā ambi* neh dau dūragam 'August One, the length of the road that you will travel from here on! It is far to go!'.

C. Kram 31. *bī tāc* 'from childhood'.

Mod. *bī khān joen dau khān tūn* 'from north to south'.

*a* nau. See nov.

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