AFFIXATION IN MIDDLE KHMER WITH OLD AND MODERN COMPARISONS

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

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

1. What phonological elements are prefixed or infixed?
2. What grammatical functions do they perform?

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

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

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

The Mid.K. affixes are compared with the O.K. findings in Table 2 and
**Table 1**

**MIDDLE KHMER AFFIXES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix Table</th>
<th>Infix Table</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Single Consonant Prefixed</strong></td>
<td><strong>Two Consonants Prefixed</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
<td>p [m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>r l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibilant</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal</td>
<td>?N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes to the above table:

Rd. = Reduplicated.

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

[] m is enclosed in square brackets because in all examples it is a reduction of muoy ‘one’ and as such does not merit inclusion.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix Table</th>
<th>Infix Table</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single Consonant Prefixed</td>
<td>Two Consonants Prefixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid.K. lacks in comparison with O.K.</td>
<td>Rd. t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common to both Mid.K. and O.K.</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional in Mid.K.</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

with the Mod.K. affixes in Table 3. Y. A. Gorgoniev (1966), F. Huffman (thesis, 1967) and P. Jenner (thesis, 1969) have all treated Modern Khmer affixes much more fully than I have. All have postulated more affixes than I did in 1963. However for the purposes of establishing affixes in the limited material of the inscriptions and of making comparisons with Modern Khmer I have used the 1963 list. This contains only those affixes for which either a large number of examples can be found in Modern Khmer or for which the meanings of the examples are all very similar. The affixes which are common to all stages are shown in Table 4. The results of these comparisons are summarized in the following three paragraphs:
### Table 3
**Comparison of Middle and Modern Khmer Affixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Prefix Table</th>
<th>Infix Table</th>
<th>Single Non-nasal Prefixed</th>
<th>Single Nasal Consonant Infixed</th>
<th>Two Consonants Infixed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lacking in Mid.K. in comparison with Mod.K.</strong></td>
<td>Rd. k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rd. η</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rd. p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rd. m</td>
<td>cr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rd. l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rd. s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Common to both Mid. and Mod.K.</strong></td>
<td>kN</td>
<td></td>
<td>kN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kr</td>
<td></td>
<td>kr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cN, Rd, cN</td>
<td></td>
<td>cN, Rd, cN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tN</td>
<td></td>
<td>tN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tr</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pN</td>
<td></td>
<td>pN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pr</td>
<td></td>
<td>pr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rN</td>
<td></td>
<td>rN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lN</td>
<td></td>
<td>lN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sN</td>
<td></td>
<td>sN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sr</td>
<td></td>
<td>sr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?N</td>
<td></td>
<td>?N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Additional in Mid.K.</strong></td>
<td>[l**]</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

** Mod.K. has a prefix r ~ l. An allomorphic relationship between r and l would be difficult to establish for Mid.K. using only the synchronic material. However, it is not held that a prefix l of Mid.K. is lost in Mod.K.

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

**Prefixes.** The lack of reduplicated t, n and m as compared with O.K. is not a matter to which great weight should be attached. All the O.K. examples were in parentheses, indicating that the meanings were not completely established, and I have no further evidence of such prefixes since the time of writing the article. The lack of the prefix dN in the Mid.K. material is also a slight matter. Again, the O.K. entry was in parentheses. In Mod.K.
reduplicative \( tw \) with second register, which would correspond to O.K. \( dx \), occurs only as a reduplicating prefix. O.K. \( mr \) is also lacking. However, this is met in O.K. only in mratān, mratān and mrateñ, all of which may well be different forms of one title, and in three names, mrasañ, mrasir and mrahāñ.

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

The most interesting information provided by the Mid.K. material in comparison with O.K. is its additions. In O.K. the main single consonant prefix was \( p \); the main two-consonant prefixes were those composed of an occlusive consonant or \( r, l, ? \) with a nasal consonant. The striking additions in Mid.K. are the heterorganic single consonant prefixes, \( i.e. \) almost the same consonants without the nasal consonant.

**Infixes.** Here, the picture is very clear. Nothing is lacking in Mid.K. One infix \( rrn \) is additional. However, since the total number of examples of the infixes \( rnr \) and \( rnm \) even in Mod.K. is very small compared with occurrences of other infixes, the absence of \( rrn \) in O.K. is not surprising. Apart from this insignificant non-occurrence in O.K., the table indicates a remarkable stability in the infixes.

**Table 3. Comparison of Middle with Modern Khmer affixes**

**Prefixes.** First, an explanation is required about Mod.K. prefixes \( Rd. \ dx \) and \( bx \), and about \( dx, bx \). These are recorded as occurring in the prefix table of the 1963 article. \( dx \) and \( bx \) are imploded sonant initial consonants which occur in Mod.K. with first register vowel nuclei. The Mid.K. material is graphic only. No distinction in writing was yet clearly made between initial \( t \) and imploded or between initial \( p \) and imploded \( b \). The reader needs to realize that the absence in Mid.K. of \( Rd. t \) and \( Rd. p \) represents a lack, in comparison with Mod.K. of \( Rd. t \), \( d \), \( p \) and \( b \). Conversely, the presence of examples with \( tw \) and \( pw \) covers the development of Mod. \( tw, dx, px, bx \). Therefore \( dx \) and \( bx \) are not marked as lacking in Mid.K. in the two-consonant prefix column.

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

**Infixes.** The lack of the infix \( rm \) is not thought to be significant. (See remark re table 2). Apart from this, the same infixes are common to both states of the language. It should be noted that no features of affixation in Mid.K. have been lost to Mod.K.
Table 4
AFFIXES COMMON TO OLD, MIDDLE AND MODERN KHMER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix Table</th>
<th>Infix Table</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single Consonant Prefixed</td>
<td>Two Consonants Prefixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kN</td>
<td>cN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* For Mod.K. these could be analyzed as allomorphs of a prefix, r ~ lN. For earlier states of the language, however, such an analysis is difficult to justify.

Table 4. Diachronic comparison of phonology

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

With regard to the lack of heterorganic prefixed consonants, something may be offered by way of explanation. The Mid.K. material, though much smaller in quantity than the O.K., is richer in variety of subject matter. It contains passages of fervent prayer by devout Buddhists, information about the suppression of bandits, details of family bereavement, and even a long poem. Attributive verbs containing prefixes tend to belong to descriptive and lively language. Their meanings are narrower in comparison with their bases. This would apply at least to the examples of prefix k and to one example of prefix s given at the end of this paper. Perhaps, then, the lack of examples of these prefixes in O.K. may not mean that they were in fact absent from the language at that time. One might also argue that, if these prefixes were really an innovation from the 14th and 15th centuries A.D., their effect on the bases would surely be more distinct. There is also a possibility that some of the heterorganic prefixes

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were in fact present in O.K. in the form of nasalized prefixes, kn, etc. Several words in O.K. with the form CvNC(C) are known to have lost vN: e.g., kanmēn ‘youth’ (Mod.K. kme:n); tuinot ‘sugar-palm’ (Mod.K. tnaot); ransi ‘bamboo’ (Mod.K. resy); suināy ‘Salvadora capitulata’ (Mod.K. sna:y). None of these, unfortunately, is known to be an affixed form! However, such a process of reduction might have turned some of the nasalized prefixes of O.K. into the single-consonant prefixes of Mid.K.

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

kakepp kakapp ‘make an effort to move along quickly in a climbing or crawling position’
khmī khmāt ‘eagerly try to’
komdrī komdā ‘be accompanied by, associated with’
khuyh khyal ‘tempest’
khlap khlāc ‘submit’
khesem khsān ‘peaceful’
ghlāt ghlā ‘separated’
cāncim ‘nourish’
jīn, probably for jaṅjīn ‘ponder’
tomre tomrān ‘put to rights’
thlā thlai ‘pure, noble’
dhàn dhān ‘belongings’
pak papp ‘crushed to the point of submission’
pak paek ‘broken in pieces’
papuol ‘incite, urge, suggest’
bisai bises ‘special, elevated’
vanveṅ ‘err, stray from the way’

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

Infixes. Generally speaking the infixes have been the same from O.K. to Mod.K. The absence of the infixes rm and rm from O.K. and rm from Mid.K. has already been mentioned as being of slight consequence. One other qualification of the above statement is required. It concerns the infixes m and n occurring between the consonants of an initial sequence. Here modern practice is to confuse any nasal consonant in this position with n.\(^3\) In dictionaries, in erudite pronunciation and in writing an original m seems to be preserved, e.g. the causative m infix in komcat ‘disperse’ v.tr. from khcat ‘scattered’. In general, however, speakers replace m or n by a nasal consonant of which the articulation is determined by the context. It is homorganic with a following occlusive consonant but seems to vary in
other contexts according to the speaker. I see in my data no evidence of any confusion in the spellings and misspellings of the Mid. K inscriptions. The causative m infix is written m in all instances. Examples of n (utensil) are lacking except where the base has a single initial consonant, but I now suspect that n was never, even in O.K., preserved between two consonants unless the nature of the second consonant was favorable to its preservation.

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

SECTION II
The Grammatical Functions Performed by the Prefixes and Infixes

First, something should be said about the interpretation of functions. For O.K. there were so few examples with definite known meanings that a function was claimed on the strength of one or two clear pairs of examples, derivatives and bases. For Mod.K. I have never felt that every instance of a derivative must reveal a function. I have rather applied the principle that for each affix the whole body of derivatives and bases should be consulted to see what functions seem conspicuous among them. For Mid.K. I first applied this principle synchronically. This process established that for many prefixes and two infixes no function can be demonstrated. Those for which a function can be demonstrated from examples in the Mid.K. material are entered in Table 5. It will be seen that some basic Khmer affixes had to be omitted because the examples did not satisfy the requirement that either a majority or a substantial minority of them should show the function clearly. The infix n (utensil) for instance is clear in two of the four Mid.K. examples but not in the others. Next, I applied a diachronic method. If a function was exemplified in O.K. or Mod.K. and even one example of it, with or without the base, occurs in Mid.K. with suitable meaning, the function is held to operate in Mid.K. Table 6 shows the functions thus established and a comparison of them with those of O.K. and Mod.K.

In Table 6 three items need a note of explanation.

i. The list of grammatical functions. In the 1963 table Nos. 1(e) and 5-7 concerned Mon infixes and are omitted here. The only entry made in them for Khmer was a tentative \( N \) as a verbalizing prefix, based on one word amp\( \text{\textgrave} \)n ‘arrest’ from p\( \text{\textgrave} \)n ‘get’. Since then I have met amp\( \text{\textgrave} \)n as a verb and have even more doubt about the entry.

ii. Mid.K. t and p. The reader is reminded that Mid.K. orthography, which is the sole basis for the Mid.K. study, does not for the most part distinguish between t and d imploded d, p and imploded b. Thus in the
Table 5
FUNCTIONS OF MIDDLE KHMER AFFIXES
Synchronic Analysis*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical Functions **</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Infix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Nominalizing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) General</td>
<td>pN, ?N, pr</td>
<td>mn, N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Utensil</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>rn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Object made</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Causative</td>
<td>p, pN, pr</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Frequentative</td>
<td>Rd. c</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Attributive verb</td>
<td>k, tr, r, l</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The Mid K. prefixes c, t, s, kn, kr, cn, Rd. cn, tn, rn, sn, sr and infixes n (utensil) and m (agent) are left out of this table because their functions cannot be demonstrated from the examples only.

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

Table Mid.K. cannot be said to lack d or b, since there was only t or p with which to write them.
iii. Re Rd. c, it should be mentioned that O.K. does have a word cícây which looks like a frequentative of cây but which usually has a meaning ‘spoil, do harm to’, rather far removed from the meaning of cây ‘spend’. It was not entered in the 1963 table.

Comparison of Middle Khmer with Old Khmer
Mid K. lacks a prefix kn (nominalizing) and a prefix kn (proper name) as
Table 6

MIDDLE KHMER
Diachronic Comparison with Old Khmer and Modern Khmer Functions

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

* These references are to points made in the discussion of Table 6.
** See note ** to Table 3.
compared with O.K. For both of these prefixes there were plenty of examples in O.K., but the grammatical function was not very clear and they were only tentatively claimed in the table. No evidence of the infix n (quantifier) has emerged from the Mid.K. material. Only two examples were found in O.K. however.

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

The following prefixes are additional in Mid.K.: ?n (utensils); the causative prefixes pn, pr, tn; reduplicated c and cn, intensifying cn and sn, and all the attributive verb prefixes. A new use of the infix m as a causative infix is clearly established. The infix rn (utensil) is also apparently new.

Comparison of Middle Khmer with Modern Khmer.

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

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

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

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

Diachronic comparison of functions.

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

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

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

The single prefixed consonants which form attributive verbs may have come into use in the Mid.K. period. Similarly the use of m as a causative infix has not been noted before then. There is some evidence that new formations with the latter are being made in modern times. The reduplicative prefixes (frequentatives and intensifiers) seem to have come into use much more fully since the Mid.K. period. The process of forming words by this method is still a live one. I think one may assume that at earlier stages the obsolete affixes were just as alive.

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

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

**COMPLETE LIST OF COLLECTED MIDDLE KHMER DATA**

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

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

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

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

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

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

Single Consonant Prefixed


chpoŋ 19,8 ‘older sibling, relative’ (never used with p-ūn ‘younger sibling’) + poŋ 20,20 ‘older sibling’ (occurs frequently with p-ūn). Cf. Mod.K. cboŋ, boŋ, with similar meanings.

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

thleŋ 3,17 ‘rise up’ + hlæŋ 34,23 ‘up’. Cf. O.K. tleh ‘go up’, Mod.K. thlaŋ ‘arrogant’, laŋ ‘go up.’

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

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

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

pjūm 38,4 'place together' + jum 38,52 'around'. *Cf.* Mod.K. phcūm, cūm, with similar meanings.

phtiān 38,5 'inform' + tyin 38,5 'know'. *Cf.* O.K. tyān 'know', Mod.K. pdyīn 'inform against, accuse', dyīn 'know'.

pjīpp 38,12 'fix, join together' v.tr. *Cf.* Mod.K. phcēpp id., cēpp 'join' v. intr.

plek 38,46 'special'. *Cf.* Mod.K. plek id., lack 'different'.

prāpp 39,28 'quell, suppress'. *Cf.* Mod.K. pra:p id., ri:p 'low-lying'.

priēn 38,19 'close associate' + rīēn 38,27 'continue one after the other'. *Cf.* Mod.K. priēn in priē-liēn 'neighbors', rīēn 'continue one after the other'.

mnak 38,19 'one person + anak passim 'person'. *Cf.* O.K. anak, Mod.K. mnēk, nēk, with similar meanings.

mīsaen 38,44 'hundred thousand' + saen 11,15 'hundred thousand' (classifier). *Cf.* Mod.K. mīsaen, saen, with similar meanings.

mtoē 25,29 'once' + toē 31,B,4 'occasion, time'. *Cf.* Mod.K. mdēp, dēp with similar meanings.

ralān 38,22 'going beyond, passing beyond' + lan 9,49 'long (of time)'. *Cf.* Mod.K. rōlān 'going beyond', lūn (i) 'going beyond' (ii) 'in the course of time'.

ralāy: occurs with ralotc 16,24 'destroyed'. *Cf.* Mod.K. rōliy 'melted; destroyed', liy 'melt'. v. intr.

rasāy 17,52 'released' + sāy 38,46 'widely diffused'. *Cf.* Mod.K. rōsa:y 'undone, released', sa:y 'spread, diffused'.

lūh 6,A,41 'freed' + toh 31,B,22 'free, shake off' v. tr. *Cf.* Mod.K. rōdhō ~ lōdōh, dōh, with similar meanings.

srūt occurs with its base rūt 39,17 'with all speed'. *Cf.* Mod.K.
sroːt ‘making haste’, sroːt-rûːt ‘with all speed’.


Two Consonants Prefixed


kanløŋ 37,60 ‘pass (of time), be past, former’ + laŋ 9,49 ‘long (of time)’. Cf. O.K. kanløŋ ‘past, deceased’, Mod.K. konløŋ ‘passed over; gone (of time)’, lũŋ7 (i) ‘going beyond’ (ii) ‘in the course of time’.

kumīa8 39,21 ‘cause to be together, cause to be companions’. Cf. Mod.K. kɔmdɔː(r) id., dɔː ‘crossing-place, ferry’ (< Viet.)


cN camlaek 37,53 ‘interesting’. Cf. Mod.K. cɔmlaek id., laek ‘different’.

Rd. cN jaŋjaek 38,11 ‘split, severed (plural)’. Cf. Mod.K. cɛ:k ‘parted, separated’.


tantiŋ 39,20 ‘ask for hand in marriage; + tyiŋ 38,5 ‘know’. Cf. O.K. tīn ‘know’, Mod.K. dɔnỳŋ, dỳŋ, with similar meanings.

tamliŋ, 21,16 ‘measure of weight smaller than jaŋjīŋ but greater than sliŋ’. + liŋ 16,B,8 ‘alternative form of tamliŋ’. Cf. O.K. liŋ, sliŋ ‘weight measures for gold and silver’, Mod.K. dɔmłyŋ, ‘weight measure approximately equivalent to 1 ounce (thlỳŋ); weigh’.

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tra-âl 17,47 'joyful'. *Cf.* Mod.K. trô’a:l id., 'a:l 'be eager to'.

trakâl 31,B,6 'new, novel, interesting' + kâl 'time'. *Cf.* Mod.K. trôka:l, ka:l, with similar meanings.

pambeñ 38,32 'fulfil' + beñ 38,47 'full'. *Cf.* Mod.K. bômpeñ, pêñ, with similar meanings.

pammpaek 36,13 'break' v.tr. + paek 38,11 'broken'. *Cf.* Mod.K. bombae, baek, with similar meanings.

pammpuooss 37,17 'cause to become a monk' + pûs 3,43 'be a monk'. *Cf.* O.K. pos 'be a monk', Mod.K. bûmbû:s, bu:ûs, with meanings as in Mid.K.

pañcâm 31,B,9 'serve as, be used as' + cûm 38,6 'reckon, remember'. *Cf.* O.K. cam 'provide', Mod.K. bôncam 'pawn' v.tr., prêcâm 'be for the use of, have reference to', cam, 'guard; remember'.

pañcchu 4,B,21-2 'put down, place (ashes of the dead) ceremonially' + ch 2,30 'go down'. *Cf.* O.K. cuh 'put down in writing', Mod.K. bôncoh 'cause to go down, coh 'go down'.

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

pandra 34,17 'yard-stick, ruler'. *Cf.* Mod.K. bôntô:t id., tô:t in tüñ-tô:t 'accurate'.

pandil 3,B,10 'words, speech' + dûl 32,14 'bear on the head, speak with respect'. *Cf.* O.K. pandval 'give order (re King's order), Mod.K. bôntu:l 'words, speech (royal vocabulary)', tü:l 'carry on the head, speak respectfully'.

pañgâp 17,73 'order' v.tr. + gâpp 38,22 'proper, suitable'. *Cf.* Mod.K. bônkêap, kêap, with similar meanings.

pañhey 38,15 'finish' v.tr. + hey passim 'already'. *Cf.* Mod.K. bônhaëy, haëy, with similar meanings.

pan-iss 2,24 'complete, final' + is 31,B,10 'all'. *Cf.* O.K. is 'all', Mod.K. bôn's, 's, with meanings as for Mid.K.

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

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

pañkus 38,25 'cause to go wrong' + khos 19,26 'wrong' adj. *Cf.*
Mod.K. bôñkhos, khos, with similar meanings.

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

pantâl 9,27 'lead to, produce a result'. Cf. Mod.K. bondsa:l 'result, lead to', da:l 'spread (like fire).

pansamn 37,55, 'unite with, put together'. Cf. O.K. sam, phsam 'put together', Mod.K. phsom 'unite'.

pañyol 18,35 'explain' + yal 38,28 'see'. Cf. Mod.K. puñyûal 'explain', yûal 'see; understand'.

pr prakop 3,60 'confer' v.tr. + kopr 3,52 'endowed with, possessing'. Cf. Mod.K. prakop: 'furnished with, endowed with', kopr 'having sufficient, being in a state of ease'.

pramûl 38,12 'gather together' v.tr. + mûl 38,12 'into a whole, together'. Cf. Mod.K. pramo:l 'gather together' mû:l 'round; the whole'.

pratâp 34,10 'prepare, arrange'. The occurrence of rantâp 'offerings, gifts; prepare' 3,A,67 and of Mod.K. pradâp 'arrange; utensil', ruinâdâp 'offerings', lûmdâp 'sequence' suggests a root tap not found in Mod.K. but current in Mod. Mon, top 'arrange in sequence'.

pravaen 34,24 'length + vaen 39,74 'long (of time)'. Cf. O.K. prave 'length', vei (? 'long', Mod.K. pravei 'length', vei 'long'.

rN ramlân 3,B,36 'wipe out, banish'. Cf. Mod.K. rûmla:añ id., li:añ 'clean up, wash'.

rammlân 37,60 'pass (of time) + lañ 9,49 'long (of time)'. Cf. Mod.K. rûmla:ñ 'pass over, go beyond, past', lûñ (i) 'going beyond' (ii) 'in the course of time'.

randâh 24,32 'thunderbolt'. Cf. Mod.K. ruântëhä id., teëh 'hit with palm, clap'.

rañgoh 24,32 'fall off, come loose, be loose, Cf. Mod.K. ruñkûañ id., kùañ 'strike, beat'.

rantâpp 3,67 'offerings', 26,16 'prepare'. Cf. Mod.K. ruândap id. Both would seem to relate, like Mid.K. pratâp 'prepare', antâpp 'next, after that' to a root *tap not found in Khmer but current in Mod. Mon, top 'arrange in sequence': cf. also Mod.K. lûmdap 'sequence'.

IN lamtoh 6,A,23 'free' v.tr. + toh 31,B,22 'free' adj. Cf. Mod.K. rûmdoh ~ lûmdoh 'free'; v.tr., dôh 'take off (clothing), free' adj.
Affixation in Middle Khmer

sN
samlaen 31,B,21 'friend'. Cf. Mod.K. somlaŋ id. The occurrence of Mid.K. sraleŋ, 4,B,4 'love' v., O.K. slave-name sralaŋ, Mod.K. sralan 'love' v. suggests a root *ləŋ not yet found.11 sanlap 38,48 'feel faint, go weak'. Cf. Mod.K. sonlop id., lop 'confused'. The occurrence of lop in the Ream Ker (III, p. 12, 1.9) 'rise in a cloud (re dust)' and of srəlop (loc. cit.) 'observing' and of trəlop (III, p. 22, 1.8) 'cloud over' suggest a literal 'obsuring' as the primary meaning of this base.

sr
sragat 2,16 'concentrate' + gat 38,39 'exact (of time)'. Cf. Mod.K. srəkʊət in srəkʊət-srəkʊəm 'concentrate in meditation', kʊət 'exact (of time, quantity)'.

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

sraleŋ 4,B,4 'love' v. The occurrence of Mid.K. samlaen 'friend', O.K. sralaŋ (slave-name), Mod.K. somlaŋ 'friend', srəlan 'love' v. suggests a root *ləŋ not yet found.11

?N
ambi 32,21 'from' + biy 38,15 'about'. Cf. O.K. amvi 'from', Mod.K. ?ɔmpi: 'from, about', pi: 'from, about, at (of past time):

ammcas 21,20 'master'. Cf. O.K. cas 'old', Mod.K. ɔmcaš 'master', cas 'old'.

anle 2,40 'place' + le 26,8 'on, above'. Cf. O.K. anle, le, Mod.K. ɔnľː, lː; with similar meanings.

anrıus 34,18 'file (metal tool)'. Cf. Mod.K. өnrıus id., rıus 'file down'.

antāpp 3,27 'next, after that'. Cf. Mod.K. ɔndap 'level, order; ordinary'. Both would seem to relate, like Mid.K. pratāp 'prepare', rantāpp 'offerings; prepare' to a root *tap not found in Khmer but current in Mod. Mon, təp 'to arrange in sequence'.

Single Non-Nasal Consonant Infixed

p
lpā 38,15 'epilogue' + lā 39,49 'take one's leave'. Cf. Mod.K. liː 'take one's leave'.

raplën 38,17 'training, method'. Cf. O.K. ryyan 'learn'. Mod.K. rəbian 'method, learning', rion 'learn'.

Single Nasal Consonant Infixed

Where root has a single initial consonant

m
chmu̱n 31,22 'business-man'. Cf. Mod.K. chmuːŋ id., c uğ 'do business'.
n  khnøy 30,14 ‘cushion’. Cf. Mod.K. khnəy id., kaeyJ ‘lean, rest’.
khnos 37,56 ‘grater’. Cf. Mod.K. khnəos id., kaos ‘grate’ v.
phnūs 3, A, 44 ‘the religious life, monkhood’ + pūs 3, A, 43 ‘be a monk’.
Cf. O.K. phnūs (slave-name), pos ‘be a monk’, Mod.K. phnūs ‘being a monk’, buːs ‘be a monk’.

Where root has a 2-place initial consonant sequence:

n, m  banrāy12 38,12 ‘resplendent’ + braːy, 4,C, 22 ‘pretty, shimmering’
Cf. Mod.K. puːnːriːy, priːy with similar meanings.
camboh, 3, A, 18 ‘towards, directed to’ + cboh 31,B, 14 ‘towards’
Cf. Mod.K. cɔmpuːh, chpūh, with similar meanings.
camhut 31,B, 29 ‘having the power to bring things to pass, efficacious’ + chut 31, B, 33 ‘effective’ (especially of wishes for the future’.
Cf. Mod.K. cɔmpuːh ‘effectiveness’, chot ‘effective’, both used in connections with magic, prophecies, etc.
camren 3, A, 77 ‘cause success, increase’ + cren 9, 37 ‘many’. Cf. O.K. camren, cren, Mod.K. cɔmraːn, craŋ with similar meanings.
caŋhan 9, 16 ‘food of monks’. Cf. Mod.K. cɔŋhan id., chan ‘eat (re monks).’
daŋmaŋ 34, 11 ‘weight’. Cf. Mod.K. túŋuən id., thŋuən ‘heavy’.
daŋmaŋ 38, 32 ‘let fall’ + dhlaŋ 38,12 ‘fall’ Cf. Mod.K. túŋuək, thlək, with similar meanings.
gammpaŋ 38, 4 ‘the hands cupped together’. Cf. Mod.K. kɔmbuŋ id., kboŋ ‘cup the hands together’.
gammmrubbh 37, 49 ‘complete’ v.tr. + grap 38, 28 ‘all’. Cf. Mod.K. kʊɾuŋ, krup, with similar meanings.
jamrov 34,24 ‘depth’. Cf. Mod.K. cʊmrəu id., cruː ‘deep’.
jumrah 31,B, 4 ‘clean’ v.tr. + jrah 15, 10 ‘free, uncluttered’. Cf.
Affixation in Middle Khmer

Mod.K. cûmrêah, crêah, with similar meanings.


kâmval 17,48 ‘trouble’ n. Cf. Mod.K. kômval id., kâ:m ‘troubled’.


kumlâm nh 38,44 ‘strength’ + khlân 38,44 ‘strong’. Cf. Mod.K. kôm, khlân, with similar meanings.

pamre 34,8 ‘serve’ + prâ 39,27 ‘use the services of, command’. Cf. O.K. pamre, pre, Mod.K. bomrâa, prâa, with similar meanings.

pâmros 8,7 ‘time or state of servitude’, 37,47 ‘freed person’ + pros 9,44 ‘set free, save’. Cf. Mod.K. bomrâos ‘freed person’, prâos ‘free, save (especially of saving of the Buddha)’.

pandâp 37,22 ‘next’. Cf. Mod.K. bûtôp id., phôp ‘put next to each other’.


pantâm 21,15 ‘instruction’ + phtâm, 16,12 ‘instruct’. Cf. Mod.K. bondâm, phdam, with similar meanings.

pararâs (faulty spelling for *pamrâs’ which the context confirms) 34,8, used with pamre, ‘serve in various ways’. Cf. Mod.K. bomrâa-bomras ‘take on any task that comes’, prâa-pras ‘use in various ways’.

sam-áth 3,21 ‘clean up’ + s-áth 38,2 ‘nicely turned out, presentable, pretty’. Cf. Mod.K. sômt, sôt, with similar meanings.

samliñ 38,46 ‘stare at’. Cf. Mod.K. sômlôj id., sôñ ‘still, fixed’.

sammrâpp 4,23 ‘for the use of, serving as’ + srâp 38,50 ‘ready at hand’. Cf. Mod.K. sômrâp, srâp, with similar meanings.

sammrêc 38,15 ‘finish’ v.tr. + srecc 38,18 ‘finished’ Cf. Mod.K. sômrac, srac, with similar meanings.

samnakkk 3,B,9 ‘stay at, in’. Cf. Mod.K. sômnak id., snak ‘stay overnight’.

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सामंतार १२,१४ 'expound' + सांच ३८,३४ 'clear' Cf. Mod.K. सोम्दार, सदार, with similar meanings.

सांतेक १,१६ 'Highness' + सांच २,१२ 'prince'. Cf. O.K. सांच 'go' (royal vocabulary), Mod.K. सोमदार 'Highness', sdac (i) 'prince' (ii) 'go' (royal vocabulary).

तामकल ३६, ३ 'place' v. Cf. Mod.K. दोमकल id., थकल 'resting, supported'.

तालाइ २, ९ 'purity' + थलाइ ३६, २ 'pure'. Cf. Mod.K. दोमला; थला; with similar meanings.

तामखलै ३४, २३ 'raise up' + थलै ३, A, १७ 'rise up' + हलै ३४, २३ 'up, rising'. Cf. O.K. टेल 'go up'. Mod.K. दोमला 'elegant', थला 'arrogant', थल 'go up'.

ताँमलाई मृत ३७, ८ 'cost' n. + थलै ३८, २ 'valuable'. Cf. O.K. टोल 'dear', Mod.K. ठोलाय 'value', ठाय 'dear; cost' v.

तम्पार ३४, १३ 'instrument for scraping, gouging out'. Cf. Mod.K. ठोम्भा:(r) id., ठबा:(r) 'gouge out'.

ताण्वाय (sp. with े pronounced न) १५,१५ 'offering' + ठाय ४, A, २२ 'offer'. Cf. O.K. टाण्वाय, ठाय, Mod. ठाया:य, ठाय with similar meanings.

तमुरुङ, in तमुरेख तमुरुङ ३६, ३७ 'correct' v.tr. + ठार्न ३८, १७ 'having regard to, touching upon'. Cf. Mod.K. ठम्रो, ठम्रेड-ठम्रो 'correct' v.tr., ठोर 'straight, towards, touching upon'.

अम्ननाई ३८, ४२-३ 'power' + ा ३२, ३३ 'have the power to'. Cf. O.K. आ, Mod.K. ाम्ना:ि, ा:ि with similar meanings.

अम्नस्त ३७, २४ 'the end, having gone through all' + मस ३०, १८ 'all'. Cf. (O.K. is, Mod.K. ामनोह, ा:स, ा:स, with similar meanings, ामव 'from then onwards'.

अम्नत ३८, ३९ 'endurance, deprivation' + ाम्नत ३८, ३९ 'be without, endure'. Cf. Mod.K. ामनोत, ा:त, with similar meanings.

अम्नो ा ३१, ब, १९ 'gift' + वा passim 'give'. Cf. O.K. अम्नो, ा, Mod.K. ामनो, ाय, with similar meanings.

बुङ्गन्क २, ७ 'refuge'. Cf. Mod.K. बुङ्गन्क id., पेक 'attach to'.

बुङ्गन्ल ३८, २१ 'speech' + बाल ३२, १८ 'say'. Cf. Mod.K. बुङ्गन्लोँ, बोँ, with similar meanings.

कामनाई ३, ब, २१ 'desire' n. Cf. Mod.K. ामनो id., ा 'desire', ामनाय ३८, २१ 'entanglement' + कान्य ३८, १४ 'compose'. Cf. Mod.K. ामनो 'tying, state of being tied', ा: 'tie, string together, compose'.

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damnāy 34,27 ‘prophecy’ + dāy 38, 7 ‘prophesy’. Cf. Mod.K. tūṃnī:yy, ti:yy, with similar meanings.

dumnebv 26,10 ‘beginning with’. This word, current in O.K. and apparently borrowed from Skt. damnepra, seems to have given rise to a base, debv 9,25 ‘then, next’, rather than vice versa! Cf. Mod.K. tūmnī:p ‘modern, recent’, tī:p ‘then, next’.

jamnum 8,4 ‘meeting, gathering’ + jum 38,52 ‘around’. Cf. Mod.K. cūmnūm, cūm, with similar meanings.

gummnit 19,4 ‘thought’ + git 3,B,35 ‘think’. Cf. Mod.K. kūmnūt, kūt, with similar meanings.


kaṃnāc 39,28 ‘badly-behaved person; badly-behaved (of a person)’. Cf. Mod.K. kōmnā:c  id., kā:c ‘behaving badly’.

kaṃnāt 38,12 ‘pieces’ + kat 4,B,22 ‘cut’. Cf. Mod.K. kōmnat, kat, with similar meanings.

kuṃnæñ 38,36 ‘miserly’. Cf. Mod.K. kōmnæ  id., kān ‘be very critical’.


saṃmnāñ 32,21 ‘construction, restoration’ + sān 32,21 ‘construct, restore’. Cf. Mod.K. sōmnaː  ‘that which has been constructed; one’s destiny (which has been formed by earlier actions), sā:n ‘construct, establish’.

samnal 38,32 ‘remainder’ + sāl 38,6 ‘remain’. Cf. Mod.K. sōmnɔl, sol, with similar meanings.

saṃnmım 2,28 ‘request’ n. + sūm 2,27 ‘request’ v. Cf. O.K. sōm ‘request’ v., Mod.K. sōm:nɔ:, sō:m, with similar meanings.

taṃnnāc 37,51 ‘finished’ + tec 10,18 ‘come to an end’. Cf. Mod.K. dōmnac, ‘end, breaking off’, dac ‘torn, separated, ended’.

taṃnnīñ 18,22 ‘witness’ + tīn 18,31 ‘know’ Cf. O.K. tyañ, Mod.K. dōmnīy ‘knowing, news’, dny ‘know’.


rn jranīk 37,56 ‘digging-stick, spade’ + jik 31,B,4 ‘dig’. Cf. Mod.K.
croni:k ci:k, with similar meanings.

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

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

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

4 This I have by personal communication from S. Lewitz.


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

7 Modern Khmer has the shortened inherent vowel, an irregularity if the suggested relationships with Mod. ʁːŋə and konlːŋ are a fact.

8 The accent in the transcription represents a short vertical mark in a similar position in the Middle Khmer spelling.

9 dantap, dinhem. Orthographic confusion here produces the Skt. sonant symbol possibly in the attempt to distinguish t and imploided d.

10 Also entered as an infixed form, owing to the occurrence of Mid.K. of thlen, which could be intermediate between hleo and təmmhleo.

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

12 The *Vacananukram Khmer* suggests for this word pūnriːə the derivation, Pali vaṭṭa + Khmer riːə. However, the possibility of its being an infixed form from prːə seems worth considering. The Pali-Khmer combination seems uncharacteristic of Khmer compounds, unlikely to have had the ɾ pronounced, and difficult to understand!

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

REFERENCES


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


