

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

## *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 /mtāy dau phsār, kūn dau phaŋ/,<sup>1</sup> 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.;

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1. The transliteration used for all Khmer citations is that of Lewitz (1969). For modern pronunciation the writer's transcription is used (Jacob 1968).

- Mid. Middle Khmer inscriptions. Special attention was paid to texts dated between A.D. 1574 and 1630 (qqv. Lewitz 1970-72, nos. 1-16c).<sup>2</sup>
- 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. (qv. Pou 1977a: 59).
- L. *Lpoek Aṅgar Vat*. Poem about the creation of Angkor Vat, dated A.D. 1620.<sup>3</sup>
- 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;

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.

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.<sup>4</sup>

However, not quite all the changes of spelling can be explained away. The form *njñ* 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 *njñ*, pronounced according to modern rules, except in formal circumstances, when *nūv* may be used for 'with' instead of *njñ*. *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 1: *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 *pī* 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

4. Improved devices, copied from the Thais, for representing different vowels, produced the changes from *ley* to *loey*, *dep* to *doep*, *tempi* to *toempi*, *hey* to *hoey* and *tel* to *tael*. 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* ~ *vvam* ~ *bum*, *syah* ~ *sjñ*, *loh* ~ *lvah* ~ *luh*. Old Khmer initial *t* became an imploded, voiced dental consonant, spelled with *ɹ*. The diacritic *˘* was added in modern times to mark the characters *t* and *k* off as complete words. *v* was frequently written for the initial consonant which was later written *b*. Finally, the vowel *o* became an inherent vowel in many modern words and was shortened before *h*. Hence, *phon* ~ *phan* 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...'.<sup>5</sup>

*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, *pī* 'as it were' is much used to introduce attributive verbs. Gradually *pī* in this use was combined with *hāk* and *tūc*. *hāk' pī tūc* became current in modern times as a literary and poetic way to introduce a comparison. In C. *sūmpī* 'when; even' and *gappī* 'it behoves' are attested.

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

One sequence of particles which must not be construed as a combination of constituents which reinforce each other is *vvaṃ tel ~ buṃ 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<sup>5</sup>—which are catalysed according to their position in relation to verbs, nouns and phrases—this amounts to a change of word category.<sup>6</sup> Five areas of change (with a possible sixth) have been observed:

1. *Position of the demonstrative particles neḥ 'this, these' and noḥ '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 *neḥ/noḥ* (and often *gi ~ gui neḥ/gi ~ gui noḥ*) placed before the noun are, in fact, the 'phrasal head', while the noun is attributive to it. *neḥ sre* or *gi neḥ 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 noḥ 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.

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', *krās' krael* 'very', *neh nā /noḥ nā* 'this, these'/'that, those'. *neh nai /noḥ 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 jōe braḥ staeñ thlai, bañs braḥ nārāy(ṇ) ai, isūr nai lok traitā* 'Then will I believe you, honoured sir, to be in the line of Nārāyaṇa, 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*, *ṭa* 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*, *kă*. Occurrences on P.A. inscriptions of the form *ka* show no similarity to the particle *kār*, *kă*. Some may be construed as *ka* 'to construct'. Some may be a shorthand form of *kñum* '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.

*kiī*. (f.) 'whether...or'. *kiī* 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, *lah*, during the Mid. period, *kiī* 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. *dī* in its use, for example, at the beginning of a letter: *mak A. jā dī rālik* '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 /*thīi*/ 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 /*thīi*/? 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 *gī* and Thai *khui* '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 *dī*, the Khmers acquired from the Thais the use of it to form an ordinal numeral system. In R., *dī* seems rather like a new borrowing. It occurs with *dis* 'direction', *des* 'country', *uttar* 'north', and not alone. Although the Khmers may have borrowed *dī* from Thai /*thīi*/, did the Thais borrow the focus usage from the earlier Khmer *tī*? Lewitz also suggests the possibility that Thai /*thīi*/ was itself the borrowed form of Angkorian *ti*.

*tae*. This particle seems clearly to be a loan from Thai since the parallel Thai form *tāa* 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 *guh* ~ *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 *guh* 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 *guh* 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 *guh* in affirmative contexts, in IMA 3, 4 and 6, she gave no translation. There are A. period occurrences of *gus* ~ *guh* where the translation 'only, exactly, just' suits very well. Two are cited in the examples. And later, Lewitz herself translated *guh* as 'seul' and 'seulement', when editing the Mango Grove inscription. She explains (Pou 1978: p. 354, n.3) that she is taking 'l'adverbe *guh* "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 *phrə* /*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 *Cpāp*.) 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

there was a Mid. inscriptions occurrence except:

*gi pi. 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 *ṭā* several times, eg. 1.7.5-6.

*nū ~ nūv. nūv* 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.

*bī*. No occurrence of *bī* 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. *kanlañ* '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? *tām* and *ṭoy* 'in accordance with' were soon to replace it.

*lah ~ loh* 'whether...or'. The newly borrowed *kti* (see p. 20 above) occurs several times in R. but not *lah*.

*vin* 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 to be found in the *Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor* 1-16c (Lewitz 1970-72):<sup>7</sup>

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

*nūv, 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.) *nūv* 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 loey*.<sup>8</sup>

7. Further particles which are not on the Mid. inscriptions 1-16c, or in Mod. Khmer, e.g. *lgik* in *lgik poe*, *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 *yūu*.

*phañ*. pre n.p. 'together with'. An unusual usage but one which is attested elsewhere.<sup>9</sup>

*ra*, *vvaṃ 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 *kă* and *ṭă* 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.

*kă*. the normal Mid. use of *kă* to introduce a slight consequence 'and so' occurs *passim*. The following two citations illustrate the extra use:

- 1.14.1-5. *yoeñ giṭ smān jā randah... neḥ ṭlūv dūt dūl añ thā ṭoem braḥ  
rāmādhiraṅ kă loek ṛddhi dhanū*  
'We 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 cāmñ caeñ e ambar ṭūc braḥ candr car tracaḥ kă beñ  
pūrṇamī*  
The light of the Sun shining in the heavens was like that of the  
bright Moon, when it/which is full'.

*kă* seems to be a link, like a relative pronoun, between the clauses. No consequence is expressed.

*ṭă* 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—*ṭă* also occurs between two nouns or two verbs of similar meaning, e.g.

- 2.23.1. *kal' ṭă māyā* 'tricks, wiles'  
1.1.1. *prasoer ṭă 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 *ṇā* 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 *kă* and *ṭă* 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*.

- 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 *yakṣa* Birādh who/as he was seizing hold of Setā to run off with her'.
- ṭā* between two nouns. 288.6 *asur ṭā dāhān* 'demon soldiers'.
- ṭā* between two verbs. 289.14 *gravās ṭā gravī*  
'swinging-up-their-arms and brandishing (them)'.

It is noticeable, however, in reading L. that both *ṭā* and *pī* '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:

- ṭā* 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 ktī gāp'ṭa 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 pūnmān* '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.
- pī* does not occur alone, as it does so frequently in R.; *kum pī* 'do not' is very common. Certain combinations with *pī*, not found elsewhere in the early texts, occur in C.: *sūmpī*, translated as 'lorsque' by Pou but now meaning 'even', and *gappī* 'it behoves...to'. Both *doḥ pī* and *doḥ 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 *pī* and *man*

(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 pre-dating Mid., had no *roh* or *lah*; that in L., while *tā* and *pī* 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 1: Markers (m.)

Indication	P.A.	A.	Mid.	Mod.
<i>Time</i>				
'when (past)'		kāla nā	R. kāl	kāl
'when (by the time)' 'until'			luḥ luḥ nā	luḥ (lit.) [tal' (kāl ṇā)]
<i>Condition</i>				
'if'	daha	daha	doḥ doḥ pi peh (= pe)	poe
'whether'			doḥ (+ ktī f.)	doḥ doḥ pī doḥ jā
<i>Cause</i>				
'the reason... was because'		pi...gi pi...		[pān jā...bī broḥ]
'because'		hetu man	(ta) pad C. hetu, hetu tae	ṭpit [broḥ] [toy] hetu tae
<i>Purpose</i>				
'so as to'			pi	
'so that...(not)'	pi	pi gi pi	kampi (so that...not) gi pi tempi tempi nu	kum...oy ṭoempī (niṇ)
<i>Result</i>				
'and so, and then...'		gi pi		
'with the result that'	dep	dep ka	dep kār	doep kā [pān jā]
<i>Relative pronoun</i>				
	ta ta man man tel	ta man tel	ta man gi R. tel nā	ṭael



*A diachronic survey of some Khmer particles*

Indication	P.A.	A.	Mid.	Mod.
<i>Focus of attention</i> 'with respect to which'	ti	ti		dī
<i>Reported speech</i> 'that...'		man	man	thā
<i>Initiation of discourse</i> 'Now...'	nu	nu gi nu man	nū man gi R. tpit	tpit (lit. and old-fashioned)
<i>Exhortation and Optation</i> 'let...(not)...' 'may...(not)...' 'do...not...'	kampi		kampi R., C. kum	kum oy kum
'may...'		leñ	leñ	oy
<i>Co-ordination</i> 'and (then)'			hey	hoey

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

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

TABLE 3 *Pre-nominal particles (pre-n. p.)*

Translation	P.A.	A.	Mid.	Mod.
'according to'	roḥ	roḥ	roḥ	[tām, ʔoy]
'all'		iss	is	as'
'As to...'	ri	riy	<sup>e</sup> rī	<sup>e</sup> rī (lit.)
'at, in (place or time), with regard to'	ai, āy nā	ai, āy, ta nā <sup>a</sup> nau, nov	i, e. ai ta, ta nā no	e (place) nau
'by (the time that)'	loḥ, lvaḥ	lvaḥ ta gi	luḥ	[ʔai']
'from'	aṃvi	aṃvi	aṃbī C. bī	aṃbī, bī
'in'	kaṃluṇ	kaṃluṇ	knuṇ	knuṇ
'like, as, similar to'	ru	rūva	rū	
(Link between verb and object)	ta		R. ʔă R., L. nai, nūv	nūv (lit.)
'near'	ñyaṇ	ñyaṇ		[jit]
'of'	nai	nai	nai	nai (lit.) [rapas']
'this, these/that, those'	neḥ/noḥ			
'to (a place)'	loḥ, lvaḥ	lvaḥ		[dau]
'to, for, from (re giving, speaking and buying)'	ta ai ta, āy, ta	ta	ta	[dau]
'towards (N.S.E.W.)'	ti	ti		[khān]
'with, and'	nu	nu	nu nīṇ R. phaṇ	nūv (lit.) nīṇ
'with, by means of'	nu	nu	nū	nūv (lit.) nīṇ
'with reference to'	nī	ni		

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

Indication	P.A.	A.	Mid.	Mod.
'all'	phoñ	phoñ	phoñ	phañ
Interrog.: 'which'		nā	nā	ṇā
'like, as'	ru	ruv		
Location, Reference		ni	ni	
'this, these/that, those'		neh/noḥ	neh/noḥ	neh/noḥ

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

Indication	P.A.	A.	Mid.	Mod.
Future time, possibility	nu	nu	nu	ṇñ
Negation	voṃ	vvaṃ	bvum L.,C. min	buṃ min
'never'		vvaṃ tel R.,L.,C. buṃ ṭael		buṃ ṭael
(Joins plural subject to verb) 'all'		syañ ta	syiñ, syiñ ta	(ṣiñ = almost)
Result		ka	kār	kā

TABLE 6: *General particles (g.)*

Indication	P.A.	A.	Mid.	Mod.
'all, complete with, as well'	dañ		daṃñ	dāṃñ
(Link between noun and attribute)	ta	ta	ta	ṭă (lit.)
'only'			tae	tae

## 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 *Cpāp* 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, kă*

[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 *kñum* '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.<sup>10</sup> (40) *jā saksī*. 'And so A, B, C, etc. were witnesses'.

R.1.9.11-12 *stec moel as' bhūdhar loek rddhī dhanū kă broes brah bhākr prim priy*. 'As he watched all the kings (trying to) raise the mighty bow, an eager look came into his handsome face'.

Mod. *nān nīn khīn knān' nīn khñum hoey khñum kă khūc khāt mittabhāb rapas' yoen*. 'You will be angry with me and I shall lose our friendship'.

Mod. *poe dau kă dau*. 'If we're going, let's go.'

*kāla, kāl* 'when (past time)': Khmer m.

A.669.B.3. *kāla samrūc homa...* 'When he had completed the sacrifice,...'.

R. 2.67.12. *kāl brah riem stec mak phgañ as' mahā rsi phañ sīn ar daduol brah aṅg*. '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 ktī prāthnā khluon hoey, kă 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 tīn toem brah bhirut jā cneḥ 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.

*kuṃ* (exhortation): Khmer m.

R.2.50.2. *aṅ aṅ sot kuṃ prahaes*. 'And as for me, let me not be negligent'.  
C. *Hai Mahājan*. 58. *kuṃ khñṇṇ prakaek jhloh*. 'Don't be angry, arguing and quarrelling'.

Mod. *kuṃ dhvœ*. 'Don't do it'.

*kaṃpi, kuṃ pī, kuṃmpi*

(i) (Exhortation): Khmer m.

P.A.724. *kaṃpi tve āgāra le guhā*. 'Do not build houses on the grotto'.

Mid. 6.B.8. *kaṃpi oy mok pyet pyen kambujadesa*. 'Let them not come to oppress Cambodia'.

R. 1.39.6 *kuṃ pī pā git caṇ dos*. 'Do not think of initiating a wrong'.

(ii) (Purpose): Khmer m.

Mid. 3.A.31. *lek yas braḥ rājasantān... kuṃmpi 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 *kuṃ pī laṇ* 'so as not to be a long time'.

*kaṃluṇ* 'in': Khmer pre-n. p.

P.A. 560.11. *sre kaṃluṇ tnal* 'ricefield within (the boundary of) the road'.

A. 291.22 *sre kaṃluṇ vrah mandāra* 'ricefield within the royal palace (grounds)'.

*ktī* 'even (if)', 'whether... or': Khmer f.

Mid. 5.2. *doḥ kūṇ ān ktī kmūy aṅ ktī* 'whether it be my child or a nephew-or-niece or mine'.

R. 2.75.7-8 *āc dap' dal' khyal' dāṃṇ 8 dis pok pak' kī*. 'can even withstand the winds from all 8 directions'.

R. 2.73.6-7. *doḥ braḥ bhirut ras' lokī(y), luḥ paralok ktī* 'whether Bhirut is alive in this world or has gone to the next world...'

Mod. *doḥ prus ktī srī ktī* 'whether male or female'.

*knuṇ* 'in': Khmer pre-n. p.

Mid. 8.7. *knuṇ paṃmros* 'in freedom' (lit. in (state of) enfranchisement).

R. 2.61.9 *knuṇ brai* 'in the forest'.

Mod. *knuṇ sāstrā rīoēṇ rām kerti* 'in the manuscript of the *Reamker*'.

*gi pi* 'and that was why'; 'being an occasion for', 'and so': Khmer m.

A. 222.16 *man khñuṃ noḥ rat dau gi pi Tāṇ oy Tai B...* 'That servant ran away; that was why Tāṇ A. gave Tai B...'

A. 450.14-15. *pre guruyāga gi pī 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 pūjā saṃrap gi pi niman braḥ sāgh phoṇ* 'prepare offerings in readiness for inviting all the monks'.

*gus, guh* 'just, only; even (if)': Khmer f.

A. 56.C.31. *çata 1 caṃṇāy 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 rohñ kalpanā vrañ kamrateñ añ...* 'let (them) provide only these provisions, letting them be in accordance with the provisions for the god...'

Mid. 3 A 78-9. *doñ pi anak phoñ vañveñ do lanlyiñ 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 cūl pañroe prayoj(n) yak kusāl pavar mañgal guh* 'I went to them simply to serve them for the sake of attaining the highest merit'.

*ñyañ* 'near': Khmer pre-n.p.

P.A. 155.18. *sre ai ñyañ travañ poñ* 'ricefield near Poñ's reservoir'.

A. 239.33. *sre x ñyañ vrañ kamrateñ añ* 'x (number of) ricefields near the sanctuary'.

*tă*. See *ta*.

*ṭă dai*. See *dai*.

*ṭoempī*. See *tempi*.

*ṭael*. See *tel*.

*ṇā*. See *nā*.

*ta, ṭă*

(i) 'who, which (rel. pronoun)': Khmer m.

P.A. 561.20. *ge ta sak gui* 'anyone who spoils (things) here'.

A. 56.B.27. *nak ta tām amvau* 'persons who plant sugar-cane'.

Mid. 2.5. *kamrateñ ta jā byumñak* 'the lord who is our refuge'.

R. 2.49.1. *brañ rām riēm ratn ta jā rāj putr cpañ* '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. *kñum ta si* 'serfs, the males'.

A.19.21. *dravya phoñ ta damnepra* all the following goods'.

Mid. 6.B.3. *is kāl ta luñgh hoñ* 'for a long time indeed' (lit. whole-of time particle, long indeed).

R.1.1.3 *stambh dvār ṭă bicitr* 'decorated pillars and door'.

Mod. (lit.) *āramm(ṇ) 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)<sup>11</sup> Khmer pre-n. p.

P.A. 90.10. *ge jon ple jhe ta vrañ kamratāñ añ* '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 vrañ pāda kamrateñ añ* 'In the reign of King...'

11. Jenner (1981) demonstrates, by illustrating the Old Khmer uses of *ta*, that this particle—though 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 *ta* is always to be a mere link between other words, I separate the examples here into three groups because for me *ta* 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. *dūl ta brah* 'humbly-inform the Lord'.

Mid. 6.A.36 *saṃnak ta vrah sāsthā* 'resorting to the Lord's teaching'.

Mid. 3.B.2 *cūl ta pad moks* 'go on to the way of deliverance'.

Mid 8.24. *kāt ta ktī neḥ jā* 'decide the case as being'.

R. 1.59.5. *pramād ta brah aṅg* attack you, my lord'.

*ta pad*. See *pad*.

*ta man* 'who, whom, which' (rel. pronoun): Khmer m.

P.A. 562 26. *kñuṃ ta man kloñ A. oy* 'serfs which Kloñ A. gave'.

*ti*.

(i) 'earth; place; direction': Khmer pre-n. p.

P.A. 688.4 *ti thai luc sruk* 'to the West of the village'.

A. 158.28 *ti purvva... daksina... paccima... uttara* 'to the East... South... West... North'.

(ii) 'focus of action; in respect to which': Khmer m.

P.A. 927.2. *sre ta tel ti kurāk... tve* 'ricefield which Kurak... worked'.

A. 246-8. 3-4. *dravya... ti añ yok* 'goods...which I take'.

*tempi, tempi nu, toempī nñ* 'so as to': Khmer m.

Mid. 6.A.15 (prepare a sacrifice) *tempi panluḥ do ta brah nāt* 'to send (merit) to kin'.

Mid. 3 A.28. *tempi nu sān sāsna brah tathāgat* 'so as to build up the teaching of the Tathāgat'.

R. 1.5.3-4 *prae basudhā toempī nñ dhvōe oy ksem ta prajāṛāstr* 'turn the soil in order to bring peace to the people'.

Mod. *khaṃ riēn toempī (nñ) pān caṃneh vijjā l-a* 'study hard in order to achieve a good education'.

*tel, tael*

(i) 'who, whom, which' (rel. pronoun): Khmer m.

P.A. 561.33 *ge tel poñ A. pre* 'personnel whom Poñ A. orders'.

A. 958. Nord. 29. *ri bhūmi tel sruk ta jmaḥ kaṃnuñ sruk* 'as for the territory which (is in) the locality known as Kaṃnuñ Sruk...'

R. 4.46.5. *trec trañ pañ mṛik tael tñ samṭau dau pañcaliṅg*. 'He went his way, casting aside the animals, conscious that (lit. who be-conscious-that) he was heading straight towards Pañcaliṅg'.

Mod. *cor tael rat dau trūv ge cāp*. 'The thief who ran off was caught'.

(ii) '(not) ever': Khmer pre-v.p.

A. 235.D.27 *kule neḥ phoñ vvaṃ tel cek mūla*. 'the relatives never shared out (the functions of) the original branch'.

R. 4.11.3. *brah buṃ tael mān hmañ* 'the lord who has never had any imperfection'.

L. 269.10. *buṃ tael āk* 'never failing (to do so)'.

C. Hai Mahajan 40. *buṃ tael khus* 'is never wrong'.

Mod. *gāt' buṃ tael dau aṅgar*. 'He has never been to Angkor'.

*taeh, tae*

'only, but, just, exactly and no more': Khmer g.

Mid. 9.46. *oy paeñ taeh anak ta reh paṃmros neh* 'strike only those who have taken these freed people'.

R. 1.29.4. *stec yak tae braḥ hath chveñ bhūdhar loek silp dhanū*. 'With only his left hand, the supporter of the earth raised the magic bow'.

Mod. *nau sal' tae pī de*. 'There are only three left'.

*tpit*. See *pad*.

*dañ*. See *doñ*.

*daha, doḥ, doḥ pi, doḥ pī* 'if': Khmer m.

P.A. 1004.7. *daha mān kāryya vraḥ kamratāñ añ* 'if there was work to be done for the lord'.

A. 843.C.13-4. *daha<sup>a</sup> yat kule añ* 'if there-is-no descendent of mine'.

Mid. 4.C.5. *doḥ anak aṃpāl neh vañveñ dau ai ta catarāpāyabhūm guḥ oy anak aṃpāl neh oy rruc lae[n]* 'if all these persons lose their way in the four domains of suffering, even so let them escape'.

R. 3.12.9. *doḥ braḥ pād stec ṭal' oy braḥ dasabal... bidagdh asūr* 'if the prince comes here, let that lord of the ten powers... destroy the demon'.

Mod. *doḥ l-a kti ākrak' kti* 'Whether (it is) good or bad...'

Mid. 6B.4. *doḥ pi mān rājasatrū...* 'If there should be (any) enemies of the king...'

R. 1.61.6 *doḥ pī pā eñ mān dukkh, añ buṃ bram sranuk* 'If you had troubles, my friend, I could not bring myself to be content'.

Mod. *doḥ pī<sup>a</sup> nak gmān kār<sup>a</sup> vī, añjoeñ mak leñ phdaḥ khñuṃ*. 'Even if you do not have any business, do come and visit me at home'.

*dīdai*. See *dai*.

*dep (depv, doep)* '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 sthāpanā āsanā kamrateñ jagat, dep thve caṃṇaṃ kalpanā* 'He wished to establish the seat of the god and so he made a foundation, furnishing...'

Mid. 17.35-8. *gāppi yeñ khñāṃm paṃpūs anak A... depv yeñ khñāṃm oy ranṭāp phlaeh 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 braḥ lohit ceñ mak noḥ doep khñuṃ 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 pralañ jāp, doep āc cūl riēn pān*. 'You have to pass the exam, then you may go to the school'.



*doñ, dañ, dauñ, dāññ* 'all, complete with, as well': Khmer g.<sup>12</sup>

P. A. 18.2. *oy sre dañ kñum* 'give ricefields complete with serfs'.

Mid. 8.6. *pros khnumm dāññ grūv* 'free slaves, a complete family (of them)'.

R. 1.17.10. *dāññ bīr ksatrī ksatrā* 'both princes'.

Mod. *kūn dāññ pī nāk* 'all three children'.

*doh, doh pi, doh pī*. See *daha*.

*dāññ* See *doñ*.

*nā, nā*

(i) 'at, in (place or time)': Khmer pre-n. p.

P.A. 79.9. *sruk nā jlañ kaol* 'village at Jlañ Kaol'.

A. 235 *passim*. *nā kamrateñ jagat ta rāja* '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. *ṣū 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 jañvan* 'with regard to the royal gifts'.

(iii) 'who, when': Khmer m.

A. 878.2. *dakṣinā mratāñ khloñ A. nā choliñ prāsāda* 'honorarium for Mratāñ Khloñ A. on-the-occasion-of inaugurating the tower'.

Mid. 6. A.33. *mahāksetr phoñ nā groñ pranipāt brah* 'the gods, makāksetr, who protect (the religion of) the Buddha'.

R. 1.25.12. *nā brah staeñ mak tal' sthān añ neḥ brah staeñ mān amboe pañnañ 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'.<sup>13</sup>

Mid. 3.B.10. *no kāl nā pī* 'at such time as'.

4.30 *sañner neḥ nā mūy* 'one of the novices'.

R. 2.31.5. *it narnai nak nā rambīñ* 'without any one thinking of...'

Mod. *nak nā tīñ?* 'Who (which person) knows?'

(v) (emphasis): Khmer f.

R. 4.34.3-4. *buñ dāñ sabv sāy sañtī neḥ hoñ loey nā*. 'before this idea should spread at all'.

L. 269.1. *prāsād neḥ eñ nā* 'This very palace...'

12. Since 1968, I have realised that *dāññ*, which may occur immediately preceding numerals (*dāññ bīr* 'both') and verbs (*dāññ 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. *prayātn nā!* 'Look out!'

*ni, nī niy*

(i) 'with reference to': Khmer pre-n. p., m.

P.A. 44.A.7. *ājñā vraḥ kamratāñ añ nī vraḥ kamratāñ añ çri...* 'Edict of His Majesty with reference to the God Çri...'

A.470.11. *phtyañ nī pre...* 'announced concerning the order to...'

(ii) (Location reference): Khmer post-n. p.

A.245.91. *dau vnek nī añ* 'before my very eyes'.

Mid. 2.29. *prākaṭ tūc saṃnūm sātprānidhān muhni viñ hoñ* 'exactly in accordance with my earlier prayer'.

R. 8.5. (Pou 1979, st. 3663.) *bī muḥ nī* 'before, in times past'.

*niñ, niñ*

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

Mid. 9.5. *brom niñ uk ñā A*. 'were-in-agreement with Uk Ñā A'.

Mod. *khñuṃ niñ mitt saṃlāñ khñuṃ* 'my friend and I'.

(ii) 'shall, will': Khmer pre-.v.p.

Mod. *khñuṃ niñ 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 ...*canlek yugala yau 3 ° nu man poñ A. ktiñ sre...* '...3 yau of double cloth. Now Poñ 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 phalānisāñ neḥ 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 duñ nu sru vraḥ* 'which (they) bought with paddy from the foundation'.

A. 239.24 *sre neḥ kula A. ti duñ nu krapī* 2. 'This ricefield was bought by the family/descendents of A. for 2 buffaloes'.

Mid. 4.C.9. *banarāy nū tribidhasaṃmpāt* 'resplendent with the three-fold fortune'.

R. 1.2 *hoḥ hoer nūv tej pī banlik* 'go through the air with astonishing power'.

Mod. *añjoeñ... kamsant nūv kīlā prañāṃñ kañ* 'invite (you) to amuse yourselves with a cycling contest'.

(iii) 'and': Khmer pre-n. p.

P.A. 134.20 *sre nu pdai karom nu damriñ* 'ricefields and lowlands and orchards'.

A. 215-6.10. *yok sruk sre nu khñuṃ phon* ‘took the villages, ricefields and all the serfs’.

Mid. 6.A.5. *ok hlūn A. nu anak cov bhikkh B.* ‘Ok Hluon A. and the bhikkhu B’.

R. 1.3.11. *nām rāj ʔa pabitr nūv brah anuj laksā* ‘brought the august prince and Laksmaṇ his young brother’.

Mod. (lit.) *stī vā nūv gū kan dāmñ ʔunmān* ‘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 rohh ti añ yok nu<sup>a</sup> ras* ‘the goods according to (the above list) were taken by me for a living’.

Mid. 2.6-7. *sambau jā rat rūñ ūtuñ ta jā nu nām chloñ* ‘a boat, splendid, magnificent, to take (us) across’.

R. 1.43.4-5. *ṭuc nūv 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. *saṃtaeñ nūv ʔej brah dhanū* ‘demonstrate the power of his bow’.

L. 289.14. *khlah kān’ nūv tampan* ‘Some held batons’.

Mod. (lit.) *daduol nūv dukkh ʔal’ khluon 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 *pujā neh* ‘this cult’.

Mid. 6A.20. *jūn kusāl-phal puny neh* ‘offer the fruits of *this work-of-merit*’.

R. 5.20.1-2. *mak ʔal’ sthāñ 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 vrah kammra[tāñ] añ* ‘provisions of the god’.

A. 207.15. *thvāy dravya... neh jā nai kammrateñ jagat* ‘offer these goods... to be the possession of the lord of the world’.

Mid. 6.A.7. *sthān jaṃnumm naiy, debvatā* ‘meeting place of the gods’.

R. 1.16.9. *sthān nai traitriṃsā* ‘the dwelling of the thirty-three’.

Mod. (lit.) *knuñ nām nai brah rāj-raʔṭṭhābhipāl* ‘in the name of the royal government’.

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

R. 2.63.1-2. *mān bal prām-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 sthān brah mahā isī en nai*, ‘being the dwelling-place of a great anchorite (of him)’.

C. *Kūn cau* 19. *heu citt cañ krep jañjāp klin nai*, ‘because it wanted to taste and drink in the flavour of (it)’.

(iii) Connector between verb and object): Khmer pre-n. p.

R. 3.1.4. *pī tūc a<sup>n</sup>ak tūt nai aggī* ‘as if someone had lit a fire (in him)’.

L. 283.18. *kā phtuol nai yakkh maraṇā* ‘(He) then felled the *yakkha* to death’.

*no, nov, nau, a<sup>n</sup>nau* (also spelt *nūv* in R.)

(i) ‘at’: khmer pre-n.p.

A. 249.14-5. *vnek vraḥ a<sup>n</sup>nau stuk vryan* ‘before (lit. eyes) the god at Lake Vryan’.

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. *diñ phdaḥ nau bhnaṃ beñ* ‘buy a house in Phnom Penh’.

(ii) ‘continuing, still’: Khmer f.

A. 235.C.7. *pamre ta vrah pada A. ru noḥh a<sup>n</sup>nau* ‘continue serving King A. in that way’.

R. 1.4.6-7. *braḥ thlaen asūr kākanāsūr ksāy jīvit kā mar(ṇ) tuol nau*. ‘The lord shot at the demon Kākanāsūr to take her life and so she fell dying and remained (fallen)’.

R. 1.62.11-63.1. *jal netr dhārā sasrāk sañjap sup nau*. ‘His tears flowed freely and his face was downcast still’.

R. 2.6.10. *toem jhūk sāt mak jamḃāk dāmñ dañ doer nau*. ‘The lotuses drifted along and, their stalks entangled, remained resting-on-each-other’.

R. 2.45.1-2. *braḥ pād... nau mān braḥ janm mān nau loey?* ‘Is the King still alive?’.

L. 283.19-20. *pradaḥ sugrīb yaṃ nau* ‘came across Sugrib still weeping’.

C. *Hai Mahājan* 87. *kāl bliēn nau* ‘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’.

*noḥ*

(i) ‘that,those’: Khmer pre-n.p.

P.A. 44.B.9. *pamnos ta pos gi noḥ vnam* ‘religious personnel in that sanctuary’.

(ii) ‘that, those’: Khmer post-n. p.

A. 216.10. *thve kūtī noḥ pūjā kamraten jagat* ‘build that cell to carry out the cult of the lord of the world’.

Mid. 8.11. *pamros phoñ noḥ* ‘that the whole (matter of the) freeing-(of-slaves)’.

R. 1.14.1. *kāl noḥ* ‘that time’.

Mod. *thñai noh* 'that day'.

*nau*. See *no*, etc.

*pad, ta pad, tpit*

(i) 'for the reason that': Khmer m.

Mid. 8.3-6. *ok hlūn A. mīmantr brah ariyasaṅs phoñ jamnum ta pad okk hlūn B... pros khñum* '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 kaikesī tañtoem rājy bī brah rām mak oy bhirut*. 'This is because Kaikesī has taken the kingdom from Rām to give it to Bhirūt'.

Mod. *ilūv nñ dau tak srūp viñ e nā kă pān tpit kār vā huos 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. *añg añ ilūvneñ nai tpit mān saṅsāy ambal' nñ 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 folktales, 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 sroñ kamrateñ jagat çri A. pi jvan dravya ta ampall neh* 'arranged for the ablutions of Lord Çrī A. so as to (on the same occasion) give all these goods'.

A. 219.8. *pi yat kvan cau ley syaṅ ta tēc santāna dau phoñ 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 *yeñ vvaṃ kapata pi thve apavāda tyañ* 'we shall not deceive in such a way as to make a denial of our knowledge'.

Mid. 2.25-6. *pañ pañcakhandh aṃbi jāt pi andol do mok ai ta sāsārābhabbh* 'depart this life so as to move to and fro in the state-of-transmigration'.

R. 5.63.6-7. *nūv bhjuṃ bal bānarā pi mak thvāy ksatr* 'will assemble a force of monkeys to offer to the Prince'.

R. 3.1.11. *yaksā pi dranañ* '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 parapūrn yoeñ yātrā viñ mak yal' pā*. 'When this is completed we shall come back and see you'.

Mod. *poe ūn kuṃ kān' dos doep khñuṃ hān prāp'.* 'If you won't hold it against me, then I'll dare to tell you'.

*poe.* See *peh*.  
*phañ.* See *phoñ*.

*phoñ, phañ*

(i) 'all': Khmer post-n. p.

P.A. 127.12 *ampall kule ge phoñ* 'all the relatives of the personnel'.

A. 699.5. *rājakule phoñ* 'all the royal family'.

Mid. 3.A.25. *nu braḥ ñāti phoñ* 'and the whole royal family'.

R. 1.8.9. *dūt deb ksatr phoñ* 'all envoys, gods and kings'.

Mod. *nak jit khān phañ* 'all the neighbours'.

(ii) 'both... and': Khmer f.

Mid. 10.4. *kat doṇ satpakar dāmn 7 hey chloñ phnūs phoñ sot* 'cut banners for the 7 Books (of the Abhidhamma) and also made (the people) enter the religious life'.

R. *dūl bhlāñ yaṃ phañ* 'speaking and weeping at the same time'.

Mod. *pos phdaḥ hoeṃ pok ut phañ* 'sweeps the house and does the washing and ironing'.

(iii) 'together with': Khmer pre-n. p.

R. 1.53.4. *nak yātrā phañ braḥ jeṣṭhā* 'you journey together with your elder'.

*bī.* See *aṃvi*.

*bek, beg* 'too much, very much': Khmer f.<sup>14</sup>

Mid. 2.15. *tryak ar anumodanā nu stac braḥ rājaputr beg hoñ* 'I most delightedly participated in what my son did'.

Mod. *dhñan' bek* 'too heavy'.

*buṃ, bvum.* See *voṃ*  
*buṃ tael.* See *tel*.

*man*

(i) 'who, whom, which': Khmer m.

P.A. 561 A.27. *kñuṃ man poñ A. oy* 'servants whom Poñ A. is giving'.

A. 207.29. *nā bhūmi neḥḥ man vraḥ kamrateñ añ A. duñ ta yeñ* 'with regard to this territory which my Lord A. bought from us'.

(ii) 'that' (reported speech): Khmer m.

A. 843.C.13 *kule añ tyañ man bhūmi nū upāya noḥḥ phoñ viñ āyatta ta santāna añ.* '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 bhabbh 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.

(iii) (Initiates discourse): Khmer m.

A. 207.15 *°man srāc thvāy dravya neḥ... 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 ilūneḥ man gi luḥ ta 1499 ḥaka* 'this present life, which is in 1499 ḥaka'.

R. 5.35.5. *neḥ yal' man gi kal' hoñ* '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 thleñ 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 luñ* '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 *kñuṃ vñāk poñ yajamāna dai, klaḥ ra, tel oy ta ācrama, klaḥ ra, tel oy ta vraḥ* 'other servants of the section of Poñ, some of whom he gives to the ācrama, some to the god'.

A. 205.8. *pek sapp kule ta gi bhāga didai rā* 'divided (it) among all the relatives there, each having his share'.

R. 2.41.1. *oḥ o braḥ janm skal' skap' rā pān yal' hna puny putr cpañ*. 'Alas! Your life was completed, then, when you had the chance to see the merit of your eldest son'.

Mod. *mak naeḥ rā*. 'Come here!'

*riy, rī* 'as for': Khmer pre-n. p.

P.A. 518.D.1. *ri °nak ta sok* 'as for anyone who corrupts...'

A. 33.35. *riy °nak ta paṃpāt dharmma... riy ta paripāla...* 'as for persons who destroy the foundation...; as for those who look after (it)...'

Mid. 4.23-4. *rī jī dāñ pī neḥ* 'as for these 3 young men'.

R. 5.3.4-6. *kāl noḥ hetu pāramitā rī braḥ suriyā buṃ āc astaṅgat dau*. 'Then, owing to his perfection, the Sun (lit. as for the Sun) was unable to set'.

Mod. *rī cau adhikār viñ...* 'Now as for the abbot...'

*ru, rūva, rū*

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

P.A. 341.sud 5. *pre thve pūjā vraḥ kaṃmrātāñ añ ru liṅgapurvā* 'ordered that the cult of the god should be carried out as (at) Lingapura'.

A. 235.71 *rūva nohh<sup>a</sup> nau* ‘continuing like that’.

Mid. 2.6. *jā bvumnak trey trān pradhān ru sambau* ‘is a refuge for (our) protection like a boat’.

R. 5.31.3. *sabḍ sraek rū randah* ‘the sound of roars like thunder’.

(ii) ‘like’: Khmer post-n. p.

P.A. (Occurs frequently at the end of names.) 689.A.13. *ku āl ru* ‘Ms. In-a-rush-like’.

A. 231.35 *neh ruv* ‘like this’.

*roh, rohh* ‘in accordance with’: Khmer pre-n. p.

P.A. 904.B.25. *gi neh ta rohh nehh phon tel...* ‘It is all these (things), in accordance with this (list just given), which...’

A. 216.10. *roh man steñ vrah jrai ta<sup>a</sup> ji dai kalpaṇā* ‘in accordance with what the other Steñ of the Sacred Fig-tree, ancestors (of this Steñ) provided’.

Mid. 3.B.20. *laen sṭhit sṭhir is kāl ta lañgh roh brah camṇaṇ prāthnā*. ‘May it remain firmly established for ever in accordance with the king’s wishes’.

*lah, loh* ‘whether... or’: Khmer f.

P.A. 51.14. *kon prasā lah cau prasā lah* ‘whether it be son-/daughter-in-law or grandson-/daughter-in-law...’

A. 842.24 *caturthāṇṇa lah ṣaṣthāṇṇa lah* ‘whether it be a quarter or a sixth’.

Mid. 3.A.37. *doḥ purus loh doḥ ṣrī ṣiṇ* ‘whether it be male or (further) female...’

*luh, loh, lvah, luḥ nā*

(i) ‘to’: Khmer pre-n. p.

P.A. *passim amvi... loh* ‘from (a place)... to (a place)’.

A. 190.5-6. *lvah chok khadira* ‘as far as Chok Khadira’.

A. 457.8 *lvah ta gi camkā* ‘as far as the garden’.

(ii) ‘by the time that, by (a time)’: Khmer pre-n. p.

P.A. 259.III 21. *loh ta gi rājya vrah kamratāñ añ* ‘by the time of/in the reign of Her Majesty’.

A. 855.5. *lvah ta gi 888 ṣaka* ‘by 888 ṣaka’.

Mid. 2.9-10. *luḥ jāt ilūv* ‘until this present life’..

R.1.5.2. *luḥ bisākh* ‘in April-May’.

(iii) ‘until, by the time’: Khmer m.

Mid. 6.29. *luḥ pān cūl ta pad moks* ‘until (they) manage to enter the way of deliverance’.

R. 2.5.1. *bilāp luḥ lat’ ralāy ramṣāy sok* ‘wept until sorrow melted away’.

Mid. 3.A.43. *luḥ nā pān pūs* ‘until he would be able to enter the religious life’.

R. 2.81.6-7. *luḥ sanlap’ prah prāṇ* ‘until they fainted, writhing’.



Mod. *luh tralap' dau thān devatā viñ...* 'When they arrived back in the dwelling of the gods...'

*leñ, laeñ* (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 *laeñ pān pūs samnak ta brah sāsthā* 'May he manage to become a monk, staying in the religion of the Buddha'.

R. 4.8.8. *laeñ pān khmoc añ phñoe bhūdhār bīr brah 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 descendent at all'.

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

R. 2.7.2. *pakṣī khluon khlaū buṃ tiñ toem dañ jhūk loey* 'the foolish bird had no idea that they were lotus stems'.

Mod. *citt anak kaṃloḥ... mīn nāy nīn rasāy pān loey* 'the boy's feelings... were not at all easily appeased'.

*loh.* See *luh*

*lvah.* 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 ru purān viñ* 'reconstruct as of old'.

Mod. *tralap' dau phdah viñ* 'return home'.

*vom, vvaṃ, bvum, buṃ* 'not': Khmer pre-v.p.

P.A. 154. A.16. *ge ta vom oy gi* 'persons who do not give (things) here'.

A. 85.2. *nau nak ta vvaṃ thve toy kalpanā* 'now persons who do not act in accordance with the arrangements...'

Mid. 2.17. *bvum diēn* 'not certain'.

R. 1.8.10. *buṃ āc nīn loek dhanū pān* 'were unable to raise the bow'.

Mod. *siēvbhau neḥ buṃ maen jā pravatti panlaṃ rapas' jan rūp nā loey*.  
'This book is not in fact the story in disguise of any (real) person'.

*vvaṃ tael.* See *tel*.

*sot* 'in addition': Khmer f.

P.A. 561.38. *oy 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. *camṭā sot mǎn phkā* 'and the *Michelia* too has a flower'.  
Mod. *rīoēn breñ rī pad camrīēn sot...* 'legends or songs, too...'

*syāñ, syāñ ta, syiñ ta*

(i) 'all':<sup>15</sup> Khmer pre-v.p.

(P.A. The rare occurrences of *siñ* are either in ambiguous contexts or are instances of *siñ* 'to officiate'.)

A. 207.27 *nak neḥ phon syāñ ta samayuga yok....* 'all these people together jointly took'.

Mid. 6.A.9. *syiñ jaṇṇuṇṇ sumukkata* (= *sam mukha gatā*) 'all met face to face'.

Mid. 3.A.64-5. *syiñ ta jaṇṇuṇṇ samuggatā* (= *sam mukha gatā*) 'all met face to face'.

R. 1.27.10 *ksatr sabv prades hoñ siñ cuḥ cūl* 'the princes of every country all submitted to him'.

(ii) 'almost: more or less: generally speaking': Khmer pre-v.p.

Mod. *mǎn babak... mun ṭampūñ sa ruoc praphaēḥ siñ 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 mǎn apavāda* 'because there were objections'.

L. 282.10. *luoñ lom car cā hetu cañ smoh smǎn braḥ aṅg* 'she cajoled (them) with her chatter because she wanted to make friends with them'.

C. *Kūn cau* 30. *hetu min sralāñ* 'because you do not like it'.

Mod. *hetu tae mǎn saṅgrām* 'because there was war...'

*hey, lhey, hoey*

(i) 'and (then)': Khmer m.

Mid. 6.1. *anak cov bhikkh A. sǎñ hey cah* (= Mod. Khm. *cār*) *cārḥ phon*. 'The monk A. reconstructed (this) and then wrote the inscription as well'.

R. 1.41.9-11. *ṭuc kūn koet bī udar hoñ prae prās brāt phañ hoey mak prasab yal' vñ* 'as if (they were) their own children (who) had been separated from them and were reunited, seen once again'.

Mod. *as' kaṇlāmñ hoey jhī grun phañ* 'exhausted and feverish too'.

(ii) 'having already: already; by then: by now; and so': Khmer f.

A. 413.II 53. *adhiṣṭhān pvas lhey dep drañ braḥ carat cuḥ ambī subarṇaprāsād* 'Being now ordained (lit. established in the religious life), he descended from the golden tower'.

Mid. 6.A.11. *surec hey debv yeñ khñuṇṇ rantāp krayā 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 *siñ* ~ *syāñ* are preceded by a plural subject (or, rarely, singular but if so needing the translation 'wholly'), that *siñ* ~ *syāñ* 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 *siñ* ~ *syāñ* is also useful in marking the main verb.

R. 1.57.8-9. *kūkhān stāp' brah pandul phañ srec hoey camlañ dāmñ pī brah aṅg luḥ tal' troey*. 'Kūkhan, having listened to the lord's reply, took the three royal persons across to the other side'.

Mod. *diñ iṽān' hoey kă tralap' dau phdaḥ*. 'Having bought the things, (he) returned home'.

*hoñ* (Emphasis): Khmer f.

A. 215.35 *tāc santāna yeñ hoñ* 'our line is completely extinct'.

Mid. 8.51. *sūm pān dauv ket nā tussidd hoñ* 'pray to be reborn in the Tusita'.

R. 1.57.4. *guor hoñ añ jhap' toy pā*. 'It would indeed be good for me to stay with you'.

Mod. (Lit.) *kuṃ jrīet jraek gnā tūc kāl grā mun noḥ 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 noḥ phon ta jā thlai bhūmi*. 'take all those goods as the price of the territory'.

Mid. 4.A.31. *iṣ ñāt gāt* 'all his relatives'.

R. 1.13.12. *as' dāmñ manuss ay tū lok* 'all the men in the world'.

Mod. *nissit dāmñ as'* 'all the students'. Also, however, *as'* = 'to have exhausted (the supply)', eg. *as hoey* 'That's the lot' *as' kamlāmñ* '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, ai ta, āy ta, ai ta*

(i) 'to (re gifts)': Khmer pre-n. p.

P.A. 44.A.8-9 *aṃṇoy tāñ añ kloñ rañ[k]o doñ poñ A. ai ta vraḥ kamratāñ añ* 'gifts of Tāñ Añ, chief of the husked rice, and of Poñ A. to the god'.

P.A. 561.7. *ple tdaiy āy ta vraḥ kaṃmrātāñ añ* 'other revenues for the god'.

(ii) 'at, in': Khmer pre-n.p.

P.A. 38.4. *sre ai travañ* 'the ricefield at the reservoir'.

P.A. 416.I.5. *sre āy stu[k] anrok* 'ricefield at Anrok Lake'.

A. 933.4. *ai hari haralaya* 'at Hariharalaya'.

A. 235.D.37. *āy viṣaya jeñ vnam* 'in the district of Jeñ Vnam'.

Mid. 2.15. *sucarit sarddhā ai ta braḥ sāsnā braḥ tathāgat* 'perfect faith in the teaching of the Tathāgat'.

Mid. 4.B.26. *i leh* (= *e loe*) 'on high'.

R. 1.13.12. *as' dāṃṇ manuss ay tã lok* 'all the men in the world'.  
Mod. *e bhnaṃ beñ* 'at Phnom Penh'.

(iii) 'as to': Khmer pre-n. p.

Mid. 9.32. *e sāgh sotr mān A., B., C., etc.* 'as to the monks, there were A., B., C., etc.'.

R. 1.37.11 *e nāñ kaikesī nā hetu citt dṛṣya dīṭṭhi drust kāc kāñ' khjāp*. 'As for Kaikesī, out of jealousy she wickedly persisted in her wrong attitude'.

Mod. *e khñuṃ viñ, khñuṃ min cūl citt*. 'As for me, I do not like (it)'.

*aṃvi, aṃbī, bī* 'from': Khmer pre n.p.

P.A. 44.A.11 *aṃvi dik hera loh vraī taṃpoññ* 'from the spring to Cane Wood'.

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

P.A. 149.2. *dār aṃvī ta vraḥ kamratāñ añ* 'claim from the god'.

A. 56.A.35. *aṃvī travāñ trapek dau ti utara* 'from the Trapek Reservoir to the north'.

Mid. 4.8. *aṃbī chnam* 'from the year... '.

R. 1.58.6-7. *pabitr camñāy phlūv nā stec nñ yātrā aṃbī* neḥ 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 tūc* 'from childhood'.

Mod. *bī khāñ joeñ dau khāñ tpūñ* 'from north to south'.

<sup>a</sup>nau. See *nov*.

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