OBSERVATIONS ON THE USES OF REDUPLICATION AS A POETIC DEVICE IN KHMER

The constant use of alliterative and other reduplicative forms is a striking feature of Khmer poetry. The purpose of this short study of a vast subject is to analyse some of the forms of reduplication which occur in traditional Khmer poetry. The reduplicative structures of modern spoken and written prose (Gorgoniyev 1963: 58-61; Huffman 1967: 129-40; Jacob 1968: 188-93; Jenner 1969: 63-73; Nacaskul 1971: 354-62) are taken as a basis for the examination.

The Khmers enjoy using an elaborate language style in descriptive, consciously literary prose and tend to adopt the poetic vein quite suddenly and rather more readily than we do now in the West. Lewitz (1970: 108) remarks on the occurrence of rhyme in prose in her introduction to No. 3 of the "modern" inscriptions of Angkor. Many of the poetic compound words which will be discussed below are to be found in descriptive prose writing. The contrast which is to be borne in mind, then, with regard to the vocabulary described in the following pages, is rather between the "plain language" of speech and factual prose and the "poetic language" of stylish literature and poetry. Where devices other than the choice of vocabulary are concerned, it will be clear from the citations and references that only poetry is involved.

The poems which have been consulted are listed at the end of the paper with, where possible, dates or approximate dates. The material has been arranged under six headings:

1. Reduplication in the structure of simple words
2. Reduplication in the structure of compound words
3. Grammatical categories of reduplicative words
4. Reduplication in syntactical structures
5. Reduplication and lexical meaning
6. Reduplication in relation to style.

Under each heading comment and examples are given, first for the plain language and then for the poetic language.

1. Reduplication in the structure of simple words

Reduplication occurs in the extended initial sequences of monosyllables and in the sequences of consonants which precede the vowel nucleus in restricted disyllables (Henderson 1952: 164-173).

Plain language

/kəka:y/	to scratch or dig with hands or paws constantly	< /ka:y/	to scratch or dig with hands or paws
/kək?a:k/	with repeated sounds of laughter	< /k?a:k/	with a laughing sound
/tùəntɔ̀ən/	close on the heels of	< /tɔ̀ən/	to catch up, be in time for

Poetic language

| /ləlò:t/ | to spring about | < /lò:t/ | to jump |
| /səsraoc/ | pouring all over | < /sraoc/ | to sprinkle |

A poetic example of a restricted disyllable with reduplication has not been noted but the form is not of very common occurrence in Khmer at all.

No special development of reduplication in simple words has been noticed in the poetic language. There is a tendency, perhaps greater than in the plain language, to use a reduplicative initial consonant before each of the two components of a reduplicative compound, however:

/pəprò:ŋ-pəprì:əy/   constantly sparkling   < /prò:ŋ-prì:əy/ sparkling

2. Reduplication in the structure of compound words

In reduplicative compound words, the two components are usually structurally alike, i.e. both are monosyllables with simple initial consonant or both have a two-place initial sequence, etc. It is only in the second of the following patterns that the components often have different forms.

Plain language

Normally one component is a free form (+) and the other bound (O).

i. Repetitive compound (with reduplication of the whole form).

/to:c-to:c/   small and numerous,   < /to:c/   small + +
              very small

This live word-forming process is applied with great frequency to attributive verbs and to nouns with concrete meaning.

ii. Rhyming compound (with reduplication of vowel nucleus and final consonant)

/mɛ̀:n-tɛ̀:n/	really	(true /O)
/sru:əl-bu:əl/	with ease	(comfortable, easy /O)
/crəlaəh-baəh/	disrespectful	(to overdo, go beyond the limit /O)

iii. Chiming compound (with reduplication of initial and final consonant)

/kaeŋ-kaoŋ/	very contemptuous	(O/ haughty)
/kme:ŋ-kma:ŋ/	children, a crowd of children	(young /O)
/bɔntec-bɔntu:ɔc/	to a certain extent, a few (plural)	(a little /O)

iv. Alliterative compound (with reduplication of initial consoants; one bound form)

/lì:əy-lɔm/	jumbled up	(mixed /O)
/praə-prah/	to use generally (suggests plurality of things used)	(to use /O)
/prəɲap-prəɲal/	bustling along	(to hurry /O)
/bɔndɔh-bɔnday/	to use an excuse to avoid some commitment	(to free v.tr. /O) (cf. /dɔh-day/ to shake of responsibility)

v. Alliterative compound (with reduplication of initial consonants; two free forms)

/cat-caeŋ/	to oganise	(to send people/to clarify)
/slɔn-slao/	to show signs of great shock	(to feel faint/with eyes widely open)
/prəlak-prəlo:h/	very dirty	(sprinkled all over/dirty all over)
/bɔndaet-bɔndaoy/	to make (someone) do as one wishes	(cause to float/ cause to follow)

Poetic language

Free and bound forms are not marked here since a considerable span of years is under review and it is not in all cases possible to know whether a component which is not now a free form was always a bound form.

i. Repetitive compound (with reduplication of the whole form)

/yèək(s)-yèək(s) sva:-sva:/   ogres and monkeys (plurality stressed)

ii. Rhyming compound (with reduplication of vowel nucleus and final consonant)

/cù:ə-bu:e/	row upon row	< /cu:ə/	row
/slaŋ-kaŋ/	faint and pale	< /slaŋ/	pale
/trəlaeŋ-kaeŋ/	having four sides		

iii. Chiming compound (with redupliction of initial and final consonant)

227

/rùŋ-rɯ̀əŋ/   splendid
/thkaəŋ-thkaeŋ/   elevated   < /thkaəŋ/   lofty
/krə'e:p-krə'o:p/   delightfully fragrant < /krə'o:p/   fragrant
/kɔntre:k-kɔntra:k/ in tatters   < /kɔntra:k/   ragged

iv. Alliterative compound (with reduplication of initial consonants; at least one component cannot be demonstrated to be free)

/yùəŋ-yùəl/   to catch sight of, to see < /yùəl/   to see
/skɤm-skay/   huge, vast
/rùmcùm-rumcὲ:ŋ/   to crash (of waves)

v. Alliterative compound (with reduplication of initial consonants; both components may be demonstrated to have occurred as free forms in poetry)

/mì:əl-mì:əh/   all gold   (much/gold)
/phle:k-phlɔh/   to dart here and there (to flash/to bound over)
/trətὲ:h-trətù:əy/   swaying gracefully   (lithe, curving over)

The proportion of alliterative compounds formed of two free forms to those formed on any other pattern is very high in the plain language; in the poetic language it is overwhelmingly so. The most frequently recurring pattern of alliterative compounds in poetry seems to be $C_1C_2V(C)$-$C_1C_2V(C)$. These compounds may be regarded as catalysed as such, for the purpose of this paper, by the fact that they are cited as separate entries in the Vacananunkram Khmer. However, some compounds which are discussed in vi. and vii. below or in section 5 and which are not to be found in the dictionary are held to be compounds only because they are repeatedly used, perhaps only in one work, with a fixed, coordinated meaning which is clear from the context.

The examples given in the two sets of paragraphs i-v above show that approximately the same variety of patterns occurs among poetic reduplicative compounds as among those in the plain language. The following paragraphs introduce two further poetic patterns.

vi. Semi-repetitive compounds based on Indian loanwords

A Sanskrit (Skt.) or Pali (P.) loanword is repeated with a change of final consonant or final vowel nucleus and final consonant. The Sanskrit or Pali inflexions which are thus brought into play do not in all cases reflect correct Sanskrit or Pali forms. This kind of compound is virtually unknown in the plain language.

/ta:bɔh-ta:bah/   ascetic   < Skt. P. /tāpasa/ id.
/baksa:-baksɤy/   birds, male & female < Skt. /paksi/ bird
/məha:-məha:h/   great   < Skt. P. /maha/ id.
/mulhao-mulhaeŋ/   erring   < P. /mūlha/ gone astray
/yac-yaɲ/   sacrifice   < Skt. /ẏajña/ & P. /yañña/id.

228

/vɔ̀ɔntì:ə-vɔ̀ɔntì:/	greet with palms placed together	< Skt. /vandā/ praising
/vè: rì:əvè:/	revenge	< P. /vera/ hatred
/sɔra:sɔ:/	arrows in quantity	< Skt. /çara/ arrow
/sorìya:-soriye/	sun	< P. /suriya/ id.
/se:na:-se:nì:/	army	< Skt. P. /senā/ id.
/se:lao-se:lɤy/	rocks & boulders	< P. /sela/ id.
/ʔaphìvì:ə-ʔaphìvì:ət/	greet respectfully with palms placed together	< Skt. /abhivāda/ reverential salutation
/ʔaeka:-ʔaekao/	alone	< Skt. P. /eka/ one

vii. Alliterative compounds based on Indian loanwords

/kse:m-ksa:n/	serene	< Skt. /ksema/ peace; /ksānta/ patient
/tùɯp-tè:p/	divine, august	< P. /dibba/ divine; Skt. P. /deva/ id.
/trùh-trɯ̀h/	having evil intention	< Skt. /druh/ to harm; /drç/ to see, understand
/pùeŋ-pù:c/	family descent	< Skt. /vamsa/; P. /vaṅsa/ family; /bīja/ seed
/vicɯ̀t-vìcèy/	victory	< Skt. P. /vijita/ conquered; /vijaya/ victory
/ʔanaek-ʔanɔn/	innumerable	< Skt. P. /aneka/ many; /ananta/ endless

3. Grammatical categories of reduplicative words

Plain language

A large proportion of reduplicative words are attributive verbs which most frequently occur in post-verbal position, modifying the preceding verb; they are thus usually translated into English by adverbs or adverbial expressions They hardly occur in isolation at all, even when mooted. Some reduplicative words are nouns, however: these are in many cases names of plants, animals or foods.

Poetic language

The bulk of poetic reduplicative words also are attributive verbs and they occur most frequently in second position. However, there are many instances in poetry of reduplicative compounds which may occur as main verbs. The following are examples of words so used:

/ca:caeŋ/	to clarify	< /caeŋ/ id.
/chiəŋ-cha:p/	to swerve & swoop (to go to one side/to swoop)	
/chlah-chlaəy/	to reply	< /chlaəy/ id.
/du:əc-dɔl/	to arrive	< /dɔl/ id.

/thla:-thlaeŋ/	to declare, explain	< /thlaeŋ/ to explain
/yùəŋ-yùəl/	to see	< yùəl/ id.
/lò:-lò:t/	to spring forth (to move forward/jump)	
/stùh-stì:ə/	to leap about energetically (to bound/to dash about)	

Poetic nouns include: /tù:-tì:/ remote spot (with Sanskritic order of adjective-noun); /sdaeŋ-sdac/ prince, king (manifest/royal person).

4. Reduplicative in syntactical structures

Plain language

The Khmers do not tire of repetition and certainly do not avoid repeating a word as we do in the West. Repetitive reduplication occurs both with and without interpolation, as the following five paragraphs illustrate.

i. Repetition of a word without interpolation, giving slight emphasis.

/chùp chùp/	stop!
/ba:t ba:t/	yes, yes.

ii. Repetition of a word with the interpolation of other words, to add liveliness.

/baek pè:ŋ baek ca:n baek dɔ:p baek kaev/ The breakages! Cups, plates, jugs, glasses!

iii. A word which is to receive emphasis may be repeated with the interpolation of either /ʔɤy/ 'what' or the exclamation /ʔɤ:y/.

/kdau ʔɤy kdau/ How hot it is!

iv. Repetition of a word with the interpolation of the components of a compound word.

/do:c kè: do:c ʔaeŋ/ like everybody else (kè:-ʔaeŋ one & all)

v. Repetition of a word with the interpolation of two words which are lexically opposites.

/stùh coh stùh laəŋ/ to jump up and down

Poetic language

i. Repetition of a word without interpolation to give emphasis is not a common occurrence in the poetic language.

ii. Repetition of a word with the interpolation of other words to add liveliness.

S.C.[1] 165   /sɔp tùn sɔp tivìːə sɔp mìːəsaː/   every day, every day, every
                                                    month
L.A.V.290 /cak kɔː cak smaː cak khnɔːŋ   they stabbed them in the neck,
          cak cỳːŋ cak day/,   shoulder, back, legs and arms.

iii. Interpolation with /ʔɤy/ or /ʔɤːy/ is not a common occurrence in the poetic language. However, a poetic form of interpolated reduplication involving three words does occur, in which the literary particle /dɔː/, which tends to link an attribute to a noun, is preceded and followed by the components of a compound with attributive meaning.

R.10.8   /vicùt dɔː vicèy/   victorious (conquered particle victory)

iv. Repetition of a word with the interpolation of the components of a compound verb. This seems to take place rather often with the components in the opposite order from the usual one.

K.21   /craːl chʔau craːl chʔɤn/ glowing with burnished brightness
          (chʔɤn-chʔau bright red)

v. Repetition of a word with the interpolation of two words which are lexically opposites.

S.S.C. 108 /pìː kraoy pìː mùk/   from behind, from in front

The reduplicative structures which add emphasis, outlined above in paragraphs i and iii (plain language), tend to be lacking in poetry. They might occur in long narrative poems in the passages of lively direct speech but are not really part of the poetic language.

5. Reduplication and lexical meaning

Plain language

The effective of reduplication in word-formation, as will be clear from the examples given in 1. and 2. is usually to specialise or intensify the meaning of the base with a tendency to suggest plurality where the lexical meaning admits this. In the case of entire reduplication of the base it may suggest, according to context, either intensification or plurality. When a compound word is composed of two free forms, the meanings of the two words are coordinated to produce a more specific meaning than either has on its own. A very large proportion of reduplicative words in Khmer are phonaesthetic. The Khmer people are acutely aware of and observant about the way in which people do things, especially with reference to movement of the body or limbs. They have numerous words, for the most

231

part reduplicative, to describe the way a person sits, walks, moves his head or hands and so on. Smith (1973: 86) makes similar comments about Ngeq. The creation of reduplicative words, particularly of those with phonoaesthetic meaning, is a live process in Khmer.

Poetic language

The above comments may be taken as applicable to poetic reduplicative vocabulary too. The following further comment on poetic reduplicative compound words is given because there are some which are not of frequent occurrence and will not be found in any dictionary. Their meaning has to be arrived at by a process of analysis which is rapidly and more or less unconsciously carried out by the native speaker. The thought processes which are required, in five different sets of circumstances, are:

i. One component is a known word, the other not. Provided that the meaning of the known component is suitable to the context, the reduplicative compound may be assumed to be an intensifier or pluraliser of that component, according to the requirements of the context, or to express with a poetic form the same meaning as the base.

| R.5. 39 | /ŋì:ə-ŋù:əy/ | (raise arm threateningly /O) id. |
| S. 71 | /rəciəc-rəcɔl/ | (O/ panic) id. |

Some syllables seem to occur as meaningless reduplicative components in compound words of quite different meaning, e.g. /chlah/ in /chlah-chlaəy/ "to answer", /chlah-chlɔ:ŋ/ "to cross" and /ca:/ in /ca:-caeŋ/ "to explain" and /ca:-cam/ "to wait".

ii. Neither component is a known word in the precise form in which it occurs but if one considers the base of one or both components understanding can be achieved.

| R. 2.63 | /məmì:ə-məmù:ə/ | cf. /mì:ə(r)/ much, many, great) id. |

iii. Neither component is a known word nor can any known base be arrived at by ignoring regular prefixed consonants. However, by looking at the even more basic vowel nucleus and final consonant and by considering other words having those vowel nuclei and final consonants, one may find some related word suitable to the context.

| R.5.34 | /krəɲe:v-krəɲaən/ | cf. root found in /kɔmɲaəɲ/ "threatening" |
| R.8.23 | /rənì:əp-rənè:l/ | cf. root found in /nənì:əl-nənè:l/ "rolling about on the ground" |

iv. One component is a known word which does not suit the context; its meaning is disregarded. The meaning of the other component only must be held to be valid.

R.4.68   /ha:-hɔh/   (to open mouth, to laugh, to go through the air) to fly
passim /puèl-pì:əl/ (army/ignorant; weak; erring) army (usually, in the context "a
fine army")
/rù:əh-rɔ̀:ŋ/   (quick; to bear, to undertake) quick (R.77.7; to undergo (R. 75.55)

v. One component only is recognised and this only from its occurrence
in other reduplicative compounds with other components whose meaning
is clear.

R.9.40   /khùk-khì:ən/(/khùk/ occurs also with /khɔ̀:(r)/ "to threaten")
R.7.31   /ləlɔ̀əm-ləlì:ən/ (/ləlɔ̀əm/ occurs with /ləlɔ̀:/ "to dash forth")

In establishing the meaning of reduplicative words which have passed out
of use, the importance of the context is very obvious. Similar processes of
thought to those outlined above are necessary for the understanding of
more modern poetry when poets invent reduplicative words, basing them
on a known word or root.

6. Reduplication in relation to style

Plain language

Use of reduplicative words and syntactical structures is very common in
both spoken and written Khmer. It is part of an enlivening process
noticeable when even the most trivial incident is narrated or the most
simple thing described.

Poetic language

Reduplicative forms are certainly used in poetry, as in the plain
language, to enliven accounts of action and to embellish descriptions.
Compounds such as /prətỳ:h-prətɔ̀eh/ "impeding each other and
becoming entangled" and /prətùp-prətùəl/ "blocking each other's way"
occurring in an account of a battle scene, are livelier than their simple
counterparts /tỳ:h, tɔ̀əh, tùp/ and /tùəl/. A whole verse may consist of
reduplicative compounds, e.g.

R.77.29   /sak-sɔm chaom-cha:y prɤm-prɤy/ (lit. status-suitable, beautiful,
attractive) prestigious and delightful to behold.

Reduplicative compound words are invaluable to the poet when he is
seeking rhymes and syllables to meet the requirements of the metres; some
of the compounds may occur with the components in any order. In the
following stanza every one of the rhymes is achieved by the use of a
reduplicative compound, /trɤy/ with /nɤy; /lʔah/ with /cah/ and /prɛ̀əh/;
/phɔŋ/ with /trɔŋ/.

B.K. 101-2 /rɤ̀:h ko:n mùəntrɤy   They chose a young mandarin

233

se:na:-se:nvy	Of the military forces,
rù:p-rì:əŋ l²ɔ:- l²ah	Handsome in form
phèəktra: pho:-phɔŋ	Fair of face,
trəcɔŋ-trəcah	Resplendent.
riəp dae hae prɛ̀əh	They made him ready to go in procession with
məha: ksat tɛ̀əŋ tvì:/	The two royal persons.

A poet may achieve a sense of rhythm, audible even when the poetry is properly recited with its air, by composing verses with repeated sequences of word-pattern, such as the following, which occur quite near together.

L.A.V. 294-5 /trəcɔŋ-trəcah chaət cha:y/ resplendent, beautiful
/trədaet-trədɤŋ daom-du:əc/ floating, up on high
/kɔmpù:l kɔmpùəh sraoŋ sru:əc/ the pinnacle, lofty, far-away pointed

Some genres of poetry do not lend themselves so easily as others to this kind of elaboration. In the dignified yet homely Cbap or the seriously religious poem on the inscription of 1701 A.D. there is not so much embellishment of the language. In general, however, reduplication has the very important function, together with the use of Indian loanwords, of contributing to the formation of the special language of Khmer poetry. While the loanwords add grandeur, reduplicative structures provide the required sound.

We tend in Western poetry to associate rhyme with metre and to regard alliteration and assonance as special phonaesthetic effects. For the Khmers, reduplication has another use beside its involvement in the rhyme scheme and in specific, phonaesthetic effects: its sound is very pleasing to the Khmer ear. The appreciation of the beauty of particular sounds must, I think, be a matter in which a mere foreigner cannot fully participate. A succession of syllables with velar positive initial may be described by a Khmer as "pretty" while an English-speaker may find it a little rough. Perseverance is required of the foreigner!

The following eight paragraphs illustrate some stylistic devices based on reduplication which have been found only in poetry. It will be seen that, although there is no question here of compound words, the forms given in paragraphs i.-v. below echo the particular sound effects of the reduplicative compounds set out above in 2. Those in paragraphs vi. and vii. recall the interpolated reduplication described in 4. above. Paragraph viii. consists of citations to illustrate special phonaesthetic effects which depend upon the repetition of particular sounds.

i. Repetitive sequence

One word is repeated. The sequence looks in writing and even sounds when recited like a repetitive reduplicative compound but the context precludes the possibility of a pluralised or intensified meaning. The emphasis given by syntactical reduplication is not involved either.

N.Y. 95-6 /trùəŋ phka: phka: krəpùm   with (its) flowers), (its) flowers in bud
/krəsa:l ʔɤ̀t ʔɤ̀t ʔae mɔ:ŋ/   having enjoyment without without
    (particle) anything-to-spoil-it

ii. Rhyming sequence

An extra rhyme occurs between two adjacent syllables. The sequence thus resembles a rhyming reduplicative compound but the meanings of the words are not to be coordinated. The following examples are both from poems written in the "metre with seven syllables" (i.e. with four verses each having seven syllables). Rhymes required by this metre are not in adjacent syllables.

S.S.6.   /rùmkha:n khsɤk-khsu:əl kdu:əl saok tha:/   frustrated, (he) sobbed in
                                          distress and bewailed, saying
T.T.29   /prùksa: prəki:əp tì:əp cùt dɤy/   (lit. tree fork low near ground)
                                          on a low branch of a tree near
                                          the ground

Sometimes the rhyme is achieved by the use of an infixed derivative:

K.S. 63 /ka:c kɔmna:c khah khaeŋ/   (lit. bad (as to) badness) evil in
                                          his ways and full of contempt

iii. Chiming sequence

Chiming reduplication occurs between two adjacent syllables, causing a resemblance to a chiming compound but the very different meanings of the two words are not coordinated.

C.L.60 /tɤ̀:p ksat kraot phɔ:ŋ   Then the king, angry as well
        kɔnlɔ:ŋ kɔnle:ŋ trah tha:/   As excessively troubled, spoke
K. 38   /sɔmru:əl sɔmra:l dɔh khlu:ən/   easily frees herself from guilt
                                        with an excuse

Some chiming sequences of words have been much used by more than one poet in certain kinds of context. The following occur in descriptions of battle scenes:

/prəyat prəyùt/   be on guard, fight together
/pùənlù:k puənlùɤk/   overthrow astoundingly

iv. Alliterative sequence

Quite apart from the occurrence of alliterative compounds, alliteration occurs in successive words or syllables without any coordination of meaning being involved. Three or more syllables in succession may be affected.

L.A.V. 291 /du:əl de:k dɔl dɤy/   fell over, to lie on the ground

235

C.1. 102	/kondaoc-kɔndaeŋ kɔnda:l ʔa:thvi:ə/	desolate, there upon the path
M.Y.1	/srac khɲom nɨŋ thlaeŋ dɔmnaə dɔmnaeŋ dɔmna:l pì: mùn/	Now I shall give (an) account (of) events Beginning from long ago

Certain alliterative sequences of words recur quite often in works of different poets of different periods in connection with some of the well known themes of Khmer poetry: description of fine palaces, passages about nature, accounts of the preparation of the king's army or procession, etc. The following are examples of such pairs of words:

Fine artefacts connected with royalty:

/kaev kaem/	jewels added
/khnaəy khnɔl/	pillows and cushions
/pìtù: pìtì:əy/	cat's eye gems and red precious stones
/rɔ̀ət rì:əy/	gems in profusion

Animals

/khlaoŋ khla:/	great (chief) tiger
/tùənsaoŋ tùənsa:y/	wild oxen and hares
/rəmì:əh rəmɛ̀əŋ/	rhinoceros and roebuck
/sva:n sva:/	wild dogs and monkeys

Plants

/krɔ:c kra:y/	citrus and xylopia
/cɔmpʏy cɔmpa:/	frangipanier and Michelia champaka
/rùmde:ŋ rùmdu:əl/	galangal and Popowia aberrans
/srəlau srəlʏy/	Lagerstroemia and Wrightia tomentosa

What advance preparation the Western reader requires in order to appreciate the "purple passages" which are concerned with nature! They do not describe a natural scene so much as recall to the reader or listener a host of natural phenomena of which the names are arranged so as to sound most pleasing to the ear.

   The desire to use alliterative language led poets to juxtapose words of which the meanings were less descriptive or interesting than those just quoted. It seems possible that, when one poet had used a sequence such as /thvat thva:y/ (directly/to offer) for "offer", he had set a precedent; /thvat thva:y/ thus became a poetic way to express the simple idea "to offer". Other such word sequences are:

/cbah cbɔ:ŋ/	(clear/elder) elder, respected
/nɛ̀:p nɨ̀t/	(next-close) closely together

/pɯ̀t pùm/	(true/not) not
/mɛ̀:n mì:ən/	(true/is, are, have) there is, there are
/lùəŋ lùh/	(to go beyond/when) by the time that
/lɤ̀:h lùən/	(exceeding/to go beyond) far beyond, exceeding
/vɯ̀l vɯ̀ŋ/	(to turn round/back again) to return
/sa: sɔ:ŋ/	(to do over again, to return) to tell to
/so: sap/	(sound/speech) words spoken
/so: siəŋ/	(sound/voice) words spoken
/srap srac/	(ready done/finished) and then
/ʔae ʔay/	(at/at) at

A number of alliterative sequences, of similarly simple and basic meaning to those given above, are regularly used as the last syllables of a verse; some of them occur frequently as the last syllables of a stanza. In either position they can be useful in producing the rhymes and syllables necessary for the metre.

/krah krael/	(thick/very) in great numbers
/krah kray/	(thick, a good number) in great numbers
/nìh na:/	(this, these/emphatic particle) this, these
/nìh nèy/	(this, these/in relation to that, in that connection) this/these very one(s)
/pùən pè:k/	(going beyond/too much) excessively
/sɔp sa:y/	(all/diffused) everywhere about

v. Semi-repetitive sequences of Indian loanwords

In addition to the semi-repetitive compounds based on Indian loanwords, discussed under 2 (poetic language) vi., sequences of Indian loanwords have been noted which echo these forms but are not compound words.

R.10.25   /pìpɯ̀t pìpɔ̀ə/   Pipet the successful

In each of the two further examples below the word sequence is a mixture of Sanskrit or Pali and Khmer vocabulary and involves a play on words. The reduplication is based in one case upon a Pali prefix used with a Khmer word and in the other case upon a Khmer prefix applied to a Sanskrit word.

R.4.11   /vìbat vìboŋ stha:n sthɤt/   this misfortune in abandoning home

The word-play is between /vìbat/ (< Pali /vipatti/ "misfortune") and Khmer /bat-bɔŋ/ "abandon".

R.8.58/   /nùp rɔ̀ət rù:cɤy   Nine brilliant gems
racɤy pìcɤt racəna:/   With decorative design

Here a form /rɔcɤt/, which was probably invented, alliterates with the previous two words and suggests the Khmer prefix /r/ occurring before /cɤt/ and forming a rhyming sequence with /pìcɤt/ (< Sanskrit/vicitra/ "variegated").

v.i. Repetition of a word with the interpolation of other words, described in 4. (poetic language) ii., occurs also entirely for the sake of the sound of the reduplication. In the following stanza /trɤy/ followed by a word with the initial consonants /kr/ occurs at the beginning of each verse. The stanza also illustrated the use of extra rhymes: /lèɲ/ with /deɲ/ and /kraoy/ with /bɔndaoy/.

S.S.85   /trɤy kraɲ rìəl lèɲ deɲ trɤy kroh
          trɤy krɤm kra:p coh chùp bɔɲʔɔŋ
          trɤy kra:y hael kraoy bɔndaoy trɔŋ
          trɤy krɤm vùːl vùəŋ kraom trɤy kra:y/

"Anabas sennal, Dangila cuvieri and the little white cyprine chase after the Osteochilos hasseltii. The fighting fish lies low and stays in wait. The Notopterus chitala swims along straight behind the fighting fish, which turns full circle and goes down underneath it."

The second example is given here because the reduplicating words are again at the beginning of each verse; only part of the word is repeated in this case, however.

K.11   /krəlap phèəktra: He lowered his eyes,
        krəlau mɤ̀:l ska: Looked at the chesssmen,
        krəlah kɔ̀:y kùən   Changed the direction of his gaze,
        krəle:k chmɔ̀:ŋ-chmiəŋ/   Gave a sideways glance.

In the third example reduplication of the initial sequence /pəphl/ occurs at intervals through the stanza.

S.S.82   /pəphlèək coh tùm coŋ pəphlì:ə
          haəy haə rè:-rì:ə tɤu pəphlɤ̀:
          sɔmbol pəphlùək mùk ŋi:-nɤ̀:
          haəy haə pəphlɤ̀: tɤu ta:m vì:əl/

"The jay descends to perch on top of the Grewia paniculata Then flies up to hover, bewildered. Its colour is variegated. Its head turns from side to side. Then it flies uncertainly across the plain."

vii. Repetition of a word interpolating the components of a compound, described in 4. (poetic language) iv. is recalled by the interpolated sequence of chiming words, which do not form a compound, in the following:

A.3. 207   /kùɪt prɛ̀əh rìəm prɛ̀əh rù:əm ka:y
thinking of you, my revered lover, united with me
(lit. think revered elder revered-one unite body)

In the following two verses from one stanza, however, the reduplicative compounds /lùənlò:c-lùənlùəŋ/ "melancholy" and /ʔaeka:-ʔaekao/ "alone" are interpolated, not by a repeated word in accordance with the usual pattern, but by a word or words which repeat some of the sounds of the compounds:

A.3.211   /lùənlò:c lùənlùɪm lùənlùəŋ cɤt .... ʔaeka ʔao kùɪt ʔaeka: ka:y/
desolate and melancholy ... alas, think of it, alone!

viii. The following citations have been chosen to try to illustrate the use by Khmer poets of particular sounds in writing about particular experiences, emotions, etc.

Initial voiceless velar plosive consonants, aspirated and unaspirated (anger)

P. 89   /khɤŋ mdec laəy kray kɔnlɔ:ŋ khe: khɤŋ khɤŋ nùɪŋ bɔ:ŋ?/
Why are you so very angry, so furious with me?

Initial voiceless palatal consonants, aspirated (fire)

L.A.V. 292 /chol cheh cho:v chap/   (lit. spurt-up catch-fire crackle quickly)

Initial consonant sequence of sibilant and dental nasal consonant or initial dental nasal consonant (love)

H.Y.93	/thlɔ̀əp rɛ̀:ŋ nɤ̀u nɤ̀u nɛ̀:p nùɪt	You used to be constantly near,
	thlɔ̀əp sna:l sna:l snae snɤt	to be close.
	snɤt nɛ̀:p nùɪt nùɪŋ pʔo:n nèy/	You used to be bound closely in love.
		Close by me, your loved one.

Initial consonant sequences of voiceless labial plosive and /r/; also /l/ and /r/ (flickering light and brightness)

| S.K.23 | /rɛ̀əsmɤy rùŋ-rùɪən chlah-chloh | His splendid radiance sparkled |
| | phlùɪ: prò:ŋ-prìəy proh/ | Shone with dazzling brightness |

Liquid and nasal consonants, initial or final (gracefulness)

L.2. 103	/hak yùəl rù:p-rì:əŋ	As though he beheld her form -
	lùm?ɔ: nèy nì:əŋ	That beautiful maiden -
	hak yùəl lùmnɔ̀əm/	As though he beheld her moving.

Initial aspirate (flying, often by magic)

239

S. 53   /haəy haə hiəv hɔh/   And flew, flitting through the air.

Glottal stops and imploded dental consonants (distress)

A.2.107   /ʔaorɛ̀əʔ kdau ʔaora: kdu:əl rùmcù:əl ʔɔŋ/
My heart is on fire with emotion and I am in turmoil.

Developments in the poetic language have been illustrated in the preceding pages without reference to the date or period of the poems. Some of the devices used to elaborate the language are more evident in one period than another. Complicated manipulation of Indian loanwords seen in 4.ii. and 6.v. belong particularly to the earlier poetry. The use of extra rhymes and the repetition of words placed in difference verses, discussed in 6.i. and vi. are characteristic of poetry of the nineteenth century.[2] Over the years there has been a gradual increase in the length and diffuseness of poetic compositions. This tendency to wordiness may seem in some later poems to produce an excess of repetition both of sound and sense. In accordance with a long tradition, however, the Khmer poet must show inventiveness and erudition if he is to earn the admiration and respect of his readers and it is not surprising if he is clever at handling words, since he belongs, after all, to a people who excel at producing puns, rhymes, spoonerisms and other verbal witticisms on the spur of the moment. It is a challenge to the foreigner to appreciate the resulting poetry fully.

NOTES

[1] The full titles of the poems represented in abbreviated form will be found in the list of poems at the end of the paper, together with the details of the editions to which volume and page references are made.

[2] It seems likely that many other patterns of elaboration may be found, especially in the nineteenth-century poetry on which Thai influence was strong. I am grateful to my colleague, Dr. Manas Chitakasem for pointing out to me some of the many reduplicative and other devices used by Thai poets.

LIST OF POEMS CONSULTED

Titles of poems are given in the form with which they occur in the editions cited. Abbreviations used: I.B.P.P. = Institut Bouddhique, Phnom Penh.

A.   Anthologie cambodgienne. (Lyric poems, probably all composed in the 18th and 19th centuries A.D., published in parts in Kambujasuriya, 1938, 1939 and 1940, Parts to which reference is made are No. 2 (1939: Parts 5: 103-17) and No. 3 (1939, Part 9: 203-20), consisting of poems composed by ladies of the court.
B.K.   Bhogakula Kumar. Composed by Nong in 1804 A.D. I.B.P.P. 1961.
C.   Histoire de Preah Chinavong 1-4. Composed by Hing in 1856

	A.D. I.B.P.P. 1964.
H.Y.	Hangsa Yonta. Undated. I.B.P.P. 1964.
I.M.A.	Poem on inscription of 1701 A.D., edited by Lewitz: 1975.
K.	Roeung Kakey. Composed by King Ang Duong in 1815 A.D. I.B.P.P. 1949
K.S.	Histoire de Khyang Saing. Composed in 1729 A.D. I.B.P.P. 1961.
Kr.	Krung Subhamitra. Composed by Kao. Undated. I.B.P.P. 1961.
L.	Lokanayapakarana. 1-4. Composed by Nong. Undated. I.B.P.P. 1958.
L.A.V.	Lpoek aṅgar vat. Poème d'Angkor Vat. Composed in 1620 A.D. (See Pou: 1975) in Textes khmères publiés avec une traduction sommaire. Ière Série, Saigon 1878: 267-97.
M.	Histoire de Maranamata. Composed in 1877. I.B.P.P. 1961.
M.Y.	Mea Yoeung. Undated. I.B.P.P. 1961.
P.	Le roi Puthisen. Undated. I.B.P.P. 1964.
R.	Reamker. 1-10, 75-80. Early parts may date from 16th or even 15th century A.D.; most of it 17th century A.D. (Pou: 1975:356). Editions de la Bibliothèque Royale and I.B.P.P. 1937-67.
S.	Histoire de Preah Sudhana. Undated. I.B.P.P. 1963.
S.C.	Histoire de Sratop Chek. Composed by Ngen in 1889. I.B.P.P. 1962.
S.K.	Soben Komar. Undated. I.B.P.P. 1959.
S.S.	Histoire de Sabbasiddhi. Undated. I.B.P.P.1962.
S.S.C.	Histoire de Saing Selchey. Undated. I.B.P.P. 1962.
T.T.	Histoire de Tum Teav. Composed by Som in 1915. I.B.P.P. 1962.

REFERENCES

Gorgoniyev, Y.A. 1963. *The Khmer Language.*

Henderson, Eugénie J.A. 1952. "The main features of Cambodian pronunciation.' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* xiv.1: 149-74.

Huffman, F.E. 1967. *An Outline of Cambodian Grammar.* Cornell University thesis.

Jacob, J.M. 1968. *Introduction to Cambodian.* London: Oxford University Press.

Jenner, P.N. 1969. *Affixation in Modern Khmer.* Hawaii University dissertation.

Lewitz, S. 1970. "Textes en Khmer moyen. Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor 2 et 3." *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* 57: 99-126.

_____.1975. "Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor 34 et 38." *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* 62: 283-353.

Nacaskul, K. 1971. *Parallelism in the Use and Construction of Certain Grammatical and Lexical Items in Cambodian and Thai: a*

Typological Comparative Study. London University thesis.

Pou, S. 1975. "Note sur la date du poème d'Angkor Vat." *Journal Asiatique* 263: 119-24.

_____.1975. "Les traits bouddhiques du Rāmakerti." *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* 62: 355-68.

Smith, R.L. "Reduplication in Ngeq." *Mon-Khmer Studies* 4: 85-113.

Institut Bouddhique. 1962. *Vacananukram Khmer*. Phnom Penh.