

SANSKRIT LOANWORDS IN PRE-ANGKOR KHMER

0. *Introduction.*

The first Khmer texts, inscriptions of the 7th and 8th centuries A.D., gave practical information about religious foundations while Sanskrit, at that time regarded by the Khmers as the language of literature proper, was used for composing the panegyrics of gods and kings. Already at this stage the Khmer language had been exposed for several centuries to Indian influence and contained many Sanskrit loanwords. Borrowing had taken place of necessity in connection with the new religions, political and legal ideas, and the artefacts associated with them. Was it possible, however, that the prestige attached to the incoming culture may have led to more borrowing than was necessary? Did familiarity with the Indian culture and language eventually cause further unconscious imitation?

It is proposed here to examine the Sanskrit vocabulary which is evidenced in pre-Angkor Khmer (PA) texts, looking at the kind of loanword which was borrowed from a semantic viewpoint; the reasons for borrowing; and the extent to which Khmerisation of the form or of the syntactical usage of the word took place.¹

1. *Sanskrit Loanwords from a Semantic Viewpoint.*

The Sanskrit words found in PA are here discussed in six paragraphs based roughly on grammatical categories, as follows:

1. Vocabulary connected with stating the date and issuing warnings to marauders. This occurred in semi-continuous phrases or sentences.
2. Personal names (of gods and men), other proper names (of localities, hells, festivals), and titles (of gods and men).
3. Concrete nouns (words referring to persons carrying out particular rôles and duties; names of objects and substances).
4. Abstract nouns. This section is interpreted widely to include some Sanskrit participles used as nouns and to comprise collective nouns, a numeral, terms of measurement, and words relating to points of the compass.
5. Verbs, adjectives, and participles.
6. Words of other categories.

1.1. *The Date: Warnings to Marauders.*

The date was always given almost completely in Sanskrit. The piece did, however, always include whichever was appropriate of two Khmer words, /ket/ 'to wax' or /roc/ 'to wane'. The following example comes at the beginning of the inscription K.557: /traitriçottarapañca çata çaka parigraha trayodaçi ket māgha puşyanaksatra tulalagna/ '533 çaka, 13th

day of the waxing moon of Māgha, in the lunar mansion of Puṣya, the balance being at the horizon’.

Warnings of punishment to marauders were sometimes given in the form of almost continuous Sanskrit phrases. At the end of K.127 we read: /ge ta tve viptya gi saptapitā saptamātā pañcamahārau[ra]vanarakāḥ patanti/ ‘those who do any damage will, with seven generations of male and female ancestors, fall into the hell, Raurava, of the five great [crimes]’. Where warnings are given almost entirely in Khmer the details of damage are more lively, mentioning persons stealing boats, making their homes on the grotto or demanding things for themselves, while their punishment, expressed as /ge daṇḍa/ ‘they will be punished’, sounds imminent rather than in eternity.

1.2. *Proper Names and Titles.*

The names of the gods, together with most of the names of places and of dignitaries, may be found listed in an index by Monsieur Cœdès (1966: 19-71). The names of the gods are mostly Sanskrit. Such Khmer names as occur—“the Old One,” “the Young One,” or “the Lord of the district”—may well be more familiar substitutes for the real names of the gods. Names of places, especially of the smaller places, on the other hand, are more often Khmer than Sanskrit. There is a difference in the kind of name. The Khmer names very often reflect a feature of the environment—a plant or animal frequently seen there, for example. The Sanskrit place names, although they have a realistic final component such as /vana/ ‘forest’, /grāma/ ‘village’, tend to have imaginative first elements, e.g. /purandarapura/ ‘city of the destroyer of strongholds’, etc. Some hybrid names occur, e.g. /travāṇ nāga/ ‘reservoir of snakes/nāgas’.

Cœdès’s list does not include the names of the humbler people, the workers in the religious foundations. These involve over 450 Sanskrit names. As with place names, a contrast is to be found between the Khmer and Sanskrit names of these serving personnel. The Khmer names are very often names of plants, animals or objects, or words descriptive of mental or physical characteristics. The Sanskrit names express ideas. They may be of a religious nature: /çraddhā/ ‘Believing’, /kṛṣṇadatta/ ‘Given to Krishna’; or elevated: /ākāśadeva/ ‘Sky-god’, /āḍityasvāmi/ ‘Sun-lord’; or attractive: /kalyāṇa/ ‘Beautiful’, /mañjarī/ ‘Cluser of blossoms’; or ordinal numerals like the English *Septimus*, etc.: /daçami/ ‘Tenth’; or just apt (one supposes): /samarasena/ ‘Soldier of the battle-field’ (name of a dancer), /gandharvagīta/ ‘Song of musician’ (name of a musician).

Names of hells are: /taptaka, mahāraurava, atiraurava, avīci, açītimukha/ and /vaitaraṇī/. Two names of festivals occur: /pañcotsava/ and /mahānavamī/. Titles, that is by definition words followed by personal names in close junction, include /bhagavat/ ‘Blessed’, /svāmi/ ‘Master’, and /ācāryya/ ‘Teacher’.

1.3. *Concrete Nouns.*

Loanwords which are names of agents are connected with religious or, to

a less extent, political rôles and duties. They include, for example, /kulapati/ 'superior', /purohita/ 'chaplain', /prabhu/ 'superintendent', /yajamāna/ 'one who carries out an offering', /guru/ 'preceptor', /vādyā/ 'musician', /mahānasa/ 'cook', /kārmamāntika/ 'worker', /dāsa/ 'slave', and /grāmapāla/ 'guardian of the village'.

Names of objects include many names of appurtenances of the gods such as /pṛthivī/ 'the world (globe held by a statue of Vishnu)', /makūṭa/ 'headdress', /kaṭaka/ 'bracelet', /koṣa/ 'box' and of utensils connected with ritual such as /kalaṣa/ 'pitcher' and /ṣaṅkha/ 'conch'. They also include names of constructions which are religious: /aṅgana/ 'court', /ācrama/ 'hermitage', /ācraṇa/ 'refuge', /kuṭi/ 'cell', and secular: /mandira/ 'mansion' and /cāla/ 'hall'.

Names referring to territorial features include /ksetrārāma/ 'fields and gardens', /pramāṇa/ 'territory', and /parimaṇḍala/ 'surroundings'.

Products with a religious significance were known by their Sanskrit names: /dhūpa/ 'joss-stick', /caru/ 'oblation', /dugdhi/ 'milk', and /ājya/ 'ghee'.

Substances for which the Sanskrit word is used include /kambala/ 'wool cloth', /karpāsa/ 'cotton', and /cunthi/ 'ginger'.

1.4. *Abstract and Collective Nouns.*

This section comprises over fifty words, most of which may be fitted roughly into one of five semantic categories, being associated with religion, law, numeration, measurement or the points of the compass.

Among those connected with religion are /satra/ 'offering', /sandhyā/ 'thrice-daily prayers', /svarga/ 'heaven', and /ākra/ 'offering of revenue to the god'.

Examples of loans connected with the law are /ucita/ 'tax', /daṇḍya/ 'punishment', /anyāya/ 'injustice', /ājñā/ 'edict', and /prasiddhi/ 'exclusive right'.

Sanskrit numerals were not strictly borrowed. They occur in the announcements of the date in a Sanskrit context. Ordinal numbers occur as personal names; isolated instances of /cātur/ and /koṭi/ are found as names. Only one Sanskrit numeral, /ṣaṭa/, occurs in Khmer grammatical contexts, however. The word /piṇḍa/ 'total' and /sarvvapiṇḍa/ 'final total', it may be mentioned here, occur frequently.

Certain terms of measurement are found mixed in with Khmer terms: /prastha/ (weight and capacity measurement), /bhāra/ (weight measurement), and /tula/ (weight measurement).

The Sanskrit terms for the points of the compass occur, together with /aṣṭaḍiṣa/ 'the eight directions'.

1.5. *Verbs, Adjectives, and Participles.*

Unlikely companions though these categories are when viewed from the Sanskrit angle, in Khmer usage the majority of them merge into one broad verbal category, composed of operative and adjectival verbs. The total number of loanwords from all categories is only about two dozen. Two

examples of each Sanskrit category are given here:

- /cracur/ < /cur/ v. 'steal';
/lope/ < /lup/ v. 'damage'.
/supratiṣṭha/ *adj.* 'standing firm';
/sāmanta/ *adj.* 'neighbouring'
/kalpita/ < /klpt/ *pp.* 'fixed';
/nirasta/ *pp.* 'driven away'.

1.6. *Words of Other Categories.*

It should be mentioned here that words such as /yate/, yāvat, tāvat/, which occur only in connected pieces of Sanskrit as described in 1.1, are not held to be loanwords. However, a few adverbs occur in Khmer syntax: /pratidina/ < /pratidinam/ 'daily', /tris/ 'thrice', /antyanti/ 'lastly', /uk/ < /u/ 'also', /savāla/ 'including the children', and /savālavṛddhi/ 'including old people and children'. The prefix /sam/ occurs frequently.

2. *Reasons for Borrowing.*

2.1. So many PA inscriptions in Khmer begin with *the date* in Sanskrit and end with *warnings* in Sanskrit that one might think that borrowing of these passages was stylistic, inspired by the wish to have a good beginning and ending. The two pieces, dates and warnings, must here be considered separately.

The use of Sanskrit for warnings may be shown to be by choice and therefore to be for the sake of style, since the Khmer language was used for warnings on many inscriptions. Possibly there was no general Khmer word for *to punish*, since /daṇḍa/ was borrowed for the ending of the warnings in Khmer. A series of verbs indicating the exact types of punishment would have been natural in Khmer, one would guess. However, the Khmer language was in general entirely adequate for the purpose and had the advantage of being understood by more of the would-be marauders.

For the date, on the other hand, the Khmers were using Sanskrit of necessity. They had adopted the Great Era and, with it, the names of the months and the words /nakṣatra/ and /çaka/. Numerals would have been supplied by Khmer but this would have been clumsy. No individual numeral, 100, would have been available since the Khmer system offered only the numerals 1-5, 10, 20, 40 and 400. 100 would probably have been expressed as (5 x 20). Apart from /ket/ 'to wax' and /roc/ 'to wane', PA words connected with the date are /chnam/ 'year' and /khe/ 'month' (the latter occurring as a name). Perhaps the Khmers did calculate the date by counting the days of the waxing and waning moon in pre-Indian times? The practice of mixing Khmer and Sanskrit in writing the date has continued in the same way until this century.

2.2. The strong tendency of the Khmers to use borrowed words for the

names of the gods may seem to have arisen from necessity, like their adoption of the Sanskrit names for festivals and hells. It was clearly not a necessity, however, to borrow names for places and people and for each of these there are at least as many Khmer names too. We may assume that prestige attached to Sanskrit names. It is evident in the lists of names of the serving personnel too that a cultural aura surrounded the Sanskrit names. Thus musicians, dancers and singers often had elaborate Sanskrit names in striking contrast to the plain Khmer names of the rice-growers and herdsmen. The habit of using Sanskrit words as names of persons and places has continued into this century, e.g. /maṇi/ 'Jewel' (modern girl's name) and /maṅgalapurī/ 'Mongkul Borey' (modern town's name).

Such Sanskrit *titles* as are used amid a variety of native PA titles would seem to have been borrowed of necessity to express a precise religious meaning.

2.3. Most borrowed *concrete nouns* denoted rôles, duties, objects or substances which came to the Khmers with Indian culture and were therefore borrowed of necessity. But there were some items for which native Khmer words were available and were used. /^anak rpam/ and /rmam/ 'dancer' occur much more often than the odd form /pedanātaka/. /kṛīum/ 'slave' was available and occurred much more often than /dāsa/. We must assume, where Sanskrit words were used unnecessarily, that the composers of the texts of the inscriptions were aiming at an elevated style.

2.4. *Abstract Nouns.* This section plays an important rôle in PA and almost every loanword is still current in Modern Khmer, though often with changed meaning. It is in the character of the Khmer language to use a verb rather than a noun if possible and to give a series of examples rather than use an abstraction. The language was destined to take in many more abstract nouns. In the late 19th century French supplied a great number. Among Sanskrit-based neologisms introduced in the last two decades to build up a technical vocabulary and replace French loans are many more terms for abstract concepts. This does not always mean that Khmer has lacked the ability to express ideas. To mention only one instance, /piṇḍa/ 'total' was borrowed into PA and used frequently when lists of personnel were added up: but in Modern Khmer two verbs would be used colloquially: *add-up* + *to-see*. /piṇḍa/ was relegated to a religious use as 'a collection of offerings'. One might distinguish, therefore, when considering what abstract nouns were borrowed, between those concepts which Khmer expresses verbally, while many other languages use a noun, and those which make an abstraction from a variety of objects or actions. The borrowing was due to a kind of necessity, therefore, insofar as concerns most of the words in this section, but was not necessary to the degree that is sometimes implied.

Among abstractions which seem to have been found really essential are /dravya/ 'belongings', /yava/ 'grain', /kāla/ 'time', /poṣana/ 'cultivation, and /nivvāsa/ and /nirasta/, both meaning 'banish'. In this connection it

seems appropriate to discuss one or two words which may seem to belong to 1.3 and 2.3 but which involve the principle of generalisation. Perhaps the idea of the family was not expressed in one word in PA. Three words were borrowed from Sanskrit: /santān/, /gottra/, and /kula/, all of which were to continue in the language and be in evidence in modern times. Sanskrit /gaṇa/ and PA /vnok/, both meaning 'group', occurred in slightly different ways, the borrowed word seeming to acquire the general sense of 'all' while the Khmer word was used particularly when referring to a distinct group of people from one village, for example. Eventually, the borrowed word was to become Modern Khmer /gnā/ 'together'.

Borrowings which seem to have been quite unnecessary are the one properly-borrowed numeral /çata/, some terms of measurement, and the words denoting points of the compass. The numeral /çata/, met in the pieces connected with the date, must have become familiar to the Khmers and was used in totally PA contexts in preference to their (20 x 5) expression. The PA Khmers had many terms of measurement (see Jacob, forthcoming); it is interesting that they found it necessary to mix in some Sanskrit terms. Perhaps a commercial need to conform to some better-known Indian measurements began the habit? The Khmer native terms for the four cardinal points, which have been discussed elsewhere (Lewitz, 1970), seem to have been entirely adequate. However, the Sanskrit terms were used increasingly as the PA period and Angkorian period progressed. The borrowed terms, with those for the inter-cardinal points, were to stay in the literary language until modern times. In daily usage, however, the PA terms for East and West, with two Angkorian terms for North and South, were the norm. The need to refer to the inter-cardinal points was, in modern times at least, met in the colloquial language by using a periphrastic expression, "North leaning to West," etc.

This section does of course also include many abstract words which would in any case have been acquired and retained, just because of their religious connection, whatever native words might have been available.

2.5. Verbs, Adjectives, and Participles. At first sight it seems incredible that such words as these should have been borrowed at all. They include /kathā/ (Sanskrit 'speech') 'to say', /pratibaddha/ 'attach', and /çeṣa/ 'left over'. What language needs to borrow such words? Some were probably taken over along with the religious acts they describe, e.g. /supraṭiṣṭha/ (Sanskrit 'standing firm') 'to found (a cult)'. In some cases PA words with approximately the same meanings as the Sanskrit occur as well, e.g. /coñ/ 'to attach', /lvāc/ 'to steal' and /sak/ 'to damage' for Sanskrit /pratibaddha/, /cur/ and /lup/. We are left to conclude either that the PA word did not have quite the same meaning as the borrowed word or that the borrowing was used in order to elevate the style.

2.6. Other Categories. Again there is no apparent need which suggests itself as the reason for any borrowings in this section. Style and imitation would seem to be the basis for the adoption of all these loanwords.

3. *Phonetic and Morphological Adaptation.*

3.1. The orthography of Sanskrit loanwords indicates certain features of phonetic adaptation which one would have expected judging by later stages of the language.

i. Cerebral consonants are confused with dental, all, we may assume, being pronounced as dentals. Thus /pinda/ occurs as well as /piṇḍa/, /punya/ as well as /puṇya/, and prāṇa/ as well as /praṇā/.

ii. Evidence shows that Sanskrit short open vowels in final syllables were already being omitted and that where this left a consonant cluster the second consonant was not pronounced. Thus /sit/ occurs for /siddhi/ and some names having /gupta/, /vindu/ or /candra/ as the last component were sometimes written without the last consonant and vowel, e.g. /ratnacana/ for /ratnacandra/. The form /yacjadat/ suggests that both components of the name /yajñadatta/ had been reduced to monosyllables and that the pronunciation might be represented as /yac dat/. Sometimes we have evidence of the Mon-Khmer practice of indicating the end of a word by gemination of the final consonant, e.g. /akṣaragupp/.

iii. In other cases a final open vowel was not omitted but there was confusion in the spelling of its length, probably because the Khmers pronounced it long whatever the spelling, e.g. /avadhi/ and /avadhī/, /daçami/ and /daçamī/.

iv. In one case, where the entire word consists of a short open syllable, the Khmers gave it a final consonant. Thus /u/ acquired a final velar plosive consonant. It is written in a variety of ways: /uk/, /ukk/, and /ukr/. Possibly, however, the last variation represents two words, /uk/ followed by the Khmer particle /ra/.

v. Variations of spellings of vowel-length in non-final syllables, e.g. /dhūli/ and /dhuli/, /pūrṇamī/ and purṇami/, may be interpreted as reflecting the Khmer tendency to have little stress and no length distinction in such syllables, while reserving full stress and observing length distinction in final syllables, when these are constructed according to the Khmer pattern.

3.2. The form of a few PA words suggests morphological adaptation, as follows:

i. A Khmer prefix /kan/ (where *n* represents *ñ*, *ñ*, *n* or *m* according to the phonetic class of the following consonant) forms PA personal names in combination with a common word, e.g. /kandāp/ on K.133, I 11 < /dāp/ 'small in height'. Many names beginning with /kan/ have second syllables which do not suggest Khmer words but do suggest Sanskrit words, e.g. /kañjes, kañjai, kandos, kanyas/ which might well be formed from /kan/ with /jyaiṣṭha/ 'eldest', /jaya/ 'victory', /doṣa/ 'fault', and /yasa/ 'renown'.

ii. It was a suggestion of Cœdès to interpret /cracur/ as arising from Sanskrit /cur/ 'to steal', preceded by the Khmer reduplicative prefix /cra/.

iii. The forms /saṃ/ and /psaṃ/ occur frequently in the phrase /saṃ paribhoga/ or /psaṃ paribhoga/ ‘combine resources’. It seems very probable that /saṃ/ was a borrowing of the Sanskrit prefix which became sufficiently naturalized in its use as a PA verb to occur with the Khmer causative prefix /p/.

4. Syntactic Adaptation.

4.1. Our first category of “loans” consisted of semi-continuous pieces of Sanskrit giving *the date and warnings*. The only way in which Sanskrit was modified in these passages was by an increased admixture of Khmer words, producing some particularly difficult sentences.

4.2. *Borrowed names and titles* were treated by the Khmers in the same way as the Khmer words of this category. Names of gods and people followed the appropriate title and took a normal Khmer syntactic position without any change of form, e.g. K.388 b 9: /puṇya upādhyāya ṛī rājabhikṣu/ ‘the work of merit of the Upādhyāya Ṛīrājabhikṣu’. There does seem to be an exception to this in the following sentence on K.341 sud 4: /ājña vraḥ kaṃmratañ añ ta paṃnvās kulapati/ ‘edict of His Majesty to the religious Superior’. The expected order in Khmer would be title followed by /paṃnvās/. The use of a Sanskrit rather than a Khmer word-order here is reminiscent of uses of Sanskrit word-order as a Khmer poetic device.

4.3. *Concrete nouns* occur in grammatical contexts which are typically Khmer, e.g. K.22, 5: /karap pṛthivī mās/ ‘1 gold cover for the globe’. The word /dhūli/ ‘dust’ was to occupy a firm place in Khmer as part of the royal language. Already in PA there are three occurrences of the King’s title, e.g. K.904, A 15: /dhuli jeṇ kaṃmratañ añ/ (dust of feet of sacred lord of me).

4.4. The contexts in which *abstract nouns* borrowed from Sanskrit occur in PA have been examined carefully. The majority occur in syntactical usage exactly as do Khmer nouns. A minority have quite other uses. These orthodox and unorthodox adaptations are discussed in the following four paragraphs. The adaptation of a numeral and of terms of measurement are treated in two further paragraphs.

4.4.1. The following are examples of Sanskrit abstract nouns occurring in PA with full syntactic naturalisation:

i. As the object of the verb. K.259 II 22: /oy dān ta vraḥ kaṃmratañ añ/ ‘give gifts to the god.’

ii. Following a preposition. K.44, 9: /aṃvi kālā/ ‘from the time’.

iii. As the second of two nouns, translated by *of* (partitive). K.561,36: /jaṃnon ākra ta vraḥ kaṃmratañ an/. ‘offering of revenue to the god’.

iv. As the second of two nouns operating as an attribute to the first. K.1004, 3: /*canlek āgama*/ 'ritual cloth'.

v. As the first of two nouns to which the second has a general reference. K.561, 8: /*satra paṃnos liḥ 2*/ 'offering to the monks: 2 *liḥ* (of rice)'.

vi. As part of a succession of nouns listed without connector. K.341 nord, 6-7: /*siddhi ṛddhi*/ 'success and power'.

vii. As subject of a clause. K.726, A, 6-7: /*mūlya gi prak taṃliṃ 10*/ 'the value was 10 ounces of silver'.

Altogether, over 40 abstract nouns were borrowed and used in similar ways.

Two examples of Sanskrit participles occurring as nouns are given below: /*kāryya*/, future passive participle, K.1004, 7: /*daha mān kāryya vraḥ kaṃmratāṃ aṅ*/ 'if there is work for the god';

/*kalpita*/ < *klpta*, perfect passive participle, K.749, 9: /*rakṣā neḥ kalpita mratāṃ*/ 'look after this arrangement of the Mratāṃ'.

4.4.2. However, several Sanskrit borrowed nominal forms were used in PA as verbs. The following are examples of noun loanwords used as operative verbs in PA:

K.74, 6: /*vā kathā voṃ is*/ 'Mr. Say-not-all'.

K.44, B, 13: /*ge cer ājñā vraḥ kamratāṃ aṅ ge daṇḍa*/ 'Persons transgressing the edict of His Majesty will be punished' (literally, 'one punishes').

K.154, A, 3: /*mratāṃ devasvāmi dīrghhasatra ta vraḥ kamratāṃ aṅ*/ 'Mratāṃ Devasvāmi performs a great sacrifice to the god'.

K.561, 29: /*kñiṃ ta man poṇ vindaṇṇaḥ prajāna*/ 'serving personnel, the ones whom Poṇ Vindaṇṇaḥ gives'.

K.146, 13: /*gi tel vraḥ kamratāṃ aṅ prasāda*/ 'which His Majesty graciously offered'.

K.90, 1: /*ājñā vraḥ kamratāṃ aṅ prasiddhi gi neḥ aṃnoy poṇ bhadraṇḍha āy ta vraḥ kamratāṃ aṅ*/ 'the King's edict gives-an-exclusive-right to the god (in connection with) these gifts of Poṇ Bhadrāyudha'.

K.926, 4: /*kantai ta yajamāna tra vraḥ*/ 'women, those offered to the god'.

K.749, 9: /*gi ta rakṣā neḥ kalpita mratāṃ*/ 'is the one who will look after this arrangement of the Mratāṃ'.

K.904, B, 26: /*tel ājñā vraḥ kaṃmratāṃ aṅ pre siddhi ta vraḥ kaṃmratāṃ aṅ*/ 'of which the King's edict authorises the use giving-exclusive-rights to the god'.

K.155, I 2–3: /vraḥ kamratāñ añ çriçitikantheçvara puṇya dhānyārapati tel *sthāpanā*/ ‘the god, Çrī Çitikantheçvara, meritorious work of Dhānyākarapati, who erected it’.

4.4.3. The following are examples of a Sanskrit abstract noun borrowed and used as a conjunction. Although both these contexts contain *lacunae*, the occurrences of /velā/ strongly suggest comparison with Modern Khmer use of /kāl and /bel/ (< *velā*) as conjunctions.

K.424, A. 3: /velā poñ gu.../ ‘When Poñ Gu...’

K.423, 4: velā poñ kularakṣa pari.../ ‘When Poñ Kularakṣa...’

4.4.4. Two Sanskrit nouns, /yajña/ and /vīja/, are used as quantifiers in PA:

K.145, 3: /dugdhi yajña 4/ ‘4 offerings of milk’.

K.18, 4 /sre tpeñ vīja 20–1/ ‘*Dipterocarpus magnifolia* ricefield: 21 measures (of seed)’.

4.4.5. Having borrowed the one numeral /çata/, the PA Khmers seem to have treated it in the same way as their own term /bhay/ ‘a score’ which, when written in full as a word, was multiplied by the accompanying numeral, e.g. K.582, 7: /toñ tñem çata 1/ ‘(coconut trunks hundred 1) 100 coconut trees’.

4.4.6. Similarly, borrowed terms of measurement were embedded well in the PA native structure. K.124, 19: /pareñ tula 2 jyeñ 10/ ‘2 tulas, 10 jyeñ of oil’.

4.5. Adaptation of borrowed *verbs, adjectives and participles*. In Khmer, verbs fall into two classes: operative verbs and attributive verbs. The former are characteristically followed by an extension in the form of a noun (object or destination) and far more rarely are attached to a noun as an attribute in a nominal phrase. Their translation is usually by means of an English verb of action. Attributive verbs occur both as main verbs and as attributes attached to nouns in nominal phrases. Their translation is correspondingly either by the English verb *to be* + adjective or by adjective only.

Only two Sanskrit verbs have been observed in PA. These are /cracur/ (< *cur*), mentioned in 3.2, and /lope/ (< *lup*):

K.44, B, 7: /ge ta cracur/ ‘persons who steal’.

K.341 nord, 10: /ge ta lope gi/ ‘persons who cause damage here’.

However, several Sanskrit adjectives and participles were taken over for use as operative verbs:

K.749, 3: /mratāñ kīrttiḡaṇa *kalpita* satra/ (*kalpita* < *kṛpta*) ‘Mratāñ Kīrttiḡaṇa fixed the offerings’.

K.1029, 16: /tel oy *danḍya*/ ‘whom one will let be punished’ (i.e., whom one will let or have someone punish).

K.44, B, 3: /tel ājñā vraḥ kamratāñ añ *prasiddha* ai ta vraḥ kamratāñ añ/ ‘which His Majesty’s edict gives-with-exclusive-rights to the god’.

K.22, 37: /kāla *supraṭiṣṭha*/ ‘at the time when it was founded’.

At least 16 adjectives and participles are used as attributive verbs in PA. Two examples of this expected use are given below:

K.493, 20: /sre *phalada*/ ‘fertile ricefield’.

K.582, 8: /doñ vraḥ doñ āvāsa gui tel *sāpekṣa* ai ta bhagavat ṣaṅkarakīrtti/ ‘both the god and the habitations which are dependent on Bhagavat Ṣaṅkarakīrtti’.

4.6. Among the *words of other categories* in the Sanskrit prefix /saṃ/ is to be mentioned. As was observed in 3.2, its use as a verb ‘to unite’ led to its acceptance as a suitable base to which to add the causative prefix /p/.

In connection with words of other categories the following query arises. The language of the PA and Angkorian texts is given a particular character by the occurrence of the particle /ta/. Louis Finot (1916: 327) and François Martini (1957) both discussed its usage in Khmer grammar. Here it is proposed to consider its origin. The following are examples of its usage in PA:

KA.30, 9: /kñuṃ ta si....kñuṃ ta kantai.../ ‘male servants....female servants...’ (literally, servants, the males...servants, the females...).

K.561, 26: /ge ta sak gui/ ‘anyone spoiling this’ (literally, persons, the ones spoiling this).

K.90 nord, 10: /ge jon ple jhe ta vraḥ kamratāñ añ/ ‘persons offering fruits to the god’ (literally, the one who is god).

Is it possible that /ta/, which so often seems to bear a demonstrative implication, ‘the one which’, ‘those who’, etc., may be the borrowed Sanskrit demonstrative pronoun base /tā/? Some objections occur instantly to any such supposition. The PA /ta/ gave rise to a long open vowel in the Modern Khmer form, /ta/, whereas a short *a* vowel is usually expected in Khmer when Sanskrit has the “inherent” vowel. Then it seems odd that a stem should have been borrowed rather than a complete form, e.g. /tad/. On the other hand, one cannot, I think, point to a monosyllabic word with open inherent vowel borrowed from Sanskrit; we do not therefore have a precedent to make this a valid objection. We may, then, at least consider the possibility that the Khmers did borrow a Sanskrit stem in the very literary context of the inscriptions, a borrowing from which the exclusively literary particle, Modern Khmer /ta/, was to develop, and that the pronunciation of the particle developed in accordance with its written form, as did that of PA /ka/ > Modern Khmer /ka/ ‘to construct/. Perhaps

Sanskritists would have other ideas about this. One thing is certain: if /ta/ was a loanword of this kind, it was PA which adapted to the loanword rather than the loanword to PA!

5. Conclusion.

It is clear that in addition to loanwords which were borrowed because there was no Khmer word available there were many which were borrowed for other reasons: to elevate the style of the inscription; to give the prestige of an Indian name; to express a nuance which a new word could express better than the old. Finally, words were borrowed without reasons, by unconscious absorption and imitation. An instance of the Sanskritisation of Khmer is to be seen in the PA forms /tmuran/ and /svāyān/, where Sanskrit inflexions have been given to Khmer /tmur/ 'ox' and /svāy/ 'mango'. A habit of turning to Sanskrit for help was formed already in the pre-Angkor period and was to continue, with intervals of turning to Pali or French, until modern times. It has been suggested that the Khmer language was not able to express what it needed to express at the PA stage and had to be made a suitable vehicle for expression; that by the time of Angkor improvement through borrowing had been achieved and thus it was that more was written in Khmer than in the PA period. This would seem to be at least partly true; but we should remember too that this period of Khmer history when the Sanskrit language was admired as the vehicle *par excellence* of literary expression was not likely to be conducive to experiments in native styles of composition.

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¹Some of these topics were treated by Kalyan Kumar Sarkar in *Early Indo-Cambodian Contacts* (Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, 1968: 16-27) but with general reference to Old Khmer, i.e. both pre-Angkorian and Angkorian.