THE INFIX /-b-/ IN KHMER

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Affixation in Khmer is not only one of the most
characteristic and important features of the language.
It is also a singularly vast, incompletely explored,
and therefore rewarding field of investigation.

A certain number of preliminary studies have
already been made by contemporary scholars and their
predecessors, thanks to whom we now have a few works
of widely varying approach, detail, and interest.   All
scholars who have addressed themselves to this task
would, however, probably agree that much remains to be
done before the manifold and complex aspects of the
problem have been sorted out.   In particular, a
thorough diachronic study of Khmer would no doubt
show the complexity of derivational processes which
are themselves the result of normal lexical develop-
ment and/or the dialectal variations of wordbases.

Until recently studies of Khmer affixation
carried out since the time of Wilhelm Schmidt had
been far from complete.   This quality was owing not
only to their falling short of investigating all of
the materials available from the spoken language and
from written documents, a chronic and inevitable
difficulty, but also to the circumstance that method
of investigation were too conservative to account fo
the complex problems involved.   Some writers, for ex
ample, tended to overemphasize the elusive relation-
ship between wordbases and derivatives.   It was not

il 1969, when Philip N. Jenner completed his
volutionary" doctoral dissertation,[1] that a broadly
ceived approach to the problem cast much new light
derivational processes in Khmer and led the way to
ter comparisons with other Mon-Khmer languages.

The aim of the present paper is to describe in
e depth, in this new light, one small feature of
er affixation. I have chosen the infix /-b-/, one
the less productive infixes but one of the most
gmatic and instructive, in order to show the dimen-
ns of the larger problem.[2]

I. OLD KHMER[3]

We have very few instances in OK of derivatives
h infix /-b-/. Seven of these, fortunately, illus-
te various aspects of its function:

. gur ~ gvar, 'to draw a line, make a drawing'
  > kpvar ~ khpvar, 'a drawing, pattern, map'.[4]

. car ~ cār, 'to place things in line', hence 'to
  write, to engrave, to make a fence, to groove,
  to plow'
  > cpar ~ chpār, canpar, 'a garden, a planta-
  tion',[5] a very common derivative occurring in
  numerous inscriptions. It is striking to see
  that sometimes (very rarely) an initial c- of
  the wordbase becomes y- in the initial cluster
  of the derivative, *e.g.* ypar.[6]

. *tañ, the Mon-Khmer word for 'to weave, to
  braid', never occurs as such in OK, but we fre-
  quently come across the derivative tmāñ
  'weaver', a slave among others.

. tir, 'to sew either clothes or tree-leaves'
  > tpir ~ thpir, 'roll of record made of sewn
  material, probably cloth'.[7]

. ram, 'to dance'
  > rapam ~ rpam and rmām, 'dancer', a slave among
  others.[8]

. rañ, 'to bar the way, to support, to bear'
  > rapañ, 'fence'.[9]

. sit, 'to pour water from a container into
  another'

> spit dik, 'ritual pouring of water by a donor into the hand of the recipient to consecrate a gift' (dik, 'water').[10]

2. Despite the small number of items preserved in th inscriptions, we are justified in drawing from them certain conclusions which may throw light on the relationship of Khmer to other Austroasiatic languages and on the development of infix /-b-/ in later stages of Khmer itself.

While OM had an infix /-w-/, OK had -p-, both used for forming nominal derivatives. Like OM /-w-/, OK -p- has allomorphs, i.e. -ap- as in rapaṃ 'dancer' and -Np- as in canpar 'garden'. The occurrence of th latter speaks of the possibility of syllabic infixation with -p- in the case of wordbases with a simple initial consonant. As far as nonsyllabic infixation is concerned, we must keep in mind that this consonan may be the palatal stop c- (which may alternate with the palatal fricative y-), since this will account fo a few rare syllabic derivatives in MK of the same structure, most of which have hitherto escaped the notice of investigators.

As is shown in item 5, -p- has the allomorph /-m-/ in the same wordbase in which -p- occurs; this -m- yields the same noun-derivative as -p-, with no further semantic development. This is exceptional, if not the only exception, in Khmer where these two infixes normally have separate functions.

Regarding grammatical function, -p- derivatives seem to fall into four groups:

> (a) *Resultative* -p-:
> kpvar 'map'
> cpar 'garden'
> tpir 'roll of record'[11]

(b) *Agentival* -p-:

   rpaṃ ~ rmāṃ, lit. 'one who dances'

(c) *Processive* -p-:

   spit dik 'the ritual pouring of water
   ...', since the idea contained in word-
   base sit, 'to pour water', has devel-
   oped into an act performed for ritual
   purposes.

In this connection, I ought to say a few more
ds about item 3. At first glance, it would appear
make no sense to quote an agentival derivative
-āñ 'weaver', since we are concerned with /-b-/.
the form t-p-āñ actually occurs in OK inscrip-
ns[12] as well, as a proper name. Since we know
t most Khmer proper names are taken from the common
abulary, it is reasonable to consider tpāñ as an-
er derivative of *tañ and to interpret it as 'the
of weaving'.

(d) *Instrumental* -p-:

   rapañ 'fence', lit. thing used for
   barring the way to eventual intruders.

II.   MIDDLE AND MODERN KHMER

For the purpose of this paper, Middle Khmer,
ending from the 14th to the 18th century, may be
sidered together with modern Khmer.   This is not
irely an arbitrary grouping inasmuch as processes
affixation in one period show striking similarities
those in the other.   It goes without saying, more-
r, that the number and variety of documents repre-
ting both stages of the language increase sharply
we approach recent times.

From the evidence we have, it appears that infix
-/ was most productive during the early Middle
er period, after which time its productivity waned,
ing virtually to a standstill in the present day.

As far as I know, only two or three derivatives have been created from it during the 20th century, and even these were formed by scholars and never passed beyond the written language.

1. *Preliminary remarks*

There are 72 /-b-/ derivatives that I know of (see Annex). This number includes some of those which have been inherited from OK and have been mentioned above. I do not propose to analyze these derivatives since a good deal has already been done in this domain.[13] My main purpose is limited to adducing supplementary information which may prove useful not only in the investigation of Khmer but also in future comparative studies.

The wordbases in question are all monosyllables, except two dissyllabic verbs which are loans: /reaksaa/ 'to protect' (< Sanskrit rakṣa) and /tuunmiən/ 'to train, teach' (< Sanskrit damana, via Sm). But whatever their form in other respects, all have simple initials which combine with /-b-/ into initial clusters, *e.g.* /soon/ 'to mould into shape' > /sboon/ 'the womb'.

This latter fact is of primary importance in that it has a bearing on which wordbases are liable to take /-b-/. We should expect wordbases with initial /k-, c-, t-, s-, l-, r-/, for example, to yield derivatives with initial /kb-, cb-, tb-, sb-, lb-, rb-/. An exception, however, occurs in the series: since MK does not admit the cluster */yb-/, we find the allomorph /-ob-/ inserted in wordbases with initial /y-/ instead of mere /-b-/: /yul/ 'to understand' /yobɒl/ 'opinion, idea'. Note that

.s is peculiar to MK, inasmuch as OK had yp-
ɪngside cp- (*cf.* supra, I: 1.2).

In fact, infix /-b-/ shows two allomorphs:
ɪb-/ and /-ɴb-/, both yielding dissyllabic deriva-
ʲes. While the first is seen occurring with two
ɪes with initial /y-/, the second is seen in only
ɪ case: /ʔat/ 'to be puny' > /ʔəmbaat/ 'baby
ɪse'.[14] Otherwise for derivatives of this shape we
ɪt posit two stages of derivation, first /-b-/,
ɪn /-ɴ-/. These stages are exemplified by OK toṅ
ɪ play a percussion instrument' > OK *tpoṅ 'playing
 percussion instruments', > MK /dəmbɔɔŋ/ '*drum-
ɪck > stick, staff'[15] and /cap/ 'to seize, begin' >
ɔap/ 'literary composition; code' > /cəmbap/ 'to
ɪstle'. The following may be considered in this
ɪter light (*vid.* Annex for glosses):

/tuunmiən/	> */tboonmiən/	> /dəmboonmiən/
/cuə/	> */cbuə/	> /cəmbuə/
/kat ~ kut ~ kit/	> */kbot/	> /kəmbot/
	and /kbɤt/	> /kəmbɤt/
/kal ~ kael ~ kil/	> */kbal/	> /kəbael ~ kəbɤl ~ kəmbɤl/
/kuəc/	> */kbuəc/	> /kəmbuəc/
/sok/	> */sbok/	> /səmbok/

The distribution of /-b-/ with wordbase initials
 no less striking. Our inventory of derivatives
ɪeaks down as follows:

1	wordbase	beginning	with	ʔ
2	wordbases	beginning	with	y
3	wordbases	beginning	with	s
6	wordbases	beginning	with	d ~ t[16]
6	wordbases	beginning	with	c
8	wordbases	beginning	with	k

18 wordbases beginning with l

28 wordbases beginning with r

The preponderance of forms with initial /l-/ (23%) and /r-/ (38%) is noteworthy. In this connection we must bear in mind the frequent neutralization of the opposition /lb-/ : /rb-/, as is seen in the following:

/rọọy/ 'to strew' > /rbaoy ~ lbaoy/ 'sliced vegetables served strewn on a dish of spicy food, especially vermicelli'

/rọọy/ 'to fade away' > /rbaoy ~ lbaoy/ 'becoming rare'

/riət/ 'to roam about' > /rbaat ~ lbaat/ 'patrol, sentinel'

It is tempting, in this light, to merge the two groups into a larger one (about 61%) and set up the archicluster /Lb-/. As matters stand, however, it is safer not to carry the analysis so far.

2. *Processes of Derivation: Grammatical Function*

Somewhat paradoxically, Old Khmer throws less light on the problem at hand than modern Khmer. The reason for this is the limited volume of documentation and the consequent scarcity of data. It seems evident, moreover, that with the passage of time the Khmer lexicon has undergone a kind of mellowing process, becoming gradually richer in meanings along with the development of literature and the maturation of mentality. Thus our infix /-b-/, by reason of long association with wordbases in the process of semantic development, itself acquired the capacity to yield derivatives of multifaceted semantic values bespeaking different stages along this line of development (*cf.* 3).

The data listed in the Annex show that most
rdbases--all except item 12 (/cuə/ 'line, row') and
əm 69 (/sok/ 'placenta')--are verbs exhibiting the
ual modes of predication, whether action or attri-
tion, *e.g.*:

/caa/ 'to draw a line, to groove'
/lẹẹ̣ŋ/ 'to play'
/rəəh/ 'to choose, select'
/yul/ 'to see, to understand'
/ruŋ/ 'to be large, broad'
/rɯŋ/ 'to be hard, strong'
/riəŋ/ 'to be placed in a row, continuous'
/ruəh/ 'to be alive'

Normally infix /-b-/ yields derivatives that do
t belong to the same grammatical category as the
rdbase; in other words, a verb produces a noun,
ch as:

/kiəh/ 'to make a quick stroke'	/kbiəh/ 'a diacritic sign which consists of two strokes'
/lup/ 'to erase'	/lbɒp/ 'eraser'
/lɔɔk/ 'to groove'	/lbɒɒk/ 'grooving tool'
/lɔəh/ 'to shoot forth'	/lbah/ 'tender leaves'
/rɔọm/ 'to crowd around'	/rbaom/ 'horsefly'

There are, however, a few exceptions comprising
rdbases which yield derivatives of the same
tegory:

/cap/ 'to seize'	/cəmbap/ 'to wrestle'
/cuə/ 'line, row'	/cəmbuə/ 'lineage, ancestors'
/luəh/ 'to be inter-mittent'	/lbɒh/ 'at wide intervals'
/rɔọy/ 'to fade away'	/rbaoy/ 'becoming rare'

We see, therefore, that a verbal wordbase may yield a
verb, though this is rather rare. Generally, infix
/-b-/ yields a noun or several nouns, according to
the degree of semantic development of the base. Thus
/leah/ 'to depart with' > /lbah/ 'departing with' but
also /leah/ 'to give up one's belongings' > /lbah/
'giving up one's belongings as alms', or /riiŋ/ 'to
be dried up by evaporation' > /rbeeŋ/ 'fish dried up
in evaporated ponds' but also /riiŋ/ 'to be emaciated
because of ill health' > /rbeeŋ/ 'tuberculosis'.

However, this may not be the end of the process.
We must bear in mind that Khmer--at least spoken
Khmer--is a basically verbal language. Thus a word
originally representing an object or idea may become
predicative without morphological change. For ex-
ample, /riət/ 'to roam about' > /lbaat/ 'patrol, sen-
tinel' > /lbaat/ 'to mount guard'.[17] Only this fact
can account for the loss in some cases of originally
predicative wordbases;

> /lɔɔŋ/ 'to try, to test' /lbɒɒŋ/ 'test, experi-
>   ment'
>   ↓
>   /lbɒɒŋ/ 'to try, to
>   test'
>
> */taaɲ/ 'to weave'   /tbaaɲ/ 'weaving'
>   ↓
>   /tbaaɲ/ 'to weave'

In the first instance, /lɔɔŋ/ 'to test' is now re-
stricted to the sense of 'to haunt' (of ghosts),
while in the second case, the original */taaɲ/ has
been replaced by the new verb /tbaaɲ/.

In terms of grammatical function our /-b-/ de-
rivatives may be grouped as follows:

(a) *Processive* /-b-/

As suggested in Section I, /-b-/ may mark a
development of the simple predication of the wordbase

...to a corresponding predication viewed as a process:

ut/ 'to temper' (metals)	> /lbɒt/	'tempering of metals'
iə/ 'to unroll, unfold'	> /lbaa/	'development'
iəy/ 'to mix'	> /lbaay/	'mixing up'
əək/ 'to build'	> /lbaək/	'building of monuments'
·iəp/ 'to put in place'	> /rbiəp/	'arrangement'
ʌum/ 'to weep'	> /yobɒm/	'weeping'

b) *Specializing* /-b-/

These derivatives contain a specific aspect developed from the idea of the base:

cuə/ 'line'	> /cəmbuə/	'lineage, ancestors'
cap/ 'to seize'	> /cəmbap/	'to wrestle'
luəh/ 'intermittent'	> /lbɒh/	'to be placed at wide intervals (as trees in an open forest)'
riiŋ/ 'to be dried up'	> /rbeeŋ/	'fish dried up in evaporated pond'
rǫǫy/ 'to fade away'	> /rbaoy/	'becoming rare (as fruit at the end of the season)'

c) *Resultative* /-b-/

This is the most productive role of /-b-/:

caa/ 'to groove, to low'	> /cbaa/	'garden'
kuu/ 'to draw a line'	> /kboo/	'decorative design'
kuu/ 'to write'	> /kbuən/	'book of formulas; method'[18]
lu/ 'to hear'	> /lbey/	'fame, reputation'
liə/ 'to develop'	> /lbaa/	'narrative account, chronicle'
liəy/ 'to mix'	> /lbaay/	'mixed soil; half-breed (cattle)'
lɔəh/ 'to shoot forth'	> /lbah/	'buds, tender leaves'

/rum/ 'to wrap, to roll in'	>	/rbom/ 'roll, spool, reel'
/rɛɛŋ/ 'to plait'	>	/rbaeŋ/ 'basketry'
/rəəh/ 'to find'	>	/rbaeh/ 'foundling'
/riən/ 'to learn, study'	>	/rbiən/ 'knowledge, magic'
/yul/ 'to understand'	>	/yobɒl/ 'opinion, idea'

(d) *Qualitative* /-b-/

In the case of attributive wordbases, infix /-b-/ yields noun-derivatives which represent a quality:

/lwən/ 'to be quick'	>	/lbwən/ 'speediness'
/ruŋ/ 'to be large'	>	/rboŋ/ 'force, energy'
/rwŋ/ 'to be hard, strong'	>	/rbɤŋ/ 'strength'

(e) *Agentival* /-b-/

/lup/ 'to spread over'	>	/lbap/ 'silt, alluvium'
/rǫǫm/ 'to crowd around'	>	/rbaom/ 'horsefly'
/riət/ 'to roam about'	>	/lbaat/ 'sentinel, patrol'
/riəl/ 'to spread all over'	>	/rbaal/ 'epidemic disease'
/reaksaa/ 'to protect'	>	/lbaksaa/ 'guardian spirits, *manes*'
/reaŋ/ 'to obstruct'	>	/rbaŋ/ 'protecting escort; eye-shade'

(f) *Instrumental* /-b-/

/dal/ 'to pound'	>	/tbal/ 'mortar'[19]
/cook/ 'to shovel up'	>	/cbook/ 'trident used for fishing'
/lic/ 'to disappear into or behind'	>	/lbec/ 'stratagem'
/lup/ 'to erase'	>	/lbɒp/ 'eraser'
/ruŋ/ 'to push forward'	>	/rboŋ/ 'kind of rake used for moving ricestacks'
/rɔɔŋ/ 'to bar the way'	>	/rbɒɒŋ/ 'fence'
/ruəl/ 'to heat just up to the boiling point'	>	/rbuəl/ 'kind of cooking pot'
/soon/ 'to mould into shape'	>	/sboon/ 'womb'

. To bring this brief discussion to a close, I
choose two items from the list appended to illustrate
the complex lines of semantic development that are
often involved in any investigation of derivational
processes.

a) /lꞮəy/ 'to mix,   /lbaay/:
      interbreed'

                        'mixing up' (Proc.)
                        'mixed soil' (Res.)
                        'half-bred cattle' (Res.)
                        'mixed colors' (Res.)
                        → 'to paint with colors'
                        'grey and black hair'
                        (Spec.)

b) /ləək/   /lbaək/:

   'to put up (game),   'hunting party' (Proc.)
   to hunt'

   'to build, edify'   'building of monuments'
                         (Proc.)

   'to compose'   'composing of poems, books'
                         (Proc.)

   'to carry forward   'carrying forward' (Proc.)
   (operation)'

   'to make decorative   'a kind of silk material
   pattern'   woven in geometrical
                         pattern' (Res.)

Annex

LIST OF DERIVATIVES

1. */taaɲ/ 'to weave' > /tbaaɲ/ (originally 'weaving') 'to weave' > /təmbaaɲ/ 'weaving'.

2. OK toṅ 'to play a percussion instrument' (> MK /tuəŋ/ 'to beat a drum', *cf.* /thɒɒŋ/ 'to beat (a drum) with the elbows') > /dəmbɒɒŋ/ (originally 'drumstick') 'stick, staff'.

3. /tuunmiən/ 'to train, teach; to advise, counsel' > /dəmboonmiən/ 'teaching, advice'.

4. /daw/ 'to put a mark on, brand' > /dəmbaw/ 'sore, ulcer'.

5. /dal/ 'to pound (young rice to be dried as /ʔəmbok/) > /tbal/ 'mortar'.

6. /daot/ 'to thread; to spit, skewer' > /tbot/ 'to insert meat or fish in a split piece of bamboo for roasting'.

7. /coc/ 'to press with a finger' > /cboc/ 'to pinch with the fingers'.

8. /cook/ 'to shovel up' > /cbook/ 'trident with barbed prongs (used in fishing)'.

9. /caa/ 'to draw a line; to carve, groove; to plow' > /cbaa/ 'garden, plantation' (*cf.* Khasi /kpɛr/ 'garden').

10. /cap/ 'to seize, catch; to undertake, begin; to set about or down, compose' > /cbap/ 'literary composition (restricted in the Middle Khmer period to a didactic genre; hence, by restriction) ethical text, precept, rule, regulation, law'; > /cəmbap/ 'to wrestle'.

1. /caeh ~ cah/ 'to be bright, shining' > /cbah/ 'to be clear, distinct'.

2. /cuə/ 'line, row' > /cəmbuə/ 'lineage, ancestors'.

3. /kuu ~ kuə/ 'to draw a line; to place (things) one after the other; to write, calculate' > /kboo/ 'decorative design (occurring usually in the chiming compound /kbac kboo/; *vid.* /kbac/) and /kbuən/ 'row, line (obsolete); literary composition; book of formulas; method or customs to follow'.

4. /kiəh/ 'to shove aside, make a quick stroke with a finger or writing implement' > /kbiəh/ 'diacritic consisting of two strokes'.

5. /kom/ 'to assemble, flock together' > /kbɒm/ 'to be round and firm'.

6. /kat ~ kut ~ kit/ 'to cut (up, off, down)' > /kəmbot/ 'to be truncated, amputated' and /kəmbɤt/ 'knife'.

7. /kac/ 'to break; to draw a broken or jagged line' > /kbac/ 'drawing, decorative pattern'.

8. /kal ~ kael ~ kil/ 'to trim' > /kəbael ~ kəbɤl ~ kəmbɤl/ 'to cut down to the base or root'.

9. /kɒɒŋ ~ kɒŋ/ 'to lift and carry in both arms' > /kbɒŋ/ 'to scoop up with both hands; to raise the joined hands to the forehead in the *añjali*'

10. /kuəc/ 'to move in a spiral; to make a knot' > /kəmbuəc/ 'to gather and twist (as long hair, grass, the neck of a bag)'.

11. /ʔat ~ ʔaat/ 'to be tiny, puny (of certain birds

and fruit)' > /ʔəmbaat/ 'baby louse; person of
no consequence'.

22. /lic/ 'to disappear into or behind' > /lbec/
    'stratagem, trick, ruse'.

23. /lɯ/ 'to hear; to be carried far (of rumor or
    reputation)' > /lbey/ 'fame, reputation; to be
    far-famed, renowned'.

24. /lwən/ 'to be quick, rapid' > /lbwən/ 'speed,
    quickness, rapidity'.

25. /lup/ 'to cover over, obliterate, fill up' >
    /lbɒp/ 'eraser' and /lbap/ 'silt (spread over
    the banks of a river)'.

26. /lut/ 'to temper' > /lbɒt/ 'tempering, temper
    (of metal)'.

27. /luk/ 'to be asleep' > /lbɒk/ (sometimes altered
    to /səbɒk/) 'space of a sleep, short while'.

28. /liə/ 'to unroll, unfold, develop' > /rbaa ~
    lbaa/ 'unfolding, development; narrative account
    (specifically in /rbaa ksat/ 'royal chronicle')'.

29. /liə/ 'to take leave, bid farewell; to wish to
    avoid' > /lbaa/ 'negative wish, desire to avoid'.

30. /liəy/ 'to mix; to interbreed' > /lbaay/ 'mixing
    up; mixed soil (especially sand with clay);
    grey-and-black (hair); half-bred (cattle); mixed
    colors, > to paint with colors'. For the last
    gloss the *VK* suggests the form /rbaay/ (*cf.* Sm
    /raʔbaay/).

31. /lɛɛŋ/ 'to play' > /lbaeŋ/ 'game, amusement'.

32. /ləək/ 'to raise, set up; to put up (game),
    hunt; to magnify, celebrate; to construct, edify,
    compose a book, make decorative patterns' >

/lbaək/ 'hunting party; building of monuments; making of poems or books; kind of silk material woven in geometrical patterns'.

3. /lɔɔk/ 'to groove (wood)' > /lbɒɒk/ 'groove, slot; grooving tool'.

4. /lɔɔŋ/ 'to try, test (obsolete; now /lɔɔ/) > /lbɒɒŋ/ 'test, experiment (obsolete); to try, test'.

5. /lɔəh/ 'to shoot forth, to grow' > /lbah/ 'buds, tender leaves'.

6. /leak/ 'to nick (wood)' > /lbak/ 'nick, break in an incline'.

7. /leah/ 'to part with, to give up, to abandon' > /lbah/ 'parting with; giving up of one's belongings as alms'.

8. /luəŋ/ 'to console, comfort, *soothe*' > /lbuəŋ/ 'consolation, soothing (obsolete); to coax, to wheedle'.

9. /luəh/ 'to be intermittent, be placed or come about at intervals' > /lbɒh ~ rbɒh/ 'at wide intervals; open forest'.

0. /riiŋ/ 'to be dry, esp. by means of evaporation; to become emaciated because of ill-health' > /rbeeŋ/ 'fish dried up in evaporated ponds; tuberculosis'.

1. /rum/ 'to wrap, to roll' > /rbom/ 'roll (of paper or pieces of cloth)'.

2. /ruɲ/ 'to push forward' > /rbɒɲ/ 'kind of rake used for moving ricestacks'.

3. /ruk/ 'to push by force' > /rbok/ 'implement to get into a hole, such as a bottle cleaner, or

a stick used for chasing rodents out of a hole'.

44. OK /ruŋ/ 'to be large, broad' > /rboŋ ~ lboŋ/ 'force, energy; magnitude'.

45. /rɰp/ 'to seize and carry off; to confiscate' > /rbɤp/ 'confiscating; person whose property is confiscated'.

46. /rɰŋ/ 'to be hard, strong, stubborn' > /rbɤŋ/ 'strength; to be very stubborn, determined'.

47. /rẹy/ 'to make a subscription, to give a contribution to' > /rbay/ 'contribution of the population to the wealth of government (obsolete)'.

48. /rɛɛŋ/ 'to plait' > /rbaeŋ/ 'plaited work of split bamboo; basketry'.

49. /rọọm/ 'to surround, crowd around (as a mob or insects)' > /rbaom/ 'horsefly'.

50. /rọọy/ 'to fade away, become rare' > /rbaoy ~ lbaoy/ 'becoming rare (such as fruit at the end of the season, or a reduced mass)'.

51. /rọọy/ 'to sprinkle, strew' > /rbaoy ~ lbaoy/ 'sliced vegetables served strewn on a dish of spicy food'.

52. /rɔɔk/ 'to look for; to earn one's living (mostly pronounced /rɔɔ/) > /rbɒɒ/ 'occupation, profession, means of livelihood'.

53. /rɔɔŋ/ 'to bar the way; to support, bear' > /rbɒɒŋ/ 'fence'.

54. /rəə/ 'to raise, to take something out of a set; to eject half-digested food through the mouth > /rbəə ~ lbəə/ 'ejected putrid food of a corpse'.

45. /reəh/ 'to choose, select; to find' > /rbaəh/ 'foundling; private belongings selected and incorporated into government's property (obsolete)'.

46. /riəp/ 'to put in place, in order; to arrange, organize' > /rbiəp/ 'order, method; arrangement, disposition; procedure'.

47. /riət/ 'to roam about' > /rbaat ~ lbaat/ 'sentinel, patrol; to keep watch, to mount guard'.

48. /riən/ 'to learn, study' > /rbiən/ 'learning, knowledge (restricted to magical knowledge); magical formula'.

49. /riəŋ/ 'to be placed in row, in order; to be continuous, well-arranged' > /rbiəŋ/ 'balustrade, in particular, one encircling a *bihār*'.

50. /riəl/ 'to spread all over' > /rbaal/ 'epidemic disease'.

51. /rɔəp/ 'to count, to take or consider things one by one' > /rbɒɒp/ 'order, good manners and *customs*'.

52. /rɔəm/ 'to dance' > /rbam/ 'dance'.

53. /reaksaa/ 'to guard against, to protect' > /lbaksaa/ 'spirits, especially guardian spirits, *manes*'.

54. /reaŋ/ 'to obstruct' > /rbaŋ/ 'protecting escort; eye-shade'.

55. /reah/ 'to mark the end of a chapter by a sign' > /lbah ~ rbah/ 'sign used to mark a chapter; a chapter'.

56. /ruəl/ 'to heat up to the boiling point' >

/rbuəl/ 'cooking pot with perforated bottom used for steaming'.

57. /ruəh/ 'to be alive, to exist' > /rbɒh/ 'that which exists, thing, object'.

58. /soon/ 'to mould into shape' > /sboon/ 'womb'.

59. /sok/ 'placenta' > /səmbok/ 'litter (of animals); family; nest'.

70. /saəy/ 'to turn or tuck up' > /sbaəy/ 'to be relieved'.

71. /yum/ 'to weep' > /yobɒm/ 'weeping'.

72. /yul/ 'to see; to understand' > /yobɒl/ 'opinion, idea, view'.

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[1] Philip N. Jenner, *Affixation in Modern Khmer*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1969. The two principal contributions of this morphological study are (1) an unprecedented conception of wordbase variation and (2) an original categorization of affixes by function. In the present paper I use Jenner's terminology.

[2] Abbreviations:
     IC = G. Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, 8 volumes, 1937-66.
     K. = Inventory number of inscriptions.
     MK = Middle and modern Khmer.
     OK = Old Khmer.
     OM = Old Mon.
     Sm = Siamese.
     VK = *Vacanānukram khmaer*, 2 volumes, 1967.

[3] Rather than employing reconstructions of OK phonological forms, I cite all OK forms in transliteration. Note that the infix /-b-/ at issue is the reflex of OK -p-.

[4] *Cf.* K.542 (*IC* III: 223) or K.470 (*IC* II: 188). Worth noting in derivatives with infix -p- is the peculiar change of base-initial g- to k- (or kh-) whereas derivatives with infixes -m- and -n- preserve g- as the first member of the resulting clusters: gnvar 'number, amount' (K.254, *IC* III: 185-6, B) and gmvar 'number, amount' (K.165, *IC* VI: 134).

[5] Another derivative: caṃnar 'engraving, inscription; fence'.

[6] K.153, *IC* V: 195, line 6.

[7] K.207 (11th century), *IC* III: 18, line 13. Another derivative of tir is tmir 'sewer, one who sews', seen in tmir slik 'one who makes containers or boxes of tree-leaves'.

[8] Rapam in K.137 (pre-Angkorian), *IC* II: 116, line 8; rpam in K.155 (pre-Angkorian), *IC* V: 65, line 2; rmāṃ in K.276 (11th century), *IC* IV: 164, line 23.

[9] K.344, *IC* VI: 162, line 38.

[10] K.137, *IC* II: 116, line 3.

[11] *Tpir, as G. Cœdès has pointed out, has been lost in Khmer but preserved in Sm /thaʔbian/ daḥpīyen 'record; roll of register; catalogue; inventory' [McFarland, 406b].

[12] K.18, *IC* II: 146.

[13] Again see Jenner, *Affixation* ..., especially sections on morphophonemics.

[14] We posit for /ʔat/ a variant /ʔaat/. Another derivative of this base is /kʔat/ 'tadpole'.

[15] OK toñ became MK /tuuŋ ~ tuəŋ/ 'to beat a drum' rather than MK */dɒɒŋ/, though the latter form has survived in /thɒɒŋ/ 'to beat (a drum) with the elbows'.

[16] Wordbases with initial /d-/ yield primary derivatives in /tb-/ because of the nonoccurrence of clusters beginning with voiced stops.

[17] A fuller analysis of this feature would go beyond the scope of the present paper.

[18] The final /-n/ in /kbuən/ reflects back-borrowing from Sm: OK kpvar ~ khpvar > Sm /khaʔbuan/ > MK /kbuən/.

[19] This instrumental derivative occurs in many Mon-Khmer languages, *e.g.* Mnong Gar, Maa, Biat and Srê /mpal/, Bahnar /təpal/, Chrau /lapal/, Stieng and Riang /pal/, Wa /po/, Palaung /bar/, and Jeh /ʔapal/.