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 development 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 for the complex problems involved. Some writers, for example, tended to overemphasize the elusive relationship between wordbases and derivatives. It was not
April 1969, when Philip N. Jenner completed his "revolutionary" doctoral dissertation,¹ that a broadly received approach to the problem cast much new light on derivational processes in Khmer and led the way to better comparisons with other Mon-Khmer languages.

The aim of the present paper is to describe in depth, in this new light, one small feature of Khmer affixation. I have chosen the infix /-b-/ as the less productive infixes but one of the most pragmatic and instructive, in order to show the dimensions of the larger problem.²

I. OLD KHMER³

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

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

2. car ~ cār, 'to place things in line', hence 'to write, to engrave, to make a fence, to groove, to plow' > cpār ~ chpār, canpar, 'a garden, a plantation',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

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

4. tir, 'to sew either clothes or tree-leaves' > tpīr ~ thpīr, 'roll of record made of sewn material, probably cloth'.⁷

5. raṃ, 'to dance' > rāpām ~ rpam and rēm, 'dancer', a slave among others.⁸

6. raṅ, 'to bar the way, to support, to bear' > rāpaṅ, 'fence'.⁹

7. 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').

2. Despite the small number of items preserved in the 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 rəpam 'dancer' and -Np- as in canpar 'garden'. The occurrence of the 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 consonant may be the palatal stop c- (which may alternate with the palatal fricative y-), since this will account for 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'
(b) **Agentival** –p–:

\[ \text{rpam} \sim \text{rmam}, \text{lit. 'one who dances'} \]

(c) **Processive** –p–:

\[ \text{spit dik 'the ritual pouring of water ...', since the idea contained in word-base slit, 'to pour water,' has developed into an act performed for ritual purposes.} \]

In this connection, I ought to say a few more words about item 3. At first glance, it would appear to make no sense to quote an agentival derivative -\( \text{\textalpha} \text{n} \) 'weaver', since we are concerned with /-b-/. The form t-p-\( \text{\textalpha} \text{n} \) actually occurs in OK inscriptions as well, as a proper name. Since we know that most Khmer proper names are taken from the common abulary, it is reasonable to consider t\( \text{\textalpha} \text{n} \) as another derivative of *\( \text{\textalpha} \text{n} \) and to interpret it as 'the of weaving'.

(d) **Instrumental** –p–:

\[ \text{rapa} \text{h 'fence', lit. thing used for barring the way to eventual intruders.} \]

II. MIDDLE AND MODERN KHMER

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

From the evidence we have, it appears that infix -/ was most productive during the early Middle 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. My main purpose is limited to adding 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 */tuunmiə/ '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' > */sfoon/ '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-/*: */yuɁ/ 'to understand' /γoβɁ/ 'opinion, idea'. Note that
s is peculiar to MK, inasmuch as OK had yp-
ongside cp- (cf. supra, I: 1.2).

In fact, infix /-b-/ shows two allomorphs:
/db-/ and /-nb-/ , both yielding dissyllabic deriv-
atives. While the first is seen occurring with two
bases with initial /y-/ , the second is seen in only
the case: /?at/ 'to be puny' > /?embaat/ 'baby
use'. 14 Otherwise for derivatives of this shape we
must posit two stages of derivation, first /-b-/ ,
then /-n-/ . These stages are exemplified by OK toñ
b play a percussion instrument' > OK *tpoñ 'playing
percussion instruments' , > MK /dømbøñ/ ' *drum-
ick > stick, staff' 15 and /cap/ 'to seize, begin' >
cap/ 'literary composition; code' > /cømbap/ 'to
nestle'. The following may be considered in this
latter light (vid. Annex for glosses):

/tuunmiən/ > */tboonmiən/ > /dømboonmiən/
/cue/ > */cbue/ > /cømbue/
/kat ~ kut ~ kit/ > */kbot/ > /kømbot/
and /køyt/ > /kømbøyt/
/kal ~ kael ~ kil/ > */kbal/ > /købael ~
køyl ~
kømbøyl/
/kuec/ > */kbuəc/ > /kømbuəc/
/sok/ > */sbok/ > /sømbok/

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

1 wordbase beginning with ?
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:

/rɔɔy/ 'to strew' > /rbaɔy ~ lbaɔy/ 'sliced vegetables served strewn on a dish of spicy food, especially vermicelli'

/rɔɔy/ 'to fade away' > /rbaɔy ~ lbaɔy/ 'becoming rare'

/riɛt/ '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 safest 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 rdases—all except item 12 (/cve/ 'line, row') and item 69 (/sok/ 'placenta')—are verbs exhibiting the dual modes of predication, whether action or attribution, e.g.:

/caa/ 'to draw a line, to groove'
/leŋ/ 'to play'
/reŋ/ 'to choose, select'
/yl/ 'to see, to understand'
/rnŋ/ 'to be large, broad'
/rnŋ/ 'to be hard, strong'
/rnŋ/ 'to be placed in a row, continuous'
/rnŋ/ 'to be alive'

Normally infix /-b-/ yields derivatives that do not belong to the same grammatical category as the rdase; in other words, a verb produces a noun, such as:

/kibeh/ 'to make a quick stroke'
/kbiæh/ 'a diacritic sign which consists of two strokes'
/lup/ 'to erase'
/lbəp/ 'eraser'
/lo̞k/ 'to groove'
/lbəok/ 'grooving tool'
/lo̞gh/ 'to shoot forth'
/lbəh/ 'tender leaves'
/ro̞m/ 'to crowd around'
/rbaom/ 'horsefly'

There are, however, a few exceptions comprising rdases which yield derivatives of the same category:

/cap/ 'to seize'
/cəmbap/ 'to wrestle'
/cve/ 'line, row'
/cəmbuə/ 'lineage, ancestors'
/lə̞b/ 'to be inter-
mittent'
/lə̞bəh/ 'at wide intervals'
/ro̞q̊y/ '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' > */labah/ 'departing with' but also */leah/ 'to give up one's belongings' > */labah/ 'giving up one's belongings as alms', or */rīn̂/ 'to be dried up by evaporation' > */rīn̂/ 'fish dried up in evaporated ponds' but also */rīn̂/ 'to be emaciated because of ill health' > */rīn̂/ '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 example, */riat/ 'to roam about' > */labat/ 'patrol, sentinel' > */labat/ 'to mount guard'. Only this fact can account for the loss in some cases of originally predicative wordbases:

*/loc̄/ 'to try, to test' */baan̄/ 'test, experiment'

*/loc̄/ 'to try, to test'

*/taan̄/ 'to weave' */baan̄/ 'weaving'

*/taan̄/ 'to weave'

In the first instance, */loc̄/ 'to test' is now restricted to the sense of 'to haunt' (of ghosts), while in the second case, the original */taan̄/ has been replaced by the new verb */baan̄/.

In terms of grammatical function our */-b-/* derivatives 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:

\[ \text{'to temper'} \text{ (metals)} \rightarrow \text{'tempering of metals'} \]
\[ \text{'to unroll, unfold'} \rightarrow \text{'development'} \]
\[ \text{'to mix'} \rightarrow \text{'mixing up'} \]
\[ \text{'to build'} \rightarrow \text{'building of monuments'} \]
\[ \text{'to put in place'} \rightarrow \text{'arrangement'} \]
\[ \text{'to weep'} \rightarrow \text{'weeping'} \]

b) Specializing /-b-/:

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

\[ \text{'line'} \rightarrow \text{'lineage, ancestors'} \]
\[ \text{'to seize'} \rightarrow \text{'to wrestle'} \]
\[ \text{'intermittent'} \rightarrow \text{'to be placed at wide intervals (as trees in an open forest)}' \]
\[ \text{'to be dried up'} \rightarrow \text{'fish dried up in evaporated pond'} \]
\[ \text{'to fade away'} \rightarrow \text{'becoming rare (as fruit at the end of the season)}' \]

c) Resultative /-b-/:

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

\[ \text{'to groove, to flow'} \rightarrow \text{'garden'} \]
\[ \text{'to draw a line'} \rightarrow \text{'decorative design'} \]
\[ \text{'to write'} \rightarrow \text{'book of formulas, method'} \]
\[ \text{'to hear'} \rightarrow \text{'fame, reputation'} \]
\[ \text{'to develop'} \rightarrow \text{'narrative account, chronicle'} \]
\[ \text{'to mix'} \rightarrow \text{'mixed soil; half-breed (cattle)}' \]
\[ \text{'to shoot forth'} \rightarrow \text{'buds, tender leaves'} \]
(d) Qualitative /-b-/ 

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

/ˈwən/ 'to be quick' > /ˈbən/ 'speediness' 
/ˈʌŋ/ 'to be large' > /ˈbɔŋ/ 'force, energy' 
/ˈʌŋ/ 'to be hard, strong' > /ˈbɔŋ/ 'strength'

(e) Agentival /-b-/ 

/ˈʌp/ 'to spread over' > /ˈbʌp/ 'silt, alluvium' 
/ˈroʊm/ 'to crowd around' > /ˈbɔm/ 'horsefly' 
/ˈriət/ 'to roam about' > /ˈbət/ 'sentinel, patrol' 
/ˈriəl/ 'to spread all over' > /ˈbəl/ 'epidemic disease' 
/ˈrəksəl/ 'to protect' > /ˈbaksəl/ 'guardian spirits, manes' 
/ˈrən/ 'to obstruct' > /ˈbən/ 'protecting escort; eye-shade'

(f) Instrumental /-b-/ 

/ˈdəl/ 'to pound' > /ˈbəl/ 'mortar'¹⁹ 
/ˈkʊk/ 'to shovel up' > /ˈkəbək/ 'trident used for fishing' 
/ˈlɪk/ 'to disappear into or behind' > /ˈlək/ 'stratagem' 
/ˈʌp/ 'to erase' > /ˈbəp/ 'eraser' 
/ˈʌŋ/ 'to push forward' > /ˈbɔŋ/ 'kind of rake used for moving ricestacks' 
/ˈroʊŋ/ 'to bar the way' > /ˈbɔŋ/ 'fence' 
/ˈrəʊl/ 'to heat just up to the boiling point' > /ˈbəl/ 'kind of cooking pot' 
/ˈsoʊn/ 'to mould into shape' > /ˈsəbən/ '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) /ˈɜːrɛɪ/ 'to mix, interbreed'

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

b) /ˈɜːrk/ 'to put up (game),
to hunt'
'to build, edify' 'building of monuments' (Proc.)
'to compose' 'composing of poems, books' (Proc.)
'to carry forward (operation)' 'carrying forward' (Proc.)
'to make decorative pattern'
'a kind of silk material woven in geometrical pattern' (Res.)
Annex

LIST OF DERIVATIVES

1. */taaŋ/ 'to weave' > */tbaaŋ/ (originally 'weaving') 'to weave' > */təmbaŋ/ 'weaving'.

2. OK toŋ 'to play a percussion instrument' (> MK /tuŋ/ 'to beat a drum', cf. */tbaŋ/ 'to beat (a drum) with the elbows') > */dəmbaŋ/ (originally 'drumstick') 'stick, staff'.

3. */tʊʊnmiŋ/ 'to train, teach; to advise, counsel' > */dəmboonmiŋ/ 'teaching, advice'.

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

5. */daŋ/ 'to pound (young rice to be dried as */təmbok/) > */tbaŋ/ 'mortar'.

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

7. */coč/ 'to press with a finger' > */cboč/ 'to pinch with the fingers'.

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

9. */caʊ/ 'to draw a line; to carve, groove; to plow' > */cboʊ/ 'garden, plantation' (cf. Khasi */kɛr/ 'garden').

10. */caŋ/ 'to seize, catch; to undertake, begin; to set about or down, compose' > */cboŋ/ 'literary composition (restricted in the Middle Khmer period to a didactic genre; hence, by restriction) ethical text, precept, rule, regulation, law'; > */cəmbaŋ/ 'to wrestle'.
1. /caeh ~ cah/ 'to be bright, shining' > /cbah/ 'to be clear, distinct'.
2. /cuə/ 'line, row' > /cəmbue/ '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' > /kəom/ 'to be round and firm'.
6. /kat ~ kut ~ kət/ 'to cut (up, off, down)' > /kəmbot/ 'to be truncated, amputated' and /kəmbət/ 'knife'.
7. /kac/ 'to break; to draw a broken or jagged line' > /kbac/ 'drawing, decorative pattern'.
8. /kal ~ kael ~ kəl/ 'to trim' > /kəbael ~ kəbəl ~ kəmbəl/ 'to cut down to the base or root'.
9. /kɔnə ~ kən/ 'to lift and carry in both arms' > /kbaŋ/ 'to scoop up with both hands; to raise the joined hands to the forehead in the anjali'
10. /kuec/ 'to move in a spiral; to make a knot' > /kəmbuec/ '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) > /ʔəmbaʔ/ 'baby louse; person of no consequence'.

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

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

24. /lÚwen/ 'to be quick, rapid' > /lbnen/ 'speed, quickness, rapidity'.

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

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

27. /lUK/ 'to be asleep' > /lbák/ (sometimes altered to /sébák/) 'space of a sleep, short while'.

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

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

30. /lley/ 'to mix; to interbreed' > /lbay/ '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. /læŋ/ 'to play' > /lbaŋ/ 'game, amusement'.

32. /læk/ 'to raise, set up; to put up (game), hunt; to magnify, celebrate; to construct, edify, compose a book, make decorative patterns' >
/λβακ/ 'hunting party; building of monuments; making of poems or books; kind of silk material woven in geometrical patterns'.

1. /λακ/ 'to groove (wood)' > /λβακ/ 'groove, slot; grooving tool'.

2. /λοη/ 'to try, test (obsolete; now /λο/) > /λβαη/ 'test, experiment (obsolete); to try, test'.

3. /λεη/ 'to shoot forth, to grow' > /λβαη/ 'buds, tender leaves'.

4. /λεκ/ 'to nick (wood)' > /λβαη/ 'nick, break in an incline'.

5. /λεαθ/ 'to part with, to give up, to abandon' > /λβαθ/ 'parting with; giving up of one's belongings as alms'.

6. /λωεη/ 'to console, comfort, soothe' > /λβωη/ 'consolation, soothing (obsolete); to coax, to wheedle'.

7. /λωεη/ 'to be intermittent, be placed or come about at intervals' > /λβωη ~ ρβωη/ 'at wide intervals; open forest'.

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

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

2. /ρυη/ 'to push forward' > /ρβοη/ 'kind of rake used for moving ricestacks'.

3. /ρυκ/ 'to push by force' > /ρβοκ/ 'implement to get into a hole, such as a bottle cleaner, or
a stick used for chasing rodents out of a hole'.

44. OK /run/ 'to be large, broad' > /rbon ~ lbon/ 'force, energy; magnitude'.

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

46. /wn/ 'to be hard, strong, stubborn' > /rbwn/ 'strength; to be very stubborn, determined'.

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

48. /wet/ 'to plait' > /rbaet/ 'plaited work of split bamboo; basketry'.

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

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

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

52. /ock/ 'to look for; to earn one's living (mostly pronounced /ooc/) > /rbap/ 'occupation, profession, means of livelihood'.

53. /oco/ 'to bar the way; to support, bear' > /rbaoc/ 'fence'.

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

5. /ɾəɛh/ 'to choose, select; to find' > /ɾbaɛh/ 'foundling; private belongings selected and incorporated into government's property (obsolete)'.

6. /ɾiɛp/ 'to put in place, in order; to arrange, organize' > /ɾbiɛp/ 'order, method; arrangement, disposition; procedure'.

7. /ɾiɛt/ 'to roam about' > /ɾbaat ~ ɾbaat/ 'sentinel, patrol; to keep watch, to mount guard'.

8. /ɾiɛn/ 'to learn, study' > /ɾbiɛn/ 'learning, knowledge (restricted to magical knowledge); magical formula'.

9. /ɾiɛŋ/ 'to be placed in row, in order; to be continuous, well-arranged' > /ɾbiɛŋ/ 'balustrade, in particular, one encircling a biḥār'.

10. /ɾiɛl/ 'to spread all over' > /ɾbaal/ 'epidemic disease'.

11. /ɾɔɛp/ 'to count, to take or consider things one by one' > /ɾbaɔp/ 'order, good manners and customs'.

12. /ɾɔɛm/ 'to dance' > /ɾbam/ 'dance'.

13. /ɾeaksaa/ 'to guard against, to protect' > /ɾbaksaa/ 'spirits, especially guardian spirits, manes'.

14. /ɾeæŋ/ 'to obstruct' > /ɾbaŋ/ 'protecting escort; eye-shade'.

15. /ɾeæh/ 'to mark the end of a chapter by a sign' > /ɾbah ~ ɾbah/ 'sign used to mark a chapter; a chapter'.

16. /ɾuɛl/ 'to heat up to the boiling point' >
/rbuf/ 'cooking pot with perforated bottom used for steaming'.

67. /rush/ 'to be alive, to exist' > /rbəh/ 'that which exists, thing, object'.

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

69. /sok/ 'placenta' > /sambok/ 'litter (of animals); family; nest'.

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

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

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

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1Philip 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.

2Abbreviations:

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.

3Rather 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-.

4Cf. 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).
Another derivative: caṃnar 'engraving, inscription; fence'.


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'.

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

K.344, IC VI: 162, line 38.

K.137, IC II: 116, line 3.

Tpir, as G. Caëdes has pointed out, has been lost in Khmer but preserved in Sm /tha?bían/ daḥpiyèn 'record; roll of register; catalogue; inventory' [McFarland, 406b].

K.18, IC II: 146.

Again see Jenner, Affixation ..., especially sections on morphophonemics.

We posit for /?at/ a variant /?aat/. Another derivative of this base is /k?at/ 'tadpole'.

OK toñ became MK /tuñŋ ~ tuŋŋ/ 'to beat a drum' rather than MK */dɔŋŋ/, though the latter form has survived in /tɔŋŋ/ 'to beat (a drum) with the elbows'.

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

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

The final /-n/ in /kbuŋŋ/ reflects back-borrowing from Sm: OK kpvar ~ khpvar > Sm /kha?buan/ MK /kbuŋŋ/.

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