

AFFIXATION IN MIDDLE KHMER WITH OLD AND MODERN COMPARISONS

This paper is a statement on Khmer affixation, based on a synchronic study of the language of the Middle Khmer (Mid.K.) inscriptions. The material was inscribed between the years 1566 and 1747 A.D., and is to be found in the form of 117 pages of print published by the Buddhist Institute of Phnom-Penh with the title '*Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor.*' The whole corpus has been examined. Other Khmer literature attributed to this period—the *Ream Ker* and the *cbap*, for example—has not been consulted specifically because the printed texts available to me depend on manuscripts which have been copied many times and could not possibly equal the inscriptions in reliability.

The method chosen for the presentation of this paper is intended to facilitate comparison with my earlier (1963) treatment of Khmer affixation, Old and Modern. The reader is referred to that article for the general discussion of the consonantal nature of Khmer affixes, their position between the initial of the base and its vowel-nucleus, and the phonetic features of juncture which usually occur. The whole of Section II of that article, dealing with the graphic/phonetic contexts in which prefixes and infixes occur, may be taken as applying to Mid.K. This leaves two of the three questions there posed to be treated with reference to Mid.K. The two questions are:

1. What phonological elements are prefixed or infixes?
2. What grammatical functions do they perform?

It is proposed to discuss these two questions and at the same time to compare the answers with the Old and Modern findings of the previous article. A complete list of the collected data, arranged according to the affix involved, is appended, with, where known, the equivalents in Old (O.K.) and Modern Khmer. (Mod.K.)

SECTION I.

The Phonological Elements Which May Be Prefixed Or Infixes

Table I shows the prefixes and infixes which have been found. An affix is regarded as established on a synchronic basis if an occurrence of the affixed form and its base has been found in the inscriptional material. *Affixes occurring only in a derivative, i.e. for which the base has not been found and for which the diachronic evidence of O.K. or Mod.K. is needed to prove their occurrence, are treated as only partially established for Mid.K.* Their entries in the table are in parentheses.

The Mid.K. affixes are compared with the O.K. findings in Table 2 and

Table 1
MIDDLE KHMER AFFIXES

Prefix Table			Infix Table		
	Single Consonant Prefixed	Two Consonants Prefixed	Single Non-nasal Consonant Infix	Single Nasal Consonant Infix	Two Consonants Infix
Velar	k	kN (kr)	p	m	mn
Palatal	c Rd. c	(cN) (Rd. cN)		n	rn
Dental	t	tN tr		N	
Bilabial	p [m]	pN pr			
Liquid	r l	rN lN			
Sibilant	s	(sN) Sr			
Glottal		?N			

Notes to the above table:

Rd. = Reduplicated.

() indicates that only the affixed form and no base was found in the Mid.K. material.

[] m is enclosed in square brackets because in all examples it is a reduction of muoy 'one' and as such does not merit inclusion.

TABLE 2
COMPARISON OF MIDDLE AND OLD KHMER AFFIXES

Prefix Table			Infix Table		
	Single Consonant Prefixed	Two Consonants Prefixed	Single Non-nasal Consonant Infix	Single Nasal Consonant Infix	Two Consonants Infix
Mid.K. lacks in comparison with O.K.	Rd. t Rd. n Rd. m	dN mr			
Common to both Mid.K. and O.K.	p	kN cN tN pN pr rN lN ?N	p	m n N	mn
Additional in Mid.K.	k c t r l s Rd. c	(kr) (Rd. cN) sr (sN)			m

with the Mod.K. affixes in Table 3. Y. A. Gorgoniev (1966), F. Huffman (thesis, 1967) and P. Jenner (thesis, 1969) have all treated Modern Khmer affixes much more fully than I have. All have postulated more affixes than I did in 1963. However for the purposes of establishing affixes in the limited material of the inscriptions and of making comparisons with Modern Khmer I have used the 1963 list. This contains only those affixes for which either a large number of examples can be found in Modern Khmer or for which the meanings of the examples are all very similar. The affixes which are common to all stages are shown in Table 4. The results of these comparisons are summarized in the following three paragraphs:

TABLE 3
COMPARISON OF MIDDLE AND MODERN KHMER AFFIXES

Prefix Table			Infix Table		
	Single Consonant Prefixed	Two Consonants Prefixed	Single Non-nasal Consonant Infixed	Single Nasal Consonant Infixed	Two Consonants Infixed
Lacking in Mid.K. in comparison with Mod.K.	Rd. k Rd. ŋ Rd. p Rd. t Rd. p, m Rd. m Rd. l Rd. s	cr			rm
Common to both Mid. and Mod.K.	k c Rd. c t p r** s	kN kr cN, Rd, cN tN tr pN pr rN lN sN sr ?N	p > b*	m n N	mn rn
Additional in Mid.K.	[**]	--	--	--	--

* The infix spelled p in Mid.K. is spelled p but pronounced b in Mod.K.

** Mod.K. has a prefix r ~ l. An allomorphic relationship between r and l would be difficult to establish for Mid.K. using only the synchronic material. However, it is not held that a prefix l of Mid.K. is lost in Mod.K.

Table 2. Comparison of Mid.K. with O.K. affixes.

Prefixes. The lack of reduplicated t, n and m as compared with O.K. is not a matter to which great weight should be attached. All the O.K. examples were in parentheses, indicating that the meanings were not completely established, and I have no further evidence of such prefixes since the time of writing the article.¹ The lack of the prefix dN in the Mid.K. material is also a slight matter. Again, the O.K. entry was in parentheses. In Mod.K.

reduplicative *tn* with second register, which would correspond to O.K. *dn*, occurs only as a reduplicating prefix. O.K. *mr* is also lacking. However, this is met in O.K. only in *mratāñ*, *mratāñ* and *mrateñ*, all of which may well be different forms of one title, and in three names, *mrasañ*, *mrasir* and *mrahañ*.

The section of the table in which affixes common to both O.K. and Mid.K. are entered shows a substantial number of two-consonant prefixes.

The most interesting information provided by the Mid.K. material in comparison with O.K. is its additions. In O.K. the main single consonant prefix was *p*; the main two-consonant prefixes were those composed of an occlusive consonant or *r*, *l*, *ʔ* with a nasal consonant. The striking additions in Mid.K. are the heterorganic single consonant prefixes, *i.e.* almost the same consonants without the nasal consonant.

Infixes. Here, the picture is very clear. Nothing is lacking in Mid.K. One infix (*rn*) is additional. However, since the total number of examples of the infixes *rn* and *rm* even in Mod.K. is very small compared with occurrences of other infixes, the absence of *rn* in O.K. is not surprising. Apart from this insignificant non-occurrence in O.K., the table indicates a remarkable stability in the infixes.

Table 3. Comparison of Middle with Modern Khmer affixes

Prefixes. First, an explanation is required about Mod.K. prefixes *Rd. d* and *b*, and about *dn*, *bn*. These are recorded as occurring in the prefix table of the 1963 article. *d* and *b* are imploded sonant initial consonants which occur in Mod.K. with first register vowel nuclei. The Mid.K. material is graphic only. No distinction in writing was yet clearly made between initial *t* and imploded or between initial *p* and imploded *b*.² The reader needs to realize that the absence in Mid.K. of *Rd. t*. and *Rd. p* represents a lack, in comparison with Mod.K. of *Rd. t*, *d*, *p* and *b*. Conversely, the presence of examples with *tn* and *pn* covers the development of Mod. *tn*, *dn*, *pn*, *bn*. Therefore *dn* and *bn* are not marked as lacking in Mid.K. in the two-consonant prefix column.

The table shows that, although a large number of Mod.K. affixes were operative already in Mid.K., a major development of reduplicative prefixes took place during the time between Mid.K. and Mod.K. Prefixation has thus been becoming more complex even while the grammatical effect of earlier affixes has been growing less and less clear. In Mod.K. reduplication of an initial consonant, of an initial consonant complex or of a whole word is a live, word-forming process, whereas the use of other affixes is more or less obsolete.

Infixes. The lack of the infix *rm* is not thought to be significant. (See remark *re* table 2). Apart from this, the same infixes are common to both states of the language. It should be noted that no features of affixation in Mid.K. have been lost to Mod.K.

Table 4
AFFIXES COMMON TO OLD, MIDDLE AND
MODERN KHMER

Prefix Table		Infix Table		
Single Consonant Prefixed	Two Consonants Prefixed	Single Non-nasal Consonant Infixed	Single Nasal Consonant Infixed	Two Consonants Infixed
p	kN cN tN pN pr rN* lN* ʔN	p > b	m n N	mn

* For Mod.K. these could be analyzed as allomorphs of a prefix, r ~ lN. For earlier states of the language, however, such an analysis is difficult to justify.

Table 4. Diachronic comparison of phonology

Prefixes. It is in the single-consonant prefix column that the main deficiency appears, when only affixes common to all stages are under consideration. O.K. lacked the variety of heterorganic single-consonant prefixes which are readily found in Mid.K. The latter lacked the reduplicative single-consonant prefixes which are current now.

With regard to the lack of heterorganic prefixed consonants, something may be offered by way of explanation. The Mid.K. material, though much smaller in quantity than the O.K., is richer in variety of subject matter. It contains passages of fervent prayer by devout Buddhists, information about the suppression of bandits, details of family bereavement, and even a long poem. Attributive verbs containing prefixes tend to belong to descriptive and lively language. Their meanings are narrower in comparison with their bases. This would apply at least to the examples of prefix k and to one example of prefix s given at the end of this paper. Perhaps, then, the lack of examples of these prefixes in O.K. may not mean that they were in fact absent from the language at that time. One might also argue that, if these prefixes were really an innovation from the 14th and 15th centuries A.D., their effect on the bases would surely be more distinct. There is also a possibility that some of the heterorganic prefixes

were in fact present in O.K. in the form of nasalized prefixes, *kN*, etc. Several words in O.K. with the form *CvNC(C)* are known to have lost *vN*: e.g., *kanmeñ* 'youth' (Mod.K. *kme:ŋ*); *tuñnot* 'sugar-palm' (Mod.K. *tnaot*); *ransi* 'bamboo' (Mod.K. *resvɿ*); *suñnāy* '*Salvadora capitulata*' (Mod.K. *sna:y*). None of these, unfortunately, is known to be an affixed form! However, such a process of reduction might have turned some of the nasalized prefixes of O.K. into the single-consonant prefixes of Mid.K.

With regard to the lack of reduplicative prefixes, words or pairs of words involving reduplicated initial consonants without prefixation are fairly common in Mid.K. The following have been noted in the inscriptions:

- akepp kakapp 'make an effort to move along quickly in a climbing or crawling position'
- khmī khmāt 'eagerly try to'
- komđir komdā 'be accompanied by, associated with'
- khyuh khyal 'tempest'
- khlap khlāc 'submit'
- khsem khsān 'peaceful'
- ghlāt ghlā 'separated'
- cañcim 'nourish'
- jiñ, probably for jañjiñ 'ponder'
- tomre tomrañ 'put to rights'
- thlā thlai 'pure, noble'
- dhan dhān 'belongings'
- pak papp 'crushed to the point of submission'
- pak paek 'broken in pieces'
- papuol 'incite, urge, suggest'
- bisai bises 'special, elevated'
- vañveñ 'err, stray from the way'

It seems possible that the occurrence of reduplicative prefixes came as a consequence of the occurrence of words with reduplicative initial consonants. It should be mentioned that alliteration is a conspicuous feature of all Khmer poetry, including that attributed to the Mid.K. period.

Infixes. Generally speaking the infixes have been the same from O.K. to Mod.K. The absence of the infixes *rn* and *rm* from O.K. and *rm* from Mid.K. has already been mentioned as being of slight consequence. One other qualification of the above statement is required. It concerns the infixes *m* and *n* occurring between the consonants of an initial sequence. Here modern practice is to confuse any nasal consonant in this position with *n*.³ In dictionaries, in erudite pronunciation and in writing an original *m* seems to be preserved, e.g. the causative *m* infix in *kəmcət* 'disperse' v.tr. from *khcat* 'scattered'. In general, however, speakers replace *m* or *n* by a nasal consonant of which the articulation is determined by the context. It is homorganic with a following occlusive consonant but seems to vary in

other contexts according to the speaker. I see in my data no evidence of any confusion in the spellings and misspellings of the Mid. K inscriptions. The causative *m* infix is written *m* in all instances. Examples of *n* (utensil) are lacking except where the base has a single initial consonant, but I now suspect that *n* was never, even in O.K., preserved between two consonants unless the nature of the second consonant was favorable to its preservation.

Looking at Table 4, one feels that, although it is limited by including only the affixes of O.K., it does contain the most common affixes to be found in a basic Khmer vocabulary. This would seem to be because reduplication—the chief development of the modern period—is chiefly involved in the vocabulary of descriptive language.

SECTION II

The Grammatical Functions Performed by the Prefixes and Infixes

First, something should be said about the interpretation of functions. For O.K. there were so few examples with definite known meanings that a function was claimed on the strength of one or two clear pairs of examples, derivatives and bases. For Mod.K. I have never felt that every instance of a derivative must reveal a function. I have rather applied the principle that for each affix the whole body of derivatives and bases should be consulted to see what functions seem conspicuous among them. For Mid.K. I first applied this principle synchronically. This process established that for many prefixes and two infixes no function can be demonstrated. Those for which a function can be demonstrated from examples in the Mid.K. material are entered in Table 5. It will be seen that some basic Khmer affixes had to be omitted because the examples did not satisfy the requirement that either a majority or a substantial minority of them should show the function clearly. The infix *n* (utensil) for instance is clear in two of the four Mid.K. examples but not in the others. Next, I applied a diachronic method. If a function was exemplified in O.K. or Mod.K. and even one example of it, with or without the base, occurs in Mid.K. with suitable meaning, the function is held to operate in Mid.K. Table 6 shows the functions thus established and a comparison of them with those of O.K. and Mod.K.

In Table 6 three items need a note of explanation.

- i. The list of grammatical functions. In the 1963 table Nos. 1(e) and 5-7 concerned Mon infixes and are omitted here. The only entry made in them for Khmer was a tentative ?N as a verbalizing prefix, based on one word *ampān* 'arrest' from *pān* 'get'. Since then I have met *ampān* as a verb and have even more doubt about the entry.
- ii. Mid.K. *t* and *p*. The reader is reminded that Mid.K. orthography, which is the sole basis for the Mid.K. study, does not for the most part distinguish between *t* and *d* imploded *d*, *p* and imploded *b*.² Thus in the

Table 5
FUNCTIONS OF MIDDLE KHMER AFFIXES
Synchronic Analysis*

Grammatical Functions **	Prefix	Infix
1. Nominalizing (a) General	pN, ?N, pr	mn, N
(b) Utensil	- -	rn
(d) Object made	- -	p
2. Causative	p, pN, pr	m
3. Frequentative	Rd. c	- -
6. Attributive verb	k, tr, r, l	- -

* The Mid K. prefixes c, t, s, kn, kr, cn, Rd. cn, tn, rn, sn, sr and infixes n (utensil) and m (agent) are left out of this table because their functions cannot be demonstrated from the examples only.

** The functions are numbered as in the 1963 article and as in Table 6. Omitted functions do not apply here.

table Mid.K. cannot be said to lack d or b, since there was only t or p with which to write them.

iii. *Re* Rd. c, it should be mentioned that O.K. does have a word *cicāy* which looks like a frequentative of *cāy* but which usually has a meaning 'spoil, do harm to', rather far removed from the meaning of *cāy* 'spend'. It was not entered in the 1963 table.

Comparison of Middle Khmer with Old Khmer

Mid K. lacks a prefix kn (nominalizing) and a prefix kn (proper name) as

Table 6

MIDDLE KHMER
Diachronic Comparison with Old Khmer and Modern Khmer Functions

Grammatical Function *	Mid.K. Affixes		Mid K. compared with O.K.		Mid.K. compared with Mod.K.	
	Prefix	Infix	Prefix	Infix	Prefix	Infix
1. Nominalizing (a) General	pN ʔN pr	mn N	Lacks N	Same	Lacks cN, tN, tr, m, lN, sN	Same
(b) Utensil	ʔN	n N rn	Has additional ʔN	Has additional rn	Same	Same
(c) Agent	--	m n	--	Same	--	Lacks rm
(d) Object Made	--	p	--	Same	--	Same (equivalent of Mod.K.b.)
2. Causative	tN, p, pN, pr, rN	m	Has additional pr, pN, tN*	Has additional m	Lacks cr	Same
3 Frequentative	RD. c Rd. cN	--	Has additional Rd. c*	--	Lacks Rd. k, t, p*, ʔ, ʃ, m, s	--
Intensifier	cN sN	--	--	--	Lacks Rd. c, m, -- s and kN, pr, lN, sr	--
4. Quantifier	--	--	--	Lacks n	--	--
5. Proper name	--	--	Lacks kN	--	--	--
6. Attributive	k, kr, kN tr, rl, l**, rN	--	Has additional k, kr, kN, tr, r, l**, rN	--	Same	--

* These references are to points made in the discussion of Table 6.

** See note ** to Table 3.

compared with O.K. For both of these prefixes there were plenty of examples in O.K., but the grammatical function was not very clear and they were only tentatively claimed in the table. No evidence of the infix *n* (quantifier) has emerged from the Mid.K. material. Only two examples were found in O.K. however.

Mid.K. affixes which perform the same function as in O.K. are: the general nominalizing prefixes (*pn*, *ʔnm*, *pr*); the causative prefix *p*; and the nominalizing infixes *mn*, *m*, *n*, and *p*.

The following prefixes are additional in Mid.K.: *ʔN* (utensils); the causative prefixes *pn*, *pr*, *tn*; reduplicated *c* and *cn*, intensifying *cn* and *sn*, and all the attributive verb prefixes. A new use of the infix *m* as a causative infix is clearly established. The infix *rn* (utensil) is also apparently new.

Comparison of Middle Khmer with Modern Khmer.

The Mid.K. functions as presented in this paper would not be numerous enough to be compared with the work on Mod.K. of Huffman (1967) or Jenner (1969), both of whom have given detailed analysis. My own list of functions for Mod.K., made for the 1963 article on the principles outlined above for the purpose of comparing them with the limited material of O.K., has the convenience of being easily referred to here.

Mid.K. lacks in comparison with Mod.K. several general nominalizing prefixes, a minor causative prefix, and almost all the reduplicative prefixes which are associated with frequentative and intensifying meanings. With regard to infixes, it lacks only *rm* (agent).

With the exception of the reduplicative prefixes just mentioned, Mid.K. and Mod.K. have similar prefixes for the same functions. Infixes, apart from *rm* (lacking in Mid.K.) are the same in both periods and have the same functions.

Mid.K. has no affixes which are not still known in the vocabulary of Mod.K. The Mid.K. examples for prefixes *pr* and *rn* suggest that their function was chiefly causative. This function, though still occurring in Mod.K. words with prefixes *pr* and *rn*, were not in fact entered for *pr* and *rn* in my 1963 table because other functions then seemed more characteristic of these affixes.

Diachronic comparison of functions.

The table shows several changes in affix functions, and in the affixes which perform the functions, during the centuries under consideration (7th – 20th centuries A.D.). Some have become fossilized. Some seem to have made their first appearance. Some are still live processes today.

Two O.K. functions—infix *n* (quantifier) and prefix *kn* (nominalization and proper name)—are not in evidence in the Mid.K. inscriptions. Although only two examples could be produced for the former while the latter was only tentatively claimed, each had a justification, the one by reason of Old Mon equivalents, the other because of numerous examples.

In the 1963 article (p. 68) I offered a few examples from Mod.K. which just might be relics of *n* (quantifier). For *kn* (nominalizer and proper name) I think it is possible that a remnant may be recognised in a small number of words such as *kəŋcas* 'old' (impolite word) from *cas* 'old' and in *kəŋchaot* 'easy to fool' from *chaot* 'stupid'. O.K. slave names often indicate characteristics of the person and did not have to be nouns.

The rest of the O.K. affixes have also arrived at a state of fossilization, even though there are hundreds of Mod.K. words in which they can be perceived. The fossilization may be described as follows. Although the function of many Mod.K. words containing an O.K. affix could in a given context be recognised by means of the affix, there are also many words of similar construction in the use of which the original function does not operate any more. In addition to this, other, newer affixes have confused the picture. The infix *m* occurring between two consonants, for example, can be nominalizing or causative, at least since the Mid.K. period.

The single prefixed consonants which form attributive verbs may have come into use in the Mid.K. period. Similarly the use of *m* as a causative infix has not been noted before then. There is some evidence that new formations with the latter are being made in modern times.⁴

The reduplicative prefixes (frequentatives and intensifiers) seem to have come into use much more fully since the Mid.K. period. The process of forming words by this method is still a live one. I think one may assume that at earlier stages the obsolete affixes were just as alive.

It would seem that over-complexity may have led to the decline in use of the other affixes. The proliferation of single consonant prefixes, and the freedom to put an infixed nasal in the sequence so created may have led to the separation of *cN* as a prefix.⁵ By the time that the nasal consonant was representing the nominalizing infix, the causative infix and the nasal element of a prefix, the pronunciation of *vn* was being reduced to an unrecognisable neutral vowel anyway (e.g., Mod. colloquial *kəsaoy* for literate *kəmsaoy*).

To summarize the diachronic situation in respect of functions without reference to the affixes themselves, the four main grammatical effects of the Khmer affixes have been nominalization, causation, attribution, and repetition or intensification of meaning. The first two were well attested in O.K. but are now obsolete to the extent that new methods are used for the creation of nouns (*ka:(r)* or *seckdy* plus verb) and new phrases express causation (*thv̄:* 'aoy, *nəm* 'aoy plus verb). The third, attribution, was just possibly new in Mid.K. times (but probably not) and is now more or less fossilized. The last seems to have developed considerably since Mid.K. times and to be definitely flourishing.

COMPLETE LIST OF COLLECTED MIDDLE KHMER DATA

Several derivatives and bases occur more than once and with a variety of spellings. It seemed desirable to give a reference for each item. Therefore a particular citation from the inscription—chosen largely for the clarity of its

meaning in the context—is given and it is represented faithfully with its spelling, whether or not this happens to be typical, helpful and satisfactory for comparison with other related words cited with it. References give the Cambodian number of the inscription (and not the Arabic) and the line of the occurrence, both being taken from the printed text. I have followed S. Lewitz (1970, 1971) in using A, B, etc. to indicate the face of the inscription. The sign + precedes the citation of a base, if such has been found in Mid.K. It therefore marks the pairs of words (derivatives + base) which form the synchronic evidence for the affixes placed in the tables without parentheses. The method of transliteration for Mid.K. is that of S. Lewitz⁶ and for O.K. that of G. Cœdès while the transcription for Mod.K. is my own (1968).

The spelling was being developed during the period covered by the inscriptions so as to keep up with changes of pronunciation. In some examples derivative and base may seem more unlike each other than they need, because one has the new spelling and one the old. Certain features of the spelling which may need explanation are:

- i. Gemination of the final consonant occurs as a device to mark the end of a word, as in O.K., or to indicate the shortening of a preceding vowel.
- ii. In words which have o in O.K. and the long inherent vowel in Mod.K., the Mid.K. spelling is either o or a.
- iii. New symbols were just coming into use to distinguish from e the vowel nuclei which were to become Mod.K. ae/ĕ: and ae/ÿ:. These occur only spasmodically in the earlier Mid.K. inscriptions.

The reader is reminded that aspiration or a short vowel may occur as features of juncture between the prefix and the initial consonant of the base. Similar features may precede an infix.

Single Consonant Prefixed

- k khcāt khcāy 38,11 ‘scattered’ + cāy 37,9 ‘spend’. Cf. O.K. cat ‘assign’, Mod.K. cat ‘send (a person)’, ca:y ‘spend’, cat-ca:y ‘organize (people)’, khcat-khca:y ‘scattered’.
- khjāpp 8,11 ‘firmly’. Cf. Mod.K. khcəp ‘firm’, cəp ‘join’ v.tr.
- c chpoñ 19,8 ‘older sibling, relative’ (never used with p-ūn ‘younger sibling’) + poñ 20,20 ‘older sibling’ (occurs frequently with p-ūn). Cf. Mod.K. cbo:ŋ, bo:ŋ, with similar meanings.
- Rd. c cacāy 27,14 ‘contribute’ (re several people) + cāy 37,9 ‘spend’ Cf. O.K. cicāy (?) which occurs chiefly with the sense ‘spoil, do harm to’. Mod.K. ca:y ‘spend’.
- t thleñ 3,17 ‘rise up’ + hleñ 34,23 ‘up’. Cf. O.K. tleñ ‘go up’, Mod.K. thlaəŋ ‘arrogant’, laəŋ ‘go up.’
- p phcañ 2,36 ‘do perfectly, perform as well as possible’ + cañ 38,44 ‘wish’. Cf. Mod.K. phcəŋ, cəŋ, with similar meanings. phcāñ in

phcāl phcāñ 38,39 'outwit, overcome'. Cf. Mod.K. phcañ 'defeat', phca:l-phcañ 'outwit, overcome', cañ 'be defeated'.

phdim 31,B,18 'put together for comparison, equal'. Cf. Mod.K. phtw̄m id., tùm 'yoke' v.tr.. Cf. also O. Mon, O.K. dnem 'yoked animal'.

phgat 2,36 'attend carefully to, ensure' + gat 38,39 'exact (of time)'. Cf. Mod.K. phkùət phkùət-phkùəñ 'provide, ensure', kùət 'provide, ensure', kùət 'exact (of time)'.

phjum 38,4 'place together' + jum 38,52 'around'. Cf. Mod.K. phcùm, cùm, with similar meanings.

phtiñ 38,5 'inform' + tyiñ 38,5 'know'. Cf. O.K. tyañ 'know', Mod.K. pdv̄ñ 'inform against, accuse', dv̄ñ 'know'.

phtur 31,B,23 'exchange'. Cf. Mod.K. pdo:(r) id., do:(r) 'barter'.

pjāpp 38,12 'fix, join together' v.tr. Cf. Mod.K. phcōəp id., cōəp 'join' v. intr.

plek 38,46 'special'. Cf. Mod.K. plaek id., laek 'different'.

prāpp 39,28 'quell, suppress'. Cf. Mod.K. pra:p id., ri:əp 'low-lying'.

priēñ 38,19 'close associate' + riēñ 38,27 'continue one after the other'. Cf. Mod.K. priəñ in priəñ-li:əñ 'neighbors', riəñ 'continue one after the other'.

[m] mnak 38,19 'one person + anak *passim* 'person'. Cf. O.K. anak, Mod.K. mnək, nək, with similar meanings.

msaen 38,44 'hundred thousand' + saen 11,15 'hundred thousand' (classifier). Cf. Mod.K. msaen, saen, with similar meanings.

mtoñ 25,29 'once' + toñ 31,B,4 'occasion, time'. Cf. Mod.K. mdo:ŋ, do:ŋ with similar meanings.

r ralañ 38,22 'going beyond, passing beyond' + lañ 9,49 'long (of time)'. Cf. Mod.K. rəlō:ŋ 'going beyond', lūəñ⁷ (i) 'going beyond' (ii) 'in the course of time'.

ralāy: occurs with raloc 16,24 'destroyed'. Cf. Mod.K. rəli:əy 'melted; destroyed', li:əy 'melt' v. intr.

rasāy 17,52 'released' + sāy 38, 46 'widely diffused'. Cf. Mod.K. rəsa:y 'undone, released', sa:y 'spread, diffused'.

l ltoḥ 6,A,41 'freed' + toḥ 31,B,22 'free, shake off' v. tr. Cf. Mod.K. rədōh ~ lədōh, dōh, with similar meanings.

s srūt occurs with its base rūt 39,17 'with all speed'. Cf. Mod.K.

sro:t ‘making haste’, sro:t-rù:t ‘with all speed’.

sliñ 10,8 ‘N. of a coin worth 4 *pād* + liñ 26, 20. Alternative form of tamliñ. Cf. O.K. sliñ, liñ ‘weight measures for silver’, Mod.K. slvŋ ‘N of an obsolete coin worth 4 ba:ṭ or 20 cents.’

Two Consonants Prefixed

- kN kammpān 38,6 ‘keep secret’ + pāmñ 38,53 ‘put as a screen, place in front of’. Cf. Mod.K. kōmbaŋ ‘secret’, baŋ ‘put as a screen, place in front of’.
- kanloñ 37,60 ‘pass (of time), be past, former’ + lañ 9,49 ‘long (of time)’. Cf. O.K. kanloñ ‘past, deceased’, Mod.K. kōnlə:ŋ ‘passed over; gone (of time)’, lùəŋ⁷ (i) ‘going beyond’ (ii) ‘in the course of time’.
- kumṭa⁸ 39,21 ‘cause to be together, cause to be companions’. Cf. Mod.K. kōmdə:(r) *id.*, də: ‘crossing-place, ferry’ (< Viet.)
- kr kra-em 38,48 ‘sweet, pleasant’. Cf. Mod.K. ‘aem sweet’.
- kraval 38,41 ‘trouble’. Cf. Mod.K. krəvəl in krəvəl-krəva:y ‘worry’, vùəl ‘go round; be disturbed in mind’.
- cN camlaek 37,53 ‘interesting’. Cf. Mod.K. cōmlaek *id.*, laek ‘different’.
- Rd. cN jañjaek 38,11 ‘split, severed (plural)’. Cf. Mod.K. cè:k ‘parted, separated’.
- jññjñ 13,17 ‘measure of weight’. Cf. O.K. jyeñ *id.*, Mod. cūəŋci:ŋ ‘weighing scales’, cūəŋcūŋ ‘consider, ponder’.
- tN dantap⁹ 32,30 ‘-teen (in numerals)’. Cf. O.K. tap ‘ten’, Mod.K. dōndəp ‘-teen’, dəp ‘ten’.
- dinhem⁹ 16,28 ‘swell up, be insolent’. Cf. Mod.K. dōŋhaəm ‘breath, air which is breathed’, haəm ‘puffed up, inflated’.
- tamñhae 38,50 ‘accompany’. Cf. Mod.K. dōŋhae ‘in procession’, hae ‘accompany’.
- tām̄mhlœn¹⁰ 34,23 ‘raise up’ + hlœn 34,23 ‘up’. Cf. O.K. tleñ ‘go up’, Mod.K. dōmlaəŋ ‘elevate’, thlaəŋ ‘arrogant’, laəŋ ‘go up’.
- tantin 39,20 ‘ask for hand in marriage; + tyin 38,5 ‘know’. Cf. O.K. tin ‘know’, Mod.K. dōndvŋ, dvŋ, with similar meanings.
- tamliñ, 21,16 ‘measure of weight smaller than jañjñ but greater than sliñ’. + liñ 16,B,8 ‘alternative form of tamliñ’. Cf. O.K. liñ, sliñ ‘weight measures for gold and silver’, Mod.K. dōmlvŋ, ‘weight measure approximately equivalent to 1 ounce (thlvŋ); weigh’.

- tr tra-āl 17,47 'joyful'. Cf. Mod.K. trə'a:l *id.*, 'a:l 'be eager to'.
- trakāl 31,B,6 'new, novel, interesting' + kāl 'time'. Cf. Mod.K. trəka:l, ka:l, with similar meanings.
- pN pambeñ 38,32 'fulfil' + beñ 38,47 'full'. Cf. Mod.K. bəmpə̀n, pə̀n, with similar meanings.
- paṃmpæk 36,13 'break' v.tr. + pæk 38,11 'broken'. Cf. Mod.K. bəmbæk, bæk, with similar meanings.
- pammpuoss 37,17 'cause to become a monk' + pūs 3,43 'be a monk'. Cf. O.K. pos 'be a monk', Mod.K. bəmbu:əs, bu:əs, with meanings as in Mid.K.
- pañcām 31,B,9 'serve as, be used as' + cāmm 38,6 'reckon, remember'. Cf. O.K. cam 'provide', Mod.K. bəncam 'pawn' v.tr., prəcam 'be for the use of, have reference to', cam, 'guard; remember'.
- pañccuh 4,B,21-2 'put down, place (ashes of the dead) ceremonially' + cuh 2,30 'go down'. Cf. O.K. cuh 'put down in writing', Mod.K. bəncəh 'cause to go down, cəh 'go down'.
- pandan 38,24 'soften' v.tr. + dan 38,8 'supple, soft'. Cf. Mod.K. bəntūən, tūən with similar meanings.
- pandātt 34,17 'yard-stick, ruler'. Cf. Mod.K. bəntə̀t *id.*, tə̀t in tə̀ŋ-tə̀t 'accurate'.
- pandūl 3,B,10 'words, speech' + dūl 32,14 'bear on the head, speak with respect'. Cf. O.K. pandval 'give order (*re* King's order), Mod.K. bəntu:l 'words, speech (royal vocabulary)', tū:l 'carry on the head, speak respectfully'.
- paṅgāp 17,73 'order' v.tr. + gāpp 38,22 'proper, suitable'. Cf. Mod.K. bəŋkə̀p, kə̀p, with similar meanings.
- pañhey 38,15 'finish' v.tr. + hey *passim* 'already'. Cf. Mod.K. bəŋhaəy, haəy, with similar meanings.
- pan-iss 2,24 'complete, final' + is 31,B,10 'all'. Cf. O.K. is 'all', Mod.K. bəŋ'əs, 'əs, with meanings as for Mid.K.
- pañket 19,11 'begotten, one's own (of a child)' + ket 8,6 'be born'. Cf. O.K. ket 'period of the waxing moon', Mod.K. bəŋkaət 'beget, give birth; one's own (of a child)', kaət 'be born, arise, happen; east'.
- pañkhān 38,5 'bring to naught, cause to be fruitless'. Cf. Mod.K. bəŋkha:n *id.*, kha:n 'miss, fail'.
- pañkus 38,25 'cause to go wrong' + khos 19,26 'wrong' adj. Cf.

Mod.K. *bəŋkhos*, *khos*, with similar meanings.

panluh 3,72 'cause to arrive, convey to' + *luh passim* 'by the time that, when'. Cf. O.K. *loh* 'as far as', Mod.K. *luh* 'when'.

pantāl 9,27 'lead to, produce a result'. Cf. Mod.K. *bōnda:l* 'result, lead to', *da:l* 'spread (like fire)'.
pansam 37,55, 'unite with, put together'. Cf. O.K. *sam*, *phsam* 'put together', Mod.K. *phsəm* 'unite'.

pañyol 18,35 'explain' + *yal* 38,28 'see'. Cf. Mod.K. *pūənyūəl* 'explain', *yūəl* 'see; understand'.

pr *prakop* 3,60 'confer' v.tr. + *kopr* 3,52 'endowed with, possessing'. Cf. Mod.K. *prəkɔ:p* 'furnished with, endowed with', *kɔ:p* 'having sufficient, being in a state of ease'.

pramūl 38,12 'gather together' v.tr. + *mūl* 38,12 'into a whole, together'. Cf. Mod.K. *prəmo:l* 'gather together' *mū:l* 'round; the whole'.

pratāp 34,10 'prepare, arrange'. The occurrence of *rantāp* 'offerings, gifts; prepare' 3,A,67 and of Mod.K. *prədap* 'arrange; utensil', *rūəndap* 'offerings', *lūmdap* 'sequence' suggests a root *tap* not found in Mod.K. but current in Mod. Mon, *təp* 'arrange in sequence'.

pravaeñ 34,24 'length' + *vaeñ* 39,74 'long (of time)'. Cf. O.K. *praveñ* 'length', *veñ* (?) 'long', Mod.K. *prəvaeñ* 'length', *vê:ŋ* 'long'.

rN *ramlān* 3,B,36 'wipe out, banish'. Cf. Mod.K. *rūmlɪ:əŋ id.*, *li:əŋ* 'clean up, wash'.

rammlaŋ 37,60 'pass (of time)' + *laŋ* 9,49 'long (of time)'. Cf. Mod.K. *rūmlɔ:ŋ* 'pass over, go beyond, past', *lūəŋ*⁷ (i) 'going beyond' (ii) 'in the course of time'.

randāh 24,32 'thunderbolt'. Cf. Mod.K. *rūəntəəh id.*, *təəh* 'hit with palm, clap'.

raŋgoh 24,32 'fall off, come loose, be loose, Cf. Mod.K. *rūəŋkūəh id.*, *kūəh* 'strike, beat'.

rantāpp 3,67 'offerings', 26,16 'prepare'. Cf. Mod.K. *rūəndap id.* Both would seem to relate, like Mid.K. *pratāp* 'prepare', *antāpp* 'next, after that' to a root **tap* not found in Khmer but current in Mod. Mon, *təp* 'arrange in sequence'; cf. also Mod.K. *lūmdap* 'sequence'.

IN *laŋtoḥ* 6,A,23 'free' v.tr. + *toḥ* 31,B,22 'free' adj. Cf. Mod.K. *rūmdəh* ~ *lūmdəh* 'free; v.tr., *dəh* 'take off (clothing), free' adj.

- sN samlaeñ 31,B,21 'friend'. Cf. Mod.K. samlaj *id.* The occurrence of Mid.K. sraleñ, 4,B,4 'love' v., O.K. slave-name sralañ, Mod.K. srəlan 'love' v. suggests a root *laj not yet found.¹¹ sanlap 38, 48 'feel faint, go weak'. Cf. Mod.K. sənlap *id.*, lap 'confused'. The occurrence of lap in the Ream Ker (III, p. 12, 1.9) 'rise in a cloud (*re dust*)' and of srəlap (*loc. cit.*) 'obscuring' and of trəlap (III, p. 22, 1.8) 'cloud over' suggest a literal 'obscuring' as the primary meaning of this base.
- sr sragat 2,16 'concentrate' + gat 38,39 'exact (of time)'. Cf. Mod.K. srəkùət in srəkùət-srəkùm 'concentrate in meditation', kùət 'exact (of time, quantity)'.
sralah 15,10 'clear, free'. Cf. Mod.K. srələh *id.*, lèh 'clear out of the way'.
srələñ 4,B,4 'love' v. The occurrence of Mid.K. samlaeñ 'friend', O.K. sralañ (slave-name), Mod.K. samlaj 'friend', srəlan 'love' v. suggests a root *laj not yet found.¹¹
- ?N ambi 32,21 'from' + biy 38,15 'about'. Cf. O.K. ampi 'from', Mod.K. ?əmpi: 'from, about', pi: 'from, about, at (of past time); ammcās 21,20 'master'. Cf. O.K. cas 'old', Mod.K. ?əmcas 'master', cas 'old'.
anle 2,40 'place' + le 26,8 'on, above'. Cf. O.K. anle, le, Mod.K. ?ənlv:, lv:, with similar meanings.
ańrūs 34,18 'file (metal tool)'. Cf. Mod.K. ?əńrù:s *id.*, rù:s 'file down'.
antəpp 3,27 'next, after that'. Cf. Mod.K. ?əndap 'level, order; ordinary'. Both would seem to relate, like Mid.K. pratəp 'prepare', rantəpp 'offerings; prepare' to a root *tap not found in Khmer but current in Mod. Mon, təp 'to arrange in sequence'.

Single Non-Nasal Consonant Infixed

- p lpā 38,15 'epilogue' + lā 39,49 'take one's leave'. Cf. Mod.K. li:ə 'take one's leave'.
rapien 38,17 'training, method'. Cf. O.K. ryyan 'learn'. Mod.K. rəbìan 'method, learning', rìan 'learn'.

Single Nasal Consonant Infixed

Where root has a single initial consonant

- m chmuōn 31,22 'business-man'. Cf. Mod.K. chmu:əp *id.*, cù:əp 'do business'.

- n khncøy 30,14 'cushion'. Cf. Mod.K. khnaøy *id.*, kaøy 'lean, rest'.
 khnos 37,56 'grater'. Cf. Mod.K. khnaos *id.*, kaos 'grate' v.
 phnūs 3,A,44 'the religious life, monkhood' + pūs 3, A, 43 'be a monk'. Cf. O.K. pnos (slave-name), pos 'be a monk', Mod.K. phnu:əs 'being a monk', bu:əs 'be a monk.'
 snoñ 3, A, 24 'paying back'. Cf. O.K. soñ 'repay', Mod.K. sno:ŋ 'replacement', so:ŋ 'repay'.

Where root has a 2-place initial consonant sequence:

- n, m banrāy¹² 38,12 'resplendent' + brāy, 4,C,22 'pretty, shimmering' Cf. Mod.K. puənri:əy, pri:əy with similar meanings.
 camboḥ, 3,A,18 'towards, directed to' + cboḥ 31,B,14 'towards' Cf. Mod.K. cəmpùəh, chpùəh, with similar meanings.
 camhut 31,B,29 'having the power to bring things to pass, efficacious' + chut 31, B, 33 'effective' (especially of wishes for the future). Cf. Mod.K. cəmhət 'effectiveness', chət 'effective', both used in connections with magic, prophecies, etc.
 camlañ 12, 15 'inaugurate + chloñ 10, 4 'start'. Cf. O.K. cloñ 'inaugurate', Mod.K. cəmlə:ŋ 'inaugurate, take across, copy (a written document), chlo:ŋ 'cross over, inaugurate'.
 camren 3, A, 77 'cause success, increase' + cren 9, 37 'many'. Cf. O.K. camren, cren, Mod.K. cəmrəən, craən with similar meanings.
 cañhān 9, 16 'food of monks'. Cf. Mod.K. cəŋhan *id.*, chan 'eat (*re* monks).'
 daṃmñan 34,11 'weight'. Cf. Mod.K. tùmŋùən *id.*, thŋùən 'heavy'.
 damlāk 38,32 'let fall' + dhlāk 38,12 'fall' Cf. Mod.K. tùmleək, thleək, with similar meanings.
 dumloy 38,22 'fault' + dhloy 38,12 'faulty, wrong'. Cf. Mod.K. thlò:y 'wrong' adj.
 gaṃmpañ 38,4 'the hands cupped together'. Cf. Mod.K. kəmbəŋ *id.*, kbəŋ 'cup the hands together'.
 gaṃmmrubh 37,49 'complete' v.tr. + grap 38, 28 'all'. Cf. Mod.K. kùmruṃ, krṃ, with similar meanings.
 jaṃmnœ 21,11 'illness'. Cf. Mod.K. cùmŋw̄: *id.* chw̄: 'ill'.
 jaṃrov 34,24 'depth'. Cf. Mod.K. cùmrv̄u *id.*, cr̄vu 'deep'.
 juṃrah 31,B,4 'clean' v.tr. + jrah 15, 10 'free, uncluttered'. Cf.

Mod.K. cùmɾə̀əh, crə̀əh, with similar meanings.

kaṃtiñ 9,29 'owing a debt, bonded, enslaved'. Cf. O.K. ktiñ 'debt', Mod.K. kəmdvŋ 'owing a debt'.

kaṃmrāl 12,16 'cover' n. Cf. Mod.K. kəmrɑ:l *id.*, kra:l 'laid'.

kañval 17,48 'trouble' n. Cf. Mod.K. kəŋvəl *id.*, khvəl 'troubled'.

kumsvoy 38,25 'weak'. Cf. Mod.K. kəmsaoy 'weak person; weak (of a person), khsaoy 'weak'.

kuṃlaṃñ 38,44 'strength' + khlañ 38,44 'strong'. Cf. Mod.K. kəmlaŋ, khlaŋ, with similar meanings.

pamre 34,8 'serve' + praə 39,27 'use the services of, command'. Cf. O.K. pamre, pre, Mod.K. bəmrəə, praə, with similar meanings.

paṃmros 8,7 'time or state of servitude', 37,47 'freed person' + pros 9,44 'set free, save'. Cf. Mod.K. bəmraos 'freed person', praos 'free, save (especially of saving of the Buddha)'.

pandəp 37,22 'next'. Cf. Mod.K. bəntdəp *id.*, phtdəp 'put next to each other'.

pandətt 34,17 'yard-stick, ruler'. Cf. Mod.K. bəntdət *id.*, phtdət in phtŋəŋ – phtdət 'meticulous', tət in tiəŋ – tət 'accurate'.

paŋgam 3,A,14 'greet respectfully with palms placed together'. Cf. O. K. paŋgam *id.*, Mod.K. bəŋkūm *id.* The occurrence of phkūm in phsəm-phkūm 'unite (in marriage)' suggests a root *kūm 'together'.

pantām 21,15 'instruction' + phtām, 16,12 'instruct'. Cf. Mod.K. bəndam, phdam, with similar meanings.

pararās (faulty spelling for *pamrās' which the context confirms) 34,8, used with pamre, 'serve in various ways'. Cf. Mod.K. bəmrəə-bəmrās 'take on any task that comes', praə-pras 'use in various ways'.

sam-āt 3,A,21 'clean up' + s-āt 38,2 'nicely turned out, presentable, pretty'. Cf. Mod.K. səm'a:t, s'a:t, with similar meanings.

samliñ 38,46 'stare at'. Cf. Mod.K. səmlvŋ *id.*, slvŋ 'still, fixed'.

səṃmrəpp 4,23 'for the use of, serving as' + srāp 38,50 'ready at hand'. Cf. Mod.K. səṃrap, srap, with similar meanings.

səṃmrec 38,15 'finish' v.tr. + srecc 38,18 'finished' Cf. Mod.K. səṃrac, srac, with similar meanings.

səṃnakk 3,B,9 'stay at, in'. Cf. Mod.K. səṃnak *id.*, snak 'stay overnight'.

- saṃtaeñ 12,14 'expound' + staeñ 38,34 'clear' Cf. Mod.K. sɔmdaeñ, sdaeñ, with similar meanings.
- saṃtec 1, 16 'Highness' + stac 2, 12 'prince'. Cf. O.K. stāc 'go' (royal vocabulary), Mod.K. sɔmdac 'Highness', sdac (i) 'prince' (ii) 'go' (royal vocabulary).
- taṃkal 36, 3 'place' v. Cf. Mod.K. dɔmkɔl id., thkɔl 'resting, supported'.
- tamlā 2, 9 'purity' + thlā 36, 2 'pure'. Cf. Mod.K. dɔmla:, thla:, with similar meanings.
- tāṃmhloeñ 34, 23 'raise up' + thleñ 3, A, 17 'rise up' + hloeñ 34, 23 'up, rising'. Cf. O.K. tleñ 'go up'. Mod.K. dɔmlaeñ 'elevant', thlaeñ 'arrogant', laeñ 'go up'.
- taṃmlaiy 37, 8 'cost' n. + thlai 38, 2 'valuable'. Cf. O.K. tlai 'dear', Mod.K. dɔmlay 'value', thlay 'dear; cost' v.
- taṃpar 34, 13 'instrument for scraping, gouging out'. Cf. Mod.K. dɔmba:(r) id., tba:(r) 'gouge out'.
- tāñvāy (sp. with ̃ pronounced ñ) 15,15 'offering' + thvāy 4,A,22 'offer'. Cf. O.K. tañhvāy, tvāy, Mod. dɔŋva:y, thva:y, with similar meanings.
- tumruñ, in tumreh tumruñ 36,27 'correct' v.tr. + trañ 38,17 'having regard to, touching upon'. Cf. Mod.K. dɔmrɔŋ, dɔmrae-dɔmrɔŋ 'correct' v.tr., trɔŋ 'straight, towards, touching upon'.
- mn amṃnāj 38, 42-3 'power' + āc 32,33 'have the power to'. Cf. O.K. āc, Mod.K. ʔɔmna:c, ʔa:c, with similar meanings.
- amṃnass 37,24 'the end, having gone through all' + is 30, 18 'all'. Cf. (O.K. is, Mod.K. ʔɔmnoh, ʔvs, ʔos, with similar meanings, ʔɔmnh 'from then onwards'.
- amṃnat 38,39 'endurance, deprivation' + 38,39 'be without, endure'. Cf. Mod.K. ʔɔmnot, ʔot, with similar meanings.
- amṃnoy 31,B,19 'gift' + oy *passim* 'give'. Cf. O.K. amṃnoy, oy, Mod.K. ʔɔmnaoy, ʔaoy, with similar meanings.
- bvumṃnak 2,6 'refuge'. Cf. Mod.K. pumṃnək id., pək 'attach to'.
- bvumṃnol 38,21 'speech' + bol 32,18 'say'. Cf. Mod.K. pumṃnɔ:l, pɔ:l, with similar meanings.
- caṃṃnañ 3,B,21 'desire' n. Cf. Mod.K. cɔmṃnoŋ id., cɔŋ 'desire', v.
- cumṃnañy 38,21 'entanglement' + cañy 38,14 'compose'. Cf. Mod.K. cɔmṃno:ŋ 'tying, state of being tied', cɔ:ŋ 'tie, string together, compose'.

damnāy 34,27 'prophecy' + dāy 38, 7 'prophesy'. Cf. Mod.K. tùmni:əy, ti:əy, with similar meanings.

dumnebv 26,10 'beginning with'. This word, current in O.K. and apparently borrowed from Skt. *damnepra*, seems to have given rise to a base, debv 9,25 'then, next', rather than *vice versa*! Cf. Mod.K. tùmny:p 'modern, recent', t̄v:p 'then, next'.

jamnum 8,4 'meeting, gathering' + jum 38,52 'around'. Cf. Mod.K. cūmnūm, cūm, with similar meanings.

guṃmnit 19,4 'thought' + git 3,B,35 'think'. Cf. Mod.K. kūmnūt, kūt, with similar meanings.

guṃnuor 38,9 'suitability, propriety, decorum'. Cf. Mod.K. kūmnū:ə(r) *id.*, kū:ə(r) 'proper'.

kaṃnāc 39,28 'badly-behaved person; badly-behaved (of a person)'. Cf. Mod.K. kōmna:c *id.*, ka:c 'behaving badly'.

kaṃnāt 38,12 'pieces' + kat 4,B,22 'cut'. Cf. Mod.K. kōmnat, kat, with similar meanings.

kuṃnaeñ 38,36 'miserly'. Cf. Mod.K. kōmnaṅ *id.*, kaṅ 'be very critical'.

kuṃnatr 31,B,32 'fixed, definite'. Cf. Mod.K. kōmnot *id.*, kōt 'fix, note down'.

kuṃnet 13,32 'birth' + ket 8,6 'be born'. Cf. O.K. ket 'wax (of moon)', Mod.K. kōmnaət 'birth', kaet 'be born, wax (of moon)'.

paṃnañ 39,29 'wish'. Cf. Mod.K. bōmno:ŋ *id.*, pō:ŋ¹³ 'wish'.

sāṃmnāñ 32,21 'construction, restoration' + sāñ 32,21 'construct, restore'. Cf. Mod.K. sōmna:ŋ 'that which has been constructed; one's destiny (which has been formed by earlier actions)', sa:ŋ 'construct, establish'.

samnal 38,32 'remainder' + sāly 38,6 'remain'. Cf. Mod.K. sōmnol, sol, with similar meanings.

saṃnūm 2,28 'request' n. + sūm 2,27 'request' v. Cf. O.K. sōm 'request' v., Mod.K. sōmno:m, so:m, with similar meanings.

taṃmnāc 37,51 'finished' + tec 10,18 'come to an end'. Cf. Mod.K. dōmnac, 'end, breaking off', dac 'torn, separated, ended'.

taṃmniñ 18,22 'witness' + tiñ 18,31 'know' Cf. O.K. tyañ, Mod.K. dōmnvṅ 'knowing, news', dvṅ 'know'.

taṃñiah 36,20 'continuation' + ãa 39,38 'join'. Cf. Mod.K. tōmno:, tō:, with similar meanings.

rn jranik 37,56 'digging-stick, spade' + jik 31,B,4 'dig'. Cf. Mod.K.

crəni:k ci:k, with similar meanings.

¹ In suggesting that I might have had further evidence, I refer to the 7th volume of *Inscriptions du Cambodge* by G. Coedès, which appeared in 1964 and to my own gradual building up of a glossary of the O.K. vocabulary which is still in progress.

² Devices for creating this distinction were being tried out during the two centuries of the Mid.K. inscriptions, showing that a differentiation in pronunciation was being made.

³ Here I am at variance with Huffman (1967), who maintains that causative m is preserved before any consonant, but am in agreement with Jenner (1969).

⁴ This I have by personal communication from S. Lewitz.

⁵ See Jenner, *op. cit.* p. 173 foll.

⁶ I have cited examples from inscriptions which Madame Lewitz has not yet published and have needed to represent words in the diacritic " occurred. This is placed over the appropriate consonant in the transliteration.

⁷ Modern Khmer has the shortened inherent vowel, an irregularity if the suggested relationships with Mod. rə̀b:ŋ and kə̀nɔ̀:ŋ are a fact.

⁸ The accent in the transcription represents a short vertical mark in a similar position in the Middle Khmer spelling.

⁹ dantap, dīnhem. Orthographic confusion here produces the Skt. sonant symbol possibly in the attempt to distinguish t and imploded d.

¹⁰ Also entered as an infix form, owing to the occurrence of Mid.K. of thleñ, which could be intermediate between hleñ and tām̄h̄leñ.

¹¹ As Jenner indicates, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

¹² The *Vacananukram Khmer* suggests for this word pūənrī:əy the derivation, Pali vaṇṇa + Khmer rī:əy. However, the possibility of its being an infix form from pri:əy seems worth considering. The Pali-Khmer combination seems uncharacteristic of Khmer compounds, unlikely to have had the ŋ pronounced, and difficult to understand!

¹⁴ A rare instance for a Mid.K. word having single initial p which is still pronounced p (and not b) in Mod.K. Owing to the spelling of the word, its infix derivative bə̀mnɔ̀:ŋ has the formal pronunciation with initial b.

REFERENCES

- Coedès, Georges. *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Vol. I-VII, Hanoi and Paris, 1937-64.
- Gorgoniyev, Yu. A. *The Khmer Language*, Moscow, 1966. (English translation of 1963 Russian text).
- Huffman, Franklin E. *Outline of Cambodian Grammar*. Thesis, Cornell University, 1967.
- Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor*, Buddhist Institute, Phnom-Penh, 1958.
- Jacob, Judith M., 'Prefixation and infixation in Old Mon, Old Khmer and Modern Khmer' in *Linguistic Comparison in South East Asia and the Pacific*, ed. H. L. Shorto, London, 1963.
- Jacob, Judith M., *Introduction to Cambodian*, London, 1968.
- Jenner, Philip N., *Affixation in Modern Khmer*, Thesis, University of Hawaii, 1969.
- Lewitz, Saveros. 'Inscriptions Modernes d'Angkor 2 et 3', *BEFEO.*, 1970:99-126 and 'Inscriptions Modernes d'Angkor 4, 5, 6 et 7' *BEFEO.*, 1971:105-123.