ANOMALOUS EXPANSIONS IN KHMER MORPHOLOGY

Philip N. JENNER
University of Hawaii

In the course of sifting data for a forthcoming lexicon of Khmer wordbases and derivatives Dr Saveros Pou and I have come upon a small number of derivative-like forms which, to the best of our knowledge and belief, have not been noted previously.¹ For want of a simpler term I have chosen to refer to these pseudo-derivatives as "anomalous expansions"---anomalous, because their formation deviates from systematic derivational possibilities as understood so far; expansions, because all of the forms in question are attributable to attested wordbases.

In order to describe this morphological class without undue ambiguity it is necessary to explain four terms which the description entails and to say something of normal processes of derivation.

The four terms in question are primary wordbase, secondary wordbase, primary derivative, and secondary derivative.

Primary wordbases in Khmer are conterminous with the minimal word and hence have the canonical form CV(F), in which C represents any permitted simple consonant. Examples: rámía /reɛŋ/² 'to obstruct, strain out'; loh /lɔh/³ 'to separate';

¹But see Saveros Pou, "Notes de morphologie khmère," in ASEMI, VI (1975).4: 63-9, especially section III, "Expansion anormale de la présyllabe," 67-8, which treats four of the anomalous expansions reported here.

²Khmer forms are cited in a strict indiantist transliteration of the original orthography followed by a phonemic transcription. Unless otherwise stated or shown, all phonemic forms represent the modern standard. In this case the acute (‘) marks the High Register and the grave (‘) marks the Low Register of fourteen otherwise ambivalent syllable nuclei.

³[luəh].
kāca /kaac/ 'to be bad, wicked'.

By the incorporation of one affix primary wordbases yield primary derivatives. These show three canonical forms, depending upon the shape of the affix:

- CCVF(F), in which CC represents any allowable binary consonant cluster. Example: sraṁā /sraŋ/ 'to sift, select', < rāṁā /reŋ/, as above.

- Crv− + CV(F), in which the presyllable is one of the series of so-called rhotacized prefixes to be mentioned shortly. Example: praloŋ /pralaŋ/ 'to be separated from one another', < loŋ /loŋ/, as above.

- Cvm− + -nVF(F), in which the presyllable is generated by the infixation of /-vnm-/ into a primary wordbase. Example: kamnāca /kamnaac/ 'to be consistently wicked', < kāca /kaac/, as above.

Primary derivatives of the shape CCVF(F) often function as secondary wordbases. That is to say, forms of this structure are at once the result of derivation from primary wordbases and are capable of serving as the point of departure for further derivation. Primary derivatives of the two other structures are not subject to affixation.

By the incorporation of one affix these secondary wordbases yield secondary derivatives. Depending on the shape of the affix, these show four canonical forms:

- C1CCVF(F), in which C1 is morphologically /R−/, defined as re-duplication of the secondary-wordbase initial. Example: kakhv'a'ka /kkwaŋ/ 'to be dirty, unkempt', < *khva'ka /kwak/, same meaning, < va'ka /wuk/ 'to be mixed up, in disorder'.

- Crv− + CV(F), in which the presyllable is again one of the rhotacized prefixes. Example: prajhloŋ /proclōŋ/ 'to quarrel with one another', < jhloŋ /clōŋ/ 'to differ, dispute', < loŋ /loŋ/, as above.

- Cvm− + CV(F), in which the presyllable is generated by the infixation of /-vnm-/ into a CCVF(F) syllable. Example: tamkænā /tamkaŋ/ 'to elevate, exalt', < thkænā /tkæŋ/ 'to be lofty', < kænā /kaŋ/ 'to be high'.
- Cvn- + CCV(F), in which the presyllable is one of a secondary set of prefixes added to a CCV(F) syllable. Example: ṛam-bhāya /ṛumphiəj/ '(of wind) to blow gently; to be cool', < bhāya /phiəj/ 'to spring up, shoot forth; to breathe', < bāya /pīəj/ 'to be scattered, strewn'.

Tertiary derivatives, so infrequent as to be almost rare, also occur. These have the canonical form Cvn- + CCV(F), precisely like the secondary derivatives just mentioned, but are the result of the infixation of /-vn-/ into a C1CCV(F) syllable. Example: jañjṛāmṇa /cuncreeŋ/ 'stubble', < ḍajjṛāmṇa /ccreəŋ/ 'to be all bristly', < jṛāmṇa /creəŋ/ 'to bristle', < -rāmṇa /-reeŋ/ 'to rise up, be stiff'.

Normal processes of derivation show four patterns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wb. + pfx + pfx</td>
<td>raña /roog/ 'to clarify (liquid)' tranā /troog/ 'to filter' kantraña /kontraaŋ/ 'bamboo strainer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wb. + ifx + ifx</td>
<td>tuta /dot/ 'to grill' tputa /dtot/ 'to hold in cooking-sticks' tamputa /dambot/ 'cooking-sticks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wb. + pfx + ifx</td>
<td>pana /baaq/ 'older sibling' cpana /cbaoq/ 'to be older, superior' campana /cambaaq/ 'to be oldest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wb. + ifx + pfx</td>
<td>dula /tul/ 'to bulge' dhula /thul/ 'to be chubby' kandhula /kanthul/ 'to be tubby'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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6 This interpretation is admittedly subject to debate. Secondary wordbases normally take only the syllabic infix /-vn-/ or one of the secondary set of Cvn- prefixes just mentioned. As far as my experience enables me to say, however, tertiary derivatives always have a word-initial which duplicates that of the secondary wordbase. In order to account for this duplication it seems reasonable to pass through the C1CCV(F) step, which is operative whether attested in a specific derivational chain or not.

7 The hyphen indicates that -rāmṇa /-reeŋ/ occurs only as a bound form. It is likely in this case, however, that the base is to be identified with rāmṇa /reeŋ/ 'to obstruct', cited previously.

8 Wb. = wordbase; pfx = prefix; ifx = infix.


10 The connotation is derogatory.
In considering the foregoing sets, note that the intermediate forms /traŋ/, /tbot/, /cbaŋ/ and /thul/ are primary derivatives of the primary wordbases above them and at the same time secondary wordbases of the secondary derivatives below them. It should be clear that these intermediate forms are a necessary step between the primary wordbase and the secondary derivative.

In reality, however, the derivational chain is not seldom broken. Interruptions arise from the absence of an existing or recognizable primary wordbase, from the absence of a secondary wordbase accounting for a secondary derivative, and from skewed semantic development on any of the three levels. In order to work out morphological relationships it is therefore often necessary to set up a hypothetical primary wordbase or primary derivative or to postulate a mediating gloss for one form which is in consonance with a deviant gloss and at the same time is justifiable by the other two forms.

As long as these procedural requirements are understood it will suffice to divide the anomalous expansions in question here into three general groups.

Group I

Group I comprises twenty-six members and is divisible into three subgroups.

Group I.A has only three members. One of these, the source of which is still in doubt, is an expansion of a tertiary derivative; the other two are expansions of secondary derivatives.

The characteristic of this subgroup is the presence of a short, nonneutral vowel in the presyllable, where a short neutral vowel would be expected. Since the word-initial in all three cases is /c-/ , it is not surprising that the anomalous vowel is /i > ì/.

\[11\] None of the expansions reported here can be dated. Since MKS 6:169-189 (c)1977 See archives.sealang.net/mks/copyright.htm for terms of use!
(1) ciñcõma /cinceêm > cèncaaêm/ 'eyebrows'. Expansion of *cañcõma /concõem > cancaaaêm/; cf. Old Khmer cançeêm /cõcõem/;
   < *cõcõma /cõcõem > ccaaaêm/ 'to surmount';
   < -cõma /-cõem > -caaêm/, allomorph of cõma /c'yım/ [cyım] 'to increase; to be over', attested in
cõnõma /cnnaaêm/ 'to be superior'.

(2) ciñcõnõ /cinceen̤ > cèncaaen̤/ 'to be bright, luminous'.
Expansion of *cañcõnõ /concõen̤ > cancaaaen̤/;
   < *cõcõnõ /cõcõen̤ > ccaaaen̤/ 'to be all light';
   < cõnõ /cõen̤ > caaen̤/ 'to be clear, light, bright'.

(3) ciñcram /cincram > cènram/ 'to chop, hash, mince'. Expansion of *cañcram /concram > cancram/;
   < *cram /cram/ 'to cut into small bits';
   < *cram /cram/ 'to be in small bits', presumably
   allomorph of sram /sram/ 'to be cracked, crack-
   led'.
   < yam /ram/ 'to be constant, repeated'.

Expansions of this particular kind are of scant linguistic
interest and need be regarded as no more than phonetic alter-
nants which penetrated the standard language by force of their
prevalence.

Group I.B comprises twenty members, all expansions of pri-
mary derivatives.

These are characterized by the intrusion between the ini-
the development of the registers was a gradual process which,
to all appearances, culminated only within the last century and
a half, it is necessary to take into consideration the Middle
Khmer value of all vowels deemed anomalous. In transcriptions
such as /cinceêm > cèncaaam/ the prior form represents Middle
Khmer while the latter form represents the modern standard form
developing out of it. In this first case, it is only in the
Middle Khmer form that expansion is seen at all, inasmuch as
the modern form of the presyllable is phonetically identical
with the Old Khmer presyllable: [cèn-].

12S. Pou and I have previously sought to explain this item
as a learned alteration of colloquial ciñjãm /côncoem/ 'to
chop, etc.', based on a late Middle Khmer *jãm /cam > coem/
borrowed from Chinese. See Saveros Pou and Philip N. Jenner,
item 145.
tial and postinitial of the latter of a nonneutral vowel, phonemically long or short but short on the phonetic level.

These forms cannot be divided into meaningful sets either on the basis of their intrusive vowel or on the basis of the vowel of the primary derivative from which they develop. Hence I list them all together in Khmer dictionary order.

(4) cēcūva /cēcūw > caaqcūow/ 'to serve as go-between, arrange a marriage'. Cf. also Middle Khmer cicū /cicu/, same meaning;
    Expansion of *cacūva /ccūw > ccōow/, same meaning;
    < -cūva /-cuw > -cōow/ 'to flatter, cajole', attested also in chūva /chōow/ 'to pump, worm information out'.

(5) dīdōra /tiitēr > tiitōr/\textsuperscript{13} 'to waver, be indecisive';
    Expansion of *dadōra /ttēr > ttōr/, same meaning;
    < dōra /ttēr > tōr/ 'to go or come half-way; to occur at mid-point'. Cf. Old Khmer der /dēr/, same meaning.

(6) dīdai /tiitej > tiitej/ 'to be different, distinct, separate'. Cf. Old Khmer didai /diidēj/, same meaning;
    Expansion of *dadai /ttēj > ttēj/, same meaning;
    < -dai /-tēj > -tēj/ 'to be other, different', attested in Old Khmer dai /dēj/, same meaning.

(7) dūlāya /tuulaaj > tuulīiēj/ 'to be open, broad, roomy, spacious';
    Expansion of dhlāya /tlaaj > tlīiēj/ 'to be open';
    < lāya /laaj > līiēj/ 'to spread'.

(8) pārāsa /baaraah > baaraah/ 'stray animal; outcast';
    Expansion of prāsa /praah/ 'to be parted, separated';
    Loan < Sanskrit prāsa, prāsta.

(9) pāi ōm /pēj lam > paj lam/ 'to speak broken Khmer or other language';
    Expansion of *phlām /plam/ [pʰlām], reduction of praľām /prolam/ [pʰeľām ~ pʰlām] 'to be muddled, mixed up, confused';\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{13}[ti'tyr:].

\textsuperscript{14}The simplification of the rhotacized prefixes is discussed below under Group II.

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< lām /lam > loəm/ 'to be confused'.

(10) bitora /pιdθor > pidaar/ 'to be scented, fragrant';

Expansion of ʰbitora /pιdθor > pidaar/, by attraction to Sanskrit and/or Pāli vi- 'out, apart, in different directions',\(^{15}\) for ʰpitora /pιdθor > pidaar/ 'to perfume'

< tōra /dθor > dəaar/ 'to spread, swell, overrun'.

(11) bīroh /pιiroh > piirōh/ 'to resound; to be full, sonorous, sweet-sounding';

Expansion of ʰbroh /pιroh > prōh/, by attraction to Sanskrit and/or Pāli vi-, as in 10 above, for ʰprōh /pιroh > prōh/ 'to resound, reverberate' (cf. prōh /pιroh/ 'to sprinkle (water) with the fingers') or a special development of broh /pιroh > prōh/ 'to sow broadcast';

< -roh /-roh > -rōh/ 'to throw off, emit', probably to be identified with -roh /-rōh/ 'to drain, flow off', attested in jroh /cρōh/ 'gorge, ravine; mountain torrent'.

(12) yopa'la /jooθol > jōobol/ 'view, opinion';

Expansion of ʰyapa'la /jboθol > jbol/, same meaning;

< ya'la /jol > jul/ 'to see, perceive; to understand'.

(13) yopam /jooθom > jōobam/ 'weeping, lamentation';

Expansion of ʰyopam /jboθom > jbam/, same meaning;

< ya'm /jom > jum/ 'to weep'.

(14) līlā'pa /lιilap > lιiloep/ 'to retrace one's steps'. Cf. also Middle Khmer lelāpa /leelap/, same meaning;

Expansion of ʰlalā'pa /lιlap > lloep/, same meaning;

< lā'pa /lap > loep/ 'to go back, repeat'.

(15) sāya yuta /saaŋ jut/ 'Desmos chinensis (Annonaceae), a creeper with yellow flowers having long, drooping petals'. Cf. Thai ฮิมัณษ์ /sāaj jut/.\(^{16}\)

\(^{15}\)Cf. Khmer bijāya /pιcεj' /'to be triumphant', < Sanskrit vijaya, Khmer bidhi /pιθii /'ceremony', < Sanskrit vidhi, and numerous other loans of the same formation.

\(^{16}\)An alternant Khmer form for the same plant noted by S. Pou, sāva yuta /saaŋ jut/, shows a further stage of development away from the primary derivative but a development of a kind with which we are not concerned here.
Expansion of sravuta /srojut/ > srojot/, as Middle Khmer [sʰəjut], 'to be faint, feeble, limp';
< -yuta /-jut/ 'to fall in, slump', allomorph of ruta /rut/ 'to lower, drop' and luta /lut/ 'to fall away, dip, drop'.

(16) sārāya /saaraaj/ 'edible (marine or freshwater) algae';
Expansion of srāya /sraaj/ 'to loose; to be loose';
< rāya /raaj > rīej/ 'to break up, scatter'.

(17) sārāya /saaraaj/ 'decorated wooden valance under house eaves';
Expansion of *srāya /sraaj/, same meaning;
< sāya /saaj/ 'to extend, run'.

(18) sāvā /saawa/ 'to be restless, flighty, fickle';
Expansion of svā /swaa/ 'monkey, gibbon'; conjecturally 'one who swings by the arms';
< -vā /-wa> -wīe/ 'to rotate the arm', attested in cravā /crowaa/ 'paddle, oar' and sravā /sro-waa/ 'to sweep into the arms'.

(19) sāhāva /saahawa/ 'to be fierce, savage';
Expansion of *srahāva /srhaaw/ > srhaaw/, as Middle Khmer [sʰəhəw], same meaning;
< hāva /haaw/ 'to be wild, rabid'.

(20) surāna /surōc > sorōc/ '(rājasabda') neck';
Expansion of sraṇa /srocoh > sroq/ '(of humans) neck;
(of upper garment) collar, ruff; (of cattle) dewlap';
< raṇa /rocoh/ 'to hold up, support from below'.

(21) sūreca /surac > sōrac/ 'to be at an end, all done';
Expansion of sreca /srac/ 'to be ended, done, ready';
< reca /rac > réec/ 'to be worn down', but conjecturally 'to come to an end or point', allomorph of rwca /ruuc/ 'to be done, over with'.

(22) 'ānapa /qaanoc > qaanocp/ 'support; supporter, patron', now replaced by even more anomalous raṇapa /rnocp/;
Expansion of *'ānapa /qcoc > qaanocp/, for *'napa /qnoc > qaanocp/, same meaning;

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17Term applicable to royalty; royal dialect.
< 'apa /qɔɔp > qɔɔp/ 'to clasp; to hold up'.

(23) 'ānāra /qaanaar/ '(woodworker's) saw', now replaced by even more anomalous raŋāra /rnaar/;

Expansion of *'aŋāra /qɔɔnaar > qaanaar/, for *'nāra /qnaar/, same meaning;

< 'āra /qaar/ 'to saw'.

To be grouped with the foregoing are older forms which have since been regularized (e.g., Old Khmer cicāy /cicaaj/ 'to scatter, squander, destroy', < cāy /caaj/ 'to spread, issue', > Middle Khmer and modern cacāya /ccaaj/) and a good number of still conjectural forms such as dīduya /tiituj/ 'owl', probably < -duya /-tuj/ 'to jut, protrude'.

Recognition of this type of expansion may serve to curb the temptation so commonly felt to explain enigmatic Khmer forms on the basis of borrowing, as from Thai for example. There is no denying that a great amount of borrowing and back-borrowing has gone on between Khmer and Thai; in some cases, however, facile "explanations" of this kind merely carry the problem of morphological anomaly out of Khmer where they belong and are no explanations at all. A possible case in point is modern Khmer kālai /kaalaj/ 'to disguise; to a-loy (metalё)', which the V̄k\(^{18}\) confidently credits to Thai ฅาลิ่ง /kaalaj/ 'to plate (with metalё); to be plated'.\(^{19}\)

In this case the question of the direction of borrowing is complex. On the one hand Khmer has kralai /kralaj/ as an alternative of kālai /kaalaj/. On the other hand both of these Khmer forms as well as Thai /kaalaj/ appear to be referable to Khmer lai /laej > léj/ 'to combine, put together', an allomorph of lāya /laaj > líiəj/ 'to mix, scramble, blend'. From the latter base, moreover, Khmer has klāya /klaaj/ 'to be mixed, adulterated, not pure, hybrid, false; to be altered', whence Thai

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กะลา /klaaj/ 'to change, be changed'. As long as Khmer has even extra-systematic means of forming kālai /kaalaj/ out of kralai /kralaj/ there are no discernible morphological grounds for assuming that it is a back-borrowing, though there may well be convincing historical or technological grounds.

Group I.C comprises three members, all expansions of primary derivatives. These are characterized by an augmented insertion of the shape VC which rhymes with the syllable out of which they are formed.

(24) sāva dāva /saaw taaw > saaw tíiəw/ 'species of large lobster';

Expansion of sdāva /staaw > stíiəw/ 'to be half-grown, immature', but conjecturally 'to be gangling';

< dāva /taaw > tíiəw/ 'to be spindly, adolescent'.
Cf. allomorph -tāva /-taaw/ in ratāva /rtaaw/ 'to be elongated; (of limbs, paws, etc.) to be big, outsized'.

(25) sāva māva /saaw maaw/ 'name of several hairy plants such as the rambutan and passionflower';

Expansion of 'smāva /smaaw/, allomorph of smau /smaw/ 'grassy plants in general: grass, weed, herb';

< -sāva /-saaaw/ 'to be hairy', allomorph of -sūva /-sōow/ [-səuy] 'to be grassy, hairy', attested in spūva /sōow/ 'thatch grass', srūva /srōow/ 'paddy', and sramūva /srōmōow/ 'to be hairy, un Kemp'.

(26) sau τau /səw dəw > saw daw/ 'to be random, haphazard';

Expansion of stau /sdəw > sdaw/ 'to stitch (edges of a basket) temporarily', but conjecturally 'to mark off at intervals, make a broken line';

< τau /dəw > daw/ 'to mark, brand'.

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20Ibid., 18b.
21For all we know at the moment, kralai /kralaj/ could be a regularization of kālai /kaalaj/.
Group II

Group II comprises fourteen members, all expansions of primary derivatives.

The characteristic of this group is the presence, between the initial and postinitial consonants of the primary derivative, of /-rɔ- ~ -ra-/ , normally [-rə-].

It is not without significance that expansions incorporating this pseudo-infix thereby assume the same syllable structure as true primary derivatives containing the rhotacized prefixes /prɔ- ~ prɑ-; tro- ~ tra-; cρɔ- ~ cra-; krɔ- ~ kra-; srɑ-/ , with which they are liable to be confused. True derivatives of this type are exemplified by praka'la /prɔkɔl/ 'to stack one on top of the other', < ka'la /kɔl/ 'to raise'; dra-vēna /drɔvɛnə/ 'to be oval, oblong', < vēnə /wɛnə/ 'to be long'; cramūla /cramɔul/ 'to be all tangled up', < mūla /muul/ 'to be round, compact'; grajūra /kɾɔcuur/ 'to be dour, crabbed', < jūra /cuur/ 'to be tart, sour'; and sradāpa /srɔtʰiəp/ 'to prostrate oneself', < dāpa /tʰiəp/ 'to be low'. It is presumably only by chance that presyllable /srɑ-/ is not found among the anomalous expansions listed hereafter.

(27) kraññãm /kɾɔnɔm/ 'claws, talons';
Expansion of khññãm /kɔnɔm/ 'to clutch, swipe at';
< õññ /nɔm > ñoêm/ 'to take up by the handful'.

(28) krapwca /kɾɔbʰuəc/ 'to bring the four corners of (piece of cloth) together and knot them';
Expansion of *kpwca /kʰuəc/ 'knot';
< kwca /kʰuəc/ 'to twist, twirl; to knot'.

(29) krapõla /kɾɔbaəl/ 'to cut off at the base or root';
Expansion of *kõla /kbaəl/, allomorph of kpila /kʰəl/ 'to cut down to the root';
< -kəla /-kaaəl/, allomorph of -kila /-kʰəl/ and kãla /kal/ 'to cut close to the root, flush with the ground'.

(30) kramau /kɾɔmuə/ '(of red and blue/green) to be dark';

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Expansion of khmau /kmaw/ 'to be black';
< -mau /-məw/, < Old Khmer mau /məw/ 'to be black'.

(31) krayau /krəjaw/ 'whorl (in head hair, skin of finger-tips)';
Expansion of *khyau /kjaw/, allomorph of khcau /kcaw/ 'snail; spiral, helix';
The CCV(F) form is irreducible.²²

(32) krasānta /krəsəan/ 'to be at peace, prosperous';
Expansion of ksānta /ksəan/ 'to be calm, happy';
Loan < Sanskrit ksānta.

(33) krahwca /krəhwəc/ 'to be funnel-shaped, funnellform';
Expansion of khwca /kwəc/ '(archaic) small vial for cosmetics (so called because of its shape); dimple';
< kwca /kùwcə/ 'to twist, twirl; to knot'.

(34) grahara /krəhərə/ 'rogue, rascal, scamp';
Expansion of -ghara /-khoor/ 'to be bold', attested in gaghara /kkhoor/ 'to be cheeky, impudent';
The CCV(F) form is irreducible.²²

(35) grahupa /krəhupə/ '(of face, cheeks) to be hollow, sunk-en';
Expansion of -ghupa /-khupə/, allomorph of khupa /khopə/ 'to be hollow, concave';
The CCV(F) form is irreducible.²²

(36) crapā'pa /krəbəpə/ 'to grapple, come to grips, with';
Expansion of cpā'pa /cəbəpə/ 'norm, precept; literary composition', but conjecturally 'hold, restraint';
< cə'pa /capə/ 'to lay hold of, grasp, grip'.

(37) crapuca /krəbəcə/ 'silk veil-scarf (worn originally by Muslim Cham women, made by gathering up warp and weft threads into small buttons and dyeing them individually)';
Expansion of cpuca /cəbəcə/ 'to gather with the finger-tips'.

²²Our working hypothesis has been that all native CCV(F) forms can be broken down into a nonsyllabic affix + a primary wordbase. Thus "irreducible" here means only that we have not yet succeeded in analyzing khcau /kcaw/, -ghara /-khoor/, and khupa /khopə/.
< cuca /coc/ 'to press with the finger'.

(38) trapā'ka /trabak/ '(of animals) to snap at, snap up';
Expansion of *tpā'ka /tbak/ 'to strike at';
< ṭā'ka /dak/ 'to strike, deal a blow'.

(39) trapā'ña /trabān/ 'to twist or plait tightly';
Expansion of *tpā'ña /tbān/, allomorph of tpā'ña /tbaṅ/ 'to weave, plait';
< -tā'ña /-tān/, attested in kantā'ña /kandaṅ/ 'to be all tangled up', allomorph of -tā'ña /-taṅ/ 'to weave, interlace', attested in pantaṅa /bondaṅ/ 'woven material, tomentum'.

(40) prahuka /prōhok/ ~ braha'ka /prōhuk/ 'fermented fish paste';
Expansion of phuka /phok/ 'viscous mixture' and bha'ka /phuk/ 'mud, ooze', respectively;
< -puka /-bok/ ~ -ba'ka /-puk/, allomorphs of buka /puk/ 'to decompose, putrefy, be putrid'.

It will not have gone unnoticed that four of the above expansions (items 31, 32, 34, 35) are not reducible to primary wordbases and that only two items, 27 and 30, are reducible to derivatives by prefixation. The remaining eight are reducible to derivatives by infixation. Despite the small number of forms involved, we are struck by the fact that six of these (items 28, 29, 36, 37, 38, 39) contain infix /-b-/ while the other two (items 33, 40) contain infix /-h-/.

Until we are able to probe deeper into Khmer morphology, we must be content to recognize an unexplained "attraction" to this type of expansion on the part of forms with postinitial /b/ and /h/.

Expansions of this type may help explain the cryptic relationship between cnai /cnaj/ 'to cut or polish (gems)' and carañai /caaranaį/ 'worked gems; crystal, glass'. The first of these is attested in Old Khmer as cnai /cnaj/, of the same meaning, while the second appears in modern Thai as ฉลุย /ciaranaį/, with the same meaning as Khmer cnai /cnaj/.

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23 George Bradley McFarland, Thai-English Dictionary (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1956), 260a: "to cut; to bur-
Khmer *cnaï /cna\j > cnaj/, unknown to S. Pou and myself in any stage of Thai, has the CCV(F) structure normal for one type of primary derivative—even if, as seems likely, fuller knowledge shows it to be a loanword.²⁴ Stated as briefly as possible, the problem is how to account for the /-aara-/ insert in Khmer carañai /ca\aranaj/ and the /-iara-/ insert in modern Thai /ci\aranaj/.

In the light of the anomalous expansions we have been examining in the present group, it seems reasonable to postulate a Middle Khmer *crañai /cra\nj > crañaj/ as the immediate source of the longer Khmer and Thai forms, that is to say, as an extra-systematic expansion of Old Khmer cnai /cna\j/. Moreover, in the light of the anomalous expansions we have already considered under Group I, we have grounds for supposing that this *crañai /cra\nj > crañaj/ subsequently underwent vocalic expansion of two kinds, one of which came to be established in modern Khmer, the other of which came to be established in Thai. Such a supposition is admittedly risky, but we have already seen that there is no discernible correlation between the vowel insert and phonological features of the wordbase; on the contrary, in a number of cases (items 1, 4, 14, 15, 22, 23) we have documentary evidence that the insert has been variable. Nor should it be forgotten that, as long as we do not understand the motives of even single expansions it would be premature to argue that double expansions are out of the question.

However, the chief linguistic interest of these anomalous expansions with /-r\o- ~ -ra-/ resides not in the specific derivational problems they may clarify but in the light they may be able to throw on the development of the rhotacized series

²⁴Cf. items 8 and 32 above.

nish diamonds or precious stones"; So Sethaputra, New Model Thai-English Dictionary. Library Edition (Samrong, Samud Prakan: So Sethaputra's Press, 1965), I: 322a: "to cut (gems)"; Haas, op.cit., 125a: "1. to cut diamonds, jewels, crystal. 2. (diamonds, etc.) to be fashioned, cut."
of true prefixes\textsuperscript{25} and hence on the structure of the Khmer word in general.

The distinction between the rhotacized prefixes and the series of corresponding simple consonantal prefixes\textsuperscript{26} is a subtle one. Semantically as well as stylistically there is no firm footing on which to define the functional differences between them in systematic terms. Morphologically, in an earlier paper S. Pou and I saw the proto-Khmer form of the rhotacized prefixes as having the canonical form \( C\omega\rho \), in which \( C \) stands for any stop or /s-/ while \( \rho \) stands for \( /r \sim 1/\).\textsuperscript{27} Certainly derivatives formed with prefixes of this shape are found in Old Khmer, Old Mon, and in later stages of other languages of the Mon-Khmer group. In Old Khmer they begin to give way, from the time of the earliest inscriptions, to prefixes of the shape \( C\omega\tau \), the older /-1/ dropping out entirely. In Old and Middle Mon what appear to be presyllables of this same shape (\( C\omega\tau \)) are almost all orthographic alternants of \( C\omega\) or \( C\omega\tau \) syllables.\textsuperscript{28}

As far as Khmer is concerned, it is worth remembering that Martini observed long ago that the members of initial clusters

\textsuperscript{25}For details regarding these see my \textit{Affixation in Modern Khmer}, unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of Hawaii, 1969), 121-39.

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., 63-120.


\textsuperscript{28}H.L. Shorto, \textit{A Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions from the Sixth to the Sixteenth Centuries} (London: Oxford University Press, 1971) lists only thirty-eight dissyllabic forms with orthographic \( k\tau\alpha\), \( g\tau\alpha\), \( c\tau\alpha\), \( j\tau\alpha\), \( t\tau\alpha\), \( d\tau\alpha\), \( p\tau\alpha\), \( b\tau\alpha\), \( m\tau\alpha\) and \( s\tau\alpha\). In twenty-four of these cases (63%) the written post-initial \( \tau \) is simply not realized in the phonological form, as \( b\tau k\nu\mu /b\varepsilon k\varepsilon\nu/ 'steatite pencil'\). In eight cases the phonological form, despite the orthography, has the shape \( C\omega\tau\), as \( g\tau l\omega\nu /g\varepsilon r\ell\omega\nu/ 'quantity'\). In only two cases, in fact, does the orthography appear to reflect postinitial /\( \tau \)/, namely \( j\tau\alpha\varepsilon\nu /j\tau\alpha h\nu\varepsilon\nu/ 'love' and \( d\tau h\nu\varepsilon\nu /d\varepsilon r\alpha h\nu\varepsilon\nu/ 'strength'\), and in both of these cases Shorto is careful to add a query-mark after the phonological form.

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are not closely fused.  

Indeed, the transition from the intial to the postinitial consonant is accomplished by a variety of purely phonetic bridge-sounds. These range from zero, through "aspiration," to a neutral vowel, and on to vowels of several colors. Examples: skuna /skon/ [skɔ'n] 'evil omen'; phdera /ptefə/ [pʰteɾə] 'to empty'; ktā'pa /ktaip/ [kʰtʰaip] 'to clench the fist'; médjaŋ /mjaŋ/ [mʰjaŋ] '(in) one way', crūta /crūtə/ [kɾʰoot] 'to reap'.

In this same connection, it must be said that the postini
tial allomorphs of /r/ are typically very weakly articulated in the rhotacized prefixes. Even in standard speech a clearly flapped or trilled [ɾ] is heard only in maximal pronunciations in this position, while the following vowel element is more often than not a short neutral vowel carrying no registral distinc
tion. Compare, for example, prāmā /praŋ/ [pɾaŋ] 'to be rainless' with prakēka /prakekə/ [pɾeɾkə] 'to rest'. In the same way, the common pronunciation of our anomalous expansions is [kə'naŋ] 'claws' (item 27), [kə'bu·əvəci] 'to knot the corners of' (item 28), [kə'ba:el] 'to cut off at the base' (item 29), [kə'ma:vɨ] 'to be dark' (item 30), and so on. In this sense the postinitial /r/ of the prefixes need not be regarded as an essential element.

What does appear to be an essential element of the rhotacized prefixes is their syllabicacy, though even this is sometimes in doubt. By considering the question in the light of the loose juncture of consonant clusters and the weak articulation of postinitial /r/, we begin to see that the insertion of /-ɾo-

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30The bridge-sounds given here are typical of citation forms and are neither invariable nor obligatory.

31Deference to my colleague obliges me to note that S. Pou, far from agreeing with this interpretation, believes that the postinitial /r/ in question here is a literary feature which corresponds to no reality in the historical development of the language.
-ro-/ into the fourteen items of this group may have no other effect than that of opening the juncture between the original word-initial and the postinitial. This much comes uncomfortably close to a truism, but the intent of the insertion is far from being self-evident. It is only when we go back and re-examine our fourteen expansions that it dawns upon us that the essential purpose of the insertion is to set up a new contrast by keeping the initial and postinitial of the primary derivative from reuniting. A purely phonetic characteristic is brought up to the phonemic level and, at least in the case of these present forms, a distinction is signaled between /tban/ 'to weave, plait' and /tαbαn/ 'to plait tightly' (item 39), /kmaaw/ 'to be black' and /kαmαw/ 'to be dark' (item 30), /cβap/ 'hold, grip' and /cεbap/ 'to grapple' (item 36), and so forth.

I should mention, finally, that I am not ignoring the possibility that all of the anomalous expansions in this group are formations on the analogy of derivatives with the true rhotacized prefixes. Indeed, it seems most likely that the latter provided both the model and the inspiration for their creation. What is more, these /-ro- -ro-/ expansions are only of minor interest for their own sake. The chief benefit to be gained from their examination is the fresh perspective they provide for our understanding of the rhotacized prefixes.

Group III

Group III comprises five members. These are characterized by the obligatory syllable 'ā /qaa/ followed by a primary word-base or a primary derivative.

For the time being at least I term this obligatory syllable a headword rather than a prefix because, in the first place, no Khmer prefix of this shape has been demonstrated thus far and, in the second place, I suspect that the syllable in question is a species of antonym to brah /prah > preah/, the headword for divine or royal beings and objects (Old Khmer viñ. /prah/); on
which so many otherwise cautious scholars have stumbled.  

In the first three items listed below the headword appears to have an intensive function with an unmistakably pejorative connotation. In the last two items an original syllable of roughly similar shape appears to have undergone morphological, and at least partially semantic, assimilation to the same pejorative headword, possibly through the kind of vocalic expansion already described under Group I.

(41) 'ā kra'ka /qaa krōk > qaa krak/ 'to be low or base in quality or character; to be poor, paltry, bad, ugly';

Expansion of *kra'ka /krōk > krak/, allomorph of gra'ka /krōk > kruk/ 'to be low, base, mean, worthless; to be unclean, offensive';

<-ra'ka /-rōk > -ruk/ 'to fall, be low', allomorph of ruka /ruk/ 'to cram into', but conjecturally 'to go down into'.

(42) 'ā krāta /qaa kraat/ 'to be stripped, bare, unclothed';

Expansion of krāta /kraat/ '(of garment) to slip down or off';

<-rāta /-raat > rīêt/ 'to turn or peel back', attested in srāta /sraat/ 'to undress oneself, be bare', allomorph of lā'ta /lat > loêt/ 'to peel, skin'.

(43) 'ā mā'sa /qaa mah/ 'to be shameful, disgraceful';

Expansion of -mā'sa /-mah/ 'to shame', allomorph of -māsa /-mah > -mīēh/, attested in khmāsa /kmaah/ 'to be ashamed', and of -mah /-mah > -meēh/, attested in tmaḥ /tmah/ 'to shame'.

32 The question is complicated by the fact that prefixed syllables of this or similar shape are found in other Mon-Khmer languages and, in fact, seem to have an areal distribution. My colleague has called my attention to an a-type "prefix" to proper names in pre-Angkorian Khmer. I believe this is simply an early form of the modern familiar/pejorative headword 'ā /qaa/ commonly used with the names of boys, brigands, and others of humble station. Indeed, this "personal article," as it has been called, and the headword in question here may be one and the same.

33 Despite the formal and semantic overlap, the syllable we are concerned with here is probably to be kept separate from the one S. Pou and I have ascribed to Chinese. See our "Some Chinese Loanwords," 65, item 220.
(44) 'ā ṭaṇa /qaa raŋə/ 'alembic';

Expansion of -ṭaṇa /-raŋə/, registral allomorph (induced by the headword) of raṇa /roŋə/ 'to be clear, bright; to clarify (liquid) by filtration'. The headword may reflect a former affix (e.g., tamraṇa /tumroŋə/ 'filter') or may be a nonce device for nominalizing the wordbase and marking a common article of distiller's apparatus. Any connection with the presyllable of Old Mon 'arān /arəŋ/ 'to glitter'34 is doubtful.

(45) 'ā srūva /qaa srūw > qaa sròw/ 'to be bad, evil; to be unclean, foul';

Expansion of Old Khmer 'asarū /qesruu/, same meaning; learned formation < Sanskrit a- 'alpha privative' + sarū /srū/ 'to be good, right, pure', < rū /ruu/ 'to be good, right', > modern -rūva /-ruw/, attested in trūva /tròw/ 'to be right, accurate'.35

Residue

There remains a handful of forms which are worth mentioning despite the uncertainties surrounding them.

One of these is cranwca /cranũuءc/ 'spit, skewer'. At first glance one would suppose it were either a derivative of prefix /cro- ~ cro-/ + a base nwca /nũuءc/ or a derivative of infix /-roŋ- ~ -roŋ-/ (a common allomorph of instrumental /-n-/) + a base cwca /cũuءc/. However, neither nwca /nũuءc/ nor cwca /cũuءc/ is known to exist. In casting about for alternative sources, one is tempted to settle upon crwca /crũuءc/ '(archaic) to be sharp, pointed',36 a primary derivative of rwca

34Shorto, op.cit., 11.

35Full credit for the working out of this derivation goes to my colleague. See Saveros Pou, "L'inscription de Phimeanakas (K.484) (Etude linguistique)," in BEFEQ, LVIII (1971): 95-6, and especially "Inscriptions modernes d'Angkor 34 et 38," in BEFEQ, LXII (1975): 318, note 34. My sole concern here is to have the item on record as belonging to a morphological set.

36In modern usage, 'to be high, keen, shrill'. Cf. from the same wordbase sruwca /sruuءc/ 'to be sharp-pointed; (military) point, vanguard'.

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/rũwec/ 'to come to an end or point'. But, being a primary derivative of CCV(F) shape, crwca /crũwec/ cannot, at least insofar as our experience shows, take the instrumental /-n-/ infix. Since this is nonsyllabic, it would yield a ternary cluster, */crũwec/, not tolerated except in the case of reduplications. The /-ran-/ allomorph of /-n-/ , moreover, is restricted to primary wordbases. In order to relate cranwca /cranũwec/ to rwca /rũwec/ we must posit an anomalous /-vn-/ allomorph of /-n-/ , for which there is no evidence known to us, and assume furthermore that the relationship of crwca /crũwec/ to rwca /rũwec/ had been forgotten by the time cranwca /cranũwec/ was formed. The contingencies are so many in this case that it is only prudent to withhold judgment.

The above case, if ever resolved, may show us how to treat a set of four derivatives which have so far defied analysis:

naniela /nniːl/ 'to sprawl (on the ground, etc.)';
praniela /praniːl/ 'to hang onto (someone), drape oneself around or "fall all over" (someone)';
pramieala /pramːiːl/ '(of a cylindrical or globular object) to roll down; to snuggle up to (someone)';
ramieala /rmːiːl/ '(of a cylindrical or globular object) to roll down'.

The first two forms look as if they should be assigned to a base niała /niːl/ while the last two forms look as if they should be assigned to a base miała /miːl/; in addition, the second and third forms look as if they might be assigned to a base piała /bliːl/. So far as I am aware, none of these bases exists. We are still warranted, nonetheless, in seeing a possible semantic connection between naniela /nniːl/ 'to sprawl' and praniela /praniːl/ 'to drape oneself' as well as between pramieala /pramːiːl/ and ramiela /rmːiːl/ , both 'to roll down'. Whether there is a semantic link between 'to sprawl' and 'to roll down' is a question which can be answered in the affirmative only if a plausible transitional idea can be proposed. All that I can suggest at the moment is that praniela /pra-
nǐ̄el/, which seems to show the most specialized semantic development, could have arisen from the notion of 'to roll or barge into (someone)' and later have been limited for a time to the notion of 'to sprawl on (someone) in the manner of a child or drunkard'. This would account for its present meaning as well as that of naniəla /nnīel/ and at the same time would be in consonance with the meaning of pramiəla /prə̆̃iəl/ and ramiəla /rmı̄el/. This in turn suggests a -riəla /-rīəl/ allo-morph of rāla /rīəl/ 'to spread, develop, incline toward' as the base of all four derivatives. To accept this, however, would necessitate a number of assumptions difficult of digestion. For one thing, naniəla /nnīel/ would have to be explained as an assimilated form of *raniəla /rn̡īel/. For another, pramiəla /prə̆̃iəl/ and pramiəla /prə̆̃iəl/ could only be explained as prefix /p-/ + *raniəla /rn̡īel/ and ramiəla /rmı̄el/ respectively, these two consisting of infixes /-n-/ and /-m-/ + the aforesaid -riəla /-rīəl/. To the best of my knowledge, this type of formation is completely unknown. The liabilities of the assumptions are greater than the solution is worth, and it seems best to leave the whole problem in abeyance in the hope that a simpler solution will present itself eventually.

Some of the expansions in Groups I and III, finally, put us in mind of yet another type of anomalous formation encountered occasionally in the older literature. For example, I well remember my perplexity years ago when I first came upon the form hempūbānta /heṃbuupaan > haṃb̥pùopiīen/ 'Himālaya' for the modern and more expected himabānta /heṃpḁpīen/ (℅ Sanskrit himavant). It was not until long afterwards that S. Pou explained to me that the /-būu-/ > -bōo-/ expansion is distinctive of the stage dialect. This type of formation is clearly one which should be described only by someone intimately acquainted with the theater.

37Vacanaṇukrama khmēra, II (1962): 1528a. The Lpēka 'aṅgara-vatta, for example, has hemapūbānda at 213b, hemapūrabāna at 436e.