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16

John Haiman

Cambodian
Khmer

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Volume 16

Cambodian. Khmer
by John Haiman

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Table of contents

CHAPTER 11

The parts of speech

Introduction

Cambodian (Khmer) is the national language of Cambodia, and is spoken as a native language by about 90% of the current population of roughly 14 million people. Dialects are spoken in the southern third of Northeast Thailand (Surin Khmer) and in the Mekong Delta region of Southern Vietnam (Kiengang Khmer to the Vietnamese, Kiangkleang to Cambodians). Genetically it is extremely closely related to a handful of Khmeric languages, among them Stieng, Kui (= Kuaj to Cambodians, Kouy for Rongier 2005), and Pear (= Poa to Cambodians), and more distantly related one hundred and fifty other Austroasiatic languages such as Rengao, Sre, Chrau, Sedang, Vietnamese, Mlabri, Mon, Semai, Jahai, Khasi, and Munda spoken from Southwest China to Eastern India. Subgrouping these languages has been controversial from the beginning, although the unity of the family is not contested[1]. Since all the languages of Southeast Asia notoriously constitute a Sprachbund, Khmer exhibits strong typological similarities to neighbouring languages – not only to related languages like Vietnamese, but languages from entirely different families, from Thai to Hmong (Bisang 1992, Enfield 2003).

Khmer is also the language of the civilization which produced Angkor Wat. It has been written, on and off, for about as long as English has[2], and has been a subject of serious if intermittent scientific study since at least 1878, when Aymonier's Khmer-French dictionary appeared. This is therefore not a first grammar of an unknown bush language written by an intrepid pioneer. Excellent pedagogical grammars and phrase books of Khmer already exist in English and I exploited all of them to the fullest over the years of my apprenticeship.

I first started learning Khmer and thinking about it from Huffman 1970, Huffman et al. 1970 and Jacob 1968, back in 1980, when a group of friends colleagues and neighbours in Winnipeg decided to sponsor a family of boat people under a program administered by the Canadian government. (The sponsorship was a success, but the family we were assigned to happened to be speakers of Vietnamese: it was only in 1996 that I resumed my engagement with Cambodian in Saint Paul.) Since then I have also profited greatly from reading Noss & Proum 1966, Ehrman & Sos 1972 (revised and supplemented as Lim et al. 1972), Sos et al. 1972, Headley & Neou 1991, and Smith 2006a, b. Maspero 1915 and Gorgoniev 1966b are classic reference grammars written in French and Russian. I have relied on all of these sources throughout this grammar, as well as on the monolingual dictionary of Cuon Nath and his colleagues of 1938 [1998], and the bilingual dictionaries of Headley et al. 1977 and Huffman & Proum 1977.

This book is to my knowledge, however, the first reference grammar of Khmer to be written in English. It is based largely on frequent, regular, and intensive consultations with Noeurng Ourn (1996–2007) and Veasna Keat (2007–2010) in Saint Paul, Minnesota, and two brief field trips to Cambodia: the first, of three weeks in June 2000, to Battambang, and the second, of two months, to Siem Reap in July and August 2010.

The data in this book are not based on elicitation, but are derived almost entirely from existing texts, both spoken and written[3]. That said, it must be emphasized that it is based more on written than on spoken Khmer and probably does not correspond to the speaking or writing competence of any single speaker or authority. Rather it is an effort to account for all the data that native speakers and writers have produced which I have been able to gather. There have been occasions when I or my consultants have been tempted to dismiss some texts (not always the same ones) as ungrammatical but if they are "out there", then it was certainly not for me to claim they are performance errors beneath consideration.

In matters of vocabulary and pronunciation the spoken and written language differ considerably. There are massive resources in Pali, the Indic language of the Buddhist scriptures, which are exploited by writers and unrecognizable by many speakers: but if any author has employed them to my knowledge, they are included here. Conversely, there are abbreviations, slang expressions, and even grammatical constructions in colloquial speech which are unrecognizable even to some speakers, but if I have heard them they also are included. The "big tent" shapelessness[4] of the resulting grammar is inevitable. I should think it arises whenever an analyst has no intuitions worth mentioning. I can only report the data, whose authenticity as data at least is guaranteed.

The analysis of the data, however, is mine, and I am completely responsible for it. That is the reason that Mr. Ourn and Mr. Keat (who are splitting the royalties from this book, if there are any), although they are prominently and repeatedly quoted as consultants, are not credited as authors: there can be no errors in the data which they have patiently explained to me, but the inevitable mistakes in the interpretation of these data, and the speculations based on these mistakes, are not to be blamed on anyone but me.

A first draft of this book was written in 2003–4, when I was a resident fellow at the Max-Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig. My thanks to Bernard Comrie and the staff at the institute for their generous hospitality and support.

A number of Western colleagues who have worked in southeast Asian languages for many years have read and responded to talks, articles and manuscripts which have become portions of this book: my thanks above all to Philip Jenner and Erik Davis, but also to Nick Enfield, Kenneth Gregerson, James Stanford, Eric Schiller, and James Matisoff for critically responding to my ideas and correcting some of my errors over the last fifteen years. Thanks also to David Bennett for his careful and expert editorial guidance with the manuscript.

The final draft was completed in London in the fall of 2010, while I was visiting the School of Oriental and African Studies. I am grateful to Peter Austin and the other members of the Linguistics department for their making me feel welcome there. My thanks to Tania Kuteva, for always having found Khmer as interesting as I have in our discussions over the last ten years, for her generous encouragement, and for having opened my eyes to many things I did not know about grammaticalization and lexicalization.

While in Siam Reap in 2010 as a volunteer teacher at Grace House, I worked with Lo:k Kim, Ko:la:p Ra:, Tola: Ca:p, Can Ree:t Loc, and Pangreut Heang, among others, and with my English teaching colleague, Soneut Chhet, to whom I was seconded as an assistant. It was he who told me how you can say "in your dreams!" in Khmer. My thanks to all of them.

All native speakers own their language and the native speakers of Khmer I acknowledge here can no more increase this ownership by knowing Khmer philology than English speakers can or need increase their ownership of the English language by majoring in English literature. (In fact, if Sapir taught us that "Plato walks with the Macedonian swineherd" in 1921, Labov 1972 has inspired in many of us the uneasy suspicion that Plato was a lame[5].) At its very best, all that philology can do is heighten their appreciation of all that it means to feel at home in their language. This birthright is unattainable to even the most dedicated outsider.

An L2 learner claiming to be a specialist on a language like Khmer, on the other hand, needs all the philological help s/he can get. S/he must of course have learned to speak and read and write the language, but in the absence of the native speaker's unconscious mastery, s/he must of course also know something of the epigraphic record (Coedès 1938–66, Pou 2004, Jenner 2009a, b, Jenner & Sidwell 2010). In addition s/he must of course know something about the dozens of other Austroasiatic languages in Cambodia, Thailand, Vietnam, China, and India to which Khmer is most closely genetically related. Certainly s/he must know the dialects of Khmer spoken outside the state of Kampuchea/Cambodia, as well as the separate but most closely related languages spoken within. Since Khmer is awash in both lexical and grammatical borrowings from both written Pali and Sanskrit, and spoken Prakrit, s/he should also know and be able to distinguish among, these related stages/dialects of the same language (cf. Ménétrier 1933, Jenner 2009a, b). Finally, since all the indigenous languages of Southeast Asia have borrowed so extensively from each other that they seem to be almost the same language with different words, s/he must of course know something about many of these languages, beginning perhaps with Thai, with which Khmer has been in a state of symbiosis for nearly six hundred years (Levitz 1968, Huffman 1972). If s/he had a dozen lifetimes, s/he would still not have achieved this ersatz mastery: every year of study would make it ever clearer that even a false philological ownership of the language is forever out of the question.

These impossible desiderata were always on my mind, not that I ever came close to satisfying any of them.

In full awareness of its deficiencies, I dedicate this grammar to my 70 students in the "Elephant and Monkey" classroom at Grace House School in Siem Reap, who want to be doctors, nurses, and teachers. You taught me something about Khmer while I taught you about the phases of the moon and how to play Boggle. I hope that life is good to all of you: maybe some day one of you will even be able to indulge in the luxury of getting a degree in something like linguistics. If you do, get to work: the real grammar of your language remains to be written.

Notes

1. Sidwell 2010 provides an excellent survey of the various attempts at subgrouping Austroasiatic languages over the last century. The Khmeric subgroup includes "at least Chong, Kui (= Kouy, cf. Rongier 2005), Pear, Samré, Angrak, and Saoch, if not also Biat and Stieng" (Jenner 1969: 1). As of this moment, there is no agreement on whether "Mon-Khmer" constitutes a genuine subgroup of Austroasiatic, or whether Monic and Khmeric are just two of the twelve equal branches of the family, cf. Parkin 1991. In this book, the terms Mon-Khmer and Austroasiatic will be used interchangeably.

2. The earliest inscription was written 611 CE, and there was a gap in the epigraphic record for about two hundred years between 1450 and 1650 (Sidwell 2010: 107).

3. All examples derived from contrived or elicited sources will be discreetly flagged by containing allusions to pigs. Any sentence or fragment containing the word *cru:k* is thus identified as an artifact.

4. For a glimpse of this heterogeneity, cf. Chapter 5, fn. 8.

5. The pejorative term "lame", from Black English Vernacular, is roughly synonymous with "nerd", British "swot" or any marginalized intellectual. It is applied by Labov's BEV-speaking subjects to those social outcasts who may become teachers' (or, later, ethnographers') pets because they can't get any respect from their peers. It is striking how widely this contemptuous assessment of the sissified intelligentsia is shared by intellectuals themselves, at least in Western literature: cf. Haiman 1998b: 101–8, for a very superficial survey, encompassing authors from Isaac Babel to Dave Barry.

Abbreviations

Adj	adjective	MV	main verb
Adv	adverb	NC	nominal clump
AGT	agent	NOM	nominalizer
ANA	anaphoric identity	NUM	numeral
	of sense pronoun	OBJ	object preposition
AV	auxiliary verb	ORD	
BS	bo'ri'va: sap	P	Pali
	(= decorative servant word)	PART	partitive
CL	classifier	PASS	passive
COMP	complementizer	PAST	
CONJ	conjunction	PERF	perfective
D	deictic	PLU	plural
DC	Dictionnaire Cambodgien	PRO	indefinite generic pronoun
DIR	directional verb	PROG	progressive
DO	direct object	PROH	prohibitive
EMPH	emphatic	Q	quantifier
FUT	future	Q!	exclamatory question marker
HON	honorific	Q par	question particle
HUM	humble	Skt.	Sanskrit
IMP	imperative	SV	serial verb
INF		Th	Thai
INT	intensifier	VC	verbal clump
INTERJ	interjection	VKN	viseh kun niam (= intensifier)
IO	indirect object	1	first person pronoun
KR	Khmer Rouge	2	second person pronoun
L	lexicalization	3	third person pronoun
Mod	modifier		decorative/meaningless
MP	measure phrase		"servant-word" gloss
MU	measure unit		

Phonology and orthography

Khmer has been written since the 7th Century AD, in an alphabet of Indic origin. This alphabet casts a long shadow, and will figure in the discussion of the phonology.

1. The phonemes of Khmer

The phonemic inventory of the dialect studied here (a careful speaking style, closest to the regional standard of Battambang) is as given below:

Consonants:	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p, b	t, d		k	
Fricative	f	s		h	
Nasal	m	n	nj	ng	
Lateral		l			
Rhotic		r			
Glide	v		j		

The voiced stops ⟨b, d⟩ are ingressive.

The rhotic ⟨r⟩ is an alveolar trill.

The glide ⟨v⟩ is generally pronounced as [w] or [v]. In the rhyme sequence ⟨av⟩, ⟨v⟩ is produced without any liprounding whatsoever, and may be pronounced [u] or [ɯ], thus ⟨kdav⟩ = [kdau] ~[kdaɯ] "hot".

The sound ⟨h⟩ is a uvular or pharyngeal fricative at the end of a syllable, but glottal [h] syllable-initially, thus ⟨sampeah⟩ [səmpɛax] "greet respectfully with hands pressed together before one's chest", but ⟨ho:⟩ [ho:] "flow", ⟨tnam⟩ [thnam] "medicine".

Syllabic nuclei

Monophthongs:	Front	Mid	Back
High	i, i:	w, w:	u, u:
Mid	ee, ee:	eu, eu:	o, o:
Low-mid	e, e:	au, au:	
Low	ae	a, a:	aw, aw:

The graph ⟨w⟩ as a syllabic nucleus is a high mid or back unrounded vowel [ɯ], but when it occurs in the combination ⟨aw⟩, the combination is the monophthong [a]. Thus ⟨cwt⟩ [cɯt] "close to", and ⟨cawp⟩ [cap] "to end".

The graph ⟨ee⟩ is [e], while ⟨e⟩ is [ɛ].

The graph ⟨eu⟩ is [ɤ].

The graph ⟨au⟩ is approximately the low mid unrounded vowel [ɔ] of "caught", while ⟨aw⟩ – as already indicated – is the [a] of "cot"

These last are the two "default vowels" of Khmer orthography: syllables containing them are written as if they had no vowels.

All phonological monophthongs except ⟨ae⟩ (pronounced as a diphthong [ae:] or as the monophthong [æ:]) occur in contrastive long and short forms.

Diphthongs:	ia	wa ([ɯa])	ua
	ea	euw ([ɤɯ])	oa
		aeu ([aɤ])	ao
		ae	

The Siem Reap and Surin dialects also feature the diphthong ⟨eua⟩, [ɤə], which corresponds to standard ⟨oa⟩ (Gorgoniev 1966b: 12; Jenner 1974: passim).

The second element which is written as ⟨a⟩ in all of these diphthongs is the schwa [ə]. All diphthongs except ⟨ao⟩, ⟨aeu⟩ and ⟨euw⟩ are therefore offgliding diphthongs[1] ending in schwa.

The phonetic diphthongs written ⟨V + j⟩ and ⟨V + v⟩, that is

⟨ej⟩   (e.g. in words like ⟨bej⟩ "three"),
⟨ev⟩   (e.g. in ⟨tev⟩ "go"),
⟨aj⟩   (e.g. ⟨daj⟩ "hand, arm"),
⟨a:j⟩   (e.g. in ⟨ba:j⟩ "cooked rice",
⟨av⟩   (e.g. in ⟨cav⟩ "grandchild") and
⟨a:v⟩   (e.g. in ⟨a:v⟩ "shirt")

are treated as they are written, that is, not as diphthongs, but as V + C (syllabic nucleus + coda) sequences. This is because, unlike the true diphthongs in the table above, they cannot be followed by any tautosyllabic final consonant.

Although phonetically ⟨ea⟩ and ⟨oa⟩ are short, and ⟨ua⟩ is shortened before voiceless stops, there is no phonemically distinctive length for true diphthongs. (This is another reason that ⟨aj⟩ and ⟨a:j⟩ and ⟨av⟩ and ⟨a:v⟩ which do present contrastive lengths, are not to be identified as phonological diphthongs.)

2.   Types of non-phonemic variation

There is <u>regional</u> variation. Mr. Keat, my major consultant over the last three years, speaks a Phnom Penh dialect which differs slightly from that of Mr. Ourn, who was my only teacher for the period 1996–2007, and who speaks a Battambang dialect. Both adopted a careful speaking style with me, and their pronunciations differ from the spoken dialect of Siem Reap. A full dialect survey is beyond my competence, and aside from a few references to the Siem Reap patois, Surin Khmer, Kiengang Khmer, and some regionalisms described in the scholarly literature, I will say nothing about local dialects.

The major <u>sociolinguistic</u> variation is between written and spoken Khmer, which differ, impressionistically, as much as the written and spoken forms of German and French. All literate speakers have at their disposal a written register which they can pronounce in at least two styles, careful and informal. In addition, they can speak the demotic style which they tend to dismiss with some embarrassment. Illiterate speakers have of course no other style. I was able to work intensively while in Siem Reap with an extremely gifted half-literate consultant, a young woman who spoke both fluent colloquial English and totally colloquial Khmer[2]. Not only could she not recognize a large number of expressions from my written texts, there is probably not one single instance in our nine week period of interaction where I understood what she said to me the first time I heard it. There will be considerable reference to the demotic, but not nearly as much as I would have liked[3].

Finally, there is a <u>gender</u>-related phenomenon. A major non-phonemic aspect of Khmer pronunciation not indicated in the transcriptions here (and one which I have never seen discussed at all) is that the speech of nubile females is both high-pitched and highly nasalized. From my observations, this pattern is established for most girls by age twelve or thirteen. In stylized drama, even when a female is supposedly attempting to disguise herself as a male, she will continue to nasalize her vowels and speak in a high pitch. This is presumably a dead give-away, but one which differs in no respect from her outward dress (which also continues to be female) – and one which raises the reasonable question "what, then, does her disguise consist of at all?"[4] Matrons, dowagers, and women of power in general drop this mask, which therefore seems to be a stereotyped advertisement that "I am a plaything in the courtship arena." On the other hand, young women do not seem to drop the pose in the absence of men. Two women having a catfight will continue to converse in this ladylike fashion.

3.   Idiosyncrasies of the practical orthography

The alphabet employed here was developed in Haiman & Farmer 2008, and differs from previous Western transliterations and phonemicizations (Noss & Proum 1966; Jacob 1968, Huffman 1970 a, b; Ehrman & Sos 1972; Lim et al. 1972, Headley & Neou 1991)

mainly in that it attempts to be a "practical" orthography, which completely avoids dia-critics and special symbols.

Idiosyncrasies of this transcription system include the following:

a. No attention is paid to the "register" distinction between clear and breathy voice.
b. Syllable-onset glottal stop is left out word-initially.
c. Phonetic Schwa is spelled in two different ways:
    a. ⟨a⟩ when it's an unstressed monophthong or an offglide;
        e.g. in ⟨sokhaphiap⟩ [sokhəphiəp] "health", ⟨koat⟩ [koət] "3rd person respect-ful", and ⟨cia⟩ [ciə] "be, heal, free"
    b. ⟨e⟩ when it's a monophthong before the glides (/j/, /v/), and the palatal conso-nants (/c/, /nj/)
        e.g. in ⟨bej⟩ [bəj] "three", ⟨tev⟩[təw] "go", ⟨tec⟩ [təc] "a bit" and ⟨penj⟩ [pənj] "full"

These idiosyncrasies are defended as follows.

3.1   Non-representation of "clear" and "breathy" register

According to the conventional orthography (here casting its longest shadow), every vow-el in Khmer can be pronounced in a clear or breathy manner. On the other hand:

There are few productive phonological processes in Khmer. They include

a. the reduction in demotic of all vowel nuclei to schwa and zero in anacrusic syllables (e.g. *krama:* "scarf" may get reduced to [kəma:])
b. the concomitant reduction of the consonants in such anacrusic syllables
c. the almost exceptionless reduction of /s/ to /h/ word-finally
d. the interconsonantal insertion of an optional schwa – transcribed ⟨a(')⟩ – between the members of Pali compounds
e. The interconsonantal insertion of a schwa – transcribed here as ⟨a⟩ or as ⟨h⟩ – be-tween word-initial consonant clusters in native words
f. The optional palatalization of velar nasals to palatal nasals after long front vowels
g. The velarization of /l/ after long /a/
h. The insertion of /i/ before syllable-final /c/.

Register seems to play no phonological role in any of these. With the relative absence of productive phonological processes, the basis for distinguishing phonemes from each other and for classifying them into natural classes remains the existence of minimal con-trast pairs for the first, and general phonetics and possibly evidence from derivational morphology for the second.

The traditional orthographic system of Khmer, however, is in itself, as noted, an explicit and unrelenting theory of natural classes whereby all vowels without exception are classified as belonging to two registers: a "clear" (*a'ko:sah*) and a "breathy" (*ko:sah*) register[5]. Every vowel in the clear register has a partner in the breathy register, which is written with the same vowel graph, the register distinction being indirectly signalled by the prevocalic consonant. The ideal phonetic values for the two sets of orthographic vowels are as given below, each vowel being matched by its partner directly beneath.

Table 1. The clear and breathy vowels

Clear register:

a	a:	aj	ao	aeu	ae	ee	ej	aw	o	o:	ia	ua	eu	w:

Breathy register:

oa/ ea	ia	ej	o:	eu:		ee	i:	au	u	u:	ia	ua	eu	w:

Each vowel in the clear register, or "aw series" is written with the same vowel sign as its corresponding vowel in the breathy register or "au series" below it. The distinction between them is signaled not by the vowel graph but by the graph of the preceding consonant. In the writing system, this distinction is never neutralized. Hence every consonant is written in both a clear and breathy variant.

The genesis of the register distinction within Khmer is a "datable" phenomenon, insofar as there are facts which point back to a unity which preceded it. Thus for example it followed the adoption of borrowings like ⟨niam⟩ from Indic *nāma* "name", and there are some facts about derivational morphology, to be discussed later, which seem to point back to this unity, which may have existed all the way up to the time of the abandonment of Angkor in the 15th century (Jenner & Sidwell 2010:6).

To what extent does the register distinction have any psychological reality? Different answers must be given for the written and the spoken language.

In any language ideology that is based on a reverence for the writing system[6], the register distinction is paramount, because it is marked consistently: in principle, every vowel symbol in the script has two different pronunciations, depending on whether it is preceded by a clear register consonant (originally voiceless) or a homophonous breathy register consonant (originally voiced). This contrast is relevant only in the native vocabulary, and ignored even in the orthography of unassimilated Indic borrowings – which in its turn faithfully transliterates silent syllables, consonant clusters, and features like retroflexion, the voicing contrast [g] vs. [k] and other features, which play no role in Khmer.

In the spoken language, on the other hand, register has pretty well disappeared. While register is a distinctive feature of many Mon-Khmer languages (Gregerson 1976, Ferlus 1979), there is no phonemic register in modern Central Khmer (cf. Gorgoniev 1966a, b, Huffman et al. 1970, Lim et al. 1972, Vickery (1992:fn. 20), pace Henderson 1952, and Jacob 1968), nor in Surin Khmer (Jenner 1974:62).

Like all standard orthographies, the Indic alphabet of Khmer is therefore mislead-
ing, both as a theory of contrasts and as one of classification   not perhaps because
of its origin, but because it enforces a pronunciation that no longer seems to exist
phonemically except in a handful of (dutifully memorized?) recitation cases[7]. As will
be apparent from a brief examination of the table above, the system is for the most
part massively redundant (there are many graphs for what is apparently one single
sound), occasionally insufficiently explicit (there are many sounds for one graph), and
phonetically almost entirely irrelevant, most importantly because the register distinc-
tion no longer plays a significant role in Khmer phonetics, and finally because the
graphs corresponding to the symbols above are inconsistent in corresponding to either
phones or phonemes.

Most vowels that are written differently with respect to the suprasegmental feature
of register also differ with respect to purely segmental features such as height and
diphthongization, and following Huffman et al. 1970, I have jettisoned any attempt
to mark the clear/breathy distinction in itself, which even Khmer speakers maintain
has been lost for the majority of vowels. (For example ⟨priap⟩ [priəp] in written in the
"clear register" means "pigeon", and in "breathy register" means "compare", but they
are heard as homophones.) There is only one single vowel where a handful of mini-
mal contrast pairs can be found for words that seem to differ exclusively with respect
to register: this vowel is long [e:], written in our practical orthography as ⟨ee:⟩. For
one highly educated speaker, Mr. Ourn, there are a couple of old warhorse minimal
contrast pairs like ⟨kee:⟩ (breathy register) "third person indefinite" vs. ⟨kee:⟩ (clear
register) "heritage"

Another speaker, Mr. Keat, while characterizing clear register as "small person
speaking (in a high voice)" and breathy register as "big man speaking (in a deep voice)"
for the vowel written as ⟨ee:⟩, makes (or perhaps "can make", cf. Vickery 1992: fn. 20) a
distinction which can be represented segmentally as one between [ɛe] and [ee]:

[prɛeng] ~ [prɛenj]	"oil" (clear register) versus	
[preeng] ~ preenj]	"long ago" (breathy register)	(cf. Filippi 2006:7),
[kɛeng] ~ [kɛenj]	"take advantage" versus	
[keeng] ~ ⟨keenj]	"sleep" (formerly for monks or royalty).	

Young local speakers of the Siem Reap dialect, while recognizing the words in ques-
tion, stated that they were homonyms. More crucially, they had never learned about
any ko:sah ~ a'ko:sah distinction in school: rather the two vowel sets distinguished in
the traditional orthography were characterized for them as the "aw" series and the "o"
series, the differences between them being purely segmental.

It is clear that the orthographic system has fallen into irrelevance, in that the "clear
register" graph can be used with "breathy register" preceding consonants, in the spelling
of words like ⟨riang⟩ "form", for example.

In the spoken language, on the other hand, the sound [iə] may be represented by either a first or second register grapheme, but there is no discernible phonetic difference between the two.

A young highly educated speaker (Mr. Keat) attempts to maintain a reflection of an orthographic register contrast for the single pair

⟨pro:ng⟩   "splash (an onomatopoeic ideophone)" clear register vs.
⟨pro:ng⟩   "sparks, sparkling" breathy register

as [praong] vs. pro:ng]. Since he is inconsistent in maintaining this distinction, I will treat it as an unreliable spelling pronunciation.

The same inconsistency may in principle occur for any of the other vowels listed as occurring in either register.

There are, however, bits of evidence in the derivational morphology that suggest that the segmental contrasts between first and second register vowels tabulated above may play a residual role in spoken word formation.

First, the multipurpose derivational infix *Vm(n)-* (in which V is the unwritten default vowel whose value in stressed syllables is ⟨aw⟩ or ⟨au⟩) has two allomorphs: ⟨am(n)⟩ ([əm(n)]) occurs with clear register roots, and [um(n)] occurs in breathy register roots.

criang   "sing" (clear register) → *c-am-riang* [cəmriəŋ] "song" (*[cumriəŋ])
tiaj   "predict" (breathy register) → *t-umn-iaj* [tumniəj] "prophecy" (*[təmniəj])

If infixation is productive (a big "if" on which native authorities differ, cf. Lewitz 1968), and if non-literate speakers observe this distinction (as they do)[8], then it is difficult to see what they are sensitive to, if not the clear/breathy distinction in the root.

Second, it has been suggested by Farmer 2008 that "servant words" (partial reduplications with a variety of functions in symmetrical compounds, cf. Chapter 4) are most frequently "in the same register" as the words they accompany. This claim for register harmony may need to be considerably refined, inasmuch as even within single roots (including many that are accompanied by servant words) different registers may cooccur. Thus *robawh* "of" has different register vowels in its first (breathy register) and second (clear register) syllables, as do the roots *sampi:ng sampo:ng* "higgledy-piggledy" and many others that are similar; and there are servant words which exhibit the same heterogeneity, even after base words that are homogeneous. For example *ba:lej* "power" (entirely clear register) occurs with the servant word *ba:ku:* (first syllable unambiguously clear register, second syllable breathy register). Moreover, it begs the question to what extent register distinctions are recognized on the basis of their spelling alone.

Other scraps of evidence for at least the historical reality of the register distinction will be dealt with in the relevant sections of the derivational morphology in Chapter 3.

3.2   (Non-)representation of syllable-initial glottal stop

In the writing system, the glottal stop is a consonant almost like any other. And in this system, almost no words are vowel-initial. Words that sound like they begin with a vowel are provided with an initial glottal stop. The question is, does this consonant exist in fact or is it an orthographic place-holder only?

There is evidence both for and against the recognition of a distinctive syllable-initial glottal stop. In favor are the following facts:

a.   The root-initial glottal stop (phonologically a velar) affects a preceding -N- in the derivational affixes *bVN-* "causative" and *VN-* "nominalizer", converting it to the velar nasal, a straightforward case of assimilation. Thus

   baN+'ap   →   *bang'ap* [bəŋ'ap]   "belittle"
   b- aN- 'aem →   *bang'aem* [bəŋ'aem]   "sweet, dessert"

b.   A small number (less than 20) "servant words" which make symmetrical compounds like

   awh a:ng   "assert, demonstrate, prove"
   eh onj   "hesitate"
   u: aw: "hubbub"

can be identified as alliterating with their "base word" in these compounds if and only if the glottal stop is recognized as their initial phoneme. They would then be written as:

   'awh 'a:ng
   'eh 'onj
   'u: 'aw:

However, if there is no syllable-initial glottal stop, this alliteration disappears. (Then, the words in the compound are simply vowel-initial words that begin with different vowels.)

   Now the vast majority of "servant words" (see Chapter 4) do alliterate with their base words, forming pairs like our *spic 'n' span*. An example is *lbej lba:nj* "famous", whose second morpheme is a servant word. Spelling the compounds above with an initial glottal stop would bring them into line with this majority.

c.   The word-initial glottal stop, as noted, is consistently recognized in the native orthography. (There are no words that begin with vowels.) To the considerable extent to which the orthographic tradition shapes people's perceptions, that initial glottal stop is as real as it gets.

d. The initial glottal stop, inaudible in word-initial position, is audible in prefixed deri-
    vational forms. Thus the causative of ⟨aop⟩ "embrace" is ⟨p'aop⟩[ph'aop] "make em-
    brace, tie around", via the somewhat productive prefixation of initial *p-* "causative".
    In the same way, the causative of ⟨ap⟩ "diminish" is ⟨bang'ap⟩ "belittle", via the ex-
    tremely productive prefixation of the causative morpheme *bVN-*. (That is, not only
    does the initial glottal stop cause /N/ to surface as ⟨ng⟩ but that glottal stop is itself
    audible as such.)

e. The nominalizing infix -*Vm(n)*- is very similar to the nominalizing prefix *VN-*, but
    differs in that

    the prefix never includes a second consonant [n], and
    the prefix has a final nasal which regularly assimilates to the following obstruent
    with respect to point of articulation.

The prefix therefore has allomorphs *am~an~ang*, depending on the place of articulation
of the following root-initial consonant, while the infix, which invariably follows the ini-
tial consonant of the root, has allomorphs *am ~ amn*, depending on whether the second
segment of the root is a consonant at all. If this segment is a consonant, the infix is -*am*-;
if it's a vowel, the infix is *amn*-. Thus the nominalizing infix for *deung* "know" is --*amn*--:
d-amn-eung "information, knowledge", while the same infix for *tlaj* "be worth" is --*am*-- :
d-am-laj "value".

　　Given these contrasts, we can say that there are a handful of verbs with initial glottal
stop in which the nominalizing affix is clearly an infix and not a prefix:

　　⟨'- amn-a:c ⟩ "power" ([əmna:c]) derives from '*a:c* "be able" via infixation of ⟨-Vmn-⟩
　　between the initial consonant ⟨'⟩ and the following vowel ⟨a:⟩. With the prefix ⟨VN ⟩
　　(or ⟨Vn⟩) before the root ⟨a:c⟩, it would be *[ən-a:c];
　　⟨'-amn-aoj ⟩ "gift" ([əmnaoj] derives from ⟨'aoj⟩ "give". With the prefix, it would be
　　*[ən-aoj];
　　⟨'-amn-uat ⟩ "boasting" ([əmnuət]) derives from ⟨'uat⟩ "boast" (compare prefixed
　　*[ən-uət].)

But all infixes follow the initial consonant of the root in which they are infixed, and
therefore

    -*Vmn*- can only be an infix if it follows the initial consonant of the root. Hence [əmna:c]
    is clearly morphologically ⟨' + Vmn + a:c⟩. Ergo [a:c] is phonologically /'a:c/, etc.

Against the phonological recognition of initial glottal stop are the facts that:

a. There are no words that begin with vowels: thus, there are NO minimal contrast
    pairs #V...and #'V... in the language. The initial glottal stop (which is inaudible in
    word initial position in any case) seems to carry no functional load and to function
    as a "place-holder" only;

b.   The attrition of the initial syllable of bisyllabic roots in the demotic (see 4.1 below) generally eliminates the rhyme (= syllable nucleus + coda) portion of the initial syllable, leaving the onset consonant relatively unaffected (for example ⟨bangkaeut⟩ ([bəŋkaɤt]) "produce" becomes ⟨pkaeut⟩ ([phkaɤt]~[pəkaɤt]). With words that seem to begin with a glottal stop, however, this erosion consistently follows a different path, as if there were no initial consonant there in the first place. Erosion leaves the coda consonant of the initial syllable: *ambeul* "salt" *ampeu:* "action" *ansaw:m* "steamed cake" become [mbɤl], [mpɤ:], [nsa:m]. If *ambeul* were ⟨'ambeul⟩, we might expect to encounter forms which retained the initial consonant, such as *['bɤl] or *['pɤl]. This never happens. (For comparable data in Surin Khmer, cf. Jenner (1974:67)).

c.   In fact, even the orthography recognizes only the merest handful of words with the ⟨glottal stop + C⟩ initial cluster (e.g. in the word written in the native orthography ⟨'vej⟩ [əvəj] "something"   and it is notable that there are orthographic variations in the native script where this word is written "with a vowel"[9], to say nothing of the fact that in the spoken language only the reduced version ⟨ej⟩ ([əj]) is common); and as I have indicated, the actual pronunciation of this and other words with orthographic ⟨glottal stop + consonant⟩ onsets has no phonetic [glottal stop+ consonant] cluster pronunciation of any type:

What is written in the native orthography as ⟨'heh⟩ is pronounced [heh] "pssst, wake up";
Similarly, ⟨'ho:⟩ is pronounced [ho:] "wow",
and ⟨'haeng⟩ is pronounced [haeng] "you (masculine, vulgar)".

Leaving this small number of words aside, it is still remarkable that in a language where almost every two-consonant cluster is attested word-initially, there are (virtually) no such ⟨glottal stop + C⟩ clusters.

d.   Vowel-initial foreign borrowings (words like Allemagne, Esperanto, Espagne, Indra, India, etc.) are consistently rendered with initial glottal stop, strongly reenforcing the suspicion that the consonant is merely an orthographic place holder.

e.   The Pali anaptyxis rule

   ø   →   ə(')/ C ____#C

which inserts a schwa interconsonantally between the elements of Pali compounds, fails to apply when the second word in a compound begins with the glottal stop. Observe the minimal contrast pair:

   aek+ phiap   →   aekaphiap   "individualism"
   aek + aeng   →   aekaeng   "alone" (*[aeka'aeng])

f.   There is evidence that the reality of morpheme-initial glottal stop depends on whether the speaker is using a reading or demotic style. This evidence comes from compound words whose first element ends in a consonant, and whose second element begins with an orthographic glottal stop, words like

⟨sat ʼoːt⟩   "animal + camel" and
⟨baok ʼut⟩   "wash + iron" "launder".

A number of relatively unfamiliar and exotic animals, such as camels, are helpfully identified as such by being compounded with a de facto semantic classifier like ⟨sat⟩ "animal", ⟨trej⟩ "fish", etc. Thus ⟨sat meuk⟩ "octopus animal" makes it clearer that the speaker is talking about some animal. In the same way, ⟨psaot⟩ "dolphin" is optionally preceded by ⟨trej⟩ "fish". (This compounding, always optional, is pretty much restricted in practice to cases where the referent is comparatively rarely encountered or spoken about. While one can say ⟨sat ckae⟩ "dog animal", ⟨sat koː⟩ "ox animal", ⟨sat krabaj⟩ "water buffalo animal", one hardly ever does, although these forms do occur in writing.)

Such combinations are naturally rare, as are their referents. They are pronounced, accordingly, with a spelling style. Thus "camel" is pronounced as it is written, with a strongly audible initial glottal stop on ⟨ʼoːt⟩ in [satʼoːt].

Matters are very different with compounds like ⟨baok ʼut⟩ "laundry" Siem Reap is a city of shopkeepers, and one out of every four shops offers laundry services. Not only is the compound frequently written and spoken, the English word "laundry" is one that many speakers are familiar with. When asked to translate "laundry" into Khmer, speakers volunteered two responses. Very occasionally, and for my benefit, speakers would provide a spoken pronunciation exactly like the written form. Most of them however offered the form they actually used in speaking: [bao.koəʼ]~[bao.kuəʼ]~[bao.kuʼ].

Not only was the morpheme-initial glottal stop of ⟨ʼut⟩ completely elided, resyllabification transferred the final consonant of the first word to the beginning of the second. (The diphthongization of the second syllable nucleus is an isolated fact, possibly a peculiarity of the Siam Reap dialect.)

The conclusion is that morpheme-initial glottal stop occurs specifically only in a very careful spelling pronunciation.

g.   The native orthography treats syllable-initial glottal stop as a regular consonant. But the same orthography also distinguishes between "dependent" and "independent" vowel graphs. Dependent vowels are those which must be written with a preceding consonant. Independent vowels include a preceding consonant. But this preceding consonant is always the glottal stop (and never any other stop or fricative or nasal or glide). The very existence of independent vowels as an orthographic device, and their interpretation, indicates that the sequence ⟨glottal stop + V⟩ has a different status from ⟨C + V⟩   in fact, the status ⟨V⟩.

Given the contradictory facts listed above, the phonological status of word-initial [ʼ] is ambiguous. Primarily because the word-initial glottal stop is never distinctive (there being no vowel-initial words), I adopt a policy of leaving out word-initial glottal stops. This (somewhat arbitrary) analysis therefore requires a rule of glottal stop insertion for vowel-initial roots that follow other morphemes in derivations and compounds:

$$\emptyset \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ʼ} \; / \; C + \underline{\quad} \; V$$

(The equally arbitrary decision to treat word-initial glottal stop as phonological would entail an inverse rule of glottal stop deletion.)

On the other hand, the present description will include glottal stop where it is lacking in the traditional orthography: at the ends of words. No native words end in short vowels. Indic borrowings that end in such vowels are provided with a very audible final glottal stop, which is inserted by a simple obligatory rule:

$$\emptyset \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ʼ} \; / \; \text{short vowel} \underline{\quad\quad\quad} \#$$

Again, there are no minimal contrast pairs ..Vʼ# vs.   V #. The inclusion of the glottal stop in words like

⟨phiʼkuʼ⟩ "initiated monk of the second degree"
⟨vauʼthoʼ⟩ "object"

is motivated solely by the goal of approximating the actual pronunciation.

A final note on the lability of schwa: all intervocalic Pali geminate consonants occur in careful pronunciation as [ʼ+ C]. There are in addition some Pali and Sanskrit words which have been borrowed into Khmer with the same [ʼ + C] sequence as a consequence of a careful speaking rule which inserts a glottal stop after open syllables. In rapid speech, all glottal stop + consonant clusters, from either source, are reduced to just the simple consonant. Thus

Indic source	Careful pronunciation	Casual pronunciation	
vijjā	viʼcia	vicia	"science"
vatthu	vauʼthoʼ	vauthoʼ	"object"
njāya	niʼjiaj	nijiaj	"say"
anuṇṇāta	aʼnuʼnjat	anunjat	"permission"
bhikkhu	phiʼkhuʼ	phikhuʼ	"ordained monk"
sappāya	saʼbaːj	sabaːj	"well-being, content"
paccuppanna	paʼcoʼbawn	pacobawn	"the present"

3.3   The multiple spellings of schwa

Schwa is spelled ⟨a⟩ or ⟨e⟩ throughout this book, and in this chapter alone, it can also appear as a blank space. This inelegant strategy is partially motivated by the ambition to avoid any symbols not on the qwerty keyboard, partly for expository convenience, and partly because the phonological status of the vowel is to some extent truly indeterminate. Diachronically, there is little question that the schwa which results from erosion of the initial syllable of bisyllabic words in the demotic is systematically confused with the epenthetic schwa which is inserted between initial consonants in monosyllabic words.

Following Martini (1942:125), Gorgoniev (1966b:35–6) posited an anaptyxis rule:

zero   →   h~ə/ #C⸺C

Between the consonants of all initial clusters, unless C1 = s, or C2 = h, r, there is a reduced vowel.

kmae	→	[khmae]	"Khmer"
kngong	→	[kəŋoŋ]	"bent"
sdac	→	[sədac]	"king"
tnaot	→	[tənaot] ~[thnaot]	"sugar palm"
tmenj	→	[təməɲ]~[thməɲ]	"tooth"

He went on to claim (ibid. 38) that this "loose juncture", which leads to the existence of words with a connecting schwa in the initial consonantal group (i.e. of words that are monosyllabic phonologically and disyllabic phonetically), is one of the "essential" features of Khmer phonetics.

Synchronically, however, this analysis neutralizes a distinction between the extreme reduction of the initial syllable of sesquisyllabic words (all such syllables are reduced to [C + ə]) and the manufacture of an anaptyctic schwa in word-initial consonant clusters of monosyllabic roots. In doing so, the analysis does violence to educated native judgments. My consultants insist that

[kəlaŋ]	"strength" (via the extreme erosion of /k-am- lang/) is still felt to be bisyllabic, in contrast with
[kəlaŋ] ~[khlaŋ]	"strong" (via the insertion of epenthetic schwa into /klang/) which is perceived as monosyllabic.

And this perception (possibly one that is created by the spelling alone) will be reflected as one between [kəlaŋ] (the schwa via erosion) and [k laŋ] (the schwa via epenthesis) in our discussion of derivational morphology in this chapter. (I happen to believe that the native intuitions are false, and will present some evidence for my view in Section 5.3.)

3.4   Neutralizations

3.4.1 The phonological contrast between the six short monophthongs ⟨i⟩ ([i]), ⟨w⟩ ([ɯ]), ⟨e⟩ ([ɛ]), ⟨ee⟩ ([e]), ⟨eu⟩ ([ɤ]), and schwa is suspended before tauto-syllabic glides and palatal consonants, in favor of a vowel which is written in at least five different ways in the native orthography and has been transcribed in previous romanizations as [ɤ], a barred [ɨ] or double-dotted [ï], [ë], or [ə]. In this grammar the symbol ⟨e⟩ will be used throughout for this phonologically incompletely specified (short, non-low, non-back, non-rounded) stressed phoneme, whose phonetic value varies freely from schwa through [ë] to [i] in words like

> ⟨bej⟩ [bəj] "three", ⟨dej⟩ [dəj] "earth", ⟨prej⟩ [prəj] "forest", ⟨tmej⟩ [thməj] "new", ⟨trej⟩ [trəj] "fish"
> ⟨plev⟩ [pləw] "axle", ⟨tev⟩ [təw] "go", ⟨trev⟩ [trəw] "hit"
> ⟨penj⟩ [pəɲ] "full", ⟨denj⟩ [dəɲ] "chase", ⟨tenj⟩ [təɲ] "buy", ⟨klej⟩ [kləj] "short", ⟨venj⟩ [vəɲ] "braid", "back again" and ⟨renj⟩ [rəɲ] "stunted", "trickle";
> ⟨mec⟩ [məc] "how", ⟨krec⟩ [krəc] "wriggle, squirm", "sprain", ⟨krec⟩ [krəc] "flap wings hard as a courtship gesture (in a variety of doves)", "gore with one's tusks"[10].

3.4.2 Other neutralizations

The phonological opposition between /ng/ and /nj/ is suspended after long front vowels. This consonant, written ⟨ng⟩ is pronounced [ŋ] in reading style, and [ɲ] in spoken:

Phonological form	Reading style	Casual spoken style	Meaning
kmee:ng	khmee:ŋ	khmee:ɲ	boy, youth
le:ng	lɛ:ŋ	lɛ:ɲ	quit, no longer do
li:ng	li:ŋ	li:ɲ	sauté
aeng	aeŋ	aeɲ	you

4.   Phonological processes

4.1   Iambicity and the Erosion of initial syllables

The most productive ongoing process in the native vocabulary of Khmer is the reduction of initial syllables of two-syllable words and phrases in the spoken register. It is as if all native words and phrases behaved like English

> *Good night > g'night > night*

Three subcases can be distinguished:

a.   the assimilation of borrowings;
b.   the reduction of the initial syllables of compounds; and
c.   the reduction of anacrusic syllables in native sesquisyllabic words.

4.1.1 The assimilation of borrowings

Assimilation includes not only the reduction of pretonic syllables, but the elimination of post-tonic syllables as well.

Spelling		Pronunciation	
A:rammaṇa	>	arawm	"feeling" (shortening of ⟨a:⟩, loss of ⟨maṇa⟩)
A:tetj	>	ateut	"Sunday"
A:vudh	>	avut	"weapon"
Ba:rej	>	prej	"cigarette"
Bo:ra:ṇ	>	bora:n	"ancient"
Kapāla	>	kaba:l	"head"
Kaaṭa	>	kadaw:	"cock"
Karuṇā	>	kana:	"I; yes" (in speech to monks)
Pa'ra'lo:k	>	balo:k	"afterlife"
Pi:ntu	>	pintu'	"grade"
Pi:seh	>	piseh	"special"
Sa:ha:j	>	saha:j	"adulterous lover of either sex"
Sa:la:	>	sla:	"hall"
Sa:sap	>	sasap	"converse"

4.1.2 Reduction of initial syllables in compounds and prefixed forms

a: + kaw:	>	akaw:	"rip off, swindle, cheat"
a: +na:	>	ana:	"whoever, who the hell.."
muaj daw:ng	>	madaw:ng	"once"
mwn dael	>	mdael	"never"
pon ma:n	>	pama:n	"how much, how many"
pram buaj	>	pambuaj	"nine"
te:c kun	>	tekun	"monk (and honorific for monks)"
tev lee:ng	>	talee:ng	"go visit"
tu:l peut	>	tupeut	"tell on somebody, tattle"

Under this heading should be listed the cases of the causative prefix *bVN-* reduced to *pVN-* and then to *p-*:

4.1.2.1 *bVN-* ~ *p-* doublets

bansawm ~ psawm	"combine, join"
bandual ~ padual	"knock down, fell"
bangrian ~ prian	"educate, instruct, edify, teach"
bangkaeut pakaeut	"bring forth, produce"

4.1.2.2 Orthographically frozen *pVN-* causatives

punlut   "extinguish"
pungrian   "straighten out"
pungri:k   "enlarge, develop, foster"

Possibly, the *bVn-* prefix is itself a reduced version of the causative verb *ba:n*.

ʔba:n cia   "cause to be" may have given rise to *baɲcia*   "order, command"
(cf. the lexical entries in Headley et al. 1977 and in Jenner 2009a, b).

4.1.3 The constant erosion in demotic speech of the anacrusic syllable of the sesquisyllabic word

The following productive[11] lenition and reduction processes are attested:

a. CRV- →   C(a)   (optional)
b. CVN- →   C(a)   (optional)
c. C   →   voiceless/ _____ C
d. C   →   ø/ ___C   (optional)
e. r   →   1/ __ C   (optional)
f. V: →   V (all long vowels are shortened) (obligatory)

Rule (f) differs from the first five not only in being obligatory, but in applying only to borrowings and compounds (there are no native words with underlying long vowels in the anacrusic syllable).

The following representative list of examples should give some hint of how much the casual spoken register differs phonetically from the formal written. (Note that in this list, the practical orthography is used to represent both the careful and the casual pronunciations.)

bambaek   > pabaek   "destroy"
bampleu:h > papleu:h   "exaggerate"
bamra:m   > pra:m   "prohibit"
bandaeu   > padaeu   "lead, make to walk"
banlae   > palae   "vegetables"
banthaem   > pathaem   "add"
banjcenj   > pacenj   "emit"
bangho: > paho: "irrigate"
bangkia   > pakia   "shrimp"
bangkoap   > pakoap   "order"
bang'uac   > pa'uac   "window"
camnga:j   > canga:j   "distance"
cangkeuh   > cakeuh   "chopsticks"

cumngw:	*cangw:*	"illness"
damba:v >	*taba(:)v*	"infection"
dambo:k	*tabo:k*	"hillock"
dambo:l >	*tabo:l*	"roof"
dambo:ng >	*tabo:ng*	"first of all"
dambaw: >	*tabaw:*	"two times two"
dambawn >	*tabawn*	"region, zone"
dambaw:ng >	*tabaw:ng*	"stick"
damnaeu	*tanaeu*	"trip"
dangkev >	*takev*	"earthworm"
kamlang	*kalang*	"strength"
kanda:l >	*kada:l*	"middle"
kanlaeng >	*kalaeng*	"place"
kangha:l >	*kaha:l*	"fan"
kralee:k >	*kalee:k*	"cast one's eye on"
krama: >	*kama:*	"scarf, bandana"
kraʾo:p >	*kaʾo:p*	"fragrant"
pradap	*padap*	"instrument, tool"
prado:c	*pado:c*	"compare"
prahael >	*pahael*	"approximately"
prateah	*pateah*	"run into, encounter"
pralwm	*palwm*	"dawn"
rabam >	*labam*	"dance"
rabang >	*labang*	"gate, shield, wall"
rabaj >	*labaj*	"form"
rabeh >	*labeh*	"peelings and rubble (?)"
rabe:ng >	*labe:ng*	"tuberculosis"
rabiang >	*labiang*	"frontage road, alley"
rabiap	*labiap*	"institution, method, practice"
rabo:c >	*labo:c*	"damage"
rabo:t	*labo:t~abo:t*	"let go"
robawh >	*bawh*	"of"
rumhaeuj >	*lahaeuj*	"cool"
saʾba:j	*saba:j*	"pleasant"
siavphev >	*saphev*	"book"
samlap	*salap*	"kill"
samngat	*sangat*	"secret"
samʾa:t >	*saʾa:t*	"clean" (transitive, causative)
tungkeuc	*takec*	"knock"
tumleak >	*taleak*	"drop"
tumnguan >	*tanguan*	"weight"

I have contended (Haiman 1998) that this attrition is not only the major single ongoing process in colloquial Khmer; it is the visible continuation of an ancient development in SE Asian (not just Austroasiatic) languages as well. Hints that attest to the antiquity of the process include the following:

It is possibly the single change that postponed the identification of Thai as an Austronesian language. Benedict (1942) argued that Thai as an Austronesian language had inherited a bisyllabic canonical root and reduced it to a monosyllable essentially by losing the better part of the initial syllable;

Attrition is the single factor which most clearly sets off the monosyllabic Viet-Muong languages from iambic languages within Austroasiatic. The lost initial syllable can in some cases be reconstructed (Ferlus 1975).

In the "Northern (Surin) Khmer" dialects spoken in the southern third of Northeast Thailand, the end result of this attrition has been the creation of new monosyllabic roots (e.g. *pma:n* "how much" corresponding to Cambodian Khmer *ponma:n, tmo:l* "roof" corresponding to Cambodian Khmer *dambo:l*), and a new nominalizing infix ⟨-ə-⟩ (e.g. *t-ə-hom* "size" corresponding to Cambodian Khmer *t-um-hom*): for the loss, cf. Jenner 1974, for the creation of the infix, cf. Prakorb 1992[12]. That the process is currently productive is attested synchronically in different pronunciations of anacrusic syllables.

As a synchronic process, however, erosion does not create monosyllables where there were disyllabic words. My literate consultants assert that

camnga:j	"distance" however reduced, is not homophonous with *cnga:j* "distant";
prateah	"run into" is not homophonous with *pteah* "house"
samlap	"kill" is not homophonous with *slap* "die";
sama:t	"clean up, beautify" is not homophonous with *s'a:t* "clean, beautiful"

The minimal distinction is between the phonologically disyllabic *cənga:j* (with a voiced schwa) and the monosyllabic *c nga:j* (with aspiration), just as it is in the Surin Khmer described by Prakorb 1992.

As a diachronic process, attrition has been responsible for converting iambic words into monosyllables (cf. Pinnow 1980), and the resulting proliferation of initial consonant clusters in monosyllabic words.

But it may also be responsible for the origin of "sesquisyllabic" structure of monomorphemic words in the first place[13]. Perhaps the inherited structure of many such words was once fully bisyllabic (as it still is in e.g. *siavphev* "book"), even bimorphemic (e.g. *beh do:ng* "heart", *aopuk* "father", *ejlev* "now").

Attrition may also be the process responsible for the apparition of a small number of recurrent monosegmental "prefixes" (p-, t-, k-, c-, s-) of indeterminate meaning (Jenner 1969: Chapter 4, Jacob 1968: 178; Gorgoniev 1966b: 54).

4.2   Nasal assimilation

The final nasal of the causative prefix *bVN-*, the causative or nominalizing infix *VN-*, and the nominalizing prefix *VN-* assumes different shapes depending on the nature of the following segment according to the nasal assimilation rule[14]:

N → α place /   C
                       α place

For purposes of this rule, the segments [h, r, ʔ] are counted phonologically as velars (that is, homorganic with /k/, as noted for Austroasiatic already by Schmidt (1916:460); cf. Rongier (2005:90), who identifies as functional velars the segments [k, g, ng, r] in Kouy):

bVN-kaeut	→	*bangkaeut*	"give birth to, produce"
b- VN - ʾaem	→	*bangʾaem*	"sweets, dessert"
bVN - ho:	→	*bangho:*	"cause to flow"
bVN - rian	→	*bangrian*	"teach"
bVN- vee:ng	→	*bangvee:ng*	"cause to get lost"

5.   Abstract phonemes and natural classes

5.1   The possibility of a class of "weak velars"

A natural class including the phonemes /ng/, / h/, /r/, / ʾ/, /v/ is suggested not only by their participation in conditioning the nasal assimilation noted above, but by the peculiar inability of these consonants to serve as the first element in a cluster (hence the label "weak" in contradistinction to /k/). (Compare this list with the corresponding list for Old Khmer, including /ʾ, n, nj, ng, h, w, y/ and the ingressive nasals /ɓ, ɗ/, Jenner & Sidwell 2010:7).

5.2   The possibility of an archiphonemic diphthong /midvowel + schwa/

Smith (2007:ii) declares the native orthography to be "the best [transcription of Khmer phonetics] on the planet" and heroically dispenses with any romanizations in even the initial chapters of his introductory textbook. No other scholar has followed him in either this bold assessment or in practice: but there does exist one respect in which the Indic orthography is sensitive to a generalization that could otherwise very easily be missed. The diphthongs ⟨ea⟩ and ⟨oa⟩ (typically represented in the same way in the Indic orthography as the breathy register form of the short vowel [a]) are almost entirely in complementary distribution, ⟨ea⟩ occurring before all velars (if we also treat [h] as a velar), and ⟨oa⟩ everywhere else (cf. Gorgoniev 1966b:26). The only exceptions to this in my materials are the minimal contrast pairs:

keah	push away
koah	pry out; dig up; aim at
toah	have friction, not get along, offend
teah	strike with hand or paw; clap hands
tateah	clap hands, flap wings
tatoah (tate:ng)	quarrel (whose second element is a decorative pair)
leah	lop off
loah	burgeon
veah~vah	incise, cut surgically
voah	measure, calibrate

Both ⟨ea⟩ and ⟨oa⟩ share a further feature. They are opposed to the diphthongs ⟨aeu⟩, ⟨wa⟩, ⟨ia⟩ and ⟨ua⟩ in their inability to occur before the consonantal coda [j]. It is as if there were a single archiphoneme /mid-vowel +schwa/ to which these unnatural-seeming restrictions applied. It may be relevant to observe that in at least the dialects of Siem Reap and of Surin province in Thailand, all cases of *⟨oa⟩ are pronounced [ɤ]⟨eu⟩, [ɤə] ⟨eua⟩, [uə]⟨wa⟩, or [ɛə]⟨ea⟩ (with a possible outcome ⟨aw⟩ before ⟨m⟩), reducing the phonetic as well as the phonological distance between the phoneme nuclei ⟨ea⟩ and ⟨oa⟩ (in some cases) to a near vanishing point. (Note again that all pronunciations are rendered in the practical orthography.)

Word	Standard pronunciation	Siem Reap pronunciation	Gloss
coa	coa	cwa	rubber
koam	koam	kawm	support
kroan tae	kroan tae	kreuan tae	just
kroap	kroap	kreap	seed
moan	moan	meu(a)n	chicken
pnoal	pnoal	pneul	bet
skoal	skoal	skeul	know
tloap	tloap	tleu(a)p	use to
toal	toal	teul	up to, until
toan	toan	teun	thousand
toan	toan	tean	catch up
toat	toat	teat	kick
troam	troam	treuam	endure
troap	troap	treuap	property
tranoap	tranoap	traneuap	underclothes
tumloap	tumloap	tumleuap	habit
tumpoa	tumpoa	tumpeua	page

That is, it may be that the Siam Reap dialect, characterized as *radwn* (patois) largely on the basis of this feature, is pointing back to an earlier state of affairs where ⟨ea⟩ and ⟨oa⟩ were closer to being identical.[15]

5.3   The natural class of stops: Obstruent devoicing

Voiced stop → voiceless/ _____ voiceless consonant

Loss of the rhyme portion of the unstressed syllable brings its initial consonant next to the initial consonant of the main syllable, and in this environment, the first consonant loses its voicing:

da + dael>	*ddael>	tadael	"same"
bantup>	*btup>	patup	"room"
bambaek>	*bbaek>	pabaek	"destroy"

Given the plausibility of a preconsonantal devoicing rule, we identify the vowel schwa in the initial syllable not as a reduced retention of the original rhyme portion of the unstressed syllable, but as the output of the rule of anaptyctic *schwa insertion,* and we identify this insertion of anaptyctic schwa as clearly a later rule that follows obstruent devoicing. That is, we posit a phonological derivation

bVN- kaeut	→	*b-kaeut*	→ *p kaeut* (→ *pakaeut*) "produce, give birth to", and not
**bVN-kaeut*	→	*bakaeut*	→ *pakaeut* or
**bVN—kaeut*	→	*pakaeut*	

I have indicated that native speakers insist that the schwa which arises from rhyme erosion and the schwa which arises from anaptyxis are distinct. The existence of derivations like the ones above are my argument that they are wrong. The schwa is the indirect result of erosion; but devoicing suggests that this schwa has been restored by anaptyxis.

The reversal or inversion of obstruent devoicing is seen irregularly where roots acquire infixes:

Voiceless stop → voiced / _____ vowel

**t- am rawng*	(from *trawng* "direct")	→	*damrawng* "directly"
**t-am-laj*	(from *tlaj* "have value")	→	*damlaj* "price"

All stops are also devoiced in final position. There is therefore no contrast p/b or d/t/.

All stops, including /c/, also become unreleased, in syllable-final position.

It is therefore particularly hard to hear a contrast between /k/ and /ʔ/ in this position (Martin 1975 maintains that there is none in the Northern Tatey dialect and Jenner (1974:63) asserts that the difference is equally hard to hear in Surin Khmer).

Final /c/ is audibly distinguishable from final /t/ mainly through the slight i-glide following the preceding vowel (Ehrman & Sos 1972:9)[16]:

do:c   →   [do:ič]   "like"
a:c   →   [a:ič]   "able to"
kmaoc   →   [khmaoič]   "corpse"

It is as if [c] were decomposed into [t] + [j], and these segments were reversed: alternatively the feature "palatal" is expressed following [t] when the stop is released, but preceding it when the stop is unreleased[17].

5.4   A class of weak consonants? The lenitions of /s/ and /r/

Two final written consonants are not pronounced, ⟨r⟩, and ⟨s⟩.

5.4.1 Final ⟨r⟩ is never pronounced in Central Khmer[18]

According to Gorgoniev (1966b:14), Martin (1975:76), and Erik Davis (p.c.), syllable-final [r] is retained in native words of the Northern Khmer dialects of the Cardamom Mountains region and of Northeast Thailand. In the Central Standard Khmer described here, it is generally lost. (Thus Surin /suar/ contrasts with Central /sua/ "ask", and Surin *tiar* contrasts with Central *tia* "duck", cf. Jenner 1974:63.) This sound does not occur even in ultra-careful hypercorrect spelling pronunciations in word-final position (e.g. *thoa* "dharma" is never pronounced [thoar]).

5.4.2 Final ⟨s⟩ may be pronounced [s], in a hypercorrect reading style: thus nah, written as ⟨nas⟩ can be pronounced [nas] or [nah]. Otherwise, it is pronounced as [h][19]

5.4.3 Syllable-initial lenitions of /r/

5.4.3.1 *In unstressed syllables.* Syllable-initial /r/ in unstressed syllables is reduced in rapid speech to /l/ as we have seen in Section 4.1.3:

raho:t   →   *laho:t*   "always, until"
rabam   →   *labam*   "dance [N]"
rabeh   →   *labeh*   "rubble"
rabiang   →   *labiang*   "alley"
rumhaeuj   →   *lahaeuj*   "cool"

5.4.3.2 *In stressed syllables.* The following changes are apparently confined to the Phnom Penh (Noss 1966, Filippi 2006) and Kiengang (Mekong Delta, cf. Thach 1999) dialects. Noss claims that when Phnom Penh speakers pronounce [r] in these contexts, they are

not so much restoring their own careful pronunciation (Mr. Keat's own characterization of the alternation in his speech), as they are imitating the standard dialect.

In stressed syllables, whether as the only initial consonant, or (infrequently) as the second member of a cluster, /r/ is reduced to /h/ or entirely lost:

rau:j	→	*hau:j*	"one hundred"
roam	→	*hoam*	"dance"

When /r/ is the second consonant in a cluster, it usually disappears (*craeun → caeun* "lots"; *pram → p(e)am* "five"), but [h] also shows up in a small number of words (*trej → thej* "fish")

In the Kiengang dialect spoken in the Mekong Delta in South Vietnam, Thach 1999 has noted a similar loss of syllable-initial /r/, with concomitant changes in the following vowel, which seems to acquire a low tone (tone is otherwise absent in Khmer). It is not certain that the change /r/ → [h] described in these two dialects is the same fact, but tonogenesis occurs only in the dialect spoken in Vietnam.

6.   Derivational morphological processes confined to Pali words

6.1   The s ~ h alternation

In the standard orthography, all instances of final ⟨s⟩ are pronounced [h] except in a hypercorrect spelling pronunciation. (In this book, all such words are written with a final ⟨h⟩.) The basis for positing an actual alternation, however, is the existence of a handful of borrowed compounds whose first morpheme ends with ⟨s⟩. These are words like:

⟨seus + a:nu'+ seus⟩	"students of all grades"	[seusa'nuseuh]
⟨tee:s + caw:⟩	"tourist"	[tee:sa'caw:]
⟨tee:s + phiap⟩	"landscape"	[tee:sa'phiap]
⟨sas + na:⟩	"religion"	[sasna:]
⟨sas + neuk⟩	"adherent to a religion"	[sasneuk]
⟨reas + mej⟩	"ray of light"	[reasmej]
⟨vi'nias + kam⟩	"tragedy, damage"	[vi'niasa'kam]

These are compounds whose first morphemes (⟨reas-⟩, ⟨sas-⟩, ⟨seus-⟩, ⟨tee:s-⟩, ⟨vi'nias-⟩) do happen to occur on their own. When they do, their final segment is pronounced [h]: ⟨reas-⟩ in ⟨reah⟩ "ray of light", ⟨sas-⟩ in ⟨sah⟩ "religion", ⟨seus-⟩ in ⟨seuh⟩ "student", ⟨tee:s⟩ only in the root ⟨tee:h⟩ "(fabric of) local (manufacture); homespun", ⟨vi'nias-⟩ in ⟨vi'niah⟩ "become extinct, perish".

6.2   The dubious r ~ ø alternation in Pali compounds

Final orthographic ⟨r⟩ (unlike final ⟨s⟩) is never pronounced in Central Khmer. The basis for positing an alternation is a handful of doublets like *sa: ~sa:ra'* "important, essential", and once again, some Pali compounds. Where -r final roots precede consonant-initial roots (as in *tu:r(a)sap* "telephone", *sma:r(a)dej* "consciousness", *paur(a)mian* "news", *sa:(r(a))phiap* "responsibility", the orthographic ⟨r⟩ may be retained. An unstressed /a(')/ is inserted in such positions. One suspects that these may be pure spelling pronunciations, except that the vowel that is "restored" is always /a/, rather than the inherited vowel that is written. A case in point is *phu:m(a)+sah* "geography" (a compound of *phu:m* "village", spelled ⟨phu:mi⟩ in the native orthography, and *sah* "science" spelled ⟨sastr⟩). The point is that if this were a purely spelling pronunciation, we should definitely expect to hear *[phu:misah].

6.3   The zero ~ schwa alternation: A Pali rule of anaptyxis

We have seen in Section 3.3 that there is a native rule of anaptyctic schwa insertion, whereby words like ⟨tnaot⟩ "sugar palm" are pronounced as [thnaot] ~ [tənaot]. A similar but distinct rule applies in the Pali lexicon.

In compound Pali words, an optional schwa, transcribed herein as ⟨a⟩, is inserted between the final consonant of the first morpheme and the initial consonant of the second.

$$\emptyset \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{a/ C+} \_\_\_\_\_ \text{ C}$$

When this happens, the final ⟨s⟩, ⟨r⟩ or consonant cluster of the first word (typically lost or simplified in word-final position) is frequently restored, as noted above:

saopheun	"beauty" + phiap "aspect" → saopheun(a)phiap	"beauty (of a landscape)"
sok	"health" + phiap "aspect" → sokh(a)phiap	"health"
tiarun	"terrible" + kam "action" → tiarun(a)kam	"terrible punishment; execution"
vi'nias	"perish" + kam "action" → vi'niasakam	"damage, tragedy"

In hypercorrect Pali spelling pronunciations, where all syllables are closed by a glottal stop, this inserted vowel may itself be followed by an inserted glottal stop:

saok "cry" + niadakam	→ saok(a')niada'kam	"melodrama, tragedy"
sau'maur + phu:m "place"	→ sau'maur(a')phu:m	"battlefield, front"

Depending on the size of their Pali loan word vocabulary and on their literacy, speakers may treat all compounds as unanalyzable monomorphemic words or they may apply this rule of schwa insertion. Most likely, speakers will employ both strategies, depending on the frequency with which a particular morpheme recurs.

Common compound forming roots like *kam-* "action", *-phiap* "state", *-phu:m* "place", *-kaw:* "doer", and *ka(r)-* "matter, affair" are possibly recognized by most speakers in at least some Pali compounds like:

kam + baw:t	"object (of sentence)"	(= *kam + baw:t* "form")	[kamaʼbawt]
kam + kaw:	"worker"	(= *kam + kaw:* "doer")	[kamaʼkaw:]
kam + pia	"sin"	(= *kam + pia* "sin")	[kamaʼpia]
khiat + kaw:	"killer"	(= *khiat* "kill" + *kaw:*)	[khiataʼkaw:]
heun + phiap	"perdition"	(= *heun* "loss" + *phiap*)	[heunaʼphiap]
kun + phiap	"quality"	(= *kun* "merit" + *phiap*)	[kunaʼphiap]
sok + phiap	"health"	(= *sok* "be well" + *phiap*)	[sokhaʼphiap]
ka:r + tha:n	"workplace"	(= *ka:r + tha:n* "place")	[ka:raʼtha:n]

The [a(ʼ)] could then be inserted by the Pali schwa insertion rule. For others, there may be no etymological awareness of a compound at all. *Kol* (from Pali kula "clan") occurs in a small number of compounds, among them

kol + bot	"male child; family and children"
kol + thida:	"female child; daughter of good family"

The first is regularly pronounced [kolabot], the second as [kolthida:], by the same speakers.

Whatever the cognitive status of the Pali schwa insertion rule, its output is both phonetically and phonologically distinct from the native anaptyctic schwa insertion rule that applies to break up the initial consonant clusters of monosyllabic roots such as *tnaot* "sugar palm".

Phonetically: The native rule applies regularly except between /s/ and a following nasal or voiceless stop, or between initial stops and liquids,, and inserts either a voiced vowel (schwa) between some consonants (e.g. *k-a- ba:l* "head") or a devoiced vowel ([h]) between others (e.g. *t-h-naot*).

The Pali rule applies except between [s] and a following nasal, and always inserts a voiced vowel (never [h]).

Even where the vowel inserted by the native rule of anaptyxis is a schwa, it is less "substantial" phonetically than vowel inserted by the Pali rule, which may be "reinforced", like any organic vowel in a Pali word, by a syllable-final glottal stop. (The schwa inserted by native anaptyxis is never followed by a glottal stop.)

From a phonological standpoint, the differences are even greater. The Pali schwa is phonologically inert, without consequences for the grammar of the language. The native schwa is cognitively ambiguous, and may be treated as the remains of a more elaborate phonetic string, that is, it may be systematically confused with the outcome of the various rules of initial syllable erosion. As such, it provides the basis for at least some of the infixes in the derivational morphology (more on this in Chapters 2 and 3).

Notes

1.   As a deviant diphthong, one might suppose that /ao/ is unstable, and possibly an artifact of the spelling system. This is not the case. In fact, in casual pronunciations, /aeu/ becomes [ao], thus /saeuc/ → [saoc] "laugh", /haeuj/ → [haoj] "aleady", cf. Filippi 2006:23. There is a tendency to pronounce ⟨ea⟩ in one extremely common word ⟨neak⟩ "person" as a diphthong with an onglide: [njak].

2.   One example: she suggested "hang on" as a translation for the negative imperative auxiliary combination *kom a:l*

   "don't ....yet"/ "don't be in such a hurry to..."

3.   Of the major previous descriptions of Khmer, only Lim et al. 1972 is a consistent description of the colloquial language. Jacob 1968 is almost entirely a description of a highly artificial form of the written standard. All others, including the present book, attempt (uneasily) to describe both registers, but with a largely unspoken bias towards the literary style as reflected in the traditional orthography. I have rejected the idea of truth in advertising and of calling this a grammar of purely literary Cambodian for one reason: Since I believe that the vocalic reduction of the initial syllable in the demotic played a central role in the development of the morphology of both the written and spoken registers, I have had no choice but to straddle the written/spoken line also: with the proviso, however, that it is a more complete and reliable description of the written language, one that tosses a bone now and then to the reality of the demotic. It is perhaps a reflection of prevailing Khmer attitudes towards the sacredness of the written word not only that my literate consultants have tried to belittle evidence from the spoken language, but that serious work by native linguists so far (the monolingual dictionary of Chuon Nath of 1938, and the dozens of articles written by Saveros Lewitz/Pou on various aspects of Khmer linguistics over a period of over thirty years) have focused almost exclusively on written, not to say ancient written Khmer.

4.   This is also true in the dubbed representations of "virile females" such as the action heroine Lara Croft.

5.   The register contrast exists throughout Mon-Khmer as the result of parallel innovations, with some languages showing no evidence of ever having introduced it, and Central Khmer the language which has gone the farthest towards losing it, cf. Gregerson 1976, Huffman 1976. It is apparently lost in Surin Khmer (Jenner 1974:61), but still extant in the variety of the Central dialect spoken in the Cardamom mountains near the Thai border, cf. Martin 1975. It should be noted that the orthography is not only a theory about the existence of register, but also about its origin: the phonemicization of breathy register arose with the loss of voiced consonants, and breathy register is indicated by the graphs for those vanished voiced consonants, cf. Jenner 1969:15.

6.   The noun classifier *awng* is reserved for monks, royalty, the Buddha, and letters of the alphabet. Ieuv-Khoeus' Khmer grammar of 1945 is hardly more than an extended éloge of the orthography. Silent letters can serve to distinguish homophones, very much as in English. But in addition, they may have purely grammatical values, much like the (British) English distinction between ⟨practice⟩ (a noun) and ⟨practise⟩ (a verb): for example *samphiah* "interview" written with following silenced ⟨n⟩ (from Sanskrit - na) is a nominalization of the homophonous verb. If this is an affectation, it is still a living one. I have observed a middle-school teacher in his early twenties writing *tee:s caw: + n* on the blackboard to translate "tourism", distinguished from the homophonous *tee:s caw:* "tourist". Spelling pronunciations abound among literate speakers, cf. notes 7, 8. It should be borne in mind that the literacy rate of the country in 1999 was estimated by Ethnologue to be ca. 50%. A more recent figure is 82% for males, 58% for females (Rongier 2005:9).

7.   Thus Mr. Ourn (proudly) introduced me to the *ko:sah/a'ko:sah* distinction within days of our acquaintance, illustrating it with *kaw:/kAU:* "throat, neck"/"mute" and *kee:/kEE:* "heritage"/ "3rd person" (with capital letters here indicating the breathy register). Beyond these two old warhorses his judgments were, as I gradually came to recognize, unreliable. For example, he identified *knaw:ng/knong* "back"/ "inside" (both orthographically first register) as an example of the same register distinction.

8.   Among grammarians, Gorgoniev (1966b: 36) alone maintains the existence of a register distinction in what even he calls essentially a spelling pronunciation in anacrusic syllables. That distinction is also made in the entries of Headley et al's Cambodian-English dictionary, and in the spelling pronunciations of both of my teachers in America. Jacob 1968, who otherwise painstakingly observes all Indic orthographic distinctions (including nonexistent ones of register) in her own transliterations, consistently records the vowel of anacrusic ⟨CrV-⟩ as a schwa. Lim et al. 1972 recognize no other vowel than schwa in the pronunciation of anacrusic syllables. This practice is as if a grammarian of English were to recognize no representation of a word like "something" other than [sʌm'm̩]   phonetically true, but ignoring the conventional spelling (and its reflection of the morphology) completely. I myself have been unable to hear any distinction between putative anacrusic ⟨C+raw-⟩ and ⟨C+rau-⟩, in putative minimal contrast pairs like the transliterations ⟨prawma:n⟩ "calculate" and ⟨praumian⟩ "warn, remind" (native orthography), in the dialect of Siem Reap. In this grammar, these words are accordingly rendered as ⟨prama:n⟩ and ⟨pramian⟩. In fact, my students have gleefully pointed out to me that ⟨preah can⟩ "lord moon, the moon" is homonymous with ⟨pracan⟩ "jealous". That is, even as a separate word in a noun phrase, the honorific is ground down to [pra]. The distinction between first and second register ⟨CVm-⟩, beween the anacrusic rhymes [um] and [əm], on the other hand, is observed.

9.   Consonant clusters are represented in the native orthography by the strategy of writing C2 in a distinct "subscript" form, which usually appears underneath or before C1. Where C1 and C2 are separated by any vowel, including the unwritten default vowel, they are written side by side in the order they are pronounced.

10.   There is a unique exception to this neutralization. The word pair [lɔc] "west" and [lïc] "sink, set" are not only homographs, but semantically related exactly as are the two words ⟨kaeut⟩ "east" and "rise". Nevertheless, they are pronounced distinctly. I am particularly indebted to Mr. Keat for having unearthed some of the orthographic minimal contrast pairs above, which he confirms are pronounced exactly the same although they are written differently.

11.   There are a handful of words which are reduced irregularly, losing not their rhyme, but their onset + nucleus: the abbreviated forms of *tunsa:j* "rabbit", *rumpoat* "stroke of a cane (in a beating), *bantoat* "ruler" and are [nsa:j], [mpoət], [ntoət]. Presumably this is related to the absence of word-initial *[ts] in the first case, but there is no systematic basis for the other two.

12.   Jacob (1963: 63) notes that Mon has both causative and nominalizing vowel infixes: ⟨kcit⟩ "die", ⟨kucit⟩ "death, kill", ⟨phic⟩ "fear", ⟨buhic⟩ "frighten". Both she and Pou (2004: 31) assert that such vocal infixes do not occur in Khmer. This is certainly false at the level of phonetic reality, since vowel infixes exist in both Surin Khmer and in casual varieties of Central Khmer. And it may also be false phonologically: that depends on whether the vowel infix is perceived as an eroded syllable rhyme – in Mon perhaps no less than in Khmer. Vickery (1998: 90) notes that in Proto-Mon, "kill" is *kpcet. Do modern speakers still "hear" that /p/ when they say [u]?

13.   A word has either one or two syllables. The label "sesquisyllabic" for iambic words is an inspired coinage to describe the phonological indeterminacy of words with initial consonant clusters, which are phonetically bisyllabic, and phonologically either disyllabic or monosyllabic. Henderson (1952: 165, 170)

speaks of "extended monosyllables", Jenner & Pou (1982: xii, xx) of "sub-disyllables" for these indeterminate types of iambic words. Matisoff coined the label which has been enthusiastically adopted by all specialists since 1973.

14.   No such assimilation rule seems to apply in Surin Khmer, where the final nasal of the initial syllable always surfaces as [n], cf. Jenner 1974: passim.

15.   Huffman consistently transcribes [ɤ] as [ə], and all subsequent investigators have followed his lead. Were it not for the Sieam Reap forms like [tɤən] "catch/keep up with" in which the two vowels occur side by side within the same syllable, this would be an elegant and practical simplification. I am however forced to transcribe this sound as ⟨eu⟩, thus ⟨teuan⟩ is Siam Reap-ese for ⟨toan⟩. In his transcriptions of Surin, Jenner 1974 transliterates the corresponding diphthong as ⟨yə⟩, thus ⟨kyət⟩ corresponds to Central Khmer ⟨koat⟩ "3 person, respectful", ⟨nyəm⟩ to Central Khmer ⟨noam⟩ "lead, bring".

16.   Cf. Smalley (1961: 3) for an analogous rule in the N. Laos language Khmu!

17.   According to Jenner (1974: 65), glide insertion in Surin Khmer is a more general phenomenon. Not only are palatal glides inserted before final unreleased palatal stops and nasals, velar glides are inserted before final labials (/ruːp/ → [ruːʷp] "image"), and schwa is inserted before final laterals (/pul/ → [puəl] "poison").

18.   It is, as noted, recorded in the Northern dialects, spoken in the Cardamom mountains (Martin 1975), and possibly in the Surin dialects in Thailand (asserted by Gorgoniev 1966b: 11–2, denied by Jenner 1974: 62–3), as well as in closely related Khmeric languages like Kouy (Rongier 2005, passim).

19.   Vickery (1992: fn. 20) observes that Eugenie Henderson's principal consultant (for her classic description of Khmer phonetics, 1952) was the later famous Khmer linguist Keng Vannsak, who insisted on pronouncing registers when speaking formally: "[and] in his university lectures in the 1960s, [he] also pronounced the final /s/ wherever it occurred in the written language." Mr. Ourn goes Keng Vannsak one better for hypercorrectness and for my benefit has also often pronounced even orthographic final ⟨h⟩ as [s] in exceptionally slow speech. Oddly, Khmer-speaking L2 learners of English master final /r/ (which they never pronounce in words like thoa "dharma") in American English words like "her" without much difficulty, but have a very hard time producing final [s] (which they apparently can pronounce in words like nah~nas "very"), when they attempt American English words like "nurse", as well as nominal plurals, and the third person singular of verbs in the present tense.

The structure of words

The vocabulary of Khmer consists primarily of native roots and of borrowings from Indic. There are surprisingly few borrowings from Thai (but these include some of the morphemes most deeply embedded in the vocabulary), and even fewer from other languages like French, Cham, Malay, Chinese, or English.

1. The native vocabulary

The overwhelming majority of native roots are either monosyllabic or bisyllabic. The latter (perhaps half of the native vocabulary, cf. Huffman et al. 1970:11) invariably consist of an unstressed presyllable (also called the anacrusic syllable) and a main stressed syllable. Typical examples are words like:

cambaeng	sorrowful, lonely
cambaeung	chaff, straw
cralo:t	jump in
cralawm	confused, mistaken
cralaw:ng	valley
craleung	cute, adorable
kakhia	profuse
kaklo:k	watery gruel
kako:	kind of soup
kakaw:	sediment
kakraeuk	move suddenly, like earth shaking
krahaem	clear throat, growl
krahaeng	tall grass
krahi:t	float on one's face
kraho:ng	shallow depression, cavity
krahawh	layman
krahaw:m	red
kraheum	rumble, growl

Since in the vernacular the anacrusic syllable is constantly being reduced, often to just a single consonant or to zero, the canonical bisyllabic word is phonetically "sesquisyllabic" (Matisoff 1973) rather than bisyllabic in Khmer, as in many other Mon-Khmer

languages. Another way of putting this is that there is "no sharp boundary between the monosyllable and the disyllable" (Henderson 1952:170).

The difference between "full" and "reduced" pronunciations of some typical (both monosyllabic and sesquisyllabic) words may be illustrated by the contrasts between the speech of Noeurng Ourn and Pharanear Thin. The first, aged about 69 as I write this, was trained as a teacher of Khmer literature at the Pedagogical Institute in Phnom Penh, and came to America as an adult father of five children in 1982: Khmer is still his first language. The second, a former undergraduate student aged about twenty when I knew him, spent the first years of his life in a refugee camp in Thailand, emigrated to America as a boy, and uses Khmer to talk to his grandmother, but is illiterate in Khmer. For Noeurng, the reduced forms used by Pharanear are register-controlled variants in his own speech. For Pharanear, the anacrusic syllable reductions in his speech are historical fact. He is unaware of the "full" or any other alternative pronunciations of the words given.

Speaker N.	Speaker P.	
pteah	tea	"house"
knjom	njom	"I"
kmuaj	muaj	"nephew"
kantraj	kataj	"scissors"
tralawp	talawp	"return""
kanda:l	kada:	"middle"
krada:h	kada:	"paper"
banthaem	(p)thaem	"add"
bantaw:	taw:	"continue (transitive)"
babaw:	baw:	"rice gruel, porridge"

Syllable structure constraints on native words:

<div align="center">In sesquisyllabic words:</div>

Presyllable:

 (C)(r)V- ~ (C) V (N)-

Where C (obstruent) = p, t, c, k, b, d, s, (note the absence of f, h, glottal stop)
N (nasal) = m, n, nj, ng
V (neutral vowel) = a, u (the latter exclusively before a tautosyllabic [m], [n], [p])
The minimal presyllable is a *single* neutral vowel (e.g. *avej* "something, anything, what").

Main syllable:

 C1 (C2) Nucleus (C3)

Where C1 = any obstruent (p, t, c, k, glottal stop, b, d) or nasal (m, n, nj, ng)
C2 (which can occur after obstruents only) = "soft velars" (r, h, l, glottal stop)
C3 = any voiceless stop, any glide, or any nasal
In the absence of C3, the nucleus must be long.

Monosyllable:

(C4) C5 Nucleus (C3)

Where C4 (obstruent, liquid, or nasal) = p, t, c, k, b, d, s, l, m, glottal stop,
C5 = any consonant:
      obstruent (p, t, k, b, d, glottal stop, s)
      lateral,
      rhotic,
      nasal (m, n, nj, ng),
      glide (v, j, h)
Nucleus = any monophthong or diphthong
C3 = any voiceless stop (p, t, c, k, glottal stop),
      Any glide (h, v, j: recall that the graph ⟨w⟩ is *never* a glide)
      Any nasal (m, n, nj, ng)

Note that the possible final consonant of monosyllables (C3) is the same as the possible final consonant of the main syllable of sesquisyllabic words.

The onset consonant clusters that are possible (C4 C5) for monosyllables are much more varied than the possible onset clusters (C1 C2) of main syllables of sesquisyllabic words.

To repeat: while monosyllabic words have codas identical to the codas of main syllables of sesquisyllabics, they exhibit a radically different structure in their onsets: these include a number of typologically unusual bilateral consonant clusters which do not occur in the stressed syllables of sesquisyllabic words: note examples like *pteah* "house", and *kmuaj* "nephew" from the forms above, and others like *lpev* "pumpkin", *tpoal* "cheek", *cnganj* "tasty", *p'aem* "sweet", *mlop* "shade" etc. Jenner & Pou (1982: xx) list 121 occurring initial clusters. In fact, it seems that other than geminate consonants, sequences of two liquids, sequences of glide + obstruent, non-bilabial nasal + stop, weak velar + stop, and [ts], no imaginable C1C2 word-initial consonant cluster is systematically excluded in monosyllables.

Onsets which are excluded for monosyllables:

Glide + Consonant (*jt-, *vk- ...)
Geminate consonants (*ss-, *kk-, *cc-...)
- ts
- "Weak velar" + Consonant (*rk-, *hp-, *glottal stop + t...)
Any non-bilabial nasal + Consonant (*nd-, * njk-, *ngh-,...)

Onsets which are excluded for main syllables of sesquisyllabic words however, include not only all of the above, but also a number of others:

- Any consonant + nasal (compare e.g. monosyllables like *knga:n* "goose")
- any consonant + any stop other than the "weak velar" glottal stop
  (compare monosyllables like *tpoal* "cheek", *spiaj* "carry on one's back", *lpev* "pumpkin")

l + any consonant (compare *lmau:m* "comfortable", *lngiac* "evening")

s + any nasal consonant (compare *smaeu* "same, even")

– s + any stop (compare *skoal* "acquaint")

The only commonly occurring initial cluster in the main syllable is C+liquid, and it tends to occur overwhelmingly after anacrusic syllables of the form CVN-, hardly at all after anacrusic syllables of the form CrV   Words like

pracriat	"squeeze, wedge in"
prakri:v	"epilepsy"

are therefore vanishingly rare, while words like

bampla:nj	"destroy"
kantraj	"scissors"
kantrak	"shake"
kantraok	"jerk, tug"
kantraong	"bob up and down"
kantree:k kantra:k	"sloppy in dress"
kantrawl	"shapeless"

are relatively common.

The rich array of consonant clusters which are possible in monosyllables, but not in the main syllables of sesquisyllabic words, is compatible with Pinnow's hypothesis that monophthongs with complex consonant cluster onsets are themselves nothing but the reduced phonetically eroded remnants of erstwhile sesquisyllabic words. Thus for example *pteah* "house" derives from Sanskrit *pada* "place". Note that clusters which are impossible as C4C5 onsets in such monosyllables (e.g. *glide + any consonant) are also ones that could not have originated from any prehistorically conjectured *C1C2 + C1C2... sesquisyllabic words.

Sesquisyllabics shade off into monosyllabics, at least at the phonetic level, via the constant erosion of the anacrusic syllable (cf. Henderson 1952:170; Huffman et al. 1970:109–10, et passim). Given the persistence of this process, I follow Pinnow (1980:135), and suggest that the unusual onset clusters permitted in monosyllabic words can be accounted for as having arisen exclusively via the erosion of earlier originally sesquisyllabic words, according to the following schema:

Careful pronunciation			Casual pronunciation
C + rhyme	C + rhyme	→	C + zero C + rhyme
Anacrusic +	Main	→	Derived
Syllable	Syllable		Monosyllable

Frequently, the elided ([rV] or [VN]) portion of the anacrusic syllable is hypercorrectly "restored", thus assuming a form different from the inherited rhyme. Thus there are a number of word doublets or even triplets in Khmer like

    t-um-neu: ~ t-ra-neu: ~ tneu: "shelf",

one form (possibly the monosyllabic form, possibly one of the sesquisyllabic forms) being presumably the originally inherited one, and the others being plausibly attributable to either attrition of the anacrusic syllable, or hypercorrect restoration or backformation processes of the familiar variety. (cf. Gorgoniev 1966b: 36 for *tateuk~trateuk* "soaked", *kampong ~ krapong* "can, jar", *tranoap ~damnoap* "layer, padding".) As we will see in Chapter 3, Section 2.3.10.2, the causative prefix exhibits the same threeway allomorphy as *p-,~ bVN-, ~ pra-* (the last being infrequent).

Infixation as a derivational process, especially of the polyfunctional *-Vm(n)-* morpheme, may have arisen via the restoration and subsequent "secretion" (Jespersen 1964:384) or exaptation (Lass 1990) of the elided rhyme portion of the anacrusic syllable: from careful pronunciation of a sesquisyllabic word to the reinterpretation of that full pronunciation as consisting of two morphemes rather than one (see Chapter 3).

2.   Indic borrowings

The number of Indic borrowings in a compendious dictionary like Headley et al. 1977 approximates almost half of the vocabulary. There are some pages in that work where every single entry is an unassimilated borrowing from Pali or from Sanskrit. Since Headley is based on Chuon Nath's great monolingual *Dictionnaire Cambodgien* of 1938, it must be assumed that there was once at least one small group of native speakers of Khmer who had at least a passive knowledge of all of these borrowings. It is striking however, that modern day speakers seem to recognize very few of these words. Of 24 words taken from three randomly chosen pages of this book (574, 1038, 1362) Mr. Ourn hazarded guesses at the meaning of only eight, while Mr. Keat was able to identify only one. It is unclear if the difference in their mastery of this exotic territory is a consequence of their ages or of their respective special educations. But their reactions corroborate my own findings from reading popular books, journals, and accounts: there are many Indic borrowings used in the literature, but nowhere near the number suggested in Headley et al.

2.1   Assimilation

Unassimilated borrowings are recognizable in their pronunciation. If a Khmer word consists of more than two syllables (e.g. *pjaunjcineah* "consonant"), it is definitely an Indic borrowing (<P. *vyañjana* "letter"). If it contains only two syllables, but the initial

syllable features a nuclear vowel other than schwa or [u] (e.g. *piseh* "important"), it is a borrowing (<P. *vivesa* "distinction"). If it consists of only two syllables, but the initial syllable features any initial consonant cluster other than Cr- (e.g. *snee: ha:* "love"), it is a borrowing (<Skt. *sneha*). If it consists of only two syllables, but the initial syllable has a consonant coda (e.g. *thaurni:* "earth"), it is a borrowing (<Skt., P. *dharaṇī* "world"). If it consists of only two syllables, but the second one is unstressed (e.g. *vau'tho'* "object"), it is a borrowing (<P. *vatthu* "object").

Borrowings are also frequently recognizable through the spelling of their final syllable coda.

If the word has a "killer" sign, a diacritic superscript indicating that a final letter is silent, it's a borrowing. If it ends in any orthographic consonant cluster, it's a borrowing.

If it ends in a "exotic" consonant, it's a borrowing. Among the stops, only voiceless unaspirated stops /p, t, c, k/ occur word-finally, but each one of these may be spelled in at least four different ways: as a "voiceless unaspirated stop" (⟨t⟩), a "voiceless aspirated stop" (⟨th⟩), a "voiced unaspirated stop" (⟨d⟩), and a "voiced aspirated" stop (⟨dh⟩). In addition, the stop /t/ may be spelled with inherited ⟨t⟩ or with inherited "retroflex" ⟨ṭ⟩. Among the nasals, /m, n, nj, ng/ may all occur, but /n/ may be spelled with inherited ⟨n⟩ or with inherited "retroflex" ⟨ṇ⟩. By "exotic" is meant

Any voiced stop:	Indic ⟨b⟩, ⟨d⟩, ⟨j⟩, ⟨g⟩
Any aspirated stop:	Indic ⟨ph⟩, ⟨th⟩, ⟨ch⟩, ⟨kh⟩
Any voiced aspirated stop:	Indic ⟨bh⟩, ⟨dh⟩, ⟨jh⟩, ⟨gh⟩
Any retroflex:	Indic ⟨ṭ⟩ or ⟨ṇ⟩.

A example illustrating all of these is the word

arawm   "feeling" (<P. *aarammaṇa*   "sense object"),

phonetically unremarkable, but orthographically triply recognizable through the consonant cluster ⟨mm⟩, the killer symbol over the silent final letter ⟨ṇ⟩, and the nature of this final – retroflex – letter itself.

In this way, anyone who has mastered the alphabet is already something of a philologist, far better prepared to recognize borrowings from Pali than English speakers are to recognize Latinate roots.

The degree of assimilation can be judged according to the extent that a borrowing conforms to the monosyllabic and sesquisyllabic templates for native roots. (Some borrowings already happen to conform to this pattern: thus *ko:* "cow, ox" < *go* "ox", *caria* "decrepit" <*jarā* "decay", *mha(w):* "great" < *mhā*.) Many Pali and Sanskrit words have lost the third (and subsequent) post-tonic syllables if they were originally polysyllabic, or their single post-tonic syllable if they were originally bisyllabic:

Loss of third (and subsequent) syllables of polysyllabics (all sources are Pali, unless otherwise indicated):

sāyanha	"evening"	*> sajaun*	"evening"
purusa	"man"	*> burauh*	"fellow" (<Skt.)
nangala	"plow"	*> nangkaul*	"plow"
nimitta	"sign"	*> ni(')meut*	"sign"
nāgara	"city"	*> nakau:*	"city"
nissaya	"support"	*> ni(')saj*	"support"
nesāda	"hunter"[1]	*> nee:sat*	*"hunting" (cf. *nee:sat trej* "fishing")
paccaya	"support"	*> pa(')caj*	"funds (for temple"
jivita	"life"	*> civeut*	"life"
cetiya	"pagoda"	*> cetej*	"stuppa"
cīpara	"monk's robe"	*> cejau:*	"monk's robe" (<Skt.)
okāsa	"place"	*> oka:h*	"opportunity"
ārammaṇa	"sense object"	*> arawm*	"feeling"
acāma	"scum of boiling rice"	*> ac*	"feces"[2]

Loss of post-tonic syllable in bisyllabics:

suddha	"pure"	*> sot*	"pure"
satta	"creature"	*> sat*	"animal"
sabba	"all"	*> sawp*	"all"
sama	"even"	*> saw:m*	"similar"
vagga	"group"	*> veak*	"group"
ratha	"carriage"	*> raut*	"carriage" (cf. *raut jaun* "vehicle")
rasmi	"ray"	*> reah*	"ray"
raja	"king"	*> riac*	"king"
bhūmi	"region"	*> phu:m*	"village"
yakkha	"demon"	*> jeak*	"ogre"
mukkha	"mouth"	*> muk*	"face"
yanta	"machine"	*> jaun*	"machine"
papa	"sin"	*> ba:p*	"sin"
budha	"Mercury"	*> put*	"Wednesday"
bhaya	"fright"	*> phej*	"be scared"
pada	"foot"	*> ba:t*	"(respectfully) yes (male speaker)"
dhūpa	"incense"	*> thu:p*	"incense"
dvāra	"door"	*> tvia*	"door"
jaya	"victory"	*> cej*	"victory"
canda	"moon"	*> can*	"moon"
citta	"mind"	*> ceut*	"mind"
guṇa	"virtue"	*> kun*	"merit"
ghāta	"killing"	*> khiat*	"kill"
kāya	"body"	*> ka:j*	"body"
kāla	"time"	*> ka:l*	"time"
njāti	"kinsman"	*> njiat*	"family member"

Far less frequently, the nucleus of the initial syllable may be lost:

guru	"teacher"	> *kru:*	"teacher"
kapāla	"skull"	> *kba:l*	"head"
kāṭa	"penis"	> *kdaw:*	"penis"
manussa	"human"	> *mnuh*	"person"
sama	"even"	> *smaeu*	"even"
samman	"suppose"	> *sma:n*	"suppose"
saras	"reservoir"	> *srah*	"reservoir"
surā	"liquor"	> *sra:*	"wine"
mana	"mind"	> *mno:*	"mind"

(This process is functionally identical to the clipping of initial syllables in native sesqui-syllabics.)

A combination of processes may be responsible for some outcomes: the word

alābu	"gourd"	> lpev	"pumpkin"

has lost the vowels of its first two syllables.

Another reduction process is the shortening of long initial vowels in bisyllabic words. While the functional unity of this rule with the native processes of initial syllable reduction via clipping is intuitively obvious, vowel shortening has no monomorphemic native words to apply to: it applies exclusively to borrowed words (e.g. *sāsana* "teaching" > *sasana:* "religion", *ākāsa* "sky" > *aka:h* "weather", *ājīva* "livelihood" > *aci:p*, and possibly to compounds, cf. Chapter 1, Section 4.1.2.

In addition to all the reductions listed here, there is at least one process where borrowings are bulked out. Pali tolerates word-final short vowels. In Khmer, such words, if they retain their final short vowel at all, are invariably provided with a final glottal stop:

āju	"(having) age"	> *aju'*	"age"
bahu	"much"	> *p(e)a(')hu'*	"multi-"
bhikkhu	"monk"	> *phi(')khu'*	"senior monk"
vatthu	"site, ground, object"	> *vau(')tho'*	"object"
sati	"memory"	> *sa(')te'*	"idea, opinion"

Note that this is not the same as providing every open syllable with a final glottal stop (as enforced in the careful pronunciation of Pali): only the final short syllable of an as-similated Khmer word must (invariably) be closed.

Finally, Pali borrowings may betray their status through morphological peculiarities.

–   Suffixation is foreign.
–   Inflectional categories are foreign.

So, if a word marks number or gender through a suffix, it is a borrowing. Thus

kuma:	"boy"	versus	*kumarej*	"girl"		
baksa:	"bird"	versus	*baksej*	"female bird"		
bot	"son"	versus	*botrej*	"daughter"	versus *botra:*	"children".
mreuki:	"game"	versus	*mreukia*	"female game"		

2.2   The unassimilated Pali vocabulary

Totally unassimilated borrowings occur most frequently in poetry, and in legal, religious, and scientific discourse. They are frequently polysyllabic, and open syllables are often pronounced with a glottal stop at the end (of at least the first one or two syllables in such a sequence). The following are careful pronunciations:

a.   *a'vi'cej*   "a level of hell" (< *avīci* "a hell")
b.   *pa're'nja:*   "licencié" (approximately the equivalent of a Bachelor of Arts)
c.   *a'ko'sawl*   "evil" (< *akusala* "demerit")
d.   *vi'rea*   "hero" (< *vira* "brave")
e.   *sa'mu'ha*   "collective" (< *samūha* "multitude, aggregation")
f.   *pia'ni'ca'kaw:*   "businessman" (< *vāṇij* "merchant"+ *kaw:* "agent")
g.   *a'ni'cang*   "impermanent" (< *anicca* "impermanent")
h.   *sa'ka'ra:c*   "dynasty; era" (< *saka* "saka (tribe)" + *rāja* "king")
i.   *su'ka'te'phaup*   "paradise" (< *sugati* "happy state" + *bhāva* "state of existence")
j.   *seu'pa'ni'meut*   "artificial" (< *sippa* "art" + *nimitta* "sign, image")
k.   *a'sa' reut*   "horse power" (< Skt. *açva* "horse" + *rddhi* "supernatural power")
l.   *a'ki:*   "fire" (< *aggi*)

It is unclear if Root + *phiap* words are (Root + Root) compounds or (Root + Suffix) derivations. Either way, they are foreign. If the former, they are marked as borrowings in their Modifier + Head order; if the latter, they are so marked by Root + Suffix order:

a.   *aek + phiap*   "one" (< *eka* "one" + *bhāva* "condition")
        ("autonomy; union")
b.   *sa'mu'ha + phiap*   "collective" (< samūha "aggregation" + "condition")
        ("collective farm or factory")
c.   *maur* (< *mara-* "die") *+ phiap*   "die" + "condition" ("death")
d.   *sokh + phiap*   "well" (< *sukha* "happiness" + "condition") ("health")
e.   *civ + phiap*   "being alive" (< *jīva* "life" + "condition")
        ("manner of living")
f.   *vau'tha'na* (< *vaddha* "grow,
        prosper, increase" + *phiap*) =   "progress"

If the initial morpheme is vowel final, the morpheme boundary is signaled by a glottal stop; if it is consonant-final, a schwa is inserted.

Pali phrases often but not always maintain the Modifier + Head order of that language, and are also identifiable in this way:

a. *a'ko'sawl kam*   "evil deed"
b. *mha: khiatkaw:*   "great murderer"
c. *mha: ko'sawl*   "great good deed"
d. *pracia the'pa'tej*   "people power, democracy"
e. *a'tha'* (< *attha* "wealth, gain") + *nej* (< *naya* "method, plan") "basic meaning"
f. *a'na'kot* (< *anāgata* "not yet come") *civeut* (< *jīvita* "life")   "future life"
g. *viceut seulpa'*   "fine arts"
h. *saen* "great" + *tia'run* (< *dāruna* "cruel")   "great suffering"
i. *kho:snia* (< *ghosanā* "shouting") *raut* (< *raṭṭha* "country")   "propaganda"
j. *awntarea'* (< *anatāra* "in between") *kum* (<*gamana* "going") "intervention".

On the other hand, there are also totally Pali phrases with Head + Modifier order:

a. *na'joba:j teuk*   "policy (regarding) water"
b. *pliang seu'pa'ni'meut*   "artificial rain"
c. *jaunho:* (< *jaun* "machine" + *ho:* "fly") *seupka:* "reconnaissance plane"

The four-word complex NP expression :

d. *asana'   muk   vicia   kuma:*
    chair   faculty, division   medicine   youngster
    "chair of the division of pediatrics"

consists entirely of Pali words (*āsana* "seat", *mukkha* "mouth, face", *vijjā* "higher knowledge", *kumāra* "boy, youngster") and yet is recursively Khmer in its (Head + Modifier) syntax.

I know of no phrases with Khmer words and Pali word order – internal evidence that the Pali order is likely perceived as foreign, and possibly learned only for the fixed phrases in which it occurs.

All that said, there are many totally assimilated Pali borrowings of which even literate native speakers are apparently unaware. The most astonishing is *kba:l* "head", cognate with *cephalo-*, and used as both a common noun and a measure unit noun in Khmer.

Among the most common of the other totally assimilated borrowings are

a. *teuk*   "water" (< *(u)daka* "water")
b. *tpoal*   "cheek" (? < *kapola* "cheek")
c. *twh*   "direction" (< *disā* "direction, point")
d. *tli:*   "dust" (in the symmetrical compound *dej tli:* "earth" < *dhūli* "dust")
e. *niam*   "name, noun " (< *nāma* "name")
f. *ro:m*   "body hair" (< *roma* "body hair")
g. *trako:l* "family" (< *gotrakula* "family")   (Pou 2004c: 56)

h. *ta:bawh*   "anchorite, ascetic" (< *tāpasvin*) (ibid.)
i. *sophia*   "judge" (< *sabhā*) (ibid.)
j. *koat*   "third person respectful" (< *jagat* "people, world") (ibid.)
k. *preah*   "god"; honorific (< *vara* "excellent")
l. *kro:h*   "accident" (< *graha* "planet", cf. Ménétrier 1933:53)
m. *klian*   "hungry" (< *gilāna* "ill")

And there are many Pali borrowings which even the least literate speakers have total-
ly assimilated into their daily vocabulary. Among these are the modern names of the
months[3]:

ma'kara: "January"   < *makara*   "swordfish"
kumphea   "February"   < *kumbha ~ kumbī* "water pot" (Aquarius)
mi'nia   "March"   < *minā*   "fish" (Pisces)
mesa: "April"   < *mesa*   "ram" (Aries)
u'sa'phia   "May"   < *usabha*   "lead bull" (Taurus)
mi'thu'na: "June"   < *mithuna*   "couple, boy-girl pair" (Gemini)
ka'kada: "July"   < *kakkaṭaka*   "crab" (Cancer)
sej'ha: "August"   < *siha*   "lion" (Leo)
kanja: "September"   < *kanjnja*   "girl" (Virgo)
to'la: "October"   < *tulā*   "balance" (Libra)
vičhika: "November"   < *vicchika*   "scorpion" (Scorpio)
tnu: "December"   < *dhanu*   "bow" (Sagittarius)

and of the days of the week:

can   "Monday"   < *candra*   "Moon"
angkia   "Tuesday"   < *angāra*   "carbon; Mars", cf. Ménétrier 1933:20
put   "Wednesday"   < *budha*   "Mercury"
prahawh   "Thursday"   < Skt. *brhas + pati* "Jupiter", ibid. 108
sok   "Friday"   < Skt. *sukra*   "Venus"
sav   "Saturday"   < Skt. *sauri*   "Saturn"
atet   "Sunday"   < *ādicca*   "sun"

The nearly entirely forgotten lunar calendar also consists entirely of Indic borrowings:

miak   "January/February"   < Skt., P. *māgha*
phawlkun   "February/March"   < Skt. *phalgana;*
caet   "March/April"   < Skt. *caitra*
visa:k   "April/May"   < P. *visākhā*
cee:h   "May/June"   < Skt. *jestha*
sra:p   "June/July"   < Skt. *srāvaṇa*
a:sa:t   "July/August"   < Skt. *āshāḍha*
phatrabot   "August/September"   < Skt. *bhadra-pada;*

aw'soc	"September/October"	< Skt. *asvayuj*
ka'teuk	"October/November"	< P. *kattikā;*
mikasej	"November/December"	< P. *miga* "gazelle" + Skt. *Çiras* "head";
bawh~boh	"December/January"	< P. *phussa*

So too, apparently, much though not all of the special respect vocabulary[4] for monks and royalty is derived from one Indic language or another.

Words used with or by monks only:

atma:	"I" (< Skt. *ātman* "self")
chan	"eat"
cha(:)n	"I" (to younger monk of same rank)
camraeun pau:	"yes" (as spoken by a monk)
dejka:	"speak" (< P. *ḍikā*)
jiaku:	"porridge, gruel" (< P. *yāgu* "rice soup")
ni'm(a)un	"invite (a monk)"; preverbal auxiliary for verbs of motion for monks (< P. *nimanta* "invite")
njo:m	"you (parent)" (monk speaking to members of his family)
seung	"sleep"
vee:rphoat	"offer food" (< P. *vera* + < Skt. *bhadra*)

Words used with or by royalty only:

aphiat	"be ill" (< Skt., P. *ābādha*)
bantom	"sleeping place"
bantu:l	"speech"
betthej	"back" (< P. *piṭṭī*
bo'po:	"pus" (< P. *pubbo*)
ceangkhea'	"lower leg" (< P. *jaŋha* "leg")
ciajia	"queen, consort" (< Skt. *jāyā*)
caunmah	"age, birth, life" (< Skt. *janma*)
dangva:j	"offering"
harwtej	"mind, heart" (< Skt. *hrdaya*)
jea'ka'na'	"liver" (< P. *yakana*)
jiang	"go" (< Skt. *ya-* "go"; preverbal auxiliary for verbs of motion)
jiatra:	"travel" (< Skt. *yātrā*)
ka:	"ear" (< Skt. *kārŋa* "aural")
khan	"king's sword, royal sword"(< Skt. *khaŋga*)
kraot	"angry" (< Skt. *krodha*)
krasa:l	"enjoy oneself, do for pleasure"
mee:to:	"fat" (< P. *meda*)
mi'thea'	"sleepy" (Skt., P. *middha*)
maurnak	"die" (< Skt., P. *maraŋa*)

na:m srawng	"bathing water" (< Th. *naam* "water")
nee:t	"eye" (< P. *netta*)
nealiat	"forehead" (< P. *nalāṭa*)
niaphi:	"navel" (< Skt., P. *nābhi*)
niaseuk	"nose" (< Skt., P. *nāsikā*)
awngsa:	"shoulder"
pha:so'ka:	"ribs" (< P. *phāsuka*)
pheak	"face" (< Skt. *vaktra*)
plaengsaw:	"shoot an arrow" (< Th. *phlɛɛŋsɔɔn*)
praphiap	"power, authority" (< Skt. *prabhāva*)
prapiat	"go for a walk" (< Skt. *prabādh*)
praso:t	"give birth" (< Skt. *prasūta*)
prathap	"be at, stay" (< Th. *prathab*)
saoj	"eat, consume"
sa'so'	"mother-in-law" (< P. *sassu*)
sa:ne'	"curtain, screen" (< P. *sāṇi*)
see:to:	"sweat" (< P. *seda*)
su:raw:ng	"neck"
taen	"sleeping place" (< Th. *then* "dais")
taeun	"wake up"
ti:vaungkot	"die; death" (< Skt. *diva* "sky" + *ngati* "goes")
taut	"(king) sees" (< Skt. *daṭṭha* "seen"; Ménétrier 1933: passim).
tu:l	"tell, inform" (as spoken to or by royalty)
uru'	"thigh" (< Skt., P. *ūru*)
u'tau:	"stomach" (< Skt., P. *udara*)

Used by and for both monks and royalty:

keesa: ~ keh	"hair" (< Skt. *kesa*)
kee:nj	"sleep"
knja:l	"angry"
kaung	"sit, stay"
aws~aoh	"mouth" (< Skt. *osṭha*)
su'kot	"die, death" (< P. *sugati* "happy state")

3.   Borrowings from Thai

The names for decades over twenty (*samseup* "thirty", *saeseup* "forty", *ha:seup* "fifty", *hawkseup* "sixty", *ceutseup* "seventy", *paetseup* "eighty", *kavseup* "ninety"), *rau:j* "hundred", *poan* "thousand", *mweun* "ten thousand", *saen* "100,000" are borrowed directly from Thai. (Higher numbers are borrowed from Sanskrit, e.g. *kaut* "ten million" < *koti*.)

While the number of such unmistakable borrowings is small, it is remarkable that they seem to include some words which are highly grammaticalized, among them *aeng* "self, you". On the other hand, *kaw:*, a narrative discourse particle "and so", and *kw:*, a focus marker "to wit", both of which are discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 10 are deeply embedded morphemes of Old Khmer (Jenner & Sidwell 2010: 21, 34) which have been borrowed into Thai, as has *phaw:ng* "also" (older "collective, plural").

There is no issue of phonetic assimilation, since the segmental structure at least of Thai words is similar to that of native monosyllabic Khmer words. In fact, given six centuries of virtual symbiosis between the two languages, it is sometimes difficult to be certain in which direction borrowing has occurred for a number of quite common words (cf. Lewitz 1967, Huffman 1973).

Notes

1. According to Ménétrier (1933: 83) this is originally the proper name of an Indian tribe of hunters and fishers. The root *neesat* does not occur alone, hence the asterisk beside the gloss "hunting", inferable only from the compound *neesat trej* "hunting of fish".

2. This source would seem warranted by the orthography, but both Headley et al. 1977 and Ken Gregerson (p.c.) have suggested that the final silent-m spelling may be a scribal artifact: there are simply too many other Austroasiatic languages in which the word for "feces" is some version of ⟨(')Vc⟩: thus Jahai [ˈɛc] (Burenhult 2005: 71), etc. suggest a non-borrowed root.

3. Some older speakers still use the lunar calendar, where the names of the months (which correspond to periods like "latter half of month A   first half of following month B" in the conventional calendar) are both Sanskrit and Pali. Younger speakers like Mr. Keat can recognize these as names of months, but do not know which months. A full knowledge of the rather complicated lunar calendar (with an extra *a:sa:t* (< Skt. *asāḍha* "August" every four years including most recently 2010) is the intellectual property of the monks. It is a reflection of the desuetude of this system that my live sources do not fully coincide with Headley et al. (1977: 742), who give *sa:va'na ~ sra:p* (< P. *savana*, Skt. *srāvaṇa*) as "July/August".

4. The label "respect vocabulary" does not apply to words with specialized meanings (like *ni'vee:h* "royal residence, palace"), euphemisms (like *dawh tok sat* "release animal suffering" for "defecate" if one is a monk), or to nouns embellished with honorifics (like *preah damreh* "sacred intention" if one is a king), but to a small number of opaque words for which the everyday equivalent is a totally different word. Most of them are names of kinsmen, body parts and body functions.

Derivational morphology and word formation

A recurrent analytical problem when dealing with an isolating language like Khmer is the identification of derivational morphemes as such: one man's word is another man's affix. Consider the nominal expressions

1. *neak   a:n*
   person read
2. *puak   neak*
   group   person

The first could be glossed as "the person who reads", that is as a noun followed by a reduced relative clause (we ignore for now the fact that it could also be a complete sentence "the person reads"). But it could also be glossed as "the reader", that is as an agent prefix followed by a verbal root. The meaning is almost exactly the same, but the structural consequences are considerable.

In much the same way, the second could be glossed as "group of persons", that is as a head noun followed by a modifying noun. But it could also be glossed as "people", with the first word glossed as a pluralizing prefix.

On the second readings, *neak* and *puak* should be treated in this chapter. On the first, they should not be.

Similar problems arise in English with the identification of the *-man* as a derivational morpheme in compounds like *fireman, gentleman*. In English there are both phonetic cues (*-man* may be pronounced [mn̩]) and semantic cues (*-man* is acceptable for female referents). But in Khmer for the most part there are no phonetic cues to help us out with (1) and (2), which means we must rely entirely on semantics. The approach taken in this chapter is that a morpheme is a derivational affix if its meaning is no longer exactly the same as the word that it sounds exactly like. This is a conservative approach but still results in some arbitrary decisions. For example, *neak* can still be glossed as "person" in almost all the cases where it occurs in a structure like (1)   but not in all. In

3. *neak   toh   tiaj*
   person   predict   prognosticate
   "prognosticator"

it was used to describe an octopus whose feeding habits predicted the outcome of world cup soccer matches. There is no doubt that *neak* is undergoing grammaticalization here, but until there are more than a handful of examples like (3), it will be treated in the syntax as a head noun rather than in the morphology as an agentive prefix. Recognition will be given to the ongoing process that seems to be happening, but with the understanding that such processes may peter out. A similar case can be made for the grammaticalization of *puak* and other words, and will be made in the syntax where such still largely transparent and compositional structures are described.

This approach may be insufficiently restrictive for some skeptical readers, particularly those who know and recognize Pali affixes as words and see no reason not to continue to treat them as words when they enter into larger constructions in Khmer. Such readers will recognize very little derivational morphology at all. I will not argue with such readers, but will present the alternative interpretations which they might support   some of which are quite plausible.

Not only roots, but also derivational morphology, may be divided into (a) Indic borrowing and (b) native Khmer categories. I will begin by disposing of the Indic morphology first, to clear the decks for the much more important native vocabulary which will occupy the greater part of this chapter.

1.   Indic borrowings

1.1   Nominalizations

1.1.1 Via suffixation
The borrowed Pali morphemes which can act as independent words and as suffixes include[1]:

-phiap	(< *bhāva* "condition"), a state nominalizer,
-kaw:	(< *kara* "doing"), an agent nominalizer,
-kam	(< *kamma* "deed, action"), an action nominalizer, and
-tha:n	(< *thāna* "place"), a place nominalizer.

(1) a. *see'rej* "free"   → *see'rej-phiap*   "freedom"
     b. *se'la:*   "sport"   → *se'la:-kaw:*   "athlete"
     c. *khiat* "murder" (< *ghāta* "killing") → *khiat(a)-kaw:* "murderer"
     d. *a'nica* "impermanent"   → *a'nica-kam*   "death"
     e. *ka:(r)* "work"   → *ka:r(a)-tha:n* "workplace"

There are also a handful of words in which a final silent -n indicates nominalization. Thus

tee:scaw:	"tourist"
tee:scaw: + silent ⟨n⟩	"tourism"
pravanj	"flatter, dupe"
pravanj + silent ⟨n⟩	"flattery, a swindle"
prajat	"attentive"
prajat + silent⟨n⟩	"attention"

The silent ⟨n⟩ is variously rendered in the orthography as a subscript, as an on-line suffix ⟨n⟩ which is silenced by the "killer" diacritic superscript, and as a silent suffixed retroflex ⟨ɳ⟩. In the case of *prajat*, only the dictionary maintains the fiction that the final ⟨n⟩ is a nominalizing suffix: in all written texts that I have encountered, the silent ⟨n⟩ also appears on the verbal adjective "attentive, careful" without fail.

1.1.2 Via prefixation

Alone in this group, *-phiap*, generally a suffix as in (1a), also occurs as a prefix[2] in:

(2) a. *phiap mweungmat*   "intensity, strictness"
    b. *phiap prakaw:t pracia*   "accuracy"
    c. *phiap cliah vej*   "quickwittedness"
    d. *phiap lumba:k*   "difficulty"
    e. *phiap sreu:p sra:l*   "desire, sexual excitement"
    f. *phiap ngiaj rumpheu:p*   "overexcitement"
    g. *phia awt tmawt*   "impatience"
    h. *phiap klaha:n*   "bravery"
    i. *phiap krej kraw:*   "poverty"
    j. *phiap reungpeung*   "strength, rigor"
    k. *phiap ri:k riaj*   "joyfulness"
    l. *phiap taunplaun*   "weakness, softness"
    m. *phiap saw:m raum*   "appropriateness"

It seems that prefixation is the more productive process within Khmer, inasmuch as only this option is allowed when chunks larger than single words are nominalized:

(3) a. *mwn   a:c   jaul   ba:n*   "cannot understand" →
        not   can understand can
        phiap [mwn a:c jaul ba:n]   "incomprehensibility"
        [mwn a:c jaul ba:n] phiap;
    b. *meu:l   mwn   kheu:nj*   "cannot see" →
        look   not   see
        phiap[meu:l mwn kheu:nj]   "invisibility"
        [meu:l mwn kheu:nj] phiap.

In the same way that *phiap* makes nominalizations, *dael* (a purely Khmer affix) produces derived adjectives (or relative clauses):

(4) a. *mwn a:c jaul   ba:n*   "cannot understand" →
    not   can understand manage
    dael [mwn a:c jaul   ba:n]   "incomprehensible/which
                                                cannot be understood"

    which not   can understand manage

b. *meu:l mwn kheu:nj*   "cannot see" →
    look   not   see
    dael [meu:l mwn kheu:nj]   "invisible/which cannot be seen"
    which look   not   see

It is unclear whether these cases should be treated as morphological derivation or syntactic complementation. Thus, *dael* is a separate word denoting the relative pronoun "which". Note on the other hand that the *dael* phrases of (4) are understood as passives. If Khmer were like English or Mandarin, where a passive reading occurs in morphological derivations like *do-able*, not in syntactic ones like *able to do*, then this would constitute a (rather weak) argument that *dael..* phrases are also morphological derivations. But there is stronger evidence that *dael* is not a derivational affix.

Evidence that the *phiap-* structures above are nominalizations rather than sentences is provided by the behavior of the sentence-final negative reenforcer *tee:* which can occur as a bracket which closes full sentences. It cannot appear with derived nominals:

(5) a. *mwn   a:c   tveu: ruac (tee:)*   "cannot do" →
    not   can   do   PERF not

b. *phiap [mwn a:˞ tveu: ruac] (*tee)*   "impossibility".
    state   not   can do   PERF not

Now, the *dael* "derived adjectives" of (6)–(8), although they all exhibit passive meaning, are still fully sentential with respect to this test:

(6) a. *mwn a:c tveu: ruac (tee:)*   "cannot do" →
    not   can do   PERF not

b. *dael   mwn a:c tveu: ruac (tee:)*   "impossible"
    which not   can do   PERF not

(7) a. *mwn a:c cwa   ba:n (tee:)*   "cannot believe" →
    not   can believe PERF not

b. *dael   mwn a:c cwa   ba:n (tee:)*   "unbelievable"
    which not   can believe PERF not

(8) a. *mwn a:c njam kaeut (tee:)*   "cannot eat" →
       not can eat PERF not

   b. *dael mwn a:c njam kaeut (tee:)*   "inedible"
       which not can eat PERF not

Invariably prefixed nominalization affixes include two nouns meaning "matter, affair": *ka:-, (sec)kdej-*. Both are extremely productive, the first somewhat more than the second:

(9) a. *roap a:n*
       count depend
       "have a relationship of trust and dependence"

   b. *ka:-roap a:n*   "relationship of trust"

(10) a. *krup kraw:ng*
        all   cover
        "protect, govern, be responsible for, cover"

   b. *ka:-krup kraw:ng*   "government, protection"

Similar are

(11) a. *ka:- kae   lum'aw:*   "improvement"
             correct improve
   b. *ka:- kap   bampla:nj*   "destruction, deforestation"
             cut.down destroy
   c. *ka:- luac kap   cheu:*   "logging theft"
             steal cut.down tree
   d. *ka:- ni'jiaj*   "speaking"
             speak
   e. *ka:- pikro:h*   "discussion"
             discuss
   f. *ka:- pineut*   "examination"
             examine
   g. *ka:- prae prual*   "translation; consistency"
             turn
   h. *ka:- riapcawm*   "preparation"
             prepare
   i. *ka:- riap   riang*   "preparation"
             prepare form
   j. *ka:- reuh   kaun*   "criticism"
             criticize see
   k. *ka:- samdaeng*   "expression"
             express

l. *ka:-* *samlee:ng*   "pronunciation"
          sound

m. *ka:-* *sasee:*   "writing"
          write

n. *ka:-* *seuksa:*   "study"
          study

and hundreds of others. I have never encountered a case when this nominalization is rejected as ungrammatical, for any verb. Nor have I ever encountered a case where it is necessary. (That is, all verbs can serve as action nominalizations.) If grammatical affixes are obligatory by definition, as suggested by Jakobson 1972, Lehmann 1995, then the combination of these two observations would suggest that *ka:-* is a separate word, rather than a prefix. If, however, obligatorification is but the final phase of grammaticalization, as proposed by Heine & Kuteva 2002, 2007, then the question remains open. Khmer may be a language in which there is grammaticalization (as defined by semantic bleaching and generalization) without obligatorification. (Over and over we will have occasion to observe that Khmer resists obligatorification.)

The affix *seckdej-* is a noun meaning "idea, sense, meaning, matter", as in

(12) *Ta:m   seckdej thom   tuliaj robawh piak*
        follow idea   big   roomy of   word
        "in the broad sense of the word".

In this sense it may occur with a following complementizer, as in:

(13) *Seckdej tha: dee:k*
        Idea   COMP   lie.down
        "the idea of lying down".

Since complementizers like *tha:* are usually optional, there is a very short space between *seckdej* in this head word function, and the use of *seckdej* as a nominalizing prefix, as in:

(14) a. *kae   damrev*   "correct" →
              correct make.right
      b. *seckdej kae damrev*   "correction"

(15) a. *sangkee:t*   "notice, observe" →
      b. *seckdej sangkee:t*   "(foot)note; NB"

(16) a. *tok   ceut*   "trust" →
              keep heart
      b. *seckdej tok ceut*   "confidence, trust"

(17) a. *trev ka:*   "need" →
      b. *seckdej trev ka:*   "need, necessity"

Other examples include:

(18) ____ *cumriap cia mun*   "foreword"
            inform be front
      ____ *cwa*   "belief"
            kan   cralawm   "confusion"
            hold confuse
            khoh   poan   cralawm   "error and confusion"
            wrong wrong confuse
            kma:h   ian   "embarrassment"
            embarrassed shy
      ____ *kvah*   "absence, lack"
      ____ *pratna:*   "intention"
      ____ *peut*   "truth"
      ____ *san(a)tha:n*   "conclusion"
      ____ *sraek   klian*   "thirst and hunger"
            thirsty hungry
      ____ *seuksa:*   "study"

The Pali noun *saphiap* "aspect" creates nominalizations rather infrequently:

(19) a. *ta:n teung*   "stressed" gives
      b. *saphiap ta:n teung*   "stress".

Zero inflectional nominalization[3] is always possible, particularly when the nominal in question follows a verb or a preposition (compare the use of prepositions like *before*, *after* in English, which also function as clausal conjunctions, and thus assume a quasi-complementizer function). Thus

(20) a. *daoj kvak lngeut*
          by   blind ignorant
          "haphazardly" (literally: "by blindness and ignorance")

      b. *daoj treum   trev*
          by   correct correct
          "correctly"

      c. *mian baoh pum*
          have print print
          "have a printing"

      d. *mian khoh   knia*
          have different companion/each-other
          "have differences; differ"

e. *mian   l'iang   pi: phiasa: ni'jiaj*
    have   deviate   from   language   speak
    "there are deviations from the spoken language"

f. *ta:m   samlee:ng*
    follow   pronounce
    "following the pronunciation"

1.2   Number affixes

(21) a. *kamhoh-   niania*   "mistakes"
          mistake   PLU

      b. *kamhoh-   psee:ngpsee:ng*   "various mistakes"
                     PLU

Judging by their syntax, the pluralizing suffixes -*niania* (< *nānā* "different") and -*psee:ng psee:ng* "various" are apparently Pali. That is, if they are inflectional affixes, they are suffixes, in keeping with Pali morphology. However, both are equally compatible with Khmer Head + Attribute word order. That is, if they are adjectives, they follow the head noun, as in Khmer. Here is a case where the problem of identifying a morpheme as a word or an affix can be resolved by etymological evidence from another language. While -*niania* is impeccably Pali (Ménétrier 1933:79) and suggests the analysis Root + Suffix, there is no evidence I could find that *psee:ng* occurs in Pali. Hence (21b) may be a case of Khmer Head + Attribute word order, rather than Pali Root + Suffix morpheme order.

1.3   Gender marking affixes

For a handful of words, the original gender suffixes have been borrowed into Khmer from Pali.

Pattern A: female suffix -*a*
(22) a. *o'basawk*   "male congregant, worshipper, lay Buddhist"
      b. *o'basi'ka:*   "female congregant, worshipper, parishioner"

(23) a. *tiajuk*   "male donor"
      d. *tiajika:*   "female donor"

Pattern B: female suffix -*ej*
(24) a. *ku'ma:(r)*   "boy"
      b. *ku'ma:rej*   "girl"

Highly educated speakers are aware of both the meanings and the origins of these suf-
fixes, in much the same way as highly literate English speakers recognize the plural suf-
fixes of words like *medi-a, cherub-im.*

1.4   The negative prefix *a'-*

There are enough paired Pali borrowings with and without this prefix that Khmer speak-
ers can parse many words that contain it (as English speakers can do with the cognate
prefix in *a-moral,* possibly *a-gnostic,* but cannot generally do with *a-tom,* and so on).

(25) a. *a'-mnuh*   "in-human" (< P. *manusa* "human", cf. *mnuh* "person")
      b. *a'-cha'reja'*   "super-natural" (< P. *acchariya* "marvel, wonder")
      c. *a'- ceuntraj*   "im-permanent"(< P. *accanta* "perpetual, absolute")
      d. *a'- ju'te'thoa*   "in-justice" (< P. *yutti* "usage" + S. dharma "law"))
      e. *a'- ka:l*   "un-timely, premature" (< P. *a + ka:la* "out of season")
      f. *a'- ko:tana'*   "don't- make people angry" (one of the 10 kingly virtues)
      g. *a'- phaup*   "luck-less" (< P. *bhabba* "fit, able")
      h. *a'-prej*   "dis-graceful, vulgar" (< S. *priya* "pleasing")
      i. *a'-kosaw:l*   "un-righteous" (< P. *kusala* "just" *kosaw:l* "righteous")

1.5   The prefix *ee:k(a)- ~aek(a)* "one"

Again, speakers are more or less aware of, but have not generalized, this prefix to native
roots.

(26) a. *ee:k(a)- phiap*   "autonomy, unity, agreement"
                     state
      b. *ee:ka-   c(a)un*   "individual, private person"
                     person
          ee:ka-   riac   "independence; independent"
                     king
      d. *ee:ka-   sawntha:n*   "uniform"
                     clothing
      e. *ee:ka-   ta:*   "singular number, unit"
                     number
      f. *ee:ka-   vaca'na'*   "(grammatical) singular"
                     number
      g. *ee:k-   aeng*   "all by oneself"
                     self, person

2.   Native derivational morphology

There are traces of some inherited suffixation in the native lexicon: *leu:* "on, over" is presumably related to the verbs *leu:k* "raise", *laeung* "arise", and *leu:h* "go beyond, transgress"; *pnga:k* "fall backwards" may be related to *pnga:* "lie face up" (which is, however, spelled with a final silent ⟨r⟩); and it may be that there is a common root underlying *baek* "separate", *baeng* "separate", and *beh* "tear off, pick" (cf. Maspero 1915:193; Pinnow 1963:144, Gorgoniev 1966b:52–3). But such examples are apparently extremely rare.

All the affixes to be discussed here are either prefixes or infixes. Generally, an attempt can be made to distinguish between those that have been inherited from Austroasiatic, and those that have arisen within Khmer alone, the latter probably emerging via rule inversion as a result of the constant grinding down of the anacrusic syllable of sesequisyllabic words. For this reason, some comparative notes on other related languages will be offered below.

2.1   Nominalizations

2.1.1 The prefix/infix *am-* ~ *aN-* "nominalization", (possibly) a purely decorative affix Note that ⟨N⟩ can be alveolar, palatal, velar, or labial, homorganic with the following obstruent. Phonologically, [h] and [r] count as velars.

2.1.1.1 As a prefix, this is relatively infrequent

(27) a. *re:k*
          "carry on a pole over one's shoulders"
      b. *am-re:k*
          "burden so carried"

(NB: This form is phonetically irregular insofar as the nasal does not assimilate to the following /r/, which normally counts as a velar. Hence, the allomorph *am-*.)

(28) a. *caw:ng*
          "bind; catch fish with a net"
      b. *anj-caw:ng*
          "fishing net, line"

(29) a. *traeuh* "rather large"
      b. *an-traeuh* "rather large person"

(30) a. *kawp*
          "strike"
      b. *ang-kawp*
          "a kind of trap"

(31) a. *teak*
          "trip over"
      b. *an-teak*
          "a kind of trap"

(32) a. *leu:*
          "on top of, over"
      b. *an-leu:*
          "surface area, extent (of a mat)"

(33) a. *peu:*
          "act" (frequently "act dumb, feign ignorance")
      b. *am-peu:*
          "action"

(34) a. *rauh*
          "live"
      b. *am-rauh   am-rau:*
          business   "?shmizness"
          "small business"

(Again, with prefix *am-*. The "twin form" *am-rau:* does not exist independently, and is called a decorative partner. Such morphemes do not usually have the pejorative connotations suggested by the Anglo-Yiddish translation above. There is more on decorative partners of stable roots in Chapter 4.)

(35) a. *reung*   "tight"
      b. *ang-reung*   "hammock"

(36) a. *cul*   "sew"
      b. *anj-cul*   "needlework"

(37) a. *rwt*   "catch fish in trap"
      b. *ang-rwt*   "fishtrap"

Sometimes derivational morphology seems to have a purely decorative function and does no syntactic "work". More convincing examples of this will be presented shortly, but for this prefix, note that purely or largely decorative uses may include an earlier example:

(38) a. *traeuh*
          "big"
      b. *an-traeuh*
          "big (person?)"

If (38b) is a noun, then the affix is a nominalizing one, but in fact (38b) is encountered only in the expression *neak antraeuh* "person large", where the nominalization function of *aN-* is at best pleonastic.

(39) a. *thom*
          "big"
      b. *an-thom*
          "big"

(This word was encountered in a written text, but characterized by Mr. Ourn as a made-up word.)

(40) a. *ve:ng*
          "long"
      b. *ang-ve:ng*
          "long-lasting, immortal"
          (as in: *rung.rwang cia ___   taw: tev*
                    glory   be   continue go.on
          "immortal and never-ending glory")

(41) a. *pi:*
          "from, out of, about"
      b. *am-pi:*
          "from, out of, about"

In the last example, the affix has neither lexical nor syntactic meaning. I have encountered no instance where the two are not interchangeable. A neat example of the two being used in what was obviously intended as a purely symmetrical construction is:

(41) c. *kee: cawng banjceak pi:*
          3   want   show   about
          ka: pjiajiam rauho:t ba:n   samrac phaw:ng
          NOM diligent   until   manage   ready   also
          haeuj kaw: banjceak   ampi:
          and   and   show   about
          leak   robawh strej   phaw:ng
          character of   woman also
          "This story is supposed to illustrate both eternal diligence and (at the same time) the nature of women."

Not only are the two Verb Phrases *banjceak pi: ka: pjiajiam...* in line 1 and *banjceak ampi: leak..* in line 3 explicitly conjoined by the coordinating conjunction *haeuj kaw:* "and (al)so", but their symmetry is reinforced by the word *phaw:ng* "also, at the same time", which follows each conjunct. Still, the preposition following the first occurrence of *banjceak* "demonstrate, show" is *pi:*, while the preposition following the second is *ampi:*. No contrast is being made, and only parallelism between the conjuncts is asserted – and emphasized.

Although rare, it is possible that this *aN-* affix has congeners in other Austroasiatic languages. Cf. Diffloth 1976: 88 for *n(a)-* in Jah Hut.

2.1.1.2 The nominalizing infix *-aN-* (clear register) ~ *uN-* (breathy register). There are relatively few examples of this, and their meaning is not always entirely clear. They are listed out of order here (infixes will be dealt with later) because of their formal identity with the nominalizing prefix *aN-* just discussed in the previous section.

(42)   a.   *kcawp*   "wrap"
       b.   *k- anj-cawp*   "package"

(43)   a.   *pnjaeu*   "send, present, offer"
       b.   *b-anj- njaeu*   "gift, offering; messenger, emissary"

(44)   a.   *tveu:*   "do"
       b.   *t- ung-veu:*   "action, deed"

(45)   a.   *ckeuh*   "pick at"
       b.   *c-ang-keuh*   "chopsticks"

(46)   a.   *chan*   "eat (of monks and royalty)"
       b.   *c-ang-han*   "monk's food"

(47)   a.   *kloh*   "pierce, bore a hole"
       b.   *k-an-loh*   "rope through the nostril of an ox"

The infix seems to be nearly meaningless or decorative in pairs of words like

(48)   a.   *plw: ~ p- un- lw:*   (both mean either "illuminate" or "illumination")
       b.   *pdam ~ b-an-dam*   (both mean "send a message" or "message")
       c.   *plae   b-an-lae*   (both mean "fruit" in the spoken language)

The meaning appears to be almost entirely idiosyncratic in

(49)   a.   *sleuk*   "leaf"
       b.   *s-an-leuk*   "leaf of a book, sheet of paper"

(50)   a.   *plae*   "fruit"
       b.   *b-an-lae*   "vegetable" (written and formal spoken language).

Once again, there are congeners for this infix with the same meaning(s) in other Austroasiatic languages, in fact somewhat more than there are for the presumably related prefix. Cf. Jacob 1963: 63 for Old Mon; Banker 1964: 103 for Bahnar; Diffloth 1976: 108 for Jah Hut.

2.1.1.3 The nominalizing prefix/ infix *-am(n)-* (clear register) ~ *-um(n)-* (breathy register). The [n] occurs if the infix (which follows the first consonant of the root) is prevocalic: thus *criang* "sing" yields *c-am-riang* "song", while *kaeut* "be born" yields *k-am+n-aeut* "birth". Thus the sesquisyllabic word that results from infixation has an ancrusic syllable of canonical shape *CVm-*, and a main syllable of canonical shape *CVC*.[4] Although derivational, this infix occurs with such overwhelming frequency that one person's made-up (and therefore ludic or stigmatized) forms are in another's regular vocabulary. Aside from a handful of semantically idiosyncratic forms like *b-am-raeu* "servant" (from *praeu* "use"), the meaning is fairly unsurprising, if not entirely regular.

Usually the derivation means "(result of) act of doing":

(51)   a.   (') *aoj*   "give"
       b.   ' *-amn- aoj*   "gift"
       c.   (')*a:c*   "be able"
       d.   ' *amn-a:c*   "power"
       e.   (')*awh*   "exhaust"
       f.   *-amn-awh*   "ending, finish, completion"

The affix is a prefix in the Examples (51) only if the initial glottal stop is treated as non-phonemic. The existence of pairs such as these   and there are a few -- is perhaps the strongest single argument for assigning word-initial prevocalic glottal stop phonemic status, and calling the *-am(n)-* nominalizer an infix, as it clearly is in the following examples.

(52)   a.   *teak*   "join, connect"
       b.   *t-umn-eak*   "connection"

(53)   a.   *pra:m*   "prohibit"
       b.   *b-am- ra:m*   "prohibition"

(54)   a.   *kau:*   "pile up"
       b.   *k-umn-au:*   "pile" (N)

(55)   a.   *claeuj*   "respond, answer"
       b.   *c-am-laeuj*   "response"

(56)   a.   *sa:c*   "spread the word, divulge"
       b.   *s- amng- a:c*   "information, news" (NB: The infix if regular, would be *-amn-*)

(57)   a.   *chw:*   "ill"
       b.   *c-umng- w:*   "illness" (Again, the infix is phonetically irregular)

(58)   a.   *caw:ng*   "bind, tie up"
       b.   *c-amn-aw:ng*   "binding"

(59)   a.   *daeu*   "walk, go"
       b.   *d-amn-aeu*   "journey, trip"

(60)   a.   *tiaj*   "prophesy, foretell"
       b.   *t-umn-iaj*   "prophecy"

(61) a. *spiaj*   "carry slung over the shoulders"
      b. *s-am-piaj*   "bundle carried over the shoulders"

(62) a. *cngaːj*   "distant"
      b. *c-am-ngaːj*   "distance"

(63) a. *chian*   "take a step"
      b. *c-um-hian*   "a pace, step"

Not only can this infix create action nominalizations, but it can sometimes have no syn-tactic (and hardly any semantic) effect at all. It seems to perform a purely decorative function[5] in cases like

(64) a. *koː s (am) kauːm*
          ox   skinny (??ness)
          "skinny cadaverous ox"
      b. *tunsaːj k(am) hoːc*
          rabbit   corrupt (??ion)
          "depraved rabbit"
      c. *teuk s(am)ʾoj*
          water stink (??iness)
          "stinking water"
      d. *s(am)nak*   "stay"
      e. *s(am)baeum*   "awesome"

In other cases, where the verb occurs as a predicate, the nominalization is treated as such[6], but there is no semantic difference between the two forms:

(65) a. *rabuah tnguan*
          injury   heavy

      b. *rabuah cia t-um- gnuan*
          injury   be   heaviness

Both (65a) and (65b) mean "the injury was heavy, severe".
    Finally, there are cases where the infix has an idiosyncratic meaning, but does not alter the syntactic function of the verb.

(66) a. *neak   chwː*
          person ill
          "a sick person"
      b. *neak   c-umg-ngwː*
          person sickness
          "a (medical) patient"

(67) a. *cah*   "old"
      b. *c-amn-ah*   "elderly"

(68) a. *ksawt*   "poor" (impecunious)
      b. *k-am-sawt*   "poor" (miserable)

(69) a. *pteah lhaw:*
          house empty
          "an empty house"
      b. *pteah l-um-haw:*
          house emptiness
          "hut without walls, one that is open to the breeze"

Outside of the Khmeric group of languages[7], there is apparently only one congener for this affix in Austroasiatic: cf. Svantesson 1983:98 for Kammu (= Khmu').

2.2   Causative morphemes

There are four, distinguished in the orthography: the infix *-am(n)-*, and the prefixes *baN-*, *paN-*, and *p-*.

2.2.1 Infix *-am(n)* ~(clear register) *-um(n)-* (breathy register)

(71) a. *slawt*
          "terrified, panic-stricken"
      b. *s-am-lawt*
          "terrify, intimidate"

(72) a. *creah*
          "fall"
      b. *c-um-reah*
          "drop"

(73) a. *treu:h*
          "rather big"
      b. *t-um-reu:h*
          "promote, aggrandize"

(74) a. *klaoc*
          "burn (intransitive)"
      b. *k-am-laoc*
          "burn (transitive)"

(75) a. *p'aeul*   "be startled; take flight"
      b. *b ~ ang- 'aeul*   "startle"

(76) a. *kla:*   "brave"
      b. *k-am-la:*   "encourage"

(77) a. *slap*   "die"
      b. *s-am-lap*   "kill"

(78) a. *kra:h*   "thick"
      b. *k-am-ra:h*   "thicken"

Again, there are cases where the meaning of the infix is lexical rather than syntactic:

(79) a. *saw:p*   "all"   → *s-amn- aw:p*   "favorite, lovely"
      b. *sdaeng* "lifelike, having verisimilitude" → *s-am-daeng* "perform, represent"
      c. *skoal*   "recognize"   → *s-am-koal*   "remark, notice (V);
                                                                      mnemonic (N)"

And there are others, where the infix seems entirely decorative:

(80) *prong ~ b am- rong*   "prepare, be prepared"

Once again, there are apparently only two congeners in Austroasiatic: Kammu, cf. Svantesson 1983:109, and Nancowry, cf. Kruspe 2004:74 fn.

2.2.2 Causative *baN-*

This prefix is almost fully productive:

(81) a. *ho:*   "flow"
      b. *bang--ho:*   "cause to flow; irrigate"

(82) a. *ciah*   "avoid"
      b. *banj-ciah*   "avert"

(83) a. *taong*   "reach for, grasp at"
      b. *ban-taong*   "append by hanging on to; pendant"

(84) a. *bae*   "turn (intransitive)"
      b. *bam-bae*   "turn (transitive)"

(85) a. *baek*   "separate, take one's leave"
      b. *bam-baek*   "separate, divide (transitive)"

(86) a. *bak*   "get broken, break"
      b. *bam-bak*   "break (tr.)"

(87) a. *kaeut*   "be born"
      b. *bang-kaeut*   "give rise to, produce, give birth"

(88) a. *bat*   "disappear"
      b. *bam-bat*   "sweep away, get rid of, eliminate"

(89) a. *cawp*   "cease, end, stop (intransitive)
      b. *banj-cawp*   "dismiss, lay off, fire"

(90) a. *buah*   "undergo initiation as a monk"
      b. *bam-buah*   "initiate a monk"

But it also occurs with words which are not used a predicates. For example, the word *krup* "all" is usually a quantifier, but it yields a derived "causative" *bang-krup* "count all".

2.2.3 The second causative prefix, *paN- ~ puN-*, is relatively rare

(91)	a.	*rian*	"learn"
	b.	*pang-rian*	"teach" (now replaced by *bang-rian*)
(92)	a.	*jaul*	"understand"
	b.	*pan-jaul*	"explain"
(93)	a.	*lec*	"sink, submerge, go under" (intransitive)
	b.	*pan-lec*	"submerge, lower, drop"
(94)	a.	*reung*	"strong"
	b.	*pang-reung*	"strengthen"
(95)	a.	*riːk*	"thrive, flourish"
	b.	*pang-riːk*	"develop, foster"
(96)	a.	*riap*	"level, ordered"
	b.	*pang- riap*	"level, mow, trim"

2.2.4 The third causative prefix *p-*
The last is recognized in the orthography of only a few verbs:

(97)	a.	*canj*	"lose, be defeated"
	b.	*p-canj*	"defeat"
(98)	a.	*cum*	"meet, join with"
	b.	*p-cum*	"unite"
(99)	a.	*deung*	"know"
	b.	*p-deung*	"inform"
(100)	a.	*deeːk*	"lie down"
	b.	*p-deeːk*	"lay down"
(101)	a.	*dawl*	"arrive"
	b.	*p-dawl*	"usher in; reap; produce"
(102)	a.	*njauh*	"hatch"
	b.	*p-njauh*	"hatch (tr.)"

In at least one case, the prefix makes a causative verb out of a noun:

(103)	a.	*daeum*	"trunk, base, origin"
	b.	*p-daeum*	"begin"

The three contrasting causatives *baN-*, *paN-*, *p-* are clearly related, and in fact distinguished primarily in the orthography. In spoken Khmer all three causative prefixes can sound the same ([p(ə)]), as the syllable codas of *baN-* and *paN-* are lost, and the initial consonant [b] loses its voicing before any obstruent. Nevertheless native speakers recognize a semantic contrast between "full" and "reduced" versions of (what may have

been) the same prefix in a handful of cases. Thus *pangrian* and *prian* both mean "teach", but only one, the second, means "preach, edify spiritually"

Sometimes one or another causative prefix occurs with a root that no longer has any independent existence. Note the pairs:

(104) a. *ra-laum* "tumble down"
      b. *pan-laum* "chop down" (The putative root *laum* is not attested.);

(105) a. *cra-lawm* "confused"
      b. *ban-lawm* "confuse, trick" (The putative root * *lawm* is not attested.)

Causative prefixes with at least one allomorph *p(a)-* ~ *pn-* are found throughout Austro-asiatic.

P- alone (with allomorphs in different initial consonants not noted) occurs in Old Mon (Jacob 1963:63), Bahnar (Banker 1964:105);

Pa- occurs in Katu (Costello 1965:1037), Minor Mlabri (Rischel 1995:90), Pacoh (S. Watson 1965:390), and Khasi (Rabel 1961:102).

P- alternating with *Pn-* (or *Pr-*) occurs in Jah Hut (Diffloth 1976:96,109), Jahai (Burenhult 2005:105), Kammu (Svantesson 1983:108, Premsirat 1987:25), Tkong Amwi (Weidert 1975:53), and Semelai (Kruspe 2004:71, 83).

Bə- alternating with *pən-* occurs in Sre (Manley 1972:44–6).

PəN- alone occurs in Kouy (Rongier 2005:90–1).

2.3 Other traces of affixation

2.3.1 Irregular C (+ *am* ~*an*)- prefixes

These may bear witness to a lost single-consonant prefix. A case can be made for such a prefix in triplets like:

(106) a. *laj* "calculate"
      b. *t-laj* "valuable, precious" (t- has no readily characterizable meaning)
      c. *d- am- laj* "worth, value" (with a regular nominalizing infix).

A comparable doublet (a triplet with a missing term) is

(107) a. *laeung* "ascend, climb, increase"
      b. **tlaeung*
         d-am-laeung "increase", where an atomic prefix *dam-* must be recognized in the absence of a word like (106b). Other doublets with a missing term include:

(108) a. *thoat* "fat, plump"
      b. **k-thoat*
      c. *kan-thoat* "fat person", hence a prefix *kan-* (which could be the mild pejorative prefix). The word is not attested in the Dictionnaire Cambodgien, but is used by Noeurng Ourn.

(109) a. *runj*   "push, exhort, egg on"
       b. *c-runj
       c. *cum-runj*   "attract", hence a prefix *cum-*.

(110) a. *baeuk*   "(break) open, distribute"
       b. *s-baeuk
       c. *sam-baeuk*   "dole out", hence a prefix *sam-*.

(111) a. *kha:n*   "fail, skip, miss"
       b. **r-kha:n*
       c. *rum- kha:n*   "disturb, bother, cause someone to miss", hence a prefix *rum-*.

(112) a. *ru:t*   "slide down, unzip (transitive)"
       b. *s-ro:t*   "quickly, like a zipper" (with register change from 1st to 2nd)
           s- am-ro:t   "slide down a pole (intransitive)".

There is clearly a common root in each of the examples (109)–(112), but no possibility of recognizing any fixed meaning for the *-am-* ~ *-um-* infix or enlargement which occurs in the (c) alternative. So there seems to be no alternative to recognizing the idiosyncratic prefixes *s-*, *sam-*.

(113) a. *vwl*   "go around, spin"
       b. *k- vwl*   "be frustrated, find no exit"
       c. *k-ang-vwl*   "anxiety"

Clearly (b) is related to (c) via regular nominalization. Semantically, (a) is related to (b), but there is no productive prefix *k-*. (But cf. Pou 2004b: 28 on a "pejorative" *k-*.)

There are even more fragmentary families of words which suggest a common "root" and a set of affixes, but there is no root, nor are the affixes found elsewhere. For example, the set below:

(114) a. *kliang*   "unbalanced, unstable"
       b. *p'iang*   "tilt, lean against"
       c. *l'iang*   "tilted"
       d. *sam'iang*   "biased"
       e. *triang*   "inclined"   (Gorgoniev 1966b: 53)

unambiguously point to a recurrent root *(')iang*, (which is attested in Headley et al. with the meaning "lie on one's side", but is not accepted by Mr. Ourn or Mr. Keat) and what we are forced to call the nonce "prefixes" **kl-*, *p-*, **l-*, **sam-*, *tr-*.

2.3.2 *Meaningless prefixes*

Any of the preconsonantal obstruents in words beginning with a consonant cluster can be identified as a "cranberry prefix" or "morphan" (Matisoff 1973b) of some sort, given either the existence of the following string as an independent word, or the possibility of

assigning that string some constant meaning. Taking the initial /k/ as a representative
example:

k-la:j	"impure, become" is presumably related to	liaj	"mix";
k-dav	"hot"	to	dav	"cauterize";
k-mual	"billow"	to	mual	"twist"
k-laeng	"fake"	to	lee:ng	"play"
k-mian	"not have"	to	mian	"have"
k-niang	"misshapen"	to	niang	"form"
k-ra:p	"crouch"	to	riap	"low-lying, flat"
				(Jacob 1968: 178)
k-toat	"rebound"	to	toat	"kick" (Jacob ibid. 179)
k-tup	"bar"	to	tup	"dam"
k-vwl	"frustrated"	to	vwl	"spin"

but it is impossible to isolate a meaning common to these various prefixes. The k- prefix
is actually closer to having some semantic integrity than most – as noted, it has been
identified as often having "pejorative" or "negative" connotations.

Similar are prefixes /c/:

c-bang	"oppose", derives	from	bang	"make a wall"
c-baw:ng	"eldest"	from	baw:ng	"older sibling"
c-lau:p	"a spy"	from	law:p	"look furtively"
c-mo:l	"roll into a ball"	from	mu:l	"round"
c-reu:h	"choose"	from	reu:h	"choose"

and /t/:

t-kawl	"stable"	from	kawl	"stabilize, level"
t-kaeung	"respected"	from	*kaeung	"raise"
t-laj	"value, expensive"	from	laj	"evaluate"
t-ruat	"supervise, check"	from	ruat	"pile up(?)"

For two extended (and perhaps unique) examples of this phenomenon, consider first the
common words below in final *- aek:

baek	"divide into parts, branch out (as river streams)"
caek	"divide out, divvy up, share"
chaek	"slit (in skirt); lobe (of leaf); cut, divide, distribute; be forked"
cre:k	"separately cluster around"
haek	"tear, rip apart"
haek	"spread apart, like horns of a waterbuffalo"
kanthaek	"spread, separate (e.g. one's legs)"
laek	"separately, apart"
me:k	"branch (of a tree)"

njaek	"spread apart"
paek	"part, section"
plaek	"different, unusual"
pnjaek	"separate"
praek	"forked (tongue)"
re:k	"board game somewhat like GO, where one wins by interposing one's pieces between those of one's opponent"
re:k	"carry two bags on one pole over one's shoulders"
rumle:k	"dole out, share"
ve:k	"dish up food to customers at a cafeteria; sweep aside, clear away"

Clearly, there is a common semantic component of "apartness" in all of these words, which presumably is located in the common syllable rhyme ⟨-aek/-e:k[8]⟩. This of course entails the recognition of a number of nonce prefixes *b-, c-, ch-, k-, l-, m-, nj-, p-, r.*

There is again no root **aek* except for a remotely possible Pali borrowing meaning the already encountered root "one, individual", which features in a number of mostly rather learned words such as the compounds *aek +*

___ *aeng*	"all alone; by oneself"
(a)ˀcaun	"individual; private person"
(a) niam	"singular noun"
(a)phiap	"agree(ment)"
___ *(a)riac*	"independent"
___ *(a)sawntha:n*	"uniform"
___ *(a)saw:*	"document, record"
___ *(a)ta:*	"singular number"
___ *(a)tee:h*	"special field"
uɗawm	"his excellency"
___ *(a)vaˀaˀnaˀ*	"singular number"

The likelihood of this learned Pali borrowing lying beneath the score or so extremely familiar Khmer words in final **aek* is very low. (The putative root and its derivatives come from such different registers.) But even if this unlikely source were to be admitted, there is no plausible mechanism for adding these prefixes to such a root.

Another example is furnished by the list of words below in final **-a:j ~-iaj*:

ca:j	spend
---*viaj*	waste
cla:j	burst open
kca:j	spill, scatter, disperse
kcaw:	spread out, dissipate
psa:j	disseminate, broadcast

phiaj	spread out, diffuse (of odors, particularly)
riaj	scatter, spread, pour out, spill
saːj	scatter, disperse, broadcast, distribute
trasaːj	spread out in a circle, like branches of a tree

The only remotely identifiable recurrently occurring prefixes in this list are the causative *p-*, and *tra-*. Note that if sets of words like this are in fact etymologically related, then they bear witness to a unity that preceded the innovation of register at some time, since /-aːj/ and /-iaj/, like /aek/ and /-eːk/ are only relatable if they are identified as clear and breathy register pronunciations of the same string.

2.3.3 Infix -*n*-

This rare infix -n- sometimes denotes "instrument for ---", as in

(115) a. *rauh* "harrow" → *ra-n-oah* "harrow" (N)
   b. *kaeuj* "rest one's head" → *k-n-aeuj* "pillow"
   c. *coan* "step on" → *c-n-oan* "pedal"
   d. *sawːp* "pump" (V) → *s-n-awːp* "pump"
   e. *cih* "ride" → *c-n-ih* "vehicle" (obsolete)
   f. *dak* "put" → *t-n-ak* "shelf, stair, class"
   g. *saeng* "as one of two partners, carry on a pole over one's shoulder"
      → *s-n-aeng* "a carrying pole"
   h. *soː* "make a sound" → *s-n- oː* "a sound"
   i. *dawl* "arrive" → *t-n-awl* "street"
   j. *daol* "punt" → *t-n-aol* "punting pole"
   k. *teak* "join" → *t-n-eak* "linking word"
      (this last a neologism).
   l. *toh* "filter" → *t-n-oh* "grill, grate, filter"
   m. *doː* "exchange" → *t-n-oː* "means of exchange"
   n. *seut* "comb" → *s-n-eut* "comb (N)"

Other meanings are also attested for this infix:

(116) a. *buah* "undergo initiation into monastic order" →
   b. *p-n-uah* "initiation"

(117) a. *dawːk* "secrete around one's waist" →
   b. *t-n-awːk* "amount that can be so secreted"

(118) a. *choːt* "scratch a line" →
   b. *c-n-oːt* "zebra-striped"

(119) a. *caot* "stupid, gullible" →
   b. *c-n-aot* "lottery"

(120) a. *kaeut*   "be born, arise" →
       b. *k-n-aeut*   "period of waxing moon"
(121) a. *do:*   "trade" →
       b. *t-n-o:*   "exchange"
(122) a. *dee:*   "sew" →
       b. *t-n-ee:*   "seam, suture"
(123) a. *buang*   "tie (hair) into a knot or bow"
       b. *p-n-uang*   "knot, bun, or bow"
(124) a. *seut*   "comb (hair)"
       b. *s-n-eut*   "a special kind of comb with very tightly spaced teeth"
                          (the normal word for a comb is *krah*)
(125) a. *bawt*   "fold, bend, turn" →
       b. *p-n-awt*   "something folded into; grammatical affix"

This -n-, although of limited distribution in Khmer, is one of the most widely attested infixes in Austroasiatic. The affix occurs as a prefix in Khasi and Nicobar (Schmidt 1906), and possibly Jah Hut (where it more generally denotes the "resulting object of an action" (Diffloth 1976:99). But -n- (~-rn-) occurs as infix in Bahnar (where it also denotes the object created by an action, or the location in which an action is performed) (cf. Banker 1964:101), as an instrumental derivation in Jahai (Burenhult 2005:78) and Sre (Manley 1972:43), in Sapuan (where it also denotes reciprocal action and the object made) (cf. Jacq & Sidwell 1999); in Katu (where again it also denotes the object resulting from an action and the location of an action) (cf. Costello 1965:1034–5), in Kammu (where -rn- is the more common form) (cf. Svantesson 1983:96, 98), Minor Mlabri (where only -rn- is attested, cf. Rischel 1995:84) and Pacoh (where it also denotes the object of an action and abstract nominalizations, cf. Watson 1965:397).

2.3.4 (Usually) Agent infix -m-

(126) a. *cah* "old"   →   *c-m-ah* "master, owner"
       b. *daeu* "walk"   →   *t-m-aeu* "walker, pedestrian"
       c. *leu:h* "transgress"   →   *l-m-eu:h* "criminal"
       d. *luac* "steal"   →   *l-m-uac* "thief" (archaic, possibly obsolete)
       e. *cam* "wait"   →   *c-m-am* "guard"
       f. **see:* "write"   →   *s-m-ee:* "writer" (archaic, possibly obsolete)
       g. *ka:ng* "block"   →   *kma:ng* "enemy"
       h. *som* "beg"   →   *s-m-om* "beggar" (obsolete)
       i. *so:n* "mold"   →   *s-m-o:n* "potter"
       j. *cuanj* "do business, trade"   →   *c-m-uanj* "businessman"
       k. *caeung* "insolent"   →   *c-m-aeung cmaj* "arrogant"

(In this last case, the infix does not effect any morphological category change, but the derived word apparently does not occur alone, and requires a decorative partner *cmaj*.)

The *m-* formative also forms rare nominalizations as a prefix:

(127) a. *ho:p*   "eat"   →   *m-ho:p*   "food"
       b. *cah*   "old"   →   *m-cah*   "owner"
       c. *cui*   "sew"   →   *m-cui*   "needle"

Congeners include the prefix *m-* in Jah Hut (Diffloth 1976:98), and the infix *-m--* in Nicobar (Pinnow 1963:144), and Semelai (Kruspe 2004:80).

2.3.5 The nominalizing infix *-b-*.
Pou (2004:135–41), in an exhaustive catalog, lists 72 cases of this infix in Khmer.
    More frequently than not, it is phonetically irregular in that the vowel of the root is altered in unpredictable ways when the infix occurs:

(128) a. *rauh*   "live"   →   *ro-b-awh*   "thing"[10]
       b. *lee:ng*   "play"   →   *l-b-aeng*   "game"
       c. *ri:ng*   "dry"   →   *r-b-ee:ng*   "drought"
       d. *roam*   "to dance"   →   *r-b-am*   "dance" (N)
       e. *riaj*   "shape"   →   *r-b-a: j*   "shape"
       f. *liaj*   "mix"   →   *l-b-a: j*   "mixture"
       g. *leu:k*   "raise"   →   *l-b-aeuk*   "fable with a moral"
       h. *re:ng*   "sift"   →   *r-b-aeng*   "sieve" (for sifting rice)
       i. *lwan*   "fast"   →   *l-b-wan*   "velocity"

In at least two cases, infixation yields not a nominalization but a semantically related verb:

(129) a. *lw:*   "hear"   →   *l-b-ej*   "famous"
       b. *luang*   "console"   →   *l-b-uang*   "coax; cheat"

2.3.6 The irregular infix *-ra(n)- (~ra(m))*
There seems to be no common meaning or syntactic function for this infix, although the only function which recurs at all is to create nominalizations. The latter allomorph is noted as an irregularity.

(130) a. *ksae*   "rope, string" →
       b. *k-ra-sae* "rope, string" (elegant pronunciation)

(131) a. *sdej*   "speak" →
       b. *s-ra-dej* "speak out"
           (as in: *sngiam ciang*
                  silent   exceed
                  "It is better to be silent than to speak out")

(132) a. *baoj*   "wave around" →
       b. *p-ram-aoj* "an elephant's trunk" (irregular: this should be *pranaoj*)

(133) a. *tum*   "perch, alight" →
     b. *t-ran-um*   "perch, resting place (Noun)"

(134) a. *daot*   "pierce; hook fish through the jaw" →
     b. *t-ran-aot*   "trapline of fish that have been so hooked (Noun)"

(135) a. *bok*   "pound" →
     b. *p-ram- ok*   "pounding" (irregular. We should expect * *pranok*)

(136) a. *pheuk*   "drink" →
     b. *p-ram- euk* "drunkard" (irregular. We should expect **praheuk*)

(137) a. *kat*   "cut" →
     b. *k-ran-at*   "fabric, coupon" (something that is cut)

(138) a. *tec*   "sting" →
     b. *t-ran-ec*   "stinger"

(139) a. *tu:l*   "carry on one's head"
     b. *t-ran-u:l*   "load so carried"

(140) a. *banj*   "shoot" →
     b. *p-ram-anj* "hunting, the chase" (again, irregular. We should expect **prananj*.)

In some cases it is impossible to tell whether the word-internal, post-initial consonant sequence -*ra*- is an infix, simply the hypercorrect restoration of the ending of a meaningless presyllable which has been lost through the erosion of that anacrusic syllable in casual registers, or (even more simply) a purely decorative interpolation. Where the pairs of words so formed are (still?) treated as synonyms, then we call the string a meaningless phonetic sequence:

(141) a. *k(ra)ma:*   "scarf"
     b. *k(ra)ngaeng*   "bent, deformed"
     c. *k(ra)ngawng*   "(ditto)"
     d. *s(ra)lang*   "pale"
     e. *c(ra)peuh*   "crooked"

2.3.7 The prefix *kaN-*

The entire "prefix" *kaN-* seems to have no syntactic or semantic function in pairs of words like

(142) a. *(kam)piac*   having legs of unequal length
     b. *(kam)bak*   broken
     c. *kanthoat*   fat person (< *thoat* "fat")

Note, however, that all of these words are probably pejorative, and if there are more, it would justify recognizing a rare pejorative prefix *kan-*. This was done by Ménétrier &

Pannetier 1925:144, approvingly cited in Gorgoniev 1966b:56. It probably is related to the pejorative dishonorific k(a)-, as well as to the possibly pejorative prefix k-.

2.3.8 Intensive $C_i a$- reduplication
A small number of nouns and verbs (there apparently used to be more) form semantically irregular adjectives via reduplication of the initial consonant:

(143) a. *teuk*   "water" →
       b. *ta-teuk*   "sopping wet"

(144) a. *poh*   "belly" →
       b. *pa-poh*   "pregnant"

(145) a. *khep khop*   "very happy" →
       b. *kakhep kakhop*   "to smile"

(146) a. *tak top*   "not fluent" →
       b. *tatak tatop*   "speak haltingly, disfluently, like a child"

(147) a. *taeltaol*   "alone, vagrant, wandering" →
       b. *tatael tataol*   "completely alone"

Note that while the root of (147a) is judged to be "one word", for the purposes of reduplication, each of its two components is treated separately, and the symmetry between them is preserved, more than it would be if reduplication applied only to the word as a whole, yielding *ta-taeltaol*.) This is a first indication that the symmetry of decoratively conjoined roots is preserved irrespective of the nature of the process which affects the conjunction. We will return to this overarching obligatory symmetry in Chapter 4.

In a number of cases, this entire prefix, instead of signaling "intensifying/frequentative reduplication", seems to have a purely decorative function:

(148) a. *toah te:ng = tatoah tate:ng*   "quarrel"
       b. *teung te:ng = tateung tate:ng*   "block"

2.3.9 The negative prefix *K-*
Negation is usually expressed by separate words, all of which are still functioning verbs. The *K-* prefix occurs uniquely with the existential verb *mian* "have, be" (which also allows the lexical negatives). There are etymologically related forms in other Austroasiatic languages, among them Minor Mlabri, with *ki-* (Rischel 1995:108) and Bahnar with *keu-* (Banker 1964:116). Whether any of these are related to "pejorative" *k-* is strictly speaking unknown.

We turn now to emergent prefixes which probably originated as meaningless presyllables but have come to be seen as having some vague meaning via a kind of sound symbolism.

2.3.10 The primarily reciprocal/collective/adversative prefix *pra-*
This is one of the most frequent presyllables in sesquisyllabic words. In hundreds of
cases, it has no consistent meaning at all in modern Khmer, but it should be identified
as a prefix if it seems to have even a glimmer of a common meaning or function, or if
the following syllable has an independent but related meaning and/or occurs in other
combinations.

2.3.10.1 The main reciprocal/collective/adversative function. A common reciprocal, col-
lective, or iterative meaning can be more or less clearly identified in cases like:

(149)   a.   *pra- kham*   "bite each other" (from *kham* "bite")
        b.   *pra- nang*   "compete" (*nang)
        c.   *pra-caeng*   "contend, compete"
        d.   *pra- jut*   "compete, struggle, contend, fight hard"
        e.   (*pra-kat*)2   "(run) neck and neck" (from *kat* "cut")
             (As in: *baw:ng   niang denj   anj prakat prakat*
                      elder.sibling her   chase   me   run.neck.and.neck
                      "her older brother chased me")
        f.   *pra-kuat*   "compete"
        g.   *pra- phot pra- phaoj* "neck.and.neck" (from *phot* "surpass")
        h.   *pra-teak*   "connect, criss-cross, intertwine"
                                     (from *teak* "be connected")
             (As in: *samrap* ____   *knia*
                      prepare   connect each.other
                      "prepare to meet each other")
        i.   *pra-teak pra-tau:ng*   "tug back and forth"
                                     (from *teak tau:ng* "be connected, joined")
        j.   *pra-tianj pra- taung* "yank about back and forth" (from *tianj* "pull")
        k.   *pra-vah*   "mutual aid; profit sharing"
        l.   *pra-pheut*   "be very close to, follow by tailgating"
             ____ *praphaeuj*   "run neck and neck"

A related "collectivizing" function can be discerned in cases like:

(150)   a.   *pra- cum*   "gather, assemble" (from *cum* "around")
        b.   *pra-kom*   "(play) all together; (form a) band, ensemble"
             pra-nja:j   "all hustle collectively"
             (As in: *raut* ____   *damrawng mau:k rau:k camnej*
                      run   direction come seek food
                      "all ran up to find food")
        d.   *pra-mom*   "all-inclusive; gather all together"

e. *pra- sra:j*   "be united, connected; stay on or with"
    (As in: *jeu:ng* ___   *teak*   *tau:ng*
            we   connect connect connect
            "all of us united"
            praeu ka:- ni'jiaj   *tev venj tev mau:k raviang caun   teang la:j*
            use   NOM talk   united go back go   come among person all   all
            "(We) all use conversation to make reciprocal connections with each other.")

An (again related) "adversative" function can be seen in words like:

(151) a. *pra-chang*   "be against, opposed, resist"
       b. *pra- chau:m*   "confront, encounter"
       c. *pra-teah*   "happen upon, meet"
       d. *pra-sawp*   "flow together, cross (as rivers), encounter"

2.3.10.2 A causative function. A totally unrelated causative meaning can be seen sporadically in cases like:

(152) a. *pra- do:c*   "compare" (from *do:c* "be like")
       b. *pra- biat*   "squeeze together"
       c. *pra- buac*   "twist shut"
       d. *pra- dav*   "lecture, instruct, advise" (For the root, cf. *sam-dav*
                                  "direction, towards")
       e. *pra-dual*   "knock down repeatedly" (from *dual* "fall down", ?via
                                  p-dual "knock down")
       f. *pra-laeng*   "release, free, let go" (from *le:ng* "no longer")
       g. *pra-ma:n*   "approximately; count; utter, estimate" (from *ma:n* "how
                                  much, how many")
       h. *pra-mu:l*   "collect; embrace" (from *mu:l* "be round")
       i. *pra-pheung*   "release"

It is possible that all of these causatives derive from *p-* via the insertion of the infix *-ra-*, which is always purely decorative in Surin Khmer and frequently purely decorative in Central Khmer. In any case, it is notable that the causative prefix now occurs as a triplet *p-*, ~ *pra*, ~ *pVN-*. (See the discussion of such triplets in Chapter 2, Section 1.)

2.3.10.3 Nominalization. An infrequently attested nominalization function can be seen in cases like

(153) a. *pra- cung*   "meeting" (from *cum* "meet")
       b. *pra- ve:ng*   "distance" (from *ve:ng* "long")

This may be an instance of "paradigmatic association" or "polysemy copying": on one reading, the causative, *p(ra)*- is synonymous with the infix *Vm(n)*-. But the latter has another, more frequent meaning, that of creating nominalizations. This may licence *pra*- to share the same second meaning. The phenomenon of polysemy copying will be further discussed and exemplified in Chapter 10.

2.3.10.4 Lexical functions. Finally, a purely lexical function is all that can be seen in cases like:

(154)   a.   *pra-cam*   "guard" (one on one)
      b.   *pra- cam*   "schedule; (do) regularly, every ..." (both from *cam* "wait for")
      c.   *pra- denj*   "hunt" (from *denj* "chase")
      d.   *pra- kan*   "hold a grudge; insist; be conservative; reserve" (from *kan* "hold")
      e.   *pra-laeng*   "play" (from *le:ng* "let go of")
      pralaeng knia   "play together, with"

      pdej   niang   kampung   [_____   *lee:ng cia muaj*] *pleu:ng*
      husband female engaged in play with play   with   fire
      "Your husband is playing with fire"
      (The square brackets enclose a pair of synonymous expressions.)

The reciprocal meaning of *pralaeng knia* is provided by *knia* "each other"

      f.   *pra- pheh*   "grey" (from *pheh* "ashes")

(Note that in this example, the prefix seems to have a denominalizing function.)

2.3.11 The "prefix" *tra-*

Again, this is one of the most frequent presyllables, and is apparently meaningless. But it may have prefixlike properties in words like:

(155)   a.   *tra-bak*   "snap at; wolf down" (from *bak* "break")
      b.   *tra-banj*   "spurt, gush" (from *banj* "shoot")
      c.   *tra-da:p*   "deteriorate" (from *da:p*)
      d.   *tra-daet*   "soar upwards, waft aloft" (For the root cf. *an-daet* "float")
      e.   *tra-ve:ng*   "long, elliptical, oval" (from *ve:ng* "long")
      f.   *tra-lawp*   "come back" (from *lawp* "repeat")
      g.   *tra-'a:l*   "be very happy" (From the no longer current root *a:l* "be on fire" which now functions as a prohibitive auxiliary verb, cf. *kom a:l* "don't be so sure yet")

      _____   *knong ka: a:n*
      be.very.happy in   NOM   read
      "enjoy reading"

2.3.12 The "prefix" *kra-*

Again, this is an extremely common presyllable, but the number of pairs of possibly related words distinguished by the presence versus the absence of this syllable is rather small.

(156) a. *kra-da:p*   "come down in the world" (from *da:p* "get worse")
      b. *kra-haeng*   "cracked, parched (ground)" (from *haeng* "dry")
      c. *kra-pul*   "taste foul" (from *pul* "poisoned")
      d. *kra-pum*   "well-developed, full" (from *pum* "ripe")
      e. *kra-vian*   "curled up, hunched over" (from *vian* "twisted")
      f. *kra-saop*   "embrace and lift" (from *aop* "embrace"?)
      (This last is clearly irregular: whence the [s]?)

2.3.13 The "prefix" *cra-*

In one single case, this "prefix" seems to be a transitive or causative:

(157) *cra-muc*   "dip" (from *muc* "plunge in, dive in")

In one other case, it seems to be meaningless:

(158) *(cra)-lo:t*   "jump in"

And in one other case, it is identifiable as a prefix only because its "root" occurs with another prefix as well:

(159) *cra-lawm*   "confused", but cf. *ban-lawm* "confuse".

2.3.14 The "prefix" *sam-*

(160) a. *sam-caw:t*   "park, station, leave" from *caw:t* (same meaning)
      b. *sam-dav*   "head for, make for" from *dav* "direction"
      c. *sam-jo:ng*   "bend down", cf. *ra-ji:ng ra- jo:ng* "hang down"

2.3.15 The "prefix" *sra-*

(161) *(sra)taun*   "soft"

2.3.16 The "prefix" *ra-*

In a few cases, it seems that this is an intransitivizer:

(162) a. *haek* "tear"   →   *ra-haek* "be torn"
      b. *beh* "pick, pluck" →   *ra-beh* "wear off, peel off, erode"

But in others, it seems to be a transitivizer:

(163) a. *laeung*   "arise" →   *ra-laeung*   "uproot"
      b. *baeuk*   "open"   ⇢   *ra-baeuk*   "blow open"

In yet other cases, it seems to have a purely lexical meaning:

(164) a. *liaj*   "mix"   ⇢   *ra-liaj*   "melt away; become assimilated"
      b. *haeng*   "arid"   →   *ra-haeng*   "cracked, parched"
                                              (note the near-synonym *krahaeng*)[11]

3.   Derivation via regular compounding

3.1   Actor nominalizations

Nouns of agency in Khmer are totally regularly formed by the syntactic device of prefixing *neak* "person" to a verb or noun:

(165) a. *toah*   "disagree, have strife " → *neak toah*   "wrongdoer"
      b. *nipaun*   "write literature"   ⇢ *neak nipaun*   "writer"
          naenoam   "advise"   → *neak naenoam*   "advisor"

So regular is this process that one is hesitant to categorize it with derivational morphological phenomena at all. One could as easily parse expressions like *neak a:n* "reader" as a compound "read- person" or even a noun phrase with a reduced relative clause "a person who reads". But there is evidence that *neak* does not always mean "person", from a handful of inanimate nouns like

(166) *neak cuaj pdawl nej*
       AGT   help impart meaning
       "(grammatical) modifier".

Hence, it is clearly beginning to be treated as a derivational AGENT morpheme like English *-er*.

3.2   The prefix *m-* "one" (< *muaj* "one")

This reduction occurs with only a handful of unit measure nouns, among them *ja:ng* "kind, sort", *kha:ng* "side", *daw:ng* "time, occasion", *neak* "person" and the invariably bound form *m-phej* "20, one score". A comparable reduction of the numeral *moi* to the prefix *-ma-* is attested in Katu (Costello 1965:1055).

3.3   The ordinalizer *ti:* "place"

As a "prefix", this word converts a cardinal numeral into the corresponding ordinal:

(167) a. *cru:k muaj*
           pig   one
           "a pig"

      b. *cru:k ti: muaj*
           pig   place one
           "the first pig"

This "makes sense": *ti* "place" is a plausible source for ordinal numbers. But in converting a cardinal number to an ordinal, *ti* is performing another function. It is making a modifier out of something which is another part of speech: a quantifier. (See Chapter 5.) We may perceive a possible generalization of this function in another construction, where *ti* functions as a passive/stative auxiliary. Here are the facts:

In an SVO language with Head + Modifier order, there is no hard and fast distinction between attributive and predicate adjectives. So *cru:k l'aw:* (pig good) may mean either "good pig" or "the pig is good". The distinction may be made with a couple of totally productive adjective-forming prefixes, among them the relative pronoun *dael* (which makes verbal predicates into attributives) and the noun *kha:ng* "side" (which converts nouns into adjectives). It may also be made with the attributive intensifier *daw:* "very" which is largely confined to the written language. All will be treated in Chapter 5, on the syntax of the conventional noun phrase.

With a very small number of transitive verbs such as "love" and "hate", the predicative/attributive distinction can also be expressed as an active/passive distinction by the use of the optional prefixed nominalizer *ti:* "place" (and occasionally the infix *-Vm(n)-*) which now makes these transitive verbs both passive and adjectival:

(168) a. *PN cia ti: sralanj cia ti: ko:raup*
           PN be   place (?) love   be   place (?) respect
           "PN, one who is respected and revered"

      b. *ko:n (ti:)   am- lanj*
           son   NOM love (INF) love
           "beloved son"

Note that the derived form is adjectival, and cannot simply be used in a passive assertion, that is, it is impossible for example to say

(168)   *ko:n (ti:) samlanj/sralanj daoj aopuk*
             Son   be   love   by   father
             "The son is loved by his father."

Why a nominalizing/ordinalizing affix meaning "place" should give verbs a passive meaning is mysterious.[12] But it is possibly in connection with this property that the typically nominalizing infix -$Vm(n)$- can also have this meaning in (168b) and in:

(168) d. PN s-   am-   ʔawp
           PN hate NOM hate
           "the hated PN"

This surprising polysemy of $Vm(n)$- may be another preliminary example of "paradigmatic association" or "polysemy copying": $ti:$ is polysemous, with both nominalizing and passivizing functions. The infix -$Vm(n)$-, with a "legitimate" nominalizing function, perhaps copies the polysemy of the prefix $ti:$-, its partial synonym. Or it may be an instance of "syntagmatic association" or "Cheshirization": having co-occurred with the passive morpheme $ti:$ in structures like (168b), it is able to take over some of its functions in the absence of this morpheme in structures like (168d). (We will return to the acquisition of meaning via these two kinds of association in Chapter 10.)

4.   Diachronic speculations concerning infixes

Many Austroasiatic languages seem to have a predilection for infixation, which is typologically rare. There are two possible diachronic origins for this, metathesis and exaptation.

4.1   Metathesis

Two prefixes are identical to infixes:

   VN-   (action nominalization)
   m-   (agent)

Possibly infixes and prefixes have a single origin, as prefixes which are infixed via metathesis. (This is more plausible as a story for older infixes, those which have widespread congeners within Austroasiatic.)

4.2   Exaptation

It is remarkable that the most productive infix in Khmer, the nominalization $Vm(n)$- should have no congeners in any of the other languages of the family, with the possible exception of Kammu. It is as if this particular infix was a largely homegrown phenomenon. In the following paragraphs, I will sketch a scenario of how this particular kind of

infixation may have arisen via a kind of creative recycling or exaptation (Lass 1990) of what may have once been purely phonetic material.

First, as has already been noted in Chapters 1 and 2, it is notable that many Mon-Khmer languages have a predilection for bisyllabic roots, of which the first syllable is unstressed and phonetically unmarked. Matisoff 1973 coined the expression "sesquisyllabic" for this preferred iambic root structure, and it is attested and commented on in many of the descriptions of individual languages (cf. Watson 1965: 389 for Pacoh, Gregerson, to appear, among many). There are few possible options for the internal structure of the initial unstressed syllable. In almost all Mon-Khmer languages there are in fact only two: CRV and CVN-[13]. In the latter case, the initial consonant is an obstruent, the nucleus vowel is neutral, and the syllable coda is typically a nasal (cf. Diffloth 1976: 105 for Jah Hut). Moreover this syllable is subject to reduction, both diachronically, and synchronically (the latter at least within Khmer). The initial unstressed (anacrusic) syllable, tends to be reduced to just its initial consonant in Khmer, as noted in Chapter 1, as well as in other related languages (cf. Jacob (1976: 600 for Middle Khmer, Premsirat 1987: 10 for Kammu, and Weidert 1975: 74 for Khasi). So all disyllabic words are verging on becoming monosyllabic through the total loss of this initial syllable.

Second, with the reduction of "presyllables" to a single consonant, in the newly resulting typologically unusual[14] set of word-initial consonant clusters (Jacob 1976: 596), this initial consonant is identified (at least by Western analysts) as at least potentially some kind of prefix: although, to be sure the meaning of this "prefix" is impossible to determine (Jacob ibid. 602). Sometimes, it is necessary to recognize a plethora of meaningless and redundant prefixes as well as infixes, such that a word can either occur with or without them (cf. Svantesson 1983: 114 on Kammu, and Weidert 1975: 76, 108,109 on Tkong Amwi).

Jacob notes (1976: 608) that "the proliferation of single consonant prefixes and the freedom to put an infixed nasal in the consonant cluster so created may have led to the separation of CN- as a prefix". This is very close to what I believe may have happened, but I am not fully in agreement with Jacob. First, exactly what "CN- prefixes" has she in mind? (The only one that we have encountered with any currency is the causative.) Second, why does this "freedom" to insert infixed nasals (misleadingly labelled as the freedom "to nasalize", also remarked on by Maspero 1915: 202, Gorgoniev 1966b: 73, Pou 2004b: 27) arise at all? (This is a remarkable freedom and the process has nothing in common with phonetically conditioned nasalization. It is precisely this fact which demands an explanation.) I would like to reword Jacob's statement slightly to read:

> "The proliferation of single consonant prefixes alternating with full CVN- presyllables may have led to the genesis of -VN- and also possibly -Vm-, as infixes."

This hypothesis would account for the variety of meanings that are associated with the nasal infix (in Khmer, nominalizing, causative, or purely lexical), as well as for the purely decorative function that this infix (and others) seem to have, and not only in Khmer.

Finally, it is noteworthy that all prefixes and infixes in Khmer create the favorite word structure: a sequisyllabic iambic foot. No sequisyllabic root (with the signal striking exception of *d-am-bo:nmian* "advice") tolerates the addition of an affix that would create a third syllable, cf. Haiman 1998a, Pou 2004b: 25. It is as if many of the so-called derivational processes of Khmer did no more than to restore a structure that is and constantly has been subject to phonetic erosion, by undoing that erosion, most typically the loss of the rhyme portion of the anacrusic syllable. I think this may have been the case with *-Vm(n)-*. In a handful of words, in fact, we have seen that there seems to exist a remarkable free variation among three separate forms: a "root" form, another form with "infixed" *-ra-*, and another form with "infixed" *-amn-* or *VN-*.

(169) a. *cpeu:h ~ c-ra-peu:h ~ c-um-peu:h*   "crooked"
       b. *tneuh ~ t-ra-neuh ~ t-umneuh*   "shelf"
       c. *s-ra-dej ~ s-am-dej*   "speech" (both from *sdej* "greet")
       d. *p- ~ pra- ~ bVN-*   "causative prefix"

In the first three examples, neither infix seems to mean anything. In the last, and in other cases, the two are idiosyncratically differentiated:

(170) a. *sngat*   "silent"
       b. *s-ra-ngat*   "dark, deep"
       c. *s-am-ngat*   "secret"

A plausible account for the existence of such forms is that the "infixes" have no meaning to begin with, but arise via backformation or rule inversion from a single "root" form, which is reinterpreted by speakers as having undergone erosion of the final portion of the anacrusic syllable or an "originally" sesquisyllabic word. The two most common kinds of reduction are the loss of the coda *-VN-*, and of the string *-rV-*. Below, a speculative account of the stages of this process.

Initially, as noted in Chapter 1, Section 3.3 an epenthetic schwa can be inserted between the two consonants of a word- initial cluster (Martini 1942–5:125, Henderson 1952:165, Gorgoniev 1966b:35, Jenner & Pou 1982:xii):

(171) *tnaot*   →   *tanaot*   "sugar palm"
       lngung → *langung*   "stupid"
       lhong   →   *lahong*   "papaya"
       lngiac → *langiac*   "evening"
       lpev   →   *lapev*   "pumpkin"
       pteah   →   *pateah*   "house"

Gorgoniev (1966b: 35), as already noted, calls this insertion of epenthetic schwa (which could be either voiced or voiceless, appearing as [h]) following voiceless initial consonants and before a nasal), one of the most "essential" characteristics of Khmer. Virtually

any combination of consonants is possible word-initially, frequently as a result of the allegro rules, and schwa insertion occurs between C1 and C2 unless C1 is /s/ (e.g. in *spian* "bridge"), or C2 is a liquid (e.g. *kla:* "tiger") or /s/ (e.g. *psa:* "market" or /h/ (e.g. *thom* "big") following a stop (Martini 1942–5:125). This rule alone, which creates a reduced initial syllable, is already responsible for converting an enormous number of "phonologically" monosyllabic words into phonetically iambic words in Khmer. (The scare quotes around "phonologically" reflect the underlying uncertainty in speakers' minds about the "true" cognitive status of word-initial consonant clusters: are they really underlying phonological clusters, or are they phonetic rubble resulting from the operation of allegro rules to full syllables?

Sometimes, not just schwa, but a more substantial string may be inserted. Gorgoniev also notes (1966b: 48) that the (meaningless and according to him often interchangeable) initial consonant "prefixes" (that is, simply the letters *k-*, *c-*, *s-*, *t-*, *m-* occurring before other consonants) may be:

– "reenforced by nasalization", that is, by the insertion of a meaningless string /VN/ after that initial consonant (cf. Jacob 1968: 179; Jacob 1976: 608; Pou 2004b: 27, and Haiman & Ourn 2003 for meaningless ⟨ *Vm(n)-*⟩ insertion), or (presumably)
– "reenforced by rhotacization" or "usage de la vibrante *r*" (Pou ibid.), that is, by the insertion of the string /rV/ in the same position. (Gorgoniev provides examples of the phenomenon for both changes, but uses the word "reenforcement" only in the first case.)

Some examples of meaningless /rV/ insertion are:

(172) *kngaeng*   →   *krangaeng*   "bent, deformed (arm)"
       kngawng   →   *krangawng*   "bent, curving"
       ksae   ⇢   *krasae*   "string, line" (the latter considered more elegant)

Prakorb (1992: 255) casually reports that in the dialect of Northern Khmer, of which he is a native speaker, the meaningless string /rV/ can be optionally inserted between virtually any two word-initial consonants[15].

Pou (2004b: 26–7) speaks (as did von der Gabelentz more than 100 years ago) of two countervailing laws in Khmer: on the one hand affixation enlarges words in accordance with the communicative needs of the speaker, on the other, the word is ground down by the allegro rules, in accordance with the principle of least effort. The initial syllable of disyllabics is thus subject to "une altération plus ou moins rapide." In her explicit recognition of erosion and infixation as related and opposing processes (the first tearing down, and the second building up phonetic bulk) she comes closest to the position espoused here. (For an earlier recognition of this alternation, cf. Ménétrier 1933: 3, who notes that the drive for monosyllabicity is opposed by the phenomenon of affixation.)

It is noteworthy that the optionally inserted strings /VN/, /Vm/, and /rV/ described by Gorgoniev, Jenner, Jacob, Prakorb, Pou, and Haiman & Ourn for Central and Northern Khmer are exactly the strings that are most regularly eliminated by anacrusic syllable reduction. In those cases where the inserted string is etymologically motivated, its pronunciation can be regarded as simply a careful restoration of an inherited underlying structure. In other cases of analogical extension, the inserted – still meaningless – string has a purely decorative function. This seems to be the case in pairs of words like:

(173)   *c(am)ʾeung*   "gaunt, bony"
        c(um)peuːh   "crooked"
        k(am)hoːc   "wily, depraved"
        k(am)sawt   "poor, wretched"
        s(am)kaum   "gaunt"
        s(am)ʾeut s(am)ʾaeng   "(to) groom"

It is difficult to know how to interpret near-synonyms in passages such as

(174)   *via daeu damrawng teuk*
         it   go   directly   water
        "It heads directly for the water."

(175)   *nej   cam   (nej   trawng)*
         meaning main   meaning   direct
        "Its main (that is, direct or literal) meaning.."

In English, "direct" and "literal" are quite different words. But it is not clear that in Khmer *damrawng* and *trawng* are thought of as different at all. At the very least, it can be asserted that the infix has some "stylistic" but no syntactic or derivational function.

Haiman (1998a, 2003) proposed that the nearly productive and generally meaningful derivational infix ⟨-*Vm(n)*-⟩ may owe its origin to exactly this insertion process. An initially meaningless (possibly decorative but in any case purely phonetic) restoration – called "nasalization" by previous investigators – has been morphologized to create in some cases meaningful infixes denoting nominalization (in hundreds of words like *k-amn-aeut* "birth"), causation (as in dozens of words like *s-am-lap* "kill")[16], and finally, apparently meaningless infixes in a number of other words that should be nominalizations or causatives by the look of things but aren't (an ostensibly derivational procedure results in no derivational change of state). What looks like a nominalization is still a verb; what looks like a causative or transitive verb is still an intransitive one. This is the state of affairs we called "syntactic backsliding" in Haiman & Ourn 2003.

If this hypothesis about the origin of *Vm(n)*- is correct, then the most productive infixation process in Khmer is itself an iambic or sesquisyllabic phenomenon. Like anaptyctic schwa insertion, it serves primarily to convert a monosyllabic word into a

disyllabic one. Morphologization, the process whereby this string comes to have some meaning, is a separate and later phenomenon.

Prakorb 1992 confirms that in Northern Khmer, a comparable morphologization may have affected even the epenthetic schwa inserted between word-initial contiguous consonants. Thus schwa in N. Khmer is not just a vowel that breaks up consonant clusters, as it seems to be in Central Khmer: it is a nominalizing infix in words like *t-a-hom* "size" (compare Central Khmer *t-um-hom*), from *thom* "big", which is eroded to [tahom] in exactly the same way. It is also possible that in N. Khmer, the schwa is diachronically just what is left after prior erosion of what – in the Central Khmer dialect – is the nominalizing infix *Vm-*.[17]

In all the cases of infixation dealt with so far, the infix is analyzed as a (possibly mistaken) restoration of elided material within the root. But some of the less productive infixes may have originated as prefixes. Haiman 1998a notes that agentive ⟨m⟩ occurs as both a prefix (*m-cah* "master" < *cah* "old") and an infix (*l-m-eu:h* "criminal" < *leu:h* "transgress"). Farmer 2009 suggests that the infixation of ⟨b⟩, which occurs in about 70 mainly liquid-initial words like ⟨l-b-aeng⟩ "game" (< *lee:ng* "play") may also be the result of metathesis, derived from an earlier conjectured form **p-lee:ng*. The plausibility of this speculation is enhanced by pairs of extant words related by exactly this kind of obstruent + liquid ~ liquid + obstruent metathesis, among the *sra:j* "untie, solve" and *rsa:j* "come loose".

What could have motivated such a change? Farmer observes that words beginning with the cluster ⟨Stop + Liquid⟩, like *plee:ng* "play" are monosyllabic (recall that epenthetic schwa is not inserted when C2 is a liquid), but the result of the metathesis does provide an input string for schwa insertion, and thus the creation of a phonetically sesquisyllabic word [ləbaeng] "game".

The general observation holds that there is a continuing back-and-forth alternation between monosyllabic words with complex initial onsets, and disyllabic words with reduced or reducible anacrusic syllables. The space between the first and second consonants of monosyllabic words with complex onsets is both phonologically and morphologically ambiguous, the locus of an ongoing "tug-of-war" (Pou 2004b: 26–7; Farmer 2009). Phonologically, the phonetic material that appears there may be the remains of a syllable coda that has been eroded by an allegro rule, OR it may be the result of an infixation process. Morphologically, if the material is infixed, it may be meaningless (purely decorative), OR it may be semanticized as a derivational affix. That is, restitution may become morphologization in Khmer via a three-stage process: first a phonetic string is just that, and associated with a careful pronunciation of a word that contains it; then, as the reduced pronunciation comes to be the standard one, the added string is made into a decorative morpheme; finally, that morpheme acquires a meaning. While some students, like Pinnow 1980, Jacob 1960, and Lewitz 1968 have demonstrated the diachronic

priority of disyllabic structures in a number of instances (e.g. Old Khmer *kanmee:ng* > Modern Khmer *kmee:ng* "youth"), there is no solid basis for doing the same synchronically[18]. Both erosion and restitution seem to be productive ongoing processes.

It is possible that older, no longer productive infixation may have arisen in a similar way, but the evidence for this is lacking. And in any case, the existence of congeners for these infixes in other Austroasiatic languages seems to guarantee them a greater antiquity than can be established for the infixes which are apparently found only in Khmer.

Notes

1.   One could call *see'rejphiap* a derived form ("freedom") or a compound/phrase ("state of being free"). In the first case, we would describe the difference between *X-phiap* and *phiap-X* as one between suffixation and prefixation of ⟨phiap⟩   prefixation being the Khmer norm, and suffixation the Pali. In the second, we could describe the same difference as one between Modifier + Head order (as in Pali) or Head + modifier (Khmer). This recurrent issue poses a whole slew of problems for the translator, who has it in his/her power to make Khmer sound a lot more learned or more primitive depending entirely on his/her analytical bent. To call *kha:ng* and its ilk "words" gives compounds in which they occur like *kha:ng can* "side moon" a possibly spurious pidgin flavor (side moon = Tok Pisin *bilong mun*), while to call them affixes is to give the same words (now identified with derivations like "lunar") an equally spurious learned flavor (lunar = pertaining to the moon). Without reference to the reality for speakers, the translator can make them sound like The Cookie Monster or Bertrand Russell. The only available objective criterion for dealing with multi-morphemic structures is semantic: once a morpheme is used in such a way that its original meaning is no longer transparent, it is a (derivational) affix, and the compound within which it appears is no longer a compound.

2.   Another option (Philip Jenner, p.c.) is to identify *phiap* as the head of a typically Khmer Head + Attribute construction. See footnote 1. We will return to this issue in Chapter 5.

3.   Inflectional by the tests of productivity and semantic regularity.

4.   The etymology of the final [n] is uncertain. Schmidt 1916 suggested that   *Vmn-* may be a compound of two separate but nearly synonymous nasal infixes. This would be consistent with the morphological typology of the language, cf. Chapter 4.

5.   It can not be stressed sufficiently "that in many dialects of Northern Khmer, including that of the author, /rə/ can be optionally inserted in any CC- presyllable." (Prakorb 1992: 255). I can think of no clearer acknowledgement of the purely decorative function of a segmental string.

6.   That is, the copula verb may accompany the predicate, although this criterion is not really 100% reliable, cf. Chapter 7, footnote 4.

7.   Rongier (2005: 91–2, *passim*) provides a total of eight examples in Kouy. In two, the infix forms a causative. In a third, it converts a noun *ku:r* "drawing" into a verb *kəmnu:r* "to draw", the exact opposite of Central Khmer. In the remainder, it forms nominalizations.

8. If the unity of these examples is real, then register, and the unity of the language before the innovation of register, are also real: ⟨aek⟩ and ⟨e:k⟩ are a single underlying entity only if they are recognized by the grammar to be the same string spoken in clear register (/aek/) or breathy (/e:k/). In fact, it is held that register in Austroasiatic languages arose as the result of the devoicing of initial stops at some point after the adoption of the Indic writing system in the 6th and 7th centuries CE – perhaps about 1000 years ago (Vickery 1992: 240), or much more recently, after 1400 (Jenner & Sidwell 2010).

9. The (*a*) is a hiatus breaker between roots in Pali compounds.

10. Phonetically, the infixation of -*b*- always creates a sesquisyllabic word, but uncertainty about the phonological status of the anacrusic syllable is reflected in the traditional orthography. In some words, like *lbwan* "speed", the sequence *C-b*- is treated as a consonant cluster and the ⟨b⟩ is written as a subscript to the previous consonant (which means that the ⟨ə⟩ arises via anaptyxis), while in others like *rabam* "dance", it is written as an underlying *CV-b*. The practical orthography follows the conventional khmer script with the exception of *robawh* where the vowel quality of the anacrusic vowel is clearly established and distinctive.

11. "To me, all six derivations are clearly perfective, and I see no reason why not to say so." (Philip Jenner, p. c.)

12. See Jenner & Sidwell (2010: 16) for the structure *ti (Agent) Verb* as a periphrastic passive in Old Khmer:

⟨*sruk sre   ta   ti   mrata:nj aoj ta vrah*⟩
land paddy which PASS lord   give to divinity
"sruk and ricefields which were given by the lord to the divinity"

In fact, Pou (2004a: 192–6) remarks that *ti* was a regularly occurring passive auxiliary verb in Old Khmer (6th to 14th centuries) "qui ne se rencontre plus en moderne [sic], ńayant même pas survécu en khmer moyen" (ibid. 191). These two examples, while belying that claim, are probably extremely rare (and possibly affected) archaicisms. On the other hand, Gorgoniev (1966b: 259–60) encountered several cases of *cia ti: + V* "be the place for Verb" functioning as the synonym, sometimes the symmetrically conjoined synonym, of *kua aoj + V* "be (worthy of being) Verbed" with the same passive meaning as adjectives in -*able*:

Ceut .. kua   cia ti: ko:rau:p
heart   should PASS respect
"heart worthy of being respected"

..kmian avej   cia ti sangkheum
..not be anything PASS hope
"..there was nothing that provided any basis for hope"

Given that *cia* is frequently optional in combinations with other verbs, this phrase could represent another survival of the *ti:* passive in modern Khmer.

13. The total absence of anacrusic **CrVN*- suggests that -*rV*- and -*VN* may be in complementary distribution, although phonetically [r] belongs to the syllable onset and *VN* to the rhyme. Familiar arguments would then lead us to posit an underlying *CVr*- for all anacrusic *CrV*- syllables.

14. "Typologically unusual" in the sense that mainstream syllable-initial consonant clusters C1C2-obey the sonority hierarchy, such that C2 is more sonorous than C1. Thus [tr] is a mainstream syllable onset, and [rt] an unusual one.

15. Prakorb may be casual about this observation. I am not. Imagine if speakers of English could do this ad lib to words like *climb, schlock, skin, spear, small, stick*. Jenner (1969: 122–3) however, comes close to repeating the same observation for Central Khmer. "Rhotacized prefixes [CR-]…may be allomorphs of the corresponding simple prefixes [C-]" (before a consonant-initial "root"). Jenner speculates that all initial consonants in words with consonant-cluster onsets are prefixes. Moreover he cites Gehr (1951: 70) for a similar observation about facultative r-insertion in this interconsonantal position in written Thai. Ken Gregerson informs me that sporadic post-initial consonantal r-insertion occurs in different Austroasiatic languages of the region, thus e.g. Khmu' *s(r)ma'* "true", Smalley (1961: 18). Smalley also notes sporadic optional m-insertion in initial interconsonantal position, e.g. *s(m)gar* "straight", ibid.

16. These reinterpretations may be favored, first, by the independent existence of ⟨VN-⟩ and ⟨bVN-⟩ as nominalizing and causativizing prefixes, and more generally, by the iconic assumption that "more (form) is more (semantic content)".

17. Noss & Proum 1966 insist that this is also the case in standard Khmer. They emphasize that there is a phonetic, as well as a morphological, difference between *c nga:j* "far" and allegro *canga:j* "distance" (op. cit 272, 322). That is, the epenthetic schwa, rendered as ⟨ ⟩ above, has no meaning, while the vowel rendered as ⟨a⟩ is a nominalizer, as is /am/ in the careful pronunciation /c-am-nga:j/. Huffman 1972: 62 makes the same case for the distinction between /s law:/ "to cook" and /salaw:/ "a stew", the latter a reduction of /s-am-law:/.

The diachronic if not synchronic ambiguity of schwa is reflected in the statement of the allegro rules, where a full vowel is replaced by a schwa. Given the independent necessity for a rule of anaptyctic schwa insertion, the allegro rules could have been stated as simple deletions, with a subsequent rule of epenthetic schwa insertion separating consonant clusters whether they originated as such or arose as a result of allegro elision. I have outlined (Chapter 1, Section 5.2) my reason for believing this to be synchronically true: it is only if the allegro rules delete the entire rhyme portion of the anacrusic syllable that the initial consonant of this syllable is adjacent to the initial consonant of the main syllable. And it is only if these consonants are truly adjacent that devoicing the first consonant is phonetically plausible. The larger diachronic point, however, is that speakers are forever treating this sound as ambiguous.

18. Or, apparently, diachronically. In his dictionary of Angkorian Khmer, Jenner (2009b: 9) identifies the *-an-* as an already-present infix in this word, citing an (at this stage presumably only hypothetical) root *khmyang "be youthful" (ibid. 76).

Symmetrical compounds

<div align="right">

"This is your last and final call."
Airport announcement

</div>

Non-referential or decorative symmetry is a consistent stylistic feature of Khmer, as of many other languages (Jakobson 1966, Fox 1988, Bright 1990). Khmer exhibits relatively little of this kind of symmetry at the clause level (excepting a handful of expressions like *na: muaj X, na: muaj Y* "on the one hand, X; on the other hand Y"), and what seems like an obsessive amount at the word level. Much of this symmetry is motivated neither by semantics in general (the symmetry seems entirely meaningless) nor by iconicity in particular (the symmetry does not mark the kinds of meanings that reduplication often does), but by a sheer love of balance and repetition for their own sake.

Phrase level symmetrical coordination will be treated in Section 1. Most of the discussion here (Section 2) will deal with word-level symmetrical coordination. The integrity of formal symmetry, in the competition between the drive for symmetry and the drive for creating sesquisyllabic words will be treated in Section 3. Sections 4 and 5 are devoted to a speculative account of the origins and the possible further careers of decorative symmetrical words. The final Section 6 is a discussion of the paradoxes of obligatorification, which seems to be confined in Khmer to meaningless morphology.

1. Phrase level compounds

Iconic symmetry (e.g. "here an oink, there an oink", "for better or for worse", "one flew East, one flew West") exists as in English, and is of only routine interest except insofar as the examples may illustrate what pairs are considered opposites, or what pairs are held to constitute an exhaustive enumeration of a set:

(1) a. *saw:m   haet   saw:m   phawl*
　　　 agree   cause   agree   consequence
　　　 "(I) agree (with you) completely"

　　 b. *steu: kraok   steu: angkuj*
　　　 almost   stand   almost   sit
　　　 "crouch in a half-squatting, half standing position"

　　　 (khang) dac   kba:l   dac   kantuj
　　　 (angry) cut.off   head   cut.off   tail
　　　 "angry (enough to) cut off (your) head and (your) tail/ hopping mad"

d. *meu:l   muk   meu:l   kraoj*
    look   face   look   back
    "look forward and look backward"

e. *coap   daj   coap   ceu:ng*
    stuck   arm   stuck   leg
    "unable to move arms or legs/completely paralyzed"

f. *do:c ko: do:c   krabej*
    like ox   like   waterbuffalo
    "(work) like animals"

g. *mwn   ju: mwn   chap*
    not   long.time   not   quick
    "maybe"

h. *teang   kee: teang   knjom*
    all   3   all   1 (NB: "3" means "third person")
    "all of us (exclusive of hearer)"

i. *kec   coh   kec   laeung*
    escape   descend   escape   climb
    "escape in all directions"

j. *cawp   cong   cawp   daeum*
    stop   treetop   stop   treetrunk
    "from A to Z"

k. *khuap   prang   khuap   vassa:*
    cycle   dry   cycle   rainy
    "in all seasons, year-round"

Decorative symmetry, which also occurs at the phrase level, is another matter. Four-word symmetrical constructions, often asyndetic coordinations of two NPs or VPs, consist of the same initial word repeated with different second words, in effect creating an ABAC "alliterating" pattern. Either B and C are synonyms or one of them is a made up word. In no case in the examples below does the repetition signal repetition, intensity, iterativity or any of the other things that formal repetition can iconically signal in Khmer, and other languages. Rather, the sometimes explicitly volunteered motivation for this non-referential symmetry is "elegance" or "coherence".

(2) a. *krabej   teang   fo:ng   teang   fa:j*
                A   B   A   C
        buffalo whole   herd   whole-   – (*fa:j* does not exist as a separate word)
        "whole herd of water-buffalo"

(*fa:j* is our first example of an apparently meaningless word whose only function seems to be to provide formal symmetry to an expression. Form now on, such words will be provided with no gloss, but the word which they accompany will feature a dash.)

b. *dak kluan   dak ka:j*
    put body   put body (*ka:j* is a Pali borrowing)
    "throw oneself into something energetically, enthusiastically"

c. *kha:t   saw:p   kha:t   krup*
    lose   everything   lose   everything (*saw:p* is from Pali)
    "lose everything"

d. *ngu:t   teuk   ngu:t   phuak*
    wash   water   wash   mud
    "wash/shower" (in water alone: "mud" is decorative here)

e. *bat   moat   bat   kaw:*
    disappear   mouth   disappear   throat
    "be tongue-tied, mute"

f. *ja:ng   na: ja:ng   nej*
    kind   any   kind
    "anything at all"

g. *kat   ceut   kat   tlaeum*
    cut   heart   cut   liver
    "let go of one's suffering"

h. *daeum   cheu: daeum   prej*
    trunk   wood   trunk   forest
    "treetrunk"

i. *si: awt   si: klian*
    gobble   lack   gobble   hungry
    "feast on hunger/ endure famine"

j. *lec   na: lec   nej*
    sink   any   sink
    "float"

k. *ej   ceh   ej   coh*
    what   know   what   descend / Q par
    "vaguely, generally, indefinably"

(in this case, *ceh* and *coh* are obviously not synonyms, nor is either of them meaningless: but they seem to be yoked together in this construction because of their common sound alone.)

l.   *ba:n   moat   ba:n   kaw:*
   get   mouth   get   throat
   "(be a) windbag, blabbermouth"

m.   *mwn   deung   mwn   lw:*
   not   know   not   hear
   "not know"

n.   *ploat   moat   ploat   kaw:*
   blurt   mouth   blurt   throat
   "blurt out, exclaim"

o.   *caek   srae   caek   plw:*
   share   paddy   share   dyke
   "share paddies"

p.   *claw:ng teuk   claw:ng phuak*
   cross   water   cross   mud
   "cross water" (again meaningless "mud" is paired with "water")

q.   *kdap   daj   kdap   ceu:ng (dak   knia)*
   make.fist   hand   make.fist   foot   (put   each.other)
   "square off against each other, as if to box"

r.   *ho:p   awt ho:p klian*
   dine   lack dine   hungry
   "dine on hunger/not have enough food"

s.   *(neak trev) jau:k   ceut   jau:k   tlaeum (ku: snee:)*
   (you must) bring   heart   bring   liver   (couple love)
   "really commit yourself (to your romantic partnership)"

In some cases B and C are the parts of an otherwise fixed (symmetrical or endocentric) compound (BC), which has been "pulled apart" for the sake of an even more symmetrical ABAC construction. This recurs with word-level compounds as well, and will be termed "coordination inflation".

(3)   a.   *daoj   prej   daoj   psaj*
    through forest   through wild
    "through the jungle" (< *prej psaj* = "jungle")

   b.   *canj   teuk   canj   dej*
    lose.to water   lose.to land
    "be defeated by/ be allergic to everything" (*teuk dej* = "country")

    plae   cheu: plae   prej
    fruit   wood   fruit   forest
    "fruit"

In addition to the most frequent ABAC model, there are also ABCB (that is, "rhyming") pairs. Note that in (4a, b, d) the repetition is semantically motivated, while in (4c) it is purely decorative.

(4) a. *tev   na: mau:k   na:*
         A   B   C   B
         go   where   come   where
         "anywhere"

     b. *pi: moat   muaj   tev   moat   muaj*
         from   mouth   one   to   mouth   one
         "by word of mouth"

     c. *daj   veak   ceu:ng   veak*
         hand   ladle   foot   ladle
         "kitchen staff or personnel"

     d. *pne:k   twp   traciak   twp*
         eye   divine   ear   divine
         "clairvoyant, fortuneteller, psychic"

Before leaving phrase level symmetrical compounds it is worth noting two things. First, that almost all such phrases are short (2 × 2 =) four-word phrases. It is as though speakers are not very interested in tracking or creating formal symmetry of larger constituents. Second, two of the themes that will emerge in word level compounding have already appeared: the use of meaningless words for the sake of symmetry, and the prevalence of "alliterating" ABAC rather than of "rhyming" ABCB structures.

2.   Word level compounding

2.1   Semantically motivated compounding

This can be of two types: either the compound has a specific new meaning, which must be listed in the lexicon, or the compound is of antonyms rather than synonyms.

Examples of antonym pairs like "high and low" exist, e.g. *sok tok* "wellbeing + suffering" = "state of health"): they clearly belong in the lexicon only, and they are not discussed here, since they have a clearcut referential function.

Nor will pairs which clearly form new idiomatic words, like

(5) a. *kiap*   "pinch" + *sangkaut* "press down" = "oppress"
     b. *kanlok* "hiding place" + *kanlee:t/kanliat* "small spot" = "groin (euphemism)"
     c. *njeuk*   "pack densely" + *njoap* "tap repeatedly" = "frequent, often"
     d. *kreun*   "desiccated" + *krah* "armored" = "calloused"

e. *sratoap* "layer" + *vana'* "caste" = "social class",
f. *si:*   "eat" + *saw:ng* "repay" = "gamble"
g. *cam*   "wait, remember" + *tok* "put" = "bear in mind, consider"
h. *na:*   "which" + *nej* " – " = "any amount; as much as possible"
i. *kian*   "close.to" + *kawh* "island" = "peripheral, marginal"

Recall that the absence of a gloss in (5h) above, as in many of the examples to come, signals both that the morpheme does not occur alone, and has no clear meaning.

2.2   Iconically motivated compounding

It is a commonplace that whole or partial reduplication may have an iconic function and signal repetition, intensity, distributivity, or plurality. This is also the case in Khmer.
   Exact repetition of a single word may indicate

Plurality:

(6) a.   *cru:k cah   cah*
          pig   old   old
          "old pigs"

     b.   *mnuh   skau:m skau:m*
          person skinny skinny
          "skinny people"

     c.   *cah cah pi: daeum*
          old old from   trunk
          "the elders from the beginning/originally.."[1]

Repeated action:

(7) a.   *papuh teuk   pruac   pruac*
          bubble water   bubble.up bubble.up
          "water keeps bubbling and bubbling"

     b.   *angkuj angkuj mwn   kaeut   chau: chau: mwn   srual*
          sit   sit   not   succeed stand   stand   not   easy
          "(I) kept trying to sit and kept trying to stand without success (I could do neither comfortably)"

     c.   *muaj   pee:l   muaj   pee:l*
          one   time   one   time
          "once in a while"

     d.   *tawk   tawk   penj   bampau:ng*
          drop   drop   fill   tube
          "the tube fills drop by drop/progress comes bit by bit" (A proverb)

e. *knjom   khawm bawh   cumhian   muaj   muaj*
I   strive   take   step   one   one
"I took steps one at a time/ one by one"

f. *tumleak   sawmpaut   coh   sanseum   sanseum*
drop   skirt   lower   slowly   slowly
"slowly lower skirt bit by bit"

Distributivity:

Note the iconic way in which Khmer signals "each" by repeating the Measure Phrase, in the examples below. The ratio or correspondence between paired items is signaled by the conjunction of two phrases, typically a noun phrase and a measure phrase, and the fact that this ratio is repeated is signaled by the repetition of the measure phrase alone (as in (8a) or both the NP and the measure phrase (as in (8b)):

(8) a. *mkha:ng   pi: neak   pi: neak*
one-side   two   person   two   person
"two people on each side"

b. *kmee:ng   voat   mneak   mneak*
youth   temple   one-person   one-person
"each temple boy..."
Sot   tae   mian lo:k   kru: banghat mneak   muaj mneak   muaj
pure only   have monk teacher train   one-person one   one-person one
"had one monk apiece to train him"
(Note the repetition of "one", which appears both as a prefix *m-* and as a separate word *muaj* in the distributive expressions *mneak muaj* meaning "one to one".)

c. *tev seuh   riang   riang   kluan*
to   pupil   form   form   self
"each to his own pupil"

d. *criang   ni'muaj   ni'muaj*
sing   each.one each.one
"each song"
(NB *ni'muaj* already means "each one", but distributivity in (8d) is emphasized by repetition of the MP.)

e. *daeu   daoj   ku: daoj   ku:*
walk   by   pair   by   pair
"walk two by two"

f. *viphiak ta:m   piak   muaj   muaj*
analyze follow word   one   one
"analyze word by word"

Iconic symmetry can also occur as a feature of what in most other cases are decorative pairs (where a main word is accompanied either by a near synonym or a less meaningful formally parallel expression).

For example, *sasaj* "sinew", may form a decorative compound *sasaj saso:ng* whose second element is meaningless. However, in an example like

(9) *knjom preung li: saeng*
     I   strive carry.over.shoulder carry.over.shoulder.in.tandem
     awh   sasaj   saso:ng
     exhaust sinew
     "I exerted every sinew in every kind of carrying task"

it seems legitimate to interpret the reduplication of "sinew" as iconically marking intensity.

2.3   Love of symmetry for its own sake

Most decorative pairs, in contradistinction, seem to have (almost) no referential function. Many are synonym pairs of the "aches and pains", "last and final", or "heart and soul" variety, that is, they consist of near synonyms, and it is usually clear that there is no suggestion of iconically rendered plurality, repetition, intensity, emphasis, or even clarification, in such pairs (especially when the words conjoined are prepositions or conjunctions, rather than nouns, verbs, or degree words of any kind).

Before we proceed to a consideration of these extremely numerous pairs, it needs to be acknowledged that the following discussion seems to disregard a point of faith among linguists: that true synonyms do not exist.

It is necessary however, even for believers in this doctrine to reconcile it with the existence of the very word "synonym" and for institutions like Roget's thesaurus. In Khmer, expert speakers maintain that synonymy is rampant, and the existence of paired synonyms bears witness to the penchant for joining words on the basis of exactly this property.

Nevertheless, it does occasionally happen that a subtle but consistent distinction in meaning will emerge between pairs of words that are treated as the same. Not only perfect synonyms can be conjoined. For purposes of creating a symmetrical pair, it seems that speakers are happy to overlook slight (and in some cases, not so slight) differences between conjuncts. A brief excursus will be devoted to a single rather subtle example. A pair of sentential conjunctions meaning "because":

daoj (sa:)   "because, as a consequence of" and
(pi:) proh/pruah   "because"

do not mean the same thing. Both can act as direct cause markers. But only the latter, it seems, can also serve as a metalinguistic or performative conjunction, roughly "(I say) X, because Y", as in:

(10) a. That's fine, (and I say this) because I am also a vegetarian.
          [X   ]   [Y   ]
      b. It's Friday, (and I say this) because the trash collector has come.
          [X   ]   [Y   ]

The following examples highlight the ambiguity of *(pi:) proh.*

(11) a. *prapun ko:n   anj slap awh   haeuj meu:l tev*
          wife   child my   die   exhaust already look   go.to
          "it looks like my wife and children are all dead"

          proh   anj khawm daeu rau:k tang pi: nev Kampaung Ca:m
          because I   strive walk seek   since at   K.   C.
          raho:t dawl Pnom Penj
          till   arrive P.   P.
          "because I've been searching everywhere for them from Kompong Cam to Phnom Penh"

          mwn kheu:nj sawh
          not   see   at all
          "and haven't found them."
          (Metalinguistic: my wife and children are dead not because I have not found them; rather, I say they are dead because I have not found them)

      b. *Knjom mwn sev   ba:n   tev pteah A:maeng   tee:*
          I   hardly   PAST   go   house A.   no
          proh   ravaul tae   khawm   preung rian so:t
          because busy   only strive strive study recite
          "I hardly ever went to A.'s house, because I was so busy studying hard."
          (Direct: I didn't go to A.'s house, because I was always studying.)

      c. *Knjom awh   sangkheum tae mdaw:ng*
          I   exhaust hope   only at once
          proh   knjom awt cawng ba:n luj   tee:
          because I   not want   get   money no
          knjom cawng ba:n tae   ceut
          I   want   get   only   heart
          "I was immediately disappointed because I did not want money – only her heart."
          (Metalinguistic: I was disappointed not because I wanted her heart; rather, I say I was disappointed because I wanted her heart.)

    d. *Prapun via aneut   pdej   steu: klaoc ceut*
        wife   his pity   husband   almost burn   heart
        tae mwn deung tveu: do:c   mdec
        but not   know do   like   how
        <u>*proh*</u>   *kluan   aeng   kaw: kla:c   mda:j   dae*
        because self   self   and   fear   mother also
        "His wife was terribly sorry for him, but did not know what to do, because she herself also feared her mother."
        (Direct: she didn't know what to do because she herself was afraid.)

The examples of (12) illustrate the consistent use of *daoj (sa:)*:

  (12) a. <u>*Daoj sa:*</u> *ba:n ba:j samlaw: ao   mae   a:maeng*
          because get   rice stew   father   mother A.
          knjom   mian   kamlang rian   so:t   kroan baeu
          I   have   strength study recite enough
          <u>*pi: proh*</u> *ba:j   voat   mwn   krup   kroan tee:*
          because   rice   temple not   enough   no
          "Because I was fed by A.'s parents, I had strength enough to study because the amount of food I received at the temple was insufficient."
          This sentence (12a) offers a fairly neat minimal contrast pair illustrating the difference in meaning between the two conjunctions.
          Direct causation: "*daoj sa:* I was fed by A.'s parents, so I had enough strength to study."
          Metalinguistic causation: "I say all of the above, *pi: proh* I did not receive enough food at the temple."
          In (12b, c, d), *daoj (sa:)* signals direct causation alone.

      b. <u>*Daoj*</u>   *knjom   lawp   kan .tae klang*
          because I   confused   get   strong
          knjom   kaw: tveu: ta:m   A.hawn me:n
          I   so   do   follow   A.   really
          "Because I was getting really besotted, I followed A.'s instructions."

      c. <u>*Daoj sa:*</u> *rwang snee:ha: A:chaj pralaw:ng tleak*
          because matter love   A.   take.exam fail
          "Because of his love woes, A. failed his exam."

      d. *A:chaj* <u>*daoj sa:*</u> *tveu: ka: hee:v hawt pee:k*
          A.   because work   exhausted too.much
          "A. was too exhausted from work."

It may be the case that all the near synonyms to be enumerated here are in fact (once one really knows the language like a native) subtly distinct, like *pi: proh* and *daoj sa:*.. However, it is worth pointing out that the subtle differences which seem to emerge in even

these two expressions are denied by native consultants who claim that in fact there is no difference between them and that the apparently consistent differences in usage that I have encountered are an accident.

In what follows I will adopt a wishy-washy compromise between the functionalist article of faith (that no synonyms exist) and the incontrovertible existence of synonymy as an institution. Speakers may simply choose to highlight identity in some cases, and treat synonyms as truly interchangeable. They may choose to highlight differences in others. Khmer speakers for the most part seem to choose to highlight identity.

The list of synonym pairs in (13) below only suggests, and does not begin to exhaust, the staggering repertoire of synonym pairs. Where a pair has occurred more than once in my corpus, I have marked that pair with "L", suggesting a step towards possible lexicalization of the compound[2]. Most pairs occur only once in my data, and I assume that speakers are able to choose whether or not to produce them, and to choose the words that they conjoin.

(13) a. *phej kla:c*   "fear"
      b. *klaoc psa:*   "burn" (L)
      c. *s'awp kpeu:m*   "loathe"
      d. *pruaj baraum*   "worry" (L)
      e. *lw: so:*   "hear, be audible" (L)
      f. *ciah viang*   "avoid" (L)
      g. *a: kambang*   "secret, arcane, mysterious" (L)
      h. *deuk canjcu:n*   "transport" (L)
      i. *kheul kho:c*   "depraved"
      j. *caev om* (or *om caev*)   "paddle, row"
      k. *phaeun thaem*   "aggravate, exacerbate"
      l. *tateuk co:k*   "soaked"
      m. *baeu praseun*   "if" (L)
      n. *raho:t dawl*   "until" (L)
      o. *p:i samnak*   "from"
      p. *ruac   haeuj*   "and then" (L)
          escape   finish
      q. *teang amba:l*   "all"
      r. *prakaw:p prau:m daoj*   "with"
          with   agree   through
      s. *sa(w)ha:v prejpsaj*   "bloodthirsty"
          fierce   savage
      t. *cang   ceah*   "shed (light)"
          reflect emit
      u. *k'ael   kakvawk*   "dirty"
          stained dirty

v.   *li:*   *tu:l*   "carry (rice bags)"
      carry over one shoulder   carry on head
w.   *saw:p krup*   "all" (L)
x.   *aop krasaop*
      hug embrace
y.   *thaem tiat phaw:ng*   "also, too, moreover"
      add   more   "also"
z.   *puan leak*   "hide" (L)
      hide   conceal (face)

The symmetrical pairing process may be mildly recursive, a coordination being conjoined with another word (or another coordinate compound) of the same general meaning:

(14) a. [*caot prakan*] "accuse" +   [*cap toah*] "accuse"
          accuse resent   catch discord
          "accuse"

      b. [*roat riaj*] "disordered" +   [*piah vial piah ka:l*] "disordered"
          messy spread   messy field messy time
          "disordered"

      c. *(kmian)*   [*prakan*] + [*reu:h reu:ng*]
          (not have)   resent   choose discriminate
          "fair, non-discriminating, impartial, disinterested"

      d. [*sngawp snguat*] +   [*raseh   raso:h*]
          quiet   dry   depressed
          "depressed, dejected"

      e. *jo:ng tae* [*atma:*] + [*kluan   aeng*] *seung   mwn   ruac   phaw:ng*
          drag only body/self body/self self almost not escape also
          "scarcely manage to drag oneself"

      f. *kan tae mian*   [*panjnja: pathi:*] + [*pra:c   proh*]
          become have   intelligence   intelligence   bright
                                                (<Pali)   (<Sanskrit)
          "become more and more intelligent"

      g. [*prong priap*] + [*riapcawm*] *tveu: bawn*
          prepare -   prepare   do   alms.rounds
          "prepare for the (religious, charitable) alms rounds"

      h. *koat*   [*rungiav*] + [*njau: njak*]
          s/he   shake   shiver   tremble
          "s/he was trembling"

      i. [*kcat   kca:j*] + [*anta' ra:j*]
          blow.away   destroy destroy
          "destroy"

j.   *nev* [*to:c*] + [*sduac   sdaeung*]
     still small   sparse   scanty
     "still minimal"

k.   [*banthaw:j*] +   [*kat   kaw:ng*]
     reduce   cut
     "reduce"

l.   [*ruac   roal*]   *haeuj*
     escape   finish
     "and then..."

A Khmer word may be conjoined with a synonym from Pali, Sanskrit, or another language:

(15) a.   *lumneu: tha:n*   "residence"
           residence   place
                       (< Pali)

      b.   *caekchee: rau:k*   "seek"
           <chercher   seek

      c.   *mho:p   aha:*   "food"
                    (< Pali)

      d.   *kEE:*[3]   *akaw:*   "heritage, property"
           heritage   valuables
                      (< Pali)

      e.   *sa:thuka: phau:*   "wish"
           (< Pali)

      f.   *phaup   samna:ng*   "luck"
           (< Pali)

      g.   *seu:p   angkee:t*   "investigate"
           investigate   (<enquête)

      h.   *civeut   rauh*   "live, life"
           (< Pali)

      i.   *sdok   sdawm*   "lots"
           lots   bunch
                     (< Skt.)

      j.   *a'nu'lo:m   ta:m*   "conform to"
           conform   follow
           (< Pali)

      k.   *aneut   sandawh*   "pity, be compassionate"
           pity   pity
           (< Pali)

It is even possible to join two borrowings:

(16) a. *o'pa'pho:k*   *baw'ri'pho:k*   "eat"
          eat   dine
          (both Pali)

      b. *pho:k*   *traup*   "property"
          property   property
          (both Pali)

      c. *(cej)*   *mangkau:l* *mha:*   "great victory"
          (victory)   great   great
          (both Pali)

      d. *ni'meut sanjnja:*   "omen"
          symbol sign
          (both Pali)

      e. *ro:kia*   *pjiathi:*   "harmful infection"
          sickness   disease
          (both Pali)

      f. *aka'pa'*   *ke'ri'ja:*   "behavior"
          deportment   action
          (both Pali)

      g. *cianec   ni'raun*   "eternal"
          forever eternal
          (both Pali)

      h. *vičia*   *sah*   "science"
          (Pali)   (Sanskrit)

There seems to be no limit on the nature of the words that are conjoined: as long as they are roughly synonymous, and belong to the same part of speech class, they can form symmetrical compounds[4].

About the distribution of these decorative pairs, one can say that any text which has one such symmetrical pair will tend to have several, as well as symmetrical four-word phrases – that is, the use of decorative compounds is an apparently consistent feature of a consciously chosen style. We can observe this recurrence over even relatively short stretches of text:

(17) a. *haeuj   aoj   ba:n   [sranok sok sa'baj] [aju'   ve:ng]*
          and   give get   comfort wellbeing   long.time   long
          "and so that (they) will have comfort for a long time"

      b. *ptej   teuk..   dael   [liat   santheung] [lveung lveu:j]*
          surface water   which   extend   extend   vast   far
          "(in all) the vast expanse of the water's surface, .."

c. [sansawm   samthaj]   [cnae   pradeut]
    save   preserve   create   create
    "save and create"

d. [pracia palraut] kmae   krup   [sratoap vana']
    citizen citizen Khmer   all   layer   caste (new word)
    trev   tatual   [tok   veetunia]   [klaoc   psa:]
    must   accept   suffering   suffering   burn   sting
    huah   ni²saj   teang   [plav   ka:j   plav   ceut]
    beyond belief   all   road   body   road   heart
    "All Khmer people, of every social class, must endure grievous unimaginable
    suffering both physical and mental"

e. baw:ng Raeun aeng cam [pluak sak] [law: meu:l] baeu mwn cnganj
    comrade Raeun you wait taste taste try look   if   not   tasty
    "Try it to see if it tastes good, comrade Raeun"

f. koat [bat   bawng]   civeut daoj sa: tae   ro:k   [klian dac   poh]
    he   disappear disappear life   because only disease hungry cut.off stomach
    "He simply starved to death"

g. pum a:c [troam traum] ba:n   nwng rabaw:p ho:p [sduac   sdaeung] sawh
    not able endure support manage with ration   eat diminish reduce   at.all
    "unable to survive the diminution of rations"

h. ravaul   tae   [cngo:k   meu:l] [pineut   pithaj]
    busy   only   look.down look   examine examine
    "look over, examine it closely"

i. [preung praeng] [o:h   tianj]
    strive   struggle pull   drag
    "strive to drag"

j. [reu: ruh]   [viaj kamtec]   (ktau:m neak   ta:)
    destroy remove smite break.into.pieces (hut   person grandfather/ancestor)
    "tear (the ancestral spirit's hut) down to the ground"

k. [sansawm   samcaj]   robawh [cah   tum]
    save   save   thing   old   ripe
    "save old things"

l. taong   pjiajiam tveu: ka: [kae   damruat]
    must   diligent work   NOM   correct correct
    aoj   ba: n   [treum   trev] ja:ng [chap rahah]
    so.that get   straight true   kind quick speedy
    "You must be diligent in your work to correct [this] quickly"

m. *ne: via kaun   tae   mian [taw: tev tiat   tee:]*
   hey 3   for   sure exist continue go more not
   "Hey (don't worry) there's lot's more [kids] where that [kid] came from."
   (In this example, *tee:* has almost certainly been conscripted for its initial sound
   alone.)

n. *[hav hao   toh   tiaj   kaun ku: meu:l hao]   tha:*
   call predict prophesy prophesy see   anticipate look   predict say
   "predict that…"

In this last example, there are eight verbs in a row (one of them repeated), all meaning "see in advance".

The (cognitive, esthetic) impact of such a decorative style is not entirely clear.

Absence of decorative coordination is almost always possible, sometimes with no perceptible difference of any kind. (In this respect, decorative coordination is not very different from a great deal of derivational morphology.) Where the absence is felt, lack of a pair of words is variously characterized as "rougher", "less elegant", "less easy to under-stand", "incomplete", "lacking in deep meaning", or simply "less common". Sometimes, a combination has become lexicalized, but in other cases the constituent elements can still occur without each other, so long as they are found in some combination. For example, the triplet *teang amba:l ma:n* "all" consists entirely of words meaning "all". None of them seems to be capable of occurring alone, but they do occur in other combinations with the same meaning: cf. *teang puang, teang la:j, teang awh.*

Predictably, pairing is sometimes a feature of highflown diction, as in New Year's salutations:

(17) o. (A Khmer New Year's Greeting)

   So:m   aoj   ba:n seckdej sok   [camrong camraeun]
   wish   so.that get   NOM   peace   plenty

   [prakaw:p   daoj]   sokhaphiap
   with   by   health

   baw'ri'bo: [prah   cra:k]   [cumngw: chw: tkat]
   sufficient   escape flee   illness   ill

   [crah   sralah] ampi: [tok   saok]   [mua mav] [kdav   kraha:j]
   clear   clear   from   suffer   weep   frustrated hot   burning.hot

   haeuj   so:m   [ba:n   tatual]
   and   wish   get   receive

   nev   phiap [sngawp rumnoap] [sav   maw:ng]
   OBJ   NOM   calm   pacify   distress sorrow

So:m   aoj   [prakaw:p nwng] phiap [sokdom ro'mania] sante' phiap
wish   so.that with   with NOM bliss   happiness peace

ni'raun taw: tev
forever continue go

This can be freely translated as:

"(I) wish (you) peace, prosperity, (good health), freedom from suffering, seren-
ity, the surcease of sorrow, and (I) wish (you this) with eternally continuing bliss,
happiness and peace."

It appears much less in folk tales, although it is not absent there either. Within such tales,
it seems that portentous announcements (made by a speaking character or the narrator)
will exhibit more synonym compounds, and routine conversation and narrative, less.

But a contradictory impression is also possible.

In fact, the sheer exuberance of this construction is sometimes disparaged by native
speakers specifically as a feature of "spoken language" (which for highly educated na-
tive speaker consultants, is synonymous with "subgrammatical"). Here are two examples
from transcribed oral renditions of folk tales so characterized by Mr. Keat:

(18) a. *pee:l   [daeu   tveu: damnaeu:]*[5]
         time   walk   make   trip
         "when he walked/made a trip"

     b. *to:h bej via [mwn awt] ceh   ni'jiaj do:c mnuh*
         although 3 not   not   know speak like person
         "although it [a dog] was unable to speak like a human being"

An extremely large special subclass of paired synonyms are those which happen to ex-
hibit formal symmetry, whether through alliteration (like "kith and kin"), ablaut (like
"flim flam") or, more rarely, through rhyme (like "razzle dazzle"). In the examples below,
individual words are glossed only if they are not near synonyms:

(19) a. *ruap ruam*   "join, unite"

     b. *stiap   stung*   "sound out, assay, test"
         feel   probe

     c. *se'tej se'thi:*   "powerful"

     d. *ruaj   riav*   "wither away"
         lose.force get.small

     e. *bamplaeuh bamplaj*   "exaggerate"
         exaggerate invent

f. *bangheun banghaoc*   "ruin, wear down, destroy"
   (The status of this pair is controversial, cf. 2.4 below)

g. *kamsawt   kamraw:*   "wretched"
   (Sanskrit + Khmer)

h. *cej   cumneah*   "victory"
   (Pali + Khmer)

i. *klee:c   kli:*   "massage"
   knead   massage

j. *banjcoh banjco:l   (huah ka:peut)*
   lower   make.enter beyond truth
   "advertise, extol, [literally "draw in"] (beyond the truth)", "overpraise"

k. *koah   ka:j*   "scrape together with hoe"
   hoe   scrape

l. *tumniam tumloap*   "custom, habit, tradition"

m. *twh   ti:*   "direction"
   direction   place

n. *sdok   sdawm*   "lots"
   dense   dense
   (Khmer + Pali)

o. *sòh   sàp*   "muggy"
   muggy   fogged.up

p. *tradaek tradeum*   "lofty"
   lofty   imposing

q. *khoat   kheang*   "prevent"
   arrest   stop

r. *kra'uan kra'av*   "sweet"
   sweet   mellifluous

s. *(kmian)   chaup   chau:* "without cease"
   (not.have)   stop   stand

t. *cèun càv*   "bright"

u. *banthu: banthaw:j*   "recede"
   loosen   reduce

Ablauting pairs which differ in their vowels only are also *a fortiori* alliterating:

(20) *sramo:m   srama:m*   "grow in disorder"
   grow.in.disorder   grow.in.stubbly.patches

Rhymed pairs are also attested:

(21) a. *me:n   te:n*   "really"
        really

     b. *treung reung*   "tight (e.g. security)"

     c. *caek rumlaek*   "divide, share"

     d. *slo:t   bo:t*   "gentle"
        gentle

     e. *khaeng vaeng*   "strut proudly"
        proud

     f. *cwan   lwan*   "make progress"
                speedy

(A reminder: In (21a, d, e, f)one rhyming word has no gloss: these are examples of purely decorative servant words, see 2.3.1 below)

Conjoined synonyms are usually nouns or verbs, but may also be auxiliary verbs, prepositions or conjunctions:

(22) a. *daeumbej   aoj*   "in order that"
        in.order   so.that

     b. *baeu praseun*   "if" (either order is possible), as in

        [*praseun baeu*] *jeu:ng bampiec caol   a̓dej'ta ka:l*
        if   if   we   forget throw.away past   time
        "if we disregard the past"

        cambac   trev   "must"
        necessary   must

     d. *haeuj*   *nwng*   "and"
        finish (clausal conjunction)   and (phrasal conjunction)
        This combination can do duty as either a causal
        or a phrasal coordinate conjunction:

        ej   baeu ka:l na: ko:n jeu:ng kaeut cia srej   [haeuj nwng] ko:n
        what if   time any child our   born be female and and   child
        nwng canjceum psawm pdom   laeung saoj riac tev
        this raise   joint together grow.up eat   king go
        (Here the compound acts as a clausal conjunction)
        "If this our child should be born a girl and we raise her and she ascends
        to the throne."

        Luang   Tee:pkaosawl [haeuj nwng] thida:
        master T.   and   daughter
        (Here the compound acts as a phrasal conjunction)
        "Master T. and his daughter"

2.3.1 Servant words

It is clear that formally symmetrical synonyms like "kith and kin" shade off into "servant words" – purely decorative elements like the first part of the compounds "razzle dazzle" (See Wälchli 2005 for the unity of the two in a cross-linguistic study of such forms from languages around the world)[6]. So intertwined are synonymous and decorative dvandva compounds that in the examples above, some servant word compounds have already unavoidably occurred. The servant word is the one under which no gloss appears (see below) and which has the same largely decorative function. Inasmuch as the process of pairing words with decorative symmetrical partners is mildly recursive, some of the best evidence for the functional unity of synonym pairs and decorative (*razzle-dazzle*) compounds is provided precisely by their inseparability in the "overexuberantly symmetrical" expressions in which they cooccur:

(23) *kheut khawm preung   knah   knaeng*
      strive   strive   make.effort bust.ass
      "really go all out" (here the last pair of words is a *razzle dazzle* compound)

For an extended example, see the Khmer New Year Greeting (170) above.

Another kind of evidence for the deeper unity of synonym- and "razzle-dazzle" compounding is provided by the rather large number of cases where the second word of what looks like a purely decorative compound DOES have a meaning of its own   but only elsewhere. In the compound, it has been apparently "conscripted" to act as a decorative servant word, apparently largely on the basis of its purely phonetic properties. (In the examples cited below, the gloss of the major meaning-bearing partner in the pair will be given in capitals.) Examples include:

(24) a. *psah   psa:*   "heal"
         HEAL   market (?!)

      b. *kliang   kliat*   "separate"
         unbalanced (?!) SEPARATE

      c. *lveung lviaj*   "vast"
         VAST   slow

      d. *kamlang kamhaeng*   "force, energy"
         FORCE   yell

      e. *samdej   samdav*   "speech style"
         SPEECH   towards

      f. *prakaw:t pracia*   "exact"
         EXACT   person

      g. *tnak   tnaw:m*   "handle carefully"
         level   HANDLE GENTLY

h. *psaw:p   psa:j*   "disseminate, propagate, spread"
   perception   SPREAD

i. *pranej   pranak*   "compassion"
   COMPASSION   nutcracker??

j. *co:k   coam*   "drenched, soaked"
   WET   bruised

k. *rwang   ra:j*   "matter, affair"
   MATTER   clank (onomatapoeic word)

l. *ponma:n   pontae*   "but"
   how much   BUT

m. *ciat   cev*   "taste"
   TASTE <crev 'deep'??

n. *vu:m   veak*   "surprise"
   trumpeting of   SURPRISE
   elephant ??

o. *srango:t   srangat*   "downcast"
   SAD COUNTENANCE   dark green??

p. *ruac   roal*   "perfective aspect marker"
   FINISH   every ???

q. *samrac   samruac*   "finally"
   ALREADY, DECIDE   sharpen???

In these examples, so irrelevant is the standard meaning of the junior partner, that it might as well be a meaningless servant word, and was often in fact so initially perceived by one or another of my teacher consultants.

Much less frequently attested is an even more radical symmetry-driven "Procrustean" strategy of taking two synonyms and making one of them phonetically adapt to the other, usually by the addition of a meaningless infix or prefix to it. The meaningless affix is represented in capitals in the examples below:

(25) a. *PRA-hak   prahael*   "like, about, approximately"
        ?   like   approximately

     b. *mho:p   M-ha:*   "food"
        food   ?   food

     c. *d-AM-kom   damkaeung*   "carry up; promote"
        gather   carry up

     d. *srango:t   s-RA-ngat*   "downcast, melancholy"
        sad   ? < quiet (or "dark green")

e.   *sangkawt*   *SANG-keun*   "oppress, grind down"
     press down   < grind, mill

f.   *sranawh*   *s-RAN-aok*   "sad"
     melancholy < sad, cry

g.   *DANG-ho:*   *danghae*   "parade, procession"
                 <flow   parade

h.   *RA-beh*   *rabaoc*   "peel (bark from tree)"
     <pick   peel

Comparatively rarely, the Procrustean strategy involves reducing the adapting word, cutting it down to the size and shape of the main word, by eliminating a chunk of it. The eliminated chunk then becomes a plausible "infix"(26a) or "prefix" (26b):

(26) a.   *sdok*   *sdeung*   "stretched out unconscious"
           IMMOBILE   ? < *santheung*   "extend"[7]

      b.   *anlauk*   *anlae*   "vegetables added to soup"
           THINGS DIPPED   < *banlae*   "vegetables"

The goal of symmetrical compounding can also be pursued via something that could be called the "Adam's Rib" strategy, in which single roots can find phonetically nearly similar partners to be paired with, by manufacturing them out of their own substance. A root (like *chian* "step") may be conjoined with something like its own cognate accusative construction (like *bawh c-um-hian* "take a step") or its own copula + nominal predicate complement synonym (like *cia s-amn-aen* "be an offering") to produce a new near-synonym compound: *bawh cumhian chian* "step", or *saen cia samnaen* "make an offering". (Curiously, the order of elements in the resulting compound is fixed: the derived and hence longer form almost always precedes, contravening both the Biblical metaphor (Adam came first) and Behaghel's law of growing elements.)

(27) a.   *baeuk kumnwt*   *kwt*   "think"
           open   thought   think

      b.   *mian camneh*   *ceh*   "know"
           have knowledge   know

           awh   samnaeuc   *saeuc*   "laugh"
           exhaust laughter   laugh

      d.   *mian damlaj*   *tlaj*   "valuable"
           have value   valuable

      e.   *cia samnaen*   *saen*   "make an offering"
           be offering   make offering

f.	*praeu tambiat*	*tbiat*	"embrace, wrap one's arms around"
	use embrace	embrace	
g.	*leu:k kamna:p*	*ka:p*	"write poetry"
	raise poem	write poetry	
h.	*mian cumnwa*	*cwa*	"believe"
	have belief	believe	
i.	*cia cumlo:h*	*clo:h*	"quarrel"
	be quarrel	quarrel	
j.	*cap kamnaeut*	*kaeut*	"be born"
	catch birth	be born	

2.3.2 *Pure servant words: "Razzle-" and other servant words in Khmer*
Closely related to synonym compounds exhibiting formal symmetry and the quasi-syn-
onym symmetrical compounds created by conscription, adaptation, or the Adam's rib
strategy, and occurring in the same kinds of discourse, are compounds of the *jibber jab-
ber* or *higgledy piggledy* variety, in which one or both of two symmetrical morphemes
is entirely meaningless. Unavoidably, some have occurred in the examples already pre-
sented. As one might expect, the criteria of meaningfulness on the one hand and formal
symmetry on the other make it possible to identify a number of distinct but overlapping
compound word types in Khmer, just as in English:

A. Both words are meaningful: genuine synonym compound pair
   a. synonyms of distinct form (cf. *last and final*)
   b. (near) synonyms that rhyme or alliterate (cf. *hot and heavy*)
B. Decorative compounds
   a. only one word is meaningful (cf. *jibber jabber*)
   b. both morphs are meaningless (cf. *helter skelter*)

Between these two types, familiar in English, we have already seen that Khmer exhibits
some intermediate types: quasi-synonyms that have been created via the Conscription,
Procrustean, or Adam's Rib strategy to accompany the head word.

   Native speakers[8] will often differ on whether a symmetrical form is a synonym pair
that happens to alliterate, a meaningful word plus a servant word (and if so, which word
in the pair is the meaningful one? Here too opinions differ), or a single word made up
of meaningless parts. For example *pkoap pkun* "satisfy" is a synonym compound for
Mr. Ourn, but a decorative compound whose first member is meaningless for Headley
et al. 1977. (In fact, a single native speaker may change his mind so that on different oc-
casions I have heard Mr. Ourn identify a symmetrical pair like *lhec lhiang* "hearsay" as
a meaningful synonym pair, a decorative compound consisting of only one meaningful
root and its accompanying servant word, or a decorative compound of two nonsense

syllables.) At issue is not only factual knowledge, but ingenious etymologizing, a subject which may bear on the origin of such forms, and to which I will return in Section 4.

The term *bo'ri'va: sap* "servant word/sound" comes from Khmer grammarians who so identify bound morphemes that accompany (and typically alliterate with) meaningful roots (*mee: piak* "head words") to form new compound words whose meaning differs very little (if at all) from the root. Analogs in other languages are familiar (cf. Pott 1862 for a pioneering survey of words like *jibber jabber* in languages around the world; Marchand 1960: Chapter 9 for "twin forms" in English), but Khmer, like other Southeast Asian languages, has probably several thousand of these.

The servant word can precede the meaningful root in some items:

(28) a   *don   da:p*   "deteriorate"
            deteriorate

      b.   *hec   haeu*   "fly"
                  fly

      c.   *banti: bantoan*   "rush"
                     rush

      d.   *kni: knia*   "companion; each other"
                   companion

      e.   *ranji: ranjoa*   "shake"
                     shake

      f.   *jw:n   ju:*   "long time"
                   long.time

      g.   *tranjee:ng   tranja:ng*   "jerky"
                         jerky

      h.   *samkeum   samkau:m*   "cadaverous"
                      cadaverous

      i.   *ejve: ejva:n*   "baggage"
                    baggage

      j.   *roat   riaj*   "strew, scatter"
                   strew

follow it in others:

(29) a.   *sngiam   sngat*   "quiet"
            quiet

      b.   *prajat   prajaeng*   "take care, pay attention"
            take.care

      c.   *mdec   mda:*   "how?"
            how

      d.   *t'o:nj   t'ae*   "complain"
            complain   --

    e. *tnguan tngau:*   "heavy, serious, grave"
         heavy

    f. *jap*   *jw:n*   "complicated"
       complicated

    g. *sneut   sna:l*   "intimate, close"
       intimate

    h. *leak   liam*   "hide"
       hide

or occur in either order with yet others:

(30) a. *srapo:n srapoap*   "sad, melancholy"
         sad   almost.dry (of clothes)
        (The independent meaning of *srapoap* seems to me to be irrelevant here: hence presumably it is a conscripted word in this compound. But I may be missing an association. *Srapo:n* means "sad", but it also means "withered" (for flowers), and it may be that this meaning is associated with "almost dry" for clothes).

    b. *praoj   pro:k*   "kick apart, scatter"
       kick

    c. *prac*   *pro:k*   "chat, be eloquent"
       eloquent

To these *razzle dazzle* examples must be added the large number of *higgledy piggledy* type examples, which are identified as single words composed of two meaningless parts:

(31) a. *kaek kaok*   "dangle"
    b. *thi:ng tho:ng*   "giddy, lightheaded"
    c. *biat bian*   "harm, molest, bother, threaten"
    d. *kci: kcia*   "negligent, careless"
    e. *papa:c papaoc*   "jabber, be a chatterbox"
    f. *mi:ng meang*   "surprised, dazed, stupefied"
    g. *muamav*   "frustrated"
    h. *reak teak*   "friendly"[9]
    i. *ruah riang*   "friendly"
    j. *lheut lhej*   "exhausted"

The sheer number of these forms makes one wonder whether they are not generated on the spot by a set of productive rules (Maspero (1915: 226) found that public speakers and singers "varied and renewed" them constantly), but there are no productive ablaut processes (of either vowels or consonants) which seem to be inferable from the examples (Maspero ibid.), and of course no suffixes of any description. At least some native speakers (including both of my teachers) insist that the decorative compounds are simply fixed and frozen forms that must be learned like any other word.

3.   The structural integrity of meaningless symmetry

3.1   Competing motivations: Symmetry versus iambicity

The first and second sections of this chapter have described both a moderate syntactic drive for symmetry at the phrase level, and a strong morphological drive for symmetry at the word level. Examining the more remarkable of these two phenomena, the drive for non-referential or decorative symmetry at the word level, we must note a potential for conflict between two formal drives. On the one hand, there is the drive for formal symmetry. On the other hand, there is a strong phonetic drive for asymmetry behind the creation of sesquisyllabic words (not to mention the reduction of bisyllabic words to monosyllables), which extends to borrowings from Pali and other languages[10]. If decorative compounds are normal words or phrases, their first members should be subject to the same fate as the "good" in "good night".

In principle, it seems that there is an imminent clash between sesquisyllabicity and the drive for parallelism. Are the varied decorative compounds of Khmer themselves subject to the processes which create iambic structures or does the drive for parallelism override the drive for initial syllable reduction? How is this potential for conflict between these two drives resolved in symmetrical compounds like

> *to:ʰ   ta:ʰ*
> small
> "small"?

One possible answer to this question, one might suspect, is that parallelism is exclusively a feature of formal registers, as is strongly suggested by examples like (170), while sesquisyllabicity arises in conversational styles only. The two tendencies might thus be effectively quarantined from each other. In fact, however, the use of decorative symmetry is a feature of both spoken and written Khmer, at every level of formality[11]. The two drives do meet in casual allegro speech.

One feature which initially suggests that sesquisyllabicity is "no respecter of parallelism" is the behavior of distributive or repetitive total reduplications like *psee:ng psee: ng* "various". Huffman et al. (1970: 186) notes that "repetitive compounds are typically pronounced (especially in rapid speech) with reduced stress on the first element and full stress on the second element" (although with no apparent stress-driven segmental modifications)[12]. Such reduplications are iconic, rather than decorative, however, and it is notable that iconic reduplication need not be symmetrical within Khmer. In fact, frequentative reduplication is eminently sesquisyllabic:

> *ka:j*   "dig up, scratch" yields the frequentative   *ka-ka:j*   "scrabble", etc.

On all other fronts, sesquisyllabicity respects and is either consistent with or subordinated to symmetry.

In non-symmetric bisyllabic derivations and compounds, the initial syllable is indeed reduced. Thus

(32) a. *bang + kaeut* "give birth to" → [pəkaeut] (loss of syllable rhyme of a prefix);
     b. *pram + muaj* "six"   → [pəmuaj] (loss of all but initial consonant
                                                of an initial compounding word);
         kruː peːt   "doctor"   → [krupeːt] (shortening of long vowel
                                                of a compounding word).

But in symmetrical compounds of monosyllabic roots, there is no reduction of the initial syllable:

(33) a. *thom   theeːng*   "big" remains [thom theeːng] (*[thə theeːng], etc.)
         big

     b. *mhoːp   mhaː*   "food" remains [mhoːp mhaː]
         food

     c. *nom   neːk*   "cakes" remains [nom neːk]
         cake

The symmetry of symmetrical compounds of two sesquisyllabics also remains unaffected. The initial sesquisyllabic either suffers no diminution of its anacrusic syllable:

(34) *babawː babiak*   "gruel" does not become (e.g.) *[bawː bawbiak] or,
                                for that matter, *[babawː biak];

Or both conjuncts undergo precisely the same degree of reduction.

(35) *babawː babiak*   "gruel" can become [*bawː biak*].

Whatever reduction or other alternation affects the first element in a symmetrical pair affects the second element also. Deviations from this pattern (reduction in the first member alone, or the second member alone; partial reduction in the first but not the second element, etc.) are rejected by consultants as ungrammatical.

    This stability seems to suggest that symmetry trumps the sesquisyllabic grind. Actually, Mr. Keat has suggested that symmetrical compounds do allow partial reductions of various kinds – volunteering the observation that reduction of the first element is acceptable, but only so long as the second is equally reduced. Representative examples in his (Phnom Penh) dialect include:

(36) a. *praeu   prah*   "use" → [phaeu phah]
         use
         ([r] is lenited in both halves of the compound to [h]).
     b. *preh   prawh*   "rustle" → [peh pawh]
         ([r] is elided in both halves).

One typologically odd structural feature which suggests that sesquisyllabicity is a "respecter of decorative parallelism" is the behavior of one variety of decorative parallel structures which has been noted earlier in this chapter (Section 2.3.1). This is reduplication via the "Adam's rib" effect: a word is decoratively coupled not with a morphologically distinct near-synonym, nor with a meaningless echo-word, but with its own cognate accusative construction.

kwt	"think"	is coupled with *baeuk kumnwt*	"open thought"
ceh	"know"	is coupled with *mian camneh*	"have knowledge"
chian	"pace, step, stride"	is coupled with *bawh c-um-hian*	"throw a step"
saeuc	"laugh"	is coupled with *awh s-amn-aeuc*	"exhaust laughter"
tlaj	"valuable"	is coupled with *mian damlaj*	"have worth"
'uat	"boast"	is coupled with *banjcenj 'amnuat*	"emit boasts"

and so forth. What is curious is the order in which these conjuncts appear. Contrary to the nearly universal law of waxing members (Behaghel 1932, Malkiel 1959), it is the cognate accusative which almost invariably comes first in pairs of this sort:

(37)	a	*bawh cumhian chian*	"step"	(and not	**chian bawh cumhian*)
	b.	*awh samnaeuc saeuc*	"laugh"	(and not	**saeuc awh samnaeuc*)

Whatever the reasons for this may be, it is notable that the starred order (a light constituent followed by a heavy one) is "already" an asymmetrical structure of the sort favored by the pressure for sesquisyllabicity. The phonetic processes of allegro speech would presumably make short work of the short initial constituent. The typologically deviant existing order (a heavy constituent flowed by a light one), on the other hand, offers some "padding" against the phonetic reduction of the initial element, and helps to maintain a balance between conjuncts.

Another more striking symmetry-preserving feature is the behaviour of disyllabic reduplicants. The prevailing pattern, as Mr. Keat has suggested, is that reduction of the unstressed initial syllable occurs either "across the board", that is to both conjuncts, or to neither one. For example, we encounter

(38)	a	*kantenj kantonj*	(both conjuncts full) and
	b.	*katenj katonj*	(both conjuncts reduced), but neither
	c.	**kantenj katonj*	(only the second reduced) nor
	d.	**katenj kantonj*	(only the first reduced) for "short and squat"[13];
(39)	a	*babaw: babiak*	(both conjuncts full) and
	b.	*pabaw: pabiak*	(both reduced), but neither
	c.	**babaw: pabiak*	(second reduced) nor
	d.	**pabaw: babiak*	(first reduced) for "rice gruel";

(40) a   *crapi:h crapeu:h*   (both conjuncts full) and
      b. *capi:h capeuh*   (both reduced), but neither
      c. **crapi:h capeu:h*   (second reduced) nor
      d. **capi:h crapeu:h*   (first reduced) "crooked";

(41) a   *cumpi:h cumpeu:h*   (both full) and
      b. *capi:h capeu:h*   (both reduced), but neither
      c. **cumpi:h capeu:h*   (second reduced) nor
      d. **capi:h cumpeu:h*   (first reduced) for "crooked" again.

(Note in (40) and (41) how the same root *cpeu:h* "crooked" exhibits decorative infixation of /rV/ and /Vm/ with no noticeable meaning alternation.)

This enforced symmetry of reduction or non-reduction is an extremely common, indeed exceptionless, pattern.

Other paired sesquisyllabic words which behave in a similar fashion include

(42) *damrae damrev ~ tamhae tamhev*   "straighten out, correct"
        damnam damnaoc ~ tamnam tamnaoc   "plants"
        crabo:t crabawl ~ cabo:t cabawl   "complicated, confused, corrupted"
        cunghi:k cungho:k ~ cahi:k caho:k   "bumpy, pitted, with potholes"
        camki: camkuat ~ caki: cakuat   "crazy"
        camnae camnam ~ canae canam   "recognize, remember"
        camteut camto:ng ~ cateut cato:ng   "hind end uppermost"
        cam'eh cam'ah ~ ca'eh ca'ah   "insult, cuss at"
        cam'eung cam'aeng ~ ca'eung ca'aeng "emaciated"
        tramawng tramaoc ~ tamawng tamaoc   "solitary, lonely"
        akrawk akrej ~ akvawk akvej   "bad, nasty"
                                               (with irregular r → v lenition)

        bampia bampian ~ pampia pampian   "force, violate"
        kampeuk kampok ~ kapeuk kapok   "small, trivial"
        kandaeng kandaoc ~ kadaeng kadaoc   "lonely"
        kroam kria ~ koam kia   "internal wounds, depression"
        krahee:m krahaw:m   kahee:m kahaw:m "red"
        kraha:j krahawl ~ kaha:j kahawl   "feel hunger pangs"
        krahee:ng kraho:ng ~ kahee:ng kaho:ng "full of holes"
        anteah anteang ~ nteah nteang   "restless"
        andaet ando:ng ~ ndaet ndo:ng   "reverie"
        piba:k pibeun ~ paba:k pabeun   "difficult"
        pineut picaj ~ paneut pacaj   "examine"
        papli: papleu: ~ pli: pleu: "(feel) dumb"
        prakaw:t pracia ~ pakaw:t pacia   "exact"

In fact, since reduction is a matter of degree rather than an all-or-nothing phenomenon, we can go further and see that both conjuncts must be reduced to exactly the same degree. *Babaw:* "rice gruel" can be partially reduced, to *pabaw:*, as illustrated above. But it can be further reduced, by the total loss of the anacrusic syllable, to *baw:*. The accompanying decorative echo-word can be reduced in the same way, from *babiak* to *pabiak* or to *biak*. But both conjuncts must agree in the degree of reduction, or more generally, in the nature of the changes that they undergo. Other symmetrical compounds like *babaw: babiak* are:

(43)   *damnae damneung* "information" → *tamnae tamnawng*   → *tanae tanawng*

  damrae damrawng "straighten"   → *tamvae tamvawng*   → *tamae tamawng*

  damˈae damˈawk "loiter"   → *tamˈae tamˈawk*   → *taˈae taˈawk*

  bampheut bamphej "scare"   → *pampheut pamphej*   → *papheut paphej*

  bamplec bampla:nj "destroy"   → *pamplec pampla:nj*   → *paplec papla:nj*

  bangkhia bangkheang "prohibit"   → *pakhia pakheang*   → *khia kheang*
  papleh paplawh "frivolous"   → *aleh alawh*   → *leh lawh*

In addition to the allegro rules already described in Section 4.1.3 of Chapter 1, there is another final one which seems limited to paired sesquisyllables. We have already seen that /rV/ lenites to /la/ in anacrusic syllables. In pairs, further lenition of /la/ (whether from /r/ or from original /l/) to /(')a/ is frequent:

(44)   *radep radop*   → *adep adop*   "bumpy"
  rali:m raliam   → *ali:m aliam*   "mischievous"
  ranji: ranjoa   → *anji: anjoa*   "tremble"
  rangi: rangeu: → *angi: angeu:*   "dazed"

In some cases, this leads to more instances of two degrees of reduction: from /ra/ to /la/ and from /la/ to /a/:

(45)   *rakhee:k rakha:k* → *lakhee:k lakha:k* → *akhee:k akha:k*   "ramshackle"
  raveu: raviaj   → *laveu: laviaj*   → *aveu: aviaj*   "talk in one's sleep"

Again, either both conjuncts are reduced, and to the same degree, or neither one is.

That is, like movement out of a coordinate structure in syntax (Ross 1967) reduction of the anacrusic syllable via any kind of erosion cannot disturb the symmetry of a coordination. Note that not only the regular rules of reduction but all the sporadic processes of reduction that we have encountered are limited in this way. Thus either both or no conjuncts may lose their infix:

(46) *samèut samʾa: ng* → *sèut sʾa:ng* "to groom" (*samèut sʾa:ng* etc.)

Either both or no conjuncts can lose their initial syllable entirely:

(47) a. *tati:m tautiah* → *ti:m tiah* "walk very slowly over slippery surface"
(*tati:m tiah* etc.)
b. *tateu:h tateang* → *teu:h teanj* "obstruct"
(*teu:h tateang* etc.).

Finally, when reduction affects the main syllable as well as the initial unstressed syllable, again both conjuncts must observe the same reduction(s):

(48) *tatree:t tatro:t* → *tathee:t tatho:t* "stagger, lean, lurch"
(*tatree:t tatho:t* etc.)

This constraint affects not only reduction. Rules of construction are limited in the same way. We have seen (Chapter 1, Section 3.3) that anaptyctic schwa can be inserted between elements of an initial consonant cluster. Thus

(49) a. *lngi: lngeu:* → *langi: langeu:* "stupid"
b. *lvaut lvaun* → *lavaut lavaun* "supple, sensuous"
c. *lveung lveu:j* → *laveung laveu:j* "vast"

The initial /l/ can be elided, yielding

angi: angeu: "stupid"
avaut avaun "supple"
aveung aveu:j "vast"

The initial schwa in the resulting allegro form is due here to both anaptyxis, and to erosion, via a new rule of the latter[14]. No matter: either both conjuncts have it, or neither one does.

We have also seen (Chapter 3, Section 2.3.8) that decorative compound words may be accompanied by an "intensifying" prefix C_ia- (which may itself be decorative). When this occurs, both symmetrical conjuncts occur with the prefix. Recall:

a. *khep khop* "very happy" → *kakhep kakhop* "to smile"
(not *kakhep khop*)
b. *tak top* "not fluent" → *tatak tatop* "speak haltingly, disfluently"
(not *tatak top*)
c. *taeltaol* "alone" → *tatael tataol* "completely alone"
(not *tatael taol*)

The crucial remaining instances are those where both conjuncts are monosyllabic and occur in decorative symmetrical compounds. These are not so numerous as paired sesquisyllables, but there are hundreds of such compounds, like *klia klej* "sentence" (whose

second element is an alliterating reduplicant), and *ruac haeuj* "escape finish" (both of whose elements are meaningful and nearly synonymous). What happens to the initial element in such compounds? (Reduction of the onset cluster in such cases goes beyond sesquisyllabicity, but the same processes which erode the anacrusic syllable also affect the initial clusters of monosyllables. Recall that the maximal result of erosion is not just monosyllables, but maximally unmarked monosyllables of form CV). Remarkably, we encounter the same pattern. Either both conjuncts are reduced, mostly in the Phnom Penh dialect, by the changes r → h, Cr → C:

(50)

cro:m cre:ng	→	*co:m ce:ng*	"prop up from all around"
crul cruah	→	*cul cuah*	"slip out of bounds"
criav cruanj	→	*ciav cuanj*	"wrinkled"
crial cree:	→	*cial cee:*	"start to set" (sun)
kria kraw:	→	*kia kaw:*	"poor"
kriam kroam	→	*kiam koam*	"parched"
kriat kreu:m	→	*kiat keu:m*	"rough, hasty"
praeu prae	→	*phaeu phae*	"use"
preum prej	→	*pheum phej*	"lovely"
prw: pruac	→	*phw: phuac*	"have goosebumps"
prwt priang	→	*phwt phiang*	"meticulous"
ree: ria	→	*hee: hia*	"back and forth"
rung rwang	→	*hung hwang*	"glorious"
rwang ra:v	→	*hwang ha:v*	"affair"

Or (more frequently) neither one is:

(51)

cha:v chee:v	(no reduction)	"impatient"
ciat cev	(no reduction)	"tasty"
ckoam ckau:ng	(no reduction)	"out of joint"[15]
cliav cla:t	(no reduction)	"intelligent, cunning"
dac daoc	(no reduction)	"ragged"
kliav klawm	(no reduction)	"flawless"
knan knoan	(no reduction)	"offended"
khwl kho:c	(no reduction)	"depraved"
kho: khev	(no reduction)	"violent"
lhae lhaeuj	(no reduction)	"alleviate"
pak paeuk	(no reduction)	"seesaw"
pdae pdam	(no reduction)	"tell, relate, confide"
pho:ng pha:ng	(no reduction)	"sound of shoes smacking bedbugs"

We may characterize decorative compounds as obeying a global morphological coordinate structure constraint, which preserves symmetry between the conjuncts.

3.2   The integrity of meaninglessness

A number of Western scholars, confronted with apparently meaningless compounding in Southeast Asian languages, have reacted with tacit skepticism. Morphemes cannot be meaningless. Accordingly, they are sometimes called "intensifiers" (which is about the least a morpheme can mean), although even this minimal face-saving strategy is sometimes implausible. (It is not clear how one can "intensify" predicates like "one-eyed" or nouns like "knee").

Khmer also has a number of intensifying words (*viseh kun niam* "special merit noun" words, henceforth VKN) like the generics *nah* "very", *pee:k* "too much", and a huge list of words that are like English *pitch* in expressions like *pitch black*, confined to a single predicate.

A remarkable property of these intensifiers is that the vast majority exhibit no formal symmetry with the word they modify:

(52) a. *kra:h   kleuk*
          calloused INT

      b. *khang   cralee:t*
          angry   INT

      c. *huj   tko:l*
          smoky   INT

      d. *ngangeut clawp*
          dark   INT

      e. *reak   kamphael*
          shallow   INT

      f. *kdav   caeh*
          black   INT

      g. *haeum   pramaul*
          swell   INT

      h. *lwang   s'o:k*
          yellow   INT

      i. *ngangeut clawp*
          dark   INT (applicable to smoke, sky)
          (as in   *psaeng   kmav   ngangeut clawp k-mian   punlw:*
                   smoke   black   dark   pitch not-have light)

      j. *paong   kampleh*
          swell up   INT (applicable to bellies)

k. *riav*   *kaklo:k*
   watery   INT (applicable to soups)

l. *cu:*   *creah*
   sour   INT (applicable to taste)

m. *krah*   *cmeut*
   calloused   INT

n. *khang*   *cralaek*
   angry   INT

Moreover, to the extent that these words have etymologies, it seems that they originated very frequently as synonyms of the word they currently modify. Examples of Viseh Kun Niam intensifiers that were once synonyms according to Headley et al. 1977 and/or the Dictionnaire Cambodgien include:

(53) a. *thoat* *kantraw:l*
        fat +   INT (< "shapeless, short and fat, lumpy, out of proportion" Headley 17)

     b. *kcwl*   *craw'o:h*
        lazy   INT (< "slow, lazy" DC 221)

     c. *kdav*   *kakuk*
        hot   INT (< "hot" DC 122)

     d. *kdav*   *mi:*
        black   INT (< "dark (of sky)")

     e. *reak*   *kamphael*
        shallow INT (< "shallow, superficial" DC 61)

     f. *pkap*   *krahi:t*
        flat on one's face INT " (<"flat on one's face" DC 152; Headley 140)

     g. *krahaw:m* *ngang*
        red   INT (< "dark red" Headley 158)

     h. *reung*   *kampreuh*
        rigid   INT (< "stiff, solid, rigid" Headley 55)

     i. *cbah*   *kralaet*
        clear   INT (< "very bright" Headley 74; DC 82)

     j. *saw:*   *skong*
        white   INT (< "tall, ghastly pale" Headley 366)

     k. *thom*   *skeum skaj*
        big +   INT (< "huge, formidable" Headley 1210)

     l. *sveut*   *kampreung*
        dry   INT (< "desiccated" DC 61)

     m. *huj*   *tko:l*
        smokey INT (<"go up in smoke, blow smoke")

In other cases (which may be nonce formations), the independent meaning of the ostensible intensive modifier seems to have no relationship whatsoever to the word that is being modified.

It is possible that originally synonymous words which have lost their meaning tend to be interpreted as modifiers, rather than as synonyms, particularly in those cases where they exhibit no formal parallelism to the word they follow. This would mean that the current semantic and category distinction between VKN (modifiers) and BS (relatively meaningless decorative echoes) is determined by their formal properties.

It is as if the language assigned formal asymmetry to the semantically asymmetrical function of being a modifier, and reserved formal symmetry for two uses:

a.   semantic symmetry
b.   decoration

4.   Diachronic speculations on the origin of servant words

In general, "twin forms" like *jibber jabber* occur in a large number of unrelated languages. Possible origins for the widespread tendency to form such words include baby talk (Pott 1862, Paul 1880, Chapter 9, Öhl 1932). Evidence within Austroasiatic in support of this hypothesis includes the observation that the affected (reduplicated) vocabulary includes words from the prototypically "baby talk lexicon": words for body parts, body functions, domestic animals, and relatives (Rischel 1995).

But it is clear that Khmer has pursued this tendency to a significantly greater degree than languages like English. We encounter not only /i/ ~ /a/ alternations as in *jibber jabber*, but a host of others, and in a far larger proportion of the vocabulary.

Where do the "junior" or decorative words come from? A common assumption which requires no vigorous argument in Western linguistics at least, is that the decorative form was once meaningful, and has decayed. There are indeed examples of this in Khmer.

Take the word for "peaceful":

Sok san

The first component *sok* is a common word for "wellness" which occurs alone and in numerous compounds, and the second is identified by Chun Leuh as a servant word, for which an ingenious explanation is proposed. (we will be looking at this genre of explanation in a moment.) But it is I think fairly uncontroversial that the second component *san* derives from Sanskrit *santih* "peace", a word whose origins are now no longer accessible to modern-day speakers of Khmer.

Native speaker analysts seem to be willing to engage in some etymologizing about the "junior" decorative forms. It seems that many words are related to other words on the basis of both their form and their sense, and often attempts have been made to account

for the origin and the presence of the meaningless servant words. I present here some examples of such pairs, as analyzed by Mr. Ourn.

(54) *prakac prakeun*   "seizure"
       seizure

This looks like a decorative pair with a servant word in second position. But perhaps *prakeun* can be related to *keun* "roll out flat, smooth out, squash", via a "prefix of some kind." A seizure is something that flattens and lays you low.

(55) *slaw: slok*   "cook casually, without a recipe"
       cook

This looks again like such a decorative compound. But surely it is related to the four-word expression

ba:j lok   ba:j law: "play at cooking, as children"
rice   rice
(the same quasi-roots *law:* and *lok* occur in both, and both are about playfully cooking).

Then in addition to recognizing these two roots, we are driven to recognizing a prefix *s-*.
    All the better that such a prefix perhaps already exists, with a vaguely "privative" meaning.

(56) *dangho: danghae*   "parade"
            parade

This has already been analyzed as an example of the Procrustean strategy: the first word is derived from *ho:* "flow" via the addition of a purely euphonic prefix *dang-*.
    But surely it is relevant that there also exists a compound *hae ho:* "flow", whose first member is the decorative complement of "flow". Perhaps both roots are equally prefixed, and *danghae* itself is created out of a once meaningless root.

(57) *lhec lhiang*   "rumors, hearsay"
            vague.indistinct.rumor

This seems to be a decorative compound with a meaningless first member. But perhaps *lhec* is actually related to the root *hec* which occurs in the compound *hec haeu* "fly away" This would involve positing a prefix *l-* for a nearly meaningless root which was associated with the verb meaning "to fly" Well, rumors fly.

(58) *kandaoc kandaeng*   "lonely"
       lonely

Again, this seems like a decorative pair whose second member derives from *aeng* "alone" via the Procrustean "prefix" * *kand-*. But this is to ignore a number of words that end in

final [aoc] like *rabeh rabaoc* "peel away", *baoc* "peel away", and *haoc* "reduce, diminish", which are surely related in meaning. This would involve recognizing a non-occurring root *aoc "separate, away", which appears with yet another prefix in *kandaoc* "lonely" – after all, doesn't "lonely" mean "away from others"? The prefix *kand-* is therefore possibly present in both morphemes of this compound.

(59) *skau:m skeang*   "thin, skinny"
      thin

Again, this looks like a decorative compound – very much like the pair *samkau:m samkeang* "cadaverous". But perhaps the "meaningless" servant word is related to the root *keang* "immobile, stuck". Again, this involves positing a mysterious prefix *s-*, with a privative meaning once again.

(60) *tleung   tlaeng*   "exercise judgment, weigh and balance"
      weigh   ?!tell

This looks like a pair, whose second presumably conscripted member has no relevant meaning here. But perhaps *tlaeng* is itself related via the infixation of an otherwise unattested infix *-l-* to a more fundamental root *daeng, which appears in "derived forms" like *samdaeng* "perform", and *(ceak) sdaeng* "eyewitnessed fact".

In one sense, this is familiar to us as folk etymologizing, prompted, like our own speculations, by a nagging question: Where, after all can servant words come from? This section is devoted to possible answers to this question.

In a tradition that seems to Western students so natural as to be self-evident, it is widely held that a kind of erosion or grammaticalization must be at work in the origin of such twin forms as *pell mell*: before they were meaningless, they were meaningful, and so decorative morphemes must be relics of earlier words that must have meant something. They become semantically opaque or meaningless, and thus, schematically:

Symmetrical synonym compounds > decorative compounds >   single words.
(like *creepy crawly*)   (like *jibber jabber*)   (like *helter-skelter*)

The speculations of Mr. Ourn can be viewed as compatible with the attitude that meaningless lexical stuff doesn't just appear out of nowhere, and that "all words derive finally from other words". This is what the whole practice of etymology exemplifies   even for "twin forms" which notoriously offer few etymological sources (cf. Malkiel 1973).

A case can however be made for the contrary position. In Khmer, there is evidence that meaningless decorative words are generated first for purely phonetic reasons, and then acquire meaning later on.

The first piece of evidence for this contention we have already seen: a fairly large number of dvandva compounds exist as such only by virtue of conscription, adaptation, and the Adam's rib strategy. The junior member of the pair is either meaningless in its

context and just happens to sound good (thus conscription), meaningful, but tweaked to conform phonetically with its partner (thus adaptation), or totally redundant (thus the Adam's rib strategy). It is as if the speakers of the language had a Drive for Symmetry that inspired them to create paired expressions without semantic motivation, and without any productive rules for the generation of ablauting, alliterating, or rhyming echo words.

The second piece of evidence is that there does exist a (controversial) fourth method whereby such forms may be constructed, although it is not via any productive kind of consonant or vowel alternation. This method is a popular language game called *piak kat kunlawh* "word cutting" or "word slice-and-dice" (Farmer 2009) via swapping of the rhyme portions of the initial and final words of polysyllabic expressions. While I know almost nothing about the sociolinguistics of playing this game, Mr. Ourn has suggested that it may be used as an intelligence test. Laughter is awarded to speakers who manage to make their rhyme swapped expressions have some suggestive or relevant significance. For example, Mr. Ourn has offered the pair:

(61) a. *kru:*   *prapun*   *l'aw:*
          teacher   wife   good/beautiful
          "The teacher has a beautiful wife."

      b. *kraw:*   *prapun*   *l'u:*
          poor   wife   complain
          "The poor man has a wife who complains.

Here the exchange of rhymes between the first and final words in the expression results in a no less meaningful, plausible – and frequently obscene – expression[16]. An example of the latter is the pejorative expression for a venial or sycophantic official: *thej krabaeup* "official + nonsense word", is a mysteriously compounded form of the archaic/obsolete term *thej* "official". Chun-Leuh (2007, q.v.) suggests that this may derive, via the word game, from a conjectural

th- aeup [ac]   *krab- ej*
"kiss   [shit.of]   buffalo",
compare our own "shit-eater" or "brown-nose".

Sisovat 1972 and Chun-Leuh 2007 have claimed that perhaps all servant words arise in this way. The game as a word-producing engine works like this:

Stage a: A word may appear in a polyllabic expression with a near synonym:

(62) a. *th-om*   *tul-iaj*
          big   roomy

Stage b: By rhyme swapping, this expression may be transformed into the two nonsense syllables:

b.   *th-iaj*   *tul-om*
     (nonsense)   (nonsense)

Stage c: The nonsense forms (or more generally, just one of them) are now available to serve as servant words. This novel function they now perform in derived decorative compounds like:

tulom   *tuliaj*
(nonsense)   roomy
(It is as if in English a spoonerism could take on a life of its own. Some spooner-isms, like *sm-og,* which we produce on purpose and call portmanteau words, actually do.)

Sisovat's ingenious albeit amateurish attempts to derive all servant words from other words – albeit via a mechanism that is distinct from erosion and grammaticalization – are reminiscent of Mr. Ourn's speculations, and the Western tradition of etymology that all words come from other words. Nor are all his examples equally convincing to native speakers of Khmer. Yet many of them are "accepted" in the sense that speakers

a   recognize the "source expression" as a conventional phrase,
b.   are aware that this expression has been or can be transformed as posited via the rhyme-swapping game, and
c.   accept that the result of this transformation is a servant word that they recognize.

Some such plausible examples include:

(63)	Common expression	Result of rhyme-swapping	Resulting servant word	
	Ps- a: mian c- ao	→ *ps- ao mian c- a:*	→ *psa: psao*	"market"
	market have thief	(nonsense) have (nonsense)		
	J-om sr-aek	→ *j-aek sr-om*	→ *jom jaek*	"weep"
	weep cry out	(nonsense) (nonsense)		
	Rah-aek proh th-oj	→ *rah-oj proh th-aek*	→ *rahaek rahoj*	"tear"
	tear because soft	(nonsense) because (nonsense)		
	R-uk daoj co:l tantr-ian	→ *r-ian daoj co:l tantr-uk*	→ *rian ruk*	"invade"
	invade by enter invade	(nonsense) by enter (nonsense)		

Speaking in favor of Sisovat's hypothesis is the empirical fact that the vast majority of ser-vant words alliterate (as is already apparent from the few examples that have been intro-duced already). This is typologically rather unusual: English conforms with the majority of the world's languages in having relatively many twin forms that are created via rhyme, like *helter skelter,* or ablaut, like *jibber jabber,* and hardly any that are created via simple

alliteration, like *spic 'n' span*. There are two possible explanations for this phenomenon, neither of them entirely convincing.

First, alliteration of servant words is common in Southeast Asian languages other than Khmer, among them Vietnamese, Thai, Hmong, Sui, Tkong Amwi, and others. That is, alliteration may be plausibly explained as simply an areal phenomenon. Still, why in this area? A structural explanation is that many of these languages, to the extent that they have affixation at all, tend to be prefixing or infixing, while the vast majority of the world's languages favor suffixation. Ourn & Haiman 2000 suggested that suffixing languages would favor rhyme, inasmuch as stress tends to fall on the root, and that the phonetically spotlit and thus maximally contrastive portion of the word would correspond roughly to the part of the word included in the root, while the minimally contrastive portion of the word occurred in the suffix. Prefixing languages like Khmer would favor alliteration for the same reason. The basis for this speculation was that this is how parallel structures seem to work in general: contrast and stress go together, and what's the same in the comparanda under discussion (the "rhyme" in the broad sense) is universally destressed. Consider how we read structures like:

a   One went <u>East</u>, one went <u>West</u>
b.   <u>The leap</u> was quick, <u>the return</u> was quick.
c.   I mean <u>AF</u>-fect, not <u>EF</u>-fect.

Strong confirming evidence for this hypothesis (e.g. the prevalence of alliterating servant words in exclusively prefixing languages like Navajo) is still lacking (possibly because these languages fail to exhibit the phenomenon at all).

But the Sisovat hypothesis would account for the prevalence of alliteration quite simply: if the majority of servant words arise via rhyme swapping, then their onsets will be unaffected: *tuliaj* "roomy" will be transformed into the nonsense word *tulom* and not into some other nonsense word with a different onset or initial syllable. They will therefore alliterate with the word they accompany, if they are derived from alliterating synonyms.

Finally, the hypothesis may account indirectly for a remarkable feature of the Khmer vocabulary: the huge number of near synonyms which differ phonetically in their final syllable codas.[17] For a very small representative set of these consider the following multiple sets, culled from Headley et al. 1977 and our own field data:

(64) a.   "curved"
           kngo:ng   curving
           kngiang   bent to one side
           kngong   bent like a hook
           kngawng   very curved (said of sticks)

kngawk	bent, curving
kngol	bent over, stooped
kngeung kngang	bent out of shape

b. "in one's sleep"

mamial	hallucination as one falls asleep
mameu:	walk, talk in one's sleep
mamaeng	dazed
mameu: mamiaj	talk in one's sleep
mameung mameang	half asleep
mami: mameu:	dazed

c. "torn"

rajaj	torn apart, in rags
rajej	badly torn, ragged
rajeah	torn apart
raji:k rajiak	ragged, tattered
rajiak	torn apart, ragged

d. "dangle"

raja:	dangling earrings
rajee:ng rajo:ng	dangle
raji:ng rajo:ng	droop, hang unevenly
rajian	hang down, droop, dangle
rajo:n	hang down, dangle
rajum	droop, hang down

e. "sloppy"

rata:j	stretch out sloppily, hang down low
rata:k	hang down sloppily
ratee:k rata:k	very sloppy
ratee:j rata:j	very long, dragging down
rataek rataok	very sloppy
rataeng rataong	hang down unevenly
rataok	hang down unevenly, droop

f. "squirm"

rasam raveu:k	flop about, like a fish out of water
ravi:k raveu:k	twitch, squirm
ravi:m raviam	wriggle; be scarred all over; confused, unclear
raviam	squirm, wriggle
ravec	wag, swish, flutter
ravec raviam	bother, annoy
raveu:k	squirm

g.   "limp"

ravee:t rava:t	soft and flexible
ravaet ravaw:t	soft and flexible
raveuk ravawk	soft and flexible
ravi:t raviat	fragile, feeble, limp
ravwn ravoan	limp, unsteady

h.   "bumpy"

rakhonj	rough, rugged
rakhenj rakhonj	rugged, rough
rakwp rakup	bumpy, rough
raki:nj	warped, uneven
rakwng	pocked, covered with pimples
rakup	bumpy, rugged
rakeu:l	rocky, bumpy
rakee:ng rako:ng	warped
rako:l	bumpy, rocky, rough

i.   "skinny"

(samki:) samkau:m	gaunt
samkeu:m samkau:m	thin, skinny
samkeung samkau:m	thin, skinny

j.   "observe, watch, gaze at"

samli:ng	look at gaze at
samlawk	stare at
samleung	gaze at, observe

k.   "bag"

sampiat	tote bag
sampiaj	bundle carried over the shoulder (< spiaj)

l.   "unkempt, bushy, disheveled"

srama:m	disheveled hair
sramo:m	long bearded
sramo:m srama:m	long, bushy, disheveled
sramo:nj srama:nj	bushy, bearded
sramev	bushy (of tail)

Given the absence of both a set of suffixes and of any productive vowel or consonant ablaut processes that could account for the creation of near identical near-synonym forms like those of (64), the question naturally arises: What <u>can</u> possibly account for them?

It is plausible that some coincidences from the tables above are only accidental, but it is also plausible that at least some of these similar forms derive from a common origin,

by the same reasoning that leads us to set up family trees, both for cognate words and for the languages in which they occur. Moreover, it is at least conceivable that many of them were once servant words. Like statues coming to life, they have stepped into the real world of meaning. It is plausible that initially, on coming to life in this way, they are virtual synonyms (but at least independently occurring synonyms!) of the words they once accompanied. But then via repartition (Bréal 1897, Bolinger 1975), once a form exists at all, it will eventually come to pay its way by having some meaning of its own, which may be what the forms of (64) are now slowly beginning to do. In the same way that *partner* and *pardner* no longer mean the same thing in English, the constellations of similar words with almost entirely identical meanings are separating out.

Sisovat's scheme is then the following:

Tul-iaj	*th-om*	→	*tul-om*	*th-iaj*	→	<u>*tul-om*</u>	*tu-liaj*
roomy	big		nonsense	nonsense			roomy
(Synonyms)			(Rhyme swapping)			(Servant words)	

It may include one final conjectural step:

Tulom	→	*tulom*
roomy		???some new meaning
(Servant word)		(Emancipated word)

And it is this step that the constellations of alliterating near-synonyms in (64) above may bear witness to. (This is purely speculative: at this time, we cannot trace back any of the multiple forms of the sets of (64) to servant words.)

So much for the Sisovat hypothesis, and conjectured extension to the life of words presented there.

Finally, it is worth noting the extent to which native judgments are at variance about such words, because disagreements can themselves bear witness to a state of creative ferment – a state in which new words are *in statu nascendi*[18]. To a remarkable degree, native authorities disagree about the very existence, not to mention the meanings and the status of many of the decorative compounds that are the main subject of this chapter. In the following pages I will provide a glimpse of the degree of this disagreement, which is reminiscent of the disputes about grammaticality at the sentence level in languages like English, disputes which flourished during the heyday of native speaker grammaticality judgments.

First: A word about the authorities. The standard Khmer-English bilingual dictionary of Robert K. Headley Jr., Kylin Chor, Lam Kheng Lim, Lim Hak Kheang, and Chen Chun (hereafter misleadingly and unfairly abbreviated to Headley et al. 1977) is one source. It is based on the monolingual dictionary of Chuon Nath of 1938 [1967], enriched by additions from other dictionaries by Western scholars. As the compilers

note, all examples from all of these sources are included, even when they are currently unfamiliar, it being thought better to err on the side of overcomprehensiveness rather than to risk the exclusion of possibly valid regional, possibly valid albeit obsolete, or possibly even flat-out mistaken forms. Chun-Leuh's Khmer grammar of 2007, which includes a complete catalog (pp. 190–275) of Sisovat's examples of servant words (Sisovat 1972), is a second. The third source is Noeurng Ourn, trained as a teacher of Khmer literature at the Pedagogical Institute of Phom Penh, who has been my teacher of Khmer since 1996, and whose Khmer is informed by a deep knowledge of Indic etymology. The fourth is Veasna Keat, my second teacher, since 2007, who in addition to speaking Khmer as his first language speaks a vigorous and colloquial English. A fifth authority, not separately identified here, are the Khmer works and articles in which I first encountered most of my data, and which were explicated to me by my teachers. My last authorities are the teenagers and teachers who I worked with in Siem Reap in the summer of 2010.[19]

Disagreements arise as to the existence of a surprising number of decorative compounds. When authorities agree on the existence of these forms, they may disagree about their meaning. When they agree about their meaning, they may disagree about their formal status: one source will identify a compound as a pair of synonyms; another as a decorative compound whose first member is meaningless; another as a decorative compound whose second member is meaningless; and another as a single word both of whose members are meaningless in themselves. It is important to emphasize that we cannot reliably adjudicate these disagreements by claiming that speaker A knows more than speaker B and so on. The sources are equal in that each seems to know things that not everybody else does. This kind of ferment bespeaks a vocabulary which is under construction.

To begin with, there is as one would expect total agreement on a number of these forms, among them nearly all of the forms cited so far, as well as specifically the following examples:

(65) a. *tiang toat*   "regular, exact, predictable" (*toat* "kick" is presumably conscripted)

b. *tulom tuliaj*   "spacious" (*tulom* via rhyme swapping)

c. *banlae banlawm*   "cheat" (*banlae* "vegetable" via conscription?)

d. *babaw: babiak*   "gruel, porridge" (*babiak* via rhyme sawpping?)

e. *tnguan tngau:*   "heavy" (*tngau:* via rhyme swapping?)

f. *bantec bantuac*   "a bit" (*bantuac* from an unknown source)

g. *nwaj na:j*   "tired, bored of" (*na:j* of unknown origin),

h. *bawn srawn*   "pray, hope for" (*srawn* of unknown origin)

i. *ti: teu:*   "hesitate" (*ti:* "place" presumably conscripted)

j. *tati:ng tate:ng*   "obstruct" (*tauti:ng* "width" presumably conscripted).

But there are disagreements about the very existence of these forms:

(66) a. *babae babual*   "request, persuade" (missing from Headley)
      b. *banlae banlawp*   "confuse, cheat" (missing in Chun-Leuh)
      c. *banlaem banlawm*   "cheat" (missing from Chun-Leuh, not recognized
                                        by Ourn)
      d. *banjcaeuc banjcol*   "flatter sarcastically" (missing from Headley,
                                        and not recognized by Ourn)
      e. *banjcaeuc banjca:l*   (idem.)
      f. *tu: tok*   "suffering" (not recognized by Keat)
      g. *tumjeu:c tumjeu:*   "spoil, cosset" (absent from Headley, not recognized
                                        by Keat or my Siem Reap consultants)
      h. *bandae bandaoj*   "permit through indifference or negligence"
                                        (missing in Headley)
      i. *thau:n thian*   "resources" (not recognized by Ourn)
      j. *neuk nia*   "miss, long for" (not recognized by Ourn)
      k. *thu: thia*   "well-off, living an easy life" (absent in Headley)
      l. *thom thee:ng*   "big" (not recognized by Keat)
      m. *bangkhia bangkheang*   "arrest, stop from fleeing" (absent in Headley)
      n. *bangviah bangve:*   "dissuade" (recognized only by Chun-Leuh)
      o. *tati:ng tatiang*   "pester" (recognized only by Keat)
      p. *ti: toal*   "have no choices, be up against it" (absent in
                                        both dictionaries)
      q. *tante:ng tantoam*   "shape of elegantly executed dance movement"
                                        (absent in Headley, not recognized by Keat)
      r. *tianj taung*   "drag" (recognized only by Chun-Leuh)

(On the last: Mr. Ourn recognized a related form *pratiang prataung* "pull back and forth",
while Mr. Keat recognized another related form *prateak prataung* "pull back and forth".)

There are also disagreements about the meanings of these forms:

(67) a. *bangʔae bangʔawng*   "slow" (Ourn); "hesitate" (Keat)
      b. *bangʔap bangʔaon*   "ruin" (Headley); "belittle, dishonor" (Keat)
          neung nuan   "well behaved, modest" (Headley);
                                      "honey, sweetheart (in songs only)"
                                        (Keat and TV karaoke);
                                      "stable, solid" (Ourn)
      d. *psah psa:*   "render tasteless" (Headley);
                                      "reconcile" (Keat)
      e. *rakam rako:h*   "irregular, uneasy" (Headley);
                                      "feel disappointed in a long term relationship;
                                        not get along with one's LTR any more" (Keat)

f.	*ranjoam ranjev*	"scribble; nag at" (Headley); "dither" (Keat)
g.	*tateak tatiam*	"complicated" (Headley); "connected" (Ourn, Keat)

Finally, there are disagreements about their formal status.

Here a systematic bias can be observed. Chun-Leuh is eager not only to account for all decorative servant words, but to find as many of them as possible. In many cases, it seems that he stands alone: what he identifies as purely decorative compounds are identified by cooler heads as alliterating synonym pairs. But perhaps this is sometimes begging the question. In any case, this note shall serve as warning that where Chun-Leuh alone identifies a compound as a decorative one, he may simply be objectively mistaken.

(68) a. *bangkac bangkwn*   "slander" (C-L. identifies the first element as a servant word); Ourn proposes that both words are derived causatives based on the roots *kac* "break" and *kwn* "squash, flatten, run over".)

   b. *ne:m nwt*   "be very intimate and close friends" (C-L. identifies the second element as a servant word; Ourn identifies each word as an existing synonym; Keat identifies the compound as an unanalyable single word.)

   c. *jo:k jo:l*   "give preferential treatment (e.g. to regular customers)". (Chun-Leuh says the first word is a decorative meaningless morpheme; Keat says the second element is.)

   d. *thau:n thian*   "resources" (Headley says the first element is decorative, Keat says the second is. In this case, etymology favors Headley, since *thian* < Pali *dhaana* "money").

   e. *truptrul*   "dense, impenetrable (e.g. undergrowth)". (Headley identifies this as a synonym compound; Chun-Leuh claims the first element is a decorative servant word; Keat finds the whole word to be an unanalyzable unit.)

   f. *pdo:c pdaeum*   "innovate" (Chun-Leuh claims this has a meaningless first element; Keat, that the second element is the decorative one; and I will weigh in with the guess that this is a compound of two causatives, from the roots *do:c* "similar, like", and *daeum* "base, beginning".)

   g. *ranee:p ranaw:p/ ranee:p ranw:p*   "bootlick, defer too much to authority". (Since the first word is the same in both of these synonymous expressions, it would make sense to identify the second word as the decorative word. Nevertheless, Chun-Leuh claims that it is the first word which is meaningless.)

    h.   *bangheun banghaoc* "waste" (Chun-Leuh claims that the second element is meaningless. Ourn relates it to a root *haoc* "be used up", making this word a compound of two causatives in *BVN-*, although the derivation *banghaoc* apparently cannot stand alone.)

    i.   *bandoh bandaːl*   "educate" (Chun-Leuh claims that the first element is meaningless. Ourn identifies both first and second elements once again as causatives of roots *doh* "grow" and *daːl* "spread", noting however that the second does not occur alone, but does in other compounds like *rial daːl* "spread, disseminate".)

In all this etymologizing, and in all this conjectured appearance and disappearance of meaningful roots, there is some solid evidence that not all decorative words are totally meaningless. Here are three examples of what may be their partial emancipation into the world of meaning.

5.   Towards the emancipation of servant words

Some case histories:

All authorities agree that *naːj* is a meaningless decorative companion of *nwaj* "tired" (< Thai *nyaj* "tired").

But having made its appearance in this one compound, it also appears in another:

Cwn naːj "sick and tired" (stronger than *nwaj naːj* "mildly bored"). It is now one step closer to appearing on its own.

–   The base word *tmeung* "immobile" can occur with two separate servant words. The compound *tmeung tmeuːj* means "immobile, unresponsive; give the silent treatment". The compound *tmeung tmeang* means something slightly different: "ignore, act innocent, play dumb". This may be a consequence of the fact that *tmeang* is not entirely a fresh creation, but may be a Procrustean derivative of the non-existent root **meang* which appears in the compound *miːng meang* "stupefied, cluelessly ignorant".

–   The base word *teak* "join, connect" can appear with three different servant words, forming compounds which are not entirely synonymous: *teak tauːng* (an extremely common lexicalization with the presumably conscripted root *tauːng* "stem, stalk, wire") means "connect"; *teak tiam* (with the conscripted root *tiam* "to attach oneself like a leech, biting and sucking") means "related to (matters)"; and *teak twn* (with a servant word of unknown origin) means "entangled, involved (with other people)".

Examples like these indicate that servant words are not entirely meaningless, even when they are used for purely decorative purposes. Of course ambiguous status between meaningfulness and meaninglessness is not in itself a reliable sign of generation. What I hope to have established in this section is only that it is also not a sign of unmistakable degeneration either. Most Western linguists would recognize that such forms are on the way down. Another possibility in languages like Khmer is that they are on the way up.

One of the obvious ways a servant word might emerge into full wordhood is that having appeared in company of a base word so often, it can finally venture out on its own. There are two ways this can happen. The least revolutionary is for a given servant word to continue to appear as a servant word, but with a new "master". An example is furnished by the servant word *klo:ng* which accompanies *klia* "sentence" to form the symmetrical decorative compound

(69) a.   *klia*   *klo:ng*
           sentence   ???
           "sentence/verse".

But this same meaningless word can appear within another lexical "scaffold": *kamna:p ka:p* means "poem", and so does

(69) b.   *kamna:p ka:p*   *klo:ng.*
           poem   ???
           "poem"

By this point, it comes close to having a meaning.

Perhaps equally gentle is the transition from bound to semi-free status in cases like the following one, where a member of a decorative compound continues to occur as a decorative word, but this time in a decorative PHRASE that is coordinate with the basic phrase. In general, an expression A (X + Y) where X and Y are coordinate words, may become AX + AY. I have suggested using the term "coordination inflation" (CI) to describe cases of this sort. (Matisoff 1973b:82 identifies the same process in Lahu, and calls it "ionization".) It is the mirror image of coordination reduction, whereby clausal coordinations are reduced to phrasal ones. Note that coordination inflation is itself an expression of the drive for parallelism, since by any reckoning AX AY is a more symmetrical expression than is AXY. Coordination inflation can occur with genuine paired synonyms (that is where X and Y already exhibit semantic symmetry):

(70) a.   *Daoj sa: proh   kluan*
           A   B   C
           because because self
           "on his account" can become, via CI:

b. *daoj sa: kluan   proh   kluan*
    A   C   B   C
    "on his account"

(71) a. *dej   ti: nih*
          earth   place   this
          "this land" can become, via CI:

      b. *dej nih ti: nih*
          "this land".

The term of address to a full-fledged monk is

(72) a. *(preah)   tee:c kun*
          A   B   C
          (honorific) elder merit
          "reverend"

But "you can also use" what Smith (2006: 52) calls the "more colloquial" form:

      b. *preah   tee:c   preah   kun*
          A   B   A   C
          HON   elder   HON   merit
          "reverend".

In all of these cases both conjuncts are meaningful (albeit superfluously conjoined). But CI can also occur when one of the conjuncts is a made-up decorative form with no meaning of its own:

(73) a. *voat   va:*
          A   B
          temple
          "temple"

The "colloquial" (Smith ibid: 60) way of saying "go to temple" is

(73) b. *tev voat   tev va:*
          C   A   C   B
          go   temple   go   ø

Other examples of coordination inflation include the following:

(74) a. *awt ciat cev*
          lack taste   "insipid, without taste, worthless (of poetry)" →
      b. *awt ciat awt cev*
          lack taste lack   (ditto)

(75) a. *awt kee:*   *kma:h* "shameless" →
         lack   shame (with *kee:* "heritage" presumably conscripted as a BS)
    b. *awt kee: awt kmah*

(76) a. *si: c̓eung   c̓aeng* →
         eat bone
    b. *si: c̓eung   si: c̓aeng*
         eat bone   eat --
         "eat nothing but bones"

(77) a. *taeu   via tngo: ra'u:* →
         Q   3   whine complain
    b. *taeu   via tngo: taeu   via ra'u:*
         Q   3   whine   Q   3   complain
         "whether he is whining and complaining"

(78) a. *tveu: mho:p mha:* →
         make   food
    b. *tveu: mho:p   tveu   mha:*
         make   food   make
         "cook"

And sometimes Coordination Inflation can break up monomorphemic two-syllable words, treating them as if they were coordinations:

(79) a. *prakan   rwkpia*   "stuck-up, snooty, snobbish" →
         find.fault   manner
    b. *prakan rwk   prakan pia*
         resent "man-" resent "-ner"

Not unexpectedly, perhaps, coordination inflation has become obligatory in some cases.

(80) a. *craeun leu:k*   many times
    b. *craeun kria*   many times
         craeun leu:k   kria →
         A   B   C
    d. *craeun leu:k   craeun kria*
         A   B   A   C
         "many times"

The cognitive and pragmatic status of this inflation, as of decorative reduplication, is indeterminate. For a more complex example, consider

(81) a. *kham   cee:k   rabo:t*
         bite   banana slip.out
         "be old and toothless"

The expression (81a) is a still transparent biclausal idiom: it is a serial verb "pivot" con-struction, in which the noun "banana" is both the object of the first (main) verb and the subject of the resultative (serial) verb. It can be conjoined with a meaningless biclausal decorative expression:

(81) b. *kham* *po:t* *ra-beh*
bite   corn   ?? pick[20]
"??"(probably more or less synonymous with (81a))

It forms a decorative clausal compound with the same meaning, as it is in a passage:

(82) *peut cia cuap rauho:t cuap dawl*
true be meet always meet until
"(we will be) truly together forever"
kham cee:k raubo:t kham po:t rabeh
"(until we are both) old and toothless"

(Note that the first line of this passage itself contains an inflated phrasal synonym com-pound, since *cuap raho:t cuap dawl:* derives from *cuap raho:t dawl.* As always, where there is one symmetrical expression, there is the greater likelihood that there will be others in the same passage.)

The decorative compound

(83) *rabo:t* *ra- beh*
slip out ??   pluck

seems to be an example of compound creation via the Procrustean approach: *rabeh* is an alliterating decorative word which is adapted to the base word *rabo:t* via the addition of a (here) totally meaningless (perfect??) prefix *ra-* to the (here) totally irrelevant root *beh.* But in the compound expression *kham cee:k rabo:t kham po:t rabeh* it may be that the made-up decorative word *rabeh* (while still in a decorative compound) has partially achieved some greater autonomy from its origin.

More radical promotion occurs when the servant word simply replaces the base word (one might compare this to an understudy emerging into a performing role). This may truly mark the final stage of the genesis of a word out of meaninglessness. In a folk-tale the expression appears:

(84) a. *jo:n kamnaeut*
take birth
"start life (within the womb)"

But the word *jo:n* is not a word in Khmer. It exists as a servant word to *jau:k* "take" in a variety of expressions, including the precisely synonymous expression

(84) b. *jau:k   jo:n   kamnaeut*
         take   birth
         "start life".

Mr Ourn was mildly scandalized to find (84a) occurring at all. But only mildly(!).

Most radical finally is when a former servant word acquires a new meaning of its own. This may be the story of *lia* (originally, "unpack, separate, say goodbye") in the compound *lu:t lia* "great-great   " The Khmer word for greatgrandchild is *cav lu:t*. The first word *cav* means "grandchild" so presumably *lu:t* means "great". This latter word may have acquired via conscription the servant word *lia*. The expression **cav lu:t lia*, however, does not seem to exist at the present time. What is current, however, is the four word expression

(85) *cav   lu:t   cav   lia*
       grandchild great   grandchild
       "great great grandchild(ren)"

This may have derived via Coordination Inflation from *cav lu:t lia*. What may be just around the corner is a contrast between

(86) a. *cav   lu:t*
          grandchild   great
          "great grandchild"

and the. still conjectural

(86) b. *cav   lia*
          grandchild   great-great
          "great-greatgrandchild"

(this according to Mr. Keat). If such a contrast gets established, a servant word *lia* will have come to contrast with its erstwhile master *lu:t*.

6.   Obligatorification and the optionality of decorative morphology

Servant words are optional. The speaker who omits them is not ungrammatical, only at worst insipid. This is one reason that we can call symmetrical pairs "decorative" in the first place. The same observation can be made of what I have called "decorative affixa-tion" in Chapter 3. It may be true in general that prosaic morphology can function in a decorative fashion only in those instances where it is "emancipated" from grammatical and referential functions.

To say this, of course, is to assert a commonplace, given Western conceptions of frills, ornamentation and decoration. Decoration is precisely what can be left out, by definition. Looked at in another way, the statement may have empirical consequences, and I will close this chapter with a final speculative remark about what those consequences may be.

Following Jakobson 1959 [1972] and Lehmann 1982 [1995], grammaticalization for most observers always entails obligatorification. As Jakobson memorably put it, languages differ not in what they *can* say, but in what they *must:* their grammaticalized categories. Thus, for example in English, tense is grammaticalized and basically has to be spelled out on all finite verbs whether it is an important part of the message or not. This is not the case in Khmer. In fact, it is not only tense, but most grammatical categories which are optional in this language. They can be expressed, and frequently are expressed, by morphology which has lexical sources that are familiar to students of Western languages   but this morphology continues to be optional, as we recurrently observed in Chapter 3.

A minority viewpoint in linguistics at this time (Heine & Kuteva 2002, 2007) is that obligatorification is not an essential component of the grammaticalization process, but rather, its final stage. Obligatorification of grammatical morphology occurs with overwhelming regularity in Western languages, and it is therefore not surprising that Jakobson and most linguists working on such languages have seen it as an essential aspect of the grammaticalization process. But it does not occur in Southeast Asian languages like Mandarin (Kuteva 2010) or Khmer. These languages can be said to "resist" obligatorification. These are also overwhelmingly languages which evidence decorative morphology of the sort described in the present chapter (cf. Williams to appear).

My hypothesis is that there may be a causal connection between the lack of obligatorification of meaningful morphology on the one hand, and the creation and maintenance of decorative morphology on the other. That is, to restate the banal truism above, it is in those languages where morphology has not become bound to a purely grammatical or referential function[21] that it is free to assume the decorative function described and exemplified here. Such a hypothesis would find support if decorative morphology were to be found outside of Southeast Asia, and occurred in languages which also shared the typological feature of non-obligatorification.

Whether or not the hypothesis is confirmed, however, the bare facts are already paradoxical: as we have seen from a consideration of the opposing forces of iambicity and symmetrification in Section 3.1 of this chapter, it is ONLY the decorative morphology of Khmer – derived from both meaningful and meaningless sources – which seems to be undergoing incipient obligatorification inasmuch as it seems to be obeying a global "morphological coordinate structure constraint" on alliteration. But paradoxical though it seems, this is plausible a priori in language because it is consonant with frills,

galumphing, and etiquette in areas outside of language. Instrumental behavior may be exempt from the restrictions of etiquette: speakers will allow themselves to do whatever it takes to get the job done. Decorative and practically inconsequential behavior, on the other hand, precisely because of its uselessness, may be subjected without penalty to the most exquisitely punctilious restrictions.

Notes

1. Note that it is the adjective which is repeated, but the noun which is pluralized, in structures of the form Noun + (Adjective)2. Intensification of the adjective is accomplished by other means, cf. Chapter 5.

2. If a near synonym compound occurs in colloquial speech, it is a safe bet that it has become lexicalized.

3. The register distinction is now largely representable by strictly segmental means. The ONLY minimal contrast pair where the difference between clear and breathy voice cannot be so represented is the token opposition *kEE:* "heritage" and *kee:* "third person". Here the graph *EE* in this single example represents clear register.

4. In my materials, there are even two cases of synonyms from different respect levels forming a decorative compound: *puac* "race, tribe, seed" can be conjoined with the royal word of the same meaning *paung* to form the compound *puac paung* "breed, pedigree, ancestry". So, too, *tau:t* "see (royal)" is conjoined with following *kheu:nj* in *tau:t kheu:nj do:c nuh* "looked this way". On the basis of these two examples it can be said that a mixed compound of this sort can only be predicated of a royal, never a commoner. "Slumming is acceptable, but social climbing is not."

5. In this pairing, a verb is conjoined with its cognate accusative construction. This kind of pairing recurs frequently, but usually the order of conjuncts is the reverse, the cognate accusative preceding the simple verb.

6. Frequently such compounds carry a contemptuous connotation, cf. Stolz 2001 and the references cited there. There are such cases in Khmer: *aca: acawm* is a pejorative version of *aca:* "priest", for example. But they are few.

7. This was volunteered by Mr. Ourn. A more plausible source might be *deung* "know", via the addition of a rare privative *s-* prefix, possibly attested in words like *s-trev* "enemy".

8. My living sources were Nourn Ourn, age ca. 65, from Battambang; Veasna Keat, age ca. 30, from Phnom Penh, and Pharanear Thin age ca. 20; and two written sources, the Cambodian compilers of Headley et al. 1977, and Chun Leuh 2007. I will describe them in a little more detail further on.

9. Both *reak* "shallow" and *teak* "connect" exist. Is being friendly connecting in a shallow way?

10. Jean Longmire has told me that "Mickey Mouse" is pronounced [kmaus] by Khmer speaking children in Stockton.

11. This may be most compactly illustrated with a single example. The symmetrical compound *creah croam* "chow down" includes a servant word as its second member, and is at the same time extremely

vulgar. One may also question whether a phenomenon which is so widely attested in SE Asian languages as decorative reduplication could be an artefact of the written or formal register in any one of them. See Williams (to appear) and the references cited there.

12. Jenner (1974:67) makes comparable observations on Surin Khmer. Thus ⟨koon koón⟩ "children", ⟨mjaaŋ mjaáŋ⟩ "one kind or another", etc.

13. These judgments were not, unfortunately, collected on the fly from an observation of spontaneous utterances. Instead they were grammaticality judgments elicited in the following manner. First I copied about 400 utterances from a variety of written sources (folk tales, novels, magazine articles) in which these symmetrical compounds had occurred. The consultants in separate interviews, spaced out over several sessions, then looked over these, and eliminated those which included any vocabulary or constructions that were not in their active vocabulary (a loss of between 10 and 30 utterances from the data base). Then I asked the consultants to read each passage twice: the first time slowly, the second time quickly. After reading through the first two examples, the consultants volunteered that speaking style was different from even rapid reading style, and happily agreed to produce speaking versions instead of simply allegro reading versions of the texts. This resulted in three versions of each pair. Every production in all styles was symmetrical. I then asked whether they would accept the constructed asymmetrical results of (32)–(50) in which one or another of the conjuncts was reduced (but not both). Their smiles of bewildered and condescending derision have been translated into the asterisks you see.

14. Anaptyxis inserts a schwa interconsonantally. Erosion deletes the rhyme portion of the anacrusic syllable. Neither rule as stated can create the phonetic output [a] from an input [la].

15. Given the rule of anaptyctic schwa insertion, the conjoined elements here are phonologically monosyllabic, but phonetically bisyllabic. In allegro speech, this epenthetic vowel disappears (Gorgoniev 1966b: 36), but in most of the examples I have heard, the schwa is present in both conjuncts.

16. Or they can be offered as pejorative folk etymologies for foreign words. "Il existe même des expressions spécifiques pour se moquer des locuteurs kouy telles que *kuaj kandeh*, qui, en khmer est une contrepèterie ["slice-and-dice word-game deformation"] pour *keh kanduaj* qui signifie 'gratter, titiller le vagin.'" (Rongier 2005: 63).

17. Gorgoniev (1966b: 54, 69) notes the existence of only two such sets, five words relating to delicious taste or fragrance that all begin with *cng-*, and about a dozen words relating to crookedness, all beginning with *kng-*. For the first, he considers the possibility of a common prefix, while he discusses the second as an example of a totally distinct phenomenon: phonetic "fragmentation.. that is, the creation of a whole chain of new words via not too heavily constrained variations based on any element common to them all." It is clear that I am presenting them as examples of the same phenomenon, that is cranberry morphemes (so Bloomfield) or morphans (so Matisoff). I am however in sympathy with the implicit theory in Gorgoniev's failure to see the common element in these two cases: that theory being that morphans can arise in different ways. The catalogue of possible origins provided in this chapter is almost certainly incomplete.

18. Ideophones (words like "Yuk!") are sometimes identified as spontaneous creations. In his discussion of ideophones Diffloth 1972 comments specifically on the fact that they seem to be recognized as nonce individual creations in (Mon-Khmer) languages like Semai. Paul (1880: Chapter 9) gives several hundred examples of ideophones in German. It is striking how widely native speakers (at least

today) diverge in their recognition of these forms (Haiman, in preparation). Both of these sources suggest what I assert more strongly here: that (individual) creation is what is most reliably reflected in native disagreements about the very existence, as well as about the meaning and status, of words in a language.

19. Disagreement among native speakers is dimly reflected by disagreement among outside observers. Gorgoniev (1966b: 71–87) is the most complete survey of servant words that I have seen in a Western grammar. We agree on some lexicalizations like *kni: knia* "reciprocally", *srual bual* "excellent, comfortable", *ktec kti:* "smithereens", *tulum tuliaj* "spacious"   and very little else.

20. There is no independent word *rabeh*. If the form is derived from *beh*, then it is as a servant word. Note, however, that *rabeh* also occurs as a Procrustean servant word with *rabaoc* "peel (bark)", in example (25h).

21. Bernhard Wälchli (p.c.) points out that "grammatical" and esthetic functions may be lumped together, and in fact are so lumped by a number of observers, not only in terms of their origins but in terms of their current importance: If this grouping of functions is a valid one, then decorative morphology exists in any language with grammatical agreement (thus Dahl 2004, Ferguson & Barlow 1988, Poplack 1980), and is exhibited by any number of Western languages. I maintain however that grammatical and decorative functions can be distinguished, in terms of the violations that are possible. Leaving out grammatical agreement is to be ungrammatical, and this is not the same as leaving out decorative morphology: the difference is between sounding like Tarzan (Me Tarzan, you Jane), and Clint Eastwood.

A stronger objection comes from the observation that nominal categories like diminutives are not only hypocoristic: they seem to have a purely decorative function in a number of Western languages (Gooch 1970, Haiman & Ourn 2009). I have no response to this objection at the moment.

The conventional Noun Phrase

Although it seems to be an SVO language with many of the familiar and standard properties of such languages, above the word level, the syntactic units of Cambodian are much less solid than this characterization would lead one to expect. We begin our survey of the syntax with an examination of the least controversial such unit, the conventional noun phrase.

1.   The NP as a contingent clump

The only multi-word syntactic constituent which has been identified in the previous literature is the NP, which has been characterized by both Jacob (1968:83) and Huffman (1970a:50) as having roughly the following structure:

(1)   NP → (Honorific) Noun (Adjectival Modifier) (Numeral) (Classifier) (Deictic)

While this rule will account for a large range of data, it makes certain questionable claims, among them that there is such a thing as a head Noun, and that there is such a constituent as NP for it to be a head of. I propose in this section to justify a similar but not identical entity, the "nominal clump" which is characterized by the phrase structure rule below:

(2)   Nominal Clump → (Honorific) (NP) (MeasurePhrase) (DeicticPhrase)

Impressionistically, the contrast between (1) and (2) is comparable to that between a continent like Australia and the Sargasso Sea. The claim made in (2) is that none of the elements in the clump is any more or less obligatory than any of the others, and that although they can cooccur and when they do they do so typically in the order given, this arrangement is fortuitous, as each is perfectly capable of occurring alone.

Two of the elements of the clump have significantly contrasting internal structure.

(3)   Noun Phrase   →   (Noun Phrase) (Modifier) (i.e. Modifiers follow Heads)
(4)   Measure Phrase →   (Quantifier) (Measure Unit) (i.e. Quantifiers precede Heads).

Rule (3) is recursive (a noun may have a number of modifiers), while rule (4) is not.

The claim is thereby made that expressions like

(5)   a.   *cru:k*   *ľaw:*
           pig   good
           "good pig"
      b.   *cru:k*   *pi:*
           pig   two
           "two pigs"

Have a radically different structure. (5a) is an NP, with a modifier following the head Noun.
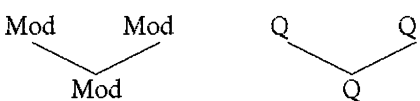
On the other hand, (5b) is actually two constituents, a NP consisting of only a noun "pig" and a following Measure Phrase consisting of only the numeral "two".

In a full MP, the quantifier precedes its head. We thus account for the minimal contrast pair

(6)   a.   *maong*   *buan*
           hour   four
           "the hour of four, four o'clock"
           (an NP consisting of one N and a following modifier consisting of a numeral)
      b.   *buan*   *maong*
           four   hour
           "(for) four hours"
           (an MP consisting of a quantifier and a measure unit)

In (5a) and (6a) a word which may be either an adjective or a numeral follows a head noun because modifiers follow their heads (as maintained in the PS rule 1, for the conventional NP). In (5b) a numeral follows a noun because measure phrases follow NP.

First we will survey a range of massive nominal clumps which are equally compatible with (1) and (2). Then we will turn to other facts which compel us to reject (1) in favor of (2).

(7)   a.   *pteah*   *skeum*   *skej*   *bej*   *buan*   *knaw:ng*
           house   high   high   three   four   back
             N   Mod   Mod   Q   Q   CL
                          \\   //   \\   //
                            Mod   Q

           "three or four high houses"

      b.   *kteum*   *saw:*   *pram*   *kampeuh*
           garlic   white   five   shrimp
             N   Mod   Q   CL
           "five cloves of garlic"

c. *sra:*   *kanlah*   *ko:n*   *kaev*
    wine   one-half   small   glass
    N   Q   Mod.   N

                                        NP
                                        |
                                        CL
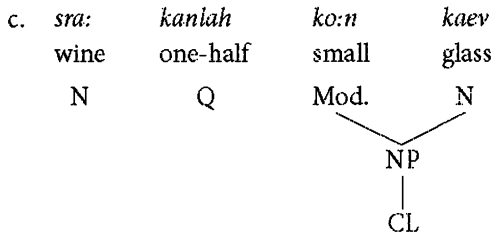
    "half of a small glass of wine"

d. *smav*   *sia:p*   *tia*   *muaj*   *muk*
    feather   wing   duck   one   face
    N   N   N   Q   N

                               Mod   CL

                              N
                              |
                            Mod

                  N
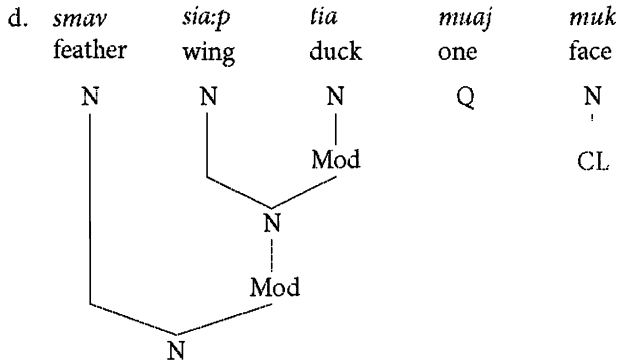
    "one feather from a duck's wing"

e. *ciat*   *kmae*   *tu:*   *teang*
    nation   Khmer   entire   all

    N   Mod.   Q   Q

                                 Q

    "the whole Khmer nation"

f. *dej*   *m-*   *dom*   *nih*
    land   one   piece   this

    N   Q   CL   D
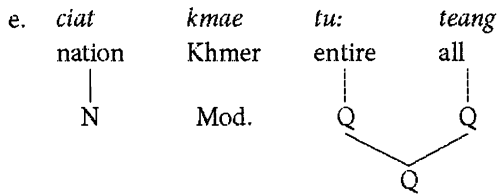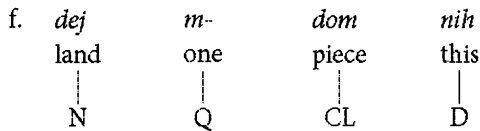
    "this one piece/plot of land"

g. *mrec*   *dawp*   *kroap*
    pepper   10   seed

    N   Q   CL

    "ten peppercorns"

h. *nau:*   *na:*   *m-*   *neak*
    person   any   one   person
      | | | |
      N   Mod.   Q   CL
    "anyone"
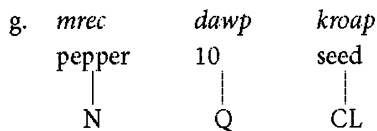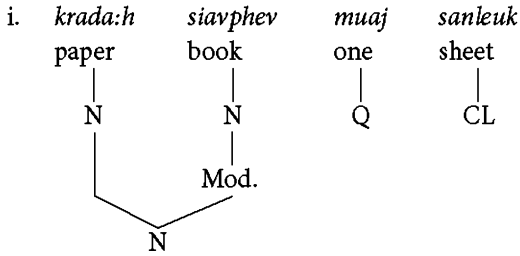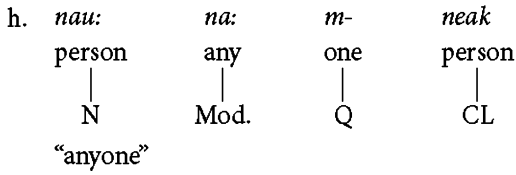
i. *krada:h*   *siavphev*   *muaj*   *sanleuk*
    paper   book   one   sheet
      | | | |
      N   N   Q   CL
                    |
                  Mod.
              _____/
                  N
    "one sheet of writing (book) paper"
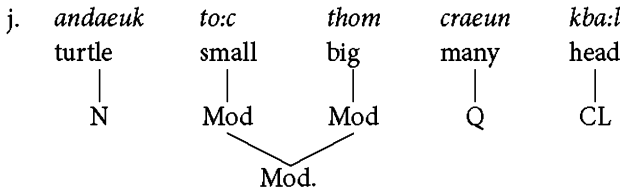
j. *andaeuk*   *to:c*   *thom*   *craeun*   *kba:l*
    turtle   small   big   many   head
      | | | | |
      N   Mod   Mod   Q   CL
                    _____/
                      Mod.
    "many turtles large and small"
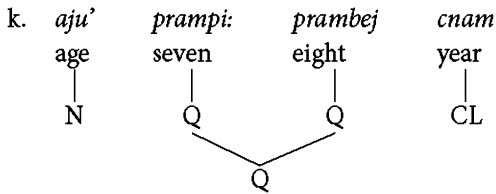
k. *aju'*   *prampi:*   *prambej*   *cnam*
    age   seven   eight   year
      | | | |
      N   Q   Q   CL
                    _____/
                        Q
    "an age of seven or eight years"

l. *maw:ng*   *muaj*   *tbo:ng*
    net   one   jewel
      | | |
      N   Q   CL
    "one (fishing) net"

m. *preah*   *phi'ku'*   *pi:*   *awng*
    lord   senior.monk   two   monk
      | | | |
    Hon.   N   Q   CL
    "two venerable monks"

n.
ambeul	*muaj*	*tu:k*	*daj*
salt	one	boat	hand
N	Q	N	Mod

NP

CL

"a handful of salt"

o.
kam se'thi:	*suan kua*	*muaj*	*bangvee:c*	*to:c*
private	personal	one	bundle	small
N	Mod	Q	N	Adj

Mod

NP

CL
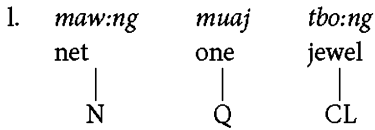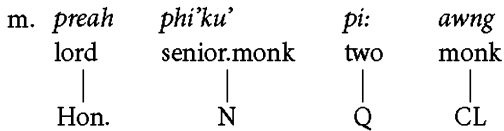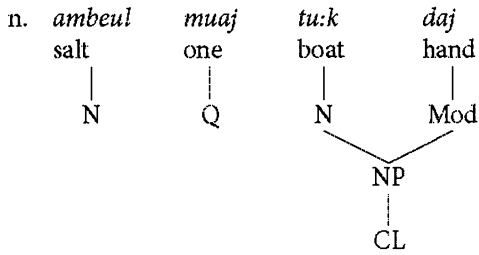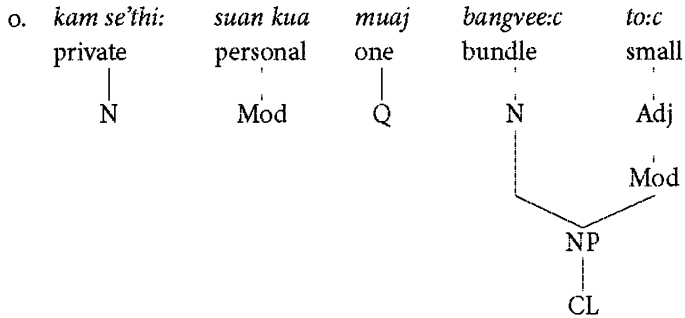
"a small bundle of personal effects"

p.
ko:	*muaj*	*neum*	*nih*
N	Q	CL	D
ox	one	yoke	this

"this one team of oxen"

q.
khao	*a:v*	*muaj*
pants	shirt	one
N	N	Q

N

"pants shirt one outfit"

r. neak   cumliah   tmej   jeu:ng   (phiak   craeun)
    person   refugee   new   we   (part   lots)
    | | | | | |
    N   N   Adj   N   N   N
                | | |
                Mod   Mod.   Mod
                                                                    NP
                        NP |
                              NP   Mod   CL
                                    NP
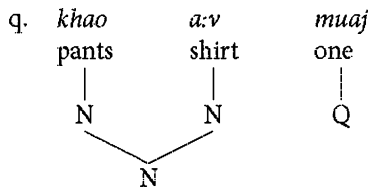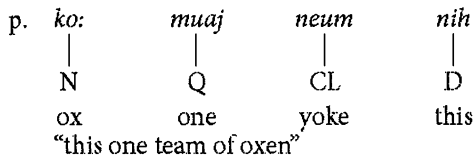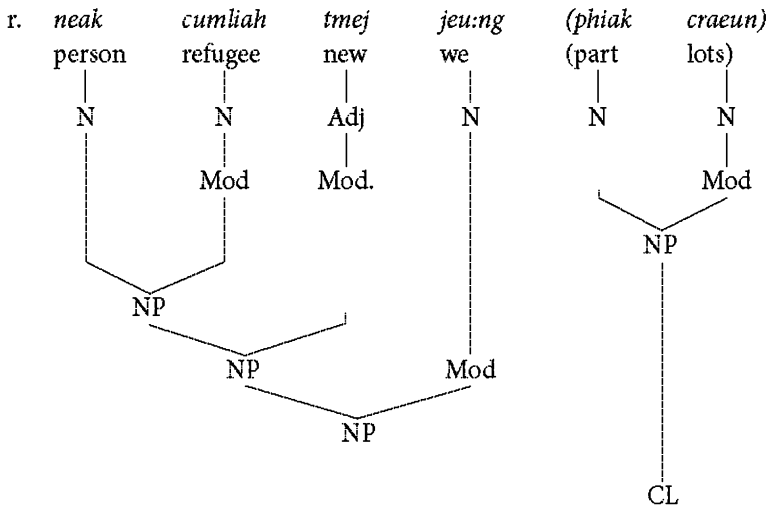
"the majority of us 'new refugee people'"

(This was the Khmer Rouge term for former city-dwellers).

As these examples already demonstrate, some of the NP-internal categories introduced above, such as classifiers, have internal structure whose nature is relatively uncontroversial.

(8) X   → X X (A category can be expressed by an asyndetic coordination of two members of the category, cf. (7a, e, j, k, r))

(9) CL → NP (Most of what we provisionally call classifiers are nouns (7d), but sometimes these nouns can themselves be modified (7c, n, o))

(10) Mod → NP (7d, i), or Adj. (7j)).

The strongest evidence for the PS rule (1) is the (relatively) fixed order of the constituents which comprise it, but there is also another piece of evidence in its favor. This is the fact that in Khmer, a noun cannot usually serve as its own classifier. (This apparently distinguishes Khmer from languages like Thai.) If a head noun and its classifier belong to the same constituent, as asserted by rule (1), such a mutual exclusivity – or any other kind of dependency relationship   is easy to imagine. It is much harder to imagine if NP and MP are autonomously occurring constituents that just happen to form a clump by accident. That said, one should note the existence of exceptions to this mutual exclusivity. The classifer *neak* "person" may always apparently serve as its own classifier, as well as being the classifier for all nouns denoting humans. (It is also by far the most frequently used classifier in Khmer. Most of the colorful classifiers exemplified in (7), the survey above, do not appear in the vernacular at all.) There are also cases of near-identity between nouns and their classifiers which seem to come close to violation of this exclusivity constraint. *Krua* serves as the classifier for *kruasa:* "family", and *daeum* "stalk" as the

classifier for *daeum cheu*: "tree". Less frequent are cases of complete identity between noun and classifier like

(8) a.

ksae	kaw:	pla:ti: n	muaj	ksae
string	neck	platinum	one	string
N	N	N	Q	CL

"a platinum necklace"

b.

piak	kpauh	pi:	bej	piak
word	high	two	three	word
N	Adj.	Q	Q	CL

"two or three high register words"
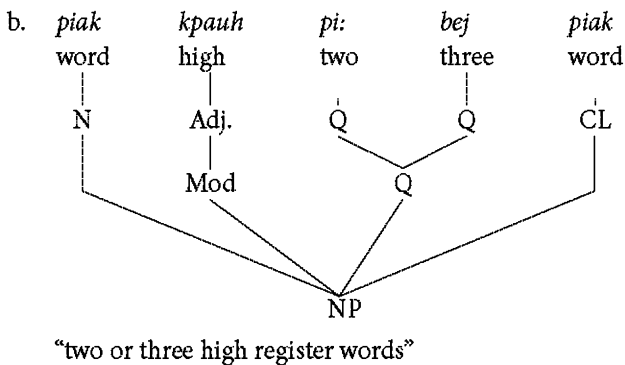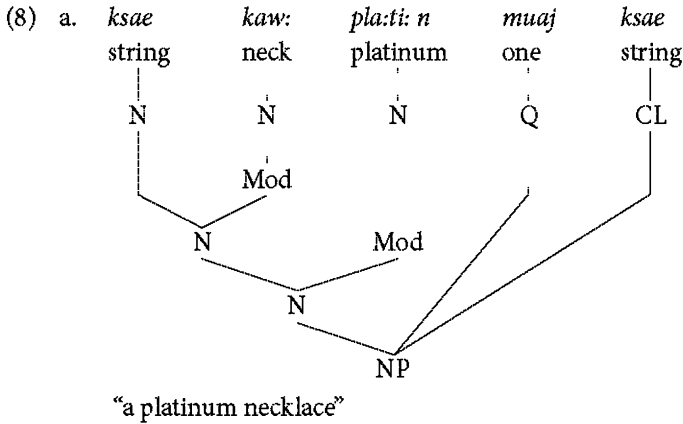
Rule (2) correctly predicts the existence of nominal clumps without head Nouns: that is, without elements which would be obligatory in a "conventional NP" generated by PS rule (1). Sometimes, there may be a reason to call such NP "headless" by deletion because the specificity of the classifier virtually pinpoints a missing head noun. This may be true in

(9) a.

(sawl	ciang)	[muaj	kantuj	thom]
remain	more.than	one	tail	big
		Q	N	Adj.

"there was still a big one (sc. fish) left over"
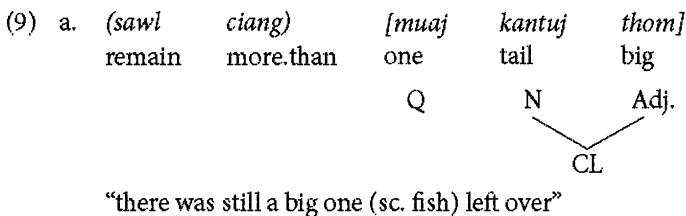
b.

preah	awng
god	monk
HON	CL

"venerable monk"

c.   *(tu:k muaj kaung) [pram awng]*
     boat one sit   five monk
                       Q   CL
     "(in one boat there sat) five venerable monks"

But usually, coming up with a "missing" head noun is more of an imaginative exercise than a recovery. Consider for example the perfectly well-formed NP

(10) a.   *[a: nih]*
           lowlife this
           HON   D
           "this jerk here"

      b.   *[teang   pratee:h]*
           whole   country

           PART

           Q   CL
           "the whole country"

      c.   *[teang saw:ng kha:ng]*
           all   both side
           PART   Q   CL
           "both sides"

Rule (2) also correctly predicts the possibility of zero nominal expression for the whole nominal clump. *Zero* is the overwhelmingly favored norm for first and second person subjects, and most objects:

(11) a.   *Tev na:?*
           go where
           "Where (are you) going?"

      b.   *awt tev na: tee:*
           not go where not
           "(I'm) not going anywhere."

      c.   *awt kheu:nj*
           not see
           "(I) didn't see (him)."

There is no reason to believe that an underlying NP has been zeroed, subject to recoverability: No more at any rate than there is reason to believe that a Nominal Clump lacking an honorific or a relative clause or a measure phrase or a deictic has to have one in

deep structure. It is likely that the null clumps of (11a, b, c) are generated by exercise of the zero option for each constituent in the clump, and that the sentences in which they appear are apprehended as complete rather than elliptical utterances. At any rate this is far more likely than that they are derived via the deletion of problematic chunks whose main claim to existence is Western habits of expression.

The most contentious claim made in (2) is that Measure Phrases like the quantifier "two" are not part of a full NP but entirely separate appositional constituents.

There are three arguments for thinking of MP in this way.

First: as recognized by Noss & Proum (1966: 358), Huffman et al. (1970: 268), Ehrman & Sos (1972: 20), and Headley & Neou (1991), the conventional NP described in rule (1) may be discontinuous: in particular, the two constituents NP and MP of even an apparently simple expression like (5b) may be separated by other material (underlined in the examples of (12) below) and even appear to occupy separate clauses:

(12) a. [*pliang*] <u>*coh*   *mau:k*</u> [*muaj mee: ja:ng thom*]
          rain   descend come one   CL   kind big
          NP   MP
          "the rain fell in sheets"

      b. [*sra:*] <u>*pheuk*</u> [*muaj ko:n   kaev*]
          wine drink one   small glass
          NP   MP
          "drink a small glass of wine"

      c. [*kmee:ng voat ko:l*] <u>*prahael cia kaeut cumngw: nih*</u> [*teang awh*]
          youth   temple PN likely   contract disease this all   exhaust
          NP   MP
          "the temple youths all likely contracted this disease"
          (NB Quantifier Float in English suggests the same interpretation.)

      d. *kluan thom haeuj mian* [*kba:l*] <u>*dawl   tev*</u> [*pi:*]
          body big   and   have   head   arrive to   two
                                    NP   MP
          "a big body, having heads to the tune of two"

      e. [*jeu:ng*] <u>*mian*</u> [*tae pi: neak*]
          we   have only two person
          NP   MP
          "there are only two of us"

      f. *lo:k   ba:n aoj* [*luj*] <u>*knjom*</u> [*ja:ng tec 5 rial*]
          monk PAST give money me   at least   5 riel
                          NP   MP
          "The monk gave me money (to the tune of)[1] at least 5 riels."

g. *knjom tenj* [*la:n*] *ba:n*   [*pi:*]
    I   buy NP   manage MP
    "I was able to buy two cars"   (Noss & Proum 1966: 358)

h. *aoj* [*sac ko:*] *knjom* [*makilo:*] *mau:k*
    give meat cow me   one-kilo DIR
        NP   MP
    "Give me one kilo of beef."   (ibid.)

i. *lo:k cuaj hav* [*siklo:*] *aoj knjom* [*muaj*] *ba:n   tee:*
    you help call cyclo for me   one   manage not
            N   MP
    "Can you get me a cyclo?"   (Headley & Neou)

j. [*kee:*] *sralanj via* [*teang awh   knia*]
    3   love   3   all   exhaust each.other
    NP   MP
    "They all love him."   (Gorgoniev 1966b: 246)

Second: Small NP and MP may occur independently of each other.

Measure phrases occur on their own in many expressions where no head can be imagined for them.

(13) a.   (*njam*) [*muaj c'aet*]
            (eat)   one   satisfaction (literally "satisfy")
        "(eat) one's fill"

   b. [*pi: daw:ng*]
       two time
       "twice"

   c. (*caol pne:k*) [*muaj krakee:k*]
       cast eye   one   glance
       "glance"

   d. *muaj rumpec*
       one   moment

   e. (*khoh   knia*)   [*craeun   praka:*]
       different each.other many   ways
                            Q   CL
       "(differ from each other in) many ways"

Third: NP and MP can cooccur in either order. Although the measure phrase typically follows the modified phrase, examples of the opposite order seem to be unexceptionable:

(14) a. *pi:*   *neak²*   *baw:ng*   *pò:n*   *nih*
          two   person   older.sibling   younger sibling   this
          Q   CL   N   N   D
                   MP   NP
          "the two brothers"

      b. *pi: duah   ba:j*
          two portion rice
          MP   NP
          "two portions of rice"

          cwt   kanlah   ko:n   baw: ksac
          close one.half small bag   sand
                 MP   NP
          "about half of a small bag of sand"

      d. *muaj ca:n   teuk*
          one   bowl water
          MP   NP
          "a bowl of water"

      e. *dawp kampong angkaw:*
          10   can   rice
          MP   NP
          "ten cans of (uncooked rice)"

      f. *kantec*   *piak muaj*
          small.portion   word   one
          MP   N   MP
          "one small portion of the word"

The last example, if interpreted correctly, is totally idiosyncratic. It should be *piak muaj kantec* (NP + MP which is also grammatical) or in conformity with the other examples in this heading *muaj kantec piak* (MP + NP, which again is grammatical). Instead, the MP itself is broken up into two parts and the relative ordering of those two parts – separated by the NP   is scrambled. There is nothing sacrosanct about the internal structure of even smaller units like MP. (Cf. footnote 1, where a case is described of the NP which is broken up by the MP.)

(14) g. *pi:*   *neak*   *nih*   *neak*   *aeng*
          two   CL   this   person   you
          Q   MU   D   N   D
          ‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿   ‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿
                   MP   NP

"the two of you"

In this example, a MP is followed by a deictic which is then followed by a NP consisting of a head noun and a pronoun which is possibly acting as a deictic on that noun, as in "we Khmer", cf. Postal 1970.

A possibly anecdotal but telling example of the Khmer penchant for "acting locally" with small constituents like NP and MP and D (or even bits of them) rather than "globally" with large constituents like the NP of rule (1) is provided by expressions of the time of day: 1:30, 2:08, etc. We may think of such expressions as units. This is never the case in Khmer. Hours are given as NP:

(15)   *maong   muaj*
       hour   one
       "the hour of one; one o'clock"
       (Recall that the opposite order *muaj maong* with the numeral first would be
       a measure phrase meaning "for one hour".)

But the minutes before and after the hour are given as Measure Phrases, thus 3:45 is

(16)   *maong*   *bej*   *saeseup*   *pram*   *niati:*
           hour   three   40   5   minute
           N   Mod.   Q   MU
           ‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿   ‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿‿
                  NP   MP
             "forty-five minutes past the hour of three"

That two numeral expressions within one conceptual unit are invariably treated as utterly distinct – the hour as a head noun in NP, the minutes as a quantifier in a separate measure phrase – may reflect a reluctance to see the big syntactic picture and a penchant for constructing discourse out of small syntactic units.

It is this penchant for local parsing which is more closely reflected in the phrase structure rule (2) although it finally begs the question what the status of the nominal clump really is. It is clear however that the distinction between phrases and clumps is one of relative fixity. In the same way that the constraints on relative order and obligatoriness of constituents in a word are greater than they are in a phrase, so too these constraints

are greater in a phrase than in a clause. These are familiar notions. In introducing the notion of clumps, I propose a unit midway between phrases and clauses with respect to the criterion of fixity. Schematically

> Word   >> phrase >> clump >> clause
> Most Fixed <--------------------------------> Most Free

We have seen that the relative order of NP and MP is not fixed within the NC. The relative order of the modifier of the NP and the MP is also more fluid than either (1) or (2) assert. While modifiers usually occur adjacent to the head noun, they may be extraposed (?) over the MP:

(17) a. *tmaw: buan ko:n*
         stone four small
         N   MP   Mod
         "four small stones/batteries"

   b. *(lec)*   *ratee:h muaj l̈aw: plaek*
         (appear) cart   one   good extraordinary
                   N   MP   Mod
         "there appeared an extraordinarily fine cart"

   c. *to:cakrajian*   *muaj*   *tua*   *proh* –   *muaj*   *tua*   *srej*
         bicycle   one   body   male   one   body   female
         | ＼／   ＼／ |
         N   MP   Modifier   MP   Modifier
         "one boys' bike and one girls' bike"

   d. *spian tmej muaj reung moam*
         bridge new   one   strong strong
         N   Mod   MP   Mod   Mod
         "a strong new bridge"

   e. *kamhoh*   *muaj*   *ja:ng*   *to:c*   *kdej*
         mistake   one   kind   small   matter

         N   MP   ＼／
                                             Mod
         "a minute mistake"
         (Compare the regular order

   f. *tae   kamhoh to:c   muaj*
         only mistake small one
         "even a small mistake"
         without the modifier-flagging word *ja:ng* a few lines later in the same text.)

g.   *samno:m*   *pau:*   *muaj*   *cambac*   *robauh*   *paurmian*
     wish   wish   one   necessary   of   newspaper

      N   MP   Mod   Mod
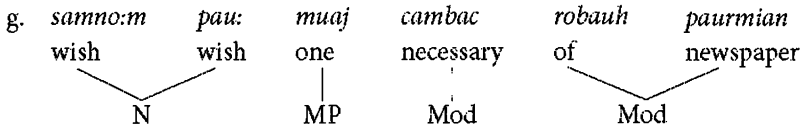
     "a necessary requirement of the newspaper"
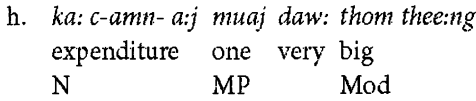
h.   *ka: c-amn- a:j muaj daw: thom thee:ng*
     expenditure   one   very big
     N   MP   Mod
     "an immense expenditure"

It is possible that the rule (2) should be relaxed to allow these alternative orders of Mod and MP, alternations which seem to play no semantic role. By the same argument that we used to justify the separation of NP and MP, we should then separate N from Mod, rather than grouping them together into a single fixed phrasal constituent NP. There are three observations, however, which weaken this argument. The first is that this extra-position, rather than being a general phenomenon, is usually over just one constituent, most often the maximally stripped MP *muaj*, or (rarely) some other numeral. (We will return to the possible theoretical significance of this restriction in the final section of this chapter.) The second is that when extraposition occurs, the rightward-moved Modifier tends to be preceded by an attributive-function-marking flag: the word *ja:ng*, as in (17e), or *daw:*, as in (17h). The third is that if movement is the criterion that defines a constituent, then the Mod as a whole is not one: sometimes only some modifiers from a clump of modifiers are moved, as witness (17d). These observations suggest the following analytical possibilities:

that rightward movement of Modifiers over MP is a marked case,
– that the clumpishness of small NP is less extreme than that of NP + MP, and that
– clumpishness extends even to the putative constituent Mod.

With less than total conviction, I propose that we retain a small NP constituent consisting of N and Mod as a unit.

We turn our attention next to the internal structure of each of the independent constituents of the nominal clump: the honorific, the NP, the MP, and the Deictic Phrase.

2.   Honorifics

The class of (dis)honorifics prototypically includes

– All kin terms used as terms of address
– *preah*   "god"
   lo:k   "monk"
– *neak*   "person"
– *a:-*   "that one"
– *mi:*   "bitch"

The term honorific is used to categorize all clump-initial words which index the social status of the referent[3]. All honorifics with the possible exception of the bound dishonorific *a:-* are nouns capable of acting as independent words. With few exceptions, honorifics   alone among the constituents of the nominal clump   are single words that do not occur in construction with other words in a larger "honorific phrase"[4].

2.1   The male dishonorific prefix *a:-*

This morpheme is homophonous with, and may be identical to, both a noun meaning "spirit" (spelled the same way) and a rarely used personal pronoun meaning "you" (spelled differently). It is used without pejorative intent as a prenominal prefix in addressing or referring to livestock like dogs, work oxen and buffaloes. Prefixed to common and proper names of people, it can be translated as "wretch", "bastard", or "lowlife", or left untranslated in explicit taunts (as in 18c, e):

(18) a.   *a:-   Cej aeng cawng praeu anj phaw:ng rw:?*
            HON C. you want use   me also   or
            "Hey, Cej, you lowlife, you want to boss me around?"

      b.   *Praha: civeut a:-   neak   kraw: nih*
            kill   life   HON person poor this
            "Kill this miserable wretch."

      c.   *a:-   mae   cacaw:k*
            HON bitch wolf
            "You wolf bitch!"

      d.   *a:-   sat   nwng thom ponma:n?*
            HON animal this   big   how.much
            "How big is this wretched animal?"

      e.   *aeng muk cia tev cia   k'aek: a: k'aek! a: k'aek!*
            you   certainly turn into crow HON crow HON crow
            "You will turn into a crow. Crow! Crow!"

    f.   *a:-*   *aeng*
        HON you
        "you lowdown contemptible so and so"

    g. *Mwn do:c a:-* *Cao prathian phu:m Thawl nev srok*   *Dambae nuh tee:*
        not like HON C.   president village T.   be.at commune D.   that not
        "unlike that bastard C. the president of the village of T. in the commune of D."

    h. *a:-* *ckae kaw: mwn trev knia*   *dae*
        HON dog too   not hit each.other also
        "The dogs did not get along well together, either."

The dishonorific *a:-* is recognized to be formally identical with the identity of sense pronoun "one", the discussion of which will be deferred until the next chapter. But there is one construction where it is uncertain whether *a:-* is functioning as a pejorative or as an anaphor, and that is the pronoun *a:na:* "anyone, who the hell", which can be parsed as *a:-* "HON" + *na:* "which, any":

(19) a. *a:na:*   *hian taw:*   *moat nwng via*
        anyone dare continue mouth with 3
        "There was nobody who dared to stand up to him."
        "Who the hell dared stand up to him?"

    b. *kraom ceu:ng a:na: dee:k luak*
        beneath feet   who lie   sleep.soundly
        "(did his business) at the feet of whoever the hell was sound asleep"

    c. *a: na: troam ba:n   tang pi: praleum raho:t lo:k chan ba:j ruac*
        HON which endure succeed since   dawn   till   monk eat rice finish
        "Who the hell can stand to wait around all day since dawn, until after the monks
        have eaten?"

In all of these cases, it seems that there are overtones of disrespect directed against the referent, probably overtranslated and even mistranslated as "who the hell".

    The much less frequently occurring female dishonorific *mi:* is homophonous with the noun meaning "bitch", female dog (see the folktale of A:le:v) and it also occurs in the oldfashioned pejorative symmetrical compound

(20) *mi: nom mi: niang*
      HON   HON female
      "entire female retinue, female camp followers (of a warlord)"

Prefixed to the fictive kin term *o:n* "dear, darling, beloved female, wife", as a term of reference it means something like "your broad, your old lady"

2.2   *preah* "god"

This occurs before the names of the Buddha *put* and Buddhism *puthasasna:*, royalty, monks, temples and holy objects, and deified natural objects such as *phi'run* "rain", *thaurni:* "the earth", *ateut/ so'ri'ja:* "the sun", and *can* "the moon". Among other celestial objects, only one planet *angkia* "Mars" is ever styled with this honorific, and even this is controversial.

(21) a. *knjom   preah ka'runa:*   "I (self-abasing, used when talking to king)"
         servant lord   merciful

   b. *preah teang pi: preah awng*   "both kings"
       HON all   two HON CL

   c. *preah sawng*   "monk"
       HON   CL

   d. *preah ti: neang*   "royal vehicle"
   e. *preah tee:c preah kun*   "you (to monk)" < *preah tee:c kun*

Note the presence of coordination inflation (an operation which converts ABC where B and C are coordinate to ABAC, see Chapter 4) in both (b) and (e), a fact suggesting that this is a structure associated with pomp and ceremony rather than a colloquial tone.

   As is suggested in (21d), the honorific may also occur with objects that are closely associated with gods and kings, such as their body parts (*preah hawh* "the royal hand"), their speech (*preah bantu:l robawh sdac tee:pda:* "the speech/command of the divine king"), objects they bestow (*preah amna:oj* "the royal gift") or objects of religious cult (*preah nangkol* "the holy plow").

   The honorific may also be applied ironically to things that are falsely worshipped (*preah aju'* "the false god of survival/long life", in pursuit of which people engage in acts of cowardice), and actions undertaken in pursuit of one's personal comfort. A hospital patient speaks with self-deprecating humor of trying in vain to find a side to lie on:

(21) f. *preah tev kha:ng nih mwn sok*
         god   go side this not comfortable
         "turning now to this side [and now that one], in vain"

(Note how the honorific here seems to attract a VERB into its orbit, turning it as it were into an "honorary noun". When a word makes another word "shape up" in this way, it is called an anchor. We will encounter more examples of this phenomenon later in this chapter in our survey of quantifiers.)

2.3   *Lo:k* "monk" (> Mr., sir)

This honorific, almost certainly cognate with Pali *loka* "the world", is used to address elders, parents, and male teachers (male teachers are *lo:k kru:*, female teachers are *neak kru:*). The conjunction *lo:k neak* means "all of you, male and female, ladies and gentlemen, elders and juniors", *lo:k srej* means "madame", and the symmetrical combination

(22)   lo:k lo:k srej   ciati: mee:trej
      sir   madame   beloved   beloved

means "ladies and gentlemen" in more formal contexts.

Like *preah, lo:k* may be used ironically, in somewhat the same way as English "mssrs.", or "the worthy": *lo:k tnam nuh,* roughly "mssrs. medications those" refers to medicines that are not doing much good for the speaker's health.

2.4   *neak*

As suggested by the contrast between male and female teachers, *neak* "person" connotes far less respect for rank than does *lo:k*. It is the default word for "you" used with equals and juniors. It is also used to address one's mother in taboo avoidance of the kin term *mda:j*, the avoidance being prompted by the belief that direct address causes bad luck. It still is an honorific, however, as can be seen from the pair of expressions in (23).

(23)   a.   *neak aeng*
          HON you

     b.   *aeng*
         you

The first "you" is acceptable as a term of address, while the bare form *aeng* is not, except among very close intimates.

In the lexicalized phrase for "gangster" there is not much resemblance to the original meaning of either word.

(24)   *neak   lee:ng*
      person   play
      "a player"

2.5   Kin terms

There are very few kin terms (among them *prapun* "wife" and *pdej* "husband") that can not be used as terms of address or of self-reference, but the most commonly occurring ones are *baw:ng* "older (male) sibling" and *o:n* (< *po:n* younger (female) sibling) "dear, darling" for couples, whether married or in love songs. *Baw: ng* "elder sibling" also did duty as "comrade" during the Khmer Rouge years. A list of commonly used kin terms that can act as honorifics follows.

po:n	"younger sibling"
kmuaj	"nephew, niece"
ta:	"grandfather"
jiaj, cido:n	"grandmother"
mia	"uncle younger than either parent"
pu:	"an even younger uncle"
om	"uncle/aunt older than either parent""
mi:ng	"aunt younger than either parent"

And there are hordes of non-kin based relationship and status terms such as

knia	"companion"
meut~mwt	"friend, comrade"
niang	"young female person"

3.   Modification and the structure of the putative NP

Modification, as already noted, is recursive:

(25)   NP → NP (Mod),

and virtually anything can modify a head noun. It is because of rule (25) that one can argue for the reality of a constituent "smallNP" at all.

Among the most common modifiers are verbs/adjectives, but other NP, prepositional phrases, and clauses can also serve. Modifiers may be preceded by optional "flags" which signal more than simply that they modify the head Noun, but which are more likely to occur if the modifier, for any reason, is displaced from immediate post-nominal position. Thus flags can be thought of as "compensatory diacritics"   modifications which rectify distortions and defects in what would otherwise be a self-explanatory morphosyntactic diagram (Haiman 1985: 60-67).

3.1   Possessive modification

NP1   (*robawh/nej*)   NP2
NP1   of   NP2

is the standard means of indicating possession (as well as most of the other meanings of this structure in English), with both prepositions being optional. The first is by far the more common, and curiously, I have encountered no case of a decorative conjunction of the two.

(26) a. *civeut pracia-palraut kampucia*
          life   citizen-citizen Cambodia
          "the lives of the citizens of Cambodia"

      b. *civeut robawh knjom*
          life   of   me
          "my life"

When the possessive is extraposed to the right of the MP and DP, it must occur with the possessive-marking flag *robawh* (cf. Ehrman & Sos 1972:19):

(26) c. *kmavdaj pi: nih robawh knjom*
          pencil two this of   me
          "my two pencils"

3.2   Nominal compounds of the form NN

The modifier follows in each of the cases below. Note that although in English "of" is often possible between the first and second N, this is not always the case in Khmer.

(27) a. *ku:t khao*
          butt pants
          "the seat of one's pants"

      b. *kantuj ba:rej   kanjcap*
          tail   cigarette package
          "the butts of cigarettes that come in packages (i.e. factory made cigarettes)"

          ciat   kmae
          nation Khmer

      d. *spian   daek*
          bridge iron

      e. *ko:n kmae*
          child Khmer
          "Khmer child(ren)"

   f.   *lbaeng psaw:ng samna:ng*
        game   fortune fortune
        "games of chance"

3.3   Adjectival/verbal modification

(28) a.   *khao klej*
           pants short

      b.   *teukmuk njanjeum njanjaem*
           mood   cheerful
           "cheerful mood"

           tivia nea'kha'ta'reuk
           day   glorious
           "glorious day"

      d.   *cej   maungkol m(o)ha:*
           victory great   great
           "great victory"

((c) and (d) are NP which consists exclusively of Pali words but exhibit Khmer syntax,
that is, have Khmer Head + Modifier order)

(28) e.   *kro:h   akrawk*
           emergency evil
           "catastrophe"

      f.   *teuk kmav*
           water black

      g.   *nialika: kanjcah*
           watch   decrepit old

3.3.1   Modification via derived adjectives
Some structures are flagged to mark them as modifiers, although this is often syntacti-
cally redundant. Among the flags which identify modifiers are

   ti: "place" (which makes ordinal numerals out of numbers, and is obligatory)
   kha:ng "side"   (which makes "pertaining to…" modifiers out of NP)
   ja:ng   "kind"   (which is totally redundant and makes adjectives out of adjectives)
   daw: (unglossed, which is like *ja:ng* but can often be translated as "very")[5]

3.3.1.1 *kha:ng*

(29) a. *ka: plah   pdo: kha:ng see:thakec*
      NOM change change side   economy
      "economic changes"

    b. *vau'tho' kha:ng preah Put   sasna:*
      object side   HON Buddha religion
      "Buddhist religious objects"

    c. *pi:thi: kha:ng sasna:*
      ceremony side   religion
      "religious rite"

    d. *aphivoat   kha:ng seulpah*
      development side   art
      "artistic development"

    e. *tumneak   tumnau:ng kha:ng pia'ni'cakam*
      connection connection side   commerce
      "commercial relations"

    f. *neak   cumnianj kha:ng maunti: pisaot*
      person expert   side   office   experiment
      "laboratory technician"

3.3.1.2 *ja:ng* "kind". The original meaning of this Austronesian borrowing is apparent in

(30) *mian a'thi'paul ja:ng na: dae*
     have influence kind which also
     "What kind of influence did it have, then?"

Its statistically most preeminent function is to introduce adverbial clauses of manner:

(31) a. *Ko:n srej   knjom lw: tae ta: Mawn aoj ckae*
      child female my   hear only elder M.   give dog
      stuh mau:k tatual pi: koat ja:ng pranjap
      dart come receive from him kind quick
      "My daughter, hearing that he was giving her a dog, darted forth <u>quickly</u>
       to accept him"

    b. *Srok   dael   bangheun banghaoc ja:ng damnawm*
      country which decline   diminish kind severe
      "a country which was declining <u>severely</u>"

      Jeu:ng trev ka: priap   thiap   nih ja:ng prajat prajaeng
      we   must make compare compare this kind careful --
      "We must make these comparisons <u>carefully</u>"

On NP, it seems redundant:

(32) a. *Mian pratejkam (ja:ng) chap rahah*
          exist reaction kind   swift quick
          "There was a <u>speedy</u> reaction"

      b. *plah   pdo: ja:ng do:c mdec*
          change change kind   like how
          "<u>what kind</u> of changes"

      c. *ko:rau:p (ja:ng) crial crev bamphot*
          respect kind   deep deep extreme
          "<u>very deep</u> respect"

      d. *ka: kaeun laeung (ja:ng) ceak cbah*
          NOM grow prosper kind   clear clear
          "<u>clear</u> growth and prosperity"

There is a tendency for *ja:ng* to appear more often when the modifier has been extra-
posed to the right, over the MP:

(33) *krada:h prak pram rau:j   rial bej   sanleuk ja:ng tmej srala:ng*
       paper   money five hundred rial three sheet   kind new brand-new
                          Q   CL Q   CL   Mod
       "three <u>brand new</u> five hundred rial notes"

It is for this reason that we may think of it as a compensatory diacritic.

3.3.1.3 *daw:* "very (?)". This rather bookish particle flags and mildly intensifies modifiers.

(34) a. *samlee:ng tngo: daw: turaun turia nej neak   cumngw:*
          voice   complain very querulous of person sickness
          "the very querulous complaining voice of a patient"

      b. *vial srae   daw: lveung lveu:j*
          field paddy   very vast
          "vast expansive fields and paddies"

      c. *sno: maong tradaok daw: so: sa:n*
          sound clapper cowbell very   peaceful
          "the peaceful sound of cowbells"

      d. *aha: daw: leu:h   lup*
          food very transgress steal
          "this most criminal food"
          (refers to an infant that had been swallowed by a great fish)

3.3.1.4 *Ti:* "place"

  (35) *civeut ti: pi:*
           life   place two
           "second life"

3.4   The expression of plurality for count nouns

Khmer lacks inflections, and we have already seen in Chapter 3 that there exist a couple of suffixes -*(psee:ng)*2 and -*(nia)*2 which express plurality as well as variety. Other means for expressing plurality and nothing else besides this belong squarely in the syntax.

3.4.1 Reduplication

A NC consisting of (N) (Adjective) (Q) can be pluralized by reduplication of the rightmost element – that is, of the adjectival modifier or quantifier if there is one, but of the noun itself if there is not.

  (36) a. *ko:n (to:c)2*
             child (small)2
             "small children"

        b. *(nev sawl tae) (srej)2   nwng (cah)2*
             (remain only) (female)2 and   (old)2
             "there remained only women [a noun is reduplicated] and old people
             [an adjective is reduplicated]"

             (avej)2
             (what)2
             "anything at all" (an indefinite deictic is reduplicated)

        d. *sasaw: (pon)2 kaw: ceu:ng*
             post   (size)2 joint leg
             "posts thick as one's ankle" [a quantifier is reduplicated]

        e. *do:c moan   kee: datej (aetiat)2*
             like chicken 3   other (other)2
             "like other people's chickens"

3.4.2 Grammaticalization of the head noun *puak* "group"

The head noun *puak* can still be translated as "group" in many cases (e.g. *puak jeu:ng* "group of us") but it occurs with suspicious frequency and is getting watered down semantically, so that it no longer signifies the "united plurality" of a group. It is coming to be an optional and in some cases redundant marker of nothing more than generic plurality. It seems that this watered down translation is preferable in the following examples:

(37) a.   *puak   neak   Pnom Penj dael tveu: damnaeu tev twh   kha:ng ceu:ng*
           group person PP   who make trip   go direction side   north
           "people from Phnom Penh who travelled north"

      b.   *camnaek puak tmej dael nev phu:m Tnawl*
           as.for   group new who be.at village T.
           "as for the new people who remained in the village of T."

      c.   *puak a:- 'puk mae' nih*
           group HON dad mom this
           "these low-down 'mom and dad' bastards"
           [sc. who ingratiatingly addressed the villagers as 'mom' and 'dad']

      d.   *knjom cumriap sua puak koat ta:m lumdap lumdaoj*
           I   greet   group 3   follow gradual gradual
           "I greeted them one by one, gradually"

      e.   *puak via ha:m pra:m neak srok mwn aoj   kawp kmaoc nuh tee:*
           group 3   forbid prohibit person village not   so.that bury corpse that not
           "they had forbidden the villagers to bury those corpses"

      f.   *puak awh   nih sot tae cia puak kmae krahaw:m*
           group exhaust this exclusive be group Khmer Rouge
           "all of them were Khmer Rouge"

Further evidence for the semantic erosion of *puak* is provided by translations from the
French, where the word renders what in the French original is merely a plural:

(37) g.   *puak neak   kvial krabej*
           group person herd buffalo
           "les gardeurs de buffles"   (Cut Khaj 2009: 46)

Finally, *puak* may drop from the expression *puak awh* "the whole group" (as in (37f)),
leaving *awh* (basically a verb meaning "exhaust, use up", which normally functions as a
partitive universal quantifier "all") alone as a pluralizing prefix:

(38) a.   *awh lo:k neak   a:n*
           PLU HON HON/AGT read
           "you all (my dear) readers"
           (Note that in this phrase *neak* "you" is serving both as a conjunct of *lo:k*, so *lo:k neak*
           means "you gentlemen and ladies", and as the agent "prefix" in *neak a:n* "person
           who reads". The fact that *neak* is still syntactically conjoinable with another word
           lo:k in this construction is evidence against its having become grammaticalized or
           eroded to the status of an agent prefix.)

      b.   *ciang   awh trej teang puang*
           exceed PLU fish all   all
           "more than all other fish"

3.4.3 The use of the partitive *klah* "some"

In indefinites/interrogatives, count nouns can be pluralized by the addition of the word *klah* "some".

(39) a.   *Taeu neak   na: klah dael a:c baw'reca:k chiam ba:n?*
          Q par person which some who can donate   blood manage
          "Who all is it who can donate blood?"

   b.   *Baeu mian robawh ej   klah, kaw: aeng trev jau:k tev ta:m*
        if   have stuff   what any   so   you   must take go follow
        "Whatever things you have you must take along."

3.5   Sentential modification by relative clauses

All relative clauses may be introduced by an optional relative pronoun *dael* "which" which may either replace or (less frequently) accompany the relativized NP within the relative clause. The relativized NP may assume any syntactic role. Any prepositions that may mark this role are simply swallowed up (cf. *the place I'm going*).

(40) a.   *baw:n [pralaj puac sa:h]*
          regime kill   seed race
          "genocidal regime" (This could also be "the regime is genocidal")

   b.   *nialika:[[?sc. mian] ksae coa]*
        watch   have   strap rubber
        "watch with a rubber wristband"

        tngaj [rumdawh kro:h]
        day escape   disaster/emergency
        "the day we escaped from disaster"

   d.   *kro:h   [pul   camnej aha:]*
        emergency poison food   food
        "an emergency in which something has poisoned one's food"

   e.   *cmo:h [dael koat dak   aoj knjom proh   knjom cuak   ksia muaj ja:ng thom]*
        name which 3   place give me   because I   smoke pipe one kind big
        "a name he had given me because I smoked a large pipe"

   f.   *..dael tveu: ampi: rwh rwsej*
        which make out.of root bamboo
        "which was made of bamboo"

g. *Tveu: ka: tumneak tumnau:ng nev pee:l* [*dael latphawl tveu: test teang ponma:n*]
do NOM connection connection at time which result do test all so.many
"get in touch when (= at the time which) results of any tests"
kha:ng leu: mwn thomda:
side above not normal
"[sc. named] above are abnormal"
(= Please leave your contact information [on the registration form so that the
hospital can] advise you of any abnormal results.)

h. *Lo:k neak trev bampenj nev leu: tumraung baep baw:t nej ka: coh cmo:h*
you you must fill be.at on form kind form of NOM descend name
"You must fill out a form where you write your name"
cia neak baw're'ca:k chiam [*dael mian pcoap cia muaj*
as person donate blood which have join together
nev samnua muaj camnuan]
OBJ question one quantity
"as a blood donor which includes a number of questions"
[*dael teak tau:ng nwng sokhaphiap robawh neak*]
which connect connect with health of you
"which are connected with your health."

i. *Nev pee:l knjom tev pdawl chiam nev maunti:pet koma:*
at time I go provide blood at hospital child
Angkor taeu mian tumraung
Angkor Q par have form
"When I go to give blood at Angkor children's hospital, are there formalities"
ka: avej klah dael trev ba:n[6] tveu: mau:k leu: ru:p knjom?
thing which some which must get do come on image my
"which I must undergo?"

Note that (i) contains two relative clauses. The first, on *pee:l* "time" is a "when" clause
with no marking, while the second on the NP *tumraung ka: avej klah* "any formalities",
is marked with *dael.*

(40) j. *A:nji: dael knjom awt caw:ng via tee:*
A. whom I not tie.up 3 not
"[the buffalo] A. whom I had not tied her up"
(the object relative pronoun cooccurs with an object NP *via*)

k. *PN dael koat cawng denj puak jeu:ng cenj pi: cungruk srev*
PN who 3 want drive group us exit from granary rice
"PN who he wanted to drive us from his rice granary"
(the subject relative pronoun in this non-restrictive relative clause cooccurs with
a subject NP personal pronoun *koat*)

l.   *dael kee: teang pi: rau:k si:*
who 3   all   two seek eat
"who both worked for a living as.."
(the subject relative pronoun here cooccurs with the subject NP personal
pronoun *kee:*)

m.   *seckdej damrev dael knong nuh mian coh   seckdej damrev ja:ng cbah loah*
NOM   correct which in   that have down NOM   correct kind clear very
"corrections in which there is a very explicit and clear correction"
(the oblique object relative pronoun cooccurs with the object NP *nuh* "that",
which follows its governing preposition)

3.6   Combinations

The examples of (41) illustrate some of the possibilities of multiple modification of a
single head noun.

(41) a.   *baw:n pralaj puac sah Pol Paw:t*
regime kill   seed race Pol Pot
"the genocidal Pol Pot regime"

b.   *civeut ti: pi: robawh knjom*
life   place two of   me
"my second life"

c.   *kho: khev pracam tngaj knong kruasa:*
violent   every day in   family
"everyday domestic violence"

3.7   Pali syntax: Modifier + Head constructions

The fundamental principle of NP word order in PS rule (3) is that all modifiers follow
their heads. There is one irregular exception to this principle, the use of *ko:n* "child" as
a prenominal modifier meaning "little, young" illustrated by examples like *ko:n krabej*
"young buffalo". Another set of exceptions is provided by NP usually consisting entirely
of Pali words, which observe Modifier + Head order.

(42) a.   *m(o)ha: meut*
great   comrade

b.   *anakot civeut*
future   life

c. *viceut seulpa'*
fine   art

d. *eun   tumniaj*
Indra prophecy
"prophecy of Indra"

e. *teuːpa'   cak*
omniscient eye

f. *sukea   te'   phawːp*
paradise place place
"paradise"

g. *cbah   phiasaː*
clear   language

h. *o'to'ni'jauːm   vitjia*
weather   science
"meteorology"

i. *loːk   ka'paːl* (< *loka paala*)
world guardian
"guardian of the world"

j. *sa'manj   caun*
ordinary people

k. *sathiarnaː kaː*
public   work(s)

l. *a'phiːreak   tia'niakia*
savings   bank

m. *kriam   phiasaː*
dialect language
"local dialect"

n. *teeːh   phiasaː*
place language
"minority language"

It is notable that in this Pali word order, exactly as in English, quantifiers precede modifiers:

(43) *panjca peu'ta' kaljianej*
five   beauty girl
"girl with five beauties" / "five beautiful girls"

4.   Internal structure of the measure phrase

The basic rule for Measure Phrases is

(44)   MP → (Q) (MU)

With Q being typically a numeral and the MU being typically a classifier. If we look at each of these constituents a little more carefully, we will observe some more structure than this.

4.1   The quantifier

The Q is observed to actually be a clump having some internal structure:

(45)   QC → (Approximative) (Partitive) (Q)

By "approximative" I mean a number of expressions like *prahael* "about":

(46)   a.   [*prahael*   *dawp pram*] *niati:*
             approximately fifteen   minutes

         b.   [*treum pi:*] *tngaj*
               just   two days

         c.   *tnam*   *ac*   *tunsa:j* [*cwt muaj*] *tu:k* *daj*
               medicine scut rabbit   close one   boat hand
               "close to a handful of 'rabbit scut' medicine"
               (local medicine made into the form of rabbit pellets)

         d.   … [*ponnoh mee:*   *daj*   *mee:*   *ceu:ng*]
               so much main(digit of) hand main(digit of) foot
               "approximately the thickness of a thumb or a big toe"

By "partitive" I mean a grab-bag of expressions including but not limited to the so-called universal and existential quantifiers, which cooccur with the true quantifiers and either perform or characterize an act of selection from among them. The restrictive and partitive expressions *tae* and *sot* "only", and *teang, awh, saw:p, krup* "all", *roal* "every", *ciang* "more than", and *so:mbej* "even" belong in this group and precede the numeral quantifiers that they partition:

(47)   a.   *ba:j*[*sot*   *muaj*] *pee:l*
             rice   only   one   time
             "only one meal (time) of rice"

         b.   *trej* *ngiat* [*awh buan*] *camriat*
               fish dry   all   four   slice
               "all four slices of dried fish"

    c.   [*prahael   ciang muaj*]   *ateut*
       approximately more than one week
       "for maybe a week or more"

    d.   [*roal   muaj*] *civeut*
       every one   life
       "a whole lifetime"

    e.   [*roal*] *tungveu: robawh neak*
       every action of   you
       "every (one) of your actions"

    f.   [*roal*] *camno:l nwng camna:j*
       every income and outlay
       "all your income and expenditures"

The modifiers *tiat* "additional, more, other", *ponno:h* "that much", and *kawt~kut* "only", although they are notionally part of the quantifier phrase, follow the measure unit, as in:

(48) a.   [*prahael muaj*] *ateut* [*tiat*]
          about   one   week more

     b. *angkaw: tae muaj bampaung*[*ponno:h*]
       rice   only one can   that.much
       "only one can of (uncooked) rice"

4.1.1 The partitive quantifier *klah* "some"

This word behaves almost exactly like its translation. It is mutually exclusive with any numeral, hence seems to belong in the same paradigm as the count quantifiers. On the other hand, it is semantically a partitive expression which is mutually exclusive with the universal quantifiers *teang, krup* "all" and the partitives *phiak* "part", *phiak craeun* "majority". It can occur as a full Nominal Clump, in expressions like

(49) a. *klah dee:k kraom ratee:h, klah knong angreung*
       some lie   beneath carts some in   hammock
       "some lay down beneath the carts, some in hammocks"

Alternatively, it can occur as a post-nominal Measure Phrase as in

(49) b. *kanlaeng klah aksaw: ralup   steu: awh*
       place   some letter wear.away almost exhaust
       "in some places the letters are worn away entirely"

As noted above (Examples (39)) it serves as a pluralizer with interrogative/indefinite NP. But it is not necessarily a count partitive:

(49) c. *luj   klah*
       money some

4.2   The measure unit

This phrase includes what are traditionally called classifiers: *neak* for most people, *awng* for monks, images of the Buddha, and royalty, *knaw:ng* "back" for houses, *kba:l* "head" for most animals and books, and so on. But it is more general than that.

It includes anything that may function as a unit or "natural" classifier of the referent.

"a <u>grain</u> of rice",
"a <u>drop</u> of water".

It may refer to natural agglomerations of naturally occurring objects:

"a <u>flock</u> of gulls",
"a <u>herd</u> of water buffalo".

It also includes descriptions of magnitude or quantity:

"a diamond <u>the size of the Ritz</u>",
"<u>a handful of</u> dust".

It may also include a variety of artifact names which often correspond to containers, or forms that containers or other instruments may produce:

"an <u>ingot</u> (of gold)",
"a <u>bucket</u> (of water)",
"a <u>pat</u> (of butter)".

Or conventional collocations or agglomerations of such artefacts:

"a <u>suit</u> (of clothes)",
"a <u>suite</u> (of furniture)"

It may include partitive expressions:

"<u>most</u> of the children",
"<u>half</u> of the voters",
"<u>all</u> of my children".

It is also possible in Khmer as in English, to have two MP together, as in

(50) a. *Kranat saw:* [*pram ha'theno:h*] [*bej dom*]
           cloth   white   5   cubit   3   piece
                          (measure of extent) (measure of number)
           "three pieces of white cloth of five cubits each"

      b. *krada:h prak*   [*pram rau:j   rial*] [*bej sanleuk*]
           paper   money   five   hundred rial   three sheet
                          (measure of value)   (measure of number)
           "three five hundred rial notes

Measure phrases in English may be unmarked, or explicitly signaled by derivational affixes such as *-ful, -sworth*. In Khmer they are mostly signaled by appearing after Q expressions. That is: Almost any noun can be made to function as a measure unit if preceded by a Quantifier. Herewith, some remarkable examples.

The noun *ceu:ng* "leg, foot" generally is not a "classifier" in the narrow sense (the way "head" is for pigs, or "tail" is for fish), nor in any of the broader senses exemplified above. It occurs as a head noun in conventional nominal clumps like

(51) a.   *ceu:ng ve:ng pi:*
           leg   long two
           "two long legs".

But in a sentence like

(51) b.   *koat theak knjom nwng A:maen* [*bej   buan ceu:ng*]
           3   kick   me   and   A.   three four leg
           "He gave me and A. three or four kicks."

It is clear that "leg" is functioning as a measure unit, possibly of the unexpressed noun "kicks".

Another body part which is not generally thought of as a measure unit is the knee. But observe the use to which it is put in

(52) *(lo:t bok)*   [*muaj cangkau:ng*] *(pi: kraoj   cawm cangkeh)*
       (jump smash) one   knee   (from behind direct waist)
       "smash into (me) from behind (with) a knee into (my) waist"

Again, as in (51b), a body part is possibly functioning as a unit of measurement, but it is difficult to imagine what is being measured. It could be "physical aggression" as in "he gave me a knee's worth (of aggression?)", but it may be beside the point to try and provide such a word: simply, "he gave me a knee's worth".

In the same way, an oxcart path is not a measure phrase, but it can be made to serve as one by occurring after a numeral quantifier:

(53) *(kliat)*   [*tae muaj plav ratee:h*] *(pi: krom psee:ng tiat)*
       (separate) only one   path cart   (from group various more)
       "separated only by [sc. the width of??] an oxcart path from the other groups"

Similar surprising polyfunctionality characterizes a number of other nouns, to the point where it is difficult to see how to predict a priori what nouns can serve as measure units.

(54) a.   *viaj* [*muaj kvap*]
           beat one   blow.of.stick
           "hit him with a stick once"

  b. *teah [muaj kamliang]*
   slap one slap.on.cheek
   "slapped him on the cheek once"

  c. *[tae muaj paprec pne:k ponno:h]*
   only one blink eye that.much
   "in the blink of an eye"

In the following expression it is also clear that the operative rule of thumb is that Q + NP is a measure phrase, but note that the Q is discontinuous, appearing as Q +NP + Q:

 (55) … *(haeuj ba:n)* *[muaj ngia pi:] (ruac srac)*
    and manage one task two (finish already)
    "and manage to finish one or two tasks [sc. worth of work?] already"

Examples such as those of (51)–(55) introduce one of the recurrent features of Khmer syntax, the polyfunctionality of many words. Words like *ceu:ng* "leg", *cangkau:ng* "knee", *kamliang* "slap on face" are basically nouns, and words like *c'aet* "be sated" are basically verbs. Yet they can be recruited to serve as measure units if they directly follow Q expressions. Q expressions, for their part, do not exhibit such polyfunctionality. "Once a quantifier, always a quantifier" Words like quantifiers, which assign functions to other words and do not change their nature will be termed anchors.

5. The deictic phrase

One reliable signal that a nominal clump has come to an end is the presence of a deictic like

  nih "this, these", *nuh* "that, those", *nwng* "the (colloquial)"

There is good evidence, from correlative constructions, that the definite deictics correspond to indefinite/interrogative expressions. Where the initial clause of such a construction has an indefinite pronoun, the final clause has the corresponding definite:

 (56) a. *Mian pon-ma:n ca:j pon- no:h*
    have much how spend much that
    "What I have, I spend"

  b. *Neak na: ceh leak ka:, neak nuh rauh*
    person which know hide matter person that live
    "Whoever can hide his personal affairs, that person will survive."

  c. *jup trawng na: dee:k trawng nwng*
    night direct where lie.sleep direct that
    "Wherever you are when night falls, that's where you'll sleep."
    (A Khmer Rouge proverb: don't waste time commuting.)

This justifies presenting them as corresponding elements in two parallel paradigms:

	Definite	Indefinite			
This	nih	na:	which	(av)ej	what
That	nuh	na:		(av)ej	
The (coll.)	nwng	na:		(av)ej	
Here	neh	(ae) na:	where		
There	no:h	(ae)na:			
Thus	ceung	mdec	how		
	i ceung				
	anjceung				
This much	pon no:h	pon ma:n	how much		
	pon nwng				
	ae nwng				
	mleung	mleh	how much		

Although they are matched, they may occur in different slots within the NC, the indefinite interrogatives before the MP *mneak*, the definite after:

(57) a. *nau: na: mneak   tiat*
person which one.person more
"anyone else"

b. *burawh mneak   nuh*
fellow   one.person that
"that one fellow"

In general, however, both indefinite and definite deictics follow the MP, witness:

(57) b. *Ko:n aeng sralanj trej muaj na: ciang   kee:?*
child you like   fish one   which exceed 3
"Which fish do you like best, kid?"

In colloquial speech, both definite and indefinite deictics may be followed by another "shadow" deictic which apparently adds nothing to the meaning of the whole expression. Following definites, the only shadow deictic I have heard is *aeng* "self", while following indefinite/interrogative deictics, *kee:* "third person indefinite", *ponma:n* "any, how many" and *nwng* "the" are all attested:

(58) a. *Via haek krada:h cuak   [i ceung aeng]*
3   tear paper   smoke thus   self
"they tear cigarette paper like that"

b. *Meut   aeng noam knia tev ae [na: nwng] ?*
friend you together   go at which the
"Where are you folks going?"

c. *Nau: [na: ej] ceh jau:k banla: mau:k poat i ceung?*
person which what know bring thorn come surround thus
"Who could have brought thorns and laid them around the granary like that?"

d. *Tveu: [ej kee] ?*
do what 3
"What have you been doing?"

e. *Phu:m kamnaeut robawh knjom nev Suang [nih aeng].*
village birth of me be.at S. this self
"The village of my birth is still this village of Suang."

f. *Pee:l tev mwn cia [avej ponma:n]*
time go not be something how much
"Getting there took no time at all."

g. *(rwang nwng cawp treum) seckdej slap [nih aeng]*
story this end right NOM die this self
"(the story ends with) this death."

h. *riapcawm sawng voat Beung Kok [nuh aeng]*
prepare build temple B. K. that self
"prepare to build that B. K. temple"

Speakers are at a loss how to characterize these shadow deictics. Literate consultants attempt to dismiss them as "spoken", hence unworthy of consideration, while the only common characterization which I have heard from a speaker who uses and finds them perfectly grammatical, is that they all somehow add politeness (perhaps simply because they add phonetic bulk)[7].

Whether the examples treated here are even a single phenomenon, I do not know.

If they are, they may be a further example of decorative doubling, the subject of the last chapter.

6.   Grammaticalization, lexicalization, and polyfunctionality

6.1   The grammaticalization of *muaj* "one"

I have claimed that *cru:k pi:* "two pigs" is actually two phrases, a NP consisting of the single noun "pig" and a measure phrase consisting of the single quantifier "two". I wish to claim that

(59) *cru:k muaj*
pig   one

may be somewhat different. There is some evidence that the numeral "one" in Khmer as in other languages is undergoing some kind of reanalysis and becoming a modifier rather than just a quantifier. It cannot be said that it has become an indefinite article. Such a claim would be belied by examples like

(60) *tngaj muaj nuh*
      day   one   that
      "one day"

These are phrases in which the definite deictic and the numeral coccur. The evidence for the grammaticalization of *muaj*, such as it is, is positional. While most MP with numerals follow modifying phrases, it seems that modifying phrases are sometimes "extraposed" over MP and this extraposition occurs most typically over MP consisting of the single numeral *muaj* – as if this word were not a measure phrase but possibly another modifier.[8]

The expected order MOD *muaj* does occur:

(61) a. *cwt   srah   daw: to:c   muaj*
          close.to reservoir very small one
          "close to a very small reservoir"

      b. *kamsiav ja:ng kanjcah muaj*
          kettle   kind battered one
          "a battered old kettle"

      c. *sat   cru:k daw: samkau:m muaj*
          animal pig   very emaciated one
          "a very emaciated pig"

But more often MOD follows *muaj*, as in:

(62) a. *phu:m muaj dael   mian saphiap taok ja:k   ciang kee:*
          village one   which have aspect   poor wretched exceed 3
          "a village with an exceedingly impoverished appearance"

      b. *a'phu:t het   muaj daw: ahca:*
          marvel cause one   very wondrous
          "a great wonder"

      c. *krabej muaj cmo:h a:nji: dael   kraoj mau:k kla:j cia meut niang*
          buffalo one   name 'the female' which after come turn be friend her
          "a waterbuffalo named A:nji: who later became her friend"

6.2 A restrictive definition of polyfunctionality

While it is a commonplace that SE Asian languages like Khmer exhibit polyfunctionality, it may be objected that this is nothing more than what we are already familiar with in English as cases of grammaticalization, lexicalization, zero drivation, or conversion. Khmer has all of these, too. But it has something more, and I propose to reserve the term polyfunctionality for that extra something.

Grammaticalization is not that extra polyfunctionality. It is (for our present purposes) any of the cross-linguistically widely attested processes whereby words of semantic specificity become semantically watered down to become words of greater extension, changing their category membership as they do so. From being members of open classes (such as nouns and verbs) they become members of closed classes (such as prepositions), cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002, 2007: 111. Thus in Khmer, as in many other languages, the numeral "one" may become an indefinite article, verbs and nouns become adpositions, and nouns become conjunctions, etc., e.g.

(63) a. *co:l*   "enter"   > "into"
      b. *tev*   "go"   > "to"
      c. *aoj*   "give"   > "to, for"
      d. *dawl*   "arrive"   > "until"
      e. *muk*   "face"   > "in front of"
      f. *robawh*   "property"   > "of"
      g. *pee:l*   "time"   > "when"

Zero derivation or lexicalization is also not polyfunctionality. It is exemplified by the process whereby nouns are converted into verbs with partially idiosyncratic meanings (compare English *card* "check that somebody is of age to drink by viewing their ID card"; *doctor* "surreptitiously change a document so that it has a false message"):

(64) a. *A:maeng* [[*aju'*] ø]] *craeun ciang knjom*
          A.   [[age]N]V] lots   exceed me
          "A. was a lot older than me." (*aju'* "age" is acting a a verb)

      b. *aopuk mda:j samlanj knjom* [[*ceut*] ø]]   *l'aw: nah*
          father mother beloved me   [[heart]N]V] good   very
          "My beloved parents were very good-hearted." (*ceut* "heart" is acting as a verb)

      c. *lo:k* [[*baw:ng*] ø]   *khae   knjom*
          you [[elder.sibling]N]V] month me
          "You are a month older than me." (*baw:ng* "older sibling" is acting as a verb)

      d. *preah awng ba:n* [[*prasa:t*]ø]   *phiasa: aoj mnuh praeu*
          god   CL   PAST [[temple]N]V] language for person use
          "God fashioned language for people to use." (*prasa:t* "temple" is acting as a verb)

    e.   *trev*[[*mcah*]   ø] *ka:*   *kluan aeng*
        must [[owner]$_N$] $_V$] matter self   self
        "You must take charge of matters yourself." (*mcah* "owner" is acting as a verb)

    f.   [[*ta:ng*] ø]   *niam knjom*
        [[place]$_N$] $_V$] name my
        "act in my name, represent me" (*ta:ng* "place" is acting like a verb)

Zero inflection is also not polyfunctionality. Khmer regularly has zero inflectional category changes: all verbs can function as infinitives, hence as nouns or gerunds, with no change in meaning.

  (65) *sev sduac (kom aoj   dac)*
       OK reduce don't so.that cut.off
       "It's OK to reduce [rations]; so long as you don't cut them off completely."
       (= Half a loaf is better than no bread.)

None of these changes, whether by grammaticalization, lexicalization/conversion/zero derivation, or zero inflection, are unfamiliar to speakers of languages like English. What is apparently novel is category change effected through the agency of anchor words like the quantifiers discussed in Section 4.2. A noun or a verb becomes a measure unit whenever it follows an "anchoring" quantifying expression.

    More generally, an anchor does not change its own category membership. That is why it is called an anchor. But, not only does it stay the same, it transforms the items in construction with it (its "raw recruits"), irrespective of their ontological origins, into specific parts of speech (they become as it were "marines").

    It is this kind of category change (from raw recruit to marine) under the compelling discipline of the anchor/drill sergeant, for which the term polyfunctionality will be reserved. So far, we have seen only one example of this, the changes in category membership that are imposed by quantifying phrases.

    Another example of a possibly related phenomenon, which is not unfamiliar to speakers of English, is "downranking", which is what the complementizer *that* does to entire clauses:

  (66) I know that my redeemer liveth.

This is not exactly the same as polyfunctionality since it is the combination *that* + *S* rather than S alone, which acts as an NP. More intriguing is the possibility of "partial downranking", or what the relative pronoun does to preceding assertive clauses in expressions like

  (67) a.   She likes pigs, which gratifies me.
        b.   He's a known pornographer, … which is fine.

Here the clause preceding the relative pronoun is treated by that pronoun as if it were an NP followed by a non-restrictive relative clause. That is, in (67a, b) it is the relative pronoun which is acting as an anchor, although the anchoring effect is minimal: in particular, the entire expression (67) cannot function as an NP consisting of a head NP and a relative clause, within some larger expression. But there is a subtle effect which may nevertheless bear witness to this downshifting, which distinguishes the relative-like clause of (67a, b) from a minimally contrasting alternant with a demonstrative pronoun instead of a relative as the resumptive pronoun, as in (67c, d):

(67)   c.   She likes pigs; (and) that gratifies me.
       d.   He's a known pornographer; (and) that's fine.

Note that while the initial clause in (67c, d) may be made interrogative, as in (67g, h), this is not possible for (67a, b), which become the ungrammatical (67e, f):

(67)   e.   *Does she like pigs? Which would gratify me.
       f.   *Is he a known pornographer? Which would be fine.
       g.   Does she like pigs? That would gratify me.
       h.   Is he a known pornographer? That would be fine.

What may explain the ungrammaticality of (67e, f) is that in general, speakers are committed to presupposing the true existence of entities denoted by noun phrases – and by virtue of the relative clause that is exactly what the initial clause in (67a) and (67e, f) has become. Presupposed entities, of course, can not be questioned.[9]

Khmer offers examples of structures like (67), where the relative pronoun *dael* plus a clause downranks a whole preceding clause:

(68)   a.   *koat taong kantuj praek ratee:h mdaw: ng mdaw:ng peung   jo:ng kluan*
            she   reach tail   axle   cart   once   once   depend swing self
            tev muk   ja:ng lumba:k
            go   forward kind difficult
            [*dael knjom troam   nev moat   sngiam pum ba:n*]
            which I   endure still mouth silent   not   manage
            "She reached out to the end of the axle pin for support, swaying and moving forward with difficulty, which I could not endure in silence."

       b.   *piba:k tae   li: nangkol ranoah deuk krabej tbawl prej   tev rau:k vial*
            hard   only   carry plow   harrow herd buffalo enter forest go seek field
            trawng   nih mdaw:ng trawng   nuh mdaw:ng
            direction this once   direction that once
            [*dael Ha:t ra'u: bandaeu tae   mneak aeng do:c kmom jau:k pka:*]
            which H.   drone along   only alone alone like bee   get   flower
            "It was difficult to carry the plow and harrow on our heads, and herd the water buffalo into the forest looking for new pasture, now this way, now that way, which [sc. made] H. drone on alone like a bee getting (pollen from) flower."

 c. ..*ba:n ni'jiaj "so:m to:h"*
   ..PAST say beg fault
   [*dael tveu: aoj jeu:ng... mian ka: thu: arawm*]
   Which make so.that we   have NOM loose feel
   "..apologized to us, which made us feel relaxed"

Polyfunctionality is a recurrent theme in Khmer syntax. Other cases will be treated as they arise.

Notes

1. Needless to say, Khmer does not have a phrase exactly like "to the tune of" to separate NP from contiguous MP. But it comes rather close. For example, the quantifier *craeun* "many, much" is always separated from its NP by the copula/complementizer *cia: cru:k cia craeun* "many pigs", and there are no attestations of ?**cru:k craeun.* In very formal written language, a MP can be preceded by *camnuan* "amount" (itself a Measure Unit in *vau'tho' muaj camnuan* "a number of objects") which does the same separating work:

 Preah riac botrej camnuan 4 awng
 HON king daughter amount 4 CL
 "four princesses"

2. The expression *pi: neak* is also becoming grammaticalized as a coordinate conjunction which may appear between two NP, thus *baw:ng pi: neak pò:n* "older brother and younger brother". All fidelity to the number "two" is lost in coordinations like *knjom pi: neak pdej prapun* "the couple and I".

3. Possibly, proper names should also be classified as honorifics. The effect of prefixing the (otherwise rudely invasive) address pronoun *aeng* with a proper name is pragmatically equivalent to prefixing it with a kin term like *pò:n* "younger sibling", or an honorific like *neak* "person". It softens the blow.

4. I have encountered *lo:k baw:ng* literally "monk older sibling", figuratively "Mr. Big Brother". The expression is no more incoherent than its translation, but my impression is that it is rare.

5. Cf. Jacob (1991: 201) for the near equivalence of *ja:ng* and *daw:* as particles which link attributes to a head noun. Gorgoniev (1966b: 257fn) argues that the two are distinct in meaning, but his evidence seems to be that the two may coccur, as in:

 tveu: poalikam daw: ja:ng klaha:n
 make sacrifice very very brave
 "make very brave sacrifices"

But this very coccurrence could as easily be taken as evidence for their virtual synonymy, cf. the discussion of the decorative compounding of synonyms in Chapter 4.

6. The auxiliary combination *trev ba:n* usually signals a usually adversative passive. The flavor of this one is something like "are there any formalities which will be visited upon my person".

7. Ehrman & Sos (1972: 42) suggest that what I call the shadow deictics *nuh, nwng* "may be used in casual style at the end of a verb phrase to indicate that the action is going on at the time of speaking, much like English 'there'", as in *lo:k tveu: ej nwng* "what are you doing there?" While it is clear that they

are talking about the same phenomenon, their interpretation cannot begin to account for the cases assembled here. Jacob (1991: 197) observes that "in Khmer poetry, sequences of alliterating words which do not convey much additional meaning to the sentence often occur at the end of a verse or a stanza where they are useful as rhymes or provide the required number of syllables." She cites *neh na:* "this, these" and *noh na:* "that, those" as examples. Here it is really unclear whether the same phenomenon is under discussion at all, since it is the whole combination, rather than just the last member, which is apparently meaningless, and since the poetic register in which this occurs is not the same as the colloquial register where shadow deictics are observed.

8. Mr. Keat has suggested that where the modifier occurs after the numeral quantifier, there is often the sense that the "extraposed" modifier is a reduced relative clause, which may be marked with the relative pronoun *dael:*

a. *pratee:h kmae   kw: cia pratee:h l'aw: muaj*
country Khmer :   be country beautiful one
                                    Mod   Q
"Cambodia is a beautiful country." (Conventional order)

b. *pratee:h kmae kw: cia pratee:h muaj (dael)   l'aw:*
country Khmer: be country one   REL.PRO beautiful
"Cambodia is a country which is beautiful."

While he insists there is no semantic difference between these two sentences, it is clear that for him a reduced relative clause is not the same as an attributive adjective. The relative clause is in some way perhaps closer to making an independent assertion, cf. Bolinger 1967.

9. These facts about English and their characterization were pointed out by Kevin Schäfer and Amelia Fedo.

Indexical words

Indexical words include most typically, deictics, which ideally pick out or index their referents spatially as the accompaniment to some (understood) pointing gesture. They also include personal pronouns, which ideally index their referents relative only to their role in the speech act; honorifics, which index their referents only relative to their social status; and anaphors, which index their referents only relative to their antecedents – other nominals in the discourse. In practice, words in most languages make a jumble of these categories: for example, when personal pronouns in English mark number, gender, and case as well as person, they are incorporating extraneous information which has nothing to do with speech act deixis; reflexive pronouns include both speech act and anaphoric indexing, and the T/V distinction in European languages indexes social status as well as speech act status. Khmer also jumbles categories, but in unfamiliar ways. The previous chapter has described deictics and honorifics in the framework of a general description of the nominal clump. This chapter will deal with personal and anaphoric pronouns. As will become apparent, the distinction is somewhat arbitrary. All personal pronouns with one striking exception are common nouns and can be replaced by other common nouns. We could thus have dealt with them in the last chapter. And the anaphoric pronouns are either common nouns themselves, or identical with the dishonorific *a:-*, which was dealt with as a matter of course under the heading of honorifics in the treatment of nominal clumps.

That concession having been made to the logic of dealing with Khmer on its own terms, it is nevertheless useful to give personal reflexive, reciprocal, and anaphoric pronouns some extra scrutiny. Hence this separate chapter.

1.   Indexing speech act status: Personal pronouns

"Pure" personal pronouns should index nothing but the category of person: speaker, addressee, and third person (neither speaker nor addressee). Third persons can be subcategorized with reference to their proximity to speakers or addressees.

There are two ways to look at the personal pronouns of Khmer, and both have psychological reality. The first is to think of them as a special closed paradigm consisting of words that correspond to the familiar personal pronouns in Western languages. The second is to recognize them as ordinary NP exactly like those treated in Chapter 5. We will start by treating personal pronouns exactly as if they were English.

Superficially, the personal pronoun system as first expounded by native speakers to Anglophones is familiar. Like European languages, Khmer makes its pronouns incorporate some extraneous information on number and on relative social status as well as person:

Person	(Singular)	Plural	Approximate social status
1st	knjom		speaker is acting humble or polite
		jeu:ng	
	(anj)		speaker is arrogant or on intimate terms with addressee
	atma:		speaker is monk
2nd	neak		addressee is younger or of lower status
	aeng		addressee is of much lower status
	lo:k		addressee is older or of higher status
	chan		speaker and addressee are both monks
3rd	koat		referent is respected other
	via		referent is disrespected other
	kee:		referent may be any other
	traung		referent is royalty

The only personal pronouns which incorporate information on number are 1sg. *anj* and 1pl. *jeu:ng*. All others can be understood as either singular or plural. The optional disambiguating pluralizer *puak* can precede any one of these, including (redundantly) *jeu:ng*.

(1) a. *puak via ha:m pra:m   neak   srok   mwn aoj   kawp kmaoc nuh tee:*
         PLU   3   forbid prohibit person country not so.that bury corpse that not
         "They [the Khmer Rouge] forbade the peasants to bury those corpses."

     b. *(ta:) tralawp tev kan   phu:m koat venj*
         elder return to   toward village 3   back
         "The elders returned to their own villages."

The differences between various realizations of a singular category seem to broadly correspond to European T/V insofar as the choice of pronoun is dictated by the speaker's deference to or familiarity with the addressee or off-stage referent.

1sg. *anj* (the inherited form) is used in representations of internal monolog as well as for address to inferiors (among adults), and equals (among children). Note that this makes perfect sense: one does not grovel to oneself, and to use *knjom* "slave" as the 1st person singular is to engage in possibly highly sublimated groveling.

With the exception of *anj*, the personal pronouns above can also cooccur as resumptive pronouns with nouns, as in the familiar left-detached constructions of English (*The one-l lama, he's a priest*, etc.)

(2) a. *Krabej nih via....*
          buffalo that 3
          "that buffalo, it..."

     b. *camnaek ae caj kba:l via mian pau: kmav*
          as for   louse head 3 have color black
          "But as for head lice, they were black."

The pronoun table is seriously misleading in several respects.

First, because the number of words apparently used as "pronouns" is far larger than suggested by this listing: any of the honorifics (including kin terms) listed in Chapter 5 can function as a first (self-referential)[1], second (address), or third person form.

Second, most of the pronouns listed above are in fact themselves common nouns not only in terms of their etymology, but in terms of their capacity for modification and quantification, and for themselves acting as modifiers.

Third, they are not for the most part fixed to a particular (first, second, or third) person.

Fourth, because various unpredictable combinations of these forms can occur, like

neak aeng   "2 + 2" "you (sg.)"
lo:k neak   "2 + 2", "you all, ladies and gentlemen"

with unexpected meanings.

The following survey is entirely descriptive.

1.1   1(sg.) *knjom*

Whether alone or in apposition to some other nominal, *knjom* is always first person and always signals speaker's deference in self-reference.

(3) a. *niang   knjom*
          female 1
          "I a female" (deferential)

     b. *knjom ba:t*
          1   HUM
          "I a male" (deferential)

     c. *(jeu:ng) knjom* means "we" (humbly, with respect for the hearer),

     d. *knjom teang pi: nih*
          1   all   two   this
          Noun PART NUM D (Note the internal structure, in conformity with the NC)
          "both of us here" (humbly, with respect for the hearer).

Hence *knjom* does not necessarily mean "singular" although it still does apparently have to be first person. Other superdeferential means of expressing the first person singular include the following compounds of *knjom*:

(3) e. *knjom kana:* (in the presence of monks), definitely a phonetic reduction of
     f. *knjom preah ka'runa:* (speaking to royalty) or
     g. *knjom tu:l preah bangkaum* (again, addressing royalty) or
     h. *knjom tva:j bangkaum* (royalty again).

There exists an idiom *knjom tev haeuj* (literally "I go finish") in which *knjom* is considered "arrogant and boastful" in the same way that *anj* is. Possible circumlocutions which approximate the flavor of this idiom include "everybody knows me", "I can do everything", "if I can't do it, it isn't me":

(4) *knjom tev haeuj tae   klian   dawl kaw:*
     1   go   finish only hungry arrive throat
     "You know me – I'm hungry up to here"
     baw:k sbaek haeng   muaj mu:l   tae mdaw:ng!
     peel   skin   creature one   embrace only once
     "I could tear the skin off any animal and eat it in one go."

1.2   *neak~ lo:k*

Neak is "person", *lo:k* is "monk", and the two may function as status-signaling honorifics:

   lo:k kru: then means "male (higher status) teacher(s)" and
   neak kru: "female (lower status) teacher(s)".

But they are also the bare nominals which come closest to acting as pronouns of address, corresponding roughly to European T and V.

1.3   Kinship terms

They are not, however, the only nominals which can do so. As we have already noted in Chapter 5, almost every common noun which descriptively denotes a status, occupation, or family relationship, is available as a pronoun of address, self-reference[2], or reference and is by no means limited to third person deixis. Among the most common of these superficial pronouns of address are the kinship terms

   baw: ng   "elder sibling; comrade (Khmer Rouge usage)"
   pò:n   "younger sibling"
   kmuaj   "nephew, niece"

ta:	"grandfather"
jiaj, cido:n	"grandmother"
mia	"uncle younger than either parent"
pu:	"an even younger uncle"
om	"uncle/aunt older than either parent"
mi:ng	"aunt younger than either parent"

And there are hordes of non-kin based relationship and status terms such as

knia	"companion"
meut	"friend, comrade"
niang	"young female person"

The two nominals *neak* "person" and *lo:k* "monk" could be simply listed among these, but for the fact that they seem to be less "contaminated" with social deixis than the other kin and status terms. For example, it requires some negotiation between people who do not use proper names with each other (relative strangers) to settle on an address term like *om*, but none to call a stranger *lo:k*.

1.4   *aeng*

This is not a dedicated 2 pronoun, since it means "self", and can also be used as the 1sg. form. But it is a very intimate/rude address form[3], unless it is preceded by some other nominal, which seems to act as a softening honorific, or followed by a MP which seems to have the same softening function:

(5) a. *baw:ng   aeng*
         elder.sibling you

     b. *aeng krup knia*
         you all   companion
         "all of you"

         meut   aeng
         friend   you
         "friend (address)"

     d. *baw:ng   Camraeun aeng*
         older sibling C.   you
         "comrade Camraeun (address)" (Khmer Rouge language)

     e. *ko:n aeng (kom phej)*
         child you (don't fear)
         "(Don't be afraid,) child."

f. *om   aeng*
    uncle you
    "uncle (address)"

As a bare second person form, *aeng* can also have understood first person reference, apparently in much the same way that this is possible in English and many other languages, where the speaker tries to elicit sympathy by putting himself in the addressee's place. Consider the following examples from colloquial English:

> "*I never read him [Samuel Beckett] when I'm actually writing something. Because you can't. It's a voice that changes your own voice. It just completely overwhelms you. Or me, at any rate.*"   (NYT March 26, 2006, p. 4)

> "*When you achieve so many great things, I'm just very happy with life, and you start thinking what else is important in life and what else do I want to achieve on the golf course.*"
>   (NYT May 18, 2008)

In Khmer, this "complicitive" use of the second person with first person reference is called *kcej moat* "borrowing your mouth" and is possible (as in English) where a relationship of intimacy and complicity exists   or is sought   between speaker and hearer:

(6) a. *(tralawp cia dak   twh) aeng*
         (instead   assign task) you
         (aoj   mau:k kap prej   dam srev dam po:t)
         (so.that come clear forest plant rice plant corn)
         "(instead they assign) ya (to clear the forest, and plant rice and corn)"
                                                                       (Camraeun, 153)

     b. *aeng (mwn deung tha: trasawk   nih ho:p kaeut)*
         you (not   know say cucumber this eat   arise)
         "Ya (didn't know this cucumber was edible)!"   (ibid. 117)

     c. *(cap bambaol) aeng do:c ko:*
         (grab make.run) you like ox
         "(sets) ya (running like an ox)"   (ibid. 118).

The difference between Khmer and English is that whereas in English, this "complicitive" "you" or "ya" can also function as a generic impersonal pronoun like French *on*, German *man*, this generalization is not (yet?) possible in Khmer. The pronoun *aeng* can be used as a first person singular, possibly even as a first person plural inclusive:

(7) a. *..aoj   aeng piba:k cawng ngoap!*
         so.that you difficult want croak
         "So that in our difficulties, we feel like we're going to croak!"

b. *aeng* strej   tee:!
   you woman just
   "I'm just a woman!"   (Gorgoniev 1966b: 279)

but apparently the egocentric expanding circle stops there. *Aeng* is not used as the generic pronoun *ya*. To say "ya never know", "they'll stone ya" and the like, Khmer uses *kee:* "third person".

   In addition to its straightforward second person use, *aeng* occurs in two idiomatic conjunctions where this second person use is perhaps still dimly perceptible.

(8) *knia   aeng*
    companion you
    means "our side", "the in-group", "good people", a friendly group that includes the speaker, as in

(9) a. *(co:l   ruam cia ke'te'joh tae) knia aeng (cwt deut)*
       (enter join be honor   only) same side (close close)
       "(it is an honor to be working closely together) on the same side"

   b. *(knjom ni'jiaj prap) knia aeng (mun)*
      (I   tell   tell) same side (before)
      "(I told) our people/the good guys (beforehand)"

   c. *(knjom chau: rau:k meu:l kraeng kheu:nj) knia aeng*
      (I   stand seek look maybe see)   same side
      "(I kept looking hoping to see) our guys"

   d. *sot   tae knia aeng tee: (muaj moat   muaj kaw:)*
      pure only same side just (one mouth one   throat)
      "We're all on the same side here (speaking with one voice)"

It is possible to see *knia* acting here as a first person, so that the combination *knia aeng* means the in-group "you and me (and all like-minded folk)". On the other hand,

(10) *kee: aeng*
     3   self/you

means the out-group "everybody, all and sundry (other than the speaker)":

(11) a. *(knjom rumliak kluan tev meu:l ciamuaj) kee: aeng*
        (I   slide   body to look with)   everybody else
        "(I slid forward to look together with) everybody else."

   b. *(troam tradaw: nwng) kee: aeng*
      endure try hard with everybody else
      "[I] (try to be stoical and do my best like) everybody else"

    c.   *(reut tae awn   ciang)* <u>*kee: aeng*</u>   *(tiat)*
       get   weak exceed everybody else (other)
       "[I] (keep getting weaker than) all the others"

In these two idiomatic expressions *knia aeng* (roughly, first person inclusive) and *kee: aeng*, (roughly, everybody but the speaker), *aeng* can still be seen acting as a second person pronoun (if barely).

    Finally, the apparently incoherent combination *koat aeng* (literally "respected third person + familiar second person") can be used to mean 2sg. Under conditions which are hard (for me) to understand, this seems to be an address form used by people who look down on their addressees, but perhaps feel constrained for the sake of politeness to pretend that they do not. My examples come from the novelette "The rose of Pajlin", and are employed on a car trip by

a.   the stuck-up but sexy daughter of the boss to address the viewpoint character, a Horatio Alger-type figure who is acting as chauffeur, but who later rises in the company and gets to marry the boss's daughter in the end;

b.   one of her well-connected but shady suitors, also to address the same Alger character.

Both speakers have their reasons for putting the addressee in his place, but they also may have reasons for demonstrating that they are above all that – perhaps chiefly to each other.

1.5   1 (pl.) *jeu:ng*

Like other pronouns, *jeu:ng* can function as a (leftmost) head noun in a noun phrase:

(12) a. *jeu:ng teang pi: neak*
          1pl.   all   two people
          "both of us"

Or it can be used as a deictic:

(12) b. *hawm jeu:ng (cuaj)*
          strong 1pl.   help
          "we strong ones (will help (you))"

Note that the pronoun "we", as in many other languages, can mark the generic indefinite:

(13) *praeu sacdom dael noam aoj jeu:ng truat tra: ka: cenj teuk ka:m ba:n*
       use   muscle rel. allow   us   control NOM exit fluid sex manage
       "use the muscles which allow us to control ejaculation"

And the royal 1sg.

(14) *mec baːn cia neak   aeng meuːl ngiaj jeuːng*
      how cause be person you look easy 1pl.
      "How come you look down on us (= me)?"

And it can also function as 2sg. "you" for the Khmer version of "nursespeak". It is pos-
sible to use the dedicated 1pl. pronoun *jeuːng* to mean "you", especially when dealing
with children.

(15) a. *jeuːng nwng prajat   kluan!*
          we   will   careful self
          "We will take care of ourselves." ("we" meaning "you")

      b. *jeuːng khoːc   nah!*
          we   naughty very
          "We are very naughty!" ("we" meaning "you").

      c. *kee: kampung tveu: ka: kdav kakawːk krup knia ---*
          3   busy   work   hot baking all   companion
          "Everybody else is working in the baking heat:"
          Jeuːng avej   kaw: seeʾrej mleh?
          we   what so free   how
          "How come we're so free?"
          ("We" means "you" in this instance: A Khmer Rouge official is berating
          a malingering ex-city-dweller on a collective farm).

      d. *mec -- jeuːng mian ptej   poh haeuj   rw: nev?*
          how   we   have surface belly already or   stay
          "What's up? Are we (= you: a male is speaking to his wife) pregnant or not?"

But it is otherwise limited to marking the first person plural.

1.6   Third persons

koat   "3 (respectful)"
via   "3 disrespectful"
kee: "3 indefinite"
traung   "3 royal"

1.6.1 *koat*

The third person pronoun *koat* seems to have no other common function than to desig-
nate respected others. But after thirteen years of study, I learned that it can also be used
as an address form. Mr. Keat described an occasion when an older man who was one of

his father's employees addressed him in this way: *lo:k* would have been too self-abasing, *neak* would have been too familiar. *Kmuaj* "nephew" would have been unexceptionable (especially as Mr. Keat consistently addressed the man as *pu:* "young uncle"). But the old employee decided to go with *koat*. (Note that this had an entirely different flavor from the high-minded put-down signaled by the coordination *koat aeng*.)

1.6.2 *Via* "third person inanimate or disrespected" is almost a dedicated pronoun of reference

(16) a. *S'aek   preuk tev meu:l via mdaw:ng tiat*
          next.day dawn go look 3   once   more
          "At dawn the next day when I went to look for them (fishtraps) again."

     b. *Puk   via aeng*
          father 3   you
          "You, father of her" (a woman addresses her husband here)

     c. *Knjom awh cumnwa tev   leu: puak via rali:ng*
          I   lose belief   go.to on PLU 3   clean
          "I had completely lost faith in them (the Khmer Rouge)."

but it does occasionally occur as an address form also:

(16) d. *Anj   cia mcah   via taeu*
          I (arrogant) be master you Q!
          "I'm your master actually, you low-life!"

There are restrictions to this very rare use. For example, *via* cannot occur with the dishonorific *a:-*

(17) a. *a: aeng*
          dishonorific you
          "You lowlife"

     b. *⁺a: via*
          dishonorific you
          "You lowlife."

But *via* "disrespected 3" can also be used as "ambient it" or "there":

(18) a. *Taeu via mian tee: knong lo:k?*
          Q par 3   have no in   world
          "Are there such things in the world at all?"

     b. *Via mian rwang ej*
              have matter what
          "What is the matter? Is there something wrong?"

    c.   *Via mwn ej   tee:*
          3   not   what not
          "It's nothing, no problem"

    d.   *Ka:l daeum srok   nwng via kaeut ɾo:k*
          time origin country the   3   arise disease
          "In ancient times there arose a disease"

    e.   *Via mwn dael a:na: tev bawt ceu:ng cenj dawl k̀aek nuh tee:*
          3   not   ever anyone go bend leg   exit arrive crow that not
          "It's never happened that anyone shat crows"

    f.   *Via kmian   cao   na: mau:k luac krabej*
          3   not.exist thief any come steal water.buffalo
          "There are no thieves coming to steal our buffaloes"

1.6.3 The pronoun *kee:* "unspecified third person"

This third person form can mean "s/he, they", and is usually generic or indefinite, as in

  (19) a. *Kha:ng kaeut cungruk <u>kee:</u> kheu:nj mian ando:ng teuk muaj*
            side   east   granary 3   see   exist well   water one
            "East of the granary, one could see a well."

      b. <u>*Kee:*</u> *aoj   tev 'rian so:t'.*
            3   cause go study recite
            "they were sending [sc. me] to 'study' [= 'reeducation': effectively, a death sentence]."

But it may also be definite, as in

  (19) c. *kee: mneak   nuh*
            3   one.person that
            "that one person"

      d. *..kluan kee: mwn dael ba:n chian ceu:ng*
            EMPH 3   not   ever PAST step   leg
            "he himself had never set foot"

Like *via* and *koat,* the pronoun *kee:* seems almost never to occur as a first or second person form. But there are mysterious exceptions. Mr. Keat drew my attention to the use of *kee:* as a first person singular form from three cases in his remembered experience. Once his sister (aged eight or thereabouts) was crying for her parents' attention. When they did not respond, she said:

  (20) *Kee: jum haeuj, mdec mwn luang kee: phaw:ng*
         3 ?? cry already why   not   console 3?   please
         "I'm crying, why don't you comfort me?"

an utterance which everybody in her family remembers as brilliantly funny. Another funny remembered line came from a popular play, where two characters are accusing each other of having farted. Finally, they claim that a ghost must have produced the fart. Whereupon the ghost appears, and in a falsetto voice says:

(21) *Kee: mwn phaom phaw:ng,   tha: kee: phaom.*
      3?? not   fart   also/please say 3? fart
      "Please, I [= yours truly?] didn't fart, they said I did."

Finally, Mr. Keat made up a scenario, where a wife is trying to wheedle some attention from a cold unresponsive husband, who dismisses her questions with a cold, brusque:

(22) *Kee: deung haeuj.*
      3   know   already
      "I know, I know"

(avoiding the warmth and intimacy of the normal husbandly self-referential *baw:ng* "elder brother"). In the same un-sweet mood, Mr. Keat speculated that the husband could avoid calling his wife *o:n* "darling", and brutally use bare *aeng* "you" instead. Presumably some self-alienation is implied, as in familiar cases of third person self-reference, but why these pronoun choices should have whatever special flavor they did, Mr. Keat was unable to explain to me.

But *kee:* has a number of other functions. It is perfectly capable of acting as a common noun "person", that is, as the head of an entire NP:

(23) *Niang knjom nwng [ke: mneak   nuh] sralanj knia*
      female I   and   person one.person that love   companion
      "This guy and I love each other."

Like other pronouns in the table of deixis marking forms, it can occur as a person-marking word after a head noun:

(24) *..dael   kluan kee: mwn dael ba:n chian ceu:ng tev dawl toal   tae   sawh*
      rel. pron. EMPH 3   not ever PAST step foot   go till contact only at.all
      "..where he himself had never set foot"

Kee: is used also as the "out-group" generic/indefinite pronoun meaning "one, they, others" (like French *ils/eux* when it contrasts with either 2sg. generic or *on*):

(25) a. *Nev   muk vi'hia   kee: kheu:nj ktau:m*
          be.at front temple PRO see   hut
          "in front of the temple, PRO could see a hut / a hut was visible".

      b. *Knjom daeu jw:t do:c kee: ravaul roap   smav*
          I   walk slow like PRO busy   count grass
          "I walked as slowly as one counting [each individual blade of] grass".

    c.   *Baeu kee: khawm pineut   via ju: tev*
        if   PRO strive   examine 3   long go
        "If you (= anyone) examined them carefully,.."
        kua   aoj   cawng saeuc
        should so.that want   laugh
        "they would make you laugh"

    d.   *kom aoj kee: kheu:nj toan*
        lest   3   see   in.time
        "before anybody sees them"

    e.   *Ta:pi: aeng tev luac leu:k tru: kee:*
        T.   you   go steal lift   trap 3
        "T. did you go steal [shrimp] from other people's traps?"

The combination *jeu:ng kee:* (literally "we + third person") occurs meaning "us and everybody else; the rest of us" and may be a first person plural exclusive.

(26)   *mian ho:p c'aet krup kroan mwn do:c jeu:ng kee: tee:*
       have eat sate all   all   not like 1pl.   3   not
       "(you) have more than enough to eat, unlike the rest of us"

The NP combination **knjom kee:* "me and everybody else" is apparently impossible in either order. The combination *kee:... knjom* is however, perfectly acceptable to signal the contrast between others and oneself in conjoined clauses:

(27)   *p'aeul   kee: p'aeul knjom*
       startle 3   startle 1sg.
       "Everybody was startled; I was startled too"

Note the use of generic *kee:* in the superlative construction:

(28)   *klang   ciang   kee:*
       strong exceed 3
       "stronger than anyone / the strongest"

Notably, *kee:* contrasts with (and is conjoined with) *aeng: kee: aeng* "all and sundry", or "both in-group and out-group".

1.6.4   The Royal 3 person deictic

(29)   *sdac traung*
       king 3 (royal)
       "the king"

2.   Anaphoric pronouns

These are metalinguistic, in that they anchor a referent relative only to another word in the text, its antecedent. Examples in English are reflexive and reciprocal pronouns, *former.. latter,* and so on, for identity of reference, and *the ..one* for identity of sense. The main anaphors in Khmer are *knia, aeng, kluan,* (for reference) and *a:-* (for sense).

2.1   *aeng*

As noted above, *aeng* is not a dedicated second person pronoun, but rather a reflexive/emphatic (which is the meaning of the same etymon in Thai). It occurs in both related senses in construction with *kluan* "body", the unmarked reflexive/emphatic pronominal expression, and other words.

2.1.1 Emphatic

aeng "self", *aek aeng, mneak aeng* (literally "one person self", "by oneself"), *kluan aeng* (literally "body self") and *tae aeng* "only self":

(30) a.   *(cawng plav muaj) tae   aeng*
            (want   path one)   only self
            "(almost occupy the path all alone) all by itself"

      b.   *(rian   phiasa: thaj daoj) kluan aeng*
            (study language Thai by)   self   self
            "study Thai all by himself"

      c.   *(tev kvial) tae   aeng (dac cnga:j pi: kee:)*
            (go herd)   only self (cut off far from 3)
            "(…go herd the animals) by myself (far from others)"

      d.   *(tatual khoh   trev) kluan aeng*
            (receive wrong right) self   self
            "(take responsibility) oneself"

      e.   *tleak cuh aek aeng*
            fall   drop one self
            "fall off by itself"

      f.   *slap aeng*
            die self
            "die of natural causes (= by oneself)"

2.1.2 Reflexive pronouns

As in English, reflexives and emphatics can be identical:

aeng, "self", *kluan aeng* "body self", *atma: kluan aeng:* "self or body (monk) self"

(31) a. *(cru:k kheu:nj) kluan aeng (knong kanjcoak)*
          (pig see)   self   (in   mirror)
          "The pig sees itself in the mirror"[4]

      b. *(jau:m riac daeu dej pralaj puac sa:h caun   ruam ciat)   aeng*
          (death king walk earth kill race race person join nation) self
          "(The king of death walks the earth killing) his own (people)"

      c. *(steu: jo:ng) atma: kluan aeng (pum ruac)*
          (almost pull) body self self (not manage)
          "(almost but not quite succeed in pulling) himself (along)"

      d. *(moha: khiatkaw: sree:k chiam angkiam c'eung ciat   sa:h) aeng*
          (great murderer thirsty blood gnaw   bone nation race) self
          "(The great bloodthirsty murderer, thirsty for the blood and gnawing
          on the bones of his own (nation and people)"

      e. *pjaunjcanea' damruat leu: kluan aeng*
          consonant stack   on self self
          "geminate consonants"
          (= consonants stacked on top of themselves", that is with C2 written
          as a subscript to C1)

      f. *anjceung mian tae anj ceh   kambang   kluan?*
          so   exist only I   know make.invisible self
          "So am I the only one who can make myself invisible?"

2.2 The reciprocal pronoun *knia*

Another apparent anaphoric pronoun is the reciprocal. It was not until after I had been
studying Khmer for several years that I first heard it used in any other function, as a
common noun *knia* "companion".

(32) *mian knia*
      have companion
      "(He will) have a companion"

Until then, I had heard it used only as the reciprocal pronoun:

(33) a. *cuap knia   nwng baw:ng   Muang*
          meet each.other with comrade Muang
          "meet comrade Muang"

      b. *do:c knia*
          like companion
          "alike"

      c. *cap   daj   knia*
          strike hand companion
          "shake hands (with each other)"

      d. *noam   knia*
          convey companion
          "together"

      e. *krup knia*
          all   companion
          "all together"

      f. *pdej   prapun ko:n cuap knia   kanda:l plav*
          husband wife   child meet companion middle road
          "husband, wife and child met each other on the road"

      g. *mun   nwng kraoj knia*
          before and after companion
          "in single file"

      h. *mian leakhana'   plaek   knia   rw: sradiang knia*
          have characteristic different companion or similar   companion
          "have properties different from each other or similar to each other"

      i. *aeng nwng anj cia satrev slap rauh nwng knia*
          you and   I   be enemy die live with companion
          "You and I are mortal enemies to each other."

Other forms which can function as pronouns, but which clearly have other functions as ordinary common nouns, are all of the kin and status nouns already listed as possible addressees.

   All of these may also be used both self-referentially, in which case they are effectively first person (as in "Come to Daddy"). We illustrate with *knia* a person ambiguity that could equally well be illustrated with *baw:ng* "older sibling" and others:

(34) a. *knia   cih kaw:ng*
          companion ride bike
          "I ride a bike." (apparently used with familiars only)

b. *tev lee:ng pteah knia*
    go   play   house   companion
    "(Will you) visit my house?"

Some kinship terms which have not yet been attested in the second person are *pdej*, *swamej*, "husband", and *prapun*, *pa're'jia* "wife". Some which are possible only with genuine (as opposed to classificatory) kin are *pa:* "father" and *mae* "mother"

2.3   "Long-distance" anaphors

Khmer does not seem to distinguish between anaphors whose antecedents are clausemates and those whose antecedents are in another clause. Zero anaphora is the most common device for maintaining identity of sense:

(35) *mee: banjciaka: kha:ng tiahian ceun:g krahaw:m cia ba:rang----*
      commander   side   soldier   leg   red   be   French
      "The commander of the soldiers with the red leggings was a Frenchman:"
      camnaek [ø]   *kha:ng [ø]*   *ceu:ng kmav cia Kmae*
      as for   [commander]   side   [soldier]   leg   black   be   Khmer
      "but the commander of the soldiers with black leggings was a Khmer."

But the antecedent may simply be repeated:

(36) a. *neak   trev   aoj   daj ku: robawh neak deung nev   pee:l*
          person   must   allow   partner of   ANA   know   be.at   time
          "One must take care to let one's partner know at the time"

      b. *niang   bantaw: tiat   tha: samrap niang kaw: do:c neh*
          3 female   continue   more   say   for   ANA   so   like this
          "She went on to say that for her, it's all the same."

      c. *Via jau:k ku:t via   tev   kakeut leu: tmaw:*
          3   take   ass   ANA   go.to   scrape on   stone
          "They scraped their butts against the stones"

 In addition, the following words are also available as substitutes:

a.   the pejorative (dis)honorific *a:*
b.   the reflexive pronoun *kluan*
c.   the third person pronoun *kee:*

2.3.1 The use of *a:-* "the mentioned"
This can serve as an identity of sense anaphor:

(37) a.   Speaker A: *trej* ...
                            fish
          Speaker B: -- *knjom jau:k a: muaj to:c   s̀a:t*
                          I   get   ANA one   small beautiful
          "I got a small beautiful one." (fish)

     b.   *a: thom kantuj krahaw:m l̀aw: ciang*
             ANA big   tail   red   good exceed
             "The big one (fish) with the red tail is the best."

     c.   [a list of names is given]
          __ *a: kraoj nih thom do:c klo:k*
          ANA last   this big   like squash
          "The last-named [had a head] as large as a squash."

     d.   *knjom mian ko:n srej   bej neak   cumnoan nih:*
          I   have child female 3   person time   this
          "I had three daughters at this time:"

          A:-   baw:ng aju' 9 cnam
          ANA oldest   age 9 year
          "The oldest was nine years old"

          A:-   ti: pi: aju' 6 cnam
          ANA place two age 6 year
          "the second was six"

          A:-   ti: bej   aju' 3 cnam
          ANA place three age 3 year
          "the third was three".

In the following example, the *a:-* is first used as a dishonorific, and later possibly as an anaphoric, presumably without losing its dishonorific meaning.

(38) *a: sat   nwng thom pon na:*
     HON animal this   big   size which
     "How big is that wretched animal?"

     Mee: cawng tev rau:k a:-   nwng meu:l
     mother want   go   seek   ANA this   look
     "I (your mother) will go and find it".

In the next example, the *a:* may mean "the aforementioned", but if so, it is redundant, since the antecedent is simply repeated in full anyway:

(39) *Re:ng nwng anj prakaw:t cia mwn rauh tee:*
      Reng and I   exact   be not   live not
      Ngoap teang a: - Re:ng ngoap teang anj veu:j
      croak both ANA Reng croak and   I   INTERJ watch out
      "It's certain that Reng and I will not live. Both that Reng and I will croak, yee-haa!"

In the next example, the first time *a:-* appears, on the antecedent noun *kba:l* "head", it can only be a dishonorific, while the second and third times it is apparently acting ana-phorically:

(40) *a:-   kba:l cenj daoj kluan*
      HON head exit along body
      "the wretched heads will grow out of the body"

      A:- muaj tev lec   a:- muaj tev kaeut!
      ANA one go West ANA one go East
      "the one facing West, the other East."

The exclusively anaphoric use is highlighted in:

(41) a. *kla:c a: muaj raut caol   a: - muaj nev pee:l kmaoc Ceun   laung*
          fear ANA one run abandon ANA one at time ghost Chinese haunt
          "We each feared that the one would run away and abandon the other when the Chinese ghosts started haunting."

      b. *A: - na: hian kaw: moat nwng via*
          ANA which dare throat mouth with him
          "Noone dared stand up to him verbally." (possibly pejorative)

      c. *puak a:- thom via ong at tveu: ba:p puak a: to:c*
          PLU ANA big 3 bully do sin PLU ANA small
          "The big ones bullied and insulted the little ones."

2.3.2 The use of *kluan* "the same one"
As a noun, *kluan* means clearly means "body":

(42) *dak kluan dak ka:j*
      put body put body
      "throw oneself into, be enthusiastic"

As previously noted in the discussion of *aeng*, *kluan* is used as a reflexive pronoun, and is always optionally reenforcable in this sense by *aeng*.

(43) a. *jau: k tae   preah aju'   riang kluan*
          bring only HON   longlife form self
          "each just saved his or her own precious life"

      b. *ju: tev le:ng   deung tha: daj kluan aeng tae mdaw:ng*
          long go no.longer know say arm self   self at.once
          "after a time (I) could suddenly no longer feel any sensation in my own arms"

Kluan is also used as the long-distance anaphor of *koat* in the sentence below:

(44) *koat kroan tae   cawng mian amnuat tha: kluan cia sangsa:*
      3   just   only want   have boast   say ANA be lover
      robawh neak   lbej
      of   person famous
      "They just want to be able to boast of being the lover of a famous person."

Notes

1. There may be one exception. I have not encountered proper names used self-referentially.

2. I am not aware of any terminology which distinguishes between the speaker's use of "I" and some third person form like "the author". Perhaps we could reserve the label "self-reference" for third person forms and invent some other label for "self-reference in the first person". A distinction is made between "reference" and "address" in the second person, and the conceptual distinction in the first person is exactly comparable. In each case, the act of "reference" means pretending that the participants in the speech act are elsewhere. If we were to call self-reference in the first person the act of "inhabiting" a role, then we could say that Khmer, like other SE Asian languages consistently prefers reference and avoids "address" and "inhabiting". At least etymologically, Khmer speakers seem to be pretending that both speakers and addressees are absent. It is not clear whether a speaker who refers to himself as *knjom* feels that he is being coy in alluding to himself as "your slave", or whether he feels exactly the same way about this word as English speakers do about *I*. Certainly the word *knjom* "servant" still exists, cf. synonym compounds like *knjom bamraeu* "I, your servant", and the contrast between *knjom* and *anj* does also. It is also not clear where simple non-expression of first and second persons (the most popular way of expressing these) is felt as intimacy, distance, or simple laziness.

3. *Haeng* (for males) and *ngaeng* (for females) are considered even ruder. Clearly these are built on *aeng*, and it could be that they are reduced versions of **proh+aeng* "masc.you" and **niang+aeng* "fem.you".

4. This is not only a tedious contrived example, but a misleading one. Mirrors don't generate reflexives in Khmer as readily as they do in Western languages. For a more natural example, consider:
    Cloh kanjcoak mwn meu:l sramaol pra:n
    gaze mirror   not see   shadow body
    "Look into a mirror and not see one's own reflection"
    (= be blind to the obvious)

Clausal syntax

What follows is a brief overview of the basic simple clause – a deceptively simple overview inasmuch as it makes Khmer look like Pidgin English, another isolating SVO language.[1]

1.   The order of arguments

Standard SV(O) (Adv) clauses like

(1) a. *ka'se'kaw: samlap ko:n cru:k*
         farmer   kill   child pig
         "(The) farmer(s) kills/killed (the) piglet(s)"

     b. *Knjom so:m kha'ma: to:h cia mun*
         I   beg forgive fault be precede
         "I would like to apologize in advance"

     c. *Jeu:ng knjom deung kun   mwn kha:n*
         we   I   know merit not fail
         "We are truly grateful."

while recognizable, are not very often spoken, although they do occur in writing.

The unmarked order is Subject Predicate, and there exist non-verbal predicates where the missing verb is interpretable as either a copula or the existential/have:

(2) a. *taeu   neak mwn [sc.mian] (av)ej   tee:?*
         Q par you not have   anything no
         "Are you OK?"

     b. *taeu aha: [sc.cia] (av)ej dael neak co:l ceut?*
         Q par food be   what which you enter heart
         "What is your favorite food?"

     c. *nwng [cia] Praek Run Kraom haeuj*
         this be   P. R. K.   for.sure
         "This is definitely (the commune of) P. R. K."

Typically, however, the predicate includes a verb and the normal order is V + (O) for transitive verbs, and Copula + Complement for copula verb sentences.

1.1   SV(O)(Adverb)

(3)   a.   *knjom skoal steu: sawp kanlok kanliat prej*
I   know almost all   corner cranny forest
"I know almost every corner and every nook of the forest."

b.   *knjom tradaw: sra:j krama: pi: cangkeh*
I   struggle untie scarf   from waist
"I struggle to untie the scarf from my waist."

c.   *koat dak knjom tae   mdaw:ng kawt*
3   put me   only once   only
"He laid me down [on the ground] only once"
(said of someone carrying the wounded speaker to hospital)

d.   *teu:p koat baeuk   rabaw:p (ho:p)*
then 3   break.out rations (eat)
"Then he broke out the rations (to eat/ for us to eat/ and we ate)"

e.   *cong kvaev   pdac vaul ja:ng phuj*
tip   machete cut   vine kind easy
"The tip of the machete cut through the vines easily"

f.   *preah ateut ba:n caol   camnang   reasmi: ... cawm muk knjom*
HON   sun   PAST throw brightness ray   direct face my
"The sun shone its bright rays directly into my face."

g.   *krabej   kravi: kba:l*
water.buffalo shake head
"The water buffalo shakes its head"

h.   *kee: praeu sot   tae   kmaoc (aoj   pcua dej)*
3   use   pure only cadaver (so.that plow earth)
"They use only cadavers (for plowing the earth)"

i.   *prapun knjom nwng prapun H. S. srava: aop knia*
wife   my   and   wife   H. S. embrace hug each.other
"My wife and H. S.'s wife embraced each other."

Non-expression of a subject does not disturb (S) VO order:

(4)   a.   *kheu:nj tae   kba:l trej*
see   only head fish
"(I/you/we/they/one) could see only fish heads."

b.   *tawk tawk penj bampau:ng*
drip drip fill   tube
"(Water) fills the tube drop by drop"
(A proverb meaning "every little bit counts").

Nor does elision of a predictable object:

(5) a. *knjom caw:ng pcua   do:c neh*
    I   tie up hang [beehive] thus

b. *jeu:ng nwng pdac   caol*
    we   will cut off abandon [you]
    "We will dump you."

1.1.1 The direct object preposition *nev*

In the written language, an abstract object NP (almost never a concrete noun) can appear with a special direct OBJ preposition *nev*:

(6) a. *..tatual rau:ng nev ka: caot   prakan*
    receive receive OBJ NOM accuse blame
    "receive the accusation"

b. *niang   kla:c tatual rau:ng nev ka: reuhkaun*
    missy² fear receive   OBJ NOM criticize
    "She feared to take criticism."

    niang ba:n banjcawp nev ka: thaw:t cia ksaephiapjaun camnuan pi:
    missy PAST finish   OBJ NOM shoot be movie   quantity two
    "She has finished the shooting [for what are] two movies."

d. *kraem nih banthaw:j nev arawm nwng phiap sreu:p   sra:l*
    cream this reduce   OBJ feeling and NOM sensitive --
    "This cream reduces feeling and sensitivity"

e. *jeu:ng nwng pi'neut picarna: nev piak 4 campu:k*
    we   will examine consider OBJ word 4 group
    "We will consider four groups of words."

f. *mwn toan ceh   nev rwang snee:ha:*
    not yet know OBJ matter love
    "[I] did not yet know about love"

g. *pranejbat   (nev) thoa*
    devoutly.practice (OBJ) dharma
    "[He] devoutly practiced that Law of dharma."
    (both options of (g) occurred within a few lines of each other in a folk tale)

h. *Aopuk via kdej A:muaj Hiang kdej banjcenj nev ka: sa'ba:j ri:kriaj*
    father 3 both A.   H.   and express OBJ NOM happy flourish
    "Both his father and A. H. expressed their happiness.

i. *awt leak liam nev avej   mian knong poh*
    not hide hide OBJ anything exist in   stomach
    "not hide anything"

    j.   *criang roam nev bawt Disco*
        sing   dance OBJ genre Disco
        "sing and dance Disco style"

    k.   *cuaj ka:pia kom aoj claw:ng nev cumngw: eds*
        help protect lest   cross OBJ disease Aids
        "..help protect against the transmission of Aids"

It may also occur as a compensatory diacritic object marker with concrete nouns when the word order has been scrambled, so that the object NP follows, but does not immediately follow, the transitive verb (Ehrman& Sos 1972:69). (NB: This marker does <u>not</u>, however, occur with fronted objects in OSV order.) Consider (7):

    (7) *kee: noam piak   mau:k traung mian amna:c*
        3   bring speech come form   have power
        "He came with a speech having great power."

In Khmer, "bring" or "fetch" is expressed by a two verb combination: *noam* or some other verb meaning "get" and *mau: k* "come" or some other verb of directed motion. The sentence (7) is an example of a pivot construction: The object *piak* "speech" follows the transitive verb *noam* in S1, and precedes and is the subject of the intransitive verb *mau:k* in S2. The result is that the relative clause-like chunk *traung mian amna:c* "form has power" is separated from the head noun *piak*. Asked whether it would be possible to change the word order in this sentence so that the relative clause was right after the head noun, as in:

    (8) *kee: noam mau:k piak   traung mian amna:c*
        3   get   come speech form have power

Mr. Ourn was dubious, but volunteered the improvement:

    (9) *kee: noam mau:k* NEV <u>*piak   traung mian amna:c*</u>
        3   get   come OBJ speech form   have power

Two more examples of the same alternation (both with a concrete object) are:

    (10) *prakaul mau:k knjom nev* <u>*luj   teang awh robawh neak*</u>
         offer   come me   OBJ money all   all   of   you
         "Give me all of your money"

(10) separates the DO from the V in place of the regular V + O + IO word order with the DO immediately following the verb, as in (11):

    (11) *prakaul* <u>*luj   teang awh   robawh neak*</u> *mau:k knjom*
         offer   money all   exhaust of   you come me

Note the following elicited judgments from Mr. Ourn. Given a predicate

(12) a. *aoj cee:k   cru:k muaj camnuan*
      give banana pig   one   amount
      "give the pig some bananas"

(with a discontinuous DO, the NP of the DO preceding, and the MP following, the IO), I asked Mr. Ourn if it would be possible to unite the DO so that the NP and MP were contiguous. He offered two possibilities. The DO as a whole could precede the IO, in which case, the IO would be better marked with a recipient marking preposition like *dawl*:

(12) b. *aoj cee:k   muaj camnuan dawl   cru:k*
      give banana one   bunch   towards pig
      "give a bunch of bananas to the pig"

Or the IO could precede the DO, in which case the DO would be improved by the appearance of the object-marking preposition *nev*:

(12)   *aoj cru:k nev cee:k   muaj camnuan*
      give pig   OBJ banana one   bunch
      "give the pig a bunch of bananas".

This artificial example suggests that the integrity of the DO noun phrase is of no great account (cf. Chapter 5, Section 1); and that in its distribution, the direct object marker *nev* is no different from the indirect object marker *dawl*: both are favored to appear when the DO or the IO are separated from the ditransitive verb which defines their function. The only construction where neither object-marking preposition occurs is (12a), in which both the DO (or part of it) and the IO are wedged up as close to the verb as possible, compatible with the V + DO + IO ideal.

    If *nev* is some kind of compensatory diacritic which identifies "straying" object NP (cf. Ehrman & Sos 1972:69, Jacob 1989:24), then there seems to be no clear function it performs in the eleven sample sentences that were originally given in (6).

    This is a recurrent theme in Khmer. A structure-creating word will apparently have some cognitive function, specifically to act as a compensatory diacritic when the function of the word or constituent which it marks is insufficiently determined by the order of constituents alone. But it will not always appear where this function seems to be called for; and to further muddy the waters, the structure will also appear where this function is not performed.

1.2   Presentative sentences

Sentences with the existential verb *mian* "have" almost invariably exhibit (X)VS order:

(13) a.   *mian phaenka:*
      exist plan
      "there is a plan."

    b.   *pontae k-mian aosawt   avej pjiaba:l*
      but   not-be medicine any treatment
      "But there is no medicine for treatment"

    c.   *kria nuh mian pdej   prapun kamsawt turkaut*
      time that exist husband wife   wretched miserable
      "Once there was a poor poor couple."

    d.   *mian iea'kha'na' pi: tiat dael khoh knia*
      have feature   two more which differ each.other
      "There are two more unusual features"

    e.   *mian candaeu laeung pi:*
      have stairway rise   2
      "There were two stairways going up."

    f.   *kmian   avej   beutbang tee:*
      not-have anything hide   not
      "There was nothing there to hide [(transitive) sc. them]."

    g.   *kmian   nau na: hian pah poal via tee:*
      not.have anyone dare hit touch 3   not
      "There was no one who dared to touch them."

    h.   *knong sa'mot mian robawh robaw: miah pec   kaev kaw:ng*
      in   sea   have things   gold jewel glass jewel
      pitu:so:rkan craeun nah
      treasure   much very
      "On the bottom of the sea there are lots of gold, jewels, treasures."

    i.   *nev leu: tumpoa ti: pi: robawh NYT*
      at on page   place two of   NYT
      taeng tae mian seckdej kae   damrev
      always   have NOM   correct correct
      "On page two of the NYT, there are always corrections."

    j.   *anjceung mian tae anj ceh   kambang   kluan?*
      So   exist only I   know make.invisible self
      "So am I the only one who can make myself invisible?"

That the distinction between existential and copula is easily breached in Khmer is illus-
trated not only by the fact that these two are the verbs which are often left out, but also
by sentences like:

(14) *Via mian rwang ej?*
      3   have matter any
      "Is there anything wrong?"

In this sentence, where *mian* is totally a verb of existence, the "ambient" subject pronoun
via "it" occurs: literally the sentence seems to mean "Does it have [existential verb] any-
thing?" Presumably, however, it means "Is it [copula verb] some matter?"

    Given the regularity of VS order with presentative sentences, it is odd to encounter
cases where SV is nevertheless standard, particularly with verbs denoting meteorological
phenomena.

(15) *Pliang pdaeum tleak haeuj*
      rain   begin fall   already
      "It is already beginning to rain."

One might expect

(16) **pdaeum tleak pliang haeuj*
      begin   fall   rain   already

Which is judged awkward, but which is greatly improved if provided with an ambient
dummy subject:

(17) *Via pdaeum tleak pliang haeij*
      3   begin   fall rain   already
      "It is already beginning to rain."

The "Germanic" syntax of (16) and (17) with an apparent stricture against V/1 in (16)
and the presence of dummy pronouns and concomitant V/2 order in (17) is all the more
remarkable given that Khmer has no restrictions on the non-expression of subject noun
phrases in general.

    Sometimes the existential verb separates the Noun Phrase from a Measure phrase
that quantifies it, suggesting again that these two are in fact separate constituents that are
only fortuitously clumped together. The sentence-initial (fronted) NP in the following
sentences is acting as the "object" of the existential verb, while the Measure Phrase (the
true subject of the existential verb) is not fronted:

(18) a. *jeu:ng mian tae pi: neak*
          we   have only two person
          "there are only two of us."

    b.   *bantup bawt ceu:ng mian dawl tev 15*
        room   bend leg   have arrive to 15
        [toilet   ]
        "of toilet stalls, there were up to 15" ("bend leg" is the euphemism
        for defecation)

    c.   *baeu ko'sawl   mian tec*
        if   right.action exist little
        "If there is only a little right action…"

There is no strong evidence that sentences of this sort, in which what we may regard as a single "big" NP is "split" into a "small" (fronted) NP and a post-verbal MP, are perceived any differently from sentences like

  (19) *knong camnaom kmee:ng voat   krav   pi: A. mian pi: bej   neak   tiat*
         in   group   youth   temple outside from A have two three person more
         "Among the temple youths aside from A. there were two or three more."

in which the sentence-initial phrase is an adverb of place, and the postverbal measure phrase is acting as an entire NP by itself.

    While *mian* is the prototypical presentative verb, other verbs can take this function, and bring about VS order:

  (20) a.   *tatual preah po:thi:sat*
           receive lord   enlightened one
           "There chanced to appear at this moment an enlightened one."

      b.   *lw: so: cheup*
           hear sound "cheup"
           "there was a 'cheup' sound" (sound of stabbing)

           Awh   ra'jeah pee:l pi: khae
           exhaust interval time two month
           "Two months passed."

      d.   *(awh   aekasawntha:n) sawl   tae   khao klej*
           (exhaust uniform)   remain only pants short
           "(There were no more uniforms): There remained only shorts."

1.3   Other sentential word orders

There are a few cases of object fronting (OSV ordering) under contrastive stress of O (?).

(21) a. *tveu: srae   via nwaj pee:k*
       do   paddy 3   tired too
       "Farming he was thoroughly sick of."

    b. *vi'cia   cao   luac   mwn   ba:n*
       science thief   steal   not   manage
       "Science, a thief cannot steal."

    c. *(Knjom sralanj A:muaj Hiang)*
       I   love   A.   H.
       tae rwang niang sralanj knjom venj nuh
       but COMP she   love   me   back that
       knjom awt deung tee:
       I   not   know not
       "(I loved A. H:) but whether she loved me back I didn't know."

    d. *Pteah tmej nih kee: khan cia bej   bantup*
       house new this 3   divide be three room
       "This new house they divided into three rooms"

    e. *srae   camka: jeu:ng mian*
       paddy garden we   have
       "Paddies and orchards/gardens we have."   (Gorgoniev 1966b: 245)

Note that the following sentence can be interpreted as an example of OVS order:

(21) f. *ceut pial   nwng ceut akrawk mian krup mnuh teang awh   haeuj*
       heart ignorant and   heart bad   have all   human all   exhaust for.sure
       "All humans definitely have evil and ignorant hearts"

But another interpretation, suggested by Mr. Ourn, is that *mian* is acting as the existential verb, and a preposition *knong* "in" can be supplied before the NP *krup mnuh*. In that case, the sentence would be better translated as "There are evil and ignorant hearts in all humans". In that case, this sentence is a violation of presentative VS order with existential verbs. But either way, it is a rarity.

    There is a single other example in my materials of OVS order, which I have been told is very much "spoken" and colloquial:

(21) g. *a:-   nwng dael lw: tee: lo:k kru:*
       ANA one   ever hear not HON teacher
       O   V   S
       "Have you ever heard it, sir?"

2.   Predicate complements

As copula verbs, *cia* and *nev* provide an unreliable distinction between verbal and nominal and locative predicates. Ideally there is:

–   no copula for verbal/adjectival predicates (*cru:k thoat* "the pig is fat"),
     cia for nominal predicates in statements of identity (*cru:k cia neak tohtiaj* "the pig is a prophet"), and
–   *nev* with locative predicates (*cru:k nev kraom pteah* "the pig is under the house").

Typically, nominal predicates do occur with the copula:

(22) a. *mwn me:n cia ka: ngiaj*
         not   really be task easy
         "not be an easy task"

     b. *koat tloap   cia neak   krupe:t pracam   maunti: pe:t   srok*
         3   used.to be person doctor permanent office   medical county
         "He used to be the permanent resident doctor in the county hospital"

     c. *phiasa: cia ka: samdaeng ceut   kumnwt krup ja:ng*
         language be NOM express   heart thought all   kind
         "Language is the expression of all emotions and ideas.

     d. *voat   nuh cia voat   kua   aoj   camlaek*
         temple that be temple should so.that odd
         "That temple was a remarkable one."

     e. *aopuk mda:j A. cia neak   camka:*
         father mother A. be person garden
         "A.'s parents were (non-rice crop) farmers."

     f. *taeu aeng cia ko:n cav   pi: na:*
         Q par you be child grandchild from which
                         [descendant]
         "Whose descendant are you?"

     g. *koat cia p̀o:n   pev   cido:n   knjom*
         3   be sibling last-born grandmother my
         "He was the youngest sibling of my grandmother."

But sometimes, *cia* also occurs with adjectival predicates:

(23) *knjom tok   piak nuh cia khoh*
      I   keep word that be wrong
      "I consider that word to be wrong."

And sometimes, nominal predicates occur without it:

(24) a. *mwn me:n A. tee:*
 not really A. not
 "It wasn't A."

 b. *beung nuh kw: Beung Kok*
 lake that lake K.
 "That lake was Lake K."

(One might be tempted to argue that the morpheme glossed as the colon *kw:* in (24b) is itself another copula verb, but as we will see further one, this would probably be a mistake.)
 Locative predicates occur with the copula-existential verb *nev* "be at, stay":

(25) a. *aeng nev kawt na:*
 you stay dormitory which
 "Which building (monks' dormitory) are you in?"

 b. *via nev cwt voat vi'hia Tanteum*
 3 stay close temple pagoda T.
 "They live close to the temple of T."

 c. *Suang peut cia nev cnga:j pi: Kawh Samraong.*
 S. really stay far from K. S.
 "(The temple of) S. was really far from (the village of) K. S."

But this "copula/existential" verb is not always necessary with locative complements:

(26) *sala: cnga:j pi: voat*
 school far from temple
 "The school was far from the temple."

3. Nominal adpositions

Khmer is rigidly prepositional:

(27) a. *(sraw:m sraw:p) nwng ka: naenoam*
 (comply agree) with NOM advise
 "agree with advice"

 b. *cuap nwng meut*
 meet with friend

    c. *ae pteah*
       at house

There are a small number of dedicated prepositions: *knong* "in(to)", *ae* "at", *leu:* "on", *nwng* "with", and *(am)pi:* "from, about". All others are primarily either transitive verbs, or nouns. Hence P NP order is essentially a subcase of V O order, or of N + MOD order.

(28) a. *mian ru:p knjom*
        have image me
        "including me"

      b. *kmian ti: dav*
        not   have destination
        "without destination"

      c. *kvah tae smav sla:p tia   muaj muk*
        lack only grass wing duck one   face
                                         CL
        "except for a duck's wing feather"

      d. *do:c   kantee:l*
        resemble mat
        "like a mat"

      e. *dawl kluan*
        arrive self
        "to me"

      f. *ta:m plav*
        follow path
        "along the path"

      g. *nwng ku:t   khao*
        with buttocks pants
        "against the seat of one's pants"

      h. *dak traciak knjom*
        put ear   my
        "(put) into my ear"

      i. *raut kat prej*
        run cut forest
        "run through the forest"

      j. *daoj   cok*
        go.through stuff
        "by stuff(ing) it "

k. *mun   nwng ngoap*
   precede FUT   croak/conk out (of animals)
   "before dying"

l. *claw:ng phot   pi: vial pi: khiat*
   cross   go.beyond from field from kill
   "survive the killing fields" (via coordination inflation of *pi: vial khiat*)

m. *kom   kau'bej lumba:k vetunia*
   don't should difficult hardship
   "without difficulty or hardship"

New prepositions are formed from phrases: *cia muaj* "be one" is a compound preposition meaning "with", which is further compounded by occurring in the symmetrical synonym compound *ciamuaj nwng*. The Khmer penchant for symmetrical compounding receives expression in the frequent use of compound locative prepositions:

leu: ae   "on at" instead of simply *leu:*,
co:l knong   "enter in" instead of simply *co:l*, and so on.

4.   Modification

Heads generally precede modifiers. This rule is far more general than that modifiers follow heads in NP. Subsumed under this rule are "tough" predicate structures like:

(29) a. *tnguan traciak*
          heavy ear
          "hard of hearing" (with Adjective + Noun order)

      b. *srual moat*
          easy mouth
          "easy to say" (again with Adjective + Noun/Verb order)

      c. *sa:p   moat*
          diluted mouth
          "weak in the mouth / with a voice made faint (from terror)"

      d. *sambo: trej*
          rich   fish
          "rich in fish"

      e. *cia   pne:k*
          healthy eye
          "sound of eye; able to see"

And this order holds cases of adverbial modification of one verb by another, as in:

(30)   *meu:l pliam*
      look   quick
      "take a quick look"

These examples clearly demonstrate that functional syntactic constituent labels like Head and Modifier are not simply a predictable function of part-of-speech labels like N and Adj., but have a reality independent of these labels in phrases.

4.1   Manner adverb phrases

Adverb of manner phrases usually follow the verb they modify. Both they and adjectival phrases are frequently (but not always) marked with a preceding word like *ja:ng* "kind" or *rabiap* "manner"

(31)   a.   *ni'jiaj rabiap   khang*
          say   manner angry
          "say angrily"

      b.   *knjom kampung   raut lee:ng ja:ng sa'ba:j*
          I   engage.in run play   kind happy
          "I was running along happily."

      c.   *koat daeu co:l   tev knong voat   rabiap   taw:j ngaw:j*
          3   walk enter go in   temple manner casual/negligent/haughty
          "He walked haughtily into the temple."

      d.   *cong kvaev   pdac vaul ja:ng phuj*
          tip   machete cut   vine kind easy
          "The blade of the machete cut the vines easily."

Note the remarkable absence of *ja:ng* in the following adverb of manner phrases (re-markable because the adverbial phrases are separated from the verbs they modify, and one might expect a compensatory diacritic to appear particularly in such cases).

(32)   a.   *knjom skoal   koat cbah nah*
          I   recognize 3   clear very
          "I recognized him very clearly."

      b.   *cwa   preah put   awt mian prawm daen*
          believe HON Buddha not have limit   border
          "believe without limit in the Buddha"

A puzzle for the proposition that "whatever modifies, follows" is offered by some cases of adverbial modification in which (what seems to an English speaker) the adverbial modifiers *luac, lau:p* "stealthy" necessarily precede the verb with which they occur:

(33) a. *luac hoc (sambot muaj aoj knjom)*
          steal pass (letter   one   give me)
          "stealthily pass (me a letter)"

      b. *lau:p meu:l (A:muaj Hiang)*
          sneak look (A.   H.)
          "visit (A. H.) secretly"

          (via ba:n mau:k) lau:p sdap (nev kraom   pteah)
          (3   PAST come) sneak listen (at   beneath house)
          "(He came and) listened secretly (from beneath the house)".

Not only is this word order obligatory in these examples: it is impossible to use the normally optional adverb of manner marker ja:ng "kind, sort" to create expressions like

(34)   **hoc ja:ng luac*
          pass kind steal
          "pass stealthily"

This is another occasion when I must note that my consultants insist on a distinction for which I have elsewhere found very little evidence, a distinction between "verbs" and "adjectives". Mr. Keat insists that words like *luac* and *lau:p* are VERBS, and verbs can not modify other verbs – only degree "adjectives" and adverbs can do so.

Hence the word order VERB + VERB in the examples above is for him compatible only with Auxiliary + Main Verb order or with Main Verb + Serial Verb order – neither of which seems a priori very likely to speakers of English. We return to the subject of auxiliary and serial verbs in Chapter 8.

5.   Coordination

Unmarked parataxis of both phrases and clauses is almost always possible:

(35) a. *Mda:j   kmee:k via cia mnuh   akrawk nah cee: ko:n prasa: mwn sva:ng*
          mother in-law 3   be person bad   very cuss child in-law not   cease
          "His mother-in-law was a very bad woman [and] cussed out her son-in-law ceaselessly."

Generally, when coordination is explicitly marked at all, phrasal coordination is signalled by *nwng*, and asymmetric clausal coordination by *haeuj* ("and then"), and by clause-final adverbial conjunctions *dae/phaw:ng* ("and also").

Non-exhaustive disjunction of A and B, both phrasal and clausal, is expressed by A *rw:* B.

5.1   Phrasal *nwng/rw:*

(36) a.   *avej dael   a:c pah poal ba:n   nwng avej dael   mwn trev pah poal ba:n*
        what which can touch   manage and   what which not must hit touch manage
        "What can be touched and what can't be touched"

   b.   *dejtli: nwng pteah sambaen*
        land   and   house house/precinct
        "land and houses"

   c.   *krasuang sathiarnaka: nwng deuk   canjcu:n*
        ministry public.works and   convey transport
        "ministry of public works and transportation"

   d.   *lo:k   sawng cia banjnjaeu k'aek   nwng pruan   sangkau:m*
        monk CL   be parasitic creeper and   tapeworm society
        "monks are the parasites and bloodsuckers of society" (A Khmer Rouge slogan)

   e.   *aeng nwng anj cia satrev slap rauh nwng knia*
        you and   I be enemy die live with each.other
        "You and I are mortal enemies."

   f.   *prakan nwng mianeah*
        hostile and   stubborn

   g.   *(Sophiaseut bandeut pradav   p'aem ciang)*
        proverb   sage   instruct sweet exceed
        "(The teachings of a wise one are sweeter than)"

        ampev   nwng ru:p srej   l'aw:
        sugarcane and   form woman good/beautiful
        "sugarcane or (lit. and) the form of a beautiful woman."

   h.   *(Knong piak   ni'muaj ni'muaj mian)*
        in   word each   each   have
        "(In each word there are)"

        sawte' daeum   pjiang nwng sawte' cong pjiang
        sound beginning syllable and   sound end   syllable
        "sounds at the beginning and the end of the syllable"

i. *prate:h kampucia mwn me:n cia sangkau:m do:c prate:h ceun*
    country Cambodia not   really be society   like country China
    rw: juan   tee:
    or Vietnam not
    "Cambodia was not a country like China or Vietnam"

j. *kom aoj trev teuk pliang rw: kamdav tngaj*
    lest   hit water rain   or heat   sun
    "(to protect it) from the rain and (lit. or) the heat of the sun"

But sometimes *nwng* is employed for VP or clausal coordination:

(37) *A:chaj trev taw: su: nwng mian ceut tnguan nah*
      A.   must struggle and have heart heavy very
      "A. had to be stoical and bear a lot of grief."

The coordinate conjunction may appear (rarely) between synonyms in coordinate compounds, but never between twin forms (at least one of which is meaningless):

(38) *Seckdej reak teak nwng sneut sna:l*
      NOM   friendly and   intimate
      "friendliness and intimacy"

(39) a.   **seckdej reak nwng teak*
      b.   **seckdej sneut nwng sna:l*

The symmetrical phrasal coordinate conjunction is homophonous with the preposition "with", although the two are spelled differently.

5.2   Clausal *haeuj/rw:*

The sequential coordinate conjunction "and (then)" is *haeuj*, literally "finish":

(40) a.   *ko:n teang pi: nev cam mda:j   knong ru:ng nwng haeuj kom tev na:*
           child all   two stay wait mother in   cave this and   don't go where
           mau:k na: aoj   sawh na:
           come   where so.that at.all any
           "Both of you kids wait for me here in this cave and don't go anywhere at all."

When two predicates have the same subject, the coordinate conjunction may be *kaw:* (which has other uses to be further discussed in considerable detail in Chapter 10):

(40) b.   *burawh nuh cam ju: pee:k   kaw: daeu co:l   tev cwt*
           fellow   that wait long.time too.much and walk enter go close
           "The young man waited a long while and then came in close."

    c.   *kheu:nj burawh <u>kaw:</u> sua daoj reak teak*
         see   fellow and ask by   friendly
         "..saw the young man, and asked in a friendly voice"

    d.   *knjom ba:t teu:p nwng cenj pi: pteah mau:k <u>kaw:</u> mau:k cuap*
         I   HUM just   exit from house come and come meet
         nwng lo:k tae mdaw:ng
         with you at.once
         "I had just left the house and met you right away."   (Gorgoniev 1966b: 270)

With the typical Khmer love of symmetrical compounding that is reflected throughout the grammar, the two sequential conjunctions may be conjoined in the order *haeuj kaw:*, and when they do, the clauses may be either same-subject or different subject. Moreover (and this goes against the tendency for symmetry), if the different subject is spelled out, then *haeuj* precedes, and *kaw:* follows, this subject.

    Another sequential coordinate conjunction is *ruac* "escape":

(41) *pdam   <u>ruac</u> tunsa:j nwng tev bat   tev*
      leave.message and rabbit that go disappear DIR
      "He left the message and then that rabbit took off."

Also possible is a combination of the two clausal conjunctions *ruac haeuj* in that order:

(42) *sdap <u>ruac haeuj</u> mee: kla: khang klang nah*
      listen and and   mother tiger angry strong very
      "After she heard this message the mother tiger was enraged."

But sometimes *haeuj* is contrastive rather than sequential:

(43) *Ko:n mian pdej   <u>haeuj</u> nev tae viaj pradav do:c ko:n kmee:ng*
      child have husband and   still only beat lecture like small youngster
      The daughter had a husband and (the mother) still beat and harangued her as if she were a small child."

The clausal disjunction is *rw:*, which most frequently appears in the polar question tag *rw: tee:* "or not" and *rw: nev* "or be/stay", with the same meaning. I have no examples of S1 *rw:* S2 with full clauses.

5.3   The expression of "also"

Two nearly synonymous clause-final adverbial conjunctions are used to express "also/too": *dae* and *phaw:ng*. The first is typically used when the subject of two clauses is the same, or when the subjects are different and the identity of the predicate is incidental, or the subject of the second is non-sycophantically conforming with the subject of the first.

(44) a.   *rwang nih cia rwang muaj mian nev knong sastra: <u>dae.</u>*
           story this be story one exist be.at in   lore   also
           "This is another story which is still remembered in our folklore also."

      b.   *(mwn treum tae   mnuh clo:h   knia)*
           not   true only person dispute each.other
           "(it was not only the humans who quarreled:)

           A:- ckae kaw: mwn trev knia   <u>dae</u>
           HON dog also not hit each.other also
           "their dogs also did not get along with each other."

           lw: do:c neh Ca:m kaw: pnjaeu sampiaj nwng A:le:v
           hear like that Cam and.so entrust knapsack with Alev
           ruac   kaw: raut tev cuaj denj nwng kee: <u>dae</u>
           and.then and.so run to help chase with 3   also
           "Hearing this, the Cam entrusted their knapsacks to Alev and joined
           the chase also…"

      d.   *pro:h   kwt   tha: nwng ba:n sac   praeu si: <u>dae</u>*
           because think COMP FUT   get   meat deer eat also
           "because they thought they would also get some venison to eat."

      e.   *knjom so:m aw:kun lo:k <u>dae</u>*
           I   please thank HON also
           "I too would like to express my thanks to you, sir."

      f.   *bampoan mi: kmav daoj aoj camnej si: aoj   ba:n craeun*
           feed   bitch black by give food   gobble so.that get   lots
           daeumbej aoj   ba:n ac   craeun <u>dae</u>
           in.order so.that get   shit lots   too
           "Feed the black bitch well, give her lots to eat so that she will shit a lot, too."

      g.   *kluan tloap kmee:ng do:c knia   <u>dae</u> tee: taeu!*
           self use.to young   like companion also actually
           "You were once young like us/me!"

This "also" may also apparently cooccur with *haeuj/kaw::*

(45) a.   *ju: tngaj <u>haeuj</u>   lo:k   kaw: bat   khang <u>dae</u>*
           long day   and.then monk and.so disappear angry also
           "a long time had passed and the monk's anger had dissipated also."

      b.   *cru:k mian panjha: <u>haeuj</u>   kaw: kcwl nah <u>dae</u>.*
           pig   have intelligence and.then so   lazy very also
           "Pigs are smart, but they are also very lazy."

    c.   *knjom rangia nah tatual mian damnee:k pum sev luak*   *tee:*
        (I   shiver very receive have sleep   hardly   sleep.sound not)
        Aopuk knjom <u>kaw:</u> samra:n mwn ba:n   <u>*dae.*</u>
        father my   and relax   not manage also
        "I was shivering and could hardly sleep, and father was also having a hard time
        relaxing."   (Gorgoniev 1966b: 294)

    d.   *cav*   *aeng tev na:*   *mau:k na:*   <u>*haeuj*</u>   *nev aena: cmo:h ej*   <u>*dae?*</u>
        grandson you   go where come   where and.then stay where name what also
        "Grandson, where are you coming from where you going where are you staying,
        and what's your name?"

It is possible, however, that in this last example, there is coordination at two different levels. On the one hand, there is sequential coordination of the actions of coming, going, and staying. This coordination may be embedded in an enumerative coordination of the actions of enquiry: I ask about your actions, and I ask about your name also.

    The second "also" word, *phaw:ng*, (which may derive from an Old Khmer pluralizing word) can also be used in this way, although far less frequently, and signals that the second predicate occurs at the same time as the first[3]:

(46) a. *ba:n si:*   *babaw:*   *p̀aem craeun* <u>*phaw:ng.*</u>
         PAST gobble porridge sweet lots   also
         "He had also at the same time eaten a lot of sweet porridge."

     b. *Krapeu: kampung tae klian*   <u>*phaw:ng*</u>
         crocodile PROG   only hungry also
         "The crocodile was also at the same time, hungry."

But its par excellence use is when the subjects are different and the subject of the second clause is deferentially or sycophatically imitating or asking to imitate the subject of the first (cf. Ehrman & Sos 1972:73).

(46) c. *knjom tev* <u>*phaw:ng*</u>
         I   go too
         "Can I tag along, too?"

     d. *knjom kaw: kwt do:c nawh (dae /* **<u>phaw:ng</u>)*
         I   so   think like that also
         "I think so too."

5.4   Decorative compounding of conjunctions

5.4.1   *nwng* and *haeuj*
As a conjunction meaning "and", *haeuj* is only used as a clause conjunction and is not permitted as a constituent conjunction:

(47)   a.   **kok   haeuj   cacaw:k*
            stork   and   wolf
            "The stork and the wolf"

The typical constituent conjunction "and" is *nwng*:

(47)   b.   *kok   nwng   cacaw:k*
            stork   and   wolf
            "the stork and the wolf"

However, the decorative compound *haeuj nwng* can serve as the perfect synonym of the constituent conjunction alone:

(47)   c.   *kok   (haeuj)   nwng   cacaw:k*
            stork   and   and   wolf
            "the stork and the wolf"

5.4.2   *phaw:ng* and *dae*
In writing, the coordination of these clause-final particles is apparently exactly synonymous with the unmarked use of *dae*.

(48)   *samrap muc   teuk   nwng prahael cia samrap sraoc   sraw:p damnam <u>phaw:ng dae</u>*
        suitable plunge water and   probably suitable sprinkle   plants   also   also
        "suitable for bathing and probably for irrigation also"

The examples of (47c) of 5.4.1, and of (48) make the recurrent point that in the quest for a symmetrical conjunction of near-synonyms, the language makes allowances for non-synonymous conjunction. There are also apparent limits to conjoinability: while the coordinate compounds

> *nwng haeuj*   "and + and then" and
> *phaw:ng dae*   "too + also"

are possible, no compounds "and also", semantically plausible as they may seem, are possible. That is, there is no attestation of:

> **phaw:ng nwng,*
> **phaw:ng haeuj,*
> **nwng phaw:ng,*
> **nwng dae,* etc.

They do not occur, perhaps for semantic reasons, perhaps (more likely) because *nwng,* *haeuj* occur <u>between</u> conjoined constituents (A--B), and *phaw:ng,dae* <u>follow the second constituent</u> (AB--). If for the second reason, the absence of these compounds underscores the evidence of the main part of the presentation in Section 5.4: *Form apparently trumps function* at least in the construction of symmetrical "synonym" compounds.

5.5   Exhaustive coordination and disjunction

Exhaustive symmetrical phrasal nominal coordination is rendered by (usually repeated) *teang* "all":

> *teang*   A   *teang*   B,   *(teang* C, etc.)
> "both   A   and   B   (and C, etc.) jointly"

Exhaustive symmetrical phrasal disjunction is usually rendered by repeated *kdej* "matter":

> *kdej* A *kdej* B
> "either/whether A or B"

(49)   a.   *teang kee: teang knjom*
          all   3   all   I
          "all of us (1pl. exclusive)"

   b.   *teang ao   teang mae   teang ko:n*
          all   dad all   mom all   child
          "dad, mom, and children alike"

   c.   *mian teang knjom kamdaw: mian ko: mian seh*
          have all   slave assist   have ox   have horse
          "accompanied by his retinue of personal slaves, cattle, and horses"

   d.   *daoj samlee:ng kdej   daoj a'tha'   kdej*
          by   sound   either by   meaning either
          "whether by sound or by meaning"

5.6   Parallel predicates

Symmetrical VP coordination occurs in sentences like

> "She is both beautiful and kind"   (same subject, different predicates)
> "I'm a Lebowski, you're a Lebowski.".   (different subjects, same predicate)
> "Pigs I can stand, hippos I can do without." (different object, same subject, same auxiliary)

Usually such phrases are just adjoined without any explicit marking. But sometimes the parallelism between them is underscored by the appearance of a preverbal particle *kaw:,* as in

(50) a. *Knjom kaw: kwt meu:l siavphev pdej   knjom kaw: kwt meu:l*
         I   so plan read book   husband my   so   plan read
         "Both my husband and I plan to read."   (Lim et al. 1972:261)

      b. *A: kaw: mian babuah damrej   kaw: mian babuah*
         HON vulture so have injury elephant so have injury
         "Both the vultures and the elephants sustained some injuries."

      c. *Kee: tveu: ampi: kavsu: kaw: mian ampi: spoan   kaw: mian*
         3   make of   rubber so exist of   copper so exist
         "They make them of rubber, and they make them of copper."

      d. *Tok ka:w mwn camnaenj*
         keep so not profit
         daw:k   cenj kaw: mwn kha:t
         remove exit so   not lose
         "As there's no profit in keeping you alive, so too there is no loss in terminating you."
         (For the moment, we can consider the initial phrases of (50d) to be zero-inflected
         nominalizations, hence subjects.)

      e. *Lej kaw: mwn ceh   tveu:*
         creel and not   know do
         kanjcraeng kaw: mwn ceh   tba:nj
         basket   so   not know weave
         ksae   kaw: mwn ceh   venj.
         string and not   know braid
         "I don't know how to weave,
         I don't know how to make any kind of basket,
         I don't know how to braid string"
         (In this sentence, with repeated O(S) Aux V clauses, the repetition is of neither O
         nor V, but of the auxiliary *mwn ceh* "didn't know" The pattern is that the particle
         kaw: precedes each parallel *mwn ceh* + V P.)

6.   Negation

The word "no" is *tee:*, which can be reinforced by a "not" word like *awt*.

(51) *(awt) tee:!*
      (not) no
      "No!"

The word "yes" is *ba:t* (for males), *cah* (for females), but since both of these may also appear
before *tee:*, it is clear that if they have an invariant meaning at all, they are signals of defer-
ence and politeness (the willingness to agree, perhaps) rather than of actual agreement[4].

6.1   Prohibitives

Like many other languages, including English, Khmer distinguishes between constative "not" (expressed by the negative particles *mwn (mee:n)*[5], *pum, k-* "not", as well as by negative verbs such as *le:ng* "do no longer, quit", *awt* "lack, (do) without")[6], and imperative/subjunctive prohibitive negation "don't" via a prohibitive auxiliary (*kom* "don't", and *krae* "fear").

(52)   a.   *mwn cralawm*
             not   confuse
             "is not confused."

       b.   *kom   cralawm*
             don't confuse
             "Don't be confused."

The prohibitive occurs not only in imperatives (53a), but with hortatory force in sentences whose subject is in the first person (53b):

(53)   a.   *Kom   kheu:nj kla: kra:p*
             don't see   tiger crouch
             "think not when you see a tiger crouch"

            tha: kla: sampeah
             COMP tiger greet.respectfully
             "that it does obeisance."

In this proverb, the negative has in its scope not the following verb (which is effectively subordinated), but the verb in the clause after that.

(53)   b.   *jeu:ng kom   a:l   tev cbah cia mian ka: srual haeuj*
             we   PROH expect go clear be have NOM easy finish
             "We must not expect it to be easy/ Let us not expect it to be easy."

The constative/prohibitive *mwn/kom* distinction happens to provide the only means for distinguishing between the "if." clauses of given and hypothetical conditionals on the one hand and counterfactual conditionals on the other. When negated, the former occur with a constative negative, and the latter with the prohibitive.

(54)   a.   *baeu kom ba:n kun   bawn preah lo:k   cuaj*
             if   don't get merit grace lord   monk help
             "without the help of god",

            srac   bat   tev haeuj
             ready disappear go already
             "I would have been lost" (The negator in the protasis is *kom*, hence the conditional is counterfactual.)

    b.   *baeu mwn ba:n kun bawn preah lo:k cuaj, srac bat tev haeuj*
"Without god's help, I will be lost." (The negator in the protasis is *mwn*, hence the conditional is hypothetical.)

(55) a.   *baeu kom sdap samlee:ng ba:n*
            if   don't listen voice   manage
            "If (I) hadn't got to hear his voice",

            meu:l kheu:nj pliam seung tha: mwn skoal
            look see   quick almost say not   recognize
            "looking (at him) quickly, (I) might almost not have recognized (him)."

    b.   *baeu mwn sdap sawmlee:ng ba:n, meu:l kheu:nj pliam seung mwn skoal*
"If I don't hear his voice, I won't recognize him."

In the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals, if the the prohibitive particle appears at all, it marks counterfactuality and counterfactuality alone. It is not a negative. Observe the following sentence:

(56) a.   *Ji: kom tae kec toan,*
            Gee prohibitive only escape in.time
            "Gee, if I hadn't escaped just in time.."

            kom ej a:-tunsa:j si: bat
            prohibitive what that.rabbit eat disappear
            "..that rabbit would have eaten me up."
            (NB. * "…would <u>not</u> have eaten me up")

To express the negative in such a counterfactual conditional apodosis, a standard constative negative marker like *mwn* is employed:

(56) b.   *Kom tae lo:k prap tha: via cia pseup pul*
            prohibitive only you tell say 3 be mushroom poison
            "If you hadn't told me it was a poisonous mushroom",

            kom ej knjom mwn deung
            prohibitive what I   not   know
            "…I wouldn't have known."

Note that the protasis of the negative counterfactual (56) occurs with *kom (tae)*, while the apodosis negative counterfactual occurs with *kom ej*. (I have not encountered any other cases of this exact kind of clause balance.) Otherwise, as in many other languages (Haiman & Kuteva 2002), it is notable that Khmer counterfactuals observe a formal symmetry between protasis and apodosis: both can occur with the prohibitive (here purely counterfactual) auxiliary *kom*.

In principal clauses, *kom aoj* may be translated as "let not…":

(57) a.   *om tu:k kom aoj l'a:n*
           oar boat let   not leave.traces
           cap   trej ba:n   kom aoj l'awk   teuk
           catch fish succeed let   not muddy water
           "Let the boat leave no traces of its passage in the water;
           Once the fish are caught, let the waters not be muddied."
           (This proverb enjoins stealth, cf. "Leave no footprints".)

Kom aoj "don't give" means "lest" in subordinate clauses:

(57) b.   *leak ka: kom aoj nau: na: deung*
           hide matter lest   anyone   know
           "hide it lest anyone find out"

           cok tradaw:k ko: kom aoj lw: so:
           stuff bell   cow lest   hear sound
           "stuff the cowbells lest anyone hear"

So does *kraeng aoj* "fear give":

(58) *kraeng aoj...   co:l si: smav*
      fear   give [sc. water buffalo] enter eat grass
      "lest the water buffalo get in and eat the grass"

6.2   Clause-final *tee:*

The word *tee:* "no" may appear clause-finally with constative, but not prohibitive negatives:

(59) a.   *mwn cambac prua la:n   mau:k prap knjom tee:*
           not   need   ticket.taker come tell me   no
           "The ticket taker didn't need to come tell me anything."

      b.   *knjom mwn cia neak   ceh   sansawm samcaj do:c puak kmae krahaw:m tee:*
           I   not be person know economize   like group Khmer red   no
           "I was not someone, like the Khmer Rouge, who knew how to economize."

           baeu knjom mwn cralawm   tee:
           if   I   not confused no
           "if I am not mistaken.."

Mysteriously, it is sometimes required here. In the following sentence, *tee:* occurs in both the negative protasis and negative apodosis of a conditional sentence. While its presence in the first clause is optional, its appearance in the second is apparently not, for reasons I do not understand:

(59) d. *Baeu baw:ng kok aeng mwn ceh hav baw:ng kandol tee:/ø,*
 If you heron you not know call older.sibling rat not/
 *awt ba:n ambaeng mau:k tee:/*ø*
 not get pan DIR not/
 "If you, heron, do not address the rat correctly, you will not succeed in bringing
 back the roasting pan (that you are asking her to loan you)."

In addition to this constative negative function, *tee:* can appear clause-finally with claus-
es that have no overt negative, but often do have some limiting word like *tae* "only":

(60) a. *anj kla:c tae mnuh pial tee:*
 I fear only person ignorant no
 "I fear only ignorant people."

 b. *koat cam tae cap kamhoh tee:*
 3 wait only catch fault no
 "He was just waiting to catch him making a mistake."

 c. *tae muaj plet tee:*
 only one moment not
 "Just a moment."

 d. *pau:k kba:l tae bantec tee:*
 bump head only a little not
 "He just got a bump on his head."

Sometimes, the preceding negative is implicit, as in the response in the mini-dialog
below:

(61) Question: *teuk criav tee:*
 water deep not
 "Is the water deep (or not)?"
 Answer: *tee:, teuk reak tee:*
 no water shallow not
 "No, (it's not deep), it's (only?/just?) shallow."

Finally, by a process of association, *tee:* may occur without any prior *tae:*

(62) a. *preah awng mian dee:ceah .. daoj sa: riac botrej tee:*
 lord CL have great power.. because king daughter only
 "Your majesty, you have great power, but only because of your daughter."

 b. *mian avej l'aw: meu:l ponma:n tee:*
 exist something good look.at how.much not
 "There's nothing good on (TV, movies)."

Tee: is one of a number of such optional clause-final negative particles (comparable to French *pas, point* perhaps). Others include *laeuj* (with no clear meaning as an independent word), *sawh* "at all" and *aena:* "where":

(63) a.   *knjom kmian   luj   (tee:/sawh/laeuj/ana:)*
          I   not.have money no/at all/ ??/ where
          "I have no money (at all)."

Note that while *tee:* can only occur with or as a constative negative (as in (63a)), the particle *sawh* can occur with the prohibitive *kom:*

(63) b.   *kom tev na: mau:k na: sawh na:*
          don't go where come where at.all any
          "Don't go anywhere at all."

In keeping with the penchant for synonym compounding in Khmer, the pair of particles *sawh laeuj* may appear, particularly in formal speech:

(64) *kmian   avej   dael   nwt   nev nuh sawh laeuj*
      not-have anything which abide stay that at.all at.all(?)
      "There is nothing at all that abides forever."

6.3   Metalinguistic negation

The clause-final negative *aena:* "where" is distinct from *tee:, sawh,* and *laeuj* in two respects. First, it hardly ever appears as a redundant or pleonastic negative in natural texts (and I have only the native judgments of one consultant as to the grammaticality of (63a) above). Second, unlike these other clause-final negatives, it can appear, in fact typically appears, entirely alone   that is, without a preverbal preceding negative:

(65) *knjom mian luj   aena: (*?tee:/*sawh/*laeuj)*
      I   have money where (*no/*at all/* ??)

Moreover, when it does so, it sometimes seems to be "rhetorically negative"[7], conveying not only negation, but also scorn. First, it sometimes seems to have the same jocular or ironic force as clause-final "…NOT!".

(66) a.   *pontae mian akaw: aena: craeun*
          but   have rice   where lots
          "But there was a lot of rice (in the large jar)…. NOT!"

Or possibly, either *aena:* alone or the combination *mian (tev) …aena:* may be translated by something like "no way…" or "fat chance!":

(66) b. *a:pial nwng <u>mian</u> tev rau:k luj   baw:ng   via <u>aena:</u>*
      crook that have go seek money older.sibling 3 where
      "Fat chance of that crook ever going to look for his older brother's money!"

Or it could be used to signal something like "You call this X?", or "what do you mean, X?" (Lim et al. 493):

(66)   *prak   khae kpauh <u>aena:</u>*
        money month high   where
        "You call this a high salary??"

    d. *Kw: mwn me:n muaj bat   muaj kak <u>aena:</u>*
       not really one baht one   coin where
       "But it was not just a coin – oh no!"

    e. *A:le:v taw:p "Kee: <u>mian</u> denj viaj neak   luak phaom <u>aena:</u>*
       A.   answer 3   have chase beat person sell fart   where
       "Alev answered:
       'No way did they chase and beat you for being the person who had sold the farts:
       OR 'You think they were chasing and beating you as a fart-seller? Forget about
       it!/ Like hell they were!'

       (kee: denj viaj neak   banjcenj kdaw: kraleut)
       3   chase beat person exhibit penis circumcise
       ("'They were chasing and beating you for being someone who had exposed his
       circumcised penis.'")

    f. *<u>Mian</u> ba:n deung tha: kee: denj cap   praeuh <u>aena:</u>*
       have get know COMP 3   chase catch deer   where
       "He didn't have the foggiest clue that they were chasing a deer."

    g. *Ruac coh <u>mian</u> nauna: kee: tev cuaj <u>aena:</u> baeu koat sraek tha:*
       then how have anyone   3   go help where if   3   shout say
       "But how was any one even going to think of going to help her, seeing that she
       was shouting out that"

       prasa: koat tev haeuj.
       son-in-law 3   go already
       "it's her own son-in-law who's gone?"

    h. *caev   om   raho:t ceh   jau:k cia ka: ba:n <u>mian tev</u> awt prajaoc   <u>aena:</u>*
       paddle paddle until know take be NOM get   have go not profitable where
       "We kept on paddling until our skill became …not unprofitable."

The etymology of *aena:* is obscure. Possibly its metalinguistic use was preceded by its use as an intensifier like *sawh* "at all"[8]. The origins of the frequently accompanying initial bracket *mian (tev)*   are also unclear. It could be that *aena:* occurred most frequently with existential *mian*, as in (65) and (66a), and that this usage was extended.

6.4   Other negatives

A colloquial negative is post-clausal *ej meːn taeu* (literally "what certainly Q par"), as in

(67) *uat ej   meːn   taeu*
       brag what certain Q par
       "No I'm not boasting."

A teen-speak put-down to anyone who makes a hopeless request is the utterance

(68) *toal tae juː   haː*
       until only long.time you.hear[9]
       "in your dreams/fat chance/like hell"

Both of these are idiomatic and entirely opaque. They may be gone by the time this appears.

7.   Questions

7.1   Polar questions

Polar questions are either unmarked, or followed by *(rwː)(teeː/nev/awt)* "or no/stay/lack"[10]:

(69) *taeu niang mian kuː   rwː nev?*
       Q par she   have partner or stay
       "Does she have a partner or doesn't she?"

An idiomatic polar question marker is *tiː deung* (literally "place know") meaning something like "is it just possible that..?":

(70) a. *aeng uat   tiː   deung*
          you   boast place know
          "Is it just possible that you are bragging/exaggerating?"

It is possible that *teeː deung*, with exactly the same meaning, is a variant of this:

(70) b. *tec   keeː luac teeː deung?*
          a.bit 3   steal not know
          "Is it just possible that someone might steal it?"

      c. *prahael cia keeː sralanj knia   ruac haeuj teeː deung?*
          perhaps   3   love   each.other PERF PERF not know
          "Is it just possible that maybe they already love each other?" (Gorgoniev 1966b: 297)

There are a variety of tag question markers which seem to be more or less sporadic and idiomatic:

(71) a. *baw:ng* *cheu: nwng sawmbo: dae rw: ej*
elder.brother tree   the   plentiful also or what
"Older brother, there are lots of this kind of tree around, right?"
(almost transparent)

b. *puk nih vaussa: ej   tev*
dad this V.   what go
"Dad, isn't that Vaussa?" (totally opaque)

c. S, *mwn (anjceung) tee:*
S, not   thus   not
"S, isn't that right?" (totally transparent)

7.2   Content questions

Content question words (indefinite pronouns) occupy the same position in the sentence as the corresponding non-interrogative NP. Note the position of *na:* "any/which", and *avej* "something/what" below:

(72) a. *khawm preung dandaeum ho:p tveu: avej?*
force   force   down   eat do   what
"Why (= with what intention) were you forcing it down (as if it were) food?"

b. *puak koat cawng ni'jiaj avej, ni'jiaj tev*
group 3   want say what say   go
"Let them say what they like" / "I don't care what they say."

c. *haeuj kee: cia nauna:?*
and   3   be who
"..and who is it?"

d. *haeuj camnuan luj   kasawng daw: craeun santheuk santhoap nih*
and   sum   money construct very much extend   extend   this
ba:n mau:k pi: na:?
get come from where
"And where is the enormous quantity of money to build this going to come from?"

e. *rwang nuh ja:ng mec tev?*
matter that kind how go
"What's going on?"

f. *ta: baw:h nwng trev cia mec*
hermit   that related how
"What relationship does that hermit have (to you)?"

g. *anjceung ao via mian phaenka: avej s̆aek?*
  so   dad 3   have plan   what tomorrow
  "So what is your plan for tomorrow, father of that one?"

7.2.1 Fronting in questions

The behavior of *mec* "how, why" is comparable to that of the similarly homophonous words in Chinese (Li & Thompson 1980: 523–4) and other languages. When the word means "how", it appears wherever manner adverbs are found, but when it means "why" it typically occurs clause initially.

As "how":

(73) a. *Haeng   viaj anj mec*
      you (vulgar) beat me how
      "How do you beat me?"

b. *Pontae mwn deung tveu: ja:ng mec*
    but   not   know do   kind how
    "but did not know how to proceed"

c. *Ruac coh   hav kee: ja:ng mec tev*
    then Q par call 3   kind how DIR
    "So how should I address him?"

d. *Tha: mec*
    say how
    "Say what?"

As "why":

(73) e. *Mec haeng   viaj anj*
      why you (vulgar) beat me
      "How is it that (= why) do you beat me?"

f. *Mec haeng mwn aoj   anj si: phaw:ng?*
    why you   not allow me chow.down also
    "How come you don't allow me to chow down like you?"

More strikingly, note that the fuller formal expressions of "why", not only occur clause-initially:

(74) a. *H(a)et avej ba:n cia   ...S*
      cause what cause be
      "why S"

b. *Mec ba:n cia*
    how cause be
    "why"

   c.   *Mec ba:n   cia kee: beut plav*
       how cause be 3   close road
       "Why is the road closed?"

In Khmer, as in English (with "how come") and some other languages, the "why" word is given a clause of its own[11]. Presumably this special treatment of the "why" word is diagrammatically iconic, the cause for any scenario being generally conceptualized as another – prior – scenario.

    The "why" words *h(a)et* "cause" and *m(d)ec* "how" occur in a biclausal structure S1 cause S2 with the sentential verb (+ complementizer) construction *ba:n (+ cia)* "(bring it about) that" as the "cause" verb:

(75) a. *het   avej   ba:n cia neak   cambac   trev kralee:t meu:l ǎdejta ka:l?*
          cause which get be person necessary must glance look past   time
          "why (is it that) people must pay attention to the past?"

      b. *mec ba:n cia ju: mleh kroan tae claw:ng spian ponneung?*
          how get be long so   just   cross   bridge this.much
          "How come it's taking her so long just to cross the bridge?"

          mec ba:n neak   aeng kheu:nj botrej   jeu:ng mau:k
          how get person you see   daughter our   come
          haeuj neak   aeng mwn prau:m ciah cenj
          and   person you not   agree   avoid exit
          "How come you saw my daughter [a king is speaking, and using the royal we] coming and didn't get out of her way?"

Not only the "why" word gets fronted, however. Fronting is an option for other Q-words also.

    There is a neat minimal contrast pair formed by different positions of *aena:* "where". As an interrogative of place, it normally occurs in situ:

(76) *Ambeul nev   aena:*
      salt   be.at where
      "Where's the salt?"

However, when the existential/copula verb *nev* goes missing, as it often can, then *aena:* must be fronted:

(77) a. *Aena: ambeul?*
        where salt
        "Where ('s) the salt?"

The in situ order

(77) b.   *Ambeul aena:*
       salt   where
       "You call this salt?; Salt, my eye!"

is indeed grammatical in (77b), but only on the scornful (metalinguistic/rhetorical) negation reading of *aena:*, like in the utterances of (66). It is as if fronting of a question word in Khmer is a "reserved option" which can unambiguously signal a normal question, even with   with constituents that are ordinarily not fronted. More neutrally: The interrogative pronoun *aena:* "where" is frontable (under some circumstances), but the homophonous metalinguistic negator *aena:* is not. (As we have already observed OSV order is possible for object-focus, and as we shall see in Section 10, fronting out of a matrix clause is possible as a focusing device.)

7.3   Sentence-initial question markers

7.3.1   *coh*
The polyfunctional particle *coh* (< "descend") can also occur clause-initially meaning something like "Tell me, I'm curious". Notice how adequately it can be translated in the following examples, where it is accompanied by other question words, by "well, then, (tell me)..":

(78) a.   *Coh aeng jau:k ponma:n*
      well you take how.much
      "Well then, tell me, how much do you need?"

    b.   *Coh ejlev tev na: bat   haeuj*
       well now go where disappear PERF
       "Well, where's she gone off to now?"

    c.   *(-- No!)*
         Coh baeu awt mec kaw: kla:c sethej?
         well if   not how so   fear nobleman
       "Well, if not, then why do you fear nobles?"

    d.   – *Coh o'pa'sawk   aeng ba:n tveu: ej   nwng ta: baw:h tee:?*
       well congregant you PAST do what with hermit only
       "Well then, what have you done with the holy hermit?"

    e.   *Coh neak   niang mau:k kanlaeng nwng tveu: avej?*
       well person missy come place this do what
       "Well, why (with what purpose) have you come here?"

    f.   *Coh aeng cia neak   na:*
       well you be person which
       "Well then, who are you?"

g. *Coh haeng   mian phoahta:ng ej   mau:k bangha:nj ?*
   well you (vulg) have evidence   what come   show
   "Well, where's your evidence?"

h. *Coh baw:ng   kok   cam ej   tiat?*
   well elder.brother stork wait what more
   "Well, then, what are you waiting for, Stork?"

Consultants suggest "how about.." or "how come..." in examples like:

(79) a. *coh   via si: ac   aeng si: mec ba:n?*
        Q par 3   eat shit you eat how manage
        "How come he could eat your shit?"

   b. *bej coh   baw:ng trej baw:ng kda:m baw:ng kjaw:ng aeng nev ti: nih?*
      as.if Q par brer   fish brer   crab brer   snail   you stay place this
      "How come you fish and crabs and snails stay in this place?"

      Coh   baeu knjom kvak kvwn me:n?
      Q par if   I   blind lame really
      "What if I am really blind and lame?"

   d. . (-- He stole all our money!)
      Ji: coh   neak   aeng ni'jiaj anjceung
      Gee Q par person you   say   thus
      "Gee, how can you say such a thing?"

With a single NP it can mean "how/what about...?"

(80)   How are you?
         I'm fine:
         Coh   neak   venj?
         Q par person back
         "How about you?"

In all of these usages, *coh* is extremely colloquial.

7.3.2 *taeu*
Any formal polar or content question, direct or indirect, can be prefaced by this word.

(81) a. *Taeu lo:k   penj ceut nwng tosnakec nih tee:*
        Q par monk satisfied with visit   this not
        "Are you enjoying your visit, sir?"

   b. *Taeu X cnga:j ponma:n*
      Q par X far   how.much
      "How far is it to X?"

    c.   *Taeu kho:c   ej*
        Q par go.wrong something/anything/what
        "Is something wrong?"

    d.   *Taeu lo:k   a: cuah   cul ba:n   tee:*
        Q par monk can replace fix manage not
        "Can you fix it, sir?"

    e.   *Taeu nih cia stha:ni: ej   tev*
        Q par this be station what DIR
        "What station is this?"

    f.   *Taeu neak   cumnianj [aoj] ka: naenoam ja:ng na:?*
        Q par person skillful   NOM advise   kind which
        "What kind of advice do experts [give]?"

    g.   *Taeu nauna: cawng tev?*
        Q par anybody want   go
        "Does anybody want to go?"

There is a relationship between questions and exclamations in many languages (e.g. "How sweet it is!" etc., Akatsuka/McCawley 1973) and to a limited extent, this mysterious polysemy of question markers and exclamation markers exists in Khmer also.

(82) *Jeu:ng pkom pkaeng pon   na:!*
      we   prosper prosper amount which
      "How greatly we have prospered!"

The word *taeu* which occurs with formal questions, may exhibit a similar polysemy in all of the utterances of (83).

(83) a. (-- Do you know the story of A.?)
        rwang A. pi: daeum   (cah)2   craeun ni'jiaj lee:ng dae taeu
        story A. from beginning old.folks lots   tell   play also Q par
        "Oh, yes, from way back, how often the elders used to tell it for fun!"

     b. *meut kruj to:c tae miat tee:*
        friend K.   small only stature no
        ka: ngia klang   nah taeu
        work   strong very Q par
        "Comrade K, only your body is small   how hard you work!"

     c. *Com! Caj   via thom nah taeu*
        wow louse 3   big   very Q par
        "Wow! How very large his lice are!"

    d. *Ji: krapeu: nih cawng si: anj taeu*
       gee crocodile this want   eat me Q par
       "Gee, the crocodile really wants to eat me!"

    e. *Anj kampung tae svaeng ʀau:k kamakaw: ejlev anj ba:n haeuj   taeu*
       I   engaged only seek   seek worker   now I   get already Q par
       "I was looking for workers and now, I've already actually got some!"

It is notable that while interrogative clause-initial *taeu* is highly formal, exclamative clause-final *taeu* is colloquial.

    The idiomatic clause-final collocation *tee: taeu* (literally "no + Q par") is also a kind of exclamation and can mean "in fact, surprisingly, actually"[12]. It is glossed as Q! in (84).

(84) a. *Baw:ng   sva: tee: taeu*
         elder.brother monkey Q!
         "Mr. Monkey! So it's really you?! (= If it isn't Mr. Monkey!)"

      b. *Ooo! Ru:p   thaw:t   knjom tee: taeu*
         Oooh! image take.picture my   Q!
         "Oh! That really is my picture for sure!"

         Babawng ba:j tee: taeu
         waste   rice Q!
         "Actually, (you are) a waste of feed!"

According to Gorgoniev (1966b: 246) exclamations may also be marked by predicate fronting (exactly like questions generally should be but are not) in order to put material which is new clause-initially: "How awful for you!" etc. Since I have no examples of such structures in my own materials, I will have to pass on the opportunity to cite them here.

7.4   Rhetorical questions

The rhetorical "why" (as in "why bother?") is expressed by the circumfixed verbal adjuncts *(tev) ... ej* (literally "go .... any/what?", or by postverbal *ej* alone:

(85) a. *tev kla:c ej   kla:*
         go fear   what tiger
         "Why be afraid of a tiger?"

      b. *kla:c ej   kla:c kla:*
         fear what fear tiger
         <ditto> (via coordination inflation of *kla:c ej kla:?*)

8.   Imperatives

Imperatives are typically unmarked, and the subject may be present:

(86)   a.   *(heu.. pò:n   aeng ni'jiaj i ceung,) ngoap knjom haeuj!*
            Uh   younger brother you   say   thus   kill   me   for.sure
            "Uh, if you think so, young comrade, then kill me."

       b.   *Anjceung aeng noam knjom tev cuap via!*
            So   you   take me   DIR meet him
            "So (you) take me to meet him!"

Prohibitives are preceded by *kom* "don't". Again, the subject may be present:

(87)   a.   *Ko:n aeng kom phej*
            child self don't fear
            "Don't you be afraid, child."

       b.   *Ko:n teang pi: nev cam mda:j knong ru:ng nwng*
            Child all   two stay wait mother in   cave this
            haeuj kom tev na: mau:k na: aoj   sawh na:!
            and   don't go any come any so.that at.all any
            "You two kids wait for me in this cave and don't go anywhere!"

Explicit imperatives are rendered less brusque with different shades of meaning, by a number of clause-marginal words that have been grammaticalized from full verbs.

   Polite, but still peremptory imperatives, can be given to subordinates, by preclausal *co:*.

(88)   a.   <u>*Co:*</u> *neak kom jau:k damrap ta:m seut rej*
            IMP person don't take example follow grasshopper
            "Don't follow the grasshopper's example"

       b.   <u>*Co:*</u> *sa:k lbaw:ng kluan aeng coh*
            IMP try try   self self DIR
            "Go ahead and try it for yourselves!"/ "Go for it!"

Most of the remaining common imperative particles in some way mitigate the speech act of command.

   Polite imperatives and pious wishes (jussives) are expressed by preclausal *so:m* (< "please"):

(89)   a.   <u>*So:m*</u> *tveu: ta:m bandam   koat tev*
            Please do   follow instruction 3   DIR
            "Please follow his instructions."

b. *So:m* *lo:k* dah knjom maong prampi:
Please monk wake me   hour   seven
"Please wake me at seven."

c. *So:m*   kom kla:c ceut nwng sua samnua
Please don't fear heart with ask question
"Please feel free to ask any questions."

d. *So:m* neak tatual ba:n Put   pau: teang pram praka:
Please person receive get Buddha wish all   five vision
kom   bej   kliang kliat laeuj
don't as.if ephemeral at.all
"May you have the five visions of the Buddha forever!" (Mendicant monk's blessing)

Or mitigation is expressed by the wheedling auxiliary verb *cuaj* "help (me)":

(90) *Lo:k* ta: *cuaj* nitian rwang A.
monk grandpa help tell   story A.
"Please grandpa, please please tell me the story of A., do!"

Invitations are preceded by preclausal *anjceu:nj* 'invite':

(91) *Anjceu:nj* ho:p tev pisa: tev
invite   eat DIR eat DIR
"Please, eat!"

Clause-final *coh* ("help yourself / feel free" < "descend") is both invitational and permissive. In the first two examples below it does not need to accompany an explicit imperative:

(92) a. *Ambaeng*   tok   kum   mtee:h nuh coh
Roasting.pan keep clump chili   that descend
"(I keep) the roasting pan in that clump of chili over there, help yourself"

b. *Srac*   tae baw:ng   aeng coh
ready only elder.brother self descend
"It's up to you (I am completely in your hands), go ahead/do as you like."

c. *Baeu ko:n aeng cawng tev kaw: tev coh*
if   child you want go so   go descend
"If you want to go, child, then go."

d. *Tok* luj   coh
keep money descend
"Keep the change."

e. *Co: sa:k lbaw:ng kluan aeng coh*
    IMP try try   self   self descend
    "Try your wings!" (translation of Franklin Huffman's English by Im Proum,
    in Huffman & Proum 1983)

Clause-final *meu:l ~ meu:* (from "look") is encouragingly friendly and jocular:

(93) a. *Njanjeum meu:*
         "Smile (for the camera)!"

    b. *Mau:k nih meu:*
        "Come here, will ya."

        Naeng sa:k cenj mau:k meu:l muaj plet meu:(l)
        You   try exit come look one moment
        "C'mon out and just take a look."

So also is the directional *tev* (from "go"):

(94) a. *Njam tev!*
         eat   DIR
         "Go ahead and eat!"

    b. *Khawm aoj   tae c'aet (krup)2 knia   tev!*
        strive so.that only sated (all)2 together go
        "Eat up, all of you."

Prohibitives can be softened by clause-final *ej*:

(95) *Kom nev ti: nih ej!*
      "Don't stay in this place!'"

Imperatives both positive and negative can be softened to a beseeching deferential plea
by clause-final *phaw:ng* which, as you may remember from Section 5, can be translated
as "deferential also/too" (e.g. *Can I come too?*). Presumably these two senses of *phaw:ng*
are related.

(96) a. *Sua tlaj   aoj knjom phaw:ng*
         ask expensive for me   also
         "Can you please find out how much it will cost?"

    b. *Cuaj phaw:ng*
        help also
        "Please help me !"

    c. *Baw:ng   camlaw:ng knjom tev traeuj kha:ng nuh phaw:ng*
        elder.brother cross.tr. me   go shore side   that please
        "Please take me over to the other side."

    d. *baw:ng   ha: moat tev aoj   knjom co:l phaw:ng*
       older.sibling open mouth go.to so.that I   enter also
       "Please, brother, open your mouth so that I may enter."

It is common to find polite imperatives with more than one softener:

(97) a. *Baeu anjceung pee:l tev leu:k kraoj,*
        if   thus   time go time after
        So:m sua rau:k aopuk phaw:ng
        please ask seek father also
        "If so, the next time you go, could you please look up father?"

    b. *So:m lo:k   aca: jeak aeng anjceu:nj tev ejlev nwng*
        please monk priest ogre you please   go now and
        cuaj meu:l jiaj   knjom phaw:ng
        help look granny I   softener
        "Please Mr. Ogre could you please go now and look after my granny, please?"

    c. *So:m cam knjom phaw:ng*
        please wait me   also
        "Please wait for me."

    d. *so:m aphej to:h pi: lo:k o'ba'sawk   phaw:ng*
        please forgive fault from HON congregant also
        "I beg you to please forgive (me), congregants."

    e. *So:m cuaj jau:k teuk muaj daw:p*
        please help bring water one   bottle
        "Please, please bring me a bottle of water."

Hortatory imperatives are frequently marked by a clause-final *seun* "let's (do this) first". Compare colloquial English "Not until...", and Tok Pisin ... *pastaim* (< first time) with the same kind of meaning.

(98) *Cam meu:l seun*
     wait look first
     "Let's wait a bit and see."

This word also does appear in normal second person imperatives, albeit not as often:

(99) a. *nev aoj   cia srual bual seun tev*
        stay so.that be easy   first DIR
        "Stay till you get well!"

    b. *som*[13] *leak seun tae ponno:h*
        please hide first only this.much
        "Please (grant me) this much privacy."

The final directional particle *tev* "go (on)", or some other verb of motion, roughly comparable to "away" or "ahead" in English, also occurs on imperatives, as in several examples already cited above and:

(100) *ejlev cawng daeu ja:ng mec daeu tev!*
       now want walk kind how walk DIR
       "You want to walk now, go ahead and walk."

One final particle seems to make imperatives more brusque, and may often be felicitously translated as "..you hear (me) / OK?". This is the unstressed discourse particle *(n)ah*, which also has a number of other meanings:

(101) *aeng cam   vi'hia   ah*
       you guard temple you.hear
       "You guard the temple, you hear?"

Hortatory imperatives and only these, are preceded by *tawh* "all right, let's":

(102) a.   *tawh daeu cumvenj tmaw: nuh*
            let's walk around stone   that
            "Let's walk around that stone."

       b.   *tawh! Baeuk siavphev seuksa: ciamuaj knia*
            let's! open book   study   together with.each.other
            "All right! Let's open our textbooks together."

9.   Marking topics

A number of phrases, all optional, and all roughly translatable by "as for" mark topics (and their topicalization is also indicated by fronting). The most frequent seem to be *campo:h ...(venj), camnaek ... (venj), (ri:) ae ..*and *...aeneh.*
    I have no idea how they differ in meaning, if at all.
    I have encountered several cases of a symmetrical compounding of synonymous topic markers, exemplified by the expression _camnaek ae_ in (103d, f) below:

(103) a.   *pontae campo:h kasaet   venj,*
            but   towards newspaper back
            "but as for the newspaper"

            kw: cia nimeut ru:p   nej ka: smawh trawng
               be symbol image of NOM honest honest
            "it is the very symbol of honesty"

b. _campo:h_ panjha: snee: robawh neak,
   towards problem love   of   person
   "As for your love life,…"

   ra'jah pee:l nih mian ka: jaul   cralawm
   period time this have NOM understand confuse
   "you will have misunderstandings over this time"

c. _ae_   niang knjom _venj_ mian aju' 23 cnam
   as for missy I   back have age 23 year
   "A for my (humble female) self, I'm twenty three years old".

d. _camnaek ae_ kamlang paul   kam nev sa'ha' raut Amerik
   as for   strength produce work be.at united states America
   "As for the American work force…."

e. _camnaek_ a: ko:n so:m to:h aeng kvah ba:j si:
   as for   HON child beg fault you lack rice eat (vulgar)
   "as for you worthless children: too bad! You'll lack food to gobble."

f. _camnaek ae_ kmee:ng _venj_ kmian   samna:ng
   as for   youth   back not.have luck
   "As for the temple youths, they were out of luck."

g. _ae_   tunsa:j nwng lo:t pralawh cheu: muaj
   as for rabbit that   leap between tree one
   "As for the rabbit, he leapt between two trees."

h. p'o:n   tlaj   _aeneh_ neuk knong ceut tha:
   younger.sibling in.law as.for think in   heart say
   "As for the brother-in-law, he thought…"

Mention has already been made in Chapter 6 of resumptive topicalization structures such as "The one-la lama, he's a priest" The temptation to see these as exactly comparable to the English forms is strong. Sometimes _NP, pronoun_ can be translated as a "one-l- lama, he." structure. Cases that seem to work particularly well are those where the topicalized NP is both introduced by one of the topicalizing expressions we have discussed in this section and followed by a resumptive pronoun.

(104) a. ckae nwng _via_ mwn me:n nev sngiam
      dog the 3   not   really stay silent
      "this dog, he didn't stay silent"

   b. tae rwang nwng _via_ awt peut tee:
      but story the 3   not true not
      "but this story, it isn't true"

c.   *mian tunsa:j kamho:c muaj <u>via</u> daeu co:l   tev rau:k*
     have rabbit depraved one   3   walk enter go seek
     ko:n kla: teang pi:
     child tiger all   two
     "There was a depraved rabbit, he came by looking for the tiger's two cubs.."

d.   *tev dawl tunsa:j <u>via</u> tveu: cia sua rau:k tha:*
     go until rabbit 3   make be ask seek say
     "As for the rabbit, he pretended to ask.."

e.   *sramaol   nuh, <u>via</u> tveu: ka:j   vika: ja:ng mec*
     reflection that 3   do   gesture action kind how
     kw: via tveu: ta:m   teang awh
         it   do   follow all   exhaust
     "But the reflection, whatever gestures he made:it did the same ones exactly."

f.   *Camnaek ae ko:n prasa: nuh, <u>via</u> ba:n mau:k lau:p sdap nev kraom pteah*
     as for   son in-law that, 3   PAST come stealth listen be.at under house
     "But as for the son-in-law, he managed to listen surreptitiously from
     under the house."

g.   *neak   phu:m taeng tae <u>kee:</u> ko:rau:p tmaw: nuh*
     person village always   3   salute   stone that
     "The villagers have always revered that stone."

h.   *haeuj ka: nih <u>via</u> cia kamhoh robawh knjom ba:t*
     and   matter this it be fault   of   me   HUM
     "But this business is my fault."   (Gorgoniev 1966b: 248–9)

There is also a single case in my materials of a left-detached topic which is picked up
again on the right margin of the clause in which it occurs:

(104) i.   *Hee: sat   ckae <u>via</u> deung avej <u>via</u>*
           hey animal dog 3   know what 3
           "Hey, a dog, what does he know, him?"

10.   *kw:* and focus marking

This emphatic focussing word, glossed here as a colon (probably from Thai *khww*, with
roughly the same functions), often accompanies and precedes the regular copula *cia* or
even replaces it entirely, and it is tempting to identify it as another copula.

(105) a.   *seckdej kae   damrev   nuh <u>kw: cia</u> piak psa:j   pia'niˇcakam daw: l'aw:*
           NOM   correct straighten that :   be word spread business   very good
           "The 'corrections' page is an extremely good advertisement"

      daeumbej   tatuai   ba:n nev ka: cwa   tok   ceut robawh neak   a:n
      in.order.to acquire get   OBJ NOM believe keep heart of   person read
      "for acquiring the reader's trust"

b. *mnuh tiap   dael   peak vee:nta: nuh* <u>*kw: cia*</u> *aopuk knjom*
      person short which wear glasses that   be father my
      "The short man wearing glasses is my father."

c. *samlee:ng pree:h pra:h nih* <u>*kw:cia*</u> *samlee:ng A. via riav   rau:k tvia*
      sound   rustle   this : be sound   A. 3 search search door
      "This rustling was the sound of A. looking for the door."

d. *tumneak tumnau:ng ciamuaj niang* <u>*kw: cia*</u> *ka: pralaeng lee:ng ciamuaj pleu:ng*
      relationship   with   missy : be NOM play   play with   fire
      "(Keeping up) the relationship with her is playing with fire."

e. *taeu   ciaveaʼciat bee: camroh bee: komplec* <u>*kw: cia*</u> *avej?*
      Q par vitamin B- mixture B- complex :   be what
      "What exactly is vitamin B complex?"

But it is often best translated not as a copula verb, but variously as a cleft construction, or the colon (or even "lo!", "to wit", or "namely"), indicating that something relevant (portentous or clarificatory) is to follow.

    The colon reading works better than the copula in:

(106) a. *sawp tngaj leu: piphauplo:k mian krom hun phawlwt*
         nowadays on world   exist company produce
         jaunhawh thom bamphot   camnuan
         airplane   big   extremely amount
         pi: kw: Boeing nwng Airbus
         two   B.   and A.
         "Nowadays, there are two companies in the world that manufacture large airplanes: namely, Boeing and Airbus."

      b. *mian tun   vi'ni'jo:k   robauh 4 pratee:h* <u>*kw:*</u>
         exist capital investment of   4 countries
         awnglee:s, ba:rang, aleumawng nwng espanj
         England, France, Germany, and Spain
         "Four countries have invested capital in this: namely, England, France, Germany, and Spain."

      c. *seckdej ka: cia cambaw:ng robauh neak   damnaeu* <u>*kw:*</u>
         matter thing be principal of   person voyage
         hawh haeu ptoal ko:l   dav kantae lwan kantae l'aw:
         fly   fly direct destination goal get   fast get   good
         "The main concern of the traveler is (this): to get to his destination, the quicker, the better."

d. *ta:m   ka: aoj deung ka:l pi: sapda: mun   kw:* [*quote*]
   follow NOM let know time from week   before
   "According to a communiqué from last week:

e. *sasna: nev ti: nih po:l   knong nej   tumlom tumliaj kw:*
   religion be.at place this sharp in   meaning --   wide
   roap teang cumnwa nwng akum
   count all   belief   and   magic.spell
   "Religion here is meant in the broad sense: it includes all kinds of beliefs and
   incantations."

f. *knjom mwn   tralawp tev Suang venj tee kw: knjom tralawp tev voat tmaw: ko:l*
   I   didn't return to Suang not   I returned to the temple of Tmaw: Ko:l

g. *A. mwn toan ceh   nea'mo: (kw: mwn ceh aksaw:)*
   A. not yet know mumbo-jumbo (that is to say, did not   know letters)
   "A. didn't yet know the "mumbo-jumbo" [an obsolete word unlikely to be
   familiar to most readers] (that is, he didn't know the alphabet)."

h. *cumnoan nuh kw: Klo:t Put cia mee: banjciakaw:*
   era   that it be K.   P. be commander
   "At that time, it was K. P. who was the commander."

i. *Mda:j kmee:k robawh via nev tae ka:c   dadael*
   mother-in-law of   3   still   mean same
   kw: ka:˘ ciang ka:l pi: nev kampaung ca:m tev tiat
       mean exceed time from be.at Kompong Cam DIR more
   "His mother-in-law was as mean as ever: (in fact) she was even worse than in
   the days at Kompong Cam."

Used alone, as in (106), *kw:* is not the same as *cia*. In fact, Gorgoniev made the important
observation that *kw:* never coccurs with a negative particle (ibid. 283). The conjoinability
of *kw:* and *cia* in (105), like that of *haeuj* and *nwng* or of *dae* and *phaw:ng* in Section 5,
bears witness to the Khmer tolerance of semantic differences when it comes to the mat-
ter of finding near synonyms to make an aesthetically pleasing symmetrical conjunction.
This interpretation does not preclude the possibility that even in the conjunction, *kw:*
still keeps its annunciatory/drum-roll meaning: "attend to the predicate complement" –
and again, that in such constructions, no negative particles may appear.
    In the same way that it accompanies and precedes *cia*, *kw:* may precede and accompa-
ny the complementizer *tha:* (where it may well mean "attend to the following utterance"):

(107) *dael   knjom deung nuh kw: tha: niang nwng mau:k*
      which I   know that :   that missy will   come
      "As far as I know, she's planning to come."
      (= That which I know is this: she's coming.)

Sometimes not even the "colon" reading is felicitous, as when a passage highlighted by the particle is itself a complete utterance. In (108), it seems that *kw: tha:* "that is to say.." enlarges on or clarifies a previous assertion:

(108)   *Do:c   neh   mwn   me:n   cia   siavphev   samrap   ko:n   seuh   tee:*
        like   that   not   really be   book   for   child pupil not
        "Thus it is not suitable as a book for school pupils."

        kw: tha: cia   siavphev samrap cuaj   neak   ceh   kmae   haeuj
        that is say   be   book   for   help   person know Khmer already
        "That is to say, it is a book suitable for helping people who already know Khmer".

This usage may serve as a transitional one towards the clause-initial use of *kw:* in a speaker's response to a previous speaker.

(109)   *kw: peut cia lumba:k smok   sma:nj   ciang   avej?*
        ??? true be difficult complicated complex exceed anything/what
        "(Ahem!) That is really an extremely difficult (question)."

This entire utterance, a rhetorical question that is here freely translated as an assertion, is the response to a prior utterance, in this case to another speaker's rhetorical question

(110)   *avej   dael   pratee:h Ceun   ba:n tveu:*
        anything which country China PAST do
        peut cia   treum trev rw: tee:?
        true be   correct   or   not
        "Has China acted correctly or not?"

Sentence (110) in turn may illustrate a last point. The post-nominal string *(haeuj)(dael)* can also function as a focus marker comparable to the English device "It is X that S".
   In the predominantly literary (Ehrman & Sos 1972: 29) construction

X *haeuj dael*   S
X and   which S

focus is marked on X by either *haeuj, dael*, both, or the combination of *haeuj* and some other word that separates what goes before from what comes after. The possible reason is that both conjunctions are used "to isolate the nominal that comes before [them] as a [part of a] clause separate from what follows."(Lim et al. 279, 503). Finally, focus can be further marked by introducing the focused NP with *kw:*, as in (111d), cf. Humphrey 1995: 183, Bisang 1992: 412).

(111)   a.   *Siavphev nuh (haeuj) (dael)   jeu:ng trev ka: ejlev*
             book   that and   which we   need   now
             "It's that book which we need now."

b. *Nev   pee:l nuh haeuj teu:p knjom jaul*
    be.at time that and   then I   understand
    tha: nih cia sna:daj   Jiaj Heun
    COMP this be handiwork J. H.
    "It was then that I realized that this was the handiwork of J. H."

c. *...bangkaeut aoj   mian kumnwt s'awp juan.*
    ...cause   so.that exist thought hate   Vietnam
    "...caused hatred for the Vietnamese."

    haeuj kw: daoj het nih   haeuj dael   rabaw:p kampucia pracia the'pa'dej
    and   by reason this and   which regime Cambodia citizen power
    ba:n vi'niah
    PAST destroy
    "and it was for precisely this reason that Cambodian democracy was destroyed"

d. *daoj sa: tmaw: nih haeuj teu:p ba:n cia kee: aoj cmo:h*
    because.of rock this and then   cause be 3   give name
    voat   nih tha: via voat   tmaw: ko:l
    temple this say 3   temple rock   nail
    "It was because of this rock that they named the temple, temple of the nail-rock."

In (111b, d), *haeuj* is reinforced by *teu:p* "then", which functions as the marker for both phrasal and clausal indispensable preconditions, to be further discussed in Chapter 10. Note the sheer number of words which can be piled on a NP to focus it: it may be introduced with *kw:* and/or followed by *haeuj, dael, teu:p*.

If the assembly of examples in (111) is relevant, it may be that (110) is best (but still very clumsily) translated as

"What is it that China has done correctly?"

Notes

1.   There is little warrant for believing in the reality of clauses from the orthography. Chunks of discourse corresponding to multiclause paragraphs are separated by special punctuation marks. Within the span of such a text, words are clumped together in a way that corresponds to neither words, phrases, nor clauses. As will become apparent even from the necessarily banal examples of this chapter, Khmer is no pidgin. Instead it seems to approximate Desesperanto, a mythical language where one can understand every single word of a given text, and have no idea what the whole text is all about. But we have to start with something solid.

2.   Roughly speaking it is their status as *niang* that young girls and women advertise by speaking in a high nasal tone. I am indebted to Jean Longmire for the felicitous translation.

3.   That *phaw:ng* signals simultaneity is also reflected in two idioms involving this word. The collocation *V + mwn toan + phaw:ng* "before (somebody) could V":

A:chaj ni'jiaj mwn toan ___	before A. could speak
Mwn toan ba:n ni'jiaj ___	before he could finish speaking

The collocation *mwn toan + V   phaw:ng* means "not even V yet":

Mwn toan ba:n tveu: phaw:ng, som coh canj tev haeuj
You haven't even done it yet and already you're giving up
Mwn toan ba:n cap daeum phaw:ng
I haven't even started yet
Mwn toan nwng ceh kmae phaw:ng
I can't even speak Khmer yet

4.   It may be that the flavor of *ba:t tee:* approximates that of the apologetic "We sure don't" of Louisiana waitress-ese: "I wish I could say yes to your request, but unfortunately, I can't". Both are analogical formations, corresponding, respectively, to *ba:t* and to *we sure do*.

5.   There is a tendency to use *mwn m(e)e:n* "not really" as the canonical negative with nominal predicate complements, and it is never wrong to do so (cf. Gorgoniev 1966b: 283, Bisang 1992: 420). On the other hand this (decoratively?) doubled form also occurs with verbal/adjectival predicates:

<u>*Mwn me:n*</u> *mian mnuh na: cia neak   pdaeum bangkaeut phiasa: laeung teang mu:l*
not   really have person any be person start   create   language up   all   entire
tae   muaj daw:ng
only one   time
"There is nobody who invented all of language all at once."

Conversely, it sometimes fails to occur with nominal predicates.

6.   In the summer of 2010 in Siem Reap, the only constative negative (at least with verbal predicates) was *awt*, and it was also the only sentence-final polar question word in general use. People recognized and accepted the other forms but never used them.

7.   Scornful "rhetorical negatives" presumably occur in many languages. In English they include "my eye/foot", "says you", "in your dreams", "yeah right", "that'll be the day", "what do you mean, X?", "like hell" and many others, some of which have an ephemeral existence. Some have attained canonical status as metalinguistic markers of sarcasm. The scornful response in colloquial Russian *gde tam* (literally "where there") with the meaning "of course not" may provide a counterpart with the same etymology:

Zaplatili   protsenty?
Pay.PAST.PLU   interest
"Did they pay interest?"
Gde tam
"Of course not."

8.   Another function of *aena:* which separates it from other negative intensifiers is that "negative S1 *aena:* S2" means "Instead of S1, S2":

Ckae nwng via mwn me:n nev   sngiam <u>*aena:*</u> *via kheu:nj krabej*
dog   the   3   not   really be.at quiet   where 3   see   water.buffalo
"Instead of staying quiet, the dog stared at the water buffaloes..".

But the semantic development from these uses to scornful negation is still mysterious.

9.   Like all idioms, this had to come from somewhere. It may be built on analogy with *toal tae ba:n* "until succeed" – a recurrent consequential clause signaling that the preceding clause is <u>not</u> an impossible dream. The expressions of (in)consequentiality will be a continuing topic of Chapters 8, 9, and 10.

10.   Characterized as hopelessly bookish by consultants in Siem Reap, where the only interrogative marker currently is *awt*. See footnote 6.

11.   Evidence that English *how come* derives from *how does it come to be that* is provided by the fact that, unlike *Why*, *how come* does not induce subject-verb inversion in the main clause: *how come you're here?* vs. *why are you here?*

12.   Jacob (1968: 102–4) suggests a very similar gloss "so X after all!" for all X *tee: tae*.

13.   Literate consultants are adamant that *som* "beg" and *so:m* "please" are entirely separate words. This example at least shows that they are often interchangeable.

Complex verbal predicates and verbal clumps

1. Introduction

A predicate may consist of only single word (which may not even be a verb), but usually a predicate is a verb, and very often a verb will be accompanied by other verbs. In fact, the complex verbal predicate in principle is a paragraph, an indefinitely long sequence of verb clumps whose order reflects the order of events. The following are representative examples.

(1) a. $_{VP1}$ [Kheu:nj jiaj mneak [kampung tae   noam cav srej kramom]   [cih tu:k]
              see granny one.person PROG   take granddaughter adolescent ride boat
                        VC$_1$ VC$_2$
          "There he saw an elderly woman with her granddaughters riding a boat"

          [daeu] [rau:k] [kap o:h] $_{VP1}$ kaw: $_{VP2}$ [som tu:k jiaj   nwng claw:ng dae] $_{VP2}$
          go   seek   cut firewood so   beg boat granny that   cross   also
          VC$_3$ VC$_4$ VC$_5$
          "going looking for firewood to cut, and so he begged for passage on the boat so
          that he might cross too."

This compound sentence/paragraph includes two verbal predicates VP$_1$ and VP$_2$ which are explicitly separated by the narrative discourse particle/ coordinate conjunction *kaw:*. Five VC occur in VP$_1$, of which the first is a "see Spot run" or pivot construction, whose pivot is the nominal clump *jiaj mneak* "an old woman" which is simultaneously the object of a transitive verb *khe:unj* "see" in the first clause of S$_1$ and the subject of the complex predicate VC$_2$....VC$_5$ in the second clause of VP$_1$. (We do not analyze the internal structure of VP$_2$.)

(1) b. io:k   kru: [viaj Acuan] [ie:c   no:m] [co:k khao]
          monk teacher beat A.   appear urine soak trousers
                          VC$_1$ VC$_2$ VC$_3$
          "The guru beat A. till he wet his pants"

The sequence of clauses in (1b) reflects the sequence of events as clearly as in Julius Caesar's famous *veni, vidi, vici*.

This chapter is not a treatment of the paragraphlike complex verbal predicate, but of the verbal clumps (VC) which make up complex (multi-verb) predicates (VP) (cf. Bisang 1992). VC share with NC the property that none of their constituent parts is an obligatory head. In addition to the main or "event" verb and its adverbs and complements, which I will call the MV, there may be flanking verbs on both sides.

VC → (flanking auxiliary V)(MV)(flanking serial V)

Those flanking verbs that precede the MV will be called auxiliary verbs (AV), and those that follow will be called serial verbs (SV).

While there may be more than one auxiliary verb and more than one serial verb in a VC, flanking verbs may not themselves have flanking verbs of their own. The only morphosyntactic trappings which they typically allow are negative particles. AV often correspond to auxiliary verbs of tense, aspect, and mood; to verbs that take infinitival complements in English, like *cawng* "want" and *khawm* "try, strive"; and also to a number of what in English are manner adverbs like *mwn sev* "hardly", and *luac* "furtively" SV are more likely to correspond to separate clauses that can be thought of as describing actions that follow the main clause. There is only a porous line separating serial verbs within a VC from non-initial VC in a complex predicate VP. This line exists only to the extent that

a. the ordering of the constituents within a VC has become conventionalized to some degree, while the order of VC within a VP has not, that is, is still totally narrative-iconic;
b. flanking verbs within a VC, as noted, cannot occur with the morphosyntactic trappings of separate VC, any of which may occur with their own flanking verbs.

Subject to the constraints which are the substance of this chapter, the ordering of verbs in the VC is largely narrative-iconic (like the multiclausal (paragraphlike) asyndetic VP predicates of (1)). Whether a verb behaves as an "auxiliary" or a "serial" verb reflects whether the action that it describes precedes or follows that of the main verb: *capdaeum tveu:* begin + do "begin (to) do" contrasts with *tveu: haeuj* do + finish "finish doing" and *tveu: taw:* do + continue "continue to do". The ordering of auxiliary verbs within an auxiliary clump is largely scope-iconic (an auxiliary will include following auxiliaries within its scope).

But the ordering of verbs in a sequence is iconic only to a certain degree.

Section 2 of this chapter will be devoted to the constituents of the auxiliary clump, and Section 3 to the constituents of the serial verb clump. Section 4 will focus on the *a:c .... ba:n* construction and the expression of potential and consequentiality; Section 5 will deal with passive constructions using the auxiliary/complement-taking verb *trev.* The final section will include some speculative remarks on evidence for the grammaticalization of serial and auxiliary verbs from main verbs in separate clauses.

2. Auxiliary verbs

Although it is probably not significant to native speakers, there is a difference between "dedicated" auxiliaries (those which have no main verb function in the present language), and those which are still homophonous with main verbs. Section 2.1 will enumerate some auxiliaries which are recruited from the class of main verbs, and Section 2.2 will deal with the dedicated auxiliaries.

Some auxiliary verbs, whether dedicated or not, occur not only preverbally, but before the subject NP, that is, presumably presententially, as sentential operators, or like the higher object-complement taking verbs *kawt samkoal*:

(2) *Kua* [*kawt samkoal tha:*[*clause*]]
should note recognize that
"It is noteworthy that…."

It is possibly via a contamination with this structure that the main transitive verb *cam* "wait (for)" can be understood as a preverbal future auxiliary in colloquial utterances like

(3) *Cam* [*knjom tralawp mau:k venj*]
wait I return come back
"I will be back." NB: This is NOT to be translated as: "wait for me to come back"

The regular future auxiliary *nwng* can appear only as a post-subject auxiliary, that is clause-internally:

(4) a. **nwng knjom tralawp mau:k venj*
will I return come back
b. *Knjom nwng tralawp mau:k venj*
I will return come back
"I'll be back."

Conversely, clause-marginal sentential operators like subordinate conjunctions and expressions meaning "how (does it) come (about that)" can appear in clause-internal (auxiliary) position, as in:

(5) a. *Aeng* [*mec ba:n cia*] *hian si: mun lo:k?*
you how so that dare eat before monk
Subject Auxiliary Verb Adverb
"How come you dare eat before the monks?"

b. *Anj* [*baeu seun cia*] *seuk tev venj*
I if if that leave.monkhood go back
Subject Main verb Serial verb
"If I should leave my status as a monk and go back (to the laity).."

It is plausible that the bracketed expressions in (5) are semantically extra-clausal. Indeed, they can be expressed as clause-marginal elements. But note that the converse is also possible: that is, auxiliary verbs that are semantically clause-internal may occur extra-clausally, like the underlined verbs in (6).

(6) a. _kau'bej_ ko:n kmae caw:ng cam   tok cia mee:rian
         should child Khmer bind   remember keep as lesson
         "Khmer children should remember this as a lesson."

     b. _cawng_ nauna: tveu: ej   _kaw:_ tveu: tev
         want anyone do   what so do   IMP/DIR
         "Anyone could do whatever they wanted."

The examples of (6) are noteworthy because the presentential auxiliary in each one is predicated of the subject, rather than of the clause: it is difficult to see the entire clause being within the scope of the _kau'bej_ in (6a) or of _cawng_ in (6b).

It may be that presentential operators can appear in auxiliary position, as in (5), and conversely that auxiliary verbs can exist in presentential position, as in (6), relatively freely[1].

This alternation at the syntactic level suggestively parallels the structural lability of some prefixes and infixes at the word level. One difference between morpheme metathesis and the syntactic freedom evidenced by (5) and (6) is that presently we assume that while infixes may arise as underlying prefixes, no prefixes originate as underlying infixes. Morpheme metathesis goes one-way only. However, the syntactic inversion alternation between clause-marginal and clause-internal "auxiliaries"/sentential operators, is bidirectional.

Prefix + Root → $\langle C_1 \rangle$+   Infix + ⟨remainder of root⟩   (Morpheme metathesis)
1   2   ⟨part-of-2⟩1   ⟨part-of-2⟩

Clause-marginal element + Clause ←--→ ⟨Subject⟩ + Auxiliary + ⟨Predicate⟩(Inversion)
1   2   ⟨part-of-2⟩1   ⟨part-of-2⟩

Such a difference in freedom of movement accords perfectly well with the presumable typological universal that the order of morphemes within a word is more fixed than the order of words within a phrase or a sentence.

2.1   Auxiliaries which derive from main verbs[2]

Examples of auxiliary verbs which derive from main verbs (often being marked as such via the postverbal particle _tae_ < "only, but") include but are not limited to the following, underlined in the examples below (the main verb meaning will be indicated in brackets).

2.1.1 *ceh tae* "keep on; always" (= "know only")
This is the first of a number of auxiliaries which are derived from main verbs by the addition of *tae*, or some other borderline meaningless particle, changing their meanings in idiosyncratic ways when they do so. *Ceh* means "know (how to)", but *ceh tae* means "keep on doing".

(7) a. *knjom ceh tae neuk mamej*
         I   keep   think obsess
         "I couldn't stop/kept on obsessing.."

     b. *ceh tae raut lu:n*
         always run play.hooky
         "always playing hooky"

2.1.2 *mwn toan* "not yet" (*toan* = "catch up with; be in time")

(8) *mwn toan ceh   nea'mo:*
     not   yet   know mumbo jumbo
     "was still illiterate"

This is one of a handful of AV which can also appear as an SV, and the positional difference is narrative-iconic. As an SV, *mwn toan* is a "success" verb and indicates that the action performed in the MV may have been attempted, but was not carried out in time for a successful outcome.

2.1.3 *mwn sev* "hardly" (*sev* = "rather", "better", "OK")

(9) *mwn sev   trawng knia*
     not   OK match each.other
     "hardly get along with each other"

2.1.4 *taeng tae* "always" (*taeng* = "create")

(10) *a:chaj taeng tae noam kmee:ng voat*
      A.   always take youth   temple
      "Achaj always used to take the temple youths (to some place)"

2.1.5 *kla:j tev cia* "get, become, turn into" (*kla:j* = "become"; *tev* = "go"; *cia* = "be")

(11) a. *teuk knong ca:n kla:j tev cia khap*
         water in   bowl become   viscous/thick
         "the liquid in the bowl became/grew/got viscous"

In some cases, the inchoative string is *ba:n tev cia*. That is, *ba:n*, which canonically means "come to have", can mean simply "become", that is, function as an inchoative auxiliary. (This and other semantic extensions of *ba:n* are further discussed in Chapter 10.)

(11)   b.   *phu:m nuh ba:n   tev cia ni'meut ru:p*
village that become go be symbol image
nej co:k   cej   daw: sambaeum
of victory victory very magnificent
"that village became a symbol of a magnificent victory"

2.1.6   *kan/reut tae* "get, become" (*kan* = "hold"; *reut* = "tight")

(12)   a.   *kan/reut tae kpauh laeung*
get   high   rise
"(the pile) gets higher"

     b.   *kantae cah*
get   old
"(I'm) getting old."

This auxiliary (and perhaps many others – my materials are sketchy) shows a capacity for acting as an anchor, that is, for forcing following chunks of indeterminate length to be interpreted as main verbs. Note in the following example how the chunk *mwn ba:n ju: ponma:n* "flimsy" (literally "not OK long.time how much") is anchored from both the left side (by the auxiliary verb *kan tae*) and from the right (via the directional serial verb clump *tev tiat*):

(12)   c.   *kan tae mwn ba:n ju: ponma:n   tev   tiat*
get   not   OK   long.time how.much DIR more
AV   SV
"get even flimsier"

2.1.7   *cwt* "nearly" (*cwt* = "be close to, cf. Tok Pisin *klostu*)

(13)   *ckae cwt   slap*
dog   nearly die
"The dog is close to death/is dying/almost died."

2.1.8   *laeung* "grow" (< "rise upward, ascend")[3]

(14)   *a:cuan muk laeung slang*
A   face grow   pale
"A. turned pale in the face"

2.1.9 *mian* "?" (< "exist, have")

(15) a. *sang mian luak dak daw:p nev ta:m cenjceu:m tnawl*
gas exist sell put bottle at along sidewalk road
"There is gas for sale in bottles along the sidewalk."

 b. *A:le:v taw:p "Kee: mian denj viaj neak luak phaom aena:*
A. answer 3 exist chase beat person sell fart like.hell
"Alev answered: 'Like hell they chase and beat the fartseller.'"

 c. *Mian ba:n deung tha: kee: denj cap praeuh aena:*
exist get know say 3 chase catch deer where
"No way did he ever find out that they were chasing a deer."

This auxiliary is close to meaningless. Sometimes (possibly in (15a) it can suggest habitual aspect or the institutionalization of an act, in which case it is close to being synonymous with *dael* "ever" or *tloap* "use to" (cf. Ehrman & Sos 1972:57). Following Gorgoniev, however, Bisang (1992:415) suggests it marks the exact opposite of this – an action that is actually occurring[4] at the time of speech. In (15b) and (15c), neither gloss seems very likely, and it could be that *mian* has the purely syntactic function of acting as a left-bracket signal marking the scope of the rhetorical negative *aena:*.

2.1.10 *le:ng* "no longer" (release, let go, divorce)[5]

(16) a. *meu:l muk knia le:ng cbah*
look face each.other no.longer clear
"can no longer see each other's faces clearly [in the gloom]"

 b. *le:ng kaeut*
no.longer arise
"no longer possible"

 knjom ian kluan seung tha: le:ng cawng hian tatual haeuj
I shy self almost say no.longer want dare receive PERF
"I was so embarrassed I almost said I didn't dare to accept any more."

 d. *knjom le:ng ngeu:p mau:k daj tatee: tiat haeuj*
I no.more come.to.surface DIR hand empty more PERF
"I no longer emerged from underwater empty-handed."

Given the fundamental meaning of this auxiliary we might expect to see it function exclusively as an SV: first the action was carried out and then it no longer was. In fact, as we shall see, *le:ng* can appear as an SV with exactly this meaning.

The order AV + MV in the examples of (16) does not reflect the order of events. Perhaps the reason for this is that *le:ng* is a negative, and as such occupies the same preverbal position as the other negative particles *pum, awt, kom* (cf. Chapter 10).

2.1.11 *ba:n* "acquire"

There are two main verbs *ba:n*, of probably related meanings. The first means "get, ac-quire, come to have" (as in (17a, b)), while the second means "be OK, acceptable" (as in (12b) above, and in (18a, b, c)):

(17) a.   *ta:m   plɐv   mwn   deung   ba:n   ej   ho:p*
          along   road   not   know   get   anything   eat
          "couldn't know how to get anything to eat on the road"

   b.   *Camnaek A. nwng ba:n sampian ejvan   robawh Ca:m*
          as.for   A. that   get   bundle   belongings of   Cam
          "As for A., he picked up (i.e. grabbed, stole) the bundles with the Cam's belongings"

(18) a.   *ja:ng na: kaw: ba:n*
          kind   any   so   OK
          "Any way will be OK."

   b.   *puak a:-   s'ej   kee: nih ba:n tae*
          PLU   HON what   D   D   OK   only
          cia muaj kmae   knia   aeng tee:
          together   Khmer companion self   not
          "This wretched crew can give a good account of themselves (= can cope, are OK)
          only against their own people, fellow Khmers." (bitterly said of the KR when they
          couldn't stop the Vietnamese invasion of 1979.)

   c.   *"kom pranjap tev pteah pee:k"   ba:n tee:?*
          don't   hurry   go   home   too.fast   OK   not
          "May I say (= is it OK if I say) 'don't be in too much of a hurry to go home'?"

As an auxiliary verb (mainly in writing), *ba:n* is often most felicitously translated into English as the past tense.

(19) a.   *teu:p ba:n dawl pteah*
          then   PAST arrive house
          "then arrived home"

   b.   *neak teang pi: ba:n le:ng lauh⁶ knia   awh   ka:l 10 cnam mau:k haeuj*
          person all two   PAST quit cut.off each.other exhaust time 10 year   DIR   PERF
          "The two have had nothing to do with each other for ten years now."

   c.   *koat ba:n prap ko:n   cav   tha:*
          3   PAST tell   child grandchild   say
          "He told (= left instructions to) his dependents that (= saying).."

But *ba:n* is also the serial success verb which co-occurs with the auxiliary verb *a:c*, and more generally, it is one of the most frequently used serial "success" verbs in Khmer (the discussion of serial verbs is deferred until Section 3 below).

Even as a past auxiliary, it may frequently seem that this verb is still a "success" or per-fectivizing verb[7] that could be translated into English as "get to.": perhaps this is the reason that it cannot occur as a past auxiliary with a number of "stative" verbs such as, *mian* "have/be", *kpauh* "be high" (although it may cooccur with other verbs that seem to be equally "stative" such as *cia* "be", *nev* "be at, stay", and the auxiliary verb *tloap* "be accustomed to, use to"):

(19) d. *Via mwn ba:n   bamraeu aopuk mda:j   kmee:k*
      3   not   succeed serve   father mother in.law
                AV?
      (do:c ka:l nev   sangkaum cah tee:)
      (like time be.at society   old no)
      "He could not get to serve his in-laws (as he had been able to do before the revolution.)"

This sentence is synonymous, I am told, with

(19) e. *Via bamraeu aopuk mda:j   kmee:k mwn ba:n ...*
      3   serve   father mother in-law not   succeed
      MV   SV

To emphasize pastness with stative verbs which do not tolerate *ba:n* as a past tense aux-iliary, it is always possible to use *tloap* "use to" as a preverbal past auxiliary, or *pi: mun* "from before" as an adverbial post-predicate phrase, or *haeuj* "finish" as a perfective completion marker.

(20) a. *knjom tloap cia krupe:t*
      I   use be doctor
      "I used to be/was a doctor."

    b. *.. nwng ba:n cia knia   so:t (rungum)2 pi: neak   puk*
      .. and PAST be companion intone   two person dad
      "..and used to be his father's companion in reciting and chanting."

As a past auxiliary it seems that *ba:n* cannot cooccur with itself in its MV "come to have" or "be OK" functions:

(21) a. *mwn (*ba:n) ba:n ej   ho:p*
      not PAST   get anything eat
      "..didn't get anything to eat"

    b. *mwn (*ba:n) ba:n ciamuaj juan*
      not PAST   OK with   Vietnamese
      "..were unable to cope with the Vietnamese"

2.1.12 *cliat* "exploit, take advantage"

As a main verb, this occurs in the collocation *cliat oka:h* "seize the moment" / "take advantage of the opportunity", and it has exactly the same meaning as an auxiliary. It may be that the auxiliary is simply an elided version of the main verb + object.

(22) *trej ngiat cliat   pau:ng*
      fish dry   exploit lay.eggs
      "Even a dry fish will still seize the moment to attempt to lay eggs"

      trej   knong su:ng⁸ cliat   damnaeu ko:n
      fish   in   trap   exploit lead   child
      "even a fish in a trap will still seize the moment to lead its school of fishes"

      rwsej   knong kbo:n cliat   doh tumpeang
      bamboo in   raft   exploit grow sprout
      "even a bamboo pole bound into a raft will seize the moment to attempt to sprout shoots" (= "Life dies hard; it ain't over till it's over.")

2.1.13 Other auxiliaries

There is no line separating auxiliary verbs from higher verbs which take bare VP or sentential complements. The class of verbs that may function as preverbal auxiliaries in this way is in fact so large as to be open-ended. Some of the other verbs which can play this role include

    a. *kraw:*   "with difficulty; late" (from "be poor")
    b. *sa:k lbaw:ng* "attempt to", "go for it"
    c. *rame:ng:*   "always"
    d. *cawng*   "want to"
    e. *nev*   "stay, still"
    f. *meu:l tev*   "seem like"
    g. *khawm*   "strive"
    h. *hak do:c cia* "seem"
    i. *so:m*   "would like to" (with first person subjects);
                     "please" (with second person subjects)

(23) a. *so:m   samdaeng nev kdej amnaw: kun campo:h lo:k*
          please express   OBJ NOM gratitude   to   monk
          "I would like to express my gratitude to you, sir"

      b. *so:m   cuaj knjom phaw:ng*
          please help me   IMP
          "Please help me."

2.2   Dedicated auxiliary verbs

The best structural evidence for AUX as a separate syntactic label for a part of speech, is the existence of a handful of words which occur exclusively as dedicated preverbal auxiliaries: *nwng* "future, will", *kua* "should", *kau'bej* "should, ought", *a:c* "can", and about a dozen others.

2.2.1   *nwng* "will/FUT"

(24)   a.   *neak   nwng kheu:nj*
            person will   see
            "you will see"

b.   *rau' tha'phiba:l nwng mian samnaw:ng campo:h ka: pah poal dawl.*
     government   will have compensation for   NOM hit touch arrive.at
     "The government will make restitution for damages."

c.   *pee:l knjom cah, knjom nwng k- mian   ko:n*
     time I   old I   will not-have child
     "When I am adult, I will not have children."

Semantically, this invariably preverbal "auxiliary" occurs with the same meaning as the English infinitival complementizer and marks an action about to be undertaken or in the irrealis mood. It is redundant (hence the redundant and intrusive gloss "FUT" rather than "will" or the normal infinitival "to" which is translated by zero in Khmer) in:

(25)   a.   *niang kmian   tumloap nwng⁹ tveu: ka: reuh kaun   dawl neak   seulkaw:*
            missy not.have custom FUT   do NOM slander.criticize to   person artist
            "She is not in the habit of slandering artists"

b.   *rau:k pee:l tumnee: nwng sasee:*
     seek time free   FUT   write
     "…try to find free time to write"

mian bamnaw:ng nwng riapcawm vee:jjakaw:
have intention   FUT   prepare   grammar
"intend to prepare a grammar"

d.   *mun   nwng cenj tev rau:k si:*
     before FUT   leave go seek eat
     ".. before (she) was about to go out hunting for food"

e.   *burawh nuh nwng trev   slap*
     fellow   that will   must die
     "that fellow will have to die."

Note the idiomatic combination *teu:p* + *nwng/tae* (= "then + will/only") "have just":

(26) a. *prapun   knjom   teu:p nwng/tae   haeup   moat*
     wife   my   just   open   mouth
     "My wife had just opened her mouth"

   b. *teu:p nwng/tae ba:n   daeu   treup treup*
      just   get   walk   with.tiny.steps
      "I had just started to be able to take tiny steps"

Nwng may be the only auxiliary that must invariably occur <u>before</u> the negative words *mwn, awt, pum*:

(27) a. *cru:k   nwng   mwn   slap*
      pig   will   not   die

   b. **cru:k mwn nwng slap*
      "The pig(s) will not die."

It may, however, follow other auxiliary verbs which themselves follow the negative particle   a potential paradox that will be addressed in Section 2.3, on auxiliary combinations.

2.2.2 *kua, kau'bej* "should"

(28) a. *Mnuh   sa'maj   tmej   kau'bej   ceh   reaksa:..*
      person era   new   should   know guard
      "People of the modern era should know (how) to guard.."

   b. *kau'bej   damkom   damkaeung   kampu:l   pnom*
      should   elevate   respect   peak   mountain
      "..should honor and revere the mountain peak (as a place of sacrifice)"

      kua   kawt   samkoal
      should   note   remark
      "should remark"

The auxiliary *kua* when followed by the change-of-subject subjunctive complementizer *aoj* "so that" and a Main Verb forms dozens of compounds that are frequently passive in meaning, and hence translatable as "be Main Verb + able":

(29) *kua   aoj   aneut/   samkoal/   tatual*
     should so.that pity/   remark/   accept
     "pitiable/remarkable/acceptable"

2.2.3 *(cam)bac* "have to"

Cam "wait for, guard, remember" is a main verb; *bac* "possible, necessary " is a main verb. The compound auxiliary *cambac* , however, seems to occur mainly as a preverbal or presentential form.

(30) a. *mwn   bac   tee:*
          not   necessary not
          "Not necessary!"

      b. *mwn   bac   tveu: bawn   ej*
          not   have.to do   good.works any
          "(I) will not have to do any good works"

      c. *via mwn   bac   daeu tev jau:k vee:n*
          3   not   have.to walk go   fetch shift
          "They did not have to go the rounds of people's houses to fetch [alms]."

      d. *mwn   cambac   prua   la:n mau:k prap knjom tee:*
          not   necessary ticket.taker car   come   tell   me   no
          "The conductor did not have to come and tell me anything."

      e. *dual mwn   bac   cra:n, ba:n mwn bac   khawm*
          fall not   necessary shove get   not   necessary strive
          "You don't have to be pushed, to fall; you don't have to strive, to be wealthy."
          (= The race is not necessarily to the swift.)

2.2.4 *(mwn/pum) dael/mian* "(n)ever" (= ("not") + "same"/"habitual/exist")

The word *dael* is a chameleon of multiple functions, the most striking of which is its role as a relative pronoun. It is numbered among the dedicated auxiliaries not because it has no other function, but because it never functions as a main verb. *Dael* by itself means "use to." and may also be symmetrically conjoined with its synonym *tloap*, itself the regular habitual auxiliary)[10].

(31) *(pi: daeum   baw:ng Raeun aeng) dael   mau:k lee:ng*
      (from beginning comrade Raeun you) used.to come play
      (dawl Praek Run Kraom nih, tee:?)
      to   Praek Run Kraom this, right
      "You used to come visit Praek Run Kraom originally, didn't you, comrade Raeun?"

The auxiliary (*mwn/pum*) *dael* "(n)ever", "habitually, used to (not)" is only possible in the past, where it precedes the (also past) auxiliary *ba:n*.

(32) a.   *niang pum tloap <u>dael</u> ba:n ni'jiaj akrawk*
            missy not use.to use.to PAST speak bad
            ampi: ka: reuh   kaun
            about NOM gossip criticize
            "She never used to speak badly about gossip/gossips.
            (sic, literally: But the intended meaning presumably is "she never has engaged
            in gossip".)

      b.   *mwn <u>dael</u> ba:n kheu:nj ko:n*
            not   ever PAST see   child
            "never saw the children"

The "ever" reading is also possible for *mian*, with which *dael* may be symmetrically conjoined.

(33) a.   *aeng mwn <u>mian</u> nev tha:n sua*
            you not have stay place paradise
            "You have never been to paradise."

      b.   <u>*mian dael*</u> *mau:k aeut*   *(srok   phu:m klah tee:?)*
            exist ever come look.at country village some not
            "Did you ever come to look us up in the country?"

The *dael* auxiliary is impossible in the future (with future meaning, or in construction with future-marking morphemes), thus the ungrammaticality of combinations like

      *nwng mwn dael   "will never",
      *kom dael   "don't ever".

To say "I will never… lie to you" and the like, it is necessary to use a prenegative (or pre-sentential) auxiliary phrase like *cbah cia* "clear be", and/or a postverbal adverbial periphrastic phrase like *cia dac kha:t* meaning "definitely, without fail" or *cia dara:p* "always, forever" or *aoj sawh* "at all":

(34)   *knjom cbah cia mwn kohaw:k aeng cia dac kha:t*
       I   clear be not lie   you be cut fail
       "I will definitely (and clearly) not lie to you."

2.2.5 *tloap* "used to, PAST"

This root forms a nominalization *tumloap* "habit", but the root does not apparently occur as a main verb in the current language.

(35) a.   *pdej   knjom <u>tloap</u> tev tha:n sua*
            husband my   use.to go place paradise
            "My husband frequently went to heaven."

Note the combination *tloap ba:n* can have an inchoative as well as a past tense meaning, and be translatable as "have grown (accustomed) to". In the next three examples, it is possible that the combination is felt to be a symmetrical synonym compound, as suggested in the gloss of (35b):

(35) b. *baeu mian nauna: mneak   tloap ba:n cuap skoal   niang...*
     if   have anyone one.person PAST PAST meet acquaint missy
     "If there is anyone who has come to know her..."

   c. *tloap ba:n banghaeup aoj   deung tha:*
     use to PAST hint   so.that know COMP
     "have grown accustomed to hinting so that others would know that.."

   d. *baw:ng dael knjom tloap ba:n skoal   roap a:n ja:ng cwt sneut*
     comrade who I   use.to PAST recognize rely   kind close close
     "a comrade that I had come to recognize and rely on intimately"

Like the other habitual, *dael* (and like its English translation *used to*), *tloap* is impossible in the future tense.

2.2.6 *kampung (tae)*: "be engaged or busy in"/PROG[11]

(36) a. *pdej   niang kampung pralaeng lee:ng cia muaj pleu:ng*
     husband missy PROG   play   play   with fire
     "Her husband is playing with fire."

   b. *kmee:ng kampung tae claeuj   dak knia   pi: muaj tev muaj*
     youth   engage   respond put each.other from one   to   one
     "The youths were engaged in answering back and forth, blaming each other"

This word can often seem like the progressive auxiliary, but obviously has a greater range than its English near-equivalent, and is sometimes best translatable as "now, currently" (cf. Gorgoniev 1966b: 149 who identifies this as the present tense continuative aspect auxiliary):

(36) c. *dael   kampung tae lbej   lba:nj nuh*
     which currently   famous   that
     "who are currently famous"

Note that the recurrent opaque particle *tae* (< "only") seems to add no meaning in the last two examples.

2.2.7 *hian* "feel like, dare"

(37) *mec aeng mwn hian tha:*
     how you not   dare say
     "How [do you mean], you don't dare say it?"

2.2.8 *a:l* "be on fire/rush to"

This auxiliary verb, although listed as a main verb in Headley et al. 1977, does not seem to exist as a main verb presently. It has the added peculiarity of being a prohibitive polarity auxiliary, occurring almost entirely exclusively after *kom*, the whole combination *kom a:l* meaning "don't yet / don't be in a hurry to" / "don't necessarily assume that".

(38)   *neak   mian kom a:l aw:,   neak   kraw: kom a:l phej*
        person have don't yet happy person poor don't yet fear
        "Don't jump to the conclusion [that] the rich man will be happy, or that the poor man should fear." OR
        "Rich man, don't be in a hurry to be happy, poor man, don't be in a hurry to fear."
        (This is the first half of a Khmer Rouge proverb, meaning that, come the revolution, the last shall be first, and the first shall be last.)

Consultants assure me that in sentences like (38), *kom toan* "don't yet" is an acceptable synonym of *kom a:l*, but I have encountered no examples of this.

2.2.9 Proximatives and avertives

2.2.9.1 *seung(tae)* "almost, nearly, about to". Unless *seung* is related to the monk/royal word for "sleep", which seems highly unlikely, it is a dedicated auxiliary verb:

(39)   *seung   teu:h kda:*
        almost touch boards
        "(until) it [the shit pile] almost reached the (floor) boards"

2.2.9.2 *vih ~bih* "just about, almost" (auxiliary function only?). This is an example of an action narrowly averted.

(40)   a.   *vih   cul   ramau:k*
              almost crash.into motorcab
              "(I) almost crashed into a motorcab."

        b.   *vih   dual pkap   muk*
              almost fall   face.down face
              "(I) just about fell flat on my face."

2.2.9.3 *hiap~riap* "be about to"

(41)   *hiap   tiap sansawn*
        be.about.to   faint
        "be on the verge of fainting, losing consciousness"

2.3   The ordering of auxiliary verbs

Strings of auxiliary verbs are possible. The relative orderings of these, when there are more than one in preverbal position, seems to be almost entirely dictated by semantics: auxiliaries have within their scope all auxiliaries which follow them.

(42) a.   *knjom tloap a:c a:n*
       I   use   able read
       "I used to be able to read"

   b.   *knjom kraw: ba:n luak*
       I   hard   PAST sleep.soundly
       "It was hard for me to manage to fall sound asleep."

       jeu:ng dael ba:n trev angkuj raung cam
       we   who PAST must sit   wait   wait
       "We, who had had to sit and wait for her"

   d.   *kee: trev ba:n anjceu:nj co:l ruam cia ke'te'joh*
       3   PASS PAST invite   enter join be honor
       "S/he was invited as a guest of honor"

   e.   *ba:n laeung krau:ng riac*
       PAST begin rule   king
       "had begun to rule"

   f.   *mwn dael ba:n chian ceu:ng*
       not ever PAST step   foot
       "never had set foot"

   g.   *kantae le:ng   coh samrong nwng knia*
       get   no.longer in.harmony with each.other
       "grew to be unable to live in harmony with each other"

   h.   *lo:k   proh a:c nwng riareang*
       HON male can will   stop
       "The man can stop."

   i.   *teuk ka:m hiap   nwng lu:n sanseum sanseum mau:k kan tvia to:c*
       sperm   almost will   slide slowly   slowly   come   to   gate   small
       "sperm will almost spill into the vagina"

Still, the ordering of AV in the Auxiliary Clump is in part subject to some purely grammatical arbitrary constraints.

−   The constative negative *mwn* regularly precedes any or all auxiliaries except *nwng* "will", which it always follows. But in a string of auxiliaries, *nwng* seems to follow all the other auxiliaries that it is observed to cooccur with, except *trev* (which it may either precede or follow).

The habitual auxiliaries *tloap, ni'jum, dael* are mutually exclusive with the future. The symmetrical compounds *tloap ba:n, mian dael* "habitual" and *dael ba:n* "past" always seem to occur in this order.

To characterize all this, I propose a very general rule for multiple auxiliaries:

(43)   AC → (*mwn*) (auxiliary) (auxiliary)....

This statement can be supplemented an empirically accurate but utterly idiosyncratic rule to shuffle *mwn nwng "not + will" into the only acceptable grammatical order *nwng mwn*.

(44)   *mwn nwng* → *nwng mwn*
       1   2   2   1

It is a semantically regular condition on the appearance of *ni'jum, dael,* and *tloap* (all habituals) that they can not be future. They can coccur with no word that has a future meaning (hence the impossibility of *nwng tloap "will use to"), nor can they appear in the imperative (hence *kom dael "don't ever").

In addition to a preverbal auxiliary slot, there may be a pre-predicate slot for clearly presentential operator adverbial expressions like *cbah cia* "for sure", *trev cia* "undoubtedly" and *prahael cia* "maybe, probably", which can follow the subject if there is one, but otherwise seem to occur on the left margin of the clause:

(45)   *baeu mian nau na: mneak tloap   ba:n cuap skoal niang*
       if   have anyone one-CL used.to PAST meet know missy
       <u>*prawhael cia*</u> *ba:n deung ampi: tumnoap robawh niang haeuj.*
       perhaps be PAST know about habit   of   her   already
       "Anyone who has come to know her probably already knows that this is her custom."

3.   Serial verbs

Many auxiliary verbs derive from main verbs (Section 2.1), and many auxiliary verbs are dedicated auxiliaries (Section 2.2). Serial verbs are different: as far as one can tell, and with one single possible exception, all serial verbs are homophonous with currently attested main verbs. There are thus virtually no dedicated serial verbs. (Or if there are, we may question whether they are in fact verbs at all. So the single word which occurs as a possible candidate for serial verb status is the directional particle *venj* "back". Since it never appears as a main verb, we are under no pressure to identify it as any kind of verb.) We return to the implications of this distinction in Section 6. Serial verbs are in many cases indistinguishable from any asyndetically following clause. Four clear cases of partial grammaticalization (where they seem to be semantically slightly different from

simple sequential VP) which therefore justify calling them something other than sepa-
rate VP in multi-clause asyndetic predicates are the following:

the resultative construction (Section 3.1);
– directionals (Section 3.2);
– pivot constructions (Section 3.3);
perfective aspect marking (Section 3.4).

3.1   The resultative construction: Verb (action) + Verb (result)

The resultative construction, also known as the completive, is a favorite construction
not only in Khmer (Huffman et al. 1970: 187–8), but in many other Southeast Asian
languages (Bisang 1992, Enfield 2003), among them Vietnamese (Nguyen 1974: 9–10),
Mandarin (Li & Thompson 1981: 56–8; 426–8), Lahu (Matisoff 1969: 75–7), Hmong, Lao
(Enfield 2003), and Thai (Iwasaki & Ingkapirom 2005: 239).

If neither the MV nor the SV is negated, the flavor of this construction approximates
the perfective in Slavic languages[12]. The SV (here a perfectivizing "success" verb) signals
that the operation attempted in the MV was carried out successfully; if the SV is negated,
that it was not. Among the most commonly used "success verbs" are *ba:n* "get", *phot* "ex-
ceed, go beyond", *ruac* "escape", *cenj* "exit", *toan* "be on time", *trev* "hit", *cneah* "win", *dawl*
"arrive", *dac* "cut", and *kaeut* "arise". While it is understandable why these verbs can signal
success through their specific intrinsic meanings, the differences among those meanings
often cease to be significant in this construction. Therefore, when such popular semi-
grammaticalized "success" verbs occur without any hint of their original specificity they
will simply be translated as "succeed" or "manage" in the examples below.

3.1.1   Success verb is *kaeut* (< "be born, arise")

(46) a.   *trasawk   nih ho:p kaeut*
           cucumber this eat   succeed/manage
           "(One) can eat this cucumber; this cucumber is edible"

      b.   *cenj mau:k clo:h   nwng kee: kaeut*
           exit come quarrel with 3   succeed/manage
           "You can manage (You're well enough) to come out and quarrel with people"

3.1.2   Success verb is *phot* (< "go beyond, exceed")

(47) *ae   pò:n   Tnu: Dee:t kec   mwn phot   pi: sa'mauraphu:m muk*
      as.for young.comrade Tnuu Deet, escape not   succeed from front
      "As for the young comrade Tnuu Deet, he didn't succeed in escaping from the front."

3.1.3 Success verb is *ruac* (< "escape")

(48) a. *leu:k daj ceu:ng steu:*   *pum ruac*
   raise arm leg   insufficient not succeed/manage
   "could hardly manage to raise arms and legs"

  b. *re:k*   *mwn cawng ruac*
   carry.on.shoulder not   want succeed/manage
   "could barely carry on his shoulders any longer"

  c. *tnguan pee:k steu:*   *mwn ruac*   *tev haeuj*
   heavy too   insufficient not   succeed DIR PERF
   "so heavy I can barely manage to go on"

  d. *seung tae daw:k danghaeum mwn ruac*
   almost   draw breath   not succeed/manage
   "It was almost impossible to breathe"

  e. *pro:h   kraoj pi: bawt ceu:ng ruac*
   because after from fold legs   succeed/manage
   "because after they had managed to go to the bathroom…"

3.1.4 Success verb is *cenj* (< "exit")

(49) *knjom keang rau:k saeuc mwn cenj*
  I   choke seek smile not succeed/manage
  "I choked up and tried vainly to smile."

3.1.5 Success verb is *toan* (< "catch up with")

(50) a. *..dael rau:k kec   mwn toan*
   who   seek escape not   in.time
   "who can't manage to escape in time"

  b. *via raut coh   pi: kot   mwn toan*
   3   run descend from dormitory not   in.time
   "He couldn't run out of the monks' dormitory in time."

3.1.6 Success verb is *cneah* (< "win")

(51) *beh   mwn cneah*
  pluck not   succeed/manage
  "can't pluck"

3.1.7 Success verb is *dawl* (< "arrive")

(52) a. *sma:n mwn dawl tha: ..*
   guess not arrive that
   "can't get it into his head that.."

b.   *daw:k danghaeum steu:*   *mwn dawl*
draw breath   almost not   succeed/manage
"almost couldn't breathe."

3.1.8   Success verb is *ba:n* (< "acquire")

(53)   a.   *knjom seung   traung nev   sngiam pum ba:n*
I   almost endure stay quiet   not   succeed/manage
"I could hardly stay silent"

b.   *knjom   traung le:ng_____ba:n*
I   endure no.longer succeed/manage
"I could endure it no longer"

c.   *A. via taup   le:ng_____ba:n*   *haeuj*
A he hold back no longer succeed/manage PERF
"A. could no longer hold it [an attack of diarrhoea] back."

Note that in (53b, c) *le:ng* is either observing narrative iconicity and thus acting as an SV rather than an AV, or it is acting as a negative preverbal particle with the SV *ba:n,* as *pum* is doing in (53a).

3.1.9   Success verb is *trev* (< "hit squarely")

(54)   a.   *rau:k sma:n mwn trev*
seek guess not   succeed/manage
"try in vain to figure out [exactly what was going to happen]"

b.   *rau:k tha: mwn trev*
seek say not   succeed/manage
"try to talk, but in vain"

c.   *creul cra:h   knong ceut   rau:k sma:n mwn trev*
mill.around in   heart seek guess not   succeed/manage
"ponder, but not able to guess right"

3.1.10   The polyfunctionality of verbs in resultative constructions

It is intrinsic to some verbs that they are verbs of either attempting or success. Thus *meu:l* "look at" is intrinsically a verb of attempting, and *kheu:nj* "see" is one corresponding verb of success:

(55)   a.   *meu:l mwn/pum kheu:nj*
look   not   see
"can't see"

b.   *meu:l kheu:nj*
look   see
"look and see".

c.   *svaeng rau:k ni'pian   ej   mwn kheu:ɲ sawh*
     seek   seek   Nirvana   any   not   see   at.all
     "seek Nirvana in vain"

Another possible "success" verb for *meu:l* is *skoal* "recognize", as in

(56)   *meu:l knia   le:ng   skoal*
       look   each.other   no.longer   recognize
       "(we) could no longer recognize each other (in the twilight)"

Similarly, a "success" verb for *dee:k* "lie down (to sleep)" is *luak* "sleep.soundly":

(57)   *dee:k   mwn luak*
       lie.down   not   sleep.soundly
       "couldn't sleep soundly"

Of course, there are success verbs which are restricted in their range through retaining precisely their meanings as main verbs. In the same way that "see" is the success verb that corresponds most closely to "look", so too *lw:* "hear" is the success verb that corresponds to *sdap* "listen":

(58)   a.   *sdap   mwn   lw:*
            listen   not   hear
            "can't hear"

       b.   *sdap lw:*
            "listen and manage to hear".

In many cases, a verb which seems intrinsically neutral with respect to the idea of successful completion or perfectivity may function as the success verb, depending on the nature of the first verb in the construction.

(59)   a.   *tae samleung rau:k meu:l tiat   mwn prateah pne:k nwng avej   laeuj*
            just gaze   seek look more not   meet   eye   with   anything   at.all
            "just gaze blankly without connecting the gaze with anything"

       b.   *viseh   rau:k k-mian*
            special seek   not-be
            "seek in vain / incomparable"

       c.   *bawk mwn raheu:j*
            fan   not   feel.breeze
            "fan oneself, but not feel the breeze, without cooling off"

Whether or not a verb qualifies as a "success" verb is often simply through its appearance in this construction, rather than through its intrinsic properties. For example, the same

verb *deung* "know" may be a neutral or attemptive verb of knowing in one phrase (60a), but a success verb in another (60b):

(60) a. *roap   deung mwn cneah*
          count know   not win
          "can't know"

      b. *sma:n mwn deung*
          guess not know
          "guess but not know for sure"

So too, in (61a) *lw:* "hear" is a "success" verb, while in (61b, c), the same verb is an "attemptive" verb:

(61) a. *(koat baeuk moat   tectec) seung   sdap   mwn lw:*
          3   open   mouth a bit   almost listen not hear
          "(he opened his mouth a bit), and almost inaudibly (said)..."

      b. *lw: mwn dawl*
          hear not arrive
          "couldn't hear"

      c. *lw: jau:k ka:pia pum ba:n*
          hear bring trust   not succeed/manage
          "hear but not [well enough to] trust [one's ears]"

In (60) and (61) it seems that the MV acts as an anchor and imposes a reading on the serial verb. There is however a difference between this case of anchoring and the prototypically anchoring function of Q words discussed in Chapter 5. Q words are always anchors, while in (60) and (61) it is the construction V1 V2 itself which imposes an interpretation on V2: the same verb acts as an anchor/drill sergeant in V1 position, and as a raw recruit in V2 position.

3.2   Directional verbs

Verbs of motion functioning as serial verbs can function like particles in English, indicating both the physical trajectory of some actions and sometimes more abstract properties.

The simplest examples of a serial verb indicating the direction of a preceding main verb are

(62) a. *via dak ca:n coh*
          3   put bowl descend
                         DIR
          "S/he put the bowl down."

b.   *ko: bamreah <u>cenj</u> pi: neum*
    ox   wriggle   exit from yoke
                    DIR
    "The ox wriggled out from under the yoke."

Verbs of motion are not always easy to translate when they appear as DIR:

(63) a.   *So:m tveu: ta:m   bandam koat tev*
       please do   follow message 3   go
                                    DIR
       "Please <u>continue</u> to follow his instructions."

b.   *..pro:h   koat ba:n pdam   mau:k tha:*
    because 3   PAST instruct come say
                          DIR
    "..because his instructions have <u>come down</u> to us saying..."

c.   *kraoj pi: jau:k sambaw:k via coh*
    after from take bark   it   descend
                               DIR
    "after taking the bark <u>off</u>"

d.   *kjawl bawk klang mau:k*
    wind blow strong come
                      DIR
    "the wind blows <u>on us</u>"

e.   *tmaw: ralo:ng do:c ba:t lo:k   awh   <u>tev</u> haeuj*
    stone   smooth like bowl monk exhaust go   finish
                                     DIR
    "The stones are smoothed <u>off</u> as smooth as a monk's bowl."

f.   *sua rau:k sethej   nwng tev*
    ask seek nobleman this   go
                          DIR
    "Seek out the nobleman." (Here the DIR functions as an imperative, cf. Chapter 7)

g.   *tha: tev meu:l*
    say go look
             DIR DIR
    "Go ahead and say it and <u>see</u> (for <u>yourself</u>)!" (A non-motion verb functioning as in (f))

h.   *baeu ko:n   aeng cawng tev kaw: tev coh!*
    if   child you   want   go so   go descend
                                DIR
    "If you want to go, child, then go."

(In the last three examples, the use of the directionals *tev, coh* conveys the speaker's permissive, encouraging, laissez-faire attitude, perhaps as in English expressions like "fire away", "go ahead", and "rock on": "do what you want to do, feel free", "try your wings" cf. Huffman et al. 1970:151.)

According to Gorgoniev (1966b:204–5), the directional verb *laeung* "rise, up" following a small number of verbs like *chap* "fast" functions as a marker of the comparative degree:

(63) i. *chap laeung*
         fast up
              DIR
         "Faster!"   (Gorgoniev 1966b:205)[13]

      j. *ko:h tvia kantae njoap   laeung*
         knock door become frequent up
                               DIR
         "The knocks on the door grew more frequent"

      k. *reut tae cngawl laeung*
         become curious up
                       DIR
         "..became ever <u>more</u> curious"

It is notable that directional verbs can follow not only verbal clauses, but also noun phrases:

(64) *mophej cnam kraoj mau:k*
       score   year after come
                       DIR
       "up till now, twenty years <u>on</u>..."

3.3   Serial clauses as (infinitival) complements

3.3.1 The "See Spot run" construction

This is not strictly speaking an SV construction, since the second verb can take a full panoply of verbal trappings. It can also be called a "pivot" construction (Bisang 1992:438), inasmuch as an NP simultaneously acts as the object of the MV, and as the subject of the SV. An extremely frequent example of this is the *jau:k* "take" + NP + *mau:k* "come" construction, best translated into English as "bring" (Tok Pisin *kisim i kam* "catch'em it come"). Examples that look like "see Spot run" (with the pivot NP underlined) are:

(65) a. *Acreung taeng tae noam* <u>*kmee:ng voat*</u> *aeut kaw:*
A. always take youth temple crane neck
"A. always took the temple youths to crane their necks (looking down on congregants bringing alms to the temple)."

b. *kheu:nj* <u>*neak tveu: bawn*</u> *daeu samdav mau:k kawt aca: Thao*
see person do good.work walk towards come building teacher Thao
"see almsgivers walking towards the dormitory of teacher Thao"

c. *via jau:k* <u>*ku:t via*</u> *tev kakwt leu: tmaw:*
3 take butt 3 go rub on stone
"They would take their butts and rub them against the stones"

d. *kee: lw: tae* <u>*samlee:ng Acreung*</u> *sraeng kdaeng kdaeng*
3 hear only voice Acreung exclaim proudly
"One could hear Acreung's voice exclaiming proudly.."

e. *knjom kana: kheu:nj* <u>*Acuan*</u> *kraok kanda:l jup*
I HUM see Acuan get.up middle night
"I saw Acuan get up in the middle of the night."

f. *cam* <u>*jeu:ng*</u> *cuaj*
wait we help
"wait for us to help (you)" / "We will help you."
(in the second reading, *cam* is identified as a pre-subject near-future auxiliary verb.)

g. *koat dak* <u>*luj*</u> *tev knong thawng venj bat*
3 put money go in knapsack back disappear
"He put the money back out of sight into his knapsack."

Pivot constructions seem to differ from the strings of multiple VC constructions exemplified in (1) in only one respect: they have a pivot nominal expression between MV and SV. But this noun clump may simply fail to appear interverbally, either because the serial clause has presentative VS order:

(66) a. *kee: kheu:nj mian kawt thom pi:*
3 see have building big two
"One could see two big dormitory buildings"

Or because it is missing from both MV and SV clauses altogether:

(66) b. *mae ao via aoj nev kvial ko:*
mom dad 3 make [him] stay herd cow
"His mom and dad made [him] stay and herd cows."

    c.   *anj aoj   tev rian nev sala: ba:rang*
        I   make [you] go study at   school French
        "I will make [you] go study in a French school."

That is: even when the subject of the serial verb is distinct from the subject of the MV, its presence is not obligatory.

3.3.2 The purpose clause construction
In many cases, MV (NP) SV constructions can be used and understood as main clause plus purpose clause constructions:

  (67) a.   *awt mian luj   tveu: bawn*
           not have money do   good.works
           "there was no money to do good works"

       b.   *luak srae   camka: jau:k luj*
           sell   paddy vegetable.garden take money
           "sell the paddy and the vegetable garden to get some money"

       c.   *aeng kvah ba:j si:*
           you lack rice eat
           "You have no rice to eat."

       d.   *k-mian   avej   beut bang tee:*
           not-have something hide hide not
           "there was nothing there [with which] to conceal [the piles of manure]"

Purpose clauses are also frequently signaled by specific complementizer words, cf. Chapter 9. But they need not be.

3.4 The serial verb as perfective aspect marker

Enfield (2003:41) carefully distinguishes between "success" (an action has consequences, and results in another one) and "attainment" (an action is actually completed). The sequence *seek and find* is an example of success, while *seek* + PAST is an example of attainment or completion. Sometimes, there is conflation between the two, as when the same serial verbs mark both. The two verbs *haeuj* "finish" and *ruac* "escape" as well as being "success" verbs, can function simply to indicate the completion of an event.

  (68) *via kha:n pheuk teuk tnaot ju: nah mau:k haeuj*
       3   miss drink juice palm long.time very DIR   PERF
       "He had missed drinking palm syrup for a very long time already."

3.5   The serial verb as sequential "and then" conjunction

As noted in Chapter 5, the verb *haeuj* functions as a sequential clausal conjunction, and can often be translated simply as "and then / thereafter":

(69)   koat lɯːk   daj   tev knong thawng jiam haeuj dawːk   lɯj   muaj rial mauːk
       3   reach hand go in   knapsack   CONJ removed money one   rial DIR
       "He reached into his knapsack and then removed a one-rial piece."

It may seem that this last use is completely indistinguishable from the perfective function illustrated in (68): in which case it would seem that a Western grammarian is fussily imposing his own differing categories on what is a unitary phenomenon in Khmer. The only difference between S1 + *finish* and S1 + *finish* + S2 is the presence of S2: that is, the verb *finish* arguably means nothing more or less than *finish* in both cases.

In fact, the suspicion that all of the present taxonomy of AV, MV, and SV is an extended example of ethnocentric grammatical pedantry is a salutary one, and in fact this suspicion can even be strengthened by the consideration of a few more sample sentences.

For example, the complex predicate construction of (70a) can simultaneously be analyzed as a pivot and a directional serial verb construction:

(70)   a.   *Via denj   praciacaun cenj piː   tiː krong*
            3   drive citizen   exit from city
                                    DIR?
                                    MV?
            "They drove the population out of the city."

Or again, the VV sequence *ruam rauh* is structurally ambiguous in:

(70)   b.   *Koat mwn prauːm aoj   anj ruam rauh cia muaj prapun anj teeː*
            3   not agree so.that I   join live together wife   my no
            "She did not agree that I should live together with my wife."

Is *ruam* an AV? Is *rauh (cia muaj)* a success predicate, hence an SV? Does *ruam* modify *rauh*? Are both verbs simply conjoined VC in an extended complex predicate like those of (1)?

Finally, consider (70c):

(70)   c.   *sdac klaeng tev nev tveuː kamakawː   robawh*
            king pretend go stay do   farmworker of
            neak   thuː thia m-neak
            person well-off one-person
            "The king disguised himself as an ordinary peasant and went to work for a man of means."

Is *klaeng* "pretend, fake, be an impostor" modifying the sequence of verbs "go, stay, do the farmworker thing"? Semantically, it would seem so: the king did all these things but as an impostor. Structurally, however, *klaeng* can only be an auxiliary verb, or a main verb in a string of coordinate main verbs: First, the king pretended, then he went off to work as a farmer, and so forth.

   Sentences like those of (70) occur frequently in ordinary speaking and writing, and they suggest that the analysis of verb strings into auxiliary, main, and serial verbs is often an unwarranted overinterpretation. While structures do sometimes impose an interpretation on such verbal strings, there are other cases where the lexical semantics of the verbs are the only structural information that is relevant (cf. Matisoff 1973:199 who comes to exactly this conclusion on verb concatenations in Lahu).

3.6   Cooccurrence of more than one "SV"

Nevertheless, there is some evidence for the correctness of labels like SV and its constituents. There are two possible analyses of *haeuj* as a perfective SV and as a clausal conjunction in the sentences (68) and (69). What justifies separate labels for the two is the fact that the two verbs *haeuj* PERF and *haeuj* CONJ may actually coccur. Their coexistence in sentences like (71a) suggests that the verb *haeuj* has become grammaticalized to occupy two entirely separate syntactic slots.

(71)   a.   *prakaw:t cia tleak naurauk haeuj haeuj koat ba:n pdam   mau:k tiat*
            certainly   fall hell   PERF CONJ 3   PAST instruct come more
            "Certainly he has gone to hell, and he enjoined me to …"

Along the same lines, SV labeled DIR which signal direction, and SV which signal success can also coccur, in that order:

(71)   b.   *jeu:ng mwn a:c claw:ng spian   tev ba:n   tee:*
            we   not   can cross   bridge DIR succeed no
            "We cannot cross the bridge and get over to the other side."

Here, *tev* "go" is a directional SV, and indicates the direction in which the bridge crossing happens. The directional is followed by the success verb *ba:n* indicating that the movement in the direction "away" was to be completed. (And the words *mwn a:c* and *tee:* indicate that success was elusive, see Section 4 below.)

(71)   *daeu treup treup leu: spian   tev awh*
            walk clop clop on   bridge DIR exhaust/succeed
            "Walked all the way across the bridge, clop clop."

Again, *tev* is a directional, indicating a goal towards which motion is occurring. The verb *awh* "exhaust" functions a success verb, indicating that "motion towards" was success-fully completed as "motion to".

The relative order of the expressions within an SV phrase seems to accord with Bybee's important insight (1985) about the correlation between the distance separating VERB STEM from its accompanying morphemes and their mutual relevance. Directionals are more relevant to an action than whether or not that action succeeded, hence their relative ordering in (71b, c) is iconic, and calls for no special grammatical rules. Direction is also more relevant than aspect, so the order DIR PERF is also no surprise. (It is English, with expressions like *walk + ed away* which calls for special grammatical treatment.)

4. *a:c* "can" + MV + *ba:n* "can"

There is a nominalization *amna:c* "power", which suggests that there is a real main verb mean-ing "be powerful". However, I have encountered no use of it as an independent verb in the modern language. It is the auxiliary verb *a:c* which is common:

(72) a. *pum a:c dandaeum jau:k co:k   cej*
       not can contend   gain   victory victory
       "cannot cope successfully"

    b. *knjom mwn a:c ni'jiaj khmae.*
       I   not can speak Khmer
       "I can't speak Khmer."

More interestingly, the auxiliary verb *a:c* is virtually synonymous with the serial success verb *ba:n* "get, manage (to), succeed (in)". The discontinuous string *a:c ... ba:n* is a favor-ite construction in Cambodian, and occurs in hundreds of cases like:

(73) a. *kmian   nau na: a:c cumtoah ba:n   tee:*
       there.is.not anyone can refuse   manage no
       "There is no one who can refuse."

    b. *mwn a:c luak ba:n tiat   tee:*
       not   can sleep get more no
       "could no longer sleep"

       jeu:ng mwn a:c koam trau: angka: kbawt praciacaun
       we   not can support   organization betray citizen
       nih taw: tev tiat   ba:n tee:
       this continue DIR more get   not
       "We can not continue to support any longer a [governmental] organization that betrays its subjects"

d. *kraol krabej dael a:c dak krabej ba:n pi: bej neum*
    pen buffalo which can put buffalo get two three yoke
    "a pen which could house two or three teams of buffalo"

e. *taeu knjom a:c som samnak nev ro:ng ba:j muaj jup ba:n rw: tee:*
    Q par I can beg rest be.at shed rice one night get or no
    "May I ask for shelter in the rice shed for one night?"

f. *a:c vwl tralawp tev nev srok kamnaeut robawh kluan venj ba:n*
    can turn return go be.at place birth of self back get
    "can return to the place of their birth"

g. *pum a:c leak ko:n aeng nev ti: nih ba:n*
    not can hide child your be.at place this get
    "can not hide your child here."

h. *knjom mwn a:c cuah cul ba:n tee:*
    I not able repair get no
    "I can't fix it."

i. *Mnuh a:c truat tra: leu: thoamaciat ba:n muaj phiak thom*
    person can control over nature succeed one part large
    "Humans can successfully exercise control over most of nature"

j. *Kawt nih a:c dak mnuh ba:n ja:ng tec 100 neak*
    building this can put person succeed kind a.bit 100 people
    "This (dormitory) building could accommodate at least 100 people."

k. *pum a:c bampenj phiarakec ba:n penj lenj*
    not can fulfill duty succeed completely
    "couldn't manage to perform [my] duties completely"

l. *tae mwn a:c leak liam ka: peut nwng knjom ba:n*
    but not can hide hide NOM true from me succeed
    "but could not hide the truth from me"

m. *k-mian nauna: a:c cumtoah ba:n tee:*
    not-be anyone can disagree succeed no
    "There is nobody who can disagree."

n. *mwn a:c khoat a'nita'thoa ba:n laeuj*
    not can prevent death succeed at.all
    "were unable to prevent [her] death."

o. *neak khet nuh mwn a:c tveu: samlee:ng aoj khoh knia ba:n*
    person province that not able do sound so.that differ each.other succeed.
    "People of that province are not able to differentiate the sounds"

The sentences of (73) introduce us to the relationship between the grammar of (in)ability and that of (in)consequentiality in Cambodian.

In English "I can see it" means the same as "I actually see it", and the same is true for all verbs of sensation. Note the oddness of *I can see/smell/feel/taste/hear it,(* but choose not to)*. For other verbs, we make a distinction between potential and performance of an act in both positive and negative sentences. "I can lift/run/ dance" is not the same as "I lift/run /dance. "I don't dance" is not the same as "I can't dance". Thus it is perfectly normal to say *I can dance, but choose not to.*

Resultative sentences are biclausal structures, whose first clause depicts an attempted act, and whose second records whether or not the attempt succeeded, or even actually took place. In the initial clause of resultative sentences in Khmer, making the distinction between potential and performance is deferred: pending disambiguation or clarification in the second clause, all verbs are treated the same as verbs of perception in English. That is, the questions:

> "did the event of S1 really happen?"
> "did the event of S1 have the anticipated consequence?"

are left temporarily unresolved.

Now, with the favorite *a:c + MV + ba:n* construction, sometimes the auxiliary verb is lacking, and only the serial verb of accomplishment *ba:n* is present (cf. Enfield 2003: 221)[14].

(74) a. *chaw:k plawn ba:n   penj knong daj*
     rob   rob   succeed full in   hand
     "(can) successfully make off with arms full".

b. *rau:k si: mian ba:n*
   seek eat have succeed
   "(can) get rich"

   cramoh knjom sraw:ng ba:n   kleun s'oj teang rauh
   nose   my   smell   succeed odor rot all   alive
   "My nose could make out / made out the odor of gangrene"

d. *knjom pukae beh ba:n   banlae   craeun*
   I   excel pick succeed vegetable lots
   "I was a very successful vegetable harvester."

e. *a:n ba:n   l'aw:*
   read succeed good
   "good at reading / can read well"

In such complex sentences, when they are negated, *mwn* "not" or another constative negative appears with the serial verb, as in (75):

(75) a. *po:m peut cia camnam   atma: <u>mwn</u> <u>ba:n</u> tee:*
          parent true be recognition self   not   get   at-all
          "You (my parents) truly couldn't/didn't recognize me." (said by monk
          to his parents)

      b. *ckae kha:ng ee: mae   kheu:nj ckae*
          dog side   Ee mother see   dog
          kha:ng ae   mae   <u>mwn</u> <u>ba:n</u> tee:
          side   Ae mother not   get   not
          "The dogs of the Ee faction couldn't stand the dogs of the Ae faction."

      c. *knjom troam <u>le:ng</u>   <u>ba:n</u>*
          I   endure no.longer get
          "I could endure it no longer"

In other cases, it is the serial verb which is lacking, and only the auxiliary verb is present:
this way of putting the statement entails a reanalysis of (72): that is, perhaps monoclausal
sentences with *a:c*, like those of (72), so easily rendered into English, are all actually ellip-
tical versions of full biclausal resultatives, like those of (74). It is notable that compared
to biclausal resultative sentences like (73), monoclausal expressions of inability (72) are
comparatively rare.

　　The two verbs *a:c* (an auxiliary verb) and *ba:n* (a serial verb) are nearly synonymous
in this construction, and they are both optional, but they are not interchangeable. I have
encountered no case where *a:c* can occur as a success verb (that is, as a serial verb).

　　I t may be possible to analyze the discontinuous constituent *(a:c) ....(ba:n)* as a pair of
syntactic brackets, nested within the negative brackets *mwn ....(tee:)*. These abstract brack-
ets mark the opening and closing of a sequence of cause + consequence/result clauses:

(76) *(mwn)(a:c)* S1   (S2)   *(mwn)(ba:n)(tee:)*
          not   can CAUSE RESULT not   get   no

Some surface reshuffling of *a:c* and *ba:n* is then necessary.

　　a:c (if present) invariably occupies post-subject auxiliary position within S1;
　　ba:n (if present), on the other hand, has a number of alternative positions:

　　It can be the whole of S2 (as in 73a)
　　It can precede an object MP   (73d)
－　　It can precede a MP (73e)
－　　It can follow the VP of S2 (73c)
－　　It can precede an Adverb (73b)

It is subject to only one rule, that it precede the clause-final constative negative particle
tee:, if this particle is present. It is precisely because of the variety of positions that *ba:n* can
inhabit that I propose something like (76) as a possible generalization to account for it.

Two further notational devices must be admitted.

The standard bracket notation for optional constituents (X → (A)(B)) allows the expansions featuring A, B, AB and zero. It is exactly this device which was necessary for dealing with the nominal clump in Chapter 5.

But it is not accurate for the discontinuous string *a:c .. ba:n* which can be expanded *a:c, a:c...ba:n,* or *ba:n.* The idea of result or consequence can be expressed by either *a:c,* or *ba:n,* or both – <u>but not by neither one</u>. Henceforth the symbol for the logical operator of inclusive disjunction "ν" will be used to describe cases of this sort, as follows:

(*a:c*) ν   ν (*ba:n*).

Nor is the bracket notation of (76) descriptively accurate for the two possible positions of *mwn.* The constative negative may occur with either the auxiliary of S1 or the success verb of S2, but not, apparently, both. The two are related by mutually exclusive disjunction. For describing such a state of affairs, there is an optional chopping rule notation: *mwn* generally precedes the auxiliary verb *a:c* in S1. If, however, this auxiliary verb is missing, then *mwn* moves into position before *ba:n.*

Hence the restatement of (76) through the (still provisional) (77a) and (77b):

The Expression of (In)consequentiality, Possibility and Result:

(77)	a.	*(mwn) (a:c)ν*	S1	S2	*ν(ba:n) (tee:)*	
		not can	CAUSE	RESULT	get not	
	b.	*mwn ø*	S1	(S2)	*ba:n (tee:) →*	
		1 2	3	4	5 6	
		ø ø	S1	(S2)	*mwn ba:n (tee:)*[15]	
			3	4	1 5 6	

5.   The passive using the auxiliary verb *trev*: "must/need to"

As a main verb *trev* "hit", has a variety of related meanings, including "affect", "be correct" (for the latter, cf. English "hit the mark", German "treffen"). As a serial verb, it can mean "succeed". As an auxiliary, it means "must", and can be conjoined with its near synonym *(cam)bac.*

(78) a.   *nwng trev   rian   so:t*
            will   must   study   recite
            "will have to study and learn"

   b.   *jeu:ng trev   rian   daeu   ceu:ng tatee:*
          we   must   learn   walk   foot   empty/bare
          "We must learn to walk barefoot."

    c.   *trev daeu pramo:l oh   puk*
        must go   gather firewood rotten
        "..must go gather rotten firewood"

    d.   *vana' a'thau:n   trev tae taw:su: dac.kha:t*
        class propertyless must only struggle absolute
        "The class without property must struggle absolutely heroically."

    e.   *jeu:ng trev tae kamtec puak a: niajtun*
        we   must only smash PLU HON capitalist
        "We must smash the foul capitalist class."

    f.   *mwn trev mian ceut cam'iang cang'awl*
        not must have heart anxious tight
        "must not have a mean-spirited or anxious heart"

    g.   *ejlev meut   aeng trev tveu: likheut muaj*
        now comrade you must do   letter   one
        "Now you comrades must write a letter"

    h.   *pee:l dael   daeu nev pee:l jup, trev   tae   prajat me:n te:n*
        time which walk in time night must only careful really
        "When walking at night, (one must) be very careful."

In a sense which is no longer clearly identifiable as "hit" or "must", *trev* can be translated sometimes also as a passive 'auxiliary' meaning roughly "undergo, be affected, be under the influence of, be subject to, be a victim of": the paradigm example would be the constructed active/passive pair:

(79) a.   *la:n jau:k cru:k rabuah*
        car take pig wounded
        S   V   O
        "The ambulance carried the wounded pig away." (Active sentence)

    b.   *cru:k rabuah trev   ba:n (la:n) jau:k*
        pig wound PASS   PAST (car) take
        (Logical O)   (Logical S) V
        "The wounded pig was carried away (by an ambulance)." (Passive sentence)

Below are some actual sentences that come close to this model, without the agent NP:

(80) a.   *kee: trev ba:n anjceu:nj co:l ruam cia ke'te'joh*
        3   PASS PAST invite   enter join be honor
        "S/he was invited as a guest of honor"

    b.   *knjom trev banjcu:n ta:m plav ratee:h ko:*
        I   PASS send   along path cart cow
        "I was sent down along the cowpath"

    c.   *ka:l trev rabuah tmej*
        time PASS wound new
        "when (I) was freshly wounded…

    d.   *niang trev banjchaup pi: ka:ngia nih*
        missy PASS lay off   from work   this
        "She got laid off."

    e.   *ka: seuksa: muaj trev riapcawm*
        NOM study   one   PASS prepare
        "A study was prepared."
        (Note that (80e) is rather unusual in not being an adversative passive at all.)

    f.   *dael   trev leu:k jau:k mau:k sa:see: nev knong a'(tha)bawt*
        which PASS raise bring come write be.at in   article
        "who was mentioned in the article"

    g.   *kaw: trev kae   cia bantoap dae*
        and.so PASS correct be next   also
        "and so is corrected immediately for the next [edition]"
        (This is from an article about the corrections page in the New York Times.)

    h.   *(haeuj) trev cat tok   cia paurmian kua aoj mian pnjak p̀aeul*
        (and)   PASS consider be news   should have startle surprise
        "and is considered surprising news"

    i.   *phiasa: kmae nwng trev praeu ka: craeun laeung*
        language Khmer will PASS use   matter much   DIR
        "The Khmer language will be used in business more and more"

    j.   *Salot Cha:j ba:n trev leu:k le:ng dawh le:ng aoj   cenj pi: kuk*
        S. C.   PAST PASS raise let.go release let.go so.that exit from prison
        "S. C. had been granted immunity and was released from prison."

In all of the above examples, which approximate the passive in English, the construction seems to consist schematically of

    (81)   Subject NP + Passive Auxiliary + VP (actually, a Subjectless Main Clause)

In the following examples, the main clause has an expressed subject – the agent – and the identity of *trev* as an auxiliary verb becomes questionable. It seems to be a main verb taking an entire clause as an object complement.

    (82) a. …*trev* [*tosnika̒caun koam trau: niang ra'jah   ka: ni'jum criang roam*]
              PASS public.fan support   missy through NOM love   sing   dance
              "(She is) buoyed up by her fans who support her by their love of her singing and dancing."

b.   *trev [burawh mneak   nev khet   Kaoh Kong ni'jiaj tha: niang tloap   cia*
     PASS fellow one.person at province K.   K.   say   that she   used.to be
     sangsa: robawh kluan]
     sweetheart of   self
     "She is also [harassed] by a man of K. K. Province who says she used to be
     his girl friend."

c.   *Teu:p niang trev [phawleutkam nia nia anjceu:nj niang] aoj   tev co:l*
     then missy PASS producer   various invite   missy so.that go into
     ruam samdaeng cia ksaephiapjaun knong thana' cia tua aek
     join perform be movie   in   role be star
     "Then she has been invited by several producers to star in a movie."

d.   *tu:k srev nuh trev [kjawl pjuh   baok (lec   kanda:l tunlee:)]*
     boat rice that PASS wind storm blow (sink middle   river)
     "That rice boat was sunk by a storm in the middle of the river."

e.   *neak   a:⁻ nwng trev [meut pheak mau:k pi: bauratee:h mau:k le:ng]*
     person can will PASS friend friend come from abroad   come play
     "You may be visited by friends from abroad"
     (Note that this is a passive from an intransitive verb.)

f.   *trev [prapun koat tmeh teuh dial   tha: phau: kee: tiat]*
     PASS wife   3   mock   insult say lie   3   more
     "had to endure more mockery and lies of his wife."

g.   *dom teang nuh ba:n trev [puak kmee:ng voat   jau:k tveu: cia o'pa'kaw:*
     piece all   that PAST PASS PLU youth   temple take make be instrument
     praeu prah awh   cia craeun damnaw: nah mau:k haeuj]
     use   exhaust be many   generation very DIR   PERF
     "All of these pieces were used [as toilet paper] by generations of temple youths
     up to now."

h.   *kmee:ng voat   dee:k luak do:c trev [kee: sansawm]*
     youth   temple lie   sleep like PASS 3   anesthetize
     "The temple boys slept as soundly as if they had been drugged."

i.   *kmee:ng cia craeun ba:n trev [lo:k kru: thom a'nu'nja:t] aoj tev le:ng pteah*
     youth   be many   PAST PAST monk teacher big   permit so.that go visit house
     "Many of the youths were permitted by the head monk to go on home leave."

j.   *trev [o'pa'kaw: paurmian datej tiat   daw:k srawng jau:k tev psawp psa:j]*
     PASS item   news   other other extract collect bring to   publish publish
     "(She has been) the subject of other news stories that were published"

k.   *Knjom trev ba:n [kee: prap] aoj   tev sala: rian*
     I   PASS PAST 3   tell   so.that go school
     "I was told to go to school."

l.   *Avejavej dael   knjom sralanj trev [kmae   krahaw:m kamtec caol   awh   rali:ng]*
     Everything that I   love   PASS Khmer red   smash dump exhaust clean
     "Everything I loved had been totally shattered and trashed by the Khmer Rouge."

Variations on this structure occur. If (82) represents the "full" structure, with *trev* followed by a full (presumably complement) clause, and (81) is a reduction of this structure, with *trev* followed by a subjectless clause, (83) represents other examples of reduction where there need be no 'main verb' expressed in the complement clause, which consists only of the agent or instrument (in square brackets below):

(83)   a.   *vee:c bandeut Eun Sokhom   trev   [puak   khiakkaw:]*
            doctor   Eun Sokhom PASS group   killer
            "Doctor Eun Sokhom was the victim of a gang of killers"

       b.   *(raliaj do:c cia)   ambeul   trev   [teuk]*
            (melt like be)   salt   PASS water
            "melt away, like salt in water"

       c.   *do:c mnuh   trev   [ampeu:]*
            like human PASS   magic.spell
            "like one under the influence of a spell"

       d.   *sawk klej   ruanj trev   [teuk] (kra:p coap   nwng kba:l)*
            hair short curly PASS [sc. moisten]   water (cling close with   head)
            "short curly moistened hair, (clinging closely to his head)"

       e.   *puak p'o:n   mau:k trev [pliang] treum   na:?*
            PLU young sibling   come   PASS rain   exactly where
            "Where exactly were you young comrades when you got rained on?"

       f.   *baeu trev [kroap kampleu:ng]*
            if   PASS seed gun (= bullet)
            "if [you're hit by] a bullet (you die at once)"

       g.   *tae baeu trev [nwng kroap angkaw:]*
            but if   PASS with   seed   rice
            "but if [you're afflicted] by rice [rationed by the] grain (you will suffer starvation first)."
            (Note that in this sentence the bare NP of the predicate complement seemingly sprouts a preposition *nwng*, and starts to look like a familiar AGENT PHRASE in the familiar English passive.)

       h.   *ko:n   proh cbaw:ng trev [ro:k   riak muaj]*
            child male elder   PASS sickness --   one
            "older son is afflicted by a disease"

While the sheer number of *trev* passives argue for the embeddedness of this construc-
tion in Khmer grammar, there remains a widespread feeling among scholars of SE Asian
languages that structures of this sort in languages like Khmer, Thai, and Vietnamese are a
superficial calque from Western languages. Reenforcing this impression is the fact that a
morphosyntactically marked passive is in any case unnecessary: the subjects of $SV_{transitive}$
sentences can always be treated as undergoers/victims of the main verb (cf. Gorgoniev
1966b: 273)[16]:

(84)   a.   *ratee:h baw: kat dom ac*
            cart   drag cut piece shit
            "a cart (that was) dragged over a piece of shit"

       b.   *prej   dael   ba:n kap cka: haeuj*
            forest which PAST clear   already
            "forest which had been cleared already"

       c.   *Knjom le:ng   cawng rumlee:k rwang ka:l pi: mun   haeuj*
            I   no-longer want   remind   matter time from before finish
            "I no longer want to be reminded of past affairs."

       d.   *La:n nuh caek   cia pi: pnaek.*
            car   that divide be two section
            "That car was divided into two sections."

       e.   *Pteah   robawh kee: nuh sawng ampi: cheu:*
            house of   3   that build from wood
            "Their house was built of wood."

       f.   *awng pa'de'ma: bwt   miah*
            image holy   close gold
            "The statue was covered with gold (leaf)."

       g.   *tnawl nih cak   coa*
            street this pave tar
            "This street was paved with asphalt."

       h.   *(koat baeuk moat   tectec) seung sdap   mwn lw:*
            3   open mouth a bit almost listen not   hear
            "(he opened his mouth a bit), and almost inaudibly (said)..."

In fact, it is noteworthy that the passive reading of even passives with the auxiliary *trev*
not only could, but should be accounted for in exactly this way – that is, with the appar-
ent subject of a transitive verb being interpreted as its experiencer/object. Given that *trev*
means "hit right on", it could also, by a minor semantic extension, come to mean "affect".
The sentences like those of (82) could then be viewed in exactly the same way as the
morphosyntactically unmarked SVO sentences of (84):

(85) NP   hit   [Sentential complement]
      S   V   O
      "NP be.hit by O"/"NP be affected by O"

There is even an optional way of marking the agent phrases in such sentences with the preposition *daoj*:

(86) *bawn   dael   cak sra:j   daoj sthani:j   vitju' nuh*
      festival which broadcast by   station   radio that
      "a festival broadcast by that radio station"

It must also be noted that while *trev* as an auxiliary can signal a variety of passives, not just adversatives, there is still some reluctance to use it in this fashion. Consider a sentence like

(87) NP want to be liked.

Given the examples we have discussed up to now, one could translate this into Khmer as

(88) *Cru:k cawng trev   kee: co:l ceut*
      pig   want PASS 3   like

But this apparently sounds deviant. Far more acceptable is

(89) *cru:k cawng aoj   kee: co:l   ceut*
      pig   want so.that. 3   like
      "pig wants people to like [sc. it]"

One final note on passives: while a morphosyntactic passive is unnecessary, the *trev* passive discussed here is not unprecedented. In addition to the two major lexico-syntactic devices for signaling derived passivity or intransitivity (the passive auxiliary *trev* and the unmarked passive), Chapter 3 described one derivational passive compound which is limited to a small number of verbs, and to relative clauses. The noun *ti:* "place" primarily creates derived modifiers. Where "X" is a cardinal number, *ti:* + X is the derived ordinal number. But where *sralanj* "love", *sawp* "hate" are transitive verbs *ti:* + *sralanj* means "the beloved (one)". (This structure existed in Old Khmer as we have seen, and could in its modern form be a borrowing from Thai, where *thii* is the relative pronoun, but that does not account for its passive meaning here.)

6. Stages in the grammaticalization of the resultative clause

What determines which main verbs become Auxiliary verbs, Serial verbs, or either? If we compile a catalog, we find that there are

– MV which can serve as both AV and SV	⟨trev, ba:n, laeung, le:ng, toan⟩
– MV which can serve as SV	⟨haeuj, ruac, taw:, tev, mau:k.....⟩
– MV which can serve as AV	⟨capdaeum, ceh tae, le:ng...⟩
– Dedicated AV	⟨a:c, nwng, bac,...⟩
– Dedicated SV	⟨venj⟩ (?)

A fundamental observation about serial verbs is that they are almost always identifiable as main verbs in other contexts. (The unique exception is the directional word *venj*.)

If the developments MV > SV and MV > AV are admitted to be plausible grammaticalizations, then it could be conjectured that the grammaticalization of SV has not progressed as far as that of auxiliary verbs, some of which are no longer recognizable as anything but dedicated auxiliaries. If both SV and AV derive from MV via grammaticaliation, then serial verbs may therefore be said as a class to be "closer" to an original state of representing separate clauses than are auxiliary verbs.

To this observation we may add another: there is some evidence that some serial verbs "originate" or at least can occur in entirely separate clauses from the MV they accompany.

The biclausal origins of the resultative construction are explicit in those (apparently rare) cases where a clausal conjunction appears between the attemptive clause and the success clause and hence marks a real sentence boundary between S1 and S2 overtly.

This happens rarely with the adversative clausal conjunction (*pon)tae:*

(90) a. [lo:t   tev   cap]   *tae* [awt ba:n nwng kee: tee:]
       spring go.to catch but   not get with 3   no
       "Spring but fail to catch them"

   b. [tveu: ta:m   aw:k mian kla:] *tae* [mwn ba:n   ka: avej sawh]
       do   follow eagle exist tiger but not   succeed matter any at.all
       "The tiger attempted to imitate the eagle, but it was quite useless.

It also happens very occasionally with the sequential coordinate conjunction *haeuj:*

(91) [anj sawmlap via ponma:n   leu:k] *haeuj* [via mwn prau:m]
      I   kill   3   how.many time   CONJ 3   not agree
      "I've [sc.tried to] kill him umpteen times, but he refuses to die."

But explicit coordination happens quite frequently when the coordinate conjunction is the narrative discourse particle *kaw:* "and so" which frequently accompanies *haeuj* in foregrounded narrative discourse.

(92) a. *Ha: moat ni'jiaj piak mdec <u>kaw:</u> pum ba:n*
        open mouth say   word how and.so not get
        "How could I open my mouth and say a word? I couldn't."

     b. *Rau:k haeuj rau:k tiat   <u>kaw:</u> mwn kheu:nj*
        Seek and seek more and.so not see
        "Looked and looked, but could not find"

The redundant interposition of *(pon)tae* "but" or any other coordinate conjunction illustrated in sentences (90)–(92) is possible only in those cases where the preverbal negative particle occurs only in the second clause. Note the impossibility, for example, of such interposition when the negative particle occurs in S1

(93) a. *mwn ho:p (***tae) ba:n tee:*
        not eat   but get no
        "I can't eat."

     b. *mwn a:c leu:k (**haeuj) ba:n tee:*
        not can raise   and   get no
        "I can't lift it."

The clause boundary between attemptive and result clause is rarely so clearly demarcated as it is in (90)–(92). Usually no conjunction intervenes between S1 and S2. The boundary is explicitly eroded in cases where material which belongs in S1 is shifted into S2, as sometimes happens.

     The following examples have already been presented in (73) and (74), in the presentation of the string *a:c v .... V... v ba:n*. If we reconsider them carefully, it seems that the underlined material following the success verb of S2 is semantically the object of the verb of S1. It may be that something like "Heavy X" rightward shift may be responsible for the fact that this object follows the verb of the (putatively) subsequent "success" clause:

(94) a. *knjom pukae beh ba:n   <u>banlae   craeun</u>*
        I   excel pick succeed vegetable lots
        "I was a very successful vegetable harvester."

     b. *cramoh knjom sraw:ng ba:n   <u>kleun s'oj teang rauh</u>*
        nose my   extract succeed odor rot all   alive
        "My nose could make out the odor of gangrene"

     c. *mnuh a:ʳ tru:t tra: leu: thomaciat ba:n   <u>muaj phiak thom</u>*
        man can control over nature   succeed one part big
        "Humans can successfully exercise control over a great part of nature"

     d. *kawt   nih a:c dak mnuh ba:n   <u>ja:ng tec 100 neak.</u>*
        Building this can put person succeed at least 100 people
        "This dormitory/building could accommodate at least 100 people."

Whatever the nature of the process which results in sentences of this type (rightwards Noun migration or leftwards Verb migration), it bears witness not only to the heteroge-neous origins of the object nominal clump (the NP of the DO appears before *ba:n*, but the MP of that same DO appears *after*), but also it attests to the blurring of any effective clause boundary between the Main Verb and the attendant success Serial Verb.

While these data can be displayed in such a way as to conform with current gram-maticalization theory, which maintains that clause reduction is a one-way process and that biclausal structures represent an earlier stage of development, they are not entirely convincing.

First, the fact that *pontae, haeuj, kaw:* are impossible unless the second clause alone contains an explicit negative is suspect. By rule (77b), which seems quite well supported, *mwn* shifts into S2 by a movement transformation: this suggests that the clause bound-ary between S1 and S2, so far from reflecting an original state of affairs, can be created by a stylistic transformation which moves the negative particle.

Second, if there is evidence for the biclausal origin of MV + SV collocations, there is evidence at least as convincing for the biclausal origin of AV + MV strings – the ability of some auxiliary verbs to precede subjects, for example, or their taking entire clauses as their complements.

So the purely synchronic evidence for a grammaticalization pathway for either SV or AV which leads from an extraclausal origin to clause integration, is not very strong.

6.1   Migration from SV to AV

Is there a grammaticalization trajectory from MV to SV to Auxiliary Verb? There are arguments both pro and con.

6.1.1 PRO
There is intuitively a cline from main verb to serial verb to auxiliary verb.

– All SV are also main verbs, but not all AV can function in any other way. Some are dedicated members of this part-of-speech category.
– All SV can be understood as the MV of some following clause, with a meaning that is easily inferrable from their meaning as MV. AV, even when formally identical with MV, often seem to have developed specific meanings, and it is not easy to see what main clauses they could represent.
– Following SV clauses tend to observe narrative iconicity: the order of clauses cor-responds to the order of events. The most severe erosion of narrative iconicity in SR is exhibited by directionals, which must be conceived as occurring simultaneously with the MV. AV sometimes observe tense iconicity and sometimes they do not.

All this would seem to suggest that auxiliaries are more thoroughly grammaticalized than serial verbs. This observation could be accounted for if all auxiliary verbs were erstwhile serial verbs.

6.1.2 CON

- Admittedly, SV are often just like MV. It seems that there is often nothing to distinguish serial verb clauses that follow MV (hence the sequence MV SV) from simple asyndetic sequential VC in sentences (1).

But this is not in itself a very powerful argument: there are dozens of semantic clause relationships which exist between asyndetically conjoined clauses – why single out just narrative iconicity as the signature semantic relationship expressed?

And, it is important to recall, there is also nothing to distinguish auxiliary verbs from main verbs which are either followed by (serial verb) clausal complements with pivot NP, or which have sentential object complements.

- Serial verbs mean the same as the main verbs they derive from. So too, however, do many auxiliary verbs.
  There are gaps in the putative trajectory from main verb via serial verb to auxiliary verb. Some common verbs can function as either serial or auxiliary verbs, changing meaning as they do so. As an auxiliary verb *ba:n* ("get") means "past tense", and as a serial verb, it is a "success verb" (like *ruac* "escape") and means something like "manage to" or "succeed in". As an auxiliary verb *tev* ("go") means "be about to", and as a serial verb, it is a directional that can often be translated as "away", readily derivable from "go".

Sometimes there is considerable overlap in meaning between a serial and an auxiliary verb. Note that the auxiliary verb *(mwn) a:c* "can(not)" coccurs with (and seems to mean the same thing as) the serial verb *(mwn) ba:n* "(not) manage". "Not to be able to do something" means pretty much the same thing as "to try to do something and fail in the attempt".

Given the hypothesis of a grammaticalization cline, we might expect that any auxiliary that is "still" a main verb should also "still" be a recognizable serial verb (that is, the intermediate stage should be visible if the initial stage still is). This is the state of affairs for the verbs *ba:n* "get", *le:ng* "no longer", *mwn toan* "not in time", and *trev* "hit". But there are also many auxiliary verbs (like *cawng* "want") which correspond to a main verb, but to no serial verb. One could of course argue that this is no more of an argument against the cline than gaps in the fossil record are an argument against evolution. (Maybe *cawng* was a serial verb which has passed out of use.) But the simplest explanation is that some verbs developed into an auxiliaries (or can do service as auxiliaries) directly, via one grammaticalization trajectory, and developed into serial verbs via another.

Notes

1.   Ehrman and Sos (1972: 24) say that Auxiliary + Subject order is a feature of literary style alone. This seems to me overly restrictive.

2.   Jacob (1968: 76, 157) divides this enormous group into "preverbal particles", "minor verbs" and "auxiliaries which cannot be separated from the main verb"; Huffman (1970: 250) into "preverbal auxiliaries" and "modals"; Ehrman & Sos (1972: 57–8) into "tense/aspect auxiliaries" and "modals". I do not attempt any subcategorizations, nor do I attempt an exhaustive listing of this (I suspect) open class.

3.   Gorgoniev (1966b: 143) and Bisang (1992: 405) find *laeung* in this inchoative function as as serial verb. I have only one dubious example of this in my own materials and find Gorgoniev's and Bisang's own examples not entirely convincing: either whatever inchoative meaning exists in our (G's, B's and mine) examples either could be provided by another – auxiliary or main – verb, such as *pdaeum* "begin", *kaeut* "arise"; or *laeung* "up" occurs in a symmetrical synonym compound with *leu:*, another verb meaning "up(on)". It could be that the inchoative meaning in serial position derives from its directional "up" meaning, while the inchoative in auxiliary position is narrative-iconically motivated: the initiation of an activity precedes the activity proper.

4.   Bisang goes on to say (ibid.) that the *mian* auxiliary is especially popular in novels, newspaper articles and radio announcements, where whatever semantic content it may once have had is being subordinated to the function of conferring pomp or importance (Wichtigmachung) to a proclamation.

5.   The range of meanings of this main verb is difficult to pin down. *Le:ng kluan* is "go bare", *le:ng daeum tru:ng* is "go topless" – possibly in the sense of releasing the body/torso from wearing clothes.

6.   Note that in this sentence, *le:ng* "quit, no longer do" is a main verb, and that it is symmetrically compounded with its near-synonym *lauh*.

7.   Bisang (1992: 413) also suggests that even in preverbal position, the post-verbal potential meaning of *ba:n* continues to be available: "Zuweilen schimmert aber auch die andere Bedeutung von *ba:n* 'können' durch so dass *ba:n* auch in präverbaler Position den Potentialis markieren kann." I find Bisang's insight about semantic persistence to be generally useful in Khmer   it seems that a word never completely loses the core meaning that it has in one function or position when it is employed in another.

8.   This proverb is cited by a character in "Noble gratitude", an account of the Khmer Rouge years published in 1997 (Suu 1997). Wanting to see what a *su:ng* looked like, I enquired at an enormous labyrinth of a stall where dozens of different baskets and fish traps were on sale. The word was unfamiliar to the first three personnel I asked. Eventually I was directed to the boss, who was watching television in a sanctum deep within the labyrinth. He recognized the word, told me it was a "proverb-register" word no longer used, and confirmed that they didn't make any. The nearest colloquial equivalent, he said, was the generic *trung* "cage".

9.   Given the impossibility of *tloap* in the future tense, this example is either close to crossing a grammaticality line, or telling us that *kmian tumloap nwng* is not the same thing as the synonymous **mwn tloap nwng*.

10.   *Dael, tloap, ni'jum, ba:n* all mark completed action. The first three are therefore impossible as auxiliaries in the future, cf. Ehrman & Sos 1972: 57–8. This leads among other things, to the impossibility of saying **kom dael* "don't ever..!" (for which the circumlocution *kom …sawh* "don't ..at all!" must be

substituted). It <u>may</u> also be the reason for the impossibility of making any kind of imperative with *ba:n*, although this auxiliary, perhaps because of its synonymy/contamination with *a:c* "can" (cf. Bisang 1992: 413) is in fact allowable as a future auxiliary:

> *Neak nwng ba:n   riapka: ciamuaj ko:n robawh kluan*
> You will be.able marry with   child of   self
> "You will be able to marry my daughter."   (Enfield 2003: 295)

The imperative restriction led Enfield to assert (2001) that *ba:n* is a stative verb. In fact the main verb *ba:n* can be used for highly proactive acts (see (17b), which is presented in its complete context in the last passage in the story of A:le:v as one of the last of his merry pranks). Moreover, many statives, including *nev*, the locative existential verb, may be made imperative.

11. I have encountered a single literary example (Thoo 1965: 12) of *kampung* in what may be a MV function meaning "be busy, work hard".:

> *..Srae Cih cia kanlaeng lalauk dado: nej neak   kampung*
> ..S.   C. be place   ?   ?   of person hard-working
> "S. C. is a village of hard-working people."

If this is acceptable, then *kampung* is not a dedicated auxiliary, and should not be catalogued in this section.

12. Thus, the hero of Chekhov's "The grasshopper" says "I defended (*zaščiščal* imperfective) my thesis". His wife asks "And did you defend (*zaščitil* perfective) it?" That is, did you succeed in your defence?

13. Bisang (ibid.) finds a contrast between *laeung* "more in a positive waxing direction" and *tev* "more in a negative waning direction": *thom laeung* "bigger" vs. *to:c tev* "smaller". The persistence of the MV meaning of *laeung* can certainly account for the waxing direction. But I have encountered no cases of *tev (tiat)* with the waning sense.

14. Having asserted the semantic synonymy of *a:c* + Verb + *ba:n*   Verb + *ba:n*, Enfield tries to invoke a pragmatic difference between the two: the expression of *a:c* "gives an air of more accurate or precise expression [and] draws attention to 'can'." (ibid. 222). This is a distinction of which only one native speaker could or should attempt to convince another native speaker.

15. One consultant has stated that the structure *a:c .... mwn ba:n* is also acceptable (*mwn* migrating to S2 even when *a:c* is present in S1), but I still have not encountered any live examples. (Enfield 2003: 225 has an example *preah a:c cuaj mwn ba:n* "it is possible that the king cannot help", but as he himself points out, this is on an irrelevant reading, where *ac:* – its auxiliary position notwithstanding – is acting as a sentential operator "it is possible" on the whole sentence "the king cannot help".) This is not to deny the possibility that the structure given in (77a, b), for all the latitude it offers, may not be further loosened in other ways. For example, it is not necessary to express "inability to V" via a periphrastic expression like *mwn a:c V* in either clause. Any verb with negative connotations will serve as a doomed attemptive. Such a verb is *kviang* "useless, pointless, dead end act, wrong-way behaviour" which implies enough failure by itself, without any modification, and thus occurs in the cause + result sentence

> *Kaung tae kviang teang awh   mwn ba:n   avej laeuj*
> Still   useless all   exhaust not   succeed any at.all
> "Kept on still at his dead-end actions, which were all to no avail"

16. This is particularly notable in presentative VS sentences:

> *Kheu:nj mnuh mneak...*
> see   person one

This may be translated as "PRO could see a person…" but it may be more felicitous to translate this as "a person appeared/ came into view", with *kheu:nj* being interpreted as an impersonal passive. Note that in such constructions, *mian* and *kheu:nj* may then be symmetrically conjoined synonyms rather than AV + MV:

> *seung kua   aoj   tha: kmian kheu:nj punlw: tngaj*
> almost should so.that say not.be see   light   sun
> "[it was so dark that] one could almost say there was no sunlight"

Explicit clause combining

The combinations that were described in the last chapter: whether of MV and serial verb, MV and auxiliary verb, or of entire verbal clumps consisting of AV + MV + SV were all examples of asyndetic or paratactic combination. Asyndetic coordination of larger structures is also possible, with the usual range of meanings that such structures can have: simple sequential coordination (the redundant explicit conjunction with this meaning being *haeuj*), conditional protasis + apodosis (marked with the "if" word *baeu* or its synonyms before the protasis), or symmetrical balance of contrasting states (a possible explicit coordinate conjunction being *(pon)tae* "but"). The compactness of asyndesis is particularly favored in proverbs.

Kliat cngaːj, naːj ceut	"Apart far, weary heart" / "Out of sight, out of mind."
Mian teuk, mian trej	"Have water, have fish"
Cuan baːn cuan khaːn	"Sometimes get, sometimes lose" / "Win some lose some."

This chapter surveys only those cases where there is an explicit morphosyntactic signal that a clause is connected to another clause. This signal may be a clause-marginal word (a conjunction, a complementizer, or a relative pronoun) that introduces and marks the left boundary of a clause. It may be a pair of expressions that bracket a clause. It may be a clause-internal word (the narrative discourse particle *kaw:* is the unique example). Or it may be a clause-internal pattern that two adjoined clauses share, as in correlative constructions.

1. Clause marginal words

1.1 Complementizers

Khmer seems to differ from English in rarely having complementizer-like words for sentences or NP in apposition to NP heads: the kind of complementation in English that occurs in structures like:

(1) a. the claim <u>that</u> worms are edible
    b. the story <u>of</u> the three little pigs

Here a head noun (*claim, story, belief,* etc.) serves roughly as a label for a proposition or a frame for a picture, and the following clause or NP provides that picture. In English, *that* is a complementizer in (1a), and *of* plays the same function in (1b). Khmer hardly ever has complementizers in this kind of structure:

(2)   a.   *kumnwt   kec veh*
           "thought (of) escape"

      b.   *rwang tunsa:j sa:k paong*
           story rabbit try pendulum
           "the story (of how) the rabbit mastered the pendulum".

But they do sometimes appear (I suspect exclusively in calqued translations):

(2)   *cumnwa ta:m   cah cah tha:*
           belief   follow old old COMP
           "the old people's belief that '…' "

      d.   *ka: seuksa: tha: kampong Thae Pnom Penj a:c ptuk kongti:naw:*
           NOM study COMP harbor   Thae Pnom Penh can load container
           ba:n   krup kroan rw: awt
           succeed all   all   or not
           "The study of whether the harbor at Phae Pnom Penh can load all containers or not"

      e.   *…ba:n leu:k laeung nev samnua tha: baeu pah poal lumnevtha:n*
           …PAST raise up   OBJ question COMP if   affect   residence
           taeu   rautha' phiba:l mian ko:l ka: dawh sra:j do:c mdec?
           Q par government   have plan NOM resolve   how
           "..raise the question: if residences are affected, how does the government plan to resolve this issue?"

Turning to structures where there is no head noun phrase:

(3)   a.   That worms are edible is true.
      b.   Thank you for not smoking
      c.   I know that my redeemer liveth
      d.   He claimed that worms are edible

we find that while (3a) and (3b) are rare, structures like (3c) and (3d) are exceedingly common. The reason may be that the notion of a "pure" complementizer itself hardly exists in Khmer. The source for most complementizers is the verb "say", and there is no verb of saying, thinking, knowing, or perceiving that comes to mind for what I will term the "free-standing complementizer" with non-object complements like those of (3a, b).

1.1.1   The freestanding complementizer *dael*

In structures like (3a) and (3b), a bare clause is always possible, especially after a preposition:

(4)   a.   *mau:k pi:*   *kee: mian cumnwa*
            come from (fact that) 3   have belief
            "comes from their believing"

      b.   *ceh   mau:k pi: rian, mian mau:k pi: rau:k*
            know   come from study have come   from seek
            "Knowing comes from study, having come from seeking."

but the overt complementizer is *dael*, which functions typically elsewhere as a relative pronoun:

(5)   a.   *teevada: peut cia mian pne:k me:n*
            angel   true be have eye   real
            [*dael knjom ba:n   cuap nwng om proh!*]
            that   I   get.to meet with   uncle
            "An angel was watching over me for sure, that I was able to meet you, uncle!"

      b.   *aw: nah* [*dael baw:ng le:ng   dak kamhoh mau:k leu: knjom tiat*]
            glad very   that comrade no.longer put blame   come on   me   more
            "I am very glad that you no longer put the blame on me."

            knjom tree:k aw: nah [*dael ba:n   skoal   lo:k*]
            I   happy   very that succeed acquaint you
            "I am very happy to meet you."

      d.   [*dael kee: babual   aoj tev lee:ng*] *prahael kroan tae cia ka: saw:m*
            that 3   persuade that go play   maybe just   be NOM polite
            "That she asked me to visit may have been just politeness."

      e.   *aw: kun* [*dael mwn cuak ba:rej*]
            thank   that not suck cigarette
            "Thank you for not smoking."

      f.   *via cianec l'aw: prasaeu*   [*dael pa'ra'cej knong ka: tveu: avej   muaj*]
            3   always good praiseworthy that fail   in   NOM do   something one
            cia ciang pjiajiam aoj   l'aw: daoj mwn ba:n   tveu: avej   sawh
               exceed diligent so.that good by   not   succeed do   anything at.all
            "It is better to fail in doing something than to succeed brilliantly at doing nothing."

These six examples are the only ones in my materials. Their extreme rarity suggests that this construction is still a tentative calque translation from Western languages like French or English. (The last one, for example, is a blatant piece of textbook translationese.)

Matters are very different with object complementizers, which are easily recruited from semantically motivated verbs.

1.1.2 The indicative complementizer *tha:*

The complementizer of choice for the objects of verbs of speaking, thinking, knowing, and perception is *tha:* "say" In fact, its very status as a complementizer is controversial. So long as it can still be rendered as "say", it may be premature to translate it as a COMP ("that") at all:

(6) a. *sma:n tha: cneah nwng   kawndol hej?*
          guess COMP win   against rat   huh
          "Do you reckon that we can beat the rats?"

    b. *via pratec pdasa: tha: cia puak "a: aemae"*
          3   scold curse say be group HON Aemae
          "They cursed them as the lowlife Aemae faction."

    c. *sa'ba:j ceut tha: nwng ba:n luj   muaj rial nuh*
          happy heart COMP will get money one rial that
          "I was happy to be getting that one rial piece."

    d. *jaul   tha: nwng slap knong ti: nih*
          understand COMP will die in   place this
          "understood that he would die there"

    e. *kheu:nj tha: rahah cia   sawh   sba:j me:n*
          see   COMP quick heal healthy well really
          "see that it had really healed quickly"

    f. *lw: tha: kmian nauna: hian meu:l aoj   cawm muk phaw:ng*
          hear COMP not.be anyone dare look so.that direct face also
          "hear that there is nobody who dares to look (him) directly in the face"

    g. *kom cralawm tha: kteu:j me:n tee:*
          don't confuse COMP neuter really not
          "Don't be confused (into thinking) that he's not really gay."

    h. *ka: cawng deung kan tae klang tha: "taeu nauna: tev naw:!"*
          NOM want   know become strong COMP Q par who   go exclamation.
          "an increasing desire to know 'who is it?'"

1.1.3 The second indicative complementizer *cia* "be"
This has a number of idiomatic uses.

First: While the verb *deung* "know that.." occurs with *tha:* in the positive, in the negative ("not know whether/why/to...") the same verb typically occurs with *cia*.

(7) a. *mwn deung cia   mau:k pi: het   avej   sawh*
         not   know   COMP come   from cause which at all
         "don't know where this comes from at all."

     b. *Via mwn deung cia   raut tev na:*
         3   not   know COMP run   go which
         "He didn't know which way to run."

Second: Sentential adverbs like *prahael cia* "most likely" *muk cia* "most definitely like" *prakaw:t cia* "certain that" and *trev cia* "it is undoubtedly true that" are derived from verbs (*prahael* "like, approximately", *prakaw:t* "exact", *trev* "hit squarely") or nouns (*muk* "face") via the addition of *cia*. Note that these can also appear clause-internally, after the subject:

(8) a. *knjom prahael cia slap haeuj*
         I   certainly   die   already

     b. *prahael cia knjom slap haeuj*
         certainly I   die   already
         "I'm as good as dead."

Third: Some verbs create novel complements with *cia*. The combination *tveu: cia* "make/ do be" means "pretend". This is not so surprising, as there are many languages in which a verb denoting pretence/artifice is explicitly derived from another verb meaning "make". While it may seem that it is the verb *tveu:* "make" which is making the essential semantic contribution here, the use of *cia* is obligatory.

(9) *tveu: cia sua rau:k*
     do   ?? ask seek
     "pretend to be looking [for her]"

Fourth: Another productive combination is interclausal *ba:n* "get" (+ *cia*)[1] which means "cause S", or "that S" in sentences like

(10) a. "Who is this man, <u>that</u> even the wind and the sea obey him?"
      b. "Why is it <u>that</u> boys get in free?"

(11) a. *a: sat   nwng thom pon na: <u>ba:n cia</u> via hian ni'jiaj do:c neh?*
          HON animal that   big size what that   3   dare speak like that
          "How big is that wretched animal, that he dares to speak like that?"

      b. *Coh   mae mae ceh   cla:wng teuk ja:ng mec <u>ba:n cia</u> mwn tateuk sampaut*
          Q par mothers know cross   water kind how so that   not soak   skirt
          "Why do women know how to cross water in such a way that they do not soak their skirts?"

   c.   *Ta: aeng pi: neak mian rwang ej   <u>ba:n cia</u>*
       elder you 2 person have problem what so that
       lo:la: kdap daj kdap ceu:ng dak knia
       shout clench hand clench leg   put each.other
       "What's the matter with you two old men that you are ready to square off
       at each other?"

   d.   *Pum deung ta: Hej kwt kheu:nj do:c mdec <u>ba:n cia</u> koat loan moat*
       not know elder H. think see   like how so that 3   blurt mouth
       "Because he didn't know how elder H. was thinking, he blurted out."

   e.   *Pee:l klah thaem sleuk ampeul teang cah kcej   tiat*
       time some add   leaf tamarind all   old young more
       <u>ba:n cia</u> samlaw: mcu:
       so that stew   sour
       "Other times adding both fresh and dried tamarind leaves makes the stew sour."

   f.   *daoj sa: tmaw: nih haeuj teu:p <u>ba:n cia</u> kee: aoj*
       because.of stone this CONJ then so that 3   give
       cmo:h voat   nih
       name temple this
       "It was because of this stone, that the temple was named.."
       (Note the apparent redundancy of this last example, in which the status of the stone
       as cause is indicated three times: first by the preposition *daoj sa:* "because of";
       second by the marker of the indispensable prerequisite *teu:p* "then and only then";
       then finally, for good measure by the complementizer *ba:n cia* "(so) that".)

   g.   *het   do:c mdec <u>ba:n cia</u> pleu:ng cheh   rian c̆aeu ansaw:m?*
       cause like how so that   flame set.fire frame grill cakes
       "How is it that the flame has set fire to the frame for grilling the cakes?"
       (Note again the redundancy, where cause is indicated by the expression *het*
       "cause" preceding *do:c mdec* "how", and the *ba:n cia* complementizer construc-
       tion following it.)

It is *ba:n* which makes the essential semantic contribution here, as in the following ex-
amples, where preclausal *ba:n* occurs alone with the same meaning:

(11) h. *anjceung <u>ba:n</u> lo:k kru: cap ni'jiaj rwang pi: ta: baw:h*
          thus   cause monk teacher start relate story about hermit
          "And so it was that the teacher started to relate a story about a hermit."

      i. *anjceung <u>ba:n</u> kla:c mnuh pial   nwng*
         thus   cause fear person ignorant that
         "and that is why (I) am afraid of ignorant people."

And in a final example, *cia* is reinforced by the possibly purely decorative partner *cawm* "directly, on target", the whole being redundantly coupled with another causative *tveu:* "make, do":

(11) j. *nih* <u>*ba:n cawm cia*</u> *tveu (mec aoj   aeng piba:k cawng ngoap!)*
        this get direct be make how so.that you difficult want die
        "This causes/ makes it so that… (we have a hard time of it, and just want to die)"

In all of these sentences with *ba:n (cia)* the verb *ba:n* could be translated as "cause", an extension of its basic meaning "get" which is familiar to speakers of English. (More on this in Chapter 10.)

The verb *ba:n* is basically restricted in this function to sentences whose subject and object are both themselves sentential. There is, however, one significant exception to this. The formal word "why" as previously noted in Chapter 5, is

(11) k. *het   (av)ej ba:n cia (+S)*
        cause what get be

as exemplified in:

(11) l. <u>*het ej ba:n cia*</u> *aju' 500 cnam haeuj   mwn toan ngoap?*
        why   age 500 year already not   yet croak
        "How come he's 500 and still hasn't croaked?"

    m. <u>*het ej ba:n cia*</u> *ko:n srej   knjom kaeut mau:k ceh   ni'jiaj*
        why   child female I   born come   know speak
        "How come my daughter was born knowing how to speak?"

    n. <u>*het avej ba:n cia*</u> *neak   cambac   trev kralee:t meu:l a'dejta ka:l?*
        why   person necessary must glance look past   time
        "Why must people pay attention to the past?"

Many sentential conjunctions are also prepositions. An embedded clause may be marked as such by following such a preposition (much like English *after* clauses). Following many of these prepositions (and at least one true conjunction, the word "if"), the *cia* complementizer redundantly indicates that the preceding word is behaving not as a preposition, but as a conjunction. Here, first, are some (underlined) prepositions and prepositional phrases which also serve as conjunctions:

(12) a. <u>*mun*</u>   *nwng cenj tev rau:k si:, via*
        before FUT   exit go seek eat s/he
        "Before going out hunting, she.."

    b. <u>*Luh dawl pee:l*</u> *mee: kla: tev bat*
        then until time mother tiger go disappear
        "While the mother tiger was out.."

c. *daoj sa:* seuh ceh   tae raut lu:n
    because pupil always   run hooky
    "because the pupils always run away from school"

d. *daoj*   kmee:ng kmee:ng kmian   sla' pria si: ba:j
    because youths   not.have spoon   eat rice
    "because the boys had no spoons to eat with.."

e. *kraoj pi:*   bawt ceu:ng ruac
    after from fold leg   finish
    "after having gone to the toilet.."

f. mwn *phot*____ *pi:*   cacaw:k ka:j   o:h jau:k tev si: tee:
    not   beyond from wolf   scrape.out drag bring to   eat no
    "It was not beyond [the realm of possibility that] wolves would dig up and drag
    out and eat [the corpses]" (in fact, it was going to happen for sure)

g. *krav*____ *pi:* tveu: ta:m   twh   do: jau:k ba:j troap ba:t   krapeah
    outside from do   follow directive exchange get   rice line   bottom stomach
    "Except for following directives and in exchange getting just enough food to line
    the bottom of our stomachs..."

Some further dedicated clausal conjunctions that behave much the same as their English
translations are:

(12) h. *(pra)seun, baeu*   "if; given that, since"
     i. *(pi:) pro(:)h~pru(a)h*   "because"
     j. *tae*   "but" (< "only")
     k. *aoj tae*   "as soon as" (< "give" + "only")

And there are some cases where such a preposition or conjunction is followed by the
complementizer *cia:*

(13) a. *rabiap* *do:c cia* kriah   kanlaw:ng (*do:c* = "like, equal to")
         manner like be   eclipse pass.over
         "acted like/as if an eclipse had passed over (his mother while she was pregnant)"
         (This reflects a folk belief that seeing an eclipse while pregnant is a cause of
         mental retardation in the child.)

     b. (*kriam phiasa:* teang nih mwn khoh   knia)   *dawl cia* neak
         local   language all   this not   different each other to   be person
         ni'jiaj sdap   knia   mwn ba:n
         speak understand each.other not   manage (*dawl* = "arrive, get to, until")
         "Dialects do not differ to the point that people cannot understand each other."

If the function of *cia* is to serve as a complementizer and thus distinguish conjunctions from prepositions, it sometimes occurs completely redundantly, following dedicated conjunctions like *praseun (na:)* "if (ever)" or conjunction combinations like *baeu seun* "if":

(13)   *praseun cia   neak   damnaeu na: mau:k vau:ngvee:ng plav*
             if   COMP person journey   any come   get.lost   road
             "If a traveler should lose his way.."

     d.   *baeu seun cia   ci:k rau:k mwn kheu:nj tee:*
           if   if   COMP dig seek   not   see   no
           "If you dig for it, you will not find it."

     e.   *praseun na: cia   kmian   teuk tmej mau:k plah   teuk cah*
           if   ever COMP not.have water new   come   replace water old
           "If ever there is no fresh water coming to replace the old water.."

1.1.4 Subjunctive *aoj* "so.that" (< "give")

This is almost entirely a change-of-subject marking complementizer (as opposed to *tev*, "to", the same-subject purpose clause complementizer, and *daeumbej* "in order to/that" which also marks purpose clauses without marking switch-reference). On the other hand, *aoj* is also more generic than *tev* and *daeumbej*, which are limited to introducing only purpose clauses: *Aoj* can also introduce cause clauses and indirect commands and wishes. In each of the unflagged sentences of (14), the subordinate clause is an explicit purpose clause, and the symmetrical synonym pair *daeumbej aoj* may replace *aoj*.

(14)   a.   *Kee: praeu kmaoc aoj   pcua dej*
           3   use   cadaver so.that plow earth
           "They use cadavers for plowing"

     b.   *tveu: mec aoj   aeng piba:k   cawng ngoap!* (cause clause)
         make how so.that you   difficult want   croak
         "…make it so that we will feel like croaking in our difficulties."

     c.   *banjcu:n via aoj   tev nev voat*
         send   3   so.that go   stay temple
         "send him to go stay in the temple"

     d.   *anj prap aoj   mau:k*
         I   say   so.that come
         "I said for you to come." (indirect command)

     e.   *lo:k   kru: cawng aoj   aeng tev rian sala: patham   seuksa:*
         monk teacher want   so that you   go study school elementary study
         "I (monk) want you to go study in the elementary school." (indirect command)

f. *cat   puak a: kreak aoj   cam jiam pleu:ng*
    appoint PLU ANA older so.that guard   flame
    "(The head monk) appointed the older boys to guard the fire."

g. *bamrong aoj   hoc aoj knjom*
    prepare so.that pass to me
    "..prepared them to be passed over to me"

h. *a'nu'nja:t aoj   A: maen via tev ciamuaj* (indirect command)
    permit   so.that A.   3 go together
    "permit A. to go together [with me]"

i. *hak do:c cia cawng aoj   knjom nwng A:muaj sa:saw:ng knia*
    as if   want so.that I   and A.   cozy.up   each.other
    tae   pi: neak
    only two people
    "almost as if he wanted for the two of us to be alone and cozy up together."
    (wish clause)

j. *Tveu: mec tev teu:p aoj   A. H. jaul sap   kheu:nj tha: anj sralanj niang a:*
    do   how go then so.that A. H. see dream see   COMP I   love   her eh
    "What did I have to do so that A. H: would have a dream and see that I love her?"

k. *so:m aoj   A. H. jaul sap*
    ask so.that A. H. have dream
    "I wish that A.H. have a dream ." (wish clause)

l. *via bangrian aoj   anj ceh   snee:ha: mun   aju'*
    3   teach   so.that I   know love   before age
    "It has taught me so that I know love before my time" (cause clause)

The sentences (15) below demonstrate that *aoj* specifically signals a change-of-<u>subject</u>. The identity of the subject of the embedded S with the <u>object</u> of the higher S still requires *aoj*, and will not permit a zero (= infinitive) complementizer (as it would in English).

(15) a. *aopuk mda:j A:maeng kheat   knjom aoj   nev njam ba:j lngiac*
     father mother A.   restrain me   so.that stay eat   rice evening
     ciamuaj koat
     with   3
     "A's parents made me (so that I) stay for dinner with them."

b. *rau:k knjom aoj   cuaj samliang kambeut*
    seek me   so.that help sharpen knife
    "ask for me to (so that I) help sharpen his knife"

c. *liang nwng teuk mcu: aoj   s'a:t*
    wash with water sour so.that clean
    "wash it (so that it is) clean with vinegar"

d. *koat leu:k sampaut aoj   phot   pi: teuk*
    3   raise skirt   so.that beyond from water
    "raise skirt (so that it is) out of the water"

e. *tateak aoj   maw:t*
    sift   so.that smooth.fine
    "sift it till it's smooth and fine"

f. *jo:thia sraek   khoat   aoj   chaup*
    soldier cry.out prevent so that stop
    "soldiers cry out to prevent [them] so that [they will] stop"

g. *Ahawn via ceh tae cumrunj knjom aoj   sa:ra phiap prap A:muaj Hiang*
    A.   3   always urge   me   so.that confess   tell A.   H.
    "A, he was always urging me (so that I) to confess (my love) to A. H."

In (16), below, *aoj* (Different-Subject) is not the same as *tev* (Same-Subject), although both are able to function as purpose clause makers. Both occur, and they are not interchangeable.

(16) *Niang Ca:n Thu: daeu* <u>*tev*</u> *rau:k pdej   * <u>*aoj*</u>   *mau:k pteah venj*
      missy C.   T.   walk go   find   husband so.that come   home back
                      SS   DS
      "C. T. went out to look (SS) for her husband so that he would come (DS) back home."

The aversive complementizer is *kom aoj* "lest", and can be either same-subject or changed-subject.

(17) a. *caw:ng ceu:ng rabuah kom aoj meu:l tev kheu:nj*
          bind   foot   wound lest   look to see
          "I bind my wounded foot so neither I nor anyone else have to look at it".

      b. *sawng ktau:m kom aoj trev   teuk   pliang rw: kamdav tngaj*
          build hut   lest   affect water rain   or heat   sun
          "build a hut lest the rain or the heat affect (the statue)"

1.1.4.1 The *kua aoj* + Verb Construction. We have already encountered this construction in the discussion of the auxiliary verb *kua* "ought". Like the regular cases of *aoj* complementation, *kua aoj* + V (which can often – but not always – be translated as "V+ able") obeys the different-subject constraint   and it may be for this very reason that the passive "V + able" translations are so often felicitous.

(Note that *X is Verb + able* = "X is worthy that <u>someone other than X</u> Verb X").

(18) a. *rwang cih la:n tatee: kua   aoj   cawng saeuc*
          matter ride car free should so.that want laugh
          "The way I got to ride free was really funny."

b. *preut ka: akrawk kua   aoj   baraum*
    event   bad   should so.that fear
    "a fearsome terrible event"

c. *muk moat   kua   aoj   kla:c*
    face mouth should so.that fear
    "a frightening expression"

d. *rwang het dael   kua   aoj   prw: kba:l*
    affair   which should so.that have.goosebumps
    "an affair to bring forth goosebumps"

e. *avej   kua   aoj   sangkheum*
    something should so.that hope
    "something which gives cause for hope"

f. *seung   kua   aoj   tha: kmian kheu:nj punlw: tngaj*
    almost should so.that say not.be see   light   sun
    "[it was so dark that] one could almost say there was no sunlight"

g. *sac   saw: kcej kua   aoj   kaw:j   kaun mwn dak pne:k*
    flesh white fresh should so.that observe look   not   put eye
    "fresh white flesh so that one could not take one's eyes off it"

h. *mau:k kraom baek kca:j saw: kboh kua   aoj   cawng kaw:j   kaun*
    come down break splash white bright should so.that want   observe look
    "descend in a spectacular dazzling white splash"

i. *mwn kua   aoj   tatual*
    not   should so.that accept
    "unacceptable"

1.1.5 *tev* as a purpose clause complementizer

Same-subject purpose clauses which follow the matrix clause require no introductory complementizer:

(19) a. *baw:ng   laeung mau:k tveu: avej?*
         comrade ascend come do   what
         "Why have you come up here?" (= in order to do what?)

      b. *luak srae   camka: jau:k luj*
         sell   paddy vegetable.garden get   money
         "sell the paddy and the vegetable garden to get money"

The always optional word *tev* "go, to" seems limited to being a same-subject complementizer:

(20) a. *jau:k kamnat tev dawt tae mdaw:ng*
          get fabric to light only once
          "She would use fine fabric to light fires with." (said about a profligately
          wasteful woman).

      b. *stuh lo:t tev cap tunsa:j*
          dart leap to catch rabbit
          "She sprang to catch the rabbit."

1.2   Relative clauses introduced by *dael*

The word *dael* occurs on its own as an auxiliary verb "used to, do habitually, ever do", as a relative pronoun, and (very rarely) as a complementizer. Derived words include *da-dael*, *cram-dael* "the same, again", *d-amn-ael* "persist, persistent remains, endure, enduring legacy" and *mwn dael* "not ever". The full range of meanings is compatible with a funda-mental meaning for *dael* as an (algebraic) variable. When bound, it means "the same as", and this is exactly what it means as a relative pronoun and in *dadael*. When not bound, it has an open range of possible non-future tense interpretations: *mwn dael* can mean "there is no time x in the past such that.."(this translation presumably accounts for the possibility of *mwn mian* "not exist" as an auxiliary with the same meaning); and *damnael* and the habitual can mean roughly "ranging over all times in the past".

An overt relative clause, as opposed to a non-clausal post-nominal modifier, could be defined as a structure which exhibits initial *dael*.

There seems to be no clear rule regarding when the *dael* is required. Relative clauses that could tolerate the word, but are attested without it, include:

(21) a. *kre: pe:t*   [*(dael) mian kawng runj*]
          bed hospital (which) have wheel push
          "hospital gurney"

      b. *(mian plav)* [*(dael) awt mnuh daeu*]
          exist path (which) lack person travel
          "there is a path that is untravelled"

      c. *ro:m*   [*(dael) doh knong ti: sngat kambang*]
          body.hair (which) grow in   place secret secret
          "body hair which grows in secret areas"

Relative clauses that are attested with *dael*, but which (I am told) would also be accept-able without it, include:

(22) a.   *neak   damnaeu cumliah tmej* [*dael trev twh vivaut tev kan kanlaeng*
      person voyage   refugee new who must task evolve to   to   place
      psee:ng psee:ng tiat]
      various   other
      "So-called 'new people' who had to accept new assignments in different places"

   b.   *niba:t sap* [*dael mian nej   campo:h kluan....*]
      particle   that have meaning towards self
      "a particle that means 'reflexive'"

   c.   *mian neak   praeu cia craeun* [*dael mian ka: cralawm crabo:k crabawl klah*]
      exist person use   be many   who have NOM confuse confuse --   some
      "there are many users who experience confusion"

   d.   *ko:n ktau:m lumhau: muaj* [*dael   mian tae   dambo:l sbev   tmej*]
      small hut   wo.walls one   which have only roof   thatch new
      "a small hut without walls that had only a new thatch"

   e.   *sangkau:m kec   [dael   mian ta: So:t cia prathian*]
      medical committee   which have elder S.   be president
      "medical committee which had the elder Sot as president"

The word is slightly more likely to occur where the relative clause is separated from the head noun (that is, as a compensatory diacritic, cf. Chapter 5). However, it does not seem to be used in order to disambiguate nearly as often as one might expect. Note that in the vast majority of cases attested, it is the subject of the relative clause which is replaced by *dael,* and that without this pronoun, there is no difference between

NP + Predicate
NP + Relative Clause.

All structures like

mnuh kap   oh
"man   chop firewood"
cru:k   cla:t
"pig   clever"

are "garden path" structures that can be understood as either complete sentences ("The man chopped firewood" / "the pig is clever") or NP with relative clauses ("the man who chopped firewood" / "the pig who is clever").

This ambiguity is tolerated.

Headless relative clauses occur:

(23) *ta:m ø dael   ni'jiaj knong dambawn psee:ng psee:ng*
      follow which say   in   region   various
      "according to that which/what is spoken in the various regions"

There is no clear distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, both of which allow the relative pronoun to appear. The following are some of the rare cases where a non-restrictive interpretation is forced:

(24) a. *jeu:ng [dael ba:n trev angkuj raung cam]*
     we   who PAST must sit   wait
     "We, who had had to sit and wait [for her]"
     (It is clear that this cannot mean "those of us who had to sit...")

    b. *Niang Vithiavi: [dael kee: ba:n dawh a:v cenj]*
     missy V.   who 3   PAST take.off shirt DIR
     "Miss V., whose shirt they had pulled off..."

    c. *camnaek A:muaj Hiang [dael chau: nev kbae nuh dae]*
     as for   A.   H.   who stand at close that also
     "As for A. H., who was also standing close by.."

The relative pronoun may cooccur with a coreferential personal pronoun repetition of the head noun, under much the same conditions as in colloquial English:

(25) a. *Neak [dael jeu:ng cawng aoj kee: deung pi: ceut teuk robawh jeu:ng]*
     person that we   want so.that 3 know about mood of   us
     "people who we want them to know our feelings"

    b. *A:nji: [dael knjom awt caw:ng via tee:]*
     Anji   who I   not tether 3   no
     "[the water buffalo] Anji, whom I had not tethered her...

1.3   Conditional clauses

Protasis and apodosis may be asyndetically conjoined as in (26a, b, c) or conjoined by the clausal coordinate conjunction *haeuj*, as in (26d):

(26) a. *Mian teuk, mian trej*
     exist water exist fish
     "If there's water, there's fish."
     (= Wherever there's water, there's fish.)

    b. *Ba:n to:c, ruac, via thom*
     get small escape 3 big
     "If you catch it, it's small, if it escapes, it is a big one."
     (= The one you catch is small, the one that escapes is big.)

    c. *Kdav, ko: nwng ve:k; traceak, lu:k nwng daj*
     hot   stir with ladle cool   reach with hand
     "If it's hot, use a ladle to stir it; if it's cool, reach in with your hand."
     (= Adapt to circumstances.)

d.   *utiahaw: nev   leu: kasaet   mian sasee: ampi: pee:l vee:lia bwt   tvia*
     example be.at on newspaper have write about time time   close door
     "for example, [sc. "if"] the paper writes about closing time..."

     robawh suan   aotjian   nev dambawn Brooklun khoh ka:l kamnawt
     of   garden park   at borough B.   false time notation
     "incorrectly for the Brooklyn Botanical Garden"

     haeuj
     "and"

     nev   tngaj bantoap mau:k kaw: mian nev
     be.at day   next   come so   exist be.at
     "the next day, there is"

     knong "seckdej kae   damrev"
     in   NOM   correct correction
     "in the corrections [section]"

     nuh kaw: mian coh   ka:l pa'rȧcee:t cbah loah prau:m teang piak
     that and.so have down time date   clear very with   all   word
     "a very clearly corrected time and date together with"

     som a'phej to:h campo:h meut   neak   a:n
     ask forgive fault of   friend person read
     "an apology directed to the reader for the error."

Needless to say, perhaps, any interpretation of asyndetically conjoined clauses which observes narrative-iconicity or balance-iconicity is valid. There is no need to call (26) conditionals, but they can be so translated.

The explicit "if" conjunction is *baeu* or *(pra)seun* (the latter likely being a derivation from *seun* "first". These may occur together, in either order, and the whole may be redundantly reenforced by the complementizer *cia*. The protasis, if flagged by any of these, may either precede or follow the apodosis.

(27) a.   *Anjceung tngaj nih muk cia slap haeuj,*
           thus   day   this certainly die   already
           baeu seun cia   mwn mian ej   baripho:k tee:
           if   if   COMP not   exist what food   not
           "Thus, I will certainly die today if I don't have some food."

      b.   *baeu aoj   daeu ta:m   thoam(a)da: prahael mwn dawl tee:*
           I f cause walk follow normal   perhaps not   arrive no
           "If (they) had made (me) walk normally, I might not arrive at all."

Conditional protases may be used to depict factual givens, conjectured possibilities, or counterfactual states. There is no way of marking the distinction among these except

through the choice of *mwn* (factual or hypothetical) versus *kom* (counterfactual) in negated protasis clauses, as noted in the discussion of negation in Chapter 5. Context determines that the protasis is a given in (28):

(28)   a.   *Coh a:le:v via kla:c   ej   nwng si: baeu cia nom lngaw:*
            Q   A.   3   afraid what FUT   eat if   be cake sesame
            "But how could A. be afraid to eat them, seeing that they were sesame cakes."

       b.   *Aopuk ni'jiaj tha: "tev rau:k aena: ba:n baeu knjom cah haeuj!"*
            Father say   say   go   seek   where get if   I   old   already
            "Father said 'But where would I manage to find one, seeing as how I'm already old!' "

Context similarly determines that the protasis is counterfactual in (29):

(29)   a.   *Baeu reut knjom (lmau:m)2   knjom awt khang tee:*
            If   tight me   comfortable I   not angry no
            "If he had tied me up comfortably, I wouldn't be angry."
            (Spoken by an ungrateful crocodile in a folk tale, who announces that he will
            eat the peasant who has saved his life by tying it to his cart and moving it from
            a dried up pond to one where there was water.)

       b.   *praseun baeu kee: ko:rau:p ta:m   sma:rdej tngaj 5 vi̇chaka:*
            if   if   3   respect follow sense   day   5 November
            via mwn cambac   mian kec   pracum tngaj ti: 11 vi̇chaka: tee:
            3   not necessary have NOM   meet   day   ORD 11 November no
            "If they had respected the agreement of November 5, there would have been no
            need for the meeting of November 11."

Concessive conditional protases are usually of the form *baeu* "S1 not S1" (= whether or not S1) (30a), or *tvej baeu* "although if S1, S2", but occasionally *baeu S1* alone can be a concessive "even if ..." conditional, as in (30b) :

(30)   a.   *baeu nwng slap   rauh ja:ng mec*
            if   will die   live kind how
            S1   not S1
            "Whether (I) live (or) die...." / "whatever happens to me ...."

       b.   *baeu ta: aeng daj   mwn dawl tee;, kaw: cuaj meu:l plav*
            if   grandpa you hand not arrive no   so   help look road
            knia   dae
            companion   also
            "Even if you didn't have a hand in [sc. the theft], you helped your mates by acting
            as a lookout, old man."

2.   Brackets

Khmer does not seem to use discontinuous constituents as bracketing phrases to de-marcate chunks of discourse a great deal. Possible examples of a half-hearted bracket-ing strategy include *tae .... (ponno:h)* "only...that much" surrounding Measure Phrases[2], *mwn ...(tee:)* "not" surrounding constative predicates, *bae cia ... tev venj* surrounding "instead of ..." clauses, and the string *a:c ...ba:n* "surrounding" attemptive and result clauses in the resultative construction, as described in Chapter 8.

The clearest example of a pure bracketing strategy is offered by concessive "although." clauses, at least in the written language. These are reliably marked by an introductory *to:h (bej) cia* "although" (or some synonymous expression) and a closing *(ja:ng na:) kaw: daoj..* (In the spoken language, only the opening "although" expression occurs.)

(31) a. [*to:h   cia mnuh   nuh ba:n prapreut khoh   ja:ng na   kaw: daoj*]
          although be person that PAST act   wrong kind what so   by
          "Even though a person has acted wrongly"

          kaw: trev   mian tno: dae
          still   must have grave also
          "still he deserves to be buried."

    b. [*to:h bej cia jeu:ng a:c sanitha:n tha: mian mu:lhet seethakec kaw: daoj*]
          although   we   can claim   COMP exist principle economic so   by
          kaw: nev tae piba:k deung tha: het   avej   ba:n cia neak   deuk noam ba:n
          still be.at but hard   know COMP cause which cause   person lead lead become
          kla:j cia vana' mee: kamlang
          turn be caste master strength
          "Although we can claim that there was an economic principle involved, it is still difficult to know what turned the leadership into a ruling class."

    c. [*to:h cia lo:k aneut nwng sralanj knjom ja:ng na: kaw: daoj*]
          although 3 pity   and love   me   kind which so   by
          kaw: lo:k M. mwn jaul prau:m tatual knjom cia ko:n prasa: lo:k tee:
          so   Mr. M. not agree agree accept me   as child son.in.law 3   no
          "Although he sympathizes with and likes me, Mr. M. will not agree to have me as a son-in-law."

3.   Clause-internal conjunction *kaw:*

The least that can be said of the ubiquitous narrative discourse particle *kaw:* "according-ly, then, and so" within a clause is that it "introduces a predicate in some way related to what has gone before" (Ehrman & Sos 1972:69). By this minimal definition its treatment already belongs in this chapter, since *kaw:* is an explicit morpheme that marks a clause as part of something larger.

The major single function of this particle is to mark foregrounded narrative claus-es (often after the sequential coordinate conjunction *haeuj* or after clause-initial *dawl anjceung* "thus"[3]). The sequences *haeuj/ dawl anjceung* (Subject Nominal Clump) *kaw:* (the first pronominal chunk occurring extraclausally, the second like a clitic favoring clause-internal position) can be translated simply as "and so/then" in:

(32) a. *preah mee:ta: cenj mau:k dawl knong prej*
          HON old.man exit come to   in   forest
          haeuj kaw: daeu tev cuap nwng asraw:m preah muni: ejsej
          and.then so walk to   meet with   precinct HON   hermit
          "The old man walked out into the forest <u>and then</u> walked towards
          the hermit's cottage."

     b. *tveu: anjceung cia craeun lɯ:k craeun kria haeuj*
          do thus   be many   time many time and
          ko:n prasa: kaw: reaksa: piak nuh dadael dae
          child son-in-law so   take.care.of word that same also
          "did thus many times <u>and so</u> the son-in-law kept saying the same words".

          Dawl anjceung ko:n sdac kaw: cam   roal piak pdam robawh tradawk
          So   child king so   remember every word message of   marabou
          "<u>And so</u> the prince remembered every word of the marabou bird's message."

     d. *anjceung kaw: noam knia baeuk tvia daeu co:l tev*
          thus   so   together open door walk enter DIR
          "<u>So</u> they opened the door and walked in."

     e. *Haeuj lo:k   kaw: aoj rian mun a:kum vĭcia   ka:ceh sawp baep ja:ng*
          And   monk   so   cause study magic spell subject knowledge all kind kind
          "And the monk had them study magic spells and all kinds of other lore."

     f. *Anjceung ko:n nuh kaw: tiam tia aoj   noam kluan mau:k cuap*
          thus   child that so   demand so.that lead self come meet
          aopuk mda:j bangkaeut
          father mother birth
          "So the child demanded that they take him to meet his birth parents."

That *kaw:* marks foregrounded clauses can be inferred first, from the fact that it never oc-curs in explicitly subordinate clauses, and second, from the fact that it tends most readily to appear in main clauses that follow preposed adverbials, as in:

(33) a. *muaj srabawk kraoj mau:k, puak jeu:ng kaw:*
          one   while   after come PLU we and so
          daeu tev   dawl camka:
          walk onwards until vegetable.garden
          "After a short while, we walked onward to the vegetable garden."

b. *nev   pee:l jeu:ng daeu mau:k dawl phu:m muaj,*
be.at time we   walk come   arrive village one
kaw: srap tae   mian kjawl pjuh   ja:ng klang
so   suddenly exist wind storm kind strong
"While we were walking towards the village, suddenly a strong wind blew up."

c. *camnaek mee: kla: venj luh   dawl via sraw:k poh   tev,*
as for   mother tiger back then until 3   reduce stomach DIR
"As for the mother tiger, once her stomach had shrunk"

via kaw: ruac   pi: prakiap cheu:
3   so   escape from fork   tree
"she escaped from the tree fork."

d. *Mian ca:m pi: neak   spiaj sampiaj   daeu mau:k pee:l kheu:nj*
exist Cam two person carry backpack walk come time see
mnuh   raut denj viaj
person run chase beat
"There were two Chams carrying bundles on their backs passing by,
and when they saw the people running after and beating …."

Ao a:ie:v, kaw: cngawl sua A:ie:v tha: "Kee: raut tveu: ej   kee: nwng?"
Dad A.   so   wonder ask A.   say 3   run do   what D   D
"A.'s dad, they were curious and they asked A. 'What is that man running for?' "

e. *pee:l dak klawh via tev, via chw: kaw: raut bat   tev*
time put needle 3 DIR 3   hurt so   run disappear DIR
"when he stuck the needle [through the tiger's nose] it hurt, so the tiger ran away"

f. *pee:l puak via si: haeuj kaw: bantaw: damnaeu taw: tev tiat*
time group 3   eat and   and   continue journey   continue go   more
"When they had finished eating they continued on their journey."

As a discourse marker that signals foregrounded events, the particle not only co-occurs with adverbs like *srap tae* "suddenly", it may occasionally be <u>itself</u> glossed as "suddenly" (presumably because a word which marks abruptness does tend put an event under a discourse spotlight):

(34) *akvwn kaw: kheu:nj ro:ng cam srae   muaj*
lame so   see   shed wait paddy one
"The lame guy suddenly caught sight of a shed/warehouse by a paddy."

While all the uses of the particle enumerated up to this point have made reference to clauses, it is also possible for the conjoined constituents to be merely predicates with a common subject, as in

(35) *Jeak kheu:nj haeuj____kaw: loan moat tha:*
      ogre see   and.then so   blurt mouth say
      "The ogre saw it and thereupon exclaimed.."

Khmer does not appear to make a distinction between full sentences with explicit subjects and (complex) predicates without such subjects in this construction⁴.

Most of the other functions of this particle can be derived from this one. A speculative discussion of these other derivative functions will be undertaken in Chapter 10.

4.   Correlative clauses

If two clauses observe a formal parallelism, each of them explicitly implies the existence of the other. This is sometimes only accidentally the case (as we have seen in the case of bare correlative conditionals like *mian teuk, mian trej* and other cases of asyndetic conjunction which observe parallelism) but sometimes it is a built-in feature of the construction. Two such types are common in Khmer.

4.1   "What I have, that I spend"

The first clause has an interrogative/indefinite pronoun, and the second clause in the same position has a definite deictic. For other examples, see Chapter 5, on deictics.

(36) *kba:l neak na: sawk neak nwng*
      head your where hair your there"
      "You have to take responsibility for the behavior of your own family."

4.2   "The more, the merrier"

Both clauses include a degree predicate, preceded by *kantae* "become":

(37) a. *Kantae lwan kantae l'aw:*
          get   fast get   good
          "The faster the better"

      b. *Njam kantae craeun neak kantae thoat*
          eat   get   lots   you get   fat
          "The more you eat, the fatter you get"

      c. *Knjej kantae cah kantae heul*
          ginger get old get spicy
          "Like ginger, the older, the spicier!"

Notes

1.   Enfield (2003:283) claims that S1 *ba:n* S2 can signal both temporal succession and logical consequence, while S1 *ba:n cia* S2 can signal logical consequence alone.

2.   Except with MP, *tae ponno:h* may also occur as a synonym compound phrase:

aeksa: *cia phiasa:*   *ba:rangsaeh* <u>*tae   ponno:h*</u>
document   be language French   only that.much
"documents in French only".

Compare the circumfixed MP in:

Preah awng mian preah riac botra: <u>*tae*</u>   *5 awng* <u>*ponno:h*</u>
HON   CL   have HON   king son   only 5 CL   that.many
"The king had only five sons."

3.   In my materials, the particle has never been attested with the near-synonym *do:c neh* "thus".

4.   Nor does the distinction between sentence and complex predicate seem very sharp elsewhere. Recall from Chapter 7 that sentential operators may occur in auxiliary position, and conversely that auxiliaries may appear before the subject. This two-way lability makes it dangerous to base analyses (of e.g. *ba:n*) on the putative distinction between auxiliary (immediately preverbal) and clause-marginal position, cf. Enfield (2003:222, 293). Oddly, Enfield himself seems to conflate the two syntactic positions when he attempts a Gesamtbedeutung of intersentential and auxiliary *ba:n*: both

S1 *ba:n* S2 and
[*ba:n*]$_{aux}$ Verb

are analyzed as "(X, and) because of this, S2/Verb" (ibid. 278).

How do Khmer words change their meanings?

(and their syntax)

Two very crude answers to this question are known. The first, that of conventional narrowly defined grammaticalization theory, as developed by Givon and others, is that words come to shed their specific concrete meanings and only an abstract generalization of these meanings survives. Partial synonyms are abstraction and metaphorical extension. The study of grammaticalization, beginning with Horne Tooke and continuing to the present, has discovered regularities in this kind of change, motivation, Gesamtbedeutung, and some essential common function, for polysemous words and structures such as dative and infinitive "to" and so forth.

The second, that of association (where there really is no theory) is that words come to be associated in various unpredictable ways with other words, eventually taking on their meanings and distribution. Synonyms for aspects of this process are lexicalization (or some of it), metonymy, exaptation, or enchainement (and grammaticalization theory via overlap as developed by Heine et al. 1991, Heine & Kuteva 2002, 2005, 2007). The study of meaning change via association in linguistics begins with Darmesteter 1886, whose best-seller is obliquely alluded to in the title of this chapter[1]. There are no regularities in this kind of change, nor is there any possible semantically invariant core meaning for any given form: the properties of a word which are incidental at some stage become definitional later on, seemingly at random.

Moreover, there may be no semantic common denominator at all between a word at the beginning and the end of its semantic trajectory. Consider the semantic developments of a word like "horn" in English. First the name of a cow's body part. Then an instrument made from that body part. Then another (still musical) instrument made from totally different materials. Then another no-longer musical instrument which makes a comparable noise in a car.

But it is exactly this kind of progression which is also a bedrock commonplace in evolutionary biology: a form (linguistic or biological) has some original function, but is fortuitously preadapted to the performance of other ancillary functions. Eventually, these accidental ancillary functions become the central functions of the inherited form, whose ancestral function may be entirely lost: the evolution of lungs in land animals from flotation bladders is a familiar example.

This chapter first summarizes the associational changes of meaning and syntactic function of three central polyfunctional morphemes in Khmer: *aoj, kaw:,* and *ba:n.* Then

it proposes a couple of principles of paradigmatic association, and concludes with a preliminary catalog of types of associational changes that are attested in Khmer, and probably other languages.

1. The case of *aoj*

Although it is an isolating language, Khmer has its share of grammaticalization changes. The main verb *aoj* "give" (Stage 1) becomes the preposition "for" and the change-of-subject subjunctive complementizer "so that" (negative "lest") (at Stage 2) as in many other languages (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 149–52), and so on. The change-of-subject subjunctive complementizer function, already presented in Chapter 9, is re-illustrated in examples like the following.

1.1 *aoj* as subjunctive complementizer[2]

(1) a. *Via neuk babual aopuk via* <u>*aoj*</u> *jau:k prapun muaj tiat.*
3 think persuade father 3 so.that take wife one more
"He thought of a plan to persuade his father to take another wife."

b. *Aeng mec banjchaot anj* <u>*aoj*</u> *kee: denj viaj anj anjceung?*
you how trick me so.that 3 chase beat me thus
"Why did you trick me so that they chased and beat me thus?"

c. *Aeng cam vi'hia nah* <u>*kom aoj*</u> *ckae laeung cuh ac dak*
you guard temple OK lest dog climb dump shit put
aoj sawh nah
so.that at.all OK
"Guard the temple, lest the dogs climb in to shit, you hear?"

Given the Khmer penchant for producing symmetrical near-synonym compounds, we are not surprised to discover that in this function, *aoj* can be conjoined with its near-synonyms *daeumbej* "in order that" in (2a), and the same-subject (= infinitive?) complementizer *tev* "to" in (2b) (the latter arising via grammaticalization from the main verb "go", cf. Heine & Kuteva ibid. 164):

(2) a. *knjom nwng lo:t co:l pleu:ng* <u>*daeumbej aoj*</u> *neak aeng jau:k*
I will leap enter fire in.order so.that person you take
sac knjom
flesh my
"I will leap into the fire so that you may take (and eat) my flesh.."

b. *baw:ng ha: moat* <u>*tev aoj*</u>[3] *knjom co:l phaw:ng*
older.sibling open mouth to so.that I enter please
"Please open your mouth, big brother, so that I may enter."

1.2 From complementizer to main verb

But Khmer also has a small number of plausible associational changes where the novel function of a word is not associated with a "demotion" (from a major part of speech to a minor part of speech, or from word to affix). One of these is the evolution of "give" to not a (subjunctive) complementizer "so that" or to a causative affix but to another generic causative main verb meaning, variously, "make, cause, have, allow." This change is shared with other SE Asian languages such as Vietnamese and Thai. The evolutionary path cannot be reconstructed by comparing the relative antiquity of first attestations, at least not within Khmer, since from the time of Pre-Angkorian Khmer all three meanings are already attested (see the entries in Jenner 2009a, b). But the logical or cognitive development is straightforward: from being a subjunctive complementizer which regularly cooccurs with higher predicates of causation (at Stage 2), the complementizer comes to stand for all of those higher predicates (at Stage 3). (The higher CAUSE verb is predictable, and hence omittable.)

Stage 2: S1[NP VERB of CAUSE] *aoj* S2 [...] becomes
Stage 3: S1[NP (causative verb omitted)] *aoj* S2 [...]
(*aoj* in absence of higher verb "have", "let", "order", cause")

(3) a. *Pontae kee:* [.........] *aoj* *ka:* *pee:l jup*
   but 3 [want, ask] so.that wedding time night
   but she (wants, asks, insists) that the wedding be held at night"

   b. *kee:* [.........] *aoj* *lo:k tev cuap nev knong preah vi'hia*
   3 [want, ask] so.that you go meet at in HON temple
   "She (asked) that you meet her in the temple."

Finally (Stage 4) the erstwhile complementizer, which has already substituted for the missing verb in (3), is promoted "back" to main verb status.

Stage 4: s1[NP *aoj*] ø s2[...]
(*aoj* as promoted MV meaning (abstract) "CAUSE")

In this status, the newly promoted verb has all the privileges of occurrence and trappings of a verb: it can take object complements and be accompanied by auxiliary verbs (as in (4a)), occur in serial constructions with other verbs (as in (4b)), and follow other main verbs in a compound predicate (as in (4c)). In the first two sample sentences below, the Stage 4 version of *aoj* happens to cooccur with the complementizer, and the two are further marked as Stage 2 and Stage 4 functions of the same word in the glosses.

(4) a. *anj nwng aoj aeng si: ac via aoj awh haeuj.*
   I will make you eat shit 3 so.that exhaust already
      (Stage 4)   (Stage 2)
   "I'll make you eat up all their shit."

b.   *Via kaw: tev a͟o͟j   mae   via tveu: nom lngaw: a͟o͟j   craeun jau:k tok chej voat.*
3   so   go have mother 3   make cake sesame so.that lots take keep eat temple
          (Stage 4)   (Stage 2)
"And so he went to his mother and had her make lots of sesame cakes
(so that there were lots) which he took to the temple."

c.   *Do:cneh kaw: khang nah   kaw: viaj a:le:v a͟o͟j   si: ac   ckae nuh.*
thus   so   angry very so   beat A.   make eat shit dog that
"He was very angry, beat A. and made (him) eat that dog shit."

This conjectural sketch may seem contentious to a defender of the proposition that grammaticalization is irreversible, but it need not seem so. The change from Stage 2 to Stage 4 is, if one wishes, not one of grammaticalization, but of lexicalization or degrammaticalization.

It may also seem outlandish to a grammatical essentialist: that is, to one who assumes not only that semantic invariance exists, but also that the essential words in a construction (those main verbs which explicitly signal causation here) should be maintained, and that largely predictable incidentals alone (such as complementizers here) should be dropped. Note that such essentialism is a reasonable attitude which allows us to understand a number of recurrent grammatical changes, among them the radical simplifications which typically occur in the genesis of pidgins, for example (Heine & Kuteva 2007: 167). One of those simplifications is the loss of inflections, not of words. The loss of words, rather than of inflections, would be a striking development in the genesis of a pidgin. (Imagine for example what Tarzan would have to say to Jane.)

But Khmer – no pidgin – offers several more examples of precisely this kind of change. Khmer is a language in which a lot of words seems to have developed exactly like English "horn" via this suite of changes:

a.   major words are jettisoned when their essential meanings can be conveyed by peripheral words,
b.   the erstwhile peripheral words come to replace the major words.

Matisoff has coined the happy label "Cheshirization" for changes of this sort, whereby the smile replaces the cat.

One of the most remarkable cases of such a promotion occurs in a textbook example (Lim et al. 1972: 92):

(5)   *knjom deung cia   riap   toan   rw: mwn toan   tee:*
      I   know   COMP prepare in.time or   not   in.time not

Whose meaning is, amazingly, not

*"I know whether I will have time to prepare them or not."

but

"I don't [sic] know whether I will have time to have them ready or not."

The authors note that "since [the complementizer] *cia* 'that' follows the verb *deung* 'know' only in a negative clause, the negator *mwn* ["not", which should normally occur before the verb "know"] is redundant and may be omitted.. Thus one gets a sentence like (5) which is negative even though it has no negator."[4]

Another case which may illustrate the same tendency to "jettison the cat but retain its smile" includes the non-expression of the question word "why" in why-questions:

(6) *ju: mau:k haeuj mwn prap knjom?*   (Lim et al. 361–2)
     long.time come PERF not tell me

This means, not

        *"Didn't you tell me a long time ago?"
but
        "WHY didn't you tell me a long time ago?"

apparently, because the extralinguistic context makes it clear that a "why.." question was intended. We are used to seeing "WH-" expressions like *why* treated as "essentials" and accorded the appropriate VIP treatment: not only are they dragged to the front of the sentence (presumably in accordance with Jespersen's principle of actuality – "attend first to the most urgent task"), but they are the only part of such a sentence which survives elision as a result of operations like sluicing (e.g. *Nobody knows why ø*).

The point of these examples is that Cheshirization, the mechanism of dropping essential (core, central, main) words as long as the meaning that they convey is adequately conveyed by incidental (peripheral) words   which thereby become "essential" themselves – is recurrent in Khmer. Sentence (6) is unique in my materials, but the mechanism is well illustrated not only in the development of *cia*, above, but in the vagaries of several other words.

The conjectured development of *aoj* is therefore as sketched in the diagram below:
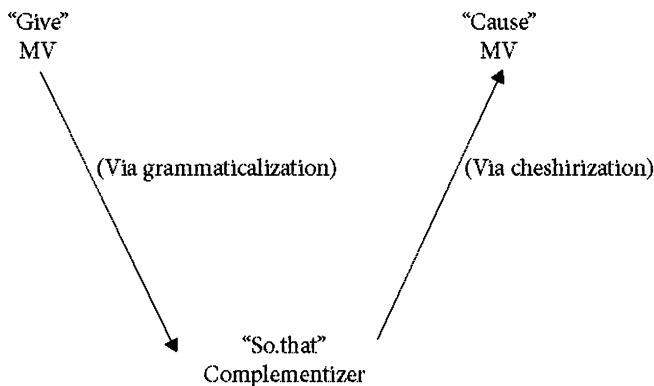
Figure 1. A semantic map for *aoj*[5]

2.   The case of *kaw:*

One word with a very colorful conjectured history is the narrative discourse particle *kaw:* "and then/so". As one of the most ubiquitous morphemes in Khmer, it seems like teenspeak "like", to have no meaning at all, a word that speakers can casually insert just about anywhere (or not). If speakers like my consultants and authorities (e.g. Ehrman & Sos 1972:69) agree that the word can be translated as "so"[6], then it is apparent that it is far "weaker" than a number of common near-synonyms (like *haeuj* "and (then)", *(dawl) anjceung* "so") with which it is often conjoined, as in:

(7) a. *preah mee:ta: cenj mau:k dawl knong prej*
          HON old.man exit come to in forest
          haeuj____kaw: daeu tev cuap nwng asraw:m preah muni: ejsej
          and.then so walk to meet with precinct HON hermit
          "The old man walked out into the forest <u>and then</u> walked towards the hermit's holy cottage."

    b. *tveu: anjceung cia craeun leu:k craeun kria* <u>*haeuj*</u>
          do thus be many time many time and
          ko:n prasa: kaw: reaksa: piak nuh dadael dae
          child son-in-law so take-care-of word that same also
          "did thus many times <u>and</u> the son-in-law kept saying the same words".

    c. <u>*Dawl anjceung*</u> *ko:n sdac* <u>*kaw:*</u> *cam roal piak pdam*
          so child king so remember every word message
          robawh tradawk
          of marabou
          "<u>And so</u> the prince remembered every word of the marabou bird's message."

It is weaker syntactically, in fact it seems like a proclitic, inasmuch as it seems to shun sentence-initial position, unlike these other words (and note that in (7b, c) above, it follows the subject NP). But it is also semantically bleached. That is, it can undergo the following distributional extensions.

    First, it can follow sentence-initial words meaning "why":

(8) a. *mec* <u>*kaw:*</u> *koat pruaj*
          how so 3 sad
          "Why is he sad?"

    b. *mec* <u>*kaw:*</u> *mwn ho:p tev?*
          how so not eat DIR
          "How come you're not eating?"

In this usage, is restricted to following only fronted question words and cannot follow question words which are left in situ:

(8) c. *koat pruaj mec (*kaw:)*
    3   sad   how so
    "Why is he sad?"

This is a particularly natural extension given that the standard formal expression of "why" in Khmer is essentially a separate clause something like English "how does it come about that.". This expression (again like the English) can be reduced to a stub, which still retains vestiges of its origin as a separate clause. In English *how come* manifests this origin by not triggering subject-verb inversion. In Khmer, *kaw:* manifests its origin by following the "why" word and preceding the body of the question. The particle is to that extent still acting as a clause-initial interclausal connective.

Part of the meaning of this particle in this, its most frequent and presumably prototypical consequential function, is that it marks foregrounded clauses which move the narrative forward. Thus, it never occurs in subordinate clauses, and conversely, a very common site for consequential *kaw:* is at the beginning of principal clauses following backgrounded phrases or clauses, thus signaling a resumption of the main narrative line, as in:

(9) a. *muaj srabawk   kraoj mau:k puak jeu:ng <u>kaw:</u> daeu tev   dawl camka:*
    one   short.time after   since, group we   so   walk onwards until garden
    [Background   ][Foreground   ]
    "After a break,   we walked onward to the vegetable garden."
    [Background]   [Foreground   ]

    b. *nev pee:l jeu:ng daeu mau:k dawl phu:m muaj*
    be.at time we   walk come   arrive village one
    [Background   ]
    <u>kaw:</u> srap tae   mian kjawl pjuh   ja:ng klang
    so   suddenly exist   wind   storm   kind   strong
    [Foreground   ]
    "While we were walking towards the village, suddenly a strong wind blew up."
    [Background   ] [Foreground   ]

    c. *camnaek mee: kla: venj luh   dawl via sraw:k poh   tev*
    as for   mother tiger back then until 3   reduce stomach DIR
    [Background   ]
    "As for the mother tiger, once her stomach had shrunk"

    via <u>kaw:</u> ruac pi: prakiap cheu:
    3   so   escape from fork   tree
    [Foreground   ]
    "she escaped from the tree fork."

So far, we have merely reviewed the primary use of *kaw:* as introduced in Chapter 9. The only extension has been (8), but this extension is also compatible with the principle that *kaw:* occurs between a cause expression (in this case, the word *mec* "why") and its temporal or logical consequence. Now it is time to introduce the first major extension to this use.

2.1   From consequence to inconsequence

The particle *kaw:* also occurs between temporally sequential S1 and S2 where what is asserted in S2 is not the logical consequence of S1, but rather the unexpected opposite, in what I will call compound "inconsequential" sentences. The conceptual distinction between consequence and inconsequence is more deeply embedded in the grammar of Khmer than it is in English inasmuch as the resultative (Chapter 8) is such a favorite construction. In English, it suffices to say *The farmer killed the duckling.* In Khmer, such a sentence is still up in the air semantically without a result clause: *and it died/but it didn't die.* (This only becomes apparent, admittedly, when a negative result clause e.g. *it refused to die* is appended.)

Nevertheless, inconsequentiality is an important notion with a variety of lexical expressions in English. Some inconsequential markers in English are the following:

Whether or not S1, S2	(*I'm coming, ready or not.*)
Whatever S1, S2	(*Whatever you say, nobody will believe you.*)
S1, but S2.	(*I rang, but you didn't answer.*)
It doesn't matter S1(, S2)	(*It doesn't matter how sincere it is.*)
So what if S1? (S2)	(*So what if she's got round heels? She's an amazing worker.*)
S1, not S1, S2 just the same	(*You push the damper in, you pull the damper out, the smoke goes up the chimney just the same.*)
No use S1(: S2)	(*No use crying: nobody knows what you mean.*)
S1 in vain (: S2)	(*I tried in vain to stop him. He just went ahead.*)
S1 but S2 anyway	(*I tried to stop him, but he went ahead anyway.*)

Note now that *haeuj kaw:* can translate not only consequential "and so", but also "but", "on the other hand", or "withal", as in:

(10) a.   *Cru:k mian panjha: haeuj kaw kcwl nah*
          pig   have intelligence and   so(?) lazy very
          S1   S2
          "Pigs are smart but very lazy."

   b.   *juan   cia   mcah   robawh kmae   haeuj Ceun kaw: cia mcah   robawh juan.*
          Vietnamese be master of   Khmer but   Chinese   be master of Vietnamese.
          "The Vietnamese were the masters of the Khmer, but so too were the Chinese the masters of the Vietnamese."

Note also that *kaw:* may occur in the negative resultative S2 clauses described in Chapter 8, which signal that the action or state of affairs of the preceding S1 was attempted and aborted, undertaken in vain, or irrelevant:

(11) a. *Ha: moat ni'jiaj piak mdec kaw: pum ba:n*
          open mouth say   word how   not get
          "How could I open my mouth and say a word? I couldn't."

     b. *Rau:k haeuj rau:k tiat kaw: mwn kheu:nj*
          seek   and   seek more   not   see
          "looked and looked, but could not find"

Note also that the notion of unlimited freedom of choice in S1 may be the same as that of inconsequential choice (hence the frequent cross-linguistic apparition of verbs of choice or volition as the "although" words in concessive clauses⁷), and is intimately connected to the expression of apathy or indifference. (e.g. *Whatever.*) This freedom is expressed in Khmer by the use of indefinite/interrogative pronouns and deictics such as *na:* "which, any", *ponma:n* "how much/many, any quantity/number":

(12) a. *Ja:ng na: kaw: (ja:ng) ba:n*
          kind any   so(??) kind   OK
          "It doesn't matter either way; whatever"

     b. *Meut aeng samnak nev ponma:n jup kaw: ba:n dae*
          friend you stay   be.at how.many night so(??) OK also
          "Stay as many nights as you like, friend."

This is particularly notable in concessive conditional sentences with inconsequential protasis clauses ("even if.", "no matter what...", "whatever...", "whether X or Y.", where *kaw:* is favored in either clause-initial position (otherwise disfavored), or in the more usual clause-second position in the apodosis:

(13) a. *Knjom tveu: nih kdej nuh kdej, kee: kaw: sok ceut dae*
          I   do   this and that and 3   so?? good heart also
          "Whatever I do (= it doesn't matter what I do), he agrees to it." (Jacob 1968: 105)

     b. *Lo:k tev na:,   knjom kaw: tev dae*
          You go anywhere I   so?? go also
          "Wherever you go, I will go."   (ibid. 129)

          Neak   bamraeu tveu: rabiap ja:ng na:, kaw: koat mwn penj ceut dae
          person servant do   method kind any so?? 3   not full heart also
          "However the servant does it, he isn't satisfied."   (ibid. 129)

     d. *Ko:n khawm tveu:ka: do:c mdec, kaw: aopuk mwn sa'ba:j ceut*
          child strive work   like how so?? father not happy heart
          "However hard I work, you are not satisfied, father."   (ibid. 129)

e. *Baeu mian robawh ej   klah, kaw aeng trev jau:k tev ta:m*
If   have stuff   what any so?? you must take DIR DIR
"Whatever things you have you must take along."

f. *Nev srok   na: kaw: do:c srok   na: dae*
In country any so? like country any also
"In every country it's the same."   (Suos et al. 1970: 313)
(= "It doesn't matter which country, it's always the same.")

g. *Sua nauna: kaw: ba:n*
ask anyone so   OK
"Ask anyone (and you'll get the same answer)."   (ibid. 385)

h. *Njam ej   kaw: ba:n dae*
eat   anything so   OK also
"You can eat anything." / "Whatever you eat is OK."

This "whatever" function seems in fact to be a fundamental use of the particle, which follows not only "whatever…" (that is, explicitly irrelevant) clauses, but also indefinite noun phrases denoting randomly chosen individuals or things.

(14) a. *Neak   na: kaw: ceh   criang dae*
person any so?? know sing   also
"Anybody can sing." (it doesn't matter who: the nature or capacities
of the subject don't matter)

b. *Ja:ng mec   kaw: ba:n dae*
kind what so   OK also
"Any way will do."

c. *cawng nauna: tveu: ej   kaw: tveu: tev*
want anyone do what so?? do IMP/DIR
"Anyone could do whatever they wanted."

(The last example is an apparent multiple WH- utterance, the speaker predicating freedom of choice of both a subject noun *nauna:*, and of the action *tveu: ej*. In the extract from which it is taken, another possible translation is "they were in a state of complete apathy".)

2.2 From inconsequence to parallelism

It is possible that in the sentences of 2.1, Khmer is treating *kaw:* not like "so", but like the logical connector "⊃" according to which "P ⊃ Q" is valid whenever Q is true (irrespective of the truth of P).

This could be seen as a "logical" extension of ordinary language "so", where "P so Q" is valid when both P and Q are. It also squares with the repeated observation (cf. Haiman

1985: 31) that concessive conditional clauses very closely resemble consequential conditional clauses in hundreds of languages, Khmer among them. That is, the transition from consequence to inconsequence is a clear case of semantic bleaching.

But the next extensional step exploits a novel and logically incidental property of "whatever.." sentences: their parallelism. The structure

(15)   S1 *kaw:* S2

can mean the conjunction of the two specific parallel compound sentences "S3" and "S4", where

(16)   a.   "S3" (= S1 and S2) and
       b.   "S4" (= not S1 and S2):

(17)   a.   *mnuh thomda: kaw: daoj, sat   te'r'echa:n kaw: daoj*
            person normal   whether   beast wild   whether
            [S1   ] [not S1   ]
            "Anyone at all, be it a human or a beast"

            co:l pleu:ng trev   tae   raliak
            enter fire   must only dissolve
            [S2   ]
            "if they enter the flames, must be consumed."

       b.   *reaksa kaw: slap mwn reaksa: kaw: slap*
            care.for so   die not care.for so   die
            [S1   ][S2] [not S1] [S2]
            "(a disease such that) if you treat it, you die, and if you don't treat it you die."

It is possible in Khmer to exploit this incidental parallelism, and for *kaw:* to occur now between not just "S1 and not-S1", but between any parallel sentences "S3 and S4" – including most typically sentences with the same predicates.

This leads from the use of the particle in parallel irrelevant protasis clauses

          Whether S1 or S2,   S3; Whether or not S1, S2

(18)   *Lo:k meu:l kaw: ba:n knjom meu:l kaw: ba:n*
       you   read so   OK   I   read so   OK
       "You can read or I can, either way is fine."   (Lim et al. 1972:523)

to the enumeration of parallel (mutually irrelevant) subject noun phrases:

(19)   NP1 *kaw:* VP, NP2 *kaw:* VP
       "Both NP1 and NP2 VP" (there's no difference between the two)
                                                              (Lim et al. 1972:261)

(20) *Knjom kaw: kwt meu:l siavphev pdej   knjom kaw: kwt meu:l*
      I   so plan read book   husband my   so   plan read
      "Both my husband and I plan to read."

From this, the next step, a small one, may be to mark parallel behavior in general.

(21) a. *A:- tma:t   kaw: mian babuah damrej kaw: mian babuah*
          HON vulture   have injury elephant   have injury
          "Both the vultures and the elephants took some injuries."
          "The vultures took some injuries, the elephants took some injuries."

      b. *Lej   kaw mwn ceh   tveu:*
          creel and not   know do
          kanjcraeng kaw: mwn ceh   tba:nj
          basket   so   not   know weave
          ksae   kaw: mwn ceh   venj.
          string and not   know braid
          "I don't know how to make a creel,
          I don't know how to weave any kind of basket,
          I don't know how to braid string"
          (It is clear in this passage that the speaker, an urban intellectual who is now fac-
          ing having to feed his family by fishing, is simply providing a catalog of all the
          practical skills he does not have.)

          Kee: tveu: ampi: kavsu: kaw: mian ampi: spoan kaw: mian
          3   make of   rubber and exist of   copper and exist
          "They make them of rubber, and they make them of copper."

Note the chilling KR slogans:

(21) d. *Tok kaw: mwn camnaenj*
          keep so   not   profit
          Daw:k cenj kaw: mwn kha:t
          remove exit so   not   lose
          "As there's no profit in keeping you alive, so there is no loss in terminating you."

      e. *Prapun kaw: tu:l   pdej   kaw: re:k*
          wife   so carry.on.head husband so   carry.on.pole.over.shoulders
          "Both husband and wife will carry physical burdens equally."

In the conversation below, the response would be ungrammatical without the *kaw:* particle:

(22)   *knjom peut cia   neuk neak mwn kha:n tee:*
        I   true COMP think you   not   fail   not
        "I will certainly miss you.."

--- *knjom kaw: peut cia   neuk neak dae*
 I   so   true COMP think you   also
"And I will certainly also miss you."

It seems here that the use of *kaw:* to signal parallelism trumps the (up to this point valid) constraint that *kaw:* (unlike the coordinate connective *haeuj*) occurs only between clauses spoken in the same narrative by the same speaker.

Note finally the apparition of *kaw:* as the second alternative in a yes/no question "A or B"?:

(23) *Aeng ni'jiaj lee:ng kaw: ni'jiaj me:n?*
       you talk   play ???   talk   real
       "Are you joking or serious?"

Or in an "A or B" assertion:

(24) a. *neak   to:h   ukreut cenj pi: kuk   thom*
          person crime crime exit from prison big
          rw: kaw: sat   dael kee: dawh   le:ng
          or ??? animal that 3   release let.go
          "a criminal released from prison or an animal released (from its cage)"

      b. *daoj dak sot tae a'nu'prathian   rw: kaw: a'kea'lee'khathika: kea'na'pak*
          by allow only vice-president or or   general.secretary party
          "by allowing only the vice-president or the general secretary of the party"

In (23) the balance (symmetry or parallelism) is between a proposition and its opposite. In (24) it is between two exemplars of a comparison, that is between nouns. Once *X kaw: Y* signals a relationship of mutual exclusion between "X" and "Y", we are apparently as far away from the "so" of logical consequence as it is possible to be. But each step from consequence to its opposite was made incrementally and may have seemed to be a good idea at the time.

2.3   Exclamative *kaw:*

Kaw: may also occur as an exclamative particle, translatable as "how...!" Here it may occur with preceding or following *ej* "what". Note that in this usage it may occur in absolute clause-initial position – demolishing another presumably definitional feature, its status as a sentence-internal clitic. Note also that in this usage there is not a trace of the otherwise general vague impression that (like "so" and "then") it somehow "refers back to an earlier utterance" (recall the extremely vague, but nevertheless still overly restrictive characterization of Ehrman & Sos 1972:69). And note finally that in some of the cases below it seems redundant with this meaning, since the word *mleh* "how much" alone seems to have exclamative force.

(25)   a.   _kaw: s'oj_   _mleh_
       so?   stinky   how.much
       "How stinky!"

       b.   _kaw: ej_   _s'a:t_   _mleh_
       so ?   what   clean   how.much
       "How pretty!"

       c.   _cru:k ej_   _kaw: l'aw:_   _mleh!_
       pig   what   so   good   so.much
       "What a good pig!"

       d.   _mnuh ej_   _kaw: ceut_   _akrawk mleh!_
       person   what   so   heart   evil   so.much
       "How evil people are!"

Lim et al. (1972: 159) maintain however that (25) (_ej_) _kaw:_ is an abbreviation of _het ej kaw:_ "how come…" / _mdec kaw:_ "how come..", in which case these idiomatic usages could be related to the usage noted in (8) above.

(26)   a.   _Ej_   _kaw: tlaj_   _mleh_
       what   expensive   so.much
       "How expensive!"

Would then derive from a hypothetical

(26)   b.   _Het_   _ej kaw: tlaj_   _mleh_
       reason   what   expensive   so.much
       "How come it's so expensive?"

And be related, via a Cheshirization elision of the "why" word, to attested examples like

(27)   _mdec kaw: aphaup_   _mleh!_
       how   so   luckless   so.much
       "How unfortunate!"

2.4   From parallelism to conformity

(28)   a.   Max and George both like Suzie. >
       b.   Max likes Suzie: George does too. / So does George.

From (28a) to (28b) is a short conceptual step, but it involves the loss of the very conceptual symmetry which served as the point of semantic connection between inconsequence and parallelism. In (28a), Max and George are equals. In (28b) George is just tagging along. There are many attestations of this conformity meaning of _kaw:_.

(29) a. *prapun knjom tev deeːk muaj srabawk*
    wife   my   go sleep one   short.while
    bantec kraoj mauːk knjom kaw: luak teang angkuj
    a.bit   later   come I   too sleep all   sit
    "My wife went to sleep, and in a short while so did I, still sitting up."

  b. *baeu ao ciang, koːn kaw: ciang dae*
    if   dad skilful child also skilful too
    "If the father was skilful, so too was the son."

  c. *Knjom kaw: cap poh baːn craeun dae*
    I   also catch station get lots   also
    "I can get a lot of (radio) stations, too."

  d. *Knjom kaw: anjceung dae*
    I   also thus   also
    "Me too / Me neither."

  e. *Prapun knjom kaw: trev ka: kamvithiː teang nih dae*
    wife   my   also need schedule all   this also
    "My wife also needs all these schedules."

Note that in all of the examples of (29) except the very first, *kaw:* cooccurs with sentence-final *dae* "also".

2.5 From inconsequence to bracketing concessive clauses

(30) a. *(toːh bej cia) S1 kaw: S2*   "(Although) S1, S2" >

  b. *toːh bej cia S1 kaw: daoj, S2*
    = concessive [S1] concessive [S2] (*daoj* is added, probably as a grammaticalized "stub" which stands for all S2 clauses that follow an "although.." clause.) >

  c. *toːh bej cia S1 kaw: daoj, kaw: S2* (*kaw:* is added, probably to reinforce the weakened particle in the generic stub, in much the same way that *thus* can be reinforced by an explicit adverb suffix -*ly* to produce substandard *thusly*.)

Particularly in written formal Khmer, the discontinuous constituents surrounding S1:

(31) *toːh (bej) cia...[S1]... (jaːng naː) kaw: (daoj)*
    although be S1   kind which   by

(32) *tvej tbeut tae ...[S1]... (jaːng naː) kaw: (daoj)*
    even although only... S1   kind which by

serve as a reliable pair of brackets for concessive clauses. Any clause initiated by one of the first strings will be bracketed at its termination by the second. The stringlet *kaw: daoj*

"so by" is almost certainly the grammaticalized remnant of a kind of generic S2 "failed action stub" which follows any number of inconsequential S1 clauses or phrases. By layering, it has been reinforced and further relegated to the semantic attic of worn-out borderline meaningless words by the new *kaw:* particle which introduces S2. This leaves it with no other apparent function other than to be part of a signal of a syntactic bracket.

(33) a. *to:h_____ cia mnuh   nuh ba:n prapreut khoh ja:ng na   kaw: daoj*
          although be person that PAST act   wrong kind what so   by
          "Even though a person has acted wrongly"

          kaw: trev   mian tno: dae
          still   must   have grave also
          "still he deserves to be buried."

Note that *kaw:* appears twice   first in the frozen syntactic bracket, second with its more meaningful adversative inconsequential meaning.

(33) b. *tvej tbeut tae mian lea'kha'nah khoh knia   kaw: daoj*
          although   exist feature   differ each.other so   by
          "although they have different features…"

2.6   From brackets to discourse particle

(34) a. *To:h bej cia + CLAUSE + ja:ng na: kaw: daoj →*
      b. *To:h bej cia +   ø   + ja:ng na: kaw: daoj*

The bracket of (34a) may appear, and yet be bracketing nothing at all, as in (34b), in which case it functions very much like the topic-changing discourse particle "anyhow" in English (Park 2010).

(35) Blah blah blah. *Toh:bej cia ja:ng na: kaw: daoj* Blah blah blah
      ⟨Topic One⟩   ⟨Unrelated Topic Two⟩
                            Anyhow;
                            Be that as it may
                            In any event
                            (etc.)

2.7   Discussion

While it is impossible to show in the epigraphic record an actual diachronic progression from any single meaning of *kaw:* to any other (e.g. "the first attestation of an inconsequential reading inconsequential occurred in 1548, the first attestation of a parallel one

in 1804"), the diagram below provides at least a plausible semantic map and convenient mnemonic for relating all of them. At each stage it is possible to show that the innovative meaning differs minimally from the one that is conjectured to precede it via a small conceptual shift (exploiting non-definitional resemblances between one meaning and the next, very much in the spirit of Darmesteter). It is in any event easier to show the relatedness of this skein of meaning/form correspondences via this associationist semantic map rather than either via some other chain of associations assuming a different point of entry, or than via a Gesamtbedeutung model.
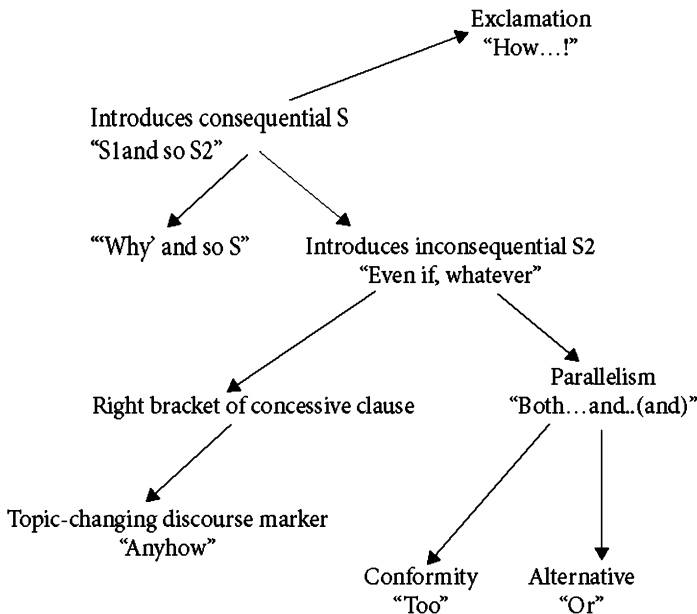
Figure 2. The eight major functions of *kaw:*

Summary of the associations given here:

1. From consequence to exclamation   via Cheshirization
2. From consequence to inconsequence   via broadening/definitional extension
3. From inconsequence to parallelism   via association/non-definitional extension
4. From parallelism to alternatives   via association/non-definitional extension
5. From parallelism to conformity   via broadening/definitional extension
6. From inconsequence to a purely grammatical
   bracket enclosing concessive clauses   via association/non-definitional extension
7. From the bracket to a topic-changing
   discourse particle "anyhow"   via association/non-definitional extension

Evidence for changes like the ones above, given that the various uses of *kaw:* are "always already there", is of two types. First, there is circumstantial evidence — similar developments are attested elsewhere. Second, there is an appeal based on plausibility to the reader's sense of gradualism – the postulated changes (1)–(7) are really incremental, indeed almost unnoticeable, with some data showing evidence of conceptual overlap, that is concurrent Stage X and Stage X+1 meanings.

Circumstantial evidence for the plausibility of these conjectures is provided by other cases of meaning shift which are similar.

Change (2), from consequence to inconsequence, is widespread. As noted above, it is exemplified in all the languages in which concessive conditionals and consequential conditionals have virtually the same morphosyntax.

Elsewhere within Khmer, there are at least two stunning examples of change (3). The first involves the concessive conjunction *to:h* "although", the second the indefinite/interrogative *na:.* "which, any". Both have become capable of acting as symmetrical coordinate conjunctions.

2.7.1 A new function of *to:h*

The concessive conjunction *to:h bej cia* "although" is a canonical marker, perhaps the major one, of inconsequentiality or concession. However, it functions as a conjunction introducing the first of a pair of simply parallel expressions in a "both X and Y" construction in all three examples of (36a, b, c):

(36) a.   *(pha're'jia   knjom dael   taeng tae leu:k teuk ceut   knjom   cianec   knong*
          wife   my   who always   encourage   me   always in
          ka: sasee: siavphev nih)
          NOM write book   this
          (my wife who always encouraged me in the writing of this book)

          <u>*to:h cia*</u>   *nev srok*   *Kmae*
          <u>although</u> [sic] in   country Khmer
          kaw: do:c cia nev   srok   ba:rang
          so   like be be.in country France
          "both in Cambodia and in France."

In (36a), the pair of expressions *nev srok Kmae, nev srok ba:rang* are already parallel structures. This parallelism is reinforced by the left brackets

        to:h   *cia...*   *kaw: do:c cia ...*
        "though COMP... so   like COMP ...",
        which are best freely translated as "both...and...".

     b.   *cap daeum mian aek riac*   <u>*to:h tec*</u>   *kdej rw: craeun kdej*
        begin   exist independent.kingdom both small or   or large or
        "There began to exist independent principalities both large and small."

In the latter half of (36b), the pair of expressions *tec, craeun* are locked together in a symmetrical coordination, in two ways: first, both are followed by the exhaustive disjunction marker *kdej* "(n)either ...(n)or" Second, they are introduced by the symmetrical disjunction markers *to:h   rw:* manifestly (in this sentence!) "either...or"

(36) c. <u>*to:h*</u>   *klian   kdej, pum klian   kdej mda:j   trevtae tatual ba're'pho:k*
         although hungry or   not   hungry or   mother must   receive food
         "Hungry or not, your mother has to eat."   (Gorgoniev 1966b: 269)

In (36c), the exhaustive exclusive disjunction "whether hungry or not" is marked as in (36b), except for the omission of *rw:* "or" before the second disjunct.

The bridge between these two meanings of *to:h* is illustrated by constructions where both meanings are simultaneously explicit:

(36) d. *to:h bej   slap rauh ja:ng na: kaw: kee: mwn a:c*
         although die   live kind which so   3   not able
         bamplec ru:p S. caol   ba:n tee:
         forget   figure S. abandon can not
         "Whether he lived or died, he would not be able to forget S.'s lovely figure."

In (36d), the first clause is clearly an inconsequential, and is so marked by both the conjunction *to:h bej* "although", and by the closing bracket for concessive clauses *ja:ng na: kaw: [daoj]*.

But it is inconsequential in that it enumerates a list of alternatives which exhaust the set of possibilities that could be chosen: *slap* "to die", and *rauh* "to live".

The same thing is going on in (36e):

(36) e. *to:h cia   akrawk l'aw: ja:ng na: o:n kaw:*
         although bad   good kind which I   so
         cia prapun baw:ng ruac tev   haeuj
         be wife   you   PERF DIR PERF
         "Whatever happens, (that is) in good times and in bad, I will be your wife."

2.7.2 A new function of *na:*

The indefinite/interrogative deictic *na:* "any, what, which" (marking freedom of choice) shows up in "whatever..." structures like (36d, e) (marking inconsequence). It also appears, quite unexpectedly, as a novel coordinate symmetrical constituent conjunction "both...and" in sentences like:

(37) a. *toal tae slap kluan na: baw:ng na:*
         until   die myself and you   and
         "..until both you and I die"

      b. *jeu:ng sok ceut slap rauh ciamuaj knia na: o:n na:*
         we   happily die live together I   and you and
         "We will live together happily, both you and I."[8]

This usage is less mysterious when we remember that the semantic path from inconse-quentiality to parallelism is exactly the same as one that has been traversed by *kaw:* as well. All we need to add is the recognition that total freedom of choice invites the infer-ence of inconsequentiality, cf. the modern *whatever.*

The other changes recommend themselves as plausible incremental extensions of the meanings from which they depart.

3.   The case of *ba:n*

We have already encountered this grammatical workhorse as at least two main verbs with nominal subjects meaning "acquire" and "cope, succeed"; two main verbs with sentential subjects meaning "be OK", "precede, cause, bring it about that"; as the past auxiliary, as an auxiliary meaning "succeed, be able", and as a serial verb meaning "succeed, be able". Note that most of the meanings of the AV and SV are also very close to the meanings of one or another of the MV.

Cognates within Austroasiatic with some of the same meanings are attested: cf. Khmu' *pwan* (Smalley 1961: 19, 21; Premsrirat 1991: 126–30), Mal *pau:n* (Filbeck 1991: 166), Wa *pǫn*, Watkins ms, Minor Mlabri *bɤɤn*, Rischel 1995: 221..

Before enquiring how these uses may be related, we need to catalogue some more.

3.1   *ba:n* follows indispensable preconditions

Another use is that of acting as a conjunction between S1 and S2, marking S1 as the in-dispensable precondition for S2. In this function, *ba:n* is a synonym of and may be con-joined with *teu:p* "then (and only then")". This is surely related to its intersentential cause function in *ba:n cia*, but it is not exactly the same, as can be seen from these examples (mainly from Lim et al.):

(38) a. *Lo:k aoj luj   knjom teu:p/ba:n knjom tev*
          you give money me   then /get   I   go
          "I will go only if you pay me, sir."   (Lim et al. 518)

      b. *Pu: baeuk la:n tev ba:n kaeut*
          you drive car   go   get   succeed
          "You've got to drive there   there is no other way."   (ibid. 337)

          Sok aeng tveu: ba:j haeuj ba:n knjom meu:l kasaet
          S. you do   rice finish get   I   read   newspaper
          "I won't read the newspaper, Sok, until you finish cooking."   (ibid. 220)

d. *Nev sawl   ponma:n   cnam tiat   ba:n lo:k cenj?*
   stay remain how.many year more get you leave
   "How many more years will you stay before you leave?"   (ibid. 410)

e. *taong tev   cual ceun   kraleung dak cia tmej teu:p ba:n*
   must go.to fix turn.on lathe   put be new then OK
   "We'll first have to fix it, straighten it on a lathe, make it like new and then reset it.
   (Only then will it be OK.)"

As is clear from (38e), there is also a straightforward connection between the sentential MV "S is OK" and the intersentential MV "S1 is the indispensable precondition for S2".

The range of expressions available for marking S1 (or a pro-sentential anaphoric expression like *do:c neh* "thus" or *i ceung* "thus") as the indispensable precondition for S2 thus includes at least the following expressions:

S1 ruac teu:p S2   (Gorgoniev 1966b: 155, Bisang 1992: 408)
S1 teu:p v ba:n S2
S1 haeuj ba:n S2   (Enfield 2003: 280)
S1 haeuj teu:p S2
S1 ba:n S2   (Enfield 2003: 293)
"Only after S1, S2"

3.2   *ba:n* introduces measure phrases

Another use of *ba:n* hinted at in many of the previous examples in which it has oc-curred, is that it apparently acts as a left bracket for MP expressions. We have already encountered the separability of DO nominal clumps which can be broken into NP and MP, separated by IO:

(39) *Jeu:ng aoj luj   kee: meu:n rial*
     we   give money 3   10000 rial
     "We gave them 10000 rials."

One could imagine in (39) that the MP was rightshifted over the IO by something like Quantifier float or Heavy NP shift. But often the element which breaks up the "large conventional NP" (underlined in (40)) is the success verb *ba:n*: this produces a string Vtr NP *ba:n* MP

(40) a. *Jeu:ng deuk   ejvan ba:n muaj meu:n ki:lo:*
        we   transport cargo get one 10000 kilo
        "We transported a total cargo of 10000 kilos"
        "We transported cargo to the tune of 10000 kilos."

b. *Kee: cap   kda:m ba:n muaj lo:*
3   catch crab   get   one   dozen
"They caught a dozen crabs."   (Lim et al. 363)

(40) c. *knjom dual   hot (kdav)2 phaw:ng ba:n*
I   dish.up sip   warmish also   get
tae   pi: slap pria tev   le:ng   ruac
only two   spoon   continue no.longer PERF
"I was able to sip no more than two spoonfuls of the warmish stuff."

In these sentences, *ba:n* could be seen to be a serial success verb in a resultative construction. But this is surely not the case in monoclausal sentences like:

(40) d. *Jeu:ng tev pnom penj   ba:n buan ateut.*
we   go Phnom Penh get   four   week
"We went to Phnom Penh for four weeks."   (Lim et al. 430)

e. *knjom tev ba:n pi: daw:ng*
I   go get   two time
"I've been there twice."   (Enfield 2003: 263)

f. *ka:l   nwng slap ba:n bej   neak*
time that   die get   three person
"At that time, three people died."   (ibid. 253)

Here, without entirely losing its coloration as a success verb (although finding any kind of "success" in (40f) is admittedly a bit of a stretch), *ba:n* has acquired what seems to be an extended purely grammatical function: that of marking the left margin of first, an object measure phrase, then, of any measure phrase at all. But matters are more untidy than this. If (39) is related to (40), surely both are also related to (41):

(41) a. *cuan   kaw: srawng   ba:n muaj kaw:ng oh   craeun dom*
some so   bring.up get   one   bundle firewood lots   piece
"..sometimes bring up a bundle of firewood consisting of many sticks"

(here *ba:n* introduces a very messy NC, consisting of an MP, an NP, and another MP)

(41) b. *jup   damkol saw:p ba:n ta: Vee: pdej   Jiana:v*
night set.out corpse get   elder V.   husband J.
"that night we set out the corpse of elder V., the husband of J."

(here *ba:n* breaks up another NC: it follows one NP, and precedes another NP which is simply in apposition to it).

(41) c. *srava: trakaw:ng ba:n oh   bej   buan dom*
embrace carry.up   get   firewood three four   piece
"get my arms around and carry up three or four pieces of firewood."

(here *ba:n* introduces a whole Direct Object Nominal Clump, consisting of an NP and and MP).

(41) d. *haeuj bangkaeut ba:n botrej   mneak*
       and   give.birth get   daughter one.person
       "and had a daughter"

While giving birth is a monumental achievement, it is not absolutely clear that *ba:n* is acting as a serial success verb. It may be doing no more here than simply marking the left margin of the DO of the verb "give birth".

The grammatical construction enshrined in (39) and (40) (*ba:n* precedes MP of DO) has been casually extended in (41): *ba:n* precedes all of the DO or any part of the DO. So far, the DO in such constructions is a concrete tangible object. But there may not be anything fixed about this. Given a sufficiently playful speaker, *ba:n* will perhaps soon appear symmetrically conjoined with the dedicated abstract direct OBJ preposition *nev*. In fact, this may have already happened, although it is pointless to speculate.

Another possible extension, however, along exactly these lines, is that from signaling the onset of a concrete (object or non-object) measure phrase, it could come to signal the onset of an abstract measure phrase – that is, of an adverbial expression of manner or extent, again without entirely losing the sense of success or attainment[9]. It seems possible that this may be the best way to characterize some of what Enfield somewhat unhelpfully calls "descriptive complements":

(42) a. *kee: ni'jiaj phiasa: kmae ba:n l'aw: nah*
       3   speak language Khmer get   excellent very
       "S/he speaks Khmer very well."   (Enfield 2003:265)

    b. *sdap   ba:n cbah nah*
       understand get   clear very
       "[subject] can understand very clearly."   (ibid. 266)

    c. *a:n   ba:n l'aw:*
       read get   good
       "good at reading/(can) read well"

3.3   *ba:n* as an inchoative auxiliary

Nor do these uses exhaust the possibilities of this verb. When it precedes MV, it seems to be also able to function as an inchoative auxiliary, as in

(43) a. *kmuaj srej pheuk mdaw:ng tiat   tev ba:n thu: haeuj*
       niece   drink once   more to   get   loose for.sure
       "Drink some more of this medicine and you'll start to feel better for sure, niece."[10]

b. *phu:m nih ba:n tev cia ni'meut ru:p nej*
village this get go.to be symbol image of
co:k cej daw: pisot sambaeum
victory victory very awesome majestic
"This village came to be a symbol of a great victory.."

c. *Dawl anjceung tev cav nwng kaw: ba:n cia prapun A:le:v tev.*
So grandchild that so get be wife A. DIR
"So that is how those girls came to be A's wives."

d. *mwn ju: ponma:n saphiap crabo:k crabawl teang nih*
not long so.much aspect confused busy all this
kaw: ba:n sngawp snguat
and.so get quiet quiet
"in not too long, all the excitement had died down and everything got quiet"

e. *lo:k aoj ko:n nuh tev niaj ba:n cia knjom robawh lo:k*
monk cause child that go.to male get be servant of monk
"the monks made the child become their servant"

f. *puak krom samngat ba:n manteul sangsaj dawl kecka: robawh jeu:ng*
PLU society secret get suspicious suspicious to matter of us
"the secret service has grown suspicious of our activities."

g. *ka: do:c neh mwn me:n daeumbej nwng aoj ba:n pdej prapun tee:*
marriage thus not really in.order FUT so.that get husband wife not
"they get married not in order to become a husband and a wife"

(Gorgoniev 1966b: 294)

h. *jeu:ng ba:n knia cia pdej prapun tev anakaut*
we get companion as husband wife to future
"we will become a couple as husband and wife in the future"

i. *..banjcawp rwang nih aoj ba:n klej*
..stop story this so.that get short
"..cut the story short."

This use is not in principle surprising: inchoative occurs as an extension of *get* in English, thus *get going/get angry*. But it seems to be a previously unnoted novelty for *ba:n* as an auxiliary in Khmer.

Even in its more familiar uses, *ba:n* can appear in blends. In the sentence

(44) *awt troam tngo: pum ba:n*
not endure moan not succeed/manage
"I could not keep myself from moaning."

Ba:n is not hard to decode, but it is irregular. (44) is presumably a blend of two separate constructions (45a) and (45b):

(45) a. *awt tngo: pum ba:n*
          not moan not succeed
          "couldn't succeed in suppressing moans"

      b. *troam pum ba:n*
          endure not   succeed
          "couldn't endure it"

But the coordination of the two "attemptive" predicates *awt tngo:* "suppress moans" + *troam* "endure it" is scrambled to produce the outcome of (44).

Sentences like (44) bear witness to the freedom of speakers to shake and bake constituents, even where their meaning is relatively fixed. Sentences like (42) and (43), on the other hand, bear witness to their freedom to play fast and loose with meanings also. Finally, sentences like (41) bear witness to their ability to broaden syntactic constraints on the function of words. One thing leads to another in gradual stages.

3.4 Discussion

Sometimes clearly, sometimes not so clearly, it seems that these various functions of *ba:n* may be related. Impelled partly by the polysemy of English "get", partly by the fact that many of the same extensions occurred in neighbouring languages of SE Asia (Enfield 2003), we look for a unifying narrative. There are three temptations here for the analyst: first, is that of finding a Gesamtbedeutung that underlies all of these meanings or uses of a given form. The second, is that of finding a narrative whereby all of these meanings can be explained by a series of gradual conceptual shifts, all motivated in that they "seemed like not necessarily good but more importantly, small ideas at the time". The third, orthogonal to the first two, is that there is only one path from a lexical item to the various grammatical items that are descended from it. The first is the temptation of the grammaticalization purist (possibly a straw man), the second that of both the lexicalization theorist and the grammaticalization theorist. The third is simply a reactionary refusal to consider the possibility of polygrammaticalization (Grinevald 1993): given a lexical meaning "A", and grammatical meanings "b" and "c", there is no need to insist on a single narrative A > b > c. Both "b" and "c" could arise directly from "A".

Haiman 1999 succumbed to all of the above temptations simultaneously. I then believed that MV > SV > AV (which then developed into the causative prefixes), and I believed that each stage in meaning and form was a slight modification of the prior one. Part of my account was that there was a migration of the verb from SV to AV position which accompanied its grammatical decline. My principal reason for believing in migration was the incontestable fact that the auxiliary in many cases (46) still has the same success reading and abilitative readings as the serial verb:

(46)   a.   *Ko:n aeng pi: daw:ng haeuj mwn ba:n   kaung vaung tee:*
            child your two time   finish not   manage live.on family not
            "Your two children from the last two times didn't <u>manage to</u> survive."

       b.   *Jup menj knjom kraw: ba:n co:l dee:k*
            night last I   hard.time get enter sleep
            "I only <u>managed to</u> get to sleep late last night."

       c.   *knjom le:ng   ba:n si: ko:n nwng tiat   haeuj*
            I   no.longer can eat child that more PERF
            "I <u>can</u> no longer eat children."

       d.   *tae awt ba:n ho:p*
            but not can eat
            "but we weren't <u>allowed to</u> eat."   (Enfield 2003: 296)

       e.   *awt ba:n cumliah tev na: tee:*
            not can flee   go anywhere not
            "I wasn't <u>allowed to</u> be evacuated as a refugee anywhere"   (ibid.)

       f.   *ba:n pdawl cumnuaj jo:thia dawl preah awng tae   ponno:h*
            can offer help   soldier to   HON CL   only that.much
            "<u>Could</u> offer only military assistance to the king"

I now reject this implausible and unnecessarily mechanical one-dimensional account. Instead it seems to me that Bisang's important insight holds: whatever meaning a word has in one construction is available for speakers to exploit when it appears in others. In particular, the MV reading "OK" is an eminently available source for both of the AV readings above[11].

   The meanings of *ba:n* are indeed related, not through any essential core meaning that they have, but rather like the various meanings of "horn" in English. The most plausible extensions include:

MV "get/acquire" developed into another MV "OK, licit, allowed".

(47)   a.   *tev tae   kluan <u>ba:n</u> haeuj*
            go only self   OK for.sure
            "You can go without any possessions, just take yourself."   (Enfield 190)
            (Khmer Rouge advice to residents of Phnom Penh before their forced evacuation in 1975.)

       b.   *caol awt <u>ba:n</u>*
            omit not OK
            "You can't leave it out."   (ibid.)

       c.   *baep nih <u>ba:n</u> rw: tee:?*
            kind this OK   or   not
            "Is it OK to do it like this?"   (Gorgoniev 1966b: 275)

This important polysemy is hardly self-evident. Nevertheless, a plausible basis for the semantic extension from "acquire" to "OK" is the following. "Acquire, get, (come to)[12] have" is synonymous with *tatual* "accept, receive", fact which is underlined by their frequent symmetrical conjunction as near-synonyms. On the passive reading which is available for all NP $V_{transitive}$ (NP) sentences (cf. the treatment of passives in Chapter 8) "NP accepts" can be read as "NP is accepted", hence as "NP is acceptable", hence as "NP is licit, OK, possible", with sentential subjects, and thence to "NP can cope, manage, prevail" with nominal subjects.

(48)   MV "be OK" developed into both SV and AV "succeed/can".

It is eminently plausible for "OK, licit, possible" to function as a verb of ability or permission, and it seems to me that this is a far more plausible development than any direct connection to the notion of "coming to have".

(49)   MV "get/acquire" developed into AV inchoative "become"[13].

(50)   SV "succeed" developed into the left bracket marker for concrete MP

(51)   MP bracket marker developed into DO left bracket marker

(52)   MP bracket marker developed into left bracket marker for abstract MP
       (= degree adverbials)

Every change was motivated as an incremental extension of the prior use, and when all is done, the different meanings share a family resemblance only.
    What is relatively tricky is to find a plausible narrative for a putative trajectory

(53)   MV "?" > AV "PAST"

Or: If the readings of "ability" and "success" are equally shared by the Main Verb, the Serial Verb, and the Auxiliary Verb, why should the reading of "PAST" be found only in the AV?
    Enfield's account (2003: 292) posits a common origin for the intersentential MV "cause" / "be the indispensable precondition for" / "result in, be the reason that" (ibid. 279, cf. Huffman et al. 1970: 194) and the AV imperfectly glossed as "past"[14]:

    X *baːn* VERB = "VERB because of something else "X" that happened before VERB".

While this explication very well restates the intersentential "cause" reading, it is hard to see how it provides a plausible account of the notion of "PAST" or anything close to it. (For example: How does "I was bored in the past" derive from "I was bored for a prior reason 'X'", while "I am bored now" does not?)
    A more plausible account, it seems to me, is that all cases of the purely and incontestably "PAST" reading of this auxiliary may derive from the inchoative readings exemplified in (43). This accords both with the cross-linguistic trajectory of "get" and with the position of the past tense auxiliary uniquely as an auxiliary, rather than as a serial

verb   the order INCHOATIVE + VERB is a conventionalization of narrative iconicity, while the non-attested order *VERB + INCHOATIVE would be a violation of it.
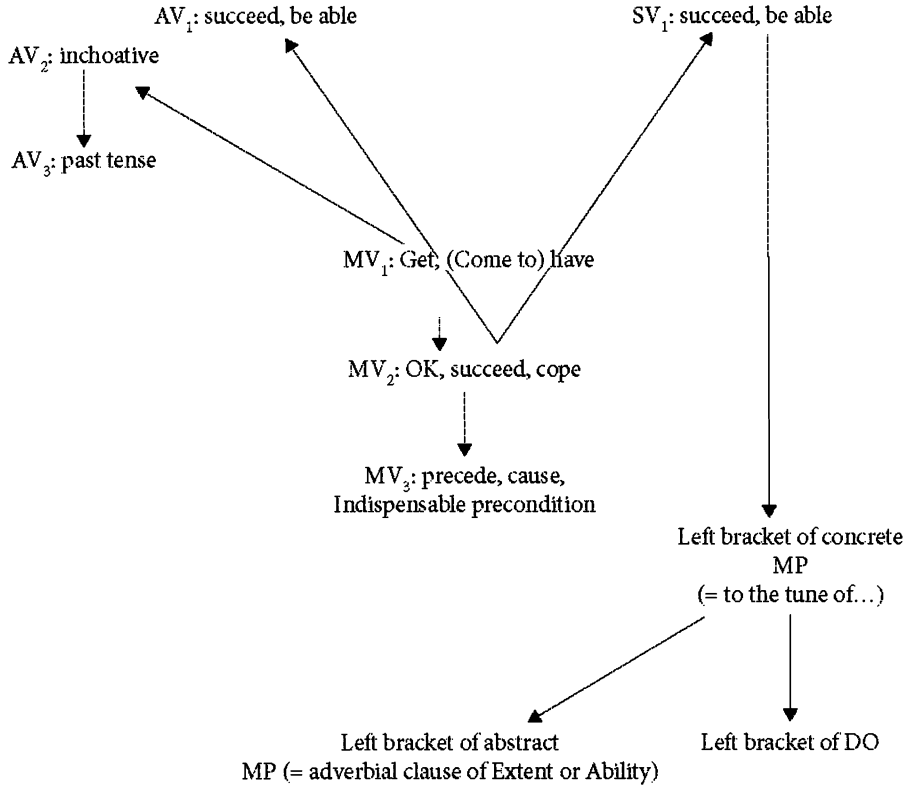
Figure 3. One plausible narrative of the semantic development of *baːn*

4.   A principle of extension via infection

All of the extensions described in this chapter can be thought of as semantic extension via broadening/bleaching (definitional extension) or via opportunistic association (non-definitional extension or Cheshirization). Can any principles be inferred from these associations? (One can imagine Darmesteter vehemently saying "No!"). And are other types of association possible? (Here, Darmesteter might well be receptive.) Note that Cheshirization is a change via syntagmatic association: a word comes to take on the meaning of another word with which it cooccurs. I venture two additional principles of "paradigmatic association" which are based not on established conventions such as the ones described above, but on what I believe are now only nonce extensions.

Synonyms inhabit the same slot, and can thus be thought to stand in a paradigmatic relationship to each other. "Paradigmatic association" then includes changes like the following:

– Words which are synonyms in one context will be synonyms in all
– Synonyms will behave in syntactically similar ways.

For the first principle, consider the snippet of dialog below (from the novella "The party of the black Magnolia tree" (S. P. Th 1954: 3).

(54) a. Speaker A: *kecka: jeu:ng ba:n samrac awh   haeuj?*
                  matter our   PAST ready   exhaust PERF
                  "Is our business/plot completely ready?"
        Speaker B: -- *ba:t   ruac   srac   awh   haeuj*
                  Yessir escape ready exhaust PERF
                  "Yessir, it is completely ready."

Speaker B is respectfully saying "yessir!" to speaker A's question, but he performs two substitutions which are of particular interest precisely because he so clearly is presented as a yes-man here.

First, where "A" has used a nominalization "readiness", "B" uses the bare verb stem "ready", reflecting the perception that derivational infixation often performs a purely decorative non-referential function. This has already been described in Chapter 3.

Second, where "A" has used the past auxiliary *ba:n*, "B" feels justified in substituting the novel auxiliary *ruac* with the same meaning. The basis for this substitution must be that *ruac* and *ba:n* can be used interchangeably elsewhere, that is as serial verbs denoting "success". Given this, if *ba:n* can function as a past tense auxiliary, then so too can *ruac*. The inferable principle of infection is that if two expressions are synonymous in one context, they may be synonymous in others as well.

Note that speaker "B"'s usage is (as far as I can tell) a personal stylistic idiosyncrasy. Note also that (so far as I can tell) there is no comparable auxiliarization of *haeuj*, another success verb which co-occurs with *ruac* as a serial verb of attainment. But there is no reason *a priori* to block it. Moreover, since *ba:n* and *ruac* are synonymous as Serial Verbs, there is no reason why they cannot also be synonymous as Main Verbs. While *ruac* as a MV means "escape", it can also be idiosyncratically used as the MV "possible, licit, OK":

(54) b. *tok-cia   <u>ruac</u>   mwn <u>ruac</u>   kaw: knjom ba:t trev tae tev*
        although possible not   possible so   I   HUM must only go
        "I must go, whether it's permissible or not."   (Gorgoniev 1966b: 289)

Here is another example:

(55) *(Knjom sralanj A:muaj Hiang)*
      I   love   A.   H.
      tae   rwang niang sralanj knjom venj nuh
      but   COMP   she   love   me   back that
      knjom awt deung tee:
      I   not know   no
      "(I loved A. H.) but whether she loved me back I didn't know."

The noun *rwang* in this sentence is functioning as a sentential complementizer. It is not normally a complementizer. Rather, it is a noun meaning "story" or "matter" and it also functions as a nominalizer. The polysemy of *seckdej* "matter", "NOM", "COMP" may be what licences the parallel polysemy of its partial synonym.

We may have already encountered the principle of paradigmatic association or infection in the treatment of derivational morphology in Chapter 3, Sections 2.10.3 and 3.

Recall first there that the causative prefix *pra-* could infrequently function as a nominalizer, thereby copying the polysemy of the more productive infix *Vm(n)-*:

(56) a. *pra-cung*   "meeting" (from *cum* "meet")
      b. *pra-ve:ng*   "distance" (from *ve:ng* "long")

Recall also that the nominalizing infix *-Vm(n)-* could acquire a passive meaning, thereby in its turn copying the polysemy of the ordinalizer/nominalizer *ti:* "place" Thus the nominalizing/ordinalizing function of *ti:* leads originally to its use as a stative morpheme or passivizer, as in:

(57) a. *PN cia ti: sralanj cia ti: ko:raup*
          PN be   place (?) love   be   place (?) respect
          "PN, one who is respected and revered"

This may lead to the ability of the nominalizer *-Vm(n)-* to perform the same function, as in:

(57) b. *PN s-   am- ʔawp*
          PN hate NOM hate
          "the hated PN"

Or *Vm(n)-* may come by this surprising function via syntagmatic association, since it cooccurs with the nominalizer/ ordinalizer/ passivizer in structures like:

(57) c. *ko:n (ti:) s-   am- lanj*
          son   NOM   love (INF) love
          "beloved son"

For the second principle, consider the following sentence:

(58)   *ba:n cia cap*   *trev tev haeuj kom kla:c l'awk*   *teuk*
       result.in catch fish DIR PERF   don't fear   muddy water
       "As long as you catch the fish, don't be afraid to muddy the water."

This sentence alludes to and inverts a familiar proverb:

(59)   *cap*   *trej ba:n*   *kom aoj*   *l'awk*   *teuk*
       catch   fish   succeed don't so.that   muddy water
       "After catching the fish, don't muddy the water."
       (= Leave no traces.)

What's unconventional about (58) is the order of cause and result clauses. The normal order is S1 *ba:n cia* S2 (cause precedes result). What licensed the speaker of (58) to change this to *ba:n cia* S2 S1 (result precedes cause) is presumably the fact that this stylistic transformation is available for near-synonyms of *ba:n cia* (and for subordinate clauses of the form Conjunction + S in general). A generalization of the principle of infection is therefore: if two expressions are synonymous, then whatever stylistic variations are permissible for the one are also permissible for the other. *Ba:n cia* is not a subordinate conjunction: it is if anything a higher verb + complementizer combination which acts as a transitive verb between a subject and an object sentential complement. But because it shares some of the semantics of result clause complementizers like *aoj* and *daeumbej* "so that", it can also share their syntactic freedom.

     Another already mentioned example of this principle involves the negative auxiliary verb *le:ng* "no longer do..". Consider the sentence

(60)   *knjom traung* <u>*le:ng*</u>   <u>*ba:n*</u>
       I   endure no.longer succeed
       "I could endure it no longer"

The auxiliary verb occurs exclusively in preverbal position, which means that it must be acting as an auxiliary to the serial verb *ba:n*. But serial verbs, themselves trappings on main verbs, do not take the full panoply of trappings that main verbs are allowed. In particular, they do not themselves occur with auxiliary verbs. What may legitimate the appearance of *le:ng* in this position is that serial verbs DO allow exactly one adjunct, and that is one of the negative particles *mwn, awt, pum*. (It may be helpful that two of these negative particles, *awt* and *pum*, are still recognizable as verbs themselves.) The fact *le:ng* has a negative meaning is what allows it to appear here.

5.   Conclusion: Types of association

While I believe that learning to recognize and to use principles of opportunistic associa-
tion like those described and exemplified in this chapter is of great value to the student
of Khmer, and may help to make it seem less baffling, I am aware of the fact that "as-
sociation" is a vague and unsatisfactory term for a suspect or even discredited cognitive
process. What is discreditable for a scientist, however, may be common practice among
people in general. In proposing the elementary typology below I am attempting to give
the concept some clarity, if not rigor. (Rigor has no place in Khmer grammar.)

5.1   Non-definitional extension

Non-definitional extension of the sort championed by Darmesteter is like biological pread-
aptation and the story of words like English "horn". A word may have a "legitimate, essential"
(inherited) meaning "A" (roughly its definitional denotation) and some possibly unrelated
"incidental" meaning(s) "B" (its connotation(s)), which accompany it. Non-definitional
extension occurs when one of the incidental meanings becomes the new legitimate es-
sential meaning. The development of *kaw:* and *na:* from signals of inconsequentiality to
signals of symmetrical coordination are examples. So, too, is the development of *kaw:* from
a signal of symmetrical agreement to a signal of asymmetrical conformity.

The process of non-definitional extension is to be distinguished from definitional
extension, whereby a word retains a semantic core "A" and simply broadens the periph-
ery around that core, so that its new extensional meaning is "A +B". This is intended to
denote the same process as "semantic bleaching", the loss of intentional meaning, in the
theory of grammaticalization. The development of *kaw:* from a marker of consequence
to one of both consequence and inconsequence, and the development of conditionals to
concessive conditionals, are examples of definitional extension. So are the developments
I propose from *ba:n* "come to have" to *ba:n* "inchoative" or to *ba:n* "have".

Both kinds of extension can occur without infection from or association with other
words. They are therefore both distinct from syntagmatic and paradigmatic association,
which occur under the influence of other words.

5.2   Syntagmatic association (= Matisoff's Cheshirization)

A word so often coccurs with another word which has a meaning "A" that it comes to
acquire this meaning itself. The development of *aoj* from a subjunctive complementizer
to a main verb "cause" is a good example[15]. The Cheshire cat in the case of *aoj* is the main
verb of causation which the complementizer originally accompanied, and then comes
to replace.

A related phenomenon which has been a recurrent topic throughout this book is the "extension" which Khmer seems to tolerate in symmetrically conjoined synonym pairs. When a word with meaning "A" is conjoined with a near synonym which has meaning "B", it is certainly syntagmatically associated with it. But does it continue to be infected with this new meaning "B" when it goes "back home", as it were, to its own neighbourhood? My own answer to this question is obviously "no" – since if the infection were completely successful I would not have seen the non-synonymy of the conjoined words in the first place. Only a native speaker, however, can tell if there is some "latent" infection in such cases, which may be later exploited.

5.3   Paradigmatic association

A word which is synonymous with another word in one context becomes synonymous with this other word in all contexts. An example is the surprising meaning extension of *ruac* – it is synonymous with *ba:n* as a serial verb meaning "success", but it can also be used as an auxiliary with a new meaning "OK, licit". The latter meaning "by rights" is associated only with the auxiliary verb *ba:n*. Another example is the distributional extension of *le:ng*, the only verb which can appear as an auxiliary to a serial verb. The reason, possibly, is that *le:ng* is a negative ("no longer..") and as such may have the distributional privileges of negative particles in general (some of which also originated as verbs).

What I call "paradigmatic association" is known to occur in language contact situations, where it is called "polysemy copying" (Heine & Kuteva 2005). A word in L1 may become polysemous like its translation (that is, its synonym) in L2. Khmer exhibits polysemy copying within a single language: if two words have a similarity of meaning in one context, this may be the hook whereby one of them can acquire new functions.[16]

If paradigmatic association were truly general, one would expect every polyfunctional word to have exactly the same range of possible meanings and privileges of occurrence as all of its synonyms. This is clearly not completely true of paradigmatic association, nor is it true of polysemy copying between languages. For example, *ruac* is a near-synonym of *haeuj* as a serial verb marking perfectivity. Yet they have not become synonymous as main verbs (*ruac* means "escape", *haeuj* means "finish"), and *haeuj* is not attested as an auxiliary verb at all. ...yet.

I am unable to specify any limits to or prohibitions on this process.

Notes

1.   Contemporary linguists associate the idea not with Darmesteter, but with Wittgenstein and his idea of "family resemblances". Not only did Darmesteter beat the Philosophical Investigations to the punch by 67 years, however: he had a whole bookful of actual linguistic data.

2.   As long as it occurs only with the complement of a higher main verb, *aoj* is a "pure" complementizer. Once it can appear without a higher verb, it is a subjunctive marker. Khmer *aoj* has not yet achieved this status, that is, it is still impossible to say **aoj tev* "May he go!". Hence the use of the hybrid term "subjunctive complementizer" here.

3.   The conjoinability here of SS *tev* and DS *aoj* is yet another manifestation of the well-documented Khmer tolerance for near-synonyms and non-synonyms in the search for symmetrical conjunctions.

4.   I was so astounded and skeptical that I tested this example with Mr. Keat, who maintained at first that it was ungrammatical for him with the meaning given. Then on reflection he confirmed that it was fine, although for him it was necessary to have a pause after the subject pronoun. He was unable to expatiate on the significance of this subtle observation.

5.   Semantic maps like the ones of Figures 1–3 in this chapter were introduced in Anderson 1982, and have been used by countless cognitive linguists since. The idea of a diachronic progression from central to peripheral meanings is implicit in all of them, even where no diachronic evidence can be produced.

6.   Gorgoniev (1966b: 269) speaks in passing of *kaw*: "and thereupon", together with *haeuj* "and then"(< "finish"), *teu:p* "then", *ruac* "and then" (< "escape"), as an adverb which can be used for linking events that occur in succession. Jenner & Sidwell (2010: 34) find *kaw:* to be rare in Old Khmer, but already acting as a clause linker, "the second [clause] usually consequent upon the first. It evolves by grammaticalization from the intransitive verb meaning 'to come into being, happen'".

7.   Latin *quamvis* "although" < *vis* "you want", Russian *xotja* "although" < *xote-* "want", Hungarian *akár… akár* "whether… or" < *akar* "want", etc. cf. Haiman 1974.

8.   The examples of (37) come from a conversation between lovers. The speaker of (37a) is the woman, who calls herself *kluan* "self" and her intended husband *baw:ng* "older brother"; the speaker of (37b) is the man, who calls himself *knia* "companion", and his intended wife *o:n* "dear, darling". The address terms used by both are standard. The man and woman could refer to themselves as *baw:ng* and *o:n* respectively, but choose not to.

9.   Adverb phrases of manner can also be introduced by the bracketing words *ja:ng* or *cia*, but these are more likely to occur where the adverb phrase has no success connotation, for example:

Aopuk mda:j   ak awn ceut tleak teuk muk <u>cia</u> klang
father mother disappointed fall mood   be strong
"His father and mother were extremely disappointed."

Tveu: aoj   sdac tatual amah <u>ja:ng</u> klang
cause so.that king receive shame kind strong
"..<u>greatly</u> humiliate the king."

10.   An "indispensable precondition" *sine qua non* reading (You'll feel better if and only if you drink this medicine) cannot be ruled out here, but it is not what my consultants suggested.

11. Enfield 2001, 2003 correctly pointed out that there was no evidence or need for any leftwards migration, but argued that the AV and its "success" and "ability" meanings could as easily have developed directly from one of the MV, the intersentential cause marker. It now seems to me more plausible that both of these derive directly from another MV, the one expressing the notion "OK".

12. The inchoative seems to be built into the meaning of *ba:n*, but Enfield has some intriguing examples where *ba:n* is exactly synonymous with *mian* "have":

ba:n nej   tha:
get   meaning COMP
"means that..." (= *mian nej tha:*)   (ibid. 185)

Via ba:n ko:n ponma:n   neak haeuj?
3   get   child how.many CL   already
"How many children does he have?" (= *via mian ko:n ponma:n haeuj*)   (ibid. 175)

13. Possibly via MV "become". This seems to me a straightforward source of the idiom *ba:n knia* "become an (out-of-wedlock) couple" (Enfield 176). Given that *knia* is "companion" before it is the reciprocal pronoun, the gloss "become companions" is less desperate than Enfield's own gloss "acquire each other". Compare also (43g, h) for minimally contrasting examples where the "acquire" gloss is even more far-fetched, while the inchoative gloss is totally unproblematical.

14. If I read Enfield correctly, he denies that the AV ever means exactly "past" (ibid. 312). Moreover, his account (ibid. 233) of the development of *ba:n* avoids any direct reference to this notion. But given his expressed position on "ATTAINMENT" (ibid. 41, 218), this stricture can be ignored. Attainment of an action as defined by Enfield is – exactly – its realization in the past tense. Enfield's brilliant monograph on *ba:n* and its congeners in SE Asian languages has raised the standard of discussion on this one verb immensely, but the last word has clearly not yet been said. It should be noted that *ba:n* has been analyzed by Gorgoniev (1966b: 146–9) as the perfective aspect auxiliary (he also eschews the label "past tense", reserving it for *tloap* "used to"), but he is forced to admit with some beautiful examples, to his credit that the auxiliary also co-occurs with aspect markers which he identifies as continuative (*nev*) and inchoative (*laeung*). (Some perfective!) His data are an embarrassment for his very restrictive theory, but equally problematic for me (and I suspect Enfield).

15. So are the developments of the postverbal negative particles *pas, rien, personne* in French, which originally accompanied the negative preverbal particle as intensifiers, and have come to replace it in all colloquial varieties.

16. A possible analogy to paradigmatic association within a single language is Cockney rhyming slang, wherein similarity of form between two words (a paradigmatic relationship) – and then a syntagmatic association for one of them – is the basis for a meaning extension in the other. For example, "ears" rhymes with "spears" (similarity of forms in a paradigm); the latter co-occurs with "Britney" (syntagmatic association), hence "lend me your Britneys".

The parts of speech

Given the freedom with which words can perform a variety of syntactic functions in Cambodian, one might expect that the very notion of grammatical parts of speech is alien to the language (Maspero 1915:234 denied their existence), but the categories are very real for all that. Khmer is a language in which parts of speech occur recognizably without inflectional or derivational trappings. Their reality is reflected first of all in an attitude – native speakers like Mr. Ourn and Mr. Keat are very sensitive to categorical distinctions and insist on them in their metalinguistic discussions. (At first, I mistakenly believed that this may have been the result of a French-inspired education.) Second, it is also a fact that while many words are categorically slippery, and many entire categories are largely or entirely made up of words which are immigrants from other categories, there is some categorical stability in the system. Specifically: There are a couple of dozen parts of speech which include among their members at least ONE word which occurs as that part of speech and no other. Such words will be called dedicated members, and the "categorical nobility", or categories which have a claim on reality for that reason are listed and discussed in Section 1. There are other parts of speech which are completely composed of what will be called "recruits", and they will be discussed in Section 2. Section 3 catalogues the changes in category membership which are attested in the modern language. (No account is taken of etymological history, so for example it plays no role in this analysis that a third person pronoun like *koat* derives from a Sanskrit source meaning "people". This is no longer a fact for speakers of Khmer.) Section 4 discusses anchors – those parts of speech whose members never (or hardly ever!) change their membership, and assign syntactic roles to words they are in construction with, and which thus act as signposts in the wilderness of Khmer syntax. Section 5 presents those words which are neither immigrants nor anchors, and thus completely outside the maelstrom of polyfunctionality.

1.   The nobility

Grammatical categories with at least one dedicated member can be called a grammatical "nobility." Like an earl whose uttermost ancestor was also an earl, dedicated members of this class are often forced to rub shoulders with parvenu recruits, but it is their pedigree alone which justifies the class titles below. The Khmer nobility includes the following

classes (with some pedigreed exemplars given for each one). No distinction is made here between classes that owe their existence to words, and those that owe their existence to bound derivational morphemes.

Class	Exemplars	
	Free forms	Bound forms
Nouns:	ckae,..	
Verbs:	meuːl,..	
Adjectives:	pseeːng, datej	
Personal pronouns:	jeuːng,..	
Partitives:	teang, puang,..	
Quantifiers:	muaj,..	
Partitive/Quantifiers:	klah, craeun, bantec,..	
Honorifics:		aː-
Anaphors:		aː-
Auxiliary verbs:	nwng,..	
Directionals:	venj	
Coordinate conjunctions	nwng, rwː	kawː-
Subordinate conjunctions	proːh, hak bej..	
Prepositions:	knong, ae, nia, (am)piː,..	
Indefinite pronouns:	avej, naː, maːn, m(d)ec, mleh	
Deictics:	nih, nuh, (anj)ceung, ..	
Adverbial intensifiers:	nah, peeːk, meːn	dawː-
Negatives:	mwn	k-
Focus markers:		kwː-
Nominalizers:		-Vm(n)-,…
Causativizers:		bVN-,..
Politeness markers	baːt, cah	
Question markers:	taeu	
Adverbs of time:	ejlev, luh,..	
Adverbial conjunctions:	phawːng, dae	
Interjections:	com, jiː, jeuː, heh, aeu,..	
Ideophones:	luːng, (chang)2,..	

To repeat: all of these grammatical categories must be recognized in Khmer because there is at least one word in each category that performs no other function.

The class "noun" exists because there are an enormous number of words like *ckae* "dog" which appear as nouns, and never as verbs, adjectives, and so forth. A diagnostic for nouns is that they can appear as subjects, another is that when they appear as predicate complements, they require the copula verb *cia*. Finally, when they appear as predicate complements in negative sentences, the preferred negative is not *mwn*, but *mwn meːn*.

The class "verb" exists because there are an enormous number of words like *meu:l* "look at" which always act as verbs. A diagnostic for verbs is they can always act as predicates without need for a copula verb to join them to the subject. Another is that they may be negated by *mwn, awt, pum,* in assertive sentences.

Nouns and verbs are open and large classes, but the number of dedicated adjectives is tiny. Most of the "traditional" adjectives of English (big, little, fast, slow, hard, soft, etc.) are verbs which can function both as such (they can be predicates of a clause and be negated by *mwn*), and also as modifiers within a noun phrase (hence Adjectives). If we assume that the defining function of a dedicated adjective is to act as a nominal modifier within an NP, and nothing more, then there are only a vanishingly small number of roots which are dedicated adjectives, such as *psee:ng* "various" and *datej* "other." All verbal predicates may act as modifiers, and are hence classed as parvenus in this function. The parvenu class of degree adjectival verbs is a subclass of the larger category of parvenu adjectives. These are verbs like *cah* "old", which can be modified by the intensifiers *nah* "very" and *pee:k* "too", and which can both modify nouns and be predicated of them.

Intensifiers include not only the large number of lexically specific collocables like the *pitch* of *pitch black* catalogued in Chapter 4, and an open-ended menu of phrases and clauses of the "so X that ..." variety[1], but also the generic words *nah, pee:k,* and *me:n,* and the proclitic particle *daw:.* There is a tendency for *me:n* to occur with nominal predicates:

(1) *Mi:ng Chaun nih peut cia kapal pleu:ng me:n*
     M. C.   this true be boat fire   really
     "M. C. was a real 'steamboat' (= thoroughly unpleasant woman / a real bitch)."

The proclitic *daw:* is not only confined to formal speech and writing, there is another syntactic feature which distinguishes it from the more common words: *nah* "very" and *me:n* "really" occur with predicates (including relative clauses introduced by the relative pronoun *dael*), while *daw:* "very" cooccurs only with attributive adjectives. Thus

(2) a. *cru:k (dael) l'aw: nah / pee:k*
         pig   who good very too
         "the pig (who) is very/too good",
but
(2) b. *cru:k daw: l'aw:*
         "the very good pig".

The adverbial conjunction *dae* "also" has been recruited into the class of degree intensifiers with the meaning "pretty, pretty well, OK": *l'aw: dae* "pretty good", *co:l ceut dae* "like it OK".

Personal pronouns are a relatively large class of words. Many of their members, however, are parvenus recruited from the class of common nouns, as we have seen in

Chapter 6. The only dedicated personal pronouns are those whose unique and defining function is to specify person-deixis: *anj* "1sg.", *jeu:ng* "1pl.", and possibly *kee:, via, koat* "3" If we want to limit the list to those which specify only person-deixis, and not social deixis, we should exclude *anj, via, koat*. If we want to limit the list further and exclude words which can be modified or quantified by other words (functional Nouns), or words which themselves modify other words (functional Adjectives), we should exclude *jeu:ng* (which can act like an adjective in expressions like *kmae jeu:ng* "we Khmer").

All honorifics which are words are also nouns. The only basis for positing a class of honorifics at all, as an ancient branch of the "grammatical nobility" is the uniquely pedigreed dishonorific prefix *a:-*. This dishonorific alone licences the full paradigm of recruited honorifics like *preah*, "lord", *lo:k* "monk", *mi:* "bitch", kin terms in general, proper names, and so forth.

Unless anaphors and dishonorifics are deeply identical, we will be treating anaphor as another class whose noble pedigree is justified by a single bound affix, a homophone[2] of the dishonorific *a:-*. All other anaphors are recruited from common nouns, as noted in Chapter 6.

All directionals but one are verbs. The only one which seems to have no other function is *venj* "back, return". It licenses the class of directionals most of whose membership is recruited from the class of verbs including *tev* "away" < "go", *cenj*, "out"< "exit".

In principle, all indefinite/interrogative pronouns correspond to a definite deictic. The paradigm of definites is however smaller than that of indefinites .With the exception of "thus" words in *-ceung* (*i ceung ~anjceung* "thus"), *-eung* (*mleung* "so much"), and *-ceh* (*anjceh* "thus"), all definites are compounds of the deictics "this" (*nih~neh*), "that" (*nuh~nawh~no:h*), and "the" (*nwng ~ nong*): *ejlev nih* "this time, now", (*ti:*) *nih ~ae neh* "here", *do:c neh* "like this, thus", *pon-no:h* "this much".

A number of words mark focus or clefting, as we have seen in Chapter 7, but the only one that is not a recruit from the class of verbs or adverbs of place is the proclitic *kw:*. Like the category of honorifics, the category of focus markers thus owes its apparent pedigree entirely to a single bound morpheme.

There are only two politeness markers, but they are solid. (Again, it is synchronically irrelevant that *ba:t* "respectful assent (male speaker)" derives from a Pali word meaning "foot", as only Pali scholars are aware of this.)

2.   The nouveau riche

Grammatical categories whose members are <u>exclusively</u> recruited from other paradigms are all free forms. They include:

	Free forms	
Reflexive/Emphatic pronoun	kluan (aeng)	< N "body"
Reciprocal pronoun	knia	< N "companion"
Pluralizer	puak	< N "group"
	klah	< Q/P "some"
Nominalizers:	ka:,…	< N "matter"
Adverbializer:	ja:ng	< N "kind"
Adjectivizers:	kha:ng,..	< N "side"
Measure units:	maong,..	< N "time, occasion"
Complementizers:	tha:, aoj	< V "say"
	dael	< Auxiliary verb "ever"
Perfective serial verbs	haeuj,.,,	< Verb "finish"
Success serial verbs:	ba:n,	< "acquire"
(Honorifics:	preah,..	< N "god")
Relative pronouns:	dael	< Auxiliary verb "ever"
Topic markers:	baeu	< Conjunction "if"
	Ae,..	< Preposition "at"
Manner adverbs:	prajat	< V "careful"
Place adverbs:	ae neh,..	< D "(at) this"
Sentential adverbs:	bae cia "instead"	< V "turn + be"
Classifiers:	awng	< N "body, role, lingam"

Classifiers are exclusively parvenus from the class of nouns. The only apparently dedicated member of the classifier class seems to be *awng*, the classifier for monks, kings, holy images of the Buddha, and, of course, letters of the alphabet. But even this still functions as a noun meaning "body"

3.   Changes in category membership

Two kinds of change are distinguished here. The first is the set of "downstream" or "demotional" changes that seem to qualify as examples of grammaticalization, as discussed by Heine & Kuteva 2002, 2007: 111. Intuitively, it has always seemed more likely that grammaticalization involves both semantic bleaching and categorical demotion (from word to affix, and in the same sense, from a major part of speech whose membership is

an open class to a minor one whose membership is limited to a small number of forms with relatively generic meanings). Therefore, if a word like *muk* functions both as a noun "face" and as a directional particle "forward" and preposition "in front of", then grammaticalization theory asserts that the nominal function comes first, both conceptually and diachronically, even where no diachronic evidence for the conjectured change N > preposition is available. These changes are summarized in 3.1.

The second kind of change goes against, or at least across, the grammaticalization current. As we have noted in Chapter 10, a plausible case can be made (again with no diachronic backing evidence) that the change Complementizer > Verb occurred for the word *aoj*. Such cases of categorical promotion are rare compared to the cases of demotion. They will be listed in 3.2.

3.1   Grammaticalization-like changes

The major parts of speech are nouns and verbs.

3.1.1   A noun is the source of another category

N → honorific	preah, lo:k, mi:-, any kin term
N → classifier	kba:l, neak, knaw:ng, tua, awng, ..
N → pluralizer	puak
N → reflexive pronoun	kluan, aeng
N → reciprocal pronoun	knia
N → adjectivizer	ti:, ja:ng, kha:ng
N → adverbializer	ja:ng
N → nominalizer	seckdej, phiap, kec, ka:,,,
N → measure unit	maong, daw:ng,..
N → personal pronoun	neak, lo:k, knjom
N → preposition	muk, robawh,..
N → partitive	phiak
N → conjunction	kdej, pee:l, prajaoc,

3.1.2   A Verb is the source for another category

V → N	all verbs regularly act as gerunds or infinitives
V → MU	c'aet,..
V → complementizer	aoj, tha:, cia, tev.,..
V → auxiliary verb	khawm, ba:n, mian,..
V → adverb	prajat

V → serial verb of success	ba:n, ruac, kaeut, cenj,..
V → directional	coh, mau:k, tev, laeung,..
V → clause conjunction	ba:n, haeuj, ruac
V → partitive	awh,
V → imperative marker	coh, tev,.
V → negative	pum, awt
V → prohibitive	kom
V → interrogative marker	coh
V → comparative degree	laeung

3.1.3   Lexical sources that are "lower" than N and V

Adverbializer → adjectivizer	ja:ng
Auxiliary → relative pronoun	dael
Serial verb → aspect marker	haeuj
Auxiliary verb → aspect marker	kampung, laeung
Preposition → directional	kraoj
Relative pronoun → complementizer	dael
Directional ⇢ imperative	coh, tev
Partitive ⇢ conjunction	teang
Partitive ⇢ pluralizer	klah
Conjunction ⇢ limiter	tae
Adverbial conjunction ⇢ intensifier	dae

3.2   Against or across the current

Conjunction/complementizer ⇢ verb	aoj
Conjunction ⇢ preposition	daeumbej
Complementizer ⇢ negative	cia
N ⇢ verb	aju', baw:ng,..

3.3   Phrasal sources

V+ Q → preposition	ciamuaj
VC → conjunction	to:h (bej) cia
VC → inchoative	kla:j tev cia
PP → superlative	ciang kee:

4.   Anchors and heads

Categories which seem not to participate in the game of musical categories, but are always the same include:

Quantifiers	muaj, pi:, craeun, niˀmuaj
Deictics	nih, nuh, nwng
Indefinite pronouns	avej, na:,..
Intensifiers	nah, pee:k, me:n, daw:-

A distinction is made between heads and anchors, to wit:

> If X + P is a P phrase, then P is its head;
> If, in addition to this, X is truly polyfunctional and becomes a member of a different grammatical category (like a Raw Recruit being made into a Marine), then P is both a head and an anchor.

A quantifier will act as the head of QP, and make a following word within that phrase act as a measure unit. It is therefore an anchor.

Deictics and indefinite pronouns will always act as NP heads.

Given that prepositions and conjunctions are often interchangeable, a preposition will always head a PP, and a subordinate conjunction will always head a subordinate clause.

In the classification scheme proposed above, the intensifier *nah* is identified as a useful diagnostic for distinguishing between *degree* adjectival predicates and other predicates (cf. Huffman et al. 1970). This is largely true. Expressions like *thoat nah* "very fat" are common, while others like *toat nah* "very kick" are not. It seems however, that rather than being a mere diagnostic, *nah* may sometimes have a looser distribution. The syntactic role of intensifiers may be to mark a class of degree predicates in general, but *nah* meaning "(a) great (deal of)" can also occur on nouns, action verbs, and directionals:

(3) a. *tnam   nah nah*
        medicine very very
        "so many medicines"

   b. *kecka: jeu:ng ba:n cwan   tev muk nah haeuj*
        affair our   PAST progress go face very PERF
        "our affair has already progressed very far"

   c. *anj kla:c neak ta: ˀtveu:ˀ nah veu:j*
        I   fear ancestral.spirit do   very watch out
        "Yikes, I'm afraid the ancestral spirit will really 'do'[us] (revenge itself on us)!"

The verb *tveu:* "make, do", even in its slang usage in the above sentence, is not a degree predicate. Yet it is interpreted as though it were such a predicate when followed by *nah.*

5.   Elements entirely outside the system of category change

These are words or expressions which are neither susceptible to category change nor do they act as heads or anchors for other words, assigning them categorical functions. As in many other languages, these elements are interjections and ideophones.

5.1   Interjections

All interjections are complete utterances. The list includes

ah	"you hear?, OK?"
aeu	"OK", "yeah", "Hmmmm"
	aeu mwn ej tee:
	OK not what no
	"OK, no problem."
	Aeu coh jeu:ng ba:n ej si:
	Hmm Q par we get what eat
	"Hmm, what do we have to eat?"
aeuj	"ah, alas"; also used apostrophically with names
	kluan anj aeuj
	self I alas
	"Woe is me!"
	baek knia ja:ng mec baw:ng aeuj
	part companion kind how older.sibling alas
	"Alas! How can I part with you?"
	Tveu: mec srual tveu: tev srac leu: ko:n aeng aeuj!"
	do how easy do IMP depend on child you oh
	"Ah, do whatever is easiest, oh my son, I leave it up to you."
com	wow!
	Com! Do:c ao A:le:v!
	wow like dad A.
	"Wow! (He looks exactly) like A's dad!"
e:ja:	"Aha!"
ha:	"hi!", "huh"
	rw: ja:ng mec ha:?
	or kind how eh
	"How about it, eh?"

hee: "hey!"

Hee: a:- duaj mae   a:- to:c   a:- sva:

Hey HON fuck mother HON gibbon HON monkey

"Hey you monkey, whose bitch mother copulated with a gibbon"

heh   "huh?"

hee: niang aeng! Mau:k haeuj   heh

Hey, missy you   come   already huh

"Hey you, wench! So you've come, huh?"

Hi: "ay ay ay!

Tnam tnam teuk   tnam   kroap hi: tnam tnam tnam tnam

medicine   water medicine grain   ay ay ay   medicines

"liquid medicines, pills, ayayay, all these medicines!"

ho: "wow!"

hawh   "Huh?"

hw: "Hmmmm!"

jiahej   "oh dear!"

ji: gee!

Ji: s'ej   tiat   haeuj?

gee what more PERF

"Gee, what is it now?"

Ji: a:-   nih

gee HON this

"Gee, you dope!"

Ji: aeng mec anjceh

gee you   how thus

"Gee what happened to you?"

jeu: "greetings!" (followed by a name or title)

mae aeuj   "Ohmigosh!"

ne: "hey!"

Ne: via kaung tae   mian taw: tev   tiat   tee:

hey 3   still.for.sure have   continue go.on more not

"Hey [don't worry about your son's death] there's a lot more where

that [kid] came from"

naw: "look!"

taeu   nau na: tev naw:?

Q par who   go look

"Who the hell is that?"

o: ~a:o   "oh (groan)"

O: klian   avej mieh

oh hungry   what how.much

"Oh, I'm soo hungry!"

o:j   "yikes!"

          o:j   anj kla:c   nah

          yikes I   afraid very

          "Yikes, I'm really scared."

paj   "wow!"

          (Praleum laeung knjom tev leu:k tru: srap tae)

          dawn   rise   I   go raise trap suddenly

          paj! Nev knong tru: knjom mian

          wow be.at in   traps my   there.are

          "and at dawn when I raised them, wow! in my traps I had"

          tang pi: kampeuh ko:n trej cwt kanlah tru:.

          after   shrimp   small fish close half   trap

          "aside from shrimp, close to half a trapful of small fish."

eu:j   "Ah,…"

          Thomciat daw: traka:l   teang nih eu:j

          nature   very wonderful all   this ah

          "Oh, what a wonderful world!"

veu:j   "yikes, watch out!"

          sat   nuh camlaek nah veu:j

          animal that strange very watch.out

          "Yikes, watch out, this is a really weird animal!"

          anj kla:c neak ta: 'tveu:' nah veu:j

          I   fear statue do   very watch out

          "Yikes, I'm afraid the statue will really 'do' us (revenge itself on us)!"

          Anj veu:j!

          I   watch out

          "It's me!" (A very rude and arrogant response to *nauna: (kee: nwng)?* "Who is it?")

          Anj lia   seun haeuj   veu:j

          I   take.leave first for.sure watch out

          "I'm outa here" (A similarly rude leavetaking)

w:ng w:j (meaningless song syllables)

It is a noteworthy fact that most of the words in Headley et al.'s dictionary of 1977, which begin with (orthographic) {glottal stop + h} are interjections. However, in their actual pronunciation, they conform to the general rule that such initial clusters do not occur.

5.1.1 Conventionalized discourse particles

One of the notable properties of "natural" interjections like "Wow!" is that it is relatively easy for outsiders to assign them some crude meaning. Conventionalized discourse particles, on the other hand, like "Why…" "mind you", "anyhow", "well…" and "You see.." are another matter. Khmer has a number of these, among them *phaw:ng, dae*, both glossed

as "also" in their conventional meanings, whose discourse function is entirely elusive. It is possible, for example, that *phaw:ng*, which appears as an entreating faintly whiny imperative marker has something of the related meaning of "sycophantic apology" in sentences like

> *Rau:k luj   muaj saen ca:j   k-mian   phaw:ng*
> seek   money one   cent spend not-have also
> "(I'm sorry but?) I haven't a penny to spend."   (Gorgoniev 1966b: 247)

But it is hard to be confident about this. It is also possible that *baeu* + S, conventionally glossed as "if S", means something like Spanish *si* + S "it's obvious that S (so why are you giving me grief)[3]", or Russian *ved'* + S ("You see, after all, that S"), in sentences like

> *Baeu puak aeng pralak sot tae   phuak!*
> If   PLU you   dirty   exclusively mud
> "But you are all so muddy!"

It is really only possible to be entirely confident about discourse particles if they seem to correspond exactly to discourse particles in English. One of these, as noted in Chapter 10, is the empty brackets *to:h bej cia ja:ng na: kaw: daoj*, which corresponds rather neatly to the English topic changer "anyhow" or "in any event" (Park 2010).

5.2   Ideophones

It is not a definitional property of ideophones to reduplicate, and not all of them do in Khmer. Still the vast majority do, as they seem to do in many languages[4].

   In Khmer, as in other languages, many ideophones are onomatapoeic. But not all of them are.

5.2.1   Ideophones which are both reduplicative and onomatapoeic
5.2.1.1 Via partial reduplication

crw:c craw:c	"sound of spitting"
kakreu:m kakrau:m	"sound of moaning"
kakreuk kakree:ng	"noise, bustle, commotion, ado"

5.2.1.2 Via total reduplication

chang chang	"zap" (sound of lightning)
cha:v cha:v	"sound of raindrops, or of many birds taking flight at once"
cheuk cheuk	"sound of knocking; of a cigarette lighter being flicked"
craok craok	"sound of dripping"
cro:c cro:c	"sound of dripping water"

craw:c craw:c	"sound of spitting"
haem haem	"ahem"
tunsa:j krahaem tha:	
rabbit clear.throat say ahem	
kdu:ng kdu:ng	"sound of trampling feet"
khawl khawl ~ khur khur	"snore"
krang krang	"impression of hitting sound
sramuk ____	"snored making a noise 'krang krang'"
kroam kroam	"impression of a splash, sound of waves
tleak teuk ____ *tev*	"fell into the water with a splash"
kru:k kru:k	"sound of paddle in water"
kru:p kru:p	"crunch"
kreul kreul	"sound of thunder"
kreup kreup	"sound of knocking, crunching"
ksak ksak	"sound of night owl sp."
ktaw:t, ktaw:t	"cluck of hen"
keup keup	"click clack"
k'euk k'euk	"glug glug"
lu:ng lu:ng	"impression of dog vomiting"
njeu:p njeu:p	"sound of water wheel"
ngaw:k ngaw:k	"sound of a goose honking"
ngeut ngeut	"sound of a squeaky swing"
pho:h pho:h	"impression of drum drumming"
pheup pheup	"sound of wings beating against leaves of hut wall"
preh prawh preh prawh	"rustle, stir"
pra:w pra:w "ratatat"	"sound of machine gun";
	"rustle" (sound of banana leaves brushing each other)
tu:h tu:h	"slap on make-up powder"
muk koat tateah msav ____	
face 3 slap.on powder slap slap	
"slap powder on their faces with a tu:h tu:h"	
u'u?	"oink"
voh voh	"woof"

The fact that some ideophones (those of 5.2.1.1) are partial reduplications is one reason for considering them together with the vast group of decorative symmetrical compounds discussed exhaustively in Chapter 4. But the vast majority (those of this section) seem to be total reduplications, rather like the iconically motivated repetitions also discussed in that chapter. Ideophones which are neither reduplicated nor onomatopoeic are rare.

5.2.2 Not onomatapoeic

cva:c cva:c	(impression of flashing of lightning)
cngawk cngawk	"jerkily"
kvaeuc kvaeuc	"limping"
kva:h kva:h	"move slowly, at a crawl"
prial prial	"twinkling"
preup preup	"all together, quickly"

       ti: bamphot tva:j   bangkaum ___
       finally   made obeisance quickly, en masse

5.2.3 Ideophones which are not reduplicated

cheup	(sound of stabbing
kandok	(sound of thunder)
pro:ng	(sound of splashing)
vu:m	(sound of elephant trumpeting)

5.2.4 Ideophones which are neither onomatapoeic nor reduplicated

plawp	"impression of food entering the mouth"

5.2.5 Examples of some ID in texts (the ID underlined)

trev   ceut lo:k baw:ng swan saeuc <u>"khwt khwt"</u>
affect heart HON HON   S.   laugh haha
"Mr. S. laughed 'haha' heartily"

Ckae pruah <u>"lu:ng"</u> ae ciaj   phu:m
dog   vomit barf   at edge village
"The dog vomited at the edge of the village"

Pò:n   Daek coh   pi: leu: kawng <u>"tee:h ta:h"</u>
younger.sibling D.   lower from on bike   "jerky"
tumroam dak ceu:ng dawl dej
 until   put foot   to   ground
"Younger brother D. teetered in getting off the bike till his feet touched the ground"

neuk phej bok   poh <u>"papòk"</u> pum deung tveu: do:c mdec
think fear pound belly "pitapat" not know do   like how
"Fearfully patted his belly, not knowing how to act."

knjom pum dael kheu:nj koat awh   samnaeuc saeuc <u>"kà:k kà:j"</u>
I   never   see   3   exhaust laughter   laugh "haha"
"I never see him", he said laughing 'haha.'"

preah can   cah knaeut   reah   bampriang
HON   moon old crescent shine shine
kanda:l fo:ng   pka:j penj mee:k
middle swarm star   full sky
caeng caeng punlw: "prial prial" craek   canlauh sleuk roang   muaj daeum
shine shine light   twinkle   separate interval leaf   tree sp. one   trunk
thom caol   sramaol kmav "stung stung"
big   throw shadow black "shadowy"
"The full moon shone amidst a horde of stars in the sky, shedding its light with a twinkle among the leaves of a large roang tree, which cast black shadows"

saeng neak ta: bawh   knong teuk   "pro:ng"
carry statue   throw into   water splash
"carry the statue of the ancestral spirit and throw it into the water with a splash"

mau:k pah tpoal   sdam knjom "phac"
come hit   cheek right my   slap
"..hit my right cheek with a 'phac!' (slapping sound)"

koat baeuk thaw:t to'   kva:k
3   open   drawer desk "slam"
tuntroam spian   lw: so: kdu:ng kdu:ng
trample   bridge sound "kdung"
"trampled over the bridge, making a noise like 'kdung kdung'."

rautjaun bang'ual kluan thu: ksiap ksiap   leu: tnawl cak coa
vehicle   glide   self   loose glide.smoothly on   road paved
"The car glided smoothly with a quiet hiss over the paved road."

kda:m via keu:m keu:m cenj pi: raunthau: mau:k
crab   3   slowly   exit from hole   DIR
"Slowly, the crab emerged from the hole."

niang kaw: haek sambot kva:k kva:k
she   so   tear letter   rip
"She ripped up the letter."

Kla: daeu lo:p lo:p   cap   sat   clu:h, praeuh, ramang
tiger walk slow.stealthy catch animal deer1 deer2   deer3
"The tiger crept up very slowly and stealthily on [3 kinds of deer]"

The question why ideophones should reduplicate (in Khmer or in any other language) has not really been addressed. (In some languages, it is the phenomenon of reduplication alone which converts ordinary words into ideophones, so the property in these languages of ideophonic reduplication is practically definitional, cf. Haiman to appear.) It is not enough to rely on iconicity as the sole explanation for this widespread phenomenon,

as there is often no strong evidence that the action signaled by the ideophone is repeated. Nor, for purely formal reasons, can one invoke the phenomenon of decorative morphology. Decorative symmetrical compounds like *lbej lbaːɲ* "famous" are never total reduplications, while ideophonic symmetrical compounds almost invariably are (cf. Gorgoniev 1966b:72). The two are therefore largely distinct formally.

A possible explanation is that ideophones are reduplicated for the same reason that they frequently undergo expressive deformation, lengthening, heightened tonal contrast, falsetto and other affected tones of voice, and other kinds of exaggeration in many other languages, that is because they are stagey. That is, reduplication here may be an index of a histrionic performance (cf. Kunene 2000)[5], rather than referential (iconically motivated), or decorative (aesthetically motivated).

Notes

1. For example in the fragment below, the degree adverb is a biclausal resultative:

   Kawːk konj [*rauːk criat pum coh*]   *nih*
   tightly wedged seek   gap   not   descend this
   "Jammed so tightly together one couldn't wedge another in"

2. There are, as noted, intriguing overlaps: Puerto Rican Spanish *ese*, McCain's attempt to calumniate Obama as "that one" in the 2008 US presidential debates, the near-perfect translation of this expression into Khmer as *aːnong*.

3. A Spanish textbook contains this anecdote. A man walks into a restaurant and orders a bottle of wine, then changes his mind, orders some fried eggs and potatoes instead and devours them. Then he tries to walk out without paying. The waiter stops him, saying
   – Pague Usted la comida, amigo. (Pay for the meal, friend.)
   To this, the deadbeat responds:
   – Pero *si* la cambie por la botella de vino! (But if I exchanged it for a bottle of wine!)
   This construction has also started to appear in written representations of spoken English.

4. For a typical observation from an Austroasiatic language, cf. Burenhult (2005:114): "onomatopoeic forms are not subject to any morphological operations with the exception of iconic total reduplication."

5. Alec Guinness would then never have reduplicated his ideophones   because ideophonic reduplication is a kind of amateurish overacting, always the mark of the ham.

1.   Proverbs

A notable stylistic feature of proverbs is their compactness, which contrasts markedly with the ornateness and verbosity of much of literary and formal spoken Khmer. The same love of balance and symmetry characterizes both, but in proverbs, this is achieved by conjoining meaningful independent clauses with the same constituent structure. This is very much at variance with the creation of decorative symmetry, as described in Chapter 4.

A.   The way things (unfortunately) are

Trawng slo:t   slap, kheul   kho:c   mian phaup aju' jwn ju:
direct   gentle die   depraved vicious have luck   age   long
"The good die young; the evil flourish."

Teuk   ho: coan   dej   tiap liap ba:n tev   nɛak   mian seu'ri:
water flow trample ground low   luck get go.to person have good.fortune
"As water flows downhill, so good luck goes to people who already have it."

Ckae si: angkaw: tev baṭ   nev   tae   ckae dee:k pheh
dog   eat   rice   go disappear remain only dog   lie   ashes
"The thief gets away, and the innocent bystander gets punished."

B.   Human nature

Sralanj ko:n muaj tav,   sralanj cav   muaj thang
love   child one   15kg. basket love   grandchild one   30kg. basket
"Happinesss is being a grandparent."

Ko: dambaw: knaw:ng
ox   sore.wounded back
k'aek haeu rumlaw:ng
crow fly   by
rumsa:j kantuj
twitch   tail
"A cow with a wounded back will flinch even when just a crow flies overhead."

Cma: mwn nev   kandol laeung riac
cat   not   be.at rat   rise   king
"When the cat's away, the rat becomes king."

C.   Coping with life (and adversity)

Ho:p c̀aet bat   klian   de:k luak bat   kla:c
eat   sate disappear hungry lie   sleep disappear fear
"As eating one's fill dissipates hunger, so lying down and sleeping dissipates fear."

Jwt   jau:k kroan   ciang   mwn jau:k
slow get   better than   not   get
"Better late than never."

Tawk   tawk   penj   bampau:ng
drop   drop   fill   bamboo.tube
"Every little bit counts; Little drops of water, little grains of sand…"

Sev sduac, kom aoj dac
OK reduce lest   cut.off
"Reduced rations are OK: just don't cut them off entirely; Half a loaf is better than no bread."

Kom aoj dawl   kampong lau:ng tu:k
lest   arrive harbor   sink   boat
"Too bad if the boat sinks just as it arrives at the harbor."
"Don't snatch defeat from the jaws of victory."
"The operation is no success if the patient dies."

Cheu: nev leu: dej   tev leu:k li: aoj   tnguan
wood at   on ground go raise carry.on.shoulder so.that heavy
"A log on the ground is heavy when you carry it on your shoulders."
("Why go looking for trouble? Let sleeping dogs lie.")

Jau:k coa   pnev   mau:k tbiat kliak
get   gum sticky.fruit come hold armpit
"Don't store glue under your armpit."
"Don't defeat your own purposes."

Kom jau:k pau:ng moan   pnjaeu ajdaw: leu: sambo:k k̀aek
don't take egg   chicken entrust at (archaic) on   nest   crow
"Don't set the fox to guard the chickens."

Plav na: viac   kom leah   bawng
road any   crooked don't avoid dismiss
Plav na: trawng kom daeu   haom
road any   direct   don't walk   in.haste
"Don't avoid a path just because it's crooked; and don't be in a rush to take the most apparently direct
path." (= There may be reasons for the apparently nonsensical rituals and folkways of the past.)

D.   In troubled times

Klo:k   lec   ambaeng   andaet
gourd sink potshard float
"The last shall be first, and the first shall be last."

Neak   mian   kom   a:l   aw:,   neak   kraw: kom   a:l   phej
person have don't think happy person poor don't think fear
Neak   mian   dee:k dej,   neak   kraw: dee:k puak
person have lie   ground person poor   lie   cushion
"Don't think that the rich will be happy, nor that the poor should fear:
The rich may yet sleep on the ground, and the poor on cushions."

Kampeuh   laeung   pau:ng   leu: kampu:l   pnom
Shrimp   climb   lay.egg on   peak   mountain
"Shrimp will climb mountains and lay their eggs on the peaks."
(Again: everything will be topsy-turvy.)

Tveu: srae   nwng teuk, tveu: seuk nwng ba:j
make paddy with   water make war   with   rice
"As a paddy needs water, so war needs rice."
"An army marches on its stomach."

E.   Learning and wisdom

Kambeut   muk   me:n tae   nev knong sraom
knife   sharp really but   at   in   sheath
Vi'cia   ceh   prau:m tae   mwn praeu ka:
knowledge know enough but   not   use   work
"As a knife in its sheath cannot cut, however sharp, so knowledge not used is worthless."
(= Use it or lose it.)

2.   Blood

(Angkor Hospital for Children
Pamphlet for Prospective Blood Donors)

Taeu   neak   na: klah   dael[1] a:c baw'reta:k chiam ba:n?
Q par person which some who can donate   blood get
"Who all is it who can donate blood?"

Daeumbej pdawl chiam ba:n   lo:k neak[2] trev tae mian sokhaphiap l'aw: moam muan.
in.order.to provide blood succeed you you must only have health   good strong strong
"In order to be able to donate blood, you must be in good health."

Trev   mian aju' raviang pi: 18 cnam dawl 65 cnam.
must have age between from 18 year until 65 year
"You must be between the ages of 18 and 65"

Lo:k neak trev   tae   mian tumnguan ja:ng tec   45 Kg. campo:h proh nwng
you you must only have weight   kind little 45 Kg. for   male and
"You must weigh at least 45 Kg. for males and"

42 Kg. campo:h strej   Lo:k neak pdawl   chiam trev   mian sampiat chiam raviang
42 Kg. for   female you you provide blood must have pressure blood between
"42 Kg. for women. Blood donors must have a blood pressure between"

100/60–160/90   campo:h burawh nwng   90/50–130/80 campo:h strej.
"100/60–160/90 for   men   and   90/50–130/80 for   women."

Lo:k neak   pdawl   chiam teang awh   trev tae tatual
you you   provide blood all exhaust must only receive
nev ka: pi:neut   riang kla:j nwng
OBJ NOM examine body body and
"All blood donors must pass a physical examination and"

pdawl   nev pravaut sokhaphiap cia mun   cia seun mun[3]
provide OBJ history health   be before be first before
nwng tveu: ka: pdawl   chiam
FUT do NOM provide blood
"provide a health history before they can give blood."

Lo:k neak a:c tveu: ka: pdawl   chiam ba:n 4 daw:ng knong muaj cnam campo:h
you you can do NOM provide blood get 4 time in one year for
"You may give blood four times a year for"

burawh nwng   daw:ng knong muaj cnam campo:h strej.
male   and   time   in   one year for   female
"men and three times a year for women."

Nev pee:l knjom tev pdawl   chiam nev maunti:pe:t koma: Angkor taeu   mian tumraung
at   time I   go   provide blood at   hospital   child Angkor Q par have form
"When I go to give blood at Angkor children's hospital, are there formalities"

ka: avej   klah dael   trev ba:nᴬ tveu: mau:k leu: ru:p   knjom?
thing which some which   PASS get   do   come on   image my
"which I must undergo?"
(= "What are the steps involved when I come in to Angkor children's hospital to give blood?")[5]

Cia dambo:ng neak   cumnianj kha:ng bantup pisaot   nwng tveu:
be first   person expert   side   room   experiment will do
"First of all laboratory technicians will carry out"

ka: pi:neut daeumbej aoj   prakaw:t tha: lo:k neak a:c pdawl
NOM   examine in.order.to so.that exact   COMP you you can provide
chiam ba:n   do:˘ cia
blood succeed like be
"examinations to make sure that you can provide blood, such as"

aju' tumgnuan sampiat chiam cia daeum.
age weight   pressure blood etcetera
"your age, weight, blood pressure, and so on."
(= The laboratory technician will do an initial assessment to make sure you meet some basic donor
requirements (age, weight, blood pressure).)

Lo:k neak trev bampenj nev leu: tumraung baep baw:t nej ka: coh   cmo:h
you you   must fill   at on   form   kind form of NOM   descend name
"You must fill out a form where you write your name"

cia neak   baw'reta:k chiam dael   mian pcoap cia muaj nev samnua   muaj camnuan
be person donate   blood which   have join together OBJ question one   quantity
"as a blood donor, which includes a number of questions"

dael   teak   tau:ng nwng sokhaphiap robawh neak.
which connect connect with health   of   you
"connected with your health."
(= Complete the blood donor registration form, which asks some simple questions about your health.")

Paurmian   teang nih a:c pdawl   aoj   neak   cumnianj kha:ng maunti: pisaot
information all   this can provide so.that person expert   side   office experiment
"All this information can help the laboratory technician"

tveu: ka: samrac ceut tha: taeu lo:k neak mian so'va'ta'phiap
do   NOM decide heart COMP   Q par you you have safety
"decide whether it is safe for you"

knong ka: pdawl   chiam dae rw: tee:. Paurmian   teang awh   nih
in   NOM provide blood also or   not information all   exhaust this
"to give blood. All of this information"

trev ba:n reaksa: cia samngat.
PASS   guard   as   secret
"is confidential."

Praseun baeu ka: pi:neut   kheu:nj tha: mian so'va'ta'phiap
if   if   NOM examine see   COMP have safety
"If the examination sees that there is safety"
(= If it is safe for you to donate blood)

neak   cumnianj kha:ng maunti: pisaot   nwng tveu:
person expert   side   office experiment will   do
ka: bo:m   jau:k chiam lo:k   neak
NOM extract get   blood you   you
"the laboratory technician will extract your blood"

camnoh   2 ml. daeumbej pi:neut   kamreut Hemoglobin nwng Hematocrit
draw.down 2 ml. in.order.to examine level   Hemoglobin and   Hematocrit
"drawing down 3ml. in.order.to examine the Hemoglobin and Hematocrit levels."
(= The laboratory technician will collect 2 ml. of your blood to check hemoglobin and hematocrit
levels.)

Ka: tveu: baep nih   kw: daeumbej aoj   prakaw:t tha: lo:k   neak mian
NOM do   kind this   in.order.to so.that exact   COMP you   you   have
"This is done to make sure that you have"

kamreut ciat   daek   nev   knong chiam mian krup   kroan.
level   nature iron   be.at in   blood have enough enough
"enough iron in your blood."

Kamreut Hemoglobin   nev   knong chiam trev   tae   mian ja:ng haoc nah
level   hemoglobin be.at in   blood must   only have kind little very
"The level of Hemoglobin should be at the very least"

118 gm. knong muaj l. chiam
118 gm. in   one   l. blood
"118 gm. in one litre of blood."

Bantoap mau:k tumraung ka: bo:m   chiam nwng trev ba:n tveu: laeung⁶.
next   come   form   NOM extract blood FUT   PASS get   do   arise
"Next comes the performance of the extraction of the blood which you begin to undergo."
(= Now it's time to take your blood.)

haeuj chiam camnoh tae   350 ml. ponno:h nwng trev bo:m cenj
and   blood drawn only 350 ml. so.much will   PASS draw out
"and only 350 ml. of blood will be drawn"

ta:m sasaj chiam pi: neak baw'rèca:k chiam.
follow vein blood from person donate blood
"from the veins of the blood donor."
(= Only 350 ml. of blood will be drawn.)

Bantoap pi: tveu: ka: pdawl chiam ruac haeuj lo:k neak trev tae
next from do NOM provide blood PERF PERF you you must only
tveu: ka: samra:k
do NOM rest
"after giving blood, you will have to have a rest"

ja:ng tec 15 niati: nwng pisa: phescah mun pee:l
kind little 15 minute and drink soft.drink before time
ca:k cenj pi: maunti: pe:t
leave exit from hospital
"of at least 15 minutes and have something to drink before you leave the hospital"

nwng daeumbej prakaw:t tha: lo:k neak awt mian panjha: klah laeung
and in.order certain COMP you you not have problem some arise up
"and in order to make sure that you have no problems arising"
(= to make sure you are in stable condition.)

Ciang nih tev tiat maunti:pe:t nwng mian pdawl cu:n
exceed this go more hospital will have provide offer
a:v jw:t robawh maunti:pe:t
shirt slow of hospital
"In addition, the hospital will offer you its T-shirt"

daoj awt kwt tlaj nwng cia ka: tlaeng amnaw: kun
by not think expensive and be NOM express thanks
dael ba:n baw'rèca:k chiam
COMP PAST donate blood
"free and is an expression of thanks for your giving blood"

dawl maunti:pe:t koma: Awngkau jeu:ng knjom.
to hospital child Angkor we HUM
"to our humble Angkor hospital."
(= Don't forget to take the free T-shirt from Angkor Hospital for Children as thanks for your dona-
tion.)

Chiam robawh neak nwng trev ba:n tveu: test rau:k me:ro:k AIDS
blood of you will PASS do test seek infection AIDS
"Your blood will be tested for HIV"

raliak tlaeum praphee:t B nwng C nwng ruam teang
scar liver kind B and C and join all
mee:ro:k sva:j phaw:ng dae.
infection mango also also
syphilis
"Hepatitis B, C, and syphilis."

so:m   mee:ta: sasee: co:l   nev paurmian   daeumbej
please compassion write   enter OBJ information in.order.to
tumneak   tumnau:ng   do:c cia
connection connection   like   be
"Please leave contact information, such as"

asajatha:n lee:k   tu:rasap   nwng E-mail nev leu: krada:h coh   cmo:h
address   number telephone and   E-mail at   on   paper   lower   name
"your address, telephone number and E-mail on the paper you have signed"

baw'reʿca:k chiam daeumbej   aoj   kha:ng maunti:pe:t jeu:ng knjom
donate   blood in.order.to   so.that side   hospital   we   HUM
"as a blood donor so that we from the hospital"

tveu: ka: tumneak   tumnau:ng nev pee:l dael   lathaphawl
do   NOM connection   connection at   time   which result
tveu: test teang ponma:n
do   test all   so.many
"get in touch when results of any tests"

kha:ng leu: mwn thomda: nwng daeumbej pdawl   preuksa: tha: taeu
side   above not normal and in.order.to provide discussion COMP Q par
"above are abnormal and in order to provide discussion on what"

neak kua   tveu: avej taw: tev tiat.
you   should do   what continue go   more
"you should do as you go on."
(= Please leave your contact information on the registration form so that the hospital can advise you of any abnormal results and provide counseling.)

Notes

1. *Dael* is used here like *haeuj*, as a focus marker. Since their normal use is as clause separators, they signal that the preceding word has been made prominent by being raised out of its clause of origin.

2. Since *lo:k* refers to people older than the speaker, and *neak* to people who are the same age or younger, the combination of the two means "all of you".

3. Note the pile-up of synonyms for "first". *Mun* means "before", and *seun* means "first". The symmetrical synonym combination *cia mun seun* "as first" undergoes coordination inflation to become "as before as first". Then for good measure, *mun* "before" is repeated one more time.

4. The auxiliary combination *trev ba:n* usually signals a usually adversative passive. The flavor of this one is something like "are there any formalities which will be visited upon my person".

5. This pamphlet is of course a translation, but it is not quite a piece of translationese. Bracketed passages are given for sentences where the Khmer translator of the English original either threw up his/her hands on rendering some colloquialism ("don't forget to pick up your T-shirt") or piece of

bureaucratese, or felt that the Khmer readership needed more reassurance about what blood extraction means than the original English (for readers who are used to the notion of giving blood) may have provided.

6.   This passage is both obscure and to a speaker of English maddeningly verbose. The serial verb *laeung* may be functioning as an inchoative, so that *ka: trev ba:n tveu: laeung* is roughly "the beginning of your ordeal".

3. A:nji: and A:lo:[1]

Pliang tleak co:k coam dej haeuj.
rain fall soak soak earth PERF
"The rain had soaked the earth."

Puak jeu:ng noam knia coh pcua roah ja:ng sakam bamphot.
group we take each.other descend plow harrow kind active extreme
"We had gone down to the fields together and were busy plowing and harrowing."

Ko:n knjom a:- baw:ng Ni:ni:ta: trev awng ka: phu:m cat tang
child my ANA- old.sibling N. PASS organization village arrange
aoj meu:l ko:n krabej muaj
so.that look young buffalo one
"My oldest child N. had been assigned by the village organization to look after a young water buffalo."

Knjom aoj cmo:h via tha: nji:
I give name 3 say HON- female
"I had named her A. 'that female.'"

Praleum laeung Ni:ni:ta: deuk A:nji: tev vial srae peak Kralao
dawn raise N. lead A. go.to field paddy middle Kralao.
"At dawn N. would lead A. to the paddy in the middle of the fields"

(Ko:n l'ej samrap ba:c teuk aoj krabej)
small creel for throw water to buffalo
"(with a small basket suitable for watering buffaloes)"

Nev leu: kba:l
Be.at on head
"sitting on her head."

Pee:l klah knjom angkuj kwt m-neak aeng
time some I sit think one-person alone
"Sometimes I would sit alone (thinking)"

Baeu anj tveu: s rae pi: daeum mau:k prahael cia mwn piba:k
If I do paddy from beginning come perhaps not hard
dawl tnak nih tee:
to level this not
"If I start working the paddy from the beginning to here, maybe I can get this far easily"

Meu:l   tev
look   go
"let me try!"

Mwn saw:m   tev rian   mophej sa:mseup cnam noam aoj   kha:t pee:l sawh
not   appropriate to study 20   30   year   lead so.that lose   time   at.all
"this doesn't square with my having studied for 20–30 years -- what a total waste of time"

Lèj   kaw: mwn ceh   tveu: kanjcraeng kaw: mwn   ceh   tba:nj
basket and   not   know   do   basket   so   not   know weave
ksae   kaw: mwn ceh   venj.
string and   not   know   braid
"I don't now how to weave or how to make any kind of basket or how to braid string"

Ej   kaw: vee:tunia mleh   anj aeuj!
what   so   hardship   so.much I   oohh
"Oooh, what total hardship and misfortune for me!"

Srae   nev   phu:m   Cong Samrah mwn sambo: kda:m   jaw:ng
paddy be.at village   C. S.   not   rich   crab   snail
do:c cia srae   nev   srok Dambae tee:
like be   paddy be.at village D.   not
"The paddies near the village of C. S. were not abundant in snails and crabs, unlike those of the village of D."

(Muaj tngaj)2 knjom tev baoc   sleuk tneung jau:k mau:k bok   nwng
day one   I   go   pull.out leaf osier   get   come   pound with
ambeul   tveu: mho:p
tamarind make   food
"every few days I would pull out some osier leaves and pound them with tamarind to make food"

Nev   pee:l ba:n kda:m kjaw:ng mau:k aoj   ko:n   (mdaw:ng)2 knjom aw: steu: hawh.
be.at time   get   crab   snail   come   give child once   I   happy almost fly
"Once in a while when I got some snails and crabs to give my child I was almost happy enough to fly"

Mun   nwng jau:k kda:m kjaw:ng tev   slaw: ka:ni:ka:
before FUT   get   crab   snail   go   stew   K.
(Ko:n   srej   knjom a:-   ti: bej)
child   female my   ANA   place three
"Before taking the crabs and snails to throw into the stew, K. (my third daughter)"

Jau:k kjaw:ng mau:k dak   nev   muk via haeuj ni'jiaj m-neak   aeng
take   snail   come place be.at face 3   and   say   one-person self
"Took the snails and placed them in front of her and said to herself"

'A:- nih sac cru:k a:- nih sac ko:'
ANA this meat pig   ANA this meat cow
" 'This one is pork, this one is beef' "

Lw: ko:n riap   roap do:⁻ neh knjom aneut ko:n   steu: klaoc ceut
hear child account   like this I   pity   child   almost burn heart
"Hearing her talking like this, it almost broke my heart."

Pro:h   a:⁻ ti: bej   nih sokhaphiap mwn baw'ribo: sawh
because ANA place three this health   not   sufficient at.all
chw: skau:m nev   tae   sbaek nwng cɩeung
ill   skinny be.at only   skin   and   bone
"because this number 3 was not in good health at all, she was just skin and bones"

Tngaj muaj nuh prapun knjom ni'jiaj mau:k kan knjom
day   one   that wife   my   say   come hold me
"One day my wife said to me"

 -'Puk via aeng meu:l rian tveu: tru: nwng kee: meu:l meu:'
Father 3   you look learn make fishtrap with 3   look   try
" 'Father of this child, you should try to learn to make fishtraps with the others"

Baeu awt mho:p ja:ng nih ko:n cbah cia slap awh   haeuj   meu:l tev
if   lack food kind this child clear be die exhaust for.sure look IMP
"Without such food, this child will surely die: just look at her.' "

S'aek   laeung nev pe:l samra:k knjom tev rian tveu: tru: cia muaj (ta:)2
morrow raise be.at time rest   I   go   learn make fishtrap together elders
"The next day, during rest period, I went to learn how to make fishtraps with the elders"

Kua   kawt samkoal   tha: knong phu:m Cong Samrah
should note recognize COMP in   village C.   S
neak   kdaop kdap mwn teung reung
person in.charge   not   strict
"It was notable that in the village of C. S., the elders were not strict"

do:c nev   phu:m Tnawl tee:
like in   village T.   not
"like in the village of T."

Muaj ateut kraoj mau:k
one   week   after come
"By the end of a week"

Knjom tveu: tru: ruac cia sthapau:
I   make fishtrap finish be exactly.as.planned
"I made fish traps exactly as planned"

Tae tru: nuh mwn cia   baeu   tee:
but fishtrap that not whole much.good not
"but they weren't very good"

Baeu   kee: khawm   pineut via   ju: tev
if   3   strive   examine 3   long   DIR
"If anyone took a good look and examined them carefully"

Kua   aoj² cawng   saeuc
should so.that want   laugh
"They would make you laugh"

A:-   kba:l leu: viac   piac   paw:c a:-   kanda:l paong
HON   head on   twist uneven   HON   middle swell
do:c   puah ko:n   kmee:ng kaeut   pru:n.
like   belly   child   youth   arise   tapeworm
"with their heads twisted and uneven and their middles bulging like a child's who has tapeworm."

-Ta: pi: !   (prapun   knjom   ni'jiaj)   a:neut   knjom   jau:k   tru: nih
T.   wife   my   say   pity   me   get   fishtrap this
tev   kravoat   caol   tev
go.to   throw.away   throw   DIR
"T.!' (my wife said) 'Give me a break and throw these fishtraps away"

Kom aoj kee: kheu:nj   toan   noam   tae   kma:h neak   srok   tee:
lest   3   see   in.time   lead   only   shame person village not
"before anybody sees them and we're brought into shame (in front of) the whole village"

Via mian   tae   kampeuh kvak   tee: teu:p co:l   tru: aova aeng
3   have   only shrimp   defective not   then enter fishtrap ???   you
"this trap can only catch crippled shrimp and only then will they enter."

Knjom mwn taw:p   tev prapun   knjom tee: knjom jau:k tru: tev
I   not answer to wife   my   not I   get   trap go.to
dak   ta:m   plw: srae
place   along dike paddy
"I did not answer my wife but took the fish traps and placed them along the dikes around the paddy."

Praleum laeung knjom tev leu:k tru: srap tae   paj!
dawn   rise   I   go   raise trap suddenly wow
Nev   knong   tru: knjom   mian
be.at   in   trap   my   have
"and at dawn when I raised them, wow! in my trap I had"

tang pi: kampeuh ko:n   trej cwt kanlah tru:. Knjom aw: kakhep kakhop
after   shrimp   small fish close half   trap I   happy   smile
"aside from shrimp, close to half a tearful of small fish. Smiling happily"

pranjap raut   mau:k pteah daeumbej bang'uan prapun   knjom
quick   run   come   house in.order boast   wife   my
"I ran home quickly to show off to my wife"

Prapun   knjom   kheu:nj   mian   kampeuh   cwt   penj   tru:
wife   my   see   have   shrimp   close fill   trap
"My wife seeing that the trap was nearly full of shrimp"

Koat   kaw: sraek   mau:k   kan   knjom
3   so   cry   come   hold me
"cried out to me"

 -Ta:pi: aeng   tev   luac   leu:k   tru: kee: rw: ba:n cia   ba:n   kampeuh   craeun   ja:ng   nwng?
  T.   you   go   steal lift   trap   3   ?   cause   get   shrimp   any   kind   this
"T. did you go steal shrimp from other people's traps? Is that how come you caught so many?"

Knjom   huah ceut   awt   taw:p   nwng   prapun   knjom   laeuj.
I   upset   not   answer with   wife   my   at.all
"I was upset and didn't answer my wife."

Lngiac   knjom   jau:k   tru: dak   tev   kanlaeng   dadael.
evening   I   take   trap   place go.to place   same
"In the evening I put the trap back in the same place."

S'aek   preuk   tev   meu:l   via   mdaw:ng   tiat   srap tae   bat   tru: pi: kanlaeng
next.day   dawn   go   look   3   once   more   suddenly   disappear fish trap from   place
"At dawn the next day when I went to look again, I saw   lo and behold, the trap had disappeared."

Pro:h   teuk   ho: klang   noam   tru: knjom   jau:k   tev   cia muaj   bat   tev   haong.
because water flow strong take   trap   my   get   go   together   lose DIR diminish
"because the current had carried it away."

Muaj   ateut   kraoj   pi: bat   tru: knjom   kheu:nj   ta: Mawn
one   week   after   from lose   trap   my   see   elder M.
prathian   phu:m   kan   ko:n   ckae   muaj
president   village hold small dog   one
"One week after losing my trap I saw the elder M. president of the village, holding a small dog"

samdav   mau:k   pteah   knjom..   Koat   ni'jiaj   mau:k   kan   knjom
towards come   house   my   3   say   come   hold me
"coming towards my house. He said to me:"

Ta: ksia   thom!   (cia   cmo:h   dael   koat   dak   aoj   knjom   pro:h
elder pipe   big   be   name   which 3   place give me   because
knjom   cuak   ksia   muaj   ja:ng   thom
I   smoke pipe   one   kind   big
"'Elder big pipe!' (this was a name he had given me because I smoked a large pipe"

dael   tveu: ampi: rwh   rwsej
which make   out.of root bamboo
"made of bamboo"

'Knjom jau:k mau:k ko:n ckae nih mau:k aoj A:-   ni:ni:ta:
I   take   come small dog this come give HON N.
pro:h   via som knjom njau:j daw:ng pee:k
because 3 ask me   repeat time   too.much
"I am bringing this young dog for A. because she's always pestering me for it."

--Ji: (knjom taw:p) A:-   ni:ni:ta: ba:n ba:j aena: aoj via si:!
gee I   answer HON N..   get rice where so.that 3 eat
"--'Gee!' (I answered) 'where the heck will A. get food for him to eat?'"

Ko:n srej   knjom lw: tae   ta: Mawn aoj ckae
child female my   hear only elder M.   give dog
stuh mau:k   tatual pi: koat ja:ng pranjap
dart come   receive from him   kind   quick
"My daughter, hearing that he was giving her a dog, darted out quickly to accept him"

-Ta: ksia thom! (Ta: Mawn bantaw:) ejlev nih awng ka: cat
elder pipe big   elder M.   continue now   organization order
ta: aeng aoj   tev jiam camka:
elder you so.that go guard field
"—'Elder big pipe!' (M. continued) 'the organization now assigns you to guard the field"

ampev nev   plav ciat
sugar   be.at road nation
"of sugar cane by the National Highway.'"

Lw: tae awng ka: cat aoj   tev jiam   ampev knjom prw:
hear only organization order so.that go guard sugar I   get.goosebumps
knaw:ng pnjak   pro:h   kla:- kraeng
back   shudder because fear   much
"When I heard him say 'guard the sugarcane' a shudder ran down my spine because I greatly feared that"

Kee: aoj   tev rian so:t."
3   cause go   study recite
"that they were sending me to 'reeducation'"

Aoj knjom tev jiam   camka: ampev   rw: pum?
cause me   go   guard field   sugarcane or   not
(knjom sua   tev koat)
I   ask go.to 3
"--'Are they really sending me to guard the sugarcane?' (I asked him)"

-- Peut mee:n haeuj.   awng ka: trev ka: kamlang mneak   knong phu:m (ni'muaj)2
truly   really for sure organization need   strength one.person in   village each
"'Absolutely. The organization needs one person from each village'"

Ta: Mawn bantaw: tev tiat
elder M.   continue go   more
"Elder M. continued."

--Ta: ksia thom aeng a:c mau:k pteah   muaj ateut m - daw:ng
elder pipe big   you   can come   home   one   week one - time
" 'You can come home once every week.' "

Ta: Mawn prathian   phu:m Cong Samra:l ceut   tuliaj   l'aw: nah
elder M.   president village C.   S.   heart generous good very
"Elder M., the president of the village of C. S., was a goodhearted and generous soul"

mwn do:c A:-   cao prathian   phu:m Tnawl nev   srok   Dambae nuh tee:
not   like HON C.   president village T.   be.at commune D   that not
"unlike that bastard C., the president of the village of T. in the commune of D."

Muaj tngaj kraoj mau:k nev pee:l pralaeum knjom tev baeuk
one   day   after come be.at time dawn   I   go open
rabaw:p samrap muaj ateut
rations for   one   week
"One day afterwards, at dawn, I was going to open a week's rations."

Angkaw: dawp kampong, ambeul muaj kampong nwng prahok   muaj kanjcawp
rice   ten   can   salt   one   can   and fishpaste one   package
"ten containers of rice, one of salt, and one package of fish paste"

Nev pee:l riap   cenj damnaeu pi: phu:m prapun knjom
at   time prepare leave journey from village wife   my
teuk   pne:k rali:ng ralo:ng
water eye   shine   shine
"When the time came for me to prepare to leave, my wife was teary-eyed"

pro:h   koat mwn tok ceut kla:c kee: aoj   tev rian so:t (kw: tev slap)
because 3   not put heart fear 3   cause go study recite (that.is to die)
"because she was afraid that they were sending me to 'reeducation' (that is, to die)"

Baeu ta:m ta: Mawn prap knjom camka: ampev   nev camnga:j prahael 20 kilomet
if   follow elder M.   tell me   field sugarcane be.at distance about 20 Km.
"According to what elder M. told me, the sugar cane field was about 20 Km. away"

Pi: phu:m Cong Sramah. Koat prap knjom tiat   tha: trev aoj
from village C.   S.   3   tell me   more COMP must so.that
knjom tev cuap cia muaj
I   go meet with
"from the village of C. S. He also told me that it was necessary for me to meet with"

neak   aetiat nev phu:m Paunariaj dael   nev coap nwng plav ciat   lee:k   prampi:.
person other be.at village P.   which be.at next with road nation number seven
"some more people from the village of P. which was next to National Highway Number 7."

Nev pee:l tveu: damnaeu knjom ceh tae   kwt m-neak   aeng
be.at time do   trip   I   constantly think one.person alone
"While I was on my way, I kept thinking to myself"

--awng ka: cat   anj   aoj   tev jiam   camka: ampev mee:n rw:?
organization order me   so.that go   guard field   sugar   really ?
"--'Is the organization assigning me to guard the sugarcane fields for real?"

Rw: muaj³ awng ka: aoj   tev rian   so:t   tee:?'
or   only organization order go   study recite not
"Or are they just sending me to be re-educated?'"

Ciang   bej   cnam rauh nev   ciamuaj puak kmae   krahaw:m
exceed three year live be.at with   group Khmer red
"In the more than three years that I had lived with the Khmer Rouge"

Knjom awh cumnwa tev   leu: puak via rali:ng
I   lose belief   go.to on   PLU   3   clean
"I had completely lost faith in them"

Pro:h   via kohaw:k phau: phu:t raho:t
because 3   lie   lie   lie   always
"because they lied and lied and lied all the time."

Notes

1. Excerpted from Cuk Khaj 2009: "The sentimental young water buffalo".

2. Note that in this case *kua aoj* is (mysteriously) not a change-of-subject obligative.

3. The use of *muaj* "one" as "only" is rather unusual, but not foreign to speakers of English (*only* <
one-ly).

4.   Story of A:le:v[1]

-Lo:k ta: sdap   rwang a:le:v tee:?
you   grandpa listen story A.   not
"Have you heard the story of Ale:v?

--Rwang A:le:v pi: daeum   (crah)2 craeun ni'jiaj lee:ng[2] dae taeu!
story   A.   from beginning often   much   tell   play   also Q!
"Why, this story has been told and retold for ages!"

-- Lo:k ta: cuaj nitian rwang a:le:v aoj   cav   sdap   bantec meu:l!
   you grandpa help tell   story A.   give grandchild listen a.bit   IMP
"Do tell this story to me please! Let your grandchildren listen to it!"

Knjom cawng deung!
I   want   know
"I want to know it."

Rwang A:le:v nwng ja:ng mec   lo:k ta:
story A.   this   kind   how   you grandpa
"How does it go, grandpa?"

   Ba:t   A:le:v nwng cia   mnuh kcwl klah ej   klah   anjceung tev
   all.right, A.   this   be   person lazy some what some thus   go
"Alright! A. was a person who was maybe a bit lazy, but nothing extraordinary"

Cuan   via trawng pee:k   cuan via   viac   pee:k.
some   3   direct too.much some 3   tricky too.much
"Sometimes too honest, sometimes too deceitful."

knong kruasa: mian ko:n   proh   mneak   cmo:h A:le:v.
in   family   exist child male   one.person name A.
"In a family there was a son named A."

Dawl ko:n nwng thom aju' prahael 7–8 cnam aopuk mda:j jau:k via aoj   tev nev voat
arrive child this big age   about   7–8 year father mother take 3   so.that go be.at temple
"When he had reached the age of 7 or 8, his parents took him to the temple."

Bamraeu lo:k   daeumbej nwng ba:n rian   so:t   klah.
servant   monk in.order   FUT   get study recite some
"To serve a monk, so that he could get to learn and study some."

Dawl pee:l lo:k nimaun tev beun bat (mdaw:ng)2 lo:k taeng tae banjnja: aoj
Reach time monk go go.to alms.round (once)2 monk always instruct give
"Whenever the monk went away to on almsrounds, he would"

ko:n seuh lo:k nev cam kawt cam vi'hia kom aoj ckae via laeung tev cuh ac dak
boy pupil monk stay guard dorm guard temple lest dog 3 climb to dump shit put
"them to guard the dormitory and the temple so that no dog could enter and shit there."

Dawl (cam)2 anjceung tev tngaj muaj nuh dawl ve:n A:le:v nwng cam vi'hia
arrive (guard)2 thus go day one that reach shift A. FUT guard temple
"When it was his turn to guard the temple"

Lo:k ta: prap via tha: Aeng cam vi'hia nah
monk grandpa tell 3 say you guard temple OK
"the old monk said to him 'Guard the temple, OK,

kom aoj ckae laeung cuh ac dak aoj sawh nah
lest dog climb dump shit put so.that at.all, OK
and don't let the dogs in to shit, you hear?'"

Baeu mwn anjceung tee: anj nwng aoj aeng si: ac via aoj awh haeuj.
if not thus not I will make you eat shit 3 so.that exhaust for.sure
"Or if not, then I'll definitely make you eat up all their shit."

Tha: haeuj lo:k ta: kaw: cenj bat tev.
say and monk grandpa and.so exit disappear DIR
"So the monk spoke, and then he went off."

A:le:v kaw: sdap ta:m.
A. so listen follow
"So A. did as he was bidden."

Via kaw: tev aoj mae via tveu: nom lngaw: aoj craeun
3 so go have mother 3 make cake sesame so.that lots
jau:k mau:k tok chej voat.
take come keep gobble temple
"He went to his mother and had her make sesame cakes which he took to nosh at the temple."

Dawl pee:l ba:n nom nwng mau:k A:le:v via cam banjchaot lo:k ta:
arrive time get cake that come A. 3 wait trick monk grandpa
"but when he got the cakes, A. waited to play a trick on the monk"

Via jau:k nom nwng tev pu:k pumnu:k (to:c)2 pon mee: daj dak pungriaj
3 take cake that go smush ball (small)2 same.size mother hand put strew
"He took the cakes and smushed them into small balls about the size of a thumb and scattered them"

pi: bej dom cumvenj preah vi'hia.
two three piece around sacred temple
"two or three pieces at a time, around and about the temple."

Ruac dawl   pee:l   lo:k   nimaun tralawp pi: beun bat   venj
after arrive   time monk go   return from almsrounds back
"Afterwards, when the monk came back from almsrounds"

kheu:nj sot   tae   ac   cumvenj prea   vi'hia
see   pure only shit around sacred temple
"he saw nothing but shit all around the temple."

Do:cneh kaw: khang nah kaw: viaj A:le:v aoj   si: ac   ckae nuh.
thus so angry very   so   beat A.   make eat   shit dog that
"He was very angry, and so he beat A. and made him eat the dog shit."

Coh   A:le:v via kla:c   ej   nwng si: baeu³ cia nom lngaw:
Q part A.   3   afraid what FUT   eat if   be cake sesame
"But what did A. have to be afraid of eating it, seeing as it was really sesame cakes."

Dawl via   si: tev via tha: Cnganj!
arrive 3   eat   go   3   say   delicious
"As he ate, he said 'Delicious!'"

Lo:k   aoj   A:le:v si: muaj pumnu:t viaj   muaj kvap
monk make A.   eat one ball   beat one   stick
"As the monk made him eat them, he gave him a blow with a stick for every ball he ate"

raho:t toal tae sawl   muaj pumnu:t cong kraoj
until   till   only remain one   ball   end last
"until there was only one very last one left."

Lo:k   loan moat   tha:
monk blurt mouth say
"The monk exclaimed"

Ji: A:le:v si: do:c cnganj!
Gee A.   eat like delicious
" 'Gee, A. is eating as if they were delicious!'"

A:le:v kaw: reu:h   aoj lo:k   muaj dom pluak.
A.   so   choose give monk one   piece taste
"A. picked a piece to give to the monk to taste."

Dawl   pluak anjceung tev lo:k   kaw: loan moat   tha: Ji: ac   ckae p'aem
arrive taste thus   DIR monk so   blurt mouth say gee shit dog sweet
"When he tasted it, the monk said 'Gee, the dogshit is sweet--"

anjceung ba:n cia A. si:!
thus   cause be A. eat
" 'and that's why A. is eating it.'"

Ruac lo:k   kaw: luac lo:m   A. daoj sua tha: ac mae muaj   nah aeng rau:k tiat   mau:k!
after   monk so   steal wheedle A. by   ask say shit bitch one OK you seek more come
"So the monk said 'Which dog's shit is this? Go get some more!'"

A. taw:p   tha: ac   mi: kmav!
A. answer say shit bitch black
"A. answered saying, 'it's the black bitch's shit!'"

Lw: do:c neh lo:k   kaw: prap A:le:v bampawn mi: kmav daoj   aoj   camnej si:
hear like this monk so   tell A.   feed   bitch black by   give food   eat
"Hearing this, the monk told A. 'Feed that bitch well, give her food to eat'"

aoj   ba:n craeun daeumbej aoj   ba:n ac   craeun dae.
so.that get lots   in.order so.that get shit lots   also
"lots of it, so that we will get lots of shit too.'"

Haeuj lo:k   kaw: jau:k ca:n srak   tev caw:ng dak nev pi: kraom ku:t ckae
and   monk so   take plate container to tie   put at from beneath ass dog
"And the monk took a container and tied it beneath the dog's ass"

Daeumbej aoj   via cuh   ac   dak.
in.order so.that 3 dump shit put
"for the dog to shit into it."

Tngaj muaj mian meut pheuk pi: bej   awng mau:k lee:ng haeuj lo:k   mwn deung
day one exist friend buddy two three CL come play and   monk not   know
"One day, two or three monks who were friends came for a visit and the monk did not know"

cia   mian avej tatual kaw: aoj A:le:v jau:k nom dael   nev knong ca:n srak   dael   sra:j
COMP exist what receive so have A. take cake which be in   plate container which spread
"what to offer them, so he ordered A. to fetch the cakes in the container which had been filled"

jau:k cenj pi: ku:t mi: kmav mau:k.
take exit from ass bitch black come
"by what he had collected from the black dog's ass."

Dawl pee:l lo:k   cace:k knia   bantec tev, lo:k   kaw: chan teuk tae haeuj kaw: jau:k ac ckae
arrive time monk chat together a.bit DIR monk so   ingest water tea and so   take shit dog
"While the monks were chatting, they drank some tea and one monk ate a piece of dog shit"

Muaj dom mau:k chan srap tae   k'uat nuh k'uat[4] pro:h   ej[5] ac ckae sòj   klang nah.
one piece come eat immediately vomit that vomit because what shit dog rotten strong very
"one piece, to eat, and suddenly vomited a lot, because that dogshit was really disgusting!"

Lo:k   ta: khang A:le:v haeuj banjchup aoj   nev   voat   tiat
monk grandpa angry .A.   and   stop   so.that stay.in temple more
"The monk was angry at A., (and chased him out of the temple, beating him while he went) and forbade him to stay in the temple any more."

A second episode:

Pee:l   nuh   A.   kaw: tev ciamuaj mae   ao   via venj nev tngaj muaj nuh via cawng si:
time   that   A.   so   go together mom dad 3   back at day one that 3   want eat
"Then A. went back to live with his parents; One day he wanted to eat"

samlaw: tang hun   via mwn deung tveu: ja:ng mec
stew   cellophane.noodles 3   not   know   do   kind   what
"a cellophane noodle stew, and didn't know how to go about [getting some]."

Camnaek ae aopuk via tev sawng ktau:m nev ae srae   daeumbej cam   srae
as.for   father 3 go build   hut   be.at at paddy in.order   guard paddy
"His father had gone to build himself a hut at the paddy, to stay in while he guarded it"

haeuj   mda:j   via nev   cam   pteah.
and   mother 3   stay guard house
"while his mother stayed at home to guard the house."

Cliat   pee:l nuh A. prap mae   via tha: (Mae)2
exploit   time that A. tell mother 3   say mom
"Seizing the moment, A. said to his mother 'Mom!'"

Aopuk slap haeuj do:cneh mae   trev tveu: ba:j tveu: samlaw: tev saen
father die   and   thus   mother must make   food make   stew   go offer.to.spirits
"Father is dead: you should prepare a stew to offer to his spirit; [(make it a cellophane noodle stew,
please)]"

Camnaek ae mae   A. ae neh[6] mwn sev noam ej   craeun tee: kaw: tveu: ta:m A. prap tev.
as.for   mother A. at that not.really take any lots   not and.so do   follow A. tell DIR
"His mother for her part made no fuss, and did as he told her."

Pee:l A. ba:n nom camnej ba:j samlaw: si: c`aet haeuj, via kaw: tveu: damnaeu
time A. get cake food   rice stew   eat full already 3   so do   trip
"When A. had eaten enough cakes to fill up on, he made a trip"

tev   ktau:m aopuk via nev   ae srae haeuj via kaw: prap ao via tha:
go.to hut   father 3 be.at at paddy and 3   and.so tell dad 3   say
"to his father's hut in the paddy and said to him"

Mae ngoap[7] haeuj! Haeuj aoj   ao aeng tveu: ba:j samlaw: saen   pree:n mae tev!
mom croak   PERF and so.that dad you do   rice stew   offering spirit mom IMP
"Mom has croaked! Now you should cook some stew as an offering to her spirit, go on"

Anjceung A. via ba:n si: cnganj   roal tngaj anjceung tev.
thus   A. 3 get eat delicious every day   thus   DIR
"And so A. was able to keep eating well every day."

luh   ba:n si: c`aet c`awn[8] ruac haeuj.
then   get eat full   PERF PERF
"Then he was able to eat his fill."

Via neuk babual aopuk via aoj jau:k prapun muaj tiat.
3 think persuade father 3 so.that take wife one more
"He thought of a plan to persuade his father to take another wife."

Aopuk ni'jiaj tha: tev rau:k aena:⁹ ba:n baeu knjom cah haeuj!
father say say go seek where get if I old already
"Father said 'But where would I find one, seeing as how I'm already old!'"

A:le:v taw:p tha:
A. answer say
"A. answered, saying"

hee: ... aoj tae ao aeng tha: jau:k knjom rau:k aoj ba:n!
Hey so.that only dad you say take I seek so.that get
"'Hey, just say the word, dad, and I'll get you one.'"

Haeuj via kaw: tev babual mda:j tiat tha:
and 3 so go persuade mother more say
"And then he went to his mother also, and said"

Mae aeng kua jau:k pdej muaj tiat tev pro:h kluan cia srej mneak aeng piba:k nah!
mom you should take husband one more DIR because self be woman one alone hard very
"'Mom, you should take another husband, because it's very hard to be a woman alone.'"

Mda:j taw:p tha: Ej anj ta:m tae aeng cuaj¹⁰ kwt ku: tee: ko:n
mother answer say what I follow only you help think partner only child
"Mother answered saying 'I will follow your wishes, son, if you think I should have a partner"

Tveu: mec srual tveu: tev srac leu: ko:n aeng aeuj!
do how easy do IMP depend on child you oh
"Do whatever is easiest, son, oh, I leave it up to you.'"

Lw: do:c neh A. ba:n oka:h kaw: tev prap aopuk via tha:
hear thus A. get opportunity so go.to tell father 3 say
"Hearing this, A. exploited the occasion to go to his father and say to him:"

(Ao)2 knjom rau:k prapun aoj ao ba:n haeuj
(dad)2 I seek wife give dad succeed already
"'Dad! Dad! I've succeeded in finding a wife for you"

Pontae kee: aoj ka: pee:l jup!
but 3 make wedding time night
"but she insists that the wedding be held at night!'"

Dawl anjceung tev kaw: prau:m priang knia tveu: ba:j tveu: teuk
so so agree agree each.other make food make water
"So they agreed to prepare the food"

saen pree:n ka: nev pee:l jup tev.
make spirit.offering wedding at time night DIR
"and make the spirit offerings for a nighttime wedding."

Pee:l   jup   mau:k dawl kaw: riapcawm pi:thi: ka: nwng laeung.
time   night   come arrive so   prepare   celebration wedding that   DIR
"The night came, and they made preparations for the wedding celebration."

Haeuj dawl   pee:l sampeah pteum aopuk via tha: Com! Do:c mae   A.!
and   arrive   time greet   match father 3   say wow   like mother A.
"and the time came for them to greet each other, father said 'Wow! (She's) just like A.'s mom!'"

Mae   tha: Com!   Do:c ao   A:le:v!
mom say wow   like dad   A.
"Mom said 'Wow! (He's) just like A.'s dad!.'"

Cngawl   riang kluan kaw: oc camkiang punlw: meu:l tev kheu:nj ao   A. mae A. me:n
wonder each   so   light lamp   illuminate look to   see   dad A. mom A. really
"They each wondered and lighting a lamp saw that indeed it was A.'s mom and dad."

Mae   ao   loan   moat   tha: Ji: A. via banjchaot jeu:ng tee: tae!
mom dad blurt mouth say Gee A. 3   trick   us   actually
"Mom and dad exclaimed: 'Gee! It turns out A. really has tricked us!'"

Pee:l deung anjceung mae   nwng kaw: denj   viaj A.
time know thus   mom that so   chase beat A.
"When she realized this, A.'s mom chased him away with blows."

Third episode:

Pee:l   nuh A:le:v kaw: raut tev   som lo:k   nev voat   tiat.
time   that A.   so   run go.to beg monk be.at temple again
"Then A. ran back to the monk and asked to live with him again at the temple."

Lo:k   kaw: prau:m pro:h   ju: tngaj haeuj lo:k   kaw: bat   khang dae.
monk so   agree   because long day and   monk so   disappear angry also
"The monk agreed (to take him in), because a long time had passed, and his anger had dissipated."

Tngaj muaj via sua lo:k   ta: tha:
day   one 3   ask monk grandpa say
"One day he asked the monk"

"Tee:ckun cawng ba:n srej   tee:?"
abbot   want get woman not
"Do you want to get a woman?"

Lo:k   taw:p tha: Ne: aeng kom   tha: anjceung anj cia neak   buah   trev   tae
monk answer say hey you don't say thus   I   be person initiate must only
"The monk answered, saying: 'Hey, don't talk like that, I'm an initiated person and should"

bauh   bawng   srej   nji:[11] aeuj aeng tev ni'jiaj ej   tiat!
sweep.aside disappear woman female oh   you   go talk   anything more
"utterly reject all womenfolk; Don't say anything more!'"

Pontae ta:m   peut tev lo:k   cawng ba:n dae nwng nah[12]
but   follow true DIR monk want   get   also that   right?
"But in fact, he wanted a woman, all right"

Tae lo:k   tveu: cia tha: anjceung tev.
but monk make be say thus   DIR
"and was just pretending when he said this."

Haeuj mja:ng   baeu aeng jau:k mau:k aoj anj ruac aeng daeu ni'jiaj prap kee:
and   moreover if   you take bring give me then you go   say   tell 3
"'And what's more, if you bring a woman to give me, and then tell everyone about it"

anj chup aoj ba:j aeng si:[13] *haeuj.*
I   stop give food you eat for.sure
"I will definitely stop feeding you all.'"

A. tha: "Tee: cam[14] *karuna: cuaj leak aoj   tae lo:k ta: aoj prak knjom klah mau:k!*
A. say no   wait I   help hide so.that only you grandpa give money me some DIR
"A. said 'No! I'll help you hide her, just so long as you pay me something."

Lo:k   ta: tha: Aeng jau:k ponma:n?
monk grandpa say you   take how.much
"The monk said 'How much do you want?'"

A:le:v : "Jau:k luj   muaj bat!"
A.   take money one   (coin, once worth about $.60)
"'Just one baht[15]!' said A."

Dawl anjceung tev A. nwng[16] *mwn deung cia   tev rau:k aena:*
so   A. will   not   know COMP go seek where
"A. didn't know where to go to find a woman"

kaw: tev cuap nwng Ceun   proh mneak.
so   go meet with Chinese male one.person
"so he went and met a Chinese man."

A. kaw: sua Ceun   cah nwng tha:
A. so   ask Chinese old that   say
"A. asked the old Chinaman saying"

Cawng ba:n srej   tee: baeu cawng ba:n knjom tev rau:k srej   mau:k aoj
want   get woman not if   want   get I   go seek woman come give
"Do you want to get a woman? If you do, I can find you one and bring her to you."

Camnaek a:[17] *ceun   nuh via cawng ba:n srej   dae kaw: prap tev A.*
as.for   HON Chinaman that 3   want   get woman also so   tell to A.
"And the Chinaman, he did want a woman, and told A. so."

Pee:l sanmat knia   haeuj kaw: tev prap lo:k   tha:
time promise each.other and. so   go.to tell   monk say
"After A. had made the agreement, he went back to the monk, and said to him"

"Srej   rau:k ba:n   haeuj-- kee: aoj   lo:k   tev cuap nev   knong preah vi'hia[18]
woman seek succeed PERF   3   CAUSE monk go meet be.at in   sacred temple
" 'I've found the woman. She asked that you meet her in the temple.' "

Dawl   maong prahael 7–8 jup   A. via noam srej   nwng mau:k me:n.
arrive hour   about 7–8 night A. 3 take woman that come really
"At the hour of about seven or eight, A., he took the woman and brought her."

Ta:m   peut kw: noam ceun   nwng mau:k tee:.
follow true   take Chinaman that   come only
"In fact: he only brought the Chinaman."

Daoj jup   meu:l mwn sev   cbah lo:k   meu:l tev sma:n tha: ceun   nwng cia srej
by   night look not   really clear monk look DIR reckon say Chinaman that be woman
"Since it was nighttime and they couldn't see too clearly, the monk thought the Chinaman was a woman."

Ae   ceun   sma:n tha: lo:k   nwng cia srej   dae kaw: stuh tev cap aop   prabac knia
as.for Chinaman reckon say monk that be woman also so leap go grab embrace grab   each.other
"And the Chinaman thought that the monk was also a woman, so the two of them leaped out to embrace and grab each other."

Baok   knia   daoj sa: tae lo:k   ksaoj ciang ceun   nwng lo:k   kaw: canj
grapple each.other because only monk weak than Chinaman that   monk so   defeat by
ceun   dual tev
Chinaman fall   DIR
"and grapple with each other, and because the monk was weaker than the Chinaman, he was bested by him and fell down"

Pee:l   nuh ceun   baeuk meu:l tev kheu:nj mian pradap   do:c kluan
time   that Chinaman open look to see   exist equipment like own
"but when he did (his clothes) opened and the Chinaman saw equipment just like his own"

Deung tha: proh kaw: kma:h   knia   cenj tev bat   tev.
know say male so   embarrassed each.other exit DIR disappear DIR
"realized that he was a man, and the two of them, embarrassed, ran off in different directions."

Camnaek ae Ceun nuh kaw: ba:n tev rau:k rwang[19] *A:le:v rau:k jau:k luj   venj*
as.for   Chinaman so   get go seek matter A.   seek take money back
"The Chinaman went out to confront A. and get his money back."

Tae A:le:v kumriam tha: nwng daeu prap kee:
but A.   threaten say will   go   tell 3
"But A. threatened to tell people"

ae   lo:k   ta: venj pee:l deung tha: canj   baok A:le:v kaw: rau:k rwang denj viaj A:le:v
as.for monk grandpa back time know say defeat throw A.   so   confront   chase beat A.
"The old monk, when he realized that A. had tricked him, went to confront him also and made to beat and chase him"

tae A:le:v tha: Aoj tae hian viaj mau:k knjom karuna:[20] karuna: nwng prap kee:
but A. say give only dare beat come me humble I will tell 3
"But A. said 'If you dare beat me, little old me, I'll tell everybody"

pdeung tha: lo:k ta: cawng srej mee:n."
inform.on say you grandpa want woman really
"and tell on you, saying that you really want a woman."

Lo:k ta: canj baok A:le:v kaw: rau:k luj aoj A. muaj bat lo:k me:n
monk grandpa defeat throw A. so seek money give A. one bowl monk really
"Recognizing defeat, the monk went looking for a bowlful of money to give A."

Kw: mwn me:n muaj bat muaj kak aena:
not really one coin one coin where
"And it was not just one coin – oh no!"

Do:cneh lo:k khawm pramo:l luj dak penj muaj bat lo:k jau:k tev aoj A:le:v tev.
thus monk strive collect money put full one bowl monk take go give A. DIR
"Thus the monk struggled to collect a bowlful of money to give to A."

Pee:l via ba:n luj haeuj via kaw: tralawp mau:k pteah venj.
time 3 get money finish 3 so return DIR house back
"When he had collected the money, A. went back home."

Fourth episode:

Mau:k ta:m piav via reu:h ba:n kleum can dael kee: jau:k tev tveu: teuk kra'o:p tok.
come follow road 3 choose get pith sandalwood which 3 take to make water fragrant put
"Coming back on the road, he picked some sandalwood which is used for making scented water."

Pee:l mau:k dawl pteah ao via sua tha: ruac aeng ba:n luj pi: na: mau:k
time come arrive house dad 3 ask say after you get money from where come
nwng haeuj[21] kra'o:p mleh
and and sweet.scent so.much
"When he had got home, his dad asked him 'Alright, you: where did the money come from, and why do you smell so good?"

A:le:v tha: Knjom luak phaom aoj ceun ba:n luj anjceung.
A. say I sell fart give Chinaman get money thus
"I've been selling farts to Chinamen, and getting money like that."

Ao via sua tiat tha:
dad 3 ask more say
"His dad asked him, saying"

Tveu: mec aoj phaom aeng kra'o:p anjceung A:le:v?
make how so.that fart you scent thus A.
"What did you do to make your farts so fragrant, A.?"

A:le:v tha: Kroan tae   khawm si: khawm pheuk si: babaw: si: bangaem ej
A.   say just   strive   eat strive   drink eat gruel   eat desserts any
"A. said: 'I just try to eat all kinds of sweet things."

aoj   naen poh   tev phaom via krab:p   haeuj!"
so.that pack stomach go fart   3   fragrant already
"and when my stomach is full, my farts, they smell sweet."

Aopuk via kaw: khawm tveu: ta:m   piak A:le:v rau:k ej   si: aoj   penj poh
father 3   so   strive   make follow word A.   seek anything eat so.that full   stomach
"His father tried to follow A.'s words, and try to eat such things that when his stomach was full"

daeumbej ba:n phaom krab:p jau:k tok   luak aoj ceun.
in.order   get   fart   scent take keep sell give Chinaman
"his farts would be sweet and he could sell them to the Chinese."

Dawl   pee:l koat ba:n   si: penj poh   haeuj kaw: chw: phaom
arrive time 3   succeed eat full stomach and   so   sick fart
"When he was full he was aching to fart"

kaw: raut psa: sraek prap kee: tha: Cawng tenj phaom tee:.
so   run market shout tell 3   say want   buy fart   Q par
"So he ran to the market place and shouted 'You want to buy farts?'"

(Ceun)2   kwt   tha: Ji:! Phaom ko:n krab:p ponnwng haeuj coh tumroam phaom ao   tiat
(Chinese)2 think say gee fart   child scent so.much and   how until   fart   dad more
"The Chinese thought 'Gee! The son's farts are so sweet, the father's must be more so."

Krab:p ponna: tev?
scent   how.much DIR
"How much?'"

Do:cneh kaw: noam knia   tev ro:m   tenj phaom
thus   so   take each.other go swarm buy fart
"So they swarmed around him to buy farts."

Pee:l tenj neak   tenj trev jau:k tu: mau:k dak phaom.
time buy person buy must take box come put fart
"When they came the buyers had to bring boxes to store the farts in."

Pee:l dak tu: baeuk dak phaom tev koat dak   ku:t pèup nwng tu: srap tae   cenj mau:k (vu:)4
time put box open put fart   DIR 3   place ass lean with box suddenly exit come (gush)4
"When he placed his ass against the fartbox, suddenly (shit) came gushing out"

Pro:h   ba:n   si: babaw: pàem craeun phaw:ng
because succeed eat gruel sweet lots   also
"because he had eaten a lot of sweet gruel."

Via22 mwn cenj phaom ej   cenj mau:k sot tae ac   penj tu:.
3   not exit fart   any exit DIR   only shit fill box
"There were no farts, there was nothing but shit that came out, filling the box."

Kee: noam   knia   denj   viaj   krup knia[23].
3   take   each.other drive beat all   each.other
"They all together chased and beat him."

Pee:l kee: denj   viaj anjceung ao   A:le:v raut tev cuap A:le:v kaw: bantoah A:le:v tha:
time   3   chase beat thus   dad A.   run DIR meet A.   so   blame   A,   say
"When they drove and chased the father, and he met A., he berated him, saying"

Aeng mec banjchaot anj aoj   kee: denj   viaj anj anjceung?
you   how trick   me so.that 3   chase beat me   thus
" 'Why did you trick me so that they chase and beat me?' "

A:le:v taw:p   Kee: mian denj   viaj neak luak phaom aena:[24]
A.   answer 3   exist chase beat you sell fart   like.hell
"Like hell they would ever chase and beat you because you sold farts."

kee: denj   viaj neak   banjcenj kdaw: kraleut
3   chase beat person exhibit   cock circumcise
"They chase and beat you because you exhibited your circumcised cock"

aoj   kee: meu:l tee: taeu!
so.that 3   look   actually!
"for them to see!"

Aopuk raut tev bantaw: tev[25] tiat
father   run DIR continue DIR   more
"The father kept on running."

Fifth episode:

Mian ca:m pi: neak   spiaj sampiaj daeu mau:k pee:l kheu:nj mnuh raut denj   viaj
exist Cam two person carry bundle walk come time see   person run chase beat
"There were two Chams carrying bundles on their backs passing by, and when they saw the people running and beating"

ao   A:le:v kaw: cngawl sua A:le:v tha: "Kee: raut tveu: ej   kee: nwng[26]?"
dad A.   so   wonder ask A.   say 3   run do   what 3   that
"(A.s' s dad); Wondering, they asked A. 'What is that man running for?' "

A:le:v claeuj: Kee: raut denj   praeuh.
A.   answer 3   run chase deer sp.
"A. answered, saying, 'He is running after a deer.' "

Lw: do:c neh Ca:m kaw: pnjaeu sawmpiaj nwng A:le:v ruac raut tev cuaj denj   nwng kee: dae
hear thus Cam so   entrust bundle   with A.   then run go help chase with 3   also
"Hearing this, the Cams left their bundles with A. and ran to join his dad in running"

pro:h   kwt   tha: nwng ba:n sac   praeu si: dae.
because think say will get   meat deer eat also
"because they thought they would get some venison to eat too."

Raut tev tev aopuk A:le:v dual aopuk A:le:v phej pee:k   kaw: leu:k daj   sampeah angvaw:
run go go father A.   fall father A.   fear greatly so   raise hands greeting begging
"Falling down, A.'s dad feared for his life and raising his palms in supplication begged"

tha: Kom   tveu: ba:p knjom ej   kraleut   tae   bantec tee:!
say Don't do   evil to me any circumcized only a.bit   not
"'Don't hurt me I'm just a little circumcised!'"

Pro:h   sma:n tha: kee: denj ta:m   neak   luak kdaw: kraleut   do:c A:le:v tha: mee:n.
because think say 3   chase follow person sell penis circumcise like A.   say really
"because he thought they were chasing the salesman, on account of his circumcized penis, as A. had told him."

Mian ba:n deung tha: kee: denj   cap   praeu ae na:
exist get   know say 3   chase catch deer where
"No way did he ever learn that they were chasing a deer."

Camnaek ae A:le:v nawh ba:n sampiaj robawh   ca:m
as.for   A.   that get bundle belongings Cam
"As for A., he picked up the bundles with the Cam's belongings"

haeuj kaw: raut veung tev raut dawl kampong teuk
and so   run whiz DIR run reach dock   water
"and ran away lickety-split to the docks."

Last episode:

Kheu:nj jiaj   mneak   kampung tae noam cav srej   kramom   cih   tu:k
see   granny one.person PROG   take granddaughter adolescent ride boat
"There he saw an elderly woman with her granddaughters riding a boat"

daeu rau:k kap o:h   kaw: som tu:k jiaj   nwng claw:ng dae.
go   seek cut firewood so   beg boat granny that   cross   also
"going about looking for firewood, and asked the granny for a ride across the water also."

Jiaj   kaw: sua tha: Cav   aeng tev na: mau:k na: haeuj nev aena: cmo:h ej   dae?
granny so   ask say grandchild you go where come which and stay where name what also
"The old woman said; 'Grandson, where are you going, where are you coming from, where do you live, and who are you, anyway?'"

A:le:v taw:p: Knjom cmo:h A:ci: cav   prasa:
A.   answer I   name Aci grandson- in-law
"A. answered 'My name is Aci grandson-in-law.'"

Claeuj   haeuj A:le:v nev nwng moat   crang kaw: khawm stuh raut coh   tu:k
answer and   A.   stay with mouth shore so   strive leap run down boat
"and A., still ashore, tried to jump down into the boat"

aoj   ba:n mun jiaj   pro:h   kheu:nj cav srej   jiaj   nuh cam nev leu: tu:k srap.
so.that get before granny because see   granddaughter old woman that wait   on boat already
"so that he could get into the boat before the old woman because he saw that her granddaughters were already waiting for her."

Dawl leu: tu:k haeuj A:le:v kaw: cap om tu:k noam cav srej   jiaj   tev cia muaj tu:k
reach on boat and A.   so   start row boat carry granddaughter old.woman go together boat
"As soon as he got into the boat, A. started rowing, taking the old woman's granddaughters away"

caol   jiaj   nwng nev nwng moat crang tae   mneak   aeng.
abandon old.woman that be.at with edge shore only one.person alone
"leaving the old woman all alone on the shore."

Camnaek ae jiaj   crang nih kheu:nj do:ˇ nih kaw: sraek prap neak   srok   tha:
as.for   old.woman shore this see   like this so cry tell person village say
"As for the old woman left on the shore, she started shouting out to the villagers, saying"

Neak   srok   aeuj! Cuaj knjom phaw:ng A:ci: cav   prasa: jau:k cav knjom tev haeuj!
person village oh   help me please A. grandson- in-law take grandchild DIR PERF
"Help me villagers! A:ci grandson-in-law has kidnapped my granddaughters"

Ruac coh   mian nauna: kee: tev cuaj baeu koat sraek tha:
then Q par exist anyone 3   go help if   3   shout say
"But who was going to help her, seeing that she was shouting out that"

Prasa: koat tev haeuj.
son-in-law 3   go PERF
"it's her own grandson-in-law?"

Dawl anjceung tev cav   nwng kaw: ba:n cia prapun A:le:v tev.
so   grandchild that so   get be wife A.   DIR
"So that is how those girls became A.'s wives."

Notes

1. A:le:v is a well-known traditional trickster figure still familiar to schoolchildren. (A bowdlerized illustrated edition is on hand, for example, at the Grace House school in Siem Reap.) This oral version is from a magnificent four-volume collection of folk tales that was recorded and transcribed with an absolute minimum of 'literary correction' by Erik Davis and a team of Khmer ethnographers working with several dozen speakers from various provinces. Here is Erik's account of the project.

"The project was begun completely outside my auspices, at the Buddhist Institute, with money from a United States Ambassador Fund from the American Embassy in Phnom Penh. The people who steered that grant to completion, and also selected the four themes that eventually comprised the four separate volumes, were Heng Kimvan, still of the Buddhist Institute, and Penny Edwards, Cambodian

historian currently at UC-Berkeley. She asked if I would be willing to actually implement and oversee the project after the grant phase was complete. I accepted happily, since I had already mentored nearly the entire team of researchers through the latter part of their 2 year program in Master's-level research methods at the Buddhist Institute; they all had to write Master's theses, in English, on an independently researched topic. That program represented the first Master's level degree granting in Cambodia. I shepherded the team through three of the five week-long field trips, gathering the stories. I think that the notion of reading in the same way people speak is so alien to Khmer, by and large, that it was actually *more* difficult to read these tales than if they'd been 'prettied up.' But that's how we did it."

I am especially indebted to Professor Davis for carefully looking over and correcting my translation here.

2.   As a post-verbal modifier, *lee:ng* "play" means that the action of the verb was performed for fun. The combination *ni'jiaj lee:ng* thus usually means "joke, banter". Here the modifier is probably best left untranslated, although the meaning "for fun" is transparent.

3.   A clear example of non-hypothetical "if", colloquially translatable here as "seeing as how.."

4.   X *nih/nuh* X = "a lot of X".

5.   *Ej (< mdec ej kaw:)* is probably an exclamative: "How disgusting…!"

6.   The phrase *camnaek ae…* is a topicalizer, meaning something like "as for.." (although much more frequently employed than this English equivalent), and introduces the following Noun Phrase. The following expression *ae neh* "at this one" is a further, resumptive topicalizer "as for her". Put together, the whole chunk is overtranslated in the following way: "as for A.'s mother, she…"

7.   *Ngoap* "die" is used for animals. It is unclear why A:le:v speaks so disrespectfully of his mother in this speech to his father, where he is asking for an offering for her. It's indicative of his presumption, as well as his coarse, rural family. This supposed rural coarseness is, paradoxically and commonly, a matter of pride and shame simultaneously among many Khmer.

8.   *C'awn* is a meaningless decorative servant word accompanying and alliterating with *c'aet* "eat one's fill".

9.   *Aena:* may have its literal meaning here, but is more likely the metalinguistic negator "what do you mean, (look for a wife)?", as the father finds A:le:v's advice absurd.

10.   When *cuaj* "help" is used as an auxiliary it means that the subject is performing the action of the main verb to be helpful. If that is the usage in this obscure passage, then A.'s mother is saying that she is sure that he is only suggesting that she remarry out of kindness and sympathy.

11.   *Nji:* is used for female animals. In coupling this word with the normal human word *srej*, it may be that the monk is expressing high-minded contempt for the animality of sex. But the combination *srej nji:* may also simply be an example of how Khmer speakers, in their search for the pleasing symmetry of synonym pairs, are willing to stretch a semantic point and conscript near-synonyms (to say nothing of non-synonyms).

12.   The colloquial discourse particle *nah* can frequently be translated as "OK?" or even "are you with me?" But here it is closer to something like "I know that you ARE with me", hence the attempted colloquial English translation. This is addressed to the audience, and is much like stopping a story and saying, "You understand me? You get me?"

13. The verb *si:* "eat" is for animals. This contemptuous usage is in keeping with the monk's use of bare *aeng* as the pronoun of address for "you(all)" and of *anj* for reference to himself.

14. The imperative verb *cam* "wait!" can be frequently translated as a auxiliary on the next verb meaning something like "soon" or "while you wait". Thus e.g. *cam tralawp mau:k venj* "[sc. you] wait [sc. I] return come back", or, more freely "I'll be right back".

15. Coins are unknown in Cambodia today, the smallest piece of currency being the 100 riel note, worth about 2–3 cents. Baht is Siamese currency (both then and today), and further indicates this story's likely origin in the Late Middle Khmer Ages in the Northwest Provinces of Battambang and Siem Reap (Erik Davis, p.c.).

16. It is unclear why the future auxiliary occurs on the main verb "know" here. It would be normal on the complement verb *tev* "go": "he did not know where he would/could go"..

17. The use of the anaphoric/pejorative dishonorific *a:-* here is my reason for repeatedly using the term "Chinaman" as a translation for *Ceun;* the entire A. cycle of stories, as well as other cycles, such as that of Ajay (the little boy), are almost universally anti-Chinese.

18. Westerners are familiar with *Preah vi'hia* as the proper name of a disputed temple on the Thai border. It is literally a common noun phrase meaning any temple or pagoda, and consists of the divine honorific *preah* "lord" and the common noun *vi'hia* "temple" – the same noun was used earlier for the temple where A:le:v spread the sesame cakes which he claimed were dog turds.

19. Literally, "seek matter", slightly more idiomatically "look for trouble". Here, most idiomatically, "confront".

20. The use of the self-abasive first person singular pronoun *knjom karuna:* "slave (to your) grace" (or just, "Your Servant" as First Person Singular) is perfectly appropriate when addressing royalty or monks. But it is hard to believe that its repetition is not sarcastic here.

21. The par excellence use of *nwng* is to signal constituent coordination, while that of *haeuj* is to signal clause coordination. In combination however, *nwng haeuj* and *haeuj nwng* may signal either one. This is a clear example of how the Khmer predilection for symmetrical coordination of near synonyms trumps semantics.

22. *Via* "third person" does not refer to the father, who is earlier referred to as *koat* "3rd person (respectful)". It seems rather to be playing the role of ambient "it".

23. There is a consistent syntactic difference between *noam knia* "together" and *krup knia* "all". The former behaves like a preverbal auxiliary, and thus immediately follows the subject, while the latter (presumably part of "the conventional noun phrase") usually floats to the end of the Verb Phrase.

24. Note the use of the metalinguistic negator *aena:* "like fun..", "what do you mean..", "my eye..", etc., here translated as "no way..".

25. Probably via coordination inflation , from *raut bantaw: tev.*

26. *Tveu: ej* "do what?" would have been perfectly sufficient. In colloquial speech, *ej* is tricked out with two deictics. The second of these, *nwng,* is a common deictic meaning "this/that", but the appearance of the first one *kee:* "3rd person animate" is still mysterious.

5.   The Rabbit and the Tigress

Rwang tunsaːj saːk paol   tmɛj[1]
tale   rabbit try   pendulum new
"The tale of how the rabbit did the old in and out"

Rwang nih cia rwang muaj mian nev   knong sastraː dae.
tale   this be tale   one   have beːat in   lore   also
"This is another tale which is still remembered."

Mian meeː   klaː muaj rauh nev   knong ruːng cia muaj koːn piː kbaːl.
have mother tiger one   live   beːat in   cave   together child two   head
"There was once a mother tiger who lived in a cave with her two children."

Meeː   klaː nwng mun   piː   cenj tev rauːk siː
mother tiger this   before from exit   go   seek   eat
"Before going out to hunt for food"

Via pdae pdam[2]   koːn   teang piː   thaː
3   instruct child all   two   say
"she instructed both her children"

Koːn teang piː   nev cam mdaːj knong ruːng nwng haeuj
child all   two   stay wait mother in   cave   this   forːsure
"'Stay right here in the cave and wait for me"

Kom tev naː mauːk naː aoj   sawh naː[3]
don't go   any come   any soːthat all   any
"and don't budge from here.'"

Koːn klaː kawː jaul   prauːm sdap taːm   bangkoap mdaːj via
child tiger so   understand agree   listen follow command   mother 3
"The two cubs obeyed their mother's command."

Luːh dawl peeːl meeː   klaː tev bat
then   until   time   mother tiger go   disappear
"Then, while their mother was gone"

Mian tunsaːj kamhoːc muaj via daeu coːl   tev   rauːk
have rabbit   depraved one   3   go   enter goːto seek
koːn klaː teang piː
child tiger all   two
"There entered a depraved rabbit, he came in looking for the two tiger cubs"

Tev dawl tunsa:j
go   till   rabbit
"As for this rabbit"

via tveu: cia sua rau:k tha:
3   do   be   ask seek say
"he pretended to be searching (for their mother) and said"

"Ha: mae   aeng tev na: haeuj?
hey mother you   go   which PERF
"Hey, where's your mother gone to?"

Mae   aeng pdam   aoj anj⁴ mau:k na:
mother you   send.message so   I   come   any
"Your mother left word for me to come (when)ever"

tha: baeu anj mau:k aoj   anj cih   nah
say   if   I   come   so.that I   ride OK
"and if I do I should ride her, OK?"

Coh ejlev tev na: bat   haeuj
Q par now   go   which disappear PERF
"but now she's gone who knows where"

Anj pdam   prap mee: aeng phaw:ng
I   send.message tell mother you   also⁵
tha: anj mau:k   rau:k
say   I   come   seek
"here's my message to her: tell her I was looking for her"

haeuj aoj   tev cuap anj kom kha:n
and   CAUSE go   meet me   don't omit
"and don't forget to have [her] go and meet me.'"

Pdam   ruac
send.message PERF
"He gave the message and then"

tunsa:j nwng tev bat   tev
rabbit   that go   disappear DIR
"that rabbit took off and vanished."

Pee:l mee: kla: tralawp mau:k
time   mother tiger return   come
"when the mother tiger returned"

ko:n kla: kaw: prap mae   via ta:m   damnaeuᶜ tunsa:j pdam
child tiger so   tell mother 3   follow journey rabbit send.message
"the cubs faithfully told their mother what the rabbit had told them to say."

Sdap   ruac   haeuj   mee: kla: khang   klang   nah
listen PERF CONJ   mother tiger angry   strong very
kaw: sua   tev   ko:n   tha:
so   ask   to   child   say
"Hearing this, the tigress was very angry and asked her children:"

A:-   sat   nwng thom pon   na: tev ba:n cia via hian ni'jiaj do:c neh?
HON animal that   big   amount which go cause   3   dare speak like this
" 'How big is that wretched animal that he dared to speak thus?' "

Ko:n kla: tha:
child tiger say
"The cubs said"

Sat   nwng mwn deung cia   sat   s'ej   tee:
animal the   not know COMP animal what kind no
" 'We don't know what kind of animal he was"

Sleuk traciak via ve:ng
leaf   ear   3   long
"but he had long earlobes.' "

Lw: haeuj
hear PERF
"When she heard this"

mee: kla: kaw: prap ko:n   teang pi: tha:
mother tiger so   tell   child all   two say
"the tigress told both her children"

Mae   cawng tev rau:k a:-   nwng meu:l
mother want   go seek HON that   look
" 'I will go and try to find that lowlife?' "

baeu cuap haeuj
if   meet PERF
"If I meet him"

mae   nwng kva: jau:k tlaeum via mau:k aoj⁸ puak ko:n chej
mother will   tear.out get   liver   3   come give PLU child gobble
"I will tear out his liver and bring it to you two to eat"

Ko:n aeng nev cam pteah
child you   stay wait house
"you children wait in the house"

kom   daeu tev na: aoj⁹   sawh!
don't walk go any so.that at.all
"and don't budge from here at all.' "

Mee: kla: kaw: cenj damnaeu tev
mother tiger so   exit voyage   go
"The tigress set out"

daeu   bantec kraoj mau:k
travel a.bit   after DIR
"and after traveling a while"

kaw: tev cuap tunsa:j nwng
so   go   meet rabbit   the
"she met the rabbit."

Tunsa:j kralee:k kheu:nj mee: kla:
rabbit glance   see   mother tiger
"Catching sight of the tigress, the rabbit"

pliam   sraek   tha:
immediately cry out say
"immediately shouted out, saying"

"Hee: niang   aeng
hey   female you
" 'Hey wench[10]"

mau:k haeuj heh
come PERF eh
"You've already come, eh?"

Anj prap aoj   mau:k mau:k mee:n
I   tell so.that come   come   really
"I told you to come, and you really have come!' "[11]

Lw: tunsa:j ni'jiaj do:c noh
hear rabbit   speak like that
"Hearing the rabbit speaking thus"

mee: kla: khang nah
mother tiger angry very
"the tigress was enraged"

kaw: stuh lo:t tev cap   tunsa:j teang kamro:l
so   dart leap to   catch rabbit all   lose.self-control
"and losing all self-control pounced after the rabbit."

Mee: kla: lo:t tev lo:t mau:k
mother tiger leap go   leap come
"she pounced this way and that way"

Ae   tunsa:j nwng kaw: lo:t phot   pralawh cheu: muaj
as.for rabbit the   so   leap beyond fork   tree   one
"and the rabbit leapt between the branches of a tree fork"

Mee: kla: lo:t tev ta:m   kaw: coap   nev   nwng prakiap cheu: nuh
mother tiger leap go follow so   stuck be.at with   fork   tree   that
"and when the tigress tried to follow she got stuck in the fork."

Tunsa:j ba:n oka:h[12]   *kaw: lee:ng paol*
rabbit   get   opportunity so   play   pendulum
"The rabbit seized the opportunity to do the old in and out"

kraom   kantuj mee: kla: nwng muaj c'aet[13]
beneath tail   mother tiger the   one   satisfy
"beneath the tail of the tigress to his heart's content"

ruac kaw: kec   kluan bat   tev
PERF so   rescue self   disappear DIR
"and then took off and disappeared."

Camnaek mee: kla: venj
as.for   mother tiger back
"The tigress, for her part"

luh   dawl via sraw:k poah   tev
then   until 3   reduce stomach DIR
"when her stomach had shrunk back"

via kaw: ruac   pi: prakiap cheu: haeuj khawm
3   so   escape from fork   tree CONJ strive
preung   daeu tralawp tev ru:ng venj
struggle walk return   go cave   back
"was able to escape from the fork and painfully made her way back to her cave."

Tev dawl
go   arrive
"When she arrived"

ko:n kla: nuh sua mee: kla: tha:
child tiger that ask mother tiger say
"her cubs asked her"

Mae   mae   ae na: tlaeum
Mom   mom   where liver
"'Mom, mom, where's the liver"

Ae na: tlaeum a: kanjceu:p nwng?
where liver   HON wretch[14] that
"where is the liver of that wretch?'"

Mee: kla: taw:p
mother tiger answer
tlaeum ej   ko:n aeuj
liver   any   child alas
"'Ah me, what liver[15], my children"

Mda:j   ktec   awh   rali:ng   haeuj
mother shatter exhaust completely.clean PERF
"You mother has been totally done in by"

niak
water vampire/snake
"a water monster/snake"

ko:n   deung   tee:"
child know   not
"You have no idea.'"

Notes

1.   Like the story of A:le:v, this comes from the "Trickster" anthology of oral folktales compiled by Erik Davis's team: Davis et al., published by the Buddhist Institute, Phnom Penh, 2006. The story has three familiar components: the visit of the taunting male to the children in their lair while the mother is absent, the rape of the trapped female predator by a small cunning male, and finally the interval of forced starvation before the tigress loses some girth and can escape from the narrow opening she is wedged into. All are apparently recurrent themes. The "taunting visitor" motif also occurs as far afield as in a Hua (Papua New Guinea!!) story about how the possum got its spots. Virtually the same "rape tale" (involving the cunning rabbit and in this case a vixen) is told by a character in the Eisenstein film "Alexander Nevsky" of 1938, where it suggests to Alexander the strategy to use against the Teutonic knights in the Pripet Marshes. And the story of the forced diet before escape is possible from a tight spot is told in Winnie-the-Pooh.

2.   *Pdam* is "to send a message". *Pdae* is a decorative alliterating servant word.

3.   She could have just said *kom tev na:* "don't go anywhere". *Kom mau:k na:* "don't come anywhere" is suggested by the symmetry of coming and going rather than by the meaning. Finally, *kom aoj sawh na:* "don't at all anywhere" is pure nonsense, licensed by the recurrent pattern *kom X na:* established in the two immediately preceding clauses.
     For the use of *aoj* cf. footnote 8.

4.   Note the arrogant 1st person singular pronoun, in keeping with the rabbit's use of familiar *aeng* in addressing the tiger cubs, all calculated, like his sexual taunt, to infuriate the tigress on her return.

5.   *Phaw:ng* most often means "also", but can be used as a softener with commands. Both interpretations are possible here, although if *phaw:ng* is sycophantic, that reading does not comport with the rabbit's use of the arrogant 1sg. *anj.*

6.   The compound *damnaeu seckdej* (literally "journey" + "matter") means something like "the gist". *Ta:m damnaeu* may mean "from beginning to end, in sequence". While both are possibilities, I have translated the phrase as "faithfully" here.

7.   Literally, *a:-nwng* means "that one", and is pejorative. "Lowlife" may be an overtranslation.

8. Note that *aoj* here could be translated as either the main verb "give" or the complementizer "so that".

9. If *aoj* is performing any grammatical function here, it is acting as a complementizer, which would then constitute evidence that *sawh* "at all" is treated as a separate clause.

10. The combination *niang aeng* is definitely familiar, *niang* being used to address younger females, and *aeng* being a familiar term of address, whose usage on its own as "you" is flat-out prohibited for L2 Khmer speakers as inexcusably rude by Smith (2007: 122), or characterized as acceptable by local consultants. Whether "wench" is an overtranslation depends on whether *niang aeng* is thought to be the source of *ngaeng*, characterized by the same local consultants as an unspeakably rude and vulgar term for "you (female)", comparable to *haeng* (< *proh aeng* "male you"?) for males. If this is the case, then "wench" rather than being an overtranslation, is a euphemism – perhaps even "bitch" would serve.

11. Or "you've come, just like I told you".

12. The usual expression for "seize the moment" is not *baːn okaːh* but *cliat okaːh*. In serving as the synonym for *cliat* "exploit", *baːn* is once again expressing a proactive action rather than a passive reception. It is not a stative verb here (*pace* Enfield 2001, 2003)   which makes its inability to occur as an imperative even more of a mystery.

13. The verb *cʰet* "be sated" is being used here as a "classifier", in that it follows the quantifier *muaj* in a measure phrase. This is a good example of how quantifiers like the numeral "one" serve as syntactic anchors/node builders, assigning (occasionally unusual) syntactic roles to the polyfunctional expressions they appear next to.

14. This word was unknown to my consultants, and does not appear in Headley et al. 1977.

15. It is conceivable that this is a double-entendre, as in English "what a liver" would be. Possibly the otherwise unmotivated reference to a *niak* "(water) snake" can be interpreted in the same way.

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Index