Old Khmer grammar

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in memoriam

Miyo

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Prefatory notes

This little volume has been brewed from a mass of memoranda and citations accumulated over long years of teaching Old Khmer to a succession of able graduate students. Their questions, comments and challenges led to many fruitful discussions on how this language works. The volume is theirs as much as mine.

My description is meant to serve the immediate needs of readers embarking on the study of the inscriptions, and assumes that they have some acquaintance with modern Khmer. Designed for easy reference, it addresses the main points of grammar and style in the great majority of the texts. A few matters of special interest not previously brought to public notice are discussed in fair detail. It has been my endeavor to reduce all that might be said of Old Khmer to the narrowest possible compass in order to show how this language achieves its suppleness and grace with a small number of structures.

The reader will find that, after necessary preliminaries, the grammar proper is presented from 5 (on **wordclasses**) and runs on to 8 (on **clauses and sentences**). There follows a battery of passages which may be used for review and exercise, while the last section gives an excerpt from the Vàt Saṃroṅ Stone. The table of contents makes an index superfluous. Suggestions for improvement of the volume will be gratefully received and may be channeled through the publisher.

Finally, my original work has profited much from numerous additions and corrections by my esteemed collaborator Dr. Sidwell.

Philip N. Jenner

3 February 2009

I first met Prof. Jenner in Olympia in 2007, when his dictionaries of pre-Angkorian and Angkorian Khmer were being prepared for publication. At that time Prof. Jenner mentioned that he had a draft grammar of Khmer, based upon lesson notes he prepared over years of teaching Old Khmer at the University of Hawaii. It was clear that a grammar would be an excellent complement to the dictionaries, and I was invited to develop the draft for publication.

The text was significantly rewritten and reformatted to make it accessible to a wider audience and to update some of the content (given developments in this dymanic field), and the bibliography and lexicon were compiled. In this process Prof. Christian Bauer (Humboldt-Universität, Berlin) rendered valuable advice and assistance for which I offer my thanks.

Finally, I should mention that my work on this project was made possible by support from the National Endowment for the Humanities (Washington). Any views, findings, conclusions or recommendations expressed in this publication do not necessarily represent those of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Paul Sidwell
10 April 2010

Abbreviations

Ang.	Angkorian
mod.	modern
NP	noun phrase
pre-A	pre-Angkorian

1 *Introduction*

Old Khmer, a living language for eight centuries, is attested from the early 7th century A.D. to the first decades of the 15th century. It is the direct ancestor of Modern Khmer (Cambodian), and an important member of the Austroasiatic (Mon-Khmer) language phylum. Preserved in well over a thousand inscriptions, it embodies the most extensive record of language and life in ancient Indo-China.

The inscriptions have been recovered during the past century from modern Cambodia and adjacent parts of Thailand, Vietnam and Laos. All these were engraved on stelæ, walls, lintels, and other available spaces in the numerous monuments erected in these areas.[1] A good many inscriptions in the corpus are bilingual, consisting of Sanskrit texts followed by complementary texts in Old Khmer. New inscriptions are being recovered every year.

Most of these documents promulgate royal directives, commemorate the foundation of sanctuaries, validate privileges, or confirm title to lands and other property. Typically therefore they are legal documents — royal directives, charters, deeds, conveyances — couched in legalistic form and employing a chancery idiom cultivated by a small educated élite. Because of their limited concerns they afford only a partial representation of the language as a whole. As with legal writing everywhere, the reader may expect many a text to open with a long and involved passage reflecting insistence on typically legal precision and detail, usually with namelists and a concatenation of clauses reporting each provision of a royal directive.

The inscriptions show two dialectal variants: pre-Angkorian (pre-A), attested from A.D. 612 to 802, and Angkorian (Ang.), attested from 802 to the abandonment of Angkor in 1431-2. These dates are conventional, and hence approximate; the degree of standardization apparent in the earliest pre-A inscriptions is sure evidence that the language had been written well before 612.

As used in this description, *grammar* should be distinguished from *syntax*. *Grammar* is the more general term, and denotes the systematic study of a language in terms which normally include morphology and syntax and may include phonology. *Syntax* is the specific study of the ways in which the stream of speech is arranged as a sequence of recurrent structures or patterns — phrases, clauses and sentences. Both terms are employed hereafter.

Analysis of Old Khmer shows that the default ordering of constituents is *subject* + *verb* + *optional direct object* + *optional indirect object*, with modifiers following their head. This is not only rather typical among Austoasiatic languages, but the student will also find that this is reassuringly similar to many European languages. The grammar nonetheless exhibits its own peculiarities, notably in its phonology and morphology, although the student may well find that the syntax is not quite so exotic, and no body of special

[1] Other objects were also inscribed, such as bronze objects (from Prachinburi) and recently a gold vase was described by Jacques (2003).

grammatical labels is used here for its description. Employed hereafter is the terminology which has become traditional in Western Europe over the last hundred years. Here and there in the descriptions to follow we make free use of the classical case-names: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, locative, ablative and instrumental. Should such references give the impression that Old Khmer is being forced into a European mold, the reader may be assured that every effort has been made to describe the language in its own terms.

It is apparent that from the first pre-Angkorian inscriptions to the last of the Angkorian the underlying grammar is relatively unchanged. Such developments in exposition as can be recognized have little or nothing to do with syntax but relate to subject-matter, accessions to the lexicon, and stylistic devices as authors experiment with the rich resources of the language and find new, elegant and powerful ways of expressing themselves.

Of the many problems the texts raise most will be found to concern lexical rather than grammatical items. For the khmerophone reader Old Khmer can be insidious in the sense that its similarities to the modern language invite overconfidence in achieving full understanding of what is given on the stone. The reader is reminded that no text can be said to be fully understood unless all its parts are understood first. This is the reason for our emphasis on grammatical items in all that follows.

2 *The writing system*

Old Khmer is written almost exclusively in a writing system brought from South India. Its precise antecedents are a question for paleography which is still in debate and are not considered here.

This system is the direct ancestor of the writing system used for modern Khmer, and for that reason its symbols and organization need not be reviewed here (see, for example, the Introduction to Jenner & Pou 1980-81) and the present text uses exclusively roman transcription. The writing system may be termed a conservative one in that, like Mon (with which it was in contact in Northeast Thailand in the 8th and 9th c.) it has preserved the conjunct consonant symbols by which ligatures (digraphs) are formed for the representation of consonant clusters. This contrasts with Thai and Lao, for which the writing system was adapted several hundred years later.

To the epigraphist whose task it is to read the inscriptions as they appear on stone the inscriptions offer a range of problems. Many are badly weathered or otherwise damaged, resulting in frequent lacunæ in the texts, while a certain proportion was engraved by careless lapicides. Under the best of conditions, the student's understanding of a text is often attended by uncertainties. These uncertainties will not be touched upon in what follows, our concern being to say what needs to be said to describe the mechanics of the language.

The fit of the Indic writing system to Old Khmer as a once-living language is generally good but no better than the fit of the roman alphabet to modern English or French. In pairing it with Old Khmer phonology one must bear in mind that the reality in question is in the words that issue from a speaker's mouth, to be received by his interlocutor's ear and brain. The writing system can offer no more than an imperfect representation of these spoken words.

Old Khmer orthography has a number of idiosyncrasies (discussed further in the introductions to Jenner's (2009) pre-A and Ang. dictionaries). These include:

- the doubling of consonant symbols following *r* (*'ācāryya* for Sanskrit *ācārya*);
- the replacement of *b* by *v* (*vuddha* for *buddha*);
- vacillation in presyllables between *anusvāra* (*-ṃ*) and the four nasal consonants (*ṅ, ñ, n, m*);
- the reinforcement of *visarga* (*-ḥ*) by final *h* (*vraḥh ~ vraḥha* for *vraḥ*);
- indecision in the representation of consonant clusters (*kryal ~ karyyal* 'crane');
- the doubling of certain final consonant symbols (*prasapp* for *prasap*) for a motive as yet unclear;
- and, in pre-A as well as Ang., vacillation in representing the prior member of ligatures by an unaspirated or an aspirated stop symbol (*kvas ~ khvas*).

Of special interest are a number of loans from Sanskrit which show final *-e* where final *-a* would be expected (*kalpe* for *kalpa*). Another group comprises forms with initial ' /ʔ/, difficult to explain by recourse to solely internal evidence, exemplified by *'nak ~ 'anak* /nak/ 'person' and *'seḥ ~ aseḥ ~ seḥ* /seh/ 'horse'.

2.1. Vowel Symbols.

The correspondence of the vowel symbols to their phonological actuality is poor. Ambiguity is noted in the case of written *a*, which may represent /ɔ:, ɔ, a:, a/, written *ā* /a:, a/, written *o* /o:, ɔ:, ɔ/, and above all written *e* and *ē* /e:, e, ɛ:, ɛ, ɤ:, ɤ/. The two diphthongs of Ang. are represented as in Thai (cf. **เตียง** /tiaŋ/ 'bed', **ตัว** /tua/ 'body') by post-initial *ya* /i:ə/ and *va* /u:ə/: *'yat* /ʔi:ət/ 'to be lacking', *chkvat* /cʰku:ət/ 'to be crazed'.

2.2. Consonant Symbols.

On the other hand, the correspondence of the consonant symbols to their phonological counterparts is generally close. Ambiguity is pretty much confined to *p* and *t* before a vowel, where it is impossible to know whether these were realized as explosive /p/ and /t/, or as implosive /ɓ/ and /ɗ/. In this environment we risk taking them as implosive in most cases, following the tendency apparent in the modern language. Final written *s* is regularly rendered /h/, consistent with mod. Khmer.[2]

2.2.1. Aspirate Consonant Symbols.

Used before a vowel in all stages of Khmer, the ten aspirate consonant symbols *kh, gh; ch, jh; ṭh, ḍh; th, dh; ph, bh* (corresponding to modern ខ, ឃ; ឆ, ឈ; ឋ, ឍ; ថ, ធ; ផ, ភ) represent what could have been written as ligatures ⿰ក្ក, ⿰គ្គ, ⿰ច្ច, ⿰ជ្ជ, and so forth.

These ligatures never took root; the aspirate symbols, as part of the inherited system, were preferred as a shortcut. Care must be exercised in interpreting these same aspirates when they occur as the prior member of ligatures. In this case the aspiration, usually shown in Ang. forms, is subphonemic. Pre-A. *cke* contrasts with Ang. *chke* 'dog' only orthographically, both representing /cʰkɛ:/.

Note pre-A *tkep* /tʰkep/ and Ang. *thkyap* /tʰki:əp/ 'to nip', pre-A *pkā* and Ang. *phkā* 'flower', both /pʰka:/. Positing separate phonological forms, one for pre-A and the other for Ang., is not justified. That the /h/ of the aspirate initial is subphonemic is shown by such other forms as pre-A and Ang. *jmaḥ* /ɟᵊmɔh/ 'name', which with the devoicing of the initial is rewritten in mod. Khmer with an aspirate: ឈ្មោះ *jhmoḥ* /cʰmʊəh/. The aspiration represented in the latter form and in all such Ang. forms is no more than an ephenthesis, a phonetic bridge from the initial to the postinitial. The tendency, which is fairly consistent in the modern language, is for the bridge to be realised as aspiration before nasals, and as a schwa before stops.

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[2] None the less, final /s/ and /h/ did contrast at an early stage of the language, and this is maintained in many cognate languages.

2.3. Transliteration.

The present description of the grammar employs a system of transliteration of the kind now standard for most languages that are expressed in a writing system belonging to the Indic script family.

It is essential for the reader to understand that the purpose of transliteration, as opposed to other systems in use, is to report in roman letters exactly what is represented in a nonroman writing system. Its purpose is not to show the pronunciation of the forms so transliterated, this being the function of a phonological transcription of the kind introduced below. This latter is here used sparingly and only as needed.

3 *Phonology*

A chief feature distinguishing Old Khmer from modern Khmer is its phonology. The Middle Khmer period, lying between the two and extending from the abandonment of Angkor down to the early 19th century, was a time of phonological change. Specifically, the old voiced stops were devoiced, while the vowel inventory split into two complementary subsets, now usually known as the *registers*. Old Khmer phonology predates these conspicuous changes.

It is entirely possible to read an Old Khmer text without knowledge of the phonology which that text represents. This approach to the language is not recommended, because the text or its parts would be read as if they were modern Khmer, which is anachronistic. Such a practice is comparable to giving a modern pronunciation to Old English or Old French, or to reading classical Greek as if it were modern Greek. Old Khmer is not modern Khmer. Using the modern pronunciation for it is a spiritless approach, and is all the more needless in that Old Khmer phonology stands much closer to the writing system than does that of modern Khmer. The serious student will take satisfaction in learning the phonology of Old Khmer, because without this knowledge the rationale of the modern phonology cannot be understood.

This said, we turn to consider the main features of Old Khmer phonology. This is a reconstructed system, plausible enough but liable to modification as new details come to light. Its members are here given in a broad phonological transcription, in standard IPA symbolization, not unlike a strict phonemic transcription.

3.1. Vowels.

The vowel inventory has both long and short members, plus the two long diphthongues of Angkorian: /iːə/ and /uːə/, as well as /ə/, the unstressed allophone of /ɔ/ occurring in presyllables and Indic loans. Evidence for /ɯːə/, short /ɯ/, and short /ɪə ɯə ʊə/ is unreliable.

/	iː	ɯː	uː		ɪ		ʊ	
	eː	ɤː	oː		e	ɤ	o	
	ɛː	aː	ɔː		ɛ	a	ɔ	
	iːə		uːə					/

Examples of the long vowels:

1. *pi* /ɓiː/ 'in order to'
2. *ge* /geː/ 'person'
3. *cek* /cɛːk/ 'to divide'

4. *gi* /gɯ:/ 'it'
5. *ket* /kɤ:t/ 'to be born'
6. *kār* /ka:r/ 'to protect'
7. *nu* /nu:/ 'with'
8. *oy* /ʔo:y/ 'to give'
9. *daṅ ~ doṅ* /dɔ:ŋ/ 'to bear'

Examples of the diphthongs:

10. *tyak* /ɗi:ək/ 'to lie down'
11. *kvan* /ku:ən/ 'child'

There was probably a tendency, as in the modern language, to labialize both /u:/ and /o:/ in open syllables, as in *srū* /sru: ~ srɯ:w/ 'paddy' and *vo* /bo: ~ bɤ:w/ 'banyan'.

3.2. Consonants.

The consonant inventory contains twenty-one members. These include:

voiceless stops:	/	p	t	c	k	ʔ	
voiced stops:		b	d	ɟ	g		
implosive stops:		ɓ	ɗ				
nasals:		m	n	ɲ	ŋ		
liquids:			r, l				
spirants:			s			h	
semivowels:		w		y			/

All of these occur in initial position before a vowel nucleus.

In final position the voiced stops are devoiced, all voiceless final stops being unreleased, while /s/ does not occur — as has been said, final written *s* is realized as /h/. Note that, unlike the case in modern Khmer, final /r/ is pronounced. Note also that, as in the modern language, the two implosive stops, /ɓ, ɗ/, stand only before a vowel.

3.2.1. Consonant Clusters.

Consonant clusters, normally binary and found only in initial position, exhibit great variety.

The prior member may not be any of /ʔ, ɓ, ɗ, n, ɲ, ŋ, h, w, y/, whereas all twenty-one of the consonants may be found in post-initial (pre-vocalic) position. Examples of the single consonants as well as consonant clusters will be found in abundance in all that follows.

Juncture between the prior and latter member of clusters may be close or open. Close juncture is here unmarked:

12. *trap* /trɔp/ 'eggplant'

Open juncture is marked as an aid to pronunciation by subphonemic /ʰ/ or /ᵊ/:

13. *phlū* /pʰlu: ~ pʰluːw/ 'road'
14. *manuṣya* /mᵊnʊh/ 'man, human'
15. *ph'van* /pᵊʔuːən/ 'younger sibling'

3.3. Syllable and Word Structure.

The structure of the vernacular word is similar to mod. Khmer.

3.3.1. The Monosyllable.

The monosyllable has the canonical form CVF, in which C represents any consonant, V any vowel nucleus, and F an optional final consonant. In open syllables V is necessarily long; in closed syllables it may be long or short. This monosyllable may functions as the primary wordbase of derivatives.

3.3.2. The Subdissyllable.[3]

What may be called the subdissyllable has the canonical form CCVF.

The term is appropriate because on the phonetic level these range from monosyllabic (*thmo ~ thma* /tʰmɔ:/ 'stone') to dissyllabic (*radeḥ ~ rddeḥ* /rᵊdeh ~ rᵊdeh/ 'cart'), when the juncture vowel may take on color. Note that the privileges of occurrence of C_1, C_2, V and F continue to apply. This subdissyllable may function as the secondary wordbase of derivatives.

3.3.3. The Dissyllable.

The dissyllable, invariably iambic, consists of a stressed monosyllable or subdissyllable with an unstressed presyllable of the shapes Crə- and CəN-.

In these formulæ C continues to represent any allowable consonant. This is followed in the first case by /-rə/, in the second case by /-əN/, in which N represents a nasal frequently but not always assimilating to the initial of the main syllable. Examples:

16. *travāṅ* /trəbaŋ/ 'reservoir'
17. *cramuḥ* /crəmʊh/ 'nose'
18. *prasir* /prəsiːr/ 'writing'
19. *caṅvāt* /cəŋwat/ 'delimited terrain'
20. *kañjuḥ* /kəɲʊh/ 'dung'
21. *randaḥ* /rəndah/ 'lightning'
22. *paṃroḥ* /ɓəmrɔh/ 'trash'

3.3.4. Compounds.

The above are the characteristic wordforms of vernacular Old Khmer. Other words, relatively few in number, show these same forms grouped into compounds. Examples:

---

[3] These are also often refered to as *sesquisyllablic* words, literally having a syllable and a half, since the subphonemic juncture (/ʰ/ or /ᵊ/) creates a light initial syllable with no phonological weight.

23. *slā mlū* 'arecanut [and] betel leaf'
24. *sruk sre* 'villages [and] ricefields'
25. *vagam vagoṃ* 'beads, rosary', *hiṅ huṅ* 'bullfrog'

The latter two show typical alliteration and phonetic variation.

3.3.5. Loanwords.

The structure of loanwords generally follows that of the source language, though assimilation to Khmer phonology is not infrequent. It will nonetheless be found that a good many loans from Sanskrit and Prākṛta conform to the canonical forms of vernacular Khmer:

26. *kuṇḍala* /kəndɔːl/ 'ring'
27. *laṅkā* /ləŋkaː/ 'Ceylon'
28. *saṃkhyā* /səŋkʰjaː/ 'count, reckoning'

4 *Morphology*

4.1. Affixation.

Affixation is an important feature of Khmer and Mon-Khmer morphology. Because little has been done to investigate the processes of affixation, not much of a substantive nature can be added to the wordforms just described.

Like the modern language, Old Khmer shows a set of infixes and two or three sets of prefixes, the number depending on how one interprets them. There are suggestions of ancient suffixes, but it is generally assumed that suffixation was never a productive process in Khmer.

The full sequence of derivation shows the use of infixes and prefixes with the same wordbase. It proceeds from a *primary* wordbase to a *primary* derivative, while the latter serves as a *secondary* wordbase yielding a *secondary* derivative. Example: Ang. *pvas* /ɓuːəh/ 'to enter holy orders', > *phnvas* /pʰnʊːəh/ 'holy orders', > *paṃnvas* /ɓəmnuːəh/ 'one in holy orders'.

4.1.1. Infixes.

The infixes of Old Khmer are a syllabic /-əmn-/ occuring in CVF forms; a syllabic /-əɴ-/ occurring in CCVF forms; and nonsyllabic /-ɓ-/, /-m-/ and /-n-/. The latter two show allomorphs /-rəm-/ and /-rən-/ in a few derivatives. What appear to be other allomorphic infixes include /-r/, /-ʔ-/, /-ŋ/, and /-h-/, none of which can be convincingly assigned. As is suggested by the form *paṃnvas* cited above, the /-əmn-/ infix may be compound.

4.1.2. Prefixes.

Old Khmer has a set of simple prefixes: /p-, t-, c-, k-, r- ~ l-, s-, m-/, the first four of which show voiced counterparts, /b-, d-, ɟ-, g-/.

Parallel with these is a set of rhotacized prefixes: /prə-, trə-, crə-, krə-, mrə-, srə-/, the first four again showing the voiced counterparts /brə-, drə-, ɟrə-, grə-/. In modern Cambodian the postinitial /r/ of this second set is so weakly articulated as to often be inaudible; it appears to be no more than a buffer which preserves their syllabicity.

The motive for distinguishing /p-/ from /prə-/ and so on is unclear. The most that can be said at present is that the data are ambiguous. It is possible that the rhotacized set is original, and that the simple prefixes have been reduced to nonsyllabic status because of the weakness of the /r/ in the rhotacized set, or they may be originally distinct series that have fallen together over time. The latter is perhaps supported by the fact that similarly rhotacized prefixes occur in other branches of Mon-Khmer; e.g. in Northern Mon-Khmer (see: Shorto 1963), in West Bahnaric (see: Sidwell & Jacq 2003), in Katu (see: Costello 1998) and others.

See 4.2.4. on the analogic prefixes.

4.1.3. Reduplication.

With the simple prefixes may be grouped /ʀ-/ representing reduplication of the wordbase initial: **krek* /krɤ:k/ (modern ក្រឹក *krœk* /kra:ək/) 'to stir', > *kakrek* /kᵊkrɤ:k/ 'to quake'. This process appears to be fairly productive, and numerous examples will be found.

4.1.4. Analogic Prefixes.

However it is dissected, the form *paṃnvas* cited above shows the basis for a collateral set of *analogic* prefixes: /ɓəɴ-, ɗəɴ-, cəɴ-, kəɴ-/, along with their voiced counterparts /bəɴ-, ɗəɴ-, ɟəɴ-, gəɴ-/, and /rəɴ-, ləɴ-, səɴ-, ʔəɴ-/. These are compound in form, and consist of a simple prefix with infix /-əɴ-/ attached. They are lifted analogically from the numerous forms derived as described above and are used with secondary wordbases.

They are also used with certain primary wordbases to avoid confusion with /ʀ-/. For example, *pvas* 'to enter orders' yields *paṃpvas* 'to cause to enter orders' rather than **papvas* /ɓᵊɓu:əh/, which would mean 'to enter orders repeatedly'.

4.1.5. Affix Function.

This much describes the form of the Old Khmer affixes. It remains to describe their function. In the past explicit functions have been assigned to some of the Khmer affixes. For example, there is no doubt that infix /-m-/ in some cases yields agentival derivatives while /-n-/ in some cases yields instrumentals. There is no doubt that prefix /p-/ forms causative derivatives in some cases, and that /r-/ in some cases yields perfectives. Prefix /m-/ is presumed to be a reduction of *moy* /mo:y/ ~ *mvay* /mu:əy/ 'one' and serves a singularizing and particularizing function.

However, the danger of inferring the affix function from the derivative rather than from the affix is great, and the interpretations of the past are as incomplete as they are doubtful. Progress in comparative studies of affixation in Austroasiatic is necessary, and it is a good thing that a body of such work is accruing, see for example: Jacob (1976), Bauer (1988), Sidwell (2008).

5 *Word classes*

We begin our examination of Old Khmer syntax by considering the classes of words whose forms have been described above. The class to which a word is assigned is determined by its syntactic function.

The major wordclasses are the verb, the noun, and the adverb, all divisible into subclasses, together with the conjunction and preposition. The question of whether Khmer has a class of adjectives is an old controversy arguable from either direction but leading nowhere; in this description they are termed stative verbs.

It must be emphasized that, as in other languages, one and the same item or word may be assigned to more than one wordclass. A given wordform may function now as a noun, now as a verb, or one and the same form may function now as a conjunction, now as a preposition. Reference to a dictionary will exhibit these shifts of class.

The ease with which a given form changes function is a feature that merits the reader's close attention, as it is one of several which give the language its flexibility and vigor. Example: ***'aṃcas*** *varṣa chnāṃ tap praṃ piy* (K.254B: 2), 'to be aged eighteen years', where *'aṃcas*, although usually a noun, is here clearly a stative verb.

A minor wordclass is the interjection, attested by ten occurrences of *hai* /hɤy/ 'O' in two texts:

29. ***hai*** *ta jā kuruṅ ta vṛkṣa phoṅ* (K.484B: 3-4)
'O [thou] who art king of trees!'

30. ***hai*** *sādhu satparusa phoṅ* (K.177: 28)
'O holy men [and] good!'

5.1. Lexical Items.

An essential distinction is that obtaining between *lexical* items and *grammatical* items. Lexical items are verbs, nouns and adverbs, presumed to be infinite in number. Lexical items have meanings which can be readily defined or paraphrased in a dictionary. Grammatical items, in contrast, form a closed set and have no lexical meaning such as is given in dictionaries.

5.1.1. The Verb.

As with other Mon-Khmer languages, the verb is unmarked for person, number, tense or mood. Unchanging, it shows no features comparable to the conjugations of Indo-European languages. Subclasses of the verb include the copular, stative, intransitive, transitive, passive, and causative.

5.1.1.1. The Copular Verb.

The equational clause is normally expressed with a subject and a predicate linked by the zero copula:

31. *pitara noḥ brāhmaṇa*

'his forefathers (were) *brāhmaṇa*'

32. *neḥ dravya nu jau bhūmi noḥ* (K.374: 12)

'these (were) costly goods for acquiring the said tract'

33. *sruk bhūmi khñuṃ neḥ nai tapasvīndrāśrama* (K.381: 9)

'this *sruk* and land [and these] slaves (are) the property of the Tapasvīndrāśrama'

The term zero copula is a fiction for a copula that is either nonexistent or merely absent, but which can be postulated for purposes of analysis. It offers the advantage of allowing equational sentences, like all others, to be treated as verb-centered. Example:

34. *ta caṃ'in vraḥ vuddhayajña tai lakṣmī pêḥ vṅya yaphlāṅ paṃre śī lān | ta thve vraḥ vuddhapūjā śī gagāśarmma tai sukharatna 'ātmaja śī kê* ○ (K.754B: 13-5)

'The one who shall cook the holy offerings to the Buddha (is) *tai* Lakṣmī; [the one] who shall gather *yaphlāṅ* flowers [for] the service is *si* Lān. The ones who shall perform the holy worship of the Buddha (are) *si* Gaṅgāśarman, *tai* Sukharatna, [and her] son *si* Ke'

During a good part of its history Old Khmer has no true copula. *Jā* /ɟa:/ (modern ជា *jā* /ci:ə/) expresses such notions as 'to be equivalent to' and 'to serve as', while *gi* /gɯ:/ (mod. គឺ *gï* /kɯ:/) is originally a third-person pronoun which gradually as the language developed took on the rôle of the zero copula but continues to be used in its pronominal sense (compare with cleft constructions under 8.6). Examples of its copular function:

35. *pre steṅ 'añ śivakaivalya* ***gi*** *ta thve vidhi nā kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* (K.235C: 75-6)

'[he] bade the *steṅ 'añ* Śivakaivalya be the one who performed the rites before the Sovereign High Lord of the World'

36. *vraḥ pāda parameśvara nu vrāhmana hiranyadāma oy varaśāpa pre santāna steṅ 'añ śivakaivalya* ***gi*** *ta siṅ nā kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* (K.235C: 76-7)

'His Majesty Parameśvara and the *brāhmaṇa* Hiranyadāma pronounced an oath bidding members of the family of the *steṅ 'añ* Śivakaivalya be the ones to officiate before the Sovereign High Lord of the World'

37. *man steṅ 'añ śivasoma slāp* ○ *steṅ 'añ vāmaśiva* ***gi*** *nākka mān śivāśrama* (K.235D: 8-9)

'when the *steṅ 'añ* Śivasoma died the *steṅ 'añ* Vāmaśiva was the one in charge of the Śivāśrama'

38. *steṅ 'añ śikhā* ***gi*** *ta pre 'nak thve kāryya lvaḥh srac* (K.235D: 20-1)

'The *steṅ 'añ* Śikhā was the one who caused folk to carry the work to completion'

39. *steṅ 'añ īśānamūrtti* ***gi*** *ta sthāpanā vraḥ liṅga noḥ 'āy stuk ransi* (K.235D: 34)

'The *steṅ 'añ* Īśānamūrti was the one who set up the holy *liṅga* in Stuk Ransi'

Of special interest is *syaṅ* /si:əŋ/, an anaphoric copula referring back to a previously stated subject or topic and in translation usually calling for the help of an anaphoric pronoun:

40. *gi noḥ sre noḥ* ***syaṅ*** *man oy ta vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ śivaliṅga* (K.353S: 26-7)
'The said ricefields are what [he] has given to My Holy High Lord the *śivaliṅga*'

Consider this example showing *syaṅ* before an unmarked prepositional phrase, where it stands closer to modern ន៎ *nau* /nɤw/ than to modern ជា *jā* /ci:ə/:

41. *yeṅ ta 'aṃpāl neḥ nā bhāga tamrvāc eka* ***syaṅ*** *ta śapathavelā kāt tai thvāy 'āyuḥ* ... (K.292A: 2-3)
'We of this group assigned to the section of inspectors first-class, [we] being at the moment of swearing in, do cut [our] wrists [and] offer up [our] lives ...'

As the language develops *syaṅ* is found increasingly before the headless *ta* construction (5.2.2.3.2.1). Examples:

42. *'anak sañjak 'arjuna 'anak sañjak śrī dharadevapura chpaṅ kar saṃtac* ***syaṅ ta*** *tval toy vnek* (K.227: 9-11)
'The *'nak sañjak* Arjuna [and] the *'nak sañjak* Dharadevapura fought to protect His Majesty, [but] were ones who were slain before his eyes'

43. *cāmpa poḥ nu laṃveṅ trū ta phdai* ***syaṅ ta*** *tval roḥ pratijñā* (K.227: 26-7)
'The Cham, thrusting with [their] lances, struck [them] in the belly, [and] they were ones who were slain according to [their] vow'

44. *gi ta mān bhūmyākara sruk stuk rmmāṅ noḥ pi 'yat kvan cau ley* ***syaṅ ta*** *tāc santāna dau hoṅ* (K.219: 7-8)
(*closely*) 'They were ones who had the land revenues from the *sruk* of Stuk Rmāṅ until there were no more children or grandchildren, [and] they were ones whose line died out'

5.1.1.2. Stative Verbs.

This subclass corresponds to the adjectives of other analyses and, as the term indicates, describes various states or qualities. Examples: *cas* /cah/ 'to be old'; *dhaṃ* /dhɔm/ 'to be big'; *so* /sɔ:/ 'to be white'. Stative verbs are not always easy to distinguish from passives (if we accept that there is a useful distinction to be made in the case of Old Khmer).

5.1.1.3. Intransitive Verbs.

This subclass consists of active verbs that cannot take a direct object. Examples:

45. *ter* /ʄɤ:r/ 'to walk'
46. *rat* /rɔt/ 'to run'
47. *'aṅgvay* /ʔəŋgu:əy/ 'to sit'

Many verbs show transitive as well as intransitive functions. These must be distinguished from transitive verbs with direct objects unexpressed, such as: *gvar* /gu:ər/ '[he] plots [it]'.

5.1.1.4. Transitive Verbs.

This subclass consists of active verbs that do take a direct object, and includes those after which the direct object is unexpressed. Examples:

48. ***soca*** *nirṇṇaya* 'to issue a decision'
49. ***vināśa*** *caṃnāṃ* 'to do damage to a foundation'
50. *rāja* ***jvan*** *dravya* 'the king offered up riches'
51. *kvan* ***nāṃ*** *dau smau* 'the boy drove [it = a buffalo] to grass'

5.1.1.5. Passive Verbs.

Within the affixational system there are no recognized mechanisms for forming passive verbs. As far as is known, the few verbs admitted to this class are lexically determined, and are difficult to distinguish from stative verbs. Vague wording occasionally allows a transitive verb to be interpreted as passive.

A limited number of NPs consisting of a *head + genitive dependent* are, when attributive to a head, can be interpreted as passivized by virtue of their position. In this case the genitive dependent may be said to function as the agent. It will be noted that most of these genitive dependents are derivatives by infix /-əmn- ~ -ən-/. Examples:

52. *sre* ***jaṃnāv*** *ta 'me va mañ ta poñ somakīrtti mās 8* (Ka.11: 6-7)
    'Riceland purchased from the mother of the *vā* Mañ [and] from the *poñ* Somakīrti: 8 *mās*'
53. *kñuṃ* ***'aṃnoy*** *kurāk hvār ta vraḥ* (K.54: 12)
    'slaves given by the *kurāk* of Hvār to the divinity'
54. *gan kñuṃ tmur krapī sre daṃriṅ* ***'aṃnoy*** *kloñ 'āy ta vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ śrī prayāgeśvara* (Sambor Prei Kuk inscr., 4)
    'slaves, cows, buffaloes, ricefields [and] plantations given by the *kloñ* to My Holy High Lord Śrī Prayāgeśvara'
55. *... prasap sre* ***daṃnuñ*** *chloñ vidyāmaya* (K.843C: 29-30)
    '... [it] abuts on the ricefield purchased by the *chloñ* Vidyāmaya';
56. *sre* ***pradāna*** *poñ lon* (Ka.11: 7)
    'Riceland given by the *poñ* Lon'
57. *khñuṃ vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ śivaliṅga* ***jaṃnvan*** *kaṃsteṅ śrī narapatīndravarmma* (K.221N: 1)
    'Slaves for My Holy High Lord of the *śivaliṅga* (which were) offered up by the *kaṃsteṅ* Śrī Narapatīndravarman'

58. *jvan bhūmi valaya* ***jaṃnau*** *'āgneya mat ta haraṇasthāna thmo* (K.397E: 3)
'[he] has offered up a piece of enclosed land purchased [by himself] southeast of the entry into the stone quarry'

On the other hand, a periphrastic passive is widely used. This is marked by preposition *ti* (5.2.3.3) followed by an optional agent, then followed by a transitive verb.[4] In its full form the prepositional phrase representing the agent is acceptable as such (though seemingly out of place) before the verb. Examples:

59. *sruk sre ta* ***ti*** *mratāñ oy ta vraḥ*
'*sruk* [and] ricefields which were given by the lord to the divinity'

60. *... man neḥ bhūmyākara sruk sre cnās khtār śūnyamūla* ***ti*** *mratāñ śrī vīrendrārimathana ... paṅgaṃ thpvaṅ nivedana pi svaṃ vraḥ karunāprasāda ...* (Ka.50A: 4-7)
'... that these land revenues from the *sruk* [and] riceland of Cnās Khtār which had been without a proprietor had been worshipfully sued for as a royal benefice by the lord Śrī Vīrendrārimathana ... '

61. *gi santāna* ***ti*** *vraḥ pre trā dau nā kanmyaṅ paṃre* (K.235C: 66)
'members of the family were bidden by the royal one transfer to the Corps of Pages'

Note the following, where the transitive verb might appear to be also passivized:

62. ***ti*** *pre kāp thpvaṅ* (K.105/1°: 16)
'[his executioner] shall be ordered to cut off [his] head', not '[he] shall be ordered to be beheaded'

The following is similar:

63. *... durgga* ***ti*** *kuruṅ cāmpa ta jmoḥ śrī jayaindravarmma pre thve le vnaṃ cek katāṅ ...* (K.227: 15-6)
'... the stronghold which [his engineers] were ordered by the Cham prince named Śrī Jayendravarman to build on mount Cek Katāṅ ... '

In its shortened form this periphrastic passive poses a problem of analysis. The many cases in which the agent is unexpressed brings *ti* into direct contact with the verb, as in the above example of *ti pre kāp thpvaṅ*. Thus:

64. *...* ***ti*** *pre dau sthāpanā* '... [who] was ordered to go out [and] set up images'

65. *'nak vraḥ* ***ti*** *pradāna ta mratāñ* 'sanctuary slaves who had been given to the lord'

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[4] The authors had some robust discussions about the etymology of *ti*. Jenner favoured comparing it with Malay *di-* passive, while Sidwell suggested that it may be cognate with the **dii* preposition reconstructed for Proto West Bahnaric by Sidwell and Jacq (2003) (which arguably has cognates in various Austroasiatic branches, with typically locative or possessive meaning).

5.1.1.6. Causative Verbs.

This subclass consists of derivatives of several formations; no monosyllables with causative meaning have been found.

Causatives are of two main types: those formed on intransitive verbs and those formed on transitive verbs. Whether these derivatives are causative by virtue of their affix, or are lexically determined, is at present debatable.

Derivatives of intransitive bases may have only a direct object of the causation:

66. *tval* /ɗu:əl/ 'to fall' > *phtval* /pʰɗu:əl/ 'to cause (*someone, something*) to fall'

Causative in form, these are often transitive in meaning:

67. *'nak* ***phtval*** *mahābodhi* 'the worker felled the Great Bodhi tree'

Another formation employs infix /-əmn- ~ -əɴ-/:

68. *slāp* /slap/ 'to die' > *saṃlāp* /səmlap/ 'to cause to die'
69. *vṅā* /bəŋa:/ 'to be dear' > *vaṃṅā* /bəmŋa:/ 'to hold (cause to be) dear'

Derivatives of transitive bases have two direct objects, one the direct object of the causation, the other the direct object of the verb's transitive component. One or the other of these direct objects may be left unexpressed: *tyaṅ* 'to know' > *phtyaṅ* 'to cause to know', practically 'to acquaint, inform'. Example:

70. *sabhā* ***paṃvyat*** *gati*
'the court caused [him] to confirm the truth of the proceeding'

With some of these derivatives the object of the causation may be subordinated by *ta*, yielding a prepositional phrase following the direct object of the wordbase:

71. ***pandval*** *vraḥ vara ta śrī sukarmmā kaṃsteṅ* (K.380W/2°: 21-2)
(*closely*) '[His Majesty] caused the *kaṃsteṅ* Śrī Sukarma to humbly receive the royal blessing'

This same *pandval* merits special attention, as English and French are rarely able to express its full flavor. No longer verbal in mod. Khmer (បន្ទូល *pandūl* /ɓɑntu:l/ 'royal utterance'), the form is a secondary derivative by infix /-əɴ-/ of **phdval* /pʰdu:əl/ 'to carry or wear on the head', itself a primary derivative by prefix /p-/ of *dval* /du:əl/ 'head; to raise to the head in token of humility or reverence'.

Restricted to action by a sovereign or royal servant, *pandval* is 'to cause to raise to the head, cause to receive with humility or reverence'. One case is on record in which it is more exactly 'to cause to wear on the head':

72. *vraḥ hau* ***pandval*** *vṅya oy vara prasiddhi neḥ varṇṇa ta vyar* (K.444B: 19-9; K.868A: 27-30; K.175S: 9)
'The royal one summoned [them]. crowned [them] with chaplets, [and] gave [them his] blessing, confirming [them] in these two corporations'

The usual sense of the form, again literally, is 'to cause to receive *a royal command* with humility or reverence', its practical equivalent being 'to issue a command' when the

subject is the sovereign, or 'to transmit a command' when the subject is a royal servant. Example:

73. *raṅvāṅ hau grāmavṛddha pvān toy sruk* ***pandval*** *vraḥ śāsana oy śapatha* (K.598B: 37-8)
'[he] bade the court investigator summon village elders, four from each *sruk*, transmit the royal directive, [and] administer the oath'

In addition, a wide range of periphrastic causatives are formed with *oy* /ʔo:y/ 'to give'. Examples:

74. *mratāñ* ***oy*** *kvan añ dau nagara,* 'the lord had my son go to the capital'

Close to these formations are the great many introduced by *pre* /prɤ:/ 'to bid, order'.

5.1.1.7. Serial Verbs

As in the modern language, verbs may occur in series without being marked as to function. These series are of two main types:

(*a*) a second verb is a sequel in time to the one before it, and
(*b*) a second verb is the complement of the one before it.

The first is exemplified by the overworked *dau* + a verb of purpose:

75. ***dau oy*** *śapata* (K.878: 7)
'to go out [and] administer the oath, go forth to administer the oath'

The second type is exemplified by

76. ***svaṃ leṅ*** *'añ 'aṃpān jā braḥ buddha* (K.413B: 50-1)
(*closely*) '[I] pray to let me get to be a holy Buddha'

These sequences are not likely to give the reader trouble, and it is hardly necessary to explore their full variety.

5.1.2. The Noun.

Typical of Mon-Khmer languages, the noun is unmarked for number, gender or case. Unchanging, it shows no features comparable to the declensions of Indo-European languages. It is divisible into several subclasses including the pronoun and numeral.

5.1.2.1. Common Nouns.

Common nouns are indefinite or non-particularized nouns denoting a broad range of objects and beings. Examples:

77. *dūk* /du:k/ ~ *dvak* /du:ək/ 'boat'
78. *tanlāp* /dənlap/ 'caddy'
79. *kalpa* /kal/ 'age, eon'
80. *calācala* /cɔlacɔ:l/ 'instability'

81. *thmiṅ* /thmɪŋ/ 'string instrumentalist'
82. *padigaḥ* /bɔdɪgɔh/ 'cuspidor'
83. *puṇya* /ɓʊn/ 'good, virtue, merit'
84. *lṅāc* /ləŋa:c/ 'sunset'
85. *vas* /bɔh/ 'snake'
86. *śīlā* /sɪla:/ 'stone, rock'
87. *sākṣi* /saksi:/ 'eyewitness'
88. *huduga* /hʊdʊk/ 'large drum'
89. *'ādhvā* /ʔadhwa:/ 'road, way'

5.1.2.1.1. Pluralization

Common nouns may be optionally pluralized in several ways.

Most commonly, a noun may be modified by adverbial *phoṅ* /phɔ:ŋ/ 'as a group'. Example:

90. *ge dau naraka nnuv* [sic] *gotra* ***phoṅ*** (K.190: 32-3)
'They shall go to hell along with members of [their] family'

Another common pluralizer is *ge* 'they' occurring as the head of an NP:

91. ***ge*** *vraḥ phoṅ tel vraḥ kaṃmratāṅ 'añ śrī jayahvarmma oy ta poñ īśvaracita* (K.38: 8-9)
'Images which My Holy High Lord Śrī Jayavarman gave to the *poñ* Īśvaracita'

A noun may also be associated with a noun or verb denoting wholeness or completeness. Examples:

92. *... pi jvan dravya ta* ***'aṃpall*** *neḥh* (K.207: 2-3)
'... with a view to offering up all these costly things'
93. *ri 'nak ta ñyāṅ paṃre is khe pramvāy* ***guḥ*** ... (K.139B: 3-4)
'Those who endeavor to serve [him] for only six months in all ... '
94. *oy ratna mās prāk dravyagana* ***phoṅ*** *'val vraḥ go sahasra ○ taṃrya śata dvaya ...* (K.235D: 68-9)
'[he] gave [him] jewels, gold, silver, [and] all manner of costly things: a thousand sacred cows, two hundred elephants, ... '

From many such passages the idea of 'all' may be deduced to represent the meaning probably intended. No passage illustrates this better than

95. *'anak samudāya trū phsyat* ***iss*** *gaṅ 'anak bhay mvay tap* ***guḥ*** (K.227: 20-1)
'The men of the rear-guard were all killed; only thirty remained alive'

5.1.2.1.2. The Mass noun to Count noun Shift

A fair number of mass nouns will be found to occur in contexts requiring them to be taken as count nouns. Indeed, one effect of the pluralizers mentioned above is to convert a

mass noun into a count noun. Thus *bhūmi* 'land' is also 'tract of land', while *sabhā* 'council, court' is also 'member of a council'. Examples:

96. ***valaya*** *mvay thṅai ket sruk* (K.249: 15)
'a piece of enclosed land east of the *sruk*'

97. ***canlyak*** *thmi tap hat yo tap prām* (K.258B: 10)
'ten lengths of new cloth for the lower garment, [one] *hat* fifteen *yau*'

This shift is particularly common with mass nouns denoting persons: *kula* 'family', also 'members of a family'. Examples:

98. *nau 'nak ta yok neḥ sre ta roḥ neḥh oy nai dai ge dau naraka nuv* ***gotra phoṅ*** (K.190: 31-3)
'Persons who take this riceland so defined [and] give [it to be] the property of another — they shall go to one of the hells along with members of [their] family'

99. *... ta paraloka vraḥ yāma yāna nā ta naraka ta daṃnep=ra 'avīci lvaḥ* ***saṅsāra*** (K.598B: 60-1)
'... to the other world of the holy Yāma, who will take [him] to a place in one of the hells, notably the Avīci, until the end of [his] cycle of rebirths'

100. *steṅ 'añ 'ācāryya* ***caturācāryya*** *nā triṇi* (K.231B: 32-3)
'the *steṅ 'añ* the *ācārya* [and] member third-class of the Four Ācārya'

101. ***is kulapakṣa phoṅ*** *stac prakop saṃpat nu krama* ○ (K.277: 14)
'On all members of [their] families His Majesty was pleased to confer riches and rank'

102. *man vāp nos jā* ***vargga*** *ta kaṃsteṅ ...* (K.221N: 9-10)
'Inasmuch as the *vāp* Nos was a member of the *kaṃsteṅ*'s order ... '

Another common pluralizer is *gaṇa* 'class, series, set', occasionally used in the sense of 'unit of a set':

103. *gaṇa prāk ...* ***gaṇa*** *laṅgau ...* (K.366b: 22-3)
'articles of silver ... articles of copper ... '

But a pluralizer need not be present to precipitate the shift. Example:

104. *daha 'yat* ***kule*** *'añ ta mūla santāna 'nak neḥ ta mūla thve vraḥ rājakāryya ta gi bhumi 'añ nā bhāga khnet daha mān santāna te tvan svāy ta mān dharmma roḥh ta praśasta 'āc paripāla vraḥ neḥ bhāga rṇṇoc* (K.843C: 13-6)
'If there be no kinsman of mine who is family head, this person (who is) head shall carry out royal service on my land during the fortnight of the waxing moon, [and] if there be a member of the line of the *teṅ tvan* Svāy who keeps the Dharma, in pursuance of [this] edict he] shall be authorized to keep this sanctuary during the fortnight of the waning moon'

5.1.2.2. Proper Nouns.

Proper nouns are definite, particularized nouns naming specific persons, places, and objects or concepts such as months and days of the week. They raise no grammatical problem. Examples:

105. *cke ~ chke* 'slavename'
106. *śrī vāgīśvarapaṇḍita* 'personal name'
107. *garuḍa* 'Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu'
108. *sahasrayajña* 'name of a major sacrifice'
109. *'āṣāḍha* 'the eighth lunar month'
110. *vṛhaspati* 'Jupiter'

5.1.2.3. Pronouns.

5.1.2.3.1. Personal Pronouns.

Old Khmer shows a paucity of personal pronouns, with the result that titles and kinship terms as well as repeated personal names are used where another language would employ a pronoun. For the first person, singular *'añ* and plural *yeṅ* are not uncommon.

A distinction must be made between attributive *'añ* as a normal possessive pronoun and attributive *'añ* as the deferential pronoun (5.1.2.4.4.). For the third person, singular *gi* and plural *ge* are used. No second-person pronouns are attested.

5.1.2.3.2. Demonstrative Pronouns.

As in the modern language, the demonstrative pronouns include *neḥ* /neh/ 'this' and *noḥ* /nɔh/ 'that', referring to things animate as well as inanimate. These usually occur as dependents on a noun head. *Noḥ* exhibits ramified senses and is used occasionally as a third-person possessive.

The khmerophone reader and other speakers of the modern language will balk at accepting *gi* as a weak demonstrative: 'this, that; he, she, it', comparable to Latin *is ~ ea ~ id*, and used in the same way. That it is a pronoun is proved by its frequent occurrence as the dummy subject of cleft sentences, as a modifier in NPs, and as a locative.

Examples of the dummy subject:

111. ***gi*** *neḥ sre ta roḥ gi neḥh phoṅ tel kuruṅ maleṅ oy ta vraḥ* ... (K.451S: 15-7)
'It (is) these fields aforesaid which the *kuruṅ* of Maleṅ has given to the divinity...'

112. *894 śaka pi ket puṣya vudhavāra* ***gi*** *nu vrāhmaṇa ta jmaḥ mratāñ chloṅ saṃkarṣa* ... (K.235D: 86)
'Śaka 894, [day] three of the fortnight of the waxing moon of [the month of] Puṣya, a Wednesday: it (is) on this date that a *brāhmaṇa* by the name of the lord *chloñ* Saṃkarṣa ... '

Examples of head pronoun:

113. ***gi*** *nā ge tel kaṃvoṅ doṅ ge pitāmātā ge* (K.728: 5)
'This (is) the place where they shall forever dwell, both they [and] their ancestors'

114. ***gi*** *ti sthāpanā 'āy bhadrapattana* (K.235D: 16)
'this was set up at Bhadrapattana'

115. ***gi*** *ta pradhāna ta kule* (K.235D: 30)
'He (is) the one who (was) head of the house'

116. *vraḥ oy bhoga phoṅ damnep ra* ***gi*** *vat khlās krayā 'arccana* (K.235D: 17)
'The royal one bestowed [on him] articles for his use, these (being) girdles, parasols, [and] cult objects in particular'

117. *vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ 'añ thve vraḥ diksā daṃnep ra* ***gi*** *bhuvanādhva vraḥ vrahmayajña* (K.235D: 66)
'His Majesty My High Lord performed the holy ceremonies, these (being) notably the *Bhuvanādhva* [and] the holy *Brahmayajña*'

118. *vraḥ pre oy sre vrac* ***gi*** *ta jā snoṅ viṅ* (K.235D: 54)
'The royal one bade [him] give the ricefield at Vrac, this (being) what would serve as payment'

119. *oy vraḥ dakṣiṇā nu dravya daṃnep ra* ***gi*** *vraḥ thnim phoṅ ○ mukuta ○ kundala ○ ...* (K.235D: 67)
'[He] gave [him] *dakṣiṇā* and costly things, these (being) mainly holy ornaments, diadems, ear-rings, … '

120. *pre cāra purusa paṃre pratidina nu kriyā paṃre ta daṃnep ra* ***gi*** *vastra 'anna pāna* (K.235D: 71)
'[He] bade [them] write down [the names of] persons in daily service along with requisites for service, these (being) raiment, food, drink in particular … '

121. ***gi*** *ta cāṃ rājya kamrateṅ phdai karom pradvanna mok* (K.235C: 81-2)
'This [= the Sovereign High Lord of the World] was what safeguarded the realm of the High Lords of Earth from that time on'

122. ***gi*** *ta cat sruk thve kāryya nā vraḥ noḥha* (K.235D: 20)
'He (it was) who laid out the *sruk* [and] carried out works at the said sanctuary'

123. ***gi*** *ta cat sruk sthāpanā chloṅ travāṅ* (K.235D: 62-3)
'he (it was) who laid out the *sruk*, set up the image, [and] inaugurated the reservoir'

124. *ta* ***gi*** *rājya vraḥ pāda paramavīraloka gi nu vrāhmaṇa saṅkarṣa nu chloñ mādhava ... duñ bhūmi pi cat caṃnat 'anrem lon* (K.235D: 77-8)
'In the reign of His Majesty Paramavīraloka he with the *brāhmaṇa* Saṃkarṣa and the *chloñ* Mādhava … purchased a tract of land [on which] to found the settlement of Anrem Lon'

125. *sarvvābhimata paṅgap nu dharmmaśāstra pre lek us noḥ cek phgan ta 'nak nā vraḥ vnvak tak cis* ***gi*** *ta phtal sruk pādamūla* (K.569: 16-7)

'[they] unanimously found [it] in keeping with the holy Dharmaśāstra to have [them] remove the said firewood [and] give [it] out to members of the holy clerical staff at Tak Cis, [and] this is what [they] dispatched to the *sruk* of the *pādamūla*'

126. *nu man* ***gi*** *ta mān santāna ta cāṃ likhita kamvuvaśa ...* (K.380W/2°: 15-6)

'Inasmuch as he was the one whose family kept record of the descendants of Kambu ..., '

127. *man vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ śrī jayendrapandita jā kule pitṛpakṣa ta dhūli jeṅ vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ śrī vāgindrapandita ...* ***gi*** *nākka ta thve karmmadharmma nai dhūli jeṅ vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ śrī vāgindrapandita* ***gi*** *ta cat sruk sthāpanā chloṅ travāṅ* (K.235D: 61-3)

'Inasmuch as My Holy High Lord Śrī Jayendrapaṇḍita was a paternal kinsman of the *dhūli jeṅ* My Holy High Lord Śrī Vāgindrapaṇḍita ... he (was) the one who performed the obsequies for the *dhūli jeṅ* My Holy High Lord Śrī Vāgindrapaṇḍita, [and] he (was) the one who laid out the *sruk*, set up the image, [and] inaugurated the reservoir'

Examples of the attributive pronoun:

128. *vodhigana kantai* ***gui*** *kon piy ... vodhipriya kantai gui kon ber* (K.388C: 6-7)

'Bodhigaṇa, his wife [and] three children ... Bodhipriya, his wife [and] two children'

129. *rūpyabhājana karap* ***gi*** (K.124: 9)

'a silver vessel [and] its lid'

130. *sre 'aṃnoy poñ vinayaśiva□□ mās 3 prak so niṣkraya* ***gīy*** *liṅ 1* (Ka.13: 1-3)

'Riceland given by the *poñ* Vinayaśiva□□: 3 *mās*; white silver in payment for it, 1 *liṅ*'

131. *syaṅ man svat ta mukha cuṅ pi sar sir pi paryyān steṅ 'añ śivakaivalya nu* ***gi*** (K.235C: 74-5)

'These [texts] were what [he] recited from beginning to end so as to write [them] down in order thereby to teach [them] to the *steṅ 'añ* Śivakaivalya'

Examples of the locative pronoun, which is little different from the above:

132. *navaśukti 1 tmo ta* ***gi*** *7* (K.415: 3)

'one *navaśukti* [with] seven stones on it'

133. *oy sruk ta jmaḥ gnaṅ cranāñ vo nu 'nak ta* ***gi*** *nu phsak 151 nu bhūmi ...* (K.235D: 106)

'[he] gave [him] the *sruk* named Gnaṅ Cranāñ Vo together with the people in it and 151 transportees and land'

134. *santāna cat sruk jmaḥ bhadrayogi ○ 'aṅgvay ta* ***gi*** *sthāpanā vraḥ śivaliṅga ta* ***gi*** (K.235C: 60-1)

'Members of the family laid out a *sruk* named Bhadrayogi, settled in it, [and] set up a holy *śivaliṅga* in it'

135. *svaṃ bhūmi 'nau chok gar gyar cat sruk jmaḥ khmvāñ duk khñuṃ ta* ***gi*** (K.235D: 33-4)

'[he] sued for land in Chok Gargyar, laid out the *sruk* named Khmvāñ [and] assigned slaves to it'

136. *syaṅ 'aṅga vraḥ kriyā paṃre 'āy le ta dhūli jeṅ vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ pravṛtti ta* ***gi*** *sappa thṅaiy* (K.235D: 71-2)

'these were items of holy requisites for service on high which the *dhūli jeṅ* My Holy High Lord employed there (= in it) every day'

Note also:

137. *phoṅ neḥ syaṅ ti oy nu bhoga ta* ***gi*** (K.235D: 68)

'All these were given as usufruct at them [= ceremonies]'

138. *sthāpanā vraḥ śakaranārāyana 1 vraḥ bhagavati 1 'nau ta sruk bhadrapattana ... oy khñuṃ ta* ***gi*** (K.235D: 41-2)

'[he] set up one image of Śaṃkaranārāyaṇa [and] one image of Bhagavatī in the *sruk* of Bhadrapattana ... [and] gave slaves to them'

We shall see in 8.7.1 (Inversions) that all three of these demonstratives commonly occur *before* their noun head.

Illustrating the ambivalence of *gi* is

139. *neḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ ta pvan* ***gi*** *vraḥ jananī kaṃmrateṅ 'añ* (K.125: 8)

'These four My High Ladies (were) the royal forebears of My High Lord'

The text dates from A.D. 1001, probably too early for *gi* to be taken as a copula. Note also

140. *ti īśāna* ***gi*** *bhūmi bhadrapattana hoṅ* (K.235D: 105)

'Finally, on the northeast (is) the land belonging to Bhadrapattana'

where *gi* is probably the transposed article but could well be the copula.

5.1.2.3.3. Relative Pronouns.

Four relative pronouns are in use: *tel, man, kāla*, and *nā*. In the first two, case and the animate/inanimate dichotomy are not distinguished.

Pre-Angkorian favors *tel* /dɛ:l/ (modern *ṭēl* /da:ɛl/), evolved from the homophonous noun 'the same' or from the stative verb 'to be the same, constant'. Examples:

141. *gi sre ta* ***tel*** *ti kurāk śūragrāma tve ai cdiṅ vrīdāṅ ...* (K.927: 2)

'The ricefield which is being cultivated by the *kurāk* of Śūragrāma on the river Vrīdāṅ ... '

where it is nominative, and

142. *gi neḥ* ***tel*** *mratāñ oy ta poñ* ... (K.154A: 8-9)
'It is this that the lord has given the *poñ* ... '

where it is accusative.

Man is used sparingly in pre-Angkorian. Examples:

143. *kñuṃ tāñ suvarṇṇa* ***man*** *parigraha ta kurāk vyādhapura* ... (K.109N: 24)
'Slaves of the *tāñ* Suvarṇa whom [she] received from the *kurāk* of Vyādhapura...'

144. *kñuṃ ta* ***man*** *kloñ 'aṃmṛta oy ta vraḥ* ... (K.561: 26)
'Slaves whom the *kloñ* Amṛta has given to the divinity ... '

where in both cases it is accusative.

Man is the preferred relative in Angkorian. A few cases are on record where it is nominative, but most of its occurrences are accusative:

145. *'nak 'āgama* ***man*** *nivedana ta vraḥ kamrateñ 'añ* (K.291N: 2-3)
'Conscripts whom [he] has conveyed to My Holy High Lord: ... '

146. *syaṅ* ***mana*** *svat ta mukha cuṅ* ... (K.235C: 74)
'these are what [he] recited from beinning to end ... '

147. *bhūmi ta roḥha neḥha phoṅ syaṅ* ***man*** *oy ta vraḥ 'āy stuk ransi nu kule* (K.235D: 52)
'These several tracts are what [he] gave to the divinity at Stuk Ransi with members of [his] family'

But characteristic of Old Khmer, particularly Angkorian, is the ellipsis of relative pronouns. In this case the dependent clause is said to be unmarked. Examples:

148. *'āyoga moy ti ta gi kuṭī paṃnvas cya slā* (K.415: 5)
'One ornament for the cell where the clerics partake of arecanut'

where it was not thought necessary to specify *nā* before *paṃnvas*, and

149. *neḥ bhūmya ta roḥh neḥ ta ti vappā steṅ 'añ vraḥ tannot chkā vrai* ... (K.344: 18)
'This land aforesaid, on which the father of the *steṅ 'añ* of Vraḥ Tannot had cleared the forest, ... '

5.1.2.3.4. Other Pronouns.

Gnā /gna:/, a syncope of *gaṇa* /gɔ:n/ 'group, company' and the source of the modern Khmer reciprocal pronoun គ្នា *gnā* /k^{h}ni:ə/, is not in evidence in the chancery idiom but may well have been so used in speech and other writing.

On record are two occurrences of pre-Angkorian *'avi* /wi:/ (K.76: 5; K.562B: 12), both slavenames and probably the source of the modern interrogative and indefinite pronoun អ្វី *'vī* /wɤ:y/, which is not otherwise attested.

On the other hand, Angkorian *khlvan* /k^{h}lu:ən/ 'body, person; self', the source of modern ខ្លួន *khlwn* /khlu:ən/, is found a few times as a reflexive pronoun. Example:

150. *rūpa vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ śrī dharaṇīndrapaṇḍita cār* ***khlvan*** (K.625: 1-2)
'Image of My Holy High Lord Śrī Dharaṇīndrapaṇḍita, graven by himself' — probably meaning '... graven at his behest'

5.1.2.4. Titles and Honorifics.

It must be admitted that titles and honorifics occur with such frequency in the inscriptions as to become monotonous to the student. This is a manifestly superficial consideration, and it is more important to understand that these elements mean much to the Khmer and are hence to be treated with full respect. To abbreviate them, as is often done in modern translations, is to discount the weight they carry.

5.1.2.4.1. Śrī.

An honorific which will give the reader no trouble is *śrī* ('radiance, glory'), used as in Sanskrit ('divine, holy; venerable, reverend') as a noun head, comparable to *vraḥ*, with which a following name is in apposition. It is best left untranslated.

5.1.2.4.2. Vraḥ.

The ubiquitous *vraḥ* /brah/ (modern *braḥ* /preəh/) is a noun denoting 'divine being'. According to the theory of Jenner & Pou (1980-81), it is a primary derivative, found elsewhere in Mon-Khmer,[5] consisting of prefix /b-/ with *raḥ* /rah/ (modern ᨿᩬᩉ *raḥ* /reəh/) 'to shine, be bright'. It is used (among other ways) as a headword before the titles and names of divinities or personages partaking of divinity such as kings, other royalty, and high-ranking ecclesiastics.

The item raises a perennial problem: experience has shown the futility of retaining its noun status in translation. Forced upon us is the *pis-aller* of rendering it as an adjective — 'sacred', 'holy', sometimes 'royal'. All titles and names following *vraḥ* in the same NP are in apposition to it.

5.1.2.4.3. Titles.

The inventory of true titles is not great but at present cannot be ordered convincingly into a hierarchy; nor in some cases can civil and ecclesiastic titles be discriminated. The following comments are open to correction as new knowledge is developed.

For divinities, at the top of the hierarchy are *kaṃmrateṅ jagat ta rājya* 'the Sovereign High Lord of the World' and unqualified *kaṃmrateṅ jagat* 'High Lord of the World', both applied to divinities of special pre-eminence. The latter is often found without *vraḥ* before it, as in the example given under 5.2.1.2 hereafter.

With a few lesser divinities, probably of local origin, the title *kpoñ* /kᵊɓɔɲ/ is found in pre-Angkorian. Its application has not been determined, but it appears to be a derivative by prefix /k-/ of *poñ* /ɓɔːɲ/ 'elder sibling' and to refer to females.

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[5] Cf. Katuic: Ngeq /prah/, Kui /prạːh/, Katang /prɔəh/ 'sky'; Bahnaric: Brao /brah/, Stieng /brah/ 'God, spirit'.

For the sovereign, his sanctity is such that direct reference to his person risks being blasphemous. He is usually alluded to by reference to his feet (*pāda, jeṅ*), ritually as well as physically his lowest part. Taking reverence is a step further, he is often alluded to by the dust or dirt clinging to the bottoms of the royal feet.

Thus among the full royal titles is, for example, *dhūli vraḥ pāda dhūli jeṅ vraḥ kaṃmraten 'añ śrī sūryyavarmmadeva,* where *dhūli jeṅ* is a gloss on *dhūli vraḥ pāda.* All this is literally 'dust of the royal *pāda* (feet), [which means] dust of the *jeṅ* (feet), of My Holy High Lord Śrī Sūryavarmadeva' (see 6.1.2 on apposition). Such titles may seem excessive but must be accepted as reflecting the sovereign's supreme status.

On the other hand, a common equivalent of the foregoing is abbreviated to *vraḥ pāda* 'the royal feet', which by convention is usually rendered 'His Majesty'. Even simpler is *vraḥ* alone, 'the royal one'. Sovereigns in general are referred to as *kaṃmrateṅ phdai karom* 'High Lords of the Earth', in which *phdai karom* 'the lower surface' designates 'land'.

More often *vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ*, 'My Holy High Lord', is used of the sovereign, exalted ecclesiastics, and divinities. *Kaṃmrateṅ* /kəmmrəɗɛ:ŋ/ 'high lord', a form beclouded by many variants,[6] is a secondary derivative by analogic prefix /kəɴ-/ (4.2.4) from the wordbase *mrateṅ* /mrəɗɛ:ŋ/ ~ *mratāñ* /mrəɗa:ɲ/ 'lord'.[7]

Below *kaṃmrateṅ* comes this *mratāñ* itself, apparently a civil title only. This is a primary derivative, this time from /mrə-/, the syllabic variant of prefix /m-/ of particularizing function, with *teṅ* /ɗɛŋ/ ~ *tāñ* /ɗa:ɲ/ 'king's servant, retainer'.

Below the *mratāñ* come two titles which appear to be borne by members of the royal family: *loñ* /lo:ɲ/ for males and the *teṅ* just cited for females.

Among ecclesiastical titles figure *steṅ* /sɗɛ:ŋ/ ~ *steñ* /sɗɛ:ɲ/, an /s-/ deriveative of this same *teṅ*, and its secondary augment Angkorian *kaṃsteṅ* /kəmsɗɛ:ŋ/, neither of which has a satisfactory equivalent in English or French.

Below the royalty and ranking clergy, finally, we have pre-Angkorian *poñ* /ɓɔ:ɲ/ 'elder brother' and Angkorian *vāp* /ba:p/ 'father', borne by members of the landowning gentry.

The common *kloñ* ~ *khloñ* /k^{h}lo:ɲ/ 'chief', the less common *chloñ* /c^{h}lo:ɲ/ (the latter probably ecclesiastical) and the uncommon *'aṃteṅ* /ʔəmɗɛ:ŋ/ are three titles that have not been assigned a place in the hierarchy. Example:

151. *lvaḥ kamvujadeśa prasāda ta 'anak sañjak ta vyar oy nāma 'aṃteṅ sthāpanā rūpa* (K.227 28-9)

'Arriving [back] in Kambujadeśa, His Majesty showed [his] favor for the two *'nak sañjak* by awarding [them] the title *'aṃteṅ* [and] setting up [their] images'

A fair number of cases are on record in which an individual is promoted. The promotion typically entails a change of title and a change of name. Examples:

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[6] Pre-Angkorian *kaṃmrataṅ, kaṃmratāṅ, kaṃmratāñ, kaṃmrateṅ, kaṃmratāṅ, kammratāṅ, kamratāṅ, kamratāñ*; Angkorian *kammrateṅ, kaṃrateṅ, kamrateṅ, kamrateṅa*, in addition to *kaṃmrateṅ.*

[7] Pre-Angkorian *mratāṅ, mratāñ*; Angkorian *mratāñ, mrataṅ, mrateṅ, mrateñ.*

152. *gi mratāñ śrī satyāśraya gi ta dār jmah mratāñ khloñ śrī satyādhipativarmma* (K.291S: 27)

'The lord Śrī Satyāśraya — he (is the one who) has received the appellation chief lord Śrī Satyādhipativarman'

153. *... lvah ta gi rājya dhūli vraḥ pāda dhūli jeṅ vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ ta stac dau vrahmaloka pi mratāñ śrī vīrendrārimathana dār vraḥ kaṃsteṅ 'añ ...* (Ka.50: 9-12)

'... in the reign of the *dhūli vraḥ pāda dhūli jeṅ* My Holy High Lord who was pleased to go to the Brahmaloka it came to pass that the lord Śrī Vīrendrārimathana received [the title] My Holy *Kaṃsteṅ* ... '

154. *steñ pit vrau jā devīy ta vraḥ rājya paramaśivapada ○ dār jmaḥ kamrateṅ 'añ narapatīndradevī ○ ...* (K.989: 19-20)

'The *steñ* Pit Vrau served as queen in the reign of Paramaśivapada [and] received the appellation My High Lady Narapatīndradevī ... '

155. *dep mahārāja oy nāmakara mahapurusa trās suvaṇapat hau svāmi silaviryyādhika bodhisambhāra* (K.177: 23-6)

'Then the Mahārāja awarded a title to the Great Man [and] ordered a gold plaque naming [him] Svāmin Śīlavīryādhika Bodhisambhāra'

5.1.2.4.4. Deferential 'añ

While the *'añ* in *padaḥ 'añ* 'my house' is a true possessive referring to the first-person singular, the *'añ* seen in *kaṃmrateṅ 'añ* 'my high lord' is different.

In the first case the pronoun denotes possession or ownership of the house by the person referred to. In the second case the possession in question is reversed. As in other languages, 'my high lord' may be paraphrased as 'the high lord who possesses me, *i.e.* whose lordship I acknowledge, or to whom I owe allegiance'.

It can even be argued that the pronoun's connection with the first person is lost. This use of *'añ* is found with no other pronoun. The fact that it occurs with not a few slavenames and other personal names is evidence that we do not know all there is to be known about it. Whether it was applied freely and informally or bestowed by higher authority remains to be determined.

5.1.2.4.5. Lesser Titles.

Below the true titles mentioned above are a few labels functioning as headwords usually followed by names in apposition to them. Most of these identify the sex, age or status of the individual named.

Commonest are the sex-markers used with the names of slaves: for males *si* /si:/ and *vā* /wa:/, for females *ku* /ku:/ and *tai* /ɗɤy/, to which *'me ~ me* /me:/ 'mother' must be added. Age-markers and status-markers include *ji 'tā ~ ji tā* /ɟi ta:/ 'grandfather' for elderly males and *ji tvan* /ɟi ɗu:ən/ for elderly females. Pre-Angkorian has a *ci* and one or two others about which we should like to know more.

5.1.2.5. Numerals.

Two sets of numerals are in use, one vernacular, the other Sanskrit, both decimal.[8] The vernacular set from one to ten is:

156. *moy* /mo:y/ ~ *mvāy* /mu:əy/ 'one'
157. *ver* /be:r/ ~ *vyar* /bi:ər/ 'two'
158. *pi* /ɓi:/ 'three'
159. *pon* /ɓo:n/ ~ *pvan* /ɓu:ən/ 'four'
160. *praṃ* /pram/ 'five'
161. *praṃ moy* ~ *praṃ mvāy* 'six'
162. *praṃ ver* ~ *praṃ vyar* 'seven'
163. *praṃ pi* 'eight'
164. *praṃ pon* ~ *praṃ pvan* 'nine'
165. *tap* /ɗɔp/ 'ten'

The four additive compounds are departures from ancestral Mon-Khmer, the motivation for which is unclear. *Tap* appears to be a loan from Chinese.

From 'eleven' to 'nineteen' the numerals follow the pattern of *moy dan tap* 'one and ten', *ver dan tap* 'two and ten', *pi dan tap* 'three and ten', in which the *dan* is pre-Angkorian *doṅ* ~ *daṅ* /ɗɔŋ/ 'and', showing assimilation to the dental initial of *tap*. 'Twenty' is expressed by *bhai* /bhɤy/, one of a small set of collective quantifiers. 'Forty' is 2 *bhai*, 'fifty' is 2 *bhai* 10. Not all of these forms are attested. The only term for 'hundred' is Sanskrit *śata* /sɔ:t/, *raya* /rɔ:y/ not occurring until the Middle Khmer period. Note that these numerals are strictly cardinal, no ordinals being attested.

The Sanskrit set from one to ten is

166. *eka* /ʔɛ:k/ 'one'
167. *do* /do:/ ~ *dvā* /dwa:/ 'two'
168. *tri* /tri:/ ~ *trayo* /trəyo:/ 'three'
169. *catur* /cəɗʊr/ ~ *catvāri* /catwari:/ 'four'
170. *pañca* /ɓaɲ/ 'five'
171. *ṣaṭ* /sat/ ~ *śaṣṭi* /sah/ 'six'
172. *sapta* /sapɗa:/ 'seven'
173. *'aṣṭa* /ʔasɗa:/ 'eight'
174. *nava* /nɔ:p/ 'nine'
175. *daśa* /ɗɔh/ 'ten'

Again, not all of these are attested in these forms. The higher numerals including ordinals occur in a variety of forms and can be found in any dictionary.

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[8] Not discussed here is a set of vigesimal glyphs.

5.1.2.6. Numeral Classifiers

Numeral classifiers are not much in evidence. This may be because the language as a whole used them sparingly, or it may reflect the chancery idiom alone. The chief classifiers are *'nak* /nak/ for persons, *tem* /dɤ:m/ for trees, *'anle* /ʔənlɤ:/ for places, and pre-Angkorian *sanre* /sənrɛ:/ ~ *sare* /srɛ:/ for ricefields. Examples:

176. *'aṃcās* ***'nak*** *pvan* (K.618: 41)
'four elders'

177. ***teṃ*** *slā 4* (K.523B: 30)
'4 areca palms'

178. *cpar 1 ti bhāga ta vraḥ kuṭī* ***'anle*** *2* (K.713B: 31)
'one garden for (the use of) the two holy cells'

179. *niy dravya ta noḥh ti jauv bhūmi* ***'anle*** *ta vyar* (K.618: 36-7)
'In addition to the said costly goods, two tracts of land were purchased'

180. ***sre*** *moy sanre* (K.80: 10)
'one ricefield'

181. *sre jeṅ chdiṅ kanlaḥ kanlaḥ* ***sare*** (K.17: 5)
'a ricefield on the river: a half-*sanre*'

182. *svaṃ prasāda bhūmi ta vraḥ pāda nirvvāṇapada* ***'anle*** *1 'āy 'amoghapura* (K.235D: 50)
'[he] sued His Majesty Nirvāṇapada for the grant of a piece of land at Amoghapura'

but also:

183. *thvāy jā braḥ rājadharmma sre* ***'anle*** *prāṃ khñuṃ tap mvāy chpār* ***'anle*** *piy* (K.230: 19-21)
'[he] offered up as a holy *rājadharma* five ricefields, eleven slaves, [and] three gardens'

On record in pre-Angkorian is a single case of *satva* ~ *sāt* /sat/ 'creature' being used where *'nak* would be expected:

184. *kantai pi* ***sāt*** (K.18: 15)
'three women'

5.1.3. The Adverb.

Like the verb and noun, the adverb has no distinguishing form but is recognized by its syntactic function. It is a heterogeneous class consisting of lexical items which modify verbs, other adverbs, and clauses. Some adverbs are lexically adverbial, others show the grammaticalization of verbs and nouns. Examples:

185. *īlū* /ʔilu:/ 'the present time → at the present time'

186. *roḥ* /rɔh/ 'way, manner → in the manner of'

The form *ra* /ra:/ (mod. ร *rā* /ra:/) appears to be an adverb in origin and to function as an untranslatable intensifier. Example:

187. *vvaṃ dāna thve sruk nu caṃnat phoṅ ta śūnya viṅ guḥ slāp* ***ra*** *steṅ 'añ śivācāryya* (K.235D: 42-3)
(*closely*) 'having not yet completely rebuilt the abandoned *sruk* and settlements, the *steṅ 'añ* Śivācārya died'

It is of common occurrence in two stock phrases, *ru ta tāp ra* 'regularly, duly, as usual' and *daṃnep ra* 'firstly, primarily, mainly', where it can be argued that *daṃnep* is more nominal than verbal. We find it after a noun in:

188. *yok kule khlah* ***ra*** *mok 'aṃvi sruk kuti* (K.235C: 68)
'[he] brought a number of members of [his] family from the *sruk* of Kuṭi'

Note also:

189. *yajña sa'ek* ***ra*** *liḥ 1* ... (K.56B: 28)
'offerings for the following day: 1 *liḥ* [of milled rice] ... '

190. *pre 'nak vraḥ 'āśrama phoṅ didai* ***ra*** *syaṅ ta udyoga bhakti ta kamrateṅ jagat śrī śikharīśvara* (K.380E/3°: 60-1)
'[His Majesty] bade inmates of the several holy *āśrama* be ones who strive to show [their] devotion to the High Lord of the World Śrī Śikharīśvara'

An occasional marker of adverbs is *leṅ* /lɛ:ŋ/, showing grammaticalization of the homophonous verb 'to let'. Example:

191. *ge dār rājabhaya 'aṃvi ihaloka lvoḥ paraloka* ***leṅ*** *nānāprakāra* ○ (K.245: 33-5)
'they shall suffer royal punishments from this world to the next in many different ways'

A small number of adverbs are clause or phrase modifiers. Among these the most frequent are

192. *guḥ* /gʊh/ 'only, completely'
193. *sot* /so:t/ 'in addition'
194. *ukk* /ʔʊk/ 'also; along with'

The first evolves from the homophonous stative verb 'to be pure, unmixed' and the second from the homophonous stative verb 'to be added on'. The third appears to be a loan from Old Javanese. Examples:

195. *man vraḥ svey rājya chnāṃ 2* ***guḥ*** ... (K.235D: 41)
'when the royal one had been on the throne only two years ... '

196. *vraḥ varaśāpa vvaṃ 'āc ti mān 'nakka ta dai ti ta siṅ nā kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* ○ *leṅ santāna 'nak noḥ* ***gussa*** ○ (K.235C: 58-9)
(*closely*) 'The royal oath prohibited any other persons from officiating before the Sovereign High Lord of the World except only members of their line'

197. *vvaṃ dāna thve sruk nu caṃnat phoṅ ta śūnya viṅ* ***guḷ*** *slāp ra steṅ 'añ śivācāryya* (K.235D: 42-3)

'Having not yet completely rebuilt the abandoned *sruk* and settlements, the *steṅ 'añ* Śivācārya died'

198. *man vraḥ pāda śivaloka viṅ mok kuruṅ ni 'āy nagara śrī yaśodharapura nāṃ kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja viṅ mok* ***ukka*** (K.235D: 36-7)

'When His Majesty Śivaloka came back to rule [and] hold sway in the royal city of Śrī Yaśodharapura, [he] brought the Sovereign High Lord of the World back with him'

Of special interest and not always easy to recognize is a class of nouns which are adverbialized by virtue of occurring directly after verbs. Examples:

199. *prājñā* ***siddhividyā*** (K.235C: 71)

'wise in the lore of supernatural power'

200. *mratāñ khloñ śrī madhurapandita tāc* ***santāna*** *'yat kule ley ...* (K.230C: 28)

'The chief lord Śrī Madhurapaṇḍita, [his] family extinct (at an end with respect to [his] family) [and] with no more living kin, ... '

201. *man teṅ pavitra teṅ kās ... dau nā kralā la'vaṅ gi ta mān bhūmiyupāya sruk stuk rmmāṅ pi 'yat kvan cau ley syaṅ ta tāc* ***santāna*** *dau hoṅ* (K.219: 6-8)

'When the *teṅ* Pavitra [and] the *teṅ* Kās ... went to [serve] in the Chamber of Diversions, they were ones who had landed property in the *sruk* of Stuk Rmāṅ until there were no more children or grandchildren [and their] line became extinct (they were at an end with respect to their family)'

202. *phsaṃm tap pvan ṅan* ***laṅgau*** *jyaṅ vyar liṅ tap* (K.258A: 59)

'Total, fourteen [pieces] weighing in copper two *jyaṅ* ten *liṅ*'

5.1.3.1. *Nu*[3]

Nu[3] /nu:/, probably stressed (and therefore not /nʊ/ in speech): 'now: on this date, in this year', occurring at the head of a passage directly after a dateline.

The form occurs a few times in pre-Angkorian, which also has a single occurrence of *idāni* (K.926: 3) with the same meaning. In Angkorian it occurs 220 times, including 65 cases in a cleft sentence. In Middle Khmer it is replaced by *man=gi*. Example:

203. *815 śaka pi ket vaiśākha* ***nu*** *vraḥ 'ājñā dhūli jeṅ vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ śrī yaśovarmmadeva jvan mās prāk 'nak pley ...* (K.713B: 1-2)

'Śaka 815, [day] three of the fortnight of the waxing moon of [the month of] Vaiśākha: On this date was issued a royal order from the *dhūli jeṅ* My Holy High Lord Śrī Yaśovarmadeva offering up gold, silver [and] servants ... '

Compare this to:

204. *815 śaka gi* ***nu*** *dhūli vraḥ pāda dhūli jeṅ vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ śrī yaśovarmmadeva pre chvāt bhūmīsīmā saṅ gol praśasta* ... (K.457: 5-7)
'Śaka 815: It is in this year that the *dhūli vraḥ pāda dhūli jeṅ* My Holy High Lord Śrī Yaśovarmadeva bade delimit a tract of land [and] set up inscribed boundary-markers ... '

5.2. Grammatical Items.

Grammatical items are a closed set. Although their function can be described, they have no lexical meaning such as is given in dictionaries. Equivalents to grammatical items in other languages can usually be found, but a few are untranslatable except by the structures shown in translation.

Grammatical items are conjunctions and prepositions. Their sole office is to mark syntactic relationships, and their importance cannot be exaggerated; as with any language, no Old Khmer sentence may be said to be understood unless all its parts are understood first. Lexical items pose problems of one kind, grammatical items pose problems of another kind but are far fewer in number. The reader's command of Old Khmer depends in large part on the attention he pays to these items.

Grammaticalization is the process by which a lexical item develops a grammatical function. As will be seen, a good many conjunctions and prepositions develop by hard usage out of nouns and verbs.

5.2.1. Conjunctions.

Conjunctions are of two kinds: those which link nouns or NPs and those which link subordinate clauses. Coordinate clause conjunctions are not attested.

5.2.1.1. The Zero Conjunction.

It is often found that no conjunction is used between two or more nouns or NPs, and that a pair of nouns without a conjunction is likely to function as a compound: *slā mlū* 'arecanut [and] betel leaf'. In the frequent lists of persons, names with their titles may or may not be linked by *nu*. Example:

205. *sabhā ta mratāñ gi mratāñ puruṣapāla bhāgavata mratāñ sudaraśana bhāgavata mratāñ bhavāditya* ... (K.154: 10-2, A.D. 734)
'The delegation of lords were: the lord Puruṣapāla *bhāgavata*, the lord Sudarśana *bhāgavata,* the lord Bhavāditya ... '

Nearly all slavelists avoid the conjunction but divide successive names either by the *daṇḍa* (|) or a figure *1* or the small circle (○). Examples:

206. *vodhigana kantai gui kon piy* ○ *vodhipriya kantai gui kon ber* ○ ... (K.388C: 6-7)
'Bodhigaṇa, his wife, [and] three children; Bodhipriya, his wife, [and] two children; ... '

207. *sī pandan | sī panlas | sī kañcū | sī tańker | …* (K.809N:47)

'*Si* Pandan; *si* Panlas; *si* Kañcū; *si* Tańker | … '

5.2.1.2. The Noun Conjunction.

When it occurs, conjunction *nu* 'with, and' poses no problem of interpretation. Contrast the following example with the one just given:

208. *gi taṃrvac vraḥ kuti* ***nuv*** *khloñ 'nak vraḥ kutiy nu steñ khloñ vnaṃm nu pādamūla kaṃmrate jagat śivapāda oy dakṣiṇā phdai karoṃ 'āy svāy ryyap ta steñ śivācāryya* (K.349: 7-11)

'The inspector of holy cells and the chief of staff of holy cells and the *steñ* superior of the sanctuary and the *pādamūla* of the High Lord of the World at Śivapāda gave the *steñ* Śivācārya a tract of land at Svāy Ryap as an honorarium'

5.2.1.3. Clause Conjunctions.

Following in alphabetic order is a random selection of conjunctions that introduce subordinate clauses.

1. **ka** /kɔ:/ (mod. ក *ka* /kɑ:/) is rare in Old Khmer but begins to be used to link clauses, the second of which is usually consequent upon the first. It evolves by grammaticalization from the intransitive verb meaning 'to come into being, happen'. Example:

209. *ge ta pāṅ par ge mut vraḥ .....* ***ka*** *ti pre ge tleṅ 'aṃvi la□□i mahāniraya* (K.451N: 4-5)

'Those who protect [it] by driving off those who would injure the divinity ..... shall in consequence be caused to rise up out of the *la□□I* [of] the Great Hells'

2. **kāla** /ka:l/ [Sanskrit *kāla* 'time']: 'at or in the time that, when, while'.

3. **ta** /dɔ:/, probably /də/ in the stream of speech (mod. ដ *ṭa* /dɑ:/): optional subordinating conjunction, untranslatable. Widely misunderstood, it was first recognized for what it is by the linguist François Martini, who called it a *particule d'inhérence* — an insight promptly forgotten (see: Martini 1957-1958).[9]

The sole function of *ta* is to relate a modifier to its head when such marking is felt to be needed. In the inscriptions, where precision is usually requisite, *ta* is probably used far more frequently than it would have been used in less formal documents or in speech. Misunderstanding is the only result if it is taken as a preposition or a relative pronoun. Examples:

210. *cat sruk noḥ viṅ* ***ta*** *śūnya* (K.235D: 55)

'[he] laid out the said abandoned *sruk* anew', where (despite the intervening *viṅ*) *ta* marks *śūnya* as dependent on *sruk noḥ*

[9] The reader may wish to see my 1981 paper "The role of *ta* in pre-Angkorian Khmer, published before I had seen Martini's article.

211. *vraḥ jaṃnvan mahārājādhirāja* ***ta*** *braḥ nāma kuruṅ śrī dharmmāśoka* ***ta*** *braḥ śariradhātu* ***ta*** *braḥ nāma kamrateṅ jagat śrī dharmmāśoka* (K.966/II: 1-4)

'Holy offerings from the *mahārājādhirāja* of the holy name of *kuruṅ* Śrī Dharmāśoka to the holy relic of the holy name of High Lord of the World Śrī Dharmāśoka'

Ta is virtually obligatory after verbs of giving, where it subordinates an indirect object. A rare exception is seen in 9.21:

212. *oy śapata 'anak* ***ta*** *sruk pvan*

'to administer the oath to men of four *sruk*'. A typical example is

213. *samayuga pi pandval vraḥ śāsana* ***ta*** *kaṃsteṅ śrī samarendrādhipativarma* (K.380W/3°: 32)

'[they] joined together to transmit a royal directive to the *kaṃsteṅ* Śrī Samarendrādhipati-varman'

214. *... pi duk* ***ta*** *sruk vibheda man vraḥ pāda ... oy vraḥ karuṇāprasāda* ***ta*** *śrī sukarmmā kaṃsteṅ nu kulasantāna śrī sukarmmā kaṃsteṅ* (K.380W/2°: 24-6)

'... to be set up in the *sruk* of Vibheda, which His Majesty ... had given as a royal benefice to the *kaṃsteṅ* Śrī Sukarmā and his family line'

3*a*. ***The headless*** **ta** ***construction.*** Examples abound in Old Khmer of *ta* occurring without an expressed head but followed by a noun or verb. Until the construction is understood, this ellipsis of the head may leave the student in doubt, but it can usually be grasped by supplying some simple word such as *'nak* or *ge*.

It is not rare to find in slavelists one category captioned *khñuṃ ta si* 'male slaves', while a following category is captioned only *ta kantai* 'female ones, females'. In the first case *ta* marks the subordination of *si* to its head; in the second case the obvious head is elided while the rest of the structure is left intact, giving the student the false impression that the *ta* functions as a pronoun.

In a passage such as *ta gi rājya vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ ta dau svarga śivapura ...* (K.726A: 3), 'During the reign of My Holy High Lord who has gone to the Śivapura heaven, ... ' one is tempted to take *ta* as a preposition, but we have here another ellipsis, and the passage could well have been *kāla ta gi rājya.*

K.1036: 27 and 28 shows two successive passages, the first beginning *kāla kuruṅ śrī rudravarmmā* 'In the time of the prince Śrī Rudravarman', the other beginning *ta kuruṅ śivapura* 'Under the prince of Śivapura'. In the first case we see ellipsis of *ta* after *kāla*, in the second case ellipsis of *kāla* before *ta*. The structure in both cases is that of a prepositional phrase.

Far more frequent is headless *ta* followed by a verb. Typical cases are

215. ***ta*** *jā sākṣīya khloñ vala bharaṇī ...* (K.221S: 5-6)

'Those who served as witnesses (were) the *khloñ vala* Bharaṇī ... ' and

216. ***ta*** *saṅ gol khloñ vala khloñ viṣaya ...* (K.221S: 3-4)

'The ones who set up the boundary-markers (were) the *khloñ vala* Bharaṇī [and] the *viṣaya* chief ...'

These are equational sentences consisting of a subject NP with a predicate NP linked by the zero copula. The subject could well have been stated as *'nak ta jā sākṣīya* 'The persons who served as witnesses' or *ge ta saṅ gol*, showing a noun head modified by an unmarked relative clause subordinated by *ta* (*jā sākṣīya* '[who] served as witnesses').

Note that the 'who' of the translation does not answer to the *ta* but arises from the needs of English in expressing the unmarked relative clause. Here again we see one of the merits of Old Khmer which make it supple.

Note also the parallel between this headless *ta* construction and the normal agentival noun: *cer* 'to disobey' > *cmer* 'one who disobeys', = *('nak) ta cer* 'one who disobeys'. Example:

217. *ge* ***cmer*** *'ājñā ge daṇḍa* (K.90B: 6-7)

'those who transgress [this] royal order — they shall be punished'

Increasingly as time passes, this headless *ta* is found after the anaphoric copula *syaṅ* (5.1.1.1). A typical example is:

218. *syaṅ* ***ta*** *dār vraḥ karuṇāprasāda* (K.61B: 8-9)

'These [six] were ones who received the royal benefice'

In all such cases this construction appears to be a stylistic turn meaning no more than 'These [six] received the royal benefice'. A practical device suitable only for close translations is to enclose the equivalent of *syaṅ* as well as the relative pronoun in parentheses: 'These (were ones who) received the royal benefice'.

4. **daha ~ doḥ** /dɔh/ (mod. ទៅ *doḥ* /tʊəh/): 'if, on condition that, in the event that'. These senses probably developed from an earlier sense ('barring [the fact] that, were it not that, except for') evolved by grammaticalization of **dah* /dɔh/ (modern ទស់ *da's* /tʊəh/) 'to bar the way'.

This postulated sense explains why *daha ~ doḥ* occurs so commonly before conjunction *pi* 'that'. Angkorian shows two instances of *daha yo pi* (K.449B: 26, 28) and three of *doḥ yo pi* (K.261B: 11, 27, C: 15), the latter retained in modern, the *yo* being unattested elsewhere; these may be rendered 'if it chance that, if perchance'.

5. **nā** /na:/ (mod. ណា *ṇā* /na:/ and នា *nā* /ni:ə/) evolved from the nominal sense of 'place' and develops the sense of 'at a point in time or place', functionally equivalent to 'at the time that, when' and 'at the point where'. Example:

219. *nu mrateñ sāṅbarṇa bhabapura* ***nā*** *dau 'muṃ cas sruk citraliṅ jvan bhūmi samañ ta vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ śivaliṅga* (K.253: 1)

'In this year the lord Sāṅvarṇa of Bhavapura, on the occasion of [his] going to 'Muṃ Cas in the *sruk* of Citraliṅga, offered up a tract of land at Samañ to My Holy High Lord the *śivaliṅga*'

The same form occurs as a preposition.

6. **nu** /nu:/, probably /nʊ/ in speech (mod. នូវ *nūv* /nu: ~ nɯ:w/), optional 'and' (see 5.2.1.1 and 5.2.1.2) linking the constituents of an NP.

Compare *slā mlū* 'arecanut [and] betel leaf' with *slā nu mlū* 'arecanut and betel leaf'. This form does not occur as a clause conjunction. It also functions as a preposition ('with'), from which its function as a conjunction derives.

7. **pi** /ɓi:/, probably /ɓɪ/ in speech. The modern orthographic forms with fused conjunction (for example ដើម្បី *ṭœmpī* /ɗɑəmɓɤ:y/ and សុម្បី *sumpī* /somɓɤ:y/) suggest that *pi* is no longer a free form. Such sequences as ប៉ីដួច *pī ṭūc* /ɓɤ:y ɗo:c/, ប៉ីបើ *pī pœ* /ɓɤ:y ɓa:ə/, កុំប៉ី *kuṃ pī* /kom ɓ:y/, and ទោះប៉ី *doḥ pī* /tʊəh ɓɤ:y/ appear to be fossilized.

In Middle Khmer the form splits, remaining as *pi* but increasingly fused to the form before it (e.g., *kuṃ*), then developing into *pe* /ɓɤ:/ (modern *pœ* /ɓa:ə/) 'if', probably by association with the *doḥ yo pi* mentioned above.

This conjunction introduces a clause of purpose or result. It stands nearest to English 'that' or French *que* with a verb in the subjunctive. Its nuances include 'so that, with the result that; so as to, in order to' and 'for the purpose of, with the object of, with a view to'. These senses evolved from a homophonous verb 'to have in view (prospect, mind)'. The item is occasionally bent to express an instrumental or temporal idea. Examples:

220. *nā bharata rāhu saṃvuddhi droha ta vraḥ pāda śrī yaśovarmmadeva* ***pi*** *thleṅ cap vraḥ mandira ...* (K.227: 7-8)
'When Bharata Rāhu knowingly wronged His Majesty Śrī Yaśovarmadeva by rising up [and] seizing the royal palace, …'

221. *daha yeṅ mān ta kapata* ***pi*** *vvaṃ phgat roḥ pratijñā ta roḥ neḥ ...* (K.292A: 21-2)
'If any among us plays false by not keeping to the terms of the aforesaid declaration, … '

222. *gi ta mān bhūmiyupāya sruk stuk rmmāṅ* ***pi*** *'yat kvan cau ley* (K.219: 6-8)
'they were ones who possessed landed property in the *sruk* of Stuk Rmāṅ until there were no more children or grandchildren'

8. **man**[1] /mɔn/, probably /mən/ in speech (cf. Old Mon *møn* 'whom, which, that', and perhaps Old Javanese *mon* 'if, when'): a general conjunction with two main meanings developing out of 'at the time that': 'when. while; then' and 'for, because, since'. Examples:

223. ***man*** *steṅ 'añ rudrācāryya ... mok sā kaṃrateṅ śivāśrama pi kathā man2 mān bhūmi ...* (K.235D: 14)
'when the *steṅ 'añ* Rudrācārya … came [and] met with the High Lord of the Śivāśrama to tell [him] that there was a tract of land … '

224. ***man*** *vraḥ pāda parameśvara dau kuruṅ ni 'āy mahendraparvvata ...* (K.235C: 69-70)
'When His Majesty Parameśvara went forth to reign [and] hold sway at Mahendraparvata …'

But:

225. ***man*** *vrāhmaṇa jmaḥ hiranyadāma prājñā siddhividyā mok 'aṃvi janapada ...* (K.235C: 71)
'At that time a *brāhmaṇa* by the name of Hiranyadāma, wise in the lore of supernatural power, came from Janapada'

Note also:

226. *... oy prasiddhi caṃnat nu bhūmi noḥha ○ ru* ***man*** *vraḥ pāda paramanirvāṇapada oy ukka nu iṣṭi ta chloñ mādhava ta mān upāya ○* (K.235D: 83)
'... [and His Majesty] gave [him] title to the said settlement and land, as when His Majesty Paramanirvāṇapada had given [them] also at the desire of the *chloñ* Mādhava, who had had [this] means of support'

9. **man**[2] /mɔn ~ mən/ (mod. ថា *thā* /tha:/) introduces a clause of indirect discourse. Examples:

227. *kaṃrateñ śivāśrama nivedana* ***man*** *khmi sthāpanā ukka* (K.235D: 13)
'the High Lord of the Śivāśrama informed His Majesty that [he] desired also to set up an image'

228. *vraḥ kamrateñ 'añ śrī jayendrapandita nivedana ta vraḥ pāda kamrateñ 'añ śrī udayādityavarmmadeva* ***man*** *noḥ nai santāna vraḥ kamrateñ 'añ* (K.235D: 58-9)
'My Holy High Lord Śrī Jayendrapaṇḍita respectfully informed His Majesty My High Lord Śrī Udayādityavarmadeva that it (was) his family's property'

10. **loḥ** /loh/ ~ **lvoḥ** /lʊəh/ (mod. លុះ *luḥ* /lʊh/): 'up (down) to the time that, until; as long as; to the extent that', evolved from the homophonous verb 'to reach, gain'.

5.2.2. Prepositions.

Prepositions are a closed class of grammatical items marking a variety of relationships: directionality, place in space and time, cause and effect, instrumentality, and possession. They introduce an obligatory complement, usually a noun or NP, occasionally a verb. They may be simple or compound. Following is a random selection.

1. **karoṃ** /kro:m/ (mod. ក្រោម *krom* /kra:om/): 'below, beneath, under', evolved from the homophonous noun 'bottom'.

2. **kaṃluṅ** /kəmlʊŋ/ (mod. កំលុង *kaṃluṅ* /kɑmlʊŋ/ and ក្នុង *knuṅ* /knʊŋ/): 'inside, in, within', evolved from the homophonous noun 'hollow space, cavity; interior'.

3. **kroy** /kro:y/ (mod. ក្រោយ *kroy* /kra:oy/): 'behind, after, next, later', evolved from the homophonous noun 'back, rear'.

4. **krau** /krɤw/ (mod. ក្រៅ *krau* /kraw/): 'outside (of), out of; beyond', evolved from the homophonous noun 'outside, exterior'.

5. **ti** /di:/, probably /di/ in speech: 'in the direction of: to, toward, on', used commonly with points of the compass:

229. *gol* ***ti*** *pūrvva ... gol* ***ti*** *dakṣiṇa ...* (K.878: 8)
'the boundary-marker on the east ... the boundary-marker on the south'

Less commonly its complement is a benefactive noun:

230. *cpar 1* ***ti*** *bhāga ta vraḥ kuṭī 'anle 2* (K.713B: 31)
'one garden for the two holy cells'

It also introduces a verb of purpose:

231. *niy dravya ta noḥh* ***ti*** *jauv bhūmi 'anle vyar* (K.618: 36-7)
'The said goods were for acquiring two tracts of land'

Note that it is also found fused, with contrastive value ('from, than'), to *dai* and *'āc.* Lastly, it is used in the common periphrastic passive construction (5.1.1.5) to mark the agent.

6. **tem** /ɗɤ:m/ (mod. ꪻꪣꪊ *ṭœm* /ɗa:əm/): 'on the basis of: by, with; on, over', evolved from the homophonous noun 'trunk, stock; base, beginning'. Example:

232. *man vyavahāra nu vanik bhavapālli* ***teṃ*** *sre vave krapi ...* (K.843B: 30)
'When [he] was in litigation with the merchant Bhavapālli over ricefields, goats, [and] buffaloes, …'

7. **dau** /ɗɤw/ (mod. ꪻꪶ *dau* /tɤw/): accusative and dative 'to' + outward goal (away from the speaker), evolved from the homophonous transitive verb meaning 'to go to'. The same form occurs as an adverb.

8. **nā** /na:/ (mod. ꪘꪫ *ṇā* /na:/ and ꪑꪱ *nā* /ni:ə/) from the nominal sense of 'place', develops the sense of 'at a point in space', functionally equivalent to prepositional ideas ranging from 'at, in, on; during' to 'before, in the presence of, at the sanctuary of (*a divinity*), at the court of (*a sovereign*)' to 'of or belonging to, assigned to (*a rank*)', on to 'on the subject of, concerning, relating to'. Example:

233. *… gi ta jā smiṅ* ***nā*** *kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja* (K.235C: 57)
'… to be the ones who served as officiants before the Sovereign High Lord of the World'

234. *srac sthāpanā* ***nā*** *vraḥ rājakāryya* (K.235D: 13)
'This done, [he] established a place for the royal service'

235. *khmi sthāpanā ukka svaṃ bhūmi* ***nā*** *nu sthāpanā* (K.235D: 13-4)
'[he] desired also to set up an image [and] sued for land whereon to set it up'

236. *gi ta cat sruk thve kāryya* ***nā*** *vraḥ noḥha* (K.235D: 20)
'he (it was) who laid out the *sruk* [and] carried out work at the sanctuary of that divinity'

237. *steṅ 'añ hiranyaruci ... jā 'ācāryyapradhāna* ***nā*** *vraḥ pāda paramaśivaloka ukka* (K.235D: 22-3)
'the *steṅ 'añ* Hiranyaruci … served also as dean of spiritual preceptors at the court of His Majesty Paramaśivaloka'

238. *... jā 'ācāryya homa siṅ* ***nā*** *vraḥ kralā homa ukka* (K.235D: 27-8)
'… [they] also served as teachers of sacrifice officiating at the holy Court of Sacrifices'

239. *ti pre rok* ***nā*** *mān khñuṃ vraḥ noḥ ta hyat paṅgvay viṅ ta sruk* (K.235D: 60)
'[he] was bidden seek the whereabouts of the said divinity's slaves who had been forcibly resettled in the *sruk*'

240. *simāvadhi* ***nā*** *caṃnatta nu sre ti jeṅ* (K.235D: 88)

'metes and bounds of the land on which the settlement and ricefields to the north (are located)'

241. *noḥ saṃ cval nu caṃnat 'anreṃ loṅ* ***nā*** *chloṅ mādhava* (K.235D: 94-5)

'it joins with [and] forms part of the settlement of Anreṃ Loṅ, the residence of the *chloṅ* Mādhava'

242. *vraḥ pre vraḥ kaṃsteṅ 'añ sthāpanā śivaliṅga viṅ ta gi prāsāda noḥ* ***nā*** *tel vraḥ vuddha* (K.1198A: 24)

'The royal one bade My Holy *Kaṃsteṅ* set up a *śivaliṅga* again in the said tower-temple where there had been a holy Buddha'[10]

9. **nu** /nu:/ probably /nʊ/ in speech (mod. ន្ឹ *nūv* /nu:w ~ nɯ:w/): 'with' in three senses: comitative, instrumental, oppositive.

10. **nai** /nɤy/ (mod. នៃ *nai* /nɤy/): 'of, belonging to', evolved from the homophonous noun 'property, possession'. Example:

243. *nu sthāpanā vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ śrī trailokyanātha ○ punya* ***nai*** *mratāñ śrī satyāśraya* (K.291N: 1-2)

'In this year was the installation of the image of My Holy High Lord Śrī Trailokyanātha, the pious work of the lord Śrī Satyāśraya'

11. **nau**[1] /nɤw/ ~ **nau ru** /nɤw ru:/: untranslatable, topicalizes a following NP. Cf. *ri.*

12. **nau**[2] /nɤw/ (mod. ន៑ *nau* /nɤw/): locative 'in, at; on', showing grammaticalization from the homophonous verb 'to be in or at, remain'. Note *nau le vnaṃ,* literally 'on top of the hill', *i.e.* 'on the hill', *nau kantāl sre*, literally 'in the middle of the ricefields', *i.e.* 'in or among the ricefields', *nau kaṃluṅ vrai* , literally 'in the interior of the forest', *i.e.* 'in the forest'.

13. **mok** /mɔ:k/ (mod. មក *mak* /mɔ:k/): accusative and dative 'to' + inward goal (toward the speaker), evolved from the homophonous transitive verb meaning 'to come to'. The same form occurs as an adverb.

14. **ri** /ri:/, probably /rɪ/ in the stream of speech (modern ឬ *rī* /ri:/), untranslatable, topicalizes a following NP. Cf. *nau.*

15. **ru** /ru:/ (mod. ឫ *rū* /ru:/): 'as, like', evolved from the homophonous noun 'way, manner'. Example:

244. *paṃre ta vraḥ pāda parameśvara* ***rūva*** *noḥha 'nau* (K.235C: 70-1)

'[he] continued so to serve His Majesty Parameśvara'

245. *nā kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja daiya nau* ***ruva*** *nagara nā kamrateṅ phdai karom stac* (K.235C: 80-1)

'the location of the Sovereign High Lord of the World changed according to the royal city in which the High Lords of Earth were pleased to be'

[10]Closely, '... in the same place as a holy Buddha'.

246. *kalpanā viṅ jā sruk nai bhadrapattana* ***ru*** *ta tel* (K.235D: 60-1)

'… re-establish [it] as a *sruk* belonging to Bhadrapattana as before'

16. **loḥ** /loh/ ~ **lvoḥ** /lʊəh/ (mod. ល្ហុះ *luḥ* /lʊh/): 'to, as far as, until', evolved from the homophonous verb 'to reach, gain'.

17. **ai** /ʔɤy/ ~ **'āy** /ʔa:y/ (mod. ឮ *ai* /ʔay/ and អាយ *'āy* /ʔa:y/) is a locative preposition: 'at, in; by, beside; near', probably evolved by grammaticalization from the homophonous noun meaning 'side, quarter; this side, here'.

18. **'aṃvi** /ʔəmbi:/ (mod. អំពី *'aṃbī* /ʔɑmpi:/ and ពី *bī* /pi:/) is an ablative preposition: 'from', probably evolved from a noun meaning 'source'. Mod. ពី *bī* /pi:/ is the aphetic form of this *'aṃvi*, a derivative the wordbase of which has not yet been identified.

6 *The phrase*

Nouns may be grouped into phrases of three types: the noun phrase (NP), the prepositional phrase, and the adverbial phrase. Verb phrases are not recognized in this description.

6.1. Noun Phrases.

The important NP consists of a noun head with a noun or verb attributive to it. Three structures can be distinguished.

6.1.1. Head + Genitive Modifier.

In this type the head noun is modified by a noun, pronoun or NP in a genitive relationship: *padaḥ 'añ* 'my house'; *padaḥ pitā 'añ* 'my father's house'.

It must be understood that this case relationship is of a general kind often indistinguishable from the ablative ('from') or instrumental ('by'): *vraḥ śāsana dhūli vraḥ pāda* 'a royal directive of (from, by) His Majesty'.

6.1.2. Head + Appositional Modifier.

It often happens that the modifier does not stand in a case-relation to its head, but is coreferential with its head; the traditional term for this relationship is *apposition*. In NPs referring to royalty apposition can be carried to some length.

The case of *dhūli vraḥ pāda dhūli jeṅ vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ* has been mentioned above (5.1.2.4.3). Here the NP *dhūli vraḥ pāda* 'dust of the royal feet (*pāda*)' consists of a noun head (*dhūli*) modified by the genitive NP (*vraḥ pāda*), in which the head (*vraḥ*) is modified by appositional *pāda*. This much is modified by an appositional gloss, namely the NP *dhūli jeṅ* 'dust of the feet (*jeṅ*)'. The foregoing is followed by a genitive NP (*vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ śrī sūryyavarmmadeva*), in which the head (*vraḥ*) is now modified by another appositional NP (*kaṃmrateṅ 'añ*). The whole is then modified by another appositional NP (*śrī sūryyavarmmadeva*), in which *śrī* is the head and *sūryyavarmmadeva* is in apposition to it.

A less extreme but still lengthy example is

247. *kamrateṅ 'añ vrai kanloṅ ta pha 'van vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ śrī narapatīndravarmma jā 'agradevī* (K.782N: 4-5)

'My High Lady of Vrai Kanloṅ, the younger sister of My High Lord Śrī Narapatīndravarman, served as chief queen'

6.1.3. Head + Verbal Modifier.

NPs with verbal modifiers are particularly useful. In *padaḥ dhaṃ* 'a big house' the head is modified by the stative verb *dhaṃ* 'to be big'. Such verbal attributes may be compared to relative clauses since the same NP may be equivalent to 'the house which is big'. Thus, *padaḥ tūc mandira*: 'a house like a palace' or 'a house which is like a palace'.

It is essential to understand that the optional relative pronoun appearing in the translation is brought in to answer the requirements of English. Note moreover that in all such cases the modifier may be introduced by conjunction *ta* (5.2.1.3), marking its subordination to its head: *padaḥ ta dhaṃ, padaḥ ta tūc mandira.*

In *padaḥ 'añ duñ* or *padaḥ ta 'añ duñ*, 'the house which I bought', we see that the head noun may be modified by a true relative clause. The same thought can be expressed without the personal pronoun: *padaḥ duñ* or *padaḥ ta duñ* 'the house which [I] bought'.

6.2. Prepositional Phrases.

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition (5.2.2) head followed by its complement: *'aṃbi bhnaṃ* 'from the hill', *nau le bhnaṃ* 'on the hill'.

In *puṇya nai mratāñ śrī satyāśraya* 'the pious work of the lord Śrī Satyāśraya', the preposition *nai* marks the genitive NP *mratāñ śrī satyāśraya.*

As in English, prepositional phrases may occur without an expressed preposition. In *vraḥ karuṇā ta paramapavitra* 'a royal command of the Supremely Sacred One', the unmarked noun *paramapavitra* is genitive (or instrumental, or ablative) but may optionally be subordinated by *ta*. In *sre kurek saṃreṅ* 'a ricefield belonging to the *kurek* of Saṃreṅ' the genitive NP *kurek saṃreṅ* is neither marked nor subordinated except by position.

6.3. Adverbial Phrases

Adverbial phrases are common: *īlū neḥ* 'at this time, now'; *roḥ noḥ* 'in that way, so, thus'. Examples:

248. *'nak hau kamrateṅ śivāśrama* ***roḥha noḥha*** *'nau* (K.235D: 9-10)
'folk continued to call [him] the High Lord of the Śivāśrama as before'

249. *'nak ta* ***roḥha neḥha*** *pañket santāna 'āy sruk kuti* (K.235D: 26)
'The persons aforesaid begat the line in the *sruk* of Kuṭi'

7 *Clause and sentence*

The minimal proposition in many languages is the clause, consisting of a subject and a predicate. Khmer is verb-centered, allowing a proposition to be expressed minimally by a bare verb, constituting the simplest autonomous Khmer clause or sentence. Clauses are concatenated or embedded to create more complex sentences.

Because the inscriptions are mostly concerned with the delimitation of land, inventories of property, slave assignments and other lists, most of them show a mixture of full sentences and nonsentential strings, with the latter outnumbering the former. In most cases the nonsentential strings correspond to the predicates of full sentences, reduced in order to serve as captions. Once recognized for what they are, they offer no problem to the reader.

Note, moreover, that a chancery idiom would not have much occasion to use the minimal clauses. Grammatical sentences in the inscriptions are nearly all of the indicative (declarative) type, with a few which are optative. True imperatives are absent, as are interrogatives.

7.1. Minimal Sentences.

The minimal sentence is the autonomous clause as mentioned above. In extremity, equational and identificational clauses may be expressed by the zero copula with a nominal predicate. Typical examples are answers to questions or comments following a statement:

250. *'agāra noḥ thāp nu 'āśrama 'agāra 'avi* ○ ***prāsāda***
'What building is that next to the *āśrama*? [It's] a temple'

251. *vnaṃ khvuṅ dāp* ○ ***khvuṅ***
'Is the hill high or low? [It] is high'

252. *paṅhey kāra* ***lā***
'Having finished his work, [he] took his leave'

253. *'nak sruk oy slā 'aṃlū ta bhikṣugaṇa* ○ ***cya***
'The villagers gave the monks some areca and betel. [They] are eating [it]'

As can be seen, both the subject and the direct object are nonobligatory, while the pronouns for them are not expressed as long as the verb's reference is clear.

This minimal clause may be expanded as expansion is needed by insertion of appropriate nouns:

254. *prāsāda khvuṅ* 'the temple is high'

255. *'ryāṃ lā* '[my] older brother took his leave'

256. *paṃnvas cya slā* 'the monks were chewing arecanut'

Equational clauses are exemplified by *neḥ prāsāda* 'This (is) a temple'. Contrast the NP *padaḥ dhaṃ* 'a house which is big, a big house', given above, with the clause *padaḥ dhaṃ* 'the house is big'.

These same clauses may be further expanded by insertion of appropriate NPs:

257. *prāsāda noḥ khvuṅ* 'that temple is high'
258. *'ryāṃ 'añ lā* 'my older brother took his leave'
259. *paṃnvas neḥ cya slā mlū* 'these monks were chewing areca [and] betel'

For equational clauses:

260. *neḥ mandira mratāñ* 'this (is) the lord's palace'

Again, the same clauses may be expanded by appropriate prepositional phrases:

261. *'ryāṃ 'añ mok 'aṃvi nagara* 'my older brother came from the capital'
262. *saṅ padaḥ nau le bhnaṃ* '[he] built a house on the hill'

As before, adverbs and adverbial phrases are widely used to fill out a basic clause:

263. *īlū 'ryāṃ 'añ saṅ padaḥ* 'my older brother is now building a house'
264. *saṅ padaḥ surec* '[he] built a house'
265. *masāñnakṣatra mratāñ saṅ mandira* 'the lord built a palace in the year of the Serpent'

7.2. Equational Sentences.

Equational sentences are those in which the subject is equated or identified with the predicate, the two being linked by a copular verb including the zero copula and the anaphoric copula *syaṅ*. Example:

266. *caṃnāṃ kalpanā phle bhūmi noḥ ta 'anle pi ti 'nak ta roḥh neḥh phoṅ thve raṅko saṅkrānta je 1 karttika thlvaṅ 4 dīpa catusahasra vraḥ vasana yau □ vlaḥ śāṭakā yau 4* ○ (K.34B: 17-9)

'The allowance from the harvest of the said three tracts to be made by the individuals named (is): 1 *je* of milled rice at the new year; for [the month of] Kārttika 4 *thlvaṅ* [with] four thousand lamps, □ *yau* of holy vestments, [and] 4 *yau* of doubled *śāṭakā*'

7.3. Compound Sentences.

Two or more coordinate but otherwise autonomous clauses may be linked to form a compound sentence. Examples:

267. *dep saṅ gośāla duk thpal ta gi saṅ chpār* (K.88: 6-7)

'[They] next built a cow stable, assigned a herd to it, [and] made a garden'

268. *saṅ gol nu 925 śaka cat caṃnat 1* (K.91B: 27)

'[He] set up boundary-markers [on it] in the Śaka year 925 [and] laid out a settlement'

269. *dep dau prāp cāmpa cāp phsok śata vyar jvan ta kamrateṅ jagat vrai lvac* ○ (K.1036: 29-30)

'Later [he] went forth to subdue the Cham, took two hundred prisoners of war, and offered [them] up to the High Lord of the World at Vrai Lvac'

The absence of coordinate clause conjunctions sometimes makes it difficult or impossible to distinguish a compound sentence from a sequence of two or more simple sentences. The question can usually be resolved in the case of parallel constructions, but may be irresoluble elsewhere.

Punctuation is rarely reliable, but in the following case the repeated *ri* is decisive:

270. *riy bhūmi ta cval ta caṅvat 'āyatta ta 'nak ta thve rājakāryya* ○ *riy vraḥ liṅga 'āy vnur sramo 'āyatta teṅ su* (K.843C: 21-3)

'The land within [these] bounds — [it] shall be under the authority of one who carries our royal service and family head. The holy *liṅga* at Vnur Sramo — [it] shall be under the authority of the *teṅ* Su'

7.4. Complex Sentences.

7.4.1. Subordinate Clauses.

A minimal sentence may function (with or without marking) as a subordinate clause, linked to a preceding or following main clause to form a complex sentence. Example:

271. *vrai vraḥ bhāga 1 pakṣa khnet ti mratāñ khnar oy thlai mās liṅ ti pul ta vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ 'āy vrac* (K.420: 19-20)

'One section of sanctuary forest [reserved] for the fortnight of the waxing moon was given [him] by the lord of the sanctuary for 10 *liṅ* of gold, borrowed from My Holy High Lord at Vrac'

Four types of subordinate clause may be distinguished: the temporal clause, the conditional clause, the clause of purpose, and the relative clause. The first three are exemplified in the citations already given and in those given hereafter.

Relative clauses are those which are either introduced by a relative pronoun or modify a noun or NP head without such marking. Pre-Angkorian favors the relative pronoun, which is usually dispensed with in Angkorian. Example:

272. *saṅ khñuṃ jmaḥ khdic 'añ jvan ta vraḥ śivaliṅga* (K.523D: 17-8)

'[he] made [me] the pious gift of a slave named Khdic, whom I offered up to the holy *śivaliṅga*'

7.4.2. Embedded Clauses.

Embedded clauses are subordinate clauses that occur within subordinate clauses on a higher level. Example:

273. *man vraḥ pāda nirvvāṇapada kridā vala pi 'nak tok vraḥ 'āy bhadrapattana nu stuk ransi ○ man vraḥ svey rājya chnāṃ 2 guḥ steṅ 'añ śivācāryya sthāpanā vraḥ noḥ ta nai santāna viṅ* (K.235D: 40-1)

'When His Majesty Nirvāṇapada raised an army against those who had overthrown the images at Bhadrapattana and Stuk Ransi when the royal one had been on the throne only two years, the *steṅ 'añ* Śivācārya set up the said images belonging to his family again'

274. *man sruk bhadrapattana nu sruk stuk ransi nu caṃnat noḥ phoṅ syaṅ ta śūnya kāla vraḥ pāda nirvvāṇapada krida vala ○ vraḥ kamrateṅ śrī jayendrapandita thve sruk noḥ phoṅ viṅ unmilita vraḥ noḥ man ti sthāpanā viṅ* (K.235D: 45-6)

'While the *sruk* of Bhadrapattana and the *sruk* of Stuk Ransi and their settlements were abandoned when His Majesty Nirvāṇapada raised an army, the Holy High Lord Śrī Jayendrapaṇḍita rebuilt the said *sruk* [and] reconsecrated the said images which had been set up again [by him]'

For other examples see 8.29, 8.32.

7.5. Compound Complex Sentences.

A sentence may be both compound and complex, *i.e.* it may consist of two or more clauses, one or more of which contains a subordinate clause. Examples:

275. *dep vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ vidyāspada jā kanmvay mātṛpakṣa □□□□□ sthāpanā vraḥ bhagavatī thve 'āśrama ta bhūmi □□śiva* (K.1036: 7-8)

'Later, My Holy High Lord of Vidyāspada, who was a nephew in the maternal line of □□□□□, set up an image of Bhagavatī [and] founded an *āśrama* on land belonging to □□śiva'

276. *velā 'aphuy vyar dan=tap mukha vala toy skat lap kroy vañ 'anak samudāya 'ayatt prasam ley* (K.227: 17-9)

'At the hour of twelve *'aphuy* the vanguard of the [Cham] troops followed to cut [them] off, stole behind, [and] surprised the [Khmer] rear-guard, who were utterly unable to regroup'

7.6. Cleft Sentences.

Cleft sentences are common in Angkorian Khmer. They open with the dummy subject (*gi*), the zero copula, and its complement — often, headless *ta* introducing a subordinate clause. Example:

277. *gi neḥ sre ta roḥ gi neḥh phoṅ tel kuruṅ maleṅ oy ta vraḥ ...* (K.451S: 15-7)

'It (is) these fields aforesaid which the *kuruṅ* of Maleṅ has given to the divinity...'

7.7. Inversions.

In this section three types of inversion are described as stylistic or rhetorical devices much favored in the inscriptions.

7.7.1. Demonstrative Pronouns.

The demonstrative pronouns (*neḥ, noḥ, gi*) are commonly transposed to a position before their natural head. In these cases, rather than accepting a violation of the *head + attribute* rule, we are obliged to recognize that the demonstrative functions as the head while the natural head is in apposition to it:

278. *sre neḥ* 'this ricefield, these ricefields' → *neḥ sre* 'this the ricefield, these the ricefields'.

Noḥ is inverted in the same way. Examples:

279. *paṅgaṃ thpvaṅ nivedana ... man **neḥ** bhūmyākara sruk sre cnās khtār ...* (Ka.50A: 2-5)
'... worshipfully informed His Majesty ... that these land revenues of the *sruk* and ricefields of Cnās Khtār (were) ... '

280. *... 'āyatta ta pādamūla leṅ nirvvāpa **neḥ** dharmma yeṅ* (K.215: 16-7)
'... it devolves upon the *pādamūla* to sanction services to the dead in this pious work of ours'

We also note from time to time a doubling of the demonstrative as in:

281. *vvaṃ 'āc ti srac ta khloñ 'nak nau 'nak ta pradhāna ta **noḥ** deśa **noḥ*** (K.351: 11-3)
'[This endowment] shall not be headed by a personnel director, [but] shall remain with the chief residents of the said community'

282. *... toy dakṣiṇa **neḥ** vnaṃ **neḥ*** (K.190: 3-4)
'... on the south side of this sanctuary'

283. *nau 'nak ta 'ahaṅkara pi pīdā 'nak janapada pi cicāy **neḥ** dharmma **neḥ** jāta dvātriṃśanaraka lvaḥ saṅhāra* (K.356N: 24-6)
'Anyone so willful as to interfere with the people of Janapada [or] to impair this pious work shall be reborn in one of the thirty-two hells to the end of time'

284. *nau sādhu ta 'āc varddheya **neḥ** punya **neḥ** ge mān svargga* (K.659: 28-9)
'Men of good will who can promote this pious work — they shall know heaven'

This same doubling is more frequently augmented by *roḥ neḥ* instead of the bare postposed *neḥ*:

285. *nau ta yokk **neḥ** ta **roḥ neḥ*** (K.105/1°: 16)
'One who appropriates these things aforesaid ...

286. ***neḥ** bhūmi ta **roḥh neḥh** man vāp 'amarānanta duñ syaṅ man jvan ta vraḥ noḥ ta rūpa 'me vapā* (K.693B: 20-1)
'These lands aforesaid which the *vāp* Amarānanta purchased are what [he] has offered up to the said holy images of [his] mother [and] father'

This pattern takes root and becomes a much favored stylistic device.

Pronoun *gi* is found widely in the same kind of inverted NP: *sre gi* 'this or that ricefield', but *gi sre* 'the ricefield', where we observe its weakening to a kind of definite article. Examples:

287. *... man ket* ***gi*** *sthāna kanloṅ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ rājaguhā* (K.231A: 6-7)
'that [they] were born on the premises of the late queen My High Lady of the Royal Grotto'

288. *... satra vraḥ utpanna jiṅ 1 liḥ 2 canlek yo 3 ta* ***giy*** *samvatsara ta moy* ◦ (Ka.13: 9-10)
'Sacrifice to the holy Utpanna: 1 *jiṅ* 2 *liḥ* [of milled rice], 3 *yau* of cloth for the lower garment each year'

289. *neḥ* ***gi*** *roḥha śākha santāna noḥ* (K.235C: 59)
(*closely*) 'this (is) the manner of the branching of that family', *i.e.* 'this is the history of the said family'

290. ***gi*** *kule phoṅ siṅ nā kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja ru ta tāp ra 'nau* (K.235D: 11-2)
'The members of the family continued to officiate before the Sovereign High Lord of the World as before'

291. *... **gi** sruk nu vraḥ liṅga jā vraiya nu devasthāna noḥ dau* (K.235D: 58)
'... the *sruk* and holy *liṅga* reverting to wilderness along with the said sanctuary thereafter'

292. *ti paścima lvoḥ ta* ***gi*** *phlū rddeḥ thṅai luc snvāl* (K.235D: 89)
'on the west [it] extends to the ox-cart road west of Snvāl'

293. *... pat tāṅ tai viṅ ta* ***gi*** *thnval travāṅ* (K.235D: 89)
'... [it] turns and reaches back to the bank of the reservoir'

294. *paṅgaṃ thpvaṅ nivedana ... ruv* ***gi*** *bhaktiy śrī sukarmmā kaṃsteṅ nā mān jā tem ta* ***gi*** *karmma durggama phoṅ nā kamrateṅ jagat śrī śikharīśvara nu kamrateṅ jagat śrī vṛddheśvara* (K.380W/2°: 12-4)
'[he] worshipfully informed His Majesty ... of the devoted services of the *kaṃsteṅ* Śrī Sukarma notably in the course of sundry arduous work on the sanctuaries of the High Lord of the World Śrī Śikharīśvara and the High Lord of the World Śrī Vṛddheśvara'

As above, preposed *gi* is often reinforced by postposed *neḥ* or *noḥ*:

295. *gi neḥ sre* 'the this ricefield → this ricefield'
296. *gi noḥ puṇya* 'the those pious works → those pious works'

Examples:

297. *nau 'nak ta mān ta* ***gi neḥ*** *sruk syaṅ ti kalpa ...* (K.376: 5)
'persons residing in this *sruk* — [they] are authorized to ... '

298. ***gi noḥ*** *sre* ***noḥ*** *syaṅ man oy ta vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ śivaliṅga* (K.353S: 26-7)
'The said ricefields are what [he] has given to My Holy High Lord of the *śivaliṅga*'

299. *nau rūpa paṃnvās ta mān vidyā nu śila nu 'ācāra phoṅ res ta* ***gi neḥ*** *varṇṇa ta vyar* (K.868A: 15-6)
'For these two corporations [you] shall select those in holy orders who are possessed of learning and virtue and good conduct'

300. *nauv noḥ ta mān prayoja ta* ***gi neḥ*** *bhūvana ta roḥ neḥ 'aṃvi gmum dau syaṅ nai vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ* (K.190: 27-31)
'Those who are detailed to these aforesaid lands from this time on shall constitute My High Lord's chattels'

7.7.2. Existential mān.

As with modern ម៉ាន *mān* /mi:ən/, the verb *mān* /ma:n/ has intransitive and transitive senses, in the former case being equivalent to 'to exist, be'. The subject of this existential *mān* is commonly found following the verb. Example:

301. *854 śaka nu* ***mān*** *braḥ śāsana ḍhūli vraḥ pāda ḍhūli jeṅ vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ śrī jayavarmmadeva ta braḥ kamrateṅ 'añ śrī prathibīṇdrabarmma ...* (K.99S: 1-3)
'Śaka 854: In this year was issued a royal directive from the *dhūli vraḥ pāda dhūli jeṅ* My Holy High Lord Śrī Jayavarmadeva to My Holy High Lord Śrī Pṛthivīndravarman ... '

7.7.3. Topicalization

Topicalization is another device much favored in the inscriptions.

The *topic* of a sentence is to be carefully distinguished from its *subject*, though the subject itself may be topicalized. The topic is an NP placed at the head of a sentence for the purpose of giving it prominence. In this position it may be said to be detached from the subject and predicate, and to stand alone as an opening announcement of what the sentence is about or to give emphasis to one of its constituents. To mark this separation in translation, it is here shown followed by a dash.

Topicalized NPs are commonly but not always introduced by the untranslated prepositions *ri ~ ri e, e* alone, or *nau ~ nau ru*. Grammatically, they are NPs independent of the rest of the sentence. Commonly they serve as the direct object, brought up to the sentence head. Occasionally they are the subject, and are followed by an anaphoric pronoun, or a genitive NP (see 9.7).

Example of a genitive topic:

302. ***nau ta yokk*** *neḥ ta roḥ neḥ ti pre kāp thpvaṅ* (K.105/1° : 16)
(*closely*) 'Of those who take these aforesaid — [the executioner] shall be ordered to cut off [their] heads'

Here, preposition *nau* marks the topic. It opens with headless *ta* subordinating a relative clause consisting of a transitive verb (*yok*) with its direct-object NP: *neḥ ta roḥ neḥ*, referring to previously mentioned *sruk* and slaves. This topic is followed by a normal clause opening with a passivized verb (*ti pre*), its subject unexpressed, and continuing with its transitive complement (*kāp*) with its direct object (*thpvaṅ*). Without topicalization the sentence would read *ti pre kāp thpvaṅ ('nak) ta yok neḥ ta roḥ neḥ.*

Examples of accusative topics:

303. ***neḥ sruk*** *'aṃcau nā vraḥ śakti kamrateṅ 'añ suvarṇnaliṅga phtyaṅ ni pre jau nu thās cha'in liṅ piy oy sruk lun snoṅ sot* (K.754B: 26-8)

'His Majesty ordered that [they] buy this *sruk* of 'Aṃcau, assigned to the consort of My High Lord of the golden *liṅga*, for a cooking pot weighing three *liṅ*, also giving the *sruk* of Lun in payment'

304. ***nau 'aṃpāl 'aṃve*** *phala kṛtajñabhakti ta dhūli vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ kaṃtvan 'añ śrī sūryyavarmmadeva noḥ gi pi yeṅ udyoga thve* ○ (K.292A: 8-10)

'It shall be for us to strive to carry out all actions reflecting [our] grateful devotion to the *dhūli vraḥ pāda* My High Lord in the maternal line Śrī Sūryavarmadeva'

305. ***nau rū kule*** *ta 'nak si man ka 'āc ti paryyan hoṅ nāṃ mok oy 'ācāryya caturācāryya pre paryyan siksā 'āy nagara pi pre nā vraḥ rājakāryya nā paṃnvās* (K.175S: 4-5; K.444B: 9-12; K.868A: 22-4)

'[You] shall bring members of the families of male servitors whom [you] may have had occasion to teach [and] give [them] over to one of the Four *Ācārya*, who shall have [them] pursue [their] studies in the royal city with a view to assigning [them] to posts in the royal service in the capacity of clergy'

306. ***riy 'nak 'āśrama*** *'āy prasān vrai rmmyat thyeṅ kāñcanapura kuruṅ tanmer ta nai vraḥ santāna vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ kaṃtvan 'añ śrī sūryyavarmmadeva [pre] saṃ mūla nu kamrateṅ jagat śrī śikharīśvara* (K.380E/1°: 5-6)

'His Majesty My High Lord in the maternal line Śrī Sūryavarmadeva [bade] inmates of the *āśrama* at Prasān Vrai Rmyat Thyeṅ in the *kuruṅ* of Tanmer's Kañcanapura, which belongs to the royal family, merge [their] estate with the High Lord of the World Śrī Śikharīśvara'

8 *Fifty passages with grammatical descriptions*

My translations of the following passages are deliberately close to show their structure and certain peculiarities of their wording. The grammatical descriptions are as formulaic as possible. This makes for heavy reading but is meant to show the small number of recurrent structures out of which they are made.

307. *poñ uy oy kñuṃ ai ta kpoñ kamratāṅ 'añ* (K.557/600N: 1, A.D. 612)
'The *poñ* Uy has given [the following] slaves to the *kpoñ* My High Lady'

A simple sentence in which the subject NP (*poñ uy*) is followed by a predicate consisting of a transitive verb (*oy*) with its direct object (*kñuṃ*), followed by the indirect object in the form of a prepositional phrase introduced by *ai* ~ *'āy* and subordinated by *ta* (*kpoñ kamratāṅ 'añ*).

308. *sre 'aṃnoy kañheṅ vraḥ 'añ lāṅ gus 'āy ta vraḥ kamratāṅ 'añ śrī bhaṭāra vīreśvara ai cpar pares sre sanre 100* (K.9: 9-10, A.D. 640)
'Ricefields the gift of the lady the Vraḥ 'Añ of Lāṅ Gus to My Holy High Lord Śrī *Bhaṭṭāra* Vīreśvara at the deer park: 100 *sanre* of riceland'

A nonsentential string. Its head (*sre*) is modified by an appositional NP consisting of a head noun (*'aṃnoy*) modified by a genitive NP (*kañheṅ vraḥ 'añ lāṅ gus*) followed by an indirect object in the form of a prepositional phrase introduced by *'āy* ~ *ai* and subordinated by *ta* (*vraḥ kaṃmratāṅ 'añ śrī bhaṭṭāra vīreśvara*), followed in turn by a prepositional (locative) phrase introduced by *ai* (*cpar pares*). Detached from the foregoing is the numerical expression *sre sanre 100.*

309. *kloñ dār ṇibha canlakk droṅ poñ śivacandra kon kloññ 'aṃval yau 1 vlaḥ 1 tmur phem 1 srū tloṅ 3* (K.79: 18-20, A.D. 644)
'The *kloñ* received the sculpted likeness of the *poñ* Śivacandra, his son, 1 *yau* of *'aṃval*, 1 [length] of double cloth, 1 pregnant cow, [and] 3 *tloṅ* of paddy'

A simple sentence in which the subject (*kloñ*) is followed by a predicate consisting of a transitive verb (*dār*) with five direct objects.

The first is an NP (*nibha canlak*) modified by an unmarked relative clause consisting of a transitive verb (*droṅ*) with its direct-object NP (*poñ śivacandra*), modified in turn by an appositional NP (*kon kloñ*).

The other four direct objects are *'aṃval yau 1, vlaḥ 1, tmur phem 1,* and *srū tloṅ 3.* The scattering of untranslatable terms (*kloñ, poñ, yau, 'aṃval, tloṅ*) is typical.

310. *'aṃnoy kurāk kloñ vyādhapura 'āy ta vraḥ kamratāṅ 'añ śrī rudramahālaya* (K.109N: 11, A.D. 656)

'Gifts of the *kurāk* the *kloñ* of Vyādhapura to My Holy High Lord of the Śrī Rudramahālaya'

Nonsentential. The noun head (*'aṃnoy*), modified by a genitive NP (*kurāk kloñ vyādhapura*), is followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by *'āy* and subordinated by *ta* (*vraḥ kaṃmratāṅ 'añ śrī rudramahālaya*).

311. *poñ bhā vinaya ktiṅ krapi canmat 1 sre 'aṃnoy poñ ta gui mās* □*2* (K.493: 19-20, A.D. 657)

'The *poñ bhāgavata* Vinaya having owed [me] 1 ungelded water buffalo, riceland given by him for it: □2 *mās*'

A peculiar structure, probably a subordinate clause introducing a nonsentential string.

The clause consists of a subject NP (*poñ bhāgavata vinaya*) followed by a predicate: a transitive verb (*ktiṅ*) with its direct-object NP (*krapi canmat 1*). The string consists of a noun head (*sre*) modified by an appositional NP (*'aṃnoy poñ* 'the gift of the *poñ*') followed by an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*gi*). Detached is the numerical expression (□*2 mās*) representing the area of the riceland.

312. *'ājñā vraḥ kamratāṅ 'añ ni gui puṇya pu caḥ 'añ ratnabhānu pu caḥ 'añ ratnasiṅha ta ai teṃ ske* (K.49, 11-2, A.D. 664)

'An order from My Holy High Lord relating to the pious work of the *pu caḥ 'añ* Ratnabhānu [and] the *pu caḥ 'añ* Ratnasiṃha at Teṃ Ske'

Nonsentential. The subject NP (*'ājñā vraḥ kaṃmratāṅ 'añ*) is modified by an unmarked relative clause consisting of a transitive verb (*ni*) with its direct object (*puṇya*) as modified by a genitive NP (*pu caḥ 'añ ratnabhānu, pu caḥ 'añ ratnasiṃha*).

Dependent on *puṇya* is a prepositional (locative) phrase subordinated by *ta*, and introduced by *ai* (*teṃ ske*).

313. *gui 'āvāsa kñuṃ gui sre ge saṃ paribhoga ai ta vraḥ doṅ vraḥh doṅṅ 'āvāsa ta tel sāpekṣa ai ta bhagavat śaṅkarakīrtti* (K.582: 7-8, A.D. 667)

'They divide the use of the slave quarters [and] riceland with the sanctuary and quarters under the authority of the venerable Śaṃkarakīrti'

A complex sentence, opening with a topicalized genitive NP with two constituents (*gi 'āvāsa kñuṃ, gi sre*) dependent on *paribhoga*.

The subject (*ge*) is followed by a predicate consisting of a transitive verb (*saṃ*) with its direct object (*paribhoga*), followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by *ai* and subordinated by *ta* (*vraḥ doṅ 'āvāsa*), the repeated *vraḥh doṅṅ* being a typical lapicide's inadvertence.

'Āvāsa is then modified by a relative clause subordinated by *ta* and marked by nominative pronoun *tel*, consisting of an intransitive verb (*sāpekṣa*) and a prepositional phrase introduced by *ai* and subordinated by *ta* (*bhagavat śaṃkarakīrti*).

314. *pre coṅ it thve kalpanā phoṅ ta vraḥ kaṃmratāṅ 'añ pre ru liṅgapurvva ukk* (K.341S: 8-9, A.D. 674)

'[It further] bade [him] build brick monuments to My Holy High Lord [and] again dispose [them] as at Liṅgapura'

A compound sentence.

The first clause opens with a transitive verb (*pre*), its subject (a royal directive) and its direct object both unexpressed, followed by two transitive complements.

The first is *coṅ* with its direct object (*it*); the second is *thve* with its direct-object NP (*kalpanā phoṅ*), the latter modified by a genitive NP subordinated by *ta* (*vraḥ kaṃmratāṅ 'añ*). *Coṅ it thve kalpanā phoṅ* is literally 'to lay bricks [and] build monuments'.

The second clause opens with repeated *pre*, now with the sense of 'to order, arrange', its direct object unexpressed, followed by an adverbial phrase introduced by *ru* (*liṅgapura*) and clausal adverb *ukk*.

315. *gi ta rakṣā neḥ kalpita mratāñ kīrttigaṇa 'āy ta vraḥ kaṃmratāṅ 'añ śrī gambhīreśvara* (K.749: 9-10, A.D. 674)

'She (is) the one who shall have custody of this endowment of the lord Kīrtigaṇa to My Holy High Lord Śrī Gambhīreśvara'

An equational sentence. The subject (*gi*) is followed by a predicate with the zero copula and its complement, headless *ta* subordinating a transitive verb (*rakṣā*) with its direct-object NP (*neḥ kalpita*) as modified by a genitive NP (*mratāñ kīrtigaṇa*), followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by *'āy* and subordinated by *ta* (*vraḥ kaṃmratāṅ 'añ śrī gambhīreśvara*).

316. *neḥ gui roḥ 'aṃnoy mratāñ yajamāna 'āy ta vraḥ* (K.78/786: 22, A.D. 678)

'Such (are) the gifts of the lord *yajamāna* to the divinity'

Another equational sentence. The subject (*neḥ*) is followed by a predicate with the zero copula and its complement NP (*gi roḥ 'aṃnoy* 'the kinds of gifts') as modified by an unmarked genitive NP (*mratāñ yajamāna*), followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by *'āy* and subordinated by *ta* (*vraḥ*).

317. *sre dañ liṅga 'aṃnoy vraḥ kamratāṅ 'añ ta dau śivapura oy ta vraḥ* (K.451: 12-3, A.D. 680)

'A ricefield at Dañ Liṅga, given [him] by My Holy High Lord who has gone to the Śivapura, which [he now] gives to the divinity'.

Nonsentential but containing a relative clause. The subject NP (*sre dañ liṅga*) is followed by an appositional NP (*'aṃnoy*) including a genitive NP (*vraḥ kaṃmratāṅ 'añ ta dau śivapura*).

Dependent on the subject is an unmarked relative clause consisting of a transitive verb (*oy*), its subject unexpressed, and a unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*vraḥ*).

318. *ge ta daṅ sak gi mās vraḥ prak laṅgau saṃrit canlek sre daṃriṅ tmur ... ge dau nirayasthāna nu 'ji ge ta si ge ta kantai 'me ge 'tā ge kon cau*
(K.451N : 1-4, A.D. 680)

'Persons who seek to divert gold belonging to the divinity, silver, copper, bronze, vestments, ricefields, plantations [or] cows — they shall go to hell along with their ancestors male and female, their mothers, their grandfathers, [their] children and grandchildren'

The abbreviated curse of a closing *varaśāpa.*

It opens with a topicalized NP consisting of a subject (*ge*) modified by an unmarked relative clause subordinated by *ta* introducing an intransitive verb (*daṅ*) and its transitive complement (*sak*) with its direct-object NP (*gi mās vraḥ, prāk, laṅgau, saṃrit, canlek, sre, daṃriṅ, tmur*).

The anaphoric subject (repeated *ge*) is followed by a predicate consisting of a transitive verb (*dau*) with its direct object (*nirayasthāna*), followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by comitative *nu* (*'ji ge ta si* 'their male forebears', *ge ta kantai* '[their] female ones', *'me ge* 'their mothers', *'tā ge* 'their grandfathers', *kon cau* '[their] children and grandchildren').

Note the versatility of *ge*. As head of an NP it serves as a pluralizer; as attributive it serves as a possessive pronoun.

319. *ge ta sak ta gui ge ta kmi ta gui ge dau 'avīcinarakk dauṅ ge pitṛ ge dauṅ ge kull ge ta daṅ ket sinn* (K.561 : 20-2, A.D. 681)

'Persons who commit theft on these premises [and] persons who seek [to do so] on these premises — they shall go to the Avīci hell along with their ancestors and members of their families yet to be born'

Another curse, again opening with a topicalized NP consisting of two pronomial heads (*ge*).

The first is modified by an unmarked relative clause subordinated by *ta* introducing an intransitive verb (*sak*) and a locative phrase (*ta gi*); the second *ge* is modified by another unmarked relative clause subordinated by *ta* introducing an intransitive verb (*kmi*) followed by the same locative phrase (*ta gi*).

The subject, anaphoric *ge*, is followed by a predicate consisting of a transitive verb (*dau*) with its direct object (*'avīcinaraka*), followed by two prepositional phrases introduced by *doṅ* (*ge pitṛ ge, ge kula ge*), the latter modified by an unmarked relative clause subordinated by *ta* introducing modal *daṅ* with an intransitive verb (*ket*) and adverb *sin*. Note again the versatility of *ge*.

320. *vā ta daṅ kmi sakk neḥ kñuṃ pradāna droṅ neḥ raṅko caṃnaṃ ge 'āy ta vraḥ kamratāṅ 'añ śrī 'amareśvara ○ 'aṃpall kula ge phoṅ yāvat sūryyacandrasya tāvat narakaduḥkhitāḥ* (K.127: 11-3, A.D. 684)

'Miscreants who would seek to steal these slaves given [by the sovereign] and this milled rice for their provision at [the sanctuary of] My Holy High Lord Śrī Amareśvara shall know the sufferings of hell with all their kinsmen for as long as the sun and moon [shall shine]'

Yet another curse, this time in the form of a complex sentence with an ill-formed Sanskritized predicate.

The subject (*vā*) is modified by an unmarked relative clause subordinated by *ta*, introducing modal *daṅ* and an intransitive verb (*kmi*) and its transitive complement (*sak*) with two direct-object NPs.

The first is *neḥ kñuṃ pradāna* 'these slaves of the royal grant'; the second, following conjunction *droṅ*, is *neḥ rańko caṃnāṃ ge* 'this rice for their subsistence'. This much is followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by *'āy* and subordinated by *ta* (*vraḥ kamratāṅ 'añ śrī 'amareśvara*).

The ineptly Sanskritized predicate consists of a displaced adverbial phrase (*yāvat sūryacandra [mān ley] tāvat* 'as long as the sun and moon shall shine, so long …'), then the displaced *narakaduḥkhitāḥ* '[they] shall suffer the agonies of hell', followed by an unmarked prepositional phrase (*'aṃpal kula ge phoṅ* 'with all the members of their family').

321. *gi ta tel prativaddha ai vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ ... ge tapoviśeṣa 'aṃvi ihaloka lvāh paraloka* (K.341N :3-6, A.D. 701)

'He who is constant in [his] devotion to My Holy High Lord … they shall be celebrated for their austerities from this world unto the world beyond'

A simple sentence, abbreviated. It opens with three topicalized NPs of which only the first is given here: a head (*gi*) modified by a relative clause subordinated by *ta* and marked by nominative pronoun *tel* introducing a stative verb (*prativaddha*) and a prepositional phrase introduced by *ai* (*vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ*).

The anaphoric subject (*ge*) is followed by a predicate consisting of a stative verb (*tapoviśeṣa*) followed by two prepositional phrases, the first introduced by *'aṃvi* (*ihaloka*), the second by *loḥ* (*paraloka*).

322. *gi neḥ vnok phoṅ tel ge kloñ śobhājayā 'añ oy ta vraḥ kaṃmratāṅ 'añ śrī tripurāntakeśvara* (K.904B: 12-3, A.D. 713)

'It is this team [of slaves] that the princess Śobhājayā 'Añ has given to My Holy High Lord Śrī Tripurāntakeśvara'

A cleft sentence, opening with the dummy subject (*gi*), the zero copula, and its complement NP (*neḥ vnok phoṅ*) as modified by a relative clause marked by accusative *tel*, consisting of a subject NP (*ge kloñ śibhājayā 'añ*) and a predicate consisting of a transitive verb (*oy*) and an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*vraḥ kaṃmratāṅ 'añ śrī tripurāntakeśvara*).

323. *sanme ni ge pī 'nak ta sthāpanā vraḥ jāhv sre duñ kñuṃ tve daṃriṅ jlaṅ ka'ol puruṣakāra ge daṅ 'anvaya ...* (K.1214: 7-9, A.D. 726)

'Having joined together, [these] three persons (are) the ones who set up the image, acquired ricefields, bought slaves, [and] laid out the plantation at Jlaṅ K'ol by their own effort and [that of their] descendants … '

A complex sentence consisting of a subordinate clause (*sanme ni*) followed by an equational clause, the latter opening with a subject NP (*ge pi 'nak*) followed by a predicate

with the zero copula and its complement, consisting of headless *ta* subordinating four coordinate relative clauses, each comprising a transitive verb with its direct object.

The first such clause is *sthāpanā vraḥ*, the second is *jau sre*, the third is *duñ kñuṃ*, and the fourth is *tve daṃriṅ jlaṅ k'ol*. The passage ends with an unmarked instrumental phrase (*puruṣakāra* 'by the physical labor') modified by a genitive NP (*ge daṅ 'anvaya*).

324. *pañcaviṅśottarasaptaśata śakaparigraha gi nu kanheṅ kamrateṅ 'añ ta cpoṅ kvan kanheṅ kamrateṅ 'añ śrī jayendra□rabhā cau kanheṅ 'añ śrī nṛpendradevī cau dvot vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ śrī indraloka jvan kñuṃ 'āy ta vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ śrīmad 'āmrātaka* (K.124: 3-7, A.D. 804)

'The year 725 of the Śaka dominion: It (is) in this year that the princess My High Lady — eldest of the children of the princess My High Lady Śrī Jayendra□rabhā, grand-daughter of My Princess Śrī Nṛpendradevī, great-granddaughter of My Holy High Lord Śrī Indraloka — offered up slaves to My Holy High Lord Śrīmad Āmrātaka'

A routine dateline followed by a cleft sentence.

The dummy subject (*gi*) is followed by the predicate with the zero copula and its complement, which is a subordinate clause opening with adverb *nu* followed by the subject NP (*kanheṅ kamrateṅ 'añ*). This subject is identified not by name but by an appositional NP subordinated by *ta*. The NP has three constituents (*cpoṅ kvan kanheṅ kamrateṅ 'añ śrī jayendra□rabhā, cau kanheṅ 'añ śrī nṛpendradevī, cau dvot vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ śrī indraloka*).

The predicate of the subordinate clause opens with a transitive verb (*jvan*) with its direct object (*kñuṃ*), followed by an indirect object in the form of a prepositional phrase introduced by *'āy* and subordinated by *ta* (*vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ śrīmad 'āmrātaka*).

325. *8□4 śaka nū mān vraḥ śāsana dhūli vraḥ pāda dhūli jeṅ vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ ekādaśī roc caitra candravāra nu oy vraḥ supātra ta mratāñ śrī vikramasaṃnaha ti pre dau sthāpanā ta gi sruk phdai 'āy vrai vyak pramāna śrī indrapura* (K.105/1°: 1-4, A.D. 882)

'Śaka 8□4: In this year was issued a royal directive from the *dhūli vraḥ pāda dhūli jeṅ* My Holy High Lord on the eleventh [day] of the fortnight of the waning moon of [the month of] Caitra, a Monday. On this date [he] gave a royal memorandum to the lord Śrī Vikramasaṃnāha, who was bidden go out [and] set up an image in the *sruk* of Phdai, in Vrai Vyak in the *pramāṇa* of Śrī Indrapura'

A minimal dateline followed by a simple sentence and a complex sentence.

The first sentence opens with adverb *nu*, followed by existential *mān* and its inverted subject NP (*vraḥ śāsana*) as modified by a genitive NP (*dhūli vraḥ pāda dhūli jeṅ vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ*). What follows (*ekādaśī roc caitra candravāra*), giving the date of the *vraḥ śāsana*, may be taken either as another genitive NP or as an unmarked prepositional phrase.

The second sentence likewise opens with adverb *nu*, this time followed by a transitive verb (*oy*), its subject (probably *kaṃmrateṅ 'añ*) unexpressed, with its direct-object NP (*vraḥ supattra*) and its indirect object in the form of an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*mratāñ śrī vikramasaṃnāha*).

The latter is then modified by an unmarked relative clause consisting of passivizing *ti* with a transitive verb (*pre*) and its intransitive complement (*dau*) with an intransitive verb of purpose (*sthāpanā* 'to set up an image'), followed by an unmarked locative phrase subordinated by *ta* (*gi sruk phdai*), modified by a prepositional phrase introduced by *'āy* (*vrai vyak*), itself modified by a genitive NP (*pramāṇa śrī indrapura*).

326. *nauv noḥ ta mān prayoja ta gi neḥ bhūvana ta roḥ neḥ 'aṃvi gmum dau syaṅ nai vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ* (K.190: 27-31, A.D. 895)

'Those who are assigned to the land so defined — [they] shall henceforth be chattels of My Holy High Lords'

A simple sentence opening with a topicalized NP marked by *nau*, consisting of a head (*noḥ*) modified by an unmarked relative clause subordinated by *ta*. This consists of a transitive verb (*mān*) with its direct object (*prayoja*), followed by an unmarked locative phrase subordinated by *ta* (*gi neḥ bhūvana ta roḥ neḥ*), and another prepositional phrase introduced by *'aṃvi* (*gmum dau* 'from [this] juncture on').

This topicalized subject is followed by a predicate consisting of anaphoric *syaṅ* with its complement NP (*nai vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ* 'the property of My Holy High Lords').

327. *vraḥ 'ājñā pre mratāñ śrī vikramāyudha vyāpara nā do dau oy śapata 'anak ta sruk pvan toy taṅtyaṅ 'aṃmruṅ bhūmi taṃvon saṅ gol oy ta vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ rudrasvāmi* (K.878: 6-8, A.D. 898)

'A royal order bade the lord Śrī Vikramāyudha, officer second-class, go forth [and] administer the oath to residents of four *sruk* for the purpose of ascertaining the area of the land at Taṃvon, set up boundary-markers, [and] give [it] to My Holy High Lord Rudrasvāmi'

A simple sentence, a trifle complicated.

The subject NP (*vraḥ 'ājñā*) is followed by a predicate consisting of a transitive verb (*pre*) with its direct-object NP (*mratāñ śrī vikramāyudha*) as modified by an appositional NP (*vyāpara nā do*). Dependent on *pre* is its intransitive complement (*dau*) followed by three transitive verbs of purpose.

The first of these is *oy* with its direct object (*śapatha*) and its indirect object in the form of an unmarked prepositional phrase (*'nak ta sruk pvan*), followed by a subordinate clause of purpose introduced by conjunction *toy*, consisting of a transitive verb (*taṅtyaṅ*) with its direct-object NP (*'aṃruṅ bhūmi taṃvon*).

The second verb of purpose is *saṅ* with its direct object (*gol*).

The third verb of purpose is repeated *oy*, its direct object unexpressed, with an indirect object in the form of an unmarked pre-positional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ rudrasvāmi*).

328. *mān vraḥ śāsana dhūli vraḥ pāda dhūli jeṅ vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ ta kaṃsteṅ 'añ rājakula nu mahāmantri vvaṃ jā pi dār vrīha ta neḥ sre ta 'aṃpall neḥh* (K.164B: 16-9), A.D. 922)

'There was issued a royal directive from the *dhūli vraḥ pāda dhūli jeṅ* My Holy High Lord to My *Kaṃsteṅ* of the royal family and the prime minister [to the effect that] rice is not to be levied from any of these ricefields'

A complex sentence.

The main clause opens with existential *mān* with its inverted subject NP (*vraḥ śāsana dhūli vraḥ pāda dhūli jeṅ vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ*), followed by an indirect object in the form of an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*kaṃsteṅ 'añ rājakula nu mahāmantri*).

Now comes an unmarked clause of indirect discourse opening with a negated stative verb (*vvaṃ jā* 'it is not good') followed by an embedded clause introduced by conjunction *pi* 'that', consisting of a transitive verb (*dār*) with its direct object (*vrīha*) followed by an unmarked ablative clause subordinated by *ta* (*neḥ sre ta 'aṃpal neḥ* 'all these fields').

329. *steṅ 'añ parass nu loñ kṛṣṇaguṇa dval vraḥ śāsana dau oy vraḥ karuṇāprasāda gi bhūmi nu khñuṃ ta steṅ 'añ rudrā roḥ vraḥ śāsana* (K.958N: 11-3, A.D. 947)

'The *steṅ 'añ* Paras and the *loñ* Kṛṣṇaguṇa humbly received the royal directive [and] went out [and] made over the land and slaves of the royal benefice to the *steṅ 'añ* Rudrā in compliance with the royal directive'

A compound sentence.

The first clause opens with a subject NP with two constituents (*steṅ 'añ paras, loñ kṛṣṇaguṇa*) followed by a predicate consisting of a transitive verb (*dval*) with its direct-object NP (*vraḥ śāsana*).

The second clause consists of an intransitive verb (*dau*), its subject now unexpressed, and a transitive verb of purpose (*oy*) with its direct-object NP (*vraḥ karuṇāprasāda gi bhūmi nu khñuṃ* 'the royal benefice of the land and slaves'), followed first by an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*steṅ 'añ rudrā*), then by an adverbial phrase (*roḥ vraḥ śāsana* 'in the manner of the royal directive').

330. *871 śaka | man loñ 'ap vrai taṃvvaṅ slāp śūnya 'āśrama noḥ dau |* (K.215: 5-6, A.D. 949)

'[In] Śaka 871 when the *loñ* 'Ap of Vrai Taṃvvaṅ died, the said *āśrama* fell vacant'

A complex sentence. It opens with a date which may be kept separate from what follows or may be taken as an unmarked prepositional phrase.

Now follows a subordinate clause introduced by conjunction *man*, consisting of a subject NP (*loñ 'ap vrai taṃvvaṅ*) and an intransitive verb (*slāp*). The main clause opens with a stative verb (*śūnya*) followed by its inverted subject NP (*'āśrama noḥ*) and adverbial *dau* 'from then on'.

331. *pre chloñ bhadrātiśaya duk sthāna braḥ kamrateṅ 'añ śrī jagannāthakeśvara pi jvan ta roḥ sre neḥ ta braḥ kamrateṅ 'añ* (K.239N: 1-3, A.D. 966)

'[He] bade the *chloñ* Bhadrātiśaya fix an abode for My Holy High Lord Śrī Jagannāthakeśvara so that [he] might thereby offer this field up to him'

Another complex sentence.

The main clause opens with a transitive verb (*pre*), its subject unexpressed, with its direct-object NP (*chloñ bhadrātiśaya*) and its transitive complete (*duk*) with its direct-object NP (*sthāna vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ śrī jagannāthakeśvara*).

This much is followed by a clause of purpose introduced by conjunction *pi*, consisting of a transitive verb (*jvan*), its subject now unexpressed, with an adverb subordinated by *ta* (*roḥ* 'in [this/that] way'), a direct-object NP (*sre neḥ*), and an indirect object in the form of an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (repeated *vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ*).

332. *riy sruk kandin nu sruk supurāya pramān pūrvvadiśa ○ ti dhūli vraḥ pāda dhūli jeṅ vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ stāc dau śivaloka oy vraḥ karuṇāprasāda ta vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ divākarabhaṭṭa* (K.669B: 4-7, A.D. 972)

'The *sruk* of Kandin and the *sruk* of Supurāya in the *pramāṇa* of Pūrvadiśa — [they] were given as a royal benefice to My Holy High Lord Divākarabhaṭṭa by the *dhūli vraḥ pāda dhūli jeṅ* My Holy High Lord who was pleased to go to the Śivaloka'

A simple sentence, opening with a subject NP topicalized by *ri* (*sruk kandin, sruk supurāya*) as modified by an unmarked genitive NP (*pramāṇa pūrvadiśa*).

The clause consists of passivizing *ti* with an agent NP (*dhūli vraḥ pāda dhūli jeṅ vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ stac dau śivaloka*), its subject now unexpressed, and a transitive verb (*oy*). This is followed by an unmarked adverbial phrase (*vraḥ karuṇāprasāda*) and an indirect object in the form of an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ divākarabhaṭṭa*).

333. *nau ge ta lopeya neḥ dau jā ta dvātriṃśanaraka nau ge ta vardheya gi dau sthita ta svarga* (K.742: 9-11)

(*closely*) 'Those who do damage to them — [they] shall go to deserve the thirty-two hells. Those who promote them — [they] shall go to abide in heaven'

Two simple sentences, each with a subject topicalized by *nau*.

In the first the subject (*ge*) is modified by an unmarked relative clause subordinated by *ta*, consisting of a transitive verb (*lope*) with its direct object (*neḥ*). The clause consists of an intransitive verb (*dau*) with a transitive verb of purpose (*jā* 'to be worthy of') followed by an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*dvātriṃśanaraka*).

In the second, the subject (repeated *ge*) is modified by an unmarked relative clause subordinated by *ta*, consisting of a transitive verb (*varddhe*) with its direct object (*gi*). The clause consists of repeated *dau* and an intransitive verb of purpose (*sthita*) with another unmarked prepositional phrase (*ta svarga*).

334. *neḥ syaṅ rājakula vraḥ pāda parameśvara dau paṃmre cap janma ta kaṃmrateṅ jagat śaṃmbhupura* (K.125: 6-7, A.D. 1001)

'These were royal kinsmen of His Majesty Parameśvara who went forth to serve [and] devote [their] lives to the High Lord of the World at Śambhupura'

A complex sentence. It opens with an equational main clause consisting of a subject (*neḥ*) and a predicate consisting of anaphoric *syaṅ* with its complement (*rājakula* 'members of the royal family') as modified by a genitive NP (*vraḥ pāda parameśvara*).

This is modified by an unmarked relative clause consisting of an intransitive verb (*dau*) with two verbs of purpose: the first, transitive *paṃre*, the second, transitive *cap* with its direct object (*janma*).

The passage ends with an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*kaṃmrateṅ jagat śambhupura*).

335. *neḥh vraḥ 'ālakṣaṇa ti steṅ 'añ 'ācāryyapradhāna nā trīṇi pre pandval ta vāp vrahmaputra pre thve leṅ kaṃ pi mān pīdā* (K.693: 5-7, A.D. 1003)

'This (is) the writ which was ordered by the *steṅ 'añ* the dean of *ācārya* third-class to be transmitted to the *vāp* Brahmaputra, bidding [him] act so that there should be no constraints [on the land]'

A complex sentence. The main equational clause opens with a subject (*neḥ*) and a predicate with the zero copula and its complement NP (*vraḥ 'ālakṣaṇa*).

This is modified by an unmarked relative clause consisting of passivizing *ti* followed by an agent NP (*steṅ 'añ 'ācāryapradhāna nā trīṇi*) and a transitive verb (*pre*) with its transitive complement (*pandval*) and an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*vāp vrahmaputra*).

Now follows an unmarked relative clause dependent on *vraḥ 'ālakṣaṇa*, consisting of repeated *pre*, its direct object unexpressed, its intransitive complement (*thve*), followed by optative *leṅ* and prohibitory *kaṃ* with an embedded clause marked by conjunction *pi* introducing existential *mān* and its inverted subject (*pīḍā*).

336. *neḥ ti mratāña khloñ śrī nṛpendropakalpa sruk cāsa varṇna 'ninditipura teṃ 'anumoda nu kule ta jmaḥ vāpa mādhava vāpa vrahmaśiva vāpa dharmma caṃnat oya gussa ta vraḥ kaṃsteṅ 'aña śrī lakṣmīpativarmma* (K.1198B: 5-6, A.D. 1014)

'This was given outright by the chief lord Śrī Nṛpendropakalpa of the old *sruk* and the Aninditapura order with the consent of [his] kinsmen the *vāp* Mādhava, the *vāp* Brahmaśiva [and] the *vāp* Dharma, [all] of the settlement, to the holy My *Kaṃsteṅ* Śrī Lakṣmīpativarman'

A simple sentence packed with detail. The subject (*neḥ*) is followed by the predicate, consisting of passivizing *ti* and the agent NP (*mratāñ khloñ śrī nṛpendropakalpa*) as modified by a genitive NP with two constituents (*sruk cās, varṇa 'aninditapura*).

Before a verb is reached comes a prepositional phrase introduced by *teṃ* (*'anumoda*) incorporating a prepositional phrase introduced by *nu* (*kule*) and an unmarked relative clause subordinated by *ta,* consisting of an intransitive verb (*jhmoḥ*) and three complements (*vāp mādhava, vāp vrahmaśiva, vāp dharma*), one or all three modified by a genitive noun (*caṃnat*).

Now at last comes a transitive verb (*oy*), an adverb (*gus* ~ *guḥ*), and an indirect object in the form of an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*vraḥ kaṃsteṅ 'añ śrī lakṣmīpativarman*).

337. *man pāñjiya cval nā sruk vraḥ vryaṅ phley mūla ta roḥh neh khcya vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ śrī guṇapativarmma paṅgaṃ thpvaṅ nivedana* (K.205: 5-6, A.D. 1036)

'After the registrar had recorded the lands of *sruk* Vraḥ Vryaṅ providing revenues for the aforesaid heads (*mūla*), [he] secured the good offices of My Holy High Lord Śrī Guṇapativarman to worshipfully inform His Majesty'

A complex sentence. It opens with a subordinate clause introduced by conjunction *man*, followed by a subject (*pañji*) and a predicate consisting of a transitive verb (*cval*) with its direct-object NP (*nā sruk vraḥ vryaṅ* 'the places in the *sruk* of Vraḥ Vryaṅ') as modified by an appositional NP (*phle mūla ta roḥ neḥ*).

The main clause consists of a transitive verb (*khcya*), its subject now unexpressed, with its direct-object NP (*vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ śrī guṇapativarman*) and a transitive complement in the form of a stock phrase (*paṅgaṃ thpvaṅ nivedana*).

338. *'nak neḥ phoṅ syaṅ ta samayuga yok iss dravya noḥ phoṅ ta jā thlai bhūmi*
(K.207: 27-8, A.D. 1042)

(*closely*) 'These individuals were (ones) who joined together to receive all of the said articles serving as the price for the land'

A complex sentence. The subject NP (*'nak neḥ phoṅ*) is followed by a predicate consisting of anaphoric *syaṅ* and its complement.

The complement opens with headless *ta* subordinating a relative clause. This consists of an intransitive verb (*samayuga*) and its complement, which is a transitive verb of purpose (*yok*) with its direct-object NP (*iss dravya noḥ phoṅ*). This last is modified by an embedded clause subordinated by *ta*, consisting of an intransitive verb (*jā*) with its complement NP (*thlai bhūmi*). See 5.2.2.3.2.1.

339. *man vraḥ pāda parameśvara pratiṣṭhā kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja 'nau nagara śrī māhendraparvvata ○ vraḥ pāda parameśvara kalpanā santāna 'nak stuk ransi ○ bhadrapattana gi ta jā smiṅ nā kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja pradvanna dau ○*
(K.235C: 56-8, A.D. 1052)

'When His Majesty Parameśvara established the Sovereign High Lord of the World in the royal city of Śrī Mahendraparvata he appointed members of a family (who were) residents of Stuk Ransi in Bhadrapattana to serve as officiants before the divinity from that time on'

The opening passage of the Khmer half of the Sdok Kak Thom inscription, a complex sentence.

Conjunction *man* introduces a subordinate clause consisting of a subject NP (*vraḥ pāda parameśvara*), a predicate consisting of a transitive verb (*pratiṣṭhā*) with its direct-object NP (*kaṃmrateṅ jagat ta rāja*), and a prepositional phrase introduced by *'nau* (*nagara śrī mahendraparvata*).

The main clause consists of a subject NP (repeated *vraḥ pāda parameśvara*) and a predicate consisting of a transitive verb (*kalpanā*) with its direct-object NP (*santāna 'nak stuk ransi bhadrapattana*) and its complement, which is copular *gi* with headless *ta* subordinating an intransitive verb (*jā*) with its noun complement (*smiṅ*), followed first by a prepositional phrase introduced by *nā* (*kaṃmrateṅ jagat ta rāja*), then by an adverbial phrase (*pradvan dau*).

Note the repetition of the royal name and the divinity's title, which the translation replaces with pronouns.

340. *nā kamrateṅ jagat ta rāja daiya nau ruva nagara nā kamrateṅ phdai karoṃ stac ti nāṃ dau ta gi ukka* ○ (K.235C: 80-1, A.D. 1052)

'The location of the Sovereign High Lord of the World changed with the royal city where the High Lord of Earth was pleased to be, [and] was taken thither with him'

A compound complex sentence, illustrating two uses of *nā*.

The complex sentence opens with its subject (*nā*) as modified by a genitive NP (*kaṃmrateṅ jagat ta rāja*). This is followed by the predicate, consisting of an intransitive verb (*dai*), a prepositional phrase introduced by *nau ru* (*nagara*) as modified by a relative clause introduced by *nā* 'where' and consisting of a subject NP (*kaṃmrateṅ phdai karom*) and the intransitive royal verb *stac*.

The simple clause, its subject now unexpressed, opens with passivizing *ti* followed by a transitive verb (*nāṃ*), adverbial *dau*, a locative phrase (*ta gi* 'to it'), and adverb *ukk*.

341. *si tai neḥ ta 'aṃpāl neḥ 'aṅgvay ta caṃnat stuk vryaṅ prasap bhūmi vnaṃ vvak thve raṅko thlvaṅ praṃ vyal mimvay śaka caṃnāṃ ta kaṃmrateṅ jagat liṅgapura* (K.249: 11-3, A.D. 1109)

'These males [and] females of this group are to reside in the settlement of Stuk Vryaṅ, adjacent to land belonging to Vnaṃ Vvak, [and] are to produce seven *thlvaṅ* of milled rice each year [as] an allowance to the High Lord of the World at Liṅgapura'

Another compound complex sentence.

In the first clause the subject NP (*si tai neḥ*), modified by a genitive NP subordinated by *ta* (*'aṃpal neḥ*), is followed by a predicate consisting of an intransitive verb (*'aṅgvay*) and an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*caṃnat stuk vryaṅ*), the latter modified by an unmarked relative clause consisting of a transitive verb (*prasap*) with its direct-object NP (*bhūmi vnaṃ vvak*).

The second clause opens with a transitive verb (*thve*) with its direct object (*raṅko*) as modified by a numerical expression (*thlvaṅ prāṃ vyal*), an adverbial phrase (*mimvay śaka*), and an unmarked adverbial phrase (*caṃnāṃ ta kaṃmrateṅ jagat liṅgapura*).

342. *'nak ta nu vināśa caṃnāṃ ta roḥh neḥh kaṃ pi mān siddhi ta lokadvaya* (K.32: 18-9, A.D. 1116)

'Persons who would impair the aforesaid endowment — let [them] have no fulfillment in the two worlds'

A complex sentence opening with an unmarked topicalized NP consisting of a head (*'nak*) modified by an unmarked relative clause subordinated by *ta*. This consists of modal *nu* with a transitive verb (*vināśa*) and its direct-object NP (*caṃnāṃ ta roḥ neḥ*).

The clause opens with prohibitory *kaṃ* introducing a subordinate clause marked by conjunction *pi*; this consists of a transitive verb, its subject now unexpressed, with its direct object (*siddhi*) and an unmarked prepositional phrase (*ta lokadvaya*).

343. *leṅ vraḥ pāda kaṃmrateṅ 'añ svey vraḥ rājyadharmma leṅ niskāntaka leṅ 'avaddhya ta parapakṣa roga jvāra vyādha phoṅ* (K.523C: 25-9, A.D. 1118)

'May Their Majesties My High Lords enjoy the royal *rājadharma*, may [they] be free of thorns, may [they] be invulnerable to enemies, sicknesses, fevers [and] plague'

A compound sentence, each of its three clauses opening with optative *leṅ*.

In the first clause the direct-object NP (*vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ 'añ*) is followed by the transitive complement of *leṅ*, namely *svey*, with its direct-object NP (*vraḥ rājadharma*).

In the second clause *leṅ*, its direct object now unexpressed, is followed by its stative complement (*niskāntaka*).

In the third clause *leṅ*, its direct object again unexpressed, is followed by its stative complement (*'avadhya*) with an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*parapakṣa, roga, jvāra, vyādha phoṅ*).

344. *syaṅ ta gāl pi bhagavat pāda kamrateṅ 'añ ta guru śrī divākarapaṇḍita chlaṅ havirvvāda* (K.194/383A : 5-6, A.D. 1121)

'[These] were ones who were in attendance so that the *bhagavat pāda* My High Lord the spiritual preceptor Śrī Divākarapaṇḍita might celebrate the *havirvāda*'

A complex sentence. It opens with anaphoric *syaṅ*, followed by its complement in the form of headless *ta* subordinating a clause consisting of an intransitive verb (*gāl*).

This much is followed by a clause of purpose introduced by conjunction *pi*, consisting of a subject NP (*bhagavat pāda kamrateṅ 'añ ta guru śrī divākarapaṇḍita*), a transitive verb (*chlaṅ ~ chloṅ*), and its direct object (*havirvāda*).

345. *nā kamrateṅ jagat śrī cāmpeśvara ... jau bhūmi cat sruk saṅ 'āśrama duk dāsadāsī ta gi thve caṃnāṃ roḥ ta pāñjiya ti cār praśasta* (K.194/383B: 12-3, A.D. 1121)

'At the sanctuary of the High Lord of the World Śrī Cāmpeśvara ... [he] bought land, laid out a *sruk*, built an *āśrama*, assigned male and female slaves to it, [and] made an endowment as in the list graven in the inscription'

A compound complex sentence. It opens with a locative phrase introduced by *nā* (*kaṃmrateṅ jagat śrī cāmpeśvara*). This is followed by five simple clauses.

The first is a transitive verb (*jau*) with its direct object (*bhūmi*).

The second is a transitive verb (*cat*) with its direct object (*sruk*).

The third is a transitive verb (*saṅ*) with its direct object (*'āśrama*).

The fourth is a transitive verb (*duk*) with its direct object (*dāsadāsī*) and a locative phrase (*ta gi*).

The fifth is a transitive verb (*thve*) with its direct object (*caṃnāṃ*) followed by an adverbial phrase introduced by *roḥ* (*pañji*) as modified by an unmarked relative clause consisting of passivizing *ti*, a transitive verb (*cār*), and an unmarked prepositional phrase (*praśasta*).

346. *'anle mvāy bhūmi teṃ thkū jaṃnauv saṅ gol juṃ duk jmaḥ pañcayajña jvan ta kamrateṅ jagat śivaliṅga vnur dnaṅ* (K.383B *bis*, D: 20-3)

'Elsewhere was a tract at Teṃ Thkū which was bought [by him]; [he] set up boundary-markers around [it], gave [it] the name of Pañcayajña, [and] offered [it] up to the High Lord of the World the *śivaliṅga* at Vnur Dnaṅ'

A complex sentence with a compound sentence.

In the first the subject NP (*'anle mvāy* 'one place') is followed by a predicate with the zero copula and its complement (*bhūmi teṃ thkū*), modified by a passive verb (*jaṃnau*) with no agent mentioned.

The second sentence has three simple clauses. The first is a transitive verb (*saṅ*) with its direct object (*gol*) and adverbial *juṃ*. The second is a transitive verb (*duk*) with its direct-object NP (*jhmoḥ pañcayajña*). The third is a transitive verb (*jvan*), its direct object unexpressed, followed by its indirect object in the form of an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*kaṃmrateṅ jagat śivaliṅga vnur dnaṅ*).

347. *syaṅ nā srāc ta bhaktiy toy vraḥ dnāy prap 'ari vraḥ pāda kaṃmrateṅ 'añ* (K.254B: 7-8, A.D. 1129)

'These were times when [I] gave proof of [my] devotion as royal servant who overcame the enemies of Their Majesties My High Lords'

A complex sentence. It opens with anaphoric *syaṅ*, followed by its complement in the form of a relative cause introduced by *nā* ('time when'), consisting of an intransitive verb (*srāc*) and an unmarked prepositional phrase (*ta bhakti*).

Now follows an adverbial phrase (*toy vraḥ dnāy*) extended by an unmarked relative clause consisting of a transitive verb (*prāp*) with its direct-object NP (*'ari vraḥ pāda kaṃmrateṅ 'añ*).

348. *teṅ tvan 'lo nu vraḥ mūlasūtra ta putra sruk bhadreśvarāspada varṇṇā karmmāntara viṣaya śreṣṭhapura yugapat jvan bhūmi piṅ chkar bhāga oy ta kamrateṅ jagat liṅgapura ti hau liṅgapurāśrama* (K.475: 1-4, A.D. 1136)

'The *teṅ tvan* 'Lo and her son the holy Mūlasūtra, of *sruk* Bhadreśvarāspada [and] member of the Karmāntara order in the *viṣaya* of Śreṣṭhapura, have joined together to offer up a tract of land at Piṅ Chkar, [their] inheritance, which [they] have given to the High Lord of the World at Liṅgapura [and] which is called the Liṅgapurāśrama'

A complex sentence.

The subject NP (*teṅ tvan 'lo, vraḥ mūlasūtra ta putra*) is modified first by a genitive NP (*sruk bhadreśvarāspada*), then by an appositional NP (*varṇa karmāntara viṣaya śreṣṭhapura*).

The predicate consists of an intransitive verb (*yugapat*) and a transitive verb of purpose (*jvan*) with its direct-object NP (*bhūmi piṅ chkar*) modified by an appositional noun (*bhāga*).

This much is followed by two unmarked relative clauses. The first consists of a transitive verb (*oy*) with an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*kaṃmrateṅ*

jagat liṅgapura). The second consists of passivizing *ti*, a transitive verb (*hau*) and its complement (*liṅgapurāśrama*).

349. *vraḥ jaṃnvan vraḥ pāda vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ śrī tribhuvanādityavarmmadeva ta kamrateṅ jagat liṅgaparvvata nā thve dvitiya vraḥ koṭihoma* (K.418/II: 1, A.D. 1166),

'Royal offering from His Majesty My Holy High Lord Śrī Tribhuvanādityavarmadeva to the High Lord of the World on Liṅgaparvata on the occasion of celebrating the second of the holy *koṭihoma*'.

Nonsentential. The head NP (*vraḥ jaṃnvan*) is modified by an unmarked genitive (or ablative, or instrumental) NP (*vraḥ pāda vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ tribhuvanādityavarmadeva*).

This is followed first by an indirect object in the form of an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*kaṃmrateṅ jagat liṅgaparvata*), then by a subordinate clause introduced by *nā*, consisting of a transitive verb (*thve*) with its direct object (*dvitiya*) modified by a genitive NP (*vraḥ koṭihoma*).

350. *mahāsenāpati mvay jmoḥ śrī bhūbanāditya īśvaradvipa ○ nāṃ śāsana rājādhirāja mok ta kuruṅ sunat ta prabhutva nā dhānyapura ○ pandval pre jvan bhūmi sre nibandha braḥ pūjā kamrateṅ jagat* (K.966/II: 12-7, A.D. 1167),

'A commander by the name of Śrī Bhuvanāditya of Īśvaradvīpa brought a directive from the overlord of kings to the *kuruṅ* Sunatta, headman at Dhānyapura, bidding [him] offer up riceland dedicated to the holy worship of the High Lord of the World'.

A complex sentence full of detail. The main clause opens with a subject NP (*mahāsenāpati mvay*) modified by an unmarked relative clause consisting of an intransitive verb (*jhmoḥ*) with its complement (*śrī bhuvanāditya*) as modified by a genitive noun (*īśvaradvīpa*).

The predicate consists of a transitive verb (*nāṃ*) with its direct object (*śāsana*) modified by a genitive or ablative noun (*rājādhirāja*). Dependent on *nāṃ* is adverbial *mok*. This is followed by an indirect object in the form of an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*kuruṅ sunatta*), modified by an unmarked appositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*prabhutva nā dhānyapura*).

Dependent on *śāsana* is an unmarked relative clause consisting of paired transitive verbs (*pandval pre*), their direct object unexpressed, and a transitive verb of purpose (*jvan*) with its direct-object NP (*bhūmi sre* 'riceland'). The latter is now modified by a transitive verb (*nivandha* 'to be assigned to') with its direct-object NP (*vraḥ pūjā kamrateṅ jagat*).

351. *vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ 'añ śrī śrīndravarmmadeva ... 'abhiṣeka jā yuvarāja prakop vraḥ bhagavatī kamrateṅ 'añ śrī śrīndrabhūpeśvaracūdā 'agramahiśī 'agrarājaputrī* (K.569: 1-5, A.D. 1306),

'His Majesty Śrī Śrīndravarmadeva ... was consecrated as heir apparent [and] was given to wife the royal *bhagavatī* My High Lady Śrī Śrīndrabhūpeśvaracūḍā, chief queen [and] chief princess'.

A compound sentence. The subject NP (*vraḥ pāda kaṃmrateṅ 'añ śrī śrīndravarmadeva*) is followed by two predicates.

The first consists of an intransitive verb (*'abhiṣeka*) with an adverbial phrase (*jā yuvarāja*).

The second consists of a transitive verb (*prakop*) with its direct-object NP (*vraḥ bhagavatī kaṃmrateṅ 'añ śrī śrīindrabhūpeśvaracūḍā*) as modified by two appositional nouns (*'agramahiṣī, 'agrarājaputrī*).

352. *gi nu vraḥ karuṇā ta paramapavitra ○ vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ 'añ śrī śrīndravarmmadeva ○ pre cār śīlāprasaṣta śāka ta gi sruk 'aṃcau sruk cuṅ chdiṅ* ... (K.754B: 2-5, A.D. 1308),

'It (is) on this date that a royal command from the Supremely Pure One His Majesty My High Lord Śrī Śrīndravarmadeva bade engrave on a stele the history of the *sruk* of 'Aṃcau [and] the *sruk* of Cuṅ Chdiṅ ... '.

A complex sentence.

It opens as a cleft sentence with the dummy subject (*gi*), the zero copula, and adverb *nu* introducing a subordinate clause. The latter consists of a subject NP (*vraḥ karuṇā*) modified by a genitive or ablative NP subordinated by *ta* (*paramapavitra vraḥ pāda kaṃmrateṅ 'añ śrī śrīndravarmadeva*).

Now follows a predicate consisting of a transitive verb (*pre*) with a transitive verb of purpose (*cār*), an unmarked prepositional phrase (*śīlāpraśasta*) followed by the direct object (*śākha*) as modified by a genitive NP subordinated by *ta* (*gi sruk 'aṃcau, sruk cuṅ chdiṅ*).

353. *saṅkat mvay ta rājya vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ 'añ śrī jayavarmmadeva parameśvara phtyaṅ ni pre nā laṃvāṅ vraḥ 'apaṅkodaka dakṣiṇa phkan sruk cāmpa ta vraḥ kamrateṅ 'añ vrāhmaṇa* ... (K.470: 10-3, A.D. 1327),

'At one point in the reign of His Majesty My High Lord Śrī Jayavarmadeva Parameśvara, [His Majesty] issued orders for a place in the royal precincts for a holy libation of pure water as a *dakṣiṇa* which would secure *sruk* Cāmpa to My Holy High Lord the *brāhmaṇa* ... '.

A complex sentence. It opens with an adverbial phrase (*saṅkat mvay*) followed by an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*rājya vraḥ pāda kaṃmrateṅ 'añ śrī jayavarmadeva parameśvara*).

This is followed by the predicate, consisting of the stock phrase (*phtyaṅ ni pre*), its subject unexpressed, followed by its direct-object NP (*nā laṃvāṅ* 'a place in the palace compound') modified by a genitive NP (*vraḥ 'apaṅkodaka*), modified in turn by an adverbialized noun (*dakṣiṇa*), then modified by an unmarked relative clause consisting of a transitive verb (*phkan*) with its direct-object NP (*sruk cāmpa*) and an indirect object in the form of an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*vraḥ kaṃmrateṅ 'añ vrāhmaṇa*).

354. *dāsa ta paṅgan pos chol caṃ 'in vraḥ śivayajña* (K.470 : 25, A.D. 1327)

'Slaves detailed to clean up the remains of cooked food from holy offerings to Śiva'

The nonsentential heading to a list of seven persons.

The head (*dāsa*) is modified by an unmarked relative clause subordinated by *ta*. This consists of an intransitive verb (*paṅgan*) and a transitive verb of purpose (*pos*) with its direct object (*chol*) as modified by a genitive NP (*caṃ'in vraḥ śivayajña*).

355. *stac gaṅ taṃraṅ svey rājavibhaba ta śrī sajjanālaya sukhoday nau chnāṃ 22* (K.413B:10-1, A.D. 1361)

'Being pleased to abide in righteousness, His Majesty had held royal power in the Sajjanālaya of Sukhoday for twenty-two years'

A compound sentence. The first clause opens with the royal intransitive verb *stac* and its transitive complement (*gaṅ* 'to dwell in') with its direct object (*taṃraṅ*). The second clause consists of a transitive verb (*svey*) with its direct object (*rājavibhava* 'royal power, sovereignty').

This is followed first by an unmarked prepositional phrase subordinated by *ta* (*śrī sajjanālaya sukhoday*), then by a prepositional phrase introduced by *nau* (*chnāṃ 22*).

356. *syaṅ tass nu vitāna ta vicitra bvaṃ leṅ rvvac raśmiy=āditya mvat* (K.413B: 24-5)

'It was this that [they] covered over with a brightly colored canopy so as not to let the least rays of the sun strike [it]'

A complex sentence.

It opens with anaphoric *syaṅ,* referring back to a *rājamārga* or 'royal way', introducing an unmarked subordinate clause consisting of a transitive verb (*tas*), its subject unexpressed, followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by *nu* (*vitāna ta vicitra*).

Dependent on *tas* is an unmarked clause of purpose consisting of a negated transitive verb (*vvaṃ leṅ*) with its direct-object NP (*raśmi 'āditya*), then the transitive complement of *leṅ*, namely *rvvac*, its direct object unexpressed, and adverb *mvat* 'in the least, at all'.

10. Excerpt from the Văt Saṃroṅ Stone

To give the reader the flavor of continuous narrative, the description ends with fifty-five lines of the Văt Saṃroṅ Stone (K.956/2°), assigned to the Śaka 9th century (A.D. 878-977). The text is given with a close translation but without grammatical description — which the reader would do well to work out for himself, following the model of 9. The numbers in parentheses are those of the lines on the stone.

(7) neḥ gi roḥ kaṃnet santāna yeṅ

This (is) the manner of the origin of our line:

ta gi rājya ta vraḥ pāda stac dau parameśvara 'ji yeṅ piy (8) **toy mātṛ-pakṣa loñ lakṣana jā senāpati kantāl vala tmāl 'āy vraḥ caṃpak teṃ** (9) **teṅ 'yak jā devī kaḷṣṭa 'āy bhāvapura teṅ pit ti oy ta khloñ vala kamra-teṅ 'añ ta vraḥ** (10) **'ji vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ 'añ ta stac dau īśvaraloka ta jmaḥ loñ haradharmma ta trvac paṃcāṃ 'aṃvi kāla** (11) **vraḥ pāda stac dau parameśvara**

During the reign of His Majesty who was pleased to go to the Parameśvara, three of our forebears in the maternal line (were) the *loñ* Lakṣaṇa, who was general of the army's center at Tmāl in former Vraḥ Caṃpak; the *teṅ* 'Yak, who as queen was removed to

Bhavapura; [and] the *teṅ* Pit, who was given to the commandant My High Lord the royal grandfather of His Majesty who was pleased to go to the Īśvaraloka, who bore the name *loñ* Haradharma [and] who had inspected the guards from the time of His Majesty who was pleased to go to the Parameśvara.

gi ta nāṃ 'ji yeṅ mok 'aṃvi bhavapura paṅket kvan pvan 'nak si piy 'nak kantaiy (12) **loñ vāsudeva loñ loñ loñ satyapāla loñ śrīrājaka teṅ indrani teṅ vasudevi teṅ pavitra**

He (is) the one who brought our forebears from Bhavapura [and] begat children, four sons [and] three daughters: the *loñ* Vāsudeva, the *loñ* Loñ, the *loñ* Satyapāla, the *loñ* Śrīrājaka, the *teṅ* Indrāṇī, the *teṅ* Vāsudevī, [and] the *teṅ* Pavitra.

(13) **teṅ indrāni teṅ vasudevi ti oy ta mratāñ prathivinarednra teṅ pavitra ti oy ta kamrateṅ 'añ vraḥ mū**(14)**l ta kanmvay khloñ vala kamrateṅ 'añ ta vraḥ 'mā vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ 'añ ta stac dau īśvaraloka**

The *teṅ* Indrāṇī [and] the *teṅ* Vāsudevī were given to the lord Pṛthivīnarendra; the *teṅ* Pavitra was given to My High Lord the Braḥ Mūla, nephew of the commandant My High Lord the royal younger uncle of My Holy High Lord who was pleased to go to the Īśvaraloka.

man vraḥ (15) **pāda stac dau parameśvara stac 'āy ṛdval pandval ta mra-tāñ śrī prathivinarendra pre thve kālyanasiddhi** (16) **leṅ vvaṃ 'aṃpān vraḥ kaṃvujadeśa ti javā cāp ley**

When His Majesty who was pleased to go to the Parameśvara was pleased to be at Ṛdval [he] issued an order to the lord Śrī Pṛthivīnarendra bidding [him] perform an auspicious rite which would free holy Kambujadeśa from being held by Javā any longer.

oy vraḥ dakṣiṇā bhūmi sratāc ṛdval nu sarvvadra(17)**vya 'val ta mratāñ śrī prathivinarendra**

As a royal honorarium [he] gave the lord Śrī Pṛthivīnarendra tracts of land belonging to Sratāc [and] Ṛdval and all manner of costly things.

oy ṛdval ta teṅ vasudevī oy (18) **sratāc ta teṅ indrāni**

[He] gave Ṛdval to the *teṅ* Vāsudevī [and] gave Sratāc to the *teṅ* Indrāṇī.

dep nu loñ vāsudeva ta khlai paṅgaṃ thpvaṅ nivedana leṅ (19) **kamrateṅ kaṃtvan 'añ viṅ oy prasāda bhūmi sratāc ṛdval ta loñ vasudeva nu teṅ vasu**(20)**devi nu teṅ indrani kaṃ pi kula mratāñ prathi-vinarendra yok**

Subsequently with [his] brother-in-law the *loñ* Vāsudeva [he] worshipfully requested that My High Lord in the maternal line again give the tracts in Sratāc [and] Ṛdval as a royal grant to the *loñ* Vāsudeva and the *teṅ* Vāsudevī and the *teṅ* Indrāṇī so as to keep the lord Pṛthivīnarendra's family from taking [it].

sthāpanā vraḥ viṣṇu 'ā(21)**y ṛdval oy ta teṅ vāsudevi**

[He] set up an image of holy Viṣṇu in Ṛdval [and] gave [it] to the *teṅ* Vāsudevī.

man mratāñ śrī sātyayuddha nu mratāñ śrī ripumatha (22) **kvan mratāñ śrī prathivinarendra gi ta oy sruk neḥ ta vyar loñ vāsudeva mūla** (23) **neḥ gi nu yeṅ saṃ mūla nu mratāñ śrī prathivinarendra**

After the lord Śrī Satyāyudha and the lord Śrī Ripumathana, sons of the lord Śrī Pṛthivīnarendra, (were ones who) gave these two *sruk* to the *loñ* Vāsudeva as their proprietor, he (*neḥ gi*) and we combined [our] estate with the lord Śrī Pṛthivīnarendra.

man khloñ vala kamrateṅ 'añ vrahma (24) **man yeṅ kṣatrāndhara sahaja hoṅ gi nu yeṅ dau saṃ mūla nu mratāñ śrī prathivinarendra**

After the commandant My High Lord approved that we were of a line of *kṣatra* related by blood, he and we proceeded to combine [our] estate with the lord Śrī Pṛthivīnarendra.

(25) **ta gi rājya vraḥ pāda stac dau viṣṇuloka loñ vrāhmanapās ta kvan teṅ vasude**(26)**devi dār mratāñ śrī sātyayuddha khloñ mukha vraḥ tamrya loñ 'yat ph'van mūla** (27) **loñ narāy ta kvan teṅ indrani daśādhikṛta paṃcāṃ teṅ hyaṅ narendra ta kvan teṅ pavitra** (28) **ket ta kamrateṅ 'añ vraḥ mūla ti oy parigraha ta vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ 'añ** (29) **ta stac dau īśvaraloka teṅ ṇau ta ph'van teṅ hyaṅ narendra ti oy vrāhmana rājapurohita** (30) **ta jmaḥ mratāñ khloñ gauri vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ 'añ ta stac dau īśvaraloka svaṃ** (31) **prasāda bhūmi vraḥ teṃm cyak khvit tra'eḥ vraḥ pi svāy kraliṅ vraḥ □□ sleṅ** (32) **kanlaḥ thnal viṣṇu □□ vrai yā krapās kañcaḥ oy parigraha bhūmi ta roḥ neḥ ta teṅ** (33) **hyaṅ narendra sratāc jmaḥ haripura teṃ**

In the reign of His Majesty who was pleased to go to the Viṣṇuloka the *loñ* Brāhmaṇapāśa (son of the *teṅ* Vāsudevī), who received [the title of] lord Śrī Satyāyudha [and] head *khloñ* of the royal elephants); the *loñ* 'Yat (younger brother of the *mūla*); the *loñ* Narāyaṇa (son of the *teṅ* Indrāṇī), *daśādhikṛta* of the guard; the *teṅ hyaṅ* of Narendra (daughter of the *teṅ* Pavitra, born to My High Lord the Braḥ Mūla), given in marriage to His Majesty My High Lord who was pleased to go to the Īśvaraloka; the *teṅ* Ṇau (younger sister of the *teṅ hyaṅ* of Narendra), given to a *brāhmaṇa* [and] royal chaplain named the chief lord Gaurī under His Majesty My High Lord who was pleased to go to the Īśvaraloka — [these five] sued for the royal grant of tracts at Vraḥ Teṃ Cyak, Khvit Tra'eḥ, Vraḥ Pi, Svāy Kraliṅ, Vraḥ □□ Sleṅ, Kanlaḥ Thnal Viṣṇu, □□ Vrai Yā, [and] Krapās Kañcaḥ, [and they] gave the foresaid tracts in gift to the *teṅ hyaṅ* of Narendra, formerly called Haripura.

man vraḥ pāda stac dau viṣṇuloka stac dau pi tāc vraḥ (34) **tamrya ta jmaḥ vraḥ śrī jaiyaśikṣadhārmma pandval pre hau sāra tāc**

When His Majesty who was pleased to go to the Viṣṇuloka was pleased to go forth to turn loose a royal elephant named Braḥ Śrī Jayaśikṣadharma [he] issued a command bidding [his servants] summon the great beast [and] release [it].

man vraḥ pāda stac (35) **dau viṣṇuloka sthāpanā vraḥ vira jyak vraḥ tvāt**[11] **oy vraḥ dakṣina bhūmi ta 'aṃpāla neḥ** (36) **ta mratāñ śrī satyāyuda ta 'ji yeṅ toy mātṛpakṣa bhūmi paroy pana homa thkval ka**(37)**ndan vraḥ pāsa traṅey trāy trāy kandan kralā sandhanipura devi□ tali**(38)**ñ oñ vraḥ kraiy kandan □ travāṅ sandha**

[11]The reading of this form is uncertain.

When His Majesty who was pleased to go to the Viṣṇuloka had set up the Vraḥ Vīra [and] dug the Vraḥ Tvāt, [he] gave all of these lands as a royal honorarium to the lord Śrī Satyāyudha, our maternal forebear: tracts at Paroy Pana Homa, at Thkval Kandan, at Vraḥ Pāsa, at Traṅey Trāy Trāy, at Kandan Kralā, at Sandhanipura, at Devi□ Traliñ Oñ, at Vraḥ Jrai, [and] at Kandan □ Travāṅ Sandha.

man vraḥ pāda stac dau viṣṇuloka (39) **stac dau cāp tamrya 'āy vnaṃ vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ 'añ ta stac dau īśvaraloka dau** (40) **ukk gi pi teṅ hyaṅ narendra dau**

When His Majesty who was pleased to go to the Viṣṇuloka was pleased to go out to capture elephants in the mountains, His Majesty My High Lord who was pleased to go to the Īśvaraloka went with [him]; this was because the *teṅ hyaṅ* of Narendra went [as well].

man kamrateṅ 'añ vraḥ mūla dār teṅ pavitra ta 'me teṅ (41) **hyaṅ narendra uk teṅ ṇau ta ph'van ti oy ta vrāhmana rājapurohit ta jmaḥ mratāñ** (42) **gauri**

After My High Lord the Braḥ Mūla had taken to wife the *teṅ* Pavitra, also mother of the *teṅ hyaṅ* of Narendra, [her] younger sister the *teṅ* Ṇau was given to the *brāhmaṇa* [and] royal chaplain named the chief lord Gaurī.

man lvaḥ ldau kamrateṅ vraḥ mūla kḷṣṭa teṅ pavitra ta 'me teṅ hyaṅ narendra (43) **ta ti praveṣa vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ 'añ ta stac [dau] īśvara-loka**

After reaching Ldau, the High Lord the Braḥ Mūla removed the *teṅ* Pavitra, mother of the *teṅ hyaṅ* of Narendra, who had been employed [in the service of] His Majesty My High Lord who was pleased to go to the Īśvaraloka.

dār prasāda bhūmi ldau ta (44) **vraḥ pāda stac dau viṣṇuloka cāt [sruk] thve semavidhi sāṅ gol duk ta praśāṣṭa 'āy sratāc** (45) **oy ta 'ji yeṅ ta jmaḥ teṅ soṃ ta kvan teṅ pavitra toy mātṛpakṣa gi pi yeṅ mān** (46) **sruk 'āy ldau**

[He] received the royal grant of a tract of land in Ldau from His Majesty who was pleased to go to the Viṣṇuloka; [he] laid out the *sruk*, fixed [its] boundaries, set up boundary-markers, [and] recorded [them] in an edict in Sratāc; [and he] gave [it] to a forebear of ours named the *teṅ* Soṃ, daughter of the *teṅ* Pavitra in the maternal line, this (being) so that we should have a *sruk* at Ldau.

teṅ hyaṅ ta kvan teṅ vasudevi ta ket ta mratāñ śrī prathivinarendra gi ta (47) **dau prapvan daiy mahānasa pramān sanduk** ○

The *teṅ hyaṅ* [who was] the daughter of the *teṅ* Vāsudevī [and] who was born to the lord Śrī Pṛthivīnarendra — she (was) the one who went as second wife to a kitchen-worker in the *pramāṇa* of Sanduk.

man vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ 'añ ta stac (48) **dau īśvaraloka svey vraḥ dhārmmarājya oy jmaḥ teṅ hyaṅ jā tāñ kamrateṅ 'añ** (49) **kṣitindradevi**

When His Majesty My High Lord who was pleased to go to the Īśvaraloka ascended the throne [he] designated the *teṅ hyaṅ* as the *tāñ* My High Lady Kṣitīndradevī.

mratāñ śrī satyāyuddha viṅ jā senāpati kantāl vala loñ narāy (50) **kvan mratāñ śrī ripumatha jā senāpati bhavanāga**

The lord Śrī Satyāyudha served again as general of the central army, [while] the *loñ* Narāyaṇa, son of the lord Śrī Ripumathana, served as general at Bhavanāga.

loñ sān mūla jyak sthalā sthāpa(51)**nā 'āy sratāc praṃ pi prāsāda**

The *loñ* Sān, the family head, excavated a *sthalā* [and] set up eight tower-temples in Sratāc.

yeṅ gi ta cat iss sruk neḷ phoṅ oy ta vraḷ 'āy sratā(52)**c**

We are the ones who laid out these *sruk* [and] gave [them] to the divinity at Sratāc.

dep vraḷ pāda kamrateṅ 'añ ta stac dau iśvaraloka oy prasāda kañyaṅ vravavv vnur vraḷ kadyaṅ (53) **yogapura drā'āṅ saṅ kā sarā vinlo le vnur taṃrel kṛṣṇa pāt ye dik oy**

Subsequently His Majesty My High Lord who was pleased to go to the Īśvaraloka gave [us] the royal grant of Kañyaṅ Vravau [and] Vnur Vraḷ Kadyaṅ in Yogapura, Dra'āṅ Saṅkā Sarā, Vinlo Le, Vnur Taṃrel Kṛṣṇa, [and] Pāt Ye Dik Oy.

man srac (54) **sthāpanā man kathā**[12] **kamrateṅ 'añ kṣitindradevi kḷṣṭa vraḷ pāda kamrateṅ 'añ ta stac dau** (55) **iśvaraloka pandval ta mratāñ śrī satyayuddha nu mratāñ śrī ripumatha pre dau sthāpanā rupa** (56) **'āy vak ek jmaḷh gapatikṣitatindra**[13] **duk caṃnāṃ sapp kṣatra raṅko ta cha'in pratidina** (57) □ **thlvaṅ 10**

After the installation was finished, [members of the family prevailed upon] My High Lady Kṣitīndradevī to induce His Majesty My High Lord who was pleased to go to the Īśvaraloka to issue a command to the lord Śrī Satyāyudha and the lord Śrī Ripumathana, bidding [them] go out [and] set up an image at Vak Ek to be named Gapatikṣitīndra [and] to fix an allowance from every *kṣatra* of 10 *thlvaṅ* of cooked rice daily.

kalpanā tāñ kamrateṅ 'añ kṣitindradevi duk ta vraḷ rik man naiy grā ta □(58)□ **'āy ta kule yeṅ ta jā svāmi dravi□□s**

The endowment of the *tāñ* My High Lady Kṣitīndradevī [they] recorded on a royal plaque, which *naiy grā ta□□* in our family, who served as custodian of [all?] property.

ta duk praśaṣṭa neḷ mratāñ śrī satyayudha nu mratā(59)**ñ śrī ripumatha neḷ syaṅ kvan mratāñ śrī prathivinarendra ta gi rājya vraḷ pāda stac dau iśvaraloka**

The ones who set up this edict (were) the lord Śrī Satyayudha and the lord Śrī Ripumathana, these being sons of the lord Śrī Pṛthivīnarendra of the reign of His Majesty who was pleased to go to the Īśvaraloka.

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[12] This *man kathā* is an inadvertence by the lapicide. The author of the inscription must have meant *kula khcya* or words to that effect.

[13] *Sic*, the gratuitous *ta*.

(60) **749 śaka gi nu duk praśaṣṭa neḥ**

Śaka 749: it was in this year that [they] set up this edict.

ta gi rājya vraḥ pāda stac dau paramaśivaloka teṅ 'yak jā svāmi (61) **loṅ haṅsa jā senāpati varākagoma sthāpanā vraḥ śaṅkara□□□ ṛdval le vnur**

In the reign of His Majesty who was pleased to go to the Paramaśivaloka the *teṅ* 'Yak, consort of the *loṅ* Haṃsa who was general of the army at Varākagoma, set up an image of Śaṃkaranarāyaṇa in Ṛdval on the knoll.

Bibliography

The brief list of references that follow are offered as a minimum introduction to Old Khmer philology; they are given as a help to the student for further in-depth study and to situate this grammatical outline in an historical context.

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Lexicon

The lexicon below is offered as a ready reference; it is the Old Khmer lexicon compiled from the first five chapters of this volume, with simple glosses. For a more complete lexicographical resource one should consult Jenner's (2009) *A Dictionary of Pre-Angkorian Khmer* and *A Dictionary of Angkorian Khmer.*

The entries follow the Indic alphabetical order which is used for Khmer.

ka	clause conjunction, consequential
kañjuḥ	dung
kat ~ kāt	to cut, divide
kantai	woman; wife
kanlaḥ	half
kap	see *kāp*
kar	see *kār*
karap ~ krap	lid, cover
karuṇā	pity, compassion
karuṇāprasāda	royal benefice
karom ~ karoṃ	underside; below, under
karmma	act, deed; *karma*
karmmadharmma	funeral rite(s)
kalpa	age, eon
kaṃmrateṅ ~ kammrateṅ	high lord
kaṃluṅ	inside; in, within
kaṃvoṅ	to rise up, be full; to dwell in
kaṃsteṅ	ecclesiastic title
kāt	see *kat*
kāp ~ kap	to hack, chop
kār ~ kar	to prepare; to protect, defend
kāryya	task, duty; labor
kāla	time; when, while
kuṭī ~ kuṭi	shelter; cell; chapel
kuṇḍala	ring; ear-ring
kurāk ~ kurek	unidentified title
kurek	see *kurāk*
kuruṅ	city; realm; king, ruler
kula ~ kule	(noble) family; kinsman
kulapakṣa	family group
ket	to issue, be born; fortnight of waxing moon
kon	see *kvan*
kñuṃ	see *khñuṃ*

krap see *karap*
krapī water buffalo
krayā ~ kriyā object, thing
kralā open space, area; chamber, court
kriyā see *krayā*
kroy rear, back; behind, after, next
krau outside; out of, beyond
klas see *khlās*
kloñ see *khloñ*
klvān see *khlvān*
kvan ~ kon child

khe moon; month
khñuṃ ~ kñuṃ slave
khnet fortnight of the waxing moon
khmī to seek, desire
khlās ~ klas pitcher
khloñ ~ kloñ head, chief
khlvān ~ klvān body, person; self

gaṅ to stay, dwell, remain; to be firm
gaṇa ~ ganā group, company; pluralizer
gati progress; affair, case
gan to set apart, reserve
ganā see *gaṇa*
garuḍa Garuḍa, vehicle of Viṣṇu
gi ~ giy ~ gui it, this/that; copular verb
gus ~ guḥ purely, only, solely
guḥ see *gus*
gui see *gi*
ge persons, ones; they
gotra family, clan, line
gol boundary-marker
gnaṅ ~ gnoṅ dwelling, residence
gnoṅ see *gnaṅ*
grāmavṛddha village elder

caṅvat delimited terrain
catur ~ catvāri four
caturācāryya college of Four *Ācārya*
catvāri see *catur*
canlek see *canlyak*
canlyak ~ canlek lower garment; cloth
car see *cār*
calācala instability, impermanence
caṃ see *cāṃ*
caṃnat assignment, allowance; settlement

caṃnāṃ upkeep, support; foundation; guard
caṃ'in to steam, cook; cooked food
cāmpa (a, the) Cham
cār ~ car to inscribe a line, plant in a line
cāṃ ~ caṃ to keep, tend, watch; to remember
cuṅ end, tip, summit
cek to divide
cer to disobey, violate
cau chief, head
cke see *chke*
cdiṅ see *chdiṅ*
cpar see *chpār*
cmer one who disobeys or flouts
cya to eat, consume, partake of
cramuḥ nose
cloñ see *chloñ*
cval ~ cvāl to enter; to approach

chkā to clear (land)
chke ~ cke dog
chkvat to be mad, crazed
chdiṅ ~ cdiṅ river, stream
chnāṃ year
chpāṅ ~ chpaṅ to fight, do battle, defend
chpār ~ cpar garden, plantation; park
chloñ ~ cloñ unidentified title

jagat universe, cosmos, world
jananī ancestress; queen-mother
jaṃnāv see *jaṃnau*
jaṃnau ~ jaṃnāv buying, exchange; purchase
jā to be equivalent to; to serve as
jāv see *jau*
ji 'tā grandfather
jau ~ jāv to trade, barter, buy, acquire by trade
jmaḥ ~ jmoḥ to name; to be named
jmoḥ see *jmaḥ*

ñāṅ see *ñyāṅ*
ñyāṅ ~ ñāṅ to strive, endeavor; to incite, compel

ṇā see *nā*

ta subordinating conjunction
tanlap small box, caddy
tap ten
taṃrya elephant

taṃrvac inspection; inspector
tāc to be broken off; to be finished
tāñ see *teṅ*
ti to, toward, for; from, than
ti agent marker
teṅ ~ tāñ retainer, vassal
ter to go on foot, walk, march
tel to be the same, constant; ever; who, which
teṃ trunk, classifier for trees; base, origin
tai arm, hand
toy to follow; following, through, by
tkep see *thkyap*
tmur see *thmur*
tyak to lie down, rest, repose
tyaṅ to know
trap eggplant
trayo see *tri*
travāṅ reservoir, tank, pond
trā to leave, quit; to occur, intervene
tri ~ trini ~ trayo three
trini see *tri*
trū to strike, match, be exact
tvāl to fall, drop

thkyap ~ tkep to nip
thṅāy see *thṅai*
thṅai ~ thṅāy sun; day
thpoṅ see *thpvaṅ*
thpvaṅ ~ thpoṅ head; south
thma see *thmo*
thmiṅ string instrumentalist
thmī to be new, fresh, recent
thmur ~ tmur cow, bull; cattle
thmo ~ thma stone, rock
thvāy to offer; to salute, worship
thve to do, make; to cultivate, prepare

dakṣiṇa fee to *brāhmaṇa*, offering
daṅ ~ doṅ to bear; and
daṇḍa cudgel; punishment; to punish
daśa ten
daha ~ doḥ in the event that,on condition that, if
daṃnuñ purchase; to be purchased
daṃnep ra firstly, in particular
daṃriṅ plantation
dāna gift, donation; offering
dār to receive, obtain; to claim

didai to be separate; separately, one by one
duk to put, set down, arrange, confer
duñ to buy, purchase
durgga stronghold
dūk see *dvak*
dep then, next
devī goddess; lady of royal rank
dai to change, be different
do ~ dvaya ~ dvā two
doṅ see *daṅ*
doḥ see *daha*
dau to go forth, proceed; to, toward, thither
dravya riches, wealth, property; costly goods
dvak ~ dūk boat
dvaya see *do*
dvā see *do*

dharmma the *Dharma*, cosmic order, law
dhūli ~ dhūlī dust, dirt

nakk see *'nak*
nagara royal capital
naraka hell
nava nine
navaśukti unidentified vessel
nā ~ ṇā place, point; at, in, on (time or place)
nāk see *'nak*
nāma name; title, designation
nāmakāra name-giving, naming
nāṃ to lead, take, convey
nirṇṇaya decision; to decide
nivedana to make known, report; to convey
niṣkraya payment
nu with; and
nu now, on this date, in this year
nu unidentified vessel
neḥ this/these
nai property; to belong to; of
noḥ that/those; he/she/it
nau to be in, at, on
nau (ru) topic marker

paṅgaṃ to join palms in obeisance, salute
paṅgāp to prescribe, instruct; to order, command
paṅgvay to seat, settle, fix
pañca five
padigaḥ cuspidor

pandūl	see *pandval*
pandval ~ pandūl	to place on head, impose; royal order
paraloka	the other world, the world beyond
parigraha	receiving, acceptance; seizure
paripālana	guarding; upkeep
paryyan	to teach
pavitra	pure one
pas	see *poḥ*
paṃnvas	one in holy orders, monk
paṃpvas	to admit to holy orders
paṃre	order, charge, behest; use, employment
paṃroḥ	trash, refuse
paṃvyat	to confirm, certify, verify
pāda	foot; quarter
pādamūla	personage, temple priest
pāna	drink, beverage
pi ~ pī	three
pi	(so) that; in order to
pitara	(fore)fathers, ancestors
pitāmātā	father and mother, parents
pitṛpakṣa	paternal line
pī	see *pi*
puṇya	good work(s); merit
puṣya	Puṣya, the second lunar month
pūrvva	east
peḥ	to pick, pluck, gather
poñ	title for landowners
pon	see *pvan*
poḥ ~ pas	to pound, crush; to implant, compel
pkā	see *phkā*
ptal	see *phtal*
pdai	see *phdai*
prak	see *prāk*
prakop	to put in possession of, bestow
prajñā	wisdom; intellect, learning
pratijñā	declaration, vow; to declare
pratidina	daily
pradāna	gift, grant; to grant
pravṛtti	activity, use; to use, employ
praśasta	inscription, decree
prasap	to touch, meet, join, reach
prasiddhi	success, fulfillment; to congratulate
prasir	writing, text; to commit to writing
praṃ	five
praṃ pi	eight
praṃ pvan ~ praṃ pon	nine
praṃ mvāy ~ praṃ moy	six

praṃ vyar ~ praṃ ver seven
prāk ~ prak silver
pre to bid, order; to let, assign, employ
ple see *phle*
pvan ~ pon four
pvas to enter holy orders, be ordained
psaṃ see *phsaṃ*
psok see *phsok*

phoṅ set, number; more, further; pluralizer
phkā ~ pkā flower
phtal ~ ptal to dispatch; to fulfill, realize
phtyaṅ to inform, acquaint
phtval to fell, topple
phdai ~ pdai belly; land, territory
phnvas holy orders, monkhood
phlū road, way
phle ~ ple fruit; harvest; gain, revenue
phsak see *phsok*
phsaṃ ~ psaṃ to join, unite; to gather, assemble
phsok ~ phsak ~ psok prisoner of war, transportee
phsyat to slay
ph'van younger sibling

ber see *vyar*
braḥ see *vraḥ*

bhakti faith, devotion
bhay see *bhai*
bhāga part, portion, lot, share
bhūmi land, tract
bhūmyākara land revenue(s)
bhai ~ bhay twenty
bhoga use, enjoyment

mat mouth; entrance
man that (*conj.*)
man who/whom, which
manuṣya man; human
mahāniraya name of a hell
mahābodhi (the tree of) the Great Enlightenment
mās gold
mās unit of weight or capacity
mukha face, front
muṃ to bend, turn; corner, intersection
mūla root, base, stock; proprietor
me see *'me*

mok to come, continue; hither; to, toward
moy see *mvay*
mratāñ lord
mvay ~ moy one

yajña sacrifice, offering; worship
yāna to go, move, travel; vehicle
yeṅ we, us, our
yo see *yau*
yok to take, grasp; to take away, remove
yau ~ yo measure of cloth

raṅvāṅ ~ raṅhvaṅ investigator, examiner; patrol, sentinel
raṅhvaṅ see *raṅvāṅ*
rat to run, hasten; to run away, flee
ratna jewel, gem
radeḥ ox-cart
randaḥ lightning
ransi bamboo
rāja king, ruler; prince
rājakāryya royal service
rājya reign; realm
ri of, about, concerning; topic marker
ru ~ rūva as, like
rūpa form, figure; image, effigy
rūpyabhājana unidentified silver vessel
rūva see *ru*
roḥ way, manner, form
rṇṇoc fortnight of the waning moon
rmmāṅ sambar (deer)
ryyap to order, arrange, prepare

laṅkā Ceylon
laṅgau copper
laṅveṅ ~ laṃveṅ lance, spear
la'vaṅ see *l'vaṅ*
laṃveṅ see *laṅveṅ*
likhita to be inscribed; document
liṅga phallus
liḥ unit of capacity
lek to raise, lift; to set up, build, erect
leṅ to play, amuse oneself
leṅ to let go, loose, release; to let, allow
leṅ to rise, mount, ascend
ley to go on, continue; on, onward; utterly
loḥ see *lvoḥ*
lṅāc sunset, evening

l'vaṅ ~ la'vaṅ amusement, diversion
lvoḥ ~ loḥ to pass through, reach; until, as far as

vagam vagoṃ beads, rosary
vat unidentified metal vessel
vanik trader, merchant
vara blessing; to be choice, select
varaśāpa blessing(s) and curse(s)
vargga section, class; chapter
varṇṇa company, society, guild
varṣā rain; rainy season; year
valaya ring; enclosing wall
vave goat
vas snake, serpent
vastra monk's habit
vaṃṅā to hold dear
vāp title for male landowner
vāp ~ vāppā father
vāppā see *vāp*
viṅ see *viñ*
viñ ~ viṅ to turn, return; again
vidhi method; rite, ritual, ceremony
vināśa damage; to damage, injure
vibheda change; difference
vuddhayajña offering to or worship of the Buddha
vṛkṣa tree
vṛhaspati planet Jupiter
ver see *vyar*
vo banyan
vṅā to be dear
vṅi ~ vṅe see *vṅya*
vṅya ~ vṅi ~ vṅe floral motif or decoration
vnaṃ hill, mountain
vnek eye; aperture; face, front, presence
vnok see *vnvak*
vnvak ~ vnok group, team, staff
vyar ~ ver ~ ber two
vyavahāra litigration, legal proceeding, suit
vraḥ ~ braḥ divine/royal being/object
vrāhmaṇa *brāhmaṇa*, Brahman (Brahmin)
vrai forest, wood
vvaṃ negation marker: not

śaka Śaka era; year of the Śaka era
śata hundred
śapathavelā moment of oath-taking
śāsana directive; instruction, teaching

śilā stone, rock
śīla precept, principle; morality, virtue
śūnya to be empty, vacant
śūnyamūla to be abandoned

ṣaṭ six

sa see *so*
saṅsāra see *saṃsāra*
satva creature, living being
santāna family line
sap all; every; the whole of
sapta seven
sabhā council, court of law
samayuga to join; jointly
samudāya mass, generality; rear-guard
sara ~ sār essence; power, authority
sarāc see *srāc*
sarvvābhimata to be unanimous
saṣṭhī sixth; the sixth day
sahasra thousand
sahasrayajña name of a major sacrifice
sa'ek tomorrow
saṃkhyā count, reckoning
saṃtāc ~ saṃtec royal and ecclesiastical title
saṃtec see *saṃtāc*
saṃpat wealth, riches
saṃlāp to kill
saṃsāra ~ saṅsāra cycle of rebirth, round of existence
sākṣi witness
sādhu good (holy) man
sār see *sara*
si male
siṅ to reside; to preside
siddhi achievement, fulfillment; settlement
sīmavadhi metes and bounds, boundary
suvaṇapat gold plate
seḥ see *'seḥ*
so ~ sa to be white, fair
soca investigation, determination, proof
sot in addition, as well, also
stac ~ stec to be royal; (of royalty) to be pleased to
stuk to be thick, dense, heavy
stec see *stac*
steṅ ~ steñ venerable (ecclesiastic title)
sthāpanā to set up an image, establish a sanctuary
snaṅ ~ snoṅ compensation; replacement; successor

snoṅ see *snaṅ*
smau grass, herbage
syaṅ anaphoric copular verb
srāc ~ sarāc to be finished, done, ready
sruk village; *sruk*
srū paddy
sre (irrigated) ricefield
slā areca nut
slāp to die, be dead
svat to chant, recite; to petition
svaṃ to beg, sue for
svey to eat, enjoy; to experience, suffer

hat cubit
haraṇasthāna quarry
hiṅ huṅ bullfrog
huduga large drum
hai vocative O!
hoṅ interjection marking finality
homa sacrifice
hau to call, name; to summon, recruit
hyat to force, drive, urge

'aṅga member, body; item, thing
'aṅgvay to sit
'añ I, me, my
'anak see *'nak*
'anna food, victuals
'ayat see *'yat*
'arccana worship
'avīci Avīci, a lower hell
'aṣṭa eight
'as see *is*
'aseḥ see *'seḥ*
'aṃcās elder, senior; master, owner
'aṃteṅ unidentified title
'aṃnoy gift, donation
'aṃpāl totality, whole; all
'aṃvi source; from; concerning
'aṃve action, deed
'āgneya southeast
'ācāryyapradhāna dean of spiritual preceptors
'ādhvā road, path, way
'āy see *ai*
'āyuḥ life; age
'āyoga ornament
'āśrama *āśrama*, hermitage, monastery

'āṣāḍha	Āṣāḍha, the eighth lunar month
'nak ~ 'anak ~ nakk ~ nāk	person, one
'me ~ me	mother; chief; large river
'yat ~ 'ayat	to be lacking, wanting, missing
'val	to be full, entire
'seḥ ~ 'aseḥ ~ seḥ	horse
is ~ 'as	to end, exhaust; all, whole
ihaloka	the world below, this world
īlū	present time; now, at present
īśāna	northeast
ukk	also, as well, along with, in the same way
udyoga	to exert oneself, strive, toil
us ~ uḥ	firewood; to heat up
eka	one; first
oy	to give, grant; to cause, let
ai ~ 'āy	side; here; beside, near, in, at, by