CONTEMPORARY CAMBODIAN

GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

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By

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with the assistance of KEM SOS

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
PREFACE

This is the first of seven interrelated volumes comprising Contemporary Cambodian. The other six will be Introductory Lessons, four topic-oriented textbooks, and a comprehensive Cambodian-English English-Cambodian glossary. It is appropriate that this volume bearing the subtitle Grammatical Sketch should be the first module to appear since all the others are to be cross-referenced to it.

Contemporary Cambodian, of which the Grammatical Sketch is a central part, is not projected as a series. The topic-oriented modules are to be co-equal elements in an array of materials from which the course director can choose according to the interests of his students.

Earl W. Stevick, in Adapting and Writing Language Lessons (Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 1971), says, "The modular principle suggests that the several components be designed so that they may be rearranged to suit the convictions of various kinds of user, and so that the individual components may be replaced with minimum disturbance to the rest." He cites earlier examples of the modular approach in the work of language textbook writers at the Foreign Service Institute and elsewhere. In the plan for Contemporary Cambodian, Miss Ehrman adopts the modular principle and applies it at the intermediate level.

The Grammatical Sketch is essentially a companion-piece to the other volumes. However, language scholars may also find it useful in its own right as a brief description of the Cambodian language.

The seven modules of Contemporary Cambodian, projected, in preparation, or completed, have been made possible by support from the Defense Language Institute and by the cooperation and encouragement of Dr. Roy F. Fallis, Jr., Chief of the DLI Systems Development Agency, and Colonel Roy M. Kessler, Director of the Defense Language Institute.

James R. Frith, Dean
School of Language Studies
Foreign Service Institute
Foreword

I. Introduction and Recommendations for Use

Contemporary Cambodian, a set of materials in modular form, is meant to teach the Cambodian language to beginning and intermediate students. It includes:

1) a basic module of sixty lessons
2) four intermediate modules of approximately fifteen lessons each, dealing with political, economic, social, cultural, and military topics (under preparation)
3) the present volume; a description of aspects of Cambodian grammar and usage. This volume does not include lessons; it is meant to be used for reference.
4) a Cambodian-English, English-Cambodian glossary (under preparation)

This part of Contemporary Cambodian is a description of the most important structural and stylistic features of the language. The first chapter is a brief introduction to the language and its speakers. The second chapter is a sketch of Cambodian phonology, that is, the sounds of the language. The following chapter outlines Cambodian syntax, the way words are put together into phrases, clauses and sentences. After the syntax chapter, the word classes nominals, verbals, adverbials, and relators are treated, each class in a separate chapter. The last chapter discusses special problems of vocabulary and usage, focusing on the effects of factors of relative age, social class, and blood relationship. There are two appendices, as well. The first summarizes the many uses of some very common words that are grammatically significant. The second appendix describes Cambodian naming patterns and presents the most common titles.

There are many points of grammar and usage that are not treated in this sketch. Some of these occur in the notes to the lessons, which are also part of Contemporary Cambodian. There are other points which are simply not treated in these materials at all. However, I hope that what has been included will meet the needs of beginning and intermediate students of Cambodian.

It is recommended that beginning students read the Introduction (Chapter I) and simply look quickly through the rest of the grammatical sketch to give themselves an idea of its contents. Students should read carefully any sections of the sketch which are cross-referred to in the lesson they are currently studying; it would also be helpful
to look at sections surrounding the section referred to. After approximately twenty-four weeks of study it is recommended that the student read through the sketch to familiarize himself more thoroughly with its contents. The beginning and intermediate modules in this course are meant to be used with this grammatical sketch, since many very important points are not discussed in the notes to the lessons but simply given a cross-reference to the sketch.

II. Acknowledgements

I am grateful for the help of many people, without which this grammatical sketch would not have been possible. Responsibility for error is mine, of course, but whatever merit this volume may have is in large part due to the following:

- to Dr. James Frith, Dean of the FSI School of Language Studies, for his interest, his encouragement, and his support throughout all phases of this project, from preparation of the proposal to final typing for publication. I owe my very fruitful six weeks in Phnom Penh more to Dr. Frith than to any other person. I especially appreciate Dr. Frith's patience with my impatience during periods of slow progress.

- to Dr. Roy Fallis of the Defense Language Institute, for his interest and support, and for his large contribution to making a reality of the Cambodian materials project of which this grammatical sketch is a part.

- to Dr. Warren Yates, Chairman of the Department of East Asian Languages at FSI and Mr. Augustus Koski, Publications Chief at FSI, for administrative support, including good-natured toleration of my impatience.

- to Mr. Nuon Bouth of Phnom Penh, Mr. Dik Keam of the Buddhist Institute in Phnom Penh, Mrs. Marianne Adams of FSI, Dr. Warren Yates of FSI, and Dr. Franklin Huffman of Yale University for reading through the prefinal draft of the sketch and giving helpful suggestions. Dr. Huffman's comments were especially detailed, and all were useful. Dr. Huffman's dissertation *Outline of Cambodian Structure* (1967) has been of great help to me also; specific debts to this book are acknowledged in footnotes in the body of the grammatical sketch.

- to Dr. Allen Weinstein of the Vietnam Training Center at FSI, from whom I learned a great deal about Vietnamese in our many very helpful discussions when I was working with him as linguist for Vietnamese. Many of Dr. Weinstein's ideas about Vietnamese structure have influenced my analysis of Cambodian, since the two languages have many grammatical points in common.
to the many colleagues at FSI whose ideas influenced the format of these materials. The modular arrangement of the materials is the product of the thinking of many people here, chief among whom have been Dr. Ronald Goodison and Dr. Earl Stevick. Dr. Stevick was also of help in choosing the title Contemporary Cambodian.

to Mr. Kem Sos, who taught me much of the Cambodian I know. Mr. Kem Sos is an outstanding teacher, an excellent linguistic informant, and a gifted creator of materials. The high quality of his calligraphy is evident throughout this volume. In addition to his contributions as teacher, informant, author, and scribe, Mr. Kem Sos has been my most careful and thorough critic; he read every chapter as it was written and caught many errors both of commission and of omission.

to Mr. Walter Rhinehart, Jr. and Mr. Kenneth Landon, Jr., for a careful job of typing.

Madeline E. Ehrman
CONTanford CAMBODIAN: Grammatical Sketch

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I.1 Introduction

The official language of Cambodia is Cambodian, also known as Khmer. It is the native language of the approximately 7,000,000 Khmer who constitute a majority in Cambodia.

Cambodian is spoken also by approximately 4,500,000 Cambodians in the Mekong Delta area of South Vietnam and approximately 700,000 in northeastern Thailand.

Other languages spoken in Cambodia include Vietnamese, Chinese, Cham, various Montagnard tongues in the northeastern region, and Thai near the Thailand border.

I.2 Geographic and Social Divisions of Cambodia

Cambodian geographic dialects differ little from one another. Social divisions, however, involve highly formalized conventions affecting the most common types of speech.

I.2.1 Geographic Divisions

The best known division in the Cambodian speech community is between Cambodia proper (including Cambodians in Thailand) and Cambodians living in South Vietnam, who are known as the Khmer Krom 'lower Cambodians.' The dialects are mutually intelligible, since the differences are primarily phonological and are slight. Khmer living in Thailand have a divergent dialect as well.¹

Within Cambodia, Phnom Penh speech differs slightly from the provincial varieties of the language. The major feature distinguishing Phnom Penh speech is that where other dialects have either a flap or retroflex /r/, Phnom Penh has pharyngeal friction accompanied by a low pitch on the following vowel, plus changes in vowel quality in some cases.

The speech of the Khmer Krom is characterized by conservatism in pronunciation. It corresponds more closely to written Cambodian than does the Cambodian used in Cambodia.

I.2.2 Social Divisions

Members of all social classes use Cambodian for most everyday purposes. Commercial life before the 1970 disposition of Sihanouk was controlled largely by the Chinese (big business) and the Vietnamese (small business), and this fact was reflected in the widespread use of Chinese in major business transactions and of Vietnamese in small ones.

¹. Franklin Huffman, personal communication.
Vietnamese was used for bargaining. Since spring 1970 many of the Vietnamese have left Cambodia and consequently they no longer control small business.

Most Khmers are peasants engaged in rice growing. The civil service is largely Khmer, but is relatively small. The other two important social classes among the Khmer are royalty and the Buddhist clergy.

Royalty and Buddhist monks each use a variety of Cambodian which is characterized by obligatory substitutions of vocabulary items, most notably personal pronouns and words referring to common activities like eating and walking. Members of these two groups must be addressed and described in language using these characteristic terms as well.

I.3 The Cambodian Language

The Cambodian language is the most important member of the Mon-Khmer language family. Mon-Khmer is probably related to Vietnamese; attempts have also been made to relate Mon-Khmer and the Malayo-Polynesian language family, but so far no scholar has succeeded in providing completely convincing evidence for this hypothesis. Thus, for the time being, Cambodian and its Mon-Khmer relatives are treated as unrelated to any other languages. However, Cambodian has borrowed from many languages, especially from Sanskrit, Pali, Thai, and Vietnamese. It has also borrowed from Chinese, Portuguese, Malay, more recently French, and still more recently from English.

Most colloquial speech relies on native Mon-Khmer words; however, any elevation in style or discussion of topics of a political, cultural etc, nature involves the introduction of many words of Indian (Sanskrit and Pali) origin. Sanskrit and Pali bear much the same relation to Cambodian as Greek and Latin do to English. Most neologisms are coined using Indic roots, and puristic speakers prefer a neologism of Indic origin to a French or English borrowing. Nevertheless, the ordinary speech of urban Cambodians contains many French words, especially for products of Western technology and philosophy, since most secular education has been in French (but the amount of French used in the schools is currently decreasing in favor of Cambodian and, to some extent, English).

The majority of rural Cambodians are monolingual in Cambodian. However, the populations of areas bordering Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam are bilingual in varying degrees of fluency; Cambodian males who have studied at a Buddhist pagoda are familiar with Pali and Sanskrit, and some urban Cambodians know Chinese. Of course, educated Cambodians know French.

Cambodian may be typed as an isolating language, which means that it makes most of its
grammatical distinctions by means of word-order rather than by means of affixes and changes within words. Native Khmer words may include prefixes, suffixes, and infixes which change the part of speech (e.g., by turning a noun into a verb) or which change the root meaning of a word without changing its grammatical function. However, while the patterns of affixation are complex, the affixes are seldom used in new combinations and so are more helpful in recognizing relations between words than in the creation of new words.

Cambodian is unlike its neighbors in that it is nontonal. Most words of native origin are mono- or disyllabic; words of Indic origin tend to be polysyllabic. Cambodian words have stress on the last syllable, even in polysyllables borrowed from Sanskrit, Pali, and modern European languages.
PHONOLOGY

P.1 Consonants

Cambodian has 22 consonant phonemes (sets of sounds that distinguish between one word and another in a given language, e.g. English bet and pet, in which /b/ and /p/ are distinct phonemes). They are:

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<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of these, only the following are likely to give much trouble to the English speaker.

P.1.1 Single Consonants

a.) /ñ/ is very similar to the ny sound in canyon or onion when pronounced fast. It is produced with the front third of the tongue starting from a position against the hard palate: /mɔŋ/ /‘mooy/ ‘often,’ /bɔŋ/tiŋ/ ‘buy.’

b.) English speakers use /ŋ/ all the time at the end of a syllable, e.g. song, singing. However, some Cambodian syllables begin with this sound, e.g. /hɔŋ/ ‘easy’ or /hɔŋ/ ‘hong/ ‘dark.’ If you are having trouble making this sound, try the following exercises:

1. Say singing, but draw out the ng, so that you are saying ‘sinnnggggng.’
2. Then try to break the word after the first ng: si-nngggg, si-ngging, then leave off the si and say ‘ñng.’

1. Occurs only in words borrowed from other languages, e.g. /kəfee/ ‘coffee!’
2. Put your tongue into position to say $\text{ga}$, but don’t actually say it.

Now instead of letting the air out through your mouth as you would when you say $\text{ga}$, let it out through your nose (as you would if you were saying $\text{ma}$ or $\text{na}$). You should end up saying $\text{na}$. (Remember, as you say $\text{na}$ to keep your tongue in the position for saying $\text{ga}$.)

c.) English speakers use both aspirated and unaspirated stops all the time, but they do not pay attention to them because they do not make distinctions between words with aspiration. For instance, if you hold a light piece of paper before your lips as you say pin (aspirated p), you will see the paper flap, but if you say spin (unaspirated p), the paper will move much less. In Cambodian, words are distinguished by the difference between an aspirated and unaspirated stop, e.g. $\text{p}$ /karɛ̄/ ‘to correct’ and $\text{p}$ /khaɛ̄/ ‘month;’ $\text{t}$ /tǣ/ ‘grandfather’ and $\text{t}$ /thaɛ̄/ ‘to say.’ It will be necessary for you to listen for this distinction and be careful to make it when you speak.

Note that the unaspirated voiceless stops /t/ and /p/ may sound like the voiced stops /d/ and /b/. However, they, too, are in contrast, e.g. $\text{p}$ /tǣ/ ‘but, only, and $\text{d}$ /daɛ̄/ ‘also,’ or $\text{p}$ /puon/ ‘to hide’ and $\text{b}$ /buon/ ‘four.’ The voiced stops /b/ and /d/ are articulated with a slight intake of air rather than the release of air to which you are accustomed in English.

d.) At the end of a syllable, /c/ is pronounced without friction. It may sound at first like a kind of /t/ to you, but in fact it is a ch-sound begun but not finished.

e.) Unlike the English retroflex $r$, Cambodian /r/ is a tongue-tip flap made just behind the upper teeth). It is very similar to the Spanish r in pero ‘but.’ Cambodian example: ro$b$ /ro$\text{b}$ɛ̄/ ‘hundred,’ $\text{f}$ /praɛ̄/ ‘five.’ In Phnom Penh speech, prevocalic /r/ is replaced by pharyngealization and a low rising tone on the following vowel. If your teacher speaks the Phnom Penh variety of Cambodian imitate his pronunciation of the following words: $\text{r}$ /praɛ̄/ ‘translate,’ $\text{r}$ /kruɛ̄/ ‘teacher,’ $\text{r}$ /$\text{tr}$ɛ̄/ ‘study.’

f.) The Cambodian /$v$/ varies from speaker to speaker. Some speakers pronounce it like English $w$ but others pronounce it like English $v$ but with both lips rather than the upper lip and lower teeth as in English.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. Initial Stop</th>
<th>tp</th>
<th>tpəl</th>
<th>cheek</th>
<th>cp</th>
<th>cpən</th>
<th>toward</th>
<th>kp</th>
<th>kpən</th>
<th>high</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pt</td>
<td>puty</td>
<td>opposite</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pc</td>
<td>puo</td>
<td>to plow</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>kc</td>
<td>kər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pk</td>
<td>kəa</td>
<td>flower</td>
<td>tk</td>
<td>tkəm</td>
<td>jaw</td>
<td>ck</td>
<td>kəkə</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>tb</td>
<td>tbun</td>
<td>south</td>
<td>cb</td>
<td>cbən</td>
<td>clear</td>
<td>kb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pd</td>
<td>pdəy</td>
<td>husband</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>od</td>
<td>odop</td>
<td>erect</td>
<td>kd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps</td>
<td>psəa</td>
<td>market</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>ks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>tm</td>
<td>tmən</td>
<td>store</td>
<td>cm</td>
<td>cmaa</td>
<td>cat</td>
<td>km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pn</td>
<td>pnəm</td>
<td>hill</td>
<td>tn</td>
<td>tnən</td>
<td>street</td>
<td>cn</td>
<td>cmən</td>
<td>servant</td>
<td>kn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pən</td>
<td>pənəa</td>
<td>to send</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>kən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pən</td>
<td>pənəut</td>
<td>to cause to bathe</td>
<td>tən</td>
<td>tənay</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>cn</td>
<td>cnəsən</td>
<td>far</td>
<td>kn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr</td>
<td>prəe</td>
<td>to use</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>trey</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>cr</td>
<td>crən</td>
<td>much</td>
<td>kr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>pləe</td>
<td>strange</td>
<td>tl</td>
<td>tlay</td>
<td>expensive</td>
<td>cl</td>
<td>cləsən</td>
<td>to answer</td>
<td>kl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>py</td>
<td>pyəbaal</td>
<td>to take care of</td>
<td>ty</td>
<td>tyuun</td>
<td>coal</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>ky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>tv</td>
<td>tvee</td>
<td>to do</td>
<td>cv</td>
<td>cvia</td>
<td>Java</td>
<td>kv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>db</td>
<td>dbət</td>
<td>since, as</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>qw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Initial Consonant Sequences (continued)

#### b. Initial Continuant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>lp</td>
<td>lphydration</td>
<td>pumpkin</td>
<td>sp</td>
<td>spian</td>
<td>bridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mt</td>
<td>mteah</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>pepper</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>st</td>
<td>stian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mc</td>
<td>moul</td>
<td>needle</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>lk</td>
<td>lkaon</td>
<td>a play</td>
<td>sk</td>
<td>skoo</td>
<td>sugar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m?</td>
<td>mʔcom</td>
<td>a kind</td>
<td>of herb</td>
<td>lʔ</td>
<td>lʔoo</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>sʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>lb</td>
<td>lbasen</td>
<td>game</td>
<td>sb</td>
<td>sbak</td>
<td>skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>md</td>
<td>mdasoy</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>sd</td>
<td>sdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ms</td>
<td>msaw</td>
<td>powder</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>lm</td>
<td>lmoem</td>
<td>enough</td>
<td>sm</td>
<td>sme</td>
<td>equal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mn</td>
<td>mnəh</td>
<td>pineapple</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>sn</td>
<td>snən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mʔ</td>
<td>mʔsam mʔso</td>
<td>an effemi-</td>
<td>nite way of</td>
<td>talking</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>ln</td>
<td>lɲiɛc</td>
<td>evening</td>
<td>sn</td>
<td>snat</td>
<td>quiet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mr</td>
<td>mric</td>
<td>pepper</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>sr</td>
<td>srool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ml</td>
<td>mlup</td>
<td>shade</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>sl</td>
<td>slot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>lv</td>
<td>lveen</td>
<td>compartment</td>
<td>sv</td>
<td>svaay</td>
<td>mango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mh</td>
<td>mhoup</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td>lhoŋ</td>
<td>papaya</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. In this table the distinction maintained in the transcription between p, t, k, c and ph, th, kh, ch is not made before another consonant, since in fact structurally there is no distinction between aspirates and non-aspirates in this position. That is, while on this point the usual transcription is really a transliteration, in this table, it is a real transcription.
P.1.2 Consonant Sequences

A Cambodian syllable can begin with a two-consonant sequence (ŋ /trən/ 'must') or three-consonant sequence (k /strəw/ 'woman (formal)'). A few of these will give the English speaker no trouble, since they also occur in English.

There is no contrast between aspirated and unaspirated stops before another consonant. However, in order to aid in spelling in Cambodian script, the distinction between aspirated and nonaspirated consonants is maintained in the transcription used in these materials. Thus, for instance, r /pkæa/ 'flower' is transcribed phkaa because the Cambodian character r represents the voiceless aspirate /ph/ before a vowel. However, it could equally well be transcribed /pkæa/.

P.2 Vowels

There are 30 distinct vowel nuclei occurring in Cambodian syllables. Many are very similar to English vowels; others are very different, and others are deceptively like English sounds at first hearing but prove to demand close attention for accurate imitation.

The Cambodian vowels divide up into the following classes: short vowels, long vowels, short diphthongs, and long diphthongs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short vowels:</th>
<th>Long vowels:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high mid</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

oo (also written ou) 60
Short diphthongs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Long diphthongs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>iə</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>uo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ak</td>
<td>ca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>as, aœ, ao</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The short central vowels /ɪ, ə, and a/ combine with /y/ and /w/ to yield /iː, œ, ey, aw, ay, aw/. 6

When you listen to Cambodian, you will hear that before syllable-final /c/ or /ʔ/ a vowel is followed by a non-contrastive /y/ glide, so that a word like /touc/ 'small' is actually pronounced something like [touye].

Syllables

Every Cambodian syllable begins with a consonant or consonant cluster, has a nucleus, which consists of a vowel or diphthong, and may or may not end in a consonant. Any consonant may begin a syllable but only the following consonants may end a syllable:

\[ p\ t\ c\ k \]
\[ l\ h \]
\[ m\ n\ ŋ\ ŋ \]
\[ w\ y \]

There are no syllable-final consonant clusters. The possible syllable initial clusters are treated in section P.1.2 above and in Table I. Note that many of these combinations do not occur in English.

The consonants w or y are not followed by another consonant in the same syllable.

Short diphthongs occur only in closed syllables (syllables ending in a consonant), e.g. /pə/ /pʰə/ 'to wear.'

3. The transcription of the short diphthongs conceals the fact that they are really diphthongs /œ, œ, ō/ (the breve ̄ indicates that the diphthong is short) rather than short vowels.

4. In the transcription used in these materials, /iə/ is represented by ia (transcribing the script symbol ə after a second series consonant) and by ie (transcribing the symbol e). Thus əɛ /iɛ/ is transcribed iɛ but əɛʃ /iɛʃ/ is transcribed iɛʃ, even though the vowels are the same.

5. In the dialect that this transcription represents there is no distinction between /ei/ and /ee/, so /ei/ does not appear in these materials. However, some Cambodians do have the distinction; if your instructor distinguishes between /ei/ and /ee/, follow his example.

6. The transcription used in these materials writes /w/ as w in /kw, ow, aw/, e.g. /kwɔ/ 'chair' but as v elsewhere, e.g. /vən/ 'long.'
Most native Cambodian words consist of one or two syllables. However, the language has borrowed a great many words from Pali and Sanskrit, with the result that there are now many polysyllables, especially in literary and educated usage. In all cases, however, the main stress falls on the last syllable of the word: បេះ /bə/ 'to close'; ក្វឹ /kə/ 'river'; មេឃាត /mekə/ 'January'; ទូពោម្មឈស /paccobonphio̯ / 'current events.' In polysyllables stressed and unstressed syllables alternate, e.g. សាលារី /phaoceniythaan/ 'restaurant.'

In most compounds (words made up of two or more other words), each component keeps its stress pattern, e.g. រក្សាគុណ /phio̯npin/ 'moving picture' or សីរុណ /viccia pe̯t/ 'subject of medicine.'

A phrase in Cambodian includes one or more words plus an intonation contour. The major types of intonation contour are the following:

### Rising (Question) Intonation

a) In a confirmation (yes-no) question the intonation contour normally consists of a gradual rise in pitch until the last stressed syllable of the sentence, at which point it continues to rise more sharply over any following unstressed syllables.

**ឬមិនអូនឈឺ?**

kôt cia puo' ma? look rih?

Is he your friend?

b) In an information (question-word) question, the contour rises until the last stressed syllable of the question word, after which it either gradually drops,

**នាមអាចចូលពីរ?**

look cuop ne? nə̯ niw konlaen nin?

Whom did you meet at that place?

or continues to rise, as in

**នាមអាចចូលពីរ?**

look cuop ne? nə̯ niw konlaen nin?

Whom did you meet at that place?
An information question with falling intonation has a peremptory connotation; rising intonation throughout an information question is more deferent and polite.

P.5.2 Falling Intonation

a) Normal statements are characterized by a slight pitch rise on the most heavily-stressed syllable of the clause followed by a drop throughout subsequent syllables.

\[\text{će, look sok thee kaa mëw konlæn mën.}\]

No, Mr. Sok works at that place.

b) Emphatic statements are characterized by a sharp drop on the most heavily-stressed syllable and low pitch thereafter.

\[\text{lìsæe siisovat mìn mën cëa saaå aåkæcун tæh.}\]

The Lyceé Sisowath is not a private school.

P.6 Formal and Casual Pronunciation

Like most other languages, Cambodian is spoken differently in formal and casual contexts. In a formal context, the pronunciation of each syllable is relatively careful; even unstressed syllables may be pronounced much as they are written. However, the more casual the circumstances, the more reduction is likely to take place in unstressed syllables, especially in the standard and Phnom Penh varieties, so that in some dialects all that may remain of an unstressed syllable is the initial consonant and a reduced vowel /ɔ/, e.g.

formal /sɔñat/    casual /sɔñat/   ‘secret’ សេសត
formal /pɔteeh/   casual /pɔteeh/  ‘country’ អំពិល

Internal glottal stop /ʔ/ is normally omitted in casual style, e.g.

formal /niʔyiey/  casual /niʔyiey/  ‘to speak’ ប្រាក់

In addition some consonants change, for example:

formal /robuoh/   casual /luuoh/   ‘wounded’ សេស្លែ
formal /bɔʁyien/  casual /perien/  ‘to teach’ អំពិល់
formal /sɔosce/   casual /tɔsce/   ‘to write’ អំពិល់់
formal /kyl/      casual /kɔl/     ‘wind, breeze’ មោ្
formal /tuuun/    casual /kuuun/   ‘coal’ ដូង
In none of these cases is the change regular; in fact only a relatively small number of words is affected, and they may be learned as they occur.

P.6.1 Unstressed Final Particles

Many of the normally unstressed function words are unstressed in casual speech, e.g.

| formal /mɛn/ | casual /m/ | "not" |
| /mɛn/ | /mɛn, n, n/ | "will" |
| /tɛm/ | /te/ | "go and ..." |
| /mɔok/ | /me/ | "come and ..." |
| /tee/ | /eh/ | (negative or interrogative final) |
| /nah/ | /ah/ | "very" |
| /maa/ | /o/ | (emphatic) |
| /hɑɔy/ | /oh/ | "already" |
| /tɪ, rɪ ɔy/ | /ɔh/ | (interrogative final) |
| /mɛw/ | /ɔw/ | "yet" |
| /tɛw/ | /teh/ | (imperative) |

The reduced forms of the sentence-final particles /tee, nah, hɑɔy, mɛw, rɪ/ break the rule that all syllables begin with at least one consonant (cf. P.3 above), since these reduced forms begin with vowels (/eh, ah, ah, ɔw, ɔh/). In combination with a preceding word which ends in a consonant, the following occur:

1. If the consonant preceding the particle is a continuant (m, n, ɲ, ŋ, l, w, y, h), the continuant is lengthened, e.g.
   
   formal /mɛn mɛn tee/ | casual /m mɛn ɔeh/ | "it's not true"
   
   formal /mɛn trɛw tee/ | casual /m trɛw ɔeh/ | "it's not correct"

2. If the consonant is a stop, there are two possibilities:
   
   a) the final consonant joins the syllable of the particle, e.g.
      
      formal /mɛn prakɔt tee/ | casual /m pəko ɔeh/ | "not sure"
   
   b) or the final consonant remains with its original syllable and the particle begins with a nasal consonant which is homorganic to the

? /rɪ/ may be dropped altogether, leaving a trace only in the intonation of the sentence, e.g.

formal: look roʔ kʰnom rɪ?
casual: look roʔ kʰnom ? Are you looking for me?
preceding consonant, according to the rules given below in P.6.2, for example:

formal /mɛn prakot tee/  casual /m pəkut neh/ 'not sure'
formal /sʔop rɪʔ/  casual /sʔop məʔ/ 'do you hate (him)?'

c) If the preceding word ends with a vowel, the sentence will end with a sequence of vowels, providing an exception to the rule that a syllable must begin with a consonant, e.g.:

formal /khnom three həsy/  casual /khnom thəsəh/ 'I've done it already'

d) If there is a sequence of final particles, e.g.  sxom rəm'məŋ?'
/thom nah həsy rɪʔ/ 'is (he) big already?' the casual form will end in a sequence of reduced particles, except for /rɪʔ/, which is set off by a glottal stop /thamməh əh ?əh/

In most of the dialogues and drills in the first 60 lessons of the course, the transcription represents a quite casual level of speech. A few words which are not in every day use are transcribed formally, e.g.  sxom rəm'məŋ?' /prote' kam/ 'reaction.' In a few cases the transcription is more formal, using /tee/ for /eh/ etc.

P.6.2 Nasal Enclitics

In reciting and singing, most Cambodians automatically add a meaningless homorganic nasal enclitic to the last syllable in a phrase or clause if it:

1) precedes a pause
2) ends in a voiceless consonant (/p, t, c, k, ?, h/)
3) is stressed.

In this case the nasal is one of the following:

after /p/ it is /m/, e.g. /sdap - m/ 'to listen'
/t/ it is /n/ /kat - n/ 'to cut'
/c/ it is /n/ /nte - n/ 'a little bit'
/k/ it is /n/ /sʔək - n/ 'tomorrow'
/ʔ/ it is /n/ /pibaaʔ - n/ 'difficult'
/h/ it is /n/ /cəh - n/ 'old'

8. Remember, /s/ does not occur at the end of a syllable.
In Phnom Penh speech this feature appears in casual usage as well. It occurs in a pre-pausal stressed syllable ending in a voiceless consonant, if the sentence has normal statement intonation. In no case does this nasal enclitic affect the meaning of the sentence in which it occurs.
SYNTAX

3.1 Introduction

Like utterances in most other languages, Cambodian utterances can be analyzed into sentences, especially in formal speech. A sentence consists of one or more clauses; a clause consists of one or more phrases, and a phrase consists of one or more words. A word is a meaningful unit that can stand in isolation.

There are several types of clause but only one which can be classed as the major type. This type consists of an optional topic, an optional subject, and an obligatory predicate, plus various adverbials and particles. The topic and subject usually consist of noun phrases; the predicate usually includes a verb phrase, which in turn is frequently followed by a noun phrase serving as object or attribute to the verb.

3.2 Phrases

The two major types of phrase are noun phrases and verb phrases. A noun phrase is one which is headed by a nominal; a verb phrase is headed by a verb. The head of the phrase is the word that the other parts of the phrase modify.

3.2.1 Noun Phrases

The Cambodian noun phrase involves two important constructions: attribution and numeration.

3.2.1.1 Attribution

In nominal attribution the head is followed by the modifier (attribute). The attribute may be:

1. a verb
   
   a. an action verb: យបបបបប/phiəm dae/ 'a road for walking' 
      
      (from យបបបប/phiəm/ 'road, path' and ដ/dae/ 'to walk')

2. a noun យបបបប/phiəm laan/ 'a road for cars' (from យប/phiəm/ 'road' and បបបប/laan/ 'car, automobile').

3. an indefinite or question word យបបប/phiəm nəa/ 'which road?' (from
4. A phrase ព្យាយាម /phlaw/ 'road' and ណាម /na/ 'which, any').

(from ដ៏ /dak/ 'to transport, lead' and មូលណា /tumnin/ 'merchandise').

5. A clause ព្យាយាម(ដ៏)ការសមេទ្ /phlaw (dak) kee kampan thee/
'the road (that) they are building.' Note that a relative clause may or may
not be introduced by ព្យាយាម /phlaw/ 'which, that.' The version with ព្យាយាម
is slightly more formal but nevertheless widely used in spoken usage.

Note that possession is expressed either by simple attribution, e.g. ខ្លួន /phth khnom/ 'my house' (ខ្លួ /phth/ 'house' ខ្លួន /khnom/ 'I, me, my') or by a phrase including
the word ផ្លាស់ /rebh/ 'property of, belonging to,' e.g. ព្យាយាមrebh khnom/
'my house' (the house belonging to me).

There are some words indicating quantities which are used before the noun they modify,
e.g. ក្រុម /sop thnay/ 'every day' (ក្រុម /sop/ 'every' ថ្ង /thnay/ 'day'). These words include:

| របាយ | /krup/ | 'all, each, every' |
| ហ្វូង | /krup krup/ | 'all' |
| សាធារី | /krup sop/ | 'all' |
| តម្លាយ | /tai/ | 'only, just' |
| បើ្ | /tén/ | 'all of' |
| ហ្វូងហ្វូង | /tén ch/ | 'all of, all' |
| ហ្វូង | /piñ/ | 'all of, to the full extent of' |
| ផ្លាស់ | /rol/ | 'every' (with time words) |
| ផ្លាស់ | /sop/ | 'all' |
| ផ្លាស់ព្យាយាម | /sop krup/ | 'all' |
| ប្រាសាទ | /ch/ | 'all' |

1. Parentheses indicate an optional element in Cambodian.
5.2.1.2 Numeration

In English we divide most common nouns into 'count nouns,' which we see as individual items, e.g. books, pencils, shirts, and into 'mass-nouns,' which we see as aggregates that can only be counted by means of measures or as different types, e.g. 'a pound of sugar, three kinds of sugar.' For mass nouns in English we quantify by a construction which consists of a number, a measure, and a noun, e.g. 'three bags of rice' or 'a glass of water.' There are also a few count nouns which can occur in this kind of construction, e.g. 'a pair of shoes.'

However, in Cambodian the mass-count distinction means much less, since there are many more nouns in Cambodian than in English that are regarded as in some sense mass unless otherwise specified. It is the numeration construction which so specifies. In numeration, which is a special kind of attribution, the word order is noun, number, classifier, e.g. បាល់ /boon/ 'two older siblings' in which the noun is ស្រី /pi/ 'older sibling,' the number is ៣ /pio/ 'two' and the classifier is ដី /m6/ 'person.'

The classifier corresponds to the English measure but has a wider distribution. While it is true that some measures occur in classifier position, e.g. គ្រាហ្វុល /sac pil kilow/ 'two kilos of meat' ម្លាវ /sac/'meat,' ២ /pi/ 'two,' ម៉ូ /kilow/'kilo'), many classifiers are not measures. Nouns are members of semantically determined classes, each of which is characterized by a certain nominal that serves as classifier. Thus, for instance, the classifier យ /n6/ is used with ordinary people; រ /dəm/ is used with sticklike objects like pencils, trees, and rifles; and ក្រោម /kbaal/ 'head' is used with livestock and books. These classes are not mutually exclusive; for instance one may talk of a train in two ways:

យ /rotch phlaen muoy kriən/ 'one train'
យ /rotch phlaen muoy khsaz/ 'one train'

In the first case attention is focussed on the locomotive, since យ /kriən/ is the classifier normally used for engines and machines. In the second case the train is viewed as a whole, including engine and cars, since យ /khsaz/ refers to strings and wires and long, stringlike objects.

In addition, of course, there are also measures and nouns specifying types that are used in classifier position, e.g. (ប្រឆាំង /sraa muoy doop/ 'one bottle of liquor,' ប្រញាល់ /sraa/ 'liquor', 'one' ឈ /doop/ 'bottle') or ម៉ូ /mehoup bey muk/ 'three kinds of food' (ម៉ូ /mehoup/ 'food', 'three' ឈ /bey/ 'kind, type').
Nouns indicating units of time are also classifiers, e.g., 

/tšw oh peel pii thnay/ 'I went for two days' 

/tšw/ 'to go'; 

/nhə/ 'to exhaust,

use up'; 

/pee/ 'time'; 

/thnay/ 'day').

Nouns which are most commonly encountered as classifiers are;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kbaal</td>
<td>copies of books, volumes; livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knoon</td>
<td>houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuu</td>
<td>pairs of things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krōp</td>
<td>pellets, grains, tablets, bullets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krōn</td>
<td>machinery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cbap</td>
<td>copies of pamphlets, newspapers, magazines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daam</td>
<td>long, thin, sticklick objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dom</td>
<td>pieces and lumps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuo</td>
<td>letters of the alphabet, vehicle bodies, characters in a play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nʔ̄</td>
<td>ordinary people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prodap</td>
<td>suits of clothing; sets of tools and equipment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phaen</td>
<td>disks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>words, utterances, mouthfuls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruup</td>
<td>pictures, shapes, forms, images, persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonlak</td>
<td>sheets of paper, leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samrap</td>
<td>suits of clothing; sets of tools and equipment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>monks, exalted people, images of Buddha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before a classifier the number /muoy/ 'one' is reduced to /mo/ in normal speech, e.g., 

/srea madoop/ 'one bottle of liquor.' Other numbers are not affected.

In normal casual speech classifiers are omitted, except for /nʔ̄/ 'person.'

For some nouns, e.g., rooms and furniture, classifiers are almost never used. Use of classifiers is a signal of formal style; classifiers occur far more often in writing than in speech.

S.2.1.3 Word Order in the Noun Phrase

In contrast with the English noun phrase, in which the order of elements is fixed, there is considerable freedom in the Cambodian noun phrase. The primary restrictions on the Cambodian noun phrase are the following;
1. The demonstrative ('this, that') is normally the last element in a noun phrase, e.g. ពោធ្ធំៗ កនុង កូនៗ ពី និរ /khmaw day khnom pī nihr/ 'these two pencils of mine' (ពោធ្ធំៗ កនុង ផ្តេក កូនៗ /khmaw day/ 'pencil' ំ /khnom/ 'I' និរ /pī/ 'two' និ /nih/ 'this'). Note that a phrase containing រុណាម /reboh/ 'property of' may either precede or follow the demonstrative, e.g. ពោធ្ធំៗ រុណាម កនុង កូនៗ /khmaw day/ pī nihr reboh khnom/ រុណាម ពោធ្ធំៗ កនុង កូនៗ /khmaw day pī nihr reboh khnom nīh/ both of which mean 'these two pencils of mine.'

2. A pronoun in a noun phrase may not follow the number unless it occurs in the phrase រុណាម /reboh/ 'belonging to' plus pronoun, e.g. ពោធ្ធំៗ រុណាម កនុង កូនៗ /khmaw day pī nihr reboh khnom/ 'these two pencils of mine.'

3. Normally, but not necessarily, adjectives precede the number, e.g. កនុង មិន អាច ប់ ពី និរ /khmaw day thom lién pī nihr/ 'these two large yellow pencils' (មិន /thom/ 'large' សត妒 ឈោ /lién/ 'yellow'). There is no restriction on the order of adjectives, សត妒 /lién/ 'yellow, big' is as acceptable as ឈោ /thom lién/ 'big, yellow.'

### 1.2.2 Verb Phrases

The main type of construction in verb phrases in Cambodian is attribution. Verbal attributes occur following the main verb of a predicate or preceding it.

#### 1.2.2.1 Postverbal Attribution

Attributes which follow a verb may be:

1. a verb
   a. an action verb, e.g. កុំហាត់ /miyey lien/ 'to joke, to say in fun' (កុំហាត់ /miyey/ 'to speak' សត妒/leen/ 'to play') or បន្ទាន់ /srul theə/ 'easy to do' (បន្ទាន់/srul/ 'easy' ំ /theə/ 'to make, to do').
   b. an adjective (stative verb), e.g. មើលច្រើន /miyey cbah/ 'speak clearly' (មើល /cbah/ 'to be clear').

    When the number is followed by a classifier the adjectives must precede the number.
2. a noun, e.g. 

/niiyey vopothdə/ 'talk using elevated style' (vopothdə/ 'culture').

It may be that the object of a verb can be considered an attribute also. In this case, in normal discourse a nominal attribute immediately follows the verb and is then followed by other modifiers, e.g. 

/niiyey khmaə nıp/ 'he speaks Cambodian fast' (nıp/ 'rapidly'). Such an analysis would treat 

/lıaj day/ 'wash ones hands' (lıaj/ 'to wash' day/ 'hand, arm') as the same kind of construction as 

/sıuol khluon/ 'well, healthy' (srıuol/ 'easy, comfortable' khluon/ 'body').

If objects are treated as attributes of verbs, when there are two nominal attributes, the object is first, e.g. 

/mon kon yup/ 'to watch movies at night' (mon/ 'to look at' kon/ 'movie' yup/ 'night').

When the verb occurs with an indirect object, e.g. 

/aoey/ 'to give,' the situation is more complex. Here the order is:

/aoey plus direct object plus indirect object plus quantifier, e.g. 

/aoey luy khnom pıi rıel/ 'give me two riels' (more literally: give me money to the extent of two riels'). (aoey/luy/ 'money').

If any portion of this is deleted, the order of the remaining components remains the same.

For example, if the direct object /luy/ 'money' is deleted, the resulting sequence is 

/aoey khnom pıi rıel/ 'give me two riels,' but if the quantifier 

/pii rıel/ 'two riels' is deleted, the sequence is /aoey khnom/ 'give me money.' You will have to be very careful with this construction, since your habit in English is to put a pronominal indirect object first, as you can see in the translations of the above examples, in which 'me' always follows the verb and precedes the direct object.

In Cambodian the indirect object follows the verb only if the direct object has been deleted.

3. an indefinite, e.g. 

/miiyey mec/ 'how is it said?' (miiyey/mec/ 'how, why').

4. an adverbial, e.g. 

/niiyey thommedas/ 'to speak in an ordinary way' (thommedas/ 'ordinarily').

5. a phrase, e.g. 

/miiyey nıp cıan kee/ 'to speak fastest of all' (nıp/ 'rapid' cıan/ '(more) than' kee/ 'they').
6. A clause, e.g. តួជាតិដើម្បីប្រកប្រជ/niyey taem kót bokkôp/ 'to speak according to (how) he ordered' (សាត/taam/ 'according to', (following) គោ/kót/ 'he, she, they' លះបាញ់/bokkôp/ 'to order').

S.2.2.2 Preverbal Attribution

In preverbal attribution, a main verb may be modified by:

1. a verbal auxiliary (treated in greater detail at V.2.1), e.g.

   ទេ/trû/ 'must.'

2. an adverb

   a. a negator, e.g. មិនមាន/niyey/ 'didn't speak' (មិន/'mín/ 'not').

   b. a preverbal adverb, e.g. ក្នុងពេលណាមិន/coh ta/ niyey/ 'always speaks' (ក្នុង/coh/ 'always').

3. a verbal

   a. an adjective, e.g. សុីម/revu/ niyey/ 'busy talking' (សុី/revu/ 'busy')

   b. an action verb, e.g. ការស្វែងរក/kôt niyey/ 'to plan, to speak' (ការ/ kôt/ 'to think, to plan').

S.2.2.3 Two-Part Verbs

There are two types of two-part verb constructions: resultative verbs and verbs followed by an attributive motion verb.

S.2.2.3.1 Resultative Verbs

A very frequent attribution pattern in Cambodian is to follow a main verb by another which describes its possibility, its state of completion, or its result, e.g.

សុីម/revu/ meal dac/ 'to be able to read, to have read, to have read' (សុី/revu/ 'to look at, to read' មាន/dac/ 'to break apart').

This is not an ordinary case of a verb modifying a verb as described above in S.2.2.1, since in the case of an ordinary verb negation precedes the main verb, e.g. មិននូវ/niyey/ 'to say in fun' (មិន/ 'not' នូវ/niyey/ 'to speak' លោក/leen/ 'to play'). However, in the case of a resultative verb, the negator
precedes the second verb, e.g. ខុកឈម្នលេះ /meal min dac/ 'to be unable to read.'

Verbs which commonly occur in the second position in a resultative verb are:

1. ស្កា /khaan/ 'to fail,' e.g. អំពីគ្មានមិនបាន/roob min khaan/ 'will certainly come' (ស្កាត /roob/ 'to come'). ស្កា /khaan/ is generally used with a negative.

2. ស្កាត /khaen/ 'to see, catch sight of,' e.g. អំពីគ្មានមិនបាន /roob khaen/ 'to find' (ស្កាត /roob/ 'to look for').

3. អត្ត /cop/ 'to finish' e.g. អំពីគ្មានមិនបាន /roob cop/ 'to finish studying' (អត្ត /rien/ 'to study').

4. មនុស្ស /coul/ 'to enter, go in' can' អំពីគ្មានមិនបាន /roob 쿨/ 'can't learn' (អត្ត /rien/ 'to study').

5. ធ្លាក់ /cehn/ 'to go out,' e.g. អំពីគ្មានមិនបាន /roob 쿨/ 'can't think of anything' (ធ្លាក់ /cehn/ 'to think').

6. អំពីគ្មានមិនបាន /roob /rien/ 'to study without learning' (អត្ត /rien/ 'to study').

7. a. ក្តៅ /cop/ 'to stick; to win an election, to pass a test' e.g.

   អំពីគ្មានមិនបាន /proloam cop/ 'to pass a test' (អំពីគ្មានមិនបាន /proloam thlê/ 'to fail a test' (ស្កាត /thlê/ 'to fall').

   b. ឆ្លើយ /dac/ 'to break apart' e.g. អំពីគ្មានមិនបាន /roob dac/ 'to be able to read' (អត្ត /riec/ 'to read, to look at').

8. ខ្លា /tou / 'to catch up with, to be on time' e.g. អំពីគ្មានមិនបាន /dac min tou kêt/ 'to walk but be unable to catch up with him' (ស្កាត /dac/ 'to walk' ការ /kêt/ 'he, she, they').

9. កាត់ /thum/ 'to smell' អំពីគ្មានមិនបាន /rue min thum/ 'to be unable to smell' (ស្កាត /hst/ 'to sniff').

10. ធ្លាក់ /thlê/ 'to fall' អំពីគ្មានមិនបាន /roob thlê/ 'to push (it) off' (ស្កាត /ruu/ 'to push').

11. ស្កាត /baan/

   a. 'can, to be able' e.g. អំពីគ្មានមិនបាន /prac baan/ 'can use' (ស្កាត /prac/ 'to use').
b. 'to get, acquire' e.g. កាន់មាន /bañ män baan sê/ 'went hunting and didn't get anything' (កាន់ /bañ/ 'to shoot' សុ /sê/ 'anything'). When កាន់ /baan/ has this meaning it is normally used with an object.

12. រុយ /ruoç/ 'to get free of, clear of' ការណ៍ /dae phot/ 'to walk clear of' (ការណ៍ /dae/ 'to walk').

13. ហ្លារ /thee rucoc/ 'to finish' ហ្លារ /thee ruoc/ 'to finish doing' (ហ្លារ /thee/ 'to do, to make').

14. សេរី /ld'/ 'to fall asleep,' e.g. ការណ៍ /deek ld'/ 'to sleep soundly' (ការណ៍ /deek/ 'to lie down, go to sleep, to sleep').

15. ស្តែង /srac/ 'to be ready, finished' ស្តែង /thee srac/ 'to have done already.'

16. ស្ហែ /ld'/ /sdp mën lii/ 'can't hear' (ស្ហែ /sdp/ 'to listen')

3.2.2.3.2 Attributive Motion Verbs

In many cases an action verb may be followed by an attributive motion verb from the following list:

- ការណ៍ /taw/ 'go (away from speaker)'
- ស្ហែ /ceñ/ 'to go out'
- ស្ហែ /laeñ/ 'to ascend'
- ស្ហែ /môo/ 'come'
- ស្ហែ /couï/ 'to enter'
- ស្ហែ /coh/ 'to descend'

In some cases the attributive motion verb simply adds its meaning, e.g. ស្តែង /riç /sraen couï môo/ 'please come in' (ស្តែង /riç /sraen/ 'please; to invite'). In this example ស្តែង /sraen/ 'enter' is the main verb and ស្តែង /môo/ 'come' is the attribute.

In some other cases the combination of verbs is idiomatic; that is, the whole is different from the sum of the parts. An example of such an idiom is ការណ៍ /chap laeñ/ 'hurry up' (ការណ៍ /chap/ 'quick'). It happens that this idiom corresponds almost word for word to its English translation, but remember that in English 'hurry up' is an idiom too.
The motion verbs /təw/ 'to go' and /coh/ 'to descend' have also been frozen as imperative particles, e.g. /niıyey coh/ 'go ahead and say (it).'

/təw/ marks a command, e.g. /mool təw/ 'read it,' /coh/ usually has a connotation of giving permission. In time expressions /moo/ 'to come' gives a meaning of 'approaching the present from the past,' e.g. /kروا/ /moo/ 'later on (in the past),' while /təw/ 'to go' gives a sense of extension into the future, e.g. /kee mën thee oňčen təw/ 'they'll (go on) doing like that;' (kee /kee/ 'he, she, they' /mën/ 'will' /thee/ 'to do' oňčen/ 'like that, thus').

3.2.2.4 Preverbal Word Order in the Verb Phrase

Normal preverbal word order in a verb phrase with only one main verb is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>preverbal adverb</th>
<th>negator</th>
<th>auxiliary</th>
<th>attributive verb</th>
<th>main verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kot</td>
<td>ońtae</td>
<td>mën</td>
<td>con</td>
<td>cap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'He never wants to start studying.'

Deletion of any of these elements does not affect the order, e.g. if /mën/ 'not' is deleted, the sentence above is:

köt ońtae con cap rięn

He always wants to start studying.

In literary style a preverbal adverb or auxiliary may occur before the subject, e.g.

krow via moô s'ask

must he come tomorrow

He must come tomorrow.

3. The word 'future' here is relative to a time indicated in the context, not necessarily to the time following the utterance.
This sentence is a literary variation of the more commonly used ត្រូវម៉ូ ស្រួក/ ត្រូវម៉ូ ស្រួក/ 'He must come tomorrow.'

In many cases there is more than one main verb, either because a set of coordinate events is described without coordinating relators or because a sequence of events is described by a sequence of verbs. An example of the first type is:

push pull jerk-across jerk-back hit jerk back-to whip break-up-cause melt from on earth.
Push them, pull them, jerk them back and forth, so they will disappear from the face of the earth.

In this example there are eight coordinate verbs (from ត្រូវ/ ម៉ូ/ to កែរ/ រដ្ឋ/) and two verbs in constructions សំញ/ ស្រួត/ 'to give; cause' and រុញមូ/ រុញ/ 'to melt.'
Thus there are ten verbs stacked up, and to sort them out you need to know about Cambodian structure.

An example of the second type, in which the verbs appear in the sequence in which the actions they describe occur is the following:

they dare arrive go enter come destroy cause quick exhaust airplane we they dared to arrive, enter, and quickly destroy all our airplanes.

In this example there are nine verbs, all in sequence. Note that they cannot all be translated into English.

This kind of construction may not seem so strange to you if you think of a construction like:

Defense Language Institute Language Materials Preparation Project Funds
which is perfectly acceptable English. Here there are eight nouns coming one after another.
It happens that Cambodian does not stack nouns up like this, and English does not stack up verbs. But in both cases an elementary knowledge of grammar is sufficient to permit the learner to sort out the structure.
3.3 Clauses

In English most clauses have the structure subject-verb-object, with the possibility of an added topic before the subject, e.g. 'John, we saw him yesterday.' The majority of Cambodian clauses also have this structure (optional components in parentheses):

(topic) + (subject) + verb + (object)

as well as assorted adverbials and auxiliaries discussed in detail elsewhere. An example of a clause with all the major components is:

ការណាគឺសម្រាប់ច្រើនរដ្ឋាភិបាល

kasat nih kee lid? craen obap

newspaper this they sell many copy

This newspaper, they sell many copies.

If the topic has the same referent as another nominal in the clause, that nominal is either omitted, e.g.

ការណាហួតួយ

puo' nuk khnom s'op naa

group that I hate very

I really hate that bunch.

or else a pronoun replaces it:

ការណាហួតួយ (pronoun subject)

modaay khnom kot slap taw yuus hasy

mother my she die (to) long-time already

My mother, she died a long time ago.

Dependent clauses also have this word order but do not usually include a topic. Attributive clauses are introduced either by បៃបៃ /dael/'which, that' or by no word at all (cf. 3.2.1.1.5), e.g.

__

4. Note that in the case of certain predicate nominative constructions, e.g. បំបាញ /thnay nih thnay can/'today is Monday' (តារ /thnay/'day', តារ /thnay can, 'Monday') the copula may be realized by បៃ, that is, the spoken or written sentence will have no verb.
sah (daal) osh khmār mān bāc rīn tīt
Student (who) know Cambodian not-need study further
Students who know Cambodian need not study any more.

The word ဒီမှာ /daal/ also means 'the one(s) that', e.g.

ဒီမှာသို့နေသောပါအေရီရှိတိုက်
daal yeen traw-kaa yee yóo tīw
ones—that we need we take to
The ones we need we’ll take along.

In this position ဒီမှာ is obligatory; to omit it takes away the meaning of the sentence.

Another use for ဒီမှာ is in a predicate nominative type of construction in which
there is no verb, e.g.

ဒီမှာ(ဒီမှာ) ကိုယ်စိတ်ကိုချင်း ကိုယ်စိတ်ကိုချင်းရှိတိုက်
riēn mān (hāsy) daal khnom liat māw phtsh kee
story that (already) that I hear at house he/they
It was that story that I heard at his house.

This construction is particularly characteristic of literary style.

Adverbial clauses are introduced by appropriate clause relators. The most
general of these is ဒီမှာ /daoy/, which indicates that the action in the clause it intro-
duces is a contributing factor to the action of the clause to which it is related, e.g.

ကိုယ်စိတ်ကိုချင်း နှေးကြည်တိုက်
kee daʔ-tooh via daoy via thee-baap kruu
they punish him given—that he mistreat teacher
They punished him for giving the teacher a hard time.

Other, more specific, clause relators, e.g. အရာ /kaal/ 'when' or အရာ /pən/ 'because,' are treated below at R.3.2.

Clauses which are embedded in other clauses as indirect discourse or as indirect
questions maintain the usual word order, e.g.

via chlaay thaa mdaay mën-t ön srul-khluon

he answer that mother not-yet well

He answered that his mother was not yet feeling well.

Here the embedded clause is mdaay mën t ön srul kluon/ 'His mother is not yet feeling well.' When it is embedded it undergoes no change at all. In line with this absence of effect on the embedded clause, a topic can occur in the embedded clause with complete freedom. Thus, for instance, the embedded clause of the above example could as easily be mdaay via, kót mën t ön srul kluon/ 'His mother, she's not well yet.'

S.4 Sentences

A sentence consists of at least one clause. A sentence may be positive, negative, or interrogative. Characteristic of sentence level constructions are the indefinites, a group of words which are treated at the end of this section.

S.4.1 Sentence Composition

Clauses are combined into sentences by coordination, subordination, and embedding.

S.4.1.1 Coordination

Coordination of clauses is accomplished either by placing the coordinated clauses next to one another (parataxis) or by use of a clause relator.

An example of parataxis is:

khyol bo? sīvak chse thil?
wind blow leaf tree fall
(with) the wind blows, the leaves fall.5

Only intonation and a slight pause indicate the boundary between the two clauses.

5. This first clause could also be subordinate in some contexts—cf. S.4.1.2.
There is a set of clause relators the members of which coordinate clauses (cf. R.3.1). The most important of those are សិក្សានែវ/ ហាសុវ/ 'and,' សិ /រី/ 'or,' សិ /ពងតារ/ or សិ /តារ/ 'but,' and សិ /កោ/ 'that is to say.' For example:

សិក្សានែវ សិក្សានែវ សិក្សានែវ សិក្សានែវ

via thea baay hasy khnom samaat phtheh
he make rice and I clean house

He cooks and I clean house.

S.4.1.2 Subordination

For the most part subordination is accomplished by a member of the set of clause relators treated below at R.3.2, e.g. សិក្សានែវ / puth / 'because' or សិ / bas / 'if.'

សិ / bas / khnom mian luy khnom twa
if I have money I go
If I have money, I'll go.

Adjacent clauses may form a sentence that can be translated into English with a subordinating conjunction, however the exact relation between the clauses can be determined only from context.

កោ / khnom mian luy khnom twa
I have money I go
If I have money, I'll go. (or 'When I have money,' or 'Because I have money.').

S.4.1.3 Embedding

Embedding occurs most frequently in relative clauses and indirect discourse. Relative clauses (cf. S.3 above) may be introduced by the word សិ / das / but often are not. In indirect discourse the embedded phrase or clause is usually introduced by សិ / thaa /, which literally means 'to say' but before an indirect statement or question means 'that,' e.g.
They told (me) he's come already.

The word /thaː/ 'that' also precedes direct quotations, so that the above example could be translated 'they told (me) "He's come already."'. With /dəŋ/ 'to know (a fact)' under certain circumstances /cia/ is used instead of /thaː/. Specifically, /cia/ is used when the embedded clause has no subject and indicates that /dəŋ/ is negative, e.g.

khnom dəŋ cia tiw rït mën tiw tee
I know that go or not go (negation)
I don't know whether (he's) going.

In a positive sentence of this sort /cia/ is not used; in a negative sentence either /cia/ or /thaː/ /thaː/ may occur, e.g.

khnom mën dəŋ cia tiw rït mën tiw tee
thaː
I not know that go or not go (negation)
I don't know if (he's) going or not.

If /thaː/ is used in a negative sentence, a negator, e.g. /mën/ 'not,' must precede /dəŋ/; if /cia/ is used, the negator is optional. When the embedded clause contains a subject, /dəŋ/ must be followed by /thaː/ /thaː/ whether positive or negative, e.g.

khnom (mën) dəŋ thaː via tiw rït mën tiw tee
I (not) know that he go or not go (negation)
I (don't) know whether he's going or not.

Both /thaː/ and /cia/ may be omitted.
3.4.2 Sentence Types

Other than the ordinary positive type of sentence there are negative and interrogative sentences, much as in English.

3.4.2.1 Negative Sentences

Negation is accomplished by means of a negator particle (cf. A.2) េ/pum/, េ/män/, or េ/ot/ occurring before the main verb (cf. 3.2.2.4 for a description of the position of the negator in the clause). More frequently than not at the end of the clause the final particle េ/tee/ is used, e.g.

ក្រុមមន្តន្តតូច
I not know (negation)
I don't know.

In the case of indirect discourse, េ/tee/ may either precede the embedded clause, e.g.

ក្រុមមន្តន្តតូចជាជាទារាាឈ្កពៀរ
I not know (negation) that he come
I didn't know he was coming.

or follows its

ក្រុមមន្តន្តតូចជាជាទារាាឈ្កពៀរ
I didn't know he was coming.

Other negator words which can also be used with េ/tee/ are េ/män tăn/ 'not yet,' េ/män dael/ 'have never' and េ/män bac/ 'need not.' In all cases េ/pum/ or េ/ot/ can be substituted for េ/män/.

3.4.2.2 Interrogative Sentences

Interrogation is a somewhat more complex matter in Cambodian than in negation. There are basically two types of interrogations: alternation questions and information questions. Any question, whether direct or indirect, alternation or information, may be
preceded by the particle /tas/, which announces that a question follows, e.g.

\[ \text{tae via dan tee} \]

\[ \text{khnom suo (thaa) tae via dan tee} \]

\[ \text{question he know (negation)} \]

\[ \text{I ask (that) (question) he know (negation)} \]

\[ \text{Does he know?} \]

\[ \text{I asked if he knows.} \]

/tae/ is never obligatory; it is used mostly in formal discourse.

3.4.2.2 Alternation Questions

An alternation question is asked by coordinating two alternatives by the clause

\[ /rit/ \] 'or,' e.g.

\[ \text{look meal rít sdap} \]

\[ \text{sir read or listen} \]

\[ \text{Are you reading or listening?} \]

A special case of an alternation question is the kind that asks 'yes or no?,' e.g.

\[ \text{look meal rít mín meal tee} \]

\[ \text{sir read or not read (negation)} \]

\[ \text{Are you reading or aren't you?} \]

This sentence may be reduced to:

\[ \text{look meal rít tee} \]

\[ \text{are you reading or not?} \]

with no meaning change, and still further reduced to:

\[ \text{look meal tee} \]

\[ \text{Are you reading?} \]

This last is the normal form of a confirmation (yes-no) question; that is, the normal affirmative clause is followed by /tee/ and has rising intonation. Another reduction of
/rɪk/ tee/ is to /rɪk/. This also asks a confirmation question (cf. A.3.4g), e.g.

kee oh thee rɪk?
they know-how do or
Do they know how to do it?

in this usage can also be a reduction of rɪs /rɪk sy/ 'or what?'

Another case of an alternation question is the សេដ្ឋកិច្ច/hasy rɪk new/ question that asks 'have...yet?’, e.g.

look meal cop hasy rɪk new
sir read finish already or not-yet
Have you finished reading (it) yet?

This kind of question can be reduced in casual speech to /rɪmew/.

3.4.2.2.2 Information Questions

An information question is one which asks for a specific point of information: who, what, which one, when, where why, how? For this a special set of words are used:

/xy/ 'what?'; /naa/ 'which one?, where?'; /mkaal/ 'when (non-past)?';
/rɪmec/ (or /mdeec/) 'how?, why?' and /pamaan/ 'how much?'. From these words and other words are built the other members of the class of words that ask information questions (an asterisk precedes those which are not also members of the class of indefinites treated below at S.4.3) are used only in questions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/nɛʔnaa/</td>
<td>'who'</td>
<td>from /nɛʔ/ 'person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛmna/</td>
<td>'where'</td>
<td>/ɛʔ/ 'at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kaalna/</td>
<td>'when (non-past)';</td>
<td>/kaal/ 'time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* /pii mkaal/</td>
<td>'when (past)'</td>
<td>/piʔ/ 'from'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hast sy/</td>
<td>'why?'</td>
<td>/hast/ 'reason'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yaan mec/</td>
<td>'how, why'</td>
<td>/yaan/ 'style, way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/thee sy/</td>
<td>'for what purpose'</td>
<td>/thee/ 'to do, make'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* /mec koo/</td>
<td>'why, how'</td>
<td>/koo/ 'medial particle' (cf. A.3.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In English when we ask a question we generally start the clause with the question word, e.g. 'whom did they see?' However, in Cambodian the word order in an interrogative sentence is exactly the same as that of the affirmative sentence to which it is related and which is its fullest answer. For example:

```
kee khean nô?nâa
they see who

Whom did they see?

kee khean sok
they see Sok

They saw Sok
```

In both cases the word order is subject-verb-object.

The following words may (but need not) occur in the sentence initially even though they are not the subject of the sentence: ဖင်ကြည်မည်/ (pi) မည်/ ဗ်/ 'when,' ရေ/ မ/ 'how, why,' မိ/ 'where,' မိဗ်/ 'when,' က/ 'why,' ဗ်/ 'how, why.' For example:

```
arâa miây via?
where mother he

Where's his mother?

miây via (mi) arâa?
mother he (at) where
```

One such word, ကြည်မည် /mec koo/ always occurs clause initially, e.g.

```
mec-koo kee mân rien?
why they not study

Why aren't they studying?
```

The word က/ 'what' (or colloquially, ကြည်/ 'they') may be used attributively, e.g. ကြည်မည်/ ဗ်/ 'what kind of car.' When it contrasts in this position with မိ/ 'which (one),' မိဗ်/ 'which specific, individual one,' and က/ 'what' means 'what kind of.' For example, ကြည်မည်/ ဗ်/ is 'what (kind of) car' but မိဗ်/ ဗ်/ is 'which car (of several cars we know about).'
3.4.3 Indefinites

In English we have a set of question words, e.g. who, what etc. In addition we have indefinite pronouns many of which are related to these question words, e.g. whoever, anything, nothing, no-one, wherever, etc. In Cambodian there is one set of words which do all the things English question words and indefinite words do.

There are five basic indefinites which combine with other words to form the full set of indefinites. The basic indefinites are listed below with the kinds of grammatical unit for which they substitute:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indefinite</th>
<th>Substitutes for</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ស្មាត /sy/ 'what, whatever, anything, nothing, none'</td>
<td>noun; attributive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ស៊្មាត /s?sy/ colloquial version of ស្មាត /sy/</td>
<td>noun; attributive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>មក /maa/ 'which, whichever, any, not anywhere, wherever, anywhere, nowhere</td>
<td>attributive noun indicating location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>មក /mykaal/ 'when, whenever'</td>
<td>noun indicating time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ម៉ា /mec/ 'how, why, however, any way, in no way'</td>
<td>clause;phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ម៉ា /mdec/ is a more formal version of ម៉ា /mec/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ព្រឹមាការ /pormaa, pemasan/ 'how much, however much, any amount'</td>
<td>a quantity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compound indefinites (cf. also 3.4.2.2) combine a basic indefinite and another word to make a compound which occurs in the same syntactic positions as the basic indefinites. Compound indefinites are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound Indefinite</th>
<th>Substitutes for</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>នំញ /ne?maa/ 'who, whoever, anyone, no one'</td>
<td>noun designating a person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>កណ្តាខាឈ /amaa/ 'where, wherever, anywhere, nowhere'</td>
<td>noun designating a place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>កណ្តាខាឈ /kaal maa/ 'when, whenever, at any time, at no time'</td>
<td>noun designating a time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>កណ្តាខាឈ /haet sy/ 'why, for whatever reason, for any reason, for no reason'</td>
<td>clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>កណ្តាខាឈ /thee sy/ 'for what purpose, for whatever purpose, for any purpose, for no purpose'</td>
<td>clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>កណ្តាខាឈ /yaan mec/ 'how, why; however, wherever, any way, for any reason, no way, for no reason'</td>
<td>clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>កណ្តាខាឈ /pennaas/ 'how big, what size'</td>
<td>noun or demonstrative indicating size</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of uses of indefinites follow, arranged according to their English translation. In most cases examples are based on /nê?’naa/ ‘who, etc.’

**who**

сутрта мы?  
nê?’naa con tâu?  
who want go  
Who wants to go?

**everyone**

сутрта монан  
nê?’naa koo den dae  
who (particle) know also  
Everyone knows (that),

**no-one, not anyone**

сутрта монан  
khôn màn skôl nê?’naa nôw nîh têe  
I not know who at this (negation)  
I don’t know anyone here.

**whoever, anyone who**

сутрта монан  
nê?’naa cê? nôn trow thêe  
who know-how person that must do  
Whoever knows how to do it must do it.

**someone (who)**

сутрта монан  
khôn trow kaa nê?’naa (dael) cê  
I need who (that) know-how  
I need someone who knows how.

**anyone**

сутрта монан  
nê?’naa koo baan  
who (particle) o.k.  
Anyone will do; anyone is o.k.
someone

prohæl khnom skol nœ'naa nœw mën
maybe I know who at that

Maybe I know someone there.

(But equally often ‘someone’ is translated ꦲ ꦾ ꦹ ꦳ ꦷ ꦴ ꦺ ꦼ /kee/, ꦵ ꦾ ꦳ ꦷ ꦴ ꦺ ꦼ ꦿ ꦰ /nœ'naa mën/, ꦮ ꦰ ꦳ ꦷ ꦴ ꦺ ꦢ ꦿ ꦰ /menuh mën/, or just ꦹ ꦶ ꦷ ꦴ ꦺ ꦼ ꦿ ꦰ /mën/.)

however many

kee cap trey baan tên pormañ lu? tên pormañ
they catch fish get all how-many sell all that-much

However many fish they catch they sell (they sell all the fish they catch).

as much as

nœm pormañ kœ baan daê
eat/drink how-much (particle) can also
You can drink as much as you like.
Word Classes

Introduction

Cambodian words can be divided into four major classes on the basis of the other words they occur with (syntactic criteria) and on the basis of internal similarities between members of the same class (morphological criteria). The four classes are:

1. **Nominals**: words which can serve only as subject but not as predicate of a major clause.¹

2. **Verbals**: words which may serve either as predicate or as subject of a major clause.

3. **Adverbials**: words which can be neither subject nor predicate and which do not connect any two units.

4. **Relators**: words which can be neither subject nor predicate and which connect two phrases or two clauses.

¹ There are minor clause types in which a noun serves as predicate.
Nominals

There are three types of nominal in Cambodian: pronouns, demonstratives, and nouns.

N.1  Pronouns

Cambodian can use either a pronoun or a noun in positions where English uses a pronoun. Where pronouns are used, they are not inflected; that is, they do not indicate person, number, gender, or case. However, where there is more than one pronoun corresponding to one English word, the relative age or status of the speaker and the addressee or the person to whom a third-person pronoun refers will determine the choice of pronoun.

N.1.1  First Person

N.1.1.1  Singular

\textit{\textbf{\textit{I}}} /kʰnom/ 'I' is the usual and most neutral first person singular pronoun. A foreign speaker can safely use \textit{\textbf{\textit{I}}} in almost all circumstances. (Originally \textit{\textbf{\textit{I}}} meant 'servant, slave' and as a noun still has this meaning, though it usually occurs in construction with another word as a noun, e.g., \textit{\textbf{\textit{bomae}}}/kʰnom bomae/ 'servant'.)

\textit{\textbf{\textit{aŋ}}} /aŋ/ 'I' is used when the addressee is intimate with the speaker, much younger, or of inferior social status. The corresponding second person form is \textit{\textbf{\textit{aŋ}}} /aŋ/ 'you'.

\textit{\textbf{\textit{knis}}} /knis/ 'I' is used when the addressee is intimate or very friendly with the speaker.

\textit{\textbf{\textit{yoan}}} /yoan/ 'I' is used when the addressee is intimate or very friendly with the speaker. It is used mostly in Phnom Penh, especially among girls from the upper classes. In writing \textit{\textbf{\textit{yoan}}} /yoan/ is also used to represent 'I' when a god speaks.

\textit{\textbf{\textit{asame}}} /asamea/ or \textit{\textbf{\textit{asameap}}} /asameapiap/ 'I' is used by a Buddhist monk.

\textit{\textbf{\textit{kʰnom baat}}} /kʰnom baat/ 'I' is used by a man to show deference.

\textit{\textbf{\textit{niŋ kʰnom}}} /niŋ kʰnom/ 'I' is used by a woman to show deference.

\textit{\textbf{\textit{kʰnom (prer)}}}/kʰnom (prer) k eruana/ is used by a layman when speaking to a monk or to someone of royal blood.
N.1.1.2 Plural

rong /rong/ 'we.' This is the general, neutral form.

rong khnom /rong khnom/ 'we.' Another generally used form.

khnom keruea ton laoy /khnom keruea ton laoy/ 'we.' This is used by laymen addressing a Buddhist monk or person of royal blood.

Titles and appropriate kinship terms are also used to refer to oneself, e.g.

poun maan den tee /poun maan den tee/ is literally 'younger sibling doesn't know' but in some contexts means 'I don't know,' if the speaker has a relation to the addressee such that the speaker could be addressed as poun /poun/ 'younger sibling.'

N.1.2 Second Person

an /an/ is used with an intimate, much younger, or socially inferior addressee. Singular an corresponds to the first person form anan /anan/.

In all other cases the person's name, his title, or a kinship noun appropriate to his age and status is the appropriate form of address. The ways of addressing and referring to people using nouns rather than pronouns is discussed below at U.3. However, some examples are given below:

look kruu /look kruu/ 'teacher' used with one's male teacher (female equivalent:

ru /ru/ 'teacher').

puu /puu/ 'uncle (younger than one's parent)' used with a male of similar or lower social status who is of the same age as one's parents or a little younger. (female equivalent: min /min/ 'younger aunt').

sok /sok/ or sok an /sok an/ 'Sok' (a name) used with contemporaries, juniors, and inferiors. Used with members of either sex.

N.1.3 Third Person

There is no number distinction in Cambodian third-person pronouns; all of them may have one or many referents.

kot /kot/ is used to refer to individuals, especially those whom one respects.
It would not be used to refer to one's juniors or social inferiors. It must be used in referring to one's parents, older relatives, teachers, etc. A wife normally refers to her husband as េិីឹ /boon/.

៥ី /kee/ is used for casual acquaintances, people whose relationship to the speaker is distant, people of uncertain identity, people to whom one is fairly close, and one's juniors. It is also the form used for impersonal expressions in which 'they' is used in English, e.g. ៥ីីឹ /kee thaa/ 'they say...'. You will be tempted to use េិឹី /kot/ for 'he/she' and ៥ី /kee/ for 'they' because of your English habits, but remember that the important thing in Cambodian is not number but relationship between speaker and referent.

ី /via/ is used to refer to things, animals, small children (especially one's own), intimates, and social inferiors. It is also used, especially in casual speech, as an expletive like 'it' in English 'it is hot', e.g.

ីឃុំបញ្ជាក់ថាមវធិីកាម

khnom thaa via kdaw nah

'I say it's very hot.'

Literary style, however, does not use this expletive ី and you should probably avoid it until you have a good idea of the kinds of circumstances in which it is used, since they will not necessarily conform to English usage.

As was the case in the second person, titles, kinship terms, and names can be used where English would use a third-person pronoun. For example, េិីឹឈិរីីីីី /boon tw saalaa haay/ can mean 'He has gone to school already' (េិឹ /boon/ in fact means 'older sibling' but in appropriate contexts can be used where English would use a pronoun).

The normal translations of 'he, they' for Buddhist monks are ម្រូមុូ /look/ 'sir, lord' or េីូលី /preh m/ '(holy) body.'

Pronoun usage is also discussed in the chapter on Vocabulary and Usage.

Demonstratives

The three most common Cambodian demonstratives នី /nib/ នីី /nib/ , and
2. /nám/ is Phnom Penh pronunciation.

2. /nám/ are used both: 1) as attributes, e.g. /laan nih/ 'this car' and 2) alone, e.g. /muh cia riən thom haŋg/ 'that is a grave matter.'

Following a locative word like /niə/ 'at' the demonstratives mean 'here, there,' e.g.

niə nih miən meən həaŋ peək
'There are too many people here.'

In meaning /niə/ corresponds well to English 'this' and /muh/ to 'that,' but /nám/ may be translated either 'this' or 'that' depending on the context in which it occurs. In fact the meaning of /nám/ is something like 'the one I'm talking about, the one under discussion,' e.g.

nám haŋg
'That's it; yes.'

/muh/ and /nám/ may be used in casual style at the end of a verb phrase to indicate that the action is going on at the time of speaking, much like English 'there' in:

look thee sə nám
'What are you doing there?'

Less common demonstratives are /nəə/ 'yonder, over there,' which has a kind of pointing connotation, and /nən/ which has the same meaning as /nám/ but is limited to spoken usage; it is not characteristic of written usage.

Nouns

In English, nouns are inflected for number (singular vs. plural), e.g. boy, boys, and in many European languages they are inflected not only for number, but for gender (masculine, feminine, neuter) and case (nominative, genitive, dative, etc.) as well. However, in Cambodian nouns are not inflected at all; a noun keeps the same form no matter what its
syntactic environment. Thus a noun like ឈារ /sophw/ means either 'book' or 'books.' Generally the context in which the noun is used is sufficient to make the number clear if such clarity is necessary.

To be sure, while nouns are not inflected, there do exist ways of specifying such common Indo-European categories as number. For instance, the word ឈារ /sophw/ 'book' can be followed by the word ក្រុ /krah/ 'some' to make an indefinite plural 'some books, books' (but note that English 'the books' would never be translated as ឈារ /sophw krah/). Another pluralizer is តារ /tan lay/, which pluralizes definite nouns, e.g. ឈារ /tan lay/ 'the books.' Likewise gender can be ascribed by following the noun by the appropriate word. ម្ត្រី /proh/ '(human) male:' ម្ត្រី /proh/ '(human) female,' ម្ត្រី /chmool/ '(animal) male:' ម្ត្រី /nih/ '(animal) female. For example:

ឈារ /smien proh/ 'a male secretary'

តារ /tia nih/ 'female duck'

Case relations (actor, goal, location, etc.) are expressed by paraphrastic or syntactic means, e.g.

ឈារ ការ /khnom aoy Lucy kót

I'll give him some money,

in which ឈារ /khnom/ 'I' is the agent, ការ /aoy/ 'money' is direct object, and ការ /kót/ 'him' is indirect object. These functions are all determined by the positions of the three nominals relative to the verb សូ /aoy/ 'give' and to each other.

There are three types of noun with respect to composition: root nouns, complex nouns, and compound nouns. Root nouns cannot be analyzed into any smaller meaningful components, e.g. ទូរ /chka/ 'dog,' ដេន្យ /kasat/ 'newspaper.' Complex nouns include at least one prefix or infix, e.g. ដេន្យ/boj /kast/ 'to originate' (/boj/ 'causative prefix' + /kast/ 'to be born, arise') or សូ /s'amuo/ 'question' (/s'uo/ 'to ask' + /-oan/- 'nominalizing infix.') A compound noun is a noun composed of at least two other words, which if they are nouns may in turn be either root nouns or complex nouns, e.g. ម្ត្រី /keck //kast/ 'matter,' ម្ត្រី (kec/ 'matter, affair' + /kaa/ 'work, matter') or សូ /s'amuo-conlay/ 'questions and answers' (/s'amuo/ 'question' + /conlay/ 'answer').
In most cases, complex nouns are derivatives of root nouns. That is, both the root noun and the complex noun are members of a group of words which are related in both form and meaning, e.g.

- /kast/ 'to be born'
- /knaet/ 'period of the waxing moon'
- /komnaet/ 'birth, origin'
- /bonkast/ 'to found, to originate'  

all of which are formally related by the sharing of the phoneme sequence /kast/ and semantically related by the idea of birth, rising and the like. With exceptions as noted below, these affixes are not fully productive; that is, you cannot freely add an affix to a root noun (or any other kind of base) to get a noun that is acceptable to native speakers or which bears the same semantic relation to the root word as the model on which you made your analogy. This means that you will have to learn derivatives as separate vocabulary items, but the similarities between members of a derivative group like the /kast/ group above may help you recognize and learn new words faster.

Below are listed some of the most common affixes occurring in complex nouns.

### Prefixes

1. /bon-/ 'nominalization of a root verb,' e.g. /bontuk/ 'a load' from /tuk/ 'to keep, to put.' Note that this prefix is pronounced as follows:
   a. /bon/ before /p, b/, e.g. /bomp/ 'upper garment' from /p/ 'to wear above the waist.'
   b. /bon/ before /t, d, s, l/, e.g. /bontuk/ 'a load' from /tuk/ 'to keep, to put.'

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3. These examples are taken from Huffman 1967 p.66.

4. I am indebted to Huffman 1967 for much of the basis of the following treatment of prefixes and infixes; a fuller treatment of this aspect of Cambodian grammar may be found in his work.
c. */boŋ/ before /c/ (there are no nominal examples for this rule, but verbs with the prefix ဗုံး /boŋ-/ follow it (cf. V.3.2.1 (8) below)).

d. /boŋ/ elsewhere, e.g. ဗုံး /boŋkan/ 'handle, railings' from ကန /kan/ 'to hold.'

2. ဗုး /pro-/ 'nominalization of root verb;' e.g. ဗုး /provaen/ 'length' from ဗုး /veen/ 'long.'

3. ဗုး /prəh-/ (in fast speech /pro-/ ) 'sacred, royal' e.g. ဗုး /prəh aat/ 'the sun' from ညှိုး /aat/ 'sun, week.' The word ဗုး is used frequently with words relating to royalty. It is productive.

4. ဗုး /me-/ from ဗုး /myoy/ 'one,' e.g. ဗုး /mayaen/ 'one kind of' from ဗုး /yaen/ 'kind.'

5. ဗုး /saŋ-/ 'nominalization of a root verb,' e.g. ဗုး /saŋkat/ 'sector, quarter' from က /kat/ 'to cut.' This prefix follows the same pronunciation rule as ဗုး /boŋ-/ above.

6. ဗုး /saŋ-/ 'nominalization of a root verb,' e.g. ဗုး /saŋbaoh/ 'broom' from ဗုး /baoh/ 'to sweep.' This prefix follows the same rules as ဗုး /boŋ-/ above.

7. ဗုး /aa-/ with adjectives and demonstratives means 'the...one,' e.g. ဗုး /aa touc/ 'the small one' from ဗုး /touc/ 'small.' With nouns, names, and pronouns it has a diminutive, derogatory, or intimate meaning, e.g. ဗုး /aaphaalaa/, Phala (a name) (used with a child or inferior). This prefix is productive.

N.3.1.2 Infixed

The infixes are not given below in Cambodian script, since they will ordinarily be represented by a subscript consonant form or sub-syllabic vowel-consonant sequence. However, the examples are supplied in script as well as in transcription.

1. /-b-/ 'nominalization of root verb,' e.g. ဗုး /ibion/ 'speed' from ဗုး /ibon/ 'fast.' If the root verb begins with /r/, the derivative begins with the syllable /ro/, e.g. ဗုး /roban/ 'dance (n.)' from ဗုး /rom/ 'to dance.'
2. 

/-m-/ 'nominalization of a root verb,' e.g. ២៤៨ /khnaet/ 'period of waxing moon' from ២៤៨/kast/ 'to be born.' If the root verb begins with /d/, the derivative begins with /t/ (transliterated th); if the root verb begins with /b/, the derivative begins with /p/ (transliterated ph), e.g. ៣៤៨ /tnol/ 'punting pole' from ៣៤៨/daol/ 'to punt' or ៣៤៨ /phnok/ 'a piece' from ៣៤៨ /bakt/ 'to shatter.' If the root verb begins with /r/, the first syllable of the derivative is /ro/, e.g. ២៤៨ /ronch/ 'a rake' from ២៤៨/rōń/ 'to rake.'

3. 

/-m-/- 'nominalization of root verb.' This infix takes two forms:

/-m-/ occurs in cases where the base begins with a consonant sequence, e.g. ២៤៨ /samlo/ 'stew' from ២៤៨ /slō/ 'to stew.' However, if the base begins with a single consonant, the infix takes the form /-m-/ , e.g. ២៤៨ /samon/ 'question' from ២៤៨ /so/ 'to ask.' In some cases the vowel of the infix is /u/ (/-um-/-, /-um-/ -), e.g. ២៤៨ /lumō/ 'beauty' from ២៤៨ /lōo/ 'good, pretty' or ២៤៨ /cumōn/ 'illness' from ២៤៨ /chōń/ 'sick, ill.' Base initial /p,t/ become /b,d/ before this infix.

In a few cases the base is a root noun, e.g. ២៤៨ /cón/ 'floor, stratum.'

4. 

/-m-/ 'nominalization of root verb; e.g. ២៤៨ /smbot/ 'oath' from ២៤៨ /sbot/ 'to swear.' In cases where the root verb begins with /p/ or /t/ (often transliterated ph and th, respectively), the derivative begins with /bon-/ or /don-/ respectively, e.g. ២៤៨ /bon?</am/ 'dessert' from ២៤៨ /ph</am/ 'sweet' or ២៤៨ /dambań/ 'weaving' from /thás/ 'to weave.' This infix takes the form /-m-/ in ២៤៨ /plń/ 'light' from ២៤៨ /plń/ 'to be light.' Note that this infix is pronounced as follows:

២៤៨ /-m-/ before /b, p/

២៤៨ /-m-/ before /d, t, l/

២៤៨ /-m-/ before /c/

២៤៨ /-m-/ elsewhere
In many cases affixation is accompanied by a change in the quality of the vowel, e.g. ់ប្រែ /baen/ 'game' from រៀយ /leen/ 'to play.' Instances of this vowel quality change are not predictable and must be learned for each set of words individually.

N.3.2 Compound Nouns

Almost all Cambodian compounds can be analyzed as consisting of two parts; these parts can then be subdivided further in some cases. There are two types of compound. 
Uncentered compounds⁵ are those in which neither element of the compound is modified by the other. In centered compounds⁵ one element is modified by the other.

N.3.2.1 Uncentered Compounds

There are three types of uncentered compound nouns: reduplicative, coordinate, and appositive.

N.3.2.1.1 Reduplicative Compounds

Reduplicative compounds consist of repetition of a base noun, e.g. រៀយ /kmen/kmen/ 'children' from រៀយ /kmen/ 'child.' A reduplicated compound is plural in meaning and often refers to the noun in a general sense, e.g.

រៀយរៀយ ស្រែន សាល

Women are like that. (រៀយ /sry/ 'woman.')

N.3.2.1.2 Coordinate Compounds

Coordinate compounds consist of two or three base nouns. Normally this kind of compound refers to a class of objects or persons of which the components are members, e.g. ប្រែ /khaor/sav/ 'clothing' from េេ /khaor/ 'pants' and េេ /sav/ 'shirt;' or ករ /tok tuu kaw/sy/ 'furniture' from េេ /tok/ 'table,' េេ /tuu/ 'cabinet,' េេ /kaw/sy/ 'chair.'

⁵. These two terms are adapted from Huffman 1967.
Appositive Compounds

Appositive compounds are nouns whose first component is a title (including kinship terms) and whose second component is a name or other identifying noun, e.g., ស្មាត្ត /look kruu/ 'teacher' from ស្ទ្រី/look/ 'sir, mister' and ស្មាត្ត /boon kím/ 'Kim' from ស្មាត្ត /boon/ 'older sibling' and គឹក /kím/ a name of someone (who is called ស្មាត្ត /boon/ because he is somewhat older than the speaker, with whom he is on intimate terms, or who is of inferior social status).

Centered Compounds

There are two types of centered compounds: full centered compounds and pseudo-compounds. The components of full centered compounds occur alone as words; in the case of pseudo-compounds one or both components may be bound (i.e. do not occur alone).

Full Centered Compounds

The heads of all full centered compounds are nouns, and the compounds themselves are nouns. The modifier portion of the compound may be:

1. a verb, e.g., បន្ទៀរ /ptup keen/ 'bedroom' from បន្ទៀរ /ptup/ 'room' and យាឹ /keen/ 'to sleep.'
2. a noun, e.g., តំប័រ /ptup tōk/ 'bathroom' from តំប័រ /ptup/ 'room' and ដំ /tōk/ 'water.'
3. a verb and object, e.g., មីត្រ /ptup tetuol phnīew/ 'living room' from មីត្រ /ptup/ 'room,' ដំ /tétuol/ 'to receive,' and មីត្រ /phnīew/ 'guest.'

In most cases the head of the compound comes first, as in all the above examples. An example of a compound whose second part can be considered to be the head is ពោជាស្នាល /daăm chée/ 'tree' from ពោជ្រួយ /daăm/ 'something long and thin, stem' and តំ /chée/ 'wood.' (An argument can also be made that ពោជ្រួយ /daăm/ is the head of the compound and not តំ /chée/.)

In many cases where both elements of the compound are borrowed from Sanskrit or Pali, the

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6. Term from Huffman 1967 p. 120
head comes second, e.g. ព្រំេីស /phiasa-viccia/ 'the study of language' from ព្រំេស /phiasa/ 'language' and វិគ្មី /viccia/ 'study, knowledge.' The most common nouns serving as heads of full centered compounds are the following (arranged according to Cambodian alphabetical order). They are all productive.

1. ក្រេ /kam/ 'action,' e.g. ក្រេវិធី /kam-vithii/ 'program' from ក្រូ /vithii/ 'occasion, ceremony.'
2. អាហារ /kaa/ 'matter, work' used:
   a. with verbs, e.g. អាហាររឹង /kaa-roo-sii/ 'earning a living' from អាហារ /roo-sii/ 'to earn a living,' កំ /roo/ 'to seek,' សុី /sii/ 'to eat.'
   b. with nouns, e.g. រត្បី /rattlekaa/ 'government work' from រត្បី /rattlekaa/ 'civil service.'
3. ក្រូ /kec/ 'matter, affair;' e.g. ក្រូការ /kec-kaa/ 'matter, business' from ក្រូ /kaa/ 'work, matter.'
4. ការ /khaan/ 'side, area (e.g. of study),' e.g. ការស្ពោក /khaan-lao/ 'above' from ការ /lao/ 'on, above,' or ការវិគ្មី /khaan-viccia/ 'in the area of science' from ការ /viccia/ 'science.'
5. ក្រែល /krine/ 'tool, part, component,' e.g. ក្រែលមិនូ /krine-masin/ 'machine parts and engines.'
6. ដេដាយ /domnaw/ 'gait; process; trip,' e.g. ដេដាយរឹង /domnaw-roo-sii/ 'process of earning a living' from ដេដាយ /roo-sii/ 'to earn a living.'
7. ថ្ងៃ /thnay/ 'day,' e.g. ថ្ងៃឈរ /thnay-bon/ 'holiday' from ថ្ងៃ /bon/ 'holiday, ritual.'
8. ទឹក /tak/ 'liquid, water,' e.g. ទឹកក្រុង /tak-krouk/ 'orange juice' from ទឹក /krouk/ 'citrus, orange.'
9. ទី /tii/ 'place,' e.g. ទីក្រុង /tii-kroon/ 'city' from ទី /kroon/ 'city, town' or ទីក្រុង /tii-kourup/ 'object of respect' from ទឹក /kourup/ 'to respect.'
10. តំបន់ /bontup, ptup, ktup/ 'room,' e.g. តំបន់កូន /bontup-deek/ 'bedroom' from តំបន់ /deek/ 'to sleep.'
11. ម៉ូសូ /prodap/ 'tool, equipment,' e.g. ម៉ូសូអិឺ /prodap-phleen/ 'musical instrument' from ម៉ូសូ /phleen/ 'music.'
12. អាង /phteh/ 'house, place of', e.g. អាងបាហេ /phteh-la?-baay/ 'restaurant' from អាង /la/ 'to sell' and បាហេ /baay/ 'cooked rice; a meal.'

13. ពណ្ណ /paa/ 'color,' e.g. ពណ្ណហ្សាហ្វោ /paa-swaay/ 'purple' from ពណ្ណ /swaay/ 'purple.'

14. ១២ /phiap/ 'state,' e.g. ១២២ /phiap-yun/ 'moving picture' from ១២ /yun/ 'machine, engine, vehicle.'

15. ២៤ /mee/
   a. 'female,' e.g. នាយ /mee-koo/ 'cow (opposed to a bull)' from ២៤ /koo/ 'cow, ox.'
   b. 'leader, chief' e.g. រាលដារ /mee-tshian/ 'officer (military)' from រាល /tshian/ 'soldier; military.'

16. ១៣ /moah/ 'owner, master,' e.g. ១៣៤ /moah-phteh/ 'landlord, host' from ១៣ /phteh/ 'house.'

17. ២៤ /room/ 'large building for a specific function,' e.g. ២៤១ /room-ca/ 'factory' from ២៤ /ca/ 'wheel.'

18. ២៤ /latti/ 'philosophical system,' e.g. ២៤២ /latti-sokkumnyum/ 'socialism' from ២៤ /sokkumnyum/ 'socialist.'

19. ២៤ /wiccia/ 'knowledge, study of,' e.g. ២៤២ /wiccia-phteh/ '(study of) medicine' from ២៤ /phteh/ 'medicine, doctor, hospital.'

20. ២៤ /vithii, pithii/ 'occasion, event, ceremony,' e.g. ២៤២ /vithii-bamp Cruiser-sa/ 'promotion ceremony' from ២៤ /bamp Cruiser/ 'to put on (trans.)' and ឆ្នា /sa/ 'rank.'

21. ២៤ /sac/ 'meat, flesh,' e.g. ២៤ /sac-koo/ 'beef' from ២៤ /koo/ 'cow, ox.'

22. ២៤ /saalaa/ 'school, hall,' e.g. ២៤ /saalaa-riend/ 'school' from ២៤ /riend/ 'to study.'

23. ២៤ /sec-kdog/ 'matter, affair,' e.g. ២៤ /sec-kdog-slap/ 'death' from ២៤ /slap/ 'to die.'

24. ២៤ /sthaan, thaan/ 'place,' e.g. ២៤ /sthaan-tuut/ 'embassy' from ២៤ /tuut/ 'diplomat, diplomatic.'
25. နាខ /nɛʔ/ 'person, human being,' e.g. နាខ-naa /nɛʔ-næsæt-
--tray/ 'fisherman' from កន្លោះ /sæsæt- /trey/ 'fish,' 
or នាខ /nɛʔ-róttaka / 'civil servant' from រោត /róttaka / 
'government, civil service.'

The following are common heads of full centered compounds which have variants used only in 
compounds and never alone. The transcriptions of the bound variants follow those of the 
independent ones.

1. ពត /put, putte- 'Buddha,' e.g. ពត /putte-sahshea / 
'Buddhism' from សហ /sahshea / 'religion.'

2. មាន /pail, pille- 'the people (force),' e.g. មាន /pîl /pîl / 
'citizenry' from រត /röt / 'state.'

3. ឈឺ /phum, phumi- 'place, region,' e.g. ឈឺ /phum / 
'region' from ឈឺ /phia / 'part.'

4. យុោ /yôn, yunte- 'motor, engine,' e.g. យុោ /yôn-hoh / 
'airplane' from យុោ /hoh / 'to fly.'

5. យុោ /yian, yian/ 'vehicle,' e.g. យុោ /yiane-thaane / 
'yane-thaan / 'garage' 
from យុោ /thaane / 'place.'

6. យុោ /yut, yutes- 'fighting, struggle,' e.g. យុោ /yut / 
'fighter' from យុ /cdn / 'person.'

7. យុោ /yuve, yuwe/ 'youth, young person,' e.g. យុ /yuwe-cdn / 'youth' 
from យុ /cdn / 'person.'

8. រត /röt, rótt / 'state,' e.g. រត /rótt / 'government, civil 
service' from រត /kæa / 'word, affair.'

9. រត /ric, riaco / 'king, royal,' e.g. រត /rit, riaco / 
'government' from រត /kæa / 'word, affair.'

10. អក /ak, akke- 'one, single, highest,' e.g. អាស /akke-cdn / 
'private (public)' from អាស /cdn / 'person.'
Pseudocompounds

There are two main types of pseudocompounds:

1. Those in which both components have meaning.
2. Those in which only the head has a meaning and the other component is a
word-like sequence of syllables with no meaning outside of its role in the
compound.

Pseudocompounds with Two Meaningful Components

The following common bound components occur at the beginning of a compound. In
no case is any of the following bound components head of the compound.

1. ព្រះរាជ /procia- 'people, popular,' e.g. ព្រះរាជសញ្ញី /procia-ciait/ 'nation,
nationality' from ព្រះ /ciait/ 'nation.'
2. មហាសម /mohaa-/ 'great, large,' មហាសមសម /mohaa-samot/ 'ocean' from មហាយ /samot/ 'sea.'
3. សហរ /saha-/ 'united,' e.g. សហរសេរ /saha-sot/ 'united states' from 
សហ/ /sot/ 'state.'
4. អក្សរ /akkê/ 'high, important.' e.g. អក្សរស្រោម /akkê-srot/ 'ambassador
plenipotentiary' from អក្សរ /srot/ 'ambassador.'
5. សុខ /amu-/ 'under, lesser,' e.g. សុខស្រោម /amu-srot/ 'junior high school' from 
សុខ /srot/ 'secondary school.'
6. ប្រាយ /utdom, udom/ 'high, noble,' e.g. ប្រាយសុក /utdom-thaen/ 'superior
class' from ប្រាយ /thaen/ 'place.'

The following common bound components occur at the end of the compound. These components are
all head of the compound in which they occur.

1. សេរ /-coo/ 'to go; travel,' e.g. សេរស្រោម /tehs-coo/ 'tourist' from 
សេរ/tehs/ 'place.'
2. សេរ /-coo/ 'traveling,' e.g. សេរស្រោម /tehs-coo/ 'tourism' from 
សេរ/tehs/ 'place.'
3. សុខ /-nyum/ 'ism' e.g. សុខស្រោម /sonk-nyum/ 'socialism'
from សុខ /sonk/ 'society.'
4. សិក្សារៈ /-sah/ 'study of' e.g., វិចីសាម /viccia-sah/ 'science' from វិចី /viccia/ 'knowledge.'

5. វីតឯសាម /-alay/ 'place,' e.g., វិតឯសាម /vityialay/ 'secondary school' from វិតឯ /vitya, viccia/ 'knowledge.'

N.3.2.2.2.2 Pseudocompounds with One Meaningful Component

Normally pseudocompounds of this sort are formed with the meaningful element (the head) initial. There are two types of compound of this sort:

1. Those which involve a partial reduplication of the first element, e.g., បែក /kbaal-kboun/ 'head' from បែក /kbaal/ 'head.'

2. Those in which the components bear no formal resemblance to each other, e.g., ព្រៈ /pra?-kah/ 'money' from ព្រៈ /pra?/ 'silver, money.'

Reduplicative compounds are of three major types:

1. Rhyming compounds, e.g., ម្យារ /caan-kbaan/ 'crockery, chinaware' from ម្យារ /caan/ 'dish, bowl.'

2. Alliterative compounds, e.g., ផ្លូវលាវ /prodap-prodaa/ 'equipment' from ផ្លូវ /prodap/ 'tool.'

3. Ablauting compounds, in which only the vowel changes, e.g., ខ្ពស់ /kmeen-kmaan/ 'children' from ខ្ពស់ /kmeen/ 'child.'

7. ខ្ពស់ /kbaan/ is an obsolete form of no meaning to most present-day Cambodians.
VERBALS

V.1 Introduction

Cambodian verbs, like Cambodian nouns, are not inflected, in contrast with verbs of European languages. That is, the form of the verb remains the same no matter what syntactic environment it occurs in. Needless to say, there is no agreement with the person or number of the subject, and verbal categories like tense, aspect, voice are expressed paraphrastically when they are expressed at all. A verb like ១ /taw/ 'go' can be 'went, goes, is going, will go, have gone, had gone, etc.' depending on the other words with which it is used (e.g. adverbs, auxiliaries) or on its context (e.g. talking about future plans).

Categories of tense (past, present, and future) and of aspect (perfective, imperfective, etc.) are expressed by preverbal auxiliaries, e.g. ១ /dak/ '(have) ever,' and by adverbials, e.g. ១ /hary/ 'already.' These categories also appear in resultative verbs, e.g. ១ /rion cop/ 'to finish studying' (cf. 3.2.2.3.1).

Some modal categories, e.g. desire, obligation, ability, appear in preverbal auxiliaries, e.g. ១ /con/ 'to want' or in resultative verbs, e.g. ១ /baan/ 'can' in ១ /thea baan/ 'can do (it).'

There is no subjunctive in Cambodian; situations like contrary-to-fact are signaled by context. For instance, the English sentence 'If he had known, he wouldn't have come' is translated into Cambodian as ១ /baa kot den kot min mō tee/. This Cambodian sentence can also be translated 'If he knows, he won't come' or 'If he knew, he didn't come.' There is no overt signal at all in this sentence for a contrary-to-fact situation.

Transitivity and voice in Cambodian are complicated. There is no inflection for voice (active and passive), and in many cases a given verb may be translated either by an active or a passive verb in English, e.g.

េ /laan/ look thee new aam<br>Where was your car made/fixed?

េ /laan aam/ look thee laan new aam<br>Where did you fix (make) your car?

Verbs of this sort are normally 'active' in meaning with an animate subject (េ /look/) and passive in meaning with an inanimate subject ( /laan/).
In casual, spoken usage there are even ambiguous sentences (with a limited set of verbs) like កាប់ ដោយ ប្រុស ម្នាក់ /kót daení píe mos bal mònu/, which may be translated either as 'he was chased yesterday' or 'he chased (someone) yesterday.' However, such a sentence with a passive meaning would ordinarily be inadmissible in formal style.

In fact we can say that there is no passive construction in Cambodian, though there are devices which can be used to translate passives in other languages. Usually Cambodian prefers a simple active sentence, perhaps with an indefinite subject ពី /pí/ 'they,' but when expressed in formal usage, an English passive can be translated using the verb ទស្វ /tsw/ 'to experience something, to undergo.' The resulting sentence is an active sentence; what follows ទស្វ modifies ពី; ពី in this case is not an auxiliary but the main verb. For example, កាប់ ទស្វ ដោយ ប្រុស ម្នាក់ /kñóm tsw píe mos bal mònu/ 'I was shot (by them)' is literally 'I had an experience, namely, they shot me.' Much more rarely បាន /baan/ 'get' is used like ពី in this case, but with the connotation of something desirable, e.g.

កាប់ បាន រត់ ការ៉ុង ស្វែង នក្ខី ម្នាក់ ចែ នាង ឈី អ៊ី សិត្ត សោក

via baan róttekaa cuoy aoy taw rián khnaan seethakee

He was helped by the government to go study economics.

A topic closely related to voice is causative action, in which one person permits or influences another to perform an action. Cambodian has a number of devices for expressing causative action, one of the most common of which is the verb អាន /aoy/ 'give,' which when used in construction with another verb means 'permit, cause to.' e.g.

កាប់ អាន មាន ការ៉ុង នុះ ម្នាក់

khñóm aoy via mos kast nih

I let him read this newspaper (or I had him read this newspaper).

Another device is affixation, in which a root verb (cf. V.3 below) occurs with the prefix បេ /bon/, e.g. បេក្លើ /bonkast/ 'to originate' from ក្លើ /kast/ 'to be born, to develop.'

Verbs which describe services are usually ambiguous; either they are active or they are causative. For example, one of the examples in the discussion of the passive that was given above:
look thee laan néw amma

"Where did you fix your car?" can also mean, "Where did you have your car fixed?"

khnop taw kat so?/ is either, 'I'll go cut my hair,' or, 'I'll go have my hair cut.'

You will see as you learn Cambodian that few of the other verbal categories are exactly like those of English in meaning either. Even where they seem to be alike, they will not always be used under the same circumstances. For instance ណាច /baan/ used before a verb means something very much like English past tense, that is, action completed before the utterance or before a specific reference point, e.g.

koon kalan yeen baan ban taw vin

Our forces shot back.

However, this use of ណាច is far more common in literary language than spoken and would be used in spoken discourse primarily to clarify an ambiguous situation and in some circles might scarcely be used at all.

V.2  Types of Verbal

There are three types of verbal in Cambodian: auxiliaries, stative verbs ('adjectives') and action verbs.

V.2.1  Auxiliaries

There is a small set of auxiliaries which express tense/aspect categories and another, larger set whose members have modal meanings. Some of them may be followed by the syllable baan /tas/ with no change in meaning, in which case they are written below with baan following in parentheses, e.g. ណាច /new(tas)/ 'still.'
There are three aspectual categories: completed action, begun but not completed action; and unbegun action. In addition, an auxiliary may be marked as durative; that is, it is either repeated or overlaps in time with some other action, as is the case in 'I am eating,,' in which the act of eating overlaps in time with the act of speaking.

**Completed Action**

**Unmarked:** ម៉យ /bean/ 'past action'

ដែល /dael/ 'within the subject's previous experience; translates 'have ever, never.'

**Durative:** ម៉ូ /thlāp/ 'within the subject's previous experience,' usually refers to an act done more than once; sometimes translates 'used to.'

ជំេេេ/niyum/ 'frequent practice'

**Begun Action**

**Unmarked:** នំន /n̄n(tac)/ 'still' (emphasizes incompleteness)

**Durative:** ម៉ូម៉ូ /kompun(tac)/ 'action in progress at the same time as some other action which is usually the act of speaking ' (usually translated by 'is/was ...ing')

**Unbegun Action**

**Unmarked:** ខ្លា /nān/ 'will' (predicted action in the future)

ជំេេេ/mēntōn/ 'not yet' (unbegun but anticipated as strong possibility).

**Durative:** No forms

In addition, some auxiliaries specifically mark the event in a clause as real, that is, it actually has happened and is not a possibility or even a prediction. The auxiliaries which carry this meaning are

ដែល /dael/ 'ever, have ever'

ហ្គូ /thlēp/ 'have done, used to'

ជំេេេ /niyum/ 'to have as custom or habit'

1. The word 'completed' here means only that the act is no longer going on, not that all the work has been done to completion.
and one idiom /mian/plus clause, e.g.

\[
\text{\textit{mian kee li? mesoup n\textit{w} nih tee?}}
\]
(Is it a fact that) they sell food here?

None of these 'reality markers' is used in the future. This means that to say 'don't ever say that!' you cannot use the word \textit{\textbf{daz}/dael/} 'ever'. Instead you will have to translate this sentence another way, e.g.

\[
\text{\textit{k\text{\textit{on thaa en\textbf{sa}n any s\text{\textit{u}}}}}}
\]
'Don't ever say that!' (literally 'don't say that at all!).

Likewise \textit{daz}/dael/ cannot be used in a sentence like 'I'll never do that again.'

V.2.1.2 Modal Auxiliaries

There are many verbs used before another verb with modal meaning, but there is only a small class of verbs the members of which occur only as auxiliaries. These are

a. \textit{\textbf{kuo}/taz/} 'should'
b. \textit{\textbf{tr\text{\textit{w}}}/taz/} 'must'
c. \textit{\textbf{sa}/ac/} 'can, (is) able'
d. \textit{\textbf{m\text{\textit{a}n}}/bac/} 'don't need to' (\textit{\textbf{th\text{\textit{w}}}/m\text{\textit{a}n tr\text{\textit{w}}}/} means 'must not').
e. \textit{\textbf{\text{\textit{c\text{\textit{a}}}n/}}/con/} 'to want to' (\textit{\textbf{\text{\textit{c\text{\textit{a}}}n/}}/con} bean/ + noun, literally 'to want to get' + noun.

Other verbs which occur in preverbal position are considered full verbs which are in an attributive construction with the main verb, e.g.

\[
\text{\textit{\textbf{tr\text{\textit{w}}}/k\text{\textit{a}a} mod/}}
\]
You need to come

in which \textit{\textbf{\text{\textit{c\text{\textit{a}}}n/}}/tr\text{\textit{w}} k\text{\textit{a}a/}} 'need' is not considered a modal auxiliary since it also occurs as a main verb in a sentence like
V.2.2 Adjectives (Stative Verbs)

In English adjectives are classed as nominals; however, in Cambodian they are verbs. They occur in the same syntactic positions as action verbs. This means that you cannot translate English 'is/are' before a predicate adjective. For instance, the English sentence 'my friend is fat' is translated ពីង់មានក្បែងណាក/ /puo? ma? khnom thot/ and the word ជែហ្ស/thot/ means 'to be fat' not just 'fat.' While there are words in Cambodian which translate English 'be,' they are never used before a predicate adjective.

Adjectives are used with verbal auxiliaries just as action verbs are, e.g.

ពីង់មានក្បែងណាក
/kst trw pukas/

He ought to be skillful.

However, they do not occur in construction with resultative verbs (cf. S.2.2.3.1) like បោះ/cop/ 'to complete.'

Henceforth, unless otherwise specified, the term 'verb' is used to refer to both adjectives and action verbs.

V.3 Composition of Verbs

Like nouns, verbs are categorized as root verbs (only one component), complex verbs (containing an affix), and compound verbs (containing two or more independent words).

V.3.1 Root Verbs

Root verbs are both native, e.g. កៃញ /kast/ 'to be born, arise' and borrowed, e.g. បោះ /baocia/ 'to cremate' (from Sanskrit). Most native root verbs are monosyllabic, e.g. មូវ /coul/ 'to enter.'

V.3.2 Complex Verbs

Complex verbs are formed by prefixation and infixation. As was the case with complex nouns (cf. N.3.1), the affixes are not productive, though some are very widespread.
Below are listed some of the most common affixes occurring in complex stems.

V.3.2.1 Prefixes

1. /p-/ 'causative,' e.g. ដែល /paŋ/ 'to report (cause to know)' from ដែល /den/ 'know' or ប្រឹក្សឹ /phdom/ 'to gather together (cause to form a lump)' from សូ /dom/ 'a piece, lump.'

2. /k-/ 'change of meaning from base,' e.g. កម្ពុជា /kbot/ 'to betray' from /bot/ 'to turn, to fold.'

3. /Co-/ or /Co-/ where C is the same as the first consonant of the root verb, e.g. កាត់ /kokaay/ 'to scratch, dig at (repeatedly)' from កាប /kaay/ 'to dig.' In this case C is /k/. Normally Co-/Co- indicates repetitive or intensive action.

4. /ro-/ a. 'forms adjectives,' e.g. រលេរ /rolot/ 'extinguished' from ឡើង /lift/ 'to extinguish, put out.'
   b. 'intransitivity,' e.g. រលេរ /rolot/ 'to melt, thaw (intrans.),' from រលេ /liey/ 'to mix.'

5. /pro-/ a. 'reciprocity,' e.g. (អនក /procam/ 'to wait for one another' from អនក /cam/ 'to wait.'
   b. 'causative,' e.g. អនក្រ /prodoc/ 'to compare (cause to be similar) from សូ /doc/ 'like, similar to.'
   c. 'change of meaning from base,' e.g. អនក្រ /prokan/ 'to maintain to discriminate' from សូ /kan/ 'to hold.'

6. /cro-/ 'causative,' e.g. លេរ /cro muc/ 'to submerge (trans.)' from លេ /muc/ 'to dive, go under.'

7. /kro-/ 'change of meaning from root verb,' e.g. មូលសំ្រាល /krovot/ 'to jerk (in any direction)' from មូល /vot/ 'to jerk (over the shoulder).'

8. /bon-/ /pən-/ 'causative,' e.g. សូ /bonr'en/ 'to teach' from សូ /rih/ 'to study, to learn;' សូ /pənriik/ 'to expand, to build up (trans.),' from សូ /riik/ 'to expand (intrans.), to bloom.' Note that the /n/ at the end of this prefix can be replaced by some other nasal consonant following the rules in N.3.1.1 prefix 1. This is one of the most common prefixes.
9. /dɔn/ 'changes the meaning of the base,' e.g. គ្រាប់ /dɔndaam/ 'to quarrel over ownership' from គ្រាប់ /daam/ 'origin.'

10. /rum/ 'changes the meaning of the base,' e.g. អ្នកសន្តិ /rumley/ 'to melt (transitive)' from អ្នកសន្តិ /liey/ 'to mix.'

V.3.2.2 Infixed

1. /-m/- 'verbalization' /lmesh/ 'to exceed, to violate' from /leesh/ 'beyond.'

2. /-m/- a. 'causative,' e.g. បោះ /bonaal/ 'to frighten' from បោះ /phoaal/ 'afraid.'

b. 'forms adjectives,' e.g. លើ /damboun/ 'first' from /tboun/ 'head (archaic).'

/-m/- follows the pronunciation rules given in N.3.1.1 prefix 1.

3. /-m/- a. 'causative,' e.g. ស្លាប់ /somtaat/ 'to clean up' from ស្លាប់ /samaat/ 'clean.'

b. 'change of meaning from base,' e.g. បង្កី /camlocn/ 'to copy' from បង្កី /clon/ 'to cross.'

4. /-mn/- 'change of meaning from base,' e.g. ក្តី /kamnot/ 'to require' from ក្តី /kot/ 'to take notes.'

V.3.3 Compound Verbs

Compounding is considerably less extensive for verbs than for nouns. There are uncentered and centered verbal compounds (cf. N.3.2).

V.3.3.1 Uncentered Compounds

There are two types of uncentered compound verbs: those in which both components are meaningful and those in which neither element is meaningful alone. The first type is the coordinate compound, in which both components are verbal, e.g. គ្រាប់/pińtaa=məl/ 'to inspect' from គ្រាប់ /pińt/ 'to examine' and ឈឺស្ដី /mea=mb/ 'to look at.' The second type involves some form of partial reduplication—rhyming or alliteration, e.g. គ្រាប់ /pdaex=pdaah/ 'disorganised, trivial, mischievous' in which neither គ្រាប់ /pdaah/ nor គ្រាប់ /pdaah/ has independent meaning. For the most part, members of this second class are adjectives.
Centered Compounds

There are also two types of centered compound verb. The first kind is a combination of verb and noun, e.g. សាបាល់ /co-kun/'thank you' from សុី /co/'happy, pleased' and មាដក /mord/'merit, moral credit.' The second kind involves some form of partial reduplication of a meaningful head by rhyming or alliteration, e.g. សុីអាល់ /sruol buol/'comfortable' from សុី /sruol/'easy' and the rhyming component អាល់ /bouol/, which has no independent meaning. Most members of the partially reduplicating class are adjectives.
ADVERBIALS

A.1 Introduction

Cambodian adverbials are members of the following classes:

1. Negators
2. Preverbs
3. Particles
4. Ordinary Adverbs

In addition, there are three words which combine with adjectives to form adverbial phrases.

A.2 Negators

The word for 'no' in answer to a question is tfoot /tee/. In polite speech it is preceded by a response particle tfoot /baat/(used by males) or tfoot /cah/(used by females), e.g.

Q. tfoot look sry day tee? A. tfoot cah tee
Do you know, (Madame)? No (I don't).

There are three preverbal negators, tfoot /pum/, tfoot /mán,m/, and tfoot /ot/(tfoot /ot/ is also used for tfoot ). tfoot /pum/ is the most literary and seldom heard in speech; tfoot /mán/ is used in speaking, but in Phnom Penh it is used usually in fairly formal contexts. tfoot /ot/ is the usual negator used in speaking in Phnom Penh. All of these precede the word they negate.

If a nominal is preceded by a negator, the construction is negator + tfoot /mán/ + noun, e.g. tfoot /mán mán khôm tee/'It's not me.' tfoot /cah/'is' is also negated by tfoot /mán mán/, e.g. tfoot /máh mán mán cah sao koo/'This isn't beef.' When tfoot '/khôm' is negated, it is also replaced by tfoot /mán mán/, e.g. tfoot /máh mán mán sok, suon, máh sos tee/'This isn't Sok, Suon, and Soa.' The negators +tfoot /mán/ are also used to mean 'it is not the case that...', e.g. tfoot /khôm ot mán thaa shôm tee/ 'It is not the case that I said that.'
Ordinarily, if a negator precedes a verb phrase, the verb phrase is followed by ទណ /tee/, e.g.

ទណ មិន ដឹង ទេ /khnom min den tee/
I don't know.

A stronger statement is made by substituting សុី /sah/ 'at all' for ទណ /tee/, e.g.

ទណ មិន ដឹង សុី /khnom min den sah/
I don't have any idea; I don't know at all.

If there is an indirect question, ទណ may follow either the negated verb or the indirect question, e.g.

ទណ មិន ដឹង, គឺមាន់ ទេ /khnom min den tee, kot naw aemas/
or

ទណ មិន ដឹង, គឺមាន់ ទេ ទេ /khnom min den, kot naw aemas tee/
both of which mean 'I don't know where he is.'

The verb មាន /mian/ 'there is; to have' has a special negative form យាង /kmian/ 'there is not; to not have', e.g.

យាង ដុះ /khnom kmian luy tee/
I haven't any money.

Where មាន /mian/ is used as an auxiliary (cf. V.2.1.1), យាង  may also be used, e.g.

យាង មាន់ មិន មាន ទេ /kmian kee lid? mhop naw min tee/
They don't sell food there.

In spoken usage, យាង /kmian/ is also used like the general negators, e.g.
/I don't know.
also means 'without', translating both the English preposition and conjunction, e.g.
/I went without baggage.
/ot/ is used in the same way, e.g.
/I went without baggage.
In a negative imperative, the negator is /kom/ 'don't', e.g.
/Don't talk like that, don't say that.
The expression 'don't ever' is usually translated /kom...oy soh/, e.g.
/Don't ever say that!
(There are other ways to say 'don't ever' which you will learn as you study Cambodian further.) /măn soə/ is a mild negative 'not very, not so', e.g.
/I don't like him very much.
A.3 Preverbals

There are two groups of preverbal adverbs: 1) fixed preverbs, which occur only in preverbal position, and 2) non-fixed preverbs, which may also occur in other positions, e.g. preceding the subject of the sentence.

In both classes, some members include the suffix /taN/. In some cases /taN/ is optional, e.g. /kmean/taN/cia/ 'mostly' which is synonymous with /kmean/ 'mostly.' Where it is optional, /taN/ is written in parentheses, e.g. /kmean/taN/paN/cia/ 'mostly.' In cases where /taN/ is obligatory, it is ordinarily because it makes an adverb from a verb of different meaning, e.g. /cian/ /tai/ 'always,' in which /taN/ /tai/ is 'to know how to.' Obligatory /taN/ /tai/ is written without parentheses. Some preverbal adverbs include an optional /cian/ /tai/ /pai/, e.g. /sai/ /muk/cian/ 'probably.'

A.3.1 Fixed Preverbs

The common fixed preverbs are:

- /kmean/taN/ 'increasingly'
- /pak(taN)/ 'only, just'
- /pam/ 'almost, nearly'
- /tai/taN/ /tai/ 'to have just'
- /mian/taN/ 'there is no choice but to'
- /gow/taN/ 'busily'
- /pai/taN/ 'only, just'
- /tai/taN/ /tai/ 'to be about to, planning to'
- /kmean/taN/ 'almost'
- /pam/taN/ 'almost'
- /pam/taN/ /tai/ 'busy at'

An example:

/khanom taeo mod/

I have just arrived.

A.3.2 Non-fixed Preverbs

The common non-fixed preverbs are:

- /pam/taN/ 'certainly'
A.3.2

Grammatical Sketch

CONTEMPORARY CAMBODIAN

/sot tas/ 'purely, exclusively'
/srap(taes)/ 'suddenly'
/romsan(taes)/ 'usually'
/muk(taes)/ 'certainly, probably'
/muk(cia)/ 'certainly, probably'
/prohak(cia)/ 'perhaps, maybe'
/comam(taes)/ 'usually'
/cream(taes)/ 'mostly'

For examples:

/khnom prohak cia tw s'ask/
Maybe I'll go tomorrow.

or

/prohak cia khnom tw s'ask/
Maybe I'll go tomorrow.

A.4

Particles

There are four types of particles: hesitation, response, medial, and final.

A.4.1 Hesitation Particles

The hesitation particles used in Cambodian are:

/norlo/ /sdeen/(prenominal) /st/(preverbal)
/jen/ /nas/(preverbal)

Hesitation is also shown in frequent repetition of the same word.

1. Also used before a sentence.
Examples:

khnom kót... khm khesn/‘I can’t think of anything.’
khnom rok... adeen... sambot kés/‘I’m looking for, uh, their letter.’
kót... nes... niyey cheen/‘That’s... uh... what he said.’

Before an utterance, Cambodians will attract the attention of the hearer with words like nha/ /nkh/, nha /næ/, meek /mesh/, or by using the hearer’s name or his title, e.g.

nha/ /næ/, /mek/ /mesh/ are used with people with whom one is on familiar terms.

A.4.2 Response Particles

When a Cambodian answers a question or simply wishes to indicate that he has been listening, he uses one of the following response particles:

♀♀ /baat/(polite, used by males)
♀♀ /cah/(polite, used by females)
♂♂ /as/ or ♂♂ /ae/(intimate or used with social inferiors).

An affirmative response to a question may consist only of a response particle, or it may include a longer answer, e.g.

Q: nha

/nha kát tee/
Do you know (it)?
A: nha

/kaat ( [[khnom]] daet) /
Yes (I do).

A polite negative response particle precedes the negative ♂♂ /tee/‘no’ in polite speech (cf. A.2 above).
A.4.3  Medial Particles

There are two common medial particles in Cambodians /koo/ and /naw/.

Neither is translatable into English.

/koo/ is used before a clause or a verb phrase with something like the meaning of 'accordingly, then, so, and so.' In fact, its function is to introduce a predicate which is in some way related to what has come before. For example:

{koun seh mene} suon tw kruu...kruu koo prap tw kee thaa...hasy kounseh koo chup suon/

'A student asks the teacher...and (and) the teacher tells him... and (so) the student stops asking.'

The teacher's telling is a consequence of the student's question, and the student stops asking because of what the teacher told him. In another example we see that the subject of the verb phrase introduced by /koo/ need not change.

{koun seh mene? yel samo koo ohlaey thaa/}

'One of the students understands the question and answers.'

As a verb phrase introducer is even clearer in the sentence-initial phrase

{koo pontae}/however, e.g. molem koo hlaey/ /khnom dan koo pontae knom mae can tw tee/I know. However, I don't want to go./

/koo/ is also used in a great many other important structures and idioms, e.g. question word plus /koo baen/, as in /molem koo baen/ (You) can do anything' or /mama koo baen/ anywhere is O.K.' It can be analyzed as keeping its basic meaning in such constructions.

The other medial adverbial is /naw/, which occurs only in literary or highly formal spoken style. It marks an object of a verb or relator, almost always the direct object of a verb, especially when a temporal or locative phrase precedes the object, e.g.

{kruu suon tw kounseh naw samo ten laey/}

The teacher asked the students the question.
Final Particles

There is a set of very important particles that is used at the end of a phrase, clause, or sentence. This set includes the following:

a. ណោ ណ /nah/  'very'
b. សីរី /taw/  'go ahead and...' (imperative); action away from the speaker; extended action
c. សឹង /coh/  'go ahead and... (it's O.K. with me)
d. សុី /mo6/  (action toward the speaker)
e. លឺ /hasy/  'already'

��ឺ/hasy/ indicates action whose termination has an effect on the present; it translates English auxiliary 'have' as in

ខ្មែរបញ្ជាក់បន្ទាប់ពីសម្រាប់ នឹង hasy
/khnom meol kon nam hasy/
I've seen that movie (already).

It is close in meaning to 'already' in some non-standard immigrant English, e.g. 'That's right already,' which is translated almost literally into standard Cambodian ដំប្រុង hasy/yeah/ 'right!' In a negative sentence លឺ /hasy/ is replaced by លឺ /new lasy/ with a meaning of 'so far, ever'; e.g.

សម្រាប់ នឹង lasy
/khnom mien ton meol kon nam new lasy/
I haven't seen that movie (so far).

In a future context there is a use of hasy/hasy/ which indicates completion only in a remote sense, e.g. the second hasy in

ស្តោះ hasy
/s'ask khnom thee hasy lasy/
tomorrow I do finish already
I'll finish (it) tomorrow.

In this example the first hasy indicates completion of the act, but the
second connotes a promise to perform the action. What the second /hasy/ makes of the sentence is 'tomorrow I'll finish it - and now it's no longer an issue for further discussion."

*f.* /tee/ 1) marks a yes/no question, e.g.

Cambodian

ای/ /yee n am syow tee/

Will we eat now?

The particle is not obligatory, but it is much more often used than not.

2) occurs with a general negator (cf. A.2) in a negative sentence, e.g.

Cambodian

ای/ /khnom men den tee/

I don't know.

Again, it is not obligatory, but it is very frequent.

3) marks a statement which in some way is contradictory to what has come before, e.g.

A. /look tsw hasy/  B. /tee khnom tsw s?ark tee/

/look tsw hasy/  /tee khnom tsw s?ark tee/

You've gone already.  No, I'm going tomorrow.

g. /r??/ or /o??/ /r?? ey/ marks a question, often one for which an affirmative answer is anticipated (if the question is affirmative). A negative answer is anticipated if the question is negative, e.g.

Cambodian

ای/ /kee kompun thee hasy r??/

Is he cooking?

(This question anticipates an answer 'yes.')  Another example:

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 Didn’t you eat?

(This question expects an answer ‘no.’)

h. រុយ /viə/ ‘instead, back again,’ e.g.

អម្រាបសេរី /kylə suə kʰoəm viə/

Now ask me (back again, in return).

Another examples:

អំពី /kom prə chnə məh/, prə kə əm viə/

Don’t use that pan, use this one (instead).

រុយ is also used in constructions like ឬ…រុយ /aə…viə/ ‘as for,’ e.g.

មិន /aə kʰoəm viə/ ‘as for me…’ and in idioms like ព្រោះខាងមិន /phtuə təw viə/

‘on the contrary.’

i.ស្តេ /nə/ or ស្តេ /nə/ serves as a deferent or softened exhortation.

Examples of ស្តេ /nə/:

ស្តេរុយ /nə piətə nə/

Let’s stay home.

អាសយ្តរៈស្តេ /kom təw nə nə/

Don’t go anywhere.

Note that there is a higher than normal pitch on the entire sentence and a
rise on ស្តេ .

j.ស្តេ /piək/ ‘too (much), very, exceedingly,’ e.g.ស្តេស្តេ /creən piək/

‘too much.’

k.ស្តេ /sən/ ‘first, for the time being.’

l.ស្តេ /daə/ ‘also.’

m.ស្តេ /phən/ ‘also; will you?’
/dak/ and /phon/ are both translated 'also.' However, in careful usage, /dak/ is used when A is doing something and B is doing it too, e.g.

/kot tew phtht hany khnom tew phtht dak/
He's going home, and I'm going home too.

/phon/, on the other hand, is used in two especially important places:
1) it is used when A is performing action X and action Y; that is, the same subject occurs with two or more different verb phrases, e.g.

/khnom tew bon hany tew phsaa phon/
I'm going to the bank and to the market as well.

2) /phon/ is also used when A and B are doing the same thing during the same period of time but B is a follower or a kind of junior partner, e.g.

A. /khnom tew phsaa sylaw/
I'm going to the market now.

B. /khnom tew phon baan tee?/
Can I go too?

Note that /dak/ makes no restriction on the time span covered the way /phon/ does in usage number 2 above; /dak/ does not specify when the second person performs his similar action.

n. /lay/ 'no longer (not)...any more; at all; will never, don't ever'
o. /tis/ 'no longer, (not)...any more; further, more'

A.5 Adverb Forms

The adverb-forming words are /cia/, /man daoy/, /meh/ and /doo/. All are used with adjectives to make adverbial phrases, e.g. /mian phniew mooc cia oreaen/ 'Guests came in large quantity.' The word /doo/ is limited to literary style.

Following an imperative verb, /cia/ also has adverbial meaning, e.g.
Another example:

柬埔寨 /kot moo chap nah/ 'He came very quickly.'
chap /chap/'quick, fast' is normally an adjective. The number of words used purely adverbially is very small.

A.6 Complex Adverbs

The only affix which forms adverbs is the reduplicating prefix /Co/ or /Co/ in which C is the first consonant of the base, e.g. ពាហ្យ /'tremblingly, shakingly' from ពោឃ /'to tremble, shiver.' In this case C is /灭亡/, so the prefix is /灭亡/.

A.6.2 Compound Adverbs

There is one type of uncentered compound adverb; that is, a compound composed of two independent words, e.g. ណូរែ/ruoc haey/ from ណូ /ruoc/ 'to be finished' and មួយ /haey/ 'already, to be finished.' There is also one type of centered compound adverb; that is, a compound in which all elements are meaningful, e.g. មួយ /'nowadays, presently' from មួយ /sop/'every' and ថ្ងៃ /sop/'this.'
RELATORS

R.1 Introduction
There are two types of relators:
1. phrase relators, which connect words and phrases with each other and
2. clause relators, which connect clauses with each other.

R.2 Phrase relators
The two types of phrase relators are copulas and prepositions. Copulas connect two words or phrases, usually nominals, to make a clause; prepositions connect a following word, again usually a nominal or a noun phrase, to what precedes, but the result is not necessarily an independent unit.

R.2.1 Copulas
There are only three copulas. They are:
1. ញ /cia/, which is the most common copula. It may be interpreted as indicating that the subject is a member of the class of objects named by the predicate; that is, it says that the subject "is a..." For instance,

/nih cia kmaw-day/
This is a pencil.

It is negated by ម /män mean/, e.g.

/nih män mean cia kmaw day tee/
This isn't a pencil.

2. េ /t/, which may be used with the same meaning as ញ /cia/ except that where it is followed by more than one proper name it is obligatory, e.g.

/nih t sok, suon, män soh/
This is Sok, Suon, and Sos.
/kii/ also means 'that is, that is to say,' e.g.


I'm coming from January to March, that is to say, three months.

/kii/ also means 'that is to say,'

3. /kii cia/, which is used like /cia/.

In some cases there is no copula at all, especially in predicates containing time words. For example

/thnay nih thnay saw/

Today is Saturday.

R.2.2 Prepositions

There are only a few words that can be classed as prepositions in Cambodian, though there are other means of translating English prepositions. The prepositions are:

/khoh tae/'except' (slang)
/kraw tae/'except'
/ciah tae/'except' (slang)
/laek laem tae/'except'
/kraoy (pii)'/after'
/ruoc pii'/after'
/kraw pii'/aside from, besides'
/kraw pii...ce?'/besides, aside from'
/cia?/ '(more)than'
/ciamuoy'/with'
/cit'/ 'near'
/cumvin'/around'
/daoy saa'/because of'
/pr?h'/because of'
/pii pr?h'/because of'
/tan pii'/since'
/tan'/ 'including'

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English prepositional phrases can also be translated by two types of Cambodian phrase which do not include prepositions:

1) a verb phrase which is attributive to what precedes, e.g.

I'll work until tomorrow,

in which the verb phrase dol s'ask/"until tomorrow" includes the verb 'arrive at.'

Verbs which are frequently used this way are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kom</td>
<td>'to hit exactly, be on target'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chvael</td>
<td>'to go around'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cahv</td>
<td>'to adhere to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuun</td>
<td>'to give (formal)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asoy</td>
<td>'to give (informal)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuoh</td>
<td>'to replace'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuumoh</td>
<td>'to replace'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dol</td>
<td>'to reach, arrive at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumrom</td>
<td>'to endure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>douc</td>
<td>'to be alike, similar'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'exact at'
'around'
'next to, adjacent to'
'for, to'
'for, to'
'instead of'
'instead of'
'until'
'until'
'like'
2) the locative nominals listed below may be used with or without the verb រ៉ុះ/្ការៈ/‘to be located (at)’, e.g.

ាសីប្រុង /កូត ក្លន់ អោធ/  
He's in the house.

or

ាសីសីប្រុង /កូត ទុៗ ក្លន់ អោធ/  
with the same meaning. The locative nominals are:

រ៉ុះ /កួនដារ/‘middle’ as a preposition: ‘in the middle, between’

រ៉ុះ /ក្លន/‘interior’  
‘inside’

រ៉ុះ /ក្លិប/‘area next to’  
‘next to’

រ៉ុះ /ក្លាល/‘bottom’  
‘under’

រ៉ុះ /ក្លាន/‘back part’  
‘behind’

រ៉ុះ /ក្លេន/‘outside’  
‘outside of’

រ៉ុះ /ចុះ/‘the left side’  
‘to the left of’

រ៉ុះ /មុក/‘face, front’  
‘in front of’

រ៉ុះ /លី/‘top’  
‘on top of, over’

រ៉ុះ /ស្វាន/‘the right side’  
‘to the right of’

These nouns are frequently used as part of a compound containing រ៉ុះ

/ក្លាន/ e.g.រ៉ុះក្លាល /ក្លានក្លាទោះ/‘the under part’ (except រ៉ុះ/ក្លាថ/‘next to’;
which is seldom used with កសែ /khaan/. However, they may also be used alone as nominals in some circumstances. A sentence like

សម្រាប់ /kot knon phteh/

He's in the house.¹

is therefore treated as a transform of a base sentence like

សម្រាប់ /kot niw knon phteh/

He's in the house.

in which និ /niw/'to be at' is deleted.

R.3 Clause Relators

There are two types of clause relators, fixed and non-fixed.

R.3.1 Fixed Clause Relators

A clause which contains a fixed clause relator can occur in only one position relative to the clause to which it is connected, for instance in

កូនមន្ត /khnom meal ruoc khnom ti/

I'll read, then I'll go,

the clause containing the fixed clause relator /ruoc/'then' can occur only after the clause to which it is connected. Most of the words in this class correspond to coordinating conjunctions in English, and many can be used to connect nominals, e.g. កំរិត /coek rihsavay/'bananas or mangoes.' Relators of this second type are marked by a following symbol (N) below. The members of the class of fixed clause relators are:

កូនប្រាគ /koo pantae/'but, however'

កូនប្រាគ /tase/'but'

¹. A more frequent meaning of this first sentence is 'the one in the house,' used of someone who is respected.
R.3.1 CONTEMPORARY CAMBODIAN  Grammatical Sketch

There are some fixed clause relators that occur in pairs:

...កំណើង... កំណើង  /...koo daoy...koo daoy/‘whether...or...’  (N)

...ដែល... ដែល  /...kidy...kidy/‘whether...or...’  (N)

...កាលណាមួយ... កាលណាមួយ  /kaal naa...kaal naa/‘whenever...then...’

...ដើរណាមួយ... ដើរណាមួយ  /doorap naa...doorap naa/‘whenever...then...’

...ដើរណាមួយ... ដើរណាមួយ  /peel naa...peel naa/‘whenever...then...’

...ដើរណាមួយ... ដើរណាមួយ  /maa muoy...maa muoy/‘on the one hand...on the other hand...’

...ជុំ... ជុំ  /...phoom...phoom/‘both...and’

...ជុំ... ជុំ  /ten...ten/‘both...and...’  (N)

...ជុំ... ជុំ  /ten...hasy naa/‘both...and...’  (N)

...ប៊ូឈឺ... ប៊ូឈឺ  /...bondae...bondae/‘both...and...(at the same time)’

...រ៉ូឈឺ... រ៉ូឈឺ  /mdec...mdec/‘if...then why...’

...រ៉ូឈឺ... រ៉ូឈឺ  /mdec...mdec/‘if...then why...’

... រូឈឺ  /rhr...rhr/‘either...or...’  (N)

R.3.2 Non-fixed Clause Relators

The clause in which a non-fixed clause relator occurs may occur either before or after the clause to which it is connected, e.g.

បានខ្លួនឯងមានលុយ, ខ្លួនឯងទុំលាន/  
If they have the money, they will buy a car.
They will buy a car if they have the money.

Temporal Clause Relators

Clause relations which indicate time relations are:

1) Used in past, present, and future context:

- សាង /kron peel/ 'when; while'
- នំស /peel dael/ 'when; while'
- សំរាន /kracy (pi) / 'after'
- បំពី /ruoc pi/ 'after'
- ចុះ /dol/ 'when'
- សុវត្ថិភាព/ dol peel dael/ 'when'
- ញាន /naw peel/ 'when'
- លឹ /lhu/ 'when'
- យើង /tan pi/ 'since'
- សាទ /peel raa/ 'when, whenever'
- មិន (មិន) /mun (m) / 'before'

2) Used in a past context only:

- មាន /kaal/ 'when (past)'
- មាន /kaal pi/ 'when (past)'

3) Used in a non-past context only:

- មាន /kaal raa/ 'when, whenever'
- មាន /kaal raa ba/ 'when, whenever'
- មាន /ba ba kaal raa/ 'when, whenever'

4) Used only in a future context:

- តឹរ /tumrom/ 'when (future)'
- តឹរ /tumrom dol/ 'when (future)'

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Non-Temporal Clause Relators

/ kom aoy / 'in order that not, so that not'

/ kom aoy tax / 'so long as not, provided that not, on the condition that not', e.g.

/khnom taw kom aoy tax via taw/
I'll go only if he doesn't.

/kraen / 'lest, for fear that'

/kraw pi / 'aside from the fact that'

/khlaac / 'lest, for fear that'

/cumnuoh / 'instead of the fact that'

/douc(cia) / 'as if'

/damboey / 'in order that'

/damboey aoy / 'so that, in order that'

/daoy / 'given the fact that'

/daoy saa / 'because of the fact that'

/dbet(tas) / 'because, although'

/tol tas / 'until'

/tumran / 'until; only if, provided that'

/tos tas kom ay / 'if it were not for the fact that...'

/tuk bey cia / 'even though; if not...then'

/tuk bas(cia) / 'even though; if not...then'

/tsh / 'although, even though'

/tsh cia / 'even though, although'

/tsh bey(cia) / 'even though, although'

/tsh bas / 'even though, although'

/tsh bas(cia) / 'even though, although'

/baan cia / 'the reason why', e.g.

/via phnas luy taw baan cia via tshoel sebot/

The reason he got a letter is that he sent money.
(Literally, 'He sent money to (them) is why he got a letter.')

/baan cia/ is usually used in a past context.
រី /bae/'if'
រីសុំ /bae sen/'if'
រីសុំសាលាវ /bae sen mea/'if'
រីសុំសុំសាលាវ /bae sen mea cia/'if'
រីមកឈូ /bae sen cia/'if'
(អាង់)ព្យួរ /pih pru/'because'
ម្ដ្រីកាម៉ាន /luh trea tae/'only if, provided that, only on condition that,'
  e.g.

ម្ដ្រីកាម៉ាន /khnom tiw luh trea tae via tiw/

I'll go only if he does.

សម្លាត /samrap/'for the purpose of'
សម្លាត (ប្រសិនបើ) /soun bly(tae)/'although, even though'
ប្រគារ /hast tae/'just because'
សីម /aoy/'so that'
សីមតាម /aoy tae/'as long as, provided that'
VOCABULARY AND USAGE

U.1 Introduction

One of the biggest problems you will meet in your study of Cambodian is the fact that in many cases there will not be a one-to-one fit between Cambodian and English words. This is for two major reasons.

First, Cambodian and English-speaking societies are very different from each other; even as basic a factor as geography is widely different. English is spoken largely in temperate-climate countries; Cambodians live in a tropical land. Western technologies, philosophies, historical experiences, and religions are very different from those of Southeast Asia. Take food, for example. To a middle-class American, a meal consists usually of meat and vegetable, accompanied by some sort of carbohydrate, and perhaps dessert. To a Cambodian, especially a less affluent one, a meal is rice, generally accompanied by a much smaller amount of meat and vegetables than an American considers essential. This difference is reflected in the Cambodian word that comes closest to the English word 'meal': ខ្មែរ/baay/literally 'cooked rice.' In English we cook food; in Cambodian a housewife must ស្នើ /thee baay/'make rice' several times a day.

The second reason is the fact that people from various linguistic backgrounds slice up their perceived environment in different ways. That is, to a Cambodian, for example, a nuclear family consists of one's parents and one's older and younger siblings; to an American, on the other hand, the nuclear family is one's parents and one's male and female siblings—at least as far as the respective languages are concerned.

**English words for 'sibling'**  
brother  
sister

**Cambodian words for 'sibling'**  
_btn_/baom/'older sibling'  
_poun_/younger sibling'

In English the age distinction and in Cambodian the sex distinction can be expressed by adding an attributive word, e.g. 'older' in the English 'older brother' or _srey_/ 'female' in the Cambodian _srey_/baom srey/'older sister.'

A more extreme example of the difference in emphasis expressed in the kinds of distinctions made in the vocabulary of the two languages is the word 'cut.' In English there is one word 'cut' that can be used to cover many situations, all of which are so different to a Cambodian speaker that not only can he use a different word for
each situation, he must do so. Some of the Cambodian words for 'cut' are

- ៚៝/kat/ to cut with scissors, to cut in two
- ០៧០/han/ to slice
- ២០០/mat/ to cut oneself
- ៣០០/kap/ to chop (e.g. wood), to hack
- ៤០០/cie/ to trim all around
- ៥០០/crap/ to trim in spots
- ៦០០/cruit/ to cut grain in order to harvest
- ៧០០/cañram/ to chop up, to dice

To be sure, English has variants on 'cut' that correspond to some of these Cambodian words. However, 'cut' can be used in all cases to cover the basic idea; in Cambodian there is no single word.

This kind of thing happens the other way too. In Cambodian ៤០០ /gien/ means both 'study' and 'learn.' For you to distinguish between the two meanings to which you are accustomed when you speak Cambodian, you will have to either rely on context to clarify your meaning or will have to add additional words, e.g. ៤០០/gien oeh/ 'to learn,' literally 'to study (and) know.'

This all means that not only will you have to learn structural patterns and words, but you will have to learn about Cambodian history, culture, customs, and attitudes before you are really in control of the language. It is not enough to know that ២០០/basy/ means 'cooked rice;' you must also learn that ២០០/basy/ means 'meal' and in some—but not all—cases, 'food.' Furthermore, to really know Cambodian and to use even a simple word like ២០០ effectively, you should know what the social significance of rice is, and the role it plays in the non-meal-time life of the Cambodian people.

The rest of this section will discuss some specific vocabulary problems; the kinship system and the vocabulary used in specific types of social situation.

U.2 Cambodian Kinship

In Cambodian family relations, the most important factor is relative age. Respect is due members of the family who are older or of a higher generation; indeed, respect is due any older person. This affects the way various family members are addressed and the way they are discussed.
Ordinarily a member of a generation older than the speaker is referred to by the third-person pronoun រាប់ /kot/; the honorific particle ស្រី /sraei/ is used before verbs when the subject of the sentence refers to such a person, and formal-level vocabulary is used (cf. U.3.1). Note that when one marries into a family, one takes the same position as one's spouse, even though one may be older than some of the spouse's older relatives. For example a man calls all his wife's older siblings ប្រុស /boon/ even if he is older than they.

The kinship terms listed and described below are extremely important. You will need to know them to address many of the Cambodians you meet, especially those who are the same age, younger, or of similar or lower social status. After the kinship terms themselves are introduced, their application to non-relatives will be presented.

In the following tables, the term O-generation means those relatives who are the same generation as the person in question. Plus 1 generation means first ascending generation, or those relatives of the same generation as the person's parents; minus 1 generation means first descending generation, or the person's children's generation. Plus 2 generation is the grandparents' generation, etc.

### O Generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Addressed as</th>
<th>3rd-person pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ប្រុស</td>
<td>boon</td>
<td>រាប់ /boon/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ប្រសត្រ</td>
<td>poun</td>
<td>មើ /poun/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ប្រសត្រ មួយ</td>
<td>boon ciidoun muoy</td>
<td>មើ /boon/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ប្រសត្រ មួយ (ឯុិត)</td>
<td>poun ciidoun muoy</td>
<td>មើ /poun/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ប្រសត្រ មួយ (ុង)</td>
<td>boon ciituct muoy</td>
<td>មើ /boon/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ប្រសត្រ មួយ (ដែលមួយ)</td>
<td>poun ciituct muoy</td>
<td>មើ /poun/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

related by marriage:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Addressed as</th>
<th>3rd-person pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ប្រព័ន្ធ</td>
<td>pdey</td>
<td>រាប់ /boon/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ប្រព័ន្ធ មួយ</td>
<td>pdey /boon name/</td>
<td>រាប់ /boon/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ប្រព័ន្ធ មួយ (ឯុិត)</td>
<td>pdey /boon name/</td>
<td>រាប់ /boon/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ប្រព័ន្ធ មួយ (ដែលមួយ)</td>
<td>pdey /boon name/</td>
<td>រាប់ /boon/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Addressed as</td>
<td>3rd-person pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>បុគ្គល thlay</td>
<td>spouse's sibling មុខ/ and មុខ/</td>
<td>like បុគ្គល</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>អាគី thlay</td>
<td>spouse, respectively, older and younger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>បុគ្គល thlay</td>
<td>sibling of spouse, respectively, older and younger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>បុគ្គល thlay</td>
<td>parent of child's spouse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1st Generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Addressed as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>បុគ្គល</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>មោម</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>បុគ្គល thom, om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>មោម thom, om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>បុគ្គល mia, puu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>មោម mia, miin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Related by marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Addressed as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>បុគ្គល kneek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>មោម kneek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>បុគ្គល thom sac thlay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. Some Cambodians do not distinguish in this way between បុគ្គល thlay/ and បុគ្គល thlay/ may be simply a general term for in-laws, etc. "They're just in-laws." (Franklin Huffman, personal communication)

2. The numbers refer to the following groups: 1) urban, heavily influenced by French 2) urban, upper class, less French influence 3) urban, ordinary social status 4) rural
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Addressed as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ម័សោយយើងនូវែង</td>
<td>ម័សោយយើងនូវែង</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ម័សោយយើងធុង</td>
<td>ម័សោយយើងធុង</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ម័សោយយើងស្តេច</td>
<td>ម័សោយយើងស្តេច</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All members of this generation are referred to by the pronoun កាវ /kót/.

### 2 Generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Addressed as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>កាវ</td>
<td>កាវ /look taa/, សាន /taa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ដឹងឈឺញ</td>
<td>ដឹងឈឺញ /look yie/, សែ /doun/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(by marriage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Addressed as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>កាវកាអេ</td>
<td>កាវកាអេ /look taa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ដឹងឈឺញកាអេ</td>
<td>ដឹងឈឺញកាអេ /look yie/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3 Generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Addressed as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>កាវកេត</td>
<td>កាវកេត /look taa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ដឹងឈឺញកេត</td>
<td>ដឹងឈឺញកេត /look yie/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4 Generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Addressed as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>កាវកេត</td>
<td>កាវកេត /look taa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ដឹងឈឺញកេត</td>
<td>ដឹងឈឺញកេត /look yie/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5 Generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Addressed as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>កាវ</td>
<td>កាវ /look taa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ដឹងឈឺញ</td>
<td>ដឹងឈឺញ /look yie/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all cases the 3rd-person pronoun is កាវ /kót/.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Addressed as:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>koun</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>koun</td>
<td>/koun/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>name, koun /nian/ + name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kmuoy</td>
<td>niece or nephew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kmuoy</td>
<td>/kmuoy/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>name, kmuoy /nian/ + name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>koun prosaa</td>
<td>son or daughter-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>koun prosaa</td>
<td>/koun/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>name (male), name (female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>caw</td>
<td>any member of grandchild's generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>caw</td>
<td>/caw/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>whatever like koun except that koun is not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>caw prosaa</td>
<td>grandchild-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>caw prosaa</td>
<td>/caw/ name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>caw tuot</td>
<td>any member of great-grandchild's generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>caw tuot</td>
<td>see caw /caw/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>caw luot</td>
<td>any member of great-great-grandchild's generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>caw luot</td>
<td>see caw /caw/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>caw lia</td>
<td>any member of great-great-great-grandchild's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>caw lia</td>
<td>generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>see caw /caw/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all cases the 3rd-person pronouns are ខ្មែរ /kha/ or ខ្មែរ /nha/.
Cambodian Kinship

- ciitas tuot ciidoun tuot
- ciidoun  ciitas  ciidoun  ciitas  ciidoun  ciitas  ciidoun
- medaay swpuk medaay swpuk medaay swpuk swpuk medaay medaay medaay swpuk
- thom thom thom miia mia thom thom miia mia
- ** boon ciidoun boon thlay boon khnom (papun poun poun thlay poun sac)
- ** muoy or poun
- ciidoun muoy
- kmuoy kmuoy koun koun koun koun koun kmuoy kmuoy kmuoy kmuoy
- prosaa chboon prosaa paw prosaa prosaa
- caw caw caw prosaa caw caw prosaa
- caw tuot caw tuot

* swpuk-medaay thom/miia/miia

** boon-poun ciidoun muoy thlay

married

or descended from

90
The Effects of International Relations on Language

In relating to Cambodians, you will have to keep in mind that your identity does not remain stable. In English, you refer to yourself as 'I' in all cases, and you address others as 'you.' While in fact you don’t relate to everyone in the same way, at least you have that much stability in your identity. However, even the way a Cambodian translates 'I' and 'you' shifts with almost every person he meets.

The term you have learned for 'I' /khnom/ will serve you as a foreigner in most contacts with urban Cambodians. However, a Cambodian learns how to use pronouns like /an/, kinship terms, and titles to refer to himself, depending on his sense of how he relates to his interlocutor.

When you address people you will have a harder time. Here you must come to think like a Cambodian, since there is no word for 'you' like /khnom/ 'I' that you can rely on to be appropriate in most situations. You must become aware of the same kinds of distinctions as Cambodians are aware of; the biggest difference will be that Cambodians do it almost automatically; you will have to think about it for a long time.
to come.

The problem is complicated by the fact that there are differences in usage between urban and rural speakers, between people from different parts of the country, and between urban people of different social classes. The following discussion cannot be exhaustive, but we will try to give you enough to start with. As you get the chance to associate with Cambodians, listen carefully to how they address and discuss each other and how they refer to themselves.

The first distinction we can make is the way you address and discuss people with whom you are on formal and non-formal terms. Within each of these categories further distinctions are made.

U.3.1 Formal Relations

Formal relationships obtain between you and royalty, clergy and commoners to whom you wish to show respect. Since 1970 and the declaration of the Khmer Republic, there is little need for terms referring to royalty in speech, but they are widely used in pre-1970 writings and in post-1970 writing that refers to the royalty of another country, e.g. the King of Laos or Thailand. They are also used in legends and folk stories and in histories.

Royalty and monks are addressed and discussed using not only 'pronouns' different from each other and from those used with high ranking commoners but also with vocabulary substitutions for many other common verbs and nouns, e.g. 'to eat,' royalty /sacy/, clergy /chan/ and commoners to whom you want to show respect /pisa/. (There are other words that distinguish between people with whom you are not on formal terms, e.g. at mealtimes most urban peoples /nam/; children and animals and people whom you hold in contempt /sii/).

Pronoun Substitutes

Used to or about royalty

1st person

جة
 /tuul bonkum (cia) khnom meah/ (to king)

/ tuul bonkum/ (to other royalty)

/khnom meah/ (to other royalty)

/tuul bonkum cia khnom/ (to other royalty)
2nd person

 Erotic
 /préh on/ (to king or other royalty)

 Erotic'
 /moah/ (to other royalty)

 3rd person

 Erotic
 /préh on/ (of any royalty)

 Used by royalty

 1st person

 Erotic
 /trun aŋ/ (king)

 Erotic'
 /moah/ (other royalty)

 Erotic'
 /moah khnom/ (other royalty)

 2nd person
to commoner: Erotic
 /look/ (to upper class commoner)

 Erotic
 /aŋ/ (to lower class commoner)

 Erotic
 /nəʔ/ (neutral class reference)

 etc. according to social class (cf. N.1.2)
to royalty: Erotic
 /préh on/

 Erotic'
 /moah/ + kinship terms (with older members of own family)

 3rd person

 of commoner: Erotic, Erotic'
 /kot/, Erotic
 /via/,

 according to social standing of referent

 of royalty: Erotic
 /préh on/

 Used to or about clergy

 1st person

 Erotic
 /khnom (pre) kema/

 2nd person

 Erotic
 /predaoprekun/

 3rd person

 Erotic
 /look/

 Erotic
 /préh on/

 Erotic
 /predaoprekun/ + name (used of high ranking monk)
Used by clergy

1st person

/атмаа/

2nd person

/ноом/ (to parent and to acquaintance of parents' age)
otherwise as listed below according to age and social status.

3rd person

/вяс/, /кэ/, /кот/ or title as usual.

Used to or about commoners (with whom one is on formal terms)

1st person

/хноом/

2nd person

/лооқ/ (used with males of equivalent or higher social status)

/лооқ срэй/ (used with married females of higher social
status and by cosmopolitan Cambodians for most foreign women)

/нэы/ (used for older women of lower status and for one's
mother in /нэы сэдэй/'mother'.)

/нэы срэй/ (used with women of middle class, especially
married women)

/мэй/ (used with unmarried women or with married women of
ordinary social status.)

/кэнэа/ (used with unmarried women; quite formal)

Titles, e.g. /лооқ крэу/ '(male) teacher' are also used in place of
2nd person pronouns.

3rd person

/кэ/ (used of people in general ('they say...'); people
for whom respect need not be shown)

/кот/ (used of individuals (singular or plural), especially
those for whom one wishes to show respect)
Non-formal Relationships

Non-formal relationships obtain between you and people with whom you are on friendly or intimate terms or people of lower social status, especially servants and shopkeepers. It is in this kind of relationship that kinship terms are used extensively as second-person forms. (cf. also N.1.2)

1st person

1. ṣaŋ /aŋ/ (intimate or vulgar)
2. ṭ /knom (non-formal)
3. Appropriate kinship term in family or in intimate relations outside the family. (see below, under 2nd person)
4. yeon /'we, 'I'
5. kə /kə, /v/a/ (used by people who know each other well)

2nd person

1. aŋ /aŋ/ (intimate or contemptuous)
2. Name of person addressed (intimate)
3. Appropriate kinship term in family or in non-formal relations outside the family, as follows.

Older /boon/ 'older sibling' used with older siblings and acquaintances of equivalent or slightly greater age and of the same sex.

ɕ /caη/(Chinese) for female ṭ /boon/
ɕ (yia)/(Chinese) for male ṭ /boon/
puu /m/a/ 'uncle younger than parent' used with uncle younger than one's parent or a male acquaintance of parents' generation who is of equivalent or lower social status than speaker.
ɕ /caη/ (Chinese)

MIIN /miin/
/u/ (Chinese) 'aunt younger than parent' used with aunt younger than one's parent or a female acquaintance of parents' generation who is of equivalent or lower social status than speaker.


\[ \text{拐} /\text{om}/ \]

'uncle or aunt older than parent' used with uncle or aunt older than parent or with acquaintance of parents' generation but older than parents.

\[ \text{拐} /\text{oak}/ \]

(Chinese) sometimes used for male \[ \text{拐} /\text{om}/ \]

\[ \text{拐} /\text{ii}/ \]

(Chinese) sometimes used for female \[ \text{拐} /\text{om}/ \]

\[ \text{拐} /\text{taa}/ \]

(\text{嗨} /\text{ciitaa}/) 'grandfather' used with an acquaintance of grandparents' generation who is of equivalent or lower social status than speaker. (One's grandfather is called (拐) /look taa/.

\[ \text{拐} /\text{kon}/ \]

(Chinese) 'grandmother' used with an acquaintance of grandparents' generation who is of equivalent or lower social status than speaker (One's grandmother is called (拐) /look) yiey/.

\[ \text{拐} /\text{doun}/ \]

(\text{嗨} /\text{ciidoun}/) Younger: \[ \text{拐} /\text{p'oun}/ \]

'younger sibling' used with a younger sibling or younger acquaintance of any age

\[ \text{拐} /\text{oun}/ \]

\[ \text{拐} /\text{kmucuoy}/ \]

'nephew or niece' used with a nephew or niece or with a younger acquaintance of any age.

\[ \text{拐} /\text{man}/ \]

'child, miss' used with unmarried women, married women of ordinary social standing, and children under 20 or persons at least 10 years younger.
'Grandchild' used with grandchildren and children under 20 or persons at least 30 or so years younger.

A husband normally calls his wife oun/ (from 'younger sibling'), and this is the first person 'pronoun' that the wife uses in talking to her husband. Conversely, the wife calls her husband boon/ 'older brother,' and he calls himself boon/ when addressing his wife.

3rd person

1. kot/ (used for people whom you know as individuals and for whom you feel respect)
2. lek/ (used for people in general, for people younger than you or lower in status)
3. via/ (used for animals, things, and small children; also used to indicate contempt)

As noted at U.3, social relationships are expressed not only by pronoun substitutes, but also by choice of the proper verb where several are possible. Fortunately for the foreign learner, the verbs which must be selected according to social criteria are limited; they refer for the most part to such common activities as eating, sleeping, and speaking. A list of the most common is given below. In this list the designations of social level are as follows:

Vulgar means used to or about animals, children, people for whom one need not show much respect or for whom one feels contempt.

Ordinary means used to or about people with whom one is on informal terms but to whom it would be inappropriate to use a vulgar term.

Formal means used to or about people with whom one is on formal terms.

Clerical means used to or about a priest or monk.

Royal means used to or about royalty.

Motion verbs and a few other verbs which are not replaced by another verb at the three highest levels are preceded by an honorific: formal monean/, clerical mimu/, and royal trdn/.

For example:
If you were speaking of clergy, you would say

/look nimni moo hasy/
he (clergy)(honorific) come already
He's come already.

If you were speaking of royalty, you would say

/pre on trun yian moo hasy/
he (royalty)(honorific) go (royal) come already
He's come already.

(Note the change in the translation of 'he' in these three cases.) Even formal verbs like pisaa/'eat' may be preceded by one of the honorific particles, e.g.

/look eecsen pisaa ey?/
sir (honorific) eat what
What are you eating?

In the following table of verb alternates there are numbers to indicate who may use certain forms. For example, you may not use pisaa/'eat' when talking of yourself; instead you must use tetuol tian/'eat' when you speak of yourself at the formal style level. Thus the following interchange is appropriate:

A: /look pisaa basy hasy rivi now/
sir eat rice already or not-yet
Have you eaten yet?

B: /baat khnom tetuol-tien hasy/
yes I eat already
Yes, I've eaten already.

The letter (a) means that the form is used in the first person, (b) means that it is used only in the second and third persons, and no letter means that it is used in all three persons.
There are also some nouns which are chosen according to similar considerations, e.g., សាក /sii/ 'monk's food' (from សាច /chan/ 'to eat (clerical)'). Such nouns are much less frequent than the verbs and do not range through all the style levels.

### TABLE

#### Style-Determined Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vulgar</th>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Formal</th>
<th>Clergy</th>
<th>Royalty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to eat</td>
<td>/sii/</td>
<td>/sii/</td>
<td>/pi/saa(b)</td>
<td>/chan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/nəm/³</td>
<td>/tətʊəl tian/(a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>to go/</td>
<td>/tət/</td>
<td>/tət/</td>
<td>/ən/əʊən tɛə</td>
<td>/nɨmɨn tɛə/</td>
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<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td>/mʊ/</td>
<td>/mʊ/</td>
<td>/ən/əʊən mʊ</td>
<td>/nɨmɨn mʊ</td>
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<tr>
<td>to drink</td>
<td>/phək/</td>
<td>/phək/</td>
<td>/pi/saa(b)</td>
<td>/chan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/nəm/⁴</td>
<td>/tətʊəl tian/(a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>to sleep</td>
<td>/dɪək/</td>
<td>/dɪək/</td>
<td>/səm/ən(b)</td>
<td>/son/</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>/tətʊəl tian ɗəm/ɪək/(a)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>to be</td>
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<td>/kaʊt/</td>
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<td>born</td>
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<td>to die</td>
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<td>/sləp/</td>
<td>/moronə/(b)</td>
<td>/sləp/(a)</td>
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<td>/kʰʊəc/(b)</td>
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<td>/ɕʰɪət/</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/pʰət ɕɪət/</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

³. សាក /sii/ and តែរ /nəm/ are used in areas outside of Phnom Penh; in such areas សាក /sii/ is used only in the family with children. However, in Phnom Penh, the usual word is តែរ /nəm/.

⁴. Cf. note 3. សាក /sii/ is used like សាយ; តែរ /nəm/ is used more in Phnom Penh than in the provinces.

⁵. Cf. note one. សាយ /sii/ is used like សារ; តែរ /nəm/ is used in Phnom Penh for adults, elsewhere for children.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vulgar</th>
<th>Ordinary</th>
<th>Formal</th>
<th>Clergy</th>
<th>Royalty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to look/</td>
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<td>/aan/</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>/meel/(a)</td>
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<td>/haw/(b)</td>
<td>/nimin/</td>
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<td>/yan/(b)</td>
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<td>ស្តី</td>
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<td>/new/</td>
<td>/new/</td>
<td>/new/</td>
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<td>to give</td>
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<td>ឈី</td>
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<td>/niyey/(a)</td>
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<tr>
<td>to sign</td>
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<td>/laay pre hoh/(b)</td>
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<td>to think</td>
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<td>to walk</td>
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<td>/dao/(a)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX A

Summaries of Some Important Words

X.1 Summary of បាយ /bean/

1. 'to get's

ខែមាត់ការីយោ/
/khnom can baan luy/
I want (to get) some money.

2. 'to experience something desirable, to get to's

កើតមាត់បណ្តាលបាយលើកញ្ចក់សេស/
/via baan rotte kaa cuoy aoy tiw rian/
He was helped to study by the government.
This use of បាយ /bean/ is usually translated by an English passive.

3. past tense marker:

ឈុំបាយវំសណាត្ររឹង/សំវាតុយ
/khnom prep yean pip peel prak/
They told us this morning.

4. 'can, to be able's

ខែមាត់តោះ/បន្ទាប់ពីការបាយ
/khnom tiw man baan/
I can't go.

5. before a quantity of completed work:

ខែមាត់បាយស៊ុលេះបាយពីនីការ
/khnom meel sophaw bean pii kbaal/
I read (and finished) two volumes.

6. 'for...' (duration of time):

ខែមាត់ការីយោ/រយៈពេល៖
/via riem bean pii sattat/
He studied for two weeks.
7. 'not...until':

សេះរវិភាគប់អ៊ី
/dol maon pii baan khnom taw/
I won't go until two o'clock.

Note that in this usage ប់ /baan/ is a fixed clause relator (cf. ១.៣.១) coming between the condition សេះរវិភាគ /dol maon pii/ 'reach two o'clock' and the contingent event កុម្មុយ /khnom taw/ 'I'll go.'

8. 'always' in កុម្មុយ /baan taa/

កុម្មុយ
/kom baan tae niyisey/
Don't always be talking.

9. 'to get to':

សេះរវិភាគប់អ៊ី
/s'ask khnom man baan taw tee/
I won't get to go tomorrow.

This is really a special case of ១.២ above.

X.2 Summary of សេះរវិភាគ /aoy/

1. 'to give':

សេះរវិភាគ
/som aoy luy khnom/
Please give me some money.

2. plus adjective, with the meaning 'so that it will be...':

a. following imperatives:

សេះរវិភាគប់អ៊ី
/som meol aoy cbah/
Please read clearly.
b. causative, following /thea/

/khnom thea aoy pibaa/
I made (it) difficult.

3. causative:

/khe aoy khnom rien khmae/
They had me study Cambodian, or
They let me study Cambodian.

4. 'for, to':

/khnom thea aoy via/
I did it for him.

Note that formal style replaces /aoy/ by /cuun/, e.g.

/via thea cuun look/
He did it for you (sir).

5. 'I wish you...':

/som aoy mian somnaan/
I wish you luck.

6. 'provided that' in /aoy tae/:

/aoy tae srucol an the hasy/
Provided it's easy, I'll go.

Note that /aoy tae/ is a non-fixed clause relator (cf. R.3.2.2).
3. 'with':

柬埔寨
/khnom taw men kot/
I'll go with him.

4. 'and':

柬埔寨
/sok men sim taw meol kon/
Sok and Sim went to see a movie.

5. 'still, stable':

柬埔寨
/koun khnom choo men hasy/
My child stood quite still.

The word នាម /men/ 'this/that' is often pronounced នី /ni/, especially in fast speech in Phnom Penh.

X.5 Summary of ឈាម/hasy/:

1. 'already':

柬埔寨
/kee meol kon muh hasy/
They've already seen that movie.

2. in the future, means 'and it's no longer an issue' (implies a promise):

柬埔寨
/khnom men thee oen can hasy/
I'll do (it) that way.

3. 'and', used between clauses:

柬埔寨
/kot taw hasy khnom nem/
He went, and I stayed.
4. 'to be complete':

柬埔寨
/thse aqy hasy tw/
Get it finished.

5. 'to finish' (resultative verb):

柬埔寨
/yen thee mân hasy tee/
We can't finish (it).

X.6 Summary of ទំ/tw/

1. 'to go':

柬埔寨
/yen tw srok khmae khae kraoy/
We're going to Cambodia next month.

2. motion away from the speaker:

柬埔寨
/som yoo ovan muh tw/
Please take those things away. (follows the verb phrase)

3. events in future time:

柬埔寨　柬埔寨
/kraoy tw, yen traw kham ntec/
From now on, we'll have to try harder.

4. imperative:

柬埔寨
/niyse khmae tw/
Speak Cambodian! (used at end of clause)
APPENDIX B

Cambodian Names and Titles

B.1 Structure

As in much of the rest of East Asia, the name of an individual in Cambodia has two parts, which are called ស្តេច/niam trokool/surname and ឆ្លាញ/niam kluon/given name. The ស្តេច/niam trokool/ or surname comes first. All ethnic groups in Cambodia follow this system, though the given name may have two parts in the case of Chinese and Vietnamese, e.g. អង្គ/ang 'Ang' is the surname and បុណ្យ/bun hay/'Bun Hai' are the two parts of the given name.

B.1.1 The Surname

Ethnic Khmer names do not always follow a consistent pattern, perhaps as a result of the fact that surnames were not introduced into Cambodia until 1910. The surname is assigned variously in different families. Probably the most common pattern is to give children the given name of their paternal grandfather as surname, so that in a family in which the paternal grandfather is named សួសារ/kaen yim/'Keng Yim' and the father is named កាលីក្ស៊ឺត/kaet loc/'Ket Loch,' a male child might be named សួសារ/kaen yim/'Keng Yim,' សួសារ/kaen loc/'Keng Loch,' and សួសារ/kaen khast/'Keng Khet.' Sometimes a female child in such a family is given her maternal grandfather's given name, but usually she receives the paternal grandfather's name also.

Some other families give the children their father's surname, as in Western countries. In such a family the three generations would be named សួសារ/kaen yim/'Keng Yim,' សួសារ/kaen loc/'Keng Loch,' and សួសារ/kaen khast/'Keng Khet.'

Yet other families assign both surname and given names as if both were given names, without reference to the names of other members of the family. Thus, for instance, in such a family, the members of the three generations might be named សួសារ/kaen yim/'Keng Yim,' សួសារ/kaen loc/'Keng Loch,' and សួសារ/kaen khast/'Keng Khet.'

Yet other families assign the great-grandfather's name as surname. In addition, a person may change his or her name as an adult, choosing a name that is totally unlike the names of other members of the family.
There is also a case of a man who has as surname both his parents' surnames, e.g. the child of KEM Sos and KHAY Toura might be known as KEM-KHAY Ketera.

B.1.2 The Given Name

Given names are generally chosen for euphony and, if the name has meaning, for the meaning. Siblings of the same sex are often given alliterative names, so that three brothers, for example, might be named ស្រែ /saa'n/‘Samn,' ស្រី /soon/‘San,' ស្រី /soh/‘Sos,’ or three sisters in the same family might be named ដឹ /diil/‘Di,' ដស /doon/‘Dan,’ and ដុ /dom/‘Dom.’ Such names need have no meaning at all, being chosen because their sound is pleasing to the parents.

When Khmers give names that have meaning, they normally take names either from the Cambodian language, e.g. កុល /koulap/‘rose,’ or from Sanskrit or Pali, e.g. សុរមារ /Suramarit/‘virtuous and immortal.’

Cambodians who have been influenced by Western culture may give European, especially French, names to their children. They do not ordinarily give Chinese or Vietnamese names unless one parent is Chinese or Vietnamese.

Names of members of the royal family come from Sanskrit and Pali and are normally polysyllabic, e.g. Suramarit, Indravong, etc., contrasting with names of Khmer origin, which are usually monosyllabic or disyllabic. The present royal family has two main branches, NORodom and STISOWATH, and each member of the royal family bears one or the other as surname. Members of the royal family are referred to either by both surname and given name, e.g. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, or by given name alone, e.g. Prince Sihanouk.

B.2 Usage

Ordinarily members of a family do not address each other by name but rather use kinship titles (see section U.3.2 above), e.g. បុព្វ /boon/‘older sibling.’ Kinship terms like ‘uncle’ or ‘younger sibling’ are also used to address acquaintances and friends.

When a child enters school, his teachers call him by his full name, e.g. កំសឹ /kam soh/‘KEM Sos,’ and so his classmates and contemporaries normally follow suit, so that the individual is referred to as កំសឹ/kam soh/‘KEM Sos,’ not កំ /kam/‘KEM.’

1. There are a few members of the ANG DUONG branch as well.
or សីរ /soh/ 'Sos' by his contemporaries as well. After reaching adulthood, to intimate friends he may be known as នាឡិក /nha/ 'Hai,' while to persons with whom he is on formal terms he may be known as អាចក់ /look kem/ 'Look (‘Mister’) KEM Sos or អាចក់សីរ /look soh/ 'Look Sos.'

A woman is referred to in the same way, except that she is given the title ស្រី /nian/ if unmarried or married and of ordinary social status. If married and of higher social status, she may have the title អណ្តុស /nha srey/ or អាចក់ស្រី /look srey/. When a Cambodian woman marries, she keeps her maiden name. In cosmopolitan society or on official documents she takes the French title Madame and her husband's full name. Thus if Kem Sos' wife is named អណ្តុស /nha srey/ KEM Sos or អាចក់ស្រី /look srey/ KEM Sos. She may also be referred to as ស្រី /nian/ KHAY Tours wife of KEM Sos.

A divorcee will continue to use the name of her divorced husband as above until remarriage, in which case she will adopt the name of the new husband. A widow does likewise.

B.3 Lists of Titles

B.3.1 Titles in General Formal Address

ស្រី /nha/ used with males of equivalent or higher social status.

អាចក់ស្រី /look srey/ used with women of high social status, with wives of high status men, and by cosmopolitan Cambodians for most foreign women.

នាខ្ស /nha/ used for older women of ordinary social status and for one's mother in អាចក់ស្រី /nha srey/ 'mother.'

៦៦ /nha srey/ used with married women of the middle class.

ស្រី /nian/ 'Miss' (see above, Section B.3.1), also used with children of either sex.

កុង /kanna/ 'Miss' (formal)
B.3.2  Honorific Titles

1. ព្រះអធិរាជ /preh udong/
2. ស្រុកកម្មវិធី /look cumtiev/

His Excellency, Your Excellency
used to address or refer to the wife of
an ព្រះអធិរាជ /preh udong/ or to a
very high woman official.

B.3.3  Royal Titles

1. ស្រុក /sac/

2. ព្រះអធិរាជ /preh mohaksat/
3. ព្រះអធិរាជ /preh caw/
4. ស្រុក /athiriec/

5. ព្រះអធិរាជ /preh caw?athiriec/
6. ព្រះអធិរាជ /mohaksatriyani/

King
King
King
Emperor
Emperor
Emperor
Queen
Queen

"Prince, Princess" one who is eligible
to become king or queen. Also a non-
hereditary title of nobility which the
king could give to a commoner or a
member of his family, usually his oldest
son. May be used to designate an
extremely learned or powerful person
as well.\(^1\)

*Prince, Princess* child of the king
*Prince, Princess* grandchild of a king
when both parents are a king's children.

A wife of the king other than his first
wife. She is a commoner.

A commoner who becomes the wife of a

---

1. The title ស្រុក /sac/ has been abolished by decree except for the highest
 ranks in the Buddhist hierarchy.
9. ជប /trun/
   /prən on moah/ or a /nəŋ on moah/.
   Child of a /prən on moah/ or a
   /nəŋ on moah/ whose mother is a commoner.

10. ការ /kaav/
    The child of a /trun/ or child of any
    other descendant of a king whose father
    is a commoner. Children of a /kaav/ are
    considered commoners.

B.3.4  Clerical Titles (for Buddhist clergy)

1. សំប្រ /prəh son/
    A Buddhist monk

2. សាក /neen/
    A postulant monk (2 or 3 months in the wat)

3. សាល័យ /saamanee/
    A novice monk (up to approximately two
    years in the wat)

4. អន្តរ /phikoʔ/
    A Buddhist monk, particularly one who
    is no longer a novice

5. មូហាកីរ /mohathae/
    A monk who has been in the wat for at
    least ten years

6. មូហាកីរ(ប្រដាល) /prəh dac/
    Title for any monk; term of address for
    (prəh) kun/
    a monk

7. មូហាកីរ /prəh mohaa/
    A monk of high rank, especially the
    superior of a wat or his assistants
    This term is used for:

8. ការរ៉ូស្តូ /caaw aathikaa/
    The elected superior of a wat

9. ក្រោយ /kruu sout/
    the elected assistant to the superior of
    a wat (there are two in each wat);
    also called

ក្រោយរ៉ូស្តូ /caaw aathikaa roon/ 'assistant superior'

10. អាជីវ /saaca/
    A lay official who acts as liaison
    between the wat and the lay community

11. ម៉ែកុន /meekun/
    The head of the monks of a province
12. Chief of the clerical community in Cambodia
   Female Clergy

13. A Buddhist nun
14. A novice nun (under two years)
15. A Buddhist nun who is no longer a novice
16. A Buddhist nun of at least 10 years standing with administrative responsibility or extra prestige

B.3.5 Military Titles

1. Officers

2. Warrant Officers

3. Enlisted Men
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Khmer</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>មែលមួយ</td>
<td>/meay ak/</td>
<td>Chief Corporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>មែលពួក</td>
<td>/meay too/</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ស្រោសក្ស</td>
<td>/poo1 ak/</td>
<td>Private First Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ស្រោសក្ស</td>
<td>/poo1 too/</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>សូរោក</td>
<td>/poo1 trey/</td>
<td>Recruit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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3. Huffman, Franklin, Modern Spoken Cambodian, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1970