

NOTES

RECOVERING EXTRACTED INFIXES IN MIDDLE KHMER: THE FREQUENTATIVE [-N-]

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I am going to show that (i) some of the so-called reduplicated prefixes in Middle Khmer follow a morphophonemic rule attested in Mon which can help recover lost infixes (in this case [-N-]) and that (ii) there is a case for recognizing the function 'frequentative' in Khmer. This note is a sequel, with additional examples drawn from Pou's Rāmakerti studies (1977), of my earlier analysis of proto-Khmer *p- and *-N- (1988)*

In her typological comparison Jacob (1963) lists a 'frequentative' function for modern Khmer, showing reduplicated base-initials /k-, c-, t-, p-, d-, b, ŋ-, ɲ-, m-, s-/ but none for Old Khmer with Middle Khmer data not being examined. These were analyzed later in 1973. On that occasion a 'frequentative' function was recognized but there was only one example in the data to support this analysis (base-initial /c-/). One should remember though that Jacob's Middle Khmer analysis was based exclusively on the available epigraphic data. Comparing this restricted data-base both with Old Khmer and modern Khmer she comments:

The reduplicative prefixes (frequentatives and intensifiers) seem to have come into use much more fully since the Middle Khmer period [1976:608]

Examining additional material drawn from the Khmer version of the Rāmāyaṇa Saveros Pou (1977) - in this case, drawing on the earlier redaction, dating from the 16th century AD, designated as R[āmakerti].I. - recognizes, in the section on morphology (pp. 124-131), (i) reduplication of base-initials as morphemic and assigns (ii) the function "désidératif" to this process:

Ce sur quoi je voudrais insister est l'usage du redoublement dans R.I. Il est rare en vieux khmer, et devient un abus en bas khmer moyen et khmer moderne [...]. Or, à côté de la fonction trop connue comme d'intensité, le redoublement exprime le désir ou l'intention en passant par le stade de l'insistance; cet aspect que j'appelle désidératif est exploité exceptionnellement en khmer moyen [...] [1977:128]

Again, here are a number of misconceptions: Assumptions about frequency and productivity are being made by comparing data of a rather diverse nature; medieval Khmer Buddhist epigraphy is very different in its textual resources from 7th century monumental inscriptions, and differs also from an early epic text intended for recitation. Secondly, derivatives with different phonotactic patterns following different morphophonemic rules, reflecting different stages of a transition, are lumped together.¹ A new analysis will be proposed below.

By 'extracted infix' I refer to infixes which occur only in bases with simple initials. These are not inserted into the base, that is, following the base-initial, but precede the base-initial; the derivational process is completed only when the base-initial is repeated enclosing thus the infix.² according to the following pattern:

	<u>Extracted Infixation</u>	<u>Simple Infixation</u>
base	$C_1 V(C)$	$C_1 V(C)$
derivative	$C_1 -X-C_1 V(C)$	$C_1 -X-V(C)$

where -X- symbolizes the infix.

These two types of infixation are attested in Old Mon and some Katuic languages, the former type also in Javanese.³ The reasons for calling this process 'extracted infixation' (and not, for example, complex prefixation or the like) relate to my analysis of Mon morpho-syntax where extracted infixation is historically related to affix-extraction and the emergence of clause-clitics.⁴ In Mon this process is complicated by a number of restrictive phonological rules which need not concern us here.⁵ Elsewhere I have given a number of Old Mon paradigms illustrating the use of the 'frequentative', an aspect-marking nasal infix [-N-], extracted from verbal bases with simple initials or simply infixed in verbal bases with complex initials. The following paradigm must suffice:

dɯk	base	'to be complete'
rəndɯk	[-N-]	[frequentative]
pəndɯk	[p-], [-N-]	'completing'
spəndɯk	[s-], [p-], [-N-]	[hypothetical, causative, frequent]
sɯk	[s-]	'shall be complete'

Multiple affixation, combining [p-] causative forms with [-N-] nasal infixed forms, occurs, just like in Khmer, with one difference: The nasal infix [-N-] in Khmer is in complementary distribution with the prefix [p-] (in the case of causatives) whenever the base-initial is complex; in other words, polymorphe

/pCC-/ initials are unknown in Khmer and are in complementary distribution with /CNC-/ initials. In Mon the complementary set for the causative prefix [p-] in the same environment (CC- base initials) consists of the vocalic infix [-ə-].

Extracted infixation is attested in Middle Khmer- and it would be surprising if it were not, given the Katuic evidence- as in

le / 'anle 'on, above' / 'place' (IMA 26.8 / IMA 2.40)
(see Jacob (1976), p. 616).⁶

Jacob's establishing a function 'frequentative' is based on the following instance (1976.611, IMA 37.14):

cāy / cacāy 'to spend' / 'to contribute'

Before examining further Middle Khmer data, let us look first at a variety of Northern Khmer, as described by Thomas (1984 and 1989); we find in her analysis of nasal affixation variation of the following kind:

sΛ:m	/	psΛ:m ~ pansΛ:m	'to be wet' / 'to wet'
dΛt	/	pdΛt ~ pandΛt	'to be stained' /
			'to paint, smear'
krah	/	kanrah ~ kamrah	'to be thick' / 'thickness'
phlu:	/	panlu:	'to be bright' /
			'brightness'
pruah	/	panruah	'to scatter' /
			'what was scattered'
cruh	/	canruh ~ camruh	'to fall off' /
			'what fell off'

Such a paradigm suggests that an autonomous nasal infix has to be recognized; problematic is the confusion of semantic categories as well as variation of the nasal itself. On the basis of Mon I am inclined to recognize a 'frequentative' for /-n-/ and an 'attributive' for /-m-/ with subsequent contamination and overlap. Important in this case is that multiple affixation occurs, consisting of a causative prefix [p-] and a nasal infix the exact function of which has yet to be determined. Although the nasal infix has a 'causative' function when occurring with complex base-initials of the form CC- (in complementary distribution with [p-] for simple base-initials) that cannot be its sole function. Neither the data from Surin nor the following Middle Khmer data lend themselves to such an interpretation:

brāy /	banrāy	'pretty, shimmering' / 'resplendent'
phtām /	pantām	'to instruct' / 'instruction'
cboh /	camboh	'towards' / '[...], directed to' (attributive?)
chut /	camhut	'effective' / 'having the power to bring things to pass'
snak /	samnakk	'to stay overnight' / 'to stay at, in'
thlā /	taṃlā	'to be pure' / 'purity' (attributive?)

(Jacob 1976. passim.)

Before recognizing a function for the nasal infix further Middle Khmer data should be examined: Pou's list (1977.128) of so-called reduplicated initials follows as Fig. 2. (Fig. 1 illustrates extracted infixation and simple infixation in Old Mon.) I have rearranged Pou's data in Fig. 2 and separated nasalized and non-nasalized derivatives, including a revealing case of variation:

coeñ /	cacoēñ ~ cañcoēñ	"se redresser" / "être prétentieux, abusif"
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Here we have a case of medio-cluster reduction /-nc-/ > /-c-/ in progress. The loss of the medial nasal here, and in the examples in Fig. 2, is morphemic. This process is well attested in Mon and leads there to affix-syncretism⁷, that is, the merger of formerly distinct semantic functions through loss, merger, or replacement of affixes. All the cases shown in the right hand column of figure 2 can be interpreted as forms that had earlier medio-clusters consisting of a nasal in its first position.

Forms with $C_1\text{ə}C_1-$ and $C_1\text{ə}NC_1-$ initials, corresponding to bases with simple¹ initials, can be interpreted as 'frequentatives' and 'attributives'; the same applies to forms with $C_1\text{ə}NC_2-$ complex initials corresponding to bases with complex¹ initials $C_1\text{ə}C_2-$ if the former are not derived 'causatives'.

To sum up I think one can argue that Khmer has (i) a morphophonemic process of extracted infixation, and (ii) a nasal extracted infix [-N-] which can be assigned the function 'frequentative'. Both epigraphic Middle Khmer and Middle Khmer of the Ramakerti I suggest it to be a transitional stage with progressive mediocluster-reduction.

Extracted Infixes	Simple Infixes
yom / yomyom	yas / yemas
pi? / pempi?	'to shine' / [attributive]
leh / renleh	pa? / pema?
lon / renlon	'to do' / [attributive]
sul / sersul	
/	
/	
[-m-]	[-m-]
[-m-]	[-m-]
[-N-]	[-m-]
[-N-]	[-m-]
[-r-]	[-m-]
[-r-]	[-n-]
[-N-]	[-n-]
'to breathe' / [attributive]	'to do' / 'conduct'
'three' / 'triad'	'finished' / [attributive]
'to dance' / [frequentative]	'tree' / [quantifier]
'destroyed' / 'degeneration'	'low' / [attributive]
'to write' / 'writing'	'to spreas' / 'mat'
'two' / 'pair'	
'complete' / 'to complete'	
pa? / pna?	[-n-]
tuy / tmuy	[-m-]
tom / tom	[-n-]
sor / smor	[-m-]
sal / snal	[-n-]

Figure 1: Extracted and Simple Infixes in Old Mon.

Extracted Infixes [-N-]	Masked Extraction (Simplified Medio-clusters)
* tɨŋ / tantɨŋ "savoir" / "s'enquérir" dāp / dandāp "bas" / "se montrer modeste" dɨŋ / dandɨŋ "en travers" / "attendre la venue de" doen / dandoen "désirer vivement" / "se montrer hautain" laŋ' / lanlaŋ' "éloigné" / "s'étirer"	-dūc / dadūc "attirer à soi" / "insister, demander" loe / laloe "dessus" / "se croire supérieur" -lāk' / lalāk' "se mouvoir de haut en bas" / "être léger" coek / cacoek "folâtre" / "impudique" puol / papuol "appeler" / "inviter avec insistance" pūl (<u>id.</u> , variant base)

Figure 2: Extracted Infix [-N-] and Masked Extraction (simplification of medio-clusters) in Middle Khmer (Rāmakerti I., source: Pou (1977), p.128)

OM	MKhM.	function	word-class
[-m-]*	[-m-]	agentive	v → n
[-n-]	[-n-]	instrumental	v → n
[-n-]	[-n-]	quantifier	n → n
[-N-]	[-n-]	frequentative	v → v
[-m-]	[-m-]*	attributive	v → v
[-ə-]	[-N-]	causative (allomorph)	v → v

Figure 3: Nasal infixes in Khmer and Mon and their functions; []* denotes rare occurrence.

Such a scenario, however, raises new questions: Why were initials of the shape $C_1\text{ə}NC_1$ - subject to medio-cluster reduction and initials of the shape $*p_1\text{ə}NC_1$ - subject to fossilization and re-analysis (incidentally, just like in Katuic)? Was there in Khmer an 'attributive' function to be assigned to the infix [-m-]? Would that be a retention from Proto-Mon-Khmer, or how is the Mon evidence to be evaluated (in Mon this is a highly productive affix)?

NOTES

1. Cases of nasal accretion (nasaler Zuwachs, à la Dempwolff) and cases without nasal accretion are not separated.

2. See Bauer 1982.136-297, 509-519; for a review of extracted infixes pp. 238-239.

3. For Katuic, see Bauer 1982.508-510, and 1988.11. For Javanese see especially Rukmantoro Hadi Sumukti, Javanese morphology and morphophonemics. Ithaca, Cornell University, PhD thesis, 1971, x, 164pp. and E.M. Uhlenbeck, De struktur van het Javaansche morpheem. Bandung, A.D. Nix (= Koninklijk Bataviasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 75), 1949. Khmer and Mon contacts are attested in Java itself, around the 11th century AD; Tamil contacts there also occurred.

4. See also some of my other publications, listed in the Austroasiatic Bibliography in this issue of MKS. Verbal paradigms are given in my 'Is it tense or modality (or both) that is marked in Mon? The "hypothetical"' in: J. Davidson, ed., Contributions to Mon-Khmer Studies - Essays in honour of H.L. Shorto, London, SOAS (in press).

5. Necessary in this context in order to understand the examples cited is the rule whereby a /ʔVC/ base undergoing extracted infixation reduplicates not the glottal stop but replaces it by an /r-/; /lVC/ bases reduplicate not the /l-/ but also an /r-/ in the derivative. /r-/ suppletion does not apply to imploded /b-/ base-initials where its corresponding voiced plosive is reduplicated. /dVC/ bases are ambivalent, possibly due to contamination: /dVC/ bases may reduplicate /r-/ initials, as in the example given here, or, following the rule for the imploded /b-/ base-initial, reduplicate its voiced exploded counterpart /d-/ to yield a form like /dəXdVC/ (where X is the

extracted infix). Why this contamination has taken place I do not know; another variant occurs in cases like /tərɔy/ 'inside', derived from /ɔy/ by extracted infixation of [-r-] where the suppletive reduplicated initial is the voiceless plosive.

6. Middle Khmer data appear here in transliteration, Mon data and Northern Khmer in IPA. IMA refers to 'Inscriptions Modernes d'Angkor'. This example is the only one attested in IMA; it may actually be interpreted as *'le undergoing simple infixation with [-n-]. There are, however, cases in Old Khmer reported by Jacob and mentioned in Bauer 1988 to support the view that extraction does occur.

7. My theory of affix-syncretism in Mon-Khmer was first developed in Bauer 1982.156-164, and grew out of my reading of Delbrück's Synkretismus - Ein Beitrag zur germanischen Kasuslehre, Strassburg, Trübner, 1907.

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