

AFFIXION IN SIAMESE*

By

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Despite their considerable importance, affixes (apart from Sanskrit-Pali prefixes and suffixes) are not even mentioned in the more than a dozen Siamese grammars and manuals written in Latin, English, French and German I have so far seen. The subject is treated by Siamese grammarians, but neither fully nor systematically. As will be shown in the following pages, affixion in Siamese follows the Khmer system throughout, thus demonstrating the truth of Aymonier's dictum: "Il est difficile de connaître scientifiquement la langue Siamoise sans une étude préalable de l'idiome Cambodgien".

PREFIXION

Siamese uses the Khmer system of affixion in its entirety; it has the same methods of reduplication. It employs, furthermore, certain prefixal forms derived from elements of compounds, and others that are nothing but euphonic additions. Finally, Sanskrit-Pali prefixes and suffixes are used, almost exclusively with Sanskrit-Pali roots.

Khmer employs as prefixes:		Corresponding to Siamese:
the vowel	a (always nasalized)	อ๋
the guttural	k forming adjectives or participles	ก ข (ค)
the palatal	c forming nouns	จ ฉ ช
the dental	t forming nouns	ต
the labial	p forming the causative	ป ผ (พ)
the dental	d (always nasalized) forming nouns	ด
the labial	b (always nasalized) forming the causative	บ
the liquid	r (and, as a variant, l)	ร (ล)
the sibilant	s forming nouns	ส

*I am very much indebted to Phya Anuman-Rachathon for elucidating several doubtful points, correcting some mistakes and inaccuracies, and helping me with his invaluable advice throughout.

Of these the labial prefix is most frequent. The nasals, "n", "m", "ng", semi-vowels "y", "v", the liquid "l" (except as a mutant of "r"), and the aspirate "h" are never used in prefixion.

- Prefixes may be used
- 1) simple.
 - 2) nasalized.
 - a) by nasal increment (n, ng)
 - b) by "am" (*damleu*)
 - 3) followed by r.

A prefix with subsequent "r" denotes the reflexive or reciprocity. In Siamese the distinction between the simple prefix and the "r" form is scarcely felt; there is a tendency to insert "r" after ɽ and n in writing, whereas it is rarely audible in speech.

The simple prefix is as a rule aspirated in Khmer; aspiration is optional before semi-vowels ("y", "v"; ɥ, ɔ) and the liquid "l" (a) and never occurs before "d" and "b" (ɗ, ɓ). This rule is discarded in Siamese, non-aspirated simple prefixes being much more prevalent. In some instances, however, the aspirated form survives, used interchangeably with the non-aspirated: ɽ for nɽ (nɽɽ); ɽ for ɽɽ (ɽɽɽ), etc.

Aspirates lose the aspiration if nasalized v. i. p. 79.

(Only the aspirated surds ɽ, ɗ, ɓ, ɗ, etc. — not ɗ, ɽ, ɗ — are here considered "aspirated").

Simple prefixes are not permissible with root-words beginning with a consonant of the same class (n or ɽ before n, ɽ, a, etc.) These rules do not apply to reduplication; cf. p. 77.

Nasalization is obligatory with the prefixes "a", "d" and "b" (a, ɗ, ɓ) and with all prefixes used before a consonant of the same series. "r" may follow every prefix with the exception of "d" and "b" (ɗ, ɓ); it is always allowed after "p" (ɽ); after "k", "c", "t" (n, ɽ, ɗ) only before a non-aspirated labial, the semi-vowel "v", the liquid "l" and the aspirate "h". These latter restrictions are neglected in Siamese.

Theoretically each root-word may in Khmer form derivatives with all existing prefixes. One and the same root can in principle

form with one and the same prefix four derivatives (by using the simple prefix, the prefix with a nasal, with "am" or with "r"). Actually even in Khmer more than two derivatives from the same root are comparatively rare; still more so in Siamese.

Khmer does not form derivatives by prefixion from derivatives by infixion and vice versa. In some rare instances, an infix-derivative may form a sub-derivative by nasalization: *kang-krank-kamrang*.

Examples in Siamese are :

ช่วย, ช่วยร่ว to help.

ขาด to be torn, defective, absent, ขจัด, กำจัด to expel, disperse, to drive away.

Two rather exceptional examples of multiple affixion to the same root will illustrate the Khmer system :

	in Khmer :		in Siamese
kat	cut, carve, decide		
th-kat	bodily pain		
s-kat	cut, erase	สกัด	chisel out, chip
bang-kat	cut, carve, clip		
sang-kat	range, division	สังกัด	limit, confines, boundary
dam-kat	pain		
kh-n-at	rule, measure	ขนาด	series, small piece, measure
k-amn-at	slice, fragment		
bek	to be broken, explosion	แตก	to be broken, divided
pra-bek	to be divided		
bam-bek	to break		
kam-bek	broken		
p-l-ek	changed	แปลก	changed, strange
ph-n-ek	part	แผนก	division, department
p-ran-ek	crash		
b-amu-ek	fragments		

Siamese has adopted the Khmer system of prefixion. The different values of the prefixes tend, however, to become vague or are disregarded, being recognizable only occasionally; the euphonic rules are no longer strictly observed, aspirated and non-aspirated prefixes being employed side by side with the same root-word; many

prefixes, and especially the four forms each prefix may adopt—where they occur—are apt to be used interchangeably, often without distinction of meaning or function. In some instances prefixes are confused or applied indiscriminately by analogy.

Similar tendencies appear, however, in modern Khmer as well. Many of the following examples are of Khmer origin; others are Thai or Chinese, treated in exactly the same way by analogy, just as Khmer may form derivatives from Chinese, Sanskrit-Pali or Thai roots.

PREFIXION IN SIAMESE

The vowel "a"

The "am" prefix is doubtful in Khmer; according to Maspero possibly always originally "ram"

ลา, (ลาลา), อลา (?) to bid farewell, take leave.

The guttural series กะ, กรร*, กำ, กระ, ข

จ่าย, ขจัดจ่าย, กะจัดกระจาย, กระจัดกระจาย, to distribute, disperse, scatter.

มุบมิบ, หมุบหมิบ, กระหมุบกระหมิบ, to twitch, pucker, throb.

เง้างออด, กะเง้ากะงออด, กระเง้ากระงออด, angered, irritated.

บัง to screen, conceal, กำบัง to cover, make a shelter, กระบัง shelter.

แขง to go alongside, กระแขง nearby.

กระทบ, กระกระทบ, กระกระทบ to hit, collide.

ค is rare: ลาด (to spread down, go around, cruise), คลาด (to be separated, to slip, miss); คลา (to go away, withdraw), from ลา (take leave).

The palatal series จะ, ฉะ, ชะ, จำ, ชำ, จระ, ชระ

งอย near the edge, จะงอย extreme tip.

ง่อน tottering, threatening to fall, ชะง่อน overhanging (rocks).

และ, แฉฉะ, จำแหละ to cut, carve.

ฉลุ, ชระฉลุ to perforate.

บัง to conceal, จำบัง (this form is not considered correct) to hide, secrete.

พวก, จำพวก group.

* I fail to understand why the "an" prefix should almost invariably be spelled with รร in Siamese.

จมุก, จระมุก nose (the root has disappeared in Khmer; it is preserved in Mon: "muh").

มัว dim, จระมัว dawn.

มุ่น worried, จระมุ่น to be perturbed.

ลัด to take a short-cut, จระลัด short-cut.

The dental series ตะ, คำ, ตระ

เพิง projecting roof, ตะเพิง ledge, overhanging rock.

เวน in turn, ตะเวน, ตระเวน to patrol, be on guard.

ลอด to pass through, ตลอด, ตระลอด throughout (?)

แบน flat, ตระแบน to throw down (?)

ริ to consult, plan, คำริ to consider, resolve, plan.

อวด to boast, display ostentatiously, คำอวด (จ้ออวด) clown, ostentatious.

Occasionally interchanged with guttural prefixes :

ตะไกร, กรรไกร, ก้นไกร scissors.

ตะบอง, กระบอง club, truncheon.

ตระบัด, กระบัด instantaneous.

ตระเวน, กระเวน to patrol.

The labial series ป, ปะ, บรร, บัน, บัง, บำ, ประ, ผ

จุ contain, full, ปะจุ, ปะจุ, บรรจุ to fill.

ราบ flat, level, ปราบ, บำราบ to level.

เพ็ญ ful, บำเพ็ญ fulfil.

เกิด, บังเกิด to be born, originate, occur.

ราย, ปราย scatter.

เรียบ smooth, well-arranged, compose, เปรียบ to place side by side, compare.

ควร, บังควร becoming, suitable.

อาจ able, daring, bold, บังอาจ bold, daring.

ชุม, ประชุม, ผชุม (ผะชุม) to assemble.

ผจง (พะจง), ปะจง, ประจง, บรรจง elegantly, neatly.

ดาล to make, create, บันดาล to originate, produce.

เดิน, บันเดิน to walk.

เจิด (เจ็ด) beautiful, ประเจิด, บรรเจิด to beautify.

เดิม origin, beginning, ประเดิม, ผะเดิม to begin, initiate.

Occasionally interchanged with guttural prefixes :

บันได, กะไ้, กระไ้ stairs.

ประตัก, กะตัก, กระตัก goad, spur.

Sometimes w is used instead of ผ :

ผยิบ, พะยิบ to flutter.

ผเอิญ, พะเอิญ accidentally.

The liquids ระ, รัง, รำ, ละ, ล้ำ

คาย rough, irritating, ระคาย angered, peeved.

ยัง to remain, ระยัง to restrain (?)

ยั้ง to stop, desist, ระยั้ง restrain.

ทอด, ระทอด cast off.

ย้อย, รำย้อย to hang down loosely.

คึก impetuous, ละคึก to hasten, accelerate.

วาด draw, sketch, ละวาด resembling a drawing.

อาย, ละอาย ashamed.

วัด measure, รังวัด to survey.

เอียง, ล้ำเอียง inclined (According to Maspero the root "ieng" has disappeared Khmer—it is still in current usage in Siamese—whereas several derivatives ["pa—" or "pha—", "ro—", "lo—", "lom-ieng"] survive).

The sibilant สะ, สั้ง, สำ (สม), สระ

บั้น portion, piece, สะบั้น to be broken, in pieces.

เวียน revolve, encircle, สั้งเวียน arena, enclosure.

รวม to collect, gather, สำรวม regulate, control.

เรีง, สำเรีง cheerful.

นึก think, imagine, สำนึก reflect, recall.

อ้าง indicate, call as witness, สำอ้าง, สมอ้าง claim falsely, offer oneself as a witness for money accomplice.

ละ, สระละ abandon, forsake (?)

สะท้อน, สระท้อน to rebound.

Sometimes interchanged with guttural prefixes :

สะเทือน, กระเทือน to shake, tremble.

สะท้อน, กระท้อน to rebound.

สะไอ, กระไอ, กระไอ to cough.

Apart from these there are in Siamese several prefixes derived from frequent elements of compounds, especially in names of plants and animals. Then again, the apparent prefix may be nothing but a euphonic addition preserved by analogy with genuine prefixes.

Thus มะ is derived from หมาก meaning "fruit" in มะม่วง, มะพร้าว and other names of fruits or fruit trees. In other languages of the Thai group (Ahom, Shan, Lao, Tho, etc.) and in old Siamese texts names of fruits are invariably compounded with "mak", e.g., *mak pao* (coconut), *mak kwei* (banana). In *Tai Blanc* "mak" is shortened to "ma". On the *stele* of Rama Kamheng mango (มะม่วง) is spelled หมากม่วง (in Ahom it is surprisingly *mak mo-mong*), tamarind (มะขาม) หมากขาม. ตะเลงพ่าย has both spellings: หมากพร้าว, but มะขาม, มะเกลือ, etc. Prefixed "m" is not permissible in the Khmer system (cf. p. 69); there are a few cases of an apparent m prefix in Siamese, as also in Khmer. Maspero explains the latter as corrupted nasalized prefixes ("am-", "ram-", etc.). Instances in Siamese occur apparently only before initial ล (and are never spelt มะ). This suggests that some cases at least are really infixes ล, as in เม็ด, -เมล็ด; เล็ด being an abbreviated form. Ahom has "ml-" and "mr-" as initial groups: *mrat* (camel), *mleng* (white ant), *mlep* (lightning), *mten* (to open the eyes), *mlon* (mulberry, egg), *mleo* (cat). Others, as มลน, มลาน, are perhaps originally couplets (มลน มลาน), the euphonic prefixes of which seem often quite arbitrarily chosen (cf. p. 77). The reduplicated form ละลนละลน also occurs. มลาก and มลัก are obviously derivatives of มาก and มัก, not of ลาก and ลัก with which they became associated afterwards. มลาย means "to be destroyed", the supposed root ลาย (striped, streaked, of diverse colours). Khmer *leay* means "to mix", *rom-leay* "to melt, to dissolve". Thus Siamese ละลาย and มลาย might conceivably both be corrupted forms of a lost derivative ร้ายลาย or ล้ายลาย. Actually, however, the root is not ลาย at all, but รย (to scatter); Khmer *rey-ro-l-eay* (to dissolve) - *rom-l-eay* (to scatter, disperse), with infix "l". ล and ร vary in Siamese as in Khmer, thus *ro-l-eay* becomes *lo-leay* = ละลาย and *rom-l-eay* is corrupted to มลาย. A secondary association with ทำลาย (from the root ทะลาย) seems probable. Similarly ล้าง-มล้าง: Khmer has *leang* (to wash) - *rom-leang* (to cause to disappear). In Siamese, ล้าง means "to wash" or "to destroy" มล้าง and ม้าง have only the latter significance. มล้าง could be corrupted ร้างล้าง; in ม้าง the ล is lost. Dropped ล and ร is common enough in spoken Siamese and is the rule in the northern group of the Thai languages, if preceded by

another consonant. "Scalding" is in Khmer *roleak*, with a derivative *ro-m-leak* (to burn, scald). ลวก apparently is the root, (lost in Khmer) มลวก the relic of the nasalized form. The same explanation might account for ล้า-มล้า; ลัน-มลัน. I cannot think of any probable explanation for ลว-มลว.

ตะ is shortened ตา (eye) in ตะวัน (sun; always *tā van* in other Thai languages; cf. Malay *mata hari*); ตะปู (crab-eye) = nail (alternatively spelt ตาปู) and, according to Siamese authors, ต้ม (tree) in names of trees; ตัว (body) in names of animals, e.g., ตะเข้ later changed to จระเข้; ตะแบก becomes กระแบก or กะแบก by analogy with Khmer prefixes.

A peculiar origin is claimed for prefixed ก in some cases: Siamese dislikes consonant groups and is apt to insert a short "a" (similarly in Sanskrit compounds the final consonant of the first term is vocalized, but is mute when the word is used alone: ราชการ is pronounced ราชะการ; มหจร-มดทะจร, etc.) จักจั่น and ตักแตน are mostly pronounced (and sometimes written) จักกะจั่น and ตักกะแตน. Thus นกจาบ becomes นกกะจาบ and นกกระจาบ, in the same way นกกระจอก, กะจิบ, กะขาง, etc. The vocalized final consonant of the first term is preserved and added to the second term even if the first term is dropped. In กะคุดม, กะตัน, กะโตน the prefix would be the ก of ลูก; similarly ผลักกะเจด, กะโถม, etc. *Pai Blanc* drops the final "k" of "mak" and "bok" (flower) prefixing it to the following word (?): *ma ka tum* (strawberry), *bo ka dao* (rose). The same prefix is used with names of birds: *nok ka yo* (magpie) and insects: *meng ka dop* (cock chafer), perhaps by analogy. Phya Anuman discovered a similar mechanism in Siamese มะกล้า, originally หมากกล้า.

However, these explanations seem doubtful if one considers the fact that names of plants and animals beginning with "k", "kh", "kra" and "t", "ta", "tra" are very common in Khmer, which has neither นก, ลูก, ผล nor ตัว and does employ "deum" (dom) with names of trees and other plants including vegetables. Khmer has no difficulties in pronouncing consonant groups; so that the ตักกะแตน mechanism would not arise. The following are a few examples:

Siamese	Khmer
ตะแบก, ตระแบก, ตราแบก, กะแบก, กระแบก	<i>dom trabelk</i>
ตะแบง	<i>dom tbeng</i>
ตะโหนด	<i>tnot</i>
กะดาด, กระดาด	<i>ledat</i>
กะทิง, กระทิง*	<i>lchtng</i>
กระทุ่มหู	<i>lchtom</i>
ตะกวอด, จะกวอด	<i>trakuot, takuot</i>
ขมาน	<i>khmuor (?)</i>

The question requires further study. In poetry ก or ง is often added to monosyllabic words for the sake of metre or euphony, as in

แห่ ข้าย หลาย สระพร้อม

แห่ ขวา ล้อม สระพร้ง (ตะเลงพาย)

where สระ is added to พร้อม to make it correspond to สระพร้ง

Reduplication

Reduplication of the initial consonant (denoting frequency or intensity) should not be confused with prefixion. The former is possible with whatever consonant the root-word begins. In Khmer only non-aspirated consonants are reduplicated; reduplication of "y", "v" and "r" is not found. These restrictions are not applied in Siamese.

- มี-มีมี; ไคร-คระไคร; เตร็อม-ตระเตร็อม;
- ปน-ปะปน; ย้ม-ยะย้ม; เร็อง-ระเร็อง;
- ครม-คระครม.

Couplets

Reduplication of the whole word is only considered here in cases showing prefixion. Maspero notes the following phonetic changes in the formation of euphonic couplets:

The last vowel of the second term is lengthened or changed or both; sometimes a final consonant is added if the first term ends on a vowel; the final consonant is dropped, modified or supplanted by "y". The same holds good for Siamese:

**Spelt กทิง on the stele of วัดมหาธาตุ.*

ตะป๋มตะป๋าม	ประจ้อประแจ๋	กระวักกระวาด	กระต๋บกระต๋าย
สะอืดสะเอียน	กะอ้อมกะแอม	อะร้อร้าม	ขจัตขจาย
ปะงับปะงอน	กระหมุดกระหมิด	ละเลาะละลอง	อะลุ่มล่อม
ปะตืดปะต้อ	ระหือ่งระหึ่ง	ทะเขือทะขาน	กะฟุ่มกะฟาย
ประคัมประคอง	กระขือ่งกระขึ่ง	พะเน้าพะนึ่ง	ระวาดระไว
กระข้มกระขือ่ง	ขะมอมขะแมม	ตะครันตะครอ	ทุรนทุราย
ละมุนละม่อม	ทุลักทุเล	ละเอี๊ยดละเออ	ทะขยาทะขแยแส
ฉวัดเฉวียน		อะดักอะแด๋	
		อะดักอะถ้อ	
มล้างเมล้าง		คะขันคะขอ	มะรุมมะตุ้ม
		ละลอบละเล้า	

The prefixes used in these couplets are quite often employed for purposes of euphony and rhythm only, sometimes apparently in their turn produced by reduplication (as in ละเลาะ ละลอง). In several instances prefixes are used that have no place in the regular system of affixion, e.g., มะ, อะ, ทะ, คะ, ทุ.

Sanskrit prefixes

Siamese authors note a few old exceptions to the rule that Sanskrit-Pali prefixes are used only with loan words from these languages: ทร (bad) added to Siamese ทุ, ทน meaning "hard of hearing" and "a difficult or dangerous way", respectively.

INFIXION

Maspero distinguishes infixion by nasalization of the initial consonant of the root-word and infixion by infix proper.

Nasalization

The most common infix is am (อำ), the so-called "damleu" infix (forming verbal, causative, or substantival derivatives in Khmer).

If the root begins with two consonants, อำ alone is inserted:

ครบ, คำรบ complete.

แสลง, สำแลง harmful.

กราบ, คำกราบ to do obeisance

Khmer initial "cr" is sometimes changed to ทร (alternatively spelt ษ) in Siamese. With "am" the original spelling re-appears: แทรก to insert, ซ้ำแทรก to penetrate, permeate. (cf. Khmer *crek*, *c-am-rek*).

If the root begins with a single consonant, it is nasalized by "damleu", the second syllable beginning with ญ having the original vowel of the root-word:

เกิด, กำเนิด originate.

เดิน, ดำเนิน walk.

จ่าย, จำหน่าย distribute.

ตี to censure, reproach, ต่ำหนี่ fault, failing.

แต่ง arrange, appoint, assign, ตำแหน่ง position, rank.

จับ, จับหนับ (จับนั้บ) catch, arrest.

เทียบ, ทำเนียบ compare.

(ท before infixed ญ seems to have the function to preserve the original tone (วรรณยุกต์) in Siamese, which is, however, even without it often unchanged as, e.g., in กำเนิด).

In Khmer, aspirates lose the aspiration if nasalized, or else the aspiration is shifted to the second syllable. Remnants of this rule in Siamese are:

ขลัง strong, กำลัง strength.

ฉัน to eat, จังหัน food for monks.

ถก (ถะถก), ต่ำถก to establish.

ตรง straight, direct, ดำรง to straighten, stand, direct.

ถวาย, ตังวาย give, present.

แถลง, ดำแถลง tell, announce.

In Khmer the nasal infix is "n" (exceptionally "m") if the initial consonant of the root is single and "k", "c", "t", "p", or "s"; "y" or "v"; or if it begins with a vowel. If the root begins with two consonants, "ng" is inserted before a vowel, guttural, "v", "r", or "h"; "ñ" before a palatal; "n" before a dental.

In Siamese the following occur:

น ขด to coil, roll, ฆนค crookedness, being curled, twisted (?)

บวก, ผนวก to add (Non-aspirates are aspirated if they become

part of a consonant group).

บวช, ผนวช to enter the priesthood.

เปิด, ผนึก to open.

แตก broken up, divided, แผนก section.

ราบ flat, level, ราบเรียบ to lie flat or level.

ม เฉียง deviating, ะเมียง to look away.

ง รม to fumigate, ะงม fumigated.

Infixion proper

In Khmer only the labial "p" (Siamese ป), the semi-vowel "y" (ย), and the aspirate "h" (ห) are never infixed. All the other consonants of the original Khmer alphabet ("k", "c", "t", "d", "b", "v", "r", "l", "s") occur as infixes. They form as a rule the instrumental, the "m" infix denotes the agent.

In Siamese we find:

ล เฉียง deviating, เฉลียง oblique, inclined.

ลอก, ลอก to flay, skin.

ม้อย, มล้อย drowsy.

ว เฉียง deviating, เฉวียง leaning to one side.

บ ำ to dance, ะบำ a solo dance.

รบ, ำรบ to fight.

ลัด, ละบัด to sprout.

เรียบ in good order, smooth, ะเรียบ order, method.

ลือ, ละบือ to be rumoured.

โสม, ละบม to caress.

ร โคล to go, ะระโคล to go away (?)

ช่วย, ำร่วย to help.

ส ราย, (ระส่ำ) ระสาย to scatter, be scattered (Khmer: *reay, ro-s-ay*)

จ ขาด to lose, be torn, lacking; ำจัด expel, disperse; ำจัด (Khmer has *khāt; kh-c-āt; k-amc-āt* with the same meanings).

Cases of more than one derivative from the same root are comparatively rare in Siamese: เดิน-บั้นเดิน-ดำเนิน; เกิด-บังเกิด-

กำเนิด; จำย-ขจำย-จำหมาย; สกัต-สังกัต-ชนิด; บัง-กำบัง-กะบัง-จำบัง; ลัด-ละบัด-ขระลัด; ราม-ปราม-บำราม-ระนาม.

ลาด spread down, go around; พลาด slip; ตลาด be separated; ระมาด be scattered (Khmer: *leat* to spread; *ph-leat* slip, glide; *kh-leat* to move away; *lo-bat* explore, go around). Only before the liquids ร and ล (and the semi-vowel ๑) does Siamese allow non-vocalized initial consonants. (Is *Divi piat* [to slip], a coincidence or is there a common Chinese root?)

Maspero finds traces of suffixes ("k", "ng", "r", and "s") in Khmer, giving as example:

leu (on); *leuk* (to lift) (เล็ก); *leung* (rise) (เหลิง); *leus* (more) (เลิศ, เล็ด) *be* (deviate) (เบง); *bek* (separate) (แยก); *beng* (divide) (แบ่ง); *bes* (gather, collect); *ca* (engrave); *cak* (pierce); *car* (engrave) (จาร).

This method of forming derivatives is, however, entirely lost.

Similar systems of affixion are widespread in Austronesian and Austro-Asiatic languages. Blagden gives the following survey:

	Achinese	Cham	Khmer	Mon
PREFIXES				
Verbs of action,				
causative	pe, pu	pa	p, ph	p, ph, b, ma
intransitive	me, mu	moe	?	ma
INFIXES				
Verbs of state,				
intransitive	-em-	-moe-	?	• -m-
substantives	?	-moe-	-m-, -amn-	-m-
	-en-	-an-	-n-, -an-	(-an-?)

Prefixes "m", "b", "p", "k", "t", infixes "in-", "-m-" less widely spread "-l-" and "-r-", are common to Indonesia (besides suffixes "-n" and "-i"). "P" is everywhere a causal prefix, "k" forms verbal adjectives and abstract nouns. Infix "-r-" denotes duration or intensity; "-l-", plurality, reciprocity, etc. Thus also Sakai: *löt* (ex-

tinguished); *perlöt* (to put out a fire, cf. Mon: *plat* to be extinguished; *palat* to extinguish). Again Mon: *kawng* (firm); *pakawng* (to make firm); *pawt* (break off); *thapawt* (to sever); *klon* (to work); *kamlon* (work); *klot* (to steal); *kamlot* (thief). Bahnar has the prefixes "p", "k", "t" ("k", as in Malay, giving a passive nuance) and the infix "-n-". An infixed "-d-" occurs before "r". According to Maspero, the derivative by "*damlou*" often follows its root (in Siamese it may precede it) in poetry or improvised recitation; similarly in Malay: *gilang-gemilang*; *turun-temurun*; *silir-semilir*, etc. Reduplication and couplets are also found in Cham and in Malay; *gasing-gegasing*; *layang-layang*; *berapa-beberapa*; *bengkang-bengkak*, etc.

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