

THE REBIRTH OF THE CAMBODIAN LANGUAGE

A Study of the administrative Vocabulary : By P. Fabricus

Parallel to the efforts being made in the economic and social spheres, a patient task is being carried out to enable the Khmer language to keep up with the rapid modernisation of the Kingdom. A word of homage is due to the group of learned Khmers who are struggling day after day to adapt our language to the new conditions. They are worthy successors of those who during the Angkor period made Khmer the leading political language of South-East Asia.

We hope that this uncompromisingly serious but short study will not discourage readers who are not primarily interested in linguistic questions.

I

The evolution of the Kingdom towards independence and the adaptation of the administration to the requirements of a modern state have caused a real stock-taking of the linguistic heritage. Not only was it necessary to encourage the replacement of French terms—or terms that had become Frenchified during the last one hundred years—but there was the paramount task of creating a technical vocabulary of sufficient nuance and which would be comprehensible to the largest possible number of citizens. As the Cambodian past was greatly involved in the Indian cultural network (both Brahmanist and Buddhist) and as the Buddhist religion, expressed in the pali language, plays a leading role in the life of the country, it seemed natural that the national vocabulary should be widened on an Indian foundation. This was still further justified by the fact that from the time of the earliest known literary manifestations, (about the 5th and 6th Centuries of our era) the Cambodian language preferred to borrow words it lacked from India. A great number of these loan-words have been 'Cambodianised' to such an extent that their origin is completely hidden from anyone without a knowledge of Sanskrit and the phonetic laws which provoked these

modifications. It is difficult to guess, at first sight, for example, that the Kh. វ្រៃ *brai*, "forest" is derived from the Skr. *vr̥kṣa*, "tree" or that Kh. ទឹក, *dik*, is based on the Skr. *udaka*, "water".

When the French Protectorate was established there was a gradual decline of Cambodian letters. Education stressed the need to acquire a Western culture and treated national traditions as a poor relative. Indescribable anarchy reigned in the field of orthography. We shall have occasion to give a few examples of this which seem astonishing to us today. There was a tendency for orthography to serve only the purposes of phonetics; etymology was not taken into account. Romanisation was an added factor which contributed to the slow deterioration of the language. Of a more or less official nature, it was conceived without any knowledge of how it should be carried out (1). We must admit, however, that there are few oriental languages which so greatly resist satisfactory transliteration into Latin characters as Khmer. The only valid attempt undertaken in this sense was that of Mr. Fr. Martini (2). This work is founded on the Indian origin of the Khmer syllabary and proposes a historically admissible Romanisation. In the course of this study, each time we have been obliged to transliterate a Khmer term we have used the principle embodied in Mr. Martini's system, with a few modifications (3).

While dealing here with the administrative vocabulary we do not pretend to be attempting to exhaust this subject within the narrow framework of a short work of popularisation. We shall confine ourselves to the study of the most important administrative departments and certain important public services, the increasingly elaborate ramifications of which already demand a considerable effort of linguistic adaptation. What we wish to demonstrate is, first of all the linguistic mechanism of the new formations and then the effective value of the literary renaissance, which is a natural corollary of newly regained political liberty.



The Buddhist Institute : Conservatoire of the Khmer language

A STUDY OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE VOCABULARY

II

Before the French intervention, the Cambodian administration derived directly from the crown (4). The Protectorate did not bring about any notable changes in its structure. Although it was 'crowned' by the authority of the protecting power, the administration operated at the lower levels and in the provinces within the traditional framework. The former "council of ministers" which assisted the sovereign and of which the King had been replaced as chairman by the French *Résident Supérieur*, was called ក្រុំសេនាបតី (*sic*) (in R. Meyer *Cours de Cambodgien et Lectures Cambodgiennes*, Phnom Penh 1929, p.494) *kuñsī-sēnāputī* (5). The first element of this hybrid word represents the French word *conseil* (to be replaced by ក្រុមជំនុំ *krum-jamnum* (6), and the second comes from the Skr. *senā*, "army", and the Skr. *pati* (7), "chief"; Skr. *senā pati*, "military chief, general". សេនាបតី *senā pati* is one of the generic words for "minister". There were five mandarins in the old Council of Ministers who had the following titles: the "Prime Minister" was called either ឧក្រិយ, *ukñā-cauhvāy*, "mandarin master of the firmament" (8) or ឧក្រិយភ័ក្ត្រ or អគ្គ-មហាសេនា or មហាសេនាបតី or មហាសេនាធិបតី, *ukhna-agma* or *agrajmahā-senā* (or *mahā-senāpati*, or *mahādhipatī*). Kh. អគ្គ, អគ្គ corresponding to Pali *agga* and Skr. *agra* "summit, higher than" (9). Kh. មហា, *mahā*, "great" is Skr. *mahā* meaning អធិបតី, *adhi-patī*, reproducing Skr. *adhi-pati* "Chief". The literal translation of the title, although it does not imply any military significance in Cambodian, would therefore be "the supergeneral mandarin of the armed forces" (10). The second grand mandarin of the Council, in charge of Justice, is the ឧក្រិយយមរាជ *ukhna yama rāj*, "mandarin king of hell" (11). The Vedic divinity Yama, is, in fact, the god of death and the judge of the dead (12). The minister who looks after the royal treasury and who watches over the women of the court is called ឧក្រិយវាំង, *ukñā-vāññ* "mandarin of the royal" enclosure" (13). វាំង is really the fortified enclosure within which the royal court resides (a sort of "Vatican City" with its own administration, autonomous status etc.) The "palace" erected to the glory of a deity or of a deified monarch is the វិមាន or វិមាន (*bimān* or *vimān*) Skr. *vimāna*, "palace" (from the root with the prefix *vi-*, which means "to delimit"). The hotel industry has unfortunately got hold of this essentially religious

and geomantic term to describe a luxurious but profane building. And the "palace" of seven floors is called in Skr. *vimāna-harmya* (វិមានហម្យ) The fourth minister of the old régime looked after maritime traffic and the fisheries and controlled the customs. He was known as the ឧក្រិយប្រធានសមុទ្រ, *ukñā kraḷahom*, a word borrowed from the Siamese. The last grand dignitary, responsible for land transport assumed the role of minister of war; his rank was ឧក្រិយចក្រី *ukñā cakrī* "mandarin who rides about in a vehicle". The Kh. ចក្រី is the transposition of the Skr. adjective *cakrin*, "riding in a vehicle", from the noun *cakra*, "wheel".

As all Government initiative belonged unrestrictedly to the sovereign, the number of services was rather limited and the technical vocabulary did not have to go in for the subtleties which characterise the functioning of a constitutional state. Nor does the vocabulary connected with the provincial administration of the old régime offer the complications of today. A few administrative terms from the past still survive. We shall note them in passing.

III

The second world war demolished a great number of political structures which had survived the first general conflict. Cambodia was no exception to this. But the sovereign, His Majesty King Norodom Sihanouk seems to have foreseen the course of events. In 1947 he renounced the absolute power which he had inherited from his ancestors but which had been tempered for nearly a century by the existence of the Protectorate. He granted a democratic and liberal Constitution to his people and thereby, as it were, confronted them with new political responsibilities. Not only was it necessary to plan but immediately to set up, so to speak, a governmental and administrative apparatus corresponding to the inexorable demands of the astonishing age in which we live. In brief, to return to the subject of our study, the Khmer language too was also touched by the ardent and salutary breath of the new era. It can be said without exaggerating that the dawn of independence encouraged the rebirth of literary media which, as we have already shown, were stagnating in a pernicious state of immobility. Alongside massive borrowings from Pali and Skr.,—a raw material which will, however with time adapt itself to the Khmer milieu a new vitality has been breathed into many expressions and at the same time the real possibilities, as yet scarcely exploited, of the mother tongue have been discovered. If the loans previously made from the Indian area (strictly) observed

the rules of Sanskrit composition (contrary to the analytic of genius of Khmer) the new acquisitions, often associated with Khmer words, are more and more in accordance with Cambodian grammatical concepts. We must not forget that the Cambodian language is not related to Sanskrit or to Pāli (as French is for exemple). Khmer is not an Indo-European language (characterised by a highly developed morphological grammar and relatively lax syntax). Khmer is more correctly included in the Austro-Asian group of languages, the characteristic feature of which is the grammatical inflexibility of its words which is compensated on the other hand by the tyranny of strict syntactical laws.

In contemporary administrative nomenclature the notion of State is rendered by the word of Pāli origin រដ្ឋ, *raṭṭh*, Skr. *rāṣṭra* — “kingdom, empire; people, subjects”. The Pāli *raṭṭha*, Skr. *rāṣṭra* must be related to the Skr. root RĀJ (“to be a king, to reign”) which, an Indo-European derivative, can be found in the Latin *rēx*, the French *roi* or the German *Reich* (“empire”). This term certainly corresponds better to the Cambodian conception of the State than the old word ស្រុក, *sruk*, នគរ, *nagar*, or រាជការ *rāj-kār* (11). We find *raṭṭha* in a considerable number of compounds which describe in detail the various royal services. The “National Assembly” is rendered by រដ្ឋសភា, *raṭṭha-sabhā*, a compound of Indian stamp in which the first element (*raṭṭha*) determines or qualifies the second, which is *sabhā*, “the house” or “meeting place”. The literal translation, therefore, of *raṭṭha-sabhā* would be “place where the people meet together” (*raṭṭha* taken here in the sense of “people”). In Skr. *sabhā*, f. expresses first of all the idea of a “house” or a “common place”. In the Indian administration the *sabhā* was rather the place where the sovereign made contact with his subjects (audience room, court of justice). The Khmer word ជំនុំ, *jamnuṃ* formerly, used gives the impression of having been formed on the model of the Skr. *pariśad* — “assembly, reunion” with the implicit etymological sense of “meeting of people sitting (*sad-*) in a circle (prefix *pari-*)”.

The compound of Sanskrit origin រដ្ឋមន្ត្រី *raṭṭha-mantrī* — furnishes the general title for “Minister of State”. The Kh. មន្ត្រី comes from the Skr. *mantrin* —, “magician, counsellor, minister”. Our word *mandarin* comes from the Indian *mantrin* but it was introduced into French through the medium of Portuguese which had borrowed it from the Malay *mantari*. The “Prime Minister” or “President of the Council of Minister”

is nowadays called នាយករដ្ឋមន្ត្រី *nāyak-raṭṭha-mantrī* (cf. Note No. 9). This compound is a hybrid in the sense that *raṭṭha-mantrī* bows to the rules of Indian composition and the first element, conforming to the Cambodian practice takes its place at the beginning. Actually, to follow the correct Sanskrit procedure, the correct form would be រដ្ឋមន្ត្រីនាយក *raṭṭha-mantrī-nāyak*. The “Secretaries” and “Under-Secretaries of State” appear respectively under the forms រដ្ឋលេខាធិការ *raṭṭha-lekhādhikār* (“He who has the office of Secretary of State”) and អនុរដ្ឋលេខាធិការ, *anu-raṭṭha-lekhādhikār*. The prefix *anu* — (of Sanskrit origin) expresses subordination. The “Ministerial department”, formerly មុខ្សែស្រឡា *mukh-kraswā* (12)

is now មន្ទីររដ្ឋមន្ត្រី, *mandīr-raṭṭha-mantrī* — “place of the Minister of State”. The lengthening in Kh. of the *i* in the last syllable (Skr. *mandira* — “dwelling has a short *i* in the penultimate syllable) can be attributed to Khmer phonetics. The final *r* of *mandīr* not being pronounced, the *i* which precedes it is then in the position of being a phonetically open syllable in a final position, which causes it to be lengthened. The order of the parts of the compound obeys the Khmer canon (perhaps itself influenced by French) for the determined element is placed before the determinative. It should be noted here that មន្ទីរ *mandīr* is used in the formation of many compounds which designate an administrative department or a public service. “Office National des Changes” is called ជាតិមន្ទីរច្នៃប្រែប្រួល, *jāt(i)-mandīr-ptūr-prāk*, a hybrid compound which means literally, “office (*mandīr*)-national (*jāt (i)*)-exchange (*ptūr*)-money (*prāk*)”. The National Office of Tourism ជាតិមន្ទីរទេសចរណ៍ *jāt (i) mandīr-desa-car (aṅ)* is formed on the same principle: *jāt (i)-mandīr* (National Office) and the complex *desa car (aṅ)*, ទេស, Pali *desa*, Skr. *deśa* — corresponding to “country, region” (13) and *carāṇa*-(Skr. & P.) meaning “pilgrimage”. Here is the interpretation of the full term, word by word: “National office journeys (in the) country”.

The official term for “hospital” is also a compound formed with មន្ទីរ: មន្ទីរពេទ្យ, *mandīr bed (y)*, “place of doctors”. Kh. *bed (y)* is from Skr. *vaidya* “the learned man” (i.e. he who is versed in the Vedas, the doctor”) The expression មន្ទីរពេទ្យ in an evident improvement on the old periphrasis, which was a little naïve (and frequently replaced by the French word *hôpital*) viz នគរក្រុងជំងឺ *phda raksa jumnih* (sic)(14), “house-look after-sickness”.

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The "municipal credit" ("Pawn shop") is rendered as មន្ទីរចំណាយប្រាក់ *mandīr-caḥkār-prāk* "office-lend at interest" (ចំណាយ) (15) money (ប្រាក់)". The name of "Office of people's credit" has been built in the same way: មន្ទីរចំណាយសម្រាប់ប្រជាជន. *mandīr-cañ kār samrā'p prajā-jan* "office-lend at interest to (សម្រាប់ destined for) — the people".

The term of Indian origin (Skr. and P.) ធានា *agār* has been maintained to designate banking institutions. In this group we find the National Bank of Cambodia described as ធានាជាតិស្តេចម្ចាស់, *dhanāgā jāt (i) nai kambujā*. ធានា breaks dawn into *dhana* (Sk. P.) "money" and *agāra* "dwelling". "Bank-note" has kept its old designation ប្រាក់ស្រណុល *kraḍas-prāk*, "paper money" (16). The National Treasury which is still commonly called ឃ្នាក់ *ghlāṃṇ*, has as its official designation ធានាជាតិ *ratanāgār jāt (i)*. The Kh. រតន is borrowed from the Pāli *ratanā* (Skr. *ratna*) "jewel, precious stone". Generally speaking the old periphrasis ផ្ទះបញ្ជាក់, *phdah duk prāk* has been displaced by the more technical term ធានា *dhanāgār* (17). The "Blood bank" which, of course, has nothing to do with the preceding establishments is represented by a formula of Indian origin, លោហិតធានា *lohitaḡār* Skr. Pāli *lohita* meaning first of all the colour "red". It develops the meaning of "red body" and "blood" only by extension. In conclusion the word *agāra*-neutral enough in Sanskrit and Pāli seems to have developed in its passage into Khmer the very precise sense of "depot (Kh. ផ្ទះបញ្ជាក់ *phdah duk*).

The ministerial departments of which the number has increased as a result of the extension of Governmental responsibilities all have as their first element the word ក្រសួង *kraswñ* (cf. Note No. 12), "ministry"—a word of Thai origin. The high institutions of state attached to the crown, to the legislature, or to the executive receive the general designation (placed at the beginning of the compound which describes them) of ក្រុម *krum* (for its etymology cf. Note No. 6); in these formulae *krum* can be translated "service" or "council".

The "Ministry of Agriculture" is ក្រសួងកសិកម្ម, *kraswñ kasi-kamma*. In Kh. កសិកម្ម we can recognise the transcription, pure and simple, of the original Pāli *kasi-kamma* "agriculture". The Pāli word *kasi* is the same as the Skr. *karṣi*, meaning "ploughing" and comes from the root *KRS* "to dig furrows" "to plough". The Pāli word *kasi kamma* and the Skr. *krṣi-kārman* therefore denote the "action (*kārman*) of ploughing the earth".

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs" is designated by the compound ក្រសួងការបរទេស *kraswñ kār parades*, "Ministry affairs foreign" (*para* Skr. and Pāli "other, strange, foreign") "country"—*des*, cf. Note 13).

It is evident that French administrative terminology served as a model for devising these formulae as we can observe easily in many other similar cases. The "diplomatic service" is designated by the expression ការទូត *kār-dūt*; on analysis we find this to be Pāli *kāra* "action, activity" and Pāli *dūta* "messenger", a felicitous transposition of "diplomacy" or "diplomatic service". Among the terms for diplomatic agents we mention first the word for "ambassador" ឯកអគ្គរាជទូត *ek-agg-rāj-dūt*. The first element in this compound, Pāli *ekagga* (Skr. *ekāgra*) implies in Indian literature a specifically religious and contemplative attitude. The etymological meaning of *ekagga* is "he who has only one summit". Are we to understand that this term, once it was adopted by the Cambodian administration, shed its speculative content in order to signify something like "the first in the hierarchy of royal messengers?" The "embassy" (i. e. the services directed by an ambassador) are called ស្ថានឯកអគ្គរាជទូត *sthān ek-agg rāj dūt* (For *sthān* Skr. cf. Note 14). The "secretaries of embassy" have the title លេខាធិការ (ទ. . .) ស្ថានឯកអគ្គរាជទូត *lekhādihikār (dī. . .) nai sthān ek-agg rāj-dūt; dī*, meaning "number" we have left in brackets because its normally precedes the exact description of the secretary's rank (1st, 2nd, 3rd etc.) This expression follows the French model literally: "Secrétaire (*lekhādihikār*) No... (*dī*) de (*nai*) "ambassade". The consular functions have not yet received any linguistic attention and seem to be following the formulae established before 1945. For "consul" and "consul-general" the words used are កុងស៊ុល and កុងស៊ុលជំរុំ respectively, *kuñsul, kunsul dham*. However it is probable that a Cambodianisation will take place when the Government decides to establish more consular services abroad.

NOTICE CONCERNING TRANSLITERATION

The transliterations (not "Romanisations") (a process we deplore) of Khmer characters have been made in accordance with the system of the Hindu syllabaries, original model of the Cambodian alphabet. Here is the Khmer syllabary transliterated in traditional order:

ka	kha	ga	gha	na
ca	cha	ja	jha	na
ta	tha	da	dha	na
ta	tha	da	dha	na
pa	pha	ba	bha	ma
ya	ra	la	va	
sa	ha	la		

Our transliterations do not take into account the real pronunciation of each phoneme. Worked out for purely scientific purposes they facilitate the etymological work in which we are engaged. It will be evident that words of Indian origin transliterated according to our system will reveal at once or almost at once, their links with their Hindu models (Sanskrit or Pāli). For example ព្រះ ទន្លេ ត្រាស ត្រាស transliterated *dāna* - Skr. *dāna*: ព្រះ ទន្លេ ត្រាស transliterated *gaṅgā*, Skr. *gaṅgā* (proper name of the famous river); ធម្ម ត្រាស transliterated *dhamm*, Pāli *dhamma* -. These words, Romanised do not reveal their Indian affiliations (*tean, konkea, tomm*).

Here are the Khmer vowels, transliterated:

a - a - i - i - i - u - u - w - ɤ - ɤ - ɤ - e - e - al - o - au - um - am - amn - ah.

We do not think that there can be any confusion since every transliteration is preceded by the word in Khmer characters.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

<p><i>D. I. B.</i> <i>C. F. (K. F.)</i> <i>F. C. (F. K.)</i> <i>cf.</i> <i>Ind. Eur.</i> <i>Kh.</i> <i>lit.</i> <i>P.</i> <i>Skr.</i></p>	<p>(<i>Dictionnaire Cambodgien de l'Institut Bouddhique de Phnom-Penh</i>) វចនានុក្រម ខ្មែរ ២ ទំព័រ, ២ ទំព័រ, ២ ទំព័រ, <i>Phnom Penh, 1951/1952.</i></p> <p>Cambodian-French (Khmer-French) French-Cambodian (French-Khmer) See Indo-European Khmer literally Pali Sanskrit</p>
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Words preceded by an asterisk (*) are forms not attested by the language (reconstitutions or neologisms).

NOTES

(1) Cf **Lexique Cambodgien Romanisé**. Imprimerie Royale, P. Penh 1944. This little work reproduces a large part of the D. I. B. in a "Romanised" version. It is a linguistic rape, proposed and supported by the administration of the period. Its scientific value is nil.

(2) Cf. Martini, François: *Méthode de Lecture Cambodgienne*, Paris 1932.

(3) Cf. The remarks at the head of these notes.

(4) Kh. រាជការ, *rāj-kār*, from the Skr. *rāja*, "king" and the Skr. *kāra-*, "he who works" (Root *KṚ-*, "to do", from which for example the Skr. *karman*, P. kamma, Kh. *kamm*, "action", come), *KṚ* is of Ind.-Eur. origin. Cf. lat. *crimen*-. "crime" ("misdeed"), of which the etymological sense is "action".

(5) The correct orthography (D. I. B.) is ក្រុមយុវសាមគ្គី *kuṅsī (y)-senṅ-patt*.

(6) "Assembly"; hybrid compound, from the Skr. *krama-*, "succession", "series" (Kh. ក្រុម and from Kh. ជុំ *jaṅnum*, "assembly" from the root ជុំ, *jam* "to surround" with nasal infix).

NOTES

(7) Kh. ប្រពី *pali* (with final long *i* Actually the final vowel of an open syllable is bound to be long in Kh. The Cambodianised form of Skr. *pati*-is ប្រី *pi*, "husband".

(8) Title of Siamese origin, "master (*cau*) of the firmament (*hvāy*)"

(9) អ្នក, អង្គ, *agga, agra*, are frequently employed in Cambodian titles to designate functionaries of high authority. For example, អ្នកនាយក *agga-nayak*, "Director General". Kh. នាយក *nāyak* borrowed from the P. *nāyaka* (root *Ni-* "to lead"; cf. *netra*, Royal Kh. ព្រះនេត្ត *brah netta* "eye (of the king)", "he who guides or-leads". អ្នកលេខាធិការ *agga-lekhādhikār*, "secretary-general". This term is derived from the Skr. *lekha-*, "writes" (root *LIKH-* "to engrave, write") and the Skr. *adhikāra*, "post, employment". In the administration លេខាធិការ is tending to replace the Thai expression ស្មៀន, *smūen*, "scribe, secretary".

(10) Formerly the Prime Minister was given the title of ឧកញ៉ាខ្នងព្រាស្រ័យ *ukhñā khnañ ba's*, "the mandarin with a serpent's back".

(11) នគរ *nagar*, means in Skr "town", but not "capital". The name of Angkor, អង្គរ, (*aṅgar*) is in reality a popular corruption of ឧត្តរ caused by the metathesis of the initial n. The former capital of the Khmer Empire bore officially the name of its founder, King Jayavarman I (end of the IXth or beginning of the Xth century) i.e. Yacodharapura. It is certain the old Khmers were conscious of the exact meaning of the Skr. term *nagara-*. Thus, King Jayavarman Vih (end of Xth century) conferred the name of *Jayendra-nagarī*- (and not *nagara*) "capital of His Majesty King Jayavarman" on the region of Angkor, which had been adapted as a Royal residence. The *Sanskrit nagarī-*, a feminine *nagara-*, means "capital".

(12) Hybrid compound; its first element មុខ *mukh* is borrowed from the Skr. *mukha-* ("front, head summit") and its second, ក្រសួង, *kraswñ*, from Thai; literal translation of the compound: "top service" is maintained in modern administrative terminology with the principal sense of "ministry".

(13) Skr. *deca*, P *desa-* from the Skr. root *DIC-* "to indicate" *Deṣa* is therefore "the place towards which one points". From the same root is derived the Skr. noun *diśā*, P. *disā* "the place which one points out", i.e. "the direction" and "the direction of a route". The Khmers have used it to formulate indications for urban traffic or the highway code. For example, "one way only" is rendered by the hybrid compound ទិសហាម *dis-hām*, lit. "direction forbidden". ហាម "to order, to forbid" is a Thai loan-word. The root *DIC-* belongs to the common Indo-Eur. vocabulary; we can recognise it, for example, in the English verb *teach*., and the German noun *Zeichen* ("sign").

(14) The orthography ព្រឺវា in place of ព្រឺវ and ផ្កិត in place of ផ្កី is obviously the fruit of fancy. (In Tardant, S., F. C. Dictionary, op. cit.)

We are taking the opportunity here of mentioning a few terms in use in the field of Public Health. The "infirmery" used to be called *phdaḥ jaṃhī* ("house-sickness") and has become គិលានផ្កាង *gilān-ṭṭhān*, borrowed from the *pali*. គិលាន is the past participle of the verb *GLĀ-*, *glāna*, "tired, bruised". P. *glāna* has also given the Kh. word for "hunger", viz ហ្មានបាយ *ghlān-pāy* lit. "hunger-rice". The doublet ហ្មាន is the Cambodianisation of គិលាន which conforms to the monosyllabising tendency of the language. The aspiration of the initial (ឃ *gh*, instead of ឃ, *g*) is to be explained by a phenomenon of a phonetic nature peculiar to Khmer. When two consonants follow each other, the first usually turns into its aspirated form. ផ្កិត *ghanit* For example, Skr. *pada-* ("place", "position") becomes in Khmer ផ្ទះ *phdaḥ* ("house"; the Persian word *bazar*, in Kh becomes ផ្សារ *phsār* "market". When the association (recognised in the writing by the subscription of the second consonant in the form of a "foot") of these two consonants is broken up, for some reason or other, the aspirate becomes simple again: for example, Kh. ហ្មាន *ghhān* is broadened into គិលាន, *g-aṅ-lāu*, "hunger", derived from the infixation of the nasal element *-aṅ-* which we have placed between dissociated dashes to stress the basic form. The subscript *l* being from the initial *gh*, the latter loses its aspiration (ឃ *g*, in place of ឃ, *gn*), Kh; ខ្លីល *khjil*, "lazy" becomes គឺល, *k-aṅ-jil* "laziness,

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carelessness", following the principle enunciated above. The second element of the compound ឥណទាន *gilanathan* i.e. *tthan*, "place, dwelling, establishment" is of Pali origin, *sthāna*. In Skr. (from the Indo-Eur. root *STHĀ*, "to stand". Cf. latin *stare*, English *stand*, German *stehen*, all of which mean "to stand".) *tthan* (Pali form) and *sthāna* (Sanskrit form) are frequently employed to characterise public or commercial establishments. They are often preceded by គ្រឹះ *grīh* or by គេហ *geha*, respectively Sanskrit and Pali terms denoting "house" (Skr. *grha*-, P. *geha*-)

The official designation for "pharmacy" is now, ទិសថិស្ថាន *osatha- sthān*, "dispensary (*sthān*, Skr.) medicaments". Kh. ទិសថិ is taken from P. *osadha*-, Skr. *auśadh*-, "medicinal herbs". The old sign for a pharmacy was ហាងលក់ថ្នាំសង្កត់ *hān la'k thūāṃ-saṅkāt*, "shop (ហាង, a loan from Siamese)-sell (លក់)-medicaments (ថ្នាំសង្កត់)".

The element *osatha* appears similarly in the word for "dispensary", i.e. ទិសថាល័យ *osathālay* (*osatha* and *aldy*), "office (*aldy*)- medicaments". អាល័យ of Pali origin is used in the composition of terms for establishments, generally of a public nature. The name of certain establishments of public education contains *aldy* as a final element: អនុវិទ្យាល័យ *anū-vidyāldy*, "college" (lit. "establishment (វិទ្យាល័យ)-knowledge (*vidyā*), which is the Skr. form of the P. វិជ្ជា *vijjā*) lower (*anū*-, cf. above *anū- raṭṭha-lekhādhi-kār*); វិទ្យាល័យ *vidyālay*, "high-school"; មហាវិទ្យាល័យច្បាប់, *mahā-vidyālay-cpā'p*. "faculty of laws".

The "Royal School of Medicine", a recent creation, is entitled សាលាសិក្សាវិជ្ជាពេទ្យ, *sālā-sikṣā bhūmin* (*d*) *vijjā-bed* (*y*). This compound is articulated in three pieces, each of which is already a compound itself. All the terms, with one exception, are borrowings from Pali. The first element is *sālā-sikṣā* (Skr. *śālā*-) means "hut, shelter" and corresponds perfectly to the straw hut in which the masters formerly held their classes. We do not think that this indicates the poverty or the backward state of the country but we imagine that this apparent simplicity is founded rather on the ancient principle of reserving stone structures for buildings meant for worship. The palaces of the Kings at Angkor were exclusively wooden constructions; all the buildings that we admire as the "monuments of Angkor" were without exception designed for ritual purposes. សិក្សា is the Skr. *śikṣā*, "apprenticeship" (P. *sikkhā*-) the equivalent of the Khmer word រៀន, *rījen*, "to study"; *sālā-sikṣā* សាលារៀន *sālā rījen*) means, therefore "school"; The rejection of the Khmer term and the preference of the Skr. *sikṣā* seems to be more suitable to the scientific level of the establishment. ភូមិភាគ *bhūmin* (*d*), is the transposition of our adjective "royal": lit. "master of the earth" a usual epithet applied to sovereigns in the Hindu world; Skr. P. *bhūmi* means "earth", and the P. *inda* (Skr. *indra*) "the lord, master". It should be remembered that in Vedic days *indra* was the proper name of the king of the Aryan Pantheon. Finally វិជ្ជាពេទ្យ *vijjā-bed* (*y*) an analytical compound of Khmer making is "the science of the doctor" -i.e. "medicine", considered as an educational discipline. The "health officers" who receive their training in the Royal School of Medicine are called មន្ត្រីសុខាភិបាល *mantri-sukhābhīpāl*, "counsellor-well-being-

(*sukh*)- control. Skr., p. *sukha* means, in fact, "well-being" and *abhi-pāla* (Skr., P.) "the protector, guardian; the prefix *adhi*-(Skr. P.) sometimes implies the notion of a degree of superiority in the administrative hierarchy. (e.g. អភិបាល *adhipāl*, alone or at the beginning of compound indicates the function of "controller" (lit. "super (*adhi*)-guardian). Health in the sense of "sense of "well-being" is translated by សុខភាព *sukha-bhāb*, lit. "state (*bhāb*) of well-being" Skr. *bhāva* (note the alternating use of *i/ī* in the khmer adaptation) is almost reduced to the role of a suffix without life of its own, used to create abstract notions which are non-existent in the Khmer base of the language. Here are a few examples abstractions: ឥណទាន *sthān*, which we have just analysed, followed by ភាព gives ឥណទានភាព: *sthānā-bhāb* "position": កុមារ *kumar* (Skr. P. *kumara*) "child" and ភាព, i.e. កុមារភាព *kumār-bhāb*, forming the abstract word "childhood". (*Tandari*, op. cit., suggests the acceptable compound កាលក្មេង *kāl-kmeñ*, lit. "time-child," to convey the same idea; our vision of "landscape" finally is, in Kh. the result of the juxtaposition of ផ្ទៃស, "country" (cf. Note 13) and the abstraction suffix ភាព

(15) បង់កំរ, *cañ-kār*, means "to lend at interest", a hybrid compound of which the first element is the verb បង់, "to tie, to attach" and the second *kār*, probably of Indian (Skr. *kara*- "tax")

(16) the defunct "Institut d'Émission des Etats du Cambodge, du Laos et du Vietnam" was strangely enough considered as វិទ្យាស្ថានព្រះបរមរាជវាំងវិទ្យាស្ថានវិទ្យាស្ថាន . . ., *vijjā-ṭhān pōh prāk nai raṭṭha kambujā*.. The choice of វិទ្យាស្ថាន, "Scientific Institute" seems to us to be less suitable than មន្ទីរ for an establishment possessing a bank-note printing plate.