



Contemporary Cambodian Grammatical Sketch



P R E F A C E

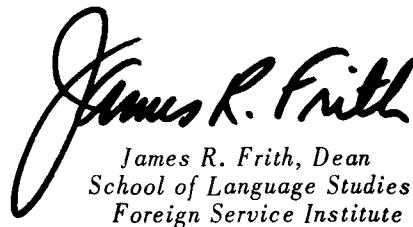
*This is the first of seven interrelated volumes comprising **Contemporary Cambodian**. The other six will be **Introductory Lessons**, four topic-oriented textbooks, and a comprehensive Cambodian-English English-Cambodian glossary. It is appropriate that this volume bearing the subtitle **Grammatical 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.*


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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 followings:

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CONTEMPORARY CAMBODIAN: Grammatical Sketch

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CONTEMPORARY CAMBODIAN: GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

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.

PHONOLOGYP.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:

		labial	dental	palatal	velar	glottal
Stops	voiceless, unaspirated	p	t	c	k	ʔ
	voiceless, aspirated	ph	th	ch	kh	
	voiced, (implosive)	b	d			
Nasals		m	n	ṅ	ŋ	
Fricatives		(f) ¹	s			h
Flap			r			
Lateral			l			
Semivowels		w	y			

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

P.1.1 Single Consonants

a.) /ṅ/ is very similar to the ny sound in canyon or onion when pronounced fast. It is pronounced with the front third of the tongue starting from a position against the hard palate: ឆ្លុយ /ṅooy/ 'often,' ប៊ូយ/tiṅ/ '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. ងាយ/ŋiey/ 'easy' or ងងឹត /ŋeŋt/ '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 'sinnggging.' Then try to break the word after the first i: si-nngging, si-nging, then leave off the si and say 'ning.'

1. Occurs only in words borrowed from other languages, e.g. /kafee/ 'coffee'

2. Put your tongue into position to say ga, but don't actually say it.

Now instead of letting the air out through your mouth as you would when you say ga, let it out through your nose (as you would if you were saying ma or na). You should end up saying na. (Remember, as you say na to keep your tongue in the position for saying 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. កែត /kaε/ 'to correct' and ខែត /khaε/ 'month'; តា /taa/ 'grandfather' and ថា /thaa/ '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. តែត /taε/ 'but, only' and ដៃត /daiε/ 'also,' or ប្លុន /puon/ 'to hide' and បួន /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: រយ /roɔy/ 'hundred,' ប្រាំ /praem/ '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: ប្រែត /praε/ 'translate,' គ្រូ /kruu/ 'teacher,' រៀន /rien/ '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.



Initial Consonant Sequences (continued)



b. Initial Containment

-- --	--	lp lp ^{kw}	pumpkin	sp spian	bridge
mt mteeh	red pepper	-- --	--	st st ^{kn}	river
mc mcul	needle	-- --	--	-- --	--
-- --	--	lk lkaon	a play	sk skoo	sugar
m? m'oom	a kind of herb	l? l'oo	good	s? s'aak	tomorrow
-- --	--	lb lbaen	game	sb sbaek	skin
md mdaay	mother	-- --	--	sd sdam	right (side)
ms msaw	powder	-- --	--	-- --	--
-- --	--	lm lloom	enough	sm smae	equal
mn mn ^{oh}	pineapple	-- --	--	sn snaen	horn
mñ mñeem mñoo	an effeminate way of talking	-- --	--	sñ sñæsñop	to admire
-- --	--	ln ln ^{iac}	evening	sn snat	quiet
mr mr ^{ic}	pepper	-- --	--	sr sruol	easy
ml mlup	shade	-- --	--	sl sloot	tame
-- --	--	lv lveen	compartment	sv svaay	mango
mh mhoup	food	lh lhon	papaya	-- --	--

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 nonaspirates 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 ( /traw/ 'must') or three-consonant sequence ( /strey/ '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,  /pkaa/ 'flower' is transcribed phkaa because the Cambodian character  represents the voiceless aspirate /ph/ before a vowel. However, it could equally well be transcribed /pkaa/.

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:

<u>Short vowels:</u>				<u>Long vowels:</u>			
	front	central	back		front	central	back
high	i	ɨ	u	high	ii	ɨɨ	uu
				high mid			oo (also written ou)
mid	e	ɛ	o	mid	ee	ɛɛ	oo
low		a	ɔ	low	ɛɛ	aa	oo

Short diphthongs³:

	front	back
high		ɨ
low	ɛ	ɔ

Long diphthongs:

	front	central	back
high	ie ⁴	ɨə	uo
mid	ei ⁵	əɨ	oa
low		aə, aɛ, ao	

The short central vowels /ɨ/, /ə/, and /a/ combine with /y/ and /w/ to yield /ɨy, ɨw, əy, əw, ay, aw/.⁶

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

P.3 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. ពាក់ /pɛk/ 'to wear.'

3. The transcription of the short diphthongs conceals the fact that they are really diphthongs /eɨ, uɨ, ɔɨ/ (the breve [˘] indicates that the diphthong is short) rather than short vowels.

4. In the transcription used in these materials, /ie/ is represented by ia (transcribing the script symbol ័ after a second series consonant) and by ie (transcribing the symbol ័្រ). Thus ត្រី /cie/ is transcribed cia but ត្រីន /rie/ is transcribed rien, 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 /ɨw, əw, aw/, e.g. កៅស៊ូ /kaw'ɨy/ 'chair' but as y elsewhere, e.g. វែន /vɛn/ 'long.'

P.4 Words

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: បិទ /bet/ 'to close' ទន្លេ /túnlee/ 'river,' មេកេរា /me'keraa/ 'January,' បច្ចុប្បន្នភាព /paccobonphiep/ 'current events.' In polysyllables stressed and unstressed syllables alternate, e.g. រោងភោជន៍យម្ព័ន /phooceniyethaan/ 'restaurant.'

In most compounds (words made up of two or more other words), each component keeps its stress pattern, e.g. ភាពយន្ត /phiepyn/ 'moving picture' or វិជ្ជាមេត្រី /wiccia pəət/ 'subject of medicine.'

P.5 Phrases

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

P.5.1 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.

តាតើជាភ្នកម៉ាកលោកឬ?
 kót 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,

លោកជួបអ្នកណាទៅកន្លែងហ្នឹង?
 look cuop ne? naa niw konlaen nin?
 Whom did you meet at that place?

or continues to rise, as in

លោកជួបអ្នកណាទៅកន្លែងហ្នឹង?
 look cuop ne? naa 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.

ទត, រលាកសុខភ័យនៃកម្មវិធីនេះឬទេ?
 tee, look sok thœ kaa nɨw konlaən næn.
 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.

លីសេស៊ីសុវត្ថិមិនមែនជាសាលាឯកជនទេ។
 lisee siisovat mɨn mœn cɨa salaə aekœdɨn teh.
 The Lycée 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 /ə/, e.g.

formal /səɲnat/	casual /səɲat/	'secret' សម្បត្តិ
formal /pɔtœh/	casual /pətœh/	'country' ប្រទេស

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

formal /niʔyiey/	casual /niyiey/	'to speak' និយាយ
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In addition some consonants change, for example:

formal /robuch/	casual /ləbuch/	'wounded' របួស
formal /bœɲrien/	casual /pœɲrien/	'to teach' បង្រៀន
formal /sœœsee/	casual /tœœsee/	'to write' សរសេរ
formal /kyol/	casual /kcol/	'wind, breeze' ខ្យល់
formal /tyuun/	casual /kcuun/	'coal' គ្រួង

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'
/nɛŋ/	/m, n, ŋ/	'will'
/tɛw/	/te/	'go and ...'
/mook/	/me/	'come and ...'
/tee/	/eh/	(negative or interrogative final)
/nah/	/ah/	'very'
/naa/	/e/	(emphatic)
/haey/	/eh/	'already'
/riɛ, riɛ cy/	/th/	(interrogative final)
/niw/	/ɛw/	'yet'
/tɛw/	/teh/	(imperative)

The reduced forms of the sentence-final particles /tee, nah, haey, niw, riɛ/ 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, eh, iw, th/). 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, ñ, ŋ, l, w, y, h), the continuant is lengthened, e.g.

formal /mɛn meɛn tee/	casual /m meɛnnɛh/	'it's not true'
formal /mɛn trɛw tee/	casual /m trɛwwɛh/	'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 prakot tee/ casual /m pəkɔ teh/ '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

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

formal: look roɔʔ khñom riɛ?
casual: look rooʔ khñom ? Are you looking for me?

preceding consonant, according to the rules given below in P.6.2, for example:

formal /m̄n prakot tee/ casual /m pəkot neh/ 'not sure'
 formal /sʔop r̄i:/ casual /sʔop m̄h/ '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 /khñom thvæ haey/ casual /khñom theeəh/ 'I've done it already'

- d) If there is a sequence of final particles, e.g. វិញនាស់ហើយឬ? /thom nah haey r̄i:/ 'Is (he) big already?'

the casual form will end in a sequence of reduced particles, except for /r̄i:/, which is set off by a glottal stop: /thommah eh ʔh/

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. ប្រតិកម្ម /prətʔ 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, ʔ, h/)⁸
- 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 /n̄/	/ntec - n̄/	'a little bit'
/k/	it is /ŋ/	/sʔask - ŋ/	'tomorrow'
/ʔ/	it is /ŋ/	/pibaaʔ - ŋ/	'difficult'
/h/	it is /ŋ/	/cah - ŋ/	'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.

SYNTAXS.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.

S.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.

S.2.1 Noun Phrases

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

S.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: ផ្លូវដើរ ^{ផ្លូវ} /phlew dae/ 'a road for walking'
(from ផ្លូវ /phlew/ 'road, path' and ដើរ /dae/ 'to walk').

2. a noun ផ្លូវឡាន /phlew laan/ 'a road for cars' (from ផ្លូវ /phlew/ 'road' and ឡាន /laan/ 'car, automobile').

3. an indefinite or question word ផ្លូវណា /phlew naa/ 'which road?' (from

ផ្លូវ /phlɛw/ 'road' and ណា /naa/ 'which, any').

4. a phrase ផ្លូវដឹកទំនិញ /phlɛw dek tumniŋ/ 'road for transporting goods' (from ដឹក /dek/ 'to transport, lead' and ទំនិញ/tumniŋ/ 'merchandise').
5. a clause ផ្លូវ(ដែល)គេកំពុងសាង /phlɛw (daɛl)¹ kee kampŋn thee/ 'the road (that) they are building.' Note that a relative clause may or may not be introduced by ដែល /daɛl/ 'which, that.' The version with ដែល is slightly more formal but nevertheless widely used in spoken usage.

Note that possession is expressed either by simple attribution, e.g. ផ្ទះខ្ញុំ /phtɛh khŋom/ 'my house' (ផ្ទះ /phtɛh/ 'house' ខ្ញុំ /khŋom/ 'I, me, my') or by a phrase including the word របស់ /rɔbɔh/ 'property of, belonging to,' e.g. ផ្ទះរបស់ខ្ញុំ /phtɛh rɔbɔh khŋom/ 'my house' (the house belonging to me).

There are some words indicating quantities which are used before the noun they modify, e.g. សព្វថ្ងៃ /sɔp thnɔj/ 'every day' (សព្វ /sɔp/ 'every' ថ្ងៃ /thnɔj/ 'day'). These words include:

គ្រប់	/krup/	'all, each, every'
គ្រប់ៗ	/krup krup/	'all'
គ្រប់សព្វ	/krup sɔp/	'all'
តែ	/taɛ/	'only, just'
ទាំង	/tɛŋ/	'all of'
ទាំងអស់	/tɛŋ ɔh/	'all of, all'
ទៅទៅ	/piŋ/	'all of, to the full extent of'
រាល់	/rɔl/	'every' (with time words)
សព្វ	/sɔp/	'all'
សព្វគ្រប់	/sɔp krup/	'all'
អស់	/ɔh/	'all'

1. Parentheses indicate an optional element in Cambodian.

S.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.

ឪស៊ីននាក់ /boon pii nək/ 'two older siblings' in which the noun is ឪស៊ីន /boon/ 'older sibling,' the number is ពីរ /pii/ 'two' and the classifier is នាក់/nək/ '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. នាគពីរគីឡូ /sac pii kiilou/'two kilos of meat' នាគ/sac/'meat' ពីរ /pii/'two' គីឡូ /kiilou/'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 អ្នក/nək/ is used with ordinary people; ដំបៅ/daem/ is used with sticklike objects like pencils, trees, and rifles; and ក្បាល/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:

រទេះភ្លើងមួយរ្យក្រឺង /rotah phlæŋ muoy kræŋ/ 'one train'
រទេះភ្លើងមួយខ្សែ /rotah phlæŋ muoy khsæ/ 'one train'

In the first case attention is focussed on the locomotive, since រ្យក្រឺង /kræŋ/ 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 ខ្សែ /khsæ/ 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. (ស្រាមួយដប /sraa muoy doop/ 'one bottle of liquor,' ស្រា /sraa/ 'liquor' មួយ /muoy/ 'one' ដប /doop/ 'bottle') or ម្ហូបបីប្រភេទ /mehoup bey muk/ 'three kinds of food' (ម្ហូប /mehoup/ 'food' បី /bey/ 'three' ប្រភេទ /muk/ 'kind, type').

Nouns indicating units of time are also classifiers, e.g. ខ្ញុំទៅរស់រាល់ពីរថ្ងៃ /khñom tɛw ch peel pii thnɔj/ 'I went for two days' (ទៅ /tɛw/ 'to go' រស់រាល់ /ch/ 'to exhaust, use up' រាល់ /peel/ 'time' ថ្ងៃ /thnɔj/ 'day').

Nouns which are most commonly encountered as classifiers are:

ក្បាល	/kbaal/	copies of books, volumes; livestock
ផ្ទះ	/knoɔŋ/	houses
គូ	/kuu/	pairs of things
គ្រាប់	/krɔp/	pellets, grains, tablets, bullets
ម៉ាស៊ីន	/krɛŋ/	machinery
ច្បាប់	/cbap/	copies of pamphlets, newspapers, magazines
ដំបូង	/daem/	long, thin, sticklike objects
ដុំ	/dom/	pieces and lumps
ភ្នំ	/tuo/	letters of the alphabet, vehicle bodies, characters in a play
នាក់	/nɛʔ/	ordinary people
ស្រោប	/prodap/	suits of clothing; sets of tools and equipment
ដំបូង	/phaen/	disks
មាត់	/mat/	words, utterances, mouthfuls
រូប	/ruup/	pictures, shapes, forms, images, persons
សន្លឹក	/sonlek/	sheets of paper, leaves
ស្រោប	/sɔmrɔp/	suits of clothing; sets of tools and equipment
អង្គ	/ɔŋ/	monks, exalted people, images of Buddha

Before a classifier the number មួយ /muoy/ 'one' is reduced to /me/ in normal speech, e.g. ម្នាក់ស្រោបស៊ីប /sraa mɛɔɔp/ 'one bottle of liquor.' Other numbers are not affected.

In normal casual speech classifiers are omitted, except for នាក់ /nɛʔ/ '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 followings:

1. The demonstrative ('this, that') is normally the last element in a noun phrase, e.g. *ខ្មៅពីរដ្ឋពីរនេះ* /khmaw day khñom pii nih/ 'these two pencils of mine' (*ខ្មៅពីរ* /khmaw day/ 'pencil' *ពីរ* /khñom/ 'I' *នេះ* /pii/ 'two' *នេះ* /nih/ 'this'). Note that a phrase containing *របស់* /rebh/ 'property of' may either precede or follow the demonstrative, e.g. *ខ្មៅពីរនេះរបស់ខ្ញុំ* /khmaw day pii nih rebh khñom/ *ខ្មៅពីររបស់ខ្ញុំនេះ* /khmaw day pii rebh khñom nih/ 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 *របស់* /rebh/ 'belonging to' plus pronoun, e.g. /khmaw day pii nih rebh khñom/ 'these two pencils of mine.'
3. Normally, but not necessarily, adjectives precede the number,² e.g. *ខ្មៅធំធំលឿងពីរនេះ* /khmaw day thom læn pii nih/ 'these two large yellow pencils' (*ធំ* /thom/ 'large' *លឿង* /læn/ 'yellow'). There is no restriction on the order of adjectives: *លឿងធំ* /læn thom/ 'yellow, big' is as acceptable as *ធំលឿង* /thom læn/ 'big, yellow.'

2.2.2 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.

2.2.1 Postverbal Attribution

Attributes which follow a verb may be:

1. a verb

- a. an action verb, e.g. *និយាយលេង* /niyiey leen/ 'to joke, to say in fun' (*និយាយ* /niyiey/ 'to speak' *លេង* /leen/ 'to play') or *ស្រួលធ្វើ* /sruol thee/ 'easy to do' (*ស្រួល* /sruol/ 'easy' *ធ្វើ* /thee/ 'to make, to do').
- b. an adjective (stative verb), e.g. *និយាយច្បាស់* /niyiey cbah/ 'speak clearly' (*ច្បាស់* /cbah/ 'to be clear').

² When the number is followed by a classifier the adjectives must precede the number.

- 2. a noun, e.g. និយាយវិប្បដិសន្ធិ /niyey voppethōa/ 'talk using elevated style' (វិប្បដិសន្ធិ /voppethōa/ '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. វាវិប្បដិសន្ធិខ្លាំងឆាប់ /via niyey khmae nōp/ 'he speaks Cambodian fast' (វា /via/ 'he, she, it, they,' ខ្លាំង /khmae/ 'Cambodian' ឆាប់ /nōp/ 'rapidly'). Such an analysis would treat លាងដៃ /lian day/ 'wash ones hands' (លាង /lian/ 'to wash' ដៃ /day/ 'hand, arm') as the same kind of construction as ស្រួលខ្លួន /sruol khluon/ 'well, healthy' (ស្រួល /sruol/ 'easy, comfortable' ខ្លួន /khluon/ 'body'). If objects are treated as attributes of verbs, when there are two nominal attributes, the object is first, e.g. មើលភ្នំយប់ /meel kon yup/ 'to watch movies at night' (មើល /meel/ 'to look at' ភ្នំ /kon/ 'movie' យប់ /yup/ 'night').

When the verb occurs with an indirect object, e.g. ផ្តល់ /aoy/ 'to give,' the situation is more complex. Here the order is:

ផ្តល់ plus direct object plus indirect object plus quantifier, e.g. ផ្តល់លុយភ្នំពីរ /aoy luy khñom pii riel/ 'give me two riels' (more literally: give me money to the extent of two riels). (លុយ/luy/ 'money').

If any portion of this is deleted, the order of the remaining components remains the same. For example, if the direct object លុយ /luy/ 'money' is deleted, the resulting sequence is ផ្តល់ភ្នំពីរ /aoy khñom pii riel/ 'give me two riels,' but if the quantifier ពីរភ្នំ /pii riel/ 'two riels' is deleted, the sequence is ផ្តល់លុយ /aoy luy khñom/ '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. និយាយម៉េច /niyey mec/ 'how is it said?' (ម៉េច /mec/ 'how, why').
- 4. an adverbial, e.g. និយាយធម្មតា /niyey thommedaa/ 'to speak in an ordinary way' (ធម្មតា /thommedaa/ 'ordinarily').
- 5. a phrase, e.g. និយាយឆាប់ជាងគេ /niyey nōp cian kee/ 'to speak fastest of all' (ឆាប់ /nōp/ 'rapid' ជាង /cian/ '(more) than' /kee/ 'they').

6. a clause, e.g. និយាយតាមតាមក៏បង្គាប់' /niyey taam kôt bonkôp/ 'to speak according to (how) he ordered' (តាម /taam/ 'according to, (following)' គាត់' /kôt/ 'he, she, they' បង្គាប់' /bonkôp/ '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.

ត្រូវ' /trəw/ 'must.'

2. an adverb

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

b. a preverbal adverb, e.g. ចេះតែនិយាយ /cɛh tæ niyey/
'always speaks' (ចេះតែ /cɛh tæ/ 'always').

3. a verbal

a. an adjective, e.g. រវល់និយាយ /rəvɨl niyey/ 'busy talking'
(រវល់' /rəvɨl/ 'busy')

b. an action verb, e.g. គិតនិយាយ /kɨt niyey/ 'to plan, to speak'
(គិត /kɨt/ '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.

មើលដឹង' /meel dac/ 'to be able to read, to have read, to have read' (មើល /meel/
'to look at, to read' ដឹង' /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. មិននិយាយលេង' /mɨn niyey leen/ 'to not say in fun' (មិន /mɨn/ 'not' និយាយ /niyey/ 'to speak' លេង' /leen/ 'to play'). However, in the case of a resultative verb, the negator

precedes the second verb, e.g. មើលមិនដឹង /meel mɨn dɛɛ/ 'to be unable to read.'

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

1. ខាន /khaan/ 'to fail,' e.g. មកមិនខាន /mɔk mɨn khaan/ 'will certainly come' (មក /mɔk/ 'to come'). ខាន /khaan/ is generally used with a negative.
2. រកឃើញ /kheəŋ/ 'to see, catch sight of,' e.g. រកឃើញ /rɔk' kheəŋ/ 'to find' (រក /rɔk/ 'to look for').
3. ចប់ /ɔp/ 'to finish' e.g. រៀនចប់ /riən ɔp/ 'to finish studying' (រៀន /riən/ 'to study').
4. ចូល /coul/ 'to enter, go in; can' រៀនមិនចូល /riən mɨn coul/ 'can't learn' (រៀន /riən/ 'to study').
5. ចេញ /ceŋ/ 'to go out,' e.g. គិតមិនចេញ /kɪt mɨn ceŋ/ 'can't think of anything' (គិត /kɪt/ 'to think').
6. ដឹង /cəh/ 'to know (how to)' e.g. រៀនមិនដឹង /riən mɨn cəh/ 'to study without learning' (រៀន /riən/ 'to study').
7. a. ដាច់ /ɔp/ 'to stick; to win an election, to pass a test' e.g. ប្រឡងដាច់ /prələɔŋ ɔp/ 'to pass a test' (ប្រឡង /prələɔŋ/ 'to take a test'). The opposite of ប្រឡងដាច់ is ប្រឡងធ្លាក់ /prələɔŋ thlək/ 'to fail a test' (ធ្លាក់ /thlək/ 'to fall').
 b. ដាច់ /dac/ 'to break apart' e.g. មើលដាច់ /meel dac/ 'to be able to read' (មើល /meel/ 'to read, to look at').
8. ទាន់ /tɔn/ 'to catch up with, to be on time' e.g. ដើរមិនទាន់គាត់ /dɛə mɨn tɔn kɔt/ 'to walk but be unable to catch up with him' (ដើរ /dɛə/ 'to walk' គាត់ /kɔt/ 'he, she, they').
9. ឆ្ងិន /thum/ 'to smell' ហ៊ានមិនឆ្ងិន /hɛt mɨn thum/ 'to be unable to smell' (ហ៊ាន /hɛt/ 'to sniff').
10. ធ្លាក់ /thlək/ 'to fall' ទាញធ្លាក់ /ruñ thlək/ 'to push (it) off' (ទាញ /ruñ/ 'to push').
11. ប្រើ /præ/ 'can, to be able' e.g. ប្រើប្រាស់ /præ baan/ 'can use' (ប្រើ /præ/ 'to use')

- b. 'to get, acquire' e.g. វាញ់មិនបានអ្វី /bañ mən baan əy/ 'went hunting and didn't get anything' (វាញ់ /bañ/ 'to shoot' អ្វី /əy/ 'anything'). When វាញ់ /baan/ has this meaning it is normally used with an object.
12. ដក់ /phot/ 'to get free of, clear of' ដើរដក់ /dae phot/ 'to walk clear of' (ដើរ /dae/ 'to walk').
13. រួច /ruoc/ 'to finish' រួចរួច /thee ruoc/ 'to finish doing' (រួច /thee/ 'to do, to make').
14. លក់ /lɨʔ/ 'to fall asleep,' e.g. ដេកលក់ /deek lɨʔ/ 'to sleep soundly' (ដេក /deek/ 'to lie down, go to sleep, to sleep').
15. រួចរួច /srac/ 'to be ready, finished' រួចរួចរួច /thee srac/ 'to have done already.'
16. ឮ /liɨ/ 'to hear,' e.g. ឮមិនឮ /sdap mən liɨ/ 'can't hear' (ឮ /sdap/ 'to listen').

S.2.2.3.2 Attributive Motion Verbs

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

- ទៅ /təw/ 'go (away from speaker)'
 ចេញ /ceñ/ 'to go out'
 ឡើង /laen/ 'to ascend'
 មក /mɔc/ 'come'
 ចូល /coul/ 'to enter'
 ចុះ /coh/ 'to descend'

In some cases the attributive motion verb simply adds its meaning, e.g. ទាញ់ចូលមក /əñceñ coul mɔc/ 'please come in' (ទាញ់ចូល /əñceñ/ 'please; to invite'). In this example ចូល /coul/ 'enter' is the main verb and មក /mɔc/ '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 រហ័សឡើង /chap laen/ 'hurry up' (រហ័ស /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 ទៅ /təw/ 'to go' and ចុះ /coh/ 'to descend' have also been frozen as imperative particles, e.g. និយាយចុះ /niyey coh/ 'go ahead and say (it)'. ទៅ /təw/ marks a command, e.g. ទម្រង់ /meel təw/ 'read it'; ចុះ /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. ក្រោយមក /kraoy moo/ 'later on (in the past)', while ទៅ /təw/ 'to go' gives a sense of extension into the future,³ e.g. គេនឹងធ្វើទៅដូច្នោះទៅ /kee nɛŋ theə əñcɛŋ təw/ 'they'll (go on) doing like that' (គេ /kee/ 'he, she, they' នឹង /nɛŋ/ 'will' ធ្វើ /theə/ 'to do' ដូច្នោះ /əñcɛŋ/ 'like that, thus').

S.2.2.4 Preverbal Word Order in the Verb Phrase

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

preverbal adverb + negator + auxiliary + attributive verb + main verb

គាត់	ចេះនឹង	មិន	ចង់	ចាប់	រៀន
kót	ceh taɛ	mɛn	coŋ	cap	rien
he	always	not	want	start	to study

'He never wants to start studying.'

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

គាត់ចេះនឹងចាប់រៀន។
kót cehtaɛ coŋ cap rien

He always wants to start studying.

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

e.g.

ត្រូវវិញ្ញាបកវិញ្ញាបក។
trew via moo 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 វាច្បាប់មកស្អែក /via
trəw mōo sʔak/ '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:

រុញ ពាញ ក្រវើន ក្រវើត វិញ វាត់ វាល វាត់ វាត់ វាយ ឲ្យ រលាយ ពី ផែន ដី ។

ruñ tieñ kroveej-krovót vey-vót rót-riey aoy roley pii lɛɛ phaendɛy

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 រុញ /ruñ/ to វាយ /riey/) and two verbs in constructions ឲ្យ /aoy/ 'to give; cause' and រលាយ /roley/ '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:

គេ ហ៊ាន ទៅ ចូល ចូល ចូល ចូល យូន យូន យូន យូន យូន យូន យូន យូន យូន យូន ។

kee hian dol tɛw coul mōo bomphlañ aoy chap ch yũnhoh yeen

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:

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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) + verb⁴ + (object)

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

កាសែតនេះពួកគេលក់ច្រើនច្បាប់។
 kasæt nih kee lɔʔ cɔæn cɔbap
 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.

ស្តុកនោះខ្ញុំស្អប់ណាស់។ (object omitted)
 puoʔ nuh khnɔm sʔop nah
 group that I hate very
 I really hate that bunch.

or else a pronoun replaces it:

ម្តាយខ្ញុំគាត់ស្លាប់ទៅយូរហើយ។ (pronoun subject)
 mɔdaay khnɔm kɔt slap tɔw yuu haey
 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 វិញ /daɛl/ 'which, that' or by no word at all (cf.

S.2.1.1.5), e.g.

4. Note that in the case of certain predicate nominative constructions, e.g. ថ្ងៃនេះថ្ងៃច័ន្ទ /thɔy nih thɔy cən/ 'today is Monday' (ថ្ងៃ /thɔy/ 'day' ថ្ងៃច័ន្ទ /thɔy cən/ 'Monday') the copula may be realized by ៀ, that is, the spoken or written sentence will have no verb.

សិស្ស (សិស្ស) ចេះ ខ្លះ ខ្លះ មិន ចាំ បន្ថែម ទៀត ទេ ។

seh (daɛl) cəh khmaɛ mɨn bac riɛn tɨt

student (who) know Cambodian not-need study further

Students who know Cambodian need not study any more.

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

វិសិស្ស យើង ត្រូវ យក ទៅ ។

daɛl yeɛn trəw-kaa yeɛn yɔɔ tɨw

ones-that we need we take to

The ones we need we'll take along.

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

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

រឿង ហ្នឹង (ហើយ) វិសិស្ស ខ្ញុំ ឮ នៅ ផ្ទះ គេ ។

riɛn nɨŋ (haɛy) daɛl khnɔm lɨɨ nɨw phtɛh 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 វិសិស្ស /daoy/, which indicates that the action in the clause it introduces is a contributing factor to the action of the clause to which it is related, e.g.

គេ ប្រកាស វា ដោយ វិសិស្ស គេ ប្រកាស គ្រូ ។

kee da'-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. កាល /kaal/ 'when' or ព្រោះ /prəh/ '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.

វាឆ្លើយថាម្តាយមិនទាន់ស្រួលខ្លួន។
via chlaey thaa mdaay mán-tón sruol-khluon

he answer that mother not-yet well

He answered that his mother was not yet feeling well.

Here the embedded clause is ម្តាយមិនទាន់ស្រួលខ្លួន /mdaay mán tón sruol khluon/ '(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 ម្តាយវា, វាមិនទាន់ស្រួលខ្លួន /mdaay via, kót mán tón sruol khluon/ '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:

ខ្យល់បក់ ស្លឹកឈើធ្លាក់។
khyol bo' slek chae thlé'

wind blow leaf tree fall

(when) 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 ខ្លឹមសារ /haey/ 'and,' ឬ /rɨt/ 'or,' ប៉ុន្តែ /pontæ/ or ប៉ុន្តែ /tæ/ 'but,' and គឺ /kɨt/ 'that is to say.' For examples:

គាត់ធ្វើបាយ ខ្ញុំស្អាតផ្ទះ។

via thæ baay haey khñom scm?aat phteh

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. ព្រោះ /pruə/ 'because' or បើ /bæ/ 'if.'

បើខ្ញុំមានលុយខ្ញុំនឹងទៅ។

bæ khñom mian luy khñom tɨw

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.

ខ្ញុំមានលុយខ្ញុំនឹងទៅ។

khñom mian luy khñom tɨw

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 ដែល /dæɩ/ but often are not. In indirect discourse the embedded phrase or clause is usually introduced by គ្រូ /thæ/, which literally means 'to say' but before an indirect statement or question means 'that;' e.g.

គេប្រាប់ថាគាត់មករួចហើយ។

kee prap thaa kót mōo haey

they tell that he come already

They told (me) he's come already.

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

ខ្ញុំដឹងដឹងដឹងនាម្បើមទៅទេ។

khñom den cia tǎw rǎi mǎn tǎw tee

I know that go or not go (negation)

I don't know whether (he's) going.

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

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងដឹងដឹងនាម្បើមទៅទេ។

khñom mǎn den cia tǎw rǎi mǎn tǎw tee
thaa

I not know that go or not go (negation)

I don't know if (he's) going or not.

If ថា /thaa/ is used in a negative sentence, a negator, e.g. មិន /mǎn/ 'not,' must precede ដឹង /den/; if ដឹង /cia/ is used, the negator is optional. When the embedded clause contains a subject, ដឹង /den/ must be followed by ថា /thaa/ whether positive or negative, e.g.

ខ្ញុំ(មិន)ដឹងថាគាត់ទៅទេម្បើមទៅទេ។

khñom (mǎn) den thaa via tǎw rǎi mǎn tǎw tee

I (not) know that he go or not go (negation)

I (don't) know whether he's going or not.

Both ថា /thaa/ and ដឹង /cia/ may be omitted.

S.4.2 Sentence Types

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

S.4.2.1 Negative Sentences

Negation is accomplished by means of a negator particle (cf. A.2) ទេ ^o /pəm/, មិន /mɨn/, or ទេ ទេ /ət/ occurring before the main verb (cf. S.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 ទេ /tee/ is used, e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងទេ។

khñom mɨn den tee.

I not know (negation)

I don't know.

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

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងទេថាវាមក។

khñom mɨn den tee thaa via mɔo

I not know (negation) that he come

I didn't know he was coming.

or follows it:

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងថាវាមកទេ។

khñom mɨn den thaa via mɔo tee.

I didn't know he was coming.

Other negator words which can also be used with /tee/ are មិនទាន់ /mɨn tɔn/ 'not yet,' មិនដឹងឡើយ /mɨn daɛl/ 'have never' and មិនបាច់ /mɨn bac/ 'need not.' In all cases ទេ ^o /pəm/ or ទេ ទេ /ət/ can be substituted for មិន /mɨn/.

S.4.2.2 Interrogative Sentences

Interrogation is a somewhat more complex matter in Cambodian than is 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 ខ្លី /taə/, which announces that a question follows, e.g.

ខ្លី វា ដឹង ទេ ?	or	ខ្ញុំ ល្អ ទេ ខ្លី វា ដឹង ទេ ?
taə via den tee		khñom suo (thaa) taə via den tee
question he know (negation)		I ask (that) (question) he know (negation)
Does he know?		I asked if he knows.

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

S.4.2.2.1 Alternation Questions

An alternation question is asked by coordinating two alternatives by the clause relator ឬ /rɨ:/ 'or,' e.g.

ស្រី កំចាត់ ល្បែង ឬ ឮ ទេ ?
look meəl rɨ/ sdap
sir read or listen
Are you reading or listening?

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

ស្រី កំចាត់ ល្បែង ឬ មិន កំចាត់ ទេ ?
look meəl rɨ/ mɨn meəl tee
sir read or not read (negation)
Are you reading or aren't you?

This sentence may be reduced to:

ស្រី កំចាត់ ល្បែង ទេ ?
look meəl rɨ/ tee
are you reading or not?

with no meaning change, and still further reduced to:

ស្រី កំចាត់ ល្បែង ទេ ?
look meəl tee
Are you reading?

This last is the normal form of a confirmation (yes-no) questions; that is, the normal affirmative clause is followed by /tee/ and has rising intonation. Another reduction of

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 examples:

គេឃើញអ្នកណា? is related to	គេឃើញសុខ។
kee kheen nê'naa	kee kheen sok
they see who	they see Sok
Whom did they see?	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, ពេលវេលា/(pii) cŋkaal/ 'when,' ម៉េច/ mec/ 'how, why,' ឯណា/aenaa/ 'where,' កាលណា/kaalnaa/ 'when,' ហេតុអ្វី/hæc ey/ 'why,' ហេតុអ្វី/yaan mec/ 'how, why.' For examples:

ឯណាម្តាយនា? or	ម្តាយនា(នា) ឯណា?
aenaa mdaay via?	mdaay via (nâw) aenaa?
where mother he	mother he (at) where
Where's his mother?	Where's his mother?

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

ម៉េចក៏មិនសិក្សា?
 mec-koo kee mîn rien?
 why they not study
 Why aren't they studying?

The word អ្វី /ey/ 'what' (or colloquially, អ្វី /s'ey/) may be used attributively, e.g. ទ្រាន់អ្វី /laan ey/ 'what kind of car.' When it contrasts in this position with ណា /naa/ 'which (one),' ណា /naa/ means 'which specific, individual one,' and អ្វី /ey/ means 'what kind of.' For example, ទ្រាន់អ្វី /laan ey/ is 'what (kind of) car' but ទ្រាន់ណា /laan naa/ is 'which car (of several cars we know about).'

S.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. whomever, 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:

<u>Indefinite</u>	<u>Substitutes for</u>
អ្វី /ɛy/ 'what, whatever, anything, nothing, none'	noun; attributive
អ្វីៗ /s'ɛy/ colloquial version of អ្វី /ɛy/	noun; attributive
ណា /naa/ 'which, whichever, any, not anywhere, wherever, anywhere, nowhere'	attributive noun indicating location
អញ្ចេញ /ɲkaal/ 'when, whenever'	noun indicating time
មេច /mec/ 'how, why, however, any way, in no way'	clause; phrase
មេច្រើន /mdec/ is a more formal version of មេច /mec/	
ប៉ុន្មាន /pormaan, pemaal/ 'how much, however much, any amount'	a quantity

Compound indefinites (cf. also S.4.2.2.2) 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:

អ្នកណា /nɔ'naa/ 'who, whoever, anyone, no one'	noun designating a person
ឯណា /aanaa/ 'where, wherever, anywhere, nowhere'	noun designating a place
កាលណា /kaal naa/ 'when, whenever, at any time, at no time'	noun designating a time
ហេតុអ្វី /haet ɛy/ 'why, for whatever reason, for any reason, for no reason'	clause
អ្វីៗ /thee ɛy/ 'for what purpose, for whatever purpose, for any purpose, for no purpose'	clause
យ៉ាងមេច /yaan mec/ 'how, why, however, whyever, any way, for any reason, no way, for no reason'	clause
ប៉ុន្មានណា /pennaa/ 'how big, what size'	noun or demonstrative indicating size

Examples of uses of indefinites follow, arranged according to their English translation.

In most cases examples are based on /nɛʔnaa/ 'who, etc.'

who

អ្នកណាចង់ទៅ?

nɛʔnaa coŋ tɛw?

who want go

Who wants to go?

everyone

អ្នកណាក៏ដឹងដែរ។

nɛʔnaa koo den dae

who (particle) know also

Everyone knows (that).

no-one, not anyone

ខ្ញុំមិនស្គាល់អ្នកណានៅទីនេះទេ។

khñom mɛn skɔl nɛʔnaa nɛw nih tee

I not know who at this (negation)

I don't know anyone here.

whoever, anyone who

អ្នកណាចេះ អ្នកហ្នឹងត្រូវធ្វើ។

nɛʔnaa ceh nɛʔ nɛn tɛw thee

who know-how person that must do

Whoever knows how to do it must do it.

someone (who)

ខ្ញុំត្រូវការអ្នកណា(ដឹង)ចេះ។

khñom tɛw kaa nɛʔnaa (dael) ceh

I need who (that) know-how

I need someone who knows how.

anyone

អ្នកណាក៏បាន។

nɛʔnaa koo baan

who (particle) o.k.

Anyone will do; anyone is o.k.

someone

ប្រហែលខ្ញុំស្គាល់អ្នកណា នៅហ្នឹង។
 prohaeł khñom skòl nê'naa nãw nãŋ

maybe I know who at that

Maybe I know someone there.

(But equally often 'someone' is translated គេ /ke/, អ្នកណាម្នាក់/nê'naa mené', មនុស្សម្នាក់/memuh mené', or just ម្នាក់/mené'.)

however many

គេចាប់ត្រីបានទាំងប៉ុន្មានលក់ទាំងប៉ុន្មាន។
 kee cap trey baan tén porman lí' tén ponnán

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

ញ៉ាំប៉ុន្មានក៏បានដែរ។
 ñam porman koo baan dae

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 PersonN.1.1.1 Singular

ខ្ញុំ /khñom/ 'I' is the usual and most neutral first person singular pronoun. A foreign speaker can safely use ខ្ញុំ in almost all circumstances. (Originally ខ្ញុំ 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. ខ្ញុំបម្រើ/khñom bomrae/ 'servant.')

អញ/añ/ 'I' is used when the addressee is intimate with the speaker, much younger, or of inferior social status. The corresponding second person form is ឯង/aen/ 'you.'

ក្មី/knia/ 'I' is used when the addressee is intimate or very friendly with the speaker.

យើង/yeen/ '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 យើង/yeen/ is also used to represent 'I' when a god speaks.

អាត្មា/aatamaa/ or អាត្មាភិក្ខុ/aatamaaphiap/ 'I' is used by a Buddhist monk.

ខ្ញុំបាទ/khñom baat/ 'I' is used by a man to show deference.

ភាវីខ្ញុំ/niañ khñom/ 'I' is used by a woman to show deference.

ខ្ញុំស្រឡាត់ក្រុង/ khñom (préh) kerunaa/ is used by a layman when speaking to a monk or to someone of royal blood.

N.1.1.2 Plural

យើង /yeɛŋ/ 'we' This is the general, neutral form.

យើងខ្ញុំ /yeɛŋ khñom/ 'we' Another generally used form.

ខ្ញុំករុណាទាំងឡាយ /khñom karunaa tɛŋ laay/ '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.

ប្អូនមិនដឹងទេ /p'oun mɛn 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 ប្អូន /p'oun/ 'younger sibling.'

N.1.2 Second Person

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

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:

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

គ្រូក្រី /né' kruu/ 'teacher').

តូ /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: មីន /min/ 'younger aunt').

សុខ /sok/ or សុខឯង /sok aɛŋ/ '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.

គាត់ /kɔt/ 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 ឪពុក /boon/.

គេ /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. គេនិយាយ /kee thaa/ 'they say...' You will be tempted to use គាត់ /kət/ for 'he/she' and គេ /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.

វា /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.

ខ្ញុំថាវាក្ដៅណាស់។

khñom thaa via kdaw nah

'I say it's very hot.'

Literary style, however, does not use this expletive វា 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, ឪពុកទៅសាលាហើយ /boon tɨw saalaa haey/ can mean 'He has gone to school already' (ឪពុក /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 គ្រូ/look/ 'sir, lord' or ព្រះសង្ឃ /prəh ən/ '(holy) body.'

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

N.2 Demonstratives

The three most common Cambodian demonstratives វាវ័ /nih/ វាវ័ /nuh/, and

ញ៉ឹង /nɛŋ,² nɛŋ/ are used both: 1) as attributes, e.g. ឡាននេះ /laan nih/ 'this car' and 2) alone, e.g. នោះជានិមិត្តរូបមួយ /nɛŋ cia nɛŋ thom haey/ 'that is a grave matter.' Following a locative word like នៅ /nɛw/ 'at' the demonstratives mean 'here, there,' e.g.

នេះមានមនុស្សច្រើនណាស់
nɛw nih mian memuh craen peek

'There are too many people here.'

'There are too many people here.'

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

ញ៉ឹងហើយ
nɛŋ haey

nɛŋ haey

'That's it; yes.'

នោះ /nɛw/ and ញ៉ឹង /nɛŋ/ 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:

លោកធ្វើអ្វីញ៉ឹង?
look thee ay nɛŋ

look thee ay nɛŋ

'What are you doing there?'

Less common demonstratives are: នោះ^{*} /nɛw/ 'yonder, over there,' which has a kind of pointing connotation, and នោះ^{*} /nɛw/ which has the same meaning as ញ៉ឹង /nɛŋ/ but is limited to spoken usage; it is not characteristic of written usage.

N.3 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

2. /nɛŋ/ is Phnom Penh pronunciation.

syntactic environment. Thus a noun like ទស្សនាសារ /səphəw/ 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 ទស្សនាសារ /səphəw/ 'book' can be followed by the word ខ្លះ /khlah/ 'some' to make an indefinite plural 'some books, books' (but note that English 'the books' would never be translated as ទស្សនាសារ /səphəw khlah/). Another pluralizer is ទាំងឡាយ /tén laay/, which pluralizes definite nouns, e.g. ទស្សនាសារ ទាំងឡាយ /səphəw tén laay/ 'the books.' Likewise gender can be ascribed by following the noun by the appropriate word. ប្រុស /proh/ '(human) male,' ស្រី /sray/ '(human) female,' ឈ្មួស /chmool/ '(animal) male' ស្រី /nii/ '(animal) female. For examples:

សម្របសម្រួល ប្រុស /smien proh/ 'a male secretary'
ទាញ ស្រី /tia nii/ 'female duck'

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

ខ្ញុំ ផ្តល់ លុយ សាត់ ។

khñom aoy luy kót

I'll give him some money.

in which ខ្ញុំ /khñom/ 'I' is the agent, លុយ /luy/ 'money' is direct object, and សាត់ /kót/ 'him' is indirect object. These functions are all determined by the positions of the three nominals relative to the verb ផ្តល់ /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. កង្កែប /chkae/ 'dog,' កាត់សារ /kesast/ 'newspaper.' Complex nouns include at least one prefix or infix, e.g. បង្កើត /bonkaet/ 'to originate' (/bon-/ 'causative prefix' + /kaet/ 'to be born, arise') or សួរ /sammuo/ 'question' (/suo/ 'to ask' + /-ann-/ '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. កិច្ចការ /keckaa/ 'matter' កិច្ច (kec/ 'matter, affair' + /kaa/ 'work, matter') or សួរ ចម្លើយ /sammuo-cmlaey/ 'questions and answers' (/sammuo/ 'question' + /cmlaey/ 'answer').

N.3.1 Complex Nouns

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.

កើត	/kaet/ 'to be born'
ខ្ញុំ	/knaet/ 'period of the waxing moon'
កំណើត	/kannaet/ 'birth, origin'
បង្កើត	/bonkaet/ 'to found, to originate' ³

all of which are formally related by the sharing of the phoneme sequence /kaet/ 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 កើត /kaet/ group above may help you recognize and learn new words faster.

Below are listed some of the most common affixes occurring in complex nouns.⁴

N.3.1.1 Prefixes

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

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. */bɔŋ/ before /c/ (there are no nominal examples for this rule, but verbs with the prefix បង់ /bɔŋ-/ follow it (cf. V.3.2.1 (8) below)).

d. /bɔŋ/ elsewhere, e.g. បង្ហាត់ /bɔŋkat/ 'handle, railing' from កាត់ /kat/ 'to hold.'

2. ព្រែង /pro-/ 'nominalization of root verb,' e.g. ព្រែងវែង /provaɛŋ/ 'length' from វែង /vɛɛŋ/ 'long.'

3. ព្រះ /prɛh-/ (in fast speech /prɛ-/) 'sacred, royal' e.g. ព្រះអាទិត្យ /prɛh aatɨt/ 'the sun' from អាទិត្យ /aatɨt/ 'sun, week.' The word ព្រះ is used frequently with words relating to royalty. It is productive.

4. ម្នាក់ /me-/ from មួយ /muoy/ 'one,' e.g. ម្នាក់ៗ /mɛyaan/ 'one kind of' from យ៉ាង /yaan/ 'kind'

5. កាត់ /sɔŋ-/ 'nominalization of a root verb,' e.g. កាត់ក្រវាត់ /sɔŋkat/ 'sector, quarter' from កាត់ /kat/ 'to cut.' This prefix follows the same pronunciation rule as បង់ /bɔŋ-/ above.

6. បាត់ /ɔŋ-/ 'nominalization of a root verb,' e.g. បាត់បង្ហាត់ /ɔŋbaɔh/ 'broom' from បាត់ /baɔh/ 'to sweep.' This prefix follows the same rules as បង់ /bɔŋ-/ above.

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

N.3.1.2 Infixes

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. លឿនៗ /lbɛn/ 'speed' from លឿន /lɛn/ 'fast.' If the root verb begins with /r/, the derivative begins with the syllable /ro/, e.g. រាំរាំ /robam/ 'dance (n.)' from រាំ /rɔm/ 'to dance.'

2. /-n-/ 'nominalization of a root verb,' e.g. ខ្សែក្រវាត់ /khnæst/ 'period of waxing moon' from ក្រវាត់ /kaet/ '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. ប្រដាប់ /thnaol/ 'punting pole' from ប្រដាប់ /daol/ 'to punt' or ប្រដាប់ /phnæst/ 'a piece' from ប្រដាប់ /baek/ 'to shatter.' If the root verb begins with /r/, the first syllable of the derivative is /ro/, e.g. រូង /ronh/ 'a rake' from រូង /roh/ 'to rake.'

3. /-am-/ 'nominalization of root verb.' This infix takes two forms: /-am-/ occurs in cases where the base begins with a consonant sequence, e.g. ស្រួច /samloo/ 'stew' from ស្រួច /sloo/ 'to stew.' However, if the base begins with a single consonant, the infix takes the form /-amm-/ , e.g. សួច /sammoo/ 'question' from សួច /suo/ 'to ask.' In some cases the vowel of the infix is /u/ (/ -um-, / -umn- /), e.g. ល្អិត /lum?oo/ 'beauty' from ល្អិត /l?oo/ 'good, pretty' or ជំងឺ /cumntt/ 'illness' from ជំងឺ /chntt/ 'sick, ill.' Base initial /p,t/ become /b,d/ before this infix.

In a few cases the base is a root noun, e.g. ជំនាន់ /cumnón/ 'generation, era' from ជំនាន់ /cón/ 'floor, stratum.'

4. /-aŋ-/ 'nominalization of root verb; e.g. ស្របាច់ /sambot/ 'oath' from ស្របាច់ /sbot/ 'to swear.' In cases where the root verb begins with /p/ or /t/, (often transliterated ph and th, respectively), the derivative begins with /bcaŋ-/ or /dcaŋ-/ respectively, e.g. ប្រដាប់ /bcaŋ'aam/ 'dessert' from ប្រដាប់ /ph'aam/ 'sweet' or ប្រដាប់ /dambaan/ 'weaving' from /tbaan/ 'to weave.' This infix takes the form /-ún-/ in ពន្លឺ /púnltt/ 'light' from ពន្លឺ /pltt/ 'to be light.' Note that this infix is pronounced as follows:

ស្របាច់⁽¹⁾ /-am-/ before /b, p/
 ជំងឺ /-on-/ before /d, t, l/
 ប្រដាប់ /-aŋ-/ before /c/
 ពន្លឺ /-aŋ-/ elsewhere

In many cases affixation is accompanied by a change in the quality of the vowel, e.g. ខ្សែស្រឡៅ /lbaɛŋ/ 'game' from លេង /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. ក្មេងៗ /kmeenkmeen/ 'children' from ក្មេង /kmeen/ 'child.' A reduplicated compound is plural in meaning and often refers to the noun in a general sense, e.g.

ស្រីៗស្មើស្មើដូចគ្នា
sreysrey əñcəŋ haəy

Women are like that. (ស្រី /srey/ '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. ខោអាវ /khao aav/ 'clothing' from ខោ /khao/ 'pants' and អាវ /aav/ 'shirt,' or តុទូរគមនាគមន៍ /tok tuu kaw'ey/ 'furniture' from តុ /tok/ 'table,' ទូរ /tuu/ 'cabinet,' គមនាគមន៍ /kaw'ey/ 'chair.'

5. These two terms are adapted from Huffman 1967.

N.3.2.1.3 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. គ្រូបាទ/look kruu/ 'teacher' from គ្រូ/look/ 'sir, mister' and បាទ 'teacher' or ប្អូនគីម /boon kɛm/ គីម 'Kim' from ប្អូន /boon/ 'older sibling' and គីម /kɛm/ a name of someone (who is called ប្អូន /boon/ because he is somewhat older than the speaker, with whom he is on intimate terms, or who is of inferior social status).

N.3.2.2 Centered Compounds

There are two types of centered compound: full centered compounds and pseudo-compounds.⁶ The components of full centered compounds occur alone as words; in the case of pseudocompounds one or both components may be bound (i.e. do not occur alone).

N.3.2.2.1 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. បន្ទប់គេង /ptup keen/ 'bedroom' from បន្ទប់ /ptup/ 'room' and គេង /keen/ 'to sleep.'
2. a noun, e.g. បន្ទប់ទឹក /ptup tɛk/ 'bathroom' from បន្ទប់ /ptup/ 'room' and ទឹក /tɛk/ 'water.'
3. a verb and object, e.g. បន្ទប់ទទួលភ្ញៀវ /ptup tetuol phñiew/ 'living room' from បន្ទប់ /ptup/ 'room,' ទទួល/tetuol/ 'to receive,' and ភ្ញៀវ /phñiew/ '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 ដំបូលឈើ /daem chee/ ឈើ 'tree' from ដំបូល /daem/ 'something long and thin, stem' and ឈើ /chee/ 'wood.' (An argument can also be made that ដំបូល /daem/ is the head of the compound and not ឈើ /chee/.) In many cases where both elements of the compound are borrowed from Sanskrit or Pali, the

6. Term from Huffman 1967 p. 120

head comes second, e.g. ភាសាវិទ្យា /phasaa-viccia/ 'the study of language' from ភាសា /phasaa/ 'language' and វិទ្យា /viccia/ 'study, knowledge.' The most common nouns serving as heads of full centered compounds are the following (arranged according to Cambodian alphabetic order). They are all productive.

1. កម្ម /kam/ 'action,' e.g. កម្មវិធី /kam-vithii/ 'program' from វិធី /vithii/ 'occasion, ceremony.'
2. ការ /kaa/ 'matter, work' used:
 - a. with verbs, e.g. ការរកស៊ី /kaa-róo'-sii/ 'earning a living' from រកស៊ី /róo'-sii/ 'to earn a living,' រក /róo/ 'to seek,' ស៊ី /sii/ 'to eat.'
 - b. with nouns, e.g. ការងាររដ្ឋបាល /kaa-róttékaa/ 'government work' from រដ្ឋបាល /róttékaa/ 'civil service.'
3. កិច្ច /kec/ 'matter, affair;' e.g. កិច្ចការ /kec-kaa/ 'matter, business' from ការ /kaa/ 'work, matter.'
4. ខាង /khaan/ 'side, area (e.g. of study),' e.g. ខាងលើ /khaan-lée/ 'above' from លើ /lee/ 'on, above,' or ខាងវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រ /khaan-vicciasah/ 'in the area of science' from វិទ្យាសាស្ត្រ /vicciasah/ 'science.'
5. ឧបករណ៍ /kraen/ 'tool, part, component,' e.g. ឧបករណ៍ម៉ាស៊ីន /kraen-masin/ 'machine parts and engines.'
6. ដំណើរ /damnae/ 'gait; process; trip,' e.g. ដំណើររកស៊ី /damnae-róo'-sii/ 'process of earning a living' from រកស៊ី /róo'-sii/ 'to earn a living.'
7. ថ្ងៃ /thnay/ 'day,' e.g. ថ្ងៃបុណ្យ /thnay-bon/ 'holiday' from បុណ្យ /bon/ 'holiday, ritual.'
8. ទឹក /tək/ 'liquid, water,' e.g. ទឹកក្រូច /tək-krouc/ 'orange juice' from ក្រូច /krouc/ 'citrus, orange.'
9. ទី /tii/ 'place,' e.g. ទីក្រុង /tii-kron/ 'city' from ក្រុង /kron/ 'city, town' or ទីគោរព /tii-koorup/ 'object of respect' from គោរព /koorup/ 'to respect.'
10. បន្ទប់ /bontup, ptup, ktup/ 'room,' e.g. បន្ទប់គេង /bontup-deek/ 'bed-room' from គេង /deek/ 'to sleep.'
11. ប្រដាប់ /prodap/ 'tool, equipment,' e.g. ប្រដាប់សំឡេង /prodap-phleen/ 'musical instrument' from សំឡេង /phleen/ 'music.'

12. ផ្ទះ /phtëh/ 'house, place of - ,' e.g. ផ្ទះលក់បាយ /phtëh-lŭ'-baay/ 'restaurant' from លក់/lŭ'/ 'to sell' and បាយ/baay/ 'cooked rice; a meal.'
13. ពណ៌ /pŏa/ 'color,' e.g. ពណ៌ស្វាយ /pŏa-swaay/ 'purple' from ស្វាយ /swaay/ 'purple.'
14. ភាព /phiap/ 'state,' e.g. ភាពយន្ត/phiap-yŭn/ 'moving picture' from យន្ត/yŭn/ 'machine, engine, vehicle.'
15. មី /mee/
- a. 'female,' e.g. មីកូ/mee-koo/ 'cow (opposed to a bull)' from គោ /koo/ 'cow, ox.'
- b. 'leader, chief' e.g. មីហាន /mee-tahian/ 'officer (military)' from ហាន /tahian/ 'soldier; military.'
16. ម្ចាស់ /mcah/ 'owner, master,' e.g. ម្ចាស់ផ្ទះ /mcah-phtëh/ 'landlord, host' from ផ្ទះ /phtëh/ 'house.'
17. រោង /roon/ 'large building for a specific function,' e.g. រោងចក្រ /roon-ca?/ 'factory' from ចក្រ /ca?/ 'wheel.'
18. ល្មើស /latti?/ 'philosophical system,' e.g. ល្មើសសង្គមនិយម /latti?-sɔŋkumnyum/ 'socialism' from សង្គមនិយម/sɔŋkumnyum/ 'socialist.'
19. វិជ្ជា /wiccia/ 'knowledge, study of,' e.g. វិជ្ជាពេទ្យ/wiccia-peet/ '(study of) medicine' from ពេទ្យ /peet/ 'medicine, doctor, hospital.'
20. វិធី /vithii, pithii/ 'occasion, event, ceremony,' e.g. វិធីបំពាក់សក្កី /vithi-bɔmpŏ'-sa?/ 'promotion ceremony' from បំពាក់ /bɔmpŏ'/ 'to put on (trans.)' and សក្កី /sa?/ 'rank.'
21. ភាច់ /sac/ 'meat, flesh' e.g. ភាច់គោ /sac-koo/ 'beef' from គោ /koo/ 'cow, ox.'
22. សាលា /saalaa/ 'school, hall,' e.g. សាលារៀន /saalaa-rien/ 'school' from រៀន /rien/ 'to study.'
23. រសាច់ក្តី /sec-kdey/ 'matter, affair,' e.g. រសាច់ក្តីស្លាប់ /sec-kdey-slap/ 'death' from ស្លាប់ /slap/ 'to die.'
24. ស្នាម, ឋាន /sthaan, thaan/ 'place,' e.g. ស្នាមត្រួត /sthaan-tuut/ 'embassy' from ត្រួត /tuut/ 'diplomat, diplomatic.'

25. អ្នក /nɔː/ 'person, human being,' e.g. អ្នកនេសាទត្រី /nɔː-neesaat-trey/ 'fisherman' from នេសាទ /neesaat/ 'to fish' and ត្រី /trey/ 'fish,' or អ្នករដ្ឋការ /nɔː-róttakaa/ 'civil servant' from រដ្ឋការ /róttakaa/ '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. ព្រះ /put, putte-/ 'Buddha,' e.g. ព្រះសាសនា /putte-sahhaa/ 'Buddhism' from សាសនា /sahsnaa/ 'religion.'
2. ពល /pʰl, pʰlle-/ 'the people (force),' e.g. ពលរដ្ឋ /pʰllerót/ 'citizenry' from រដ្ឋ /ró/ 'state.'
3. ភូមិ /phuum, phuumi-/ 'place, region,' e.g. ភូមិភាគ /phuumi-phiaː/ 'region' from ភាគ /phiaː/ 'part.'
4. យន្ត /yún, yúnte/ 'motor, engine,' e.g. យន្តហោះ /yún-hoh/ 'airplane' from ហោះ /hoh/ 'to fly.'
5. យាន /yian, yiane/ 'vehicle,' e.g. យានដ្ឋាន /yiane-thaan/ 'garage' from ដ្ឋាន /thaan/ 'place.'
6. យុទ្ធ /yut, yutte/ 'fighting, struggle,' e.g. យុទ្ធជន /yutte-cún/ 'fighter' from ជន /cún/ 'person.'
7. យុវ /yuvéː, yuve/ 'youth, young person,' e.g. យុវជន /yuve-cún/ 'youth' from ជន /cún/ 'person.'
8. រដ្ឋ /ró, rótte/ 'state,' e.g. រដ្ឋការ /rótte-kaa/ 'government, civil service' from ការ /kaa/ 'word, affair.'
9. រាជ /riac, riacce/ 'king, royal,' e.g. រាជការ /riac-kaa, riacca-kaa/ 'government' from ការ /kaa/ 'work, affair.'
10. ឯក /aek, aekke/ 'one, single, highest,' e.g. ឯកជន /aekke-cún/ 'private (public)' from ជន /cún/ 'person.'

N.3.2.2.2 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.

N.3.2.2.2.1 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. ប្រជា/procia-/ 'people, popular,' e.g. ប្រជាជាតិ /procia-ciat/ 'nation, nationality' from ជាតិ /ciat/ 'nation.'
2. មហា /mohaa-/ 'great, large,' មហាសមុទ្រ /moha-samot/ 'ocean' from សមុទ្រ /samot/ 'sea.'
3. សហ: /saha?-/ 'united,' e.g. សហរដ្ឋ /saha?-rót/ 'united states' from រដ្ឋ /rót/ 'state.'
4. អគ្គ /akké?/ 'high, important,' e.g. អគ្គរដ្ឋទូត /akké?-rótté-tuut/ 'ambassador plenipotentiary' from រដ្ឋទូត /rótté-tuut/ 'ambassador.'
5. អនុ /amu?-/ 'under, lesser,' e.g. អនុវិទ្យាល័យ /amu?-vityialay/ 'junior high school' from វិទ្យាល័យ /vityialay/ 'secondary school.'
6. ទុត្តម /udom, udom/ 'high, noble,' e.g. ទុត្តមថ្នាក់ /udomethaan/ 'superior class' from ថ្នាក់ /thaan/ '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. ចរ /-coo/ 'to go; travel,' e.g. ទេសចរ /tehse-coo/ 'tourist' from ទេស /teeh/ 'place.'
2. ចរណ៍ /-coo/ 'traveling,' e.g. ទេសចរណ៍ /tehse-coo/ 'tourism' from ទេស /teeh/ 'place.'
3. នីយម /-nyum/ '-ism' e.g. សង្គមនិយម /sonkum-niyum/ 'socialism' from សង្គម /sonkum/ 'society.'

4. សាស្ត្រ /-sah/ 'study of' e.g. វិទ្យាសាស្ត្រ /viccia-sah/ 'science' from វិទ្យា /viccia/ 'knowledge.'
5. វិទ្យាល័យ /-alay/ 'place,' e.g. វិទ្យាល័យ /vityialay/ 'secondary school' from វិទ្យា/វិទ្យា/vityia, 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. ក្បាលក្បួន /kbaal-kboun/ 'head' from ក្បាល /kbaal/ 'head.'
2. Those in which the components bear no formal resemblance to each other, e.g. ប្រាក់កាស /pra'-kah/ 'money' from ប្រាក់/pra'/ 'silver, money.'

Reduplicative compounds are of three major types:

1. Rhyming compounds, e.g. ចានក្បាន /caan-kbaan/ 'crockery, chinaware' from ចាន /caan/ 'dish, bowl.'⁷
2. Alliterative compounds, e.g. ប្រដាប់ប្រដា /prodap-prodaa/ 'equipment' from ប្រដាប់ /prodap/ 'tool.'
3. Ablauting compounds, in which only the vowel changes, e.g. ក្មេងៗ /kmeen-kmaan/ 'children' from ក្មេង /kmeen/ 'child.'

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

VERBALSV.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 ទៅ /təw/ '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. រំលឹល /daɛl/ '(have) ever,' and by adverbials, e.g. រួចហើយ /haɛy/ 'already.' These categories also appear in resultative verbs, e.g. រៀនចប់ /rien cɔp/ 'to finish studying' (cf. S.2.2.3.1).

Some modal categories, e.g. desire, obligation, ability, appear in preverbal auxiliaries, e.g. ចង់ /cɔŋ/ 'to want' or in resultative verbs, e.g. បាន /baan/ 'can' in ចង់បាន /chee 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 បើគាត់ដឹងគាត់មិនមកទេ /bae kɔt deŋ kɔt mɔn mɔc 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.

គ្មានលោកធ្វើរថ្មនៃដំណាក់?
laan look thee niw aɛnaa

Where was your car made/fixed?

លោកធ្វើគ្នានៃរថ្មនៃដំណាក់?
look thee laan niw aɛnaa

Where did you fix (make) your car?

or

Verbs of this sort are normally 'active' in meaning with an animate subject (លោក /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 គាត់ទិញស្បែកម្សិលមិញ /kót deñ pii məsəl mǎñ/, 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 វាវា /kee/ 'they,' however, especially in formal usage, an English passive can be translated using the verb ត្រូវ /trəw/ 'to experience something, to undergo.' The resulting sentence is an active sentence; what follows ត្រូវ modifies ត្រូវ; ត្រូវ in this case is not an auxiliary but the main verb. For example, ខ្ញុំត្រូវបានគេបាញ់ /khñom trəw kee bañ/ 'I was shot (by them)' is literally 'I had an experience, namely, they shot me.' Much more rarely បាន /baan/ 'get' is used like ត្រូវ in this case, but with the connotation of something desirable, e.g.

វាបានជួយការសិក្សាសេដ្ឋកិច្ចរបស់ខ្ញុំ
via baan rǔttekaa cuoy aoy tǎw rien khaan seethəkec

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 ឱ្យ/aoy/ 'give,' which when used in construction with another verb means 'permit, cause to' e.g.

ខ្ញុំឱ្យវាទៅអានសារព័ត៌មាន
khñom aoy via meəl kasəət 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 បង់ /bən/, e.g. បង់កើត /bənkaet/ 'to originate' from កើត /kaet/ '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:

លោកធ្វើឡាននៅណា?

look thee laan nɿw aɳnaa

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

ខ្ញុំនឹងកាត់សក់/khñom tɿw kat soʔ/ 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 បាន /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.

កងកម្លាំងយើងបានបាញ់ទ័ពទៅវិញ។
koon kamlan yeen baan bañ tɿw viñ

Our forces shot back.

However, this use of បាន 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 រឹត /tɛː/ with no change in meaning, in which case they are written below with រឹត following in parentheses, e.g. នៅរឹត /nɿw(tɛː)/ 'still.'

V.2.1.1 Tense/Aspect Auxiliaries

Tense/aspect auxiliaries can be grouped according to three criteria: aspect, duration, and 'reality.'

There are three aspectual categories: completed¹ 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: ហ្លួន /baan/'past action'

ខ្ញុំនិយម /daɛl/'within the subject's previous experience; translates
'have ever, never.'

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

និយម /niyum/'frequent practice'

Begun Action

Unmarked: នៅ(ខ្លះ) /nɔw(taɛ)/'still' (emphasizes incompleteness)

Durative: កំពុង(ខ្លះ) /kɔmpun(taɛ)/'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: នឹង /nɛŋ/'will' (predicted action in the future)

មិនទាន់ /mɛntɔn/'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

ខ្ញុំនិយម /daɛl/'ever, have ever'

ធ្លាប់ /thlɔp/'have done, used to do'

និយម /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 មាន /mian/plus clause, e.g.

មានកេរកម្មបរទេសនេះទេ?
/mian kee lu? mehoup nãw 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 ជំនិស /daɛl/ 'ever'. Instead you will have to translate this sentence another way, e.g.

កុំថា អញ្ជឹងឆ្ងៃនោះ ។
/kom thaa eñcɛn aoy sch/
'Don't ever say that!' (literally 'don't say that at all!').

Likewise ជំនិស /daɛl/ 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. គួរ (នឹក) /kwo(taɛ)/ 'should'
- b. ត្រូវ (នឹក) /trəw(taɛ)/ 'must'
- c. អាច /aac/ 'can, (is) able'
- d. មិនបាច់ /mɛn bac/ 'don't need to' (មិនត្រូវ /mɛn trəw/ means 'must not').
- e. ចង់ /cɔŋ/ 'to want to' (N.B. 'to want' + noun is always ចង់បាន /cɔŋ baan/ + 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.

លោកត្រូវការមក
/look trəw kaa mɔɔ/
You need to come

in which ត្រូវការ /trəw kaa/ 'need' is not considered a modal auxiliary since it also occurs as a main verb in a sentence like

ខ្ញុំមិនត្រូវការលុយទេ។

/kn̄om m̄n trəw kaa luy tee/

I don't need money.

V.2.2 Adjectives (Stative Verbs)

In English adjectives are classed as nominals; however, in Cambodian they are verbals. 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 មិត្តម្នាក់ខ្លាំងឆាត់ /puo' ma' kh̄nom thət/ and the word ឆាត់/thət/ 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.

គាត់ត្រូវតែស្មោះ។

/kət trəw pukæ/

He ought to be skillful.

However, they do not occur in construction with resultative verbs (cf. S.2.2.3.1) like ចប់/cəp/'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. កើត /kaet/'to be born, arise' and borrowed, e.g. ប្រឡាក់ /broucɔi/'to cremate' (from Sanskrit). Most native root verbs are monosyllabic, e.g. ចូល /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 ^{verbs} nouns.

V.3.2.1 Prefixes

1. /p-/ 'causative,' e.g. ប្រាប់ /pdaŋ/ 'to report (cause to know)' from ដឹង /dɛŋ/ 'know' or ប្រុំ /pʰdom/ 'to gather together (cause to form a lump)' from ដុំ /'dom/ 'a piece, lump.'
2. /k-/ 'change of meaning from base,' e.g. ក្លែង /kbot/ 'to betray' from បត់ /bot/ 'to turn, to fold.'
3. /Co-/ or /Co-/ where C is the same as the first consonant of the root verb, e.g. កកាយ /kokaay/ 'to scratch, dig at (repeatedly)' from កាយ /kaay/ 'to dig.' In this case C is /k/. Normally Co-/Co- indicates repetitive or intensive action.
4. /ro-/ a. 'forms adjectives,' e.g. រលត់ /rolt/ 'extinguished' from លត់ /lt/ 'to extinguish, put out.'
 b. 'intransitivity,' e.g. រលាយ /rolley/ 'to melt, thaw (intrans.),' from លាយ /ley/ 'to mix.'
5. /pro-/ a. 'reciprocity,' e.g. (ប្រាំ) /procam/ 'to wait for one another' from ចាំ /cam/ 'to wait.'
 b. 'causative,' e.g. ប្រដូច /prodouc/ 'to compare (cause to be similar) from ដូច /douc/ 'like, similar to.'
 c. 'change of meaning from base,' e.g. ប្រកាន់ /prokan/ 'to maintain; to discriminate' from កាន់ /kan/ 'to hold.'
6. /cro-/ 'causative,' e.g. ប្រជ្រុំជិ /cramuc/ 'to submerge (trans.)' from ជ្រុំជិ /muc/ 'to dive, go under.'
7. /kro-/ 'change of meaning from root verb,' e.g. ក្របាច់ /krovót/ 'to jerk (in any direction)' from បាច់ /vót/ 'to jerk (over the shoulder).'
8. /boŋ-, /pún-/ 'causative,' e.g. បង្រៀន /boŋrien/ 'to teach' from រៀន /rien/ 'to study, to learn,' លូតលាស់ /púnriik/ 'to expand, to build up (trans.)' from រីក /riik/ 'to expand (intrans.), to bloom.' Note that the /ŋ/ 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. /dɔŋ/ 'changes the meaning of the base,' e.g. *ដំណាច់* /dɔndaɛm/ 'to quarrel over ownership' from *ដំណើរ* /daɛm/ 'origin.'
10. /rum/ 'changes the meaning of the base,' e.g. *រំលាយ* /rumliey/ 'to melt (transitive)' from *លាយ* /liey/ 'to mix.'

V.3.2.2 Infixes

1. /-m-/ 'verbalization' *លើស* /lmeəh/ 'to exceed; to violate' from /leəh/ 'beyond.'
2. /-ɔŋ-/ a. 'causative,' e.g. *បង្កើត* /bɔŋ'aɛl/ 'to frighten' from *បង្កើត* /ph'aɛl/ 'afraid.'
- b. 'forms adjectives,' e.g. *ដំបូង* /damboun/ 'first' from /tboun/ 'head (archaic).'
- /-ɔŋ-/ follows the pronunciation rules given in N.3.1.1 prefix 1.
3. /-am-/ a. 'causative,' e.g. *សម្អាត* /sɔm'aat/ 'to clean up' from *ស្អាត* /s'aat/ 'clean.'
- b. 'change of meaning from base,' e.g. *ចម្លង* /camlɔŋ/ 'to copy' from *ឆ្លង* /clɔŋ/ 'to cross.'
4. /-am- / 'change of meaning from base,' e.g. *តំណាង* /kamnot/ 'to require' from *កត់* /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 verb; 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. *ពិនិត្យរមែល* /pinit-meel/ 'to inspect' from *ពិនិត្យ* /pinit/ 'to examine' and *រមែល* /meel/ 'to look at.' The second type involves some form of partial reduplication--rhyming or alliteration, e.g. *បំបែកបំបែក* /pdeeh-pdaah/ 'disorganized, trivial, mischievous' in which neither *បំបែក* /pdeeh/ nor *បំបែក* /pdaah/ has independent meaning. For the most part, members of this second class are adjectives.

V.3.3.2 Centered Compounds

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

ADVERBIALSA.1 Introduction

Cambodian adverbials are members of the following classes:

1. Negators
2. Preverbals
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 ទេវ /tee/. In polite speech it is preceded by a response particle ហ្ន៎ /baat/(used by males) or ហ្ន៎ /cah/(used by females), e.g.

Q. លោកស្រីដឹងទេ?

look sray der tee?

Do you know, (Madame)?

A. ទេវ, ទេវ

cah tee

No (I don't).

There are three preverbal negators, ទេវ /pum/, មិន /mɛn,m/, and ទេវ /ot/(ទេវ /ot/ is also used for ទេវ). ទេវ /pum/ is the most literary and seldom heard in speech; មិន /mɛn/ is used in speaking, but in Phnom Penh it is used usually in fairly formal contexts. ទេវ (ទេវ) /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 + មិន /mɛn/ + noun, e.g. មិនមែនខ្ញុំទេវ /mɛn mɛn khnɔm tee/'It's not me.' មិនមែន /cia/'is' is also negated by មិនមែន /mɛn mɛn/, e.g. មិនមែននិមាត្រាទេវ /nih mɛn mɛn cia sac koo/'This isn't beef.' When គឺ /kɛɛ/'is' is negated, it is also replaced by មិនមែន /mɛn mɛn/, e.g. មិនមែនសុខ, ស្អុយនឹងសុខទេវ /nih mɛn mɛn sok, suon, nɛn sos tee/'This isn't Sok, Suon, and Sos.' The negators + មិន/mɛn/ are also used to mean 'it is not the case that...', e.g. មិនមែនថាខ្ញុំនិយាយទេវ /khnɔm ot mɛn thaa eñɔn tee/. 'It is not the case that I said that.'

Ordinarily, if a negator precedes a verb phrase, the verb phrase is followed by ទេ /tee/, e.g.

ខ្ញុំ មិន ដឹង ទេ
/khñom mən dəŋ tee/
I don't know.

A stronger statement is made by substituting ទាល់ ទៅ /sch/'at all' for ទេ /tee/, e.g.

ខ្ញុំ មិន ដឹង ទាល់ ទៅ
/khñom mən dəŋ sch/
I don't have any idea; I don't know at all.

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

ខ្ញុំ មិន ដឹង ទេ, គាត់ ទៅ ណា ទេ
/khñom mən dəŋ tee, kət nɔw aənaə/
or

ខ្ញុំ មិន ដឹង គាត់ ទៅ ណា ទេ ទេ
/khñom mən dəŋ, kət nɔw aənaə 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 គ្មាន /kmian/'there is not; to not have', e.g.

ខ្ញុំ គ្មាន លុយ ទេ
/khnom kmian luy tee/
I haven't any money.

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

គ្មាន គេ លក់ ម្ហូប ទេ ទី ណា ទេ
/kmian kee lɔʔ mʰouɔp nɔw nɛŋ tee/
They don't sell food there.

In spoken usage, គ្មាន /kmian/ is also used like the general negators, e.g.

ខ្ញុំគ្មានដឹងទេ។

/khñom kmian dan tee/

I don't know.

also means 'without', translating both the English preposition and conjunction, e.g.

ខ្ញុំទៅគ្មានហិបភីវ៉ាន់ទេ។

/khñom tãw kmian hep cyvan tee/

I went without baggage.

អត់/ot/ is used in the same way, e.g.

ខ្ញុំទៅអត់ហិបភីវ៉ាន់ទេ។

/khñom tãw ot hep cyvan tee/

I went without baggage.

In a negative imperative, the negator is កុំ /kom/'don't', e.g.

កុំនិយាយអញ្ចឹង។

/kom niyey ənçen/

Don't talk like that, don't say that.

The expression 'don't ever' is usually translated កុំ... ឲ្យសោះ /kom...əoy sch/, e.g.

កុំនិយាយអញ្ចឹងឲ្យសោះ។

/kom niyey ənçen əoy sch/

Don't ever say that!

(There are other ways to say 'don't ever' which you will learn as you study Cambodian

further.) មិនសូវ /mɨn səw/ is a mild negative 'not very, not so', e.g.

ខ្ញុំមិនសូវចូលចិត្តគាត់។

/khñom mɨn səw coulçet kət/

I don't like him very much.

A.3 Preverbals

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

In both classes, some members include the suffix វិញ /taɛ/. In some cases វិញ is optional, e.g. ជ្រើសវិញ/craen taɛ/'mostly' which is synonymous with ជ្រើស /craen/ 'mostly.' Where it is optional, វិញ is written in parentheses, e.g. ជ្រើស (វិញ)/craen/ (taɛ)/'mostly.' In cases where វិញ is obligatory, it is ordinarily because it makes an adverb from a verb of different meaning, e.g. ចេះវិញ /cɛh taɛ/'always,' in which ចេះ /cɛh/ is 'to know how to.' Obligatory វិញ /taɛ/ is written without parentheses. Some preverbal adverbs include an optional និ /cia/, e.g. ម្យ៉ាង(និ) /muk(cia)/'probably.'

A.3.1 Fixed Preverbals

The common fixed preverbals are:

- កាន់(វិញ) /kən(taɛ)/'increasingly'
 តែ(វិញ) /tɛ(taɛ)/'only, just'
 ប្រាកដ វិញ /cɔt/'almost, nearly'
 តែប៉ុណ្ណោះ(វិញ) /teep(taɛ)(nɛn)/'to have just'
 មិនមាន(វិញ) /mian taɛ/'there is no choice but to'
 រហូត(វិញ) /rovɔl(taɛ)/'busily'
 តែតែ(វិញ) /tɛt(taɛ)/'only, just'
 ត្រៀម(វិញ) /tɛp(taɛ)/'to be about to, planning to'
 ប្រាកដ(វិញ) /sɛn(taɛ)/'almost'
 ប្រាកដ(វិញ) /stɛɛ(taɛ)/'almost'
 ងាយស្រួល(វិញ) /aalay(taɛ)/'busy at'

An example:

ខ្ញុំតែប៉ុណ្ណោះ
 /khñom teep mɔɔ/

I have just arrived.

A.3.2 Non-fixed Preverbals

The common non-fixed preverbals are:

តែ(វិញ) /kɔn(taɛ)/'certainly'

ចំណាញ់ (និក)	/ɔnmnam(taɛ)/	'usually'
ភ្នំច្រើន (និក)	/craen(taɛ)/	'mostly'
និកង (និក)	/taɛŋ(taɛ)/	'usually, always'
ប្រហែល (និក)	/prohaɛl(cia)/	'perhaps, maybe'
មុខ (និក)	/muk(cia)/	'certainly, probably'
មុខ (និក)	/muk(taɛ)/	'certainly, probably'
តែម្ដង (និក)	/romtɛŋ(taɛ)/	'usually'
ស្រុង (និក)	/sot taɛ/	'purely, exclusively'
ស្រាប់ (និក)	/srəp(taɛ)/	'suddenly'

For examples:

ខ្ញុំប្រហែលនឹងទៅស្អែក។
 /khñom prohaɛl cia tɨw s'æk/
 Maybe I'll go tomorrow.

or

ប្រហែលនឹងខ្ញុំទៅស្អែក។
 /prohaɛl cia khñom tɨw s'æk/
 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:

អាទិញ	/ədeɛŋ/(prenominal)	អា	/aa/(prenominal)
និណ	/naɛ/(preverbal) ¹	និវិ	/ɛɨ/(preverbal)

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

1. Also used before a sentence.

Examples:

ខ្ញុំគិត... រក្សា... មិនបានឡើយ /khnɔm kɪt...ə...mɨn kheəŋ/ 'I can't think of anything.'

ខ្ញុំរក... រកានិយាយ... សំបុត្ររក /khnɔm roŋ...adeeŋ...sɔmbot kee/ 'I'm looking for, uh, their letter.'

កាត់... វិល... និយាយអញ្ចឹង /kɔt...næ...niyey əŋcəŋ/ 'That's...uh... what he said.'

Before an utterance, Cambodians will attract the attention of the hearer with words like វលា: /neh/, វិលា /næ/, វិម័ល /mæh/, or by using the hearer's name or his title, e.g.

វិលា! មកទេ: /næ: me nih/ 'Hey! Come here!'

វលាក! គិតធ្វើអ្វី? /look! kɪt thee sy?/ 'Sir! What are you planning to do?'

វលា/nəh/, វិលា /næ/, and វិម័ល /mæh/ 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:

បាទ /baat/(polite, used by males)

ទា /cah/(polite, used by females)

ទិវិ /æ/ or ទីវិ /tɨ/(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: វលាកដឹងទេ

/look dəŋ tee/

Do you know (it)?

A: បាទ ((ខ្ញុំ) ដឹង)

/baat ((khnɔm) dəŋ)/

Yes (I do).

A polite negative response particle precedes the negative ទិវិ /tee/'no' in polite speech (cf. A.2 above).

A.4.3 Medial Particles

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

Neither is translatable into English.

ក៏ /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:

កូនសិស្សម្នាក់សួរគ្រូ គ្រូក៏ប្រាប់ទៅគេថា ហើយកូនសិស្សក៏ឈប់សួរ។
/koun seh mané' suo tɔw kruu...kruu koo prap tɔw kee thaa...hasy kounseh koo chup suo/

'A student asks the teacher...(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 ក៏ need not change.

កូនសិស្សម្នាក់យល់សំណួរក៏ឆ្លើយថា។
/koun seh mané' yul sannuo koo chlaey thaa/

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

ក៏ as a verb phrase introducer is even clearer in the sentence-initial phrase ក៏ប៉ុន្តែ /koo pontae/'however,' e.g. ខ្ញុំដឹង, ក៏ប៉ុន្តែខ្ញុំមិនចង់ទៅទេ /khñom den koo pontae khñom mɛn cɔŋ tɔw tee/'I know. However, I don't want to go.'

ក៏ is also used in a great many other important structures and idioms, e.g. question word plus ក៏បាន /koo baan/, as in អ្វីក៏បាន /thaa ey koo baan/'(You) can do anything' or ណាមក៏បាន/aenaa koo baan/'anywhere is O.K.' It can be analyzed as keeping its basic meaning in such constructions.

The other medial adverbial is នូវ /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.

គ្រូសួរទៅកូនសិស្សនូវសំណួរទាំងឡាយ។
/kruu suo tɔw kounseh naw sannuo tɔŋ laay/

The teacher asked the students the question.

A.4.4 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 followings:

- a. ណាស់ /nah/ 'very'
 b. ទៅ /təw/ 'go ahead and...' (imperative); action away from the speaker; extended action
 c. ចុះ /coh/ 'go ahead and...' (it's O.K. with me)
 d. មក /moh/ (action toward the speaker)
 e. រហែល /haey/ 'already'

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

ខ្ញុំ រមែល កុំន ភ្នំ រហែល ។

/khñom meəl kon nən haey/

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 ត្រូវ រហែល /trew haey/'right!' In a negative sentence រហែល /haey/ is replaced by រហែល ទេ ឬ ទេ /nəw laey/ with a meaning of 'so far, ever'; e.g.

ខ្ញុំ មិន ទាន់ រមែល កុំន ភ្នំ រហែល ទេ ឬ ទេ ។

/khñom mən tən meəl kon nən nəw laey/

I haven't seen that movie (so far).

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

ស្អែក ខ្ញុំ ធ្វើ រហែល ។

/s'aek khñom thee haey haey/

tomorrow I do finish already

I'll finish (it) tomorrow.

In this example the first រហែល indicates completion of the act, but the

second connotes a promise to perform the action. What the second *រឹយ/haey/* makes of the sentence is 'tomorrow I'll finish it - and now it's no longer an issue for further discussion.'

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

យើងព្រមហ៊ុយឥឡូវតែ?
/yeen ñam eylew 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.

ខ្ញុំមិនដឹងទេ
/khñom mñn 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. ទៅហើយ
/look tñw haey/
You've gone already.

B. ទៅរឹយ
/tee khñom tñw s'ask tee/
No, I'm going tomorrow.

g. *ឬ* /ri:/ or *ឬទេ* /ri: 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.

គេកំពុងធ្វើបាយឬ?
/kee kompun thee baay ri: ?/
Is he cooking?

(This question anticipates an answer 'yes.')

Another example:

ដំនីវ /daɛ/ and *ផង* /phoɔŋ/ are both translated 'also.' However, in careful usage, *ដំនីវ* is used when A is doing something and B is doing it too, e.g.

គាត់ទៅផ្ទះ ហើយខ្ញុំទៅផ្ទះដែរ។

/kɔt tɔw phtɛh haɛy khnɔm tɔw phtɛh daɛ/

He's going home, and I'm going home too.

ផង, 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.

ខ្ញុំទៅបង់ប័ណ្ណនៅឱ្យភារផង។

/khnɔm tɔw boŋ haɛy tɔw phsaa phoɔŋ/

I'm going to the bank and to the market as well.

2) *ផង* 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. ខ្ញុំទៅឱ្យភារឥឡូវ។

/khnɔm tɔw phsaa ɛylɔw/

I'm going to the market now.

B. ខ្ញុំទៅផងបានទេ?

/khnɔm tɔw phoɔŋ baan tee?/

Can I go too?

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

n. *ទ្រុឌ* /laɛy/ 'no longer (not)...any more; at all; will never, don't ever'

o. *ទ្រុក* /tiet/ 'no longer, (not)...any more; further, more'

A.5 Adverb Formers

The adverb-forming words are *ដំនីវ* /cia/, *ដំនីវ* /daoy/, *យ៉ាង* /yaan/, and *ដំនីវ* /doo/. All are used with adjectives to make adverbial phrases, e.g. *មានភ្លើងច្រើន* /mian phniew móo cia oraen/ 'Guests came in large quantity.' The word *ដំនីវ* /doo/ is limited to literary style.

Following an imperative verb, *ទ្រុឌ* /aoy/ also has adverbial meaning, e.g.

សុំអើយច្បាស់។
/sɔm meəl aɔy cbah/

Please read clearly.

Another examples:

គេធ្វើវាឆាប់។
/ke thæ aɔy chap/

They did it quickly.

Literally ឆាប់ + adjective means 'so that it will be...'

A.6 Ordinary Adverbs

Ordinary adverbs are formed by affixation and compounding. There are also a few root adverbs, e.g. ឥឡូវ /ɛyləw/ 'now.' For the most part, however, words translating English adverbs are adjectives. That is, they are verbs. They get the title of 'adverbs' because they can be used in syntactic positions like modifiers of verbs, e.g.

គាត់មកឆាប់ណាស់ /kɔt mɔc chap nah/ 'He came very quickly.' ឆាប់ /chap/ 'quick, fast' is normally an adjective. The number of words used purely adverbially is very small.

A.6.1 Complex Adverbs

The only affix which forms adverbs is the reduplicating prefix /Cə/ or /Co/ in which C is the first consonant of the base, e.g. ញញឹម /nɔnɔ/ 'tremblingly, shakingly' from ញឹម /nɛm/ 'to tremble, shiver.' In this case C is /n/, so the prefix is /nɔ/.

A.6.2 Compound Adverbs

There is one type of uncentered compound adverbs that is, a compound composed of two independent words, e.g. រួចហើយ /ruoc haey/ from រួច /ruoc/ 'to be finished' and ហើយ /haey/ 'already, to be finished.' There is also one type of centered compound adverbs that is, a compound in which all elements are meaningful, e.g. សព្វថ្ងៃនេះ /sɔp thɔj nih/ 'nowadays, presently' from សព្វ /sɔp/ 'every' ថ្ងៃ /thɔj/ 'day' and នេះ /nih/ 'this.'

RELATORSR.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. និរ /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,

និរ ៖ និរ ខ្សែ ថ្ងៃ ថ្ងៃ ។
/nih cia kmaw-day/

This is a pencil.

It is negated by មិនមែន /mɛn meən/, e.g.

និរ ៖ មិនមែន និរ ខ្សែ ថ្ងៃ ថ្ងៃ ។
/nih mɛn meən cia kmaw day tee/

This isn't a pencil.

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

និរ ៖ គឺ សុខ, សួន, ស៊ី សុខ សុខ ។
/nih kɛi sok, suon, nɛn soh/

This is Sok, Suon, and Sos.

គឺ /kɨɨ/ also means 'that is, that is to say,' e.g.

ខ្ញុំមកពីខែមករាដល់ខែមីនា គឺបីខែ។

/khñom moɔ' pii khæ me'kəraa dol khæ miinaa, kɨɨ bey khæ/

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

ហោលគឺ/pool kɨɨ/ also means 'that is to say.'

3. គឺដូច្នោះ /kɨɨ cia/, which is used like ដូច្នោះ /cia/.

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

ថ្ងៃនេះ ថ្ងៃសៅរ៍

/thɲay nih thɲay 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:

លើកលែងតែ	/khoh tæ/'except' (slang)
ក្រៅពី	/kraw tæ/'except'
លើសពី	/cieh tæ/'except' (slang)
លើកលែងតែ	/ləək læŋ tæ/'except'
ក្រោយពី	/kraoy (pii)/'after'
ក្រោយពី	/ruoc pii/'after'
ក្រៅពី	/kraw pii/'aside from, besides'
ក្រៅពី...ចេញ	/kraw pii...ceñ/'besides, aside from'
លើស	/cian/'(more)than'
ជាមួយ	/ciamuoy/'with'
ជិត	/cət/'near'
ជុំវិញ	/cumviñ/'around'
ដោយសារ	/daoy saa/'because of'
ព្រោះ	/pruñ/'because of'
ដោយសារ	/pii pruñ/'because of'
តាំងពី	/taŋ pii/'since'
ទាំង	/təŋ/'including'

ព្រមទាំង	/próm tɛŋ/ 'including, as well as'
ទាល់ទឹក	/tól taɛ/ 'until'
រហូតដល់	/rehout dol/ 'until'
ស្តីល់	/phtól/ 'concerning, pertaining to'
ពី	/pii/ 'about, from'
អំពី	/ampii/ 'about, from'
មុន (នឹង)	/mun (nɛŋ)/ 'before'
របស់	/reboh/ 'belonging to'
រវាង	/rovian/ 'between, during'
សម្រាប់	/samrap/ 'for'
ស្មើ	/smae/ 'equal to'
នៅ	/aɛ/ 'at'

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.

ខ្ញុំនឹងការងារដល់ស្អែក

/khñom thee kaa dol s'aek/

I'll work until tomorrow,

in which the verb phrase ដល់ស្អែក/dol s'aek/ 'until tomorrow' includes the verb 'arrive at.'

Thus, literally this sentence is 'I'll work (in such a way as to) arrive at tomorrow.'

Verbs which are frequently used this way are:

ចំ	/cam/ 'to hit exactly, be on target'	'exactly at'
វិវិល	/chvaeł/ 'to go around'	'around'
ជិត	/cɛp/ 'to adhere to'	'next to, adjacent to'
ជូន	/cuun/ 'to give (formal)'	'for, to'
ទូល	/aoy/ 'to give (informal)'	'for, to'
ជំនួស	/cuoh/ 'to replace'	'instead of'
ជំនួស	/cumnuoh/ 'to replace'	'instead of'
ដល់	/dol/ 'to reach, arrive at'	'until'
ទប់	/tumróm/ 'to endure'	'until'
ដូច	/douc/ 'to be alike, similar'	'like'

ស្តីបដិ	/douccia/'to be similar to; seemingly'	'like'
តាម	/taam/'to follow'	'according to, following'
មុខ	/tɕi/'to support face to face'	'facing'
នៅ	/nɛw/'to be located at'	'at'
បន្តបន្ទាប់	/bontɔp/'to be next'	'next to, succeeding'
លើស	/leeh/'to exceed'	'more than, exceeding'
ជុំវិញ	/vɿŋ/'to go around, encircle'	'around'
ហួស	/huoh/'to pass'	'more than'

2) the locative nominals listed below may be used with or without the verb

នៅ/nɛw/'to be located (at)', e.g.

គាត់នៅក្នុងផ្ទះ

/kɔt knɔŋ phtɛh/

He's in the house.

or

គាត់នៅក្នុងផ្ទះ

/kɔt nɛw knɔŋ phtɛh/

with the same meaning. The locative nominals are:

កណ្តាល	/kondaal/'middle'	as a preposition:	'in the middle, between'
ក្នុង	/knɔŋ/'interior'		'inside'
ជុំវិញ	/kbaɛ/'area next to'		'next to'
ក្រោម	/kraom/'bottom'		'under'
ក្រោយ	/kraoy/'back part'		'behind'
ក្រៅ	/kraw/'outside'		'outside of'
ខាងឆ្វេង	/chveen/'the left side'		'to the left of'
មុខ	/muk/'face, front'		'in front of'
លើ	/lee/'top'		'on top of, over'
ខាងស្តាំ	/sdam/'the right side'		'to the right of'

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

/khaaŋ/ e.g. ខាងក្រោម /khaaŋ kraom/'the under part' (except ជុំវិញ /kbaɛ/'next to,')

which is seldom used with ខាង (/khaaŋ/). However, they may also be used alone as nominals in some circumstances. A sentence like

គាត់ក្នុងផ្ទះ
/kót knoŋ phtəh/

He's in the house,¹

is therefore treated as a transform of a base sentence like

គាត់នៅក្នុងផ្ទះ
/kót nɛw knoŋ phtəh/

He's in the house.

in which នៅ /nɛw/'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

ខ្ញុំនឹងអាន រួច ខ្ញុំនឹងទៅ
/khñom mɛəl ruoc khñom tɛw/

I'll read, then I'll go,

the clause containing the fixed clause relator រួច /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.

ផ្លែក្រូច ឬ ផ្លែស្វាយ /ceek rɛt svaay /'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:

ក៏ប៉ុន្តែ /koo pontɛ/ 'but, however'
តែ /tɛ/ 'but'

1. A more frequent meaning of this first sentence is 'the one in the house,' used of someone who is respected.

ប៉ុន្តែ	/pontaɛ/'but'
គឺ	/kɨɨ/'that is' (N)
គឺថា	/kɨɨ thaa/'that is' (N)
ដូចថា	/douc thaa/'that is' (N)
ពោលគឺ	/pool kɨɨ/'that is' (N)
តែប	/təep/'only then; not...until'
បាន	/baan/'only then; not...until'
និង	/sem/'and (only) then'
រួច	/ruoc/'then' (N)
ហើយ	/haɛy/'and' (N)
ហើយនិង	/haɛy nɨŋ/'and' (N)
គ្រាន់តែ	/ət mian/'without...ing'

There are some fixed clause relators that occur in pairs:

...ក៏ដោយ... ក៏ដោយ	/...koo daoy...koo daoy/'whether...or...' (N)
...ក្តី... ក្តី	/...kdey...kdey/'whether...or...' (N)
កាលណា... កាលបើ...	/kaal naa...kaal nɨŋ.../'whenever...then...'
និរាបណា... និរាបបើ...	/doorap naa...doorap nɨŋ.../'whenever...then...'
ពោលណា... ពោលបើ...	/peel naa...peel nɨŋ/'whenever...then...'
ណាមួយ... ណាមួយ...	/naa muoy...naa muoy.../'on the one hand,...on the other hand...'
...និង... និង	/...phocɲ...phocɲ/'both...and'
ទាំង... ទាំង...	/tɨŋ...tɨŋ.../'both...and...' (N)
ទាំង... ហើយនិង...	/tɨŋ...haɛy nɨŋ.../'both...and...' (N)
...បណ្តើរ... បណ្តើរ	/...bondae...bondae/'both...and...(at the same time)'
រឺ... រឺ...	/mec...mec.../'if...then why...?'
រឺ... រឺ...	/mdec...mdec.../'if...then why...?'
ឬ... ឬ...	/rɨɨ...rɨɨ.../'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.

បើគ្រាន់តែលុយ គេនឹងទិញទ្រព្យសម្បត្តិ

/bae kee mian luy, kee tiñ laan/

If they have the money, they will buy a car,

or

ពួកគេនឹងទិញរថបើគេមានលុយ

/kee tiñ laan bae kee mian luy/

They will buy a car if they have the money.

R.3.2.1 Temporal Clause Relators

Clause relators which indicate time relations are:

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

ក្នុងពេល	/knoŋ peel/'when; while'
ពេលនិង	/peel dael/'when; while'
ក្រោយ(ពី)	/kraoy(pii)/'after'
ក្រោយពី	/ruoc pii/'after'
ដល់	/dol/'when'
ដល់ពេលនិង	/dol peel dael/'when'
នៅពេល	/nəw peel/'when'
លុះ	/luh/'when'
តាំងពី	/taŋ pii/'since'
ពេលណា	/peel naa/'when, whenever'
មុន(នឹង)	/mun(nəŋ)/'before'

2) Used in a past context only:

កាល	/kaal/'when (past)'
កាលពី	/kaal pii/'when (past)'

3) Used in a non-past context only:

កាលណា	/kaal naa/'when, whenever'
កាលណាបើ	/kaal naa bae/'when, whenever'
បើកាលណា	/bae kaal naa/'when, whenever'

4) Used only in a future context:

ទំព័រ	/tumróm/'when (future)'
ទំព័រដល់	/tumróm dol/'when (future)'

R.3.2.2 Non-Temporal Clause Relators

- ក្រំទ្រឹយ /kom aoy/'in order that not, so that not'
- ក្រំទ្រឹយនឹត /kom aoy tæ/'so long as not, provided that not, on the condition that not,' e.g.

ខ្ញុំនឹងទៅក្រំទ្រឹយនឹតវាទេ។

/khñom tɿw kom aoy tæ via tɿw/

I'll go only if he doesn't.

- នឹតក្រង /kraɛŋ/'lest, for fear that'
- នឹតក្រវ៉ៅ /kraw pii/'aside from the fact that'
- ខ្លាច /khlaac/'lest, for fear that'
- ជំនួស /cumnuoh/'instead of the fact that'
- ដូច(និរ) /douc(cia)/'as if'
- ដើម្បី /daembey/'in order that'
- ដើម្បីទ្រឹយ /daembey aoy/'so that, in order that'
- និរសាយ /daoy/'given the fact that'
- និរសាយនារ /daoy saa/'because of the fact that'
- ត្រឹត(នឹត) /dbet(tæ)/'because, although'
- ចាលនឹត /tɔl tæ/'until'
- តែវា /tumrɔm/'until; only if, provided that'
- ចាលនឹត...ក្រំទ្រឹយ /tɔh tæ...kom ey/'if it were not for the fact that...'
- ទុកបើនិរ /tuk bey cia/'even though; if not...then'
- ទុកបើ(និរ) /tuk bæ(cia)/'even though; if not...then'
- នោះ /tɿh/'although, even though'
- នោះនិរ /tɿh cia/'even though, although'
- នោះបើ(និរ) /tɿh bæ(cia)/'even though, although'
- នោះបើ /tɿh bæ/'even though, although'
- នោះបើ(និរ) /tɿh bæ(cia)/'even though, although'
- បាននិរ /baan cia/'the reason why,' e.g.

វាដើម្បីលុយទៅបាននិរវាទទួលសំបុត្រ។

/via phñae luy tɿw baan cia via tetuol səbot/

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

បាននិរ /baan cia/ is usually used in a past context.

បើ	/bae/'if'
បើសិន	/bae sen/'if'
បើសិនណា	/bae sen naa/'if'
បើសិនណាវិញ	/bae sen naa cia/'if'
បើសិនជា	/bae sen cia/'if'
(ដើ) ព្រោះ	/ (pii) pruh/'because'
លុះត្រាតែ	/luh traa tae/'only if, provided that, only on condition that,' e.g.

ខ្ញុំទៅលុះត្រាតែវាទៅ។

/khnom tɨw luh traa tae via tɨw/

I'll go only if he does.

សម្រាប់	/samrap/'for the purpose of'
សូម្បី (តែ)	/suum bey(tae)/'although, even though'
ហេតុតែ	/haet tae/'just because'
ទ្រឹស	/aoy/'so that'
ទ្រឹសតែ	/aoy tae/'as long as, provided that'

VOCABULARY AND USAGEU.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': ពាយ/baay/'literally 'cooked rice.' In English we cook food; in Cambodian a housewife must ធ្វើពាយ /thəe 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'

ឪស /boon/'older sibling'

ប្អូន /p'oun/'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 ស្រី /srey/'female' in the Cambodian ឪសស្រី /boon 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

កាត់	/kat/	to cut with scissors, to cut in two
ហាត់	/han/	to slice
មុត	/mut/	to cut oneself
កាត់	/kap/	to chop (e.g. wood), to hack
ត្រូវ	/cie/	to trim all around
ត្រីប	/crep/	to trim in spots
ត្រូវ	/crout/	to cut grain in order to harvest
ចិញ្ចឹម	/cæncram/	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 រៀន /rien/ 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. រៀនសូត្រ rien ceh/'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 វាយ/baay/ means 'cooked rice;' you must also learn that វាយ/baay/ means 'meal' and in some--but not all--cases, 'food.' Furthermore, to really know Cambodian and to use even a simple word like វាយ 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 គាត់ /kót/, the honorific particle ទេវត្តិញ /əñcəñ/ 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 ប្អូន /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 0-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.

<u>Title</u>		<u>0 Generation</u>	<u>Addressed as:</u>	<u>3rd-person pronoun</u>
ប្អូន	boon	older sibling	ប្អូន /boon/	គាត់ /kót/
ប្អូន	p'oun	younger sibling	ប្អូន /p'oun/, ឪពុក /oun/, ឈ្មោះ /aen/, name, or name + ឈ្មោះ	គាត់ /kee/, វា /via/
ប្អូន ជីដូន ច្បង	boon ciidoun muoy	first cousin (older)	ប្អូន /boon/	like ប្អូន
ប្អូន ជីដូន ច្បង	p'oun ciidoun muoy	first cousin (younger)	ប្អូន /p'oun/	like ប្អូន
ប្អូន ជីដូន ច្បង	boon ciituet muoy	second cousin (older)	ប្អូន /boon/	like ប្អូន
ប្អូន ជីដូន ច្បង	p'oun ciituet muoy	second cousin (younger)	ប្អូន /p'oun/	like ប្អូន
related by marriage:				
ប្អូន	pday	husband	ប្អូន /boon/, ប្អូន ឈ្មោះ /boon aen/	គាត់ /kót/
ប្អូន	papun	wife	ប្អូន /oun/, ប្អូន ឈ្មោះ /oun aen/	គាត់ /kót/, គាត់ /kee/

Title			Addressed as:	3rd-person pronoun
ប្អូនសាច់ថ្មី ប្អូនសាច់ថ្មី	boon thlay p'oun thlay	1	spouse's sibling or sibling's spouse, respec- tively, older and younger	like ប្អូន and ប្អូន
ប្អូនសាច់ថ្មី ប្អូនសាច់ថ្មី	boon sac thlay p'oun sac thlay	1	sibling of sibling's spouse, respectively older and younger	like ប្អូន and ប្អូន
ជំនួស	donloon		parent of child's spouse	/donloon/ /kɔt/

+1 Generation

			Addressed as: ²
ឪពុក	awpuk	father	1) ឪពុក /paa/ 2) ទាញកឪពុក /look paa/, ទាញកឪពុក /look awpuk/ 3) ពុក /puk/ 4) ឪ /aw/
ម្តាយ	mdaay	mother	1) ម្តាយ /ma?/ 2) ទាញកម្តាយ /look ma?/, ម្តាយម្តាយ /ne? ma?/, ឪពុកម្តាយ /ne? mae/, ម្តាយម្តាយ /ne? madaay/ 3,4) ម្តាយ /mae/
ឪពុកធំ	awpuk thom, om	parent's older brother	1) ឪពុកធំ /paa om/ 2) ទាញកធំ /look om/ 3,4) ធំ /om/
ម្តាយធំ	mdaay thom, om	parent's older sister	1) ម្តាយធំ /ma? om/ 2) ទាញកធំ /look om/ 3,4) ធំ /om/
ឪពុកម្តាយ ម្តាយ	awpuk mia, mia, puu	parent's younger brother	1) ម្តាយ /mia/ 2) ទាញកម្តាយ /look mia/ ទាញកម្តាយ /look puu/ 3,4) ម្តាយ /pau/ 1,2,3,4) ម្តាយ /mia/
ម្តាយម្តាយ ម្តាយ	mdaay miin, miin	parent's younger sister	1) ម្តាយម្តាយ /ne? miin/ 2) ទាញកម្តាយ /look miin/ 3) ម្តាយ /miin/ 4) ម្តាយ /iii/

related by marriage:

ឪពុកក្មេក	awpuk kneek	father-in-law	see ឪពុក /awpuk/
ម្តាយក្មេក	mdaay kneek	mother-in-law	see ម្តាយ /mdaay/
ឪពុកធំសាច់ថ្មី	awpuk thom sac thlay	older brother of parent-in-law	see ឪពុកធំ /awpuk thom/

1. Some Cambodians do not distinguish in this way between ប្អូនសាច់ថ្មី /boon p'oun thlay/ and ប្អូនសាច់សាច់ថ្មី /boon p'oun sac thlay/; សាច់ថ្មី /sac thlay/ may be simply a general term for in-laws, e.g. វាសាច់ថ្មីទេ /via sac thlay tee/ '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

<u>Title</u>		<u>Addressed as:</u>	
ម្តាយចាស់	medaay thom sac thlay	older sister of parent-in-law	see ម្តាយចាស់ /medaay thom/
ភ្នំពុកចាស់	əwpuk mia sac thlay	younger brother of parent-in-law	see ភ្នំពុក /əwpuk mia/
ម្តាយថ្មីចាស់	medaay miin sac thlay	younger sister of parent-in-law	see ម្តាយថ្មីចាស់ /medaay miin/

All members of this generation are referred to by the pronoun គាត់ /kət/.

+2 Generation

<u>Title</u>		<u>Addressed as:</u>	
តា	ciitaa	male member of grandfather's generation	លោកតា /look taa/, តា /taa/
យាយ	ciidoun	female member of grandmother's generation	លោកយាយ /look yiey/, យាយ /yiey/, (rural) យាយ /doun/
(by marriage)			
តាភ្នំពុក	ciitaa kmeek	male member of grandfather's generation by marriage	see តា /ciitaa/
យាយភ្នំពុក	ciidoun kmeek	female member of grandfather's generation by marriage	see យាយ /ciidoun/

+3 Generation

តាធំ	ciitaa tuot	male member of great grandfather's generation	see តា /ciitaa/
យាយធំ	ciidoun tuot	female member of great grandfather's generation	see យាយ /ciidoun/

+4 Generation

តាល្អិត	ciitaa luot	male member of great-great grandfather's generation	see តា /ciitaa/
យាយល្អិត	ciidoun luot	female member of great-great grandmother's generation	see យាយ /ciidoun/

+5 Generation

តាលា	ciitaa lia	male member of great-great- great grandfather's generation	see តា /ciitaa/
យាយលា	ciidoun lia	female member of great-great- great grandmother's generation	see យាយ /ciidoun/

In all cases the 3rd-person pronoun is គាត់ /kət/.

-1 Generation

<u>Title</u>			<u>Addressed as:</u>
កូន	koun	child	កូន /koun/, អាណាង ^២ /aaniŋ/, នាង /niŋ/, name, អា /aa/ + name
កូន	kmuoy	niece or nephew	កូន /kmuoy/, អាណាង ^២ /aaniŋ/, នាង /niŋ/, name or អា /aa/ + name
កូនប្រសា	koun prosaa	son or daughter-in-law	កូន /koun/; ប្រក /nɔː/ + name (male); ប្រក /nɔː/ + name (female)

-2 Generation

ចា	caw	any member of grandchild's generation	ចា /caw/, អាចា /aacaw/; otherwise like កូន except that កូន/koun/ is not used
ចាប្រសា	caw prosaa	grandchild-in-law	ចា /caw/; name

-3 Generation

ចាតូត	caw tuot	any member of great-grandchild's generation	see ចា /caw/
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-4 Generation

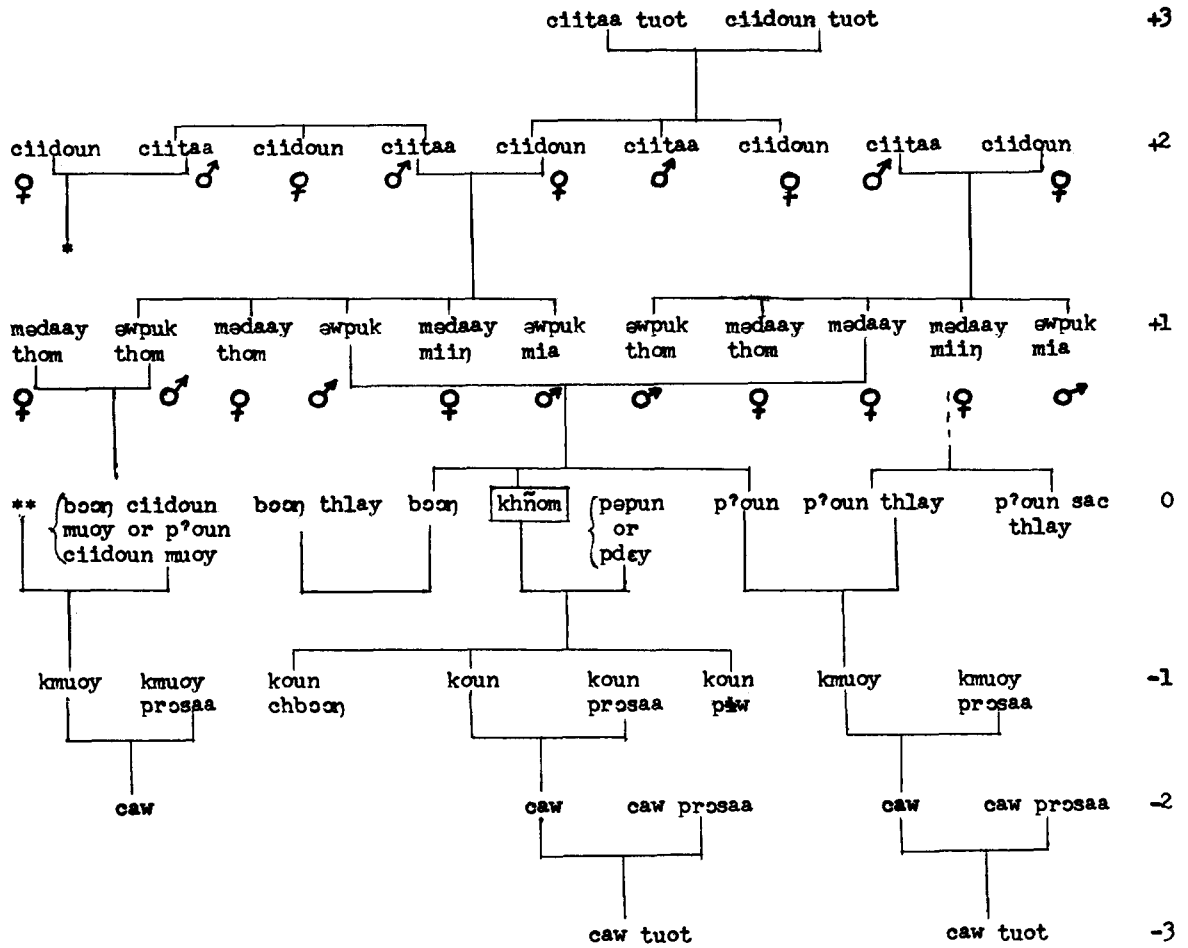
ចាតូត	caw luot	any member of great-great-grandchild's generation	see ចា /caw/
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-5 Generation

ចាលា	caw lia	any member of great-great-great-grandchild's generation	see ចា /caw/
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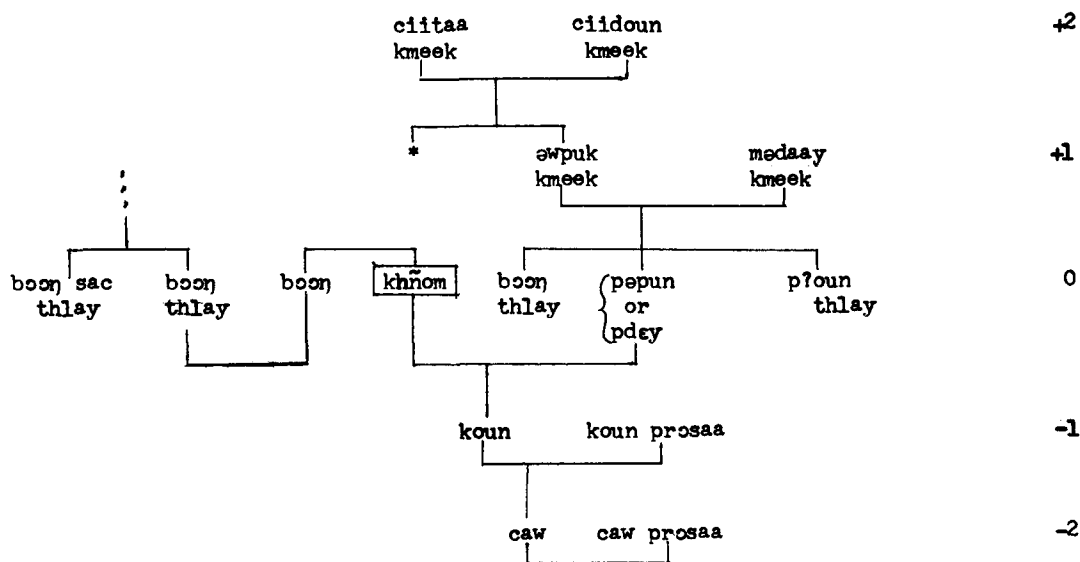
In all cases the 3rd-person pronouns are គេ /ke/ or វា /via/.

Cambodian Kinship



* əwpuk-medaay thom/mia/miin ┌───┐ married

** boəj-p'oun cii doun muoy thlay ┌───┐ or ┌───┐ descended from

Cambodian Kinship: In-Laws

* ewpuk-medaay thom/mia/miin sac thlay

U.3 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' ខ្ញុំ /khñom/ will serve you as a foreigner in most contacts with urban Cambodians. However, a Cambodian learns how to use pronouns like អ្នក /añ/, 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 ខ្ញុំ /khñom/ '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 រក្សាស្រី/saoy/, clergy ជាន់ /chan/ and commoners to whom you want to show respect ប៊ីសា /pisaa/. (There are other words that distinguish between people with whom you are not on formal terms, e.g. at mealtimes most urban people ណាម /nam/, children and animals and people whom you hold in contempt ស៊ី /sii/).

Pronoun Substitutes

Used to or about royalty

1st person

តួលបង្កំ(និា)ខ្ញុំម្ចាស់	/tuul bonkum (cia) khñom mcah/ (to king)
តួលបង្កំ	/tuul bonkum/ (to other royalty)
ខ្ញុំម្ចាស់	/khñom mcah/ (to other royalty)
តួលបង្កំនិាខ្ញុំ	/tuul bonkum cia khñom/ (to other royalty)

2nd person

ព្រះបាទ /prəh əŋ/ (to king or other royalty)

ម្ចាស់ /məh/ (to other royalty)

3rd person

ព្រះបាទ /prəh əŋ/ (of any royalty)

Used by royalty

1st person

ព្រះបាទ /trəŋ aŋ/ (king)

ម្ចាស់ /məh/ (other royalty)

ម្ចាស់ខ្ញុំ /məh khñom/ (other royalty)

2nd person

to commoners: ឯង /ləŋk/ (to upper class commoner)

ឯង /aŋ/ (to lower class commoner)

អ្នក /nək/ (neutral class reference)

etc. according to social class (cf. N.1.2)

to royalty: ព្រះបាទ /prəh əŋ/

ម្ចាស់ /məh/ + kinship terms (with older members of own family)

3rd person

of commoners: គេ /kə/, គាត់ /kət/, វា /viə/

according to social standing of referent

of royalty: ព្រះបាទ /prəh əŋ/

Used to or about clergy

1st person

ខ្ញុំ(ព្រះ)កុណា /khñom (pre) kəna/

2nd person

ព្រះបាទព្រះកុណា /predəprekun/

3rd person

ឯង /ləŋk/

ព្រះបាទ /prəh əŋ/

ព្រះបាទព្រះកុណា /predəprekun/ + name (used of high ranking monk)

Used by clergy1st person

អាត្មា /atmaa/

2nd person

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

3rd person

វា /via/, គេ /kee/, គាត់ /kôt/ or title as usual.

Used to or about commoners (with whom one is on formal terms)1st person

ខ្ញុំ /khñom/

2nd person

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

លោកស្រី /look srey/ (used with married females of higher social status and by cosmopolitan Cambodians for most foreign women)

ម្តាយ /nœ'/ (used for older women of lower status and for one's mother in ម្តាយម្តាយ /nœ' mēdaay/'mother.')

ម្តាយស្រី /nœ' srey/ (used with women of middle class, especially married women)

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

កញ្ញា /kañña/ (used with unmarried women; quite formal)

Titles, e.g. លោកគ្រូ /look kruu/'(male) teacher' are also used in place of

2nd person pronouns.3rd person

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

គាត់ /kôt/ (used of individuals (singular or plural), especially those for whom one wishes to show respect)

U.3.2 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. ទាញ /añ/ (intimate or vulgar)
2. ខ្ញុំ /khñom (non-formal)
3. Appropriate kinship term in family or in intimate relations outside the family. (see below, under 2nd person)
4. យើង /yeəŋ/'we,' 'I'
5. គេ /ke/, វា /via/ (used by people who know each other well)

2nd person

1. ឯង /aɛŋ/ (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: ឯង /boɛŋ/'older sibling' used with older siblings and acquaintances of equivalent or slightly greater age and of the same sex.

ទីចា /cae/(Chinese) for female ឯង /boɛŋ/

ហ៊ី (ហ្វា) /hia/(Chinese) for male ឯង /boɛŋ/

តូ /puu/

ម៉ា /mia/

ចែក /cək/

(Chinese)

'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.

ម៉ែង /miɛŋ/

ទី /ii/

(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.

	ទំ /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.
	ចក /cek/ (Chinese)	sometimes used for male ទំ /om/
	ទី /ii/ (Chinese)	sometimes used for female ទំ /om/
	តា (លតា) /taa/ /ciitaa/	'grandfather' used with an acquaintance of grandparents' generation who is of equivalent or lower social status than speaker. (One's grandfather is called តា/look taa/.
	កុង /kon/ (Chinese)	
	ទំ /doun/ (ទំទំ) /ciidoun/	
	យាយ/yiey/	'grandmother' used with an acquaintance of grandparents' generation who is of equivalent or lower social status than speaker (One's grandmother is called (ទំទំ) យាយ /(/look) yiey/.
<u>Younger:</u>	ប្អូន /p'oun/	'younger sibling' used with a younger sibling or younger acquaintance of any age
	ប្អូន /oun/	
	កូន /khuoy/	'nephew or niece' used with a nephew or niece or with a younger acquaintance of any age.
	នាង /nian/	'child, miss' used with unmarried women, married women of ordinary social standing, and children under 20 or persons at least 10 years younger.

កូន /kaw/ 'grandchild' used with grandchildren and children under 20 or persons at least 30 or so years younger.

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

3rd person

1. គាត់ /kət/ (used for people whom you know as individuals and for whom you feel respect)
2. គេ /kee/ (used for people in general, for people younger than you or lower in status)
3. វា /via/ (used for animals, things, and small children; also វា 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:

<u>Vulgar</u>	means used to or about animals, children, people for whom one need not show much respect or for whom one feels contempt.
<u>Ordinary</u>	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.
<u>Formal</u>	means used to or about people with whom one is on formal terms.
<u>Clerical</u>	means used to or about a priest or monk.
<u>Royal</u>	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 លើសលើស្តី /əñceəñ/, clerical លើសលើស្តី /nimuñ/, and royal លើសលើស្តី /trəñ/.

For example:

គាត់អញ្ជើញមកហើយ។
/kət ənɕeəñ moo haey/

he (honorific) come already
He's come already.

If you were speaking of clergy, you would say

លោកនិមន្តមកហើយ។
/look nimun moo haey/

he (clergy)(honorific) come already
He's come already.

If you were speaking of royalty, you would say

ព្រះទទ្ធិទ្រង់យាងមកហើយ។
/pre ət trun yan moo haey/

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 ពិសា /pisaa/'eat' may be preceded by one of the honorific particles, e.g.

លោកទទ្ធិញ្ជីពិសាអ្វី?
/look ənɕeəñ pisaa sy?/

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 ពិសា /pisaa/'eat' when talking of yourself; instead you must use ទទ្ធិលាភាត /tetuol tian/'eat' when you speak of yourself at the formal style level. Thus the following interchange is appropriate:

A: លោកពិសាបាយឬទេ?
/look pisaa baay haey ri. nɔw/
sir eat rice already or not-yet
Have you eaten yet?

B: បាទ ខ្ញុំទទ្ធិលាភាតហើយ។
/baat khnom tetuol-tien haey/
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. ចង្កាស' /cəŋhan/'monks' food' (from ជាតិ' /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

	<u>Vulgar</u>	<u>Ordinary</u>	<u>Formal</u>	<u>Clergy</u>	<u>Royalty</u>
to eat	ស៊ី /sii/	ស៊ី ស៊ី /sii/	ត្រូវ ទទួលទាន /pisaa/(b)	ជាតិ /chan/	ទទួល /saoy/
		/nəm ³	/tetuol tian/(a)	និបត្តទេវ និបត្តបក និបត្តិ	យាងទេវ យាងបក យាង
to go/ come	ចក /təw/	ចក /təw/	ទទួលទាន និបត្តិ /ənceəŋ təw/	និបត្តិ /nimuŋ təw/	យាង /yian təw/
		/moo/	/ənceəŋ moo/	/nimuŋ moo/	/yian moo/
to drink	ផឹក /phək/	ផឹក ស្រា /phək/	ត្រូវ ទទួលទាន /pisaa/(b)	ជាតិ /chan/	ទទួល /saoy/
		/nəm ⁴	/tetuol tian/(a)		
to sleep	ដេក /deek/	ដេក ទតដ /deek/	សម្រាប់ ទទួលទាន និបត្តិ /samran/(b)	ស្រេក /sen/	ដេក /phtum/
		/keen ⁵	/tetuol tian dəmneek/(a)		
to be born	កើត /kaet/	កើត /kaet/	កើត /kaet/	កើត /kaet/	ប្រសូត កើត /prosout/(b)
		ងាប់ ស្លាប់ /kaet/(a)	ស្លាប់ /kaet/(a)		
to die	ងាប់ /ŋəp/	ងាប់ ខូច /ŋəp/	ស្លាប់ ស្លាប់ ស្លាប់ /slap/	ស្លាប់ ស្លាប់ /sokut/(b)	ស្លាប់ ស្លាប់ /sokut/(b)
		/slap/	/moronə ⁷ /(b)	/slap/(a)	/slap/(a)
		/khouc/(b)	/ch ciwit/		
		/phot ciwit/			

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

4. Cf. note 3. ផឹក is used like ស៊ី ; ស្រា is used more in Phnom Penh than in the provinces.

5. Cf. note one. ដេក is used like ស៊ី ; ទតដ is used in Phnom Penh for adults, elsewhere for children.

	<u>Vulgar</u>	<u>Ordinary</u>	<u>Formal</u>	<u>Clergy</u>	<u>Royalty</u>
to look/ read	មើល /meəl/	មើល /meəl/	មាត /aən/	មើល /meəl/ មាត /aən/	តា /təot/(b) មើល /meəl/(a)
to invite	ហៅ /haw/ ប្រាប់ /prəp/	ហៅ /haw/	អនុញ្ញាត /ənceən/(b) ហៅ /haw/(a)	និមន្ត /nimn/	យាង /yian/(b) ហៅ /haw/(a)
to live, stay	នៅ /nəw/	នៅ /nəw/	នៅ /nəw/	គង់ /kɔŋ/ នៅ /nəw/(a)	គង់ /kɔŋ/(b) នៅ /nəw/(a)
to give	ផ្តល់ /aoy/	ផ្តល់ /aoy/	ជូន /cuun/(b) ផ្តល់ /aoy/(a)	ប្រគេន /prokeen/	ផ្តល់ /thvaay/
to set	ចង្អុល /ɔŋkuy/	ចង្អុល /ɔŋkuy/	ចង្អុល /ɔŋkuy/	គង់ /kɔŋ/(b) ចង្អុល /ɔŋkuy/(a)	គង់ /kɔŋ/(b) ចង្អុល /ɔŋkuy/(a)
to speak	និយាយ /niyley/	និយាយ /niyley/	មានប្រសាសន៍ /mian prosah/(b) និយាយ /niyley/(a)	មានពុទ្ធសីកា /mian putdey- kaə/(b) និយាយ /niyley/(a)	មានបន្ទូល /mian bontuul/(b) និយាយ /niyley/(a)
to sign	ស៊ីនេញ /siŋneə/	ស៊ីនេញ /siŋneə/	ចុះហត្ថលេខា /coh hattaleekha/	ចុះហត្ថលេខា /coh hatte- leekha/	ឡាយព្រះហត្ថ /laay pre hoh/(b) ស៊ីនេញ /siŋneə/(a)
to think	គិត /kət/	គិត /kət/	រិះគិត /rɛhkət/	គិត /kət/	ព្រង់ព្រះតម្រិះ /trɔŋ prɛh dɑmrɪh/ ព្រះតម្រិះ /prɛh dɑmrɪh/(b) គិត /kət/(a)
to walk	ដើរ /dae/	ដើរ /dae/	អនុញ្ញាតដើរ /ənceən daə/(b) ដើរ /dae/(a)	និមន្តដើរ /nimn daə/(b) /dae/(a)	យាងដើរ /yian daoy prɛh baat/(b) ដើរ /dae/(a)

APPENDIX A

Summaries of Some Important Words

X.1 Summary of បាន /baan/:

1. 'to get':

ខ្ញុំចង់បានលុយ។

/khñom cəŋ baan luy/

I want (to get) some money.

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

វាបានជួយការសិក្សាដ៏ល្អរបស់ខ្ញុំ។

/via baan rôtte kaa cuoy aoy tɔw riən/

He was helped to study by the government.

This use of បាន /baan/ is usually translated by an English passive.

3. past tense markers:

គេបានប្រាប់យើងពី(ពេល)ព្រឹក។

/ke baan prap yeən pii(peel) prɔk/

They told us this morning.

4. 'can, to be able':

ខ្ញុំទៅមិនបាន។

/khñom tɔw mɔn baan/

I can't go.

5. before a quantity of completed works:

ខ្ញុំមើលរួចវាបានពីរក្បាល។

/khñom meel sephɔw baan pii kbaəl/

I read (and finished) two volumes.

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

វាខ្ញុំបានពីរសប្តាហ៍។

/via riən baan pii aatɔt/

He studied for two weeks.

7. 'not...until':

ដល់រយ័ងពីរនាទីទៅ។

/dol maon pii baan khñom tɨw/

I won't go until two o'clock.

Note that in this usage បាន /baan/ is a fixed clause relator (cf. R.3.1) coming between the condition ដល់រយ័ងពីរ (/dol maon pii/ 'reach two o'clock') and the contingent event ទៅ /khñom tɨw/ 'I'll go.').

8. 'always' in បានតែ /baan tae/:

កុំបានតែនិយាយ។

/kom baan tae niyiey/

Don't always be talking.

9. 'to get to':

វិន្តុកខ្ញុំមិនបានទៅទេ។

/s'ask khñom mɛn baan tɨw tee/

I won't get to go tomorrow.

This is really a special case of #2 above.

X.2 Summary of ទិញ /aoy/:

1. 'to give':

សុំទិញលុយខ្ញុំ។

/som aoy luy khñom/

Please give me some money.

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

a. following imperative:

សុំមើលទិញច្បាស់។

/som meəl aoy cbah/

Please read clearly.

- b. causative, following ធ្វើ /thee/:

ធ្វើធ្វើទុំយតាំបារក។

/khñom thee aoy pibaaʔ/

I made (it) difficult.

3. causative:

គេគេទុំយធ្វើរៀនខ្មែរ។

/kee aoy khñom rien khmae/

They had me study Cambodian, or

They let me study Cambodian.

4. 'for, to':

ធ្វើធ្វើទុំយវា។

/khñom thee aoy via/

I did it for him.

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

វាធ្វើជូនគេលោក។

/via thee cuun look/

He did it for you (sir).

5. 'I wish you...':

សុំទុំយមានសំណាង។

/som aoy mian sannaan/

I wish you luck.

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

ទុំយតែស្រួលស្រួលស្រួលទៅហើយ។

/aoy tae sruol añ tɛw haey/

Provided it's easy, I'll go.

Note that ទុំយតែ/aoy tae/ is a non-fixed clause relator (cf. R.3.2.2).

3. 'with':

ខ្ញុំទៅនឹងគាត់

/khñom tɔw nɛŋ kɔt/

I'll go with him.

4. 'and':

សុខនិងសិមទៅមើលកូន។

/sok nɛŋ sim tɔw meel kon/

Sok and Sim went to see a movie.

5. 'still, stable':

កូនខ្ញុំឈរនឹងហើយ។

/koun khñom chɔo nɛŋ haey/

My child stood quite still.

The word ហើយ /nɛŋ/ 'this/that' is often pronounced នឹង /nɛŋ/, especially in fast speech in Phnom Penh.

X.5

Summary of ហើយ /haey/:

1. 'already':

គេមើលកូននោះហើយ។

/kee meel kon nuh haey/

They've already seen that movie.

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

ខ្ញុំនឹងធ្វើអញ្ចឹងហើយ។

/khñom nɛŋ thee eñceŋ haey/

I'll do (it) that way.

3. 'and', used between clauses:

គាត់ទៅ ហើយខ្ញុំនៅ។

/kɔt tɔw haey khñom nɛw/

He went, and I stayed.

4. 'to be complete':

ត្រូវបានបញ្ចប់ហើយទៅ។
/thəə aoy haey tɔw/

Get it finished.

5. 'to finish' (resultative verb):

យើងមិនអាចបញ្ចប់បានទេ។
/yeən theə mən haey tee/

We can't finish (it).

X.6 Summary of ទៅ /təw/:

1. 'to go':

យើងទៅស្រុកខ្មែរខែនៃក្រកាយ។
/yeən təw srok khmæː khæː kraoy/

We're going to Cambodia next month.

2. motion away from the speakers:

សូយកសំរិះទៅ។
/som yɔo syvan nuh təw/

Please take those things away. (follows the verb phrase)

3. events in future time:

ក្រកាយទៅ យើងត្រូវខិតខំបន្តិច។
/kraoy təw, yeən tɾəw khəm nteç/

From now on, we'll have to try harder.

4. imperative:

និយាយខ្មែរទៅ។
/niyley khmæː təw/

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 នាមត្រកូល /niam trokool/'surname' and នាមខ្ព្ពួន /niam khluon/'given name.' The នាមត្រកូល /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. អាំងប៊ុនហៃ /aŋ bun hay/'Ang Bun Hai,' in which អាំង /aŋ/'Ang' is the surname and ប៊ុនហៃ/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 កែងយឹម/kaeŋ yim/'KENG Yim' and the father is named កែតត្រួត/kaet loc/'KET Loch,' a male child might be named យឹមខ័ត /yim khaet/'YIM 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 កែងយឹម /kaeŋ yim/'KENG Yim,' កែងត្រួត /kaeŋ loc/'KENG Loch,' and កែងខ័ត /kaeŋ khaet/'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 កែងយឹម /kaeŋ yim/'KENG Yim,' កែតត្រួត /kaet loc/'KET Loch,' and កែមខ័ត /kaem khaet/'KEM 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 Ketersa.

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 សាន់ /saan/'Sann,' ស៊ាន់ /sɔon/'Sɔn,' ស៊ុនី /soh/'Sos,' or three sisters in the same family might be named ដី /dii/'Di,' ដាន់ /daon/'Dan,' and ដំ /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. កូឡាប /koulaap/'rose,' or from Sanskrit or Pali, e.g.

សុរាមរិត /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, Indravavong, etc. contrasting with names of Khmer origin, which are usually monosyllabic or disyllabic. The present royal family has two main branches, NORODOM and SISOWATH,¹ 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. ឪពុក /bock/'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. កែម សុនី /kem soh/'KEM Sos,' and so his classmates and contemporaries normally follow suit, so that the individual is referred to as កែម សុនី /kem soh/'KEM Sos,' not កែម /kem/'KEM'

1. There are a few members of the ANG DUONG branch as well.

or ស៊ុស /soh/'Sos' by his contemporaries as well. After reaching adulthood, to intimate friends he may be known as ស៊ុស /soh/'Sos,' while to persons with whom he is on formal terms he may be known as លោក កែម ស៊ុស /look kem soh/'Look ('Mister') KEM Sos or លោកស៊ុស /look soh/'Look Sos.'

A woman is referred to in the same way, except that she is given the title នាង /nian/ if unmarried or married and of ordinary social status. If married and of higher social status, she may have the title លោកស្រី /nɔː srey/ or លោកស្រី /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 ខៀវ តួរ៉ា /khay touraa/'KHAY Toura,' she is known in most of her social and professional dealings as ខៀវ តួរ៉ា /khay touraa/'KHAY Toura.' However, when she is being considered by cosmopolitan friends as a member of a couple or is listed in official documents, she may well be known as Madame KEM Sos or លោកស្រី /nɔː srey/ KEM Sos or លោកស្រី /look srey/ KEM Sos. She may also be referred to as នាង /nian/ KHAY Toura wife of KEM Sos.

A divorcée 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

លោក	/look/	used with males of equivalent or higher social status.
លោកស្រី	/look srey/	used with women of high social status, with wives of high status men, and by cosmopolitan Cambodians for most foreign women.
ម្តាយ	/nɔː/	used for older women of ordinary social status and for one's mother in ម្តាយម្តាយ /nɔː mɛdaay/'mother.'
លោកស្រី	/nɔː srey/	used with married women of the middle class.
នាង	/nian/	'Miss' (see above, Section U.3.1), also used with children of either sex.
កញ្ញា	/kañña/	'Miss' (formal)

B.3.2 Honorific Titles

1. ឯកទុត្តម /aek udom/
2. លោកជំទាវ /look cumtiav/

His Excellency, Your Excellency
used to address or refer to the wife of
an ឯកទុត្តម /aek udom/ or to a
very high woman official.

B.3.3 Royal Titles

1. ក្សត្រ /sdac/
- ព្រះមហាក្សត្រ /preh mohaksat/
- ព្រះចៅ /preh caw/
2. អាទិរាជ /athiriec/
- ព្រះអាទិរាជ /preh athiriec/
- ព្រះចៅអាទិរាជ /preh caw'athiriec/
3. មហាក្សត្រី /mohaksatrej/
- មហាក្សត្រីយានី /mohaksatriyani/
4. សន្តត /samdac/

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

5. ព្រះចៅក្រុងម្តាយ /preh caw' mcah/

6. ក្រុងម្តាយ /n' caw' mcah/

7. ម្តាយ /khun/

8. ក្រុងម្តាយ /n' mniaj/

1. The title សន្តត /samdac/ has been abolished by decree except for the highest ranks in the Buddhist hierarchy.

9. ព្រង់ /tran/ } /préh ɔŋ mcah/ or a /nɛʔ ɔŋ mcah/.
Child of a /préh ɔŋ mcah/ or a
/nɛʔ ɔŋ mcah/ whose mother is a commoner.
10. ទីក្រី /kaev/ } The child of a /tran/ or child of any
other descendent of a king whose father
is a commoner. Children of a /kaev/ are
considered commoners.

B.3.4 Clerical Titles (for Buddhist clergy)

1. ព្រះសង្ឃ /préh sɔŋ/ } A Buddhist monk
ឆ្មារសង្ឃ /look sɔŋ/ }
2. វណ្ណ /neen/ } A postulant monk (2 or 3 months in the wat)
3. សាមណេរ /saamenee/ } A novice monk (up to approximately two
years in the wat)
4. ភិក្ខុ /phikhoʔ/ } A Buddhist monk, particularly one who
is no longer a novice
5. មហាថេរ /mohathae/ } A monk who has been in the wat for at
least ten years
6. ព្រះនាង(ព្រះ)គុណ /préh dac/ } Title for any monk; term of address for
(préh) kun/ a monk
7. ព្រះមហា /préh mohaa/ } A monk of high rank, especially the
មហា /mohaa/ } superior of a wat or his assistants
This term is used for:
8. រាជានិកាយ /caw aathikaa/ } The elected superior of a wat
9. គ្រូស្នង /kruu sout/ } the elected assistant to the superior of
a wat (there are two in each wat);
also called
- រាជានិកាយរង /caw aathikaa rɔŋ/ 'assistant superior'
10. អាចារ្យ /aacia/ } A lay official who acts as liaison
between the wat and the lay community
11. មេគុណ /meekun/ } The head of the monks of a province

12. ព្រះសង្ឃសាយក /préh sən niaykʰ/ }
 ព្រះសម្តេចសង្ឃ /préh samdac sən/ } Chief of the clerical community in
 ព្រះមហាសង្ឃទានី /préh mohasənkhariəc/ } Cambodia
- Female Clergy
13. ស៊ីនី /doun cii/ }
 យាយី /yiey cii/ } A Buddhist nun
14. សាមនេរី /saameneerii, }
 សាមនេរេយ /saameneerey/ } A novice nun (under two years)
15. ភិក្ខុនី /phikhoʔni, }
 ភិក្ខុនេយ /phikhoʔney/ } A Buddhist nun who is no longer a novice
16. ថេរី /theerii/ }
 A Buddhist nun of at least 10 years
 standing with administrative
 responsibility or extra prestige

B.3.5 Military Titles

1. Officers

- ទូធិបតីសេនីយ /udom seeney/ General
 ទូធិបតីសេនីយឯក /udom seeney aek/ Lieutenant General
 ទូធិបតីសេនីយតោ /udom seeney too/ Major General
 ទូធិបតីសេនីយត្រី /udom seeney trey/ Brigadier General
 វិវរសេនីយឯក /vereʔ seeney aek/ Colonel
 វិវរសេនីយតោ /vereʔ seeney too/ Lieutenant Colonel
 វិវរសេនីយត្រី /vereʔ seeney trey/ Major
 សន្តរសេនីយឯក /amuʔ seeney aek/ Captain
 សន្តរសេនីយតោ /amuʔ seeney too/ First Lieutenant
 សន្តរសេនីយត្រី /amuʔ seeney trey/ Second Lieutenant

2. Warrant Officers

- នាយចំណង់ /niey camnən/ Warrant Officer
 នាយទាហានរង់ /niey tiahien rəŋ/ (Junior) Warrant Officer

3. Enlisted Men

- ពលបាលឯក /pəol baal aek/ Master Sergeant
 ពលបាលតោ /pəol baal too/ Sergeant First Class
 ពលបាលត្រី /pəol baal trey/ Sergeant

នាយឯក	/niey æk/	Chief Corporal
នាយទា	/niey too/	Corporal
ពលឯក	/pɔol æk/	Private First Class
ពលទា	/pɔol too/	Private
ពលទ្រី	/pɔol trey/	Recruit

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