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Pusat Pengajian Ilmu Kemanusiaan
Universiti Sains Malaysia
11900 USM Pulau Pinang
Minden, Malaysia

OM [s-] Addenda

Christian BAUER
Mahidol University

The contribution I submitted to *Austroasiatic Languages—Essays in Honour of H.L. Shorto* (Jeremy H.C.S. Davidson, ed., London, SOAS, 1991, pp. 241-9) gives a preliminary analysis of the Old Mon prefix [s-], referred to, following Shorto, as the "hypothetical." That contribution was originally part of a longer historical study of modality and aspect in Mon, written in late 1985.

I shall present below some addenda to the version published as part of the Shorto Festschrift, which were part of the earlier draft, as well as some new reflections.

1. Cognates

I mentioned in the Festschrift that a cognate of OM [s-] had so far not been identified in other MK languages, except preverbal /si-/ in Lawa, marking 'future, irrealis'. But Shorto himself mentioned to me in conversation (2 June 1990) a verbal auxiliary in Praok, on which he collected material in 1957, published in part in 'The structural patterns of Northern Mon-Khmer languages' in *Linguistic Comparison in South East Asia and the Pacific*, London, SOAS, 1963, pp.45-61, /saj/, indicating 'futurity'.

It is obviously tempting to regard Praok /saN/ as a fossilized prefix complex, consisting of a prefix *s- and a 'frequentative' infix *-N-; the latter can be reconstructed for PMK.

2. SM [hə-] < OM [s-]

The second point concerns possible relics of OM [s-] in SM. I did indeed say that no [s-] prefix exists in modern spoken Mon. Yet some disyllabic forms in SM reflect earlier [s-] inflected forms. These include

hətəm ~ təm 'to remember' / 'to know'
 hətət ~ tət 'to put forth, exert' / 'to go out'
 the first of which corresponds to LM *satim* ~ *samtim* ~ *stim*; SM /hə-/ is highly syncretistic: a homophonous form SM /hətəm/ 'attention' (*s-, *-m-) is attested. SM /pətəm/ 'to inform' may also be interpreted as a syncretistic form, corresponding to LM *patini* ~ *ptini* (*p-) and EMM *saptini* (*s-, *p-).

However, as I have shown elsewhere, not all SM /hə-/ prefixes correspond to the earlier 'hypothetical' [s-] prefix.¹ A sample is given here in Figure 1; it will be noticed that the SM /hə-/ prefix does not only correspond to earlier prefixes (*s-, *p-), as in examples 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, but may also mask former infixes, such as the 'frequentative' -N- and the nominalizer -r-, as in 1.4 and 1.5. Yet not all SM həCV (C) forms are morphologically complex, as 1.6 shows: it is a syncretistic form corresponding to OM *hton*, the base, and OM *binton*, the 'frequentative' form. A sample of rules of the gradual reduction of complex initial sequences is given in Figure 2, with mediocluster-reduction (except -mC-) antedating loss of presyllables or *sC- ~ *səC- to SM /hə-/ shifts.

3. Addenda to Pagan glosses

Glosses from the Pahtothamya (11c) and the Nagayon (1090), given here in Figure 3-A (Luce's translations are provided in Figure 3-B), showing [s-] prefixed verbs, should be added to the glosses presented in my contribution to the Shorto Festschrift as Figures 7-A and 7-B. Here #119 and #158 feature simple [s-] prefixed verbs, whereas #161, #163, and #164 show [s-] prefixed verbs last in Figure 3-A, features a 'hypothetical' / 'causative' form.

With the publication of these addenda here, the entire corpus of [s-] prefixed verbs as they appear in the Pagan ink-glosses accompanying frescoes has been given.²

4. Corrigenda

In Figure 7-A in the Shorto Festschrift following the gloss #196, Luce reference 397-398, "... " should be added. Syntactic divisions in that gloss are uncertain, and I disagree with Luce's analysis. The syntactic boundary in question,

¹See my *Morphology and syntax of spoken Mon*, University of London PhD thesis (SOAS), 1982, pp. 33-5 and pp. 249-55.

²My corpus is drawn from G.H. Luce, Pali and Old Mon ink glosses in Pagan temples, JBRs 1975. LVIII.1:117-280; G.H. Luce & Ba Shin, Pagan Myinkaba Kubyaukgyi temple of Rājakumār (1113 A.D.) and the Old Mon writings on its walls, *BBHC* 1961.II; Ba Shin, *The Lokahteikpan*, Rangoon, Burma Historical Commission, 1962.

however, is not at issue here since it does not concern the [s-] inflected form of the predicate. In gloss #189 *spa spujāw* should read *spa pūjāw*.

List of s-inflected verbs

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>verb</i>
#5	s-das
#23	s-das
#42	s'ār kindo'
#43	s-kindo'
#33	s-kumin ~ k-u-min ~ kmin

Abbreviations

Sow	South outer wall
Ew	East wall
N-S	proceeding from North to South
Ww	West wall
Sw	South wall

	<i>SM</i>	<i>OM affix</i>	<i>LM reflex</i>	<i>gloss</i>
1.1	həpən	s-	<i>sapun</i>	'to rebel'
1.2	həkò	s-	<i>sgow</i>	'to be handsome'
1.3	hədu	p-	<i>bdū</i>	'to be bruised'
1.4	hətən	-N- / -m-	<i>datuìn</i>	'rising'
1.5	hədoə	-r-	<i>sḡay, gaḡay</i>	'inside'
1.6	həton	—	<i>btón</i>	'to teach'

Figure 1: SM həCV(C) disyllabic forms

<i>OM complex</i>	<i>initial non-syllabic s-loss</i>	<i>syllabic s-loss</i>	<i>s-shift, assimilation, dissimilation</i>
sC-			+
sCC	+		
səC-	+		
sCəC-	+		
sCəCC-	+		
səsəC-		+(1)	+(2)
sCCvC-	+		

Figure 2: OM s- initial complex and subsequent changes

<i>Luce 1975 page ref.</i>	<i>Gloss No. Location</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
119	5.Sow Pahtothamya	# wo' kāl risi kāladewila lñor bodhisat tirley byādes sdas kyek # #
158	23.Ew.N-S Nagayon	# lok gumliñ tluñ smāñ kyāk Trey himo' ma sdas risi (blā)ñ m(a 'ey b)y . . . (go)ḥ ma sammassanā dhar da goḥ ma ti kśiw #
163	42.Ww Nagayon	...] 'ut smiñ jambudwip mleḥ ma 'aja pkom ket na 's' ār kindo' han (m)inyow 'aja ma himo' risi son #
164	43.Ww Nagayon	# risi nan pa tañ ku smiñ manajo ku pnāñ (ḥār) cwas diñcām ['a]ksobhini. . .
161	33.Sw Nagayon	# wo' kāl smiñ mallarāj (wewot) kyek tirley na skumin #

Figure 3-A: *s*-inflected verbs in the Pahtomthamya (11c) and Nagayon (1090) glosses

<i>Luce Ref.</i>	
119	"This is when the hermit K. worships the lord Bodhisattva and prophesies that he will become a Buddha."
158	"The many worlds come and ask the reverend Buddha 'What (himo') is going to happen to this world?' The reverend One says 'Nothing. At the moment when made my prophecy (?), this future hermit (?). . . ' he thereupon comprehended the Law, and that is why the earth quaked."
163	"All the kings of Jambudwipa whom he assembles, he brings to go and pay their respects to his elder brother, called hermit Sona."
164	"The hermit Nanda . . . beginning with King Manajo, with armies of 28 akkhobini . . . in the Himalaya to pay their respects . . .
161	"This is when the Malla princes (cherish the body) of Lord Buddha in royal fashion."

Figure 3-B: Luce's translation of glosses given in Figure 3-A

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Institute of Language and
Culture for Rural Development
