

NOTES ON MON EPIGRAPHY

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Since the publication of H.L. Shorto's *Dictionary of the Mon Inscriptions* [DMI] in 1971, over thirty inscriptions in Old Mon have been discovered in Thailand and Burma (Figures B and C; Maps 1 and 2).

Although many of the inscriptions are fragmentary, the amount of new lexical material, including spelling variants not attested previously, is sufficient in quantity to warrant the publication of addenda to DMI.*

Equally important is the fact that this newly available corpus redresses not only a regional but also a chronological and dialectological bias in Mon epigraphy.¹

It also raises questions concerning early Khmer-Mon contacts and provides evidence for a chronologically unusually precise case-study of contact-induced language-change and language-shift in Northeastern Thailand and the Chao Phraya basin.²

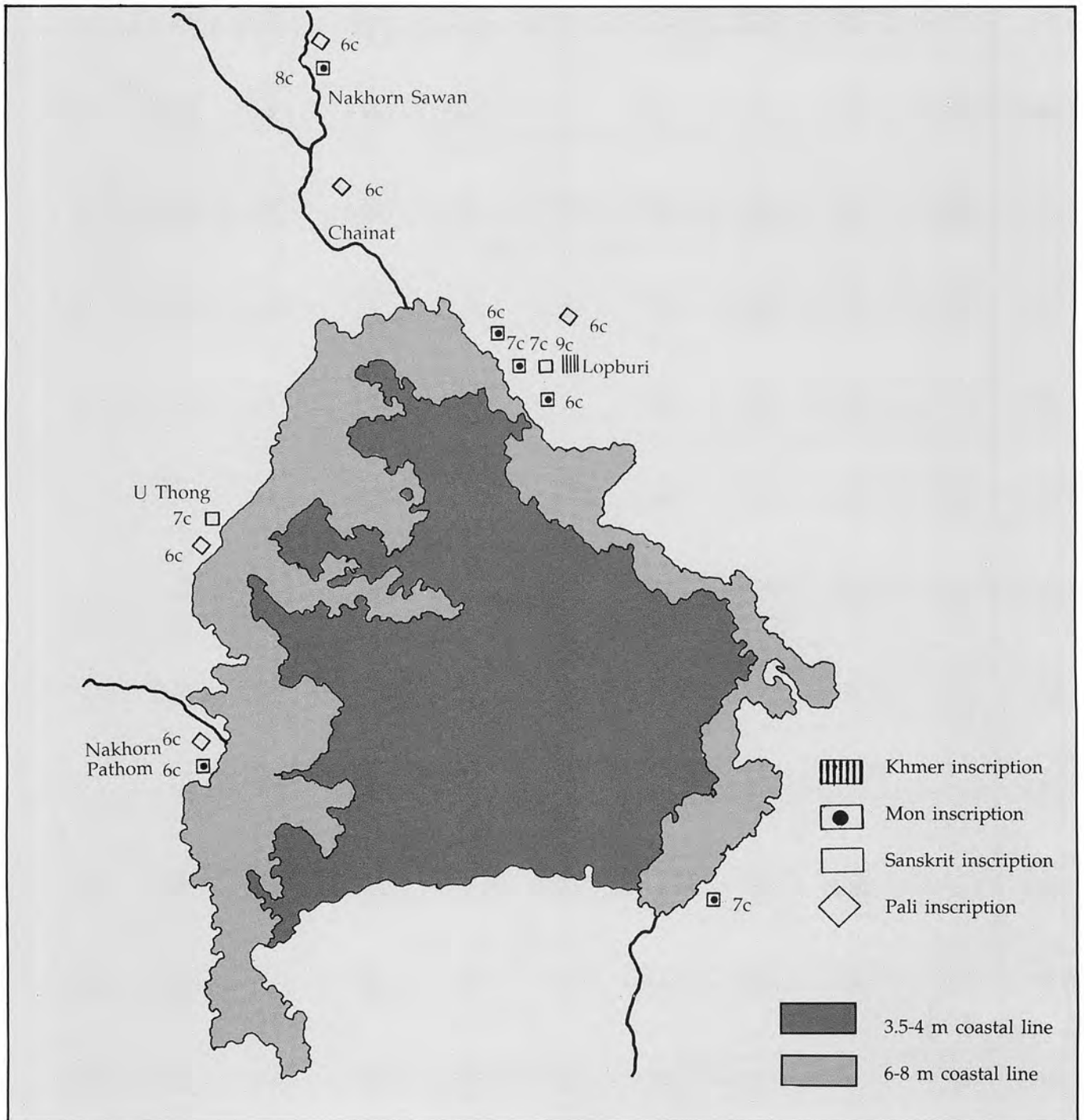
In Figure A this shift can clearly be seen in the respective bar-graphs; the overlap in the Isan bar-graph may be accounted for by different rates of sub-regional propagation.

This article is divided into the following sections:

1. Seals and Impressed Designs (66/2522; Nw.i)
2. Spatial Deixis in Mon
3. *pragata*
4. Titles
 - i. *māñ*
 - ii. *tralā*
 - iii. *kurui*
 - iv. *kañmrateñ pdai karom*
 - v. *k̄smuñ ~ ka smuñ*
 - vi. *ko'*
 - vii. *kmun*
5. An Inscribed *Dharmacakra* from Chainat (Jn.14; Jn.15)
6. Mon Inscriptions from Northeastern Thailand – A Reassessment
 - i. Ban Kut Ngong (Muang, Chaiyaphum)
 - ii. Ban Kaeng (Phu Khiaw, Chaiyaphum)
 - iii. Ban Fai Hin (Chumphae, Khon Kaen)
 - iv. Other Northeastern sites
 - v. A votive tablet from Nadun (Mg.2) and Pagan parallels
7. 'at
8. Conclusion

*Glossary (Addenda to DMI)

* See endnotes.

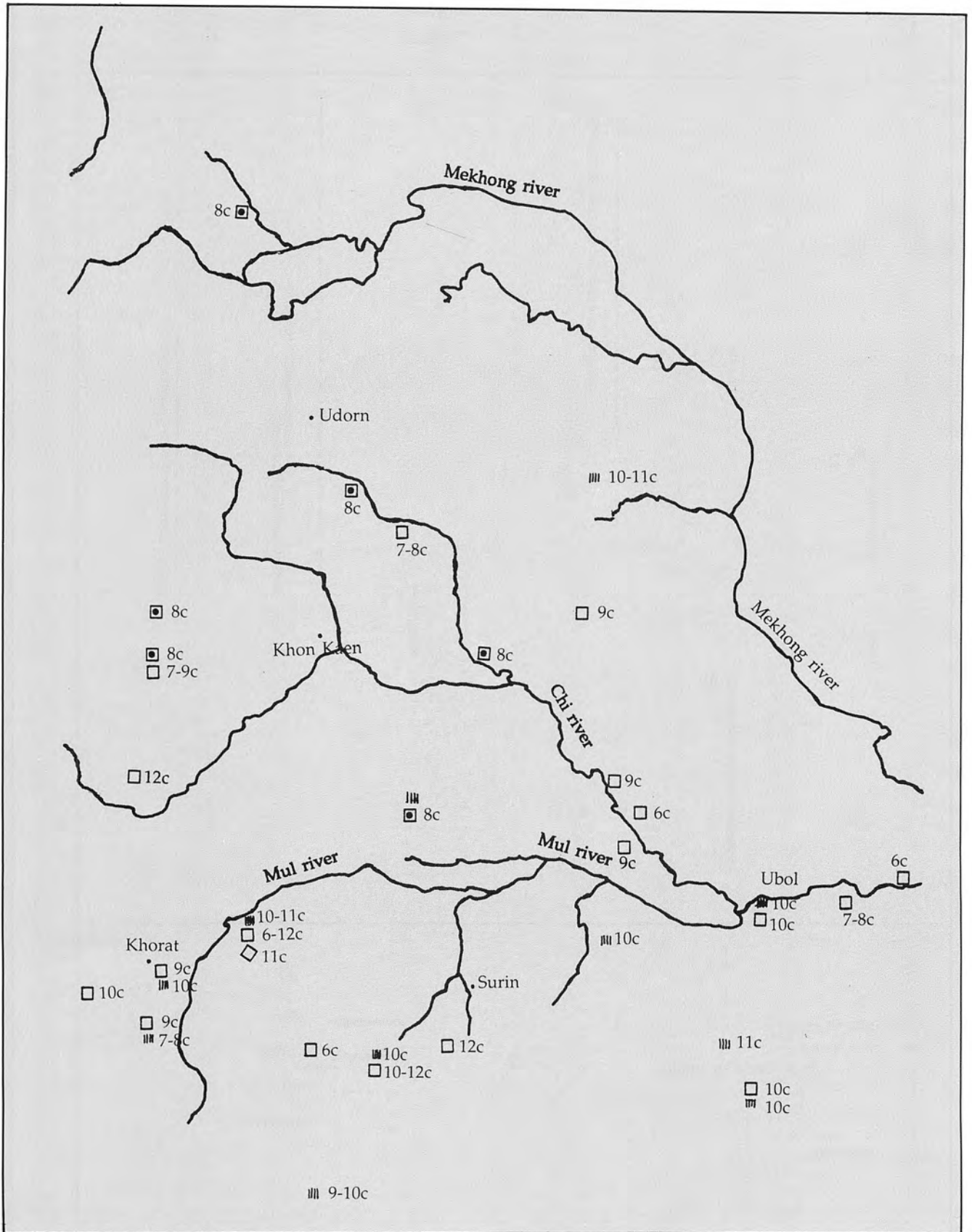


Map 1. Former littoral of the Chao Phraya Basin

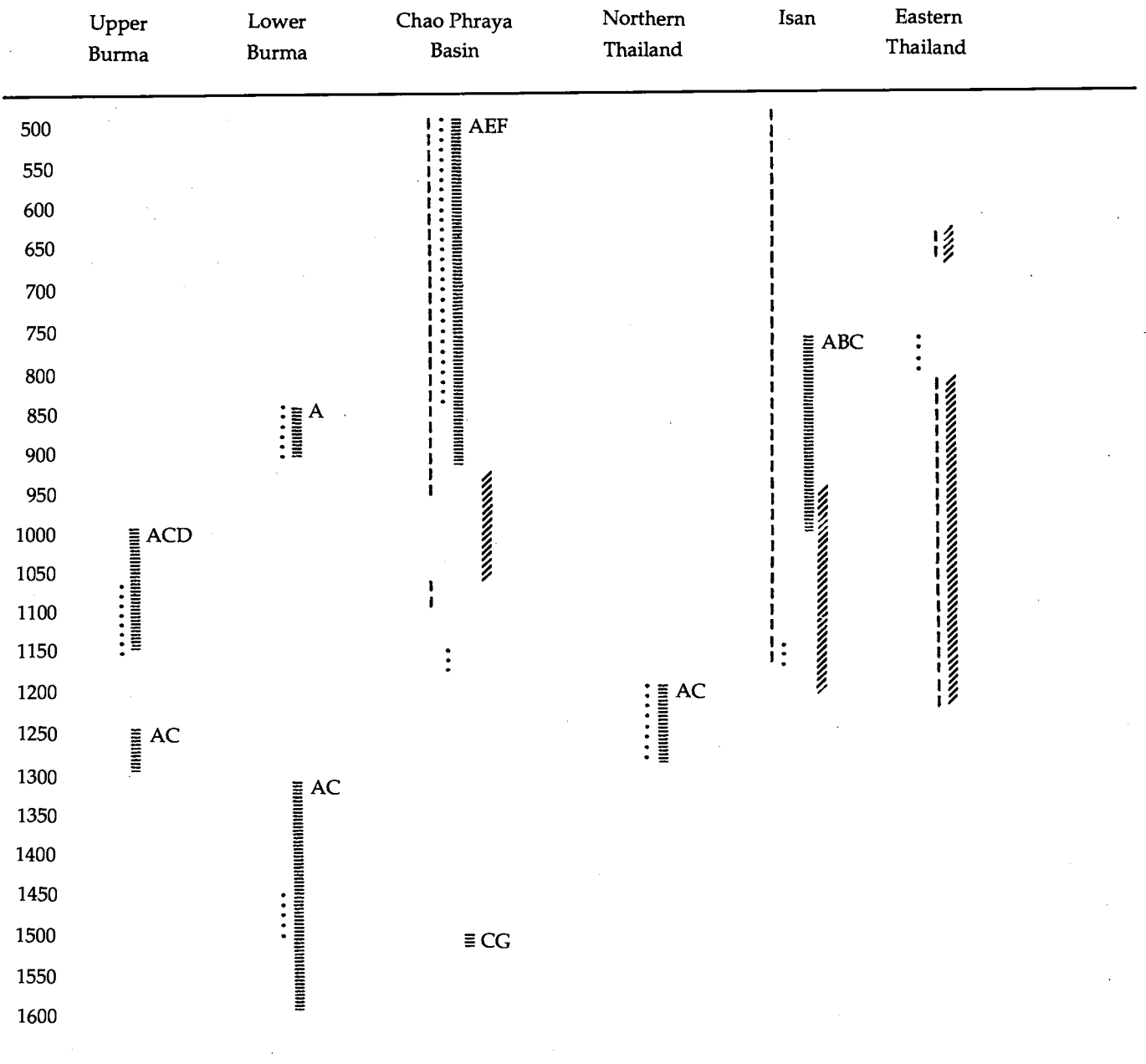
The information about former coastlines is taken from

ผ่องศรี วนาสิน และ ทิวา สุภาจรรยา. เมืองโบราณบริเวณชายฝั่งทะเลเดิมของที่ราบภาคกลางประเทศไทย : การศึกษาตำแหน่งที่ตั้งและภูมิ-
ศาสตร์สัมพันธ์. กทม, จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2534 (งานวิจัย 1)

Phongsri Vanasin and Thiwa Supajanya. Ancient cities on the former coastline of Central Thailand. Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University, 1981



Map 2. Northeastern Thailand. Location of inscriptions



A - Slab, pillar
 B - *simā* stone
 C - votive tablet, Buddha image
 D - glosses
 E - stupa
 F - seal, amulet
 G - copperplate

Mon
 Khmer
 Pali
 Sanskrit

Figure A: Mon, Khmer, Pali, and Sanskrit inscriptions in Burma and Thailand

FAD No.	Location site	at present	Date	Type	Date found	Lines	Size	Citations
Sp.1	Phra Phutthabat, Saraburi	in situ	6c	A	1970 [?]	2	15 x 50	Lpb.51-55; Thoem/Champa 1984; IT.2.42-47.
Nw.1	Chansen, Nakhorn Sawan	private	6c	E	[1979]	2	4.2 h	Lpb.87-88.
[66/22]	Chansen, Nakhorn Sawan	Lpb M	6c	E	[1979]	2	2.8 l	Lpb.85-86.
Nw.7	Thap Chumphol, Nw.	Lpb M	7c-8c	D	[1981]	2	26 h	Lpb.37-39.
[D.w.38]	Mon Nang, Chonburi	Lpb M	8c	C		2		---
KhK.16	Chumphae, Khon Kaen	in situ	8c	B	1970	5 fr.	118 x 56/75 x -	Thoem/Champa 1985; IT.2.67-72; Bauer 1986; Uraisi 1988.
KhK.17	Chumphae, Khon Kaen	in situ	8c	B	1970	8 fr.	143 x 70/85 x -	Thoem/Champa 1985; IT.2.73-76; Bauer 1986; Uraisi 1988.
KhK.i	Chumphae, Khon Kaen	in situ	8c	B	1970	4 fr.	45 x 58/43 x -	Uraisi 1988.
KhK.19	Kumphawapi, Udorn	KhK M	8c	B	1979	6 fr.		Bauer 1986; Uraisi 1988.
Jy.9	Kut Ngong, Chaiyaphum	in situ	8c	B	1978	2.	130 x 43 x 36.5	Surasawadi 1978.
Jy.10	Phu Khiaw, Chaiyaphum	in situ	8c	B		5 fr.	49 x 64 x 26	---
Jy.11	Phu Khiaw, Chaiyaphum	in situ	8c	B		9 fr.	175 x 67 x 28	Uraisi 1988.
Jy.i	Phu Khiaw, Chaiyaphum	in situ	8c	B		5 fr.	77 x 61 x 34	Uraisi 1988.
Mg.2	Nadun, Mahasarakham	KhK M	8c	C	1979	4	13.8 x 11.2	Prasarn/Champa/Thoem 1981; IT.2.77-81; Bauer 1986; Uraisi 1988
Mg.3	Nadun, Mahasarakham	KhK M	8c	C	1979	2 fr.	3.8 x 4.2	Prasarn/Champa/Thoem 1981; IT.2.82-84; Bauer 1986; Uraisi 1988
Mg.i	Nadun, Mahasarakham	KhK M	8c	C	1979	3 fr.		Uraisi 1988.
Mg.ii	Nadun, Mahasarakham	KhK M	8c	C	1979	2 fr.		Uraisi 1988.
Mg.iii	Nadun, Mahasarakham	KhK M	8c	C	1979	1 fr.		Uraisi 1988.
Mg.iv	Nadun, Mahasarakham	KhK M	8c	C	1979	3 fr.	14 x 8.3	Champa/Prasarn/Thoem 1980; Bauer 1986; Uraisi 1988.
Mg.v	Nadun, Mahasarakham	KhK M	8c	C	1979	1 fr.		Uraisi 1988.
Mg.vi	Nadun, Mahasarakham	KhK M	8c	C	1979	1 fr.		Uraisi 1988.
Mg.vii	Nadun, Mahasarakham	KhK M	8c	C	1979	1 fr.		Uraisi 1988.
Mg.viii	Nadun, Mahasarakham	KhK M	8c	C	1979	1 fr.		Uraisi 198.
Ks.1	Muang Fa Daet, Kalasin	Bkk NL	8c	C	1968	2	12 x 9 x 3.5	Prasarn/Cham 1968; IT.2.85-89; Bauer 1986; Uraisi 1988.
Ks.2	Muang Fa Daet, Kalasin	Bkk NL	8c	C	1968	2	12 x 9 x 3.5	Prasarn/Cham 1968; IT.2.90-94; Bauer 1986; Uraisi 1988.
Ks.7	Muang Fa Daet, Kalasin	in situ	8c	B [?]	1984	1	73 x 53 x 6	IT.2.100-103; Bauer 1986; Uraisi 1988.
Ks.i	Muang Fa Daet, Kalasin	Bkk NL/M?	8c	C m	1968	1	21 x 13 x 4	Prasarn/Cham 1969.
Ks.ii	Muang Fa Daet, Kalasin	Bkk NL/M?	8c	C m	1968	1	21 ¹ / ₂ x 13 x 4	Prasarn/Cham 1968.
Ks.iii	Muang Fa Daet, Kalasin	in situ	8c	B		1		Uraisi 1988.
Jm.45	San Pa Tong, Chiangmai	Chiangmai	U12c	A	1968	9		Griswold/Na Nakhorn 1971: IT.2.1.4-111.
[23/23]	Saraphi, Chiangmai	Lpb M	12c-13c	C	1980	1		---
[24/23]	Saraphi, Chiangmai	Lpb M	12c-13c	C	1980	1		---
---	Ban Thalot, Laos	?	8c-9c	A	1968	14	117 h	Gagneux 1972; Guillon 1974.

Figure B: Mon inscriptions from Thailand and Laos not included in DMI.

Location site	now	Date	Type	Date found	Size	Citations
Momeit, Shan State	?	12c	C	1971	?	Guillon 1977; Pan Hla 1985.
Kalaymyo	?	12c	C	1983	?	Pan Hla 1985.
Pagan	Pagan M ²	12c	A	1972	20 x 35	Guillon 1977.
Bassein	?	14c+	C ²	1973	30 x 28	Guillon 1977.
Tavoy	in situ ²	16c	F	?	100 h	Guillon 1977.

Figure C: Mon inscriptions from Burma not included in DMI.

1. Seals and Impressed Designs

The sigillography of early Central Thailand (5c-10c) has hitherto received little attention. This is in marked contrast to contemporaneous finds from other regions of continental Southeast Asia, such as the Mekhong Delta, as well as the discussion of numismatic finds of the same period from Central Thailand.³ It is the more regrettable as some of the impressed designs are inscribed in Old Mon; unlike the Mekhong Delta finds, we have here, for the first time, evidence of the vernacular being used for seals, stamps, and other impressed designs. Finds from the Mekhong Delta and Cambodia show Sanskrit inscriptions.

The existence of the two impressed designs featuring Mon inscriptions has been known since 1979, although they had been found earlier; neither object derives from controlled excavations but represent chance finds. Both have been published before; the readings below are corrections.

One is now in storage at the King Narai National Museum, Lopburi, registered as 66/2522; the other object is part of a private collection in Nakhorn Sawan. Both were found at Thambol Chansen, Ta Khli District, Nakhorn Sawan.

The first (#66/2522) is a fragment of baked clay, inscribed in relief at what must be regarded as the base, 2.8 cm in length. It bears an inscription in Old Mon and can be dated to c. 6c, unlikely to be later than 7c.

The two lines read:

1. *kmun ya*
2. *sōwitā(n)*

While *yaśōwitā(n)* must be interpreted as a proper name, *kmun* has been interpreted in other contexts as a verb 'to be king, to reign, rule', being also spelt elsewhere *kmin*; inflected and derived forms are also attested in DMI, *skmun* 'shall reign' (s-), *kirmin* 'royal power' (-r-), *kumin* 'to enthrone, make king' (vocalic infix), and the periphrastic form *-pa kirmun* 'to enthrone'. To these should be added now Ks.7 *kanmun*, the frequentative form (-N-). However, *kmun* in this syntactic position, also attested in Sp.11, has to be regarded as the grammatical subject, and must thus be interpreted as a noun, despite the morphological evidence cited above which necessitates it to be analyzed as a verb.

The second, referred to in glossary and index as Nw.i, is an object made of baked clay, 4.2 cm in height. The front shows a figure riding a horse. It is inscribed in relief at the base, again in Old Mon, contemporaneous with 66/2522. The two lines read:

1. (s)r[i] trala kyāk
2. [] ya [] dwān

The segment [*ya*] must be interpreted as a proper name, being preceded by the title *śrī trala kyāk*; hitherto not attested is the combination of *śrī* and *trala* 'lord, master'. *dwān* is a verb, attested elsewhere in Old Mon, 'to attack, march against, charge'. The text relates directly to the motive of the impressed

design and is meant to be a gloss, unlike 66/2522 which must be a votive object.

Another baked clay object, inscribed with a *ye dhammā* formula, found at Nakhorn Pathom, has been referred to by Malleret.⁴

These inscribed objects have not been registered as inscriptions, and have thus not been included in IT.

It is as yet uncertain how these and other finds from the Chao Phraya basin relate to the seals and stamps found at Oc-èo. Some objects, inscribed in Sanskrit, also found at Chansen, are contemporaneous, such as *jayi* 'victorious [person]' (baked clay, 2.8 cm in diameter, Lpb M) and Malleret # 1254, *jaya* 'victory'. Malleret regards some of the Oc-èo finds as personal seals and stamps, some as votive objects.

One difference to be noted is that signets and stamps found at Oc-èo are carnelians or made of metal (bronze, gold, tin) whereas the impressed designs from Central Thailand bearing inscriptions are made of baked clay.

2. Spatial Deixis in Old Mon

In the following I shall discuss two sets of demonstratives in Mon, 'this' (proximal) and 'that' (distal).⁵ The early epigraphic evidence (6c-8c) may suggest, for the first set, two terms, one of which may be borrowed from Khmer, the other derived from an earlier existential verb ('to be present'). If this can be

LM	EMM	OM		OKhm.	EMKhm.	mod.Khm.
na'	'ano'	nai', ne'	this	neh, neh, neh ^h	naeh, neh, neh ^h	/nih/
te'	te'	---	that	noh, noh, noh ^h	noh	/nuh/
wwa'	wwa'	'awo', wo'	this	---	---	---
		'awo, wo				
gah	gah	goh, goh	that	---	---	---
		goh ^h , guoh				

Figure 1: Spatial deixis in Mon and Khmer

shown successfully, intensive Khmer-Mon language contact must have occurred by the middle of the first millennium in the Chao Phraya basin and northeastern Thailand; the case is also relevant for a reconstruction of proto-Mon syntax.

Deictic expressions discussed here are limited to spatial deixis; the term 'expressions' is chosen deliberately because it is doubtful that we can speak of demonstrative pronouns. It is not clear to which word-class these elements should be assigned. Shorto classifies them in DMI as both nouns and what he calls "noun-suffixes", a term that should be used with caution; it is preferable to regard them as nominal enclitics — in one case it occurs also as a proclitic —, part of a well-developed paradigm in Old Mon.

Spatial deixis in Mon is set out in Figure 1 to which the equivalent terms in Old Khmer and Epigraphic Middle Khmer have been added.

'an(o)' is attested for the first time in the Holy Land inscriptions in Pegu (1480+), in postnominal position, as *thān* 'an(o)' 'here'; later reflexes of 'a- in Mon suggest a prefixed form for the 'locative', derived from a base *no'*; yet, why a locative deictic should be combined with a noun *thān* 'place' (*P. thāna*), especially when the derived form has to be regarded as a pronominalized one (if the evidence of later reflexes is accepted), instead of the expected form **thān no'*, is puzzling.

A possible alternative, not borne out by an earlier related form, to be discussed below, and later reflexes, would be to interpret 'an- as a glottalized nasal. It should be noted that MM *thān te'* 'there' is attested.

te' is also attested only since 15c, glossed in DMI as 'there, then, that, those' and again classified as a "noun-suffix"; a form ***'ate'* is not attested in Epigraphic Middle Mon. Combinations with *wo'* 'this' occur in MM, such as

rup klaṃ caḥ dacām te' wo'
(XVII.29)

'these 118 aforementioned statues'.⁶

OM *goh, goh, goh^h, guoh* is attested since 11c. From MM onwards its function is rarely demonstrative 'that' but increasingly that of a marker determining the noun. Combinations with *te'* occur, as in MM *te' gah*. Forms such as MM *yaṇah* 'thus' and MM *laṇah* 'this' are contractions of **yaṇ gah* and **la' gah* respectively; the phonological liaison involved affecting *gah*, that is, the nasalization of its initial, suggests again that it be treated as an enclitic.

Finally, *wo'*, '*awo'* and their cliticized variants *wo*, '*awo*, are attested in the earliest Mon inscriptions. Both '*awo'* and *wo'* are contemporaneous, occurring in Nṭh. 9 and Sp.1, that is, both dating from the 6c. In DMI Shorto assumes '*awo'* to be a prefixed locative form, with *wo'* being its demonstrative base; *wo'* is classified in DMI as both "noun-suffix" and as a noun. Again, Shorto's analysis is based on the development of its later reflexes:

"The interpretation assumes a combination of *wo'* 'this' with the prefix found in MM '*an(o)'* 'here' and IM '*ate'* 'there', '*aluiw* 'where'."

(DMI.12.)

In other words, a locative prefix 'a- is implicitly recognized for Old Mon.

Proceeding with the analysis in greater detail, the following forms will be discussed in turn:

- (i) *wo, wo'*
- (ii) *wo', wau'*
- (iii) *wo' | 'awo' (wo | 'awo)*
- (iv) *ne', nai'*
- (v) *nai' wo'*

(i) *wo, wo'*

The word for 'this' in Old Mon has two variants, *wo* and *wo'*. Forms without a final glottal stop are not attested in the corpus on which DMI is based. In the comparatively homogeneous corpus of votive tablets from Pagan, as published in OBEP, we find seven occurrences of *wo* as opposed to 39 occurrences of *wo'* in prenominal position and nine in postnominal position. If we adduce instances from the remaining corpus not included in DMI we find *wo* (1) and '*awo* (1) against *wo'* (14) and '*awo'* (6). Forms lacking a final glottal stop, written -', are found invariably in prenominal position.

This syntactic correlation between phonological form and syntactic position makes the lack of final -' unlikely to be due to scribal error, but rather represent a way to encode phonological liaison between two segments, that is, between, *wo* and the following noun.

Such cliticized forms are well attested in Old and Middle Mon; examples are listed in Figure 2. The last instance cited, *min, mun, man*, shows that clitics should be distinguished from weak forms. *man* is not a clitic since no phonological liaison exists, unlike in the other cases given.

If this interpretation is correct, are the two elements also closely linked syntactically? From the phonological

Strong Form	Weak Form	Position	Function	
to'	ta	post-nominal	definite plural	OM
ro'	ro	sentence-final	relative question	MM
mo', mu	ma	pre-nominal	relative question	OM
min, mun	man	clause-initial	subordination	OM

Figure 2: Strong and weak forms of particles

variation we can, for instance, deduce that there is no pause between the clitic and the following noun. If the two elements are thus closely linked syntactically, *wo* cannot be analyzed as a noun but clearly as a nominal proclitic.

(ii) *o, au*

The vowel in this deictic is spelt in two variant forms, either as *o* or as *au*. Until

now it has been maintained by both linguists (Shorto for Mon, Jacob for Khmer) and palaeographers (Dani) that these variant vowel representations ought to be interpreted as a single unit, *o*, although graphic *o* may -- and does indeed in Old Mon -- represent a number of phonological units. These two variants are given in Figure 3, A-J; whatever the context, the final glottal

stop is not given. Figure 3 (A-J) is arranged in chronological order and according to region (Chao Phraya basin, Isan, Pagan).

The problem is reminiscent of Pre-Angkorian Khmer: in closed syllables *au* alternates with the more common *o* (Jacob 1960.354-355).⁷

<p>A 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>B 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>Ca 𑀓𑀺 Cb 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>D 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>E 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>F 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>G 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>H 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>I 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>J 𑀓𑀺</p>	<p>K 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>Lb 𑀓𑀺 Lc 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>M 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>N 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>O 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>P 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>Qa 𑀓𑀺 Qb 𑀓𑀺 Qc 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>Ra 𑀓𑀺 Rb 𑀓𑀺 Rc 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>S 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>T 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>U 𑀓𑀺</p> <p>V 𑀓𑀺</p>	<p>A - Sp.1, Saraburi, 6c</p> <p>B - Nth.9, Nakhorn Pathom, 6c</p> <p>Ca Cb - Lp.1, Lopburi, 7c</p> <p>D - Ks.1, Muang Fa Daet, 8c</p> <p>E - Ks.2, Muang Fa Daet, 8c</p> <p>F - Jy. i, Chaiyaphum, 8c</p> <p>G - OBEP 27d, Pagan</p> <p>H - OBEP 27b, Pagan</p> <p>I - OBEP 25e, Pagan</p> <p>J - OBEP 36d, Pagan</p> <p>K - ko; KhK.16, Chumphae, Khon Kaen, 8c</p> <p>La Lb - ko; Khk.17, Chumphae, Khon Kaen, 8c</p> <p>M - moy; Lb.7, Lamphun, 13c</p> <p>N - moy; Lp.1, Lopburi, 7c</p> <p>O - go'; Lp.1, Lopburi, 7c</p> <p>P - toy; Sp.1, Saraburi, 6c</p> <p>Qa Ab - kom, ko'; Sp.1, Saraburi, 6c</p> <p>Ra Rb - to; Jn.15, Manorum, Chainat, 6c (Pali)</p> <p>Rc - kã; Jn.15, Manorum, Chainat, 6c (Pali)</p> <p>S - yo; Nth.3, Nakhorn Pathom, 6c (Pali)</p> <p>T - yo; Nth.10, Nakhorn Pathom, 6c (Pali)</p> <p>U - yo; Lp.16, Lopburi, 6c (Pali)</p> <p>V - goh; I.B. 17, Pagan, 1102+</p>
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Figure 3: *au* and *o*

Legend to Figure 3

It will be noticed that in Figure 3 the vowel graphs *au* and *o* alternate only in the early, that is, pre-12c period. Subsequently all medial *au* correspond to *o*. Medial *o* shows two variant forms, a common flat-topped variety with (H-J, P, Ra, Rb) or without notched \bar{a} (F, O) and a less common variant with a raised vertical (D, N). Contextual constraints seem unlikely to have played a role in the development of these two variants since alternate forms in identical contexts are attested (N / M and D / E respectively).

The rise of the notched \bar{a} in contexts like *wo'* (G-J, V) can be easily explained: a notched \bar{a} removes ambiguity in such contexts as *goh* (which after 7c/8c may have been read as *keh* because the middle verticals were no more extended below the base-line) or *wo'* (which might have been read as *te'*). Another feature to note is that the right vertical of the notched \bar{a} is extended in some instances, as illustrated in Figure 3.V. It may be that this is an archaic retention from cases such as P-S (6c). Notched \bar{a} with and without extended verticals are contemporaneous.

A number of attested forms are ambiguous: they are neither perfectly flat-topped, that is *o*, nor notched, nor can they be with any degree of certainty regarded as *au* because of the extended vertical of the *e* (as in cases K, Lb, less marked so in F, La). Since these are similar to cases found in Pali inscriptions of the same period where it does correspond to *o* (in S, T, U) it can be argued that they should be interpreted as *o*.

The problem is not simply one of palaeographical typology and chronology but one that may have phonological implications.

Whatever the state of affairs may have been, Shorto's reconstruction for forms such as *wo' / wau'*, *wo / wau*, *'awo' / 'awau'*, *'awo / 'awau*, as OM */wo?/* is not tenable; his reconstruction is based on Epigraphic Middle Mon *woo'* where "[...]w, which presumably notes lip-rounding, serves to distinguish it from */w/*" (DMI. xix). It is precisely **/w/* that needs to be reconstructed here: modern dialects with some obvious MM retentions in other contexts have forms such as */w u i ə/*

as a reflex of OM *wo'* (being confined to Literary Mon), comparative evidence from Aslian suggests a more central vowel than **/o/*, and the analogous history of the verb OM *go'* would imply */w/* as does LM *hwa'* (which however, is not attested in OM). The problem is, though, that *go'* is not as extensively attested before 12c, and where it is (Lp.1) only with a flat-topped *o* (as in Figure 3.0).

(iii) *wo' / 'awo'*

The third problem to be addressed is whether *'a-* represents a prefix, and if so, whether this prefix is locative.

If IA loans in Old Mon and Burmese loans in Middle Mon are excluded, *'a-* initials in OM are restricted to environments with nasals and stops in post-

initial position. Both have been interpreted as prenasalized stops.⁸ The only remaining forms are *'an(o)'* and *'awo'*.

If the possibility of preglottalized consonants in OM -- except for implosives proper -- can be discounted, and if *'a-* does not indicate a locative prefix, what other interpretations remain left? One possible answer concerns again the interaction between phonology and syntax: since *'a-* forms are attested exclusively in initial position they may simply encode strong stress at the beginning of the segment.

wo' / 'awo' show two distributional patterns: S-initial and postnominal; these are given in Figure 4. In addition, occurrences of *wo'* on inscribed votive tablets and in ink glosses accompanying frescoes at Pagan temples are given in Figure 5 and 6.

<i>wo' + Nominal Group</i>	<i>Nominal Group + wo'</i>
21bh 22b 26bcdef 27 abcdf 28abd 30b 36d 39c 50b 52e 59abc 60bde 61de 62acd 63b 72cf 73bg 64b	20bc 21b 27ce 35e 39bg 73a
<i>wo + Nominal Group</i>	<i>Nominal Group + wo</i>
50b 52d 60bde 62a 64b	----

Figure 4: The position of *wo' / wo* in OM inscribed votive tablets [figures refer to plates and catalogue entry in Luce, OBEP]

Temple	Date	<i>wo' + N</i>	<i>N + wo'</i>	cl-final
West Hpetleik	1070	----	----	----
Myinpyagu	1080	√	----	√
Nagayon	1090	√	----	----
Pahtothamya	11c	√	----	----
West Taungbi tank	1100	√	----	----
Kubyaukgyi	1113	√	√	√
Lokahteikpan	1115	hapax	----	----
Alopyi	1130	----	√	----

Figure 5: *wo'* constructions in OM ink glosses accompanying frescoes

		Chao Phraya Basin 6c	Northeastern Thailand 8c	Northern Thailand 13c	Lower Burma Thaton 11c	Central Burma Pagan 11c-12c
'awo'	S-initial	Nth.9	KhK.16; KhK.19 Mg.2; Mg.3; Jy.9 Ks.iii	---	---	---
wo'	S-initial	Lp.1	KhK.16 KhK.17; Ks.1 Ks.2; Jy.i Jy.11; BTl.	Jm.45; Lb.1/4 Lb.3; Lb.6	#3, #8	GL; VT;*
wo'	[noun]	Sp.1	---	---	---	---
wo'	post-nominal	---	---	Lb.1/4; Lb.3 Lb.6; Lb.2/5	#6; #7 #10	****
ne', nai'	S-initial	Nw.7	Mg.2; Mg.3	---	---	---
nai wo;	S-initial	---	Mg.2; Mg.3	---	---	---
'awo wo'	S-initial	---	KhK.16	---	---	---

Figure 6: Occurrences of 'awo' / wo' / ne' in Old Mon (6c-13c)

[Legend: --- not attested; ****attested extensively; * attested rarely; VT votive tablets; GL ink glosses]

While both possibilities are attested for *wo'* and its variants, *'awo'* occurs exclusively in initial position. It is not attested after the 8c, that is, not outside the Chao Phraya Basin and Northeastern Thailand, in the area between the Chi and Mul rivers. Postnominal *wo'* is not attested before the 13c, that is, not attested in the Chao Phraya Basin and the Isan. A notable exception is Sp.1: here *wo'* must be analyzed as a noun, in the context *ḍey wo'* 'here' (Sp.1.3). In any case, it is not a postnominal clitic, and here the analysis agrees with Shorto's in DMI where *wo'* is taken to be a noun. If 'a- were to mark the locative (as it does in the modern language) why would there then be two variants of it, a periphrastic construction, like Sp.1, and a prefixed form *'awo'* (as in Nth.9), where, moreover, it is not locative?

When initial, *wo'* / *'awo'* have clearly a predicative function.⁹ This would then rather suggest that in proto-Mon *wo'* / *'awo'* were not a demonstrative noun-clitic 'this' commuting in a

paradigm with *goh* 'that'. One would then, however, have to discount the possibility of *ne'* / *nai'* being a Khmer loan. If *ne'* can be traced to proto-Mon, its absence in Thaton and Pagan inscriptions -- in other words, in areas west of the Salween, until 1478+ -- suggests it to be a dialect feature.¹⁰

Yet, Nw. 7 *ne'* is also predicative, and may ultimately be a Khmer calque, as discussed below.

The difficulty in interpreting initial *wo'* / *'awo'* has been noted before by Blagden when translating XI.1-3 (13c, Kyaukse)¹¹

#o# *wo'* 'ey mahāthe(r) [] loñ [k]āl 'ey
tluñ dmon (han) klok sayoñ wo(')

which he translates as "I, the mahāth-
era loñ, when I came out to reside at
K.", adding in a footnote: "My rendering
hardly gives the force of *wo'*, which
seems to go with 'ey, "I", making
something like "I here". It seems a
curious construction, and possibly one
could interpret it to be "This (is) I, the

Chief Monk".¹² The problem is -- not
considered by Blagden -- that the illeg-
ible part preceding *loñ* may contain not
only a proper name but also a verb, in
which case we obtain a construction
similar to the one attested on votive
tablets and ink glosses accompanying
frescoes. Examples of *wo'* initial con-
structions in votive tablets are given in
Figure 7. Contrastive examples are also
listed, such as 23c where no *wo'* oc-
curs, and 73a and 39b where *wo'* oc-
curs in postnominal position.

Comparing 22b with 23c, *wo'* can
be interpreted as a demonstrative pro-
noun; 26bc and 73b follow the same
pattern although it could be argued that
initial *wo'* may be a prenominal clitic,
especially when 73a and 39b are exam-
ined.

Another problem complicating
the analysis and interpretation of *wo'*
in these contexts is the attributive form
that is part of the subject; attributive
forms in Mon are non-predicative, that
is, /-m-/ inflected verbs, or those pre-

- 23c. # *kyāk trāp mañ yas ma lāt* #
 22b. *wo' trāp nawur ma lāt*
 26b. *wo' kyāk trāp sri bisannarāc*
 26c. *wo' kyāk trāp sri binnarāc ma lāt*
 73b. *wo' kyāk 'ey ma kantam phal wo' nibbān*
 73a. *kyāk wo' tarley mahākas ma (lāt) wo'*
 39b. #o# *kyek wo' lāñ yañ len ma kindam 'ey mi(c 'ār) nibbān*
 27c. # *wo' wipāk sambeñ sri bisannarac lāt kyek wo' 'or das kyek* #
 27d. *wo' wipāk sambeñ sri bisannarāc lāt kyek jin p(i)n sarbba' satta ku' dewatā gulun*

- 23c. (This) Buddha was stamped by Lord Prince Yas
 22b. I, Lord Nawur, stamped (this image of the Buddha)
 26b. This is the buddha of the Lord Sri Bisannarāc
 26c. This is the Buddha stamped by the Lord Sri Binnarāc
 73b. This Buddha was (hardened) ? by me. The fruit of this - (may it be) the most excellent Nirvāṇa
 73a. This Buddha was stamped (?) by the Revd. Mahākas (Mahākassapa)
 39b. This Buddha was made by *Lāñ (...)* *Yañ Len*. I want to go to Nirvāṇa
 27c. As the result of the Sambeñ Sri Bisannarāc stamping this dha, may he become a Buddha
 27d. As the result of the Sambeñ Sri Bisannarāc stamping (this) Buddha, he offers the merit to all living beings, including the Devatās

Figure 7: Text samples from votive tablets, Pagan.

Reference numbers refer to Luce, OBEP II, III. The English translations are Luce's. # indicates sentence boundary marked by *pada*.

ceded by an extracted infix /ma-/, require a predicate to form a sentence.

A further complicating factor to be taken into account specifically in this context is that these votive tablets originated in a multilingual area (Mon, Pyu, Burmese): if it was not for 23c, one might argue -- based on consistent evidence -- that *wo'* must be predicative because it is followed by an attributive form *ma* + Verb.¹³ Cases such as 23c may be attributed to language contact.

It will also be noticed that *wo'* may occur twice in the same segment, attached to different hosts, as in 73a.¹⁴ This example shows that *wo'* by itself cannot have a topicalizing function, and that *wo'*, although preferably attached to grammatical objects, may also mark the grammatical subject.¹⁵ 73a also shows ambiguity in scope: does it extend only over the segment beginning with *tarley* 'lord' (that is, the subject), hence nominalizing the attributive form *ma-lāt* 'ma + to mould' ?

Examples 39b, 27c and 27d show that co-subordination and the place-

ment of other verbal adjuncts do not interact with *wo'*-marking; the clauses attached are:

- 39b *'ey mic 'ār nibbān*
 27c *'or das kyek*
 27d *jin pin sarbba' satta ku' dewatā gulun*

where in 39b we have a topicalized object, marked by *wo'*, in 27c a non-topicalized object marked by *wo'* (in addition to segment-initial *wo'*), and in 27d a non-topicalized object not marked by *wo'*.

Another noteworthy feature of *wo'*, equally troublesome, and related to the question of scope in 73a, is shown in two ink glosses at the Kubyaukgyi, 155 and 156 respectively:

155. *twāñ yawagrām siriwaddha seḥhi ma tāw ca wo'*

This is the village Yawagrāma wherethe rich man Sirivadḍha lives.

156. *ḍuñ diddhil ma smin videharāja ma tāw ca wo'*

This is Mithila, where King Videha dwells.¹⁶

This shows that *wo'* may not only occur S-initially but also S-finally. However, as pointed out above, *wo'* in final position creates ambiguity in that the *ma*-clause may be interpreted as nominalized.¹⁷ Syntactically, the *wo'* could be shifted to initial position, the difference being one of emphasis.

So-called double-marking of *wo'* is also attested in Jm. 45.1-3.

Thus far it can be concluded that neither *wo'* by itself nor *'awo'* (as well as their weakened variants *wo* and *'awo*) are locative, and consequently that there is no evidence of a locative prefix *'a-*, that *wo'* when postnominal, can occur in a segment, marking either subject or object, that *wo'* can be either final or initial in a sentence or clause.¹⁸ *wo'* can be pronominal. When sentence-initial, it is predicative, a vestige that can be traced to proto-Mon.

(iv) *ne', nai'*

The other deictic, 'this', is attested only twice in the Old Mon corpus, contemporaneous with the other inscriptions

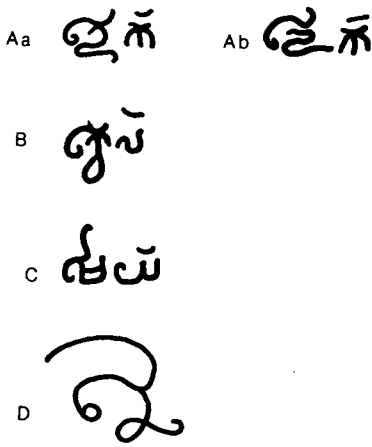


Figure 8: *e* and *ai*

where *wo'* / *'awo'* occurs. The forms in question are *ne'* (Nw.7, Nakhorn Sawan 8c-9c) and *nai'* (Mg.2 and an identical fragment Mg.3, Nadun, Mahasarakham).

We are faced here with two problems: (a) Do we deal here with a palaeographic or orthographic variation? In other words, do the two graphic variants represent one vowel symbol or two, and if so, do the two vowel symbols represent two different vowels phonologically? (b) Is this second word for 'this' a loan from Khmer, or can it be traced to proto-Mon?

In Figure 8 instances of *e*, *o*, and *ai* are given A, B, and C from Lp.1 (Lopburi, 7c), and D from Mg.2; these correspond to the words *dek* (Aa), *dek* (Ab) 'serf, dependent', *kwel* (B) 'vehicle, cart', *moy* (C) 'one, and *nai'* (D) 'this' respectively.¹⁹ The *e* in B *kwel* is ambiguous in that the top-most right extension of the *e* merges with the serif of the *ka*, and it is not clear where the extension (if any) ends and the serif begins. By contrast, both instances in

A show an extension of the top towards the right, ending in an upward moving vertical, in Ab even slightly turned back to the left. This leftward stroke in the latter may be explained as avoiding ambiguity with *o* as shown in C where not only the top vertical is extended but ends in a right-ward stroke. Finally, in D the leftward stroke is greatly extended.

The latter graph has been interpreted, without any reference to *e* in contemporaneous inscriptions, as *ai*, and it has been stated that this vowel graph in Mon inscriptions is confined to Northeastern Thailand.²⁰ The graph *ai* is attested in Northeastern Thailand only three times in Mon inscriptions: in *nai'* in Mg.2 and Mg.3, and in *pdai* in Mg.2.²¹ However, in Pagan ink glosses at the Alopyi (1130) and the Pahtothamya (11c) we also find *ai*, transcribed by Luce and Shorto as *eai*, in *treai*, *treaiy* (elsewhere *trey* 'holy being') and *deai* (elsewhere *dey* 'in, at'), respectively.

The word *nai'* in Mg.2, Mg.3 is the same as the one found in Nw.7, there spelt *ne'*. Syntactically, the distribution is identical (sentence-initial, in lieu of the expected *wo'*). The second question that arises is equally difficult to answer: is *ne'* / *nai'* a Khmer loan?

pdai in Mg.2 must be assumed to be a Khmer loan by its word-structure since words with known Mon-Khmer etyma have only closed syllables in Old Mon, the cited *treai* and *deai* in Pagan ink glosses being the only attested exceptions.

Nowhere else in Mon are *ne'* / *nai'* attested; **no'* occurs for the first time after 1478 and is current in the spoken language today. A vowel shift from *e* (before laryngeals) to *o* would be anomalous.²² *ne'* could be connected with old Khmer *neh*, *neh*, *nehh*; problematic here, however, is the fact that both OKhm. and OM have both final glottal stop and final /-h/; why would then the Mon form have a final glottal stop? If the interpretation of the vowel in Mg.2, Mg.3 as *ai* is correct, why would OKhm. *eh* rhymes be borrowed into OM as *ai'*. Even more puzzling in this case is the fact that it is Epigraphic Middle Khmer that has a form *naeh*. A

possible source may be dialect variation.

(v) *nai'* *wo'*

The question of whether *ne'* / *nai'* is a Khmer loan cannot be answered without taking into account the syntactic context in which this form occurs. The two texts are as follows:²³

Mg.2: *nai' wo' punya karimrateñ pdai karom 'or skum das jāti smar*

Nw.7: *ne' kyāk puṇa tr[] wihār*

Mg.2 is written on the reverse of a votive tablet, Nw.7 is inscribed at the lower rim of a terrotta stupa. Mg.3 is a votive tablet similar to Mg.2, but fragmented. In addition KhK.16 should be considered in this context although the crucial initial segment is chipped off:²⁴

KhK.16: [?] *'awo wo' puñ māñ dar-nām #*

In what follows it will be argued that we have here simply a case of reduplication, an argument strengthened by the fact that (i) *'a-* forms are only initial elsewhere, and that (ii) we have phonological liaison between the first and the second element -- through elision of the final glottal stop.

Two things should be noted here: one is that *ne'* in Nw.7 is used in lieu of *wo'*, in other words, assuming its function and position in the sentence, the other that in Mg.2 and Mg.3 one of the two elements is redundant unless one interprets *nai'* as a locative -- and predicative -- element and *wo'* as a prenominal clitic attached to *puñ* conforming to Pre-Angkorian Khmer word-order.

I regard it as axiomatic that if two grammatical elements fulfill the same function, occupy the same position in a clause, verb- or noun-phrase, and may be combined, that one of the two terms is a borrowing.

This, for instance, is the case of Old Khmer *man*, borrowed from Old Mon.²⁵

I will argue in the following that Mg.2 is a Khmer loan-translation, a calque.

When we examine sentence-constructions in Old Khmer with initial *neh*, that is, syntactically analogous cases to our Old Mon samples, we find predominantly sentences that contain a predicative element, in Old Khmer *gi*.²⁶ This implies that that *neh* 'this' by itself is a non-predicative element, unlike its lexical equivalent in Mon, *wo*, which is predicative. A typical example occurs in the Hin Khon inscription (Khorat, 7c-8c; K 388/Nm.28, here: B.9-10):

neh gu ru punya' upādhyāy srī rājabhikṣu tel (...)

K 388.C.15:

'neh gi 'amnoy (...)

In the entire Old Khmer corpus we find ten cases of sentence-initial *neh gi* against only three cases where no *gi* occurs; in pre-Angkorian Khmer this should be expected given that the demonstrative clitic *neh* is attached in pre-nominal position.

Cases with reverse word-order should be noted, *gi neh* (24 occurrences), and *gi noh* (10 occurrences); this can be contracted to *gnih* (and *gnoh* respectively) attested only once (K 25).

The double marking *nai' wo'* in Mg.2/Mg.3 may be interpreted as *wo'* having been reanalyzed in terms of Old Khmer *gi* as a predicative element, requiring then another demonstrative.

What preliminary conclusions can be drawn from the discussion above? The reconstruction of spatial deixis for proto-Mon is rather difficult; what is certain is that OM *wo*, and its variants, was originally a predicative form, if not an autonomous verb. *te'* remains problematic because it is not attested until 15c in Mon, yet we find a cognate form in various dialects of Nyah Kur, there subject to variation in vowel length and vowel-quality (front half-close and half-open). Lawa *te* 'that' may be a Mon loan. The origin of *ne'* cannot be determined with certainty. Irregular vowel correspondences between the two epigraphic forms (Nw.7, Mg.2) on the one hand and the later reflexes on the other suggest Khmer contact.

3. *pragata* ~ *pragat*

This word occurs twice in the Mon corpus, in Ks.7 and in Jy.i.

Ks.7: *punya pragata kanmun kasmun kyāk cak #*

Jy.i.C.1: *wo' punya kurun praga(ta)*

It has been argued that *pragata* is Khmer or Sanskrit.²⁷

In epigraphic Khmer this word is a hapax; it occurs only in K 505.3 (= Pc.1), a dated inscription (639) from Prachinburi (Aran), in the following context:

kñum 'amnoy sināhv pragat 'āy ta wihār

which Jenner glosses as²⁸ "slaves given by the pious hermit to the vihāra", interpreting *pragat* as a stative verb "[to be] pious, devout", modifying the preceding noun *sināhv* 'hermit'.

The rhotacized form *Cr-* is not attested in modern Khmer, only *phgat'*, occurring only in compounds such as *phgat' phgan'* 'to make careful provision' and *phgat' bhnaen* 'to sit crosslegged (in meditation)'.²⁹ Forms like *sragat'* "to be composed, possessed, reserved" (Jenner), also in compounds such as *sragat'*

sragum "modest, self-effacing" (Jacob) may have led Jenner to such an interpretation.

In LKM Jenner posits a root *gat'* /kut/, connecting it there with OKhm. *paṅgat*, (also a hapax, K 164B.II, of 844), girdle, sash, belt', regarded as a doublet of **-khut*, whence *pragat*, borrowed into Thai as *phgat* is attested in only two Khmer inscriptions.³⁰

Neither root nor derivative are attested in Old or Epigraphic Middle Mon; modern Mon has *gat* 'to bind, tie, knot', a cognate of the Khmer base given by Jenner in LKM.

Whilst Coedès's assumption of a Sanskrit borrowing can be discarded, it remains to be determined whether we have here a cognate or an inter-branch borrowing from Khmer into Mon.

Prima facie one could argue that rhotacized initials of the form CrVC(C)VC are unknown in OM, except for loans from Sanskrit; rhotacized initials emerge only in Middle Mon. This, however, is only partially correct: The ink-glosses at the Nagayon at Pagan show rhotacized forms where contemporaneous inscriptions in Pagan have CirCVC forms, including Sanskrit loans, such as

OM	OM variant	Sanskrit	gloss
pi(r)kār	prakār	prakāra	kind, sort
pirdhān	pradhān	pradhāna	leader
piryām	paryām	prayāma	extent (space/time)

Non-rhotacized initials in OM CirCVC correspond to rhotacized initials in MM CraCV(C).³¹

However, when examining Mon inscriptions from Lamphun (13c) we notice that non-rhotacized initials Cir- correspond there to rhotacized initials Cra-. This point is discussed elsewhere, accompanied by a list of examples.³² This would then imply that *pragat* is not necessarily a non-canonical form in OM, and consequently a loan.

The correct interpretation hinges on the morphological analysis of the

word; can we segment it into *p-r-gat* where *p-* is the causative and *-r-* the reciprocal (or, alternatively, *-r-* the reciprocal, derived from a base *pg-*)? If so, given the paucity of *-r-* reciprocal forms in OM, it may well be Khmer. In OM *-r-* is a nominalizer; reciprocal *-r-* is attested only once, *kirloh* 'to penetrate'.

The meaning of 'to bestow, make over' — OM *jin, jun* in other contexts — would fit the context in Ks.7 as well as associated forms in Khmer 'to outfit, supply'; syntactically, however, it is problematic.

4. Titles

Titles to be discussed below fall into several categories: (a) Mon titles used in Khmer inscriptions, (b) Khmer titles occurring in Mon inscriptions, (c) problematic cases, and (d) Mon titles restricted to Mon inscriptions.

Note that no discussion as to ranking is offered here; the aim is only to list the titles that are attested in newly found Mon inscriptions and to discuss their linguistic contexts.

The discussion is limited to the following titles:

- (i) *māñ*
- (ii) *tralā*
- (iii) *kuruñ*
- (iv) *kañmrateñ pdai karom*
- (v) *ka smuñ*
- (vi) *ko'*
- (vii) *kmun*

(i) *māñ*

The title *māñ* occurs ten times in six Khmer inscriptions; their geographical distribution covers a wide area and does not show any particular pattern, except that *māñ*, as the other Mon titles, does not occur east of the Mekhong.³³ Except for K 292 all occurrences are confined to pre-Angkor inscriptions; one inscription, K 388 (Nm.28, at Hin Khon), is located in a linguistic transition zone.

It as generally been assumed by khmerisants that *māñ* is a Mon title.³⁴ *māñ* is attested in Literary Mon and in Old Mon, but in Khmer it occurs only in the six inscriptions mentioned. In K 76 this title occurs alongside the ethnonym for Mon, *rmañ*. In Khmer epigraphy this is interpreted as a male title, with *oñ* being its female equivalent. Whether these two can be equated with the Khmer titles *va*, *vā* (male) and *ku* (female) remains to be determined. In the case of the Mon titles, as will be shown below, it is inappropriate to speak of slave-titles.³⁵ Jacob argues for *oñ* to be also interpreted as a Mon title, and equates it with OM *'uin*, *'in*; this is a tenuous assumption, based on three occurrences in OM as part of personal names:

'in jan, *'in rañ*, *'uin thuy* (the *ui* vocalism being unusual).

In OM *'imāñ* (I.C.35-36) is a hapax, glossed by Shorto as 'husband'. The earliest attested MM form is *māñ blāy* 'young man'. The term occurs four times on OM votive tablets from Pagan, in two different contexts:

(23cde) *trāp mañ yas*

(72d) *māñ*

where in (23) *yas* is a proper name, and in (72) the title is followed by a proper name. Notice the variation in vowel length. Luce comments on (72): "The donor appears to have had an Old Burmese title" (OBEP.II.plate 72). A form *ma(ñg)* is also entered in DMI.

In the Mon inscriptions from the Northeast it occurs as *māñ* in KhK.16 (four times), KhK.17, BTL., and in northern Thailand in Km.45. For chronological and geographical reasons Luce's interpretation of it being Burmese can be discarded.

In KhK.16 the first occurrence is difficult to interpret because the lines in this inscription, a *simā* stone, run across its 'spine' which is blank but may, in fact, be defaced; the context reads:

māñ dar nām

It is tempting to reconstitute the text as *māñ kandar nām*, to be translated as 'husband and wife (by name of)', a compound also attested in I, as cited above. Otherwise, *dar* remains unintelligible, which could be a separate word, or be read together as *dar nām*, also unattested, although conforming to OM word-structure. In lines 2 and 3 *māñ* is always preceded by *ko'* (which is discussed below).

In KhK.17 it occurs again as part of *ko' māñ*, followed by a defaced part.

Jm.45 suggests it to be part of a teknonym, implying that the rank is independent of age.

(ii) *tralā*

The occurrence of

va tralā pju # (K 24.6, 6c-7c)

prompted Coedès to comment:

"Ce nom a une consonance nettement môn (tralā = chef)".³⁶

tralā is attested three times in Khmer, exclusively in pre-Angkorian inscriptions (K 115, K 22, K 24). Significant here is that K 115 has also an occurrence of *māñ*, strengthening Coedès's speculation. The final long vowel, however, is problematic; in Mon -- see the forms given in the glossary below -- the final vowel is never lengthened; OM word-structure, except in the case of loans which are not naturalized, does not permit open syllables. The word for 'lord, master' in OM is spelt either with a final glottal stop (the vowel support and *virāma*) or *la* without *virāma* corresponding to inherent vowel followed by a glottal stop. Yet, this could be reconciled with the variation found in *va*, *vā* in Old Khmer.

Jenner does not discuss Coedès's interpretation, commenting on K 22 as being "unintelligible" the occurrence in K 24 as being part of a slave-name, and K 115 as being a derivate from the base /tla:/ 'to be clear, pure', which, however, is in contradiction to his morphological analysis, postulating here a rhotacized *tra-* prefix whereas the modern reflex /tla:/ would require an /-r-/ infix. Besides, -r- reciprocal forms are derived from transitive verbs.

(iii) *kuruñ*

This title occurs in the entire Mon corpus only in Khk.17 and Jy.(1). By contrast, in Khmer we find 30 occurrences in 15 inscriptions, of which four inscriptions date from the pre-Angkorian period. While no chronological pattern emerges, the geographical spread and the contexts are more revealing: Chaiyaphum-Khon Kaen (Chumphae) as the northernmost extension, Nakhorn Sawan as the westernmost, Angkor Borei as its southernmost. In some cases the contexts are restricted in both languages, such as combinations with other titles.

In Khmer we find the following occurrences:

Context	Number of occurrences	Inscriptions
mratañ kuruñ	12	K 38, 181, 570, 693, 735
kuruñ 'añ	1	K 357
vraḥ kanmiñ kuruñ 'añ	1	K 423
kuruññ	1	K 388A
kuruñ	15	K 124, 134, 235, 380, 451S, 966

The exact grammatical contexts are given in Figure 9-A with translations by Coedès/Dupont given in Figure 9-B.³⁸ Finot translates *kuruñ* in the verbal contexts as "régner" whereas Coedès/Dupont use periphrastic constructions in French in the belief that *kuruñ* is a noun.³⁹ Jacob connects OKhm. *kuruñ* with mod.Khmer *kruñ* 'to protect, cover over'.

In Mon *kuruñ* occurs preceded by *ko'* in KhK.17, and in Jy.(1) without any other title. In KhK.17 no proper name is attached. CVCVC words in Old Mon are either loans or forms derived from CCVC bases. Distribution and chronology as well as its absence elsewhere in Mon strongly suggest that this is a Khmer title.

Coedès was uncertain about its ranking: in some contexts he translated it as "chef" (K 124.7; IC.iii.172), in others as occurring in a list of "serviteurs" (K 134.13; IC.ii.94); in K 235 it was left untranslated. In K 235 (=Pc.4, the Sdok Kak Thom inscription) *kuruñ* is used both verbally and nominally.³⁷

In K 235 we find three instances of *kuruñ* being part of serial verb constructions

	V ₁	V ₂	V ₃	V ₄
C.78	stac	wiñ	mok	<i>kuruñ</i>
D.31	dau	<i>kuruñ</i>		
D.36	wiñ	mok	<i>kuruñ</i>	

- C.29 # *kuruñ* bhawapura 'oy prasāda bhumi 'āy wijaya 'indrapura #
- C.16 # man wraḥ pāda parameswara mok 'amwi jawā pi *kuruñ* ni 'nau nagara 'indrapura #
- C.65 . . . man wraḥ pāda parameswara *kuruñ* ni 'āy nagara hariharālaya #
- C.78-79 ## man wraḥ pāda parameswara stac wiñ mok *kuruñ* ni 'āy nagara hariharālaya wraḥ kamrateñ 'añ ta rāja nām mok 'ukk #
- D.31 . . . man wraḥ dau 'amwi dau 'amwi nagara śrī yaśodharapura pi dau *kuruñ* ni 'āy chok gargyar nām kamrateñ jagat ta rāja dau 'ukk #
- D.36-37 # man wraḥ pāda śīwaloka wiñ mok *kuruñ* ni 'āy nagara śrī yaśodharapura nām kamrateñ jagat ta rāja wiñ mok 'ukk #

Figure 9-A: Occurrences of *kuruñ* in K 235 (=Pc.4)

Face/Line	Coedès/Dupont 1943 page reference	Coedès/Dupont translation
C.59	104-105	Le <i>kuruñ</i> de Bhavapura lui fit don d'une terre dans le vijaya d'Indrapura
C.61	106	Alors S.M. Parameswara vient de Jawā pour être <i>kuruñ</i> dans la ville royale d'Indrapura
C.65	107	Alors S.M. <i>kuruñ</i> sur l'emplacement de la ville royale de Hariharālaya
C.78-79	110	Alors S.M. Parameswara, le roi, revint comme <i>kuruñ</i> en la ville royale de Hariharālaya; le dieu-roi (y) fut amené aussi
D.31	119	Sous le règne de S.M., alors S.M., s'en fut de la ville de Yaśodharapura pour être <i>kuruñ</i> . à Chok Gargyar, emmena aussi le dieu-roi
D.36-37	120	Alors S.M. Śīwaloka revint faire le <i>kuruñ</i> en la ville royale de Śriyaśodharapura, ramena aussi le dieu-roi

Figure 9-B: Coedès/Dupont translation of *kuruñ* contexts in K 235 (=Pc.4)

In C.61 *kuruñ* has to be analyzed as a verb because of the preceding clause-head *pi* 'so as to, for (the purpose of)' as in D.31 preceding *dau kuruñ*. If in C.65 *kuruñ* were a noun, the clause introduced by *man* would lack a predicate. Only in C.59 can *kuruñ* be regarded as a noun (title). How is this variation to be interpreted?

We find a parallel development in OM *kmun*. On morphological grounds OM *kmun* must be interpreted as a verb meaning 'to reign, rule', and the nominal usage as attested in Sp.1 and 66/2522 must be regarded as being derivative. If we now draw a set of isoglosses, as presented in Map 3, delineating those areas where OM *kmun* is attested as a verb and a noun on the one hand, and those areas where OKhm. *kuruñ* is attested both as a noun and a verb, as opposed to areas where we find noun-only occurrences, one could regard OM *kmun* nominal usage as the result of contact with an area where nomino-verbal variation occurs, as in K 235, that is, to an area southeast of the Chao Phraya basin. The nominalization of OM *kmun* may thus be contact-induced (through Khmer), although that would still leave open the question how OKhm. *kuruñ* 'to reign, protect' would have developed into a noun (title). Morpho-syntactic constraints clearly show for Mon that a noun/verb distinction exists.

Where such variation does not occur in the adjacent area, as in the nominal *kuruñ* zone, *kmun* remains a verb, as attested in OM *kanmun* (Ks.7) — an -N- infix 'frequentative' form — north of the nominal *kuruñ* zone.

This has obvious implications for early OM dialectology, however difficult it may be to sustain this argument on chronological grounds. Indeed, this example shows the limits of using absolute chronology to determine directionality of linguistic change: Nominal *kmun* are the first to be attested in Mon (6c), verbal forms are attested only later (8c, once; then 11c-12c); nominal *kuruñ* forms are attested first in Khmer (6c), verbal forms only subsequently (11c), and only in an isolated instance (K 235). In other words, how would one explain a 6c form (nominal *kmun*) being contact-

induced by forms attested only in 11c? However, greater weight should be given to morpho-syntactic constraints; outside the Chao Phraya basin, *kmun* is attested in inflected verbal forms and in -r- derived nominal forms.

(iv) *kammrateñ pdai'karom*

This Khmer royal title occurs in Mon only once, attested in Mg.2 (as well as in a fragment of an identical votive tablet Mg.3, as mentioned above). In Khmer it is attested 22 times, in 15 inscriptions. It occurs only twice in the pre-Angkorian period (K 137, K 259). Except for K 85, it is spelt in the Angkorian period consistently *kamrateñ phdai karom* (or *karom*) or once *kamrateñ phdai karom* (K 523). No geographical pattern of spelling variants can be discerned; K 85 is a graphic archaism. Problematic is the Mon form *pdai*; is this an archaic retention, like K 85, or an indication that Mg.2 and Mg.3 were written by a Mon, in conformity with Mon spelling conventions, according to which complex initials consisting of two stops do not encode junctural aspiration, a phonetic feature, unlike Khmer, where in the Angkorian period phonetic juncture in this context is encoded.

Jacques points out that this is the only instance where the title is used in

man	ka	slāp	K 350.N.4
gi nā	ka	sthāpana	K 450.2
man	ka	'āc ti paryān	K 868.A.22
		ka mān ley	K 70.13
#	ka	gi noh	K 349.S.15
# neḥ	ka	gi prasir	K 348.N.1

Figure 10-A: Old Khmer *ka* in pre-verbal contexts

gi noḥ vnok ka vrah	K 38.12
cmuḥ ka vrah	K 137.11, 15
camdak plē ka vrah	K 357.7
mahānasa ka vrah	K 155.18-20

Figure 10-B: Old Khmer *ka* in pre-nominal contexts

the singular; elsewhere in Khmer it is a generic expression.⁴⁰

(v) *ksmuñ, ka smuñ / kasmuñ*

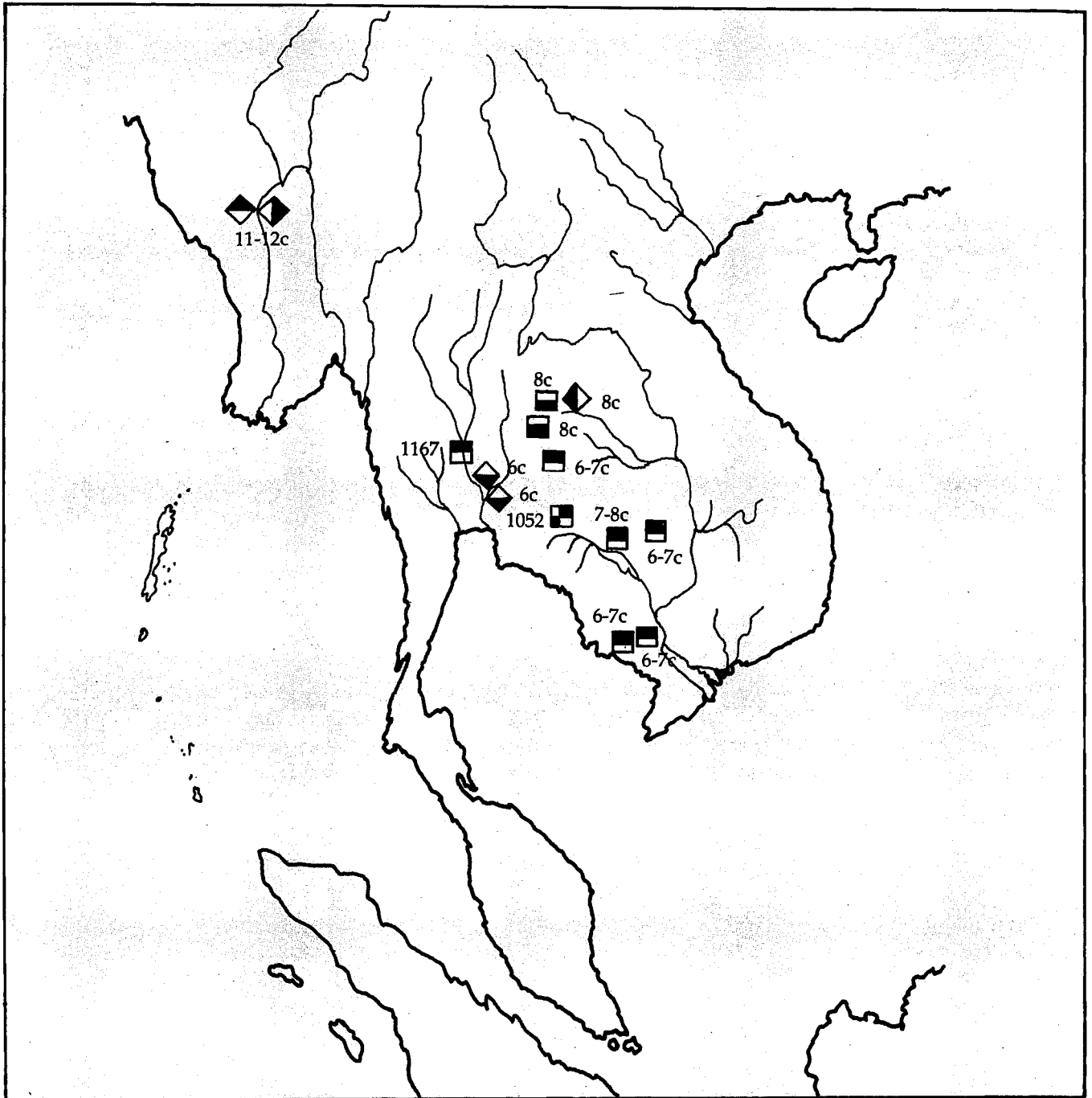
These two forms occur in Ks. (-) and Ks. 7 -- the former possibly to be identified with Ks.4 -- as *ksmuñ* and *kasmuñ* (or *ka smuñ*) respectively. The text of Ks.7 has already been given above; Ks. (-) reads:

'awo' *punya ksmuñ*

The form *smuñ* can be connected with OM *smin*, *smin* 'king, prince', the spelling variants being analogous to such forms as *pin*, *pun* and *min*, *mun*, in all cases denoting, in this phonological context, */ø/. *ksmuñ* is regarded to be a contraction of *kasmuñ*, or rather *ka smuñ*. *ka* can be interpreted here as fulfilling a grammatical function, and it is tempting to connect it with OKhm. *ka* and to regard it as a Khmer-Mon contact word, given its peculiar chronological profile and syntactic distribution in Khmer.

ka is attested in Khmer both in pre-verbal and pre-nominal position. In its pre-verbal usage OKhm. -*ka* has as its modern reflex /kɔː/

A list of occurrences of *ka* in OKhm. is given in Figure 10-A and 10-B.



- ◊ OM kmun (noun)
- ◄ OM kmun (verb, s-)
- ◈ OM kmun (verb, -N-)
- ◊ OM kmun (derived noun)
- ◻ kurun (noun) in OM
- ◼ OKhm. kurun
- ◻◼ OKhm. kurun (noun)

Map 3.

Distribution of *kmun* and *kurun*

Only two khmerisants have ever offered comments on OKhm. *ka*; others may have regard it, at least implicitly, as a scribal error or a misreading for *ta*. Jacques suggested that pre-verbal pre-*gi* contexts may read *ta gi*.⁴¹ But sentence-initial *ta gi* contexts are not attested in OKhm., and in any case pre-verbal *ka* is not a problematic form, unlike its pre-nominal counterpart.

Coedès notes in the case of K 38: "Il est possible que ce caractère [sc. *ka*] ait été effacé après gravure. Il y aurait, dans ce cas, de l'annuler" (IC.ii.p.46, note 1). In the case of K 137 he remarks: "Le mot *ka* qui revient plus loin (11.11 et 15) dans l'expression *cmuḥ ka vraḥ* a évidemment une valeur grammaticale qui reste à déterminer" (IC.ii.p. 117, note 8). In no other case has Coedès commented on *ka* elsewhere.

Jenner distinguishes three syntactic elements, (i) "conjunction marking a main, consequential or final clause of a series", (ii) an autonomous verb 'to come, bring, into being, create', (iii) an autonomous verb 'to keep, attend, prepare', and (iv) "unidentified", "presumably title of slave donor".⁴² For the first three Jenner lists putative modern reflexes.

-*ka* is also segmented in slave-names *tarka* and *kamka*.

However, the complexity of *ka* does not seem to have been fully appreciated, for in K 155 we find the following construction: *sre dāna 'iśvara-datta}{ñān}{ka vraḥ mratāñ bhava* (K 155/III.17-18). Here Jenner connects (iii) 'to support, keep, tend', with *nan* being glossed as (i) 'side, neighborhood', (ii) 'near'. He also lists the possible Mon cognate *ñān* 'to be near', as well as the OKhm. spelling variants *ñēñ* and *ñīñ*. In all other contexts, OKhm. *ñān* occurs in pre-nominal position except in K 1.25 *ñān gui sre* and K 155 cited above.

ka in K 155 cannot be the autonomous verb 'to support, keep'. When we examine *ñān* in Mon, we find that it is attested in OM only once as a stative verb modifying a noun. In MM it is attested in pre-nominal position but always linked to the following noun by the clitic *ku* (OM *ku, ku', ko'*), as in

ñān tau ku cniḥ 'near the ghat'
HL, Pegu, 15c

(where *tau* is an aspectual post-verb modifying *ñān*)

ñān ku kalo jñāt 'close to [my] family'
XII.A.28

It is tempting to regard the construction in K 155 as linking *ñān* to the following noun by *ka*. One should remain cautious, however, because in all other instances OKhm. *ñān* is directly attached to the noun and because *ka* occurs in other pre-nominal contexts as well, most notably preceding *vraḥ*. In any event, though, Jenner's analysis does not hold.

The same applies to the contexts listed in Figure 10-B where Jenner translates *ka* with "serving".⁴³

Here *ka* can be interpreted as a weak form of its Mon counterpart OM *ku, ku' ko'* which connects nouns to verbs to mark, among others, benefactives and instrumentals. Problematic in this case, however, is that in OKhm. *ka* links nouns to nouns, and the function I envisage for *ka* in these contexts is already marked in OKhm. by *nai, naiy*, as for instance in

ni gi vnok nai ge kloñ K 904.B.10

'as regards the (slave) force of *kloñ*...'

(vi) *ko'*

ko' is difficult to interpret. In Sp.1 it is clearly a clitic linking nouns, corresponding to the entries *ku, ku' ko'* in DMI. In the Isan inscriptions, however, the contexts are very restricted, and there *ko'* occurs only with known titles and proper names, and usually following a punctuation mark, that is, initiating a new segment. In KhK.16 we find *ko' māñ*, followed by a proper name (2), in KhK.17 *ko' kuruñ* without proper name, and *ko' 'uppajhāy*, without proper name. In addition KhK.16 has *ko' nah pus* where *nah* and *pus* cannot be identified.

While such a segmentation is not attested elsewhere in Mon -- segment - initial, following a punctuation mark, linking to separated segments -- it cannot be excluded to be a co-ordinating clitic. Given the contexts in

KhK.16 and KhK.17 they may be interpreted as titles.

(vii) *kmun*

kmun occurs only twice in the DMI addenda, in 66/2522, as discussed above, and in Sp.1; its derivative *kanmun* is attested in Ks.7. For further discussion see section (iii).

5. An Inscribed Dharmacakra from Chainat (Jn.14, Jn.15)

In October 1988 fragments of an inscribed *dharmacakra* were discovered at a site in Manorom district, Chainat province. The Fine Arts Department (FAD) visited the site the same month and moved the fragments for temporary safekeeping to the Chainat branch of the Bangkok Bank. The supporting pillar is still *in situ* (Plates 1-4).

This discovery calls for a number of comments, especially in view of the fact that the FAD report remains unpublished, and that the epigrapher who read the fragments of the inscription, registered as Jn.14 and Jn.15, does not discuss the palaeography of this find.

The fact that we are now able to date this *dharmacakra* with certainty to the 6th century AD may resolve a controversy between Boisselier and Quaritch Wales. Although written in Pali, the inscription is directly relevant for Mon epigraphy: The middle vertical of the *akṣara ka*, extended below the base-line, is identical to the one we find in the middle of the first line in Sp.1 where it could have been misread as *kla*. Jn.15 now shows that Sp.1.1 should read *ka* (in *ko'*).

The find consists of various parts of the rim which combined make up about 30% of the entire wheel, with some heads of spokes still attached, two spokes detached from the rim without head-attachment, two spokes without head, and a number of fragments of pillars of spokes, two parts of the shaft, three parts of the collar, at least two parts that belonged to either the head of the pillar or its base, and a number

FAD No.	Location site	now	Date	Type	Date found	Size	Citations
Lp.9 [K695]	Ban Sao	Bkk Wat	6c	G	-		Coedès 1929; Lpb.62-63; IT.2.34-37.
'An. 2	Sawang Arom	Utth.	6c	A		83 x 23	Coedès 1929; Lpb.43-45; Champa &al. 1982; Phladit 1982; IT.2.48-52.
'An. 3	Sawang Arom	Utth.	6c	A		42 x 17	Coedès 1929; Lpb.46-47; Champa &al. 1982; Phladit 1982; IT.2.53-56.
---	Chansen	private	6c	E	1981	5.3 x 6	Lpb.89-90.
Ns. 2	Ns. Wat	in situ	13c	A	1971	37 x 76 x 14	Champa 1979; IT.2.112-118.
Ns. 3	Ns. Wat	in situ	6c	A	-	84 x 18.5	Coedès 1929; IT.2.38-41.

Figure D: Uncertain items not included in DMI.

FAD No.	Location site	now	Date	Date	Size	Language	Condition	Citations
Nw.7	Thap Chumphol Muang, Nw.	Lpb M	8c-9c	1981	37 h	Mon, Pali	compl.	Lpb.34-37; IT.2.95-99.
Lp.26.	Thap Chumphol	Lpb M	7c-8c	1981	26 h	Pali	compl.	Lpb.38-40; IT.1.244-246.
281/2504	Chansen (?) Nw.	Lpb M	?	1961		Pali	fragm. (50%)	---
286/2504	Chansen (?) Nw.	Lpb M	?	1961		Pali	fragm. (75%)	---
278/2504	Nongkrot Nw.	Bkk M	?	1961		Pali	fragm. (50%)	---
235/2504?	Nw.	Bkk M	?	1961		Pali	fragm., 2 parts	---
?	Nth.	Bkk M	?	?		Pali	fragm. (80%)	---

Figure E: Inscribed Terracotta Stupas

FAD No.	location		date	language	element inscribed	measurements	condition quantity	date found	source
	site	at present							
Lp.14	Lopburi (Muang)	Lopburi M	6c	Pali	spoke (1)	17 cm. l.	fr. 4 sides	1970	Lpb.7-10. IT.1.109-111.
Kd.24	Nakhorn Pathom	Bkk M	6c	Pali	spokes (15)	98 cm d.	compl. 4 sides	?	IT.1.59-64. Coedès 1956
Lp.19	Lopburi (Muang)	Lopburi M	6c	Pali	rim	20.5 x 32 cm	fr. 1 line	?	IT.1.123-125. Lpb.5-6. Boisselier 1961
Sb.1	Kamphaeng Saen, N.P.	Nakhorn Pathom M	6c	Pali	collar	37 x 36 x 32 cm	top 4 lines	?	IT.1.98-99.
Lp.1	Lopburi (Muang)	Bkk NL	7c-8c	Mon	pillar	9 x 145 cm	8 sides	?	IT.2.57-66. Lpb.64-70 Halliday Coedès 1929
---	Sapchampa (Lopburi)	Lopburi M	7c	Pali	pillar	227 cm	8 sides 5 lines fr.	1973.6	Lpb.74-81. SCp.42-48. Uraisi
Rp.3	?	Bkk NL	7c-8c	Sanskrit	(rim ?)	18 x 33.3 x 7	1 line	?	IT.1.223-224.
---	Sapchampa	Lopburi M	?	Pali	spokes (2)	14 cm l.		1986.9	SCp.18.
Jn.14	Manorom (Chainat)	Chainat Bangkok Bank	6c	Pali	spokes rim	20 x 100 cm ca. 180 cm d.	fr.	1988.10	FAD report (unpublished)
Jn.15	Manorom (Chainat)	Chainat Bangkok Bank	6c	Pali	pillar	20 x 60	fr. 8 sides	1988.10	FAD report (unpublished)

Figure F: Inscribed *Dharmacakras*

FAD No.	Location site	at present	Date	Language	Content	Date found	Citations
Nth.8	Nakhorn Pathom	Bkk M	6-7c	Sanskrit	A	1940s	IT.1.95-97; Coedès 1963; 1966.
?	Nakhorn Pathom	?	6-7c	Sanskrit	A	1940s	Coedès 1966.
Lp.20	Inburi, Lopburi	Silpakorn U	6-7c	Sanskrit	A	1979	IT.1.126-128, Lpb.48-50.
----	Chainat	pvt.	6-7c	Sanskrit	Aa	1980s	Dkh.#6
----	Chainat	pvt.	6-7c	Sanskrit	A	1980s	Dkh.#7
----	Chainat	pvt.	6-7c	Sanskrit	A	1980s	Dkh.#8
----	Chainat	pvt.	6-7c	Sanskrit	A	1980s	Dkh.#9
----	Chainat	pvt.	6-7c	Sanskrit	A	1980s	Dkh.#10
----	Chainat	pvt.	6-7c	undeciphered		1980s	DKh.#11
----	Uthaihani	pvt.	6-7c	Sanskrit	B	1966	Boeles 1867.
----	Uthaihani	pvt.	7-8c	Sanskrit	B	?	Boisselier 1972.
----	Uthaihani	pvt.	6-7c	Sanskrit	A	?	Boisselier 1972.
Lp.21	Khok Samrong, Lpb.	Lpb M	6-7c	Sanskrit	C	1981	IT.1.112-115; Lpb.18-20.
?	?	?	6-7c	Sanskrit	Aa	?	Wicks 1989, #47
?	Nakhorn Pathom	?	6-7c	Sanskrit	D	?	Wicks 1989, #49
?	Uthaihani	?	6-7c	Sanskrit	E	?	Wicks 1989, #50

Figure G: Inscribed silver coins from Central Thailand

- A *śrīdvāravatisvarapuṇya*
Aa *śrīdvāravatisvaradevipuṇya*
B *lawapura*
C *labdhavara*
D *śrīsucaritarikarna*
E Wicks (1989.28 #50): "Traces of an inscription in outer perimeter of flan."

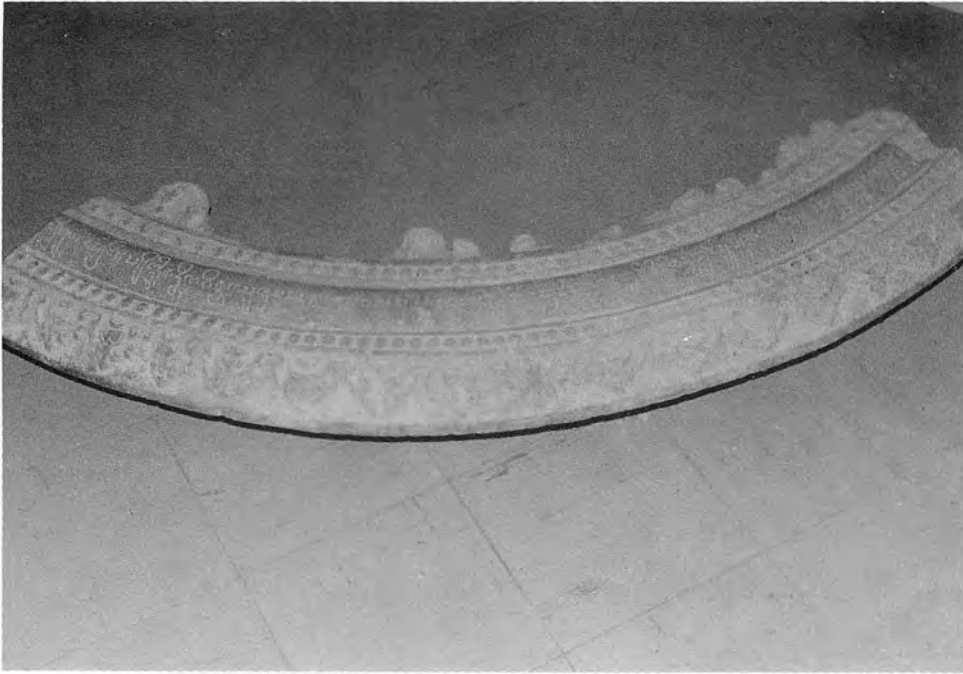


PLATE 1 Jn.14: Inscribed *Dharmacakra* from Manorom, Chainat
(Pali, 6c; section of rim)

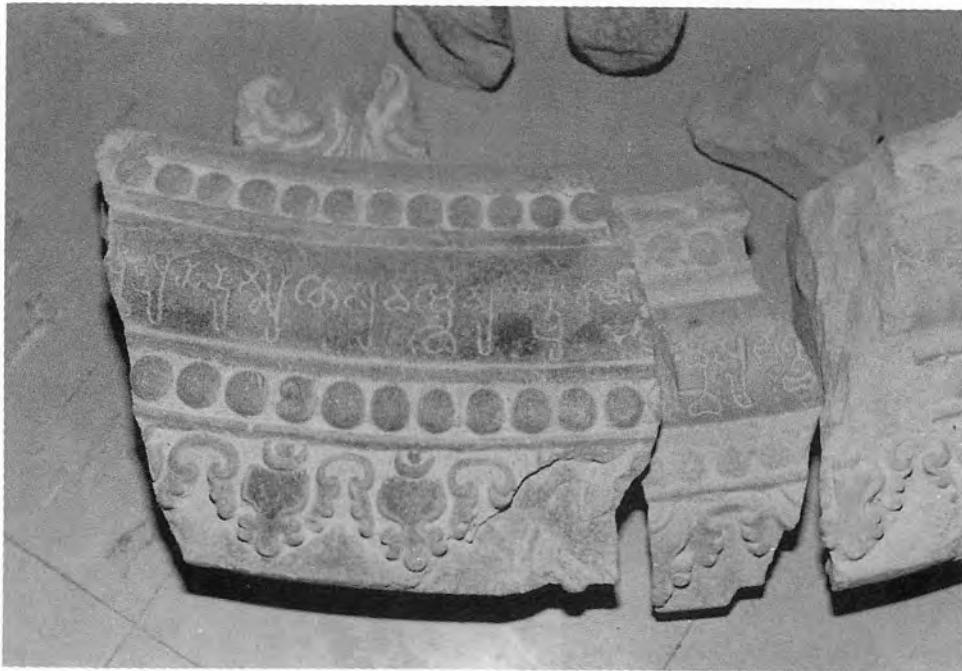


PLATE 2 Jn.14: Inscribed *Dharmacakra* from Manorom, Chainat
(Pali, 6c; section of rim)



PLATE 3 Jn.14: Inscribed *Dharmacakra* from Manorom, Chainat (Pali, 6c; spokes, detached, without head)



PLATE 4 Jn.15: Inscribed *Dharmacakra* from Manorom, Chainat (Pali, 6c)

of unidentified objects which must have been part of the *cakra* or its base. A fragment of the octagonal pillar, probably its head, inscribed on all sides with five lines in Pali has also been recovered (Jn.15).

The *cakra* is carved in the round, inscribed on both sides, and shows similarities with the fragment described by Boisselier in 1961.⁴⁴

Figure F lists all inscribed *cakras* found in Thailand. Note should be taken that Lp.1, an octagonal pillar from Lopburi, is likely to have been a supporting pillar for a *cakra*, like Jn.15. If so, it is the only *cakra* inscribed in Mon.

In the following I shall discuss what I think are the most important characteristics of the Chainat Wheel; some of the features examined, although prevalent in other epigraphic material found in Thailand, have never been discussed or even noted by palaeographers in this country. Yet, they may ultimately be relevant in establishing a chronological framework.

These features include (1) punctuation marks, (2) *ka*, (3) medial *ā* and (4) medial *i*.

Palaeographically, there are striking similarities between the Chainat Wheel and the two earliest Old Mon inscriptions found in Thailand, the Nakhorn Pathom fragment Nth.9 and the Narai cave inscription from Saraburi Sp.1; the Chainat fragment is to be dated earlier than the octagonal pillar from Lopburi, also in Old Mon, which was dated by Coedès at AD 771 (Lp.1).

(1) Punctuation marks: In early Mon epigraphs (that is, pre-Pagan) punctuation marks are not attested except in the Nakhon Pathom fragment (6c) and the Lopburi pillar (8c); this may be partly due to the nature of the inscriptions (votive tablets, cave inscriptions). In the Nakhorn Pathom inscription a punctuation mark is attested in B.2 (see Figure 11.Aa).

This is identical with the mark found on the rim of the Chainat Wheel. Two punctuation marks also occur on the octagonal pillar of the Wheel (see plate 4, lines 2 and 4); here, however, either only the right-hand half occurs (Figure 11.Ab), as at the end of line 2, or a

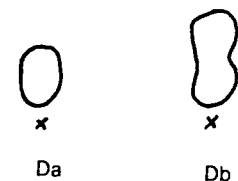
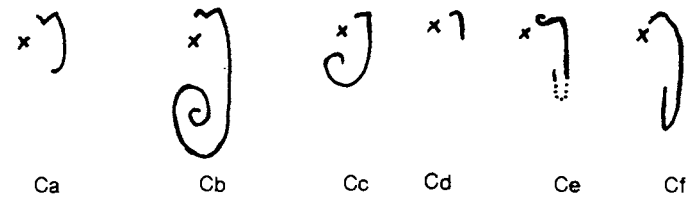
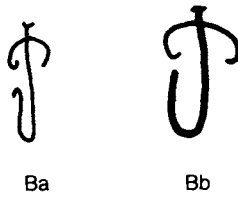
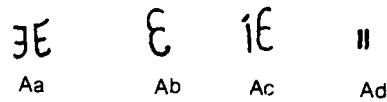


Figure 11

vertical stroke precedes the punctuation mark (Figure 11.Ac), as at the end of line 4. In later inscriptions, such as the Lopburi pillar Lp.1, punctuation marks are simply two parallel horizontal strokes (Figure 11.Ad), as they are still used in Mon today. In the Chainat pillar the punctuation mark looks like a double-curved *ja*. This may lead to a re-assessment of the reading of one of the votive tablets originating in the Northeast (Mg. i).

Punctuation marks are not discussed by Dani, nor are they referred to elsewhere in writings on Southeast

Asian palaeography. Their syntactic role not only in Mon epigraphs but also in later Mon writings has not been examined yet.

(2) *ka*: This *akṣara* is attested on the pillar only twice, in line 1 (fragmented, element below the base-line) and in line 3 in *visattikā*. The medial vertical extends below the base-line with its lower end curved. However, in this instance here the vertical ends "in a [...] leftward pointing hook" (Casparis 1975.16), or, paraphrasing Dani's terminology, in a leftward horizontal tick (Figure 11.Ba). Whether this

hook (or tick) has chronological implications, or is simply an ornament, remains to be seen. Again, attention has not been drawn to this particular element of the *ka*-vertical; in the Narai cave inscription, line 2 (Figure 11.Bb) it is missing. In the Nakhorn Pathom fragment *ka* occurs only together with subscript *la* (A.3) and subscript *ya* (A.4), both joined with the extended medial vertical. Final *-k* (A.4) appears at the edge of the fragment.

(3) medial *ā*: This vowel sign occurs on the pillar in line 3 and in lines 2 and 3 as part of the digraph *o*. Again, a feature not referred to elsewhere although attested in other inscriptions, such as Narai cave (Sp.1) or K 969, a Sanskrit inscription from Prachinburi (IT. 1.40-43), is the notched top variety of medial *ā* (see Figure 11.Ca). In the Nakhorn Pathom fragment no notched top is attested (Figure 11.Ccdf). Noteworthy is also the extension of the vertical (Figure 11.Cb), as attested in line 2 as part of the digraph *o*.

(4) medial *i*: This vowel sign occurs on the pillar in lines 3, 4 and 5. Noteworthy the variation attested in the same inscription: (i) oblong-shaped or (ii) with notched verticals. The notched variety has gone unnoticed in other epigraphs, such as the Pali inscription from Sap Champa, Lopburi (Lp.17), in IT.1.117-122, face B.4, 5, 6. So far one cannot say whether this is a regional variant or may have chronological relevance (Figure 11.Dab).

Finally, problematic is the digraph *o*, or rather its element *e*. In the earliest Mon inscriptions, such as Nakhorn Pathom and Saraburi (Narai cave), the bottom-most line of the *e* (as part of the *o* digraph) ends in a curl well above the base-line; such an *e* is attested in 6c Chālukya inscriptions or 7c Pallava (but there touching the base-line). On the Chainat pillar, however, in lines 2 and 4, the *e* has no curled end and touches the base-line, similar to late Pallava of the 8c. Does this cast doubt on the relatively early date of the Chainat Wheel/pillar of AD 500-600? I would still maintain that the Chainat fragment is contemporaneous with Nakhorn Pathom and Saraburi, possibly occupying a chronologically intermediate position, but certainly antedat-

ing the Lopburi pillar in which *ka* has no extended vertical at all.

6. Mon Inscriptions from Northeastern Thailand — A Reassessment

Pre-9c Buddhist Sanskrit inscriptions from Northeastern Thailand have been edited and published by Coedès in 1958 and 1964, although some of them were known as early as 1922 (Figure H). Until then no Mon inscriptions from the Isan had been reported, the earliest find dating back to 1968.⁴⁵

Coedès noted on several occasions that these, largely contemporaneous, Sanskrit inscriptions (Chaiyaphum, Phu Khiaw: K 403, K 404, K 965, K 977; Kalasin, Kuchinarai: K 511; Udorn, Kumphawapi: K 981; Khon Kaen, Chumphae: K 985, K 986), apart from being Buddhist, shared palaeographical characteristics that linked them to Lp.1, the 7c octagonal pillar in Mon from Lopburi, and to Sb.3 (= K 964), the 7c-8c Sanskrit inscription from U Thong, a Mon site. In other words, Coedès felt in 1958 that they might originate from Mon sites, although no direct evidence was available at the time.⁴⁶

Although the Fa Daet site at Kamalasai, Kalasin, was surveyed as early as 1954 and illustrated *simā* stones, showing Mon influence, reported then and again in 1959, it was only in 1968 that the first four Mon inscriptions from Northeastern Thailand were discovered (Prasarn/Cham 1968). These are inscribed votive tablets from Fa Daet. What is remarkable about two of them, but surprisingly went unnoticed ever since, is that they are moulds from which votive tablets were cast or stamped; the moulds bear a single line inscription in Mon in reverse at the lower rim (these are referred to here as Ks.i, Ks.ii). By 1971 a number of Mon inscriptions from the Northeast were known but went unreported in DMI.

The pre-9c inscriptions from Northeastern Thailand (Maps 2 and 4) discussed here, limited to the area north of the Mul, east of the Pasak, north-

west of, and to the exclusion of, Yasothorn/Ubol, fall into two categories, *simā* stones and votive tablets; votive tablets are inscribed exclusively in Mon whereas *simā* stones are inscribed in either Sanskrit or Mon; bilinguals are unknown.⁴⁷

Most inscriptions of that period from the Northeast, referred to summarily by Coedès as 'pre-Angkorian', are merely fragments; some *simā* stones show only faint traces of writing, in others only some *akṣaras* are legible and no continuous passage can be reconstructed. These have been excluded from our corpus here (Figure B and H) since the language cannot be identified with any degree of certainty.⁴⁸ However, what emerges now from a survey, begun in late 1983, is that about a third to half of the number of *simā* stones from Chaiyaphum and Khon Kaen sites are, or were at some time in the past, inscribed, implying that this was not an exceptional, but rather a common practice. *Simā* stones from Yasothorn and Ubol have yet to be examined for traces of writing.⁴⁹ Map 4 shows the location of pre-9c *simā* stones and sites where Mon inscriptions have been found.

The Mon inscriptions from Northeastern Thailand need to be reassessed for the following reasons: (i) a complete inventory is lacking, (ii) inscriptions have not been critically edited, and (iii) documentation of sites is incomplete.

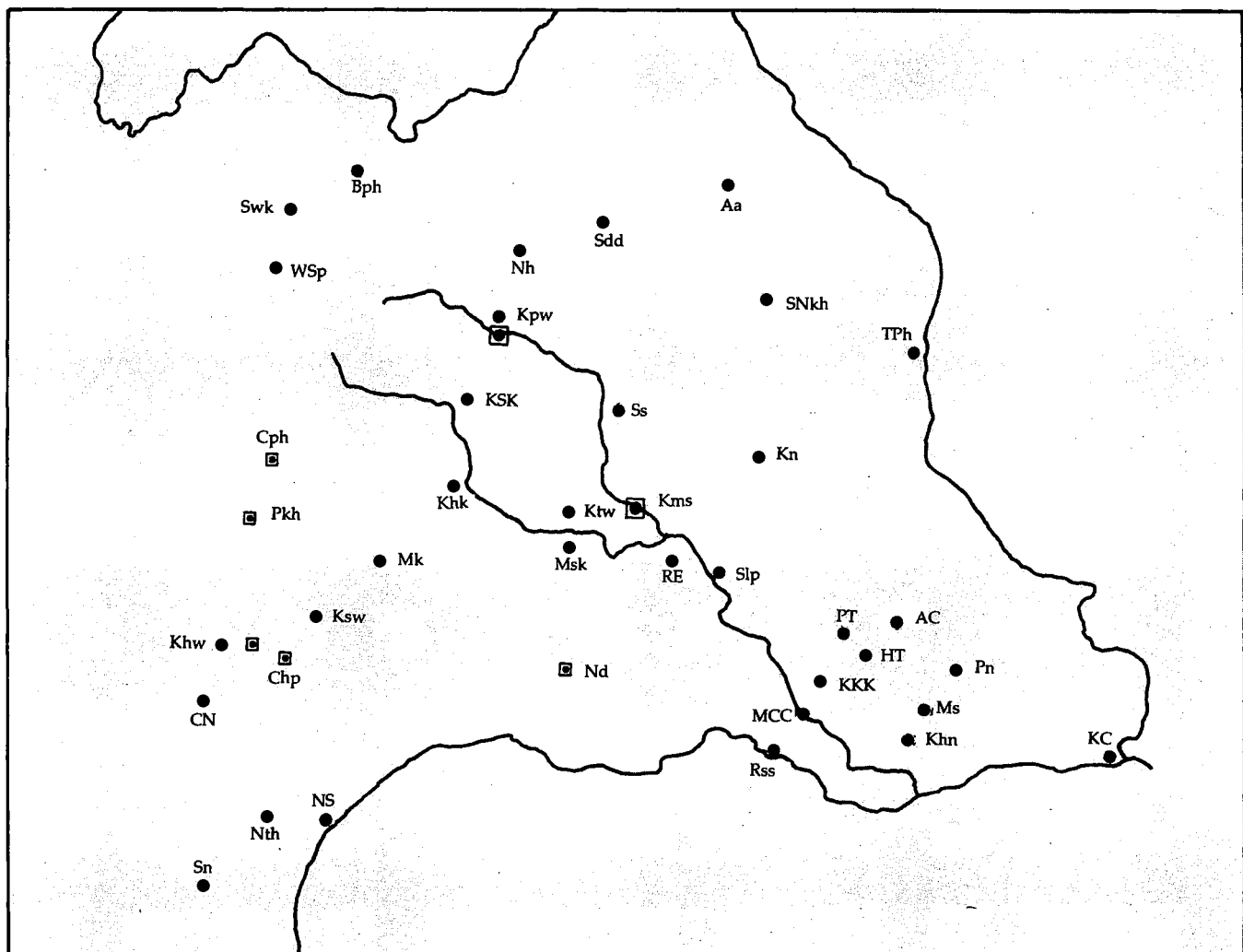
The last is particularly important because when we compare northeastern sites where Mon inscriptions are located, or have been reported (Figure B), with those where contemporaneous Sanskrit inscriptions are located (Figure H) we realize that in most cases Mon and Sanskrit inscriptions originate from the same site, as for instance in Ban Kut Ngong and Ban Kaeng, Chaiyaphum, Ban Nong Phai, Khon Kaen, or a site complex as in Kumphawapi, Udorn.

(i) Ban Kut Ngong (Chaiyaphum)

Twelve illustrated *simā* stones, representing scenes from the *Jātakas*, were iconographically identified and compared with illustrated *simā* stones from

EFEO	FAD	Location site	at present	Date	Date found	Type	No. lines	Citations
K 981	KhK.2	Kumphawapi, Udorn	KhK M	7c-8c	pre-1964	B	2	IC.vii.159-160; Solheim/Gorman.1966; IT.1.280-283.
K 982		Kumphawapi, Udorn		8c	pre-1964		4	IC.vii.160.
K 983		Kumphawapi, Udorn		8c	pre-1964		1, 2 ?	IC.vii.160.
K 984		Muang, Khon Kaen		8c	1964		7-8	IC.vii.161.
K 985		Chumphae, Khon Kaen		8c	1964		2	IC.viii.161.
K 986		Chumphae, Khon Kaen		8c	1964		2	IC.vii.161.
----	KhK.25	Chumphae, Khon Kaen	in situ	7c-8c	1970	1, 2 ?		
K 510		Kuchinarai, Kalasin		8c	1922		2, 3 ?	Seidenfaden 1922.78; IC.vii.82.
K 511	Ks.6	Kuchinarai, Kalasin		8c	1922		1 _{1/2}	Seidenfaden 1922.78-79; IT.3.90-93.
----	Ks.3	Tha Khantho, Kalasin		7c-8c		A	1	IT.1.273-275.
----	Ks.5	Kalasin	KhK M	7c-8c	1980	C	2	IT.1.276-279.
K 403		Muang, Chaiyaphum		pre-11c			1, 2	Lajonquière 1907.314; IC.vii.71-72.
K 404	Jy.1	Kaset Sombun, Chaiyaphum		8c	1922		11	Seidenfaden 1922.90; IC.vii.72-73; IT.357-59.
K 512	Jy.2	Kaset Sombun, Chaiyaphum		7c-8c	1922	B	4	Seidenfaden 1922.90; IC.vii.72, 74; IT.1.267-269.
K 965		Kaset Sombun, Chaiyaphum		8c	pre-1964	B	4	Coedès 1958.131-132; IC.vii.74; Na Paknam 1981.126.
K 977		Kaset Sombun, Chaiyaphum		8c	pre-1964		5	IC.vii.74-75.
----	Jy.8	Kut Ngong, Chaiyaphum	in situ	8c	1979	B	4	Surasawadi 1978 #11
----	Jy.ii	Kut Ngong, Chaiyaphum	in situ	8c	1979	B	4	
----	Jy.iii	Kut Ngong, Chaiyaphum	in situ	8c	1979	B	6-7	
----	Jy.10	Phu Khiaw, Chaiyaphum	in situ	8c	1980s	B	5	
----	Jy.11	Phu Khiaw, Chaiyaphum	in situ	8c	1980s	B	10	
----	Jy.12	Phu Khiaw, Chaiyaphum	in situ	8c	1980s	B	10	
----	Jy.13	Phu Khiaw, Chaiyaphum	in situ	8c	1980s	B		

Figure H: Buddhist Sanskrit inscriptions from Northeastern Thailand



Legend Map 4:

● Mon *simā* site

- Aa Akat Amnuay, Sakol Nakhorn
- AC Amnat Charoen, Ubol*
- Bph Ban Phue / Tha Bo, Udorn**
- Chp Chaiyaphum, Muang
- Cph Chumphae, Khon Kaen
- Ctt Chaturat, Chaiyaphum
- HT Hua Taphan, Ubol*
- KhK Khon Kaen, Muang***a
- Khn Khongchiam, Ubol*
- Khw Khwao, Chaiyaphum***b
- KKK Khamkhuen kao, Yasothorn*
- Kms Kamalalai, Kalasin
- Kn Kuchinarai, Kalasin
- Kpw Kumphawapi, Udorn

- KSK Khao Suan Kwang, Khon Kaen***c
- Ksw Khon Sawan, Chaiyaphum
- Ktw Kantharawichay, Mahasarakham
- MCC Mahachanachay, Yasothorn*
- Mk Manchakiri, Khon Kaen
- MS Muang Samsip, Ubol*
- Msk Mahasarakham, Muang
- Nd Nadun, Mahasarakham
- Nh Nong Han, Udorn
- NS Non Sung, Khorat*
- Nth Nonthai, Khorat****d
- Pkh Phu Khiaw/Kaset Sombun, Chaiyaphum
- Pn Phana, Ubol*
- PT Pa Tiaw, Yasothorn*
- RE Nuang, Roi-et****e
- Rss Rasisalai, Srisaket****f
- Sdd Sawang Daen Din, Sakol Nakhorn
- Slp Selaphum, Roi-et****g

- Sn Sung Noen, Khorat*
- Ss Suhatsakhan, Kalasin
- Swk Suwan Khuha, Udorn**
- TPh That Phanom, Nakhorn Phanom
- WSp Wāng Saphung / Na Klang, Udorn**

*Location appears in ทะเบียนโบราณสถาน, ภาคตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือ เล่ม ๑, กทม, กรมศิลปากร, กองโบราณคดี, 2529.

**Location appears in สุรพล ดำริห์กุล, รายงานเบื้องต้นการสำรวจโบราณคดีตามโครงการผามอง, กทม, กรมศิลปากร, [2517].

***NETAP Surveys: *22/2528, 29/2528; ^b21/2528; ^c2525; ^d2525; ^e27/2526; ^f11/2526; ^g2524.

Other locations appear in น. ณ ปากน้ำ, ศิลปบนใบเสมา, กทม, เมืองโบราณ, 2524.

Map 4

Sites with Mon inscriptions or Mon style *simā* stones

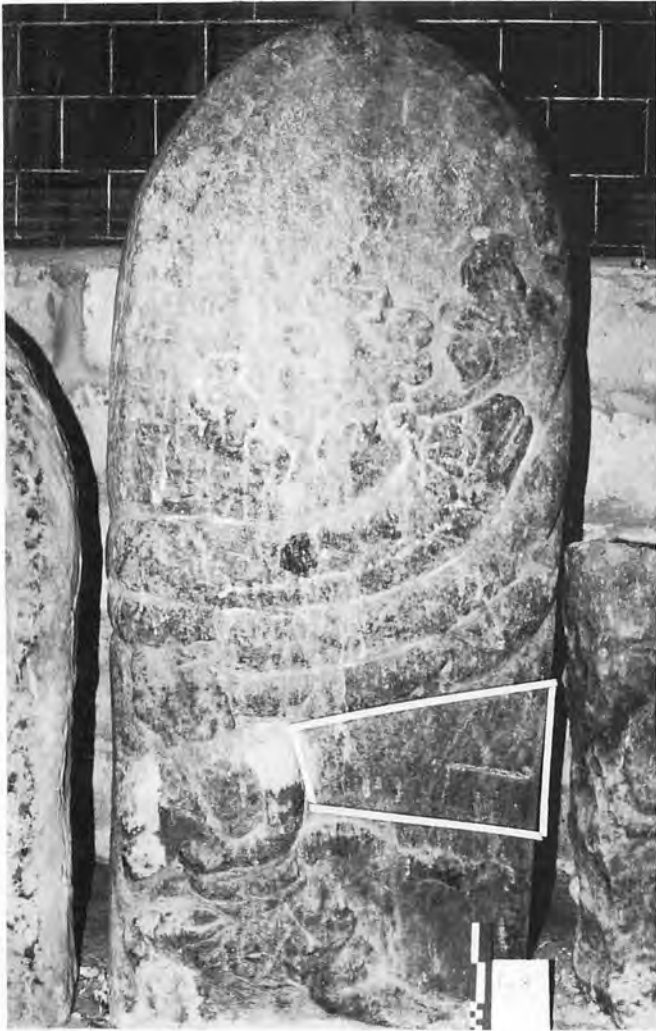


PLATE 5 *Bhūridatta* - *Simā* stone at Ban Kut Ngong, Chaiyaphum; inscribed recto and verso



PLATE 8 Jy.9: Two line inscription in Old Mon (8c) at base of *simā* stone illustrating an episode from the *Vidhurapaṇḍita* (Plate 7)



PLATE 6 Jy.8: Unidentified inscription, on reverse of *Bhūridatta* (Plate 5)



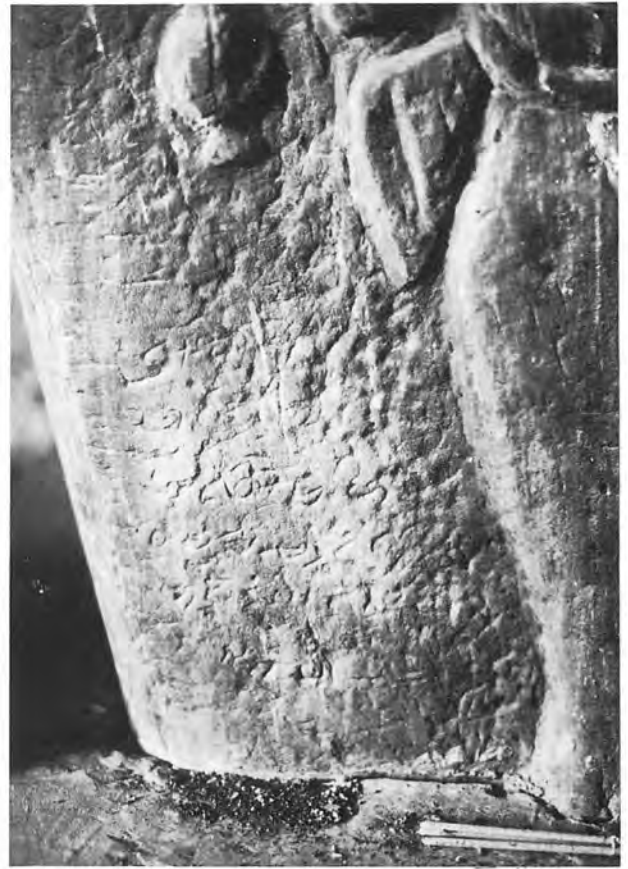
PLATE 7 Jy.9: *Vidhurapaṇḍita* - *Simā* stone at Ban Kut Ngong, Chaiyaphum; Old Mon inscription (8c) on base

9



PLATE 9 *Mahānāradakassapa* - *Sīmā* stone at Ban Kut Ngong, Chaiyaphum; unidentified inscription at lower left

PLATE 10 Unidentified inscription on *sīmā* stone stone illustrating the *Mahānāradakassapa* (Plate 9)



10

PLATE 11 *Temiya* - *Sīmā* stone at Ban Kut Ngong, Chaiyaphum; reverse inscribed, unidentified

PLATE 12 Jy.11: Inscribed *sīmā* stone at Ban Kaeng, Phu Khiaw, Chaiyaphum; Old Mon (8c)

11



12



Muang Fa Daet, Kalasin, and with glazed tiles from the Ananda at Pagan by Surasawadi in 1978; two of the Kut Ngong slabs were reported in 1978 to be inscribed in Old Mon and registered with the FAD as Jy.8 and Jy.9; these remain unpublished until now. Another sixteen *simā* stones were recovered from the same site, but these are not of the illustrated type. All of them are slab-types, and are exhibited at Ban Kut Ngong, Muang district, Chaiyaphum, not far from the original site where they were found. The illustrated *simā* stones are kept in a permanent roofed shelter. Their base has been lowered into the ground by some 30 cm; this can be witnessed by comparing, for instance, the photograph of the *Mahānārada-kassapa* in Surasawadi 1978 (slab #2, photograph #18) and the one published here (Plate 9) where the lower end of the robe coincides with the ground level, and the base of the *simā* stone showing the feet is cemented into the ground. This accounts for the variation in size given here and in Surasawadi 1978.

Another three illustrated slabs bear traces of inscriptions; these are *Temiya* (Plate 11), *Mahānārada-kassapa* (Plates 7 and 8) and an unidentified fragment (Surasawadi 1978, #1, photograph #15).

(1) Jy.8

This *simā* stone (Plates 5, 6) is inscribed recto (lower third, right; 4 lines) and verso (upper third, across the back; 4 lines). It is now impossible to establish a continuous text; Surasawadi claims Jy.8 to be in Old Mon (1978.35, photo of rubbings #52, #53), but this is doubtful.

(2) Jy.9

Segments of this inscription, found at the base of the slab (recto) illustrating the *Vidhurapaṇḍita* (Plates 7, 8), are legible; the inscription comprises two lines:

1. 'awo puñ ['ācāryya - - -] wo'
[- - - - -]
2. dewa 'at wo' tāw krow
[- - - - -]

"This is the work of merit [...]. This [...] all these deva dwell (behind/after) [...]"

Noteworthy here is the variant graph *o / au* in the word for 'this', *wau'* (line 1, twice) and *wo'* (line 2). The quantifier 'at all' is discussed below.

(3) Jy.ii

The slab showing a scene from the *Mahānārada-kassapa* (Plates 9, 10) has an inscribed section recto (lower quarter, left). Seven to eight lines can be distinguished, lines 2 and 5 showing initial *wra[]* and *w(r)ah* respectively.

(4) Jy.iii

At least five lines can be seen inscribed on the reverse of *Temiya* (Plate 11). The size of the *akṣaras* varies from line to line. Although no continuous text can be established, it is of palaeographical value. Some legible segments suggest it to be Sanskrit.

(5) Jy.iv

This unregistered inscription is not reproduced here; a photograph appears in Surasawadi 1978 (slab #1, photograph #15). The slab is damaged and cannot be identified iconographically. An examination of the stone reveals distinct traces of writing. Most of what must have been a continuous text is defaced.

(ii) Ban Kaeng (Chaiyaphum)

Fifteen *simā* stones are exhibited on the grounds of Wat Phra That Nong Sam Muen, Ban Kaeng, Phu Khiaw district, Chaiyaphum. Of these at least five are inscribed. Four of these are registered with the FAD, Jy.10 to Jy.13 respectively. Two of them have been published (Jy.11 and Jy.i; Uraisi 1988); emendations are proposed below. Inscriptions appear only on one side of the slab, sometimes legible on one side of the spine; in some cases it is not quite clear whether the stone was in fact, inscribed only on one side of the spine. None of the Kaeng slabs are pictorial, a feature they share with *simā* stones

found 30 km to the north, at Nong Phai, Chumphae district, Khon Kaen.

(1) Jy.11

The slab type *simā* stone is inscribed on the right hand side of the spine (Plates 12, 13); no traces are visible on the left side, nor on the reverse. The inscription may have comprised up to nine lines; the FAD record states ten lines. A reading of the first four lines of segment A (Plate 13) has been published, but no reproduction (either photograph or rubbing) has appeared in print. Segment B (Plate 13, *infra*) shows clear traces of continuous text; *virāma* are distinct. The amended text reads:

1. [- - -] śrī rāja
2. [- - -] ta loṇ ta kyā
3. (k) [- - - - -]
4. wo' punya [- - - - -]
5. [- - - - -]
6. [- - - - -]
7. [- - - - -]
8. [- - - - -]
9. [- - - - -]

(2) Jy.i

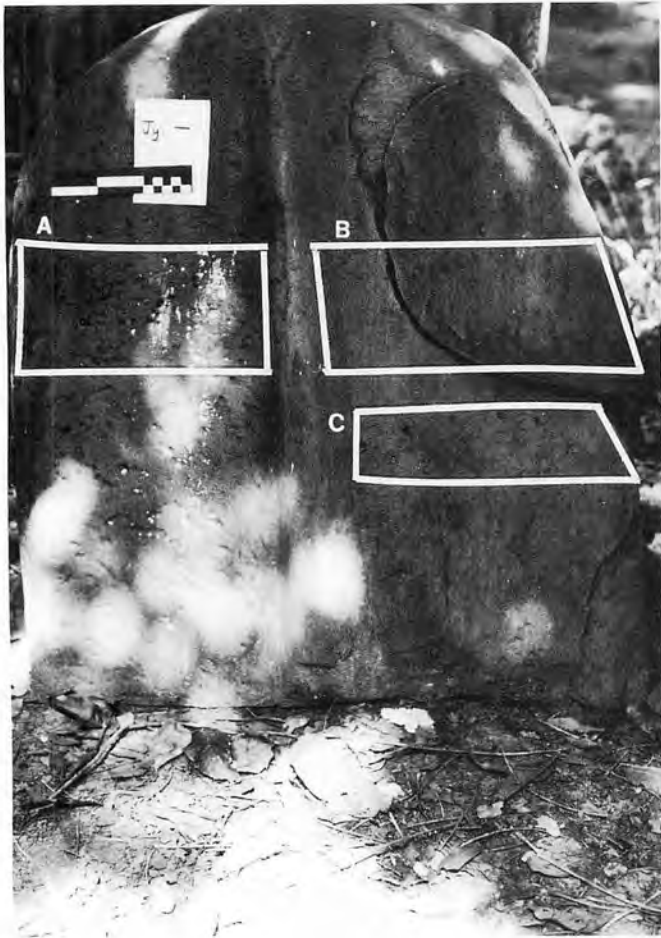
This inscription, not registered with the FAD, has only been partially read (Uraisi 1988). It is reproduced here as Plate 14. The published reading, however, consists only of segment C in Plate 14, although the reproduced rubbing clearly shows another two lines in segment B. Until now it has gone unnoticed that a section left of the spine (marked A in Plate 14) is also inscribed; traces of three lines of text can be seen, but only the first line and the middle of the second line can be read. An amended and complete reading is proposed here:

1. wra[h] wo' punya - - - - -
2. - - ko' - - - - -
3. [- - - - -] []
4. [- - - - -] []
5. wo' punya
6. kurunī praga[ta]
wraḥ - - - - -
yānī



PLATE 13 Inscribed *simā* stone
Ban Kaeng, Phu Khiaw, Chaiyaphum;
Old Mon (8c), segment B illegible





14

PLATE 14 Jy. i: Inscribed *simā* stone at Ban Kaeng, Phu Khiaw, Chaiyaphum; Old Mon (8c)

PLATE 15 Jy.10: Fragment of inscribed *simā* stone at Ban Kaeng, Phu Khiaw, Chaiyaphum; possibly Old Mon (8c)

PLATE 16 KhK.16: Inscribed *simā* stone at Ban Nong Phai, Chumphae, Khon Kaen; Old Mon (8c)



15



16

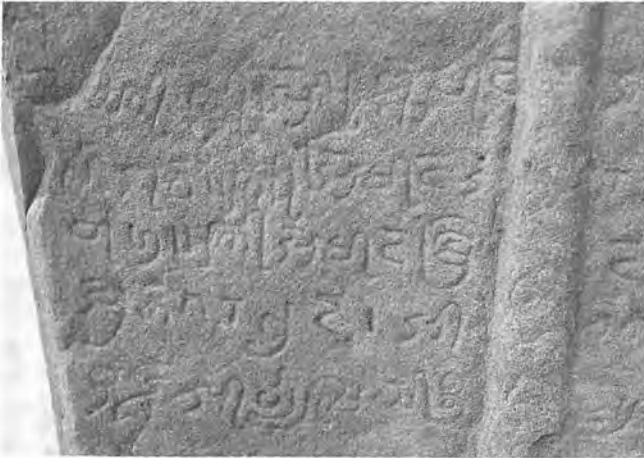


PLATE 17 KhK.16: Section of inscription left of spine (inscription is to be read across the spine); see Plate 16



PLATE 18 KhK.16: Section of inscription right of spine; see Plate 16

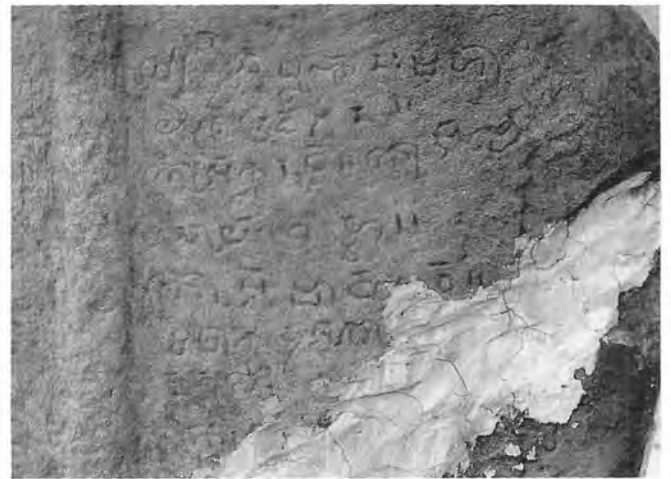
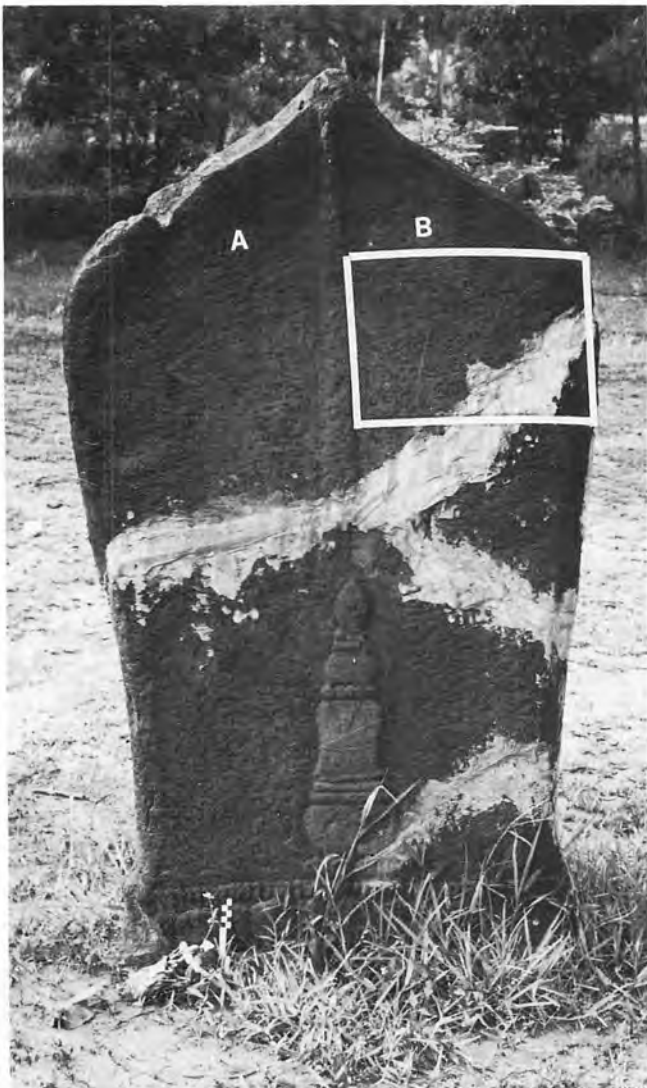


PLATE 20 KhK.17: Inscribed *simā* stone (Plate 19, section B); Old Mon (8c)

PLATE 19 KhK.17: Inscribed *simā* stone at Ban Nong Phai, Chumphae, Khon Kaen; Old Mon (8c)

PLATE 21 KhK.i: Fragment of an inscribed *simā* stone at Ban Nong Phai, Chumphae, Khon Kaen; Old Mon (8c)



PLATE 22 Inscribed *simā* stone at Ban Nong Phai, Chumphae, Khon Kaen; unidentified



(3) Jy.10

This inscribed slab is damaged (Plate 15). It has five inscribed lines left of the spine and at least two lines right of the spine. The *akṣaras* that can be read suggest it to be Old Mon:

1. * * * [- - -]
2. [- - - -]
3. - - - -
4. - - wo [] na
5. wra - - [- - -]

(iii) Ban Fai Hin site (Khon Kaen)

Nine *simā* stones, all of them undecorated, are kept on the grounds of Wat Non Sila, Wang Hin Lat, Chumphae district, Khon Kaen, just some 30 km north of Phu Khiaw, Chaiyaphum. Four of them are inscribed. Of these, one is badly damaged (Plate 21), one is illegible (Plate 22), and only the remaining two have been registered with the FAD (KhK.16 = Plate 16, 17, 18; KhK.17 = Plate 19, 20). The inscriptions have been read and published before, but warrant emendation.

(1) KhK.16

This inscribed slab has five lines of text on both sides of the spine; the text has to be read across the spine (in the transliteration below this has not been marked). Problematic is the form *garaluñ* ~ *garluñ*: In line 1 (of the left section, Plate 18) *ra*, serifed, the lower end of the vertical curved to the left, shows clearly a *virāma* above its serif. In line 4 (of the right section, Plate 17) the expected *virāma* on *ra* in *garluñ* is missing, which must here be read as *garaluñ*. The serif of *ra* cannot be interpreted as a *virāma* on a sans-serifed *ra* since it is clearly level with the serifs and the adjacent *ga* and *la*. Given that *garluñ* occurs on another slab from the same site (KhK.i), with *ra* marked by *virāma*, the KhK.16.4 form *garaluñ* should be interpreted as a scribal error for *garluñ*, although it is transliterated below.

1. 'awo wo' puñ māñ, dar nām ko' naḥ pu
2. s rāw # ko' māñ darañ # ko' māñ su
3. bāhu # ko' māñ mreñ # wo' puñ
4. 'at garaluñ # 'ác kantāp ta kyāk
5. buddha ' arRyyamaitriyya - ā kyāk -

(2) KhK.17

An eight line inscription appears in the upper right hand section of the slab (Plate 19, marked B; enlarged Plate 20) which has been read and published before. It is not clear whether section A, left of the spine, was originally inscribed as well; if so, the inscription could not have been read across the spine.⁵⁰

Problematic here is the word *tma'* occurring in line 1 -- and there hardly legible -- and again in line 6. In fact, the first occurrence is visible clearly only on the published rubbing (Uraisi 1988.497, Figure # 16) and not on sight (see Plate 20) where it might be regarded as a scribal error. Both IT and Uraisi translate *tma'* as 'stone' in both cases. "Voici la construction en pierre (Sema), acte meriteoire de ..." (1988.484), and "Cette oeuvre en pierre (Sema) ..." (*ibid.*). Before attempting an alternative interpretation, an amended reading proposed:

1. wo' tma' puñ naḥ mahā
2. yuta drañ gana #
3. ko' kurun # ko' ('u)pa
4. jhāy wrahma # - [-]
5. ko' māñ -w #
6. wipāk tma' wo [- (-)]
7. n gulo []
8. (k)

The form *tma'* 'stone' is attested only since MM; the earlier OM form is invariably *tmo'*. More problematic, however, is word-order, and also the formulaic style of *simā* inscriptions.

If *wo'* in line 1 is regarded as a non-predicative form, it must consequently be interpreted as a proclitic to *tma'* or *tma' puñ*; if this is accepted, OM syntax of KhK.17 conforms to PA Khmer word-order⁵¹ and not to OM syntax, a possibility that should not be dismissed given evidence of interference from Khmer elsewhere in OM epigraphy of the same period. However, this would then be incompatible with the construction in line 6 where *wo'()* closes a nominal group, unless we admit to syntactic variation of this type of construction at the time.

If *wo'* in line 1 is regarded as a predicative form 'this is', *tma' puñ* must be analyzed as a noun-compound; of all votive inscriptions attested over a

period of six centuries (6c-12c), this would be the only case to my knowledge where predicative *wo'* is followed by a compound. Other votive inscriptions have the formula *wo' puñ* or *wo' kyāk*.⁵²

However, an alternative interpretation can be envisaged, although the vocalism remains equally problematic: Mon has a plural clitic OM *to'*, following nouns or nominal groups, attested since MM as *ta'*. The inflected form is attested for the first time in 1219 at Wat Don, Lamphun (B.16), as *tinmo'*, also in postnominal position. Its modern reflex LM *tma'*, a universal quantifier 'all, every', occurs in prenominal position. Plural marking is attested in two contemporaneous inscriptions from the same site, in KhK.16.3-4 *wo' puñ 'at garaluñ* and in KhK.i (there, however, following a lacuna; see *infra*). Thus the passage in KhK.17.6

wipāk tma' wo[']

can be translated as 'These acts'. This leaves open the question why an inflected form is used for plural marking, instead of the base **ta'* (attested only in OM as *to'*, or as a weak form *ta* in restricted contexts). The Wat Don (Lamphun) inscription also has this type of construction. Perhaps the inflected form referred to universal quantification, in this case 'All these acts', whereas the base **ta' ~ to' ~ ta* indicated simple definite plurality. Yet this interpretation does not solve the problem of *tma'* at the beginning of this text in line 1. Elsewhere in OM quantification and emphasis, such as cardinal numerals and post-nominal *ci*, may follow the demonstrative *wo'*. The beginning of KhK.17 could thus be translated as 'All these are meritorious acts'; alternatively, the inflected form *tma'* may precede nouns — as it does in modern Mon — and the passage would translate as 'These are all the meritorious acts'.

(3) KhK.i

This inscription (Plate 21) is not registered with the FAD; the slab is damaged and the four legible lines are fragmentary. The remaining continuous segments have been read; these warrant emendations:

1.] puñ jiw pāl [
2.] māñ bnaḥ # ko' ārya
3.] garluñ kantāp ta kyā
4. (-) [- (-) triy #

bnaḥ may be either a proper name or 'brahmin'; elsewhere in the OM and MM corpus, *bnaḥ* is attested only as a morphologically complex form, OM *buñah*, *bimnah*, *bamnah*, &c MM *bamnah*, but in modern Mon *bnaḥ* is attested together with forms such as *bamnah* and *banah*. Given that in KhK.173-4 we find a title ('u)pajhāy wrahma such an interpretation is not to be discounted.

Noteworthy is the naturalization of IA loans, such as (*aryyame*)triy (for Skt. ariyamaitreya) and *jiw pāl* (for P. Jivapāla); *virāma* on *-ya* and *-wa* are clearly visible.

(iv) Other northeastern sites

(1) KhK.19

Although this inscription has a Khon Kaen registration number in the FAD list, it originated from an Udorn site (Ban Don Kaew, Kumphawapi district). An amended reading is proposed here:⁵³

1. 'awo' puñ [dhaRmma]
2. [tmot 'awo' jmah ba 'ey
3. []
4. y kaḥ nom k[]' kyāk - - -
5.]ḥ ba 'ey ymo' 'ey m[-
6.]Ryya ymo' 'ey tmot -

Given the fragmentary nature of this text, due to lacunae as well as a number of hitherto unattested words which do not have reflexes in modern Mon (such as *tmot*, *jmah*) any analysis should proceed with caution; however, noteworthy is the construction in line 4

kaḥ nom k[]'

which can be interpreted as 'to be without', *kaḥ* being the OM verbal negative auxiliary (which may be inflected for the 'hypothetical', *s-*) followed by the verb *nom* 'to be, exist, be present'. In this context *k[]'* is likely to be the prenominal clitic *ku~ku'~ko'*, indicating possession when linking the existential verb *nom* with a noun ('to have, possess'). This construction here is at variance with negation elsewhere in OM where the existential verb *nom* has,

when negated, a suppletive form *kaḥ sak* 'not to have, to lack' (the modern suppletive form is a reflex of OM **sak moy*).

(2) Ks.1

This is a votive tablet recovered from Muang Fa Daet, Kamalasai, Kalasin; it has been read and published by three different epigraphers (1968: Prasarn & Cham; 1986: Thoem & Champa; 1988: Uraisi).

The following is an amended reading:

1. wo' kyāk piñ ('u)pajhāy
2. 'ācāRyya guna wikhyāt #

Together with Ks.2 this is first time that P. puñña 'merit' is attested in OM as *piñ*, in analogy to Skt. puṇya, OM *pun*, *pin*, and evidence for 8c allography *-u* ~ *-i-* before palatals which Shorto reconstructs as /ø/.

(3) Ks.2

This inscription is not identical with Ks.1, lacking a final glottal stop in the first word; this is unlikely to be a scribal error but the encoding of a particular phonetic feature (juncture), as discussed in the second section of this article.

1. wo kyāk piñ ('u)pajhāy
2. 'ācāRyya guna wikhyā(t)

In both Ks.1 and Ks.2 the serif of *na* (line 2) may be mistaken for *virāma*.

(4) Mg.i

This is a fragment of an inscribed votive tablet from Nadun, Mahasarakham, now at the National Museum at Khon Kaen; an amended reading follows:

1. puñ cakravaRti ja
2. - - taRla wrah swa
3. yāga

Noteworthy here (as in Mg.vii, *infra*) is the superscript *ra*, transliterated as *R*, being attached the right-most vertical of the following *akṣara*, that is to *ta* and *la* (in Mg.i), and to *la* in Mg.vii.⁵⁴

(5) Mg.vii

1. taRla wa -

It is obviously tempting to reconstitute the text as *taRla w(rah)* but this not supported by the epigraph itself.

(6) Mg.viii

1. - Rya ga

The superscript *ra* is attached to the middle vertical of the *ya*, in an upward stroke ending in a right curve. This is the common way of writing *-ry-* medio-clusters.

(v) A votive tablet from Nadun (Mg.2) and Pagan parallels

Mg.2, lines 3-4, reads

'or skumi das jāti smar

to be translated as 'may [I] not be born to a mean existence'; a more detailed account is given in Bauer 1986.

Although inscriptions found on votive tablets may vary considerably, a certain formulaic style can be discerned. This is the case here with Mg.2, which finds a parallel in a votive tablet from Pagan inscribed in Old Burmese; OBEP 31c, lines 5-8 reads

sansarā aphlet (phlet a)syak but ma su(i') ma phlet (ph)lat (so) - -

which Luce translates as "So often as I am born in Samsara, may I never be born to a mean existence (?)", adding that this is "[...] one of the oldest specimens of written Burmese extant" (OBEP II.23).

While negated purposives are not attested in other votive tablets inscribed in Old Mon, the following constructions are noteworthy:

27c. 'or das kyek

'may I become a Buddha'

27e. 'or go' das kyek

'may I be born a Buddha'

70g. 'or go' das kyāk

'may I be born a Buddha'

20b. 'or go' das 'a(rhan) twās tirla

'may I be born an Arahāt and His disciple'

go' may be taken here as an auxiliary pre-verb to *das* 'to be' and thus be parallel to *skum* 'not' ('hypothetical [s-]) in Mg.2. VT 31c. lends further support to my interpretation given elsewhere (1986) where *skum* is regarded as a Khmer-Mon blend-form.

Old Mon	Old Khmer	
wrah	wrah	title
kuruñ	kuruñ	title
kamrateñ	kamrateñ	title
pdai karom	phdai karom	
māñ	māñ	title
ya	ya	onomastic
<hr/>		
nai', ne'	neh, neh, neh, this'	deictic, 'this'
man, min, mun	man	relative clause marker, anaphoric pronoun
ta	ta	pre-nominal clitic 'for, to'
ko', ku, ku'	ka	pre-nominal clitic
MM ra	ra	clause-, sentence final clitic (modal)
na, na'	nu	pre-nominal clitic, instrumental
row	ru, rū, ruw	'as, to be like'
kum	kañ	pre-verbal negative
-N-	-N-	frequentative

Figure 12: Khmer-Mon contact words

7. 'at

The universal quantifier 'at' 'all' is attested in OM also as 'ut, 'ut, 'et, and as a junctural form (if connected) 'as- in 'as(surñ).

'at is attested in the Northeastern inscriptions in KhK.16.3-4

wo' purñ 'at garalun

'these are the works of merit of all of them'

and in Jy.9.2

dewa 'at wo'

'all of these devas ...'

Syntactically, the use of 'at conforms to rules attested elsewhere (11c/12c Pagan), where it may occur pre-nominally, as in KhK.16, or may, as in Jy.9,

initiate the deictic complex.⁵⁵ The variation in word-order, just as in the case of *wo'*, betrays, in fact, its origin as a verb. The 13c inscriptions from Lamphun show a similar distribution.

Problematic, however, is the phonological form: 13c attestations have invariably 'at whereas 11c/12c forms show 'ut ~ 'ut ~ 'et (hapax). If chronological considerations are disregarded, we can establish one isogloss comprising Northeastern and Northern Thailand, and another one comprising Upper and Lower Burma, the MM and modern Mon forms being reflexes of 'ut, and not 'at.

Conclusion

The common strand of these epigraphic notes relates to early Khmer-Mon con-

tacts as they can be linguistically traced in inscriptions. A list of Khmer-Mon contact words, as attested in 6c-13c Khmer and Mon inscriptions, is given in Figure 12. It will be noticed that this list consists exclusively of titles and grammatical function words; the latter are significant indicators of unilateral bilingualism. No attempt is made here to determine the direction of borrowing; in some instances we are not even certain whether we deal with borrowed/reanalyzed or cognate elements, as in the case of the nasal infix -N- marking the 'frequentative'.⁵⁶

The next step will be to examine the factors which affect the frequency and the distribution of inscriptions in order to determine whether these indicate speaker populations.⁵⁷

ENDNOTES

* I would like to express my gratitude to the following individuals for letting me examine inscriptions held in public and private collections: The Director-General of the Fine Arts Department; Mr. Phuthorn Bhumadhon, former Director of the National Museums in Lopburi and Bangkok; Mrs. Manita Khueankhan, the present Director of the King Narai National Museum at Lopburi; Dr. Samnuan Palatwichai, of Chainat, and the Director of the Bangkok Bank branch at Chainat; Mr. Cha Siriphokaratana, of Nakhorn Sawan; and the abbots of Wat Kut Ngong, Wat Phra That Si Muen, and Wat Non Sila. I am also grateful to Professors Harry Shorto and Claude Jacques for discussing sections of the present article.

1. Mon inscriptions from Northeastern Thailand were not part of the corpus upon which DMI was based because the finds had not been published by the time DMI went to press; BTI., however, is mentioned in the introduction (p.xxxiii), although excluded from the DMI corpus. The chronological bias in DMI consists of the gap between 6c inscriptions from the Chao Phraya basin and 11c inscriptions from Thaton; Mon inscriptions from the Isan fill this gap now, with the earliest being contemporaneous with Lp.1, the octagonal pillar from Lopburi, dated by Coedès in 1925 as not earlier than the second half of the 8th century, but which Shorto dates to the seventh (although marked by a query; DMI.xxiii). Coedès's datings have proved to be problematic, although no alternatives can be offered yet. A major desideratum is the establishment of a relative chronology of Isan Mon and Sanskrit inscriptions; a first attempt has been made by Kanika (1988). The chronological bias distorts the history of OM vocalism, and this may also have implications for early Mon dialectology, as will be discussed in the last section, concerning the quantifier 'at.

2. These ideas, based on fewer data than, have been first discussed in my "Mon inscriptions in the Isan and early Khmer-Mon contacts", in: *Proceedings of*

the Conference on Ancient Cities and Communities in the Northeast, Thailand, Khon Kaen, 26-29 August 1986, pp. 185-193, and will be further developed elsewhere.

3. Further references to numismatics can be found in R.S. Wicks, "Ancient coinage from Thailand and Burma: its geographical distribution and typological development", in D.W. MacDowall, ed., *Gupta Felicitation Volume*, forthcoming; a more accessible source, for the time being, is his "The ancient coinage of mainland Southeast Asia", *Journal of South East Asian Studies* 1985. xvi.2.195-225. I am grateful to Robert Wicks for sending me copies of some of his publications; their implications for linguistics have been discussed in my "Numismatics, dialectology, and the periodization of Old Mon", *Mon-Khmer Studies* 1990.xvi-xvii.155-176 (corrigenda and addenda to appear in MKS xviii-xix). L. Malleret, "Notes archéologiques, I: Intailles et cachets anciens du Cambodge continental." *BEFEO* 1925.xlv.2.349-358, p. xl; "Notes archéologiques, II: Pierres gravées et cachets de divers pays du sud-est de l'Asie" *BEFEO* 1963.li.1.99-116, pll. iii-vii; *L'archéologie du delta du Mekhong*, Paris, EFEO, vol. ii, 1960, pll. cv, cvii, cviii, cix, cx, vol. iii, 1962, pp. 290-292; Coedès dates them to 3c to 4c (pll. lxi-lxxiv). H.G. Quaritch-Wales, *Dvāravatī*, London, Bernard Quaritch, 1969, deliberately excludes the discussion of seals and coins, although referring to excavations at Chansen, for example (pp. 10, 68). Finds from U Thong have been referred to by J. Boisselier, in "Récentes recherches archéologiques en Thaïlande (rapport préliminaire de mission 25.7-28.11.1964", *Arts Asiatiques* 1965.xii.125-174 (here p. 144, figs. 24, 25, with reference to Malleret's finds at Oc-èò), and his "Travaux de la mission archéologique française en Thaïlande (juillet-novembre 1966)", *Arts Asiatiques* 1972.xxv.27-90 (here pp. 52-53). See also Phuthorn's contributions in DKh., 1987.

4. Malleret in his *Notes ...* (II, p. 105, #16), a *ye dhammā* formula in six lines.

5. Complication arises with the delimitation of the term 'deixis'; for instance, the clitic *to' ta'*, *ta* — marking definite plural — is part of the Mon deixis, but is excluded from discussion here.

6. Blagden translates: "these hundred and eighteen stupas" (*EB.iv.1*, p. 59), Shorto: "Those 118 statues aforesaid" (*DMI*, p. 162).

7. See J.M. Jacob, "The structure of the word in Old Khmer", *BSOAS* 1960. xiii.2.351-368, here pp. 354-355: "*ai* and *au*: These vowels do not operate with final consonants. The exceptions of this statement are in words for which an alternative spelling either without the final or with a different vowel is more usual. Thus *daiy* and *kantaiy* are alternatives of *dai* and *kantai* and *dauñ*, *jaun*, and *jauhv* are written in place of the more common *doñ*, *jon* and *jāhv*, *ai* and *au* are therefore held to represent the vowel *a* with final *y* and *v* respectively (*ay* and *av*)." Shorto (*DMI*) distinguishes in his transliteration between *o*, *oau* and *au*; *oau* corresponds to Coedès's *au* whereas Shorto's *au* is a graph attested only since MM, corresponding to OM *āw* spellings. *ow* rhymes are spelt in the Nagayon ink glosses as *oau*.

8. The environments that are attested in the corpus are 'g, 'c, 'j, 'b, 'b; 'aN-, 'iNc-.

9. One might argue that *wo'*, especially the cliticized form *wo*, is linked to the following, as it is in Pre-Angkorian Khmer where demonstratives precede nouns (see J.M. Jacob, Lecture notes on Old Khmer, and her "Notes on the numerals and numeral coefficients in Old, Middle and Modern Khmer", *Lingua* 1965.xv.143-162, here pp. 150-156. But the PA-Khmer constructions require a predicate.

10. But again we would have to ask, why is *ne' / nai'* confined to Khmer-Mon contact areas? We would also have to explain the anomalous shift /e/ > /ɔ/.

11. *EB.iii.1*, p. 171.

12. For the reading of line 3, see Shorto's emendation in DMI.

13. In the case of *lāt* we have *ma*-V forms instead of *-m*- infixes because of morphophonemic constraints in Old Mon; evidence for this is not extensive, but seems likely: only three *lm*- initials are attested in OM, (i) *lmoh*'then' for which Shorto posits a root **noh*, in analogy with (ii) *lmom*, the attributive infix form of the base *nom* 'to be present, to have, possess', and (iii) (*l*)*mo* (unknown); for the last, Shorto proposes an emendation, *lmoh*. Morphophonemically, /*nm*-/ initials violate canonical forms whereas /*mn*-/ initials are attested. /*lm*-/ initials are attested from MM onwards but have different correspondences in Old Mon. When these morphophonemic restrictions apply, *-m*- is extracted so that the underlying form #*l-m-at#* is not realized as /*lmat*/ but as /*m-lat*/. In OM any segment that contains *-m*- or *ma*- is not part of the predicate, and thus requires a predicate, which in this case is given here in *wo*'.

14. In 73b we deal with two different syntactic segments; a boundary should be assumed between *ma-kantam* and *phal*.

15. See my "Nominal clitics in Mon-Subject, Object, Focus", *2d International Symposium on Language and Linguistics*. Bangkok, Thammasat University, 9-11 August 1988.

16. The gloss for 5 is Shorto's who proposes an amended reading to Luce's (DMI.90).

17. In which, case, however, the entire segment is non-predicative. One should remember that these are glosses accompanying frescoes.

18. In Mon, the further to the left a nominalized segment, the more topicalized it is.

19. In Figure 8.D the final glottal stop in the original has been omitted here.

20. Uraisi 1988, p. 490.

21. As part of the royal title *karimra-terñ pdai karom*.

22. These would correspond phonologically to /*e, ε* / > /*o, ɔ*/.

23. In Mg.2, Mg.3 Uraisi 1988 misreads *nai* for *nai'*; for *nai'*; for translation see Bauer 1986.

24. Upon close inspection it seems unlikely that the part which is chipped off contained an *akṣara* at all; if so, certainly not more than one. In KhK.16 only the first sentence is cited here.

25. This was discussed at length in my "Khmer and Mon relative clauses - An historical study", *Australian Linguistic Society*, 16th annual meeting, Alice Springs, 29.8-2.9.1984.

26. Spelling variants include, *gī*, *gui* *gūi*, *gūi*, *giy*.

This grammatical marker has been discussed in detail by P.N. Jenner in "Pre-Angkorian *gnih* and *gnoh* and the syntax of *gi*" *ASEMI* 1982.xiii.1-4.141-154; overtly marked sentence-initial occurrences are, however, not listed separately, which accounts for the difference in the number of cases here and in Jenner's 1982 analysis. It should also be noted that Jenner's article of 1982 supersedes the grammatical analysis of *gi* &c. given in his *Chrestomathy*.

27. Uraisi 1988, p.490; Coedès IC.v.24, note 4, the latter proposing the etymology Skt. *pragata* 'gone forward, started'. It should be pointed out, though, that there is no *virāma* on *ta* in Ks.7.

28. P.N. Jenner, *A Chrestomathy of Pre-Angkorian Khmer*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii, 1981, vol.ii: *Lexicon of the dated inscriptions*, p.203, in addition to the glosses "true, firm; to adjust; hold, fasten". What the exact source for Jenner's interpretation is, I do not know; the contexts in the modern forms, listed below, however, concur with such an analysis.

29. The second terms of the compound are respectively *phgañ'* 'to provide, support', and *bhnaen* 'cross-legged position', derived from *baen* 'to sit cross-legged'. R.K. Headley lists, in addition, an OKhm. form *phgat-phgañ*; this is a ghost-word in Old Khmer (see *A Cambodian-English Dictionary*, Washington, DC, The Catholic University of America, Press 1977, vol.i, p.613).

30. P.N. Jenner and S. ?ou, *A Lexicon of Khmer morphology* (= Mon-Khmer Studies ix-x), Honolulu, University of Ha-

waii Press, 1980-81; /*kut*/is glossed as "1. to be true, precise, ...; to be even. 2. to be fit, ..., whole entire. 3. to be secure, proof."

31. It should be noted that in some OM inscriptions, such as Shwezigon, medial *r* is spelt as a superscript and as *ra* with a subscript consonant attached, or as *-r#* followed by a new initial. See C.O. Blagden, *JRAS* 1910, p.800.

33. K 46B, K 292, K 76, K 137, K 115, K 388C.

34. See J.M. Jacob, "Pre-Angkor Cambodia: Evidence from the inscriptions concerning the common people and their environment", in R.B. Smith and W. Watson, eds., *Early South East Asia*, London, Oxford U.P., 1979, pp. 406-426, here p. 410 (discussion) and p. 418 (list).

35. See the discussion in Jacob, *op.cit.*, pp. 423, 426, and Claude Jacques, "Sources on economic activities in Khmer and Cham lands", in: D.G. Marr and A.C. Milner, eds., *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th centuries*, Canberra, ANU; Singapore, ISEAS, 1986, pp. 327-334, here p. 329.

36. Coedès, IC.ii.p. 16, note.

37. Claude Jacques reminded me of both verbal and nominal usage of *kurun*, which was first pointed out to me by Judith Jacob in her course on Old Khmer (1979/80). Jenner agrees on this point, and draws attention to the fact that in K 235 *kurun* is followed by *ni*; see his "In search of Old Khmer *ni*", in *East meets West: Homage to Edgar C. Knowlton Jr.*, edited by R.L. Hadlich and J.D. Ellsworth, Honolulu: University of Hawaii, College of Languages, Linguistics and Literature, Department of European Languages and Literature, 1988, p.135-57.

38. G. Coedès and P. Dupont, BEFEO 1943.xliii.56-134.

39. L. Finot, BEFEO 1915.xv.2.53-106.

40. Claude Jacques, in conversation (17 May 1990).

41. Neither Jacques nor I have checked the plates or rubbings to see whether *ta* could have been misread as *ka*; Jenner's chrestomathy is not based on readings checked against the plates or rubbings.

42. The unidentified slave-donor is listed in Jenner, *Chrestomathy, op.cit., Lexicon of the dated inscriptions*, the occurrences of *ka* in other contexts are given in the *Lexicon of the undated inscriptions*. Clausal *ka* is listed in both lexica.

43. The four examples given here in Figure 9-B are glossed by Jenner, *Chrestomathy, Lexicon of the undated inscriptions*, as "the company of attendants upon the shining one", "recorders serving ..." (with *cmuh* scribe' being analysed as an -m- infix derivative, from *cuh* 'to record; to lower, descend'), "camdak ple serving ...", and "preparers of (food) offerings serving ...".

44. For further studies on *dharmacakras* see J. Boisselier, "Un fragment inscrit de Roue de la Loi de Lop'buri". *Artibus Asiae* 1961.24.225-231. R.L. Brown, *The Dvāravatī Dharmacakras: A study in the transfer of form and meaning*. PhD diss., UCLA, 1981, xx, 434 pp. G. Coedès, "Une Roue de la Loi avec inscription en Pali provenant de P'ra Pathom". *Artibus Asiae* 1956.19.221-229. Dhanit Yupho, *Dharmacakra or the Wheel of the Law*. Bangkok, FAD, 1965. P. Dupont, *L'archéologie mène de Dvāravatī*. Paris, EFEO, 1959. Shoji Ito, "On the date and analysis of stone *Dharmacakra* found in Thailand". *VIIIth Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia*, Bangkok, 22-26 August 1977, pp. 1227-1237. H.G. Quaritch Wales, *Dvāravatī, the earliest kingdom of Siam*, London, Bernard Quaritch, 1969; *id.*, "Recent Dvāravatī discoveries and some Khmer comparisons". *JSS* 1980.68.1.43-54. For the palaeography discussed here see J. G. De Casparis, *Indonesian Palaeography*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1975, and A.H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1963. [9 May 1989.]

45. As can be seen in Figure H, K 403 was first noted by Lajonquière, *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge* (tome deuxième), Paris, E. Leroux, 1907, and K 404, K 510-512 were known by 1922, as described by E. Seidenfaden in "Complément à l'Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge pour les quatre provinces du Siam occidental", *BEFEO* 1922, xxii.55-100 [with contributions by G.Coedès]. The first report on Fa Daet, written by Seidenfaden, was published as "Kha-

nok Nakhon, an ancient Mon settlement in Northeast Siam (Thailand) and its treasures of Art", *BEFEO* 1954,xliv.2.643-647, followed five years later by Subhradis Diskul, "Mueng Fa Daet, an ancient town in Northeast Thailand", *Artibus Asiae* 1959, xix.362-367. Neither publication refers to inscribed *semas*. Illustrated *semas* from Fa Daet were already known by 1934. K 965 was published by Coedès as the second inscription in his "Nouvelles données épigraphiques sur l'Indochine centrale", *JA* 1958.125-142, here: pp.131-132, the others from Khon Kaen, Chaiyaphum, Kalasin and Udorn in *Inscriptions du Cambodge, VII*, Paris, EFEO, 1964, *passim* (see Figure H for page references). For a comprehensive pre-1974 bibliography on Mon *simā* stones see Piriya Krairiksh, "*Semas* with scenes from the *Mahānipāta jātakas* in the National Museum at Khon Kaen", in *Art and Archaeology in Thailand*, Bangkok, FAD, 1974, 35-65 [+26ill.], especially notes 5-12; an error should be corrected here: Piriya, quoting Solheim and Gorman [reference hereafter], states on pp.41-42 that the inscribed *sema* from Kumphawapi [K 981] is in Khmer; in fact, this inscription is in Sanskrit, and it would have been highly unusual to find a pre-9c Khmer inscription in that area. Piriya refers to W.G. Solheim and C.F. Gorman, "Archaeological salvage program, Northeastern Thailand - first season", *JSS* 1966.liv.2.111-210, here: p.159; Solheim and Gorman have taken Coedès' [chronological] term 'pre-Angkorian' to mean Khmer. Another assumption by Solheim and Gorman — although not referred to by Piriya — is equally erroneous: "The third stone upright [K 981] was in all probability not originally intended for use as an upright [...]. This inscription is meant to be read when the stone is lying in a horizontal position" (*op.cit.*, p.159). Writing on a *simā* stone parallel to the spine, instead across the spine [horizontally in upright position], is not exceptional: K 965, from Kaset Sombun, Chaiyaphum, is also inscribed along the spine; an illustration of K 965 can be found in No Na Paknam's *Buddhist boundary markers...* [reference *infra*], p.126, ill.#51. K 965 is not damaged, is not circular in cross-section, but rather a slab type, with an identifiable top end. K 965 was clearly not intended to be

positioned horizontally, which implies that the inscription, along the spine, must have been read vertically too. For post-1974 work on *semas* see the following: ศรีศักร วัลลิโภดม. เสมอชิสาน. เมืองโบราณ 1975.i.2.89-116; *id.*, แหล่งโบราณคดีที่ภูเกตุลิมในหนองคายและอุดร. เมืองโบราณ 1976.ii.4.28-40; *id.*, เสมอชิสาน. เมืองโบราณ 1985.xi.4.6-33. น. ณ ปากน้ำ [ประยูร อุลุภาฎะ]. ศิลปบนใบเสมา. กทม, เมืองโบราณ, 1981 [pp. 57-81 in English, pp. 82-280 ill.]. The reference to Surasawadi 1978 is given in the bibliography here [*infra*].

46. While analyzing Sb.3 (= K 964), a copperplate, inscribed in Sanskrit, from U Thong, Coedès draws attention to "[...] cette particularité, trahissant peut-être une influence mène, que l'extrémité inférieure de certains jambages verticaux (notamment ceux de l'*ā* et de l'*i*) a tendance à se retrousser vers l'extérieur, c'est-à-dire vers la droite" (1958.129-130). A page further on, when discussing K 965, from Kaset Sombun, Chaiyaphum, also in Sanskrit, he notes, again, "[...] une écriture tout à fait étrange qui exagère le crochet à la base des jambages inférieurs de l'*ā* et de l'*i*, comme dans l'inscription précédente [Sb. 3/K 964] et dans les inscriptions précitées extérieures au Cambodge, et qui développe à l'excès, comme dans l'écriture chame tardive, les fleurons supérieurs des caractères au détriments du corps même de ceux-ci. Il semble y avoir là une évolution autonome, en pays excentrique, qui oblige à supposer l'écoulement d'un certain temps depuis l'inscription sanskrite bouddhique de Ph'u Khiau Kau, mais qui ne prouve pas forcément la date tardive de l'occupation khmère de la région" (1958.131-132). For K 404, Coedès quotes himself (*supra*, 1958, 129-130) in [C.vii.73, adding "Cette particularité se retrouve dans d'autres inscriptions du plateau de Korat." A propos K 981, in Sanskrit, from Kumphawapi, Udorn, "[...] présentant comme les autres inscriptions du plateau de Korat la particularité d'exagérer la boucle du crochet à la base du trait vertical des voyelles longues *ā* et *i*" (IC.vii.159). Exactly the same comment accompanies the notes on K 984, in Sanskrit, from Muang, Khon Kaen

(IC.vii.161). Summarizing the pre-9c Sanskrit inscriptions from Northeastern Thailand, north of the Mul, Coedès states: "Ceux qui sont antérieurs au IXe siècle sont tous d'inspiration bouddhique, mais ce bouddhisme y est d'expression sanskrite. La plupart d'entre eux présentent par ailleurs certains caractères paléographiques communs, qu'ils ont en commun avec l'inscription môme de Lop'buri, et qui semblent indiquer la même influence môme" (1958.128-129).

47. K 510 is an inscribed sculpture which cannot be further identified; K 403 is an inscribed Buddha's throne. Ks.3 and Ks.5 are inscribed Buddha images, which are distinct from votive tablets.

48. Jy. 8 may well be Mon, as stated by Surasawadi, referring to "Mon script" (1978.35).

49. These are inventorized in กองโบราณคดี. ทะเบียนโบราณสถานภาคตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือ, เล่ม ๑, จ. นครราชสีมา, อุบลฯ, ยโสธร. กทม. กรมศิลปากร, 1986.

50. Mr. Bunma Misim, of Ban Fai Hin, who witnessed the removal of *simā* stones from their original site to the

present location in 1970, claims that the left-hand section of KhK.17 showed distinct traces of writing.

51. Cf. J.M. Jacob, Lecture notes on Old Khmer, 1979-80.

52. Two exceptions should be noted, Ks.1 and Ks.2 which have *wo' kyāk, piñ* and *wo kyāk piñ* respectively followed by a title. Again, the problem is to decide whether this construction follows pre-Angkorian Khmer word-order.

53. A photograph of KhK. 19 *in situ* appears in Amphan Kijngam, Charles Higham, Warrachai Wiriyaromp, *Pre-historic settlement patterns in Northeast Thailand*, Dunedin, University of Otago, UOSPA 15, 1980, reference p. 20, plates #1, #2 p. 133. I examined the inscription at Khon Kaen Museum in early 1984.

54. Mg.i and Mg.vii are reproduced in Mayuree Viraprasert, "Terracotta votive tablets bearing Mon inscriptions found at Nadun, Mahasarakham, Northeast Thailand," *SSN* 1969.v.1.5-7, plates #3 and #6 respectively. On page 7 the legends do not correspond to the plates; plate #6 should read #7, and plate #7 should read #6. This is an abridged English version; the original French and

Thai versions are published in the proceedings of *La Thaïlande des débuts son histoire au xve siècle* (= Premier symposium franco-thaï), Bangkok, Silpakorn University, 18-20 July 1988, pp. 75-129. However only the obverse of the votive tablets are reproduced, not the inscribed reverse.

55. Superficially these look like post-nominal clitics. One might also argue that the 'at forms may represent weak forms; this is not the case because in Lamphun (13c) W.D.A.12 has 'at in sentence-initial position, immediately following a punctuation mark.

56. See C. Bauer, "Khmer nasal affixes - Old Mon Borrowing or Proto-Mon-Khmer retentions?" *Second International Symposium on Language and Linguistics*, Bangkok, Thammasat University, 9-11 August 1988 [16 pp.], and "Recovering extracted infixes in Middle Khmer: The 'frequentative' [-N-]", *Mon-Khmer Studies* xv (1989).155-164.

57. K 388/Nm.28 and K 389/Nm.31 are written in Khmer but show traces of Mon; variation in vowel length in IA loans is suspect in K 369/Sn.2. K 400/Nm.24, also in Khmer, shows palaeographical characteristics similar to Mon and Sanskrit inscriptions found elsewhere in Northeastern Thailand.

ABBREVIATIONS

(i) PUBLICATIONS

- DMI H.L.Shorto. *A Dictionary of the Mon inscriptions from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries*. London, Oxford University Press, 1971.
- EB *Epigraphia Birmanica*. Rangoon, Archaeological Survey of Burma, 1920-36.
- IC. G.Coedès. *Inscriptions du Cambodge*. Hanoi/Paris, EFEO, 1937-66.
- DKh. ภูธร ภูมะธน. *โบราณคดีเมืองดงคอน อ.สรรคบุรี จ.ชัยนาท*. ชัยนาท, 2530

[Phuthorn Bhumadhon. *The archaeology of Muang Dongkhon, Sangkhkhaburi, Chainat*. Chainat, 1987.]

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[Archaeology Division, FAD. *Report of archaeological excavations at Hangnamsakhorn, Manorom, Chainat*. Bangkok, 1988.]

IT. จารึกในประเทศไทย. กทม, กรมศิลปากร, 2529.

[National Library, FAD. *Inscriptions of Thailand*. Bangkok, 1986. 5 vols.]

Lpb. ภูธร ภูมะธน, สมชาย ณ นครพนม, บก. *จารึกโบราณวัตถุที่ลพบุรี และใกล้เคียง*. ลพบุรี, พิพิธภัณฑ์สถานแห่งชาติ สมเด็จพระนารายณ์, 2524.

[Phuthorn Bhumadhon & Somchai na Nakhorn Phanom, eds., *The earliest inscriptions found in Lopburi and environs*. Lopburi, King Narai National Museum, 1981.]

SCp.	ภูธร ภูมะธอน. เมืองชัยจำป๋า. ลพบุรี, พิพิธภัณฑสถานแห่งชาติสมเด็จพะระนารายณ์, 2529. [Phuthorn Bhumadhon. <i>Muang Sap Champa (Lopburi)</i> . Lopburi, King Narai National Museum, 1986.]	(iii)	LANGUAGES	OM	Old Mon
			Khmer	P:	Pali
			Early Old Mon	PA	Pre-Angkorian Khmer
			Epigraphic Middle Khmer	Skt.	Sanskrit
			Early Middle Mon	SM	modern spoken Mon
			Late Old Mon		
			Literary Mon		
			Middle Mon		
			Old Khmer		
(ii)	NAMES				
G/NNk.	A.B.Griswold/Prasert na Nakhorn				
HLS	H.L.Shorto				

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[Champa Yueangcharoen, Prasarn Bunprakhong, Thoem Mitem. An inscribed terracotta Buddha image from Nadun, Mahasarakham province. *Silpakorn* 1980.23.6.63-64.]

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[Prasarn Bunprakhong, Champa Yueangcharoen, Thoem Mitem. Inscribed terracotta Buddha images from Nadun, reg.no. 712/22 and 1106/22. *Silpakorn* 1981.25.1.51-55.]

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[Thoem Mitem, Champa Yueangcharoen. An inscription at the entrance to Narai cave. *Silpakorn* 1984.28.3.53-57.]

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[Champa Yueangcharoen, Thoem Mitem. Inscribed Simā stones at Wat Non Sila, 14c BE. *Silpakorn* 1985.29.5.83-89.]

กรมศิลปากร. *จารึกในประเทศไทย, เล่ม 2: อักษรปัลลวะ, อักษรมอญ*. กทม, หอสมุดแห่งชาติ, กรมศิลปากร, 2529.

[Fine Arts Department. *Inscriptions in Thailand, Vol.II: Pallava script, Mon script*. Bangkok, FAD, National Library, 1986.]

Figure A:	Chronology of inscriptions from Burma and Thailand [Because the discussion concentrates on Khmer-Mon contacts in the Chao Phraya basin and northeastern Thailand, inscriptions from Burma in Sanskrit, Pali, Burmese and Tircul have been omitted. Thai inscriptions have also been omitted because they do not fall within the chronological frame of reference given here. A typology is given only for Mon.]	Abbreviations used in Figures A-G:	
Figure B:	Mon inscriptions from Thailand, not included in <i>DMI</i>	Bkk	Bangkok
Figure C:	Mon inscriptions from Burma, not included in <i>DMI</i>	Lpb	Lopburi
Figure D:	Inscriptions from Thailand excluded from <i>Glossary</i>	NP	Nakhorn Pathom
Figure E:	Inscribed terracotta stupas from Thailand (7c-8c)	M	Museum
Figure F:	Inscribed <i>dharmacakras</i> from Thailand (6c-8c)	NL	National Library
Figure G:	Inscribed silver coins from Thailand (6c-8c)	c	century AD
Figure H:	Buddhist Sanskrit inscriptions from Northeastern Thailand (7c-8c)	m.	die, mould
		pvt.	private collection
		compl.	complete
		fr.	fragment
		l	length
		d	diameter
		l(l)	line(s)
		s(s)	side(s)
		?	unknown

All measurements are given in cm '—' refers to an inscription which is not registered with the FAD.

GLOSSARY

This glossary comprises 186 lemmata, 53 of which are not attested in *DMI*. In the case of words already attested elsewhere and entered in *DMI*, glosses have been kept concise; a cross-reference to *DMI* is given. Words attested in our corpus for the first time are discussed at length here, or will be in subsequent publications. The main entry is followed by the location (inventory number of inscription, see Figures B and C), the last digit indicating the line, an English gloss, followed by a cross-reference to *DMI* (if the word occurs in previously recorded corpus), alternative spellings (if attested

elsewhere in *OM* and *MM*), inflected (*infl.*) and derived (*der.*) forms, if any. This is followed by an etymology in the case of loan-words.

The transliteration follows Shorto's, with *w* being used for vernacular forms and *v* for Indo-Aryan; Shorto's *oau* is transcribed here as *au*, his *eai* here as *ai*. The following symbols are used: (?) unknown, uncertain, reading or gloss; * reconstructed, unattested form; [] lacuna, () emendation, uncertain reading.

'at	KhK.16.4; Jy.9.2 quantifier, 'all'. DMI.19-20. 'ut, 'et, ' 'ut; Lph. 'at, as- (junctural form); MM 'uit; derr. OM rin'ut, MM pa'uit	('upa)jhāy (u)pajhāy	KhK.17.4 Ks.11; Ks.2.1 'preceptor' DMI.21. HLS regards this as a blendform Skt. upādhyāya, P. upajjhāya
'addharāj	Jm.45.4 'princeling (?) P. addha 'half', rāja 'king'	'ekarāt	Tv.3 'king' DMI.23 Skt. ekarāja MM 'ekarāt
'aniruddhadewa	VT.Mm.1-2; VT.Km.2 name	'ey	Mg.iv.2; KhK.19.2, 3, 4, 5, 6; Ks.i; Ks.ii; Jm.(i); Jm(ii); Pg.12; Bass.3 [first person singular (personal pronoun)] I, me, my DMI.24. 'ey, 'e'; MM 'ey
'anurādhapura	Sp.11 capital of Ceylon DMI.6. MM 'anurādhapū 'anūrādhapū	'or	Mg.2.3 'to command to', in subordinate clauses 'so that, in order to' DMI.24-25. 'or; der. p'or; infl. s'or
'anuruttadew	Bass.5 name; P. anuruddha 'devoted to'	kandam kanham	Bass.2 Tv.2 'to construct, build; to perform [work of merit] whence Thai DMI.39. kandaṃ, kandaṃ, (k)inda(m); MM kandaṃ, kanaṃ, kana(m)m; infl.
'abā (la)	BTI.13-14 (?)	kantāp	KhK.16.4; Khk.i. 3 'to be in time for, to finish [act]' DMI.38. kintāp; MM gatāp
'awo	cf. wo'	kandar	Sp.11 'wife, spouse' DMI.39. kindar, kandar; MM kandaw
'awo'	cf. wo'	kanmun	cf. kmun
('a)ss(r)āy	Jm.45.1-2 Skt. āsrāya, P. assaya G/NNk "refuge"	kanham	cf. kandaṃ
'āc	KhK.16.4 'to ask for' DMI.13-14. 'āc; MM 'āt; der. OM rir'āc	kaṃmrataṅ pdai karom	Mg.2.2-3; Mg.3.2 [royal title] Khmer
'ācāryya	Ks.1; Ks.2; Jg.9.1 'teacher' DMI.14. Skt. ācārya, P. ācariya 'ācār, 'acār; MM 'ācāriya, 'acā, cā	karom	cf. kaṃmrataṅ
'āditya	Ks.i; Ks.ii 'sun' [proper name] DMI.5. 14. Skt. āditya 'ādityawār 'sunday'; MM 'aduit	kali gwa'	Tv.2 'to attain to' DMI.49. MM kuli go'
'ārryamaiytrīyya	KhK.16.5 (aryamai)triy P. ariya 'good' right' Skt. maitreya 'benevolent'	kasmun	cf. ksmun
'ita	Tv.2 [part of proper name] respect title DMI.17, 306 'ita; MM yata, 'ita	kāla	Jm.45.8 'time' [here: name (?)] DMI.35. kāl, kāla Skt./P. kāla
'imo'	cf. ymo'	kintu phalaguin	Bass.1

	12th lunar month [March] DMI.38-39. kintu, kintu, kantu Tv.1		'to be king' DMI.58. kmin, kmun; infl.; derr. kumin, kirmin
gatu cay	1st lunar month [April] DMI.38-39. MM kitu, gitu, gatu	kanmun	Ks.7 [frequentative form of preceding; infix -N-]
kił	Pg.14 'to give, bestow' DMI.42-43. kil, kul, kel, keil, kuil; der. krakel; infl.	kyäk	Mg.iii; Mg.iv.1; KhK.16.4, 5; KhK.i.3-4; Ks.1; Ks.2; Ks.7; Ks.i; Ks.ii; KhK.19.4; Jy.11.2-3; Nw.i; BTL.3; D.w.38; Nw.7; Pg.1, 13; Jm.45.2; VT.Mm.1; VT.Km.1
kuiw	Bass.3; Tv.1, 2, 3 DMI.42-43. MM kuiw		'Buddha, sacred being; stupa, relic; (may also be part of personal name)' DMI.59-60. Kyäk, kyek, kyak; MM kyäk
ku	cf. ko'		
kum	VT.Mm.4; VT.Km.4 'also, as well, even' DMI.46-47. kum; der. 'akum; MM kuim	krow	Jy.9.2 '(space) behind; (time) after' DMI.62. krow, krāw; MM krau; derr.
kurun	KhK.17.3; Jy.i.1 [title] Khmer	kwon	cf. kon
kusuiw	Tv.1, 2 'merit' DMI.50. Skt. kuśala, P. kusala	ksmun	Ks.iii ka (< ko'), smun 'king, prince' (?) if so, DMI 394-395.
ko'	Sp.1.1; KhK.16.1, 2; KhK17.3 5; KhK.i.2; Mg.iv.2; Jy.i. A.2 Title (?) and proclitic, marking object, &c. cf. DMI; in Sp.1. providing noun-linkage 'and'.	kasmun	Ks.7 weak form of ko' (?), smun (?)
ku	Pg.2, 16 DMI.43-45. ku, ku', ko'	gatu	cf. kintu
ku	Bass.3 DMI.43-45. MM ku	gana	KhK.17.2 [part of personal name (?), here: drañ gana] see W.M.B.4, cited in DMI.72 g(ana) ḍ(ak)
kon	Pg.2; Tv.1 'child (male, female)'	garluñ	KhK.i.3
konn	Km.45.5, 8 DMI.53. kon	garaluñ	KhK.16.4 'quantity, number' DMI.77. girluñ, girloñ, garloñ, garleuñ, graloñ (Lph.) : MM galuñ; from base gluñ, gloñ (DMI.88).
kwon	Bass.2 DMI.53. MM kwon	gamluñ	Tv.1, 3 [attributive form of base gluñ &c.] DMI.74; cited DMI.88
konn	cf. kon	gasāp	Tv.1 (?)
kom-	Sp.1.2 'to associate', here downgraded to clitic; elsewhere in OM followed by ku. DMI.53-54. kom; infl.; MM kwom, kwom̄m, kwām, kwam, kom, kom̄	guna	Ks.1; Ks.2 'favour, virtue, grace' DMI.78-9.gun, guñ, guṇa; MM gun; Skt./ P. guṇa
kuiw	cf. kil	gulo	KhK.17.7 'family (?)' DMI.50. kulo; MM kulo, kalo; P. kulo voicing warrants explanation
[] ko'	BTL.4	goh	Pg.14 [noun clitic, deictic in origin] DMI.82-83. goḥ, goh, goḥh; MM gah, gāh; derr. rgoḥ
kaḥ	KhK.19.4 verbal negative 'not to' DMI.54-55. kaḥ, kaḥh; infl.		
kmun	66/22; Sp.1.1		

gna	VT.Mm.2; VT.Km.2 [royal prefix to name or title] DMI.84. gna; MM gna	jiw pāl	KhK.i.1 name (?) Skt./P. jīva 'soul', P. pāla 'keeper' (?)
gwa'	Tv.2, 3 [as postverb in kali gwa' (Tv.2), q.v.; second context (Tv.3) unclear, dali gwa'] DMI.80-81; nominalized OM form gwo' DMI.89. base go'; MM go' DMI.49 kuli go' 'to acquire'	ju'	BTI.9 (i) title (?), (ii) great-grandmother DMI.124. Lph.1 for (i), Lph. for (ii) conn. OM tju, and its syllabified form taju q.v. DMI. 167
cak	Ks.7 name (?) DMI.91. cakka (Lph.), in W.K.II.6 kyāk...wil cakka; Skt; cakra: P. cakka	jumnok	cf. jnok
cakravarti	Mg.i.1 'universal monarch' Skt. cakravartin 'ruler'; cakravartitā 'sovereign'	juin jnok jumnok	cf. jin Bass.3 'to be large, big, great' DMI.128. jnok; infl., der. junok, jirnok VT.Mm.2-3; VT.Km.3 attributive form of jnok, -m- infix; DMI.126. jurnnok
caḍoñ	Tv.1 measure, length of foot; applied to time DMI.91. MM caḍon, caḍwon	jmāp	Tv.3 'complete, all, every' from base *jāp, attributive form, -m- infix. DMI.128-129. jmāp
com	Pg.12, 13 'entirely, solely' com ma, com ma' 'only, alone', preverbal; here postverbal in context nom com. DMI.108. com	jmaḥ	KhK.19.2, 5 (?)
chāy	Tv.2 in compound rāñ chāy 'to flourish' possibly connected with Skt. chāya, Om chāy 'to be beautiful', der. cirhāy 'beauty' DMI.116, 315	jreñ jlow	KhK.16.3 personal name; possible alternative reading mreñ BTI.6.7 'cattle, bull, cow' DMI.130. jlow
chuiw	Tv.2 'to find, meet, encounter'	ñi	Tv.2, 3 'to be small (in quantity)' here: sentence- final particle, marking request DMI.132. ñi; MM ñi
janjih	Sp.1.1 'to sing, singing' frequentative form, derived from base *jih or *jeh, -N- infix DMI.122. jīñjeh, jīñjeh	ñāñ	Tv.2 'to be like, resemble' HLS catalyzes it as noun; DMI.131. MM ñāñ, nāñ ñāñ
jāti	Mg.2.4 'lineage, descent group, existence' DMI.120. jāti; MM jāti; Skt./P. jāti	ñāḥ	Sp.1.2; Pg.16 'person, people'; elsewhere also used in lieu of personal pronoun 'he, she, they; someone' DMI.133. ñāḥ, ñāḥ, (ñāḥ) [hapax].
jin	BTI.3 'to bestow, make over, hand over' DMI.125-126. jun, jin, jen	ñāḥḥ	Tv.2 DMI.133. MM ñāḥ Pg.6
juin	Tv.2 DMI.125-126. MM juin	ñāḥḥ	
jinnalāyy	Jm.45.9 name (?) P. jīna 'victorious' (?)	ñāḥḥ ḍik	cf. ñāḥ cf. ḍek

ḍuñ	cf. ḍoñ		'to remain, be located' DMI.147-148. tāw; infl., derr.; MM tau
ḍek	BTI.8 'serf, dependant; person assigned for service at temple, sanctuary'	tāwa	Jm.45.8-9 name
ḍek	Pg.4 DMI.136. ḍek, ḍik, ḍik, ḍi(c); MM ḍik	ti	Bass.3, 4 'earth, soil, land' DMI.148-149. ti, ti'; MM ti
ḍey	Sp.1.3 locative particle 'in, into, to, at, on, towards' DMI.137. ḍey; derr. pḍey, tirḍey	tirla	Bass.3 'lord, master' DMI.172. tirla', tirla, ta('r)la
pḍay	Tv.2 DMI.224-245. pḍey; MM pḍay, pḍey (hapax) from base OM ḍey, p- prefix; since MM fossilized form	tarla	Mg.i.2; Mg.vii; Mg.iv.2 DMI.172. tarla
ḍeḥ	BTI.13 3rd person pronoun; unmarked usually singular DMI.137-138. ḍeḥ ḍeḥ	trala	BTI.2; Jm.(1); Jm.(2); Nw.(b) DMI.172. trala, trala', trila, trila'
ḍeḥ	Pg.2 DMI.137-138. ḍeḥ MM ḍeḥ	tala	Ks.i; Ks.ii; Tv.1 DMI.172. only as MM form tila, tila, tala, tla
ḍeh	cf. ḍeḥ	tuy	cf. toy
ḍoñ	Sp.1.2 'city, country, realm' DMI.135-136. ḍuñ, ḍuñ	tey	VT.Mm.4; VT.Km.4 'hand, arm' DMI.163. tey; der. titey; MM tay
ḍuñ	Tv.1 DMI.135-136. MM ḍuñ	toy	Sp.1.3 'to be finished', marking anteriority of event DMI.161-162. tūy, tuy; infl.; derr. ptuy, tirtūy;
ta (1)	KhK.16.4; KhK.i.3; Jy.11.2; BTI.3 noun-clitic marking benefactive 'for, to' DMI.138. ta conn. Khmer; cf. Jenner 1981; Bauer 1984, 1986.	tuy	Tv.1 DMI.161-162. MM tuy; der. batuy
ta (2)	Pg.14 noun-clitic, marking definite plural, here weak form. DMI.163-164. to', ta (w.f.); MM to', ta', tā'	tḥay	cf. tḥey
taju	Jm.45.4 'lord' DMI.167. tju cf. ju'	tḥey	Pg.3 'sun, day' DMI.167. tḥey; der. tirḥey
(t)anāy	Sp.1.2 (?)	tḥay	Tv.1, 3 DMI.167. MM tḥay, tḥey
(tara)	Nw.7 (?)	tma'	KhK.17.1, 6 (i) 'stone', DMI.170-171. tmo'; MM tmo', tma', tma'
tarla	cf. tirla	tmot	(ii) attributive form of OM to', MM to', ta', tā', definite plural, here: quantifier 'all, every'
tala	cf. tirla	trala	KhK.19.2, 6 (?)
tāw	Jy.9.2	trus	cf. tirla
		truh	Pg.4 male (person) DMI.175. trūs, trus Tv.1. DMI.175. MM truh

truh	cf. trus	dalū	Tv.2 DMI.205. MM dlu
[]ta(nhā) paba	BTl.10 (?)	dwān	Nw.i 'to march against, attack' DMI.206. dwān
[]therdhammāguṇa	Bass.2 P. thera, dhamma, guṇa	dhannarāj	Jm.45.6-7 name Skt./P. dhanarāja, G/NNk. "wealthy king"
dakā	Tv.1 'layperson, donor' DMI.185. MM dakā	na	Vt.Mm.4; VT.Km.4 noun-clitic, instrumental 'with, by means of, through', DMI.209-210. na', na; MM na. Contra HLS, na' (Lph.) strong form of extracted infix -n-
dayah	Tv.2, 3 'to be well-known'	nām	KhK.16.1 'name'; alternatively read daṇām (dar q.v.) Skt./P. nāma
dar	KhK.16.1 part of name	nai' ne'	Mg.2.1; Mg.3.1 Nw.7 'this; here (?)' Khmer (?); cf. Bauer 1986, conn. ne', neh
darān	cf. drañ	nom	KhK.19.4; Pg.12 'to exist, be; to possess' DMI.216. nom; MM nom, nwom, nworīm, nworīn, nwam, nwarīn, nwarīm. OM infl.; der. -panom
dali	Tv.3 in context dali gwa'; cf. kali gwa'; alternatively cf. DMI.205. MM dli', infl. damli, 'constantly, abiding, immovable', assuming in Tv.3 a syllabified cluster	noradra	Jm.45.6-7 part of name
dalū	cf. dlu	now	BTl.12 name (?)
das	Mg.2.3-4 'to be, become' DMI.189-190. das; infl.; derr. dirdas, pa'das	naḥ	Sp.1.3; KhK.16.1; KhK.17.1 noun-clitic; KhK. may permit interpretation as name, but unlikely
dah	Tv.2 DMI.189-190. MM dah, das, dañ	pa	Tv.1 'to do, act, perform' DMI.217-218. pa, pa'; infl.; derr.puwa, pna; MM pa strong form of extracted prefix p-
dān	Pg.14 'gift, alms' DMI.190 dān; MM dān; Skt./P. dāna	(paññā)witi	BTl.11 name (?) P. paññā, vittī
dewatau dewa	Tv.3 Jy.9.2 'god' DMI.198-199. dewatāw; MM dewatāw, dewatau; Skt./P. devatā	pathān	Tv.1 in context pa pathān 'to pray' (?) DMI.221. P. patthanā; by conflation with P. paṭṭhānam (?); MED has pa pattaṇā 'to pray'
dow	Tv.2 'middle, centre' DMI.200. MM dor, dwor, dow	pan	Tv.2
drañ	KhK.17.2 part of name (?), 'tusk' (DMI.204)		
darān	KhK.16.2 in context mān darān		
droh	Tv.3 'to be harsh, resolute' Skt. droha 'injury' LM reflex druīh, gruih		
dlu	Bass.6 'to be dark, blind' DMI.205. d-lu; infl.		

	'four' DMI.224. pan; MM pan	preñ	BTL.5 'buffalo'
(parapa)	Nw.7 (?)	phuiw	Tv.2 'fruit, result' DMI.254. phal; MM phuiw; Skt./P. phala
pāl	cf. jiw		
pāravati	Mg.iii in context kyāk pārvati, part of name; conn. P. pārvata 'mountain; cloud' (?)	ba	KhK.19.2, 5 DMI.257; onomastic ?
pi'	Nw.7 'three', or part of name/title (?) DMI.230-231. pi, pi'; der. pum̐pi	bapeñ	Tv.1 from base MM peñ 'to be full' reflex of either (i) OM causative form (p-) 'to fill' (ii) OM reciprocal form (-r-) 'to fulfil', or (iii) OM nominalized form (-r-) DMI.231. piñ, infl.; derr. pupiñ, pirpiñ; MM peñ
piñ	cf. puñ		
puñ	Jy.9.1; Mg.i.1; Mg.ii.1; Mg.iii; Mg.iv.1; KhK.16.1; KhK.17.1; KhK.19.1; KhK.i.1; D.w.38	baṣā	Tv.1 measurement, viss (= 3.65 lb). DMI.262. MM baṣā, bṣā; HLS: Tamil visai
piñ	Ks.i; Ks.ii (work of) merit' P. puñña DMI.235	bi(hā)r	BTL.4-5 'monastery' DMI.267, 350. bihār, wihār; MM bhā; Skt./P. vihāra; cf. wihāra
puṇya	Mg.2.1; Mg.3.1-2; Ks.7; Ks.iii; Jy.i.1; Jy.11.4; BTL.1; Jy.i.A.1 '(work of) merit' DMI.235. puṇya, pun, p(ū)n, pin Skt. puṇya	buddha	Mg.iv.1; KhK.16.5 DMI.268. Skt./P. buddha
puṇa puin	Nw.7 Tv.2 DMI.235. MM puin	bo kaḥ	Tv.1 name (?)
pus	KhK.16.1-2 name (?) conn. Skt. pauṣa, puṣya '10th lunar month [January]'; DMI has MM puh (DMI.239)	bnañ	Bass.4 unit of paddy-land DMI.272. HLS: from base bān *'terrace'
poy	Bass.3 first person plural pronoun 'we, us' our' (exclusive) DMI.240-241. poy; MM puiy	bnaḥ	KhK.i.2 in context māñ bnaḥ name (?)
puin	cf. puṇya	brau	Tv.1 'woman, female' DMI.277. brow; MM brāw, brau
pḍay	cf. ḍey	bhawa	Tv.3 'existence, incarnation' DMI.280. Skt./P. bhava
pdai	cf. kañmraten	ma	cf. mun
pragata	Ks.7; Jy.i.C.i as praga(ta) 'to procure; be devout' Khmer; OKhm. pragat	manik	Tv.1 here: name, 'gem' DMI.286. manik, mañika; MM manik, mnik; Skt. mañika
pray	Tv.1 'to be excellent, noble' DMI.251. prey; infl.; MM prey, pray; OM der. purey	mahāyuta	KhK.17.1-2 name conn. Skt. 'joined' (?)
		māñ	KhK.16.1, 2, 3; KhK.17.5; KhK.i.2; BTL.8-9

	Jm.45.6 onomastic prefix for persons of either sex; if conn. DMI.284. MM mañ, ma(ng), modern usage applied to males only; more likely to be connected with OM 'husband' 'imāñ, (i)myāñ; MM māñ, as in DMI.18.	yaśo	66/22 P. yasa (?) DMI.308 has yaśodhara, a name of the Buddha
mun	VT.Km.1 attributive particle, relative clause marker. DMI.297. mun, min, man; MM min conn. Khmer; OKhm. man; cf. Bauer 1984, 1986	yaḥ	Tv.1 base of lyah (q.v.) 'to shine. dawn' DMI.309. yās; MM yaḥ; DMI.310. yiryās; MM lyah
ma	VT.Mm.3; Pg.2; Tv.2 DMI.281-282. ma, ma'; MM ma from attributive infix -m-	yāñ	Jy.i.2 part of name (?), in context vraḥ [] yāñ
moy	BTl.5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13; Pg.7, 10 'one' DMI.229-300. moy; MM mwoy, mway, moy; derr. OM mimoy, mirmoy	'imo himo'	KhK.19.5, 6 'to be named, called; name' DMI.307. yamo', yimo', yamo; MM yamu HLS: conn. yo', particle of address (?) Pg.2, 10 Jm.45.5-6 DMI.307. himo', simo'; MM himu
moyy	Jm.45.5		
muirmok	Bass.1 'east; day of moon's waxing period' DMI.295. mirmok, mramok; MM bramāk, bramok, (bamāk), bamok, mamāk, mamak, mramāk, mammāk, mmmāk from base OM mok 'to appear'	ranleh	Sp.1.2 'to dance' frequentative form of *rleh, causative raleh. DMI.319. rinleḥ; base DMI.338
mñah	Jm.45.1 'person, man, one (who)' DMI.301 cf. ñah	rāñ	Tv.2 in compound rāñ chāy 'to flourish' DMI.315. rāñ
mnih	Tv.3 'human being, man' DMI.292. mānus, mānus(sa); MM mānuih, mānih Skt. mānuṣa, P. mānusa; DMI.286 manus, manis (hapax) MM mnih, manin (hapax), manuuh	rāja	Jy.11.1 'king', title, part of name Skt./P. rāja
mreñ	alternative reading for jreñ cf. jreñ	rāw	KhK.16.2 (?), (i) 'manner, like as', DMI.323 row; MM rau (ii) MM rau gau 'to revere'
msunn	Jm.45.1 'five' DMI.304. mṣūn, mṣun, msūn, māsun, masūn, musun; MM masun; OM der. mursūn; contraction of *moy 'one' and *sun 'five' DMI.384-385 for base *sun, OM sūn(na), MM sun	la'it	Tv.2 here: name, 'brick' DMI.327. (la'a)t; MM l'it, l'uit, q̄uit
mhāsami	Tv.1 name (?)	lapa	Tv.3 prohibitive particle, 'do not'; contraction of *lah, *pa'; DMI.330. lapa, MM. cf. pa
ya	Jm.45.3; BTl.12 female onomastic prefix DMI.305. ya	lam	Tv.1 Guillon: 'to deposit' (?), conn. DMI.399. (slom) 'to cover'; DMI.344. lhom, MM, 'to encase'.
		laṅgar	BTl.6, 7 'pair, yoke' (?), conn. OM laṅgur (DMI. 329) Guillon's reading may be questiona- ble; possibly luṅgar.
		lāt	VT.Mm.3; VT.Km.3

	'to mould' DMI.333. lāt	sakkarāt	Tv.1 calendrical year (AD 639). DMI.355. sakarāj, sakarāja; MM sakkarāj, sakkarāt Skt. śakarāja
luṅgar	BT1.6, 7 alternative reading of lāṅgar (q.v.)		
loṅ	Jy.11.2 (?)	satru	Tv.3 'enemy' DMI.360. satru, satru', satru'; Skt. śatru
lop	Sp.1.3 'to enter, go, come, in(to)' DMI.339-340. lop; infl.; derr. plop, rinlop; MM lwop, lop	saṁmbhuc	Pg.5 'food' DMI.365. saṁbhuc, suṁbhuc; MM sambut; Skt. sambhoja
lyah	Tv.2 'light, radiance' DMI.342, 310. yiryās; MM lyah cf. yah	sayar	Nw.i (?)
wa(ṅṅa)	BT1.2 in context: trala wa(ṅṅa), name; P. vaṅṅa 'appearance'	sāsanā	Tv.2 'doctrine, religion' DMI.371-372. sās, sāsana; MM sāsanā, sāsannā (hapax); P. sāsana
wikhyāt	Ks.1; Ks.2, as wikhyā(t) 'to be renowned' Skt. vikhyāti 'fame'	sināw	Sp.1.2 hermit, ascetic' (?) reading uncertain, possibly sinādh(a) conn. Khmer (?)
witān	66/22 part of name (?); cf. yašo	silā	Bass.6 'precept, conduct' DMI.378. sil, sila, sila; Skt, śila, P. sila
wipāk	KhK.17.6 'product, work' DMI.349. wipāk; Skt./P. vipāka 'result, fruits'	sukk(māla)	Jm.45.3-4 name G/NNk: sukha Skt./P. 'delight', sukkha P. 'white' māla Skt./P. 'garland'
wihāra	Nw.7 'monastery' DMI.350. wihār; MM wihār, wihā, wiha; Skt./P. vihāra cf. bi(hā)r	subāhu	KhK.16.2-3 name (?)
wo'	Sp.1.3; Jy.9.1, 2; Jy.i.A.1; KhK.16.1, 3; KhK.17.1; Jy.11.4; Ks.1.1; Pg.6; Jm.45.1, 3; BT1.1, 8; VT.Mm.1; VT.Km.1 'this'; deictic clitic; can be predicative. DMI.353. wo'; der. 'awo' 'here' (?)	suriyakummā	Tv.2 name Skt. surya 'sun', Skt./P. kumāra 'child, boy, prince'
wo []	KhK.17.6	sem	Pg.10 'Shan' DMI.385. MM sem, sem
wo	Ks.i; Ks.2.1	suimi	Tv.1, 2, 3 'together with', noun-particle DMI.381-382. suṁ; MM suim, suim
'awo'	Jy.9.1; Mg.2.1; Mg.3.1; Ks.iii; KhK.19.1, 2 DMI.353. 'awo', locative form ? (HLS)		
'awo	KhK.16.1	skumi	Mg.2.3 (i) 'to possess', attested only in MM com- pound cuin skuim (DMI. 388) (ii) Khmer kum, negative particle, preverbal, s- prefix (OM), hypothetical; see Bauer 1986.
wwa'	Tv.2 DMI.353., MM wo', woo', wwa', wa', wwa'		
wrahma	KhK.17.4 part of name, title via Khmer (?) : Skt. brahma 'priest'		
wrah	Mg.i.2; Jy.i.2; Jy.i.A.1, C.2 Khmer vraḥ, honorific prefix		

smar	Mg.2.4 'low, below' DMI.393-394. smar	swayāga	Mg.i.2-3 name, in context tarla wraḥ swayaga
smiṅ	VT.Mm.2; VT.Km.2; TV.3; Bass.4, 5 'king, prince' DMI.394-395. smiṅ smiṅ; MM smiṅ, smiṅ, smiṅ	hān	Sp.1.3 'place, location' DMI.401-402. hān, w.f. han, hin; combined form han wo' 'here'
śri	Nw.i; Jy.11.1 honorific prefix for persons, shrines, cities DMI.396, 353-354, śri, sri, sriy, srih, sri; MM śri, sri. Skt./P. śri	himo' bār	cf. ymo' Pg.4 'two' DMI.405. bār; MM der. OM birḥar; der, MM tam'ā