The Status of Oral Folktale Narration in Contemporary Phreah Theat Thmor Da Village

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by
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The Status of Oral Folktales Narration in Contemporary Phreah Theat Thmor Da Village

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ABSTRACT

The topic of this thesis is "The Status of Oral Folktale Narration in Contemporary Phreah Theat Thmor Da Village". This research was conducted primarily in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village with 31 informants, in February 2004. The major aim of this research was to ascertain the status of oral narration in the countryside today. The research questions for this work were: Are people in the countryside today still interested in the oral tradition? Who are the main tellers of stories? Do they transmit these to the next generation? How have folktales been narrated in this village?

Major findings included: that the definition of folktales perceived by villagers is different from scholars, in that villagers see folktale in a wider sense, including oral and written literature such as, sastra lpaeng, jataka. All stories that were orally narrated are known by them as roeung preng.

Today people in the village still know their local legends but there is little transmission of these legends. The male informants who could tell local legends in more detail than others are old men age 70-89. They are acchar, elders in the village and from the other nearby villages. Most of the local legends have been transmitted continuously by the previous acchar or the elder in the village. The pagoda is still the main place for keeping the traditions not only religious but also some oral traditions; however, monks are not the main transmitters of local legends. The next generations do not know their local legends. The problem facing us today is the possible disappearance of local legends as the elders die and some others loose their memories.

Besides local legends, the villagers today still tell other folktales. Oral folktale narration is weaker than in the past but is still unbroken. Some folktales live in everyday expressions used by the villagers. They play an important role for entertainment and a didactic role also- the example of one’s experience. The means of transmitting folktales compared to the past has also changed. This study found that Cambodian people could hear stories from different narrators, in different times, places, or circumstances. Some hear the stories orally; others hear the stories through the performing arts, books, and other mass media. These reflect the ways in which Cambodian folktales have been transmitted. We also found that there could be
different versions of a story within the same village, if compare the story to oral narration in other places, to a text version, or manuscript. This study seems to have attracted the village’s interest in their local legends, encouraging them to record and transmit what they remembered for the next generation.

Some recommendations for further research include interviews in other villages to determine whether these findings are applicable to more than one village and encouraging interest in collecting the same as translating folktales from any remaining oral tradition in Cambodia.
CANDIDATE STATEMENT

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iii
CERTIFICATE OF AUTHORSHIP/ ORIGINALITY

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I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

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Note on Transcription of Khmer Words

The transcription of Khmer words normally used is transliteration (one Roman letter for Khmer letter). It didn't appear useful here, as this method does not take pronunciation into account.

At the present time, there is no internationally adopted phonetic system for the transcription of Khmer.

All Khmer words used in this work are approximate transcriptions according to their pronunciation.
# Table of Contents

## Title Pages
- Abstract . i
- Candidates Statement iii
- Certificate of Authorship/ Originality iv
- Acknowledgement v
- Note on Transcription of Khmer Words vii
- Table of Contents viii

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Statement of Problems 1
1.2. Aims, Objectives, Hypothesis and expectations 2
1.3. Limitation and Rationale of the Study 3
1.4. Structure of Content 4

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. General Sources of Folktales 5
2.2. Sources of Cambodian Folktales 10
   2.2.1. Methods of Categorization of Cambodian Literature 10
   2.2.2. Definition and Categories of Folktales in Cambodia 11
   2.2.3. Scholarship on Cambodian Folktales 13
   2.2.4. Folktales in Manuscript and Oral Transmission 14

## CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGIES

3.1. Duration of Fieldwork 18
3.2. Data Collection 18
3.3. Data Analysis 20
3.4. Selecting the Sample 21
3.5. Birdseye View of the Village 22
CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Data Analysis the Definition of Folktales Perceived by Villagers 23
4.2. Data Analysis of Oral Folktale Narration in the Village 25
   4.2.1. The Oral Local Legends in Phreah Theat Thmor Da Village 27
      4.2.1.1. The Oral Local Legends in the Past in the Field Site Village 33
      4.2.1.2. The Oral Local Legends in the Field Site Village Today 34
      4.2.1.3. Conclusion 36
   4.2.2. The Oral Folktales Narration Apart from Local Legends 37
      4.2.2.1. The Oral Folktale Narration Apart from Local Legends of the Village in the Past 40
      4.2.2.2. The Oral Folktale Narration Apart from Local Legends of the Village Today 43
      4.2.2.3. Conclusion 48
   4.2.3. The Relevant Status of Oral Narration and the Different Versions of the Stories 49

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS 63

5.1. Conclusion 63
5.2. Recommendations 68
   - Bibliography 71
   - Appendices 75
      A. Appendix 1. Title of folktales that people in the field site are still realized 75
      B. Appendix 2. The stories in Khmer language 76
         - Story 1: "Roeung Preng Taktorng Ning Provort Watt Phreah Theat Ba Srei"
           (The Legend Related to the Background of Phreah Theat Ba Srei Pagoda) 76
         - Story 2: "Roeung Preng Taktorng Ning Provart Tonle Sngout"
(The Legend Related to the Background of the Dry River) 78

- Story 3: "Roeung Preng Taktorng Ning Provort Chmoh Phum Ba Srei Ning Phum Antar Tvir"
  (The Legend Related to the Name of Ba Srei and Anta Tvir Village) 79

- Story 4: "Roeung Preng Taktorng Ning Provort Boeung Prak Boeung Phtel Khet Kampong Cham"
  (The Legend of Silver, the Basket’s Pond and Its Neak Ta in Kampong Cham Province) 80

- Story 5: "Roeung Preah Reach Kumar"
  (The Prince) 81

- Story 6: "Roeung Kumar Pon Medei"
  (The Thumped Boy) 82

- Story 7: "Roeung Phnom Proh Phnom Srei"
  (The Man’s Mountain, the Woman’s Mountain) 83

- Story 8: "Roeung A Phang Si Bay Creoun"
  (Phang Who Ate lots of Rice) 84

- Story 9: "Roeung Cuc Ning Trei"
  (The Cross Trap and the Fish) 87
  - Story 10: "Roeung Taktorng Ning Tumnirm Bon Camreoun Prah Cun"
    (The Story Related to the Custom of Birthday Ritual) 88

- Story 11: "Roeung A Lev"
  (The Story of Mr. Lev) 88

- Story 12: "Roeung A Lev Ning A Cay"
  (The Story of Mr. Lev and Mr. Cay) 89

- Story 13: "Roeung Phlae Pahout"
  (The Story of Pahout Fruit) 91
- Story 14: "Roeung Sva Birk"
  (The Story of Spreading Monkey) 92
- Story 15: "Roeung Rahu"
  (The Story of Rahu) 93
- Story 16: "Roeung Deoum Kamneut Bon Paccay Buon"
  (The Story Related to the Four Requisites Ritual) 94
- Story 17: "Roeung Kaaib, Khyadamrei, Khtuoy, Snoeung, Vor, Reusei, Porng Morn, Ac Tov Samlab Mornuh"
  (The Story of Centipede, Black Scorpion, Scorpion, Hitching Post, Vine, Bamboo, Egg, Excrement Went To Kill Human Being) 94
- Story 18: "Roeung Ko Ning Seh"
  (The Cow and the Horse) 95
- Story 19: "Roeung Pracgna Mornuh"
  (The Wise of Human Being) 96
- Story 20: "Roeung Tunsay Cang Si Cek"
  (The Rabbit Who Wants to Eat Bananas) 97
- Story 21: "Roeung Tunsay Cang Si Cek"
  (The Rabbit Who Wants to Eat Bananas, From Sipar’s Picture) 97
- Story 22: "Sastra Tunsay Cang Si Cek"
  (The Manuscript of the Rabbit Who Wants to Eat Bananas) 98
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Statement of Problems

Cambodian scholars tend to divide Cambodian literature into two parts: written and oral. To date, most studies have focused on the written literature. Cambodian literature has become a popular subject for literary scholars. In contrast, oral literature has had less attention paid to it and less interest from researchers, including researching, studying or collecting oral narratives, even though oral literature is just as significant as the written form.

Naturally, when we talk about oral literature, we include folktales, which are considered to be the main form of oral literature. In a literary sense, a folktale is defined as the oral narration of stories which were created by the people, transmitted orally from generation to generation without knowing the source, the real author's name and the date, and in the context of the cultural norms of Cambodians in whichever area the stories were based.

As we know, Cambodia has developed a significant corpus of folktales representing a large part of the oral literature of the country during the pre-modern period. These folktales were orally transmitted formally and informally by professional storytellers or in the practice of daily life. However, no researchers have conducted deeper studies into the general status of Cambodian folktale, its life history and the ways in which folktales played a part as local entertainment and in the art of living. This case is very different from other countries where there are many documents for study related to their folktales including their collection and the preservation of their oral culture.

In the past in Cambodia, when mass media-radio, television, and tape recorders had not yet developed, oral folktale narration still played an important role in local communities. It was one of the instruments which people used for amusement, for teaching and as a warning. The traditional oral folktale was strongly rooted in the past. Unfortunately, during the Pol Pot regime nearly everything was destroyed and lost, including the oral tradition. Things that represent the Khmer identity and Khmer culture have also tended to disappear progressively from day to day. Of course, Pol Pot did not want people staying in a group talk. One reason that Pol Pot opposed the oral narration was because they were afraid of revolt from the people.
Nowadays, because of the strong effects of mass media, with the absence of study and the lack of collections of oral folktales, there is much debate on the life of oral folktale narration at the grassroots level in Cambodian villages. For instance, some scholars have claimed that some storytelling which is a part of the oral folk narration has disappeared because of modernization of the culture by mass media.

### 1.2. Aims, Objectives, Hypothesis and Expectations

The aims of this thesis research are to find out the local perception towards folktale definition and to investigate the durability of oral folktale narration in rural areas of contemporary Cambodian society, through a case study in Phreah Theat Thmor Da Village, Phreah Theat Commune, Oreing Euv District, Kampong Cham Province. We wanted to search for the existence of oral folktales as part of the living arts of this group of Cambodian people. This study will also include a collection of folktales narrated by the villagers, information on, and investigation of the changing shape of the oral form, by comparing it to the past and comparison of the stories from oral version to the written text.

To succeed in this goal we asked some open questions such as: how do people in the countryside perceive the concept of folktale? Do people at the grassroots today still narrate folktales to the next generation? How many stories do they still remember? How, when and where do they narrate folktales? Among these people, who are the main storytellers? And who are the listeners? How were these folktales told in this village? Has mass media affected the oral tradition of this village?

In this project I will argue that some people in this village, still practice the tradition of folktale narration to the next generation even though mass media has affected their entertainment, and they practice less often than in the past. Mass media has severely affected the villagers and replaced the tradition of folktale narration in many families. However, the tradition of narration still exists and is unbroken. Secondly, I will argue that the villagers’ and monks’ ideas on the definition of folktale and the essence of the stories are different from the definitions of scholars, because villagers' knowledge is limited. The main point of folktale narration for the villager is for amusement only. Oral folktale narration in this village varies from the oral narration in other countries or texts.

I hope that this research study will establish a bridge and a framework for
deeper folktale studies including collecting, classifying and charting the life history of oral folktale narration at the grassroots level. Also, it should be beneficial to folklorists, anthropologists, historians, and psychologists in the sense that the results of this research study will become a conceptual map that sheds light on the relationship between oral folktale narration and the Khmer arts of living as a whole. For instance, this study should provide more understanding to the Mores and Custom commission of the Buddhist Institute, who are responsible for collecting folktales, on the general status of oral folktale in contemporary Cambodian villages and some consequences of collecting folktales before they collect further folktales elsewhere in Cambodia. Another objective is that we expect this study to encourage the players involved in publication, education, and social development to turn their interest into applying folktale studies for their own purposes. In addition, this study will become a part of the literary documents on Cambodian oral folktale for utilizing in other studies.

1.3. Limitation and Rationale of the Study

This topic research is written for Master degree in Cultural Studies at Buddhist Institute. The scope of this research mainly focus and investigate only on the case of oral tradition in Phreah Theat Thmor Da which these included the local perception towards folktale definition, the status of oral tradition in the past and in contemporary date, and showing the durability of stories which narrated in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village compared with version of stories narrated in Campuchea Krom and on written text: book and Sastra.

This study was conducted in a village in Kampong Cham province. According to the original proposal, the essential condition for choosing this site was that this village was one in an area I knew well. It is also researchable and accessible. It is located near the region where I grew up, and I remember listening to folktales there. This village was considered as suitable as it is an old village that existed a long time before the Pol Pot Regime and has a lot of old people plus a pagoda and a school.

There are several other reasons for choosing this site. First, the village is considered relatively isolated, but has its own form of oral culture which has connections with other nearby villages such as Tror Peang Neang village (her pond’s village) and Ba Srei Village. Secondly, this village has not been the subject of recent
research. Thirdly, the village has been less affected by imported culture as its infrastructure is not sufficiently developed and it is culturally different from other higher geographic locations such as Siem Reap or Ratanakiri province. For instance, the village still has no electricity at night. Nearly every house uses lamps and fluorescent lamps (long glass light lamps) at night and televisions, radios, and tape recorders which are battery-powered. Finally, the key reason is that this community has a strong relationship with the remains of Pre-Angkor to Angkor temples\(^1\), and Phreah Theat Ba Srei pagoda, a historic pagoda which has several folktales linked to its history, its name, the names of the villages, and animist beliefs such as Neak Ta, and ghosts. These stories may well have been narrated continuously from the sixth century, the Chenla period, through the eleventh century Angkor period, and up to the present day.

Hopefully, from the research on this village, we may be able to present an integrated account of folktale narration in Cambodian culture today.

### 1.4. Structure of Content

This thesis covered 130 pages, and divided into five Chapters: Introduction, Literature Review, Methodologies of Research, Data Analysis and Discussions, Conclusion and Recommendation. In addition, it includes two appendixes which in appendix one listed the title of stories that people in Phreah Theat Thm or Da village still remembered the most, and in appendix two were the nineteen stories collection from oral narration of people in the field study. Moreover, it was enclosed one story which recopied from Sastra at Wat Thmey Sereymunkul, Kampong Cham Province.

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\(^1\) According to an inscription of Phreah Theat Prah Srei (Now called Phreah Theat Ba Srei), which was found in Phreah Theat Ba Srei pagoda, translated by G. Cœdès (1953) in his book *Inscription du Cambodge*, Volume V, p. 32-33, 170-171. The inscription mentioned the construction date of the temple in Angkor period, maybe in the 10\(^{th}\) century, and the name of king who reigned in the Pre-Angkor period, Isanavarman I. These traces still remain in this area today. During fieldwork, the researcher also found traces of ceramic, that maybe date from that period as well.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. General Sources of Folktales

Regarding the origins of folktales, some scholars believe that in ancient times all members of society shared folktales. Most ancient people lived in rural communities. Through the centuries, large numbers of people moved to cities and gradually lost touch with so-called "authentic" folk traditions. According to scholars in the 1800s, these traditions were preserved by uneducated peasants called "folk", whose way of life had changed little for hundreds of years. Two German brothers, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, were among the leading folklore scholars. From 1807-1814, they started to collect folktales from peasants who lived near Kassel, Germany. They believed that by collecting these tales, they were preserving the heritage of German storytelling. Their collection later became known as Grimm's Fairy Tales, illustrating how folktales and fairy tales are terms that are often used interchangeably.

Folktales are traditional and we do not know who created them. Of course, they are very old, carried and preserved by word of mouth, and intended for all regardless of age, sex, class, and place. In recent years, these folktales have been written down. We know their authors, from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and their content is usually more detailed and complex than that of oral tradition of folktales. Anyway, folktales can be divided into cumulative tales, animal tales, humorous tales, fairy tales, tall tales, legends, and myths, (Wolf, Virginia and Levy, Michael: 2004, p.1).

Today, scholars usually consider "folk" to be a group of people who share at least one common linking factor. Some scholars believe that even a family can be considered "folk" because many families have their own traditions and stories. Folktales occur as these are passed from person to person. Scholars believe that folktales existed in all rural communities and have been transmitted orally from one generation to the next over a long period of time.

Most folktales were not created especially for children. However, much of this kind of literature is preserved in a direct and simple style that appeals to the young. In addition, young readers enjoy the action, colorful characters, and humor that are typical of folk literature. A folktale may tell the reader about the ethical and moral values of the people who produced it, or the readers may learn how a people
explained natural occurrences such as floods, thunder, and death before there were scientific explanations for them.

Folktales can also be didactic; Stith Thompson in his book *The Folktale* wrote that folktales were not only for entertainment but also for giving lessons, as every story was a means of entertainment and at the same time helped towards a solution of a particular problem (Thompson: 1977, p.428). The stories which the collectors have recorded from the lips of the older peasants did not originate with these particular aged men or women but were learned, perhaps in their youth, from someone else. Anyway, every area in the world, different nationalities or religious beliefs, will naturally have folktales which have been transmitted and remain today through an oral narration.

One aim of human beings in oral narration is to release stress. Another is to express religious beliefs which can affect the thoughts, ideas, and ideals of people. Because people benefited from the value and entertainment of these stories, they kept repeating them. Folktales foster creative imagination and relieve suffering; therefore they have maintained their popularity (Vichea: 1999, p.3).

When telling stories, the tellers pride themselves on preserving them as ancient tradition. It is not their own story, but belongs to their people and is as much a part of them as any of their customs or beliefs. Though the naïve collector may not realise it, the scholar knows that the folktale read in a book or manuscript has probably had a long life before its initial collection and that the version before him is merely one of the many retellings of the story in many places since it was first told and started on its long journey. But even if a particular telling of a story is no more than one of many scores or hundreds of variants, it replays its past when the scholar follows the urgings of his curiosity and begins to study the genre in its entirety. However, with the oral folktale the situation is quite different (Thompson: 1977, p.428).

For the oral folktales, the story is not fixed in writing but is dependent upon human memory for narration. Walter Anderson and Judy Ledgerwood agree that the endings of stories often vary greatly in different versions. Anderson found that the detail of stories, which he had studied, concerned (1) the person involved, (2) riddles, and (3) other details of the narrative (Ibid: 1977, p.432). Stith Thompson, the famous
American folklorist in his book titled *Folktales*, described the tradition of folktale narration in western countries. His interpretations have become the unique foundation used to understand the oral folktale tradition in the Cambodian village where I conducted my research.

When talking about folktales, the transmission and narration needs to be the focus. The term "narration" is translated into Cambodian as *nitirn*. According to the Khmer dictionary of Venerable Choun Nat, *nitirn* comes from a Pali word meaning "narration, telling the events or stories, the stories" (Nat: 1967, p. 1062). The *English Dictionary* by Collins Cobuild defines narration as, "A story or narrative. Narrating a story means telling it from your own point of view, describing the things that happened in the correct order. If you narrate a film or documentary program, you speak the words which accompany the images which tell what is happening" (Collins Cobuild: 1987, p. 955). The dictionary *Thai Chbab Reach Bandit Sthan* defined the concept of "narration" (nithan) as the stories or folktales that have been narrated and transmitted for a long time such as the *Jataka* stories, *Aesop’s Fables*, etc. The concept of narration is as broad and wide as the concept of folktales. Narration is a way of telling stories that covers myths, short stories, one’s own experience, or stories for education. Narration has its own characteristics and styles that use the voice and the spoken word to arouse one’s feelings or sentiments (Prak Khorng: 2000, p. 5).

In general, folktale narration is a cultural form in all countries. Oral narration provides amusement and comfort to listeners in a simple way. This means that most people have probably experienced the telling of folktales. When one society has communication links with other countries, oral folktale narration also migrates to those countries. One society will narrate folktales to another and vice versa. The narrators receive the folktales from their partners for narration in their own countries as well (Ibid: 2000, p. 56). In this way, previous generations have been transferring these stories from generation to generation to the present time. Generally, folktales have been transferred via the oral form to written texts (Vichea: 1999, p.11). In Pali the word "oral" is *mukhabadha*. The relation between oral and written folktale is explained by Prak Khorng's graph which comes from an idea developed by Stith Thompson, illustrating how the written form developed from the oral, and in turn an oral form can develop from a written one (Prak Khorng: 2000, p. 58)
An example of this is related by Vichea Ket Prak Thum, the author of a Thai book of folktales *Nithan Phoeun Ban*, in her first chapter (Vichea: 1999, p. 2). She says that the doctrine of *sarathasamucaya*, which was developed about 700 years ago, stated that the Buddha often narrated folktales. Everyone, even the gods, and invisible magic beings adored listening to folktales narrated by the Buddha. At the same time, folktale narration and transmission was practiced actively in the family and small communities as well. During the Buddha's time, as mentioned in the *Monkul Sutta*, the population in the middle country (machima prathet) actually preferred to hire a storyteller to narrate to the people, using for example rest halls (sala samnak) along the roads. People perceived that all human beings, when listening to oral stories, would progress in their wisdom and could acquire *mungkul* (prosperity). She also relates a story that tells how people may be cursed by a *devada* as they narrate the stories in the daytime because these gods have no time to listen and be amused by them. These *devada* are not free because they are busy taking care of their king, Isvara. These examples show how important stories have been for centuries. The oral tradition and the tradition of hiring a storyteller to narrate stories have also appeared in Thai culture from ancient times until the reign of King Ratanakkosin. In Thailand, stories are performed at traditional rituals after the monks have finished their sermons, such as in the evening of the Chuk ritual (kuo cuk).
As Stith Thompson expressed in *The Folktale* every society has an oral folktale tradition that includes a narrator and an audience. The stories that were narrated could be stories of recent events, or oral narration that came from the ancient memories of the older generations. Male and female, old and young are fascinated when listening to these stories. Listening to the narrations entertained or relaxed the listeners after the hard work of everyday life, allowing them to recognize the characters’ behaviour in the stories, and to practice religious beliefs in their own way.

There are many geographical areas and particular occasions around the telling of stories. Oral narration appears in the villages of Central America, on the boats of the Mediterranean, in the deserts of Australia, in the Hawaiian Islands, in the jungles of Brazil, and in the igloos of the Eskimo. (Thompson: 1977). Some storytelling occurs during rituals, or as performance art. Linda Degh, Makenson, Langstrof and Ratoromans investigators into the occasions of telling stories in communities, claimed that the telling of stories happened when people were farming in the fields, sewing clothes, during the winter season when people found it hard to work outside, and in any place where people were limited, such as in a hospital or a prison (Prak Khorng: 1999, p. 71).

Oral folktale narration has appeared at every level of society. It includes the court, and the high officials down to the grassroots level. The majority of narrators have been female. In Europe, there were and are many professional storytellers who learnt this skill as a career to earn a living. These are the professional storytellers. Storytellers could be based at court, while others lived out in the communities. Narrators in rural communities are usually people from the lower classes, the peasantry, who often do not have much time to see people or tell stories to them. Among some groups, a careful distinction is made as to the kind of tales proper for certain occasions (Thompson: 1977, p. 454). Some may be told only by women, others only by men, some are told by initiates or those with special learning. Among some American Indians, stories may be told only in the winter (Ibid: 1977, p. 453). Some stories however became traditional so that everyone in the village could narrate them.

As for the development of modern technology, the traditional oral transmission of folktales has also changed its form, from the oral to the written, and is
now being changed by electronic media such as CDs, telephone, or e-mail. There are now more places for transmitting stories: within the family, on an airplane, in a tour bus, at a café, Internet shop, on the boat, etc.

2. Sources of Cambodian Folktales.

2.1. Methods of Categorisation of Cambodian Literature

Cambodia is a country with a rich and popular literature. There has been some work on the categorisation of literature; however, it remains somewhat sparse and underdeveloped with only a few researchers having conducted detailed studies.

First, Ly Theam Teng in *La Literature Khmere* divided Cambodian literature into six categories: religious, oral, novel, stone inscription, technical and song (Ly: 1960, p. 15-43).

Second, Mr. Au Chhieng divided Khmer literature into three types: *sastra teh* (scripture), *sastra lpaeng* (entertainment), and *sastra kpuon* (technical and education) (Pen Setharin: 2000, p. 1).

Third, Khing Hoc Dy in his famous book *Aperçu Général sur la Litérature Khmère* divided Khmer literature into five forms as follows: *silacarrik* (inscription literature), *kampi* (holy literature: religious, historical, technical and educational), *lpaeng* (entertainment: lpaeng and roeung preng), *virakatha* (supreme literature), and literature influenced by foreign countries (Khing: 1997, p.2).

Fourth, Mr. Izumi Kazuhisa divided Cambodian literature into five categories includeing *silacarrik* (inscription), *kampi* (holy literature): *roeung preng* (novel, legend), *peak bandau* (riddle), and *camrieng* (song), *roeung lpang* (supreme literature: epics and classics), and contemporary western literature (Pen: 2000, p. 2).

Fifth, the *Folklore Book for Grade 10* prepared by the Ministry of National Education divided Cambodian literature into two parts: written literature and oral literature or oral folk literature or folklore (folktales, folk song and folk dance). Folktale is divided into three types: myth, legend and tales (Ministry of National Education: 1982, p. 19).

Finally, Anne Guillou, in her book titled *An Annotated Anthology of Khmer Proverbs, Sayings and Tales on Child Care, Health and Welfare* stated that Cambodian scholars have amassed documents on Khmer literature during the middle period (fifteenth to nineteenth centuries). These have been divided into two types:
kampi (sacred literature) and lpaeng (entertainment literature). Entertainment literature covered two kinds of literature: folktale (roeung preng) and classical literature (aksorsil tantei) (Guillou: 1993, p. 4-5).

Analyzing all these categories, we find that roeung preng khmere (Cambodian folktale) is a kind of Cambodian oral literature and is also included in lpaeng, so-called entertainment literature. Roeung preng refers to myths, tales and legends. Tales here are divided into five types as follows: social, humorous, animal, wonder and fable.

2.2.2 Definitions and Categories of Folktale in Cambodia

Scholars have defined Cambodian folktales in different ways, but there are also similarities.

Muriel Paskin in her famous book Cambodian Folk Stories from the Gatiloke defined folktale as a branch of folklore. It depicts the traditional beliefs and customs of the common people. "folk" means "the people" and "tale" is an old Danish word meaning "speech", so "folktale" means the speech of people who passed on the stories, histories, customs, and their beliefs from one generation to the next" (Muriel: 1998, p. 12).

The Dictionary of Literary Terms defines folktales more widely, from outright myths to fairy tales. It also states that folktales include the legends or narratives from the oral tradition of a group of people (Harry Shaw: 1973, p. 163). The same this the dictionary Cambodian-English Dictionary had translated the Cambodian term "roeung preng" into English term "folktale". "Roeung" means the story or events, and "preng" means to be old, ancient, antique, and legendary. So, "Roeung Preng" is refered to the old story that has been preserved orally from generation to generation (Headley Jr: 1977, p. 881).

Folktale is also defined as "all forms of prose narrative, written or oral, which have come to be handed down through the years". Like other kinds of literature, folktale can be seen as a mirror of society; it also has a function to educate people indirectly. It has five main functions: to be a mirror of the culture, to validate aspects of the culture, to educate, to encourage cultural norms, and help people fulfill their dreams. Besides these, folktales can cultivate the aesthetics of young people's minds through the exploits of heroes in the stories and its philosophy (Teri Yamada, Folktale
notes: 2002).

Judith M. Jacob in a book *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia, A Preliminary Guide* said: "The folktale has a delightful spontaneity, vigor, and realism" (Jacob: 1996, p. 15). On the other hand, Khing Hoc Dy wrote about folktale as, "A kind of oral literature which could be transmitted by professional storytellers such as the guitar man (chapei singer), ayai singer, and other artists, through to our ancestors, old people and common people, without needing sources or dates" (Khing: 1995, p. 78). Leang Hap Ann showed that *roeung preng* -- for example, "Thun Chay", "Moranak Mirda", "Phnom Sampov", and "Neang Kang Rei"-- are the true stories of the local people (Leang: 1966, p. 8).

In the same way, Rai Pok defined folktales by referring to stories which use simple interpretations but which also tend to express the complex symbolic and emotional sides of human experience. Folktales use characters such as animals, humans, and plants, and they include narratives about religion, belief systems, living beings, and visible and invisible things. He included some written literature in these definitions as well (Pok: 1956, p. 1040).

As far as this investigation is concerned, we found that the term "Cambodian folktales" was quite ambiguous. The term folktale was translated into the Khmer language in two different ways but referred to the same thing, that is, "stories which have been transmitted by word of mouth." According to the book *Aksorsil Khmer Thnak Ty Dab* (Khmer Literature for Grade 10), prepared by a Cambodian educational committee, So Mukheang, Yin Vantha, Ly Somuny, the term folktale was translated into the Khmer language as *tamnal katha*, but other scholars such as Khing Hoc Dy (1997), Ray Pok (1956), Solange Thierry Bernard (1985), Judith M, Jacob (1996), and the Buddhist Institute² have all used the Khmer term *roeung preng*.

Another important issue is that many scholars categorize folktales in different ways depending on the type of narrative. Solange Thierry Bernard divided Cambodian folktale into five kinds: judicial tales (roeung keng kantray), origin tales (roeung daem kannaet), and folktales about *neak ta* (spirits of the earth), folktales about animals and about plants (Bernard: 1985).

² The Buddhist Institute used the term *roueng preng* in the title of Cambodian Folktale Collection, 2000, Phnom Penh.
Saveros Pou divided Cambodian folktales into four types as follows: fables, explanatory tales, popular folktales, true stories, and educative stories (roeung preng samrap sthapana) (Khing: 1997, p. 82).

The Buddhist Institute published nine volumes of Cambodian folktales and divided Cambodian folktales into six categories: social tales, judicial tales (King Kantray), origin tales, animal tales, plant tales, and neak ta tales (Buddhist Institute: 2001, p.2).

### 2.2.3 Scholarship on Cambodian Folktales

According to the analysis of original documents, we found that there were a number of national and international scholars who have studied the history of Cambodian literature and have written many books and articles on this topic. Folktales became popular with many scholars during the nineteenth to twentieth centuries. Most of these scholars, however, collected rather than analysed them.

The authors and their relevant topics that I have used for this research include: Solange Thierry Bernard, in her book *Le Cambodge des Contes*, that has been noted many important things related to Cambodian folktales perspectives, the oral transmission of folktale, the raconteurs of the story, the listeners to the story, and critical analysis in each classification of Cambodian folktales. Judith M. Jacob in the book entitled *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia, A Preliminary Guide*, also contained much information on folktale definition and stories which are still popular with Cambodian people, and often these appeared in oral form. Dr. Khing Hoc Dy, a famous Cambodian scholar who has researched and given an overview of Cambodian literature in his book *Aperçu sur la littérature khmère* gave a definition of Khmer folktales and provided a general analysis of other scholarly works with some key characteristics that are the basis of folktale transmission. According to his definition of folktale we might conclude that at anytime, both in their free time and at work, our ancestors had a great tradition of storytelling to the younger generation in order to entertain, to educate, and to transfer their knowledge to them. In the book *An Annotated Anthology of Khmer Proverbs, Sayings and Tales on Child Care, Health and Welfare* by Anne Guillou, there are some special comments about folktales related to children, with analysis and some background of folktale narration in the Cambodian family to the younger generation (1993). Another source of Cambodian
literature is *The Bunch of Khmer Literature for Grade 5*, published by the Centre of Programming and Book Publishing in 1982. This series contains basic information on Khmer folktale study. They are the first books that children use to study folktales systematically.

Some scholars have focused on the social significance and form of Cambodian folktales. May Ebihara in her doctoral thesis *Svay, a Village of Cambodia* comments on folk religion in Svay village, including the folk beliefs of villagers and the oral narration of these beliefs. Vandy Ka Onn in *Réflexion sur la Literature Khmère* said that folktales are the scientific accomplishment of the older generation, what it has produced and has tried to preserve. It is a mirror of culture and society and teaches morality to human beings. It is not only for amusement but also for teaching in two ways: the theme and the idiomatic expression of the story. As Judy Ledgerwood said in her dissertation: “Stories can be seen as didactic. They tell people in a straightforward way how to behave and how not to behave. Stories provide a variety of acceptable roles that people can choose to follow and also provide unacceptable roles which people may be accused of following” (Judy Ledgerwood 1990: p, 69-70). Therefore, Cambodia folktales can be considered examples of the Cambodian way of life.

### 2.2.4. Folktales in Manuscripts and Oral Transmission

Cambodia is similar to other countries in the world; besides written literature, they also have oral folktales that have been narrated by all types of people. Folktales can be said to belong to the people because they derive from their way thinking, their dreams, and from their experience of everyday life.

Cambodia has a corpus of folktales that have been transmitted to the next generation from person to person. However there have been few studies in this area. The first study of Cambodian folktales was by a French scholar named Etienne Aymonier. In 1878, he collected some Khmer folktales and published a French translation entitled *Text Khmères Publiés avec Traduction Summaries* (Aymonier, E.: 1878). Another French study was by Adhémard Leclère who brought together some Cambodian folktales that were published in 1895, in French, under the title *Contes et Légendes du Cambodge* (with the introduction by Leon Feer) (Leclère: 1895). Besides these two, there were also many French scholars who studied Cambodian folktales.
although they were primarily collectors of tales rather than analysts of their historical or cultural background. We are unsure of the reasons for this interest from the French. One possibility might be that the French wanted to control and change Cambodian society to enforce their own plans and expectations so they needed to understand all forms of Khmer culture, including the spiritual beliefs and ideas of the country which appeared in the oral stories.

As we know, oral literature relates to its social context. Whenever society has changed, then oral literature, which is a reflection of society, has changed as well. Certainly, a long time ago, folktales were transferred from one generation to another and owed their existence to this oral transmission. Folktales have created by grassroots people so they were very popular for Cambodians, 80 percent of whom are peasants who rely on rice growing and agriculture. The first great evolution in Cambodian folktales took place in the late fifteenth century with the transformation from oral narration to palm leaf manuscripts (sastra). However, we found that the special tales selected for writing on sastra were basically humorous tales of animal characters. The special tales that interested most Cambodian people were the rabbit stories and humorous tales. At present at the Ecole Française d'extrême Orient (EFEO) in Phnom Penh, at Wat Thmey Serey Monkul, in Kampong Cham province, national libraries, and the Buddhist Institute, we can find some folktales that are written on palm leaves such as the rabbit sastra, entitled "The Rabbit Who Wants to Eat Bananas" and "The Rabbit Who Helped to Build a House" or "The Rabbit Reap Thach". Other folktales found on palm leaf manuscripts are "The Four Bald Men", the Jataka stories and a lot of lpaeng (entertainment) stories. The most important written collection is the nine volumes of 248 folk stories gathered by the Commission of Khmer Customs of Cambodia and published by the Buddhist Institute from 1965-1974. The introduction of each book mentions the oral tradition in each village and where they were collected. The most important institution in this area of folktale collection has been the Buddhist Institute.

Folktale study is an important literary subject and was adopted in the pagoda schools during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Stories which were used for teaching were written down on palm leaf manuscripts and they were used to measure the level of understanding of students in reading and writing, in order to progress to
more difficult sastra lpaeng and sastra desa (manuscripts for sermons), which were the highest grades of study. Teachers used these in order to entertain and orally explain moral values to the students in indirect ways. The most famous stories in this group are "Thun Cey", "The Snake Keng Kang", "Cao Bay Kdang", "The Righteous Chief Man", and "The Judge Rabbit" (Hin Bin: 1968, p. 11-20). In the same way people were interested in transmitting their knowledge to the next generation through the culture of oral tales and recitation. Ly Theam Teng and Malaykhem claimed that during the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, many folktales such as "Cao Caksmok", "A Lev", "Thun Cay", and "The Judge Rabbit" (Sophea Tonsay) and others were created and then transmitted through oral narration, and they deeply affected people's thinking. These folktales described local everyday life, customs, traditions, and beliefs sympathetically. The characters appearing in folktales could be kings, queens, officials, courtiers, judges, fortune tellers, monks, doctors, and farmers – in fact everyone from the grassroots to the town dweller and the court (Ly, et al: 1968, p.19).

Folktales made their appearance at every occasion from children’s bedtime to ritual ceremony days, Buddhist days at the pagoda, at home, on the farm, sitting under the shade of a tree, in the fields while tending cows or buffalos, or taking horses to eat grass. Furthermore, the main transmitters of folktales were the old people: acchar (lay headman of the temple), kru (teacher), neak chapei, neak chamrein tror, sadirv, neak sbek, lok ta (old persons), according to Solange Thierry in her book Le Cambodge des Contes (Bernard: 1985). She added that in the countryside, the main folktale narrators were acchar, monks, and old people. She said that if we wanted to know the stories, we just had to ask them and they would be proud to tell these stories. Not so long ago, the culture of oral folktales was very actively practiced and people did not forget them. The study An Annotated Anthology of Khmer Proverbs, Saying and Tales on Child Care, Health and Welfare by Anne Guillou indicates that today the oral tradition is changing and we are losing it bit by bit. Moreover, the Buddhist Institute, after 1974, also had no opportunity to collect folktales and print its tenth volume. The younger generation now, however, has the opportunity to study folktales in their educational programs (Guillou: 1993, p. 9).

This literature review has analysed books and other relevant documents on folktales including data from interviews and other scholarly consultations, without
which it would not be possible for me to write and find out the tradition of folktale narration in the past and in contemporary Cambodian villages.
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGIES

3.1. Duration of the Fieldwork

The duration of the fieldwork depended on the sites. The main research site was Preah Theat Thmor Da Village from 27th February 2004 to 12th March 2004. Four additional field sites were: Wat Thmei, Kampong Cham province where I spent two days, from 25th February 2004 to 26th February 2004; Pong Ror where I spent three days from 2nd April 2004 to 5th April 2004; Mohaleap where I spent one day on 6th April 2004. Some other interviewees were interviewed in Phnom Penh before going into the field. This interview stage was dependant on the availability of time.

3.2. Data Collection

All data was collected from secondary and primary sources. The collection of data from primary sources included fifteen days of ethnographical research conducted in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village, the model site for this field research, and interviews with other informants at Wat Thmey, Wat Mohaleap, in Pong Ror village, in Phnom Penh and with other educated individuals. Snowball sampling was used for this step. In the main field research, the researcher took care in the selection of informants by consulting with the village elders who knew who the interviewees were and who would be willing to be interviewed. Thirty-one interviewees, about five percent of the population in the village, were selected for an interview, and were divided into six different groups: three government officials, thirteen ordinary people, two teachers, seven students, three acchar, and three Buddhist monks. They were male and female, and all over the age of fourteen.

Since Pheah Theat Thmor Da Village has no ayai singer, chapei singer, or acchars, in order to develop a broad sample of data and retain flexibility, we chose twenty-nine more informants, who lived near the village and elsewhere, to interview as mentioned above. All together the interviewees totaled sixty persons. Materials used for this process included on-line searches, tape recorder, camera and some stationery. The secondary sources involved gathering related documents on the topic from the library and on-line searches. It was useful to find the relevant research on this type of fieldwork.

This research adopted the following three methods for collecting primary data.

- **Semi Structured Interview:** This was used in order to study the depth of the
informant’s knowledge and to gather coherent information on oral folktale narration, which remains part of their entertainment and is a living art of the people. There were two stages to the questioning:

During the first stage of the research, the interviewee was asked about folktales in the village (local legends) that had not yet been collected, and which were linked to historical sites, including folktales about the pagoda, the neak ta, the pond, the name of the village and the neighboring mountain. The following questions were asked: 1) Have you ever heard your local legends? 2) Besides the local legends, have you ever heard other oral narration of folktales that have appeared in print? 3, What are the most popular folktale stories that you remember best and can narrate? 4, Who told them to you? 5, When and where? And the other main topic question was: 6, Have you ever narrated or told those stories to the next generation? 7, if so why? 8, In your opinion what do you think is the essence of oral folktale narration? 9, And how do you define folktale?

Through these questions we aimed to find out local people’s understanding of folktales and the status of oral folktales that related to the culture of their village. Moreover, the main informants who could still remember the stories would be identified and noted. In this way, not only could we collect folktales but we could also learn who the main narrators were and who the main listeners were, the circumstances including time and place where the stories were narrated, and the ways in which the interviewees perceived folktales when they were telling, listening or transmitting them.

The second stage of the research entailed the same questions, but focused mainly on the status of oral folktales stories in general, and the stories apart from the local legends of this village, particularly those which had been collected and published. Solange Thierry Bernard has grouped these stories into 5 types: animal tales, social tales, humorous tales, fables, and explanatory tales (Bernard: 1985). This stage of the research identified how much people remembered about these stories and reminded us which stories were the most popular for them. It would then be possible for the researcher to understand the transmission of folktales and the local perceptions of the changing oral culture. Through using this method of questioning, the status of oral narration in the contemporary Cambodian village might be ascertained.
- **A Group Discussion:** this was conducted with the local people, including two elder men, the head of cultural heritage in the village, and two relatives (one from outside the village, my father) and me. I used this method in order to search for complete stories, to understand local people’s perceptions of what has been lost and to gain an idea about the changing nature of the oral form. Through group discussion, whole stories, parts of which may have been forgotten, could be reunified into a complete whole.

- **Participant Observation:** we used this method in order to find out the time, place, and manner of the storyteller’s actions and what the listener does when stories are being told. In Buddhist culture, the day and the time when the people come together is important because it is the time that allows space for people to tell stories for entertainment, or teaching, and especially to transmit stories that they have remembered from the older generations. In this case, we tried to build trust with the people in order to gain access to them. Luckily, I have relatives in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village so it was not so hard to gain access and to build up a relationship with the villagers. However, the time was too short so the data we got may not be fully representative.

### 3.3. Data Analysis

Results from this fieldwork were analysed in conjunction with secondary sources. This is Text-Based Analysis. To analyse all the data from both secondary and primary sources, I had to develop consistent categories and coding. After this was done, I could proceed to an overall analysis of the data in regard to its support of the hypothesis. For data analysis from documents, critical analysis was done in order to ensure accurate information. For data analysis from fieldwork, such as data from interviews, a grounded theory approach was used, which required a question-by-question analysis of each interview in a scientific way under the supervision of my thesis advisors. Daily records from observations while in the field were required. These methods helped me to see how people perceive their folktales and what role they play in their oral culture.

In terms of folktale forms and categories, the method of five sub-folktale categories by Bernard (Bernard: 1985) was applied. This method provides the writers with an overview and limits folktale definition and classification. In terms of data
categorisation and coding, two forms of coding system (1) one that fulfills the requirement of content analysis similar to Rao (2000) and (2) the conventional method of marking oral versions as set forth in Thompson (1977) was followed. The analytic induction method by Glaser and Strauss (Rao: 2000, p. 293) and content analysis by Rao (Ibid: 2000, p. 339-341) were applied as a guideline for this task. Namely, the analysis scanned the data for categories of phenomena and for relationships among such categories. The cross categories were used to produce types. However, the stories that we got from the narrator were building up and transcript into Khmer languages by trying the best to keep the original form from oral narration, as adopted by Stith Thompson (1977). On the other hand, comparative study methods and version theory, basically found by Stith Thompson, was also applied. The mechanism of this analysis is text-based and is used by ethnographic researchers for both qualitative and quantitative dimensions of analysis.

3.4. Selecting the Sample

We considered several types of sampling techniques, given the scope, circumstances and the conditions of the study. We decided to use stratified sampling. For the interview units, we limited the number of interviewees to 31 people who were living at the research site.

This was probably around five percent of the population in the village. Interviewees included old people, teachers, government officials, monks, and adults, aged from 14 to 89. In order to maintain flexibility with the data about oral narration that we got from Preah Theat Thmor Da village, we chose 29 other interviewees from different places (Mohaleap pagoda, Pong Ror village, and Thmei pagoda) to interview, who had similar status to the interviewees at the main research site.

The interviewees were categorized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Phreah Theat Thmor Da Village</th>
<th>Wat Thmey</th>
<th>Pong Ror</th>
<th>Mohaleap Pgoada</th>
<th>Phnom Penh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>2 people</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acchars</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monks</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officials</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One difficulty arose during the primary data collection stage. This was mainly that some interviewees refused to be interviewed as they felt shy and said they knew nothing about folktale stories. Some interviewees answered the questions only briefly.

3.5. A Birdseye View of the Village

Phreah Theat Thmor Da village is the place of residence of 619 people. This village has a potential for cultural tourism including historical sites, dating from the sixth to the eleventh century, an old pagoda, rice growing, and fishing, and holds animist beliefs and cultural rituals typical of the region.

Our research site, Phreah Theat Thmor Da, is located in Kampong Cham province. This village is located about 20 Km south of the centre of the province. It takes one hour and a half by car over the Kizona Bridge to Phreah Theat Ba Srei pagoda. Phreah Theat Thmor Da is an old village in Phreah Theat Commune, Oreing Euv district, Kampong Cham Province. In the past, this village was located in Mohaleap Commune, Tbong Khmum Province. But the villagers and the chief of the village indicated that this village was changed from being part of Phreah Theat commune during the Pol Pot regime because it was easier for the Khmer Rouge army to control. According to the official annual records, for 2004, estimated by the head of the village, there are 152 families comprising a total population of 619 persons. There are 319 males and 300 females. There are 350 people over 18 years old, including 174 males and 176 females. The villagers occupy 9 hectares of land in the south of Phreah Theat Ba Srei pagoda. There are no new settlers in the village.

From observation and interviews with villagers and the head of the village 98 percent of the populations of the village are farmers who depend on rice growing, three times per year, as their major economic activity. Besides rice growing, people fish and are hired as labourers. Others engage in business. The major institutions of the village are the historical pagoda named Phreah Theat Ba Srei and a primary school with five rooms that is currently closed. As for means of communication, the village has neither telephone nor transceiver, but they are able to get information from television and radio. About forty households possess a television set and others have a radio or recorders. There are six different channels which reach the village: TV5, TV3, CTN, TV9, TVK, and Bayon channel.
CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Data Analysis the Definition of Folktales Perceived by Villagers

In this chapter I discuss the definition of folktales, their categories, and the context of "folktale" in Cambodian oral literature, comparing the work of other researchers with the people’s perception towards these issues.

As we have mentioned in the literature review (Chapter II), information about these tales from scholars is limited. The concept of folktale has been translated into two Cambodian terms: *tamnal katha* and *roeung preng*. Folktale is often considered just a sort of entertainment literature (*lpaeng*). Some folktales are found in manuscript form and others are only oral. Even if they have been written down in a book, these stories are still alive in the narrator's mind and continue as oral narratives. Some folktales are also quite new, created from the eighteenth to twentieth century. However, Khing Hoc Dy expressed the idea that all stories which were still remembered by the people and which people still orally narrated are considered Roeung Prochea Prey (popular stories) (interview Khing Hoc Dy, 26th 2004).

Local perceptions of the definition of folktale however, were found to be very different from what the scholars had identified above. This included misunderstandings about the Khmer terms used and even what constituted a folktale.

According to the interviewees' perceptions in the field research site of Preah Theat Thmor Da village, the term *roeung preng*, *roeung nitirn*, *roeung preng nitirn*, *roeung tamnal*, *roeung preng pi boran*, *roeung boran*, *roeung bradit*, *roueng cahcah pi poran niyay* are all terms meaning the same thing, folktales, and these were the most popular and familiar terms for them. People used these terms interchangeably. They had not heard of, or did not understand, the term *tamnal katha*. This term may have been familiar to scholars who have studied Cambodian folktale literature, but the local people did not know it.

The local people in this field research used the terms "folktale" in a much wider sense than the scholars. For them, the meaning of folktales is broad and covers all kinds of myths, legends, tales, fables, *sastra lpaeng*, and *virak katha*, including the

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3 This comparison of local perceptions with the scholars appeared when I asked the locals to narrate any Roeung Preng that they still remembered, but instead of that they narrated all kinds of stories that
jataka (Buddha’s birth) stories as well. For instance, asking an old man to narrate some roeung preng that he could still remember, he picked the story "Prah Chinavong"; other elders picked "Cao Srotorbek", "MoranakMirda", "Teph Sangva", "The fable of the "Trap and the Fish" (Cuc Ning Trei) from sastra lpaeng to narrate. Some old men narrated from the "Ream Ker", virak katha stories, that they used to hear from their great-grandfather when feeding cows in the fields, and which they have also seen performed in the Basac opera, or through the singing of professional chapei singers, or the performances of professional storytellers. They insisted that this was roeung preng, a most famous roeung preng in the old days. For the monks, the most popular roeug preng was the Jataka stories including dasa jataka. The most popular and most remembered were the "Vessantara Jataka", "Suvannasama Jataka", and "Temai Jataka", "the historical background of the Lord Buddha", including the scene of "Norourk and Sour" (hell and heaven) which had been painted on the walls of the pagoda, in the vihara. They were the most well known to the villagers as a whole who regarded these religious stories as true, thought provoking, and deserving of respect. When they talked about local legends, they could tell us stories such as "Phreah Theat Basrei Pagoda", the story of "River Sngout" (dry river), the stories of "Phnom Proh Phnom Srei", the stories of neak ta, ghosts, and other narratives of events and local beliefs in the past. These they also considered as roeung preng. Primary students are familiar with the terms roeung preng and roeung nitirn but the villagers could not define these for us. They thought that roeung preng nitirn were stories which have been told by the people over a long time, and that some folktales are humorous and make them laugh. Some stories are impolite and they dare not narrate them out loud. Otherwise many stories in their books are roeung preng nitirn.

When these people picked a story to narrate, they started by using a phrase at the beginning of each story for example, in the story "Phnom Proh Phnom Srei", as told by an old man named Phan, he begins with the phrase "In that ancient time...(kal pi doeum nouh...). One student started narrating this story by using the following phrase" kal pi samay nouh" (At that period). Another old man selected the story "Cin Vong" which he remembered from the sastra and the theatrical performance and starting narrating the story with the phrase" kal nouh mean..."
that time, there were…). In contrast, a student (aged 14) narrated many stories that he claimed were *roeung preng* such as "The Story of Rabbit Wants to Eat Bananas", "The Story of Cart Man and Crocodile", and "The Stories of the Prince"…etc. In these stories, he began the narration with "kal pi preng yeay" (Once upon a time).

So for people in the countryside, *roeung preng* includes both oral and written literature. *Roeung preng* are stories that explore and restate the messages of the past. They also explain how things were and should be in Cambodia and by implication show what currently not the case is, but what could be in the future. Local people during the field research understood the term *roeung preng* to mean any kind of oral literature and even some written literature that originally was orally transmitted and became famous and remained in their memories. These memories cover nearly all the stories in Cambodian literature including legends, myths, and manuscripts of *sastra lpaeng*, epics and the *Jataka* tales. These *roeung preng* are known by their oral transmission from the older generations such as great grandparents, grandparents, parents, monks, *acchar*, teachers, and old men, but also through paintings, through the performing arts such as *Ayai* singing, *Chapei* singing, *Basak* opera performance, and professional storytellers, and finally through mass media broadcasting.

In short, the old stories which local people have heard starting with the words "kal pi preng nay" (Once upon the time), "kal pi boran" (In the ancient time), "kal pi samay mun" (One time, or one day), "kal doeum loeuy" (In the olden days), "mean tamnal tha", "mean roeung preng mouy tamnal tha, or nithirn tha" (There is a story) all consider them as *roeung preng* (folktale). These terms all mean related to "the old time", or "a long time ago" so *roeung preng* to ordinary people has a broader meaning than the term used by scholars. These stories played a role in entertainment and the teaching of moral values to people, especially to the younger generation who are the main listeners and who still enjoy the oral tradition.

### 4.2. Data Analysis of the Status of Oral Folktale Narration in the Village

According to the investigation and interviews with the informants in the village, we found that there are some people who not only still remember the local legends of their region but who also still retain other folktale stories besides the local legends. These stories include those of the Phreah Theat Ba Srei pagoda, Koh Titu,
Boeung Krapit, the stories of Tonle Sgnout, Phreah Andong, Trapeang Neang, Basrei, Antatvir village, the stories of the Chorvirmuorng field and Toul Khlerng pagoda, the stories Phnom Proh Phnom Srei, Reim Ker, Vessantar a, the Rabbit who wants to eat bananas, the Rabbit cutting the grass…etc. All of these stories are considered by the locals as Roeung Preng and are the most remembered, popular, and interesting stories among those which they are used to hearing. These stories which people remember today are narrative accomplishments, which have been transmitted orally by the previous generations. So what they were hearing has been kept in their memories from the first time of hearing narration until present day.

According to the field site research we can say that people at every level and status of society know the stories in different ways. Some people knew a lot of stories and some people knew less than others, but some knew nothing about the stories of their village (local legends), or other folk stories. The groups of people who knew the folktales best could narrate at least five stories one after the other. The middle group was people who knew and remembered less than five stories. The final group, the people who did not know their local legends, refers to the people who knew only the title or the settings of some stories but could not narrate them in detail.

This chapter presents the major findings gained from primary data collection of the field research in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village. Though data from semi-structured interviews is the main source of information, we also used data from participant observation and group discussion. This analysis tries to focus on the two different kinds of oral folktale narration at the research site. First, it will describe the status of local legends, which have not been collected and which are still the property of the people in the region. These folktales have not yet been collected but continue their life through oral narration. The second part entails discussion about the status of oral folktales that have been published, and disseminated. The goal in doing this is to discuss and find out whether today people in the countryside still transfer orally the local legends and the other popular folktales to their next generation. And to ascertain what is happening to oral folktale narration in the countryside today?

To get the data or information on these key questions, every interviewee was asked by the interviewer to answer the semi-structured questions and narrate all the local legends and stories which they could still remember well. Text-based analysis
was used in this process. To gather data from semi-structured interviews, a coding and contents analysis approach was applied. Moreover, other methods which are important were also used which enhanced the analysis of the dynamic aspects of oral folktale today. In this study thirty-one respondents from semi-structured interviews were divided into six categories: seven students (young generation), three government officials (the authorities), two teachers, three acchars, three monks, and thirteen people (farmers) They were from fourteen to eighty-nine years of age.

Here is the table giving the numbers and age range of the respondents in the semi-structured interviews, which were selected by snowball sampling.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aged level</th>
<th>Number of the respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14-19</td>
<td>7 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-89</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31 persons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Statuses of the informants questioned are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positions</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>7 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Officials</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acchar</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monks</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31 persons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.1. The Status of Local Legends and their Oral Narration

All types of folktales, especially local legends, can be considered part of Cambodian cultural identity, which everyone will need to know about if they want to reflect on and understand Cambodian beliefs, history, events and the everyday life of the people. As the respondents stated, Cambodians have a lot of folktales. These folktales have many characters like human beings, animals, plants, earth, evil spirits and devils, neak ta, and other stories which relate to the historical background of the
village.

This research step will seek answers to the status of oral local legends in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village. I will try to answer the following questions: What are the characteristics of local legends in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village? Do local people know these local legends? How did they learn about these local legends? Who are the main storytellers of local legends today? How much do they know or still remember? Do these main storytellers still transmit local legends to the younger generation? When and where? What do people think about these local legends?

Through documents, interviews and observation we can see that Cambodian people tend to create folktales everywhere by themselves, especially where these relate to an historical site, the places where temples were built, the pagoda, the pond, neak ta, mountains, and the name of the village. As Ang Choulean has stated: "Cambodian people will never leave their land alone, but fill it up with stories everywhere, however, these folktales were created by people with a definite purpose" (Interview Ang Choulean: 2003).

Phreah Theat Thmor Da is an old village. It has links to the natural and historical settings from the Chenla period (sixth century to ninth century) up to the Angkor period (from ninth century to fourteenth century) and later on up to the present day. There are traces of ancient temples, the pagoda, the river, the pond, the Banyan tree, the mountain, the hole, the name of neak ta, the name of the village, all of which are also filled with stories.

One reason which encouraged the researcher to interpret folktales or legends of these places was seeing the traces of historical sites and the strange names of these objects or phenomena which then led to questions and investigation. This informal knowledge encouraged the researcher to wonder: Are there any stories related to these names and these locations?

As mentioned before, the field research village has a pagoda with an ambiguous name, "Phreah Theat Ba Srei"; the neak ta have different names such as Vessuvann Kuveru, Neak Ta Angkrorng Phleng, Neak Ta Kun Cak Kun Dal, Neak Ta Yay Tep, Neak Ta Srei Krup Leak, Neak Ta Hek Pourh; there is an historical river called Tonle Sngout (The dry river); a place named Phreah Andong (The Prah's well), Boeung Krapit (current name), or Boeung Preah Puth (previous name) and so on.
These sites are filled with stories. In the same way, there are also folktales linking the name of the village "Phreah Theat thmor Da" and other villages such as Tror Peang Neang village, Basrei village, Antatvir Village, and Pomaharaja village (The great royal banyan tree), Toul Klerng pagoda, and others.

According to the collection by the researcher from the old narrators, local legends in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village can be grouped as follows:

1. The three versions of Phreah Theat Ba Srei pagoda; the Krapit pond; the island Titu; and the stories of Cao Sratorb Cek.

2. The story of Tonle Sgnout, Phreah Andong, Trorpeang Neang village, Toul Khlerng pagoda, and Chorvir Nourng field.

3. The story of Basrei village and Ba Broh

4. The story of Neak Ta Vessuvana Kuveru, Neak Ta Ankrang Phleng, Neak Ta Kunck Kundal, Neak Ta Doeum Can, Neak Ta Yay Tep, Neak Ta Srei Krup Leakena, Neak Ta Hek Poh... etc

Therefore, we found that people were interested in attaching stories to the natural and historical settings and later on these stories became local legends. As a result, we can conclude that local legends of Phreah Theat Thmor Da village are stories that originated from the specific natural or historical places of the village and the villages nearby and that these stories are the property of one region. In short, the story fits the location.

Through the data from interviews we found that people in the region still recognize and remember all, or parts, of these local legends but that others cannot remember much. Among 31 interviewees in the village, we learnt the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status of interviewees</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Know little (Group A)</th>
<th>Know average (Group B)</th>
<th>Know a lot (Group C)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acchars</td>
<td>3 persons</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monks</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Officials</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>31 persons</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>6 persons</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>48.38%</strong></td>
<td><strong>32.25%</strong></td>
<td><strong>19.35%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Through the results from the table we can interpret that people know their local legends according to their social level. Thus, it depends on the position, age, and sex of the people in this local village.

The data shown, there are 48.38% of the interviewees who did not know their own local legends. They just know a few things about them. Some people in this group know a little bit or some part of the stories, some people know only the titles and old names of the places in the legends because these places still exist in the village where they have grown up. If we asked them to show us where the original settings are then this group were willing to show us immediately. However, this group claimed that they had never heard the oral local legends of the village from the older people. They had just heard some people talking about them; but they could not remember because they had never paid attention to preserve this heritage and they also never asked the old people to narrate the stories directly. This kind of interviewee we considered as group A. This group included one monk, five people, six students, two government officials, and one teacher.

For instance, this group knew the place Krapit pond, but they don’t know the story about the pond and the reason why this pond had this name. This group had just heard from the older generation that this pond compared to other ponds in the area had magical power and it had a big crocodile, a snake, and a most powerful neak ta called “Neak Ta Boeung Krapit”. The other main narration about this pond is that it is a place where people could borrow dishes and other cooking items, musical instruments for rituals and weddings, as they were needed. The narration continues that before long, this pond became very sacred. People in the village could actually get the dishes from the pond by just praying and offering some incantations to it and by promising that they would bring the dishes back on time. From a long time ago up to the present, people have not been able to borrow dishes from this pond anymore because they were no longer honest nor could they keep their promises. On the other hand, this group like everyone else in the village knew the name of the Phreah Theat Ba Srei pagoda and the most popular belief of the Keo temple in the pagoda, which is about a hole in a stone altar in the centre of the temple, near the vihara. But when asking Group A about the historical background and the oral stories of this pagoda, they could not tell us. From this group's understanding, their belief and the narration
of the hole is that: The hole which stands in the centre of the temple is a hole that remains from ancient times. In this hole, there is a sword with magic power but no one knows exactly where. The narrator told us that we could descend the hole, walk along a corridor, and finally reach a door emerging at Krapit pond. However, we were told that if we threw a coconut or other floating object in this hole, it would appear in Krapit pond as well. There is still an oral narrative that says during Buddhist holy days, the villagers will hear sweet traditional music coming from the temple without seeing any performers. Beside these Group A could also narrate a few strange events which have been occurring at these magical sites and in the village. Some people in this group claimed that they also used to hear the narration about the history and legend of the pagoda from others, but they could not remember or narrate them. That is one reason why they sometimes refused to be interviewed.

Besides this group we also found that 32.25% of respondents could narrate a few of the local legends of their village. This is Group B, people who are considered to know their local legends well. This group could remember and narrate a few local legends especially the story of "Wat Preah Theat Ba Srei", the story of "Tonle Sgnout and Phreah Andong, Trorpeang Neang village" and other events of neak ta since animism has been active in this locality. Group B includes two monks, five people, one student, one government official, and one teacher.

The third group, Group C refers to the group of respondents who knew the local legends best. They only totaled 19.35% of the sample. This group could remember nearly all the local legends and could narrate to us more details about other related local legends that they had been hearing since their childhood. This group consisted of three acchar and three old men.

According to the tape recordings of the local legends, which had been recorded from Group B and the old narrators of Group C, we found that there were three different versions of the Preah Theat Ba Srei Pagoda story, namely, three people told different versions of one story. One version is related to a manuscript called "The manuscript of Cao Sratorb Cek". This version narrates that the name of Phreah Therat pagoda, which has been recorded on the "Cao Sratorb Cek manuscript", tells us that this pagoda is a real place where two millionaires’ families--Thorn and Phok-- came to pray for children. The other two versions of the pagoda story are similar. They are
both longer than version one. They refer to long legends about kings, the finding of Buddha relics, the origin of the pagoda, and the background of other historical sites of Krapit pond and Tytu Island.

The understanding of local legends depends upon the status of the villager. The result of this research shows that government officials--including the head of the village, the head of the commune, and the chief of cultural preservation in the village--were not the main informants for remembering, narrating or telling these local legends. They belonged to Groups A or B. These people knew a little bit about their local legends, but they had never asked the older generation about them. What they could do is show us the story settings and some short narration about local legends that they used to hear, the same knowledge as everybody else in the village. However, they are important members of the community, who are responsible for interpreting the general views of the village including the living standards, the numbers and the jobs of the villagers; and they provide security for the whole village.

Teachers, monks and the majority of local people who are farmers were also not the main informants of oral local legends. They also belong to Groups A or B. Monks who are assumed to be the main transmitters of oral culture, especially local legends and pagoda heritage, were not the main storytellers either. As the interviews were conducted, there was no monk who could narrate the historical background of the pagoda and other legends in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village. Here I would disagree with a general idea that states that every monk preserves the culture and can tell all local stories with kindness.

Students who make up the younger generation of the village were the smallest group to know their local legends. Basically, they knew nothing about them. Among the seven students who were interviewed, there was only one student who was in Group B; besides these, six students were considered part of Group A.

Fortunately, there is one group – the acchar and the oldest men of the village--who were the main and capable informants in remembering, narrating, transmitting, and telling briefly the local legends of the village. They are all male and are aged from 70 to 89 years old. They form Group C. This group has many abilities in remembering and narrating the longer stories of local legends as well.

4.2.1.1. The Status of Oral Local Legends in the Past in the
Field Site Village

Other elders were informed, we suppose, about the historical sites in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village, its long legends and some other stories or beliefs. All local stories that were remembered by the Acchar today were passed down from the oral narration of the previous Acchar. As one Acchar claimed that "What I know today comes from what I have asked the oral narration of the previous Acchar, named Acchar Ok". The other old men in Group C replied that all local legends, which they still remember today, were transmitted by hearing them from the older people including parents, the grandparents, great grandparents, the old villagers, the Acchar, the old monks, the head of the pagoda (cao addhika), in the family, at the pagoda and in other places. An old man argued that what he still remembered today related to the local legends in Phreah Theat region were from what he had heard from his own father and the head of Phreah Theat pagoda. Some he heard at home and some at the pagoda.

Basically, as the interviews took place it was found that until the Pol Pot regime, people had the chance to hear the oral narration of their local legends anytime in different ways. Some people just heard the legends at home during the evening meal from their family members such as their parents, their great grandparents, their grandparents, their siblings, and their relatives. Some people heard them by visiting the places and asking the key narrators who were nearby and knew the place well. Some people heard local legends from their friends, the oldest people in the village, the head of the monks (cao adhika), the Acchar, the village outsiders; and still others heard them from interested visitors. It appears that the local legends were frequently narrated at the pagoda, especially during the Buddhist Holy Days when people and monks had time to spend together. Some heard the local stories by visiting at home and asking the educated village men to let them know about the local legends. As some informants of Group C mentioned: "Stories that I know are from what I asked a friend of mine who was previously an Acchar, who has now moved to live in Cup village". By and large, the older generation is very interested in traditional oral stories and they transmit what they know to others. Indeed, they considered these stories as a valuable heritage for their own village, one that should be preserved for transmitting to the younger generation so that they would know this heritage before they passed
away. That is why these local legends of these historical sites are still known today in the village.

However, we would argue that in the past, the pagoda was the place that played the key role in keeping traditional culture, not only in religious affairs, or social customs, but also in keeping the oral narration of folktales. Home is also the place where the older generation such as grandparents, parents, and elders transmit the local legends. It is also the place where some of the next generation will have the opportunity to hear, listen, and remember these legends, and continue to keep them in their memories and then orally transfer them to others. The main narrators are the older generation including monks, Acchar, parents and grandparents.

4.2.1.2. The Status of Oral Local Legends in the Field Site Village Today

Today, there are few possibilities for the next generation to hear or transmit the local legends of Phreah Theat Thmor Da village. As the investigation and testing of the data on the student group indicated, this group knew nothing about their local legends because the old people who knew these stories never told them. For instance, among seven students who were interviewed, only two students, both pagoda students (Konseh Lok) were used to the experience of hearing local narrations by the old people. The narration took place infrequently at the pagoda when the old people gathered together on Buddhist Holy Days. One student remembered what the old people had said but the other said he had forgotten all of it. Moreover, the students, a younger generation group, also had never heard the narration of local legends by their family members. This means that today the oral local legends have no existence in the family. We could say that today the home and family members are not the main place or main narrators in telling or transmitting traditional local stories. Some people, who remember some parts of local legends today, indicated generally that they heard the narration from other old villagers who lived near Phreah Theat Thmor Da village, but they could not remember the narrators, the time and place where they heard the stories exactly. The majority of the people who knew some local legends of their village could not remember the circumstance where the narration took place. It seems that, when listening to the narration of the stories, these listeners were not paying enough attention to remember them but just happened to be there at the time. Consequently,
the narrators of the main local legends, or those who still remember the local legends of Phreah Theat Thmor Da region the best, are old men aged 70 to 89. They are the acchar and the oldest educated men in the village. Most of them have a good reputation in the village.

Comparing the situation in the past and today, we might think that the pagoda would still be the main place for the preservation of oral culture, but now the monks who stay there are no longer the main transmitters of these stories. Home, as well, has lost its role as the place for the transmission of oral stories.

When we asked the old people, Group C, about this problem, they answered that the reason why they had never told these stories to the next generation was because the young people had never asked them about the local legends. However, although the younger generation may not be interested in listening to the narration of local legends, they still enjoy watching stories on television and other mass media. Some others replied that the tradition of keeping silence from the time of the Pol Pot Regime is one reason which has caused them to be scared of speaking and to keep a habitual silence regarding the telling of stories or local legends. In other cases, the old people may be shy. They think that they are at an age where they should not talk so much or tell stories. The idea about truth and lies is also a key point. Some old people still believe that some local legends are true but the modern younger generation does not think so. The narrators, or these old people, become unhappy and shy when telling these stories, as the listeners, especially the younger people, often refuse to accept them or dismiss what they hear as untrue. So they do not get narrated again. One major problem and perhaps the hardest one is that some people tend to keep these folktales as their property for earning money from tourists. So, the few old men who know these stories have no wish to tell these local legends to others without being paid for this service. This type of elder is afraid that when everybody in the village knows these stories, they will not be able to become the most famous and well known person in the village any more; otherwise, and will not earn any more money from their stories. So they do not let anyone know the stories and keep silent and say they know nothing about them. They will say things like: "I have forgotten it all; you should ask someone else, I am in a hurry.". For instance, while the researcher was interviewing two old male informants asking them to narrate local legends of the
village that they still remembered, they both asked the researcher indirectly to pay them some money for the narration of these stories.

4.2.1.3. Conclusion

As a result, we can conclude that the next generation is facing a problem. The old people who know these local legends of their village are not transmitting or narrating these to the younger generation. Most people aged from 14-60 know little of their local legends. That is because they have never heard the older generation telling these stories to them. Older people who know local legends of the village do not like telling local legends to other people of the opposite sex or those younger than themselves but they liked telling stories to people the same age or older than them. For example, women are not the main narrators of their local legends. One reason that women are not the main informants in remembering and telling these stories is that the older men do not consider woman’s knowledge and gender as appropriate for the transmission of this knowledge about local legends. It is more likely that the women are considered too young by the main narrators. For instance there were some female sibling respondents who were poorly educated, but many villagers claimed that their father was an Acchar in Phreah Theat Ba Srei pagoda. He was the wise old man in the village who knew a lot of Dhamma and stories. He was well known as a main informant who could narrate in detail local legends of this village. Their father had never narrated these stories to the family members especially to the daughters. This may have been because their father thought that his daughters were uneducated people and did not need to preserve this heritage. The father did not like or was not willing to tell stories to his daughters at home. In contrast, in free time, or in-group talks, he often told these stories to his male friends at the pagoda when they were at a gathering on a Buddhist Holy Day or sometime in other rituals at the pagoda. Moreover, he was happy to tell other villagers who came and ask him at home or elsewhere.

In short, currently, there are many issues contributing to the loss of local legends in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village. The first is that there is no oral narration or transmission by the older generation who remember these stories to the younger generation. The absence of oral transmission from one generation to a new generation may cause the stories to become lost or at least change from their origins. The new generation will never completely know this heritage as the proverb says: "If no one
tells you, you will never know it”. Second, the main informants who preserve these stories are getting old. Some old men have passed away along with the stories that they remembered without telling them to the next generation. Some others are facing old age, losing their memory, and approaching death. Finally, no one is collecting these folktales and this has had a major effect on the preservation of local legends.

While conducting research at Mohaleap pagoda, the researcher also found that today the status of oral local legends at Mohaleap pagoda is also the same as status of oral local legends in Phreah Theat Basrei pagoda as mentioned above. We found that only a few old people who used to live with Cao Adhika of the pagoda still remember the background of the pagoda and the village.

As the case study was being done, all these people expressed their sorrow at the loss of these stories. Some people felt ashamed that they had not asked the elders to tell them. Some people who are losing their memory felt sorry that they had not recorded the stories they used to know. However, some villagers are trying to pay more attention and are devoting more interest to their local legends and have asked the elders to tell them. Others are trying to record stories about the specific historical settings and events. Others requested that I should provide them with the written documents about their village background and local legends. At the end, they felt that their region was a good place with historical sites and other potential cultural attractions, so it should have its own background and old stories to narrate to the rest of the country.

4.2.2. The Oral Folktale Narration Apart from Local Legends

Cambodia is a nation of folktales. There are stories about almost everything--towns, caves, rivers, stars, lightning and thunder, animals, animism, and of course people. However, at the field research site, it was hard to test whether or not the people still knew or remembered the stories. One way to test this was to ask them to narrate the stories. However, it was very difficult for many of them to tell stories because some of them felt shy and they did not want us record the stories. They were afraid they might tell the wrong things and they felt strange whenever we used a tape recorder in front of them. Moreover no one wanted to tell us more than three stories because they did not feel like it. Some people had forgotten them. A young man expressed it like this: “I don't know why but when I want to narrate a story sometimes
I cannot remember it even when I used to know it by heart. But when I hear the others tell these stories, then I recognize them all again”.

In Phrah Theat Thmor Da village, besides their local legends, people also know many other folktale stories, not less than fifty (See Appendix 1). These stories cover all kinds of oral and written literature, including stories for entertainment on manuscripts (Sastra Lpaeng), the Jataka stories and other folktales stories which have been popular from long ago and have been published and disseminated in other ways. Villagers thought of all these stories as roeung preng (folktales).

Anyway, some of the stories above are for entertainment while others have strong didactic value to teaching people how to live a good life and how to solve problems. That is why these stories still continue to feature strongly in people's minds both as oral narration and everyday expressions of life. This is how we can tell that folktales are still important for people in the countryside.

As the observations and the interviews were conducted, we found that there were some expressions that people still used in their everyday conversation, which were derived from folktales. These expressions indicated to the researcher that if someone knew and understood the phrase, they would also know or be able to narrate the stories related to these phrases. This hypothesis appeared to be true since when the researcher asked them to think of stories related to these expressions they recognized the stories that the expressions referred to. Some of these expressions are related to folktales. For example the expression "Kaki women" is derived from the story "Kaki"; the term "Cao Cak Smok" is derived from the story of "Cao Cak Smok". When hearing the term "Romil Kun" (Ungrateful), then people recognized the story of "The Crocodile and the Cart Man". The term "Krun Tunsay" (Rabbit fever) made the interviewees remember the story about the rabbit trickster who did not really have a fever but just lied to his friends. Some expressions remind us of the experience in the folktales, and stories can be an example of that experience. For instance, the expression: "Tre Kor Rouch Tunsay Kor Rouch", “Thinking comes before acting” is still the most popular maxim that people today use to teach others. These terms can help remember the story "The old Couple (Ta Cah Ning Yay Cah) Went to Find the Fortune Teller". So, we could say that folktales and some expressions are linked. On the other hand, we can sometimes hear phrases that people frequently use
in popular speech, writing, and singing, such as "You crocodile! (A kropeu!), "You crocodile, show your gratitude!" (Kropeu Romil Kun!), "You crocodile, forget the pond" (A Kropeu Vongveng Boeung!) "You are as wise as A Chey" (Chlat Doc A chey!), "You Miryiar woman!"(Sri Miryir!), "Perfect woman"(Sri Kru leakkhena), "You are as foolish as Mr. Chay and Mme. Rert" (Lngong Doc A Chai Mi Rert),"The wolf judge" (Tolaka Corcork),"Monkey who ate rice and plastered the goat's mouth" (Sva Sy Bay Leap Mort Porpe), "You are a snake" (A Vek)... etc., which are directly related to some popular Khmer folktales.

These terms and expression are still used in the everyday lives of people; it is hard for outsiders to understand the meaning of these expressions if they do not know the stories from which they are derived. This information shows how folktales have remained part of the culture for people in the countryside, particularly how they have used expressions from folktales in their everyday lives.

Table showing the level of understanding towards other stories besides local legends

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status of interviewees</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Know little (Group A)</th>
<th>Know Average (Group B)</th>
<th>Know a lot (Group C)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acchars</td>
<td>3 persons</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 persons</td>
</tr>
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<td>Monks</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Officials</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>17 persons</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>15.50%</strong></td>
<td><strong>27.90%</strong></td>
<td><strong>52.70%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The result of this research has shown that people of different status have a different level of knowledge about the stories. Some people knew few stories, some knew more and others knew a lot of stories. Some people remembered and could narrate these stories while others could not. Furthermore, people narrated stories in different styles. Some people could narrate folktale stories in a long narration while others could only provide a short version, including the abbreviation of story events and mythemes. However, we found that people in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village still remembered many stories other than their local legends. For example, we found 15.50% informants who knew stories and belonged to Group A; 27.90% who
remembered some folktales stories and who belonged to Group B; and 52.70% who belonged to Group C, the main narrators’ group. Some people had forgotten all the stories and were not interested in listening, hearing and telling them any more, whether for entertainment, transmitting knowledge to the next generation, or as a moral lesson.

### 4.2.2.1. Oral Folktale Narration Apart from Local Legends of This Village in the Past

With regard to the interviewees' answers; there are many reasons why people still remember these stories today. Some people stated that they remembered them because the stories were very humorous and that they had heard them from their grandparents, parents, siblings, and neighboring villagers when they were young. Some people said they remembered them because the stories dealt with morality and were surprising to them. Some monks said they remembered them because the stories had been used in sermons and they remembered them from reading Buddhist books before going to sermons, and some others remembered them from the sermons themselves. Anyway, using *Jataka* stories in sermons made people feel that such sermons could create wholesomeness for this life and the next. Some other old well-educated people claimed they remembered them because they used to read them in the *sastra lpaeng* during their lessons in the past at the pagoda school. Some people, including a group of students, indicated that besides reading folktale collections, they used hear them from teachers, their friends, and entertainment on television or radio programs. Some people claimed that they remembered them because the stories were very interesting. Some of the stories have long scenes and complex plots, while some stories talked about sweet love, wars, sadness and the magical power of the characters. These stories were very delightful and interesting for the listeners, for example the story of "Cinvong", "Singsil Cey", "Moranak Meada"…etc.

In particular, based on the villager interviews from Phreah Theat Thmor Da village, in the past there were several possible ways of hearing the oral narration of folktales because at that time the mass media, especially television, had not yet reached the countryside. Some people could remember the stories being narrated at bedtime when they were young. The storytellers then were their own parents, grandparents and siblings. Some middle-aged people indicated that, when they were
young, they sometimes asked their parents to narrate stories to make them fall asleep. They said that they used to hear the stories from their mothers, not their fathers. So it could be claimed that women, especially mothers, have been the main informants in telling or transmitting folktales to the next generation at home at night.

Most people in the village said that in the past, as they had no television, they enjoyed telling and listening to stories for entertainment and solving riddles at night. They were very interested in telling stories and listening to the oral narration, and talking about everything whenever they stayed together. We could say it is a tradition in the art of daily living for rural people. Some older aged informants argued that, in the past during their free time, the villagers preferred to stay together at home and talk about their plans for the next day's farming and other things. After the discussion was over, someone in the group would tell a story in order to break the silence and to keep everyone from getting bored. Some stories were humorous and some taught moral values; some served as a warning and some related to the experience of one event. Some old people told the stories to the younger ones by sitting under the shade of a tree while they were feeding cows, horses or buffalos in the field.

Some other people said that the stories that they remembered today were from the performing arts, such as the chapei performance and from local entertainment like lhkon basac (opera) performances; both of these are the most popular of all the Cambodian performing arts. Additionally, some stories have been transmitted from the performance of ayai roeung.

Ayai is a kind of Khmer traditional comedy performance. It is performed by two people who sing and describe stories, legends, proverbs, and social problems. Some stories which are sung by Ayai performers are risque (Keo Narom: 1995, 31-32).

Chapei is a traditional performance. It has the power to teach people how to act correctly. In particular, chapei (traditional guitar) performers are blind men who can sing lyrics in rhyme and play a guitar professionally (Bernard: 1985). They are respected men and well-educated people who remember and recount stories. Chapei performance is by a single singer or sometimes by two singers or three--called chapei chley chlong. The chapei singer sings and reviews the didactic ways of the older generation, the moral values in life, advice, and proverbs, and he adapts stories from
the *jataka*, from manuscripts, and from other folktale stories that they used to hear and remembered well from other people. As the majority of *chapei* singers are blind so the stories chosen for the performance are taken from the stories they have heard from the oral narration of other people. *Chapei* singers are compassionate and calm, but sometimes the singing includes humor to change the tone and to keep the listeners from getting tired or sad⁴. The songs a chapei singer performs are very different from written stories since their narrations can be long and have extemporaneous additions.

*Lkhon basak* (Basak opera) is a form of traditional opera theatre, which Cambodian people in the countryside, especially the rural villagers, find very interesting, it is derived from the *Basak* region in Kampuchea Krom. *Lkhon basac* (basac opera) is performed on a platform. It has a lot of skilled actors performing the roles. The *basak* opera is a kind of performance art that acts scenes from one story. The stories chosen for the *lkhon basac* performance are often taken from manuscripts (*sastra lpaeng*). According to Mr. Soun Bun Rith's research on *lkhon basak*, it originates from *lkhon troeung khlok* which was performed in the Basac region of Kampuchaea Krom. It is strongly influenced by Chinese opera (Hy opera), and Vietnamese opera called *kaileoung* opera. In the 1930s, Mr. Ly Suon, known as Merchant Chha Kruon, the patron of a troupe in Kampuchea Krom, brought them to perform in Phnom Penh and other provinces along the Basak River. Immediately the form became very popular and people began to call it "*lkhon basak*". In 1960, at the height of its popularity, this opera was strongly promoted. *Lkhon basak* has steadily developed into its current form, including the gestures, spectacular decorations, costumes, dialogue, songs, and music. In 1982, following a dark period when many artists perished, *Lkhon basak* was revived together with other Cambodian performing arts and quickly spread throughout the country. The actors have been hired to perform at many Cambodian traditional religious ceremonies at night and thousands of people from all levels of society have enjoyed the performances. The performance can last for one, three, or up to seven days. Eventually, there were a variety of stories performed by Basak opera including legends from manuscripts, the Jataka stories, and some other Arab legends. For instance, the following stories have been performed:


Some other older interviewees mentioned that in the not so distant past, maybe before the Pol Pot regime, the villagers in Phreah Theat Thmor Da were like those in other villages in the countryside. During free time from their agricultural work, the villagers were all very interested in listening to oral narration and requested a performance. Moreover, after the villagers finished their harvest, they sometimes collected money, fruits, and cake from the other members of the village and then went to hire some professional storytellers to narrate stories and perform on the field at night. An old man named Ok said that: "During the performance, people in the village came and joined in happily. The storytellers have been respected by the villagers and considered to be educated men who had skill in the composition of poetry, knowledge of religion, performing arts, traditional songs, didactic discourse (Toulmean), and traditional musical instruments. They were the main mental nourishment for the villagers. The storytellers who were hired by the villagers to perform sometimes performed a story chosen by the villagers. These were stories the villagers most wanted to see and which made them laugh the most. The storytellers have been hired for a low fee. After the storyteller had finished his performance; he received rice, food, and fruit such as coconuts and cane, cake, tobacco and money from the villagers."

People from surrounding villages would come to see the type of performance described above. Cambodians are very happy to attend these, especially the rural villagers. News of the performance quickly passes from village to village as carts come carrying children, other family members, pillows, mats, pots, rice and food for cooking. Ayai Roeung, Chapei, and Lkhon Basak are the types of performances held in the pagoda, or in the centre of public places in order to entertain during the traditional religious rituals, the opening or completion of a building or bridge, pagoda, school, street…etc. These performances begin at night and finish at sunrise.

4.2.2.2. The Oral Folktale Narration Apart from Local Legends of the Village Today

There are only a few possibilities for the current generation to hear stories.
The first is oral narration from a teacher or their friends at school and especially from reading books, as the Ministry of Education, Youths, and Sports has added folktales to the educational program from kindergarten, primary school, secondary school and university level.

In Phreah Theat Thm or Da village, telling the stories at school is preferable. Many students claimed that: "Some stories that I knew were from the Khmer lesson books. I heard these stories when I had to learn this chapter. I also heard this story again when my teacher recited it for dictation and the teacher asked my classmate to tell the stories. Some stories were narrated by a Khmer language teacher (Kru Pheasa Khmer) at school during the timetable for stories to be told. But the other stories were narrated at the end of the lesson before students left school to go back home. The teachers did this in order to teach students and to help them relax after their hard hours of study. The stories that I like the most are: "The Story of Boeung Tumleng", "Stories of Phnom Proh Phnom Srei", "The Crocodile and the Cart Man", "Neang Kangrei"…etc.". Furthermore, the teacher claims that oral folktale narration is useful for the students at all levels especially kindergarten and primary school. It is useful for students, particularly the students who can't read Khmer, who have started to learn letters and how to read. It means that, when these students know the stories, it will enhance their ability to read more easily and to love school. Another reason is that it will teach moral values to the children and lead them to understand how they should and should not behave.

One other possibility why young people do know these stories is that the youngest generation in this village rarely heard the stories narrated at home from their grandparents at night. A young boy in the student group mentioned that he used to hear many stories from his grandmother at night, such as the stories "The Rabbit Who Wants to Eat Bananas", "The Stories of Cay, the Wise Man" and so on. She told the stories for him when she asked him to massage her." Some of the younger generation claimed that painters told them the stories as they painted them on the walls of the pagoda. Those they knew the best were Jataka stories including Dasa Jataka, "Vessantara Jataka", "Temei Jataka", "Suvannsam Jataka", "the background of the Buddha", and other folktales. So, painters are also a major source for the narration and transmission of folktales today. Painters told the stories as they worked. When they
were painting, as someone came and stood nearby to look at their work, they would then narrate the sequence of stories to them. Some young students claimed that they used to hear the narration of the stories that were painted on the walls of the Vihara from the old lay people when it was opened. Some answered that they used to hear the Buddhist stories in the sermons during Cambodian traditional ceremonies. Some other people, especially youngsters, stated that some of the stories that they knew were from television—including all the channels and cartoon programs, and TV 9's short story program. Some others heard folktales from the radio, which were told by both male and female narrators.

However, even though the traditional performing arts still appear in the countryside, people don't know the full stories from such performances—Lkhon Basak, Chapei, or Ayai Cleyclorn—because these are less interesting to younger audiences. They also take a long time to perform (a story per night for Lkhno Basak) and are now rarely performed in the village. According to the interviewer's observations and the interviewees' responses, we found that in the village today they don't hire these traditional performing arts troupes to perform during small ceremonies, but if there are any special occasions they will hire them to perform for the people. On the other hand, the cost for a performing arts troupe is expensive. The older people are more likely to be interested in the traditional performing arts. As the situation in the countryside right now is not too good and a still a little unsafe, people do not spend as much time watching a full night’s performance anymore. On the other hand, as television or other mass media has reached the village, it has replaced oral performances for entertainment and attracted the people's interest, so that the traditional performing arts (stories) today do not play the same role as they did before.

This situation also occurs in other villages in the countryside. For instance, as we conducted fieldwork by observing a traditional opera performance in Pong Ror pagoda for two nights, we recognized that a lot of people in the village and from several villages nearby Pong Ror joined the event by walking around the grounds or buying something to eat, rather than coming to hear the story. This seems to be one reason why today fewer people know the stories from the Lkhon Basak performing arts tradition. We can conclude that the ways of transmitting stories in villages like Pong Ror and in Phnom Penh are similar to the example mentioned above.
There are several different possibilities for the oral transmission of folktales in other villages. As the interview with eight people in Pong Ror village took place, we recognized that some people had heard the stories narrated from elders and their community while working, especially when they were weaving tobacco leaves. The stories that they remembered were “Mr. Cay and Ms.Rot”, "Mir yeung" (Our uncle), "The Two Families Who Tries to Empty the Sea", "Keng Kang Smake", various rabbit stories, the historical background of the Buddha, and others. Some people expressed that they used to listen and recognize stories from radio programs, maybe around 1989 and 1990, such as the stories of the "Rabbit Trickster”, "the Rabbit who Competed Running with the Snail,” "The Stories of the Ungrateful Crocodile". These stories were narrated by performance artists who used their voices to play the various characters in the story.

In Phnom Penh, nine interviewees told of other experiences with the stories that they still remembered. From this information we can see that there are different possibilities for the transmission of folktales. Some people used to hear the stories during their meals from family members; some had a chance to hear the stories from their parents and from adults at night before they went to sleep. Some others heard the stories from teachers at school during their lessons and folktale narration time. Some read the stories from books such as Khmer Language books, the collection of Cambodian folktales in nine volumes, published by the Buddhist Institute, the Tam Tam book, and the picture storybooks published by Sipar and by JSDK. Surprisingly, the main finding was that today the majority of citizens hears and knows about stories from the cinema and television, such as from comedies and dramas, and from karaoke entertainment that many companies have been producing as attractive audio-visual films, tapes, CD Roms, VCDs, and DVDs. These products are very well known and popular both inside and outside Cambodia. Their stories are taken from Cambodian folktale collections, from manuscripts and Cambodian chronicle documents. Now these entertainment media stories are reaching the provinces, and some have penetrated to the grassroots villages.

The following stories have been produced on film and are played in the cinemas today: "The story of Thun Cey", "the stories of Mearyir Srei, Tum Teav", "Kaki", "The Leper King", "King Lomponggra"a”, "Decho Damden", "The King White
Elephant", "Angkulimir", "Neang Kangrei", "Thinavong and Neang Pou", "Phreah Sothun and Neang Keo Monorir", "Mak Theung", "Leak Sinavong and Neang Pream Kesor", "A lev", "Kung, The Dare Man"…etc. The stories that have been produced into karaoke are: "Sing Silcay", "Tum Teav", "Angulimir", "Mak Theung", "The King White Elephant" The stories that have been produced for comedy are: The story of "Cay and Rot", "Gy Cao Prosa", "A Lev", "A Pang Neang Tei" and so on. Otherwise, a majority of the folktales that people knew, especially the younger interviewees, come from watching cartoons on television. These are often foreign folktale stories such as Chinese, Japanese, American, Thai and Indian cartoons. The most popular stories are: "Snow white", "Cinderella", "The Cat and the Mouse" (Tom and Jerry kids), "Zamba" and so on. Some people know these stories from radio broadcasting, which are related by the callers. People are used to hearing the stories from Chapei and Lkhon Basak performing arts broadcasting on television. Unfortunately now there are only a few people who know any stories from reading entertainment manuscripts (sastra lpaeng). Even in Phnom Penh and Thmei pagodas, the places where such manuscripts are kept, we rarely found anyone who went there to read them.

In summary, there are many reasons why people liked to tell stories in the past. The first reason is because the elders did not want the children to stay from home at night. One old monk told us that in the past the village situation was very safe. People in the countryside were so friendly and had a good sense of reciprocity and communication with each other. People would open their doors and sit together talking all night without any fear of robberies or kidnapping.

At that time, the boys liked to go for a walk and play traditional games in the dark at night. The elders worried about this since they thought that the boys might be bitten by dangerous insects or snakes. So the old men asked the young boys to stop playing out in the dark and found a way to keep them inside. One strategy was for the elders to narrate stories to them. At that time, the young liked the story telling because it was funny. Later on, these small children liked to listen to the old stories and sometimes they asked the men to tell the stories to them. In that way the narration became an oral tradition. So, some narration was done in order to warn the young not to go for a walk at night far away from home.

The second reason why villagers liked to tell stories in the past is that they had
no modern entertainment so folktales were useful for entertaining people and making them feel relaxed after they had been working hard all day. They were also useful for entertaining the youngsters before an early bedtime.

A third reason is that the villagers narrated the stories in order to educate others about the moral values of the community. The main moral values were: honesty, solidarity, belief and nationalism. Some others used the stories as a warning about what people should and should not do to be a good person in society. In other cases, these stories explained the historical values that the next generation needed to know.

In contrast today, when we asked the elders, parents, and monks about folktales, we found that there were many reasons why people did not want to tell stories to the next generation. The monks have indicated that it was because the young never asked them about stories. The younger generation seemed to be less interested in oral narration than in television.

In some cases, people mentioned that the reasons they didn't relay the stories was because they had no time to narrate them, as they were working hard in the field, or they had to sleep, or they wanted free time, or they wanted to relax by watching television. Some agreed that it was because the elders did not know many stories and they were not talkative or that they themselves did not like to listen to the stories very much. On the other hand, some people had no custom of telling stories in the family. So, there would be no oral narration in the family either. Also, we now have books. Some people explained that they did not tell stories to the young because today the young have a lot of books to read, and it is enough that they can learn the stories from school. Another point they indicated is that they now have modern technology so that people have to change some of their traditions which seem useless.

4.2.2.3. Conclusion

The narration of folktales and folktale transmission in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village today still exist but people do not seem as interested in this tradition as before. When we compare the situation in our field site research study today with the past; it seems likely that the home is still the main place where people transfer folktales to family members, and the place where people used to have the experience of listening to oral folktales. Now books have become the main transmitters and have become
more useful than oral traditional stories. The wat is also still the place where people enjoy telling stories. So we can conclude that today oral transmission still exists in the countryside and in the city. Some traditional forms of this tradition, such as the time, place and narrators, have changed; but the ways of folktale transmission today are more developed and modern than in the past. Somehow, television, radio, painters, monks, grandparents, teachers, friends and other young and old men in the village are still the main informants of folktale transmission today.

### 4.2.3. The Relevant Status of Oral Narration and the Different Versions of the Stories

In this chapter I will discuss the meaning of "version" and compare the various versions of the same folktale that were collected during field research. I will compare some versions narrated by people in Phreah Theat Tmor Da to those found in Kampuchea Krom, and from manuscripts and other published sources.

Virachay Pinkhirn agrees with Stith Thompson in *Thai Folktales* that "version" is a term used to express similar stories which have been collected from different sources or different narrators within a different time and space (Prak Khorng: 2000, p. 36-37).

Referring to the investigation during the oral narration and the recording of oral stories by the villagers in Phreah Theat Thmor Da Village, we found that many people in the village remembered the same story in a different way. Some people told the same version of a story while others told a different version. That is, people of different genders, ages, time and place of narration relayed different versions of the same story. Some narrators could narrate the story with the same plot progression while others altered the plot structure (damneu roeung). Some people would narrate a brief form of the story, cutting out some part of it, using a shorter time to narrate it, thus causing the story to become shorter and shorter. Other people could narrate the story in a long form, with details of the entire plot, all the action and characters, thus maintaining the same, older form of the story. Some people could expand a story into a longer narration, using a long time to tell it, causing the story to become longer with more episodes, altering it from its shorter form, depending on their memory and the aesthetic ability of their narrative style. Totally, storytellers often combine incidents from different accounts. This action is similar to the investigation by an author who

- Comparative Analysis of Folktale Versions

According to our research, some stories, for example “Phnom Proh Phnom Srei,” have significant differences in their versions. If we compare stories which have been orally narrated by villagers in Phreah Theat village to stories from Kampuechea Krom, Burmese stories and to stories from print, and manuscript sources, we see a wide variety of different versions of the same story. These differences include different plot structure, title of the story, motifs and episodes. We will first discuss, in Example one, the three versions of a story with different titles for the same basic plot, from oral traditions in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village, Kampuechea Krom, and text published by the Buddhist Institute. Example Two discusses two versions of the same story in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village and Kampuechea Krom, which have different episodes and different titles. Example Three discusses three versions of a similar rabbit story from different sources including the villagers in Phreah Theat Thmor Da, the Burmese version, and a manuscript, with different titles, episodes, and plot structures.

A. Example One: In Story One- "Phnom Proh Phnom Srei", there are three versions of a story with different titles for the same basic plot, and they are from oral and manuscript traditions.

- Story One: Oral narration of "Phnom Proh Phnom Srei" by Ta Ok

Once upon a time, there was a tradition that women had to propose to men. One day, the women devised a trick to make the men came to propose to them. All the women gathered for a meeting. At that time, the women employed their trick. They proposed to the men a contest to build a mountain. If the women built a higher mountain then the men, the women would win and the men would have to propose to them. If the women didn't win, everything would remain the same. Work on the mountain must continue until the morning star rose, and then they could stop. The men seemed to be hard

5 See more detail the story in Khmer language in appendix 2, story number 7.
working, and then they all took a small rest. While the men were resting the women saw a good opportunity, and they hung a lantern way up in a tall tree. When the men saw it, they thought that it was the morning star. The men yelled to their group: “Eh friend! The star is rising, let's go to sleep!” As the men slept for a long while, the women were trying very hard to build the mountain until it got higher than the men's mountain, and then they rested. At the time when the morning star was rising, the men woke up surprised and exclaimed, "Ah the morning star has still not yet set!” The women who were near there told the men: “That is the true morning star; before it was the lantern!” Suddenly, the men turned to look at the women's mountain and saw that the women's mountain was much higher than theirs; the men's side agreed that they had lost the competition. As a result, the men had to propose to the women. So, the custom of men proposing to women has continued from that time up to the present day.

- Story Two: The story of "Phnom Proh Phnom Srei" in Cambodian Folktale collection text published by the Buddhist Institute.

Once upon a time, there was a queen named Srei Ayuthiya. Since no man could make a proposal to such a noble woman, she decided to choose a man for her husband of her own preference. After that, it became the custom in the country that a woman proposed to a man. This was good for beautiful women. But women who were not so beautiful were at a disadvantage with this custom. Their proposals were not treated seriously and they could not get married easily. After the queen died there was a revolution. Women met and discussed how the present custom was unfavourable for women and should be changed. They proposed a contest to the men to build a mountain. The team that built the higher mountain would win and would be offered proposals ever after. The defeated team would have to propose to the other. They decided on the date of the contest and set a rule. The rule was that they had to stop working when the morning star appeared in the sky.

On the day of the contest, the women worked very hard. They also contrived to make a lantern that looked like the morning star. When they shot it into the sky at night, men gave up working as they thought it was the morning star. The women worked until the real morning star appeared and built a higher mountain than the men. Every since that time, it is the men who have proposed to the women.

- Story Three: The oral narration of "Women’s Pond, Men's Pond" by Mr. Thach Sett in Tra Vinh City, Kampuchea Krom (Pen Setharin: 2001, p.20).

A long time ago there was a very wise woman by the name of Om. At that time, women had to labour, to save money and propose to men when they
wanted to get married. While they were married and raising their children, they were sometime beaten when their husbands were in a bad mood. Ms. Om realised that the women could not put up with this for very long. She persuaded the other women to join her in meeting with the men. Of course, the men could not compromise easily. The women and men decided to have a contest by digging big ponds. The team that dug the biggest pond would win. They established a rule that they had to stop working when the morning star appeared in the sky. As women were weaker than men, they would have to work harder. The women developed strategies to win.

As the women expected, the men thought that women would not be capable of digging a big pond. The men took to drinking, and danced and sang loudly that night. Some men went to the women’s work site to see how they were progressing. But they did not return because their eyes were riveted on the naked women. That was one of the women's strategies. Ms. Om shot a lantern that looked like the morning star into the sky at night. The drunken men were tricked, thinking it was the morning star. They stopped working and went to sleep. The women kept working silently. The day broke. The women had made a big and deep pond, beating the men. In honor of Ms. Om, the pond was named O Ba Om (Pond of Ms. Om). Every since that time, it has been the men who propose to the women.

Story One, entitled “Phnom Proh Phnom Srei ” (Women’s mountain, Men's mountain) was a story originating in Kampong Cham province. It was also narrated by other interviewees at our field research site. There are different versions among the villagers of the same village, which also differ from the versions of Kampuchea Krom and in the text. Story One as related by the villagers in Phrah Theat Thmor Da village and Story Two from the Buddhist Institute stated that the reason why the women's mountain was higher than the men's mountain was due to the fact that the women worked harder and were wiser than men. In both versions of the story, the women used their cleverness to trick the men by contriving to make a lantern that looked like the morning star. In Story One they hung a lantern high in a tall tree; in Story Two a lantern was shot into the sky at night. For both stories, this caused the men to give up working as they thought it was the morning star.

In Kampuchea Krom, Story Three, there is a different version with the title "the story of Women's Pond, Men's Pond". This story relates that the reason why women can build a deeper pond than the men is due to the fact that the women not only tricked the men by making a lantern that looked like the morning star but also because they used seduction by undressing. This story has a specific name of the leader of the women named Ms. Om. It also expresses how women suffered from men
at that time, and it explains the reason why women were proposed to. These causes are somewhat different from those relayed in the story “Phnom Proh Phnom Srei” told by people in Kampong Cham.

**B. Example Two:** two versions of the same story which has different episodes and different titles.

In this example, I compare the story "Phang Who Eats Lots of Rice," from an interviewee in Phreah Theah Thmor Da village to "Kamheng Cheu Teal" from an interviewee in Kamphuexea Krom. We found that one story has many episodes while the other has only one.

- **Story One:** "Phang Who Eat Lots of Rice", narrated by an adult named Prolit, in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village.6

There was a story first about the parents of Phnang who was a millionaire with huge wealth.

As Phange ate a lot of rice, Phang’s family became poorer and poorer, so his parents wanted to banish Phang from home by tricking him to cut a Korki tree to build a fishing boat. When they arrived there, seeing the big Korki trees, then they began cutting them. When a Korki tree was nearly felled, Phang’s parents cried to him to support the tree. When a Korki tree was nearly felled, Phang’s parents cried to him to support the tree. Phang ran quickly, using both hands to support the Korki tree. As the weight of the tree was too heavy, big and long, Phang fell to the ground. Phang’s parents though that Phang would die, so they went back home. But Phang had a great power and strength, and he successfully released himself from under the tree. Then he carried the Korki tree, back home. He shouted to his father: "Dad where should I leave this tree?" The father was very scared of Phang as he though that Phang was dead, but he spoke up: “Phang if you are dead, please don’t come to haunt me!” Phang heard this and he replied: "Dad, I am not dead yet". The father realised it was Phang so he said to Phang "Leave the tree there". Phang threw the tree to the ground.

At night, Phang’s parents had a discussion again how to kill their son. The husband said to his wife: "Do you have any strategies to kill Phang?" Thinking for a while the wife exclaimed: "I have a way, let’s ask him to catch fishes in a pond which has crocodiles". Phang and his parents arrived at the pond. They were in the pond, on a boat, and Phang’s parents saw a crocodile swimming with their children to find food. The father lied to Phang: “Phang! Look! A big fish, let’s jumpin and catch it!” Phang jumped into the pond, fighting with the crocodile, then his parents sailed the boat away, leaving Phang alone in the pond. Phang killed the crocodile, breaking the crocodile’s teeth, swam to the bank of the pond, and then carried the crocodile home. Again, the parents thought Phang was dead, when they saw Phang, being

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6 See more detail the story in Khmer language in appendix 2, story number 8.
scared they said as before. Phang realised that his parents wanted to kill him so he asked their permission to leave home: “If you don’t want me to live here I will go away on my own”.

Phang travelled from one village to another. He met an old woman who sold Noum Bangcok (Cambodian noodles). The old lady saw Phang with his power, then she thought: "This man is very strong, maybe he has no parents, if I feed him, he may help me to carry my noodles". The old lady asked Phang to carry her noodles, and being very hungry, Phang asked for noodles from the old lady to eat. The old lady gave a pot of rice to Phang. Phang ate nearly all of it. In time, the old lady became poorer and poorer as Phang ate lots of rice because he worked very hard. She became irritated. The old lady decided with her husband to bury Phang by asking him to dig for gold. Phang went to dig the gold with the old couple. While digging for a while, the old couple asked Phang: “Phang how deep do you dig?” Phang replied: "I’ve got down to my hips!" A few minutes later, the old couple asked Phang again: "Phang how deep do you dig?" Phang answered: "I’ve got down to my head, Ta" For a moment the old man asked Phang again:" Phang how deep have you got?" Phang replied: “I’ve got very deep Ta”. With this opportunity the old couple buried Phang immediately. Phang released himself from the ground and walked home. He cried to the old couple:" Oh grandparents I did not find the gold, but I find only stone" As the old man though that Phang was dead, while hearing Phang's voice, he became very frightened and begged Phang: "Phang if you are dead, please don't haunt us" Phang replied: "I am not dead yet grandparents" The old man realised it was Phang and then they have allowed him to live in their house again.

Later this couple thought to kill Phang again. They knew that in the jungle there was a lot of firewood and a cruel ghost which had killed many people. The old couple brought Phang to cut the firewood in the forest. When they arrived in the forest, the old man said: "Phang you cut the firewood and wait for me here a moment, I want to piss", then the old man went far away from Phang and relieved himself. After he finished, he had to say some words to leave with his excrement so he said: "Excrement, if Phang cries to me please answer him Kuk Kuk Kuk nah". Finishing his words, the old man ran away home. Phang did not see the old man for a while so he yelled: "Grandfather where you are?" the excrement heard this, and answered: "Kuk Kuk Kuk" Phang went to the voice, without seeing the excrement, and he stepped into it. The excrement then repeatedly answered Kuk Kuk Kuk. Phang could not find the old man, so he stayed in the forest alone. The ghost then came to haunt him. The ghost had metamorphosed into a shadow with a long tongue but Phang did not realise what it was, being unafraid of the ghost he said:"what is that? Oh it looks very funny!" Look, it can stick its tongue out! How funny it is!" Then ghost then metamorphosed into a man without the head. Phang laughed loudly: "How funny it looks, no head!" Next the ghost metamorphosed into a bowl of rice and flew around Phang. Phang saw the rice in the bowl and began to be very hungry. He thought: "Maybe the rice in the bowl is delicious!" Phang caught the bowl and exclaimed: “Should I eat the small or the big one first?” the ghost realised that Phang wanted to eat him, then he begged Phang: "Oh my brother! Please don't eat me, I will give you a handkerchief"(Kanseng Bak Kanseng Boy). Phang did not realise what this
was so he spoke up" I don't know what a handkerchief is, I am hungry, I want to eat" the ghost became more and more frightened. Phang asked the ghost: "How important is this handkerchief?" The ghost replied: "It could bring everything for you such as food, and treasures, gold", and then the ghost used this handkerchief to product gold and delicious food for Phang. When Phang arrived home, the old couple saw Phang with the gold, and the handkerchief, they were very happy and each claimed Phang as their grandson. The old man sang: "A Phang is my grandson", the old lady sang: "A Phang is my grandson". The old lady added: "No Phang is only my grandson, not yours, because you buried him". Phang heard this and he asked permission from the old couple to continue on his way.

Phang ate only snails and small things for food. Once, he sailed a boat alone and met Mr. Big Ear, Mr. Sharp Buttock, and Mr. Ach Cromoh Chren. These three asked Phang to be friends and then asked to accompany him in the boat. On the way, Mr. Sharp Buttock caught a fish. So when they arrived at the bank of the river, they asked, Mr. Big ear to ask for fire from the villagers. In this village, there were a couple of giants. The giant husband had gone out, ordering the female giant to find food for him. If the wife could not find food, he would use violence against her, so the female giant metamorphosed into an old woman. Mr. Big nose did not realise that this old lady was a giant, when he asked for fire: "Could I have some fire please grandma?" "Yes, of course", the old woman replied. While Mr. Big Ear was blowing the fire, the old woman brought a trap to cover him and kill him, for her husband's food. In the same way, the old lady killed the other two friends of Phang when they asked for fire. Phang waited for his friends for a long time, but he did not see anyone come back, and then he went to find his friends. He met the old lady, but she could not trap Phang. Phang realised that the old lady was a giant, and he fought her and asked her to make his friends alive again. When they all were alive again, they were very angry with the giant and they began to fight her. Mr. Sharp Buttock put excrement into the giant's mouth and then weaved the giant's mouth completely shut. While the husband came back, the husband asked the wife for food. However, the wife could not speak out loud. The husband could not hear his wife's voice clearly, and he was very angry. The giant husband slapped his wife's face, and the excrement landed on his face. In the end, the four friends went on their trip and lived happily.


A long time ago there was a couple. After years of toiling in the fields they got the opportunity to have a baby. Their baby grew into a child who ate a lot. He did not work, and just ate and slept even after becoming a young man. His parents became poorer and poorer because of their son’s consumption of food and they decided to kill him. So one day, the father said to his son that they needed to cut down a tree and took him into a forest. He
told his son to hold the tree while he cut it down. The son held the falling tree and took it to their home. His parents then realised their son’s strength and happily gave him work to do. The son worked very hard and helped his parents become rich. Since he could hold a big tree, which was named Cheu Tiel, he was called "Kamhaeng Cheu Tiel". It means a person that has the strength to hold Cheu Tiel.

Both stories have been narrated in different forms; not only the title of the story, but also the story plot structure, and the episode as well. In Phreah Theat Thmor Da village, this story is longer than the story the Kampuchea Krom version. Story One is narrated as a long process, including the real character’s name, many plots and motifs. This story has the following thematic structure: 1. Phang’s family is rich; 2. Phang's family becomes poor and his parents want to abandon him because he eats a lot; 3) First trick by parents. They ask him to cut a tree. 4) Second trick by parents. They ask Phang to catch fish in a pond with a crocodile; 5) Phang comes back home realizing that his parents want to kill him so he asks their permission to leave home; 6) Phang meets an old woman who brings him home to live with her; 7) Phang eats so much she becomes irritated; 8) She tries to trick him. She tells him to dig for gold. 9) He survives and returns to the old woman's home; 10) She wants to kill him again by tricking him into finding firewood in the forest with a cruel ghost; 11) He escapes and returns to the old woman's home and asks permission to leave; 12) He lives alone and survives by himself; 13) He meets three friends who want to go with him. 14) They survive by catching fish for food; 15) One day they need a fire to catch fish so one friend goes to the village to borrow some; 16) He is killed by a giant; 17) The second friend goes to the village to get the fire because his friend hasn't returned and he is killed by the giant; 18) The third friend goes to the village to get the fire because his two friends haven't returned and he is killed by the giant; 19) Phang goes to the village to find his friends; 20) Phang fights the giant and asks her to bring his friends back to life; 21) She restores them 22) One of the friends put some excrement in her mouth and they sew it up; 23) They run far away; 24) The husband of the giant returns and asks for his food but she can't talk. 25) He hits her, her mouth breaks up and he gets excrement all over him.

In contrast, in Kampuchea Krom, the story is told in a shortened version. It just contains the following episodes: 1), 2), 3) And in the end he lives unhappily with
his parents. This type of episodic reduction is also seen in the cycle of stories about the rabbit.

C. Example Three: Discusses three versions of a similar rabbit story with different titles and plot structures. I compare the different versions of the rabbit story, which appeared in oral narration in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village, in manuscript form at Wat Thmei, and in a Burmese narration.

- Story One: "Tonsay Cang Si Cek" (The Rabbit Who Wants to Eat Bananas), narrated by an adult from Phreah Theat Thmor Da village.7

Once upon a time, there was a clever rabbit who was very hungry, and he found an old woman who was carrying a basket of sweet bananas on her head walking along the way back home. The rabbit saw these sweet bananas and wanted to eat them. He tried to think how to get the bananas to eat. Then he very cleverly found a way. He pretended to be dead. As the woman walked along the path, she spoke in surprise: Oh wonderful! A dead rabbit, how lucky I am! I will take this rabbit for my evening meal. Automatically, the old woman picked the rabbit up and put it into her basket. She walked along the path without thinking about the bananas on her head. Look! The dead rabbit came alive and ate all her sweet bananas. When the old lady arrived home she put down her basket. Suddenly, she saw the trickster rabbit and felt very angry, while he tried to run away very fast. The old lady was extremely disappointed as the trickster had cheated her and had eaten all the bananas in her basket.

- Story Two: is the longest one in manuscript of Watt Thmey, titled "Ksatra Roeung Tonsay Si Cek" (The Manuscript of Rabbit Who Wanted to Eat Bananas), recopied in 19328

This is a Bantolkak poem. Once upon a time, there was a very poor old couple that had no children in the family. One night, the husband said to his wife: "Dear, we are very old, how can we find money to buy or exchange for something to eat? How can we support our life, if we have no children?" Thinking for a while, the husband had this idea: "I want to clear the land in the time of rainy season in order to plant bananas trees and other second crops. I expect that when these give fruit, we will bring them to sell or exchange for food in the village. Hearing the husband’s thought, the wife was very impressed, and after finishing the discussion, then they both went to sleep.

Tomorrow came; the old couple prepared and carried cooking facilities into the forest. When they found the place, they settled down and began to

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7 See more detail the story in Khmer language in appendix 2, story number 20.
8 See more detail the story in Khmer language in appendix 2, story number 22.
work by making a trail, draining the land first, then they planted many kinds of
banana trees and secondary crops such as arum, potato, and protected them
with a fence. The bananas and secondary crops gave fruit, and everyday, the
couple brought these to sell and change for goods and food. Many people such
as Khmer, Chinese, Cham bought their produce. The old couple had food and
clothes, earning their living progressively.

In the forest, there was a rabbit who ate grass and leaves for food.
Everyday the rabbit saw the old couple carryng bananas to sell. He really
wanted to eat those bananas. He thought: “If I pretend to be dead on the path
then she will pick me up into her basket. I will eat all the bananas and I will
jump down and escape into the forest.

One day the wife said to her husband: "Dear, today I will go to sell the
bananas alone, you had better stay at home, looking after our house and our
plants. The old lady walked off alone and carried the basket full of bananas to
sell. The old lady saw the corpse of the rabbit on the path. She was very happy
and thought to take this dead rabbit to cook for a delicious meal for her
husband, expecting that her husband would be happy and love her more. She
picked up the rabbit and put him in the banana basket and went on her way.
The rabbit ate all the bananas and then it jumped down into the forest. The old
lady heard the voice of the jumping rabbit unexpectedly, but she thought that
was the voice of other wild animal in the forest. The old lady arrived at the
village, then she called to the villagers to buy her bananas. The villagers came
to buy the bananas, the old lady took her basket down, and then she saw
surprisingly that all her bananas were gone, but the skins had been left behind.
The old lady was very angry at the rabbit; quickly she came back home and
narrated the events to her husband. Her husband was very angry at the rabbit
trickster, but he was not angry with his wife. He consoled her and thought that
would cut up bamboo to build traps to catch the rabbit. The traps were made,
and the old man brought the traps to set on the path or the places where the
rabbit had passed.

The rabbit, having eaten the bananas once, wanted to eat them again
because they were very delicious. So, the rabbit walked out along the path. As
he did not want passers by to see him, he moved away into the area beside the
path. Unfortunately, the trap of the old man caught him. The rabbit was very
frightened. He wanted to be free, but he could not solve the problem by
himself. He tried to find a ways to solve this problem. At that time, there was a
toad standing nearby, and the rabbit cried out to the toad to release him. The
rabbit promised that it would turn the toad's skin into a smooth, soft covering.
The toad released the rabbit from the trap. While getting free from the trap, the
rabbit took back his words. He not only did not cure the toad's skin, but also
cursed the toad badly and wanted to kick him. He mocked the toad saying: "I
cannot cure the Sraing that your old generation has given you!" The toad got
very angry at the rabbit. It cursed the rabbit by giving it a short life by asking
all kinds of Neak Ta to come and break the rabbit's neck and let it be caught
by people to cook for food.

The old man came to see his trap. At that time, he realised that his trap
had caught a wild animal but that maybe somebody had released it, so the old
man moved his traps to set in other places where he found the traces of the
rabbit. Again, the rabbit was caught. This time, it became more frightened than
ever. It thought that it would be die this time, surely. He thought it was caused
by his bad Karma that he committed on the old couple and the toad, or it
maybe he had outraged the Neak Ta that the toad has called for. The toad
came and mocked the rabbit. It also thanked the Neak Ta who had helped it.
This time, the rabbit begged the toad to release him one more time, promising
to be the servant of the toad, but the toad did not agree. The toad said: “You
should better die this time to release your Karma (Kampir). The rabbit
pretended to be dead again. As the toad had disturbed it the rabbit really
wanted the toad to go away, so it tricked the toad: “Don’t stay here anymore,
maybe the Devada will drop the sky on us and kill us all!” The toad heard this,
it was afraid of the Devada, so it ran away. This time, the old man arrived and
saw the dead rabbit. Then he brought the rabbit indoors to cook. He was
angry with the rabbit that tricked his wife, has and he fought the rabbit and
broke its thigh. The old lady wanted to kill the rabbit right away, but the
husband refused, asked the wife to wait until he came back, and kept the rabbit
in the house. The old lady went to carry the water from the stream, and the
husband went to pick Thneng's leaves for the soup. He took his chance, and
the rabbit escaped from the old couple's house, and ran into the forest. The old
couple came back, and they were very disappointed. The old lady cursed the
rabbit badly, but the husband laughed a lot. He asked his wife to stop cursing
the rabbit. He said: "Dear, don't curse the rabbit anymore, this will lead to
Karma. We do not deserve to eat this rabbit for food, but we deserve to eat the
old meal, Prahok. That is because in our previous life we did not make merit,
that is why we nearly ate it but we cannot!"

The rabbit escaped in pain, and then it met a blind goat. They both
asked each other to be friends and thought that all their situations were caused
by their bad Karma. The rabbit sat on the back of the blind goat to lead him
along the path. They both arrived at a mound, then they met a tiger who
wanted to kill the goat for food. The rabbit tricked the tiger by saying: "I ate
five tigers but was not still full, now a tiger has came, but it is still not
enough!" The tiger believed him and being very frightened it ran away. The
tiger met a monkey and then the monkey tied their tails together and went to
find the voice that wanted to eat the tiger. This time, the rabbit tricked the tiger
and the monkey by saying: "A monkey, why you bring only one tiger for me
to eat, for paying off your debt? When the tiger heard that, it became more
frightened and ran quickly away, caused the monkey to die. As this place was
not safe, the rabbit and the goat continued their journey. On their way, they
met a crocodile. The rabbit tricked the crocodile in order to bring itself and the
goat to the other side of the river by offering the goat to the crocodile for food.
However, the crocodile could not eat the goat as his reward as the rabbit had
promised. At the end, they both lived happily in this forest forever.

- Story Three: is another version which appears in Burmese
culture, called the story of "The Smung Rabbit". This story occurs in Burmese
Rabbit considered himself wiser than the other animals and tricked them until they became scared of him. He thought, "I am going to cheat some human beings," Then he entered the village near here and gazing around for a while, he saw a very old woman who was walking and carrying a basket of bananas on her head. She wanted to pass by, that is why the rabbit tricked the old lady by making himself look dead by the side of the path. The old lady noticed the rabbit, felt compassion about its death. She picked up the rabbit and put it in the basket of bananas to go bury the corpse. When the rabbit was in the basket on the head of the old woman, he ate happily all bananas in the basket and then ran away.

Rabbit went to another village, and looked around him. He saw some villagers who were praying to catch a ghost by using bananas as a bribe. He entered the village and stood quietly by a well and yelled: "There is a tiger in the well, help!" The villagers heard him, and they all came running to the well, so the rabbit had a chance to eat all bananas before fleeing.

Rabbit became very proud of his bravery and courage so he began to look down on others. That's why he came to many other villages and went directly into the kitchens of the villagers, eating all the hanging bananas wherever he saw them. When the villagers saw him one day, they ran to catch him, throw stones or wood at him when he escaped. Rabbit ran to an abandoned well. In that well it was very dark, but as Rabbit has sharp vision, he knew that there was no water in the well so he then jumped into it. When the villagers arrived at the well, the rabbit shouted, "Please help me, I am going to sink and die in the water in this well!" The villagers tried to look into the well, but they couldn't see anything because it was too dark. Some villagers went back home but the others were still doubtful: "I am not sure whether there is water that could kill the rabbit or not," then the villagers asked one of them to throw a rope into the well. The rabbit at the bottom of the well saw the rope, then he took that rope and wound it in a circle.

The villagers said, “This well is very deep! A long rope like that will not reach to the bottom. Let's see how deep this well is." The villagers moved the rope up. When the rabbit saw it, he spat on it. When the robe was brought up, the villagers thought that the water in this well was deep and they felt that the rabbit must be dead. Then they all felt confident and went back home. Good times are coming; the rabbit climbed the well and ran away.

When the rabbit had tricked the villagers many times, he became more and more proud of himself and perceived himself as a wise rabbit, but he considered the people to be silly. Then he continued on his way.

This time the rabbit saw an old poor man walking and carrying a full bunch of bananas in a basket. "One old trick is more valuable than ten new ones", he said to himself. Then the rabbit pretended that he was dead along the path again. The poor old man was very clever. When he reached the rabbit and saw him dead on the path like that, he thought wisely and knew that the rabbit tricked others to think that he was dead. He thought, "this rabbit has died, but I have to make him die more completely than that." Ending his speech, the old man got a stick and hit the rabbit until he died. He picked the rabbit up for a delicious meal and ate him all.
Among these three, we find that the “Rabbit Who Wants to Eat Bananas" was the most well-known and popular folktale for all Cambodians. Even the youngest, aged between five and six, could narrate this story. One hypothesis may confirm that this is maybe the first story where the rabbit started to trick human beings. However, there are different versions among both the oral and written manuscripts and texts.

Story One, "The Rabbit Who Wants to Eat Bananas" is a simple abbreviated oral narrative of one episode. In this version, the narrator just relates the main points of the story that could not be further cut. So, the story has become short and simple. Namely, the narrator relates only the main points, starting from the presence of the trickster rabbit, the old lady who thought he was dead, and the ways used by the rabbit in order to eat the bananas in the basket on the head of the old lady, and then it ended the narration. The oral story above is just one episode of the "Rabbit Who Wants to Eat Bananas", if it is compared to the story which was written down in manuscript form and the story written in Burmese. In manuscript, this story seems have many thematic structure and episodes. It describes in detail the way of people's everyday life, the understanding of *karma* in Buddhism, the belief in *Neak Ta* and the immigrants’ situation such as Chinese, and Cham in Cambodia at that time as well. It started from: 1) the poor old couple, who have no children, discuss with each other ways to find work for their living; 2) The old couple move to live in the forest and plant banana trees, 3) The banana tree produces fruit, then the couple carry these to sell, or to change for rice, cloth, Prohok (Cambodian traditional food), and other food in nearby villages, 4) Introduces the rabbit character, who lives in the forest and eats grass for food 5) Rabbit wants to eat the bananas, then tricks the old lady and eats all the bananas in the basket, 6) The rabbit is caught by the old man's trap, 7) The rabbit tricks the toad to release him from the trap, 8) The rabbit is caught by the old man's trap again, 9) Rabbit tricks the old couple to escape from their home, 9) The rabbit meets the blind goat and they travel together, 10) Rabbit tricks the tiger, 11) Rabbit tricks the tiger and monkey, 12) Rabbit and the goat meet the crocodile and trick the crocodile. 12) The rabbit and blind goat live happily.

In contrast, both stories above are different from the Burmese narration. In Burmese, this story shows us the Buddhist culture and its practice by the people. For example, when the old lady saw the dead rabbit, she did not want to make him into a
meal as in the Cambodian versions, but feeling compassion, she wanted to take the rabbit's corpse to bury it. The story also educated people not to be proud, unlike our wise rabbit. Unfortunately, this story ended with the death of the rabbit.

In summary, some stories, which were orally narrated by people in Phreah Theat Thmor Da are different from the written text, manuscript and the oral narration in Burmese tradition. Namely, each person tells the story differently. Anyway, the oral tradition can also be told at different "levels". These differences are mainly in the plot structure, the episodes, the title, the motif and some other elements in the story. This is because of memory, their artistry in telling the story, their sex, their environment, their listeners, time, circumstance and the interest of the people in each area. The story in oral narration is different from the written, because in the written they use a particular style of writing. The story that is orally narrated in one area varies from other areas and consequently tends to become very different from other versions.
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. Conclusion

The main findings of this research were developed from the results of analysis of the interviews in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village. We were able to determine the following: 1) what the villagers considered to be folktale, and 2) what still exists as a contemporary oral narrative tradition in the village. In this context we focused on three related kinds of oral narration: local legends, folktales apart from local legends, and the comparison of different versions between the oral narration and the written manuscripts or texts.

For Cambodians the folktale is defined as a story with cultural values, including morality, customs, beliefs, and people's way of life. They include stories that are myth, legend and tale. These stories have been orally transmitted for a long time, from one generation to the next generation without knowing the author, the source of the story, or the date. The stories may derive from one's real life experience in the community, while others are fictitious and may seem unbelievable. The characters in the stories include human beings, animals, plants, various phenomena, and other things. These stories are short narratives. Some are in verse and others are in prose. Oral narration does not always begin with a formulaic sentence such as “Once upon a time" but as these stories appeared in written form and were reprinted in books this type of formulaic sentence became common.

In Phreah Theat Thmor Da village, people refer to folktales with the term "roeung preng." This is their favourite term. Other terms that were used interchangeably for folktales by villagers include: roeung preng, roeung nitirn, roeung preng nitirn, roeung tamnal, roeung preng pi boran, roeung tang pi you nah mok heuy, roeung boran, roeung bradit, roueng caheah pi boran niyay. Scholars have used a term that was not familiar to the villagers: "tamnal katha", while this term may be familiar in academic studies. For the villagers here, roeung preng refers to stories which have been narrated and transmitted by the elders for a long time.

Every roeung preng narrated by the villagers begins with one of the following phrases: " Once upon a time" (kal pi preng nay), "There was a story told" (mean roeung moy tamnal tha, mean roeung nitirn moy tamnal tha, mean tamnal tha, mean nitirn tha), "In the ancient time" (kal pi boran), "One time, or one day" (kal pi samay
"In the olden days"(kal doeum loeuy), "A long time ago, there was a story" (tang py you long ah mok heuy mean tamnal tha, mean roeung preng mouy tamnal tha, or nithirn tha all count for them as roung preng (folktale). These terms may be markers for the folktale genre only.

Totally, folktales include a broad range of oral narrations where one has heard a story from someone else. They may be based on written stories that have appeared in entertainment literature (sastra lpaeng), Jataka, and epopee (virak katha). Besides the local legends of their village, the villager informants also have memories of other kinds of stories. The most popular and remembered roeung preng for the elder and the middle aged informants was entertainment literature (sastra lpaeng), or so called "sastra roeung" because these stories had also been transmitted through the Cambodian traditional performing arts, considered in the countryside to be the most popular form of entertainment. The younger generation seems to know more folktales from oral narration than from reading palm leaf manuscripts because they cannot read them and they had never heard these stories narrated by elders.

The understanding of the villagers about folktales is different from that of scholars. For instance, many scholars defined folktale as only the stories that have been narrated orally from generation to generation through professional storytellers, artists, singers, elders, parents, grandparents, and people from all social levels. Some other scholars have categorized folktales into three divisions: myth, legend, and tale.

Today there is still an oral tradition in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village although it is not as active as in the past. People still remember Cambodian folktales a lot. These include local legends and other stories. On the other hand, from the Pol Pot regime until today, the form of the tradition of oral folktale narration in this village has been changed. These changes include the ways folktales are transmitted, and the time, places and circumstances for oral narration. These changes have formed a new model that is different from the past. As a result, we can conclude that the status of folktale in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village today has its own unique aspects while there may be some aspects of the tradition it shares with other villages.

The majority of local legends in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village are related to historical sites, the names of the villages, and places in the region. A single story can have links to many historical places or geographical sites of various villages. One
reason I felt compelled to study this village was due to its strange place names and
ing village names still used today causing me to wonder about their locations.

Based upon this research we can say that there is an unbroken transmission of
local legends in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village, but it is now very weak. People in
Phreah Theat Thmor Da village are not generally interested in taking care and
preserving these local legends or the culture that surrounds them. Old people and the
main informants in the countryside do not often tell of local legends to the next
generation. At present, there are limitations to the tradition of oral transmission of the
local legends in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village. They are not being consistently
transmitted to the younger generation.

From the Pol Pot regime until now there are fewer possibilities for people to
hear and pass on the experience of listening to an oral narration of their local legends
from the elders who are the main informants. One possibility to hear the narration of
local legends appears at the pagoda, during the Buddhist Holy Days, as the old people
gather together and enjoy talking about things at the pagoda from its past to the
present to the other elders who have the same age and status. The second possibility to
hear an oral local legend from their friends or people in the village, not at home and
some others have a chance to hear local legends from other villagers in nearby
villages because those stories are related to their own village. The stories do not
belong to only Phreah Theat Thmor Da people, but also to other villages in the whole
region since the folktale may refer to them as well.

In contrast, the younger generation interviewed in the field had fewer chances
now to receive this valuable heritage from their elders, as the transmission of local
legends in the past was more active and there were more possibilities to hear them
when compared to today. In the past, people had a chance to receive the local legends
through their family members at home such as their parents, great grandparents,
siblings, relatives and the villages where they might go to explore. One other major
possibility is that villagers could hear the local narration from the monks, Acchars,
teachers, and especially from the abbot (Coa addhika) at the pagoda.

The stories do not belong only to Phreah Theat Thmor Da people, but also
belong to the villagers in the whole region. However, some forms of local legends
transmission still remain in the same form, unbroken, but other forms have been lost
or changed. For instance, the pagoda and nearby village are still places where keeping and transmitting local legends continues up to the present day. The Acchar, oldest people, grandparents, and villagers nearby are still the main storytellers, and the main group of people who know stories the best, and the main transmitters of these local legends. They are aged from 70 to 89 years old. In contrast, home does not play the same important role as the main place where local legends are told anymore. In other words, parents, head of villagers, and monks no longer play such an active role today.

Again, we can conclude that the next generation is facing a problem. The old people who know these local legends of their village are not transmitting or narrating these to the younger generation. Most people aged from 14-60 know little of their local legends. That is because they had never heard the older generation who remembered these legends telling the stories to them. Older people who knew local legends of the village did not like telling local legends to other people of the opposite sex or those younger than themselves but they enjoyed telling stories to people who are older or the same age.

In short, currently, there are many factors which affect the loss of local legends in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village. First, there is no oral narration or transmission to the young generation by the older generation who remember these stories. The absence of oral transmission from one generation to a new generation means the stories are being lost and changed bit by bit from their origins. Some old men have passed away with the stories that they remembered without telling them to the next generation. Some others are facing old age, losing their memories, and are dying. Finally, the absence of people wanting to collect folktales is also having a major effect.

As interviews were also conducted at Mohaleap pagoda, the researchers found that today the status of oral local legends at Mohaleap pagoda is also the same as the status of oral local legends in Phreah Theat Basrei pagoda that have been mentioned above. However, we found only a few old people who use to live with cao adhika of the pagoda (the head of the pagoda) who still remember the background of the pagoda.

However, as the case study was in progress, the villagers started to realise how sorry they were for the loss of these stories. Some people felt ashamed that they
hadn’t asked the old people about them. Some people who are starting to lose their memories feel sorry for the lack of writing or any notes about the legends. However, some villagers are trying to pay more attention and show more interest in their local legends and are asking the old to tell them the stories. Some others are trying to record these stories and the consequent historical settings and events. Some other requests the research and some written documents about their village background and local legends. At the end, they maintained that their region is a good place with historical sites and other potential cultural attractions, so it should have its own background and old stories for narration to the next generation in the country.

For other oral folktale narrations, or stories apart from local legends told in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village today, they still exist but do not seem to inspire as much interest as they traditionally did before. It means that people still know the stories but they seem not to tell these stories to others.

Naturally, we cannot find the author of folktales, but we can find the transmitters, time and places of these stories and the way how these stories passed from a person to the other person. Today, the oral narration of folktales in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village has changed it form into a new style that is more modern than the old. Comparing the situation of oral narration in the field site research study today with the past; it seems likely that home is still the main place where people tell folktales to family members and the place where people used to have experience in listening to oral folktales. Books are now the main transmitters and are more useful than oral traditional stories. The pagoda (watt) is also still the place where people preferred to tell stories and other things. So we can conclude that today oral transmission still exists in countryside and in the city. Some traditional times, places, listioners, and narrators or transmitters have decreased and seem to have some different aspects from European culture as mentioned in literature review above. However, the forms of folktale transmission today are more developed and modern than in the past. Television, radio, performing arts, painters, monks, grandparent, teachers, friends and other young and old men in the village are now the main informants in folktale transmission. The youngers who age from 14-20 are the main informant in telling stories. Some stories that have given expressions used daily by villagers still exist in the ways of speaking, and this usage will continue, its life never
broken, unless these expressions stop being used by the village people.

Comparing the oral with the written stories told in other places, such as Kampuchea Krom, Burma, in manuscripts, and folktale collection books, we found different versions of the stories from those orally narrated. However, the main problem that appeared was the many versions, because it all depends on the narrator's memory, the listener's behaviour, time, place, and the culture in the region. In fact, of course the stories will change and fit to the region where it is told.

5.2. Recommendation

According to the results of the current situation of oral folktale transmission in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village, we all need to be interested, think and pay attention to what has been happening, and to the preservation of the oral culture of Cambodia.

Oral tradition, oral folktale narration or oral folktale transmission, of course is narration without payment; people receive it without cost. This is a great advantage for all Cambodian people. It is a kind of transmitted knowledge that all people can get spontaneously. On the other hand, oral narration is an easy way to share knowledge when compared to written literature. Moreover, people of all classes, whether educated or not, can receive such knowledge easily through an oral tradition. In other words, oral narration can easily spread to young people and influence them. Since moral and cultural values are embedded in the stories they continue to exist from generation to generation. Another particular point is that oral folktale narration can lead younger students to enjoy school and reading and to improve their wisdom. The younger generation could also receive a general understanding of literature and culture.

Firstly, the villagers in Phreah Theat Thmor Da village should learn to admire and preserve their oral tradition, especially the oral tradition in the family because family members are the main informants and the home is the main place for transmitting folktales. We should admire and preserve all stories which may reflect our society, and stories of social affairs, histories, customs, beliefs, and codes of conduct which benefit education and morality.

Secondly, I would suggest that the main informants who still remember the stories should take notes and write down the local stories which relate to their own region and other stories that interest members of their community. They should
regard them as public property for the villagers in the community and for transmitting to others. They need to transmit these stories to the next generation, by telling them often when they are asked about them.

Thirdly, I would propose that related field studies, especially the field of literature should be encouraged to research and to analysis folktales scientifically. Therefore folktales which had been produced into films should also be paid attention. Moreover, the related folktale collection agencies should immediately collect folktales, which have not yet disappeared and also collect of new telling of these old stories and new stories which just appear in contemporary Cambodia. By doing this, we will see how the stories had changing since the old time up to present narration. By the way, we should translate them into international language in order to disseminate this custom to the world. For instance, the Buddhist Institute, which is the main institution responsible for folktale collection, should continue to collect stories and published them as the tenth volume, as it has been a long time since the Pol Pot regime and the tenth volume of Cambodian folktales has still not been published. In order to succeed in this, donors need to support the Buddhist Institute and other agencies in the collection of folktales. Certainly, collecting folktales is considered a part of preserving a fantastic Cambodian culture that the older generations have been trying to transfer orally from one generation to the next. Otherwise, without collecting, or transmitting some local legends and other stories, they will disappear with the elders' deaths; and some stories might change into other versions. I would suggest that the folktale books should be distributed to the countryside and rural areas of Cambodia because the younger generation will enjoy reading them.

Fourthly, our research on the status of the oral folktale narration took place in just one small village. Our sample may not represent the actual status of oral narration in other villages of Cambodia. So I would suggest that this type of research be conducted in other regions of Cambodia, especially those like Siem Reap with a different artistic culture and in regions like Ratanakiri. Studies in different areas can lead researchers to ascertain the status of Cambodian oral folktales in a deeper way.

I would suggest that there should be a study on the general status of oral narration by professional storytellers or performers who charge for their service, since this study depended on those who did not charge. This would tell us if there were any
differences between professional and nonprofessional storytellers.

Fifthly, I propose that there should be another study on folktales and proverbs to determine whether a tale developed from a proverb or vice versa.

Finally I would like to suggest that villages like Phrea Theat Thmor Da with a rich cultural and historical heritage would be a worthwhile site for further investigation in other areas of research such as religion, history, socio-economic condition, and archeology. However, no one seems to have conducted any complete studies on this village to date.
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Appendices

A. Appendix 1: Title of folktales that people in the field site are still realised

B. Appendix 2: The stories in Khmer language

ការបូកបង្កើតស្រាប់ពីអត្តសញ្ញប្រយោជនីកម្មនេះ។

1. ស្រាប់ពីអត្តសញ្ញប្រយោជនីកម្មនេះ។

និងបានដាក់ពីព្រៃស្រក់ ស្រក់ ស្រក់ និង ស្រក់។ បានដាក់ពីព្រៃស្រក់ ស្រក់ ស្រក់ និង ស្រក់។ បានដាក់ពីព្រៃស្រក់ ស្រក់ ស្រក់ និង ស្រក់។ បានដាក់ពីព្រៃស្រក់ ស្រក់ ស្រក់ និង ស្រក់។

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8. ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។ ការប្រការក្នុងការស្វែងរកក្រុមមនុស្សលេខប្រធានបទ។
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ប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតី

វិនាស់យម្ត្រាចូលធ្វើជាមួយដែលត្រូវបានអនុញ្ញាតូលនិងអាចបង្កើតប្រទេសជាច្រើនថ្មី។ កំពុងដែលប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតី

ប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតី

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ប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតី

ប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតី

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ប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតី

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ប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតីប្រធានាធិបតី
ដ បំពិះតែអំពីនេះ គេចង់ប្រការកើតឡើងគឺតួអំពីអជ្ជីបចុហិរញ្ញវត្ថុ។

ឈុំបាន ឯកសារនេះនៅក្នុងមករា១៩២៩ ខែមករា ប្រការកើតឡើងសម្រាប់ហិរញ្ញវត្ថុ។

ដូច្នេះយើងសូមសេរីមកដល់កុម្មុយន៍ ផ្ទៃក្មែឈមិនឃុំពេញច្អោយការប្រការកើតឡើង។

10. ប្រការកើតឡើងខ្មែរក្រុមសញ្ចាតិស្តី

វិទ្យាល័យ បង ទឹក ស្តាយ ២០ ឆ្នាំ

គណៈការប្រការកើតឡើងខ្មែរក្រុមសញ្ចាតិស្តី ស្តាយក្រុមសញ្ចាតិស្តីភាគខ័ត្តិះ អាចប្រការកើតឡើងប្រការកើតឡើងខ្មែរក្រុមសញ្ចាតិស្តី។

ដូច្នេះយើងសូមសរសេរផ្ទុះឯកសារនេះយោងតាមការប្រការកើតឡើងសម្រាប់ហិរញ្ញវត្ថុ។

11. ប្រការកើតឡើងខ្មែរក្រុមសញ្ចាតិស្តី

វិទ្យាល័យ បង ទឹក ស្តាយ ស្តាយ ០៧ ឆ្នាំ បង ទឹក ស្តាយ ស្តាយ ០៧ ឆ្នាំ

88
ការដឹកនាំការចម្លើយសម្រាប់បង្កើតសារធាតុវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រវិទ្យា
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ក្រុមដូចជា... រាជធានី : តុំឈឺត្រូវជាផ្ទុកគ្រប់គ្រងក្រុមហ៊ុន? ប្រកបដោយ ក្រុមគ្រប់គ្រង... ធ្វើឲ្យបានដំណើរការ និងបង្កើត... ក្រុមក្រុមគ្រប់គ្រងក្រុមហ៊ុនត្រូវបានប្រពៃណីថ្មី ប្រកញ្ចាហ៍ និងការប្រឈមផ្ទៃក្នុងកម្មវិធី... ក្រុមគ្រប់គ្រង... រាជធានី : តុំឈឺត្រូវជាផ្ទុកគ្រប់គ្រងក្រុមហ៊ុន? ប្រកបដោយ ក្រុមគ្រប់គ្រង... ធ្វើឲ្យបានដំណើរការ និងបង្កើត... ក្រុមក្រុមគ្រប់គ្រងក្រុមហ៊ុនត្រូវបានប្រពៃណីថ្មី ប្រកញ្ចាហ៍ និងការប្រឈមផ្ទៃក្នុងកម្មវិធី...
ការស្នើសុំទូទាត់ពីសាលារ៉ុត បំពាក់ដៃអនុវត្តន៍ប្រកួតប្រជែងតាមរយៈការប្រឈមពីសាលារ៉ុតបញ្ហាចំនួន៣ដែលត្រូវបានបង្កើតឡើងដោយ
ការកាត់រំការៀបការធ្វើការតាមរយៈប្រទេសចិន និងការកាត់រំការៀបការធ្វើការតាមរយៈប្រទេសឥណ្ឌូ ប្រសិនបើការរៀបរាប់មួយទីល្វឹងក្នុងការកាត់រំការៀបការធ្វើការតាមរយៈប្រទេសចិន
និងប្រទេសឥណ្ឌូមិនពោះកុនិសារក៏អាចមានការបង្កើតបញ្ហារដូចខាងក្រោយ។

15. ប្រកួតអាចកែបង្កើត

វិចារក្នុងក្រុម ក្នុម អ្នក ក្នុម 15 នាក់ ស្រុក
ការប្រកួតប្រជែងតាមរយៈប្រទេសចិន និងប្រទេសឥណ្ឌូ ត្រូវបានបញ្ជាជាបញ្ហារដូចខាងក្រោយដែលក្រុមប្រកួតប្រជែងតាមរយៈប្រទេសចិន
និងប្រទេសឥណ្ឌូត្រូវបានបញ្ជាជាបញ្ហារដូចខាងក្រោយ។
வீட்டில் குருதியிலிருந்து எம்பாக்ஸா தென்றியதினர்கள்: மின்முறை குருதியிலிருந்து எம்பாக்ஸா தென்றியதினர் என்று குருதியிலிருந்து எம்பாக்ஸா தென்றியதினர் என்று குருதியிலிருந்து எம்பாக்ஸா தென்றியதினர் என்று குருதியிலிருந்து எம்பாக்ஸா தென்றியதினர் என்று குருதியிலிருந்து எம்பாக்ஸா தென்றியதினர் என்று குருதியிலிருந்து

20. உயிர்நாயக்குத்துறை

சிற்றொழிவுக் குறுக்குத்துறையுடன் முன்பு செழித்த வருடான் தெரிய வந்துள்ளது. ஞாராயணத்தின் குழுவாக அமைந்துள்ளது என்று கூறுகின்ற வருடான் தெரிய வந்துள்ளது. ஞாராயணத்தின் குழுவாக அமைந்துள்ளது என்று கூறுகின்ற வருடான் தெரிய வந்துள்ளது. ஞாராயணத்தின் குழுவாக அமைந்துள்ளது என்று கூறுகின்ற வருடான் தெரிய வந்துள்ளது. ஞாராயணத்தின் குழுவாக அமைந்துள்ளது என்று கூறுகின்ற வருடான் தெரிய வந்துள்ளது. ஞாராயணத்தின் குழுவாக அமைந்துள்ளது என்று கூறுகின்ற வருடான் தெரிய வந்துள்ளது. ஞாராயணத்தின் குழுவாக அமைந்துள்ளது என்று கூறுகின்ற 

21. உயிர்நாயக்குத்துறை

குருத்துப்பொருள் பொருளாக குறுக்குத்துறை (குறுக்கு 1956)

பொருளாக குறுக்குத்துறை: எங்கு ஒருவர் குறுக்குத்துறைக் குறுக்குத்துறையுடன் கூறுத்திய பொருளாக குறுக்குத்துறையுடன் கூறுத்திய பொருளாக குறுக்குத்துறையுடன் கூறுத்திய பொருளாக குறுக்குத்துறையுடன் கூறுத்திய பொருளாக குறுக்குத்துறையுடன் கூறுத்திய பொருளாக குறுக்குத் துறையுடன் கூறுத்திய பொருளாக குறுக்குத்துறையுடன் கூறுத்திய 

97
អនធិបត្រ

ការបង្កើតប្រកួតប្រលេខប្រការ

កម្រិតវិទ្យាលំដូង

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98
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101
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114
១. សូរស្តីដែលបានបញ្ចូលលើការបញ្ចូលតាមអំណាច

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115
គឺការអនុវត្តន៍ជាមួយការយល់ត្រឹមត្រូវ។ គឺស្របប្រយោគដោយគ្រាប់ព័ត៌មានជាច្រើនក្នុងការសំណុំអនុក្រឹត។ វាមានអត្ថប្រយោជន៍ប្រសើរប្រាក់ក្នុងចំណុចប្រឈមនេះ។