BACHELOR THESIS

Language Contact:

Malay Influence on Thai

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I have prepared this Bachelor thesis independently and on my own, by exclusive reliance on the quotations, tools, and literature which have been duly acknowledged and are indicated as such herein.

Frankfurt am Main, 2 October 2013   Daniel Krauße

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to investigate the linguistic influence of the Malay language including Indonesian and Javanese on the Thai language of Thailand. Up to the present, there has been only one thorough investigation on Malay loans in Thai that has also examined the tones resulting from Malay borrowings, which is Suthiwan's dissertation from 1997.

In preparation for this thesis, I have studied modern Central Thai, the Malay language of Malaysia, Standard Indonesian, as well as Eastern and Central Javanese. Being able to read the Thai writing system helps trace many borrowings back to their origins thanks to certain characters that only appear in loans from a donor language.

First, the Modern Thai language of Bangkok, sometimes called Siamese, will be described with regard to its phonological, graphemic, as well as lexical and morphological features, which will be necessary to determine whether a word is originally from Thai or borrowed from another language. Throughout its history, Thai has been heavily influenced by Middle Chinese, Old Mon, Angkorian Khmer, Sanskrit, Pali, and to a lesser extent by Teochew, Modern Khmer, Arabic, Persian, Romance languages, Javanese, Malay, and only recently American English. The original Thai substratum is still retained in monosyllabic words that refer to the basic vocabulary, such as body parts, simple verbs of motion and activity, native animal names, and pronouns, most of which are included in the 200-word basic word list (Swadesh list).

Then, the reader will be given an overview of the Standard Malay language of Malaysia (Bahasa Melayu Malaysia) including differences to Indonesian and Javanese with respect to phonology and the writing system. The aboriginal languages of the Malay Peninsula, usually called Aslian languages, are not part of this thesis.

Perhaps the most difficult part of this investigation will be the temporal determination of the Malay influence on Thai. This discussion deserves its own chapter. The main part of this thesis is the question of how and why certain tones in Thai appear when a word is borrowed from the non-tonal Malay language. First, I will show how tones are borrowed from tonal languages such as Middle Chinese and Teochew. Then, I show how tones are borrowed from diverse non-tonal languages that have influenced Thai over the years, these being Khmer, Sanskrit, English, and eventually Malay. We shall then have a closer look at the low, rising, and mid tone on long-vowel syllables of loanwords from Malay. There have only been scarce attempts at an analysis of Malay loans in Thai from a linguistic perspective, perhaps because the number of loanwords from Malay in Thai seems scant at first sight when compared to those from Sanskrit, Chinese, or Khmer.

The last part of this thesis examines the semantic fields of borrowings.

This study is a Bachelor of Arts thesis in the field of Empirical Linguistics.

CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations

Languages

AC	Ai-Cham	MMon	Middle Mon
AKh.	Angkorian Khmer	MoK	Modern Khmer
Ar.	Arabic	MT	Modern Thai
AT	Ancient Thai	OJv.	Old Javanese
Ba.	Balinese	PAN	Proto-Austronesian
BDH	Baoding Hlai	Pe.	Persian
BSH	Baisha Hlai	PMK	Proto-Mon-Khmer
Bu.	Burmese	PMP	Proto-Malayo-Polynesian
Cant.	Cantonese	Port.	Portuguese
CT	Central Thai	PT	Proto-Tai
En.	English	PTK	Proto-Tai-Kadai
Gk.	Ancient Greek	Sh.	Shan
Hl.	Hlai	Skr.	Sanskrit
In.	Indonesian	ST	Southern Thai
Jv.	Javanese	Ta.	Tamit
Kh.	Khmer	TC	Teochew Chinese
Ma.	Mandarin	TL	Tai Lue
MCh.	Middle Chinese	TW	Taiwanese
MKh.	Middle Khmer	ZSH	Zhongsha Hlai

Linguistic symbols

[…] phonetic transcription according to IPA

/…/ phonemic transcription

{…} written but not spoken

~ alternative pronunciation

* reconstructed or unattested form (if not indicated otherwise)

** hypothetical and non-existent form (if not indicated otherwise)

? unclear etymology

word boundary

† lexeme not listed in Pallegoix's dictionary

] syllable boundary

σ_x syllable (*x* indicates the number of the syllable)

+a aspirated

+v voiced

-v unvoiced

Consonant chart for the IPA:

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d		ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k g	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m	ɱ		n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
Trill	ʙ			r					ʀ		
Tap or Flap				ɾ		ɽ					
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Lateral fricative				ɬ ɮ							
Approximant		ʋ		ɹ		ɻ	j	ɰ			
Lateral approximant				l		ɭ	ʎ	ʟ			

Vowel chart for the IPA:
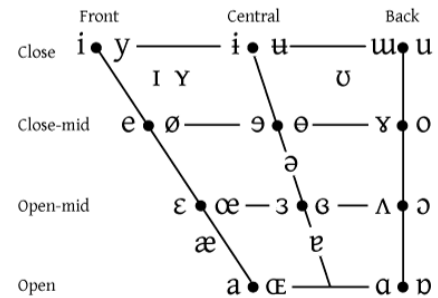
Syllable structure

C	consonant
N	nasal
S	sonorant
V	vowel
V̄	long vowel
V̆	short vowel
V̌	long or short vowel

Quoted sources

ABC Axel Schuessler's *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* (the number indicates the page)

ACD Robert Blust's *Austronesian Comparative Dictionary* (the number indicates the dictionary entry)

CIA Central Intelligence Agency's *World Factbook 2013 Online* (the number indicates the year)

DAK Philip N. Jenner's & Doug Cooper's *Dictionary of Angkorian Khmer* (the number indicates the page)

DED T. Burrow's & M. B. Emeneau's *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (the number indicates the dictionary entry)

KJK P. J. Zoetmulder's & S. O. Robson's *Kamus Jawa Kuno* (Old Javanese Dictionary) (the number indicates the page)

MKD Harry L. Shorto's *Mon-Khmer Comparative Dictionary* (the number indicates the page)

PAP John U. Wolff's *Proto-Austronesian Phonology with Glossary Volume II* (the number indicates the page)

Other

A.D.   anno Domini (refers to the years after the birth of Jesus)

cf.   confer (see, compare)

GTS   Gaantapsap transliteration of Thai

fn.   footnote

ibid.   ibidem (refers to the source that is the same as the preceding one)

id.   idem (refers to the a lemma's meaning that is the same as the preceding one)

IPA   International Phonetic Alphabet

p.   page

pp.   pages

ROMANIZATION SYSTEMS

For Thai

I have developed my own transliteration system for Thai under the name *Gaantapsap* (from Thai *การทับศัพท์ gaan táp sàp* "transliterating words"), abbreviated as GTS in this thesis. There are many different quasi-standardized transliteration systems, of which the most commonly used is the Royal Thai General System (RTGS). However, due to RTGS's lack of linguistic accuracy, I will exclusively make use of my own system as explained in the chart on the next page. As for the tones, I use the most common convention with the diacritics ` (low), ˆ (falling), ´ (high), ˇ (rising), and no mark for the mid tone. Those tone diacritics are always on the first vowel of a transliterated diphthong or triphthong. For other dialects of Thai I may use slightly deviating tone diacritics. The full chart of all Thai consonants, vowels, diphthongs, and triphthongs with their GTS counterparts is listed on the next page.

Thai letter	Thai name	Transliteration of the name	GTS initial	GTS final
ก	ก.ไก่	gɔɔ gài	g	k
ข	ข.ไข่	kɔ̌ɔ kài	k	k
ฃ	ข.ขวด	kɔ̌ɔ kùat	k	–
ค	ค.ควาย	kɔɔ kwaai	k	k
ฅ	ค.คน	kɔɔ kon	k	–
ฆ	ฆ.ระฆัง	kɔɔ rákaŋ	k	k
ง	ง.งู	ŋɔɔ ŋuu	ŋ	ŋ
จ	จ.จาน	jɔɔ jaan	j	t
ฉ	ฉ.ฉิ่ง	cɔ̌ɔ cìŋ	c	–
ช	ช.ช้าง	cɔɔ cáaŋ	c	t
ซ	ซ.โซ่	sɔɔ sôo	s	t
ฌ	ฌ.เฌอ	cɔɔ cəə	c	–
ญ	ญ.หญิง	yɔɔ yǐŋ	y	n
ฎ	ฎ.ชฎา	dɔɔ cádaa	d	t
ฏ	ฏ.ปฏัก	ɗɔɔ ɓàɗàk	ɗ	t
ฐ	ฐ.ฐาน	tɔ̌ɔ tǎan	t	t
ฑ	ฑ.มณโฑ	tɔɔ montoo	t	t
ฒ	ฒ.ผู้เฒ่า	tɔɔ pûu tâu	t	t
ณ	ณ.เณร	nɔɔ neen	n	n
ด	ด.เด็ก	dɔɔ dèk	d	t
ต	ต.เต่า	ɗɔɔ ɗàu	ɗ	t
ถ	ถ.ถุง	tɔ̌ɔ tǔŋ	t	t
ท	ท.ทหาร	tɔɔ táhǎan	t	t
ธ	ธ.ธง	tɔɔ toŋ	t	t
น	น.หนู	nɔɔ nǔu	n	n
บ	บ.ใบไม้	bɔɔ bai máai	b	p
ป	ป.ปลา	ɓɔɔ ɓlaa	ɓ	p
ผ	ผ.ผึ้ง	pɔ̌ɔ pûŋ	p	–
ฝ	ฝ.ฝา	fɔ̌ɔ fǎa	f	–
พ	พ.พาน	pɔɔ paan	p	p
ฟ	ฟ.ฟัน	fɔɔ fan	f	p
ภ	ภ.สำเภา	pɔɔ sǎmpau	p	p
ม	ม.ม้า	mɔɔ máa	m	m
ย	ย.ยักษ์	yɔɔ yák	y	i
ร	ร.เรือ	rɔɔ rɨa	r	n
ล	ล.ลิง	lɔɔ liŋ	l	n
ว	ว.แหวน	wɔɔ wɛ̌ɛn	w	u
ศ	ศ.ศาลา	sɔ̌ɔ sǎalaa	s	t
ษ	ษ.ฤาษี	sɔ̌ɔ rɨɨsǐi	s	t
ส	ส.เสือ	sɔ̌ɔ sǔa	s	t
ห	ห.หีบ	hɔ̌ɔ hìip	h	–
ฬ	ฬ.จุฬา	lɔɔ jùlaa	l	n
อ	อ.อ่าง	ɔɔ àaŋ	*	*
ฮ	ฮ.นกฮูก	hɔɔ nók hûuk	h	–

Vowel sign	GTS
◌ะ	a
◌ั	
◌ว	ua
◌ัว	
◌ัวะ	
◌า	aa
◌ิ	i
◌ี	ii
◌ึ	ɨ
◌ื	ɨɨ
◌ือ	
◌ุ	u
◌ู	uu
เ◌	ee
เ◌ะ	e
เ◌็	
เ◌ิ	
เ◌อ	əə
เ◌อะ	ə
แ◌	ɛɛ
แ◌ะ	ɛ
แ◌็	
โ◌	oo
โ◌ะ	o
ใ◌	ai
ไ◌	
◌ำ	am
เ◌า	au
เ◌าะ	ɔ
◌อ	ɔɔ
◌อย	ɔɔi
เ◌ย	əi
โ◌ย	ooi
◌วย	uai
ฤ	rɨ/ri
ฤๅ	rɨɨ
ฦ	lɨ
ฦๅ	lɨɨ
เ◌ีย	ia
เ◌ียะ	
เ◌ียว	iau
เ◌ือ	ɨa
เ◌ือะ	
เ◌ือย	ɨai

* ɒ functions as a zero consonant in initial position if the syllable starts with a vowel, while in medial and final position it is sometimes part of a vowel, sometimes pronounced as /ɔ:/.

<u>For Indian languages</u>

The transliteration system used for the Devanagari script is called IAST (International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration):

	unvoiced plosives		voiced plosives		nasals
	unaspirated	aspirated	unaspirated	aspirated	
velar	क k	ख kh	ग g	घ gh	ङ ṅ
palatal	च c	छ ch	ज j	झ jh	ञ ñ
retroflex	ट ṭ	ठ ṭh	ड ḍ	ढ ḍh	ण ṇ
dental	त t	थ th	द d	ध dh	न n
bilabial	ब b	भ bh	प p	फ ph	म m

sonorants	य y	र r	ल l	व v	श ś	ष ṣ	स s	ह h
others	ळ ḷ	○: ḥ	○̇ ṁ					

independent vowels						
short	अ a	इ i	उ u	ऋ ṛ	ऌ ḷ	ए e	ओ o
long	आ ā	ई ī	ऊ ū	ॠ ṝ	ॡ ḹ	ऐ ai	औ au

connected vowels with क *k* (exemplified)						
short	क ka	कि ki	कु ku	कृ kṛ	कॢ kḷ	के ke	को ko
long	का kā	की kī	कू kū	कॄ kṝ	कॣ kḹ	कै kai	कौ kau

<u>For Khmer</u>

The following chart illustrates the Khmer consonants combined with their subscript equivalents used in consonant clusters. The romanization system used is called UNGEGN. The Thai counterparts are also provided beneath the Khmer consonants:

ក្ក	kâ	ខ្ខ	khâ	គ្គ	kô	ឃ្ឃ	khô	ង្ង	ngô						
ก		ข		ค		ฆ		ง							
ច្ច	châ	ឆ្ឆ	chhâ	ជ្ជ	chô	ឈ្ឈ	chhô	ញ្ញ	nhô						
จ		ฉ		ช		ฌ		ญ							
ដ្ដ	dâ	ឋ្ឋ	thâ	ឌ្ឌ	dô	ឍ្ឍ	thô	ណ្ណ	nâ						
ฎ		ฐ		ฑ		ฒ		ณ							
ត្ត	tâ	ថ្ថ	thâ	ទ្ទ	tô	ធ្ធ	thô	ន្ន	nô						
ต		ถ		ท		ธ		น							
ប្ប	bâ	ផ្ផ	phâ	ព្ព	pô	ភ្ភ	phô	ម្ម	mô						
ป		ผ		พ		ภ		ม							
យ្យ	yô	រ្រ	rô	ល្ល	lô	វ្វ	vô	ស្ស	sâ	ហ្ហ	hâ	ឡ្ឡ	lâ	អ្អ	’â
ย		ร		ล		ว		ส		ห		ฬ		อ	

Khmer vowels are determined by the preceding consonant, since each consonant belongs to one of the two consonant classes. In UNGEGN, these classes are marked by a following *â* for the *â*-class and by an *ô* for the *ô*-class. Most of the Khmer vowels have their exact counterparts in Thai. Whenever the following scheme shows two variants seperated by a dash, then the first vowel is used for the *â*-class, the second for the *ô*-class. Whenever three variants are given, the first two refer to the *â*-class and the *ô*-class, respectively, and the third is used for the *ô*-class, if followed by *k*, *ng*, or *h*.

ា	a – éa	់	á – ó	័	ă – oă – eă	៏	ă – oă – eă
ិ	ĕ – ĭ	ី	ei – i	ឹ	œ̆	ឺ	œ
ុ	ŏ – ŭ	ូ	o – u	ួ	uŏ	េ	é
ែ	ê	ៃ	ai – ey	ោ	aô – oŭ	ៅ	au – ŏu
ើ	aeu – eu	ឿ	œ̆ă	ៀ	iĕ	ំ	âm – um
ុំ	om – ŭm	ាំ	ăm – ŏâm	ះ	ăh – eăh	ុះ	ŏh – ŭh
េះ	éh	ោះ	aôh – ŏăh	ាំង	ăng – eăng		

Khmer also has independent vowel characters:

ឥ	ĕ	ឧ	ŏ, ŭ	ឫ	rœ̆	ឭ	lœ̆	ឯ	ê	ឦ, ឩ	aô
ឯ	ei	ឭ	âu	ឬ	roe	ឮ	loe	ឰ	ai	ឱ	au

For Mandarin

The most common and linguistically quite accurate transliteration system for Mandarin is called *Pinyin* (from 拼音 *pīnyīn* "spelling sound"). The exact transliteration cannot be determined on the basis of the Chinese character, but results from its pronunciation. *Pinyin* is usually used for the Beijing dialect, which represents Standard Mandarin.

Tones are not written for personal names and street signs; but for linguistic purposes diacritic marks are usually placed above the nuclear vowel of the respective syllable. The tone mark is always written above an *a*, *e*, or, *o*, respectively. If there is a diphthong *ao*, the *a* takes the

tone mark. In the case of *ui* and *iu*, the second vowel takes the tone mark. Consider these examples for the correct tone mark placement:

来 lái, 累 lèi, 楼 lóu, 落 luò, 老 lǎo, 瑞 ruì, 六 liù

The vowel *ü* [y] is sometimes written as *v*. The combination *er* stands for [ɚ]. The following rules apply:

- If *u* is preceded by any of the alveolo-palatal sounds *j* [t͡ɕ], *q* [t͡ɕʰ], *x* [ɕ], or by *y* indicating a vocalic initial, it is pronounced as [y], otherwise as [u].

- If *e* is preceded by *y*, here indicating the sound [j], or a nasal, it is pronounced as [ɛ], otherwise as [ɤ~ə]. It is often pronounced as [ʌ] in the interrogative particle 么 *me*.

- If *i* is preceded by any of the alveolar or retroflex fricatives *s* [s], *sh* [ʂ], *r* [ʐ~ɻ] or affricates *z* [t͡s], *c* [t͡sʰ], *zh* [t͡ʂ], *ch* [t͡ʂʰ], it is pronounced as [ɨ], otherwise as [i].

- If *o* is preceded by any of the labials *b*, *p*, *m*, *f*, it is pronounced as [u̯o], otherwise as [o].

The consonants of Mandarin Pinyin can be inferred from the examples above and need no further explanation, as they are not relevant to this thesis.

For other languages

There are other Chinese languages included in this thesis, such as Teochew (also called *Cháozhōu*), Cantonese (also called *Yuè*), and Taiwanese (including Hakka and Hokkien). There are several romanization systems for each of those languages, of which the following ones are used in this thesis:

Teochew – *Peng'im* (numbers from 1 to 8 indicate the tones)

Cantonese – *Jyutping* (numbers from 1 to 6 indicate the tones)

Taiwanese – *Pe̍h-ōe-jī* (diacritics indicate the tones)

As these languages are not the main topic, further elaboration on the specific Romanization systems are not needed. The same applies to Arabic, Persian, Old Malay and Hanacaraka (Javanese). These four languages also have widely used transliteration systems.

1   LANGUAGES IN THIS THESIS

1.1   Thai

Thai is the best known and most widely spoken member of the Tai-Kadai language family, which consists of 95 languages[1] spoken in East Asia ranging from Taiwan via northern Vietnam to southern Thailand and westward to northern India (Smyth 2002:1). This language family includes, among others, Lao, Shan, and Zhuang of the Kam-Tai branch; Buyang, Gelao, and Mulao of the Kra branch; and Jiamao of the Hlai branch. Thai is the official language of Thailand and is sometimes called Siamese in order to differentiate between the languages of the Tai family and the actual language Thai. It is used throughout Thailand by about 50 million native speakers. Three quarters of the country are ethnic Tai, about 14 % are Chinese (CIA 2013).

The linguistic and ethnographic difference between the two spellings *Thai* and *Tai* are the same as between *British* and *English*; while the former refers to the people and language belonging to the Kingdom of Thailand, the latter refers to the ethnic and linguistic group that may also live in adjacent countries. Yet, sometimes the spelling *Thai* is also used for the latter. In Thai writing, the difference is expressed by the additional letter ย [j] after the vowel ไ [ai] that contradicts the orthographic convention of native words, even though their pronunciation is the same: ไทย *(Thai)* compared to ไท *(Tai)*.

According to the current state of research, the Tai speakers originated from China's Guangxi province and began to migrate westward and southwestward into what is now Thailand. This migration is thought to have started around the eighth century A.D (Smyth 2002:1).

There are four main dialects of Thai, spoken in the central region (*Klang*), in the north (*Lanna*), in the northeast (*Isan*), and in the south (*Dambro*), but despite their mutual intelligibility they are often considered as separate languages. The standard language is spoken in Central Thailand around Bangkok.

Whenever Thai script has to be transliterated in this thesis, I use my own transliteration system (see above on p. xi), since there has been no officially recognized and for all purposes suitable system released so far. GTS represents the exact pronunciation of the Thai words

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[1]   Cf. *http://ethnologue.com/subgroups/tai-kadai*.

regardless of their spelling and etymology; therefore the five different graphemes ข, ฃ, ค, ฅ, and ฆ, all pronounced [kʰ], all appear as *k* in GTS. Any final fricative or plosive is represented by its voiceless plosive counterpart, i.e. the words รด, รถ, and รส are all pronounced [rot˥˩][2] and thus transliterated as *rót* in GTS. A complete list of this transliteration scheme can be found on p. xi.

1.1.1 Phonology

Thai is a tonal language with every syllable carrying one of five distinctive tones that form a quintuple tone set unique to Thai in their contour. The following chart shows the five tonemes[3] of Central Thai in Bangkok (Thepboriruk 2009:9-10):

Thai	GTS	tone	contour[4]	IPA	number	tone name[5]	translation
ใหม่	mài	low	21	˨˩	1	sĭaŋ èek	new
ไม่, ไหม้	mâi	falling	453	˥˧	2	sĭaŋ too	not, to burn
มั้ย[6]	mái	high	324	˧˨˦	3	sĭaŋ đrii	question marker
ไหม	măi	rising	313	˧˩˧	4	sĭaŋ jàtđàwaa	silk
มัย, ไมล์	mai	mid	32	˧˨	5	sĭaŋ săaman	mule, mile

Henceforth, I will use the GTS tone marks for the transliteration of the Thai tonemes and the names listed in the *tone* column of the chart above for the transcription of the respective tones. It is noteworthy that only in live syllables[7] the full quintuple set of tones exists, whereas dead syllables[8] can only take the falling, low, and high tone depending on the vowel length: If the

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[2] รด means "to pour a fluid" and is native Thai, รถ means "car" and comes from Skr. रथ *ratha* "chariot", รส means "taste" and is from Skr. रस *rasa* "juice, taste".

[3] A toneme is a basic contrastive linguistic unit of tonal languages, which may cause a change of meaning. The term is derived from similar units like *phoneme* and *morpheme*.

[4] The contour numbers according to the so-called *Chao tone letters* indicate the pitch contour of possible tones from 1 (the lowest) to 5 (the highest). For instance, a rising tone in Thai is usually represented by a drop from the mid to the lowest pitch (3 to 1), followed by a sharp rising from the lowest back to the mid pitch (1 to 3), resulting in the contour number 313.

[5] The names for the tones in Thai designate the Pali numbers from 1 to 4 with *săaman* meaning "plain" in Pali.

[6] This is the colloquial spelling and pronunciation of ไหม *măi*.

[7] *Live syllables* (also called *unchecked syllables*) in Thai grammar are open syllables that end in a long vowel (V̄) or in a sonorant (S) preceded by any vowel, i.e. any syllable with the structure CV̄, CCV̄, CV̆S, in which V̄ may also be a diphthong or triphthong.

[8] *Dead syllables* (also called *checked syllables*) in Thai grammar are closed syllables that end in a non-sonorant consonant preceded by a short or long vowel, or in a short vowel with a subsequent glottal stop, which neither appears in Thai writing nor in GTS, i.e. any syllable with the structure CV̆C, CVʔ, CCVʔ, in which V̄ may also be a diphthong or triphthong.

vowel is short, only the low and high tone is possible; if the vowel is long, only the falling and low tone is possible. This rule can be broken for certain onomatopoetic or nursery words, as well as particles and some loanwords[9]. The following chart shows the average tones for middle-age speakers of Bangkok Thai (Thepboriruk 2009:7):
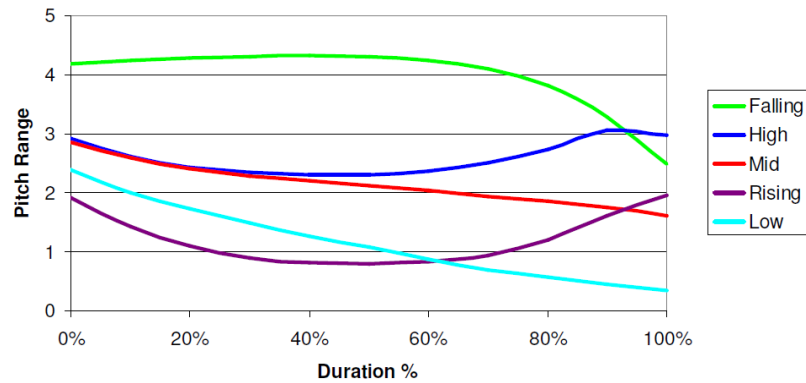
The consonant set of Thai is not that much different from most western languages, except that it differentiates between unvoiced unaspirated, unvoiced aspirated, and voiced unaspirated plosives (see next chapter for the complete consonant chart). English and German, in contrast, only have a distinction between unvoiced aspirated and voiced unaspirated stop consonants, while French and Russian differentiate between unvoiced unaspirated and voiced unaspirated plosives. The Thai triplets, however, only apply to bilabial and alveolar plosives: [b], [p], [pʰ] and [d], [t], [tʰ]. The velar consonant [g] is missing, only [k] and [kʰ] exist. GTS uses *b*, *ɓ*, *p* for the bilabial, *d*, *ɗ*, *t* for the alveolar, and *g*, *k* for the velar set. Thai has the three nasals [m], [n], [ŋ], which can all appear in any position. The fricatives [f] and [s], of which no voiced equivalents exist, as well as the affricates [t͡ɕ] and [t͡ɕʰ] do not appear in coda position and are replaced by their plosive counterparts [p] and [t], respectively. The sound /h/ cannot appear at the end of a syllable and is silenced, though written, if borrowed from another language[10]. The approximants [w] and [j] are unchanged regardless of their position, however can help to form certain diphthongs like [ɛːu̯] or [ɤːi̯] as well as triphthongs like [iːau̯] or [ɯːai̯][11] after the simple vowel. If /j/ is borrowed from an Indian language representing *ñ*, it is changed into [n] as a

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[9]   These include words like *กรี๊ดกร๊าด gríitgráat* "a shriek", *ค่ะ kâ* "polite female sentence-final particle", and *โค้ก kóok* "Coke".

[10]   E.g. *สิงห์ sĭŋ{hà}* "lion", from Skr. *सिंह siṃha* "id."

[11]   These triphthongs may also be classified as diphthongs followed by the glides [w] or [j].

final consonant. In colloquial and dialectal Thai, /l/ is often left out after a plosive[12]; Central Thai /l/ regularly becomes /n/ in coda position.

The sound /r/ is a special case: In Central Thai, there are certain conditions which determine its pronunciation as a final consonant. In inherited Thai words, the grapheme for the sound /r/ cannot appear at the end of a syllable. If it appears word-finally, the respective word must be a loan from another language. It changes either to [n] after a long vowel or to [ɔ:n] after a single consonant that is normally preceded by the inherent vowel [o], which is then replaced by the vowel [ɔ:][13]. In some cases, /r/ is completely dropped at the end of a syllable if preceded by a consonant[14]. It is usually never pronounced after an initial [s][15]. If a word appears to be borrowed from both Sanskrit and Pali, where Sanskrit has अर् *ar* and Pali has अ *a* followed by a geminate consonant, รร {rr} is written but pronounced as [a] in nuclear and [an] in coda position[16]. Colloquial and dialectal Thai have almost completely lost the sound [r]: in initial position, it appears as [l] or sometimes, among the younger generation, as [ɹ]; after a consonant, it is dropped[17], and in final position all afore-mentioned rules of Central Thai phonology apply.

The following chart illustrates the consonant inventory of Central Thai. Those consonants marked with as asterisk (*) are usually not included in grammar books for Central Thai, but they are added here based on my own observation of native speakers.

	labial			alveolar			palatal			velar			glottal		
	+a	-v	+v	+a	-v	+v	+a	-v	+v	+a	-v	+v	+a	-v	+v
nasal		m			n							ŋ			
plosive	pʰ	p	b	tʰ	t	d	t͡ɕʰ	t͡ɕ		kʰ	k			ʔ	
fricative		f			s			ɕ*							
approximant					l			j			k͡χ*			h	
trill		w			r										

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[12] *ปลา blaa* [bla:˦] "fish" is often pronounced as [ba:˦].

[13] Skr. आहार *āhāra* "food" becomes *อาหาร aahǎan* [ʔa:˦ha:n˩˩] "id.", however Skr. अमर *amara* "immortal" becomes *อมร àmɔɔn* [ʔa ʔ˩mɔ:n˩˩] "id."

[14] Skr. पत्र *patra* "leaf" becomes *บัตร bàt{r}* [bat˨] "card".

[15] MKh. ស្រេច *sréc* (AKh. *srac*, MoKh. *srac*) "to complete" becomes *เสร็จ s{r}èt* [set˨] "id.", but the Thai spelling suggests that this word must have entered Thai in its written form, not orally.

[16] Skr. धर्म *dharma* "virtue" and Pali धम्म *dhamma* "id." become *ธรรม tam* [tʰam˧], while Skr. *parṇārakṣa* and Pali *paṇṇārakkha* become *บรรณารักษ์ bannaarák* [ban˧na:˦rak˥˩] "librarian" (lit.: book protection). The latter is a Thai compound of two Indic elements.

[17] This might result in *พระราม praam* [pʰra ʔ˩ra:m˧] "King Rama" being pronounced as [pʰa ʔ˩la:m˧] or [pʰɹa ʔ˩ɹa:m˧].

No Thai word can begin with a vowel; there is always a glottal stop [ʔ] before the vowel, which also appears in Thai writing as อ. Similarly in coda position, there is also a glottal stop after a short vowel when no final consonant follows, but this is not always written. Plosives are always unreleased in final position.

Summarizing the afore-mentioned conditions, there are only nine possible consonants that can appear at the end of a syllable, i.e. [m], [n], [ŋ], [pˀ], [tˀ], [kˀ], [ʔ], [j], and [w].

The total amount of vowels in Thai is not clear, depending on the definition of a vowel. There are nine simple vowels that can combine into diphthongs and triphthongs; all simple vowels and syllable-final diphthongs can be short or long, while medial diphthongs as well as triphthongs in any position are inherently long. Note that in Thai, length is distinctive for simple vowels. The following chart (Nacasakul 2002:42) shows the basic Thai vowels in a simplified way:

For GTS, all vowels are transliterated according to the IPA except ɯ and ɤ, which are replaced by ʉ and ə. The following diphthong and triphthong combinations appear in Central Thai (the glottal stop and brackets are left out for readability):

ai, aːi, au, aːu, eu, eːu, ɛːu, ɤːi, ia, iːa, iːau, iu, oːi, ɔi, ɔːi, ua, uːa, uːai, ui, ɯa, ɯːa, ɯːai

The triphthongs *uːai* and *ɯːai* are sometimes pronounced as *uːəi* and *ɯːəi* in casual speech. Native Thai clusters are restricted to certain initial consonants with only a limited number of sonorants. The possible combinations are the following:

kr, kl, kw, kʰr, kʰl, kʰw, pr, pl, pʰr, pʰl, tr

All other combinations that are written as clusters in Thai script are pronounced with an anaptyctic *a*, which is often shortened to *ə*. Any word with a cluster containing such an anaptyctic *a* is derived from another language, i.e. is a loanword.

1.1.2 Writing System

Thai uses its own writing system, which is derived from the Old Khmer alphabet, and ultimately from the Pallava script of India (Brown 2007:17). Most other writing systems in South and Southeast Asia, such as Lao, Burmese, Javanese, and Devanagari, are also derived from that Indian script. They all have in common that a consonant and its subsequent vowel form a unit, of which both segments are still recognizable. The base is always the consonant, to which a vowel diacritic can be added to change the inherent vowel depending on the language. This writing system is called *abugida* or *alphasyllabary*. This is different from an *alphabet* as used in English or Russian, in which usually every sound is represented by one character regardless of being a consonant or a vowel. It is also different from an *abjad* used in Arabic or Hebrew, in which vowel diacritics are optional. The writing systems of Japanese or Chinese are again different, in that every written syllable contains a spoken consonant and spoken vowel, while the segments are not recognizable as such, so that every syllable looks different from another similar-sounding syllable, therefore called *syllabary*.

It is universal to all abugida writing systems of South and Southeast Asia that each vowel has a specific position after, before, above, below, or sometimes around the preceding spoken consonant, usually regardless of their length, i.e. the vowel /a/ appears as a cane after, /e/ as a cane before, /i/ as a loop above, /u/ as a loop below, and /o/ as a combination of two of those four vowels, or as a separate symbol around the consonant:

Simple transliteration:	ka	kā	ke	kai	ki	kī	ku	kū	ko	kau
Burmese:	က	ကာ	ေက	ကဲ	ကိ	ကီ	ကု	ကူ	ကို	ေကာ
Devanagari:	क	का	के	कै	कि	की	कु	कू	को	कौ
Javanese:	ꦏ	ꦏꦴ		ꦏꦶ		ꦏꦸ			ꦏꦺꦴ	
Lao:	ກ	ກາ	ເກ	ໄກ	ກີ	ກີ	ກຸ	ກູ	ໂກ	ເກົາ
Thai:	ก	กา	เก	ไก	กิ	กี	กุ	กู	โก	เกา

A feature of the Thai script is that for almost every consonantal sound two or more graphemes exist. This can be illustrated by the following chart:

	[k]	[kʰ][18]	[ŋ]	[ʔ]	[h]	
	ก	ข ฃ* ค ฅ* ฆ	ง	อ	ห ฮ	
	[tɕ]	[tɕʰ][19]		[j]		
	จ	ฉ ช ฌ		ญ ย		
[d]	[t]	[tʰ]	[n]	[r][20]	[l]	[s]
ฎ ด	ฏ ต	ฐ ฑ ฒ ถ ท ธ	ณ น	ร	ล ฬ	ซ ศ ษ ส
[b]	[p]	[pʰ]	[m]	[f]	[w]	
บ	ป	ผ พ ภ	ม	ฝ ฟ	ว	

The consonants marked with an asterisk (*) are not used anymore, even though they still appear in the traditional 44 consonant set of Thai. The high amount of characters corresponding to only one phoneme results from an almost perfect etymological writing system of Thai. This means whether or not the word is native to Thai can usually be inferred from the shape of the word itself.

Another factor for the high amount of characters is that consonants determine the tone of a syllable in accordance with the syllable structure, vowel length, and a contingent tone marker, since each consonant belongs to one of the three consonant classes *high*, *mid*, and *low*, which is the terminology used for the proto-tones in Ancient Thai (cf. chart on p. 21). Native Thai speakers are usually not aware of the history of this terminology, even though they use it as a matter of course. The consonant class determines the syllable tone, but is also linked to the vowel length and the coda feature[21] of the same syllable. This is a highly complex system only found in Thai and similar writing systems such as Lao, Tai Lue, or Lanna. The following chart[22] illustrates this system. A learner of Thai has to memorize these rules in order to find out the tone of a syllable.

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[18] Often pronounced as [k͡χ] or just [χ] by the younger generation.

[19] Sometimes pronounced as [ɕ].

[20] This phoneme only occurs in very formal speech, e.g. on TV, in an interview, in a presentation etc., otherwise it is rendered as [l], [ɹ] or dropped.

[21] The coda in Thai can either be *dead* or *live*. *Dead* refers to any syllable that ends in a stop consonant including a glottal stop, any other syllable is called *live*. Fricatives at the end of a syllable become stops and therefore cause the syllable to be *dead*, while sonorant-final syllables are regarded as *live*.

[22] Compiled by myself adapted from a similar chart drawn by Mrs. Orapim Bernart Tantrakul.

consonant class	unmarked			tone mark			
	live syllable[23]	**dead syllable**		◌่	◌้	◌๊	◌๋
		short vowel	long vowel				
low ค ฅ ฆ ง ช ซ ฌ ญ ฑ ฒ ณ ท ธ น พ ฟ ภ ม ย ร ล ว ฬ ฮ	mid มา *maa*	high มะ *má*	falling มาก *mâak*	falling ว่า *wâa*	high ม้า *máa*	—	—
mid ก จ ฎ ฏ ด ต บ ป อ	mid กา *gaa*	low ปะ *bà*		low แก่ *gɛ̀ɛ*	falling ป้า *bâa*	high แก๊ส *gɛ́ɛt*	rising ก๋า *gǎa*
high ข ฃ ฉ ฐ ถ ผ ฝ ศ ษ ส ห	rising ขา *kǎa*	low ขาด *kàat*		low ข่า *kàa*	falling ข้า *kâa*	—	—

However, apart from these rules above, there are some additional features of the script to determine the tone. We will have a look at the syllable structure first, which helps to understand those features. The following is the most prominent syllable structure in native Thai words:

$$C(S)\breve{\bar{V}}(C)$$

I shall add that silent น *h* or อ *ʔ* sometimes precede an initial sonorant (S) to change the inherent tone class of the respective sonorant, though they are often also etymological indicators for a voiceless nasal *(*hm, *hn, *hl, *hr, *hɲ, *hŋ)* or a pre-glottalized consonant *(*j)*, respectively, in Proto-Tai[24]. A silent น *h* changes a low class sonorant into a high class consonant and the silent อ *ʔ* changes the low class ย *y* to a mid class consonant. As for the latter, there are only four words[25] in the entire Thai vocabulary, all of them bearing the low tone. Tone marks act in accordance with the rules of the respective silent consonant, i.e. high class rules apply to น *h* and mid class rules to อ *ʔ*.

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[23] Cf. fn. 7 and 8 on p. 2 for the terminology.

[24] For example, CT ไหม *măi* (written Thai: *hmai*) "silk" comes from PTK **hmai^{A1}* "id." (Li 1977:75), and CT อยาก *yàak* (written Thai *ʔyaak*) "to want, to wish" is derived from PT **ʔjɯak^{D1}* ~ *ʔjak^{D1L}* "to be hungry" (Li 1977:181). See also Brown 2007:109.

[25] These four words are อย่า *yàa* "do not!", อยาก *yàak* "to want", อย่าง *yàaŋ* "a kind of", and อยู่ *yùu* "to be situated".

According to the structure above, words like *มือ mɯɯ* "hand", *หนึ่ง {h}nɯ̀ŋ* "one", and *ควาย kwaai* "water buffalo" are native Thai. There are also contracted native words that result in the following syllable structure:

$$C(S)\breve{V}C\breve{V}(C)$$

Examples for this structure are *ประตู ɓràɗuu* "door", *ตะวัน ɗàwan* "sun", and *กระดูก gràɗùuk* "bone". The first two are contracted forms of *ปากตู ɓàak ɗuu* (mouth of the door) and *ตาวัน ɗaa wan* (eye of the day) (Li 1977:xvi), respectively, but the origin of *กระดูก gràɗùuk* is not clear, even though many cognates in related languages exist[26].

Any other syllable structure betrays the foreign origin of the word. This is explained in greater detail on p. 12. Especially polysyllabic loanwords from Sanskrit, Pali, Khmer, and English are therefore easily recognizable as such. Words of Indic origin can be identified by the use of special Thai consonants that only appear in Indic words. These letters are the following with their Devanagari equivalent and their transliteration in parentheses:

ฆ (घ gh), ฉ (छ ch), ฌ (झ jh), ฏ (ट ṭ), ฏ (ट ṭ), ฐ (ठ ṭh), ฑ (ड ḍ), ฒ (ढ ḍha),

ณ (ण ṇ), ธ (ध dh), ภ (भ bh), ฤ (ऋ ṛ), ฦ (ऌ ḷ) ศ (श ś), ษ (ष ṣ), ฬ (ऴ ḷ)

They do not appear in native Thai words unless for style or pseudo-sanskritization, such as *เฒ่า[27] tâu* "old" or *อังกฤษ[28] aŋgrìt* "English", which look as if they were of Indic origin, but in fact are not.

When Thai borrows words from Khmer, an accurate transliteration system is used, so that the Khmer origin is still visible[29]. Good indications of Khmer loans are consonant clusters that are reflected by an insertion of an anaptyctic *a* in Thai[30]. Disyllabic words with an anaptyctic *a* (sometimes called sesquisyllabic) are still considered as some kind of a monosyllabic word with an initial consonant cluster, since the class of the first consonant determines the tone of the second syllable if the second consonant is a sonorant, for example *สนาม sànǎam* "field"[31]: Some scholars consider the first syllable to be tone-less, though. If the word were written without the initial *ส s*, the second syllable would be read as *นาม naam* (which does exist in

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[26] Lao *ກະດູກ kádùuk*, TL ꪔꪳꪀ *kaduk2* / ꪖꪳꪀ *duuk2*, Mak *ʔdok7L*, AC *ʔda:k7*, BDH *vu:k7*, ZSH *ru:k7*, BSH *fuk8*.
[27] Written as if from Skr. *ḍhau*.
[28] Written as if from Skr. *aṅkṛṣa*.
[29] An example for OKh is *ทรวง suaŋ* (written Thai: *trwŋ*) "chest" from OKh ទ្រូង *drvaṅ* "id.", while *ฉาก càak* "episode" comes from MoK: ឆាក *chaak* "scene".
[30] Consider Thai *เสด็จ sàdèt* (written Thai: *sdɛj*) "to move" (used for royalty only) from OKh ស្ដេច *sdec* "id."
[31] From Kh. ស្នាម *snam* "battlefield".

9

Thai meaning "name"), but with a mid tone. The initial ส *s*, however, being a high class consonant, changes the mid tone of the second syllable into a rising tone.

Monosyllabic or disyllabic words of Chinese origin (including Cantonese and many other southern Chinese languages) can often be identified by unusual tone indicators, such as the tone marks ◌̌ and ◌̇, which force the syllable to have a high or rising tone, respectively. Another indication is the extensive use of ซ *s* and ฮ *h* in Chinese loanwords[32]. The same conventions apply to words from English, but those are usually polysyllabic. Malay or Javanese loanwords, however, are not easily identifiable except for the final rising tone in some cases, such as *กะลาสี gàlaasǐi* "sailor" from *kelasi* "id." and *ตุนาหงัน ɗùnaaŋǎn* "fiancé(e)" from *tunangan* "id.". This thesis will discuss in detail the history of Malay loanwords in Thai. Javanese borrowings, the number of which is rather limited, will also be considered here.

The vowels of Thai are similar to those found in neighboring languages of mainland Southeast Asia (Enfield 2005:186). As it is an abugida of Indian origin, a complete set of short-long pairs of the typical vowels used in mainland Southeast Asian languages can be found. The following chart contains all possible vowel variations used in Central Thai along with their GTS transliterations. GTS does not differentiate between short and long *ia*, *iau*, *ua*, *uai*, *ɯa*, and *ɯai*, since this difference is not phonemic. Usually diphthongs only appear in their long version; however, they can be shortened at the end of a syllable, where the symbol ะ indicates a glottal stop and marks the diphthong as short. Triphthongs are always long. Note that the symbol ◌ does not appear in Thai writing, but indicates a consonant placeholder.

In the following chart, the vowel signs marked with an asterisk (*) can only appear at the end of a syllable. Here, the symbol ะ also denotes a glottal stop. Those marked with two asterisks (**) are now considered obsolete.

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[32] Examples from TC are *ก๋วยเตี๋ยว gǔaiɗǐau* "rice noodles" from 粿條 *guê² dieu⁵*, *เซ็งลี้ sěŋlíi* "business" from 生理 *sêng¹ li²*, and *เป๋าฮื้อ bǎuhɯ́ɯ* "abalone" from 鮑魚 *bau⁶ he⁵*.

a	aa	ai	aai	au	aau
◌ั / ◌รร / ◌ะ*	อา	ไอ / ใ◌* / ไ◌ย* / ◌ัย*	◌าย*	เอา	อาว*
e เ◌็ / เ◌ะ*	ee เอ			eu เ◌็ว*	eeu เอว*
ɛ แ◌็ / แ◌ะ*	ɛɛ แอ				ɛɛu แอว*
ə เ◌อะ*	əə เ◌ิ / เอ*		əəi เ◌ย*		
i ◌ิ	ii อี	ia เ◌ีย / เ◌ียะ*	iu ◌ิว*	iau เ◌ียว*	
o โ◌ / โ◌ะ*	oo โอ		ooi โ◌ย*		
ɔ ◌็อ / เ◌าะ*	ɔɔ ออ	ɔi ◌็อย*	ɔɔi ◌อย*		
u ◌ุ	uu ◌ู	ua ◌ว / ◌ัว*	ui ◌ุย*	uai ◌วย*	
ɯ ◌ื	ɯɯ ◌ี / ◌ือ*	ɯa เ◌ือ / เ◌ือะ*		ɯai เ◌ือย*	
	am ◌ำ*	ri / rɯ ◌ฤ	rɯɯ ◌ฤๅ*	li / lɯ ◌ฦ**	lɯɯ ◌ฦๅ**

1.1.3 Lexicon

Given the native syllable structure of Thai, as explained in chapter 1.1.2, a quick look at a Thai dictionary reveals that the majority of words used in Central Thai must be borrowings from various languages. They have specific tone marks or syllable structures that only apply to loanwords from certain languages, so that a Thai word can usually be traced back to its origin.

The oldest borrowed substratum from Old Chinese, Middle Chinese, and Angkorian Khmer refers to military and societal terms, while Sanskrit has served as a scientific language and Pali as the Buddhist language. Therefore, new inventions, mathematical, astronomical, and botanical terminology is of Sanskrit origin, whereas religious and philosophical terms are taken from Pali. Modern loans for science and religion are still brrowed from these two languages. Loans from Modern Chinese languages, such as Mandarin, Teochew, Cantonese, or Taiwanese, have been brought to Bangkok through Chinese traders, and have been widely used in Bangkok's Chinatown until they became accepted all over Thailand. All Muslim words of Arabic origin must have entered Thai via Malay. Common Thai place names are often of Sanskrit origin, while many places in the south received their names from Malay bo-

tanical or societal terms. As mentioned above, Javanese has had little influence on Thai, but most court words are ultimately of Javanese origin, usually borrowed through Malay.

1.1.4 Syllable structure

When determining whether a word in Central Thai is inherited or borrowed, a closer look at the syllable structure is quite helpful. However, there is also a great amount of loanwords with a syllable structure that seems as if the word were native to Thai. This happens quite often with monosyllabic words existing both in Khmer and Middle Chinese, sometimes also in Mon, Hmong and Malay. In such cases, linguists often classify these occurrences as area words[33] (Schuessler 2003:225). Haspelmath (2009:694) has a longer list of these Austric[34] area words. As an example of how difficult those area words can be, we present the word for "black, dark" in various languages of Southeast Asia:

Ancestral language	proto-form	examples
Proto-Tai	*ʔdl/rəm1* (Thurgood 1994:358) *ʔdl/rəm*^{A1} (Li 1977:129)	CT: ดำ *dam* "black" Lao: ດຳ *dam* "black" Sh.: လမ် *lam1* "black" Hl.: *dom3* "black"
Old Chinese	*thə̂mʔ, *də̂mʔ* (ABC 491)	Ma.: 黮 *tăn* "dark" Cant.: 黮 *taam5* "dark"
Proto-Mon-Khmer	*dĭ(i)m, *də(ə)m, *dum* (MKD 372)	Kh.: ដ៏ *dăm* "dark red"[35] ទុ ទឹម *tu tĭm* "cloudy" Mon: ဒံ *dɒm* "to be blue, violet" Viet.: *đen* "black"

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[33] This term is often used by Schuessler (2003, 2007) to designate words in a certain linguistic area, especially East and Southeast Asia, that seem to be related, while their etymology does not proof the relationship or has not been fully studied. These words usually include endemic flora and fauna, colors, kinship terms, and natural resources or names of minerals. This observation is similar to Mahdi's (1994:167-229) term "maverick protoforms" for words like "buffalo", "iron", and "clove".

[34] Austric usually comprises the following language families: Austroasiatic, Austronesian, Tai-Kadai, and sometimes Hmong-Mien, since they do share many similarities although they do not seem to be related genetically.

[35] This is one of the few cases where Khmer has borrowed a word from Thai, since it only appears in the compound ដ៏ក្រហម *damdaeŋ* "black mixed with red", from Thai ดำ *dam* "black" and แดง *dɛɛŋ* "red".

	syllable		example	
Proto-Malayo-Polynesian	*qitem* (ACD 4589)		SM: *hitam* "black" Jv.: ꦲꦶꦠꦼꦩ꧀ *item* "black" Tag.: *itím* "black"	

		SM: *hitam* "black"
Proto-Malayo-Polynesian	*qitem* (ACD 4589)	Jv.: ꦲꦶꦠꦼꦩ꧀ *item* "black"
		Tag.: *itím* "black"
Proto-Austronesian	*demedem* (PAP 819)	OJv.: *rěmrěm* "cloudy, veiled"
		Ba.: ᯑᯧᯔᯑᯧᯔ *demdem*
		Thao: *dumdum*

There are a lot more examples and discussions about these etyma. Schuessler (2003:241) compiles a longer list and explains the terms in a greater detail than can be done here.

The example above illustrates the difficulty a linguist experiences when attempting to identify the origin of monosyllabic words in Thai. The following chart contains a selection of possible Thai syllable structures with their corresponding examples. It shows how easily polysyllabic words in Thai can be classified as loans.

syllable		example	
unit	structure	inherited[36]	borrowed[37]
monosyllabic	CV	(a) มา /ma:/	(1) ม้า /máː/
	CVC	(b) อาบ /ʔàːp/	(2) อ่าง /ʔàːŋ/
	CVV	(c) ชาว /ɕʰaːu/	(3) ขาว /kʰăːu/
	CSV	(d) ปลา /plaː/	(4) ตรี /triː/
	CSVC	(e) กลาง /klaːŋ/	(5) เบรค /brèːk/
	CSVV	(f) กล้วย /klûai/	(6) อวย /ʔuai/
disyllabic	CaCV	---	(7) สบู่ /sàbùː/
	CaCVC	---	(8) เสด็จ /sàdèt/

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[36] The meanings of the inherited words are the following (top down): (a) to come, (b) to bathe, (c) folk, (d) fish, (e) middle, (f) banana, (g) female in-law, (h) sun, (i) door, (j) bone, (k) thus, (l) thus, (m) likewise, (n) likewise, .

[37] The meanings and origins of the loanwords are the following (top down): (1) horse (MCh. 馬 *ma*[B]), (2) basin (Kh. អាង *ʼaŋ*, MCh. 盎 *ʔâŋ*[C]), (3) white (MCh. 皓 *γâu*[B]), (4) three (Skr. त्रि *tri*), (5) arresting device (En. *break*), (6) to bestow (Kh. ឲ្យ *ʼaôy*), (7) soap (SM *sabun*; Kh. សាប៊ូ *sabu*, Telugu సబ్బు *sabbu*, Ar. صابون *ṣābūn*, all from Port. *sabão*), (8) to come/go (AKh. ស្ដេច *stec*), (9) woman (Skr. स्त्री *strī*), (10) coil of steel (En. *spring*), (11) neem tree (Kh. ស្ដៅ *sdau*), (12) reservoir (Kh. ត្រពាំង *trâpeăng*), (13) monkey (Skr. कपि *kapi*), (14) bamboo food case (SM *kerobok*), (15) steed (P. अस्स *assa*, Skr. अश्व *aśva*), (16) lotus (Pali उप्पल *uppala*), (17) opal (Skr. मुक्ता *muktā*), (18) seagoing vessel (SM *kapal*, Ta. கப்பல் *kappal*), (19) edible chrysanthemum (TC 茼蒿 *deng5 o1*), (20) spade (Skr. टङ्क *ṭaṅka*), (21) highborn (P. आचानेय्य *ājāneyya*), (22) profession (Skr. आजीव *ājīva*), (23) lottery (En. *lottery*), (24) lute (SM *kecapi*), (25) karaoke (Japanese 空オーケ *kara'ōke*), (26) strawberry (En. *strawberry*), (27) July (Skr. *कर्कटागम *karkaṭāgama*), (28) to wander aimlessly (SM *mengembara*).

	CaCSV	---	(9) สตรี /sàtri:/
	CaCSVC	---	(10) สปริง /sàpriŋ/
	CaCCV	(g) สะใภ้ /sà?pâi/	(11) สะเดา /sà?dau/
	CaCCVC	(h) ตะวัน /tà?wan/	(12) ตะพัง /tà?pʰaŋ/
	CSaCCV	(i) ประตู /prà?tu:/	(13) กระบี่ /krà?bì:/
	CSaCCVC	(j) กระดูก /krà?dù:k/	(14) กระพอก /krà?pʰɔ̀:k/
	CVCV	---	(15) อาชา /?a:ɕʰa:/
	CVCVC	---	(16) อุบล /?ùbon/
	CVCCV	(k) ฉะนี้ /ɕʰà?ní:/	(17) มุกดา /múkda:/
	CVCCV	(l) ฉะนั้น /ɕʰà?nán/	(18) กำปั่น /kampàn/
	CVCCV	(m) ฉันนี้ /ɕʰanní:/	(19) ตั้งโอ่ /tâŋ?ǒ:/
	CVCCVC	(n) ฉันนั้น /ɕʰannán/	(20) ฏังกะ /taŋgà?/
trisyllabic	CVCVCV	---	(21) อาชาไนย /?a:ɕʰa:nai/
	CVCVCVC	---	(22) อาชีวะ /?a:ɕʰi:wá?/
	CVCCVCV	---	(23) ลอตเตอรี่ /lɔ̂:ttɤ:rî:/
	CSVCVCCV	---	(24) กระจับปี่ /krà?ɕàppì:/
quadrisyllabic	CVCVCVCVC	---	(25) คาราโอเกะ /kʰa:ra:?o:ke?/
	CaCSVCVCV	---	(26) สตรอเบอร์รี่ /sàtrɔ:bɤ:rî:/
pentasyllabic	CVCVCVCVCVC	---	(27) กรกฎาคม /kàrákàda:kʰom/
	CVCCVCCVCCVCV	---	(28) มะงุมมะงาหรา /má?ŋummá?ŋa:rǎ:/

In the chart above, only the monosyllabic set is complete in native Thai words. Furthermore, all the disyllabic native words are compounds of two monosyllabic words each, however native speakers of Thai may not be aware of these compounds: *สะใภ้ sàpâi* "female in-law" is a compound of *สาว sǎau* "young woman" and **ใภ้* *pâi "female in-law" (Li 1977:xvi); *ตะวัน đàwan* "sun" is from *ตา đaa* "eye" and *วัน wan* "day" (ibid.); *ประตู ɓràđuu* "door" comes from *ปาก ɓàak* "mouth" and **ตู* *đuu "door" (ibid.); *กระดูก gràđùuk* "bone" is composed of *กระ- grà-* "prefix" and **ดูก* *dùuk "bone" (Li 1977:42, 129, 267), both *ฉะนี้ càníi* "thus" and *ฉันนี้ cǎnníi* "likewise" are from *ฉัน cǎn* "as if" and *นี้ níi* "this", while *ฉะนั้น cànán* "thus" and *ฉันนั้น cǎnnán* "likewise" are derived from *ฉัน cǎn* "as if" and *นั้น nán* "that".

All polysyllabic words must be from another language, and do not belong to the inherited vocabulary of Thai except for some rare disyllabic compounds, of which at least one syllable

is still recognizable as an inherited word; nevertheless, native speakers of Thai might not be aware of these.

Sometimes, it is not even clear whether a specific term in Thai is a word or a compound, since Thai does not make use of spaces between "words", except in foreign expressions for the sake of readability. A space in Thai writing indicates a change of thoughts, a subordinate clause, an enumeration, a full stop or a quotation. Therefore, there may be extreme long expressions like วัดมหาธาตุยุวราชรังสฤษฎิ์ราชวรมหาวิหาร [wát.má.hǎː.tâːt.yú.wá.râːt.raŋ.sà.rìt.râːt.t͡ɕá.wɔː.rá.má.hǎː. wí.hǎːn] "Great Golden First Class Temple erected by the Successive Royal Offspring", which is the name of a famous temple in Bangkok consisting of 18 syllables. It can be fragmented into eleven single words, none of them having more than two syllables: วัด *wát* "temple", มหา *máhǎa* "great", ธาตุ *tâat* "gold", ยุว *yúwá* "young" ราช *râat* "royal", รัง *raŋ* "built", สฤษฎิ์ *sàrìt* "built", ราช *râatcá* "royal" วร *wɔɔrá* "selected", มหา *máhǎa* "great", and วิหาร *wihǎan* "temple". Expressions like this are not considered as one word in Thai, but as a long compound.

1.2 Malay

As the most prominent member of the Austronesian languages, Malay has been well studied over the past five centuries since the first European traders reached Southeast Asia. As early as 1603, a connection between Malay and Malagasy, the national language of Madagascar, was noted by the Dutch explorer Frederick de Houtman (Collins 1998:1). Today, we know that the Austronesian language family comprises 1255 languages in total, spoken in the area from Madagascar to Easter Island, and from Taiwan to New Zealand[38].

The name *Malay* refers to the language spoken in Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei, Singapore, Southern Thailand, and parts of East Timor. It is usually called *Bahasa Melayu* in Singapore, Brunei, and Malaysia, and *Bahasa Indonesia* in Indonesia. About 200 million people speak Malay as their first or fluent second language and it is supposed to rise up to 300 million by 2020 (ibid., p. 82). Sometimes, *Malaysian Malay* and *Indonesian Malay* are treated as separate languages, even though their standard varieties are mutually intelligible. Their colloquial or dialectal variants, however, greatly differ from each other.

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[38] Cf. *http://www.ethnologue.com/subgroups/Austronesian*.

Whenever there is a specific word that is only used in Malaysia, I have indicated this by *SM* for *Standard Malay*. Sometimes *In.* is used when the term is used exclusively in Indonesia. The abbreviation *Jv.* stands for *Javanese*, a regional language spoken in Central and East Java. Malay and Javanese are separate languages and mutually not intelligible, however they both belong to the Western-Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian languages.

1.2.1 Phonology

Malay is a non-tonal language with a relatively small phoneme inventory. Native vocabulary has only 20 consonant and six vowel phonemes. However, due to numerous borrowings from other languages, such as Arabic and English, at least four more consonants can be added to the phoneme list of Standard Malay including Indonesian. The glottal stop is not a phoneme of Malay in initial and intervocalic position[39], as it is necessarily produced before an initially written vowel, but is the phonological realization of a written *k* in final position[40]. It also appears between identical vowels in words borrowed from Arabic, such as *maaf* [ma.ʔaf] "excuse", or as a result of affixation, e.g. *keadaan* [kə.ʔa.da.ʔan] "being, existence" from *ada* "to exist". Between like vowels, a written *h* is clearly pronounced as [h], as in *mahal* [ma.hal] "expensive", but only very slightly or not at all between unlike vowels, as in *tahun* [ta.(h)un] "lord". However, its articulation can be distinctive between unlike vowels, e.g. *tahu* [ta.u] "to know" and *tahu* [ta.hu] "tofu". Written *ng* is pronounced as [ŋ] in any position, never like in English *finger*. The phonemes bearing an asterisk (*) in the chart below only appear in loanwords, the rest are of Malay origin. Especially in Malaysia, some younger people prefer to use [ɹ] instead of [r], particularly in loanwords from English. Quite frequently, it is also pronounced as a flap [ɾ]. The [l] may be a velarized [ɫ] in Arabic words, chiefly in words or compounds containing the name *Allah*: [ʔaɫ.ˈɫɑː(h)]. Malay has no aspirated consonants. The following chart represents the most common convention of Malay consonants (Moeliono in Tryon 1995:446):

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[39] For some speakers, the glottal stop may occur in free variation with an initial vowel in initial position.
[40] Except when it occurs in a monosyllabic borrowed word (e.g. tidak [tidaʔ] "no", but *cek* [cɛk] "to check", *tik* [tik] "to type").

	labial		alveolar		palatal		velar		glottal	
	-v	+v	-v	+v	-v	+v	-v	+v	-v	+v
nasal		m		n		ɲ		ŋ		
plosive	p	b	t	d	c	ɟ	k	g	ʔ	
fricative	f*	v*	s	z*	ɕ		x*			
approximant		w		l		j			h	
trill				r						

Vowels in Malay are not numerous and their pronunciation corresponds to the spelling. However, the exact pronunciation of the phonemes /o/ and /e/ cannot be predicted, and the decision between [o] and [ɔ] as well as between [e], [ɛ] and [ə] does not always follow set rules. Therefore, some grammar books and dictionaries use accents for the different /e/ sounds: *é* for [e], *è* for [ɛ], and *e* for [ə].
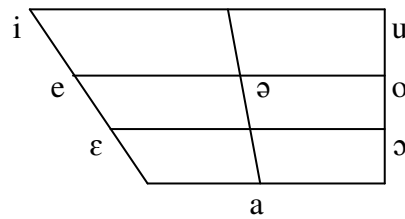
In Malaysia and Singapore, final /a/ is usually pronounced [ə] except in some loanwords from English and abbreviations, such as *aroma* or *FIFA*. While /u/ is maintained in Indonesia in the ultima, it is generally pronounced as [o] in Malaysia, e.g. *burung* [buroŋ] "bird". In Arabic loans, [a] is sometimes articulated [ɑ], depending on the speaker's knowledge of Arabic.

Malay makes use of some morphophonemic features in word formation that are not present in many other languages of mainland Southeast Asia. Most verbs are formed by affixes such as *meN-*, *meN-kan*, or *meN-i* for transitive verbs, where *N* stands for a nasal assimilated to the initial phoneme of the root[41], or by the prefixes *ber-* or *ter-* for intransitive verbs. Infixes and suffixes do not experience assimilation in Malay, nor does the focus prefix *di-*.

Reduplication is a common phenomenon in Malay. Some words appear in their reduplicated form only, e.g. *lumba-lumba* "dolphin", whereas in other words, reduplication indicates plural or diversity (*orang-orang* "people"), intensification (*berlari-lari* "to hurry"), similarity (*langit-langit* "ceiling" to *langit* "sky"), an unspecific action (*makan-makan* "to sit around eating"), reciprocity (*pukul-memukul* "to beat each other"), or repetition (*memukul-mukul* "to

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[41] E.g. *mengantuk* "to be tired" from *kantuk* "tiredness", *menerangi* "to illuminate" from *terang* "bright", *membuang* "to dispose" from *buang* "to throw away", *menyimpan* "to store" from *simpan* "id." Details of these affixations are not further described here, as they are not relevant to this thesis.

continuously beat, to beat up"). Sometimes, partial reduplication occurs in Malaysian Malay (*lelaki* "man"), while in Indonesia the word is fully reduplicated (*laki-laki* "id."). A special feature is rhythmic reduplication, such as *asal usul* "origin", *sayur-mayur* "vegetables", *gerak-gerik* "gestures", *bolak-balik* "to and fro", *berulang-aling* "again and again" etc., of which one of the two parts often has no meaning per se.

1.2.2   Writing System

Malaysian Malay has experienced many different writing systems throughout its history. Old Malay used to be written in Pallava script, later in Kawi script, which also used to be employed for several regional languages all over Indonesia and surrounding countries. For the modern language, a Malay-style Arabic script called *Jawi* was used until the beginning of the 20th century. The first attempt to officially introduce Latin letters in the kingdoms of Selangor, Perak, Pahang, and Negeri Sembilan, called *Rumi* in Malaysia, was published in October 1904 by a spelling committee led by the school inspector R. J. Wilkinson under the name of *Romanised Malay Spelling* (Dahaman 2007:241). This writing system, however, was anything but new, as it had been known in Malaysia since the 16th century (ibid., p. xvii). Thanks to the Malaysian writer and language expert Zainal Abidin Ahmad, better known as Za'ba, the Rumi alphabet in Malaysia between 1941 and 1972 bearing the name *Sistem Ejaan Rumi Za'ba* came into use, while three other spelling reforms had also been introduced at the same time: *Ejaan Rumi Fajar Asia* (1943), *Ejaan Kongres* (1956), and *Ejaan Rumi PBMUM* (1959) (ibid., pp. 241-314). In August 1972, the new spelling reform using Latin letters was inaugurated and named *Sistem Ejaan Rumi Bersama (SEB)*. The Latin spelling has been used consistently in all official documents and is enjoying great popularity (ibid., p. xvii). Despite all these reforms, the Jawi system has never disappeared and is still being used in some states of Malaysia.

In Indonesia, however, the usage of Arabic-based Jawi was almost completely abolished due to the spelling reform called *Edjaan Van Ophuijsen* (EVO) in 1901 based on Dutch orthography (ibid., pp. 318-327). This system was in use until 1947 when the new spelling reform called *Edjaan Soewandi* was introduced, changing *oe* to *u*, the glottal stop *'* to *k*, allowing the number *2* for reduplicated words, and prescribing a space between the prefix or preposition *di(-)* and the following word. Before the unification of the Malaysian and Indonesian spellings,

two more reforms took place in Indonesia: *Ejaan Pembaharuan Bahasa Indonesia* (1957), later called *Ejaan Melindo* (1959), and *Ejaan Baru Bahasa Indonesia* (1966).

In order to harmonize the two marginally different spelling systems of Malaysia and Indonesia, two attempts have been made: The first being *Ejaan Melindo* (short for *Ejaan Melayu-Indonesia*) in 1959 according to the principle "one phoneme, one symbol", creating difficulties for typewriters. The later spelling reform established in 1972 is called *Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan (EYD)* in Indonesia and *Sistem Ejaan Rumi Baharu* in Malaysia, which is also employed in this these for all Malay and Indonesian terms. To illustrate the differences in spelling, the following chart shows a selection of examples with the affected graphemes. An equal sign (=) indicates that the clitic is usually attached by a hyphen (-), whereas a hyphen indicates that it is directly attached:

| Jawi | Malaysia | | | Indonesia | | Common | | English |
	Wilkinson 1904	Za'ba 1941	SEB 1972	EVO 1901	Soewandi 1947	Melindo 1957	EYD 1972	
اخير	aḫîr	akhir	akhir	achir	achir	axir[42]	akhir	last
باغون	bangun	bangun	bangun	bangoen	bangun	baŋun	bangun	to wake up
بالغ	bâligh	baligh	baligh	balig	balig	balig	balig	puberty
بيريس	beres	beres	beres	bérés	beres	bérés	beres	okay
تيدق	tidak	tida'	tidak	tidak	tidak	tidak	tidak	not
جوجور	jujur	jujur	jujur	djoedjoer	djudjur	jujur	jujur	honest
چڤت	chĕpat	chĕpat	cepat	tjepat	tjepat	cepat	cepat	fast
چوبا	choba	chuba	cuba	tjoba	tjoba	coba	coba	to try
شعير	sha'îr	sha'ir	syair	sja'ir	sjair	śair	syair	poem
ضرب	dlarab	dharab	darab	darab	darab	darab	darab	multiple
طلاق	ṭalâḵ	talak	talak	talak	talak	talak	talak	divorce
ظالم	tlâlim	zalim	zalim	lalim	lalim	lalim	lalim	tyrannous
ݢورو	guru	guru	guru	goeroe	guru	guru	guru	teacher
لاوت	laut	laut	laut	laoet	laut	lawt	laut	sea
معاف	ma'af	ma'af	maaf	ma'af	maaf	maaf	maaf	pardon
ن-	-nya	=nya	-nya	-nja	-nja	-ṇa	-nya	his, her

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[42] There is no mention about the foreign sound /x/ for *Ejaan Melindo* (Dahaman 2007:352), however according to the principle "one phoneme, one symbol", this may be the only possibility.

1.2.3 Lexicon

Malay has borrowed a great amount of terms from various languages. These include the Old Indic languages (Sanskrit and Pali), modern Indian languages (especially Tamil), languages from the Middle East (Arabic and Persian), Southern Chinese languages as well as European languages (Dutch, Portuguese, and English). The lexicon borrowed from European languages differs greatly between the two variants of Malay. Malaysian Malay has a lot more English terms than Indonesian, while Indonesian has been enriched by Dutch.

On the other hand, both Malay variants have borrowed words from other Austronesian languages, such as Javanese. Most words of Javanese origin were introduced into Malaysian Malay via Indonesian.

The earliest loanwords were adopted into Malay from Sanskrit and Pali due to early Hindu and Buddhist influence. The second great wave of loans into Malay is the result of trading and migration from Southeast China. The spread of Islam in Southeast Asia began around the 12th century, bringing along many Arabic terms related to Islam. When in the 16th century Portuguese contact was made as a result of trade with Europe and later colonization, new terms from European languages entered Malay. Dutch influence is due to their occupying Indonesia from the 17th to the 20th century, while British colonization of parts of Malaysia from the 18th to the 20th century is the reason for the occurrence of a large number of English loans.

An important trading hub was Malacca, which has undergone diverse settlements from various cultures throughout its history. The early Malacca Sultanate spoke Malay with Arabic and Chinese features. The Portuguese who arrived in the 16th century were then defeated by the Dutch in the 17th century.[43] Furthermore, Malacca had already been inhabited by *Peranakan Chinese* since the early 15th century (Ming-Yuet 2013). In exchange for Bengkulu in Sumatra, Malacca was ceded to the British in the 19th century. The region must also have attracted many Indians, especially the Chitty people of Dravidian origin, most of them found in Malacca and Singapore (Pillai 2015:42). These various cultures have had a significant impact on the characteristics of the Malay lexicon. The number of loanwords from Austronesian languages other than Javanese is very limited in Malaysia, an exception being *beta* "I" from Ambonese. In contrast to Malaysian Malay, Indonesian, in particular its colloquial variety, has taken over a considerable number of words not only from Javanese, but also from other regional languages, e.g. Sundanese, Betawi, and Batak.

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[43] For a more detailed description of the history of the Malay language, cf. Collins 1998.

2 ESTIMATED TIME SPAN OF MALAY LOANS AND POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THESE LOANS

Without further investigation of the history of Thai phonology, the time span of borrowings from Malay cannot be determined. Therefore, we shall first have a look at how the Thai sound system has changed from AT to MT, i.e. from about 700 A.D. to the present time.

J. Marvin Brown (2007:14)[44] has clearly depicted the development of the Thai tones of the central and southern dialect, as can be seen in the following illustration:
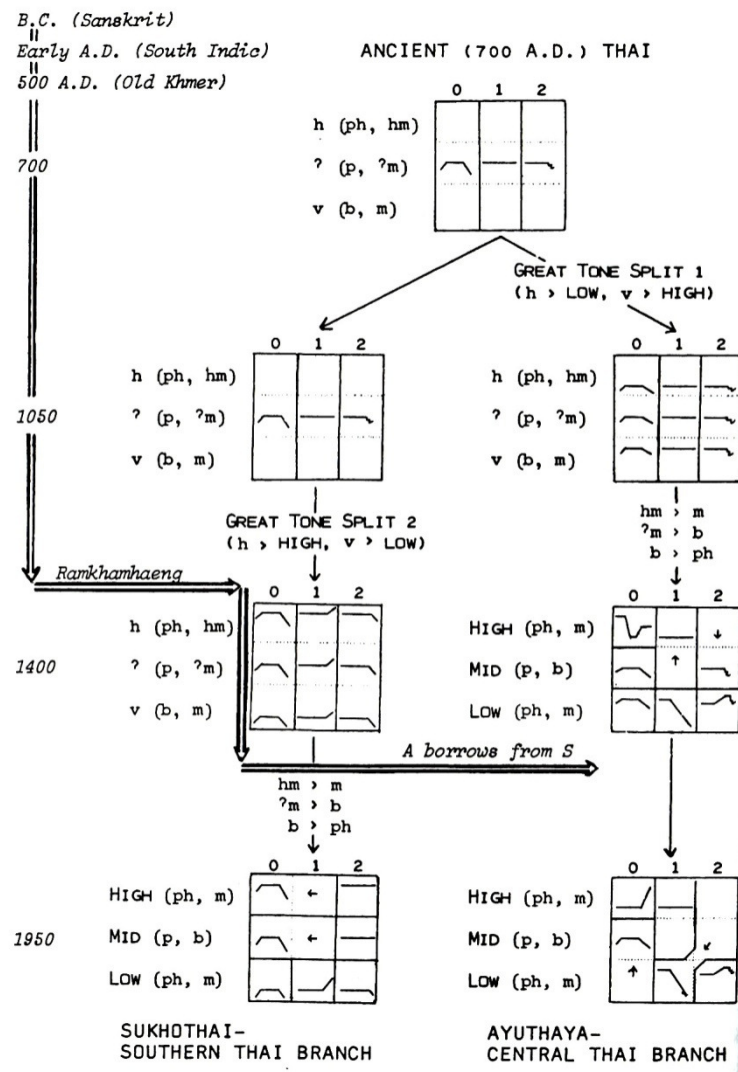
The thick arrow at the left shows the development of the Thai script in accordance with the tones. King Ramkhamhaeng[45] is said to have been the deviser of the script based on the Old

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[44]   This chart originally appeared in an earlier work by Brown in 1965.

Khmer writing system in 1283 A.D.[46] There were two Great Tone Splits in the history of Thai phonology, which, though illustrated above, still require further explanation. The letters left to the three-column boxes refer to the glottal positions for the initials (*h* for aspirated, *ʔ* for glottalized, *v* for voiced consonants), the numbers refer to the three vowel-final proto-tones (sometimes also indicated by *A*, *B*, *C*). Consonant-final proto-tones (usually indicated by *D* in other works) are disregarded here. Nowadays, the Thai script still perfectly fits this threefold system for modern CT, since the three numbers (*0*, *1*, *2*) now refer to the tone indicators: *0* for no tone mark, *1* for *mái èek* and *2* for *mái too* (cf. chart on p. 2)

At some time before 1050 A.D., a sound change in the Ayutthaya branch[47] occurred, in which aspirated initials (indicated by *h* above) lowered tones, and voiced initials (indicated by *v* above) raised them. The Sukhothai branch[48] was not affected by this sound change. At some time before 1400 A.D., a second Great Tone Split took place, however this time in the ST branch, i.e. aspirated initials raised tones, voiced initials lowered them, whereas the CT branch underwent a consonant change that is illustrated above by *hm › m*, *ʔm › b*, *b › ph*. This simply means that original aspiration of initial consonants was lost, glottalized initial consonants changed to the respective non-glottalized plosives, while voiced initials shifted to their unvoiced aspirated counterparts. Exactly the same shift must have occurred in ST after CT had borrowed the writing system from ST, as can be seen above.

There are theoretically nine possible tone contours that could have developed from the afore-mentioned shifts, however some tones coalesced with those to which the small arrows within the various cells points. This development reduced nine tones to seven in ST and to five in CT.

The following chart, which is based on a ST dictionary (Kaewkhao 1986:4), illustrates a similar correspondence between CT and ST, even though it shows only six instead of the expected seven tones. However, the first low tone of ST could be better explained as low-falling. The only tone that does not correspond to Brown's chart above is ST mid-rising, which is sup-

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[45] The third king of the Phra Ruang Dynasty, ruling from 1278 to 1298, has gained in popularity thanks to the so-called *Ramkhamhaeng stele*, which was allegedly discovered by King Mongkut in 1833, and retells the life of King Ramkhamhaeng.

[46] According to Brown (2007:5), King Ramkhamhaeng is the supposed developer of the Thai script by using the sounds of Sanskrit and adapting it to fit the sounds of 13th century Sukothai Thai.

[47] Brown (2007:13) uses the designation 'Ayutthaya branch' for the CT dialect, which is now considered to be the standard dialect of the Thai language.

[48] This is Brown's designation for the ST dialect.

posed to be the same as CT low tone. This might be due to regional varieties or different time periods of research on ST tones.

Central Thai		Southern Thai		English
Tone	**Example**	**Tone**	**Example**	
mid	มา maa, กา gaa	low[49]	หม่า màa, ก่า gàa	to come, crow
high	น้ำ náam, ร้อน rɔ́ɔn	low	หน่าม nàam, หร่อน rɔ̀ɔn	water, hot
rising	ขอ kɔ̌ɔ, สอง sɔ̌ɔŋ	falling	ข้อ kɔ̂ɔ, ส้อง sɔ̂ɔŋ	to beg for, two
low	ขาด kàat, สอบ sɔ̀ɔp	high	ค้าด káat, ช้อบ cɔ́ɔp	to be absent from, to examine
falling	พ่อ pɔ̂ɔ, ชอบ cɔ̂ɔp	rising	ผอ pɔ̌ɔ, ฉ่อบ cɔ̌ɔp	father, to like
falling	บ้าน bâan, ข้าว kâau	mid-high[50]	บ้าน b̈áan, ค้าว k̈áau	house, rice
mid	ปลา ɓlaa, ดี dii	mid-rising	ปล่า ɓlǎa, ดี่ ɗǐi	fish, good
low	ป่า ɓàa	mid-rising	ป่า ɓǎa	forest

In order to better understand the descriptions used for the Southern Thai tones, I have visualized the first example of each ST tone in the fourth column of the chart above in phonetic diagrams with Praat 5.3 with the help of a native ST speaker[51] below:

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[49] After my own research, I would argue that this is rather supposed to be mid-falling tone.

[50] This tone is very close to the mid tone of *หม่า màa* and *ก่า gàa* above, which is why I do not want to differentiate between the two.

[51] Interview with Surainee Sainui from Krabi on July 12th, 2013.
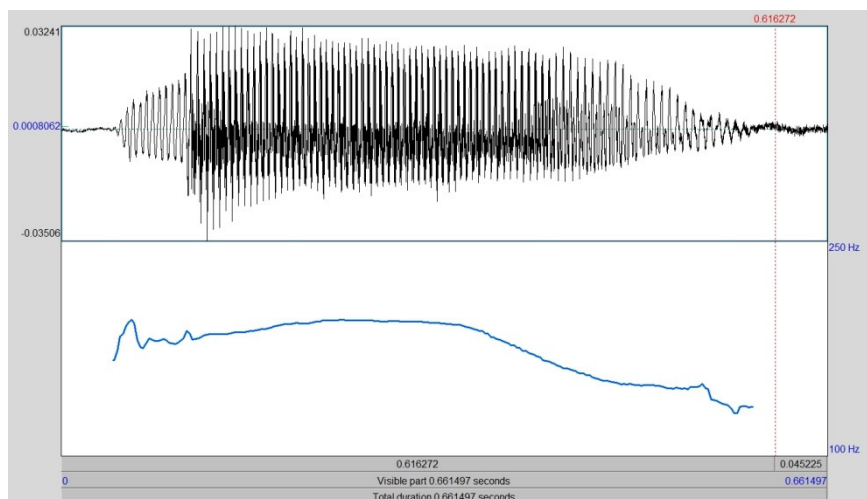
ST: *หม่า màa* "to come" – low or mid-falling tone
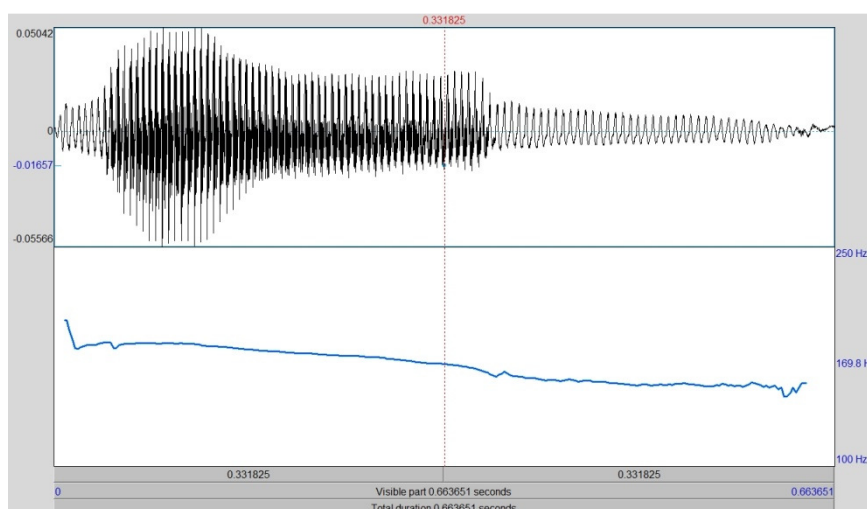
ST: *หน่าม nàam* "water" – low tone
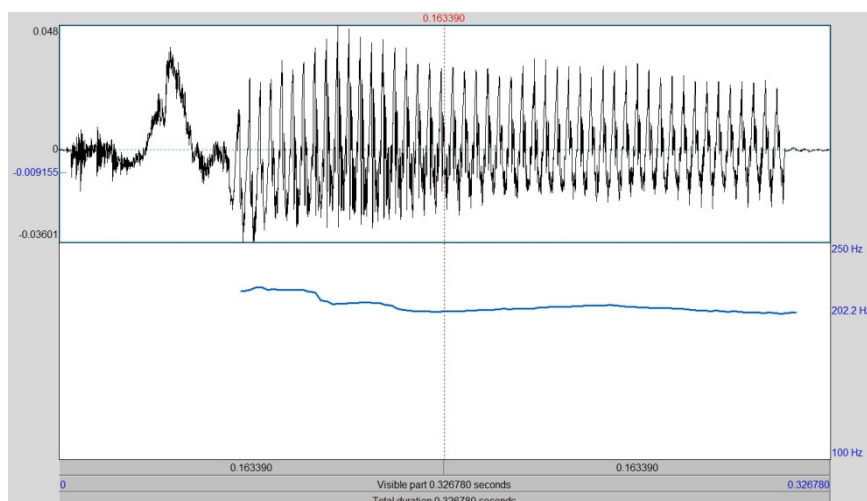
ST: *ข้อ kɔ̂ɔ* "to beg for" – falling tone
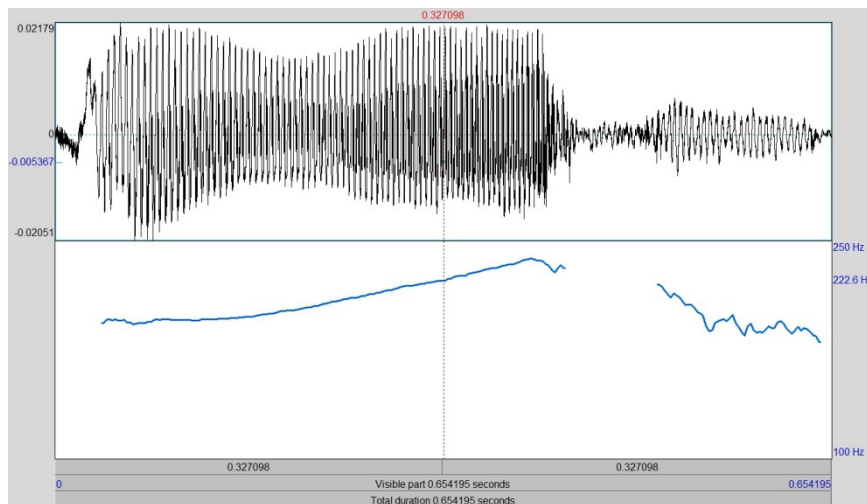
ST: *ค้าด káat* "to be absent from" – high tone
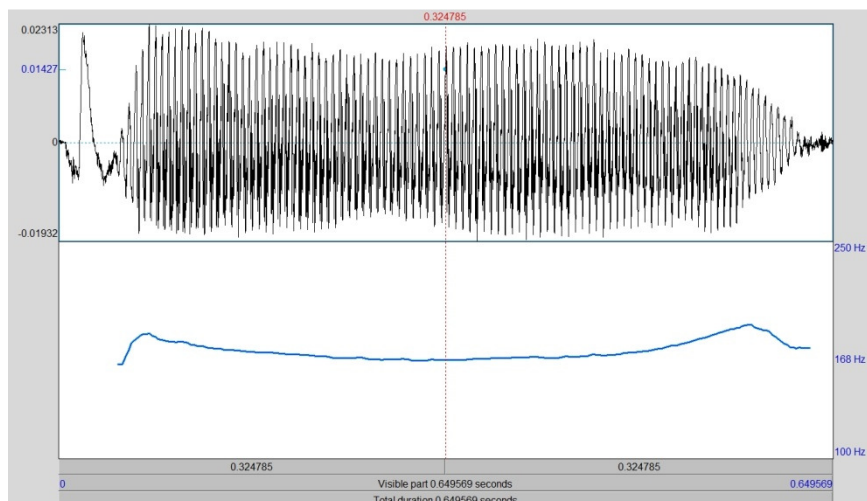
ST: *ผอ pɔ̌ɔ* "father" – rising tone
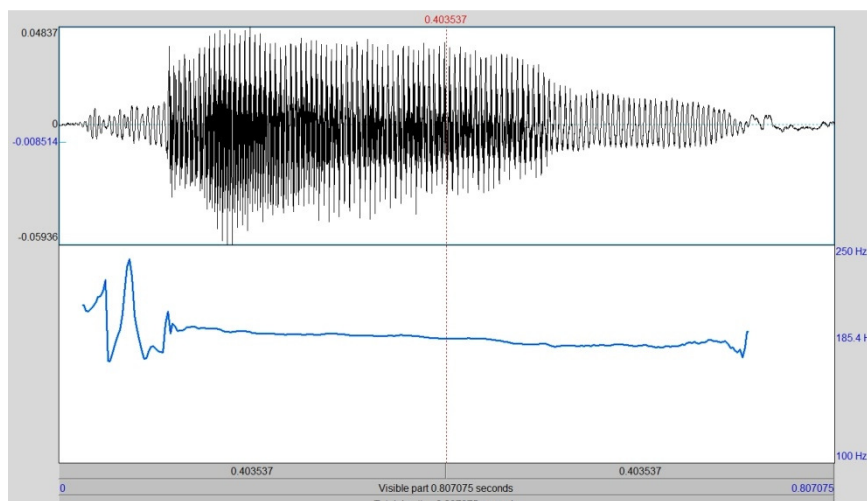
ST: *บ้าน bâan* "house" – mid-high tone
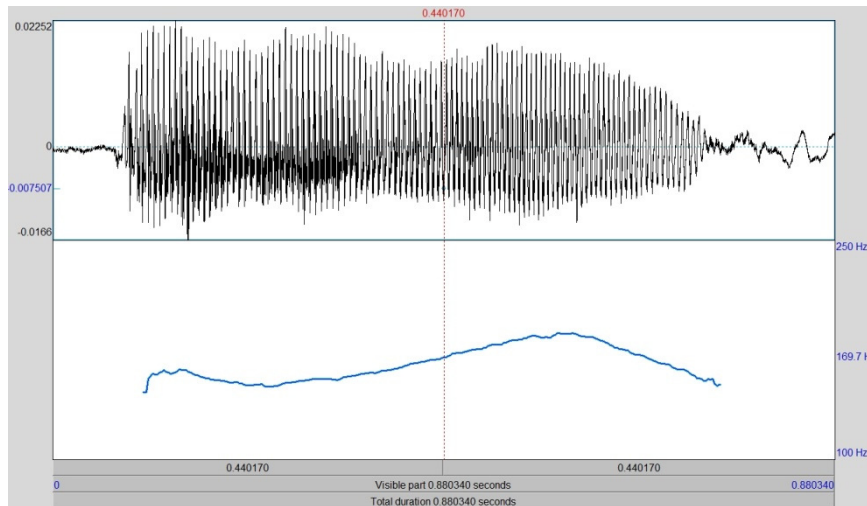
ST: ปลา ̄blǎa "fish" – mid-rising tone
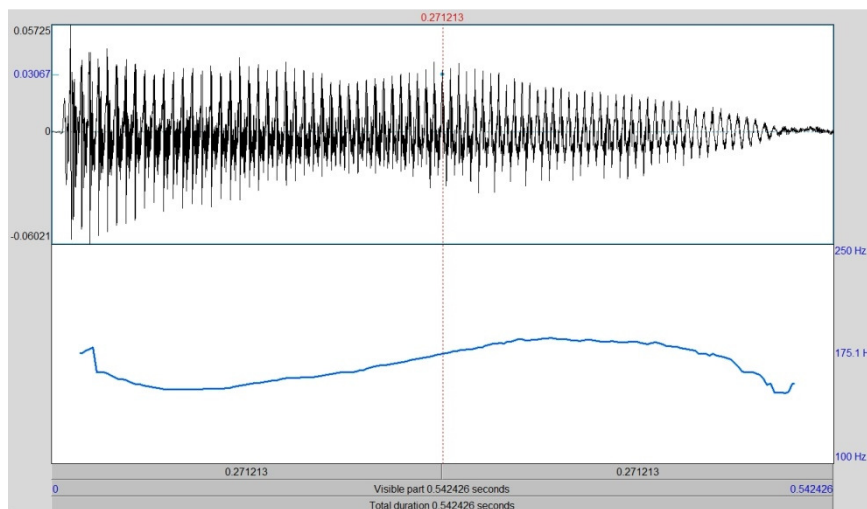
ST: ป่า bǎa "forest" – mid-rising tone

From my point of view, the differentiation between open and closed syllables in the chart above is vague. For this reason, I have attempted to construct correspondences between the PT, CT and ST tones, although some of them do not agree with Brown's chart. This may be because his research is based on observations made several decades ago[52], and because he might have used another ST vernacular.

The left half of the following chart presents examples taken from standard works on CT (cf. Smyth 2002:16), representing CT reflexes of the PT tones[53], while the right half shows examples which were recorded within the framework of my own research on ST.

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[52] Tones in Thai are constantly subject to change from decade to decade and differ according to the speaker's age (cf. Thepboriruk 2009).

[53] There is been a general agreement on the proto-tones among international Thai linguists (cf. Thurgood 1994).

PT	CT				ST				English
	spelling	GTS	contour	name[54]	spelling	GTS	contour	name	
*A1	กิน	gin	32	mid	กิ๋น	gìn	434	rising	to eat
	ขาว	kǎau	313	rising	ข้าว	kâau	454	high-fall	white
	เอา	au	32	mid	เอ่า	ảu	434	rising	to take
*A2	นา	naa	32	mid	นา	nǎa	32	mid-fall	rice field
*B1	ไก่	gài	21	low	ไก๋	gái	45	high	chicken
	แผ่น	pὲεn	21	low	แพ๋น	pέεn	45	high	sheet
	บ่า	bàa	21	low	บ๋า	báa	45	high	shoulder
*B2	พ่อ	pɔ̂ɔ	453	falling	ผอ	pɔ̌ɔ	323	low-rise	father
*C1	เก้า	gâau	453	falling	กาว	gaau	33	mid	nine
	ห้า	hâa	453	falling	ฮา	haa	33	mid	five
	ได้	dâai	453	falling	ดาย	daai	33	mid	can
*C2	น้ำ	náam	324	high	หน่าม	nàam	21	low	water
*D1S	ตก	đòk	21	low	ต๋ก	tɔ̌k	434	rising	to fall
	หก	hòk	21	low	ฮ๋ก	hɔ̌k	434	rising	six
	อก	òk	21	low	อ๋ก	ɔ̌k	434	rising	chest
*D1L	แปด	bὲεt	21	low	แป๋ด	bεεt	33	mid	eight
	ขาด	kàat	21	low	ค้าด	kaat	33	mid	to tear
*D2S	ซัก	sák	324	high	สัก	sàk	21	low	to wash
*D2L	ราก	râak	453	falling	ร้าก	rǎak	323	low-rise	root

These correspondences are important for Malay loans in Thai, since they are usually borrowed into CT via ST. The two charts above show that a ST falling tone in the final syllable corresponds to a CT rising tone. Accordingly, Malay loans, which have a high-falling tone in ST, have a rising tone in CT (for the exceptions cf. next page). Taking into consideration that loanwords from other non-tonal languages, especially English (cf. chapter 3.4.2.3 on page 52), often end on a falling tone in CT, one may argue that the use of the falling tone seems to be the standard convention of tone generation in loanwords. The CT rising tone corresponding to the ST high-falling tone now does not seem arbitrary anymore. Evidence for this theory will be discussed in chapter 3.4.2.3.

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[54] As for the nomenclature, cf. chapter 1.1.1 on page 2.

How do these observations help determine the time span of borrowings from Malay? The answer is given by a comparison of old and new loans from the Malay language. It can be inferred from Brown's chart above that when a word from Malay was borrowed before around 1400 A.D. into Southern Thai, the old voiced plosives were retained in the loanwords and underwent the same shift as native Thai words, while newer loans receive the unvoiced aspirated plosive. Consider the following eight loans from Malay:

| | **Standard Malay** | | | **Central Thai** | | |
	phoneme	example	translation	phoneme	example	translation
Old loan	/g/	sa**g**u	sago	/k^h/	สาคู [sǎ:**k**^{h}u:]	sago
	/ʝ/	**J**awa	Java	/ɕ^h/	ชวา [**ɕ**^{h}áwa:]	Java
	/d/	**d**urian	durian	/t^h/	ทุเรียน [**t**^{h}úrian]	durian
	/b/	**b**ukit	hill	/p^h/	ภูเก็ต [**p**^{h}ukὲt]	Phuket[55]
New loan	/g/	**g**unung	mountain	/k/	กุหนุง [**k**ùnŭŋ]	mountain
	/ʝ/	**j**iwa	soul	/j/	ยิหวา [**j**íwǎ:]	soul, darling
	/d/	**d**alang	puppeteer	/d/	ดาหลัง [**d**a:lǎŋ]	name of a romance
	/b/	**b**unga	flower	/b/	บุหงา [**b**uŋǎ:]	flower

The chart above also shows that old loans end on a mid tone, while new loans generate a final rising tone. This may lead to the conclusion that the final rising tone only appears in new loanwords from Malay. However, in order to determine which loanword can be regarded as new, several other aspects also need to be taken into account.

Inquiries should be made into how and why Malay words entered the Thai language at all. A short excursion into Thai-Malay history may help us understand this language contact. Suthiwan (1992:1358) writes: "Speakers of Thai and Malay have been in contact for centuries. It was written […] that the Thais had power over the whole Malay Peninsula in the reign of king [sic] Ramkhamhaeng." She then explains that in 1455, the Thai king of Ayutthaya sent an army to attack Malacca, but failed to conquer the city. The same mission was repeated in 1509, but they failed again. The Patani region, comprising Thailand's southernmost provinces Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, and parts of Songkhla, had constantly attempted to declare independence, however became dependent again whenever the Thais were strong (Suthiwan 1992:1358). This political issue is still an ongoing conflict. Many inhabitants of these four

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55   This loan is irregular; we expect / p^{h}uk^{h}ὲt/, but can be explained by dissimilation.

provinces grow up bilingually with Thai and Malay. Suthiwan (ibid.) states that the long-term relationship between the Thais and the Malays has resulted in there being over a million Malay speakers in Thailand. As a consequence, Thai has been intermingled with Malay terms in some regions, and a small number of these terms have even made their way into modern Central Thai, which is the standard variety of Thai.

Another major influence of Malay on the Thai language was the adaptation of a traditional romance from Java called *Cerita Panji*. Whereas the hero in the Javanese original is called *Panji*, he is called อิเหนา *Ìnăo*[56] in Thailand; the original name is retained as ปันหยี *Banyĭ* while he is in disguise. Two versions of this tale exist in Thailand, namely อิเหนาใหญ่ *Ìnăo Yài*[57] and อิเหนาเล็ก *Ìnăo Lék*[58]. While the former is usually abbreviated as อิเหนา *Ìnăo*, the latter goes by the name ดาหลัง *Daalăŋ*[59]. The Javanese original is a collection of various stories about Prince Panji, whereas the Thai versions are all royal writings (i.e. พระราชนิพนธ์ *prá râatjá nípon*) composed either by the King himself or under his direct attention. The complete version of the story of *Inao* is said to have been written by Rama II[60], and appeared under the title of บทละคร เรื่อง อิเหนา *Bòt lákɔɔn rûaŋ Ìnăo*, published by King Damrong[61] in 1921 for the National Library (Damrong 1921:17). Due to the popularity of these stories, a large amount of Malay words entered the Thai language. Certain Malay loanwords must therefore have come into Thai between 1733 and 1759 when Rama II was in power. As for the area, in which the adaptation occurred, Nivat (1947:101) suspects the following:

> "*From Malacca […] the stories came into Siam. There is no written record of these Islamic works coming in or being translated before the XVIIIth century. Prince Damrong […] stated that Princesses Kuntol and Mongkut […] had Malay maids, descendants of Pattani prisoners of war, and these related to their mistresses the two stories of Dalang and Inao. Each of the prisoners composed one of the stories into a lakon for presentation on the stage.*"

These lines require some explanation: King Boromakot (1732-1758) is said to have had daughters who were very fond of writing poetry. Two of them were เจ้าฟ้าหญิงกุณฑล *Jâufáa*

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[56] Usually spelled *Inao*.

[57] Meaning: *Great Inao* or better: *Greater Tale of Inao* (cf. fn. 62 for its etymology).

[58] Meaning: *Little Inao* or better: *Lesser Tale of Inao*.

[59] Usually spelled *Dalang*, derived from Jv. แดหลัง *ḍalang* meaning "puppeteer" because an original version in Jv. is said to have been written by a *ḍalang* called Ari Nagara, and because Inao adopted the *ḍalang*'s disguise to gain access to his beloved girl's presence to eventually win her love (Nivat 1947:97-99).

[60] Rama II (1767-1824) was the second monarch of Siam, ruling from 1809 to 1824.

[61] Prince Damrong (1862-1943) was the founder of the modern Thai educational system, the first president of the Royal Institute of Thailand, and the president of the National Library.

Yĭŋ Gunton (Kuntol) and เจ้าฟ้าหญิงมงกุฎ *Jâufáa Yĭŋ Moŋgùt (Mongkut)*. If both of them had Malay maids, the stories must have been retold or translated into ST from a Malaccan version of the Javanese original. This is the main reason why ST needs to be considered when analyzing Malay loans in chapter 3.4.2.4 on p. 54. Interesting is that even though nearly no originally Javanese proper names appear in any of the two stories, there is still a large amount of personal names that resemble Malay words. A selection of the characters' names and some locations from Malay used in the Thai stories is given below. In case the Standard Malay or Javanese word is of Sanskrit origin, the source word is listed for etymological reasons.

Thai	GTS	SM/Jv.	Skr.	Translation
อิเหนา	ìnǎu	ino, hino[62]	---	*name of a prince*
ปันหยี	ɓanyĭi	panji[63]	---	*name of a prince*
จินตะหราวาตี	jinɗàrǎawaaɗii	cendera-wati	candra-vat(i)[64]	"Miss Moon"
ระตู	ráɗuu	ratu[65]	---	queen, king
มาหยารัศมี	maayǎarátsàmii	maya-rasmi[66]	māyā-raśmi	"vision of splendor"
สการะวาตี	sàgaaráwaaɗii	sekar-wati	śekhara[67]-vati	"Miss Flower"
กะหมังกุหนิง	gàmǎŋgùnĭŋ	kembang kuning	---	"yellow flower"
หมันหยา	mǎnyǎa	maja (pahit)[68]	---	*name of kingdom*
ระเด่นมนตรี	ráɗèn monɗrii	raden[69] mantri	--- mantri	ruler
กุเรปัน	gùreeɓan	Kuripan[70]	---	*name of kingdom*

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[62] OJv. *ino* is a title for a crown prince (KJK 388). This word is not found in the modern language.

[63] The OJv. word *pañji* is a designation for a crown prince (KJK 757), which is not used anymore.

[64] In Malay, In., and Jv., the suffix *wati*, *vati* is usually attached to women's names, while Skr. वत् *vat*, sometimes termed as वति *vati* implies likeness or resemblance (Monier-Williams 1872:915). For further examples of this suffix, see Nothofer 2013:174.

[65] This is an inherited Austronesian word, cf. PMP **datu* "chieftain" (Wolff 2010:818).

[66] This origin is somewhat obscure. *Maya* exists in In. for "vision" and corresponds to Skr. माया *māyā* "illusion", whereas रश्मि *rasmi* could be from Jv. meaning "beauty" and is ultimately derived from Skr. रश्मि *raśmi* "splendor".

[67] Skr. शेखर *śekhara* originally means "diadem, peak", and often refers to a wreath of flowers worn on top of the head.

[68] These are native Jv. words meaning "bael fruit, bitter" used for the term *Majapahit Empire* (1293-1527).

[69] The Jv. title राद्न *raden* is given to a male royal descendant of middle rank (Robson/Wibisono 2002:610) and was probably borrowed via Indonesia. SM/Jv. *mantri*, however, is a loan from Skr. मन्त्री *mantrī* "counselor"; CT มนตรี *monɗrii* also exists and is not a loan from Malay, as it represents a direct borrowing from Skr. due to the inherent vowel *o* and the final mid level tones.

[70] The name of the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist kingdom *Kuripan*, *Koripan* or *Kahuripan* (1019-1045) is derived from Jv. कहुरिपन *kahuripan* "livelihood".

| ตำมะหงง | ɗammáŋoŋ | temenggung | --- | security chief |
| หนึ่งหรัด | nùŋràt[71] | ningrat[71] | --- | belonging to state |

However, not only the above-mentioned Malay words entered the Thai language due to the *Panji* romance, but many more terms have made their way into Thai. A more thorough analysis of these loanwords is found in chapter 3.4.2.4, and a complete list of all loanwords from Malay is given in the Appendix.

It can be inferred from the aforesaid that at least two time spans of new Malay borrowings in Thai can be determined, i.e. those entering before *Inao* and *Dalang*, and those after. The exact time of when loans entered Thai, before the two stories became popular in Thailand, can only be determined when further linguistic research is undertaken, on issues such as the devoicing of plosives in Thai, tone generation, cognates in related languages, etymological reconstruction, and finally consulting the first comprehensive non-monolingual Thai dictionary by Pallegoix in 1854 called *Dictionarium linguæ Thai sive Siamensis*. Many Malay words, such as *บุหรง bùrǒŋ* (< burung) "bird" or *จับปิ้ง jàpɓîŋ* (< caping)[72] "metal plate to cover the pudenda of a young girl" are already listed, however some others, such as *ดะหมัง dàmǎŋ* (< demang) "troops, army" or *ตุนาหงัน ɗùnaaŋǎn* (< tunangan) "finance(e)" are not. Furthermore, it is interesting that both *บุหงา bungǎa* and *บุหงัน bungǎn* are listed, though the former means "flowers", whereas the latter is translated as "flower". It is noteworthy that the dictionary appeared after the *Inao* tale, and that prior to that nothing similar had ever been published.

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[71] Jv. ᮛᮙ᮪ *rat* is a native word from PAN **dáγat* "open area" (PAP 812)
[72] Spelled จะปิ้ง in the dictionary.

3 PHONOLOGICAL ADAPTATION OF MALAY LOANS

This chapter deals with the consonantal and vocalic adaptation in words which are assumed to be from Malay. Difficulties arise when certain loanwords may also be borrowed from other languages[73] or could also be a loan into Malay[74] from Thai itself. Quite often, this question must be left to future research.

The following list illustrates all the sound correspondences of Malay borrowings in Thai. The SM phoneme is given along with an example and translation of the lexeme. The right-hand side shows the adapted phoneme with an example and its transliteration in CT. The translation of the Thai lexeme exemplifies the possible semantic shift of some words, but does not allow for a too loose connection between the two meanings. Consonants and vowels do not always correspond to those in the donor language. These phenomena cannot yet be explained, further research may detect reasons for these divergences (e.g. dialectal forms).

The order of the list follows the Thai phonetic alphabet, i.e. the consonant correspondences starting with velars and ending with labials. The remaining sounds are sonorants and glottals and are therefore grouped at the very end of the list. The vowel list order is also an attempt to follow the phonetic Thai vowel alphabet, and the sounds that do not occur in Thai are listed right after its closest equivalent.

The correspondences in the list stand for a standard pattern, which also occurs in many other examples, cf. e.g. those starting on p. 55.

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[73] These include mainly loans from Kh., Pe. or Ar. like *กระดาษ gràdàat* "paper" (SM *kertas*, Kh. ក្រដាស *krâdah*, Ar. قرطاس *qirṭās*), *วิลาศ wílâat* "the British" (SM *wilayah*, Pe. ولايت *welāyat*, Ar. ولاية *wilāya*), and *อัลกุรอาน angùra-aan* "Quran" (SM al-Quran, Ar. القرآن *al-qur'ān*).

[74] Thai words with tone marks are usually not borrowed from Malay, so the borrowing process might have taken place vice versa, e.g. *ว่าว wâau* "kite" (cf. SM/In. *wau* "id." Mon ကၟၚ် *kaowao*, ဂၠဴ *kɔwao* "black cuckoo", Kh. តាវៅ *tavŏu* "kind of black bird", Dutch *wouw* "milvus, red kite"), and *อั่งโล่ âŋlôo* (cf. SM/In. *anglo*, Jv. ꦲꦁꦒ꧀ꦭꦺꦴ *anglo* TW 紅爐 *âng-lôo* "red stove", Kh. អង្គ្លូ *'ănglo*).

3.1 Consonants

Malay			**Thai**			
phoneme	**example**	**Translation**	**phoneme**	**example**	**GTS**	**Translation**
#/g/	**g**unung	mountain	#/k/	กุหนุง	**g**ùnŭŋ	high mountain
#/g/	**g**uam	lawsuit, dispute	#/kʰ/	ความ	**k**waam	affair, case
#/g/	**g**ubah	to arrange flowers	#/ʔ/	อุบะ	ùbà	bunch of flowers
/g/	a**g**ung	supreme	/k/	อากง	aago**ŋ**	big, important
/g/	sa**g**u	sago palm	/kʰ/	สาคู	sǎa**k**uu	sago palm, sago pith
#/k/	**k**elasi	sailor[75]	#/k/	กะลาสี	**g**àlaasǐi	id.
/k/	se**k**ar-wati	"Miss Flower"	/k/	สการะวาตี	sà**k**aaráwaađii	*name of an Inao character*
/ŋ/	tuna**ng**an	fiancé(e)	/ŋ/	ตุนาหงัน	đùnaa**ŋ**ǎn	to trothplight
/ŋ/#	saru**ng**	sarong	/ŋ/#	โสร่ง	sàròo**ŋ**[76]	sarong
/ŋg/	a**ngg**ur	grape	/ŋ/	องุ่น	à**ŋ**ùn[77]	id.
/ŋg/	pi**ngg**ang	waist	/n/	ปั้นเหน่ง	ɓânnèe**ŋ**	belt
/ŋg/	ri**ngg**it	*Malay currency*[78]	/ŋk/	ริงกิต	ri**ŋ**gìt	id.
#/c/	**c**empedak	cempedak	#/ɕ	จำปาดะ	**j**amɓaadà	id.
/c/	ker**c**ut	bulrush	/ɕ/	กระจูด	grà**j**ùut	id.
#/ɟ/	**j**ambu	rose apple	#/ɕʰ/	ชมพู่	**c**ompûu	id.

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[75] This word may originally be from Ta. சிலாசு *kilācu* "lascar, Indian sailor".

[76] The tone mark and final low tone indicates that the word must be originally from another language or a very old loan. Sinhalese has සළු *saḷu* "garment".

[77] This is a rather old loan from Malay because of the final น *n* instead of ร *r*, and the tone mark with final low tone indicates that the word itself is a loan from a South Asian language, probably from Pe. انگور *angūr* "grape" or another language of India.

[78] The original meaning is "jagged" or "toothed".

#/ɟ/	**j**iwa	soul, spirit	#/j/	ยิหวา	**y**íwăa[79]	soul, darling
/ɟ/	hi**j**ab	*Arab veil*	/j/	ฮิญาบ	híy**â**ap	id.
/ɟ/	hi**j**ra	Hijra	/t/	ฮิจเราะห์	hí**tr**ɔ́	id.
/ɟ/	ha**j**	Hajj	/t/#	ฮัจญ์, หัจญ์	há**t**, hà**t**	id.
/ɲ/	asal**ny**a dewa	of divine origin[80]	/ny/	อสัญแดหวา	àsă**ny**ádɛɛwăa	angel, divine descent
#/d/	**d**emang	chief of district	#/d/	ดะหมัง	**d**àmăŋ	troops, army
#/d/	**d**urian	durian	#/tʰ/	ทุเรียน	**t**úrian	id.
/d/	pemu**d**a	young man	/d/	เปอมูดอ	ɓɔɔmuu**d**ɔɔ	adolescent
/d/	puspa(m) in**d**ra	"Indra's flower"	/t/	บุษบามินตรา	bùtsàbaamin**dr**aa	Indian shot
/d/#	masji**d**	mosque	/t/#	มัสยิด	mátsàyí**t**	id.
#/t/	**t**olong	help	#/t/	โต้หลง	**d**oolŏŋ	to assist, to help
/t/	per**t**apa	hermit	/t/	ปะตาปา	ɓà**d**aabaa	id.
/t/	ke**t**ur	spittoon	/tʰ/	กระโถน	grà**t**ŏon	id.
/t/#	sela**t**	strait	/t/#	สลัด	sàlà**t**[81]	pirate
#/n/	**n**uri	parrot	#/n/	โนรี	**n**oorii	Lorius parrot
/n/	a**n**ak	child, offspring	/n/	อะนะ	à**n**á	offspring
/n/#	sela**t**a**n**	south	/n/#	สลาตัน	sàlăaɗa**n**	late southwest monsoon
/nɟ/	kera**nj**ang	basket, hamper	/cʰ/	กระชัง	grà**c**aŋ	floating basket for fish
/nd/	po**nd**ok	small Islamic school	/n/	ปอเนาะ	ɓɔɔ**n**ɔ́	Islamic school

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79 Thai has ชีวา(ะ) *ciiwá* "life, soul", too, which is directly borrowed from Skr. जीव *jīva* "animate being". One of the reasons for treating this word as a loan from Skr. is that Skr. ज *j* reflects จ *c* in Thai.

80 The translation of the Malay phrase is difficult; it could also mean "origin of Gods" or "place of Gods".

81 The semantic shift from SM *selat* "strait" to CT สลัด *sàlàt* "pirate" can be explained by the high frequency of piracy in the Strait of Melacca.

#/b/	**b**unga rampai	flower potpourri	#/b/	บุหงารำไป	**b**ùŋǎaram**b**ai	flower sachet
#/b/	**b**ukit	hill	#/pʰ/	ภูเก็ต	**p**uugèt	*name of an island*
/b/	ta**b**ik	salute	/b/	ตะเบ๊ะ	ɗà**b**é	to salute
/b/	kero**b**ok	food hamper	/pʰ/	กระพอก	grà**p**ɔ̂ɔk	bamboo food case
/b/	kelu**b**i	Eleidoxa plant	/mpʰ/	กะลุมพี	gàlu**mp**ii	id.
#/p/	**p**uspa(m) indra	"Indra's flower"	#/b/	บุษบามินตรา	**b**ùtsàbaaminɗraa	Indian shot
#/p/	**p**ati	minister	#/p/	ปาตี	**ɓ**aaɗii	big person
/p/	ko**p**i	coffee	/p/	โกปี้	goo**b**îi[82]	id.
/p/	ka**p**al	ship	/mp/	กำปั่น	ga**mb**àn[83]	Western seagoing vessel
/p/#	tela**p**	small box	/p/#	ตลับ	ɗàlà**p**	id.
#/m/	**m**elati	water jasmine	#/m/	มาลาตี	**m**aalaaɗii	Arabian jasmine
/m/	seta**m**an	"one garden"	/m/	สะตาหมัน	sàɗaa**m**ǎn	garden
/m/#	gua**m**	lawsuit, dispute	/m/#	ความ	kwaa**m**	affair, case
/m/#	puspa(**m**) indra	"Indra's flower"	/m/	บุษบามินตรา	bùtsàbaa**m**inɗraa	Indian shot
/mb/	menge**mb**ara	to travel	/m/	มะงุมมะงาหรา	máŋu**mm**áŋaarǎa	to wander aimlessly
#/j/	**y**ang-yang[84]	Gods	#/j/	หยังหยัง	**y**ǎŋyǎŋ	beautiful
/j/	ka**y**angan[85]	heaven	/j/	กระยาหงัน	grà**y**aaŋǎn[86]	id.
#/r/	**r**atu	queen	#/r/	ระตู	**r**áɗuu	Malay prince(ss)

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[82] Thai has also borrowed this word from French *café* or Italian *caffè* as กาแฟ *gaafɛɛ*, which is far more common, so โกปี้ *goobîi* must be a loan from Malay.

[83] The final low tone and the tone mark lead to further investigation, and indeed this word seems to be of Tamil origin: கப்பல் *kappal* means "ship, sailing vessel" (van Ronkel 1902:111).

[84] This word must be from Jv. ꦲꦾꦁꦲꦾꦁ *hyang-hyang*, a pluralizing reduplicated form of ꦲꦾꦁ *hyang*, OJv. *hyang* "God", however the semantic shift in Thai is difficult to explain.

[85] The Jv. word ꦏꦲꦾꦔꦤ꧀ *kayangan* is derived from ꦲꦾꦁ *yang* "God" with the locative circumfix *ka-an*.

[86] The Thai prefix กระ- *grà-* is often arbitrary and used interchangeably with กะ- *gà-*, both of which may have a semantic effect on the main word. Cf. Bilmes 1998 for further details. The loan กระยาหงัน *gràyaaŋǎn* may have been misunderstood as a prefixed word with the result of confusion between the two prefixes กระ- *grà-* and กะ- *gà-*.

#/r/	**r**ambai	*Baccaurea motleyana*	**#/l/**	ละไม	**l**ámai	id.
/r/	su**r**au	prayer room	**/r/**	สุเหร่า[87]	sù**r**àu	mosque
/r/#	anggu**r**	grape	**/n/#**	องุ่น	à**ŋ**ùn[88]	id.
/r/#	seka**r**-wati	"Miss Flower"	**/ra?/#**	สการะวาตี	sàgaa**rá**waađii	*name of an Inao character*
/r/#	aka**r** bahar	*kind of coral* (Euplexaura)	**/l/#**	กัลปังหา, กะละปังหา	gan**lá**baŋhǎa, gà**lá**baŋhǎa[89]	sea fans
/r/#	matu**r**[90]	third wife of Jv. king	**---**	มะโต	**m**átoo	id.
#/l/	**l**angsat	langsat	**#/l/**	ลางสาด	**l**aaŋsàat	id.
/l/	bu**l**an	moon, month	**/l/**	บุหลัน	bù**l**ǎn	moon
/l/#	maha**l**	expensive	**/n/#**	มะหัล	máhǎ**n**	loved, expensive, a lot
#/w/	cendera-**w**ati	"Miss Moon"	**#/w/**	จินตะหราวาตี	jinđàrǎa**w**aađii	*name of an Inao character*
/w/	Ja**w**a	Java	**/w/**	ชวา	cá**w**aa	id.
/s/#	**s**erang	boatswain	**/s/#**	สรั่ง	**s**àràŋ	id.
/s/	kela**s**i[91]	sailor	**/s/**	กะลาสี	gàlaa**s**ǐi	*old name of Khuan Don*
/s/	ma**s**jid	mosque	**/tsa/**	มัสยิด	má**tsà**yít	id.
/s/#	manggi**s**	mangosteen	**/t/#**	มังคุด	maŋkú**t**	id.
/h/	ma**h**al	expensive	**/h/**	มะหัล	má**h**ǎn	loved, expensive, a lot
/h/	akar ba**h**ar	*kind of coral* (Euplexaura)	**/ŋh/**	กัลปังหา, กะละปังหา	ganlába**ŋh**ǎa, gàlába**ŋh**ǎa	sea fans

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[87] The final low tone and the semantics of the term suggest an Arabic origin, however no such word can be found in Arabic or Persian. Except Malay, only the Minangkabau language of Sumatra has سوراو *surau* "men's prayer house".

[88] Cf. fn. 77 on p. 33.

[89] Nacasakul (2005:52) gives Kh. កល្បังហា *kalbăngha* "id.", but Suthiwan (1997:81) states that this word is of Malay origin.

[90] This Malay word is borrowed from OJv. *matur* "king's wife lower than *parameśwarī* and *mahādewī*" (KJK 661), and might be derived from Skr. मातृ *mātṛ* "mother, address of an older woman".

[91] Cf. fn. 75 on p. 33.

/h/	mahadewi	*title for the second queen*	/ʔ/	มะเดหวี, มะดีหวี	mádeewǐi, mádiiwǐi	second wife of Jv. king
/h/#	gubah	to arrange flowers	/ʔ/#	อุบะ	ùbà	bunch of flowers
#/ʔ/	urap(-urap)	*kind of perfumed cosmetic*	#/ʔ/	อุหรับ	ùràp	cosmetic powder
#/ʔ/	akar bahar	*kind of coral* (Euplexaura)	---	กัลปังหา, กะละปังหา	ganlábaŋhǎa, gàlábaŋhǎa[92]	sea fans
/ʔ/	meng^(ʔ)apa	why	/ʔ/	เมงอะปา	meeŋ-àbaa	id.
/ʔ/#	sepak	to kick	/k/#	เซปัก	seebàk	kick volleyball
/ʔ/#	batik	batik	/ʔ/#	ปาเต๊ะ	ɓaađé	batik
/u/	tuan	mister	/w/	หวัน	wǎn[93]	id.
V#	bunga	flower	/Vn/#	บุหงัน	bùŋǎn[94]	flower
V#	sate[95]	meat skewer	/Vʔ/#	สะเต๊ะ	sàđé^(ʔ)	id.
CV	paman	maternal uncle	/CrV/	ประหมัน	ɓràmǎn	uncle
CV#	kelana	wanderer	C(r)ʔ#	กะลาหนา	gàlaanǎa	warrior, soldier
]σ1	lenga[96]	sesame	---	งา	ŋaa	id.

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[92] Cf. fn. 89 on p. 36.

[93] Usually appears in the wording *หวันยิหวา wǎnyíwǎa* "soul, spirit" from Malay *tuan jiwa* "soul master".

[94] The final *-n* might result from SM *kebungaan* "flower decoration" or *bunga-bungaan* "flowery". Compare Pallegoix 1854:28.

[95] Originally from Ta. சதை *catai* "flesh, pulpy part of a fruit" (van Ronkel 1902:108), supposed to be a metathesis of Ta. தசை *tacai* "flesh, muscle" (DED 3016).

[96] This is an area word. Kh. also has ญ *lngô* "sesame", too, derived from AKh. ញ *lŋo, liŋau* "id." (DAK 516); Shorto (2006:77) reconstructs PMK *lŋaaʔ, *lŋawʔ "id."

3.2 Vowels

Malay			Thai			
phoneme	**example**	**Translation**	**phoneme**	**example**	**GTS**	**Translation**
/a/	kebal	invulnerable	/a/	กระพัน	gràpan[97]	id.
/a/	batara kala[98]	God of the Underworld	/aː/	ปะตาระกาหลา	bàɗaarágaalăa	adult male angel
/a/	tulah papa	curse to bring misery	/aː/#	ตุหลาปาปา	ɗùlăaɓaaɓaa	misfortune
/a/	pinggang	waist[99]	/eː/	ปั้นเหน่ง	ɓânnèeŋ	belt
/a/	jambu	roseapple	/o/	ชมพู่	compûu	id.
/a/	ramadan[100]	*Muslim fasting month*	/ɔː/	รอมมะดอน	rɔɔmmádɔɔn	id.
/a/#	bunga	flower	/an/#	บุหงัน	bùŋăn[101]	id.
/a/#	bela	self-immolation, suttee	/aː/#	แบหลา	bɛɛlăa	to commit suicide
/a/#	pemuda	young man	/ɔː/#	เปอมูดอ	ɓəəmuudɔɔ[102]	adolescent
/i/	ringgit	*Malaysian currency*[103]	/i/	ริงกิต	riŋgìt	id.
/i/	pencak silat	*kind of martial arts*	/iː/	ปัญจักสีลัต	banjàksĭilát	id.
/i/	pinggang	waist	/a/	ปั้นเหน่ง	ɓânnèeŋ[104]	belt
/i/	manggis	mangosteen	/u/	มังคุด	maŋkút[105]	id.

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[97] As for the insertion of *-ระ- -rà-*, cf. fn. 86 on p. 35.

[98] The Jv. designation คฑาวาเทพเทมาน *baṭara kala* means "The Great God Kala", being a manifestation of *Śiva* the Destroyer. This compound is derived from OJv. *bhaṭāra* "noble God" (KJK 114), ultimately from Skr. भट्टार *bhaṭṭāra* "noble lord, honorable", and OJv. *Kāla*, which is "sometimes a God of Death, sometimes His Servant" (ibid., p. 439).

[99] SM *ikat pinggang* means "belt".

[100] Originally from Ar. رمضان *ramaḍān* "fasting month" with learned pronunciation and regressive assimilation in Thai and Malay, because the Ar. origin is pronounced [ramadˤaːn] and not *[ramadˤaːn].

[101] Cf. fn. 94 on p. 37.

[102] This can be explained by the Patani dialect, where final *-a* is pronounced [ɔ] (Uthai 2011:50-61).

[103] Cf. fn. 78 on p. 33.

[104] The odd vowel correspondence may be explained by metathesis.

38

/i/	n**i**ngrat[106]	in the world	/ʉ/	หนึ่งหรัด	n**ʉ̀**ŋ**r**àt	belonging to the state
/i/	tab**i**k	salute	/e/	ตะเบ๊ะ	ɗàb**é**	to salute
/i/	Kur**i**pan	*name of a kingdom*	/e:/	กุเรปั้น	gùreeɓan	id.
/i/#	mar**i**	to come, let us	/i/#	มาริ	maar**í**	to come
/i/	kar**i**[107]	Indian curry	/i:/#	กะหรี่	gàr**ìi**	id
/u/	s**u**nat	circumcision	/u/	สุหนัต	s**ʉ̀**nàt	id.
/u/	b**u**du	*fermented fish soup*	/u:/	บูดู	b**uu**duu	id.
/u/	ag**u**ng	supreme	/o/	อากง	aag**o**ŋ	big, important
/u/	g**u**dang	warehouse	/o:/	โกดัง	g**oo**daŋ	id.
/u/	mat**u**r[108]	third wife of Jv. king	/o:/#	มะโต	má**ɗoo**	id.
/u/#	rat**u**	queen	/u:/#	ระตู	rát**uu** (ST)	Malay prince(ss)
/e/	mahad**e**wi	*title for a second queen*	/e:/	มะเดหวี	mád**ee**wǐi	second wife of Jv. king
/e/	b**e**la	self-immolation, suttee	/ɛ:/	แบหลา	b**ɛɛ**lǎa	to commit suicide
/e/	m**e**ja[109]	table	/i/	มิยา	m**í**yaa[110]	counter
/e/	mahad**e**wi	*title for a second queen*	/i:/	มะดีหวี	mád**ii**wǐi	second wife of Jv. king
/e/#	sat**e**[111]	meat skewer	/e/	สะเต๊ะ	sàɗ**é**	id.

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[105] This is a very old loanword, but the vowel difference cannot be explained.

[106] Cf. fn. 71 on p. 31.

[107] As the low tone in Thai indicates, this word is originally not of Malay, but of Tamil (கறி *kaṟi* "curry, pepper") origin or from another Indian language, e.g. Punjabi ਕੜ੍ਹੀ *kaṛhī* "gruel", all from Pali *kaṭhita* "boiled".

[108] Cf. fn. 90 on p. 36.

[109] Originally from Port. *mesa* "table", ultimately from Latin *mēnsa* "id."

[110] Judging from the phonology (Uthai 2011:50-61), this word must have been borrowed through the Patani dialect of Malay.

[111] Cf. fn. 95 on p. 37.

/ə/	m**e**ngapa	why	/e:/	เมงอะปา	m**ee**ŋ-àɓaa	id.
/ə/	p**e**muda	young man	/ə:/	เปอมูดอ	ɓ**əə**muudɔɔ	adolescent
/ə/	M**e**layu	Malay	/a/	มลายู	m**á**laayuu	id.
/ə/	cemp**e**dak	cempedak	/a:/	จำปาดะ	jamb**aa**dà	id.
/ə/	c**e**ndana[112]	sandalwood	/i/	จินดาหนา	j**i**ndaanăa	id.
/ə/	meng**e**mbara	to travel	/u/	มะงุมมะงาหรา	máŋ**u**mmáŋaarăa	to wander aimlessly
/ə/	k**e**ris	Malay dagger	---	กริช	gr**ì**t	id.
/o/	k**o**ng	rib of boat	/o/	กง	g**o**ŋ	id.
/o/	sungai g**o**lok[113]	"sword river"	/o:/	สุไหงโก-ลก	sùŋăig**oo**lók	*name of a town*
/o/	(jambu) g**o**lok[113]	cashew nut	---	(หัว)ครก	(hŭa) kr**ó**k	id.
/o/#	in**o**[114]	*title for Jv. crown prince*	/au/#	อิเหนา	ìn**ău**	*name of an Inao character*
/ɔ/	k**o**pi	coffee	/o:/	โกปี๊	g**oo**ɓîi	id.
/ɔ/	ker**o**bok	food hamper	/a/	กระพอก	gr**à**pɔ̂ɔk	bamboo food-case
/au/#	kur**au**	threadfin	/au/#	กุเรา	gùr**au**	id.
/ai/	m**ai**n	to play	/e:/	เมน	m**ee**n[115]	id.
/ai/#	sung**ai** padi	"paddy river"	/ai/#	สุไหงปาดี	sùŋ**ăi**ɓaađii	*name of a district*
/ia/	dur**ia**n	durian	/i̯a/	ทุเรียน	túr**ia**n	id.
/ua/	g**ua**m	lawsuit, dispute	/wa:/	ความ	k**waa**m	affair, case
/ua/#	kakakt**ua**	parrot	/u̯a/#	กระตั้ว	gràđ**ûa**	cockatoo

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[112] This word is originally from Skr. चन्दन *candana* "id." Thai has also directly borrowed from this Sanskrit word as *จันทน์ jan{taná}* "id."

[113] As for an explanation of the different semantics and reflexes in Thai of *golok*, see Intarachat 1983.

[114] Cf. fn. 62 on p. 30.

[115] This correspondence can be explained by the Patani dialect of Malay, where *ai* is pronounced [e] (Uthai 2011:50-61).

| --- | sekar-wati | "Miss Flower" | /a/ | สการะวาตี | sàgaaráwaađii | *name of an Inao character* |

3.3 Unclear correspondences

The following list shows all correspondences which do not represent regular changes when Thai borrows a word from Malay. Here I list those consonant and vowel correspondences for which only one example exists, of which the etymology is too vague, or whenever the semantics in the two languages to do not match.

	Malay			**Thai**		
phoneme	**example**	**Translation**	**phoneme**	**example**	**GTS**	**Translation**
/q/	al-**q**ur'an[116]	Quran	/k/	อัลกุรอาน	an-**g**ùrá-aan	id.
#/c/	**c**awat	loincloth	#/ɕʰ/	ชะอวด	**c**á-ùat	*name of a city*
/t/	ker**t**as[117]	paper	/d/	กระดาษ	grà**d**àat	id.
#/n/	**n**anas	pineapple	#/y/	ย่าหนัด, ย่านหนัด	**y**âanàt, **y**âannàt[118]	id.
/n/#	orang huta**n**	orang-utan	/ŋ/#	อุรังอุตัง	ùraŋ-ù**d**aŋ[119]	id.
/nt/	pa**nt**ai ini[120]	"this beach"	/t/	ปัตตานี	ɓàt**d**aanii	*name of a region*
#/b/	**b**aja	fertilizer	#/m/	มายา (ST)	**m**aayaa	id.

---

[116] Probably borrowed directly from Ar. into CT, because this phonological pair between Malay and Thai has no other examples.

[117] This phonological pair is not typical, and might suggest that both the Malay and the Thai word are either derived from Kh. ក្រដាស *krâdah* "paper" or Ar. قرطاس *qirṭās* "id."

[118] As this is a very unusual sound correspondence between the two languages, I hypothesize a dissimilation in the ST word.

[119] The assimilation of the last syllable of the second word to the last syllable of the first word seems to have been modeled on the English pronunciation. The original Malay word is *mawas* "orang utan", not *orang (h)utan*, which actually means "forest man". Cf. Mahdi's (2007:170) extensive discussion on this topic.

[120] This correspondence is taken from Porath (2011:48), but is most probably folk etymology, since only a modern colloquial variety of Northern Malay could justify *pantai ini* to be pronounced like *pata ni*. A map from 1580 (*http://www.raremaps.com/gallery/enlarge/30554hbp*) already has *Patani*, so it is quite impossible that, while almost all other place names are so close to the original Malay word, *Patani* should have been a corruption of *pantai ini*. Some sources (*http://amphoe.com/menu.php?mid=1&am=355&pv=30*) also say that the district name *Penare* comes from *pantai tare* "fishing net beach", so how can *pantai* change to both **pata-* and **pena-*?

/j/	wila**y**ah[121]	territory	---	วิลาศ	wíl**â**at	the British
/r/	ba**r**at daya	southwest (wind)	---	พัทยา	pátt**á**yaa	*name of a city*
#/h/	**h**aji	Hajji	#/h/	ฮัจญ์, หะยี, หัจญ์	**h**átyii, **h**àyii, **h**àtyii[122]	id.
#/h/	**h**asil[123]	product, revenue	#/ʔ/	อาสิน	aasǐn	fruit tax
/h/#	wilaya**h**[124]	territory	/t/#	วิลาศ	wílâa**t**	the British
---	pate**r**i	solder	/k/	บัดกรี	bàt**g**rii[125]	to solder
/a/	ker**a**jang	gold foil	/ɛ:/	กระแซง	gr**à**cɛɛŋ	roofing sheet
/a/	b**a**rat	west	---	พรัด	pr**á**t (ST)	wind from west
/a/#	hijr**a**	Hijra	/ɔ/	ฮิจเราะห์	hítr**ɔ́**	id.
/u/	k**u**rung	enclosure, cage	---	กรง[126]	gr**o**ŋ	cage
/ə/	k**e**muning[127]	tree with yellowish blossoms	/a:ra/	การะบุหนิง	g**aará**bùnǐŋ	Orange Jessamine
/o/	pond**o**k	small Islamic school	/ɔ/	ปอเนาะ	ɓ**ɔ**ɔnɔ́	Islamic school
/o/#	angl**o**	brazier	/o:/#	อั้งโล่	âŋl**ô**o	id.
/au/#	kerb**au**[128]	water buffalo	/ɯ:/#	กระบือ	gràb**ɯɯ**	water buffalo

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[121] Cf. fn. 153 on p. 59.

[122] As the multiple possibilities in Thai suggest, this word could also be borrowed directly from Ar. الحجي *al-ḥajjī* "one who has completed the Hajj". The same applies to all other loanwords starting with /h/: ฮัจญ์ *hát* "hajj", ฮิญาบ *híyâap* "hijab", and ฮิจเราะห์ *hítrɔ́* "hijra".

[123] This word is originally from Ar. حاصل *ḥāṣil* "result, earnings", and might therefore cause the loss of the initial *h*.

[124] Cf. fn. 153 on p. 59.

[125] The unexpected insertion of /k/ in Thai suggest a different origin, perhaps Persian or Arabic, however further research is needed.

[126] This word might also be from Kh. ក្រុង *krŭng* "to lock up, city" or Bu. ချွိုင်း *chain.*, written Bu. *khruiŋ* "cage for birds", OCh. *籠 *rôŋ(ʔ)* "id." (ABC 2007:363).

[127] Cf. fn. 159 on p. 64.

[128] This is one of those East Asian area words, which can be found in various old and living languages of different families: Thai กระบือ *gràbɯɯ* "water buffalo" and ควาย *kwaai* "id.", AKh. ក្របី *krapǐ(yy)* "id.", OJv. *kĕbo* "id.", Tag. *kalabao* "id.", OCh. *牛 *grui*, *gwrə* "large mystical animal as strong as an ox", Cant. 夔 *kwai4* "one-legged monster" Bu. ကျွဲ *kjwe:* "water buffalo". For further correspondences, see ABC 2007:339 and MKD 93.

/ai/#	pant**ai** ini[129]	"this beach"	/**a**:/#	ปัตตานี	ɓatɗaanii	*name of a region*
/ua/	p**ua**k[130]	troupe, troop, tribe	/**u̯a**/	พวก	pûak	group
/ua/	wiraŋr**wa**ŋ[131]	bewildered, disturbed	/ɔ:/	วิรงรอง, วิรังรอง	wíroŋrɔɔŋ, wíraŋrɔɔŋ	Crinum asiaticum

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[129] Cf. fn. 120 on p. 41.

[130] Kh. has ឫក *puŏk* "group, gathering", MMon has *buk* "sect" (MKD 149), so this could be an area word.

[131] Given is the OJv. word *wiraŋrwaŋ* "bewildered, disturbed", also found as *wiraŋroŋ* and *wiraŋrwa* (KJK 1445), because the modern Jv. cognate ꦮꦶꦫꦁꦫꦺꦴꦁ *wirangrong* "suffering from the pangs of love" seems too far off the Thai semantics.

3.4 Tone adaptation and tone generation

3.4.1 From other tonal languages

The most prominent tonal languages that have contributed to the development of modern Central Thai are the Chinese languages, especially the Mǐnnán languages of Southern China, namely Teochew (*Cháozhōu*), Cantonese (*Yuè*), Hakka (*Kèjiā*), and Taiwanese Hokkien (*Fújiàn*), all of them belonging to the Chinese branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. Loanwords from Middle and Modern Chinese have been thoroughly analyzed in recent years, the largest analysis of them being a Ph.D. dissertation from Manomaivibool in 1975, an MA thesis by Gyarunsut in 1983, and an unpublished dissertation by Qunhu in 2000.

The consonant and vowel correspondences between Thai and the Chinese languages, also discussed in the papers mentioned above, are not of interest here; instead having a closer look at how tones from Chinese languages are rendered in Central Thai may help to understand their relationship, cf. e.g. Manomaivibool 1975:269-299.

There are four traditional Chinese tones: 平 *píng* (level), 上 *shǎng* (rising), 去 *qù* (departing), and 入 *rù* (entering). These are again subdivided into two types: 陰 *yīn* (dark) for syllables with unvoiced initials and 陽 *yáng* (bright) for those with voiced initials. The afore-mentioned four Chinese tones are said to correspond to the PT tone classes A, C, B, and D, respectively (Manomaivibool 1975:269; ABC 128).

It is not easy to determine whether a certain word is native to Thai or borrowed from a Chinese language, since both languages are mostly monosyllabic. All polysyllabic words in Thai must be borrowings from other Asian or European languages (cf. chapter 1.1.2 on p. 6 et seq.), and the same applies to Chinese. For the tonal correspondences between Chinese and Thai, the following chart shows Middle Chinese examples taken from Manomaivibool. The left-hand side indicates the four Middle Chinese tones with their two subgroups and examples in the first row of each cell. The examples also indicate the corresponding Thai lexeme sorted by their four proto-tones. When no example is given, Manomaivibool did not encounter any while compiling her Sino-Thai word list, and not meaning that this correspondence is impossible. Whenever a Middle Chinese lemma is mentioned in Schuessler's Old Chinese dictionary, I have decided to use his version. This also includes the superscript capital letters for the Middle Chinese tones.

I am well aware that the following table is a very simplified overview of the rather complicated tone system in both languages. Originally, there used to be an eight-tone system in the tonal languages of Southeast Asia (Tai-Kadai, Hmong-Mien, Việt–Mường, Chinese), which later split into four basic tones and two levels for each tone, resulting in the classical designation A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2, D1, and D2 (cf. chapter 2 on p. 21). In some languages, however, some of these eight tones fell together. As for a more detailed description on how the tones have developed in the single languages, consult Chang Kun (1953) and Purnell's dissertation (1970).

*PT MCh.		A		B		C		D	
		A1	**A2**	**B1**	**B2**	**C1**	**C2**	**D1**	**D2**
平 píng	陰 yīn	餐 $ts^h\hat{a}n$ ฉัน căn to eat	憎 tsəŋ ชัง caŋ to hate	雞 kiei ไก่ gài chicken	鯊 ʂa ซ่า sâa big fish	蜂 $p^h jwoŋ$ ผึ้ง pûŋ bee	差 $tṣ^h ai$ ใช้ cái to send, to use	撕 sjie̯ ฉีก cìik to tear	梟 kieu ฮูก hûuk owl
	陽 yáng	膿 ŋjwoŋ หนอง ทว̌อŋ pus	钳 gjäm คีม kiim tongs	男 nậm หนุ่ม nùm young man	牌 bai ไพ่ pâi to play cards	豪 ɣâu ห้าว hâau bold, brave	籬 ljie รั้ว rúa fence	额 ŋɐk ผาก pàak[132] forehead	嶠 $gjäu^C$ โคก kôok[133] hill
上 shǎng	陰 yīn	皓 $ɣâu^B$ ขาว kǎau bright, white	———	幾 $kjei^B$ กี่ gìi how many	鎖 $su\hat{a}^B$ โซ่ sôo chain	廣 $kw\hat{a}ŋ^B$ กว้าง gwâaŋ wide	賈 kuo^B ค้า káa to buy, to trade	補 puo^B ปะ ɓà to mend	———
	陽 yáng	———	阤 $ḍje^B$ เท tee slope, to slant	敏 $mjen^B$ หมั่น màn diligent	是 $źie^B$ ใช่ câi to be right	弩 nuo^B หน้า nâa crossbow	馬 ma^B ม้า máa horse	———	臼 $gjəu^B$ ครก krók mortar
去 qù	陰 yīn	去 $k^h jwo^C$ เขียว kǐau to go, to hurry	幼 $ʔjieu^C$ เยา yau young, weak	四 si^C สี่ sìi four	稱 $tśhjəŋ^C$ ชั่ง câŋ to weigh	到 $t\hat{a}u^C$ เต้า ɗâu to arrive, to go	慣 $kuan^C$ คุ้น kún familiar with	肺 $p^h jwɐi^C$ ปอด ɓɔ̀ɔt lungs	計 $kiei^C$ คิด kít to calculate
	陽 yáng	害 $ɣâi^C$ หาย hǎai to destroy, to lose	练 $lien^C$ เรียน rian to train, to learn	萬 $mjwɐn^C$ หมื่น mùɯn ten thousand	渡 duo^C ท่า tâa to ford, pier	袋 $d\hat{a}i^C$ ไถ้ tâi sack, bag	肉 $ńźjuk^C$ เนื้อ núa meat, flesh	帽 $m\hat{a}u^C$ หมวด mùat hat	召 $ḍjäu^C$ เรียก rîak to call
入 rù	陰 yīn	———	———	膊 $p\hat{a}k$ บ่า ɓàa shoulder	———	———	———	七 $ts^h jet$ เจ็ด jèt seven	屈 $k^h juət$ คด kót to bend
	陽 yáng	———	———	———	———	———	———	十 źjəp สิบ sìp ten	掠 ljak ลัก lák to rob

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[132] Manomaivibool (1975:283) reconstructs older *blag* for Old Chinese to make it fit, but I doubt this correspondence.

[133] This may not be a Chinese loan, since Kh. เกาก *kŏŭk* "dry land, ground" also exists. The MCh. tone C also seems misplaced here.

The rules in the chart above represent a great achievement toward the etymological analysis of the Chinese elements in Thai, however they only apply to loanwords from Old and Middle Chinese. Borrowings from modern Chinese languages, such as Teochew, Cantonese, Hakka, and Taiwanese Hokkien, do not follow these rules, and have entered the Thai language according the speaker's and listener's capability of transcribing the respective word.

Quite often, it is not clear from which of the modern southern Chinese languages (henceforth *Mǐnnán*) a certain word is derived, as can be seen from the following example:

CT   ห้าวหาญ *hâau hǎan* "reckless, self-confident"

Ma.   好汉 *hǎohàn* "hero, strong person"

TC   好漢 *ho2 hang3* "hero"

Hakka   好漢 *hau3 hon4* "hero, strong person"

Cant.   好漢 *hou2 hon3* "here, strong and courageous person"

TW   好漢 *hó-hàn* "brave, courageous, and ambitious man"

The closest equivalent to the Thai word seems to be Mandarin; however Thai usually does not borrow from Mandarin. On the other hand, Khmer also has ហាន *han* "to dare, bold". Nevertheless, I am quite certain that Khmer borrowed this word from Thai, and Thai borrowed it from Chinese, for Khmer has ក្លាហាន *klahan* "bold, courageous" consisting of ក្លា *kla* "brave" and ហាន *han* "to date, bold", of which ក្លា *kla* is from native Thai กล้า *glâa* "brave".

Another indicator for these borrowing irregularities from Mǐnnán is the same Thai tone outcome of unlike tones in the original language, perhaps due to the limited number of tones in Thai. Consider for example จับฉ่าย *jàpcàai* "hodgepodge", having the low tone on both syllables, from TC 雜菜 *zab8 cai3* "mixed vegetables" with a high and low-rising tone. However, due to TC tone sandhi[134], the high tone (8) of the first syllable becomes low (4) in a disyllabic word[135]. In contrast, tone sandhi does not always apply, as can be seen in the TC word 進貢 *zing3 gong3* "to pay tribute", which has led to Thai จิ้มก้อง *jîmgɔ̂ɔŋ* "id.". Both TC and CT use the same tone for each syllable, however TC tone 3 is low-rising and ought to change to

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[134] Tone sandhi is a phenomenon in many tonal languages, where the tones of a morpheme (usually a syllable or even a word in Asian tonal languages) change their contour due to the pronunciation of adjacent morphemes, syllables or words. For example, the inherent tone of the first syllable of a disyllabic word in many Chinese languages usually changes to another tone, when followed by a second syllable with a certain tone that forces the first syllable to bear another tone. There are sometimes rules for this; the complicacy, however, varies from language to language.

[135] Cf. tone charts at: *http://www.teochewdialect.net/tone.php?code=en*.

tone 2 in a disyllabic word. Conversely, Thai has the falling tone twice. Interestingly though, the Mandarin pronunciation 进贡 *jìngòng* fits better, because this word does not undergo tone sandhi and the Mandarin high-falling tone (sometimes called fourth tone) is almost equal in pitch to the Thai falling tone. Rules for these modern loanwords are therefore still open to further research.

3.4.2   From non-tonal languages

As a summary of what is discussed in the following chapters, it can be generalized that merely loanwords from English and the Malay languages undergo certain tone generation rules in Thai, whereas those from the ancient languages, such as Angkorian Khmer, Old Mon, and Old Indic including some of their modern descendants conform to the consonant set of the original language. When words are borrowed from Arabic, Persian, or Hindi (whether directly or via Malay), there seems to be a tendency of a final low tone development in Thai, but this has not been thoroughly researched yet.

3.4.2.1   Khmer and Mon

Khmer is a non-tonal language of the Austro-Asiatic family, and is related to Vietnamese, a tonal language, and Mon, a non-tonal language. However, Thai has not borrowed a single word directly from Vietnamese, which is why only loanwords from Khmer and Mon are treated in this chapter.

Numerous works on Khmer loans in Thai have been published, including Varasarin's stimulating book from 1984, Bauer's article from 1991, and Bilmes' article from 1998. Helpful in spotting Khmer loans in Thai is Nacasakul's *Thai-Khmer Dictionary* from 2005. There has been only one thorough paper published on Mon elements in Thai, namely Ferlus 1985.

Regardless of being borrowed from Old, Middle or Modern Khmer, or from Old, Middle, or Modern Mon, the resulting tones are not crucial. Some of the Khmeric elements in Thai are so old that tones would not be reconstructable anymore. There is a nearly ideal system for Thai-Khmer consonant correspondences, similar to the system for Indic loans, which will be described in the following chapter. This system almost perfectly matches words borrowed from

Angkorian Khmer, but not those from Modern Khmer. This is due to the fact that a great vowel split occurred between AKh. and MKh. with the dipthongization after an old voiced consonant, leading to the different consonant classes (Minegishi 2006:191), cf. p. xiii. The vowel split led to forms such as ទាហាន *téahéan* "soldier, to dare", while still written as **tāhān*, and borrowed into Thai as ทหาร *táhăan* "soldier"[136].

The oldest loans in Thai do not even represent the original consonants in Khmer or Mon. The following example demonstrates this process: ถนน *tànŏn* "street, road", borrowed from AKh. ថ្នល់ *t(h)nal* "id.", pronounced /tʰnɔl/ (Jenner 2009:227), expected **ถนล *{tnal}* in Thai. The Thai language does not have final /l/, and always renders it as /n/. However, in recent loan-words the original ล *l* is still maintained in the script, e.g. สำรวล *sămruan* "to laugh", spelled *{sṁrwl}* and derived from MoKh. សំរួល *sâmruŏl* "to laugh (royal use)". Sometimes consonant clusters from one of the Khmeric languages are reduced in Thai, if the loanword is very old. For example, OMon has *kṣeh, *ksěh* "horse" (Ferlus 1985:221 & 227), while MoMon uses ចេះ *cheh* "id.", of which only the older form could have been borrowed into Thai as แสะ *sè* "id." and into Lao as ແຊະ *sé* "id.", since the expected form would show **แซะ *sé* in Thai. As can be seen here, the low tone results from the Thai orthography due to the glottal stop which short-ens the preceding vowel after the high class consonant ส *s*. In Lao, the same letter causes a high tone.

3.4.2.2 Sanskrit and Pali

Sanskrit (endonym *Saṃskṛtam*), an Old Indo-Aryan language, and Pali (sometimes also spelled *Pāḷi*), a Middle Indo-Aryan language, both belonging to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family, have had such a great influence on Thai that many native speakers of Thai consider their language to be a derivative of one of the two Indic languages, which is linguistically speaking untenable. The first large compilation of borrowings from the two languages (henceforth referred to as *Indic*) was published by Dr. William J. Gedney in his Ph.D. dissertation from 1947, and has served as a sound basis for any further studies on Thai etymology published thereafter. He states that "[w]ords of Indic origin are about as common in spoken Thai as are words of Greek and Latin origin in spoken English" (Gedney 1947:1).

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[136] Cf. SM *tahan* "to withstand".

Another useful publication is Satya Vrat Shastri's article on the semantic fields of Indic loans, from 1978.

When Indic words enter Thai, regardless of being an old or a modern loan, the tones do not follow any specific rules. The only convention is the exact representation of the consonants and vowels used in Indic. This means that it is not the pronunciation of Indic words that is crucial, but the original orthography, as these elements hardly ever entered Thai orally. Indic loanwords are mainly scientific words, cardinal points, fields of study, literary terms, personal names, names of the days and months, formal equivalents of everyday words, professions, and even many everyday terms; Indic loans are productive in Thai up to now, so that native speakers of Thai are sometimes not aware of the Indic origin of words they regularly use.

There is a set rule as to which Thai letter corresponds to which Indic counterpart. This can easily be illustrated by the following chart. The first column refers to the place of articulation in Indic, of which retroflex and dental consonants coincide in spoken Thai and are only distinct in writing. The first line lists the manner of aspiration and the second line the voicing of the Sanskrit consonants; the Sanskrit voicing is exactly mirrored in modern Thai. The terms low, mid, and high refer to the consonant class (cf. chart on p. 8). The order of characters follows the Sanskrit abugida order according to the place of articulation from the back of the mouth (velar) to the front (labial), always starting with the unvoiced consonants, followed by the voiced and nasal ones. The rest are given at the end of the chart in traditional Sanskrit order.

	unaspirated unvoiced	aspirated unvoiced	unaspirated voiced	aspirated voiced	nasal
	mid class	high class	low class	low class	low class
velar	ก gɔɔ [क ka]	ข kɔ̌ɔ [ख kha]	ค kɔɔ [ग ga]	ฆ kɔɔ [घ gha]	ง ŋɔɔ [ङ ṅa]
palatal	จ jɔɔ [च ca]	ฉ cɔ̌ɔ [छ cha]	ช cɔɔ [ज ja]	ฌ cɔɔ [झ jha]	ญ yɔɔ [ञ ña]
retroflex	ฏ dɔɔ [ट ṭa]	ฐ tɔ̌ɔ [ठ ṭha]	ฑ tɔɔ [ड ḍa]	ฒ tɔɔ [ढ ḍha]	ณ nɔɔ [ण ṇa]
dental	ต dɔɔ [त ta]	ถ tɔ̌ɔ [थ tha]	ท tɔɔ [द da]	ธ tɔɔ [ध dha]	น nɔɔ [न na]
labial	ป bɔɔ [प pa]	ผ pɔ̌ɔ [फ pha]	พ pɔɔ [ब ba]	ภ pɔɔ [भ bha]	ม mɔɔ [म ma]

approximants	ย yɔɔ [य ya]	ร rɔɔ [र ra]	ล lɔɔ [ल la]	ว wɔɔ [व wa]	mid class
sibilants	ศ sɔ̌ɔ [श śa]	ษ sɔ̌ɔ [ष ṣa]	ส sɔ̌ɔ [स sa]		high class
voiced h	ห hɔ̌ɔ [ह ha]				high class

Similarly, there is also a traditional transliteration convention of vowels used in Sanskrit loanwords, which does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the spelling of the borrowed word. The chart below lists the vowel correspondences between Sanskrit (first row) and Thai (third row). The group above the line shows them in initial position, the one below the line in any other. The circle indicates a consonant placeholder. The asterisk (*) stands for the difficulty of the representation of the Indic *a* in Thai: usually, it is not transliterated at all, sometimes represented by ◌ั *a*, and in final position rendered as ◌ะ *a* or not at all.

अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ	ऋ	ॠ	ऌ	ॡ
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	e	ai	o	au	ṛ	ṝ	ḷ	ḹ
อ	อา	อิ	อี	อุ	อู	เอ	ไอ	โอ	เอา	ฤ	ฤๅ	ฦ	ฦๅ
a	aa	i	ii	u	uu	e	ai	o	au	rɯ	rɯɯ	lɯ	lɯɯ

◌	◌า	ि◌	◌ी	◌ु	◌ू	◌े	◌ै	◌ो	◌ौ	◌ृ	◌ॄ	◌ॢ	◌ॣ
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	e	ai	o	au	ṛ	ṝ	ḷ	ḹ
*	◌า	◌ิ i,	◌ี	◌ุ	◌ู	เ◌	ไ◌	โ◌	เ◌า	◌ฤ	◌ฤๅ	◌ฦ	◌ฦๅ
	aa	◌ึ ɯ, ii	u	uu	e	ai	o	au	rɯ	rɯɯ	lɯ	lɯɯ	

The previous description of the Thai transliteration of the Indic script is essential in order to understand that tones are disregarded when Thai borrows words from an Indic language. The only criteria are the consonants and the vowels. This can easily be demonstrated by means of the following examples in comparison with loanwords from Standard Malay (SM).

SM loan	Thai outcome		Skr. loan		Thai outcome		English
cendera	จินตะหรา	jindàrăa	चन्द्र	candra	จันทร์ jan{tárà}		moon
cendana	จินดาหนา	jindaanăa	चन्दन	candana	จันทน์ jan{táná}		sandalwood
jiwa	ยิหวา	yíwăa	जीव	jīva	ชีพ cîip		life, soul[137]
pati	ปาตี	ɓaaɗii	पति	pati	บดี bɔɔdii		lord, big person
bela	แบหลา	bɛɛlăa[138]	वेला	velā	เวลา weelaa		hour (of death)

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[137] Thai also has ชีว(ะ) *ciwá* "life" and ชีวา *ciiwaa* "id.", which are direct borrowings from the same Sanskrit word.
[138] The Malay word means "self-immolation, to join someone in death", while the Thai equivalent means "to commit suicide".

It can be seen from the five examples above that Sanskrit loans in Thai are orthographically represented in perfect accordance to their source, but their phonological accuracy is lacking. Loans from Malay, however, are rather transcribed according to their pronunciation disregarding the original Malay spelling. Consequently, it is very easy to trace the borrowing from Sanskrit back to its origin, while Malay borrowings often cannot be identified as such by native Thai speakers. Thai speakers often treat Malay loanwords as being of Chinese or Khmer origin, whereas they are quite certain about those of Indic origin.

Loanwords from modern languages of India, including Dravidian languages, such as Tamil and Malayalam, usually do not follow the spelling rules explained above. For example, the term เจียระไน *jiaránai* "to cut precious stones" has no convincing etymology except Tamil சாணை *cāṇai* "whet-stone, grind-stone". This correspondence is highly irregular, and may not originally be of Tamil origin. Something similar can be observed in the following odd etymology: The Thai designation สาเก *sǎagee* "breadfruit tree" is definitely not of Thai origin; however it may not continue Malay *sukun* "id.", because it does not match the Thai pronunciation. It seems more likely that Malayalam കടച്ചക്ക *kaṭaccakka* "id." and ചക്ക *chakka* "jackfruit" are its source[139].

3.4.2.3 English

As a Germanic language of the Indo-European family, English has had influence on Thai only due to former kings' journeys to Europe and due to tourists in Thailand in recent time. Some rare loanwords from French and Portuguese may have migrated into Thai via Malay or Khmer. There have been many publications on English loanwords in CT (e.g. Nacasakul 1979, Gandour 1979, and Bickner 1986). Bickner has set up a wide range of well-structured rules for tones generated in Thai, when a word is borrowed from English. He explains that "[n]ative speakers of English who study Thai soon realize that they must learn new pronunciations for words borrowed from their own native vocabulary or they will not be understood when they use those words in conversation with Thai speakers" (Bickner 1986:19). This does not only refer to consonant clusters that need to be reduced, when English words are used in Thai, but especially to the tones: "Words borrowed from English are pronounced with a variety of tones, some of which 'feel' right to the native speaker of English, and some of which do not" (ibid.).

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[139] Sanskrit does not have any of these words.

I would like to offer his set of rules here without further discussion. Those who are interested in the background and reasons of why and how certain tones are applied in loanwords from English should consult Bickner's article. For each rule, I will offer just two examples (or three, if three different tones are possible), but Bickner has a lot more. Those marked with an asterisk (*) must be exceptions, as there are hardly any more examples for the specific rule. The following chart is based on Bickner's data.

Rule	Feature of the English word	Final tone	Example Thai		English original
			Thai spelling	GTS	English original
1A	monosyllabic, final vowel or sonorant	mid low* rising*	เกม แหม่ม บ๋อย	geem mɛ̀ɛm bɔ̌ɔi	game ma'am boy[140]
1B	monosyllabic, final sonorant cluster containing an *n*	mid	ปอนด์ เลนส์	ɓɔɔn{t} leen{s}	pound lens
1C	monosyllabic, final sonorant cluster containing an *r* or *l*	mid	เทอม ฟิล์ม	təəm fi{l}m	term film
2A	monosyllabic, final plosive or fricative after a short vowel	high	เค้ก เน็ต	kéek nét	cake net
2B	monosyllabic, final sonorant-plosive cluster	high mid*	ปั๊ม แสตมป์	ɓám sàɗɛɛm{p}	pump stamp
2C	monosyllabic, final cluster containing an *r* or *l* and a plosive or a fricative	high low	เชิ้ต เสิร์ฟ	cə́ət sə̀ə{r}p	shirt serve
3A	polysyllabic, non-final stress, final vowel or sonorant, entered Thai orally	falling	ล็อตเตอรี่ เชอร์รี่	lɔ́ɔtɗəərîi cəə{r}rîi	lottery cherry

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[140] The meaning of the Thai word is "waiter".

3B	polysyllabic, non-final stress, final vowel or sonorant, entered Thai in writing	mid falling*	แอลกอฮอล์ เรด้าร์	ɛɛngɔɔhɔɔ{l} reedâa{r}[141]	alcohol radar
3C	polysyllabic, non-final stress, final obstruent	high falling* low	ออฟฟิศ, ออฟฟิต คริสต์มาส พลาสติก	ɔ́ɔffít, ɔ́ɔpfít krít{t}mâat plâatɗìk	office Christmas plastic
4A	polysyllabic, final stress, final vowel or sonorant	mid rising*	การ์ตูน ฮัลโหล	gaa{r}ɗuun hanlǒo	cartoon hello
4B*	polysyllabic, final stress, final obstruent	low mid	เทคนิค เปอร์เซ็นต์	têeknìk ɓəə{r}sen{t}	technique percent

Monosyllabic English words are not of interest within the framework of this thesis, since only the polysyllabic ones show a tendency toward the falling tone, especially in vowel-final loan-words. It should be added that also quite a number of sonorant-final loanwords from English have a falling tone in Thai, see *แฟชั่น fɛɛcân* "fashion", *ช้อปปิ้ง cɔ́ɔpɓîŋ* "shopping", and *ไรเฟิล raifɤ̂ən* "rifle", just to mention a few. This is quite interesting, since loanwords from Malay often have a falling tone in ST (cf. chapter 3.4.2.4 on p. 54). This convention seems to comply with the natural melody of the Thai language. Bickner (1986:28) explains the phenomenon as follows: "The final syllables of the English models probably approach most closely the falling tone, with its rapid drop in pitch height." An unstressed final syllable in English results in a final falling tone in Thai, as it tries to imitate the rapid drop in pitch at the end of the word.

3.4.2.4 Malay, Indonesian, and Javanese

When words are borrowed from Malay, Indonesian or Javanese, tones are developed to make them sound more natural to native speakers of Thai. We can compare this phenomenon to the adaptation of stress and vowel coloring of Malay loanwords in English: While *orang hutan* is pronounced /ʔoˈraŋ (h)uˈtan/ in Malay, it is rendered as /əˈɹæŋ əˌtʰæŋ/ in American English.

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[141] The mid tone alternative *เรดาร์ reedaa* "id." also exists.

Not only have the two initial vowels been weakened due to natural American English stress, but the final syllable of the second word has also experienced assimilation to the second syllable of the first word. If American English were a tonal language, it would generate tones when borrowing a word like *orang hutan*.

Similar adaptation processes take place in Thai, but it is tones that are generated, and not stress when words are borrowed from modern languages. This does not happen in words borrowed from an ancient language like Sanskrit, Pali, or Angkorian Khmer, for which it seems more important to picture a highly adequate orthography corresponding to the original writing system. In this chapter, I will attempt to explain the generation of word-final tones, whenever a term has been borrowed into Thai from Malay, Indonesian, or (Old) Javanese.

3.4.2.4.1 Low tone

When encountering a low tone on the ultima of a possible Malay loan, one of the three conditions needs to be fulfilled:

1. The final syllable starts with a stop consonant

2. The final consonant of the original Malay word is either a stop or fricative consonant, pronounced as a plosive in Thai, or the vowel /a/ rendered as a glottal stop in Thai.

3. The word is not originally from Malay, but ultimately from a South or Southwestern Asian language, such as Persian, Arabic, Tamil, or Hindi, nonetheless borrowed via Malay.

The following list contains all words borrowed after 1400 A.D. except for one. It is obvious that they are recent borrowings since they did not undergo the devoicing consonant shift that took place in the 14th century (cf. explanation on page 28). Unclear or doubtful loanwords are marked with a question mark (?). All words are listed in Pallegoix's dictionary from 1854, except for those marked with a cross (†). After each entry, an etymology (if known) is given in order to show that condition 3 of the rules above applies or not. If none of the rules apply, the word is considered an exception. Thai usually does not borrow any Muslim word directly

from Arabic, but via Malay: "Arabic words used in Malay have also been borrowed by Thai, due to their clash in history."[142]

Thai		Malay word	Translation	Rule			Origin, Other Correspondences
Lexeme	GTS			1	2	3	
กระจับปี่	gràjàpɓìi [143]	kecapi	lute	✓			Skr. कच्छपी *kacchapī* "kind of lute", named so after कच्छ *kaccha* "cedrela toona" or कच्छप *kacchapa* "tortoise"
กระจูด	gràjùut	kercut	bulrush	✓	✓		Kh. ចាចត *châchot* "id."
?กระดาษ	gràdàat	kertas	paper	✓	✓		Ar. قرطاس *qirṭās* "id." Gk. χάρτης *khártēs* (id.) Kh. ក្រដាស *kradaah*[144]
กริช	grìt	keris	dagger	✓	✓		OJv. *kris* "id." (KJK 520)
กะปะ	gàɓà	(ular) kapak	Calloselasma	✓			
กะหรี่†	gàrìi	kari	curry			✓	Ta. கறி *kaṟi* "id."
กำปั่น	gamɓàn	kapal	ship	✓		✓	Ta. கப்பல் *kappal* "ship"
จำปาดะ	jamɓaadà	cempedak	cempedak	✓	✓		Bu. ုံပတောာ် *sonbada'* "id."
เซปัก†	seeɓàk	sepak	kick volleyball	✓	✓		OJv. *sepak* "to kick (as a horse)" (KJK 1079)
ตลับ	ɗàlàp	telap	small box		✓		
?ปะ	ɓà	jumpa	to meet	✓	✓		OMon: *paʔ "to do" (Ferlus 1985:228)
?ปั้นเหน่ง	ɓânnèeŋ	(ikat) pinggang	belt				
ภูเก็ต	puugèt	bukit	hill[145]	✓	✓		PAN *búkij "id." (PAP 779)

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[143] As for the insertion of -ระ- -rà-, cf. fn. 86 on p. 35.

[144] Both the Ar. and the Gr. word can be reconstructed. Most Semitic languages have a similar word for "to cut, to pinch, to bite" (Leslau 1987:444) and Proto-Indo-European is reconstructed as *ǵʰer- "to scratch, to scrape" (Walde 1973:602), so the real origin remains unknown.

[145] The Thai word is the name of *Phuket Island* in Southern Thailand.

?ย่าหนัด, ย่านหนัด (ST)	yâanàt, yâannàt	nanas	pineapple[146]		✓	originally from Guaraní *ñana* "fruit, herbage" via Port. *ananás*, Hindi अनन्नास *anannās* "id." or Ar. أناناس *anānās* "id."
ยาหัด	yaahàt	jahat	bad, evil		✓	
ระเด่น	rádèn	raden	crown prince	✓		cf. fn. 69 on p. 30.
ริงกิต†	riŋgìt	ringgit	*currency unit*	✓	✓	meaning "jagged"
ลางสาด	laaŋsàat	langsat	langsat		✓	of SM origin (Blench 2008:123)
สรั่ง†	sàràŋ	serang	boatswain			Pe. سرهنگ *sarhang* "captain"
สละ	sàlà	(pokok) salak	Salacca zalacca		✓	of SM origin (Blench 2008:136)
สลัก	sàlàk	selak	bolt		✓	AKh. *ឆ្លាក់ *chlăk* "to carve" (DAK 147)
สลัด	sàlàt	selat	strait[147]		✓	PAN *celat* "straits, slit" (PAP 802)
สุหนัต	sùnàt	sunat	circumcision		✓	✓ Arab.: سنة *sunna* "tradition, custom"
สุเหร่า†	sùràu	surau	mosque			? Minang: سوراو *surau* "men's prayer house"[148]
โสร่ง†	sàròoŋ	sarung	sarong			✓ Sinhalese: සළු *saḷu* "garment"
หนึ่งหรัด†	nùŋràt	ningrat	in the world		✓	cf. p. 31
?หมี่	mìi	mi	noodles[149]			Mǐnnán: 麵 *mì* "id." (Haspelmath 2009:629)
?หลับ	làp	lelap	asleep		✓	PAN *lebeleb* "hidden" (PAP 887)
?หลุด† (ST)	lùt	selut	mud		✓	
?หัจญ์†	hàt	haj	Hajj		✓	✓ Ar. حج *ḥajj* "pilgrimage", also in high tone
องุ่น	àŋùn	anggur	grape			✓ Pe. انگور *angūr* "id."

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146 Cf. fn. 118 on p. 41 for more details.
147 A semantic shift occurred in Thai, from the Malay meaning "strait" to Thai "pirate". Cf. fn. 81 on p. 34.
148 As this is a Muslim word, Ar. or Pe. origin is expected, but in none of the two languages such a word can be found.
149 Cf. p. 58 for an explanation on the origin.

?อิหม่าม†	ìmàam	imam	Muslim priest		✓	Ar. إمام *'imām* "president"
อุบะ†	ùbà	gubah	bunch of flowers	✓	✓	Jv. has ꦔ꧀ꦒꦸꦧꦃ *nggubah* "to make an artistic decoration", so this could be a loan from Javanese.
อุหรับ†	ùràp	urap-urap	cosmetic powder		✓	OJv. *urap-urap* "id." (KJK 1347)

There are only two exceptions to the three conditions proposed above, which require further. The Muslim word *สุเหร่า sùràu* "mosque" might have been misunderstood as a word of Arabic origin, and has therefore received a low tone, by analogy to other Muslim words, such as *อิหม่าม ìmàam* "Muslim priest".

The term *หมี่ mìi* "noodles" may also be a direct borrowing from a Southern Chinese language, and not via Malay. Thai also has *บะหมี่ bàmìi* "Chinese egg noodles", and Malay has *bakmi* "id.", which is most probably borrowed from Hakka 白米 *pak6 mi3* "(polished) rice", leading to the abbreviation *หมี่ mìi*. Khmer មី *mii* "egg noodles" and Vietnamese *mì* "noodles" are also from the same source.

3.4.2.4.2 Falling tone

Even though it is very common for loanwords to have a final falling tone (cf. chapter 3.4.2.3 on p. 52), they are relatively rare when borrowed from Malay, so they must either be an exception or sound unnatural to the Thai ear. The following chart presents the loanwords from Malay with falling tone:

Thai		Malay word	Translation	Remarks
Lexeme	**GTS**			
กระตั้ว	gràđûa	kakaktua	cockatoo	En. has also borrowed from Malay[150]
กระพอก	gràpɔ̂ɔk	kerobok	bamboo food case	tone rules force this to have a falling tone

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[150] As for the insertion of *-ระ- -rà-*, cf. fn. 86 on p. 35.

จับปิ้ง	jàpbîŋ	caping	metal plate used to cover pudenda of a young girl[151]	alternative names: *กระจับปิ้ง gràjàpbîŋ* *จะปิ้ง jàbîŋ* *ตะปิ้ง dàbîŋ* *ตับปิ้ง dàpbîŋ*
ชมพู่	compûu	jambu	rose apple[152]	Skr. जम्बु *jambu*, जम्बू *jambū* "id."
?พวก	pûak	puak	group	Kh. ពួក *puŏk* "id."
?ร่าง	râaŋ	rang	draft, sketch	probably borrowed the other way round (Suthiwan 1997:120) Lao: ຮ່າງ *haaŋ* "shape, sketch" Sh. ႁၢင်ႈ *haaŋ3* "appearance, figure"
?วิลาศ	wílâat	wilayah	territory[153]	Pe. ولایت *welāyat* "province" Ar. ولايّة *wilāya* "state"
?อั้งโล่	âŋlôo	anglo	brazier	TW 紅爐 *âng-lôo* "red stove"
?ฮิญาบ	híyâap	hijab	Arab veil	Ar. حجاب *ḥijāb* "curtain, veil"

The first word in the chart, *กระตั้ว gràdûa* cannot be explained for the time being. It may have entered CT directly, not via ST, perhaps due to voyagers from Thailand who sought a desig-nation for the Australasian animal.

The word *กระพอก gràpɔ̀ɔk* "bamboo food case", if really borrowed from Malay and not from a Mon-Khmer language, must be a very old loan because of the /b/-/pʰ/-correspondence (cf. chart on p. 28). If Malay /b/ was then borrowed into Thai, undergoing a sound shift into a voiceless aspirated stop, only three letters in Thai writing would be possible: *พ, ผ, ภ*. For for-eign words, usually the first is used, whereas the second letter is often found in native Thai words and loans from Pali or Sanskrit. The last letter only occurs in borrowings from Pali or Sanskrit. However, not all three consonants produce the same tone when they appear initially in a long-vowel dead syllable (cf. chart on p. 8): The letter *พ* (corresponding to Sanskrit *b*) causes a falling tone, the letter *ผ* (corresponding to Sanskrit *ph*) generates a low tone, and the letter *ภ* (corresponding to Sanskrit *bh*) results in a falling tone. The problem in Thai is that no

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[151] The Thai meaning is "fig-leaf worn by little girl".

[152] While the Thai word is usually only used to refer to what is called "rose apple" in English, the Malay word stands for different kinds of the *Syzgium* family. It is spelled *ชมฝู compuu* in Pallegoix's dictionary and has a final mid tone.

[153] The Thai meaning is "the British" or "European", and is an old term to refer to Western people. Pallegoix (1850:863) says this word means "pretty, beautiful" (probably from Skr. विलास *vilāsa* "fun, pleasure"), but if prefixed by *เมือง mɯaŋ* "city, state" it refers to Europe and England. On the other hand, the Malay word *wilayah* means "territory" and is derived from Persian. Another possibility is that Thai *วิลาศ wílâat* "the British, European" may also be directly borrowed from Persian, not via Malay. Interestingly, the Thai spelling suggests an expected Sanskrit origin like **विलाश **vilāśa, which does not exist.

other tone than falling or low is possible in long-vowel dead syllables. Therefore, if the word is not intended to look "sanskritized", the only option will be *w* giving it a falling tone.

The word จับปิ้ง *jàpbîŋ* is a problematic case because both the Thai and Malay meanings fit perfectly. However, the numerous alternative spellings in Thai show an irregularity which is known from Khmer loans[154]. Taking a closer look at Khmer reveals the word ចាប៉ែង *chapăŋ*, which is defined as "plate of gold or silver in the shape of a banyan leaf worn in ancient Cambodia by young girls to cover their genital area"[155]. However, it is very unusual for Thai to have a tone mark on words borrowed from Khmer. Furthermore, the Thai rendering of the Khmer original does not fit the common pattern. This, in turn, suggests a loan from Southern Chinese, but no such source is available so far.

As for the word ชมพู่ *compûu* "rose apple", it must be a very old loan from Malay, which itself is a loan from Sanskrit. Loans from Sanskrit or Pali hardly ever receive a tone mark, but the consonants fit the Sanskrit spelling of जम्बू *jambū* "id." exactly. This word might therefore have been borrowed from Malay into CT receiving a falling tone, as is the usual convention for loanwords, and then readjusted to the Sanskrit original. Consider also ST ย่าหมุ *yâamŭu* "guava" with a final rising tone, which is derived from Malay *jambu*, too, but has not entered CT.

Suthiwan (1997:120) suggests that the term ร่าง *râaŋ* "draft, sketch" might be a native Thai word, and might then have been borrowed into Malay. The hypothesis that this is a native Thai word is also based on the fact that Lao and Shan have an equivalent word.

The etymology of วิลาศ *wílâat* is uncertain. As for the explanation, see footnote 153 on p. 59.

The word for a Chinese brazier has spread all over Southeast Asia, and may not be a loanword from Malay, but from a Southern Chinese language. I suggest TW 紅爐 *âng-lôo* "red stove", as this is the closest to the Thai pronunciation. Malay has *anglo*, Khmer has អង្គ្លូ *'ănglo*, Vietnamese has *lò*, Lao has ອັ່ງໂລ້ *àŋlôo*, and Javanese has ꦲꦁꦭꦺꦴ *anglo*, all of them meaning "brazier".

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[154] E.g. กรรไกร *gangrai*, ตะไกร *dàgrai*, and กรรไตร *gandrai* "scissors" are all from Kh.កន្ត្រៃ *kantrey* "id.", ultimately irregularily borrowed from Skr. कर्तरि *kartari* "id."

[155] Cf. *http://sealang.net/khmer/dictionary.htm*.

The Thai form ฮิญาบ *híyâap* is irregular if borrowed from Malay. However, it may also have entered Thai directly from Arabic, not via Malay. This could also explain the use of ญ *y* instead of ย *y*, although the former is usually reserved for loans from an Indic language.

The comments on the words above clearly depict that it is highly improbable to encounter a Malay word in Thai having a falling tone on the final syllable. All of them must therefore be treated as exceptions or may not be direct borrowings from Malay.

3.4.2.4.3 High tone

The high tone on final syllables is not very common in loanwords from Malay, compared to those from English. The following chart gives an overview of loanwords from Malay with a high tone in Thai.

Thai		Malay word	Translation	Remarks
Lexeme	**GTS**			
โกปี๊	goobíi	kopi	coffee	old-fashioned in CT, rather used in ST[156]
ตะเบ๊ะ	đàbé	tabik	salute	Jv. ꦠꦧꦶꦏ꧀ *tabik*, ꦠꦧꦺ *tabé* "greeting", originally from Skr. क्षन्तव्य *kṣantavya* "which is to be pardoned" (Gonda 1973:640)
ปอเนาะ	ɓɔɔnɔ́	pondok	small Islamic school	probably from Ar. فندق *funduq* "hotel"
ปัญจักสีลัต	ɓanjàksǐilát	pencak silat	martial arts	also appears in Jv. ꦥꦼꦚ꧀ꦕꦏ꧀ *pencak* "self-defence system" and ꦱꦶꦭꦠ꧀ *silat* "self-defence"
ปาเต๊ะ	ɓaađé	batik	batik	from Jv. ꦧꦛꦶꦏ꧀ *baṭik* "id.", might be from PAN *betík* "to tattoo" (PAP 1009)
พรัด	prát	barat	west (wind)	old loan (cf. chart on p. 28)

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[156] CT and modern ST use กาแฟ *gaafɛɛ* "coffee", while โกปี๊ *goobíi* sounds old-fashioned to Thai speakers. So, the latter must be an old loan from a time before the European term entered the Thai language.

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?มด	mót	semut	ant	probably an area word[157]
มังคุด	maŋkút	manggis	mangosteen	old loan (cf. chart on p. 28)
มัสยิด	mátsàyít	masjid	mosque	might also be directly borrowed from Ar. مسجد *masjid* "place of worship"
มาระ	maará	marah	angry	
มาริ	maarí	mari	let us	Thai meaning: to come PAN *aɣi* "to come" (PAP 739)
มุลุต	múlút	mulut	mouth	originally Malay
ละลัด	lálát	lalat	fly	PAN *laleg* "id." (PAP 881)
สะเต๊ะ	sàɗé	sate	meat skewer	of Ta. origin, cf. fn. 95 on p. 37.
สุไหงโก-ลก	sùŋǎi goolók	(sungai) golok	"sword river"	new loan of the same origin as the following word, cf. fn. 113 on p. 40.
หัวครก (ST)	(hǔa) krók	jambu golok	cashew nut	old loan, cf. chart on p. 28
อะนะ	àná	anak	offspring	originally Malay, cf. PAN *alák* "id." (PAP 741)
อาระ	aará	arak	alcohol, liquor	Ar. عرق *'araq* "clear raisin liquor"
?ฮัจญ์	hát	haj	Hajj	Ar. حج *ḥajj* "pilgrimage", also appears with low tone
?ฮิจเราะห์	hítrɔ́	hijra	Hijra	Ar. هجرة *hijra* "migration (of Muhammad)"

Striking is that, all words listed above, except for two, end in an obstruent in Malay, resulting in a plosive in Thai. Note that the character ะ represents a glottal stop not rendered in GTS and counts as a obstruent, too. However, โกปี้ *goobíi* "coffee" is problematic, as it must have entered Thai from Malay *kopi*, which in turn is from En. *coffee*. Thai โกปี้ *goobíi* cannot be a direct borrowing from English, as En. /f/ never appears as /p/ in Thai.

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[157] Native animal terms, such as "ant" are hardly ever borrowed from neighboring non-related languages; therefore, similar words in these languages call for further research. This is the case with มด *mot* and *semut*, of which the former seems like the first syllable has been dropped. Interestingly, Kh. also has ស្រមោច *srômoŭch* "ant", and Mandarin has 蚂 *mǎ* "id." The same can be said for นก *nók* and *manuk* "bird", ตา *taa* and *mata* "eye", ส้ม *sôm* and *asam* "sour", น้ำ *náam* and *danum* "(fresh) water", รัง *raŋ* and *sarang* "nest", etc. Based on these occurrences, Benedict (1942) was the first to make a proposal of an Austro-Tai relationship, which is not to be further discussed in this thesis.

The relatively small number of Malay loanwords in Thai that have a high tone may be due to the fact that the CT high tone corresponds to the ST low tone (cf. chart on p. 27). Thus, if the preferred tone for borrowings with a final stop consonant in ST is the low tone and if the number of low and high tone loanwords is added up, they cover about one quarter of all terms borrowed from Malay. The rest are those ending in vowels or sonorants both in Malay and Thai, and therefore generate either a rising final or a mid final tone. The falling tone is an exception.

3.4.2.4.4 Rising tone

When Thai borrows words from another language, the final syllable usually generates a falling or a mid tone on polysyllabic words, and a high or a low tone on monosyllabic ones. This is illustrated in chapter 3.4.2.3 for loanwords from English. The rising tone is hardly ever encountered in those borrowings. For (Old) Khmer or Old Indic languages that have had a considerable impact on Thai, the rising tone is also not typical in final syllables unless there is no other option because of the Thai tone rules[158]. The reason for these tone generations is that Thai tries to adjust the borrowed word to the natural Thai pronunciation as adequately as possible. It is, therefore, even more striking that many loans from Malay, Indonesian, or Javanese bear a final rising tone, not resulting from any consonant correspondence between Thai and Malay. However, a first approach towards an explanation is offered by Suthiwan (1992:1361):

> *"An interesting feature of these Malay loans is their tonalization. Whenever the Malay word ends with a vowel or a sonorant, the Thai version will bear a rising tone at the same (final) syllable. At this point, it is not possible to explain this phenomenon, since more research on middle Thai phonology, as well as old Malay phonology, is needed. However, it may be hypothesized that in middle Thai, loanwords tended to have a universal rising tone at word final position. The tendency is different in modern Thai where loanwords can have either mid, low, falling or high tone. […] As far as dialect study is concerned, not enough information is available, since these words were borrowed into written Thai."*

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[158] Loanwords like อาหาร *aahăan* "food" or สถาน *sàtăan* "place" require a rising tone because of the consonant correspondence between Sanskrit and Thai. The former is derived from Skr. आहार *āhāra* "provisioning", for which the Thai letter ห *h* is the equivalent to Skr. ह *h*, producing a rising tone on long-vowel live syllables; the latter comes from Skr. स्था *sthāna* "place", for which the Thai ถ *t* as the equivalent to Skr. थ *th* also requires a rising tone.

Several years later (Suthiwan 1997:98), she seems to revoke her theory by explaining the tonalization in a different way:

> *"From this observation, we can theorize that the falling tone of Southern Thai corresponds to the rising tone of Central Thai. However, in the environment where rising tone cannot be applied to in Central Thai, low tone is used most of the time, while high tone is used only in some cases."*

While I do not agree with her first theory, I do support the second. The simple reason for this is the CT-ST tone correspondence displayed in the chart on p. 27. When the two princesses retold the Panji romance in the vicinity of Nakhon Sri Thammarat (cf. story in chapter 2), they might have used the ST pronunciation, resulting in the falling tone for final long-vowel live syllables with an initial sonorant or fricative, then might have written it down using the Central Thai writing system, so that it was later interpreted as a CT rising tone. This has eventually become the standard convention of these loanwords, with exceptions showing a falling tone, as shown on p. 58.

Consequently, the GTS scheme in the following list does not apply to ST, since all words should be pronounced with a final falling tone:

Thai			Malay	
Lexeme	**GTS**	**Translation**	**Lexeme**	**Translation**
กระโถน	gràtŏon	spittoon	ketur	id.
กระยาหงัน	gràyaaŋǎn	heaven	kayangan	id.
กะลาสี	gàlaasǐi	sailor	kelasi	id.
กะลาหนา	gàlaanǎa	warrior, soldier	kelana	wanderer
กะหมังกุหนิง	gàmǎŋgùnǐŋ	*name of an Inao character*	kembang kuning	"yellow flower"
กะหลาป๋า	gàlǎaɓǎa	Batavia, Jakarta	(Sunda) kelapa	coconut, *name of the old port of Jakarta*
กัลปังหา, กะละปังหา	ganláɓaŋhǎa, gàláɓaŋhǎa	*kind of coral* (Euplexaura)	akar bahar	id.
?การะบุหนิง	gaarábùnǐŋ	Orange Jessamine	kemuning[159] (Jv.)	tree with yellowish blossoms

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[159] The Jv. designation ꦏꦼꦩꦸꦤꦶꦁ *kemuning* is derived from ꦏꦸꦤꦶꦁ *kuning* "yellow" with the rare intensifying infix *-em-*.

กิดาหยัน	gìdaayǎn	royal page	kedayan	serving man
กุหนุง	gùnǔŋ	high mountain	gunung	mountain
จินดาหนา	jindaanǎa	sandalwood tree	cendana	id.
ʔดะหมั้ง	dàmǎŋ	troops, army	demang	chief of district
ดาหลัง	daalǎŋ	*name of a romance*	dalang	puppeteer
ʔดุสน	dùsǒn	*old name of Khuan Don*	dusun	orchard, village
ต้นหยง	đanyǒŋ	bullet wood	tanjung	id.
ตำมะหงง	đammáŋǒŋ	secretary of state	temenggung	chief of public security
ตุนาหงัน	đùnaaŋǎn	to trothplight	tunangan	fiancé(e)
โต้หลง	đôolǒŋ	to assist, to help	tolong	help
ʔทหาร	táhǎan	soldier	tahan	to withstand
ʔนากาสาหรี	naagaasǎarǐi	*Mammea siamensis*	nagasari[160]	Ceylon ironwood
บาหลี	baalǐi	*name of the island Bali*	Bali	id.
บุหงัน, บุหงา	bùŋǎn, bùŋǎa	flower	bunga	id.
บุหงาประหงัน	bùŋǎaƀràŋǎn	*Jasminum auriculatum*	bunga berangan	chinkapin
บุหรง	bùrǒŋ	bird	burung	id.
บุหลัน	bùlǎn	moon	bulan	moon, month
แบหลา	bɛɛlǎa	to commit suicide	bela	self-immolation, sut-tee
ประหมัน	ƀràmǎn	uncle	paman	maternal uncle

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[160] The origin of this word is uncertain. Jv. has ꦤꦒꦱꦫꦶ *nagasari* "(1) steamed cake wrapped in banana leaves made from flour and coconut milk filled with banana, (2) name of a mystical tree", most probably originally from Kannada ನಾಗ ಕೇಸರಿ *naga kesari*, ultimately from Skt. नागकेसर *nāgakesara* "a snake's hair", in modern Malay *nagasari* refers to "Ceylon ironwood (Mesua ferrea Linnaeus)".

ประไหมสุหรี	ɓràmǎisùrǐi	first wife of Jv. king	permaisuri[161]	queen, king's most senior wife
ปะตาระกาหลา	ɓàɗaarágaalǎa	adult male angel	Batara Kala	God of the Under-world
ปะหนัน, ปาหนัน	ɓànǎn, ɓaanǎn	*Pandanus tectorius*	pandan	id.
ปันหยี	ɓanyǐi	*name of an Inao character*	panji	crown prince
มะงุมมะงาหรา	máŋummáŋaarǎa	to wander aimlessly	mengembara	to travel
มะเดหวี, มะดีหวี	mádeewǐi, mádiiwǐi	second wife of Jv. king	mahadewi (Jv.)	title for the second queen
มะหัล	máhǎn	loved, expensive	mahal	expensive
มูสัง	muusǎŋ	Asian palm civet	musang	id.
ย่าหมู (ST)	yâamǔu	guava	jambu	id.
ยาหยี	yaayǐi	sweetheart	yayi	younger sibling
ยิหวา	yíwǎa	soul, darling	jiwa	soul, spirit
ʔสะตาหมัน	sàɗaamǎn	garden	setaman	"one garden"
สุไหง	sùŋǎi	*part of district names*	sungai	river
ʔหมันหยา	mǎnyǎa	*name of kingdom*	maja(pahit)	*name of the empire Majaphit*
ʔหยังหยัง	yǎŋyǎŋ	beautiful	yang-yang	Gods
หวัน	wǎn	mister	tuan	id.
หวันยิหวา	wǎnyíwǎa	soul	tuan jiwa	"soul master"
อสัญแดหวา	àsǎnyádɛɛwǎa	angel, devine de-scent	asalnya dewa	of divine origin
อะสัญ, อสัญหยา	àsǎn, àsǎnyǎa	original, first	asalnya	origin
อาสิน	aasǐn	fruit tax	hasil	product, revenue
ʔอิบรอเหม	ìbrɔɔhěem	Ibrahim	Ibrahim	id.

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[161] This word comes from Jv. ꦥꦿꦩꦺꦯ꧀ꦮꦫꦶ *prameswari*, OJv. *parameśwarī* and is originally from Skr. परमेश्वरी *parameśvarī* "supreme woman" as a compound of परम *parama* "supreme" and ईश्वरी *īśvarī* "possessing (as a woman)".

อิเหนา	ìnă	*name of a romance*	ino	*title for Jv. crown prince*

The chart above requires further explanation only in a few instances.

The coral that is called Euplexaura in English has two alternatives in Thai: *กัลปังหา ganlábaŋhăa* and *กะละปังหา gàlábaŋhăa*, both of which do not seem to resemble Malay *akar bahar* at first sight. However, if the first syllable of the Malay word, i.e. *a-*, is dropped, and the final *-r* gets lost, too, a form such as **kar-baha* might appear. The pair Malay *h* and Thai *ŋh* seems a little odd here, but if compared to *กำปั่น gamƀàn* (< *kapal*) "vessel", *กะลุมพี gàlumpii* (< *kelubi*) "Eleidoxa", *หมันหยา manyăa* (< *maja*), there seems to be some rule that Thai sometimes inserts a homorganic nasal before a plosive. This explains *kar-baŋha* from *akar bahar*. Any medial *r* is problematic in Thai, and there seems to be no rule whether it is pronounced as *ra*, doubled as *nra* (because final *r* always becomes *n*), rendered as *n* or as something totally different, compare *ครีม kriim* "**cr**eam", *ภรรยา panrá yaa* (< Skr. भार्या *bhāryā*) "wife", *พรรษา pansăa* (< Skr. वर्षा *varṣā*) "rainy season", and *ไอติม aiƌiim* "ice **cr**eam" for these arbitrarities. Sometimes, even *r* and *l* may be used interchangeably in such clusters. This leads to two outcomes for *akar bahar*: *ganláƀaŋhăa* and *gàláƀaŋhăa*.

The borrowing *กะหลาปา gàlăaƀăa* is striking: Not only does the semantics of this word require some explanation, but the tonalization is also a little odd, since the mid tone would be expected on the final syllable. All the other words listed above have an initial sonorant or fricative on the final syllable, except this one word. It is derived from *Sunda Kelapa*, the name of the old port of Jakarta, and not directly from the meaning "coconut".

While the Thai phrase *ตุหลาป่าป่า ƌùlăaƀaaƀaa* simply means "misfortune", the original Malay *tulah papa* is translated as "a curse to bring misery" by the online edition of Kamus Dewan[162].

It is not clear how Thai *ทหาร táhăan* is related to Malay *(ber)tahan*, as it seems more plausible that Thai borrowed the word from AKh. *ฎายทาส *tāhān* "soldier, to dare, courageous" (cf. MoKh. ฎายทาส *tiehien*), and then passed it on to Malay. In any case, the written Thai ร *r* at the end is of obscure origin, because both AKh. and Malay have final *-n*.

The ST *ย่าหมู yâamŭu* "guava" does not appear in CT, which uses *ฝรั่ง fàràŋ* instead. However, it would be pronounced with a falling tone on the final syllable in CT.

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[162] Cf. *http://prpm.dbp.gov.my/Search.aspx?k=tulah+papa*.

The Thai rising tone in borrowings from Malay can be considered to be the result of the following steps: (1) SM words were first borrowed into ST, taking a falling tone[163], then they adjusted to the CT writing system resulting in a rising tone, (3) finally, in CT they are treated as the standard form of Malay loanwords containing a final vowel or sonorant. In ST, this standard form is also used in public and formal speech, but not when the local dialect is spoken[164].

3.4.2.4.5 Mid tone

Most Malay loanwords show the final mid tone. This tone occurs when either the final vowel in Thai is long or when the final consonant is a sonorant under the condition that the initial consonant of the final syllable is a plosive.

Thai			Malay	
Lexeme	GTS	Translation	Lexeme	Translation
กง	goŋ	rib of boat	kong	id.
ʔกรง	groŋ	cage	kurung	enclosure, cage
ʔกระชัง	gràcaŋ	floating basket for fish	keranjang	basket, hamper
ʔกระแชง	gràcɛɛŋ	roofing sheet	kerajang	gold foil
กระดังงา	gràdaŋŋaa	ylang-ylang	kenanga[165]	id.
ʔกระบือ	gràbɯɯ	water buffalo	kerbau[166]	id.
กระพัน	gràpan	invulnerable	kebal	id.
ʔกราม	graam	molar	geraham[167]	id.
กะลุมพี	gàlumpii	*Eleiodoxa conferta*	kelubi	id.
กำยาน	gamyaan	frankincense	kemenyan[168]	benzoin

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[163] Since polysyllabic Malay words are hardly ever stressed on the final syllable unless there is an unstressed schwa in the penultima (cf. chapter 3.4.2.3).

[164] Personal communication with Mrs. Orapim Bernart (native CT speaker) and Ms. Surainee Sainui (native ST speaker) in July 2013.

[165] Cf. Kh. ក្រឹងងា *kdăŋŋéa* "ylang-ylang vine" or ក្រឹង *kdăŋ* "ylang-ylang".

[166] Cf. fn. 128 on p. 42.

[167] This word is problematic, because both PAN *baɣeqáŋ* "molar tooth" (PAP 748) and PMK *dga(a)m, *dgəm* "id." (MKD 361) have been reconstructed. Schuessler (2007:270) also gives PTB *gam* and lists OCh. *拑 gâmʔ* "jaw". It is not clear where the Thai word comes from.

กุเรา	gùrau	threadfin	kurau	id.
กุลี	gùlii	coolie, laborer	kuli[169]	id.
โกดัง, กุดัง	goodaŋ, gùdaŋ	warehouse	gudang	id.
ความ	kwaam	affair, matter	guam	lawsuite, dispute
ʔฆง (ST)	koŋ	maize	jagung	id.
ʔงง	ŋoŋ	confused	bingung[170]	id.
ʔงา	ŋaa	sesame	lenga[171]	id.
ʔจำ	jam	to remember	cam	id.
จินตะหราวาตี	jinđàrăawaađii	*name of an Inao character*	cendera-wati	"Miss Moon"
ชันซี (ST)	cancii	to promise	janji	id.
ตรา	đraa	mark, brand, seal	tera	seal
ตุหลาปาปา	đùlăaɓaaɓaa	misfortune	tulah papa	curse to bring misery
ทัน	tan	to be on time	dan	to have time[172]
ทุเรียน	túrian	durian	durian	id.
ʔเทียน	tian	candle	dian[173]	id.
โนรี	noorii	Lorius parrot	nuri[174]	parrot
ʔบัดกรี	ɓàtgrii	to solder	pateri	solder
บุหงารำไป	ɓùŋăaramɓai	flower satchet	bunga rampai	flower potpourri
บูดู	buuduu	*fermented fish soup*	budu	id.
ปะการัง (CT), กะรัง (ST)	ɓàgaaraŋ, gàraŋ	coral	karang	id.
ปะตาปา	ɓàđaaɓaa	hermit	pertapa	id.

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[168] Cf. Kh. កំញាន *kămnhéan* "gum benzoin used as incense". Mahdi (2007:73) also cites Yamada (1955:4) in a longer discussion on the distribution of this word.

[169] This word is originally from an Indian language, cf. Ta. கூலி *kūli* "wages, hire", Hindi कुली *kulī* "porter", Urdu قلی *qulī* "id.". Consider also the Gujarati community name કોળી *koḷī* whose traditional occupation is cultivation of land (Singh 2003:693-697).

[170] Cf. Kh. ងងួយ *ngoŭng* "very confused, close to fainting".

[171] Cf. fn. 96 on p. 37.

[172] Cf. Brown 1956:24.

[173] This is an area word: Kh. ទៀន *tiĕn* "candle", Viet. *đèn* "lamp", OCh. *燈 *tôŋ "id." The direction of borrowing is not clear.

[174] Cf. Kh. នុរី *nori* "kind of large red parrot".

?ปัตตานี	ɓàtɗaanii	Pattani Province	pantai ini[175]	this beach
ปาตี	ɓaaɗii	big person	pati	minister
เปอมูดอ	ɓɔɔmuudɔɔ	adolescent	pemuda	young man
?พัทยา	páttáyaa	*name of the city Pattaya*	barat daya	southwestern (wind)
มลายู	málaayuu	Malay	Melayu[176]	id.
มะตาหะรี	máɗaahàrii	sun	matahari	id.
มะตี	máɗii	to die	mati	dead, to die
มะโต	máɗoo	third wife of Jv. king	matur (Jv.)	id.
มายา (ST)	maayaa	fertilizer	baya	id.
มาลาตี	maalaaɗii	Arabian jasmine	melati	water jasmine
มาหยารัศมี	mayǎarátsàmii	*name of an Inao character*	maya-rasmi	"vision of splendor"
มินตา	minɗaa	to apologize	minta	to ask, to request
มิยา	míyaa	counter	meja	table
?มิรันตี	míranɗii	Tagetes erecta	meranti	*Shorea* tree
มูลา	muulaa	first	mula	beginning
เมงอะปา	meeŋ-àɓaa	why	mengapa	id.
เมน	meen	to play	main	id.
ยาวี	yaawii	Pattani Malay	Jawi	Malayo-Arabic script, Malayan
?รอมมะดอน	rɔɔmmáɗɔɔn	*Muslim fasting month*	ramadan	id.
ระตู	ráɗuu	Malay prince(ss)	ratu	queen
ระมา	rámaa	gadfly	rama-rama	moth
?ละคร	lákɔɔn	drama	lakon (Jv.)[177]	plot of a drama
ละไม	lámai	*Baccaurea motleyana*	rambai	id.

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[175] Cf. fn. 120 on p. 41.

[176] Cf. En. *Melayu*. The Thai word may also be borrowed from English.

[177] This correspondance can be coincidental, but cf. Rubin (1998:542): "Lakorn is the Thai version of the Javanese word *lakon* or perhaps the Malay word *lakan*. Some believe that the word was derived from the name of Nakonsritammarat province, often abbreviated *Nakorn*." But indeed, Jv. does have ꧋ꦭꦏꦺꦴꦤ꧀ *lakon* meaning "plot, scenario, leading player", derived from *laku* "to play".

ʔโลมา	loomaa	dolphin	lumba-lumba[178]	id.
ʔวิรงรอง	wíroŋrɔɔŋ	lily	wiraŋrwaŋ[179]	bewildered, disturbed
สกาะวาตี	sàgaaráwaatii	*name of a character in the Inao tale*	sekar-wati-	"Miss Flower"
สตูล	sàɗuun	Satun Province	se(n)tul	santol fruit
สลาตัน	sàlăaɗan	late southwest monsoon	selatan	south
สาคู	săakuu	sago	sagu	id.
สิเกา	sìgau	*Sikao District*	segau	*kind of tree*
สุไหงปาดี	sùŋăiɓaadii	*Su-ngai Padi District*	sungai padi	"paddy river"
ʔอังกะลุง	aŋgàluŋ	*name of musical instrument*	angklung[180]	id.
ʔอัลกุรอาน	angùrá-aan	Quran	al-Quran	id.
อากง	aagoŋ	big, important	agung	high, noble
ʔอุรังอุตัง	ùraŋ-ùɗaŋ	orang-utan	orang hutan[181]	id.
ʔฮัจญี, ʔหะยี, ʔหัจญี	hátyii, hàyii, hàtyii	Hajji	haji[182]	id.

According to my theory, the final mid tone appears when in Thai either the final vowel is long or when the final consonant is a sonorant, i.e. when the final syllable is a live syllable as explained in fn. 7 on p. 2, provided that the initial consonant of the final syllable is a plosive. The exceptions shall be explained in further detail below.

The tone generation of the following words cannot be traced at the present time: *กุเรา gùrau* "threadfin", *ปะการัง ɓàgaaraŋ* (CT) "coral", *กะรัง gàraŋ* (ST) "id.", *มะตาหะรี máɗaahàrii* "sun" *มายา maayaa* (ST) "fertilizer", *มาหยารัศมี mayăarátsàmii* "name of an Inao character", *มูลา muulaa* "first" and *ยาวี yaawii* "Pattani Malay". There are also many words from English bear-

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[178] It is not clear whether this word is really a Malay loan, because Kh. has เฌยา *loŭméa,* written Kh. *loomaa* "large ocean fish", which phonetically and orthographically fits a lot better than the Malay word.

[179] This word is from Javanese. Cf. fn. 131 on p. 43 for further details.

[180] This word could also be considered a borrowing from English, originally from Sundanese *angkleung* describing the sound of this instrument.

[181] Cf. fn. 119 on p. 41.

[182] Cf. Ar. الحجي / *al-ḥajjī* "one who has completed the Hajj" (cf. fn. 122 on p. 42). The final mid tone in Thai can be explained as follows: The ultima of the Malay starts with a palatal stop /ɟ/, regularly resulting in a final mid tone in Thai (more like /háɕi:/ rather than /hátʝi:/), which later has been dissolved into a plosive followed by a sonorant in Thai, still retaining the mid tone.

ing a mid tone on final long-vowel syllables after a sonorant, such as *ทีวี tiiwii* "TV", *นอรเวย์ nɔɔráwee* "Norway", and *วานิลลา waaninlaa* "vanilla" (Gandour 1979:100-103). These are obviously exceptions, too.

Some of the terms in the chart above also appear in other languages, and therefore may not be borrowed from Malay into Thai. The borrowing process may have occurred either from Thai into Malay or from Khmer, Tamil, English, or Arabic, as explained in the respective footnotes.

Old loans usually bear the mid tone (cf. chart on p. 28), and correspond to AT mid or high-falling tone (cf. diagram on p. 21). These include *ทุเรียน túrian* "durian" and *สาคู săakuu* "sa-go".

The mid tone of the three words *ละไม lámai*, *โลมา loomaa*, and *อังกะลุง aŋgàluŋ* is due to the fact that the Malay source words have a medial consonant cluster: *rambai*, *lumba-lumba* and *angklung*. This cluster was simplified in Thai by dropping the plosive causing the final mid tone in the first two cases, by the insertion of an epenthetic *a* in the case of *angklung*. The final mid tone of *ระมา rámaa* may result from the original reduplicated form *rama-rama* by analogy to *lumba-lumba*.

As for the remaining three exceptions to the final mid tone rule, i.e. *มายอ maayɔɔ*, *มิยา míyaa*, and *เมน meen*, the explanation must be sought in the dialects of Northern Malaysia. Medial *j* is pronounced [j] in the Narathiwat dialect (Phaiboon 2006:210-223), and justifies *มิยา míyaa* from *meja*. In the same dialect final *-a* is pronounced [ə], but final schwa from other languages is represented as [a] in Thai; for example, English loanwords that are unstressed on the ultima and contain a schwa, usually receive a final falling or a mid tone with a long /a/, cf. *โค ล่า koolâa*[183] "cola" and *โซดา soodaa* "soda", respectively. The diphthong *ai* is usually monophthongized and nasalized as [ẽ] in some areas where the Patani dialect is spoken (Uthai 2011:126) and therefore explains *เมน meen* from *(ber)main*, since Thai does not have nasalized consonants.

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[183] The more common word in Thai is *โค้ก kóok* "coke".

4 SEMANTIC FIELDS OF LOANS IN THAI FROM MALAY

In this chapter, I will analyze the different semantic fields of borrowings from Malay, while concentrating on the semantics of the Malay word only, since the meanings sometimes change in the borrowing process. A fairly large number of words from Malay refer to nature, especially to flora and fauna of Southeast Asia. Another large semantic field comprises loanwords about humans and their surroundings, such as their society, tools, and military terms. Words ultimately originating from Javanese usually belong to court language.

4.1 Court

The following ten words belong to court language and are almost all originally from Old Javanese, but as most of them also exist in Malay, Thai must have borrowed them via Malay:

Thai	GTS	Malay	Hanacaraka	Javanese	meaning
กิดาหยัน	gìdaayǎn	kedayan	ꦏꦢꦾꦲꦤ꧀	kadyahan	corps of pages
ประไหมสุหรี	ɓràmǎisùrǐi	permaisuri	ꦥ�꧀ꦮ	prameswari	1st wife of Jv. king
ปันหยี	ɓanyǐi	panji	ꦥꦚ꧀ꦗꦶ	pañji	crown prince
มะเดหวี, มะดีหวี	mádeewǐi, mádiiwǐi	mahadewi	ꦩꦲꦢꦺꦮꦶ	mahadewi	2nd wife of Jv. king
มะโต	máɗoo	matur	ꦩꦠꦸꦂ	matur	3rd wife of Jv. king
ระเด่น	rádèn	raden	ꦫꦢꦺꦤ꧀	raden	crown prince
ระตู	ráɗuu	ratu	ꦫꦠꦸ	ratu	king, queen
อิเหนา	ìnǎu	—	ꦲꦶꦤꦺꦴꦮ	(h)ino	Jv. crown prince[184]
อากง	aagoŋ	agung	ꦲꦒꦸꦁ	agung	high, noble

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[184] The fact that all other loanwords that are ultimately from Javanese came into Thai via Malay raises the question where *ìnǎu* comes from. There are some theories about its origin, of which Robson's seems to be the most probable one to me: It may be connected with the title *Rakryan i Hino*, in former times being a title for an official below the king but above *Rakryan i Halu* and *Rakryan i Sirikan* (cf. http://keriskamardikan.com/id/artikel/58?start=3). However, if CT has *ìnǎu* and Jv. has *ino*, we would expect SM **inau*. This SM name does not appear in any writing, but Robson (1996:51) mentions that Poerbatjaraka in his *Pandji-verhalen onderling vergeleken* (1940) suggests a misreading of the Jawi spelling اِنو *ino* as *ìnǎu* in Thai. This theory, however, seems improbable to me, since *ìnǎu* would require the Jawi spelling اِناو *inau*. Interestingly, the Cambodian version of the Panji tale also has the character's name ឥណៅ *eynao*, being the Prince of Kuripan. (Fang 2013:138).

There is one more word that may be classified as court language, though probably not originally from Javanese, i.e. *หมันหยา mănyăa* "name of an Inao character" as an abbreviation of the *Majapahit Empire*. The Thai rendering of *ny* for Malay *j* has been explained on page 67.

4.2   Humans and their surroundings

Out of all possible borrowings from Malay, the largest amount of words refers to the human environment. This category needs to be further devided into nine subcategories. The Thai word is given first, followed by GTS along with their translations. The last two columns show the original Malay word and its translation.

Body parts

กราม	graam	molar	geraham	id.
มุลุต	mulut	mouth	mulut	id.

Clothes

ปั้นเหน่ง	ɓânnèeŋ	belt	(ikat) pinggang	waist belt
ปาเต๊ะ	ɓaaɗé	batik	batik	id.
โสร่ง	sàròoŋ	sarong	sarung	id.

Foodstuffs

กะหรี่	gàrìi	curry	kari	id.
โกปี้	gooɓíi	coffee	kopi	id.
สะเต๊ะ	sàɗé	meat skewer	sate	id.
?หมี่	mìi	noodles	mi	id.
อาระ	aará	alcohol, liquor	arak	id.

Human activities

?จำ	jam	to remember	cam	id.
ชันชี	cancii	to promise	janji	id.
โต้หลง	ɗôolǒŋ	to assist, to help	tolong	help
?บัดกรี	bàtgrii	to solder	pateri	id.
แบหลา	bɛɛlǎa	to commit suicide	bela	self-immolation
?ปะ	ɓà	to meet	jumpa	id.

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มะงุมมะงาหรา	máŋummáŋaarăa	to wander aimlessly	mengembara	to travel
มาริ	maarí	to come	mari	let us, to come
มินตา	minɗaa	to apologize	minta	to ask, to request
เมน	meen	to play	main	id.

Human attributes

ʔงง	ŋoŋ	confused	bingung	id.
ยาหัด	yaahàt	bad, evil	jahat	id.
ʔหลับ	làp	asleep	lelap	id.

Military

กระพัน	gràpan	invulnerable	kebal	id.
กริช	grìt	dagger	keris	id.
กำปั่น	gamɓàn	ship	kapal	id.
ดะหมัง	dàmăŋ	troops, army	demang	chief of district
ตะเบ๊ะ	ɗàbé	salute	tabik	id.
ʔทหาร	táhăan	soldier	tahan	to withstand
ʔพวก	pûak	group	puak	id.
ʔวิลาศ	wílâat	the British	wilayah	territory
สลัด	sàlàt	pirate	selat	strait

People

Descriptions

กะลาหนา	gàlaanăa	warrior, soldier	kelana	wanderer
หวัน	wăn	mister	tuan	id.
หวันยิหวา	wănyíwăa	soul	tuan jiwa	"soul master"
ปะตาปา	ɓàɗaabaa	hermit	pertapa	id.
ปาตี	ɓaaɗii	big person	pati	minister
เปอมูดอ	ɓəəmuudɔɔ	adolescent	pemuda	young man

Kinship terms

ตุนาหงัน	ɗùnaaŋăn	to trothplight	tunangan	fiancé(é)
ประหมัน	ɓràmăn	uncle	paman	maternal uncle
ยาหยี	yaayĭi	sweetheart	yayi	younger sibling
อะนะ	àná	offspring	anak	offspring, child

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Professions

กะลาสี	gàlaasĭi	sailor	kelasi	id.
?กุลี	gùlii	coolie, laborer	kuli	id.
ดาหลัง	daalăŋ	name of a romance	dalang	puppeteer
ตำมะหงง	đammáŋŏŋ	secretary of state	temenggung	chief of public security
สรั่ง	sàràŋ	boatswain	serang	id.

Society

Entertainment

กระจับปี่	gràjàpɓìi	lute	kecapi	lute
เซปัก	seeɓàk	kick volleyball	sepak	id.
ปัญจักสีลัต	ɓanjàksĭilát	martial arts	pencak silat	id.
?ละคร	lákɔɔn	drama	lakon	plot of drama
?อังกะลุง	aŋgàluŋ	*musical instrument*	angklung	id.

Village terms

ดุสน	dùsŏn	*old name of Khuan Don*	dusun	orchard, village
สะตาหมัน	sàđaamăn	garden	setaman	"one garden"

Other

ทัน	tan	to be on time	dan	to have time
มะตี	máđii	to die	mati	dead, to die
มาหยารัศมี	maayăarátsàmii	*name of an Inao character*	maya-rasmi	"vision of splendor"
ยาวี	yaawii	Pattani Malay	Jawi	Arabic script for Malay, Malayan

Trade

โกดัง, กุดัง	goodaŋ, gùdaŋ	warehouse	gudang	id.
ความ	kwaam	affair, matter	guam	lawsuit, dispute
มะหัล	máhăn	loved, expensive	mahal	expensive
?ร่าง	râaŋ	draft, sketch	rang	id.
ริงกิต	riŋgìt	Malay currency	ringgit	id.

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อาสิน	aasĭn	fruit tax	hasil	product, revenue

Utilities

Inventions

ʔกระดาษ	gràdàat	paper	kertas	id.
ʔจับปิ้ง	jàpbîŋ	metal plate to cover pudenda of young girl	caping	id.
ʔเทียน	tian	candle	dian	id.
ʔมายา	maayaa	fertilizer	baya	id.
มิยา	míyaa	counter	meja	table
สลัก	sàlák	bolt	selak	id.
อุหรับ	ùràp	cosmetic powder	urap(-urap)	id.

Tools

กง	goŋ	rib of boat	kong	id.
ʔกรง	groŋ	cage	kurung	enclosure, cage
ʔกระชัง	gràcaŋ	floating basket for fish	keranjang	basket, hamper
ʔกระแชง	gràcɛɛŋ	roofing sheet	kerajang	gold foil
กระโถน	gràtŏon	spittoon	ketur	id.
กระพอก	gràpɔ̂ɔk	bamboo food case	kerobok	id.
ตรา	ɗraa	mark, brand, seal	tera	seal
ตลับ	ɗàlàp	small box	telap	id.
ʔอั้งโล่	âŋlôo	brazier	anglo	id.

4.3 Nature

The second largest group of loanwords from Malay is comprises terms of flora and fauna, especially species native to the Malay Peninsula. Thai also borrowed many geographical terms from Malay. Many of these nature words do not have the same meaning in the two languages. All of the three subcategories, i.e. fauna, flora, and geography, are again subgrouped for the sake of better readability.

Fauna
Aquatic

ʔกัลปังหา, ʔกะละปังหา	ganlábaŋhăa, gàlábaŋhăa	*kind of coral* (Euplexaura)	akar bahar	id.
กุเรา	gùrau	threadfin	kurau	id.

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กะรัง (ST),	gàraŋ,	coral	karang	id.
ปะการัง	ɓàgaaraŋ			
ʔโลมา	loomaa	dolphin	lumba-lumba	id.

Terrestrial

ʔกระตั้ว	gràɗûa	cockatoo	kakaktua	id.
ʔกระบือ	gràbɯɯ	water buffalo	kerbau	id.
กะปะ	gàɓà	Calloselasma	(ular) kapak	id.
ʔโนรี	noorii	Lorius parrot	nuri	parrot
บุหรง	bùrǒŋ	bird	burung	id.
ʔมด	mót	ant	semut	id.
มูสัง	muusǎŋ	Asian palm civet	musang	id.
ระมา	rámaa	gadfly	rama-rama	moth
ละลัด	lálát	fly	lalat	id.
ʔอุรังอุตัง	ùraŋ-ùɗaŋ	orang-utan	orang hutan	id.

Flora

Flowers

กะหมังกุหนิง	gàmǎŋgùnǐŋ	*name of an Inao character*	kembang kuning	"yellow flower"
ʔงา	ŋaa	sesame	lenga	id.
ʔนากาสาหรี	naagaasǎarǐi	Mammea siamensis	nagasari	Ceylon ironwood
บุหงัน, บุหงา	bùŋǎn, bùŋǎa	flower	bunga	id.
บุหงาประหงัน	bùŋǎaɓràŋǎn	Jasminum auriculatum	bunga berangan	chinkapin
บุหงารำไป	buŋǎaramɓai	flower satchet	bunga rampai	flower potpourri
ʔวิรงรอง	wíroŋrɔɔŋ	Crinum asiaticum	wiraŋrwaŋ	bewildered[185]
สการะวาตี	sàgaaráwaatii	*name of an Inao character*	sekar-wati	"Miss Flower"
อุบะ	ùbà	to arrange flowers	gubah	id.

Other plants

กระจูด	gràjùut	bulrush	kercut	id.
ʔฆง	koŋ	maize	jagung	id.

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[185] See fn. 131 on p. 43 for an explanation on the semantic change of this word.

มาลาตี	maalaađii	Arabian jasmine	melati	water jasmine
?ย่าหนัด, ย่านหนัด	yâanàt, yâannàt	pineapple	nanas	id.
ย่าหมู (ST)	yâamŭu	guava	jambu	id.
องุ่น	àŋùn	grape	anggur	id.

Trees

?กระดังงา	gràdaŋŋaa	ylang-ylang	kenanga	id.
กะลุมพี	gàlumpii	Eleiodoxa conferta	kelubi	id.
กะหลาป๋า	gàlăabăa	Batavia, Jakarta	kelapa	coconut
การะบุหนิง	gaarábùnĭŋ	Orange Jessamine	kemuning	id.
จำปาดะ	jamɓaadà	cempedak	cempedak	id.
จินดาหนา	jindaanăa	sandalwood tree	cendana	id.
ชมพู่	compûu	rose apple	jambu	id.
ต้นหยง	đanyŏŋ	bullet wood	tanjung	id.
ทุเรียน	túrian	durian	durian	id.
ปะหนัน, ปาหนัน	ɓànăn, ɓaanăn	Pandanus tectorius	pandan	id.
มังคุด	maŋkút	mangosteen	manggis	id.
มิรันตี	míranđii	Tagetes erecta	meranti	Shorea tree
ละไม	lámai	Baccaurea motleyana	rambai	id.
ลางสาด	laaŋsàat	langsat	langsat	id.
สตูล	sàđuun	*name of a province*	se(n)tul	santol fruit
สละ	sàlá	Salacca zalacca	salak	id.
สาคู	săakuu	sago	sagu	id.
สิเกา	sìgau	*name of a district*	segau	*kind of tree*
(หัว)ครก	hŭa krók	cashew nut	(jambu) golok	id.

Geogaphy

Celestial objects

จินตะหราวาตี	jinđàrăawaađii,	*name of an Inao character*	cendera-wati	"Miss Moon"
บุหลัน	bùlăn	moon	bulan	moon, month
มะตาหะรี	máđaahàrii	sun	matahari	id.

หนึ่งหรัด	nùŋràt	belonging to the state	ningrat	id.

Directions

?พรัด	prát	wind from west	barat	west
?พัทยา	páttáyaa	*name of a city*	barat daya	southwestern (wind)
สลาตัน	sàlăađan	late southwest monsoon	selatan	south

Landforms and deposition

กุหนุง	gùnŭŋ	high mountain	gunung	mountain
?ปัตตานี	bàtđaanii	*name of a province*	pantai ini	"this beach"
ภูเก็ต	puugèt	*name of an island*	bukit	hill
สุไหง	sùŋăi	part of district names	sungai	river
?หลุด	lùt	mud	selut	id.

4.4 Religion

There are some religious terms that Thai borrowed from Malay. The Muslim terms are not directly borrowed from Arabic, but via Malay (Intarachat 1980:14).

Belief

กำยาน	gamyaan	frankincense	kemenyan	benzoin
ปะตาระกาหลา	bàđaarágaalăa	adult male angel	Batara Kala	God of the Underworld
ยิหวา	yíwăa	soul, darling	jiwa	soul, spirit
หยังหยัง	yăŋyăŋ	beautiful	yang-yang	Gods

Islam

ปอเนาะ	bɔɔnɔ́	Islamic school	pondok	id.
มัสยิด	mátsàyít	mosque	masjid	id.
?รอมมะดอน	rɔɔmmádɔɔn	*Muslim fasting month*	ramadan	id.
?สุหนัต	sùnàt	circumcision	sunat	id.
สุเหร่า	sùràu	mosque	surau	id.
?หัจญ์, ฮัจญ์	hàt, hát	Hajj	haj	id.
?อัลกุรอาน	angùrá-aan	Quran	al-Quran	id.
?อิบรอเหม	ìbrɔɔhĕem	*Muslim name*	Ibrahim	id.

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ʔอิหม่าม	ìmàam	Muslim priest	imam	id.
ʔฮัจญี, หะยี,	hátyii, hàyii,	Hajji	haji	id.
หัจญี	hàtyii			
ʔฮิจเราะห์	hítrɔ́	Hijra	hijra	id.
ʔฮิญาบ	híyâap	Arab veil	hijab	id.

4.5 Other

Several loanwords from Malay cannot be clearly categorized and are listed below. Two out of these words are also actually less prone to borrowing. It is not clear why Thai borrowed such words, because it does have native terms for them that are almost exclusively used.

ตุหลาปาปา	ɗùlǎaɓaaɓaa	misfortune	tulah papa	curse to bring misery
มูลา	muulaa	first	mula	beginning
เมงอะปา	meeŋ-àɓaa	why	mengapa	id.
อะสัญ,	àsǎn, àsǎnyǎa	original, first	asalnya	origin
อสัญหยา				
อสัญแดหวา	àsǎnyádɛɛwǎa	angel, devine descent	asalnya dewa	of devine origin

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5 CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have attemped to show how words from Malay, Indonesian, and Javanese are treated in Thai, including borrowings via Southern Thai or directly into Central Thai vocabulary. An interesting feature of these borrowings is that they can help narrow down the period of the Thai devoicing process thanks to the fact that the words have been entering Thai orally in most cases, and not in writing, as is not the case with Old Indic loans.

It is also unique that the Thai tones generated from Malay loans indicate the dialectal difference between ST and CT, which hardly vary in syntax and lexis, not even greatly in their phoneme inventory, but merely in their tone contours, of which only the mid tone is similar in both dialects. I propose three categories for the generation of tones:

1. Final syllables ending in a stop or fricative consonant in Malay generate a *low* or *high* tone.

2. Final syllables ending in a vowel or sonorant in Malay generate a *rising* or *mid* tone.

3. Final syllables having entered CT from Malay or another language without touching ST generate a *falling* tone and are to be considered exceptions.

Rules 1 and 2 can be subdivided again according to whether low or high, and whether rising or mid tones apply. The decision between the low and high tone is not phonological, but must be dialectal and rather a matter of style. Usually, loanwords in category 1 receive a low tone in ST, are maintained orally in CT, and then adapted to the CT writing system. However, whenever a word enters ST with a low tone in writing, the CT reading results in a high tone. It helps to consult the chart on p. 27 for better comparison.

The rising or mid tone on words of category 2 is merely a matter of phonology: When borrowings have an initial sonorant or an initial fricative in the final syllable, the rising tone is generated, but for an initial stop consonant the mid tone is expected. This generation of tones is not free of exceptions.

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APPENDIX I: COMPLETE LIST OF MALAY LOANWORDS (THAI INDEX)

APPENDIX II: COMPLETE LIST OF MALAY LOANWORDS (MALAY INDEX)

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