INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THAI STUDIES.
BANGKOK, 22-24 AUGUST, 1984

-o Ⓞ o-

Some Remarks on Lexical Modernization in Thai*

by
Christopher Court

Department of South and Southeast Asian Studies
University of California, Berkeley

Thai is one of the languages of Asia whose place as the national language of the country in which it is domiciled has not had to be struggled for, has never, as a matter of fact, been in question. Thailand, or Siam, has been a continuing political entity for many centuries, and although it has had periods of temporary Burmese domination and lost some of its border territories to France and Britain during the Colonial Period, it entered the era of national modernization and development essentially intact, politically and culturally. This special history undoubtedly contributes to the relaxed attitude about, for instance, the liberal use in the language of contemporary borrowing, mostly from English.

It is not the case, however, that there is no antipathy to foreign terms or that only a minority of new words are produced from existing national resources. There is simply no obsession about the expulsion of things foreign or indecent haste about finding national replacements for them, and even when a national replacement is already to hand the foreign element may continue to be used as well for decorative purposes. This freedom from xenophobic neurosis is undoubtedly a positive feature, but it does have the negative consequence that new-word creation has not been taken seriously enough to receive more than an ad hoc, case-by-case approach where it would probably benefit from a systematic approach (see fn.16 , below).

Ways in Which New Concepts are Expressed in Thai.

New concepts are expressed in Thai

(1) By adding new meanings to words already in use: e.g., to /cern/[1] "robber, bandit" was added the meaning 'guerrilla'; to /pom/ "knot, kink, knotty problem" was added "(psychological) complex"; to /soŋ/ "to send, emit" was added "to transmit (radio, TV)"; to /rîːt/ "to extract, press out" was added "to iron". Sometimes another word is added which clarifies the meaning: thus /rîːt/ "to iron" will have an expressed object, as in /rîːt phâː/, lit. "to iron cloth" in contexts where the object is not necessary in English; /jaŋ/ "resin, gum, rubber, tyre" clearly means "tyre" when followed by /rót/ "vehicle". These added words, however, are not essential, and this distinguishes them from expressions of the type 4(a) below. A good example of progressive addition to the meaning of a word is /tamrùat/, a word of Khmer origin which originally referred to a female attendant who kept order in the king's harem. Later it was applied also to male attendants doing a similar duty in the rest of the palace. Then in the later nineteenth century, in the reign of Rama V, western-style police were introduced. These

were officially known as /phon trawaːn/, lit. "patrol forces", but popularly
termed /poːlít/, from Eng. police. The term /tamrùat/ was then officially
applied to this new force. The result is that today the term /phon trawaːn/
is obsolete, /poːlít/ lives on in jocular speech, and /tamrùat/ is now the
ordinary word for "police" and is not widely known to have any other meaning[2].

(2) By desynonymization: the distinguishing of words which have hitherto
been regular or occasional synonyms[2A]. Thus Prince Wan (see below) took the
three words /rabìap, rabòp, rabòːp/, which had "custom" or "recognized pro-
cedure" in common as part of their semantic content, and distinguished them
as meaning "order", "system" and "regime" respectively. The technique of
desynonymization is particularly important with reference to words taken from
Sanskrit and Pali (see 4(b) below).

(3) By borrowing foreign words: "Thai-English": First the concept "foreign"
needs refinement, for a very large percentage of Thai vocabulary was borrowed
centuries ago from Khmer, or Cambodian, including Khmerized words of Indic—
viz. Sanskrit and Pali—origin. Subsequently many more words from these two
Indic languages were borrowed directly by Thai. Some of these words are now
completely ordinary, and some are felt to be learned or formal, but in no
case are they felt to be alien and requiring to be replaced by something na-
tional. The word "foreign", then, has a temporal connotation, in the present
connection, "belonging to another contemporary nation or culture". To de-
scribe the position of Indic and Khmer within Thai linguistic culture another
term is needed: "classical". The foreign words in Thai come overwhelmingly
from English. Now words which are difficult to understand, being either old,
or new, or foreign, are known generically as /sàp/ (< Skt. sabda), and the
expression for borrowing a word which is foreign in the sense just defined is
/tháp sàp/. Three stages of "naturalization" of borrowings can be distin-
guished[3A]. In the initial stage a word is spelled in roman script if this
is technically convenient, and has no fixed spelling in Thai script. In the
second stage the Thai-script spelling is quite established, and no need is
felt to spell the word in roman, even when this is technically convenient.
In these two stages the word is still restricted stylistically to informal
or technical usage. In the third stage the word is accepted into the formal
language. Examples of words in stage three are /karàt/ "carat", /kaːtuːn/
"cartoon, comic strip, caricature" and /chók/ "to be shocked", all from Eng-
lish. It should be noted that another meaning of the expression /tháp sàp/
just mentioned, viz. "to transliterate" also applies only to foreign words
that are foreign in the sense just indicated. It is not used to refer to the
transliteration of words from Indic or Khmer. The most notable sphere in
which foreign borrowing occurs is that of proper names of persons and places.
Personal names of contemporary people are given in roman script, or else
transliterated (raising the problem that there are often several possible
transliterations), but in either case they are—with the partial exception
of Romance-language, Indian, Chinese and Japanese names—nearly always read
with the Thai national pronunciation of English (see below). With personal
names from earlier epochs it is almost always the English form of the name
which is chosen: e.g., /ʔiːsòp/ "Aesop", /winliam dəʔsajlén/ "William the
Silent", /coːnʔɔ̀ːfʔáːk/ "Joan of Arc", /henriː dəʔ naːwikéːttə̂/ "Henry, the

Navigator', /ʔaːkhiˑˌmeːdíːt/ 'Archimedes'. Again with the partial exceptions just specified, foreign place names are taken in their English form and given the Thai national pronunciation of English (again, see below), except for the names of certain places which the Thais have had occasion to refer to for centuries: e.g., /láksə̂mbàːk/ 'Luxemburg', /sawítsəːlɛːn/ 'Switzerland', /ʔeːsia/ 'Asia'. Likewise from English are the terms for most scientific and technological concepts which were unknown to pre-westernized Thailand. The terminology of foreign sports is almost all English: e.g., /kɔ́ːp, thénnít, wɔːnlêːbɔːn/[4] etc. It is noteworthy in connection with borrowings that Thai has a mechanism whereby, if necessary, the entire vocabulary of English can be drafted into service: an <u>institutionalized national pronunciation of English</u>. Let us call it (after Brown 1976) "Thai-English". This is a spelling pronunciation, and since it involves certain indeterminacies and irregularities, the pronunciation—or better, the <u>reading</u>—of each word must in practice be learned separately. It drastically reduces or modifies final consonants, takes little or no account of stress and its effects on the pronunciation of the various vowel letters, assigns tones which sound like misplaced stresses, and is in general rather remote from native speaker's pronunciation: e.g., /ceːpɛːn/ 'Japan', /neːchânnɛːn/ (see fn. 4: 'National' (brand)), /phaːrèːt/ 'parade', /mɛːrîː khrítsamâːt/ (see fn. 4, 'Merry Christmas'). Such readings are enforced in the schools—except perhaps in the most exclusive schools—by teachers and students alike. Those students who by virtue of bilingualism are able to speak English with a good approximation to a native speaker's accent soon learn not to do so when their friends are in earshot, except perhaps when speaking to foreigners, and indeed it can be said that one of the purposes of the national pronunciation is precisely to enable one to use English words <u>without</u> sounding like a foreigner. It serves then, important <u>sociolinguistic</u> functions: it shows that the speaker is not trying to ape foreigners, to air his knowledge, or to put his interlocutor down, and it makes it all right to use almost any amount of English vocabulary in one's discourse (although, of course, if it has a high English content it will be informal or technical in tone). Wearing the Thai-designed uniform for aliens gives the alien word the freedom of the city, as it were, and it prevents the nationals from feeling overwhelmed. More than that, if foreign teachers were to cease trying to teach native-speaker pronunciation, as well as certain grammatical niceties, and generally were to give up behaving as if English were a living language, it is conceivable that English would before too long be elevated to the pantheon of classical languages, so that none of its contributions to the national language would not have to be replaced at all, even in the long run.[5]

(4) <u>By word- and phrase-coining</u>: Apart from foreign borrowings, another major source of expressions for new concepts and things in Thai is the coining of words and phrases, in Thai /banjàt sàp/, an activity of recognized importance in Thailand, which has been practiced by illustrious personages, including kings and princes, and which forms the subject matter of courses taught at university departments of Thai language and literature. The Thai Royal Institute has a Word-Coining Committee, of which the chairman was, until his death about ten years

ago, Prince Wan Waithayakon, a scholar, diplomat and statesman. But apart
from the official coinages that emanate from the Institute, in true Thai
laissez-faire spirit, anyone is free to try his hand at coining words and
phrases as the need arises, and to try to popularize them. The public is the
final arbiter, and not only do outsiders have a chance, but acceptance of the
products of the Institute is by no means guaranteed. In fact Prince Wan him-
self, acting in a private capacity, has had some notable successes, including
/bɔːríkaːn/ 'service, to serve', /patikam/ 'reparations', /nájoːbaːj/ 'policy',
/patiwát/ 'revolution' (a word which has been taken up and acted upon far more
enthusiastically in neighbouring Laos and Cambodia than in the land of its
princely birth) and /patirûːp/ 'reform, to reform'. The Prince was indeed,
until his demise, the doyen of word-"manufacturers", both official and unoffi-
cial, in Thailand. In discussing coined expressions in Thai we must distin-
guish those put together in the native Thai way and those compounded in the
Indic manner, as follows:

(a) Thai-style compounds: These are simply new instances of the ordi-
nary Thai compound word, or /kham phasŏm/ —new combinations, in the native
Thai manner, of existing words. They follow the Thai word order, with the
verb preceding its object and the noun its modifiers. Examples: the expres-
sions /rîːt phâː/ 'to iron' and /jam rót/ 'tyre' referred to in section (1)
above; /cùt jɯːn/ 'standpoint' from /cùt/ 'point' and /jɯːn/ 'to stand';
/rátthabaːn phlát thîn/ 'government-in-exile' from /rátthabaːn/ 'government',
/phlát/ 'removed from' and /thîn/ 'locality'; /khrɯ̂aŋ bin/ 'aeroplane' from
/khrɯ̂aŋ/ 'contrivance' and /bin/ 'to fly'; /khrɯ̂aŋ bin ʔaj phôn/ 'jet aero-
plane' from /khrɯ̂aŋ bin/ as before, plus /ʔaj/ 'vapour' and /phôn/ 'to spray',
hence lit. 'sprayed-vapour aeroplane'; /rɯa dam náːm/ 'a submarine' from /rɯa/
'boat', /dam/ 'to dive under', /náːm/ 'water', /jaːn ʔawakàːt/ 'space vehicle'
from /jaːn/ 'vehicle' and /ʔawakàːt/ 'space'; /khèːt plòt ʔɛ̀ːk/ 'liberated
area' from /khèːt/ 'area', /plòt/ 'to remove', /ʔɛ̀ːk/ 'yoke', lit. 'remove-
yoke area'; /pom dɔ̀j/ 'inferiority ∗ /nát jùt ŋaːn/ 'to strike' (formal,
versus /satráj/, informal, from Eng.) from /nát/ 'to make an appointment',
/jùt/ 'to stop', /ŋaːn/ 'work'. Abstract nouns are regularly formed from
action-verbs and stative verbs by the pre-placement of the grammaticalized
words /kaːn/ and /khwaːm/ respectively: thus /wîŋ/ 'to run'—>/kaːn wîŋ/ '(the
process of) running', /diː/ 'good'—>/khwaːm diː/ 'goodness'. Nouns too may
have /kaːn/ placed before them, producing abstract nouns: e.g., /mɯaŋ/ 'town'
—>/kaːn mɯaŋ/ 'politics', /talàːt/ 'market'—>/kaːn talàːt/ 'marketing',
/ŋɤn/ 'money'—>/kaːn ŋɤn/ 'finance'. Note that even though the constituents
may be of Indic origin, e.g., /jaːn, ʔawakàːt/, the compound is native-Thai
because of the method of combination.

(b) Indic style coinages: Indo-Thai and New Indo-Thai; classicism and
"applied classicism": For the Thais the creation of new words from Indic ele-
ments is word-coining par excellence. Like Latin and Greek for the Europeans,

*complex' from /pom/ 'knot, complex' (see above) and /dɔ̀j/ 'to be inferior';

ments is word-coining par excellence. Like Latin and Greek for the Europeans, and classical Chinese for the contemporary Chinese, Sanskrit and Pali function for the Thais as repositories of lexical resources which are to be drawn on as required for the expression of new concepts. Almost since their first contact with the Khmers, already Indianized and residing in what is now Thailand, the Thais have been taking words from the Indic languages, and in a more or less limited way, making up their own original combinations of Indic roots. At first they took their Indic words from the Khmers, but then they took them from the Indic languages directly. Borrowings from the Indic languages, as well as from Khmer, form the basis of the vocabulary of royal court etiquette and ceremonial, of religion, philosophy, ethics, law, various branches of science, and journalism. Not only are such words regarded as properly Thai but in fact many Thai people look upon Pali or Sanskrit as the parent-language of Thai, and Thai normative school-grammar is based upon Indic grammar, although in fact good writers do not observe the norms, and various westernized Thai grammarians are trying to describe their language in other terms (some of them hardly less foreign than the Indic grammatical concepts!). The Indic content in Thai will here be referred to collectively as "Indo-Thai" (abbreviated "IT"). Apart from one or two grammatical constructions which may have resulted from Indic influence, IT is a matter of lexicon, phonology and the morphophonemics of word-building. In the process of taking over Indic words it has always been, as if it were, the written form of the word which was basic, and in principle unvarying, while the pronunciation was entirely derivative. It might therefore more appropriate to speak of the "reading" of an IT word, rather than its pronunciation. Borrowing, in modern times at least, is a matter of transliteration, with certain rules regarding reading, and since the Thai alphabet is an augmented Indic-type script, with a symbol for every one of the symbols of the Devanagari script, as is the Khmer script, borrowing from Indic should present no difficulty. But the situation is complicated by the fact that IT combines basically two methods of transliterating Indic, corresponding to words that have come into Thai via Khmer and those that have come in direct. We shall therefore have occasion to speak of "Khmerized" IT and "direct" IT. Several Indic letters have different renditions in Khmerized IT and direct IT, with consequent differences in reading, and the reading of Khmerized IT and direct IT also differs in syllabification in some cases: e.g., Khmerized /ʔudɔːn, khoːdom, ʔathík/ versus direct /ʔuttaráʔ, khoːtamáʔ, ʔathíkàʔ/ 'northern', 'Gotama', 'exceeding' from Indic Uttara, Gotama, adhika. Now in IT word-coining any particular Indic root may, subject to certain limitations, be taken in any of the three Indic vowel-grades (see below—i.e., as the ancient Indian grammarians, and following them the Thais, analyse them, basic, guna and vṛddhi), in its Sanskrit form or its Pali form (see below) (henceforth these two language names are to be abbreviated when used attributively to "Skt." and "P." respectively), Khmerized or direct, regardless of what form any other constituents are in. Furthermore the roots may be combined according to one process known as /samàːt/ (< Skt. samāsa), or another process known as /sónthíʔ/ (< Skt. sandhi⁵), the latter involving some of the Indic sandhi rules, mostly to do with vowels. Two things should by now be apparent from this discussion. Firstly, IT is a very technical subject, and secondly, any given

Indic root or combination of roots may assume a number of forms in IT. These variations have no morphological value. They are simply free variants of a given lexical item. For the purposes of word-coining in IT this variation has important results. In the first place, in selecting which of a number of possible forms to settle on for a particular coinage considerations of euphony play a large part: e.g., in creating a Thai word for "culture" Prince Wan first essayed the form /phráttham/ (< Skt vrddhi 'flourishing state' plus dharma 'practices, disposition') but felt it was "rather heavy", then one day as he was writing an article the Pali form /wátthanátham/ (< P. vaddhana 'flourishing state' plus Skt. dharma) "came to (him) and (he) knew that it would catch on and it did"[7]. It should be noted in this case that between the successful form and the abortive form there is not only a difference of language of origin but also of vowel grade (guna versus base grade). The second important consequence of there being a choice among possible forms when Indic words are being Thaiized is that it often happens that several variants of a given Indic word are accepted and these can through the technique of desynonymization be made to stand for more or less subtle differences of meaning: thus Sanskrit vastu, P. watthu 'thing, object', represented in earlier Thai by the pretty much synonymous /wátsaduʔ, phátsaduʔ, wátthuʔ/ have been distinguished in contemporary Thai into /wátthuʔ/ 'material, object, objective, aim, gist', /phátsaduʔ/ 'material things, assets, equipment or stores of all kinds; parcel in the post' and /wátsaduʔ/ 'minor items of stores; component parts or materials'. One further point has to be made on the subject of IT new-creations. That is that there has been a fundamental shift in the attitude towards the source languages, in the purpose of the coinings, and in the walk of life of the people who do the coining and of those who accept and reject the products. Traditionally IT words were coined by royal secretaries and by Buddhist monks, for the purpose of providing auspicious or elevated names for important personages and places. In order to be accepted such coinages had to please only the king or whatever important person had commissioned them. Their usage was restricted, for there would almost always be a parallel simple name used on informal occasions and by the common people. The attitude towards Sanskrit and Pali was reverential: semantic and orthographic liberties were not intentionally taken, except that for euphonious or metrical reasons one might alternate between direct and Khmerized readings of words and lengthen final vowels, such modifications being known in Thai as /phlɛŋ kham/, literally 'transforming words'[8]. Now the attitude towards IT word-coining has been democratized and utilitarianized. Anyone can have a try. One may, if one wishes submit one's creation to the Word Coining Committee of the Royal Institute for its approval, but one does not have to wait for it[9], and in any case neither the authority of the Institute, as was remarked above, nor even that of the king himself under the absolute monarchy that ended only fifty-two years ago can guarantee that a coinage will pass the ultimate test in modern Thai society as in other consumer societies—that of public acceptance. Functionally the Indic languages are now regarded as a tool—a tool for the modernization of the Thai vocabulary, or, more specifically, for the re-creation in Thai of the terminology of English. This difference in the social attitude towards, and in the utilization of, IT suggests a special term for IT new-creations and new meanings assigned to earlier IT words, and we propose to call it "New Indo-Thai" (abbreviated "NIT"), as opposed to "classical (or "pre-modern") Indo-Thai" (abbreviated "CIT"). If the earlier attitudes towards the

Indic languages which has brought about the emergence and flourishing of CIT may by referred to as "classicism", then the contemporary instrumental attitude which underlies NIT may perhaps be termed "applied classicism". Prince Wan's paper "Coining Thai words"[10], with its preface Wan 1973a, can be regarded as the NIT manifesto. Some examples to show the CIT/NIT opposition:-- CIT /sathìtiʔ/ 'steadfastness, durability' (<Skt. sthiti '(idem)' but NIT 'statistics' (echoic of English), /patirù:p/ CIT 'pattern, image used for comparison; suitable' (<P. patirūpa '(idem)') but NIT 'reform' (calqued on English or French, with /patiʔ-/[14] activated as equivalent to English re-, French re-, ré-[11]: see Affixed words below), /ʔàttanoːmát/ CIT 'one's own opinions' (<P. attanomati '(id.)') but NIT 'automatic' (modelled on English), NIT /ʔùpparaːkɔːn/ 'opera' (echoic of English, but pseudo-Indic, as if from a non-existent Skt. or P.*uparākara), NIT /wítthayúʔ/ 'radio' (as if from a Skt.*vidyu, but actually a back-formation from P. vijju 'lightning flash', corresponding to Skt. vidyut 'lightning flash, spark of electricity', which had already given CIT /wítthayút/ '(id.). Further indicative of the new status of NIT in the fact that its spelling has been regulated in certain details, by the Royal Institute Dictionary, and regulated in a way that does not take the original Indic spelling as the criterion (in CIT deviations from the original spelling were frequent but — /except in the case of /phlɛ̌:ŋ kham/ (see above) — unintentional and unco-ordinated.

As a contemporary phenomenon NIT word-coining has technical, aesthetic and even sporting aspects. The sport is to produce a word which will win public acceptance, and like horse-racing, it is the sport of kings in which commoners also take part. The technical aspect is the finding of appropriate Indic roots and affixes and their combination in the correct way. Aesthetics, in terms of the mental associations aroused by the component elements and the euphony of the combination, determines which, if any, of several technically correct competitors will catch on.

As a result of the operation of /samà:t/-composition and /sǒnthíʔ/-composition, it often happens that the form that an IT word has in isolation, on the one hand, and in combining-form in a compound, on the other, are different. In /samà:t/-compounds, in particular, short open final syllables of Indic, which the normal, Khmerized, IT method or reading has silenced, will be revived if another element is attached to the end. But no sooner are they resuscitated than common usage may lay them to rest again: e.g., the word /sǎŋkhom/ 'society' (NIT; but CIT 'an associating together' < Skt.,P. saṃgama '(id.)') when combined with /-sà:t/ NIT '-ology, -istics' (<Skt. śāstra 'scholarly knowledge') should have a revived final syllable /-máʔ/, then destressed medially to /-ma-/, thus /sǎŋkhommasà:t/ 'social sciences' but by far the commonest pronunciation is /sǎŋkhomsà:t/, i.e., the combining form /sǎŋkhomma-/ is restored to the free form /sǎŋkhom/. Now this resultant combination of two phonologically free forms looks for all the world like a native Thai compound except that the order of constituents — Modifier + Modified — is the opposite of the native Thai order, and if the suppression of /samà:t/ linking-syllables becomes sufficiently common it may end up creating the view that constituent-order is the only difference between the NIT and native Thai method of compounding[12].

Further examples of IT complex words: For ease of exposition these will be divided into affixed words, semi-affixed words and words containing more than one root of full meaning.

a)Affixed words: The Indic processes of affixation have been known to scholars since the reception of Indic-Khmer culture, but not until the twentieth century did the Thais create new affixed words on a large scale, when the influence of English created a desire for counterparts to the English affixes [13]. In other words

the activation of the Indic affixes is another feature distinguishing NIT from CIT. At the moment the following affixes are productive to a lesser or greater extent: /ʔaʔ-/ 'a-, an-, im-, in-, non-' (<Skt. P. a- '(id.)'), /patiʔ-/[14] 'anti-, contra-, counter-, re-' (<P. pati '(Id.)', = Skt. prati-), /ʔattaʔ-/ 'auto-, self-' (<P. atta- '(id.)' = Skt. ātma- '(id.)'), /thawiʔ-/ 'bi-, di-' (<Skt., P. dvi- '(id.)', /sahaʔ-; sam-∿san-∿sǎn-/ 'co-, com-, con-' (<Skt., P. saha-'(id.)'; Skt. sam- etc. P. san- etc. '(id.)), /thúʔ-/ 'dys-, mal-' (P. du-, '(id.)', = Skt. dus- '(id.)', /samaʔ-/ 'equi-' (<Skt., P. sama- '(id.)'), /suʔ-/ 'eu-' (<Skt., P. su- '(id.)'), /maha:-/ 'great, grand' (Skt., P. mahā- '(id.)', /e:kkaʔ-/ 'mono-, uni-' (<Skt. P. eka- 'one'), /phahúʔ-/ 'multi-, poly-' (<Skt. P. bahu- '(id.)), /ʔanúʔ-/ 'sub-, subordinate' (<Skt., P. anu- 'after'), /tho:ráʔ-/ 'far', perhaps by contamination with Skt. dur- 'difficult'; the expected form is */thu:ráʔ-/), /tri:-/ 'tri' (Skt. tri- '(id.)', but with irregular vowel lengthening)[15].

b) Semi-affixed words: These contain more than one root morpheme, but one of the roots is semi-devoid of lexical content: e.g., /-phâ:p/ '-ness, -ity' (<Skt., P. bhāva 'state, condition', but as a free form in contemporary Thai meaning 'image, picture'): thus /ʔìtsaraʔ/ 'independent' (<P. issara 'lord, master', = Skt. Īśvara) —→ /ʔìtsaraphâ:p/ 'independence'; /sama:chík/ 'member of organization' (<Skt., P. samājika 'participant in an assembly' —→ /sama:chíkkaphâ:p/ 'membership'; /-niyom/ '-ism' (<Skt.P. niyama 'restraint, control; fixed practice, vow, religious undertaking; definiteness', but, as a free from in modern Thai, a verb 'to like, to popularly practice'): thus /wátthùʔ/ 'material, object' (<P. vatthu '(id.), = Skt. vastu) —→ /wátthùʔniyom/ 'materialism', /châ:t/ 'nation, nationality, race' (<Skt. jāti '(id.)' —→ /châ:tniyom/ 'nationalism'; /-sà:t/ '-ology, -istics, -science' (<Skt. śāstra 'scholarly knowledge'): thus /pha:sǎ:/ 'language' (<Skt. bhāṣā 'language' or P. bhāsā '(id.)') —→ /pha:sǎ:sà:t/ 'linguistics', /manút/ 'human being' (<Skt. manuṣya or P. manussa '(id.)' —→ /manútsajasà:t/ 'the humanities'; /-witthaja:/ '-ology' (cf. free form /witthaya:/ 'knowledge', < Skt. vidyā 'knowledge'): thus /cìt/ 'mind' (<Skt., P. citta '(id.)' —→ /cittawitthaja:/ 'psychology'; /chi:wáʔ-/ 'life, bio-' (<Skt., P. jīva '(id.)': thus /-witthaya:/ —→ /chi:wawitthaja:/ 'biology', /khe:miʔ/ 'chemistry' (probably from German Chemie) —→ /chi:wákhe:mi:/ 'biochemistry'; /-tham/ 'practices, disposition' (<Skt. dharma of P. dhamma '(id.): thus /manútsajatham/ 'humaneness', and /wátthanáʔ-/ 'growth, flourishing' (<P. vaddhana or Skt. vardhana '(id.)') —→ /wátthanátham/ 'culture'.

(a) Words with more than one root of full lexical content: /sǎmphan/ 'relationship' (<Skt. or P. sambandha '(id.) /manútsajasǎmphan/ 'human relations'; /nayáʔ/ 'guidance, direction, plan, principle' (<Skt., P. naya '(id.)') + /ʔuba:j/ 'an expedient, way, means' (<Skt. or P. upāya '(id.)') —→ /nájo:ba:j/ 'policy'; /ʔa:kà:t/ 'air' (<Skt. ākāśa or P. ākāsa '(id.)' + /ja:n/ 'vehicle' —→ /ʔa:kà:tsaja:n/ 'aircraft'; /cìt/ 'mind' + /wíkhrʔ/ 'analyse' (<Skt. vigraha 'separation, resolution into elements') —→ /cittawikhrʔ/ 'psychoanalysis'; and finally, what must surely be the longest word in NIT:— /sǒmbu:n/ 'complete' (<Skt. sampurna '(id.)') + /ʔa:ja:sìtthíʔ-/ 'absolute power' (an IT compound, in combining-form) and /râ:t/ 'king' (<Skt., P. rāja '(id.)') —→ /sǒmbu:rana:ja:sìtthírâ:t/ 'absolute monarchy'.

Conclusion: Obviously, with the vast lexical resources of their classical languages, Sanskrit and Pali, at their disposal, plus the ability to make fine distinctions by opposing a Pali form to a Sanskrit form, and/or a non-Khmerized form to a Khmerized form, and/or one vowel grade to another, the Thais have in IT a wordly coining apparatus of immense potential. Given vast amounts of time, money and personnel the Thais could conceivably duplicate the entire contemporary English vocabulary with all its registers and specialisms. But even if this were possible, would it be worthwhile? One senses that many Thais do not think so. For people realize that although these

words may have a great sentimental value, as signifying the validity and vitality
of the language in the modern world, they still have to be learned. Their instrumental
value is cast into doubt when the pursuit of any subject of study, whether vocational or academic, to any great depth will
almost certainly necessitate the acquisition of the relevant English vocabulary.
And quite apart from the activity of _study_ one is confronted more and more in one's
daily life with English-language labels and signs on all manner of things. It is
probably true to say that the technocrats of Thailand have little patience with the
neologistic _tours de force_ of NIT, except maybe to applaud a particularly felicitous
creation now and then. In the area of political theory and rhetoric new word coinings
however are certain to flourish. One thing is certain: whether by borrowing from
English, or utilizing native-Thai or Indic resources, the Thai vocabulary must be
modernized, and it still has a long way to go, as anyone who has ever tried to
translate into Thai a page of, let us say, a literary journal, or a texbook of
political or economic theory can attest; the problems are greater still when it
comes to texts of science and technology. But the Thais have always been blessed
with the resources and the adroitness to maintain their independence, coping with
pressure from the Great Powers in an ever-changing world, seeing themselves not only
as survivors but as free men. In the world of language, English is the superpower,
and sociocultural changes of unprecedented scope and rapidity make up the setting.
It will be interesting indeed to see how the Thai language adjusts itself[16].

FOOTNOTES

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Fourth Conference of Nationa
Languages (ASANAL), University of Malaya, April 25-30, 1977, under the title,
"Creating New Words in Contemporary Thai: Between Laissez-Faire and Language Planni
In terms of Ferguson's three components of the degree of development of a language
(in an Indic-derived script)
(Ferguson 1968), Thai has for many centuries been graphized, is standardized, and i
the process of being modernized. Of Ferguson (1968)'s two aspects of modernization
expansion of vocabulary, and expansion of repertoire of styles and forms of discour
— it is only the former which is being treated here. Acronyms are not dealt with.

[1] The author asks forgiveness for citing Thai forms in a phonemic, roman notation, o
This is done for typographic reasons. The notation is that of Haas 1964, with the f
lowing modifications: (a) final stops are written "p", "t", "k", not "b", "d", "g",
reasons of phonetic realism; (b) long vowels are marked with ":" instead of by a dou
bling of the vowel symbol: (c) "ɨ" is used instead of "y" for the high non-front un
rounded vowel, since "y" suggests the English "y"-sound. The phonemes of Thai, as s
bolized here, are as follows:— Consonants: /b,d,p,t,c,k,ʔ,ph,th,ch,kh,f,s,h,w,j,m,
l,r/; Vowels: /i,i:,ia,e,e:,ɛ,ɛ:,ɨ,ɨ:,ɨa,ə,ə:,a,a:,u,u:,ua,o,o:,ɔ,ɔ:/ ; tones /(ˉ),
ˆ,ˊ,ˇ/ i.e., mid (unmarked), low, falling, high, rising, respectively. /j/ is a pa
atal semivowel; "h" stands not for a phoneme but for the feature of aspiration in /p
th,ch,kh/, elsewhere it marks the glide /h/. Final stops are unreleased. Sounding t
phoneme symbols with IPA values will produce an adequate pronunciation. Stress is wo

[2] For this and some of the other information in this paper I am indebted to Acharn
Manoh Yuden, who was Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences and Admin
istrative Head of the Pattani Malay-Thai Dictionary Project of the Pattani Malay –
Dictionary Project of the Prince of Songkhla University at Pattani while I was attac
to the Project (1975-9). Interpretations and opinions expressed are the sole respons
ility of the author.

[2A] "Desynonymization" is my own term. I have not so far come across a term for this
process in the literature.

[3] More fully, as a consciously etymologizing citation-form, /sàptháʔ/, with restorat
of the original short open final syllable usually suppressed (see below at 4(b)). T
phonic representation of Sanskrit and Pali loanwords in Thai is dealt with in Englis
in Gedney (1947), and partially in Henderson (1951). It is dealt with in Thai in
various works, of which Kamchai (1970) is widely used, and Banchob (n.d.) is recent.

[3A] For a somewhat comparable division of the borrowing process into stages, see grou
(2)--(4) in Sleptsov (1975:7).

[4] Meaning respectively, of course, 'golf', 'tennis', and volleyball' (note the obvio
spelling pronunciation of the last word — an example of the Thai national pronunc
ation of English, to be discussed immediately. /f,s,l/ are not permitted final cons
ants in pre-modern formal Thai, or even now in popular Thai, but for some speakers
some occasions these words have alternative pronunciations with the original final
consonants.

[5] The writer would be misleading the reader if he were to pass these remarks about t
institutionalized Thai pronunciation of English off as common knowledge or uncontro
versial:

> "...The department store is just one example [of the occurrence in Thai spe
> of myriads of English words pronounced in the "Thai-English" manner]. Wherev
> the Thai goes, he is confronted with words written in Roman letters; and an
> important part of his education must be to learn to read these

words with Thai sounds, so he can use them when speaking with other Thais.

"The subject that teaches this skill in primary and secondary school is called English. In actual fact (as opposed to stated purpose), this means 'How to read English with Thai sounds'. Latin is used in this same sense in the West. I will call it Thai-English to distinguish it from a different subject...(how to speak English). Now if Thai-English were always written with Thai letters (as it easily can be and often is), it wouldn't be necessary to teach it. But [as in the example of shopping in the department store, the Thai often] has to be able to go directly from English letters to Thai sounds...[and so Thai students learn this skill in the "English" (i.e.,"Thai-English") class, but they] _are led to believe that they are studying real English, or at least a variety of real English_... (Brown 1976:76-81, emphasis mine)

Let the reader, then, be warned: a Thai may find these remarks about the kind of English taught in Thai schools bewildering or offensive. Brown does not discuss the rules of reading "Thai-English", but the tonal side is discussed briefly in Court 1975:84 (fn.11). As a step towards the naturalization of English, and other foreign, words, and making them available, even if only provisionally, in Thai, "Thai-English" is clearly an important sociolinguistic modernizational phenomenon.

These two terms with reference to IT do not have quite the sense of their Sanskrit originals. The most tangible difference between the two forms of compounding in IT is that at constituent boundaries vowels that find themselves juxtaposed do not fuse together in /samà:t/-compounds, but do fuse in /sǒnthí?/-compounds.

Wan 1970:37.

Actually there is more to /phlě:ŋ kham/ than this, but the principle remains that the modifications were "innocent" — not intended to generate new words, but just lightly to vary the shape of existing words for no grammatical or semantic purpose, whereas in contemporary IT /phlě:ŋ/-variants may be deliberately desynonymized.

For instance, the Prince of Songkla University, having a campus in the city of Pattani and another in the city of Had Yai, both in southern Thailand, had much occasion to refer to campuses, but an authorized word for "campus" was lacking and the English word, pronounced /khe:mpás/, has perforce to serve, until the University essayed the IT coinage /wítthaja:khè:t/, (<Skt. vidyā 'knowledge' and Pali khetta 'field, place where something is produced or found', = Skt. kṣetra). In April 1977 this word had been submitted to the Royal Institute for approval but had not yet approved it, yet the University was nevertheless using the word in official documents (Prof. Manoh Yuden — personal communication).

Wan 1970; Thai version Wan 1973b.

There are a few French loans in Thai. These are distinguishable by their phonological form. But when it comes to calques it may be impossible to decide between French and English as the source language. It is a matter of history that some Thai political thinkers and activists were educated in France, so French influence, especially in political vocabulary, cannot be discounted. Furthermore, with widespread dissemination of Marxist ideas among students ten years ago, there may even be some lexical influence from Russian or Chinese. But for the purpose of this paper I will speak as if English were the sole stimulus for lexical innovation in Thai.

This would, then incidentally parallel the Vietnamese case of lexical compounds, with the same difference in constituent order between "classical" (in this case, Chinese)

and native-Vietnamese compounds.

[13] See Wan 1970:34-35.

[14] In combination, the prefixes lose some stress and this may involve the elision of glottal stops and conversion of tones to mid. In illustrating the prefixes in the aim of the transcription is to represent natural pronunciation.

[15] One should mention here a couple of prefixes from English: /mékkà?-/ 'mega-' and /majkhro-/ 'micro'.

[16] One would like to recommend here that a more _systematic_ approach to lexical expa be adopted. For instance, instead of trying to find equivalents for English words by one the aim should be to recreate in Thai the English word-forming apparatus. A ticularly vexatious shortcoming at the moment, for instance, is the lack of good equivalents for indispensable affixes -ize and de-. There is a description of a systematic approac to lexical modernization in Eastman (1983:232-237). In view of the great differenc in language typology between Thai and the European languages, it might be worthwhil for Thai-language modernizers to look carefully at how the vocabularies of contemp ary Chinese and Japanese have been modernized and continue to be added to. Likewis in spite of the difference in the political system, a study of lexical modernizati processes in the non-European languages of the USSR might prove highly instructive (see _Zakonomernosti_, Sleptsov 1975).

[35A] This statement can be regarded as a convenient fiction rather than a historic tr (see Gedney 1947:75-76).

REFERENCES

Banchob Panthumedha, n.d. Balisanskrit nai Bhasa Thai. TH 323. Phim thi Rong Phim
    Mahawithayalai Ramkhamhaeng Krung Theb Mahanakhorn...2518. ['Pali and Sanskrit
    in Thai. TH232. Printed at Ramkhamhaeng University Press,Bangkok...1975' (print-
    er's date on back cover only)] [In Thai]

Brown, J. Marvin, 1976. "Thai Dominance over English and the Learning of English
    by Thais". Pasaa 6.1 and 2:67-85. [Journal Pasaa has same publisher as Harris
    et al. 1975]

Court, Christopher, 1975. "The Segmental and Suprasegmental Representation of
    Malay Loanwords in Satun Thai: a Description with Historical Remarks", in Harris
    et al. 1975, 67-88.

Eastman, Carol M., 1983. Language Planning: An Introduction. Chandler and Sharp,
    Publishers, Inc., San Francisco.

Ferguson, Charles A. 1968. "Language Development", in Fishman et al. 1968

Fishman, Joshua A., Charles A. Ferguson and Jyotindra Das Gupta, eds., 1968.
    Language Problems of Developing Nations. John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York.

Gedney, William J. 1947. Indic Loanwords in Spoken Thai. Doctoral Dissertation, Yale
    U. Published on demand by University Microfilms International.

Haas, Mary R., 1964. Thai-English Student's Dictionary. Stanford University Press,
    Stanford, California.

Harris, Jimmy G. and James R. Chamberlain, eds., 1975. Studies in Tai Linguistics
    in Honor of William J. Gedney. Central Institute of English Language, Office of
    State Universities, Bangkok.

Henderson, Eugénie A., 1951. "The Phonology of Loanwords in Some South-East Asian
    Languages". Transactions of the Philological Society (1951), 131-158.

Kamchai Thonglor, 1970. Lakbhasa Thai. Hang Hun Suan Chamkat Ruam Sarn, Phranakhorn.
    Phim khrang thi 3 Phor Sor 2513. ['Thai Grammar. Ruam Sarn Limited, Bangkok. 3rd
    Impression B.E. 2513 [= AD 1970]'] [In Thai]

Phochanukrom Chabap Rajabanditsathan. Rajbanditsathan, Krung Thep. ['Royal Institute
    Dictionary. The Royal Institute, Bangkok, B.E. 2493 [= AD 1950]'] [In Thai]

Wan Waithayakon (Prince), 1970. "Coining Thai Words", in Tej Bunnag and Michael
    Smithies, eds., In Memoriam Phya Anuman Rajadhon. Contributions in Memory of the
    Late President of the Siam Society. The Siam Society, Bangkok.

———, 1973a. [Introduction to Banyat Sap. In Thai]

———, 1973b. "Karn Banyat Sap Bhasa Thai" ['Coining Thai Words'], in Banyat Sap,
    1-8 [Thai translation of Wan 1970].

Addenda:—

Banyat Sap. Khana Kammakarn Banyat Sap...Samnak Phim Sangkhomasart haeng Prathet
    Thai. Krung Thep. Phor Sor 2516. ['Coining Words. The Word Coining Committee.
    (Published by) The Social Science Association of Thailand Press, Bangkok. B.E.
    2516 [= 1973]'] (In Thai)

Sleptsov, Pjotr A., 1975. Russkie Leksičeskie Zaimstvovanija v Jakutskom Jazyke.
    Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", Moskva. ['Russian Lexical Borrowings in Yakut. "Nauka"
    Publishing House, Moscow'] [In Russian]

Zakonomernosti Razvitija Literaturnykh Jazykov Narodov SSSR v Sovetskuju Epokhu. ['R
    'gularities in the Development of the Literary Languages of the Peoples of the
    Peoples of the USSR.' General editor, Yu. D. Dešeriev. "Nauka" Publishing House,
    Moscow, 1969. (Reference is made here to two books that appeared in this series
    in 1969, both edited by N.A. Baskakov, one subtitled Osnovnye Protsessy Vnutristr
    turnogo Razvitija Iranskikh i Iberijsko-Kavkazskikh Jazykov ['Basic Processes of t
    Intrastructural Development of the Iranian and Iberian-Caucasic Languages'] and
    one Osnovye...Tjurkskikh, Finno-Ugorskikh i Mongol'skikh Jazykov ['Basic...of the
    Turkic, Finno-Ugric and Mongolic Languages'] [In Russian]

#