SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE THAI LANGUAGE
IN THE SUKHOTHAI INSCRIPTIONS

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The present paper attempts to deduce the phonetic values of
vowel symbols and to describe briefly some syntactic categories
by utilizing the Sukhothai inscriptions as the corpus for analysis.

1. Reconstruction of vocalic system

From the correspondence to modern Tai dialects, mainly modern
standard Thai, the vocalic system of the Thai language in
Ramkamhaeng's inscription may be reconstructed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thai</th>
<th>Thai</th>
<th>Thai</th>
<th>Thai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i, ii</td>
<td>u, uu</td>
<td>e, ee</td>
<td>o, oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e?; e?</td>
<td>a, aa</td>
<td>o?; o?</td>
<td>ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>au</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ee, ee and oo (also e? and o?) appear in loan words.

2. Description of some syntactic categories

(1) Classifiers: นัน is most widely used; others include ตว, ชุก, บุญ, บท, บา, บุญ, องค์, ภู, etc.

(2) Demonstratives: นี่, นั้น, นี้, นั้น, หนึ่ง, หนึ่ง, หนึ่ง and หนึ่ง are found.

นี่ and นั้น have the function of presenting the topic of a
sentence as well as that of referring.

(3) Personal pronouns: ฉัน, คุณ and ฉัน appear as first person;
ฉัน as second person; ท่าน, คุณ, คุณ, ท่าน and ฉัน as third person.

The dual form and exclusive form are partially attested.

(4) Prepositions: among others, แย, แย, นิยม, นิยม, นิยม, เท่า, นิยม and นิยม are found.

(5) Conjunctions: แต่ occurs as a coordinator; เมื่อ, คัน, เกินและ, ย่อม, แม้, เกิน, เกิน and ย่อม occur as subordinators.

(6) Negatives: ไม่, ไม่, ไม่, ไม่ and ไม่ are used in negating verbal
predicates; ไม่ is used in negating non-verbal predicates.
1. INTRODUCTION

The historical materials in the Sukhothai period are, for the most part, stone inscriptions, including Ramkamhaeng's inscription, the oldest of the surviving ones recording the Thai language and script. So far these inscription materials have been used as primary sources chiefly to elucidate the history and society of that period. At the same time they were taken up from a linguistic point of view as represented by the studies of Bradley, Burnay, Coedès, and so on, but their main interest lay in the writing system and deduction of phonetic values, and few results have been obtained in the grammatical analysis.

The purpose of this paper is first to discuss the vocalic system of the Thai language in Ramkamhaeng's inscription and next to describe briefly some of the syntactic categories of the Thai language found in the inscriptions which are assigned to the period between Ramkamhaeng's inscription (1292 A.D.) and 1438 A.D. when Sukhothai was annexed to Ayuthaya. The inscriptions in this period, however, are not of great value as linguistic materials: they are absolutely small in number and quantity; they contain many obscure passages due to breakage; their subject matter is limited. Since the materials are restricted both in quantity and

1) Inscriptions used as the corpus for analysis are the following: หลักที่ 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15 in ประมวล พิมพ์ของภาษาไทย ภาคที่ 1, หลักที่ 38, 40, 45, 46, 49 in ประมวล พิมพ์ของภาษาไทย ภาคที่ 3 and หลักที่ 40, 93, 95, 102, 106 in ประมวล พิมพ์ของภาษาไทย ภาคที่ 4. Inscriptions 13, 14 and 15 are used as reference, although they are assigned to the period after 1438 A.D.

Citations will be indicated by (inscription number/face number/line number).
quality in this way, we are forced to deal with extremely limited linguistic phenomena, which will make it almost impossible to investigate the language systematically. For this reason, we do not know exactly to what extent the inscription materials available reflect the state of the language in that period.

In this paper, taking the nature of the inscriptions mentioned above into consideration, I will not generalize but describe the language just as it is.

2. VOCALIC SYSTEM 2)

When we try to deduce the phonological system of the language in the Sukhothai period on the basis of its script, we are confronted with irregularity in spelling: the same word is often written in different ways even in the same inscription. In fact, it is not quite certain to what this is due, but breakage, engraving errors or reflections of phonetic facts may be suggested as possibilities. However, if we adopt the method of comparing the Sukhothai language (ST) with modern Tai dialects 3), examining the script, it will be possible to some extent, even if unsatisfactorily, to get at the phonetic reality underlying the spelling symbols. Here I will point out the difficulties in doing so, and discuss the phonetic values of the vowel letters of Ramkamhaeng's inscription chiefly by comparison with modern standard Thai (MT). Since the corpus is limited to one inscription of Ramkamhaeng, the reconstructed vocalic system is tentative in its nature.

2) In connection with this section, Professor Mitani, Yasuyuki of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies made helpful suggestions.
3) With regard to Tai dialects, I have consulted Li (1977) and A Comparative Tai Wordlist by William J. Gedney.
2.1. ง and งก

Words with the letter ง in ST correspond to those with /e/ or /ee/ in MT. It can be pointed out that Sukhothai words corresponding to those with MT /ee/ are loan words, not native ones. From the relation of correspondence between ST and MT (also other Tai dialects), we may conclude that the letter ง indicated both short and long vowels. For the letter งก, it must have been (EE) at that time, since it corresponds to MT /EE/. Its short counterpart (ง) was probably represented byงก-ง, which is used in only one word สำ which the source of which is not certain. I do not know to what extent (ee) and (ง) had a phonological function. But (ง), (ee), (ง) and (EE) can all occur in closed syllables, and therefore I will establish them as phonemes /e/, /ee/, /ง/ and /EE/ respectively. The process through which they appeared as different phonemes may be explained as follows. In its earliest stages, Thai had only (ง) and (EE) which may be interpreted phonologically as /e/ and /ee/ respectively. In its succeeding stages, when foreign (ee) entered Thai, the aperture of the vowel which was a redundant feature before became phonologically significant and finally /EE/ appeared.

2.2. ง and งก

Words written with ง in ST are loan words, except those which are also written with ก such as งน, งน, งน and งน. The phonetic value of the symbol ง may be considered to be (oo) from the correspondence to MT /oo/. The vowel spelled ก in closed syllables and without any use of vowel symbol in open syllables would be (OO), since it corresponds to MT /OO/. The vowel without any inherent symbol between an initial consonant and a final consonant was presumably pronounced with short (ง). But we cannot deny the possibility that short (ง) might have existed
in loan words, such as دعاء and ="ו"ע. In connection with (o), (oo), (ɔ) and (ɔɔ), I will interpret them as /o/, /oo/, /ɔ/ and /ɔɔ/. These vowels may be interpreted in the same way as the vowels of 2.1. That is, formerly Thai had (o) and (ɔɔ), which may be interpreted phonologically as /o/ and /oo/ respectively. At the time (oo) came into Thai through loan words, the aperture of the vowel became phonological and at last /ɔɔ/ appeared. As for the words written both ⟨⟩ and ⟨⟩, they may have been written so because there was a period when (oo) and (ɔ) were in free variation. However, the reason why only the words mentioned above have two different spellings remains uncertain.

2.3. ɔ and ɔ

ST ɔ corresponds to MT /u/ and ST ɔ to MT /u/ or /uu/. Most of the words corresponding to MT /u/ in the latter case are polysyllabic loan words. This may suggest that at that time syllables with the short (u) in final position were not very common. Since there is an example of the opposition of vowel length such as ำำ : ำำ, short (u) /u/ for ɔ and long (uu) /uu/ for ɔ can be assumed without much difficulty.

2.4. ɔ and ɔ

The vowel represented by a reduplication of the final consonant in ST corresponds to /a/ in MT. ex. ำำ for ำำ, ำำ for ำำ, etc. For this device of spelling in ST, (a) will be assumed. As for the vowel of the syllable ำำ, which is a loan word, it was presumably pronounced like ⟨aʔ⟩, although it is not clear. (a) must also have occurred in minor syllables of polysyllabic words such as ำำ and ำำ. For the letter ɔ, which corresponds to MT /aa/, the long (aa) may be assumed. Since both ⟨a⟩ and ⟨aa⟩ can occur in closed syllables, I will establish /a/ and /aa/ for them.
2.5.  and Ω

Words with Ω are quite few (i.e. native words: กิ่น, ปิ่น; loan words: กิน, ยทิพย์, จ้ำกิน. Of these กิน is written both with Ω and Ω), whereas those with Ω are more frequent, corresponding to MT /i/ in พิน, ปิน, พิน, พิน... /ii/ in พิ้, พิ้, พิ้, พิ้... or /uw/ in จิง only. To take พิน, พิน and พิน for instance, Tai dialects generally have short /i/ for the first two, and for the last most of them have short /i/ while a few have long /ii/. Since the situation is so extremely complicated, I cannot draw immediate conclusions but the following possibilities may be pointed out. That is, Ω stood for short (i) and Ω for long (ii). Otherwise, Ω stood for both (i) and (ii) and Ω for a third vowel. In fact, Northern Tai dialects such as Po-ai and Wu-ming have /uw/, not /i/ for the word กิน. It is difficult to determine which is the more likely, but it seems certain that both short (i) /i/ and long (ii) /ii/ existed.

2.6.  ST  corresponds to /uw/ in closed syllables and /uwu/ in open syllables in MT. The former correspondence is found in two words กิ่น and ปิ่น, for which other Tai dialects also have a short vowel. This suggests that Ω was used to indicate both short (u) and long(uwu). As examples of the words with Ω are few, it is difficult to determine whether (u) and (uwu) were phonologically opposed or not. Here I will tentatively interpret them as /u/ and /uwu/.

2.7.  and ăr-

The first appears in closed syllables, while the second appears in open syllables.

Words in open syllables (i.e. บรา and บรม), which may be regarded as loan words from Khmer, were probably pronounced with
a long vowel (ə) as in MT. On the other hand, the vowel of words in closed syllables (i.e. native words นิ้ว and บั้น) corresponds to /u/ in MT and /ə/ in some of the other Tai dialects. I will assume this vowel to be short (ə). Hence, I will establish /ə/ for native words and /əə/ for loan words. Li (1977) reconstructs /u/ as Proto-Tai for the vowel of the word นิ่ว. This might show that the Sukhothai language had already undergone the sound change นิ้ว ə and that MT is not a direct descendant of ST because the change นิ้ว ə นิ่ว is not likely.

In addition to the spellings used to indicate simple vowels, as given above, Ramkamhaeng's inscription contains spellings which may be regarded as indicating diphthongs. We find the following pairs of spelling variants:

2.8. –ไ/ and –ไว; –เอก/ and –เอก; –万科/ and –万科

The first of each pair occurs in closed syllables and the second in open syllables. We may assume (iə) /ia/ for the first pair; (uə) /ua/ for the second and (uə) /ua/ for the last, since they correspond to /ia/, /u a/ and /ua/ respectively in MT.

2.9. แ, แ, (-)

These symbols are those indicating final vowel clusters. The first two are pronounced with the same vowel /ai/ in MT, but at the time the writing system was devised they must have been pronounced differently. In fact, many Tai dialects preserving a distinction between them have /ai/ for the first and /aw/ for the second. Thus, [ai] /ai/ forแ and [au] /aw/ forแ may be assumed. As for the last(–), we can assume that it was probably [au] /au/ from the correspondence to Tai dialects.

4) พนักบุกมีภักดิ์สัน–ภักดิ์ลง gives the form of จิ้ง for this word.
In conclusion, from the above analysis the vocalic system may be reconstructed in the following way.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
i, ii & u, uu & u, uu \\
e, ee & a, aa & o, oo \\
\varepsilon?, \varepsilon \varepsilon & a, aa & \varepsilon?, \varepsilon \varepsilon \\
ia & au & ia \\
ni & au & au \\
\end{array}
\]

High vowels occur in short and long pairs. Short mid vowels occur in native words, while long mid vowels occur in loan words. Low vowels consist of short /a/ and long /aa/, /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, but the short front vowel /ɛ/ and the short back vowel /ɔ/ are difficult to ascertain.

Diphthongs are sequences of high vowels plus /a/, i.e. /ia/, /ua/ and /ua/, and /a/ plus high vowels, i.e. /ai/, /au/ and /au/.

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Table 1 shows the possibility of occurrence of each vowel, in open and closed syllables. + stands for the possibility of occurrence.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>symbols</th>
<th>vowels</th>
<th>closed syllables with finals except?</th>
<th>with ?</th>
<th>open syllables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6-</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-</td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66-</td>
<td>ṝ</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66-</td>
<td>ṝe</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- - (ɔ)</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ-</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ɔ)</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ɔ</td>
<td>ɔɔ</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ-</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ-</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ɔ(-ɔ)</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ɔ</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-</td>
<td>uu</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@ɔ-</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ-</td>
<td>øφ</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ɔ-φ</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@ɔ-φ, @ɔ-φ?</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ- φ, ɔ- ø?</td>
<td>ua</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ɔ-</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ-</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ-</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ-</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1
3. DESCRIPTION OF SOME SYNTACTIC CATEGORIES

3.1. Classifiers

Classifiers in conjunction with other elements constitute noun phrases. The syntactic relationship of each element may be formulated roughly in the following way, excluding embedded elements: NP → N + Nu + Cl + Dem \(^5\) (except the case in which the numeral is *one*, where the order of Nu + Cl is reversed to Cl + Nu(=1))

To take the most typical classifier _VOLTAGE for instance, its realization in the inscriptions will be shown in the form of

1. N + Nu + Cl + Dem  ๑๐๐ กิโลวัตต์ ๘๑๒
2. N + Nu + Cl  ๑๐๐ กิโลวัตต์ ๑๒๐๙
3. Nu + Cl  ๑๐๐ กิโลวัตต์ ๑๒๐๙
4. N + Cl + Dem  ๑๐๐ กิโลวัตต์ ๘๑๑
5. Cl + Dem  ๑๐๐ กิโลวัตต์ ๙๕๑๒

From the above examples, we may deduce the syntactic fact that the requirement of the noun phrase with a classifier as its constituent is to contain either a numeral or a demonstrative. That is, _VOLTAGE functions both as a measure word numerating things and as a specifier referring to a particular thing. In connection with the latter function, it is interesting to note that _VOLTAGE, which is most widely used in the inscriptions, also occurs as a relative conjunction which introduces the clause modifying or specifying the preceding head noun.

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\(^5\) NP stands for Noun Phrase, N for Noun, Nu for Numeral, Cl for Classifier and Dem for Demonstrative.

\(^6\) The forms (3) and (5), where the noun is not present, are used when the referent is first mentioned or is clear from the context or situation.
Some of the classifiers in the inscriptions will be given below. หนึ่ง is used with concrete nouns except those referring to humans and animals, and in rare cases with abstract nouns. Ex. ปีพุ (1/2/31), ปีพุ (2/2/50), 耒ปุ (8/1/24), ปีเข้กุนมา (10/1/37), ปีกุนมา (95/1/23), etc.

Besides หนึ่ง, the following appear as classifiers.

หนึ่ง for certain round objects such as บาตร (14/1/17), ใบ (14/1/18), น้ำครา (14/1/21), พอง (14/1/32), etc.; ลูก for พระภู (2/2/41-42), ก้อง (14/1/32-33), ถังส่ำปุ (14/1/33); ใบ for จุ่ง (106/2/38), รู (14/1/16); กลอน for ฤกษี (95/1/28); เนิน for สว่าง (106/2/11); คน for ที่มอง (1/1/2), ฤกษี (2/2/2); องค์ for พระมหาเก้า (49/1/7); พระมหาคูหา (93/1/7), พระคูหา (93/1/14); คน for พระมหาเก้า (93/1/23-24), พระ (95/1/7) ....

3.2. Demonstratives

Demonstratives occurring in the inscriptions are นี้ (นี่), นัน, อัน, พัน, and ที่.

(1) นี่

This is used to point to an object close by and in most cases it qualifies noun phrases. Besides, it sometimes occurs in isolation as a place demonstrative. In addition to this deictic use, it has anaphoric and cataphoric uses.

(2) นัน

This is used to refer to only the preceding word or phrase and most frequently qualifies noun phrases. It also has the function of presenting the topic of the sentence, which the comment follows.

7) According to พิพงษ์ (1980), today นัน and พัน are used in the northeastern part of Thailand, and อัน in the northwestern and northeastern parts of Thailand.
(3) ُ
As compared with ُ, this occurs less frequently, but they are similar in that both have the function of reference and presentation. In the case of ُ, it rarely qualifies noun phrases and most frequently qualifies verb phrases in conjunction with ُ.

(4) ُ
This word points to an object far in the distance and qualifies noun phrases.

(5) ُ
This is used with low frequency: three times in the corpus, meaning 'that'.

In addition to the above, ُ and ُ also appear, meaning 'here' and 'over there' respectively, each occurring once.

3.3. Personal pronouns

There seems to be no doubt that in the Sukhothai language the choice of personal pronouns is partially dependent upon the relationship or attitude of the speaker or writer toward the persons referred to, but unfortunately the inscriptions lack the concrete situations of conversation which would enable us to examine fully the meaning and usage of personal pronouns. However, most of the personal pronouns found in the inscriptions are existent in modern Tai dialects, which will give us some clue.

8) Khamti is known to preserving the distinction of the singular, dual and plural in each person. Matsuyama (1962) was a helpful source of information for Tai dialects.
3.3.1. First person

ñ, ñ, ñë and ñë are found in the inscriptions. They may be divided in terms of number, as shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>either singular or plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>ñë, ñë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) ñ

ñ, which appears as the most general first person singular, is used by persons of high rank, such as kings, royal personages or high-ranking monks to designate themselves. A lot of Tai dialects have this form.

(2) ñ

This is used by a king or woman worshipper. In the corpus it never occurs alone but is always followed directly by its referents. In khamti and Pu-i, which have the distinction between the inclusive and exclusive for the first person plural, this form indicates the exclusive. The examples in the inscriptions are not counter-examples to assuming ñ to be the exclusive form.

(3) ñë

Like ñ, ñë is used by kings or a woman worshipper. In most cases it occurs with the plural meaning and rarely with the singular one. In the plural use it occurs both with and without following referents. This form is today in use in the northwestern and northeastern parts of Thailand. 9)

(4) ñë

This is used both as the singular and as the plural by kings or high-ranking monks, etc.

3.3.2. Second person

Only ฉัน occurs in the inscriptions. It appears twice with the plural meaning in Inscription 38, addressing commoners.

3.3.3. Third person

The following are the third person pronouns, classified according to number.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>either singular or plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ฉัน</td>
<td>ฉัน, ดาน</td>
<td>ทาน, มัน</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) ทาน

Most frequently this is used in referring to persons of high rank, such as kings, royal personages, monks or officials. It is also used to refer to unspecified persons generally, not specified ones.

(2) ฉัน

ฉัน appears only in Inscription 49 and is used as a singular, referring to kings, royal personages or high-ranking monks. It may be used both in isolation and with a preceding referent.

(3) แข่

In the examples where the referents can be determined, แข่ signifies the plural. Western Tai dialects, such as Ahom, Tairong, Khamtí and Shan, use this form as the plural.

(4) มัน

This is used to refer to commoners, social inferiors, criminals, slaves or animals.

(5) คาน

คาน appears only once. This form is preserved in Khamtí as the third person dual. The example in the corpus may be understood in the same way. In the sentence พวกพี่ๆเอาลูกกุณฑ์มีเอื้อเฟื้อแล้วถูกสั่งจับ แล้วต้องการแต่บางช่วง (1/1/24-26), คาน may be regarded as referring to the accuser and the accused.
Besides the above, the inscriptions have แก้, แก่, แก่น, and มีแก้ as indefinite pronouns.

3.4. Prepositions

Prepositions form phrases in syntactic relations with noun phrases and basically have the function of qualifying verb phrases. The main prepositions appearing in the corpus are as follows.

(1) แก้

This is used in designating the object to which the action or state is directed. ex. พอลายไม้แก้กลิ่นไม้แก้แก้แก้ (5/1/18-19) รูปโปร่งแก้ ไฟฟ้าในไทย (5/1/16) เป็นการทำเป็นพายล่าแก้ใหญ่ทั้งหลาย (1/4/12)

(2) แก่

This is almost the same as แก้ in usage, but its frequency of occurrence is much lower. ex. กระทรวงวิทยุโทรทัศน์การราชอาณาจักร (40/1/8-9) เป็นรายงานแผ่นเต็มเริ่มพระบรมราชานุสรณ์ (93/1/4-5)

(3) ถวาย

This is used to indicate antagonism, the connection of separate existences, manner, ways and means. ex. คดีที่จังหวัดจันจัง (2/1/62) ปัญญาที่มีฝ่ายนายทหารที่บ้านบวกถึงตัวต่อ (5/3/34-36) แผนที่บ้านรอบ นางคนนาเหลือง (2/1/89) ใส่ประกาศการบังคับตรัฟซ่า (3/1/61)

(4) โค้ก

This indicates the foundation on which the action is accomplished. ex. ผาบั้งติดกริยาไม้แก้แม่นยำยิ่งยิ่งนกยูงข้าวหลังกลับผ่าน (38/1/37-38)

(5) แก่

This denotes the starting point of time or space. ex. ลูกคนเมือง ศรีธรรมราชวัน (1/2/30-31) แต่ถึงเสียสูญไปชมพระธาตุชื่นเมื่อหน้า (3/1/32-33)

(6) เท้า and หน้า

Both indicate the point of arrival. In the case of เท้า there are no examples with time found. The following are examples with เท้า mentioned above, stating the limits of an interval of time
or space. ex. แยกหนึ่งแสดงความไปแสดงโซใจที่ยิ่ง (8/3/15-16) จัดหน่วยแปดผืนเมืองซือที่ยิ่ง
มาเสร็จสมบัติในวันที่หนึ่งหน้าถึงกัน (8/2/1-5) แต่เมื่อนี้นั้นสิ่งเหล่านี้ยังไม่ยั้งบันทึกล่าชินเรานะกัน
กล่าวกรองยิ่งเสียบกันยิ่งยิ่งไปเลยจึงแต่เกลดเกล้าย (3/1/16-18)
(7) ใน

This is used in stating the time, space or sphere. The phrases with ใน most commonly qualify verb phrases, but also qualify
nouns. ใน is sometimes used with words of location such as กลาง
and ใกล้. ex. ฝูมตีนในกระดาษใบสีหลับในใบเล็ก (9/3/22-23) มีครั้งใหญ่ใน
พุทธศักราช (49/1/3-4) ในปัจจุบันครั้งใหญ่ในพุทธศักราช (9/2/14-15)
ก็ในเมืองซือที่ยิ่งนี้ (1/2/8) เอาลงอิ่วในกลางเมืองครั้งซือชานาบลี (1/4/6)

3.5. Conjunctions

Conjunctions may be divided into two types, depending upon
whether connected elements are syntactically in coordinate relation
or in subordinate relation. Here I will take up และ as an example
of the former and แต่, ครั้ง, เคยมัน, นี่, แม่น, ซือ, เพียง and อื่น as
examples of the latter.

3.5.1. Coordinate conjunction

และ is used in conjoining syntactic elements with equal
qualifications. ex. connection of words: พระคริสต์กินน้ำธาตุและพระคริส
มาหาไพธี (3/1/12-13); connection of phrases: ทาน...แต่ให้ได้แก่มันและแก
ผู้เยาะทานน้ำขันสิ่งแล (38/1/33-34) บอกสอนเมื่อรั้วเยาะและใจหว (2/2/68)

3.5.2. Subordinate conjunctions

Of the conjunctions which appear in subordinating construction,
those introducing adverbial clauses with the meaning of time,
condition, concession and cause and that introducing a relative
clause will be dealt with.

3.5.2.1. Time

As conjunctions introducing adverbial clauses of time, แต่, ครั้ง
and เคยมัน are found to occur.
This is most commonly used and the subordinate clause usually precedes the main clause. ex. เมื่อข้าพเจ้าได้สร้างเสร็จสิ้นพระพักตร์ซึ่งหมายถึงการประทับนั่น (1/2/17-18) เมื่อเวลาบอกพระพักตร์บัดกรี (5/3/8-9)
(2) กรณี

This comes at the beginning of a sentence and indicates that presupposing the accomplishment of the action in the subordinate clause, the action of the main clause is accomplished simultaneously. ex. ครั้งนี้น้องพัฒนาธุรกิจอย่างหนึ่งแห่ง... เบื้องหน้าของเหยื่อนักฆ่าเกกม (2/1/55-56)
ครั้งนี้ธุรกิจเริ่มต้นอัตราล่างไก่และอาชีพใหม่นั้น (38/1/42)
(3) เทียมแตก

This occurs only once. ex. ทีนี้เช่นยานตามจากเนื้อเดิมแตกนั้นแตก (1/1/2-3)

3.5.2.2. Condition

นี่ and เหมือน are found. The subordinate clause always precedes the main clause and is sometimes followed by the final particle ใช้.

(1) นี่

นี่ is used both alone and in the form of the phrase like มีว่า or มีผล. ex. มีชัยชนะไม่ได้และใครจะจูงใจนั้นในข้อความมีได้เมื่อมีชัยชนะของโม
คมนี้ (38/2/1-2) ทั้งจะเกิดเป็น... ยกเมื่อใส่สมบัติ (8/1/11-12) ใครจะดูค่าจ้างของ
ช่างนี้แล้วก็แยกแยะทางกันสันติแตก (1/1/24-26)

(2) เหมือน

เหมือน is used in much the same way as นี่. ex. เหมือนนี้สิ่งสำคัญด้านข้อม
ไขข้อมนี้บางทีเป็นเมื่อเท่า (38/2/6)

3.5.2.3. Concession

นี่ and เหมือน are used to denote concession. The subordinate clause comes before the main clause and is sometimes followed by ก็ไป.
(1) It is
ex. ชื่อเป็นภาษาไทย คือที่ร่น นาราทกิ่ง (5/1/21-22)

(2) แม้

แม้ is used as a conjunction introducing concessive clauses as well as conditional clauses. The combined form of แม้ and ซึง are also found, ex. แม้จะไม่ได้ถูกต้อง หรือ เหล็กเป็นโฉมใหม่ แต่แม้จะไม่ได้ไปอย่างแท้จริง (38/2/55-36) แม้จะไม่ได้ถูกต้องก็ตามก็ยังเป็นความหมายเช่นกัน

3.5.2.4. Cause

The adverbial clause of cause is introduced by เนื่อง and always follows the main clause. ex. เนื่องจากซ้ายของจำเรียนคำแห่ง เพื่อพื้นฐานข้ามซ้าย (1/1/9-10)

3.5.2.5. Relative clause

The relative clause is introduced by ซึ่ง, which qualifies the noun phrase. In the corpus the antecedent corresponds to the subject, object or qualifier within the relative clause.

ex. ทนงซึ่งเป็นในทราบภาค เจ้าหน้าที่มีแหน่งเป็นพิเศษเฉพาะที่พูดคำศวาร (93/1/24-25)

Besides the above conjunctions, ซึ่ง appears as a clause connector. It comes after the subject or topic and before the predicate of the second clause, and sometimes at the beginning of it, relating the preceding clause to the second one with a temporal or logical correlation. ex. เมื่อถึงในที่สิ้นที่สุดก็ต้องกลับ (1/1/17-18) เนื่องจากความคืบหน้าของแม่และแม่ยายผู้นี้ไม่ได้เป็นเป้าหมายในเรื่อง โปรดอย่าตระหนาต (49/1/23-24)
3.6. Negatives

For negation the following words are found to appear in the inscriptions: บ, มี, บ่ม, ไม่, ไป and ไม่. It is exceedingly difficult to argue usages of each in detail, but it seems relatively clear that ไม่ differs from the others in the syntactic environment where it occurs: in other words, the negatives except ไม่ are used in the negation of verbal predicates, while ไม่ in the negation of non-verbal predicates. Furthermore, it can be pointed out as phenomena that the former three บ, มี and บ่ม occur with greater frequency than the others and that ไม่ is most commonly negated by ไม่.

(1) บ

This appears most frequently and immediately precedes the verb phrase. Today it is found as an ordinary negative in many Tai dialects. ex. นี่ไปเกิดล้านธนีในเข้าจับคุมเกงเมืองนี้หาย (1/3/9-10)

(2) มี

Like บ, this comes before the verb phrase. ex. พอจบกล้างนำมิ่งเช้า (2/1/30) อีบ บูคูคอมังงายว่าหน้าไม่ได้ (3/1/42) แต่ถึงเครืองกระชำวนมา สำคัญชั้นนี้ปังกันตัง (5/3/20-22)

(3) บ่ม

This form, which is a combination of บ and บิ above, indicates the negative meaning, not affirmative. ex. บิเกตงง米粉คนหงส์นี้ บิขันธน์บลีบิ้เดิมนำกล่าว (3/2/46-47) โยหิมธนิบิ้ขิลล์กัน (2/1/44)

(4) ไม่

Unlike the others, ไม่ is placed directly before the nominal predicate, and is also found before the adverb แต่. In the latter case แต่ follows and the whole expression ไม่แต่...พิ่น... means 'not only...but also...'. ex. พระมหาราชดินนี้ใจขาดวสันแนะมิ่ง (3/1/8-9) ใช้แต่สมเกตุจาระชั้นนี้สายอิสระมาอีกนาทีหนึ่งของงานเสื้อป่านกันที่สรางเกมพัน ทันเทา (93/1/27-29)
As for ဗြဲ့ and ဗြဲ့, which are used in negating the verb phrase, their occurrence are extremely few.

In this paper I have given a rough description of the Sukhothai language, based upon the inscriptions. However, the attempt was not entirely satisfactory because of restricted materials and insufficient analysis. In order to understand more deeply the state of the language in the Sukhothai period, it will be necessary to incorporate studies of other contemporary materials and Tai dialects in the analysis.

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