

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE THAI LANGUAGE
IN THE SUKHOTHAI INSCRIPTIONS

presented at the International Conference
on Thai Studies

by

Naomitsu Mikami

Institute of Cultural & Linguistic Studies
Keio University

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE THAI LANGUAGE
IN THE SUKHOTHAI INSCRIPTIONS

Naomitsu Mikami
Keio University

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:

i, ii	๙, ๙๙	u, uu
e, ee	๑, ๑๑	o, oo
ɛ?, ɛɛ	a, aa	ɔ?, ɔɔ
ia	๙a	ua
ai	a๙	au

ee, ๑๑ and oo (also ɛ? and ɔ?) appear in loan words.

2. Description of some syntactic categories

- (1) Classifiers: อัน is most widely used; others include คาง, ลุก, ฝั้น, ก้อน, แถว, คน, องค์, ทุน, etc.
- (2) Demonstratives: นี้, นั้น, อัน, พน, หั้น, ฬี่ and โพน are found. นั้น and อัน have the function of presenting the topic of a sentence as well as that of referring.
- (3) Personal pronouns: กู, กู, เฝอ and ไร appear as first person; สึ as second person; ฐ, เขา, ชา, ทาน and มั้น as third person. The dual form and exclusive form are partially attested.
- (4) Prepositions: among others, แก, แก, ควย, โคย, แถ, เทา, ถึง and ใน are found.
- (5) Conjunctions: และ occurs as a coordinator; เมื่, ลรั้น, เคี่ยมแต่, ฬี่, แพน, ฐื่อ, ฬื่อ and อัน occur as subordinators.
- (6) Negatives: ๙, ๙, ๙, ไม and ใ are used in negating verbal predicates; ใ is used in negating non-verbal predicates.

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.¹⁾ 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 ประชุมศิลาจารึก ภาคที่ 1, หลักที่ 38, 40, 45, 46, 49 in ประชุมศิลาจารึก ภาคที่ 3 and หลักที่ 40, 93, 95, 102, 106 in ประชุมศิลาจารึก 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 SYSTEM²⁾

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. ๒ and ๒๒

Words with the letter ๒ 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 ๒ indicated both short and long vowels. For the letter ๒๒, it must have been [ɛɛ] at that time, since it corresponds to MT /ɛɛ/. Its short counterpart [ɛ] was probably represented by ๒๒-๒, which is used in only one word ๒๒: the source of which is not certain. I do not know to what extent [ee] and [ɛ] had a phonological function. But [e], [ee], [ɛ] and [ɛɛ] can all occur in closed syllables, and therefore I will establish them as phonemes /e/, /ee/, /ɛ/ and /ɛɛ/ respectively. The process through which they appeared as different phonemes may be explained as follows. In its earliest stages, Thai had only [e] and [ɛɛ] 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 /ɛɛ/ appeared.

2.2. ๒ and ๒

Words written with ๒ in ST are loan words, except those which are also written with ๒ such as ๒๒, ๒๒, ๒๒ and ๒๒. The phonetic value of the symbol ๒ may be considered to be [oo] from the correspondence to MT /oo/. The vowel spelled ๒ 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 [o]. But we cannot deny the possibility that short [oo] might have existed

in loan words, such as ศำมพ and ปำเฝ . In connection with $\{o\}$, $\{oo\}$, $\{o\}?$ and $\{oo\}$, I will interpret them as $/o/$, $/oo/$, $/o\/?$ and $/oo\ /$. These vowels may be interpreted in the same way as the vowels of 2.1. That is, formerly Thai had $\{o\}$ and $\{oo\}$, 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 $/oo\ /$ appeared. As for the words written both $\{$ and $\{$, they may have been written so because there was a period when $\{oo\}$ and $\{oo\}$ were in free variation. However, the reason why only the words mentioned above have two different spellings remains uncertain.

2.3. ๓ and ๔

ST ๓ corresponds to MT $/u/$ and ST ๔ 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 $\text{๓} : \text{๓}$, short $\{u\}$ $/u/$ for ๓ and long $\{uu\}$ $/uu/$ for ๔ can be assumed without much difficulty.

2.4. ๕ and ๖

The vowel represented by a reduplication of the final consonant in ST corresponds to $/a/$ in MT. ex. ๓๓ for ำ , ๓๓ for ำ , etc. For this device of spelling in ST, $\{a\}$ will be assumed. As for the vowel of the syllable ๓๓ , which is a loan word, it was presumably pronounced like $\{a^?\}$, although it is not clear. $\{a\}$ must also have occurred in minor syllables of polysyllabic words such as ๓๓๓ and ๓๓ . For the letter ๓ , 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 ①

Words with ○ are quite few (i.e. native words: กีน, ญิบ; loan words: กณิน, อรัญญิก, จารึก. Of these กณิน is written both with ○ and ①), whereas those with ① are more frequent, corresponding to MT /i/ in หิน, ยิน, หึง, ลีบ... /ii/ in ฟี, ชี, สีล, ตีน... or /u/ in จิง only.⁴⁾ To take ยิน, หึง and ตีน 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, ○ stood for short [i] and ① for long [ii]. Otherwise, ① stood for both [i] and [ii] and ○ for a third vowel. In fact, Northern Tai dialects such as Po-ai and Wu-ming have /u/, not /i/ for the word กีน. 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. ②

ST ② corresponds to /u/ in closed syllables and /uu/ in open syllables in MT. The former correspondence is found in two words ฐึน and ฐึน, for which other Tai dialects also have a short vowel. This suggests that ② was used to indicate both short [u] and long [uu]. As examples of the words with ② are few, it is difficult to determine whether [u] and [uu] were phonologically opposed or not. Here I will tentatively interpret them as /u/ and /uu/.

2.7. ③- and ④-⑤

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

Words in open syllables (i.e. ฐำแอะ and ฐำแอะ), which may be regarded as loan words from Khmer, were probably pronounced with

a long vowel (əə) as in MT. On the other hand, the vowel of words in closed syllables (i.e. native words ^๑จิง and ^๑จิ้ง) 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 ^๑จิง. This might show that the Sukhothai language had already undergone the sound change u → ə and that MT is not a direct descendant of ST because the change u → ə → u 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. -๑/- and ๑-๑๑; ๑-๑๑ and ๑-๑๑๑; -๑- and -๑๑

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/, /ua/ and /ua/ respectively in MT.

2.9. ๑ , ๑ , (-)

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 /au/ for the second. Thus, [ai] /ai/ for ๑ and [au] /au/ for ๑ may be assumed. As for the last (-), we can assume that it was probably [au] /au/ from the correspondence to Tai dialects.

4) พจนานุกรมภาคอีสาน-ภาคกลาง gives the form of ^๑จิง for this word.

In conclusion, from the above analysis the vocalic system may be reconstructed in the following way.

i, ii	ɯ, ɯɯ	u, uu
e, ee	ə, əə	o, oo
ɛ?, ɛɛ	a, aa	ɔ?, ɔɔ
ia	ɯa	ua
ai	aɯ	au

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/, /ɛɛ/ and /ɔɔ/, 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/, /ɯa/ and /ua/, and /a/ plus high vowels, i.e. /ai/, /aɯ/ and /au/.

Table 1 shows the possibility of occurrence of each vowel, in open and closed syllables. + stands for the possibility of occurrence.

symbols	vowels	closed syllables		open syllables
		with finals except ?	with ?	
6+	e	+		
6-	ee	+		+
66-ε	ε		+	
66-	εε	+		+
--(ε)	o	+		
{-}	oo	+		
(ε)	o ?	?		
-εε	oo	+		+
o-	u	+		
o-	uu	+		+
-ε(ε) reduplication of final minor syllable	a	+	+	
-o	aa	+		+
o-	i	+		
o-	ii	+		+
o-	u	+		
o-	uu			+
o-	ə	+		
o-ε	əə			+
-ε-, o-εε	ia	+		+
o-εε, o-εεε	ua	+		+
-o-, -oo	ua	+		+
o-	ai			+
o-	au			+
o-o	au			+

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: $NP \rightarrow N + Nu + Cl + Dem$ 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 อัน for instance, its realization in the inscriptions will be shown in the form of

(1) $N + Nu + Cl + Dem$	สมบัติทั้งสามอันนี้	(8/1/24)
(2) $N + Nu + Cl$	นครสองอัน	(2/1/9)
(3) $Nu + Cl$	อันหนึ่ง	(2/1/9)
(4) $N + Cl + Dem$	เขาอันนี้	(8/1/1)
(5) $Cl + Dem$	อันนี้	(95/1/2)

From the above examples,⁶⁾ 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, อัน 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 อัน, 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.

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.

อัน is used with concrete nouns except those referring to humans and animals, and in rare cases with abstract nouns. ex. พินาร(1/2/31), รัศมี(2/2/50), สมบัติ(8/1/24), ฝาเข็ทหนา(10/1/37), ประทีป(95/1/23), etc.

Besides อัน, the following appear as classifiers.

ควง for certain round objects such as ภาตร(14/1/17), ถวย(14/1/18), น้ำเตา(14/1/21), ของ(14/1/32), etc.; ลูก for พระศรีรัตนมหาธาตุ(2/2/41-42), กดอง(14/1/32-33), กังสะคาด(14/1/33); ฝืน for จีพร(106/2/38), ฝา(14/1/16); กอน for อัฐ(95/1/28); แถว for สร้อย(106/2/11); คน for ฝืนอง(1/1/2), ลูกสาว(2/2/2); องค์ for พอมหาเจรเจ้า(49/1/7), พระมหาธาตุเจ้า(93/1/7), ธรรมกถึก(93/1/14); คน for พระมหาเจรเจ้า(93/1/23-24), พระ(95/1/7).....

3.2. Demonstratives

Demonstratives occurring in the inscriptions are นี้(นี้), นั้น, อัน, พน and หัน.⁷⁾
(1) นี้

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) นั้น

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 พินาร (1980), today นั้น and พน are used in the northeastern part of Thailand, and อัน in the northwestern and northeastern parts of Thailand.

(3) อุ่น

As compared with อุ่น , this occurs less frequently, but they are similar in that both have the function of reference and presentation. In the case of อุ่น , it rarely qualifies noun phrases and most frequently qualifies verb phrases in conjunction with กิ่ง .

(4) พู

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

(5) หั้น

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

In addition to the above, หั้น and โห้ 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,⁸⁾ 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

ก_ย, ก_ย, เมือ^๔ and เกร are found in the inscriptions. They may be divided in terms of number, as shown below.

singular	plural	either singular or plural
ก _ย	ก _ย	เมือ ^๔ , เกร

(1) ก_ย

ก_ย, 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) ก_ย

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 ก_ย to be the exclusive form.

(3) เมือ^๔

Like ก_ย, เมือ^๔ 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) เกร

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

9) พิพุทธ (1980), p.33.

3.3.2. Second person

Only ຸ 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.

singular	plural	either singular or plural
ຸ	ເຂົາ, ຫາ	ທານ, ມັນ

(1) ທານ

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) ຸ

ຸ 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) ເຂົາ

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

(4) ມັນ

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

(5) ຫາ

ຫາ appears only once. This form is preserved in Khamti as the third person dual. The example in the corpus may be understood in the same way. In the sentence $\text{ໂພຣຳລູກເຈາລູກຂຸນນີແລນິດແຕກແສກວາງກັນສ່ວນຄູແທ ແລືຈິ່ງແລກວາມແກຂາຄວຍຂັ້ວ (1/1/24-26)}$, ຫາ may be regarded as referring to the accuser and the accused.

Besides the above, the inscriptions have ไคร, คนใด and ผู้ใด 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) แก่

This is used in designating the object to which the action or state is directed. ex. พอลตายไว้แก่ลูกพี่ตายไว้แกนอง (5/1/18-19) รูปราณีแก่ไพร่ฟ้าชาวไทย (5/1/16) เป็นท้าวเป็นพระยาแก่ไทยทั้งหลาย (1/4/12)

(2) แก่

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

(3) ควบ

This is used to indicate antagonism, the connection of separate existences, manner, ways and means. ex. คอหัวข้างควบขุนจิ้ง (2/1/62) อัญเชิญมหาสามีสังฆราชควบเถรานุเถระภิกษุสงฆ์ทั้งหลาย (5/3/34-36) แต่งเรือหน้าควบผาแดงผาเหลือง (2/1/89) ไคปรารถนาควบใจศรัทธา (3/1/61)

(4) โคย

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

(5) แก่

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

(6) เहां and ถึง

Both indicate the point of arrival. In the case of เहां there are no examples with time found. The following are examples with แก่ mentioned above, stating the limits of an interval of time

or space. ex. ยกหนังสือสองเล่มมาหาสุโขทัย (8/3/15-16) ทัพหนทางแต่เมืองสุโขทัย
มาถึงจอมเขานี้วามหนักหนาแทบ (8/2/1-5) แต่เมื่อนั้นแลมาถึงบัดนี้ว่าไชรชนมเราคน
คลาจากรอยปีแลบัดนี้โดยปีหนึ่งไปแลยังแต่เกาสีบเกาคาย (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 ใต้. ex. ชุมกันใว้กระลาอุโบสถอันอยู่ในทะเลนาง (9/3/22-23) มีศรัทธาใน
พุทธศาสนา (49/1/3-4) ในปีระกาศักราชโค731มหาสมณเถรไปเมื่อเหนือ (9/2/14-15)
คนในเมืองสุโขทัยนี้ (1/2/8) เอลงผังในกลางเมืองศรีสัชชนาลัย (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 เมื่อ, ครั้น, เค็ยมแต่, ณ, แม่น, ชือ, เพ็ว and อัน as
examples of the latter.

3.5.1. Coordinate conjunction

และ is used in conjoining syntactic elements with equal
qualifications. ex. connection of words: พระศรีรัตนมหาธาตุและพระศรี
มหาโพธิ (3/1/12-13); connection of phrases: ทาน...แต่งให้โคแกมันและแก
ผู้เอาขาทานมานันสิแล (38/1/33-34) ขอสองมือรับเอาและไหว (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, เมื่อ, ครั้น
and เค็ยมแต่ are found to occur.

(1) เมื่อ

This is most commonly used and the subordinate clause usually precedes the main clause. ex. เมื่อจักเข้ามาเวียงเวียงกันแคอริญญิกพุนเทาหัวลาน (1/2/17-18) เมื่อแล้วออกพรรษาจึงกระทำมหาดาน (5/3/8-9)

(2) ครั้น

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. ครั้นอริษฐานคังอันช้อไบหนึ่งแห่ง... เป็นไบเซียวงามหนักหนาแถม (2/1/55-56)
ครั้นรู้ว่าชโมยจริง เอาจูงไคและเอาชโมยนั้น (38/1/42)

(3) เคี้ยมแต

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

3.5.2.2. Condition

ผี and แมน are found. The subordinate clause always precedes the main clause and is sometimes followed by the final particle ไชร .

(1) ผี

ผี is used both alone and in the form of the phrase like ผีว่า or ผีแล . ex. ผีชอชชโมยจักไปและไคควชชโมยนั้น ไชรทานมมีไคให้แก่มันชอชชโมยคนนั้น (38/2/1-2) ผีว่าเกิดเป็น... ย่อมไคเสวยสมบัติ (8/1/11-12) ไพรฟาลูกเจ้าลูกขุนผีแลผีกแฉกแฉกวางกันสวนคุนแล (1/1/24-26)

(2) แมน

แมน is used in much the same way as ผี . ex. แมนยังมีสัตตญาควชชโมย ไชรทานยังบังคับเมื่อหน้า (38/2/6)

3.5.2.3. Concession

ช้อ and แมน are used to denote concession. The subordinate clause comes before the main clause and is sometimes followed by ก็คือ .

(1) ข้อ

ex. ข้อ ไค ชา เล็ก ชา เสื้อ หัว พุง หัว รบกี้ ขำ บตี (5/1/21-22)

(2) แมน

แมน is used as a conjunction introducing concessive clauses as well as conditional clauses. The combined form of แมน and ข้อ

are also found. ex. แมน ณ ไค ณ นั้น มัน ถ้อ หอก คาบ ตรา บ เครื่อง เหล็ก ใหญ่ ไค ให้ เอา มัน จูง ไค และ ให้ ไป ถว าย แก่ ท่าน (38/2/35-36) แมน ข้อ ไม่ กะ ทิง กี้ ก็ แมน ข้อ กิง พระ ศรี มหา โพธิ กี้ ก็ แมน ข้อ ... กี้ ก็ แมน ข้อ ... ใน เมือ ง สิง หล นั้ นั้ กี้ ก็ สม เค็ จ พระ มหา เด ร เป็น เจ า เอา มา ปล ุก เห น ือ ค ิน

(2/1/53-54)

3.5.2.4. Cause

The adverbial clause of cause is introduced by เพื่อ and always follows the main clause. ex. พอก จิง ขึ้น ข้อ ก ข้อ พระ ราม คำ แห ง เพื่อ ก พ ง ข าง ข ุน สาม ช น (1/1/9-10)

3.5.2.5. Relative clause

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

ex. ท่าน จิง อัญ เชิญ พระ มหา เด ร เจ า ค น หนึ่ อัน เป็น คิ ษย์ แห ง พระ มหา พุ ท ธ สา คร (93/1/24-25) ระ ง บ อ ริ ก ร ณ อัน ท่าน ทั้ง สอง หาก ไค ส นั้ นั้ แล ว แล (9/3/23) เอา ทัง พื ช พระ ศรี มหา โพธิ อัน พระ พุ ท ธ เจ า เร า เส ก จ อ ยู่ ไค ค น และ ณ จ อ ย ผล ข ุน มา รา ริ ราช ไค ป ร าย แก่ ส ัพ พ ัญ ญ ค ณ า น เป็น พระ พุ ท ธ มา ปล ุก เบ ื่อ ง หล ย พระ มหา ธา ค นี้ (3/1/9-12) เมือ ปี อัน พระ ยาม หา ธ ร ม รา ช ก อ พระ ธา ค นี้ ชน ม ค น ถ อย จ า ร อย ปี นั้ นั้ ไค ร อย สาม สิ บ เก า ปี แล (3/1/19-21)

Besides the above conjunctions, จึง 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. พื ก ค าย จิง ไค เมือ ง แ ก ก ทัง กล ม (1/1/17-18) ท่าน เส ก จ มา ส ค ับ ช ร ม และ มา หา อ บ า ส ิ กา ท่าน นั้ นั้ จิง พระ มหา เด ร ขอ น า ไค กั บ อา ร าม ไค ย ศ ร ัท ช า บ พิ ตร (49/1/23-24)

As for 𑜋 and 𑜌, 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.

Bibliography

- Gedney, William
A Comparative Tai Wordlist. University of Michigan.
- Griswold, A.B. & Prasert na Nagara
1968 "A Declaration of Independence and its Consequences: Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 1" JSS 56.2, 207-249.
1969 "The Asokārāma Inscription of 1399 A.D.: Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 2" JSS 57.1, 29-56.
1969 "The Pact between Sukhodaya and Nān: Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 3" JSS 57.1, 57-107.
1969 "A Law Promulgated by the King of Ayudhyā in 1397 A.D.: Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 4" JSS 57.1, 109-148.
1970 "A Pact between Uncle and Nephew: Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 5" JSS 58.1, 89-113.
1971 "The Inscription of Vat Trabǎn Jǎn Phöak (Face I, 1380 A.D.; Face II, 14th century, date uncertain): Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 7" JSS 59.1, 157-188.
1971 "The Inscription of Vǎt Jǎn Lòm (1384 A.D.): Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 8" JSS 59.1, 189-208.
1972 "King Lödaya of Sukhodaya and his Contemporaries: Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 10" JSS 60.1, 21-152.
1973 "The Epigraphy of Mahādharmarājā I of Sukhodaya: Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 11, Part I" JSS 61.1, 71-179.
1973 "The Epigraphy of Mahādharmarājā I of Sukhodaya: Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 11, Part II" JSS 61.2, 91-128.
1974 "Inscription 9: Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 12" JSS 62.1, 89-121.
1974 "Inscription of the Siva of Kǎmbèn Bejra: Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 14" JSS 62.2, 223-238.
1975 "The Inscription of Vǎt Khemā: Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 15" JSS 63.1, 127-142.

- Griswold, A.B. & Prasert na Nagara (continued)
- 1975 "The Inscription of Vāt Braḥ Stec, near Sukhodaya: Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 16" JSS 63.1, 143-160.
- 1976 "The Inscription of King Rāma Gamhēn of Sukhodaya (1292 A.D.): Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 9" Collected Articles in Memory of H.R.H. Prince Wan Waithayakorn, Kromamun Naradiph Bongsprabandh, 177-244.
- 1979 "An Inscription from Vāt Hin Tān, Sukhodaya: Epigraphic and Historical Studies, No. 22" JSS 67.1, 68-73.
- Ishii, Yoneo, Akagi, Osamu and Endo, Noriko
1977 A Glossarial Index of the Sukhothai Inscriptions. Shoukadoh Publishing, Kyoto.
- Li, Fang-Kuei
1977 A Handbook of Comparative Tai. The University Press of Hawaii.
- Matsuyama, Osamu
1962 "On the System of the Personal Pronouns in Common Tai" Tokyo Gaikokugo Daigaku Ronshu 9, 1-8.
- Mikami, Naomitsu
1983 "Grammatical Notes on the Thai Language in the Sukhothai Inscriptions (1)" Reports of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies 15, Keio University, 213-235.
- ชวนพิศ อธิรัตน์
1975 การใช้คำและสำนวนในสมัยสุโขทัย. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญาโท มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร วิทยาลัย
วิชาภาษาไทย บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
- นายกรัฐมนตรีนั่ง, สำนัก
1978 ประชุมศิลาจารึกภาคที่ 1. โรงพิมพ์สำนักทำเนียบนายกรัฐมนตรีนั่ง
1965 ประชุมศิลาจารึกภาคที่ 3. โรงพิมพ์สำนักทำเนียบนายกรัฐมนตรีนั่ง
1970 ประชุมศิลาจารึกภาคที่ 4. โรงพิมพ์สำนักทำเนียบนายกรัฐมนตรีนั่ง
- พิฑูร มลิวัลย์
1980 มรดกพ่อขุนรามคำแหงวรรณกรรมเรื่องแรกของไทย. โรงพิมพ์มหาวิทยาลัย
รามคำแหง
- มหาวิทยาลัยราชภัฏ, สมเด็จพระ
1972 พจนานุกรมภาคอีสาน-ภาคกลาง. โรงพิมพ์ไทยวัฒนาพานิช
- วิเชียร ศิริธรรม
1975 เอกสารประกอบการเรียน วิชาภาษาไทย อักษรไทย. กรุงเทพมหานครพิมพ์
- ศิลปากร, กรม
1977 ศิลาจารึกสุโขทัยหลักที่ 1 จารึกพ่อขุนรามคำแหง. โรงพิมพ์การเวก