# Tracing the Meanings of Thai Disyllabic Words Prapin Manomaivibool Chulalongkorn University

The mono-lingual Dictionary of the Thai language compiled by Thailand's Royal Institute contains a lot of disyllabic words of which the etymology are not provided. The preface states that giving the etymology was a very difficult part of the dictionary compilation because it was impossible to find evidence and literature from every period in the past. There were, therefore, a number of words that could only be roughly traced back to its origin but were as yet undetermined, until further evidence could be found. (Royal Institute 1982) These disyllabic words are still in use, but the origin and meaning of each element in many of them are still unknown. Many have lost their meanings and no longer occur by themselves in the present day language. Many have lost the aspects of meanings. Some are dying out. Some can be found in old works of literature, but their meanings are not known. Some are still being used, with their meanings changed. Others still appear in certain Thai dialects. An investigation of original meanings of the words can be conducted not only by looking into the Thai dialects spoken in Thailand, but also by examining the various Tai dialects spoken outside of Thailand, for example in the southern provinces of China such as Yunnan and Guangxi. However, the original meaning of the elements comprising the disyllabic words can be traced from Chinese language as well, due to the fact that Thai and Chinese are believed to belong historically to the same language family, and also because during their long contact, word loaning must have taken place.

The tracing of Thai disyllabic words from Chinese data helps us understand the meanings of a great number of Thai words. Some of these words in Chinese are found to have the same pronunciation with the Thai words while others have slightly different pronunciation. However, the pronunciation of the Chinese words studied in this paper is based on Archaic Chinese (approximately 1122-207 B.C.) and Ancient Chinese (approximately 601 A.D.) for the reason that the words studied

reflect a relation dating back to the periods of Archaic and Ancient Chinese. The Archaic Chinese pronunciation is given in Dr.Fang-kuei Li's reconstructed forms (Li 1971) and is marked by \*\* in front of the words, whereas the Ancient Chinese pronunciation is that of Bernhard Karlgren (1957) and is indicated by \* before the words. The Thai disyllabic words that can be compared to Chinese words are as follows:

#### kong(ka:n) กง(การ): I \*kung "work, task"

The Thai word kong can be compared to the word \*kung in Chinese. It is usually paired with the word ka:n which means "work," kong-ka:n means "business or concern." In present day Thai, the word is usually used as a denial to mean none of one's business, or it is used to oppose that something is not desirable. For example, This is not our kong-ka:n. or What kong-ka:n is it of yours?

#### (kiat)khra:n เกียงคร้าน: 懶 \*\*glan "lazy"

The Thai word khra:n can be compared to the word \*\*\*glan in Chinese. It is usually used together with the word kiat, which also means "lazy" to form the semantic doublet kiat-khra:n.

## kha:p(kiau) คาบ(เกี่ยว): 蓋 \*\*gap "connected with, related to"

The word kha:p in Thai has many meanings such as "hold in the mouth" as in kha:p king-mai คาบกิ๋งใม้ "hold a branch in the mouth," "to be in between" as in kha:p-sa-mut คาบสมุทร "peninsula," "to be at a designated point" as in kha:p-sen คาบเส้น "on the line." In the sense of kha:p-kiau "connected with, related to," however, the word kha:p corresponds with the word \*\*gap in Chinese.

#### (ngo:)ngom (い)งม: 濕 \*ngam "stupid"

The word **ngom** su when used by itself as a verb in Thai means "dive to grope for something in the water." To mean "stupid" as in Chinese, it occurs only in the compound **ngo: ngom** is u which is a way of adding a synonym word to define it.

#### cong(rak) จง(รัก) : 忠 \*tjung "loyal"

If the word **cong** means "loyal" as the word **\*tjung** does in Chinese, the person who **cong-rak** is the one who has both loyalty and love **(rak)**.

The sound correspondence between the initial consonants of the above Thai and Chinese words is normal because the Thai initial consonants t- and c- can be interchanged. In Thai, the words that contain interchangeable initial consonants t- and c- are, for example, ta-kha:p พะบาบ and ca-kha:p จะบาบ "centipede," and ta-khe: พะเข้ and ca-khe: จะเข้ "crocodile."

#### (ru:)cak (j)ŏn: 識 \*sjek "know, recognize"

The word cak in in Thai has several meanings: "to make notches on the edge like the teeth of a saw," "to split bamboo or rattan stems into fine strips with a knife," "to know, recognize, remember." It can also function as a modal to indicate future tense. When the word cak in is paired with the word ru: i as in ru:-cak in, it means "to know, to recognize." When it is put together with more than one word as in ru:-cak-mak-ci: i in in the meaning comes from the additional attached words mak in and ci: i i. Both mak in and ci: i correspond with the word \*\*\* \*\*mag "to like,love" and \*\*\* \*\*tie "to know, to be familiar with, to be intimate with."

(cap)cau (จับ)เจ่า: 抓 \*tsau "(bird) to perch, grasp"

In Thai, the word cau เจ๋า always occurs with other words such as cap-cau จับเจ๋า "(of a bird) to perch, grasp" and nang-cau นับเจ๋า or cau-cuk เจ๋าจุก "(of a person) to sit still and look forlorn." The word cau เจ๋า in all these cases could be the same word as the Chinese word \*tsau.

(cun)cia (จุน)เจื้อ: 佐 \*tsa "to assist, help"

The word cia เจื้อ in the compound word cun-cia จุนเจือ or cia-ca:n เจือจาน probably corresponds with the Chinese word \*tsa. The word cun-cia จุนเจือ, therefore, means "to provide help and support." ciaca:n เจือจาน means "to assist and lend a hand."

(ya:p)cha: (หยาบ)ช้า: 粗 \*\*dzag "coarse, rough"

The final \*\*-g in this Archaic Chinese reconstructed form disappeared in the Western Han Dynasty (206-24 B.C.). In studying the sound correspondences between Thai and Archaic Chinese, the sound \*\*-ag in Archaic Chinese usually corresponds to the sound -a: in Thai (Prapin 1975:195-6). As a result, the word cha: in should be the same word as \*\*dzag in Chinese, i.e. it is a synonym of ya:p www "coarse, rough."

(sæ:)so:ng (แช่)ช้อง: 頌 \*zjwong "to praise, eulogize"

The word so:ng won in the sense of "to praise" is usually paired with the word sæ:us which means "to be too noisy to catch to word," and become the compound word sæ:-so:ng us won meaning "to shout praises."

#### thot(tho:i) ถด(ถอย): 退 \*thəd "to retreat"

In tracing the original meaning of the word anath from the Chinese words, a two-tier relationship was seen between Thai and Chinese. The word that an corresponds to the Archaic Chinese word \*\*thad "to retreat." The word that are corresponds to the Ancient Chinese word \*thuai "to retreat." In Ancient Chinese, certain final consonants that had occurred in Archaic Chinese no longer occurred. In this case, the final consonant \*\*-d has disappeared and thus brought about a sound change from \*\*thad to \*thuai. The synonym compound that-tha:i anath in Thai, besides the meaning "to retreat," is frequently used in its extended meaning "to become smaller in size or extent, to lessen."

#### (dæ:ng)thiak (แดง)เถือก: 赤 \*thjiak "red, fire red"

Presently the Thai word thiak เฉือก is used in the sense of "all over" (it modifies the word dæ:ng แดง "red" as in dæ:ng-thiak แดงเฉือก). This word must have derived from the Chinese word \*\*thjiak. The word thiak เฉือก not only appears in the synonym compound dæ:ng-thiak แดงเฉือก, but also in the old literary works. However, the meaning is not known because it is now obsolete. Supposing that thiak เฉือก has the above meaning, the word thiak thin-na-ko:n เฉือกทินกร and thiak-tho:ng เฉือกต่อง that appear in old literature can then be translated as "the sun which is fire red" and "thorough red," respectively.

#### (tha:p)tha:m (ทาบ)ทาม: 談 \*dam "to talk"

The word tha:m nin in the compound word tha:p-tha:m ninin means "to sound out (someone), to ask in advance." This word which never appears by itself could be corresponding with the word \*dam "to talk" in Chinese.

thiau(pai)thiau(ma:) เทียว(ไป)เทียว(มา): 外 \*dieu "going and coming"

The word thiau เทียว in Thai usually occurs with the word pai ไป "to go" and ma: มา "to come" as in thiau-pai-thiau-ma: เทียวไปเทียวมา, meaning "walking back and forth, going and coming" which also is the meaning of \*dieu.

(lam-ba:k-ya:k)na:n (ลำบากยาก)นาน: 難 \*nan "difficult"

The word ya:k-na:n ยากนาน, according to the Dictionary of the Royal Institute (1982), means "very difficult." When comparing the Thai word na:n นาน with \*nan, which means "difficult" in Chinese, lam-ba:k-ya:k-na:n ฉำบากยากนาน should be a compound that consists of three synonym words, that is, lam-ba:k ฉำบาก, ya:k ยาก and na:n นาน, all meaning "difficult."

riak(suan) เรือก (สวน): 🥞 \*drjəg "the land that has been ploughed and raked or the land that is suitable for planting"

The corresponding Chinese word for riak ison has double initial consonants \*\*dr-. Because such double initial consonant sounds do not occur in Thai, \*\*dr- was broken into d- (thiak inon) and r- (riak ison). The word thiak inon has a similar meaning to the Chinese word \*\*drjəg which means the land that has been ploughed, raked and prepared for sowing as in tham-thiak-thok-kla: ทำเทือกตกกล้า. The word riak ison is used in the expression riak-suan เรือกสวน meaning "orchard." The word riak ison in riak-suan เรือกสวน does not have any special meaning. If riak ison is considered to come from the Chinese word \*\*drjəg like the word thiak inon, it can mean the

same, that is, the land that has been ploughed and raked or the land that is suitable for planting.

The word riak เรือก, moreover, can supposedly come from another Chinese word 宅 \*\*drak, which means "a place for settlement." In an agricultural country like Thailand, the people who have riak-suan-rai-na: เรือกตามไร่นา are considered to be well-off because they have both a place for settlement and land suitable for planting, i.e. suan สาม "orchard," rai ไร่ "farm" and na: นา "rice field."

?ok(kai) on(ln): 屋 \*?uk "house"

(?ok)kai (on)ไก่ : 姓 \*ka "ridge or framework of

a house"

The word ?ok-kai onlin in Thai means "ridgepole." Thai people usually explain that it is called ?ok-kai onlin "chicken breast" because this wooden form looks like the chest of a chicken. This word probably comes from the Chinese word 是 架 \*?uk \*ka, a compound of the word \*?uk "house" and \*ka "the ridge of a house." The Chinese word \*?uk \*ka is used to call the wood that is used to form the ridge or framework of a house.

phɨ:n(sia) พื้น(เสีย): 念 \*bjuən "to get angry"

The word phi:n wu in phi:n-sia wulfu "to get angry" might mean "to be angry with or to be indignant with," since it corresponds with the Chinese word \*bjuan that has the same meaning.

(kra?)dai (กระ)ใด: 梯 \*thiei "stairway"

The Thai word dai ใด probably corresponds with the Chinese word \*thiei. The syllable kra? กระ in the word kra?-dai กระได is supposedly shortened from the first syllable in the Laotian word khan-dai บันใด which also means stairway.

#### (kæ:ng)som (แกง)สัม: 酵 \*sam "sour"

Generally when talking about the sour taste in Thai, the word priau เปรียว "sour" is used. In fact, another word in Thai that also means sour is som สัม. But the word never appears by itself in this sense. In general when we say som สัม, we usually refer to the fruits in the orange family such as sour orange and tangerines. The word som สัม in the sense of sour taste is used in a few compound nouns such as kæ:ng-som แกงสัม "a soup of which the main taste is sour," tam-som คำสัม or som-tam สัมคำ "sour-tasted papaya salad," and nam-som-sai:-chu: น้ำสัมสายชุ "vinegar." The word som สัม in the above three words retain the original meaning "sour" and corresponds with the Chinese word \*sam which sounds and means similarly.

pa:u(rɔ:ng) ป่าว(ร้อง): 報 \*pau "to announce, to report"

The word pa:u ป๋าว in Thai corresponds to the Chinese word \*pau "to announce, to report." This word in Thai usually occurs with another word as in pa:u-ro:ng ป๋าวร้อง or pa:u-pra-ka:t ป๋าวประกาศ "to announce publicly."

#### (?uan)phi: (ชั่วน)พื: 肥 \*bjwei "fat"

This word **phi:** พี in Thai corresponds with the Chinese word \*bjwei "fat." In Thai it does not appear by itself but is usually paired with the word ?uan ช้วน "fat" as in ?uan-phi: ช้วนพื.

#### (sa?)phai (எะ)ใก้: 婦 \*bjou "daughter-in-law"

This word is a disyllabic word of which the first syllable sa? สะ- is supposedly shortened from the original word sa:น สาว "maiden" in sa:u-phai สาวให้ that also means daughter-in-law.

#### (cha:ng)phiak (ช้าง)เผือก: 白 \*bok "white"

The word **phiak** เผือก probably corresponds to the Chinese word \*bok "white." This word in the sense of white is normally used to describe certain animals that have abnormal white skin such as **cha:ng-phiak ข้างเผือก** "white elephant," and **khwa:i-phiak** ควายเผือก "white water buffalo."

### to:(su:) ต่อ(สู้) : 🟥 \*tau "to fight, wrangle"

The word to: ต่อ that means "to fight against, to face" does not appear by itself in Thai but occurs with other words as in to:-ko:n ต่อกร "to fight with someone" to:-ta:n ต่อด้าน "to fight against" and to:-su: ต่อสู้ "to fight." In the past the verb to: ต่อ could be found to occur by itself. For example, sing-cau-ma:- to:-duai-pho:-dai ซึ่งเจ้ามาต่อด้วยพ่อได้ "that you dare to fight with me, your father" in Ramayana which was composed in the reign of King Rama I (A.D.1782-1809). The word to: ต่อ should be the same word as \*tau in Chinese.

#### ru:t(khlo:n) รูด(โคลน): 捋 \*luat "to scrape off"

The sound correspondence between the initial consonants of this Chinese-Thai pair is normal because there is a sound correspondence between r-5- and l-a- to some extent. The word ru:t 30 in the Thai language is similar to the Chinese word \*luat as in ru:t-khlo:n 3010au "to scrape off the mud."

#### chan(phe:n) ฉัน (เพล): 餐 \*tshan "to eat"

The Chinese word \*tshan means "to eat" in general. In Thai, the word chan จัน "to eat" is specifically used for the monks, thus chan-phe:n จันเพล means monks partaking the forenoon meal.

#### sak(tha:m) ชัก(ถาม): 索 \*sak "to ask"

The word sak จัก here corresponds with \*sak "to ask" in Chinese. It is used alone by itself in this meaning only when it is obvious in the context that it means "to ask." However, it is generally paired with other words as in sak-tha:m จักถาม "to ask, to interrogate" and sak-sai จักใช้ "to cross-question."

#### sa:n(sen) ซ่าน(เซ็น): 散 \*san "to be scattered"

The word sa:n ซ่าน should be the same word as \*san "to be scattered" in Chinese. This word in Thai usually occurs with other words as in sa:n-sen ซ่านเซ็น "to be scattered, dispersed."

#### thiang(pha:) เทียง(ผา): 城 \*\*djing "wall, city wall"

The word **thaing เกียง** is an old Thai word. It means "wall" as in **thiang-pha:** เกียงผา "stone wall." The word \*\*djing meaning "wall" is also an Archaic Chinese word. Presently, 城 in Chinese is generally used to mean "city" which is its extended meaning. The word 城 in the sense of wall remains in some words such as **Changcheng** "the Great Wall."

#### (na:)pha:k (หน้า)ผาก: 顱 \*\*blag "forehead"

The initial consonant in the Proto-Tai reconstruction of the word pha:k ผาก is a double initial consonants \*phl-(Li 1977:88) which corresponds to the initial \*\*bl- of the Chinese word meaning "forehead." The word pha:k ผาก in present day Thai does not appear alone in this sense, except in na:-pha:k หน้าผาก "forehead."

#### rak(ræ:) รัก(แร้): 腋 \*\*rak "the arm-pits"

This word in present day Thai is a disyllabic word. Other Thai dialects such as White Tai, Black Tai and Sak all use the second syllable of this word to mean the arm-pits (Prapin 1975:267). Therefore, it is possible that rak-ræ: šnuš

"arm-pits" is a compound that consists of two words which have the same meaning.

From all examples mentioned in this paper, we can see that tracing the origin and meaning of the words using Chinese data enables us to know the true meaning of the elements in the disyllabic words, thus helps us to understand the meanings of the whole words better. One interesting observation from this study is that more than half of the disyllabic words of which the element corresponds to a Chinese word are compound words of synonyms or near-synonymic words. It is worth studying further and finding out whether the correspondence of these words are due to the fact that Thai and Chinese were genetically related, or to the fact that word borrowing had taken place during their long contact.

#### References

- Karlgren, Bernhard. 1957. Grammata serica recensa. Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities 20.1-332.
- Li, Fang-kuei.1971. Shang-ku-yin yen-chiu. Ching-hua hsueh-pau 9.1-61.
- Li, Fang-kuei. 1977. A handbook of comparative Tai. Hawaii: The University Press of Hawaii.
- Manomaivibool, Prapin. 1975. A study of Sino-Thai lexical correspondences (Ph.D.dissertation, University of Washington).
- Royal Institute. 1982. Photchanaanukrom chabap Raatcha bandittayasathaan. Bangkok: Aksorn Chareonthat.