The Origin and Development of kra- and ka- Words in Siamese Thai

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Introduction

In Siamese Thai there are over six hundred disyllabic words beginning with kra- and ka, for example /krad̀uuk/ ‘bone’, /kradaan/ ‘board’, /kathi!/ ‘coconut milk’. Where did all these words come from? Are they cognate words? Are they loan-words from other languages, or are they new words formed in Siamese? Related literature and many linguists who have studied kra- and ka- words have shown that they come from many directions; as loan words (Banchob Bandhumedha 2526 : 9, 16: Gedney 1947), or as words changing from within the Thai language (Banchob Bandhumedha 2530:121-29), or as new formation words (Uppakitsilllapasan 2531:29-33; Sunan Anchaleenukul 2520). This research specially aims at investigating the origin and development of all the kra- and ka- words, documentary found in Siamese.

1. The origin of kra- and ka- words

765 kra- and ka- words were collected from dictionaries since the Early Rattanakosin period. These data were analyzed in the following processes. First, they were compared with words in other Tai languages to find whether they were cognate. It was found that those cognate of kra- and ka- words were monosyllabic. There were no cognate words beginning with kra- and ka-, except for those found in dialects in Thailand. Second, the remaining words were compared with words in other language families. This stage led to the discovery of loan words. Finally, the words which did not belong to the 2 categories were investigated, using the dictionaries of the Rattanakosin periods, to find whether kra- and ka- words were lately formed.

It was found that of the 765 kra- and ka- words, 210 (27%) are loan words, 329 (43%) are new formation words, and 226 (30%) are anonymous.
1.1 Loan words

210 of the kra- and ka- words in Siamese are loan words, of which 102 were borrowed from Khmer, 72 from Pali-Sanskrit, and the remaining were from other languages; for instance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pali-Sanskrit</th>
<th>Siamese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kanaka/      &gt;</td>
<td>/kanok/          &lt;กนก&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kamala/      &gt;</td>
<td>/kamon/          &lt;กมล&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khmer</td>
<td>Siamese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/krahaay/     &gt;</td>
<td>/krahai/         &lt;กระหา&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kapca/       &gt;</td>
<td>/kracha/         &lt;กระชะ&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>Siamese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/krobeok/     &gt;</td>
<td>/kraphatok/      &lt;กระรหัต&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>Thai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kari/        &gt;</td>
<td>/kari/           &lt;กะเหร&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 Loan words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source language</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pali-Sanskrit</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khmer</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malay or Khmer</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khmer borrowed from Thai or Thai borrowed from Khmer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other languages</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2 New formation words

As for the development of kra- and ka- words from the Early Rattanakosin dictionaries throughout the present time, it is found that there are 329 words which could be traced its origin as new formation words. They were categorized into three groups:

1.2.1 Disyllabic forming words
1.2.2 Initial changing words
1.2.3 Partial reduplicating words
### Table 2  New Formation words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Disyllabic forming words</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognate words</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siamese words</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complex words</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudo-complex words</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Initial changing words</strong></td>
<td>78</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Partial reduplicating words</strong></td>
<td>72</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>329</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1.2.1 Disyllabic forming words

Kra- or ka- are added before monosyllabic words which are cognate or Siamese words, thus this group can be divided into 2 subgroups.

#### 1.2.1.1 Kra- or ka- + cognate words

There are 22 cognate words; for instance, /kracʰ̂n/ <กระท่อน>, /krad̪uːk/ <กระดูก>, /krabɔ̄ːk/ <กระบอก>, /krar̩ǧk/ <กระรอก> etc. An example of one word is: /krad̪uːk/ ‘bone’ <กระดูก>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Southwestern</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Northern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahom /qʰ̂n/</td>
<td>Nung /duk⁶⁶</td>
<td>Tay /dok²⁷⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shan /lup/</td>
<td>Lungchow /duk/</td>
<td>Po-ai /nook/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lue /ka-duuk²⁴⁵</td>
<td>Leiping /dok/</td>
<td>Saek /tɔɔk/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Tai /duk/</td>
<td>LungMing /nok/</td>
<td>Wu-ming /dɔk/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Tai /dup²⁵⁵</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chuan /dʊk³³⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lao /kad̪͡uːk/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phu Thai /ka?-du²⁵⁵</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Northen Thai dialect**

/kad̪̂uːk/           
Southern Thai dialect

/doːk/
This example shows that Lao, Lue, Phu Thai, and Thai dialects also use ka- words. However, these languages are spoken in Thailand, thus they may be influenced by Siamese Thai.

### 1.2.1.2 Kra- or ka- + Siamese words

There are 157 Siamese words, divided into 2 subgroups.

#### A) Complex words

Complex words are disyllabic words beginning with kra- or ka- having different meanings, or different word classes from a monosyllabic base. There are 21 words; for instance:

- ปิ /b gibi/ verb, to break off (a small piece) with one’s fingers, pinch off.
- ภิ่ป /krabi gibi/ noun, a small piece of
- ผัง /phang/ transitive verb, to throw down, hurl down
- ภิ่ม /krathom/ intransitive verb, to paddle, splash.

#### B) Pseudo-complex words

Pseudo-complex words are disyllabic words having the same meaning as their monosyllabic base. There are 136 words; for instance:

- ปิ-ภิ่ป /phim-krathom/ ‘a trap to catch eels with’
- ผัง-ภิ่ม /phang-krathom/ ‘I, me (masculine singular)’

### 1.2.2. Initial changing words

Some words whose first syllables are /kha-, pra-, ta-, tra-, sa-/ etc. are changed to /kra-/ or /ka-/ without changing the meaning. There are 78 words; for instance:

- ขยิม /khayim/ > กระบี่ /kraiyim/
- สะเทือน /sathawn/ > กระทบ /kathawen/
1.2.3 Partial reduplicating words

Some kra- and ka- words may partially reduplicate themselves, thus forming new words. Though these new words have no meaning and cannot be used alone, they are always added to the original words and may be used as elaborate words; for instance:

กราด้าบกราพิ่บ /krathופ krathิip/, /krathิip/ is a partially reduplicating word of /krathဖ/, which has no meaning, and cannot be used alone.

1.3 Anonymous

The last group consists of 226 words. The source of these words is unknown, and most of them are either plant, animal, or article names; for instance;

plant names : /kraciaญ/ กราพิเชิญ, /krathิญ/ กราพิเทิญ, /krabaக/ กราปายก
fish names : /krasooญ/ กราพิชิง, /krasวูญ/ กราพิชูญ, /kramญ/ กรามยง
materials : /krathaญ/ กราพิชาญ, /krachก/ กราพิชิก, /kratญ/ กราดญ

**Chart 1. Sources of kra- and ka- words**
2. Development of the written forms of kra- and ka- words

To study the development of kra- and ka- words, data were collected from written sources from the Sukhothai period until present time (A.D. 1219 - A.D. 1982) and divided into five periods: Sukhothai, Ayuddhaya, Early Rattanakosin, Middle Rattanakosin, and the Present time.

Of these five periods two types of sources were used. Primary sources were used for both the Sukhothai and Ayuddhaya periods due to the absence of a dictionary. The remaining three, Early Rattanakosin, Middle Rattanakosin and The Present time periods utilized data from several dictionaries.

In studying the development of kra- and ka- words, two main problems were confronted: 1. There is little data from the Sukhothai and Ayuddhaya Periods, and the primary data used was related to either religious documents or transcripts by Thai kings. This made it difficult to find kra- and ka- words. 2. Each dictionary has a different scope, thus varying the total number of kra- and ka- words.

The development of kra- and ka- words consists of 2 facets:
1. Examination of the written form of kra- and ka- words in the 5 periods.
2. Comparison of the number and study of the development of kra- and ka- words.

2.1. Examination of the forms of kra- and ka- words

The oldest written forms of kra- and ka- words are <กร> <ก> <กข>. They are found in the Sukhothai and Ayuddhaya periods. <ก> has disappeared since the Early Rattanakosin Period, and <กข> since the Middle Rattanakosin Period. In the Present Period <กข> <กข> <ก> are used.

Table 3. The written forms of kra- and ka- word

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>ก</th>
<th>ก</th>
<th>กข</th>
<th>กษ</th>
<th>กษร</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sukhothai</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayuddhaya</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Rattanakosin</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Rattanakosin</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Time</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2 Comparison of the number and development of kra- and ka- words.

Only kra- and ka- words which are found throughout all the 5 periods are used and divided into 2 groups:

1) kra- and ka- words in the Sukhothai and Ayuddhaya periods consisting of 58 words.

2) kra- and ka- words in all 3 of the Rattanakosin periods consisting of 171 words.

Chart 2 The development of the first 58 kra- and ka- words.
Of the 58 kra- and ka- words found in the Sukhothai and Ayuddhaya periods, only 39 are found in the Early Rattanakosin, 50 in the Middle Rattanakosin and 58 in the Present Time. The change in the frequency of occurrence of kra- and ka- words through the 5 periods can be clearly seen. It was found that the words beginning with <น-> decreased from 25 words in Sukhothai and Ayuddhaya to 2 words in the Present Time. On the contrary, words which alternated between <น-$\sim$นัน-> increased from 2 words to 20 words in the Early Rattanakosin, to 34 words in the Middle Rattanakosin, and to 31 words in the Present time.

Chart 3 The development of the 171 kra- and ka- words.

- **The Early Rattanakosin period**
  - <น-> 64%
  - <น-$\sim$นัน-> 24%
  - <นัน-> 12%

- **The Middle Rattanakosin period**
  - <น-> 26%
  - <นัน-> 1%
  - <น-$\sim$นัน-> 73%

- **The Present time**
  - <น-> 19%
  - <น-$\sim$นัน-> 71%
There are 171 kra- and ka- words found in the 3 Rattanakosin periods. Again, the change in the frequency of occurrence of kra- and ka- words can be clearly seen. The words beginning with ಕಿರೋ- decreased from 109 words to 44 words in the Middle Rattanakosin, and to 18 words in the Present Time. On the contrary, words which alternated between ಕಿರೂ-ಗರ್ಳ- increased from 41 words to 125 words in the Middle Rattanakosin, and to 121 words in the Present Time. Words beginning with ಗರ್ಳ- decreased from 21 words to only 2 words in the Middle Rattanakosin, and increased to 32 words in the Present Time.

From the two groups of data, words which are written as ಕಿರೂ- in the Early Rattanakosin changed to ಗರ್ಳ- in the Middle Rattanakosin and the Present Time. Words in the Middle Rattanakosin and the Present Time are mainly written as ಗರ್ಳ-.

The examination of kra- and ka- words from the Sukhothai period to the Present time shows the development as follows:

1. Words beginning with ಗರ್ಳ- have 2 patterns.
   a) Kra- words are written as ಗರ್ಳ- from the Sukhothai period until the Present time. i.e.  ಗರ್ಳಿಕ > ಗರ್ಳಿಕಿ,  ಗರ್ಳಿ > ಗರ್ಳಿ.
   b) Kra- words changed to ಗರೂ- or ಗರೂ-ಗರೂ- i.e.  ಗರೂಳಿ > ಗರೂಳಿ,  ಗರೂಳಿ > ಗರೂಳಿ.

2. Most of the words beginning with ಗರೂ- are written as ಗರೂ-, therefore there are many ಗರೂ-ಗರೂ- i.e.  ಗರೂ > ಗರೂ ಗರೂ.

At present, words beginning with ಗರೂ-ಗರೂ- may come from ಗರೂ- or ಗರೂ-. I hypothesize that the cause of these changes are as follows:

1. The need for new words in poetry. I found that ಗರೂ- become ಗರೂ- in Mahachatkhamluang (ಸಾಕ್ಷಿಂದಿರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ) and Ramayana (ರಾಮಾಯಣ) which are poetry works. In Mahachatkhamluang I found 23 out of 39 ಗರೂ- words, and in Ramayana 67 out of 71 which are ಗರೂ- words.

2. Hypercorrection may force some speakers to change ಗರೂ- to ಗರೂ- because they believe that ಗರೂ- is more correct and sounds better than ಗರೂ-.

3. Cluster /r/ simplification, i.e. ಗರೂ- become ಗರೂ-. This occurs because the speaker may delete the second consonant and leave only the first one.
3. Conclusion

From the examination of the origin of kra- and ka- words, it was found that they came from 2 main sources: first, Siamese Thai borrowed kra- and ka- words from other languages, and second, Siamese Thai formed their own kra- and ka- words by using 3 processes. Gedney (1989:122) states that Southeast Asia is one of the most complex areas in the world, thus languages which are genetically unrelated, for example, Thai and Mon-Khmer, or Thai and Tibeto-Burman, show similarities in grammatical structure or in the organization of the semantics of the lexicon. These similarities are clearly the result of convergence. In regards to kra- and ka- words, it may be said that after borrowing disyllabic words, Siamese formed disyllabic words beginning with kra- and ka- by itself. One reason is that Siamese is surrounded by polysyllabic languages, thus some monosyllabic words may change into disyllabic words. As can be seen in the case of kra- and ka- new formation words.

For the development of kra- and ka- words it was found that words which alternate between kra- or ka- in the present time, come from words which were used as kra- or ka- in the Early Rattanakosin Period. Today, kra- and ka- words do not have a specific pronunciation. Virtually any form of pronunciation is acceptable.

Notes
1. Dictionaries of the Rattanakosin period consist of :

   1 พจนานุกรมภาษาสยาม (A Dictionary of the Siamese Language) :
     คี.กิจขวัญ, เ.กง. เ.และ เ.เอ.ช. แยร์ส์, พ.ศ. 2389.


   3 อัครราชบัณฑิตบัณฑิต (Dictionary of the Siamese Language) : ปร.ค.เข, ค.ป. 2416.

   4 พจนานุกรม ปัจุบันนักพิธีกรภาษาไทยสำหรับเขียนคำใช้ให้ถูกต้องวัฒนศิลป์
     ร.ศ.120 :กรมศึกษาธิการ กระทรวงธรรมการ พ.ศ. 2445.

   5 พจนานุกรม กรมศึกษา : กระทรวงธรรมการ พ.ศ. 2470.
2. Data from the Tai language family which had been studied and published before consisted of Northern Thai dialect, North-Eastern Thai dialect, Southern Thai dialect, Siamese, Lao, Phu Thai, Phuan, Lue, Shan, Black Tai, while Tai, Lungchow, LeiPing, LungMing, Po-ai, Ahom, Tay, Tho, Nung, T’ien-pao, Wu-ming, Dioi, Saek, and Tai-Phake.

3. Other language families consisted of Mon, Khmer, Nyah Kur, Malay, and Pali-Sanskrit.

4. The following data was used in studying the development of kra- and ka-words:

**The Sukhothai Period**
1. держиваสมัยสุโขทัย : กรมศิลปากรจัดพิมพ์เมื่อในโอกาสลง 700 ปีลายลักษณ์ไทย พุทธศักราช 2526.
2. คณานันที่เกี่ยวกับدرجةสุโขทัย : อิซิโด โจนโยะและคณะ

**The Ayuddhaya Period**
1. จำกศิลปะสมัยอยุธยา : กรมศิลปากรจัดพิมพ์เผยแพร่ พุทธศักราช 2529
2. มาหาศิลป์สามารถ : รวบรวมกรมศิลปะสมัยอยุธยา เล่ม 1 กรมศิลปากรจัดพิมพ์เผยแพร่ พุทธศักราช 2529.
3. ประวัติโยนยานและเบื้องที่การก่อต่างไปฝั่งเศส : คณะกรมการพิจารณำและจัดพิมพ์เอกสารทางประวัติศาสตร์ สำนักเลขาธิการนายกรัฐมนตรี
4. ถิ่นโบราณเชิงสมัยราชวงศ์ดั้งก่อน เฉลิม ยงบุญภักดี.

**The Early Rattanakosin Period**
1. ประชุมภูมิทัศน์ไทย ภูมิทัศน์ตรา 3 ดวง : โรงพิมพ์นิติศาสตร์.
2. ราชกิจจานุเบกษา ราชาภิเษกในรัชกาลที่ 1 : โรงพิมพ์ภูมิทัศน์.
3. ปรากฏการณ์ภูมิศาสตร์ : สัณหฺวะ, ยงบุญภักดี, และสมเด็จพระเจ้าชัยวงศ์ พ.ศ. 2389.
4. คำสอนคณิตศาสตร์ภาษาสัน : ปิย์อัษฎากรูส ค.ศ. 1796.
The Middle Rattanakosin Period
1 สัมพะทะขณะพะไท : Pallegoix, D.J.B. ก.ศ.1854.
2 อักษรภิบัติณีสรีศรี : ปรั้นผล, ค.ศ.2416.
3 พานนุกรม เป็นคำแปลศัพท์ภาษาไทยสำหรับเขียนคำใช้ในอุคดีองตัวสำคัญ
ก.ศ.120 : กรมศึกษากิจการ กระทรวงธรรมการ ภ.ศ.2445

The Present Time
1 ปทานนุกรม กรมครั้ง : กระทรวงธรรมการ ภ.ศ.2470.
3 พานนุกรมฉบับราชบัณฑิตยสถาน ภ.ศ.2525 : ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน ภ.ศ.
2525.

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ประจวบ พันธุ์เมธ. 2526. อันเนื่องด้วยชื่อ. คณะนุกรมการ เอกแปรอักษรบาลศัพท์ภาษาไทยและ
กรดิกฉากรบการเอกสิทธิ์ของชาติ สำนักงานเลขานุการนายกรัฐ
มนตรี.

2530. ลักษณะภาษาไทยและการใช้ภาษาไทย. กรุงเทพนนท์ : รัฐบาล
สำนักการพิมพ์.

พจนานุกรมไทย-อังกฤษ : 2536. ที่มาและวัฒนธรรมการของที่อยู่ของพื้นที่ตั้งต้นด้วย
การ- และ - ในภาษาไทย. วิทยาลัยพิทยาคมศูนย์บัณฑิต จุฬาลงกรณ์
มหาวิทยาลัย.

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