TOPONYMS IN THE WESTERN REGION OF THAILAND

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Abstract

Village names or toponyms in the Western region of Thailand, i.e. Kanchanaburi, Nakorn Pathom, Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi, Prachuap Khiri Khan, Samut Songkhram, Samut Sakorn and Suphan Buri, in this study are drawn from a complete list of names in Thamnida Thongthii 2535 BC (Provincial Records 1992). The aims of this study are: 1) to analyse the linguistic structure of Thai village names 2) to set up dimensions for the semantic features of the village names in the western region of Thailand and 3) to make a frequency count of the general names which are the first morpheme of a name. The result are as follows: 1) the linguistic structure of the village names is the same as that of the grammatical word structure in Thai 2) there are five major semantic dimensions of the village names, namely, the geographical features which include water or sources of water, elevated land areas and other geographical areas, the non-geographical features which consist of plants, animals, uncultivated or the cultivated land and profession, constructed objects, numbers, persons, and other ethnic languages, the locative or directional features which are divided into prepositional locatives and noun locatives, the auspicious features and the descriptive features, and 3) the village names to the western region of Thailand rely significantly on physical geography of the area.

1. Introduction

The study of toponyms has attracted the interest of scholars such as linguists, anthropologists, etc. because toponymy or place names involves language, culture, history, geography, ways of living, in other words a great deal of knowledge about language and ethnic history of the geographical area in which they occur can be obtained from the study.

The author’s interest in studying toponyms first came as the byproduct from one of the field trips for the “Field Methods in Linguistics” course; in looking at various village-name signs along the roads in Kanchanaburi province; I began to wonder how come I did not know the meanings of the village names. And it became an attempt in trying to know the place and the people since Mahidol University’s new campus is in Kanchanaburi province. The study of toponyms is the answer. Later the study was enlarged to include the other seven provinces in the western region of Thailand.

The New Encyclopedia Britannica (1992:849) defined ‘toponymy’ as follows:

Toponymy, taxonomic study of place-names, based on etymological, historical, and geographical information. A

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place-name is a word or words used to indicate, denote, or identify a geographic locality such as a town, river, or mountain... Toponymy is concerned with the linguistic evolution (etymology) of place-names and the motive behind the naming of the place (historical and geographical aspects). Habitation and feature names are either generic or specific, or a combination of the two. A generic name refers to a class of names such as river, mountain, or town. A specific name serves to restrict or modify the meaning of the place-name.

That is, its evolution involves two things: word formations and geographical aspects. The present study is motivated even more by Franz Boas’ statement that ‘geographical terminology does not depend solely upon cultural interests but is also influenced by linguistic structure’ (Boas, 1964:171). Up to the present time, there has been no study of toponyms in Thailand, specifically those concerning the village names of the western region of Thailand. Thus, in this study the 4,916 village names of the eight provinces in the western region (see map 1), Kanchanaburi, Nakhon Pathom, Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi, Prachuap Khiri Khan, Samut Sakhon, Samut Songkhram and Suphanburi are classified and analyzed according to their linguistic structure and the motivation for that structure. The study has investigated the following aspects of Thai village names: 1) the linguistic structure of the names; 2) the cultural and geographical dimensions of village names; and 3) the relationships of village names to the physical geography of the area.

2. The Data

The village names studied below are drawn from a complete list of names in Tham-niap thong-thii 2535 BC (2535, Provincial Records 1992).4 Tham-niap thong-thii 2535BC listed the numbers and names of all the provinces in Thailand. For the eight provinces in this study, the number of villages in each province is as follows:

1. Kanchanaburi 761 villages (muu baan) (Tham niap 1992:55-74)
2. Nakhon Pathom 850 villages (muu baan) (Tham niap 1992:345-361)
3. Ratchaburi 886 villages (muu baan) (Tham niap 1992:901-906)
4. Phetchaburi 630 villages (muu baan) (Tham niap 1992:737-750)
5. Prachuap Khiri Khan 354 villages (muu baan) (Tham niap 1992:591-600)
6. Samut Sakhon 293 villages (muu baan) (Tham niap 1992:1090-1096)
7. Samut Songkhram 278 villages (muu baan) (Tham niap 1992:1083-1089)
8. Suphanburi 864 villages (muu baan) (Tham niap 1992:1140-1158)

Total 4,916 villages

All the village names of the eight provinces from Tham-niap thong-thii 2535BC were entered manually on

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3 There was one study done by Jerry W. ainey on eastern and southern Thailand in 1984, which has given a lot of useful guidance for this study. The other study was conducted by Pranee Kullavanijya on the village names in Quangxi Province and the Northeastern Part of Thailand in 1992. This study on the Western region of Thailand was funded by Mahidol University.

4 This is the 1992 edition, the latest is the 1998 edition. This study began before the latest edition came out.
cards. One card is for one village name together with a coding system of letters and numbers, representing provinces, districts, and sub-districts (See Appendix I). Then, the data were classified and counted, again manually, on the basis of the meaning of the first morpheme of the village names, so it is really a very slow process of classification, rearrangement counting and recounting.5

3. Geographical features of Western Thailand

According to Thai Cultural Landscape (1996:259), the western region of Thailand includes the provinces of Tak, Kanchanaburi, Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi and Prachuap Khiri Khan. The physical features of the region mostly include mountains and valleys, and some areas are close to the sea. The Central Thanon Thongchai Range starts in the north, passes through Tak province, and ends at the east side of the Kwai Noi River in Kanchanaburi. The Tenassarim Range starts out at the north of the Three Pagoda Pass in Sangkhlaburi district of Kanchanaburi and passes through Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi and Prachuap Khiri Khan and ends in Ranong province. Big alluvial plains are found in the western region, i.e., the Mae Klong alluvial plain along the Mae Klong River in Kanchanaburi, Ratchaburi and Samut Songkhram, and the coastal plains along the coastline of the western region start in Phetchaburi and ends in Prachuap Khiri Khan.

The four provinces in this study are located physically in the western region. The other four, namely, Nakhon Pathom, Suphanburi, Samut Sakhon and Samut Songkhram are geographically located in the central region of Thailand.6 Nakhon Pathom is where the main campus of Mahidol University is situated. All these four provinces are adjacent to the four previously mentioned. Most of the central region is alluvial flatland.

4. Linguistic Structure of Toponyms

In ‘On geographical names of the Kwakiutl Indians’ (1964:171-176), Boas examined the influence of linguistic structure of the Kwakiutl Indian language on the formation of geographical names. After giving examples of suffixation in Kwakiutl, he compared the structure of various geographical names of several American Indian languages, those that have a large number of suffixes, namely Kwakiutl and Eskimo, and those that, in Boas terms, ‘compound with case’, e.g., Mexican Nahuatl, Keresan, Zuni, etc. (Boas 1964:175). This led Hymes to state

...that cultural interests are the major factor in terminology, but that the selectivity of linguistic form affects the kinds of terms that occur and their frequency... (Hymes, 164:169).

5 Collation of the data is done manually so that all the village names will be studied and analyzed along the way. A computerized database is compiled after the studied is done in order to show the distribution of the villages and the physical geography of the area, and to make use of all the facilities available from the Mahidol Ethnolinguistic Map Project

6 See Thai Cultural Landscape (1996: 259, 311)
As is well known, Thai is a predominantly monosyllabic language. However, semantically unanalyzable polysyllabic words also exist. Moreover, word-compounding and reduplication are very productive processes in Thai. Modifiers follow the words they modify and, of course, the possessor follows the possessed. Thai also has prepositions. While Thai morphology differs from that of English, the Thai sentence has the same basic word order as in English, i.e., Subject-Verb-Object. Thus, we can say that Thai is typologically a /SVO/Pr/NP/NA/ language.

Given that there is no productive inflection in Thai and that compounding is a very lively process, Thai village names should reflect this linguistic special structure. On the basis of the 4,916 village names in the eight western provinces of Thailand, a village name generally consists of a single word or a compound word.

4.1. Names of a single word. 
Only a small number of village names have this construction in which bāan 'village' is followed by a modifier:7

- bān pød (bāan 'a village' - bij 'large swamp'), bān pøk (bāan 'a village' - hūay 'brook, stream, creek'), bān lom (bāan 'a village' - doon 'highland'), bān mɛt (bāan 'a village' - kəw 'old'), bān mpr (bāan 'a village' - bon 'upper, on').

4.2. Names of two words. In this pattern both words are monosyllabic nouns, the first word is usually a geographical term, plant name, or gathering place, and the second word may be a geographical term, plants, animal name, or a descriptive word: น้างน้า (nāng 'swamp, lagoon, large pool' - saay 'sand'), คํ่องกวาง (khák 'canal' - yaaw 'long'), تفكิ้ง (phoo 'Bo tree, Ficus religiosa' - yāy 'big'), ตลาด ความ (talāat 'market' - khwaay 'buffalo'), and ตลาดนิยม (talāat 'market' - māy 'new').

4.3. Names of two words. The first word is a monosyllabic geographical term or plant name or part (See 5.2.1), and the second word is a bisyllabic compound usually functioning as a modifier of the first: กัลยาณิช (khák 'canal' - ยูน + รา 'shipyard + boat'), น้างน้า (nāng 'swamp, lagoon, large pool' - náam + ขัน 'water + muddy'), ต้นบอน (tōn 'stump' - māy + ดาเล่ 'wood + red'), หยาบตา (phay 'bamboo' - ช่อง + ลม 'opening, gap + wind').

4.4. Names of three words. The first two words are usually monosyllabic nouns expressing geographical features, plant names/parts, animals, or gathering places. The third word is a modifier, which may be a monosyllabic word or a compound word, signifying a characteristic, shape, age, direction, or a proper name. Examples are: กษัตริย์ ผนิป (khák 'canal' - วัด 'temple' - รับ 'lotus, Pali'), น้างน้ากวาง (nāng 'swamp, lagoon, large pool' - baa 'waterway' - kāw 'old'), บาง สวนแก้ว (baa 'water way' - sakāw 'a kind of tree, Conbretum quadrangulare'- น้อย 'small, little'), น้างน้ากวาง (nāng 'swamp, lagoon, large pool' - nök 'bird' - kra

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7 Pranee Kullavanijya (1992:32) stated that the word ‘บ้าน’ is the word used in various languages of the Tai Language Family to mean village. It had this same meaning in the older days in Thai, but nowadays the meanings have been narrowed down to mean ‘a house, home’. Thus it is possible that all these village names may consist of two nouns or a noun and a preposition or an adjective.
rian ‘sarus crane’), ฝูงกวาง (pūng ‘salt lick’ - khee ‘barking deer’ - phat tha naa ‘develop, Pali’), ปลาทู (phay ‘barkwood’ - tan ‘grand father’ - móo ‘proper name’).

Given the fact that the Thai are Buddhists, the Pali language, a language of Buddhism, and the Sanskrit language, a language of high formal ceremonies, have had a great deal of influence upon the names of the Thai people, and the names of Thai villages are no exception. Many village names in the eight provinces have Pali or Sanskrit names or Pali or Sanskrit words as modifiers of the head words in the names, for instance: คูคลอง (khlō ‘canal’ - rāat ‘people, citizen’, - ca rōm ‘progress, advance’), ริมน้ำ (hūay ‘brook, stream, creek’ - nāak kha rāat ‘Naga, a legendary serpent’), ริมแม่น้ำ (rūām ‘join in, participate’ - cay ‘heart’ - phat tha naa ‘develop’), ตอน ลำพาน (dōn ‘highland’ - s m raan ‘to feel happy, content’), พระสุรี (s i ‘splendor, excellence, glory’ - s m raan ‘to feel happy, content’).

In summary, the linguistic structure of all the village names follows those of the basic word order and very productive compounding in Thai. That is, almost all the village names are mono-morphosyllabic; the poly-morphosyllabic village names consist of a head word and a modifier; the first is usually a mono-morphosyllable, while the second may be monosyllabic word or bisyllabic compound, and if there is a third word, it is usually monosyllabic.

5. Semantic Domains of Toponyms

In his ‘Reference Note’ to Boas (1964:176-181), Hymes recounted that ‘Toponymy proper can be taken as the study of linguistic designation for places and other aspects of geographical reference’:

Often the interest is historical or local curiosity, but especially when approached in terms of structural analysis, involving the organization of such designations into sets and on the basis of underlying components, the topic broaches the problems of spatial orientation in general, both as a cognitive activity and a factor of social life and cultural values.

Based on the meanings\(^8\) of the first or the head word of village names, which are generic nouns\(^9\), there are five major semantic categories or domains as follows:

5.1 ‘Geographical Features’. This category can be divided into 3 subcategories.

5.1.1 Water, a source of water, or a section of water. From the 4,916 village names, there are 1,941 names beginning with the following 30 morphemes that are related in some way to water:

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\(^8\) Most of the Thai translations are taken from Haas (1964).

\(^9\) For the analysis of meaning, the study emphasizes the first noun after the word บ้าน / bān ‘village’ as an initial morpheme of a village name.
1.  ตอง [kâê]  ‘rapids’
   For example:
   ตองเลบ  kâê ‘rapids’ + khâêp ‘narrow’
   ตองปลากด  kâê ‘rapids’ + pla – kôt ‘cat-fish’

2.  ตวง [khû]  ‘bend of a watercourse’
   For example:
   ตวงโค้ง khû ‘bend of a watercourse’ + ta nôot ‘palm sugar’
   ตวงกลาง khû ‘bend of a watercourse’ + taa ‘grandfather’ + khâêw ‘a proper
   name’

3.  ตุ [khuu]  ‘ditch’
   For example:
   ตุบัว khuu ‘ditch’ + bua ‘lotus’
   ตุเมือง khuu ‘ditch’ + mân ‘town’

4.  แค  [khwâë]  ‘tributary, branch of a river’
   For example:
   แคเนนิย khwâë ‘tributary, branch of a river’ + nôo ‘small, little’
   แคแวร์ใหญ่ khwâë ‘tributary, branch of a river’ + waa ‘a deep pool (in a
   large body of water)’ + yây ‘big, large’

5.  คงตัว [kho khâa]  ‘river, sea, the waters; a shortened form for mëa
   kho khâa [the goddess of the waters]’
   For example:
   คงเนิน kho khâa ‘river, sea, the waters’ + nía ‘north’
   คงใต้ kho khâa ‘river, sea, the waters’ + tây ‘south’

6.  คลอง [khlo]  ‘canal’
   For example:
   คลองโพธิ์ khlo ‘canal’ + phoo ‘Bo tree’
   คลองแครน khol ‘canal’ + taa ‘grandfather’ + cûn ‘a proper name’

7.  ชั้นระ [cham r ?]  ‘muddy place’
   For example:
   ชั้นระดับ cham r ? ‘muddy place’ + bon ‘on, over, above’
   ชั้นระล่าง cham r ? ‘muddy place’ + lân ‘down, lower’

8.  น้ำ [nâam]  ‘water’
   For example:
   น้ำพุ nâam ‘water’ + phû ‘fountain, spring’
   น้ำใจ nâam ‘water’ + coon ‘jump’

9.  น้ำตก [nâam tûkk]  ‘waterfall’
   For example:
   น้ำตกไทรทอง nâam tûk ‘water’ + Say ‘banyan tree’ + tho ‘gold’

10. ทะเล [tha lee]  ‘sea’
    For example:
    ทะเลบก tha lee ‘sea’ + bôk ‘land’
    ทะเลดำ tha lee ‘sea’ + káa‘protest’

11. บาง [baa]  ‘waterway’
    For example:
    บางช้าง baa ‘waterway’ + chá ‘elephant, metaphorically ‘big’
    บางทองหลวง baa ‘waterway’ + tho嘉 ‘Erythrina fusca’ (a kind of tree)

12. บึง [bi]  ‘large swamp’
    For example:
    บึงทิวเวียน bi ‘large swamp’ + h a ‘head’ + wâñ ‘ring’
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13. ลบ [bò] ‘well, pond, pit, mine’

For example:

บท ‘well, pond; pit, mine’ + พระ ‘persimmon, Diospyros embryopteris’
บทน้ำ ‘well, pond; pit, mine’ + น้ำมัน ‘fountain, spring’

14. ปลัก [plâk] ‘mud hole, mud puddle’

For example:

ปลัก ‘mud hole, mud puddle’ + ข้า ‘Adina cordifolia’ (a kind of tree)
ปลัก ‘mud hole, mud puddle’ + สัน ‘Combretum quadrangulare’ (a kind of tree)

15. ฟ้า [pha] ‘well, pond’

For example:

ฟ้า ‘well, pond’ + ม้า ‘purple; mango’
ฟ้า ‘well, pond’ + จร ‘jail, prison; tree’

16. น้ำ [phû?] ‘water spout’

For example:

น้ำ ‘water spout’ + น้ำ ‘water’ + น้ำ ‘hot’

17. พระ [phráek] ‘fork in waterway’

For example:

พระ ‘fork in waterway’ + ทะเล ‘sea’
พระ ‘fork in waterway’ + น้ำมัน ‘thorn’ + แดง ‘red’

18. แม่น้ำ [mâap] ‘marshland, low-lying plain’

For example:

แม่น้ำ ‘marshland, low-lying plain’ + ปลา ‘fish’ + ข้า ‘-’
แม่น้ำ ‘marshland, low-lying plain’ + นาน ‘Bignoniaceae’

19. แม่น้ำ [mâap] ‘river’

For example:

แม่น้ำ ‘river’ + น้อย ‘small, little’

20. ราง [raaj] ‘rail, groove, through’

For example:

ราง ‘rail, groove, through’ + ก้า ‘fig tree, Ficusglomerata’
ราง ‘rail, groove, through’ + ท้า ‘grandfather’ + บุญ ‘a proper name’

21. ผลงาน [la h an] ‘body of water, rivulet, brook’

For example:

ผลงาน ‘body of water, rivulet, brook’ + บ้าน ‘village’ + ลาหัน ‘body of water, rivulet, brook’

22. ลำ [lam] ‘course-way, passageway’

For example:

ลำ ‘course-way, passageway’ + พระ ‘-’
ลำ ‘course-way, passageway’ + พระ ‘port, harbor, pier, wharf, landing’ + ภู ‘Bo tree’

23. ลำต้า [lát] ‘shortcut’

For example:

ลำต้า ‘shortcut’ + ปลา ‘shrimp paste’
ลำต้า ‘shortcut’ + ท้า ‘grandfather’ + ชู ‘a proper name’
24. วัง [wa ] ‘a deep pool (in a large body of water)’
For example:
วังข่อย wa ‘a deep pool (in a large body of water)’ + khɔ̀y ‘Strblus asper’ (a kind of tree)
วังยาว wa ‘a deep pool (in a large body of water)’ + yaaw ‘long’
25. .struts [sà?] ‘pool, pond’
For example:
สระน้ำหวาน sà? ‘pool, pond’ + náam ‘water’ + w an ‘sweet’
สระสามสูม sà? ‘pool, pond’ + sii ‘four’ + mum ‘corner’
26. หนอก [nöo ] ‘swamp, lagoon, large pool’
For example:
หนอนกอง nöo ‘swamp, lagoon, large pool’ + ?òo ‘a reed, Arundo donax’
หนอนปลายไหล nöo ‘swamp, lagoon, large pool’ + plaa l y ‘eel’
27. หัวย [hùaey] ‘brook, stream, creek’
For example:
หัวหญู hùaey ‘brook, stream, creek’ + phluu ‘betel-vine’
หัวแจงแข็ง hùaey ‘brook, stream, creek’ + còc ra khée ‘crocodile’
28. อ้ม [?ɔm] ‘detour’
For example:
อ้มใหญ่ ?ɔm ‘detour’ + yây ‘big, large’
อ้มโรงไร้ ?ɔm ‘detour’ + roo hiip ‘sugar cane mill’
29. อ่าง [ʔàañ] ‘reservoir’
For example:
อ่างทิน ?àañ ‘reservoir’ + h n ‘rock’
อ่างศิล่า ?àañ ‘reservoir’ + si laa ‘rock (Pali)’
30. อ่าว [ʔáaw] ‘bay’
For example:
อ่าวใหญ่ ?áaw ‘bay’ + yây ‘big, large’
อ่าวกระเบื้อง ?áaw ‘bay’ + kra bi ‘buffalo’

5.1.2 An area of land of relatively higher elevation compared to surrounding areas also features in elevated land: beginning with one of the following seven noun morphemes related to village names. There are 458 villages

1. โคก /khōok/ ‘mound, knoll’
For example:
โคกเจิงสูง khōok ‘mound, knoll’ + cêt ‘seven’ + lūuk ‘a classifier’
โคกโพ khōok ‘mound, knoll’ + phay ‘bamboo’
2. ดอน /dɔon/ ‘highland’
For example:
ดอนโพ dɔon ‘highland’ + phoo ‘Bo tree’
ดอนนายเหม dɔon ‘highland’ + yaay ‘grandmother’ + hēem ‘a proper name’
3. เนิน /nɔon/ ‘knoll, mound’
For example:
เนินทรู nɔon ‘knoll, mound’ + saay ‘sand’
เนินรัก nɔon ‘knoll, mound’ + rāk ‘love; Calotropis gigantea’ (a kind of a flowering shrub, the black varnish tree)
4. โอน /noon/ ‘highland, hills’
   For example:
   บ้านโอน bān ‘village’ + noon ‘highland, hills’
5. เขา /kh w/ ‘mountain, hill’
   For example:
   เขาใหญ่ kh w ‘mountain, hill’ + ย้อย ‘trickle down’
   เขาพระ kh w ‘mountain, hill’ + พระ ‘monk’
6. หมู่ /pha nom/ ‘mountain’ (Khmer)
   For example:
   หมู่นาง pha nom ‘mountain’ + นาง ‘woman, Mrs.’
   หมู่ทะนัน pha nom ‘mountain’ + ทะนัน ‘lance; go against; contrary’
7. ภู /phuu/ ‘mountain, short form of phuu khāw’
   For example:
   ภูเตี้ย phuu ‘mountain’ + เตี้ย ‘Pandanus helicopus’

5.1.3 Other geographical areas. There are 488 village names in this sub-category. Three morphemes in this sub-category are defined in terms of a body of water.

1. เกาะ /kāʔ/ ‘island’
   For example:
   เกาะสมดีตก kāʔ ‘island’ + สมดี ‘a Karen name for a kind of tree’
   เกาะละแยง kāʔ ‘island’ + ละแยง ‘float’
2. เหลม /lāem/ ‘cape, peninsula’
   For example:
   เหลมแหลม lāem ‘cape, peninsula’ + แหลม ‘gold’
   เหลมมะค่า lāem ‘cape, peninsula’ + มะค่า ‘ebony, Diospyros mollis’
3. ท่า /thaʔ/ ‘port, harbor, pier, wharf, landing’
   For example:
   ท่าคลองท่า thaʔ ‘port, harbor, pier, wharf, landing’ + คลอง ‘pen, shed’ + วัว ‘cow’
   ท่าข้าม thaʔ ‘port, harbor, pier, wharf, landing’ + ข้าม ‘to cross’

Four morphemes are generic nouns signifying lowland or basin:

1. ทุ่ง /thū/ ‘field, meadow, open field’
   For example:
   ทุ่งสมอ thū ‘field, meadow, open field’ + สมอ ‘myrobalan’ (a kind of tree)
   ทุ่งดินขาว thū ‘field, meadow, open field’ + ดิน ‘tree’ + ขาว ‘banyan tree’
2. ลาน /laan/ ‘an open, wide, level area’
   For example:
   ลานม้า laan ‘an open, wide, level area’ + ม้า ‘Lamperata cylindrica’ (a kind of grass)
   ลานท้าว laan ‘an open, wide, level area’ + ท้าว ‘spread out’ + ฟ้า ‘sky’
3. ลาด /läat/ ‘slope, incline’
   For example:
   ลาดหญ้า läat ‘slope, incline’ + หญ้า ‘grass’
   ลาดวล harassing läat ‘slope, incline’ + บัว ‘lotus’ + ขาว ‘white’
4. ลุม /lūm/ ‘lowland, basin’
   For example:
Six noun morphemes in this sub-category designate caves, ridges and related features of rock formations:

1. ถ้ำ /tham/ ‘cave’
   For example:
   ถ้ำเสือ tham ‘cave’ + sā ‘tiger’
   ถ้ำหิน tham ‘cave’ + h n ‘rock’

2. ผา /ph a/ ‘cliff’
   For example:
   ผาป่า ph a ‘cliff’ + pok ‘to cover’

3. สัน /s n/ ‘mountain ridge’
   For example:
   สานพระบาง s n ‘mountain ridge’ + pha นอม ‘sovereign mountain’

4. หิน /h n/ ‘rock’
   For example:
   หินดาด h n ‘rock’ + daat ‘to spread out; level’
   หินแนวemma h n ‘rock’ + làexem ‘pointed’

5. หุบ /húp/ ‘valley’
   For example:
   หุบพระหิริ húp ‘valley’ + prík ‘hot pepper, chilli’
   หุบกระเทิง húp ‘valley’ + kra thīŋ ‘bull’

6. ถูมอง /ʔu mooŋ/ ‘tunnel’
   For example:
   ถูมองสำนัก baän ‘village’ + ʔu mooŋ ‘tunnel’

There are two noun morphemes which refer to land areas along the canals, rivers, or sea:

1. ตลิ้ง /talīŋ/ ‘bank (of a river or canal)’
   For example:
   ตลิ้งชัน talīŋ ‘bank (of a river or canal)’ + chan ‘steep’
   ตลิ้งแดง talīŋ ‘bank (of a river or canal)’ + dae ‘red’

2. หาด /háat/ ‘beach’
   For example:
   หาดสำราญ háat ‘beach’ + sam raan ‘to be gay (Pali)’
   หาดบางแก้ว háat ‘beach’ + baa ‘waterway’ + kāew ‘glass’

There are five noun morphemes which refer to an opening or a passageway through land or water:

1. ทาง /thaŋ/ ‘way’
   For example:
   ทางหลวง thaŋ ‘way’ + lāŋ ‘royal’

2. ช่อง /chō/ ‘opening, hole (through something)’
   For example:
   ช่องกลาง chō ‘opening, hole (through something)’ + làap ‘fortune’
   ช่องลม chō ‘opening, hole (through something)’ + lom ‘wind’

3. ตรอก /trōk/ ‘lane, alley’
   For example:
   ตรอกแม้ว trōk ‘lane, alley’ + ma tuum ‘bale fruit, Aegle marmelos’
4. สะพาน /sa phaan/ ‘bridge’
For example:
สะพานเจาะ sa phaan ‘bridge’ + cek ‘Chinese’
สะพานหิน sa phaan ‘bridge’ + h n ‘rock’

5. gorg /krök/ ‘gorge, ravine, gully, canyon’
For example:
gorkli /sru ‘gorge, ravine, gully, canyon’ + s nhok ‘mountain (Pali)’

The last miscellaneous subcategory includes four morphemes:

1. คัน /khan/ ‘dike, earthen embankment enclosing a paddy field’
For example:
คันฝา khan ‘dike, earthen embankment enclosing a paddy field’ + lam ‘course-way, passageway’
คันฝา khan ‘dike, earthen embankment enclosing a paddy field’ + laang ‘omen’

2. โป่ง /pööŋ/ ‘salt-lick, a place in which the earth is saline’
For example:
โป่งซ้าย pööŋ ‘salt-lick, a place in which the earth is saline’ + chaaŋ ‘elephant’
โป่งขวา pööŋ ‘salt-lick, a place in which the earth is saline’ + w ay ‘rattan’

3. หลุม /l m/ ‘hole’
For example:
หลุมเร่ง 1 m ‘hole’ + ranj ‘lump laterite’ (a kind of a large tree)
หลุมหิน 1 m ‘hole’ + h n ‘rock’

4. หย่อม /yöm/ ‘patch, cluster, clump’
For example:
บ้านหย่อม bānn ‘village’ + yöm ‘patch, cluster, clump’

5.2 ‘Non-geographical Features’. This dimension has been subdivided into eight subcategories:

5.2.1 Plants. There are 383 village names that begin with plant names or common nouns referring to plants or parts of the plants, e.g. ต้น /tön ‘a classifier for ‘tree’ - maphraw ‘coconut’, ธาด /do ‘forest, jungle’ - máy + dāe ‘tree + red’/.

5.2.2 Animals. Only 34 village names out of 4,916 names begin with animal names, such as: เสาด้า /taw ‘turtle’ - dam ‘black’/.

5.2.3 Uncultivated and cultivated lands. Generic nouns in this sub-category refer to land areas having to do with vegetation, and whether they are cleared or not cleared for cultivation. Included in this sub-category are generic nouns for various occupations. There are 337 village names beginning with one of the following nine noun morphemes:
1. ไถ  /rāy/  ‘farm, plantation’
   For example:
   ปลูกเลย  rāy ‘farm, plantation’ + klūay ‘banana’
   ไร่เลย  rāy ‘farm, plantation’ + dōn ‘highland’
2. นา  /nāa/  ‘paddy field’
   For example:
   นาโอบร  nāa ‘paddy field’ + say ‘banana tree’
   นาแหนบ  nāa ‘paddy field’ + น้าม ‘beautiful’
3. ป่า  /pāa/  ‘forest’
   For example:
   ป่าเอก  pāa ‘forest’ + แหนบ ‘Combretum quadrangulare’ (a kind of tree)
   ป่าไอกล  pāa ‘forest’ + klay ‘far’
4. ดง  /do/  ‘jungle’
   For example:
   ดงไมเสดง  do ‘jungle’ + māy ‘wood’ + แสามารถ ‘red’
   ดงยาง  do ‘jungle’ + yaa ‘a timber tree, Dipterocarpus turbinatus’
5. ชั้น  /chān/  ‘dense jungle, deep forest (mostly used in written literature)’
   For example:
   ชั้นอย่างหลัก  chān ‘dense jungle, deep forest (mostly used in written literature)’
   + ดง ‘jungle’ + แสามารถ ‘persimmon Diospyros embryopteris’
   ชั้นป่าสวย  chān ‘dense jungle, deep forest (mostly used in written literature)’
   + ป่า ‘forest’ + w ay ‘rattan’
6. ป่าทอง  /phray/  ‘forest, jungle’
   For example:
   ป่าทองร  phray ‘forest, jungle’ + แหนบ ‘beautiful’
   ป่าแสเส่า  phray ‘forest, jungle’ + sa dau ‘a neem tree Azadirachta indica’
7. ฟอ  /pho/  ‘brush, thicket’
   For example:
   โพงที่ติด  pho ‘brush, thicket’ + tik ‘building’
8. สวน  /s an/  ‘garden, plantation’
   For example:
   สวนใหญ่  s an ‘garden, plantation’ + หญ้า ‘pea, bean’
   สวนละโต้  s an ‘garden, plantation’ + ตากราย ‘galangal’
9. คอก  /khōok/  ‘enclosure, pen, sty; stable, cowbarn’
   For example:
   คอกช้าง  khōok ‘enclosure, pen, sty; stable, cowbarn’ + ช้าง ‘elephant’
   คอกเสมวลิ่ย  khōok ‘enclosure, pen, sty; stable, cowbarn’ + แหนบ wan ‘ ’

A few noun morphemes designate occupations in which are included the terms

1. ตลาด  /talāat/  ‘market’
   For example:
   ตลาดใหญ่  talāat ‘market’ + ยี่ ‘new’
   ตลาดประจุณ  talāat ‘market’ + จุณ ‘pra can ‘ ’

5.2.4 Constructed objects or gathering places. Common noun morphemes that refer to constructed objects or gathering places or to both occur in 291 village names which begin with one of following noun morphemes:

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2. สถาน /s m nák/ 'lodging place; residence'
   For example:
   สถานใน  s m nák 'lodging place; residence' + yen  'cold'
   สถานไทร  s m nák 'lodging place; residence' + ธาจ 'a species of tree'

3. ศาล /s an/  'small shrine in the form of a house, intended as a residence for a spirit'
   For example:
   ศาลเจ้าวัง  s an 'small shrine in the form of a house, intended as a residence for a spirit' + ค้า 'god' + สย 'Chinese opera'

4. ศาล /s a laa/ 'pavilion, hall'
   For example:
   ศาลล้าน  s a laa 'pavilion, hall' + ยา 'medicine'
   ศาลลักษณ์  s a laa 'pavilion, hall' + ท่า 'pier, landing' + ยา 'sand'

5. โรง /roo/  'building, structure (normally not used alone except as a classifier)'
   For example:
   โรงกัง  roo 'building, structure (normally not used alone except as a classifier)' + กุ 'shrimp'
   โรงพิน  roo 'building, structure (normally not used alone except as a classifier)' + สน 'firewood'

6. หับ /tháp/  'dwelling place'
   For example:
   หับสิลา  tháp 'dwelling place' + สิ 'rock (Pali)'
   หับบุรี  tháp 'dwelling place' + สุ 'timber'

7. สวน /san n am/ 'lawn, yard'
   For example:
   สวนแกล้ม  san n am 'lawn, yard' + ยักษ์ 'ground lizard, Liolepis belliana'

8. ผู่ /püu/  'place where something is harbored, cradled, stored'
   For example:
   ผู่ละเผ่า  püu 'place where something is harbored, cradled, stored' + ต้า 'Chinese junk'
   ผู่ยา  püu 'place where something is harbored, cradled, stored' + ยา 'medicine'

9. นิคม /ni khom/ 'settlement'
   For example:
   นิคมส่งเสริม  ni khom 'settlement' + ศา 'co-op'

10. วัด /wät/ 'temple'
    For example:
    วัดไทย  wät 'temple' + ฮ้ม 'banyan tree'
    วัดบางไทร  wät 'temple' + บาง 'waterway' + ยา 'big, large'

11. เวียง /wia/  '(archaic, dialect) city, town'
    For example:
    เวียงตัวโล่ง  wia '(archaic, dialect) city, town' + หา 'wait' + บน 'under'
    เวียงคั่นอบ  wia '(archaic, dialect) city, town' + หา 'wait' + บน 'on'

Finally, the study discovered just a few other morphemes with one or two occurrences in place names.

5.2.5 Numbers. Village names in this sub-category begin with cardinal numbers, such as สติ /sdöp/ 'two', สาม /s am/ 'three', สี่ /sìi/...
‘four’, and are followed by classifiers. The village names in this sub-category have exactly the same construction as those of the numeral noun phrase in Thai with บ้าน /bān ‘a village’ as a head word followed by numbers and classifiers, for example, บ้านก้านหลัง /bān ‘a village’ - คำ ‘nine’ - ลำ ‘classifier for house’, บ้านแปลง /bān ‘a village’ - สอง ‘two’ - ห้อง ‘room’, บ้านสี่แยก /bān ‘a village’ - ศักดิ์ ‘seven’ - แยก ‘intersection’, บ้านสองห้อง /bān ‘a village’ - สอง ‘two’ - ผู้ ‘cousins, relatives’. There are also village names with numbers that have the construction of บ้าน ‘a village’ - classifier - number, e.g., บ้านสองหลัง /bān ‘a village’ - ลำ ‘pole, pillar’ - สอง ‘two’, บ้านสำราญ /bān ‘a village’ - สอง ‘two’ - น้า ‘five’, บ้านเก้าแแกร /bān ‘a village’ - กิโล ‘kilometer’ - แป้น ‘eight’.

5.2.6 Persons. A good number of the village names in the eight provinces include what may be a name or an official title of a person; the name may refer to a former owner, a person who used to live there, a person first situated there, or a representative from the central administration. The name is usually preceded by a generic noun morpheme, such as: ตา /taa ‘grandfather’, ย่า /yaay ‘grand-mother’, นาย /naan ‘title placed before the first name of a married woman, Mrs. + Proper name’, มี /mē ‘mother’, e.g., ตาคุณ /taa ‘grandfather’ - คุณ ‘proper name’; นายพ่อ /yaay ‘grandfather’ - ผู้ ‘proper name’; นาย มด /naa ‘Mrs.’ - บิด ‘proper name’, น้าผู้กำระ /yaay ‘grandmother’ - ผ่าน ‘proper name’; นาย นาย /naa ‘Mrs.’ - บิด ‘proper name’, น้าผู้กำระ /yaay ‘mother’ - ผ่าน ‘proper name’, นางสาว /caa ‘chief of attendants’, ชนิชน /khn ‘title for the lowest rank of conferred nobility’ -  спец ‘proper name’.

5.2.7 Other ethnic languages. The village names, especially those in Kanchanaburi province, are either of Karen or Mon origin. Many Karen and Mon people have come from Myanmar and settled in Kanchanaburi since the final period of the Ayudhya reign (around 1584 AD) and the beginning period of the Rattanakosin reign (around 1815 AD). Nowadays, most of them are Thai citizens but the village names are fixed; the place names are more permanent than the people who lived there. A lot of people who live in the village close to town at present may be descendants of the Karen or the Mon, but a few of them are not. Those who live in the remote areas are mostly of mixed ancestry whose forbears migrated long ago, but some are people who migrated relatively recently (around 1948 AD).

Examples of Mon and Karen Village names are: ร่าง /wān ‘a deep pool (in a large body of water)’ - กา ‘fish (a Mon word meaning fish)’, ชองกิ่ง /sō ‘a Mon word meaning the side or that side’, โพง /yā wū ‘a Karen word meaning ‘red cliff’, แฉะ /sā ‘a Karen word meaning landing or pier for bamboo rafts’ (See Appendix II).

5.2.8 Other ethnic groups. The village names can also tell us something about the ethnic groups who live there and, of course, their cultural heritage. The names in this sub-category are Thai names for other ethnic groups, while those in 5.2.7

10 See Sujaritlak Deepadung (2001) on village names in Kanchanaburi Province, paper presented at the SEALS XI Conference.

11 The morphem ย่า (yaa ) in Thai has two meanings 1) a kind of plant and 2) the Thai word for Karen people. In this study, the village names with 'yaa ' are
above are village names in ethnic languages. Names in this sub-category are: นัก /kh ʊk 'an Indian', ราณี /raaman 'a Mon', ละวา /la waa 'a lawa', ชาวเหนือ /chaaw 'inhabitant of, dweller in' -น-'a north', เกี่ยวหัว /ka ria 'a Karen' - โปรอ 'clear', เกี่ยวเหนือ /kaw 'old' – ka ria 'a Karen'.

5.3 Locatives or Directional Features. Two sub-categories are in these dimensions:

5.3.1 Noun locatives. Noun locatives are words that normally are nouns. Body part terms are extended to denote the shape and locations of villages in relation to various geographical features or gathering places. This is a metaphorical extension of the body-part terms to spatial relational uses, which is a common practice for village names of the eight provinces studied here. For example: ปาก /pàak 'mouth', ท้อง /thong 'stomach', หน้า /nàa 'face', ไหล /lày 'shoulder', คอ /khoco 'neck', หลัง /l 'back', หัว /h a 'head', ต้น /tìn 'foot', as in: ปาก คอลอนเคการดิน /pàak 'mouth' - khoco 'canal' - khoco 'mountain' - din 'soil', ท้องขว้าง /thong 'stomach' - khoco 'end of a water course', หน้าวาง /nàa 'face' - wát 'temple', ไหลลำ /lày 'shoulder' - nàam 'water', คอร่าง /khoco 'neck' - raa 'rail', หลังชรีนิม /l 'back' - roo 'building' - hiip 'press, squeeze, crush', หัว /h a 'head' - pàa 'forest', ต้นเนิน /tìn 'foot' - nàam 'hill'.

Noun locatives can occur before another generic noun in village names: ต้น /tòn 'classifiers for trees; trunk, stalk; beginning, source', ปลาย /plaay 'end, tip', ท้าย /thaay 'rear, end', ริม /rim 'edge, edging', ฝั่ง /fà 'shore, bank', ชาย /chaay 'edge, border', หมู่ /khôop 'edge, rim', ข้าง /khaa 'side', ฝั่ง /faay 'side', ปาก /faak 'side; shore; bank'.

Examples are: ปลายคลอง /plaay 'end, tip' - khoco 'canal', ท้ายบ้าน /thaay 'rear, end' - ko? 'island', ชุมชน /riim 'edge, edging' - khoco 'canal', ชุมชนมะม่วง / fà 'shore, bank' - ko? 'island' - bon 'upper', ทุ่งทะเล รองกุ้ง /chaay 'edge, border' - ท่าลี 'sea' - roo kù 'building + shrimp', ขอนคล้วย /khôop 'edge, rim' - laat 'slant, slope', ชุมชน /khaa 'side' - wát 'temple', ฝั่งชาย /faay 'side' - ท่า 'port; pier', ท่าวาฬ /faak 'side; shore; bank' - ศีร 'swamp, lagoon, large pool'.

Directional nouns, such as เหนือ /n-a 'north', ใต้ /tày 'south', ตะวันออก /ta wan 'east', and ตะวันตก /ta wan 'west', can also precede or follow the other noun morphemes in village names or be a village name by itself. For example:

เหนือวิช /n-a 'north' - wat 'temple', ใต้เหนือ /mày 'new' - n-a 'north', บ้านใต้ /baan 'a village' - ต่าย 'south', ใต้GetEnumerator /khluu 'Pluchia indica' - ต่าย 'south', ใต้เหนือใหม่ /tày 'south', ใต้เหนือใหม่ - mía 'mine' – mày 'new'.

5.3.2 Prepositional locatives. Locative words in this case are prepositions. In village names that include prepositional locatives the morpheme บ้าน /baan 'a village' is followed by a preposition as in บ้าน บน /baan 'a village' - ใต้ 'outside', บ้านริม /baan 'a village' - น้ํา 'in, inside', บ้านกลาง /baan 'a
village' - klaa 'in the middle'/. These prepositional locatives may also follow or precede other geographical terms or gathering places, such as น้อยสระน้ำ /น้อย 'swamp, lagoon, large pool' – sa daw 'Neem tree, Azadirachta indica' - bon 'upper/', กลางด้าน /talat 'market' - lāa 'lower/', ชื่นชื่น /bi 'large swamp' - น้อย 'outside'/, น้อย /nay 'in, inside' – khuu 'ditch'/, บนดอน /bon 'upper' - ดอน 'highland'/.

5.4 'Auspicious Features'. As mentioned earlier, Pali and Sanskrit are the languages of Buddhism and religious ceremonies. They are regarded by the Thai people as the languages symbolizing good luck, prosperity and progress. Most of the newly coined village names are in either Pali or Sanskrit. Some of the old names may be changed from the original Thai names to either Pali or Sanskrit. There are village names of this sub-category in every province, for example: สมเดissance /saa mak khi 'unify, harmony' - tham 'dharma, Buddhist teaching'/, สวน ภูคำ /sa wā 'light' - ป่า 'chill, emotion'/, ศิลปะ /i 'splendor, excellence, glory' - ไม 'city, town'/, ประชากร /pra chaa 'population' - ชื่น 'lively'/, สุขภาพ /สุข 'happy' – ka seem 'merry, happy, joyous'/.

5.5 'Descriptive Features'. Adjectives or adjectival verbs can occur alone as village names, i.e., they modify the generic name บ้าน /bān 'a village'/, or occur after the terms for other geographical or non-geographical features. They are words that indicate the size, age, or some other states, such as depth, beauty, etc. Examples are บ้านใหญ่ /bān 'a village' - บ้านใหม่ /bān 'a village' - บ้านใหญ่ /bān 'a village' - บ้านใหม่ 'merry', บ้านเก่า /bān 'a village' - บ้านเก่า 'old', บ้านเดิม /bān 'a village' - บ้าน 'field' - บ้าน 'small'/. As one can see, most of the village names follow the basic noun phrase construction in Thai, i.e., with the head noun followed by the qualifier. However, there are some village names in which the qualifier precedes the noun. In Nakhon Pathom province, the two frequently used morphemes are ใหม่ /mây 'new'/, เด่น /den 'dominant', as in: ป่าพิราสิริ /mây 'new' - phoo 'Bo tree' - s i 'splendor, excellence, glory'/, บ้าน น้อยจิ่ว /mây 'new' - น้อย 'swamp, lagoon' - ต้นไม้ 'Indian Oak, Baringtonia Coccinea'/, ต้นไม้ /den 'dominant' - ผัก 'sand', เลี้ยงปลา /den 'dominant' – ล้า 'tamarind'/. This fronted construction, the construction with fronted descriptive qualifier, occurs as a basic form in Thai when more emphasis is put on the qualifiers.

There are also miscellaneous village names of unidentifiable or questionable origin. The meanings of these names are unknown. Some names may be from the dialectal lexicon, some may have undergone substantial change, and some may be errors on the part of local officials. If further and more in-depth investigation is done in the field, all of these miscellaneous items could be classified (See Appendix III). Also, several items that are already classified may be classified in other
ways. Finally, all of the categories above together with their frequency of occurrence in each province are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 presents a frequency count of the semantic domains of generic nouns used as the initial morpheme in village names for the eight provinces. The first column is a list of semantic domains from the highest frequency of the generic noun morphemes of water, source of water, or section of water to the lowest frequency for those indicating openings or passageways.

Table 1: Frequency count of semantic dimensions of generic nouns used as initial morphemes in village names for the eight Thai provinces

| Provinces: | Kanchanaburi | Nakorn Pathom | Ratchaburi | Phetchaburi | Prachin Buri Khon | Samut Sakhon | Samut Songkhram | Suphanburi | Total | Percentage |
|------------|--------------|---------------|------------|-------------|-------------------|--------------|----------------|------------|-------|------------|
| Semantic domains: |          |               |            |             |                   |              |                |            |       |            |
| 1. Water or a source of water | 319 | 372 | 351 | 205 | 123 | 110 | 166 | 295 | 1,941 | 39.48 |
| 2. Other geographical areas | 122 | 91 | 89 | 57 | 32 | 15 | 10 | 100 | 516 | 10.50 |
| 3. Elevated land areas | 74 | 51 | 106 | 49 | 35 | 20 | 6 | 119 | 460 | 9.36 |
| 4. Plants | 46 | 82 | 59 | 40 | 31 | 12 | 13 | 104 | 387 | 7.87 |
| 5. Uncultivated or cultivated land | 26 | 40 | 54 | 105 | 35 | 14 | 5 | 36 | 315 | 6.41 |
| 6. Others* | 35 | 59 | 56 | 23 | 34 | 33 | 15 | 55 | 310 | 6.30 |
| 7. Unclassified items | 37 | 80 | 34 | 48 | 18 | 12 | 11 | 67 | 307 | 6.25 |
| 8. Locatives or directions | 34 | 18 | 68 | 55 | 23 | 46 | 23 | 29 | 296 | 6.02 |
| 9. Constructed objects or gathering places | 23 | 52 | 61 | 34 | 19 | 25 | 30 | 47 | 291 | 5.92 |
| 10. Animals | 2 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 11 | 34 | 0.69 |
| 11. Other ethnic languages | 31 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 31 | 0.63 |
| 12. Openings or passageways | 12 | - | 2 | 11 | 2 | - | - | 1 | 28 | 0.57 |
| Total | 761 | 850 | 886 | 630 | 354 | 293 | 278 | 864 | 4,916 | 100 |

* That is, Numbers, Persons, Other ethnic groups, and Auspicious forms.

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13 If the study includes the second morpheme of a village name, the frequency count will be different.
From Table 1 we observe that the three semantic domains with the highest frequency belong to the domain of ‘geographical features’. That is, of the total of 4,916 village names, 1,941 names have an initial morpheme that signifies water, a source of water, or a section of water; 516 names signify other geographical areas, and 460 names signify elevated land areas. The fourth-ranked semantic domain belongs to the ‘non-geographical features’, with 387 village names in this category, the generic names for plants, plant names or parts of plants, to be more specific. In Nakhon Pathom with a total of 850 villages there are 26 village names with the noun น้ำ / ฝาย ‘bamboo’ as an initial morpheme in the names. In Suphanburi with a total of 864 names, there are also 26 villages with the noun น้ำ / ฝาย ‘bamboo’ and 22 villages with the noun นก / ผู ‘Boc tree’. The fifth semantic domain includes generic nouns for uncultivated or cultivated land, and there are 315 village names in this category. We may conclude that village names of the eight provinces emphasize the salient geographical features of the landscape and tell us about the villagers’ activities of the area. Village names in the sixth semantic domain include 310 names for numbers, persons, other ethnic groups, and auspicious terms. Unclassified items occupy the seventh semantic domain. As mentioned earlier, the village names included here are unidentifiable and have questionable origins. Locatives and directional morphemes are in the eighth category with 296 village names from the total of 4,916. The village names that begin with morphemes signifying constructed objects or gathering places occur in the ninth ranked semantic domain with 291 names. Only 34 village names include animal names and this semantic domain is ranked tenth. Village names from ethnic languages rank number eleventh with 31 villages, and all are in Kanchanaburi province. The twelfth and last ranked semantic domain includes 28 village names with morphemes signifying openings or passageways.

6. Village names and spatial orientation.

Village names are closely related to the geographical features of the area and ways of living. A few generic nouns of water, section of water, or a body of water can demonstrate the connection among linguistic forms, village names, and the environment. The following discussion focuses on the four generic nouns chosen from the first seven, namely, น้ำ / คลอง ‘canal’, น้ำ / บ้าน ‘waterway, locality along the waterway’, น้ำ / บึง ‘swamp, lagoon, large pool’, and น้ำ / ห้วย ‘brook, stream, creek’. Table 2 shows the number of occurrences of น้ำ, คลอง, บ้าน and ห้วย in the village names of the eight provinces.
Table 2: Numerical distribution of terms of nān, khlôo, baa and hūay in eight provinces.

|         | Kanchanaburi | Ratchaburi | Suphanburi | Phetchaburi | Nakhon Pathom | Prachuap Khiri Khan | Samut Sakhon | Samut Songkhram | Total |
|---------|--------------|------------|------------|-------------|---------------|---------------------|--------------|----------------|-------|
| nān     | 178          | 147        | 139        | 103         | 87            | 74                  | 15           | 2              | 743   |
| khlôo  | -            | 52         | 17         | 9           | 110           | 6                   | 58           | 100            | 357   |
| baa     | -            | 23         | 30         | 20          | 57            | 3                   | 21           | 55             | 209   |
| hūay    | 30           | 39         | 15         | 15          | 23            | 17                  | -            | -              | 134   |

From Table 2, the four morphemes are ordered from the highest number of occurrences to the lowest. All four morphemes occur in the provinces of Nakhon Pathom, Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi, Prachuap Khiri Khan, and Suphanburi. Three morphemes, khlôo, baa, and nān, occur in Samut Songkhram and Samut Sakhon, but only two, nān and hūay, occur in Kanchanaburi.

Suphanburi, and none in Kanchanaburi. The physical locations of villages that begin with the generic nouns khlôo and baa conform with the main characteristics of the central alluvial flatland area. According to Ratchabandittayasathan (1982: 169, 467), both khlôo and baa have some connections with rivers or seas.

Maps 5 and 6 illustrate the distribution of villages beginning with the generic nouns hūay and nān. There are no villages with the generic noun hūay in Samut Sakhon and Samut Songkhram. This is no surprise since the definition of hūay is that it flows from the mountains (Ratchabandittayasathan, 1982: 847), and physically there are no hills or mountains in Samut Sakhon and Samut Songkhram. Except for the two provinces already mentioned, we see villages beginning with the generic nouns hūay and nān are scattered all over the region. It can be pointed out here is that nān has the highest frequency of occurrence among the four generic nouns. Ratchabandittayasathan (1982: 831) defines this word with just a synonym. This generic noun seems to signify neither a particular source, section, or outlet of water, nor a

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14 Thanks to the Ethnolinguistic Map Project, Mahidol University and Mr. Isra Choosri for the six maps.
shape or size of the body of water. It also does not tie up physically with either the north, east, west, south or central region but only tells us where there is water, there are villages.

7. Conclusions

In terms of linguistic structure, the village names in the eight provinces of Thailand reflect very well the basic characteristics of the Thai language: the monosyllabic structure, the rich compounding, word order with the head noun followed by modifiers. On the basis of analysis using ‘semantic feature’ domains, village names rely significantly on the physical geography of the area in which they occur; they tell us much about the environment, geographical, and cultural life of the people who live in the area.

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Appendix I

Keys to Code Letters and Numbers:
Abbreviations for provinces /จังหวัด - คำ - วัด/:
ก: กาญจนบุรี (Kanchanaburi)  
พ: นครปฐม (Nakhon Pathom)  
ระ: ระยอง (Rayong)  
พ: เพชรบุรี (Phetchaburi)  
ป: ประจวบคีรีขันธ์ (Prachuap Khiri Khan)  
ส: สมุทรสาคร (Samut Sakhon)  
ส: สมุทรสงคราม (Samut Songkhram)  
ส: สุพรรณบุรี (Suphanburi)  

Thai alphabets for districts /อำเภอ - อำเภอ - บ้าน/:

For example, there are 11 districts in Kanchanaburi province:
ก: Muang district of Kanchanaburi  
ข: Tha ma ka  
ค: Tha muang  
ง: Bo ploy  
จ: Pha nom thuan  
ฉ: Sai yok  
ช: Thong pha phum  
ซ: Sangkhla buri  
ฌ: Lau khwan  
ญ: Sii sawat  
ฎ: Dan makham tia  

Numbers for sub-district /ตำบล - ตั้ง - บ้าน/:
For example, there are 11 sub-districts in Muang district of Kanchanaburi province:
1: ตันหลาหองบ้าน / tam bon-nōŋ bua/  
2: ตันเหลวลำไชย / tam bon-ko sam rooŋ/  
3: ตันหลาหองย่า / tam bon-nōŋ yāŋ/  
4: ตันหลาภักพอก / tam bon-pāak phrādēk/  
5: ตันหลาบ้านเก่า / tam bon-bāan käaw/  
6: ตันหลาพิจตรัง / tam bon-waŋ dōŋ/  
7: ตันหลาลำมาขาม / tam bon-thāā ma khaam/  
8: ตันหลาหองบ้าน / tam bon-lāat yāa/  
9: ตันหลาสองสะอาด / tam bon-chōŋ sa daw/  
10: ตันหลาบรรยาน / tam bon-waŋ yen/  
11: ตันหลาแก่งเสียบ / tam bon-kēāŋ sīān/  

Finally, the name of the village /หมู่ - บ้าน/ is put on the card:
For example, there are 8 villages in Nong bua sub-district of Muang district of Kanchanaburi province:
บ้านหัวขุนอยา / bāan-hūan-hōŋ-yāa/  
บ้านหนองบัว / bāan-nōŋ-bua/  
บ้านหนองบัว / bāan-nōŋ-bua/  
บ้านพุทธะ / bāan-phū-thō-phra/  
บ้านโพธิ์ิบ / bāan-phū-thō-liāp/  
บ้านบ้านบางยี่ / bāan-pāa-nāaŋ-yī/  

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Sample cards

บ้านพุแป้ / bään-phű?-pra-duu /
บ้านเต้ลแง / bään -ta li η-dæŋ /

This card stands for the village name บ้านห้วยประการ / bään-huāy-hɔ̌ːy-kàap /, Nong Bua sub-district, Muang district of Kanchanaburi, Kanchanaburi province.

This card stands for the village name บ้านพุแป้ / bään-phű?-pra-duu /, Nong bua sub-district, Muang district of Kanchanaburi, Kanchanaburi province.
Appendix II

List of village names from other ethnic languages in Kanchanaburi province (their origins and meanings need further study). For the analysis of meaning, the study emphasizes the first noun after the word บ้าน / bān ‘village’ as an initial morpheme of a village name.

### Si sawat District

| No. | Village Name             | Meaning         |
|-----|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 1   | หม่องกระแทะ             | mōn kra thæ     |
| 2   | องหลี                   | ʔon lû           |
| 3   | องหลิตร                   | ʔon lî t        |

### Lau khwan District

| No. | Village Name             | Meaning         |
|-----|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 4   | บะลังกา                   | ba laŋ kaa      |

### Sangkhla buri District

| No. | Village Name             | Meaning         |
|-----|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 5   | นิทะ                      | ni thè          |
| 6   | วังกะ                      | waŋ kà          |
| 7   | เวี่ยวกาศ                   | wia khaa dû      |
| 8   | ของกษีเรีย                   | søŋ kaa ria     |
| 9   | องฆ่                        | ʔon juà        |
| 10  | แซ่เน่พบอง                      | sa nee phôn     |
| 11  | กองม่อนห้า                      | koon mōŋ tha     |
| 12  | เกาะสะเดิง                      | ko sa dên       |
| 13  | ไส้ปู                   | lây wò          |
| 14  | หักไบา                        | thi lay pâ       |
| 15  | ชะแอก                           | ca kææ          |

### Thong pha phum District

| No. | Village Name             | Meaning         |
|-----|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 16  | ปรางก้าสี                       | praŋ kaa sî      |
| 17  | ฮูลอง                        | ʔuû lûh        |
| 18  | ไบปอง                         | boo ʔon        |
| 19  | ปีเล็ก                            | pi lûk          |
| 20  | ปีเล็กศำ                   | pi lûk khî      |
| 21  | นามกุย                          | naam kuy        |
| 22  | กูยแย่                            | kuy yàæ         |
| 23  | หมู่กลดลา                      | mōŋŋ kaa laa    |
| 24  | สินก้น                          | lîn tîn        |
| 25  | กูยมัง                          | kuy mîng       |
| 26  | เกาะกะเร่ย                       | kraŋ kra wia     |
| 27  | ที่พุยะ                          | thi phû yêe     |
| 28  | คล้ำ                          | kli tû           |

### Sai yok District

| No. | Village Name             | Meaning         |
|-----|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 29  | บองดีน้อย                        | bàŋ tû nûy     |
| 30  | บองดี                          | bàŋ tî         |
| 31  | บองดีลาง                       | bàŋ tî làng      |
Appendix III

Village names of unclassifiable or unidentifiable or questionable (the numbers of names listed below is not equal to the total count of unclassified names in Table 1 because some of them are used more than once)

1. Unclassifiable group includes those names that the meanings are known but they cannot be put together with the other categories or that the meaning of each word is known but the whole meaning makes no sense in Thai. For the analysis of meaning, the study emphasizes the first noun after the word บ้าน /bān ‘village’/ as an initial morpheme of a village name.

1.1 Kanchanaburi province:

วาน น้ำม ‘beautiful’
เล่น น้ำ ‘dominant’
เก่า น้ำ ‘old’
ใหม่ น้ำ ‘new’
ตะวัน น้ำ ‘sun’
คริปุน น้ำ ‘a species of tree’ + น้ำ ‘gamble, bet’
หัวตั้ง น้ำ ‘head’ + ต้อง ‘extremely’
หัวเร่ง น้ำ ‘head’ + ผัก ‘nest’
ตั้งโต๊ะ น้ำ ‘shadow play; stake for tethering elephant’ + ใต้ ‘south’
ตั้งเหยียบ น้ำ ‘shadow play; stake for tethering elephant’ + น้ำ ‘north’
จับอาง สำนัก ‘can ‘moon’ + ลาด ‘tilt, slope’
ห้องกวาง สำนัก ‘thōo ‘pipe, tube’ + น้ำ ‘pen, shed’ + น้ำ ‘cow’
โปรด สำนัก ‘prōo ‘clean’
ต้นคอ สำนัก ‘tiin ‘foot, base’ + ตอ ‘fall’
ขายรูป สำนัก ‘chaay ‘rim, border; base; blow softly’ + ทู ‘joss-stick’
กล้าตระหนก สำนัก ‘kōo ‘pile up, stack up’ + สั้น ‘post, pillar’ + ผัก ‘Mon’
สำนัก สำนัก ‘สั้น ‘post, pillar’ + ผัก ‘swan’
ประจักษ์ สำนัก ‘pra cam ‘usually; permanent; regular’ + ผัก ‘wood’
ปลายนิ่ง สำนัก ‘plaay ‘tip’ + ดิน ‘pencil’
ชอง สำนัก ‘sōo ‘brothel; den, lair’
โควยอด สำนัก ‘khng รัต ‘a name of one of the provinces in the north-eastern part of Thailand’
หัวกระดิว สำนัก ‘หัว ‘head’ + ครู ‘gravel’
เจ้าชีวิตร สำนัก ‘ล้าง ‘- ‘ + ขวาน ‘moral; guardian spirit; crown of the head’
ปากชิดหัวขัน สำนัก ‘paak ‘mouth’ + น้ำ ‘- ‘ + น้อย ‘mush, pool, swamp’ + บัว ‘lotus’
ท้ายพระยา สำนัก ‘ท้า ‘army’ + พระ ‘yaa ‘a title of the Thai Royal Court in the older days’

1.2 Nakhon Pathom province:

ท้ายหลวง ท้า ‘army’ + หลวง ‘royal’
ท้ายยายท้า ท้า ‘army’ + ยาย ‘grand-mother’ + ท้า ‘a proper name’
ท้ายยายเวียง ท้า ‘house’ + ยาย ‘grand-mother’ + ร้าน ‘a proper name’
ถนนยาย ท้า ‘road’ + ท้า ‘torn’
ทางเดิน ท้า ‘expose, dry in the sun’ + ที่ ‘sun-light’
หลักเมือง ท้า ‘pole’ + เมือง ‘metre’
ทาง ท้า ‘far’
วันศรี วัน ‘day’ + ศรี ‘teacher’
หอศรี หัว ‘tower’ + ศรี ‘wait’
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1.3 Ratchaburi province:

มั่น, ภ.ก.
ก้าว ก้าว ‘old’
แห่ง แดง ‘red’
บาง ม่วง ‘purple, violet; mango’
ตา ขา้ ‘get stuck; unsettled; shackles; imperata cylindrica’
เหลือง ปลีน ‘song’
แช่ แช่ ‘dip, soak; dawdle; put off’ + หาย ‘earthen jar, jug’
แก้ม ก่ำ ‘cheek’ + โอน ‘bamboo rat’
ดาดดาบ ต้าก ‘expose, dry in the sun; dry in the air’ + ดำ ‘sun-light’
ลูกข่าง ลูย ‘child’ + กว่า ‘hinder, obstruct; stop; resist; perverse’
ท้าลับ ท่า ‘bet; challenge’ + ลาย ‘stripe; design; trick’
จัดสระ ค่า ‘distribute; allot’
เลือก ฝั้น ‘choose’
แม่ป้าย ส้า ‘post, pillar’ + ท่อน ‘flag’
ทองขัด หยา ‘head’ + โครา ‘gravel, rubble’
ชนะที่ สี่จอย ‘necklace’ + ฟ้า ‘sky’
สมบารมี สาม ‘a name of one of the provinces in the northern part of Thailand’
โลกสินบุรษเป็น ‘- (Pali)’

1.4 Phetchaburi province:

มั่น, ภ.ก.
บาง ม่วง ‘purple, violet; mango’
ตา หาม ‘word; gold’
กว้าง ครัว ‘funnel; cone’
สันข้าง ใบ ‘tongue’ + ช้าง ‘elephant’
พี่เลี้ยง พินม ‘elder brother or sister’ + ไล่ ‘raise’
ปกปั้น ป้าก ‘mouth’ + สำ ‘fork, prong’
แฉ่ ทอม ‘fill, cover; much, many; inscribe with sacred letters’
เรียบ ฟริ้น ‘shipworm, barnacles; do something in unison, as in ถ้อยคม phriang’
ทะเบียน ฟ้า น้ํา ‘large hammer; piled up as in ฟ้า น้ํา  Thornton’
สาป ล้ม ‘only; alone’
ไปเสียบ ล่าย ‘find out; investigate’
พระสุริยา ‘a name of one of the provinces in the northern part of Thailand’

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rna nii 'jewel, gem (Pali)' + โพน 'postpone'

1.5 Prachup Khiri Khan province:
ไหม mây ‘new’
สัมผัสได้اتحاد ‘separate, divide’ + kra ‘way’
ทางเข้า thaan ‘way’ + sāay ‘line, route’
รถนิยม wîŋ ‘run’ + น้อย ‘small, little’
จักรบ câk ‘sewing machine; machine; discus of the god’ + bon ‘above, over’
จักรด้วง câk ‘sewing machine; machine; discus of the god’ + ไล่ ‘lower, down’

1.6 Samut Sakhon province:
กำพร้า kam prāa ‘orphan’
ไหม mây ‘new’
แถว thâəew ‘row’
หมู bulk ‘pig’ + ที่ตื่น ‘deep-fly’
หูฮัตสี่หู hûn ‘image; model; figure’ + saaŋ ka sî ‘zinc’
กระโจมทอง kra coom ‘pavilion; tent’ + thooŋ ‘gold’
สันดาน sâh daâp ‘combustion’
แหล่งน้ำ lâəən ‘javelin’ + hàay ‘lose’

1.7 Samut Songkhram province:
จัดสรรคลองต้น cáh san ‘distribute; allot’ + khloŋ ‘canal’ + daân ‘checkpoint’
แก้วฟ้า kâəew ‘crystal’ + faa ‘sky’
ตะวันตก ta wan ‘sun’ + câk ‘depart, leave’
ตะวันจากใต้ ta wan ‘sun’ + câk ‘depart, leave’ + mây ‘new’
ลำบาก lôm ‘wind’ + hûan ‘turn back; retrace’
ราว ruâ ‘fence’
ดาวโต้ daaw ‘star’ + doong ‘ascending’
ใช้เนินนิยม khây ‘egg’ + nâu ‘rotten’ + น้อย ‘small, little’

1.8 Suphanburi province:
ไหม mây ‘new’
เด่น dën ‘dominant’
กระวด krûat ‘gravel, rubber’
เธอ khooy ‘wait’
หมูแปร môo kâəŋ ‘egg custard pudding’
เสา sâu ‘post, pillar’ + thooŋ ‘flag’
กระดาษ kra daât ‘paper’
ทองสีเขียว thooŋ ‘gold’ + สด ‘tiger’ + khuăn ‘scratch’
สะเกตแฝด sa kâə ‘Coombretum quadrangulare’ + yaâŋ ‘roast’ + môo ‘pig’
ตะแม้ tâ lûm ‘footed tray’
สติปั้น dóm ‘original; old’ + baâŋ ‘district along the waterway’
กิโล ki loo ‘kilometre’
ทางข้าง than ‘way’ + khuâŋ ‘cut across’
กิเลง kîŋ ‘branch’ + thooŋ ‘gold’
ก้อนแก้ว kîm ‘lump, block, chunk (classifier)’ + kâəew ‘glass’
กระดาษ kra boôk ‘a section of thick bamboo; cylinder; Theretia neriifolia’
หัวทราย hûa ‘head’ + saaŋ ‘sand’
หัวเล็บ hûa ‘head’ + kláp ‘return; turn around; reverse’

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ปากแอก pàak ‘mouth’ + sàek ‘barn owl: dividing way; bright’
ขาม khàam ‘fear, dread; respect’
ขามใต้ khàam ‘fear, dread; respect’ + tày ‘south’
กงก้าปัน kòng ‘wheel; rib materials of a boat; bow of fluffing cotton’ + kam pàn ‘sailing ship’
ชื่อชนกุ้ชชี ‘name’ + cha nòk ‘father (Pali)’
สีม้าทอง sì ‘colour’ + bua ‘lotus’ + thàc ‘gold’
ศพเพลิง sòp ‘corpse’ + phóc ‘fire’
พับน้ำ phàp ‘fold; roll (classifier)’ + nàam ‘water’
ทัพหลวง thàp ‘army’ + lưàng ‘royal’
ทัพตาลแวน thàp ‘army’ + taa ‘grand-father ’ + tàc ‘a proper name’
ทัพยาภยา thàp ‘army’ + yaay ‘grand-mother’ + dàap ‘a proper name’

2. Unidentifiable or questionable group includes those names that their meanings or parts of their meaning are unknown. For the analysis of meaning, the study emphasizes the first noun after the word บ้าน / bán ‘village’/ as an initial morpheme of a village name.

2.1 Kanchanaburi province:
หมวด้อ mòt ‘use up, run out’ + sàc ‘-’
สภู sa nùn ‘-’
ต้านจักรวง tân ‘keep off; resist’ + sàm rùn ‘-’
หัวพระ hùa ‘head’ + phóc ‘-’
ภาวะร้อยรอง kra phíaòyi ‘-’ + sàc ‘two’ + khàam ‘cross; pass over’
ขาม
เปญพาด ben ya phàt ‘-’
โคกยำ koo ‘-’ + sày ‘left’
เปล่ยท่า pree ‘-’ + phút tha ‘-’

2.2 Nakhon Pathom province:
ปิ่งเกลียว pin ‘-’ + kliaw ‘ply; spiral’
โปกส์นัก koo ‘-’ + sàm nòk ‘dwelling; place; office’
กระดิบเดีย kra dii ‘-’ + diaw ‘single, sole; same, identical’
ราดกระแทก ràat ‘sprinkle, pour’ + sà ‘pond’ + kàc ‘-’
ทรงนคร sao lê khàc ‘-’
สัมปทาน sam pa thuan ‘-’
วังพวก woŋ phàat ‘-’
เวลาจงวาลา laay ‘many, a lot’ + woŋ phàat ‘-’
กระติ้บ kra tìp ‘-’
กระติ้อ kra dì ‘-’

2.3 Ratchaburi province:
หัวสระบุ hùa ‘head’ + sa nùn ‘-’
เซาะ khii boon ‘-’
เจดีย์ cee tua ‘-’
ชิปยอง sam poo kò ‘-’

2.4 Phetchaburi province:
พระราชภู ra hàan ‘-’
พระราชาน้อย ra hàan ‘-’ + nòoy ‘small, little’
| Location                      | Word(s)                          |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Prachuap Khiri Khan province:| ra haan ‘- ’ + yay ‘big, large’ |
|                               | kra ciw ‘- ’                     |
|                               | ca proon ‘- ’                     |
|                               | tam ru ‘- ’ + nay ‘in’            |
|                               | klhup ‘- ’                        |
|                               | plaay ‘end; top, tip’ + sam ma laa ‘- ’ |
|                               | sa mae ‘Aegiceras corniculatum; a small edible sea crab’ + chaay ‘- ’ |
|                               | thum char ‘- ’                    |
|                               | han ta thu ‘- ’                   |
|                               | pik tian ‘- ’                     |
|                               | klat luang ‘- ’                   |
|                               | say daan ‘- ’                     |
|                               | khoo ‘neck’ + la ?cim ‘- ’        |
|                               | sa ra het ‘- ’                    |
|                               | sam ma room ‘- ’                  |
|                               | thin pu rai ‘- ’                  |
|                               | hua ‘head’ + rai ‘- ’             |
|                               | sam ma laa ‘- ’                   |
|                               | phia ‘- ’                         |
|                               | mae ‘mother, female, woman’ + pra can ‘- ’ |
|                               | mae ‘mother, female, woman’ + pra can ‘- ’ + laan ‘lower’ |
|                               | mae ‘mother, female, woman’ + bia ‘- ’ |
|                               | mae ‘mother, female, woman’ + kha mae ‘- ’ |
| Samut Sakhon province:       | ra haan ‘- ’                      |
|                               | wa lay ‘- ’                       |
|                               | khet kar ‘- ’                     |
|                               | la loo ‘- ’                       |
|                               | cha moua ‘- ’                     |
|                               | moo ra suap ‘- ’                  |
|                               | tam ru ‘- ’                       |
|                               | wan pria ‘- ’                     |
|                               | kuy ‘- ‘ + buri ‘city’            |
|                               | kam ma seen ‘- ’                  |
|                               | prii ‘- ‘ + nooy ‘small, little’   |
| Samut Songkhram province:    | krak kràak ‘- ’ + nay ‘in’       |
|                               | kra saa ‘- ’ + khaaw ‘white’      |
|                               | koo soo loo ‘- ’                  |
|                               | saa koo soo ‘- ’                  |
| Suphanburi province:         | hua ‘head’ + kra baaj ‘- ’        |

2.5 Prachuap Khiri Khan province:

2.6 Samut Sakhon province:

2.7 Samut Songkhram province:

2.8 Suphanburi province:
kôn ‘bottom; base’ + wû ‘-’
ริว ‘mark; streak; stripe; line’ + hûay phrût ‘-’
phuun ‘-’ + lûaj ‘royal’
sû mon ‘-’
ta phan khû ‘-’
thôñ ‘gold’ + khâa yàaj ‘-’
paak ‘mouth’ + kliàn ‘-’
khûn koo ‘-’
ta khâa ‘-’
riw ‘mark; streak; stripe; line’ + krûut ‘-’
sôok taa cût ‘-’
kra siâu ‘-’
kam ma chian ‘-’
cha waàk ‘-’
cha ?oooy ‘-’
loong tøø ‘-’
chûooy ‘-’
khûooy ‘-’
ca ráa ‘-’ + kaû ‘old’
ca ráa ‘-’ + mîy ‘new’
kra can ‘-’
thin ‘-’
su wan ‘gold (Pali)’ + ta lay ‘-’
tham nee ‘-’
ta lûm ‘footed tray’ + bûn ‘village’ + mî ‘-’
khôn thii ‘-’ (Pali)
khat thûut ‘-’ (Pali)
Map 1: The eight provinces in the western region
Map 2: Geographical map of the eight provinces
(the density of water ways in the region)
Map 3: Occurrences of the generic noun khlocoŋ

khlocoŋ
- 1 Dot = 1
Map 4: Occurrences of the generic noun baan
Map 5: Occurrences of the generic noun hûay
Map 6: Occurrences of the generic น่าจะ