CHAPTER-IV

A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF
THE PĀLI AND THAI LANGUAGES
4.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to conduct a contrastive study of Pāli and Thai at the phonological, grammatical and lexical levels of both the languages in order to point out the differences and similarities between them at each of these levels.

Furthermore, an attempt to predict the interference of Pāli in the Thai structure as a result of language contact has also been made in this chapter.

The chapter, therefore, at each level begins with linguistic description of Pāli and Thai and then contrasts the two languages.

4.1 Comparison of Pāli and Thai at the Phonological level

Gair, James W. and W.S. Karunatillake (2005: xiii) state that since Pāli is a classical and not a modern spoken language, its pronunciation varies from place to place.

The contrast between Pāli and Thai phonological systems is shown as follows:
4.1.1 Comparison of Pāli and Thai Consonant Phonemes

Following Geiger (2004: 61) and Warder A.K. (1984: 2) thirty-one consonant phonemes of Pāli are presented (Roman symbols are used; IPA symbols are given within brackets.)¹ in the following table No.2.

Table No. 2 Pāli Consonant Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops: Voiceless Unaspirated</strong></td>
<td>p [p]</td>
<td>t [t]</td>
<td>ʈ [ʈ]</td>
<td>c [ʈʃ]</td>
<td>k [k]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops: Voiced Unaspirated</strong></td>
<td>b [b]</td>
<td>d [d]</td>
<td>ɖ [ɖ]</td>
<td>j [ɖʒ]</td>
<td>g [g]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricatives</strong></td>
<td>s [s]</td>
<td>h [h]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasals</strong></td>
<td>m [m]</td>
<td>n [n]</td>
<td>ŋ [ŋ]</td>
<td>ŋ [ŋ]</td>
<td>ŋ [ŋ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Semi-vowels</strong></td>
<td>v [w]</td>
<td>l [l]</td>
<td>r [ɹ]</td>
<td>y [j]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is to be noted that m or niggahita is merely a nasal breathing found only after the short vowels: /am/, /im/, /um/ that means it indicates that the preceding vowel is nasalized. That is, /am/, /im/, and /um/ represents [ä], [ɨ] and [ʊ]. In some traditional pronunciations (as in Sri Lanka and Thailand) the niggahita is pronounced as a velar nasal. So according to these traditions niggahita is a consonant. But in the present work following Geiger (2004: 61) niggahita is treated as nasalization.

Regarding Pāli semivowels- /v/ [w], /l/ [l], /r/ [ɹ], and /y/ [j] Oberlies (2003: 168) states that though mentioned as semivowels these
are counted as consonants. Geiger (2004: 61) mentions /l/ [l] and /r/ [ɾ] as liquids. According to Warder (1984: 2) these are semivowels, but he states (pp.3) that /r/ [ɾ] is everywhere a clear consonant r as in ‘ram’. Similarly /l/ [l] is a lateral as in ‘later’.

Following Comrie (1990: 32) the twenty-one consonant phonemes of Standard Thai are presented in the following table No. 3.

Table No. 3 Thai Consonant Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants:</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labio-Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops: Voiceless Unaspirated</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops: Voiceless Aspirated</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops: Voiced Unaspirated</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates: Voiceless Unaspirated</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates: Voiceless Aspirated</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless Fricatives</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowel</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the information from Table No.2 and Table No.3 a contrastive analysis of the consonant phonemes of Pāli and Thai can be specified below:

4.1.1.1 Comparison of Pāli and Thai Stop Phonemes

I. Pāli Stop Phonemes

Pāli has ten pairs of voiceless-voiced stop phonemes, viz., /p ph/, /b bh/, /t th/, /d dh/, /ʈ ṭh/, /ɖ ḍh/, /c ch/, /j jh/, /k kh/ and /g gh/ (Geiger,
The voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /l/, /c/ and /k/ are unaspirated whereas the voiceless stops /ph/, /th/, /lh/, /ch/ and /kh/ are aspirated. The voiced stops /b/, /d/, /l/, /j/ and /g/ are unaspirated whereas the voiced stops /bh/, /dh/, /lh/, /jh/ and /gh/ are aspirated. All consonant phonemes except /d/ and /dh/ occur in word-initial and word-medial positions. /d/ occurs word-initially and word-medially only as in words like /vaḍḍha/ ‘augmenting’, /khīḍā/ ‘play’ and /kaṇḍa/ ‘a portion’. In intervocalic position /d/ and /dh/ change into /l/ and /lh/ as in /gola/ ‘a ball’, /cola/ ‘cloth’, /mūḷha/ ‘confuse’ etc. The distributions of the Pāli consonants are exemplified below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word-initial</th>
<th>Word-medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/pakkha/ ‘a bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ph/</td>
<td>/phala/ ‘fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/baka/ ‘heron’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bh/</td>
<td>/bhatta/ ‘food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/taro/ ‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/th/</td>
<td>/thūpa/ ‘pagoda’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>/dappa/ ‘arrogance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dh/</td>
<td>/dhana/ ‘wealth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ṭ/</td>
<td>/ṭikā/ ‘sub-commentary’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At pointed out by Khanitthanan (1981: 68) there are seven voiceless stop phonemes in Thai, which include three aspirated phonemes /ph/, /th/ and /kh/, three unaspirated phonemes /p/, /t/, /k/ and one glottal stop /ʔ/. All of these phonemes occur in word-initial position, as in /phâː/ ‘father’, /thâː/ ‘to paint’, /khɔː/ ‘neck’, /pɔː/ ‘to throw’, /tɔː/ ‘eye’, /kɔː/ ‘to build’, /ʔɔːn/ ‘to read’. In the word-final position, the phonemes /p/, /t/ and /k/ are only permitted, which are always unreleased, as in /kâːp/ ‘with’, /phrɔːtʰɛt/ ‘country’ (compound word) and /phâːk/ ‘to rest’.
In addition to the above voiceless phonemes, Thai has two voiced stop phonemes, i.e. /b/, /d/. These phonemes occur only in the word-initial position, as in /bàːt/ ‘baht’ and /dæːŋ/ ‘red’.

III. Comparison

Thai makes a phonemic distinction between aspirated and unaspirated stops in the voiceless series. The individual phonemes in these three pairs /p ph/, /t th/, /k kh/ are voiceless stops. Pali, on the other hand, makes the same phonemic distinction as Thai. But Pali has four more stop phonemes, viz., /ṭ/ ( unaspirated), /ṭh/ (aspirated) and /c/ (unaspirated), /ṭh/ (aspirated). All of them are voiceless. The glottal stop /ʔ/ which is available in Thai, is absent in Pali.

In the voiced series Thai has only two unaspirated stop phonemes, viz., /b/, /d/ and no aspirated stop phonemes. On the other hand there are five unaspirated stops in Pali viz., /b/, /d/, /ḍ/, /j/ and /g/ and five aspirated stops /bh/, /ḍh/, /ḍh/, /jh/ and /gh/. In this connection it is to be noted that though /c/ and /ṭh/ are stops in Pali, they are phonetically affricates in Thai. Moreover, their voiced counterparts, viz., /ḍ/ ( unaspirated) and /ḍh/ (aspirated) are totally absent in Thai. All the stop phonemes in Thai cannot normally occur in the word-medial position and all the stop phonemes in Pali cannot occur in the word-final position. Nearly every word in Pali ends in a vowel.

Phonetically, Thai /t/, /th/ and /d/ are alveolar. But in Pali these are dental. There are no retroflex stops in Thai though retroflex stops are very much available in Pali.
4.1.1.2 Comparison of Pāli and Thai in relation to Affricate Phonemes

There are two affricates in Thai. These are /c/ and /ch/. The first one is unaspirated and the second one is aspirated. Both are unvoiced. On the other hand these sounds in Pāli are phonetically treated as stops. From the point of the articulation both are palatal in both the languages. In Thai the affricates occur in the word-initial position only as in /qa:n/ ‘dishful of rice’ and /chːːd/ ‘nation’.

4.1.1.3 Comparison of Pāli and Thai Fricative Phonemes

I. Pāli Fricative Phonemes

Oberlies (In Cardona and Jain, 2003: 168) narrates that there are two fricative phonemes in Pāli, viz., /h/ and /s/. The phoneme /h/ has a strong aspirated breathing and it can be used in both word-initial and word-medial positions as in /ḥatthī/ ‘elephant’ and /ahi/ ‘snake’. The phoneme /s/ also occurs in both word-initial and word-medial positions as in /samāpetī/ ‘to conclude’ and /pasanna/ ‘bright’.

II. Thai Fricative Phonemes

Warotsikkhadit (1989: 44) describes that Thai has only three fricative phonemes /f/, s/ and /h/, all of which are voiceless. While all three phonemes can occur initially, as in /fāː/ ‘sky’, /sɔːŋ/ ‘two’ and /hɔːː/ ‘five’, they are not permitted in the final position.
III. Comparison

The fricative phonemes of Pāli and Thai are not exact equivalent. There are two fricative phonemes in Pāli /h/, /s/ and it can occur in initial and medial positions of words but in Thai there are three fricative phonemes /f/, /s/, /h/ and they can occur only in the initial position.

4.1.1.4 Comparison of Pāli and Thai Nasal Phonemes

I. Pāli Nasal Phonemes

Pāli has five nasal phonemes, which are /m/, /n/, /n̥/, /n̥i/ and /n̥/ (Gair and Krunatillake (2005: XV). They occur in all positions of words, except the phoneme /n̥/ which never occurs in the initial position but does occur in the final position as in /saranã/ ‘hope’. Word-medially the phoneme /n̥/ can occur before the velar stops /k/, /kh/, /g/ and /gh/ as in /sañkì/ ‘a doubtful’, /sañkhāna/ ‘calculation’ /nissãnga/ ‘unattached’, /sañgha/ ‘multitude’.

II. Thai Nasal Phonemes

Warotsikkhadit (1989: 44) admits that there are three nasal phonemes in Thai, i.e., /m/, /n/ and /n̥/, which have complete distribution. These phonemes occur in the initial position, as in /mː/ ‘hand’, /nːp/ ‘to count’ and /n̥ːn/ ‘money’; in the medial position, as in /kːmon/ ‘heart’, /phːnan/ ‘to gamble’, /ʔaːnːn/ ‘grape’, and in the final position, as in /liːm/ ‘to forget’, /piːn/ ‘gun’ and /dːn/ ‘loud’.
III. Comparison

Both Pāli and Thai are different in number of phonemes. Thai has three nasal phonemes and Pāli has five nasal phonemes. The retroflex nasal /ŋ/ and the palatal nasal /ñ/ are absent in Thai. The nasal phonemes in Pāli and Thai are not different in distribution while occurring in the initial position except the phoneme /ñ/ in Pāli which never occurs in the initial position but does occur in the final position. But in Thai the velar nasal /ŋ/ occurs word-initially.

4.1.1.5 Comparison of Pāli and Thai Lateral Phonemes

Warotsikkhadit (1989: 44) describes that there is one lateral phoneme in Thai. The lateral /l/ occurs initially and finally, as in /lin/ ‘monkey’, /chulachol/ ‘assembly’. The /l/ phoneme in Thai is an alveolar articulation. In Pāli /l/ is treated as a semivowel. But as Warder mentions it is like English /l/ so a lateral. But it differs from Thai /l/ as it is a dental sound and is distributed word-initially and word-medially, and not word-finally.

4.1.1.6 Comparison of Pāli and Thai Trill Phonemes

Warotsikkhadit (1989: 44) states that there is only one trill phoneme /r/ in Thai. That is in the alveolar articulation and occurs both initially and finally in words as in /ria/ ‘boat’ and /charochor/ ‘traffic’. In Pāli /r/ is treated as a semivowel. But as already mentioned (4.1.1) it is everywhere a sound like /r/ as in English ‘room’. So it can be treated as a trill.
4.1.1.7 Comparison of Pāli and Thai Semivowels

I. Pāli Semivowel Phonemes

Muller E. (1986: 31) states that Pāli semivowels consist of a labial /v/, palatal /y/, dental /l/ and retroflex /r^3/, /l/. The /v/ and /y/ phonemes occur in both initial and medial positions as in /vacana/ ‘utterance’, /nivaha/ ‘a heap’, /yakkha/ ‘a demon’ and /vinaya/ ‘discipline’. The phonemes /r/ and /l/ can be readily combined with other consonants except /l/. Two phonemes /r/, /l/ occur in initial and medial positions, as /rukkha/ ‘tree’, /para/ ‘other’, /laṅgula/ ‘tail’ /mātula/ ‘maternal uncle’ but the phoneme /l/ occurs in the medial position /kāḷa/ ‘black’. It is possibly the medial counterpart of /ḍ/.

II. Thai Semivowel Phonemes

Warotsikkhadit (1989: 44) states that two Thai semivowel phonemes consist of labial /w/ and palatal /y/. These phonemes occur only initially as in /wong/ ‘place’, /wongwai/ ‘quick’ and /yokyok/ ‘shrug’. According to Noss (1964: 10-11) both the phonemes are in multiple contrast in final position. But it is felt that examples are very rare.

III. Comparison

While the Pāli phonemes /v/ and the Thai /w/ are both semivowels, they are same in their articulation. The phoneme /y/ in Pāli and /j/ in Thai are same in their articulation. But the phonemes /r/, /l/ and /l/ are not presented in Thai as semi-vowels. All semi-vowels of Pāli and Thai occur in initial position, no doubt, but there is difference in their distribution as
Pāli semivowels occur word-medially also whereas Thai semi-vowels occur word-initially only.

4.1.2 Comparison of Pāli and Thai Consonant Clusters

In both Pāli and Thai there are many two-consonant clusters which occur in both prevocalic (word-initial) and intervocalic (word-medial) positions. There is no word-final consonant cluster in Thai. In Pāli word final clusters are very rare, for example, /sirimant/ ‘glorious’ and /hirimant/ ‘of modest disposition’ (Geiger, 2004: 65).

4.1.2.1 Prevocalic Consonant Clusters

I. Pāli Prevocalic Consonant Clusters


II. Thai Prevocalic Consonant Clusters

Kruatrachue (1960: 53) describes that Thai permits only voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /k/, /ph/, /th/ and /kh/ excluding the affricates /c/ and /ch/ to occur in prevocalic clusters as the first members and the liquids /l/, and /v/ or the semivowel /w/ as the second members. There are twelve prevocalic consonant clusters in Thai (Kruatrachue, 1960: 53 and Warotsikkhadit,

Of all the consonant clusters that are permitted pre-vocally, /kr/ has the highest frequency of occurrence, i.e., approximately 950 entries in the dictionary, while /pr/ ranks second, with about 500 entries. The cluster /thr/, on the other hand, has the lowest frequency of occurrence, occurring only once and is exemplified above.

III. Comparison

Of all the prevocalic two-consonant clusters, only the clusters /pl/ and /kl/ are common in both Pāli and Thai. Pāli clusters- /by/, /br/, /dv/, /ny/, /vy/, /sv/ and /tv/ are not available in Thai. On the other hand Thai has its own special clusters as discussed above. Pāli consonant clusters have the semivowels /r/, /l/, /v/ and /y/ as the second members but Thai consonant clusters have the liquids /r/ and /l/ or the semivowel /w/ as the second members.

4.1.2.2 Intervocalic Consonant Clusters

I. Pāli Intervocalic Consonant Clusters

Intervocalic clusters in Pāli are two-consonant clusters. These clusters are to be taken as combinations of final consonants of the preceding syllables and initial consonants of the following syllables.
occurring between two vowels in the medial position of words. So they are called spelling consonant clusters (Charles, 1997: 5). There are many such clusters in Pāli. Examples; /ly/, /pl/, /tv/, /sm/, /ñh/, /nh/, /mh/, /yh/, /lh/ and /vh/ as in /kalyā/ 'girl', /uplava/ 'rising', /katvā/ 'action', /tasā/ 'that', /pañhā/ 'question', /tañhā/ 'craving', /tumhe/ 'you', /sayha/ 'that which is to be endured', /vulhati/ 'to be carried away', /avhātī/ 'to call' etc. There are some word-medial clusters also in Pāli, for example, /kl/ as in /cittaklesehi/ 'impurities of the mind', /br/ as in /pabrQmi/ 'I say', /tr/ as in /amutra/ 'there', /vy/ as in /dāsavyaṁ/ 'slavery' and so on.

II. Thai Intervocalic Consonant Clusters

Similarly there are some spelling-consonant-clusters in Thai in the word-medial position. A two-consonant cluster consists of one of these permitted final consonants /p/, /t/, /k/, /m/, /n/ and /ñ/ as its first member, and any of the permitted initial consonants as its second member, such as /tòpta:/ 'to cheat', /càtdːn/ 'to be insolent' /prikādː/ 'to consult', /sāmnaw/ 'copy', /kānyāː/ 'woman' and /rōnkaːn/ 'organization'.

On the other hand, the twelve permitted initial two-consonant clusters (not intervocalic) occur word-medially in Thai as in /kłānkroːŋ/ 'to select', /sōnkhrāːm/ 'war', /prāːbpraːm/ 'to suppress', /rāmphraːŋ/ 'to keep secret', /mongriː/ 'advisor', /māːkthītsôːdiː/ 'many theories', /khāttaːləw/ 'to polish', /pōkkhlm/ 'to conceal', /plīaːŋplæn/ 'to change', /phlāpphlaː/ 'pavilion', /kwāŋkwai/ 'to wing' and /māːkikhwəːm/ 'intensify'.
III. Comparison

Word-medially Thai uses two consonant clusters as discussed above. But in Pāli there is no word-medial cluster though intervocalic consonant clusters in spelling are available in both the languages.

4.1.3 Comparison of Pāli and Thai Vowels

The following tables numbering 4 and 5 present the vowels and diphthongs of Pāli and Thai:

**Table No. 4 Vowel Phonemes of Pāli**

(Roman symbols are used: IPA symbols are given within brackets.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i [i]</td>
<td></td>
<td>u [u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i [i]</td>
<td></td>
<td>ü [u:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e [e], [e:]</td>
<td></td>
<td>o [o], [o:]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a [a]</td>
<td>ä [a:]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no diphthongs in Pāli.

**Table No. 5 Vowel Phonemes of Thai**

(Thai Monophthongs)

There are eighteen vowels in Thai. They are divided into nine short vowel phonemes and nine long vowel phonemes (Abramson: 1997: 3, Warotsikkhadit, 1989: 80, Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom, 2005: 5).
There are six diphthongs in Thai, consisting of a high vowel followed by /a/, as shown below. There are both short and long varieties (Warotsikkhadit, 1989: 80).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Long</td>
<td>Short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iː</td>
<td>ː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>eː</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>əː</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Thai Diphthongs)

In this connection the view of Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005: 5) may be referred to. According to them the short diphthongs are specified with the glottal stop.

II. Pāli Vowel Phonemes

Pāli has eight vowel phonemes (Geiger, 1943, 2004: 61, Barua, 1968: 2, Warder, 1984: 2, Charles, 1997: 7; see table No. 4) The short vowels are; /a/, /i/ and /u/ and the long vowels are /ā/, /ī/ and /ū/. The high vowels /i/ and /ī/, the low vowels /a/ and /ā/ and the mid vowel /e/ are unrounded, but the mid vowel /o/ and high vowels /u/ and /ū/ are rounded. Pāli vowels occur in initial, medial and final positions. The examples are given below:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/itthi/ ‘woman’</td>
<td>/purisa/ ‘a man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/tsa/ ‘a lord’</td>
<td>/piti/ ‘delight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘the basil plant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/ekaka/ ‘single’</td>
<td>/velā/ ‘time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>/acetana/ ‘senseless’</td>
<td>/taru/ ‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ã/</td>
<td>/āyu/ ‘age’</td>
<td>/tālu/ ‘the palate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>/ōṭṭha/ ‘a camel’</td>
<td>/joti/ ‘light’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘from there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>/ukkā/ ‘a torch’</td>
<td>/muni/ ‘the great sage’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘monk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ũ/</td>
<td>/ũkā/ ‘a louse’</td>
<td>/rūpsa/ ‘figure’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Short [e] and long [e:] are in complementary distribution. Similarly, short [o] and long [o:] are in complementary distribution. The short variants occur only in closed syllables and the long variants occur only in open syllables. For example, short [e] and [o] as in /ettha/ ‘here’ and /ōṭṭha/ ‘camel’; long [e:] and [o:] as in /me/ ‘my’ and /buddho/ ‘Buddha’.
II. Thai Vowel Phonemes

Campbell and Shaweevong (1958: 13) state that the long-short opposition among Thai vowels is significant, Thai vowels, therefore, are either long or short. Front and central vowels in Thai are unrounded and back vowels are rounded. In addition to the eighteen short and long simple vowels, Thai has six diphthongs (see table No.5).

Distributionally, Thai vowels do not occur in initial position, and neither do they occur independently of the consonant, but must always follow them. All Thai vowels can occur with all consonants. Further, all Thai vowels can occur with consonant clusters except /kw/. Certain vowels and a diphthong only, viz., /æ/, /iə/, /a/ and /aː/ can occur with the cluster /kw/.

The diphthongs /iə/, /aə/ and /ua/ occur with all consonants, but do not occur with the cluster /θrh/ only the diphthong /iə/ occurs with the cluster /kw/ and /khw/.

III. Comparison

Quality of vowels of the two languages is partially comparable: high, mid, low in conjunction with front (unrounded), central (neutral) and back (rounded) or short and long vowels. The Pāli has only simple vowels and no diphthongs. On the other hand Thai has simple vowels and diphthongs. Pāli vowels can occur in all positions—initially, medially and finally. But Thai vowels can occur only in medial and final positions. Moreover, Pāli has less number of central vowels—/a/ and /ā/ whereas Thai has six central vowels—/a/, /aː/, /aː/, /aː/, /a/ and /aː/. The vowels
/æ/, /æ:/ which are present in Thai are absent in Pāli. Thai has short and long /e/ and /o/ vowels. But short and long varieties of /e/ and /o/ are not phonemic in Pāli.

4.1.4 Comparison of Pāli and Thai Syllable Structures

I. Pāli Syllable Structure

Pāli has both open and closed syllables. As Geiger (2004: 63) states in Pāli, as generally in Middle Indo-Aryan, a syllable can contain only one mora or two moras but never more. The syllable is thus either (i) open with a short vowel (one mora), or (ii) open with a long vowel (two moras), or (iii) closed with a short vowel (two moras). Every syllable with a nasal vowel is considered as closed. Long nasal vowels do not occur. Further, Pāli has either (a) a short vowel before double-consonants or (b) a long vowel before a single consonant. Pāli has the following types of syllables; VC (/ettha/ ‘here’), CV (/sā/ ‘dog’), CVC (/bhatta/ ‘rice’), CVCC (/sirimant/ ‘glorious’) and CCV (/tvam/ ‘you’).

II. Thai Syllable Structure

Thai has both open and closed syllables. It has only eight syllable structures; CV, CVV, CVC, CVVC, CCV, CCVV, CCVC and CCVVC. The examples are as follows:

CV /kæ:/ ‘teapot’
CVV /mua:/ ‘when’
CVC /kin/ ‘eat’
III. Comparison

The syllable structures CV, CVC and CCV are common in both Pāli and Thai. The VC structure which is available in Pāli is absent in Thai as Thai vowels can occur in middle and final positions only except initial position. The CVCC structure also is not found in Thai because Thai does not permit consonant clusters word-finally (see section 4.1.2). In Pāli word-final consonant clusters are very rare. So the CVCC structure is rarely found in Pāli words. The Thai syllable structures containing VV as the nucleus (e.g. CVV, CVVC, CCVV, CCVC, and CCVVC) are not possible in Pāli as diphthongs are not available in Pāli.

4.1.5 Thai Tone

In Thai there are five phonologically contrastive tones, viz., mid-level (unmarked), low (´), falling (`, high (´) and rising (¨). For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mid-level</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>/pa/ ‘throw’,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
But in Pāli there is no existence of any tone.

4.2 Comparison of Pāli and Thai at the Grammatical Level

Following Lyons (1969: 133, 1981: 100) the terms ‘grammar’ and ‘grammatical’ have been used in the present work in a fairly narrow sense in contrast with phonology and semantics. So inflection and to some extent syntax of these two languages are discussed in this section.
4.2.1 Comparison of Pāli and Thai Parts of Speech and Inflection

4.2.1.1 Pāli Parts of Speech and Inflection

All Pāli scholars like Oberlies (2004), Geiger (2004), Buddhadatta (1997), Collins (2006), Pengphala (1998), Charles (1997), Uttamo (1991) and Barua (1968) describe that in Pāli there are eight parts of speech or word classes as in English. But Pāli grammarians do not classify them in the same way. Four parts of speech or padajati ‘classes of words’ are recognized by them. These are as follows:

I. Nāma = noun

II. Ākhyāta = verb

III. Upasagga = prefix

IV. Nipāta = indeclinables

Pronouns and adjectives are included in the first group. Adjectives are treated as nouns because they are declined like nouns.

Conjunctions, prepositions, adverbs and all other indeclinables are included in the fourth group.

I. Nāma = Noun

The Nāma itself contains grammatical elements: gender (līṅga); number (vacana); and case-endings (vibhatti). There are three groups of nouns in Pāli: (i) Nāmanāma (noun); (ii) Sabbanāma (pronoun); (iii) Gunnāma (adjective). The Nāma (noun) along with its three groups is discussed below in detail:
(i) Nāmanāma (Noun)

Nouns in Pāli are differently declined according to their gender, number and case. The gender in Pāli is distinguished, on the whole, in accordance with the rules of Sanskrit. In assigning gender to words, Pāli does not strictly follow the natural division of persons and things as male, female and neuter. Some nouns, which are considered masculine in other languages, say, for instance, in English, are treated as feminine or neuter in Pāli, and vice versa. Thus the word /kucchi/ ‘belly’, which was originally masculine, is used in Pāli in both masculine and feminine genders. Pāli follows more or less grammatical gender, as opposed to natural gender.

The Gender of Noun (Liṅga)

There are in Pāli three genders and two numbers (Barua D.L. (1968: 43). The three genders are:

- Masculine gender (Pulliṅga)
- Feminine gender (Itthiliṅga)
- Neuter gender (napumsakaliṅga)

According to Uttamo (1991: 17) the words in Pāli may be divided, according to gender, into four classes, namely, those having (i) one gender, (ii) two genders, (iii) three genders and (iv) no gender:

Words having one gender

(a) Nouns which denote males are masculine in gender. For example:
(b) Nouns which denote females are feminine in gender. For example:

/bhikkunī/ ‘nun’ /gharaṇī/ ‘house wife’

/dārikā/ ‘young girl’ /kumāri/ ‘young girl’

(c) Nouns which denote inanimate things and qualities are neuter in gender. For example:

/oṭṭha/ ‘lip’ /chatta/ ‘umbrella’

/kamala/ ‘lotus’ /cakka/ ‘wheel’

Words having two genders

One word, without changing its form and meaning may possess two genders. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Neu.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/agāra/</td>
<td>/agāra/ ‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/divasa/</td>
<td>/divasa/ ‘day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pāpa/</td>
<td>/pāpa/ ‘evil’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Words having no genders

/adhunā/ ‘now’
/sabbatthā/ ‘everywhere’
/yahim/ ‘where’

Many feminine bases are formed, as usual, from masculine ones; but feminine forms with quite different bases also occur in Pāli, e.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pitu/</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bhātu/</td>
<td>‘brother’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As stated by Collins (2006: 16), two words denoting the same thing may be, sometimes, in different genders e.g. /pāsāda/ and /silā/ are both synonyms for ‘stone’, but the former is masculine, and the latter is feminine. Feminine bases are generally formed in Pāli by means of the suffixes: /-ā/, /-ī/, /-īnī/, /-ikā/, /-iyā/ and /-ikinī/, called Itthīpaccaγī, in the following manner:

(a) The masculine nouns ending in /-a/ have their feminine stems ending in /-ā/. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ayya/</td>
<td>/ayyā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dahara/</td>
<td>/daharā/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(b) The masculine nouns ending in /-a/ have their feminine stems ending in /-i/. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/brāhmaṇa/</td>
<td>/brāhmaṇī/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/majjara/</td>
<td>/majjārī/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) The masculine nouns ending in /-i/ have their feminine stems ending in /-ini/. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/hatthī/</td>
<td>/hatthinī/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mālī/</td>
<td>/mālinī/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) The adjectives ending in /-at/ or /-vat/ or /-mat/ form their feminine stems by adding the suffix /-i/. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/buddhimā/</td>
<td>/buddhimattī/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/guṇavā/</td>
<td>/guṇavattī/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) The adjectives ending in /-vantu/ and /-mantu/ form their feminine stems by substituting /-i/ in place of /-u/, and sometimes by dropping the /n/ of the suffix. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/guṇavantu/</td>
<td>/guṇavantī, guṇavattī/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(f) There are two forms of the present participle: The ending in /-nta/, /-māna/. Those ending in /-nta/ form their feminine stems by adding the suffix /-ī/, in place of /-a/, and those in /-māna/ by adding /-ā/. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/gacchanta/</td>
<td>/gacchantī/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/karonta/</td>
<td>/karontī/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But the neuter stems of these are similar to those of the masculine.

(g) Some primary derivatives such as /dāyaka/ form their feminine stems by adding /-ikā/ or /-iyā/ or /-ikinī/ for /-aka/. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dāyaka/</td>
<td>/dāyikā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ajaka/</td>
<td>/ajikā/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(h) Feminine stems are formed by adding the suffix /-nī/ to the end of masculine base ending in /-u/ or /-ū/. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/bhikkhu/</td>
<td>/bikkhunī/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/paṭu/</td>
<td>/paṭunī/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(i) The masculine nouns ending in /-a/, and /-i/ have their feminine stems ending in /-ini/. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/nāvika/</td>
<td>/nāvikini/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pisāca/</td>
<td>/pisācinī/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Number of Noun (Vacana)

Regarding the number of noun Buddhadatta (2006:3) describes that Pāli has retained two numbers: singular number (Ekavacana) and plural number (Bahuvacana). Only very few words occur in the dual sense, e.g., /dave/, /duve/ ‘two’; /ubho/ ‘both’, (besides /ubhaya/, which is used both in singular and plural).

In a few cases, the original forms of the dual have been preserved in the plural, e.g., /muni/, besides /munayo/ ‘saints’, /bhikkhu/, besides /bhikkhavo/ ‘monks’.

The Case Endings of Noun (Vibhatti)

The nominal base or stem serves as the basis of a variety of word-forms in their particular modes of perfected relation to other word-forms.

A letter or syllable, which is added to the end of the nominal base for the purpose of forming such new words, is called vibhatti (Case Ending), which conveys some additional meanings that are absent in the base itself.
It is also known as the flexion or suffix of nominal bases. There are fourteen kinds of case-endings.

These vibhattis (case-endings) can be divided into the following eight cases of noun (kāraka):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>-yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>-aṁ</td>
<td>-yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>-naṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-smā</td>
<td>-hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-sa</td>
<td>-naṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-smim</td>
<td>-su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>-yo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Sabbanāma (Pronoun)

The pronouns may be divided into five classes: (a) personal pronouns, (b) demonstrative pronouns, (c) relative pronouns, (d) interrogative pronouns and (e) possessive pronouns. There are some pronominal derivatives also.
Personal Pronouns

There are two personal pronouns /amha/ 'I', 'We' and /tumha/ 'You'. These are of the common gender and have no vocative forms.4

Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are /ta/ 'he, she, it, and they' (third person), /eta/ 'this, that' and /ima/ 'this'. All these can be declined into three genders (Masculine, Feminine and Neuter).5

Relative Pronoun

The relative pronoun is the stem /ya/ 'who, which, what, whoever' which can be declined in three genders.6

Interrogative Pronoun

The interrogative pronoun /ka/ 'who' can be declined like /ya/ except for the Nom. and Acc. Sg. in the neuter gender, which occur in the form of /kim/. Furthermore, the declension of /ka/ in the neuter gender has /kissa/, /kisma/ and /kimhi/ instead of /kassa/, /kasma/ and /kimhi/.7

Pronominal Adjective and Pronominal Derivatives

There are some pronominal adjectives like /sabba/ 'all', /visa/ 'all', /aňña/ 'another', /itara/ 'another' etc. which are declined in three genders. Pronominal derivatives are words derived from pronouns. Some of them express an indefinite sense and hence they correspond to the indefinite pronouns. They are formed by means of the suffix /-ci/, added to the inflexioned forms of the Interrogative i.e.: /koci/, /käci/, /keci/, /kiñći/, /kenaci/, /käñći/, /kassaci/, etc. Some of the pronominal derivatives are
formed by means of the suffixes /-ti/, /-dā/, /-iva/, /-taka/, /-tika/, /-tiya/
i.e.: /kati/, /kadā/, /kiva/, /kittaka/, /kivatika/ etc. Some other pronominal
derivatives are formed by means of the suffixes /-di/, /-dis/, /-risa/, /-tara/, /-tama/, /-dikkha/, /-rikkh/a i.e.: /tādi/, /tādissa/, /etādissa/, /mādisa/, /mārisa/, /itara/, /aṇātara/, /aṇātama/, etc. All these forms are declined
like the relative pronoun /ya/.

(iii) Guṇāma (Adjective)

As pointed out by Buddhadatta (2006: 18) adjectives, like nouns, can be declined into three genders. The adjectives have the stems ending in both vowels and consonants.

Comparison of Adjectives

Adjectives form their comparison in two ways: - (i) by adding /tara/ for the comparative and /tama/ for the superlative and (ii) by adding /iya/ or /iyya/ for the comparative and /īṭha/ or /issika/ for the superlative. For example:

(i) Positive Comparative Superlative

/suci/ ‘pure’ /sucitara/ ‘purer’ /sucitama/ ‘purest’

/pāpa/ ‘evil’ /pāpatara/ ‘more evil’ /pāpatama/ ‘most evil’

The masculine form is /sucitara/, /sucitamo/; the neuter form is /sucitaram/; the feminine form is /sucitara/ /sucitama/, etc.
(ii) Positive Comparative Superlative

/pāpa/ ‘evil’ /pāpiya/, /pāpiyya/ ‘more evil’ /pāpiṭha/, /pāpissika/ ‘most evil’

/hari/ ‘green’ /hariya/, /hariyya/ ‘greener’ /hariṭha/, /harissika/ ‘greenest’

It is said that most adjectives are interchangeably formed by adding these suffixes; /tara/, /tama/ or /iya/, /iyya/, /iṭṭha/, /issika/ such as /pāpatara/ or /pāpiya/; /pāpatama/ or /pāpiṭha/ or /pāpissaka/. It is to be noted that there are some irregular forms like /appa/ ‘little’ (positive), /kaṇiya/ (comparative), /kaṇiṭṭha/ (superlative); /garu/ ‘heavy’ (positive), /gariya/ (comparative), /gariṭṭha/ (superlative) etc.

II. Ākhyātā = Verb

Ākhyātā contains dhātu (root) and the grammatical categories such as vibhatti (verbal endings), vacana (number), purisa (person), vācaka (voice) and lakāra/kāla (tense) and mood.

The term Ākhyātā is formed from the derivation that kiriyāṁ ākhyāyatiti ākhyātāṁ, kiriyāpadāṁ ‘the pada that expresses an action is named Ākhyātā’, verb. For example, /gacchati/ ‘goes’; /karoti/ ‘does’; /vadati/ ‘speaks’; /sikkhati/ ‘studies’ etc.

(i) The Root (Dhātu)

Uttamo describes that the root (dhātu) is the ultimate element of a verb. It is not further analyzable at the grammatical or lexical levels. It can be said that any verb has dhātu as its base, apart from that prefixes
and suffixes as well as verbal endings are added to it. All of the roots are classified into eight groups each being named after the very first root in a list of roots comprised in it. These eight groups are bhūvādigāṇa (by adding vikaraṇa suffix /-a/), rudhādigāṇa (by intersection of a nasal), divādigāṇa (by adding vikaraṇa suffix /-ya/), sūvādigāṇa (by adding vikaraṇa suffix /-nā/ or /-nā/ and /-unā/), kiṃvādigāṇa (by adding vikaraṇa suffix /-nā/), gahādigāṇa (by adding vikaraṇa suffixes /-nā/ and /-ppa/), tanādigāṇa (by adding vikaraṇa suffixes /-nē/ and /-naya/) and curādigan (by adding vikaraṇa suffixes /-nē/ and /-naya/).

It can be concluded here that the roots of all conjugations after combination with suffix and vibhatti, become complete form of Ākhyāta (verbs).

Verbs in Pāli are divided into two kinds, transitive and intransitive. For example: /sūdo odanaṁ pacati/ ‘the cook cooks rice’ (transitive), /sūdo supati/ ‘the cook sleeps’ (intransitive). However, a transitive verb can be a verb of both active and passive sentences like these sentences: /sūdo odanaṁ pacati/ ‘the cook cooks rice’ (active) and /sūdena odano paciyate/ ‘rice is cooked by the cook’ (passive) etc.

(ii) Vibhatti (Verbal Ending)

The vibhattis or verbal endings are considered as the important part of Ākhyāta since most of the grammatical categories as mentioned above can be indicated by vibhattis. For example the root /pac/ ‘to cook’ + vikaraṇ suffix /a/ is conjugated following the eight groups of Ākhyātavibhāttis. Each of which consists of twelve vibhattis (according to person, number and voice). There are six (three in singular and three in
plural) active terminations (parassapada) and six (three in singular and three in plural) middle terminations (attanopada).

**Number (Vacana)**

There are two numbers in Pāli; ekavacana (singular) and bahuvacana (plural). Mostly, the subject and its verb agree with each other in terms of number and person. There are a few cases, in which the subject and its verb do not agree with each other in terms of number such as the verb derived from the root /as/ ‘to be’. For example:

\[
dhanāni me atthi
\]

money mine be

‘Much money is mine’

**Person (Purisa)**

There are three persons in Pāli; /paṭhamapurisa/ (third person), /majjhimapurisa/ (second person) and /uttamapurisa/ (first person), though they are somewhat different from those of the Western grammars. In Pāli, the verb agrees with the number and person of the subject.

**Voices (Vācaka)**

In Pāli there are two voices: active voice and passive voice. The term kattuvācaka (as per the Thai scholars Utaamo, 1991: 104, Makchang, 1992: 78) or kattusādhana (as per the Indian scholars) refers to the active voice. Here the agent is the subject of the sentence. For example:
The construction called hetukattuvācaka is formed in active voice. It emphasizes on the activity or action on the part of the causer (hetukattā). The structure of hetukattuvācaka is generally known in English as causative constructions. In Pāli, causative verbs are formed by the suffixes such as /-ṇe/, /-ṇaya/, /-ṇape/ and /-ṇapaya/ mentioned above. When a causal suffix is added to a stem, it radical vowel is lengthened as in the example given below.

sāmiko sūdam odanaṃ pāceti
Nom.Sg. Acc.Sg. Acc.Sg. 3p.Sg.prest.cau.

‘The master orders the cook to cook rice.’

The term kammavācaka (as per the Thai scholars Utaamo, 1991: 104, Makchang, 1992: 78) or kammasādhana (as per the Indian scholars) refers to the passive voice. Here the object moves to the subject position and it is assigned nominative case, and the subject occupies the instrumental case. For example:

sūdēna odano paciyate
Ins.Sg. Nom.3p.Sg. 3p. Sg.prest. pass.

‘Rice is cooked by the cook.’
The construction called hetukammavācaka is formed in passive voice. The structure of hetukammavācaka consists of four parts; (i) hetukattā ‘the causer’, marked by instrumental case, (ii) kāritakamma ‘one is caused to do’, marked by accusative and instrumental cases, (iii) hetukamma ‘the object is done’, marked by nominative case and (iv) kiriyā ‘verb’. The suffix /-ya/ (with āgama /i/) is a passive morpheme. It is added to the verb stems after vikaraṇa suffixes or the causal suffixes /-nāpe/, /-ne/, /-naya/ etc. to form passive constructions such as /sayāpiyate/ as in the example given below:

dārako tayā sayāpiyate
Nom.3p.Sg. Ins.Sg. 3p.Sg.prest.pass.

‘The baby is caused to sleep by the mother.’

In addition to these two there is another voice. This is called bhāvavācaka (as per the Thai scholars Utaamo, 1991: 104, Makchang, 1992: 78) or bhāvasādhana (as per the Indian scholars). The term refers to the impersonal voice (Barua, 1965: 46) or middle or absolute voice (Kaccāyana). It is said that in this voice the subject is always in the instrumental case. The intransitive roots such as /vībhū/ ‘to become’ are often used with /bhāvavācaka/. The verb often ends up with the verbal ending of attanopada /te/. For example:

tenā bhūyate
Ins. Sg. prest. pass.

‘He becomes’
The active verb is formed by intransitive or transitive root stem + vikaraṇa suffix + verbal ending, whereas the passive verb is formed by transitive root stem + vikaraṇa i āgama (argument) and suffix /-ya/ (passive suffix) + verbal ending. Both active and passive verbs can be in causal forms by which the causal suffixes i.e., /-ne/, /-naya/, /-nāpe/, and /-nāpaya/ are added to its verb after /vikaraṇa/ suffixes.

Lakāra/Kāla (Tense) and Moods

In Pāli, the temporal information is carried by vibhattis. It is still controversial in grouping eight groups of vibhattis into tense. Following Thai Pāli grammarians such as Vajiraṅgāna caroras and Upanāga groups and Indian Pāli grammarians such as Kaccayana, Barua and others tense in Pāli can be divided into three: present tense, past tense and future tense. The present tense is expressed by vibhattis of vattamāna (present), pañcamā (imperative) and sattā (optative); past tense is expressed by vibhattis of parokkhā (past perfect), hīyattā (past imperfect-expressing a past event that happened before today) and future tense is expressed by vibhatti of bhavissanti (future) kālātipatti (conditional- signifying the non-completion of an action that occurred in the past). Warder (1963, 1984: 8) mentions that in Pāli “tenses are not described according to the concept of time, but simply as alternative sets of forms according to inflection”. There are two moods in Pāli: imperative and optative. But as Warder mentions moods in Pāli are conventionally counted as tenses.

III. Prefix (Upasagga)

The adverbs, prefixes or prepositions, conjunctions and interjections are regarded as indeclinables in Pāli. Thus the indeclinables
may be broadly divided into two classes: (i) Upasagga and (ii) Nipāta. These have been discussed below one after the other:

The Upasaggas or prefixes are used to modify the sense of words. These cannot stand alone in a sentence. These are often combined with one or more prepositions or with an adverb, and sometimes even with a noun or an adjective. There are twenty prefixes (Upasaggas) in number to modify the fundamental meaning of the verbal roots:

1. /ati-/ ‘beyond, across, over, very much’
2. /adhi-/ ‘over, above, upon’
3. /anu-/ ‘after, along, according to’
4. /apa-/ ‘away, insult, offering, off, forth’
5. /api-/ ‘even’
6. /abhi-/ ‘to, unto, towards, all round, greatly’
7. /ava-/ ‘down, off, from, away’
8. /ā-/ ‘bounding, limiting, completely, back’
9. /u-/ ‘up, above, superior, out of’
10. /upa-/ ‘on, near less, next altogether’
11. /du-/ ‘bad, ill’
12. /ni-/ ‘down, in, away, less’
13. /ni- (nir-)/ ‘away, forth’
14. /pa-/  ‘before, forward’
15. /pati-/  ‘again, against, back, opposite’
16. /parā-/  ‘opposite, opposed to, through’
17. /pari-/  ‘surrounding, insulting’
18. /vi-/  ‘apart, away, asunder’
19. /saṁ-/  ‘together, along with, fully, perfectly’
20. /su-/  ‘good, well’

Some prefixes, when added to a root, make the meaning of the root strengthened that is to say, they support the basic meaning of the root. Some, when added to the root, distort or make the meaning of the root a little bit changed either positively or negatively, but not totally. Some prefixes totally change the basic meaning of a root to which they are attached. Thus, the prefixes are therefore, divided into three categories.

- Prefixes that support the meaning of the root, e.g. /ṅkam/ ‘to step, go’, when used with the prefix /ati-/ ‘beyond, across, over, very much’ means ‘to step across’ as in /atikkamati/ ‘he steps across, escapes’.

- Prefixes that distort the meaning of the root, e.g. /ṅvas/ ‘to live’, when used with the prefix /ava-/ ‘below’ means ‘live below’ as in /avavasati/ ‘he lives below’.

- Prefixes that eliminate the basic meaning of the root and create new meaning, e.g. /ṅhar/ ‘to lead’, when used with the prefix /ni- (nir-)/ ‘away, forth’ means ‘take away’ as in /niharati/ ‘he takes away’.
IV. Nipāta (Indeclinables)

As mentioned earlier (see section 4.2.1) the Nipātas consist of adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections. The Nipātas are usually inserted between words to fulfill a gap in a sentence. Some of them are expletive particles, i.e., not necessary to the sense (padapūraṇaṁ). The rest are meant to supply a specific sense (atthapūraṇaṁ). For example:


**Pure or Simple Adverbs:**

*Pure indeclinables:* /kira/ ‘overhear’, /bhalu/ ‘surely, indeed’, /kho/ ‘really, indeed’, /tu/ ‘also, then, as well’, /hi/ ‘for, because, indeed’, /mā/ ‘not’ and /nanu/ ‘is it not, certainly, surely’, etc.

*Conjunctions:* /ca/ ‘and, then, now’, /vā/ ‘or’, /ath/ ‘and also, and then’, /atha vā/ ‘or’, /uda/ ‘or’, /udāhu/ ‘or’ and /tathā pi/ ‘so, thus’, etc.
Interjections: /aho/ ‘oh!, alas!, yea!, indeed!’, /hā/ ‘alas!’, /ahaha/ ‘woe!’ and /dhi/ ‘fie!, shame! woe!, etc.

Conditionals: /ce/ ‘if’, /sace/ ‘if’ and /yadi/ ‘if’, etc.

4.2.1.2 Thai Parts of Speech and Inflection

All Thai scholars like Smyth (2002), Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005), Panthumetha (1998), Warotsikkhadit (1989), Panupong (1970) and Noss (1964) state that Thai has eight parts of speech or word classes such as (i) noun (ii) pronoun (iii) verb (iv) adjective (v) adverb (vi) preposition (vii) conjunction and (viii) interjection.

1. Noun

Nouns form one of the largest classes of words in the vocabulary, the other being the verbs. Single nouns may occupy the subject or object position. Typically nouns occur as the head of noun expressions.

Nouns are uninflected and have no gender. Nouns are neither singular nor plural. Some specific nouns are reduplicated to form collectives. So it can be said that there is no declension of any kind. Genitive relationship is indicated either by apposition or by use of the particle /khā:n/. For example /rōt nān khā:n khā:w/ ‘that car is his’. Nouns can be divided into two broad categories: proper noun and common nouns. The proper nouns refer to unique things, such as personal names, place names and names of institutions and the common nouns are traditionally divided into concrete nouns, which are observable, such as ‘house’, and abstract nouns, which are not, such as ‘love’. Common nouns in Thai have a single fixed form. Unlike many European
languages, no suffix is added to indicate plural or to show whether the noun is the grammatical subject or object in a sentence; nor are nouns classified by gender. The word /phlan/ thus means either 'friend' or 'friends', depending on the context. Usually the context provides sufficient information for there to be no confusion. When it is necessary to be more specific, numbers or indefinite quantifier words, such as many, every, a few, can be used; a very small number of nouns may be reduplicated as a means of indicating plurality. For example /námsi: sǒŋ lêm/ 'two books', /rót mã:k/ 'many cars' and / mài: mài: nái hông/ 'there are so many cats in the room'.

Use of classifiers is a peculiarity of Thai. Classifiers are used to classify nouns. They are used along with numerals. The order is noun + numeral + classifier, e.g. /khwa:y hê: tua/ ‘five buffalos’.

II. Pronoun

Like many other South-East Asian languages, Thai exhibits a complex pronoun system. The choice of a pronoun used in any one situation depends upon factors such as sex, age, social position and the attitude of the speaker toward the addressee. In those contexts in which the referent is understood, the pronoun is frequently omitted. Thai pronouns can be mainly divided into personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, relative pronouns and interrogative pronouns. There are some other types also.
Personal pronouns

Thai has many more personal pronouns. The pronominal system is socio-linguistically complex. Age, social status, gender, the relationship between the speakers, the formality of the situation and individual personality all play a part in helping a Thai to decide the most appropriate way to refer to him/herself and address and refer to others in any situation. Kin terms (aunt, older brother), status/occupation terms (teacher, doctor) and personal names or nicknames are also commonly used as personal pronouns. The personal pronoun system can be simplified to the following:

/ phôm/ ‘I/me’ (male)
/chón/ ‘I/me’ (female; informal)
/dichón/ ‘I/me’ (female; formal)
/raw/ ‘we/us’
/khun/ ‘you’ (sing. and plur.)
/thôn/ ‘you’ (sing. and plur.); he/him, she/her, they/them. To address or refer to people of significantly higher social status
/khôw/ ‘he/him; she/her; they/them’
/man/ ‘it’
/khru/ ‘he’ (The word is used to refer to the
/nôː/ 'he' (The word is used to refer to the doctor)

Demonstrative pronouns

There are three demonstrative pronouns, /nîː/ 'this one', /nðn/ 'that one' and /nðːn/, sometimes pronounced as /nûːn/ 'that one over there':

/nîː mûy sûay/ ‘This one isn’t pretty.’
/nðːn khɔːŋ khray/ ‘Whose is that thing over there?’

Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are as follows:

/khray/ ‘who’
/aray/ ‘what’
/mkûndy/ ‘when’
/thî: nûy/ ‘where’
/nûy/ ‘which’
/yaggay ‘how’
/thdıwrdy/ ‘how much’
Indefinite pronouns

Sometimes, interrogative pronouns also act as the indefinite pronouns. For example,

mi: khray cā kin māy

have who will, shall eat QP

‘Is anybody going to eat?’

khray sēt pay dāy

who finish go get

‘Whoever is finished can go.’


Relative pronoun

A single relative pronoun /thī:/ is used to refer to people, places and things:

khāw pen khon thī: cā:y

he be CL place . pay

‘He is the one who paid.’
bd:n thi: khdw yu: lek
house place he live small

'The house where they live is small.'

**Reflexive pronoun**

The reflexive pronoun, /tua/ ‘body’ is used with first, second and third persons. It occurs with such verbs as:

ciam tua
to be moderate body

'To be self-effacing'

khď:y tua
sell body

'To sell oneself'

khayď:y tua
expland body

'to expand'

**Emphatic pronoun**

The emphatic pronoun /ərŋ/ ‘self’ is used with first, second and third persons; it occurs in the following patterns, each conveying a slightly different shade of emphasis.
phõm eːŋ tham
I alone do
‘I myself did it.’

phõm tham eːŋ
I do alone
‘I did it myself.’

phõm eːŋ pen khon tham
I alone be CL do
‘I myself was the one who did it.’

Reciprocal pronoun

The reciprocal pronoun is /kan/ ‘each other/ one another’. It is used following the pattern: subject + verb (phrase) + /kan/ ‘together’:

kháw rák kan
they love each other
‘They love each other.’

raw tʃŋ chûay kan
we must help one another
‘We must help one another.’
III. Adjective

According to Noss (1964: 118) in Thai, adjectives are primarily used to modify nouns, as ‘fast’ does in the phrase, ‘fast cars.’ They are also used as a predicate, as in ‘this car is fast.’ In Thai /rόd réw/ means both ‘a fast car’ and ‘the car is fast’. Furthermore, some adjectives are used as manner adverbs which modify the verb in a sentence (e.g. ‘fast’ as in ‘This car runs fast’: cf. Thai /rόd wiːng réw). Both adjectives and manner adverbs appear in the comparative and superlative constructions. They can be modified further by intensifiers.

IV. Adverb

Besides manner adverbs derived from adjectives, there are other adverbs and adverbial phrases which modify the entire sentence. For example, frequency adverbs (occurring at the sentence initial position, sometimes at the end of a sentence also), temporal adverbial phrases consisting of a temporal noun and a demonstrative (e.g. /sǎmđỳ nóːn/ ‘in the old days’) place adverbial phrases consisting of prepositional phrases (e.g. /thīː bǒːn/ ‘at home’).

V. Verb

Thai verbs do not show inflection for such categories as gender, number, tense and mood. Another point is that Thai verbs can be strung together without an overt linking word to form a ‘serial verb construction’ to express various meanings. We can classify Thai verbs into intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive as in English.
**Intransitive verb**

Intransitive verbs require one core argument, i.e. a ‘subject.’ The verb ‘walk’ in the sentence ‘Jim walks every day’ is an intransitive verb. An intransitive verb normally places its subject before it, i.e. S-V. For example:

lom       phdt
wind      blow

‘The wind blows.’

fōn       tōk
rain      fall

‘It rains.’

There are at least two intransitive verbs which place a subject after the verb. They are /mi:/ ‘(something) exists’ and /kɔːt/ ‘(something) comes into existence, happens, occurs,’ i.e. /mi:/ + noun, for example, /mi: bân/ ‘there is a house’ and /kɔːt/ + noun, for example, /kɔːt lom/ ‘there is a wind’. These constructions are used when the subject represents ‘new information.’

**Transitive verbs**

Transitive verbs require two core arguments, a ‘subject’ and a ‘direct object’. In general, the Thai sentence with a transitive verb follows the S-V-O pattern. For example:
Ditransitive verbs

Noss (1964: 146) describes that the ditransitive verb requires an ‘indirect object’ in addition to a subject and a direct object. Ditransitive verbs are verbs that indicate transfer of items and information, and they require three semantic roles: ‘source’ (e.g. a person who gives something), ‘recipient’ (e.g. a person who receives something), and ‘theme’ (e.g. a thing which is transferred from source to recipient). The most important structural characteristic in a Thai ditransitive sentence is that the theme must appear directly after the verb and the recipient after the theme: [Source – Verb – Theme – Recipient].

Manop hdy n RHS: Sumalee

‘Manop give book Sumalee’

VI. Preposition

A preposition is defined as a kind of word that precedes a noun, a pronoun, a certain kind of verb in order to indicate the function of the noun, the pronoun and the verb it precedes. For example:

/naj/ ‘in’ /nɔːɡ/ ‘outside of’
VII. Conjunction

A conjunction is a word with joins two syntactic units. The class of conjunctions is small and closed. Many of its members are among the most frequent words in the language and it consists only of the following eight members. All members, in at least one of their forms, occur as members of other classes. For example:

1. /dɪlɔw/, /ɔprədʌlɔw/  ‘in a moment, soon’

2. /læːw/, /læw-kɔː/, /læl/, /læ-kɔː/  ‘then, after that, and, then’

3. /rɔː/, /rɔ̃, /rɔ-ɔː/  ‘or, alternatively, if not, then’

4. /kʰɔː/, /kʰɔi-wɔː/, kɔ-kʰɔy/  ‘or, in other words, that is to say’

5. /tæː/, /tæ/, /tæ-wɔː/, /tæ-kɔː/  ‘but, on the other hand’

6. /kɔː/, /kɔ̃/  ‘well, why’

7. /loj/, loj/  ‘then, that being the case, so’

8. /kon/  ‘by this time, it’s come to the point that’
VIII. Interjection

An interjection is a word added to a sentence to convey emotion. It is not grammatically related to any other part of the sentence. For example:

/ū/ ‘Oops!, Whoops!’

/yae/ ‘Gross!’

/khunphrachua/ ‘Oh, my goodness!’

4.2.1.3 Comparison

There is much dissimilarity between Pāli and Thai at the grammatical level. Pāli is a highly inflected language. Almost every word in Pāli contains one or more affixes, usually suffixes, along with the root which conveys the basic meaning. Though both the languages have eight parts of speech like English Pāli parts of speech are traditionally classified into Nāma (Noun), Ākhyāta (Verb), Upasagga (Prefix) and Nipāta (Indeclinables). Pronouns and adjectives are included in the Nāma as they are declined as nouns. Conjunctions, prepositions, and adverbs and all other indeclinables are included in the Nipāta.

Nouns in Pāli are inflected to indicate gender, number, and case. Number of Pāli is divided into two kinds as singular number and plural number. The case-ending of nouns is a letter or syllable, which is added to the end of the nominal base for the purpose of forming new words. It is called vibhatti (Case-Ending), which conveys definite and intelligible
meanings that are absent in the base itself. There are fourteen kinds of case-endings.

Nouns in Thai form one of the largest classes of words in the vocabulary, the other being the verbs. Single nouns may occupy the subject or object position. Typically nouns occur as the head of noun expressions.

In Thai nouns are uninflected. There are no markers for number, gender and case. Nouns are neither singular nor plural. Some specific nouns are reduplicated to form collectives. Unlike Pāli no suffix is added to show whether the noun is the grammatical subject or object in a sentence; nor are nouns classified by gender as in Pāli. Use of classifiers is a very important characteristic of the Thai language. Classifiers must be used here with every noun when limited by a numeral or a singular demonstrative. For example:

\[
\text{chān mi: rod sōŋ khān}
\]

'I have two cars'  

Pronouns in Pāli admit all genders. They become adjectives when they qualify other nouns. They have no vocative forms. The pronouns may be divided into five parts: (i) personal pronouns, (ii) demonstrative pronouns, (iii) relative pronouns, (iv) interrogative pronouns and (v) pronominal derivatives.

On the other hand Thai has many more personal pronominal forms in comparison to those of Pāli. Age, social status, gender, the relationship
between the speakers, the formality of the situation and individual personality all play a role in helping a Thai to decide the most appropriate way to refer to him/herself and to address and refer to others in any situation. Incidentally, it can be mentioned that there is a gender distinction in nominative/accusative singular in Thai. There is also a formal difference between informal and formal in feminine, e.g. /phôm/ 'I/me (male), /chán 'I/me (female, informal) and /díchán/ 'I/me (female, formal). Thai pronoun is divided into eight kinds-personal pronoun, demonstrative pronoun, interrogative pronoun, indefinite pronoun, relative pronoun, reflexive pronoun, emphatic pronoun and reciprocal pronoun. Pronouns are not inflected in Thai. It is to be noted that context plays an important role in determining the grammatical functions in Thai.

Adjectives in Pāli are not treated separately from nouns, as they take all the inflections of the nouns. Almost all pronouns become adjectives when they are used before a substantive of the same gender, number and case. They are pronouns when they stand alone in a sentence. Pāli adjectives have degrees of comparison denoted by separate suffixes.

Adjectives in Thai are primarily used to modify nouns, as ‘fast’ does in the phrase, ‘fast cars.’ They are also used as a predicate, as in ‘this car is fast.’ Furthermore, some adjectives are used as manner adverbs which modify the verb in a sentence. Both adjectives and manner adverbs appear in the comparative and superlative constructions. They can be modified further by intensifiers. Like Pāli there are no separate suffixes for degrees of comparison. Instead, function words like /kwaː:/ (comparative) and /tiːsurt/ (superlative) are used for this purpose.
Verbs in Pāli are inflected for number, gender, person, tense, and mood. Verbs in Pāli are formed with roots by adding suffixes and prefixes to them. There are eight modes of conjugation of verbs in Pāli; they do not exactly correspond to the moods or the tenses of English.

Verbs of Thai contrast with the verbs of Pāli in several different ways. Thai verbs do not show inflection for such categories as number, gender, person, tense and mood. Another point is that Thai verbs can be strung together without an overt linking word to form a ‘serial verb construction’ to express various meanings, e.g. /khaw yà:k cò hū:/ ‘she wanted to have her ears pierced’. But in Pāli this type of construction is not possible.

The adverbs, prefixes or prepositions, conjunctions and interjections are regarded as indeclinables in Pāli. The indeclinables may be broadly divided into two classes: (i) Upasagga and (ii) Nipāta.

Most adverbs in Thai are derived from adjectives but there are adverbs and adverbial phrases which modify the entire sentence.

A preposition in Thai is defined as a kind of word that precedes noun, a pronoun, a certain kind of verb (e.g. /kōnkin khā:w/ ‘before eat rice’) in order to indicate the function of the noun, the pronoun and the verb it precedes.

A conjunction in Pāli belongs to the group of Nipatas. It is usually inserted between words. A conjunction in Thai is any bound lexeme which occurs as a prior constituent in a syntactic construction which has a whole predication as co-constituent. For example: /mua/ ‘keep on, to act
stubbornly or tardily’ (/ya:-mua thiag kan yu: lɔ:y/ ‘Let’s stop this senseless arguing.’), /pha:kan/ ‘to act as a group’ (/dɛŋ pha:kan wàŋ khà:m thàŋn pɔy/ ‘The children ran off across the street.’) and /phɔ:ɔy/ ‘to act as a follower, to tag along’ (/phɔm phɔ:ɔy pɔy-dûay, dɔy mɔ/ ‘May I go along with you?’.

4.2.2 Comparison of Pāli and Thai Sentence Types and Word order

4.2.2.1 Pāli Sentence Types and Word order

On the basis of structure Pāli shows three types of sentences: simple sentence, compound sentence and complex sentence. A simple sentence contains only one finite verb. A compound sentence contains two or more independent clauses joined together. A complex sentence contains only one principal clause and one or more subordinate clauses. For example:

(i) Simple sentence

    puris khettam kasati
    man field plough

    ‘A man ploughs the field’

(ii) Compound sentence

    thero Mūlasiriṁ pakkosāpesi, atha mahājanakāyo saṅnipati
    senior Mūlasiriṁ (name) call and people meeting

    ‘The Senior calls Mūlasiriṁ and the people have the meeting.’
(iii) Complex sentence

sacce āham geham gamissāmi, mātāpitaro mam tajjessanti

If I house go parents my to frighten

'If I go to the house, my parents will frighten.'

On the basis of the mode of expression there are the following types of sentences in Pāli:

(i) Declarative sentences

This type consists of the subject and the verb; sometimes it has the object also in the sentence. For example:

Sakuno rukkhe nisidati

bird tree sit

'A bird sits on the tree.'

(ii) Negative sentences

Affirmative sentences are negated by using two main negative particles, viz., /na/ and /ma/ which are placed in front of the word or the phrase or at the beginning of a negative sentence (Warder, 1984: 31). For example:

tvam na passasi

you no see

'You don’t see.'
mā paridevesi

no  grieve

‘don’t grieve’

It is to be mentioned that /no/ is the emphatic form of /na/ (Buddhadatta, 2005: 184). For example:

Alam bālass mohāya; no ca pāragavesino

evenough dull delusion no and looking for the final end

‘All good enough for dull wit of a fool, but not for him who looks the Beyond.’

(iii) Interrogative sentences

This type of sentence is formed by using interrogative adverbs, pronouns or particles at the beginning of a sentence (Charles, 1997: 168). For example:

kīdiso nu kho paraloko

what like indeed really world

‘I wonder what the next world is like?’

(iv) Imperative sentences

Imperative sentences are expressed by a single verb with or without some other word classes (Uttamo, 1991: 100). For example:
evan vadehi

in this way say

'Say in this way'

(v) Negative imperative

A negative imperative sentence is formed by adding a negative particle before the verb. For example:

na gacchi

no go

('You don't go')

(vi) Word order

Pali is an inflectional language. So word order appears to be less important in Pali as in Sanskrit or Latin or ancient Greek. Yet the normal word order in Pali is subject-object-verb (SOV). But all Pali sentences do not contain verbs. Two nouns may merely be juxtaposed. For example: /idam dukkham/ 'this (is) unhappiness'.

4.2.2.2 Thai Sentences Types and Word order

On the basis of structure Thai shows three types of sentences: simple sentence, compound sentence and complex sentence as defined earlier in this section 4.2.2.1. For example:
(i) Simple sentence

khùw pay ro:nrian

he go school

'He goes to school.'

(ii) Compound sentence

khùw læ: thọ pay ro:nrian

he and she go school

'He and she go to school.'

(iii) Complex sentence

thđ: fon tŏk chđn ca mûy pay

if rain fall I will no go

'If it rains I will not go.'

There are four types of sentences in Thai. These are (i) Declarative sentences (ii) Negative sentences (iii) Interrogative sentences and (iv) Imperative sentences. The details of the sentence types are clarified as below:

(i) Declarative Sentences

All basic sentence construction patterns are declarative sentences which have the subject and the verb or sometimes it has the object in the sentence, for example:
(ii) Negative Sentences

Any verbal sentence can be negated by the negator /māy/, e.g. /khāw māy mā:/ ‘He does not come.’ The verbs that appear in a copulative sentence, /pen/ ‘to be’ and /khī/ ‘to be’, cannot be negated directly, and a negative copulative sentence is normally expressed by /māy chāy/ or /māy dāy pen/, e.g. /māy chāy khon thài/ ‘He is not Thai.’

(iii) Interrogative Sentences

Thai interrogative sentences are formed like the declarative sentences except for the following minor adjustments. The ‘yes/no’ question and tag question are marked by one of several sentence-final question particles, e.g. /pāy māy/ ‘Are you going?’ The interrogative question is not marked by a question particle but is made by a declarative sentence with an interrogative word replacing the word in question, e.g. /khāy mā:/ (who come?/‘who came?’ and /chā:p drāy/ ‘like what’, ‘what do (you) like?’

(iv) Imperative Sentences

Affirmative imperatives can be expressed by a single verb, e.g. /pāy/ ‘Go!’ But often it is followed by a sentence-final pragmatic particle,
such as /thɔ/ 'let', /sì/ 'please, or /lɔ:y/ 'beyon', e.g. /pɔ:y lɔ:y/ 'Go!' A negative imperative is marked with /yà:/ at the beginning of a sentence, e.g. /yà:pɔy/ 'Don’t go!'

(v) Word order

As stated by Campbell (1968: 3) the general arrangement of words in a simple Thai sentence is subject-verb-object (SVO) as in English. But there are other types of order of syntactic elements also.

4.2.2.3 Comparison

The sentences in both Pāli and Thai may contain any number of words. Both Pāli and Thai have the same types of sentences based on the structure and mode of expression. There is a difference in the formation of negative sentences. A negative sentence in Pāli occurs by placing /na/ or /no/ or /ma/ before the word or the phrase or at the beginning of the sentence. But negative sentence in Thai is formed by placing /môy/ in front of the verb. A negative copulative sentence is expressed by /môy chôy/ 'it is not true' or /môy dûy pen/ 'it is not'/'it is not true'. An interrogative sentence in Pāli is formed by using interrogative adverbs, pronouns or particles at the beginning of a sentence. Thai interrogative sentence is formed by a declarative sentence with an interrogative word replacing the word in question, e.g. /khrây mə:/ 'who came?'. Imperative sentence in Pāli occurs by using a single verb with or without other word classers but Thai imperative sentence is constructed by using a single
verb but it is always followed by a sentence-final pragmatic particle like /tha:/ 'let', /sə/ 'please, or /lɔ:y/ 'beyon'.

Word order in Pāli is less important because it is an inflectional language. Otherwise, the normal word order in Pāli is subject-object-verb (SOV). But word order in Thai arranged as in English is subject-verb-object (SVO).

4.3 Comparison of Pāli and Thai at the Lexical Level

Vocabulary is one of the three major components of language (Gleason, 1961: 6). The other two components are the structure of expression and the structure of content. Vocabulary comprises the specific relations between expression and content. Vocabulary is the transient feature of language. It comes and goes—least stable of the three components. A unit of vocabulary is generally referred to as a lexical item (Crystal, 1985: 179).

For the purpose of making a general comparative statement regarding the vocabularies of Pāli and Thai this section first offers a general discussion in relation to the nature of the vocabulary of both the languages.

At the outset lexical items of any language can be divided into two broad types, viz., function words and content words. These are discussed below:
4.3.1 Comparison of the Function Words of Pāli and Thai

Function words in general have grammatical meanings because they "primarily and largely operate as means of expressing relations of grammatical structures" Buddhadatta (2006: 67).

4.3.1.1 Function Words in Pāli

As Collins (2006: 121-125) describes function words in Pāli include determiners, prepositions and conjunctions.

Determiners ‘determine’ nouns, and are therefore noun-modifiers. There are no words in Pāli corresponding to the English article; the words /eko/, /ekacce/, ‘one, a few’ are often used in the sense of the indefinite article, and /so, eso/, ‘that, this’, do the function of the definite article: /so puriso/, ‘the man’, /sā ithī/, ‘the woman’.

Prepositions (Prefixes) are called Upasaggas in Pāli. They are sometimes prefixed to verbs and their derivatives. Generally they modify the meaning of the root, or intensify it, and sometimes alter it; in some cases they add nothing to the original meaning of the root. The prefixes are 20 in number (see section 4.2.1.1.3).

Conjunctions in Pāli belong to the Nipātas. It is usually inserted between words to fulfill a gap in a sentence. Examples of Pāli conjunctions are: /kadā...tadā/ ‘then’, /yathā...evāṃ/ ‘as if, so that’, /yāva...tāva/ ‘until, till’, /yāvatā/ ‘as far as, because’, /hi/ ‘for, because, indeed’, /athavā/ ‘or’, ca ‘and, but also’, /atha/ ‘and, then, now’, /atho/ ‘and, also, then’, etc.
Kadā te vivadissanti tathā ehinti me vasāṇ.

when they quarrel then come my control

‘When they will quarrel, then they shall come under my control’.

4.3.1.2 Function Words in Thai

Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2004: 115) state that Thai function words can also be classified into determiners, prepositions, and conjunctions.

Determiners in Thai do not determine nouns directly, but they determine them through the classifiers of the nouns. For example, if the noun /bdːn/ ‘house’ is to be specified, its classifier /lāŋ/ must first be determined, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bdːn} & \quad \text{thuk} & \quad \text{lāŋ} \\
\text{house} & \quad \text{every} & \quad \text{class.}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Every house’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bdːn} & \quad \text{lāŋ} & \quad \text{lāŋ} \\
\text{house} & \quad \text{many} & \quad \text{class}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Several houses’

Through the use of noun classifiers, Thai has a way of expressing the definite-indefinite distinction of its nouns. For example, it uses these phrases to express the indefiniteness of the nouns:
Thai determiners either occur between nouns, or follow nouns and their classifiers, as in:

/bà:n sà:m làŋ/

house three class.

‘Three houses’

Preposition in Thai include simple prepositions such as /bôn/ ‘on’, /tâ:y/ ‘under’, /thî:/ ‘at’, /kà:p/ ‘with’; and compound prepositions such as /phàːwán/ ‘because of’, /làː:wàː/ ‘depend on’, /nàː:kàː:k/ ‘except’, etc. Like English, these prepositions occur in prepositional phrases, as in

/nàŋsǐ: yùː tâː:y tò/

book be under table

‘The book is under the table.’

Conjunctions in Thai, like those in English, conjoin clauses together to complete sentences. These conjunctions comprise simple forms such as /tàː:/ ‘but’, /thōː/ ‘if’, /làː/ ‘and’; and compound conjunctions such as /mâː:wàː/ ‘although’, /phàːwàː/ ‘so that’, /phàːʈhîːːcàː/ ‘in order that’, etc. Examples of their occurrences are:
Although Thai has a means for expressing definiteness and indefiniteness of its nouns, it has no exact equivalents for the Pāli articles /eko/ = one ‘a’. There are no words in Pāli corresponding to the English article. The words /eko, ekacce/, ‘one, a few’ are often used in the sense of the indefinite article; and /so, eso/, ‘that, this’, do the function of the definite article and prepositions (Prefixes) are called Upasaggas in Pāli. They are sometimes prefixed to verbs and their derivatives. Generally they modify the meaning of the root, or intensify it, and sometimes alter it. In some cases they add nothing to the original meaning of the root. Pāli prepositions differ from Thai prepositions because Thai has equivalents for English prepositions but Pāli does not have.

Conjunctions in Pāli form a part of indeclinables called Nipātas. It is usually inserted between words to fulfill a gap in a sentence but conjunctions in Thai conjoin clauses together to complete sentences.

4.3.2 Comparison of Content Words of Pāli and Thai.

4.3.2.1 Content Words in Pāli

As pointed out by Geiger (2004: 115), content words are lexical forms which have lexical and independent meaning, so that one or a group of these forms in isolation can be meaningful by and large. Pāli
content words include nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. For the purpose of a comparison between Pāli and Thai in this section, Pāli content words will be classified into simple and compound.

I. Simple Words

Pāli simple words can be described as words that are free and can occur alone, with or without an inflectional suffix such as /naro/, /narena/, /purisamā/ and /suriye/, etc.

II. Complex words

Complex words are derived by the addition of a derivational affix. For example: /mandattam/ ‘inappropriate’ (<Sanskrit manda+tva-), /raṭṭhika ‘relating to the country’ (<raṭṭha+nika).

III. Compound Words

Uttamo (1991: 113) states that when two or more words are combined together to form a grammatical unit it is called a compound (Samāsa). Some compounds have an indeclinable as their first member. A few compounds are made up entirely of indeclinables. There are six kinds of compounds: kammadharaya (adjectival compound, e.g. nīlam + uppalaṃ = nīluppalaṃ ‘blue water-lily’), digu (numeral determinative compound, e.g. satta + ahāni = sattahāhaṃ ‘a week’), Tappurisa (dependent determinative compound, e.g. gāmaṃ + gato = gāmagato ‘gone to the village’), dvanda (copulative or aggregative compound, e.g. cando ca suriyo ca = candasuriyā ‘the noon and the sun’), avyayibhāva (adverbial compound, e.g nagarassa + upa = upanagarārī ‘near the town’).
and bahubhi (relative or attributive compound, e.g. chinna + hatha (yassa, so) = chinnahattho ‘(a man) whose hands have been cut off’.

4.3.2.2 Content Words in Thai

Following Panthumetha (1998: 62) content words in Thai can be classified into simple, complex, and compounds.

I. Simple Words

Simple words, which make up the major portion of the Thai vocabulary, are free forms and are generally monosyllabic words, such as /kin/ ‘to eat’, /sūdy/ ‘beautiful’, /ma:/ ‘to come’, etc.

II. Complex Words

Complex words in Thai are primarily of Cambodian or Pāli and Sanskrit origin. These words are generally dissyllabic. These words are formed by prefixation, such as /ʔakhdti:/ ‘prejudice’, from /khdti:/ ‘attitude’; infixation, as in /damnɔːn/ ‘proceed’, from /dɔːn/ ‘to walk’; and suffixation, as in /rachini:/ ‘queen’, from /raːchd/ ‘king’. Since Thai has discontinued borrowing from these foreign sources, the list of complex words in Thai has become stabilized.

III. Compound Words

The majority of compound words in Thai are syntactic compounds, which have the structural pattern head + modifier. These syntactic compounds in Thai are numerous and are usually used as the model for
creating new compounds. Most of these compounds function as nouns in Thai, as in /sàːphāːː/ ‘clothes’, /chāːwːaːː/ ‘farmer’.

Other syntactic compounds in Thai consist of a head noun and a verb phrase. Some examples of this large group of compounds are:

khāːn̚
sāːk
phūː:

machine
wash
clothes

‘washer’

khon
khāːp
rōt

person
drive
car

‘driver’

4.3.2.3 Comparison

Simple words in Thai are uninflected and, by and large, monosyllabic, whereas simple words in Pāli can occur with inflectional suffixes, and are not necessarily monosyllabic. The list of complex words in Thai has become stabilized. Pāli has inherited words from Sanskrit with regular phonological changes. Thus Sanskrit words have changed their shapes in Pāli, e.g. putto ‘son’ (< Sanskrit putraḥ), hatthī ‘elephant’ (< Sanskrit hasti). But still there are many Sanskrit loan words in Pāli. A few loan words are exemplified below:

/kara/ ‘the hand’ /kathā/ ‘speech, story’

/kadalī/ ‘banana’ /kamala/ ‘a lotus’
On the other hand the Thai language has borrowed many words from other languages. There are five strata of vocabulary in Thai: (a) indigenous words, (b) possible early Chinese loans, (c) Khmer loans, (d) Indic (Sanskrit and Pali) loans and (e) more recent loans from English and other languages (Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom, 2005: 11).

(a) There are only a few thousand indigenous words in the Thai language (Chuchun, 1982: 48). For example:

/mū:/ 'pig'  
/mōt/ 'ant'  
/mōd:/ 'dog'  
/ta:/ 'eye'

(b) There are Chinese loan words in the Thai language (Yoshikawa, 1987). For example:

/nīn/ 'one'  
/sō:n/ 'two'  
/kā:m/ 'cheek'  
/khō:/ 'leg'
(c) The Khmer words borrowed in the Thai language are:

/krosuar/ ‘ministry’
/kamphasrr/ ‘wall’
/phlo:y/ ‘gem’
/talòk/ ‘comeddy’

(d) The Thai language has borrowed words from Sanskrit and Pāli (language of Buddhism). For example:

/bun/ ‘virtue, merit’
/múk/ ‘pearl’
/mèttta:/ ‘kindness, pity’
/a:ca:n/ ‘teacher’

(e) The English loan words in the Thai languages are:

/fo:tbo:n/ ‘football’
/shɔt/ ‘shirt’
/taez/i: ‘taxi’
/ʃi:m/ ‘team’

Finally, Thai compounds are mainly syntactic compounds. But in Pāli, two or more words are combined together to form a grammatical unit called a compound (Samāsa).

Notes

1. Since the present study is expected to be utilized in Thailand by Pāli teachers who may not be linguists, for teaching Pāli to Buddhist monks, the Roman symbols have been used for Pāli sounds. To avoid confusion /y/ has been used for the palatal semivowel in both Pāli and Thai as the
IPA symbol /j/ is required to represent the palatal voiced unaspirated stop in Pāli.

2. The IPA symbols have been used for the purpose of transcription of Thai with some modifications. The symbol /c/ is used for the unvoiced unaspirated palatal affricate. The symbol /h/ has been placed beside the symbols /p/, /t/, /k/ and /c/ to indicate aspiration.

3. There are different opinions regarding the articulation of Pāli /r/. It has been described as either retroflex or dental or alveolar.

4. /amha/ and /tumha/ are declined below because of their frequent usage.

(a) The declension of the first person stem /amha/ ‘I’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>aham ‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>mam, mamam ‘me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ins.</td>
<td>mayā, me ‘me, by me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>mama, mamam, mayham, me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘to me, for me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>mayā, me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘me, from me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>mama, mamam, mayham, me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘my, mine’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Loc. mayi 'in, on, upon me' amhesu 'in, on, upon us'

(b) The declension of the second person stem /tumha/ 'you'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Singular</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Plural</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>tvam, tuvam 'thou'</td>
<td>tumhe, vo 'you'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>tvam, tuvam, tap,</td>
<td>tvam tumhe, vo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'thee'</td>
<td>'you'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ins.</td>
<td>tvaya, tayā, te</td>
<td>tumhebhi, tumhehi, vo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'by thee'</td>
<td>'by you'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>tava, tavam, tuyham, te</td>
<td>tumhākam, tumham, vo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'to thee, for thee'</td>
<td>'to you, for you'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>tvaya, tayā, te</td>
<td>tumhebhi, tumhehi, vo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'from thee'</td>
<td>'from you'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>tava, tavam, tuyham, te</td>
<td>tumhākam, tumham, vo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'thy, thine'</td>
<td>'your, yours'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>tvayi, tayi</td>
<td>tumhesu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'in, on, upon thee'</td>
<td>'in, on, upon you'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides the regular declined forms there are enclitic forms like /me/ 'my', /te/ 'your' etc.

5. The Pāli demonstrative pronouns are declined below:
(a) The stem /ta/ ‘he’, ‘she’ and ‘they’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masc.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fem.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>tam, nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ins.</td>
<td>tena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>tassa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>tasmă, tamhă</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>tassa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>tasmin, tamhi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Stem /eta/ ‘this, that’ can also be declined into three genders as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Masc.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fem.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>eso, esa, eta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>etam, emam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ins.</td>
<td>etena, enena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>etassa, enassa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>etasmi, etamhă</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>etassa, enassa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>etasmin, etamhi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The declension of the neuter from Ins. to Loc. is identical to the masculine both in Sg. and in Pl.
(c) Stem /ima/ ‘this’

(i) Masculine declension:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>ayam</td>
<td>ime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>imam</td>
<td>ime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ins.</td>
<td>imina, anena</td>
<td>imebhi, imehi, ebhi, ehi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>imassa, assa, imissā</td>
<td>imesam, imesanam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>imasmā, imamhā, asmā</td>
<td>imebhi, imehi, ebhi, ehi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>imassa, assa, imissā</td>
<td>imesam, imesanam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>imasmiṃ, imamhi, asmā</td>
<td>imesu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Feminine declension:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>ayam, iyaṃ</td>
<td>imā, imāyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>imam</td>
<td>imā, imāyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ins.</td>
<td>imāya</td>
<td>imābhi, imāhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>imāya, assā, imissā</td>
<td>imasam, imesanam,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>imissāya, assāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>imāya</td>
<td>imābhi, imāhi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gen.  imāya, assā, imissā  imāsām, imesānām,
imissāya, assāya  imāsānām

Loc.  imāyaṁ, imissā, imissām, issām  imāsu

(iii) Neuter declension:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.  idam, imam  ime, imānī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.  idam, imam  ime, imānī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The declension of the neuter from Ins. to Loc. is identical to the masculine both in Sg. and in Pl.

6. The declension of the relative pronoun in three genders is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>yo</td>
<td>yā</td>
<td>yam</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>yā, yāyo</td>
<td>yāni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>yam</td>
<td>yam</td>
<td>yam</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>yā, yāyo</td>
<td>yāni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ins.</td>
<td>yena</td>
<td>yāya</td>
<td>yena</td>
<td>yebhi, yehi</td>
<td>yebhi, yēhi</td>
<td>yebhi, yēhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>yassa</td>
<td>yassā, yāya</td>
<td>yassa</td>
<td>yesām</td>
<td>yāsām</td>
<td>yesām</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>yamhā</td>
<td>yāya</td>
<td>yamhā</td>
<td>yebhi, yehi</td>
<td>yēbhi, yēhi</td>
<td>yēbhi, yēhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>yassa</td>
<td>yassā, yāya</td>
<td>yassa</td>
<td>yesām</td>
<td>yāsām</td>
<td>yesām</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>yasmim, yamhi</td>
<td>yassām, yāyam</td>
<td>yasmim, yamhi</td>
<td>yesu</td>
<td>yāsu</td>
<td>yesu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The declension of the neuter from Ins. to Loc. is identical to the masculine both in Sg. and in Pl. When /yam/ is followed by a vowel, it is often /yad/ like /yad eva/. It is sometimes found in Māgadhī with the form of /ye:/ /yebhuyya/ ‘most’ /yebhuyyena/ ‘mostly’ etc.
7. The interrogative pronoun is declined below:

(i) Masculine declension of stem /ka/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>kam</td>
<td>ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ins.</td>
<td>kena</td>
<td>kebhi, kehi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>kassa, kissā</td>
<td>kesaṃ, kesānaṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>kasmā, kamhā</td>
<td>kebhi, kehi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>kassa, kissā</td>
<td>kesaṃ, kesānaṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>kasmim, kamhi</td>
<td>kesu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Feminine declension of stem /kā/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>kā</td>
<td>kā, kāyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>karṇ</td>
<td>kā, kāyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ins.</td>
<td>kassā, kāya</td>
<td>kābhi, kāhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>kassā, kāya</td>
<td>kasaṃ, kāsānaṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>kassā, kāya</td>
<td>kābhi, kāhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>kassā, kāya</td>
<td>kasaṃ, kāsānaṃ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Loc. kassṁ, kayaṁ kāsu

The neuter declension of /kim/ ‘what’ is the same as /ka/ in masculine, except for Nom. Sg. /kim/, and Nom. Acc. Pl. /kāni/.

References


