

Identification of Thai Loanwords in the Lao Language

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to identify Thai loanwords in the Lao language after 1975. The data were obtained from four sources: dictionaries, newspapers, magazines and television programs, published in 2008. Seemingly, the sound change principle proposed by Haugen (1950s) and Arlotto (1972) is inadequate in identifying Thai loanwords in Lao, as they are a dialect of the Tai language family. Dialect borrowing is very difficult to point out if the dialects are very close (Anttila, 1989; Hock, 1991). The study found that the new lexicons appearing in Lao dictionaries published after 1975, and a meaningful comparison with the Thai language, have an important role in identifying loanwords from Thai. In dictionaries, there are few words that are clearly indicated as having originated from Thai. When the lexicons have been compared with the meanings of Thai words, it has been shown that their meanings are the same. Therefore, there are many words borrowed from Thai, but they are not referenced. The sound change principle, however, continues to act well in the borrowed words where the phonemes are different. There is a fluctuation of the phoneme /r/ in Thai where it becomes the phoneme /h/ or /l/ in Lao, while /j/ in Thai becomes /j/ or /ɲ/ in Lao. This phenomenon shows that the period of borrowing from Thai has taken place recently. Borrowed words carry over their meaning from Thai. However, a number of loanwords have a narrow meaning. Many original Lao words have been affected by borrowed Thai words because they are synonymous. This results in the change in the Lao language's 'semantic space'.

Introduction

The basic principle in identifying loanwords is the change in sound, because some phonetic features of the source language are adapted into similar (but slightly different) sounds of the target language (Haugen, 1953; Arlotto, 1972). For example, Hock (1991) examines European languages as having mixed lexicons from French, Spanish or German, where it is rather easy to see that words have been borrowed. Similarly, this applies to English loanwords lent to Thai and to Lao (Udomvong, 1981; Khonphutphro, 2002).

However, borrowing can also come from other dialects of the same language. Anttila (1989) states that it is very difficult to identify loanwords if two languages or dialects are very closely related. Because there is no clear boundary between dialect and language, it is obvious that the same words are adopted by closely related languages. Hock (1991) examines Standard English and Black Vernacular English. He proposes that both are dialects of the English language. The words that Lao borrows from Thai will be similar, as they are both dialects of the Tai language family, and their phonetic features are very close. Therefore, the principle of sound

change from language to language may not be adequate in identifying loanwords when they are two dialects of the same language family.

Hock (1991) proposes that some principles may be added for detecting a verified dialect borrowed in certain language situations, especially where the donor/source language are related to each other.

As a consequence, the Sound Change principle cannot be used on its own to identify Thai loanwords in Lao. I have found that there are other processes to help identify Thai loanwords, and they can be used in combination with the Sound Change principle. There are consequently three processes employed to identify Thai loanword in this study:

1. Sound Change process
2. Appearing process
3. Meaning process

The Sound Change process refers to the changing of some phonemes from Thai to other phonemes in Lao. The Appearing process refers to lexicons that appeared after 1975 and still having the same meaning as the original Thai word. Lastly, the Meaning process is the term used to talk about loanwords and original Thai dictionary meanings being consistent. The Appearing and Meaning processes have to be used in tandem. As the Sound Change process is basically the process typically used to identify loanwords, it will be looked at first.

Methodology

The data in this study is Thai loanwords borrowed by the Lao language after 1975, in written and spoken form. The Thai loanwords are grouped from various sources, representing contemporary written and spoken Lao that is found in magazines, newspapers, dictionaries and television programs. They cover a variety of content, as below:

1. Magazines: The data is grouped from weekly magazines, namely the *Update* magazine published during 2007 and 2008. An issue was collected once a month.
2. Newspapers: The data is grouped from daily newspapers, namely the *Vientiane-Mai*, published from May 2008 to April 2009. We collected two newspapers a month.
3. Dictionaries: The data is grouped from the mono-Lao dictionaries written by Konivong (2005) and Onmanison (2008).

4. Television programs: The data is grouped from two Lao television programs; *Samoson-Saw-Ban*, aired on Saturdays and Sundays from 8.00am to 9.00am, and *Sabaidee-Mueng-Lao*, aired on Saturdays and Sundays from 9.00am to 10.00am. Both were grouped when they were aired between May 2008 and April 2009 by sampling twice a month, totaling 24 subjects. The products advertised in these programs were also added to the data.

After potential loanwords are grouped, they are recorded on a 'data card' and categorized into various fields: part of the alphabet, semantic field, domain of language use, example loanword, meaning, source, date and phonology change. They may be compared with other native Lao lexicons of the same field/meaning. Moreover, all of them have their meanings compared with those in the Thai dictionary produced by the Royal Institute of Thai (1999).

The Sound Change Process

Sound change is a necessary process for identifying loanwords in any language. It acts well with languages with mostly different features. If donor and target languages have close phonemes, borrowed words can be very difficult to identify. The Sound Change process, however, was used in my study with other processes; the Appearing and Meaning processes. The results found that there is an adapting of Thai consonants and vowel phonemes when used by Lao speakers. The consonant phonemes are adapted in two positions – initial and cluster positions – except final consonant positions. The vowel phonemes of both languages do not differ from each other. However, there is a change of vowel phoneme in the loanword.

For the tonal phonemes of Thai and Lao, the numbers are typically the same, but they are different in level of tone. The tonal phoneme in the loanword will be adapted to the Lao tonal system. Likewise, Varisa (1997) states that when the word is borrowed from Thai, there is no need for tones to be carried over. She gave some examples of Thai actresses' proper names; when pronounced in Vientiane Lao, the tones differ. Therefore, the tonal phoneme will be highlighted in this study.

Initial Consonant Phonemes

Most Thai and Lao phonemes are the same. There are two consonant phonemes that occur only in Thai; /-r-/ and /ch-/; while the phoneme /ɲ-/ only occurs in Lao. As a consequence, both consonant phonemes in Thai are adapted to similar phonemes in Lao. That is, in the initial position the phoneme /r-/ becomes the phoneme /h-/ or /l-/. The phoneme /ch-/ becomes the

phoneme /s-/. The phoneme /j-/ becomes the phoneme /ɲ-/. However, some potential loanwords have kept the Thai phoneme /j-/.

	Thai		Lao	
(1)	/r-/	>	/h-/	(1-1)
		>	/l-/	(1-2)
		>	/h-/ and /l-/	(1-3)
(2)	/ch-/	>	/s-/	
(3)	/j-/	>	/ɲ-/	(3-1)
	/j-/	>	/j-/	(3-2)

Sound change in (1) and (2) are the corresponding sounds of Thai and Lao as a dialect of the Tai language family. The phoneme change in this case is not included in my study but will be proved by the Appearing and Meaning processes to determine that it is a genuine Thai loanword. The examples below show how to identify a Thai loanword.

Example 1 (1-1): /r-/ > /h-/

	Thai		Lao	meaning
(a)	เรียณ /riak3/ (D4:1410)		IPd /hiak3/ (D1:1410)	‘to call’
(b)	ไร /raj4/ (D4:981)		wlh /haj3/ (D1:1407)	‘devoid’
(c)	รีบ /ri:p3/ (D4: 958)		Iu[/hi:p3/ (D1:1425)	‘to hurry’

The phoneme /r-/ in Thai and the phoneme /h-/ in Lao are corresponding sounds of the Tai language family. Thus, the potential loanword might not be a loanword; they just happen to be alike. This illustrates how the Sound Change process alone is inadequate. We should use the other processes (Appearing and Meaning) to prove them further. We should test all potential loanwords that appear in Lao dictionaries after 1975 that have similar meanings as the primitive lexicons in Lao. In Example 1.1(a) the word IPd /hiak3/ is similar in meaning and use to the primitive Lao word gvuhō /ʔə:n3/ – ‘to call’ (D1:1395). In 1.1(c) Iu[/hi:p3/ is similar to the meaning of the word 2hk – ‘to hurry’ (D1:1036). In Example 1.1(b), wlh /haj3/ has a meaning akin to [=j,u /bɔ:l mi:4/ – ‘have not’ in Lao.

The sentence below shows same use contexts between the potential loanword ‘wIh’ and the primitive Lao word ‘[=j,u’.

“Ohvp wIh} [=j,u 7;k,l5d .o m5d ,nh”
 (TV2: 12-3-09)
 /k^hɔj3- haj3, bɔ:4 mi:4 k^hwa:msuk naj4 t^huk mu:3 /
 I devoid, have no happiness in all day
I am devoid of happiness all day.

When adapted, the phoneme /r-/ in Thai becomes the phoneme /h-/ in Lao (above). All potential loanwords may not be new lexicons in Lao, but instead borrowed due to Lao speakers' familiarity with Thai word. The reason supporting the adaptation of the phoneme /r-/ to become /h-/ is not only that they are corresponding sounds of the Tai language family, but also to avoid using homophones. For example, the potential loanword Iu[/hi:p3/ ('to hurry') has changed from /r-/ to /h-/ so speakers can avoid homophone clashes with the traditional Lao word /li:p3/ ('withered'). The same applies to the potential loanword IPd /hiak3/ ('to call') and similar lexicon]Pd /liak3/ ('to select').

Example 1(1-2) (below) shows how the adapting of the Thai phoneme /r-/ can result in it becoming /l-/ in Lao.

Example 1 (1-2): /r-/ > /l-/

	Thai	Lao	meaning
(a)	ระบาย /ra4-ba:j1/ (D4:934)	]t[kp /la-ba:j2/ (D1:1105)	'to paint'
(b)	ระบาค /ra4-ba:t2/ (D4:934)	]t[kf /la-ba:t2/ (D1:1105)	'to spread'
(c)	ระเบียบวาระ /ra4-biap2 wa:1-ra4/ (D4:935)	]t[P[;k]t /la4-biap2 wa:4-la4/ (D1:1106)	'agenda of a meeting'

All potential loanwords in the examples above are new lexicons used in different contexts, so there are no other Lao lexicons of the same meaning (like with the potential loanwords listed above in 1-1). Accordingly, the Sound Change process works to identify them because it is generally efficient at looking at adaptation from a donor language to a phonetically close-related target language (where, say, the phoneme /r-/ becomes /l-/ in this case). However, there is no rigid system when changing the phoneme /r-/. That is, some lexicons in Lao alter the phoneme /r-/ to /l-/, whilst some alter it to /h-/, as shown below.

Example 1 (1-3): /r-/ > /h-/ or /l-/

	Thai	Lao	meaning
(a)	เร่ง /reŋ3 / (D4:966)	gɿja' /heŋ1 / (D1:1413) g]aj' /leŋ3 / (D1:1139)	'to hurry'
(b)	รายการ /ra:j-ka:n/ (D4: 953)	ɿkpdko /ha:j4 – ka:n2/ (TV2-2/03/09)]kpdko /la:j4- ka:n2/ (TV2-2/03/09)	'television program'
(c)	รุ่น /run3/ (D4: 961)	ɿj5o /hun1/ (TV1-2/03/09)]h5o /hun3/ (TV2-18/13/08)	'generation'

The phoneme /r-/ becomes /h-/ or /l-/, so is non-systematic. This choice is based on the speaker's own discretion. The potential loanwords are simply lent to Lao and widely used in the mass media; television programs and magazines. They are not found in dictionaries first. It can be claimed that these potential loanwords are in the adaptation phase, from Thai to Lao.

Chomdee (1996) found that Thai people often pronounce the cluster phonemes /-r-/ and /-l-/ as simply /-l-/. This can make Lao people confused when using the phoneme /-h-/ as a corresponding sound, or when using /-l-/ as a closed phoneme.

The two examples below reflect the sound change of the Thai phoneme /c^h-/, which becomes /s-/ in Lao, because Lao has no /c^h-/ sound.

Example 2: /c^h-/ > /s-/

	Thai	Lao	meaning
(a)	สื่อมวลชน /su:2- muan1- c ^h on1/ (D4:431)	ɿnj,;o-qo /su:4- muan4- son4/ (D1:1,200)	'mass media'
(b)	กระเช้า /kra - c ^h aw4/ (D4:28)	dtg-qhk /ka – saw3/ (Mx/6-08:)	'flower basket'
(c)	สินเชื่อ /sin5 - c ^h ua:3/ (D4:1,193)	ɿyog-njv /sin5 – swa:3/ (D1:491)	'credit'

The Thai phoneme /c^h-/ corresponds to the phoneme /s-/ in Lao, so the Appearing process has been used to identify potential loanwords here. It is used only when they appeared after 1975. For the Meaning process, their meaning is the same as in Thai. So we can identify them as Thai loanwords by employing the three processes; Sound Change, Appearing and Meaning.

The phoneme /j-/ in Thai is altered in Lao, where it becomes /ɲ-/ , with this being the corresponding sound. An example (3) of adapted phonemes from Thai to Lao is as follows.

Example 3 (3-1): /j-/ > /ɲ-/

	Thai	Lao	meaning
(a)	วิทยุ /vit4-tha4-ju4/ (D4:229)	;ymtp5 /vi1-tha4-ɲu4/ (D1:1,229)	'radio'
(b)	ผู้จัด /jat4-ti2/ (D4:390)	paf8y /ɲat1-ti5/ (D1:530)	'a meeting'
(c)	ยุทธศาสตร์ /jut4-tha4-sa:t2/ (D4:911)	p5fmlkf /ɲut1-tha1-sa:t2/ (D1:585)	'strategy'

Some potential loanwords, however, retain the phoneme /j-/ of Thai, as follows.

Example 3 (3-2): /j-/ > /j-/

	Thai	Lao	meaning
(a)	ขายอาย /ja:ŋ1-ʔa:j1/ (D4:902)	1k'vkp /ja:ŋ2-ʔa:j2/ (D1:1,097)	'to shame'
(b)	เขย /k ^h a-jek2/ (D4:198)	0tg1d /k ^h a-jek2 / (D1:102)	'hobble'
(c)	ซ้ำ /jam4/ (D4:905)	1he /jam3 / (D1:1,095)	'to repeat'

The phoneme /j-/ becomes the phoneme /ɲ-/ (or can remain as /j-/). It is more systematic than the adaptation of the phoneme /r-/, which turns into /h-/ or /l-/.

Cluster Consonant Phonemes

The cluster phoneme in Lao is only present in the phoneme /-w-/. In Thai there are three cluster phonemes: /-l-/, /-r-/ and /-w-/. So the cluster phonemes /-l-/ and /-r-/ are lost when borrowed by Lao. Example 4 shows the loss of these cluster consonant phonemes.

Example 4: /-l-/, /-r-/ > /ø/

	Thai	Lao	meaning
(a)	ลายนราม /la:j1-k ^h ra:m1/ (D4:1008)	]kp7k, / la:j1-k ^h a:m1/ (D2: 695)	‘willow’
(b)	กลั่นแกล้ง /k lan2-klɛ:ŋ3 / (D4:78)	dahocdh [?] /kan3-kɛ:ŋ3 / (D1:125)	‘to frame’
(c)	ไกล่เกลี่ย /klaj2-klia2/ (D4:159)	wdjgdp /kaj1-kia4 / (D1:70)	‘reconcile’

The example (a) loses the consonant cluster /-r-/, and the examples (b) and (c) lose the consonant cluster /-l-/. Indeed, both consonant cluster phonemes are lost in Thai pronunciation. Although they appear in written form, Thai people prefer not to pronounce them.

Vowel Phonemes

Vowel phonemes in Thai and Lao are the same. It is difficult to separate loanwords from native Lao, because the loanwords’ vowel sounds are not changed from Thai. Accordingly, the remaining vowel phoneme is a clue that can identify loanwords. Example 5 shows this.

Example 5: The remaining vowel phonemes from Thai

	Thai	Lao	Meaning
(a)	ตะวันออก /ta2-wan1-ʔɔk2/ (D4:447)	8k;aovvd / ta:2-wan4-ʔɔk2/ (D1: 637)	‘east’
		8tg;aovvd / ta2-wen4-ʔɔk2/ (D2: 386) /	(native Lao)
(b)	ลบล้าง /lop4-la:ŋ4/ (D4:901)	]q[[]hk [?] / lop1-la:ŋ3/ (D1:1156)	‘to wipe out’
		]b[[]hk [?] / lup1-la:ŋ3/ (D1:1157)	(native Lao)
(c)	ลด /lot4/ (D4:986)	]qf / lot1/ (D1:1,147)	‘to reduce’
		s]5f / lut5/ (D1:1301)	(native Lao)

The example (a) shows both the retained and changed vowel phonemes from Thai. In the second syllable /-wan-/, the phoneme /a/ has remained. In Lao, it has changed from the short vowel /a/ to the long vowel /a:/ in the first syllable /ta2/ > /ta:1/. For examples (b) and (c), the phoneme /o/ has remained. Both the loanwords and native Lao words are listed in the same

dictionary, which can confuse the speaker. However, in Lao mass media, the native Lao word is used more often.

I found that the remaining vowel phoneme from Thai occurs when the loanwords and native Lao correspond with each other. This phenomenon shows us that the loanword has come into Lao recently, because it is still used in both lexicons.

The Sound Change process occurs for both changing and remaining Thai phonemes. The changing occurs with new lexicons, especially consonant phonemes, while the ones that remain are found when loanwords and native Lao cognate, especially vowel phonemes. However, it is difficult to know how the loanwords will be changed, or if indeed they will remain the same as in Thai.

I have found that there are four conditions that can explain whether the phonemes of a loanword will change or remain. They are: (1) the same phoneme with Lao; (2) the period of borrowing; (3) range of use in the mass media; and (4) preference of speaker.

These conditions can occur alongside each other. In the first condition, if the phoneme of the loanword and the Lao word are the same, the loanword's phoneme will remain, such as the initial consonant phoneme /j-/. If they are different phonemes, the loanword will change to a same or similar phoneme in Lao, such as /r-/ becoming /l-/. This includes the loss of consonant clusters, like /-r-/ and /-l-/ in Thai.

In the second condition, confusion over the use of a phoneme will occur when a loanword has been recently adopted into the target language, such as /r-/ becoming /h-/ or /l-/, or /j-/ becoming /j-/ or /ɲ-/.

In the third condition, when the loanword has been borrowed for a long time and is widely used (particularly in the mass media), only one phoneme may be used (to avoid confusion).

In the last condition, the phoneme will change or remain the same depending on the speaker's discretion. Thai and Lao share very similar characteristics, so the original or adapted phoneme may both be used interchangeably.

The Sound Change process is successful if used alongside the Appearing and Meaning processes. Figure 1 shows the process of sound change for a potential loanword.

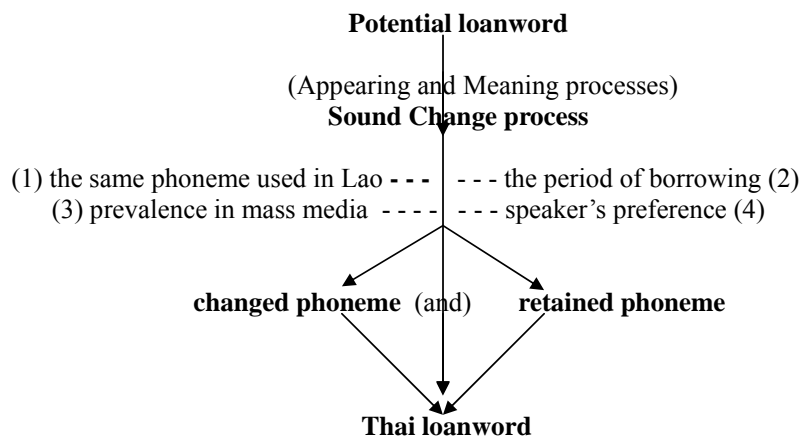


Figure 1: The Sound Change Process

A potential Thai loanword put through Figure 3 has to be checked using the Appearing and Meaning processes. Then it will be changed or remain the same, depending on the four conditions and whether they are used together or not. Some potential loanwords may be changed and some may not. The three processes will ultimately indicate if a lexicon has come from Thai. Next we will look at the Appearing process.

The Appearing Process

This study seeks to investigate Thai loanwords found in Lao after the country's societal change in 1975. A dictionary, as a collection of lexicons used by the population, is the best source for recording changes in terminology over many periods. Before 1975, the Lao dictionary widely used as reference was Viravong's 1962 edition. It was not published until after the Government published it in 2005. It is the first one to be used as reference for meanings. The second one was published by the Lao Library in 2008. Some of the lexicons in Viravong's dictionary were deleted, but there are many new entries, including Thai loanwords. These new entries are not listed as having come from Thai, however.

However, the dictionary cannot incorporate new vocabulary in its entirety, as new editions are produced slower than the speed with which new words crop up. There are therefore many new lexicons used in society which are not recorded in dictionaries. They can be read and heard in the mass media, as they are representative of today's Lao language.

The Appearing process includes potential loanwords published in Lao mass media in 2008, after relatively modern Lao dictionaries were released. The three processes identified these new lexicons. Example 6 shows some Thai loanwords, all of them appearing in various sources, as follows.

Example 6: Potential loanwords by source

(6.1) Potential loanwords appearing in Lao dictionaries

Thai	Lao	meaning
(a) เลือดกำเดา / lʉat3-kam1-daw1/	g]nvfdegfqk / lʉat3-kam2-daw2 /	‘nosebleed’ (D1: 73)
(b) เชื้อโรค / c ^h ua4-ro:k3 /	g-nhv3]d / sua3-lo:k3 /	‘an infection’ (D1: 531)
(c) ทรัพย์สิน / sap4-sin5 /	-a]lyo / sap1-sin5 /	‘an asset’ (D1: 557)

(6.2) Potential loanwords appearing in *Update* magazine

Thai	Lao	meaning
(a) แผนธุรกิจ / p ^h a:n5-thu4-ra4-kit2/	czom5]tdyf / p ^h a:n5-thu4-ra4-kit5/	‘business plan’ (Mz 7-18-08:1)
(b) ประจำเดือน / pra2- c ^h am1-duan1/	xt9egfnvo / pa2- c ^h am2-dua2 /	‘menstrual cycle’ (Mz 8-3-09:4)
(c) ชิงช้าสวรรค์ / c ^h iŋ1-c ^h a:4-sa2-wan5 /	-y’-hklts;ao / siŋ4-sa:3-sa2-wan5 /	‘Ferris wheel’ (Mz 8-1-09:29)

(6.3) Potential loanwords appearing in *Vientiane Mai* newspaper

Thai	Lao	meaning
(a) ไร่เลื่อนลอย / raj3-lʉan3-lɔj1/	w]jg]njvo]vp / haj1-lʉan3-lɔj4/	‘mobile plantation’ (Np 25-7-08:3)
(b) โรงเรียนอนุบาล / ro:ŋ1-rian1-ʔa2-nu4-ba:n1/	3I’IPovto5[ko / ho:ŋ1-hian1-ʔa2-nu4-ba:n1/	‘kindergarten’ (Np 28-8-08:2)
(c) ศูนย์การค้า / su:n5-ka:n1- k ^h a:4 /	l6odko7hk / su:n5-ka:n2- k ^h a:3 /	‘shopping mall’ (Np 28-1-09:8)

(6.4) Potential loanwords appearing in Lao television programs

Thai	Lao	meaning
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(a) สมุนไพร	lts,5owr	‘herbs’
/sa2-mun5-p ^h raj1/	/sa2-mun5-p ^h raj4 /	(TV1 12-11-08)
(b) ปลากระป๋อง	xkdtxJv’	‘canned fish’
/p ^h la:1-ka2-poŋ5 /	/p ^h a:1-ka2-poŋ5 /	(TV2 12-11-08)
(c) ไม้แปรรูป	w,hcxI6[	‘transmuted wood’
/maj4-prɛ:1-ru:p3 /	/maj3-pɛ:2-hu:p3 /	(TV1 2-2-09)

The above words only appear in Lao mass media. Each word will be meaningful to native Lao speakers before comparison with Thai. If it means the same or something similar, we can conclude that it is a Thai loanword. Borrowing these loanwords can have the effect of prompting other (related) words to be adopted. For example, the loanword in (6.3) 3I’IPovto5[ko – ‘a school for small children’ – is associated with the loanword [=jvto5[ko]6dxk – ‘kindergarten for pond’. In the same way, the word for ‘herbs’ in (6.4) – lts,5owr – is associated with the loanword 86hvq[lts,5owr, meaning ‘herbal steam’. These loanwords rapidly coincide with the receiving of new culture from Thailand. They are consequently not found in dictionaries.

Although most loanwords are new lexicons for Lao society, some lexicons are already found in native Lao, such as the one for ‘menstrual cycle’ in (6.2) – xt9egfnvo. In traditional Lao it is called g]nvf (literally meaning ‘blood’). Both lexicons are still used. Figure 2 below shows the identification of Thai loanwords by the Appearing process.

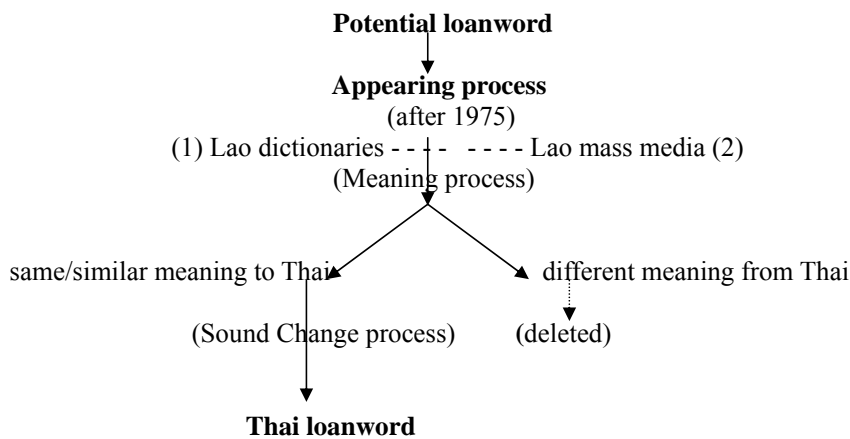


Figure 2: The Appearing Process

The Meaning Process

Lastly, we come to the meaning process. Potential loanwords that appear in Lao dictionaries and the local media are compared with Thai equivalents for meaning. The Royal Institute of Thai, publishing in 1995 and in 2003, was used as dictionary reference. The meaning of the potential loanword has to be identical or similar to Thai. Here ‘similar’ means that it is defined in the Lao language and must be part of normal Thai. Words may have narrower or wider meanings than in Thai.

Generally, a lexicon in Thai has multiple meanings and contextual uses. For Lao, the meaning most commonly used is the most widely-inferred one, typically the first to appear in a Thai dictionary. It was found that the meaning of a potential loanword compared with its Thai counterpart is divided into just two types. That is, identical meaning and narrower meaning. Most meanings of potential loanwords are narrower than in Thai. It has not yet been found that there are borrowed words with wider meanings than in Thai. New potential loanwords appearing only in Lao mass media (and not defined in dictionaries) however may expand upon the Thai meaning. This is a topic for further study. The example 7 shows potential loanwords with identical and narrower meanings.

Example 7: Potential loanwords

(7.1) identical meanings

Thai	Lao	meaning
(a) เลือกลง / luak3-taŋ3/	g]nvd8ah’ / luak3-taŋ3 /	‘election’ (D1: 1,135)
(b) กระจกเงา / kra2-jok2-ŋaw1/	dt9qdg’qk / ka2-jok5-ŋaw4 /	‘mirror’ (D1:3)
(c) ภาคเรียน / p ^h a:k3-rian1/	rkdIPo / p ^h a:k3-hian4/	‘semester’ (D1:1,000)

(7.2) narrower meanings

Thai	Lao	meaning
(a) ผ่อนส่ง installment’ / p ^h ɔn2-soŋ2/	zjvolqj’ / p ^h ɔn1-soŋ4 /	‘to pay by’ (D1:957)

(b) ระเบียง] <td>'veranda'</td>	'veranda'
/ ra4-biaŋ1/	/ la4-biaŋ2/	(D1:1,105)
(c) กระเชียง	dt-P'	'oar'
/ kan1- c ^h iaŋ1/	/ ka4- siaŋ4/	(D1:12)

For the lexicons in the example (7.1), the meanings have been copied from a Thai dictionary. In some cases, the Lao meaning of a lexicon can be said to not give as much detail as its Thai meaning. However, they are still used in the same context. As stated above, a narrow meaning suggests that the Lao word is used in a narrower context than in Thai. So the potential loanword in (a) – zjvOlqj' /p^hɔn1-sɔŋ4 – is used in the context of payment only. In a Thai context, though, it is also used to refer to death. The potential loanword in (b) –]t[P' /la4-biaŋ2/ – describes the balcony of a home. But in Thai, it can also mean a church balcony. Lastly, in the example (c) – dt-P' /ka4- siaŋ4/ – the meaning is restricted to 'oar'. In Thai, however, it can extend to 'oarsman'.

Figure 3 shows potential loanwords fed into the meaning process. Although it is a valuable and necessary process, it must always be used in conjunction with other processes, especially the Appearing process.

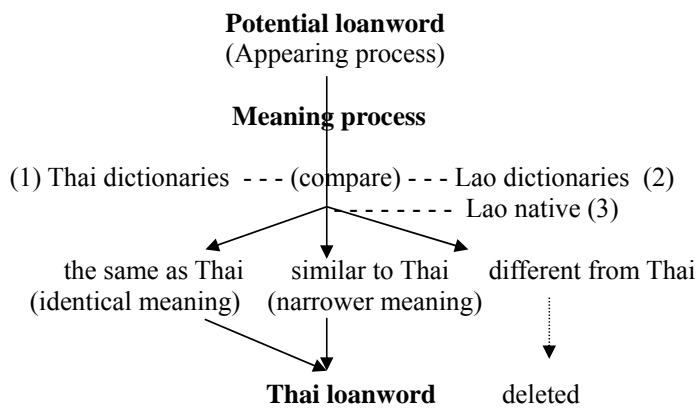


Figure 3: The Meaning Process

Conclusion

The three processes proposed above; *Sound Change*, *Appearing* and *Meaning*; are interrelated. In practical use, the Appearing process must always occur before the other two. The Meaning process must come after. This practice means that entries usually appear in modern Lao dictionaries; if they do not, a native Lao speaker can be asked for meaning and context. This will be especially necessary for potential loanwords found in the mass media.

The Sound Change process may or may not occur, because both languages have very similar phonemes; in some there was no sound change. A key point made during this study was that the Sound Change process alone cannot identify Thai loanwords in Lao, because they are members of the same language family. The Meaning process serves to identify the best examples. The Appearing process is important in determining whether it is a new addition to modern Lao.

These three processes can, therefore, be configured to detect new loanwords coming from close relatives of a language family, even if they share similar dialects.

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mv'7e vjvo,toulvoD X@WW)?D ;af9toko5dq, rklk]k;D ry,7ah'muj@D ;P'9ao:
croou cvafg;umkp-yj'D
lt4k[ao7qho7;hk;afmtotmeF dt-;'4tcs]'0jk;c]t;afmtotmeD X!__W?D dv'xt-5,
38t,qodjP;da[;ymtpklkfc]trklk]k;D ;P'9ao: leoadry,c]t9eso]kpxnh,csj']afD
lq,cl' w-pt;q'D X@WW&?D dkolbdlk7epn,.orklk]k;D ;P'9ao: ,6oymy 383p8hkD
ly]k ;uit;'1%D X!_*@?D ;a9oko5dq,rklk]k;D ;P'9ao: dv'c[[IPocsj'dt-;'lbdlkD
----- {D X!_*?D ;a9oko5dq,rklk]k;D ry,7ha'muj #D ;P'9ao: fvdgdfD
lu;P'c0d dvooy;q'D X@WW&?D ;af9toko5dq, rklk]k;D ;P'9ao: 3I'ry,csj']afD

