TOPONYMS IN THE WESTERN REGION OF THAILAND

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Abstract

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

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and 3) the village names to the western region of Thailand rely significantly on physical geography of the area.

1. Introduction

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

The author's interest in studying toponyms first came as the by-product from one of the field trips for the "Field Methods in Linguistics" course; in looking at various village-name signs along the roads in Kanchanaburi province; I began to wonder how come I did not know the meanings of the village names. And it became an attempt in trying to know the place and the people since Mahidol University's new campus is in Kanchanaburi province. The study of toponyms is the answer.² Later the study was enlarged to include the other seven provinces in the western region of Thailand.

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

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

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

That is, its evolution involves two things: word formations and geographical aspects. The present study is motivated even more by Franz Boas' statement that 'geographical terminology does not depend solely upon cultural interests but is also influenced by linguistic structure' (Boas, 1964:171). Up to the present time, there has been no study of toponyms in Thailand, specifically those concerning the village names of the western region of Thailand³. Thus, in this study the 4,916 village names of the eight provinces in the western region (see map 1), Kanchanaburi, Nakhon Pathom, Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi, Prachuap Khiri Khan, Samut Sakhon, Samut Songkhram and Suphanburi are classified and

analyzed according to their linguistic structure and the motivation for that structure. The study has investigated the following aspects of Thai villages names: 1) the linguistic structure of the names; 2) the cultural and geographical dimensions of village names; and 3) the relationships of village names to the physical geography of the area.

2. The Data

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

1. Kanchanaburi	761 villages
(mùu bân) (Tham niap 1992:55-74)	
2. Nakhon Pathom	850 villages
(mùu bân) (Tham niap 1992:345-361)	
3. Ratchaburi	886 villages
(mùu bân) (Tham niap 1992:901-906)	
4. Phetchaburi	630 villages
(mùu bân) (Tham niap 1992:737-750)	
5. Prachuap Khiri Khan	354 villages
(mùu bân) (Tham niap 1992:591-600)	
6. Samut Sakhon	293 villages
(mùu bân) (Tham niap 1992:1090-1096)	
7. Samut Songkhram	278 villages
(mùu bân) (Tham niap 1992:1083-1089)	
8. Suphanburi	864 villages
(mùu bân) (Tham niap 1992:1140-1158)	
Total	4,916 villages

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

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

⁴ This is the 1992 edition, the latest is the 1998 edition. This study began before the latest edition came out.

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

3. Geographical features of Western Thailand

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

Ratchaburi and Samut Songkhram, and the coastal plains along the coastline of the western region start in Phetchaburi and ends in Prachuap Khiri Khan.

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

4. Linguistic Structure of Toponyms

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

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

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

⁶ See *Thai Cultural Landscape* (1996: 259, 311)

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

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

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

บ้านบึง (*bâan* 'a village' - *bîng* 'large swamp'), *บ้านห้วย* (*bâan* 'a village' - *hûay* 'brook, stream, creek'), *บ้านดอน* (*bâan* 'a village' - *dôn* 'highland'), *บ้านเก่า* (*bâan* 'a village' - *kâw* 'old'), *บ้านบน* (*bâan* 'a village' - *bon* 'upper, on').

⁷ Pranee Kullavanijya (1992:32) stated that the word 'บ้าน' is the word used in various languages of the Tai Language Family to mean village. It had this same meaning in the older days in Thai, but nowadays the meanings have been narrowed down to mean 'a house, home'. Thus it is possible that all these village names may consist of two nouns or a noun and a preposition or an adjective.

4.2. Names of two words. In this pattern both words are monosyllabic nouns, the first word is usually a geographical term, plant name, or gathering place, and the second word may be a geographical term, plants, animal name, or a descriptive word: *หนองทราย* (*nóng* 'swamp, lagoon, large pool' - *saay* 'sand'), *คลองยาว* (*khlong* 'canal' - *yaaw* 'long'), *โพธิ์ใหญ่* (*phoo* 'Bo tree, Ficus religiosa' - *yà* 'big'), *ตลาดควาย* (*talàat* 'market' - *khwaay* 'buffalo'), and *ตลาดใหม่* (*talàat* 'market' - *mây* 'new').

4.3. Names of two words. The first word is a monosyllabic geographical term or plant name or part (See 5.2.1), and the second word is a bisyllabic compound usually functioning as a modifier of the first: *คลองเรือ* (*khlong* 'canal' - *rii* + *rii* 'shipyard + boat'), *หนองน้ำขุ่น* (*nóng* 'swamp, lagoon, large pool' - *nám* + *khùn* 'water + muddy'), *ตอไม้แดง* (*to* 'stump' - *máay* + *dææ* 'wood + red'), *ฝายช่องลม* (*phây* 'bamboo' - *chóng* + *lom* 'opening, gap + wind').

4.4. Names of three words. The first two words are usually monosyllabic nouns expressing geographical features, plant names/parts, animals, or gathering places. The third word is a modifier, which may be a monosyllabic word or a compound word, signifying a characteristic, shape, age, direction, or a proper name. Examples are: *คลองวัดอุบล* (*khlong* 'canal' - *wát* 'temple' - *ubon* 'lotus, Pali'), *หนองบางเก่า* (*nóng* 'swamp, lagoon, large pool' - *baa* 'waterway' - *kâw* 'old'), *บางสะแกน้อย* (*baa* 'water way' - *sakææ* 'a kind of tree, Conbretum quadrangulare' - *nóy* 'small, little'), *หนองนกกระเรียน* (*nóng* 'swamp, lagoon, large pool' - *nók* 'bird' - *kra*

rian 'sarus crane'), โป่งแก่งพัฒนา (pòo 'salt lick' - kêe 'barking deer' - phat tha naa 'develop, Pali'), ฝายไผ่ (phây 'bamboo' - taa 'grand father' - mǎo 'proper name').

Given the fact that the Thai are Buddhists, the Pali language, a language of Buddhism, and the Sanskrit language, a language of high formal ceremonies, have had a great deal of influence upon the names of the Thai people, and the names of Thai villages are no exception. Many village names in the eight provinces have Pali or Sanskrit names or Pali or Sanskrit words as modifiers of the head words in the names, for instance: คลองราษฎร์เจริญ (khlwǎo 'canal' - rāat 'people, citizen', - ca rǎon 'progress, advance'), ห้วยนาคราช (hūay 'brook, stream, creek' - nāak kha rāat 'Naga, a legendary serpent'), ร่วมใจพัฒนา (rūam 'join in, participate' - cay 'heart' - phat tha naa 'develop'), ดอนสำราญ (dǎon 'highland' - s m raan 'to feel happy, content'), ศรีสำราญ (s i 'splendor, excellence, glory' - s m raan 'to feel happy, content').

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

5. Semantic Domains of Toponyms

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

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

Based on the meanings⁸ of the first or the head word of village names, which are generic nouns⁹, there are five major semantic categories or domains as follows:

5.1 'Geographical Features'. This category can be divided into 3 sub-categories.

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

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

⁹ For the analysis of meaning, the study emphasizes the first noun after the word บ้าน / bāan 'village' as an initial morpheme of a village name.

1. แก่ง [kæ] 'rapids'
For example:
แก่งแคบ kæ 'rapids' + khææp 'narrow'
แก่งปลาสด kæ 'rapids' + plaa – kòt 'cat-fish'
2. ค้ง [khú] 'bend of a watercourse'
For example:
ค้งโดนด khú 'bend of a watercourse' + ta nòot 'palm sugar'
ค้งตาแก้ว khú 'bend of a watercourse' + taa 'grandfather' + kææw 'a proper name'
3. คู [khuu] 'ditch'
For example:
คูบัว khuu 'ditch' + bua 'lotus'
คูเมือง khuu 'ditch' + mɛaŋ 'town'
4. แคว [khwææ] 'tributary, branch of a river'
For example:
แควน้อย khwææ 'tributary, branch of a river' + nɔɔy 'small, little'
แคววังใหญ่ khwææ 'tributary, branch of a river' + waŋ 'a deep pool (in a large body of water)' + yàə 'big, large'
5. คงคา [kho khaa] 'river, sea, the waters; a shortened form for mææ kho khaa [the goddess of the waters]'
For example:
คงคาเหนือ kho khaa 'river, sea, the waters' + nǎa 'north'
คงคาใต้ kho khaa 'river, sea, the waters' + tǎy 'south'
6. คลอง [khlɔɔ] 'canal'
For example:
คลองโพธิ์ khlɔɔ 'canal' + phoo 'Bo tree'
คลองตาจุ่น khlɔɔ 'canal' + taa 'grandfather' + cùn 'a proper name'
7. ขำระ [cham r ?] 'muddy place'
For example:
ขำระบน cham r ? 'muddy place' + bon 'on, over, above'
ขำระล่าง cham r ? 'muddy place' + lǎaŋ 'down, lower'
8. น้ำ [náam] 'water'
For example:
น้ำพุ náam 'water' + phú? 'fountain, spring'
น้ำโจน náam 'water' + coon 'jump'
9. น้ำตก [náam tòkk] 'waterfall'
For example:
น้ำตกไทรทอง náam tòk 'water' + say 'banyan tree' + thɔɔ 'gold'
10. ทะเล [tha lee] 'sea'
For example:
ทะเลบก tha lee 'sea' + bòk 'land'
ทะเลค้าน tha lee 'sea' + kháan 'protest'
11. บาง [baa] 'waterway'
For example:
บางช้าง baa 'waterway' + cháa 'elephant, metaphorically 'big''
บางทองหลวง baa 'waterway' + thɔɔ lǎa 'Erythrina fusca' (a kind of tree)
12. บึง [bi] 'large swamp'
For example:
บึงหัวเหวน bi 'large swamp' + h a 'head' + wǎæn 'ring'

- บึงคา bi 'large swamp' + khaa 'Lamperata cylindrica' (a kind of grass)
13. บ่อ [bòu] 'well, pond, pit, mine'
For example:
บ่อพลับ bòu 'well, pond; pit, mine' + phláp 'persimmon, Diospyros embryopteris'
บ่อน้ำพุ bòu 'well, pond; pit, mine' + náam phú? 'fountain, spring'
14. ปลัก [plàk] 'mud hole, mud puddle'
For example:
ปลักเขร่า plàk 'mud hole, mud puddle' + khâw 'Adina cordifolia' (a kind of tree)
ปลักสะแก plàk 'mud hole, mud puddle' + sa kxæ 'Combretum quadrangulare' (a kind of tree)
15. พัง [pha] 'well, puddle'
For example:
พังม่วง pha 'well, puddle' + mûa 'purple; mango'
พังตรุ pha 'well, puddle' + trù? 'jail, prison; tree'
16. พุ [phú?] 'water spout'
For example:
พุน้ำร้อน phú? 'water spout' + náam 'water' + rón 'hot'
พุหวาย phú? 'water spout' + w ay 'rattan'
17. แพรก [phrææk] 'fork in waterway'
For example:
แพรกทะเล phrææk 'fork in waterway' + tha lee 'sea'
แพรกหนามแดง phrææk 'fork in waterway' + n am 'thorn' + dææ 'red'
18. มาบ [mâap] 'marshland, low-lying plain'
For example:
มาบปลาเค้า mâap 'marshland, low-lying plain' + plaa 'fish' + kháw ' - '
มาบแค mâap 'marshland, low-lying plain' + kxææ 'Bignoniaceae' (a kind of tree)
19. แม่น้ำ [mææ náam] 'river'
For example:
แม่น้ำน้อย mææ náam 'river' + nóoy 'small, little'
20. ราง [raaŋ] 'rail, groove, through'
For example:
รางมะเดื่อ raaŋ 'rail, groove, through' + ma dîa 'fig tree, Ficus glomerata'
รางตาบุรณ์ raaŋ 'rail, groove, through' + taa 'grandfather' + buun 'a proper name'
21. ละหาน [la h an] 'body of water, rivulet, brook'
For example:
บ้านละหาน baân 'village' + la h an 'body of water, rivulet, brook'
22. ลำ [lam] 'course-way, passageway'
For example:
ลำพญา lam 'course-way, passageway' + pha yaa ' - '
ลำท่าโพธิ์ lam 'course-way, passageway' + thâa 'port, harbor, pier, wharf, landing' + phoo 'Bo tree'
23. ลัด [lát] 'shortcut'
For example:
ลัดกะปิ lát 'shortcut' + ka pí 'shrimp paste'
ลัดดาช่วย lát 'shortcut' + taa 'grandfather' + chûay 'a proper name'

24. วัง [wa] 'a deep pool (in a large body of water)'
For example:
วังข่อย wa 'a deep pool (in a large body of water)' + khòy 'Strblus asper' (a kind of tree)
วังยาว wa 'a deep pool (in a large body of water)' + yaaw 'long'
25. สระ [sàʔ] 'pool, pond'
For example:
สระน้ำหวาน sàʔ 'pool, pond' + náam 'water' + w an 'sweet'
สระสี่มุม sàʔ 'pool, pond' + sii 'four' + mum 'corner'
26. หนอง [nǎw] 'swamp, lagoon, large pool'
For example:
หนองอ้อ nǎw 'swamp, lagoon, large pool' + ʔǎw 'a reed, Arundo donax'
หนองปลาไหล nǎw 'swamp, lagoon, large pool' + plaa l y 'eel'
27. ห้วย [húay] 'brook, stream, creek'
For example:
ห้วยพลู húay 'brook, stream, creek' + phluu 'betel-vine'
ห้วยจระเข้ húay 'brook, stream, creek' + caw ra khêe 'crocodile'
28. อ้อม [ʔǎwm] 'detour'
For example:
อ้อมใหญ่ ʔǎwm 'detour' + yáy 'big, large'
อ้อมโรงหีบ ʔǎwm 'detour' + roo hiip 'sugar cane mill'
29. อ่าง [ʔàaŋ] 'reservoir'
For example:
อ่างหิน ʔàaŋ 'reservoir' + h n 'rock'
อ่างศิลา ʔàaŋ 'reservoir' + si laa 'rock (Pali)'
30. อ่าว [ʔàaw] 'bay'
For example:
อ่าวใหญ่ ʔàaw 'bay' + yàw 'big, large'
อ่าวกระบือ ʔàaw 'bay' + kra bii 'buffalo'

5.1.2 An area of land of relatively higher elevation compared to surrounding areas also features in village names. There are 458 villages

beginning with one of the following seven noun morphemes related to elevated land:

1. โคก /khôok/ 'mound, knoll'
For example:
โคกเจ็ดลูก khôok 'mound, knoll' + cèt 'seven' + lûuk 'a classifier'
โคกไผ่ khôok 'mound, knoll' + phây 'bamboo'
2. ดอน /dɔon/ 'highland'
For example:
ดอนโพธิ์ dɔon 'highland' + phoo 'Bo tree'
ดอนยายเหม dɔon 'highland' + yaay 'grandmother' + hēm 'a proper name'
3. เนิน /nəon/ 'knoll, mound'
For example:
เนินทราย nəon 'knoll, mound' + saay 'sand'
เนินรัก nəon 'knoll, mound' + rák 'love; Calotropis gigantea' (a kind of a flowering shrub, the black varnish tree)

4. โนน /noon/ 'highland, hills'
For example:
บ้านโนน bāan 'village' + noon 'highland, hills'
5. เขา /kh w/ 'mountain, hill'
For example:
เขาย้อย kh w 'mountain, hill' + ย้อย 'trickle down'
เขาพระ kh w 'mountain, hill' + phrá 'monk'
6. พนม /pha nom/ 'mountain' (Khmer)
For example:
พนมนาง pha nom 'mountain' + naaŋ 'woman, Mrs.'
พนมทวน pha nom 'mountain' + thuan 'lance; go against; contrary'
7. ภู /phuu/ 'mountain, short form of phuu khǎw'
For example:
ภูเดย phuu 'mountain' + tǎy 'Pandanus helicopus'

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

1. เกาะ /kǎi/ 'island'
For example:
เกาะสะเต็ง kǎi 'island' + sa dǎ 'a Karen name for a kind of tree'
เกาะลอย kǎi 'island' + loy 'float'
2. แหลม /lǎæm/ 'cape, peninsula'
For example:
แหลมทอง lǎæm 'cape, peninsula' + thong 'gold'
แหลมมะเกลือ lǎæm 'cape, peninsula' + ma klia 'ebony, Diospyros mollis'
3. ท่า /thāa/ 'port, harbor, pier, wharf, landing'
For example:
ท่าคอกวัว thāa 'port, harbor, pier, wharf, landing' + khǎok 'pen, shed' + wua 'cow'
ท่าข้าม thāa 'port, harbor, pier, wharf, landing' + khāam 'to cross'

Four morphemes are generic nouns signifying lowland or basin:

1. ทุ่ง /thū / 'field, meadow, open field'
For example:
ทุ่งสมอ thū 'field, meadow, open field' + sa mǎw 'myrobalan' (a kind of tree)
ทุ่งต้นไทร thū 'field, meadow, open field' + tǎn 'tree' + say 'banyan tree'
2. ลาน /laan/ 'an open, wide, level area'
For example:
ลานคา laan 'an open, wide, level area' + khaa 'Lamperata cylindrica' (a kind of grass)
ลานตากฟ้า laan 'an open, wide, level area' + taak 'spread out' + fāa 'sky'
3. ลาด /lāat/ 'slope, incline'
For example:
ลาดหญ้า lāat 'slope, incline' + yāa 'grass'
ลาดบัวขาว lāat 'slope, incline' + bua 'lotus' + kh aw 'white'
4. ลุ่ม /lūm/ 'lowland, basin'
For example:

ลุ่มโพธิ์ lûm 'lowland, basin' +pho 'Bo tree'

Six noun morphemes in this sub-category designate caves, ridges and related features of rock formations:

1. ถ้ำ /thâm/ 'cave'
For example:
ถ้ำเสือ thâm 'cave' + sǎa 'tiger'
ถ้ำหิน thâm 'cave' + h n 'rock'
2. ผา /ph a/ 'cliff'
For example:
ผาปก ph a 'cliff' + pòk 'to cover'
3. สัน /s n/ 'mountain ridge'
For example:
สันพระนอม s n 'mountain ridge' + pha นอม 'sovereign mountain'
4. หิน /h n/ 'rock'
For example:
หินลาด h n 'rock' + dàat 'to spread out; level'
หินแหลม h n 'rock' + lǎæm 'pointed'
5. หุบ /hùp/ 'valley'
For example:
หุบพริก hùp 'valley' + prík 'hot pepper, chilli'
หุบกระทิง hùp 'valley' + kra thiŋ 'bull'
6. อุโมงค์ /ʔu moŋ/ 'tunnel'
For example:
บ้านอุโมงค์ baân 'village' + ʔu moŋ 'tunnel'

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

1. ดลิ่ง /talɪŋ/ 'bank (of a river or canal)'
For example:
ดลิ่งชัน talɪŋ 'bank (of a river or canal)' + chan 'steep'
ดลิ่งแดง talɪŋ 'bank (of a river or canal)' + dææ 'red'
2. หาด /hàat/ 'beach'
For example:
หาดสำราญ hàat 'beach' + sam raan 'to be gay (Pali)'
หาดบางแก้ว hàat 'beach' + baa 'waterway' + kǎæw 'glass'

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

1. ทาง /thaan/ 'way'
For example:
ทางหลวง thaan 'way' + l ɔŋ 'royal'
2. ช่อง /chô / 'opening, hole (through something)'
For example:
ช่องลาภ chô 'opening, hole (through something)' + lâap 'fortune'
ช่องลม chô 'opening, hole (through something)' + lom 'wind'
3. ตรอก /tròk/ 'lane, alley'
For example:
ตรอกมะตูม tròk 'lane, alley' + ma tuum 'bale fruit, Aegle marmelos'

- ตรอกหัวสะพาน tròk 'lane, alley' + h a 'head' + sa phaen 'bridge'
4. สะพาน /sa phaen/ 'bridge'
For example:
สะพานเจ็ก sa phaen 'bridge' + cék 'Chinese'
สะพานหิน sa phaen 'bridge' + h n 'rock'
5. โกรก /kròk/ 'gorge, ravine, gully, canyon'
For example:
โกรกสิงขร kròk 'gorge, ravine, gully, canyon' + s η khoon 'mountain (Pali)'
โกรกยาว kròk 'gorge, ravine, gully, canyon' + yaaw 'long'

The last miscellaneous subcategory includes four morphemes:

1. คัน /khan/ 'dike, earthen embankment enclosing a paddy field'
For example:
คันลำ khan 'dike, earthen embankment enclosing a paddy field' + lam 'course-way, passageway'
คันลาง khan 'dike, earthen embankment enclosing a paddy field' + laang 'omen'
2. โป่ง /pòong/ 'salt-lick, a place in which the earth is saline'
For example:
โป่งช้าง pòong 'salt-lick, a place in which the earth is saline' + cháang 'elephant'
โป่งหวาย pòong 'salt-lick, a place in which the earth is saline' + w ay 'rattan'
3. หลุม /l m/ 'hole'
For example:
หลุมรัง l m 'hole' + ran 'lump laterite' (a kind of a large tree)
หลุมหิน l m 'hole' + h n 'rock'
4. หย่อม /yòm/ 'patch, cluster, clump'
For example:
บ้านหย่อม bâan 'village' + yòm 'patch, cluster, clump'

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

5.2.1 Plants. There are 383 village names that begin with plant names or common nouns referring to plants or parts of the plants, e.g. ต้นมะพร้าว /tôn 'a classifier for 'tree' - maphráaw 'coconut', ดงไม้แดง /do 'forest, jungle' - máy + dææ 'tree + red', โพธิ์งาม /phoo 'Bo tree' - aam 'beautiful', ไม้ไผ่ /phây 'bamboo' - thoon 'single, only', ดาลเจ็ดยอด /taan 'sugar palm' - cèt 'seven' - yòt 'tip'.

5.2.2 Animals. Only 34 village names out of 4,916 names begin with animal names, such as: เต่าดำ /tàw 'turtle' - dam 'black', มดแดง /mót 'ant' - dææ 'red', กระต่ายเต้น /kra tàay 'rabbit' - tên 'dance'.

5.2.3 Uncultivated and cultivated lands. Generic nouns in this sub-category refer to land areas having to do with vegetation, and whether they are cleared or not cleared for cultivation. Included in this sub-category are generic nouns for various occupations. There are 337 village names beginning with one of the following nine noun morphemes:

1. ไร่ /rây/ 'farm, plantation'
For example:
ไร่กล้วย rây 'farm, plantation' + klúay 'banana'
ไร่ดอน rây 'farm, plantation' + doon 'highland'
2. นา /naa/ 'paddy field'
For example:
นาโพธิ์ naa 'paddy field' + say 'bayan tree'
นางาม naa 'paddy field' + ñaam 'beautiful'
3. ป่า /pàa/ 'forest'
For example:
ป่าแกปàa 'forest' + kææ 'Combretum quadrangulare' (a kind of tree)
ป่าไกลปàa 'forest' + klay 'far'
4. ดง /do / 'jungle'
For example:
ดงไม้แดง do 'jungle' + máy 'wood' + dææ 'red'
ดงยาง do 'jungle' + yaa 'a timber tree, Dipterocarpus turbinatus'
5. ชัฎ /chát/ 'dense jungle, deep forest (mostly used in written literature)'
For example:
ชัฎดงพลับ chát 'dense jungle, deep forest (mostly used in written literature)'
+ do 'thick forest' + phláp 'persimmon Diospyros embryopteris'
ชัฎป่าหวาย chát 'dense jungle, deep forest (mostly used in written literature)'
+ pàa 'forest' + w ay 'rattan'
6. โพร /phray/ 'forest, jungle'
For example:
โพรงาม phray 'forest, jungle' + aam 'beautiful'
โพรสะเดา phray 'forest, jungle' + sa dau 'a neem tree Azadirachta indica'
7. พง /pho / 'brush, thicket'
For example:
พงตึก pho 'brush, thicket' + tik 'building'
8. สวน /s an/ 'garden, plantation'
For example:
สวนถั่ว s an 'garden, plantation' + thùa 'pea, bean'
สวนตะไคร้ s an 'garden, plantation' + ta khráy 'galangal'
9. คอก /khóok/ 'enclosure, pen, sty; stable, cowbarn'
For example:
คอกช้าง khóok 'enclosure, pen, sty; stable, cowbarn' + cháa 'elephant'
คอกสะแกวัลย์ khóok 'enclosure, pen, sty; stable, cowbarn' + sa kææ wan ' - '

A few noun morphemes designate occupations in which are included the terms ครก /khrók 'mortar'/, เตาอิฐ /taw 'stove' - ีit 'brick'/, เตาปูน /taw 'stove' - puun 'lime'/'.

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

1. ตลาด /talàat/ 'market'
For example:
ตลาดใหม่ talàat 'market' + mày 'new'
ตลาดศรีประจันต์ talàat 'market' + s i pra can ' - '

2. สำนัก /s m nák/ 'lodging place; residence'
For example:
สำนักเย็น s m nák 'lodging place; residence' + yen 'cold'
สำนักคร้อ s m nák 'lodging place; residence' + khróo 'a species of tree'
3. ศาล /s an/ 'small shrine in the form of a house, intended as a residence for a spirit'
For example:
ศาลเจ้าจ้าว s an 'small shrine in the form of a house, intended as a residence for a spirit' + câw 'god' + îw 'Chinese opera'
4. ศาลา /s a laa/ 'pavilion, hall'
For example:
ศาลายา s a laa 'pavilion, hall' + yaa 'medicine'
ศาลาท่าทราย s a laa 'pavilion, hall' + thâa 'pier, landing' + saay 'sand'
5. โรง /roo / 'building, structure (normally not used alone except as a classifier)'
For example:
โรงกุ้ง roo 'building, structure (normally not used alone except as a classifier)' + kû 'shrimp'
โรงฟืน roo 'building, structure (normally not used alone except as a classifier)' + fiin 'firewood'
6. หั้ว /tháp/ 'dwelling place'
For example:
ห้วยศาลา tháp 'dwelling place' + si laa 'rock (Pali)'
ห้วยซุง tháp 'dwelling place' + su 'timber'
7. สนาม /san n am/ 'lawn, yard'
For example:
สนามแย้ san n am 'lawn, yard' + yáæ 'ground lizard, Liolepis belliana'
8. ภู /hùu/ 'place where something is harbored, cradled, stored'
For example:
ภูตะเภา hùu 'place where something is harbored, cradled, stored' + ta phaw 'Chinese junk'
ภูยา hùu 'place where something is harbored, cradled, stored' + yaa 'medicine'
9. นิคม /ni khom/ 'settlement'
For example:
นิคมสหกรณ์ ni khom 'settlement' + sa ha koon 'co-op'
10. วัด /wât/ 'temple'
For example:
วัดไทร wât 'temple' + say 'banyan tree'
วัดบางใหญ่ wât 'temple' + baa 'waterway' + yàa 'big, large'
11. เวียง /wia / '(archaic, dialect) city, town'
For example:
เวียงคอยล่าง wia '(archaic, dialect) city, town' + khooy 'wait' + kâa 'under'
เวียงคอยบน wia '(archaic, dialect) city, town' + khooy 'wait' + bon 'on'

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

5.2.5 Numbers. Village names in this sub-category begin with cardinal numbers, such as สอง /sǔw 'two', สาม /s am 'three', สี่ /sii

'four'/, and are followed by classifiers. The village names in this sub-category have exactly the same construction as those of the numeral noun phrase in Thai with บ้าน /bâan 'a village'/ as a head word followed by numbers and classifiers, for example, บ้านเก้าหลัง /bâan 'a village' - kâaw 'nine' - lăŋ 'classifier for house'/, บ้านสองห้อง /bâan 'a village' - sŏw 'two' - hŏŋ 'room'/, บ้านสี่แยก /bâan 'a village' - sŭi 'four' - yăæk 'intersection'/, บ้านสองพี่น้อง /bâan 'a village' - sŏw 'two' - phii nŏw 'cousins, relatives'/. There are also village names with numbers that have the construction of บ้าน 'a village' - classifier - number, e.g., บ้านหลักสอง /bâan 'a village' - lăk 'pole, pillar' - sŏw 'two'/, บ้านเสาร์ห้า /bâan 'a village' - s w 'Saturn' - hâa 'five'/, บ้านกิโลแปด /bâan 'a village' - kilo 'kilometer' - p æt 'eight'/.

5.2.6 Persons. A good number of the village names in the eight provinces include what may be a name or an official title of a person; the name may refer to a former owner, a person who used to live there, a person first situated there, or a representative from the central administration. The name is usually preceded by a generic noun morpheme, such as: ตา /taa 'grand-father'/, ยาย /yaay 'grand-mother'/, นาง /naaŋ 'title placed before the first name of a married woman, Mrs. + Proper name'/, แม่ /mææ 'mother'/, e.g., ตาก้อง /taa 'grand-father' - kŏw 'proper name'/, ยายแพง /yaay 'grand-mother' - phææ 'proper name'/, นางบวช /naa 'Mrs.' - bŭat 'proper name'/, แม่ประจันต์ /mææ 'mother' - pracan 'proper name'/, จางวาง /caa - waa 'chief of attendants'/, ขุนโสน /kh n 'title for the lowest rank of conferred nobility' -s on 'proper name'/.

5.2.7 Other ethnic languages.

The village names, especially those in Kanchanaburi province, are either of Karen or Mon origin.¹⁰ Many Karen and Mon people have come from Myanmar and settled in Kanchanaburi since the final period of the Ayudhaya reign (around 1584 AD.) and the beginning period of the Rattanakosin reign (around 1815 AD.). Nowadays, most of them are Thai citizens but the village names are fixed; the place names are more permanent than the people who lived there. A lot of people who live in the village close to town at present may be descendants of the Karen or the Mon, but a few of them are not. Those who live in the remote areas are mostly of mixed ancestry whose forbears migrated long ago, but some are people who migrated relatively recently (around 1948 AD.). Examples of Mon and Karen Village names are: วังกะ /waŋ 'a deep pool (in a large body of water)' - ka 'fish (a Mon word meaning fish)'/, ของกาเรีย /sŏ ka ria 'a Mon word meaning the side or that side'/, ไส้โ่ว /lây wŏo 'a Karen word meaning 'red cliff'/, สนนท์พ้อง /sa nee pho 'a Karen word meaning landing or pier for bamboo rafts/ (See Appendix II).

5.2.8 Other ethnic groups.

The village names can also tell us something about the ethnic groups who live there and, of course, their cultural heritage. The names in this sub-category are Thai names for other ethnic groups,¹¹ while those in 5.2.7

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

¹¹ The morphem ยาง (yaa) in Thai has two meanings 1) a kind of plant and 2) the Thai word for Karen people. In this study, the village names with 'yaa' are

above are village names in ethnic languages. Names in this sub-category are: **แขก** /kh æk 'an Indian', **รามัญ** /raaman 'a Mon', **ละว้า** /la wáa 'a lawa', **ชาวเหนือ** /chaaw 'inhabitant of, dweller in' - **น-า** 'north', **กะเหรี่ยงโปรง** /ka rìà 'a Karen' - **pròò** 'clear', **เก่ากะเหรี่ยง** /kàw 'old' - **ka rìà** 'a Karen'.

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

5.3.1 Noun locatives. Noun locatives are words that normally are nouns. Body part terms are extended to denote the shape and locations of villages in relation to various geographical features or gathering places. This is a metaphorical extension of the body-part terms to spatial relational uses, which is a common practice for village names of the eight provinces studied here. For example: **ปาก** /pàak 'mouth', **ท้อง** /thóow 'stomach', **หน้า** /nâa 'face', **ไหล่** /lây 'shoulder', **คอ** /khoo 'neck', **หลัง** /l 'back', **หัว** /h a 'head', **ตีน** /tiin 'foot', as in: **ปากคลองเขาดิน** /pàak 'mouth'- **khloo** 'canal'- **kh w** 'mountain' - **din** 'soil', **ท้องคั่ง** /thóow 'stomach' - **khú** 'bend of a water course', **หน้าวัด** /nâa 'face'- **wát** 'temple', **ไหล่หน้า** /lây 'shoulder' - **náam** 'water', **คอราง** /khoo 'neck' - **raa** 'rail', **หลังโรงหีบ** /l 'back' - **roo** 'building' - **hiip** 'press, squeeze, crush', **หัวป่า** /h a 'head' - **pàa** 'forest', **ตีนเนิน** /tiin 'foot' - **nòon** 'hill'.

classified as plants. If there is a field research for further study in these area of Prachuap Khiri Khan, Phetchaburi and Ratchaburi, special emphasis should be on the origin of the morpheme 'yaa' in village names of the three mentioned provinces.

Noun locatives can occur before another generic noun in village names: **ตัน** /tôn 'classifiers for trees; trunk, stalk; beginning, source', **ปลาย** /plaay 'end, tip', **ท้าย** /tháay 'rear, end', **ริม** /rim 'edge, edging rim', **ฝั่ง** /fâ 'shore, bank', **ชาย** /chaay 'edge, border', **ขอบ** /khòop 'edge, rim', **ข้าง** /khâa 'side', **ฝ่าย** /fâay 'side', **ฟาก** /fâak 'side; shore, bank'.

Examples are: **ปลายคลอง** /plaay 'end, tip'- **khloo** 'canal', **ท้ายเกาะ** /tháay 'rear, end' - **koí** 'island', **ริมคลอง** /rim 'edge, edging rim' - **khloo** 'canal', **ฝั่งเกาะบน** /fâ 'shore, bank' - **koí** 'island' - **bon** 'upper', **ชายทะเล** /chaay 'edge, border' - **tha lee** 'sea' - **roo kû** 'building + shrimp', **ขอบลาด** /khòop 'edge, rim' - **lâat** 'slant, slope', **ข้างวัด** /khâa 'side' - **wát** 'temple', **ฝ่ายท่า** /fâay 'side' - **thâa** 'port; pier', **ฟากหนอง** /fâak 'side; shore, bank' - **nóo** 'swamp, lagoon, large pool'.

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

เหนือวัด /n-a 'north' - **wat** 'temple', **ใหม่เหนือ** /mây 'new' - **n-a** 'north', **บ้านใต้** /bâan 'a village' - **tây** 'south', **ขลุไต้** /khlùu 'Pluchia indica' - **tây** 'south', **ใต้เหมืองใหม่** /tây 'south' - **mîa** 'mine' - **mây** 'new'.

5.3.2 Prepositional locatives.

Locative words in this case are prepositions. In village names that include prepositional locatives the morpheme **บ้าน** /bâan 'a village' is followed by a preposition as in **บ้านนอก** /bâan 'a village' - **nóok** 'outside', **บ้านใน** /bâan 'a village' - **nay** 'in, inside', **บ้านกลาง** /bâan 'a

village' - klaa 'in the middle'/. These prepositional locatives may also follow or precede other geographical terms or gathering places, such as หนองสะเดาบบ /nǎw 'swamp, lagoon, large pool' - sa daw 'Neem tree, Azadirachta indica' - bon 'upper'/. ตลาดล่าง /talàat 'market' - lăa 'lower'/. บึงนอก /bi 'large swamp' - nǎwk 'outside'/. ในคู /nay 'in, inside' - khuu 'ditch'/. บนดอน /bon 'upper' - dǎon 'highland'/.

5.4 'Auspicious Features'. As mentioned earlier, Pali and Sanskrit are the languages of Buddhism and religious ceremonies. They are regarded by the Thai people as the languages symbolizing good luck, prosperity and progress. Most of the newly coined village names are in either Pali or Sanskrit. Some of the old names may be changed from the original Thai names to either Pali or Sanskrit. There are village names of this sub-category in every province, for example: สามัคคีธรรม /saa mák khii 'unify, harmony' - tham 'dharma, Buddhist teaching'/. สว่างอารมณ์ /sa wàa 'light' - ʔaa rom 'mood, emotion'/. ศรีเมือง /s i 'splendor, excellence, glory' - mia 'city, town'/. ประชาชื่น /pra chaa 'population' - chíin 'lively'/. สุขเกษม /sùk 'happy' - ka seem 'merry, happy, joyous'/.

5.5 'Descriptive Features'. Adjectives or adjectival verbs can occur alone as village names, i.e., they modify the generic name บ้าน /bâan 'a village'/. or occur after the terms for other geographical or non-geographical features.¹² They are words that

indicate the size, age, or some indicate other states, such as depth, beauty, etc. Examples are บ้านใหม่ /bâan 'a village' - mǎy 'new'/. บ้านบึงใหม่ /bâan 'a village' - biŋ 'swamp' - mǎy 'new'/. บ้านเก่า /bâan 'a village' - kǎw 'old'/. ไร่เก่า /rây 'field' - kǎw 'old'/. ทุ่งใหญ่ /thû 'field' - yǎy 'big'/. หัวป่าน้อย /h a 'head' - pǎa 'forest' - nǎwy 'little'/. หัวป่าเล็ก /h a 'head' - pǎa 'forest' - lék 'small'/.

As one can see, most of the village names follow the basic noun phrase construction in Thai, i.e., with the head noun followed by the qualifier. However, there are some village names in which the qualifier precedes the noun. In Nakhon Pathom province, the two frequently used morphemes are ใหม่ /mǎy 'new'/. เด่น /dèn 'dominant'/. as in: ใหม่โพธิ์ศรี /mǎy 'new' - phoo 'Bo tree' - s i 'splendor, excellence, glory'/. ใหม่หนองจิก /mǎy 'new' - nǎw 'swamp, lagoon' - cik 'Indian Oak, Baringtonia Coccinea'/. เด่นทราย /dèn 'dominant' - saay 'sand'/. เด่นมะขาม /dèn 'dominant' - ma kh am 'tamarind'/. This fronted construction, the construction with fronted descriptive qualifier, occurs as a basic form in Thai when more emphasis is put on the qualifiers.

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

¹² These descriptive terms that occur alone as the names of villages are included in the unclassifiable group since there are not many of them.

ways. Finally, all of the categories above together with their frequency of occurrence in each province are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 presents a frequency count of the semantic domains of generic nouns used as the initial morpheme in

village names for the eight provinces. The first column is a list of semantic domains from the highest frequency of the generic noun morphemes of water, source of water, or section of water to the lowest frequency for those indicating openings or passageways.

Table 1: Frequency count of semantic dimensions of generic nouns used as initial morphemes in village names for the eight Thai provinces¹³

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

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

¹³ If the study includes the second morpheme of a village name, the frequency count will be different.

From Table 1 we observe that the three semantic domains with the highest frequency belong to the domain of 'geographical features'. That is, of the total of 4,916 village names 1,941 names have an initial morpheme that signifies water, a source of water, or a section of water; 516 names signify other geographical areas, and 460 names signify elevated land areas. The fourth-ranked semantic domain belongs to the 'non-geographical features', with 387 village names in this category, the generic names for plants, plant names or parts of plants, to be more specific. In Nakhon Pathom with a total of 850 villages there are 26 village names with the noun ไม้ / phây 'bamboo' as an initial morpheme in the names. In Suphanburi with a total of 864 names, there are also 26 villages with the noun ไม้ / phây 'bamboo' and 22 villages with the noun ไม้ / phoo 'Bo tree'. The fifth semantic domain includes generic nouns for uncultivated or cultivated land, and there are 315 village names in this category. We may conclude that village names of the eight provinces emphasize the salient geographical features of the landscape and tell us about the villagers' activities of the area.

Village names in the sixth semantic domain include 310 names for numbers, persons, other ethnic groups, and auspicious terms. Unclassified items occupy the seventh semantic domain. As mentioned earlier, the village names included here are unidentifiable and have questionable origins. Locatives and directional morphemes are in the eighth category with 296 village names from the total of 4,916. The village names that begin with morphemes signifying constructed objects or gathering places

occur in the ninth ranked semantic domain with 291 names. Only 34 village names include animal names and this semantic domain is ranked tenth. Village names from ethnic languages rank number eleventh with 31 villages, and all are in Kanchanaburi province. The twelfth and last ranked semantic domain includes 28 village names with morphemes signifying openings or passageways.

6. Village names and spatial orientation.

Village names are closely related to the geographical features of the area and ways of living. A few generic nouns of water, section of water, or a body of water can demonstrate the connection among linguistic forms, village names, and the environment. The following discussion focuses on the four generic nouns chosen from the first seven, namely, คลอง / khlw 'canal', บาง / baa 'waterway, locality along the waterway', นอน / nawn 'swamp, lagoon, large pool', and ห้วย / hûay 'brook, stream, creek'. Table 2 shows the number of occurrences of นอน, คลอง, บาง and ห้วย in the village names of the eight provinces.

Table 2: Numerical distribution of terms of n໋ວ, kh໋ວ, baa and h໋ay in eight provinces.

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

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

Map 1 shows how the eight provinces are physically located next to one another in the western region of Thailand.¹⁴ Map 2 shows the main waterways (J), the ones with water all year round (I) and those with no water during the dry season (/) spread all over the region, especially in Nakhon Pathom, Samut Sakhon, Samut Songkhram, Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi. In Maps 3 and 4, we see the distribution of villages beginning with the generic nouns kh໋ວ and baa concentrated in the area of Nakhon Pathom, Samut Sakhon, and Samut Songkhram, but sparsely distributed in some areas of Ratchaburi, Phetchaburi and

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

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

¹⁴ Thanks to the Ethnolinguistic Map Project, Mahidol University and Mr. Isra Choosri for the six maps.

shape or size of the body of water. It also does not tie up physically with either the north, east, west, south or central region but only tells us where there is water, there are villages.

7. Conclusions

In terms of linguistic structure, the village names in the eight provinces of Thailand reflect very well the basic characteristics of the Thai language: the monosyllabic structure, the rich compounding, word order with the head noun followed by modifiers. On the basis of analysis using 'semantic

feature' domains, village names rely significantly on the physical geography of the area in which they occur; they tell us much about the environment, geographical, and cultural life of the people who live in the area.

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Appendix I

Keys to Code Letters and Numbers:

Abbreviations for provinces /จังหวัด - caṅ - wàt/:

- กจ: กาญจนบุรี (Kanchanaburi)
- นธ: นครปฐม (Nakhon Pathom)
- รบ: ราชบุรี (Ratchaburi)
- พบ: เพชรบุรี (Phetchaburi)
- ปจ: ประจวบคีรีขันธ์ (Prachaub Khiri Khan)
- สส: สมุทรสาคร (Samut Sakhon)
- สด: สมุทรสงคราม (Samut Songkhram)
- สพ: สุพรรณบุรี (Suphanburi)

Thai alphabets for districts /อำเภอ - ?am - phœ/

For example, there are 11 districts in Kanchanaburi province:

- ก: Muang district of Kanchanaburi
- ข: Tha ma ka
- ค: Tha muang
- ง: Bo ploy
- จ: Pha nom thuan
- ฉ: Sai yok
- ช: Thong pha phum
- ซ: Sangkhla buri
- ฅ: Lau khwan
- ญ: Sii sawat
- ฎ: Dan makham tia

Numbers for sub-district /ตำบล - tam - bon/

For example, there are 11 sub-subdistricts in Muang district of Kanchanaburi province:

- 1 : ตำบลหนองบัว / tam bon-nǎṅ bua /
- 2 : ตำบลเกาะสำโรง / tam bon-kw sam roong /
- 3 : ตำบลหนองหญ้า / tam bon-nǎṅ yâa /
- 4 : ตำบลปากแพรก / tam bon-pàak phrææk /
- 5 : ตำบลบ้านเก่า / tam bon-bâan kâw /
- 6 : ตำบลวังดัง / tam bon-waṅ dôṅ /
- 7 : ตำบลท่ามะขาม / tam bon-thâa ma khaam /
- 8 : ตำบลลาดหญ้า / tam bon-lâat yâa /
- 9 : ตำบลช่องสะเดา / tam bon-chôṅ sa daw /
- 10 : ตำบลวังเย็น / tam bon-waṅ yen /
- 11 : ตำบลแก่งเลี่ยน / tam bon-kæṅ siân /

Finally, the name of the village /หมู่บ้าน - mùu - bâan/ is put on the card:

For example, there are 8 villages in Nong bua sub-district of Muang district of Kanchaburi province:

- บ้านห้วยหอยคาบ / bâan-huây-hoây-kâap /
- บ้านหนองบัว / bâan-nǎṅ-bua /
- บ้านหนองบัว / bâan-nǎṅ-bua /
- บ้านพุพระ / bâan-phú?-phra /
- บ้านพุเสียบ / bâan-phú?-liâp /
- บ้านป่านางเยื่อ / bâan-pàa-naaṅ-yô /

บ้านพุประดู๋ / bâan-phú?-pra-dùu /
 บ้านดิ่งแดง / bâan -ta lí ฤ-dæxɯ /
 Sample cards

ห้วยหอยกาน	กจ - ก - 1
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This card stands for the village name บ้านห้วยหอยกาน / bâan-huây-hoây-kàap /, Nong Bua sub-district, Muang district of Kanchanaburi, Kanchanaburi province.

พุประดู๋	กจ - ก - 1
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This card stands for the village name บ้านพุประดู๋ / bâan-phú?-pra-dùu /, Nong bua sub-district, Muang district of Kanchanaburi, Kanchanaburi province.

Appendix II

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

Si sawat District

1	หมองกระแทะ	mòŋ kra thæ
2	องหล	?oŋ lù
3	องลิต	?oŋ lí t

Lau khwan District

4	บะลังกา	ba laŋ kaa
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Sangkha buri District

5	นิเถะ	ni thè
6	วังกะ	waŋ kà
7	เวียคาคี	wia khaa dī
8	ซองกาเรีย	soŋ kaa ria
9	จงั่ว	coŋ ?uà
10	เสนห์ฟอง	sa nee phòŋ
11	กองมอทะ	ko wòŋ mòŋ tha
12	เกาะสะเต็ง	ko sa dèŋ
13	ไล่โว	lây wò
14	ทึไล่ป่า	thi lâŋ paâ
15	จะแก	ca kææ

Thong pha phum District

16	ปรังกาสิ	praŋ kaa sī
17	อุ๋ล่อง	?uè lóŋ
18	โบล่อง	boo ?uèŋ
19	ปิล็อก	pi lók
20	ปิลอกคี	pi lók khī
21	นามกย	naam kuy
22	กยแหย	kuy yææ
23	หมองกะลา	mòŋŋ ka laa
24	ลันถิน	lí n thīn
25	กยม้ง	kuy mâng
26	เกริงกระเวีย	krəŋ kra wia
27	ทึฟูเย	thi phu yee
28	คลิตี้	kli tī

Sai yok District

29	บ้องตัน้อย	bòŋ tī nòŋ
30	บ้องตี้	bòŋ tī
31	บ้องตี้ล่าง	bòŋ tī lâaŋ

Appendix III

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

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

1.1 Kanchanaburi province:

งาม	ŋaam 'beautiful'
เด่น	dèn 'dominant'
เก่า	kàw 'old'
ใหม่	mày 'new'
ตะวัน	ta wan 'sun'
คร้อพนัน	khroo 'a species of tree' + pha nan 'gamble, bet'
หัวโตง	hũa 'head' + tòong 'extreme'
หัวรัง	hũa 'head' + ran 'nest'
ดลึงใต้	ta lun 'shadow play; stake for tethering elephant' + tây south'
ดลึงเหนือ	ta lun 'shadow play; stake for tethering elephant' + nĩa 'north'
จันทร์ลาด	can 'moon' + lâat 'tilt, slope'
ท่อคอกวัว	thiwo 'pipe, tube' + khôok 'pen, shed' + wua 'cow'
โปรง	pròong 'clean'
ตีนตก	tiin 'foot, base' + tòk 'fall'
ชายรูป	chaay 'rim, border; base; blow softly' + thiup 'joss-stick'
กองเสามอญ	kwong 'pile up, stack up' + sǎu 'post, pillar' + mwon 'Mon'
เสาหงส์	sǎu 'post, pillar' + hǒng 'swan'
ประจำไม้	pra cam 'usually; permanent; regular' + maáy 'wood'
ปลายดินสอ	plaay 'tip' + din sǎw 'pencil'
ช่อง	sǒwong 'brothel; den, lair'
โคราช	khoo rǎat 'a name of one of the provinces in the north-eastern part of Thailand'
หัวกรวด	hũa 'head' + kruat 'gravel'
เลาขวัญ	lau '-' + khwǎn 'morale; guardian spirit; crown of the head'
ปากซัดหนองบัว	paàk 'mouth' + sát '-' + nǒwong 'mush, pool, swamp' + bua lotus'
ทัพพระยา	tháp 'army' + phra yaa 'a title of the Thai Royal Court in the older days'

1.2 Nakhon Pathom province:

ทัพหลวง	tháp 'army' + lǎang 'royal'
ทัพยายท้าว	tháp 'army' + yaay 'grand-mother' + thaáw 'a proper name'
ทัбыายเรือ	tháp 'house' + yaay 'grand-mother' + rian 'a proper name'
ถนนขาด	tha nǒn 'road' + khàat 'torn'
ตากแดด	tàak 'expose, dry in the sun' + dàet 'sun-light'
หลักเมตร	lǎk 'pole' + méet 'metre'
ห่าง	hàang 'far'
วันครู	wan 'day' + khruu 'teacher'
หอคอย	hǒw 'tower' + khoo 'wait'

กอง	kwɔŋ 'heap, pile, stack'
กำแพงแสน	kam phææŋ 'wall' + sǎæn 'one hundred thousand'
อุบล	ʔuu 'garage; dock, shipyard' + lòm 'mire, bog'
สำนักคร้อ	sǎm nak 'dwelling; place; office' + khróo 'a species of tree'
แหลนหาย	lǎæn 'javelin' + hǎay 'lose'
พะเนียงแตก	pha niang 'a large water pot' + tǎæk 'broken'
กงลาด	kon 'wheel' + lâat 'tilt, slope'
นิคม	ni khom 'settlement'
ภูมิ	phuum 'earth'
จับเกาะ	càp 'catch; hold' + kò 'island; stick to'
ปิ่นเกลียว	pìn 'hair pin' + kliaw 'ply; spiral'
พาดหมอน	phâat 'lean against' + mǔwɔn 'pillow; sleeper'
โปร่งพรหม	pròŋ 'airy, bright and clear' + phrom 'God Brahma'

1.3 Ratchaburi province:

ใหม่	mây 'new'
เก่า	kàw 'old'
แดง	dææŋ 'red'
ม่วง	mûaŋ 'purple, violet; mango'
คา	khaa 'get stuck; unsettled; shackles; imperata cylindrica'
เพลง	phleeŋ 'song'
แช่ไห	chǎæ 'dip, soak; dawdle; put off' + hǎy 'earthen jar, jug'
แก้มอัน	kǎæm 'cheek' + ʔôn 'bamboo rat'
ตากแดด	tàak 'expose, dry in the sun; dry in the air' + dǎæt 'sun-light'
ลูกขวาง	lûuk 'child' + khwǎaŋ 'hinder, obstruct; stop, resist; perverse'
ท้าลาย	tháa 'bet; challenge' + laay 'stripe; design; trick'
จัดสรร	càt sǎn 'distribute; allot'
เลือก	liak 'choose'
เสาธง	sǎu 'post, pillar' + thoŋ 'flag'
หัวกรวด	hǔa 'head' + krùat 'gravel, rubble'
สร้อยฟ้า	sǔwɔy 'necklace' + faá 'sky'
สัมมาราม	sām maa raam '- (Pali)'
โกสินารายณ์	ko sin naa raay '- (Pali)'

1.4 Phetchaburi province:

ใหม่	mây 'new'
ม่วง	mûaŋ 'purple, violet; mango'
คำ	kham 'word; gold'
กรวย	kruay 'funnel; cone'
ลิ้นช้าง	l'in 'tongue' + cháaŋ 'elephant'
พี่เลี้ยง	phii 'elder brother or sister' + liǎŋ 'raise'
ปากงาม	pàak 'mouth' + ñâam 'fork, prong'
ถม	thǔm 'fill, cover; much, many; inscribe with sacred letters'
เพรียง	phriang 'shipworm, barnacles; do something in unison, as in phróom phriang'
พะเนิน	pha nǎon 'large hammer; piled up as in pha nǎon thǎon thǐ k'
ลำพัง	lam phay 'only; alone'
ไล่เบี้ย	lây bia 'find out; investigate'
เพชรบูรณ์	phet cha buun 'a name of one of the provinces in the northern part of Thailand'

มณีเลื่อน ma nii 'jewel, gem (Pali)' + fian 'postpone'

1.5 Prachuap Khiri Khan province:

ใหม่ mǎy 'new'
 คั่นกระได khân 'separate, divide' + kra day 'ladder'
 ทางสาย thaang 'way' + sǎay 'line, route'
 รุ่งน้อย wīng 'run' + น้อย 'small, little'
 จักรบน cāk 'sewing machine; machine; discus of the god' + bon 'above, over'
 จักรล่าง cāk 'sewing machine; machine; discus of the god' + lǎang 'lower, down'

1.6 Samut Sakhon province:

กำพร้า kam phráa 'orphan'
 ใหม่ mǎy 'new'
 แถว thǎæw 'row'
 หมูทอด mǔu 'pig' + thǔot 'deep-fly'
 หุ่นสังกะสี hùn 'image; model; figure' + saŋ ka sǐi 'zinc'
 กระโจมทอง kra coom 'pavilion; tent' + thoong 'gold'
 สันดาบ sǎn daap 'combustion'
 แหวนหยาบ lǎæn 'javelin' + hǎay 'lose'

1.7 Samut Songkhram province:

จัดสรรคลองด่าน cāt san 'distribute; allot' + khloong 'canal' + daan 'checkpoint'
 แก้วฟ้า kǎæw 'crystal' + faá 'sky'
 ตะวันจาก ta wan 'sun' + cāk 'depart, leave'
 ตะวันจากใหม่ ta wan 'sun' + cāk 'depart, leave' + mǎy 'new'
 ลมวน lom 'wind' + hǔan 'turn back; retrace'
 รั้ว ruá 'fence'
 ดาวโด่ง daaw 'star' + doong 'ascending'
 ไข่เน่าน้อย khǎy 'egg' + nǎu 'rotten' + น้อย 'small, little'

1.8 Suphanburi province :

ใหม่ mǎy 'new'
 เด่น dèn 'dominant'
 กรวด krùat 'gravel, rubble'
 คอย khoo 'wait'
 หม้อแกง mǔw kǎæg 'egg custard pudding'
 เสาธง sǎu 'post, pillar' + thoŋ 'flag'
 กระดาษ kra daat 'paper'
 ทองเลื้อย thooŋ 'gold' + sǎa 'tiger' + khuàn 'scratch'
 สะเกี่ยงหมู sa kǎæ 'Coombretum quadrangulare' + yaang 'roast' + mǔu 'pig'
 ตะลุ่ม ta lúm 'footed tray'
 เดิมบาง dǔm 'original; old' + baang 'district along the waterway'
 กิโลเมตร ki loo 'kilometre'
 ทางขวาง thaang 'way' + khwǎang 'cut across'
 กิ่งทอง kīng 'branch' + thoong 'gold'
 ก้อนแก้ว kǔon 'lump, block, chunk (classifier)' + kǎæw 'glass'
 กระบอก kra boók 'a section of thick bamboo; cylinder; Theretia neriifolia'
 หัวทราย hǔa 'head' + saay 'sand'
 หัวกลับ hǔa 'head' + kláp 'return; turn around; reverse'

ปากแสด	pàak ‘mouth’ + sàæk ‘barn owl: dividing way; bright’
ขาม	khăam ‘fear, dread; respect’
ขามใต้	khăam ‘fear, dread; respect’ + tây ‘south’
กงกำป็น	kon ‘wheel; rib materials of a boat; bow of fluffing cotton’ + kam pàn ‘sailing ship’
ชื่อชนก	chii ‘name’ + cha nók ‘father (Pali)’
สีบัวทอง	sii ‘colour’ + bua ‘lotus’ + thooŋ ‘gold’
ศพเพลิง	sòp ‘corpse’ + phœŋ ‘fire’
พับน้ำ	pháp ‘fold; roll (classifier)’ + náam ‘water’
ทัพหลวง	tháp ‘army’ + luăŋ ‘royal’
ทัพตาแทน	tháp ‘army’ + taa ‘grand-father’ + thææn ‘a proper name’
ทัพยายดาบ	tháp ‘army’ + yaay ‘grand-mother’ + dàap ‘a proper name’

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

2.1 Kanchanaburi province:

หมดสอ	mòt ‘use up, run out’ + sǎw ‘-’
สนุ่น	sa nùn ‘-’
ด่านสำโรง	tāan ‘keep off; resist’ + sam roŋ ‘-’
หัวพงษ์	hũa ‘head’ + phon ‘-’
กระปรือสอง	kra phrǔy ‘-’ + sǎw ‘two’ + khâam ‘cross; pass over’
ข้าม	
เบญพาต	ben ya phâat ‘-’
โกซ้าย	koo ‘-’ + sǎay ‘left’
เปร่งพุทรา	preŋ ‘-’ + phút thaa ‘-’

2.2 Nakhon Pathom province:

ปึงเกลียว	pīŋ ‘-’ + kliaw ‘ply; spiral’
โกสำนัก	koo ‘-’ + sǎm nák ‘dwelling; place; office’
กระดีเดียว	kra dii ‘-’ + diaw ‘single, sole; same, identical’
รดสระแก	râat ‘sprinkle, pour’ + sa ‘pond’ + kǎæ ‘-’
ทรงคนอง	soŋ kha noŋ ‘-’
สัมปทาน	sam pa thuan ‘-’
วงพาท	woŋ phâat ‘-’
หลายวงพาท	laay ‘many, a lot’ + woŋ phâat ‘-’
กระต๊อบ	kra tiip ‘-’
กระต๊อบ	kra dii ใจ ‘-’

2.3 Ratchaburi province:

หัวสนุ่น	hũa ‘head’ + sa nùn ‘-’
คืบอน	khii boŋ ‘-’
เจดีย์	cee tũa ‘-’
ชำปอก	sam poŋ koŋ ‘-’

2.4 Phetchaburi province:

ระหาญ	ra hǎan ‘-’
ระหารน้อย	ra hǎan ‘-’ + nóy ‘small, little’

ระหารใหญ่	ra hǎan ‘ - ’ + yà ‘big, large’
กระจิว	kra ciw ‘ - ’
จะโปรง	ca prooŋ ‘ - ’
ตำหฺร	tam rù ‘ - ’
ตำหฺรใน	tam rù ‘ - ’ + nay ‘in’
ขลุบ	khluḅ ‘ - ’
ปลายสามะลา	plaay ‘end; top, tip’ + sam ma laa ‘ - ’
แสมชาย	sa mǎæ ‘Aegiceras corniculatum; a small edible sea crab’ + chaay ‘ - ’
ทุมขาม	thùm khaam ‘ - ’
หันตะเภา	hǎn ta phau ‘ - ’
ปึกเตียน	pik tian ‘ - ’
กลัดหลวง	klàt luang ‘ - ’
ไสด่าน	say daân ‘ - ’
คอละออม	khoo ‘neck’ + la ʔoom ‘ - ’
สารเห็ด	sa ra hèt ‘ - ’
สามะโรง	sam ma rooŋ ‘ - ’
ถิ่นปฺรา	thìn pu raa ‘ - ’
หัวร้ง	hǔa ‘head’ + ráŋ ‘ - ’
สามะลา	sam ma laa ‘ - ’
เพี้ย	phia ‘ - ’
แม่ประจันต์	mǎæ ‘mother, female, woman’ + pra can ‘ - ’
แม่ประจันต์ล่าง	mǎæ ‘mother, female, woman’ + pra can ‘ - ’ + lâaŋ ‘lower’
แม่เบี้ย	mǎæ ‘mother, female, woman’ + biâ ‘ - ’
แม่คะเมย	mǎæ ‘mother, female, woman’ + kha møy ‘ - ’

2.5 Prachuap Khiri Khan province:

ระหาร	ra haan ‘ - ’
วลัย	wa lay ‘ - ’
เข็ดกา	khèt kaa ‘ - ’
ละลอง	la looŋ ‘ - ’
ชะมวง	cha muāŋ ‘ - ’
มรสว	moo ra suàp ‘ - ’
ตำหฺร	tam rù ‘ - ’
วัลเปรียง	wan priang ‘ - ’
กยบุรี	kuy ‘ - ’ + buri ‘city’
กำมะเสน	kam ma seen ‘ - ’
ปรีอ้อย	prii ‘ - ’ + nōy ‘small, little’

2.6 Samut Sakhon province:

โครกกรากใน	kròk kràak ‘ - ’ + nay ‘in’
กระซ้าขาว	kra saá ‘ - ’ + khaâw ‘white’
กงสีล้ง	koŋ sī loŋ ‘ - ’
ซากงซี	saa koŋ sii ‘ - ’

2.7 Samut Songkhram province:

จู่ฉี	chuè chī ‘ - ’
มรดี	moo ra dii ‘ - ’

2.8 Suphanburi province :

หัวกระบ้ง	hǔa ‘head’ + kra baŋ ‘ - ’
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กันว้ง	kôn 'bottom; base' + wûŋ ' - '
ริ้วห้วยพรอด	riw 'mark; streak; stripe; line' + hûay phrôot ' - '
พุลหลวง	phuun ' - ' + lûaŋ 'royal'
สุมน	sù mon ' - '
ตะเพินคี	ta phən khîi ' - '
ทองขาหย่าง	thoong 'gold' + khăa yâaŋ ' - '
ปากเกลื่อน	pàak 'mouth' + klian ' - '
คอนโก	khooŋ koo ' - '
ตะค่า	ta khăa ' - '
ริ้วกรด	riw 'mark; streak; stripe; line' + krùut ' - '
โศกดาจิด	sòok taa cîit ' - '
กระเสียว	kra siăw ' - '
ก้ามะเขียร	kam ma chian ' - '
ฉวาก	cha waàk ' - '
ชะโอย	cha ʔooy ' - '
ลองตอง	looŋ tooŋ ' - '
โข่ง	chôoŋ ' - '
โข้ง	khôoŋ ' - '
จรัเก่า	ca ráa ' - ' + kau 'old'
จรัใหม่	ca ráa ' - ' + màay 'new'
กระจัน	kra can ' - '
ทิ้ง	thiŋ ' - '
สุวรรณตะไล	su wan 'gold (Pali)' + ta lay ' - '
ท่าเน	tham nee ' - '
ตะลุ่มบ้านหมี่	ta lûm 'footed tray' + baân 'village' + mîi ' - '
คนที	khon thii ' - (Pali)'
คัตชุด	khát thûut ' - (Pali)'

Map 1: The eight provinces in the western region

Map 2: Geographical map of the eight provinces
(the density of water ways in the region)

Map 3: Occurrences of the generic noun khloong

Map 4: Occurrences of the generic noun baan

Map 5: Occurrences of the generic noun hây

Map 6: Occurrences of the generic ဂၢ်