

4-18-2020

***Mangummangaaraa*; The search of Inao's origin in Thailand**

Titima Suthiwan

National University of Singapore, clsts@nus.edu.sg

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/wacana>



Part of the [Other Arts and Humanities Commons](#), and the [Other Languages, Societies, and Cultures Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Suthiwan, Titima (2020) "*Mangummangaaraa*; The search of Inao's origin in Thailand," *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia*: Vol. 21: No. 2, Article 4.

DOI: [10.17510/wacana.v21i2.888](https://doi.org/10.17510/wacana.v21i2.888)

Available at: <https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/wacana/vol21/iss2/4>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Faculty of Humanities at UI Scholars Hub. It has been accepted for inclusion in *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia* by an authorized editor of UI Scholars Hub.

Mangummangaraa

The search of Inao's origin in Thailand

TITIMA SUTHIWAN

ABSTRACT

In 2017, as an acknowledgement of their extreme popularity in Southeast Asian countries, including Thailand, manuscripts of *Panji tales* were recommended for inclusion in the UNESCO Memory of the World Register. This paper will discuss the scope and extent of this popularity, its influence on both Thai classical culture and pop culture, plus a record of the search for its point of entry and manner of introduction into Thai culture. Even though such a search is not as seemingly impossible as Panji's searches for his fiancée, namely: *mangummangaraa*, there are still several gaps to fill in. In particular, this paper proposes that the existence of over a hundred Malay words left untranslated in all the Thai versions of the *Panji tales* is evidence of a certain degree of Thai-Malay bilingualism in Thailand in the eighteenth century. Changes in the canonical shapes in certain syllables and how these words were pronounced also provide clues to the fact that the tales came into Thai culture through Malay via Southern Thailand, and not directly from Javanese, as several scholars believe.

KEYWORDS

Panji tales; Malay; Thai; Inao; linguistics.

INTRODUCTION

Adopting and adapting foreign literature into the Thai culture has been a common practice for centuries. During Ayudhya period (1350-1767) the Thais were both enlightened and entertained by such international literature as Indian epics, Mon Chronicle, Iranian tales, and Javanese-Malay tales. When King Rama I (reigned 1782-1809) established Bangkok as the new capital city,

TITIMA SUTHIWAN is an Associate Professor and the Director of the Centre for Language Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore, where she teaches Thai as a foreign language. Titima holds a BA (Honours) in Thai language and Literature from Chulalongkorn University and a PhD in Linguistics from the University of Hawai'i. Her research interests are in the areas of loanwords, language acquisition, curriculum development, and gamification. She is also a published poet and translator. Titima Suthiwan can be contacted at: clsts@nus.edu.sg.

he wanted to make the city a replica of Ayudhya. All aspects of Ayudhya culture, including literature and theatre, were therefore revived. A number of books with literary works from the Ayudhya period that were reported to have been lost or destroyed in the fire were revived in this reign. Those books include a new translation of a *Mon Hanthawaddy chronicle*, called in Thai *Rachathirat*, a new edition of *Rammakian*, a Thai version of the Indian epic *Ramayana*, as well as a revived *Dalang* and *Inao*, two Thai versions of the famous Javanese-Malay *Panji cycle*.

Apart from salvaging whatever was left, King Rama I also had two Chinese historical literary works: *Romance of the three kingdoms* and *Xi Han Tongsu Yanyi*, translated from Chinese into Thai, called *Sam Kok* and *Sai Han*, respectively. These two books share a few common themes with those mentioned above, which are either the founding of a new dynasty or the return of the rightful king after a long period of adventurous wondering.

All this foreign literature has since been an active part of the Thai culture. Excerpts from most of these books became compulsory readings in schools. Dance dramas from *Rammakian* and *Inao* have been performed throughout the years. The new version of *Inao*, written for theatrical performance by King Rama II (reigned 1809-1824), was named one of the top “Thai dramas in verse” by the Royal Society of Literature in 1916 (Ketmankit 2015: 17), and has been enjoying this prestigious status since. The popularity of these literary works among the Thais and their influence on several aspects of Thai culture have been a popular topic of academic research. For *Inao* alone, K. Jermsitipasert and K. Wongsurawat (2017) found some 70 academic works on *Inao* and its related issues and categorized them into six major categories, namely on history of the editions, on performance, on language and literary arts, on characters, on the society and culture, and on other small aspects such as Thai language teaching.

While studies on performance, characters, society and culture, and aspects like Thai language teaching are based on existing records and current situations, the history of the early editions, namely *Dalang* and *Inao*, that were written in the reign of King Borommakot [Barommakot] (1732-1758) of the late Ayudhya period was still more or less like a myth. Reportedly, two considerably different versions of this Javanese tale were written in a form of Thai theatrical verses by the king’s daughters. The one written by the elder princess was called *Dalang* or the *Greater Tale of Inao*,¹ and the one by the younger princess was called *Inao* or the *Lesser Tale of Inao*.² According to Prince Damrong, in *History of the theatrical Inao* (1964), it was reported that the stories were related to the two princesses, Kunthol and Mongkut, by their Malay maids, descendants of Pattani prisoners of war. The two princesses liked the stories so much that each of them composed one of the stories into a *lakhon*³ for stage performance. The Prince further commented that the reason why they

¹ Or *Inao Yai*, colloquially.

² Or *Inao Lek*, colloquially.

³ *lakhon* is a Thai word for ‘dance-drama’, ‘drama’.

were composed as *lakhon* instead of traditional reading texts was probably because *lakhon* was a new form of entertainment at that time (Damrong Rachanuphap 1964: 102-103). Another piece of information can be drawn from Adolf Bastian's 1868 book *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, where he reported that "the epic Inao was brought in by Yaiyawo, a Moslem woman, to Ayudhya and there translated from Javanese into Siamese by Prince Chao Kasat-kri for presentation on the stage" (Dhani Nivat 1947: 101). Prince Dhani remarked that the term "Prince Chao Kasat-Kri" should actually be read as "princess" since the term "*kasatri*" which is sometimes pronounced "*kasatkri*" is used to make the Thai term "*chao*" which means 'prince; princess, a feminine form'.

The two books, unfortunately, were lost during the fall of Ayudhya (1767 AD). The only written record of the existence of Inao is a few lines in a late Ayudhya literary work called *Bunnovadh Khamchan*, and in a new version of *Inao* written by King Rama II (1809-1824) of the Chakkri dynasty. The former is a contemporary book containing *Dalang* and *Inao*, in which theatrical performances of *Inao* are mentioned (Phra Maha Nak 1960: 39-40). The latter mentions the loss of the *Inao*, a book "written by a princess in the Ayudhya period"⁴ (King Rama II 1955: 1207). Unlike *Inao*, the only record of the existence of *Dalang* in Ayudhya is merely oral.

It is very important to note here that the word "*lakhon*" in Thai is a Malay – Javanese loanword believed to have entered the Thai lexicon in the seventeenth century.⁵ The original word is Javanese *lakon* 'conduct, behaviour; story, stage play', which comes from the verb *laku* 'to conduct, to act'.

It is also noteworthy to state here that in the reign of King Borommakot, the *Panji tales* were not the only Malay literary works introduced to the Thais. In 1753, a treatise on political wisdom called *Nithan Sipsongliam* (The dodecagon tales) was translated from Malay to Thai by Khun Kalayabodi, a title limited to Islamic officials of the old Harbour Department (Dhani Nivat 1974: 101). During the fall of Ayudhya, the book was lost, and it was not until 1928 that its manuscript was found. In the following year, the book was republished under the title *Nithan Iran Ratchatham Chabap Khwam Khrang Krung Sri Ayudhya* (An Ayudhya version of the tales of Iranian royal wisdom). Another version of these tales was written by the royal command in 1782, the year King Rama I ascended the throne, and is believed to be a reproduction of a well-known Ayudhya version. In the reign of King Rama III (1824-1851), the content of this book was inscribed in a wall of a pavilion inside Wat Phrachettuphon or Wat Pho, the temple that also serves as the first open university in the country (Laosunthorn 1996: 208).⁶ This piece of information about the popularity of other Malay works apart from the *Panji tales* clearly suggests the influence of Malay language and culture in Thailand.

⁴ The epilogue said "ครั้งกรุงเก่าเจ้าสตรีเอนินพนธ์ แต่เรื่องต้นตอกหายพลัดพรายไป" (In the Ayudhya period a princess composed this book but the manuscript got lost).

⁵ The oldest record containing this word is De la Loubère's *History of Siam* written in the seventeenth century.

⁶ The Epigraphic Archives of Wat Pho was registered as UNESCO's Memory of the World in 2011.

Despite a solid indication of the cultural connection between the Thais and the Malays, most Thai scholars still focus on Java as a main player in the entrance of the *Panji tales* into the Thai culture. Puaksom (2007), as mentioned by Jermsiitipasert and Wongsurawat (2017), suggested a high possibility that the *Panji tales* might have spread into Thailand via several Javanese communities in Ayudhya. Considering the evidence from a French document stating that King Petaraja (reigning 1693-1703) requested the Dutch East Indian Company to help bring in dancers from the Javanese kingdom of Mataram and the evidence of Topeng, a kind of Javanese masked performance, as a part of royal entertainment in late Ayudhya and Thonburi (1767-1782) periods, Jatuthasri in her 2009 PhD thesis also believed that the tales might have arrived directly from Java as well, rather than solely via Malayu through Pattani as previously believed.

[...] The plays, Dalang and Inao, written by the two princess in His Majesty Barommakot (or even Prince Chao Kasat-kri, as suggested by Prince Dhani Nivat-author) should, therefore, have the origin and derive their inspirations from several editions and sources of Panji tales, or both Java and Malay, rather than solely from the edition told by the royal aides from Pattani (Jatuthasri 2009: 58, as quoted by Jermsiitipasert and Wongsurawat 2017).

While it is undeniable that it might have been Javanese performances that made an introduction of the *Panji tales* to the Thai, the existence of over a hundred Malay words left untranslated in all the Thai versions is an evidence of a degree of Thai-Malay bilingualism in Thailand in the eighteenth century. This paper will discuss such linguistic phenomena in an attempt to fill certain gaps left by previous researchers with comparative linguistics analysis.

THE *PANJI* CYCLE AND ITS JOURNEY TO THE THAI CULTURE

This Javanese epic is generally called *Panji stories*, the Javanese word "*Panji*" referring to an old warrior title, equivalent to 'knight' (Khunsilapakamphiset 1986).⁷ Poerbatjaraka, as cited by Kieven (2013: 33-34) suggested that the stories were created in AD 1400 with King Kameshwara from the twelfth century kingdom of Kediri as the prototype. The stories later gradually spread to other regions in Southeast Asia. Malacca must have been a major place to which the legends spread from Java, and from which these legends spread to the other parts of the Peninsula, because a large number of Javanese were reported to reside there (Dhani Nivat 1975: 14, 73-74). By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Javanese had already formed the most important element in Malacca's population (Hall 1981: 230). Anthony Reid, in discussing the wide range of popular theatre in Southeast Asia in the sixteenth century, mentioned that:

⁷ It is also stated in Khunsilapakamphiset (1986) that "*panji-panji*" means 'small triangle flag'. For an analysis of the connection of these meanings, see, for instance, J.J. Ras (1973).

From the ports of Java many of these forms were taken by Javanese traders to Malaka, Patani, and thence to the Malay world more broadly. Peter Floris (1615 [in Moreland 1934]: 87) witnessed in Patani “a commedye all by women, to the manner of Java”. (Reid 1988: 206).

On the issue of the spread of the legend, Winstedt (1958: 38) stated that:

the earliest Malay redactions must have been known in fifteenth century Malacca or they could not have coloured the *Malay Annals* with its tales of Chandra Kirana⁸ and Sultan Mansur [...] What centre, indeed, more likely for their translation from the Javanese than that cosmopolitan port with Sultan Mansur married to a Javanese woman, [...]? A port with a colony of bilingual locally born Javanese in touch not only with their country of origin but with the new Islamic learning?

UP TO THE NORTH OF THE PENINSULA

Whether Malacca was the main diffusion centre of the *Panji stories* remains debatable. Robson (1996) suggested a possibility of Pattani⁹ and Kelantan as places that might have adopted the tales directly from the Javanese. Robson’s argument for Pattani includes the record of the raid by “Javanese from Palembang” in the sixteenth century in *Hikayat Patani*, where the appropriate use of some Javanese vocabulary is highlighted. Teeuw and Wyatt (1970: 238), the translators and commentators of the *hikayat*, surmised that these Javanese words might have been familiar to the Patani writer through the wayang or “through the literary texts containing Javanese wayang stories, which were popular on the East Coast”. A large number of Javanese slaves in Patani is also mentioned as well as the fact that the prime minister of Patani during the reign of Raja Biru (1616-1624) was a Javanese of the family of the sultan of Mataram (Teeuw and Wyatt 1970: 239). The fact that in 1613 there was a rebellion in Patani allocated by the Javanese indicated that the number of Javanese there must have been considerable (Teeuw and Wyatt 1970: 14). As for Kelantan, Robson’s argument is based upon historical record, artifacts, and theatre. He referred to Kelantan in 1365 as a dependency of Majapahit alongside Langkasuka, a sixth century state in the Patani area. Majapahit “coins”, thought to have functioned as amulets, are also found in Kelantan. However, the most important indicator of Javanese cultural influence in Kelantan is the existence of what the Kelantanese call *wayang jawa* or ‘Javanese wayang’, whose repertoire includes *Panji stories*, and is to be distinguished from the *wayang siam* or ‘Siamese wayang’, which tells stories from the Indian epic *Ramayana*. J. Cuisinier as quoted in Robson (1996) stated that the form of *wayang jawa*, which was performed in Malay, was remarkably loyal to Javanese models. Cuisinier wrote:

⁸ This is also the name of the heroine in a Malay version of the *Panji cycle*.

⁹ In this book, Pattani refers to the modern Thai province of *Pattani*, while *Patani* refers to the Malay Sultanate of Patani.

[...] in the Malay text, by the *dalang*, we especially find Javanese titles, appellations and politeness phrases, words of the court language and even of the current language, like water, like to be. This seems to convincingly confirm this first clue, in agreement with the *dalang* tradition.¹⁰

The development of *wayang jawa*, which was later called *wayang kulit melayu*, or ‘Malay wayang’ in northern Malaysia is also recorded by Sweeney (1972) and Matusky (1993), emphasizing the deep cultural ties between the Malays in the north of the Peninsula and the Javanese. During the time of Kalantanese, Kedah (and probably Patani) court patronage in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and possibly before, many Malay *dalangs* were sent to study in Java. When they returned to north Malaysia, they also brought with them Javanese puppets and manuscripts, which was later developed into *wayang kulit melayu*, whose repertoires are primarily those from the *Panji tales* and the Hindu epic *Mahabharata*. While some Javanese language is used in the chanting and reciting of certain passages, the predominant language is the regional Malay dialect. This type of wayang existed as entertainment only for aristocrats in the northern Malay sultanates of Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu, and Patani, until the outbreak of World War II. Sweeney recorded that by 1970s there were only two *dalangs* in Kelantan, two in Kedah, and two in the south of Thailand who were still able to perform. In the late 1980’s, added Matusky, this type of shadow puppet theatre was already nearly extinct (Sweeney 1972: 24-25; Matusky 1993: 10).

In terms of manuscripts, in the eighteenth century, there was a record number of still existing Malay versions of the *Panji tales*. The list includes *Hikayat Raja Kuripan*, *Hikayat Mesa Taman*, *Panji Wila Kesoma*, *Mesa Kumitar*, *Hikayat Charang Kolina*, *Hikayat Raja Tambak Baya*, and *Hikayat Rangga Rari*. In 1940 the Javanese scholar Poerbatjaraka conducted a comparative study of other Malay versions of the *Panji tales*, and found *Kuda Semirang sira Panji Pandai Rupa* from Kelantan to be one of the earlier Malay recensions. Other Malay versions from the northern part of the Malay Peninsula includes a Kedah manuscript of the *Hikayat Mesa Gimang* collected by Winstedt in Perak, and *Hikayat Pěrbu Jaya*, which was published in Ipoh in 1909. At the time Winstedt wrote his 1940 book, many of these forms were still performed in the shadow-plays of villages in northern Malaya (Winstedt 1989).

TO AYUDHYA

As stated earlier, during the reign of King Borommakot (1732-1758) of the late Ayudhya period, the tales spread into the Thai literary and theatrical culture. Reportedly, two considerably different versions of this Javanese epic were written in a form of Thai theatrical verse by the King’s daughters, for stage performance. The one written by the elder princess was called *Dalang*, and the

¹⁰ [...] surtout qu’on retrouve dans le texte en malais par le “*dalang*” des titres javanais, des appellations et des formules de politesse, des mots de la langue des cours et jusqu’à des mots de la langue courante, comme eau, comme être, nous paraît confirmer de façon convainquante ce premier indice, en accord avec la tradition des “*dalang*” (Cuisinier 1957: 38).

one by the younger princess was called *Inao*. The two books, unfortunately, were lost during the fall of Ayudhya.

When King Rama I (1782-1809) established Bangkok as the new capital city, new versions of *Dalang* and *Inao* are said to have been composed under the royal name. However, no said manuscripts were found. It was not until the reign of King Rama V (1868-1910) that a fragment of an older version of *Inao* was secured from the southern province of Nakhorn Sri Thammarat (Dhani Nivat 1947: 96). The language style and the description of the palaces and cities that appear in this version led scholars, such as the king himself, to believe that this version is of the Ayudhya period (Damrong Rachanuphap 1964: 106). In *Jotmai het Khwam-songjam Khong Krommaluang Narinthadevi Lae Phraratchawijan Nai Phrabatsomdet Phra Julajomklao Jaoyuhua* (Memoirs of Princess Narinthadevi with comments by King Rama V), the King wrote:

[...] The scholars believed this was King Rama I's version, but I do not think so. It was written in the Ayudhya period by Nakhorn Sri Thammarat poets. And this is why the tones are divergent. (King Chulalongkorn [King Rama V] 1908: 167).

The King's comment was proved to be accurate when, later, an epilogue to the work was discovered, confirming that it was a relic of the late Ayudhya period, and that King Rama I wrote a concluding section to it in the royal chamber (Dhani Nivat 1947: 96). This incident also leads to the assumption of a close cultural relationship of Ayudhya and Nakhorn Sri Thammarat.

However, in 1917, when the Thai government published this older version of *Inao* for the first time, Prince Damrong, then the chairman of the National Library, stated in the preface that it was written by King Rama I. His arguments for the royal authorship were based upon the analogy he made between *Inao* and King Rama I's *Ramayana*.¹¹ Even though the arguments are not extremely strong, and still open for debates, literature students agreed to call this version King Rama I's *Inao*. As for *Dalang*, there is no information about any discovery of its manuscripts. Evidence of its existence, however, appears in a book of theatrical literature *Sang Thong*, written by King Rama II (1809-1824), where competitive performances of *Inao* and *Dalang* are mentioned (Damrong Rachanuphap 1964: 116). It was not until 1890 that *Dalang* was published for the first time, using the incomplete manuscript dating back to the reign of King Rama III, which, like *Inao*, is believed to have been composed by King Rama I (Dhani Nivat 1976: 171).

However, it is more likely that these new versions were compiled by various poets under the royal command, considering the political situation

¹¹ Prince Damrong in King Phutthayawtfaa Chulalok (1917: [3]-[4]) argued that it was reasonable to assume that the fragment from the south were written by King Rama I because:

1. many parts of King Rama II's *Ramayana* were copied from the so called *Ramayana* by King Rama I,
2. many parts of King Rama II's *Inao* were, likewise, copied from the fragment found in the south,
3. the language used in the fragment was similar to that used in King Rama I's *Ramayana*.

in the new capital. In other words, possibly the two books were composed on the basis of the Ayudhya versions, if they are not the Ayudhya version themselves. As King Rama V [King Chulalongkorn] commented:

[...] *Inao* is an old book. The language is beautiful because it is a recent work in Ayudhya. It did not get revised during the reign of King Rama I [...]. (King Chulalongkorn 1908: 135-136).

There seemed to be no need to rewrite *Inao* during the reign of King Rama I. Even though there was no comment made on *Dalang* and its authorship, the same criterion should be applicable to it, considering that both *Dalang* and *Inao* are products from the late Ayudhya period.

During the reign of King Rama II (1809-1824), the political and economic situation of the country became more stable. The King could devote himself to creating artistic works, including theatrical writings. It was in this reign that the newest version of *Inao* was composed, mostly by the King himself, and the book has been one of the most read and best-known Thai literary works since then. In the reign of King Rama VI (1910-1925), the Royal Academy named this new version of *Inao* the best book of theatrical literature. Some selected parts of the book have also been mandatory readings for students in Thai secondary and high schools for many decades.

Unlike *Inao*, *Dalang* has long been very rarely read and known by the Thais. Nidhi Eoseewong in his 1984 literature criticism book *Pakkai lae bairuae* (Quill and sail), commented that this was due to the fact that, following all traditional literature dating back to the early Ayudhya period, characters in *Dalang* are not humane and all the major conflicts or events in the story are directed by the divine forces while in *Inao*, the characters are more human-like despite their divine origins, thus enabling the audience who were the bourgeoisie in the early Bangkok period to better relate to those characters (Nidhi Eoseewong 1984: 254-260). Two other reasons for *Dalang* being little known and appreciated found in this study are the rather poor quality of the presentation and the higher frequency of the use of Malay and Javanese words that are not comprehensible to Thai readers.

THE *PANJI TALES* IN THAILAND

It is interesting that the oldest existing Thai version of the *Panji tales* is, however, neither *Inao* nor *Dalang* written in the reign of King Rama I (1782-1809).¹² In 1779, during the reign of King Taksin of Thonburi (1767-1782), the capital that preceded Bangkok, a short episode of the *Panji tales* was composed in a form of Thai-styled Indic meters by Chao Phraya Phra Klang Hon (?-1805), a general in the army who was also a famous and prolific poet. The book, called *Inao Khamchan* (*Inao* in chanda verses), treats the abduction by the hero of the heroine to a mountain cave, the performance scene that was mentioned in

¹² Even though I argued earlier that the two books were actually written in the Ayudhya period, when mentioning the books, I prefer to follow the common practice.

Bunnovadh Khamchan, and exists in *Inao* written by King Rama I, and by King Rama II, but not in *Dalang*. The fact that *Bunnovadh Khamchan* was written before the fall of Ayudhya; that the author of *Inao Khamchan* was educated in the Ayudhya period; that Thonburi was always at war; and that the episode in question assumes prior knowledge of the story, makes it appropriate to suggest that the short episode of the *Panji tales* written in Thonburi rephrases that of *Inao* of Ayudhya.

It is beyond question that the story of *Inao* is one of the most popular stories of the Thais. After the version written by King Rama II, twelve other versions have been composed in relation to it. Ten of them are different small episodes rephrasing those in King Rama II's *Inao* while the other two are translated from two Malay versions for comparative study.

Altogether, sixteen versions of the *Panji tales* have been produced in the Thai language. They are:

- A. A whole story. This category includes:
 - a. Theatrical *Inao* from the Ayutthya period, reproduced as King Rama I's *Inao*
 - b. Theatrical *Dalang*
 - c. King Rama II's theatrical *Inao*
 - d. *Phongsawadan Inao Chabab Arinakkhara* (Ari Negara's version of the chronicle of *Inao*). This version is translated from Malay by Khun Nikorn Kanprakit (Bin Abdullah) in 1919 for comparative study.¹³
 - e. *Hikayat Panji Samirang*. This work was translated by Prince Boriphath in 1938 from a Malay version of the Javanese *Hikayat Panji Semirang* (Prince Nakorn Sawan Varapinit 1950).
 - f. *Panji Misarang*. This is a play script adapted by Princess Chalermkhetmongkhon, from Prince Boriphath's *Hikayat Panji Samirang*. This play was performed in 1952, and the script was published for the first time in 1957.

- B. Episodes.¹⁴ This category includes:
 - a. *Inao Khamchan* (*Inao* in chanda verses), written by Chao Phraya Phra Klang Hon in the reign of King Taksin.
 - b. *Bot Mahori Ruang Inao* (Words for a Thai orchestral performance of *Inao*). The manuscript, which derives from Rachaburi, a city in the central region, dates back to the reign of King Rama II. It was published for the first time in 1920 (Fine Arts Department 1977: 78-79).
 - c. *Bot Sakkawa Ruang Inao* (*Inao* repertoire). These musical dialogues were performed before King Rama III in 1894 by various court poets. They were later published in 1919 (Fine Arts Department 1977: 70).
 - d. *Nirat Inao* (*Inao*'s travelogue), written by Sunthorn Phu, the greatest poet of the bourgeoisie, in the reign of either King Rama III or IV (Fine Arts Department 1977: 78).
 - e. An episode of king Rama II's *Inao*, rewritten by King Rama IV (Fine Arts Department 1977: 84-85).
 - f. *Inao Khamchan* (*Inao* in chanda verses), written during the reign of Rama

¹³ Unfortunately, there is no record of the title in Malay.

¹⁴ All episodes follow the story of King Rama II's *Inao*.

IV by Prince Yodyingyos, who in the following reign became the deputy king. This episode is different from that of Chao Phraya Phra Kklang Hon's (Fine Arts Department 1977: 78).

- g. *Kham Jeraja Lakhon Ruang Inao* (Play scripts of Inao), written by King Rama V and some other court poets. The performance took place in 1882, to celebrate the centennial anniversary of Bangkok (Fine Arts Department 1977: 78-79).
- h. *Bot Lakhon Phut Ruang Inao* (Play scripts of Inao), written by Prince Phichit Prichakorn in 1882, which was published for the first time in 1912.
- i. *Bot Lakhon Dukkamban Ruang Inao* (The opera of Inao), adapted from a few episodes in King Rama II's Inao by Prince Narisaranuwattiwong in 1891, and published in 1924 (Fine Arts Department 1977: 76-77).
- j. *Prachum Bot Sakkawa Len Thawai Nai Rachakan Thi Ha* (The collection of musical dialogues performed before King Rama V). Two of the seven *sakkawa* (musical dialogues, repertoire) performances in the collection are about Inao. This collection was published for the first time in 1918 (Fine Arts Department 1977: 82-83).

DALANG AND INAO: IN SEARCH OF THEIR ORIGIN

Despite the great variety of the *Panji tales*, especially in the Javanese and Malay language, all the versions share the same central elements. The major differences lie in the details of Panji's adventures and political and geographical settings, thus reflecting the different periods these different versions came into existence. To best summarize the theme of all the existing *Panji tales* is to quote Robson (1971: 12-13), who wrote:

[...] It appears that the following outline of plot can be selected as reflecting the central elements of the Panji theme (See Rassers 1922: 129). In Java, where the story is set, there are two kingdoms, Kuripan and Daha (various alternative names also occur), of which the former is the senior. The prince of Kuripan is betrothed to the princess of Daha but, before they can marry, a complicating factor (or combination of factors) intervenes. (For example, the princess may be lost, or be carried off, and have to be found, or a foreign king may attack and have to be defeated.) When the problems have been solved by the prince, in disguise and using alias, then he can finally reveal himself and claim the princess. With their marriage the world returns to its former settled state. Such is the lowest common denominator of the Panji theme, although this frame can be expanded to include a great variety of episodes, elaborate descriptions and repetitions.

As mentioned earlier, the *Panji tales* were found not only in the Javanese and Malay speaking world, but also of the Thai, Khmer, and Burmese. In 1940 Poerbatjaraka, in *Pandji verhalen onderling vergeleken*, conducted a comparative study of various *Panji* versions found in Southeast Asia, which includes a Khmer and various Javanese and Malay versions. Even though it was unfortunate that none of the Thai versions were included in the comparison, the study still proves very useful for Thai scholars looking for possible links with the Thai versions. In 1941 Prince Dhani remarked that *Hikayat Panji Kuda Semirang*, the Malay translation of a Middle Javanese version, which was summarized by Poerbatjaraka, could be the origin of *Dalang*. But he

found no connection between *Inao* and the various versions of *Panji stories* in Poerbatjaraka 1940. In his 1947 article on Siamese versions of the *Panji Romance*, Prince Dhani also commented that the Khmer version Poerbatjaraka reproduced from the French summary in Moura 1883, *Le Royaume du Cambodge*, was merely a translation of King Rama II's version. Prince Dhani wrote:

[...] The Cambodian version, summarized and studied by Dr Poerbatjaraka in his scholarly *Pandji verhalen onderling vergeleken* (Bandoeng 1940) is none other than this version of Rama II, which is also popular in Cambodia. I had the opportunity of being present, by command of the late King Sisowath of Cambodia, at one of its performances on the terrace-pavilion of the Royal Palace in Pnompenh in 1926, at which the words were sung in the original Siamese of Rama II interspersed however with dialogues in Cambodian which, I was told, were explanatory of the plot and often supplying as in Siam a farcical element to entertain spectators and to give the dancers some rest from their strenuous performances. (Dhani Nivat 1947: 96-97).

While Prince Dhani considered the Khmer version to be a translation of *Inao*, he could not find much similarity between *Inao* and any of the *Panji stories* in Poerbatjaraka's study. Yet, the latter found that there were close similarities between the Khmer version and the *Panji Semirang*. He summarized and suggested that they had a common source. He wrote:

The correspondence between the *Panji Semirang* and the Cambodian story is very striking. [...] This remarkable degree of congruity between two texts which can be said to be independent of each other, has to be attributed to the fact that both go back to an older, common source and it must certainly not be thought to be a mere coincidence.¹⁵

This present study, however, found Poerbatjaraka's remark problematic. Anyone who has read both *Inao*, which is the origin of the Khmer version, and Poerbatjaraka's summary of *Hikayat Panji Semirang* must have realized how different the two versions are. Moreover, those who also read *Dalang* found, instead, considerable similarities between *Dalang* and *Hikayat Panji Semirang*. If Poerbatjaraka would have had access to *Dalang* and *Inao*, he would certainly have re-evaluated his comparison, and put it in accordance with that of Prince Dhani's.

Even though there seemed to be no connection between *Inao* and the Malay and Javanese versions in Poerbatjaraka's study, the search for *Inao's* origin was not in vain. In the National Library in Bangkok, there happens to be a copy of a Malay version of the *Panji tales*, called in Thai *Phongsawadan Inao Chabab Arinakkhara* (Ari Negara's version of the chronicle of *Inao*).¹⁶ In

¹⁵ *De overeenkomst tusschen de Pandji Semirang en het Cambodjaansche verhaal is zeer opvallend. [...] Deze opvallende overeenkomst van twee, wij mogen wel zeggen van elkaar onafhankelijke, teksten, moet toegeschreven worden aan het feit, dat beide teruggaan op een oudere gemeenschappelijke bron. Aan toevalligheid mag zeker niet gedacht worden.* (Poerbatjaraka 1940: 67-68).

¹⁶ See footnote 15.

the epilogue, it is written that the original story was composed in Javanese by a *dalang* by the name of Ari Negara, and was later translated into Malay for wayang performance. This Malay version was bestowed to King Rama VI (1910-1925) by the mother of Wan Teh, the Governor of Kedah, and in 1919 was translated into Thai by a Thai official, Khun Nikorn Kanprakit (Bin Abdullah). After reviewing the translated manuscript, Prince Dhani commented that of all the known Javanese versions of *Panji tales*, this story was the closest to *Inao*, and that both stories could come from the same source (Dhani Nivat 1975: 74). In her PhD dissertation, Jatuthasri (2009) studied altogether 33 versions of Javanese, Balinese, and Malay *Panji tales* to compare with King Rama II's *Inao*, and also found that the one closest to it is *Phongsawadan Inao Chabab Arinakkhara* (Ari Negara's version of the chronicle of *Inao*).¹⁷

The puzzling origins of *Dalang* and *Inao* have been attracting curious scholars in the field since Prince Dhani's work. Long before Jatuthasri's study, Rattiya Saleh (1988), conducted a comparative study of nine Malay *Panji* texts in an attempt to link one of them with King Rama II's *Inao*, with a negative outcome. It really seems that, as Robson stated in 1996, the wide range of variability is so characteristic of the *Panji* theme. He also stated that:

[...] The variability is already evident between *Dalang* and *Inao Lek*, two distinct stories with regard to plot and yet clearly related, as both are supposed to have been narrated by ladies at the same place and in the same period (Robson 1996: 49).

At this point, one may suspect the validity of the widely believed theory of how this Javanese epic came into Thai culture. If it really was the Malay maids who introduced this epic to the Thais, how could the maids tell the princesses the two stories in such great details? It seems to me that the story of how the epic reached the court of Ayudhya is much more complicated than the traditional belief and needs to be investigated comprehensively, the task this study is undertaking.

As mentioned in the preceding section, *Dalang* is by no means a popular work, due to the poor quality of the presentation of the story and the high frequency of Malay and Javanese words that are not comprehensible to Thai readers. By presentation, I mean the way the story flows, including the conflicts and the resolution of the conflicts, which is quite confusing in *Dalang*. As for the language use, it is noteworthy to find nearly one hundred Malay and Javanese words that are used repeatedly as if there were no Thai words with equivalent meanings. Examples of such words are /ʔààʔ/ 'offspring' from Malay and

¹⁷ There is no information as to what the title of the book in Malay is. Based on the Thai translation of the book title, it is possible that this could be the same book as *Hikayat Radin Inu* (Chronicle of Inu) which is in a collection of Malay manuscripts at Bodleian Library in the UK. M.C. Ricklefs and P. Voorhoeve (1977: 104) described the manuscript as "a Panji tale, MS in such deteriorated condition that it is unusable and unphotographable, and is not available". The manuscript is from the collection of Walter William Skeat who in 1899 organized an expedition to the north-eastern Malay states then under Thai suzerainty. It was during this time that Skeat collected much of the material now to be found in the Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford. (Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977: xxviii).

Javanese /anak/, while in Thai, the equivalent term is /lûuk/; /kàràtâ/ ‘to spur a horse’ from Malay /gertak/, while Thai has /k^hûap/ for the same meaning. The first word is obviously not cultural vocabulary and the second word is a verb, both of which are less susceptible to borrowing, and in addition, are not comprehensible to readers who do not know Malay. The large number of such vocabulary items in *Dalang* leads to the question of who the original readers were. Were they Thais, as it was assumed, or were they Malay speakers who also knew Thai well; in other words, were they Thai-Malay bilinguals?

To probe the issue of the original audience of these two Thai theatrical works, one needs to look back into the past, when the *Panji tales* reached the court of Ayudhya in the eighteenth century.

AYUDHYA: A COSMOPOLITAN CITY

Founded in the mid-fourteenth century, Ayudhya became a new centre of the Thais in the Chao Phraya basin for over four hundred years. A prosperous port and centre of international trades in Southeast Asia in rivalry with Malacca, Ayudhya was a cosmopolitan city populated by residents from all over the world. The famous map of Ayudhya made by Simon de la Loubère, the French diplomat who visited the city in 1687-1688”, which appeared in his 1691 book *Du Royaume de Siam* clearly shows different communities living in the city of Ayudhya, including French, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, and Malay quarters. A similar map, “Siam ou Iudia Capitale du Royaume de Siam”, made by Courtaulin in 1686, provides the same information on foreign quarters. De la Loubère (1693: 112) also estimated that when he visited Ayutthaya in 1687-1688, there were “three to four thousand Moors [...] and perhaps as many Malays” living in the city. The Malay quarter clearly appeared on the map of Ayutthaya (De la Loubère 1693: 7), and was located in the southwestern corner of the city, next to the Makassarese quarter (Tadmor 1995). Information from the Thai’s side can be drawn from records such as *Kot Montien Ban* (The Palace Law) and various chronicles where foreign communities in Ayudhya, such as Khmer, Laos, Burmese, Mon, Chinese, Cham, Java, Malay, French, Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish, and English, are mentioned. These records also provide names of markets with their particular goods. For example, at *Paak Khlong Khuu Jaam* floating market the Javanese and Malays sold their forest goods, while at *Baan Rim Wat Lawt Chong*, the Malays from Patani weaved and sold silk and cotton fabric (Wongthet 2001).

A number of physical evidences of foreign communities in Ayudhya also exists in the modern province of Ayutthaya, for example, in the excavation at site of São Pedro church in the Portuguese Quarter conducted by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in 1984. In this excavation archeologists found some 250 European and Asian skeletons (Van Der Cruysse 2002: 150). In the French quarter, there is situated St Joseph’s church which was restored in the reign of King Rama IV after its destruction during the war with the Burmese in the eighteenth century (Vandenberg 2009). Besides churches, there also exists a number of mosques in Ayutthaya. The oldest of them, Ta’kiayokin Mosque, is more than 300 years old (Jidaporn Sangnil 2005).

Living evidence of foreign communities in Ayudhya also exists, as their descendants are still living there such as the Malays who are presently living around Khlong Takhian, and Baan Hua Laem, areas in Ayutthaya famous for banana-leaved carp weaving. It is important to note here that, during the fall of Ayudhya, a number of Malays fled from there to Thonburi, where there were already a few establishments of Muslim communities. The number of Malays in Thonburi also increased during the reign of King Taksin of Thonburi and in the early period of Bangkok, when a large number of skilled Malays were also captured in Patani, Satul, and Kedah, and carried off to Thonburi.

Being a major regional trade centre, Ayudhya originally had to set up two departments of maritime affairs under the Ministry of External Relations,¹⁸ namely the Department of Eastern Maritime Affairs and Crown Junk and Department of Western Maritime Affairs.¹⁹ The head of the Eastern Maritime Affairs Department, whose title was *Choduekrachasetthi*, was a Chinese resident of Ayudhya whose responsibility was in the sphere of East Asia shipping, which includes China, Nagasaki, the Ryukyu Islands, and the ports of Vietnam, as well as Island Southeast Asia. He also had jurisdiction over all Chinese and Japanese residents and traders in Ayudhya. The working language of this department was Chinese. Choduekrachasetthi's counterpart, *Chularachamontri*,²⁰ the head of the Western Maritime Affairs, who was usually a Muslim from South Asia, was in charge of the rest of the world and overlapped with the Eastern Department in Island Southeast Asia. Chularachamontri had two assistants by the titles of *Rachamontri* and *Nonthaket*. The former was in charge of the Muslim traders from the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian Archipelago, the latter of traders from South India. The working language of the Western department was Malay, the trade language of the Indonesian Archipelago, as found in Dutch records of trades between Ayudhya and Java. Later, when trade with Europe increased, Ayudhya created another maritime affairs department called *Krom Tha Klang* (The Harbour Department of the Middle) to take care of these European traders (Breazeale 1999; Kasetsiri 1999).

With such busy trading activities, it is not difficult to picture how cosmopolitan Ayudhya must have been during its heyday. Andaya (2015: 223-224), in referring to Michael Smithies (1995), stated that "There is no city in the orient", wrote a French envoy, "where one sees so many different nationalities as in the capital city of Siam [Ayutthaya] and where one speaks so many different languages".

It is important to mention here the festive atmosphere of Ayutthaya during that period. Tachard (1688), as quoted by Reid (1988: 202), stated that:

¹⁸ *Krom Phra Khlang* (Department of Treasuries) in Thai.

¹⁹ *Krom Tha Sai* (The Harbour Department of the Left) and *Krom Tha Khwa* (The Harbour Department of the Right) in Thai respectively.

²⁰ At present, Chularachamontri is the title of the head of the Muslim community in Thailand, taking care of all the Islamic religious matters in the country. Chularachamontri is appointed by the king.

Chinese performed their opera, Europeans their fireworks, Laos their puppet theatre, and Malays and Burmese their music and dance for various feasts in Ayutthaya.

This statement confirms the multiculturalism of Ayutthaya, and hence implies possible bilingual communities. Linguistic evidence supports this hypothesis. In the case of Thai-Malay bilingual communities in late Ayutthaya, the existence of Malay and ultimately Javanese words in *Dalang* seems to be the best evidence. Haugen noted that:

As early as 1886, Bermann Paul pointed out that all borrowing by one language from another is predicated on some minimum of bilingual mastery of the two languages (Haugen 1972: 79, see also Haugen 1950).

Weinreich (1963: 68), while talking about bilingualism, also gave an example of a humorous Yiddish song containing a number of Russian words. According to him, in the analysis of such strongly mixed utterances of bilinguals, the grammar of the utterances will determine the language. Weinreich (1963: 68) wrote "Descriptive linguists, in analyzing strongly mixed utterances of bilinguals, have been accustomed to grant priority to the grammar and to assign the utterance to the language whose grammar is utilized in it". He also quoted Roberts (1939: 37), who wrote "No amount of lexical penetration can dislodge the grammatical barriers". In his example, as the grammar of the sentences is that of Yiddish; therefore, the language is Yiddish. He wrote "The following lines, for example, occurring in a humorous macaronic Yiddish song, would usually be considered Yiddish, and not Russian, by virtue of their grammar". He also added that in this particular song, the exclusive Russian words were used in order for the song to achieve a comic effect.

The fact that a fragment of the first version of *Inao*, which was more or less contemporary with *Dalang*, was found in Nakhorn Si Thammarat, suggests that the two books might originally have been written not only for the people of Ayutthaya, provided that they were really written in the city of Ayutthaya. The fact that there was a Malay quarter in Ayutthaya suggests that the two stories might have been popular among the people in that quarter before the two Thai princesses "composed" or "compiled" them in a form of Thai theatrical poetry. The high frequency in the use of Malay words in *Dalang* suggests that the audience, no matter who they were, knew both Thai and Malay very well. All these three arguments lead to the assumption that there was a Thai-Malay bilingual community, or communities, in Thailand in the late Ayutthaya period.

MALAY LEXICAL ELEMENTS IN *INAO*

As stated in the previous chapter, *Dalang* and *Inao* might not have been written only for the people in Ayutthaya, because a fragment of the oldest version of *Inao* was found in Nakhorn Si Thammarat, while nothing has been found

in Ayutthaya, which has long been claimed to be the place of its origin. It is therefore more likely that the stories of *Dalang* and *Inao* were composed and played in Nakhorn Si Thammarat or a nearby area with a population of Thai-Malay bilinguals. Later on, the plays would have been passed on to the Malay people in the Malay quarter in Ayutthaya, and finally went to the palace.²¹ The two Thai princesses then found the stories interesting and compiled each of the two plays in a form of Thai theatrical poetry, which might be considered more refined than the original one. Subsequently, the two stories, especially *Inao*, became popular among Thai audiences, as well as the Malays in the Malay quarter.

At this point it is relevant to mention the comment of King Rama V when he first read that *Inao* was said to have been composed in the reign of King Rama I:

The scholars believed this was King Rama I's version, but I do not think so. It was written in Ayutthaya period by Nakhorn Si Thammarat poets. And this is why the tones are divergent (King Chulalongkorn 1908: 158).

What is interesting about this statement is the King's assumption that *Inao* was the work of poets from Nakhorn Si Thammarat, which was based on the tone divergence. First of all, the divergence must have been so obvious that the King was convinced that it could not have been written in the Bangkok court. Second, the close relationship between the people of Ayutthaya and Nakhorn Si Thammarat must have been common knowledge. The fact that a fragment of a version of *Inao* written in the Ayutthaya period was found in Nakhorn Si Thammarat also supports such a claim.

To support further the assumption about the origin of *Dalang* and *Inao*, in Table 1 I present the tonal system of the Southern Thai dialect,²² to compare it with that of the Malay words that appear in *Dalang* and *Inao* and the other Thai versions of the *Panji cycle*.

From Table 1, we can summarize the differences between the tonal system of Southern Thai and that of Central Thai, as follows:

- a. In an open syllable with initial sonorant, where Central Thai has a rising tone, Southern Thai has a falling tone.²³
- b. In a closed syllable with initial and final sonorant, when Central Thai bears rising tone, Southern Thai has falling tone.
- c. In a closed syllable with initial sonorant and final stop, Central Thai bears low tone, and Southern Thai falling tone.

²¹ Reid (1988: 202) stated that in Southeast Asia in that period:

Royal courts were the cultural exemplars, setting patten, authorizing new trends, attracting outstanding performers from the countryside. In this period when the royal capitals were at the same time the dominant economic and political centres and the crucibles for foreign ideas, it is impossible to distinguish between court and popular culture.

²² From Photcanaanukrom Phaasaa Thin Tai Phutthasakkaraat (1987) and Phinyo Jittham (1974).

²³ The Southern Thai falling tone is described as high rising-falling tone (Court 1975; Photcanaanukrom Phaasaa Thin Tai Phutthasakkaraat 1987).

A. In an open syllable with initial sonorant:			
Central Thai	Gloss	Southern Thai	Gloss
/nũu/	'mouse, rat'	/núu/	'mouse, rat'
/măa/	'dog'	/mâa/	'dog'
/wĩi/	'comb; to comb'	/wii/	'comb; to comb'
B. In a closed syllable with initial and final sonorant:			
Central Thai	Gloss	Southern Thai	Gloss
/măaŋ/	'to be angry'	/mâaŋ/	'to be angry'
/yăam/	'to insult'	/yâam/	'to insult'
/wăan/	'sweet'	/wâan/	'sweet'
/lêen/	'great grandchild'	/lêen/	'great grandchild'
/năaw/	'sticky'	/nâaw/	'sticky'
C. In a closed syllable with initial sonorant and final stop:			
Central Thai	Gloss	Southern Thai	Gloss
/màt/	'fist'	/mât/	'fist'
/yìk/	'curly'	/yîk/	'curly'
/nàk/	'strong'	/nâk/	'strong'
/wàt/	'cold'	/wât/	'cold'
/lòp/	'to avoid'	/lôp/	'to avoid'

Table 1. Tone comparison between Central and Southern Thai.

From this observation, we can theorize that the falling tone of Southern Thai corresponds to the rising tone of Central Thai. However, in the environment where rising tone cannot be applied to in Central Thai, low tone is used most of the time, while high tone is used only in some cases.

Table 2 exhibits the tonalization of Malay words in *Dalang* and *Inao*, as compared to the tonal system of Central and Southern Thai presented above.

	Southern Thai	Central Thai	ML in <i>Dalang</i> and <i>Inao</i>
a. ²⁴	/yâa/ /wâa/	/yăa/ /wăa/	/raayăa/; /asănyăa/; /panyĩi/ /yíwăa/; /mádeewĩi/
b.	/wâan/ /mâaŋ/	/wăan/ /măaŋ/	/wân/; /tùnaaŋn/ /yăn/; /kùnũŋ/
c.	/nâk/ /wât/	/nàk/ /wàt/	/?ànà/ /pancùrèt/; /nùŋrăt/; /?ùràp/

Table 2. Tonalization of Malay loanwords (ML) in the Thai versions of the *Panji cycle* in comparison with Central and Southern Thai tones.

The data in Table 2 show the systematic correspondence between the tonalization of Malay words in the Thai versions of the *Panji cycle* and the tonal system of Southern Thai. This tonal correspondence strengthens the

²⁴ These are reconstructed forms.

hypothesis of the origin of *Dalang* and *Inao* proposed before.²⁵

Another linguistic analysis to support the hypothesis is the change in canonical shape of the Malay words in the Thai versions of the *Panji cycle*. Words like /pànǎn/ ‘pandanus’ (Standard Malay /pandan/), /pânnèŋ/ ‘decorated belt buckle’ (Standard Malay /panding/) and /ʔæənǎŋ/ ‘a nun, a female priest’ (Javanese “*endang*”), are different from the Standard Malay or Javanese in a way similar to varieties of Malay spoken in the Northern Malay Peninsula, including Southern Thailand. When a voiced stop is preceded by a homorganic nasal in a medial cluster it is weakened and may be perceived as deleted altogether. This occurs, for example, in Patani Malay (Wilding 1972: 24) and varieties of Kedah Malay (Collins 1986: 8-9).

The identical changes in the canonical shape of borrowed Malay words borrowed in *Dalang* and *Inao* and in Kedah Malay, together with the tonalization, and the historical evidence of the settlement of Malay population in Nakhorn Si Thammarat, as well as in the central areas, support the theory that *Dalang* and *Inao* came to the court of Ayutthaya through Malay speakers in the south of Thailand who then would have passed it on to the Malay community in Ayutthaya (see Table 3).

Standard Malay	Kedah Malay ²⁶	Southern Thai	Gloss
/timba/	/tim ^b a/	/timâa/	‘small bucket’
/jambu/	/jam ^b u/	/yǎamûu/	‘guava’
/pandok/	/pɔn ^d ɔʔ/	/pɔɔnɔʔ/	‘religious school’

Table 3. Kedah Malay²⁷ and Southern Thai.

Further linguistic evidence that can provide additional support to the proposed theory of the origin of *Panji cycle* in the Thai literature is the existence of specific Northern Malay loanwords in *Dalang* and *Inao*. In the present study, two exclusive Northern Malay words are found in the two books, they are /keenlǒŋ/ meaning ‘eldest child’ and /wǎn/ from Northern Malay /kanlǒŋ/ and /wan/ respectively. The term /sulǒŋ/ meaning ‘eldest child’ in Standard Malay becomes /lǒŋ/, and is frequently used in place of the personal name. In *Inao II* or IN II (King Rama II's *Inao*), when the hero and his sister disguised themselves as commoners, the sister took the name /lǒŋ/, and is called /keenlǒŋ/, meaning Miss Long or Miss Eldest Child. One may argue here however, that in *Inao II*, *Kenlong* is the hero's younger sister, not elder. But when considering many other mixed-up details among all the versions that scholars have had accesses to, it is highly possible that on the way to the court of Ayutthaya, the elder sister in this version, while

²⁵ In an independent observation Court (1975: 80) also stated that the tonalization of Malay and Javanese words in *Inao* and *Dalang* corresponded to the tonal system of Southern Thai and thus reflected the entry into Standard Thai via Southern Thai. However, he provided no further discussion.

²⁶ The superscript letters denote weakly articulated, barely audible stops.

²⁷ These are expected forms, based on the forms in Collins 1986: 8-9 and Asmah 1988: 198.

maintaining her name, did not maintain her seniority and became her brother's younger sister.

The honorific epithet /wǎn/, derived from *tuan* and frequently used in *Dalang* and *Inao*, is also exclusively used in the Northern Malay dialects which are spoken in Northern Malaysia and Southern Thailand for Muslim nobility. Probably, when Northern Malay people passed the stories on to Ayutthaya, they also applied the term to characters who are from the royal family, even though the story in the epic took place many centuries before the coming of Islam in this area.

The mentioning of a performance of *Inao* found in the book *Bunnovadh Khamchan* that was written during the late Ayutthaya period, together with the existence of some Malay words in another work of literature which is contemporary with *Dalang* and *Inao*, as stated before, are so far the best evidence for the place of *Inao* and *Dalang* in the court of Ayutthaya. The retention of a large number of Malay words might have been used as a poetic device in order to achieve a specific effect, adding a Malay, or Javanese, flavour.

The unusually frequent use of Malay words in *Dalang* and *Inao* leads to the assumption that the audience must have originally been Thai-Malay bilingual. The systematic tone assignment in these words, which diverges from the Central Thai pattern but conforms to the Southern Thai pattern, supports the hypothesis that *Dalang* and *Inao* were popular among Thai-Malay bilinguals in the South making their way to the court of Ayutthaya. That the phonological process affecting the canonical shape of Standard Malay in several dialects of Malay also operated in Malay words in *Dalang* and *Inao* supports this claim. Moreover, historical evidence of contacts between the Thai and Malay speakers further supports the possibility of linguistic borrowing as described above.

As described in my PhD thesis on "Malay lexical elements in Thai" (Suthiwan 1997), when spoken Malay loanwords enter Thai, they receive specific tone assignment, which is an attempt in Thai to preserve the pitch pattern of the donor language. In the case of Malay loanwords in Southern Thai dialects, the falling tone is usually assigned to the final syllable, because its high starting point makes it the most suitable tone for representing the falling intonation nucleus of these words (Court 1975), while the level tone is assigned elsewhere. When these Malay loanwords enter Central Thai, the ones with falling tone receive rising tone, or low tone where rising tone cannot be applied, and the ones with level tone receive various tone assignments, according to the Central Thai default tone rules. Spoken Malay loanwords that enter Central Thai directly receive the non-default tone that is used as a loanword marker in each period. Those that came to Central Thai between the seventeenth and eighteenth century received low tone like loanwords from other sources, thus indicating that the low tone assignment must have been the non-default tone used as a loanword marker of that period. Malay loanwords in Central Thai that receive default tones like Indic and Khmer loans are very old loans and have undergone the process of the great sound change in the seventeenth century. They are believed to have come as Indic

and Khmer loans from written sources because of the tone assignment as discussed above.

It is necessary to discuss here the tonalization of Malay words in *Pongsawadan Inao Chabab Ari Nakkhara* (IN A). As mentioned before, these Malay words are included in the data this study is based on because IN A is a translated version of King Rama I's *Inao* (IN I) made in Bangkok two centuries after IN I had been written, for the purpose of comparative study. The pronunciation of Malay words in IN A should therefore be regarded as the phonological treatment of loanwords in Central Thai from written sources in the twentieth century.

I found that the tonalization of the Malay words IN A is inconsistent. In the same environment, some words get the same treatment as words in *Dalang* and *Inao*, and others as loanwords from written sources. Such inconsistency can be seen in Table 4.

Malay	Gloss	Thai	Gloss
/daha/	'a city name'	/daahǎa/	
/saŋkawaha/	'a personal name'	/sǎŋkáwaahaa/	
/yayaŋ bətara/	'a title'	/yaayǎŋpàttàràa/	
/səri bətara/	'king'	/síipàttàraa/	
/pakmaanjan/	'a city name'	/pàkmaanǎn/	
/pasaŋan/	'a title of officer'	/pàsaŋan/	
/jaran/	'a title of officer'	/yáarǎn/	'a personal name'
/paseran/	'a title of officer'	/pàsèeran/	'a title of officer'

Table 4. The tonalization of Malay word in IN A.

The inconsistency in tonalization of these Malay words in IN A can be explained as an attempt to preserve the old tonalization. Most of the Malay words in IN A that get the same tonalization as words in *Dalang* and *Inao* are words that also exist in *Dalang* and *Inao*, and are therefore familiar to the speakers of Central Thai in the twentieth century. Words that do not exist in the two books of literature tend to get the same treatment as loanwords from written sources do, namely to get the default tones. However, interesting cases of hypercorrection occur sometimes, when Malay syllables that are not supposed to get rising tone assignment if they enter Central Thai via Southern Thai do get rising tone in IN A. Examples of such syllables are /baŋbǐŋ/ in the word /baŋbǐŋdàraamaasàttra/ and /ʔantiíi/ in /ʔantiyáwítaa/, which should be /baŋbǐŋdàrámaa-sàttàràa/ and /antiyáwiítaa/ respectively if they are from Southern Thai like *Dalang* and *Inao*, and /baŋbǐŋdǎorámaasàttraa/ and /ʔantiyáwítaa/²⁸ respectively if they come from written sources.

MALAY LOANWORDS IN THAI

Malay loanwords entered the Standard Thai lexicon at different periods of time. In the middle Ayutthaya period, which was between the fifteenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, the so-called Great Sound Changes

²⁸ These two words are personal names in IN A.

(GSC) occurred in Thai, and loanwords that were borrowed when the old sound system was still intact also underwent these changes along with native words (Gedney 1991: 198). Examples of Malay loanwords in Thai that feature the Great Sound Change phenomenon are shown in Table 5.

Malay	Thai (Before the GSC)	Thai (After the GSC)	Gloss
/durian/	*/du ^o rian ^o /	/t ^h úrian/	'kind of fruit'
/mangis/	*/man ^o gut ^d /	/man ^h khút/	'kind of fruit'
/bukit/	*/bu ^o kit ^d /	/p ^h uukèt/	1. 'hill' (Malay) 2. 'name of an island' (Thai)
/barat daya/	*/bat ^d da ^o yaa ^o /	/p ^h átt ^h áyaa/	'southwest wind'
/sagu/	*/sa ^o guu ^o /	/sáak ^h uu/	'tapioca'

Table 5. Old Malay loanwords in Thai, which underwent the Great Sound Changes.

A historical explanation for the existence of old Malay loanwords as shown in Table 5 is the presence of a Malay community in Ayutthaya in the seventeenth century, as recorded by Westerners. These Malays were among the other Muslim ethnic groups who resided in the city of Ayutthaya in order to conduct their trade business (Tadmor 1995). Apart from trading, some of the Malays in the city of Ayutthaya were also involved in politics and administration, as well as in the linguistic and literary activities in the kingdom. These pieces of evidence portray the activities of the Malays in central Thailand and therefore support the claim that some Malay loanwords such as those in Table 4 entered Standard Thai directly.

However, most of the Malay lexical elements in Standard Thai came from the Thai versions of the *Panji cycle*. As fully demonstrated and analysed earlier, these lexical elements entered Standard Thai lexicons via the Southern Thai dialect. The historical evidence that supports this notion is the discovery of the fragments of a version of *Inao* in Nakhorn Si Thammarat in the nineteenth century, and the presence of the Malay community in the city of Ayutthaya in the eighteenth century. In the thirteenth century, Nakhorn Si Thammarat became the focus of international rivalries among the Khmer, Mon, Burmese, Malay, and South Indian rulers, and the city was inhabited by substantial numbers of Khmers, Mons, and Malays, as well as Thais. Throughout the thirteenth to nineteenth century, Nakhorn Si Thammarat acted as the maritime outlet for Sukhothai, and later Ayutthaya, for the Thai penetration into the Malay Peninsula.

That fragments of *Inao*, which is believed to be of the Ayutthaya period were found in Nakhorn Si Thammarat, show that this theatrical literature existed in the south, and that there was a cultural relationship between Ayutthaya and the south. Since its establishment in 1350, Ayutthaya's main interest was to expand its power over the region, especially in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. In the seventeenth century, after several unsuccessful attempts, Ayutthaya managed to gain power over some Malay kingdoms, such as Songkhla and Patani, and carried off a large number of inhabitants

of that area to Ayutthaya. It is highly possible that these Malay prisoners of war who were settled in Central Thailand brought with them the story and the theatrical performance of the *Panji cycle* to Ayutthaya. And since these Malays were probably Malay-Thai bilingual, they might have performed the play in Thai, with a number of Malay lexical elements that were retained in order to maintain the Malay-Javanese flavour. Another possibility is that the play was performed in Malay in the Malay quarter in the city of Ayutthaya, but when it was introduced to the court, it was told in Thai with a number of Malay lexical elements in it. However, because these Malays came from the south, the Thai language that they spoke was not the standard one, but the Southern dialect. Therefore, the tones that they applied to the Malay lexical elements conformed to the Southern Thai tonalization, not that of the standard language. This explains the “divergent” tones of the Malay words in all the Thai versions of the *Panji cycle*.

The existence of Malay lexical elements in Southern Thai is a common phenomenon of language contact situation when speakers of two languages live together side by side.

CULTURAL INFLUENCE

Vocabulary from the Thai versions of the *Panji cycle* forms the biggest group of the Malay lexical elements in Thai. Because these words came from literary works which glorifies a Javanese heroic king, basic vocabulary and vocabulary used in everyday life are rarely found. On the other hand, titles, official positions, epithets, fauna and flora terms, religious terms, and proper names are the main components of vocabulary in this group. Examples of such vocabulary are shown in Table 6.

Malay loanwords in Thai can be categorized as established and non-established loans. The term “established loanwords” here means words which have become part of the lexicon of the borrowing language (Tadmor 1995). On so becoming, they usually underwent the process of phonological nativization, which made them fully assimilated with native words (Henderson 1951; Tadmor 1995). Usually, these loanwords are listed in the Royal Academy’s dictionary of the Thai language as part of the Thai lexicon. However, the fact that the Malay elements are listed in the dictionary of Standard Thai does not necessarily mean that they may be regarded as established loanwords. Established loanwords in a language are words that are frequently used by the speakers of that language. Examples of established Malay loanwords in Thai are shown in Table 7. They are vocabulary items that entered Standard Thai directly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which also includes vocabulary items in the Islamic religious term category. The Malay lexical elements in the Southern Thai dialect are established loanwords in that dialect, but not in the standard language simply because they do not exist in the lexicon of the latter.

Malay	Gloss	Thai	Gloss
/inu/	'crown prince'	/ʔinǎo/	'a name of the hero in <i>Inao</i> '
/bayan/	'a title of chaperon'	/baayǎn/	'a title of chaperon in <i>Inao</i> '; 'a female proper name'
/tanjuŋ/	'kind of tree'	/tanyǒŋ/	'kind of tree'
/rusa/	'kind of deer'	/rúsǎa/	'kind of deer'
/sabok/	'shawl; belt'	/sâabòʔ/	'shawl'
/dalaŋ/	'puppeteer'	/daalǎŋ/	'puppeteer'
/bela/	'join another in death'	/bæǎlǎa/	'join another in death'
/bərəhman/	'Brahman'	/prâmaanǎn/	'Brahman'
/biku/	'Buddhist monk'	/biikuu/	'Buddhist monk'
/asalŋa dewa/	'of divine origin'	/ʔàsǎŋádæwǎa/	'of divine origin'
/anak/	'child'	/ʔanaʔ/	'child'
/paman/	'uncle'	/prâmǎn/	'uncle'
/sari/	'essence'; 'post-posed epithet for noble women and beautiful things'	/sàari/	'postposed epithet' 'for noble women and beautiful things in <i>Inao</i> '; 'a female proper name'
/bibi/	'aunt'; 'epithet for married woman'	/bĩbĩ/	'epithet for married woman in <i>Inao</i> '

Table 6. Semantic domains of Malay lexical elements in Thai from the Thai versions of the *Panji cycle*.

Malay	Gloss	Thai	Gloss
/karaŋ/	'coral'	/pàkaaraŋ/	'coral'
/akar bahar/	'bead coral'	/kanlápaŋhǎa/	'bead coral'
/surau/	'Muslim worship place'	/sùràò/	'Muslim worship place'
/saròŋ/	'wraparound'	/saròŋ/	'wraparound'
/sunat/	'Muslim circumcision'	/sùnàt/	'Muslim circumcision'
/lumba lumba/	'dolphin'	/loomaa/	'dolphin'
/kətupat/	'kind of food'	/k ^h àawtòmp ^h àt/	'kind of food'

Table 7. Established Malay loanwords in Thai.

Of all the Malay lexical elements listed in the dictionary, and analysed in this article, most of those that came from the Thai versions of the *Panji cycle* are not established loanwords nor nonce borrowing. They are not established loanwords because they are used only in the literature and are understood only by educated Thai. As stated before, some parts of King Rama II's *Inao* (IN II), with glossary provided, have been mandatory reading in secondary school in Thailand for decades. Therefore, it can be assumed that Malay lexical elements of this category are used, most of the time passively, only among Thai educated people.

However, regardless of the number of the people who use them, these vocabulary items are listed in the Royal Academy's Thai dictionary. There are two reasons for this phenomenon. First, the dictionary was made by scholars, therefore it was natural for them to use these words and, as a result, to include them in the dictionary. Secondly, these scholars might have realized that

these vocabularies are used only among Thai educated people, but traditional lexicography did not allow them to say so in the dictionary.

Gedney, in *Special vocabularies in Thai* (1961), stated that there are five groups of what he called “special vocabularies”. They are royal vocabulary, Buddhist monk vocabulary, vocabulary used in the Panji romance, vocabulary used by poets, and pronouns. According to him these five sets of vocabulary share a feature of mechanical interchangeability, namely they possess the conventional substitutability on one-to-one basis in certain contexts for particular items of the ordinary vocabulary as mentioned. In the case of the Thai versions of the *Panji cycle*, Gedney stated that:

[...] we find a similar lexical phenomenon in a particular segment of the literature, the large body of literature, the large body of literary works dealing with the Panji romance, a story cycle of Javanese origin. Literary works on this theme include some of the major masterpieces of classical Thai literature, as well as many minor poems. In all of these romantic tales dealing with Inaw, as the hero of the cycle is known in Thai, there occurs a special set of terms form “moon”, “flower”, and other similar items frequent in romantic stories. These terms occur only in works dealing with this story, and every youngster who studies classical Thai literature is required to memorize the list. Everyone is aware of the Javanese origin of the story, and the popular notion is that these special terms are loanwords from Javanese [...]. (Gedney 1961: 109-114).

At the end of his article, Gedney proposed that the Thai dictionary should indicate that these terms belong to a particular special set and in that set is a conventional substitute for a given term in the ordinary vocabulary.

Since the Malay lexical elements from the *Panji cycle* did not become established loanwords in Thai, but are used only by a minority group, most of whom hold a high status in the country, I would like to propose the status of these vocabulary items as loanwords used among Thai educated native speakers, or in other words, as established loanwords in the dialect of educated Thais. These people are the product of formal higher education in Thailand, and are the target group to appreciate this theatrical literature of the Ayutthaya and Bangkok courts.

Moreover, there is another set of Malay loanwords that is listed in the Thai dictionary as a part of Thai lexicon, but is hardly ever used by the native speakers of modern Thai, except in crossword puzzling games. These vocabulary items are marked in the dictionary as Javanese loanwords, even though many show signs of their Malay origin. Examples of such words are shown in Table 8.

When we consider their phonological characteristics, we can assume that they entered Standard Thai directly, not via the Southern Thai dialect. When compared to the tonalization process these words underwent, we can assume that they did not come from spoken language, but rather from written sources. However, we have not found any written Thai literature in which these words are used. And because these words are extremely rarely used, I will propose to call them obsolete Malay lexical elements in Thai.

Malay/Javanese	Gloss	Thai	Gloss
/matahari/	'sun'	/mátaahàrii/	'sun'
/lainhari/	'other days'	/lenhàrii/	'first new'; 'other days'
/main/	'to play'	/meen/	'to play'
/mahu/	'to want'	/máhũu/	'to want'
/lari/	'to run'	/lárii/	'to run'
/lanjit/	'sky'	/lánjít/	'sky'; 'heaven'

Table 8. Obsolete Malay and Javanese loanwords in Thai.

THE *PANJI* CYCLE IN THE THAI CULTURE FROM THE PAST TO PRESENT

Of all the versions of the *Panji cycle* written in Thai, the most popular version is the theatrical *Inao* written by King Rama II. A number of literary works are based on it, including the famous parody *Raden Lundai*, written by Phra Mahamontri (Sap), a court officer in the reign of King Rama III. The story is the record of a well-known event that took place in downtown Bangkok in that reign, in which two poor Hindi men fought over a Malay woman who was a prisoner of war from Patani. The poet recorded the event in the form of theatrical literature and used the same Malay royal titles as those that were used in *Inao* when mentioning the three characters.²⁹

More recent literary works based on *Inao* include such novels as *Dawkaew Karabuning* (2000), *Akkhaniihotrii* (2019), and *Mangummangaaraa* (2019). The first book, written by a national artist in the field of literature, took place in a fictional land where the natives speak a language that is full of such vocabulary like /kaarábũnĩŋ/, /candaarãa/, /tikaarãŋ/, /kidaayãŋ/, /bũlãŋ/, /baayãŋ/, /mãjummãŋaarãa/, /pãtaarãkaalãa/, and /tũlãapaapaa/. These words with such a “divergent” tone from the native origin are definitely taken from *Inao*, with the assumption that contemporary readers would understand without any help of a dictionary or glossary.

As for the second book, while the title is not a Javanese/Malay/Indonesian word, the story circles around a famous dance in the theatrical *Inao*, called /dõrãsaãbãelãa/. In *Inao*, Darasa (/dõrãsaã/) performs this special dance before killing herself after the death of her husband who was slain by *Inao*. The Malay word “*bela*” (/bãelãa/) means ‘to join another in death’, referring to the Hindu “*sati*” ceremony where a recently widowed woman, either voluntarily or by force, immolates herself on her deceased husband’s pyre.

The third book, which was also written in 2019, is a fantasy novel involving a woman who could time travel to ancient Java and meet all the important

²⁹ Montri, in the introduction of his translation of *Raden Lundai*, wrote that:

There is no doubt that *Raden Lundai* was intended as a parody of *Inao*, a poetic masterpiece of King Rama II derived from a Javanese epic. In *Raden Lundai*, the protagonist is called ‘Raden’ – a Javanese name for city prince; the antagonist is described as ‘Ratu’ or provincial prince; the lady-love is compared to Busaba, the heroine of *Inao*. In its love triangle, *Raden Lundai* takes Queen Pradae from her husband, Tao Pradu. He should be justified in doing so because he is, like *Inao*, of the celestial dynasty. In many ways, *Raden Lundai* is *Inao* brought down to earth. (Montri 1982: 4-5).

characters in Inao. She was not happy with the way Inao treated all his lovers and tried to empower them. The story was written in both prose and verse.

As a theatrical literature, composed for traditional Thai court theatre, *Inao* has been popular for more than 200 years. Numerous songs have also been composed both to accompany the performance and as a standalone. To further prove its popularity that survives the cruelty of time, a modern theatrical performance of *Inao* called *Rock-Opera: Inao-coraka*³⁰ was performed in Bangkok in 1995. The performance, which was a blend of traditional Thai and Indonesian theatre with the rock concert genre, was highly successful.

After being overshadowed by *Inao* for two centuries, *Dalang* has suddenly gained interest and was performed for the first time since the Ayudhya period, on 9 and 10 November 2019 at the Bangkok Art and Culture Centre (see Illustrations 1 and 2). The episode performed was when Inao disguised himself as a transvestite called Saranakadi (/sàrànáakàdii/) while searching for his fiancé. While performed as the Thai traditional court theatre where all the performers are supposed to be female, this latest performance was performed by an all-male cast. Thai classical court style dance-drama, traditionally performed by females only. The performance is an excerpt from *Inao* (Illustration 3).

The year 2019 also witnesses another book in Thai about the *Panji cycle*. A Thai writer wrote a book telling the story of *Hikayat Panji Samirang* which was translated by Prince Boriphat in 1938 from a Malay version which is believed to be the origin of *Dalang*. What is interesting about this latest addition to the list of Thai literary works on the *Panji cycle* is the focus of the story. The author wrote that, as he found the story very interestingly weird, he decided to write about it in a comical way. As the title of the book *Inao, the man who became gay and further on became a lesbian* suggests, what the author found most interesting must be Inao's sexual orientation.

³⁰ *Coraka* is a *ratu*, or a provincial prince, who is not from the celestial dynasty. He asked for the heroine's hand after Inao, the hero, broke the marriage contract with her. However, after Inao saw his ex-fiancée for the first time, he fell in love with her, and therefore had to solve the problem about her new fiancé. This conflict also exists in *Dalang*, but the name of the *ratu* is different, as well as the hero's problem-solving method.



Illustrations 1 and 2. Poster of an all-male cast Lakhon Nai (Thai classical court style dance-drama, traditionally performed by females only) on 9 and 10 November 2019, at Bangkok Art and Culture Centre, Bangkok, Thailand. The performance is an excerpt from *Dalang*, and entitled “Inao Pen Kathoey Saranaakadii” (“Inao disguises himself as a transvestite”). (Courtesies of respectively Ong Jarupong Chantriya and Weeyaporn Prangmuang).



Illustration 3. Photo from a Lakhon Nai performed on 14 January, 11 February, 4 and 11 March 2018 at National Theatre, Bangkok, Thailand. The performance is an excerpt from *Inao*, and entitled “Rit Theva Patarakaalaa” (‘The power of Patarakala Deva’). (Courtesy of the Office of Performing Arts, Fine Arts Department, Ministry of Culture, Thailand).

Apart from its influence on theatrical and literary culture, *Inao* also plays an important role in everyday Thai life. A number of contemporary Thai personal names are taken from the names of some characters in the Panji literature. Some of those names are of Sanskrit origin, and therefore sometimes create doublets in Thai, as a large number of Thai names are also of Indic origin. Examples of Thai names from *Inao* are shown in Table 9.

Sanskrit	Malay/Javanese	Inao	Thai names	Original gloss
candra	cendera	cintārāa	1. cintārāa 2. cant ^h raa	‘moon’
harṣa	arsa	rāsāa	1. ṛāsāa 2. hānsāa	‘delight; being’ ‘fond of’
-vati	-vati	-waatii	1. waatii 2. -wādii	‘a feminine’ suffix to personal names
	ken loṅ	keenlōṅ	keenlōṅ	‘Ms. Long’
	niṅrat	niṅrāt	niṅrāt	‘of the world’
	buṅa	būṅāa	būṅāa	‘flower’
	pandan	paanān	paanān	‘Pandanus’
	tanjūṅ	tanyōṅ	tanyōṅ	‘kind of tree’ (<i>Sapotaceae</i>)
	baayan	baayān	baayān	‘chaperon’

Table 9. Thai names from *Inao*.

Apart from the lexical component of the language, the *Panji cycle* has also contributed to the pragmatic aspect of Thai. Examples of Thai idioms derived from the story of *Inao* include those in Table 10: the name “Inao” itself has also become a nickname for “Indonesia” in Thai media, especially in sport news. Nicknames that Thai media gave to other countries are generally based on what each country is well-known for among the Thais. Examples of such nicknames are /l̩ət̩t̩ch̩h̩ŋ/ ‘chendol’ for Singapore, /s̩ǎl̩f̩aŋ/ ‘yellow tiger’ for Malaysia, /ciŋc̩o/ ‘kangaroo’ for Australia, and /ph̩i̩d̩ip/ ‘vampire’ for Romania.

<i>w̩āa t̩æ̩æ kh̩ǎo ɲ̩ǎo pen ʔeɛŋ</i>	‘Inao became what he had said other people were’
<i>n̩āa dam pen c̩əɔr̩ákaa</i>	‘the face is as black as that of Coraka’

Table 10. Thai idioms originated from *Inao*.

ISSUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Apart from the dialectology and historical issues mentioned in the previous section, there is also an issue in the field of Thai literature that needs to be researched. The story of the *Panji cycle* has been so popular in Thailand that in the reign of King Rama III, a parody of the literature, called *Raden Lundai*, was written.

Raden Lundai is not the only book that was directly influenced by the *Panji cycle*. In the same period, a well-known woman poet named Khun Suwan wrote a book that has traditionally been analysed as the work of a crazy poet. In the book called *Phra Malethethai*, Khun Suwan constantly used nonsense words that, despite their meaninglessness, gave the appearance of making sense which can perfectly be considered as a Thai jabberwocky. Examples of her writings are shown in Table 11.

<i>wan n̩əŋ phr̩á</i>	<i>ciŋ</i>	<i>m̩álik̩t̩ik</i>	<i>m̩álēeth̩ǎi</i>	<i>phr̩ai phr̩ák</i>	<i>m̩árákk^{h̩}ěe</i>
day one he	therefore	-	-	forest tree	-
<i>l̩éæ</i>	<i>c̩à</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>t̩^{h̩}áw</i>	<i>chom</i>	<i>m̩àlomtee</i>
then	will	go	go out	see	-
<i>m̩álootoo</i>	<i>poopee</i>	<i>m̩áluutuu</i>			
-	-	-			

‘One day he therefore [thinks about] the forest, and then wants to go out there to see [the forest]’.

Table 11. Examples of Khun Suwan's writings in *Phra Malethethai*.

The seven nonsense words that appear in these two lines do not prevent the readers from understanding the story. Throughout the story, nonsense words like this are constantly used. While most scholars think that the poet was insane, I tend to believe that she only made fun of *Inao* (IN II), which gained such a high status and popularity in Bangkok in that period, despite a large

number of Malay words that, without glossary, would sound like nonsense to those who did not know Malay. It is, therefore, interesting for a scholar of this modern time to conduct a research on the works of this poet in order to be able to fully understand her works, both in terms of literature and linguistics. Such research will also provide us with more information about the roles and influence of the Malay language and literature in the Thai culture.

PROBLEMS RELATED TO THIS STUDY

In this paper, I have stated that the Malay lexical elements in the Thai versions of the *Panji cycle* entered Standard Thai from a Northern Malay dialect via a Southern Thai dialect. Historically, there is no record of the specific dialect that the story, or stories, was told in. The limited number of sources made me assume that it was the speakers of Patani Malay who brought the story to Ayutthaya, based on the presence of Patani Malays as prisoners of war in Ayutthaya. A thorough study of all the Northern Malay dialects, together with a study of the history of the contacts between the speakers of those dialects and the Thais, will provide us with more knowledge about these words, and as a result, it will enable us to come up with a better etymology for these words.

Non-linguistic wise, I also demonstrated the various roles of the *Panji cycle* in Thai society. In the reign of King Rama I, *Inao* and *Dalang* were among the foreign literary works that were revived or (re)translated under the royal command. All of these stories are about the establishment of a new state, a new dynasty or the return of a rightful king. It is therefore not wrong to say that the *Panji cycle* is in a sense also a type of political literature. The fact that the *Panji story* is being performed in this very year in Thailand with the focus on transvestite aspects is a sign that the story is providing a much-needed space for LGBT community. In the past, *Inao* was always portrayed as a womanizing hero and a glorious warrior. As time goes by, yet another characteristic of his has surfaced serve as a base for all the communities in the Thai society to express their worldview freely, as it has always been.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andaya, Barbara Watson. 2015. *A history of early modern Southeast Asia, 1400–1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Kindle Edition.]
- Breazeale, Kennon. 1999. "Thai maritime trade and the ministry responsible", in: Kennon Breazeale (ed.), *From Japan to Arabia; Ayutthaya's maritime relations with Asia*, pp. 1-54. Bangkok: Toyota Thailand Foundation and the Foundation for the Promotion of Social Sciences and Humanities Textbooks Project.
- Chulalongkorn, King. 1908. *Phra ratwichan chotmai khwamsongcham khong phrachao paiyikathoe kromluang Narinthathewi (chaokhrok watpho) tangtae chulasakkarat 1129 thueng chulasakkarat 1182 penwela 53 pi* (Comment on the chronicle memoir of Princess Narinthathewi). Bangkok: n.n.

- Collins, James T. 1986. *Antologi kajian dialek Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Court, Christopher. 1975. "The segmental and suprasegmental representation Malay loanwords in Satun Thai; A description with historical remarks", in: J.G. Garris and J.R. Chamberlain (eds), *Studies in Thai linguistics in honor of William J. Gedney*, pp. 67-88. Bangkok: Central Institute of English Language.
- Cruyssen, Dirk Van Der. 2002. *Siam and the West 1500-1700*. Chiangmai: Silkworm Books.
- Cuisinier, J. 1957. *Le théâtre d'ombres à Kelantan*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Damrong Rachanuphap. 1964. *Tamnan lakhorn Inao* (History of the theatrical Inao). Bangkok: Khlang Witthaya.
- Dhani Nivat. 1947. "Siamese versions of the Panji romance", in: *India Antiqua; A volume of Oriental Studies, presented by his friends and pupils to Jean Philippe van Vogel, C.I.E. on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his doctorate*. Leiden: Brill.
- Dhani Nivat. 1975. *Ruang wi jan nithan panji rue Inao, ruang phra ram, lae sujibat khon lakhorn* (Comments on the Panji cycle or Inao, on Ramayana, and brochures of the mask dance and play). Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, Thailand.
- Dhani Nivat. 1976. *Collected articles by H.H. Prince Dhani Nivat*. Bangkok: Siam Society.
- Fine Arts Department. 1977. "Fine Arts Department". [Author's copy, no specific information about the source available.]
- Gedney, William J. 1961. "Special vocabularies in Thai", in: Michael Zarechnak (ed.), *Georgetown University Round Table on language and linguistics*, pp. 109-114. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Gedney, William J. 1991. "Comments on linguistic arguments relating to inscription one", in: James R. Chamberlain (ed.), *The Ram Khamhaeng controversy, collected papers*, pp. 193-226. Bangkok: The Siam Society.
- Hall, D.G.E. 1981. *A history of South-east Asia*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Hall, Kenneth R. 1985. *Maritime trade and state development in early Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Haugen, Einar. 1950. "The analysis of linguistic borrowing", *Language* 26: 210-231.
- Haugen, Einar. 1972. "The analysis of linguistic borrowing", in: A.S. Dil (ed.), *The ecology of language; Essays by Einar Haugen*, pp. 79-109. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Henderson, Eugénie J.A. 1951. "The phonology of some loanwords in some South East Asian languages", *Transactions of the Philological Society*, pp. 132-158. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Jatuthasri, T. 2009. *Inao of King Rama II; The making of the Panji cycle into a masterpiece of Thai court drama literature*. PhD thesis (in Thai), Chulalongkorn University.

- Jermisitipasert, K. and K. Wongsurawat. 2017. "The present stage of knowledge on 'Bot Lakhon Reung Inao'", *PSAKU, International Journal of Interdisciplinary Research* 6 (2): 52-65.
- Jidaporn Sangnil. 2005. "A study of muslim communities at Ayutthaya Province during Ayutthaya period (14th-18th A.D.)", MA thesis, Silpakorn University, Bangkok.
- Kasetsiri, Charnvit. 1999. *Ayutthaya; Prawatsaat lae Kaanmuang* (Ayutthaya; History and politic). Bangkok: Thammasat University Press.
- Ketmankit, K. 2015. *Thai literature; National literature Committee. 100th Anniversary of the Royal Society of Literature*. Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, Thailand.
- Khunsilapakamphiset. 1986. *Photcananukrom Kham Phawng Thai-Melayu* (Thai-Malay synonyms dictionary). Bangkok: Khuru Sapha Press.
- Kieven, Lydia. 2013. *Following the cap-figure in Majapahit temple reliefs; A new look at the religious function of East Javanese temples 14th to 15th centuries*. Leiden: Brill.
- King Phutthayawtfaa Chulalok. 1917. *Inao*. Bangkok.
- King Rama II, 1955. *Inau*. Bangkok: Khuru Sapha.
- Laosunthorn, Niyada 1996. *Kaan Fuenfuu Aksornsaat Nai Ratchakaan Phrabaat Somdet Phra Phutthayawtfaa Chulalok Maharaaat* (The renovation of Arts and Literature in the reign of King Phuttayawtfaa Chulalok the Great). Bangkok: Mae Kham Phaang.
- Loubère, Simon de la. 1691. *Du Royaume de Siam*. Amsterdam: chez Abraham Wolfgang
- Loubère, Simon de la. 1693. *A new historical relation of the Kingdom of Siam*. London: Thomas Horne.
- Matusky, Patricia. 1993. *Malaysian shadow play and music continuity of an oral tradition*. Kuala Lumpur/Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moreland, W.H. (ed.). 1934. *Peter Floris, his voyage to the East Indies in the globe, 1611-1615*. London: Hakluyt Society.
- Nakorn Sawan Varapinit, HRH Prince. 1950. *Inao*. Translated from a Malay version. Bangkok: n.n.
- Nidhi Eoseewong. 1984. *Pakkai lae bairuae; Ruam khwamriang wa duai wannakam lae prawatsat ton ratthanakosin* (Quill and sail; Collected essays on early Bangkok literature and history). Bangkok: Amarin Printing.
- Phinyo Jittham. 1974. *Phasa thin* (Dialects). Songkhla: Rongphim Muang Songkhla.
- Phra Maha Nak. 1960. *Bunnovadh khamchan*. Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, Thailand.
- Phinyo Jittham. 1974. *Phaasaa Thin* (Dialects). Songkhla: Rongphim Muang Songkhla.
- Poerbatjaraka, R.M.Ng. 1940. *Pandji verhalen onderling vergeleken*. Bandoeng: Nix.
- Photcanaankrom Phaasaa Thin Tai Phutthasakkaraat. 1987. *Sathaban Thaksinkhadii Sueksa, Mahawitthayalai Srinakharinwirot* (Dictionary of

- Southern Thai dialect). Songkhla: Srinakharinwirot University Press. [1982 version by Institute of Thaksinkhadi Sueksa, Srinakharinwirot University.]
- Puaksom, Davisakd. 2007. *The pursuit of Java; Thai Panji stories, Melayu lingua franca and the question of translation*. PhD thesis, National University of Singapore.
- Ras, J.J. 1973. "The Panji romance and W.H. Rassers analysis of its theme", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 129/4: 411-456.
- Rassers, W.H. 1922. *De Pandji-roman*. Antwerpen: De Vos-Van Kleef.
- Reid, Anthony. 1988. *Southeast Asia in the age of commerce 1450-1680. Vol. 1: The lands below the winds*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press.
- Ricklefs, M.C. and P. Voorhoeve. 1977. *Indonesian manuscripts in Great Britain; A catalogue of manuscripts in Indonesian languages in British Public Collections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Roberts, Murat H. 1939. "The problem of hybrid language", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 38/1 (January): 23-41.
- Robson, S.O. 1971. *Waybang Wideya; A Javanese Pañji romance*. The Hague: Nijhoff. [Bibliotheca Indonesica 6.]
- Robson, S.O. 1996. "Panji and Inao; Questions of cultural and textual history", *Journal of The Siam Society* 84/2: 39-53.
- Saleh, Rattiya. 1988. *Panji Thai dalam perbandingan dengan cerita-cerita Panji Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kementerian Pendidikan.
- Suthiwan, Titima. 1997. *Malay lexical elements in Thai*. PhD thesis, University of Hawai'i.
- Sweeney, P.L. Amin. 1972. *The Ramayana and the Malay shadow-play*. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
- Tachard, Guy. 1688. *A relation of the voyage to Siam performed by six Jesuits*. London. [1981, Bangkok: White Orchid Press.]
- Tadmor, Uri. 1995. *Language contact and systemic restructuring; The Malay dialect of Nonthaburi, Central Thailand*. PhD thesis, University of Hawai'i.
- Teeuw, A. and D.K. Wyatt. 1970. *Hikayat Patani; The story of Patani*. The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Vandenberg, Tricky. 2009. "St Joseph Church". [Retrieved from: <http://www.ayutthaya-history.com>; accessed on 8-4-2020.]
- Vickers, Adrian. 2005. *Journeys of desire; A study of the Balinese text Malat*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Weinreich, Uriel. 1963. *Languages in contact; Findings and problems*. The Hague/Paris: Mouton.
- Wilding, Ann. 1972. *Introducing Pattani Malay*. Yala: Overseas Missionary Fellowship.
- Winstedt, Sir Richard Olof. 1958. *Malaya and its history*. London: Hutchinson University Library.
- Winstedt, Sir Richard Olof. 1989. *A history of classical Malay literature*. Kuala Lumpur: Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- Wongthet, Sujit 2001. *Ayutthaya Yot Yingfaa; Prawatsaat sangkhom lae Watthanatham* (Glorious Ayutthaya; Social history and culture). Bangkok: Matichon.