PAPERS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIAN LINGUISTICS No.6:
TAI STUDIES IN HONOUR OF WILLIAM J. GEDNEY

T.W. Gething and Nguyen Dang Liem, eds

A TAI FESTSCHRIFT FOR WILLIAM J. GEDNEY

ON THE OCCASION OF
HIS FIFTH CYCLE OF LIFE BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY
APRIL 4, 1975

Edited by
Thomas W. Gething and Nguyen Dang Liem

PREFACE

The papers in this collection, largely prepared in late 1974 and early 1975, have been written for Professor William J. Gedney of the University of Michigan by his former students. In the spring of 1975 the Southeast Asian Studies Program of the University of Hawaii at Manoa reproduced the papers under the editorship of Thomas W. Gething. The papers are now being made more widely available by *Pacific Linguistics* of the Australian National University with editorial responsibilities being shared with Nguyen Dang Liem, who has seen the volume through the press.

The scope of the papers in this volume is reflective of the broad scholarly interests of the dedicatee. Under the influence of their teacher, the authors' research has ranged from linguistic studies of a particular feature in a single language to comparative treatments dealing with the entire Tai family; the focus in some papers in syntax, in others literary style, semantics, or regional or social dialects.

The authors through this volume are acknowledging their debt of gratitude to Bill Gedney for his guidance and advice. These analyses of Thai and of other Tai languages, therefore, represent a token of appreciation from the /lûuksìt/ to the /khruu/.

TWG
NDL

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE SO-CALLED PASSIVE IN THAI

PONGSRI LEKAWATANA

Thai students studying English often equate the English passive construction with the thùuk or doon construction in Thai. This paper offers a different approach to the so-called passive in Thai.

Thai thùuk is generally analysed as an auxiliary verb whose function is to mark the preceding NP as the subject of the passive construction. Another morpheme that is used in the same way is doon. Both thùuk and doon can be main verbs meaning *'touch or come into contact with something'*. However, doon is felt to be colloquial. This "passive construction" analysis equates thùuk sentences with the English passive. Chaiyaratana (1961:26) observed, for example, that thùuk was used of something unpleasant; she derived thùuk sentences through the application of a transformational rule that converts one string into another. According to her, we should only find verbs signifying suffering and destruction occurring with thùuk. Phya Upakit (1948a), however, pointed out that thùuk also occurs with verbs that on their own do not imply anything unpleasant, e.g. chəən *'invite'*, chom *'praise'*. By contrast, Warotamasikkhadit (1963:32) uses a derivation from two strings with thùuk + COMP occurring in the matrix S.

It is a well-known fact that the same situation can be described in many ways depending on what the speaker chooses to talk about. Each of the following sets of sentences describes the same situation:

(1) a. sùdaa chəən dææŋ
         Suda   invite Dang
         Suda invited Dang.

     b. dææŋ sùdaa chəən
         Dang Suda invite
         Dang was invited by Suda.

1

c. dææŋ   thùuk sùdaa chəən
    Dang   Suda invite
    Dang was invited by Suda (but he did not want to be invited).

(2) a. sùdaa chom   dææŋ
         Suda praise Dang
         Suda praised Dang.

b. dææŋ   sùdaa chom
    Dang   Suda praise
    Dang was praised by Suda.

c. dææŋ   thùuk sùdaa chom
    Dang   Suda praise
    Dang was praised by Suda (but he did not like being praised).

In the (a) sentences sùdaa is the topic, the speaker tells the
listener what she did; in (b) the topic is dææŋ. The (a) and the (b)
sentences are synonymous in so far as the content is concerned; that is,
if one is true, the other cannot be false. They are not completely
synonymous, for they are not interchangeable. The appropriateness of
(a) and (b) depends on the topic of the conversation.

The (c) sentences, however, are different from the others in that
they are appropriate only if the speaker thinks that Dang dislikes being
invited in the case of (1c) or dislikes being praised in (2c). The dif-
ference between (c) and the others is clear if Suda is the speaker, in
which case chǎn or some other pronouns will replace all the occurrences
of sùdaa in (1) and (2).

(3) a. chǎn chəən   dææŋ
         I   invite Dang
         I invited Dang.

b. dææŋ   chǎn chəən
    Dang   I   invite
    Dang was invited by me.

c. dææŋ   thùuk chǎn chəən
    Dang   I   invite
    Dang was invited by me (but he did not want to be invited).

(4) a. chǎn chom   dææŋ
         I   praise Dang
         I praised Dang.

b. dǽ̀ŋ   chǎn chom
    Dang   I   praise
    Dang was praised by me.

c. dǽ̀ŋ   thùuk chǎn chom
    Dang   I   praise
    Dang was praised by me (but he did not like being praised).

Sentences (3c) and (4c) are odd while (1c) and (2c) are not. On syntactic grounds, there is no reason why (3c) and (4c) should not occur as frequently as (1c) and (2c). The oddity of (3c) and (4c) can be accounted for if we take the position that thùuk is used to indicate that something hurts or affects someone adversely. When the speaker uses thùuk, he is asserting that an animate being suffers the effect of an event or an action. The occurrence of thùuk in (3c) and (4c) implies that the speaker knows he is hurting someone. Since, within the conventions of Thai etiquette, it is unlikely that a speaker will consider his invitation or praise as an act of hostility, we have grammatical sentences that do not occur in actual speech.

In traditional Thai grammar (a) and (b) belong to different sentence types, (b) and (c) are grouped together, with (b) deriving from (c). This classification ignores the fact that except for focus (a) and (b) are synonymous, and that although (b) and (c) focus on the same item, they differ greatly as far as meaning is concerned. Moreover, the rule that moves the object to the front and inserts thùuk would only work with sentences like (3) and (4). It cannot account for the following:

(5) sùdaa thùuk khəmooy khɨ̂n bâan
    Suda   thief   enter house
    Suda's house was burglarised.

(6) sùdaa thùuk phɔ̂ɔ   pə̀ət còt-mǎay
    Suda   father open letter
    Suda's letter was opened by her father.

The passive rule as formulated by Tonglaw (1952:283), a grammarian of the traditional school, is the same as the rule that Chaiyaratana (1961:5) has for her transformational grammar of Thai; it moves the whole NP to the front. Tonglaw's rule for changing an active sentence into a passive sentence consists of two operations:

  i. The object is moved to the subject position.

  ii. The subject is placed between the auxiliary thùuk and the
     verb, and becomes a part of the predicate.

Warotamasikkhadit (1963:32) has a different rule. He derives the
thùuk construction from two strings. His rule requires that the **NP**
that occurs with thùuk be identical with the **NP** object in the embedded
S. These rules, however, cannot derive (5) and (6) from the following
active sentences:

(5') khəmooy khîn bâan sùdaa
      thief   enter house Suda
      A thief broke into Suda's house.

(6') phɔ̂ɔ   pə̀ət còt-mǎay sùdaa
      father open letter   Suda
      Father opened Suda's letter.

If we modify the rule so that it can also move the **NP** inside the **NP**
object to the front, we will get (5) and (6) from (5') and (6'). The
new rule, however, will produce ungrammatical as well as grammatical
strings from the following:

(7) khruu   tii lûuk sùdaa
     teacher beat child Suda
     The teacher beat Suda's child.

(8) sùdaa chom   nɔ́ɔŋ   dææŋ
     Suda praise sister Dang
     Suda praised Dang's sister.

If we move the whole **NP** object to the front, we get acceptable sen-
tences. If we only move the **NP** inside the **NP** object, we get strings
that are unacceptable.

(7') a. lûuk sùdaa thùuk khruu   tii
          child Suda   teacher beat
          Suda's child was beaten by the teacher.

      b. *sùdaa thùuk khruu   tii lûuk
          Suda   teacher beat child

(8') a. nɔ́ɔŋ   dææŋ thùuk sùdaa chom
          sister Dang   Suda praise
          Dang's sister was praised by Suda.

      b. *dææŋ   thùuk sùdaa chom   nɔ́ɔŋ
          Dang   Suda praise sister

The fact that none of the passive rules can account for all the occur-
rences and non-occurrences of thùuk makes one question the assumption

that thùuk is the marker of the passive construction in Thai.

In the Fillmorean case framework, the relationship between sentences like (1a) sùdaa chɔ̌ɔn dæ̀æŋ and (1b) dæ̀æŋ sùdaa chɔ̌ɔn can be accounted for quite naturally through two processes: subjectivalisation and topicalisation. In the case of (1a) sùdaa chɔ̌ɔn dæ̀æŋ only subjectival- isation applies. As for (2b) dæ̀æŋ sùdaa chɔ̌ɔn topicalisation moves dæ̀æŋ to the front after subjectivalisation has applied. We can account for the following in the same way:

(9) a. phɔ̂ɔ   pə̀ət còt-mǎay sùdaa mɨ̂a-waan-níi
         father open letter Suda yesterday
         Father opened Suda's letter yesterday.

     b. còt-mǎay sùdaa phɔ̂ɔ   pə̀ət mɨ̂a-waan-níi
         letter   Suda father open yesterday
         Suda's letter was opened by Father yesterday.

     c. mɨ̂a-waan-níi phɔ̂ɔ   pə̀ət còt-mǎay sùdaa
         yesterday   father open letter   Suda
         Yesterday, Father opened Suda's letter.

Here (b) and (c) differ from (a) in that topicalisation applies as well as subjectivalisation. They differ from one another because in each case a different item is topicalised. Note that topicalisation cannot apply twice, for we do not get

     d. *mɨ̂a-waan-níi còt-mǎay sùdaa phɔ̂ɔ   pə̀ət
         yesterday   letter Suda father open

     e. *còt-mǎay sùdaa mɨ̂a-waan-níi phɔ̂ɔ   pə̀ət
         letter   Suda yesterday   father open

Since subjectivalisation and topicalisation account for the occur- rence of an NP at the beginning of a sentence, the NP that precedes thùuk in (1c) dæ̀æŋ thùuk sùdaa chɔ̌ɔn must have been moved to that position by one or both of these processes. Another related problem is the status of thùuk: Is it an auxiliary verb as most grammarians claim; and if it is, at what point is it introduced?

If we start with the assumption that thùuk is an auxiliary verb, we can account for its occurrence by a phrase structure rule that expands an AUX node or a transformation that inserts it into the string. Chaiyaratana introduced thùuk by an optional transformation. In Waro- tamasikkhadit's grammar thùuk is introduced by a phrase structure rule, but not as an expansion of AUX. According to him, thùuk is a main verb which has a special property of triggering the passive transformation.

In case grammar, it is possible to have a rule stating that a non-normal choice of subject has to be registered in the **V** as Fillmore (1968a: 37) proposes for the English passive. This rule will move O or E over the verb and provide a condition for the insertion of thùuk; it will not give us the correct surface structure, for A is still left behind. In Thai, the Agentive has to occur before the verb; we therefore need another rule to place A between thùuk and the verb. This set of rules will handle sentences like (1c) dææŋ thùuk sùdaa chəən and (2c) dææŋ thùuk sùdaa chom. Deletion of thùuk will yield (1b) dææŋ sùdaa chəən and (2b) dææŋ sùdaa chom. Since sentences with thùuk and those that are supposed to have thùuk deleted are not synonymous, this solution is not satisfactory. Moreover, it cannot handle sentences like (5) and (6). If we assume that (6) sùdaa thùuk phɔ̂ɔ pə̀ət còt-mǎay comes from the same proposition as phɔ̂ɔ pə̀ət còt-mǎay sùdaa, the rules needed to derive (6) will be different from those that give (1c) and (2c). The structure underlying (6') could be roughly represented as follows:[1]

(10)

```
                        S
                   ┌────┴────┐
                   M         P
                        ┌─────┴──────────────────┐
                        V         O                A
                        │    ┌────┴────┐      ┌────┴────┐
                        │    K        NP      K        NP
                        │              ┌──┴──┐
                        │              N     N
                        │              │     │
                      pəət  K_O   cot-maay  sudaa   K_A     phɔ̂ɔ
                      open  letter          Suda            father
```
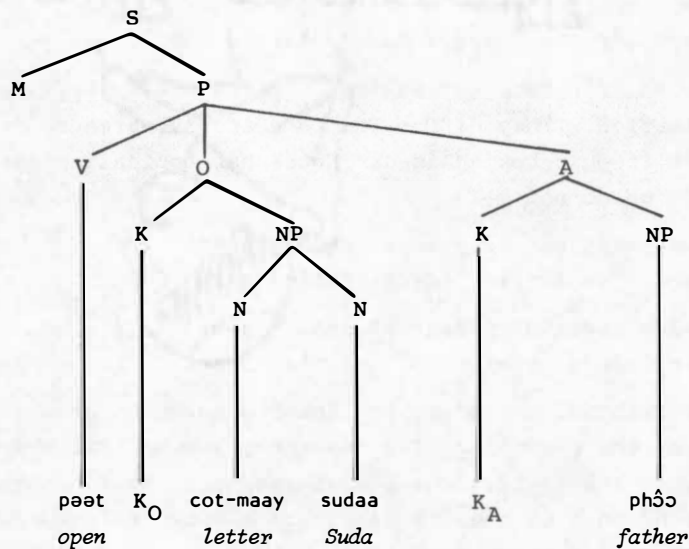
The subjectivalisation rule could move A over giving phɔ̂ɔ pə̀ət còt-mǎay sùdaa or O, a non-normal choice of subject, and the surface string would be còt-mǎay sùdaa thùuk phɔ̂ɔ pə̀ət. To get sùdaa thùuk phɔ̂ɔ pə̀ət còt-mǎay we have to move not O but an element inside an NP dominated by it.

---

[1]sùdaa in (6') probably comes from an S with sùdaa occurring in the Agentive or the Dative, for còt-mǎay sùdaa can mean a letter that Suda wrote or a letter that someone wrote to Suda. Since sùdaa can come from two different sources, (6') is ambiguous.

If we make the subjectivalisation rule move a part of an NP over to the
front, we may be able to get (6) but at the same time it will give un-
grammatical sentences like

(11) a. *thîi dææŋ   khǐan thɨŋ sùdaa thùuk phɔ̂ɔ   pə̀ət còt-mǎay
          that Dang   write to   Suda   father open letter

      b. *thîi sùdaa khǐan thùuk phɔ̂ɔ   pə̀ət
          that Suda   write   father open

It seems that we have problems in accounting for (5) and (6) because
we assume that thùuk gets into the string by a rule or a set of rules.
Since we can derive surface structures AVO and OAV through the applica-
tion of subjectivalisation and topicalisation rules, there is no need
to consider deriving OAV from the thùuk construction.

We have seen that the analysis of thùuk as proposed by grammarians
working in the traditional and transformational framework cannot ade-
quately account for the occurrences and non-occurrences of thùuk in
(1) - (8). It is also evident that the introduction of thùuk by a rule
similar to the one used by Fillmore to account for the English passive
does not solve all the problems either. The theory of case relation-
ship, however, makes it possible to analyse the thùuk construction dif-
ferently. In this new analysis thùuk will be treated as a verb. It
can be described as a verb that takes an Experiencer and an Objective
which expands as an S. (6) can be represented as follows:

(12)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
S_O \\
\diagup \quad \diagdown \\
M \qquad\qquad P \\
\qquad\quad \diagup \;|\; \diagdown \\
\quad V \quad O \qquad\qquad E \\
\quad | \quad \diagup\diagdown \qquad \diagup\diagdown \\
\text{thùuk} \; K \;\; NP \qquad K \quad NP \\
\qquad | \quad | \qquad\quad | \quad | \\
\qquad K_O \;\; S_1 \qquad K_E \;\; \text{sùdaa} \\
\qquad\quad \diagup\diagdown \\
\qquad\quad M \quad P \\
\qquad\qquad \diagup | \diagdown \\
\qquad\quad V \quad O \quad A \\
\qquad\quad | \quad \diagup\diagdown \;\diagup\diagdown \\
\qquad \text{pə̀ət} \; K \; NP \; K \; NP \\
\qquad\quad open \;\; | \;\; | \;\; | \;\; | \\
\qquad\qquad K_O \; \text{còt-mǎay} \; K_A \; \text{phɔ̂ɔ} \\
\qquad\qquad\qquad\quad letter \qquad father
\end{array}
$$
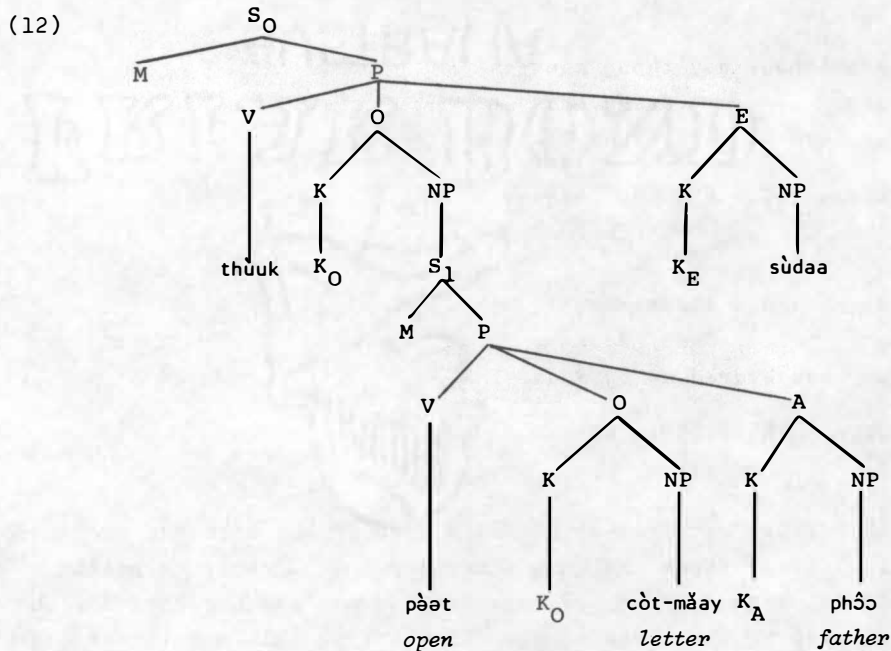
Subjectivalisation of **E** in the top **S** and **A** in the lower **S** will give

(13)
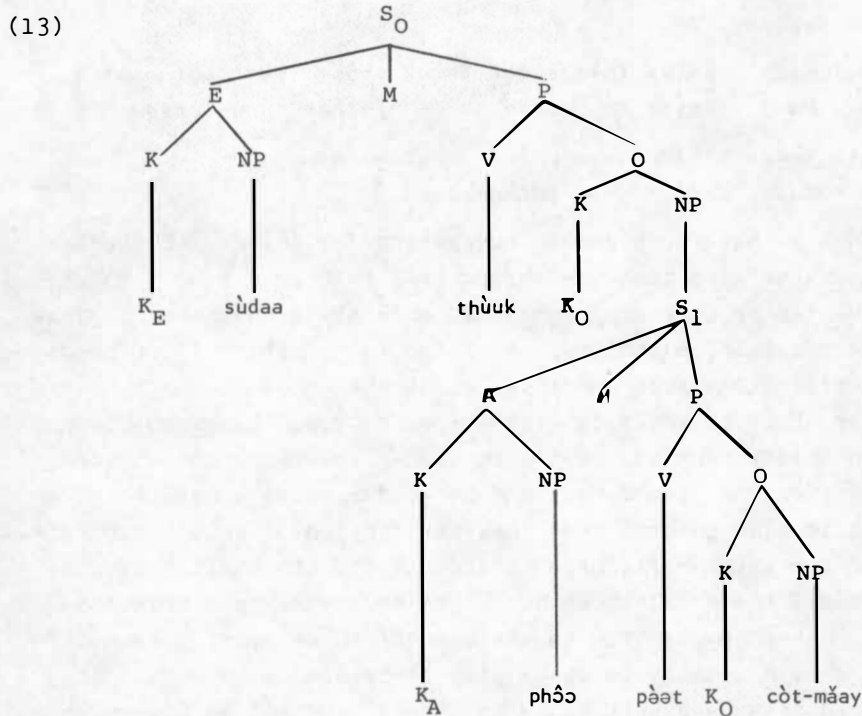
With thùuk as a verb we can account for the occurrence and non-occurrence of the following:

(14) a. sùdaa thùuk hây thôɔŋ nǎŋsɨ̌ɨ
          Suda   study book
          Suda was made to study the book.

      b. *sùdaa thùuk hây rúu nǎŋsɨ̌ɨ
          Suda   know book

(15) a. dæ̀æŋ   thùuk sùdaa mɔɔŋ
          Dang   Suda look
          Dang was stared at by Suda.

      b. *dæ̀æŋ   thùuk sùdaa hěn
          Dang   Suda see

by stating that thùuk requires an activity verb in the embedded sentence.
     As a lexical item, thùuk can have a meaning and there is no reason
why it should not mean *'suffer, or experience something unpleasant'*, the
meaning attributed to the thùuk construction. With this meaning we can

see why (lb) dææŋ sùdaa chəən is not quite the same as (lc) dææŋ
thùuk sùdaa chəən. Another advantage in having thùuk as a verb with
its own meaning is that we can account for the feeling that the follow-
ing are not Thai sentences but translations of the English passive:

(16) nǎŋsɨ̌ɨ thùuk sùdaa hây dææŋ
      book   Suda give Dang
      The book was given to Dang by Suda.

(17) nǎŋsɨ̌ɨ thùuk sùdaa plææ
      book   Suda translate
      The book was translated by Suda.

Moreover, with this analysis we do not have to have a special condition
on the subjectivalisation rule and we do not need the notion "non-normal
choice of subject".

INITIAL CONSONANT CLUSTER REDUCTION
AS A FUNCTION OF AGE GROUP
IN BANGKOK THAI SPEAKERS

LESLIE M. BEEBE

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is two-fold. First it is an attempt to
describe some speech characteristics of two different age groups of
native Bangkok-Thonburi residents. Secondly, it is an attempt to
speculate on the significance of these synchronic data for the study of
sound change.

In recent years there has been increasing interest in the search for
socially conditioned variations in language. Age or age group of the
speaker has received particular attention. This is because people of
different age groups have speech habits formed at different points in
time. Although the speech of an individual changes with the passage of
time, the static influence of early speech habits seems to dominate
over the tendency for gradual change. Thus, older people retain some
features of speech from their childhood that younger generations may
not have developed at all.

The linguistic variables under study in this paper are the eleven
initial consonant clusters of Bangkok Thai. Each cluster consists of a
stop plus a liquid or a semi-vowel. For the sake of clarity, the
clusters may be divided into three groups: (1) clusters of stop plus R;
(2) clusters of stop plus L; (3) clusters of stop plus W. Each of
these three groups has some clusters with aspirated and some with un-
aspirated initial stops, but no group has a full range in place of
articulation for the initial stop. There are never any palatal stops
in modern Bangkok initial consonant clusters. The native R clusters

11

may have bilabial, alveolar, and velar stops as first members: PR, TR,
KR, PHR, KHR. The L clusters have only four possibilities: PL, KL,
PHL, and KHL. The alveolar series is missing. The W clusters are even
more restricted. Only velar stops may occur with W, leaving just KW
and KHW.

The variables listed here correspond to consonant cluster initials
which are found in Thai writing. They are the same eleven consonant
clusters which are traditionally posited in descriptions of Standard
Thai. In this paper "Standard Thai" is used to mean no more than a
"standard", a set of sounds believed to be "correct" by the people of
Thailand. It is not to be equated with the actual speech of any spe-
cific group. Capital letters are used to indicate distinctions which
are required by Standard Thai and still represented in written Thai.
These are distinct from small letters, which are used here to indicate
the actual phonetic values of the sounds as used by the informants of
this study. In the course of this paper, the term "full retained
variants" is used to refer to variants which are pronounced as clusters
with the written R retained as flapped ř, the written L retained as the
lateral, l, and the written W retained as the semi-vowel, w. "Reduced
variants" is used to refer to situations where an initial written
cluster, believed to be correctly pronounced as a cluster, is realised
phonetically as a single initial.

The 151 informants for this study range in age from 18 to 60 years
old. They were selected from a list of the native Bangkok-Thonburi
employees of three large institutions: a university medical school, a
hotel, and an oil company. The selection was made by random sampling
stratifying for five levels of occupational prestige and two age groups.
The occupational levels included professionals, managers, semi-profes-
sionals and clerical workers, semi-skilled labourers, and unskilled
labourers. The two age groups included informants between ages 18 and
35 years old on the one hand and informants between ages 36 and 60 years
old on the other. Since all informants were of working age, no ex-
tremely old informants could be obtained, and the very young were also
automatically eliminated. However, an age range of forty-two years was
found in the sample population, and the 151 interviewees were fairly
evenly distributed throughout the different socio-economic classes. The
data presented are based on tabulations of sounds made from taped inter-
views of one to three hours with each informant.

The remainder of this paper is in two parts. First, the results of
the linguistic survey are presented in graph form in terms of percentages
of occurrence. Secondly, the significance of these data for the study
of sound change is discussed.

II. RESULTS

R CLUSTERS: FULL RETAINED VARIANTS

There was a positive correlation in all R clusters between age and full cluster retention. That is, the higher age group always had a higher percentage of full R clusters than the lower age group had. Figures 1 to 5 demonstrate this fact.

On the average the older group had 8% more full retained R clusters than the younger group. However, TR showed twice as high a difference between the age groups as the average R cluster. There were 16% more tr variants for TR pronounced by older speakers than by younger ones.

Both age groups retained full clusters for TR more frequently than for any other R cluster. A possible explanation for why TR has exceptionally high full cluster retention is that it is the product of people's conscious efforts at spelling pronunciation. There is some evidence that TR underwent a sound change in recent history to kr and then subsequently changed back again to the tr prevalent today due to people's concern with "correctness" in language. This evidence may be used to construct an argument which explains the high rate of full cluster retention for TR.

The first step in the argument begins with the Ramkhamhaeng Inscription of A.D. 1292 (Coedès 1962:133). This documents the earliest Thai writing system which was developed during the Sukhothai Period. The writing system was based on the Cambodian alphabet of the time which in turn was derived from Sanskrit (Coedès and Burnay 1927:88&90). This system had a ศร cluster which corresponds to modern TR. It is impossible to document the phonetic value associated with the letter ศ. However, William J. Gedney, the dedicatee of the Festschrift to which this paper is contributed, has informed me that ศ is believed to have been the letter that the Cambodians used for their t sound c. 1292. Thus we can infer that the Thais adopted this letter for a t sound in their own language.

The argument continues (for which I am indebted to Dr Gedney) with a second point based on evidence in literary sources. These sources indicate that there was a widely accepted kř variant which developed after the Sukhothai Period. In the works of Rama I and Rama II, the first two reigns of the Bangkok Period, 1782-1825, there is an expression, pen ʔèek nay sàwèekkràchàt 'to be first under the white umbrella' (i.e. to be the King). Although modern editions write sàwèettràchàt, we know that this was pronounced as a kř (or a k) variant because of the internal rhyme in the expression (Rama II 1921:9).

The Pallegoix dictionary of 1854 provides evidence for the third
point in the argument. It shows that the T in the TR cluster was pro-
nounced as a k during the first half of the 19th century. Pallegoix
(1854:349,351,355,362,364) lists kron as a variant of tron *to be
straight*, kraa as a variant of traa *seal*, kray as a variant of tray
three, as well as other examples of TR words alternatively pronounced
with kr. Also, the Royal Institute Dictionary (1950:80) lists kràap as
an Ayuthaya Period (1350-1767) variant of tràap, an elegant word meaning
until in a few expressions.

From the preceding evidence we infer that between the Sukhothai
Period and the reign of Rama IV in the 1850s, a kř variant for TR had
become prevalent. The fourth step in the argument is that King Mongkut
(Rama IV) seems to have been the first man on record to voice concern
about "correctness" in the Thai language. This concern may have been
due to increased Western influence in Thailand during the 19th century.
Whatever the reason, King Mongkut (Rama IV 1923:16) began issuing
edicts on proper usage at that time.

To conclude the argument, we find that today in Bangkok teachers
urge their students to pronounce TR as tř. tř is now the only accept-
able standard pronunciation. The change in acceptability of the kř
variant for TR combined with efforts by authorities to enforce "correct"
usage leads us to infer that a spelling pronunciation regained promi-
nence due to people's conscious efforts. This is posited as a possible
explanation why TR shows an exceptionally high rate of full cluster re-
tention compared to other R clusters.

TR distinguished itself from other R clusters in another way. It
had the sharpest stratification between age groups of all the R clusters
on the rate of full cluster retention. Not only were the retention
rates for each age group higher than the rates on other R clusters, but
the difference between the rates of the two age groups was greater than
for other R clusters. The latter suggests that age is a more powerful
conditioning factor on TR than on other clusters.

R CLUSTERS: REDUCED VARIANTS[1]

The data show that there was a negative correlation between age group
and cluster simplification. That is, the older age group had a consis-
tently lower percentage of simplified clusters than the younger group.
Figures 6 to 10 illustrate this phenomenon.

---

[1]It should be noted that the sections on full retained and reduced variants are not
redundant since other variants for each cluster, not discussed in this paper, do
exist.

PERCENTAGE OF FULL CLUSTER RETENTION IN ʀ CLUSTERS
ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP
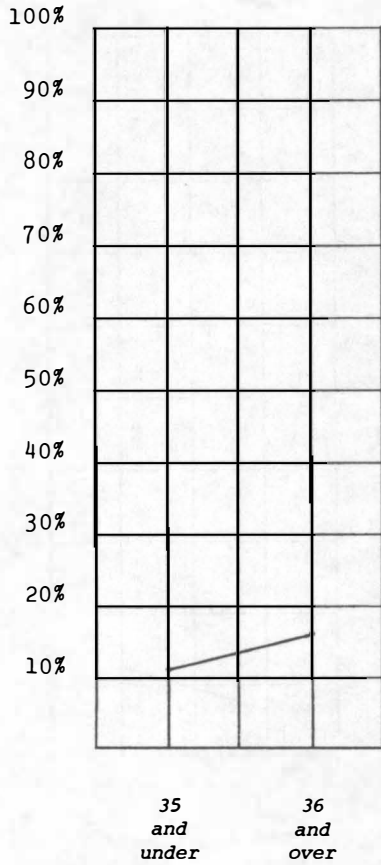
Fig. 1 — př for PR
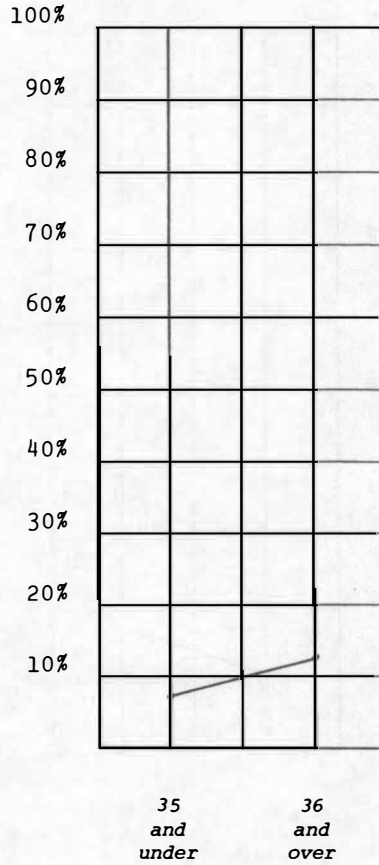
Fig. 2 — kř for KR
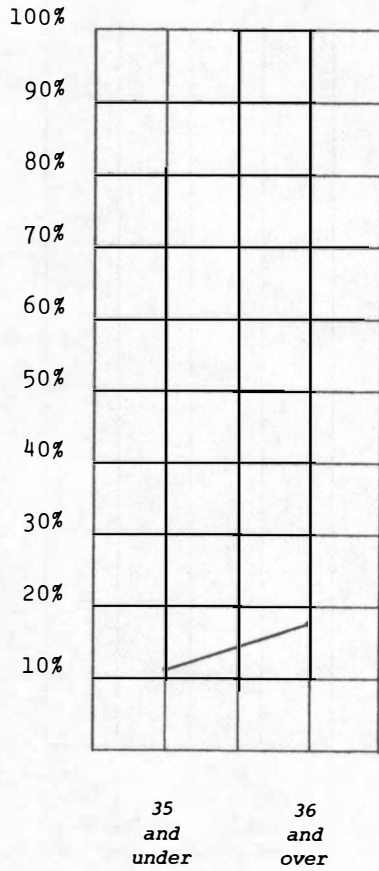
Fig. 3 — phř for PHR
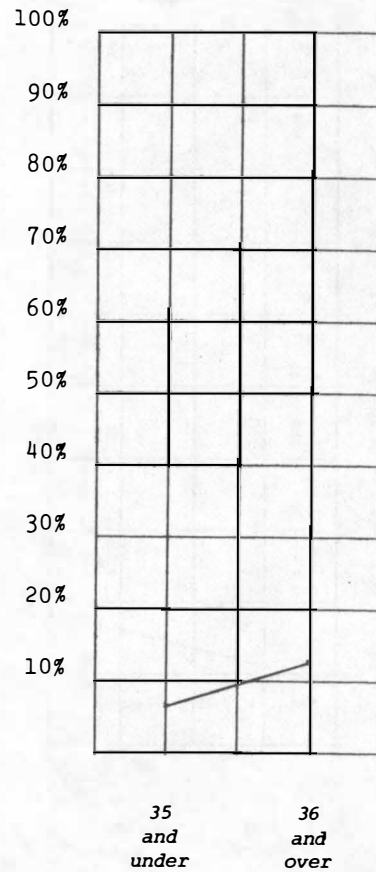
Fig. 4 — khř for KHR
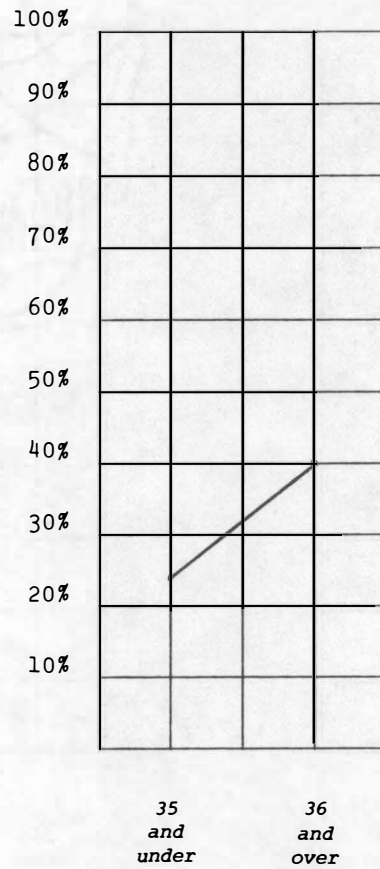
Fig. 5 — tř for TR

L.M. BEEBE

PERCENTAGE OF CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION IN ʀ CLUSTERS
ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP
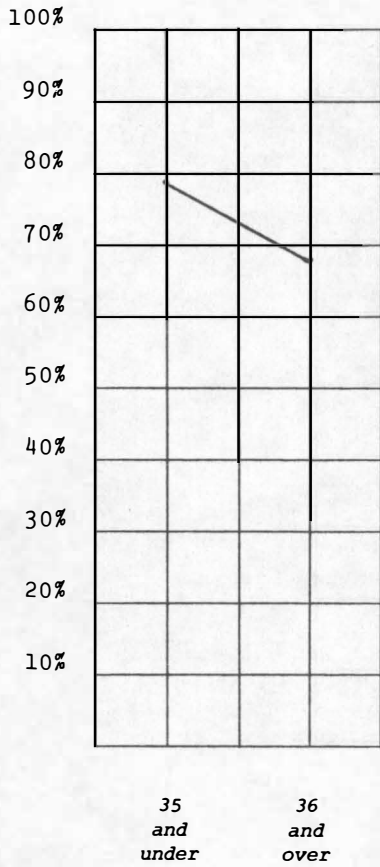
Fig. 6 — ρ for PR
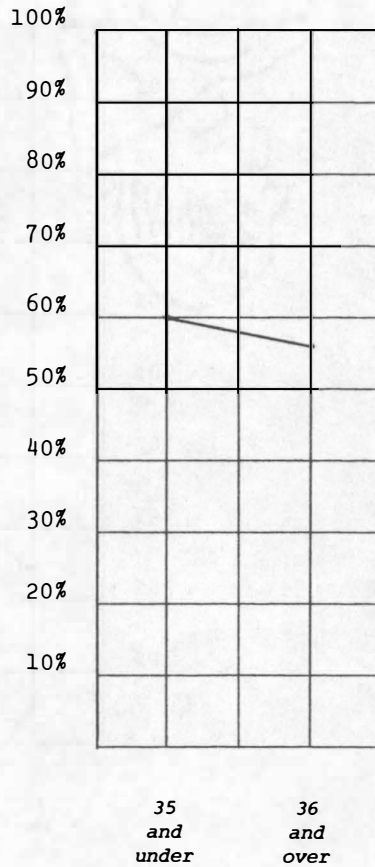
Fig. 7 — k for KR
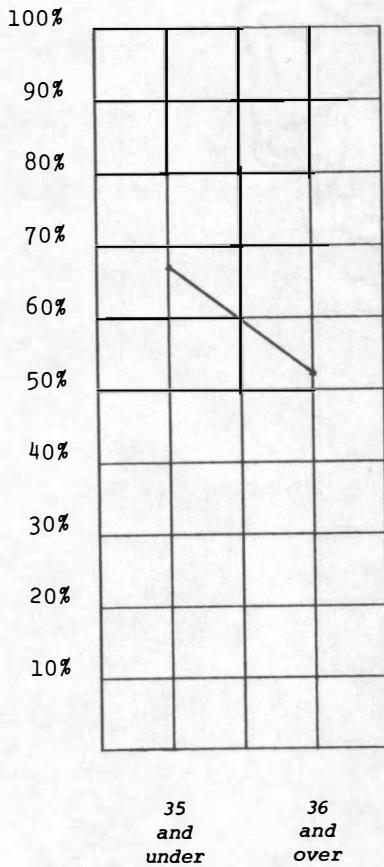
Fig. 8 — ph for PHR
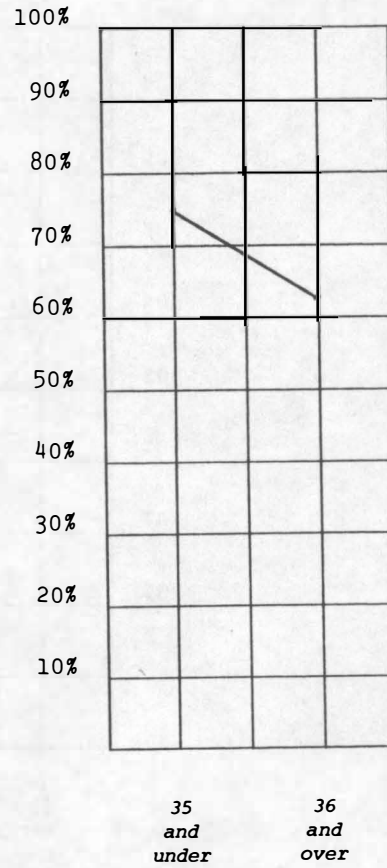
Fig. 9 — kh for KHR
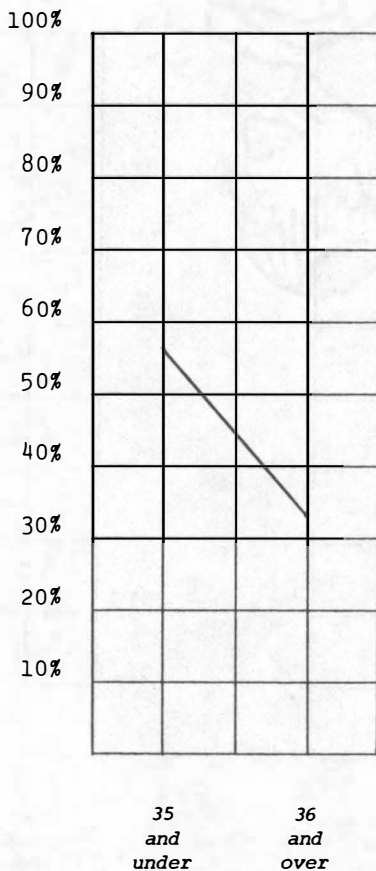
Fig. 10 — t for TR

There is an average difference of 13% between the older and younger groups on R cluster simplification. Looking at the individual cases making up the average, we find on the lower extreme that KR is simplified 4% more often by the younger group than by the older group. On the upper extreme, the TR cluster shows the most striking stratification between age groups of all the R clusters. The younger group has a 23% higher rate of cluster simplification than the older group. TR has the sharpest differentiation between age groups of any R cluster on both reduced variants and on full retained variants. In other words TR is the R cluster most strongly conditioned by age.

L CLUSTERS: FULL RETAINED VARIANTS

It was hypothesised that the older age group would pronounce full retained L clusters a greater percentage of the time than the younger age group. The survey showed that there was in fact a strong positive correlation between the two variables. Figures 11 to 14 summarise the findings.

The older group always had a higher rate of L clusters with full l variants than the younger group. Although this positive correlation was always present, KHL showed only a 4% difference between age groups. However, the average difference was 15%, and PHL had as high as 23% greater cluster retention for the older speakers.

L CLUSTERS: REDUCED VARIANTS

It was hypothesised that since cluster simplification is a sound change in progress in the Bangkok-Thonburi area, there would be a higher rate of cluster simplification in L clusters in the younger age group than in the older age group. The hypothesis was supported. The data showed that there was in fact the expected negative correlation between age group and cluster simplification. Figures 15 to 18 present the evidence.

For every L cluster there is a higher rate of cluster reduction in the lower age group. The average difference in rates between the two age groups is 15% although KHL has only a 3% difference.

L.M. BEEBE

PERCENTAGE OF FULL CLUSTER RETENTION IN L CLUSTERS
ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP
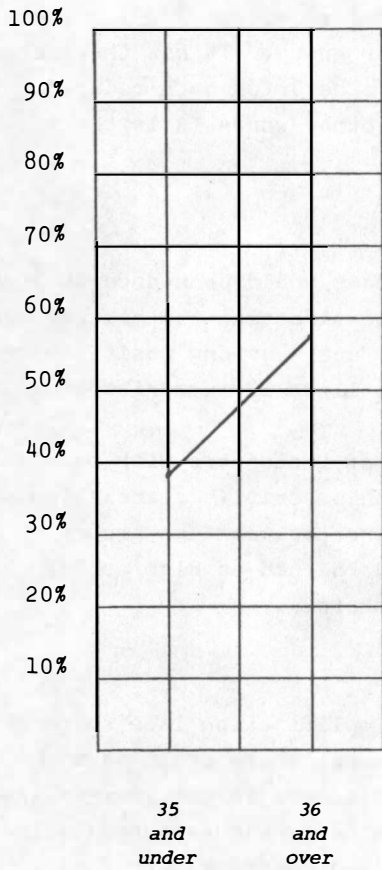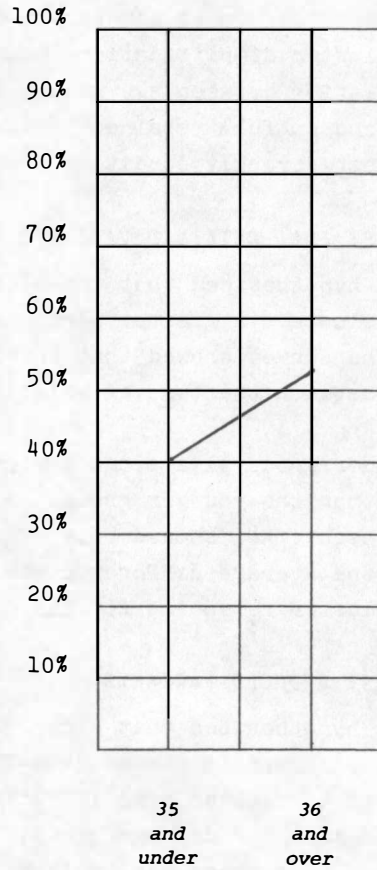
Fig. 11 — pl for PL   Fig. 12 — kl for KL
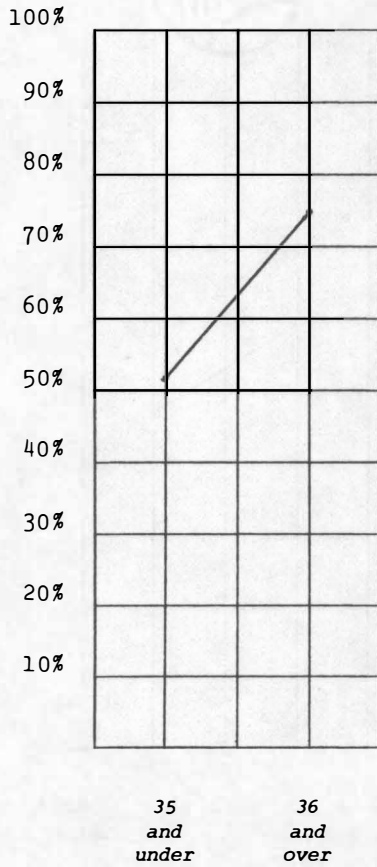
Fig. 13 — phl for PHL
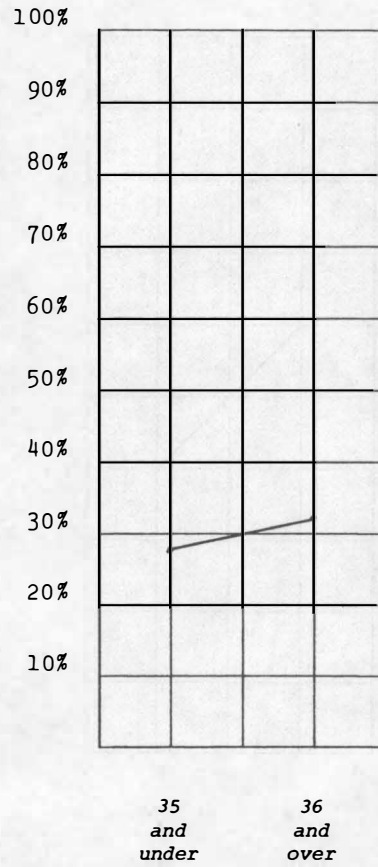
Fig. 14 — khl for KHL

PERCENTAGE OF CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION IN L CLUSTERS
ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP

	35 and under	36 and over
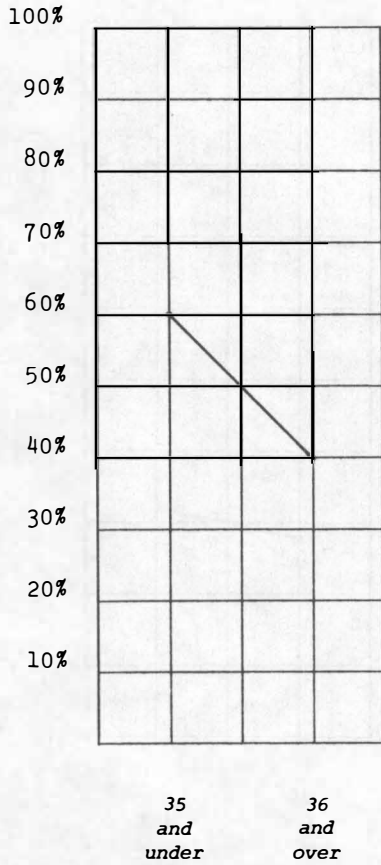
Fig. 15 — p for PL
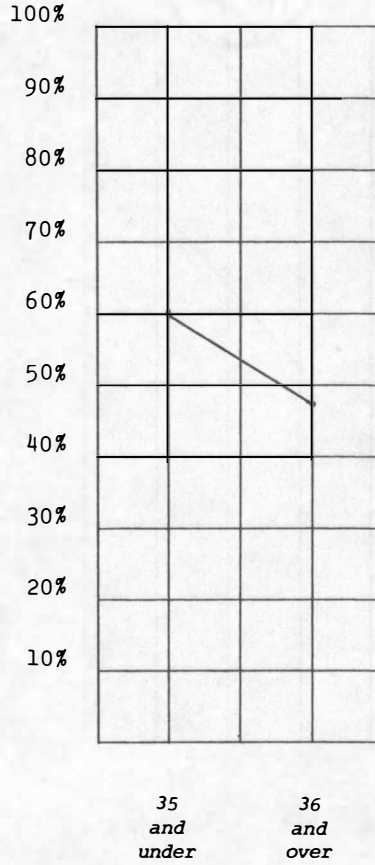
Fig. 16 — k for KL
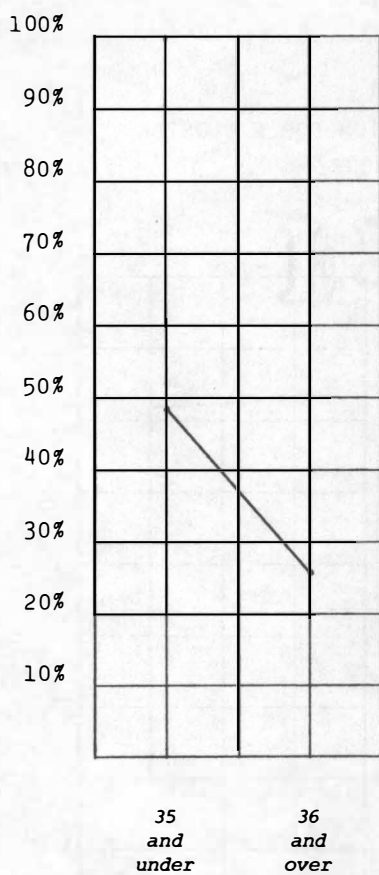
Fig. 17 — ph for PHL
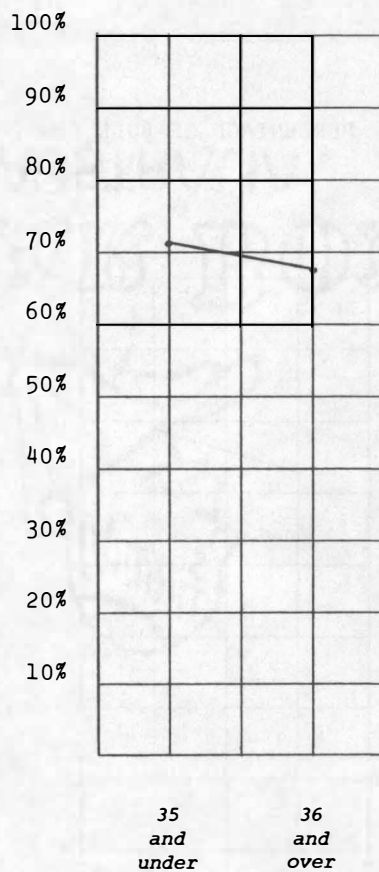
Fig. 18 — kh for KHL

W CLUSTERS: FULL RETAINED VARIANTS

It was hypothesised that age group would have a positive correlation
with full cluster retention in W clusters. That is, the older age
group was expected to have a higher rate of full W cluster retention
than the younger age group. Surprisingly, this was true for only one
of the two W clusters. Figures 19 and 20 show the results of the survey.

PERCENTAGE OF FULL CLUSTER RETENTION FOR W CLUSTERS
ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP
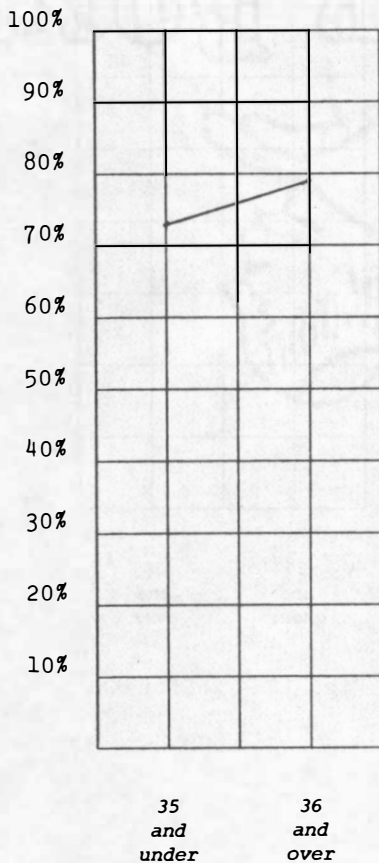
Fig. 19 — khw for KHW
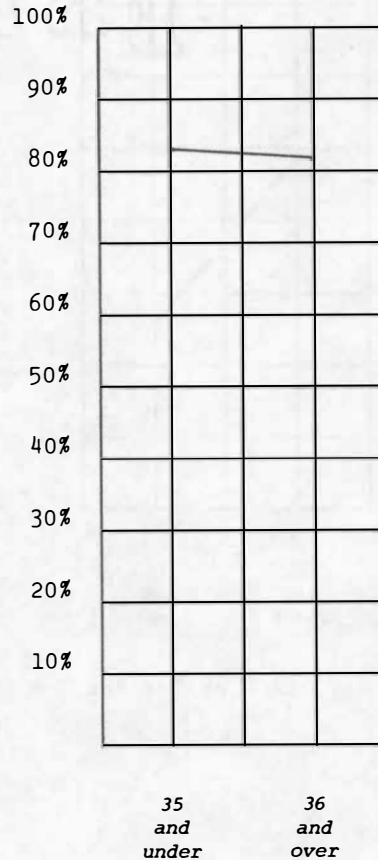
Fig. 20 — kw for KW

KW did not have the expected positive correlation between age group and full cluster retention. In fact, it was the only one of all the Thai clusters that failed to show this correlation (the difference between age groups was exceptionally small - only 1%). The KHW cluster had a 6% difference between age groups; the R clusters had an average difference of 8%, and the L clusters had an average difference of 15%. Thus, KW is an exception both in not having a positive correlation with age group and in differentiating less between age groups. This leads us to suspect that age is not, contrary to expectations, a significant conditioning factor on KW. Further evidence is presented in the following section of this paper to support this conclusion.

W CLUSTERS: REDUCED VARIANTS

It was predicted that there would be a negative correlation between age group and cluster simplification in W clusters. The results obtained from the survey did support the hypothesis, but the negative correlation between the two variables was not as strong as expected. Whereas in R clusters the younger group had an average rate of cluster simplification 13% higher than the older group, and in L clusters 15% higher, in W clusters the younger group had only a 3% higher rate than the older group. It was expected that the differences would be roughly comparable. Instead, the W clusters stood out as having a much lower differentiation according to age group than the clusters with liquids.

Figures 21 and 22 show the results of the survey. These graphs and the ones in the preceding section provide evidence for the conclusion that the variants of KW in particular, and KHW to a lesser extent, are not strongly conditioned by age group. This may be an insignificant bit of information, or it may be the key to evidence on a much larger and more important question.

KW and KHW showed the smallest differentiation between age groups of any of the clusters. Interestingly, they also had the highest rates of full cluster retention and the lowest rates of cluster reduction of any of the clusters. This means that they are the most stable of all of the clusters in Bangkok Thai. KW had higher cluster retention and lower cluster simplification rates than KHW, so it can be considered the most stable cluster of all.

PERCENTAGE OF CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION IN W CLUSTERS
ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP

35 and under	36 and over

Fig. 21 — f for KHW

35 and under	36 and over
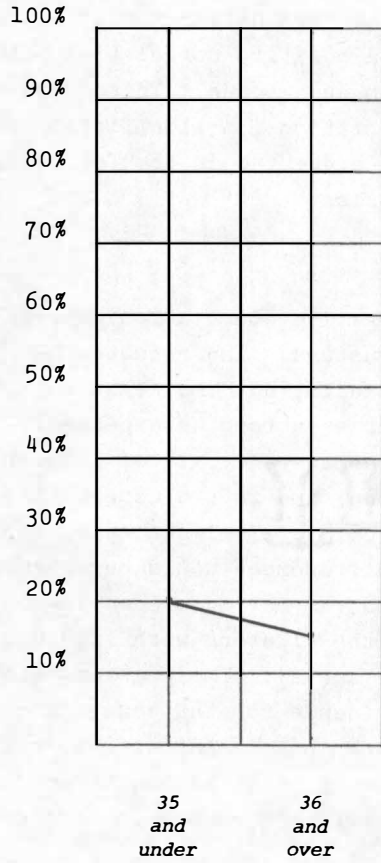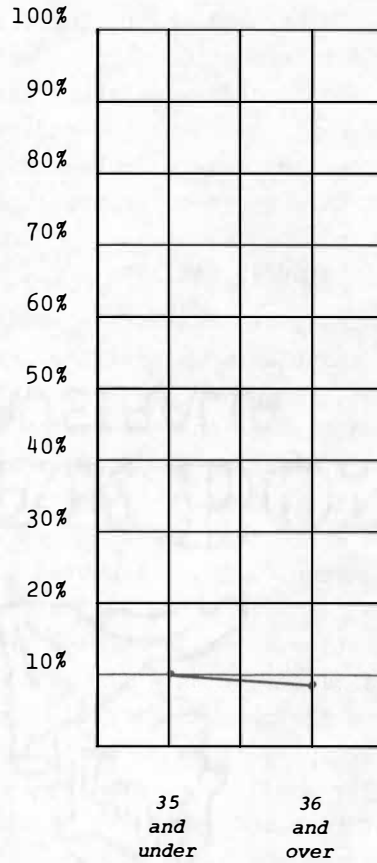
Fig. 22 — f for KW

SUMMARY: FULL CLUSTER RETENTION

In the previous sections of this paper, generalisations were based on the findings for the individual clusters. The clusters were grouped under headings for the sake of clarity and generality, but the rates of occurrence were reported individually. In this summary the figures reported represent *average* rates of occurrence. That is, the rates for the five individual R clusters were averaged. Similarly an average score was calculated for the four L clusters and the two W clusters. This yielded three average rates which are useful in the comparison of cluster types. They also eliminate the idiosyncratic effects of age group on particular clusters and allow us to see overall patterns.

Of all the R, L, and W clusters in Bangkok Thai, there was only one exception to the generalisation that a positive correlation exists between full cluster retention and age group. In this exception, KW, there was a difference between the age groups of only 1%. Thus it still seems worthwhile to look at the general trends, ignoring the exception for now.

Table 1, presenting average rates of full cluster retention, highlights the stratification among the three types of clusters. The R clusters are far less stable in both groups than the W clusters. It is apparent in Table I that the linguistic shape of the second member of the cluster is a far stronger conditioning factor on full cluster retention than the social variable, age group. Once the averages are

Table I

AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF FULL CLUSTER RETENTION IN
THREE TYPES OF CLUSTERS ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP

Cluster Type	Age Group	
	35 and under	36 and over
R	12	20
L	39	54
W	78	81

calculated, there are no exceptions to the overall generalisation that age group and full cluster retention are positively correlated.

Clusters with unaspirated stops as initials were found to be more stable than those with aspirated stops as initials when the data were

controlled for occupational class. This was generally found to be true
when controlling for age group as well. Table II demonstrates this
relationship between the clusters with aspirated and unaspirated ini-
tials.

Table II

AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF FULL CLUSTER RETENTION IN
CLUSTERS WITH ASPIRATED AND UNASPIRATED INITIALS
ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP

Cluster Type	Age Group	
	35 and under	36 and over
R		
asp. stop	9	16
unasp. stop	21	23
L		
asp. stop	40	53
unasp. stop	39	55
W		
asp. stop	73	79
unasp. stop	83	82

There is one exception to the generalisation that full cluster
retention is generally more common in clusters with unaspirated initials
than in clusters with aspirated initials. That exception occurs in the
younger group on L clusters. The difference there between the two types
of initials, however, is only 1%. This would not warrant the opposite
generalisation, nor would it suggest that the distinction elsewhere is
merely coincidence. The older group as well makes very little distinc-
tion in L clusters between the two types of initials. This leads us to
suspect that the distinction is particularly weak or perhaps even non-
existent in L clusters.

The second deviation from the expected results in Table II occurs in
the W clusters with unaspirated initial. Since there is only the KW
cluster in this group, the exception is the same one discussed previously
in the treatment of KW.

If all clusters are grouped together regardless of the aspiration of
the initial consonant and the place of articulation of the second
consonant, the average rate of full cluster retention is 9% lower in the
younger group than in the older group (see Table III). Whereas the
older group retains full cluster 43% of the time, the younger group
pronounces them only 34% of the time. In other words, neither age

group manages even half the time to pronounce the forms which they think they should say, the very forms they indeed think they *do* say. This is strong evidence that consonant clusters are declining in the speech of Bangkok Thai, regardless of what the people think they do or think they should do.

Table III

AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF FULL CLUSTER RETENTION IN
ALL CLUSTERS ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP

Age Group	Percentage
35 and under	34
36 and over	43

SUMMARY: CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION

For all three types of consonant clusters in Bangkok Thai there were no exceptions to the generalisation that a negative correlation exists between age group and cluster simplification. Table IV summarises the data on this subject. It shows the average percent of reduction for two age groups in the three types of clusters.

Table IV

AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF CONSONANT CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION IN
THREE TYPES OF CLUSTERS ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP

Cluster Type	Age Group	
	35 and under	36 and over
R	67	54
L	60	45
W	15	13

Since there were no exceptions in individual clusters to the negative correlation between age group and cluster simplification, Table IV giving average rates of reduction *ipso facto* has no exceptions to the correlation. The table is nevertheless interesting because it emphasises

some striking differences among the three cluster types. The younger
group simplifies L clusters four times as often as W clusters and R
clusters four and half times as often as W clusters. The older group
reduces L clusters about three and a half times as often as W clusters.
As in full cluster retention, the W clusters vary more in average rate
of cluster simplification between cluster types than between age groups.
Contrary to the situation with full cluster retention, this is not true
of all cluster types. The R and L clusters vary more between age groups
in the same type of cluster than between types of cluster in the same
age group. One generalisation, however, is strikingly clear in both
Table IV and Table V (below). W clusters can only be said to be very
weakly conditioned by age group.

Table V

AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION IN
CLUSTERS WITH ASPIRATED AND UNASPIRATED INITIALS
ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP

Cluster Type	Age Group	
	35 and under	36 and over
R		
asp. stop	71	58
unasp. stop	65	52
L		
asp. stop	60	47
unasp. stop	60	44
W		
asp. stop	20	16
unasp. stop	10	9

As with full cluster retention, cluster simplification was found
to be related to the presence of aspiration in the initial consonant.
In this case, however, reduction increased when aspiration was present.
Table V demonstrates that this generalisation holds true for all three
cluster types in both age groups. The one exception to the generalisa-
tion is in the older age group on L clusters. L clusters with aspirated
initials have an equal rather than a higher rate of reduction than those
with unaspirated initials. The exception is a very small deviation in
the overall pattern.
    If the rates of all clusters are averaged, the variables of cluster
type and initial aspiration are eliminated for the moment. This makes it

possible to focus on the central variable of this discussion, age group. We find, as expected (see Table VI), that age group is negatively correlated with cluster reduction. The younger speakers simplified clusters 55% of the time, whereas the older speakers simplified them only 43% of the time, making a difference of 12% between the age groups.

Table VI

AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION IN
ALL CLUSTERS ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP

Age Group	Percentage
35 and under	55
36 and over	43

III. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINDINGS FOR THE STUDY OF SOUND CHANGE

It is impossible to determine conclusively the progression of linguistic change throughout time by doing a synchronic study. To make such a determination at least two different points in time must be studied. However, studying the speech of successive living generations is a useful tool enabling us to *infer* the progression of linguistic change. It helps to suggest which of the variants found in the synchronic data are the older ones and which are the newer ones. In the data presented in this paper, studying the speech of the two age groups leads us to hypothesise that the reduced variants have been introduced into Bangkok Thai where the full retained variants were formerly used. Thus, it is the reduced variants which are to be considered the newer forms.

There are several bits of evidence which support the hypothesis that the full retained variants are the earlier pronunciations for the initial clusters and that the reduced variants are the innovations. The study of age group in particular, however, lends support to this contention. The age group of thirty-five years and under simplified clusters 55% of the time, whereas the group thirty-six years and over simplified clusters only 43% of the time. This suggests that we are right in claiming full retained clusters to be older forms rather than reduced variants. It also lends support to the view we propose here that consonant cluster simplification is a rule which is gaining prominence. We cannot be sure that new generations will continue to apply the rule increasingly frequently even though the younger generations today have a

higher rate of rule application than the older generations. However, we hypothesise that the cluster simplification rule is operating more often since there is no evidence which suggests a trend in any other direction.

There is further evidence to suggest that the reduced variants are the innovations in Thai and that the full retained variants are the older ones. This evidence comes from general linguistic theory. The theory of naturalness claims that consonant cluster simplification is a natural process in language. Consonant cluster complication is not considered to be natural. Thus, this theory suggests that it would be a more natural change if R, L, and W clusters were pronounced as full retained variants at an earlier stage in Thai history and had been variably changed more recently to reduced variants than if the reverse were true.

The theory of internal reconstruction also supports the contention that reduced variants are the new forms and that full retained variants are the older forms. It assumes that if new variants are introduced into a language, there must be a conditioning factor. If we hypothesise that reduced variants are the newer forms, we can cite natural phenomena such as lack of stress and a variable rule allowing only a single consonant in the environment #__V as conditioning factors. However, if we hypothesise that full retained variants are the newer forms, there are no natural processes which we can posit as conditioning factors for this innovation.

Further evidence supporting the conclusions implied by the findings in this paper comes from the Thai writing system. Since the earliest Thai orthography, developed in the Sukhothai Period, wrote consonant clusters distinct from single initial stops, it is highly likely that there was some distinction between the two at that time. For most of these clusters there is evidence from other related languages of the Tai family that they are historically genuine. That is, there is no reason to suspect that the majority were introduced only as a result of borrowing. Thus, we suppose that during the Sukhothai Period, the written clusters were either pronounced as actual clusters or as phonetically complex sounds distinct from the sounds written as single initials. Thus the Thai orthography, dating from the 13th century A.D., gives us some evidence that full cluster retentions or something like them were the pronunciations used for the written clusters during the Sukhothai Period and that the reduced variants for these clusters were introduced later.

In sum, the bits of evidence from the writing system, the theory of naturalness, and the theory of internal reconstruction concur with the

evidence from the speech of different generations. These factors lend support to the contention that the reduced variants (single consonant initials) in modern Bangkok Thai are more recently introduced variants than the full, retained consonant clusters. More significantly, however, the credibility of the study of different age groups as a means of de-termining sound change is enhanced. Furthermore, our confidence in the reliability of age group data is heightened. Finally, we have been able to make important hypotheses not only about the presence of sound change, as opposed to inherent variability, but also about the direction of sound change.

TWO TYPES OF SEMANTIC CONTRAST
BETWEEN THAI AND LAO

THOMAS W. GETHING

The close genetic relationship between Thai and Lao and, indeed, among the various languages in the Tai family, is well known and equally well documented (Li 1960:951). However, since comparative studies to date have been largely restricted to phonology and lexicon, it seems appropriate to begin to consider other aspects of these languages. The results of such comparisons may prove useful in evaluating the extent to which semantic structure, for example, may be relevant in comparative analysis in the Tai family and may also enhance our understanding of the modern vernaculars.

Even a casual comparison of surface phrase structures of Lao and Thai reveals a remarkable degree of similarity. This similarity can be seen despite differences between particular lexical items which may perform the same syntactic and semantic function in the two languages. The following pairs of sentences are illustrative:

(1) L /wánphūt ʔaacaan hây nākhían ʔathibaay lɨaŋ kaanpókkhóɔŋ/

(2) T /wanphút ʔaacaan hây nákrian ʔathíbaay rɨaŋ kaanpòkkhrɔɔŋ/
    'Wednesday the professor had the student explain (about) government.'

(3) L /thahǎan ñáŋ bɔ̄ɔ dày pay hóoŋsinèe máa/

(4) T /thahǎan yaŋ mây dây pay rooŋnǎŋ maa/
    'The soldier hasn't come back from the movie theater yet.'

(5) L /náay khúu māk ñāaŋ máa hóoŋhían thūk mɨ̀i/

(6) T /khun khruu chɔ̂ɔp dəən maa rooŋrian thúk wan/
    'The teacher likes to walk to school every day.'

(7) L /khɔ̂y hē̄t kaan nám ʔàay láaw/
(8) T /phǒm thamŋaan kàp phîichaay khǎw/
       'I work with her/his older brother.'

These examples are interesting also because they show a progression
from complete identity of lexicon, item by item, to a total dissimilar-
ity of lexicon, item by item (the tonal, consonantal, and vocalic cor-
respondences between the cognate forms being regular throughout). The
explanation of any one of these dissimilarities would be a useful exer-
cise, since a variety of processes is involved. For example, sentence 3
has an apparent case of borrowing (/sinèe/ from French ciné), while /mā̄k/
in sentence 5 may be related by semantic shift to Thai /mák cà/ 'likely
to' (cf. the relic form preserved in the idiomatic /mák mâak/ 'to be
very greedy'). The discussion below is devoted to an inspection of two
aspects of the semantic structure of Thai and Lao.[1]

Two types of contrast between Thai and Lao are exemplified in the
following sentences:

(9) L /khám ʔùy mē̄ɛn khón (thī̄i mā̄k mâkmūaŋ)/
       'Khamoui is the person (who likes mangoes).'

(10) L /pinkhám pen náay khúu/
       'Pinkham is a teacher.'

(11) T /praanii khɨ̀ɨ khon (thîi chɔ̂ɔp mámǔaŋ)/
       'Prance is the person (who likes mangoes).'

(12) T /wílay pen khruu/
       'Wilai is a teacher.'

(13) L /sɔ̌ɔdam yū̄u nîi/
(14) T /dinsɔ̌ɔ yùu thîi nîi/
       'The pencil is here.'

(15) L /sɔ̌ɔdam yū̄u phîi/
       'The pencil is right here.'

(16) T /dinsɔ̌ɔ yùu thîi nôon/
       'The pencil is over there.'

Looking first at examples 9-12 we see two pairs of structures which are identical semantically and syntactically. Sentences 9 and 11 are equational sentences, while 10 and 12 fill the indefinite functions of the copula; all are **NP V NP** strings. For a more detailed discussion of the syntax of the Thai copula see Warotamasikkhadit (1969 and 1972: 14-15) and Needleman (1973:55). Turning to the semantic structure we find here a situation which contrasts with English structure. In English the syntactic structure is complex, namely **NP V Art NP**, and the single copula, *'to be'*, functions with the definite article (as in the translations for 9 and 11) or with the indefinite article (as in the translations for 10 and 12). For Thai and Lao the semantic structures are isomorphic. The diagrams below (adapted from Gething 1972) may help illustrate the point.

Diagram 1, Lao /mɛ̄ɛn/ and /pen/
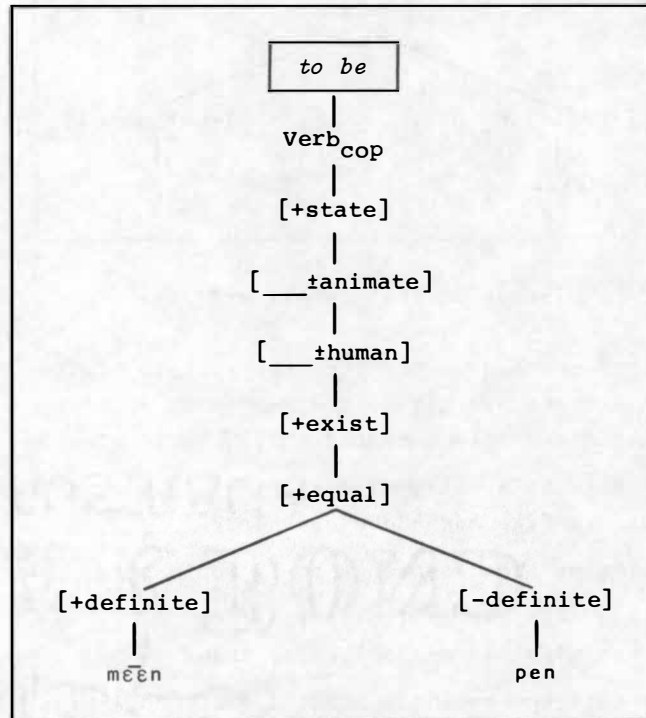
```
                        ┌──────────┐
                        │  to be   │
                        └──────────┘
                             │
                         Verb_cop
                             │
                         [+state]
                             │
                       [___±animate]
                             │
                        [___±human]
                             │
                         [+exist]
                             │
                         [+equal]
                          ╱      ╲
                      ╱              ╲
              [+definite]          [-definite]
                   │                    │
                 khɨɨ                  pen
```
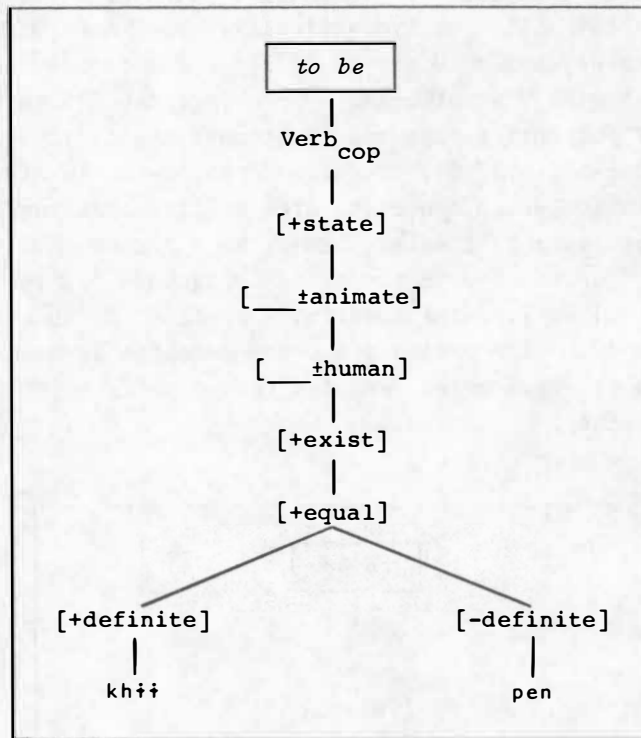
Diagram 2, Thai /khɨɨ/ and /pen/

It is important to observe that the Lao cognate of Thai /khɨɨ/ has a quite different semantic structure and serves as an example of one type of semantic contrast: simple semantic shift. Note example 17 below.[1]

(17)   /khám ʔùy khɨɨ ʔàay láaw/
       'Khamoui is like his older brother.'

The nearest equivalent Thai sentence to 17 would be:

(18)   /naay kɔɔ mɨan kàp phîichaay khǎw/ or
       /naay kɔɔ mɨan kàp pen phîichaay khǎw/

Diagram 3 represents the semantic structure of Lao /khɨɨ/ and may be compared with Diagram 2 above.

---

[1]The existence of a homophonous form /khɨɨ/ in Lao with a semantic structure virtually identical to Thai /khɨɨ/ appears to be a very late borrowing from Thai into Lao. Lao /khɨɨ/ *'to be (equational, definite)'* occurs only in platform address and is used for introductions.

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│          ┌─────────────────────┐         │
│          │  to be similar to   │         │
│          └─────────────────────┘         │
│                    │                     │
│               Verb_intr                  │
│                    │                     │
│                [+state]                  │
│                    │                     │
│             [___±animate]                │
│                    │                     │
│              [___±human]                 │
│                    │                     │
│                [+exist]                  │
│                    │                     │
│                [-equal]                  │
│                    │                     │
│                 /khɨ̀ɨ/                   │
│                                          │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
```
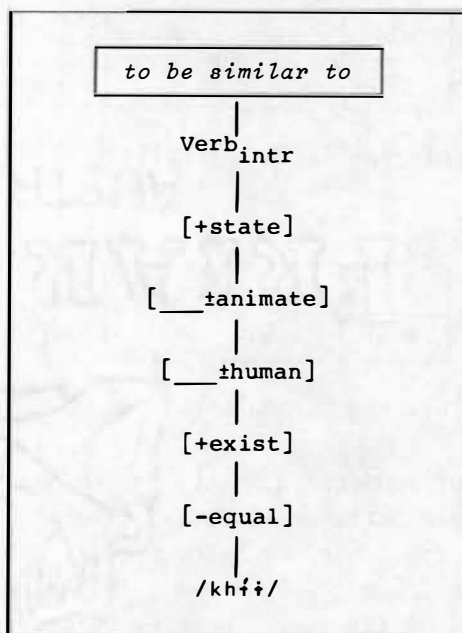
Diagram 3, Lao /khɨ̀ɨ/

In looking at the second type of semantic contrast the evidence of sentences 15 and 16 is relevant. That 15 and 16 are semantically iso-morphic can be readily seen. However, sentence 15 and sentence 16 both stand alone, that is, 15 has no close match in Thai and 16 no close match (short of circumlocution) in Lao. The following additional ex-amples are needed to complete the inventory of demonstrative adjectives (or locative nouns) in Thai and Lao:

(19) L /sɔ̌ɔdam yūu phùn/
     'The pencil is there (somewhere).'

(20) L /sɔ̌ɔdam yūu hân/
     'The pencil is right there.'

(21) T /dinsɔ̌ɔ yùu thîinân/
     'The pencil is there.'

A graphic arrangement of the locatives in the two languages may help to illuminate the contrast (see diagrams 4 and 5). Here a cautionary note is in order. A semantic distinction between /nîi/ and /thîinîi/ [proximal] plus [*'in sight'*] versus [proximal], but not necessarily within eyesight, has not been reflected in Diagram 4 to permit a more felicitous presentation of the contrast under discussion.

nîi	nân	nôon

Diagram 4, Thai Locatives

nîi	hân	
phìi	phùn	

Diagram 5, Lao Locatives

Note, for the sake of comparison, that English has only two primary locative forms; the upper left box is filled (*'here'*) and the upper middle one (*'there'*). The remaining boxes require secondary, derived forms or circumlocutions, e.g. *'over there'*, *'right here'*.

For some speakers of Thai a fourth primary locative exists, although it looks suspiciously like a derived form (by an albeit morphophonemically unique, *ad hoc* rule): /nûun/ *'way over there'*. The data presented in Diagram 6 are the most general and usual locatives for Thai.
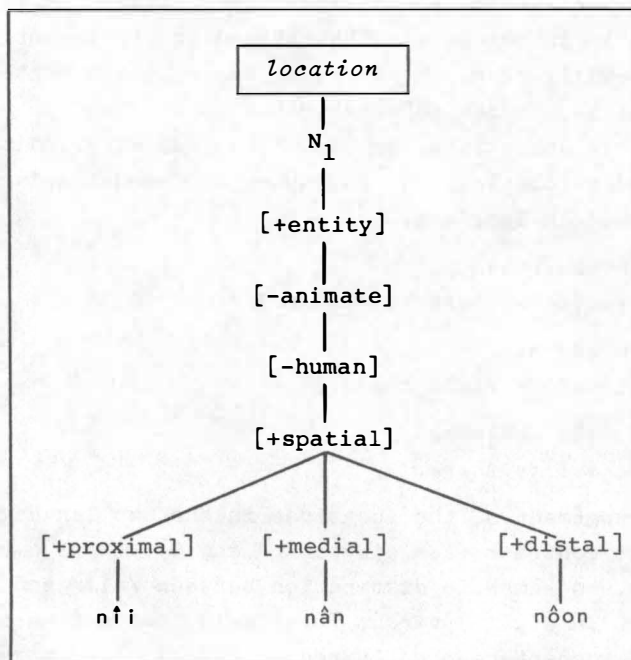
Diagram 6, Thai /nîi/, /nân/, and /nôon/

Before diagramming the Lao forms a comment on variation is necessary. The presentation here is based chiefly on the idiolect of a single native speaker. It appears from a few spot checks with other Laotians that the locative system varies somewhat from speaker to speaker. Some natives do not differentiate semantically between /nîi/ and /phîi/ nor between /hân/ and /phùn/. It is tempting to speculate that these speakers may be losing (or, better perhaps, have already lost) a contrast which was formerly quite widespread. It is possible that pressure from Thai or systemic pressure within the Tai family could account for this putative case of semantic loss in Lao.

By way of an aside it should be observed that the meanings diagrammed here are only one set of senses for these words. Thai /nîi/ and /nân/, for example, are polysememic forms and in other contexts in the language are the sole locatives, functioning in a two-way, English-style system. The complexities of an exhaustive analysis of the total semantic system have been avoided, however, in order not to obscure the basic argument about contrastive structures in the two Tai languages.
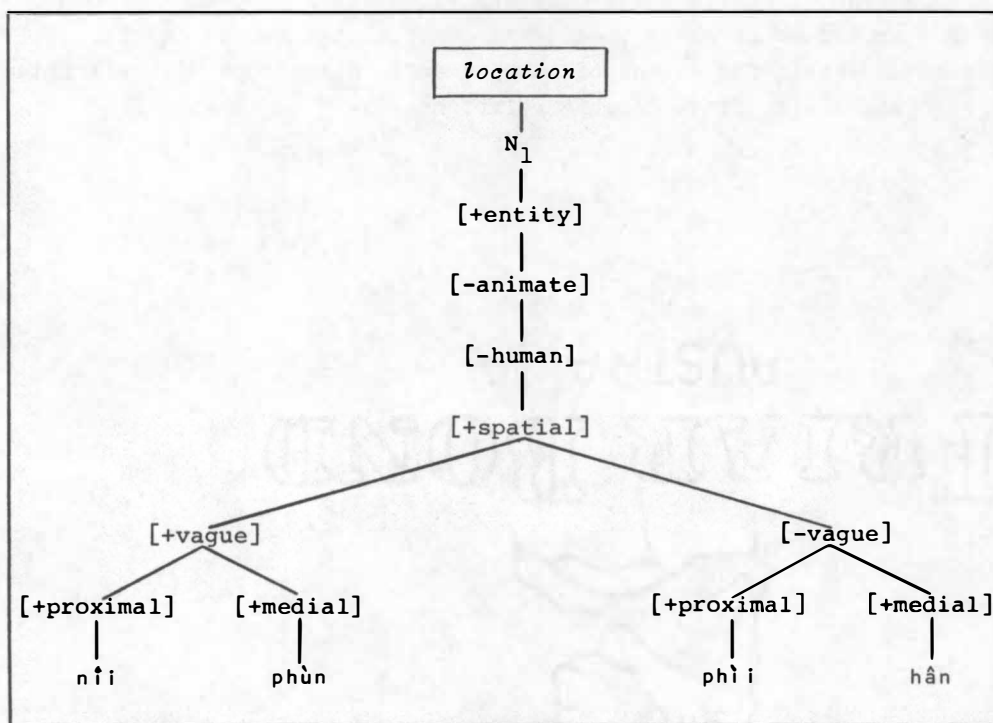
Diagram 7, Lao /nîi/, /hân/, /phîi/, and /phùn/

If we contrast Thai (diagrams 4 and 6) with Lao (diagrams 5 and 7)
we see a uni-dimentional categorisation of the semantic notion of "loca-
tion" with three defining features on the one hand and a bi-dimensional
categorisation of "location" with two defining features on the other.

It is worth observing that the Lao cognate of Thai /nîi/ does not
carry the meaning significatum of preciseness found in the Thai form
(as indicated by the feature [+**vague**]). The historical relation between
the remaining locative terms in Thai and Lao is beyond the scope of this
discussion.

To recapitulate, we have analysed examples of two kinds of semantic
contrast between Lao and Thai. The first case was one of semantic shift
in which the semantic dimensions were entirely coterminous. The second
case showed semantic dimensions which were in sharp contrast with each
other. Of the two types of contrast the former is the more usual in
Thai and Lao in terms of gross frequency of occurrence. Indeed, it is
likely that further research will show that the majority of the lexical
items in the two languages do not contrast in semantic structure at all.
The second type of contrast is, however, extremely interesting. More
attention should be given to these, and other, languages in the Tai
family to ascertain the extent of this semantic dimension "disequilibrium"
among languages with close genetic relationships.

LAM KHON SAVAN:
A TRADITIONAL FORM AND A CONTEMPORARY THEME

CAROL J. COMPTON

Lam, a traditional Lao folk art form of sung, extemporaneous poetry, is part of the social fabric of most Lao villages. At funerals and at festivals one can hear the familiar melodies of the bamboo pipes of the khene and the flowing poetry of the mohlam singers. In recent years this familiar art form has also been heard at political gatherings and over the airways, sounding the praises of one or another of the many political factions in Laos. Interspersed among descriptions of conditions in the country at the time of the particular performance which is the subject of this paper are references to Buddhist stories and teachings, as well as expressions of the feelings of the singers for the plight of their countrymen.

In earlier days one could not travel far in Laos without coming upon villagers gathered for various social events at which the songs of the mohlam blended adaptively to each occasion. Today, too, traditional themes and current issues and events may be intervowen in a performance of lam. The social context is taken into consideration wherever mohlam singers perform, and new variations of old stories and themes seem to be spun effortlessly from their lips.

Traditionally, a facility with oral poetry was developed by many Lao, though only a few would eventually become mohlam singers. At one time, Lao children were exposed to poetry from their early days, and many childhood pastimes included rhyming games. During the courting years, a young man's ability to take part in dialogue in sung poetry was highly regarded, as was the ease with which a young woman could respond with lines of kham phañaa, a short, pithy poetic answer.

Today, the ability to lam well is still admired, and each region of
Laos has its own style of lam. Of these many styles, the Khon Savan
style of the Savannakhet is presented here in a performance which took
place some years ago. The material was obtained during a recent stay
in Laos under a Fulbright-Hays Dissertation Research Grant. Thanks are
due to Phomma Cantharaacak who worked with me on the translation. How-
ever, responsibility for the final form is mine. A transcription[1] of
the verses of kɔ̄ɔn poetry is provided along with this translation.
Hopefully, this material will arouse the interest of others in the liquid
language of the Lao mohlam.

MOHLAM WOMAN

1   *Oh, how the thunder rumbles,*
     Oh, gentle one.

2   *Why doesn't it rumble near*
     The ladder where you live?

3   *Why doesn't it rumble near*
     The camp where you sleep?

4   *Beloved, it's been ten years since I've seen your face.*
     Twenty Buddhist Lents have gone by since we've managed
     To see each other once a year.

5   *Sweetheart, we've been unhappy since we fled from Phu Lang.*
     I've been afraid I would not see you
     Ever since the Vietnamese surrounded the mountain.

6   *Now, I'm going to tell a story,*
     A chronicle, telling it slowly.

7   *Dear, when we reach the age*
     Of destruction and violence,
     Then the god will come.

8   *Dear, the following story*
     Has been told since ancient times.

---

[1]This dialect of Southern Lao has six tones: low rising tone indicated by ˇ; low mid-
level tone indicated by ⁻; mid-level tone indicated by the absence of any symbol; low
level tone indicated by ˋ; mid falling tone indicated by ^; high level tone indicated
by ´. The transcription used is basically that of William J. Gedney.

*9   *To wit, instability and thoughts*
        Are always changing.[1]

10   *Beloved, listen to the tumultuous sounds everywhere*
        Which are like the old story which has been told.

11   *There is a story that will occur*
        In the future. Please wait and see.

*12   *But, oh what Buddha foretold,*
        We have already seen some.

13   *Upon hearing it, we feel sad*
        Because the story has come true.

14   *Beloved, Buddha predicted that*
        God Si An[2] *would appear on earth.*

15   *He is an extraordinary god*
        Buddha said,

*16   *Who, if the people of earth*
        Lead each other into sin,

17   *Honoured women, when the religion reaches the half-way*
        Point, people will group together and die
        Chaotically, miserably and the ground will become hot.

18   *Dear, in every town in the South*
        We will see fires burning.

19   *There will be trouble in the world*
        When the religion is at its mid-point.[3]

20   *Honoured aunts, groups of people who have sinned will raid*
        the towns and destroy them completely.

21   *Only the ones who have merit will remain.*
        Afterwards,

---

[1]Lines which were particularly troublesome or which were unclear or ambiguous are marked with an asterisk.

[2]In Buddhism, "the last great prophet, who will appear 5000 years after Buddha, and who will successfully propagate a religion of complete peace and equality". (Kerr 1972: 853.) Also, "the next Bodhisattva who will save mankind". (So Sehaputra 1965:799.)

[3]The year B.E. 2500 would have been the mid-point if the year 5000 mentioned in footnote 2 is considered. The current year is B.E. 2518 (A.D. 1975).

22   *Honoured aunts, the ones who have little merit*
        Won't see the excellent god.

23   *This world will be extremely difficult.*
        Aunts and uncles will insult each other and quarrel.

24   *Honoured aunts, there will be difficulty everywhere.*
        The leaders of the towns will be disruptive.

25   *Honoured aunts, when we look at the chronicle correctly,*
        We can understand it.

26   *Honoured women, the capital cities*
        Will also be divided and harassed.

27   *This world will become disturbed.*
        And towns and villages will be in confusion.

28   *Honoured women, there will be a lot of robbers*
        Who steal and seize things.

29   *They will violate the ways and teachings*
        Which the Lord Buddha pointed out to us.

30   *Beloved, there will be wars in the world,*
        And thousands of thieves.

31   *They will organise themselves to be criminals*
        And plan to do bad deeds.

32   *Now, our world is chaotic and*
        Troubled. It's not as it was.

33   *When people don't believe each other,*
        They will always fight and live by themselves.

*34   *Honoured aunts, they (should) seek the Buddha's*
        Wisdom as much as possible.[1]

35   *They don't warn each other.*
        They don't obey anybody for
        They are the brave soldiers.

-----

[1]When it is apparent that the singer started a line which did not come out quite right, and then began the line again, changing it somewhat or altogether, we have enclosed the "false start" in parentheses and translated only the final form of the verse.

36 *Honoured aunts, this happens in every village*
    In the world.

37 *As the religion reaches*
    Its half-way point, the situation is turbulent.

38 *Honoured aunts, there are people who are*
    Deceptive and deceitful.

39 *Ruffians lead this world*
    To fight, kill, and quarrel.

40 *Now, they speak unintelligibly with each other,*
    Arguing, insulting and finding fault.

41 *Having investigated, one learns they are communists*
    Who boast about.

42 *Now, they are not afraid of being alive or dead,*
    Afraid of troubles and destruction.

43 *In the world of men, there will be looting.*
    Important people will quarrel and kill each other.

44 *Now, the whole world is full of the noise*
    Of great confusion.

45 *The people will flee*
    Their villages.

46 *Now, as to future conditions*
    Please wait and see, friends.

47 *Those of you who don't understand yet,*
    Please listen to my poem.

48 *Now, trouble has occurred in the world.*
    In many places there is no end to it.

49 *People are drafted to be soldiers,*
    To fight, slash, and kill.

50 *Honoured aunts, they become rear forces and front forces*
    To guard against and fight (the enemy).

51 *They seize big guns*
    And aim them at and wait for the enemy.

52   *Honoured aunts, one can't be careless*
        Or he will be shot by the artillery.

53   *Time is spinning,*
        Changing fantastically fast.

54   *Because the world has changed already*
        And many things are not as they were before.

55   *Our Buddhist religion*
        Is not peaceful at its mid-point.

56   *They say they are afraid that this world will be destroyed,*
        Destroyed, desolated, and then disappear.

57   *Human beings will die on the earth;*
        Their stench will reach the heavens.

58   *Honoured aunts, masses of elephants*
        And other animals beneath the sky

59   *Will be separated and destroyed,*
        And the ones who kill them won't turn back.

60   *Now, not only large animals, but also small ones*
        Are taken to be eaten.

61   *They don't keep any of the Buddhist commandments,*
        And they are truly wicked.

62   *Now, these are men who like drinking,*
        And they shout when they are drunk.
        Oh, dear sir. Oh, I'll speak only once.

63   *Honoured aunts, they drink greedily,*
        And there is never a time when they are sated.
        They're just looking for misfortune.

64   *Honoured aunts, then please observe,*
        Women, whether the Buddha's predictions
        Come true or not.

65   *Think about this in the middle of the Buddhist era,*
        That is (the year) two-thousand, five hundred.

66   *Now, travelling is impeded because*
        Ruffians plunder.

67   *Destruction occurs*
      Until the earth shakes.

68   *Now, the word of human beings is very depressed;*
      It will be greatly disturbed by disasters.

69   *From now on they will occur.*
      And the population will be vexed and anxious.

70   *Honoured aunts, at the half-way point, two-thousand, five hundred.*
      There will be a new god.

71   *The human beings in the world below*
      Will go on killing and cursing each other.

72   *I am sorry*
      Because I can't finish singing this story.

73   *(I can't) finish the story for the time*
      Has come to dismiss me.

74   *I don't want to be separated from my relatives,*
      But it's time to rest.

75   *If possible,*
      May you, my aunts and uncles,
      Live happily in good health.

76   *In happiness. May neither danger nor suffering*
      Come near you.

77   *Now, I give my blessing to you;*
      Victory to every one of you.

78   *And to the soldiers*
      Who are now at the front,
      I will send my blessing.

79   *Now, I will bless*
      The commanders who sleep in the forests.

80   *The ones who take care of you, aunts and uncles,*
      Are only soldiers.

81   *Honoured aunts, when the soldiers leave their villages*
      To go to the borders (of the country),

82   *The husbands become quite upset;*
        They worry about their wives at home.

83   *Honoured aunts, once the official letters arrive,*
        There are only the days of separation.
        We were happy once, oh, wives of Lao.

84   *Oh, mother of my children, please protect*
        Them until I
        Return.

85   *The wives of those assigned to the front*
        Hug the children against their breasts.

86   *There are only tears*
        Running down their cheeks.

87   *When they look to the north,*
        The sounds of guns resound.

88   *The sounds of bombs; TUM! TAM!*
        My heart longs for you.

89   *Beloved, it is so difficult for you,*
        Precious wife, to wait for me.

90   *It is difficult because of the war*
        Which has occurred and is not over
        So that I am separated from my wife.

91   *Sweetheart, please take care of*
        Our children until I return.

92   *May neither disaster*
        Nor anything bad happen to my precious wife.

93   *Now, it is necessary*
        For me to leave you.
        Oh, I was only happy once. My dear wife, goodbye.

94   *Oh, my home! I'm forced to leave my darling.*
        Beloved, our time is up now.
        Please wait and see whether it will go well with me or not.

95   *Oh, now,*
        Our time is up,
        And I take my leave.

96   *When the time comes,*
        We will part, honoured aunts.

97   *I bid you farewell,*
        Aunts and uncles,
        Oh, honoured ones.

98   *I don't want to leave you, my relatives,*
        But the time to part has come.
                Oolanoh.

MOHLAM MAN

99   *Beloved, garden of the sweet Tani banana,*
        What did you offer to the monks
        That caused you to be as beautiful as a painting?

100   *Now, listen to the sound of thunder from the sky,*
        Marking the East.

101   *The season*
        Is going to change.

102   *Woman, that's why the wind*
        Is blowing unceasingly.

103   *Since the wind is blowing toward me,*
        I feel happy.

104   *Amen. May I raise my hands in prayer*
        And kneel respectfully before you.

105   *I raise my hands as high as my head*
        To speak to Phra Tai.[1]

106   *This year, I can no longer wait*
        To send you my blessings

107   *So that they might serve as advice*
        For people everywhere.

108   *Woman, I have but little intelligence;*
        My mind is light, and I don't speak fluently.

---

[1]Three important things in the Buddhist religion, "namely, the Buddha, his teachings, and the Buddhist clergy". (So Sethaputra 1965:798.)

109   *I ask the forgiveness of my relatives
        Who are in the villages and who are listening to me.*

110   *Now, may I send my greetings
        To the soldiers who are sleeping in the forests.*

111   *Oh, woman, they are the ones who protect our villages
        So that we can live comfortably.*

112   *Now, they are the fences which surround
        All of the people.*

113   *May you have victory
        Over your enemies, who are thieves.*

114   *Woman, those people
        Who have done things which are not right in our villages*

115   *Have broken the customs
        And the laws of our country excessively.*

116   *Now, when you run into them,
        Please warn them and tell them firmly that*

117   *If they really don't listen to you,
        We will go to arrest them and send them
        To be prosecuted in the courts.*

118   *Woman, let's make the dishonest people, the crooks,
        And the evil people become honest.*

119   *Let it become known to everyone
        That there is a ruler even in the forest villages.*

*120   *Now, may you get many medals
        So that you will become a high-ranking officer.*

121   *Then you'll take care of the villagers
        So that they can live in peace.*

122   *Amen, amen. May the commanders be as courageous
        As they wish.*

123   *May the volunteer soldiers and the commanders
        Progress and may merit help them.*

124   *Woman, may they continue working*
And protecting the villages.

125   *May they look after their countrymen,*
The people of Laos.

126   *Oh, woman, may they have good, loud voices*
When they guard the frontiers.

127   *May they pass the exams for officer,*
A rank a year.
May everyone progress.

128   *Now, may it be as I have said.*
May there be success for everyone.

129   *Just as there was in the wishes I have made*
And bestowed upon you.

130   *At present we are in a period when our country*
Has many difficulties.

131   *These hardships have hit*
All of the people.

132   *Oh, woman, they have taken their property away from their homes,*
And they have fled.

133   *Now, this has been because of the North Vietnamese*
Who have come and invaded our country.

134   *My heart is so distressed*
That it may break.

135   *It is your duty*
To protect our country.

136   *Now, it makes the Lao people angry,*
And their breasts full of sorrow.

137   *It has reached the time when it is necessary*
To protect and preserve things.

138   *Oh, woman, to protect the natural resources in our forests*
And which are in abundance in our land.

139   *Our coffee beans and our oranges*
        Were taken by the Vietnamese.

140   *Now, we shouldn't lose consciousness*
        And speak dreamily of other things.

141   *Our economic production has decreased*
        Every year.

142   *Woman, it is for these reasons*
        That it has fallen:

143   *There is nothing*
        To support it.

144   *Oh, woman, we have just been taking in products*
        From foreign countries.

145   *Now, part of the result is that*
        Nothing benefits our country.

146   *Because, because we Lao*
        Have been at war.

147   *It is time for us to wake up*
        And help each other take care of things.

148   *Woman, it depends upon how much of our blood*
        Washes our land.

149   *To barter our land*
        So that we can live contentedly.

150   *Now, may I add to my blessings;*
        May they follow and support you.

151   *Woman, I ask all the sacred things*
        In the universe
        To come and protect the soldiers,

152   *Now, so that our country*
        May be prosperous and happy.

153   *May everyone be happy*
        So that we can develop our country.

154   *Woman, so that we can find a way*
        To improve our economic situation.

155   *Our money has been devaluated; may it recover,*
        Gradually rising above its former value.

156   *Now, it is still devalued,*
        Devalued because of the war.

157   *Because there are fires burning and spreading out,*
        Burning up our country.

158   *Woman, the soldiers stand ready to fight*
        The enemy without fail.

159   *This causes our relatives*
        To take refuge from the dangers.

160   *Now, our parents and relatives*
        Have fled from their villages,
        Leaving their fields and gardens.

161   *Because masses of Red Vietnamese*
        Have come to seize our towns and villages.

162   *Woman, and those who live outside of the country,*
        The Lao communists who have forgotten their country,

163   *They have become slaves*
        And stay in the hands of the Vietnamese.

164   *Now, it is for these reasons*
        That we Lao are disunified.

165   *We don't have the heart*
        To make the dry rice fields or set out the wet rice shoots.

166   *Oh, woman, we just enter the caves together*
        To avoid the dangers and to conceal ourselves.

167   *We are afraid that "Old Five Hundred", a bomb*
        Which is supposed to drop on the Vietnamese nearby
        Will splatter on us.

168   *Now, I beg you*
        Lao who have misunderstood

169   *Oh, woman, don't think about destroying Lao people*
        Who have the same blood as you do.

170   *Now, those who have misunderstood, please come forward;*
        The government has been waiting for you.

171   *Don't join the enemy*
        And come to harm your relatives
        That is not good.

172   *Now, the government on this side*
        Grants complete amnesty.

173   *Don't be treacherous.*
        When you fight, don't kill each other.

174   *Oh, woman, the government*
        Is really good;
        It thinks of us every morning and evening.

175   *That's why I'm singing this to you*
        So that this bit of news will reach you.

176   *When you have picked up a leaflet,*
        Please read it carefully.

177   *Then look for a secret way*
        To come to give yourself up.

178   *Now, we Lao intend to*
        And wish to make our words beneficial.

179   *Small mistakes*
        Can be forgiven.

180   *Now, you may begin*
        To concentrate on the Buddhist precepts.

181   *Pursue the ten virtues*
        Which Buddha emphasised.

*182   *Oh, woman, you'll be helped to reach Nirvana*
        By a golden ladder, a mental vista.

*183   *Wait for him to preach to you on existence.*
        Set your heart on merit.

*184   *It is said that hidden merit*
        Is like a waiting boat.

*185   *If we get stuck,*
        We won't have a boat in which to cross the river.

186   *We'll just float down the river,*
        Following the current.

187   *As we float down the Mekong,*
        If there is a boat there,
        It will be very helpful to us.

188   *I ask that all of you*
        Think about this very carefully.

189   *Oh, woman, don't think about destroying Lao people*
        Who have the same blood as you do.

190   *Now, don't be crazy*
        And follow the Red Vietnamese because it's difficult.

191   *Woman, they persuade Lao who are relatives*
        To kill each other.

192   *Now, it is for these reasons*
        That we Lao are disunified.

193   *Because there are some people who have misunderstood*
        And who have thought about destroying our country.

194   *Oh, woman, let's get together*
        So that we Lao can prosper,

195   *So that our mothers and fathers and aunts and uncles*
        Can live happily.

196   *Now, that's just about enough;*
        I, the mohlam, will bid you farewell.

*197   *May I bless all of you*
        Before I stop.

198   *Now, although I don't want to leave you,*
        Fate separates us.

199   *I don't want to go away from the station,*
       But fate makes me avoid it.

200   *Oh, woman, it is necessary for me,*
       The mohlam, to say farewell and return,
       Oh, gentle one.

201   *Now, may all of the brave soldiers*
       Live as long as this earth.

202   *As for misery, sorrow, hurt,*
       Danger and anger, may you have none of these.

203   *Now, as for today,*
       I'll bid you farewell.

204   *I'll put my poems aside*
       And send you these last wishes.

205   *Now, I have bid you farewell*
       And I'm going far away from you.

206   *As you hoped, it is finished.*
       I'll say goodbye to you and stop.
                  Oolanoh.

                        mɔ̌ɔlám ñíŋ

1   ʔūy nɔ́ɔ caŋ mɛɛn fàa nɔ́ɔ hɔ̂ɔŋ huan
       laʔ núan dɔ̀ɔk núan ʔə̄əy

2   sǎŋ bɔɔ dāŋ kâ̯y kâ̯y
       hǔa khàndāy mɛɛn ʔâay yuu

3   sǎŋ bɔɔ hɔ̂ɔŋ kâ̯y kâ̯y
       khɛ́ɛm khâay bɔɔn phii nɔ́ɔn

4   sǎaycāy sɪ́p pl̄i náaŋ cɨŋ máa nɔɔ hěn nǎa
       sáaw phánsǎa cɨŋ hěn kān
       pl̄i la thɨa

5   thúun hǔa lɨacāy tɛɛ háw tɛ̀ɛk phúu lǔaŋ
       yâan bɔɔ hěn khǎmɔɔm ʔâay
       kɛ̄ɛw ʔɔ̂ɔm hua nuay phúu

6   bǎt nî̃i lǎan cǎ? bāanlañáay lɨan
    pǎwatkāan nɔ́ɔ khɔɔy kaaw

7   thúun hǔa tǒk thěŋ kháaw hɔ̂ɔt sǎmáy
    nɔ́ɔ pon pî̃i dT̄i hâay
    câw cɨ̃ŋ máa

8   thúun hǔa lɨaŋ tɔɔ máa nɔ́ɔ tɛɛ khâw
    būuháan law nɔ́ɔ pāaŋ lǎŋ

9   khɨ́ɨ waa ?ǎnicāŋ sǎŋkhǎan
    pian pēɛ pēn lɨaŋ

10   sǎaycāay fáŋ sî̃aŋ nán nɔ́ɔŋ thâw
    khɨ́ɨ kāŋ máa waa
    lɨaŋ pēn máa tɛɛ kî̃i

11   mî́i pǎwat nɔ́ɔ waa wây
    pāy nàa hày khɔ́ɔy sɔ́ɔm

12   tɛɛ waa phut thámnáay nɔ́ɔ waa phôn
    háwñɔɔm ñáŋ hěn kāŋ

13   fáŋ bəŋ nɔ́ɔ sǎlotcāy
    lɨaŋ mî́i máa lêɛw

14   sǎaycāy nɛ́ɛw thámnáay khǎy ?âaŋ
    phasî̃i?āan si? lóŋ kàət

15   phùu pǎsàət nɔ́ɔ lêət lâm
    khám wâw câw law máa

16   phǎy waa khán manut nɔ́ɔ tây fâa
    pháa kāŋ kɔɔ ?ɔ̄ɔlahǎn

17   ñáa mɛɛ khəŋ sǎasanáa khón
    cǎ? pháa kɔ̄ɔŋ nɔ́ɔ kāŋ tāay
    khuay khɨ̌n dT̄n hɔ̂ɔn

18   thúun hǔa thuk nakhɔ́ɔn mɨ́aŋ tây
    hěn fáy phǎw cii

19   lôok cǎ? mî́i nɔ́ɔ dɨ̃at hɔ̂ɔn
    tan thɔɔn caw khɔŋ kaaŋ

20   ñâa pâa fǔuŋ khón bàap cǎ? khàw mâaŋ
    mɨ́aŋ mun thaláay sǔun

21   fǔuŋ khón būn si? ñáŋ lɨ̌a
      tɔɔ mɨ̌a pháay sɔ̂ɔy

22   ñáa pâa khón būn nɔ̂ɔy
      bɔɔ hěn ʔōŋ nɔɔ kêɛw kɛɛn

23   lôok nɨ̌i sɛ̌ɛn nɔɔ ñâak ñ̀uŋ
      lúŋ pâa câw daa thɨ̌aŋ

24   ñáa pâa kə̀ət pēn thuk
      tǎlɔ̂ɔt bîaŋ mɨ̌aŋ ʔun
      nɔɔ khǔn kūan

25   ñáa pâa bəŋ khámnúan pǎwat kāan
      ʔaan hěn pēn dây

26   ñáa mɛɛ nakhɔɔn lǔaŋ nɔɔ náy nân
      kǎ? si? pān nɔɔ bāŋ bìat

27   lôok nɨ̌i kə̀ət dɨ̌at hôɔn
      mɨ̌aŋ bâan câw wûn wáay

28   ñáa mɛɛ cǎ? mɨ́i lǎay nɔɔ cōon pûn
      ñâat nɛɛn sɨ́iŋ khɔ̌ɔŋ

29   phɨ́t thámnɔɔŋ mɛɛn khám sɔ̌ɔn
      bɔɔn pha? ʔōŋ sóŋ sɨ̂i

30   sǎaycāy lôok cǎ? mɨ́i sǒŋkháam khàw
      mahǎa cōon nɔɔ lôn laŋ

31   pháa kān tâŋ pēn sǎttūu
      phǎy nɔɔ nân phûu hâay mǎay mûan mun kǎcūan

32   dīawnîi lôok khɔ̌ɔŋ háw mán mûan
      pan kūan bɔɔ khɨ́ɨ lǎŋ

33   khán bɔɔfáŋ mɛɛn khúam kān
      taaŋ pǎcān yɨ́ɨn/yɛɛŋ

34   (ñáa pâa sǎwéɛŋ ʔāw nɔɔ muu khàw)
      ñáa pâa sǎwɛɛŋ ʔāw nɔɔ phuttha?
      ʔāw pānñáa nɔɔ lǎay lɨan

35   bɔɔ mɨ́i phǎy tɨ̄an phǎy
      bɔ̀ɔk kān nɔɔ mɛɛn bɔɔ dây
      fáy kâa law thahǎan

36 ñáa pâa pēn pāy mǒt nɔ́ɔ thuk bâan
    dēɛn daan câw lôokkāa

37 sǎasǎnáa máa thɛ̌əŋ
    phíaŋ kāaŋ wíi wun

38 (ñáa pâa míi būn súu nɔ́ɔ thiaw sây)
    ñáa pâa míi khón suy siaw saay
    cāy máan nɔ́ɔ lôok laay

39 ʔānthapháan pháa lôok nǐi
    tīi khàacâw daa thǐaŋ

40 dīawnîi wâw kān bɔɔ nɔ́ɔ hûu hɨaŋ
    thǐaŋ daa nɔ́ɔ hǎa phǐt

41 tay khúammɛɛn míwnit
    ʔùat tōo tháŋ khâay

42 dīawnîi tháŋ pēn tāay bɔɔ míi yâan
    míi yâan ʔōnthakāan nɔ́ɔ pǐi pon

43 náy mɨaŋ khón cǎʔ kèət pûn
    khǔn khàacâw daa kān

44 dīawnîi mǎt tháŋ lôok sǎnan kôɔŋ
    puan pan kǎʔ cūan cǎt

45 phónlamɨaŋ cǎʔ phaay phat
    phâak kháamaʔ bâan

46 dīawnîi kāan pēn pāy pháay sɔ̀ɔy
    khɔ́ɔy dūu mɛɛn dɛ̄ə muu

47 phǎy phùu ñáŋ nɔ́ɔ bɔɔ hûu
    fáŋ khàanɔ̀ɔy siʔ waa kɔ̄ɔn

48 dīawnîi bâan mɨaŋ kèət nɔ́ɔdɨat hôɔn
    lǎay bɔɔn bɔɔ míi sáw

49 kēɛn ʔāw fúuŋ thahǎan lop
    sùu kān fán khàa

50 ñáa pâa pēn nɛ́ɛw lǎŋ nɛ́ɛw nàa
    haksǎa kāan câw tâan tɔɔ

51   cǎp ?āw pɨ̄ɨn nɔ́ɔ ñay cɔɔ
      lɔ́ɔ thàa câw muu pháy

52   ñáa pâa phǎy phǎə tōo nɔ́ɔ bɔɔ dây
      pɨ̄ɨn ñay sǎŋhǎan

53   sǎmáy kāan mǔunwían
      pian pēɛŋ hɛ́ɛŋ kâa

54   phɔ? waa lôok mán pēɛ pāy lêɛw
      lǎay nɛ́ɛw bɔɔ khɨ́ɨ kaw

55   sǎasǎnáa nɔ́ɔ phacâw
      háw hôɔn câw khəŋ kāaŋ

56   phən waa ŷaan waa lôok nɨ̀i tɛ̀ɛk mâaŋ
      tɛ̀ɛk mâaŋ ?âaŋ ?un nɨ̀i sǔunhǎay

57   manut tāay náy dɨ̄n
      kinmǝ̌n khúŋ fâa

58   ñáa pâa múan khanáa nɛ́ɛw sâaŋ
      sǎtsǎa tây laaŋ

59   mɛɛn si? tɛ̀ɛk nɔ́ɔ wɛ̀ɛk mâaŋ
      khón khàacâw bɔɔ thɔ̌ɔy

60   dɨ̄awnɨ̀i caŋ waa sǎt ñay nôɔy
      khɔɔy law mɛɛn ?āw kɨ̄n

61   sǐn bɔɔ mɨ́i náy tōo
      sua sáam náam khɔ̂ɔy

62   dɨ̄awnɨ̀i mɨ́i sáay kǎp kêɛm làw
      máw hóo lêɛw hɔ̂ɔŋ hóo
      dēe nɔ́ɔ ?àat ñáa ?ēəy waa ñáam dɨ̄aw ?ēəy

63   ñáa pâa kɨ̄n kān bɛ̀ɛp pháalóo
      bɔɔmɨ́i wán nɔ́ɔ naay wên
      khǝ̌n khìaw câw thiaw hǎa

64   ñáa pâa caŋ sɔ́ɔm dēə mɛɛ pâa
      mɛɛ pâa phut thámnáay nɔ́ɔ waa wây
      mɛɛn bɔɔ nɔ́ɔ lɨ̀ɨ dāy

65   khit bəŋ náy phɔ́ɔ sɔ́ɔ
      khəŋ sɔ̌ɔŋ phán hàa

66   dīawnīi tháaŋ pāy máa pháa khòɔŋ
     ?ānthapháan nɔ́ɔ pīi pon

67   kèət mīi kāan nɔ́ɔ pon pīi
     dīn săthâan câw wan wăy

68   dīawnīi mɨ́aŋ manut nɔ́ɔ tam tây
     că? wun ñay pháy păkān

69   nap tɛɛ wán si? pēn pāy
     mɛɛn phay mɨ́aŋ khɨ́aŋ hôɔn

70   ñáa pâa tɔ̄ɔn khəŋ sɔ̌ɔŋ phán hàa
     théewadāa nɔ́ɔ ?ōn may

71   mīi manut náy lôok tây
     thīaw khàa câw daa kān

72   khàanɔ̂ɔy máa sīadāay
     tâŋ tɛɛ lám bɔɔ cŏp lɨaŋ

73   cŏp lɨa
     wéeláa háw
     hàak máa lay

74   bɔɔ yàak kāy nɔ́ɔ phii nɔ̂ɔŋ
     wéeláa nân hàak con nɔ́ɔn

75   khán săa mɛɛn thu? nɔ́ɔ
     khɔ̌ɔ hày lúŋ nɔ́ɔ mɛɛ pâa
     khɔɔy yuu sabāay sŭk

76   bāay sŭk ?āntăláay pháy thuk
     kă? yaa suu mīi máa kây

77   dīawnīi khàanɔ̂ɔy khɔ̌ɔ thĕem phɔ̀ɔn hày
     sáyñóo câw thuk thaan

78   tháŋ ñáa ?āay thahăan
     phùu yuu néɛw nɔ́ɔ nàa phûn
     náaŋ nôɔŋ si? soŋ phɔ́ɔn

79   băt nīi khàa că? thɛɛm mɛɛn phɔ́ɔn hày
     náay thahăan phùu nɔ́ɔn paa dēe nɔ́ɔ

80   haksăa lúŋ mɛɛn mɛɛ pâa
     mīi thêe tɛɛ thahăan

81   ñáa pâa kháaw mɨa ñáay càak bâan
      ʔɔ̀ɔk pāy suu nɔ́ɔ sǎay dēɛn

82   sěɛn siʔ phǔa nɔ́ɔʔǔkcāy
      huaŋ mɨ́a tháaŋ bâan

83   ñáa pâa sǎan lǔaŋ máa thěŋ lêɛw
      mɨ́i tɛɛ wán cǎʔ dây haaŋ
      wǎaŋ ñáam câw dīaw ʔəəy mɨ́a khǔan láaw ʔəəy

84   ʔōoy nɔ́ɔ mɛɛ ʔii náaŋ hày haksǎa
      nɔ́ɔ lûuk nɔ̂ɔy kǎʔ sáam ʔâay
      siʔ taaw máa dēe nɔ́ɔ

85   mɨ́a nân pēn néɛw nàa
      kūm súaŋ kɔ̀ɔt câw bǔttīi

86   mɨ́i tɛɛ sónlatháa lǎy
      lam lóŋ lám kêɛm dēe nɔ́ɔ

87   néɛm pāy tháaŋ nɨ̌a phûn
      sɨ̌aŋ pɨ̌n kôɔŋ sǎnan

88   sɨ̌aŋ labə̀ət dāŋ tɨ̌m tâam
      cāy ʔâay hɛɛŋ waŋ wée

89   sǎaycāy nɔ̂ɔŋ máa ñâak nɔ́ɔ thêɛ dēe
      mɨ́a phéɛŋ khɔ́ɔy thàa phii

90   ñâak nám sǒŋ kháam nɔ́ɔ
      kə̀ət khɨ̀n máa nɔ́ɔ bɔɔ lêɛw
      tōn ʔâay kǎʔ haaŋ mɨ́a

91   thúun hǔa khán mɛɛn nɔ́ɔ khɔ̌ɔ hày lɨ̀aŋ
      lûuk nɔ̂ɔy sáam ʔâay taaw mɛɛn khɨ́n kǎp

92   khɔ̌ɔ yaa mɨ́i mɛɛn phóoypháy
      siŋ dāy hày mɨ́a kêɛw dēe nɔ́ɔ

93   bǎt nɨ́i cāmpēn lêɛw ʔūan sáay cǎʔ dây haaŋ
      wǎaŋ ñáam câw dīaw ʔəəy
      mɨ́a khǔan câw láa nǎa

94   hɨ̌an ʔəəy hày cām hày nɔ́ɔ cām hày phâak
      sǎaycāy wéeláa háw mɛɛn thɔɔ nɨ̌i
      dīi hâay coŋ khɔɔy fáŋ

95 ?ōoy nɔ́ɔ bǎt nɨ̀i nɔ́ɔ
    thǎŋ wéelaa mɛɛn hǎw lɛɛw lǎan khɔ̌ɔ phâak phɔ́ɔy phat dēe nɔɔ

96 bàat wéeláa mɛɛn máa thǎŋ
    si? haaŋ kān nɔ́ɔ ñáa pâa

97 lǎan khɔ̌ɔ láa pāy lɛ̂ɛw
    lúŋ ?āa pâa nâa baaw
    dēe nɔ́ɔ ?àat ñáa ?ə̄əy

98 bɔɔ yàak phâak nɔ́ɔ phii nɔ̂ɔŋ
    wéeláa nân hàak mɛɛn thǎŋ
    ?ōolanɔ́ɔ

mɔ̌ɔlám sáay

99 ?ūan suan sǔan kûay thaníi wǎan
    bəŋ náaŋ mɛɛn nɔ̂ɔŋ kīn tháan ñǎŋ
    câw kǎ? caŋ phùu ŋáam nɔ́ɔ pāan tɛ̂ɛm

100 bǎt nɨ̀i fáŋ sǐaŋ hɨ̀ɨn mɛɛn la? hɨ̀ɨn fâa
    bə̄əy bə̀ək būalapháa

101 kāan ladūu câw dɨ̄an hǎn
    si? pian pēeŋ lɛ́ɛŋ khɔ̂ɔy

102 sǎaw náaŋ caŋ máa khɔ́ɔy câw də̄ən dân
    wáañóo mɛɛn míi phaay

103 caŋ wáañóo mɛɛn khèet thâaw
    tháŋ ?âay dây sɨ̀ɨnbāan

104 sǎathu? lǎan khɔ̌ɔ ñɔ́ɔ mɛɛn mɨ̀ɨ wày
    wán tháa câw kôm kàap

105 ñok míi khɨ̀n mɛɛn say kâw
    si? cāa wâw tɔɔ phatāy

106 pīi nɨ̀i khàa nɨ̀i ?ǒt mɛɛn bɔɔ dây
    khit yàak soŋ khám ?ūayphɔ́ɔn

107 phɔ́ɔ hày pēn la? khámsɔ̌ɔn
    khān muu khón dɔ̀ɔk pháay sɔ̂ɔy

108 sǎaw náaŋ ?âay nɨ̀i pān mɛɛn ñáa nɔ̂ɔy
    sǎmɔ́ɔŋ bāw wâw bɔɔ khɔɔŋ

109   khɔ̌ɔ ʔǎpháy mɛɛn phìi nɔ̂ɔŋ
         tháaŋ bâan thaan phùu fáŋ

110   bǎt nǐi khɔ̌ɔ soŋ phɔ́ɔn nɔ́ɔ pāy hày
         náay thahǎan phùu nɔ́ɔn paa

111   náaŋ ʔə̄əy phùu haksǎa mɛɛn khèet bâan
         hày háw dây yuu sǎbāay

112   bǎt nǐi phən ñáŋ pēn mɛɛn hǔa lɔ̂ɔm
         pǎsǎakɔ̄ɔn câw phûak phay

113   hày míi sáy mɛɛn phàap phêɛ
         sǎtūu khàacâw muu cōon

114   sǎaw náaŋ fǔuŋ muu khón câw nám bâan
         thám kāan ʔān bɔɔ sɔ̂ɔp

115   phǐt labɔ̀ɔp mɛɛn bɔ̀ɔp bɨ̀aŋ
         kǒtmaay hàam câw luaŋ kɛ̄ɛn

116   bǎt nǐi kháaw câw dɛ̄ən mɛɛn pāy phɔ̂ɔ
         hày tǎktɨ̄an câw bɔ̀ɔk nɛɛ

117   hàam bɔɔ fáŋ mɛɛn thêɛ thêɛ
         siʔ pāy cǎp mɛɛn soŋ phɔ̂ɔm
         khɨ̀n pāy fɔ̂ɔŋ yuu sǎan

118   sǎaw náaŋ nak khón pháan mɛɛn khón líaw
         khón bɔɔ dīi hày mán sɨ̀ɨ

119   hày khǎw lɨ́ɨ mɛɛn tɛɛ bâan
         khán míi bâan câw paa dɛ̄ɛn

120   bǎt nǐi hày dây sǎay sǎphân hɛɛŋ
         pēn náay phán sân phùu ñay

121   haksǎa fǔuŋ mɛɛn phay nɔ̂ɔy
         mɨ̀aŋ bâan hày yuu pēn

122   sǎathuʔ sǎathuʔ khɔ̌ɔ hày náay thahǎan kâa
         sǒm daŋ manóo mǎay

123   ʔāasǎakāan câw tháŋ náay
         caŋ cǎlə̀ən nɔ́ɔ būn khâm

124   săaw náa kă? thám tháan câw pāy nàa
       haksăakāan câw bâan sɔɔŋ

125   dây dūu lέɛ mɛɛn phii nɔ̂ɔŋ
       păsáa sɨa câw sâat láaw

126   náaŋ ?ə̄əy hày sĭaŋ hŏɔŋ sĭaŋ hàaw
       náy láaw haksăa daan

127   sɔ̀ɔp tāmnɛɛŋ náay thahăan
       hày dây pīi mɛɛn la sân
       căléən khɨn câw suu khón

128   băt nîi khŏɔ hày khɨɨ khàanɔ̂ɔy wâw
       míi sáy câw thuk thaan

129   khɨɨ daŋ phɔ́ɔn khàa waa wây
       ?āmnúay hày câw soŋ thěŋ

130   dīawnîi tŏk thěŋ pāŋ câw mɨaŋ bâan
       dây míi kāan mɛɛn ñùŋ ñâak

131   khúamlámbàak máa lɛɛ tôɔŋ
       păsaa sɨa mɛɛn phay phón

132   náaŋ ?ə̄əy khón ?āw khŏɔŋ mɛɛn càak bâan
       lŏp lìik câw nîi pháy

133   băt nîi pēn ñɔ̂ɔn pháy mɛɛn kēɛw nɨ̌a
       máa lukláan ?āw mɨaŋ bâan

134   săaw náaŋ sĕɛn lám kháan mɛɛn cāy dēe
       ?ŏk si? phée nân tèɛk lɛɛŋ

135   pēn tāmnɛɛŋ khŏɔn phûak thaan
       haksăa bâan câw daan dēɛn

136   băt nîi thám hày láaw mɛɛn khĭat khêɛn
       nèɛn yuu câw náy ?ŏk

137   tŏk thěŋ kháaw mán cāmpēn
       tôɔŋ haksăa dɔ̀ɔk ?āw wây

138   náaŋ ?ə̄əy haksăa yuu náy dâaw
       dīn khŏɔŋ láaw háw míi mâak

139   màak kāafée mɛɛn màak kǐaŋ
       kēɛw mán ñêɛŋ câw bɛɛŋ ʔāw

140   bǎt nǐi háw paa máw mɛɛn múa sêə
       laméə pāy câw tháaŋ ʔɨɨn

141   sěethǎkǐt tǒk tam tôɔy
       khán lóŋ lɨ̂ay câw thuk pīi

142   sǎaw náaŋ pēn phɔʔ dûay nân hèet nǐi
       cɨŋ tǒk tam dây lóŋ pāy

143   lôot bɔɔ míi nân nɛɛw dāy
       khán suk súu bɔɔ míi kīn

144   náaŋ ʔāəy míi tɛɛ phǒn câw phɨ̀ɨn khàw
       ʔāw khɔ̌ɔŋ taaŋ pǎthêet

145   bǎt nǐi nɛ́ɛw hèetphǒn mɛɛn suan dây
       khán lǎy khâw mɛɛn bɔɔ míi

146   phɔʔ waa phɔʔwaa láaw nân háw nǐi
       tǒk yuu náy sǒŋkháam

147   mán thǎŋ ñáam nân háw luk
       hày suay kān ʔāw wây

148   sǎaw náaŋ ʔāasǎy ʔāw mɛɛn lɨ̀at nɨ̀a
       lóohǐt câw tháa phɛɛn

149   bǎt nǐi lêɛk ʔāw dēɛn mɛɛn khèet bâan
       hày láaw dây yuu kǎsǎəm

150   bǎt nǐi khɔ̌ɔ tāəm ʔāw nân phɔ́ɔn khàa
       hày nám máa câw ñûu sɔɔy

151   sǎaw náaŋ lǎan khɔ̌ɔ wɔ́ɔn ʔāw siŋ sǎksɨ̌t
       bǎt nǐi náy sǎakōnlôok nǐi
       hày máa pɔ̂ɔŋ sɔɔy thahǎan

152   bǎt nǐi hày pǎthêet câw khèet bâan
       mɨ̀aŋ háw huŋ câw míi sǔk

153   hày thuk khón nân míi sǔk
       sǎaŋ sǎa dɔɔk mɨ̀aŋ bâan

154 săaw náaŋ phɨa că? hăa câw tháaŋ dâan
    sěethăkhĭt hày sǔuŋ soŋ

155 ŋǎn háw lóŋ kɔ̄ɔ hày fɨ́ɨn
    khán bɨ̄ɨn khɨ̀n khán kua lǎŋ

156 dɨ̄awnîi mán ñáŋ tŏk câw tam tɔ̂ɔy
    tam tɔ̂ɔy bɔ̂ɔn mɨ́i phɔ? câw sŏŋ kháam

157 ñɔ̂ɔn mɨ́i fáy nân láam luk
    khán mày dɨ̄n câw dɛ̄ɛn dâaw

158 săaw náaŋ phûak thahăan nɔ́ɔ pɨ̄ɨn sùu
    kăp sătūu bɔɔ dây khàat

159 thám hày ñâat mɛɛn phii nɔ̂ɔŋ
    lŏp lîi câw lìik pháy

160 băt nîi phûak phɔɔ mɛɛ nân phii nɔ̂ɔŋ
    phîi nɔ̂ɔŋ dây kāy nîi câw càak bâan
    phâak hay tháaŋ náa sǔan

161 ñɔ̂ɔn kɛ̄ɛw dɛ̄ɛŋ mán tháŋ múan
    khàw ñâat ?āw dɔ̀ɔk dɨ̄n bâan

162 săaw náaŋ phûak nɔ̂ɔk pháan câw khón sây
    nɛ́ɛw láaw phùu lŏŋ sâat

163 pāy pēn thâat mɛɛn hap sây
    yuu tháaŋ kâm câw faay kɛ̄ɛw

164 băt nîi pēn dûay hèet câw nîi lêɛw
    láaw cɨŋ tèɛk sǎamakkhíi

165 bɔɔ dây mɨ́i nân cāy het
    dɔ̀ɔk hay náa nân tāa kâa

166 náaŋ ?ɛ̄əy mɨ́i tɛɛ pháa kān khàw thàm
    lŏp pháy câw lîi sɔɔn

167 yâan băk hàahɔ̀ɔy pɔɔn
    thìm say kɛ̄ɛw mɛɛn yuu kây
    si? máa fôŋ câw say háw

168 băt nîi khɔ̌ɔ nám phûak nân muu câw
    saǒwláaw phùu thii lŏŋ phĭt

169   náaŋ ʔə̄əy yaa khıt thám câw láay láaw
        ʔə̄n lɨ̀at dīaw dɔ̀ɔk kā̄n thêɛ

170   bǎt nî̄i phǎy lóŋ phǐt kɔ̄ máa mɛ́ɛ
        latthabā̄an phən khɔ́ɔy yuu

171   yaa pā̄y pēn sǎtūu
        máa thámláay mɛɛn phii nɔ̂ɔŋ
        nɛ́ɛw nân mɛɛn bɔɔ dīi

172   bǎt nî̄i latthabā̄an câw faay phî̄i
        phən ñok thôot ʔǎpháy mǒt

173   yaa pā̄y thɔ́ɔ mɛɛn lañot
        khán tɔɔ kā̄n yaa fán khàa

174   náaŋ ʔə̄əy latthabā̄an câw nân náa
        phən nân máa mɛɛn dīi thêɛ
        khaníŋ nám thuk sâw kham

175   cɨŋ dây lám mɛɛn bɔ̀ɔk lɨ̀aŋ
        sǎan nɔ̂ɔy dây soŋ thǒŋ

176   bǎt nî̄i kěp bā̄y pīiw câw dây lɛ̂ɛw
        ʔaan bəŋ hày mán khak

177   hǎa withíi câw lɨ̀k lap
        khàw mɔ̂ɔp tōo con dây

178   bǎt nî̄i láaw háw mǎay mɛɛn máa tâŋ
        wǎŋ ʔā̄w khám pēn pǎñôot

179   thôot lek lek mɛɛn nɔ̂ɔy nɔ̂ɔy
        kɔ̄ ñɔ́ɔm hày câw daŋ dēəm

180   bǎt nî̄i hày phùak câw nân coŋ lɛ̂əm
        tâŋ tɔɔ nân sǐn thám

181   nám ʔā̄w pā̄a mɛɛn lamíi
        bɔɔ phaʔōŋ dây sóŋ tâŋ

182   náaŋ ʔə̄əy (nip pháa náŋ phán sǎa khɨ̀n)
        nip pháa náŋ siʔ pháa khɨ̀n
        ʔā̄n bāndā̄y thɔ́ɔŋ câw cɔɔŋ pɔɔŋ

183   khɔ́ɔŋ phən thêet mɛɛn saôt wây
        hày cāy tâŋ mɛɛn tɔɔ būn

184   phən waa phən waa būn nân lúa lî̀i
       pìap daŋ câw náawáa thàa

185   háw kháa mɛɛn laasaam
       lôot bɔɔ mí̀i câw lí̀a khàm

186   sǎaw náaŋ khán waa lǎy câw lóŋ nâm
       pāy sǎa dǝ̄ǝ mɛɛn lɔɔŋ lɔɔŋ

187   lǎy pāy tāam lám khǒɔŋ
       thàa mí̀i hí̀a mɛɛn yuu thân
       ñáŋ si? dây câw suay háw

188   nî̀i la? khǒɔ hày phûak nân muu câw
       khit bəŋ hày mán khak

189   náaŋ ?ǝ̄ǝy yaa máa thám câw láay láaw
       khán lí̀at dīaw kān thê̂ɛ

190   bǎt nî̀i yaa pāy pēn câw phǐibâa
       nám kēɛw dēɛŋ mán lámbàak

191   sǎaw náaŋ ñua? hày láaw mɛɛn phii nǒɔŋ
       thiaw khaatan tɔɔ kan

192   bǎt nî̀i pēn dûay hèet câw nî̀i nân
       láw cɨŋ tɛ̀ɛk sǎamakkhí̀i

193   ñɔ̂ɔn mán mí̀i phùu lóŋ phǐt
       máa khit thám dɔ̀ɔk láay bâan

194   (bǎt nî̀i hóom ?ā̄w hùn)
       náaŋ ?ǝ̄ǝy máa hóom kān sǎa dǝ̄ǝ thaan
       hày láaw háw nân hí̀aŋ huŋ

195   fǔuŋ phóɔ lúŋ mɛɛn mɛɛ pâa
       háw cǎk dây yuu sǎbāay

196   bǎt nî̀i mán hàak sǒm câw khúan lê̂ɛw
       lǎan mǒɔlám si? láa kɔɔn

197   khǒɔ ?ūayphóɔn mɛɛn phûak thaan
       khán lǎan làa si? taaw lóŋ

198   bǎt nî̀i bɔɔ yàak phat câw phâak wên
       wéen hàak cɔɔŋ câw cām nǐi

199   bɔɔ yàak kāy sǎthǎanĺi
        tɛɛ mɛɛ wéen hàak pháa wên

200   náaŋ ʔə̄əy mán hàak cām câw pēn lêɛw
        lǎan mɔ̌ɔlám siʔ láy taaw
        kɔɔn dāo lanúan ʔə̄əy

201   bǎt nîi khɔ̌ɔ hày náay thahǎan kâa
        hày phən ñɨ́ɨn câw ñáaw mân
        sǎmə́ə kān câw thĺam lôok

202   khán waa thuk mɛɛn sòok khêɛn
        pháy hâay yaa dây mĺi

203   bǎt nîi sǎmlap náy mɛɛn mɨ̂ɨ nîi
        cǎk dây taaw mɛɛn láa lóŋ

204   khán waa pōŋ mɛɛn khám kɔ̄ɔn
        soŋ phɔɔn câw sǔtthâay

205   bǎt nîi lǎan khɔ̌ɔ láa mɛɛn pāy lêɛw
        pāy lêɛw khán kāy câw hɛ̌ən haaŋ

206   mǒt sǒm wǎŋ câw thɔɔ nîi
        láa thaan câw taaw lóŋ
        ʔɔ̄ɔlanɔ́ɔ

A SKETCH OF A DIALECT OF MAE SOT

MARY SARAWIT

The dialect described here is that of the village of Phawo [phawɔ], which is located about half way between the towns of Tak and Mae Sot. The informant was Yupha Yomlamphu, a third year student at the College of Education, Sinakharinwirot University, Pitsanulok.

The Mae Sot dialect belongs to the Northern Thai dialects of Thailand. That is, while Central dialects have made a two way tonal split in syllables which presumably had Proto-Tai tone one (those spelled without a tone marker in written Thai) on the basis of High initials versus Mid and Low initials, the Northern dialects have made a two way tonal split on the basis of High plus Mid initials that were glottal.

This dialect is mutually intelligible with other Northern dialects. The intelligibility distance between Mae Sot and Central Thai is, as with other Northern dialects, relative to the period of exposure. For example, a Central Thai speaker who had never heard a Northern Tai dialect would comprehend little of a Northern Thai conversation on first exposure. However, given a few weeks the Central Thai speaker would be able to understand the theme of a conversation in the Mae Sot dialect.

The tones of this Mae Sot dialect are similar to those Brown indicates for Phrae, Nan and Chiangmai (Brown 1965:80,82). The reflexes of proto tones A, B and DL are similar to those of Phrae and Nan as recorded by Brown; the reflexes of proto tones C and DS similar to those of Chiangmai as recorded by Brown.

PROTO-TONES

Proto-Initials   Proto Tones

		A	B	C	D Short Vowel	D Long Vowel
High	voiceless and unaspirated, eg. *ph, *ŋ, etc.					
Mid	unaspirated voiceless stops, eg. *p, *t, etc.					
	ʔ and pre-glottalised, eg. *ʔ, *ʔb, *ʔy					
Low	voiced, eg. *b, *z					

There are six tonal distinctions on smooth syllables:

tone 1   rising tone (slightly lower than Standard Thai)

tone 2   mid tone with a rise at the end

tone 3   level tone (higher than Standard Thai low tone)

tone 4   falling tone with glottal constriction (similar to Standard Thai)

tone 5   high tone with a very slight rise and fall at the end and final glottal constriction

tone 6   high rising tone with final glottal constriction

On checked syllables with a short vowel there are two tones: high and a higher high which we may identify with tones 5 and 6.

On checked syllables with a long vowel there are two tones: low mid and a falling high which we may identify with tones 3 and 4.

Examples of the six tones are as follows:

Proto-Initials   Proto-Tones

		A	B	C	DS	DL
High	voiceless aspirated	khaa 1 'leg'	khay 3 'egg'	haa 5 'five'	suk 5 'ripe'	niak 3 'gums'
Mid	voiceless unaspirated stops	taa 1 'eye'	kay 3 'chicken'	tom 5 'to boil'	tap 5 'liver'	pɛɛt 3 'eight'
	ʔ and pre-glottalised	bin 2 'fly'	baaw 3 'young man'	baan 5 'village'	dip 'raw'	baat 3 'wound'
Low	voiced	maa 2 'to come'	pɔɔ 4 'father'	maay 6 'wood'	mat 6 'to tie'	nɔɔk 4 'outside'

For the following forms the tone differs from the Standard Thai correspondence:

puu 4 *'person'* - The tone and initial point to a proto B4 tone. While Standard Thai indicates a voiceless aspirated initial, High Class initial, with C1 tone, the Northern Tai group (Li 1960) indicates a C4 tone and some Northern Thai dialects such as Shan of Chiangrai in Thailand indicate a B4 tone (Brown 1965:154).

(ta) paat 4 *'frog'* - The proto initial indicates a DL2 tone, Mae Sot tone 3.

(sa) phay 3 *'sister-in'law'* - The proto initial indicates a C4 tone, Mae Sot tone 6.

kɛn 1 *'hard core'* - The proto initial indicates tone B2, Mae Sot tone 3.

kuu 2 *'I'* - The proto initial indicates tone A2, Mae Sot tone 1.

pay 2 *'go'* - The proto initial indicates tone A2, Mae Sot tone 1.

The last two forms *'I'* and *'go'* may be borrowings from Standard Thai because of the frequency of the use of these two forms. The Mae Sot tone 2 is similar to the Standard Thai tone A2.

kii 3, khii 5 *'how many'* - The form kii 3 corresponds to the Standard Thai form kii2, proto tone B2. The word is of Chinese origin and other Thai dialects often have one or more forms with different tonal correspondences. kɨŋ 3 *'half'* - Here the initial and tone are irregular. The proto form indicates a *gr initial with tone B4. The Mae Sot correspondence for *gr is kh as seen in *graan A4 *'to moan'*, Mae Sot khaan 2. The Mae Sot form points rather to a B2 tone as do some other Northern Thai dialects in Thailand, such as Shan of Chiangrai (Brown 1965:151).

As regards vowels, the Mae Sot dialect has the same system as Standard Thai with one exception. The central diphthong ɨa is in the process of simplifying to the palatal diphthong ia.

Examples of the vowels are as follows:

i	ii	ɨ	ɨɨ	u	uu
e	ee	ə	əə	o	oo
ɛ	ɛɛ	a	aa	ɔ	ɔɔ
	ia		ɨa	ua	

ʔim 3 *'full'*
pii 1 *'year'*
nɨŋ 3 *'one'*
hɨɨ 5 *'to give'*
kuŋ 5 *'shrimp'*
huu 1 *'ear'*

phet 5 *'spicy'*

ŋən 2 *'silver'*

təəm 1 *'to add'*

ʔok 5 *'chest'*

poot 3 *'pleased'*

kɛn 1 *'core'*

mɛɛ 4 *'mother'*

tap 5 *'liver'*

taa 1 *'eye'*

ʔɔy 5 *'sugar-cane'*

pɔɔ 4 *'father'*

mia 2 *'wife'*

dɨan 2 *'month'*

khɨa 2 or khia 2 *'vine'*

suan 1 *'garden'*

For many forms the change of ɨa to ia has taken place and apparently the form has been restructured with ia as the vowel. In such cases alternate forms with ɨa are not acceptable to the speaker; for example, while she gave lɨak 3 for *'choose'*, she would only accept liat 3 for *'blood'*.

The following forms differ from Standard Thai:

toŋ 4 *'field'*, Standard Thai thuŋ 3 - Other dialects indicate a proto reconstruction of *doŋ B4.

saap 3 or sɛɛp 3 *'cockroach'*.

təəm 1 or tiam 1 *'to add'* - This word is of Chinese origin and shows irregular correspondences in many dialects. Brown's Phrae dialect has ia (Brown 1965:152).

fɨaŋ 2 *'straw'*, Standard Thai faaŋ 1 - Other Tai dialects have ɨa as the vocalic nucleus as in, for example, Yay fɨaŋ 4 (Gedney 1965).

hɨɨ 5 *'to give'*, Standard Thai hay 3 - Other dialects indicate a proto reconstruction of *hay C1.

lɛw 1 *'soft, liquid'*, Standard Thai leew 5 - The reconstructed form for the Southwestern group is *lɛɛw A1. Indeed, the long ee and short e as well as oo and ɔ are not reconstructed for the Proto-Southwestern Tai vowel system (Sarawit 1973:97). There is only a two way e ɛ / o ɔ distinction. The Mae Sot as well as the Standard Thai forms are irregular.

The system of finals is like that of Standard Thai:

```
-m   hɔɔm 1 'fragrant'
-n   waan 1 'sweet'
-ŋ   suuŋ 1 'tall'
-p   ʔaap 3 'to bathe'
-t   mat 5 'flea'
-k   suk 5 'ripe
-w   baw 2 'light'
-y   bay 2 'leaf'
```

The following finals differ from Standard Thai:

nɔɔ 2 'ox hump' Standard Thai nɔɔk 2.

dɨay 2 and dia 2 'cockspur' Standard Thai dɨay 1.

(ta)waa 2 'yesterday' Standard Thai waan 2 - Here other dialects con-
firm the Mae Sot final with the Standard Thai final most likely assimi-
lated from the form nii 4 as in waa B1 nii C4.

phuuk 4 'tomorrow' Standard Thai phrun 3 nii 4 - Here other dialects
indicate that the proto form had a velar stop final and that the Standard
Thai nasal is a result of feature assimilation from the dental nasal
initial nii 4.

wan 2 hɨɨ 2 'day after tomorrow', Standard Thai (ma) rɨɨn 1 - The
Standard Thai final again being the result of assimilation as in *rɨɨ-4
nii C4.

The system of initial consonants is the same as Standard Thai with
the following exceptions:

Standard Thai	Mae Sot	Example
ch	ch	chiik 3 'to tear'
	c	caaw 6 'early morning'
ph	ph	phɨŋ 5 'bee'
	p	pɔɔ 4 'father'
th	th	thuŋ 1 'bag'
	t	tɔɔŋ 6 'stomach'
kh	kh	*x khaa 3 'root'
		*kh khom 1 'bitter'
		*ɣ khɔɔn 6 'hammer'
	k	*kaaŋ 2 'chin'

The unaspirated stops are reflexes of Proto-Tai voiced stops as opposed
to the aspirates which are reflexes of the voiceless aspirated stops and
in the case of kh the reflex of the voiced and voiceless velar frica-
tives as well.

khl	k	kaan 2 'crawl'
khr	kh	khaaŋ 2 'to moan'
kl	k	kaaŋ 1 'middle'
kr	k, kh	kon 1, khon 1 'to snore'
r	h	huaŋ 2 'ear of rice'
pr	p	pɛɛŋ 2 'bush'
pl	p	paa 1 'fish'
phr	ph	phaak 4 'to separate'
phl	ph	phaat 4 'fall down'
y	y	*ʔy yuu 3 'to be'
	ñ	*ŋ̃ ñuŋ 2 'mosquito'
		*ñ ñuŋ 5 'confused'
		*y ñaan 2 'slack'

The following are exceptions to the Mae Sot initial correspondences:

Standard Thai ch
*ǰ chaa 2 'tea'
*ʃ chaay 2 'eaves'

Standard Thai f
*f Standard Thai faaŋ 3 'millet' Mae Sot paaŋ 5

The Central dialects indicate a ph initial and Saek shows a vowel diph-
thong ia,
viaŋ 3 (Gedney 1970,1970m).

Standard Thai kh
*ɣ khon 2 'person' - While the Southwestern group points to a proto *g
which would correspond to k in Mae Sot, the Northern group indicates a
proto *ɣ for which the Mae Sot initial kh is the correct correspondence.
*kh kon 4 'thick'
*g khaaŋ 1 'ape'

Standard Thai kl
*kl kliip 3 'petal'

Standard Thai khr
*gr kɨŋ 3 'half'

Standard Thai khl
*ɣl khɔɔn 2 'to wobble'

Standard Thai l
*l hop 6 'to erase' - The initial is as if the form had a proto *r.

Standard Thai lɨɨm 1 'to open the eyes' Mae Sot mɨɨn 2 - Here the Mae
Sot form agrees with other dialects and the reconstructed proto form
*mɨɨn A4.

Standard Thai ph
*b phaŋ 2 *'to collapse'*
   phak 6 *'to rest'*

Standard Thai pl
*pl pliay 2 *'naked'*

Standard Thai phl
*bl puu 2 *'betel nut'*

Standard Thai phr
*br (ba) paaw 6 *'coconut'*

Standard Thai r
*r lii 2 *'long'*
   lɔɔy 6 *'100'*
   lɛɛk 4 *'first'*

Standard Thai s
*s khwaay 1 *'late in the morning'* – Other dialects also reflect a velar
cluster as in Lü khw-, and Yay kw- (Gedney 1965,1970m).

Standard Thai th
*d thaŋ 6 *'all'*
   thɔɔŋ 2 *'gold'*
   thay 2 *'Thai'*
   (ka) thɨɨp 4 *'to stomp'*

Standard Thai y

Standard Thai day 3 yin 1 *'to hear'* Mae Sot day 5 ŋin 2 – Shan shows
both initials y and ŋ (Gedney 1970m).

*ŋ̃ yɨa 3 *'bait'*
   yiaw 3 *'hawk'* – This form shows initial irregular correspondences in
other dialects; for example, the Northern Group points to a reconstructed
*giw B4 and Thai also has a form hiaw 2 as well as yiaw 2. *ñ yɨɨt 4
'to stretch' – Lao shows two forms yɨɨt 5 as well as the usual *ñ cor-
respondence as in ñɨɨt 5 (Gedney 1970m).

   Turning now to vocabulary differences between Standard Thai and the
Mae Sot dialect, it should be noted that, in some cases, the word the
Mae Sot speaker uses exists in Standard Thai but with a different refer-
ent. In other cases the word used does not exist in Standard Thai. In
listing the vocabulary differences the Standard Thai lexical item which
was used to elicit dialect forms from the informant is given first.
Second is the Mae Sot form; and third a Standard Thai form (when one
exists) is given which corresponds phonologically to the dialect form.

The word list used in this study is a list of approximately 1200
cognates which is used in doing historical reconstruction in the Tai
languages. The list thus does not aim at exhaustiveness but rather is
useful in showing development of the dialect being examined from Proto-
Tai.

Item	Mae Sot	Standard Thai
baa 2 *'shoulder'*	lay 3	lay 2 *'shoulder'*
(ca) muuk 2 *'nose'*	huu 3 daŋ 3	——
chiaw 3 *'swift water'*	paa 3	nam 4 paa 2 *'flood'*
daay 1 *'to weed'*	thaaŋ 1	thaaŋ 1 *'to weed'*
dek 2 *'child'*	(la) ʔɔɔn 3	ʔɔɔn 2 *'soft, young'*
duay 3 *'with'*	tuay 3	——
duu 1 *'to see'*	phɔɔ 3	——
fan 1 *'tooth'*	khiaw 5	khiaw 3 *'tooth'*
hua 1 rɔɔ 4 *'laugh'*	khay 5 hua 1	——
kɛɛ 2 *'old'*	thaw 6	thaw 4 *'old'*
khaat 2 *'torn'*	put 5	——
khɛɛp 3 *'narrow'*	kiit 3	——
khray 1 *'who'*	phay 1	——
kham 3 *'night'*	lɛɛŋ 2	obsolete mɨɨ 1 lɛɛŋ 1
khaw 1 *'he, she, they'*	pɨn 4	——
kat 2 *'to bite'*	khop 5	khop 2 *'to bite'*
khrua 1 *'kitchen'*	hɨan 2 taw 2 fay 2	rɨan 1 *'house'*, taw 1 *'stove'*, fay 1 *'fire'*
khray 3 *'to want'*	yaak 3	yaak 2 *'to want'*
khwaan 1 *'axe'*	khwaan 1 or muy 2	——
luam 1 *'loose'*	lom 3	——
laay 1 *'many'*	nak 6	nak 4 intensifier
lom 1 *'fall down'*	taaw 2	——
lɛn 3 *'to run'*	wiŋ 4	wiŋ 3 *'to run'*
laaŋ 3 *'below'*	lum 4	——
lap 4 *'to sharpen'*	fon 1	fon 1 *'to sharpen'*
mɨɨ 4 *'meal'*	khaap 4	——
maay 3 *'widow'*	mia 2 haaŋ 6	mia 1 raaŋ 4 *'widow'*
mɨɨt 3 *'dark'*	kham 4	kham 3 *'dark'*
may 3 negative	bɔɔ 3 or baa 3	——
naa 6 *'mother's younger sibling'*	ʔaa 2	ʔaa 1 *'father's younger sibling'*
puu 2 *'maternal grand-father'*	pɔɔ 4 luaŋ 1	phɔɔ 3 *'father'*, luaŋ 1 *'big'*
taa 1 *'paternal grand-father'*	pɔɔ 4 luaŋ 1	phɔɔ 3 *'father'*, luaŋ 1 *'big'*
yaay 1 *'maternal grand-mother'*	mɛɛ 4 luaŋ 1	mɛɛ 3 *'mother'*, luaŋ 1 *'big'*

yaa 3 *'paternal grand-mother'*	mɛɛ 4 luaŋ 1	mɛɛ 3 *'mother'*, luaŋ 1 *'big'*

(As can be seen from the immediately preceding forms, there is no distinction in this Mae Sot dialect between the paternal and maternal relations.)

naal *'rice field'*	toŋ 4	tuŋ 3 *'field'*
nim 3 *'soft'*	nuam 4	——
nɨa 4 *'meat'*	cin 6	chin 4 *'piece of'*
nɨay 2 *'tired'*	ʔit 5	——
naan 1 *'long time'*	mɨɨn 2	——
num 2 *'young (man)'*	baaw 3	baaw 2 *'young man'*
pɛɛ 4 *'lose'*	kan 5	——
(cha) naʔ 4 *'win'*	pɛɛ 6	pɛɛ 4 *'lose'*
ruŋ 3 *'daybreak'*	mɛɛ 4 caaw 6	mɛɛ 3 *'mother'*, chaaw 4 *'morning'*
ram 1 *'bran'*	kɛɛp 3	klɛɛp 2 *'chaff'*
rew 1 *'quick'*	wɔy 2	——
sɨa 2 *'mat'*	sɨa 3 or saat 3	sɨa 2 saat 2 *'mat'*
sak 2 khraŋ 4 nɨŋ 2 *'at least once', 'once'*	hem 1 tia 4 nɨŋ 3 ——	
yip 2 *'pick up'*	ñam 4	yam 3 *'to step on'*

This paper, though brief, has pointed out some of the differences between Standard Thai and the Mae Sot dialect. While it is generally known that Northern and Northeastern dialects use a form such as *bɔɔ B3 for the negative as opposed to the Standard Thai may 3, the author hopes that by studying many dialects and vocabulary differences it may be possible to draw a word atlas for Thailand.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON RESTRICTED INTENSIFIERS
IN NORTHERN THAI

THOMAS SCOVEL

INTRODUCTION

It may be appropriate to begin this paper on a grammatical feature
of Northern Thai by citing an example from English to provide the un-
conversant reader with an approximate idea of the structure, meaning,
and usage of intensifiers in Thai dialects. The English words "itsy-
bitsy" and "teensy-weensy" are good examples of the type of intensifica-
tion that will be discussed because: (1) these words are fairly unique
lexical items; (2) they are usually found only in informal colloquial
English; (3) they have an unusual syllable structure of rhyming syl-
lables; (4) they expand or intensify the meaning of a more common
English word (in this case, *little*). Even though there are very few
words like these in English, we shall notice later on that there are
several similarities between "itsy-bitsy words" in English and restricted
intensifiers in Northern Thai.[1]

Restricted intensifiers are words from one to four syllables in length
which are used to modify the class of verbs which Noss (1964:122) refers
to as "general adjectives". They are almost always restricted in usage
to one adjective, hence the term *restricted* intensifier as opposed to
unrestricted intensifier, like Standard Thai /mâak/ *'very'*, which can be
used to modify any adjective. As Purnell (1965:17) has observed, re-
stricted intensifiers are endocentric constructions; that is, the

---

[1] The author wishes to express his gratitude to his Northern Thai informants and to
Dr Herbert C. Purnell Jr who was generous in lending his materials and advice. The
author takes full responsibility, however, for the comments and speculations expressed
herein.

privilege of occurrence of the adjective head and intensifier used to-
gether is identical with the privilege of occurrence of the adjective
head used alone. In usage, they tend to be highly colloquial and in-
formal and are frequently used in exaggerated speech. Restricted
intensifiers are probably found in all Thai dialects, although a cursory
comparison of Standard and Northern Thai indicates that there is con-
siderable difference between dialects as to which adjectives possess
restrictive intensifiers and which do not. Thus, for the two Standard
Thai intensifiers listed as examples below, Northern Thai contains no
restricted intensifiers but must resort to unrestricted intensifiers for
modification.

Restricted Intensifiers in Standard Thai

(Note that each intensifier is restricted to only one adjective.)

> /lék kràcítrít/ *'extremely little'*, *'minute'*
> /jàaj bə̂ələ̂ə/ *'extremely big'*, *'enormous'*
> */lék bə̂ələ̂ə/ *'enormously little'*
> */jàaj kràcítrít/ *'minutely big'*

Unrestricted Intensifiers in Standard Thai

(Note that /mâak/ *'very'* can be used with any adjective.)

> /lék mâak/ *'very little'*
> /jàaj mâak/ *'very big'*

There are many similarities between the structure and meaning of
intensifiers among the Thai dialects; however, this study will be con-
fined solely to the Chiengmai dialect of Northern Thai [คำเมือง]. The
data are presented in Table I and consist of a list of restricted
intensifiers for twenty-six general adjectives drawn from two different
sources: Purnell and Hope 1962 and three Chiengmai-born informants of
different ages, sex, and educational background.[1]

    Purnell (1965:10) classifies restricted intensifiers into four groups
according to syllable length. Although all four groups are represented
in the corpus presented in Table I, one-syllable intensifiers (e.g.
1. /wɛt/) and two-syllable intensifiers (e.g. #8 /mɔ́tkɔ́t/) are more
numerous than four-syllable intensifiers (e.g. #6 /pàlĕmtê̂mtɛ́ɛ/), and
three-syllable intensifiers (#17 /khàlý?tý?/ was the only example found)

---

[1]The transcription is based on that of Purnell and Hope 1962 which itself is derived
from the familiar Haas notation. The only symbol in the table which differs from the
Standard Thai transcription is the tone mark /ᵐ/, which refers to high short-falling
tone. Syllables which end with a final stop and are not marked with a tone symbol
are pronounced with a low short-rising tone in Northern Thai.

Table I

SOME RESTRICTED INTENSIFIERS IN NORTHERN THAI

General Adjectives	Restricted Intensifier	
	Purnell and Hope	Informants (—— signifies a form identical to Purnell and Hope)
1 /sɛɛw/ 'pointed'	/wɛt/	——, /wɛɛw/
2 /sŷy/ 'straight'	/sɛ́t/	——
3 /hǎaj/ 'to disappear'	/sɛp/	——, /hǎaj sɛp hǎaj sɔ̌ɔj/
4 /mon/ 'round'	/khwɛ́t/	——, /kwɛt/
5 /khǐaw/ 'green'	/líw/	/pɣ́y/, /pɣ̌y/, /pítpǐi/
6 /lĕɛw/ 'smashed'	/lɛ́t/	——, /lĕɛw fɛ́? lĕɛw fên/. /pàlɛ̆mtɛ̆mtɛ́ɛ/
7 /wêɛt/ 'crowded'	/tàlũm/	——
8 /tàm/ 'short, low'	/mɔ́tkɔ́t/	/ʔɔ́ttɔ́t/, /ʔ⊤aʔt⊤a?/
9 /cɛ̆ɛŋ/ 'light, bright'	/sɛ̆ɛlɛ̆ɛ/	/phɛ̆ɛlɛ̆ɛ/, /sàlɛ̀?sàlɛ̆ɛ/
10 /sǔuŋ/ 'tall'	/kõŋdõŋ/	——
11 /mũm/ 'blunt'	/muʔhuʔ/	/muʔkuʔ/
12 /mŷyt/ 'dark'	/typtɣ̌y/	/tɣ́ptɣ̌y/, /tɣ́?tɣ̌y/
13 /ŋaam/ 'beautiful'	/ph⊤l⊤i/	——, /ph⊤il⊤i/
14 /dɛɛŋ/ 'red'	/pɣ̃ŋlɣ̃ŋ/	——, /pàlɣ̃ŋ/
15 /lɣ̌aŋ/ 'yellow'	/ʔɣ̃aʔtɣ̃a?/	/ʔɣ̃aʔcɣ̃a?/, /ʔɛ̀ɛmsɛ̀ɛm/
16 /lɣ́k/ 'deep'	/ciwwiw/	——, /cǐwwĭw/
17 /dam/ 'black'	/pɣ́tpɣ̌y/	——, /khàlɣ́?tɣ́?/
18 /phɔ̌ɔm/ 'thin'	/kõŋdõŋ/	——
19 /suk/ 'ripe'	/tíaʔtía?/	none found
20 /hâak/ 'to vomit'	/lɔ́?lɔ́?/	——, /lɔ́?lɔ́?/
21 /sǎn/ 'short'	/pukluk/	——, /ʔuttut/, /ʔɔttɔt/, /mítkít/
22 /lɣ̃am/ 'shiny'	/lɣ̃ammɛ?lɣ̃ammɛp/	——, /mɛ́pmɛ́p/, /mípmíp/, /mípmípmɛ́pmɛ́p/
23 /khǎaw/ 'white'	not listed	/cwɔ́?/, /swɔ́?cwɔ́?/
24 /mĕn/ 'smelly'	not listed	/tɣ́ŋ/, /tɣ̃ŋ/
25 /tũj/ 'fat'	not listed	/ʔɔ́ttɔ́t/, /ʔúttút/, /ʔɣ̌ŋpɣ̌ŋ/
26 /ʔɔ̀ɔn/ 'weak'	not listed	/m⊤aʔm⊤a?/, /ʔàlúptúptâap/ /ʔàlùppùppàap/, /pàlɛ̆mtɛ̆mtɛ́ɛ/

are extremely rare. Purnell further subclassifies the two-syllable
intensifiers, the largest group, into subgroups depending on whether
they are continuous, where the two syllables are repeated in sequence,
or discontinuous, where the two syllables are separated by the adjective.
There are many instances of continuous two-syllable intensifiers (e.g.
#9 /sɛ̌ɛlɛ̂ɛ/) but much fewer of the discontinuous type (e.g. #22
/lȳam mɛʔ lȳam mɛp/). No regularity seems to emerge which would govern
the relationship between the adjective and the number of syllables its
corresponding intensifier contains. Example #6 refutes any claim that
the number of syllables in the intensifier is predictable from either
the structure or meaning of the adjective, because the adjective /lɛ̌ɛw/
'smashed' is modified by a one-syllable intensifier /lɛ́t/, a distontin-
ous two-syllable intensifier /lɛ̌ɛw fɛ́ʔ lɛ̌ɛw fɛ̂n/, and a four-syllable
intensifier /pàlɛ̌mtɛ̂mtɛ́ɛ/.

   For a linguist who is interested in discovering patterns of rule-
governed behaviour in human language, it is frustrating to work with a
corpus such as this, in which often no neat regularities nor useful
generalisations arise. One might even be tempted to paraphrase Sapir
by stating in exasperation that "all languages leak". Despite the fact
that intensifiers vary greatly in their structure and usage and are an
unusually creative and dynamic part of the language, regularities can be
noted and recorded. These regularities are listed as informal observa-
tions in this paper because the corpus is not large enough to justify a
more formal presentation in terms of rules. Furthermore, such a pres-
entation would necessarily be based on a detailed phonology of Northern
Thai. Until a more ambitious study such as the latter is undertaken,
any formal analysis of restricted intensifiers in terms of rules and
phonological features would be *ad hoc* and unsatisfactory.

PHONOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS

   The first question that naturally arises concerns a possible relation-
ship between the phonological configuration of the adjective and that of
the intensifier which modifies it. We have already seen that it is im-
possible to predict the number of syllables in the intensifier from the
structure or meaning of the adjective; however, is it possible to work
backwards and discover any regularity in the phonological pattern of
the adjectives from the phonological pattern of the intensifiers? At
least one such regularity is apparent. One-syllable intensifiers (see
#1-6, and #23,24) are found with adjectives which contain long vowels
and end with either a sonorant or zero. Adjectives /mon/ 'round' (#4)
and /men/ 'smelly' ($24) are exceptions because they both contain short

vowels. With the exception of intensifier /líw/ (#5 which, incidentally, was listed in the language text but not confirmed by any of the informants), all one-syllable intensifiers contain short vowels and end with stops. According to traditional Thai terminology, this canonical pattern (i.e. short vowel plus final stop) is called a "dead syllable" [คำตาย]. Contrast this type with the pattern just described in the adjectives which are "live syllables" [คำเป็น] (i.e. long vowel plus sonorant or zero). It appears then that one of the characteristics that typifies the use of one-syllable restricted intensifiers in Northern Thai is dissimilation of syllable patterns, a "live syllable" adjective is contrasted with a "dead syllable" intensifier.[1]

<div align="center">

Adjective　　　　　　*Intensifier*
"live syllable"　　　　"dead syllable"

</div>

$$/\text{CVV} \begin{Bmatrix} \phi \\ \text{sonorant} \end{Bmatrix} / \qquad\qquad /\text{CVC}/$$

One more point should be added concerning the patterning of four-syllable intensifiers. They seem to follow a definite rhythmic pattern of three short-vowel syllables followed by a long-vowel syllable. In addition, the first syllable is always low tone and unstressed.

<div align="center">

(#6)　　/pàlĕmtêmêmtɛ́ɛ/

(#26)　/ʔàlúptúptâap/
　　　/ʔàlùppùppàap/
　　　/palĕmtĕmtɛ́ɛ/

</div>

Intensifier (#22) /mípmípmépmép/ is not considered to be a four-syllable intensifier but a repetition of one two-syllable intensifier.

Looking at the distribution of tones among the intensifiers listed in the corpus, it is interesting to see that of the six Northern Thai tones (the five found in Standard Thai plus /˜/), all except the mid tone are represented. Intensifier (#16) does have mid tone, /ciwwiw/, as an alternate along with rising tone, /cǐwwǐw/, but this is the only exception. Considering the rarity of mid tone in contrast to the frequent use of the other five tones in the intensifiers, it might be hypothesised that since intensification is a grammatical symbol of exaggeration or magnification, the speaker would tend to resort to the marked tones

---

[1]Another way of stating this is to view these syllable shapes in terms of William J. Gedney's tone boxes, where the adjectives are found in volumns A, B, and C and the one-syllable intensifiers are found only in column D. The tone-syllable schema proposed by Dr Gedney in 'Future directions in comparative Tai linguistics' would be germane to any historical investigation of restricted intensifiers in Thai.

rather than the mid tone which, it is assumed, would be the unmarked
tone in a detailed phonological description of Northern Thai. This
transition from unmarked to marked pitch in phonology, used to reflect
a parallel transition from "normal" to "exaggerated" speech in discourse,
is of universal importance and is found in emphatic stress in Standard
Thai (e.g. /kháw wîŋ réw rew/ 'He runs extremely fast.') as well as in
contrastive stress in English (e.g. 'I said he entered a SEMINARY, not a
cemetery!').

   If we allow the concept of marked v. unmarked phonological features
to be extended to an examination of vowel distribution in Northern Thai
intensifiers, we can again observe that there is a preference for marked
forms when intensifiers are employed. If we take the following tentative
classification to be a distinctive feature analysis of vowel height in
Northern Thai, we can see that the mid vowels are designated by both
-High and -Low, that is, in terms of distinctive features, they are un-
marked for height.

Vowel Height	Features	Vowels
High	+High -Low	i i ɨ yy y uu u
Mid	-High -Low	ee e əə ə oo o
Low	-High +Low	ɛɛ ɛ aa a ɔɔ ɔ

Now let us turn to the distribution of vowel sounds in the intensifiers
as they are shown in Table II (next page). The bracketed vowels are
not found in any of the intensifiers listed in the corpus, whereas the
unbracketed vowels are. Observe that the mid vowels, unmarked for
height in terms of distinctive features, are not used in intensifiers
in Northern Thai, although the mid vowel /o/ is a stubborn example of
the persistent exceptions which seem to pervade the data. It occurs in
examples #10 and #20. From the evidence presented in Table II we can
generalise again and claim that the lack of mid vowels, the ones un-
marked in the phonological analysis suggested, is congruent with the
general tendency for the language to use marked phonological features
in "exaggerated" forms such as restricted intensifiers. Just as there
is a tendency to avoid using the unmarked tone in intensification, there
is a similar tendency to avoid vowels unmarked for height. We must be
careful to remember the earlier warning against making generalisations
without the foundations of a formal phonological analysis of Northern
Thai. Until an adequate distinctive feature analysis is written for the
entire phonology of the language, it is premature to accept the preceding

argument for markedness too enthusiastically. At the same time, it is
hoped that when the foundations have been laid, the hypothesis proposed
here that markedness is an important phonological feature of intensifica-
tion and, perhaps, of all forms of emphatic or exaggerated speech, will
be confirmed. In addition, rules can be proposed to account for such
curious phenomena as the absence of long back vowels in the corpus and
the scarcity of diphthongs.

Table II

THE DISTRIBUTION OF VOWEL SOUNDS IN NORTHERN THAI INTENSIFIERS
(bracketed vowels are not found in the data)

	Front		*Central*		*Back*	
	long	short	long	short	long	short
High	i i	i	yy	y	uu	u
Mid	ee	e	əə	ə	oo	o
Low			aa	a	ɔɔ	ɔ

A closing comment about vowel distribution concerns vowel length.
Comparing the two intensifiers listed for example #13, /phĭilĭi/ and
/phīlīi/, we can note that long vowels can be shortened in unstressed
syllables, a phenomenon which is well-documented elsewhere in the vowel
system of the Thai language.

Looking at the distribution of consonant sounds, no clear patterns or
generalisations are apparent. Unlike the vowels, there seem to be very
few gaps in the consonant sounds represented. Those that exist tend to
reflect the consonant structure of Northern Thai as compared with
Standard Thai (e.g. there is no /r/ in Northern Thai; "low class conso-
nant" stops in Standard Thai [w, ɲ, ʎ, ʋ, etc.] are unaspirated). There
does not appear to be any correlation between the initial and final in
the adjective and the corresponding consonants in the intensifiers. It
might be added in retrospect that no such correspondence held between
the vowels of the adjective and the intensifier either.

Turning to the syllable structure, it is slightly easier to find some
patterns emerging. Besides the contrast between "live" and "dead" syl-
lables illustrated previously with the adjectives and their corresponding
one-syllable intensifiers, there is an obvious pattern to the two-syl-
lable intensifiers. We find a strong tendency for the two syllables in
the intensifiers to match in tone, vowel, and final. This matching

provides the distinctive rhyming pattern that is one of the major char-
acteristics of intensifiers in Thai and accounts for their unique and
somewhat whimsical nature. This pattern of rhyming syllables is an im-
portant characteristic of "itsy-bitsy" words in English as well (cf.
"teensy-weensy", "topsy-turvy", "hunky-dory").

SYNTACTIC OBSERVATIONS

   We can dispense with the syntactic level of analysis rather quickly,
simply because there are few observations worth making. Intensifiers
can only be used with the corresponding adjective, and thus would be
accounted for by a lexical insertion rule in a generative grammar of
Northern Thai, but one informant did suggest that occasionally, an
intensifier was used without the adjective (e.g. /dɔ̀ɔk phīlīi/ *'The
flower's very beautiful.'*).

   Recalling that intensifiers were defined as modifiers of general ad-
jectives, it is interesting to point out that intensifiers (#3) and (#20)
are used to modify verbs (note the English gloss *'TO disappear'* and *'TO
vomit'*). It would be of interest to discover if other Thai dialects
ever use intensifiers with verbs and also to determine whether this is a
relatively recent grammatical innovation. If it is, intensification is
an active and dynamic feature of Northern Thai. This would be in con-
trast to the unanimous feeling voiced by the three informants that
Northern Thai intensifiers are being rapidly lost or displaced by Stand-
ard Thai words. Whereas it is probably true that the northern dialect
is being gradually displaced by the standard language because of in-
creased communication, standardised education, and socio-economic as-
similation, it does not necessarily imply that Northern Thai is becoming
fossilised or lacking in innovation.

SEMANTIC OBSERVATIONS

   More interesting considerations crop up when we turn to a discussion
of the semantics of Northern Thai intensifiers, for intensifiers not only
intensify the meaning of the adjective as their name implies, but they
can also serve to sharpen and narrow the original meaning of the adjec-
tive head.

   First of all, intensifiers are used simply to expand and strengthen
the meaning of the adjective. For example, according to the informants,
there is a successive increase in darkness in the usage of the three
phrases listed below.

Adjective used alone
/mŷyt/ 'dark'

Adjective used with unrestricted intensifier
/mŷyt nák/ 'very dark'

Adjective used with restricted intensifier
/mŷyt týptўy/ 'extremely dark', 'pitch black'

This usage which increases or intensifies the original meaning of the
adjective is probably the most common manner in which restricted
intensifiers are employed in Northern Thai.

A second way in which they are used, however, is to modify the degree
of intensity for the meaning of the adjective. This is done when there
are two restricted intensifiers: one which denotes a slight degree of
intensity, and another which denotes a larger degree. Compare the use
of intensifiers with example #20, which the informants claimed reflect
different degrees of magnitude for the original meaning of the unmodi-
fied word.

/pân hâak/ 'He vomited.'

/pân hâak lɔ́ʔ lɔ́ʔ/ 'He threw up a little.'

/pân hâak lóʔ lóʔ/ 'He threw up all over the place.'

A third way in which intensifiers are used is to sharpen or focus
the broader meaning of the adjective. There are many examples of this,
and some disagreement among the informants over the exact usage of these
words, but this is only to be expected when dealing with such a creative
and capricious aspect of the language. An example that comes immediately
to mind are the intensifiers listed for (#25). When used alone, /tūj/
simply means *'fat'*; when it is modified by /pút tút/ it means *'very short
and fat'* like a small chubby child; and when it is modified by /ʔўŋypўŋ/
it means *'extremely fat'* like a fat man at a carnival. Another example
of how different intensifiers can reflect different shades of meaning is
illustrated by item (#17). The intensifier /pýtpўy/ has a neutral mean-
ing and merely intensifies the meaning of black so that /dam pýtpўy/
means *'extremely black'*. As such, the phrase could be used to describe
a handsome person who happened to have a very dark complexion. On the
other hand, the expression /dam khàlýʔtýʔ/ not only implies *'extremely
black'* but also *'very ugly'*. It would never be used in place of the ex-
ample just cited above, but would be more appropriate in describing the
swarthiness of a monster like King Kong.

ETYMOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS

One of the interesting aspects of restricted intensifiers that has not yet been investigated is the question of where they come from and how they arose in the colloquial language. When presented with this question, the informants and other Chiengmai residents either begged ignorance or answered that these words were playfully invented to decorate the language. Most of them insisted with some conviction that the intensifiers in themselves had no meaning nor were they derived from archaic words. Given this sentiment and the danger of speculating about the origins of words used in colloquial speech where it is impossible to resort to written, dated records, it is fruitless to pursue the etymology of these interesting words too deeply. However, a few spculations are offered in the belief that honest curiosity is better than academic indifference and that even a folk etymology is better than no etymology at all.

After persistent inquiry, one informant offered a plausible explanation for the etymology of three intensifiers. He suggested that the second syllable for the intensifier /ʔǐaʔtǐaʔ/ of (#8) /tàm/ *'short, low'* came from the word /tǐaʔ/ *'to be short in stature'*. Similarly, he suggested that /ʔy̌ŋpy̌ŋ/, one of the intensifiers for (#25) /tūj/ *'fat'*, is an expansion of the verb /py̌ŋ/ *'to inflate'* and conveys the idea of *'overinflated'* when used to modify *'fat'*. He also thought that the word listed in Purnell and Hope 1962 as the intensifier in #19, /suk tíaʔtíaʔ/ *'extremely ripe'*, came from the word /tíaʔ/ which means *'over-ripe'* in Northern Thai and was not really an authentic intensifier. In fact, as can be seen from Table I, none of the informants accepted /tíaʔtíaʔ/ as a legitimate intensifier. These explanations appear similar to the ones often suggested for the "itsy-bitsy words" in English (e.g. *'itsy-bitsy'* is an expansion of *'bit'*, *'teensy-weensy'* is an expansion of *'tiny'*, and *'topsy-turvy'* is an expansion of *'top'*). Other intensifiers in the corpus lend themselves to this type of explanation. For example, it is quite possible that the first syllable of /týpty̌y/, the intensifier for (#12) /mŷyt/ *'dark'*, is derived from the Northern Thai word /týp/ *'dense, opaque'*.

A more speculative etymology can be proposed for the intensifiers of (#23) /khǎaw/ *'white'*. The word /cwɔ́ʔ/, or its two-syllable expansion /swɔ́ʔcwɔ́ʔ/, might be a corruption of the Teochiu Chinese word for *'paper'* /cûa/; /khǎaw cwɔ́ʔ/ *'white as a sheet of paper'*. A final speculation concerns the words /lɔ́ʔlɔ́ʔ/ and /lóʔlóʔ/, the intensifiers for (#20) /hâak/ *'to vomit'*. One possibility is they are an alternate pronunciation of the Thai word /lɔ́ʔ/ *'to be splattered'*. Another possibility is they are related to the Chinese loan word /lóʔ/ *'to discard'*.

Despite the evidence that some intensifiers are derived or expanded
from real words in Thai or Chinese, the majority appear to be nonsensical
phonological creations. The frequency of rhyming syllables, the lack of
phonological consistency, coupled with the belief expressed by native
speakers that these words are meaningless syllables in themselves, all
tend to support the notion that they are a creative adjunct to the basic
lexical structure of the language. Purnell (1965:17) has suggested that
some sounds used in intensifiers tend to be associated with certain
general meanings. For example, he suggests that /ɔ, ɛ, i/ tend to be
used with a diminutive meaning. This suggestion is intriguing when com-
pared to a comment about English made by Langacker (1968:27) that "the
sound /i/ gives the impression of rapidity or insignificance". Such a
claim about sound symbolism is difficult to substantiate, but has inter-
ested linguists like Humboldt, Firth, and Householder over a span of
years.

CONCLUSION

Intensifiers may be semantically nothing more than noisy gongs and
tinkling cymbals, but they are a virtual musical overlay to the Northern
vernacular, and the language would be something less without them. This
paper has presented a few comments concerning the use of these colourful
words; however, these observations are related to questions of general
interest concerning the phonology, structure, and semantics of the
Northern dialect of Thai, and of the Thai language as a whole. Hope-
fully, these questions will be pursued in the future by other investi-
gators. And if the legacy remains undiminished, among them, no doubt,
will be found Dr Gedney's students, and, in turn, his students' students.

SYLLABIC ꭡ IN TAI-LUE AND NEIGHBOURING TAI DIALECTS

JOHN F. HARTMANN

The appearance of syllabic ꭡ in Tai-Lue is a case of reduction of
morphemes that are syntactically, semantically and phonologically weak.
This three-pointed conspiracy is quite prominent in Lue where the number
of morphemes that have been levelled to ꭡ is probably greater than in
other dialects. Early visitors among the Lue in Yunnan, in fact, de-
scribed Lue speech as having a mumbling quality when compared to what
they judged to be the clarity of Siamese (Central Thai) or Yuan (Northern
Thai). While Siamese does not have an authentic ꭡ, it does participate
in the general process that we are describing. The reduction of Siamese
/maak²/ to an unstressed syllable /mǎ/ as in /mǎ muaŋ³/ *'mango'* is an
example of the closest that Siamese comes to the Lue phenomenon where
we find Lue /ꭡ²mooŋ⁵/ [ꭡ¹mooŋ⁵]. Northern Thai, closely documented on
the colloquial level in Purnell and Hope 1962, is like Lue. Northern
Thai, Purnell and Hope (1962:28) note, has "the prefix bà- or m̀- to
indicate fruit and some other roundish, lumpy objects". Shan shares
with Lue the negative expressed as ꭡ (Cushing 1914; Egerod 1957). Black
Tai speakers reportedly use ꭡ, but the actual data have not come to my
attention. Likewise, one hears comments that the Cantonese negative,
like Lue and Shan is a syllabic ꭡ. If the geographic spread of syllabic
ꭡ is extensive, we may be dealing with an areal feature not limited to
Tai dialects.

This paper[1] is restricted to data which are available to the author
in order to trace, in part, the development of syllabic ꭡ in Tai-Lue

---

and to make occasional references and comparisons to other dialects:
Siamese, Northern Thai, White and Black Tai, Shan, and Lao, all of which
lie within the Southwestern branch of the Tai language family (Li 1960)
and Tho, a Tai dialect spoken in N. Vietnam. As a point of reference,
the relevant details of the matrix developed by Gedney 1964 illustrat-
ing the development of tones from Proto-Tai categories may be used.

Proto-Tai Tones

	A	B	C	D-long	D-short
Voiceless (-Initials at time of vl/vd split)	(1)	(2)	(3)		
Voiced	(4)	(5)	(6)		

Smooth syllables   *Checked syllables*

CHART I

Lue spoken at Chieng Hung (Ch'e-li), Yunnan replicates the tonal
splits numbered in Chart I. Lue of Ceng Tong (Li 1964) and Lue of
Chiengkham, Thailand (Weroha 1974) have the same tonal pattern as Chieng
Hung. Lue of Moeng Yong, Burma (Gedney 1969) is slightly different,
but identical to the splits of Yuan and Khuen (Egerod 1959). The order
and number of synchronic tones here, in fact, reflects the knowledge of
an educated Lue informant.[1] The system of numbered tones facilitates
comparisons across dialects. However, an alternate method used chiefly
in Chinese linguistics is excellent for recording impressions of tonal
shapes. Chart II combines the features of both systems.

The Tones of Tai-Lue spoken at Chieng Hung, Yunnan

	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D-long)	(D-short)
voiceless (yin)	#1, high-level ˥55	#2, mid-rising ˧˥35	#3, low, glot.,slt. 13	=2 ˥	=1 ˥
voiced (yang)	#4, fall-ing ˩51	#5, mid-level ˧33	#6, low, level, slt. rise ˩11	=5 ˧	=5 ˧

Smooth syllables   *Checked syllables*

CHART II

[1] Mr Seree Weroha, a Lue-speaking graduate student at the University of Michigan, pro-
vided data for his dialect for which I express my thanks.

We shall proceed now to elaborate the individual instances of syllabic ṃ in Lue.[1]

I. **The negative:** bau^2 ∧ m^2 ∧. In an excellent study of Lue of Chieng Hung, Fu 1956 provides the following information on the negative. (Here I use my own transcription and add the tone numbers according to the combinations in Chart II.)

bau^2∧ or (ṃ^2∧)	pay^1 ⌐ *'not go'*
	maa^4 ∨ *'not come'*
bau^1⌐ or (ṃ^1⌐)	paak^2∧ *'not say'*
	laa^3 ⟋ *'not far'*
	maa^5 ⊣ *'not rotten'*
	laan^6⌟ *'not bald, blunt'*

Fu and his co-workers do not go on to comment on the ṃ^1 and ṃ^2 variants of the negative. It appears that tonal assimilation or dissimilation is taking place; the question is to what. Referring to Chart II and combining synchronic and diachronic information, the ṃ^2 variant is seen as unaltered by a following "A" (1,4) tone, while the ṃ^1 complement is marked by a following "B,C" (2,5,3,6) tonal environment. In a diachronic sense, these two ṃ variants are assimilating or dissimilating to an earlier stage in Lue where the tones A, B, and C were undifferentiated, i.e. before undergoing the *voiced-voiceless initials bifurcation. Synchronically we arrive at the same end result by looking at the entry point of the six tones. Provisionally taking ṃ^2 as the base form, it can be said that it is unaltered when followed by tones that begin at the highest point or level 5. But by a modified "flip-flop" rule, ṃ^2 is deflected up to ṃ^1 when followed by tones whose entry points are mid (level 3) or low (level 1). That is ṃ^2 (-high) changes to ṃ^1 (+high) when followed by any tones whose entry point is -high. The rule, which will be revised below, could read

$$ṃ^2 \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} ṃ^2 / \text{\_\_\_\_\_} + \text{high entry point} \\ ṃ^1 / \text{\_\_\_\_\_} - \text{high entry point} \end{Bmatrix}$$

Schematically, the diachronic-synchronic tonal environments conditioning the variation in ṃ appear in Chart III.

Diachronic	A (high)	B (mid)	C (low)
Synchronic	5⟵—5 (1)	⟋5 (2)	⟋3 (3)
	＼	3⟵—3 (5)	1⟵—1 (6)
	＼1 (4)		
	+high entry	−high entry point	

CHART III

II. The prefix maak[2] ⌇ 'fruit; classifier for spherical objects'.

In Fu 1956, we find the following list for the prefix maak[2] ⌇ (again the revised transcription is used):

maak fuuŋ ⌐		m̥ fuuŋ ⌐ 'plums'
maak kɔɔ ⌇	mak kɔɔ ⌇	m̥ kɔɔ ⌇ 'chestnuts'
maak huu ⌁	mak huu ⌁	m̥ huu ⌁ 'strawberry'
maak fay Ɣ		m̥ fay Ʋ 'fire fruit'
maak mooŋ ⊣	mak mooŋ ⊣	m̥ mooŋ ⊣ 'mango'
maak pau ⌐	mak pau ⌐	m̥ pau ⌐ 'coconut'

The m̥[1] and m̥[2] variants derived from maak[2] precede the same tones as the syllabic negative did. Indeed, the list is arranged accordingly. Implied in the Fu 1956 data on maak[2] are the following rules. First, D-long, the checked syllable with a long vowel (Chart II), becomes D-short under conditions of light stress.

$$-VV \longrightarrow -V/\underline{\quad}-\text{stress}^1$$

Again, following Chart II, we see that accompanying the change in vowel length is a change of tone.

$$\text{D-long tone 2} \longrightarrow \text{D-short tone 1}$$

The final -k of the form which has become mak is deleted.

$$-k \longrightarrow \emptyset \ / \underline{\quad}\#$$

This gives us the syllable with light stress that we find in Siamese: mă. Applying a further reduction of stress in Lue, the vowel is deleted and any vestige of tone with it.

$$\text{mă} \longrightarrow \text{m̥} \ / \underline{\quad}-\text{stress}^2$$

Finally tone is "regenerated" for the syllabic m̥ through dissimilation (polarisation) according to the rules presented in section 1 above, but now revised as:

$$
\overset{\circ}{\underset{\text{ŋ}}{}} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} m^2 \ / \underline{\quad} \text{+high entry point tone} \\ m^1 \ / \underline{\quad} \text{-high entry point tone} \end{array} \right\}
$$

The rule now appears to be one of simple dissimilation. Further refinement can be made when we consider that the original tone of maak^2 (or bau^2, the negative) is -high entry point (level 3). Then it is a case of tonal polarisation where ŋ̍$^{-high}$ will be followed by syllables that are +high and, conversely, ŋ̍$^{+high}$ is the flip-flop that results when a syllable carrying a -high entry tone follows it. The final version of the rule should probably read this naturalness condition into it.

$$
\overset{\circ}{\underset{\text{ŋ}}{}} \longrightarrow [\alpha \ H] \ / \ \underline{\quad} \ [-\alpha \ H]
$$

The essential soundness of this analysis is supported by statements made by Hyman and Schuh (1974:see 4.4) in a discussion of some universals of tone rules.

> Tone polarization is a type of rule that applies to synchronic toneless morphemes and gives them the tone opposite to that of a neighboring syllable, e.g. a high tone before a low tone, but a low tone before a high tone...What frequently is the case with polarization processes is that morphemes lose their original tonal identity and take their tone according to context.

We have discovered tonal polarisation in ŋ̍ only by abstracting two tone features: +high and -high (±H). This may suggest that in a distinctive feature matrix for Tai tones that ±H is all that is needed (see Sarawit 1973:88), for example. The *vd./vl. split implies ±H, and the Siamese writing system indicates the same: high class consonants (+H) have an inherent rising tone, low and mid class (-H) an inherent mid tone. In other words, we have made Lue a two-tone language.

In this two tone scheme, ŋ̍ has been shown to assume either tone from a later environment. This flexibility is not a result of fiat, but of naturalness. The phoneme ŋ̍ is not an obstruent. Therefore it has no inherent depressing (-H) or raising (+H) effect on syllable tone despite its voicedness. It is a sonorant, a "swinger" that accommodates easily to the flip-flop. Or in reverse, it is because of the neutralness of ŋ̍- with respect to tone that it naturally accommodates itself to ±H.

It may be appropriate to digress for a moment to note that the neutralness of the class of obstruents is reflected in the present-day Siamese writing system. There is a rule which converts an obstruent (-H) from the "low class" series to the "high class" series (+H). In Proto-Tai, the latter are reconstructed as *voiceless (aspirated) obstruents: *hm-, etc.

Comments by Hyman and Schuh (1974) on the tonal features of sonorants illuminate the Lue ŋ̍ and the general outlines of Tai tonal developments.

What we conclude is that sonorants are neither of a high tone
nor of a low tone nature, but rather allow whatever natural
tone process it may be to occur. In the blocking hypothesis,
voiceless obstruents do not permit a low tone to spread
through them, while voiced obstruents do not allow a high
tone to spread through them. Since sonorants do not have any
resistant tonal propensities of their own (i.e. they are
neutral, flexible), they allow both high and low tone to
spread through them - whatever is natural.

III. **Vocative prefix ŋ.** Two socially distinct uses of the vocative
prefix ŋ are found.

In addressing the elders in the family, the young Lue of Chieng Hung
uses the syllabic ŋ as a prefix with kinship terms. The number of terms
and the exact meaning and form may vary from village to village and even
family to family. The following three from my own field notes are basic.
The polarisation rule applies here as well.

$$\text{ŋ}^1 + \text{pɔɔ}^5 \quad \textit{'dear father'}$$
$$\text{mɛɛ}^5 \quad \textit{'dear mother'}$$
$$\text{pii}^5 \quad \textit{'dear sister (under 35)'}$$

The use of the ŋ vocative prefix connotes respect and, according to
some informants, affection. We cannot be sure what the original mor-
pheme was. According to Weroha (personal communication), the children
of the Chiengkham, Thailand area first use the diminutive prefix ʔ.i i^2
for *'daddy, mommy, etc.'*. At about age 4, they switch to the ŋ prefix.
In most, if not all Tai dialects, the prefix ʔii^2 is a normal prefix
indicating female gender. In Northern Thai we find the following forms
cited by Purnell (1963:71):

$$\text{ʔìi pɔ̂ɔ} \quad \textit{'Daddy; Dad'}$$
$$\text{ʔìi mɛ̂ɛ} \quad \textit{'Mommy; Mom'}$$
$$\text{ʔìi fɔɔŋ} \quad \textit{'Fɔɔng'} \text{ (used by her parents)}$$

Purnell comments (1963:71) that in these examples ʔìi "denotes affec-
tion or endearment and is used by a child speaking to or of his parents,
or by a parent speaking to or of his daughter".

Otherwise, in Northern Thai, ʔìi is a feminine prefix which can also
"denote inferiority or mild contempt". For our purposes the most
significant remark made by Purnell (1963:71) is: "A few speakers tend
to say ʔìmpɔ̂ɔ; ʔìmmɛ̂ɛ". Here we see the intrusion of an m in a labial
environment. This suggests one source for the development of the Lue ŋ
in ŋ^1 pɔɔ^5, etc. After the m has intruded, the original ʔii is dropped
in Lue. Or,

ʔii^2 pɔɔ^5 > ʔimpɔɔ^5 > ŋ̊ pɔɔ^5 (by polarisation) ŋ^{1}pɔɔ^5

While the Lue youngster may use ʔii^2 as prefix to *'Mom, Dad, Sis'*,
as an adult he continues to use the same form (ʔii^2) as a prefix to

paternal grandparents. There is an ?ii[1] variant which appears to parallel the tonal polarisation exhibited by the ŋ̩[1] variant of ŋ̩[2]. Several of my informants were careful to point out this single instance of the ?ii[1] prefix. In all instances where ?ii[2] remains unchanged (does not flip flop), the following noun is feminine. Semantic considerations may not permit the loss of the feature +feminine inherent in ?ii[2]. In the single exception, the following noun is +masculine, and the only important semantic feature of the prefix is now +diminutive. In fact, since sex identity is involved, the tonal alternation emphasises the distinction either by an exception or by polarisation. At any rate, the forms are as follows, with the possibility of polarisation applying to the former but not to the latter.

$$+H/-H: \quad ?ii^{\frac{1}{2}} \quad puu^{\frac{2}{5}} \quad \textit{'Gramps, Grandaddy (paternal)'}$$
$$-H/-H: \quad ?ii \quad yaa \quad \textit{'Granny'}$$

The second instance of the vocative ŋ̩ has the semantic feature +male, +intimate (informal). Two informants gave baa[3] as the unreduced syllable. Usually baa[3] means *'crazy'*. To call a young boy or one's close male friends in Lue, these forms are used.

$$baa^3 \quad ba \quad \eta^{\frac{1}{2}} \quad caay^4 \quad \textit{'boy!'} \text{ (to call a boy)}$$
$$\eta \quad sak^1 \quad \textit{'Sak!'} \text{ (to call Sak, a friend)}$$

This is not a fully satisfying reconstruction because it raises too many questions. Possibly, my informants, who were both young and accustomed to using only the ŋ̩ variant, could not recall the older form from their inactive vocabulary. In checking cognates in Lao, White Tai and Shan, two solutions are suggested: baaw[2] *'young man'* or bak[1] *'young male, animal or human'*. The evidence favours the latter.

In White Tai the cognate of baaw[2] *'young man'* is used as a noun or an adjective, not a prefix. We find in Dieu and Donaldson 1970 the following:

bao	*a male teenager, bachelor, young man*
bao on	*a young man aged from 15 to 19*
bao ke	*a bachelor between 20 and 30*
bao thau	*a bachelor over 30 years of age*
po bao	*a young man*
tao bao	*a young man of noble birth*

The Lao-Lao dictionary published by the Lao Ministry of Education (1962) lists the following relevant form (my translation):

baa	*'a word used in front of the male gender, still young; used in the same manner as the prefix* thaw'

That same dictionary goes on to say the baa has become bak. This latter
variant is defined in Marcus 1970 as *'Mr., Mister'*. The Reinhorn 1970
Lao-French dictionary shows the connection between the two forms.

      bà   1. *voc.* populaire d'un garcon.

      bàk   1. *v.* tailler, encocher; *n.* une encoche le
                     callet, l'epaulement (le callet du gland,
                     le gland)

    In Shan (Cushing 1914) the cognate of bak is mák ∿ wák *v.* to notch,
to slash into; *n.* the head of the penis, vulgar. Lue has bak[1] *'to notch'*.
In Lao and Lue the change must have been bàk > bà. The total picture in
Lue mirrors the reduction of maak[2].

        Lue: bak[1] > bă > m̥ *'prefix used for young males, informal'*

    IV. Syllabic ŋ[6] for ŋɨɨ[6] *'day (linear time)'*. In Siamese, Lao,
Northern Thai, Lue and Shan, the seven days of the week employ the mor-
pheme wan[4] or van[4]. In Shan, wan also means *sun*, an indiction of the
etymology of the word and its astrological origins. In White Tai, Dieu
and Donaldson 1970, a cognate of this shape does not appear. Perhaps a
Chinese loanword is employed instead. In those Tai dialects where a
form of wan *'day'* is used, it implies the use of a calendar or the con-
cept of cyclical time represented therein. At least as far east as the
Tho dialect of the Red River region we find the morpheme van *'jour'* (*day*)
(Nguyen-Van-Huyen 1941). But alongside the concept of cyclical time we
find the notion of linear time represented by the morpheme mɨɨ[6] in Lue
and recognisable cognates in Tho, White Tai, Lue, Lao, Shan and perhaps
other dialects. In White Tai temporal linearity is seen in the follow-
ing forms (from Dieu and Donaldson 1970:227):

mɯ	*a day*
mɯ ni	*today*
mɯ ɯ́n	*tomorrow*
mɯ hɯ̆	*the day after tomorrow*
mɯ mɯh	*in three days*
mɯ mɯ́n	*in four days*
mɯ lōng	*in five days*
mɯ ngoa	*yesterday*
mɯ sɯ̈n	*the day before yesterday*
mɯ sɯ̆n	*three days ago*
mɯ sɯ̯n	*four days ago*

In Shan and Lue the term can refer to *time* in general as well as *day*.
In Northern Thai the form mya *'time; season'* is given by Purnell 1963,
but it is not associated with *'day'*. The semantic shifts and overlaps
found in the appearance of van and mɨɨ in these neighbouring dialects

recapitulate many of the groupings of dialects based on phonology alone.
On the basis of sharing the concept of days measured in linear time,
Shan, Lue and Lao can be linked to White Tai and Tho on the one hand,
but disassociated from Siamese and Northern Thai on the other where wan
is used exclusively for the concept *'day'*.

The point of these comparisons has been primarily to find the original
morpheme for the syllabic ŋ̣ in Lue which appears as the prefix in forms
such as ŋ̣ vaa⁴ *'yesterday'*, ŋ̣ phuk¹ *'tomorrow'*, etc. In Lue, then, the
change has been mɨɨ⁶>ŋ̣ as evidenced by the colloquial expression
"kaw³mɨɨ⁶ sip¹ van⁴" – *'nine or ten days'*. It is assumed that this ad-
ditional token of the syllabic ŋ̣ would exhibit polarised tones. The
data, unfortunately, are not available.

The use of cyclical and linear days is compared in the following
charts.

A. *Cyclical time: days of the week*

	Siamese	Lao	N. Thai	Lue
Sunday	wan ʔathít	wan ʔaathit	wan tĭt	van tít
Monday	wan can	wan can	wan căn	van cán
Tuesday	wan ʔaŋkhaan	wan ʔaŋkhaan	wan kaan	kâan
Wednesday	wan phút	wan phūt	wan pūt	put
Thursday	wan pharɨhàt	wan paphàt	wan phát	phát
Friday	wan sùk	wan suk	wan súk	súk
Saturday	wan săw	wan saw	wan săw	sáw

Even here, the propensity for Northern Thai and Lue to reduce or
remove syllables is illustrated in the forms for Sunday, Tuesday,
Thursday.

B. *Linear Time: days before and after, etc.*

	day before yesterday	yesterday	day	today	tomorrow	day after tomorrow
Siamese	mɨa waan sɨɨn	mɨa waan	wan	wan níi	phrûŋ nii	mărɨɨn níi
Lao	mɨɨ kɔɔn	mɨɨ waan níi	mɨɨ	mɨɨ níi	mɨɨ ʔɨɨn	
Lue	mɨ̄ɨ/ŋ̣ sɨn	mɨ̄ɨ/ŋ̣ vâa	mɨ̄ɨ	mɨ̄ɨ nĩi	mɨɨ/ŋ̣ phuk	mɨ̄ɨ hɨɨ
N. Thai	wan sɨɨn	wan waa	wan	wan nîi	wan phüük	wan hɨɨ

Clearly Lao and Lue are more closely related along the dimension of
time expression.

V.   Residual forms of Lue syllabic ŋ. Two final items are listed here.

a) ŋ̊ tuu¹ *'door'*

b) ŋ̊ saŋ¹ *'what'*, e.g. kin¹ ŋ² saŋ¹ *'what are you eating?'*

Although no corroborating evidence can be found for the first form, semantically speaking, it might be cognate with the Siamese form /pàak/ *'mouth'*. For the second form, the origin of the ŋ is again /baw²/ as is evidenced in the forms elicited from an informant chanting a narrative.

> baw²saaŋ¹taay¹ saaŋ⁵ kee ³nəə¹look⁵loo⁴kaa¹
> *'what died away completely from the earth?'*

> bă-saaŋ¹ taay¹ saan⁴ ciin³
> *'what made everything die completely?'*

What we witness here is not the functioning of the usual negative particle, but a question particle which must be a relative and transformation (syntactic) of the Northern Thai (and Lao) cognate bɔ̆ɔ.

VI.   Summary. The pursuit of syllabic ŋ across dialect boundaries in the Tai domain has proven interesting from the standpoint of phonology. It has been shown that in the process of reduction under conditions of radically reduced stress and semantic and syntactic entrophy, the original tone of a syllable can be lost and a new one assigned on the simple basis of polarity. Two Lue "architones", +High and -High, have been abstracted from the set of 6 synchronic tones by assessing the entering level of each tone measured on the conventional scale of 1 (low) to 5 (high).[1] The flip-flop behaviour of ŋ indicated that only two heights or tones are relevant: ±H.

In actually reconstructing archaic (but not proto-) forms, the unreduced syllables from which the several syllabics derived, lexical comparisons have revealed a greater unity between Lue and Lao than I had anticipated. Similarly, Northern Thai is linked more closely to Siamese to the south than it is to Lue to the north. These isolated instances of lexical comparisons do not have the advantage of displaying the neater regularities of phonological differences and similarities. At best, lexical parallels are mere intimations of cognitive similarities between speech communities. On a cumulative basis, however, such evidence would be more than circumstantial. Nevertheless, it would appear that syllabic ŋ, its lexical sources, and its geographic spread are an important feature in any study of vernacular Tai dialects.

---

[1]In this regard it is reassuring to compare Hashimoto 1971 which posits a ± Low tonal environment for explaining vowel alternation in the Foochow dialect of Chinese.

SAEK REVISITED

WILAIWAN KHANITTANAN

This article is intended to complement Professor Gedney's 1970 article on 'The Saek Language of Nakhon Phanom Province', in which he describes the phonological structure of Saek. In this paper I will discuss some word classes such as personal pronouns, sentence particles, question words and classifiers.

I. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Like other Thai dialects, Saek has different words to mean *'I'*, *'you'* and the third person. Also like most Thai dialects spoken in the provinces of Thailand, Saek has a less elaborate system of personal pronouns than Standard Thai. This is certainly due to or related to the social structure of the community and the use of personal pronouns reflects this structure. In selecting the suitable personal pronoun in Saek, one has to consider "age" and "type of relation" of the speaker, the hearer, and the third person. Unlike Standard Thai, any personal pronoun in Saek can be used by both male and female speakers. Saek has the following personal pronouns:

First Person	*Second Person*	*Third Person*
1. hɔy[5]	1. caw[3]	1. vua[5]
2. phaan[1]	2. ʔay[3]	2. raw[6]
3. hiiŋ[5]	3. ʔay[3]	3. man[6]
4. kuu[6]	4. mɨŋ[6]	
5. ruu[4]	5. ʔay[3]	

Table I

[hɔy^5] *'I'* indicates politeness, It is used when the speaker wants to show respect and politeness toward the hearer who, normally, is older or unacquainted.

[phaan^1] *'I'* is used when the hearer is about the same age as the speaker.

[hiiŋ^5] *'I'* is used among people of the same age to show intimacy.

[ruu^4] *'I'* has the same usage as [hiiŋ^5].

[kuu^6] *'I'* indicates intimacy. It is used when the speaker is older or about the same age as the hearer.

[caw^3] *'you'* indicates politeness. It is used when the hearer is older than the speaker or when the hearer is a stranger.

[ʔay^3] *'you'* is used when the speaker and the hearer are about the same age. They can be friends or strangers.

[mɨŋ^6] *'you'* indicates intimacy. It is used when the hearer is younger or about the same age as the speaker.

[vua^5] *'he, she'* is used to refer to a respected or older third person.

[raw^6] *'he, she'* refers to third person in general.

[man^6] *'he, she, it'* refers to a younger third person.

[phaan^1], [hiiŋ^5] and [ruu^4] may be used interchangeably. They have no difference in meaning.

Each Saek personal pronoun refers to only one person, that is, plurality is not expressed in this class of words. When there is a need to indicate plurality, either [muu^2] *'group'* or [phuak^5] *'group'* is added in front of each personal pronoun, for example, [muu^2 ruu^4] *'we'*, [phuak^5 ruu^5] *'they'*. Or the word [kin^6] *'each other'* follows the verb to indicate that there is more than person performing the action of the verb, for example, [man^6 mok^4 kin^6] *'They beat each other'*.

The first and the second person pronouns go in pairs as indicated by the numerical order in Table I above. That is, the selection of one form of *'I'* determines the choice for the form of *'you'*. It would sound peculiar if the expected partner of the pair were not used.

[raw^6] which is used as a first and second person in many other dialects is used as a third person pronoun in this dialect. Is it possible that [raw] was once used as a first, second, and third person, which is like present usage of kinship terms and personal names?

II. NAMES, KIN TERMS, AND TITLES

Personal names and kinship terms can also be used as personal pro-
nouns, but they have a wider usage. That is, they can be used either
as a first person, a second person or a third person. Person names in
Saek are not different from those in Standard Thai or other Thai dialects
but what is conspicuous is that Saek person names are considered old-
fashioned by the speakers of Standard Thai whose names are created daily
based on Sanskrit. The following are kinship terms in Saek:

[yaa³ - thuat³] *paternal great-grandmother*
[puu² - thuat³]
[ʔaay⁴ - thuat³]
[oon⁴ - thuat³]

[phɔɔ⁵] *father*   [mee⁵] *mother*
[ʔooŋ⁵] *grandfather*   [taa⁶] *maternal grandfather*
[yaa³] *maternal grandmother*   [ʔaay⁴] *maternal grandmother*
[puu²] *paternal grandfather*   [yaa³] *paternal grandfather*
[luŋ⁴] *mother's or father's older brother*
[paa³] *mother's or father's older sister*
[ʔaaw³] *father's younger brother*
[ʔɔɔ³] *father's younger sister*
[ʔææŋ¹] *eldest son*
[cii³] *eldest daughter*
[phii⁵] *older sibling*
[nuaŋ³] *younger sibling*
[lɨk³] *offspring*
[laan²] *grandchild*
[leen¹] *great-grandchild*
[lɔɔt²] *great-great-grandchild*

The last six kinship terms may take the suffix [baaw⁴] *'male'* or
[saaw⁴] *'female'* to indicate gender; for example, [lɨk³-baaw⁴] *'son'*
and [laan²-saaw⁴] *'granddaughter'*. They can also take the suffix
[khwooy⁴] *'male-in-law'* and [khwəə³] *'female-in-law'* to indicate rela-
tionship by marriage; for example, [lɨk³-khwooy⁴] *'son-in-law'*, and
[laan²-khwəə³] *'wife of a grandson'*. Saek has different titles for old
people, young people, and children. [thaw³] which means *'old'* is used
in front of old people's names to show politeness or respect; for ex-
ample, [thaw³-maa⁶] *'Mr Maa'* or [thaw³-sii¹] *'Mrs See'*. [threem³] is
used in front of younger people's names. Like [thaw³], [threem³] may be
used either before a male or a female name. Boys and girls get different
titles: [ʔææŋ³] is used preceding a boy's name and [naaŋ⁴] before a

girl's name. What is noticeable here is that Saek children have separate titles but as they grow up they share the same titles.

III. SENTENCE PARTICLES

Marvin Brown describes *sentence particles*, the label often applied to short words which are added at the end of sentences, functioning in a way comparable to English intonation. Those particles never occur alone to convey meaning. They may be used to indicate an urge, a command, or to form questions.

There are two question particles in Saek, [haa³] and [he?⁴-boo²]. These two words turn statements into questions when added at the end of the sentence.

These two words can be used interchangeably, for example:

[mee³ yuu² raan⁴   he?⁴-boo²]
mother to be home   question particle
Is mother home?

[mee³ yuu² raan⁴   haa³]
mother to be home   question particle
Is mother home?

[mak⁴   he?⁴-boo²]
to like   question particle
Do you like it?

[mak⁴   haa³]
to like   question particle
Do you like it?

[yuu⁴   nam⁴ phan³   haa³]
to swim to be able   question particle
Do you swim?

[si²-hit²   he?⁴-boo²]
will do   question particle
Are you going to do it?

The following are some other final particles in Saek.

[na⁶-khay⁴] is added at the end of a positive command to make it sound stronger and show the urge of the speaker.

[riik⁵   rææŋ⁴   rææŋ⁴   na⁶-khay⁴]
to call loud   loud   particle
Call him loudly!

[tak⁴ nam⁶   thræ² - thræ²   na⁶-khay⁴]
to dip water soft   soft   particle
Dip up the water softly!

[ʔaw¹   din¹-som³ pay¹ kuan⁶ nam⁶   na⁶-khay⁴]
to take alum   go   stir water particle
Stir some alum in the water!

[ʔiil³] is also added at the end of a positive command. Though it
shows the urge of the speaker, it is different from [na⁶-khay⁴] in that
it adds a sympathetic feeling of the speaker towards the listener. Thus,
it is mostly used when the speaker is older or superior to the listener.
The word is pronounced [ʔiit³] by younger speakers.

[thuu¹   raan⁴ ʔiil³]
to clean house particle
Clean the floor!

[kin¹   ʔiil³]
to eat particle
Eat it!

[diʔ⁴] is used in negative sentences to soften them. To native
speakers, a negative sentence without this particle sounds harsh and
almost impolite.

[boo² pay¹   diʔ⁴]
not to go particle
I am not going.

[boo² kin¹   diʔ⁴]
not to eat particle
No, I won't eat it.

[vaw⁴ boo² nak⁴   diʔ⁴]
light not heavy particle
No, it is light; it is not heavy.

[ʔiit⁴] is used at the end of a statement to show that whatever the
speaker is doing is not important or does not take any particular energy.

[pay¹ tham²   sak⁴ ʔiit⁴]
to go to visit just particle
I am going to visit him (a little).

[yak⁴   phia³ ʔiit⁴]
to wash blouse particle
I am washing (a little).

[het² læ⁶-ŋaay⁴   ʔiit⁴]
to do things to eat with rice   particle
I am cooking (a little).

Other question words such as *'who', 'what', 'where', 'when', 'why',*
and *'how'* are used in the same manner as other Thai dialects.

[thaa⁴] ∿ [ʔan⁶-thaa⁴] *'what'*
[het² (ʔan⁶) thaa⁴ yuu²]
to do   what   in the process
What are you doing?

[naŋ² riaŋ⁵ (ʔan⁶)-thaa⁴]
movie story   what
What is the title of the movie?

[mii⁴   viak⁵   (ʔan⁶)-thaa⁴]
to have business   what
What can I do for you?

[nəə⁴] *'where, which', 'who'*
[aw²   thua⁴   nəə⁴]
to take noun classifier which
Which one do you want?

[maa⁶   træ⁴   nəə⁴]
to come from   where
Where do you come from?

[hun⁴ nəə² maa⁴]
man   which come
Who came? ∿ Which person came?

[dəə¹] *'who'*
[mæn³ dəə¹ hun⁴ sɔɔ³   ʔaay⁶]
who   come to see grandma
Who came to see grandma?

[taa⁶   traaw² nam⁴ dəə¹]
grandpa speak   with who
With whom is grandpa speaking?

[nəə⁴] may be compounded with [pan²] to mean *'how much'*.
[gaw³ ki⁶-loo⁴ nɨŋ⁶   pan²-nəə⁴]
rice   kilo   one   how much
How much is rice a kilogram?

[phlak⁴   nii² kwaay¹ pan²-nəə⁴]
vegetable this to sell how much
How much is this vegetable?

IV. NOUN CLASSIFIERS

Noun classifiers in Saek fall into two main categories: human beings
and objects. The distinction between these two categories is very clear.
That is, classifiers used for human beings are never used for objects
and vice versa. Animals, trees, and fruits do not have special classi-
fiers. These nouns are partly repeated to serve as their own classi-
fiers. For example:

[thua⁴-paw⁶ saam² thua⁴]   *'Three crabs'*
crab   three classifier

[thua⁴-mææw⁴ cæt⁴ thua⁴]   *'Seven cats'*
cat   seven classifier

[thua⁴-lian¹ sip⁴ thua⁴]   *'Ten eels'*
eel   ten   classifier

[maak²-miaŋ⁵ sɔɔŋ² maak²]   *'Two mangoes'*
mango   two   classifier

[maak²-kiaŋ³ saam² maak²]   *'Three oranges'*
orange   three classifier

[khoo⁴-lam⁶-ñay⁶ sɔɔŋ² khoo⁴]   *'Two lam-yai trees'*
lam-yai tree   two   classifier

[khoo-maak²-miaŋ⁵ saam² khoo⁴]   *'Three mango trees'*
mango tree   three classifier

For the human category, Saek has two classifiers: [hun⁴] and [ʔoŋ⁶].
The former is used with ordinary people and the latter is used with
monks. For example:

[nuaŋ⁵   sɔɔŋ² hun⁴]   *'Two younger siblings'*
young sibling two   classifier

[phii⁵   saam² hun⁴]   *'Three older siblings'*
older sibling three classifier

[phraʔ⁴ sɔɔŋ² ʔoŋ¹]   *'Two monks'*
monk   two   classifier

Unlike the surrounding Lao dialects which are rich in noun classi-
fiers for objects, Saek has only one classifier for this category [ʔan¹].
All objects regardless of shape, size, or function share the same

classifier. However, a part of some nouns, as an alternative to [ʔan¹],
may be repeated to serve as their own classifiers. For example:

[kɔŋ³ - kææw³   sɔɔŋ² ʔan¹]   'Two drinking glasses'
drinking glass   two   classifier

[mɔɔ² rɔk⁴ ʔan¹]   'Six pots'
pot   six   classifier

[pak⁴-tuu⁶-bɔŋ²   sɔɔŋ²   ʔan¹]   'Two windows'
window   two   classifier

[l<u>æm⁵</u>-kim¹   sɔɔŋ² <u>læm⁵</u>]   'Two needles'
needle   two   classifier

[<u>læm⁵</u>-rua¹   sɔɔŋ² <u>læm⁵</u>]   'Two boats'
boat   two   classifier

[<u>phɨɨn¹</u>-phia³   sɔɔŋ² <u>phɨɨn¹</u>]   'Two blouses'
blouse   two   classifier

[<u>saay¹</u>-sɔɔy²   sii² <u>saay¹</u>]   'Four necklaces'
necklace   four   classifier

The underlined classifiers may be used interchangeably with [ʔan¹].

The first syllable of compound nouns above, e.g. *needle, boat*, may be
dropped. Thus one can say either [læm⁵-kim¹] or [kim¹] for *'needle'*,
[læm⁵-rua¹] or [rua¹] for *'boat'*, [phɨɨn¹-phia³] or [phia³] for *'blouse'*
and [saay¹-sɔɔy²] or [sɔɔy²] for *'necklace'*. The five compound nouns
above might at first seem strange to speakers of other Thai dialects but
the process of dropping the first syllable is certainly not foreign. In
Standard Thai this process also occurs, for example, the words for
'onion' and *'garlic'* are [hǔa-hɔ̌ɔm] or [hɔ̌ɔm] and [hǔa-kra-thiam] or
[kra-thiam] respectively. The classifier of these two nouns is, of
course, [hǔa]. In many Lao dialects, the word for *umbrella* is [khan-hom]
or [hom], and the classifier for this noun is [khan]. If a speaker of
Standard Thai sits down to think of this type of word, a long list can
be produced.

From the evidence above, I would like to propose that noun classi-
fiers are not new features in the Thai language. Rather they have been
in the languages for a long time but with a different word order. They
used to be in front of nouns and some still are. Currently, this order
has been reversed. Classifiers are used after nouns and numbers.
[ʔan], the most common classifier in the Thai languages, must have been
a relative pronoun which meant *'who'*, *'which'*, or *'that'*.

V. THE STABILITY OF SAEK

Saek speakers have been decreasing in number and this process will probably go on until the Saek language disappears. This is because younger Saek people have more or less stopped using it. They have started to speak local Lao dialects which are spoken by the majority in their province. In addition to this, there are two other main reasons. One is that the Saek people have tended to move away from their villages in order to work. In doing this, they have to discard their own language for whatever dialect prevails in their new surrounding. Intermarriage is the second factor in the disappearance of the Saek language. When one parent does not speak Saek, it follows almost naturally that children will not speak it either. Saek may indeed die out in another thirty to fifty years as Professor Gedney has predicted.

TONE IN TAI: A NEW PERSPECTIVE

JAMES R. CHAMBERLAIN

During the Great Tone Split[1] (GTS) the tones in Tai dialects were
made more numerous through splitting conditioned by certain phonetic
features of C_i, usually considered to be the voiced-voiceless opposi-
tion. Unfortunately, these splits did not always behave in phonetically
predictable ways, so, merely stating that voicing of C_i causes lower
pitch and voicelessness of C_i causes higher pitch is not a satisfactory
explanation of the situation in Tai dialects. Nor did splitting affect
in identical ways the three original tones which are usually labelled
A, B, and C . There is also a D tone conditioned by a final stop. The
origin of these tones remains a mystery. It is possible they represented
registers, loss of older final consonants, or even older initial conso-
nant groupings of the kind discussed in this paper. So far scholars
have arrived at no final solution.

This paper treats the question, vital to a complete understanding of
tonal development in Tai languages: Why did the various phonetic features
of C_i not split all original tones of Proto-Tai (PT) in identical ways?
In addition, we would like to discuss a statement by Matisoff (1973) con-
cerning the use of tonal criteria in determining genetic relationships
among languages and dialects.

It has long been recognised by Tai scholars that more than the simple
voiced-voiceless contrast suitable for other language groups is necessary
for the description of Tai tonal systems. In the Lao and Siamese ortho-
graphies it is necessary to maintain a three-way C_i distinction. When

---

[1]This term was first used by J. Marvin Brown at the Symposium on Tai Linguistics in a
paper entitled: 'The great tone split: did it work in two opposite ways?'; to appear
in the symposium proceedings.

119

other Tai languages are taken into consideration at least four and some-
times five categories must be recognised. This question has been dis-
cussed by the dedicatee of this Festschrift, Professor Gedney (forth-
coming), who suggests that even more distinctions will be discovered in
the future. An unexplained **Al** split has already been described in the
Saek language (Gedney 1970).

For most purposes it is convenient to maintain a four-way division of
C_is (Gedney 1972) based on the original categories of PT. These cate-
gories have been summed up as:

> 1. voiceless friction sounds
> 2. voiceless unaspirated stops
> 3. glottal stop and preglottalised stops[1]
> 4. voiced sounds.

But in certain dialects, namely Nung of Bac Va (Gedney forthcoming),
Nung of Lang Vo (Saul 1965) and T'ien Pao (Li 1966b), it is necessary to
further divide C_i type 1 into (a) aspirated stops and h, (b) voiceless
nasals, liquids and fricatives.

The most common split conditioned by C_is is between 3 and 4. This is
found in virtually every Tai language and in most if not all of the
original tone categories **ABCD**, depending on the dialect. Splits between
1 and 2 are not uncommon but are statistically rarer than the former.
Occasionally one happens on a split between 2 and 3 such as the **C** column
of Yay (Gedney 1965), the **A** column of T'ien Pao (Li 1966b) or the Yuan
dialects of Northern Thailand (Brown 1965). With practically no excep-
tions, wherever two splits occur in one ancient tone category, they are
always between 1-2 and 3-4, never 1-2 and 2-3 or 2-3 and 3-4.[2] A more
general discussion of tonal system variety in the South-Central branch
of Tai may be found in Chamberlain (1975). However, the question still
remains, why shouldn't splits conditioned by C_is obtain identically in
all of the original tone categories of PT. What, for instance, caused
Yay **A.B.** and D tones to split between 3 and 4, while the **C** tone was split
between 2 and 3? Or, what caused the **A** tone in some Lue dialects to
split between 2 and 3 when **BCD** all have 3-4 splits?

Splitting seems to be weighted towards the bottom of the chart. We
find many dialects with only 3-4 splitting in every tone category, but
no languages with only 1-2 splits. The C_i features conditioning tone

---

[1]For a discussion of the possibility that these stops were *prevoiced* see Chamberlain
(1975).

[2]The only exception known to the author is the Nua dialect of Szu Mao in Yunnan where
the **DS** column is apparently split between 2 and 3 as well as between 3 and 4 (J.G.
Harris, personal communication).

splits form a hierarchy, roughly: I - 3-4 between preglottalised and
voiced; II - 1-2 between voiceless friction sounds and voiceless un-
aspirated stops; III - 2-3 voiceless unaspirated stops and preglottalised
stops; IV - la-lb aspirated stops and h and voiceless nasals, liquids,
and fricatives. Gedney (forthcoming) has noted that the **A** column is
subject to more splitting than **B** and **C**, and is therefore more likely to
have more than one split. Li (1947a) claims that the 3-4 split is
really voiced v. voiceless, the preglottalised stops behaving like glot-
tal stops which are voiceless. This appears sound in spite of recently
expressed doubts as to what *preglottalised* actually means.

Stated briefly, the argument on preglottalisation is that in other
languages of South-east Asia one hears *prevoiced* stops such as in Wa;
prenasalised stops, such as in Hmong; *clusters* of glottal stop + nasal,
such as in Khmu?; and in rare cases, such as Vietnamese and some Cam-
bodian dialects, *imploded* stops. The only actual occurrence of a stop
which might be labelled "preglottalised" is the Hmong [?t^h], a voice-
less aspirated stop preceded by glottal closure with open velic (J.G.
Harris, personal communication). If the PT initials of row three were
prevoiced, prenasalised or nasals preceded by glottal stop, a plausible
historical and/or areal hypothesis, we would expect these voiced ini-
tials to fall together more frequently with the voiced initials of row 4.

Accounting for these problems greatly complicates the heretofore
straightforward picture of the phonetic processes involved in Tai tone
splitting. Are we (1) to assume that a statistical difference in the
number of lexical items found in each of the four tone categories caused
such divergent splitting within them? For example, Gedney (personal
communication) observes that the lexical items in the **A** column far out-
number those in **B** or **C**, as if **A** tone were somehow normal and **B** and **C** were
variations of that tone. If this is so it must have been a pre-PT
phenomenon, the nature of which is not fully understood. Yet another
mystery is the curious coalescence of **DL** and **B** in so many Tai languages.
If, on the other hand, numbers of lexical items are not the causal
factor, can we (2) say there must have been separate phonetic interplay
between the original nature of C_i and the original tone features of
ABCD? If this can be demonstrated we should be able to make some gener-
alisations about that interplay, and to date no linguist has done so.

One final possibility might be (3) that immediately following GTS
the languages made all possible tonal distinctions. If we use Brown's
chart (1965) of fifteen boxes this would mean fifteen tones, or if
Gedney's chart (1972) is used it would mean twenty tones. Tones could
subsequently have been lost until present-day patterns were established
with no more than seven and no less than four distinctive tones on smooth

syllables. This possibility remains highly suspect as no modern language has that many tones, but this alone would not rule out reconstructing such a non-existent earlier stage in Tai.

The author opts for (2), that we would expect the phonetic features of c_is to influence the four original tones in dissimilar ways.[1] For instance, c_i types and 2 and 3 might cause an original falling tone to become level (or more level than before), whereas c_i type 1 might raise the pitch before the fall, thereby causing a 1-234 in the original tone. On the other hand, c_i type 3 and 4 might have a pitch raising effect, causing a 12-34 split in an original rising tone. Quite obviously the phonetics of such generalisations have not been worked out yet, but if someday we could write rules of the sort

$$\text{ORIGINAL TONE A} \relbar\joinrel\relbar\joinrel\longrightarrow \text{POST GTS TONE} \begin{cases} \alpha \ / \ c_i \ X \\ \beta \ / \ c_i \ Y \\ \gamma \ / \ c_i \ Z \end{cases}$$

we might begin to explain why tone systems have developed their present-day patterns. Although this does not answer the original question, perhaps a means to an answer has been suggested, an area of phonetic study which may prove vital in the solving of the problem.

The tone splits of the extant Tai dialects do not reflect the contemporary features of c_is, rather, we assume they reflect historical features. It may be noted that, in a f_o analysis of syllables beginning with bilabial stops in Siamese, b had the lowest f_o, ?p the second lowest, and p^h the highest (Erickson 1975). The modern Siamese tone system does not differentiate tones along these lines. Obviously the tone system gives us a picture of an earlier stage in the language when the c_is had different values. Furthermore, tone split patterns in Tai have been shown to be the most stable part of the phonology (Brown 1965, Chamberlain 1973), and they provide a wealth of evidence for determining genetic relationships. Why, then, does Matisoff (1973) conclude that "...tonal criteria are not even sufficient to establish genetic subgroupings for languages which are already known to be genetically related."? One cannot help but feel this statement was based on evidence only from Tibeto-Burman.

In Tibeto-Burman, as Matisoff informs us, tone is extremely fickle. Dialects of the same language may or may not be tonal, and tones are lost or acquired through language contact. On the other hand, to the author's knowledge, there are no Tai dialects which did not develop

---

[1] If this is true, at least some of the major subgroups would have to have separated at the time of GTS, with different tonal contours for ABCD.

tones, and there are no Tai dialects which have lost tones due to contact
with Mon-Khmer languages, in spite of the fact that Tais and Mon-Khmers
have been living side by side for over a millenium.

This would appear to throw grave doubts on the composition of super-
stocks proposed by Benedict, and followed by Matisoff. "Sino-Tibetan"
is said to be the only "tonal" superstock while "Austro-Thai" is labelled
"atonal". Yet from the evidence cited above the opposite should be true.
Perhaps the time is not yet right to take the Benedict hypothesis seri-
ously. Let us first produce good reconstructions of the proposed sub-
groupings. Then, and only then, may we begin to look for broader
generalisations.

THE KAM-SUI-MAK AND NORTHERN TAI LANGUAGES

BEATRICE T. OSHIKA

I. INTRODUCTION

The hypothesis that a genetic relationship exists between the Kam-Sui-Mak languages of southern China and the Tai languages was first advanced by Li 1948b:

> The Kam-Sui group has a close relationship to the Tai group, but it does not belong to the Tai group in a narrow sense. It has the same origin with the Tai group, but they split before the Ancient Tai group evolved into the modern languages.

In subsequent articles (1948a,1951,1965) Li continued to suggest that there was evidence of systematic sound correspondences, particularly with respect to consonant initials and tones, to support the view that the Kam-Sui-Mak languages were related to the Tai languages, yet were sufficiently different to comprise a distinct language group.

Other scholars have suggested a Kam-Sui-Mak and Tai relationship, such as Haudricourt 1959 and Nishida 1954,1955. However, the supporting evidence for this hypothesis of relationship was incomplete because comparative studies included data only from the languages of Mak, T'en, and Sui, but not from Kam. Now that Chinese materials on Kam and related languages have been made available (Chinese Academy of Sciences 1959a,1959b; Liang 1965; Pei 1963; Wei 1965), the comparative relationships can be more completely described.

II. DATA

Sets of cognates from fifteen Kam-Sui-Mak and Tai languages and dialects were compiled for this study.

The Kam data are from the Kam-Chinese dictionary (Chinese Academy of Sciences 1959b) with additions from Liang 1965 and Pei 1963. The

dictionary forms are based on the Kam (called T'ung in Chinese) dialect
spoken in the Jung-Chiang area of Kweichow province. The Liang forms
are from the Che-Chiang Commune in the same area, while Pei apparently
includes forms from several dialects.

The Sui data come primarily from Li 1948a,1949,1951,1965 and include
forms from dialects of Li-Ngam, Jung-Chiang, and Pyo, in southern
Kweichow province. The Nishida 1954,1955 and Rai 1955 citations for
Sui appear to be based on Li's data.

The Mak data are from Li 1948b,1965. Additional forms from Rai 1955
appear to belong to a similar dialect and exhibit similar tonal structure.
The forms for T'en (called Yang-Huang in Chinese) come from Li 1965,
1966a,1967,1968. Both Mak and T'en are found in Kweichow province.

Languages representing the Northern branch of Tai are Saek, Po-Ai,
Wu-Ming, and Yay. The Saek forms show evidence of early consonant
clusters. This language is described by Gedney 1970 and Haudricourt
1963.

The Po-Ai data are from Li 1944,1957,1965 and represent dialects
spoken in Kwangsi and Kwei-chow. Data for Wu-Ming, also spoken in those
provinces, are from Li 1947b,1956.

The Yay data represent a dialects of extreme northern North Vietnam.
Gedney 1965 has shown this language to be identical with the Giay lan-
guage cited by Haudricourt 1960, and to be related to, but not identical
with, the Dioi language of the Esquirol-Williate dictionary published
in 1908.

Languages representing Central Tai are Lung-Chow (Li 1965) and
Lung-Ming (Gedney field notes). Both languages are spoken in south-
western Kwangsi.

Representing Southwestern Tai are Siamese and White Tai. Siamese
forms are common knowledge. The White Tai data are from Gedney field
notes and from Gedney 1964.

The results presented in this paper are based on over 375 distinct
lexical items with cognate forms in all or most of the languages men-
tioned.

III. FRAMEWORK

It may be useful to review briefly the situation in the Tai languages
with respect to the correlation of tones and initial consonants which is
the basis of much of the comparative/historical study of Sino-Tibetan
languages. It is generally assumed that the parent Tai language had a
system of three distinctive tones (here termed A, B and C) on open syl-
lables, and no tone, or a neutral tone (here called D), on checked

syllables. After the major break from the parent language, each daughter
language underwent tonal splits conditioned by phonetic features of the
initial consonants. In checked syllables there appears to have been an
additional conditioning factor of vowel length.

A primary phonetic feature of initial consonants which appears to
have influenced tonal development is that of voicing. That is, if the
three tonal categories A, B and C are bisected along a voiced v. voice-
less distinction, a maximal six-way tonal system would result, as in
Wu-Ming, Lung-Chow, and White Tai in the table of tonal correspondences
given below.

	A	B	C	D short	D long
Voiceless					
Kam	1,2	7,8,9	4,5	1,2,3,4	4
Sui (Li-Ngam)	1	5	3	5	5
Sui (Jung-Chiang)	1	5	3	5	5
Sui (Pyo)	1	5	3	5	5
Mak	1,6	5	3	5	3
T'en	1,5	3	2,6	5	6
Saek	1,2	6	3	4	3
Po-Ai	1,6	5	3	2,3	5
Wu-Ming	1	5	3	5	5
Yay	1	2	3,6	3	2
Lung-Chow	1	5	3	5	5
Lung-Ming	1,4	2	3	3	2
Siamese	1,5	2	3	2	2
White Tai	1	2	3	2	2
Voiced					
Kam	3	9	6	3,6	6
Sui (Li-Ngam)	2	6	4	4	4
Sui (Jung-Chiang)	2	6	4	4	4
Sui (Pyo)	2	6	4	2	2
Mak	2	6	4	2	2
T'en	5	4	2	2	2
Saek	4	5	6	6	5
Po-Ai	2	6	4	3	6
Wu-Ming	2	6	4	6	6
Yay	4	5	6	1	5

	A	B	C	D short	D long
Voiced (cont.)					
Lung-Chow	2	6	4	2	2
Lung-Ming	4	5	6	4	5
Siamese	1	3	4	4	3
White Tai	4	5	6	4	4

(The numbers indicate tonal contours described in the Appendix.)

Additional phonetic characteristics, such as friction and glottalisa-
tion, have also been posited as conditioning factors in the tonal devel-
opment of Tai languages, and account for the multiple correspondences
within the voiceless series. For example, in tonal category A, Siamese
has tone 5 in words reflecting original friction initials, and tone 1
elsewhere. A checklist for determining tones in Tai dialects is found
in Gedney 1973.

IV. KAM-SUI-MAK AND NORTHERN TAI

Li 1957 suggested general characteristics of Northern Tai to distin-
guish that group from the Central and Southwestern branches. Some of
these characteristics are discussed here with special reference to the
role of Saek in the Northern Tai classification, and to the relationship
of Kam-Sui-Mak to Northern Tai.

1. INITIAL CONSONANTS

One of the characteristics of Northern Tai mentioned by Li was the
lack of distinction in the modern languages between original aspirated
and unaspirated initial consonants. Using Po-Ai and Wu-Ming examples Li
showed that Northern Tai languages have only unaspirated consonants,
"although Po-Ai begins to reintroduce aspirated consonants through the
influence of Chinese" (Li 1957:316).

An examination of the data shows that Saek preserves the original
aspirated-unaspirated distinction, while the situation is less clear in
the Kam-Sui-Mak languages.

In both Tai and Kam-Sui-Mak, original unaspirated consonants are
reflected by modern unaspirated consonants. Examples of Proto-Tai *k-
are

	'Brassica' plant	'chicken'
K	?aat[4]	?aay[7]
Sui (LN)	qaat[5]	qaay[5]
Sui (JC)	qaat[5]	qaay[5]
Sui (P)	qaat[5]	qaay[5]
Sui (ST)	-	-
M	kaat[3]	kaay[5]
T	kaat[6]	kaay[3]
Sk	kɛk[4]	kay[6]
PA	kaat[5]	kay[5]
WM	-	kay[5]
Y	-	kay[2]
LC	laa[2]kaat[5]	kay[5]
LM	kaat[2]	kay[2]
Si	kaat[2]	kay[2]
WT	kaat[2]	kay[2]

which have Kam ?-, Sui q-, Mak k-, T'en k-, Saek k-, Po-Ai k-, Wu-Ming k-, Lung-Chow k-, Lung-Ming k-, Siamese k-, and White Tai k-. There are also reflexes with Sui k-, but the distinction between Sui q- and k- is considered secondary and the main point is that the initial is unaspirated.

Examples of Proto-Tai *t- are

	'foot'	'grandfather (maternal)'
K	tin[1]	taa[1]
Sui (LN)	tin[1]	taa[1]
Sui (JC)	tin[1]	taa[1]
Sui (P)	tin[1]	taa[1]
Sui (ST)	-	-
M	tin[6]	taa[6]
T	tien[1]	taa[1]
Sk	tiin[1]	taa[1]
PA	tin[1]	taa[1]
WM	tin[1]	taa[1]
Y	tin[1]	ta[1]
LC	-	taa[1]
LM	tin[1]	taa[2]
Si	tiin[1]	taa[1]
WT	tin[1]	taa[1]

with Kam t-, Sui t-, Mak t-, T'en t-, Saek t-, Po-Ai t-, Wu-Ming t-,

Yay t-, Lung-Chow t-, Lung-Ming t-, Siamese t-, and White Tai t-.
   Examples of Proto-Tai *p- are

	'to go'	'mouth'
K	paay^1	paak^4
Sui (LN)	paay^1	paak^5
Sui (JC)	paay^1	paak^5
Sui (P)	paay^1	paak^5
Sui (ST)	-	-
M	paay^6	-
T	paay^1	-
Sk	pay^1	paak^3
PA	pay^1	paak^5
WM	poy^1	paak^5
Y	pay^1	paak^2
LC	pay^1	paak^5
LM	pey^1	paak^2
Si	pay^1	paak^2
WT	pay^1	paa?^{2}

with Kam p-, Sui p-, Mak p-, T'en p-, Saek p-, Po-Ai p-, Wu-Ming p-,
Yay p-, Lung-Chow p-, Lung-Ming p-, Siamese p-, and White Tai p-.
   The situation with the original aspirated consonants is much more
complex. There is evidence that original aspirated consonants and
clusters, and probably unaspirated clusters, are often reflected in Kam-
Sui-Mak by palatals and affricates such as c-, ch-, š-, ts-, tš-, and
tšh-. Within the Kam-Sui-Mak languages it is possible to distinguish
sets of correspondences such as:

	I	II	III	IV	V
K	š	c	?	ch	c
SLN	s	t(y)	ts	s	tš
SJC	s	t(y)	tš	s	tš
SP	s	t(y)	tš	s	tš
M	s	t	s	s	ꞇ
T	s(y)	t(y)	ky	tsh	k

Examples of set I are:

	'to ask'	'ginger'	'master'
K	šaay^4	šiŋ^2	šu^4
Sui (LN)	saay^3	siŋ^1	saw^3
Sui (JC)	saay^3	siŋ^1	saw^3
Sui (P)	saay^3	siŋ^1	saw^3
Sui (ST)	-	-	-

Examples of set I (cont.)

	'to ask'	*'ginger'*	*'master'*
M	saay³	siŋ¹	saw³
T	syee⁶	siŋ¹	sew⁶
Sk	(thaam²)	hiiŋ²	caw³
PA	(šaam¹)	hiŋ¹	ɬuu³
WM	(šaam¹)	-	-
Y	(saam¹)	hiŋ¹	θu³
LC	(thaam¹)	khiŋ¹	caw³
LM	(thaam¹)	khiŋ¹	caw³
Si	(thaam⁵)	khiŋ⁵	caaw³
WT	(thaam¹)	xiŋ¹	caw³

Examples of II are:

	'long' (time)	*'satisfied'*	*'to sew'*	*'stone'*	*'withered, wrinkled'*
K	caŋ¹	caŋ⁷	cip⁴	cin¹	ciw⁴,ñiw⁴
Sui (LN)	tyaaŋ¹	tyaŋ⁵	tip⁵	tin²	tiw³
Sui (JC)	tyaaŋ¹	tyaŋ⁵	tip⁵	tin²	tiw³
Sui (P)	tyaaŋ¹	tyaŋ⁵	tip⁵	tin²	tiw³
Sui (ST)	-	-	-	-	-
M	gan¹	taŋ⁵	tip⁵	tuy²	tyəw³
T	-	tyaŋ³	tiep⁶	tin¹	niw⁶
Sk	ñɨa⁴	(ʔiim⁶)	ŋip⁶	riin¹,riil¹	hɛɛw³
PA	naan²	(ʔim⁵)	yip³	hin¹	leew⁵
WM	naan²	(ʔim⁵)	ñip⁶	rin¹	rew⁵
Y	naan⁴	(ʔim²)	ñip¹	rin¹	rew²
LC	-	(ʔim⁵)	yap²	hin¹	heew⁵
LM	naan⁴	(ʔim²)	yap⁴	thin¹	heew²
Si	naan¹	(ʔim²)	yep⁴	hin⁵	hiaw²
WT	naan⁴	(ʔim²)	ŋip⁴	hin¹	hɛw²

Examples of III are:

	'to ride astraddle'	*'to untie'*
K	ʔaay⁶	-
Sui (LN)	tsi⁶	tsi⁵
Sui (JC)	tši⁶	tši⁵
Sui (P)	tši⁶	tši⁵
Sui (ST)	-	-
M	see⁶	-
T	kyii⁵	kyii³
Sk	khooy⁵	kee³

Examples of III (cont.)

	'to ride astraddle'	'to untie'
PA	kɨɨy^6	cee^3
WM	kɨy^5	ke^3
Y	kɨay^5	hi^5
LC	khwii^5	kee^3
LM	khwey^2	kee^3
Si	khii^2	kɛɛ^3
WT	khi^2,khwi^2	kɛ^3

Forms for set IV are:

	'to ascend'	'needle'
K	chaa^8	chem^2
Sui (LN)	saa^5	sum^1
Sui (JC)	saa^5	sum^1
Sui (P)	saa^5	sum^1
Sui (ST)	-	-
M	saa^5	sum^1
T	tshaa^3	tshem^1
Sk	(hɨn^3)	kim^1
PA	(hɨn^3)	cim^1
WM	(hɨn^3)	šim^1
Y	(hɨn^3)	cim^1
LC	(khən^3)	khim^1
LM	(khən^3)	khim^1
Si	(khɨn^3)	khem^5
WT	(xɨn^3)	xim^1

Forms for set V are:

	'to ask for'	'gold'	'to kneel'	'nine'
K	cow^3	cəm^1	cok^3	cu^4
Sui (LN)	-	-	tšok^4	tšu^3
Sui (JC)	-	-	tšok^4	tšu^3
Sui (P)	-	-	tšok^2	tšu^3
Sui (ST)	tšhaw^4	tšum^1	-	-
M	ţəu^2	ţim^2	(khuy^6)	ţəw^3
T	kyiw^5	kyim^1	kok^2	kuu^6
Sk	thrɔɔ^2	ɢam^4	thuk^4	kuu^3
PA	-	-	(kuy^6)	kuu^3
WM	-	kim^1	-	kaw^3
Y	te^6	cim^1	(kuy^5)	ku^3
LC	hoo^1	-	-	kaw^3

Forms for set V (cont.)

	'to ask for'	*'gold'*	*'to kneel'*	*'nine'*
LM	hoo[1]	-	kok[4]	kaw[3]
Si	khɔɔ[5]	kham[1]	khuk[4]	kaaw[3]
WT	chɔ[1]	xam[4]	-	kaw[3]

However, there is insufficient evidence to relate these forms in any
systematic way to Tai forms with reflexes of Proto-Tai *kh- or other
original aspirated initials or unaspirated clusters. The only general-
isation that can be drawn is that Kam-Sui-Mak languages appear to have
palatalised original velar initials. Another possibility is that
Chinese loan words are involved, and that the data include a mixture of
Cantonese forms which preserve an original k- and Mandarin forms which
have palatalised that initial.

The treatment of Proto-Tai *th- is somewhat more clear. There are
four sets of correspondences which have modren Siamese th- or Saek th-.

	I	II	III	IV
K	th	t	t	t
SLN		t	t	t
SJC	San-Tung th	t	t	t
SP		t	t	t
M	th	th	t	th
T	th	t	t	t
Sk	th	th	th	th
PA	t	t	t	t
WM	t	t	t	t
Y	th	t	t	t
LC	th	th	th	t
LM	th	th	th	t
Si	th	th	th	th
WT	th	th	t,th	t

An example of I is:

'charcoal'

K	thaan[8]	Sk	thaan[6]
Sui (LN)	-	PA	taan[5]
Sui (JC)	-	WM	taan[5]
Sui (P)	-	Y	thaan[2]
Sui (ST)	thaan[5]	LC	thaan[5]
M	thaan[5]	LM	thaan[2]
T	thaan[3]	Si	thaan[2]
		WT	thaan[2]

Examples of II are:

	'bean'	'closely spaced, tightly packed'	'cup, bowl'
K	to^9	-	tuy^6
Sui (LN)	to^6	tay^6	tuy^4
Sui (JC)	to^6	tay^6	tuy^4
Sui (P)	to^6	tay^6	tuy^4
Sui (ST)	-	-	-
M	thaw^6	thəy^6	-
T	taw^4	-	tuey^2
Sk	thua^5	thii^5	thooy^6
PA	tuu^6	tii^6	tuy^4
WM	tu^6	toy^6	-
Y	tua^5	ti^5	tɨay^6
LC	thuu^5	thii^5	thuuy^3
LM	thuu^2	thay^2	thuuy^3
Si	thua^2	thii^2	thuay^3
WT	tho^2	thi^2	thoy^3

The forms for 'cup' may belong to either set II or III, as the distinguishing Mak form is missing.

Examples of correspondence set III are:

	'to arrive'	'to carry, to wear'	'young male animal'
K	-	təy^3	tak^3
Sui (LN)	taŋ^1	tay^2	tak^4
Sui (JC)	taŋ^1	tay^2	tak^4
Sui (P)	taŋ^1	tay^2	-
Sui (ST)	-	-	-
M	taŋ^6	tay^2	tak^2
T	taŋ^1	tey^5	tak^2
Sk	thaŋ^4	thɨɨ^4	thak^6
PA	taŋ^2	tɨɨ^2	tak^3
WM	taŋ^2	tay^2	tak^6
Y	taŋ^4	tɨ^4	tak^1
LC	thəŋ^1	thɨɨ^1	tək^2
LM	thəŋ^1	thəy^1	tək^3
Si	thɨŋ^5	thɨɨ	thɨk^2
WT	thɨŋ^1	tɨ^4	thək^2

Examples of set IV are:

	'landing, to cross'	'place'	'stomach'
K	taa^9	tii^9,toy^7	loŋ^3
Sui (LN)	taa^6	ti^1,ti^6	loŋ^2
Sui (JC)	taa^6	-	loŋ^2
Sui (P)	taa^6		loŋ^2
Sui (ST)	-	-	-
M	thaa^6	-	loŋ^2
T	taa^4	taa^5	loŋ^5
Sk	thaa^5	thii^6	thuŋ^6
PA	taa^6	tii^5,tii^6	tuŋ^4
WM	taa^6	ti^5,toy^6	tuŋ^4
Y	ta^5	ti^5	tuŋ^6
LC	taa^6	tii^6	tooŋ^4
LM	taa^5	təy^5	tooŋ^6
Si	thaa^3	thii^3	thɔɔŋ^4
WT	taa^5	ti^5	tɔŋ^6

Correspondence set IV represents the reflexes of Proto-Tai *d- and will not be discussed here. Set I can be taken as an example of Proto-Tai *th-, with the Kam-Sui-Mak and Tai languages having modern th- except for Po-Ai and Wu-Ming. This would agree with Li's evidence that at least Po-Ai and Wu-Ming in the Northern group do not preserve the aspirated-unaspirated distinction, and would also show that Kam-Sui-Mak differs from Northern Tai in that respect.

It is significant to note that the lexical items for sets II and III are precisely those which show tonal variation across the voiced-voiceless series. That is, *bean*, *closely spaced*, *to carry*, *young (male animal)*, have Northern and Kam-Sui-Mak tones corresponding to the voiced series and Central and Southwestern tones corresponding to the voiceless series.

It may be the case that, if Mak th- and t- can be considered secondary developments, then II and III can be taken together to represent an early voiced initial, before Proto-Tai and Proto-Kam-Sui-Mak, which remains voiced and becomes the source of original voiced initials in the proto-language common to both Northern Tai and Kam-Sui-Mak, but became devoiced and the source of original voiceless initials in Central and Southwestern languages. This process of devoicing is common in the Tai languages, cf. modern Siamese voiceless aspirates from Proto-Tai voiced consonants.

If this were actually the case, then it would be evidence that the relationship among the Southwestern, Central, and Northern branches is

not coordinate, but is skewed such that Saek and other Northern Tai lan-
guages break off before Central and Southwestern Tai.

With respect to Proto-Tai *ph-, there is one clear example of Po-Ai
and Yay (Wu-Ming is missing) collapsing the distinction between aspirated
and unaspirated initials while all other languages preserve ph-. The
instance is *'to split'*, with Kam ph-, Sui ph-, Mak ph-, T'en ph-, Said
ph-, Po-Ai p-, Yay p-, Lung-Chow missing, Lung-Ming ph-, Siamese ph-,
and White Tai ph-.

<div align="center">

'to split'

</div>

K	phaa[8]		Sk	phaa[6]
Sui (LN)	phaa[5]		PA	paa[5]
Sui (JC)	phaa[5]		WM	-
Sui (P)	phaa[5]		Y	pa[2]
Sui (ST)	-		LC	-
M	phaa[5]		LM	phaa[2]
T	phaa[3]		Si	phaa[2]
			WT	phaa[2]

This example is similar to *'charcoal'*, in which Kam-Sui-Mak languages
preserve aspiration in agreement with Saek and the Central and South-
western Tai languages, while Po-Ai and Wu-Ming have unaspirated initials.
It is not clear why Yay has th- in *'charcoal'* but p- in *'to split'*.

2. *TONAL ALTERNATIONS*

The question of tonal alternations across the voiced-voiceless series
is cited by Li as a feature distinguishing Northern Tai from the other
Tai branches.

An examination of cases in which Northern Tai and Kam-Sui-Mak forms
agree in tonal correspondences and are different from Central and South-
western correspondences shows that, in almost all cases, Northern and
Kam-Sui-Mak voiced-series tones correspond to Central and Southwestern
voiceless-series tones.

If the Central and Southwestern languages have the correspondences
representative of voiceless initials,

	A	B	C
LC	1	5	3
LM	1,4	2	3
Si	1,5	2	3
WT	1	2	3

then the Northern Tai languages would be expected to have:

	A	B	C
Sk	1,2	6	3
PA	1,6	5	3
WM	1	5	3
Y	1	2	3,6

The Kam-Sui-Mak languages would be expected to have:

	A	B	C
K	1,2	7,8	4,5
SLN	1	5	3
SJC	1	5	3
SP	1	5	3
M	1,6	5	3
T	1,5	3	2,6

However, there are many instances of Central and Southwestern forms which reflect tonal development related to voiceless initials, yet correspond to Northern Tai and Kam-Sui-Mak forms reflecting tonal development related to voiced initials.   Examples are:

	'body, classifier for animals'	'to sharpen'	'excrement'	'rice'
K	tu^3	pan^3	$\text{?}ee^6$	$\text{?}ow^6$
Sui (LN)	-	pan^2	qe^4	$\text{?}aw^4$
Sui (JC)	-	pan^2	qe^4	$\text{?}aw^4$
Sui (P)	-	pan^2	$t\check{s}e^4$	$\text{?}aw^2$
Sui (ST)	to^2	-	-	-
M	to^2	$pyan^2$	$\underline{t}ee^3$	$h\partial w^3$
T	too^5	pan^5	$\text{?}ee^2$	xaw^2
Sk	$thua^4$	-	$\text{G}ay^6$	$\text{G}aw^6$
PA	tuu^2	-	hay^4	haw^4
WM	tu^2	-	xay^4	xaw^4
Y	tua^4	$pan^4, pyaan^4$	hay^6	haw^6
LC	tuu^1	$ph\partial n^1$	$khii^3$	$khaw^3$
LM	tuu^1	$ph\partial n^1$	$khii^3$	$khaw^3$
Si	tua^1	fon^5	$khii^3$	$khaaw^3$
WT	to^1	-	khi^3	$khaw^3$

Other examples cited previously which exhibit the same tonal alternation are 'to carry', 'bean', 'closely spaced', and 'cup'.

Such examples support the hypothesis suggested in the preceding section that a new voiced series should be posited in the source language common to Tai and Kam-Sui-Mak.   That is, there are three initials

in the source language, X_1 (traditional voiced), X_2 (traditional voice-
less), and X_3 (hypothetical new voiced). The initial X_3 remained voiced
and fell together with X_1 in the Northern and Kam-Sui-Mak languages, and
the devoiced version fell together with X_2 in the Central and South-
western languages. The examples of variation across the voiced-voiceless
series would then be reflexes of original X_3 initials.

3. LEXICAL ITEMS

A third characteristic of Northern Tai as defined by Li 1957,1960 is
based on the distribution of lexical items. An examination of the data
shows that there are few cases of Kam-Sui-Mak and Northern Tai sharing
lexical items not found in the other Tai languages. Clear examples are

	'bamboo shoot'	'fragrant'	'girl'	'lazy'
K	naaŋ[3]	taaŋ[1]	myeek[4]	khwət[2]
Sui (LN)	-	daaŋ[1]	ʔbyaak[5]	khət[5]
Sui (JC)	-	daaŋ[1]	byaak[5]	haat[6]
Sui (P)	-	daaŋ[1]	ʔbiək[5]	hət[5]
Sui (ST)	naaŋ[1]	-	-	-
M	naaŋ[1]	daaŋ[1]	ʔbiik[3]	lut[5]

	'bamboo shoot'	'fragrant'	'girl'	'lazy'
T	-	-	myaak[6]	let[5]
Sk	naaŋ[4]	praaŋ[1]	(saaw[2])	triik[3],tliik[3]
PA	-	(hoom[1])	mɨk[3],(ɬaaw[1])	cik[2]
WM	raaŋ[2]	-	(θaaw[1])	klik[5]
Y	raaŋ[4]	(hom[1])	(θaaw[1])	cik[3]
LC	-	(hoom[1])	(ɬaaw[1])	(kyaan[4])
LM	-	(hoom[1])	(saaw[1])	(laan[6])
Si	-	(hɔɔm[5])	(saaw[5])	(kiat[2] khraan[4])
WT	-	(hɔm[1])	(saaw[1])	(caan[6])

On the other hand, there are many instances of the Tai languages,
including Northern Tai, sharing lexical items distinct from those in
Kam-Sui-Mak. Examples previously cited are 'to ascend', 'to ask', and
'satisfied'.

Other examples are

	'heavy'	'to incubate'	'fish scale'	'bran'
K	chan[2]	pyam[1]	kwən[7]	faa[9]
Sui (LN)	zan[1]	pyam[1]	kən[5]	pyaa[6]
Sui (JC)	zan[1]	pyam[1]	dyən[5]	faa[6]
Sui (P)	zan[1]	pyam[1]	ʔdyən[5]	fuə[6],puə[6]
Sui (ST)	-	-	-	-

	'heavy'	*'to incubate'*	*'fish scale'*	*'bran'*
M	zan^1	(vak^5)	(ʈat^5)	-
T	ʔzan^5	pam^1	ken^3	xwaa^4
Sk	(mal^4)	(ʔup^4)	(trɛk^4)	(ram^4)
PA	(nak^2)	(fak^3)	(cɛt^2)	(lam^2)
WM	(nak^5)	-	(klip^5)	(ram^2)
Y	(nak^3)	(fak^1)	(cip^3,cap^3)	(ram^4)
LC	(nak^5)	(fak^2)	(kit^5)	(ɬam^2)
LM	(nak^3)	(fak^4)	-	-
Si	(nak^2)	(fak^4)	(klet^2)	(ram^1)
WT	(nak^2)	(fak^4)	(ket^2)	(ham^4)

Additional examples cited by Oshika 1973 are glossed as *'firewood'*, *'full'*, *'grass'*, *'inside'*, *'male person'*, *'meat'*, *'middle'*, *'mushroom'*, *'name'*, *'root'*, *'to sit'*, *'skin'*, *'snake'*, *'son-in-law'*, *'star'*, *'tail'*, *'tiger'*, *'tongue'*, *'two'*, *'vegetable'*, *'wing'*, and *'you'*. It is possible that some of these reflect Chinese influence.

V. SUMMARY

It is apparent that whatever the relationship between the Kam-Sui-Mak and Tai groups of languages may be, it is not a simple one.

It has been suggested here that, on the basis of initial consonant correspondences and tonal alternations, it is possible that the Northern Tai and Kam-Sui-Mak languages may have shared certain consonant and tonal developments distinct from the Central and Southwestern Tai languages.

However, on the basis of lexical distribution, it is clear that the Tai languages, including the Northern Tai branch, share many more forms with each other than any Tai language shares with Kam-Sui-Mak languages.

It is possible that the key to clarifying these relationships is Saek. Because of its archaic initial consonant clusters it cannot be considered coordinate with the other Northern Tai languages. When the role of Saek in the historical development of the Tai languages is more accurately defined, then perhaps the true relationship between Kam-Sui-Mak languages, Saek, and the various branches of Tai, will become clear.

APPENDIX

The tonal notation for each language is outlined below:

Kam
1 high level
2 high rising
3 low falling rising
4 mid falling rising
5 low rising
6 low falling
7 high falling
8 high rising falling
9 mid level

Sui (Li-Ngam)
1 low level
2 mid falling
3 mid-high level
4 high falling
5 mid rising
6 high level

Sui (Jung-Chiang)
1 low rising
2 low level
3 mid-high level
4 mid falling
5 mid rising
6 high level

Sui (Pyo)
1 low rising
2 mid falling
3 mid-high level
4 high falling
5 mid rising
6 low-mid rising

Mak
1 low rising
2 mid falling
3 mid-high level
4 high falling
5 high rising
6 mid rising
7 high level

T'en
1 low rising
2 mid falling
3 mid-high level
4 high falling
5 high rising
6 mid-low level

Saek

1 low rising
2 mid-low level
3 low falling,
   glottalised
4 high rising falling
5 high falling
6 mid level,
   glottalised

Po-Ai

1 low rising
2 high level
3 mid-high level
4 mid level
5 mid-low level
6 mid falling

Wu-Ming

1 mid level
2 mid falling
3 high level
4 high falling
5 mid rising
6 low rising

Yay

1 mid-low level
2 low level
3 mid rising
4 high rising falling
5 high falling
6 high, slight rise at
   end

Lung-Chow

1 mid level
2 mid falling
3 rising
4 low falling,
   glottalised
5 high level
6 low level

Lung-Ming

1 high level
2 high rising
3 mid level,
   glottalised
4 low falling
5 low level
6 low falling rising,
   glottalised

Siamese

1 mid level
2 mid-low level
3 falling
4 high, glottalised
5 low rising

White Tai

1 mid level
2 high rising
3 low rising, glottalised
4 mid level, glottalised
5 level with rise and
   fall at end
6 falling, glottalised

REFERENCES

BROWN, J. Marvin
  1965   *From Ancient Thai to Modern Dialects*. Bangkok: Social Science
         Association Press of Thailand.

CHAIYARATANA, Chalao
  1961   A Comparative Study of English and Thai Syntax. Doctoral dis-
         sertation, Indian University.

CHAMBERLAIN, James R.
  1973   'Tone Borrowing in Five Northeastern Dialects'. In: Jimmy G.
         Harris and Richard B. Noss, eds *Tai Phonetics and Phonology*.
         Bangkok: Prachandra.

  1975   'A New Look at the History and Classification of the Tai Lan-
         guages'. In: J.G. Harris and J.R. Chamberlain, eds *Studies
         in Tai Linguistics in Honor of William J. Gedney*, 49-66.
         Bangkok: Central Institute of English Language.

CHINESE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
  1959a *Report on the Investigation of the Pu-i Language*. Peking:
         Chinese Academy of Sciences, Minorities Language Research
         Institute.

  1959b *Abridged Kam-Chinese Dictionary*. Kwei-yang: Chinese Academy of
         Sciences, Second Working Group of the Minorities Language
         Survey.

CHOMSKY, Noam
  1957   *Syntactic Structures*. The Hague: Mouton.

  1965   *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

COEDÈS, G.
  1962   *Les Peuples de la Péninsule Indochinoise*. Paris: Dunod.

143

COEDÈS, G. and J. BURNAY
    1927   'The Origins of the Sukhodaya Script'. *Journal of the Siam Society* 21:87-102.

CUSHING, J.N.
    1914   *A Shan and English Dictionary*. Rangoon: American Baptist Mission Press.

DIEU, C.N. and J. DONALDSON
    1970   *Tai-Vietnamese-English Vocabulary*. Saigon.

EGEROD, Søren
    1957   'Essentials of Shan Phonology and Script'. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 29:121-9.

    1959   'Essentials of Khün Phonology and Script'. *Acta Orientalia* 24:122-46.

ERICKSON, Donna
    1975   'Phonetic Implications for an Historical Account of Tonogenesis in Thai'. In: J.G. Harris and J.R. Chamberlain, eds *Studies in Tai Linguistics in Honor of William J. Gedney*, 100-11. Bangkok: Central Institute of English Language.

ESQUIROL, J. and G. WILLIATE
    1908   *Essai de Dictionnaire Dioi-Français la Langue Parlée par les Tribus Thai de la Haute Rivière de l'Ouest Suivi d'un Vocabulaire Français-Dioi*. Hong Kong.

FILLMORE, Charles J.
    1966a   'Toward a Modern Theory of Case'. In: *Project on Linguistic Analysis Report*, 13:1-24. Ohio State University. Reprinted in: D.A. Reibel and S.A. Schane, eds *Modern Studies in English*, 361-75. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969.

    1966b   'A Proposal Concerning English Prepositions'. In: Francis P. Dinneen S.J., ed. *Report of the Seventeenth Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies*, Washington.

    1968a   'The Case for Case'. In: Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms, eds *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, 1-88. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

    1968b   'Lexical Entries for Verbs'. *Foundations of Language* 4:373-93.

FU Mao-chi, TAO Shi-Hsun, T'UNG Wei and TAO Chung-Ch'iang
    1956   'The Phonemic System of Chieng Rung, Sipsongpanna in Yunnan

Province'. *Yu-yen Yen-chiu*, 1:223-64. Peking. (Unpublished English translation by Mrs James Dew, 1973.)

1965   *The Phonological System of the Tai Language of Vengehinghung in Sipsongpanna, Yunnan*. Peking: Yu-yen Yen-chiu.

GEDNEY, William J.

1964   'A Comparative Sketch of White, Black, and Red Tai'. *Social Science Review*, Special Number. Bangkok: Social Science Association Press.

1965   'Yay, a Northern Tai Language in North Vietnam'. *Lingua* 14: 180-93. Reprinted in: G.B. Milner and E.J.A. Henderson, eds *Indo-Pacific Linguistic Studies*, Part 1: 180-93. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

1969   Unpublished field notes.

1970   'The Saek Language of Nakhon Phanom Province'. *The Journal of the Siam Society* 58/1:67-87.

1970m   Materials from a Course in Comparative Tai, University of Michigan, Winter Term.

1973   'A Checklist for Determining Tones in Tai Dialects'. In: M. Estellie Smith, ed. *Studies in Linguistics in Honor of George L. Trager*, 423-37. The Hague: Mouton.

forth-   *Future Directions in Tai Linguistics.*
coming

GETHING, Thomas W.

1972   *Aspects of Meaning in Thai Nominals*. The Hague: Mouton.

HASHIMOTO, Mantaro J.

1971   The Linguistic Mechanism of Flip Flop. Unpublished paper.

HAUDRICOURT, André G.

1959   'How History and Geography Can Explain Certain Phonetic Developments'. *Yu-yen* 4:81-6.

1960   'Note sur les Dialectes de la Région de Moncay'. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 50:161-73.

1963   'Remarques sur les Initiales Complexes de la Langue Sek'. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 58/1:156-63.

HYMAN, L.H. and R.G. SHUH

1974   'Universals of Tone Rules: Evidence from West Africa'. *Linguistic Inquiry* 5/1:81-115.

JACOBS, Roderick A. and Peter S. ROSENBAUM
    1970   *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*. Waltham, Mass.:
           Ginn.

KERR, Allen D.
    1972   *Lao-English Dictionary*. 2 vols. Washington, D.C.: Catholic
           University of America Press.

LANGACKER, R.W.
    1968   *Language and Its Structure: Some Fundamental Linguistic Con-
           cepts*. New York: Yarcourt, Brace and World.

LAOS: MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
    1962   *Watcanaanukom Phaasaa Laaw*. Vientiane: Ministry of Education
           Press.

LI, Fang-kuei
    1944   'The Influence of the Primitive Tai Glottal Stop and Pre-
           glottalized Consonants on the Tone System of Po-ai'. *Bulletin
           of Chinese Studies* 4:59-67.

    1947a   'The Hypothesis of a Pre-glottalized Series of Consonants in
           Primitive Tai'. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and
           Philology, Academia Sinica* 11:177-88.

    1947b   'The Tai Dialect of Wu-Ming'. *BIHP* 12:293-303.

    1948a   'The Distribution of Initials and Tones in the Sui Language'.
           Language 24:160-7.

    1948b   'Notes on the Mak Language'. *BIHP* 19:1-80. Taipei. (Origi-
           nally published as: Institute of History and Philology,
           Academia Sinica, Peking, 1943, Monograph Series A, No. 20.)

    1949   'Tones in the Riming System of the Sui Language'. *Word* 5:262-
           267.

    1951   *Preliminary Comparisons of Three Groups of Sui-Chia Dialects*.
           Special Publication in Memorial to Director Fu-Ssu-nien.
           Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.

    1956   *The Tai Dialect of Wu-Ming: Texts, Translations, Glossary*.
           Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica,
           Monograph Series A, No. 19.

    1957   'The Jui Dialect of Po-ai and the Northern Tai'. *BIHP* 29:
           315-21.

1960   'A Tentative Classification of Tai Dialects'. In: Stanley
        Diamond, ed. *Culture in History: Essays in Honor of Paul
        Radin*. New York: Columbia University Press.

1964   'The Phonemic System of the Tai-Lü Language'. *BIHP* 35:7-14.

1965   'The Tai and the Kam-Sui Languages'. In: G.B. Milner and
        E.J.A. Henderson, eds *Indo-Pacific Linguistic Studies*, part 1:
        Historical Linguistics, 148-79. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

1966a   'Notes on the T'en (Yanghwang) Language: Introduction and
        Phonology'. *BIHP* 36/2:419-26.

1966b   'The Relationship Between Tones and Initials in Tai'. In:
        N.H. Zide, ed. *Studies in Comparative Austroasiatic Linguistics*,
        82-8. The Hague: Mouton.

1967   'Notes on the T'en or Yanghwang Language: Texts'. *BIHP* 37/1:
        1-44.

1968   'Notes on the T'en or Yanghwang Language: Glossary'. *BIHP*
        40/1:397-504.

LIANG, M.
1965   'A General Description of T'ung'. *Chung-kuo Yu-wen* 3:232-51.

MARCUS, Russell
1970   *English-Lao, Lao-English Dictionary*. Rutland, Vt: Charles E.
        Tuttle.

MATISOFF, James A.
1973   'Tonogenesis in Southeast Asia'. In: Larry M. Hyman, ed.
        Consonant Types and Tone. Southern California Occasional
        Papers in Linguistics 1. Los Angeles: Linguistics Program,
        University of Southern California.

NEEDLEMAN, Rosa
1973   Tai Verbal Structures and Some Implications for Current Lin-
        guistic Theory. Doctoral dissertaion, University of California
        at Los Angeles.

NGUYEN-VAN-HUYEN
1941   *Recueil des Chants de Marriage Tho de Lang-So'n et Cao-Bang*.
        Hanoi: École Française D'Extrême-Orient.

NISHIDA, Tatsuo
1954   'Tonematica Historica'. *Gengo Kenkyuu* 25:19-46.

1955   'Mak-Sui Language and Common Tai'. *Gengo Kenkyuu* 28:30-62.

NOSS, Richard B.
    1964   *Thai Reference Grammar*. Washington, D.C.: Foreign Service
            Institute.

OSHIKA, Beatrice T.
    1973   The Relationship of Kam-Sui-Mak to Tai. Doctoral dissertation,
            University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

PALLEGOIX, Jean Baptiste
    1854   *Dictionarium Linguae Thai*... Paris: Jussu Imperatoris Im-
            pressum.

PEI, C.
    1963   'The Dialect Correspondence of /r/ in the T'ung Language'.
            Chung-kuo Yu-wen 187-218.

PURNELL, H.C.
    1963   A *Short Northern Thai-English Dictionary*. Chiengmai: Overseas
            Missionary Fellowship.

    1965   Reduplication in Northern Thai. Unpublished paper.

PURNELL, Herbert C. and E.R. HOPE
    1962   A *Colorful Colloquial: Spoken Northern Thai*. Chiengmai.

RAI, T.
    1955   'On the Description of Baku Stories'. *Ochanomizu Joshi
            Daigaku Jimbun Kagaku Kiyoo* 7:19-60.

RAMA II, King of Thailand
    1921   *Bot Lakhorn Ruang Inaw*, vol. 1. Bangkok: Thai Publishing
            House.

RAMA IV (Mongkut), King of Thailand
    1923   *Prachum Prakaat Ratchakkaan Thii Sii*, part 5. Bangkok: Sophon
            Phophathankorn Publishing House.

REINHORN, Marc
    1970   *Dictionnaire Laotien-Français*. Paris: Centre National de la
            Recherche Scientifique.

SARAWIT, Mary E.
    1973   The Proto-Tai Vowel System. Doctoral dissertation, University
            of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

SAUL, Janice E.
    1965   'Classifiers in Nùng'. *Lingua* 13:278-90.

SO SETHAPUTRA, ed.
    1965   *New Model Thai-English Dictionary*. Samud Prakan, Thailand:
            So Sethaputra's Press.

THAILAND: ROYAL INSTITUTE
    1950   *Photcanaanukrom Chabap Raatchabanditsathaan*. Bangkok:
            Rungruangtham Publishing House.

TONGLAW, Kamchai
    1952   *Lak Phaasaa Thay*. Bangkok.

UPAKIT-SILAPASARN, Phya
    1948a   *Sayaam Wayyakorn Waakayasamphan*. Bangkok.

    1948b   *Sayaam Wayyakorn Wacii-wiphaak*. Bangkok.

    1969   'Verbless Sentences in Thai'. *Linguistics* 47:74-9.

    1972   *Thai Syntax*. The Hague: Mouton.

WAROTAMASIKKHADIT, Udom
    1963   Thai Syntax: An Outline. Doctoral dissertation, University of
            Texas, Austin.

WEI, C.
    1965   'A General Description of the Shii Language'. *Chung-kuo Yu-wen*
            5:400-12.

WEROHA, S.
    1974   Tai-Lue of Chiengkham. Unpublished papers and dictionary.