STANDARD-THAI & TAI-PHAKE:
- A comparison of PHONOLOGY
- A comparison of MORPHOLOGY

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1. Tai-Phake is a minority language spoken in four villages:Nam-Phake, Tipam-Phake in Dibrugarh district, Phaneng-Phake in Tinsukia district, and Monglang-Khamti in Margherita district-in Assam, India. The Indian Census Report of 1971 gives 1,800 as the number of speakers of this language. The analysis of Tai-Phake presented here is based on the data collected in two field-trips-one in April 1990 and the other in October 1990-in which we contacted twenty informants of different sex, age, and educational background in Nam-Phake and Tipam-Phake. After the first draft of our analysis we managed to bring two informants from Nam-Phake to Pune in March 1991 and had extensive interviews and talks with them. This opportunity was mainly used for verification of our analysis additional collection of data.

2. Phonology

2.1 The lexical items collected gave us the following inventory of segmantal phonemes:

Consonants of Tai-Phake

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	p		t	c	k	ʔ
	ph		th		kh	
Nasals	m		n	ñ	ṅ	
Fricatives			s			h
Lateral			l			
Semi-vowels	w			Y		

Minimal pairs: /p,t,c,k,ʔ/   /pá:/ 'fish'
/tá:/ 'eye'
/cá:/ 'to cover'
/ká:/ 'crow'
/ʔá:/ 'Aunt'

/ph,th,kh/

    /phǎ:/ 'wall'
    /thǎ:/ 'to shave off'
    /khǎ:/ 'leg'

/s,h/

    /sǔ/ 'you (pl.)
    /hǔ/ 'ear'

/m,n,n,n/

    /má: / 'to come'
    /nǎ:/ 'paddy-fiel'
    /ná:/ 'to come across'
    /ná:/ 'sesame'

/n,l/

    /nam/ 'black'
    /lam/ 'classifier of bamboo'

/w,y/

    /wǎ:n/ 'to invite'
    /yǎ:n/ 'to hang down'

The segmental consonants in Standard-Thai are the following:

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	p		t	c	k	ʔ
	ph		th	ch	kh	
	b		d			
Nasals	m		n		ṅ	
Fricatives		f	s			h
Lateral			l			
Flapped			r			
Semi-vowel	w			y		

    A comparison of the consonantal phonemes shows that Tai-phake has seventeen consonants whereas Standard - Thai has twenty-one consonants. Tai-Phake has the palatal nasal /n/ which Standard - Thai lacks. On the other hand the Standard - Thai consonants /b/ /d/ /ch/ /f/ /r/ are absent in Tai-Phake .
    All the dialects of Thai in Thailand have /b/ and /d/ but with the exception of Thai-Aiton all the other four varieties of Tai (Tai-Phake, Tai-Khamti, Tai- Rong, Tai-Khamyang) do not use /b/ and /d/. The common lexical items show that Standard-Thai /b/ is replaced by /m/ as in /bâ:n/ 'village (ST) but /mà:n/ 'village' (TP) and Standard-Thai /d/ is replaced by /n/ - /d :n / 'red' (ST) becomes /n :n/ 'red' (TP). The Standard-Thai /f/ is replaced by /ph/ in Tai-Phake. Thus the contrast between /phâ:/ 'sky' and /fá: / 'sky' is lost in Tai-

Phake, though the two words are distinguished by two tones -
/phà:/ 'cloth', /pha:/ 'sky'. The /r/ in Standard-Thai is
replaced by /h/ in Tai-Phake-/raw/ 'we'(ST) become /haw/ 'we'
(TP). We could not get an example of the contrast between /h/
and /r/ in Standard - Thai being retained (with or without tone-
distinction) in Tai-Phake. Similarly the Standard -Thai /ch/ is
simply replaced by /c/ in Tai-Phake -/chá:n/ 'elephant' (ST)
becomes /câ:n/ in Tai-Phake. Tai-Phake /n/ occur initially. It
does not occurs in Standard-Thai at all. Even in Tai-Phake we
got only six words :/ná: / 'to come across',/na:n/ 'knowledge',
/na:p/' to make believe ', /pinñá: / 'wisdom', /kínné/'girl",
/sinné/ 'perception', and only there words which are loan -
words from Pali and in which /n/ ouccurs medially - /pin-ná:/
'wisdom, /kin-né/ 'girl, and /sin-ne/ 'perception'.
       Regarding the common consonantal phonemes, we found
that there is a common lexical. The only difference is in tones
though the rising tone /v/ is not usually changed in Tai-Phake.
       2.2 The lexical items collected yield the following
inventory of Tai-Phake vowel phonemes

	Front		Central		Back	
	short	long	short	long	short	long
Close	i		ʉ		u	
Close-mid	e		ə		o	
Open-mid					ɔ	
Open			a	a:		

Minimal pairs:

/i,ʉ,u/   /kín/   'to eat'
               /kʉ́n/   'each other'
               /kún/   'to uproot'
/e,ə,o/
               /khě/   'fihing net'
               /khə̌/   'exphant'
               /khǒ/   'bridge'
/ɛ,a,ɔ/
               /khɛ̌n/   'hand'
               /khǎn/   'expensive'
               /khɔ̌n/   'metaphorically'
/ʉ,ɤ/
               /mʉ̌/   'hand'
               /mɤ/   'you (sg)
/o,ɔ/
               /sǒn/   'garden'
               /sɔ̌n/   'to teach'
/a,a:/
               /kát/   'cold'
               /ká:t/   'market'

The following is the inventory of vowel - phonemes in Standard - Thai :

	Front		Central		Back	
	short	long	short	long	short	long
Close	i	i:	ʉ	ʉ:	u	u:
Close-mid	e	e:	ə	ə:	o	o:
Open-mid	ɛ	ɛ:			ɔ	ɔ:
Open			a	a:		
Diphthongs	ia		ʉa		ua	

A comparison of the two inventories shows that Standard-Thai has a rich variety of vowels whereas Tai-Phake has a simplified system. Length is phonemic in Standard-Thai but it is obliterated in Tai-Phake. In Tai-Phake the short vowels have a slightly lengthened variety in the final positions. Thus the /i/ in /pí/ 'year' is longer than the /i/ in /má:k-phít/ 'chilli'. The phonemic length of Standard-Thai becomes allophonic in Tai-Phak. The only contrast in medial positions that we find in Tai-Phake is the one between /a/ and /a:/. Among the common vocabulary therefore we find that the Standard-Thai contrasting pair of words becomes homonymous in Tai-Phake. For example. /kho:n/ 'first part of things' /khon/ 'person' in Standard-Thai became /khon/ 'person' in Tai-Phake.
  Standard-Thai has three diphthongs-/ia/, /ʉa/ and /ua/. Tai-Phake does not have any diphthongs.
  A comparison of the common vocabulary shows that /ia/ (ST) is replaced by /e/, /ʉa/(ST) by /ɤ/, and /ua/ (ST) by /o/ in Tai-Phake. Examples: /sĭaṅ/ (ST)- /sěṅ/(TP) 'sound' /mia/ (ST) -/mé/ʃ(TP) 'wife' , /klʉa/ (ST) - /kɤ/ (TP) 'salt', /lʉ̂at/ (ST) - /lɤt/ (TP) 'blood', /hŭa/ (ST) - /hŏ/(TP) 'head',/tua/ (ST) - /tó/ (TP) 'body'.
  2.3 The syllabic structure of the monosyllabic words is the same in Tai-Phake and Standard-Thai

	TP		ST	
CV				
	/tá:/	'eye'	/di:/	'good'
CVC				
	/kín/	'eat'	/kin/	'eat'
CCV				
	/tla:/	'law'	/pla:/	'fish'
CCVC				
	/kya:m/	'try'	/pra:ṅ/	'cheek'

In CCVC Tai-Phake always uses /y/ as the second member of the cluster.

The syllabic structure of the disyllabic words in Tai-Phake is the following: (The mark.shows syllabic boundary)

CV CV
  /pɔlɔ́ / 'union'   /da: ra:/ (ST) 'star'
CVC CV
  /pin hŭ/(TP)'ear'   /ʔam phə:/(ST)'district'
CV CVC
  /sa lá:p/(TP)'cockroach' / pa:thòk/(ST)'speaker'
CVC CCV
  /hók lǎy/(TP) 'ladder'   /thák sàʔ/(ST)'skill'
CVC CCV
  /tɔm tla:/ (TP)'worship'   /don tri:/(ST)'music'

Standard-Thai has eight additional structures which are not found in Tai-Phake. They are the following:

CCV CV   /pri cha/   'able'
CCVC CV   /kràʔ sa:/   'large heron'
CCV CVC   /pra: ka:n/   'fortification'
CCV CVC   /tràʔ ku:n/   'clan'
CCVC CCV   /kra:m phlu:/   'clove'
CCV CCVC   /phlǐ: phlǎ:m/ 'be hasty'
CCVC CCVC   /trà:k tram/   'work hard'
CVC CCVC   /má:ʔ kru:t/   'kaffir lime'

It should be noted that CCVC CVC, CCVC CCV, CCV CCVC are rarely found in Standard-Thai, In Tai-Phake there are no disyllabic words beginning with a cluster.

In both the varieties polysyllabic words are rare. In Tai-Phake we could get only seven. In Standard-Thai the structures of the polysyllabic words are the following:CV CV CV, CV CV CVC, CVC CV CV, CV CVC CV, CVC CV CVC, CV CV CV CV. Out of these six only the first three are found in Tai-Phake.

In Tai-Phake the following ten consonantal clusters are possible:

pl   /plu/   'marigold'
phl   /phláʔ/   'Lord Buddha'
kl   /klí/   'big'
khl   /khlə/   'how many or much'
tl   /tla:/   'law'
py   /pya:/   'to show'
phy   /phyɛ́k/   'to spid'
ky   /kyǎ:m/   'cruel'
my   /myɛ́t/   'holy'

In Standard-Thai the following twelve consonantal clusters occur:

pr	/pra:n̊/	'cheek'
phr	/phr̂ɛ: /	'to spread abroad'
tr-	/trù:/	'time of first light of dawn'
kr	/kron/	'to snore'
khr	/khro:n̊/	'poetic verse'
pl	/plon̊ /	'to lay down'
phl	/phlan/	'suddenly'
kl	/klɔ:n̊/	'drum'
kh	/khlǎn̊/	'to potent'
kw	/kwàk/	'to wave goodbye'
khw	/khwɛ̌:n/	'to hang'
thr	/nít-thra:/	'to sleep'

With the exception /thr/ the rest of the eleven structures occur word-initially or medially ; /thr/ can never occur word-initially.

It is intersting to note that no cluster is common the Tai-Phake and Standard Thai.

With the exception of /m/ in Tai-Phake all the initial consonants in the clusters in both the varieties are one of the four voiceless plosives : /p/, /ph/, /k/, /t/. In Standard Thai the second member of the cluster is /r/,/l/ or /w/ whereas that in Tai-Phake is /l/ or /y/. In both the varieties the cluster is alway of a voiceless consonant with a voiced one- the only exception is that of /my-/ in Tai-Phake.

2.4 Tai-Phake has six tones:

i)	Low tone	＼	/kà:/	'dance'
ii)	High tone	／	/ná:/	'paddy-field'
iii)	Mid tone	unmarked	/ma:/	'shoulder'
iv)	Rising tone	∨	/mǔ/	'pig'
v)	Falling tone	∧	/mâ:n/	'mirrow'
vi)	Mid to rising tone	⌐	/tãy/	'climb'

The following minimal pairs show that the six tones are phonemic:

/mà:/	'mad'	/má:/	'come'	/ma:/	'shoulder'
/mǎ:/	'dog'	/mâ:/	'horse'	/mã:/	'soak'

In standard Thai there are the first five tones. Standard Thai does not have the mid to rising tone.

The common lexical items show that there is no change in the rising tone for both the varieties. A few more examples are the following : /khǎ:/ 'leg', /nǎ;/ 'thick', /khǎ:y/ 'sell', /khǎn̊/ 'hold', /khǎn/ 'chirp', /khin̊/ 'ginger', /thǎy/ 'push', /lǎn̊/ 'back', /lǎ:n/ 'grandson', /sǎ:w/ 'young

woman', /thŭń/ 'bag', / 'sĭw'/ 'pimple'. Apart from these there
are quite a few common lexical items with rising tone, the only
difference in them being the phonemic length in Stndard thai as
opposed to the allophonic length in Tai-Phake. For example :
/mŭ:/(ST)-/mŭ/ (TP)'pig', /mĬ:/ (ST) -/mĬ / (TP) 'bear', /thŭ:/
(ST) - /thŭ/(TP) 'hold'/hĔ:/ (ST) -/hĔ/ (TP) 'fishing net'.
    In the case of other tones we found that following
regarding the common lexical items :
    Tai-Phake has mid to rising tone when Standard Thai
has low tone. Example : /pă:/ (TP) - /pà:/(ST) 'forest', /ʔ3́n/
(TP) - /ʔɔ̀:n/ (ST) 'small', /phĬn/ (TP)-/phɛ̀n/(ST) 'plank' etc.
Tai-Phake falling tone has a corresponding high tone in
Standared Thai. Examples : /mâ:/(TP)-/má:/(ST) 'horse' /nâm/
(TP) -/nám/(ST) 'water', /câ:ń/ (TP)-/chá:ń/(ST) 'elephant' Tai-
phake has low tone whereas Standard Thai has falling tone.
Examples: /phà:/ (TP)/phâ:/ (ST) 'cloth' /mɔ̀/(TP)---/mɔ̂:/(ST)
'pot', /sìn/(TP)---/sîn/(ST) 'sari' etc.
    We could not find any examples where the Tai-Phake
mid to rising tone, high tone and low tone do not change in
Standard Thai.
    In the case of words which have mid tone in Standard
Thai, we found that sometimes the corresponding tone in Tai-
Phake is either the high tone or the mid tone. Examples: /phan/
(ST) (TP) 'race', /kin/ (ST) -/kĭn/ (TP) 'eat'.
    In disyllabic words Tai-Phake Shows the following
tone-spquences (-stands for the unmarked mid tone): - ᵛ,- -,/ ᵛ,
\ - ,/ - , - ⟋/, ⟋ /. Standard Thai obviously does not have -
⟋ / and - ⟋ sequences as mid- to -rise tone does not occur
in it. Standard Thai has the first five ; in additing it has
ten more sequences that do not occur in Tai-Phake. They are the
following: ᵛ _ , \\, \ᵛ, -\, -/, / \, \ᴧ, ᴧ-, \ /, ᵛᵛ.

    3. Morphology
    3.1 There are no gender, number, and person markers
in both the varieties. Nor are the nouns or pronouns inflected
for case. There are prepositions in both the varieties but these
prepositions do not affect the form of the nouns or the
pronouns. (what Ruengdet P. calledcase-markers are prepositions
for us.) The prepositions are the following.

Tai-Phake	Standard Thai	
/ca: mă:/	/phŭa, sămrap,chaʔphrɔʔ ma:/	'for dog'
/lòy mă:/	/kàp mă:/	'with dog'
/lúksĕ mă:/	/cà:k mă:/	'from dog'
/nɔ̌ mă:/	/nɨa,bon mă:/	'on dog'
/tày mă:/	/tây mă:/	'under dog'
/khɔ̌ń mă:/	/khɔ̌:ń mă:/	'of dog'
/hăń mă:/	/kɛ̌:,tɔ̀: mă:/	'to dog'
/ʔɛ̀m mă:/	/klây mă:/	'near dog'
/waw mă: thã:ń mimí//raʔwà:ń mă: lɛ́ mɛ:w/		'between dog and cat'

/khàn nà: mǎ:/	/kɔ̀:n nâ: mǎ:/	'before or in front of dog'
/khàn lǎn̊: mǎ:/	/khâ:n̊ lǎn̊ mǎ:/	'after/behind dog'
/tì mǎ:/	/thî: mǎ:/	'to/towards dog'
/nɔ mǎ:/	/nay mǎ:/	'in dog'

The only difference between Tai-Phake and Standard Thai is that for five prepositions Standard Thai has variants but Tai-Phake does not have any variants.

3.2 Derivative Markers : In Tai-Phake we could not find a single derivative markers; of course we are eliminating loan-words from Pali that follow the Pali derivative marker rules. Tai-Phake does not have any. word-formation rules. Standard Thai also have very few word formation rules. It has prefixes such as /khwa:m/, /ro:n/, /nak/, /ka:n/, and /cha:w/, and suffixes such as /k :n/, /pha:p/ and /ka:n/.

Examples

/khwa:m/	+ v ------> n	/khwa:mrák/ love	'love'(n)
/ro:n̊/	+ v ------> n	/ro:n̊rian/ study	'place for studying, school'
/nák/	+ v ------> n	/nákrɔ:n̊/ sing	'singer'
or /nák/	+ n ------> n	/nákki:la:/ sport	'sportsman'
/ka:n/	+ n ------> n	/ka:nkin/ eat	'eating'
/cha:w/	+ n ------> n	/cha:w na:/ field	'farmer'
n + /kɔ:n/	------> n	/khâ:ttà?kɔ:n/ death	'killer'
n + /phâ:p/	------> n	/máno:phâ:p/ mind	'imagination'
or n + /phâ:p/	------> v	/chára:phâ:p/ oldness	'become old'
or v + /phâ:p/	------> n	/bu:ránáphâ:p/ integrate	'integration'
or Adj+/phâ:p/	------> n	/se:ri:phâ:p/ free	'freedom'
n + /ka:n/	------> n	/thúráka:n/ business	'administration'

Though a few Standard Thai has productive derivative markers whereas Tai-Phake has none.

Some Linguists describe /-m-/, /-an-/, /-amn-/, and /-amr-/ as infixes (cf. Waotamasikkhadit, Udom. 1970. Intro-

duction to Linguistics), we have not included them here for
three reasons. One, they do not change the word-class; two, they
do not change the meaning. Three, the forms without the infixes
are not really discontinuous morphemes. The second reason is
stonger than the other two in not treating them as infixes.
   3.3 Comparison
      Tai-Phake has only comparative degree and the prefix
/khɛn/ marks the comparison:

   /chaw   khɛn   phí   hǎn   khomsǎn /
   Chao   -er   fat   to   Khomsan
   Chao is fatter than Khomsan.
   /chaw   kh ɛ n   phí   hǎn   lúkʔɔ́n nây khǎw hà: khon/
   Chao   -er   fat   to   boy those plu. five Cla.
   'Chao is fatter to those five boys.'
   'Chao is the fattest of all those five boys'
words such as /nǎm nǎm/ 'very', /cɔ̂n cɔ̂n/ 'slightly' cannot
come between the /khɛn/ and the adjective.
      Standard Thai, on the hand, has a comparative suffix /kwà:/
and a superlative suffix /thî:sùt/.
   /dekcha:y nɔ́y/ lék khon ní:/
   boy   small (Cla.) this
   This is a small boy.
   /námnom   nɔ́y/
   milk   little
   Little   milk
   /námnom   mâ:k/
   milk   much
   Much   milk
   /thǔn   chan   lék   kwà: thǔn   khun/
   bag   my   small   -er   bag   your
   My Bag is smaller than   your bag.
   /thǔn   Chan lek thî:sùt cà:k thǔn hòk bay/
   bag   my small - est of (all) bag six Cla.
   My bag is the smallest of all the six bags.
   /thǔn   chan   lék   mâ:k /
   bag   my   small   very
   My bag is very small.
   /thǔn   chan lék nɔ́:y kwà: thǔn khun/
   bag   my small slight -er bag your
   My bag is slightly smaller than   your bag.
   /thǔn   chan lék mâ:k kwà: thǔn khun /
   bag   my small   much   -er bag your
   My bag is very much smaller than your bag.
   /chaw chàlâ:t/
   Chao clever
   Chao is clever.
   /chaw   chàlâ:t   n ɔ́ :y kwa: chɔ́:y/
   Chao   clever less - er   Choi
   Chao is less clever than Choi.
   /chaw chàlâ:t   nɔ́:y mâ:k kwà: chɔ́:y/

```
Chao  clever  little  much  -er  Choi
Chao  is  little  much clever than Choi.
```
The examples show that /kwà: / is a suffix attacted
to the adjective /lék/, /chàlâ:t/, /mâ:k/ and /nɔ́:y/ also are
adjectives. The use of the superlative /thî:sùt/ requires more
than two objects:
```
/chaw  chàlâ:t  thî:sùt  cà:k dèk  thán  yî:sìp  khon/
Chao  clever  -est  of  all  twenty  Cla.
Chao  is  the  cleverest  of  all the twenty  boys.
```
/thî:sùt/ can go with /mâ:k/ and /nɔ́:y /.
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/dèk  chàlâ:t  thî:sùt /  'cleverest boy'
/dèk  chàlâ:t  mà:k  thî:sut /  'clever most boy'
/dèk  chàlâ:t  nɔ́:y  thî:sut /  'clever less boy'
/dèk  chàlâ:t  nɔ́:y  mâ:k  thî:sùt/
boy  clever  little  much  -est
/dèk  chàlâ:t  mâ:k  nɔ́:y  thî:sùt/
boy  clever  much  little  -est
```

3.4 Tenses
Verbs are not inflected for tenses both in Tai-Phake
and Standard Thai. The present time is optionally indicated by
auxiliary verbs --/ʔú/ in Tai-Phake and /yù:/ in Standard Thai.

```
/chaw  lâ:ń  mɔ̀ khǎw  (ʔú) (TP)
Chao  wash pot plu  aux
Chao  washes / is washing  pots.
```

One can and either /cɯ̀nnáy/ 'now' or /kuwan/ 'everyday' in
Tai-Phake.

```
/chaw  lá:ń  mɔ̂: thánla:y (yù:) (ST)
Chao  wash pot  Plu  aux
Chao washes /is washing pots.
```

One can add either /dĩawní: 'now' or /thúkwan/ 'everyday' in
Standard Thai.
Past time is marked by the auxiliary /ka:/, /yâw/
or /ka:yâw/. We found their frequency in a descending order in
our data. These auxiliaries are optional if a past time
indicating adverbial is present
```
/chaw  lâ:ń  mɔ̀ khǎw ka: /yâw/ka:yâw/
Chao  wash pot plu.  aux
Chao  washed / was washing  pots.
/chaw lâ:ń  mɔ̀ khǎw maña: /
Chao wash pot plu yesterday
Chao washed/ was washing pots yesterday.
```
One can use both the auxiliary the adverbial /ka:yâw/ has a
variant /yâwka:/.

In Standard Thai the aux / ˡɛ́:w/ occurs at the end
```
/chaw  lá:ń m ɔ̂ :  thánlǎ:y  ˡɛ́:w/
```

Chao wash pot plu.   aux
Chao washed /was washing pots.
A past time indicating adverbial such as /mɯawa:n/ 'yesterday'
can replace / |ɛ́:w/ or both can cooccur. / |ɛ́:w/ is the most
commonly used aux in Standard Thai. Standard Thai has a less
frequently used aux /dây/ which must occur before the verb:
    /chaw dây lá:ṅ mɔ̂: tháṅlǎ:y /(ST)
       Chao aux wash pot plu
       Chao washed /was washing pots.
/dây/ can cooccur with the past time indicating adverbials. It
can cooccur with / |ɛ́:w/ as well.
           Apart from the position of the aux/dây/ there is no
difference between Tai-Phake and Standard Thai in this regard.
           Tai-Phake has the aux /tà?/ for marking future time.
This aux does not however occur at the end of the sentence. It
occurs before the verb.

     /chaw tà? lâ:ṅ mɔ̀ khǎw/ (TP)
     Chao aux wash pot plu
     Chao will wash/will be washing pots.

The aux is obligatory even when future time indicating
adverbials such as /màphúk/ 'tomorrow' are present.
    Standard Thai uses /cà?/ before the verb
    /chaw cà? lá:ṅ mɔ̂: tháṅlǎ:y/(ST)
    Chao will wash/ will be washing pots.
    /cà?/ also is obligatory.

    In short we get the following:

	Present	Past	Future
TP	v....(aux)	v.....aux	aux + v
	adv	adv	
ST	✓	✓	✓
		or	
		aux + v	

ABBREVIATION AND SYMBOL USED

Cla.	= Classifier	/ /	= Phonemic Transcription
n	= Noun	-----〉	= Rewritten as
plu	= Plural marker	( )	= Optional
v	= Verb	◞	= Mid to rising tone
TP	= Tai-Phake	ˋ	= Low tone
ST	= Standard Thai	ˊ	= High tone
		∧	= Falling Tone
		∨	= Rising Tone

Note: Mid tone is unmarked.

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