

## TONES, SEGMENTS AND THAI REGIONAL SOCIETY

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Phonology may be at least as much synthesis as "component". Firth draws our attention to this possibility, and by now it is commonplace to cite Henderson's (1949) analysis of Siamese as one of the most convincing demonstrations of what Firth was advocating. Henderson's work remains an important guide for those investigating the nature of Thai sounds.

In this study we suggest that tones and segments in Thai varieties sometimes behave as discrete and even separable systems, particularly for a large number of up-country Thais. Furthermore in daily-life situations interaction of these sound systems is related to social pressure and is also subject to manipulation as an intersubjective resource. Role postures and personal attitudes are linked to how tones are combined with segments.<sup>1</sup>

The issue here is not directly the "segmental nature of tone" (Leben 1971; cf. Gandour 1975, for a penetrating critique) if one views this primarily in the light of abstract feature representation and rule economy. But if one could be speculative about evolution in abstract phonology, one might predict greater theoretical interest in (performance?) considerations like those below in the future.

In Figure 1 versions of a statement are compared across Central Thai (CT) and two Northern Thai (NoT) varieties. NoT<sub>urban</sub> was heard among sub-professional friends in the downtown area of Tak. NoT<sub>rural</sub> was also heard in Tak Province, but among agricultural workers in an outlying village. Note that to some extent NoT<sub>urban</sub> represents a transition between the other two varieties.<sup>2</sup> (Tone contours and pitches are suggested by juxtaposed numbers on a 1-to-5 scale, e.g. X<sub>41</sub> stands for a falling tone. Lexical tones rather than combinatory values are represented, and details like whether to use X<sub>41</sub> or X<sub>52</sub> are generally not at issue in this study.)

"Urban hybrid" is a convenient designation for speech varieties similar to NoT<sub>urban</sub>, but as we see below neither "urban" nor "hybrid" should be taken too literally. For this reason colourless subscripts <sup>a</sup> and <sub>b</sub> are used below. Egerod (1961) noticed in Southern Thai (SoT) a counterpart to the urban Northern variety in Figure 1 and referred to this as a "Southern Koine". SoT provides a convenient basis for most of the examples and discussion below, although other regional communities appear to have systems similar in general outline.

CT	chan <sub>24</sub>	may <sub>41</sub>	ruu <sub>45</sub>	rian <sub>41</sub>
NoT <sub>urban</sub>	san <sub>13</sub>	may <sub>43</sub>	huu <sub>53</sub>	lian <sub>31</sub>
NoT <sub>rural</sub>	kuu <sub>13</sub>	boo <sub>22</sub>	huu <sub>53</sub>	lian <sub>31</sub>
I            not        know    story				
"I don't know about it."				

Figure 1

Central Thai (CT) and two Northern Thai (NoT)  
versions of a statement compared

### 1. Phonological comparison

Henderson (1959) and Vichin Panupong (1956, 1972) have produced accurate descriptions of a SoT dialect spoken in Songkhla Province. With their observations in mind, we go on in the following list to compare two "polar" Songkhla varieties. These are in fact reference points in the delineation of a continuum which will be discussed subsequently. SoT<sub>a</sub> was collected among well-educated professional Southern townspeople, while SoT<sub>b</sub> counterparts were heard among rural speakers.

	<u>CT</u>	<u>SoT<sub>a</sub></u>	<u>SoT<sub>b</sub></u>
1. 'leg'	khaa <sub>24</sub>	khaa <sub>55</sub>	khaa <sub>55</sub>
2. 'sp. rhizome'	khaa <sub>21</sub>	khaa <sub>55</sub>	khaa <sub>55</sub>
3. 'to kill'	khaa <sub>41</sub>	khaa <sub>43</sub>	khaa <sub>43</sub>
4. 'to polish'	khat <sub>21</sub>	khat <sub>55</sub>	khat <sub>55</sub>
5. 'to lack'	khaat <sub>21</sub>	khaat <sub>43</sub>	khaat <sub>43</sub>
6. 'crow'	kaa <sub>32</sub>	kaa <sub>24</sub>	kaa <sub>24</sub>
7. 'jungle'	paa <sub>21</sub>	paa <sub>24</sub>	paa <sub>24</sub>
8. 'aunt'	paa <sub>41</sub>	paa <sub>33</sub>	paa <sub>33</sub>
9. 'to bite' <sup>3</sup>	kat <sub>21</sub>	kat <sub>24</sub>	kat <sub>24</sub>
10. 'mouth'	paak <sub>21</sub>	paak <sub>33</sub>	paak <sub>33</sub>
11. 'thatch grass'	khaa <sub>32</sub>	khaa <sub>31</sub>	khaa <sub>31</sub>
12. 'value'	khaa <sub>41</sub>	khaa <sub>22</sub>	khaa <sub>22</sub>
13. 'to do trading'	khaa <sub>45</sub>	khaa <sub>21</sub>	khaa <sub>21</sub>
14. 'to think'	khit <sub>45</sub>	khit <sub>21</sub>	khit <sub>21</sub>
15. 'land leech'	thaak <sub>41</sub>	thaak <sub>22</sub>	thaak <sub>22</sub>

	<u>CT</u>	<u>SoT<sub>a</sub></u>	<u>SoT<sub>b</sub></u>
16. 'right side'	khwaa <sub>24</sub>	khwaa <sub>55</sub>	khwaa <sub>55</sub>
17. 'lid'	faa <sub>24</sub>	faa <sub>55</sub>	khwaa <sub>55</sub>
18. 'lonely'	ŋaw <sub>24</sub>	ŋaw <sub>55</sub>	haw <sub>55</sub>
19. 'hair louse'	haw <sub>24</sub>	haw <sub>55</sub>	haw <sub>55</sub>
20. 'grass'	yaa <sub>41</sub>	yaa <sub>43</sub>	naa <sub>43</sub>
21. 'father's mother'	yaa <sub>41</sub>	yaa <sub>22</sub>	yaa <sub>22</sub>
22. 'to ache'	mīay <sub>41</sub>	mīay <sub>22</sub>	mlīay <sub>22</sub>
23. 'body louse'	len <sub>32</sub>	len <sub>31</sub>	mlen <sub>31</sub>
24. 'group'	muu <sub>21</sub>	muu <sub>55</sub>	moo <sub>55</sub>
25. 'pig'	muu <sub>24</sub>	muu <sub>55</sub>	muu <sub>55</sub>
26. 'father's father'	puu <sub>21</sub>	puu <sub>24</sub>	poo <sub>24</sub>
27. 'crab'	puu <sub>32</sub>	puu <sub>24</sub>	puu <sub>24</sub>
28. 'child'	luuk <sub>41</sub>	luuk <sub>22</sub>	look <sub>22</sub>
29. 'world'	look <sub>41</sub>	look <sub>22</sub>	look <sub>22</sub>
30. 'to fight'	suu <sub>41</sub>	suu <sub>43</sub>	soo <sub>43</sub>
31. 'chain'	soo <sub>41</sub>	soo <sub>43</sub>	soo <sub>43</sub>
32. 'four'	sii <sub>21</sub>	sii <sub>55</sub>	see <sub>55</sub>
33. 'colour'	sii <sub>24</sub>	sii <sub>55</sub>	sii <sub>55</sub>
34. 'honest'	sīi <sub>41</sub>	sīi <sub>22</sub>	sæə <sub>22</sub>
35. 'stalk'	ton <sub>41</sub>	ton <sub>33</sub>	tɔn <sub>33</sub>
36. 'citrus fruit'	som <sub>41</sub>	som <sub>43</sub>	sɔm <sub>43</sub>
37. 'six'	hok <sub>21</sub>	hok <sub>55</sub>	hɔk <sub>55</sub>
38. 'stone'	hin <sub>24</sub>	hin <sub>55</sub>	hiin <sub>55</sub>
39. 'to sever'	sin <sub>24</sub>	sin <sub>55</sub>	siin <sub>55</sub>
40. 'sea leech'	plin <sub>32</sub>	plin <sub>24</sub>	pliin <sub>24</sub>
41. 'ginger'	khin <sub>24</sub>	khin <sub>55</sub>	khiin <sub>55</sub>
42. 'to enter'	khaw <sub>41</sub>	khaaw <sub>43</sub>	khaaw <sub>43</sub>
43. 'rice'	khaaw <sub>41</sub>	khaaw <sub>43</sub>	khaaw <sub>43</sub>
44. 'fever'	khay <sub>41</sub>	khaay <sub>43</sub>	khaay <sub>43</sub>
45. 'stockade'	khaay <sub>41</sub>	khaay <sub>22</sub>	khaay <sub>22</sub>
46. 'egg'	khay <sub>21</sub>	khay <sub>55</sub>	khay <sub>55</sub>
47. 'island'	kɔʔ <sub>21</sub>	kɔʔ <sub>24</sub>	kɔɔʔ <sub>33</sub>
48. '(Year of) Rabbit'	thɔʔ <sub>21</sub>	thɔʔ <sub>55</sub>	thɔɔʔ <sub>43</sub>

	<u>CT</u>	<u>SoT<sub>a</sub></u>	<u>SoT<sub>b</sub></u>
49. 'to patch'	paʔ <sub>21</sub>	paʔ <sub>24</sub>	paaʔ <sub>33</sub>
50. '(particle)'	leʔ <sub>21</sub>	leʔ <sub>55</sub>	leʔ <sub>55</sub>
51. 'more'	kwaa <sub>21</sub>	kwaa <sub>24</sub>	waa <sub>55</sub>
52. 'to call' <sup>4</sup>	riak <sub>41</sub>	liak <sub>22</sub>	yiak <sub>22</sub>
53. 'indistinct'	nəə <sub>21</sub>	nəə <sub>43</sub>	thəə <sub>43</sub>
54. 'cutting-board'	khian <sub>24</sub>	khian <sub>55</sub>	chian <sub>55</sub>
55. 'steamer'	huat <sub>21</sub>	huat <sub>43</sub>	suat <sub>43</sub>
56. 'to squeeze'	niip <sub>21</sub>	niip <sub>43</sub>	hiip <sub>43</sub>
57. 'that'	nan <sub>41,45</sub>	nan <sub>43,21</sub>	han <sub>43,21</sub>
58. 'smelly'	men <sub>24</sub>	men <sub>55</sub>	min <sub>55</sub>
59. 'to smell'	dum <sub>32</sub>	dum <sub>24</sub>	dom <sub>24</sub>
60. 'rope'	chiak <sub>41</sub>	chiak <sub>22</sub>	chiak <sub>22</sub>
61. 'to slice'	chiat <sub>41</sub>	chiat <sub>22</sub>	chiat <sub>22</sub>
62. 'all'	mot <sub>21</sub>	mot <sub>55</sub>	met <sub>55</sub>
63. 'house'	rian <sub>32</sub>	lian <sub>31</sub>	lən <sub>31</sub>
64. 'joss stick'	thuup <sub>41</sub>	thuup <sub>22</sub>	thook <sub>22</sub>
65. 'too tight'	khap <sub>45</sub>	khap <sub>21</sub>	khat <sub>21</sub>
66. 'bar'	then <sub>41</sub>	then <sub>22</sub>	thēn <sub>22</sub>
67. 'to open (eyes)'	liim <sub>32</sub>	liim <sub>31</sub>	mlēn <sub>31</sub>
68. 'case, handbag' <sup>5</sup>	krapaw <sub>24</sub>	krapaaw <sub>33</sub>	paaw <sub>33</sub>
69. 'can'	krapon <sub>24</sub>	krapon <sub>24</sub>	pɔŋ <sub>24</sub>
70. 'market'	talaat <sub>21</sub>	talaat <sub>43</sub>	laat <sub>43</sub>
71. 'door'	pratuu <sub>32</sub>	pratuu <sub>24</sub>	tuu <sub>24</sub>
72. 'comfortable'	sabaay <sub>32</sub>	sabaay <sub>24</sub>	baay <sub>24</sub>
73. 'fun'	sanuk <sub>21</sub>	sanuk <sub>55</sub>	nuk <sub>55</sub>
74. 'bridge'	saphaan <sub>32</sub>	saphaan <sub>31</sub>	phaan <sub>31</sub>
75. 'to growl'	khamraam <sub>32</sub>	khamlaam <sub>31</sub>	mlaam <sub>31</sub>
76. 'to carve (meat)'	chamleʔ <sub>21</sub>	chamleʔ <sub>55</sub>	mlēʔ <sub>43</sub>
77. 'crocodile'	cɔɔ <sub>32</sub> rakhee <sub>41</sub>	cɔɔ <sub>24</sub> lakhee <sub>43</sub>	khee <sub>43</sub>



	<u>CT</u>	<u>SoT<sub>a</sub></u>	<u>SoT<sub>b</sub></u>
78. 'clock'	naa <sub>32</sub> likaa <sub>32</sub>	naa <sub>31</sub> likaa <sub>24</sub>	naa <sub>31</sub> kaa <sub>24</sub>
79. 'hospital'	roon <sub>32</sub> - phayābaan <sub>32</sub>	loon <sub>31</sub> - phayābaan <sub>24</sub>	loon <sub>31</sub> baan <sub>24</sub>
80. 'gaol'	taraan <sub>32</sub>	talaan <sub>55</sub>	laan <sub>55</sub>
81. 'what' <sup>6</sup>	?aray <sub>32</sub>	?alay <sub>55</sub>	lay <sub>55</sub>
82. 'sun'	tawan <sub>32</sub>	tawan <sub>55</sub>	wan <sub>55</sub>
83. 'profit'	kamray <sub>32</sub>	kamlay <sub>55</sub>	mlay <sub>55</sub>
84. 'noodles'	mii <sub>21</sub>	mii <sub>21</sub>	mii <sub>21</sub>
85. 'short-circuit'	choot <sub>45</sub>	choot <sub>43</sub>	choot <sub>43</sub>
86. 'camp'	kheem <sub>45</sub>	kheem <sub>43</sub>	kheem <sub>43</sub>
87. 'to play'	len <sub>41</sub>	len <sub>43</sub>	len <sub>43</sub>
88. 'to turn over'	khwa <sub>41</sub>	khwa <sub>43</sub>	khwa <sub>43</sub>
89. 'to swim'	waay <sub>41</sub>	waay <sub>43</sub>	waay <sub>43</sub>
90. 'cymbal'	chin <sub>21</sub>	chin <sub>43</sub>	chin <sub>43</sub>
91. 'large basket'	khen <sub>21</sub>	kheen <sub>43</sub>	kheen <sub>43</sub>
92. 'bay'	?aaw <sub>21</sub>	?aaw <sub>43</sub>	?aaw <sub>43</sub>
93. 'it, he, etc.'	man <sub>32</sub>	man <sub>55</sub>	man <sub>55</sub>
94. 'you'	min <sub>32</sub>	min <sub>55</sub>	min <sub>55</sub>
95. 'spade'	siam <sub>24</sub>	siam <sub>43</sub>	siam <sub>43</sub>
96. 'to spit'	thuy <sub>24</sub>	thuy <sub>43</sub>	thuy <sub>43</sub>
97. 'to discard' <sup>7</sup>	thin <sub>45</sub>	thin <sub>22</sub>	thin <sub>22</sub>
98. 'don't'	yaa <sub>21</sub>	yaa <sub>31</sub>	paa <sub>31</sub>
99. 'blanket'	phuay <sub>24</sub>	phuay <sub>55</sub>	phoo <sub>22</sub>
100. 'hawk'	yia <sub>21</sub>	yia <sub>55</sub>	yia <sub>22</sub>

Items 1-100 illustrate phonological relationships typical among the varieties CT, SoT<sub>a</sub> and SoT<sub>b</sub>. Two general principles are seen to be in effect: there is a tonal separation between CT forms on the one hand and corresponding SoT<sub>a</sub> and SoT<sub>b</sub> forms on the other; and to the extent that segmentals in the three varieties differ, in most cases CT and SoT<sub>a</sub> forms show common segmental structures on the one hand which contrast with those of SoT<sub>b</sub> on the other.

Examining the phonological situation in more detail, below we consider eight issues in CT/SoT<sub>a</sub>/SoT<sub>b</sub> correspondence. These are illustrative of major comparative relationships involved but are not a comprehensive list.

(1) Regular tonal correspondence. Haas (1958) and Henderson (1959), et al., have previously analysed regular CT/SoT tonal relationships. These are indicated for unstopped syllables (คำเป็น) in Figure 2 to summarize clearly the notation system used here. (Thai orthographic conventions are also indicated, but for a given item correspondence pattern rather than spelling establishes tone category: cf. (8) below.)

	CT	<u>Tai</u> <u>tone</u> <u>category</u>	<u>most</u> <u>frequent</u> <u>spelling</u>	SoT <sub>a</sub> -SoT <sub>b</sub>
(rising)	24	A1	อักษรสูง	55
(low)	21	B1	อักษรสูง █	
		B2-3	อักษรกลาง █	24
(mid)	32	A2-3	อักษรกลาง	
		A4	อักษรต่ำ	31
(falling)	41	C1	อักษรสูง ๑	43
		C2-3	อักษรกลาง ๑	33
		B4	อักษรต่ำ █	22
(high)	45	C4	อักษรต่ำ ๑	21

Figure 2

Central/Southern regular unstopped-syllable tonal correspondence

Apart from rules of regular lexical tone correspondence for cognate items, there is the separate issue of *phonetic* congruence among certain tonal shapes in CT on the one hand and in SoT<sub>a</sub>-SoT<sub>b</sub> on the other. The pairs of integers representing tonal features have been chosen so as to report the congruences most characteristic of Songkhla-area bidialectal speakers. Thus characteristically CT tone B1 (merging with B2-3) is congruent with SoT C4, i.e., both are given the value X<sub>21</sub>. This means that rather than operating with a gross total of twelve (CT 5 plus SoT 7) separate tonal shapes, most bidialectal speakers actually operate with

a net total of ten. However there is significant variation in how individual speakers constitute their "bidialectal tonal inventories". (E.g., net totals in Songkhla vary from eight to eleven; so far efforts to relate differences to age, educational level, etc., have been unsuccessful. There are however clear *areal* trends. For Nakhon Srithammarat and north there are two "flip-flop" relationships: one involves CT A1 and B4 which for most speakers are congruent with SoT B4 and A1 respectively; the other involves an interchange among short stopped syllables, which are mentioned below.)

Initial-stop items in the Tai tone categories 2-3 are unaspirated. This leads to complimentary distribution with aspirated-stop categories in the Southern varieties, and Jones (1965) has shown how phonemic reductions can be made for various Southern systems. The issue is rather complicated and is discussed in more detail elsewhere;<sup>8</sup> for present purposes SoT<sub>a</sub>-SoT<sub>b</sub> will be represented with what might be considered technically a sub-distinctive seven-tone system.

Stopped syllables (คำตาย) can be accommodated by the system shown in Figure 2 in a straightforward manner. Using D<sub>S</sub> and D<sub>L</sub> for short- and long- vowel items respectively, we can equate closed and open categories for SoT as follows:

	D <sub>S</sub>	D <sub>L</sub>
1, 2-3	A	C
4	C	B

In grouping D<sub>L</sub> items tonally with those of C1, allophonic tendencies could be noted, for example a stop-final long-vowel form like item 5 in the preceding list is frequently heard with a level terminus (say, X<sub>44</sub>) whereas open forms (e.g., item 3), especially when phrase-final, tend to fall (say, X<sub>43</sub>).

Items 1-15 illustrate regular tonal correspondence relationships.

It remains to add that vocabulary items with unaspirated-stop initials and CT high (X<sub>45</sub>) or rising (X<sub>24</sub>) tones (viz, those spelled อักษรกลาง ~, .) most often have SoT cognates in C2-3 as with item 68 (but cp. item 69 with tone A2-3 - changing however to C2-3 north of Songkhla, demonstrating the areal variation characteristic of this class). Etymologically non-Tai vocabulary is often involved, and loans have perhaps been introduced directly into SoT.

(2) Shared segmentals. Items 1-15 also show that for a class of lexical items CT, SoT<sub>a</sub> and SoT<sub>b</sub> have identical segmental structure, and that therefore by the principles stated above such vocabulary will not differ in sound at least for SoT<sub>a</sub> and SoT<sub>b</sub>.

In fact SoT<sub>a</sub>-SoT<sub>b</sub> forms transcriptionally equivalent in a treatment such as the list above may nevertheless be differentiated by certain phonetic cues. Predictably, for some segmental units and sequences SoT<sub>a</sub> phonetic values tend to agree with those of CT, whereas SoT<sub>b</sub> values differ. Three examples of SoT<sub>b</sub> divergence follow.

(a) For /s/, a retroflex spirant with lax apical closure at onset is heard: [<sup>t</sup>ʂ].

(b) For the cluster /tr/, a wide range of phonetic variation occurs which includes frictional continuants with lax apical closure at onset: [<sup>t</sup>ʃ].<sup>9</sup>

(c) For /-aw/ and /-ay/ a rather centralized mid-back vowel is heard, approximately [-ʌw], [-ʌy]. The latter is an especially strong SoT<sub>b</sub> indicator, thus for item 46 one actually hears:

	<u>CT</u>	<u>SoT<sub>a</sub></u>	<u>SoT<sub>b</sub></u>
'egg'	[kʰay <sub>21</sub>	kʰay <sub>55</sub>	kʰay <sub>55</sub> ]

(3) Consonantal mergers. Items 16-23 relate to Figure 3, which indicates how merger patterns occur in correspondence among initial consonants and clusters.

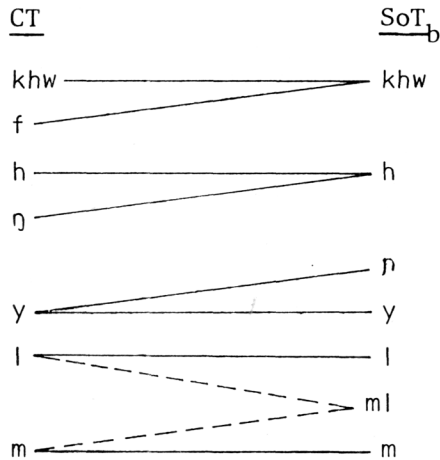


Figure 3

Central/rural Southern initial correspondence mergers

As in (2) above, subdistinctive phonetic detail not indicated in Figure 3 or in the list further affects separation of the segmental systems. Three examples follow.

(a) For SoT<sub>b</sub> /khw/ onset occlusion often weakens and a rounded unvoiced spirant with which velarization follows.

(b) Between CT /ŋ/ and SoT<sub>b</sub> somewhat nasalized /h/ intermediate phones may occur: the symbol ñ has been employed to represent these.<sup>10</sup> When heard, they are usually in SoT<sub>a</sub> speech or in CT as spoken by Southerners. Thus for items 18 and 19 may be heard:

	<u>CT</u>	<u>SoT<sub>a</sub></u>	<u>SoT<sub>b</sub></u>
'lonely'	[ŋaw <sub>24</sub>	ñaw <sub>55</sub>	hΛw <sub>55</sub> ]
'hair louse'	[haw <sub>24</sub>	haw <sub>55</sub>	hΛw <sub>55</sub> ]

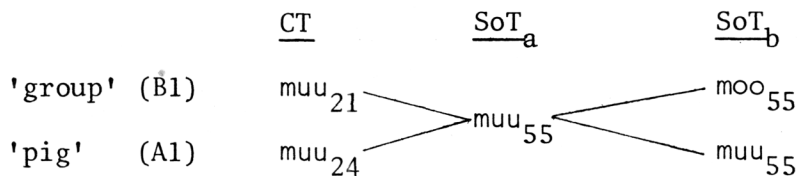
CT and the above variety of SoT<sub>a</sub> diverge segmentally, at least on the phonetic level.

(c) Similarly between CT /y/ and SoT<sub>b</sub> /ɹ/ intermediate non-occlusive nasalized phones occur affecting air-stream parameters of following vowels. These /ɹ/-variants are more apt to be heard in otherwise SoT<sub>b</sub> samples, but occasionally intrude into speech of a SoT<sub>a</sub> type. They are strong SoT<sub>b</sub> indicators and urban people mimicking farmers may select ɹ and intermediates for their apparently "rustic" stereotype effect.

(4) Vocalic distributions. Items 24-50 illustrate regular divergence patterns in the distribution of vocalic segmentals. These arise not because vowel inventories differ in discrete contrastive units, but because different morpheme structure conditions (or redundancy relations, if one prefers) are in effect. The examples cited concern tone-category conditioned vowel height (items 24-37) and length (items 38-50) restrictions.

(a) Long high vowels in SoT<sub>b</sub> occur mainly with items in tone category A (e.g., items 25, 27, 33). CT B-, C- and (less clearly) D<sub>L</sub>-category items with /ii/, /i:/, /uu/ generally have SoT<sub>b</sub> cognates in /ee/, /æə/, /oo/ respectively (e.g., items 24, 26, 29, 30, 32, 34), as was noticed by Egerod (1961). Phonetic continua are again involved, and lowering may or may not be to the point of merger with mid vowels. There is considerable item-by-item fluctuation.

With vocabulary of this type SoT<sub>a</sub> once again regularly agrees segmentally with CT, not with lowered-vowel SoT<sub>b</sub>. Because of tonal mergers (Figure 2), homonyms may result in SoT<sub>a</sub> for lexemes which the other two varieties distinguish. Thus for items 24-25:



SoT<sub>a</sub> speakers seem partly aware of this situation; for the lexemes above a double-entendre joke has been heard several times playing on the Southern urban homonymy of "group photograph" and "photograph of pigs". This joke would not work in CT or in SoT<sub>b</sub>. Note however that the latter shows homonymy in different merger situations; cf. items 28-31.

Mid short vowels in CT are subject to a similar SoT<sub>b</sub> lowered-vowel correspondence (cf. items 35-37), particularly for D<sub>S</sub> items.

(b) Corresponding to short CT vowels SoT<sub>b</sub> may have long vowels in certain environments. Items 38-41 show a tone-category A prenasal lengthening tendency for SoT<sub>b</sub>, although this falls short of being a rule.

A firmer morpheme structure condition, again noticed by Egerod (1961), requires long-vowel sequences /-aaw/, /-aay/ in tone category C, to the exclusion of short /-aw/, /-ay/. Thus presumably short CT items (e.g., 42, 44; cp. 43, 45, 46) will have long cognates in SoT<sub>b</sub> and, as it turns out, in SoT<sub>a</sub> as well. (Certain problems are raised by this particular length distinction in CT.)

Before -ʔ CT has only short vowels, to which generally correspond in SoT<sub>b</sub> the long-vowel sequence vvʔ (items 47-49). Final particles (item 50) and a few other stray exceptions may have form -vʔ in SoT<sub>b</sub>.<sup>11</sup>

(5) Irregular segmental correspondence. Individual SoT<sub>b</sub> forms may diverge segmentally from cognates in CT and in SoT<sub>a</sub> in ways apparently not subject to generalizations. Although these are in a sense "exceptional", they occur frequently, are salient SoT<sub>b</sub> (as opposed to SoT<sub>a</sub>) indicators, and taken together play a regular role in differentiating the varieties under consideration. Only a few randomly-chosen examples are listed: irregular correspondences are shown for initials (items 51-57), vowels (58-63) and finals (64-67).

(6) Aphesis. SoT<sub>b</sub> strongly favours monosyllabic lexemes. When polysyllables occur, then binary compounds are preferred in which the first member is a semantically-contributing compounding head. In contrast CT has an extensive collection of prefixal bisyllabic (and longer) forms. Many are of Khmer or Indic origin, but others are of type XY where Y, from comparative evidence, derives from an original Tai form and X seems to be a "pseudo-prefix" added at some point for Khmerizing stylistic reasons; or X may have originally been the first element of a compound "which, being unaccented, becomes shortened and slurred and looks like a prefix" of the Khmer-Indic type, as Li has suggested (1977:xvi).

In any event, to CT bisyllabics XY, whatever their origin, regular correspond the SoT<sub>b</sub> monosyllabic cognates of Y.<sup>12</sup> Items 68-76 exemplify this; note the cuts in items 75-76 favouring the SoT<sub>b</sub> initial sequence /ml-/. Items 77-79 show developments common with longer polysyllabic forms.

Not shown in the list are correspondences like the following, where SoT<sub>b</sub> hua<sub>55</sub>, literally 'head', is used as initial element in compounds denoting roundish or otherwise head-like items, and look<sub>22</sub>, literally 'child', becomes a diminutive formative.

	<u>CT</u>	<u>SoT<sub>b</sub></u>
'garlic'	krathiam <sub>32</sub>	hua <sub>55</sub> + thiam <sub>31</sub>
'thigh'	taphook <sub>41</sub>	hua <sub>55</sub> + phook <sub>22</sub>
(etc.)		
'button'	kradum <sub>32</sub>	look <sub>22</sub> + dum <sub>24</sub>
'small jar'	krapuk <sub>21</sub>	look <sub>22</sub> + puk <sub>24</sub>
(etc.)		

In keeping with the regular pattern, SoT<sub>a</sub> generally "restores" the CT prefixal syllables in these forms, but ultima syllables are assigned the SoT<sub>b</sub> tones.

(7) Apheresis and tone shift. Items 80-83 combine relationships in (6) with a 4 : 1 shift in tone category. For CT bisyllabic form XY if the first component X is of tone category 2-3 (i.e. has an unaspirated stop initial) while Y has tone A4 and has a continuant initial, then the SoT<sub>b</sub> cognate will regularly be Y with tone A1.

In some cases SoT<sub>b</sub> A4/A1 couplets occur, as with item 82:

	<u>CT</u>	<u>SoT<sub>b</sub></u>
'sun'	tawan <sub>32</sub>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">           wan<sub>55</sub>            wan<sub>31</sub> </div>
'day'	wan <sub>32</sub>	
(cp. 'eye'	taa <sub>32</sub> )	

Apparently a compound "eye-of-day" meaning "sun" suffered what Li called slurring and finally (in SoT<sub>b</sub>) complete deletion of initial syllable, but not before the tone of the ultima had shifted. If tone categories 1, 2 and 3 were unitary in proto-SoT then the shift would have been an assimilation. Note also:

	<u>CT</u>	<u>SoT<sub>b</sub></u>
'female'	tua <sub>32</sub> mia <sub>32</sub>	mia <sub>55</sub>
'wife'	mia <sub>32</sub>	mia <sub>31</sub>

As in (6), SoT<sub>a</sub> regularly "restores" prefixal elements in accordance with CT segmental structure, but the ultima bears the (here shifted) SoT<sub>b</sub> tone.

(8) Irregular tonal correspondence. Items 84-100, and many others, are in irregular correspondence with respect to tone, i.e., they do not accord with the relationships summarized in Figure 2. For the majority of cases of this type SoT<sub>a</sub> takes the SoT<sub>b</sub> tone.

In the case of Chinese or English loans (e.g. items 84-87) the SoT tone is often the one phonetically closest to that of the CT cognate rather than the one predicted by Figure 2.

Items 87-89 (and also 3, 31, 57) are not really irregular in terms of phonology. The problem is that they, and about 60 other items, are spelled as though B4 in CT orthography, but are in fact C1 in SoT, thus:

	<u>CT orthography</u>	<u>SoT, as though</u>
87. 'to play'	เล่น	เหลี่ยน
88. 'to turn over'	คว่ำ	ขว่ำ
89. 'to swim'	ว่าย	หว่าย
(etc.)		

'To play' occurs with the "Southernized" spelling of the right column on 13th Century Ram Khamhaeng Inscription (II:19) and the other two items occur with such spelling in early poetry (e.g. consistently in Lilit Phra Lo).<sup>13</sup> Thai literary authorities have regarded these as a type of poetic licence (โคลงหรือ ชึงคัมโคลง) but it seems more likely they are archaic sound-related spellings later changed under the influence of the subsequent C1-B4 merger in Ayudhya-period CT. Egerod (1961) and Brown (1965) have called attention to some of these items.

For another set of about 40 items, at last count, the CT : SoT correspondence shift B : C occurs (e.g. items 90-92). Only categories 1 or 2-3 are concerned, and the set is diachronically puzzling.

Finally there is a residual group of anomalous items (e.g. 93-98), some of high frequency. The irregular tones (from the point of view of Figure 2) occur both in SoT<sub>a</sub> and in SoT<sub>b</sub>. Rarely, and particularly if there is segmental divergence as well, SoT<sub>a</sub> may follow Figure 2 rather



than SoT<sub>b</sub> (e.g. items 99-100: 99 is rare in urban culture; if SoT<sub>b</sub> tone were to be combined with CT segmentals for item 100, 'hawk' would be homonymous with 'to urinate').

## 2. Lexico-semantic comparison

Although our attention in this study is mainly on formal and functional aspects of phonological synthesis, a brief consideration of how higher structural levels impinge on this is necessary. It would be quite misleading to represent the divergence between CT, SoT<sub>a</sub> and SoT<sub>b</sub> as limited to the kinds of regular and irregular correspondence shown by items 1-100 in this list above. In fact lexico-semantic selectional patterns within the Southern Thai and other regional speech communities are tightly bound up with the specification of tones and segments. The list above can be extended to show a few examples of this sort.

	<u>CT</u>	<u>SoT<sub>a</sub></u>	<u>SoT<sub>b</sub></u>
101. '(incompletive)'	caʔ <sub>var.</sub>	caʔ <sub>var.</sub>	ʔii <sub>33</sub>
102. 'why'	thammay <sub>32</sub>	thammay <sub>31</sub>	saay <sub>22</sub>
103. 'how'	yanṇay <sub>32</sub>	yanṇay <sub>31</sub>	phrii <sub>22</sub>
104. 'much'	maak <sub>41</sub>	maak <sub>22</sub>	luy <sub>31</sub>
105. 'to feel'	ruu <sub>45</sub> sik <sub>21</sub>	luu <sub>21</sub> sik <sub>55</sub>	saa <sub>55</sub>
106. 'to hurry'	riip <sub>41</sub>	liip <sub>22</sub>	kheep <sub>43</sub>
107. 'to throw'	paa <sub>32</sub>	paa <sub>31</sub>	liw <sub>31</sub>
108. 'to chase'	lay <sub>41</sub>	laay <sub>22</sub>	yik <sub>21</sub>
109. 'ugly'	naa <sub>41</sub> kliat <sub>21</sub>	naa <sub>43</sub> kliat <sub>33</sub>	mlooʔ <sub>43</sub>
110. 'hut'	krathom <sub>41</sub>	krathom <sub>22</sub>	nam <sub>55</sub>
111. 'mud'	khloon <sub>32</sub>	khloon <sub>31</sub>	lut <sub>55</sub>
112. 'fish net'	ʔuan <sub>32</sub>	ʔuan <sub>31</sub>	kat <sub>24</sub>
113. 'to look'	duu <sub>32</sub>	duu <sub>24</sub>	lee <sub>31</sub>
114. 'mat'	sia <sub>21</sub>	sia <sub>55</sub>	saat <sub>43</sub>
115. 'to speak'	phuut <sub>41</sub>	phuut <sub>22</sub>	leen <sub>55</sub>
116. 'to get ready'	cat <sub>21</sub>	cat <sub>24</sub>	dap <sub>24</sub>
117. 'small'	lek <sub>45</sub>	lek <sub>21</sub>	ʔiat <sub>33</sub>
118. 'hungry'	hiw <sub>24</sub>	hiw <sub>55</sub>	niay <sub>31</sub>
119. 'young man'	num <sub>21</sub>	num <sub>55</sub>	baaw <sub>24</sub>
120. 'money'	ṇən <sub>32</sub>	ṇən <sub>31</sub>	bia <sub>33</sub>

Items 101-112 might be called proper "diamorphs", to use a term of Haugen (1970). This class includes much high-frequency vocabulary and is characterized by a CT-SoT<sub>a</sub> vs SoT<sub>b</sub> lexical split. The SoT<sub>b</sub> forms have no discernible CT cognates. In contrast, SoT<sub>a</sub> forms are simply CT in the guise of the SoT tonal system; i.e., they are regularly-produced cognates which accord with the correspondence rules of Figure 2.

The most obvious etymological basis for this diamorphy is lexical suppletion involving loans into SoT<sub>b</sub> from Chinese, Malay, etc.<sup>14</sup> Aphoresis of first syllable and some other processes noted above have affected the incorporation of certain loans. (Court, 1975, has treated the issue of tone assignment in detail.) Thus item 105 might possibly be traced to Malay rasa and ultimately to Sanskrit (cp. CT रस rot<sub>45</sub> 'taste'); item 109 is perhaps from Malay buruk (i.e. buro?), and items 111 and 112 are undoubtedly from salut and pukat respectively.

In other cases comparative Tai evidence indicates that SoT<sub>b</sub> forms are from inherited Tai vocabulary, cognates for which are lacking in present-day CT (items 101-103).

Even more common are what we could call "improper" diamorphs. Here from a strictly functional -- perhaps semantic -- point of view diamorphic lexical distribution again separates CT-SoT<sub>a</sub> from SoT<sub>b</sub> as above, but the issue is now clouded by data not shown in the list. In point of fact for items like 113-120 CT does have forms *phonologically* answering to the SoT<sub>b</sub> ones, but this corresponding CT vocabulary is either archaic, unusual, semantically or syntactically very restricted or is otherwise quite discrete in denotation and/or in function.

Thus for item 113 a regular CT : SoT<sub>b</sub> cognate pair lee<sub>32</sub> : lee<sub>31</sub> can be cited, but the CT member is comparatively less frequent and is more structurally and functionally restricted than the SoT<sub>b</sub> one. The CT form duu<sub>32</sub> answers better to the semantic, functional and syntactic characteristics of SoT<sub>b</sub> lee<sub>31</sub>. One can mention a group of CT binary compound expressions the first morpheme of which also regularly functions as a common unrestricted form in CT, while the second morpheme's cognate in SoT<sub>b</sub> is common. Thus duu<sub>32</sub>lee<sub>32</sub> 'to look after'; for item 114, sia<sub>21</sub>saat<sub>21</sub> 'matting'.

Sometimes CT and SoT<sub>b</sub> phonological cognates stand in a relationship of specialized to more general and "earthy":

	<u>CT phonological cognate</u>	<u>SoT<sub>b</sub></u>
115.	thaleen <sub>24</sub> 'to issue a (formal) statement'	leeen <sub>55</sub> 'to say to, speak, to talk'

	<u>CT phonological cognate</u>	<u>SoT<sub>b</sub></u>
116.	pradap <sub>21</sub> 'to adorn, to ornament'	dap <sub>24</sub> 'to fix up, to get ready'
117.	laʔiat <sub>21</sub> 'meticulous, detailed'	ʔiat <sub>33</sub> 'small, little'

Then again, CT phonological cognates may be functionally restricted in an opposite sort of way. They may be felt, at least by refined and educated speakers, to be coarse and vulgar in connotation and normally to be avoided. Lower-strata people (in the South or elsewhere) use the vocabulary in everyday life without such connotations. This issue considerably transcends the topic at hand and examples have been omitted above. These can be readily supplied by familiar CT sets like thaaw<sub>45</sub>/tiin<sub>32</sub> 'foot'; ʔaa<sub>32</sub>/cian<sub>32</sub>/ʔuak<sub>41</sub>/raak<sub>41</sub> 'to vomit', etc. In Figure 1 the alternation of cognates to CT forms chan<sub>45</sub>/kuu<sub>32</sub> falls into the same broad category.

For items 118-120 phonological cognates can be cited which give semantic pair relationships 'apathetic/hungry', 'male servant (archaic)/young man', 'cowrie shell/money'. These only hint at the range of relationships occurring.

It would be quite futile to look for general rules covering the semantic divergences, although a few minor rules could be formulated. This lack of predictability contributes in a forceful way to the separation of the varieties in question. It means in effect one moving from monolectal to bidialectal competence must restructure large portions of the lexicon on an item-by-item basis. Furthermore, for this vocabulary the distinctions between SoT<sub>b</sub> and SoT<sub>a</sub> become semantic rather than phonological; in the layman's terms, the same words mean different things. Also the relevant domains of meaning are subject to different types of lexical subdivision.

	<u>CT</u>	<u>SoT<sub>a</sub></u>	<u>SoT<sub>b</sub></u>
121. 'pineapple, type A' <sup>15</sup> 'pineapple, type B'	sap <sub>21</sub> parot <sub>45</sub> "	sap <sub>55</sub> palot <sub>21</sub> "	yaa <sub>22</sub> nat <sub>55</sub> maliiʔ <sub>22</sub>
122. 'when (past)' 'when (future)'	mia <sub>41</sub> ray <sub>21</sub> "	mia <sub>22</sub> lay <sub>55</sub> "	bæə <sub>22</sub> day <sub>24</sub> too <sub>24</sub> day <sub>24</sub>
123. 'more, any more' 'again'	ʔiik <sub>21</sub> " (...)	ʔiik <sub>33</sub> " (...)	læəy <sub>55</sub> laaw <sub>22</sub>

	<u>CT</u>	<u>SoT<sub>a</sub></u>	<u>SoT<sub>b</sub></u>
124. 'yr. sib. of mother'	naa <sub>45</sub>	naa <sub>21</sub>	naa <sub>21</sub>
'yr. sib. of father'	?aa <sub>32</sub>	?aa <sub>24</sub>	"
125. 'cool'	yen <sub>32</sub>	yen <sub>24</sub>	yen <sub>24</sub>
'cold'	naaw <sub>24</sub>	naaw <sub>55</sub>	"
126. 'honey'	nam <sub>45</sub> phĩŋ <sub>41</sub>	nam <sub>21</sub> phĩŋ <sub>43</sub>	nam <sub>21</sub> phĩŋ <sub>43</sub>
'sugar'	nam <sub>45</sub> taan <sub>32</sub>	nam <sub>21</sub> taan <sub>24</sub>	"
'sugar syrup' <sup>16</sup>	"	"	nam <sub>21</sub> taan <sub>32</sub>
127. 'green'	khiaw <sub>24</sub>	khiaw <sub>55</sub>	khiaw <sub>55</sub>
'dark blue'*	nam <sub>45</sub> ŋən <sub>32</sub>	nam <sub>21</sub> ŋən <sub>32</sub>	"
'light blue'*	faa <sub>45</sub>	faa <sub>21</sub>	"
*after sii <sub>24/55</sub>			
128. 'small teacup'	cɔɔk <sub>21</sub>	cɔɔk <sub>33</sub>	cɔɔk <sub>33</sub>
'drinking glass'	kɛɛw <sub>41</sub>	kɛɛw <sub>33</sub>	"
'large drinking glass'	"	"	phlɔɔ <sub>21</sub>
'archaic spouted dipper'	kaphlɔɔ <sub>45</sub>	kaphlɔɔ <sub>21</sub>	"
129. 'padlock'	mɛɛ <sub>41</sub>	mɛɛ <sub>22</sub>	look <sub>22</sub>
	kuncɛɛ <sub>32</sub>	kuncɛɛ <sub>24</sub>	cɛɛ <sub>24</sub>
'key'	luuk <sub>41</sub>	luuk <sub>22</sub>	dɔɔk <sub>33</sub>
	kuncɛɛ <sub>32</sub>	kuncɛɛ <sub>24</sub>	cɛɛ <sub>24</sub>
130. 'to feel pain (superficial)'	cep <sub>21</sub>	cep <sub>24</sub>	puat <sub>33</sub>
'to feel pain (internal)'	puat <sub>21</sub>	puat <sub>33</sub>	cep <sub>24</sub>

Clearly there occur various ways to partition a semantic domain with many possible allocations of phonological cognates to portray the differential distinctions. In fact differential distinctions may apply in entirely non-cognate vocabulary (item 121). SoT<sub>b</sub> may introduce distinctions not present in CT, either among concrete denotata (item 121) or in more abstract cases like the quasi-tense distinction of item 122; or vice versa (items 124-128). Even when phonological cognates and semantic distinctions can be paired up across varieties there is no assurance that pairings will be equivalent: there may be partial or total referential cross-overs (items 129-130). Or entirely separate dimensions of semantic contrast may be applied to distinguish cognate forms: CT distinguishes cattle according to speech-level (khoo<sub>32</sub>/wua<sub>32</sub>, nua<sub>32</sub>) but many SoT<sub>b</sub>-speakers use the regular cognates to distinguish biological types ('large Brahmin' vs 'small domestic').

Semantic contrasts portrayed by single morphemes in one variety may need compound or longer expressions in the other. While 'paternal grandparents' (items 21, 26) match isomorphically, 'maternal' ones are involved in a one-to-two relationship: CT taa<sub>32</sub>, yaay<sub>32</sub>; SoT<sub>b</sub> mee<sub>22</sub> thaaw<sub>43</sub>, phoo<sub>22</sub> thaaw<sub>43</sub> lit. 'old (or great) mother, old (or great) father'. In this line of analysis we soon reach the point of comparing "idioms" or set ways of saying things: CT ten<sub>21</sub> naan<sub>32</sub> lit. 'to prepare the festival'; SoT<sub>b</sub> waay<sub>43</sub> mia<sub>32</sub> lit. 'to salute (with reference to a) wife'; both are used to mean 'to be married'. Differences of this type are very salient in separating CT and SoT<sub>a</sub> from SoT<sub>b</sub>.

Both syntax and semantics combine to differentiate the cognate pair CT yan<sub>32</sub> : SoT<sub>b</sub> nan<sub>31</sub>. The CT form is generally a verbal auxiliary with a continuative notion 'still, (not) yet'; the SoT<sub>b</sub> counterpart is a main verb meaning 'there is' or 'to have'. There is a positive/negative cross-over when these forms are used in short answers: 'no, not yet' vs 'yes, there is'.<sup>17</sup>

A final form of lexical differentiation involves items simply not present in both varieties. Southern rural items such as hand-held rice cutters (kee?<sub>33</sub>) or stick thickets constructed for trapping fish (mram<sub>55</sub>) would need circumlocutions in CT. Several function words are in this category also.<sup>18</sup>

### 3. Types of synthesis

The three-column model representing CT, SoT<sub>a</sub> and SoT<sub>b</sub> as discrete entities has shortcomings which render it in need of revision. Although "CT" itself as a discrete entity is subject to question,<sup>19</sup> the isolation of two polar Southern varieties is even more of an oversimplification.

Rather than representing discrete characteristic speech varieties of the Southern Thai community, SoT<sub>a</sub> and SoT<sub>b</sub> are better seen as delineating a continuum of linguistic codes. To use Bickerton's (1975) terms, a

corpus of samples representative of Southern speech types would show a gradual loosely-rankable series extending from "basilect" (SoT<sub>b</sub>) to "mesolect" (SoT<sub>a</sub>). In fact a "pure" rendition of the latter is rather infrequent; it occurs mainly in reading aloud Central-origin text material (as might be used in the traditional informant-interview technique) or in a rather unusual associated public-address style of speaking. Colloquial urban conversation is more apt to fall into lower intermediate levels of the continuum and there may be subtle shifting upwards or downwards as contextual circumstances indicate.

In rural areas what appears here as SoT<sub>b</sub> is still to be heard among older villagers, but for much normal village and lower-strata urban conversation there is apt to be some movement upwards from the SoT<sub>b</sub> base. The relevant substitutions are ordered rather well. Thus in moving upwards from SoT<sub>b</sub> towards SoT<sub>a</sub> items 116, 117 and 128 will almost certainly be displaced by CT-like substitutes before 103, 107 and 113 will be. /mI-/ in item 22, etc., will probably merge with /m-/ before /h-/ splits into /ŋ-/ , /h-/ (cp. items 18-19). Contrariwise, in moving downwards from SoT<sub>a</sub> to SoT<sub>b</sub> there is an approximate reversal of this ranking. A more theoretical treatment of synthesis in bidialectal speakers would need to develop a feature system to capture the gradient ranking operative in the segmental and lexico-semantic systems.

By contrast, at least ideally and as far as socially-rewarded speech is concerned, the "mesolect/acrolect" distinction between SoT<sub>a</sub> and CT is *not* a continuum-type difference, but a categorical separation.<sup>a</sup> The tone systems are to be discrete.

These observations can be restated in two normative mixing rules which summarize attitudes of Southern speakers.

(1) A normal utterance should be unambiguous as to tonal system.

(2) If the Central tone system is selected, then segmental and lexicosemantic selections should be Central also.

The converse of (2) is not binding, hence SoT<sub>a</sub>. The normative mixing rules are represented in Figure 4.

<u>segments</u>	<u>lexical- semantics</u>	<u>tones</u>		
		Central	mixed	Southern
Central	Central	standard CT	pro-	SoT <sub>a</sub>
			scribed	intermediate
mixed	mixed	proscribed	(เหนือ)	Southern styles
Southern	Southern	(ทองแดง)		SoT <sub>b</sub>

Figure 4

Normative mixing rules for Central and Southern varieties

Of course what happens in actual speech situations need not conform to Figure 4. Gandour (1975) has made an interesting survey of "slips-of-the-tongue" errors made by Southern bidialectal speakers in Phuket. Some of these can be related to shaded areas of Figure 4. At least as a preliminary analytic step it seems useful to distinguish more "organic" slips emphasized in Gandour's survey from "social" ones that strongly reflect imposed mixing norms; these latter arise from social history--from gradual tightening of Central Thai political dominance, etc. Such norms are arbitrary with respect to physiological parameters. (If, say, Nakhon Sri Thammarat had become the successor to Ayudhya rather than Dhonburi, there would have been no "organic" barriers to different mixing norms.)<sup>20</sup>

The intersubjective conventions relating to mixing are codified in the speech community through value-laden terms:

	<u>CT</u>	<u>SoT<sub>b</sub></u>
'indistinct; brogue-like'	nəə <sub>21</sub> (เหนอ)	thəə <sub>43</sub>
'copper; a base-metal-like sort of speech'	thəwɔŋ <sub>32</sub> dəɛŋ <sub>32</sub> (ทองแดง)	thəwɔŋ <sub>31</sub> dəɛŋ <sub>31</sub>

The most clear-cut instance of the latter type occurs when the segmental skeleton of the SoT<sub>b</sub> member of a diamorphic pair is used in a CT-tone utterance with CT tones assigned in accordance with Figure 2. Someone speaking CT in the South might say:

dəɛŋ<sub>32</sub>pay<sub>32</sub>yik<sub>45</sub>kay<sub>21</sub> 'Dang went to chase the chickens.' Here yik<sub>21</sub> 'to chase' (item 108) must be classified as a specifically Southern lexical item, the diamorph of which is CT lay<sub>41</sub>. The latter would normatively occur in a CT utterance rather than yik<sub>45</sub>, a pseudo-cognate produced "illicitly" as a type of back-formation on analogy with other "acceptably" corresponding pairs of type D<sub>S</sub><sup>4</sup> in X<sub>45</sub>:X<sub>21</sub> (cf. item 14).

(If "analogy" offends, one might rephrase in more post-SPE terms. Evidence is good to support the claim that tone correspondence rules of Figure 2, etc., are paralleled by an internal productive capacity in actively bidialectal speakers. This aspect of their competence, moreover, has a reversible characteristic: either system's tones can be generated from input data of the other, with special conventions rather well covering the merger problems. Segmentals can be held constant during this process. However there is also a strong sociolinguistic--or one could say "stylistic"--constraint on how this generative potential is to be allowed to operate, viz, a binary marking must apply to the entire lexicon such that those segmental skeletons of lexical items, and those special instances of semantic assignment, which are catalogued in effect "specifically Southern" will block CT-tone assignment. Also, when SoT tones are being assigned, a gradient feature system is needed as noted above. To revert again to the layman's speech, one must realize that certain vocabulary items and aspects of usage are Southern-only and one must try to avoid using them when speaking Central Thai; also, even in Southern Thai, one must be aware of how comparatively "rustic" or coarse an effect these items produce.)

These mixing norms are enforced not only through the use of value-laden terms but also by an arsenal of stock mimicry and joking available to the speech community. A nəə<sub>21</sub> or indistinct CT tone such as X<sub>44</sub>? for X<sub>45</sub> can cause a CT statement intended as "he hit the calf of my leg" to be heard as "he hit my younger brother"; a thəwɔŋ<sub>32</sub>dəɛŋ<sub>32</sub> joke commonly told involves a Central visitor to the South being told that he can have a drink but "a dog (intended: the dipper) has fallen into the water jar".<sup>21</sup>

Habermas (1970) has called attention to the analytic potential of joking as a revelation of inner relief stemming from mastery of a threaten-



ing communicative schema. Here those engaging in mirth are revelling in their ability to control what is being derided. The intersubjective assumptions are again promulgated and strengthened. In shadow puppetry, a pre-eminent folk form of the rural South, such norm-supporting humour is effectively institutionalized in clown or joker dialogue. The clowns are associated with the SoT<sub>b</sub> world and normally speak in that variety, but they are often led to have bouts with the CT tonal, segmental and lexico-semantic systems. Again and again they flout the norms as "knowing" laughter arises from the mainly-rural audience.

In other regional communities mixing phenomena seem to parallel roughly what occurs in the South but with different particular features and weightings. The NoT<sub>urban</sub> variety of Figure 1 is tonally NoT, lexically CT, but segmentally anomalous (/s-/ substitutes for /ch-/ and /h-/ for some /r-/ being predictably Northern, but /-ia-/ following CT), i.e., it seems to be like the intermediate regional types discussed above. There are indications that hybrid styles are somewhat less overtly accepted by Northern regional professional-administrative people than they are by Southern and Northeastern ones.

#### 4. Differential ability

Before turning to the question of how CT and syntheses involving local speech varieties function in daily life, some attention must be turned to active and passive control.

This in turn leads to postulating some basic categories of social identity as they would probably be apprehended by most speech-community members. Figure 4 provides a means: isomorphic to the gap and continuum among speech types is the relationship between Central Thais resident in regional areas and the local social hierarchy from minimally-educated rural to urban professional-administrative. In the Southern case, there is a categorical bifurcation separating "Southerners" from outsiders, but a gradient type of classification operating to differentiate Southerners themselves. Of course gradient scales apply to outsiders also, but not in ways of much concern to the present topic.

Outsiders, mainly Central Thai professional-administrative people, are keenly aware of this categorical classification and the vast majority will limit all active communication to CT. Attempts by adult Central people to speak with SoT tones are fraught with danger as they are apt to be interpreted as malicious mimicry and are thus strongly resented by Southerners. The occasional exceptions to this pattern seem to indicate that constraints on learning the SoT tone system actively are more social than organic in nature, but maturational forces may play a role also. (When questioned on this adult Central people will often say there has been "hardening of the tongue": ลิ้นแข็ง). Young children of these Central Thais resident in the South are largely exempt from this sort of social discouragement, are perhaps maturationally better suited and are

in fact positively rewarded in their acquisition of SoT tones, which occurs informally from peer-group contacts.

Local Southern urban administrative and professional people are able to converse in fluent CT, fluent SoT<sub>a</sub> and in addition many have the ability to "shift downwards" into SoT<sub>b</sub>-like speech as occasion indicates. As one moves down the local social ladder, active ability in CT becomes confined to highly-scripted set encounters or formulaic speech transactions reminiscent of finite-state language models. But there is considerable difference in active ability among members of horizontally equivalent groups. Personal initiative, happenstance close encounters with CT speakers, a particularly effective teacher in the lower grades, etc., all influence active CT ability. It is quite rare to find active CT conversational ability among minimally-educated (prathom 4) rural people lacking additional CT stimulus. Other speech activities such as singing, counting and perhaps oral reading may be possible in CT where spontaneous conversation is not.

As far as widening ability from SoT<sub>b</sub> towards SoT<sub>a</sub> is concerned, the issue is very much connected to increasingly common biographical patterns of mobility. As increasing population and economic pressures, such as more credit-associated absentee land tenure and harsher cash-credit conditions applying to local marketing, drive larger numbers of village youth for at least temporary work periods into the urban environment, expertise in urban speech ways obviously increases. Formal education also indirectly affects expansion of SoT-tone ability towards SoT<sub>a</sub>, since CT forms heard in school may undergo the SoT tone assignment process mentioned above, and find their way into spontaneous conversation (but with restraints, as discussed below).

Field research was conducted to explore active and passive competence in the different varieties among different populations. Results can be conveniently summarized in "report-card" fashion as is done in Figure 5 (A *excellent* to D *poor*). Intermediate-strata Southern speakers are not represented as their ability can be directly interpolated.

	<u>active ability</u>			<u>passive ability</u>		
	CT	SoT <sub>a</sub>	SoT <sub>b</sub>	CT	SoT <sub>a</sub>	SoT <sub>b</sub>
Central Thais in South	A	D	D	A	B	C
Local Southern professional-administrative	A	A	B	A	A	B
Local minimally-educated rural	D	C	A	B	B	A

Figure 5

"Report-card" of active and passive abilities

## 5. Function

Daily-life use made of CT, of urban hybrids and of various shades of more conservative rural speech is subject to some fundamental evaluative ambivalence in Thai regional communities. Sometimes this is submerged in recurrent selectional patterns and does not surface as overtly problematic; on other occasions conflicts inherent in the attitudinal discord well up, bringing either "crisis" in linguistic selection or, for the skilled, opportunities to control and manipulate the power inherent in the linguistic options. Such power resides in how CT vs local tonal, segmental and lexicosemantic interaction is connected to the complex matter of social selfplacement (การวางตัว) vis-a-vis interlocutor: important benefits related to control of social role are to be gained by carefully regulating how tones, segments and lexemes combine. Ultimately these modes of combination are part of a larger system encompassing more familiar role-related linguistic selections like choice of pronominal substitutes, speech-level-sensitive vocabulary, etc.

The ambivalence in communicative matters is related to wider confrontations--by no means limited to Thailand--which arise as traditional values and ways of life come up against modern Westernized urban alternatives. Here we cannot delve into these matters and only a brief comment is appropriate to suggest how linguistic issues appear to be part of a larger picture.

As many have observed, for village people the confrontation process usually results in a gradual retrenching of traditional forms, but alterations frequently go through intermediate stages of uneasy synthesis. In agriculture, chemicals and machinery are used subject to auspicious dates and magical chants. Cures may call for aspirin dissolved in an herbal potion or for seeking professional urban health care along with making vows and appeasing spirits. Aetiological discussions of a Karmic/animistic nature might incorporate barometric pressure or rainfall statistics. Sometimes syntheses are very uneasy indeed as in the clash of competitive legalistic entrepreneurialism with older economic behavior including barter, informal reciprocity and patronage.

Against this sort of background, evaluative ambivalence among linguistic selectional variables is quite comprehensible. To return to the Southern case study, Figure 6 is an attempt to lay out informally-elicited field data relating to attitudinal-evaluative factors.

	<u>positive ascriptions</u>	<u>negative ascriptions</u>
CT	associated with power and economic opportunity; pleasant-sounding, modern, correct; polite, respectful, reserved	associated with threats to local values; legalistic, artificially serious; aloof, alienating
SoT <sub>b</sub>	associated with the preservation of local values; direct, effective, trustworthy; warm, personal, familiar	associated with backwardness and ignorance; incorrect, substandard, outdated; coarse, unrestrained

Figure 6

## Aspects of evaluative ambivalence

Not that all up-country Thai communicative choices are crisis-laden. Varieties usual for colloquial conversation among members of similar social categories are selected in fairly standard unproblematic ways. Central people anywhere will speak CT; local urban professional friends will tend to converse in a variety approaching SoT<sub>a</sub> (but subject to important conditions discussed below); and rural people, in one approaching SoT<sub>b</sub>.

The first and least contradiction-prone adjustment to be made on this model involves displacement of a colloquial variety by one normatively indicated for supra-colloquial speech events; this usually means a shift to CT. Urban electronically amplified "impersonal" monologue is usually conducted in CT, occasionally in SoT<sub>a</sub>. Various sorts of official announcements, speeches and advertising fall into this category. Local radio and television also mainly use CT but there are a few radio programmes of a "chatty" format pitched toward the lower local strata and conducted in (some say an artificial sort of) SoT<sub>a</sub>.

A few explicit rules pertain to specific dyadic relationships. Teachers and their students are expected at all times to relate to each other within the "student/teacher" role dyad for which CT is specified. (For the North and Northeast there is reported to be a tendency to use CT in the classroom and a high form of hybrid elsewhere, but this is subject to much individual variation. See also below.) Note that "correct, polite, respectful, serious, aloof" ascribed to CT in Figure 6 also apply to the role dyad.

Other displacements may be shifts specified by temporary circumstances or, it could be argued, temporary role shifts. Thus typically

during routine office work and during after-hours socializing the Southern head of a bureaucratic unit will converse with fellow Southern subordinates in a SoT<sup>a</sup> - like variety, but during a formal meeting of the same staff CT will be used. Typically there are parallel shifts in kinesics, proxemics and even in pronominal selection. The headmistress of a school was observed to use phii<sup>22</sup> 'older sister' in referring to herself informally with staff members, with whom she also regularly used SoT<sup>a</sup>; but during a formal staff meeting CT was used and the more formal pronoun dichan<sup>45</sup> was selected.<sup>22</sup> In another incident, a superior was observed to conduct a formal meeting in CT in which staff were referred to with formal terms, but the superior constantly made "aside" comments and orders to various staff *sotto voce* in SoT<sup>a</sup>, shifting to informal reference terms and making various kinesic indications (cigarette-handling, head-nodding, etc.) which clearly signalled a change in mode.

Apart from unproblematic intra-group conversation and displacements through conventionalized nearly prescriptive uses of CT, tonal and segmental/lexico-semantic selections are governed by several loose principles. Since according to Figure 6 Central people on the one hand and rural minimally-educated ones on the other are effectively active monolectals, it is mainly for the bidialectal urban professional-administrative groups to make use of the principles in everyday life.

I. CT is selected to signal intended social distance with official, reserved impersonal overtones. SoT varieties are selected to signal social proximity and personal involvement.

II. A constant personal relationship indicates a constant selection of speech variety; a change in normal variety signals a temporary or permanent change in relationship.

III. A speech transaction should be conducted in a single variety that all interlocutors actively control.

"Crisis" of a sort occurs when the preconditions for III. are lacking. If a SoT<sup>a</sup>-only villager is put with an equally monolectal Central person, a "heterolectal" solution of "I speak mine, you speak yours" is the only one possible, and awkwardness, misunderstanding and embarrassment may result. Rural people typically seek to avoid speech transactions of this sort entirely.

More subtle selectional pressures are often at work when interlocutors control more than one variety. Such pressures are conveniently investigated through representative anecdotal examples.

I., II., and III. may operate in tandem. In one reported case a Central Thai (C.) and his Southern friend (X.) were conversing in CT (i.e., according to III.). Another of C.'s Southern urban acquaintances (Y.) joined them. C. introduced X. to Y. and conversation continued on in CT. Later on X. and Y. met again, and even though C. was not present the two felt it natural to use CT (cf. II.). As time went on, this

tone-system selection was perceived to erect a barrier against the development of closer personal ties (cf. I.). Thus the course of the relationship was heavily affected by happenstance factors of the initial meeting (C.'s intermediacy); these determined the tone-system selection which in turn constrained the development of social proximity. (It is not impossible, but somewhat awkward, to remedy this by an overt agreement to switch varieties. Awkwardness relates to violation of II.)

In some cases a loose sort of ordering seems to be in effect. For I. to apply, interlocutors should tacitly agree that III. does *not*; i.e., that code choice is not being arranged to accomodate to an interlocutor's inability. Thus if an urban Southerner marries a Central Thai the couple will converse in CT (III.) with no lack of intimacy or any of the overtones associated with CT by I.

On the other hand, if a member of the local Southern administrative elite is heard to use CT with a local Chinese merchant., the innuendo is unmistakable: aloofness and reserve are being signalled: probably as a result of ethnic attitudes. The Chinese merchant can reasonably be expected to control the SoT tone system (as he does, e.g., when speaking to rural people), so III. is not at issue. CT to Chinese is a way of keeping them "at arm's length" as outsiders; use of the SoT tone system is more usual when a merchant is perceived to be ethnically Thai. In the case of addressing a barefoot sarong-clad matron (obviously Thai) of the local market, the SoT system is again typically selected, but here it is not clear whether I. or III. is dominating the choice.

This can be considered a manipulative use of tone-system selection; it is not limited to the signalling of ethnic apartness. It can underscore class and status differences as well. In a bureaucratic unit it is not unusual for highly-placed Southern official colleagues as a group to converse colloquially in the SoT tone system as we noted above. Also, janitors, drivers, et al., attached to the unit will use this system. However across the social gulf CT is often heard, especially if there has been no previous basis of personal interaction. In particular there is a marked tendency for higher-placed Southern women to use CT with younger, lower-placed Southern men.

Another manipulative use of tone system selection lies in a class-related two-way stereotyping used by bureaucrats on strangers. In many units dealing with a cross-section of the public it is common practice for local officials to assess the demeanour of a stranger-client and to address those perceived as rural or as urban proletarian in SoT<sub>a</sub>, but to address in CT those perceived as (fellow-) urban administrative, professional or entrepreneurial. Part of this behavior can be explained by III., but in any event the normative discreteness of tone systems here seems to have a rather direct isomorphic correlate in the imposition of a binary form of de facto social classification.

Similarly, in an office or commercial situation where a typical speech transaction is such that one must speak first, one must remember (by II.) whether one is on a SoT<sub>a</sub> or CT relationship with any given individual if one has met that person before, however fleetingly. A noodle-vending woman with a large shifting institution-based clientele was observed to make hundreds of binary SoT<sub>a</sub>/CT selections quite flawlessly as she greeted her customers and took their orders. The customers included monolectal Central people, local people speaking CT with her (perhaps for reasons to do with I.), and other local people speaking SoT<sub>a</sub>. Of interest is the effect of the communication system with its forced decisions on interpersonal perceptivity: one must attend to clients as *individuals* and remember them in their categories in such a way as would be unnecessary in a monolectal speech community. (Thus a similar noodle vender in Bangkok would not need to pay attention to "who her customers were" to the same degree and could treat them more like the faceless public.)

As noted above, formal bureaucratic announcements and speeches normally call for CT. Yet even here tone system selection can become a manipulative resource: a highly-placed local official about to address a crowd in CT as usual sensed its hostile mood. He abruptly "broke the rules" and spoke in SoT<sub>a</sub> instead of in CT and thereby won the crowd's good will. In another instance, during a rural monastery event, the local abbot was heard to use CT to deliver a formal Pali-laden sermon on piety in the abstract. Later in the same morning and to the same group of laypeople he gave an informal homily in SoT<sub>a</sub> to do with contributions to the monastery construction fund. In each instance SoT<sub>a</sub> was selected as an informal effective vehicle over CT.

A potential resource of this kind is not without tensions, risks and conflicts. Southern teachers follow the CT-with-students rule stated above with current pupils and recent graduates (by II.), but there is a widespread feeling among teachers that with older, perhaps by now adult, graduates a shift to SoT<sub>a</sub> would be appropriate to indicate a more proximate personal relationship (by I.). Some who have tried such a shift with older graduates report that temporary embarrassment and confusion commonly result. II. and III. are felt to be in conflict by the former student; is one to answer in terms of the longstanding binary relationship (choosing CT by II.) or in terms of the teacher's new selection (SoT by III.)? Affront to the teacher could result from either selection. (CT = failure to respect teacher's tone system selection; SoT = failure to maintain proper distance and deference due former teachers.)

The converse sort of shift may also be conflict-prone. In one case two Southerners, X. and Y., formerly knew each other informally and conversed in the SoT tone system. Now after several years they again meet, but X. has now advanced to a superior bureaucratic status and is furthermore directly up the chain of command from Y. Bureaucratically speaking, a reserved relationship and CT tones are indicated. Y. is however con-

fronted with a severe conflict (I. vs II.), and it is safest to let X. determine tone-system choice and then to follow (by III.). For X., how much conflict will be felt and which solution will be adopted depend on personal inclinations and estimates of which of the two available tone-system relationships would be the more beneficial (sc. to X.) in the long run. CT will mean an official stand-off sort of behavior ignoring former proximity; SoT will reconfirm the previous relationship following II. and will reopen the course of personal interest and informal reciprocity. The latter choice may not be made automatically as Y. would gain certain informal rights which could prove bothersome: perhaps Y. will seek to place friends and relatives under X.'s aegis for power-related favours.<sup>23</sup>

Yet another dimension of potential conflict involves the use of CT with children in some Southern urban families. Figure 7 shows a typical heterolectal family arrangement.

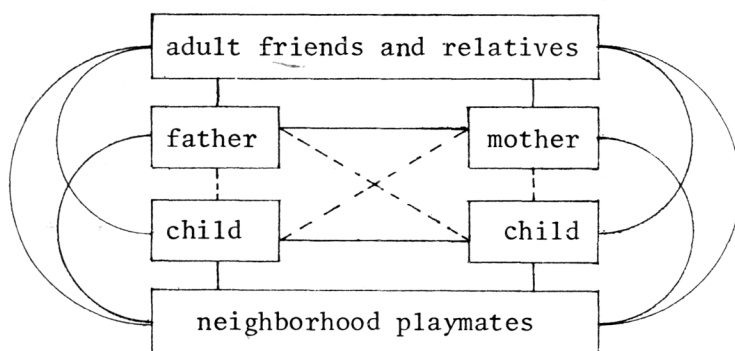


Figure 7

CT (....) and SoT<sub>a</sub> (\_\_\_\_) as used in some Southern families

Here father and mother among themselves, and children among themselves, use SoT<sub>a</sub>; across generations communication in either direction is in CT. This split pattern is adopted by fiat among perhaps a scant majority of Southern upper-strata urban families. The point of interest is that Southerners themselves realize the controversial nature of this practice and tend to take sides rather vehemently. Those championing heterolectal communication may point to power-related adjuncts of CT-proficiency and to the need for children to become fluent speakers through practice outside of formal schooling. Those opposed hold that in heterolectal families young children tend to fall into what we have described as illicit mixing and the result is neither correct CT nor natural SoT<sub>a</sub>; opponents also criticize the implied downgrading of local values and their importance to self-concept. We see here a quite clear instance of the evaluative ambivalence reported in Figure 6 along with tension among the three selectional principles; the two different solutions again confirm the manipulative flexibility we have proposed as characteristic of the system.<sup>24</sup>



Although the binary tone-system decisions discussed above are more dramatic, nonetheless shifts affecting segments and lexemes can also be significant in similar ways. SoT<sub>a</sub>-speaking urban people, particularly men, often shift downwards towards SoT<sub>b</sub> for rustic emphasis or humour. Such a shift may also signal that conversation is now becoming uninhibited and more intimate (as during a drinking party). On other occasions impatience or anger may be indicated. Thus in a SoT<sub>a</sub>-speaking family item 115, 'to speak', is normally phuut<sub>22</sub>, but when children are being told abruptly to be quiet the SoT<sub>b</sub> form leeŋ<sub>55</sub> may be used (yaa<sub>31</sub> leeŋ<sub>55</sub>).

Conversely, in some circumstances there are opposite SoT<sub>b</sub>-to-SoT<sub>a</sub> shifts, and here selectional issues become particularly subtle and intricate manifestations of underlying attitudinal flux. Rural people usually try to make shifts to SoT<sub>a</sub> when coming to town to avoid patronizing derision. Thus for item 128 'drinking glass', the SoT<sub>b</sub> form cook<sub>33</sub> would be used at home in the village but in an urban tea shop it would be advantageous to switch to keew<sub>33</sub>, the SoT<sub>a</sub> form. Lexical forms, particularly diamorphic vocabulary items, are affected more than segmentals per se. Some substitutions such as cook<sub>33</sub> to keew<sub>33</sub> are typically made while others such as leeŋ<sub>31</sub> to duu<sub>24</sub> 'to look' (item 113) are not, again pointing to the gradient classificatory system that needs to be imposed on diamorphic vocabulary; each SoT<sub>a</sub>/SoT<sub>b</sub> relationship has its own "valency". Contextual features of text rather than setting may also trigger shifts. Villagers discussing among themselves what someone said to the abbot or to another highly respected person are apt to use phuut<sub>22</sub> rather than leeŋ<sub>55</sub>, the exact converse of the leeŋ<sub>55</sub> < phuut<sub>22</sub> shift mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

However this type of switching is subject to quite strict limitations and indiscriminate village use of SoT<sub>a</sub> is evaluated quite negatively by the majority of rural people. When youth return to the village from temporary urban work periods failure to shift from SoT<sub>a</sub> back into SoT<sub>b</sub> is seen as "putting on airs" or as "acting insolently"<sup>a</sup> to one's elders. There may be gentle chiding and mock imitations until selections are re-adjusted. Here selectional principle II.--constant role relationship specifies constant speech variety--seems to be dominant and it gives rise to what is superficially a paradox: in this particular instance the mixing of CT segments, lexemes and semantics with SoT tones turns out to be *less* respectful than the SoT<sub>b</sub> purely local alternative; contrast the setting and text constraints mentioned above where the opposite is the case. The problem can become acute for rural-background socially mobile members of urban professional groups. Those climbing from use of SoT<sub>b</sub> as normal conversational vehicle to urbanized SoT<sub>a</sub> and CT speech often report strain and awkwardness when they return to their villages for visits. It is not just their own difficulty in reversing their substitutional behavior in active speech, but SoT<sub>b</sub> vocabulary has now acquired nuances connected with its use in urban circles (e.g. to express anger and impatience) which, on passive exposure, can cause feelings to arise which were not intended by rural speakers. Those who are able to control

well a large part of the  $SoT_b$ - $SoT_a$  continuum must have the ability to shift these connotative parameters which feed into emotional response.

To summarize broadly these functional patterns, we have seen that selectional mixes may "mean" different things, both denotatively and connotatively, according to contextual controls related to role, setting, text, etc. The controls are not necessarily well-defined or unambiguously construed by all, however; there is room for role-related manipulation and also a proclivity towards selectional conflict and crisis especially in unfamiliar speech transactions. Although communication can be smooth and unproblematic when the norms discussed above converge in specifying particular linguistic when the norms discussed above converge in specifying particular linguistic selections, many other facets of everyday communication are subject to stress and tension.

## 6. Postscript

We have proposed above that how subsystems within Thai phonology achieve various modes of synthesis is an issue linked to how systematic pressures are brought to bear on more inclusive behavioral patterns by Thai economic and sociocultural forces. However, at least in the case of tones and segments, there is also a less deterministic possibility: for those with the ability--mainly regional urban professionals--active control of phonological synthesis is a strategic resource for social manoeuvring and for interpersonal role manipulation. Finally, to come full circle, norms of linguistic mixing themselves seem to have some effect on intersubjective cognition: we have proposed that the binary normative treatment of tone assignment in tonal-segmental syntheses seems to expedite isomorphic binary social stereotyping on certain occasions. Thus how tones and segments (along with lexico-semantic factors) are mixed can have these sorts of relationship with the constitution of Thai regional society.

To end on a more parochial note, it would be interesting to explore intensively what sort of lexical representation needs to be postulated for regional communities. Can our present theoretical models incorporate the ranges and "pliabilitys" that appear to be inherent in these lexical systems? More practically, could the results of such analysis be of use in regional literacy programmes or in the planning of elementary Thai reading materials for up-country students?

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The Thai National Research Council kindly arranged for permission to conduct field research, which was supported by a Ford Foundation Southeast Asia Fellowship Program grant. The faculty and students of Sri

Nakharinwirot University, Songkhla, were very helpful; thanks are particularly due to Acan Suthiwong Phongphaibun and to Acan Banyat Ruangsri. Questionable opinions and shortcomings are of course my own affair.

The scope of this study has made it necessary to lay aside pertinent issues. Neither cluster lenition nor /r/ ~ /l/ variation could be discussed and a few standardizations have been made in data of that type. "Central Thai" here is mainly the standard normative language. (Diller 1976: 138-150 has more information of this sort, but the Ranot/Hua Sai rural speech reported there is more /r/-retaining than the Sathing Phra variety reported below; there are other minor differences as well.)

- 2 Richard Davis has kindly assisted me in understanding Northern Thai material. The CT kuu<sub>32</sub> ~ chan<sub>45</sub> alternation is mentioned below.
- 3 Of dogs, mosquitoes, etc., SoT<sub>b</sub> uses khɔp<sub>55</sub>.
- 4 See note 1.
- 5 Initial lightly-accented syllables in bisyllabic lexemes, etc., are not marked for tone here.
- 6 Also emphatically in SoT<sub>b</sub>: ʔaay<sub>33</sub> lay<sub>55</sub>.
- 7 For SoT<sub>b</sub> tɰum<sub>22</sub> is more usual.
- 8 See Court (1975); Diller, 'How many tones in Southern Thai' (forth coming).
- 9 The cluster is subject to velar "feature shuffling", to use Henderson's term. I am indebted to Jimmy G. Harris for explaining various frictional phonetic parameters to me. For some speakers in restricted items this initial merges with /s-/ and its interdental allophone [θ]. Among others, especially older rural women, a retracted type [ð̠] may be heard.
- 10 Cf. Vichin Panupong (1972: 93).
- 11 This is much subject to areal variation. In the extreme South, -vʔ regularly occurs. In Nakhon Srithammarat, etc., ʔ > ø/vv and phonetic mergers result with open-syllable categories B4, C2-3 and C1 (but A1 in Phatthalung and parts of Trang); in parts of Chumphon mergers occur only with B4. In some cases there is distinctive constriction lacking strong glottal closure at terminus. For most Langsuan speakers tonogenesis of a new "minor tone" has occurred or is occurring for relevant D<sub>L</sub>1 items: \*mɔɔk > mɔɔʔ > mɔɔɔ > mɔɔ 'fog' (merging neither with mɔɔ, A1, 'doctor' nor with mɔɔ C1, 'pot').

- 12 A good number of unreduced bisyllabic forms also occur in SoT<sub>b</sub> speech, where the vowel /ɔ/ is sometimes heard in the initial syllables:

	<u>CT</u>	<u>SoT<sub>b</sub></u>
'soldier'	thahaan <sub>24</sub>	thɔhaan <sub>55</sub>
'human'	manut <sub>45</sub>	mɔnut <sub>21</sub>

- 13 khwaam (C1) at 158, 193, 610, 625, 648; waay (C1) at 89, 293, 354, 599. Cf. Krom Wichakan (1934).
- 14 Many etymologies are cited in Suthiwong Phongphaibun, et al., (1971).
- 15 A is the orange-tinted "Singapore Spanish"; B is the green-tinted squarish-eyed "Hilo Cayenne". At least so the terms are used by most pineapple sellers.
- 16 Some claim that 'sugar' and 'sugar syrup' are or can be differentiated by stress and length in CT.
- 17 So the story goes, this form was answered by a leading Fifth-Reign Phuket lady when asked by a touring Bangkok official whether or not she yet had a husband; extreme distress resulted. Even today difficulties arise. Other differences involve the negative form may<sub>41</sub>: maay<sub>43</sub>, which in SoT<sub>b</sub> can function as a main transitive verb, and co-occurrence restrictions for verbal arguments, e.g., or phaa<sub>32</sub>: phaa<sub>31</sub> 'to lead, to take', which requires an animate object in CT but not in SoT<sub>b</sub>. SoT<sub>b</sub> has a more proliferated deictic system.
- 18 E.g. SoT<sub>b</sub> choo<sub>43</sub> (also chuu<sub>43</sub>), a post-interrogative intensifier.
- 19 Cf. note 1. Variation within CT as spoken in regional areas cannot be considered here.
- 20 One can speculate that an important stage in the establishment of urban hybrids occurred in the early Bangkok Period when local leaders presented children to the Bangkok court for service. Sons often served as pages and later they and their retainues (by now bidialectal) returned to home areas in positions of authority.
- 21 (1) (นักเรียน) เด็กคนนั้นตื่นนอนผมครับ (ครู) น้องเธออยู่ไหน  
(2) หมา (≈ กระบวย) ตกลงไปในโอ่ง

The term thɔwɔŋ<sub>32</sub> dɛɛŋ<sub>32</sub> is sometimes used of indistinct tones also. Note that Sunthon Phu uses the term to refer to a lady who has lost her virtue (in 'Proverbs to Instruct Women').

- <sup>22</sup> Acan Sutira Wacharaboworn kindly supplied relevant examples and insights.
- <sup>23</sup> Mr. Cakraphong Caruphan and Miss Carit Candaeng have conducted an opinion survey based on this example. They found that most professional people, if Y. and had to speak first, would select CT; if X., SoT.
- <sup>24</sup> Mr. Khamnuan Nuansanong and Miss Usa Inthraphan assisted in investigating this phenomenon, which surely merits further research.

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