

SOUTHERN THAI DEIXIS

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‘Demonstrative elaboration’ was used by Sapir to refer to complex deictic systems in certain languages - systems which he said could lead to ‘an endless procession of nuances’ (1921:93, 108). He went on to observe that languages differ as to which deictic distinctions are obligatory or at least ‘very natural’, and the comparative impoverishment of English demonstratives and articles in this regard was noted. (We use *deixis* below to refer to such demonstrative categories, e.g., to spatial adverbials like *here* and *there* and to adjectival and pronominal forms like *this* and *that*; although *deixis* is sometimes also applied to tense phenomena and personal pronouns, those will not be dealt with here.)¹

As though to constrain somewhat Sapir’s ‘endless procession’, recent cross-linguistic interest in deictic phenomena has led to a search for deictic generalisations and universal features. Such studies include the important general taxonomic proposals of Fillmore (1971; 1982), emphasising a two-way category system of syntactic functions and ‘distance contrasts’, the latter covering the familiar *proximal-(medial)-distal* distinctions made in many languages - but not in the same manner. The tendency of these distinctions to be coded through phonetic iconicity is also well-known (Tanz, 1971, 1980). A more diachronic-developmental approach has been taken by Lyons (1977, 1979), who suggests a quasi-derivational progression from what he calls ‘proto-reference’, including pointing gestures, through demonstratives, textual deixis and on to anaphors, articles and personal pronouns. Perhaps related to this progression are other proposed deictic features and contrasts, such as an *unemphatic/emphatic* distinction noted for Southern Sotho and earlier stages of Turkish (Anderson and Keenan, 1985) and the use of deictic forms to indicate *emotional closeness and distance*, as though through a metaphorical process related to spatial distance (R. Lakoff, 1974).

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In the following sections we turn to a deictic system that Sapir would probably have considered 'demonstrative elaboration'. We present evidence suggesting that the deictic forms under review operate as two separate but linked subsystems, along with another series of reduced forms. The main subsystems are separate along both formal and functional lines, although there is a certain functional overlap. Of the proposed approaches noted above, no one of them alone adequately accounts for the structure of the total deictic system under review below, although taken as a whole these studies suggest most of the relevant categories and contrasts needed to clarify how the system is constituted and operates.

The deictic system described is that of a representative rural Southern Thai dialect (i.e. of *Pak Tay*, as the dialect group is called locally); the variety discussed here is spoken in the Sathing Phra District of Songkhla Province.² General features of the dialect, including sociolinguistic background, have been described elsewhere (Diller, 1979a). For purposes here it is sufficient to note that the seven-tone system is represented by paired subscript numbers (one to five) suggesting relative pitch and contour; this follows the practice of Li (1977:5).³ Absence of a subscript of this sort indicates an unstressed variable-pitch syllable, not unlike the so-called 'neutral tone' of Mandarin Chinese.

1. Deictic forms

Deictic forms for Sathing Phra Southern Thai as encountered in recorded conversations and colloquial texts can be represented paradigmatically as in Figure 1.⁴ Out of the thirty-three forms, two perhaps have a somewhat marginal status, being regarded by some speakers as 'very impolite' or even as 'sub-linguistic' exclamations (note Lyons' 'proto-reference'); these forms are represented in parentheses. Not indicated in Figure 1 are interrogative and indefinite forms which clearly have a close relationship, e.g. *day*₂₄ 'which', *nay*₅₅ 'where', etc. Glosses for sets of forms in Figure 1 are suggested in Figure 2; these should be taken as only very loose approximations for convenience, pending fuller discussion below.

Considerable allomorphy or near allomorphy characterises Figure 1. This is partly a matter of free variation and partly variation conditioned by environment. Such alternation is to be distinguished from more substantive morphophonemic or morphosyntactic relationships which code distinctive semantic, pragmatic and syntactic information as discussed below. Allomorphy has been observed only among items with the same vowel and tone, and is of two sorts. (i.) The initial *h-* often occurs as an apparently free variant of initials *d-* and *n-*, as in forms such as *de*₃₁ / *he*₃₁ '(look) here!' and *na:n*₃₁ / *ha:n*₃₁ '(look) there!'.⁵ For Group II in Figure 1, the column-4 variants in *h-* often (but not invariably) have weaker stress than do their column-3 counterparts in *n-*; such weaker-stress forms - especially *han*₄₃ 'that' - are far more common than their *n-* counterparts in narrative texts. (ii.) Forms in final *-m* sometimes occur as optional variants for items with back vowels (vowels which code, as we see below, a distinction of 'relatively distal'); *-m* is most common utterance-final or in other pre-pausal contexts. Thus, at least for Groups I and II, columns 2, 4, 6, 7, and 8, can be taken as variants of other preceding columns, substantially reducing the total system.

	proximal		medial		distal			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I.	<i>(de:55)</i>	<i>(he:55)</i>	-	-	<i>do:55</i>	<i>do:m55</i>	<i>ho:55</i>	<i>ho:m55</i>
	<i>de:24</i>	-	-	-	<i>do:24</i>	-	-	-
	<i>de:31</i>	<i>he:31</i>	<i>na:n31</i>	<i>ha:n31</i>	<i>do:31</i>	<i>do:m31</i>	<i>ho:31</i>	<i>ho:m31</i>
II.	<i>ni:22</i>	-	<i>nan22</i>	<i>han22</i>	<i>nu:22</i>	-	-	-
	<i>ni:43</i>	-	<i>nan43</i>	<i>han43</i>	<i>nu:43</i>	-	-	-
	<i>ni:21</i>	-	<i>nan21</i>	<i>han21</i>	<i>nu:21</i>	-	-	-
III.	<i>-ni</i>	-	-	<i>-an</i>	-	-	<i>-o</i>	-
IV.	<i>ni?5</i>	-	-	-	<i>nu?5</i>	<i>num5(5)</i>	-	-

Figure 1. Southern Thai (Sathing Phra) deictic forms.

	proximal 1,2	medial 3,4	distal 5,6,7,8
I.	(Look/come) here!	(Look/go) there!	(Look/go) right over there!
II.	(Around) here	Thereabouts	(Somewhere) over there
	This (one) here	That (one) there	That (one) over there
	This (way)	That (way)	That (former or removed way)
III	The (item just mentioned)	The (item)	The (former item)
IV.	(Final assertion particles ; see text.)		

Figure 2. Preliminary glosses for Figure 1

2. Phonological organisation

Allomorphy involving *h*-variants mentioned above is part of a more general phonological organisation among the deictic forms. Figure 3 reorganises data in Figure 1 so as to bring out more clearly phonological relationships between the two deictic groups labelled I and II, although some detail (especially of non-occurrence) is not indicated. Note the complementarity between tones (indicated at the extreme right of Figure 3) on the one hand, and vowel height on the other: high vowels characterise the *proximal* and *distal* forms for Group II, while corresponding forms in Group I show mid-vowels. A separate distinction, that of vowel length, applies to differentiate the *medial* forms of the two groups. Not shown directly in Figure 3 is a similar stress distinction (stress in this dialect should be considered secondary or non-contrastive): forms in Group I are always fully stressed; moreover they usually constitute the stress peak of the sentence or utterance unit in which they occur. Stress features of Groups II and IV are variable; and Group III postclitics are regularly unstressed.

The parallel separation of Groups I and II is reinforced by the distribution of initial consonants, with a homorganic (i.e. alveolar) nasal / voiced stop alternation associated with the high / mid-vowel contrast noted above. The clear impression is that of two separate but 'phonologically interactive' subsystems. It remains to note that residual forms of Figure 1, those of Groups III and IV, are clearly phonological reductions of forms in the first two primary groups. Group III forms are unstressed postclitics, while Group IV show shortened vowels and occur in the manner of final particles.

	proximal	medial	distal	TONES
Group I	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> d- h- -e: </div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> n- h- -a:n </div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> d- h- -o:(m) </div>	55, 24, 31
Group II	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> n- -i: </div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> n- h- -an </div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> n- -u: </div>	22, 43, 21
		(lenition)		
Group III	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">-ni</div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">-an</div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">-o</div>	

Figure 3. Phonological organisation of deictic forms.

3. Spatial distinctions

The terms *proximal*, *medial* and *distal* have been used above to suggest a three-way spatial distinction based on relative distance from speaker. It is important to note that for Southern Thai varieties this is mainly a speaker-centric system, not making direct reference to the addressee; hence it is more like the spatial deictics described for Spanish, etc., and less like the three-term systems of Japanese, etc., where closeness to addressee is a determinant (Anderson and Keenan, 1985:282-4).

As in other three-term systems, relative 'contrastive proximity' rather than absolute distance is important; thus one could hardly specify an exact objective measure for how the terms are applied. (Speakers however have suggested that *distal* items would normally be beyond the distance of convenient immediate retrieval, hence at least a stone's throw away.) Also not of significance here is the *visible/invisible* distinction found in some languages: in particular distal forms like *do:31*, *nu:43*, etc., can refer to items or to spatial locations either in or out of sight (compare examples [12] and [14] below). The preceding comments apply mainly to Groups I and II in Figure 1. Groups III and IV do not regularly refer to physical space; rather they have discourse-related functions mentioned below.

Group I items are frequently accompanied by facial pointing or other direct gestures. For these locative expressions quite specific, delimited areas are indicated. This can contrast in a loose way with certain items in Group II, particularly those with tone 22, where local reference is less highly focused. An important effect of this is that Group I forms are reported to be 'less polite' and less appropriate for use in conversation to seniors or persons held in respect than items in Group II would be. Group I forms are very frequently used by adults to children, and used by children among themselves at play in peer groups.

- | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| [1] <i>kin</i> ₂₄ | <i>kha:w</i> ₄₃ | <i>de:</i> ₃₁ | [2] <i>kin</i> ₂₄ | <i>kha:w</i> ₄₃ | <i>ni:</i> ₂₂ | <i>ta?</i> ₃ |
| eat | rice | (right) here | eat | rice | here | IMP-PCL |

Both [1] and [2] might translate into English as: 'Eat here'. However [1] would be appropriate as a command to a child, to eat in the spot indicated, while [2] would be appropriate while urging an adult guest to stay for a meal. In [2] 'here' is in the sense of 'at our place here,' but does not refer to a precise spot.

It would perhaps be more accurate to label the *medial* items instead as *neutral*. That is, they appear to function partly as a default category when neither particular distance nor particular proximity to speaker is to be highlighted. It is interesting that this analysis is supported by the formal organisation of the deictic paradigm as summarised in Figure 3; that is, the *medial* forms are set off formally somewhat from the *proximal* and *distal* ones.

Iconic phonological coding of spatial deictic distinctions has been discussed at length by Tanz (1971). Although she does not treat three-place systems directly, it is clear that the Southern Thai forms follow one general coding universal she proposes: if /i/ and /a/ code distance paradigmatically, then /i/ codes relative proximity. We have seen that for the data at hand the principle can be extended so that the *front*, *central*, *back* classification of vowel position more generally codes the near-to-far distance continuum.

4. Syntactic classes and discourse functions

In terms of establishing syntactic classes and other co-occurrence patterns for the forms in Figure 1, tone is of major importance. Forms with the same tone (i.e. in the same row in Figure 1) regularly show identical syntactic properties. There is also a degree of syntactic overlap among certain classes; this suggests the following loose ranking. (DX is used below as a cover symbol for deictic forms.)

GROUP I

- tones 55, 24 - emphatic adverb with imperative force; common in isolation ('Here!' etc.); some forms considered rude.
- tone 31 - (i.) *idem.*; (considered less abrupt than above forms)
- (ii.) possible also as nominal modifier: e.g., as DX where NP = N + DX

GROUP II

- tone 22 - (i.) independent (relatively 'unfocused') locative adverb ('here, hereabouts,' etc.);
- (ii.) locative modifier in noun phrase, e.g. after noun *the:22-ni:22* 'place' (as in *the:22-ni:22* 'here')
- tone 43 - (i.) independent demonstrative or demonstrative-anaphoric pronoun ('this one', etc.)
- (ii.) nominal demonstrative-anaphoric modifier, regularly used in classifier constructions: e.g., as DX where NP = N + CLF + DX ('this N', etc.)
- (iii.) independent locative adverb (with marked contrastive or corrective force)
- tone 21 - nominal demonstrative modifier regularly used in manner noun phrases, e.g. after the noun *phan₃₁* 'way, manner' (as in *phan₃₁-ni:21* 'thus')

GROUP III

- neutral tone - postclitic form attached to noun phrases to mark definiteness or topicality

GROUP IV

- final particles - pre-pausal, to mark connected assertion.

The preceding list, which follows the ordering in Figures 1-3, represents a loose progression from (I) emphatic-imperative adverbs through (II) normal and contrastive locative adverbs, adverbial nominals, and on through demonstrative pronominals and demonstrative adjectival forms; then follow (III) clitics and (IV) particles. Paralleling the syntactic progression is a shift in illocutionary function from emphatic (usually gestural and sometimes rude) quasi-imperative forms, on to more general spatial deixis and through other types of demonstrative and anaphoric

reference; finally on to forms used to mark discourse functions of topicality, definite anaphora and assertion.

The forms in Group I frequently occur on their own in discourse with a clear imperative function: the speaker wants listener(s) to move somewhere or to look somewhere. The forms are almost always accompanied by manual or facial pointing, or at least imply that the listener(s) should follow the gaze of the speaker. Forms with tone 24 are most often commands to come or go. Those with tone 55, often articulated in falsetto with emphatic stress, are urgent commands to look. Tone 31 forms, which are less emphatic or marked than the others, have been observed in both 'look' and 'come/go' functions and in addition can take a quasi-object NP as in [5].

- [3] *de:24*. (Come) here!
 [4] *doim55*. (Look) over there!
- [5] *de:31* *mit22*.
 DX knife
 Here, see - the knife. [After searching.]

Forms with tones 24 or 31 (less frequently 55) may occur in imperative sentences after main verbs of looking or moving [6], [7]. Tone 31 forms may occur with other verbs more generally in imperative sentences with a strong local focus [1]. Declarative or interrogative utterances with these forms would be unusual and highly-marked [8].

- [6] *pay24* *do:31*.
 go DX
 Go over there!
- [7] *ma:31* *de:24*.
 come DX
 Come here!
- [8] **?[khaw55 ma:31 de:24 ma:y43]*
 3P come DX Q-PCL
 Are they coming here?

Final imperative particles *ta?3* and *thi:31* occur regularly with verbs of controlled action [9].

- [9] *ma:24 ta?3*.
 come IMP-PCL
 Come.

It is interesting that such particles, which in effect convert implicit declaratives to marked imperatives, are not used with deictic forms in Group I, and in fact presence of such forms appears to block the particles [10], [11]. This may be interpreted, along with [8], as evidence that (i.) these deictic forms are not true verbs (for which there is ample additional evidence, such as their inability to occur with auxiliaries); (ii.) imperative illocutionary force is already 'lexically inherent' in these forms and so further marking with imperative particles is inappropriate.

However sometimes, as in [12], a declarative sentence is given an emphatic quasi-imperative closure.

[10] *[*de*:₂₄ *ta*?₃.]

[11] *[*ma*:₃₁ *de*:₂₄ *ta*?₃.]

[12] *pay*₂₄ *ba:n*₃₃ *ti:n*₂₄ *do*:₅₅.

go village foot/north DX

She went to the village up north - way up *there*. [Gesturing.]

A frequent use for the medial tone 31 form is to warn [13].

[13] *ha:n*₃₁ *hu*:₃₁.

DX snake

There's a snake (- Look out!)

In natural discourse contexts, Group I forms may 'set the state' for a statement, as in [14].

[14] *do*:₃₁ *do*:₃₁ *ma*:₃₁ *le:w*₂₁.

DX DX come already

There, see - they're coming. [Looking up road as friends approach.]

Turning to Group II forms, we find that tones 22 and 43 can also support spatial adverbs, with or without a locative nominal head; see also [2]. (When such a nominal head is used, there is tight compounding; e.g., there is some reduction of length and stress in the first syllable; this is suggested informally below by hyphenation.) In this locative function, tone 22 forms are neutral and tone 43 more 'emphatic', but in a sense which clearly differs from the 'emphasis' described above for Group I forms. Tone 43 deixis in locative function is normally corrective or contrastive. Also, as noted in the previous section, local reference with Group II forms need not be to a specific focused point in the environment, as is common for Group I, but may refer, say, to an entire domestic compound, village or even more extensive geographical area.

[15] *man*₅₅ *yo*:₂₄ *ni*:₂₂.

3P stay DX

She lives here. [In this village.]

[16] *man*₅₅ *yo*:₂₄ *the*:₂₂-*ni*:₂₂.

3P stay place-DX

She lives here.

[17] *man*₅₅ *yo*:₂₄ *ni*:₄₃.

3P stay DX

She lives *here*. [Correcting.]

Similarly, example [18] occurred as a speaker was describing her deranged daughter who had been dressing in a strange fashion. The speaker repeatedly demonstrated the odd ways of wearing clothing, pointing to her own body for reference, using deictic forms with tone 43.

- [18] *nun*₂₂ *swa*₄₃ *khe:n*₅₅ *ya:w*₃₁ *thiam*₂₂ *ni:*₄₃,
 wear shirt arm long equal DX
*thuŋ*₅₅ *ka?*₃ *thuŋ*₅₅ *no:n*₃₁ *kluam*₂₄ *thiam*₂₂ *ni:*₄₃...
 then and sarong recline cover equal DX

She wore a shirt with long sleeves down to **here** [*points on self*] and over that her sleeping sarong up to **here** [*points*]...

Example [18] raises a question as to why more highly focused emphatic-imperative forms of Group I (perhaps *de:*₅₅ or *de:*₃₁) were not used instead, since there was direct pointing and specific local points were indicated. Native speakers present when [18] occurred later explained why they felt that *ni:*₄₃ was more appropriate than *de:*₃₁ would have been for [18]: the speaker *already* had the attention of the listeners and effectively controlled their gaze. It was not necessary to request a *shift* of their their attention to something else; therefore Group II emphatic spatial deixis with tone 43 was the appropriate selection.

In some contexts ‘double deixis’ is possible, with Group I forms regularly first (as though to gain attention and direct gaze), followed by Group II (as though to make a demonstrative referential assertion).

- [19] *de:*₃₁ *ni:*₄₃.
 DX DX
 This one *here*. [Pointing.]

- [20] *do:*₃₁ *khway*₃₁ *nu:*₄₃.
 DX fire DX
 The flame over *there*.

While forms with tone 22 are virtually always locative in function, the normal (non-emphatic) use of tone 43 forms is as demonstrative modifiers, or as independent demonstrative pronouns [19]. As demonstrative modifiers tone 43 forms most frequently occur after classifiers or nominals which do not require separate classifiers (CLF below; *nuay*₅₅ is a common Southern Thai classifier for fruits, solid portable items, etc.).

- [21] *kin*₂₄ *nuay*₅₅ *ni:*₄₃ *ta?*₃
 eat CLF DX IMP-PCL
 Eat this one.

Tone 21 forms occur most commonly after *phan*₃₁ ‘way, manner’. A frequent discourse function is the cataphoric indication of following discourse material [22].

- [22] *man*₅₅ *le:ŋ*₅₅ *phan*₃₁-*ni:*₂₁.
 3P speak like-DX
 He spoke like this. [In a narrative; quotation follows.]

If manner or method of a located procedure is actually being demonstrated, the speaker has the option of using a Group I form (instead of) a Group II, item to command the listener's attention [23].

- [23] *phan*₃₁ *de*₃₁, *phan*₃₁ *de*₃₁.
 like DX like DX
 Look - this way, this way!

By contrast, Group I forms are not used for anaphora or discourse topicalisation, whereas these are common functions for Group II and III forms. Group III unstressed postclitic forms ([25], [27]) are clearly reductions of Group II ones; the latter, (stressed) impart a stronger degree of topicalisation, as suggested – quite imperfectly – in glosses for the following examples ([24], [26]). Group III forms, on the other hand, particularly *-an*, seem to approach a definite article in discourse function, although they would not perhaps be obligatory in the sense that definite articles normally are. These forms attach to the last item in a noun phrase.

- [24] *nuay*₅₅ *ʔiat*₃₃ *ni*₄₃ *ku*₂₄ *ma:y*₄₃ *ʔaw*₂₄ *leʔ*₁.
 CLF small DX 1PSg not take ASRT-PCL
 This small one here, I don't want (to buy it).
 [25] *nuay*₅₅ *ʔiat*₃₃-*ni* *ku*₂₄ *ma:y*₄₃ *ʔaw*₂₄ *leʔ*₁.
 CLF small-DX 1PSg not take ASRT-PCL
 The small one here I don't want (to buy).
 [26] *nuay*₅₅ *ʔiat*₃₃ *han*₄₃ *ku*₂₄ *ma:y*₄₃ *ʔaw*₂₄ *leʔ*₁.
 CLF small DX 1PSg not take ASRT-PCL
 That small one there, I don't want (to buy it).
 [27] *nuay*₅₅ *ʔiat*₃₃-*an* *ku*₂₄ *ma:y*₄₃ *ʔaw*₂₄ *leʔ*₁.
 CLF small-DX 1PSg not take ASRT-PCL
 The small one I don't want (to buy).

Group III forms (but only rarely Group II and never Group I) can attach to personal pronouns [28]; also Group III may attach to Group II, giving another sort of double deixis [29], [30].

- [28] *phuak*₂₂ *raw*₃₁-*an* *ma:y*₄₃ *ro*₂₁ *ray*₅₅.
 group 1PPL-DX not know anything
 Us? -we don't know anything about it.
 [29] *ʔay-phuak*₂₂ *ni*₄₃-*an* *ma:y*₄₃ *chap*₁.
 DERROG-group DX-DX not firm
 These darned ones here, they're are not strong enough.
 [30] *rua*₃₃ *han*₄₃-*an* *pay*₂₄ *may*₄₃ *thuŋ*₅₅.
 boat DX-DX go not reach
 [An old boat mentioned...] You couldn't get there in *that* boat.

To be distinguished from Group III postclitics is another reduced series, the final particles of Group IV. A full treatment of the discourse functions of these forms is beyond present scope. The most common function of the proximal particle *ni?*₅ is to mark a declarative assertion which is to be taken as providing a reason, excuse or similar rejoinder to a previous speaker's utterance. Other functions of Group IV particles are similarly involved with asserting new information in an 'interactive' mode relating to prior discourse, and as such they do not co-occur with question or imperative particles. (They do however frequently occur with other assertion particles, e.g., *le?*₁, *na*₅, etc., which follow the Group IV forms.)

- [31] *ku?*₂₄ *cep*₃ *mur*₃₁ *ni?*₅
 1PSG sore hand DX
 [Asked why not working...] My hand hurts.

- [32] *rot*₁ *khan*₃₁ *na?*₄₃ *tit*₃ *ni?*₅
 car CLF head stick DX
 [Conversation as to why the bus has stopped. After looking out window...]
 The traffic up ahead is at a standstill.

- [33] *ku?*₂₄ *ni?*₃₃ *pay*₂₄ *pi?*₂₄ *ni?*₄₃ *ni?*₅
 1PSG IRLS go year DX DX
 [Asked why a visit to a distant relative's has been postponed...]
 I *am* going - later this year.

5. Summary

The preceding sections have shown a deictic system with rather widespread allomorphy (mainly free) involving d/h- and n/h- alternations, and two quite sharply differentiated but paradigmatically linked deictic series. These series show organisation through two types of phonological iconicity.

- (i) A proximal - medial (or neutral) - distal spatial distinction is coded through vowel position (front - central - back).
- (ii) A syntactic-illocutionary progression (perhaps 'strong' to 'weak') through syntactically-defined sets, each with specific discourse functions; this is coded through:
 - (a) decreasing stress;
 - (b) a stop-to-nasal-to-zero initial consonant sequence;
 - (c) a fixed sequence of six (of the total seven) lexical tones, plus a neutral tone; tone thus discretely codes syntactic and discourse functions.

The schema of (i) accords with general tendencies in phonological iconicity (Tanz, 1971). The syntactic and functional categories of (ii) point to similar progressions proposed by Fillmore (1971, 1982) and Lyons (1977, 1979), but this must be supplemented with a notion of 'emphatic' deixis (using the term of Anderson and Keenan, 1985). However for Southern Thai at least two types of 'emphasis' must be differentiated, and the term is perhaps not so illuminating.

It remains to observe that this deictic system is considerably more complex than those reported generally for Tai varieties; Li (1977:111), for example, reconstructs only two deictic forms for Proto-Tai. Other features of the system are odd: elsewhere in the grammar of Southern Thai dialects (and in Tai more widely) tone scarcely ever regularly codes syntactic function⁶. Except in deictic systems, complex paradigmatic organisation is lacking. Nor is there much allomorphic alternation, and none has been observed elsewhere in the language among the particular segmentals involved in the deictic allomorphy. All of this sets the deictic forms off rather sharply as a subsystem from other more general grammatical processes of the language.

Diachronic proposals for how the Southern Thai deictic system may have evolved are beyond our present scope; answers might lie in a combination of several factors: (i) very limited dialect borrowing - e.g., the tone 22 locative forms conceivably could have been analogically created or transformed from Central Thai locative falling-tone items (Diller, 1979a), although there is little evidence for this beyond these forms being considered relatively 'polite'; (ii) paradigmatic analogical spreading, probably accounting for *h*-allomorphs; (iii) a considerably richer deictic system for Proto-Tai than has been previously supposed.

NOTES

- ¹ A version of this paper was presented to the Australian Linguistic Society, Adelaide, 1986; a more formative presentation was made in the seminar series of the Linguistics Department, Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University, in 1985. I am indebted to Dr Marybeth Clark, Dr Tom Dutton and Professor E.M. Uhlenbeck for helpful comments.
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- ³ This numbering system is to be understood as merely a 'practical diacritic device' showing lexical tone (and ignoring tonal sandhi phenomena). It is thus intended neither as a direct acoustic index nor necessarily as a statement of abstract tonal phonology (see Rose, 1986, for acoustic analysis of similar tonal system; see Diller 1979b for discussion of phonological complementarity among tones and segmentals). In particular items with the tone marked 55 here, if said in isolation or under stress, have a high-rising-falling contour, with over-all pitch higher than the figures might suggest. Under the same conditions the tone marked 24 here actually falls slightly, while that marked 22 slightly rises for most speakers (a level citation form being more characteristic of the town of Songkhla). Tai correspondence categories (Li, 1977; with H.M. and L. referring to 'High', 'Mid' and 'Low' orthographic-etymological classes) are realised as follows: A1(H)+B1(H)=55; D1(H, short)=5; C1(H)+D1(H, long)=43;

A1(M)+B1(M)=24; C1(M)+D1(M, long)=33; D1(M, short)=3; A2(L)=31; B2(L)+D2(L, long)=22; C2(L)=21; D2(L, short)=1.

- ⁴ Some of these forms, e.g. *han*₄₃, *de*₃₄, *ho*₅₅, etc., have been reported in the Southern Thai Dictionary of Suthiwong Phongphaibun et. al. (1982), using a slightly different system of tonal notation. In a few cases the tone categories reported there differ from those represented in Figure 1 (e.g. a form equivalent to *do*₃₃ is cited: I did not happen to encounter this particular item in Sathing Phra). There is undoubtedly local variation in the detail of Southern Thai deictic systems. The Dictionary for example reports forms equivalent to *ne*₃₁, *no*₃₁; these forms appear to be the Nakhon Srithammarat (etc.) items corresponding to Sathing Phra (etc.) *de*₃₁, *do*₃₁ as on Figure 1.
- ⁵ But not always. For example: *ma*₃₁ *de*₂₄ 'come here'; but not apparently **(ma*₃₁ *he*₂₄). Blank spaces in Table 1 indicate 'confirmed non-existence' as reported by speakers offered such forms for comment.
- ⁶ A phonological anomaly occurs in Group I forms, where the initial d- occurs with tones 55 and 31. Otherwise voiced stops are virtually restricted to tones 24 and 33 (the etymological 'Mid' tone class; see Diller 1979b:121-2). In other Southern Thai dialects n-, which regularly occurs with tones 55 and 31, corresponds to d- in the deictic forms; see note 4.

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