OBSERVATIONS ON THE SURIN DIALECT OF KHMER

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O. INTRODUCTION

It is sometimes forgotten that the southern third of Northeast Thailand, a generally arid and economically depressed territory, falls within the zone of distribution of Khmer speech. One of the more fertile parts of this region, otherwise known as the Khorat Plateau, is the basin of the Mae Nam Mun, which rises in the Dong Phraya Yen chain west of Nakhon Ratchasima (Khorat) and flows east past Ubon to join the Mekong some 40 kilometres above Paksé. In its progress the river crosses Buriram, Surin, Sisaket and Ubon provinces, all bounded on the south by the Dangrek escarpment and northern Cambodia. Most of the inhabitants of the relatively densely populated lands watered by the Mun speak Khmer as their mother-tongue. Official figures are wanting for the total number of Khmer-speakers in the four provinces, and estimates range from an ultra-conservative 200,000 to a probably excessive 500,000.

Of movemenets and intercommunications between the Mun valley and the Cambodian hearland to the south we have little except inferential knowledge. It is tempting to conjecture that they could never have been important. During much of the Angkorian period the whole Khorat Plateau along with much of Central Thailand was under Khmer suzerainty. This circumstance cannot be used to prove that Khmer speech had a similar extension, for in reality the settlement of the Khorat Plateau is not known in any detail. There are nevertheless good archeological grounds for taking the confluence of the Mae Nam Mun with the Mekong as the earliest identifiable centre of Khmer power - providing Khmer was not also the common language of Fu-nan. However this may be, it is reasonable to suppose that Khmer-speaking rice-growers have been in occupation

of the lower Mun valley for a millennium or more. Control over most of the Khorat Plateau was wrested from Angkor by Ramadhipati of Sukhotai by the year 1350. In the wars culminating in the abandonment of Angkor (1431-3) the territories on both sides of the Dangrek were repeatedly ravaged and depopulated. Although it is not known how they were affected, it is unlikely that the humble Khmer-speakers of the Mun came through these events unscathed. At least it can be pointed out that the usual direction of the mass deportations practised at the time was into rather than away from the sparsely settled Northeast. It may even be supposed that from the 15th century on the earlier Khmer population was increased by important accessions of transportees from the Tonlé Sap basin. In 1794 Thailand formally annexed the old Cambodian provinces of Battambang, Angkor, Mongkolborey, Sisophon and Khorat. this whole territory was under Thai administration there were presumably ample opportunities for contacts and migrations between the Mun valley and central Cambodia, notwithstanding the difficulty of communications across the Dangrek chain. Since the mid-15th century, however, there has been no sustained motive for major contacts or movements, and the historical connection of the Khmer dialects of the Mun basin with modern standard Khmer has yet to be determined.

The town (/myyəŋ/) of Surin, ³ seat of the province of the same name, lies 54 kilometers south of the Mun, the same distance due north of the Cambodian frontier, 42 kilometers by rail east of Buriram, and about 95 kilometers by rail west of Sisaket. During the spring of 1967 it was my good fortune to meet on the University of Hawaii campus a young Thai student, Miss Aree Somthawin, who had been born and raised in Surin, who spoke Khmer as her first language, and who accepted with much good grace my request for her services as an informant. In the following paragraphs I sketch out the results of our collaboration over a period of some four months, believing that the peripheral position of the Surin dialect may justify the presentation of such tentative findings to others in the field of Khmer or Mon-Khmer studies.

The Surin dialect is an unwritten vernacular which has for long, apparently, followed a line of development independent of the Cambodian mainstream. The mutual intelligibility of Surin Khmer and the standard of Cambodia, which I had the opportunity to test, is limited. Its main areas of divergence from standard Khmer are intonation, the vowel system, and lexicon. Register appears to be entirely absent; whereas standard Khmer has a maximum of 31 contrasting syllable nuclei, Surin Khmer has only 23. The circumflex clause terminal seems to be characteristic. The vocabulary contains a good many archaisms (/biet/ 'near'), regionalisms (/kmaat/ 'first person singular pronoun, masculine'), and loans

from Thai (/talaat/ 'market').

1. SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

1.1. VOWELS

There are 9 simple (long) vowel phonemes, namely /ii, ee, $\epsilon\epsilon$; yy, ee, aa; uu, oo, oo/. These combine with shortness to yield 8 (or 9) shortened counterparts, namely /i, (e), ϵ ; y, e, a; u, o, o/; functional contrast between /ee/ and /e/ cannot be demonstrated by my data, and is only tentatively assumed for the sake of symmetry. The 3 simple (/ii, yy, uu/) and 3 shortened (/i, y, u/) high vowels combine with /e/ to form 6 falling diphthongs. The total vowel inventory is shown in Table I. Note the absence of /aa, a/, of /ee, oe, ooe/, and of /aa ϵ , aae, aao/.

The phonetic quality of these syllable nuclei is not essentially different from that of standard Khmer and will not be detailed here. It may be worth mentioning, however, that as in the standard the phonetic length of the long nuclei is perceptibly decreased by voiceless finals while that of the shortened nuclei is increased by voiced finals. Again as in the standard, the shortened vowels tend to be lower than their long counterparts.

1.2. CONSONANTS

There are 17 consonant phonemes, /p, b, m; t, d, n; c, p; k, n; q; w, j; r, I; s, h/, all of which occur initially. /b, d/ are preglottalised (implosive); /q/ represents [?], often theoretical in word-initial position; /w, j/ are the labial and palatal semivowels respectively; /r/ is a voiced lingual flap (occasionally a trill) with alveolar contact in syllable-initial position.

Front U	Unrounded	Central U	Inrounded	Back Rounded		
i	ii	y	уу	u	uu	
iə	iiə	уә	ууә	นอ	uuə	
(e)	ee	Ð	99	0	∞	
ε	33	a	aa	ə	၁၁	

Table 1: The Syllable Nuclei

Table 2, which probably falls short of representing all possible combinations, shows the initial consonant clusters occurring in my data.

initials	→	p	, b	m	· t	n	С	k	w	r	I	s
р		×			×			×				×
b			×		×			×				×
m					×		×	×		×		×
t								×		×		×
d		×						×		×		×
n		×		×	×	×	×	×				×
С				×								
'n		×										
k		×			×		×					×
, Û					×						×	×
P		×					×				×	×
w							×			×		×
j								×				
r		×		×	×		×	×				×
1		×		×	×		×	×	×		×	×
S		×						×		×		
h		×		×	×		×	×				

Table 2: Complex Initials

The most common initial elements are /k, p, s, c, t/ while the most common post-initials are /r, I, h, m, n/, in that order. A few ternary clusters with prefix /m-/ 'one' occur: /mkhss/ 'one month'. As in the standard, transition from the initial to the post-initial may be direct or indirect, i.e. over a phonetic bridge-sound. Direct transition is normal between an initial stop and post-initial /r, h/. Bridge-sounds include a short voiced vowel, normally [e] but not seldom [i, o]; a short voiceless vowel, here represented by [h]; and aspiration + [a]. Before post-initial /b, d, q/ transition is indirect, nearly always by way of [a]. After initial /s/ it is likewise over [a] in deliberate speech but becomes direct in normal speech. Between stops other than /b, d, q/ aspiration + [ə] marks deliberate speech while normal speech shows only [h]. Before post-initial masals and /w, I/ transition is indirect, with [b] being most common while [a], with or without prior aspiration, is also heard in deliberate speech. These phonetic details are exemplified by /ppuak/ [papoak] 'cloud', /tbaan/ [ta?ba·'n] 'to weave', /cmaa/ [čhma·] 'cat', /knoŋ/ [khnoŋ] 'room', /pkuər/ [phəkoəll] 'thunder', /tnoot/ [thenot] 'sugar palm'.

Final consonants, always simple, include all of the initials except /b, d, s/. Final stops are normally unreleased; as a result, contrast between /-k/ and /-q/ is so weak as to be usually lost: /srok/ 'village' is indifferently [srok ~ sro?] while /plueq/ 'to taste' is indifferently [phloe? ~ phloek]. Final /I/, like its initial counterpart, is a voiced post-alveolar lateral; final /r/, unlike its initial counterpart, is a voiced retroflex lateral with frictionless [r] colouring of the prior vowel: /tiler/ [tilel] 'duck', /kemmpor/ [kem moll] 'lime', /skoor/ [sekoll] 'sugar'.

Transition from the syllable nuclei to the finals is direct or indirect, i.e. effected by means of glides. The latter include (a) labial, palatal, and neutral glides and (b) voiced homorganic occlusion before nasal finals. Labial glides are heard mainly after back rounded nuclei, their frequency decreasing with the openness of the nucleus: /ruup/ [ru·wp] 'image', /poot/ [po·wt] 'corn, maize', /thoom/ [tho·wm] 'to be big'. Palatal glides are heard after front unrounded nuclei before velar finals, as in /peek/ [pe·yk] 'too much' and /pieen/ [phie·yn] 'music', and above all before palatal finals: /sac/ [sayč] 'meat', /qoc/ [?oyč] 'to kindle', /khəən/ [khr·yn] 'to see', /peen/ [pe·yn] 'to be full'. Neutral glides occur most often before voiced finals: /kroom/ [kro·om] 'underside', /pui/ [pool] 'poison'. They are also occasionally heard before voiceless finals, where they signal the length of the preceding nucleus: /croot/ [čiro·ot] 'to reap'. In the speech of my informant voiced homorganic occlusion was heard only before final /n/:

/jyyn/ [jw·gn] 'first person plural pronoun', /roon/ [ro·gn] 'hall, building'. Direct transition from the nucleus to the final is usual in the environments not specified above: /ciik/ [či·k] 'to dig', /leep/ [le·p] 'to swallow', /baan/ [?ba·n] 'to get', /choot/ [čho·t] 'to be stupid'.

Before a pause, particularly in citation forms, the lengthening of final /m, n, n, !/ (though not of /-p/) is common following long as well as short nuclei: /ktim/ [ketumm] 'onion', /myen/ [mwenn] 'fowl', /con/ [čonn] 'tip, end', /kbaal/ [ke?ba·II] 'head', /creen/ [črv·nn] 'much', /riin/ [ri·nn] 'to be dried up', /qemme!/ [?em meil] 'salt'.

2. SUPRASEGMENTALS

2.1. STRESS

There are 3 degrees of stress: primary or strong, secondary or moderate, and tertiary or weak. Primary and secondary stress are represented by the acute and grave respectively while tertiary stress is unmarked. As in the standard, monosyllables uttered in isolation take primary stress: /báan/ '[I] can [do it]', /srúuel/ '[It's] easy'; dissyllables of native provenance take primary stress on the ultima: /cennéer/ 'ladder', /lembáak/ 'trouble'. The same pattern obtains in dissyllable compounds: /koon kóon/ 'children', /pleew thól/ 'road, highway'. Polysyllables take primary stress on the ultima, secondary stress on the first syllable: /tòoresáp/ 'telephone', /witsewskóon/ 'engineer'. Within the phrase qualifying elements take primary stress, qualified elements secondary or tertiary stress: /tŋàaj níh/ 'this day = today', /jùp mén/ 'last night', /niek precáan/ 'Mr Prachan', /ptieh ken lóok/ 'your house', /baaj týk lniiec níh/ 'this evening's supper', /teew nàa moow náa/ 'to go all over'.

2.2. INTONATION

My informant's speech showed 3 pitch levels, namely low, mid (normal), and high, hereafter number 1, 2, and 3 respectively. Four clause terminals stand out clearly: a rising pitch contour, /†/, marking a question in the absence of an interrogative word; a sustained pitch, /÷/, marking a momentary suspension of an utterance; a circumflex or rising-falling contour, /~//, marking questions with the interrogative /nəə/ and the enclitic interrogative /qə/; and a falling or trailing contour, /‡/, marking the completion of a declarative utterance. These may be represented graphically as follows:

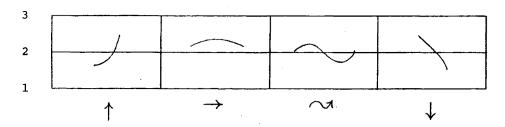


Table 3: The Clause Terminals

3. STRUCTURE OF THE WORD

As in the standard, the word may be defined in terms of the syllable. The latter may be expressed as (C)CV(VF), wherein F stands for a nonobligatory consonant final. Monosyllables have the shape CV(VF), exemplified by /tii/ 'place', /toq/ 'table', /beep/ 'manner'. lables have the shape CCV(VF) and may be interpreted as phonemically monosyllabic but for the most part dissyllabic on the phonetic level: /sdam/ [sə?dam] 'right (side)', /rmyəh/ [rɔmwəh] 'itch', /ppiəw/ [phpiew] 'visitor'. Dissyllables of native origin are either (1) compounds of monosyllables or subdissylables or (2) derivatives by affixation, these last consisting of a monosyllabic or subdissyllabic main syllable together with an unstressed presyllable exhibiting one or the other of two structures: CvN- and Crv-. C in these cases represents any consonant except /m, n, η, η; w, j; h/ while the lower-case v represents a phonemically short, neutral vowel; N represents /m, n, n/ (/p/ is here included in /n/) while the lower-case r is /r/. Illustrating these various presyllables are /pənrəə/ 'servant', /bəntooh/ 'to blame', /prətiəh/ 'to meet', /təmpɛɛk/ 'to be bald', /dənrɛɛj/ 'elephant', /trapian/ 'swamp', /cankah/ 'chopsticks', /cramoh/ 'nose', /kəmmɔɔr/ 'lime', /krəbεεj/ 'carabao', /qənnooŋ/ 'well (puits)', /rəntiəh/ 'lightning', /ləmbaak/ 'trouble', /səmmok/ 'nest', /srəmooc/ 'ant'. Paralleling the rhotacised presyllables the Surin dialect has at least one instance of a /mre-/, not found in the standard: /mretih/ 'chili pepper', corresponding to mdesa /mtéh/ [metih].

It is worth noting that the presyllable /qən-/ was consistently pronounced by my informant either as a nasal with a faint vocalic onglide or as a syllabic nasal: /qəmpəw/ [$^{9}m^{1}$ pıw ~ m pıw] 'sugar cane', /qəncul/ [$^{9}p^{1}$ col ~ 1 col] 'needle'. Of special interest is the dentalisation of the nasal finals of CvN- presyllables before main-syllable initial /c, r, l/: /bənriən/ 'to teach' (standard /banriən/), /cənriiəp/ 'to salute, greet' (standard /cumriiəp/), /kənlən/ 'strength' (standard

/kamian/), /senieen/ 'voice' (standard /samiéen/), in addition to the /qencul/ (standard /mcul ~ qencul/) and /penree/ (standard /bamraee/) cited above. Also worthy of attention is the curious assimilation of base-initial /b, d/ to the final of CvN- presyllables: standard /kam bèt/ 'knife' = /kemmit/, standard /qambèl/ 'salt' = /qemmsi/, standard /sambok/ 'nest' = /semmok/, standard /kambaaor/ [kpml?ba·o] 'lime' = /kemmoor/, standard /cundaeer/ [čonl?da·e] 'ladder' = /cenneer/, standard /qandòon/ 'well' = /qennoon/. Prefix /m-/ 'one' likewise causes the assimilation of base-initial /d/ to /n/: standard /mdaan/ 'once' = /mnool/ (this is the sole occurrence of the replacement of /ŋ/ by /l/ in my data). Note, finally, that geminate /mm, nn/ resulting from such assimilation are sometimes reduced to simple /m, n/ and forms so affected pass from the status of dissylables to that of subdissylables: standard /dambòol/ 'roof' = /tmool/, standard /kandael/ 'centre' = /knael/, standard kantura /kandol/ 'rat' = /knoor/.

4. SAMPLE TEXT

The following reproduces part of a breakfast-time dialogue, written and recorded by my informant, between two sisters the elder of whom manages the house, the younger being a teacher.

- A ²naaj nih boon ¹n ²thèe ³qéej ¹klah † day this elder-sibling future-marker do what pluraliser What are you going to do today?
- B 2 thəə qɛɛj-qèɛj jaaŋ 3 náa \rightarrow 1 mjàaŋ 2 bòɔŋ 1 kɔɔ 2 tòɔŋ 2 do what-what kind which one-kind elder-sibling then must təəw 2 taláat 32 tɔɔn 1 pryk nih 4 go-to market time morning this

Among other things, I have to go to market this morning.

A ²boon ¹n ²tèew talàat ³néa ²tèew talàat elder-sibling future-marker go-to market which go-to market myet ³stýn † ²ryy talàat ³lóon † edge river or market public

Which market are you going to, the one down by the river or the main one?

B ²dèn jaan ³náa ²tee ~ know way which question-marker How am I to know? (= I'm not sure.) ²snàam təəw talàat myət 3 stýŋ 1 həəj $^{\downarrow}$ probably go-to market edge river completion-marker I'll probably go to the one at the river.

while 1 biet 3 cfien +
 it close more
It's closer.

²tin rboh piir beej jaan ³ponnoh² 1 qeen $^{\downarrow}$ buy object two-three kind that-much only I just have to buy a few things.

A ¹jyyn ²kwàh ³qéɛj ¹klah ↓
we lack what pluraliser
What are we out of?

²knom kyt tháa mès ¹kyət ²tin qssj kəmpèh kəmpiən ³²mɔɔw I think say mother she buy what all-sorts-of come həəj təəw mss! ²mèn + completion-marker go-to yesterday I thought Mama already bought plenty of things yesterday.

B 2 tin 1 qənlüək 2 3 kəə 1 nən 2 sác səmràp Iniiəc nih 3 tiət \downarrow buy greens and-with meat use-for evening this more I want to get some more vegetables and some meat for tonight.

1 bentii² qéew kyet qàac ¹nen ²nyem ³ppiew ¹moow ²ptieh + maybe father he able linker take guest come house Papa may be bringing a visitor home with him.

A 2 kommooj pleec tin 1 mretih 3 2 moow 3 née ~ don't forget buy chili come all-right?

Don't forget to get some peppers, will you?

 2 jup men 3 mee 1 kyət 2 prap thèa \rightarrow 1 with 2 min mitan 3 lúak 1 qit night last mother she tell say one not have sell at talàat 2 + market

Mama said last night they didn't have any at the market.

 1 kən 2 jỳyn koo hàap 1 nən 3 m3ot 2 həəj 4 thing our clause-connector near linker gone completion-marker Ours are just about gone.

- B 1 bəcnòh $^{2} \rightarrow$ boon 1 n 2 rùuə 3 tín 2 qooj bàan \checkmark if-so elder-sibling will seek buy give (= benefactive) get-to In that case, I can get some for (her, us).
- A 2 bɔɔŋ 1 nɔŋ 2 tèəw talàat myət 3 stýŋ \rightarrow 2 bɔɔŋ 1 kɔɔ 2 telder-sibling will go-to market edge river elder-sibling then

²tàɔŋ ²phàan ¹ptiəh ³lqáɔŋ ↓ must pass house La'ong

If you're going to the market by the river, you'll have to pass by La'ong's house.

² jùuə qənsyy ³ nih ² təəw qòoj kee phoon ³ kóo ² jaan nàa + take book this go-to give her on-way then way what How about taking this book to her on your way?

- B $\frac{1}{\min} \frac{2}{\text{q\'esj}} \rightarrow \frac{3}{\text{b\'ean}}$ $\frac{2}{\text{heej}} + \frac{4}{\text{not}}$ what get-to completion-marker It's nothing (= no trouble). I can do it.
- A 2 knôm 1 n 2 tùk qensỳy 1 qii tron myət 2 twiiər 3 níh 2 həəj \rightarrow I will put book at place edge door this completion-marker

²prùəm ¹tiən ²cùutmáaj³²phòon ↓

along with note as-well

I'll leave it here by the door, along with a note.

²kee soom kceej 1 moow 3 mkhee 2 həəj 4 she ask borrow come one-month completion-marker She asked to borrow it a month ago (now),

²kɔɔtɛɛ¹ min ²cèh baan ³júuə ²təəw qɔɔj ¹kèe \sim but not know-how get-to take go-to give her but I haven't been able to get it to her.

 2 qəə bòon 3 dén 1 qə $^{-7}$ thaa 2 qəəw 1 kyət non 2 nyəm niək er elder-sibling know ? say father he will take person

³náa ²m∂ow ↓ what come

Um-m, who's papa bringing home, do you know?

B 2 lyy thaa \rightarrow niək mɔɔw 1 pii myyən kɔ́q 2 \downarrow hear say person come from Bangkok I understand (it's) someone from Bangkok.

²bɔɔŋ min skyəl 3 cmúəh 2 kee tee 4 elder-sibling not know name his emphasiser I don't know what his name is.

 1 qəə 2 bàə 1 min 2 kəət tnaajkw 3 † k5ɔ 2 kəət niək er if not be lawyer then be person

3 ciion 1 qeej 2 mjaan mjäan 3 nih 2 hooj + artisan what one-kind-or-another this completion-marker Well, if he's not a lawyer, I expect he's some kind of technician.

A 2 knom sənsaaj 1 thaa 2 kyət niək khuum thəə 3 tn5l 1 nəə \rightarrow I suppose say he person control make road agree? I guess he (must be) in charge of building the road...

²plèew teew kòorfiec³ 2 nee \rightarrow 1 ryy jaan 2 nèa 3 nfh 2 heej \downarrow road go-to Khorat agree? or kind what this completion you know, the road to Khorat - or something like that.

- B 2 snàam meen 3 dén $^{\sim}$ 2 while kee màsw 3 kás 2 jynn non dén haaj to probably true know time one come then we will know completion You may be right. We'll find out when he gets (they get) here.
- A $\frac{1}{4}$ know $\frac{2}{4}$ then $\frac{3}{4}$ note $\frac{1}{4}$ toon $\frac{2}{4}$ then $\frac{1}{4}$ toon $\frac{2}{4}$ roon $\frac{2}{4}$ roon $\frac{1}{4}$ leavn how Well, I'm going... I've got to get ready for school now.
- B ¹Initiac ²nih nitan ¹non ²hòq moow ptiah ¹toon ³náa ~ evening this young-lady will come-home come house time what What time will you be getting home tonight?
- A ²den jaan ³náa tee †

 know way which emphasiser

 How am I to know? (= I'm not sure.)

²knom tàon sàop ¹niek ²rien pháon \rightarrow ¹toon ²pryk nih \downarrow I must test person study all on morning this

I have to give a test to the students this morning.

²qàac ¹non ²nəəw trùuət ¹kaar ²sɔʻop ¹qooj ruuəc ²sàn †

able linker stay correct work test give finish first

I may stay on and finish correcting their work before coming home.

B ²kommɔɔj ¹səəw ²nə̈əw İniiəc ³nah nə́ə ~ don't very stay late very agree?

Don't be very late, will you?

 $^{2}\text{t\'ec toon} \quad \text{h\'oq} \quad ^{1}\text{moow} \quad ^{2}\text{pt\'ish} \quad ^{3}\text{tq\'en} \quad ^{1}\text{toon} \quad ^{2}\text{nyt} \quad \text{n\'et} \quad \text{t}$ else must come-home come house alone in all-dark Otherwise you'll have to come home all by yourself in the dark.

A $\frac{3}{6}$ cáah ψ kpom non pjáam hog $\frac{3}{6}$ móow $\frac{2}{6}$ mun prám móon ψ yes I will try come-home come before five hour All right, I'll do my best to get back before five.

 3 min 2 qppj Iniiec 1 ciien 2 nuh 3 tee \sim not give = let late more that emphasiser I won't make it (let it be) any later than that.

B ²təəw cóh ↓ go descend Run along!

 3 tèc 2 thaa boon thee qooj niien juur else say elder-sibling make give = so-that young-lady late

³k**á**ar ↓ *work*

Otherwise I'll make you late for work.

NOTES

- 1. Khmer also overlaps Cambodia's western frontier into Prachinburi (Krabin), Chanthaburi, and Trat provinces.
- 2. On this question see the views summarised in my unpublished doctoral dissertation, Affixation in Modern Khmer (University of Hawaii, January 1969).
- 3. Surin is shown on AMS L509 (1:250,000) sheet \dot{ND} 48-5 at grid coordinates UB 3946 or 14° 53' N x 103° 29' E. The town claims a population of a little over 147,000.
- 4. Radio Phnom-Penh is received in Surin but its broadcasts appear to be imperfectly understood. Newspapers, books, and films are not imported from Cambodia. Identification with the Khmer language community appears to be slight.
- 5. I use the term "register" here in its original Hendersonian sense, which emphasises contrasting oral and pharyngeal resonance and contrasting higher and lower pitch; see Eugénie J.A. Henderson, "The Main Features of Cambodian Pronunciation", in BSOAS, XIV (1952).1:149-74.

