## A Comparative Phonology of Tai Phake and Tai Kammueng

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#### 1. Introduction

Tai Phake in this Study is a minority language spoken in the State of Assam, India. There are ten villages where Tai Phake is spoken: i.e., Nam-Phake Tipam-Phake, Bor-Phake, Munglang, Ning-kam, Phaneng, Manmo, Nonglai, Long and Lungkung. The Indian Census Report of 1971 gives 1,800 as the number of speakers of this language. The etymology of the term Phake or Phakial is very interesting. It is a combination of two wards: Pha + ke, where 'pha' means 'rocky island' or 'king' or 'royal officer' and 'ke' means 'ancient' or 'old'. Thus Phake means 'ancestors of a very old dynasty' or 'wellers on a very old rocky island', or 'descendants of old royal officers' (Kingcom 1991-2). The data for the study of Tai Phake are collected from Ven. Gni ken Gohain and also from the Ph.D. dissertation of Wilaisak Kingcom (1992). The Tai Phake has its own script which is similar to the Tai Yai script in Burma.

Tai Kammueng or Khammueng is a northern Thai dialect spoken in the northern part of Thailand, in 8 provinces: i.e., Chiangmai, Chiangrai, Maehongson, Lamphun, Lampang, Phayao, Phrae and Nan. The speakers of this dialect numbered over 7 million in 1995. The native speakers of the Northern Thai Dialect refer to themselves as Khonmueng. [khonmiən], which means 'the people of the town' or 'town people' and call their former kingdom 'Lanna' /lá:nna:/ or 'Lanna Thai'. The Lanna people refer to their language as 'Kammueng /kammiən/, in which 'kam' means 'language' or 'word' while 'mueng' means 'town'. So Kammueng means 'town language', because the speakers are settled in the plains areas where they are surrounded by mountains or mountainous areas inhabited by varieties of hill-tribe people: i.e., Mong, Yao, Akha, Lahu, Lisu, Karen etc. The Northern Thai people are also sometimes called by Tai people 'Yuan' or 'Tai Yuan', both for the people and their language. Tai Kammueng has its own script, which is called Tua Mueng /tuəmi an/. The Tua Mueng script is also sometimes called Tua Tham, which also refers to scripts in Laos, Northeastern Thailand, and in the Shan cities of Chiangtung in Burma and Chiangrung in Southern China.

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The Tai language family was classified into two groups by myself in 1992, i.e. the Tai Group and the Thai Group. The Thai Group is spoken in Thailand (except the northern part of Thailand), Cambodia, Malaysia and Laos. The Tai Group is spoken in different countries such as China, Vietnam, the Shan State of Burma, as well as in Northern Thailand. Since the Tai Phake and Tai Kammueng dialects are classified in the same group, that is the Tai group, it would be very useful to find out some common features which are present in the two dialects.

#### 2. Comparison of consonant phonemes

The comparison of consonant phonemes shows that Tai Phake has fifteen consonants and two semivowels while The Tai Kammueng or the Northern Tai Dialect has seventeen consonants and two semivowels. The two voiced stops /b d/ in Tai Kammueng are not present in Tai Phake. Nor is the voiceless fricative /f/, so that Tai Kammueng has three more consonants i.e. /b d f/, while these three phonemes are replaced by the phonemes /m/ /n/ and /ph/ respectively in Tai Phake.

The consonant phonemes of the two dialects are shown in the following chart.

	Bilabial	Labio- dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
plosive						
vl.unas.	-p-		-t-	c-	-k- kh-	-?-
vl.as.	-p- ph-		th-		kh-	
vd.	(b-)		(d-)			
Fricatives						
vl.		(f-)	s-			h-
Nasals						
vd.unas.	-m-		-n-	n-	-ŋ-	
Lateral						
vd.unas.			- 1-			
Semivowels						
vd.unas.	-w-			-y-		

TK: /p, ph, t, c, th, k, kh, ?, b, d, f, s, h, m, n, n, n, n, l, w, y/

1) The phoneme /b/ is not found in Tai Phake and it is replaced by the phoneme /m/, for example:

Tai Phake	Tai K	Tai Kammueng		
/mâ:n/	/bā:n/	'village'		
/mět/	/bĕt/	'hook'		
/mà:/	/bà:/	'shoulder'		
/maw/	/baw/	'to be light'		
/mɔt/	/bɔ̀:t/	'to be blind'		

2) The consonant phoneme /d/ is not present and it is replaced by the phoneme /n/ as in

Tai Phake	Tai Kammueng		
/nam/	/dam/ 'black'		
/neŋ/	/dɛ:ŋ/ 'red'		
/non/	/diən/ 'month'		
/naw/	/da:w/ 'star'		
/nàp/	/dà:p/ 'sword'		
/ni/	/di:/ 'good'		
/nin/	/din/ 'soil'		
/nom/	/dom/ 'to smell'		

3) The fricative /f/ is not found in Tai Phake and is replaced by the phoneme /ph/. For example:

Tai Phake	Tai Kammueng		
/phâ:/	/fá:/ 'sky'		
/phi/	/fi:/ 'pock'		
/phŏn/	/fŏn/ 'rain'		
/phay/	/fay/ 'fire'		
/phăn/	/fǎn/ 'to dream'		

4) The phonemes /p t c k/ in both Tai Phake and Tai Kammueng correspond to each other as the Tai group. These phonemes occur only in words in tone block 4 (A4, B4, C4, DS4 and DL4), i.e. in words beginning with low consonants in Tai Kammueng script. For example:

1) /p t c k/ = /p t c k/

Tai Phake	Tai Kamm	ueng
/pŝ/	/p3:/	'father'
/pî/	/pî:/	'sister'
/lukca:y/	/lû:kca:y/	'son'
/tût/	/tû:t/	'leprosy'
/tóŋ/	/tố:ŋ/	'stomach'
/cá:ŋ/	/cá:ŋ/	'elephant'
/kû/	/kû:/	'pair'
/ká/	/ká:/	'to trade'
/con/	/có:n/	'spoon'
/kam/	/kam/	'word' (cl.)

etc.

5) The phoneme /f/ is not found in Tai Phake, and it is replaced by the phoneme /ph/ in words with both high or low consonants /ph, f/ in Tai Kammueng script. For example:

T ON THOUSE	mueng
/fá:/	'sky'
/fǎ:/	'wall'
/phá:/	'big knife'
/phā:/	'cloth'
/phi:n/	'cl. of cloth'
/fay/	'fire'
/fà:ti:n/	'sole'
/phɨèk/	'taro'
/phik/	'chilli'
	/fá:/ /fǎ:/ /phá:/ /phā:/ /phi:n/ /fay/ /fà:ti:n/

etc.

6) The phoneme /h/ is used in the same words and the same meaning in both the two languages in words beginning with both high and low consonant in the TK. script. For example:

Tai Pha	ike	Tai Kammueng
/haw/	'we'	/haw/
/h <b>û</b> /	'to know'	/h <b>ú:</b> /
/hən/	'houses'	/hian/
/hâ:n/	'shop'	/h <b>á</b> :n/
	eto	3.

## 3. Comparison of Consonant Clusters

In the comparison of consonant clusters of both the dialects Tai Phake has nine consonant clusters while Tai Kammueng has 11 clusters but they are different in their make-up i.e. in Tai Phake clusters occur with phonemes /l/ and /y/, while in Tai Kammueng only with /w/.

TP:	1) pl-	/tɛŋplɛ/	'water melon'
	2) phl-	/phla:/	'Lord Budha'
	3) kl-	/klá:/	'new'
	4) khl-	/khlu/	'to finish'
	5) tl-	/tla:/	'law'
	6) py-	/pya:/	'to show'
	7) phy-	/phyɛ̂k/	'spit'
	8) ky-	/kya:m/	'to try'
	9) my-	/myét/	'holly'
TK:	1) kw-	/kwā:ŋ/	'to be wide'
	2) khw-	/khwan/	'smoke'
	3) tw-	/twa:y/	'to foretell'
	4) thw-	/thwă:y/	'to offer'
	5) cw-	/cwâ:/	'to spread out'
	6) ?w-	/?wà:ynā:/	'to turn one's face'
	7) nw-	/tamnwa:y/	'to foretell'
	8) ŋw-	/ŋwá:y/	'to turn back'
	9) sw-	/swà:y/	'to shake'
- 1	10) lw-	/lwăk/	'to be clever'
1	11) yw-	/ywà:t/	'to fall down'

Note: Two consonant clusters /kw-, khw-/ are retained in all localities in TK. The other clusters may be lost as in /swà:y/ 'becomes' /sà:y/ 'to shake', /lwǎk/ 'becomes' /lǎk/ 'to be clever' etc. in some localities.

## 4. Comparison of vowel phonemes

A comparison of the vowel phonemes of the two dialects shows that Tai Phake has only 10 single vowel phonemes and except the vowels /a a:/ there are no long vowels or diphthongs in Tai Phake. Whereas Tai Kammueng has 18 single vowel phonemes with short and long vowels and three diphthongs /iə iə uə/. The vowel phonemes of the two dialects are shown in the following chart.

	Front		Central		Back	
	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
Close	i	(i:)	i	(i:)	u	(u:)
Close mid	e	(e:)	Э	(ə:)	0	(o:)
open-mid	ε	(ε:)			3	(3:)
open			a	a:		
Diphthongs	(i	ə)	(i	(e)	(u	i <del>ə</del> )

TP: /i i u e э ο ε ο a a:/

The Tai Kammueng diphthongs / iə iə uə/ are replaced by the single vowel phonemes /e ə o/, which may be phonetically slightly long, in Tai Phake. For example:

Tai Phake	Tai Kar	nmueng
/me/	/miə/	'wife'
/sěn/	/sǐəŋ/	'sound'
/khèt/	/khìət/	'frog'
/s <b>š</b> /	/s <b>ť</b> ə/	'tiger'
/hən/	/hɨən/	'house'
/lət/	/lɨᢒt/	'blood'
/hŏ/	/hǔə/	'head'
/ko/	/kǔə/	'to be afraid'
/phŏ/	/phǔə/	'husband'
	4 -	

etc.

The diphthongs /iə/ /uə/ when followed by semivowels /w/ and /y/ are lost in Tai Kammueng as in Tai Phake.

Tai Phake	Tai Kammueng		
/kh <del>ê</del> w/		/khēw/	'tooth'
/khěw/		/khčw/	'green'
/kôy/		/kōy/	'banana'
	etc.		

The words which are spelled with 1- /maymuén/ and 1- /maymala:y/ in Thai script are pronounced differently in TP. For example:

Tai Phake	Tai K	Tai Kammueng	
/ne/	/nay/	'in'	
/ce/	/cay/	'mind'	
/mè/	/may/	'new'	
/kày/	/kày/	'hen'	
/hây/	/hāy/	'to cry'	
	etc.	-	

The first three examples are spelled with 1- /máy múən/ and the last two example are spelled with 1- /máy mala:y/ in Thai script.

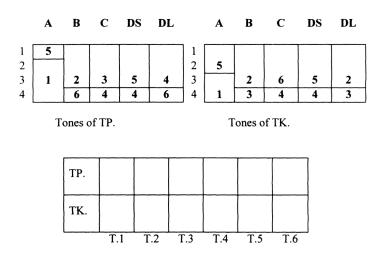
# 5. Comparision of Tones

Both the two varieties have six tones.

- 5.1 Tones of Tai Phake
  - 1) High (mid) tone /ná:/ 'paddy-field'
  - 2) Low tone /kà:/ 'to dance'
  - 3) Falling tone/pha:/ 'cloth'
  - 4) High (falling) tone /ma:/ 'horse'
  - 5) Rising tone /max/ 'dog'
  - 6) Low mid tone /loy/ 'with'

- 5.2 Tones of Tai Kammueng.
  - 1) Mid tone /ma:/ 'to come'
  - 2) Low tone /mày/ 'new'
  - 3) Falling tone /law/ 'to tell'
  - 4) High tone /máy/ 'wood'
  - 5) Rising tone /may/ 'to fine'
  - 6) High (mid) falling /may/ 'to burn'

The split of tones of the two Tai dialects are different: i.e., Tai Phake is A1-234 but in Tai Khammueng is A12-34. as follows



#### 6. Conclusion

A comparison of the phonology of the two varieties shows that both TP. and TK. have 17 consonants in common, while the phonemes /b d f/ are not found in TP. The single vowel phonemes of both dialects are 9 in number and are identical, but TP. has no contrast of short and long vowels except /a a:/. TK. has three diphthongs /iə iə uə/ but no such diphthongs are found in TP. They are replaced by the single phonetically slightly long vowels / e ə o/ respectively in TP. The pronunciation of the words spelled with /máymúan/ and /máymala:y/ script in Thai script is also different in TP. The consonant clusters of the two dialects are different in their make-up: i.e. TP has /l/ and /y/ as second members of the clusters, whereas TK has only /w/. The two varieties have six tones but the split of tones is different: i.e., TP. is A1-234 but in TK is A12-34, even thought both are in the same Tai group.

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