PHONOLOGICAL REDUCTION OF SOME FINAL PARTICLES IN MODERN THAI

PATCHARIN PEYASANTIWONG

In spoken Thai, particles are used a great deal, especially in casual speech; it seems that the more casual the utterance, the greater the use of particles. Some particles, such as the following, occur before the verb.

kɔ̂   as in: chán kɔ̂ khít yaŋŋán   mɯ̌ankan
                I   pt think like that also

                'I think so too.'

ca   as in: kháw ca pay mɯaŋ thay phrûɔŋníi
                he   pt go Thailand   tomorrow

                'He is going to Thailand tomorrow.'

mây   as in: thâa mây thoo maa chán kɔ̂ mây pay
                if   not call come I   pt not go

                'If you don't call, I won't go.'

cɯŋ(thɯ̌ŋ) as in: thəə tɔ̂ŋ thoo maa chán thɯ̌ŋ ca   pay
                you must call come I   pt   will go

                'You must call, then I will go.'

Most particles, however, whether they occur in phrases, clauses or sentences, appear in final position, as in the following examples:

rɯ̌ɯ   as in: thəə mây pay thamŋaan rɯ̌ɯ
                you not go work   Q pt

                'Aren't you going to work?'

sî   as in: pay sî
                go pt

                'Yes, I am.' (Of course I am.)

thə̀ʔ   as in: yùu bâan thə̀ʔ
                stay home pt

                'Please stay home.'

ləəy   as in: yàa   pay ləəy
                      don't go   pt

                      'Don't go.'

lâ   as in: thammay lâ
                      why   pt

                      'Why?'   *(Why not?)*

nɔ̀y   as in: yùu pen phɨ̂an   chán nɔ̀y
                      stay be company I   pt

                      'Please stay and keep me company.'

rɔ̀ɔk   as in: mây dâay rɔ̀ɔk chán tɔ̂ŋ thamŋaan
                      not can pt   I   must work

                      'I can't, I have to work.'

ná   as in: thâa yaŋŋán   chán pay kàp thəə ná
                      if   like that I   go with you pt

                      'In that case can I go with you?'

sɨ̌a   as in: thâa ca   pay kɔ̂ pay tɛ̀ŋ tua   sɨ̌a
                      if   will go pt go get dressed pt

                      'If you want to go, then go get dressed.'

                      etc.

Most of these final particles are used in utterances to reveal the
speaker's attitude, thought, emotion, mood, etc. regarding the situation
at the time of speaking.

The final particles which will be discussed in detail in this paper
share a common pattern of phonological reduction of initials, finals,
vowels and tones; they can, but do not always, reduce to a common form
a, with or without final glottal stop (ʔ), and with one of the three
tones, mid, low, or low falling.

The particles to be discussed here are น่ะ /nâʔ/, ละ /láʔ/, ล่ะ /lâʔ/,
แหละ /lèʔ/, and หรอก /rɔ̀ɔk/. The particle นะ /náʔ/, while it does not
undergo consonant, vowel, or tone reduction, is also included in this
discussion because of its close semantic relationship with น่ะ /nâʔ/,
which does undergo reduction.[1]

Mary Haas (1964) gives a general description of these particles in
her *Thai-English Student's Dictionary* which I have taken into account
and to which I have added some detail. I have also taken into account
Richard Noss's mention of these particles in his *Thai Reference Grammar*
(Noss 1964).

We will now look at the way each of these particles is used in
utterances, along with examples, most of which are taken from spon-
taneous conversation. Following this, we will examine the phonological
reduction mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Note that reduction

to a with one of the tones mentioned above is not possible in all
functions of a particle; in some cases only partial reduction occurs.
Where complete reduction is possible, the example is marked with the
symbol #.

PARTICLE USE

นะ /nâʔ/ is used in sentences:

1.   Indicating urging, insisting, persuading, or importuning, such as
in the situation in which one is invited to go somewhere and answers
rather negatively, or shows reluctance to accept the invitation, the
inviter might say:

   (1a) pay /nâʔ/
        go   pt
        '(Come on!) Please go.'

or in persuading one's guest to stay as in:

   (1b) yùu kɔ́ɔn thə̀ /nâʔ/
        stay before pt   pt
        'Please stay for a while.'   (Don't go yet.)

2.   Expressing the speaker's belief,[2] which, the speaker realises,
contrasts slightly with the addressee's belief, as in:

   (2a) chǎn wâa khǎw maa lɛ́ɛw   /nâʔ/
        I   say he   come already pt
        'I believe he has already come.'

   (2b) thâw-níi ca   phɔɔ rɯ̆ɯ / khoŋ   phɔɔ /nâʔ/
        this much will enough Q / surely enough pt
        'Will this be enough?   / It should be.'

3.   Marking the topic of that which immediately follows. The topic,
which precedes the particle, can be a simple noun, a phrase or a clause
(short or long), as in:

   (3a) ŋən   /nâʔ/ khraykhray kɔ̂ yàak-dâay
        money pt   anybody   pt want
        'Money! Anybody wants it.'

   (3b) phûu-yǐŋ /nâʔ/ tɛ̀ŋ-tua   cháa thîisùt
        girl   pt   get dressed slow most
        'Girls! They get dressed the slowest of all.'

   (3c) tɔɔn thəə pay dii-sii   /nâʔ/ chǎn mây-sabaay
        when you go Washington,D.C. pt   I   not well
        'When you went to Washington, D.C., I was sick.'

Sometimes the topic comes after the main clause and functions as a declaration. Some people call this an afterthought topic, as in (3d). Examples (3a), (3b) and (3c) could also be rewritten or spoken in this form as well.

(3d) mây mii khray maa kàp khun ləəy rɯ̌ɯ thîi sɔ̀ɔp khâw dâay
     not have person come with you at all Q that test enter able

     /nâʔ/
     pt

     'Didn't anybody come with you, from among those who passed the entrance exam?'

4. Indicating the speaker's annoyance. This is used with firm tone of voice.

(4a) yùt rɔ́ɔŋ sǐa-thii thə̀ /nâʔ/
     stop cry pt pt pt

     'Please stop crying.' (Would you please stop crying?)

(4b) rúu lɛ́ɛw /nâʔ/, mây tɔ̂ŋ maa bɔ̀ɔk sǎmsǎm-sâaksâak
     know already pt not must come tell repeatedly

     'I know. You don't have to tell me over and over again.'

5. Indicating response of limited concession, acceptance or agreement on a result. This type of statement usually has the pattern 'verb₁ /nâʔ/ verb₁ + clause' or 'verb₁ /nâʔ/ neg. verb₁ + clause'. The clause that follows shows that there is some contradiction within the statement, and the pattern is used to show that the speaker is aware of the contradictory nature of his utterance.

(5a) rúu /nâʔ/ rúu, tɛ̀ɛ tham ʔaray mây dâay
     know pt know but do anything not able

     'I <u>know</u>, but there is nothing I can do (about it).'

(5b) hěn /nâʔ/ mây hěn rɔ̀ɔk, tɛ̀ɛ rúu wâa khǎw pen khon ʔaw-pay
     see pt not see pt but know that he be person take

     'I know I didn't see him taking it but I'm sure he is the one (who took it).'

6. Ending the utterance with some focus or emphasis, mostly in questions as in:

(6a) (ca) pay nǎy /nâʔ/
     will go where pt

     'And just where are you going?'

(6b) maa thammay /nâʔ/
     come why pt

     'And just what are you here for?'

น่ะ /ná?/ is used in sentences:

7.   Making the utterance milder and more gentle, as in declarative sentences, which convey a mild command, or request for an affirmative answer, or at least for acknowledgement from the addressee. For example:

(7a)   pay lá /ná?/
       go pt pt
       'I'm going now, O.K.?'

(7b)   nǎŋsɨɨ yùu bon tó?   /ná?/
       book be on table pt
       'The book is on the table, O.K.?'

8.   Making milder an utterance which is contradictory or argumentative, used in both negative and positive statements. For example:

(8a)   chán wâa mây chây /ná?/
       I   say not be   pt
       'I don't think it is, do you?'

(8b)   tὲɛ chán wâa chây /ná?/
       but I   say be   pt
       'But I think it is, don't you?'

(8c)   tὲɛ welaa phûut kàp faràŋ   khǎw phûut dii /ná?/
       but time talk with westerner he   talk nice pt
       '... but when he talks with Westerners, he talks pleasantly.'

9.   Making imperative mood more gentle, both in the negative and positive. In this usage the tone of voice is rather soft.

(9a)   yàa   phȇŋ khâw maa /ná?/
       don't just enter come pt
       'Please don't come in yet.'

(9b)   pìt   pratuu dûay /ná?/
       close door   also pt
       'Close the door too, please.'

10.   Indicating mild questions, asking for opinions. This is as if the speaker proposes some idea or says what he/she thinks is true and asks for agreement from the hearer. This may be rendered in English by the question tag, as in:

(10a)   wanníi ?akàat dii /ná?/
        today weather nice pt
        'The weather is nice (today), isn't it?'

(10b) phaˆa nˇii suˇay /náʔ/
       cloth this pretty pt
       'This material is pretty, isn't it?'

There is also the pattern of '/náʔ/ + addressee + /náʔ/' usually at the
end of an utterance, in seeking agreement. For example:

(10b') phaˆa nˇii suˇay /náʔ/ cɔɔn /náʔ/
        'This material is pretty, John, isn't it?'

11. Indicating a request for repetition of information already given,
as in:

(11a) ʔaray /náʔ/
       what   pt
       'What?' (Say it again. I didn't hear you.)

(11b) raˆan nˇay   /náʔ/
       shop which pt
       'Which shop is it?'

(11c) kháw ca   pay mɯˆaràay /náʔ/
       he   will go   when   pt
       'When is it he's going?'

12. Expressing mild reproach and/or criticism, mostly in the form of
questions.

(12a) thammay chaˆa yàaŋ niˊi /náʔ/
       why   slow like this pt
       'How come you're so slow?'

(12b) tham yàaŋ niˊi   ʔiˋik lɛˆɛw /náʔ/
       do   like this again pt   pt
       'You've done it again, haven't you?'

13. Expressing displeasure, disappointment or complaint. Generally
the speaker repeats the subject of the sentence (addressee) after /náʔ/.
In these sentences /náʔ/ occurs following an initial vocative. For
example:

(13a) khun /náʔ/ khun, mâay pay haˆa chán baˆaŋ ləəy
       you   pt   *you   not go   see I   some* pt
       'You! You never went to see me at all.'

(13b) khun /náʔ/ khun, thammay tham yàaŋ niˊi
       you   pt   *you   why   do   like this*
       'You! Why did you do that?'

14. Indicating statement of invitation as in:

(14a) yen   níi pay thaan kha̋aw thîi ba̋an /ná?/
       evening this go eat   rice at   house pt

       'Why don't you come to dinner at my house this evening? Please
       come ....'

(14b) pay nâŋ rót lên kan   /ná?/
       go sit car play together pt

       'Let's go for a ride, O.K.?'

15. Expressing coaxing, suggesting and requesting, or mild insisting
as in:

(15a) khun tôŋ maa /ná?/
       you must come pt

       'You must come, please.'

(15b) ya̋a   phêŋ pay /ná?/
       don't just go pt

       'Please, don't go yet.'

16. Indicating minor annoyance or threat. Such sentences are said in
a firm tone of voice. The imperative quality of the utterance is
stressed.

(16a) ya̋a   khâw maa /ná?/
       don't enter come pt

       'Don't come in.'

(16b) ŋîap /ná?/
       quiet pt

       'Be quiet!'

In a different situation the same construction could be a request for
an opinion (as in example 10). For example, if spoken in a very quiet
place number (16b) would be translated as *'It's quiet, isn't it?'*. In
such a situation the tone of voice would be a mild one.

17. Marking topics. As with นะ /nâ?/ in example (3) above, the topic
can be a simple noun, a phrase or a clause. However, with นะ /ná?/ the
item marked as topic is also given some emphasis. For example:

(17a) rɯ̋aŋ   níi /ná?/, chán wâa mây còp rɔ̀k
       matter this pt   *I   say not end* pt

       'I don't think I'll ever see the end of _this_ problem.'

(17b) chán khít /ná?/, wâa mii klɔ̀ŋ plàaw yùu   ba̋aŋ
       I   think pt   *that have box empty* loc.pt *some*

       'I _think_ I have some empty boxes.' (I _think_ there are some
       empty boxes.)

ละ /láʔ/ and ล่ะ /lâʔ/

The two particles /láʔ/ and /lâʔ/ are used extensively in modern
Thai, and there is some evidence to suggest that they are derivations
of the particles แล้ว /lɛ́ɛw/ and เล่า /lâw/. With regard to semantics,
the particles /láʔ/ and /lɛ́ɛw/ are virtually interchangeable, as are
the particles /lâʔ/ and /lâw/. The words /lɛ́ɛw/ and /lâw/ are very
common in older works of prose fiction, but /láʔ/ and /lâʔ/ are to be
found only very infrequently. Modern prose, on the other hand, makes
frequent use of these latter two words. In addition, modern casual
conversation relies almost exclusively on /láʔ/ and /lâʔ/. It is also
worth noting tonal correspondences between the particles /lɛ́ɛw/ and
/láʔ/ and /lâw/ and /lâʔ/. Finally, George McFarland's (1954) *Thai-
English Dictionary*, compiled prior to 1937 includes only /lɛ́ɛw/ and
/lâw/, making no mention of either /láʔ/ or /lâʔ/, whereas Haas (1964)
includes all four forms.

Thus there is evidence to suggest that /láʔ/ and /lâʔ/ have only
recently become the preferred forms and have been derived from /lɛ́ɛw/
and /lâw/ by a process of reduction. Although the evidence is not
absolutely conclusive, I feel that it is strong enough for the purpose
of this paper.

ละ /láʔ/ (as well as แล้ว /lɛ́ɛw/) is used in sentences:

18. Indicating that the state of being which is posited by the verb-
adjective has just been attained as in:

(18a) phɔɔ   /láʔ/
       enough pt
       'That's enough.' (O.K. Enough!)

(18b) dii /láʔ/
       good pt
       'That's good enough.'

The expression ดีละ /dii láʔ/ is sometimes used in a sarcastic sense
as in:

(18b') dii /láʔ/, faàk   wáy   kɔ̀ɔn
        good pt   *entrust keep first*
        'Fine, just wait till it's my turn.'

19. Indicating the speaker's consent to something done or said by
others as in:

(19a) thùuk   /láʔ/   or   chây /láʔ/
       correct pt   *be*   pt
       'That's correct.'   *'That's right.'*

20. Situation closing, in order to tell the addressee something and
to indicate some change in the situation. For example:

(20a) chán pay /lá?/
       I   go   pt
       'I'm going now.'   (I'm going to leave now.)

(20b) chán ca   kin /lá?/
       I   will eat pt
       'I'm going to eat now.'

(20c) chán chák-ca chɔ́ɔp khûn   maa /lá?/
       I   start to like ascend come pt
       'I'm starting to like it now.'

21. Indicating a little annoyance, again with certain tone of voice
as in:

(21a) maa ʔìik /lá?/
       come again pt
       'Here he comes again.'

(21b) ca   tham ʔaray kɔ̂ tham pay thə̂? chán mây sǒncay   /lá?/
       will do   what pt do   go pt   I   not interest pt
       'Do whatever you want; I don't care any more.'

ล̀ะ /lâ?/ (as well as เล̀า /lâw/, mostly used in question form) is used
in sentences:

22. Indicating surprise or the unexpectedness of a situation through
the use of questions as in:

#(22a) sawàt pay nǎy   /lâ?/
        Sawat go where pt
        'Where has Sawat gone?'

#(22b) thammay khǎw mây maa /lâ?/
        why   he   not come pt
        'How come he didn't show up?'

23. Indicating the speaker's irritation or annoyance, also used with
irritated tone of voice as in:

#(23a) maa thammay ʔìik /lâ?/
        come why   again pt
        'What are you here for this time?'

#(23b) ʔaray ʔìik /lâ?/
        what again pt
        'Now what!' (What is it this time?)

24. Referring the question back to the other. This can be rendered in English as *'And you?'* or *'What about you?'*. For example:

#(24a) chán kin lɛ́ɛw ,   khun /lâʔ/
    I   eat already you   pt
    'I've already eaten, and you?' (..., what about you?)

Sometimes it is used as a retort as in:

#(24b) thəə ʔeeŋ /lâʔ/, sɯ̀ɯsàt khɛ̂ɛ-nǎy
    you self pt   honest how much
    'And what about you yourself, how honest are you?'

25. Indicating an additional question within conditional statements as in:

#(25a) thâa khǎw maa   /lâʔ/
    if he come pt
    'What if he should come?'

#(25b) thâa mây thùuk   /lâʔ/
    if not correct pt
    'What if it's not correct?'

26. Indicating some sarcasm (with sarcastic tone of voice), although not very strong as in:

(26a) ʔɔ́ɔ! dii nîi /lâʔ/
    excl. nice pt pt
    'Oh, nice!' (Oh, swell!)

(26b) ca bòn   ʔìik máy /lâʔ/
    will complain again Q pt
    'Well, are you going to complain any more?'

Another particle that seems to become laʔ (with mid, rather low or low tone) is the particle แหละ /lɛ̀ʔ/. The sound of this particle /laʔ/ just mentioned does not have a common written form but is sometimes written as หละ or อะ.³ แหละ /lɛ̀ʔ/ is used in sentences:

27. Intensifying the statement or pointing out something certain and specific. It is usually preceded by the demonstrative nîi, ní'i (= *'this'*) or nân, nán (= *'that'*) as in:

(27a) rew-khâw, lên yùu   nân /lɛ̀ʔ/
    hurry up play loc.pt dem. pt
    'Hurry up! Stop fooling around.'

(27b) chán ʔeeŋ /lɛ̀ʔ/
    I   self pt
    'It's just me.'

The last particle that will be examined here is หรอก /rɔ̀ɔk/. This
particle can always be pronounced as rɔk, lɔk,[4] or ɔk (with either mid
or low tone) which phonologically seem to be first and second step
derivation (1. vowel shortening, 2. r → l, 3. initial dropping). Very
often, especially in fast speech, however, it derives to à?.

หรอก /rɔ̀ɔk/ is used in sentences:

28. Indicating mild negative statement. (This is the most common use
of this particle.) For example:

(28a) chán mây pay /rɔ̀ɔk/
       I   not go   pt
       'I'm not going.'

(28b) mây sanùk /rɔ̀ɔk/, yàa   pay lǝǝy
       not fun   pt   don't go pt
       'It's not fun, don't bother going.'

29. Expressing reassurance as in:

(29a) thǝǝ khoŋ ca   sɔ̀ɔp   phàan /rɔ̀ɔk/
       you surely will take test pass   pt
       'I'm sure you'll pass the test.'

30. Expressing mild sarcasm (with sarcastic tone of voice) as in:

(30a) khoŋ   sanùk /rɔ̀ɔk/
       surely fun   pt
       'That'll be fun!'

(30b) khoŋ   dây khɯ̂n   ŋǝndɯan /rɔ̀ɔk/
       surely get increase salary   pt
       'You'll probably get promoted.' (Keep on sitting here playing
       cards.)

If the sentences in (30) are not said with a sarcastic tone of voice,
they would be like (29) or be used as consolation. In (30a) then may
imply something like 'Don't worry about it, just go. It may be fun.'

31. Indicating some kind of hesitancy in agreeing with somebody as in:

(31a) kɔ̂ sǔay dii /rɔ̀ɔk/
       pt pretty good pt
       'Yes, it's pretty.'

It can also be added at the end of the first group in number (5), and
make the acceptance a little milder as in:

(31b) rúu /nâ?/ rúu /rɔ̀ɔk/ tɛ̀ɛ tham ?aray mây dâay
(5a') 'I know, I know, but there is nothing I can do about it.'

32. Indicating a little annoyance or reproach in a sarcastic manner
as in:

(32a) chán ?àan ?eeŋ pen /rɔ́ɔk/
       I   read self able pt
       'I can read it myself (you don't have to read it out loud).'

(32b) chán mii taa duu ?eeŋ /rɔ́ɔk/
       I   have eye look self pt
       'I have my own eyes, you know.'

Note that all the particles /nâ?/, /ná?/, /lá?/, /lâ?/, /lɛ̀?/, and
/rɔ́ɔk/ in the examples are presented in their fullest forms. In
addition, it should be noted that in each example the particle is placed
in utterance-final position. The following part of the study examines
the possible phonological reductions that each particle can undergo.
Variants of these reduced forms which appear when they are followed by
other final particles will be examined as well.

DERIVATION OF THESE FINAL PARTICLES

    The phonological rules that seem to be involved in the derivation
from /lɛ́ɛw/ to /lá?/ are:

a) vowel shortening: lɛ́ɛw → lɛ́w
b) vowel shifting:[5]   lɛ́w → láw
c) glottal stop replacing final: láw → lá?

From /lâw/ to /lâ?/, only rule (c) applies, since the vowel of the
original form is short and low (no rule (a): VV → V, nor rule (b):

V   →   V   ). As for /lɛ̀?/ being reduced to /lâ?/, only rule
[-central] [+central]
(b) is necessary since the vowel was originally short and the final
was the glottal stop.

    The following are the reductions that occur in the initial vowels,
tones and finals of the particles discussed above.

            /nâ?/ is reduced to   nâ   in 1, 2, 4
                        "   â?   in 3, 5, 6

            /ná?/ is reduced to   ná   in 7-17

    (lɛ́ɛw →)/lá?/ is reduced to   {á?} in 18-21
                                    {a?}

     (lâw →)/lâ?/ is reduced to   â   in 22-25
                        "   lâ   in 26

(lèʔ →)/làʔ/ is reduced to $\left\{\begin{matrix} àʔ \\ aʔ \end{matrix}\right\}$ in 27

/rɔ́ɔk/ is reduced to $\left\{\begin{matrix} àʔ \\ aʔ \end{matrix}\right\}$ in 28, 29

        "   ɔk   in 30-32

The chart shows the most reduced form possible for these particles when they are used in sentence final position. The word /náʔ/ always retains the initial but drops the final whereas /nâʔ/ can either retain the initial and drop the final or drop the initial and retain the final, depending upon the expression.

The words /láʔ/ (from /lɛ́ɛw/) and /làʔ/ (from /lèʔ/) always drop the initial and keep the glottal stop. Their tones can also be leveled towards mid tone. However, /lâʔ/ (from /lâw/) tends to drop both the initial and the final leaving only the vocalic and the tone /â/, except as in item number (31) where the initial /l/ remains.

The particle /rɔ́ɔk/ is rather unusual in changing to àʔ or aʔ since the original and reduced forms do not share consonants or vowels, and unlike /lɛ́ɛw/ (which becomes first /láʔ/ and then áʔ or aʔ), it changes from /rɔ́ɔk/ directly into àʔ. The process for this reduction involves:

a) vowel shortening: rɔ́ɔk → rɔ̀k
b) vowel shifting: rɔ̀k → ràk
c) glottal stop replacing final: ràk → ràʔ
d) initial consonant deleting: ràʔ → àʔ
e) tone neutralising: àʔ → aʔ

Steps (a), (b) and (c) are the same as those which occur in the reduction of /lɛ́ɛw/ except that there is no particle /ràʔ/ derived from /rɔ́ɔk/ as /láʔ/ is derived from /lɛ́ɛw/.

However, in certain situations the final reduction of this particle is ɔ̀k or ɔk which means that only rule (a) and (d) apply (rɔ́ɔk → rɔ̀k → ɔ̀k). It is also possible to apply only rule (a) (→ rɔ̀k).

The reduced forms above show great similarity in that they share the vocalic nucleus (a low, central, unrounded vowel). The dropping of the initial in the most reduced form causes difficulty in an attempt to determine the underlying form since Thai allows linking between words. For example, níi and nán ('this' and 'that') are often linked with these particles becoming:

	A	B	C	D
I.	niˆi + nâ?		→ ní + â?	→ <u>nía?</u>
II.	niˆi + lâw → niˆi + lâ?	→ ní + â	→ <u>nía</u>
III.	niˆi + lὲ? → niˆi + lâ?	→ ní + à? }→ <u>nía?</u>
			a?	
IV.	niˆi + rɔ́ɔk		→ ní + á? }→ <u>nía?</u>
			a?	

etc. and

	A	B	C	D
V.	nán + nâ?		→ nán + â? → <u>nánnâ?</u>
VI.	nán + lâw → nán + lâ?	→ nán + â → <u>nánnâ</u>
VII.	nán + lὲ? → nán + lâ?	→ nán + à? → <u>nánnà?</u>
			a? → <u>nánna?</u>
VIII.	nán + rɔ́ɔk		→ nán + à? → <u>nánnà?</u>
			a? → <u>nánna?</u>

(/lὲέw/ and /ná?/ are often used with clearer speech like that in column C.)

In the chart above, column D is the final reduction as uttered in fast speech; column C has the same elements as uttered in speech slower than that of D, and thus the forms remain two syllables. Column B shows another possible derivation (/lâw/ → /lâ?/ and /lὲ?/ → /lâ?/) which can also be used in slow and clear speech. The citation form is that in column A whereas D is the most common in speech.

In examples I through IV an open syllable with a long vowel is combined with the final reduction of the particles; in such cases the word preceding the particle undergoes vowel shortening as shown in column C and D. The tone of the final particle seems to be of less weight than that of the preceding word, and is usually neutralised. The tone of the new derivation in column D thus takes the tone of that preceding word.

(Thus, niˆi + $\begin{Bmatrix} â? \\ à? \\ a? \end{Bmatrix}$ → nía?).

(Other examples are nîi + â? → nîa?, nîi + à? → nîa?, etc.)

In the first group, I, II and IV have the same reduced form after the linking process; however, they are used in different situations, for example:

I. mây chây rɔ̀k, ?an <u>nía?</u> ← mây chây rɔ́ɔk ?an niˆi /nâ?/
II.   ?an <u>nía?</u> ←   ?an niˆi /lὲ?/
IV.   mây chây ?an <u>nía?</u> ←   mây chây   ?an niˆi /rɔ́ɔk/

(Note: mây chây = *'not'*, negative; ?an = classifier for things; niˆi = *'this'*)

Example I is the expression of an afterthought topic (as in (3d)).

Example II is an answer, confirming that a particular topic is the one being discussed (as in (27)).

Example IV is simply a negative statement with negative particle /rɔ̀ɔk/ at the end which is the most common use (as in (28)).

The second group operates the same way except that the word preceding the particle is a closed syllable. Since the form of the final reductions of the particles has no initial consonant, when the two syllables are put together the final consonant of the preceding syllable becomes an ambisyllabic consonant, that is, it functions both as the final consonant of the preceding syllable and the initial consonant of the following syllable.

Confusion also may arise when one of these particles appears in sequence, either with another member of the same group or with other final particles, such as those indicating degree of politeness or formality, including those cited on the first page here. The glottal stop at the end of the reduced forms above, according to the phonological rule, will be dropped when those forms are followed by other particles. In addition, the tone will sometimes be levelled (towards mid tone), which makes most of the forms sound similar, including those of /ná?/ and /lá?/ which usually are more distinctive than the others discussed in this paper. Examples of this are:

_I_	_will_	_sit_	_here_	+ pt	+ polite pt
chǎn	ca	nâŋ	thîi	nîi /lɛ̀?/	/khâ?/
chǎn	ca	nâŋ	thîi	nîa?	(without polite particle)
chǎn	ca	nâŋ	thîi	nîa	khâ (polite particle)

_go_	+ pt	+ question pt
pay	/lá?/	/rɯ̆ɯ/
pay	á?	(without question particle)
pay	á	ləə̆ (with Q pt which derives to ləə̆)

Thus the final reduction with the glottal stop at the end only occurs when the particle is in sentence-final position. If another final particle follows it, the glottal stop is always dropped. The most reduced form of these particles, then, seems to be a with different tones and very often mid tone.

N O T E S

1. / / indicates the underlying form or the tentative form according to the spelling. _____ (underline) indicates the actual spoken form of the particle.

2. For a stronger expression of this type sometimes the vowel is lengthened. This also applies in the use of number 1 as well.

3. Rules of Thai orthography make it impossible to represent a mid tone on a short vowel. These two forms นะ and อะ would be read in isolation with a low and a high tone respectively. Nevertheless, these forms would be read with mid tone in the proper context.

4. In Bangkok Thai /r/ is often replaced by /l/ in spoken language. Thus, ลอก is used as well.

5. Vowel shifting: low front vowel → low central vowel (ε → a).
                        [−central]

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