Phonological variation and change in the Khmu dialects of Northern Thailand¹

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Although in Thailand Khmu is just a small ethnic minority, a remnant of a much bigger group in Laos, Khmu dialects are scattered along the Thai-Lao border in Nan and Chiengrai provinces and provide an ideal subject for the study of phonological variation and the so-called "register-tone development process." Synchronic variation can often indicate diachronic change. Cross-dialectal phonetic variation has important implications for Khmu historical phonology.

The Khmu in Chiengrai emigrated from Laos across the Mae Khong river to Thailand about 40-50 years ago; the Khmu in Nan have lived in their present and nearby locations for a long time. Some of them may have moved down from old villages further north. Some knew that their ancestors came from the Luangprabang area in Laos. There are about 10 Khmu villages in Chiengrai with a population of about 3,000 speakers, whereas in Nan there are about 20 villages with about 6,000 speakers. The synchronic structures of various Khmu dialects differ from one another phonologically, lexically, and syntactically. Speakers of one dialect do not have much contact with speakers of other dialects which they call /tmɔ́:i/, but they do have contact with the Khmu of the same dialect which they call /kún tá: j kún hé:m/ 'sister villages'. On the other hand, they have a lot of contact with local Tai speakers living in the same area who are mainly Northern Thai and Tai Lue.

This paper analyzes phonological variation in five Khmu dialects. These dialects are spoken in the following villages:

1. Huey Yen village, Chiengkhong district, and Huey Ian village, King Wiengkaen district, Chiengrai province = Dial(1)²

¹ The author would like to thank Dr. David Thomas and Dr. Robert Bauer for editing this paper, and providing helpful suggestions and comments.

² The data for this dialect is based on the author's *Thai-Khmu-English Dictionary*, 1993.

- 2. Nam Pan, Huey Moy villages, King Songkhwai district, Nan province = Dial(2a)³ and Ban Maj Chajdan village, King Songkhwai district, Nan province = Dial(2b). These two dialects are in fact the same dialect but while the Dial(2a) may have several word structures for one word Dial(2b) has only one consistent word structure.
- 3. Nam Sot and Phu Kham villages, Thung Chang district, Nan province = Dial(3)

4. Pa Phae village, Wieng Sa district, Nan province = Dial (4)

5. Huey Puk and Huey Hai villages, Muang district, Nan province = Dial(5)

The phonological structure of these Khmu dialects is discussed here in terms of word and syllable structure, and segmental and suprasegmental phonemes. The data used for discussion here was mainly obtained or rechecked from the most recent field work done in February 1994. The informants for each dialect are over 35 years of age.

1. Word and syllable structures

The Khmu syllable structure comprises one or more consonants and a vowel and may be of two types, unstressed presyllable and stressed main syllable. The main syllable canon is 'C(C)V(C).

A phonological word in Khmu may have one, two, or three syllables. A word has only one strong stress, which is always on the last syllable. The phonological word structures in Khmu are:

Monosyllabic word 'C(C)V(C): ['tráːk] 'buffalo', ['raː] 'to wash', ['pɔh] 'dust'

Disyllabic word C(C)V(C) 'C(C)V(C): [kɨm'póŋ] 'head', [lawaːŋ] 'sky' [m̞'raŋ] 'horse', [n̞'kur] 'storm'

Trisyllabic word C(C)V₁C(C)V(C)'C(C)VC: [trəˌlap'táːp] 'butterfly' [cəˌlɛn'téŋ] 'dragonfly'

³ The data for this dialect is based mainly on Preedaporn Srisakorn's *The Sound System of Khmu at Nampan in Nan*, 1984.

In general, monosyllabic and disyllabic words are common and trisyllabic words are rare. The presyllable in most of the disyllabic words is generally believed to be a fossil of affixation, a Mon-Khmer characteristic. As shown in the variation of word structures in Khmu dialects below, the unstressed presyllable is sometimes deleted either partially or entirely.

1.1. Variation of word structures in different Khmu dialects

Word structures may vary in different Khmu dialects as shown in the following table. In Dial (2b) words are monosyllabic, whereas in the other dialects they are either monosyllabic or disyllabic.

Dial(1)	Dial(2 (a)	(b)	Dial(3)	Dial(4)	Meaning
cmkin	cmkin/ mkin	kɨn	smkin	cmkin	'female'
h?iər	h?iər	?iər	7iəj	?iəj/jial	'chicken'
khmu?	khmu?	mu?	khmú?	kamhmu?	'Khmu people'
ptə?	ptə?	tə?	ktə?	ptə?	'smoke'
sm?ir	m?ir	?ir	bil	h?ir	'to smell'
tmra?	mra?	ra?	tmphla?/ mpha?	tmbra?	'charcoal stove'
ch?aːŋ	ch?a:ŋ	?ລະ ກ	s?â:ŋ	c?a:ŋ	'bone'
cmpɨəŋ	mp i əŋ	p i əŋ	mp i əŋ	cmpiəŋ	'straw'
h?e़?	h?e?	?e?	?é?	h?e?	'firewood'
kma?	kba?	ma?	kmá?	kma?	'rain'
kmla:t	mlə:t	lạ:t	mpə:t	kmlə:t	'to swallow'
kmɲɛ̞ŋ	m ກ ຂຸກ	ງາຮູ້ເຖ	smjaŋ/kn	າjaŋɲɛːŋ	'to listen'
kntii:ŋ	nţi:ŋ	ti:ŋ	kti:ŋ	ti:ŋ	'to fall down'
kntuər	ntuər	tuər	ntûəl/j	kntuəl	'neck'
pnir	pdir	nɨr	pnɨl/j	pnir	'wing'
pnsɨm	nsɨm	sɨm	psim	psɨm	'to plant'
rŋko?	rŋkọ?	kọ?	ŋko?	ŋko?	'husked rice'
scam	scam	cain	kacâ:ŋ/ kachâ:ŋ	sacain	'elephant'
tm?as	m?as	<i>?as</i>	tmbeh	tm?es	'to sneeze'
tmkɔ?	tmko?	ko?	mphlá?/ mpá?	mbra?	'wife'

It is obvious that Dial(1) has the fuller form of disyllabic words whereas Dial(2) has variations. Most words in Dial(2a) have disyllabic structure though in many cases the initial consonant of the presyllable is lost and the presyllable becomes

a syllabic nasal whereas Dial(2b) drops most of the presyllable, making monosyllabic words. Dial(3) and Dial(4) also show variation in the word structure though not as obvious and consistent as Dial(2).

1.2. Variation of word structure within Dialect (2a)

Looking at the word structure within a dialect, we see variation similar to that found between different dialects. The main differences are found in the loss of the presyllable (including the nasal syllable), the simplification of consonant cluster, some difference in vowels, and differences in pitch level. Dial(2a) provides a good illustration.

1.2.1 Loss of presyllable

In Dial(2a) some of the presyllables which are not stressed have variant forms which show various stages of syllabicity: full syllable, half syllable, deletion of the whole syllable, or keeping only the main syllable.

1 (2 syllable	es)	2 (1 1/2 syllat	ole)	3 (1 syllable)	Meaning
prlia cmkin crŋa:j prthuh prci: prna:j tmko? kamran hmte? rmhe? rŋko?	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	rlio mkin rŋaːj rthuh rci: rnəːj mkɔ? mraŋ mte? rhe?/mhe? ŋko?		lio kin naij thuh ci: naij ko? ran te? ko?	'fire' 'woman, girl' 'to have a cold' 'carelessly' 'to remember' 'fan' 'wife' 'horse' 'to howl' 'sinew, vessel' 'milled rice'
		-J×-			

Speakers of different age groups do not pronounce the words in the same way. The speakers over 30 tend to use the fuller form of disyllabic words as in columns 1 and 2 above, whereas people younger than 30 tend to use monosyllabic words dropping the presyllable as in column 3.

1.2.2 Loss of syllabic nasal

mpu:r	~	puir	'skin'
nchim	~	chim	'soft'
ŋkhị:n	~	khi:n	'yesterday'
ple? mpi:r	~	ple? pi:r	'pumkin'
nthe?	~	the?	'below'
mກຣູກ	~	ກຂຸກ	'to listen, believe'
ntheh	~	theh	'bowl'
nsim	~	sɨm	'to plant'
mkin	~	kɨn	'woman'
ntạŋ	~	tạŋ	'brain'
mran	~	rạŋ	'horse'
nsal	~	sal	'galanga (a kind of spice)'
nlah	~	lah	'to be broken'
ŋkɔːt	~	ko:t	'to cough'
mpho?	~	pho?	'ox'
mpon	~	poŋ	'head'
mr53	~	t5j	'male'
% •		- 24 -	

1.2.3 Change in consonant clusters

Consonant clusters /tr-, thr-, cr-, chr-, sr-/ change to /kr-, khr-/ and any nasal presyllable is lost.

tra:k	>	kra:k	'buffalo'
trəh	>	khrəh	'to pull out'
crip	>	kr i p	'to close the lid'
chru?	>	khru?	'deep'
sre?	>	khre?	'sand'
sra?	>	khra?	'a kind of edible plant'
sro?	>	khro?	'taro'
sruət	>	khruət	'morning'
nthṛị:k	>	khṛị:k	'a kind of peel eaten with betel'
nthru:p	·>	khru:p	'to turn upside down'
nthṛɨŋ	>	khṛɨŋ	'hom'
nthṛị:	>	khṛ <u>i</u> :	'to demolish, collapse'
nthrə:j	>	khra:j	'wind'
nthrias	>	khrios	'to comb'
knthrɔːŋ/ nthrɔːn	>	khrɔ̞ːŋ	'back, roof'

1.2.4 Change of vowel from \ni to a in presyllable

pənpi:k	>	panpi:k	'to make the water muddy'
pənseh	>	panseh	'to cause of fall'
pəntr i m	>	pantrim	'to cause to be smooth'

pənkhar	>	pankhar	'to cause to be straight'
pənla:c	>	panlac	'to loose'
pənla:h	>	panla:h	'to cause to be broken'
pənpak	>	panpak	'to cause to be broken'

1.2.5 Change of pitch level from high to low

rəkét --> rəkèt 'to think'

2. Segmental phonemes

2.1 Consonants

2.1.1 Initial consonants

The general initial consonant system may be charted as follows.

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl. unasp. vl. asp. vd.	p ph b*	t th d*	c ch J*	k kh g*	?
Fricatives			S	3	_	h
Nasals	vd. vl. (preasp.)	m hm*	n hn*	ր hր*	ŋ hŋ*	
Lateral	vd. vl. (preasp.)		l hl*			
Trill/Flap	vd.		r*			
Approximants	vl. (preasp.) vd. vl. (preasp.)	w hw*	hr*	j hj*		

The * marks initial consonants that do not occur in all dialects.

While the consonant inventory of most Khmu dialects is basically similar, there are also important differences. Some dialects have the series of voiced initial stops contrasting with voiceless stops, some have voiceless continuants contrasting with voiced continuants, which are more common. In the following examples Dial(4) provides examples with voiced initial stops, whereas Dial(3) and Dial(4) provide examples with voiceless continuants.

It should be noted here that in the voiced stop series, the b and d in dial(1) are clearly implosive, dial(2) and (3) have

normal voiced stop, and dial(4) is a kind of prenasalized stop. An instrumental study of certain consonants may be needed.

Examples given below present variation in initial consonant of different dialects.

a) Variation in the initial stops with voiceless aspirated, voiceless unaspirated and voiced stops in contrast.

Dial(1)	Dial(2a, b)	Dial(3)	Dial(4)	Meaning
pri?	phri?	kວະŋpli?/pĭ?	bri?	'forest'
pa:r	pha:r	pha:l/j	ba:r/l	'two'
ka:ŋ	khạ:ŋ	ka:ŋ	gaːŋ	'house'
ku:n	khu:n	kù:n	gu:n	'to see'
puic	phụ:c	pu:c/t	buic	'rice wine'
par	pha:	pa:	ba:	'you (female)'
ķį:	khi:	ki:	giː	'here'
k <u>i</u> t	khit	kit	gɨt	'to chop'
klan	khla:ŋ	klà:ŋ	gla:ŋ	'stone'
kle?	khle?	klè?/kè?	gle?	'husband'
klə?	khlລູ?	klò?/kò?	glə?	'hair'
ktah	kthah	ktah	kdah	'forehead'
plu?	phlu?	plù?/pù?	blu?	'thigh'
plạ:ŋ	plạ:ŋ	plà:ŋ/pà:ŋ	blo:ŋ	'rattan'
pok	phok	pòk	bok	'to cut a tree'
poh	phọh	poh	boh	'ash'
priəl	phr i əl	phɨəl/j	biər	'to be alive, living'
priəŋ	phrian	priəŋ/piəŋ	briəŋ	'other people'
pu?	phụ?	pù?	bu?	'breast feeding'
pụŋ	phụŋ	pù ŋ	buŋ	'mud'
ten	then	ten	den	'to sit'
ţin	thin	tin	din	'to stand'

b) Variations in voiced and voiceless continuants. Not only $r \sim hr \sim l \sim hl \sim h$ but also $w \sim hw$, $N \sim hN$, and $m \sim hm \sim sm$ are in variation in different dialects, and in some cases they are also used in free variation in the same dialect, especially in Dial(3) and Dial(4).

Dial(1)	Dial(2) (a, b)	Dial(3)	Dial(4)	Meaning
la?	la?	hlá?	hla?	'leaf'
loŋ	loŋ	hlóŋ	hloŋ	'to forget'
riəŋ	riəŋ	hliəŋ	hriəŋ	'gut, intestine'
roij	rozj	ró:j/hó:j	hro:j	'ghost, spirit'
rain	rain	hlá:ŋ	hra:ŋ	'teeth'
2		L 49 /L 1 49 /L 49	h9	(C-14)

wa:k	wa:k	wá:k	hwa:k	'earthworm'
wa?	wa?	wá?	hwa?	'monkey'
nta:k	nta:k/ta:k	ntá:k	hnta:k	'tongue'
ŋaːp	ŋaːp	há:p	hŋa:p	'to yawn'
nam	nam	nám	hnam	'big'
mę?	me?	me?	hme?	'new'
rıçqma	mpər/pər	-	hmpo:r	'tamarind'
			hrja?/hja?	'cloth bag'
khmu?	khmu?/mu?	khmú?	kmhmu?	'Khmu people'

c) Variation in the use of consonant clusters:

Dial(1)	Dial(2) (a)	Dial(2) (b)	Dial(3)	Dial(4)	Meaning
tra:k kraŋ	thra:k khraŋ	kra:k khraŋ	thrá:k/thá:k khraŋ/khlaŋ/ khaŋ	thra:k graŋ	'buffalo' 'strong'
cntran cries cru? kle? kle?	ntran chrias chru?/tru? khla? khla?	khraŋ khias khru?/khu? khle? khla?	nthràŋ/nthàŋ nthriəs chrù? klè?/kè? klè?/kò?	ntran nciəs yru? gle? glə?	'post' 'to comb' 'deep' 'husband' 'to see'

d) Variation in the initial consonant of the presyllable:

ch?a:ŋ	c?a:ŋ	? ລ ະກ	s?á:ŋ	c?a:ŋ	'bone'
cmk i n	mkin	kɨn	smkín	cmkin	'female'
cmr ₂ ?	mrɔ̯ʔ	rɔ̯?	smphrò?	cmro?	'male'
cntah	cntah	tah	sntáh/sntáh	cntah	'shrimp'

e) Variation in other initial consonants:

Dial(1)	Dial(2)	Dial(3)	Dial(4)	Meaning
?iək h?iər nɛ? cat ciən h?ir	?iək h?iər/?iər ne? cat chiəŋ h?ir/?ir	jíak Yiaj pe?/je? ját/cát - Yil/khYij	?iək ?iəj/jiəl nɛ? cát jiən h?ir	'to drink' 'chicken' 'small' 'sour' 'foot' 'good smell'
h?jə	hໃjə/ໃjə	jiə/ʔiə	h?iə	'sweet'

2.1.2 Final Consonants

The general final consonant system may be charted as follows.

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p	t	c*	k	?
Fricative		s*			h
Nasal	m	n	n*	ŋ	
Trill/Flap		r*	-		
Lateral		1			
Semivowel	w			j	

The * marks final consonants which do not appear in all dialects.

Among these four Khmu dialects the following final consonant correspondences have been found:

consonant correspondences have been found:						
Dial(1, 2, 4)			Dial(3)			
-r -l -n -c -s			-l, -j -j -n, (- j -t -h	1)		
Dial(1)	Dial(2) (a, b)	Dial(3)	Dial(4)	Meaning		
ma:r mar kntuər cu:r	ma:r mar ntuər chụ:r	mâ:j mal/maj ntûəl/ntûəj cù:l/cù:j	ma:r mar kntuəl cu:r	'salt' 'snake' 'neck' 'to go down'		
kir kor mpiər	kir khọr mpiər/piər	kij kol/koj mpiəl/mpiəj	kir gor mpiər	finger nail' 'thunder' 'to scratch with 'flat bamboo tray' of the animal'		
pair plior pnir tir huol kuol pain pin plec tm?as	phạir pliar pdɨr/nɨr tɨ:r hual khual phạin pin plec mʔas/ʔas	pa:l/pa:j pî:al/pî:aj pî:l/pî:aj ti:l/ti:j hú:al/hú:aj kû:al/kû:aj pa:p/pa:n pi:p/pi:n plét tmbéh	ba:r mplior/pior pnir ti:r huol kuol ba:n pin plec tm?es	'two' 'hail' 'wing' 'to fly' 'bear' 'rice mortar' 'to get drunk' 'to shoot a gun' 'to clean inner part 'to sneeze'		
umas	111145/148	unuen	unies	M SHEEZE		

2.1.3 Age-conditioned variants

In Nam Sot, Thung Chang district, Nan province, (Dial3) there is a clear difference in pronunciation between people over 30 years old and those under 30.

1) Initial consonants

a) The simplification of consonant clusters: *pl-, phl-, thl-, kl-,* and *khl-* become *p-, ph-, th-, k-, kh-* respectively as in the following example:

Over 30	Under 30	Meaning
plé?/pé?	plé?/pé?	'fruit'
mplə:t	mpə:t	'to swallow'
pléc/péc	pét	'to clean the internal organ of animal'
pľiət	pîət	'to cut short the wood'
pla:	pla:/pa:	'to cook by mincing raw meat'
pleh	pεh	'flat taste'
phlí?	phí?	'peppery hot'
ko:ŋ phli?	ko:ŋ phi?	'forest'
phli:ŋ	phi:ŋ	'drum'
thlâ:k	thâ:k	'buffalo'
nthlaŋ	nthaŋ	'post'
nthlòh	nthòh	'to be boiled'
nthlɨŋ/nthɨŋ	nthɨŋ	'horn'
klà?	kò?	'hair'
klà:ŋ/kà:ŋ	klà:ŋ/kà:ŋ	'stone'
klép/kép	kép/kép	'shoulder'
klè?	klè?/kè?	'husband'
klíh	kíh	'to do wrong'

b) The loss of the lateral articulation leaving only the glottal fricative: $hl \sim h$

Over 30	Under 30	Meaning
hlà:ŋ	hlà:ŋ/hà:ŋ	'tooth'
hľiaŋ/hiaŋ	hîoŋ	'intestine'
hli:	hi:	'to pull'
hla:	ha:	'to wash'
hláh/háh	háh	'to get up'
hlé?	hé?	'field, farm'

c) Other correspondences: $? \sim j$, $c \sim s$, $ch \sim th \sim s$, $k \sim kh$, and $p \sim j$

Over 30	Under 30	Meaning
Tłak calian/calian canim chimkin cale?/sale? chian kampan/ kamjan	jiok calion/salion canim/sanim thimkin/simkin sale? sion khamjan	'to drink' 'roofing grass' 'medicine' 'female' 'to run' 'pig' 'to listen'

2) Final Consonants

The variation between final -l and -j, occur in words in Dial.3 which have a final -r in other dialects.

Dial(1)	Dial(3)		Meaning
	Over 30	Under 30	
mar	mal	maj	'snake'
h?iər	?່າວໄ	7iəj	'chicken'
pnɨr	pənil	pənij	'wing'
mpu:r	mpû:l	mpû:j	'skin'
kntuər	ntûəl	ntûəj	'neck'
khu:l	khû:l	khû:j	'hair'
ktel	kətel	kətej	'stomach'
mpiər	mpîəl	mpîəj	'bamboo tray'
kuəl	kûəl	kûəl/kûəj	'rice motar'
ກວະເ	ŋô:l	ŋô:j	'way'
pa:r	pâ:l	pâ:j	'two'
kor	khól	khôj	'to scratch'
kwa:l	kwa:l	kwa:j	'to bark'
hur	hûl	hûj	'to blow'
tɨːr	ti:l	G:j	'to fly'
cuir	cù:l	cû:j	'to go down'
hɨəl	hiəl	h î əj	'to vomit'
hu:r	hû:l	hû:j	'rotten'
he:l	hê:l	hê:j	'to cut grass'
ha:l	hâ:l	hâːj	'to peel with knife'
ŋar	ŋàl	ŋàj	'cool'

It should be noted that for many people -r, -l and -j seem to be in free variation. They may prefer one sound but they are ready to change to the other two sounds if they are speaking to people who use those sounds. Final -r occurs in Dial(3) but only in the speech of older people who use it in free variation with -l.

For other final consonants, final -n has also been found corresponding to -n or -n

samên	samên	'star'
pîn/pîn	pîŋ	'to shoot'
kû:n	kû:n	'to see'
kên	kên	'to stab'

2.2 Vowels

The Khmu vowel system is rather simple. Most dialects have a nine vowel system in which length is contrastive, and there are three diphthongs. Only some dialects have the long central back yowel A:.

		Unrounded	Rounded
	Front	Central Back	Back
High	i ir	i i:	u u:
Mid	e e:	a ar	O OI
Low	13 3	a a: *^:	o or
	iə	iə	uə

3. Suprasegmental phonemes

Suprasegmental phonemes in Khmu are rather complex. Both within dialects and between dialects of Khmu they are very complex.

Using register, based on Henderson (1952), as a framework in which to explain Khmu suprasegmental features, we can arrive at the solution.

Register (also called register complex) refers to the linguistic phenomenon that several suprasegmental features tend to work together as a complex group rather than as individual features. In Mon-Khmer languages these clustering features tend to include voice quality, pitch, voicing of the initial consonant, vowel height, and vowel gliding. The voice quality ranges from breathy to clear (modal) to creaky. The pitch ranges from high to mid to low. The voicing refers to voiced and voiceless initial consonants. The vowel height refers to close or open vowels. The vowel gliding refers to onglide, plain, and offglide. The tension refers to tenseness and laxness. The

register complex affects the whole syllable not just the vowel. Normally one or two features of the register complex will become more prominent in one language.

The four Khmu dialects discussed plus Dial(5) provide examples for discussion here. They contain most of the suprasegmental features just mentioned. However, different features have been exploited by different dialects. The voicing contrast is exploited by Dial(4), while voice quality is exploited by Dial (1) and (2), and in Dial (2) some initial stops are aspirated. Dial(3) and Dial(5) contrast high and low pitches.

Dial(1)*	Dial(2a,b)	Dial(3)	Dial(4)	Dial(5)	Meaning
can	chạŋ	càn 🍃	jaŋ	càŋ	'to weigh'
caŋ	caŋ	cáŋ	caŋ	cáŋ	'to be astringent'
kun	khụ:ɲ	kù:n	gu:n	kù:n	'to see'
ku:n	ku:ɲ	kú:n	ku:n	kú:n	'elder male relative'
ŋე?	ŋე?	ŋò?	ŋɔ?	ŋò?	'to fear'
ŋ ວ?	ŋ ວ?	ŋ ó ?	hŋɔ?/hɔ?	უ ე?	'paddy rice'
pụ:c	phụ:c	pù:c/pù:t	buic	pù:c	'rice wine'
puic	pu:c	pú:c/pú:t	puic	pú:c	'to take off'
cam	chạm	càm	јат	càm	'to soak in water'
cam	cam	cám	cam	cám	'a kind of trap'
klan	khlan	klà:ŋ	gla:ŋ	klà:ŋ	'stone, pebble'
klan	kla:ŋ	klá:ŋ	klan	klá:ŋ	'eagle'
la?	la?	-	la?	là?	'to go for pleasure'
la?	la?	hlá?	hla?	lá?	'leaf'
part	phạ:t	pà:t	ba:t	pà:t	'to sharpen wood'
pa:t	pa:t	pá:t	pa:t	pá:t	'to slice (meat)'
pak	phak	pàk	bak	pàk	'to ride'
pak	pak	pák	pak	pák	'to break'
plɔ̞ːŋ	plລະຫ	plà:ŋ/pà:ŋ		plò:ŋ	'rattan'
plom	plo:ŋ	pló:ŋ/pó:ŋ		plớ:ŋ	'calf of leg'
pok	phok	pòk	bok	pòk	'to cut a tree'
pok	pok	pók	pok	pók	'to take a bite'
böj	ph23	pò?	bo?	?ćq	'to carry a baby with piece of cloth'
po?	po?	-	po?	pó?	'to sweep'
pụ ŋ	phụŋ	pùŋ	buŋ	pùŋ	'mud'
puŋ	puŋ	púŋ	puŋ	púŋ	'to blow
					(instrument)'
pụ:m	phụ:m	pù:m	bu:m	pù:m	'to chew'
pu:m	pu:m	pú:m	pu:m	pú:m	'to fart'
rạ:ŋ	rạ:ŋ	la:ŋ	ra:ŋ	rà:ŋ	'flower'
ra:ŋ	ra:ŋ	hlá:ŋ/ha:ŋ	hram	rá:ŋ	'tooth'
tar	thar	sale?	dar	tàr	'to run'

tar	tar	-	tar	tár	'rattan band for
					carrying basket'
wa:k	wa:k	wà:k	wa:k	wà:k	'earthworm'
wa:k	wa:k	-	hwa:k	wá:k	'to be chipped'
wat	wat	wàt	wat	wàt	'to pierce'
wat	wat	wát	hwat	wát	'to throw'

Dial(5) has been added here to show another dialect of Khmu which is very close to Dial(1) but in Dial(5) pitch is contrastive while Dial(1) voice quality is contrastive. The difference between Dial(1) and Dial(5) is quite obvious from auditory impression as well as from the speakers' intuition.

The variation of suprasegmental features in different Khmu dialects indicates an aspect of historical development of Khmu phonology. Huffman's hypothesis of stages of register complex in 15 Mon-Khmer languages (1976) can be partly applied in explaining the stages of phonological change or the register-tone development process in Khmu.

Dial(4), with voicing contrast in the initial consonant, shows the early stage of the development. The voiced and voiceless initial consonants with no vowel difference show this dialect is a conservative type of dialect.

Dial(1) and Dial(2), with voice quality contrast, indicate that the initial consonant has lost the voicing and the whole syllable is associated with the register complex especially laxness and tenseness. It is noticeable that the laxness or breathiness is stronger in words with initial stops. Initial stops in Dial(2) are also associated with aspiration as well as the laxness.

Dial(3) and Dial(5), with pitch contrast, show that the initial consonants have lost the voicing contrast. Acoustic studies have found that voiced consonants are associated with low pitch, whereas voiceless consonants are associated with high pitch, and in Khmu this is the normal interdialectal correspondence. Dial(5) has obviously two contrastive tones, whereas Dial(3) has two contrastive tones with the tendency to develop a four tone system. Dial(5) is similar to Dial(1) in terms of syllable structure, choice of lexicon, and final consonants, etc. However, for the suprasegmental feature it has developed a contrastive tone system, whereas Dial(1) has developed a contrastive register system.

As a result, some dialects of Khmu, such as Dial(3) and Dial(5), have become tone languages. The presyllable is reduced in one way or another, phonation is less prominent or even disappears; but the pitch differences can be heard clearly. These are high and low tones with a tendency to develop a four tone system in Dial(3). Other dialects are at different stages of the process. Dial(1) has developed a tense-lax register system in the same way as Dial(2a,b), except that the latter has added aspiration to the initial stop of the lax/breathy register syllable. Dial(4) is the most conservative by retaining the voicing contrast. It is a non-tonal non-register language.

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