

# LINGUISTIC DEVICES IN A MALAY FOLKTALE FROM CENTRAL THAILAND

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## Introduction

The Malays of Nonthaburi, a province of central Thailand, form a closely knit community which comprises more than a dozen villages.<sup>1</sup> They are descended from a group of war captives who were carried away from the northern Malay sultanate of Patani in the late eighteenth century. The captives originally settled in the village of Tha It, north of Bangkok, from where they gradually spread out to establish new villages. While members of the younger generation now speak Thai as their mother tongue, some older members of the community are bilingual in Thai and Malay. The local Malay dialect is a descendant of Patani Malay, though it developed independently and shows much stronger signs of interference from Thai.

The Malays of Nonthaburi have preserved precious little of their literature. Literacy in *Jawi* (Malay written in an Arabic-derived alphabet) is very low, and *Rumi* (Romanized Malay) is practically unknown. Oral literature has almost completely vanished as well. From the accounts of older villages, it appears that oral literature traditions were maintained until World War II, when political and economic hardships caused their rapid demise.

Another factor which hastened the decline of Nonthaburi Malay oral literature was the advent of mass media, such the press, radio, and television. Listening to the radio and, later, watching television have become the principal sources of entertainment for Malay villagers. These media use the Thai language.<sup>2</sup> In addition, Malay is no longer seen as the proper medium for telling stories and jokes; Thai is now used for that domain.

The folk tale--only one of several literary genres previously current in the Malay villages of Nonthaburi--is called /*bayi*/ (or /*bahyi*/, as pronounced by the oldest villagers). This word occurs in Patani Malay as /*bayi*/ or /*buhayi*/, and is defined by Wilding (1979:20) as 'a fable, an entertaining story'. The Standard Malay cognate, *bahari*, means 'ancient'. Older villagers often reminisced about their childhood, before the advent of radio and television, when they used to listen to folktales:

My grandfather was very good at telling folktales. Every night he would tell us folktales. Two hours, three hours, [or even] all night long. He was very skillful. He would tell [folktales] each and every night (HR65M 3-6-92).

The topics of the stories were poor people, kings, fools, and various animals--especially frogs and rabbits (or mousedeer; the two are sometimes confused in Nonthaburi Malay). Apparently, many tales were constructed around puns or other linguistic devices, which are no longer understood by speakers of the Nonthaburi Malay dialect. I quote from my field journal:

After pleading with HR64M to try to recall one of his grandfather's tales, he came up with bits and pieces of a story about a frog which always had delicious rice to eat. When asked where it got his rice, the frog answered (and this was the punch line) that the rice was bought at 'Dog Face Market' (/talat muk<sup>h</sup>o haŋin/). Much as he tried, HR64M could not explain why this was funny, although he did recall that people used to find it hilarious. Obviously this was some kind of play on words, whose meaning had been lost (Field Journal 4-12-92).

### The Tale

Below is a phonemic transcription (with interlinear translation) of one the most complete and cohesive folk tales I have been able to collect. It is particularly interesting because of the various linguistic devices employed. It was recited by AWL93M<sup>3</sup>.

ʔadɔ	satu <sup>4</sup>	ʔɔyi <sup>ʌ</sup> ŋ	miskin <sup>5</sup> ,	duwɔ	laki	bini <sup>6</sup> .
exist	one	person	poor,	two	husband	wife.

diyɔ <sup>7</sup>	tupi <sup>ʌ</sup> ŋ	umɔh	nihan <sup>8</sup>	na <sup>9</sup> ,	umɔh	ʔɔyi <sup>ʌ</sup> ŋ.	bkah <sup>10</sup>
3per.	stay	house	tycoon	part.,	house	people.	place

dudo <sup>?</sup>	ta <sup>?</sup>	dɔ <sup>?</sup> ʔ <sup>11</sup> ,	do <sup>?</sup>	umɔh	ʔɔyi <sup>ʌ</sup> ŋ	kayɔ <sup>12</sup> .	jadi
live	no	have,	live	house	person	rich.	be

ʔanoʔ ʔupoh<sup>13</sup> lamo-lamo<sup>14</sup>, poʔ diyɔ mati, poʔ  
 child hire a long time, father 3per. die, father

nihaj diyɔ mati. ʔanoʔ diyɔ hamaʔ taʔ  
 tycoon 3per. die. child 3per. chase away not

byi<sup>15</sup> doʔ. diyɔ doʔ, diyɔ toʔ pigi<sup>16</sup> lah. bo<sup>17</sup>  
 let stay. 3per. stay, 3per. not go part. when

hamaʔ diyɔ taʔ thu noʔ gi kano ni<sup>18</sup>.  
 chase away 3per. not know fut. go whither part.

hamaʔ banoʔ-banoʔ<sup>19</sup> kali taʔ gi, diyɔ baka<sup>20</sup>.  
 chase away many time not go, 3per. set fire.

baka ktɔʔ<sup>21</sup>, baka umoh diyɔ. ʔoyi<sup>14</sup> baka  
 set fire hut, set fire house 3per. people set fire

doʔ duwoʔ<sup>22</sup> bsa. bo baka hajuh habih, gi  
 be sin big. when set fire burn finish, go

smoh gajo. diyɔ mitɔʔ: 't<sup>h</sup>uwiaŋ ku<sup>23</sup>!' -'woʔpo<sup>24</sup>  
 greet king. 3per. ask: 'lord 1sg.!' -'why

de, toʔ<sup>25</sup>? -'ʔanoʔ nihaj suyoh baka umoh,  
 part. hon.?' -'child tycoon order burn house,

hajuh habih doh.<sup>26</sup> -'ʔado ʔapo gateʔ<sup>27</sup> umoh  
 burn finish perf.'. -'have what also house

toʔ c<sup>h</sup>e<sup>28</sup>? dali<sup>14</sup> umoh ʔado poʔ? -'ʔado ticiŋ<sup>29</sup>  
 hon. grandfather? inside house be what?' -'be ring

matɔ hiti<sup>14</sup> duwoʔ bute, tika byatay<sup>30</sup>, bata  
 jewel diamond two clas., mat golden, pillow

bliku<sup>31</sup>, piŋi<sup>Λ</sup>ŋ nagyi ʔaceh<sup>32</sup>, makoʔ nagyi rom<sup>33</sup>.  
 curved(?), plate country Aceh, bowl country Turkey’.

tu hoʔ diyɔ goyaʔ, gajo taʔ doʔ. gajo  
 that which 3per. tell, king not have. king

mŋiliŋ<sup>34</sup>, tapɔ ʔoŋi<sup>Λ</sup>ŋ kayɔ: -’woʔpɔ mu<sup>35</sup> baka  
 shake head, ask person rich: -’why 2sg. set fire

umohʔ’ -’bc<sup>h</sup>i, suyoh waʔ pɔ malah’.  
 house’ -’hate, order do something lazy’.

-’mu c<sup>h</sup>aŋi hoʔ baya lah! mu ʔado kdoʔ<sup>36</sup>:  
 -’2sg. search thing pay part.! 2sg. have part.:

ticiŋ matɔ hiti<sup>Λ</sup>ŋ duwɔ bute, tika byatay,  
 ring jewel diamond two clas., mat golden,

bata bliku, piŋi<sup>Λ</sup>ŋ nagyi ʔaceh, makoʔ  
 pillow curved(?), plate country Aceh, bowl

nagyi romʔ’ -’taʔ doʔ’. -’waʔ genɔ<sup>37</sup> lah, mu  
 country Turkey? -’not have’. -’do how part., 2sg.

saloh dohʔ’ -’mitɔʔ ʔaponʔ’. -’taʔ doʔ hargɔ. waʔ  
 wrong perf.? -’ask pardon’. -’not have price. do

genɔʔ toʔ noʔ baŋɔʔ manɔʔ’ tapɔ duwɔ laki  
 how? hon. want much inter.?’ ask two husband

bini. ’suyoh buwaʔ umoh sbuwah<sup>38</sup>, boleh doʔ waʔ  
 wife. ’order make house cl.-one, can live do

ʔama heŋɔ<sup>39</sup> mati. smɔʔ tu na'. diyɔ sni^ŋ  
 good deeds until die. much that part'. 3per. pleased

waʔ umɔh byi<sup>40</sup>, maki^ŋ<sup>41</sup> ʔɔyi^ŋ hata<sup>42</sup>.  
 make house give, food people bring.

### Free Translation

There was a poor couple. They stayed at a tycoon's, at someone else's house. They didn't have their own place to live, so they lived at the rich man's house. After they had worked under his employment for a long time, the man died. The tycoon died. His son sent them away, he didn't let them stay. But they stayed, they didn't go away. When he sent them away, they didn't know where to go. He sent them away many many times, but they didn't go, so he set fire to their house. He set fire to the hut, their house. To set fire is a great sin. After it was set on fire and completely burned down, they sought an audience with the king. He [the poor old man] pleaded: 'Milord!' -'What is it, Sir?' -'The tycoon's son ordered to set our house on fire, it's all burnt up now'. -'What did your house have? What was in the house?' -'Two diamond rings, a golden mat, a curved pillow, plates from Aceh, and bowls from Turkey'. The things which he described, even the king did not have. The king shook his head, and asked the rich man: 'Why did you set the house on fire?' -'I hate them! I tell them to do [things, but] they are lazy'. 'Look for things to pay them back with. Do you have two diamond rings, a golden mat, a curved pillow, plates from Aceh, and bowls from Turkey?' -'No'. -'So what shall we do, now that you have done wrong?' -'I ask for forgiveness'. 'That doesn't have any value, so what shall we do? Sir/Madam, how much would you like?' he asked the couple. -'Tell him to build us a house, so that we will be able to live in it and do meritorious deeds until we die. That's all we want'. And it pleased the king, [and he ordered the rich man] to build a house and have food provided for them.

### Linguistic Devices

The key to this tale and its wit lies in understanding linguistic devices associated with the five items the old man claimed to have had in his house which burned down: two diamond rings, a golden mat, curved pillows, plates from Aceh, and bowls from Turkey. It is obvious that the poor man did not actually possess these items in his ramshackle hut. Rather, they

rhyme with the words for the ordinary things which he did have. Let us examine them one by one.

Two diamond rings (/ticiŋ matə hitiʌŋ duwə bute/): the word for 'ring' (Nonthburi Malay /ticiŋ/, Standard Malay *cincin*) rhymes with the word for 'cat' (NM /kuciŋ/, SM *kucing*), which is what the old couple actually did have. In addition to the implied rhyme, an additional clue is found in the two diamonds, alluding to the cat's eyes. This is a double pun: the word for 'eye' (SM *mata*, NM /matə/) also means 'polished jewel', and the word for 'diamond' (NM /hitiʌŋ/, SM *intan*) is homophonous in Nonthaburi Malay with the word for 'black' (NM /hitiʌŋ/, SM *hitam*).

A golden mat (/tika byatay/): actually, 'golden' has to be inferred here, because /byatay/ means (or meant, since it is not used in Nonthaburi Malay) 'made of chains' or 'linked in a chain' (but cf. the following definition from Wilkinson's dictionary: 'Kain berantai: cloth with a chain-like pattern worked on in with gold thread'). This word rhymes with SM *lantai* 'floor', which the old man did in fact have in his hut. (Both of these facts - that the mat was golden, and that the intended rhyme was *lantai* - were supplied by the informant himself.) There is also a similarity in meaning between *tikar* 'mat' and *lantai* 'floor'--both are flat things for sitting and sleeping. The two items are thus linked semantically as well as phonetically.

It is interesting that the combination /-ay/ (spelled *-ai*) is not maintained in any of the Northeastern Peninsular Malay dialects, including Patani Malay and Nonthaburi Malay. Furthermore, neither *berantai* nor *lantai* (which would have yielded \*/byate/ and \*/late/, respectively) occur in Nonthaburi Malay. The first item is simply non-existent, while the Nonthaburi Malay word for 'floor' is /papiʌŋ/ (cf. SM *papan* 'plank, board').

A pun seems to have been intended here as well: NM /tika/ today has one meaning, 'mat' (SM *tikar*), but it would also be the phonologically correct potential cognate of SM *tikal*, defined in Kamus Dewan as *sejenis wang Siam yang kecil nilainya* ('a kind of Siamese money of low value'). Now if /byatay/ is taken to mean 'linked in a chain', this would make perfect sense, because small silver currency units minted in Thailand until the second half of the nineteenth century were indeed strung (although not actually linked) together to form chains<sup>43</sup>. The word *tikal* itself is probably of Mon origin, and

was used by Westerners until recently (spelled *tical*) to refer to the Thai weight and currency unit known today as *baht*.

A curved (?) pillow (/bata bliku/): the informant did not know the meaning of the word /bliku/, and said it was a nonsense word for the purpose of rhyming with /siku/ 'elbow'. As he explained, in traditional Malay houses the primary function of pillows was not as head-rests for sleeping, but rather as arm-rests for leaning on while sitting or reclining on the floor. None of the Nonthaburi Malays whom I consulted knew the meaning of this word. However, it appears in Wilkinson's dictionary with the meaning 'sharp twist or bend in river'; *liku* by itself means 'to bend'. A meaning of 'curved' would link /bata bliku/ 'curved pillow' with /siku/ 'elbow' in terms of meaning as well as in terms of sound: both are curved or angular objects used for leaning on while reclining.

In Standard Malay, *Tikar-bantal* (literally mat-pillow) is a compound meaning 'bedding'. According to Wilkinson, 'Pillows heaped up in layers are used also as emblems of rank'. He also quoted this interesting couplet from a Malay *pantun*: '*tikar mas bantal suasa manakan sama bantal di lengan*' (though a couch be of gold and its pillow *suasa* [electrum], yet the arms of my love are pillow for me'. Golden mats and arms used as pillows are therefore known motifs in Malay oral literature.

The Nonthaburi Malay phrase for 'plates from Aceh' (/piŋi<sup>ʌ</sup>ŋ nagyi ʔaceh/) rhymes with /ʔupeh/ 'the leaf-sheath of the areca palm' (cf. SM *upih* 'leaf-sheath'). Phonetically, /piŋi<sup>ʌ</sup>ŋ/ 'plate' also evokes /pini<sup>ʌ</sup>ŋ/ 'areca nut'. According to the informant, in the past, these concave leaf-sheaths were used as plates by villagers who could not afford crockery. Incidentally, /ʔupeh/ is not part of the Nonthaburi Malay vocabulary; the word for 'leaf-sheath' in the dialect is /pələ<sup>44</sup>.

Bowls from Turkey /makoʔ nagyi rom/: the intended hidden rhyme of /rom/ 'Turkey' was with /tpuʔong/ 'coconut shell'. Coconut shells were used as bowls by Malays in Nonthaburi until quite recently. However, instead of the the assimilated Nonthaburi Malay pronunciation (/ronʔ/), the learned informant used the (correct) Standard Malay form /rom/, which obscured the rhyme. (All final nasals were historically neutralized to /ŋ/ in Northeastern Peninsular Malay.)

Like the *tikar-bantal*, *pinggan-mangkok* ('plate-bowl') is a compound noun, meaning 'crockery'. Aceh and Turkey also form a pair, as these were two important Muslim kingdoms well

known among the Muslims of Southeast Asia as rich and fabulous kingdoms as well as defenders of the faith.

We see, then, that when originally composed, the story was based on five pairs of items, which not only rhymed with each other, but were also linked semantically: /ticiŋ (mato hiti<sup>^</sup>ŋ)/ and /kuciŋ/, /(tika) byatay/ and /latay/, /(bata) bliku/ and /siku/, /(piŋi<sup>^</sup>ŋ nagyi) ?aceh/ and /?upeh/, /(mako? nagyi) roŋ/ and /tpuŋoŋ/.

Another linguistic device employed is classicizing words and phrases. The opening clause (/?ado satu ?oyi<sup>^</sup>ŋ miskin/ 'There was a poor man') is definitely not colloquial Nonthaburi Malay, neither lexically nor structurally. Nor is the final clause (/maki<sup>^</sup>ŋ ?oyi<sup>^</sup>ŋ hata/ 'food was [ordered to be] brought over to them'), which is likewise non-colloquial in its syntax. These two sentences were used to put the story in its right stylistic and temporal frame, and to indicate that this is a literary narrative, not a simple account of an event. English folk tales are also often enclosed with similar phrases whose syntax is archaic, such as 'Once upon a time ...' and '... happily ever after'.

The tale itself is related in fairly colloquial Nonthaburi Malay. Thus it contains relatively recent Thai loanwords such as /nihaŋ/ 'tycoon' (an old borrowing would have been nativized as \*/nehe/; cf. /nebe/ 'village headman' from Thai /na:y b<sup>h</sup>a:n/) and /ktu?/ 'hut' (from Thai /kràt<sup>h</sup>ɔp/, the native Malay word /p<sup>h</sup>ɔnɔ?/ [SM *pondok*] being specialized in Nonthaburi Malay to only mean 'religious school'). There are also 'Thaified' grammatical constructions like /baka umoh haŋuh habih/ 'burnt the house down completely' (lit. 'burn house consume finish') and /wa? umoh byi/ 'make a house for them' (lit. 'make house give'). On the other hand, there are a few classicisms. The quasi-standard pronunciation of the words /miskin/ 'poor', /byatay/ 'of chains', /pigi/ 'go', and /rom/ 'Turkey' may be viewed as attempts to maintain a literary style. So is the use of the verbal prefix /m-/ in the form /mŋiliŋ/ 'shake one's head in disapproval'. In colloquial Nonthaburi Malay, that prefix does not occur.

### Origin and Time Frame of the Tale

An interesting puzzle is the dialectal (geographical) origin of the tale. The pairs *beliku:siku*, *berantai:lantai*, and *Aceh:upeh* rhyme in all peninsular dialects of Malay. However, the pair *cincin:kucing* rhymes only in two dialect areas:



Northeastern Peninsular Malay, where all final nasals are neutralized to /ŋ/, and Kedah Malay, where /ŋ/ > /n/ / i\_#. Finally, the pair *Rom: tempurung* only rhymes in Northeastern Peninsular Malay. Thus, the only dialect group in which all five word pairs rhyme is Northeastern Peninsular Malay. The area now occupied by northeastern Malaysia and southeastern Thailand is thus the most probable place of origin of the tale.

There are several indications, both linguistic and textual, that the story is of some antiquity, and was definitely composed in the Malay peninsula prior to the displacement of the ancestors of Nonthaburi's Malay community. The entire situation--a rich man with servants, a trial before the king--is removed from the milieu of the Malay villages of central Thailand. Linguistically, there are several lexical items which are obsolete in Nonthaburi Malay, such as /byatay/ 'linked in a chain', /bliku/ 'curved', and the allusions to *lantai* 'floor' and *upéh* 'leaf-sheath'. Also interesting, and indicative of relative antiquity, are the honorific terms used with Malay royalty /t<sup>h</sup>uwi<sup>^</sup>ŋ ku/ (SM *Tuanku*) 'Milord', /mito? ʔapon/ (SM *minta ampun*) 'to ask forgiveness from a superior', and /smoh/ (SM *sembah*) 'to make obeisance, to address a monarch'.

It seems fairly obvious that the story was originally composed by, or at least for, commoners. The villain in the story is a rich man, while the heroes are the elderly poor couple who outsmart him. During the audience in the palace, the king treats the poor man respectfully, while being stern with the rich man. And at the end, the poor couple gets a compensation of far greater value than the loss they had actually incurred. Aided by the king's kindness and gullibility, the seemingly helpless and pious couple manage to outsmart the villainous rich man. (A poor man who tricks the kind and gullible king is a recurring theme in *Makyong*, a drama genre for the Kelantan-Patani area; see Hanapi 1992:39).

## Conclusion

The Malay folk tale from Nonthaburi discussed in this paper is one of the last remaining vestiges of a once-rich oral literature. It employs various linguistic devices which are no longer understood by most of the remaining speakers of the Nonthaburi Malay dialect. The principal among them is the use of implied rhymes and puns, the comprehension of which requires a thorough and sophisticated proficiency in the language which is no longer present among most speakers. Another linguistic device is the use of classicizing words and

phrases, which sets out the tale in its proper time frame, geographical location, and literary genre. This, too, requires a stylistic richness which is no longer available to speakers of Nonthaburi Malay. These factors have contributed to the demise of Nonthaburi Malay oral literature long before the obsolescence of the dialect itself as a vernacular.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> For detailed information about the Malays of Nonthaburi and their language, see Tadmor 1995.

<sup>2</sup> Foreign television programs are usually dubbed in Thai. Although some English and other Western languages are occasionally heard over the air, Malay is never used by the media in central Thailand.

<sup>3</sup> AWL93M was the oldest speaker of Nonthaburi Malay I had interviewed. He is the Imam of Rong Suat, one of the largest Malay villages in Nonthaburi. Despite his advanced age, during interviews AWL93M was very alert and his memory sharp. He may very well be the last person in Nonthaburi with any knowledge of Malay folk tales and songs.

<sup>4</sup> A loanword from Standard Malay, used in reciting the numbers from one to ten, or in stories. The colloquial equivalent for /satu/ 'one' is /sɔ/; the colloquial version of the phrase /satu ʔɔɣiŋ/ 'one person' is /ʔɔɣiŋ sɔɣiŋ/. The older Malay word for 'one', *esa*, is still used in literary Standard Malay, but only rarely and in set phrases. For all intents and purposes, it has been replaced by *satu*, a contraction of *suatu*, which is probably a Javanese loanword. The older form is preserved in the Standard Malay prefix *se-* 'one'; in Patani Malay and Nonthaburi Malay it is still used as a free morpheme.

<sup>5</sup> A loanword from Standard Malay, not used in colloquial Nonthaburi Malay, in which the word for 'poor' is /ha/ (perhaps from Sanskrit /ha:/ 'abandon'). The word /miskin/ is phonologically unassimilated; in native Nonthaburi Malay vocabulary, /s/ and /n/ do not occur at syllable final position (cf. the assimilated Patani Malay form /muisiken/).

<sup>6</sup> The set phrase /duwɔ laki bini/ means 'a (married) couple' (SM *kedua laki-bini*).

<sup>7</sup> Nonthaburi Malay third person pronouns are unspecified as to number or gender, so /diyɔ/ (SM *dia*) can mean 'he', 'she', 'it', or 'they'.

<sup>8</sup> From Thai /na:y hâ:ŋ/ 'owner of a large business'.

<sup>9</sup> From Thai /ná/. In Nonthaburi Malay it retains its high tone, reinterpreted as intonation. Its function is to assure the interlocutor's attention, like 'right?' or 'OK?' in English. Despite its phonetic resemblance to the Standard Malay particle *nah*, I do not think NM /na/ is related to it, because final /-h/ is normally retained in Nonthaburi Malay, and because NM /na/ and Standard Malay *nah* have different functions. Moreover, *nah* in Standard Malay is typically clause-initial, while NM /na/ is clause-final, like Thai /ná/.

<sup>10</sup> Standard Malay *bekas* and its Patani Malay equivalent /bukah/ both mean 'trace' or 'container'; in Nonthaburi Malay, this word means 'place'. Thus /bkah juwa/ is a shop (/bkah/ + /juwa/ 'sell') and /bkah dudoʔ/ is a home (/bkah/ + /dudoʔ/ 'sit, reside'). This semantic shift may have occurred under the influence of Thai /tʰ i:/, which can be used in compounds to mean both 'place' and 'container'.

<sup>11</sup> The allomorph /dɔʔ/ 'exist, have' is used only after /taʔ/ 'not'; otherwise, either /ʔadɔ/ or /dɔ/ (without the final glottal stop) are used.

<sup>12</sup> To show a consequential relationship between conjoined sentences, Nonthaburi Malay does not use a conjunction like SM *jadi* 'so'. Rather, the intonation contour together with a short pause between the clauses convey this function. This is apparently an innovation of Nonthaburi Malay which is not due to Thai interference. In this case, the sentence can be translated as 'they didn't have a place to live, so they lived with the rich man'.

<sup>13</sup> /ʔanɔʔ ʔupɔh/ 'hireling', patterned after Thai /lû:k jâ:ŋ/. Both expressions consist of the word for 'child' followed by the word for 'to hire'.

<sup>14</sup> Reduplication in Nonthaburi Malay occurs only in contexts where an equivalent Thai reduplicated form would occur. Here, the reduplication expresses the subjectivity of the speaker, and may be translated as 'quite a long time', like Thai /na:n-na:n/. A Standard Malay reduplicated form *lama-lama* also exists; however, if the equivalent expression /na:n-na:n/ did not also exist in Thai, NM /lamɔ-lamɔ/ would not have occurred here.

<sup>15</sup> The basic meaning of /bʏi/ (SM *beri*) is 'to give'; in Patani and Nonthaburi Malay the word has acquired the additional meanings of 'for' (cf. SM *untuk*) and 'let' (cf. SM *biar*), under

the influence of Thai /hây/. It is realized as /byi/ mostly by men; women prefer the pronunciation /buwi/ or /wi/.

16 A literary form. In everyday speech, SM *pergi* 'go' is represented in Nonthaburi Malay by /gi/.

17 From old Thai /bɔː/. The antiquity of this loanword is attested by the fact that the old Thai phoneme /b/, which shifted to /p<sup>h</sup>/ by the fifteenth century, is represented by /b/ here; the modern Thai form of this word is /p<sup>h</sup>ɔː/. The word /bɔː/ also occurs in Patani Malay with the same meaning.

18 This particle is probably derived from Thai (/ní/) and not from SM /nih/: final /h/ is not normally lost in Nonthaburi Malay, the Thai tone is maintained through reinterpretation as intonation, and the function of /ni/ in Nonthaburi Malay parallels the use of /ní/ in Thai and differs from the use of *nih* in Standard Malay.

19 Again, reduplication is possible here because an equivalent Thai form (/lā:y- lā:y/) could be used in this context.

20 Another asyndetic compound sentence.

21 Apparently from Thai /kràtɔ́p/ 'hut', itself probably a loanword, but cf. Khmer /tɔup/. The word may also be related to SM *teratak*.

22 Hypercorrected from /dɔsɔ/. In Nonthaburi Malay, /ua/ > /ɔ/; for example, the Nonthaburi Malay equivalent of SM *semua* 'all' is /smɔ/. The basis for the false analogy is probably /pɔsɔ/ 'to fast' (SM *puasa*), whose learned Nonthaburi Malay pronunciation is /puwɔsɔ/. Both terms are from the sphere of religion and are derived from Sanskrit.

23 The Standard Malay equivalent, *Tuanku*, is the proper term of address for a king.

24 In both form and meaning, Nonthaburi Malay /wɔʔpɔ/ 'why' mirrors Thai /t<sup>h</sup>ammay/. The latter is a contracted compound of /t<sup>h</sup>am/ 'do, make' and /ʔaray/ 'what'. NM /wɔʔpɔ/ (pronounced /waʔpɔ/ or /wɔpɔ/ by some speakers) is a contracted compound of /buwaʔ/ 'do, make' and /ʔapɔ/ 'what'. This form also occurs in Patani Malay and Kelantan Malay, and is an example of early Thai interference in Northeastern Peninsular Malay dialects. Thai /t<sup>h</sup>ammay/ can be used in the sense of 'What is it?'. So can NM /wɔʔpɔ/.

25 An honorific epithet or pronoun, used much like Thai /k<sup>h</sup>un/ (cf. SM *Tuk, To* [toʔ], vocative of *datuk* 'grandparent, lord').

26 This word can either be used as an adverb meaning 'already', or as a clause-final perfective aspect marker, just like Thai /lɛ:w/. Its Standard Malay cognate is *sudah* 'already', which may be shortened to [dah] colloquially.

27 Eymology uncertain. Usage of /gateʔ/ mirrors Thai /dûay/; both forms mean 'also', but are also used as a polite imperative particle. The form /gateʔ/ occurs with both functions in Patani Malay.

28 Eymology uncertain, perhaps ultimately derived from Arabic /jayx/ 'sheik' (SM *syèikh*). In the Malay dialect of Satun in southwestern Thailand, /ʃ/ in Arabic loanwords is regularly replaced by /c<sup>h</sup>/. NM /c<sup>h</sup>ɛ/ is probably not related to the Standard Malay honorific epithets [toʔ ki] or [ceʔ], because both occur in Nonthaburi Malay and are realized very similarly to their Standard Malay pronunciation. As for /toʔ c<sup>h</sup>ɛ/, this means either '(hon.) grandfather' or 'grandmother and grandfather'; which of the two meanings is intended has to be inferred from the context.

29 SM *cincin*. Nonthaburi Malay has a dissimilation rule whereby /c/ and /s/ followed by an identical phoneme in the following syllable are optionally changed to /t/, e.g. /tusu/ ~ /susu/ 'milk' (SM *susu*), /tucu/ ~ /cucu/ 'grandchild' (SM *cucu*).

30 The informant was unsure of the meaning of this word, but thought the mat was made of gold, perhaps because the collocation *tikar mas, bantal suasa* ('a golden mat, gold alloy pillows') is common in *pantuns* (a type of traditional Malay poetry). The form /byatay/, however, is almost certainly a cognate of SM *berantai*, which means 'of chains' or 'linked in a chain'. See further discussion below.

31 The informant insisted that this 'is not a real word, it was just made up for the rhyme'. Originally, however, it probably did have some meaning, perhaps 'curved, angular' (SM *berliku*). This would tie in semantically with its rhyme /siku/ 'elbow'.

32 Although Aceh is the name of an old and powerful Muslim sultanate in northern Sumatra, the informant had no knowledge of a place called 'Aceh' outside the context of folk tales.

33 The medieval Arabic name for Byzantium, later used for Turkey. It was used with the latter meaning in classical Malay. In the present story, the informant was not sure where [rom] was.

34 Apparently a reflex of an older form of SM *geleng*, before the split of \*i to /i/ and /e/.

35 This is the most familiar second person pronoun (cf. SM *kamu*), which has a condescending connotation when used with people other than younger relatives or close friends. Note that while the king addresses the rich man as /mu/, he consistently uses the honorific /toʔ/ when addressing the poor old man.

36 Interrogative clause-final particle, from /k-/ 'or' + /dɔʔ/ 'neg. marker'. Mirrors Thai [rɛ̀plà:w] (/rũ: plà:w/), although it should be noted that (-*kah*), the Standard Malay cognate of NM /k-/ , is used as an enclitic question particle. It does not occur in proclitic position in Standard Malay, where it has been replaced by the Sanskrit loanword *atau* 'or'. Ambonese Malay has /ka sen/ (lit. 'or not'), used similarly (James T. Collins 1993:p.c.).

37 This form occurs in Patani Malay and Kelantan Malay (cf. SM *bagaimana*). The meaning of 'what shall we do' for /waʔ genɔ/ (lit. 'do how') is patterned after the Thai /tʰam yanɲay/ .

38 The order {noun-numeral-classifier} is not the usual order in Standard Malay and Patani Malay, but it is the only grammatical word order in Thai and Nonthaburi Malay.

39 Literary word (cf. SM *hingga*). Its colloquial equivalent is /sapɛ/ (cf. SM *sampai*).

40 Nonthaburi Malay has lost practically all of its native affixational morphology, which has been replaced by periphrastic constructions patterned after Thai. The VP /waʔ umɔh byi/, lit. 'make house give', means 'make a house for them'. The usage of /byi/ (lit. 'to give') as a benefactive particle parallels the usage of Thai /hây/, which just like NM /byi/ literally means 'to give', but can be used as a benefactive marker. While in other Malay dialects, *beri* may be used as a benefactive preposition, in Nonthaburi Malay it is also used as a post-verbal enclitic. This parallels the historical development of the preposition *akan* into the suffix *-kan* in Classical Malay. This etymon (*akan/-kan*) is altogether missing from both Patani Malay and Nonthaburi Malay.

41 The usual words for 'food' in Nonthaburi Malay are /la<sup>o?</sup>/ and /hɔʔ maki<sup>^</sup>ŋ/.

42 Unusual word order in colloquial Nonthaburi Malay, where normal word order is SVO. The fronting of the object may have been done for its classicizing effect. Object fronting is common in Classical Malay, although it is followed by the verb, not the subject.

43 These were silver coins, known in Thai as /ŋən p<sup>h</sup>ot dûaŋ/, and in English as 'bullet coins' (because of their shape). Gold chains which are sold by the *baht* are still popular among Thais as well as among Westerners, who call them 'baht chains'.

44 The etymology of /pɔlə/ is uncertain, but it might be related to SM *pulai*, 'k.o. tree which yields a cork-like wood'.

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