MALAY DIALECTS IN THAILAND

Amon Thavisak*

ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to present a general picture of the Malay dialects in Thailand. The data in this study were collected from 16 representative areas using questionnaires and direct interview in the field as well as from an unpublished M.A. thesis.

It was found that there are 9 different dialects of Malay in Thailand. Those 9 varieties form 4 major groups.

The phonological diversity of the Malay dialects in Thailand has been summarized and compared with that of Standard Malay and related dialects in Malaysia.

A new Malay dialect, called " Huataphan " has been discovered.

1.0 Introduction

This paper is largely based on my monograph " ภาษามลายูถิ่นในประเทศไทย " which was published in early 1988.

The intention of the paper is to provide a general picture of the Malay dialects in Thailand, and to give some details about their phonological diversity. Since the few publications available on the dialects of Malay in Thailand are studies of the dialect in isolation, the present study is intended to place the Malay dialects in Thailand and the Standard Malay language in relation to one another, not only in terms of their geographical distribution but also in terms of their phonological correspondences.

1.1 The Dialects of Malay in Thailand

The language spoken by most Thai Muslims in the provinces of Southern Thailand are known to the Thais by various names e.g. phaasaa jaawii (ภาษายาวี). phaasaa malaayuu (ภาษามลายู), phaasaa maalee (ภาษามาเลย์), phaasaa khaeaek (ภาษาแขก), phaasaa isalaam (ภาษาอิสลาม) etc. But from my survey, I found that the most widely used names for the variety under discussion are phaasaa jaawii, phaasaa malaayuu, phaasaa naayuu and phaasaa khaeaek, respectively. The name " naayuu " (นายู) is said to be the variant form of the name " malaayuu " and the native speakers in the provinces of Pattani Yala and Narathiwat pronounce this particular term as [n:a:ju:]. Among these three terms the name phaasaa jaawii (ภาษายาวี) is more widely used to refer to the varieties spoken by Thai Muslims. According to my survey the name phaasaa khaeaek which is more often used by Thais is not accepted by native speakers as an appropriate name to refer to their language even though some of them do use it sometimes.

Linguistically speaking, the Malay dialects in Thailand are dialects of Standard Malay. But socially speaking, they are vernaculars of a sizable minority in Thailand. Since dialectal study of the Malay dialects in Malaysia has been done excellently by Dr. Asmah Haji Omar, it might be of interest to have this kind of study done in Thailand where various Malay dialects are used as the means of communication among the Thai Muslims.

1.2 A survey of the Malay dialects in Thailand.

In my survey (by questionnaire, field research and interview) in 1985, I found that there are nine different dialects of Malay spoken in Thailand. Those nine varieties are as follows:

1. ST variety (Tambon Baankhuan, Amphur Mueng, Satun)
2. PT variety (Amphur Mueng, Pattani)
3. NST variety (Tambon Tha - ngiw, Amphur Mueng, Nakhonsrithammaraat)
4. ULS variety (Urak Lawoi' language spoken in Adang Island, Amphur Mueng, Satun).
5. ULP variety (Urak Lawoi' language spoken in Rawai Beach, Amphur Mueng, Phuket)
6. HTP variety (Tambon Huataphan, Amphur Thasala, Nakhornsrithammaraat)
7. TS variety (Tambon Thasak, Amphur Mueng, Nakhornsrithammaraat)
8. CHL variety (Tambon Che'bilang, Amphur Mueng, Satun)
9. TML variety (Tambon Tammalang, Amphur Mueng, Satun)

These nine varieties are representatives of various varieties found in 14 provinces in Thailand, from Nonthaburi down to Yala.

2.0 Phonological Comparison of the Malay Dialects in Thailand.

When Standard Malay is placed in a comparative table with the dialects of Malay found in Thailand we notice points of divergence not only between the standard language and the various dialects but also between the dialects themselves.

Table 1

CONSONANTS

	SM	ST	PT	NST	ULS	ULP	HTP	CHL	TS	TML
plosives	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k
	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
fricatives	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s
	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h
trill/etc.	г	ʁ	ɣ	ʁ	ɽ	ɹ	ʔ	ʁ	ɣ	ʁ
affricates	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j
lateral	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
nasals	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ
	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ
semi -	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w	w
vowels	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y

2.1 Phonological Comparison of the Malay Dialects in Thailand.

From Table 1 it can be seen that there are 19 consonants in all varieties of the Malay dialects spoken in Thailand except HTP. In the standard language there is one more phoneme besides those found in Table 1, i.e. phoneme /z/ which is a loan phoneme from Arabic. Besides /z/, the phoneme /r/ (representing a trill) does not belong to the phoneme inventory of any Malay dialect spoken in Thailand.

Certain consonants cannot occur in word - final position, and these consonants are grouped as follows.

plosives : /b,d,g,/
affricates : /c,j/
nasal : /ɲ/

The phonemes /c,j,b,d,g/ occur word - finally in standard Malay only in some loan words and if these loan words exist in the dialects those phonemes will be substituted by the sounds that have close phonetic value. Examples are shown below.

SM /bɛg/
ST, NST, TS /bɛp/
PT /beʔ/
ULS, ULP, CHL /bɛʔ/
TML /bɛt/
HTP /pau/

Regarding word - final consonants, /k/ forms an interesting feature that needs to be mentioned here.

The voiceless velar plosive /k/ does not occur in word - final position in the Malay dialects in Malaysia except in the Sarawak dialect. On the other hand this particular phoneme can occur word finally in four Malay varieties in Thailand, namely ULS, ULP, HTP and CHL. Therefore in this case we can see a significant difference between the dialects of Malay in Thailand and Malaysia. The examples below will illustrate this point.

Exx. 1

SM	piŋgaŋ	kaŋkuŋ	kəpiɲ
ULS	piŋak	kaʔkok	kəpik
ULP	piŋak	kaʔkok	kəpik
HTP	piŋak	kaŋkok	kəpik
CHL	piŋgak	kaŋkok	kəpik

" waist "   " a kind of vegetable "   " piece "

As mentioned earlier, the phoneme /r/ which is realized as an alveolar trill does not occur in any Malay variety in Thailand. But this sound can occur in both varieties of Standard Malay.[1] In the standard a- variety its correspondences occur in all positions in a word, in the standard schwa - variety this phoneme does not occur in word - final position. The Malay dialects in Thailand have either the voiced velar fri- cative /ɣ/ or the voiced uvular fricative /ʁ/, the voiced retroflex flap /ɽ/ or an alveolar approximant /ɹ/ or the glottal stop /ʔ/. However, this sound is found in a few loan words in the Malay dialects in Thailand. So in this case we may say that Standard Malay is cha- racterized by the occurrence of /r/.

The table below will illustrate the point.

Table 2

SM	ST	CHL	TML	NST	PT	TS	ULS	ULP	HTP
r-	ʁ-	ʁ-	ʁ-	ʁ-	ɣ-	ɣ-	ɽ-	ɹ-	ʔ-
-r-	-ʁ-	-ʁ-	-ʁ-	-ʁ-	-ɣ-	-ɣ-	-ɽ-	-ɹ-	-ʔ-
-r# -ø# }	-k#	-ʔ#	-ʕ#	-k#	-ø#	-ʕ#	-ø#	-l#	-ø#

From Table 2 above we can see that in all nine dialects, none has a trill /r/ in the sound system. The occurrence of this phoneme is restricted only to SM. It is noticeable that the diaphonic variation of /r/ in the dialects spoken in Thailand is more diverse than that of the Malay spoken in Malaysia. Following are examples.

	SM	ST	CHL	TML, PT, NST	TS	ULS	ULP	HTP	
prevocalic	ra:sa:	ʁa:sa:	ʁa:sɔ:	ʁa:sɔ:	ɣa:sɔ:	ɽa:sa:	ɻa:sa:	ʔa:sɔ:	"feel, taste"
	ru:gi:	ʁu:gi:	ʁu:gi:	ʁu:gi:	ɣu:gi:	ɽu:gi:	ɻu:gi:	ʔu:gi:	"lose"
intervocalic	dʒarI:	dʒa:ʁi:	dʒa:ʁi:	dʒa:ʁi:	dʒa:ɣi:	dʒa:ɽi:	dʒa:ɻi:	dʒa:ʔi:	"finger"
	buroŋ	bu:ʁoŋ	bu:ʁokˀ	bu:ʁoŋ	bu:ɣoŋ	bu:ɽokˀ	bu:ɻɔkˀ	bu:ʔokˀ	"bird"

	SM	ST	CHL	TML	NST	PT	TS	ULS	ULP	HTP	
postvocalic	lapar	la:pa:k	la:paʔ	la:pæʕ	la:pɛkˀ	la:pɔ:	la:paʕ	la:pɤ:	la:pal	la:pɔ:	"hungry"
	ʔekor	ʔɛ:kɔ:kˀ	ʔɛ:kɔʔ	ʔɛ:kɔʕ	ʔɛ:kɔk	ʔɛ:kɔ:	ʔɛ:kɔʕ	ʔi:kɤ:	ʔi:kol	ʔɛ:kuə	"tail"

As regards the correspondences of /r/, HTP is considered the most interesting dialect since the glottal stop /ʔ/ occurs in prevocalic and intervocalic positions in a word. In other words, the HTP dialect is characterized by this feature, and this finding leads me to claim that I have discovered a new dialect of Malay spoken in Thailand since this has never been mentioned anywhere else before.

Asmah Haji Omar has suggested a grouping of the Malay dialects by considering the diaphonic variations of /r/ based on the phonetic realization of the initial and the intervocalic /r/ or the allophone of the phoneme in the final position. This could be done with the dialects of Malay in Thailand as well, and the numbers of groups resulting from this process are as follows.

I. the grouping based on the phonetic realization of /r-/ and /-r-/.
   I.1 ST, NST, CHL, TML
   I.2 PT, TS
   I.3 ULS
   I.4 ULP
   I.5 HTP
II. the grouping based on the phonetic realization of the /-r#/
   II.1 ST, NST
   II.2 PT, ULS, HTP
   II.3 ULP
   II.4 TML, TS
   II.5 CHL

From the grouping above there are five subgroups within each main group. However, taking the geographical distribution of the dialects into consideration, it would seem more plausible to have the grouping based on the phonetic realization of /r-/ and /-r-/. It can be seen that in subgroup I.1 ST, CHL and TML are all dialects spoken in Satun. And it should be noted here that most NST speakers are old inhabitants from the Malay-speaking community in Satun. As mentioned earlier, in this group, HTP has the most interesting feature that /ʔ/ is used in prevocalic and intervocalic positions when /r/ occurs in these positions in Standard Malay. In considering the allophones of the phoneme that occur in word final position, it seems that the dialects of Malay in Thailand have a more diverse development than those of the dialects of Malay in Malaysia. What is of interest is the presence of final [l] which is the only approximant found in this particular context. Besides the distributional features of the phonemes mentioned above, there are still more features of distribution that should be mentioned here. They are :
Phoneme /s/

In all nine dialects spoken in Thailand this phoneme occurs in initial and intervocalic positions in a word. In ST /s/ does occur in the final position when preceding vowels are back vowels. In other dialects /s/ never occurs word-finally but is realized as [h] with or without diphthongization of the preceding vowel. See examples below for illustration.

Examples for phoneme /s/

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/nipis/ /nipeh/  /nipih/ /nipeh/  /nipih/  /nipih/  /nipeh/  /nipeh/  /nipeh/  /nipeh/  "thin"(not thick)
/tulis/ /tuleh/  /tuleh/ /tuleh/  /tuleh/  /tuleh/  /tuleh/  /tuleh/  /tuleh/  /tuleh/  "to write"
/mas/   /maɪh/   /mah/   /mah/    /maɪh/   /maɪh/   /mah/    /mɛh/    /mah/    /maɪh/   "gold"
/pedas/ /pedaɪh/ /puɪdah/ /pedah/  /pedaɪh/ /pedaɪh/ /pedah/  /pedɛh/  /pedah/  /pedaɪh/ "hot"
/ratus/ /ʁatos/  /ɣatoh/ /ʁatɔih/ /ɽatuih/ /ɭatuih/ /ʔatɔih/ /ʁatuih/ /ɣatuih/ /ʁatuih/ "hundred"
/kurus/ /kuʁos/  /kuɣoh/ /kuʁuih/ /kuɽuih/ /kɯuih/  /kuʔoih/ /kuʁɔih/ /kuɣoih/ /kuʁuih/ "thin"(not fat)
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From the examples shown above it can be seen that in all dialects final /s/ in SM has a one - to - one correspondence in /h/ only when it is preceded by front vowels. In all dialects except ST /h/ corresponds to the final /s/ in SM.

The diphthongization of the vowels preceding the diaphone of /s/ in the dialects is summarized in Table 3 below.

Table 3

ST	PT	NST	ULS	ULP	HTP	CHL	TS	TML
C	D	B	A	A	B	B	B	A

A : diphthongization occurs with /a/ and /u/
B : diphthongization occurs only with /u/
C : diphthongization occurs only with /a/
D : no diphthongization

From Table 3 above, another grouping of the Malay dialects in Thailand can be made.

Group A : ULS, ULP, TML
Group B : NST, HTP, TS, CHL
Group C : ST
Group D : PT

Besides the grouping based mainly on the diaphonic variation of /r/, the resulting grouping in this particular case seems to be plausible as well. Looking at Group A, ULS and ULP speakers are of the same ethnic group and TML is spoken in Satun where ULS is also spoken. For Group B, NST, HTP and TS are all Malay dialects spoken in Nakhorn Sri Thammaraat and it might be possible to assume that before moving to Nakhorn Sri Thammaraat their ancestors were in CHL area, as most NST speakers report that they moved from Satun some years ago. As for group C and D, ST and PT do not fit into any of those previous groups since they both have different phonological features according to their different backgrounds, i.e. PT speakers use the dialect close to Kelantan dialect in Malaysia while ST use the dialect close to SM, which are totally different from those used by the speakers of Groups A and B. In this particular situation, the linguistic evidence fits historico - geographical information very well.

Phoneme /l/

In all nine dialects this phoneme occurs in initial and intervocalic positions of a word. But only in one dialect can it occur word - finally, viz. ULP. However it is not so on all occasions. In some cases the diaphonic variant is ·/l/ whereas in other cases it is /n/. And such variants are not predictable.

Exx. 2

SM	ULP	ULS
/təbal/	/təbal/	/təban/
/pukul/	/pukul/	/pukuy/
/timbul/	/timon/	/timon/
/mahal/	/mahan/	/mahan/
/sambil/	/samen/	/samen/

From the examples above, it can be seen that ULP /n/ can also occur as the correspondence of /l/ in the final position of a word.

Besides /n/, /t/ can occur as the correspondence of the final /l/ as well. But this is found only in one example.

SM	ULP	ULS
/ambil/	/ʔamet/	/ʔamet/.

It should be noted that in ULP /l/ can occur as the correspondence of the final /r/ in SM. (This occurs only in the speech of the older generation.)

Exx. 3

SM	ULP
/bəsar/	/bəsal/
/laŋgar/	/laŋal/
/lumpur/	/lupol/
/bibir/	/bibel/

It is also interesting to note that in ULP, /y/ can occur as the correspondence of the final /r/ in SM when it is not preceded by front vowels, but this occurs only in the speech of the younger generation.

Exx. 4

SM	ULP
/pukul/	/pukuy/
/lapar/	/lapay/
/bətul/	/bətuy/
/deŋar/	/dəŋay/

Following are a table of the diaphonic correspondence of /l/ and the examples concerned.

Table 4

Diaphonic correspondence of /l/

SM	ST	PT	ULS	ULP	NST	HTP	CHL	TS	TML
prevocalic l-	l-	l-	l-	l-	l-	l-	l-	l-	l-
intervocalic -l-	-l-	-l-	-l-	-l-	-l-	- l -	-l-	-l-	-l-
postvocalic -al #	-ay # -	-a # -	-an #	-al # , -an #	-ay #	-ay #	-ε #	-ay #	-ay #
-ul #	-oy #	-o #	-uy #	-ul # , -on #	-oy #	-oy #	-oy #	-oy #	-uy #
-il #	-e #	-e #	-en #	-en #	-e #	-e #	-e #	-e #	-e #
-il #	-eʔ #	-eʔ #	-et #	-et #	-eʔ #	-eʔ #	-eʔ #	-eʔ #	-eʔ #

SM	ST	PT	ULS	ULP	NST	HTP	CHL	TS	TML	
/laki/	/laki/	/laki/	/laki/	/laki/	/laki/	/laki/	/laki/	/laki/	/laki/	" husband "
/luka/	/luka/	/lukɔ̄/	/luka/	/luka/	/lukɔ/	/lukɔ/	/lukɔ/	/lukɔ̄/	/lukɔ/	" wound "
/bəli/	/bəli/	/buili/	/bəli/	/bəli/	/bəli/	/bəli/	/bəli/	/bəli/	/bəliy/	" to buy "
/bulu/	/bəlu/	/bulu/	/bulu/	/bulu/	/bulu/	/bulu/	/bulu/	/bulu/	/buluw/	" hair "
/bantal/	/bantay/	/bata/	/batan/	/batan/	/bantay/	/bantay/	/bantɛ/	/bantay/	/bantay/	" pillow "
/təbal/	/təbay/	/tuuba/	/təban/	/təbal/	/təbay/	/təbay/	/təbɛ/	/təbay/	/təbay/	" thick "
/timbul/	/timboy/	/timo/	/timon/	/timon/	/timoy/	/timoy/	/timoy/	/timoy/	/timbuy/	" to float "
/pukul/	/pukoy/	/puko/	/pukuy/	/pukul/	/pukoy/	/pukoy/	/pukoy/	/pukoy/	/pukuy/	" to hit "
/ambil/	/ʔambeʔ/	/ʔambeʔ/	/ʔamet/	/ʔamet/	/ʔameʔ/	/ʔameʔ/	/ʔameʔ/	/ʔameʔ/	/ʔameʔ/	" to take ",
/sambil/	/sambe/	/sambe/	/samen/	/samen/	/same/	/same/	/same/	/same/	/sambe/	" meanwhile "

From the examples above, it can be seen that ULP is close to Standard Malay in the retention of /l/ *in word - final* position. As far as the diaphonic variation of /l/ is concerned, the ULP and ULS dialects can be considered as representing a transitional stage from the development ensuing from the stage shown by SM to that shown by all other dialects in Thailand.

The comparison of the diaphonic variation of /l/ in the dialects of Malay in Thailand and in Malaysia reflects an interesting feature. Let us examine the Table and examples below.

Table 5

SM	PT	KLT (kelantan)	CHL	PR (Perak)
-al #	-a #	-a #	-ɛ #	-ɛ #
-ul #	-o #	-ö #	-oy #	-oy #
-il #	-e #	-ë #	-e #	-e #
-il #	-eʔ	-eʔ #	-eʔ #	-eʔ #

Exx. 5

SM	PT	KLT	CHL	PR
təbal	tiba	təba	tabɛ	təbɛ
pukul	puko	pukö	pukuy	pukoy
sambil	sambe	sambë	same	sambe
ambil	ʔambeʔ	ambeʔ	ʔameʔ	ambeʔ

The examples above show that PT in Thailand and KLT (Kelantan dialect) in Malaysia share common features while CHL in Thailand and PR (Perak dialect) in Malaysia have the same characteristics. A similar pattern occuring in PT and KLT is explicable since the speakers of these two dialects have been in contact for a long time as they both live along the same border. But what is unexplained is the close relationship between CHL in Thailand and PR in Malaysia.

Nasals

As shown in Table 1, there are four nasals in all dialects, i.e. /m/, /n/, /ɲ/ and /ŋ/. All of these nasals can occur in prevocalic and intervocalic positions of a word but only three of them, viz /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/, can occur word - finally. However, /ɲ/ can also occur in the final position of a non - final syllable in PT dialect.

Exx. 6

/ʔɛɲjen/ /jaɲji/
/tuɲjoʔ/ /piɲjɛ/

The diaphonic variation of the final nasals in the dialects of Malay in Thailand can be summarized as follows.

Firstly, final nasals /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ in SM

have a one-to-one correspondence in all dialects of Malay in Thailand except PT. (More details about final nasals in PT will be discussed later.)

Secondly, apart from the one-to-one correspondence mentioned above, another feature concerning final nasals is observed in ULS, ULP, HTP and CHL. What was found is that finals /m, n, ŋ/ in SM can also have their homorganic plosives, i.e.

/p, t, k/, as their correspondences. This particular development is considered a striking finding. As far as I know, this kind of development has never been mentioned before.

It is interesting to note that this development is restricted only to ULS, ULP, HTP and CHL and might be considered as one of the characteristics of the Malay dialects in Thailand.

Exx. 7

SM	ULS, ULP, HTP, CHL	ST, NST, TS, TML	PT
/malam/	/malap/	/malam/	/malɛ/
/bukan/	/bukat/	/bukan/	/bukɛ/
/payoŋ/	/payok/	/payoŋ/	/payoŋ/
/masin/	/masit/	/masin/	/masiŋ/

As far as final nasals are concerned, PT has its individual characteristics. It is found that only /ŋ/ is allowed in PT under the condition that the preceding vowel is not /a/. If the preceding vowel is /a/ no final nasal is allowed and /a/ is changed to /ɛ/ This feature is peculiar to PT and is widely known among speakers of other Malay dialects in Thailand and their neighbours; for example, if someone is asked

about the PT dialect the answer to this question will come out as a comparison between something like /makan/ and /makɛ/ or other parallel items.

Another interesting feature concerning nasals is the occurrence of the homorganic nasal-plosive clusters across syllable boundaries. The table below illustrates their occurrence in various dialects.

no HNPC	HNP̌C + HNP̥C	HNP̥C	HNP̌C
ULS, ULP	ST, TML	NST, CHL, HTP, TS	PT

HNP̌C = Homorganic voiced nasal-plosive cluster
HNP̥C = Homorganic voiceless nasal-plosive cluster

Exx. 8

ULS, ULP	SM, ST	TML	NST, TS	HTP, CHL	PT
tana	tanda	tan^{d}ɔ	tanɔ	tanɔ	tan^{d}ɔ
tiɲi	tiɲi	tiŋ^{g}i	tiɲi	tiɲi	tiŋ^{g}i
mipi	mimpi	mimpi	mimpi	mimpi	mipi
hatu	hantu	hantu	hantu	hantu	hatu
makoʔ	maŋkoʔ	maŋkoʔ	maŋkoʔ	maŋkoʔ	makoʔ

From the examples above, it can be seen that TML and PT share the same phonetic characteristics of the HNPC, which is the weakening of voiced plosive. On the other hand, ST, in which this HNPC is found as well, does not have this particular feature. See examples below for illustration.

SM	ST	TML	PT
/timbul/	/timbuy/	/timuy/	/timo/
/səmbilan/	/səmbilan/	/səmilan/	/səmilɛ/
/pangil/	/paŋge/	/paŋge/	/paŋe/
/mandi/	/mandi/	/maniy/	/mandi/

As for the group of dialects with no HNPC, what has been observed is a loss of voiced plosive and nasal in HNPC and HNPC respectively.

Exx. 9

SM	ULS, ULP
/tanda/	/tana/
/tuŋgu/	/tuŋu/
/mimpi/	/mipi/
/bintaŋ/	/bitak/

Plosive

As shown in Table 1, there are seven plosives in the dialects, i.e. /p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ/. All these phonemes can occur in initial and intervocalic positions in a word, but only four of them can occur in the final position in a word. Those phonemes are /p/, /t/, /k/ and /ʔ/. However /k/ does not occur in all dialects. As mentioned earlier in the section on Nasals, this particular occurrence is restricted only to ULS, ULP, HTP and CHL. The table below will show the phoneme correspondences of these four phonemes in various dialects.

SM	ST, TS	NST, TML	PT	ULS, ULP, HTP, CHL
-/p/ #	-/p/ #	-/p/ #	-/ʔ/ #	-/ʔ/ #
-/t/ #	-/t/ #	-/t/ #	-/ʔ/ #	-/ʔ/ #
-/ʔ/ #	-/ʔ/ #	-/ʔ/ #	-/ʔ/ #	-/ʔ/ #
-/m/ #	-/m/ #	-/m/ #	-/ŋ, ɛɸ/ #	-/p/ #
-/n/ #	-/n/ #	-/n/ #	-/ŋ, ɛɸ/ #	-/t/ #
-/ŋ/ #	-/ŋ/ #	-/ŋ/ #	-/ŋ, ɛɸ/ #	-/k/ #

Exx. 10

/isap/	/ʔisap/	/ʔisap/	/ʔisaʔ/	/ʔisaʔ/
/bukit/	/buket/	/buket/	/bukeʔ/	/bukeʔ/
/masuʔ/	/masoʔ/	/masoʔ/	/masoʔ/	/masoʔ/
/padam/	/padam/	/padam/	/padɛ/	/padap/
/papan/	/papan/	/papan/	/papɛ/	/papat/
/papaŋ/	/kəpiŋ/	/kəpiŋ/	/kɨpiŋ/	/kəpik/

Conclusions

Certain historico - geographical conclusions can be made from this study:

1. **The dialects of Malay in Thailand can be categorized into 4 groups:-**

   Group One   The dialect in this group comprises PT dialect which is spoken mainly in Yala, Pattani and Narathiwat.   Other Malay varieties that can be put into this group are:-
   : the variety spoken in Songkhla
   : the variety spoken in Baan Chong Maai Dam, Tambon Khlonghin, Amphur Mueng, Krabi
   : the variety spoken in Tambon Thai - it, Amphur Pakkret, Nonthaburi.
   : the variety spoken in Tambon Khlong Nüng, Amphur Khlongluang Prathumthani.
   : the variety spoken in Tambon Bangphueng, Samutprakarn

   Group Two   The dialects in this group are composed of NST, TS, HTP CHL and TML. Other Malay dialects that can be put into this group are:-
   : the variety spoken in Ban Che'bilang Tambon Che'bilang, Amphur Mueng, Satun.
   : the variety spoken in Ban Tammalang Nuea, Tambon Tammalang, Amphur Mueng, Satun.
   : the variety spoken in Ban Nakhian Tambon Nakhian, Amphur Mueng, Nakhornsrithammarat.
   : the variety spoken in Tambon Moklan, Amphur Thasalaa, Nakhornsrithammaraat.

   Group Three   The dialects in this group are composed of ULS and ULP.   Other Malay varieties that can be put into this group are:-
   : *Urak Lawoi' spoken in Ko'Bulon Amphur Mueng,* Satun; Ko' Phi Phi; Ko' Cam; and Ko'Lanta, Krabi and in Laem Tukkae Ko' Sire, Phuket.

   Group Four   The dialect in this group comprises ST spoken in Tambon Bankhuan, Amphur Mueng, Satun.

2. **CHL dialect is a mixture between TML and ULS.** However, as the history of this dialect is so little known at the present time, the pattern of its development is still unexplained.

3. **The NST dialect and TML dialect form a transition from Group Four (ST) to Group One. (PT)**
   It might be of interest to see how other features besides phonological comparison will reflect the characteristics of the dialects of Malay in Thailand.

Note

1. For more details see Asmah Haji Omar (1977 : 2 - 4)

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