

**Lexical borrowing between Austronesian and Tai-Kadai
language families: Focus on Malay and Thai languages**
การยืมคำระหว่างตระกูลภาษาออสโตรนีเซียนกับตระกูลภาษาไท-กะได:
มุ่งความสนใจในคำภาษามาเลย์กับภาษาไทย

UmaiyaH Haji Umar*
umai@um.edu.my

Abstract

This paper investigates lexical borrowings between the Malay language (spoken by Pattani Malays, in Thailand) and the Thai language (spoken by Thais living in Kedah, Malaysia), belonging to the Austronesian and Tai-Kadai language families respectively. The borrowing process, as well as the phonological aspects of lexical items under study, is discussed.

A brief description of the historical background and characteristics of languages and dialects provides for a better understanding of the borrowing process between the two languages and dialects. The borrowing process is explored and explained with a description of physical change in the lexical items, and through the perceptions and world view of the speakers, i.e. Standard Malay versus Kedah Thai and Standard Thai versus Pattani Malay. It is found that culture and history of the communities which the speakers originate from, contributed immensely to the formation of their world view, impacting their languages and dialect.

This paper will provide researchers in the area of language borrowing a better insight on how the synchronic and diachronic approach can describe the language phenomena in a holistic manner.

Key Words: Austronesian language family, Tai-Kadai language family, Thai-Malay language, lexical borrowing

* Associate Professor, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

บทคัดย่อ

บทความนี้ศึกษาการยืมคำระหว่างภาษามาลเลย์ (ที่พูดโดยคนมาเลย์ในจังหวัดปัตตานี ประเทศไทย) ซึ่งอยู่ในตระกูลภาษาออสโตรนีเซียน กับภาษาไทย (ที่พูดโดยคนไทยที่อาศัยอยู่ในรัฐเคดาห์ ประเทศมาเลเซีย) ซึ่งอยู่ในตระกูลภาษา ไต-กะได บทความนี้รายงานเกี่ยวกับกระบวนการยืมคำและแง่มุมต่างๆ ทางด้านระบบเสียงของคำในการศึกษาดังกล่าว

นอกจากนี้ ยังได้นำเสนอข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับข้อมูลเรื่องประวัติศาสตร์และลักษณะของตระกูลภาษา ไต-กะได และตระกูลภาษาออสโตรนีเซียน รวมทั้งมีตารางแสดงลักษณะของภาษาและภาษาถิ่นในตอนท้ายของบทความ เพื่อใช้ประกอบการทำความเข้าใจเรื่องของกระบวนการยืมที่เกิดขึ้นระหว่างภาษาและภาษาถิ่นที่เกี่ยวข้อง กระบวนการยืมได้รับการตรวจสอบและการอธิบาย โดยอธิบายถึงการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางกายภาพที่เกิดขึ้นในคำศัพท์ และโดยอธิบายเรื่องการรับรู้และการมองโลกของผู้พูดภาษาถิ่น อันได้แก่ ภาษามาลเลย์มาตรฐานกับภาษาไทยที่เคดาห์ และภาษาไทยมาตรฐานกับภาษามาลเลย์ปัตตานี ผลการศึกษาปรากฏว่า วัฒนธรรมและประวัติศาสตร์ของชุมชนมีส่วนสำคัญในการสร้างการมองโลก จึงมีผลต่อภาษาและภาษาถิ่นอย่างมาก

บทความนี้จะช่วยให้นักวิจัยเรื่องการยืมคำได้เข้าใจอย่างลึกซึ้งและอย่างเป็นองค์รวม ในเรื่องการยืมคำในภาษาทั้งทางด้านการศึกษาภาษาเฉพาะสมัย และการศึกษาภาษาข้ามสมัย

คำสำคัญ: ตระกูลภาษาออสโตรนีเซียน, ตระกูลภาษาไต-กะได, ภาษาไทย-มาเลย์, การยืมคำ

1. Introduction

Lexical borrowing between communities speaking different languages in a majority-minority relationship fascinated me during my research on the minority communities in Kedah, Malaysia and in Bangkok, Thailand. These minority communities were bilingual, speaking in their own local dialect and language of the majority i.e. national language of the respective country.

In this paper, I will focus on the Kedah-Thais and Pattani-Malays a shift of the site of study from Malays in Bangkok (Umaiyah, 2003a, 2005a and 2005b). The Kedah-Thais who live in small communities are scattered across Kedah in Malaysia (Umaiyah, 2001). Traditionally, they are padi (rice) farmers and rubber planters. Pattani-Malays on the other hand are the majority community in the area and traditionally are padi farmers and rubber planters.

Prior to discussing language borrowing, I will proceed to discuss the background of the two languages under study.

Thai is the national language of Thailand and belongs to the Tai-Kadai family. The Tai-Kadai family were formerly categorised into the Sino-Tibetan family. According to Benedict (1976), Thai is related to the Austronesian language family, in the family called, “Austro-Thai”.

The Tai-Kadai family evolved from an ancestral language called Proto Tai-Kadai which is thought to have originated in the area between northern Vietnam and Southeastern China. The diversity of the Tai-Kadai languages in Southeast China suggests that this is close to their homeland. Speakers of Tai languages moved into Southeast Asia some 2,000 years ago into what is today Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, China, Burma and India. The Tai-Kadai family includes 76 languages with some 85 million speakers (see Figure I: Genetic Affiliation of Tai-Kadai under conceptual framework).

Bahasa Malaysia or Malay language, the national language of Malaysia is one of the Western Malayo-Polynesian subfamily of the Austronesian language family, and also one of the largest language families in the world comprising more than 700 languages. It is widely spread from Formosa (Taiwan) covering islands and some of the areas in the mainland of Southeast Asia, Madagascar in the West to the

East Island and Hawaii in the East and New Zealand in the South. (See Figure II: Subgrouping of Austronesian Languages after Blust).

The brief description of the language families under study provides a picture of the geographic spread of the languages and particularly how they are related through comparative and historical linguistic approach used for grouping.

Many factors can cause innovations and changes in language. Migration is considered to be one of the major causes in language change besides gradual evolution and development of one language as it resulted in the creation of language contact between the migrant group and the host group. In fact, the contact does not take place only between the two languages, if the society made up of races folded up with different cultures and languages, for example Malaysia and Thailand. Thus, one has to bear in mind that while focus on specific languages other dialects or languages with which it also has a relationship, need to be considered in terms of their influence on historical, cultural and societal aspects.

2. Significance of study

This paper would provide researchers in the area of language borrowing a better insight on how the synchronic and diachronic approach can describe the language phenomena in a holistic manner.

3. Objective

The objectives of the study are:

- 3.1 To investigate the historical background and provide a brief description of characteristics of the languages and dialects under study
- 3.2 To determine the borrowing process of lexical items of languages and dialects under study through investigation of phonological and morphological change
- 3.3 To explain borrowing phenomena in terms of culture and world view

4. Statement of the problem

This study is in the area of language contact between Thai and Malay, focusing on the borrowing which has been taken place from Standard Thai into Pattani Malay dialect in Pattani, Thailand and Standard Malay into Kedah Thai dialect in Kedah, Malaysia.

The approach adopted in this study is to compare the characteristics of the languages under study and determine borrowing through the synchronic method, complemented by the diachronic method.

5. Method

The method used in this paper is mainly through interview with native speakers of the dialects of Kedah Thais and Pattani Malays. Documented material by Roslan Uthai, (2005) in his book “A study on special features of Patani Malay dialect” is used to clarify some points on language characteristics and historical facts.

In order to ensure that data collected are valid and reliable, the author excluded lexical items that cannot be identified as being of Malay or Thai origin, or lexical items found be from a third language, such as the word ‘seri’, a loanword from Sanskrit.

6. Site and dialect selection

The study on lexical borrowing covers Kedah Thai dialects generally spoken by the Thais living in the state of Kedah. Attention is given to the dialect spoken in Naka, Kedah (latitude 6:08:25N and longitude 100:40:13 E) that was covered in a previous study, Umaiyah (2001).

The Pattani dialect as spoken in the province of Pattani, Thailand (latitude 6:48:47N and longitude 101:20:35E) is selected for this study. The researcher was unable to conduct site visit due to current unrest, thus data is based on Roslan Uthai (2005) and telephone calls to Pattani Malay native speakers in Pattani.

7. Data

Some 60 lexical items are chosen, that is, 30 lexical items from each site. The lexical items are transcribed phonemically with tonal characteristics shown using a number.

8. Scope and limitation

This paper is not intended to be a full fledged study on lexical borrowing. Analysis of the data will focus on explaining the borrowing phenomena within the context of culture that shaped the world view of the respondents.

Thus, the analysis will only cover the selected 60 lexical items after screening out lexical items that in the first instance had already been borrowed by the host language from a different language family group.

In this study, data on borrowed lexical items from the host language were collected from native speakers in the minority group, based on verbal interaction only between the native speakers in their respective dialects and within their community.

9. Conceptual framework and related literature

Considerations in formulating the conceptual framework are three elements: history/general characteristics of Thai and Malay language, language borrowing concept, and Thai and Malay phonological system.

9.1 History/general characteristics of Thai and Malay language

Proto-Tai, the prehistoric parent of all Tai languages (is believed) had a system of four tones, three of the tones on smooth syllable and one tone on checked syllable (Li, 1977). The tones are conventionally labelled by comparative linguists as A, B and C on the smooth syllables and D on the fourth tone. Proto-Tai tone D underwent not only a tonal split that was conditioned by the phonetic nature of syllable initial consonants but also split conditioned by vowel length: Words with short vowels (DS) had different tones from words with long vowels (DL).

The Tai-Kadai language is an Isolating Language in that the form of the word remains the same when used with other words because they have no inflectional morphology. It is a monosyllabic in nature. The syllables themselves have tones that are high, low, rising, falling etc. for example, Thai has five tones; take a Thai word /ma:/, which consists of phoneme /m/ and /a:/ can mean 'to come', 'dog', 'marinate' and 'horse' depending on the tone. The tree diagram of genetic affiliation of Tai-Kadai language is shown in Figure I.

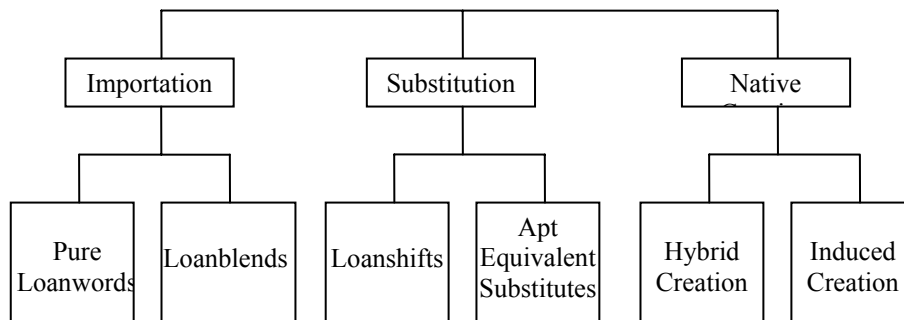
Austronesian Languages are an agglutinative in that affixes (suffixes, infixes, prefixes) can be attached to the base word to modify the meaning or to indicate the function of the word in the sentence. Generally the base words often have two syllables and replication is used to indicate plural numbers and changes in meaning.

Internal classification of the Proto-Austronesian language family is argued by Blust in a series of papers from 1977 to 1993 is shown in Figure II. The first division is into Formosan and Malayo-Polynesian. Formosan language is spoken by some 200,000 people in Taiwan.

Malayo-Polynesian comprises Eastern and Western Malayo-Polynesian (MP). The label ‘Western MP’ broadly covers the Austronesian languages of Borneo, Lesser Sundas, Madagascar, Malay Peninsula, Philippines and Vietnam. Blust regards the term ‘Western MP’ as a standing for a residual collection of unclassified groups. It is not the intent of this paper to provide a detailed account of the Central & Eastern MP, works of scholars and the various ways to subgroup the Austronesian language (see Figure II: Subgrouping of Austronesian Languages after Blust in Conceptual Framework).

9.2 Language borrowing concept

In this paper, the researcher believes that for analysis of language borrowing in Malay and Thai languages, the most suitable framework to describe the processes of innovations is that of Heah (1989). She has classified the processes of lexical expansion into importation, substitution and native creation.



Importation is a process of lexical innovation by which a phonemic sequence i.e. a lexical item is transferred outright from one language to another with or without formal modification. The product of importation is called a loanword.

The process of substitution, on the other hand, involves the transference of a concept from one language to another without simultaneous transfer of the form that originally encodes it. The recipient language uses native words to encode the foreign concept.

Sometimes the processes of importation and substitution operate in a single lexical item. Such a lexical item is called a loan blend. It consists of a morphemic borrowing and native morpheme.

Heah lists several subtypes under her general classification of loan shifts and apt equivalent substitutes for the products of the process of substitution. The main criteria for classification is held throughout: the use of native morphemes to code a foreign concept but at the same time, the use of the foreign form as a model for the innovation, though there could be modification in the innovation to suit native syntax.

The process of native creation, (this term was first used by Haugen (1953) on page 403) in Heah's system utilizes native morphemes for a foreign concept but ignores the encoding foreign form as a model for the innovation. In other words, the foreign concept only provides the stimulus for the formation of this new lexical item.

In Thai and Malay words, whatever has the more general idea comes first (is designated as noun) and the one that is more specific or is in modifying relation with the noun is designated as specifier. For example, the name of a type of banana; in Thai it is /kluaj khai/ ("banana" + "egg") and in Malay it is /pisang mas/ ("banana" + "gold").

9.3 Thai and Malay phonological system

A brief illustration of the Thai and Malay dialect and language phonological system is made in the form of tables (Tables I – XI). Table I to Table VI will be used to analyse lexical borrowing from Standard Malay by speakers of Thai Naka dialect. Table VII to Table XI will be used to analyse lexical borrowing from Standard Thai by speakers of Pattani Malay dialect.

10. Data analysis

Analyses of data (including meanings in English) on lexical borrowings from Standard Malay to the Thai Naka dialect and from Standard Thai to the Pattani Malay dialect are presented in Table XII and Table XIII respectively.

The phonemic shape of borrowed words in Table XIII is based on Table VII and Table VIII and the phonemic shape of the corresponding Standard Thai word/stimuli is based on Table X and Table XI. In this paper, phonemic shape of /j/ in Standard Thai applies to semivowel (adapted from Kitprasert, 1985).

11. Findings

Out of the thirty Malay words borrowed in the Kedah Thai-Naka dialect, 29 words were by importation. Of these, 26 words were loanwords and the other three were loanblends. One word was substitution, called loanshift. No native creation was observed. In the case of Pattani Malay, 29 Thai words were borrowed by importation made up of 24 loanwords and 5 loanblends. There is one (1) native creation.

Speakers of the Kedah Thai-Naka dialect add tone to all their borrowed items and in most cases phoneme substitution took place. For example, the word /campok²/ where the original sound of /tʃ/ (in campur) is changed to /c/ and the vowel in the final syllable from /o/ to /ɔ/ and the phoneme /r/ to /k/. Similarly, in the word /pasat² malam¹/, the original sound of /r/ is changed to /t/. In the Northern Malay dialect, the phoneme /r/ is changed to /ʕ/ (pharyngeal fricative).

In loanblends, for the words /lok rian³/ and /sua bate²/, the classifier is a Thai word and a Malay word is the specifier whereas in the case of /tapa² kʰuak⁷/ and /tapa² din²/, the classifier is the Malay word and the Thai word is the specifier.

Lexical items borrowed from Standard Thai by the Pattani Malay dialect no longer have tones. One feature of the Kelantan (and Pattani) dialect (Asmah, 1997) is on the word-final plosive, if the final position of a syllable or a word, where Kedah have a plosive, the internal cognate from the Kelantan dialect shows the occurrence of a glottal stop. Thus, when the borrowing is from Standard Thai and the words end with a plosive, one expects the substitution with glottal to take place. This is valid for all the data cited, such as /bɛʔ/ from /bɛ:p³/, /buʔ/ from /buk³/, /jɔʔ/

from /jok5/, /juʔ/ from /jut3/, /nɔn laʔ/ from / nɔ:n2 lap3/, /rɔʔ/ from /rɔ:p4/, /sɔʔ/ from /sɔ:p3/ and /suʔ/ from /sut3/.

Borrowed words may have similar sounds. However, the manner and place of articulation are quite different. For the word /cɔŋ/ in the Pattani Malay dialect, it is a Plosive voiceless unaspirated–Palatal: in Standard Thai /tɕɔ:ŋ2/ it is a Affricate voiceless unaspirated – Alveo-palatal. The same applies for the words /cɛŋ/ and /ci/ in Pattani Malay and /tɕɛ:ŋ4/ and /çi:4/ in Standard Thai.

The word /gu/ is another long established loanword in Pattani and also in the Kedah and Perlis Malay dialects. The corresponding Thai word /khu:/ is articulated in Plosive voiceless aspirated – Velar while the /gu/ is articulated in Voiced plosive – Velar.

The word /kkɔ hɔ/, according to Roslan Uthai (2005) is a monosyllabic loanword from the Thai word /khɔ:j4/. It may have evolved into a two syllable word probably due to long established use and adaptation to the Malay characteristic of disyllabic word.

An interesting observation about the Pattani Malay dialect is the existence of plosive voiceless aspirated, such as in the borrowed words from Thai – /p^hu then/, /p^hu wa/, /p^huʔ/ and /t^ha/. This manner of articulation has not been reported in the Malay language (in particular the Northern Malay dialects). Roslan Uthai, 2005 concluded that this is the result of continuing exposure of the Pattani Malay dialect to Standard Thai and that the dialect is evolving towards the Thai language. There is a shift from polysyllabic to disyllabic and eventually to monosyllabic, including becoming a tonal language, citing the unreported case of Satun Malay dialect as a case in point.

In attempting to explain lexical borrowing in the dialects of the two minority communities, a discussion on cultural elements may be useful. In the case of Kedah Thais, they are a minority group in the state of Kedah. The Pattani Malays are a minority in Thailand, but they are a majority in the province of Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat.

11.1 Official contacts

It is observed that loanwords are absorbed into the vocabulary resulting from the use of specific terms when dealing with government departments.

The use of words such as ‘pejabat’ (office), ‘cukai’ (tax) and undi (vote) extends into the Kedah Thai Naka dialect. Pattani Malays too use Thai words such as /dan/ (immigration), ‘phu wa’ (Governor of Province), ‘phu theŋ’ (representative – member of parliament) and /ma/ (summons or legal notice).

11.2 Education

Words learned in school tend to be used in everyday life and replace existing words. Kedah Thais absorb words such as ‘campək’ (add), ‘tola?’ (minus), ‘bahagi’ (divide) and ‘kali’ (multiply) while in school and continue to use them when conversing in their dialect. In the case of Pattani Malays, Thai words learned in schools also became loanwords (not cited in data).

The counting system of the Kedah Thai-Naka dialect follows the Malay counting system i.e. the use of /roi phan3/ (one hundred thousand). The Thai counting convention has names for every step increase (in tens) i.e. /sip3/ (ten), /roi5/ (hundred), /phan2/ (thousand), /mur:n3/ (ten thousand), /se:n1/ (hundred thousand) and /la:n5/ (million).

11.3 Business

Borrowing can take place through business relationships, linked to the introduction of new concepts such as products, features or application.

Pattani Malays create a loanblend to describe a car workshop, ‘ʔu bɛʔki kəɣetɔ’ or a store for boats ‘ʔu pəɣahu’ (‘ʔu’ a Thai word is mixed with Malay words). Another Thai word, ‘bɛʔ’ is borrowed from Thai word / bɛ:p3/ to describe pattern of design (of materials). In these cases, these are new terms to the Pattani Malay dialect.

Kedah Thais use Malay loanwords for terms, such as ‘kilan’ (factory), ‘kotak’ (box), ‘baja’ (fertiliser), ‘pasar malam’ (night market) and ‘pekan’ (small town). These words can be associated with coming into business contact with the mainstream society, a change from their previously predominantly agricultural lifestyle.

The Malay word ‘baja’ (fertiliser), for example is used by Kedah Thais and Pattani Malays. In Kedah, business is mainly transacted in Malay (or Chinese dialects) rather than in the Kedah Thai dialect. This is also true in Pattani where

Malay is widely spoken as the language of the majority (Pattani was the centre of the Malay Kingdom) and the mainstream economy has been agricultural in focus.

11.4 Social contact

Social contact between the minority and majority has impact on words borrowed.

An interesting observation is on the loanword /ʔala:3/ used by Kedah Thais as an initial particle which serves to confirm the intention of the speaker of the phrase that follows. The loanword is a common expression in Malay, /al lah/ or 'in the name of Allah, please be reasonable'. In Standard Thai, the equivalent expression is 'Phutho' (Buddha) which is often followed by phrases such as 'mai pen rai' (never mind). The use of the expression 'al lah' followed by the phrase 'mai pen rai' by Kedah Thais indicates an unconscious borrowing related to a high degree of social contact. Kedah Thais are Buddhists and would not have knowingly used 'Allah' (God – to Muslims) in their expressions. Another Malay initial particle commonly used in this case is the exclamation /ih2/ (to show surprise).

In these cases, one can infer there is active social contact in Malay language between Kedah Thais and the Kedah Malay communities in Kedah.

12. Conclusion and recommendations

The brief description of the historical background and characteristics of languages and dialects under study give rise to a better understanding of the borrowing process that is taken place between the two languages and dialects. The borrowing process is holistically explored and explained not only via description of physical change in the lexical items, but also through the perception and world view of the speakers of the languages and dialects, i.e. Standard Malay vs. Kedah Thai and Standard Thai vs. Pattani Malay. The culture and history of the community which the speakers originate from contribute immensely to the formation of their world view, impacting their languages and dialects.

Together with any other approach such as historical linguistics, further studies in the field of language contact should be carried out in depth so that a clearer picture of the relationship between languages can be attained.

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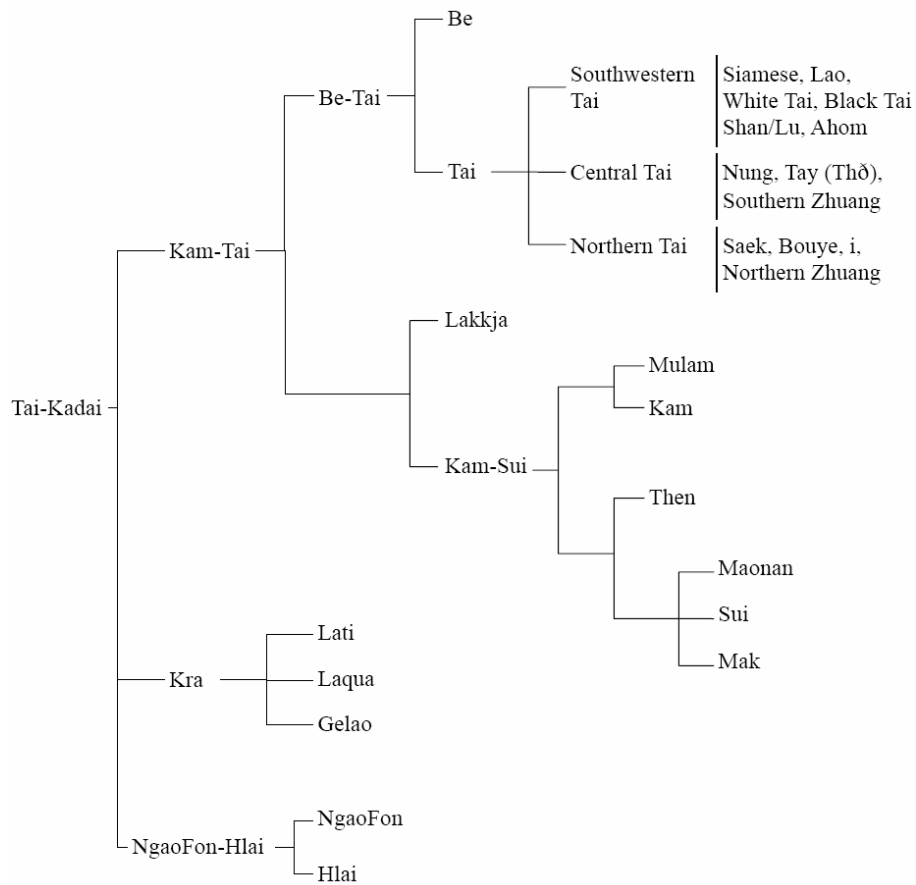


Figure 1 Genetic Affiliation of Tai-Kadai

(Adapted from Edmondson and Solnit 1997, L-Thongkum 2001, Thurgood 1988, Ostapirat 2000 and Burusphat 2007)

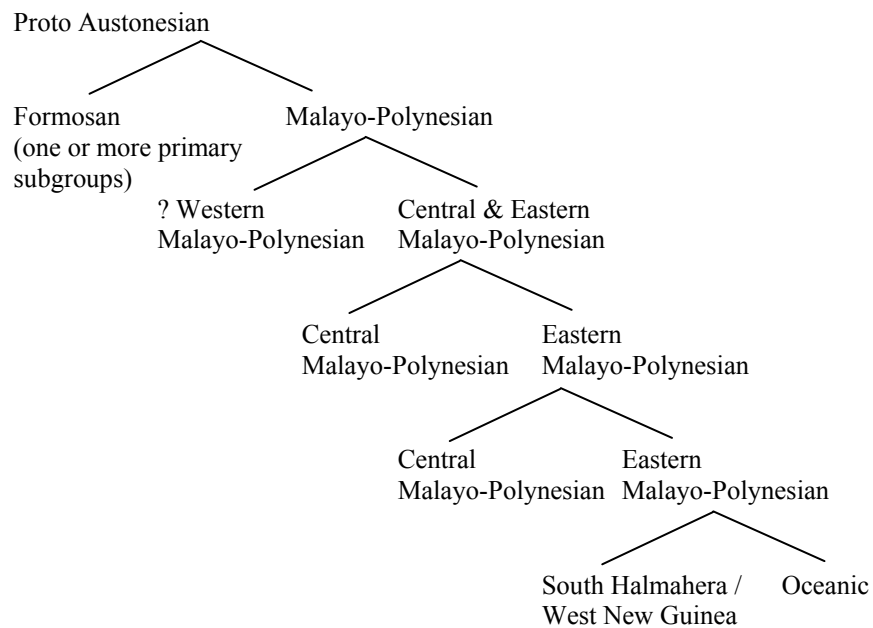


Figure II Subgrouping of Austronesian Languages After Blust

Table I The Gedney Theoretical Matrix of Possible Tonal Distinctions in Proto-Tai (Gedney, 1972)

Initial Conditioning Sounds at time of tonal splits	A	B	C	D-short	D-long
Voiceless friction sounds, *s, hm, ph, etc.	1	5	9	13	17
Voiceless unaspirated stops. *p, t, k	2	6	10	14	18
Glottal, *ʔ. ʔb, etc.	3	7	11	15	19
Voiced, *b, m, l, g, etc.	4	8	12	16	20

Table II Thai Naka Single Vowels (Umaiya, 2003a)

Tongue position Tongue level	Front		Mid		Back	
	short	long	short	long	short	long
High	i	i:	u	u:	ɯ	ɯ:
Mid	e	e:	ʌ	ʌ:	o	o:
Low	ɛ	ɛ:	a	a:	ɔ	ɔ:

Table III Thai Naka Consonant Phonemes (Umaiya, 2003a)

Type of Sound	Point of Articulation	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental or Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
	Manner of Articulation						
Plosive	voiceless unaspirated	p		t		k	ʔ
	voiceless aspirated	ph		th		kh	
	voiced	b		d		g	
Affricate	voiceless unaspirated				c		
	voiceless aspirated				ch		
Fricative	voiceless		f	s			h
Nasal	voiced	m		n	ɲ	ŋ	
Semi-vowel	voiceless						
	voiced	w			j		
Tap	voiced			r			
Lateral	voiced			l			

Table IV Thai Naka Tones (Umaiya, 2003a)

Syllable Initial Consonant Type	A	B	C	DS	DL
Type 1 Consonants Voiceless friction sounds	1 Low rising falling		5 Mid level	2	7 High level
Type 2 Consonants Voiceless aspirated stops	2 Mid rather high- slightly rising				
Type 3 Consonants Glottal					
Type 4 Consonants Voiced Consonants	3 Mid rather low level	4 Low slightly	6 Mid rather low-		4

Table V Standard Malay Consonants (Yunus Maris, 1963)

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	unvoiced	p			t			k	ʔ
	voiced	b			d			g	
Affricate	unvoiced					tʃ			
	voiced					dʒ			
Fricative	unvoiced				s				h
	voiced								
Nasal	unvoiced								
	voiced	m			n		ɲ	ŋ	
Lateral	unvoiced								
	voiced				l				
Trill	unvoiced								
	voiced				r				
Semi-vowel	unvoiced								
	voiced	w					j		

Table VI Standard Malay Pure Vowels (Yunus Maris, 1963)

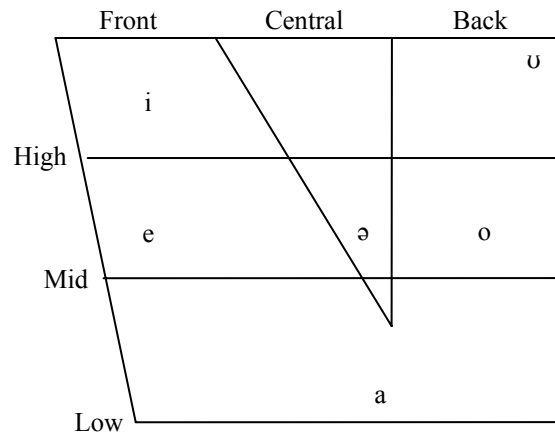


Table VII Pattani Malay Primary Consonant Phonemes
(Adapted from Paitoon, 1983)

Manner of Articulation	Point of Articulation				
	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive voiceless unaspirated	p	t	c	k	ʔ
Plosive voiceless aspirated	p ^h	t ^h	c ^h	k ^h	
Voiced plosive	b	d	j	g	
Voiceless fricative	f	s			h
Voiced fricative		z		ɣ	
Voiced lateral		l			
Voiced nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Semi-nasal	m ^b	n ^d	ɲ ^j	ŋ ^g	
Trill		r			
Voiced semi-vowel	w		y		

Table VIII Pattani Malay Vowel Phonemes
(Adapted from Paitoon, 1983)

Tongue	Tongue position		
	Front	Mid	Back
high	i		u, ū
low-high	e		o
low-	ɛ, ē	u	ɔ, ɔ̄
low		a, ā	

Table IX Standard Thai Tones (Adapted from Kitprasert, 1985)

Syllable Initial Consonant Type	A	B	C	DS	DL
Type 1 Consonants Voiceless friction sounds	1 Low rising	3 Low level	4 High falling	3	3
Type 2 Consonants Voiceless aspirated stops	2 Mid level				
Type 3 Consonants Glottal					
Type 4 Consonants Voiced Consonants		4	5 High rising falling	5	4

Table X Standard Thai Simple Consonant Phonemes
(Adapted from Kitprasert, 1985)

Point of Articulation Manner of Articulation	Bi- Labial	Labio- dental	Alveola r	Alveo- Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives: Voiceless unaspirated Voiceless aspirated Voiced	p ph b		t th d			k kh	ʔ
Fricatives		f	s				h
Affricates Voiceless unaspirated Voiceless aspirated				tɕ tɕh			
Nasals	m		n			ŋ	
Lateral			l				
Tap			r [ɾ]				
Semivowels	w				j		

Table XI Standard Thai Single Vowels
(Adapted from Kitprasert, 1985)

Tongue position	Front		Mid		Back			
Tongue level	short	long	short	long	short	long	short	long
High	i	i:			ɯ	ɯ:	u	u:
Mid-high	e	e:					o	o:
Mid-low	ɛ	ɛ:			ʌ	ʌ:	ɔ	ɔ:
Low			a	a:				

Table XII Lexical Borrowings in Thai Naka dialect

Item	Phonemic shape of borrowed word	Corresponding Standard Malay Word	Meaning (in the spoken context)	Borrowing process & remarks
1	/ʔala:3/	/al lah/	Initial particle to another statement e.g. never mind, to Thai Naka	Importation: Loanword, adding tone and phoneme loss.
2	/bahagi:2/	bahagi	divide	Importation: Loanword and adding tone. It may have been introduced through school curriculum (Malay is the medium of instruction).
3	/baja:3/	baja	fertiliser	Importation: Loanword and adding tone. It may be possible that fertilisers were introduced through the Malay community. The same is noted with Bangkok Malays, who use the Thai word 'pui' for fertiliser.
4	/campok2/	campu	add	Importation: Loanword, adding tone and phoneme substitution. It may have been introduced through school curriculum (Malay is the medium of instruction).
5	/cukai2/	cukai	tax	Importation: Loanword, adding tone and phoneme substitution.
6	/datoʔ2/	datuk	Title bestowed by head of state (Sultan)	Importation: Loanword, adding tone and no change in phoneme.

Item	Phonemic shape of borrowed word	Corresponding Standard Malay Word	Meaning (in the spoken context)	Borrowing process & remarks
7	/ih2/	ih	exclamation	Importation: Loan particle and adding tone, to show surprise. The equivalent Thai particle is ‘eh’.
8	/ja:m3/	jam	watch, clock, time (hour of the day)	Importation: Loanword, adding tone and vowel lengthening.
9	/juta:2/	juta	million	Importation: Loanword, adding tone.
10	/kɔtaʔ2/	kotak	box	Importation: Loanword, adding tone and phoneme substitution.
11	/kacaŋ2/	kacang	bean, nut	Importation: Loanword, adding tone and phoneme substitution.
12	/kali:4/	kali	multiply	Importation: Loanword, adding tone and phoneme substitution. It may have been introduced through school curriculum (Malay is the medium of instruction).
13	/kilaŋ1/	kilang	factory	Importation: Loanword, adding tone and phoneme substitution.
14	/ku:2/	aku	I, me	Importation: Loanword, truncation and adding tone (reduced to one syllable).
		Kedah Thai speakers believe this a borrowed word. In spoken Thai (Bangkok and Kedah), the use of this word is considered rude; but acceptable when used by closed group of the same age group. The same word ‘ku’ also exists in old Thai records. {Kedah Thais may not realise this is a Thai word too – as they are more exposed to Malay language}.		

Item	Phonemic shape of borrowed word	Corresponding Standard Malay Word	Meaning (in the spoken context)	Borrowing process & remarks
15	/kumpulan1/	kumpulan	group	Importation: Loanword, adding tone and phoneme substitution.
16	/lok rian3/	durian	durian, tropical fruit	Importation: Loanblend - mix of Thai and Malay words. Truncation of Malay word 'durian', and adding tone to 'rian'. Use indigenous word 'lok' as classifier for fruits.
17	/pasat2 malam1/	pasar malam	night market	Importation: Loanword, adding tone and phoneme substitution.
18	/pʌŋgʌtua2/	pengetua	head (headmaster)	Importation: Loanword, adding tone.
19	/pʌraŋ1/	perang	war	Importation: Loanword, adding tone.
20	/pʌjabat2/	pejabat	office	Importation: Loanword, adding tone and phoneme substitution.
21	/pʌkan2/	pekan	small town	Importation: Loanword, adding tone
22	/pʌsatuan2/	persatuan	association	Importation: Loanword, adding tone.
23	/roi phan3/	seratus ribu	one hundred thousand	Substitution: Loanshift. Adoption/ transference of foreign concept without the simultaneous transfer of the form that encodes it. In Thai, the word 'saen' is used to mean 'one hundred thousand'.
24	/suaa bateʔ2/	baju batik	batik shirt	Importation: Loanblend – mix of Thai and Malay words.

Item	Phonemic shape of borrowed word	Corresponding Standard Malay Word	Meaning (in the spoken context)	Borrowing process & remarks
		Adding tone for the Malay word i.e. batik. Use indigenous word /sua/ as classifier and Malay word /bateʔ2/ as specifier. The same is noted in Malay-English borrowings e.g. ‘baju kot’ also a loanblend.		
25	/sɔtɔŋ2/	sotong	cuttlefish	Importation: Loanword, adding tone and phoneme substitution.
26	/sajaŋ3/	sayang	love, affection	Importation: Loanword, adding tone and phoneme substitution.
27	/sakhu:2/	sagu	sago	Importation: Loanword, adding tone and phoneme substitution.
28	28.1 /tapaʔ2 kuak7/	Tapak (dari) kasut	footprint of shoe	Importation: Loanblend – mix of Malay and Thai words adding tone for the Malay word ‘tapak’ which is used as a classifier where as the Thai word/ kuak7/ acts as a specifier.
	28.2 /tapaʔ2 din2/	Tapak tanah	a piece of land	Importation: Loanblend – mix of Malay and Thai words adding tone for the Malay word ‘tapak’. (‘tapak’ = location and dimension of the piece of land) whereas the Thai word ‘din’ acts as the specifier.
		Both (28.1 and 28.2) sharing a common concept – to demarcate an area. This is an exception of a typical model of a loanblend. The classifier is a foreign word instead of a native word whereas the specifier is a native word instead of a foreign word.		

Item	Phonemic shape of borrowed word	Corresponding Standard Malay Word	Meaning (in the spoken context)	Borrowing process & remarks
29	/tolaʔ2/	tolak	minus	Importation: Loanword, adding tone. It may have been introduced through school curriculum (Malay is the medium of instruction).
30	/undi:2/	undi	vote	Importation: Loanword adding a tone. It may have been introduced through the election process in Malaysia.

Table XIII Lexical Borrowings from Standard Thai in Pattani Malay dialect
(Adapted from Ruslan Uthai, 2005)

Item	Phonemic shape of borrowed word	Phonemic shape of corresponding Standard Thai word/stimuli	Meaning (in the spoken context)	Borrowing process and remarks
1	1.1 /ʔu bɛʔki kuyɛtɔ/	/ʔu:3 rot5/	car repair workshop	Importation: Loanblend - mix of Thai word ('ʔu'-classifier) and Malay word (bɛki kɛyɛtɔ-specifier). Vowel shortening on Thai word.
	1.2 /ʔu puyahu/	/ʔu:3 ruu2/	store for boats	Importation: Loanblend – mix of Thai word ('ʔu' - classifier) and Malay word (pəyahu - specifier). Phoneme substitution on Thai word.
2	/bɛʔ/	/bɛ:p3/	pattern, design (of materials)	Importation: Loanword. Phoneme substitution.
3	/bɔ/	/phɔ:2/	when, (at the time)	Importation: Loanword. Phoneme substitution.

Item	Phonemic shape of borrowed word	Phonemic shape of corresponding Standard Thai word/stimuli	Meaning (in the spoken context)	Borrowing process and remarks
4	/buʔ/	/buk3/	attack,	Importation: Loanword. Phoneme substitution.
5	/cɔŋ/	/tɕɔːŋ2/	to (place) order	Importation: Loanword. Phoneme substitution. Vowel shortening.
6	/cɔŋ/	/tɕɔːn2/	sideburn	Importation: Loanword. Phoneme substitution.
7	/cɛŋ/	/tɕɛːŋ4/	to complain/ appeal, report	Importation: Loanword. Vowel shortening
8	/ci/	/tɕiː4/	rob	Importation: Loanword. Vowel shortening
9	/dan/	/daːn3/	immigration	Importation: Loanword. Vowel shortening
10	/gu/	/khuː/	pair (classifier)	Importation: Loanword. Phoneme substitution.
11	/jɔŋ/	/jɔːm2/	admit	Importation: Loanword. Phoneme substitution.
12	/jɔʔ/	/jok5/	round (classifier e.g. boxing competition)	Importation: Loanword.
13	/jiŋ/	/jiŋ2/	shoot (gun, football)	Importation: Loanword. (Shoot the ball = concept from English; substitution in Thai). Phoneme substitution.
14	/juʔ/	/jut3/	stop	Importation: Loanword. Phoneme substitution.
15	/kkɔ hɔ/	/khɔːj4/	slowly, softly	Importation: Loanword, morphological integration. Adapted into Malay with two syllable (almost unrecognisable as a loanword)
16	/loʔ chin/	/luk4 chin5/	fish ball	Importation: Loanword.

Item	Phonemic shape of borrowed word	Phonemic shape of corresponding Standard Thai word/stimuli	Meaning (in the spoken context)	Borrowing process and remarks
17	/ma/	/ma:j1/	summons, notice (legal letter)	Importation: Loanword.
18	/moŋ buah bola/	/moŋ3 luk4 bɔn2/	heading (ball)	Importation: Loanblend - mix of Thai word ('moŋ' - classifier) and Malay word (buah bola - specifier).
19	/nɔn laʔ/	/nɔ:n2 lap3/	asleep	Importation: Loanword. Phoneme substitution