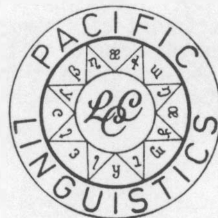
PACIFIC LINGUISTICS
Series A - No. 67

PAPERS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIAN LINGUISTICS NO.9

LANGUAGE POLICY, LANGUAGE PLANNING AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

David Bradley, ed.



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Bradley, D. editor. *Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics No. 9: Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia.*
A-67, vi + 220 pages. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1985. DOI:*10.15144/PL-A67.cover*
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First Published 1985

Typeset by Sue Tys

Printed by A.N.U. Printing Service Bound by Adriatic Bookbinders Pty Ltd

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for assistance in the production of this series.

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund.

National Library of Australia Card Number and ISBN 0 85883 325 5

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INTRODUCTION

The general theme of this book is the sociolinguistic issues related to language planning and language policy in mainland South-East Asia. Though there has already been a great deal of work done in this area, much still remains to be done.

Language is a key aspect of national identity, so policy and planning for national development usually concern language.

It is desirable that such policies should be comprehensive and well informed; so if some of the information contained herein is useful, the book will have served its purpose.

In some countries, much excellent research has already been done; this is especially true for Indonesia, where the example of Alisjahbana stands out. Many others have also worked there, including an international team whose efforts are reported in Rubin et al 1977. The Philippines has also been well served; many of the scholars in that country have contributed articles to a previous *Pacific Linguistics* volume, Perez, Santiago and Nguyen, eds (1978). For Malaysia, the best work has been done by Asmah, who has also contributed an article for this volume.

It is perhaps not an accident that these three countries are those with the most extensive and centralised language planning networks. Other countries have several bodies whose functions include language policy; in some of these, such as Burma, the various government bodies are well coordinated, but in others there may be some overlap or lack of clear authority in language matters. The paper by Gupta surveys the general situation in various ASEAN countries; this is followed by various papers on specific countries. First are the ASEAN countries, then those of Indochina, Burma, and finally the linguistic links between South-East and South Asia.

Singapore has various ethnic communities, but the numerically preponderant group is the Chinese. Of course in Singapore, as elsewhere in South-East Asia, the Chinese come from a variety of Southern Chinese backgrounds, and speak various non-Mandarin dialects. However, a recent decision for Mandarin to replace dialects in most contexts has led to a rapid increase in the use of Mandarin in Singapore. Platt's contribution gives data on the process and progress of this change. That by Ng discusses one of the distinctive characteristics of the resulting variety of Mandarin: it shows variation in retroflexion.

Malaysia is another country with citizens from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. There, the largest group is the Malays, and their language, Bahasa Malaysia, is being progressively extended to use in all situations, with the active participation of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, the official language planning body. Asmah gives a general discussion of this process.

Thailand is on the whole a homogeneous country, with a well-assimilated urban Chinese minority, several peripheral areas with large groups speaking the languages of adjacent countries, and some small tribal groups in border areas.

However the Thai are by far the largest group, and in many areas other groups are tending to assimilate into the general Thai population. The article by Diller considers register or stylistic differences within Thai, a neglected aspect of the description of South-East Asian national languages; extensive stylistic differences are also found in Bahasa Malaysia and Malay; Burmese; and elsewhere. Prapart's paper discusses the status of the Malays and their language in Southern Thailand, as a minority in Thailand but speakers of the language of neighbouring Malaysia. My article deals with the tribal minorities and a particular instance of the progressive assimilation of one such group, and suggests that education in the national language is a key factor in this process.

The three countries in Indochina have similar recent histories: French colonialism, then a long and traumatic period of conflict. However they are very different, in language and other ways. In a survey of the little-known recent history of the Khmer language, Thel Thong provides previously-unavailable or uncorrelated data from his perspective as a participant in the language planning process. Since the background of Vietnamese is much better known, Nguyen has provided a paper on a key aspect of language planning: the formulation and ratification of new terminology; Nguyen himself, as well as other workers, have already done the basic work on the history of language policy in Vietnam; see, for example, Nguyen 1980. Unfortunately no paper on Laos was available, so in this aspect the volume is incomplete.

The final paper on a South-East Asian country is by Allott on Burma. This is a particularly thorough survey of developments concerning Burmese over the last hundred years, which is very useful since almost all of the literature exists only in Burmese. This is followed by two papers which link South-East and South Asia in a sociolinguistic way. The first, by Barz and Diller, investigates the distribution of a particular syntactic phenomenon: numeral classifiers. Such typological studies rarely extend beyond the geographical confines of a linguistic area, and often deal less comprehensively with a range of topics. Hence this paper may prove useful to language planners, as it shows that similar linguistic structures occur in various adjacent languages, and these structures are quite different from those of the former colonial or major foreign languages such as English. The final paper, by Yadav, describes the last remaining Great Andaman language; it is spoken in the Andaman Islands, a part of India which is geographically adjacent to South-East Asia. This paper contains irreplaceable data which can be compared to that in Man 1932 and Radcliffe-Brown 1948 among other sources; and it shows the progress of language replacement in that community.

In summary, papers from a variety of perspectives have been assembled, all of which concern some aspect of the sociolinguistics of language planning in mainland South-East Asia, or related questions of language structure and minority language death. Those on the countries which have received less scholarly attention to date provide a general survey, while others deal with specific areas of language policy, problems of language structure often neglected in the planning process, or issues relating to minority groups within a national context. In all cases, the views expressed in the papers are those of the author or authors.

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A-67, vi + 220 pages. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1985. DOI:*10.15144/PL-A67.cover*
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LANGUAGE STATUS PLANNING IN THE ASEAN COUNTRIES[1]

Anthea Fraser Gupta

This paper is an examination of some possible links between the political motivations in articulated language policy and the sociolinguistic status of official languages. A distinction must be made first between linguistically homogeneous and linguistically heterogeneous states. The cut-off point for homogeneity is of course arbitrary, although the identification of such states is in fact easier in practice than in theory. In a linguistically homogeneous state, one language is spoken as a sole native language by the overwhelming majority of the nationals. Fishman (1968b:55) sets homogeneity at 85% given that there is no significant minority. Examples of such countries would be the United Kingdom or Japan. Linguistically heterogeneous states are diverse, and have been classified in a variety of ways, most interestingly for the purposes of this paper, by Kloss (1969). The ASEAN countries are all heterogeneous except Thailand. There, as in other 'homogeneous' states, the homogeneity in this sense does not preclude the existence of minority groups who may have an importance not suggested by their small size, while not all native speakers of the dominant language are speakers of the standard variety. Thus in homogeneous countries dialect differences become more important.

However, the language issues of linguistically homogeneous states and those of linguistically heterogeneous states will differ considerably (Fishman 1968a), linguistically heterogeneous states normally having more difficult decisions to make about language policy. The choice of official language(s), which is the aspect of language planning with which this paper is concerned, is characteristically more difficult, more hazardous, but more open to social engineering in a linguistically heterogeneous state.

WHAT IS AN OFFICIAL LANGUAGE?

For Garvin (1974) the defining characteristic of an official language is recognition by some governmental authority, i.e. a language is official because the government says it is. The official language or one of several official languages may in addition be designated as 'national language', and Garvin distinguishes two common usages of this term:

(1) a national language is a language serving the entire territory of the nation (in contrast with a regional language)

(2) the national language is the language which functions as a national symbol.

As several writers have pointed out however (Fishman 1969, Whiteley 1971, Conrad and Fishman 1977), there is tremendous variation from country to country

David Bradley, ed. *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.9: *Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia*, 1-14. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-67, 1985.
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Gupta, A.F. "Language status planning in the ASEAN countries". In Bradley, D. editor, *Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics No. 9: Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia.*
A-67:1-14. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1985. DOI:*10.15144/PL-A67.1*
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in the use of these terms, and in the rigidity with which legally sanctioned languages are used to the exclusion of those without any overt official recognition. Nevertheless, whatever the de facto situation in a state may be, the de jure situation is in itself of interest, as being an articulation of intentions, wishful thinking, or direction of development. Formulae of the sort proposed by Stewart (1968), Ferguson (1966) or Kloss (1968) fall short of really characterising the situation in a given locality if an assumption is made of a match between the real situation and the legalistic one.

Governments designate languages by one or more of the following terms:

(1) national (in either of the senses given by Garvin, but usually the second)

(2) official (either countrywide or regional; either a sole official language or one of two or more equal or unequal official languages)

(3) working (this is the status of English in Sri Lanka - this designation normally has about it a sense of being an unsatisfactory interim measure while a more suitable language, usually a national language, is being promoted).

These categories of course overlap (one language may be all three) and not all countries use all of these terms. A linguistically homogeneous country may even have *no* articulated language policy for the majority language. Typically, minority groups in such countries (especially indigenous minority groups, and particularly those who were or who feel they were there before the majority group) agitate for limited (often regional) areas of recognition for their own languages, and in particular for the promotion of education in their languages (e.g. Welsh in the UK, Breton in France, Basque in Spain). In this paper I have not distinguished between national and official language unless I have so specified.

Kloss (1968:79) further points out that *below* the level of legalistic official recognition, the relationship between a language and the government may be one of three further sorts:

(1) "promoted"

A language may be to a limited extent promoted by the government, although not designated as official. It may be used in some official broadcasts, brochures, or other media used to reach the citizens, and it may be used in the early stages of education.

This latter use may allow most children to have their first education in their native language. This is usually felt to be educationally desirable, though in countries such as Singapore, or in the urban concentrations of many linguistically heterogeneous states, it is probably too involved and expensive to be feasible, owing to the multitude of small groups, their geographical dispersion (rather than concentration), and often the difficulty of ascertaining what a child's native language is in a situation of near-universal bi/multilingualism. Furthermore there are situations where the undesirable social consequences of giving every child an education in the native language would outweigh the possible educational benefits to the individual.

There are many examples of 'limited government promotion' - for example the use of Urdu in the UK. There are TV and radio programs in Urdu, and brochures about such things as post office services for distribution to readers of Urdu.

(2) "in no way promoted by the state ... but ... [not] restricted"

A language not promoted in any way may nevertheless be tolerated, and is to be found in use between citizens in private clubs, in films, in religion, in private schools, or simply between persons in public.

Examples of this are innumerable: Punjabi in Singapore, for instance.

(3) "proscribed"

A language may be proscribed and its very use in public dangerous: examples of this, the reverse of official, are luckily rare; so rare in fact that I am unable to give a modern example, and even the historical ones (e.g. Scots Gaelic in late 18th century Britain) are dubious. Limited areas of proscription are however very common, especially the proscription of non-standard varieties in school (e.g. the imposition of a small fine for the use of Chinese varieties other than Mandarin in Singapore schools).

The choice of official language(s) in countries where the choice of official language is not made obvious by the demographic structure can be a powerful tool in social engineering, and there is thus a link between the choice of official language and the political decisions. Quite apart from the actual success of official language policy in terms of its achieving its aims in social engineering, the choice of official language has various legal and political implications, notably those concerning the leaders' perceptions of their country and their ambitions for it.

TYPES OF DECISIONS

A the government wishes to satisfy the articulated demands of its people

This may seem an obvious political goal, but a number of countries find that they have other goals which override it, e.g. B (Malaysia) or F/G (South Africa). Depending on the philosophy of the government, the dissatisfied section of the population may be wooed, pacified, ignored, or oppressed.

B fostering a national identity through language

For many countries language is a main medium for the expression of national unity. However, although many countries in which "the geographical boundaries are far in advance of sociocultural unity" (Fishman 1968a:43) feel it is desirable to promote a national identity through language, and may adopt unpopular and in fact unfeasible schemes to promote it (e.g. India), language is not necessary for the expression of national unity (e.g. Switzerland) and in fact the promotion of a language for this purpose may in some cases be divisive (e.g. India again).

C improving inter-group communication

In a fragmented state, communication between disparate groups may be improved by the careful choice and promotion of an official language. A widely used lingua franca may already be available (e.g. Malay in the Malay Archipelago, Swahili in East Africa), but over the years the lingua franca function of a language may increase, especially in a situation of universal or near universal elementary education (e.g. English in Singapore).

D increasing or maintaining differences between separate groups

In some societies, different groups wish to be identified as different, and given special linguistic recognition (Wales, Singapore, etc.). If the government were not to maintain these differences this might be seen as an attempt to wipe out the culture. In other societies (South Africa is the best example), diverse groups (Zulu, Xhosa, etc.) wish to see themselves primarily as united vis a vis a shared other, and may see government attempts to emphasise their separateness as an attempt to prevent the formation of a larger power base. The Soweto riots were *for* the teaching of English (the language of intra-group unity) and *against* the emphasis on Afrikaans (the language of the opposing group) and on African languages (the languages of disunity and of disadvantage). Similarly, there is currently a dispute in the Indian state of West Bengal, where the Marxist state government wishes to abandon the teaching of English in state primary schools, in order to reinforce the separateness of West Bengal from the rest of India, and from the non-Marxist central government, while the opposing faction wishes to maintain the sense of Indianness as embodied in this case in the common use of English. Another effect of the loss of English teaching in state primary schools will be to further enlarge the gulf between rich and poor, as private schools will not be affected.

E aiding a currently or historically downtrodden group

There are of course different perceptions of downtroddenness depending on the group membership of the individual. This motivation often involves either a shift in power, or a differential manifestation of power. The important thing may be the government's avowed intention, though there is normally some element of truth (e.g. Malaysia, Sri Lanka). See also G below.

F keeping a downtrodden group downtrodden

Normally linked with G below. South Africa is the clearest example (see van den Berghe 1968) but this motivation may be deeply hidden behind a variety of official language policies more frequently than might at first be thought.

G promoting the interests of the ruling group

This is often linked with F as in the case of South Africa, but in the case of Malaysia and Sri Lanka it is linked with E.

H improving or maintaining international standing

Although given much importance by politicians in countries which are contemplating the abandonment of a language of wider communication in favour of an indigenous language (usually in the interests of motivation B), this is in fact a very minor consideration. In most countries - Singapore is one of the exceptions - very few members of the society interact with foreigners or work in areas where a non-indigenous language is essential. Furthermore even if a language is not designated as official, it can still be valued, and be taught in schools as national policy (e.g. English in the Netherlands, Sweden, Indonesia).

Official languages can be classified in a variety of ways. Official languages must normally be standard languages (Garvin 1974). If a language is selected to be an official language which at the time of selection is not a fully developed modern standard language, then the government must be prepared to invest time,

money and propaganda into making it so (Hebrew, Bahasa Indonesia, Somali). With this proviso in mind, an official language may have one or more of the following characteristics. (Note that an indigenous language is a language spoken as a native language by a group of individuals who regard themselves as of a country - government policy can of course change citizenship patterns in such a way as to effectively remove from actual citizenship particular ethnic groups, as in South Africa):

1 OVERWHELMING MAJORITY: the language is spoken as a native language by the overwhelming majority of the population of the country

Quantification of the size of the overwhelming majority is less important than its impressionistic assessment (see above).[2] The geographical dispersion or concentration of the minorities is often an important factor in determining their importance or power. However, where there is this type of language available for use as official language, it is typically the only official language, although a representative language (Type 3) may be used regionally (e.g. Welsh in the United Kingdom). If the Type 1 language has no historical standard variety, the government may feel it necessary to combine this with one or even more than one LWCs (Type 6), at least as an interim measure, as was the case in Somalia. The astonishing speed of the transfer to Somali (Andrzejewski 1980) was helped by a number of linguistic and non-linguistic factors, among which were the dominance of Somali colloquially and the existence of a standard speech form despite the absence of a standard written variety.

2 NUMERICAL MAJORITY: the language is the native language of the largest linguistic group in the country

The group speaking the language may be, or may be presented as being, a numerical majority of the population (Mandarin in China, Sinhala in Sri Lanka, Malay in Malaysia), or it may be the largest single group in a very fragmented country (Hindi in India).

The existence of sometimes sizable minorities can make the choice of a numerical majority language a more controversial one than the choice of an overwhelming majority language (Type 1), but the emotive force of size is such that a government can have as a sole official language a language which is taken to be that of a numerical majority, and can invest that decision with a legitimacy implausible if the language is not the language of the largest group. The constellations of decisions and language types operating under this principle are especially variable. In the case of Chinese, for example, Standard Chinese[3] is a variety long felt to be *the* standard form of a wide range of varieties, although spoken as a native variety mainly in the north. Hindi in India, however, and especially in Southern India, has had little special status at all until after independence, although the distribution of native speakers is superficially comparable to that of Chinese in PRC. Even in areas of India where languages historically related to Hindi are used, Hindi is not of course seen as the standard variety of languages which have their own standard forms. Malay in Malaysia is the native language of an ethnic group which, like most ethnic groups in Malaysia, is spread more or less throughout the country, and has been used for centuries (in a pidginised form) as a lingua franca. Thus in assessing local interpretation of this type of official language, features particular to the country must be taken into account, and especially the link between the language as that of a numerical majority and its function as a representative language (Type 3), an indigenous prestige language (Type 4) and an indigenous lingua franca (Type 5).

3 REPRESENTATIVE: the language can be seen as being representative of a group of citizens

The language is seen as being closely connected with a particular cultural group, and can be seen as representative of that group's participation in the *civitas*. A government that uses languages of this type always has more than one official language, and cannot be said to be "actively pursuing the socio-cultural unification that befits those whose common nationality is manifest" (Fishman 1968a:43). The group thus represented is significant in terms of its position in terms of the power structure (or at least in terms of apparent governmental recognition of its place in the power structure), but not necessarily in terms of size. Representative languages may be regional, where geographical distribution permits, as in the Indian states. Even if actual geographical distribution would not normally suggest regional official languages, this may be achieved de jure (South Africa).

If only two or three languages are spoken in a country, it may be easy to satisfy everyone at the national level. In more complex situations selective groups may be satisfied at national level (Afrikaans and English in South Africa).

4 INDIGENOUS PRESTIGE: the language is the native language of some of the citizens, and has high prestige within the country

The language may be felt to be the standard variety of related varieties (Standard Chinese in PRC). It is often the language of the elite or ruling group (English and Afrikaans in South Africa). Often the language was once the language of a colonial power which has been indigenised (Spanish in many South American countries). There is certainly a tendency for LWCs (Type 6) to turn into indigenous prestige languages over the course of years, as an elite group become native speakers. In this case the language may not be associated with a particular ethnic group but with an elite group whose membershipping is at least in part determined by use of the language. The situation may well be a complex one, as it is in some South American situations, where there may be an assumption of actual Spanish ancestry linked with fluency in the language, but where membership of the elite group is in fact potentially available through the language given an appropriate appearance.

5 INDIGENOUS LINGUA FRANCA: the language is an indigenous language widely used as a lingua franca in the country

The language may or may not be the native language of a numerically large or politically powerful group. In any case the language which is used as a lingua franca is likely to be pidginised and to have become distinct from its ancestor still being spoken by the engendering ethnic group. A language used widely as a lingua franca is often not a standard language, but is well worth developing into one, especially if it is *not* also the language of the ruling or dominant group. Indonesia is the classic example of this, along with those East African countries where Swahili was widely used (e.g. Kenya, see Parkin 1974:208). Countries having this kind of language available may be able to have only one official language at national level, or may combine an indigenous lingua franca with an LWC (Kenya, Tanzania).

6 LWC: the language is not a native language of any single ethnic group within the country, and is not felt to be indigenous, but it has a historical association with the country and is used as a lingua franca especially among the elite

This is typically the language of former colonial masters and an LWC (language of wider communication, or international language). It is often seen as ethnically neutral and functions as a bridge language between disparate ethnic groups (English in Nigeria, India, etc.). Equally typically, an LWC successfully promoted as an official language tends to move towards being an indigenous prestige language - the nativisation of LWCs is a gradual process, and it is impracticable to attempt to identify a cut-off point. By the same process, as the use of the LWC gets extended to sections of the population other than the elite, it becomes nativised as an indigenous lingua franca normally in a somewhat pidginised, creolised, or mixed variety.

The table below gives some indication of the likely links between political motivation and type of language chosen. It will be noted that in most cases the impact of the type of language chosen will be contingent on local factors. However, an indication of the force of a particular government's official language policy can usually be gained from an examination of the total pattern of language choice.

Motivation	TYPES OF LANGUAGE CHOICE		
	Likely to achieve the motivation[4]	Effect on motivation highly dependent on local contingencies	Unlikely to achieve the motivation[4]
A (SATISFYING DEMANDS)	Overwhelming Majority (1); Representative (3); Lingua Franca (5)	Numerical Majority (2); Indigenous Prestige (4); LWC (6)	
B (NATIONAL IDENTITY)	Overwhelming Majority (1); Lingua Franca (5)	Numerical Majority (2); Indigenous Prestige (4)	Representative (3); LWC (6)
C (COMMUNICATION)	Lingua Franca (5)	Numerical Majority (2); Indigenous Prestige (4); LWC (6)	Representative (3)
D (DIFFERENTIATION)	Representative (3)	Numerical Majority (2); Indigenous Prestige (4); LWC (6)	Lingua Franca (5)
E (RAISING)		Numerical Majority (2); Representative (3); Lingua Franca (5); LWC (6)	Indigenous Prestige (4)
F (REPRESSION)	Overwhelming Majority (1); Indigenous Prestige (5)	Numerical Majority (2); Representative (3); Lingua Franca (5); LWC (6)	
G (SELF-INTEREST)	Overwhelming Majority (1); Indigenous Prestige (4); LWC (6)	Numerical Majority (2); Representative (3)	Lingua Franca (5)
H (INTERNATIONAL STANDING)	LWC (6)	Overwhelming Majority (1); Numerical Majority (2); Representative (3); Indigenous Prestige (4); Lingua Franca (5)	

Table 1: The reflection of political motivations in official language choice

THE ASEAN COUNTRIES

Indonesia

LANGUAGE	TYPE OF LANGUAGE	MOTIVATION
Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian)	Lingua Franca (5)	B (NATIONAL IDENTITY) C (COMMUNICATION)

Table 2: Motivation and language choice in Indonesia

Bahasa Indonesia (*Indonesian language*: bahasa means *language*) has been the subject of much corpus planning to convert it into a standard language. It was based on the somewhat pidginised lingua franca form of a language (Malay) which is the native language of some citizens, but not of the largest group which is the Javanese. Other languages are actively promoted in Indonesia, education normally being given in the native language up to the third year of primary school and in Bahasa Indonesia. English has replaced Dutch as the first foreign language. The considerable success of Bahasa Indonesia has been helped by a variety of factors, foremost among them being, of course, its widespread use as a lingua franca, not just in Indonesia, but throughout the Malay archipelago. The language became associated with the independence movement, and its success as a modern egalitarian language has been helped by the multifarious social difficulties of speaking Javanese.

Malaysia

LANGUAGE	TYPE OF LANGUAGE	MOTIVATION
Bahasa Malaysia (Malaysian)	Numerical Majority (2); Lingua Franca (5)	B (NATIONAL IDENTITY) C (COMMUNICATION) E (RAISING) G (SELF-INTEREST)

Table 3: Motivation and language choice in Malaysia

Bahasa Malaysia is the modern standard version of Malay, various varieties of which (none of them identical to the codified Bahasa Malaysia) are spoken natively by the largest single group in this ethnically heterogeneous country, claimed to be just over 50% of the population. Like Bahasa Indonesia, Malaysian has been planned at all levels. Since 1972 some of this planning has been in conjunction with the planning of Bahasa Indonesia (Asmah 1979:61). Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Malaysia are mutually intelligible, and the modern forms of both are now normally written in the Roman script, although the Jawi (Arabic) script continues to be used for Bahasa Malaysia, non-officially (see Asmah 1979: 67).

The strengths and weaknesses of the Malaysian language policy can easily be inferred from Table 3. The choice of a lingua franca would normally be incompatible with motivation G, certainly in the case of a country like Malaysia with efficient and extensive primary education. In fact, motivation G cannot be, and

has not been achieved through the adoption of Malay as the sole official language. In Malaysia, mastery of Bahasa Malaysia is necessary, but may not be sufficient, to gain access to the ruling group. Under the bumiputera (*son of the soil*) policy, a proportion of places at universities, in government jobs, in businesses and so on, are reserved for members of groups officially designated as indigenous. Although the proportion of reserved places is actually less than the proportion of people so designated in the country as a whole, the effect on the Chinese and Indian sectors is disproportionate, the aim being to increase access to the bumiputeras in areas where traditionally they have not participated (Motivation E).

Although English is no longer de jure an official language in Malaysia, it continues to be promoted. For example English is a compulsory school subject, and there is considerable investment in its teaching. English is also used in several areas normally associated with official languages, for example in law, and even in parliament. Other native languages are also promoted, Chinese, Tamil, Iban and Kadazan being taught to concentrations of their speakers in addition to Malaysian and English (Asmah 1979:26).

Philippines

LANGUAGE	TYPE OF LANGUAGE	MOTIVATION
Filipino/Pilipino	Numerical Majority (2); Lingua Franca (5)	B (NATIONAL IDENTITY)
English	LWC (6)	A (SATISFYING DEMANDS) C (COMMUNICATION) H (INTERNATIONAL STANDING)

Table 4: Motivation and language choice in the Philippines

Filipino or Pilipino has been and still is the subject of much language corpus and status planning, and there have been many changes of direction, not to mention changes of name, in the process of converting it to a modern standard language, and of promoting it as a national language and lingua franca. According to the 1973 constitution, the national language is Filipino, but the initial F refers to a language which is an ambition rather than a reality. The language which perhaps emerged as something other than Tagalog in the 1960s (Lumbera in Gonzales and Bautista 1981:152) continues to be referred to as Pilipino (Bautista in Gonzales and Bautista 1981:316), a term used in a Ministry of Education and Culture Order of 1975. The choice of initial letter, and the relationship between the referents, and between the referents and Tagalog, is contentious (Perez in Gonzales and Bautista 1981:316). One reason for non-Tagalog speakers to prefer the F is that Tagalog supposedly does not use /f/ unlike many other of the languages of the Philippines which do. Most Philippinos however use /f/ if only in common personal names of Spanish origin (Llamzon, personal communication).

The use of Pilipino as a lingua franca and as a native language is increasing, due at least in part to the popular television programs and films which use Pilipino, and aided by in-migration to Metropolitan Manila. Pilipino is based on Tagalog, a language which is spoken natively by about a quarter of the population, in the Western Philippines, including the area around the capital, Manila.

The major languages of the Philippines are closely related members of the Malayo-Polynesian group, one factor which makes the identification of putatively distinct languages particularly difficult. In recent years, as we see in the invention of the names Pilipino (1957) and Filipino, there has been an effort to de-emphasise the association of the national language, Pilipino, with the regional language, Tagalog, thus trying to make the national language 'neutral' not only affectively, but linguistically, coming to be based on a 'fusion of languages' (Constantino 1981:34). As can be seen from the table, the success of Pilipino as a national language could be said to depend on this hope becoming a reality, as it might become with a liberal official attitude to the degree of pidginisation that is now taking place. Malay underwent its processes of pidgin-isation through many previous centuries, so that when Indonesia and Malaysia were developing their national languages they already had a well-established lingua franca on which to base their corpus planning. In the case of Pilipino the corpus planning has preceded the development of the lingua franca, and now the language must absorb the linguistic results of becoming a lingua franca.

Although at present Pilipino is still seen as linguistically very close indeed to Tagalog - perhaps the same - it is seen as politically different, and the power implications of the use of a regional language, the language of Metro-politan Manila, have been defused by the fact that President Ferdinand Marcos, an enthusiastic propagator of the national language, is not a native speaker of Tagalog, being from a northern Ilocano speaking group (Llamzon, personal com-munication). The first president, Manuel L. Quezon, was a Tagalog speaker. His promotion of Pilipino could have been seen, as it was by some, as potentially due to the divisive Motivation G, especially when linked with the economic power and potential for dominance normally attached to communities associated with the main urban area. President Marcos's promotion of Pilipino however cannot be seen in this way. The undesirable effects of a language which is not a lingua franca and is closely linked with one group (a group too of high prestige, especially in 1957 when the president was a Tagalog speaker) are also diminished by the continuing use of English.

English has become indigenised, as a variety known as "mix-mix", and is used as a lingua franca, especially in urban areas. Other native languages are also promoted, for example, in the schools.

Singapore

LANGUAGE	TYPE OF LANGUAGE	MOTIVATION
English	Representative (3); Indigenous Prestige (4); LWC (6)	A (SATISFYING DEMANDS) C (COMMUNICATION) H (INTERNATIONAL STANDING)
Mandarin (Chinese)	Representative (3); Indigenous Prestige (4)	A (SATISFYING DEMANDS) C (COMMUNICATION) D (DIFFERENTIATION)
Malay (i.e. Bahasa Malaysia)	Representative (3)	A (SATISFYING DEMANDS) D (DIFFERENTIATION)
Tamil	Representative (3)	A (SATISFYING DEMANDS) D (DIFFERENTIATION)

Table 5: Motivation and language choice in Singapore

The lingua franca situation in Singapore, as might be expected, is very complex, and several non-official languages function as lingue franche, notably Hokkien/Teochew and Cantonese, of the official languages; English is widely used as a lingua franca, in an indigenised variety, and the pidginised form of Malay is also used, particularly between Malays and Indians, but the role of Malay as a lingua franca has not been actively promoted, since Singapore's separation from Malaysia in 1965. The Chinese community is linguistically very diverse, the Southern Chinese varieties being commonly used, especially Hokkien, Teochew and Cantonese. These varieties in indigenised forms have been, and are, widely used, especially but not exclusively among the Chinese, as lingue franche. Varieties of Chinese other than Mandarin are known as 'dialects'. The government has in recent years been actively promoting the use of Mandarin as a lingua franca (the *Speak Mandarin* campaign from 1978 onwards), and as a native language. The use of Mandarin (indigenised of course) in all functions is indeed increasing, mostly at the expense of 'dialects', from which 'partial promotion' (Kloss 1967) has been withdrawn. The *Speak Mandarin* campaign however has yet to cope with the fact that Singaporeans think that Mandarin is elegant, but Cantonese is more witty, racy, and full of idiom. This is because in Singapore there has not been a full social range of Mandarin. In the case of both Chinese and English, the government is not tolerant of the indigenisation of the languages. Chinese TV programs are all in standard Chinese, thus removing the verisimilitude of a full range of varieties. To date, folk culture has been expressed through the dialects. Thus in order to maintain the vitality of Chinese culture in Singapore, the government must demonstrate to the population that Mandarin can be just as effective in telling jokes, playing with a baby, and so on, as Hokkien or Cantonese. Mandarin could also be described as an LWC, and certainly functions as one in business sectors. However, so little is it promoted as an LWC in Singapore, that much publicity was given to the fact that Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, who learnt to speak Mandarin as an adult, spoke by choice to Hua Guo Feng through an interpreter in English at a meeting on his visit to China on 12 May 1976.

There are in Singapore officially four races (Benjamin 1976), the Chinese (about 75%), the Malays (about 15%), the Indians (about 8%) and the Eurasians (about 2%). One language has been selected to represent each of these, in order (Motivation A) that all citizens may feel that they are equally (but separately) participants in the country. However, sheer demographic facts prevent this equality of citizenship from being reflected in the equality of the languages. Obviously, as Kloss has remarked (1967:42), in a state where there are more than three official languages, they cannot all be equal. The inequality is to some extent spelt out, in the position of English, the only lingua franca that transcends ethnicity, and which is widely used even between speakers of the same native language. English is the language of law, and of government. Circulars, memos, and so on in government offices are all in English, as are road signs and innumerable other external and internal evidences of government. The special status of English is reinforced in the education system, where English is the only language all children must study, and where English is now the language of all further education. Not surprisingly, the use of English as a native language - but seldom as a *sole* native language - is increasing. Of the other three official languages, Tamil is the least equal, simply because the size of the community (less than 5% of the total population) is so small. Such a small community cannot sustain a significant degree of officialness. The size of the Chinese community ensures that Chinese is the most commonly seen of these three languages. Until 1981 school children could choose which of the official languages other than English they had as their other medium of instruction. Although most Chinese children studied Mandarin, the proportion who elected to study Malay

was sufficiently large to cause a ruling to be made that, at least initially, all officially Chinese children must study Chinese. An increasing number of non-Chinese children are studying Chinese, skill in which is increasingly being seen by the non-Chinese as advantageous.

Exoglossic varieties of all four official languages are the official models for all teaching, standards supposedly emanating from Britain, PRC, Malaysia and India. However, the extensive indigenisation of all the languages of Singapore, where there is on a large scale something very like the situation described by Gumperz and Wilson in Kupwar (Gumperz and Wilson 1971), gives rise to a discrepancy between practice and precept especially in the case of English and Chinese.

Thailand

LANGUAGE	TYPE OF LANGUAGE
Thai	Overwhelming majority (1)

Table 6: Motivation and language choice in Thailand

Varieties of Thai are spoken natively by around 91% of the population (Rustow 1968), thus Thai is an obvious choice as a sole official language. Thailand has never been under the dominion of a colonial power, another factor removing languages from competition. Speakers of languages other than Thai, mostly members of ethnic groups in specific regions (e.g. Malays in the south or Khmer in the north-east), or hill tribes, are normally educated in standard Thai; some Malays do attend Malay-medium schools. Members of urban minorities (especially the Chinese) also learn Thai; many of them speak it natively, in addition to a variety of Chinese.

NOTES

1. I am grateful to Professor R.B. LePage and to Dr Ian Smith for their many valuable comments on this paper. The faults in the paper are likely to be in areas where I disregarded their advice. My thanks are also due to Dr Teodoro A. Llamzon for factual information on the Philippines. My interpretations are of course my own responsibility.

2. In any case, quantification of this sort is notoriously difficult, especially if governments have a vested interest in seeing particular results.

3. The term *Putonghua* is now used to refer to the normal modern standard variety in the PRC. This is to all intents and purposes the same variety as the one which in Singapore is called *Mandarin*, where Singapore preserves the earlier general usage of *Mandarin* to refer to standard Chinese irrespective of specific variety.

4. It is not impossible to construct scenarios or even to find actual examples which illustrate that even language types that I have placed in these two

columns are dependent on local contingencies; hence the use of *likely* and *unlikely* rather than more positive terms. For example, where Motivation G is concerned in the situation of a conquering power, the language of the overwhelming majority might not be the language of the ruling group, thus invalidating the placement of this language type in this column. Similarly, the presence or absence of active promotion of the official languages, and in particular, the extent of access to educational facilities, are important factors which can mitigate or exacerbate the effects of particular choices, for example the effect on Motivation F of the choice of an indigenous prestige language.

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A-67:1-14. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1985. DOI:*10.15144/PL-A67.1*
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BILINGUAL POLICIES IN A MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY: REFLECTIONS OF THE SINGAPORE MANDARIN CAMPAIGN IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE PRESS

John T. Platt

Singapore is a multilingual society. Of its population of 2,413,945 (1980 Census) 76.9% are Chinese, 14.6% Malays and 6.4% Indians. However, the Chinese are of various 'dialect' groups, the main ones being (in descending order): Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, Hainanese and Hakka. These are not all mutually intelligible but Hokkien had become the lingua franca among the Chinese well before independence. The Tamils are the main Indian group but there are also Malayalis, Punjabis and other smaller groups. A pidginised form of Malay, Bazaar Malay, was the common inter-ethnic lingua franca but its use is dying out and many younger people have little or no competence in it. English is a compulsory school subject, either as first language, that is as medium of instruction, or as a second language. The policy for over 20 years has been that education could be through the medium of English with Chinese (Mandarin), Malay or Tamil as second language or through the medium of Mandarin, Malay or Tamil with English as second language. In practice, there has been a steady increase in English-medium education, with recent enrolments of children entering primary school being around 90% in English-medium schools. The fact that more and more younger Singaporeans have been taught or are being taught English has meant not only that English has been supplanting Bazaar Malay as an inter-ethnic lingua franca but also that it is increasing as a lingua franca among the Chinese. Unlike Bazaar Malay, of course, English, at least in its standard form, is a language of high status, and competence in it is one of the prerequisites for most higher paid occupations. Since 1975, it has been the sole language of tertiary education, except, of course, for other language studies. Various aspects of the Singapore language situation are discussed in more detail in Afendras and Kuo (1980), Platt (1976, 1977a,b, 1978, 1980) and Platt and Weber (1980).

On the other hand, although according to the 1980 Census 63.8% of the Chinese population were literate in Chinese alone or in Chinese and English and although Chinese (Mandarin) has been the medium of instruction or second language at school for virtually all younger Chinese Singaporeans, the use of Mandarin in interpersonal communication among the Chinese has not increased very much. A survey of language use on Singapore buses carried out in March 1979, showed that 75% of Chinese passengers used Hokkien with Chinese conductors while only 3.5% used Mandarin. A similar survey of language use at hawker centres (areas set aside for hawkers' stalls selling food and drinks) showed that 89% of customers and hawkers at Chinese stalls used dialects and only 1.2% Mandarin. (*The Mirror*, vol.15, No.39, 1979.)

David Bradley, ed. *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.9: *Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia*, 15-30. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-67, 1985.
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Language/ Dialect	Chinese passengers speaking to			Distribution of dialect groups in Singapore
	Chinese conductors	Malay conductors	Indian conductors	
Hokkien	75.0%	30.6%	26.8%	42.2%
Teochew	7.0%	1.7%	0.8%	22.3%
Cantonese	5.2%	1.0%	0.8%	17.0%
Other dialects	1.0%	0.5%	-	18.5%
Sub-total: Dialects	88.2%	33.8%	28.4%	100.0%
Mandarin	3.7%	1.0%	0.8%	NA
English	7.0%	34.2%	36.2%	NA
Malay	1.2%	31.1%	34.6%	NA
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

NA = not applicable

Notes: 1. Data on language/dialect use were from a Singapore Bus Service survey in March 1979 on 116 bus trips.

2. Of 8,914 passengers observed, 5,637 or 63.2% did not speak to the conductors during the survey because they were pass holders, had extra fares, or used hand signals.

(*The Mirror*, vol.15, No.39, September 24, 1979.)

Table 1: Languages/dialects used by Chinese bus passengers

Language/ Dialect	Distribution of hawkers surveyed	Hawkers speaking to customers	Customers speaking to hawkers	Distribution of dialect groups in Singapore
Hokkien	37.6%	53.2%	55.5%	42.2%
Teochew	39.0%	20.9%	17.3%	22.3%
Cantonese	10.5%	14.3%	15.2%	17.0%
Other dialects	12.9%	1.0%	1.1%	18.5%
Sub-total: Dialects	100.0%	89.4%	89.1%	100.0%
Mandarin	NA	1.2%	1.2%	NA
English	NA	2.7%	3.0%	NA
Malay	NA	6.7%	6.7%	NA
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

NA = not applicable

Notes:
1. Data on language/dialect use were from a Ministry of the Environment survey in April 1979 covering 295 hawkers in nine markets/food centres.
2. 13,746 customers spoke to the hawkers surveyed; the hawkers replied in 13,517 instances.
3. In 86.3% of the conversations, hawkers responded in the language/dialect spoken by the customers.
4. Customers who spoke English were mostly tourists and non-Chinese. Customers who spoke Mandarin were mostly young persons.

Table 2: Languages/dialects used at Chinese stalls in hawker centres

On 7 September 1979, the Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kuan Yew launched a 'Promote the use of Mandarin' campaign. In his speech he announced, among other things, that "all government officers, including those in hospitals and clinics, and especially those manning counters, will be instructed to speak Mandarin except to the old, those over sixty. All Chinese taxidrivers, bus conductors, and hawkers, can and will be required to pass an oral Mandarin test, or to attend Mandarin classes to make them adequate and competent to understand and speak Mandarin to their customers".

Hokkien, the speech variety of the numerically dominant group among the Singapore Chinese, has been the intra-ethnic lingua franca from early in Singapore's history as a British colony and remains so today when at least one of the participants in verbal communication has little or no formal education. Singapore Hokkien has been influenced by Malay and by other Chinese dialects and has also assimilated some English lexical items. The attitude of some Singaporeans, including government ministers, is that it has become a pidgin, a creole or a patois. At the conclusion of the speech previously referred to, Mr Lee stated that "because it is Mandarin, not dialect, we teach in schools, the dialect spoken will be a limited pidgin-type patois".

Kuo (1980a) refers to Stewart's (1968) classification of language planning policies in new states into two types of strategies:

(1) the eventual elimination, by education or decree, of all but one language, which is to remain as the national language,
(2) the recognition and preservation of important languages within the national territory, supplemented by the adoption of one or more languages for official purposes and for communication across language boundaries within the nation.

Kuo suggests that "the second approach is clearly the policy being adopted in Singapore today". Certainly, the policy of promoting English as an inter-ethnic and international language along with the three other official languages fits into the second approach, but the Mandarin campaign is obviously related to the first approach. Hokkien is, after all, an "important language within the national territory". However, the policy is one of elimination of the non-Mandarin *sub-varieties* of Chinese but it does not seek to eliminate the languages which are symbolic for each of the main ethnic groups. The common use of the term 'mother tongue' in Singapore for Mandarin, Malay and Tamil is in line with the concept of a language for each main ethnic group: Chinese, Malay and Indian.

In regard to Chinese, the Singapore policy is more similar to that of Taiwan than to that of the People's Republic of China where, according to Cheng (1979) "the regional dialect is used in schools, homes, communities, courts, and local government". Such a policy is feasible in a region such as Guangdong (Kwantung), where one dialect is overwhelmingly predominant but in Singapore, where no dialect group constitutes even 60% of the total Chinese population, it could be argued that this would not be appropriate.

The current Singapore language policy is summarised in Table 3.

Language	Place in Educational System	Value	Policy	Implementation
ENGLISH	Main language of education	International, science and technology, inter-ethnic lingua franca	Increased competence, elimination of local 'nativised' characteristics	Importation of 'native speaker' teachers, new teaching materials, in-service courses for teachers and civil service, required for university entrance
MANDARIN	Second language of education for most Chinese	Counter to excessive westernisation, intra-Chinese communication, 'cultural roots'	Increased use among Chinese to replace dialects	Exhortations, some incentives, some new teaching materials, increase in the media
MALAY and TAMIL	Mainly second languages of education for Malays and Indians	Counter to excessive westernisation, 'cultural roots'	Continuing as official languages	Continued availability as school subjects and in the media
CHINESE DIALECTS	None	None	Elimination within 10 years	Decreasing availability in the media, exhortations not to use

Table 3: Singapore language policies

During two separate periods - November/December 1979 and mid-November 1980 to late February 1981 - I was in Singapore and collected all articles, editorials and letters from readers relating to language matters in the daily, English-language morning newspaper *The Straits Times*. During both periods, articles and letters relating to the Mandarin campaign and/or to bilingualism were by far the most common, as may be seen from Table 4.

MAIN LANGUAGE TOPIC	Articles				Letters				Editorials				Total			
	Period 1		Period 2		Period 1		Period 2		Period 1		Period 2		Period 1		Period 2	
	No.	Daily Av.	No.	Daily Av.	No.	Daily Av.	No.	Daily Av.	No.	Daily Av.	No.	Daily Av.	No.	Daily Av.	No.	Daily Av.
ENGLISH	18	.34	19	.19	16	.30	0	0.	0	0.	1	.01	34	.64	20	.20
MANDARIN AND DIALECTS, BI-/ MULTILINGUALISM, LANGUAGE SITU- ATION IN SINGAPORE	92	1.74	82	.84	33	.62	16	.16	1	.02	0	0.	126	2.38	98	1.0
MALAY	12	.23	5	.05	0	0.	2	.02	0	0.	1	.01	12	.23	8	.08
TAMIL	2	.04	1	.01	12	.23	0	0.	0	0.	0	0.	14	.26	1	.01
OTHER LANGUAGES, e.g. JAPANESE, FRENCH, GERMAN	10	.19	6	.06	0	0.	0	0.	0	0.	0	0.	10	.19	6	.06
TOTAL	134	2.53	113	1.15	61	1.15	18	.18	1	.02	1	.01	196	3.70	132	1.35
Period 1: 5 November 1979 to 27 December 1979; Period 2: 18 November 1980 to 25 February 1981.																

Table 4: Articles, letters and editorials in The Straits Times, Singapore, related to language matters

Bilingualism, as commonly used in Singapore, means bilingualism in English and one of the other three official languages and overwhelmingly refers to bilingualism in English and Mandarin. For most Chinese children, the 'bilingual' education policy has meant, as pointed out by Gopinathan (1980), "that they are tackling two foreign languages at primary level" (namely English and Mandarin). Overwhelmingly, the articles on language issues are reports of speeches and statements by government ministers, including the Prime Minister. Letters from readers relating to Mandarin and bilingualism are almost entirely initiated by these ministerial statements. This has been pointed out by Afendras (1980) when commenting on the number of speeches by the Prime Minister and other ministers during the period from early 1978 to mid-1979. He comments that the central theme of these speeches "seems to have been the desired type of bilingualism for the Singapore citizen - bilingualism that embraces English and Mandarin, or the other official languages for the respective ethnic groups. Educational measures taken to ensure development of this particular type of bilingualism constitute the main subsidiary theme".

In what follows, I shall give examples of the content of various speeches and newspaper reader responses. It will be seen that various arguments were put forward in favour of replacing the Chinese dialects by Mandarin and readers have expressed various reactions to the speeches.

On 5 November 1979, an editorial headed 'NOT TO BE DISMISSED' discussed the government's intention to have television programs in Chinese dialects (mostly these would be in Cantonese) dubbed in Mandarin. It appears that many letters had expressed disapproval of this and Dr Ow the Parliamentary Secretary (Culture) had claimed that the letters were "not representative of public opinion. The writers were mainly English-educated". The view of the editorial was that most Chinese Singaporeans were "against having their favourite programs dubbed. But they really should give the dubbed programs a chance. The dialogue may be less witty or colourful, but it is a small price to pay if it helps the Mandarin campaign of which most have indicated they approve".

From this it is obvious that as part of the Mandarin campaign it was planned that Chinese Singaporeans should be exposed to hearing Mandarin to the greatest extent possible. The medium of television is obviously a highly effective one for this purpose in a small nation where, in 1978, there were 151 television licences per 1,000 population (Kuo 1980b). However, it is also obvious from this editorial that some Singaporeans, although apparently agreeing with the aims of the Mandarin campaign, were not altogether happy about actually having to listen to Mandarin instead of dialects whilst being entertained. The comment of the editorial writer that the dialogue "may be less witty or colourful" reflects a view expressed in some letters (and also frequently heard) that Mandarin is a heavier, more serious variety and not as witty as Cantonese.

On the same day, an article of 37 column centimetres length under the heading 'Phase 2 of Speak Mandarin drive starts' covered various aspects of the campaign. All Chinese government officers in contact with the public were to wear 'I Can Speak Mandarin' badges whilst for officers still not proficient in Mandarin, classes had been planned. "Members of Parliament and community leaders will be visiting residents, hawkers and taxi drivers in their constituencies and to distribute literature about the campaign." The article also mentioned Mandarin classes at community centres and oratorical contests and debates. Dr Ow, speaking at one of these oratorical contests, stated that the main groups the campaign wanted to reach were "the English-educated and the less educated". The older Chinese with little or no formal education would, of course, have had little exposure to Mandarin. On the other hand, many of the English-medium educated

would feel little practical need for using it. Many are far more oriented to Western culture and values and are aware that proficiency in English is necessary for attaining higher status, higher paid employment. Their competence in Chinese dialects such as Hokkien is adequate for communication in restaurants and small shops and of considerable practical value when on holiday in Malaysia for similar communication. In Malaysia, although Chinese (Mandarin)-medium primary school education is available, the dominant Chinese dialect of the particular region is the main intra-ethnic lingua franca within the Chinese communities. Thus, a knowledge of Hokkien is very useful in such places as Johore Bahru, immediately across the causeway, in Malacca and Penang, while a knowledge of Cantonese is useful in Kuala Lumpur and the hill resort of Cameron Highlands.

The following day, a sizable article (128 column centimetres plus 2 maps and 2 pictures) by *The Straits Times* Foreign Editor discussed the language problems of Luxembourg and Mauritius. The purpose of this article was to stress that multilingualism, as in these two countries, had led to most inhabitants having imperfect ability in any language. The obvious lesson for Chinese Singaporeans to learn was that a switch to Mandarin would lessen the linguistic burden of using several Chinese dialects according to situation and interlocutor.

An article on 7 November by the Foreign Editor of *The Straits Times* under the heading 'Reasons for phasing out dialects are compelling' put forward and then refuted various arguments in favour of retaining the Chinese dialects. One of these arguments is that the ability to speak various dialects is very useful in communicating with Chinese elsewhere, e.g. Cantonese in Hong Kong and Macao, Teochew in Bangkok, Hokkien in Taipeh (Taiwan). However, the writer argued that these three dialects are different from "the pure dialects originally used" and have "been developed into a crude Singaporean-originated cross between the original dialects and Malay and English, and often among the dialects themselves". Thus, one of the arguments against the dialects and in favour of Mandarin is the crudity of the dialects.

An interesting argument in this article is that the human mind can be over filled and that it is better to store worthwhile information: "the human mind is capable of storing a limited amount of knowledge for immediate usage if needed. Filled to capacity it tends to reject other items you try to push in. Computer programmers know this well." The writer states that "the most cogent argument for snuffing out our dialects" is that "if Singapore Chinese speak only Mandarin, I - and others like me - can utilise our minds for far more useful things". This reflects similar views expressed by the Prime Minister.

On 12 September, under the heading 'Mandarin: Call to review the campaign', there was a report of remarks to reporters by the Home Affairs Minister, Mr Chua Sian Chin. He mentioned that the campaign was confined to ethnic Chinese only and its emphasis was to get the younger generation to speak the language. There had been a certain amount of concern among other ethnic groups that they too were expected to speak Mandarin. The minister was also reported as giving a further reason for learning Mandarin, namely that it would help in trading activities with China.

On the same day another article, extracts from a feature in the Chinese language newspaper *Sin Chew Jit Poh*, referred to Trudgill's (1974) discussion of multilingualism and diglossia, in particular the situations in Luxembourg and Switzerland. Interestingly, although Trudgill suggests that the learning of Standard German and French "obviously places children in Luxembourg under considerable strain" he does not state, as claimed in the article, that they are

placed "under great pressure" or that they "were unable to master so many languages and dialects".

An article on 19 November included the information that the June 1980 population census would include questions to find what languages were used in Singapore homes. The same questions would be asked again in the 1990 census "to monitor the success of the current Speak More Mandarin, Less Dialects campaign".

Concern about the effects of the campaign were expressed in some letters. For example, on 23 November a writer expressed concern that Chinese classical operas with lyrics in such Chinese varieties as Teochew might be staged with commentaries in Mandarin.

On 23 November, a television program was shown in which Mr Lee Kuan Yew appeared in a discussion with three journalists. This was fully reported on 24 November on pages 1, 10, 11, 12, 13 and back, a total of 435 column inches (1105 column centimetres) according to Harrison (1980). In this discussion, Mr Lee set two targets: "five years for all young Chinese Singaporeans to drop dialects and use Mandarin and 10 years for Mandarin to be established as the language of the coffee-shops, hawker centres and shops". In this discussion, too, he reassured the non-Chinese by stating that "no non-Chinese need have to learn Mandarin or be at a disadvantage". This reassurance was referred to in an article next day under the heading 'Assurance brings relief to the Malays'.

On the 26th, there were several articles on the campaign, including one under the heading 'Call for use of Hanyu Pinyin in birth certificates'. Apparently, the use of Pinyin spelling of names was already being encouraged - and consequently pronunciation of names in Mandarin rather than in their various dialect versions. However, on the 27th, an article reported that many Chinese Singaporeans felt that it was too early to implement the spelling of names in Hanyu Pinyin in birth certificates.

On the 29th, the paper reported a speech by the Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Rajaratnam, in which he "stressed the need for each race to speak its own language as it is the language of culture, while English is only the language of progress and science. Western culture is not all good, and there is the need for our own culture where there is respect for the sick, elderly and the young."

The practical value of Mandarin for trade with China was mentioned again in a speech by a university professor reported on 2 December. In a further speech reported on 6 December, Mr Rajaratnam pointed out that Mandarin is the language of more than 900 million people in China and that "if China succeeds in its modernisation program, then there will be new expressions, terminology and idioms to learn .... By studying Mandarin, you are exposed to a modernising language."

Some letters expressed reservations about certain aspects of the campaign. For example, on 10 December, a letter by 'Down To Earth' started by agreeing with the Prime Minister "that Mandarin should replace dialects so that we do not develop a Creole-type patois in our community. But what I do not see is the need to pressure our students to achieve second language proficiency." By 'second language proficiency', the writer meant the standard required for passes in a second language at the 'O' and 'A' level examinations for matriculation to the university.

Other letter writers seemed to be confused about certain aspects of the campaign such as the move to have Chinese names translated into their Mandarin equivalent and spelt in Hanyu Pinyin. One writer (14 December) felt that "we should not use Hanyu Pinyin at all as it conflicts with English and Malay spelling"

and asked "Isn't it easier to identify Payching or Payjing (as in paying) instead of Beijing?" Obviously, the widespread use of Pinyin elsewhere as a standardised Roman letter orthography did not seem as important to the writer as familiarity with English orthography. Another writer, John Citizen (23 December) writing against the spelling of names in Hanyu Pinyin ended his letter "Whoever is responsible for Hanyu Pinyin should respect English phonetics as it is pronounced, unless romanisation is not aimed at the English speaking world."

Concern by non-Chinese Singaporeans about the campaign led to various statements from the government. An article on 21 December quoted extracts from the Ministry of Culture's fortnightly bulletin *The Mirror* which stressed "that the 'Speak More Mandarin' campaign is confined to ethnic Chinese Singaporeans and is aimed particularly at the English-medium educated and less educated". *The Mirror* article pointed out that 837,000 Chinese Singaporeans above 15 watched two popular Cantonese Kung Fu dramas on television every week and that this figure would be much higher if children under that age were included. Obviously, if Chinese television drama is in Mandarin this will help spread competence in it. According to *The Straits Times* report, *The Mirror* article also stressed the importance of parents using Mandarin with their children and also pointed out that "spoken Mandarin is consistent with the Chinese written language through which cultural values of the Chinese civilisation are best transmitted".

As may be seen from Table 4, the rate of occurrence of articles and letters was considerably lower during the November 1981-February 1982 period. However, the Mandarin campaign continued. On 14 November 1981, an article under the heading 'Getting the message across to dialect speaking families' announced that the Prime Minister would appear on television on Sunday evening in an hour-long discussion with four Chinese journalists on 'Languages spoken in the home and their learning'. The discussion was to be in Hokkien and as the article commented, "all previous efforts to promote Mandarin have yet to reach those who understand only the Chinese dialects" and "although the campaign to encourage the wider use of Mandarin is more than a year old, dialects still dominate Chinese homes". The article stated that a pilot survey "of some 1,014 Singaporean homes" revealed that only 0.2 per cent of the bilingual homes (meaning bilingual in a variety of Chinese and English) used Mandarin and English. A short item on 18 November was headed "PAP will use dialects in the general election campaign". It explained that the ruling People's Action Party would be using Chinese dialects in the general election campaign and quoted the Parliamentary Secretary (Culture), Dr Ow Chin Hock as saying "we have found that many people do not know Mandarin, especially middle-aged housewives and the elderly".

Following the earlier discussion on the use of Hanyu Pinyin for names, the front page headlines on 20 November announced 'PINYIN NAMES NEXT YEAR'. The accompanying article explained that Chinese pupils in pre-primary and Primary One classes would be known by their Hanyu Pinyin names from the beginning of the 1981 school year. The Director of Education was quoted as saying that this "will also have the effect of standardising Chinese names so that it will be impossible to tell which dialect group a pupil belongs to by simply looking at his name". On 21 November, the paper reported that reactions to the policy "was noticeably polarised - the English-educated vehemently opposed and the Chinese-educated passively supported it. As is their manner, the dialect speakers (meaning here those with little or no formal education) were unfailingly agreeable to the ruling". On 26 November, an article 'Switch to Pinyin names in textbooks' announced that "Chinese names in English textbooks will in future be spelt in Hanyu Pinyin and not in dialect". All new textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education would be required to use Pinyin spelling for names of Chinese persons in textbooks.

A short article on 1 December accompanied a picture of a Minister visiting a market where he was distributing "Hanyu Pinyin booklets on Mandarin names for food items" and another article next day mentioned that the Education Ministry had prepared guides for teachers. "One guide is a list of about 400 common surnames with their Pinyin translations and the other is a booklet suggesting ways for teachers to master the Pinyin phonetic sounds."

A letter on 5 December suggested that there should be a'Speak-Mandarin-To-Your-Child' campaign with television programs to help parents "to teach their children to talk in Mandarin, starting with two-year-olds." On 17 December, the president of the Singapore Chinese Chamger of Commerce and Industry was reported as having suggested the compilation of a list of technical terms in Mandarin as many dialect terms were used in various trades.

With the general election taking place on 23 December, there were only minor items relating to language policy in the preceding week. However, on 28 December, an item 'Rediffusion ahead of guidelines for switch to Mandarin' indicated that Rediffusion, the private cable radio service, was ahead of the target for the end of December: 66 per cent of Chinese programs to be in Mandarin. On the last day of the year, an item announced that the Culture Ministry expected to conduct its first oral Mandarin test some time in May for about 2,400 civil servants. The test was voluntary but a spokesman stated that "those who pass will be awarded a proficiency certificate which the Public Service Commission will take into consideration for their promotion and appointment. But there would be no salary increments."

Letters early in January took up the issues of Pinyin spelling of names (some in favour and some against) and 'Speak-Mandarin-to-your-child'. Several news items also reported on the Hanyu Pinyin name policy. As an example of the irregular spelling of Chinese names, a Mr Low was reported as saying "my father's surname is spelt Loh, my sister Loo and my brother Lu. But from my son's generation onwards, we shall all be known as Lu."

Concern at the weighting system for the PSLE (Primary School Leaving Examination) was expressed by a number of letter writers. The marks for 1st and 2nd languages are weighted double as compared with marks in the other two subjects. Particular concern was expressed because children who did not do well in Chinese as a 2nd language were being 'streamed' into less prestigious schools although doing well in other subjects. An article on 1 January by C.C. Leong, a management consultant, former lecturer in the University of Singapore's Psychology Department and author of the book *Youth in the Army* also criticised the 'weighting' policy. A rejoinder by the Permanent Secretary (Education) was published on the 13th. On 11 February, a long letter from C.C. Leong was published in which he answered the criticisms.

An item on 15 January announced that a 40-minute television program in Hokkien 'Dialects and the Learning of Languages' would be shown the following Sunday evening. The item concluded with the paragraph: "The need to campaign for Mandarin in Hokkien - the most common Chinese dialect here - also suggests that many dialect-speaking parents have yet to respond positively to the campaign which has been on for more than a year."

The following day, a short article announced that all Chinese students up to pre-university classes were to be known in school by their Hanyu Pinyin names from 1982.

The Sunday television program was reported on the following day, commencing "An Education Ministry official called on teachers yesterday to encourage their

pupils to be 'little teachers' of Mandarin at home. They can teach their parents and grandparents the language."

An item on 22 January reported that a Standard Chinese Language Committee was to be established to standardise Chinese terminology used by the mass media. On 30 January, a front page article 'The one parent, one language way' stated that a senior lecturer in the English Department of the National University of Singapore had prepared a report to the First Deputy Prime Minister. A long article by the lecturer, Dr Tay, was carried on an inside page. This reported on various experiments in other countries in which one parent spoke in one language to the child and the other parent in another.

There were few items on Mandarin or bilingualism in February 1981, but a full half-page article 'Bilingualism and children: Some common myths' appeared on 25 February. This discussed the importance of the home environment in "nurturing a child in bilingualism" and exemplified from two families.

Main emphases of the campaign

As may be seen from the examples quoted, the main emphases of the campaign as reported in *The Straits Times* were:

1. The superiority of Mandarin over the dialects because it is a 'modernising language' whereas the dialects are 'creole-type patois'.
2. The practical value of Mandarin for trade with the People's Republic of China.
3. The excessive burden of trying to be competent in too many languages. As English is 'the language of progress and science', it is a necessary language but Mandarin should be the main other one for most Chinese Singaporeans.
4. The written form of Chinese in books, newspapers and magazines available in Singapore reflects Mandarin structure. Therefore competence in Mandarin means the ability to read a range of Chinese literature.
5. The ability to read Chinese and to speak Mandarin opens up Chinese culture which is a counter to the less desirable features of Western culture.

Implementation measures

The measures implemented to increase the use of Mandarin, as reported in *The Straits Times*, include:

1. The requirement for Chinese taxidrivers, bus conductors and hawkers to attain competence in Mandarin so that they may use it with the public.
2. The requirement that civil servants use Mandarin with the public.
3. The incentive for civil servants to learn Mandarin, namely that it may help towards promotion.
4. The switch to Mandarin in Chinese radio and television programs and in the cinema.
5. Visits by politicians to housing estates and hawker centres to promote the campaign, to address members of the public and distribute campaign literature.
6. Various contests to encourage proficiency in Mandarin.

7. The use of Mandarin personal names spelt in Hanyu Pinyin for school children.
8. Encouragement of parents to use Mandarin with their children.
9. Encouragement of children to use Mandarin with parents and grandparents.
10. The continuing incentive for Chinese school children to do well in Mandarin because of the weighting system.

Public reaction

Public reaction was expressed directly in letters and indirectly in articles which commented on public reaction. Although apparently most members of the public were in favour of the campaign, there were reservations about certain aspects of it and concern in some quarters:

1. Disappointment on the part of some Chinese that they would have to listen to Mandarin rather than dialect in television programs, cinema films and on the radio.
2. Concern by the non-Chinese that they, too, needed to learn Mandarin. It is noticeable that numbers of Malay and Indian parents have enrolled their children for Mandarin as the Second Language as they feel it will be of advantage.
3. Concern that students would be streamed to less prestigious secondary schools if their results in Mandarin as a Second Language were too low. This concern also extended to language requirements for entry to the university.
4. Dislike of learning Hanyu Pinyin orthography for names if it conflicted with the familiar English-based spelling of Chinese names.
5. Related to this, the feeling that children's surnames and given names should not be changed, often radically, at school from the names used at home.

The future of bilingualism in Singapore

It will be clear from the examples of newspaper coverage that the Mandarin campaign has been carried out with the vigour and determination typical of Singapore leadership. As Afendras (1980) puts it:

> What may be striking to a student of language planning is not only the extent of involvement of the Prime Minister himself (at least six major speeches on language policy in a period of sixteen months) but also the number of ministers (from almost every ministry) who have, in the same period, made pronouncements on the same topic.

A comparison with newspaper articles and letters on English, Malay and Tamil would show striking differences in the main themes. A full discussion of these is beyond the scope of this paper but the following table indicates the main differences.

Language	Main theme
Mandarin	Replacing the Chinese dialects by Mandarin
English	Improving competence; standards of correctness
Malay and Tamil	Concern about availability at schools and about decreasing use

Table 5: Main themes of newspaper coverage of language issues

The Mandarin campaign does seem to have had some side effects for Malay and Tamil and articles with such headings as 'Important role of Malay papers' (3.12.1979) and 'Tamil to be taught in more schools' (29.11.1979) appeared along with some letters about the teaching of Tamil.

How successful the Mandarin campaign will be in the long term is difficult to predict. The short term benefits are possibly not apparent to many Singaporeans. There are no strong financial incentives to *maintain* competence in it although there are the obvious incentives for school age children to attain adequate competence for examination purposes. The strongest immediate practical value for Chinese Singaporeans is the ability to understand films in Mandarin on television and in the cinema. However, increased communication with the People's Republic of China may also enhance the attractiveness of competence in Mandarin.

In the foreseeable future, the use of English will increase because it is the main language of education and modernisation. This is in line with Ferguson and Anwar Dil's (1979) hypotheses 2, 3, 5 and 7:

> *Hypothesis 2* The development process tends toward the dominance of a single language of development in a nation.
>
> *Hypothesis 3* The development process tends toward making available a single language of national communication.
>
> *Hypothesis 5* The language which is the principal vehicle of technical innovation and managerial decision-making tends to become the dominant language of development.
>
> *Hypothesis 7* The dominant language at the centre of development tends to become the dominant official language of national communication.

English is quite clearly the language which fits in with these hypotheses.

Whether the Chinese dialects will be replaced by Mandarin or English for intra-group communication among the Chinese will depend mainly on the extent of incentives to use Mandarin (and disincentives to use the dialects), the degree to which Singapore Chinese will consider themselves as distinctively Chinese rather than Singaporean and how much practical value they can see in developing and maintaining competence in Mandarin.

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A STUDY OF THE VARIABLE /sh/ IN SINGAPORE MANDARIN

Ng Bee Chin

Singapore has been characterised by its heterogeneous society since its founding in 1819. The influx of Chinese immigrants in subsequent years made them the dominant racial group. In the 1980 census, the Chinese formed 76.9% of the total population of Singapore. The Chinese community in Singapore is a multidialectical one; the 1957 census listed 11 mother tongues spoken by the Chinese. Of these, Hokkien (30 per cent) Teochew (17 per cent) and Cantonese (15.1 per cent) are the predominant dialects. As a result of the relatively larger proportion of Hokkien speakers, Hokkien gradually came to be established as the lingua franca for inter-dialect group communication. Despite the widespread usage of Hokkien among the Chinese, Mandarin was made one of the four official languages as Hokkien was considered to be a low language. Mandarin was taught in schools and commonly referred to as the 'mother tongue'. However, the 1957 census indicates that only 0.1 per cent of the Chinese population claimed Mandarin as their mother tongue. Hence, for many Chinese in Singapore Mandarin is in fact a second language.

At this point, it is helpful briefly to discuss the existing Singapore educational policies which indirectly contribute to the cultivation of a distinctive Singapore Mandarin. During the prewar years, the British, then the unchallenged political power in Singapore, saw only English and Malay education as deserving official patronage. Despite the lack of funds, the Chinese community managed to develop both primary and secondary schools and managed to attract the largest enrolment until 1952. The teachers were mainly from Southern China. Hence, there existed a 'compartmentalised system of education' (Gopinathan 1976: 69) with each race pursuing their own private goals. This system strengthened racial and linguistic camps: the Chinese-educated and the English-educated. This system laid the foundations for socio-economic disparity biased favourably towards the English-educated. Among the various educational policies laid down to correct this schism was the bilingual policy which was implemented with increased urgency after the separation. In this policy, a Chinese student who enrolled in an English-medium school had to study a second language which would usually be Mandarin. Similarly, a Chinese student who enrolled in a Chinese-medium school would be taught Mandarin as the first language and English as the second language. The exposure time for both languages was approximately 70 per cent for the first language and 30 per cent for the second language. Because of the uneven exposure time accorded to the two languages, the students from Chinese-medium schools naturally became more competent in Mandarin than their peers from the English-medium schools.

The Southern Chinese dialect background of the Chinese in Singapore and the many educational policies all led to the emergence of a variety of Mandarin which has become increasingly distinct from standard Peking Mandarin. Chen Ching-Yu (1982) has observed the existence of a fifth tone in Singapore Mandarin not found

David Bradley, ed. *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.9: *Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia*, 31-37. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-67, 1985.
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in Peking Mandarin. There are also substantial differences in pronunciation, lexicon and syntax; for example, /sh/, /ü/, /r/ and /h/ are all pronounced differently in Singapore.

The intention of this paper[1] is to show that the retroflex /sh/ (all transcriptions are given in Pinyin) in Singapore Mandarin is a linguistic variable, with the retroflex pronunciation reduced as compared to Peking Mandarin for Singapore Mandarin speakers. Retroflexes are absent in all the southern dialects. Consequently, most Singaporean Chinese have considerable difficulty with retroflexes. This factor could have been reinforced by a tradition of teachers who usually do not make a distinction between retroflexes and non-retroflexes in their normal speech. Even when a retroflex is produced by a Singapore Mandarin speaker, the degree of retroflexion will not be as extreme as in Peking Mandarin. /zh/ and /ch/ will also be looked at to reveal environmental constraints on variation in retroflexion. /zh/, /ch/ and /sh/ in Singapore Mandarin have the alternative realisations as alveolars /z/, /c/ and /s/. Sex differences are also studied, as sociolinguistic research has often shown females to use more standard forms than males. It is hypothesised that females will produce more retroflexes than males.

Ten subjects were interviewed, five males and five females. All were Singaporeans and all possess a reasonable level of competence in Mandarin. As varying educational background due to changes in educational policies is a considerable factor in Singapore Mandarin, the subjects are all between 20 and 25 years of age and are all pursuing a tertiary education in Australia. All the subjects have a basically similar socio-economic background, with parents who are businessmen. They could be categorised as middle-class Singaporeans. Therefore, age, nationality and socio-economic background were controlled factors and sex and style of speech were the varying factors.

The interviews were conducted on a modified Labovian method and five styles were elicited. A spoken interview lasting for approximately 20 minutes was recorded and this provided the data for the free speech, Style A/B. Subjects were asked to express their first impressions of Australia and Australians, then they were asked to recount an unforgettable experience. In the next style, Style C, the subjects were asked to read a dialogue between two persons gossiping in a restaurant. The dialogue is used instead of a paragraphed passage to create a relaxed atmosphere and a more spontaneous style of reading. The dialogue contains a high concentration of both variables. The fourth style of speech is elicited by presenting subjects with a word list of the variable under study (Style D_1), minimal pairs (Style D_2) and finally two tongue twisters which will be termed Style D_3. The word list consisted of minimal pairs presented in scrambled order while in Style D_2 they were presented in pairs. To avoid a guessing strategy the order of the presentation of the word that contains the variables is randomised within the minimal pair. Style D_3, the two tongue twisters, has an extremely high concentration of each variable. These five styles were intended to elicit an increasingly formal style of speech. The experimenter tried to provide constant stimuli across the five styles by consciously producing all retroflexes during the interviews. The environment for each interview was kept as constant as possible. All the subjects were naive to the aim of the experiment.

The variables are all coded in Pinyin. The alternative realisations of the variable are classified in the following way:

(a) (sh - 1) - /sh/
(b) (sh - 0) - /s/

The figures for (a) and (b) were then converted into percentages. There was also a substantial amount of hypercorrection: Singapore Mandarin speakers frequently use /sh/ in words with /s/ in Peking Mandarin. The instances of hypercorrection were noted and quantified as a percentage of Peking Mandarin /s/. An example of hypercorrection which was noted during the free speech interview when the subject produced /shuǒyǐ/ for /suǒyǐ/ *therefore* and did so for the entire interview. There is, however, no set pattern in the lexical distribution of hypercorrection. One may hazard a guess that it will occur more frequently in less frequent words than in words with high usage frequency as less exposure reduces the opportunities for the speaker to learn the proper pronunciation.

Speaker	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10	
STYLE	sh	s	sh	s	sh	s	sh	s	sh	s	sh	s	sh	s	sh	s	sh	s	sh	s
A/B	86	40	24	0	55	0	11	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C	93	100	62	65	90	35	68	100	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	0
D_1	75	50	93	88	75	13	50	63	50	50	17	0	0	0	42	38	16	25	17	0
D_2	80	60	60	60	70	30	50	10	40	30	30	20	0	0	10	60	50	80	50	30
D_3	83	86	83	100	92	0	75	7	96	7	17	0	46	7	63	29	79	100	25	50

Table 1: Percentages of /sh/ non-reflexion and /s/ retroflexion

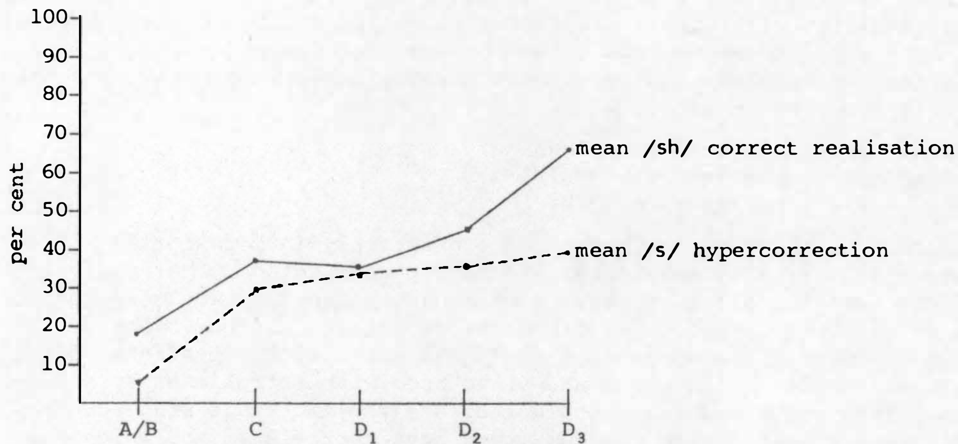

Figure 1: Mean group percentage of the correct realisation of /sh/ and the hypercorrection of /s/

From the results it is evident that the retroflex /sh/ is not very frequent in Singapore Mandarin. However, /sh/ seems to be the retroflex that is most likely to be pronounced in Singapore Mandarin. Out of ten subjects interviewed, only two subjects pronounced the retroflex for /ch/ and /zh/. Even then, the percentage was quite low compared to the percentage of the retroflex pronounced for /sh/.

	sh	zh	ch
Subject 1	95%	62%	17%
Subject 2	90%	0%	41%

Table 2: /sh/, /zh/ and /ch/ variation (per cent retroflex)

This could be due to the more common occurrence of words with /sh/ compared to /zh/ or /ch/. Hence it is unlikely for a speaker of Singapore Mandarin to produce retroflexes for /zh/ and /ch/ if the retroflex is not observed in /sh/ for the same subjects.

The variables are also sensitive to contextual styles as shown in the graph. Increasing formality does elicit more standard (Peking Mandarin) pronunciation. From this experiment it seems that Style D_3 (the tongue twisters) is a more formal context for Mandarin as there was an increase in correct responses. Most of the subjects have not come across the tongue twisters before, therefore familiarity is not a factor. However, tongue twisters usually contain repeated simpler and more frequent words which would be easily recognised by the subjects.

The style shifts in this experiment would indicate that the subjects are aware of the stigma attached to failure to distinguish between retroflexes and non-retroflexes. However, the distinction between these two sounds has not been fully internalised resulting in increased confusion as the contexts become more formal. One subject avoided the stigma by refusing to proceed to Style D_3. Some subjects reacted by producing hypercorrect retroflexes when Peking Mandarin has non-retroflexes. For example:

colour /sè/ realised as /shè/
temple /sì/ realised as /shì/
sour /sì/ realised as /shì/

This tendency to hypercorrect increased consistently in more formal styles; less frequent words were also more likely to be hypercorrected. The hypercorrections are not the same for all subjects. Some subjects hypercorrect more than others and the words hypercorrected vary from one subject to another. One of the subjects pronounced all the words in the minimal pairs with retroflexes despite the fact that only half of the words are pronounced with retroflexes in Peking Mandarin. This hypercorrection could indicate the fact that Singapore Mandarin speakers are not aware which lexical items have retroflexes and which have non-reflexes, but they are aware of the stigma involved.

	male		female	
	sh	s	sh	s
A/B	5	0	30	8
C	19	13	50	47
D_1	25	40	43	25
D_2	42	52	46	18
D_3	69	57	61	20

Table 3: Sex differences in /sh/ non-reflexion and /s/ retroflexion (in percentage)

Sex differences can also be observed in the data. The females produce more retroflexes than the males for style A/B, C, D_1 and D_2. However, at Style D_3, the males produce more retroflexes than the females; moreover this increase is also accompanied by 57 per cent hypercorrection. On the whole, the results indicate a tendency for the males to hypercorrect more than the females; males a4so show a much greater style shift.

As the subjects come from both English and Chinese education media, there was an opportunity to see if education medium has any effect on the instances of retroflexes observed. As it turned out, those from the English medium use more retroflexes than those from the Chinese medium. This could be due to the fact thaz the English-medium educated subjects rarely speak Mandarin and hence are more conscious of the standard language. Speakers from both education media hypercorrect and there is no significant difference in their percentage of hyper-correction.

The cross-over by the males over the females at style D_3 is an interesting phenomenon. Labov (1972:117) mentioned that a wide range of stylistic variation and cross-over patterns are an indication of linguistic insecurity for the lower-middle class in New York, and others have shown that this pattern occurs in many cities. Both male and female speakers of Singapore Mandarin showed a substantial style shift, especially the group which shows a distinct cross-over pattern. This might indicate that the male speakers of Singapore Mandarin are more linguistically insecure than the female speakers. Their higher proportion of hyper-correction could also indicate this tendency. It would be interesting to do an accurate measure of linguistic attitudes for speakers of Singapore Mandarin.

There is also an attitude factor involved in the study of retroflexes in Singapore Mandarin. Many Singaporeans have expressed the opinion that the usage of retroflexes is an undesirable affectation. One subject actually refused to co-operate with the tongue twister task. This subject thinks that speaking with retroflexes is an attempt to speak like a foreigner, hence a very 'snobbish' way of talking. There are yet others who though not so extreme in their point of view still prefer to use fewer retroflexes whenever possible as they feel that it is more natural and blends in better with the local environment. Paradox-ically, despite their convictions, there are some subjects who are also very aware of the stigma involved when a retroflex is left out which may account for the style shifts in these data.

In actual fact, the attitude factor which is highly significant is not as simple as it seems to be. It is complexly interwoven with the interlocutor effect. From the experimenter's observation, it has been noted that Singapore Mandarin speakers tend to use more retroflexes when speaking to a Peking Mandarin speaker. The subjects have also reported similar observations themselves, saying that in such a situation, they actually feel pressurised into producing retroflexes. When a Singaporean speaks to another Singaporean in a non-formal conversational situation, relatively fewer retroflexes are used. In this experiment, the Singapore Mandarin interviewer deliberately used retroflexes during the interviews. Several subjects did comment on this fact. In this case, the interlocutor-interviewer effect could have induced a higher percentage of retroflexes.

As educational policies change, attitudes change as well. The Ministry of Education felt that the bilingual program was not as successful as it should have been for the Chinese community as most of them speak a dialect as mother tongue and hence are functionally learning two second languages (that is, English and Mandarin) when they go to school. This is cited as a reason for their poor performance in school. In a bid to remedy this situation, the Prime Minister, Mr Lee launched the 'Speak Mandarin Campaign' in 1979. With that event, the scenario has been slightly altered. The usage of Mandarin was intensively promoted in both the public and private sectors. Through the media, press and education, great pains have been taken to encourage competent usage of Mandarin instead of dialects. Lessons in Pinyin, which had previously been neglected, have now been emphasised in the school syllabus. Much attention was drawn to the standard pronunciation of words with the introduction of Pinyin. This also saw the names of the school-going population changed to Pinyin instead of their dialect versions. For example, Ng Kong Leong in Pinyin becomes Huáng Jǐng-Lóng. All this might pave the way for a new generation of Singaporean speakers with a dialect not characterised by the variation in the retroflex and non-retroflex distinction.

Apart from the retroflexes, this study also turned up other interesting findings. The variable /ü/ was also investigated; examples were drawn primarily from the syllable /yü/ with various tones. It was found that the distinction between the rounded high front vowel and the unrounded high front vowel which is strictly maintained in Peking Mandarin is not completely distinguished in Singapore Mandarin. These pairs of words were some of the many examples in the data that were confirmed:

/yüè/	*moon*	and	/yè/	*night*
/yüàn/	*wish*	and	/yàn/	*tired*
/yǘ/	*fish*	and	/yí/	*suspect*
/qǜ/	*go*	and	/qì/	*angry*

There were several instances where the lip rounding was either absent or reduced in Singapore Mandarin. There was also increasing hypercorrection of /yi/ to /yü/ with increasing formality in styles. This shows a similar pattern of style shift to the /sh/ variable. The only difference is that this variable seems more well-learnt by the Singaporeans as there was a relatively higher percentage of usage like that of Peking Mandarin.

Another difference from Peking Mandarin is that the rhotic /r/ in words such as /rán/ *correct*, /rè/ *hot*, /rì/ *sun*, /ruò/ *like* is often realised as an approximant in Singapore Mandarin, unlike the fricative of Peking Mandarin.

Chen-Ching Li (1982) pointed out several features of Taiwanese Mandarin which would similarly be conceived as deviant from Peking Mandarin. Her study

on trends and developments in Taiwanese Mandarin has also found that retroflexes have gradually merged with alveolars. The findings of the present study indicate that Singapore Mandarin seems to show a similar trend. The variation in this study is also similar to variation in other language situations showing style shift, sex differences and hypercorrections. The fusion of dialect interference, education policies and a complex pattern of attitudes have thus created a distinctive variety of Mandarin spoken in Singapore.

NOTE

1. This is a revised version of a paper for the sociolinguistics course at LaTrobe University in 1983.

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THE LANGUAGE POLICY OF MALAYSIA: A FORMULA FOR BALANCED PLURALISM

Asmah Haji Omar

Malaysia is a real multi-ethnic country. In terms of territory, it is divided by the South China Sea with Peninsular Malaysia on the west, and Sabah and Sarawak on the east on Borneo Island. In both Peninsular and Borneo Malaysia, with a population of about 13 million people, there are altogether no less than 70 languages spoken. In terms of their geographical origin, these languages can be categorised into indigenous (*bumiputera*) and non-indigenous (non-*bumiputera*). In terms of language family membership, they are multifarious.

The indigenous languages belong to two different stocks: the Austroasiatic and the Austronesian. The former comprises the aboriginal languages (except for that of the Jakun and the Temuan which is really Malay) and there are about 20 of them altogether. These languages can be considered as moribund as the number of their speakers is very small. The 1969 Census shows that the one with the largest number of speakers is Semai (15,506), while the one with the least number is Mintil (40).

While the Austroasiatic languages are found only in Peninsular Malaysia, the Austronesian ones are located in Peninsular Malaysia as well as in Sabah and Sarawak. In the former, the languages are Malay, Javanese, Kerinci and Acehnese. Of these, it is only Malay that is really native and has an overall spread, while Javanese, Kerinci and Acehnese are recent immigrants, the first mentioned coming from Java and the latter two from Sumatra. Besides, their geographical distributions are confined to certain areas only - Javanese in one or two districts in Selangor and Johor, Kerinci in the district of Hulu Langat in Selangor, and Acehnese in the district of Yan in Kedah.

In Sabah and Sarawak the languages are more numerous. No definite figure is available. Census reports cannot be fully relied on because they reflect a tendency to lump together groups which speak heterogeneous languages while at the same time considering a single language as a group consisting of several languages. This situation is brought about by the fact that no census of a linguistic nature has been conducted on these two states.

The census has been made complicated by the nomenclatures given to the various groups. A single language group may by popular usage be referred to by three nomenclatures. An example is the Malay-speaking group which is always referred to by three names: Malay, Brunei, and Kedayan. In actual fact all the three are Malay as the language the people speak is Malay in its various dialectal forms. The reverse procedure is illustrated by Bajau which really is a subfamily of languages rather than a single language.

The examples given above are taken from Sabah. Similar processes occur in Sarawak. Hence, as at the moment one cannot say how many languages there are in

David Bradley, ed. *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.9: *Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia*, 39-49. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-67, 1985.
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Sabah and Sarawak. My own estimate is that the total number for both these states is about 50.[1]

The non-indigenous population is just as diverse. They belong to stocks as divergent from one another as they are from the Austronesian and the Austro-asiatic. What is generally referred to as the Chinese language in Malaysia is in fact not a single language but rather a family of languages. There are at least ten members of this family in Malaysia. The same applies to the groups that have their origin in India and Sri Lanka.

In addition to the above there are also Thai-speaking people on the Malaysia-Thai border. These people are either Thais in terms of ethnic origin or Malays whose first language is Thai rather than Malay, due to the process of assimilating the ethnic Malays (who are Thai citizens) to the Thai culture and way of life.

The languages mentioned above are all defined by language community and area of spread. Over and above these languages are Arabic and English which do not have specific communities but which are acquired in the school. Arabic is a medium in the Islamic religious schools whose attendance is almost entirely Malay, while English is defined in the National Education Policy as the second most important language - second only to Malay - and should be taught in schools as a second language.

Malay has always been the lingua franca in intergroup communication. In the colonial days this lingua franca was applied only to situations where communication did not necessitate sociolinguistic sophistication or finesse such as in the vendor-buyer relationship in the market places, or between the employer and his servant who is of different ethnic group than himself.

The language of the government in the colonial days was English. Malay was used to a limited extent in certain states. However, public notices and important documents were rendered in four languages - Malay, English, Mandarin and Tamil - and in four different scripts.

This quadrilingual situation was not only a reflection of the composition of the three main ethnic groups in the society which formed the substructures (Malay, Chinese and Indian), each different from the other, plus a superstructure represented by a superimposed culture of the colonial rulers, but also that of the education system. At that time there was no single uniform education system as such. In fact there were four types of schools using four different languages and four different sets of curricula, viz. the English school, the Chinese school, the Malay school and the Tamil school.

The first two mentioned provided education at the primary and secondary level, while the latter two were confined to the primary level only. Hence, children of the Malay and Tamil schools who were desirous of getting a secondary education had to enrol in the English school after at least four years of primary education in their vernacular school. They were placed for another two years in the English primary school before they could proceed to the secondary level.

The English school was the school mainly for those of high-class birth and those with money. The former category comprised the children of the Malay elites, while the second comprised those of the Chinese tin miners and businessmen and the Indian merchants. On the surface of it this type of school appeared to cut across ethnic boundaries but in reality about three-quarters of its population were Chinese. This disparity had gradually produced a new type of structure in the society, with the Chinese not only dominating the business but also the

professions, and this had had far-reaching consequences in the form of racial disputes and upheavals, especially in the decade after Independence.

The existence of the English school implied the meeting together of the various races in Malaysia. If that was so, then it only brought a small fraction of the various races together. Even in the decade after Independence when the four heterogeneous types of education were still in implementation, and in the process of being phased out, the statistics in the English school according to race was still ominously disproportionate.

The statistics for 1967-68 show that only 8.6% of the Malays were in the English school, while 89.2% were in the Malay school. Among the Chinese 14.3% were in the English school and 84.9% in the Chinese school. As for the Indians, in terms of population, they were better represented, as 28.3% of them chose to go to the English school and 66.8% to the Tamil school. But then the Indians comprised only 10% of the population, while the Malays and the Chinese were almost about equal in number.[2]

The English school was a passport to social mobility and it opened a wide avenue to an unlimited number of professions. It has thus increased the degree of differentiation that had already characterised the components of the Malaysian society. A state of imbalance had emerged in terms of educational opportunities, economic power, professional expertise, employment and ownership. Such was the state of affairs when Malaysia achieved her independence in 1957, and the situation continued long after that.

The drafters of the Malayan Constitution took the greatest consideration of the situation in drawing up the various policies which all aimed at evolving Malaya, now Malaysia, into an integrated nation. One of these is the National Language Policy which is provided in Article 152 of the Constitution.

the Policy established Malay or Bahasa Malaysia as the sole national language of the country from the time of Independence. But for official purposes it provided for the use of English side by side with Malay for ten years after Independence. It was not spelt out how this bilingual policy was to be implemented, but in actual practice English was still very much in use in government administration (not to mention private bodies) for the ten-year period given. It was only in 1967, with the Revised National Language Act, that Malay was made the sole language for official purposes in Peninsular Malaysia, except in the law courts where English until today is still the operational language. It was only at the end of 1981 that Malay began to enter the courts, but only in trials in the lower courts. In the Higher Court, English is still used today.

In Sabah and Sarawak which gained their independence within Malaysia in 1963, the same principle of familiarisation over ten years was granted before Malay could be made the sole official language. Sabah managed to keep to the target date, but Sarawak has overshot it. Today, the state is officially still bilingual. In 1980, the Sarawak State Legislative Assembly passed a Bill which had sought to go fully monolingual with Malay at the official level, starting from September 1, 1985.

At the education front, the four heterogeneous types of school already mentioned continued to exist until 1970. Beginning from that year the schools using Malay (the national language) as medium of instruction were re-named 'national schools'. The process of making this language the main medium of instruction at the secondary and tertiary level had already begun in the late 1950s. The English, Chinese and Tamil schools all became 'national type schools', hence National Type (English) School, National Type (Chinese) School, and National

Type (Tamil) School. The 'national type' concept gave the schools the right to teach in the language of their choice, while at the same time making the national language a compulsory school subject. Hence, in the National Type (Chinese) School, for example, the medium of instruction was Mandarin, but Malay and English were compulsory subjects.

The concept of 'national type' was to be a stop-gap measure as far as the National Type (English) School was concerned, because at the same time, starting from 1970, the process of phasing out English as the language of teaching school subjects began. It was all a step-by-step process beginning with the Primary One level, which meant that children entering school in January 1970 were taught entirely in the national language. Those immediately senior to them went through a bilingual program, in which certain subjects were taught in English and others in Malay. The subjects were placed in a vertical scale according to facility and convenience of implementing the national language policy in them. This meant that those subjects with the least problems with technical terms and which had books already available in the national language were the first to be taught in the national language. Hence, Civics, History and Geography were among the first to be taught in Malay while Mathematics and the science subjects like Physics, Chemistry and Biology were among the last. However, the schoolchildren who were already in the English secondary school at that time went through their entire school education in the English language.

This phasing out was only completed at the end of 1982. Hence, the Higher School Certificate examinations taken by students at the end of 1982 were entirely in Malay.

However, the students of the Arts stream who did not have to do any of the science subjects were ahead of their Science stream counterparts by three years. All the papers for the Arts subjects taken at the Higher School Certificate Examinations at the end of 1979 were set in the medium of the national language.

The whole process of changing over the medium of instruction from English to Malay in the former English schools took 12 years. It has appeared to be a very long time indeed if one takes into account the date of Independence and commencement of the National Language Policy. It could not have been faster due to the historical background given. The principle of familiarisation, though slow, has proved to be successful in bringing about the desired goal. And when the people were given this system of education there was no alternative but to accept. Hence from 1983, there is no longer in existence the National Type (English) School. All the prestigious schools in the past which were English schools are now national schools.

At the university level, universities established after 1970 teach their courses mainly in the medium of Malay. With the older ones, the University of Malaya for instance, the situation is still bilingual. The phasing out in such universities is in line with that of the English school, although it cannot be denied that there had been courses in such universities, particularly the University of Malaya, that were conducted in Malay, even from the 1950s.

As for the other national type schools, there is no provision in the Language Act or National Education Policy for evolving them into national schools. The government has assured the Chinese and the Indian public from time to time that there is no intention on its part to do so. As the Tamil school has never gone beyond the primary level, there only exists the National Type (Tamil) School at the primary level. For their secondary education, pupils from this category of school have to go to the national school. Because of the different

medium of instruction, these children have to undergo a one-year period of transition in what is known as the Remove Class, where they are taught entirely in the national language before they can move to the secondary level.

Those from the National Type (Chinese) School have two alternatives. One is to have their education through the entire primary and secondary level in the medium of Mandarin. The other is to continue to their secondary education in the national school by first undergoing the one-year period of familiarisation in the Remove Class like their Indian brethren. With time, the National Type (Chinese) Secondary gets phased out because university education is in the national language, and it is better for the Chinese student to be prepared for this eventuality from their secondary education.

In both the national and the national type schools, English is taught as a compulsory subject. It is termed in the National Education Policy as the second most important language, second only to the national language, and is to be taught as a second language. Obviously what is meant by second language in the official terminology of Malaysia is not equal to that understood by language teachers and applied linguists.

The National Language Policy is all-embracing with regards to all the languages of Malaysia. It does not deprive any group of its own language. As such the National Education Policy provides for mother tongues, or to use the official term, pupils' own languages (POL), in the national school if the pupils so desire it, with the proviso that there are at least 15 pupils to make up a class. Such classes are known as POL classes. In practice the POL classes seem to be confined to the teaching of Tamil and Mandarin, and in Sarawak to Mandarin and Iban (an indigenous language in Sarawak). Time will tell whether there will be an increase in the repertory of languages in the POL program in the national schools.

The Malaysian National Language Policy appears to be monolingual in nature. Its monolinguality is only at the level of the administration and a medium of instruction in the national schools. Other than in the contexts mentioned above, it can hardly be called monolingual. Even documents and reports issued by government departments are still given in Malay with an English translation.[3]

The policy was formulated with the objective of integrating the Malaysian population through a common language by which they could communicate with the government and among themselves, and more so through a common language by which they can obtain their school education. The compartmentalisation of the people, who are already distinct from one another culturally and linguistically, in the four different types of schools had not only intensified the differences but had also been responsible for channelling them into separate types of vocations. The result was an identification of a racial group with a particular type of vocation or industry, and hence its identification with wealth or poverty, the consequences of which have been proven by the racial riots of the 1960s, the worst of which was that of May 13, 1969.

The objective of the National Language Policy was to rectify the imbalance which has for so long characterised the Malaysian society, through the National Education Policy. This policy cannot achieve its goal if left on its own. The New Economic Policy whose main objective is to redress the economic imbalances of the racial groups and thus restructure the Malaysian society, too cannot succeed if it is not complemented by the National Education Policy. Hence, the racial imbalance of the Malaysian society can be redressed only when the education and the economic policies are implemented together.

Malaysia is not an instance of a melting pot of races and creeds. It is rather a pluralism, a multi-ethnic society. The National Education Policy and the New Economic Policy have sought to make this pluralism more balanced, such that the job-race and wealth-race identification can be erased. And the basis for the National Education Policy is, as we have seen, the National Language Policy. In this respect, the National Language Policy seeks to assimilate the people through a main language, such that they will not only communicate with ease with one another but that they will understand one another's values through a common language.

It cannot be denied that values are better understood from the speaker's own language than via another. As such, Chinese values inherent in their own language should be comprehended via the Chinese language, not through the national language. Hence, the other races, and in particular the Malays, should learn to speak the Chinese language. But that is another milestone in the process of bridging the gap between the various races of Malaysia. The *Report of the Cabinet Committee on the Implementation of the National Education Policy (Jawatankuasa Kabinet Mengenai Pelaksanaan Dasar Pelajaran Kebangsaan)* (1980), has recommended that POL classes in the national school be opened to the other races and not confined to the first language speakers only. At the same time it also recommends that the national type school, be it the Chinese or Tamil school, should also open its door to races other than its own.

Although assimilation is its goal, the policy provides for differentiation. Each major group is allowed to be educated in its own language, even if it is only at the primary level. Each group is given a chance to learn its own language in the schoolroom. The fact that there are a lot more languages of Malaysia that have not got their POL classes does not in any way indicate that the law or the system does not allow it. Of the indigenous languages (other than Malay), only Iban, spoken in Sarawak, has had primers for teaching the language at the primary level. The others have not. This is due to the fact that these languages have never been put into writing, and the ones that do have a written tradition, only entered the tradition a few years back. Though Kadazan, spoken in Sabah, has already been put in writing and two newspapers in Sabah have pages specially written in Kadazan (besides English and Malay), there has not appeared any primer yet for teaching the language in the school. In terms of publication, Iban seems to be far better off than Kadazan or any other language in Sabah and Sarawak, although most of the books published are on folklore and the Iban customs.

The other minority languages which are non-indigenous do not appear to seek their right in the POL classes, most probably due to the pragmatism of their speakers. Two languages (Malay and English) to be mastered by the children from the primary level seem to be sufficient for them to cope with. And to children of these groups, both the languages are not their own. Yet, to go up the educational and the social ladder, they have to master these two languages. Even the Chinese and the Tamil POL classes in the school are not that much in demand by the very children who are supposed to request for them. One often reads in the newspapers of the deterioration of these classes - meaning the dwindling of their size and the lack of interest among the pupils. The interpretation that is relevant here is also pragmatism.

However, pragmatism is not the only factor that has caused the unpopularity of the POL classes, especially among the Chinese and the Indians of the urban areas. Although there are no statistics to back up this point, it is a fact that this category of Chinese and Indians are no longer conversant in their

languages. In fact, these languages cannot in the strictest sense of the word be termed their mother tongues because they never learn to speak them. Their first language or mother tongue has been English, or Malaysian English. This goes back to the colonial days when the English language was first acquired by the generations before them as second language, but was passed on to them as first language. Furthermore, as said earlier, both the Chinese and the Indians are not homogeneous groups. For an Indian who is not a Tamil, Tamil is another totally new language. Hence, school life is made easier by concentrating on the national language and English. After all, the principle of equality in later life can only be realised if one has fulfilled the major requirements of the education system which is conducted in the national language.

When the National Language Policy gives every language its rightful place in the society, and everyone will not be prevented from using any language in contexts other than the official one, we can justly say that underlying it is the principle of equality. However, the interpretation of the provision given above depends on attitude and more so on which side of the ethnic coin one is placed. To the Malays and the *bumiputera* people, that the choice fell on Malay was the most natural thing. It is the language of the soil. Of all the *bumiputera* or indigenous languages, Malay is the most advanced in terms of its function as language of administration, high culture, literary knowledge and religion. It has had a written tradition which dates back to the seventh century, although evidence of written Malay of that century is found only on inscriptions of the Srivijaya Kingdom, discovered on Bangka Island and in Southern Sumatra. The tradition must have continued, but as the practice at that time was to write on lontar (a kind of palm) leaves it could have been that these were destroyed with time.

Malay flourished as the language of administration during the Srivijaya rule of the Malay Peninsula and the archipelago (7th-13th century A.D.). It continued in this function in the time of the Malacca empire in the 15th and 16th century. It had always been the language of the courts of the kingdoms of the Malay archipelago.

At the time of the colonisation of the Malay Peninsula by the British, Malay was already a fully vital language which was not confined to the peninsula but was spread far and wide in the whole of the archipelago. It was not just the language of the royal courts or the ruling class, but was also the language of commerce. Barter trading carried out in the ports appeared to have been conducted in this language, whence emerged the various forms of pidgin Malay.

The spread of Hinduism and Buddhism in the early centuries to the Malay archipelago from India, was done via the Malay language. Later, the Muslim missionaries saw fit to use this language and not any other in Islamising the natives of the peninsula and the islands. Even the teaching of Christianity, which came after Islam, to those who had not been converted to Islam was done via the Malay language.

None of the other indigenous languages has come even half way compared to Malay in terms of vitality, not to mention the number of speakers, be they first or second language speakers. As mentioned earlier, none of these languages had had a written tradition before the Second World War. The non-Malay *bumiputera* do speak some form of Malay even if they do not go to school to acquire the standard variation. It has been the only tool by which they can reach one another if they are from different subgroups.

If the *bumiputera* people were content with the choice of the national language, the non-*bumiputera* were not. At the onset of Independence, the latter group demanded a multilingual policy, with all the four languages - Malay, English, Mandarin and Tamil - on equal footing. This could have been the real manifestation of the principle of equality Had this type of multilingualism been granted and implemented, it would not have worked. The principle of equality so desired would have been a mere shadow of the ideal or a figment of the imagination. It would not have been practical for many reasons.

In the first place, there is the question of the implementation of the policy. Was it going along the lines of the Swiss model? Or was it going to be like the one eventually adopted by Singapore? The Swiss model would not have been practical because the racial groups were not divided along geographical lines. The Singapore model, however, is in practice a monolingual one. Administration in the Republic is carried out only in one language, and that is English, though the national language is Malay (as it is the language of the national anthem). No doubt, Singapore has taken steps to encourage her people to acquire Mandarin, but this is in essence not much different from the Malaysian policy of encouraging the various groups to learn languages other than their own.

Moreover, if Mandarin and Tamil had been given official status, it would have meant for most Malaysians learning two entirely different languages using different scripts. And, as mentioned earlier, the Chinese and the Indians themselves are not homogeneous within their separate groups. Unlike Malay, Mandarin and Tamil have not pervaded the Malaysian society. They are confined only to their own subgroups.

English could have brought educational advancement, but it would not have fulfilled the principle of equality. No doubt it cut across ethnic boundaries, but its spread was circumbscribed by the urban boundary lines, and thus the language remained only at the higher strata on the social and economic ladder. Although, as said earlier, there are Malaysians, especially those of Indian and Chinese origins, who now speak English as their first language, they never form a community as such. In other words, they are sprinkled all over the place, although this is confined to cities like Kuala Lumpur and Penang. Other than that, English does not have a first-language community.

Superficially it would have been fair to choose a language which is not identifiable with any community - fair and square. However, traditions die hard. The Malays, as a race, would rather die than lose their language to a foreign one. The motto *Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa* (Language is the soul of the nation) is deeply ingrained in them. This is not to say that they are against learning a foreign language. In fact they are quite open-minded in this matter, having accepted Arabic and English. But making English the national or the sole official language would have made them lose face, especially in the eyes of Indonesia which had taken precedence in elevating the language as her national language and language of integration (*bahasa persatuan*). So why unseat Malay from its natural soil? Why not give it back the status it enjoyed in the period before the coming of the Westerners?

Besides, the national language not only has a utility role; it also has a symbolic function. It exudes emotion - one that gives the feeling of pride in and attachment to one's country. This is true with the Malays and perhaps with the other *bumiputera* groups. It may not be so with the others. But at least there is a community that is emotionally attached to it, and this community happens to be a major one.

It is doubtful whether English could have exuded such an emotion. It is foreign-based. There is no sizable community which can call it their own, and except for the Eurasians who are in the minority, no community can claim a primordial link with the English people. In fact, at the time of Independence it was still considered a colonial language.

English has always played only the utility role. It signals higher studies at home and abroad. It is also a passport to employment in the private sector and in international affairs. It means a wealth of knowledge in an unlimited number of fields. All these have remained in the consciousness of the Malaysians and more so of the progenitors of the National Language Policy. Hence, it has the status given to it of second most important language.

The principle of equality also applies to the implementation of English in its ascribed status. English used to be accessible to certain categories of people only - the aristocrats and the rich. A large majority of the population was denied acquisition of this language. The National Education Policy has rectified this imbalance. Each and every schoolchild in Malaysia now, be he enrolled in the national or national type school, is given the opportunity to learn the language right from the moment he enters school. In theory, English has now reached out to the masses. The principle of equality requires that it be so, even if the child grows up to be one who will not leave his upstream village where knowledge of English is superfluous. He may not have any use for the language but he has been given the same opportunity as that given to the others.

The effort to balance up the situation is also seen in the student intake at university level. The government has ruled that the student population of all the universities should reflect the population of the whole country. This means that if the population of the *bumiputera* constitutes 50% vis-a-vis 50% others, then the percentage has to be applied when recruiting new students entering the university at the undergraduate level. This type of balancing according to population is not required at the graduate level studies.

The balancing up of the student population and the country's is not taken per faculty or department but on the total population of the university. Hence, in practice at the faculty level there is still a racial imbalance because the science-based faculties are largely Chinese-populated while the arts and the humanities (except the Faculty of Economics) represent a concourse of largely *bumiputera* students. However, this type of imbalance is considered a half-way remedy to the situation of the past where only 20% of the total university population were *bumiputera*. This wide differential of *bumiputera* versus non-*bumiputera* attendance in the universities reflected the end result of the education policy prior to the implementation of National Education Policy 1970, in which a pass in English in the School Certificate Examinations was compulsory, and as we have seen English was not as easily accessible to the *bumiputera* as it was to the non-*bumiputera*.

The English language factor was also responsible in the channelling of students into different educational streams. The arts and the humanities by tradition had had literature on them written in the national language, although the sum total of the published materials is still low. On the other hand, the science subjects and mathematics had all the time been taught in English and, as mentioned earlier, the changeover of the medium of education to Malay at the school level for the science subjects was later than that of the arts stream. Hence, until today the compartmentalisation of society is still obvious at the university level.

In order to rectify the imbalance according to choice of faculty or discipline, each university has embarked on its own program which aims to increase the number of *bumiputera* in the science-based faculties. Some universities 'adopt' certain schools where the *bumiputera* are in the majority. Students who appear promising in the science subjects are selected after they have passed their School Certificate Examinations and are made to go through a one-year matriculation in the science subjects (like Mathematics, Physics, Biology and Chemistry). At the end of the year, they sit for a special examination set by the university and are straightaway recruited into the university. This particular group of students do not have to undergo the two-year Form VI classes which lead to the Higher School Certificate Examinations.

The University of Malaya has a program, uniquely its own. It has since 1974 established what is called the Centre for Foundation Studies in Science *(Pusat Asasi Sains)* within the University campus. Essentially this is a centre for making the *bumiputera* students better in the science subjects. Students are taken from school after they have passed their School Certificate Examinations, and are brought to the Centre for two years. They sit for the Centre's own series of examinations, and at the end of the two years, subject to their passing all their examinations, they are absorbed into the various scienced-based faculties in the University.

The balancing up of the student population at the level of the faculty or the discipline might have just been a dream 15 years back. But now the dream is materialising. The various science-based faculties in the University of Malaya, for example the Faculties of Science, Medicine and Engineering, have shown an increase in the percentage of *bumiputera* intake, although the ideal balance is still far from being achieved. As a result of this, starting from 1980, the Faculty of Arts and the Social Sciences has had to readjust their student-race ratio. When previously the *bumiputera* student population in the Faculty was 70%, since that year it has gone down to 60%. This adjustment was necessary for the possible recruitment of qualified *bumiputera* students in the other faculties.

The National Language Policy of Malaysia is both centripetal and centrifugal in nature. The former has the objective of developing a national identity and of restructuring society, while the latter gives the freedom to each subgroup to retain its linguistic and cultural heritage. Malaysians are quite at home with the multifariousness of their languages and cultures, but at the same time there is a sure need for a common denominator between them, and that is the national language.

NOTES

1. For detailed information on the Malaysian population by group, number and locality, see Asmah Haji Omar 1982, chapter 5; Wurm and Hattori's *Atlas*, part 2 (1983) should also be consulted.

2. See Asmah Haji Omar 1982:84.

3. I have discussed language use in communication in Malaysia in my paper Patterns of language communication in Malaysia, presented at the Seventh Conference of the Asian Association on National Languages, Language Centre, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur 22-26 August 1983.

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HIGH AND LOW THAI: VIEWS FROM WITHIN

A.V.N. Diller

INTRODUCTION

Sociolinguistic complexity in Thai has attracted the attention of foreign travellers and scholars for some time, but the Thais themselves have also been keenly aware of the richness of their language in this regard.[1] The Thai language calls itself phasǎa thay (or phaasǎa thay, see (17)). The term phasǎa easily combines with qualifiers to indicate linguistic varieties quite in line with what Sapir called 'language subforms', now more generally referred to as styles or 'registers' (Halliday 1978:31-35):

(1) official register — phasǎa râatchakaan
legal register — phasǎa kòtmǎay
'educationalese' — phasǎa kaansɯ̀ksǎa
'market patois' — phasǎa talàat
written register — phasǎa náŋsɯ̌ɯ
oral register (lit. *spoken*) — phasǎa phûut
oral register (lit. *of the mouth*) — phasǎa pàak

STYLE AND CONTEXT

Thai scholars and educators frequently observe that the Thai language is differentiated according to 'contextual features' (kaanlá?theesà?, a Sanskritic compounding of 'time' and 'place'; see e.g. Thichinphong 1979:164). There is clear realisation that many linguistic forms vary and must be selected with reference to social relationships holding among interlocutors. Posakritsana (1978:13) has gone so far as to point to the complex personal reference system in Thai, which is very sensitive to comparative social standing and ascribed deference, and to extol it as an improvement over the impoverished systems of English or other Western languages.

It is of particular interest that in spite of a well-codified 'doctrine of purity' introduced mainly in the early 20th century under indirect Western influence, leading Thai scholars have understood that 'too correct' a register may be inappropriate on certain occasions. Phraya Anuman Rajadhon, for years one of the leading figures in Thai language studies and an editor of the official normative dictionary, observed

(2) Receptive understanding on the part of the listener is not simply a matter of receiving words which have been expressed by the speakers. That which is unexpressed or repressed by the speaker may be received and understood by the listener as well. In ordinary speech there is apt not to be full

David Bradley, ed. *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.9: *Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia*, 51-76. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-67, 1985.
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Diller, A.V.N. "High and low Thai: views from within". In Bradley, D. editor, *Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics No. 9: Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia.*
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> linguistic specification. Anyone who makes such full specifications will be considered scornful or 'pedantic'. For example, rather than saying, 'Do you see or not?' one might simply say 'See?'; or one might only clear one's throat; in each case the listener would understand what is meant.
> (Rajadhon 1956:177; translation provided)

It is not far from this idea to the notion of 'reciprocity of perspectives' and of the 'indexical' nature of informal communication as articulated in the phenomenological sociologies of knowledge of Schütz, Garfinkel, et al. The use of the term 'scornful' (dàtcarìt) above is of particular significance, since it indicates that Thai scholars have been aware of complicated interconnections between register differentiation, degree of overt specification, appropriate level of intimacy or informality, and subjective emotional consequences of the various register assignments (or misassignments).[2]

The term *register* has been used above intentionally, since Thais' discussions of their sociolinguistic situation frequently incorporate this notion, even though the actual form phasǎa may be used. Gedney (1961:109ff) has noted that earlier foreign scholars misunderstood the nature of Thai royal vocabulary (raachaasàp), believing it to be a "separate language" to be used when speaking to or about royal persons. Gedney shows that this conception is inaccurate, and that, as its name in Thai indicates, it is rather a system of lexical substitutions or "highly conventionalized euphemisms" quite limited in scope (some 250 items in all, by his count). 'Register', it would seem, could subsume the royal and closely-related ecclesiastical varieties, since predictable occurrence of particular forms is again the function of contextual features (kaanlá?theesà?). Also, the *degree* to which available royal forms may be substituted in a given discourse is contextually determined in a manner again suggesting register. However here 'context' needs to be differentiated into what Ricoeur and other literary analysts have called 'inner' and 'outer' contexts. 'Palace speech', when used by commoners *about* royalty, is mainly determined by inner context or 'text-internal' reference (whether the 'text' is referring to a prince of such-and-such a rank). Yet there is the possibility that outer contextual features, such as discourse participant identity and speech-act factors, may enter into how many or which 'royal forms' are selected too. In some informal situations many Thais, especially less-educated ones, would react to 'overuse' of royal forms as either a playful showing-off or even as a gesture of scorn (dàtcarìt, as above) directed at those who had not had opportunity to learn their 'proper' use.

Whether or not the term *diglossia* is appropriate in the Thai context is an interesting related question. Greek and Arabic represented linguistic situations which Ferguson took as paradigmatic for diglossia when he introduced the term in 1959. These language communities both resemble and are different from what one finds in the Thai community. The title of this paper rather to the contrary, there is really no absolute high-low bifurcation of Thai into two discrete languages or styles (and this appears to be the case at least for Greek as well). On the other hand, virtually any native speaker of Thai can quite effortlessly classify a great range of phonological, lexical and even syntactic material in the language, including paired variants, into 'relatively higher' and 'relatively lower' categories. The Thai terms for *high* and *low* (sǔuŋ, tàm) may even be used spontaneously by Thais when discussing these phenomena, and a binary emphasis of such type is frequently found in educational materials used in Thai primary and secondary schools. Yet even here it is clear that there is more to the problem than simple two-way layered classification. Apart from specialised topics like palace and ecclesiastical speech, there are archaic-poetic, technical-urban and

rural-dialectal varieties and issues, each of which adds separate dimensions. It is perhaps in the up-country regional areas that local rural and national standard bidialectalism most closely approaches the condition of classic diglossia, with two discrete and theoretically 'self-sufficient' varieties co-existing side-by-side, but used for different social purposes. In these situations the national standard is referred to as phasǎa klaaŋ (*central language*) which appears to have both geographical and functional connotations: Central Region or *high koiné*. (Even here structured mixing may occur, with the definition of local 'urban hybrid' forms of speech; see Diller 1979.) But socially tiered local-rural/urbanised national-standard contrasts are familiar the world over, and 'diglossia' is perhaps better reserved for more restricted usage. In any event, the Thai speech community is replete with 'diglossic contrasts', and perhaps sociolinguistic variation of the type discussed here might be termed *diglossic register differentiation*, or to make use of the earlier Sapirian term, distinction of *diglossic subforms*.

One promising operational approach to diglossic analysis is in the *amount of overt attention paid to speech*. Labov (1970) has even suggested that varieties or styles can be ranked, in theory at least, in a single dimension on this basis. Would this be a plausible device for arranging Thai registers along a high-low scale? The problem is that Thai varieties which are spontaneous and unedited for certain social groups - which have in fact been naturally acquired mainly in early childhood rather than through formal education - for social 'outsiders' represent an overt learning task to which much conscious attention must be paid if the registers are to be mastered. An excellent if rather specialised example can be found in the opening chapters of M.R. Kukrit Pramoj's epic novel *Four Reigns* [sìi phɛ̀ndin], where we learn that in former days young girls brought up in the inner 'forbidden city' of the king's harem acquired the proper use of royal vocabulary as a matter of course, but for outsiders its acquisition was an awkward and difficult task requiring much conscious attention.[3] Similarly, present-day Thai children brought up in well-educated urbanised families learn spontaneously much of what children from uneducated rural backgrounds would need to acquire through conscious or semi-conscious effort. Not that there is nothing left in terms of linguistic register for urban-elite children to learn consciously: various literary forms and styles remain to be acquired through formal education. The point is that for rural or working-class children there are additional demands on 'linguistic attention'. Labov's ranking might then apply for any given individual as a single-dimension arrangement of registers, but it would be inadequate as a means of coming to terms with register complexity in the Thai speech community as a whole.

On the other hand, it is certainly fruitful to study terms used consciously by Thais themselves in characterising various Thai registers, realising with Labov that such explicit attention will tend to single out specialised diglossic strata. In addition to terms such as those introduced in (1), the following adjectival descriptors are common in characterisations of speech or text samples under some sort of evaluative consideration:

(3)

polite	suphâap
refined	praniit
harmonious	phayrɔ́ʔ, phrɔ́ʔ
elaborate	salàʔ-salǔay
clear	chát-ceen, chát
correct	thùuk-tɔ̂ŋ
grammatical	thùuk làk (phasǎa)

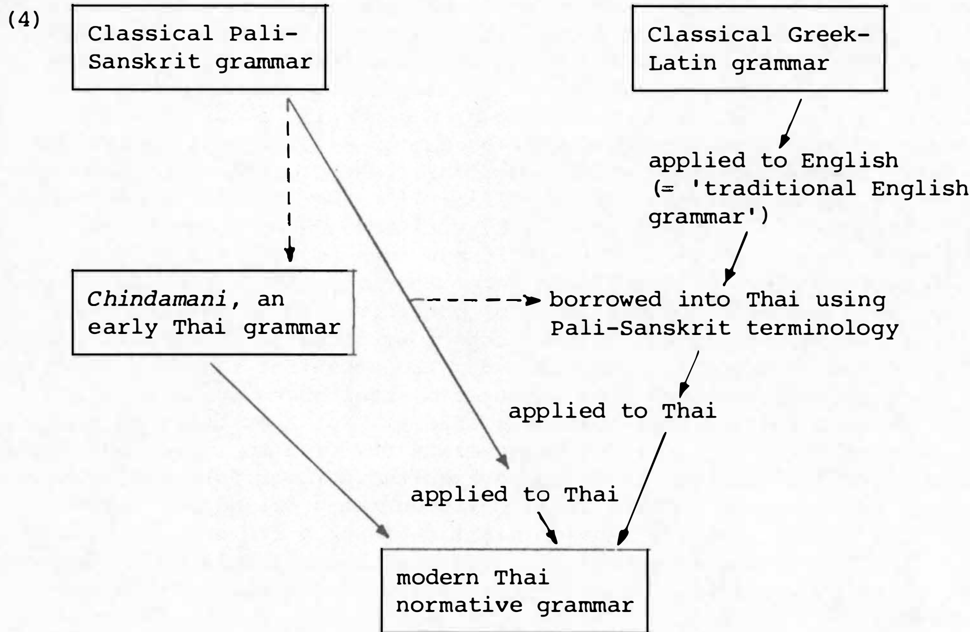
ungrammatical	phìt làk (phasǎa)
hypercorrect, pedantic	dàtcarìt
rude, coarse	yàap
rustic, brogue-like	nə̀ə
ambiguous	kamkuam
curt, too direct	hûan

Most of these terms also occur in the negative.

TRADITIONAL GRAMMAR

For the linguist, a clarification is in order for the terms glossed *grammatical, ungrammatical.*[4] The present constitution of Thai normative-prescriptive grammar is a rather complicated series of superimpositions and syntheses which might be represented as follows:

(4)



Thus terminology pertaining to the Pāṇinian analysis of Sanskrit morphophonemics, such as terms describing phonological alternation or semantic case-role (kāraka) phenomena have found their way into Thai prescriptive grammar:

(5)

sandhi	sǒnthíʔ
vṛddhi	phrʉ́tthíʔ
nominative case	kantùkaarók
accusative case	kammakaarók

So have additional Indic neologisms, created in the 1920s and 1930s to translate terms of English traditional grammar (in turn based on Latin and Greek):

(6) adverb kriyaawíseèt
subject prathaan
optative mood sàkkadìʔmaalaa
subordinate clause ʔanuprayòok
complex sentence sǎŋkɔɔráprayòok

The codification and culmination of this approach to 'grammar' is in the writings of Phaya Upakit Sinlapasan; these have been assembled into a single volume entitled *Principles of the Thai language* [làk phasǎa thay, 1937]. This remains the basis of 'traditional' school grammatical study, although there have been subsequent recensions and modifications by other followers. Finally, one cannot help but observe that the appropriation process continues as Thai students of linguistics study overseas, and then return home to interpret and 'apply' whatever current doctrines they have been exposed to, often conjuring up additional Indic neologisms:

(7) articulatory phonetics sariirásàtthasàat
transformational rule sùut-kaanpariwát
verb phrase kriyaawalii

The resulting amalgamation of Indic and Western grammatical conceptions and terminologies is perhaps of significance as an intellectual construction, but to date it must be admitted that many predominant features of the Thai language itself remain poorly described (e.g. verb serialisation, topicalisation, anaphora, deletion, ambitransitivity, particles and their speech-acts) while others (e.g. allegedly invariant S-V-O order or the 'passive voice') are covertly framed in English terms, or there may even be ultimate connections to Latin and Greek.[5] In practice, when a Thai educator criticises something as 'ungrammatical' (phìt làk phasǎa), this may well refer to tacitly-held internalised norms acquired from real-world sociolinguistic experience and personal imitation of models, not to deductions from abstract principles nor even, in many cases, to explicit ad hoc rules.

Before taking up specific examples of Thai diglossic register differentiation from current Thai sources, some further historical notes are in order. The evolution of the present system can be viewed in several phases. First, at the time of the earliest Sukhothai inscriptions (c. 1300 A.D.), spelling variation and the use of what is now 'vulgar' (yàap) vocabulary suggests little concern with issues nowadays taken as normative-prescriptive. Thus the presently vulgar tiin *foot*, is applied to the Buddha (Inscription VIII, 1:3, 22) and royal authors refer to themselves with the pronoun kuu *I* (I, 1:1). It should be emphasised that for tiin to be so used today or for the present King to refer to himself as kuu in public would be virtually unthinkable, although both words are in widespread (devalued) usage.

Khmero-Indic vocabulary, so important in subsequent register differentiation, makes its appearance early, but mainly in Buddhist religious contexts. Only later in the Palatine Laws of King Trailok (c. 1450) does it become widespread in more secular usage and begin to take on the avoidance-form characteristics of present-day royal vocabulary.[6] During the later Ayudhya period (c. 17C.-18C.) such vocabulary also became common in court poetry.

The first Thai treatise dealing specifically with language was the *Chindamani* (cindaamanii, c. 1680), written in the reign of King Narai when the French had considerable influence and the Greek adventurer Constantine was in high favour. Although there may have been foreign influence in its conception, the *Chindamani*

was mainly concerned with teaching Thai spelling and poetic form to would-be court poets and scribes. It served as a codification of orthographic principles, and its terminology is still standard. From it dates, for example, the three-way division of Thai consonants into *high, mid* and *low* classes, perhaps to preserve poetic principles which were becoming archaic or apparently arbitrary through sound change.

It was not until the reign of King Rama IV (1851-1868), the first Thai king to study English, that normative-prescriptivist interest in linguistic usage became strong and explicit. Some examples from royal edicts:

(8) a. chɯ̂ak, literally *rope*, was specified as a classifier for elephants;
b. máa *horse*, was to be used as its own classifier (rather than tua);
c. sày *to put, place*, was not to be used with direct locative complements (as in sày khúk *put in jail*);
d. ʔûan *fat*, and phɔ̌ɔm *thin*, were not to be used, at least in the royal presence;
e. khəəy *sp. small shrimp*, was to be used in new compounds for *fish sauce* and *shrimp paste*, instead of kapìʔ, the current Burmese-derived term for the latter, which was proscribed under penalty of monetary fine (later repealed);
f. sòp *corpse*, was to be preferred to awkward euphemisms used by some to avoid it.

Many pronouncements on official terminology, names, titles and toponyms were also made and of particular importance is King Rama IV's expressed displeasure at newly-introduced printing-press tendencies to print common or vulgar variants (sǐaŋ phrây-leew) instead of elite forms (sǎmniaŋ phûu-dii), taken now as 'correct'. Misdemeanours in the context of these 'proto-prescriptivist' norms could bring fines or punishments like having to clean up betel nut spittle in the palace grounds. Sophawong (1971) discusses many of these matters in an entertaining and instructive manner.

Soon princes and others of the nobility were attending British schools and universities, and English doctrines of correctness current in the late 19th century and early 20th century must have seemed part and parcel of being a 'civilised' Western-style nation-state. In any event, on return home the new foreign-educated elite looked at Thai with an increasingly normative interest, and those who had studied Sanskrit as taught in England cooperated with local learned Buddhist clerics in coining neologisms such as those in (6) (see also below). In an ironic twist, the English-derived doctrine of purity was applied against many earlier English loans for which Indic neologisms were now coined (Waithayakon 1970).[7] Also, the practice of interspersing English words in Thai sentences which had been previously acceptable (Chu'nchit 1977:56) was discouraged, although it continues to the present. The culmination of these trends, under the constraints of a public education syllabus introduced in the 1920s, was the fully prescriptivist treatment of Thai illustrated in works such as the 1918-1937 writings of Phaya Upakit Sinlapasan mentioned above, and more recently in those of Posakritsana (1978) and others.

Returning to the value-laden descriptors in (3), below we illustrate how they operate as an implicit categorisation device applied by Thais to phonology, lexicon and to some extent syntax. It must be emphasised that we are sampling an ethnotaxonomy, not reporting actual behaviour as objectively documented. What is briefly exemplified here is an array of phenomena which are salient or of particular interest in the works of such standard authorities as Phraya Anuman

Rajadhon, Phraya Upakit Sinlapasan and in modern Thai commentaries in a similar vein whose project is to instil attitudes relating to normative usage (e.g. Posakritsana 1978, perhaps the best recent example of extreme normative prescriptivism; Chitphasa 1978; Nakhonthap and Siha'amphai 1977; Rothetphai 1979; Thichinphong 1979; Thongprasoet 1975; and teacher-training manuals such as that issued by the Ayudhya Teacher's College in 1976).

PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION

In phonetics and phonology attention centres on othography-related issues such as preservation of the r/l contrast, preservation of clusters and on other questions of lenition including assimilation and vowel shortening. Attention is also given to more strictly orthographic issues such as proper spelling and reading of Indic loans, Khmer morphophonemics as applied in Thai and also to various problems to do with the assimilation of English loans.

Thichinphong (1979:163) warns that loss of rhoticism and reduction of -r- and -l- consonant clusters will lead to semantic difficulties: "if the language user is not careful or does not know the true [sound], confusion may occur causing problems in communication". Examples are cited:

(9) *to pour* râat (> lâat)
to spread lâat
to escape phlùt (> phùt)
to bob up phùt
to alternate phlàt (> phàt)
to fry phàt

These losses of distinction are sometimes used in modern Thai literature to colour class conflict between the older Thai aristocracy (r- preserving) and the new Sino-Thai economic elite (r > l; cluster loss).[8] It is interesting that another facet of fear of loss of distinction, namely *hypercorrection*, is ignored in prescriptive manuals. Thus *clock, o'clock* naalikaa is so routinely overcorrected to [naarikaa] in formal radio and television time-announcing that a new quasi-distinction based on the overcorrection is coming into widespread usage:

(10) naalikaa *clock, watch*
naarikaa *o'clock* (in time-telling)

(Similar differentiations appear to be arising in alternations like krabuan ∿ khabuan *procession, movement*; classifier for trains, etc.)[9]

Less normative attention is given to other cluster reductions, such as several described by Brown (1967:xii) and documented in detail by Beebe (1975, etc.):

(11) tr > kr ∿ kl > k
khw > f
kw > f (with intermediates)

Nor does strictly phonetic variation come in for much explicit censure, such as the articulation of s- as [θ-], etc. (Beebe 1976) or variants of the phonemes transcribed here as c and ch (Harris 1972). Thais do in private conversation

often indicate that an 'over-rolled' r- is pedantically overbearing (dàtcarìt), with a single alveolar flap or tap considered the norm.

Final consonants in English loanwords are often noted as introducing new phonological possibilities into Thai, e.g.:

(12) *golf* kɔ́ɔf
gas kɛ́ɛs

but it is not suggested that more Thai-ised pronunciations like kɔ́ɔp, kɛ́ɛt (heard among rural and lower-class urban speakers) are to be preferred. However the assignment of final -s, presumably of English origin, to native Thai words for 'flashy' emphasis - common now among urban youth - is discouraged:

(13)

	unsuffixed base	substandard 'anglicised'
much	mâak	mâaks
difficult	yâak	yâaks
outdated	chəəy	chəəys
overt	sâa	sâas
provocative	sabâm	sabâms
crazy	bɔ́ŋ	bɔ́ŋs

(See Nakkhasakun 1977:94; Thichinphong 1979:143; Ayudhya Teacher's College 1976:190.)

Consideration of vowels centres mainly on orthographic/phonological relationships in Indic loans, whose partial but not total assimilation to the Thai spelling system raises intricate issues beyond our scope here. Alternations are cited such as:

(14)

	[I.]		[II.]
case	kɔɔranii	∿	karanii
refuge	sɔ̌ɔrannáʔ	∿	saranáʔ

with the [II.] realisations of the orthography preferred (Ayudhya Teacher's College 1976:7).

As for contractions and other lenition phenomena, there is a certain ambivalence in prescriptive attitude. Some assimilations are regularly noted and apparently tolerated as acceptable oral realisations [I. below] for corresponding unreduced written normative forms [II.]:

(15)

	[I.]	[II.]
how	yaŋŋay	yàaŋray
like that	yaŋŋán	yàaŋnán
like this	yaŋŋíi	yaàŋníi
history	prawàtsàat	prawatìsàat
Petburi	phétburii	phétcha(ra)burii

In the last example of (15), articulating the medial (normally silent) letters in the written form would be a spelling pronunciation and would generally be considered hypercorrect.

Other contracted pronunciations are treated as decidedly substandard [I.] and discouraged:

(16)	[I.]	[II.]
insect	mɛɛŋ	malɛɛŋ[10]
university	məhəwílay	mahǎawítthayaalay
I (f. speaker)	dían, dán	dichǎn
satisfied	sàcay	sǎa (kɛ̀ɛ) cay

Predictable tone-shifting principles (Whittaker 1969) and pretonic vowel shortening tendences are less frequently commented on. Spellings to reflect these pronunciations are increasingly used in cartoons and elsewhere when an oral register is to be evoked by the orthography, but such spellings are definitely substandard ([I.]):

(17)	[I.]	[II.]
they, he, she	kháw (เค้า)	khǎw (เขา)
question particle	máy (มั้ย)	mǎy (ไหม)
book	náŋsɯ̌ɯ	nǎŋsɯ̌ɯ
ahead	khâŋnâa	khâaŋnâa
restaurant	ráan-ʔahǎan	ráanʔaahǎan
language	phasǎa	phaasǎa

Finally Posakritsana (1978:133) condemns as an unacceptable English affectation the practice some Thais now have of forming questions by rising intonation assignment [I.] rather than by the use of proper question particles [II.]:

(18) [I.] thəə mây khâw-cǎy?
[II.] thəə mây khâw-cay rɯ̌ɯ?
you not understand PARTICLE
So you don't understand?

LEXICAL VARIATION

Lexicon plays the major role in determining Thai diglossic register configurations as seen by Thai prescriptivists. That is, lexical selection is taken to be a paramount issue to deal with prescriptively, the assumption being that selection of diglossic register appropriate to context (kaanláʔtheesàʔ) may involve unnatural and difficult lexical selections. These latter must be learned through explicit attention and pedagogical practice.

Level-differentiated Thai vocabulary is well illustrated by categorisations like the following mainly from Haas (1964), with which Thai prescriptivists would be in general agreement:

(19)	vulgar	colloquial	common	elegant	literary
to vomit	râak	ʔûak	ʔûak	ʔaacian	-
to urinate	yîaw	yîaw	yîaw	pàtsǎawáʔ	-
friend	-	kləə	phɯ̂an	mít	-
woman	-	yǐŋ	phûuyǐŋ	sàtrii	ʔìtthǐi
foot	tiin	tiin	tháaw	tháaw	bàat
abdomen	-	phuŋ	thɔ́ɔŋ	khan	-
dog	-	mǎa	mǎa	sunák	-
pig	-	mǔu	mǔu	sùkɔɔn	-
toilet	wét	sûam	sûam	súkhǎa	-

Although Haas does not make clear exactly how her categories are to operate, it is clear they impose a ranking of sorts within lexical groups with the same referential gloss. It can also be seen clearly that the system is far more complex than a simple two-way high-low classification of synonyms, although a high-low continuum is apparently involved.

This fact is implicitly understood in the Thai sources, but more often than not lexical differentiation is in fact presented in a two-level parallel column arrangement such as the following treatment of animal terms by Phibanthaen (1972):

(20)	[I.]	[II.]
a. *dog*	mǎa	sunák
b. *buffalo*	khwaay	krabɯɯ
c. *cow*	wua	khoo
d. *pig*	mǔu	sùkɔɔn
e. *elephant*	cháaŋ	khót
f. *leech*	pliŋ	chanlukàʔ
g. *turtle*	tàw	cìtracun
h. *cat*	mɛɛw	wílaan
i. *horse*	máa	ʔatsàwáʔ
j. *snake*	ŋuu	sàppàʔ
k. *monkey*	liŋ	waanarin
l. *rat*	nǔu	muusìkàʔ
m. *hare*	kratàay	sàsàʔ
n. *fish*	plaa	mátchǎa
o. *bird*	nók	pàksǎa
p. *fly*	mɛɛŋ wan	mákkhìkaa
q. *vulture*	ʔiiréɛŋ	(nók) réɛŋ
r. *crow*	(ʔii)kaa	(nók) kaa
s. *swallow*	(nók) ʔiiʔɛ̀n	(nók) naaŋʔɛ̀n
t. *barking deer*	ʔiikêeŋ	naaŋkêeŋ
u. *oyster*	ʔiirom	naaŋrom
v. *mullet*	plaa chɔ̂ɔn	plaa hǎaŋ
w. *gourami*	plaa salìt	plaa baymáay

Phibanthaen's general purpose in (20) is to specify substitutes [II.] for ordinary animal terms [I.] which are appropriate when speaking in a royal context (raachaasàp). However Phibanthaen makes clear by labelling the two columns 'common' (sǎaman, [I.]) and 'polite' (suphâap, [II.]) that the latter are of more widespread distribution than other royal substitutes, such as body parts and kinship terms, which are 'royal' in a more restrictive sense. Other Thai presentations of royal vocabulary (e.g. Malakun 1972) omit lists such as (20), but state instead a principle to the effect that royal communication presupposes the avoidance of common or 'lower' terms if other 'higher' substitutes are available.

Yet this clarification still does not accurately suggest normal Thai reactions to items in (20). Even less educated rural or urban lower-class people who would usually be at ease speaking only items in [I.] could still recognise that [II.] was by no means a uniform list. Whether through mass media, cinema or public education, virtually all Thai adult native speakers would understand and treat mǎa and sunák as level-distinguished referential equivalents for *dog* (item a.), and the terms for *buffalo* (b.) and *cow* (c.) would enjoy similar widespread passive acceptance. *Pig* (d.) on the other hand, in its [II.] form might be somewhat less widely understood.[11] In a formal Thai radio or television

broadcast, for (a.) one would expect [II.], whilst for (b.)-(d.) both [I.] and [II.] would be commonly heard. But for (e.) to (w.), [I.] would be the exclusive selection for all but arcane discussions of ancient literature or, and, perhaps marginally, if reference in a royal context were necessary. The 'high' forms of *leech, turtle, cat, horse, snake, monkey*, etc. are simply not known by the vast majority of Thai native speakers, and even university professors might need to consult manuals to locate proper [II.] forms for such items. Also within (e.) to (w.) there is probably some difference in how well individual items would be recognised.

It would seem then that (20) is an implicit shorthand for an array similar to the Haas-derived pattern in (19), and that pairs (or triplets, etc.) of synonyms divide up a roughly linear continuum at many different points.

(20) raises some additional issues. At the high end of the scale lists such as that of Phibanthaen (1972:117ff) may include multiple forms. Thus for *dog* are listed four 'polite' (suphâap) lesser-known alternatives to well-known sunák, and there are similarly listed two polite ways to say *snake, leech* and *monkey*; three for *bird, fish* and *cat*; four for *horse*; and no less than 12 ways to refer to *elephants*, which are to some extent subdistinguished by sex, function, etc. In a similar way more properly royal terms for kinship, etc. are proliferated, and Phibanthaen (1972:30) suggests 14 royal terms for *to die*, differentiated partly by royal ranks, status, etc. Since many of the alternative polite and royal forms are basically confined to court poetry, one suspects that there were pressures to proliferate synonyms brought to bear by rigid poetic needs for rhyming words and the like. Most alternates represent Pali-Sanskrit couplets or epithetic circumlocutions.

Also tabu of the original Thai prefixal ʔii- and its substitution by naaŋ- can be seen in (20), items (q.)-(u.). Wijeyewardene (1968) has analysed the Northern Thai use of this form at length, and the basic features of what he describes would apply in other Thai varieties. He shows that "derogatory feminine prefix" is an over-simplification and develops an interesting argument to generalise the range of ʔii- use and its avoidance.

Another type of tabu operates in (20), items (v.), (w.). The two animals are jocular substitutes for male and female genitalia respectively, for shape-related reasons. In polite speech it is apparently felt that any mention at all of these animals using their common [I.] names would carry sexual overtones, hence the [II.] substitutes. These are actually awkward circumlocutions which in turn have come to evoke strongly the very connotations they were presumably supposed to avoid. The same situation holds for *pestle* sàak-krabɯa → máay-tii-phrík (avoidance form); *sp. mushroom* hèt-khoon → hèt-pluàk; *small drinking bowl* ʔoo → thûay, etc.[12]

Semantic co-occurrence problems, particularly when inner-/outer-contextual issues are relevant as well, are not often sorted out in much detail in the Thai prescriptivist sources. *To eat* provides a convenient example:

(21) a. of royalty — sawǎəy
b. of monks — chǎn
of commoners
c. polite — rápprathaan
d. polite — (rápthaan)
e. polite — (ráp)
f. polite — thaan
of commoners, animals
g. colloquial — kin
h. vulgar — dὲεk

There are additional variants and jocular circumlocutions which Achan Suthiwong Phongphaibun (personal communication) has numbered at above 50. As for co-occurrence restrictions, Posakritsana (1978:64) holds that for common people (for animals?) kin *to eat* - but widely among less-educated speakers also *to drink* - is used correctly with a *solid* direct object (with special *to drink* dɯ̀ɯm required for liquids). But also ráppratha an, with its reduced variants (d.), (e.) and (f.), is said to be derived originally from ráp *to receive* and phrá-thaan *that which has been royally granted* (viz. food); hence even reduced thaan, current in educated informal urban speech, is used correctly only with a *beneficial* direct object (e.g. rice, medicine), i.e. something a benevolent monarch might bestow. Harmful direct objects such as poison or rotten food require kin. For selecting the correct form of *to eat* then, variables of different types must be taken into account:

i. the level of formality of the speech-act, social identities of interlocutors and other outer-context speech-act considerations (kaanlá?theesà?);

ii. [±human] characteristics of the eating agent-subject, and if [+human], further status-related determinations (commoner/monk/royalty);

iii. [±solid] and [±beneficial] characteristics of the consumed direct object.

The obvious potential for selectional conflict and quandary is reduced by implicit weighting of these criteria in different configurations. These weightings are complicated and not universally applicable across sets of similar data. Thus in (22) different solutions (lower form and higher form respectively) occur when canine zoological classification and feeding habits are to be discussed in a (constant) formal or literary context:

(22) a. sunák kin
dog$_H$ *eat*$_L$
... *dogs eat* ...

b. sàt sìi tháaw
animal four foot$_H$
... *a quadruped* ...

In (22a.) if a relatively higher ($_H$) form for *eat* were used, the result would be unacceptable *sunák rápprathaan. Although superficially this seems to preserve a 'constant speech-level' (*dog*$_H$ *eat*$_H$), in fact it violates [+human] selectional restrictions on the subject of the verb in question. For (22b.), sàt sìi tiin (tiin being the relatively lower form of *foot*) might be marginally acceptable, but formal and literary contexts would normally require the higher form, even if the feet involved were those of animals. Degree of lexicalisation or idiomaticity is apparently significant here however, since in set idiomatic expressions such as tiin mɛɛw *burglar*, literally *cat-feet*, the stylistic objection is relaxed and in fact the higher alternate is unacceptable (*tháaw mɛɛw, or tháaw wílaan in the sense of *burglar*, would be a joke).

Other common verbs such as yàak *to want* and ?aw *to take, get* are considered by some to be 'low' and inappropriate in formal or literary contexts. Circumlocutions may occur instead, especially with ráp *to receive*. Others, including many modern Thai writers, are not much troubled by these verbs.[13]

PERSONAL REFERENCE

Pronominal selection and related issues in the personal reference system are very sensitive to diglossic register differentiation, as is clear from the detailed studies of Palakornkul (1975) and Cooke (1968; see also the review by Jones 1970). Some attention is given to these matters in the normative manuals, mainly in the context of proper usage in formal letter writing. It is perhaps considered 'self-evident' by many prescriptivist authorities that forms such as khâaphacâaw *I* are to be used in formal contexts, with other first-person pronominal forms descending in some sort of vertical configuration such as kraphǒm (m.), dichán (f.), phǒm (m.), chǎn, khâa, kuu - to state only the core system. But some Thai language scholars have explicitly noted the complexity of the Thai system (e.g. Posakritsana 1978:13, cited above). Achan Phonthip Phathornawik has gone so far as to indicate 'dangers' in the selection of proper forms:

> In using [Thai] pronouns, one must be wary. For certain pronouns, even though general meanings may be the same, hidden meanings may be different ....
> (Nakkhasakun et al. 1974:28)

She goes on (as do Palakornkul and Cooke, cited above) to exemplify ways in which sex, intimacy, degree of formality, degree of deference, etc. interact in a complex selectional system. It is worth noting that the Thai personal reference system has been evolving in recent times and normative attitudes have been shifting. Novels of the 1930s routinely refer to women (of rank, at least) with the special feminine form lɔ̀n *she*, whereas today kháw (*he, she, they*) is considered to be more acceptable for women than formerly and is in general use, with lɔ̀n somewhat unusual. In the 1940s Prime Minister Pibun Songkhram attempted to create and enforce a simplification of the personal reference system, even censoring the press of his day in that regard. There appears to have been little long-term effect, although the present-day use of thân as a frequent formal-respectful second-person singular pronominal form may be partly a trace of P.M. Pibun's attempts.

Apart from personal pronouns in a narrow sense, forms indicating relatives, indefinites and deictics also show level-sensitive variation.

(23)	[I.]	[II.]
a. *which*, etc. [REL]	thîi	sɯ̂ŋ
b. *whatever*	ʔaray	ʔanday, CLF + day
c. *whoever*	khray	phûuday
d. *this* [weak topicalisation]	[nìaʔ]	níi, CLF níi, etc.

Once again criteria beyond strict diglossic pairing are involved. For the relative forms, thîi/sɯ̂ŋ appear sometimes to suggest other distinctions like 'more concrete'/'more abstract' or 'simple-NP-anaphor'/'clause-length or extended-scope anaphor'; in each the latter category would be more characteristic of higher diglossic registers. For indefinite forms, in more colloquial speech there is virtual merger with corresponding interrogatives (especially khray, ʔaray, yaŋŋay, mɯ̂arày, nǎy). Following relatives may be optional.

(24)					
[I.]	khray	(thîi)	sǒncay	chəən	tìttɔ̀ɔ ...
[II.]	phûuday	sɯ̂ŋ	sǒncay	chəən	tìttɔ̀ɔ ...
	who(-ever)	REL	*interested*	*invite*	*contact*

Anyone interested is invited to contact ...

compare: [I.],[II.] khray sǒncay
who interested
Who is interested?

DEIXIS AND CLASSIFIERS

For deictic forms, in higher registers there is a marked preference for a sparse system: níi/nán *this/that*. In the lower colloquial registers the system in use is far richer, with at least: níi, nán, nóon, núun, nîi, nìaʔ, nân, nôon, nûun and many regional variants like hán, hàn, dee, dóo, nâan, nee, etc. The Thai writing system does not 'recognise' and could hardly represent all such variants (nìaʔ, nîaʔ, níaʔ have been finding their way into cartoon captions recently). In any event, Thai school teachers may feel it necessary in some cases to correct deictics students write as falling-tone items (nîi, nân) to high-tone counterparts (níi, nán) for formal registers.

Classifiers come in for extensive normative consideration under two categories. First, there is the issue of assigning a proper classifier to a given noun. This may involve a direct register alternation:

(25)	[I.]	[II.]
CLF for eggs	lûuk ∿ bay	fɔɔŋ
CLF for fruit	lûuk ∿ bay	phǒn
CLF for common people	khon	naay (∿thân?)
CLF for elephants	tua	chûak

The question of classifiers for people is of particular interest. In Haas's first (1942) description of the system, five classifiers for humans were given in a descending arrangement:

(26) classifier	classified taxa
a. ʔoŋ	high royalty; monks[14]
b. rûup	monks
c. thân	lower royalty; high officials
d. naay	individuals slightly above the common people in rank or position
e. khon	ordinary people

This is somewhat reminiscent of the Thai semi-feudal sakdina system of precise social ranking, formally abolished only ten years before Haas's original article appeared. Over 20 years later, her dictionary entries (1964) for the last three items in (26) show a shift of emphasis from objective social rank towards diglossic speech-level factors. The forms thân and naay are now simply taken to be 'elegant' counterparts of khon, with no difference in classified taxa specified.[15] But this interesting realignment is not without its problems in terms of current Thai prescriptivist attitudes. Thichinphong (1979:164, citing Achan Dusadiphorn Chanmirotsan) holds that thân is properly only a pronoun and should never be used as a classifier. An expression such as

(27) (*?) rátthamontrii sɔ̌ɔŋ thân
cabinet-minister two (CLF?)
two cabinet ministers

is thus unacceptable to Thichinphong, whereas it would be 'elegant' in the other scheme. (It is in any event rather commonly heard and seen.) On a more macabre note, Thichinphong also specifies conditions under which sòp *corpse* may function as a classifier.

Turning to animals, we have noted above in (8) King Rama IV's personal attention to their classifiers. He specified classifiers for the cosmologically highly-placed elephant (still used in higher registers, see (25)) and for the horse. *Horse* (máa), we recall, was specified as its own classifier, i.e. was to be counted directly in the pattern *number + noun*. This usage has not been generally accepted.

(28) King Rama IV's edicts / current popular usage

King Rama IV's edicts	current popular usage
sǎam máa	máa sǎam tua
three horse	*horse three* CLF
three horses	*three horses*

The *horse* case provides a good transition to the second category of classifier prescriptivism: denouncement of the increasing tendency to count nouns with the pattern *number + noun*, given royal sanction in (28), rather than with *noun + number + CLF*. Although in the case of *horse number + noun* has not been widely used (save in a brand name for tea), the structural change indicated is now widespread, particularly in journalism. In a descriptive-analytical vein, Palakornkul (1976:195) has documented the modern 'anti-classifier' tendency. More prescriptively, Thichinphong (1979:162) and especially Posakritsana (1978: 61,72) have warned that such a change would undermine the 'identity' of the Thai language. Posakritsana displays data such as those in the columns below and labels her columns unequivocally 'wrong' [I.] and 'right' [II.].

(29)

	[I.]	[II.]
three professors	sǎam ʔaacaan	ʔaacaan sǎam khon
five girls	hâa yǐŋsǎaw	yǐŋsǎaw hâa khon
four young men	sìi nùm	chaaynùm sìi khon
two trucks	sɔ̌ɔŋ rótbanthúk	rótbanthúk sɔ̌ɔŋ khan
every educational institution	thúk-thúk sathǎansùksǎa	sathǎansùksǎa thúk-thúk hɛ̀ŋ

As the examples suggest, human taxa are particularly affected.

A diachronic note may help to clarify some of these trends in classifier use as they relate to diglossic register. To judge from early Thai inscriptions (Khanakammakan chat phim ekkasan thang prawatsat 1978) and also from comparative evidence, the original classifier system was simpler and more flexible than the current normative one. Only a few classifiers, such as khon (for people), tua (for animals) and ʔan (for inanimate objects) were in wide use for counting. To a greater extent then perhaps than now these few classifiers were also common in certain anaphoric or definite-relative constructions. Some examples from Inscription I of King Ram Khamhaeng:

(a) 'There were five (khon) of us brothers and sisters from the same womb ...'

(b) 'I struck Lord Sam Chon's elephant, *the one* (tua) called Matsamu'ang ...'

(c) '... *the* Buddha image *which* (ʔan) is large ...'

As for counting, it is clear from the text of the inscription immediately following (a) that classifiers could be and perhaps regularly were omitted in some contexts: the siblings are specified as "three boys, two girls" with *no classifiers used at all*, the pattern being *noun + number*. Inscription V contains a monastic gift list in which items are similarly counted without classifiers, although in Inscription XIV a similar gift list uses the classifier duaŋ for small items (duaŋ today is used for lights and a few other items like seals and stamps). The general impression from these inscriptions is one of gradually shifting classifier taxa, proliferation of items used as classifiers and eventual codification in polite court speech and literature. Sometimes new forms were adapted from Indic (ʔoŋ, cp. aṁga *body*) or from Khmer (chabàp, used for documents). Classification of people, as we have seen from the work of Haas (1942), had links with an elaborated vertical social structure. Correct classifier use was explicitly recognised as part of refined speech, and by the mid-19th century the form class was referred to as *words spoken at the end of a number phrase* (kham phûut plaay bàat sǎŋkhayǎa). The modern diglossic sensitivity of classifiers is thus related to their history as salient features in differentiating elitist court registers. It should come as no surprise to find that in present-day lower-class speech or in rural Thai dialects of the various regions one hears a simpler 'basic' and more flexible system - cp. the early inscriptions. The normative system is not generally acquired by young children in the natural course of language acquisition; rather it tends to be taught explicitly by parents and later by teachers at school.[17] It remains to wonder about the 'anti-classifier' trend exemplified in (29): is it entirely a recent (English-derived?) corruption? To cite Inscription I again (2:21), here given in modern pronunciation:

(30) mɯaŋ sùkhǒothay níi mii sìi pàaktuu lǔaŋ
town Sukhothai this have four gate large
The town of Sukhothai has four main gates.

The Thai expression for *four gates* here follows the pattern in (29)[I.]. The inscription similarly quantifies ghosts directly with no special classifier. The pattern was used then as now for non-discrete concepts, such as in time expressions (*nineteen years*) and in proper measurements (*3400 armspans*). Since one effect of subsequent classifier proliferation would have been to increase to the point of making virtually 'open' the class of forms allowed to occur directly in post-number position, we could see (29)[I.] as a rather natural outcome of shifting diachronic options. King Rama IV's attempted treatment of *horse* in (28) would be a convincing milestone along the way. The 'option' may now be receiving new impetus from the need to keep headlines minimal in journalism, etc. as suggested by Thichinphong (1979:165).

PREPOSITIONS

Prepositions are another sociolinguistically sensitive form class in Thai. As above, criteria for diglossic register differentiation interact with other selectional features. We see this in the case of benefactive prepositions.

(31) a. chán kèp ŋən hây dɛɛŋ
I collect money give/for Daeng

b. chán kèp ŋən hây kɛ̀ɛ dɛɛŋ
I collect money give/for for_x *Daeng*

c. chán kèp ŋən hây dὲε thân-rátthamontrii
I collect money give/for for$_y$ cabinet-minister

These items (based on Sinlapasan 1937:151-152) exemplify some basic issues:

(i) Benefactive prepositions kὲε and dὲε are strictly-speaking (syntactically) optional after the benefactive verb hây *to give (to)*, etc.; but they may have a function in disambiguating two readings of *for* (English *for* and Thai hây permit similar benefactive ambiguity):

(a_1) *I collected money* {*for* / *to give to*} *Daeng.* [→ kὲε]

(a_2) *I collected money* {*for* / *on behalf of/instead of*} *Daeng.*

(ii) dὲε and kὲε are used for recipients who are respectively of relatively higher and relatively lower (or equal) status vis-a-vis the donor-subject.[18]

(iii) Principle (ii) is characteristic of higher registers; otherwise the variation is kὲε ∿ Ø, covered by (i).

The considerations above are actually part of a larger pattern suggested implicitly in the work of Sinlapasan (1937). In colloquial speech, semantic 'case relationships' like possessive, dative-benefactive, instrumental, locative, purposive, etc. tend not to be marked overtly but are rather construed from context. Serial verb constructions may introduce such nominals into discourse: *take-knife-go-cut-rope*, compare: *cut the rope with the knife*. Case-marking with overt markers like prepositions is possible in Thai, but is often associated with a shift upwards in speech level.

(32) [I.] [II.]

a. sûa ŋἔεw | sûa khɔ̌ɔŋ ŋἔεw
short Ngaeo | *shirt of Ngaeo*
[POSSESSIVE]: *Ngaeo's shirt*

b. hây ŋἔεw | hây kὲε ŋἔεw
give Ngaeo | *give to Ngaeo*
[DATIVE/BENEFACTIVE]: *Give it to Ngaeo.*

c. ŋἔεw chɔ̂ɔp kin mɯɯ | ŋἔεw chɔ̂ɔp kin dûay mɯɯ
Ngaeo like eat hand | *Ngaeo like eat with hand*
[INSTRUMENT]: *Ngaeo likes to eat with his fingers.*[19]

d. ŋἔεw yùu bâan | ŋἔεw yùu thîi bâan
Ngaeo stay house | *Ngaeo stay at house*
[LOCATIVE]: *Ngaeo is at home.*

e. tóʔ khǐan náŋsɯ̌ɯ | tóʔ sǎmràp khǐan náŋsɯ̌ɯ
table write book/writing | *table for write book/writing*
[PURPOSIVE]: *a writing-table*

In general, diglossic high registers tend to mark relationships such as those in (32) explicitly, as in [II.]; but qualifications are necessary. If practical ambiguity were to arise in direct noun-phrase complement interpretation, explicit prepositional marking would be one disambiguation strategy, and speech-level might be little affected. Also, in some cases further nuances of a temporal-aspectual nature are added to the case-type relationships indicated above through explicit prepositional marking. For the locative examples in

(32d), [I.] could (but need not) carry a habitual-durative connotation (- *he is at home these days, having lost his job* -) whereas the explicitly-marked thîi alternate might suggest a more temporary state of affairs (- *he is at the house just now* -). If the locative complement is an institution such as a company or bureaucratic unit the contrast is quite salient. In any event, to indicate high register a separate preposition náʔ is available for the locative.

Similar high-register markers are available for allative and, although unusual and archaic, for accusative-objective case relationships.

(33) [I.] [II.]
a. rɯsǐi pay phûukhǎw — rɯsǐi pay yaŋ phûukhǎw
hermit go mountain — *hermit go to mountain*
[ALLATIVE]: *The hermit went to the mountain.*

b. phráʔ sadɛɛŋ tham — phráʔ sadɛɛŋ sɯ̂ŋ tham
monk express dharma — *monk express* [ACC] *dharma*
[ACCUSATIVE/OBJECTIVE]: *The monk preached the dharma.*

In (33b), due to Sinlapasan (1937:151), we note the form sɯ̂ŋ, a homophone of the relative form in (23a), but here marking a direct object. It may well be, as Sinlapasan appears to suggest, that this form and other prepositions in case-marking function have gained currency through ecclesiastical translations, where the forms were used consistently to indicate Pali case-endings. This would help to account for their high-register associations.

Prince Damrong Rajanubhab in his *Memoirs* (*Khwamsongcham*, edition 1973:276) relates an enlightening anecdote recalling how the preposition dooy came to be used to mark manner and agent. Prior to the late 19th century the form, originally from Khmer, was used in the sense of *along, following*, e.g. in *along the river*. When the Prince and others of the royal household were being educated by a foreign tutor who knew little Thai, a bilingual wordlist on the teacher's desk was frequently consulted during lessons. In this way a one-to-one correspondence between *by* and dooy became established for classroom purposes. The wordlist had apparently equated dooy and *by* on the basis of locative usage (*to walk by the river*), but the other agentive and manner uses of *by* were transferred to dooy as well. Thus sentences like (34) became 'royal classroom-ese'.

(34) kháw pay dooy rɯa
3P *go along* (i.e. *by*) *boat*
They went by boat.

Expressions like *written by* were also translated using dooy. Later when Prince Damrong and his colleagues had positions of power and influence in the court, the phraseology was retained for official court correspondence. The high prestige of courtly writing imbued this English-derived prepositional usage with an accepted register-marking status. At present it appears to be completely acceptable in higher registers, and prescriptivist or puristic authorities do not seem to raise objections.

More recent direct translations of English prepositions have not been so well received. Thai versions of ... *thank you FOR dinner* ... and ... *calling forth the disapproval OF the people TOWARD the soldiers* ... are held up as peculiar and unnatural (Kanittanan 1979:56; Posakritsana 1978:72). Posakritsana provides an indirect hint that English-derived "translationese" with respect to preposition use may be getting out of hand, with Thai prepositions now added for stylistic effect even where English prototypes would *not* have prepositions.

Posakritsana criticises the sentence (1978:63):

khǎw tɔ̀ɔp kɛ̀ɛ thəə *She [etc.] answered you.*
3P. *answer for* 2P.

as containing the preposition kɛ̀ɛ unnecessarily, which is "... probably translated from the word *to* in English; it creates extraneous verbiage [kham fûmfɯay] ..." But of course the English verb *to answer*, in this case like its Thai counterpart tɔ̀ɔp, normally takes direct post-verbal noun-phrase complements, not prepositional phrases (... *answered you*; ... *answered the question*).[20] So Thai speakers or writers who are using prepositions in this way appear to be applying some analogical principle ('stylistic preposition insertion') for register colouration, and there may be links both with English translations and with the older (Pali-derived?) use of prepositions described above.

CULTURAL CONTACT AND LINGUISTIC CHANGE

More generally, the question of English syntactic influence on Thai is taken up by Thai scholars in both a descriptive (e.g. Kanittanan 1979) and prescriptive way. Kanittanan does well to compare over-extension of the Thai (adversative) passive in thùuk, use of Thai man *it* as a non-anaphoric sentence initiator, and other clear examples of English-derived lexicosyntactic innovation, with Thai attitudes towards blue jeans, ice-cream cones and the latest Western hit tunes. There is an obvious contrast in attitude between 'Westward-looking' urban middle-class youth and a more conservative 'establishment' of older tradition-conscious (and one might wish to add 'elitist') educators. What to the former group are tokens of peer-acceptance and avoidance of outdated (chəəy) norms and attitudes, to the latter group are corruptions threatening 'Thai identity' (ʔèekkalák thay) and older norms which should be upheld and preserved. (It should be borne in mind however, as we have seen above, that some of the 'received corpus' of prescriptive attitudes dates from the contact that princes and other Thai scholars had with English public-school prescriptivism nearly a century ago.)[21]

Above we have sampled linguistic forms which are salient in one way or another in indicating diglossic register, as seen mainly in the writings of Thai scholars. Many other important aspects of register differentiation have been omitted in this brief survey, especially technical aspects of literary composition and questions of rhetorical evaluation which go rather beyond phonology, lexicon and syntax defined narrowly. The general picture seen above is one of rich variation far more complex than a neat two-tiered system, although there are many binary aspects to the variation and the broad arrangement of diglossic registers would be along a high-to-low continuum. Some historical proposals have been suggested to link register differentiation to traditional Thai societal verticalism, especially as it developed in the Ayudhian period, and to link more recent normative codification to similar Western prescriptivist attitudes toward national language standardisation in the era of nation states. More recent inroads English may be making on Thai linguistic structure are subject to a certain evaluative ambivalence: there are pressures both for and against phonological, lexical and syntactic borrowing from English, and register differences associated with such borrowing are not so easily classified in the diglossic scheme.

It remains to ask to what extent Thai scholars are interested in the development of present-day language norms and in how descriptive and prescriptive statements about language may differ or be interrelated. Phraya Upakit Sinlapasan, Phraya Anuman Rajadhon and other authorities of the Royal Academy established by King Rama VI had a set of interests and abilities which combined descriptive and

prescriptive approaches to language. Modern Thai authorities could probably see in those works such a synthesis. But Achan Banyat Ruangsri (personal communication) suggests that in the 1970s staff and students of Thai teacher's colleges became quite polarised over how the Thai language should be studied in schools. One group advocated descriptive investigation and analysis of language as it is used in different situations (taking statements like (2) above seriously); another group held that prescriptive norms alone constituted what should be taught, or sought to redefine the issue into one of which particular forms were 'correct'. The former group would associate itself with courses and manuals called *Language Use* (kaancháy phasǎa); the latter with [*normative*] *Language Principles* (làk phasǎa, the original title of Sinlapasan 1937) or perhaps *Grammar* in the traditional school sense of the term. As might be expected, those back from overseas courses in linguistics and their students tended to champion the former cause. As the debates came to take place during the turbulent political events of the mid-1970s, they became part of more comprehensive campaigns to criticise and change or defend and preserve the Thai educational system more generally.

With Thai, virtually any attempt to do linguistics becomes sociolinguistics quite rapidly, either overtly or covertly. One can hardly ignore what we have called diglossic registers above without related oversights and oversimplifications. One hopes that the near future will bring studies of Thai with increasing sociolinguistic sophistication, especially by Thai scholars with training in linguistics more broadly.

NOTES

1. The Thai National Research Council and the Australian National University have both kindly facilitated field research reported here. Special thanks go to Achan Sutira Wacharaboworn, Achan Banyat Ruangsri and Khun Chaliao Chotithewachub; they are not responsible for shortcomings.

2. Thichinphong (1979:165) with an element of Thai 'social pragmatism' holds that speech selections should be made "efficiently, so as to be of advantage in whatever the speaker intends". He also provides examples of "too high" registers used in the family or in the market place which would be interpreted as attempts at humour or scorn (cp. dàtcarìt above).

3. However there is evidence that even kings could find royal speech irksome and, as H.H. Prince Chula Chakrabongse observed, "members of the Chakri Family have often written to one another in English to avoid the elaborate language required for different ranks even amongst relatives." (Quoted by Gedney 1971:111n.)

4. Wayaakɔɔn also translates *grammar* and can be used for làk phasǎa in the expressions above, but the latter term is more common and has a more normative connotation; see also below.

5. A few more obvious specifically Thai features such as classifiers have been labelled. Haas has recognised "secondary verbs", which are now called by some kriyaa rɔɔŋ. Other important features of Thai await consensus on nomenclature. 'Particle' as a word-class has no generally accepted Thai equivalent, and particles are effectively ignored in standard grammars (Sinlapasan

1937; Thongprasoet 1975, etc.), even though they are of crucial importance in questions, commands and in a great range of sociolinguistic issues.

6. Thus terms like kam, tham, bun, bàap, thâat, kathǐn, phíksùʔ occur as Buddhist vocabulary in early inscriptions. Later it is common to find legal-secular terms like *punishment* (ʔaatchayaa), *legal case* (khadii), *permit* (ʔanuyâat). The prefixal form phrá- is used in early Sukhothai inscriptions in religious contexts; later it is applied to kingship as well, along with other Indic royal formatives (raachaa, bɔrom, etc.; Ishii 1972).

7. Sometimes the coined neo-Indic guise was draped over an English form in a 'diaphanous' manner:

   communication → khomanaakhom
   seminar → sǎmmanaa
   statistics → sathìʔtìʔ
   automatic → ʔàttanoomát

   - the latter giving rise to erudite quarrelling as to proper use.

8. e.g. in Ni Lae Lok of Dok Mai Sot. One is reminded of the Russian verb katarvat' *to pronounce a French r* (as an aristocratic trait).

9. There is an interesting range of poetic -r- insertion phenomena such as:

   clean saʔàat > saràʔàat
   nose camùuk > cɔɔramùuk

   Some Thai words have been re-spelt in Indic fashion with -r- inserted or substituted, such as:

   honour kìat (as though < kiarti) เกียรติ
   milled (rice) sǎan (as though < sāra) สาร

   Also, in some cases the prefix kra- appears to have been assigned analogically under influence of a preceding -k:

   sparrow nók cɔ̀ɔk > nók kracɔ̀ɔk

   (Rajadhon 1956:158,183).

10. Both modern forms for *insect* appear to be derived from an earlier *mlɛɛŋ (the current form in conservative Southern Thai dialects). Some argue that the [I.] form is proper in compounds such as mɛɛŋmum *spider*.

11. Two decades ago an immensely popular song *Headman Li* (phûuyày lîi) made use of *pig* variants ((19) c. [I.] ∿ [II.]) to make fun of rural people's misunderstanding of level-sensitive vocabulary. But the fact that the song was an upcountry 'hit' too leads one to suppose most listeners in fact understood the term in question.

12. Tabu in Thai is too broad a subject to deal with here. Suffice it to add that for high registers certain expressions are normatively avoided if interchange of initial consonants would produce anything 'off-colour'. This accords with a Thai word game called kham phuan (Haas 1957; Gandour 1974). Some examples:

common form	tabu metathesis	circumlocution for higher registers
phàk bûŋ *sp. edible plant*	bàk phûŋ (vulgar reference to male genitalia)	phàk thɔ̂ɔt yɔ̂ɔt *vegetable casting forth shoot tops*

common form	tabu metathesis	circumlocution for higher registers
pɛ̀ɛt tua *eight* CLF$_{animals}$	tɛ̀ɛt (pua) (vulgar reference to female genitalia)	sìi khûu *four pairs*
tàak dɛ̀ɛt *expose to sunlight*	dàak tɛ̀ɛt (vulgar reference to female genitalia)	phȕŋ dɛ̀ɛt *dry in sunlight*
thùa ŋɔ̂ɔk *beansprout*	(ŋua) hǔa thɔ̀ɔk (vulgar reference to male genitalia)	thùa phɔ́ʔ *sprouted bean*

(Source: Ayudhya Teacher's College 1976:254.)

13. yàak and ʔaw can have sexual connotations, hence perhaps hesitation on the part of some to use them in polite speech or writing.

14. As Haas notes (1964:601), high royalty are usually classified by phráʔoŋ.

15. naay as a classifier is mainly in bureaucratic and journalistic prose.

16. Palakornkul (1976:194) notes that in fact "most Thai speakers use tua for elephants in casual speech." Some claim chʉ̂ak is proper for tame elephants, tua for wild ones, but that would be to miss King Rama IV's original Buddhist motivation for specifying chʉ̂ak.

17. John Grima (personal communication) has helped me to see this. Kanittanan (1976) has touched on some of these issues in her discussion of the evolution of the classifier ʔan.

18. A similar constraint on relative status of nominal arguments of hây used in a causative sense is stated by Posakritsana (1978:64).

19. The verbs ʔaw *to take* and cháy *to use* also introduce instrumental nouns, particularly in longer serial verb constructions. I am indebted to William Foley for help in seeing the significance of serial-verb functions of this sort in a wider typological context. Posakritsana (1978:63) notes the fact that frequently Thai prepositions are 'optional'. (32e) is her example.

20. Although one can *answer to the authorities* or *answer for one's impudence*, it is difficult to see these somewhat specialised expressions as giving rise to what Posakritsana has in mind.

21. Rather than Kanittanan's blue jeans and ice cream, perhaps colour T.V., flush toilets and the family car would be better analogues of the extension of thùuk expressions and man-pen ... initial sentences; adult Western-educated upper-class urban elite are more responsible for these imports than are the teenagers on the streets. Ironically, some of the most hair-raising (to a strict prescriptivist) 'misuses' of thùuk are in Sinlapasan 1937, which is usually received with scriptural authority. Consider:

    chán thùuk thân khǐan náŋsʉ̌ʉ thʉ̌ŋ
    1P. *undergo* 3P. *write letter, document reach*
    I was written to by him.

    thân thùuk chán khít thʉ̌ŋ
    3P. *undergo* 1P. *think reach*
    He was thought about by me. (Sinlapasan 1937:151)

Adversative readings of these sentences are rather far-fetched and they are hardly sentences that 'normal people' would use.

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A-67:51-76. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1985. DOI:*10.15144/PL-A67.51*
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TOWARDS LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL PLURALISM IN THAILAND: A CASE OF THE MALAY THAIS

Prapart Brudhiprabha

1. INTRODUCTION

The Kingdom of Thailand is an anomaly among the South-east Asian nations. Much of her uniqueness is in large part a result of the lack of a colonial past. The Thai people are a synthesis of a wide array of cultures. The ability to assimilate other cultures during different periods of history added to the richness of Thai customs and traditions. Nevertheless, Thailand shares to a certain extent an 'identity crisis' of the type that confronted her neighbouring countries. The Malay Thai minority is a case in point. This paper draws particular attention to the southern border provinces where the people are mainly of Malay ethnic origin, and there has been some resistance to integration into the dominant culture of Thai society.

Indeed, this problem is unfortunate for national unity and regional development. However, the issue has not been seriously questioned and considered at the national level. So far only token recognition has been given to linguistic and cultural differences of the Malay-Thai minority (see, for example, Brudhiprabha 1978; 1981). I hope that the following analysis will serve as guidelines for a viable solution to the problem.

The issue of the Malay Thais in the southern border provinces has been discussed to some extent during the last decade (e.g. Suhrke 1970/71; Banomyong 1974; Haemindra 1977; Forbes 1982), and I am certain that more will appear. The present paper is an attempt to propose that education is one of the most effective instruments for national unity. It is hoped that a case of the Malay Thais will more or less substantiate my theory - that of the "hot 'n' sour-variety-soup"!

2. THE THAIS

The total population of Thailand today is approaching 50 million. In terms of the major characteristics of the people, Thailand is one of the most homogeneous societies of South-east Asia. The striking uniformity of the Thais is the centripetal force which keeps the nation more unified and integrated. Although the Thais comprise an overwhelming majority of some 85 per cent, the heterogeneous ethnic makeup of the population includes the Chinese (10%), the Malays (2.5%) and a few other minorities like the Khmers, the Vietnamese, the Indians and various groups of hill tribes.

The largest ethnic group in Thailand is the Chinese. The second largest group is the Malays. These two ethnic minorities play a significant role in the

David Bradley, ed. *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.9: *Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia*, 77-86. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-67, 1985.
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Brudhiprabha, P. "Towards linguistic and cultural pluralism in Thailand: a case of the Malay Thais". In Bradley, D. editor, *Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics No. 9: Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia*. A-67:77-86. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1985. DOI:10.15144/PL-A67.77
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economic and social life of Thailand. The Chinese migrated to Thailand during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Echikawa (1968) maintains that because of the similarity between the Chinese and the Thai value systems, they assimilated into Thai society quite easily. The Chinese Thais have been influential in the economic circle of the country since World War II.

The ethnically Malay inhabitants of the southern vassal states were fully incorporated into Thailand in 1901, but the Anglo-Siamese treaty on the Thai-Malaysian frontier was not fixed until 1909. In contrast with the Chinese, the Malays pose some crucial sociocultural problems for the central government.

Although the large majority of the Thais are Buddhists (about 94 per cent), an estimated 4 per cent of the total population are Muslims. Only a small percentage of the Thais are Christians, Hindus, Sikhs or others. Hence Islam is the second religion of Thailand. Theravada Buddhism is the official religion of the country. However, the constitution provides complete freedom in religion for the Thai citizens. Among the Chinese Thais the popular religious belief is Hinayana Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism; while the Malay Thais adhere to Islamic faith.

Thailand is divided into four distinct regions: the Central, the North, the North-east and the South.

Each region has its own local dialect: namely, Central or Standard Thai (Siamese) which is the dialect of Bangkok and the literary language of the country, Northern Thai (Kam Muang or Yuan), North-eastern Thai (Isan or Lao) and Southern Thai (Paktai). The regional variances in terms of ethnicity, language and culture pose the problems of pluralism and regionalism in Thailand. The North-east and the South are areas where these problems arise (Wong 1973).

The people of North-east Thailand are of Lao origin, but it is not always possible to distinguish a Lao Thai from a Thai. The North-eastern dialect is distinct from Standard Thai, although it is not entirely unintelligible. Until very recently the North-east has been relatively isolated and neglected. Hence the North-easterners are still somewhat hostile to the central government.

The Southerners are different from the majority of the country - physically, linguistically and culturally. They look like the Malays, and speak Malay as well as follow firmly the Islamic code of life. Because of their distinct Malay ethnic makeup, their geographical distance from Bangkok and the closeness to Malaysia, they lean pervasively towards their immediate neighbour. On many occasions, a separatist movement has threatened the stability of this area. Hence Thailand's problems of pluralism and regionalism loom large in the far south.

The Southern dialect is widely spoken in many provinces, except in Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat where Malay is almost exclusively spoken in their daily life. It should be noted that the Malay language spoken in the south is known collectively as Pattani Malay. It is a local variety of Malay written in the Jawi alphabet which is said to be the old Arabic script of the Qur'an.

3. THE MALAY THAIS

'Thai Muslim' or 'Thai Islam' (an erroneous usage) is the official term used for the Thai who professes Islam, while 'Thai Buddhist', in contrast, refers to the Thai who follows Buddhism. Personally, I think it is inappropriate to use religious affiliations for ethnic identifications. Hence, using Thai as a

headword and Malay as a modifier for a new compound noun, the term 'Malay Thai' is proposed in this paper.

The term 'Thai Muslim' reflects the government policy that the various Muslim peoples of Thailand "should see themselves, and be seen, not as Malay, Chinese, or Indian Muslims resident in Thailand, but as a new religio-national group, the Thai Muslim" (Forbes 1982:1068). Of all Thailand's Muslim minorities, the largest group is of Malay origin. They live mainly in Satun, Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat. In these four provinces they form 83 per cent, 80 per cent, 62 per cent and 78 per cent of the total population.

3.1 The southern border provinces

The provinces of Satun, Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat are known officially and collectively in Thai as *Cangwat Chaidaen Paaktai* (southern border provinces). Nevertheless, Satun is perhaps an odd man out. Geographically, it is separate from the rest; historically, it is different; linguistically, the largest numbers of its inhabitants speak Thai (91 per cent), though many are bilingual. Religiously speaking, it leads with an 83 per cent Muslim population. Hence Satun is not included in the following discussion.

Pattani, the historic centre of the south, has a long and glorious past - being a cultural focus and the cradle of Islam in South-east Asia (Wyatt and Teeaw 1970). It was the most important among the vassal Malay states in the south of Thailand.

Collectively, the three provinces now and then pose the problem of secession from Thailand. For example, in 1948 a petition endorsed by the people of Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat was addressed to the United Nations requesting to join the Federation of Malaya.

In terms of politics, Pattani has threatened the security of the region by far the most. One of the major separatist factions in the south is the Pattani United Liberation Organisation (PULO). PULO with its Narathiwat-based and other separatist groups advocate the secession of the southern border provinces from Thailand as well as the establishment of an Independent Pattani Republic. Linguistically, in Pattani the 1980 census data indicate 102,220 (24.40 per cent) native speakers of Thai, and 302,733 (72.26 per cent) native speakers of Malay.

Yala is the southernmost province of Thailand adjacent to the Malaysian Peninsula. Although it may not be as sensitive as Pattani, in 1977 the most spectacular political attack by the separatists was carried out during a Royal visit to Yala. Two bombs were exploded within a short distance of the King and Queen. They escaped injury, but some spectators were killed and injured. The attackers were arrested and they confessed to being members of PULO. The 1980 census data of Yala show that Thai was the mother-tongue for a total of 85,681 peoplr or 32.30 per cent of the population. In contrast, Malay had 140,194 native speakers, i.e. 52.85 per cent.

Finally, Narathiwat is located at the far south-east of the country. Politically, PULO operates chiefly in the districts of Rangae, Bacho, Yingo and Ruso. Linguistically speaking, the 1980 census identifies 86,468 (21.73 per cent) Thai native speakers, and 280,008 (70.38 per cent) Malay native speakers in Narathiwat.

On top of the separatist activity in these three provinces, there are some banditry, extortion and cross-border smuggling. The central government still faces considerable difficulties with the separatist movements, bandit gangs, extortionists and smugglers. Moreover, the economic status of the southerners in general is relatively low. The Malay Thais are principally fishermen, subsistence farmers and small rubber planters. This low economic status is a continuing problem of regional inequalities.

To sum up: Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat are politically plagued with the problem of Malay irredentism. The linguistic, cultural, economic and religious problems also loom large. The Malay Thais are the vast majorities amidst the Thai minorities in the three southern border provinces. Hence true integration with the local people and the national mainstream will perhaps remain a long way off.

3.2 National policies and programs

After the nationalist revolution of 1932, and especially when the military nationalist regime of Pibul Songkhram came to power in 1938, the government policies were forcibly assimilative. In this connection, Forbes has this to say:

> Pibul discriminated strongly against the Malay language and culture. *Sharī'a* law was set aside in favor of the Thai Buddhist laws of marriage and inheritance, *sarongs* were banned, and the wearing of western-style long trousers and topees was made compulsory for men. The chewing of betel and areca nut was prohibited, and it was even stipulated that loads should be carried on the shoulder (Thai fashion) rather than on the head (Malay fashion). (Forbes 1982:1059)

The assimilationist policies of the government aroused various opposition and the emergence of a Malay separatist movement in Southern Thailand began. When Pibul was returned to power by coup d'état in 1947, further intimidation was continued. Many local leaders were arrested and troops were sent in to suppress an uprising in Narathiwat. There was an exodus to Malaya for sanctuary of some two thousand Malay Thais. However, mounting concern over adverse international opinion forced Pibul to give a number of concessions to the Malay Thais, including the recognition of their separate cultural identity.

Fortunately, Pibul's attempts at forced assimilation were discarded by his successors. Instead, the policies of political integration and socialisation were gradually implemented. However, the damage had already been done under the coercive measures of the Pibul administration. Yet since the overthrow of Pibul Songkhram in the coup d'état of 1957, successive Thai administrations have become aware of the need to reach a peaceful cultural coexistence in the long run.

In line with this policy, some attempts have been made to teach Thai to children of Malay ethnic origin, to teach secular subjects in the traditional Islamic *pondok* schools and to promote adult and non-formal education.

In order to implement the policies and to achieve the goals, the Thai Government launched several projects for political socialisation, minority participation and population transfer. The following are some programs carried out during different periods in the southern border provinces: public television for the district, a Malay-Thai newsletter, private religious schools, a southern

university at Pattani, undergraduate grants for Malay-Thai students, central and local commissions for Islamic affairs, community development and resettlement in Satun, Yala and Narathiwat, and industrial development - to mention but a few.

These projects, to a large extent, indicate that the central government began to take active interest in the development of the southern border provinces. Indeed, it was a good omen for national unity and regional equality.

4. THE NEED FOR UNITY IN DIVERSITY

The need for national unity is greatly felt now. Various policies and programs were developed and carried out for this purpose. The success and failure in the past gave us a viable lesson for the future.

It is apparent that on average the Malay Thais form some 80 per cent of the total population in the southern border provinces of Thailand, and their language, culture and religion set them apart as a separate ethnic group. It is not far from the truth to say that Southern Thailand is a linguistically and culturally plural society.

Past experiences around the world have shown us the myth of the "melting-pot" of American society, and the 1970s brought forth a reality of the "salad-bowl" - because of the 'unmeltable ethnics' (cf. Saville-Troike 1976; Novak 1973). Today it seems inevitable that we must get to grips with the cultural diversity in our midst, by cultivating and increasing mutual respect and understanding for the minorities.

4.1 A plea for cultural pluralism

Theorists in the West have advanced two contrasting approaches to bilingual-bicultural education known as the "melting-pot" and the "salad-bowl" (see Brudhiprabha 1978). It is my intention to propose in this paper a similar theory to the latter for the East which I shall call the "hot 'n' sour-variety-soup". While the "salad-bowl" theory states that carrot, cucumber, lettuce, radish and tomato can all be in the same bowl without losing their own identities; the "hot 'n' sour-variety-soup" theory states that various ingredients and spices such as lobster, mussel, crab, fish, galangal, lemon grass, bergamot leaf and bird pepper can still remain distinguishable in the same pot of this delicious Thai soup! In other words, this approach to education puts great emphasis on ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious identity and integrity of different minority groups.

This theory can be put into practice in terms of a policy known as cultural pluralism. Sociologists theorise that there are two polar positions of inter-group relations: assimilation versus exclusion. The major patterns of assimilation are integration, amalgamation and cultural pluralism. In contrast, the exclusionary patterns are annihilation, expulsion and segregation.

Fur our purposes here, only cultural pluralism will be discussed. By cultural pluralism is meant a peaceful coexistence between the majority and the minority without discrimination against each other - ethnically, linguistically or religiously. The "hot 'n' sour-variety-soup" theory is in perfect harmony with this policy. To my mind, the time is now ripe for its immediate implementation in the region beset by separatist movements as well as by ethnic, linguistic,

cultural and religious differences. For the sake of national integrity, security, solidarity, stability and unity - I therefore make a strong plea for cultural pluralism in the southern border provinces of Thailand.

4.2 Education for national unity

The use of education as an instrument for regional unity is evident in our adjacent and nearby neighbours, Malaysia and Singapore. Even in Thailand, the case of the Chinese - the largest minority group in the country - is a good proof. Many observers theorise that the readiness of the Chinese minorities to assimilate rather quickly into Thai society is because their religion causes no problem. I would rather suggest that education in the real sense of the term perhaps plays a more important role. For example, through education the Chinese master the Thai language, adopt a Thai name and become a Thai citizen (Noss 1967). Moreover, research findings show that the higher the level of education and prestige, the more rapid the rate of integration.

A more relevant example for our purposes is perhaps the case of Satun, where some 83 per cent of the population are Muslims, but with the use of education the literacy rate in Satun is very high (80.1 per cent), and here Thai is spoken almost universally (91.21 per cent). Hence education (and more specifically the fact that the greatest numbers of population in Satun speak Thai) is an effective way to bring about national unity (Wong 1973).

However, as I have mentioned in passing earlier, Satun is in a rather unique position, compared with the other three southern border provinces - Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat. In this connection, Smalley (1976:19) makes a very good point: "Certainly education in Thai is most important for Thailand's minority peoples", he asserts, "but what is the best way to bring this education about?" This is a relevant question, I should say, more specifically for the Malay Thais in Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat.

Of course language can be a great barrier to assimilation. Without a common language, neither an individual nor a group can fully participate in and become members of a given community. At this point, the question of educational language policy arises (cf. Brudhiprabha 1976). Let me quote a little further from Smalley. He goes on to say that:

> ... We would like to see the Thai policy in language planning turn firmly to the fostering of bilingualism and planned bilingual education. The child learns to read and write his own language, preferably using a Thai-based script with Thai letters insofar as the sounds of his language match Thai, making adaptations where they do not. He already speaks his own language, so his learning process is that of learning to read and write the language he speaks (the minority language), in a manner analogous to that of a Thai child who learns to read and write the language he already speaks (Thai). (Smalley 1976:19)

However, as far as the official language policy of Thailand is concerned, it is stated that Standard Thai must be the medium of instruction at all levels of education. For the sake of what is claimed (by the authority) "national unity and security", Standard Thai is the only language recognised for Thailand. That is to say, Smalley's proposal on what he called "planned bilingual education" may be quite difficult to implement, if not impossible. However, Wangsotorn

(1980) - and myself as well are in agreement with Smalley; she observes that it is advantageous for the minority language groups to learn to read and write in their own languages using the Thai script so that it will set a solid foundation for their shift to literacy in Standard Thai.

Admittedly, from the 1921 Primary Education Act to the 1978 National Scheme of Education the policies of Thailand inter alia recognise the role of Thai as a common language in the assimilation of different minority linguistic groups. The ultimate goal of the Thai government in trying to unify and assimilate the inhabitants of the South into Thai society is best described by Fraser (1966:105): "creation in the south of full citizen of the Kingdom of Thailand, no longer Malay residents in Thailand but Muslim Thais." Hence a nationally set curriculum and a common-content syllabus and textbooks are required for all. Unfortunately, because of their differences in language, culture and religion, the Malay Thais have strongly resented such an education!

I have discussed this more fully elsewhere (Brudhiprabha 1981:14). Perhaps what I quoted then from Abdul Kadir about linguistic, cultural and religious problems of the Malay-Thai children when they first came to school can provide a vivid example. This is how it goes:

> ... when they have learned to read, the primers are alien to their culture and environment. There are pictures of monks and monasteries, ... Not only must the children endure all this, ... but the parents have to tolerate the instilling into their children of the cultural heritage of a different religion.

The question at stake now is: how can we use education to bring about national unity in the three southern border provinces? Of course there is no easy answer to the question, but I submit that a policy of cultural pluralism, if resolutely pursued will help us to reach a modus vivendi with the Malay Thais (or any minority groups for that matter).

The first indications of change in line with this policy occurred in 1961 when the central government began to improve the traditional Islamic *pondok* schools. In 1965 a registered *pondok* under official control was first accredited as a private religious school for the study of Islam. Secular subjects have been included in the curriculum and great efforts have been made to teach the Thai language.

Considerable success is evident among these private religious schools. The literacy rates in Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat have increased steadily. The 1980 census data indicate that children over 10 years old were 65.74, 70.91 and 63.7 per cent literate, respectively. It is hoped that this type of school, and the government schools in general, will further serve the ultimate end of cultural pluralism which, in turn, will lead to unity in diversity, in the three southern border provinces and in Thailand as a whole.

5. CONCLUSION

I have attempted in this paper to identify the language and cultural problems of Thailand's Muslim minorities in the three southern border provinces. It is apparent that the problems of Southern Thailand are associated with both pluralism and regionalism. In short, the former can be solved by cultivating a peaceful coexistence between the majority and the minority, while the latter can be tackled by a closer liaison with the central government.

Education could help solve both of these problems, because schools are indeed the testing ground for cementing social ties and promoting co-operation among students of different backgrounds - without regard to race, language or creed.

Although the policy of cultural pluralism is strongly advocated for the three southern border provinces of Thailand in this paper, let me *not* suggest that it is a panacea or an end in itself! Rather, I think it is a stage in the process of integration. Whether we like it or not, "a certain amount of cultural and linguistic uniformity is a necessary prerequisite for achieving stability in the process of building a nation-state", Saville-Troike (1976:2) maintains, and she concludes that "Linguistic and cultural differences are a great obstacle to national unity, and to full participation by all groups in the national life." In other words, cultural pluralism entails both promises and problems; in fact, it is quite difficult to maintain! However, since only the Thais and the Malay Thais are the principal groups in Southern Thailand I believe that this policy would be more or less workable. And to a certain extent it has already been evident in my discussion on education for national unity.

Perhaps a word of caution is in order at this point. It goes without saying that cultural pluralism is a sensitive issue, and it will take time to cultivate. The problem may arise from either party. The minority as well as the majority may cause difficulties if any inequities are being sensed. Hence each group must first and foremost learn to accept the other as an equal partner in the game. Misconceptions and stereotypes held by each party must be discarded. Language is indeed the heart of the matter, for communication brings understanding which is essential for full participation in the social community and the national life.

Finally, I submit that while we cannot deny the historical validity of the 'meltable ethnics' like the Chinese in Thailand, we must also recognise the 'unmeltable ethnics' like the Malays in the south. To this end, we should be able to put the "hot 'n' sour-variety-soup" theory into practice in the case of the Malay Thais.

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TRADITIONAL MINORITIES AND LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN THAILAND

David Bradley

INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses the educational problems and needs of traditional minorities in Thailand,[1] especially related to their ability in Thai, the national language. The various groups involved are quite diverse; their degree of integration into Thai society also differs, as does the strength of each group's separate identity. In Thailand, traditional monastery education has virtually been replaced by schools teaching the tightly-structured nationwide Ministry of Education curriculum. However, few of the schools in minority villages are provided by the usual central authority; rather, a large number of ad hoc arrangements have been made. None of the schools in remote minority villages even reaches the legal minimum, Pratom 6, so most minority children who want to complete primary education must do so outside their villages, at considerable expense. Of course all secondary and tertiary education is located in or near Thai towns.

The effects of this situation are unfortunate, both for the minorities and for Thailand as a whole. Starting with the handicap of curriculum entirely in another language and studying in less than ideal conditions throughout their school career (which may be very short), the level attained by minority students is generally low, though there are individual exceptions. Capability in written Thai is often very limited, though spoken Thai ability may be somewhat better - a tribute to the utility of Thai and the learning ability of the students. In this situation the minority languages remain the first languages of the minority villages, and the minorities will remain separate from the mainstream of Thai society.

A great deal of excellent research on minority languages has been done by the Tribal Research Center in Chiengmai, the Indigenous Languages of Thailand Project, and the Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development (formerly Southeast Asian Language Center). However this research has not yet been applied to solving the educational problems of helping minorities. I am certain that it soon will be.

My own recent fieldwork in Thailand provides data on an excellent example of the educational and linguistic integration of a minority, and could serve as an example for programs with other minorities; though the transition could be made more quickly and less painfully with appropriate cultural and linguistic inputs.

CHINESE, MALAYS, KHMERS AND THAIS

Firstly, I would like to outline briefly some groups I am *not* considering. As in many countries of this region, Thailand has a large Chinese population

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David Bradley, ed. *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.9: *Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia*, 87-102. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-67, 1985.
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A-67:87-102. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1985. DOI:10.15144/PL-A67.87
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from various regional areas, especially Teochiu. This is mainly an urban or town group, though there are some Yunnanese (south-western Mandarin) living in villages in north-western Thailand. Their educational needs are met in part by private primary and secondary schools; many such children would be lugcin, descendants of a Chinese father and a Thai mother, or second and later generation migrants, and thus bilingual.

Another very large group is the Moslems in the southern provinces of Thailand. Some, the 'Thai Malay' Moslem Thai-speakers along the west coast, speak Southern Thai. Others in the eastern provinces of the south have Malay, an Austronesian language, as their first language, and learn Thai only in school. In a sense, these Malays are a minority from the Thai point of view. However, in their area, they are the vast majority; they speak the northernmost dialect of the national language of Malaysia, in a dialect continuum with adjacent dialects. This language therefore has prestige and widespread use in the media, albeit in a neighbouring country.

The Khmers are in a similar position in Thailand, as speakers of dialects of the national language of Kampuchea, which is a Mon-Khmer language. However, they tend not to identify with that country, and are tending to assimilate into the general Lao population of the southern parts of north-eastern Thailand.

The last category of groups not considered here is the speakers of Thai dialects or languages other than 'standard' Bangkok Thai. In the north-east, the north, and the south the main 'Thai' population speaks rather different dialects: Lao, Kham Muang, and Pak Tay respectively. The differences from 'standard' Thai are mainly in the area of phonology and lexicon; for some details see Brown 1965 and Diller 1981a. Since 'standard' Thai is taught in schools in all regions, educated people in these areas learn it as a second dialect in a diglossic situation; and intermediate varieties, with 'standard' lexicon but regional phonology, or an expansion of the range of possibilities within the regional dialect encompassing the 'standard', have developed; see, for example, Diller 1981a on diglossia in Southern Thai.

In addition to these regional varieties of South-western Thai[2] languages with large numbers of speakers in Thailand, there are various other Thai languages with smaller numbers of speakers: Shan and Lue in the north, and Saek, Yo, Phuan, Tai Dam or Lao Song, and Phutai[3] in the north-east; and also some in the western central region. These languages are somewhat less similar to 'standard' Thai; especially the various small groups of the north-east, which are Central or (Saek) Northern Thai, historically and linguistically quite distinct from South-western Thai including Shan, Lue, Kham Muang, Lao, 'standard' Bangkok Thai, and Pak Tay. However, their native ability in a closely-related language is a great help in learning the national language at school.

The difficulties of the speaker of another Thai language or dialect in learning 'standard' Thai are real and substantial. In practice they are reduced by the teacher from the region who uses the regional dialect to introduce his studnets to 'standard' Thai; though strictly speaking (s)he is not supposed to do so. The result, as noted above, can be a kind of diglossia.[4] However the degree of difficulty in learning another dialect to a usable extent is considerably less than for the traditional minorities, who are culturally much more distinct, and whose languages are unrelated to Thai.

The problems for the Chinese community, the Malays, and the speakers of other Thai dialects or languages than 'standard' Thai are thus quite different. All warrant further discussion and research. However, these problems are much less extreme than those of the traditional minorities which are the focus of this paper.

TRADITIONAL MINORITIES

There are many small groups in Thailand whose languages are either Tibeto-Burman (TB), Mon-Khmer (MK), Miao-Yao (MY) or Austronesian (AN). These groups tend to be socioeconomically less well integrated into Thai society; in many cases they live in mountainous border regions. Table 1 gives a brief summary of names, linguistic affiliations, populations and locations; for more exact information, see Bradley 1984b, Gainey and Thongkum 1977, Tribal Data Project 1972-1977, and Bhruksasri and McKinnon 1984, especially my chapter and the demographic chapter by Kunstadter.

	Own name	Thai name	Other names	Population	Location	Linguistic subgroup
TIBETO-BURMAN	Phlong*	Kariang	Pwo } Karen	300,000	W	Karenic
	Sgaw*	Yang	Sgaw		NW	Karenic
	Lahu*	Musə		35,000	NW,N	Burmic
	Akha*	Ikaw		22,000	N	Burmic
	Lisu*	Lisaw		20,000	NW,N,W	Burmic
	Mpi	Kaw		2,000	Phrae P.	Burmic
	mBisu	Lua[5]	Bisu, Misu	200	Chiengrai P.	Burmic
	Ugong	Lawa	Kanburi Lawa	300	W	Burmic
	Jinghpaw*	-	Kachin	1,000	NW	Kachinic
			Tibeto-Burman Total	380,500		
MON-KHMER	Chong	-		6,000	E	Pearic
	Mon*	=		200,000	W	Monic
	Nyahkur	Chaobon[6]	Niakuol	10,000	w.NE	Monic
	Kui*	Suay		210,000	s.NE	Katuic
	So			30,000	e.NE	Katuic
	Bruu		Vankiêu	1,000	e.NE	Katuic
	Brao			200	e.NE	Katuic
	Lavüa	Lua		15,000	NW	Palaungic
	Phalo	Lua	Mae Rim Lawa	100?	Chiengmai P.	Palaungic
	Khamet[7]	Lua		100	Chiengrai P.	Palaungic
	Lua	=		100?	Lampang P.	Palaungic
	Khmu*	=	Lao Thoeng[8]	10,000+	e.N	Khmuic
	Mal/Pray*	Thin[9]		25,000	e.N	Khmuic
	Mrabri	Phi Tong Luang[10]		100?	e.N	Khmuic
	Tonga/Mos	Ngaw[11]		300?	S	Aslian
			Mon-Khmer Total	507,900		
MIAO-YAO	Hmong*	Maew	Miao, Meo	60,000	N,W	Miao
	Iu Mien*	Yao	Yao	35,000	e.N	Yao
			Miao-Yao Total	95,000		
AN	Moken/ Moklen/ Urak Lawoi*	Chao Thale[12]	Orang Laut; Sea Gypsies	4,000	W. coast	Western

Table 1: Traditional minorities of Thailand

The total population involved is less than a million, or about 2% of Thailand's total. A full bibliography of linguistic research would be out of place here; but the work under the aegis of the Tribal Research Center on Lahu, Akha and Lisu, of the Indigenous Languages of Thailand Project on Khmer, Kui, Bruu and Mpi; and of the former Southeast Asian Language Center on Sgaw Karen and on Lavüa should be acknowledged. Another valuable source on ten traditional minority languages is Smalley 1976, which includes chapters on nine of the above; three TB languages, both MY languages, three MK languages and the one AN minority language of Thailand.

The smallest traditional minorities - such as the TB mBisu and Ugong, the MK Phalo, Mos and others - are in most cases in the process of assimilating; for a case study, see the section below on Ugong. A few small groups, such as the TB Mpi and the MK Bruu and So, have traditions of being brought as war captives to their present locations; some, such as the Brao, are relatively recent refugees - though earlier than the massive post-1975 influx from Laos. The populations given do not include the population of refugee camps - which house large numbers of Meo, Yao and others in the north; large numbers of Lao, other Thai groups, and some MK groups in the north-east; and very numerous Khmers (and a few others) along the border with Kampuchea.

Some of the traditional minorities, especially the larger ones, are what I call 'transnational minorities' in Bradley 1984a; these are indicated by an asterisk in Table 1. Such groups live in several countries, but have a feeling of their separate identity. Until recently, there was considerable movement of individuals in such groups from village to village, without much regard for national borders which divide their territory.

EDUCATION POLICY: PAST AND PRESENT

This section is not intended to give a comprehensive survey of Thai education policies; rather, it briefly discusses the issues in traditional and modern primary and secondary education as they affect the traditional minorities. For more references and details see Sternstein 1976.

Historically, young males in Buddhist countries entered a monastery as a novice for three months or more during their adolescence. During this time, the monks would teach them to read and write, both in the vernacular and in Pali; this education was largely of a rote nature, relevant mainly to religion. Prior to the existence of secular schools, the monasteries also provided education to the local young boys, whether novices or not, over a longer period. Thailand was no exception to this rule; some schools of this type continue to exist, and many other ex-monastery schools were taken over by the Ministry of Education.

The traditional minorities in principle had equal access to the monastery schools; since the monasteries also provide boarding, the obstacles if anything used to be less than now. There are still various monasteries which 'specialise' in teaching traditional minority novices and monks; the largest and best-known is in Chiengmai, but others are scattered through the towns near minority areas, and there is even one in Bangkok. Since many traditional minorities are nominally Buddhist, the reduction in the availability of monastery education has had a negative effect on their opportunities to learn.

Since 1852/2396, there have also been private schools established by Christian missionaries in Thailand; some of these are now among the most prestigious secondary schools in the country. From 1871/2414, when King Chulalongkorn

established the Royal Pages' School, there have also been secular government schools; and after 1905/2449, nonreligious private schools. At first all these were concentrated in Bangkok and the largest towns, so their availability to minorities was virtually nil.

In 1921/2464, seven years of education became compulsory; but it was not until the reforms of 1935-1936/2478-2479 that primary schools were rapidly expanded into the rural areas, under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. At the former date, the amount of compulsory education was reduced to four years. It was almost certainly at this time that the first primary schools in the most accessible minority villages, such as the Ugong village Ban Lawa in Sangkhlaburi District, Kanchanaburi Province, were set up. However it still was not possible for the bulk of minority children to get any education at all.

From 1953/2496 to 1979/2522, the education system consisted of four years of lower primary (Pratom 1-4, Pratom Ton) and three years of upper secondary (Pratom 5-7, Pratom Plai); then five years of secondary (Matthayom Syksa 1-5), divided into lower (three years) and upper (two years) in the academic stream; or five to six years of vocational secondary. The Primary Education Act of 1962/2505 re-extended the minimum education required in principle to seven yeras, though four remained the norm; and reaffirmed the policy of extending the school network at least to every district. The compulsory minimum requirements were of course not enforced in rural areas.

In a major reform carried out in 1979/2522, the distinction between lower and upper primary was abolished, and the number of years in primary reduced to six (Pratom 1-6). This has reduced the pressure on large primary schools which formerly had seven years to teach; but increased that on former lower primary schools which were typical in minority villages (if any school existed). The new six-year primary has been made the legal minimum education, with greatly increased numbers of students in Pratom 5 and Pratom 6 as a result. At the same time, secondary education was increased to six years (Matthayom 1-6) in the more popular academic stream, or four years in the vocational stream. The secondary schools have thus been forced to add a year, often with no additional staff to teach it.

The funding of all government schools was the responsibility of the Ministry of Education until rural primary schools were transferred to the Department of Local Administration of the Ministry of Interior in 1966/2509; these funds are now controlled by the Provincial Education Officer, a Ministry of Interior official. However a very recent reform will return this control to a new National Committee for Educational Administration under the Ministry of Education, which will operate at the province level through a local educational council. The Ministry of Education has always funded and controlled the government secondary schools, though at times in the past the policy was to rely on private schools for this level.

Curriculum and assessment at all levels, primary and secondary, has remained the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. This curriculum is unified and nationwide; it assumes a background of 'standard' Thai language and culture.

EDUCATION FOR TRADITIONAL MINORITIES

In some lowland villages or villages on main routes, the Ministry of Education established schools many years ago. These are generally the villages which have best assimilated into Thai society - some to the extent that the

population no longer identifies itself as anything other than Thai. There is one such case which I discuss below, a formerly Ugong village. In other such villages, where the influx of Thais is less, or the normal school has not been established so long, the vestiges of minority identity may survive somewhat longer. There is another Ugong village in this category.

The norm in the remoter minority villages until quite recently was no school at all. It is only in the last 40 years that normal education, even at the most basic primary level, has become available in a few such villages. Others still have no school provided.

Beginning in 1960/2503, the Border Patrol Police began to establish schools, along with military posts, in a number of highland villages along the northern and north-western borders of Thailand. These Akha, Lisu, Lahu, Meo and other villages had previously had almost no contact with the Thai authorities, but they have grown accustomed to frequent STOL or helicopter visits; which sometimes transport the seriously ill to hospitals, and bring in medical teams as well as the teachers. Most such schools are built with local materials, and staffed by one or two teachers who would have very large classes of heterogeneous ages if all the potential students attended.

About 15 years ago, the Department of Public Welfare began to set up nikhoms: tribal welfare centres, providing agricultural and health services, and usually also bringing normal primary schools with them. Such centres were established first near Chiengdao, Mae Chan and Tak;[13] others have been set up more recently in other locations, such as Kampaeng Phet and Dan Chang.[14] The Department of Public Welfare also operates centres in some towns, such as Uthai Thani, serving a wider area; and has a network of officials in provinces with traditional minorities. The Tribal Research Center in Chiengmai is also under the control of this department. However, the main function of the department is welfare, not education.

In response to the gaps in minority education, the Thai Royal Family has provided quite a number of support programs to various villages. This role has become traditional for them, and is one of the reasons for their enormous popularity throughout Thailand. Some schools are funded directly by the Queen Mother, who also supports a tribal handicrafts market; other schools are provided by the King, by the Queen, or by other members of the Royal Family. These projects are sometimes visited by the donor; and I can personally testify that everyone flocks together from a wide area on such occasions, to see the visiting Royalty.

Another mechanism for the introduction of schools to mountain villages is via religious support. Some Buddhist missionaries establish a monastery school where boys can receive a rudimentary education of the formerly-usual kind. More frequently, however, it is the Christian groups which provide teachers to practising Christian villages. This is not too surprising, as the principal groups concerned, the Karen and the Lahu, were rather successfully missionised in Burma; and as transnational minorities, they also live in Thailand. In such cases, it is a question of meeting the request from the villagers for a teacher; often, the villagers construct the school and pay a substantial proportion of the teacher's salary - so the missionaries are simply acting as middlemen between Thai teachers and minority village communities.

The local authorities, responsible for rural schools since 1966/2509, should also be praised for extending schools into more parts of the country; but there is still scope for great expansion. In general, the establishment of a school is considered when the primary-age population of an area is over a hundred;

especially if the village headman, township headman (kamnan), district officer, and provincial education officer are in favour of it. In many cases, however, the village headman of a minority village, who is nearly always a member of the minority, may have relatively little influence with the higher local officials; and in any case he and the villagers may not be favourably disposed to losing the labour (and later the respect) of their children.

The general picture, then, is that many but far from all villages have a school. Many such schools are run on an ad hoc basis, and it would probably be desirable to regularise them by taking them into the normally funded system. This would require continuing logistic support from the agencies that originally established them, at least initially; and perhaps a special allowance for remoteness to attract better teachers.

The physical environment of such schools is quite different from lowland schools. Most are built of local materials, and have limited textbook and other supplies, if any. Many have only one teacher, nearly always a Thai, some have two, and a very few have more. The students rarely have school uniforms, elsewhere universal; they almost never have parents who can help with their studies.

The attendance of the students is often irregular, as seasonal and family requirements dictate. The attendance of the teachers is also often very irregular; I have had a headman complain that the teacher in his village gives classes only a few days a month, spending most of his time away from the village. Such a situation is, sadly, far from unusual; the supervisors almost never visit, so the teacher is left to his own devices as the only Thai in the village. Of course, some teachers are dedicated and hard-working; and those teachers who are paid directly by the community will not be able to shirk their duties. Perhaps the village teachers should be paid through, or subject to approval by, the village headman - who must visit the district office regularly in any case.

The level reached in such schools is generally very low. Most teachers attribute the high-to-universal failures on standardised tests to the stupidity and primitiveness of the students, rather than to their own absences or failures. It is also true that students in very large and unruly classes with disparate age groups, little or no teaching materials, and an inappropriate curriculum in what amounts to an unknown foreign language can hardly be expected to learn very much. This is true even if there is motivation to learn, which for many children there is.

Despite these obstacles, most students learn to speak a certain amount of the national language, which they need in all official situations and in most other situations outside the village: travelling, marketing, and so on. Their ability in Thai is generally much better than that of their parents, though still recognisably non-native. Very few achieve any usable degree of reading ability, nor much writing ability other than the alphabet and their name. Speaking ability is reinforced by the radio and by contacts with visiting Thai vendors, officials and others. In some cases a few Thai people have moved into the village; when this kind of natural opportunity to speak is available, minority ability in spoken Thai can be very good indeed, even without much education.

The small number of highly-motivated students who succeed in village schools must necessarily be sent to board in a Thai town if they and their parents want them to complete primary and undertake secondary school. It is only the least-remote, most assimilated minority village which has a full six-year primary school; there are a couple of Karen villages in this category. Often, children are sent to board from the beginning of primary schools, usually because there is no village school, or because the town schools are (correctly) seen to be better.

The Christian organisations, Catholic and various Protestant, provide hostels for such children in some towns. The various Protestant missions typically provide hostels for each group - the Lahu, the Karen, and so on - separately, under the charge of a pastor. The Catholics, whose schools are mainly in the towns, accommodate Thai children from villages as well as various minority children in the same hostel. The costs of accommodation, food, texts and so on must usually be met by the parents - a very significant expense for them; some scholarships are available at higher levels. There are even some minority students at tertiary institutions in Bangkok, staying at religious hostels.

Other minority students live in monasteries in towns to pursue their education, though this is less common. Some stay at nikhoms in order to be educated with the children of the Thai officials there. The general rule, though, is that children do not pursue their education outside the village.

Village education could be made more effective using materials appropriate for TSL (Thai as a Second Language) aimed at minorities. It might also be desirable to provide more government hostels specifically for minority children in Thai towns, to allow the most able to pursue their education. It would be useful if there were some remedial help available in such hostels. These hostels need not be free; there should certainly be many more of them - especially non-Christian ones, though of course the Christian hostels also accommodate some non-Christian students.

A CASE STUDY OF ASSIMILATION VIA EDUCATION: THE UGONG

The Ugong, whose language was first described in Kerr 1927, may have been the prototypical Lawa for the central Thai. Early in the current dynasty, two traditional minorities, the Karen and the 'Lawa', marched in processions of subjects. At that time, few of the more northerly MK minorities now called Lawa were under the effective control of Bangkok; but the Ugong lived along the main invasion route from Burma, which was of strategic importance at the time.[15] The Karen also (Pwo Karen) lived in this area then, but even the Karen acknowledged that the Lawa, i.e. Ugong, had been there before them.

During a brief survey in 1977, and for a three-month period during 1980-81, I carried out fieldwork on the Ugong in the four main areas of current settlement. These are Ban Lawa, Sangkhlaburi District, Kanchanaburi Province; Na Suan, Sisawat District of the same province; Kok Chiang, in Huai Khamin Township, Dan Chang Subdistrict, Suphanburi Province; and Khog Khway, in Ban Ray District of Uthai Thani Province. The educational situation is different in each case; the degree of assimilation to Thai society and knowledge of Thai appears to be a direct concomitant of education and other contacts with Thai people.

The internal differences between the various dialects of Ugong are surprisingly large; however, they are no barrier to communication. Having learned to use the Kok Chiang dialect, I was very well understood in all other centres, even though Ugong has not been spoken regularly in some of them for decades. These differences are the subject of a separate study which I am doing; preliminary results were reported in Bradley 1978 and Bradley 1981. The main dialect differences are fairly radical sound changes; there are also some lexical differences. I will give one example: the name of the group.

Ban Lawa	[ʔlu˧ɣãi˥˩]
Na Suan	[wɔŋ˥˩]
Kok Chiang } Khog Khway }	[ʔu˨˩gɔŋ˥˩]

The first syllable (in all but Na Suan) is the word for *person/man*; the second syllable has no independent meaning.[16] Notable differences include the loss of final nasals, vowel nasalisation and diphthongisation in Ban Lawa; replacement of /g/, which is not present in Thai, with /ɣ/ in Ban Lawa (also not in Thai) and with /w/ in Na Suan; replacement of the highly marked preglottalised lateral /ʔl/ with /ʔ/ in Kok Chiang and Khog Khway; tone differences; and many others not found in this one example.

Local tradition suggests that Khog Khway is an offshoot from Ban Lawa, and that Kok Chiang is the last in a chain of offshoots from Na Suan. It is perhaps not surprising that it is the remotest offshoots which have preserved the linguistic identity best. In addition to the four villages where I have found willing speakers, there is another village near Kok Chiang with a few speakers; and other villages in the surrounding area which are said to have been Ugong, but are no longer - partly due to total assimilation, partly due to an influx of Thai and Lao into the area.

It can be assumed that many Thai and even some Karen people in the upper Khwae Noy and Khwae Yay valleys are the descendants of Ugong; in this part of the world, assimilation is the rule. Just as the Mons of Dvāravatī and Haripuñjaya have become Thai, many Ugong have done so too. It can be embarrassing and frustrating finding such people; individuals reported to speak the language often deny it, but refer back to the source as a speaker instead.

The area of Na Suan, formerly also known as Hin Hak, has recently been submerged by a hydroelectric project on the Khwae Yay, but when I visited it in 1977 prior to resettlement there were no people in the village or its immediate vicinity who would admit to being 'Lawa'. After much searching[17] I found two speakers in a Khmu village,[18] one of whom was too old to be much use as an informant, and the other of whom was actually Khmu, but had been married to an Ugong recently deceased. The descendants of the former were solidly 'Thai', and of the latter, Khmu. In another small Thai village I found two old ladies who remembered a few words; hardly even semi-speakers. They had had the opportunity to speak to each other in Ugong, but hardly ever did so, as everyone else in the village was monolingual in Thai.

The Sisawat area where Na Suan is located has been administered by the Thais, at first through a Karen local authority, for several centuries. The Ugong villages were in an area suitable for irrigated rice fields, along a navigable river; so a large influx of Thais has also been a factor in this acculturation. About 50 years ago the Ugong communities, at least two of them, were much less assimilated; but primary schooling became available, and the decline since then has been rapid. One Ugong speaker from Ban Lawa was actually born in Na Suan 64 years ago, but left to marry in Ban Lawa; he was surprised to learn of the demise of his group's separate identity in the Na Suan area. With the resettlements necessitated by the dam construction, the demographic situation has become even more scrambled; within a few years, I suspect, there will be no memory of Ugong in this area.

More recently assimilated is Ban Lawa;[19] the Sangkhlaburi District, despite being on the main invasion route via the Three Pagodas Pass, was ruled until

early this century through a Karen local 'nobleman', recognised by the Thai government. Ban Lawa has considerably less flat land nearby, so there was also less incentive for a Thai influx on economic grounds. It is also much further up the Khwae Noy than Na Suan was up the Khwae Yay, and above several rapids passable only with difficulty in the drier parts of the year.

The government first established a school with one teacher some 45 years ago; the teacher prohibited the use of Ugong in school. Moreover, Ban Lawa even then had become ethnically very mixed as a result of the teak industry, with Khmu, Khmer, various kinds of Karen, and others moving in via marriage. I am assured that the last marriage between two Ugong took place over 50 years ago; no one under 50 speaks the language. It is tempting to attribute the imminent death of the Ugong language here to the school and the ethnic mixture; though the latter need not eliminate a separate group identity, as will be seen in Kok Chiang. In Ban Lawa, the two youngest speakers are both blind; the most fluent speaker is the previously-mentioned one born at Na Suan, who now speaks Ugong of the same dialect as the Ban Lawa locals. He was the last Ugong village and township headman; the headman is now Thai, albeit married to one of the two blind Ugong.

The Thailand-Burma railway passed near Ban Lawa; but apart from several years of contact with the Japanese and their prisoners,[20] this had little permanent effect on communications as the railway was dismantled by the British shortly after the war. The school survived; in fact an Ugong eventually became one of the teachers by the 1960s. It is now a large wooden building with a number of teachers, and reaches Pratom 4. The children start school with considerable knowledge of Thai, which is generally spoken (along with Pwo Karen) by most of the villagers including all the surviving Ugong speakers. Students wear uniforms, have sufficient textbooks, and each Pratom is taught in a separate class by a Thai teacher; the Ugong teacher died some years back. If students wish to complete their primary and pursue secondary education, it is available about half an hour's walk away in the district town.

Also in the district town, especially near the long-established Christian hospital and mission, there are a few Ugong individuals, mostly older people who married non-Ugong; in this case, mostly Mons from Burma. Some of the Ugong in this area speak some Burmese or Mon, in addition to Thai and Karen; but few outside Ban Lawa are better than semi-speakers of Ugong. There are probably other Ugong individuals in the area who reject this identity, preferring to be thought of as Thai.

Another hydroelectric project, under construction by an Australian firm and funded by Australian aid, will soon be flooding the upper Khwae Noy. When this happens, Ban Lawa will be resettled; if they are settled together, the last few speakers may still be able to use their language for a few more years. If not, the language will be lost, as it has been on the other branch of the river. Thus, within less than two generations of the opening of a one-teacher school, this group will have become Thai or Karen.

The third area of Ugong settlement that I will discuss is Khog Khway, in western Uthai Thani Province. It is now easily reached by a road built a few years ago, which connects it more closely with the provincial capital than with its township or district towns to its south-west. Until recently it was the township (tambon), but it is no longer. The current headman is an energetic Thai, Luay, who is very helpful and hospitable. Thai headmen have been the rule for the last decade or so; the last Ugong headman retired many years ago, and finally died in 1980/2523.

The Ugong in this village are not as numerous as the Thai, who have moved in and bought land on which they grow various non-irrigated crops. Many Ugong now work as day labourers for the Thais, and live near the Thais; another, more self-sufficient group lives at the old village site a couple of kilometres away. The total number of Ugong speakers here would be about 100; there are about 600 people within the area of the village, of whom a small number are Pwo Karen and the rest are Thai or Lao. The Karen actually live somewhat apart; and the Thais live along the new road.

This village does not have its own school; but the next village has a very large and well-equipped school which reaches Pratom 6, until recently to Pratom 7; and another town slightly farther away (out of walking distance) also has a secondary school. Several small trucks carry the children to and from school daily, while some children walk. These schools have been established for more than a decade, and have produced a number of Ugong literate in Thai with a Pratom 7 education. The Thai children in the village have Ugong friends; in fact, the headman's 18-year-old eldest son speaks quite a bit of Ugong and has an Ugong wife.

The Ugong at the old village site do not all send their children to school; the cost of uniforms and supplies would be burdensome for them. However, they mostly speak reasonably good Thai nevertheless, because of the extensive contacts with the Thai majority in the village. On the other hand they are not about to assimilate, as they continue to marry other Ugong. In fact, they even travel to Kok Chiang, the other viable Ugong community, in search of spouses. This continuing contact may be responsible for the maintenance of mutual intelligibility between the two rather different dialects.

On the other hand the Ugong living near the Thai have intermarried somewhat, and send their children to school if at all possible. The older generation still speaks Ugong, but they are shy about it and prefer to speak Thai in the presence of outsiders. Their children, with the potential for a full primary education, will have the opportunity to assimilate and 'become' Thai if they choose to.

The fourth and last area, in which Ugong is still most vigorous, is Kok Chiang and a few surrounding villages, in the north-westernmost corner of Suphanburi Province. Kok Chiang changed enormously between my first visit in 1977/2520 and my second in 1980-1981/2523-2524. A new road was built in 1979/2522, connecting it with the district town; a bus service from the province capital was extended to pass a new nikhom a few kilometres away; and two Thai fruit-buyers with trucks have moved in, establishing a cash-crop economy which has also attracted a Thai storekeeper and a Lao rice mill, and also providing regular transport to and from the village. While I was there recently, a logging company came and started to clear much of the forest, employing villagers as day-labour.

Kok Chiang was an offshoot from Wang Khway, to its west, some 60 years ago. Wang Khway in turn was an offshoot from a group of villages to its south-west in Nong Pleu District of Kanchanaburi Province; these latter villages have now 'become' completely Thai. According to folk history, the Nong Pleu villages were originally derived from the villages such as Hin Hak (Na Suan) in Sisawat District further west. Wang Khway, which I have not visited, is said still to have a few Ugong speakers, of the same dialect as in Kok Chiang.

The village is mainly populated by Ugong, with some Lao of the local variety, Lao Dan, having married Ugong girls. Outside the village cluster, but within its administrative boundaries, there are many more Lao and Thai; the surrounding villages are mostly Lao or Thai. In the last five years, as noted above, quite

a few Thai families have moved into the village itself. In the presence of these outsiders, the Ugong are reticent and prefer to speak Lao; but among themselves they all speak Ugong.

There is not, and never has been, a school in this village. All those with any education at all obtained it outside the village. Some non-Ugong had been educated before they came; a very few Ugong had gone to live in monasteries to learn in the traditional way. For example, the headman's nephew went to Dan Chang to a monastery for a year; and another village boy has gone to Chiengmai for the same purpose; in both cases they went to monasteries which specialise in minority education. There is a large school at the nikhom, and another has been set up even closer - though not within daily walking distance - for the Thais near the new bus terminus.

It seems that the people in Kok Chiang are not too anxious to have a school established, despite the fact that the number of people in the village as a whole might justify a one-teacher school. At present the extra work done by children in picking tomatoes, eggplants, and other cash crops can provide a substantial income. Perhaps they are also reluctant for their children to be Thai-ised.

The history of the village may provide some clues to its resistance to assimilation. As noted above, it was an offshoot from another Ugong village. Like no other Ugong village, it remained virtually 100% Ugong until ten or so years ago. The only exceptions were a Lao man who married the then headman's daughter over 40 years ago, and now speaks Ugong; his children were perhaps the first Lao-Ugong bilinguals in the village; and two other Lao men who (20 or so years ago) married the daughters of the last Ugong headman, who died five years ago. Both these men have also learned Ugong; one of them, Amkhaa, became the first non-Ugong headman just five years ago, immediately before I first arrived. He is a very intelligent and helpful man, and by far the best non-Ugong speaker of the language. My studies of the language were immeasurably assisted by his cooperation, hospitality and help.

More recently this separateness has been breaking down. Even prior to the commercial influx of the last two years, quite a few Lao men came to marry Ugong girls within the last ten years; not many of them have bothered to learn the language. Moreover, people of mixed Lao-Ugong background from Wang Khway have moved to Kok Chiang; while they are mostly bilingual, they still identify themselves as Ugong. Thus the number of bilinguals and monolingual Lao or Thai in the village has grown.

An interesting example of the effects of this change on the Ugong is the decision of one couple, both pure Ugong native speakers of Ugong, not to speak Ugong with their children; they want the children to grow up speaking Lao. In this case, I doubt whether they will succeed, as the grandmother lives next door and speaks mainly Ugong - though her Lao is fairly good too. But at least it is indicative of a major change in attitude.

For the outsider visiting Kok Chiang, it might be difficult to know that he is in a minority village. In the presence of Lao or Thai speakers, Ugong prefer to speak Lao; there are no 'militant' speakers who insist on speaking Ugong regardless. Moreover, all people in the village have a relatively good control of Lao; there are no monolingual Ugong speakers left. However, in the absence of a school, this village will probably persist in its minority identity for quite some time.

CONCLUSION

The general conclusion is that some flexibility in the provision of education to minorities has already been achieved; but what is available has severe limitations. The main problem is the use of the general curriculum, which assumes native ability in Thai and familiarity with majority Thai culture. Conversely, another problem is the very variable quality of the education available in minority villages, if any is available at all. Thirdly, able minority children often lack suitable opportunities to complete primary education, let alone attempting secondary courses.

For the first problem, the solution could be the divising, testing and adopting of suitable TSL (Thai as a Second Language) courses, the training and motivation of teachers to conduct them, and the provision of supplementary materials on Thai culture to integrate the traditional minorities more smoothly into Thai society. This is a problem for the Ministry of Education to solve.

The second problem would be solved by regularising all schools in minority villages: subsuming them into the normal system while keeping the curriculum partially separate at first as suggested above; and also ensuring adequate standards of teaching through better-coordinated supervision. Such schools should be established wherever possible, even if the potential number of students is smaller than the normal cut-off point. In villages too small to justify a school, consideration could be given to employing less than fully-qualified teachers who are members of the minority as para-teachers, and to extra opportunities for children from these villages to stay in hostels suggested as the solution to the third problem. Some extra financial support to the ministry which operates normal schools would be necessary.

The solution to the third problem could be the provision of subsidised hostels for minority students in towns with suitable primary and secondary schools. These hostels could be supervised in part by members of the relevant minorities. The costs involved would not be that large, as the total minority population of all ages is less than a million, so the likely numbers involved would be in the tens of thousands, concentrated in underdeveloped regions of Thailand along the western border and in the north-east. The provision of these hostels could be a Department of Public Welfare project, as this department probably has more experience in dealing with minorities than any other.

The gains to Thailand from these three measures would be the gratitude and increased loyalty of the traditional minorities; a better-informed and more easily administered population in various border regions; and greater unity in the country as a whole. Some minorities, such as the Ugong, are showing the way; in effect, they are integrating themselves into the general population, having been given the educational and social opportunity to do so.

NOTES

1. This paper is based on research carried out with the support of the Australian Academy of Humanities and the Myer Foundation (1976); the Australian Research Grants Committee (1977); and the American Council of Learned Societies/Social Science Research Council Joint Southeast Asia Committee, funded by the Ford Foundation (1980-1981). I am also grateful

for the permission and assistance of the National Research Council of Thailand, and the assistance of the former Southeast Asian Language Center. Of course, all the errors herein are my own responsibility.

2. South-western Thai, Central Thai and Northern Thai are three branches of the Thai language family; the fourth, spoken only in China, is Kam-Sui-Mak. See Li 1975 for more details.

3. Phutai or Phu Tai is a general name for the Central Thai minorities of southern Laos. This category includes some Red Tai, Tai Neua, White Tai, and probably also some White Tai, Phuan and Tai Dam or Lao Song.

4. Diglossia: use of two distinct languages or dialects in different situations, the 'high' in school, official and literary contexts; the 'low' in the home and informal situations. For a fuller discussion see Ferguson 1959.

5. Lua is the Kham Muang word for a traditional minority; it is used to refer to various MK groups, including the Mal/Pray; and also to the TB mBisu. Lawa is the standard Thai word corresponding to Lua; it is used in the same way, and may also refer to the TB Ugong.

6. Chaobon means *people above* in Thai; the term Lawa is also used to refer to this group.

7. The Khamet of Thailand speak a dialect of Lamet; this language is also spoken in north-western Laos.

8. Lao Thoeng means *jungle Lao*. There are many more Khmu in Thailand who have assimilated into the general northern Thai population.

9. The name 'Thin' (Htin, T'in, etc.) is not used by this group nor by local northern Thais in referring to them. There are two main named subgroups, Mal and Pray, speaking very similar dialects.

10. Phi Tong Luang means *spirits of yellow leaves*. This is a nomadic group with only intermittent contacts with outsiders.

11. Ngaw means *rambutan*, and is a pejorative name. These people are the Negritoes, who until recently were largely hunter-gatherers.

12. Chao Thale means *sea people*, as does Orang Laut in Malay.

13. Nikhom Chiengdao is in a tea plantation south of Chiengdao district town, Chiengmai Province; Nikhom Mae Chan is in the foothills to the north-west of Mae Chan district town, Chiengrai Province; and Nikhom Tak is about half way between Tak and Mae Sod district town, near a highway built with Australian foreign aid.

14. The resettlement area in the hills of the western edge of Kampaeng Phet Province was established to lessen population pressures further north, at Tak and elsewhere; and to remove the resettled people from the areas allegedly influenced by Meo Communist guerillas. The newer nikhom north-west of Dan Chang subdistrict town, Suphanburi Province, serves a mixed population including mainly non-'standard' Thai speaking Thai groups: Laos of various kinds and so on - as well as an Ugong village and several more remote villages.

15. The Burmese invasion which destroyed Ayudhya in 1767 was fresh in the minds of the founders of Thonburi-Bangkok.

16. /gɔ̌ŋ/ could be cognate with the early name for the Burmese, မြန်မာ , still used in literary Burmese.

17. I am very grateful for the assistance of two families from the New Tribes Mission in finding these speakers: George and Gwen Pierce, and Robin and Rosemary Griffiths.

18. There are various Khmu villages in Kanchanaburi Province; the Thai teak concessionaires brought them from northern Thailand and Laos in the 19th century.

19. I would like th thank Emilee Ballard of the American Baptist Mission at Sangkhlaburi, for her hospitality and help in locating speakers of Ugong.

20. My main informant at Ban Lawa was still able to count in Japanese, 35 years after their departure.

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LANGUAGE PLANNING AND LANGUAGE POLICY OF CAMBODIA

Thel Thong

1. INTRODUCTION

The people of Cambodia called themselves Khmer and referred to their language as /phiiəsaakhmaaɛ/[1] or simply Khmer. Khmer is one of the most important members of the Mon-Khmer group of the Austro-Asiatic family of languages. The number of speakers as of the 1970s was over 7,000,000 in Cambodia, in the Mekong Delta region of South Vietnam, in the Thai provinces bordering Cambodia and in lower Laos.

Khmer is a language with a literary tradition dating at least from the early 7th century. It was attested in the early Khmer inscriptions at Ak Yom in 609 AD, Angkor Borey in 611 AD and Prasat Toch in 620 AD. But the most important one was the inscription of Kdei Ang Chumnik with 12 lines in archaic Khmer dated 629 AD. The historical periods of Khmer may be divided into three main parts: Old Khmer, Middle Khmer and Modern Khmer. In this paper, the most recent part of the development of Modern Khmer is dealt with. It covers the period from the French occupation of Cambodia to the present.

Indian influence is apparent in the vocabulary of Khmer. Native Khmer words are either monosyllabic or disyllabic. Words referring to literature, administration, royalty, religion and specific subjects in the field of education are mostly borrowed from Pali and Sanskrit. From the 7th century AD to the heyday of Angkor, Khmer and Sanskrit existed side by side. They were the languages of stone inscriptions. From the 13th century, Pali took the place of Sanskrit following the spread of Theravada Buddhism.

For two centuries from the time of ransacking of the capital city of Angkor in the 14th century AD, and the capital city of Longvek in the late 16th century AD by the Thai, Khmer was in the darkest period of its history. For a long period, the Thais had political supremacy over Cambodia. Cambodian princes and Buddhist monks were educated in Thailand. Thai influence on Cambodian language, literature, culture and administration was inevitable. It was a kind of reborrowing from Thai which included much that the Thai had previously borrowed from Cambodia at the time of Angkor. During this period Khmer suffered a serious setback as the result of the loss of territorial integrity. The western and north-western provinces became part of Thailand. Khmer in Thailand became a separate dialect: the dialect of Surin and of Chantabun. The delta of the Mekong river became part of Vietnam where another dialect was spoken, Khmer Krom. From the arrival of French in Cambodia to the 1950s, three main languages were used in Cambodia: Khmer, the native language; Pali, the language of Buddhism - which was also the lingua franca of South-east Asia; and French. Language planning in Cambodia thus involves at least these three languages; but in this paper, emphasis is given to Khmer.

David Bradley, ed. *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.9: *Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia*, 103-117. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-67, 1985.
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1.1 General linguistic background of Modern Khmer

The Khmer alphabet had been borrowed from one of the languages which was used in the south of India in the 6th century. Three types are currently used. The italic type and the straight type are used for handwriting and printing. The round script type (which is a careful and artistic writing) is used in transcribing religious texts of the Pali language. It is also commonly used as capital letters for title of books, general notices and commercial advertisement boards. The main punctuation is the full stop ។; the symbol ៚ is used at the end of a chapter or of a book. The words used in a phrase or a short sentence are usually written with no spaces between them. In Khmer, capital letters are not used to start sentences or to write proper names; but bold scripts can be used for emphasis.

The Khmer writing system is syllabo-phonemic.[2] The presence of two inherent vowels /ɑɑ/ and /ɔɔ/ is one of the characteristic features of the Khmer alphabet which influences the choice of consonants and vowels in consonant clusters and syllables of the forms CCV, CCVCV and CVCV. There are a number of rules to determine the dominant group of consonants which can retain its inherent vowel and those that cannot. Khmer words are predominantly of one or two syllables. Syllables are of the form V, VC, CV, CVC, CCV and CCVC. Khmer is like English in that it has syllable stress and intonation patterns associated with sentences. Some characteristic features of Khmer syllables are as follows:

- a consonant cluster is composed of only two consonants, occasionally with a connecting schwa;
- only some consonants may occur in syllable-final position;
- consonant clusters do not occur at the end of a syllable;
- a glottal stop can assume the function of an initial consonant, a second element of a cluster, or a final consonant;
- final consonants are not released.

The tendency of Khmer toward mono- and disyllabic words with a definite internal syllable structure leads to shortening of polysyllabic loanwords, known as a Khmerisation process. The process consists of:

- contracting of consonants into consonant groups;
- dropping of intermediate vowels;
- dropping of syllables or part of a syllable.

Although Khmer was considerably enriched by words borrowed from foreign languages, it has lost none of its own characteristics. It has preserved its basic word stock and its grammatical features. Khmer has derivational prefixes and infixes which can alter the meaning of the word or change its part of speech. Affixation is also used to coin new words from roots or stems borrowed from Pali and Sanskrit. Apart from derived words formed by affixation, the morphological aspects of Khmer words do not enable us to determine their parts of speech.

The sentence structure is basically SVO. Khmer does not express grammatical relationship by means of suffixes as in English. It has recourse to auxiliary words. The plural of a noun is expressed by adding words which mean many or few or simply by repeating the same word twice. Khmer questions are formed by adding the question particles /tɑɑə/ in front of an affirmative sentence, and /teé/ at the end of it and pronouncing the sentence with rising intonation. In casual speech, only the particle /teé/ is used and it is similar in meaning to the English tag-question. The substance questions of the types *who, whom, where,*

what and *when* are formed by placing the particle /teé/ in front of the affirmative sentence and placing the question word in the sentence where the corresponding noun or phrase would go.

2. MONASTERY SCHOOL AND LANGUAGE PLANNING[3]

Education has been a major concern in Cambodia for centuries. Monastery schools run by Buddhist monks were in operation in mediaeval times. The French took over Cambodia in 1863, and a Western school system was slowly introduced. The monastery school operated in most villages until Cambodia got its independence from France in 1953. Instruction in these schools was open to boys only. Subjects taught were reading, writing, basic arithmetic, woodwork, masonry, blacksmithing and basketry. The last year in the monastery school included principles of Buddhism, the code of ethics for boys, religious literature and poetry. Pali was taught only to novice Buddhist monks in the elementary schools for Pali.

The monastery schools throughout the country were the institutions which promoted the Cambodian language and Buddhism. Though Khmer was used as a medium of instruction, there were neither formal curriculum nor proper teaching methods. They varied from one school to another, even within the same province. Spelling and writing style depended mainly on the ability of the Buddhist monk teachers who ran the schools. Each school has its own method, teaching practices and choice of texts. One common factor was the school timetable; classes were held in the afternoon. The principal textbooks were poetry, novels with religious themes and codes of ethics. All the texts were written on palm leaves or on scrolls.

In 1911, a royal decree ordered that Khmer was to be taught throughout the kingdom. The first attempt to modernise the teaching of Khmer and to set up a uniform curriculum in the monastery schools was undertaken in 1908 by Mr Boudoin in Kampong Cham. Unfortunately, it was abandoned a few years later. In 1921, a second attempt was carried out in Kampot by Mr Ménétrier with the full support of the French governor and the Buddhist diocese. They agreed on the following points:

- confer the traditional education to Buddhist monks;
- open a teaching method workshop centre for Buddhist monk teachers;
- Khmer was to be the medium language of instruction;
- basic curriculum was based on Cambodian morals, reading, writing and basic arithmetic.

At the end of the workshop, the Buddhist monk teachers returned to their monasteries and ran their renovated monastery schools on their own. From 1924 to 1930, 58 monastery schools were opened with a school population of more than 3,000 children. A similar system was put into practice in other provinces after the example of the province of Kampot. It was well accepted by the local people and the Buddhist monks. It was a great success in upholding Khmer and updating the traditional education in Cambodia. And once again Khmer had regained its pride among the local people.

The renovated monastery schools operated side by side with the public schools up to 1953. From 1954, the monastery schools became public elementary schools or primary schools. And those in a large agglomeration of villages could expand to accommodate high schools.

3. MODERN KHMER IN RELIGIOUS CIRCLES AND SCHOOLS

The primary schools and the high schools of Pali and the Buddhist University have been the second most important agency in promoting Khmer in religious circles. Khmer has at all times been the medium language of instruction in these institutions. In the 1930s, the Buddhist Institute organised a religious tour headed by outstanding Buddhist monks who visited important monasteries in South Vietnam and preached Buddhist doctrine in Khmer. This tour also used mobile library vans. They visited monasteries and villages in the remote areas in Cambodia. Buddhist monks and villagers were able to buy or borrow Cambodian books. It was a great success and an efficient means of promoting Khmer and Buddhism.

In the 1930s, a group of educated Buddhist monks and well-known Buddhist lay people promoted the translation of basic Buddhist texts such as daily prayers into Khmer, and started to use Khmer in chanting instead of Pali. This move to Khmerise Buddhist texts sparked a serious quarrel between the conservative religious leaders and the innovative group. Buddhist monks and Buddhist lay people were split in two opposing camps, the conservative school and the renovative one. The religious confrontation dragged along for two decades. Finally, in 1950, the renovating group won the battle. This was a big step in revising Buddhist teaching for the common people who did not understand Pali. The renovative group completed the translation of the Tripitaka, the book of Buddhist doctrine and teaching, in 1969 which was followed by a nationwide inauguration of the holy text in the same year.

Pali was the second most important language after Khmer before the arrival of French in Cambodia. The schools of Pali were organised by Buddhist monks with the support of religious leaders and Buddhist lay people. Pali schools were opened in most important monasteries, for Buddhist monks who wanted to gain deep insight into Buddhism. Pali was the lingua franca of Buddhism in Southeast Asia. The growth of the Pali schools was mainly the work of the Buddhist monks. They organised their own curriculum which was partly for religion and partly for modern education. The language of instruction was Khmer from primary to tertiary level. The head of the monastery and his two deputies were recruited from student monks of the Pali schools. This made the religious school education more attractive. The religious education opened a High School of Pali in Phnom Penh in 1914. In 1925, a committee for the examination of books published by the school of Pali was formed. In the 1960s, the highest religious institution, the Buddhist University, was opened in Phnom Penh. The religious institutions and the Buddhist monks were the spearhead of Khmerisation from the very early 20th century in the history of Cambodian education. Khmer progressed gradually behind the religious shield of Buddhism. During this period, a certain degree of standardisation of Khmer went on in the monastery.

4. FRENCH LANGUAGE IN CAMBODIA

The French implemented a French language policy in Cambodia. They introduced modern education and gradually established primary schools in most of the important provinces. French was the language of instruction. Most Cambodians were not enthusiastic about this new system of education. They stuck to the monastery school of their own village.

The French authorities were desperately in need of Cambodians who could speak French to assist them in running the country. The first public primary school was opened in Phnom Penh in 1873. A school for training Cambodian interpreters was opened in Phnom Penh in 1885. Upon the completion of six years in

this French primary school, the students sat for an examination and the successful candidates would get a certificate. Sisowath High School was the first French high school opened in Phnom Penh in 1911. The curriculum was based on the French system of education. In 1925, a centre for the training of Cambodian primary teachers was opened. French was used as official language in the administration of the Indochinese colony. Khmer was not part of the school curriculum until the early 1930s when reading and writing in Khmer was introduced. It was not well covered at all and only for the first two grades in primary school. In short there were three types of schools with their own language policies: the religious schools for Pali, the monastery schools for Khmer, and the public schools for French.

5. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN KHMER[4]

Khmer spelling had no uniformity up to the early years of the 20th century. French scholars were the first to be interested in this matter. They compiled Khmer-French dictionaries and wrote articles and books on Cambodian grammar long before the Cambodians. It took nearly half a century before the first movement of Cambodians into this area of scholarship. From 1915 a movement for a standard form of Khmer spelling was started among the educated Buddhist monks and the staff of the Royal Library. By Royal Decree of 4 September 1915, a National Commission was formed to compile a Cambodian Dictionary. The Ministry of Education was to be responsible. His Excellency Pich Pon, the Minister of Education and Defence, was appointed as president of the commission. The commission started its work in October of the same year; the manuscript was finished and ready to be published by 1924. Unfortunately, there was a split among the members caused by a row over the proposal by a group of conservative members on the way of using diacritic marks to denote short and long vowels in the script. The matter could not be settled by the Ministry of Education; and it was brought to the King who issued another decree on 19 July 1926, to nominate a new commission.

In 1932, an ad hoc committee was formed to assist the commission. Its task was to collect words from Cambodian novels and poetry in the Modern Khmer period. The scope and range of the collection of Cambodian words were limited. The words collected were submitted to the commission and they decided whether to include or exclude them from the dictionary.

The first volume of the Cambodian dictionary was published in 1939 and the second followed in 1943. The two volumes were accepted as the official and correct spelling of Khmer which was widely used in schools and in offices. The majority of the members of the commission were well versed in Pali and Sanskrit. They preferred the etymological spelling of Pali and Sanskrit words loaned to Khmer. They left out the Khmerised pronunciation of the borrowed words and restored the non-Khmerised spelling of Pali and Sanksrit words. There were many cases of confusion of the origin of the borrowed words and the origins of many were wrongly attributed. As a result, there was a wide gap between the popular spelling and the pronunciation of well-assimilated Pali or Sanksrit words even if they were included. Conversely, the tendency towards Khmerisation of borrowed words was strongly felt among French scholars and French-educated Cambodians. The Cambodians were not outspoken. The last part of the dictionary in the early 1960s saw some adjustment, which was given as an appendix.

In 1932, a textbook committee was appointed by the Ministry of Education. Its task was to examine Cambodian textbooks submitted by individuals or educational institutions and to make suggestions to the Ministry for approval. Approved texts were used in primary schools and monastery schools. It was the frist time that Khmer textbooks were published and made available to schools. Learning to read and write Khmer before the Second World War was very hard work. Cambodian children had to spend at least three years in the monastery schools before they could write their native language. Children were encouraged to attend public schools where facilities were provided free. The committee remained in operation up to early 1975 with constant changes of committee members and the expansion of their task to include also the approval of textbooks from other subjects.

To catch up with the progress of science and technology and to meet the needs of modern education and administration in general, a cultural committee was formed among the group of French-educated Cambodians in 1934. Their task was to compile French words used in general administration, jurisprudence, science and modern technology and then to coin corresponding Khmer words either from Khmer roots or from Pali and Sanksrit. The list of new words or rehabilitated Khmer words was published in a bilingual dictionary, Khmer-French and French-Khmer. These new words were used in Khmer newspapers, textbooks and legal documents and were always followed by their corresponding French words in parentheses. This common practice was carried on until the late 1960s.

In the second half of the 1930s an underground movement opposing French occupation of Cambodia was formed among the elite of the Buddhist Institute and the Cambodians who worked in the French administration.[5] They published the first Cambodian newspaper in 1936. The group was concerned about the wide gap of communication created by the French authority between a large segment of the population who received only the traditional education and a handful of French-educated Cambodians. The newspaper, *Kaset Nokor Vat* was widely read by the majority of Cambodians. The French authorities felt the danger of the growing number of supporters and sympathisers of this movement. The newspaper was closed in 1942 and the group disbanded. It was the first time that Khmer was used as a means to arouse the public opinion and gear it to challenge French colonialism.

From the early 1940s, the Ministry of Education encouraged Cambodian writers to produce didactic books and to write novels for schools and the public in general. A committee was appointed by the Ministry of Education to judge Cambodian novels which were submitted for prize-winning awards. From the 1960s to 1974, it was sponsored by the Association of Khmer Writers. Some of the best novels were introduced to schools.

In the field of grammar and linguistics, a well-known Khmer, Iv Koeus, published a book entitled *La langue cambodgienne (essai et étude raisonnée)* in 1947. It was the first Cambodian descriptive grammar ever written in Khmer by a Khmer scholar and politician. His insight into the Cambodian language drew to the attention of the Cambodians that Cambodian grammar was completely different from Pali and Sanskrit grammar. The work revealed many important principles of Khmer that had been forgotten for centuries. His ideas played an important part in Khmerisation. It took two decades before they could be expounded and promoted among students of the Arts Faculty of Phnom Penh University. Dr Keng Vansak was another leading and ardent promoter of Khmerisation. The political situation had disrupted his work a long time. His book entitled *Principes de création des mots nouveaux*, published in 1964, has been an inspiration for secondary teachers and linguists as well. His ideas added a new dimension in the principles of

Khmerisation. The insight brought into the field of Cambodian language by these two scholars has been invaluable to all Khmers who love and care for their language. But unfortunately, it has never been fully developed or implemented because the authors were victimised in the 1960s by the dominant ruling class and the opposition political party.

6. THE ROMANISATION OF KHMER

In 1943, the Royal Government of Cambodia and the French Governor of Cambodia embarked on the romanisation of Khmer. The system was devised by Georges Coedès and the Ministry of Education was in charge of implementing it. In an interview with the *Kambuja* newspaper the Minister of Education stated as follows:

- Romanisation would bring progress in the domain of Cambodian literature and arts in general.
- The need for the progress of Cambodia required it.
- Romanisation facilitated reading, writing and learning. It saved twice the time required with the old and traditional script. It gave correct spelling and pronunciation and it can get rid of irregularity in the grammar. It brought a lot of help in coining or borrowing new terms into Khmer.
- Printing and making Cambodian typewriters were the most beneficial in the romanisation of Khmer.[6]

The Cambodian romanised alphabet was composed of 26 letters and a group of diacritic symbols for short and long vowels, with some punctuation marks borrowed from French. I will not discuss the linguistic side of Khmer romanisation. It is outside the scope of this paper. The writing system can be summarised by a few points:

- Proper nouns were written as they were in French.
- Words borrowed from Pali and Sanksrit were Khmerised in script as well as in pronunciation. They were transcribed according to the popular speech, and there was no account of any etymology.
- Any irregularity in spelling and pronunciation was to be corrected and standardised.
- Consonants in a syllable-final position which were not pronounced were dropped.
- Exceptions were made to distinguish homonyms.

The *Kambuja* newspaper was the medium of this writing system. From September 1943 to early 1945, this newspaper covered one tenth of its pages with news from overseas, local advertisements and government notices in romanised Khmer.

The Ministry of Education had established a textbook committee, as noted above. Textbooks in romanised Khmer were published and used in monastery schools in place of the old textbooks. The Royal Government issued a decree in 1943 to legalise the use of romanised Khmer in the local administration. The birth certificate was one example of its use. Under the auspices of the French governor, a committee was set up to compile a romanised Khmer dictionary.[7] It was published in 1944 and used as reference in the local administration and in schools. It was a romanised Khmer version of the latest edition of the Cambodian dictionary published at that time.

According to the opinion of the Minister of Education, it seemed that the romanisation of Khmer was a great success and very well accepted by Cambodians of every walk of life. But in fact only about two-fifths of Cambodians ever used it. A large proportion of the people was not enthusiastic or strongly opposed it but they were also not vocal. They were religious leaders and members of the nationalist group which were against the French occupation of Cambodia. Romanisation had not been introduced to public schools.

Romanisation and the use of the Gregorian calendar[8] were the two most hurtful reforms that affected the majority of Cambodians. The aspiration for independence and the wish to rally the local people to support its cause led the pro-Japanese government of Cambodia to abrogate these two reforms in July 1945.

The failure of the Cambodian romanisation was due to the lack of interest or hostility of the French-educated Cambodians, the religious group and the people in the countryside. The disputes in 1924 between the conservatives and the renovators in the adoption of a Cambodian writing system for the Cambodian Dictionary, and in the early 1930s about the translation of the daily religious prayers from Pali into Khmer and its use in the monastery highlighted how conservative they were and how strong was their opposition. The Cambodian script was considered sacred. It was widely used to transcribe the holy texts of Buddhism and in making amulets not only in Cambodia but also in the neighbouring countries. The majority of Cambodians did not understand that romanisation of Khmer was only a reform of the script. They saw it as an attempt to eradicate the Khmer language and destroy the culture and heritage of their ancestors. From 1941 to the end of the Second World War, Cambodia was politically insecure. Social and economic conditions of the country were in disarray. In short, the time was not favourable, and the campaign was limited in scope and publicity. It would have been surprising for the romanisation of Khmer to be successful at that time.

A less well-known reform of the Cambodian writing was proposed by venerable Ouk Chea. He called it Aksar Chneah Lok, victory script of the world. This system of writing was to simplify the traditional way of writing consonant clusters and vowel symbols. Consonant clusters, consonant underscripts and vowels were arranged on the same line as the English system of writing. Its aim was also to reduce the number of keys in the manufacturing of a Cambodian typewriter.

7. MODERN KHMER UNDER THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION

The presence of the Japanese forces in Cambodia from 1941 to 1944 did not affect the language policy of the Cambodian government because France was still in control of Cambodia. But the seven month government backed by the Japanese in 1945 restored the use of Khmer script in its traditional form. The aim of the government was to use Khmer as language of instruction and to make some reforms in the public system of education. But it was not possible because there was a shortage of materials and qualified staff to carry out the work. French was still the language of instruction in public schools. A Japanese language course was offered in the evening to the public and to Cambodians who joined the Japanese forces.

The romanisation of Khmer was not revived by the French government when they took control over Cambodia again. The Indochina peninsula was insecure and tension between French rulers and the local people was high. Cambodia got self-rule in 1946 and became a member of the 'Union Française'. This brought new interest in primary and secondary education, and a concern for developing literacy in Khmer.

8. MODERN KHMER UNDER THE HOME RULE GOVERNMENT 1946-1952

A commission in charge of translating the Cambodian Constitution from French into Khmer which was headed by Prince Sisowath Yutevong faced many problems in finding suitable words. Some of the members were well versed in Pali as well as in Thai. They had recourse to the corresponding Pali terms which had been borrowed into Thai. The most striking one was the term Rathathamanuñ, literally *law of the state*, which had been borrowed to mean *constitution*. The translation had also brought new terms into Khmer. It made some degree of reinforcement of the native language.

To meet the growing demand for new terms in the administration as well as in other fields, a National Cultural Commission was formed in 1947. It was an enlargement of the Cultural Committee established in 1934. Its task was to coin new words. Suggestions and requests were put to the commission from private or governmental institutions. They published a bilingual dictionary, the Lexique Franco-Khmer.

Cambodian grammar textbooks were prescriptive in their content. Two trends of development were found in them, the Pali and the French. French scholars put a lot of effort into this field. The grammar of the Khmer language by Henri Maspéro has been an outstanding one. Within two decades after the Second World War, there were at least 15 Cambodian grammar books and most of them were influenced by Pali prescriptive grammar. The three Cambodian scholars, Iv Koeus, Keng Vansak and Khuon Sokhamphu, were pioneers in this field and their works gave new insights to the problems of Cambodian grammar.

In the late 1960s, a Committee for Cambodian Grammar which was part of the Department of Khmerisation had been engaged in preparing a Cambodian grammar book for the secondary schools. Three tenths of this work was finished and ready to be published in 1975. As of today, Cambodian schools do not have any suitable grammar book.

9. LANGUAGE POLICY OF THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF CAMBODIA - 1953-1969[9]

Up to 1955, French was still the language of instruction in schools, the language of written legislation, decrees and proclamations, the means of intragovernment and intergovernment written communication, and the tongue of commercial documents, advertising and banking. Khmer was, however, used extensively in spoken form in government offices and in commerce along with Chinese. Some of the Cambodian élite believed French was superior to Khmer. After 17 years of national independence, the progress made in public education was well beyond the primary and secondary levels. It was in the early stage of tertiary education. The politics of prestige and window dressing in tertiary education led to the opening of more universities than were really needed.

For an estimated population of 7,000,000 in 1968, Cambodia had a total of 1,067,385 school children and students. On 9 October 1964, the government launched a massive literacy campaign for adults. The program was carried out by the Ministry of Education with the assistance of other ministries such as defence, interior and religion. By that time there were about 1,000,000 illiterates. Teachers, Buddhist monks, civil servants in the administration, soldiers and community leaders worked voluntarily for the benefit of the nation. Schools were improvised in every village, monasteries, and in public institutions. There were no problems of communication between the teachers and adult illiterates because all of them spoke the same language. The government did not spend much

money on this program, except the cost of printing the literacy certificates. The course consisted of Khmer literacy and basic arithmetic. After four to six months, students sat for a test on writing skill, reading skill and short arithmetic problems. Successful candidates received the certificates of literacy as testimony of their knowledge of Khmer. By the end of 1966, 261,509 Cambodians had received their literacy certificates. In 1967, there were 900,000 Cambodians who enrolled in the course. To reinforce the program, a bill was passed by parliament on 31 May 1965, obliging all Cambodians between 10 and 50 years old to learn to read and write Khmer as well as basic arithmetic skills.

In 1961, the Khmer Writers' Association organised a program of public audience with Samdech Chuon Nath on Cambodian language, literature and culture. It was broadcast on the radio every Friday night. The program was carried on for more than eight years from 1961 to September 1969.

France left Cambodia with a rigid pro-French language policy which it continued to watch with great interest. The government and the French-educated Cambodians had been reluctant to abandon it. The development of Khmer at this stage did not supply the necessary terminology for new ideas and concepts on technological and scientific innovation for secondary and tertiary education. New terms had to be coined or borrowed into Khmer to fill the gap. In order to catch up with the progress of the world and to give a new turn to public education, the Ministry of Education set up a Department of Khmerisation in the second half of the 1960s. Its task was to prepare textbooks for various disciplines in secondary schools. The department was composed of:

1. Committee for Agriculture
2. Committee for Geography
3. Committee for Grammar
4. Committee for History
5. Committee for Mathematics
6. Committee for Natural Science
7. Committee for Physics and Chemistry
8. Committee for Woodwork and Handcraft.

The task of these committees was to enrich the Cambodian lexicon with new terminology. The committee members were primary teachers, high school teachers and lecturers with the exception of the Committee for Grammar which had some prominent Buddhist scholars as members. The inter- and intra-committee cooperation was very good. The department published its magazine every three months; each committee had a part of its work in the magazine. Their work was also broadcast on the radio every Tuesday and Thursday evening. The department also published its first dictionary of the terms used or coined by the committees. Overall, Khmerisation was warmly accepted from the beginning of its existence.

Khmer was dragged along behind French in public schools for a decade. This was due to the absence of incentives for mastering Khmer, since economic and social advancement came most readily through mastery of French. The teaching of French assumed less importance from the early 1960s, after which French was taught only from the fourth grade in primary school as a second language. In 1967, Khmer was introduced to secondary schools as language of instruction. The Arts Faculty and the Faculty of Education of the university of Phnom Penh started using Khmer as the language of instruction from the early time of their establishment.

Ethnic Chinese had their own schools open in most important centres. Their curriculum included Khmer as a second language. Vietnamese schools were opened for a short time in the early 1950s. French Catholic schools were operating until April 1975.

In 1968, a Committee for Examining the Work on Cambodian History was formed. Its task was to check all works on Cambodian history prior to their publication in order to eradicate errors of dates and events and also to conform to the policy set by the Ministry of Education.

10. MODERN KHMER UNDER THE KHMER REPUBLIC, 1970-1975

The language policy of the new government in Khmerisation was to carry on and improve the planning left by the previous government. The government of the Khmer republic joined the SEAMEO movement in 1970. Exchange of students and teaching experts in the region followed. The policy of the government was more open to the West than that of the previous one. Young Cambodians were more enthusiastic to learn English than French.

A Mon-Khmer Institute was created under the initiative of the Prime Minister in 1970. One of its objectives was to undertake research on Old and Middle Khmer to bring new insights to further the development of Modern Khmer. At the tertiary level, within the Arts Faculty, a Centre for the Research and Documentation in Arts was established. Besides its research, the centre collected and published old books and articles related to Cambodian literature, normative grammar and linguistics in Cambodian, English and French. At the national level, a National Council for Education and Culture was appointed by the president of the republic in 1974. Its task was to examine and counsel various public education institutions and to follow up the implementation of the policy formulated by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture.

The progress made by the government in the domain of education and Khmerisation was remarkable. Khmerisation of public education was planned to reach the tertiary level in the late 1970s. Unfortunately, it was disrupted by the Pol Pot regime in April 1975. School children, students and teaching staff were displaced and killed. Schools and educational infrastructure were abandoned or demolished.

After five years of complete abandon by the Khmer Rouge government, the spirit of Khmerisation became active again under the government of Heng Samrin. A few members of the Khmerisation Department and teachers who survived the hardship have joined the government to revive the policy of the Khmerisation.

11. THE LANGUAGE POLICY OF THE KHMER ROUGE, 1975-1978[10]

The Cambodian education system and its infrastructure were completely disrupted. Teachers and students were the victims of this regime. April 1975 was the last day of the century-long established formal education of Cambodia. Khmer Rouge policy on education and the Cambodian language was known only through interviews with refugees, radio broadcasts from Phnom Penh and the scarce reports of Western magazines which were mostly second-hand. The strange thing in the Khmer Rouge policy was that there was no mention of public education in the national constitution. It was frequently stressed by Khmer Rouge cadres that a renovation of the Cambodian language for revolutionary purposes had been going on for several years. The language of the old regime did not offer a direct route for the development of this new and classless society. To the eyes of the Khmer Rouge, Cambodia was still living in an atmosphere of feudalistically determined relationships between the opporessed and the oppressors, exploited and

exploiters. As a result, Khmer had been developed to match the hierarchical structure of the society. The confusing multiplicity of pronouns and special terms for addressors and addressees manifested the traditional status relationships between Cambodians. Revolutionising the language was of primordial importance for the Khmer Rouge government because it was an effective means of brainwashing.

Obsolete words came to the foreground while others retreated to the background. The principal agents of the Khmer Rouge policy on language were their political cadres. They spread the news by word of mouth. They gave the displaced Cambodians a new form of Cambodian language which allowed them to rethink the conditions of their new lives. Language was not a cultural heritage but an effective brain-washing device. Their language reform was mainly in verbal communication. Cambodian kingship and monkhood terms were the first to be eliminated. For example, the Khmer Rouge cadres used the word /puu/ *uncle*, instead of the widely used term Samdech to address Prince Sihanouk.

Firstly, they reactivated words or expressions which were used by simple peasants in the countryside. Here are some examples. There had been at least 12 Cambodian words corresponding to the English verb *eat*, but only one word, /hop/, was allowed. The French borrowed word /pa:/ contracted form of *papa* for *dad*, and the Cambodian word /mak/ *mummy* were not allowed. The first was the remnant of the French colonialism and the second was a symbol of the exploiters' class. The Cambodian words for Sir, Madam, Mister, Mrs, Miss, gentleman, Highness, Venerable and Excellency were replaced by /mit/ *friend*.

Secondly, they avoided using the terms which were used by the old regime. The Khmer Rouge adopted the word /pañacun/ *intellectual*, instead of /pañavoən/, which was used by the previous government. Both were compound nouns borrowed from Pali. Literally, the former means *people endowed with intelligence*. The latter was originally an adjective which means *wise and intelligent*.

Thirdly, they used the same words but with different meanings. The loanword /pulikam/ *sacrifice*, was used in the sense of *labour*. The word /som/ *ask for* or *beg* was replaced by /snaaə/, which formerly meant *request*.

Fourthly, they added new words to the well-established Cambodian phrases. They thought these were incorrect. The phrase like /thnam chýy kbaal/ *tablet or pill for headache* was changed to /thnam bambat chýy kbaal/ which literally meant *medicine cures headache*.

People had to learn and use all new words and terms because nobody dared to reveal their social status. The Khmer Rouge policy on education was to proceed in close connection with practical work, production, national defence and edification. In the industrial centres, the children studied for two or three hours a day and spent the remaining hours in the factories. In the agricultural cooperative farms, they participated in all kinds of works outside their classroom timetable. The highest level of education in the countryside was at the third grade. In the big cities, they could continue to the fifth grade and then enrol to do apprenticeship. Post-primary education was mainly reserved for the children of the cadres. Adult literacy training was also carried out at the workplace, in the improvised shelters or in the open air. The results were not satisfactory because of hardship and too much time spent on ideological education.

The language planning and language policy of the Khmer Rouge were by no means effective. They did not employ qualified teachers and there was no proper education system, organisation or supportive infrastructure. Their language policy was politically oriented and it went against the inspiration of the users

and the norms of the development of the language itself. Their preoccupation was to establish and achieve a utopian ideology of a classless society and especially to maintain their so-called dictatorship of the proletarian class.

12. LANGUAGE POLICY OF THE HENG SAMRIN GOVERNMENT, 1979-1982[11]

The five years of war caused a lot of disruption in schooling and the four years without formal education under the Pol Pot regime increased the number of Cambodian illiterates. The Ministry of Education of the new government faced a very serious crisis in the field of education. A large majority of school-aged children and Cambodian adults were illiterate. The Ministry of Education re-established the educational system from scratch. The first move was to change the number of the schooling years. The previous six year primary and seven year secondary system of education was reduced to ten years. Besides literacy and numeracy, the school curriculum for primary and secondary stresses basic vocational skill either in agriculture or in industry. It is work combined with study. In the countryside, primary and secondary school boys and girls have to work in the rice fields two or three times a month depending on villagers' requests, as part of the national edification of the country and practical work in agriculture.

The government also launched a three year literacy campaign for adults. Classes have been organised in many villages all over the country. At the village level, literacy classes were conducted for three or four evenings per week. Shortage of teachers and facilities for this sort of special education was the main concern of the government. In the cities, adult literacy classes have been conducted in factories. The workers were given two hours off to attend the class. The government provided teachers and basic educational supplies.

The Second Annual Congress of the Ministry of Education for 1980-1981 was held in September 1981. In this address the Minister of Education had released the following figures:

- 211 kindergartens with a population of 15,077.
- 4,334 primary schools with 1,328,033 school children.
- 63 high schools with 17,886 students.
- 14 tertiary institutions with 555 students.
- 624 students have been sent to further their studies abroad.
- 1,418,767 adult illiterates with only 411,253 enrolled for literacy training.[12]

A committee composed of ex-teachers was formed in early 1979 to prepare textbooks for primary and secondary schools. The policy of the committee is to revive and put in practice again what had been done by the Department of Khmerisation in the 1960s. Their two main sources of reference for vocabulary are the Cambodian Dictionary published by the Department of Khmerisation and the Cambodian Dictionary published by the Buddhist Institute. In late 1982, the Ministry of Education had published 120 different school textbooks. In general, the Cambodian language and the cultural background used in readers for lower and upper primary schools are the same as the previous readers published from 1950 to 1975 with the exception of a few politically oriented terms. The Cambodian language for every walk of life has been restored. There is no more strain on the language, no more obligation or restriction of used and prescribed terms. Overall, modern Khmer is back again on the trail of development. It is in the state of recovering from the lack of manpower and expertise.

Language planning and language policy in Cambodia has been very much intermingled with the political development of the country itself. War and insecurity, political upheaval and the many drastic changes of government seriously affected language policy and language planning. National institutions, committees, commissions and private organisations have in the course of time shifted or remoulded their emphasis from one function to another. They have abandoned functions or adopted new ones to meet new needs, new demands or policies of the regime in power. This forward and backward swing made language planning in Cambodia very wide-ranging. It covered language purification, revival, reform, standardisation, rehabilitation and modernisation.

NOTES

1. The transcription used here is based on that of Jenner and Pou 1981.
2. Gorgoniev 1966:14-17.
3. See Direction générale de l'instruction publique 1931.
4. See Coedès 1938 for more details.
5. See Reddi 1970:66-70.
6. *Kambuja*, 28 September 1943.
7. *Kambuja*, 14 April 1944.
8. Reddi 1970:74-75.
9. Chau Seng 1968:52-53.
10. This section is based on interviews with Cambodian refugees, ex-teachers and Cambodian children who were enrolled in the Khmer Rouge schools in Phnom Penh from 1975 to 1978.
11. In writing this part of the paper, I have benefited greatly from discussions with Chanthou Boua, who has been in Cambodia twice and travelled to most important parts of Kampuchea since 1979.
12. *Kampuchea* 103, September 1981.

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A-67:103-117. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1985. DOI:*10.15144/PL-A67.103*
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TERMINOLOGY WORK IN VIETNAM

Nguyen Dinh-Hoa

As one aspect of language planning and language treatment, terminological work in Vietnam[1] has been going on for at least five decades, initially through efforts of individual science teachers and journalists - even when the medium of instruction was still the French language - then later through concerted efforts of educational leaders working around colleges and universities and institutionalised bodies. Even prior to 1945, many political, historical and economic terms used by the press in Vietnam had become current "even among non-specialists". With the development and evolution of political life and the increase in literacy among the masses since that date, new words had to be invented to express new ideas and concepts in textbooks, pamphlets and newspapers and magazines. Teachers at all levels called upon to use their mother tongue as the medium of instruction contributed to the elaboration of an increasingly wealthy jargon for each branch of the social and natural sciences. This paper will focus on the innovative processes by which Vietnamese intellectuals regardless of their political leanings have collectively evolved a scientific and technical terminology.

At the beginning scientists and science teachers advocated different methods in coining new terms in the 1940s. Some wanted to use French words, particularly in chemistry; others suggested the transliteration of those French terms into Vietnamese; still others preferred the use of Sino-Vietnamese loanwords (e.g. lưu nhược dưỡng thấp for *anhydride sulfureux*). A number of writers advocated the use of vernacular terms used in everyday parlance. There were even those who recommended the reading aloud of international symbols (em-en-ô-hai for MnO^2, S-hai-uy-K for S^2U K), or the coining of a term based on the formula (hiềm siêm ất khở hai for H^2 $(SO_4)_2$, or even the use of some pig-Latin-like device (bai for "hạch b(ên) (t)ai" *a ganglion next to the ear*, tác for "t(am) (gi)ác" *a triangle*), suggestive of the Chinese method of fan-chie or Vietnamese nói lái.

The history of terminological work undertaken by Vietnamese educators and scientists goes back to 1942, when Professor Hoàng Xuân-Hãn, mathematician, historian and philologist, published his *Danh-từ khoa-học*, a "collection of terms denoting scientific ideas and based on French" (Hoang 1948:vii). This pioneer work has since been reprinted many times (Saigon 1948, Paris 1951, Saigon 1970). In the 1948 reprint edition, made necessary because the 1946 reprint had been destroyed by fire during the Franco-Vietnamese hostilities in the capital city of Hanoi, Professor Hoàng reproduced a statement he had made in the first issue of the review *Khoa-học* 'Science' in 1941:

> The language of every country can become a scientific language, and only necessity is the mother of invention. This review *Khoa-học* will prove that there is no difficult question that cannot be explained in Vietnamese. Whether the explanation

David Bradley, ed. *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.9: *Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia*, 119-130. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-67, 1985.
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A-67:119-130. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1985. DOI:*10.15144/PL-A67.119*
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> is clear or not depends on the person doing the explaining. Whether it is understood clearly or not depends on the hearer. This is true of any country and any language.
> (as cited in Hoàng 1948:viii)

Earlier in a paper entitled *Vocabulaire scientifique en langue annamite* read before the Indochina Council on Scientific Research on 29 October 1941, Professor Hoàng explained his objective and methodology as follows:

> ... mon but est de chercher un mot simple ou composé correspondant à chaque mot scientifique français. Je me suis imposé la règle suivante: utiliser le plus possible les mots de la langue ordinaire; éviter les périphrases pour désigner les idées simples et autant que possible pour les idées composées; garder les mots formés antérieurement et d'un usage courant bien qu'illogique. Quand la formation annamite perd de la concision et de la clarté, j'ai utilisé les racines chinoises. (1948:v)

In the Paris reprint edition of 1951 of this eminently innovative and ingenious glossary of terms in mathematics, physics, chemistry, mechanics and astronomy, the Introduction (xi-xlix) listed eight requirements for the coining of new terms (xi-xviii), then examined the three methods used (xix-xxiii), previous experiences (xxiv-xxvii), and the principles followed by the author (xxviii-xxxiv), and finally provided the chemical nomenclature (xxxv-xliv).

Of Professor Hoàng's eight requirements, which have been repeatedly cited by other terminology workers, the first five pertain to the content and the last three to the form of each newly-coined term.

On the first requirement - that "each idea has to have a term" - he said that it is necessary to use not just monosyllabic words, but also 2-syllable and 3-syllable words to take care of future concepts. The second requirement stated that each term "must refer only to one particular idea", and the third requirement specified that "one idea cannot be expressed by several terms". Indeed the author cautioned teachers against using homonyms or synonyms: he thus proposed two different terms nguyên-tử and đại-nguyên-tử as corresponding to the two senses of French *atome*, but only a single term cờ-lo-rua for both French terms *chlorure* and *chlorhydrate*.

Since according to the fourth requirement, a term "must help us remember its idea easily", the coinage hình-học was chosen for geometry (instead of kỷ-hà-học) because it would make one think of shapes (hình). The word in everyday language for *to converge* is tụ, but since in science this verb involves the idea of an accumulation, the compound qui-tụ was offered.

The *solution of an equation* should not be translated as rễ *root*, but nghiệm-số since it is "a number which, when substituted for the unknown number of an equation, would prove the latter right" (xiii).

Fifthly, "terms in different fields must form a uniform and interrelated whole". Thus for the equivalent of *reflection*, the term phản-xạ was chosen for use in physics as well as in acoustics and mechanics, leaving the better known word phản-chiếu for only the former field. Whereas laymen use khinh-khí, a Chinese loanword meaning *the light gas*, the scientific term proposed was hýt-rô, which would correlate with hýt-rua, hýt-rat, hýt-roc-xyt, hýt-ric, etc. denoting '*hydrure, hydrate, hydroxyde, hydrique*', respectively. This last consideration

constituted the most difficult condition in the elaboration of a scientific terminology, according to Professor Hoàng (xiv).

The sixth requirement is also the first criterion regarding form. The compound thu-sai, which means *aberration*, to be distinguished from sai *error*, would exist side by side with such compounds as cầu-sai *spherical aberration*, sắc-sai *chromatic aberration*, etc., in which the stem sai, clipped from thu-sai, is combined with other Chinese-borrowed modifiers, in the determiner-determined order. Precedents for this process of shortening were cách-trí *leçon de choses*, from cách-vật trí-tri *to investigate things and to deepen knowledge*, danh-giá *prestige*, from danh-tiếng *fame, renown*; and giá-trị *value, worth*.

The next criterion pertains to the phonology of a new term, which must sound all right to Vietnamese ears. Thus cô-nic *conic(al)* would be more acceptable than xi-pi-ra-lơ *spiral*, which sounds un-Vietnamese. Here Professor Hoàng mentioned a common phenomenon whereby a Sino-Vietnamese syllable is combined with a native lexeme that has the same meaning: cơ-hội *opportunity*, tùy theo *according to*, thờ-phụng *to worship*, danh-tiếng *fame, renown*, thì giờ *time*, etc., resulting in better cadence.

Finally, a scientific term must be invented "in consonance with the history of other ordinary terms in the language". Here Professor Hoàng discussed foreign loanwords in Vietnamese. Those from French have been shortened or adapted to Vietnamese phonotactics: bơ from *beurre*, phó-mát from *fromage*, ô-tô from *auto*, bù-loong from *boulon*, etc. As for the Chinese loanwords - usually referred to as Hán-Việt *Sino-Vietnamese* - such as địa-cầu *earth, globe*, thiên-văn *astronomy*, động-vật *animal*, thiên-tạo *natural*, etc., they exist side by side with a host of borrowed elements which have been thoroughly assimilated and integrated in the Vietnamese vocabulary: sắt *iron* from 鐵 thiết; xưa *ancient* from 初 sơ; xem xét *to examine* from 瞻察 chiêm-sát, etc.

The author of *Danh-từ khoa-học* then proceeded to analyse the advantages and disadvantages of each of the three methods used in word coinage. First of all, ordinary words in the everyday language cannot be very efficient as scientific terms, even though they may have been thoroughly assimilated, because what is needed is a scientific term, and not a descriptive and explanatory phrase. The word chảy, which means *to flow, to melt*, and also *to leak*, would not be adequate as the equivalent of *fusion*. Combinations of free native lexemes, moreover, would result in lengthy phrases. They fulfil only the fourth, seventh and eighth requirements, but not the others.

The second method, transliteration, fails to meet criteria (4), (6), (7) and (8), but will be satisfactory only if not abused (Hoàng 1948:xxiii).

Of the three methods, the last one, using Sino-Vietnamese forms, would fulfil all eight requirements, as shown in the table on page xxiii of *Danh-từ khoa-học*.

Professor Hoàng mentioned the experience of the Japanese, who use numerous transliterations from English and German and also Sino-Japanese terms, and of the Chinese, who by the mid 1930s had already worked out their appropriate scientific terminology (xxvi-xxvii). Vietnam's legal and political terminology had been elaborated in various administrative, penal and criminal codes issued under the French Government-General of Indochina, so it would afford a useful precedent for later workers in other disciplines.

Transliterating requires the addition of new letters to represent phonemes or syllables, such as p- (Vietnamese words not beginning with this voiceless bilabial stop), z- (this initial fricative being represented by a non-barred d in the quốc-ngữ orthography), ce, ci, cê, as well as -ol and -al, to be distinguished from -on and -an, respectively (xxxiii).

Professor Hoàng insisted on the use of hyphens in compounds or transliterated terms. As for the practice of running syllables together, although he did not use it in the earlier edition, calling it "a very useful but very daring device", he later resorted to it in the Paris edition of 1951.

Another highly useful glossary is Đào Văn Tiến's (1945, reprinted in 1950), which contains terms from the natural sciences - biology, physiology, zoology, botany, geology, etc.

Throughout the anti-French resistance war and during the partition of the country, 1954-1975 (into the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the north, and the Republic of Vietnam south of the 17th parallel), scientists and scholars in both zones continued their terminology work to satisfy the needs of teaching and research.

Seven French-Vietnamese glossaries containing about 40,000 terms in five different disciplines appeared: Bùi Huy Đáp 1948 for agronomy; Trịnh-Đình Cung 1951, Lê Khắc Thiền and Phạm Khắc Quảng 1951 for medicine; Đào Văn Tiến 1950 for botany; Đỗ Xuân Hợp 1951 for surgery, Đào Trọng Hội 1954 for economics and finance; and Phạm Xuân Thái 1954 for philosophy. Most of the terms in those glossaries, however, were still Chinese loanwords. After the Geneva Agreements of 1954 put an end to French rule, but provided for the partition of the land, some scientists promoted the use of terms that had been internationalised while others said that those should be used only when necessary, and Sino-Vietnamese terms were still widely used (hoả-xa for *railroad, train*, giao-động-đồ for *oscillogram*, etc.).

The exciting terminological work contrasted sharply with the situation under the French colonialists' educational system, in which the medium of instruction was French and the exams followed the patterns in metropolitan France. It should be remembered that, prior to 1945, in senior high school classes taught in French, Vietnamese was relegated to the status of a second foreign language after English, German or Spanish (Nguyễn Văn Huyên 1969:46).

Professor Ngụy Như Kontum, then Rector of the University of Hanoi, in the article "Vietnamese as a medium to teach basic sciences" (1969) provided a comparison between French-trained university teachers like himself and their young students during the early 1940s in terms of preparedness. The former, according to Professor Ngụy Như Kontum's reminiscences, "often felt at a loss, when using our native tongue to express delicate feelings, and even common ideas, not to speak of complex and abstract notions, having learned French since childhood" (1969:80). By contrast, the latter - their students, particularly in the Lycée du Protectorat, nicknamed Trường Bưởi 'Pomelo School' - in small groups named "Dragon Group", Thunder Group", promoted the use of Vietnamese in daily conversation and in serious discussions of scientific topics and the avoidance of 'macaronic' language (Ngụy Như Kontum 1969:80; Nguyễn Đình-Hoà 1975:44-45).

Professor Trần Hữu Tước, one time Vice-President of the Vietnam Medical Association in Hanoi, also related his experience of giving lectures in Vietnamese, upon his return from France:

> Living abroad for fifteen years, I had to learn and teach medicine in French. In 1946, when I came home and received a chair in otorhinolaryngology in the Hanoi Faculty of

> Medicine and Pharmacy, I made up my mind to deliver my first lecture in Vietnamese. Though mine was not a fluent Vietnamese, I could at least teach in my mother tongue, and this was an honour for me, a citizen of independent and free Vietnam. (Trần Hữu Tước 1969:96)

In South Vietnam, too, university teachers - with a few exceptions - believed just as their colleagues in the north did that "when teachers and students are Vietnamese, the goal of study is to serve Vietnam for whose population - some dozen million - the common language is Vietnamese, it is natural that their means of expression cannot be any other language than Vietnamese" (Phạm Đồng Điện 1969: 103). In the field of linguistics, to take an example from the social sciences taught primarily in the Faculties of Letters of the universities of Saigon, Huế, Dalat and Cần-thơ, the teaching staff of varied backgrounds speedily worked out all the technical terms needed. It is thus not entirely true that, in the south, Vietnamese did not enjoy the status of a vehicular language at the college level. Whatever hesitation there was was primarily due to a regrettable competition between the French-trained and the U.S.-trained scientists and physicians.

After the July 1960 conference convened by Professor Lê Văn Thới, then Dean of the Saigon Faculty of Sciences, terminological work entered its systematic and productive stage in South Vietnam. A Committee on Terminology, composed of eight subcommittees, was charged with the task of standardising new, convenient terms in mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology, zoology, botany, technology and atomic energy. The Committee agreed to give common words (tiếng thông-thường) priority over Sino-Vietnamese (tiếng gốc nho) or transliterations (phiên âm) (Lê Văn Thới 1961).

Some new problems were identified as (1) the systematisation of terms borrowed from Chinese; (2) the vietnamisation of foreign terms; and (3) the setting-up of general principles of transliteration "to respect international terminology and at the same time to be in agreement with modern science" (Lê Văn Thới 1961).

Not all of the eight planned glossaries got published, but the difficulties encountered in botany, for instance, were typical. Professor Phạm Hoàng Hộ, in the Introduction to his *Danh-từ thực-vật Pháp-Việt* (1964:xi), mentioned two earlier works, *Danh-từ thực-vật* by (Lê Văn) Căn and (Nguyễn Hữu) Quán, which he said "few people unfortunately were able to consult", and *Danh-từ khoa-học (vạn-vật-học)* by Đào Văn Tiến (1945, 1950). These two glossaries, particularly the latter, "provided us with a fairly serious and usable terminological foundation and should have greatly helped in the transitional period in secondary education". But, he continued,

> ... it is a pity that many of our textbook writers did not know about that book and have hurriedly coined new terms without method or system, thus making technical terms at the high school level chaotic and causing confusion among students at exam time and upon their entrance into the university system. (Phạm Hoàng Hộ 1964:xi)

While discussing the principles he had followed (xi-xvi), botanist Phạm Hoàng Hộ pointed out that in order to have "open-minded" terms to enable us "to have a scientific culture" (xiii), one should rely heavily on "laboratories - the source of science - as the most authoritative creators of terms used in a particular discipline" (xiv).

He adopted Đào Văn Tiến's taxonomic classification:

giới	*kingdom*	giới phụ	*subkingdom*
ngành	*division*	ngành phụ	*subdivision*
lớp	*class*	lớp phụ	*subclass*
mục/bộ	*order*	bộ phụ	*suborder*
họ	*family*	họ phụ or tông	*subfamily*
giống	*genus*	loại	*species*
thứ	*variety*	(Đào Văn Tiến 1945:	Introduction)

although not in every detail.

Common names of plants were suggested as good substitutes for "complicated Latin names, at least at the secondary level" (Phạm Hoàng Hộ 1964:xv).

Efforts in centralising and systematising scientific terminology are reflected in South Vietnam in the establishment of two bodies:

- a National Committee on Terminology (Uỷ-ban Quốc-gia Soạn-thảo Danh-từ Chuyên-môn), set up by Order No.1101-GD-PC-ND of 18 May 1967 and modified by Order No.1985-GD-PC-ND of 30 August 1967; and
- a Committee on Language Codification (Uỷ-ban Điển-chế Văn-tự), set up with the task of "defining the principles of translation and transliteration of foreign terms, reviewing existing glossaries, editing the technical jargon for teaching purposes, examining usage, receiving suggestions from teachers, and formalizing new or current terms while dropping old-fashioned terms" (*Nội-san Danh-từ Chuyên-môn* 1969:vii-xi).

Of the 12 subject areas, several had their own jargon sanctioned by the Education Ministry: 743 terms for physics, 370 terms for fine arts, and 1,253 terms for pharmacy published in 1970; then 1,547 terms for chemistry, 776 terms for botany, and 946 and 405 terms for atomic energy, letters A and B respectively, in 1971.

Parallel endeavours in North Vietnam, since 1969 coordinated by the Institute of Linguistics (Viện Ngôn-ngữ-học), resulted in a set of "Principles of Transliteration of Indo-European Scientific Terms into Vietnamese" (Qui-tắc phiên thuật-ngữ khoa-học nước ngoài ra tiếng Việt) issued by the Social Sciences Commission in 1968 and again in 1977. According to these rules, which in 1965 were recommended for interim use by a committee set up in 1964 and composed of university professors and linguists (such as Tạ Quang Bửu, Nguyễn Thạc Cát, Nguyễn Tài Cẩn, Nguyễn Văn Chiển, Lê Khả Kế, Ngụy Như Kontum, Lưu Vân Lăng, Trương Công Quyền, etc.) the forms, generally speaking, follow their pronunciations in the donor language and at the same time make adjustments to the conventional orthography (quốc-ngữ), most of the time based on the dialect of Hanoi, the capital city. Thus, graphemic substitutions include z- for d-, d- for đ-, j- for gi-, f- for ph-, etc., i for y; -p for -b, -v and -f, -t for -d and -s, -c for -g and -r, -n for -l. Examples: andoza, andolaza; jun, jura; foton, flo; oxi; amip, pecmanganat, sunfua. The digraph gh is dropped for plain g, the grapheme x is used for /s/, as in axit, axêtat, and the grapheme s is used for /š/, as in senlac. Initial p- is used as well as the three symbols c, k and q for /k/. Consonant clusters in initial position are introduced as brom, clo, flo, while a final or intervocalic consonant may be dropped: reanga *realgar*, diaba *diabase*, milimet *millimeter* (Uỷ-ban Khoa-học xã-hội Việt-nam 1968:12-15).

Lê Khả Kế, the linguist in charge of the Department of Scientific Terminology in the Social Sciences Commission in 1969, discussed at length the role of free and bound morphemes in a system of scientific jargon. The former are used to

denote concrete concepts such as the following in biology, medicine and agriculture:

màng ối	instead of	dương-mô	*amnion*
thiếu máu		bần-huyết	*anaemia*
vàng da		hoàng-đản	*jaundice*
lỗ khí		khí-khổng	*stoma*
ống dẫn đái		niệu-đạo	*urethra*
ống đái		niệu-quản	*ureter*
màng nhầy		niêm-mạc	*mucosa*
chân giả		giả-túc	*pseudopod*
động-vật tay cuốn		động-vật uyển-túc	*brachiopod* (1969:120)

The latter - bound or restricted morphemes - are used to express abstract concepts, mainly in new combinations. Thus, the stem thức would yield đơn-thức *monomial*, nhị-thức *binomial*, tam-thức *trinomial*, and đa-thức *polynomial* in mathematics, just as the prefix đẳng- would yield đẳng-nhiệt *isothermal*, đẳng-hướng *isotropic*, etc. in physics (121).

Also, a very productive device consists in using normally bound morphemes of Chinese origin as free lexemes in a specialised context of physics and mathematics: căn *root*, hàm *function*, hệ *system*, lực *force*, phổ *spectrum*, thế *potential*, trường *field*, tuyến *line*, etc. (122). In addition to năng *energy*, nhiệt *heat*, Nhữ Thành also mentioned some terms of traditional (Chinese) medicine: thuỷ *water*, hoả *fire*, and phong *wind* (Nhữ Thành 1977:19).

Of course, lexical elements that have always been free can each be given a very specialised meaning: dạng *form*, tâm *centre*, thể *body*, or as in linguistics, cách *case*, ngôi *person*, thời *tense*, etc.

Chinese-borrowed morphemes have the great advantage of serving as extremely productive affixes: đa- *poly-* or *multi-* recurs in đa-diện *polyhedron*, đa-giác *polygon*, đa-hướng *polytropic*, đa-vectơ *polyvector*, etc. (Lê Khả Kế 1969:123).

Terminology workers often face the dilemma of using bound morphemes in the Vietnamese order or in the original Chinese order: axit hoá (Chinese order) is found better than hoá axit for *acidify*, môi hoá better than hoá môi for *labialise(d)*, hợp-pháp-hóa better than hóa hợp-pháp for *legalise(d)*. However, Vietnamese word order is preferred whenever possible, as in: viêm họng, found better than the previous coinage họng viêm *laryngitis*, viêm mồm (instead of mồm viêm) for *stomatitis*, viêm mũi (instead of mũi viêm) for *rhinitis* (Lê Khả Kế 1969:124).

Extensive use is made of such nominalisers as sự *action*, cách *method*, phép *method*, thế *status*, etc. prefixed to verbs, or tính *quality*, độ *degree*, etc. prefixed to adjectives, and such verbalisers as -hoá *-ise*, *-fy*, etc. suffixed to nouns or adjectives: thus, from axit are derived axit hoá *acidify*, then sự axit hoá *acidification* (125).

To ensure the precision and the systematic character of terminology, each term is created in relation to other terms expressing related notions: it is important for instance to distinguish and contrast trạng *aspect*, kiểu *type*, dạng *form*, mẫu *model*, hình *morpho-*, loại *-oid*, etc., as well as several medical terms sharing the core meaning of *contraction* or geological terms having in common the idea of *corrosion* (125-126).

Maximum use is made of Viegnamese synonymity: given the words hai, đôi, điệp, nhị, trùng, song for the idea of *two, twin,* or *bi-* the following linguistic terms have been created: nguyên-âm đôi *diphthong*, phép điệp *redoubling*, phụ-âm điệp *geminate*, từ song-thức *doublet* (127).

Scientists and scholars agree that one should not create technical terms at random or sacrifice a native and popular term just because it is not systematic. A case in point is words denoting disciplines or sciences. All the compounds follow Chinese morphology, with the suffix -học equated with *-ics*, *-logy*: toán-học *mathematics*, sử-học *history*, luật-học *juridical sciences*, địa-chất-học *geology*, etc. When the time came to choose a term for *ophthalmology*, however, the specialists voted for khoa mắt, considered better than nhãn-học or mắt học (128), their colleagues in South Vietnam having long been used to nhãn-khoa.

A linguist in South Vietnam offered some rather ingenious way of using 'national', that is to say, native elements in strict Vietnamese order to call those disciplines: học-ngữ *linguistics*, học-hội-sống *sociology*, học-âm-lời *phonetics*, etc. (Nguyễn Bạt-Tụy 1959), but this type of innovation has been regarded as "extremist", "too bold", and "unnecessary" (Lưu Vân Lăng 1977:8).

In general, both creativity and flexibility have manifested themselves as the experts try to strike a medium between systematicity and national character in the production of a real plethora of scientific glossaries and dictionaries in both zones: for example, glossaries of physics 1962, chemistry 1962, botany 1964, economics 1974, law and economics 1970, public administration 1971, etc. in South Vietnam, and biology 1960, mathematics 1963, chemistry 1961, technology 1962, geography 1963, music 1969, linguistics 1969, law 1971, etc. in North Vietnam. Duplication was inevitable, and subsequent to the de facto (in 1975), then de jure (in 1976), reunification of the country, cultural and scientific activities have been better coordinated. Terminological work being no exception, on 7 May 1976, a meeting was held at the Institute of Social Sciences of South Vietnam between terminology cadres of the Vietnam Social Sciences Commission and a number of university teachers, cultural workers and newspapermen in the south (*Saigon Giải-phóng* 9 May 1976).

Criteria for a sound and workable uniform terminology in each field have been tested, and joint efforts on the theoretical level from Hoàng Xuân Hãn's list down have been increasingly utilised and systematised. Indeed three conferences held on 27-28 July 1978 in Hanoi, on 28-30 August 1978 in Huế, and on 8-9 October 1978 in Hồ-Chí-Minh City, were followed by a "Conference on Standardisation of Orthography and Scientific Terminology", sponsored by the Institute of Linguistics and the Textbook Centre of the Ministry of Education, and convened in Hanoi, 5-7 June 1979. Reports presented at the latter were published in a special issue (41 and 42) of *Ngôn-ngữ* (September-December 1979).

The five essential virtues of an effective, modern terminology, as listed by Lưu Vân Lăng, Rapporteur of the 1964 conference, have been repeatedly emphasised: the scientific terminology must be precise, systematic, Vietnamese, compact and easy to understand, to remember, to pronounce, to write and to read (Lưu Vân Lăng 1977:39-68; Lê Khả Kế 1979:32-36). Conditions certainly are ideally ripe now for the formalisation of different technical glossaries and dictionaries. This aspect - lexical modernisation and elaboration - of Vietnam's language policy will provide further and better tools in the dissemination of science and culture.

NOTE

1. This is an updated version of a paper read at the annual meeting of ACTUAL (American Council of Teachers of Uncommonly-taught Asian Languages) in San Francisco on 26 November 1977.

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LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE PLANNING IN BURMA

Anna J. Allott

1. THE EVOLUTION OF BURMESE AS THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

A glance at an ethno-linguistic map of Burma shows that the country is populated not only by Burmans but also, to the extent of about half its surface area, by several other major ethnic groups - namely Shans, Karens, Chins and Kachins - as well as numerous other minor ones. It is Burmese however, the mother-tongue of the majority ethnic group, which is the national language, the common language of communication, of administration, and of most stages of education for all citizens of the present-day Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma.

Recent estimates of the population of Burma put it at 36.68 million,[1] but it is difficult to state with any certainty the numbers of speakers of the various languages. The last census which provided detailed information on racial groups and languages was taken in 1931. Further censuses have been taken by the Government of the Union of Burma (henceforth referred to as GUB) in March 1973 and April 1983 but numerical information about ethnic groups and languages has not been made available from these; it is not even known (at time of writing) what questions relevant to these matters were included in the census form. In the annual supplement to the *Burmese Encyclopedia* (1982), the population figures for each of the seven divisions and seven states are given, as also the number of inhabitants of some of the major towns: thus Sagaing Division has 3,114,172 inhabitants, and is said to have people from the following ethnic groups living in it - Burman, Kachin, Chin, Naga, Shan, Kadu and Kanan, but no indication is given of their relative numbers. Similarly the Chin State has a population of 349,571 and includes the following ethnic groups - Chin, Arakanese, Naga and Burmese, listed in that order. This decision to refrain from giving detailed numbers of language speakers, which would only draw attention to the size of the different ethnic groups within the country, would seem to have been the natural result of the present government's policy of de-emphasising the separate interests of the various ethnic minorities in order to encourage national unity. The 1931 census gives the proportion of the population speaking each language as a mother tongue as follows:

Burmese	67%	(including Arakanese, Intha and Tavoyan)
Karen	9%	
Shan	7%	
Kachin	3%	
Chin	2%	
Mon	2%	
Palaung	1%	

All other languages score less than 1% each. In 1931 speakers of Indic languages (Indian migrants who had come in to work in Burma) also amounted to 7%

David Bradley, ed. *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.9: *Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia*, 131-154. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-67, 1985.
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of the population. In Rangoon more than half the population spoke an Indian language, while only about one third spoke Burmese. The 1931 census report gives detailed figures of numbers of speakers for all parts of the country, for example paragraph 102 states "In other districts of the Delta, except Thaton, the proportion speaking Burmese varies from 65% in Maubin to 91% in Tharrawaddy. In Thaton 50% speak Karen languages, 31% Burmese and 11% Mon." (Bennison 1933).

There is no possibility of quoting precise figures of this kind for today. Writing in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in 1974, Dr Htin Aung gives the following estimates:

Burmese	22 million (including dialects)
Karen	3 million
Shan	1½ million
Chin	1 million
Kachin	1 million
Kayah	100,000
Chinese	400,000
Indian	120,000, and a total population of 30,310,000.

This means that the proportion of Burmese speakers now stands at about 73% of the population, of Karens speakers about 10%, whilst the number if Indian language speakers has fallen drastically. It is interesting to note that the proportion of Burmese mother tongue speakers appears to have remained almost unchanged since the time of the 1921 census. In that year people were asked to say what language they ordinarily used in the home, and the number who returned Burmese amounted to 70.1% of the population. In the following census in 1931 people were asked to state their mother tongue, and not the language ordinarily used in the home. The result was a drop to the figure of 67% mentioned above. The point to be remembered is that, then as now, Burmese was the language most widely known and spoken throughout the country, and many persons whose mother tongue belonged to another language group would have moved into, or married into, Burmese-speaking communities. Certainly this process can be observed taking place in Rangoon all the time today. Almost all the numerous marriages between Burmans and Karens or Shans or other minority races lead to Burmese-speaking families whose children think of themselves as Burmans. And there are many Chinese couples in their 70s who speak both Chinese and Burmese, whose children, now aged 50, have Burmese spouses and whose grandchildren know no Chinese and do not think of themselves as Chinese any longer. The present government has also followed a very strict immigration policy since 1962 which has made it almost impossible for foreigners, whether from India, China or the West, to enter the country to settle permanently.

1.1 Historical background

Burmese is the most important member of the Burmese-Lolo subgroup of the large Tibeto-Burman family which comprises many hundreds of languages. The Tibeto-Burman family is part of a larger linguistic stock, Sino-Tibetan, which also includes Sinitic or Chinese. Typically Sino-Tibetan languages are tonal. These languages are also largely monosyllabic, but words may consist of one, two, three or more syllables. Phonologically the syllables are characterised by a restricted number of initial consonant clusters, and the disappearance in pronunciation of most syllable-final consonant contrasts although in Burmese final k, s, t, p and final ng, ny, n and m are retained in the spelling.

The earliest dated examples of written Burmese are from the early 12th century, one of them being the famous Rajakumar or Myazedi inscription of AD 1113, from Central Burma. This inscription is in four languages, Pali, Mon, Pyu and Burmese, indicating that from an early date Burmese was coming under the influence of languages from different linguistic families. Mon, from the Mon-Khmer family of languages, is found on inscriptions in Burma from as early as the 7th century. Pali, an Indo-European language, was the language of the Buddhist scriptures; when the Burmese King Anawrahta (1044-1077) sacked the Mon capital in AD 1057 and carried these scriptures back up to Central Burma he also took back with him Mon scholars who not only promoted Pali scholarship among the Burmese but also helped to adapt their own Mon script for the purpose of writing the Burmese language.

The Mon, and hence the Burmese, script derives ultimately from the ancient Brahmi script of Eastern India, probably through a common South-East Asian script in use in the Menam-Mekong area roundabout the 1st century AD; as a consequence the Burmese alphabet now includes a considerable number of redundant symbols devised originally to render Indic vowel and consonant distinctions which do not occur in the Burmese phonological system. For example, Burmese has no aspirated voiced plosives and no retroflex consonants. In the earliest written Burmese the tones are marked only inconsistently because Indic languages had not needed to devise a system for indicating different syllable tones; regular tone marking only becomes fully established by the 18th century.

With the adoption of Theravada Buddhism by King Anawrahta, Pali became the language of high prestige, the language of scholarship, to be used in royal and religious contexts. For example, all reigning monarchs were given elaborate Pali titles, and monks and pagodas were given Pali names. But at the same time as Pali scholarship flourished in the monasteries we find that from the time of the Myazedi inscription onwards Burmese was increasingly used for inscriptions on stone to record the details of economic and social history such as the dedication of lands or the building of a pagoda.

As would be expected Burmese has borrowed heavily from Pali, and loanwords are found even in the earliest inscriptions particularly in the fields of religion, philosophy and ethics (e.g. *merit, nirvana, karma*) but also everyday words such as *vehicle* yana, *wheel* cakka; in the 20th century scholars and administrators have turned to Pali as a source of elements with which to create new vocabulary required by institutional change and technological advance: words for *university, BA degree, professor, lecturer*; rather in the way that English uses Latin and Greek. For example, Pali bhūmi+veda *earth + knowledge* gives Burmese bu-mí bei-dá *geology*. In addition to the major part Pali has played in the development of Burmese vocabulary, it could be argued that Pali has also to a limited extent influenced Burmese syntax, particularly the syntax of the formal, literary style of the language (see 1.3 below). This is the result of generations of Buddhist monks making literal translations (called nissaya in Burmese) from Pali into Burmese, with the aim not only of conveying the meaning but also of teaching the grammar of the original Pali to the Burmese learner. Syntactic patterns foreign to Burmese were introduced into this nissaya-style Burmese in order to parallel certain Pali constructions, after which they came to be used more generally in literary style works.[2]

Loanwords from Mon also date from the earliest period but unlike Pali loans are less often identified by native speakers as being borrowed. This is partly because they have adapted more closely to the phonological patterns of Burmese and partly because they are mostly words of everyday life, including names of foods, flora and fauna, textiles, boats, crafts, architecture and music. There

is also a small number of early loans from Sanskrit, from Chinese and from Indic languages.

Much later, in the 19th century and overwhelmingly in the 20th century, came the influence of English, both as a source of new vocabulary and also as a competing language of government and administration during the period of colonial rule. Loanwords from English are found predominantly in the technical and scientific fields, also in clothing and fabrics, and above all in the vocabulary of politics and international affairs, as for example in the words for *council*, *committee*, *corporation*, *party*, *unit*, *cadre*, *socialist*, *communist*, *democracy* and so on.

Most of the early examples of written Burmese, dating from the 12th century, are from the old capital at Pagan; the majority of them are inscriptions on stone, but there are also fragments written in ink on plastered walls of temples. This phase of the language is known as Old Burmese. Though there are some striking differences between Old Burmese and contemporary Burmese it is remarkable how little the literary form of the language has changed, in structure and basic vocabulary, over the centuries. Some writers refer to a Middle Burmese, covering the period from perhaps 1500 to 1700, and a modern Burmese from about 1700 on. These terms are however more relevant to the orthography of the language, which has undergone considerable changes between Old Burmese and Modern Burmese, and which has only finally been officially standardised in the 1970s.

1.2 Dialects of Burmese

In much of the area that it is spoken, Burmese is remarkably uniform, unlike the languages of some ethnic minorities such as the Karen. There are few major differences between the speech of Upper and Lower Burma; in major towns such as Rangoon, Mandalay, Prome, Toungoo, Moulmein and Bassein essentially the same dialect is spoken. There are some minor lexical differences, especially between Upper Burma as exemplified by Mandalay and Lower Burma as spoken in Rangoon. Writers who use local words or expressions tend to note this fact; in general Rangoon usage is preferred in writing. However some purists regard the Mandalay form of Burmese as more conservative.

There are some regional varieties of Burmese, such as Arakanese, Tavoyan, Intha and so on, which are somewhat different from standard Burmese. In most cases they are phonologically more conservative; for example Arakanese maintains an /r/-/y/ distinction which is still reflected in Burmese writing, but not in pronunciation, and Tavoyan further distinguishes medial /l/ in initial consonant clusters from /r/ and /y/. The Tavoyan medial /l/ was distinguished in Old Burmese inscriptions, but is no longer seen in Middle or Modern Burmese. In general, these dialects are spoken in the more remote parts of Burma: Arakanese in the west, Tavoyan in the south, and Intha in the east. There is a general tendency for dialect speakers to assimilate features of standard Burmese more and more, since Burmese is the national language and the language of education; thus there is considerable stylistic variation, with a more standard pronunciation in more formal situations or in formal vocabulary. Many younger speakers in dialect-speaking regions are more comfortable now in standard Burmese, but the dialects persist in rural areas.

1.3 Literary and colloquial style Burmese

Although Burmese has few regional dialect variations, it does have an important stylistic variation which is more immediately striking particularly to the foreigner. There is considerable difference between the literary or formal language on the one hand and the language which is used in colloquial conversation on the other. This difference was much greater at the beginning of the 20th century when J.E. Bridges was preparing a manual to enable British administrators to learn Burmese, as we can see from his introduction. He wrote:

> There is considerable difficulty in finding a suitable text for beginners, as all Burmese books are written in the literary tongue, which is full of long involved periods, obsolete expressions, and superfluous words. This literary Burmese has remained stereotyped for centuries and may be almost looked upon as a dead language; it is as different from the spoken tongue as the English of Chaucer from that of the present day, but it is taught in schools and read and spoken in books and plays so that all people understand its meaning.
>
> (see Bridges 1913)

The comparison with Chaucer is an exaggeration, but it is true to say that formal literary Burmese changed very little from the 15th to the early 20th century, and seemed, to the foreigner, with his limited command of the language, very different from what was being spoken around him. The native speaker, especially if he is educated, is far less aware of the difference, as Bridges makes clear. With the development of newspapers, magazines and popular fiction from around 1910 to 1930 the vocabulary and idiom of the literary language changed radically, bringing it much closer to the colloquial language though it still remained a different style. Today the distinction lies largely in which set of grammatical words or particles is being used; the lexical items of both styles can be virtually identical, though there are certain words, certain syntactic constructions and numerous doublets which usually occur only in the literary style.

It seems clear that the distinction has arisen out of the difference between the spoken language and the written, but it can lead to confusion, especially with Burmese speakers, if one uses the terms 'spoken style' and 'written style' in debating the matter.

To understand the problem it is necessary to know in some detail which style is normally used in which context. Colloquial style is used whenever one person is speaking to another, that is in ordinary conversation face to face, or on the telephone, or by teacher to pupils in class, or by a lecturer or politician to an audience. In the last two cases the Burmese speaker is faced with making a decision; whether to speak just from notes, or whether to write out his text and read it. As soon as he begins to write out a text he will automatically tend to slip into the formal literary style which he has from childhood, from his first encounter with a reading book in primary school, associated with serious written material. However the literary style is only appropriate for written material which is to remain on the written page and is not suitable for speaking to an audience. To be suitable for speaking one must use the colloquial particles and constructions which signal that one is talking to a listener. Hence politicians' speeches are delivered in colloquial Burmese and printed as such in the newspapers, while editorials and news reports are written in literary style.

Radio and television have established similar conventions. All radio news bulletins are composed and read out in literary style, as also weather forecasts; this style sounds more authoritative to the Burmese listener. News talks

emanating from a named individual however are written and read out in colloquial style. Television news broadcasts on the other hand are written and read in colloquial style, probably because the individual making the news broadcast is personally visible and would feel uncomfortable speaking to the (unseen) audience in literary Burmese. Of course certain lexical items and syntactic patterns of the literary style will be used by speakers in formal situations, such as teaching or lecturing, but the majority of the grammatical particles of the literary style are never *spoken*, they are only read out.

Conversely, all school readers from the first standard, all school text books, all descriptive and narrative prose is written in literary style; dialogue in novels however is today written in colloquial. All letters to and from officials, official reports, and instructions are in literary style, which is also required for examinations and theses. Even in children's comics the lines at the bottom narrating the story are in literary while the balloons containing the characters' words are in colloquial style. Personal letters show the greatest mixture of style; most correspondence between equals and intimates is in colloquial, while literary style is used as a sign of respect between strangers as well as in official letters.

It was not until the advent of the Revolutionary Council in 1962, followed by the adoption of the Burmese Way to Socialism as the program of the new government, that suggestions for change began to be heard. These came not from any official government body but from a group of writers based in Mandalay, called the Upper Burma Writers' Association. They suggested that it would be advantageous for the nation as a whole and in particular for the uneducated peasant and worker if the literary style could be abandoned and replaced by the colloquial style of Burmese in all contexts. They supported their proposals by publishing books and articles written in the colloquial style, and even some M.A. theses were accepted by the History Department at Mandalay University in this form. This movement for 'modernisation'[3] which has enjoyed considerable support among younger writers (especially those outside Rangoon) has been firmly opposed not only by the government, who seemed to see in it a political movement led by people whose sympathies lay with Communist China, but also by most of the Rangoon-based literary establishment, who maintain that serious matter written in colloquial style lacks dignity and authority. There for the moment the matter rests. Today it is no longer the complexity of the thought nor the gravity of the subject matter which determines which style is used, as seminar papers, presidential speeches and books on cultural history have been published in colloquial style. Conversely, elementary school readers, government health publicity for newly literate hill peoples, and popular fiction is all written in literary style. It seems to be partly a matter of convention. With the spread of television, introduced only in 1980, and a continually increasing number of colloquial particles finding their way into literary style prose, it is probable that in the not too distant future the colloquial will become generally acceptable. It would be relatively easy for the government to implement a policy of change by deciding to publish all newspapers and government controlled periodicals in colloquial style, if it wished to do so.

The degree of difference between literary and spoken Burmese is illustrated by the following example (Minn Latt Yekhaun 1966:68).

i	lu-thi	thu-í	yì-zà	nei-thàw	ywa-hnaik	alun	pyaw-nei-thi	Literary
di	lu	thú	yì-zà	nei-té	ywa-hma	theik	pyaw-nei-te	Spoken
this	*man*	*his*	*sweet-heart*	*live-* ATTRIB.	*village-at*	*very*	*happy-being-* VB.SENT.	

This man is very happy in the village where his sweetheart lives.

The main difference between the two styles is in the postverbal, postnominal, and clause-final particles, which occur very frequently in any sentence. The following tables give some examples.

	LITERARY	SPOKEN
MAIN CLAUSE		
realis	V-thi	V-te
irrealis	V-myi	V-me
negative	ma-V	ma-V-hpù
SUBORDINATE CLAUSE		
nominal	V-thi-hma	V-ta
nominal	V-thi-hnín	V-ta-né
nominal	V-thaké-thó	V-thalo
relative realis	{V-thí	V-té
relative realis	V-thàw}	
relative irrealis	V-myí	V-mé
conditional *if*	V-hlyin	V-yin
purpose *because*	V-ywéi	V-ló
purpose *for*	V-yan	V-phó
concessive *though*	V-thaw-lì	V-pei-mé
temporal *before*	ma-V-hmi	ma-V-hkin

Table 1: Literary and spoken particles: verbal

	LITERARY	SPOKEN
subject	N-thi	N-zero
location	N-twin	N-hma
	N-hnaik	N-hma
from place	N-hmá	N-ká
towards	N-thó	N-ko
object	N-à	N-ko
possession	N-í Noun	N-yé Noun
like	N-ké-thó	N-lo
as much as	N-hmyá	N-lauk
plural	N-myà	N-twei/tei
because	N-caún	N-mó
approximately	N-hkán	N-lauk

Table 2: Literary and spoken particles: nominal

	LITERARY	SPOKEN
also	-lì	-lè
just, only	-pin	-pè/hpè
indeed	-tì	-pè/hpè
but	-kà	-táw
quote	N hú	N ló

Table 3: Literary and spoken particles: clause-final

2. ENGLISH AND BURMESE

After the annexation of Lower Burma by the British in 1852, English naturally became important as the language spoken by those who governed the country. By the time the government had evolved an educational policy for the new colony in the 1860s, its decision that education should be modern in content, and so far as possible in the *Burmese language*, already appeared to be in conflict with the desire of the Burmese for schooling in English. It had fast become evident to Burmese parents that an English education brought great social and economic advantages. A government resolution on Public Instruction is recorded in the *British Burma Gazette* in 1879 to the effect that they were compelled much against their will to give a far larger place to English than they thought right, because of the 'disinclination of the parents and pupils to be guided' by the official intention that English should only be learnt optionally as a 'classic' - we should today probably say 'second language' - and that all other subjects should be taught through the language of the country.[4]

In support of its policy of education in Burmese, the government set up a Vernacular Education Committee in 1872, reconstituted as the Text Book Committee in 1879, in order to prepare suitable Burmese text books for use in primary and middle schools. But at the same time because of the heavy demand from parents to include all the English instruction possible in the school system, the government certainly did nothing to prevent the establishment of missionary schools and Anglo-Vernacular high schools in which English became more and more important. The government policy of giving the greatest importance to Burmese studies and to the development of the language to enable it to cope with the modern world became steadily less realisable.

> As far as the Burmese were concerned the reason for paying for their children to attend school - all traditional monastery schools were free - was to make money, and English was the key to the world in which money was to be made. It was just an office skill. It is often said that the purpose of developing western-style education in the British Empire was to ensure a supply of English-speaking clerks for government offices. This is not so; government offices did not at first require English-speaking clerks to any great extent. It was their availability which increased their use in government offices. The pressure for English came the other way, from outside government, from the commercial world, European, Chinese and Indian, and from Burmese parents.
>
> (Bagshawe 1976:99)

It was a constant struggle especially in Lower Burma to prevent Burmese from being swamped.

The first step towards higher, that is university, education was taken in Burma in 1874 with the foundation of Rangoon High School, a government run, elitist high school on which funds were lavished, staffed mostly by non-Burmese speaking teachers. In 1879 a 'College Department' was set up and affiliated to Calcutta University with four students working for the First Year Arts exam. In 1883 the College Department became Rangoon College, a constituent college of Calcutta University. A full range of subjects was taught at the College in English, including Pali and Pali literature, but Burmese and Burmese literature were not even considered as possible subjects of undergraduate study. This reflected a temporary decline in the prestige of Burmese language and literature around the turn of the century.

Perhaps one of the most important moves taken to halt this decline was the inauguration in March 1910 of the Burma Research Society, its purpose being the "investigation of the Arts, Science and Literature in relation to Burma and neighbouring countries" - as well as the fostering of good relations between the British and Burmese communities. The Society, founded by a civil servant, J.S. Furnivall, saw itself as dedicated to the study of all aspects of Burma's culture, its history and religion, and in particular its language and literature. It required continuous efforts to establish the Society, and in particular its journal, but Furnivall persevered. After six years, in 1916, he gave the members a 'pep-talk' in an article (Furnivall 1916:7) in which he refused to countenance the idea that the society might have to give up. He suggested recruiting young Burmans who had been to study in England, and older Burmans working in the old tradition of literary scholarship who would both be able to contribute articles in Burmese. His appeal was successful. The society flourished.

2.1 Rangoon University and the revival of Burmese in the 1930s

In 1918 a committee was set up to prepare for the establishment of an independent University of Rangoon; it included one Burmese member, U Pe Maung Tin, who was to play a significant part in the revival of the Burmese language. The committee's task was to establish proper standards for the new university; one proposal was to introduce more exacting standards, especially in English, for the high school final examination, thus ensuring even more the dominant role of English in higher education. Student opposition to the proposed entry requirements combined with popular discontent over the new constitution being offered to Burma led to the university strike of December 1920, and to the launching of a movement to set up national schools in which teaching was to be conducted entirely in Burmese. Most of these hastily set up national schools had ceased to function by about 1922 but the political effects of the university strike and the national schools movement were far reaching; in particular they fuelled the movement to raise Burmese to the position of the national medium of education.

The first tangible advance made was the establishment of a course leading to an honours degree in Burmese at the university, thanks to many years of preparatory work done by U Pe Maung Tin, Professor of Pali and editor of the Journal of the Burma Research Society. Included in the degree was the study of Burmese inscriptions from the 11th-12th centuries, modelled on the teaching of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford. By 1927 the first student had graduated with Honours - U Sein Tin, a talented writer whose clear, straightforward prose style and new approach to literary genres was to have a major influence on Burmese language and literature.

Realising that it was the standard of Burmese teaching in schools that would determine the future supply of honours students, U Pe Maung Tin helped to write new school readers for the five junior standards, and selected suitable texts - Burmese prose versions of the ten major jataka stories - for the senior classes. (These readers were first revised in the 1950s.) There were those among the English staff of the university who spoke scornfully of Burmese as a language only suited for writing poetry and love-letters but completely lacking modern scientific and technical vocabulary. It was true that Burmese prose tended to be verbose and long-winded, but it was changing, and new terms could be coined. U Pe Maung Tin urged all Burmans to use and write in Burmese, and himself headed a committee (in 1928) which was to coin Burmese equivalents for the bodies and procedures connected with the new university.

Thus by the beginning of the 1930s the study of Burmese was fully established at the University of Rangoon and its affiliated intermediate college at Mandalay. Graduates were emerging many of whom were involved in Buddhist organisations or in the nationalist movement and who were eager to restore Burmese to what they felt was its rightful position as the official language of the country, and to enhance the standing of Burmese literature. One of the leaders of the All Burma Youth League (1931), Maung Bá Thaùng, later known as Thahkin Bá Thaùng, composed a rallying cry for the Dóbama Asì-ayòn (We Burmans Organisation) founded in 1935, which challenged all patriotic Burmans to unite in support of their language:

> The land of Burma is our land,
> Burmese writing is our writing,
> Burmese language is our language -
> Love our land,
> Promote our writing,
> Respect our language.

Numerous articles in Burmese newspapers and magazines from 1931 onwards began to urge that Burmese be made the medium of instruction in all Burmese schools. At that time the Burmese-based schooling available in monastery schools and government sponsored vernacular schools did not lead to any form of higher education. This could only be obtained, as has been mentioned above, by attending Anglo-vernacular high schools (or private missionary schools) which alone prepared students for the tenth standard examination in English and for university entrance. For example, the *Sun* newspaper for 19 January 1933, under the headline 'Burmese the medium of instruction', wrote (in Burmese):

> It is important to base teaching in schools upon Burmese. It is better to know 1000 words of one language than 500 words of two languages. The time has come to base teaching upon a single language (Burmese) so that future pupils are spared the expense of time and money of learning two languages.

The paper goes on to applaud the decision taken at a recent annual education conference that from 1935 all subjects except English at the Anglo-vernacular High School final examination should be examined in Burmese, and suggests to the Education Department that in all schools all native speakers of Burmese should be taught primarily in Burmese.

Irresistibly the tide was turning against the English language as the demand for self-government and independence from English rule grew stronger. The dominant position which English had attained in the system was felt to be the result of a definite policy formulated by the government rather than the natural end product of the colonial situation. Popular feeling demanded and obtained a change in the situation.

2.2 After independence: the position of English from 1948 to the present

When Burma became independent in 1948, one of the provisions of the new constitution was that "the official language of the Union shall be Burmese, provided that the use of the English language shall be permitted". It was only to be expected that having regained their independence, the Burmese should wish to restore their national language to its rightful status; at the same time this formulation showed a realistic awareness of the fact that changes involving language only take place slowly and that Burmese could not replace English overnight.

One area in which English was very firmly established was higher education. When the University of Rangoon was set up English was the most important department with the largest number of staff and students; English was a compulsory subject for all students, and English Honours graduates were considered an elite. For a short time after the war the department expanded, and a strong department developed in Mandalay when it became a separate university. However from 1952 onwards English studies began to decline in importance for two main reasons: strong nationalist and anti-colonial feeling resulted in a prejudice against English studies, and the existence of a developed native language with a long literary tradition, formerly overshadowed by English, began to attract more students. This situation can be contrasted with that of countries in Africa and South-east Asia where English studies have become very important. In Thailand and Indonesia, which had not been under British rule, there was no prejudice against English; in the countries of Africa there was mostly no written national literature.

At the same time as the decline in interest there was also a decline in the standard of English teaching in schools after the war. All state schools - vernacular and Anglo-vernacular - were merged into one type. English was to be taught in all of them but only from the 5th standard. However the number of qualified English teachers remained much the same as before the war while the population expanded rapidly, with the result that a large number of poorly qualified English teachers were brought into the schools. The results of this decline in teaching began to be felt in the universities from 1951 onwards when the standard of teaching had to be aimed at the weak majority, and examination standards grew lower and lower.

The syllabus for the BA Honours in English language and literature remained much the same from 1920 to 1960. Then the special honours degree was abolished and a general honours degree was introduced, with a much reduced syllabus. In March 1964, with the adoption of the New University Education System, the Revolutionary Government made it clear that its policy was to teach all subjects at the university in Burmese as soon as possible, and to reduce the status of English from a major subject to that of a foreign language to be taught as a tool. In 1966 the Chair of English at Rangoon University was abolished, the department became a minor one and no further students were allowed to major in English studies. These revolutionary changes in the aims and methods of teaching English were the result of a joint proposal put forward by the heads of the English departments at Rangoon and Mandalay at a seminar held by the government in 1964 (U Myo Min and Moonie 1964). From then on English became a minor subject to be taught as a foreign language, aiming at comprehension: 'comprehension of material written in English pertinent to the content subject under study and at a level to which the student has attained in his class work.' Arts students were to be taught for two years and science students for one year. No literature was to be taught, nor was too great an emphasis to be laid on correct pronunciation. All serious study of English was transferred to the Institute of Education where a new Chair had been established and where all students wishing to proceed to advanced English studies were to go.

As part of the new system introduced in 1964 higher education had been divided up between the vocational institutes, of medicine, engineering, education, agriculture and technology on the one hand, and the re-named Arts and Science Universities on the other.[5] The new approach to English teaching was fairly successful in the institutes as the students were generally of high calibre, mostly used textbooks in English and were wholly or partially still taught in English; they at least achieved a comprehension of a specific type of English.

In the Arts and Science Universities however students were of less high calibre and of very varying grades of intellectual ability; their classes were too large and their comprehension of English was only of a very general kind. In addition 10th standard students in the 1970s were coming into the university with a knowledge of English inferior to that of the 4th standard of colonial times, with the result that after two years of English many of them soon forgot what English they had learnt and their standard on leaving university was far below the level aimed at by the 1964 changes.

By the late 1970s the decline in the standard of English in schools and institutions of higher education began to cause the government concern; postgraduates and trainees sent abroad for further training in scientific and technological subjects were being hampered by their inadequate command of English. At a Seminar on Education sponsored by the Council of State in October 1979, President Ne Win set his seal on approval of a new attitude towards the learning of English when he declared that it was necessary for a person to have not only mastery of the Burmese language but also fluency in English.

Perhaps the most important result of the presidential concern over English was the series of high-level seminars which it encouraged. The first of these, held in October 1978 under the aegis of the Ministry of Education, had discussed 'English Language Teaching in Burma with focus on the specific needs of students in higher education'. English language teaching had been reviewed, direct-method audiolingual language teaching which had been introduced at the end of the 1960s was pronounced a failure, and a return to more traditional methods based on grammatical explanation (in Burmese) and written exercises was advocated (U Ohn Pe 1979). From October 1979 onwards the government-subsidised weekly paper for children, *Shwei Thwèi* began to appear in a parallel English version. The second seminar, in March 1980, was entitled 'English language teaching in Burma with focus on the training of teachers'. This gathered together in Rangoon the heads of all the major English teaching departments and all the state and regional inspectors; their wide-ranging discussions were led by a visiting expert from Scotland, D. McKeating. The seminar concluded, inter alia, that there was "much room for improvement in Burmese English language teacher-training programs in all secondary schools"; also that "no one particular approach or method should be adopted to the exclusion of others in any ELT work". Perhaps most importantly for all teachers at the seminar, they had a chance to learn about developments that had taken place in ELT during the previous decade. Two further seminars were held in October 1981 and 1982 on 'English for Academic Purposes', after which the government announced that it would be desirable by 1984 for all university departments, except Burmese and History, to carry out all work at the postgraduate level, that is all Honours classes and MA teaching, in English. The change which has had the greatest nationwide effect however has been the introduction, from June 1981, of English teaching from the first standard in all primary schools.

For the present, the learning and teaching of English is booming in Burma. Teachers are being retrained, civil servants are attending short courses, university staff have been sent to the UK and Australia for further study for the first time after an interval of some ten to 15 years. In January 1984 the British Council was invited to send an expert to help set up a diploma course for teachers of English at the Institute of Foreign Languages; and private 'tuition' schools are flourishing as a result of the nationwide desire to learn English.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF BURMESE AS THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE: INDEPENDENCE TO 1962

Having announced in the new constitution that Burmese was to become the official language of the Union of Burma, it was necessary for the government to take steps to develop the language to the point where it could replace English in all fields. After 1948 this work was largely entrusted to the Burma Translation Society and to the Department of Translation and Publication within the University.

The idea for a national organisation that would undertake the translation of important foreign works into Burmese had been conceived before the Second World War, as a natural result of the demand for education in the mother-tongue. In fact the first steps had been already taken by J.S. Furnivall personally when he retired from the Indian Civil Service in 1924 in order to set up the Burma Book Shop and found the Burma Book Club with the aim of encouraging young Burmese to read widely in English. Instead of a book catalogue he decided to publish a monthly magazine called *World of Books*. Not satisfied with this, in 1928 he founded the Burma Education Extension Association with the challenging aim of 'promoting the intellectual advancement of the country'.[6] It was to encourage translations into Burmese, establish public libraries, form reading circles and study classes throughout Burma, and publish a monthly periodical *World of Books* with articles on literature, social problems, political economy and so on. By August 1928 the monthly had been enlarged to include a Burmese section, and in 1930 it began to appear under the equivalent Burmese title *Gandá Làw-ká*. Shortly before the war the British government had set up a State Translation Bureau but it was overtaken by events, though a small translation and library department continued preparing material, none of which could be printed.

In August 1947 the Burma Translation Society was established - 'to pierce the darkness of ignorance with the light of knowledge' - with the aim of translating important and useful books from western languages into Burmese as quickly as possible. Ù Nú, the Prime Minister of the soon-to-be-independent Union of Burma, was the first chairman of the Society, which had an independent management committee but was subsidised by the government. It must have been gratifying for Furnivall to see that the declared aims of the BTS were the same as those of the association which he had founded. In addition to translations, the BTS undertook the preparation of a Burmese Encyclopedia, the first in the language. The first volume was ready in 1953; the 15th and final one appeared in 1976, and is being followed by annual supplements. Lastly, the important task of drawing up lists of new scientific and technical terms, coining new words and rejecting ones felt to be unsuitable was entrusted to the BTS. One of the first persons in charge of this work was U Pe Maung Tin.

The BTS was working at a national level; in order to prepare for the use of Burmese at university level a Department of Translation and Publication was set up in the University of Rangoon in 1948. Work proceeded on the translation

and editing of textbooks, and on a large *University Burmese Dictionary* with the general aim of making possible university instruction in Burmese. However at that time opinion was divided over the desirability of such a change, no firm policy was adopted and no deadlines were set, though by June 1957 an Education Enquiry Commission recommended that Burmese be used for all subjects at the university starting with Intermediate, Part A, in June 1960.[7]

4. THE LANGUAGE POLICY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT SINCE 1962

One of the most important actions of the Revolutionary Government (GUB) has been the adoption of a firm policy for the development of Burmese as the official language of the Union. New textbooks and new technical terms were not the only things needed if Burmese was to assume the role of a national language; there was as yet no standard monolingual dictionary to serve as a guide to correct usage and to establish the preferred orthography. The large-scale *University Burmese Dictionary*, begun during the war, which was being prepared in the Department of Translation and Publication (under the editorship of Ù Wun) had made only slow progress and when finished would have been too large for general school and office use.

In August 1963, the Revolutionary Government set up a Literary and Translation Commission charged with the

> ... urgent publication of an official standard Burmese dictionary, a Burmese spelling book, a manual of Burmese composition, and with the compilation of Burmese terminology, with the compilation, translation and publication of needed textbooks, reference books, periodicals, etc., to enable science, engineering, medicine and other subjects to be taught in schools and universities in Burmese.
>
> (*Forward* 2/3:4, 1963)

In translation work the Commission was to deal with books prescribed by the universities and the Education Department which were written in foreign languages: it was to publish and distribute these works, and also compile adaptations if needed by teachers. Some 30 scholars were appointed to the Commission; Ù Wun was asked to set aside the large dictionary to lead the work on a concise dictionary and a spelling book.

From the beginning, Ne Win took a keen personal interest in the work of the Commission. The first draft of the spelling book, which appeared in 1968, included suggestions for changes which though favoured by the scholars were not generally acceptable to the man in the street, including Ne Win himself, and the Commission was obliged to revise the work fundamentally. It was finally published in 1978.

Work on the dictionary was divided between three subeditors, each with a team of compilers working under him; as is the way with dictionaries, the work took longer than originally expected. One reason for this was that it was decided, with the enthusiasm characteristic of so many projects undertaken by the GUB, to seek the assistance of the entire Burmese-speaking population in gathering material for the dictionary. In June 1972 language committees were set up in all townships, charged with collecting 'local usages that might not be known to the compilers' and to 'study, discuss and make suggestions about the draft copies of the Burmese Dictionary to be sent to them by the Commission'.[8]

The dictionary was published in five parts, the first of which went on sale at the end of 1978 and the last in 1980. The *Concise Burmese dictionary* [*Myanma abeik-dan akyìn-gyok*] marks a very important stage in the development of the Burmese language; it has established the officially correct orthography of all items included in the work and it also gives pronunciations. This is of particular help to non-native speakers, including foreigners, who wish to learn the language. The work is clearly laid out, well printed, helpfully illustrated with line-drawings and colour plates, and above all contains simple, well thought out definitions of a broad range of vocabulary.

As for the grammar, or manual of composition, various drafts have been prepared but none has yet been found acceptable to a majority of members of the Commission. Traditionally the approach to normative grammar has been largely determined by monks trained in Pali or Sanskrit; this approach is now felt, especially by Burmans with a modern linguistic training, to be inappropriate, but there is as yet no general agreement on an alternative one. The lack of consistency in the description of the stative verbs of Burmese in this dictionary illustrates one of the points on which there is no agreement; some of the stative verbs are classed both as adjectives and verbs, some as verbs only, some as adjectives only.

Since the publication of the *Concise dictionary*, the Burmese Language Commission, *Myanma sa ahpwé*, as it is now called, has also prepared a *Pocket dictionary* which was ready to be printed and only waiting for supplies of paper in January 1983. The intention was to print 20,000 copies. In November 1981 a new lexicographical project was begun at the suggestion of President Ne Win, as part of the drive to improve the standard of English in Burma - namely a Burmese-English dictionary. The purpose of the work is to assist with the learning of English, and in particular to help Burmese to write English. It is to be modest in scope, containing about 15,000 entries, and the target date for completion, in January 1983, was December 1984. Most of the members of the advisory committee guiding the project are not in fact members of the Burmese Language Commission, but have been chosen from among English language experts. The Burmese entries are being chosen by a member of the BLC, based upon the *Concise dictionary*.

4.1 Government-sponsored publishing since 1962

In addition to its policy of standardising the Burmese language, the Revolutionary Council also wished to promote educative writing and high quality creative literature. The Burma Translation Society seemed a suitable organisation. In 1963 it was reconstituted as a government organisation under the Ministry of Information, and put under the direction of a ten-member 'Sarpay Beikman Management Board'. The headquarters of the BTS on Prome Road was known as the Sa-pei Beik-man, the Palace of Literature.

The tasks of the new body were spelt out as follows:

> ... to improve and enrich the general knowledge of all the nationals of the Union. To this end the Management Board will undertake projects to compile selective material from outstanding foreign literary works and other branches of knowledge for translation into Burmese or any other indigenous language; to print and publish such translations as well as approved textbooks which are in line with the

> Government's socialist policy; and to make such publications available to the people at the lowest price.
>
> (*Forward* 2/3:3, 1963)

In effect, the new body took as its keynote the word 'enrich'; in addition to the tasks listed above it has (1) encouraged reserach in Burmese literature and fine arts, as well as the writing of good fiction, by awarding prizes; (2) produced and distributed all kinds of reading material, especially that suitable for children; (3) sponsored yearly seminars on various aspects of writing and book production; (4) mounted training courses in journalism, librarianship, and printing; (5) started up a Sarpay Beikman book club; (6) opened a public lending library and reading-room, and a bookshop in Rangoon. Within the guidelines set out above, the policy of the Sarpay Beikman is to accept for publication, or itself commission, informative and educational books of all kinds suitable for a wide readership, sometimes with a specialist or minority appeal (e.g. Burmese art, traditional customs, popular science, health and welfare, texts for the newly literate). It restricts the amount of fiction it accepts, tending to support fiction for children (which is unprofitable for ordinary private publishers).[9]

After the adoption of the New University Education System in March 1964, the Revolutionary Council made it clear that it was now government policy to teach all subjects at the university in the mother-tongue as soon as possible. The Department of Translation and Publication, under the overall supervision of the Burmese Language Commission, was given the responsibility for translating and compiling suitable textbooks in Burmese; work went ahead with a new sense of urgency. University staff members were asked to help in choosing and translating material; the department edited the books to ensure consistency of terminology and style. It was also given the task of assisting the Main Terminology Committee (set up at the beginning of 1965 under the chairmanship of Ù Thèin Han) to complete the drawing up of lists of scientific and technical terms, wàw-ha-rá, to be used in translation work. Nearly 100,000 terms were collected by the 40 or so terminology subcommittees and sent in to the Department where they were checked. Those selected and approved by the main committee were then sent to the Burmese Language Commission for final approval. These lists of over 72,500 items were published in seven parts between 1971 and 1976, under the title *Pyin-nya-yat Wàw-ha-rá-myà*, Scientific and Technical Terms.

To help maintain the standard and scope of university teaching after the change to Burmese as the medium of instruction had taken place in many subjects, especially at undergraduate level, the Department of Translation and Publication began, in March 1966, to publish a quarterly journal, *Tet-gatho Pyin-nya Padei-tha Sa-zaung*, University Resources Journal. Some of the articles present the results of new research work done in Burma, some survey work done in the west, some are the first statement in Burmese of a subject previously accessible only in English. In the first article of the first number of the journal, Dr Nyi Nyi, former Secretary for Education and chief architect of the New University Education System, explained why it was essential for the GUB to implement quickly and decisively the decision made in 1957 to adopt Burmese as the medium of instruction in higher education. As has already been stated above, this decision has been reversed in part since about 1983. The pace of scientific and technological change in the west has quickened so much that the translated textbooks rapidly become outdated, and it has become clear that if Burmese students are to keep up they must be able to read the latest books in English.

5. EDUCATION FOR THE MINORITY PEOPLES OF BURMA; BURMESE AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

One of the main tasks facing the Revolutionary Government when it came to power in 1962 was to ensure that the Union of Burma held together in face of the separatist challenges of the Karens, Shans, Chins and Kachins, all of whom had substantial guerilla movements fighting the Burma Army and maintaining a precarious hold over about 40% of Union territory. Ne Win used a mixture of military force, negotiation and conciliation to deal with the situation. One of the first gestures of conciliation towards the minorities was the setting up, in 1964, of a special school, named the Academy for Development of National Groups, *Pyei-daung-zú taìng-yìn-thà lu-myò-myà hpún-hpyò-yèi theik-pan*, at Sagaing in Upper Burma. After four years the school moved into new buildings at nearby Ywa-thit-kyì. It offered, at first, a four year training at state expense, to selected 15-18 year olds from all the minority peoples of Burma and to Burmans as well; the training amounted to a basic education in a range of general subjects including Burmese, English, general science, history, geography, politics, domestic science and child-care (for the women), technology (for men), together with a minimal amount of educational psychology in order to fit the trainees to return to their native regions as primary school teachers. All students, who were chosen for their qualities of leadership as well as for their intellectual ability, had to undertake to teach in primary schools in the minority areas for at least five years, and to contribute, to the best of their ability, towards the development of their native region.

As of 1981, the Academy trains 175 people a year, 75% men and 25% women. Students admitted are given a monthly stipend of 75 kyats plus travelling costs to and from Ywa-thit-kyì, free travel on research and regional outings, and free tuition, board and lodging and medical attention. While at the Academy students are encouraged to wear their own regional dress, present their own songs and dances, and in general maintain their own cultural diversity. At the same time they will receive a thorough grounding in the Burmese Way to Socialism and will be expected to support the ideal of a country united under central Burmese leadership. Apart from its political objectives the school is intended to train a corps of citizens who will have a greater understanding of minority problems, and who will provide educated leaders for the various national groups.

About 260 students graduated at the end of the first four year period; since then an average of 150 trainees has passed through each year. An official guide published in 1969 lists the different nationalities included in the first batches of students: thus in the first batch there were 15 nationalities, lu-myò, listed, with the Burmans in the majority followed by Shans, Karens, Chins, Kachins and Kayahs (all more than 20 students), and two or three each of the other races. In the second batch of 149 as many of 33 different groups are listed, with a Burmese group of 34.[10] Again, in the third batch of 146, 42 are Burmans.

Clearly an important part of the training to be given to all the minority students at Ywa-thit-kyì is a thorough grounding in the Burmese language, as they will be expected to teach, and if possible to teach in, Burmese when they go back to their native region. The presence of a largish number of mother-tongue Burmese speakers in the student body must help to ensure that all students both hear and speak Burmese throughout their time at the Academy. It is interesting to note that the 1969 guide shows that when the Academy opened in 1964 there were two teachers of English and one of Burmese on the staff. By 1969 however there were three teachers of Burmese and none of English. This seems to show that the amount of time devoted to Burmese language instruction was increasing.

The language learning is not all one way. The Burmese students are also expected to do a certain amount of language study of at least one of the main languages of the Union; in 1969 the teaching staff included mother-tongue speakers of Kachin, Chin, Shan and Sgaw and Pwo Karen. For a student of Sino-Tibetan there could hardly be a better place to do research. There is a possibility that the rich linguistic material available in this community of students may be used in a project that was under way in early 1983 to prepare a set of phrase books, for use by Burmans travelling in minority areas of Burma. The project, under the chairmanship of Daw Si Si Wìn, head of the Burmese Department of Rangoon University, is to select about 1,000 basic Burmese items and phrases, and then to enlist the help of the staff and pupils at Ywa-thit-kyì to provide a set of equivalents in Chin, Kachin, Shan, Mon, and Sgaw and Pwo Karen.

At the present time all schools throughout Burma use Burmese as the medium of instruction; hence all speakers of minority languages obtain their school education through what is their second language. In addition they are now, since 1981, being taught English as a foreign language. The writer was told in January 1983 that school readers in some of the minority languages were in preparation.

It is worth bearing in mind that in spite of the hunger for education which is evident to anyone who visits Burma, the drop-out rate from school is still very high. Of 100 children who enter primary school, 27 will reach the fourth standard; of these only eight will do so without repeating, while 37 of those who drop out will have repeated at least one standard. There are many reasons for this, such as the high pupil-teacher ratio - 55 to 1 - and overcrowded classrooms, and the lack of adequate teaching aids. More often it is simply the need to stay at home and help with the family work or look after younger siblings which is the deciding factor; more than 35% of the labour force are working mothers and there are almost no state child care services. To help improve the learning environment at school the GUB has agreed to embark on a primary school improvement program (PSIP), with the help of UNICEF, in over 800 schools throughout the country. In addition to this, UNICEF also supports a characteristically Burmese voluntary educational activity - a Primary Night School Program under which volunteers teach those children who cannot attend school in the daytime. UNICEF pays for the cost of textbooks for the children and stationery for the volunteer teachers (UN Information Centre 1983).

6. THE LITERACY CAMPAIGN - A NATIONWIDE OCCUPATION

The existence of a Buddhist monastery in nearly every village where all young boys could learn to read and write meant that in traditional Burmese society literacy was high in comparison to other countries of the region, particularly male literacy. Many Burmese sources claim today that one of the legacies of colonial rule was an increase in illiteracy; the figures quoted by Donnison for 1940 might seem to bear this out: of the population as a whole 36.8% were literate, though taking men and women separately, 56% of men were literate but only 16.5% of women (Donnison 1970:206). The usual figure quoted in Burmese accounts of recent years is nine million illiterates or 30% of the population at the start of the literacy campaign (Eì Sò 1980:88). The fullest recent set of figures is that for 1973 which includes literacy rates by State or Division and by sex, and shows a remarkable improvement over the 1940 position. The national rate is calculated at about 67%, with male literacy in 1973 79.35% and female literacy 59.66%. These overall figures conceal very large differences between the mainly Burmese speaking central divisions and the states. Male literacy in central

Burma averages 83%, but for the minority states as a whole it is only about 54%. And in the Karen, Shan and Kachin states less than half of the population is literate. In central Burma 61% of the women are shown as literate, but in the states only 35%.[11] There is one major problem with most of these figures and that is that they do not state what criterion has been used to establish literacy; only Donnison says that in 1940 the criterion used was the ability to write a letter and read a reply. However it seems likely that the recent figures refer to an ability to read the Burmese alphabet and syllabary and little more; at least this would seem to be the implication of frequent calls for suitable reading materials and follow-up classes for 'neo-literates' to prevent them lapsing into illiteracy again. For example in a detailed and informative account of the progress of the current literacy campaign in Burma, the author tells us that people are considered to have attained literacy if they can read and copy out material up to the standard of that found in the 26 lessons of the graded campaign texts (Eì Sò 1980:172). However, he continues, even though a person who has learn to read the full set of lessons for adults, thet-kyì hpat-sa, will be pronounced literate, his reading is not yet very assured and if he ceases practising he will rapidly lapse into illiteracy again.

Discussion about figures and their implications however should not be allowed to obscure the true significance of the nationwide literacy campaign, with its drive to eradicate illiteracy by the 1990s, which was started by the Revolutionary Government in 1964. The aims of the government go far beyond mere reading and writing; literacy is seen as an essential first step in the building of socialism. It will aid the introduction of new ideas to stimulate increased production and raise living standards; it will lead to better health and sanitation procedures, and to the establishment of 'correct' attitudes towards the policies and ideology of the government; in short the government is using the literacy movement as a powerful weapon in its struggle to unite the different racial and ethnic groups of Burma into a harmonious socialist state.

The literacy campaign began experimentally in April 1964 in a village in Meik-hti-la township with a few volunteer teacher-trainees and a group of 200 illiterates. The following April over 2,000 volunteers from the Institute of Education and the Teacher Training Colleges went out for a month into selected rural areas and, together with local volunteers and school teachers, conducted lessons. In order to establish the campaign on a firmer base, the Burma Central Literacy Committee was set up in 1966. By 1969 sufficient mistakes had been made and experience gained to lead to a replanning of the whole campaign strategy. The aim now was to make it a mass popular movement involving the whole country, but to concentrate efforts on a small area at a time and to proceed region by region. The earlier efforts had been spread too thinly and over too wide an area. There was also a change in timing - from being merely a summer effort to a year-round campaign, as it was found that progress and enthusiasm generated during the visits of the student volunteers quickly fell away if not followed up.

The organisational basis was broadened to include all educational, administrative and party officials when setting up the local township literacy committees. Newspapers, radio, films and colourful ceremonies were used to publicise the start of the campaign in a new area. Student volunteers were given better guidance in how to use the prepared instruction material, and were encouraged to set up teaching points near the villagers' place of work, so as to make the most of their free time. Much greater provision of follow-up reading materials was organised, much of it donated by the student volunteers themselves, the rest prepared by the Sarpay Beikman and the BCLC, and now to some extent being funded by UNDP.

By 1970 it was decided to extend the work to Sagaing and Kyauk-hse districts. These areas were chosen because they adjoined the original focus of the campaign - Meik-hti-la - and had good communications; because the majority of the illiterate peasants in them were in government employment, and because the campaign had the general support of the local population. This factor became particularly important when extending the campaign into the hill regions. In 1971 activities were extended to Mon-ywa, Shwei-bo, Myin-gyan and Magwei, and in 1972 to Mandalay, Yame-thin, Hpya-pon and Prome. By now an immense amount of preparatory work was going into each stage of the campaign. In 1971 Burma was awarded the Mohammed Reza Pahlavi Prize by UNESCO for its literacy activities.

The extent to which the movement relied on the student volunteers can be seen from the fact that during the years 1974-1976, when the universities were frequently disrupted by student unrest, literacy campaign work was not completed as planned. From the list of place names given by Eì Sò (1980:145), it is evident that the movement was initially conducted in predominantly Burmese-speaking areas, and was indeed a campaign to teach mother-tongue speakers to read their own language. However by 1980 activity had been extended to Tiddim (Chin State), Mohnyin (Kachin State), to Sandoway (Arakan State), to In-daw (Sagaing Division), to Hparu-hso (Kayah State), to Tavoy (in Tenasserim) and Nyaung-shwei (Shan State) among other places. Many student volunteers were now faced with the much more difficult task of teaching mixed groups, some of whom used Burmese as a second language, some of whom spoke no Burmese at all. A recent account (*Forward* 20/12 1982) of the opening of a literacy drive in Machambaw township illustrates this, as well as giving the typical flavour of the government publicity:

> The people of the Kachin State were mostly illiterate during colonial rule .... Only after the advent of the Revolutionary Council were the people of this locality given the chance of getting an education. By then most of the people past school age were illiterate ....
>
> (from the speech made at the opening ceremony)

The account continues:

> ... we dropped in at teaching point no.2, where we found May May Oò of Henzada College (in Lower Burma) together with local volunteers (3 Kachin girls) - one of whom, Ma Khawn Din, was a 3rd year student from the Academy for the Development of National Groups (see above). The locals assisted May May Oò by translating the explanations into the local language for the pupils to understand them.

The literacy campaign has come a long way since its inception in 1964, and is now clearly part of a long-term plan to spread the knowledge and use of Burmese as a national language throughout the Union.

The question might arise as to whether there is any feeling of resentment on the part of the minorities to the priority given to Burmese. Nothing is known to the writer on this point. However there is ample evidence to show that the manner in which the campaign is organised and conducted promotes friendship and understanding between different races and different classes throughout the country. Every April eager students vie with each other for inclusion in the teams to be sent out to the districts to teach, even though they and their families have to bear the cost of the fare and pocket money for the month. The receiving township feeds and lodges the volunteers, and indeed usually accords them a rapturous welcome and a tearful farewell. According to published reports the numbers involved in a local area at one time can be quite substantial; in

Maw-lamyaing-gyùn in April 1981, 713 outside volunteers joined with 3,114 local people to help a total of 12,499 illiterates.

A final point worth making about the literacy campaign is that many more women than men participate in it; the figure of 12,499 illiterates given above is broken down into 1,615 men and 10,884 women. Often the reports tell of the school children helping their mothers and even grandmothers with their reading homework (Maw-lamyaing-gyùn met-gazìn, April 1982:155).

7. CONCLUSION

Since independence in 1948, Burma has made substantial progress on all fronts in the development of Burmese, the national language. The necessary terminology has been devised, approved and disseminated; an encyclopedia, a standard spelling, and various standard dictionaries have appeared. Education in and about Burmese has been widely disseminated, through universities, institutes, a special academy for training teachers of minority groups, and a nationwide literacy campaign. Publication in Burmese, both of translated textbooks and of original literary material, has been fostered by various official bodies. The existence of two varieties of Burmese, one literary and the other spoken, creates some additional difficulty for students, minorities and others; but the distinction between them is becoming less absolute. Another problem area is the provision of education for the non-Burman minorities; and a third relates to the standard of English language training. However, the Burmese authorities are facing up to these questions and trying to solve them. Even though there are various official bodies involved, they are well coordinated; so the language policies of Burma are quite advanced and effective.

NOTES

1. This is the estimate for 1982/83 given in the *Report to the Pyi-thu Hluttaw 1983/4*, Burma: Ministry of Planning and Finance.
2. See Okell 1965 for a more detailed discussion of nissaya Burmese.
3. For a very detailed examination of the literary vs spoken issue, see Mìnn Latt Yèkhaun 1966, especially p.286. By choosing to label the literary style 'classical' Burmese and the colloquial style 'modern' Burmese he brings the language reform in China to mind. He also makes clear his belief that a change to using 'modern' Burmese will assist the process of social revolution in Burma.
4. *British Burma Gazette*, 1879, supplement p.248, quoted in Bagshawe 1976:4.
5. In Burmese both *institute* and *university* are tet-gatho; Rangoon University became known as RASU, and Mandalay University as MASU.
6. *World of Books* 19/112:150, 1934; the first issue of this publication appeared in February 1925.
7. For a discussion of the recommendations of this commission, see Hnìn Myá Kyi 1963.

8. *Guardian*, 21 June 1972.
9. For further details of the government's publishing policy, see Allott 1981: 8-9.
10. Government Information Department, January 1969, in Burmese. The greater diversity results from more attention to ethnic subgroups: three kinds of Shan, three kinds of Naga, four Karen groups, and five Chin subgroups are represented.
11. Information for this section is based on Steinberg 1981:94. See also Burma: Ministry of Health 1978.

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CLASSIFIERS AND STANDARDISATION: SOME SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST ASIAN COMPARISONS

R.K. Barz and A.V.N. Diller

INTRODUCTION

Areal and typological treatments of Asian classifier systems have led to proposals about syntactic development of classifier constructions within specific languages and about how they may spread among languages or language families. Proposals to date have mainly focused on syntactic issues, such as word order relative to head nouns. We suggest that for a more detailed understanding of classifier evolution and spread, sociolinguistic and stylistic issues need to be considered. Among classifier systems across southern Asia stylistic norms and attitudinal factors exert pressures both for and against classifier use on given speech levels. There is a general areal pattern: toward the west classifiers are normatively devalued, traditionally occur only in vernacular speech and even there are little proliferated; toward the east they are normatively valued, occur in standard languages as well as in spoken vernaculars and are typically proliferated.[1]

Among Asian languages, areal patterning of numeral classifier systems has been recognised for some time. Emeneau (1956) placed importance on classifier distribution in his initial treatment of India as a 'linguistic area' and later (1965) he went on to document classifier constructions in a host of Asian languages to the east. Heston (1980) has recently extended them westward into Iranian languages. Jones (1970) has described South-East Asian classifiers in particular detail, tracing not only their constructions with numerals but their interactions with deictics and other modifiers.

Classifier constructions have been linked to other linguistic features, particularly to obligatory singular-plural marking. Sanchez (1973), Greenberg (1972, 1975) and others have established this (inverse) relationship and noticed the similarity between classifiers and units of measure as used with mass nouns in languages which otherwise have obligatory plural marking. Similarities between classifiers and generic nouns can also be drawn along syntactic lines (Krupa 1978).

Although syntactic approaches to understanding areal classifier phenomena are warranted, we suggest below that semantic and sociolinguistic analysis may contribute more explanatory detail as well, particularly when we turn to investigate diachronic issues and how they relate to language standardisation.

Below we document the use of classifiers in languages of the Hindi group in some detail. We find that Standard Hindi makes no use of classifiers at all (excluding measuring terms), however as one moves eastwards classifier use not only increases, but social attitudes toward classifiers shift as well. In Standard Bengali several classifiers are now normatively acceptable, but in an

David Bradley, ed. *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.9: *Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia,* 155-184. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-67, 1985.
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archaic Sanskritised style of Bengali they do not occur. Assamese uses upwards of a dozen classifiers with no stylistic devaluation. This general areal shift in social attitude continues into South-East Asia where, e.g. in Thai and Lao, stylistic norms actually *favour* classifiers and their proliferation, the opposite of the situation within the Hindi group. We propose then that a gradient areal shift occurs across southern Asia with respect to normative attitudes taken towards classifiers, and that such attitudes are significant in tracing syntactic change.

CLASSIFIER USE IN HINDI VARIETIES

Rather than falling into a single cluster of closely-knit forms of speech, as do for example Bengali and Gujarati dialects, the so-called Hindi dialects constitute a linguistic continuum or language group consisting of five definite subgroups. Although the genetic interrelationship of these subgroups, which are known under the geographical designations of Rajasthani, Western Hindi, Eastern Hindi, Bihari, and Pahari, cannot be denied, the lack of a single clear-cut line of linguistic descent has led to a state of fluidity that makes the drawing of language and dialect borders difficult. It is this situation which has caused a blurring along the western edge of the Hindi group where its Rajasthani subgroup merges with Gujarati and on the eastern side where some of its Bihari languages and their dialects tend to slip toward the Bengali linguistic orbit. Such conditions have meant that culture and politics have played as great a role as have purely linguistic factors in determining the limits of the Hindi group of languages.

The most important of these non-linguistic influences has been the political and cultural hegemony over the entire Hindi-speaking area for the past 800 years at least of the western section of Uttar Pradesh in general and of Delhi in particular. It was around the city of Mathura just to the south of Delhi from which Brajbhāṣā spread all over northern India as the premier vehicle for written vernacular poetry on Hindu religious themes from the 15th century or earlier to the end of the 19th. The same period saw a parallel diffusion of Urdu, which is based on the dialect of Delhi itself, as the dominant language of Islamic and secular literature and polite urban culture and interregional commerce. These trends have culminated in the present century with the rise of Urdu and its sister Standard Hindi to the status of world languages. Since Brajbhasa, Urdu, and Standard Hindi are all three Western Hindi languages and share the same or very similar grammatical features, the prestige of that subgroup has become so great that linguistic forms which are characteristic of it have come to be the criteria for polished, sophisticated speech against which all other members of the Hindi language group are measured. By the same token, those grammatical traits which are not present in Western Hindi but are found in one or more of the other subgroups of the Hindi family tend to seem inelegant and rustic - even to those who use them in their mother tongue.

One such grammatical element is the numeral classifier, which occurs in the Eastern Hindi, Bihari, and Pahari subgroups, but not in Western Hindi or Rajasthani. Of all the Hindi family subgroups it is in the Bihari that the numeral classifier reaches the height of its vigour and shows its greatest variety of forms. As we see below, this confirms the basic areal pattern of eastward classifier acceptance, with neighbouring Bengali admitting classifiers in both its literary and colloquial forms. Three languages, Maithilī, Magahī,

and Bhojpurī, have long been accepted as independent members of the Bihari subgroup. In addition to these, on the basis of linguistic, cultural and even political grounds, Nāgpurī (also called Sadānī and Sadrī) has recently begun to be seen as an independent language rather than as a variety of Bhojpurī (Tivārī 1970:88-118). The following brief survey of the present condition of these languages will begin with Maithilī in the north-eastern quarter of Bihar and move through the other three on a course to the south and then to the west. Population figures for members of the Hindi group are notoriously difficult to estimate (Sinha 1973:123-124). Statistics below, based on 1971 population of the districts in the heartland of each language area (unless otherwise noted, M.I.B. 1978:409, 421, 438-439), should be taken as approximate.

Maithilī

Maithilī as the only member of the Bihari subgroup to have developed a literary tradition enjoys considerable prestige both in its own region and among scholars of Indian literature. Its position is considerably enhanced by the fact that the famous 15th century poet Vidyāpati chose it for the composition of some of his poetry (Mishra 1976:93-95). Like some of the other members of the Hindi group it has been revived as a vehicle for minor literary use in the present century. Nevertheless, it has no political status and remains primarily a village language. Maithilī is spoken mainly in the districts of Muzaffarpur, Sitamarhi, Vaishali, Darbhanga, Madhubani, Samastipur, and Saharsa in the Indian state of Bihar and in the neighbouring areas of southern Nepal. The number of Maithilī speakers at the present day could be reasonably put at about 20 million. On the north Maithilī is bordered by Nepali, on the east and south by Bengali, and on the south and west by Magahī and Bhojpurī. While as many as 12 different numeral classifiers have been listed for Maithilī (Jha 1958:353-354), the most common in written use today seems to be goṭ which is suffixed to numerical adjectives as with ek (*one*) in the following sentence (Deshmukh 1976:16):

Nāmdev ekgoṭ sāmāsik shabd, jakar arth bhel nāmhi dev achi.
Nāmdev one-CLF *compound word, which-of meaning is name*-INTENSIVE *god is*
Nāmdev is a compound word the meaning of which is 'the name itself is god'.

Contrary to modern usage, old texts like the poems of Vidyāpati do not contain the classifier and, even as late as the last decades of the 19th century, many learned Maithilī writers preferred to suppress its use. For example, between 1883 and 1887 George Grierson produced a set of grammatical sketches of Maithilī, Magahī - which he termed 'Magadhī' - and Bhojpurī. In order to obtain illustrative and comparative material he asked an educated speaker of one or more dialects of each language to translate the same set of fables into his particular form of speech. The results are informative. Not a single classifier is employed by the translators of the northern Maithilī (Grierson 1883:30-38), mixed southern Maithilī-Bengali (Grierson 1887:82-89), and mixed southern Maithilī-Magadhī (Grierson 1886:88-94) versions while classifiers are used normally in the mixed Maithilī-Bengali (Grierson 1887:80-86), southern Maithilī (Grierson 1885:94-101), and mixed Maithilī-Bhojpurī (Grierson 1884:92-98) translations. Since it is unlikely that classifiers were not used at that time in speech uniformly all over the Maithilī area, the explanation seems to be that some translators were writing in a traditional literary style in which classifiers were omitted.

Magahī

Despite its being the speech of the area at the political centre of the state of Bihar - the districts of Patna, Gaya, Nalanda, Aurangabad, Nawadah, Monghyr, Hazaribagh, Girdih, and Dhandad - and the home language of some 16 million people, Magahī is the least developed of the four Bihari languages. It has a fine tradition of folklore, but possesses neither an old nor a modern written literature.

As in Bhojpurī, with which it shares a long linguistic border on the west, the usual numeral classifiers in Magahī seem to be ṭho and go placed between the numerical adjective and the noun it modifies. Again as in Bhojpurī a composite form, ego, results when go is used with ek. The following examples are taken from folk tales (Aryānī 1965, pt.1:2,13):

ek ṭho rājā halā.
one CLF *king was*
There was a king.

ego jangal mẽ ego bāgh raha halai.
one-CLF *wilderness in one*-CLF *tiger used to live*
A tiger used to live in a wilderness.

Since Magahī has never been a literary language it is not strange that Grierson's texts show no evidence of a suppression of the classifier, as for example (Grierson 1883:84):

ego cīlh apanā ṭhor me ēk ghõghā lēlē halai.
one-CLF *kite his-own mouth in one cockle had taken*
A kite had taken a cockle in his mouth.

Nāgpurī

To the south of Magahī and Bhojpurī, to the east of the Chattīsgaṛhī language of the Eastern Hindi subgroup, and to the north of the Oriya-speaking area, lies the region of the third Bihari language, Nāgpurī. Unlike most other members of the Hindi group Nāgpurī does not have a large population of native speakers. This is due to the fact that Nāgpurī functions as a lingua franca or bazaar language for intercommunication among speakers of the various non-Indo-Aryan languages of southern Bihar, among which Mundari and Kurukh (Oraon) are the most important, and between those people and immigrants from other parts of Bihar. Thus, though Nāgpurī is spoken as a second language by a great many people over the districts of Palamau (Palāmū), Ranchi, and Singhbhum, in the 1961 census only 459,143 people listed Nāgpurī as their mother tongue (Jordan-Horstmann 1969: 8-11). While Nāgpurī until the present century was never thought worthy of literary development, in the past couple of decades a small but dedicated group of writers has begun to use it for short stories, plays, poetry, and - especially among Christians - religious literature. Nāgpurī has several numeral classifiers. Go, goṭ, goṛ and ṭho are all used freely while mũṛ is restricted to use in counting cattle and khā̃ṛ for pieces of cloth (Nowrangi 1956:32-33). This sentence illustrates the use of the numeral classifier in Nāgpurī (Navrangī 1965:51):

mor dui go beṭāman ahai.
my two CLF *sons are*
I have two sons.

It is of interest to note that the Kurukh language, a member of the Dravidian family, which is the first language of a large portion of Nāgpurī speakers employs numeral classifiers borrowed at some time in the past from Nāgpurī or some other Indo-Aryan form of speech. The most commonly used of these borrowed classifiers are jhana, for people, and goṭang, for things. The second of these is illustrated by the following example (Grignard 1931:30-31):

en ningāge pãcegoṭang paddan ci'idan.
I to thee five-CLF *villages give*
I give thee five villages.

Similar borrowed classifiers are found in Malto, also a Dravidian tongue but spoken a considerable distance from Kurukh to the north-east (Das 1973:54).

Bhojpurī

The fourth Bihari language, Bhojpurī, probably has a larger number of speakers, estimated at around 32 million by 1971 figures, and certainly has a much larger geographical extent than any other member of the Hindi family except Standard Hindi and Urdu. Nevertheless, until modern times it was almost completely ignored as a literary vehicle. Today there is literary activity in Bhojpurī but it is confined to a local audience with output divided between inexpensive collections of songs meant mostly for rural people and novels, plays, poetry, and stories meant for more serious literary consideration (Upādhyāy 1972:200-376). Since Standard Hindi, in addition to being the official language of India, is the state language of both Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, it does not seem very likely that there will be much variation in the status and use of Bhojpurī in the future. It will no doubt, however, continue to be the home language of most people living in the districts of Basti, Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Deoriya (Devariyā), Balia, Gazipur, Varanasi, Mirzapur, and Jaunpur in Uttar Pradesh and in Bhojpur, Gohtas, Siwan, Saran, Champaran, and Gopalganj in Bihar. Bhojpurī is also spoken in the strip of southern Nepal continguous with the Indian Bhojpurī-speaking districts (Lee n.d.).

During the last century and into the first two decades of the 20th century hundreds of thousands of Indian labourers settled under indenture schemes in countries outside of India. Since the largest single group of these workers, particularly in the mid 19th century when recruitment began, came from the Bhojpurī area, it is natural that a lingua franca based on Bhojpurī came to be the speech of the Indian communities in four overseas lands: Mauritius, Trinidad, Guyana, and Surinam. At the present time the form of Bhojpurī spoken in Trinidad is moribund and the situation of Bhojpurī in Guyana is not promising but the Bhojpurī of Mauritius and that of Surinam are not only still healthy as spoken languages but have even seen the first stirrings of literary development, in spite of the disdain which many of their own speakers feel for them.

The following sentence from a formal speech serves as an excellent example of the use of the numeral classifier in modern educated Indian Bhojpurī usage (Upādhyāy 1978:12):

Āj se kuch sāl pahil Mārisas avarū Briṭish Gāinā i duī go
today from some years before Mauritius and British Guyana these two CLF

desan ke pradhān mantrī ke mahān pad ke Bhojpurī bhāī log
countries of prime minister of great office of Bhojpurī brother people

susobhit karat rahe.
were adorning.
Several years ago the high position of prime minister was filled by (our) fellow Bhojpurī people in both Mauritius and British Guyana.

Grierson's 19th century examples of Bhojpurī show the classifier as would be expected (Grierson 1884:100-108) but it does not appear in any of the Bhojpurī folksongs which he quotes (1884:109ff).

The numeral classifier is used in colloquial Mauritian Bhojpurī as in the quotation given below from a recipe. The orthography is an informal one that is based on French which is used when Mauritian Bhojpurī is written in Roman script. The quotation also gives an idea of the degree to which Mauritian Bhojpurī has borrowed vocabulary from the Creole of Mauritius (Usha Devi 1974).

doogo	baré	baré	chouchou	léké	oobal	ya	bouille	kar dihaja.
two-CLF	*big*	*big*	*chouchou*	*having-taken*	*boil* (Bhojpurī word)	*or*	*boil* (Creole word)	*do*

Take two good-sized chouchou[2] *and bring them to a boil.*

The Bhojpurī of Surinam, which is printed in a writing system based on Dutch spelling, also has the numeral classifier (Dihal 1976:2):

hattie howehe djaise ekgo ghar ke dewal.
elephant is like one-CLF *house of wall*
An elephant is like the wall of a house.

Chattīsgaṙhī

Bhojpurī and Sadānī are the two westernmost Bihari languages. Beyond them lies the territory of the Eastern Hindi subgroup. Since there is a gradual transition rather than an abrupt break between Bhojpurī and the two Eastern Hindi languages that adjoin it, Avadhī and Baghelī, and between Nāgpurī and Chattīsgaṙhī, the Eastern Hindi language to the west, many grammatical features besides the classifier are found in all five of these forms of speech. The farthest south of the Eastern Hindi dialects, Chattīsgaṙhī, is spoken by some 11 million people in the districts of Raipur, Bilaspur, Raigarh, Rajnandgaon, Durg, and Surguja in Madhya Pradesh. It is bordered on the north by Baghelī and on the west and south by Marathi and on the east, in addition to Nāgpurī, by Oriya. Chattīsgaṙhī has never been used for literary composition. As in the Bihari languages the Chattīsgaṙhī numeral classifier comes between a number and the word it modifies (Sheṣ 1973:266):

ek ṭho gobarrā kirvā rahis.
one CLF *dung bug was*
There was a dung beetle.

Halbī

In the Bastar and Raipur districts of Madhya Pradesh immediately to the south of the Chattīsgaṙhī area is found the interesting Halbī dialect which, though it contains some elements strongly reminiscent of Oriya and others of Chattīsgaṙhī, is usually considered to be a form of Marathi (Mukherji 1965:550-553). The Halbī use of the numeral classifier could be the result of influences

from both Chattīsgaṛhī and Oriya. This example is from Bastar district (Grierson 1968, vol.7:351):

> kohīco dui-ṭhan beṭā ralā.
> *someone-of two*-CLF *sons were*
> *A man had two sons.*

The Halbī usage may be particularly informative in that faint evidence for a classifier construction involving the use of jan, *person*, when human beings are enumerated has been noted for Marathi (Emeneau 1956:11). Thus it seems from examples like the following sentence from Raipur district that Halbī provides traces of a link between the classifier construction in the Indo-Aryan languages of eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and eastern India and its otherwise isolated appearance in Marathi (Grierson 1968, 7:374):

> kāco mānuske dū-jhan putār rahlio.
> *some man-of two*-CLF *sons were*
> *A certain man had two sons.*

In addition to the above examples of orthodox usage of the numeral classifier Halbī has a form for the number one which seems to consist of the classifier goṭ prefixed to a distortion of ek (Wood 1980:150):

> goṭok bhorun rājā co des bhorun des āse mane.
> *one Bhorun king of country Bhorun country is* NARRATIVE-PARTICLE
> *A king Bhorun's country is in the land of Bhorun.*

Baghelī

To the north of Chattīsgaṛhī is Baghelī, spoken in Madhya Pradesh in the districts of Balaghat, Rewa, Jabalpur, Damoh, Mandla, Panna, Satna, and Shahdol by some seven million people. Baghelī is so closely allied with Avadhī that it cannot be said to have any literary tradition distinct from that of literary Avadhī. The following example of the classifier is taken from a Baghelī folk tale (Varmā 1957:45):

> o kar tīn ṭhun mīt rahai.
> *him of three* CLF *friends were*
> *He had three friends.*

Avadhī

The last of the three Eastern Hindi languages to be dealt with here is Avadhī, the written form of which was the vehicle for one of the foremost literary streams of medieval northern India. Of the many works composed in Avadhī from the 16th to 19th centuries without doubt the greatest, in terms of prestige, cultural influence, and poetic perfection, are the *Rāmcaritmānas* of Tulsīdās and the *Padmāvat* of Malik Muhammad Jāysī. In spite of this wonderful literary past modern Avadhī is poor in written literature and serves as the medium of expression for only a small number of plays and poems. It is at present spoken by around 22 million people in Uttar Pradesh. Like its sister dialect Baghelī, Avadhī provides a linguistic bridge between the Western Hindi subgroup on its western flank and the Bihari on the east. Consequently, many of the grammatical forms similar to those of the Bihari languages which are still present in the

Avadhī spoken in the districts of Gonda, Faizabad, Sultanpur, Pratapgarh, and Allahabad begin to be replaced in the central districts of Lucknow, Bara Banki, Rae Bareli and Bahraich and have vanished entirely in the westerly districts of Kheri, Sitapur, Unnao, and Fatehpur. Furthermore, it is probably because of the prestige of Standard Hindi, Urdu and other varieties of Western Hindi, that both modern and pre-modern literary Avadhī and the Avadhī spoken in cities like Lucknow tend to resemble the Western Hindi languages more than those of Bihari. Although examples of the numeral classifier can be cited neither from medieval works like the *Rāmcaritmānas* nor from contemporary Avadhī verse (Trivedī 1967, 1977), instances of its use are found in a modern drama (Trivedī 1976:16, 72) and are plentiful in spoken Avadhī. According to Saksena (1937:155) the Avadhī numeral classifiers are ṭhaī, ṭhaur, and ṭhi. To these may be added ṭho as used in this example from Lucknow district:

cāri ṭho munīm rakkhin rahe.
four CLF *accountants placed are*
(We) employ four accountants.

Fiji Hindi

Indian indentured labourers began migrating to Fiji in the last quarter of the 19th century. According to immigration records the majority of these workers came from the eastern and central districts of Uttar Pradesh. While these same districts had already been supplying labourers to the sugar plantations of Mauritius and the West Indies for two or three decades, the Indian immigrants to those two areas in those earlier years were mainly from Bihar (Lal 1980:55-57). As a result of this shift in geographical region of origin the Indians settling in Fiji developed a variety of Hindi as their common language that is based on that form of speech characteristic of many eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh which, though it is in many ways transitional between Avadhī and Bhojpurī (Singh 1972:259-279), is generally considered to fall within the Avadhī sphere. In accordance with its Avadhī roots Fiji Hindi, which is purely a spoken language, had the numeral classifier as illustrated by the following question and its reply remembered by a speaker of Fiji Hindi from a conversation of some years ago:

kitnā gannā kaṭāiyā rakhā hai?
how many cane cutters placed are
How many cane-cutters do you employ?

cār ṭhū.
four CLF
(I employ) four.

During this century Fiji Hindi has come increasingly under the influence of Standard Hindi. Perhaps for this reason the numeral classifier, as evidenced by R. Moag's (1977:207-285) excellent description of Fiji Hindi, has vanished from the modern usage of that language.

Nepali

It still remains to look briefly at the Pahari subgroup, the third member of the Hindi continuum in which the numeral classifier is found. Many linguists and grammarians have commented on the presence of classifiers in Nepali (Southworth

1967:3-4) and there is no doubt that they have an essential place in both written and spoken forms of that language. Among the several numeral classifiers used in Nepali are vaṭā and janā (Turner 1931:58). These two classifiers are used as in the following passages taken from two different Nepali versions of the *New Testament*:

... ti sātvaṭā roṭī ra mācchāharu liyo ... (BSIC 1962a:37)
*he seven-*CLF *bread and fishes took*
... *he took seven loaves of bread and the fish* ...

ekjanā māniskā dui chorāharū thie. (BSIC 1961:49)
*one-*CLF *man-of two sons were*
A man had two sons.

On the other hand, the numeral classifier does not seem to be used in such western Pahari languages as the Gaṛhvālī of northern Uttar Pradesh. For example, numeral classifiers are lacking in the passages of the Gaṛhvālī translation of the *New Testament* (BSIC 1962b:51,70) that correspond to those just quoted for Nepali.

At the present time it is not possible to say whether or not the presence of the classifier in Nepali and its absence in Gaṛhvālī is in any way due to the use of the numeral classifier in Tibeto-Burman languages like Newari (Hale and Shresthacharya 1974) that have long been in intimate contact with Nepali but not with Gaṛhvālī.

Other members of the Hindi group

To the best of our knowledge the languages which have just been discussed are the only members of the Hindi group which make use of the numeral classifier. That this list is not final and that a still wider geographical extent for the use of the classifier in Hindi may be revealed by future research is indicated by two tantalising bits of further evidence. First is the use, as seen in the following sentence, of the classifier ṭho in a Hindi form of speech surviving in the Khulna district of Bangladesh (Mitra 1965:374):

ek-ṭhō pīthā aggū-k bhittī paṛi gayā.
*one-*CLF *cake fire-of inside fell*
A cake fell into the fire.

Of course, it is not very peculiar to find the numeral classifier in an isolated form of Hindi surrounded by Bengali speakers for several generations, but this usage would prove to be much more intriguing if, as seems to be the case, this language stems from a source in the Western Hindi subgroup (Mitra 1965:372-373) which possesses the ṭho classifier found in Avadhī and Bhojpurī.

The second bit of information comes from the Andaman Islands. There an elderly Great Andamanese resident of Strait Island used the same numeral classifier in the following Hindi sentence:

ghar mẽ bahot murgī, koī koī sabjī naī ai ek ṭho ek ṭho kāṭṭa ai.
house in many hens any any vegetable not is one CLF *one* CLF *cut*
There are lots of chickens in the house. If there are no vegetables, then (we) kill (them) one by one.

The Strait Island people now use Standard Hindi in daily life in place of their native languages. The appearance of the classifier in the Hindi which they speak may be an influence from the speech of a Bihari man from Ranchi who

has lived among the two dozen or so Strait Islanders as a member of their community for many years. In any event, its presence in the Andaman Islands bears witness to the vitality of this grammatical feature in some spoken forms of Hindi.

The origin and use of the classifier in Bhojpurī

Although there is as yet no single guide for the use of the classifier in those Hindi languages, as a group, in which it occurs, it is possible to indicate some general characteristics of the place of the classifier in one of them, Bhojpurī. In etymology the Maithilī numeral classifier goṭ is probably cognate with the classifier goṭā in Oriya, Assamese, and Bengali and related, as R.L. Turner (1963, fasc.3:229) holds, to the Standard Hindi noun goṭ *a chess (or gaming) piece*, the Marathi noun goṭā *a roundish stone*, and the Oriya adjective goṭā *whole, undivided*. The root meaning has to do with roundness. It seems reasonable to connect the Bhojpurī go with goṭ, though this derivation has been denied by U.N. Tiwari (1960:120). Ṭho presents a greater problem and no acceptable origin has been suggested, though it is attractive to look for some connection with the common Bengali classifier ṭā. It is even possible that a search through the ancestry of ṭā might lead back toward goṭ and goṭā. All such inquiries are limited by the fact that numeral classifiers do not exist in Sanskrit or the Prakrits and cannot be traced further back in Indo-Aryan speech than the earliest written remains of Bengali and its sister languages. Moreover, while in Bengali and Assamese and to a lesser extent in Maithilī and Nāgpurī (Gosvāmī 1976:57) specific classifiers may be assigned to objects of a particular form or nature, in Bhojpurī go or ṭho can be used with a person or an object of any size or shape. Whatever reference to roundness may once have been implied has been lost. In meaning there is no difference between go and ṭho and the two classifiers are used by some speakers interchangeably. Other speakers, however, feel that one or the other of the two is favoured in particular localities and go definitely predominates in the Bhojpurī of Trinidad (Mohan 1978:70), Surinam (Huiskamp 1978:191), and Mauritius (Domingue 1971:60,62).

A comprehensive attempt to set out guidelines governing the use of the Bhojpurī classifier has been made by P.R. Mohan (Mohan 1978:70-75) whose findings, which while intended for the Bhojpurī of Trinidad are equally applicable to all forms of Bhojpurī, can be summarised with examples of usage from India as well as Mauritius and Trinidad as follows:

(1) Attributive numerical adjectives are usually, but not always, followed by the classifier.

(2) The classifier occurs with a numerical adjective if the noun modified is understood but not expressed, as in this sentence given by a speaker from Saran district, Bihar:

chauṭho ke apanā sāthe lete jā.
six-CLF OBJECT MARKER *oneself with take go*
Take six (of them) away with you.

(3) A number acting as an attributive within numeral compounds like tīn sau and ēk hajār, *three hundred* and *one thousand* respectively, does not take the classifier (Mohan 1978:71). To this rule can be added the corollary that the classifier is not used after the numbers above 100, perhaps because they are all compounds. The other numbers up to and including 100 - as long as 100 is expressed by the single word sai and not the compound ek sai - may take the classifier as in these examples from Saran district:

rājā sai go hāthī posle bāran.
king 100 CLF *elephants has care for*
The king keeps 100 elephants.

rājā caurāsī go bāhman ke khiavalan.
king 84 CLF *brahmans* OBJECT MARKER *fed*
The king fed 84 brahmans.

(4) The classifier is not employed with a number used as mathematical symbol (Mohan 1978:71):

das ā pā̃c hai panarā, nā?
ten and five are 15 no
Ten and five make 15, don't they?

(5) Numbers modifying days, weeks, hours, and other measurements of time do not take the classifier, as is illustrated by this sentence from a Mauritian story in which the classifier is used after the number modifying an ordinary noun but not after the number modifying a time expression (Naubatsingh 1979:18):

ūhī gā̃vvā mẽ ek din ego panḍit āil.
that-INTENSIVE SUFFIX *village in one day one*-CLF *pundit came*
One day a pundit came into that village.

(6) A number designating a quantity of money does not take the classifier unless the intention is to refer to the individual coins or notes (Mohan 1978:72):

buṙhwā kē das kāpā dehlī.
old man OBJECT MARKER *ten cents gave*
(I) gave the old man ten cents.

buṙhwā kē das gō kāpā dehlī.
old man OBJECT MARKER *ten* CLF *cent-coins gave*
(I) gave the old man ten one-cent coins.

(7) As with money, numbers used with units of weight and measurement do not take the classifier, unless of course those units are being treated as entities in themselves (Yādav 1973:1):

ehī ek mīl cauṙāī ā das mīl lambāī mẽ Jagdevā̃ ke
that-INTENSIVE SUFFIX *one mile width and ten mile length in Jagdevā̃ of*

jamīn paṙe le.
land fell
In that space one mile wide by ten miles long, lay Jagdevā̃'s field.

(8) In order to give a distributive sense Bhojpurī, like all forms of Hindi, reduplicates numbers. Such reduplicated numbers do not take classifiers (Yādav 1973:62):

mahanth jī ke ek-ek bāt unkā kān mẽ hamesā gū̃jat rahe.
chief priest HONORIFIC *of one-one word their ears in always resound kept on*
Every single one of the words of the chief priest kept on ringing in their ears.

The sentence quoted above from the Andamans, ek ṭho ek ṭho kāṭṭa ai (*we kill them one by one*), is not an exception to this rule but rather the proof of it since the use of the classifier gives the meaning that the chickens will be killed one by one, separately. The absence of the classifier would have given the sense that every single chicken would be killed.

(9) Mohan's rule that two numbers used together to indicate an indefinite quantity do not take the classifier is generally but not always true in Indian Bhojpurī. Her example shows the usage without the classifier (Mohan 1978:62):

āṭh das lakṛī kāphī hoī.
eight ten sticks enough may be
Eight or ten sticks of wood should be enough.

On the other hand, an Indian Bhojpurī novel shows this usage with a classifier (Yādav 1973:64):

chav sāt go nokar daural āke sab sāmān hāth se le lihalẽ.
six seven CLF *servants ran having come all luggage hand by took*
Six or seven servants ran up and took up the luggage in their hands.

(10) The numeral classifier is not used with fraction forms other than deṛh *one and a half*, and ḍhāī̃ *two and a half*.

(11) The numeral classifier, as is shown by the following two Indian Bhojpurī sentences, is not used with ordinal and aggregative numbers:

pahilā bāt ta ī bā je eh Mahābhārat mẽ Kṛṣṇajī ...
first matter well this is that this Mahābhārat in Kṛṣṇa-HONORIFIC
Well, in the first place in this Mahābhārat Krishna ...
(Yādav 1973:66)

hot bihān dosarā dine cāro bhāī āpan-āpan jarūrī
being morning second day-on all-four brothers one's own one's own necessary

samān le ke ghar se calale lāge.
luggage having taken house from went began
Just at morning on the second day all four brothers gathered up the things they needed and set out. (Vimal n.d.:64)

(12) Finally, when an attributive number occurs before other adjectives modifying the same noun, the number followed by the classifier comes first in the series (Ojhā 1971:35):

ego āur cīj le calī̃ jā.
one-CLF *other thing take move go*
Take away one other thing.

To Mohan's rules as listed above may be added a number of other observations that can be made about the use of the classifier in Bhojpurī. As will have been noted from the various examples already given the classifier may occur with a number modifying any noun, regardless of whether that noun is masculine or feminine or represents a person or a thing. The classifier is also used in phrases with abstract nouns, but not with numbers in fixed compounds like ek sāth *together* (Dhurandhar 1979:4):

dugo dukh ek sāth.
two-CLF *sorrows one together*
Two sorrows (came) together.

Due to the constraints of metre, rhyme, and rhythm, the numeral classifier seems to occur less often in Bhojpurī verse than in prose and speech. In some instances, as in the following line taken from a Bhojpurī wedding song from Surinam, it is difficult to find any explanation except poetic licence for the absence of the expected classifier after the numbers (Arya 1968:24-25):

pāca pāna nau narivaral jai sarage bāṭyau dẽutā pittara ...
five betel-leaves nine coconuts who heaven-in are gods fathers
Five betel leaves and nine coconuts, you who are in heaven, gods and ancestors ...

Inverted word order may be responsible for the lack of classifiers in this line of a satirical poem (Bhakt n.d.:8):

Hind mẽ gul nayā ek khilal, pārṭī cār ek mẽ milal.
India in flower new one blossomed party four one in met
In India a new flower has blossomed, four parties have melded into one.

Even so, the classifier often appears in poetry exactly as it does in normal prose usage (Bhakt n.d.:37):

naihar mẽ das go bhaiyvā̃ bāṛe.
mother's-house in ten CLF *brothers are*
There are ten brothers in my mother's house.

When asked about the function of the classifier most Bhojpurī speakers respond that it gives a feeling of definiteness or emphasis to the number with which it is used, a view which harmonises especially well with the two rules given by Mohan which we have labelled (6) and (7) above. Further corroboration for this interpretation might be seen in the Nāgpurī practice of placing the particle go, goṭ, goṛ, or ṭho (the same particles that are used as classifiers) after a noun to give a nuance of definiteness, emphasis, or disrespect, e.g. chauvā ṭho *the child (in question)*, and janī go *the woman (disrespectful)* (Nowrangi 1956:32). Nevertheless, examples can be given in which the presence or absence of a numeral classifier appears to have little to do with definiteness and the function of the classifier cannot be so simply explained.

CLASSIFIER USE IN EASTERN MODERN INDO-ARYAN

In the easternmost Indo-Aryan languages stylistic constraints on classifiers differ considerably from the Hindi situation discussed above. In both written and spoken forms of Modern Bengali, Oriya and Assamese classifiers are not only acceptable but virtually obligatory. Furthermore, their use is not confined to numerical expressions. Discourse and contextual features such as definiteness and indefiniteness are typically indicated by classifier expressions, and related interactions with deictic forms are also common.

Bengali

In modern standard Bengali indefinite reference is regularly indicated through the formula aek (*one*) + classifier + noun; definite reference, by noun + classifier:

aek-khana boi *a book*
boi-khana *the book*

where khana classifies boi *book* (hyphens are used to suggest the unstressed post-clitic character of classifiers in these constructions).

The assignment of specific classifiers to nouns in these languages is quite flexible and is best seen as a communicative resource available to speakers to convey certain stylistic nuances, thus:

boi-khana *the book* (thinking of the slab-like physical object)
boi-ṭi *the book* (the nice little one)
boi-ṭa *the book* (the big boring volume I must read)

Similarly, jon, ṭi, or ṭa may classify people, depending somewhat on attitude, although the first is normatively preferred for the written language.

The Bengali classifiers ṭi and ṭa seem to reflect wider Indo-Aryan phenomena where what were previously morphological endings to show a grammatical masculine-feminine distinction have become reanalysed as a rather vague semantic opposition between small-nice-likeable and large-coarse-devalued (cf. Oriya ghadi-ṭi *the watch*; ghadi-ṭa *the clock*; Tripathi 1959).

The classifier khana raises special questions. Many speakers of Calcutta Bengali accept it for portable, hand-sized items, such as books, bottles, plates, pictures, lamps, etc. but may feel it 'dialectal' for other larger items. The taxa acceptable for this classifier appear to increase through Bangladesh Bengali varieties and in Assamese the classifier (now pronounced khɔn) is normal not only for small items but also for boats and for local expanses such as shops and markets. More problematic is the fact that in Calcutta Bengali a 'double classifier' construction is occasionally heard:

boi-khana-ṭi *the book* (the actual volume referred to)

The order is specified as above, and this leads one to speculate that a realignment of the classifier form class may be occurring.

The evolution of these forms from nominals in earlier Bengali has been discussed by Chatterji (1926), and it is an interesting confirmation of the Sanchez-Greenberg observation that the use of classifiers appears to have been stronger as obligatory plural-marking became weaker.

In archaic Sanskritised varieties of Bengali classifiers are not used even though they may well have been common in ordinary speech. Vivid confirmation of this occurs in Kṛṣṇadās Gosvāmī's *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, a 16th century work at the apogee of the Sanskritised style of Bengali. A careful perusal of the verses of this biography of the Hindu saint Caitanya has failed to turn up even one classifier either in the poet's descriptive verses or in the conversations of Caitanya with his followers. On the other hand, classifiers appear in the quoted speech of people expected to use a non-Sanskritic, purely colloquial type of language. For example, a Muslim Pathan soldier says to Caitanya (Bhaktivedanta 1975, vol.7:220-221):

"ei ṭhak cāri-jana"
these rogues four-CLF
"(Here are) these four rogues."

Caitanya's reply has no classifier:

"ei cāri dayā kari karena pālana"
these four mercy having done do maintenance
"These four (men) by their mercy maintain (me)."

Kṛṣṇadās Gosvāmī's attitude toward the classifier harmonises very well with the inclination to suppress the classifier already noted for literary forms of Maithilī, up to and including the 19th century, and Avadhī, at all periods. In any event, in modern literary Bengali, as well as in colloquial forms, the classifiers ṭi and ṭa (or khana, jon, gachha, goṭa, than, etc.) are not only acceptable but syntactically obligatory, and certainly to be considered part of the modern standard language.

Although origins are not always clear for these forms, they appear to be derived from Indo-Aryan nominals. The forms ṭi and ṭa, for example, perhaps come from guṭi *small round object* (Chatterji 1926:779).

Assamese

In Assamese, Kakati (1941) and Goswami (1968) suggest that classifiers occur to a limited extent in the first 14th century Assamese documents, and both increase in syntactic functions and proliferate lexically over a period of some six centuries. The following examples suggest the scope of classifiers in present-day Assamese:

(a)	tini bati pani	*three cups of water*
(b)	tini gɔsi huta	*three pieces of thread*
(c)	tini gɔs zɔri	*three pieces of string*
(d)	tini dal rosi	*three pieces of rope*
(e)	tini dal pensil	*three pencils*
(f)	tini khɔn kapor	*three pieces of cloth*
(g)	tini khɔn nao	*three boats*
(h)	tini khɔn bɔzar	*three markets*
(i)	tini khɔni gamosa	*three towels*
(j)	tini zopa am	*three mango trees*
(k)	tini ti am	*three mangoes*
(l)	tini ti lora	*three (nice) boys*
(m)	tini ta lora	*three (not-so-nice) boys*
(n)	tini ti kɔlɔh	*three (small) jars*
(o)	tini ta kɔlɔh	*three (larger) jars*
(p)	tini ta goru	*three cows*
(q)	tini ta bhikhari	*three beggars*
(r)	tini zɔni sowali	*three girls*
(s)	tini zɔn xɔkhi	*three (respected) friends*
(t)	tini gɔraki mɔhila	*three (respected) women*
(u)	tini zɔna rɔza	*three (very respected) kings*

Example (a) shows the parallel between measures and proper classifiers (b-u). An interesting feature of Assamese classifiers, particularly in more literary varieties, is the assignment of the quasi-feminine ending -i as a dimunitive formative (cp. (b,c); (h,i); (r,s)). The set zɔn, zɔni, zɔna is somewhat skewed: the first term refers respectfully to human males of normal rank; the second, to female animals or disrespectfully to human females; the third, deferentially to high-status humans of either sex. Another classifier gɔraki can be applied with respect to humans of either sex. Finally, either ti or ta may occur with non-respected humans, with ti indicating a measure of endearment, e.g. of a small child; cf. Bengali above.

In some cases numbers themselves behave syntactically as classifiers. Thus in Assamese:

	du	zɔn	manuh	*two men*
	two	CLF	*person*	
but:	du	xɔ	manuh	*two hundred men*
	two	*hundred*	*person*	

One presumes this is similar to expressions like 'two pairs' or 'three score'. (Note also that in Burmese certain changes in normal order are required when this

collective use of numerals occurs (Haas 1951:195). It may be noted here also that Thai and Chinese have a special classifier for one of items usually coming in pairs.) Assamese is similar to Bengali in that for the modern language, both in its standardised literary form and in its colloquial varieties, classifiers are not only tolerated but are in many cases syntactically obligatory. The languages also agree in having somewhat tenuous systems of plural marking, in many situations optional. Thus classifiers, in addition to their use in enumerative expressions, have the function of marking specific singulars, as we see below.

The presence of classifiers in considerable numbers in Assamese and in more modest or marginal terms in Indo-Aryan languages to the west raises the possibility that somehow classifiers have entered Indo-Aryan from the east, and their use is spreading westwards. Emeneau (1956, 1965) cites versions of this argument suggested by Sir George Grierson, and the 1934 speculation of Bloch which went so far as to implicate 'substratum influence' from Tai (Emeneau (1956:11). Bloch's suggestion is couched in rather vague terms, but it deserves careful attention in view of the social history of Assam.

According to local historical accounts, the Ahom and Assamese buranjis (Barua 1930), the Tais entered the Brahmaputra valley in the mid 13th century and gradually established control over some of what is now Assam. In spite of lack of critical scholarship, the main lines of Tai-Ahom history in the buranjis appear to be in general accord with what is known about Tai migrations and social organisation elsewhere. From the earliest recorded evidence and from comparative reconstruction, Tais have arranged themselves in a social hierarchy with a king/chief overseeing a local aristocracy with titles like khǔn and thân. The buranjis indicate another common situation, that of Tai overlords with people of other ethnic groups, in various subservient feudal relationships. In the 16th century the Tai-Ahoms came into conflict with Muslim Bengalis and at the same time began to assimilate with Hindu Assamese, who had had a kingdom in Kamarupa in Western Assam. Gradually the dominant Tai-Ahoms took over Assamese for daily-life purposes, leaving the Tai-Ahom language for ceremonial and literary purposes. This situation continued until the British annexed the Tai-Ahom kingdom in 1826 (Phukan 1964).

Earlier stages of Assamese and Tai-Ahom perhaps exerted influences on each other through partially bilingual populations. A socially dominant group 'mispronouncing' or otherwise modifying another language can set norms for a favoured speech style, which is then imitated by lower-strata native speakers, spreading the innovations throughout the speech community. In the case of modern Assamese phonology, such a model could account for the merger of dental and retroflex consonants in a compelling way, since this is exactly the type of merger one would predict for Tais attempting to speak early Assamese.

One would be tempted, on the basis of observations like those above, to follow Bloch in attributing Assamese classifiers to a borrowing process. The problem is that on careful examination three difficulties arise from the linguistic facts.

(1) Of the common contemporary Assamese classifiers (zɔn, zɔni, zɔna, to, ta, ti, khɔn, khɔni, sola, soli, dal, dali, zopa, zupi, gɔs, gɔsi, gɔraki, pat, khila, sita, and sɔta) none has a direct Tai cognate; rather several have Indo-Aryan cognates. On the other hand, there are a good number of Tai-Ahom loans into Assamese (Barua and Phukan 1964:203-205), and one would expect that if numeral classifier constructions were being borrowed, at least a few actual forms would be borrowed as well. For example, the Dravidian languages Malto and Kurukh as mentioned above have borrowed nearly all of their classifier forms from

neighbouring Indo-Aryan nouns (Emeneau 1956:13). Note also widespread borrowing of forms in South-East Asia (below).

(2) The Assamese word order normal for counting is the reverse of Tai-Ahom order (Phukan 1971).

(3) A cognate of the Assamese classifier for humans (zɔn, etc.) occurs in Nepali as a classifier and was also borrowed from Nāgpurī into Kurukh as we have seen above; there is a similar use in Marathi. Also, above we have shown that cognates of ti, ta, to occur far to the west of the Magadhan area. An Assamese origin for these forms cannot be entirely ruled out, but in view of the wide areal spread and the comparatively short period of time involved, it seems improbable.

Another indirect but perhaps more conclusive objection involves general morphological complexity in Assamese. Although like other modern Indo-Aryan languages it has greatly simplified earlier inflexional patterns, it has retained a half dozen case endings (the actual forms are not necessarily conservations) and a fairly extensive verbal morphology. A language contact situation conducive to wholesale importation of classifiers would be expected to lead to morphological simplification in the same way. If Tai-Ahom speakers were doing a poor job of keeping their Assamese free of Tai-Ahom influences, one would perhaps look to morphological simplification even before such 'peripheral' changes as initiating the use of classifiers for counting.

A better approach might lie in seeing how language contact conditions could amplify and elaborate structural tendencies already present before contact. Above we have reverted to discussing classifiers in terms of their counting function only. At this point we recall that in Assamese they also serve to indicate distinctions such as definiteness/indefiniteness. (Some examples below are suggested by G. Goswami (1968) where further illustrations may be found.)

(a) manuh ahise — *(person/come) A person has come.*
(b) mɔi kitap pariso — *(I/book/read) I am reading a book.*
(c) manuh-zɔn ahise — *(person/*CLF*/come) The man has come.*
(d) mɔi kitap-khɔn pariso — *(I/book/*CLF*/read) I am reading the book.*
(e) bhal-zɔn — *(good/*CLF*) The good one (of a man).*
(f) tini khɔn kitap pɔrhilo — *I have read three books.*
(g) kitap tini khɔn pɔrhilo — *I have read the three books (mentioned).*

A 14th century A.D. text in an Indo-Aryan variety close to the Magadhi Apabhramsa taken to be the ancestor of Assamese, Bengali and Oriya has been described by U. Goswami (1966). Among the features illustrated are ancestors of the modern Assamese forms khɔn and apparently ti used as postposed particles to indicate definiteness (p.204). A resource of this sort was perhaps felt necessary since Assamese was undergoing a good deal of readjustment in nominal morphology. Old cases merged, the original means of marking singular and plural fell out of use, and new post-positions began to take on the functions of the distinctions being lost. In particular, the ending -e was problematic. Former instrumental, locative and nominative singulars, and also nominative-accusative plurals all underwent phonological leveling and fell together in -e (Chatterji 1926:739-751). In Bengali the plural function as an obligatory category was lost, however the -e, now becoming obsolete, retained a generic-indefinite flavour. A different situation occurred in Assamese, where a strong tendency toward ergativity (associated with instrumental-case actor with past participles, later extended) took the -e in a different semantic direction. It is quite tempting to speculate that it was this ergative development of the -e ending that required a compensatory

means of definite/indefinite marking. It is perhaps this use of 'classifiers' that we first see in the old texts, although more research in this area is needed. If this was indeed the case, then Assamese was 'prone' for internal reasons to develop classifiers for definite-marking, and in fact several were in use before contact with Tai-Ahom. It happens that the definite-marking structure had the same constituent order as Tai-Ahom classifiers used for the same purpose. It was therefore rather natural for Tais learning to speak Assamese to proliferate somewhat the items typically occurring in classifier position. Later the present system of optional plural markings, all innovations, was added, and perhaps as a back-formation an old Indo-Aryan masculine/feminine distinction in -a/-ī (or consonant/-ī) was applied to the classifiers to cross-categorise taxa along a 'large-small' dimension as well as whatever semantic core originally characterised the particular classifier. Perhaps the human classifier zɔn (zɔna), zɔni, which can be traced back to Prakrit or Sanskrit jan, jani, served as the impetus. Finally, in the definite postpositional construction the classifiers have become more and more 'grammaticalised' and now phonologically they are essentially post-clitics. In fact certain case endings now can occur suffixed to the noun + classifier unit.

Although details of classifier development in Assamese and the evolution of classifiers in Eastern Indo-Aryan in general remain problematic, in terms of synchronic conditions these languages clearly occupy a pivotal position. As one moves to the west, classifiers decrease in number and in normative acceptability, until one reaches standard Hindi and its associated western dialects where they do not occur at all (apart from in measuring expressions, which are undoubtedly universal). In the following sections we move to the east, where classifiers increase in number, in syntactic function and in normative and stylistic evaluation.

South-East Asia

All of the standardised national languages of mainland South-East Asia admit classifiers into normatively sanctioned registers, including literary styles. In addition, most of the other indigenous but non-standard languages spoken in the area are described as having classifiers, but rarely more than a dozen. Classifier usage is probably most developed and most sensitive to language norms in modern standard (Bangkok) Thai, followed closely by Vietnamese. Standard forms of Lao and Burmese would follow along, and finally standard Malay and Khmer, in which classifiers in common use are rather limited in number, where classifier use is optional and is not apparently of very great significance in normative issues.

Chinese and other East Asian languages will be mentioned below along with South-East Asian ones for relevant comparisons.

For Thai, questions of normative classifier usage have been dealt with elsewhere (see Diller, this volume). Thai by Haas's count (1942) has some 80 or 90 classifiers which are 'proper' (i.e. not general measures), and in most cases the standard normative language specifies a maximal system (as opposed to a simplified one in colloquial speech).

It is convenient to differentiate lexico-semantic and syntactic issues in classifier usage. Below we look at each of these with some attention to diachronic development, since this helps to make clear the scope of normative importance.

LEXICO-SEMANTIC ISSUES

For a given 'classifier language', it is valid to pose the following three questions: how cohesive and well-defined are the semantic fields associated with classifiers; to what extent do these semantic fields arrange themselves into some higher-order configuration, hierarchical or otherwise; how firm is the assignment of any particular noun to a single classifier category? Some consideration of the types and degrees of pliability in classifier systems is necessary if diachronic or comparative questions are to be dealt with effectively.

Most South-East Asian classifiers appear to have a semantic core which to a greater or lesser extent controls the field of application. Thus Chinese, Vietnamese, Thai and Burmese all have classifiers centring on long, strip-like items, rigid stick- or bar-like items, and flat sheet-like items, although in some cases these fields are further subdivided (Hla Pe 1965; Nguyen 1957). In general, the more an object conforms to the focal criteria of the classifier, the more probable is its assignment to the class. Similarly, in the case of Assamese, Burmese, Thai and Vietnamese human classification, people are sorted into categories on the basis of respect, supernatural power or similar attributes firmly grounded in specific cultural attitudes; the more an individual is a 'good example' of the focal core of a given classifier, the more likely that classifier will be used in categorisation. For Buddhist monks and similar cases there may be rather definite formal criteria which delimit a class strictly; but in other cases, such as Assamese human classifier decisions based on respect due, there may be more of a continuum involved with the possibility of selectional quandary and conflict (Becker 1975; Haas 1951). The issue to be emphasised is that variation occurs in the 'strength' of focal criteria, both among classifiers within a given language, and among classifiers (perhaps with similar criteria) as they become involved in cross-language comparisons.

Also, there is frequent break-down in semantic cohesion, at least as such appears perhaps naively from the outside. Two of the most frequently-used classifiers in Vietnamese are cái, for inanimate objects, and con, for non-human animals. However Nguyen (1957:127,144) points out that for purposes of classifier choice ants, bees, lice and most small insects are 'inanimate', whereas more-or-less useful human constructions like roads, dams, boats and knives are 'animals', as are certain types of humans such as gamblers. The Thai 'animal' classifier tua takes in inanimate objects with arm-like, leg-like or tail-like appendages, but also optionally cigarettes, nails, playing cards, numerals and alphabetic letters (it must be noted that the latter in Thai have heads and occasionally tails). The Thai classifier bay, also a noun meaning *leaf*, categorises leaf-like name cards and tickets but also round items like fruits, hats and pillows, and virtually all portable containers such as bottles, jars, wallets, purses, suitcases and even moveable storage cabinets and wardrobes. The taxa of the Thai classifier lêm are even more varied: knives, combs, books, candles and oxcarts, yet lêm is by no means a 'general classifier'.

A 'general classifier' is used in some languages when a specific one is deemed inapplicable. Chinese gè is used for a great collection of items from human to inanimate objects, and the situation is similar in upland South-East Asian languages. Malay buah is nearly as broad, but excludes humans. Burmese khú applies to inanimate objects not otherwise classified as well as to abstract entitles. Thai 'an refers to otherwise uncategorised physical inanimates, usually small. Other marginal examples of classifier languages, such as Khmer, lack a general classifier and instead simply count residue nouns directly with no classifier at all.

It is not impossible to locate conflict in classifier assignment. In Malay, houses appear to vary in classifier from buah, the more general term to tangga and pintu. Coconuts also show variation. In Burmese, knives can either go with pens and spoons as long-handled implements (chàun) or they can go into a less well-defined class with weapons, musical instruments and actors and actresses (lɛ'; note that the latter are also exceptional in Thai). In Classical Chinese conflicts are reported for peaches and snakes, with the former being classified now as a fruit, now as a round object, and the latter now as an animal, now as a string-like object (Schafer 1948:410). Function may intrude into selection. In Zhuang, the Tai language of Guangxi, the noun *stone* (rin_1) is classified with kon_2, dak_3 or kay_5 depending on whether it is potentially useful (e.g. for making a wall), useless or neutral. The classifier for *wood* (máay) would vary in Thai in a similar way.

Thus it is misguided to represent South-East Asian classifier assignment as an automatic syntactic process similar to gender agreement rules in European languages. The tendency to reduce classifier selection to a neat one-classifier-per-noun mapping makes the systems appear too 'grammatical' and ignores important semantic and sociolinguistic determinants. Lehman (1979:165) has criticised Burling's (1965) overly rigid taxonomy for Burmese classifiers, and similar arguments could be brought against Hiranburana's (1979) scheme for Thai classifiers, which forces data into tree diagrams on the basis of problematic distinctive features. T'sou (1976) and Lehman (1979) have gone far in elucidating the more comprehensive quantificational background from which classifiers, narrowly defined, stand out as one semantic strategy among other related ones. But even taking proper classifiers as a limited subset apart, it is hardly likely that classification based on rigid separation of categories could succeed for South-East Asian languages. A better approach lies in the 'well-defined centre and vague boundary' analysis of Japanese classifiers by Denny (1979), which can explain why certain nouns do in fact have nearly invariant classifiers while others do not. Dixon's (1982:226ff) survey of classifier semantics is especially revealing in this regard. See also Conklin 1981.

It is important to emphasise semantic pliability and a degree of flux in classifier assignment in Thai, Vietnamese, Burmese, etc. since this is one point at which speech-level and other sociolinguistic issues impinging on standardisation and norm become important. Thus in Thai while there is a single common noun *egg* (khày), there are three classifiers (lûuk, bay, fɔɔng) available to distinguish speech-level. Both speech-level and accorded deference enter into human classifier assignment in Burmese, Thai and Khmer (see below). For Burmese, Becker (1975) has gone on to propose that a wide range of socio-cultural factors and values are mirrored in classifier assignment. Clearly changing social conditions are responsible for shifts in classifier lexico-semantics, particularly where speech-level factors are introduced.

For Chinese, Khmer, Burmese and Thai it is safe to say that in terms of actual forms used and semantic dimensionality of particular items the changes over a thousand year period or so have been sweeping.

Chinese, which during the Tang period had a rather proliferated system, has drastically compressed many former separate categories into a single general term gè. Few of the Tang forms survive as modern classifiers, although most survive as nouns. Thus rén was formerly a classifier for humans (e.g. nú èr rén *slave/two/*CLF, *two slaves*) but rén in the modern language is a noun in turn requiring the general classifier to count in (yī gè rén *one/*CLF*/person, one person*). The Tang classifier méi, originally a noun meaning *stalk* or *trunk*,

used to classify rings, beads, fruits, containers, mats, statues, rats, crabs and elephants. Although méi is still available as a classifier in modern Chinese, it has surrendered most of its taxa to gè (Schafer 1948:409-410).

The Tang proliferation stands in contrast both to an earlier system where classifiers were rarely used at all, and to the modern normative language, where usage is widespread but confined to fewer more generalised items. Probably the richer Tang system is partly an artefact of the texts used to represent it. Poets may have seized on classifier variation as a resource to create imagery or even to cope with the intricate constraints of Tang regulated metrics. The everyday language of common people may have made do with a simpler system.

A similar situation can be seen in Burmese. David Bradley (personal communication) has observed that early inscriptions used a semantically simple classifier system, with khú, a general classifier, occurring for a wide variety of taxa. Hla Pe (1965) has suggested that under the influence of Buddhist translations from Pali into Burmese, new classifiers were introduced and the system proliferated. This is somewhat odd, since Pali does not have classifiers per se, and Hla Pe does not suggest the exact classifier-creating mechanism. (Perhaps it involved the need to render into Burmese the ubiquitous Pali definite pronominal eso, esa, etam *he, this, the*, etc.) If Hla Pe is correct, then Burmese classifier proliferation was mainly a literary activity of monastery and court, and we can suppose that common uneducated people continued to use the basic simpler system in their daily speech.

Bradley also notes that there is a tendency in the more colloquial language to use a single classifier for all humans (jau'), one for all animals (kaun), and, as in the early inscriptions, to use a general inanimate classifier (khú) for a wide variety of taxa, which might be separately classified in normatively 'correct' or literary styles. Thus we see clearly for Burmese that impetus for lexico-semantic growth in classifiers comes from 'above' as a literary superimposition. The problem for modern normative standardisation is how much influence to accord to this literary vehicle and how much to follow popular usage and colloquial speech.

A clearer case of borrowed classifiers associated with elevated language levels involves Thai and Khmer, although it is not always completely certain who borrowed from whom and when. Official contacts, court documents and general patterns of cultural borrowing indicate Khmer-to-Thai loans from about the 13th or 14th centuries, and the reverse afterwards, but comprehensive research has yet to be done. The following classifiers are shared by the languages, with close to the same semantic taxa.

khûu	pairs
phanàek	divisions of an organisation
chabàp	letters, documents
chàak	dramas
chút	sets of dishes, board games, etc.
dâam	long implements
talàp	small jars (as a measure)
phàen	sheets
pháp	bolts of cloth
wong	rings
sǎay	ropes, roads, rivers
fǔung	flocks

(Forms are cited in Thai; Khmer ones are similar, without tone, and occasionally with predictable diphthongisation.)

Items relating to official policy such as phanàek and chabàp clearly show Khmer infixal morphology and also occur in Old Khmer inscriptions predating the Tai invasions. They have clearly been loaned into early Thai, along with the cultural concepts they refer to, in the post-Angkorian era of major Khmer-to-Thai cultural borrowing. In other cases, the occurrence of particular tones in Thai, together with the presence of cognates in Tai languages in China or Assam which did not undergo Khmer cultural borrowing, indicates items of Thai provenance, e.g. khûu, dâam. These were loaned into Khmer when the cultural tables were turned later on, and there was much Thai-into-Khmer influence. During this period many documents were translated rather literally out of Thai into Khmer, and the 'translational Khmer' appears to have become somewhat of a literary norm. This explains the incorporation of classifiers into formal Khmer and may even account for the minor syntactic shift from pre-Angkorian noun + classifier + number to the Thai pattern noun + number + classifier.

Social history can play an important role in semantic shift. Haas (1942), writing just ten years after the end of absolute monarchy in Thailand, explained classifiers for humans in Thai as follows (p.201; transcription slightly altered):

> There are five classifiers commonly used with nouns referring to human beings; the choice of classifier to be used depends largely on the rank or station in life of the individual or individuals referred to. The highest of these is 'ong, used for the king and queen, for princes and princesses, and for dukes and duchesses. The term rûup is generally used in referring to talapoins, but some people employ 'ong in place of rûup. The term thân is employed for nobles below the rank of duke and sometimes also for high-ranking officials in the army and navy. The term next in order is naay, which may be used in referring to individuals slightly above the common people in rank or position in life. The term most generally used in referring to human beings is khon ...

Although Haas did not mention it, the classifier system as she presented it was mirrored by a similar hierarchy in pronouns, and both linguistic sets were extensions of the Thai sadkina system, a special feudalistic means of social organisation in which all of the Thai king's subjects were assigned numerical ranks from 5 to 100,000. The classifiers as Haas described them would relate to segments of the scale, with monks needing slightly special treatment. Although the sakdina system had been formally discontinued when Haas was studying Thai classifiers, it was apparently being preserved linguistically. In the years since 1942 three of the five classifiers have gradually drifted into another semantic area: instead of classifying humans on a social scale, they now indicate degrees of formality in the speech act, although 'ong and rûup retain the earlier function. Thus khon is the usual colloquial form, naay a rather bureaucratic form, and thân used in rather polite formal situations; the taxa could be the same.

SYNTACTIC ISSUES

The syntactic patterns in which classifiers typically occur may also code sociolinguistic features relating to style and norm. This is particularly clear in classifier counting expressions.

Vietnamese and Bahasa Malaysia Indonesia show a stylistic variation in basic classifier order. Normal colloquial speech follows the pattern number + classifier + noun, while in literary or emphatic constructions the order noun + number + classifier is acceptable (Nguyen 1957:126). If we consider larger language families such variation also becomes apparent:

family	number + classifier + noun	noun + number + classifier
Sino-Tibetan	Chinese	Burmese, Lolo, Lahu, Lisu
Austronesian	Malay, Cham	Javanese
Austro-Asiatic	Brou, Katu, Sedang	Mon, Khmer, Khmu'
Tai	Zhuang, Nung, Black and White Tai	Standard Thai, Lao, Shan, Tai-Ahom

(Data partially adapted from Jones 1970.)

The variation in Vietnamese together with the split family patterns above suggests that classifier syntax may be rather susceptible to diachronic shifting and/or to diffusion across strictly genetic boundaries. Note that with the exception of Bahasa Malaysia Indonesia there is a general areal tendency, with languages to the east preferring the number + classifier to precede the noun; those to the west, to follow it (Indo-Aryan is mixed).

Basic shifts in word order can be documented for Chinese and Khmer. Archaic Chinese appeared to make little use of classifiers, although this may be partly a function of the type of text transmitted. The clear pattern in Ancient Chinese (i.e. of the Tang Dynasty) is either no classifier, generally the case with small, monosyllabic numbers, or the order noun + number + classifier, the reverse of the present-day structure mentioned above. In Khmer during the pre-Angkorian period the order was noun + classifier + number or, for time expressions like 'days', 'years', simply number + noun. Later the order shifted to noun + number + classifier (Schafer 1948: Jacob 1965).

Languages in the area under review differ both in the syntactic devices and in the overall importance of classifiers as they interact in the grammatical properties mentioned above. For Malay, especially in its Indonesian variety, classifiers are scarcely involved in non-numerical concerns, and even in counting they often seem to be optional. In Burmese (and also in Japanese) postposed number plus classifier may be involved in indicating indefiniteness, but are not normally used for anaphoric definite reference. Nor in Burmese are classifiers directly involved in deictic expressions, as they are in Chinese, Vietnamese and Thai. Khmer classifiers are more frequent in careful, literary speech than in colloquial varieties. Even in the former they are infrequently used with deictic demonstratives. The Khmer classifier for humans, nea', may interact somewhat more widely than others in deictic and anaphoric expressions.

Classifiers are also deeply involved in nominal compounding in several languages. In Vietnamese the order number + classifier + noun merges syntactically with number + (nominal compounding head) + (qualifier), and many of the 'classifiers' for humans listed by Nguyen (1957:133-142) appear to be more in the latter category. In Thai and Burmese, where the syntactic order precludes this type of merger, 'echo' constructions occur instead. In the following Burmese examples, nouns are serving as their own classifiers as they enter into indefinite expressions:

ein tǎ ein	*a house* (lit. *house/one/house*)
myó tǎ myó	*a city*
ei' tǎ ei'	*a bag*
khoun tǎ khoun	*a stool*
bù tǎ bù	*a bottle*

However Jones (1970:66) observed, for Thai complex adjectival-deictic-enumerative classifier expressions, repetition of classifiers while syntactically allowed is characteristic of "the most precise and formal speech-style". One expects this observation would apply widely through various languages and constructions where classifier repetition is permitted. Once again, we see the converse of the western Indo-Aryan situation in terms of stylistic evaluazion: for South-East Asian languages, classifier 'density' may elevate rather than depress stylistic level.

Syntactic and lexico-semantic processes may interact in configurations of diachronic change which are sensitive to speech level and norm. Thai provides a particularly clear example (for specific detail, see Diller, this volume).

The earliest Thai inscriptions show only a handful of classifiers of rather broad scope: khon, for humans; tua, for animals; and 'an, for inanimate objects, and a few other shape-related forms. Comparative Tai evidence bears out postulating a reduced set for earlier stages of Tai. During the Ayudhya and Early Bangkok Eras (c.1450-1850) several hundred classifiers came into use, at least in literate court and urban circles. This was paralleled by increases in pronominal forms and perhaps also in pre-verbal auxiliary elements. In a sense, the process is continuing today, with journalistic Thai admitting so many common nouns into what were formerly classifier positions that, at least for counting expressions, the existence of classifiers as a syntactic class is being severely eroded. On the other hand, for anaphoric purposes, for making definite/indefinite distinctions, etc. a small set including the original items cited above is in common use and not under threat of extinction. If these changes were to carry through, they would mean for Thai a syntactic shift in counting expressions, somewhat like what happened in Chinese, and the evolution of a new class of 'pronominal classifiers' of importance in anaphora, deixis and to indicate definiteness. It should be noted that these latter functions are found to some extent on the inscriptions as well as numeral classifier constructions.

In terms of normative and evaluative attitudes toward Thai classifiers, by the mid 19th century a proliferated system associated with court speech was overtly taught in pedagogical manuals. (Classifiers as a grammatical class were specified as kham phûut plaay bàat sǎngkhayǎa words spoken at the end of a number phrase.) King Rama IV took enough interest in classifiers to issue royal edicts on their proper usage. Given such a historical background, it is scarcely surprising that in today's standard language 'correct' (but sometimes 'unnatural') classifier usage is taught by parents and teachers to young Thai speakers.

It would be interesting and revealing to survey how primary school teachers in an areal continuum from, say, New Delhi to Hanoi might deal with their students' 'mistakes' with regard to classifier usage in normative standard varieties. One can imagine a Hindi class in the eastern Hindi area where the teacher's red marks were directed at offending classifiers which had slipped into the written medium from the oral colloquial familiar to students. Contrast this with the Thai teacher, whose corrective markings might be encouraging students to proliferate their 'natural' oral systems with special learned forms for elephants, flutes and royal personages, etc., not to mention correcting any substandard journalistic tendencies to count nouns directly, dispensing with special classifiers altogether. It would be all the more interesting to conduct this putative survey again at future intervals.

NOTES

1. A. Diller's field research reported here was made possible by grants from the Ford Foundation for work in Thailand while both authors received assistance from the Australian Research Grants Committee for work in India. Individuals who have helped with linguistic data are: M. Chintamunnee, Fr K. McNamara SJ and his students at St Joseph's High School in Mahuadanr (Bihar), S. Pe Aung, H.S. Prasad, B.B. Singh, S. Sircar, P. Stein, B. Theam, R. Tomar, and Y.K. Yadav. An early form of this article was presented in August 1980 at the Third National Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, Griffith University, Brisbane.

2. We are indebted to Philip Baker who is compiling a dictionary of Mauritian Creole for the identification of the chouchou as the fruit of the *Sechium edulis*.

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A-67:155-184. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1985. DOI:*10.15144/PL-A67.155*
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GREAT ANDAMANESE: A PRELIMINARY STUDY

Yogendra Yadav

1. INTRODUCTION[1]

1.1 The Great Andamanese of Andaman Island

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands are situated in the Bay of Bengal and are a part of India administered by the Central Government as a Union Territory. Port Blair, the capital of these islands, is 1235 km from Calcutta and 1191 km from Madras. The islands are connected to the mainland by two-monthly shipping services from Calcutta and Madras. There is also a bi-weekly Indian Airlines flight from Calcutta. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands consist of 225 islands of varying sizes - scattered from north to south. Their total population is 151,133, according to the 1971 census. The Andaman group of 204 islands cover an area of 6682 sq.km and the 21 islands of Nicobar occupy 1645 sq.km. 7462 sq.km of the total is a restricted area and reserved for forests. These islands have tropical climates and average temperatures vary from 23°C to 31°C throughout the year. Average annual rainfall is 123". June is the most rainy month and humidity throughout the year remains as high as 90%. Here I will be discussing the Andaman group of islands only.

The history of the Andaman Islands goes back to the late 9th century descriptions of Arab travellers.[2] Marco Polo (1254-1324) records his impressions of these islanders:

> Andaman is a very large island, not governed by a king. The inhabitants are idolaters, and are a most brutish and savage race, having heads, eyes, and teeth resembling those of the canine species. Their dispositions are cruel and every person, not being of their own nation, whom they can lay their hands upon, they kill and eat ...[3]

A new phase in the history of the Andaman Islands begins in 1788 when Lt Blair was sent there to start a free colony. Subsequently the new settlers had several clashes with the natives of the islands.[4] In 1858 the British established a penal colony after the Indian mutiny of 1857. From then onwards convicts were brought from India and Burma. After India gained independence in 1947 new settlers came from different parts of India. The population of the Andaman Islands now consists of:

1. original inhabitants
2. descendants of convicts
3. early free settlers and their descendants
4. new settlers who came after independence

The original inhabitants of the Andaman Islands are classified as negrito, while those of the Nicobar are considered to be mongoloid in origin.[5] The Andaman Islands can be divided into six parts as inhabited by different tribal groups:

David Bradley, ed. *Papers in South-East Asian linguistics* No.9: *Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia,* 185-214. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-67, 1985.
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Yadav, Y. "Great Andamanese: a preliminary study". In Bradley, D. editor, *Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics No. 9: Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia.* **A-67:185-214.** Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1985. DOI:*10.15144/PL-A67.185*
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	inhabited by
North Andaman	Great Andamanese
Middle Andaman, South Andaman	Jarawa on the east coast; Great Andamanese on the west coast
Rutland Island	Jarawa
Sentinel Island	Sentinelese (only on North Sentinel Island; South Sentinel Island is uninhabited)
Little Andaman	Onge

1.1.1 Sentinelese, Jarawa and Onge

The Sentinelese are reputed to be very hostile by nature. In the documentary "Man in Search of Man", prepared by the Andaman administration, Sentinelese can be seen from a distance letting off showers of arrows. They are as yet basically untouched by modern civilisation. Very little is known about either their language or culture.

The Jarawa are also considered hostile, but a successful attempt to contact them was made by Indian Government officials in 1976. Since then the administration has been developing friendly relations with a group of about 60 Jarawa at Chotalig Bang on the western coast of Middle Andaman Island.

Contact with the Onge of Little Andaman Island can be traced from the time of M.V. Portman, who established friendly relations with them in 1886. This set a pattern which has continued.

Sentinalese, Jarawa and Onge were in the past considered to belong to one group and to have some similarities in their language and customs. However, this is questionable, since no contact has been made with either the Sentinalese or the majority of the population of Jarawa; both are nomadic and still are reported to attack outsiders. It is obviously essential to establish communication if any serious linguistic work is to be done with the nomadic Jarawa group and with the Sentinelese. In January-February 1977 two Jarawa were brought to Port Blair by the Andaman authorities, and some Great Andamanese and Onge people attempted to converse with them but they were unable to communicate. While it is likely that Onge, Jarawa and Sentinelese may have some linguistic similarities, this is still to be explored, a task which assumed great importance and urgency as the number of speakers of these languages is dwindling rapidly.[6]

1.1.2 Great Andamanese

The tribes who live on the North Andaman Island and on the west coast of Middle and South Andaman Island have been given the name Great Andamanese. Previously the Great Andamanese were divided into ten groups:

Akacari, Akakora, Akabo, Akajeru } of North Andaman

Akakede, Akakol, Okojuwoi, Apucikwar } of Middle Andaman

Akarbale} of South Andaman
Akabea

The G.A. (Great Andamanese) have been friendly since the penal settlement was established in these islands. Late 19th and early 20th century anthropological work and published research that has been done under the titles 'Andaman Island' and 'Andaman Islanders' concern the G.A.

Man's and Portman's linguistic works on the G.A. deal with the southern group of Andamanese languages.[7] Their phonological inventories show a similar pattern[8] of labial, alveolar, velar, nasal and semivowel sounds; their alphabets also give a whole range of vowels. They had difficulty in identifying retroflex[9] and voiced sounds, while they do not provide any evidence of /g/, /h/ and the sibilant /š/. My wordlist[10] differs from the vocabulary given by Man and Portman since the southern group of Andamanese was the first to become extinct. My recording of the language of the present G.A. is similar to the examples of the Aka-jeru group of North Andamanese given by Radcliffe-Brown. Radcliffe-Brown's linguistic notes give valuable information, however he also gave a regular pattern of sounds[11] like Man and Portman, and was unable to make a distinction between retroflex and dental sounds.

Culturally and linguistically the ten G.A. groups were thought to be close to each other. The population has declined dramatically for the whole of G.A. Population figures of the Andaman negritos for 1900-1979 are as follows:[12]

tribe	1901	1931	1951	1961	1971	1979[13]
Great Andamanese	625	90	23	19	24	24
Jarawa	468	70	50	500	300	250
Sentinalese	117	50	-	50	100	50
Onge	672	250	150	129	112	94

There are various reasons for the rapid population loss of the Andaman negritos: they learnt vices from the new settlers, namely addiction to opium, tobacco and alcohol. An epidemic of venereal disease spread among the natives which has resulted in reduced fertility and a significant decline in the birth-rate. Contagious diseases brought by the outsiders, like measles, smallpox, mumps and influenza, also killed many of the original inhabitants as they had no immunity. At the time of colonisation of these islands, the natives resented the occupation by the new settlers. A large number of natives, mainly men, were killed in the ensuing clashes. In the Second World War, bombardment by the Japanese resulted in many casualties among the natives, the Jarawa area being affected the most.[14] Settlement of outsiders and the construction of roads destroyed large parts of the forests, which has affected indigenous hunter-gatherer activities.

In the 1960s, the increasing significance of the Indian Ocean resulted in the Government of India focussing greater attention on its islands situated there. Simultaneously, the Scheduled Castes and Tribes Welfare Scheme under the Union Ministry of Home Affairs began to be implemented. The first committee was set up in 1968 to examine the functions and progress of the welfare of the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes.[15] At that time there were 23 survivors of the G.A. race who lived in Port Blair in an abandoned Japanese bunker in appalling conditions. Most of them, including the women, were opium addicts. In order to get supplies of opium and tobacco, the latter travelled to the town and engaged in prostitution. Many had V.D. and tuberculosis. In 1969, persuaded by Indian officials, they were settled on the uninhabited Strait Island. In the initial stages of their settlement there the G.A. still came to Port Blair in search of

opium and tobacco. Later this activity was checked and a feeling of belonging to Strait Island grew among them.

In January 1980 I had an opportunity to visit Strait Island to work on their language. Strait Island is about 30 km north of Port Blair, with an area of approximately 5 sq.km. It is a four-hour journey by boat from Port Blair. The 'Milāle'[16] makes frequent visits to different settlements of natives in turn and supplies them with rations, gifts and a financial allowance of 50 to 250 Rupees per month to each individual. A social worker is stationed on the island in order to help them to adapt to various aspects of community life and to assist them in their education. There is also an autonomous body funded by the Government, the Andaman Ādim Janajāti Vikās Samati, Port Blair, established in 1976 with the aim of safeguarding health and promoting social and economic development.

My stay on Strait Island was limited to three hours and, since I was not allowed to work there, I persuaded five G.A. to come to Port Blair, where there is a 'transit house for the natives' called Ādibaserā (Shelter of Natives). The characteristics and lifestyle of the G.A. described in the available literature seems to have disappeared in general. What remains of their traditional culture may be as little as turtle-hunting and vague recollections of their god, named Bilikhu. Now there are pictures of Hindu gods in their houses. They dress in the tradition of modern mainland Indians, except for some old men who still prefer to wear only shorts. The younger generation of G.A. are very reluctant to talk about their customs and show no interest in traditional life. In their physical appearance they show a significant change from the previous generation. The four infants in the community lack the characteristic features of the negrito. As a typical example of the current mixing of races in the Strait Island settlement, I want to mention a man called Rāñchīvālā (a man from Ranchi, Bihar) - he is married to a G.A. woman who he first met when these people were living in Port Blair. Later Rāñchīvālā got a job on Strait Island looking after the piggery unit. At present the Government is spending substantial amounts of money on the G.A.

Hindi plays the role of lingua franca in the Andaman Islands. The G.A. with whom I spoke were well versed in Hindi and talked to their children in Hindi most of the time. Those of the younger generation with whom I talked were inhibited when it came to saying anything in their own language and were generally uninterested. For my recording of the language I had to rely on the elderly people; one young couple tried their best to cooperate, but their knowledge was very limited. There are only 24 survivors of the ten different G.A. groups and they now form one community. They have difficulty in conversing with each other because of linguistic differences between the ten different groups. Among my informants, one belonged to the Kora and another, named Biye, to the Jeru group, and the young couple had no idea of their origin. I decided to record primarily one language and to rely on one person, Pikar, who belongs to the Kora group of the G.A.

When I went back in December 1980 I was not allowed to go to Strait Island or Little Andaman but I was given permission to work at the Ādibaserā in Port Blair with the G.A., who were there at the time. I found out that only six young people in their twenties were living there, desperately looking for a way to stay in Port Blair. Eventually they will succeed and will settle down in Port Blair. The G.A. may survive,[17] which is the absolute concern of the Government of India, but it is evident that with the passing away of the older generation, the remaining G.A. will simply be Indians of the Andaman Islands and their language will become extinct.

1.2 Previous work on phonology

I have already discussed the linguistic work of Man, Portman and Radcliffe-Brown on page 187 of this paper. D.N. Basu's paper (1952) was published when he had worked with the one remaining small group. The latest fieldwork on G.A. was carried out by S. Manoharan around 1977. In an interview with Mr Manoharan in 1980 I learnt that he had submitted a Ph.D. thesis on G.A. at Calcutta University.

The phonological inventories of Basu and Manoharan are as follows:

Basu				
p	t	ṭ	c	k
ph	th	ṭh	ch	kh
b	d	ḍ	j	g
m	n	ṇ	ñ	ṅ
		l		
		r		
w			y	
			f	

Manoharan				
p	t	ṭ	c	k
b	d	ḍ	j	
	th			
ɸ	s			x
m	n		ñ	ṅ
	l			
r				
w			y	

It seems obvious from Basu's inventory that he has adapted the phonemes of G.A. to the framework of his own language, Bengali. Manoharan, as can be seen from the chart above, makes a more serious attempt to analyse the G.A. sound system in its own right. There are, however, several aspects of his analysis which are controversial. His phoneme inventory differs from mine, particularly in regard to /ɸ/, /s/ and /x/ which are my /ph/, /k̭h/ and /kh/. He has also inserted /p/ in his phonemic chart (perhaps to make it look symmetrical). He does not give any example of medial /p/. There are a few examples of final /p/ which I hear as a voiced sound, and regard as an unreleased allophone of /b/. Throughout Manoharan's published and unpublished work I have found only one example of initial /p/, i.e. poruwe (*toad*) which I have recorded as phuruwe. This is in agreement with Radcliffe-Brown: he too heard that /p/ had a 'different' sound which he renders as /p̌/ (see note 11).

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 Phonemes

G.A. has 20 consonants and eight vowels. The phoneme system is interesting on account of the lack of symmetry; particularly noteworthy is the absence of /p/. There are no examples in my materials, nor in Manoharan's, of a contrast between /b/ and /p/.

2.2 Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	
Plosive	-	t	ṭ	k̂	k	Unvoiced
	b	d	ḍ	ĝ	-	Voiced
	ph	th	-	k̂h	kh	Aspirated unvoiced
Nasal	m	n	-	ñ	ṇ	Voiced
Lateral				l̆		Voiced
Flap		r				Voiced
Semivowel	w			y	(w)	Voiced

BILABIALS: b ph

Examples of occurrence:

Initial		Medial		Final	
bowa	*ground*	iboya	*cooked food*	kėrėb	*bitter*
bat	*night*	arabėyik̂	*dog's tail*	ṭuṇkenab	*finger*
bȯr	*wind*	ṭibirbat	*evening*	l̆eb	*smoke*
phul̆imu	*fly*	iphėṭ	*high tide*	-	
phoṇ	*cave*	k̂erpho	*sneeze*		
phȯtmȯ	*paddle*	rėphe	*food*		

Contrast ph b

ėphowa *old woman* bowa *ground*

/b/ is a voiced bilabial stop. It is a similar sound to English b as in *brother*. /b/ is always unreleased in final position and therefore at times it may be confused with the /p/ sound, and also when it is followed by palatal /l̆/ it is heard as /p/, i.e. ṭȯntȯbl̆ȯ (*alone*). /ph/ is an aspirated p as in English word *pat*. In all other published work on G.A. I have seen /p/ as a phoneme while I couldn't find any evidence of it, but I noticed some variation in the pronunciation of /ph/. Since the G.A. are well versed in Hindi they pronounce Hindi /p/ as fricative /ɸ/ and people of the younger generation tend to confuse all these sounds using either /ph/ or /p/ or /ɸ/ indiscriminately in the same word. Although the name of my informant, Pik̂ar, starts with /p/, in my opinion this name was originally either 'Bik̂ar' or 'Phik̂ar'. When Pik̂ar was working in the Police Department, his Indian co-workers heard the initial sound as /p/ and his name thus became Pik̂ar.

DENTAL: t d th

Examples of occurrence:

Initial		Medial		Final	
tėye	*blood*	ṭȯtarbėyik̂	*cloud*	bat	*night*
tarphiḍo	*band*	ṭatab	*tongue*	mirit	*pigeon*
tede	*flow*	ṭitarino	*wet place*		
diĝono	*here*	tuṇkhudimu	*thumb*	-	
di	*this*	ȧkȧdikhe	*to swell*		
du	*that*	khider	*palm tree*		

Initial		Medial		
thȯwo	*cold*	kȯthȯ	*cough*	-
thȯwuɭ	*dew*	ug̭ethaɭ	*shy*	
		ṭarathomo	*buttock*	

These sounds are truly dental, and are made by touching the back of the upper teeth with the tip of the tongue. /th/ is the aspirate corresponding to /t/.

RETROFLEX: ṭ ḍ

Examples of occurrence:

Initial		Medial		Final	
ṭimeɭ	*bee*	akaṭa	*girl*	aṭ	*fire*
ṭȯṭȯ	*woman's covering for buttocks*	kaṭañe	*star*	ėraṭ	*feather*
ṭȯwo	*sky*	ėrṭėñe	*to kiss*	iphėṭ	*high tide*
ḍiyu	*sun/day*	ṭek̭hudu	*liver*	-	
ḍuɭa	*moon*	kuruḍe	*thunder*		
ḍob	*raw*	ittarḍuke	*to break*		

Contrast ṭ t ḍ d

ñȯtȯ	*way*	bat	*night*	ḍuɭa	*moon*
ñȯṭȯ	*swim*	aṭ	*fire*	du	*that*
ṭȯkho	*wood*	tėwo	*crocodile*	kuruḍe	*thunder*
tėkho	*story*	ṭȯwo	*sky*	tede	*to flow*
		thȯwo	*cold*	ḍiyu	*sun/day*
				di	*this*

The retroflex sounds are similar to those used in Hindi. These sounds are produced by pressing the hard palate with the tip of the tongue and releasing the tongue swiftly forward. When it is used as a possessive suffix /ṭ/ is aspirated.

PALATALS: k̭ g̭ k̭h

Examples of occurrence:

Initial		Medial		Final	
k̭awo	*dog*	ėrk̭o	*head*	ȯtbėyik̭	*dog's hair*
k̭e	*thorn*	arâk̭a	*nest*	tėyik̭	*leaf*
k̭okbi	*turtle*	ėk̭amȯ	*to hide*	ɭėk̭	*arrow*
g̭eṇ	*mud*	tag̭ew	*bird/fish*		
g̭ik̭er	*rain*	ig̭oke	*to eat*		
g̭o	*song*	ug̭ethaɭ	*shy*		
k̭hubi	*snake*	ṭek̭hudu	*stomach*		
k̭hare	*sea*	ėbuk̭hė	*to hit*		
k̭hub	*basket*	ṭėk̭howo	*wound*		

These sounds are formed by touching the back of the hard palate. Aspirated /k̭h/ may be confused with the sibilant /š/. That it is distinct from the fricative can be determined by the fact that the G.A., when speaking Hindi, either employs

this sound in place of the sibilant /š/ or else makes a sound midway between /k̂h/ and /š/ with considerable effort.

VELARS: k kh

Examples of occurrence:

Initial		Medial		Final	
kėrėb	*bitter*	ṭakėr	*throat*	ṭėkȯrȯk	*knee*
kȯropho	*sharp*	ṭuṇkara	*nail*	ṭȯt̂tȯk	*to wash oneself*
kuTeT	*there*	arakȯṇ	*lap*	ṭėrk̂ȯk	*forehead*
khuro	*come quick*	ṭėrkhum	*shoulder*	-	
khȯrȯ	*sand*	akag̃ekhe	*lie/secret*		
khirme	*sweat*	ṭȯkho	*wood*		

Contrast k̂ k k̂h kh

ȯk̂o	*fruit*	kȯ	*bow*
ȯk̂ȯbuTu	*foolish*	okȯ	*net*
k̂ȯrȯye	*sloping*	eb̂ukhu	*lady*
k̂ȯrȯpho	*sharp*	ėbok̂he	*to hit, beat*
arakȯṇ	*lap*	akag̃ekhe	*lie*
k̂ȯṇ	*nut*	akag̃ek̂he	*to hate*

Voiceless velar stop sounds are truly velar and they are produced by the back part of the soft palate with the back part of the tongue.

NASALS: m n ñ ṇ

Examples of occurrence:

Initial		Medial		Final	
miTithe	*fog*	emuTu	*egg*	ḍirim	*dark*
mȯk̂ȯ	*chicken*	amimi	*mother*	iyȯm	*sweet*
meño	*stone*	ėmphiTu	*dead*	ṭorom	*salt*
narakhamo	*people*	ino	*water*	-	
nȯnk̂ėnkȯ	*two/many*	beno	*sleepy*		
-		ėrnȯkho	*cheek*		
ñebuk̂o	*thigh*	kaṭañe	*star*	-	
ñak̂hubi	*who is that/name*	tėñe	*mosquito*		
ñȯtȯ	*to swim*	meño	*stone*		
-		ṭėṇet	*navel*	gen	*mud*
		taṇraTive	*to finish*	k̂ȯṇ	*nut*
		ṭuṇkorȯ	*palm*	ṭaphoṇ	*mouth*

Contrast m n ñ ṇ

ino	*water*	ṭėṇet	*navel*
ño	*house*	ñet	*hiccup*
beno	*sleepy*	ėrnȯkho	*cheek*
meño	*stone*	tmȯto	*foot*
		ñȯtȯ	*way*

The four nasals are bilabial, dental, palatal and velar respectively.

LATERAL: ľ

The only lateral in G.A. is palatal /ľ/ and it is produced by blocking the air with the tongue touching the hard palate and then gradually releasing the air through both sides of the tongue. There is no sign of any dental or alveolar l whatsoever.

Examples of occurrence:

Initial		Medial		Final	
ľawo	*ghost*	ṭėruľu	*eve*	ėrnȯľ	*good/well*
ľeb	*smoke*	aľe	*lightning*	g̬uruľ	*to shiver*
ľėk̭	*arrow*	utľiľe	*dumb*	akakėľ	*cunning*

FLAP: r

There is only one r sound which is alveolar flap /r/. It is pronounced by tapping the tongue behind the alveolum.

Examples of occurrence:

Initial		Medial		Final	
ra	*pig*	ėrľam	*soft*	g̬ik̂er	*rain*
rėphe	*food*	ṭarakarab	*waist*	ṭok̂ar	*chest*
rowȯ	*boat*	g̬ero	*to hurry up*	ṭėṭ̂ėr	*lame*

Contrast ľ r

kera	*pond*	ñȯľȯ	*to cry*	mirit	*pigeon*
kėľa	*dog-flies*	iyȯrȯ	*flower*	miľithe	*fog*
		iyoľė	*to see*		

SEMIVOWELS: w y

Examples of occurrence:

Initial		Medial		Final	
(we)		ėwune	*juice*	tag̬ew	*fish/bird*
(wȯm)		kȯwo	*skin*		
		ṭewaľa	*collarbone*		
yani	*to save*	tėye	*blood*	g̬irȯy	*dance/circle*
yibeľėṇo	*to bite*	iyȯm	*sweet*	ek̬hȯwȯy	*to smell*
yewuľu	*seed*	etaphava	*dry*	ittarṭȯy	*to throw*

The semivowel /w/ does not occur in word-initial position, but it is found at the beginning of the bound morpheme we, wȯm, the present-tense marker. I have found only one example where it is in word-final position.

/y/ sounds like the English sound y as in the word *yard*. At times the semivowel /y/ is used as a weak glide between /i/ and /u/. A weak glide -y- can also occur after any vowel provided it is followed by /e/. In such cases the glide -y- sometimes may combine with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong:

ḍiyu	*sun*	iye	*pain*
uľuyi	*to whistle*	eboye	*married*
amaye	*father*	ėṭṭȯye	*bone*
tėye	*blood*		

Contrast w b

bowa	*ground*	k̭eba	*baby-carrier*

2.3 Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Half close	e		o
Half open	ė		ȯ
Open		a	

/a/

/a/ is an unrounded back vowel, further forward than Hindi long ā, but lower and further back than Hindi short a. It approximates the central position of Hindi short a, when it is followed by /r/ or when used as the possessive prefix /a/, as in the word amimi (*mother*) and other nouns denoting close kinship.

Examples of occurrence:

Initial		Medial		Final	
aṭ	*fire*	ṭatab	*tongue*	ra	*pig*
atra	*bright*	irak̭aṇ	*root*	bowa	*ground*

/e/

/e/ is a front half-close vowel and it is similar in sound to e of the Hindi word ek (*one*).

Examples of occurrence:

Initial		Medial		Final	
ekaṭȯṇ	*trunk (of a tree)*	g̬ik̭er	*rain*	miľithe	*fog*
eburaṇ	*red*	kera	*pond*	k̭e	*thorn/bush*

/ė/

This is a front half open vowel and it has the same sound as e in the word *egg*.

Examples of occurrence:

Initial		Medial		Final	
ėphowa	*old woman*	tėye	*blood*	ig̬okė	*to eat*
ėrk̭o	*head*	ėľėwo	*small*	ivoľė	*to see*

Contrast -e -ė

kera	*pond*	k̭e	*thorn/bush*	ȯnrėb	*backbone*
kėľa	*dog-flies*	ig̬okė	*to eat*	ľeb	*smoke*
k̭ewo	*lizard*	g̬eṇ	*mud*		
k̭ėwo	*crab/knife*	bėṇ	*swamp*		

/i/

/i/ is a high close front unrounded vowel and has the same sound as short i in the word *ink*. Cardinal long /ī/ occurs occasionally as a variant pronunciation in the word-final position.

Examples of occurrence:

Initial		Medial		Final	
ino	*water*	ḍiyu	*sun/day*	k̭hubi	*snake*
iye	*pain*	biṭe	*ash*	ėyi	*to vomit*

/o/

/o/ is an unrounded half close back vowel, it has the same sound as o in the Hindi word olā (*hail*).

Examples of occurrence:

Initial		Medial		Final	
ok̭ȯ	*net*	bowa	*ground*	tėwo	*crocodile*
onthė we	*to jump*	ṭaphoṇ	*mouth*	īawo	*ghost*

/ȯ/

This is a half open back vowel and it sounds like the o on *ox*.

Examples of occurrence:

Initial		Medial		Final	
ȯko	*fruit*	ėrnȯī	*good*	ñȯtȯ	*way*
ȯṋtȯbuk̭	*alive*	ṭėrṭȯṇ	*arm*	ṭarkȯthȯ	*nose*

Contrast -o -ȯ

ok̭ȯ	*net*	ṭȯwo	*sky*
ȯk̭o	*fruit*	ṭȯwȯ	*blind*
ėrk̭o	*head*	thȯwo	*clod*

The younger G.A. people frequently mix up /o/ with /ȯ/ and /e/ with /ė/ when these are actually four different phonemes in the speech of the older people.

/u/

This is a rounded close back vowel and it is pronounced like the u in *rural*. /u/ is shortened in word-initial position.

Examples of occurrence:

Initial		Medial		Final	
uro	*point of a spear*	khuro	*to come quickly*	ebuṭu	*thin*
umokė	*to give/answer*	k̭hubi	*snake*	yewuīu	*seed*

2.4 Phonetic notes on consonants and vowels

Phoneme	Allophone	
b	[p]	Before the cluster /bT/, /b/ becomes unvoiced /p/. ėntȯbTȯ (ėntȯpTȯ) = *one*.
ph	[ɸ]	/ph/ is pronounced as a bilabial fricative when it precedes the vowel /o/. ėphowa (ėɸowa) = *old man*.
ṭ	[ṭh]	When it is used as a possessive prefix /ṭ/ is always aspirated whether or not it is combined with any of the other prefixes which are used to distinguish noun classes, i.e. /ṭ, ṭėr, ṭar, ṭara/ ṭmȯṭȯ (ṭhmȯṭȯ) = *foot*, ṭakėr (ṭhakėr) = *throat*.
k̭h	[š]	/k̭h/ is pronounced as sibilant /š/ when it is followed by the vowels /a/ and /u/, i.e. k̭hare (šare) = *sea*, ṭek̭huḍu (ṭešuḍu) = *liver*.
kh	[x]	/kh/ is pronounced as a velar fricative /x/ when it is followed by the vowel /o/, i.e. ṭȯkho (ṭȯxo) = *tree, wood*.
r	[ṛ̃]	Strongly trilled /ṛ̃/ occurs in the cluster r + consonant only when that cluster is followed by a vowel, i.e. ittarṭȯy (ittaṛ̃ṭȯy) = *to throw*, ittarḍuke (ittaṛ̃ḍuke) = *to break*.
a	[ǎ]	/a/ is pronounced as a short vowel /ǎ/ if it is followed by /r/ or when it occurs as the possessive prefix /a/. This prefix is used with nouns designating close kin. ṭarkȯthȯ = *nose*, amimi = *mother*.
u	[ʊ]	/u/ is shortened and lowered to /ʊ/ in word-initial position, i.e. uro (ʊro) = *point of a spear*.

2.5 Accent

The accent is very weak and does not appear to be phonemic. Whatever weak accent there is, usually falls on the first syllable. There is, however, an exception: a strong accent marks the final syllable of vocatives and exclamations. Examples:

ṭėṭė	*hungry*	ṭė'ṭė'	*hey! listen!*
Tawo	*ghost*	Ta'wo	*naughty!*
ėk̭ayė	*bad*	ėk̭a'yė	*wrong!*

2.6 Phonotactics

(a) Phonemes occur initially and finally. Except for velar /ṇ/ all phonemes occur in word-initial position. Phonemes /ph d th ḍ g̣ k̭h kh n ñ/ do not appear in word-final position. In the text there is one sentence where /ph/ occurs as a word final: di ṭik̭o imutarȯph = *this is my flower*. All vowels can occur in the word-initial or word-final position.

(b) Consonant clusters. These are the possible intra-morphemic clusters. For examples see vocabulary and sentences.

	b	ph	t	th	ṭ	ḍ	k̭	k̭h	k	kh	m	n	ñ	r	ĭ	w
b															bĭ	
ph															phĭ	
t	tb	tph	tt							tkh	tm		tñ	tr	tĭ	tw
ṭ		ṭph	ṭṭ						ṭk		ṭm			ṭr	ṭĭ	
m	mb	mph										mn			mĭ	mw
n			nt	nth	nṭ	nḍ	nk̭		nk		nm			nr	nĭ	
ñ		ñph	ñt				ñk̭							ñr	ñĭ	
ṇ	ṇb	ṇph			ṇṭ	ṇḍ	ṇk̭	ṇk̭h	ṇk	ṇkh	ṇm			ṇr		
k̭		k̭ph														
k	kb													kr		kw
r	rb	rph	rt	rth	rṭ	rḍ	rk̭		rk	rkh	rm	rn	rñ		rĭ	rw
ĭ		ĭph	ĭt		ĭṭ						ĭm		ĭn			ĭw
y			yt												yĭ	

(c) Restrictions appear to operate as to permissible consonant-vowel-consonant sequences. The following sequences do not occur in any of the recorded materials:

Preceding consonants	Vowels	Following consonants
d ḍ g̬	a	
k	i	d
	e	
d ḍ g̬ kh w	ė	d
d	o	th d ḍ g̬ ñ
d g̬ ṇ	ȯ	d g̬
ṇ	u	

(d) A syllable can consist of the sequence CCVCC and CV or VC; the most common sequences are CVCC or CCVC and CVC. Examples:

CCVCC		CV/VC	
ėntȯbl̄ȯ	*one*	ra	*pig*
ṭunḳėnkȯ	*we*	kȯ	*bow*
ittârḍuke	*to break*	aṭ	*fire*
		iṇ	*to spit*

2.7 Note

My main objective in this basic work was to establish a firm basis for further research on grammar. We now have the recordings of a language which is on the verge of extinction. I hope this paper will give some help in comparative linguistic studies in this relatively little known part of the Indo-Pacific area.

3. RECORDED DATA

3.1 Vocabulary

The use of class-markers is obligatory, nouns and nominals in this vocabulary include the relevant class-marker.

NOUNS

PEOPLE

mother	amimi
father	amaye
man	ėtharo
old man	ėk̭akhamo
old woman	ėphowa
lady	ebukhu
married man	eboye
younger sister	arabėl̄ȯkha
younger brother ('one born later')	ȯṭṭarak̭huwithuwe
eldest/elder brother	ėk̭ȯkho
baby	ârabėl̄ȯ
boy,child,son	aṭȯṭa
baby girl	akaṭa
daughter	ėyik̭ȯkha
people	narâkhamo

PARTS OF BODY

body	ṭuṇk̭homo
head	ėrk̭o
hair	ṭȯtbėyik̭
forehead	ṭėrk̭ȯk
eye	ṭėrul̄u
nose	ṭarkȯthȯ
tooth	ṭėrbil̄e
tongue	ṭatab
jaw,chin	ṭėrtab
throat	ṭakėr
mouth	ṭaphoṇ/ñphoṇ
shoulder	ṭėrkhum
arm	ṭėrṭoṇ
ear	ṭėrbuwo
elbow	ṭėwol̄ataraḍul̄e
palm	ṭuṇkorȯ
finger	ṭuṇkenab
nail	ṭuṇkara
chest,breast	ṭok̭ar
nipple	mėṭėyi
stomach	ṭėkotra
belly	ephil̄utarkhuro
navel	ṭėṇet
back,waist	ṭarakarab
buttocks	ṭarathomo
thigh	ėk̭ȯthomo/ñebuk̭
cheek	ėrnȯk̭ho
foot	ṭmȯṭȯ
knee	ṭėrk̭ȯrȯk
lip	ṭėrbowa
moustache	ṭėrbowabėyik̭
skin	kȯwo

PARTS OF BODY

blood/fever	ṭėye
fat	ṭėɿȯne
liver	ṭek̭huḍu
intestine	ịmek̂a
kidney	emeîya
heart	ṭȯtwotuḍeɿȯ
swelling	ȯnėnȯye
sore	ṭėphar
pus	ėrmine
wound	ṭėk̭hȯwo
pain	iye
sweat	khirme
bone/awake	ėṭṭȯye
backbone	ȯnrėb
collarbone	tewaɿa
ankle	ñrȯnȯ
nape of neck	ȯṭṭȯye
thumb	ṭunkhudimu
muscle	ėrbuṇ
wrinkle	ṭėrk̭erėk we
lap	arak̂ȯṇ
eyebrow	ṭeruɿuṭȯtbėyik̭
armpit	okȯkuwȯ
testicles	dȯmo
penis	ɿuɿ
anus	ṭėṭ
vagina	tebu
tear	ṭėrino
mind	ṭėrmine

LANDSCAPE/ENVIRONMENT/MISCELLANEOUS

sun/day	ḍiyu
moon	ḍuɿa
star	kaṭañe
sky	ṭȯwo
cloud	ṭȯtarbėyik̭
fog,mist	miɿithe
rain	gik̭er
night	bat
morning	uttȯ
evening	ṭibirbat
afternoon	ṭȯburaṇ
dew	ṭubiɿ/thȯwuɿ
water	ino
creek	buɿu
pond	kera
ground,earth	bowa
stone	meño
sand	kȯṭ/khȯro
mountain	buruiṇ
bush	k̭aṇ/k̭obȯṇ
garden	ṭȯkho tayiɿawo
wind,air	bȯr

LANDSCAPE/ENVIRONMENT/MISCELLANEOUS

fire	aṭ
smoke	ɿeb
way/path	ñȯtȯ
tree,wood	ṭȯkho
trunk	ekaṭoṇ
branch	ȯṭṭoṇ
stump of a tree	ikȯrȯwo
root	irak̭aṇ
bark of a tree	ithîyu
fruit	ȯk̭o
stick	ṭȯkhota
small stick	ėɿėwota
big stick	ėrkhurota
ghost/naughty	ɿawo
lightning	aɿe
thunder	kuruḍe
rainbow	biɿu
God	biɿikhu
mud	geṇ
light	arak̭oɿ
darkness/black	ḍirim
island	uɿure
valley	k̭ȯɿȯṇ
forest	ṭimikhu
plain	ṭiṭȯtbėɿė
wet place	ṭitarino
thorn/fish bones	k̭e
bay	buk̭ȯṭȯṇ
shore	ṭȯtphoɿȯ
bank	tarphiḍo
swamp	bėṇ
high tide	iphėṭ
low tide	igewȯm
rainy season	gik̭erwi uk̭erom
dry season ('there is no rain')	gik̭erphowe
coal	atphiṇ/attarbit
ash	biṭe
leaf	ṭėyik̭
banana	kȯpho
betelnut	k̭ȯṇ
basket	k̭hub
flower,bud	iyȯrȯ
seed	yewuɿu
potato	ṭȯɿe
sweet potato	mino/ėyȯm
salt/salty water	ṭorom
sea	k̭hare
well	k̂eɿ
greenery	ṭ̂ȯtarwe
food	rėphe
palm tree	khider
bamboo	ṭo

LANDSCAPE/ENVIRONMENT/MISCELLANEOUS

coconut	ekawuƬu
grass	imikoƬu
nest	arak̭a/thȯmu
house	ño/ṭik̭o
roof	taratạṇ
bow	kȯ
arrow	Ƭėk̭
rope	boƬ
woman's covering {*front*	ñiro
{*back*	ṭȯṭȯ
inside of the house	ṭik̭omikhu
on top of stone	ñȯtȯtara
paddle	phȯtmȯ
net	ok̭ȯ
boat	rowȯ
wave	phorȯṭ
baby carrier	k̭eba
juice	ėwune
conversation	ėremar
argument	ėnȯƬeƬėto
story, talk	tėkho
tongs	k̭ȯye
spear {*point*	uro
{*shaft*	araṭȯkho

ANIMALS

dog	k̭awo
pig	ra
dog's tail	arawuƬibi
dogs	ȯtbėyik̭
dog-flies	kėƬa
bird, fish, food	tag̭ew
feather	ėraṭ
egg	emuƬu
ant	kȯyimu
moth	ḍum
fly	phuƬimu
snake	k̭hubi
bee	ṭimeƬ
mosquito	ñipho
rat	ṭȯwuḍe
bat	birėye
lizard	k̭ewo
crocodile	tėwo
frog	phuruwe, kȯruw
pigeon	mirit
kite	khȯƬȯ
chicken	mȯk̭ȯ
parrot/woman's hand ornament	k̭ȯrȯƬȯ
crow	phaṭka
turtle	k̭okbi
seabird	Ƭak̭a
tail of fish	arâbėyik̭
crab	k̭ėwo

PRONOUNS/INTERROGATIVES

I	ṭiyo
you	ñiyo
you two	ñiƬiyo/ñėrphoƬ
he	khudi/di
you all	nȯnk̭ėnkȯ
they all	dunrȯma
we	ṭunk̭ėnkȯ
we all	ṭarâkhamo/ṭėyik̭ȯwe
all, much	arakhamo we
you all	narakhamo we
there	kuƬeƬ/khudig̭ono
here	dig̭ono
this	di/khitiyo
that	du/khudiayiño
that thing (far)	khutag̭ono
we (incl.)	ñiyo ṭiyo
we (du.excl.)	duyiyo ṭiyo
we (pl.excl.)	du ṭiyo
one	eṅtȯbƬȯ
more than one (see *you all*)	nȯnk̭ėnkȯ
what	k̭ayėwe
where	k̭huder
when	ḍekhȯ
how much	nekȯphe
there/where	khudi
who / *who are you?* / *what is your name?*	ñak̭hubi?

ADJECTIVES/ADVERBS

small	ėƬėwo
big/full, heavy	ėrkhuro
good	ėrnȯƬ
bad, wrong	ėk̭ayė
long	ėrṭȯyeƬwum
hungry, vocative	ṭėṭė
red	ibiraṇ
white	ėṭȯƬȯṭmo
green, blue	ekaƬawo
hot	khimiƬ
cold	thȯwo
blind/one-eyed	ṭȯwȯ
dumb	utƬiƬe
new, strange	ėkȯƬȯṭ
rotten	iburȯṭȯ
broken	enḍuko
right (hand)	ėk̭ȯkhȯ

ADJECTIVES/ADVERBS

left (hand)	ėkȯrȯ
thick	ėnab
thin	ėbuṭu/idiñaƖȯ
narrow (path)	ñȯṭȯƖėwo
straight	ėṭȯƖȯ
ripe	iphumu
cooked (food)	iboya
wet	iteno
dry	ėtphaya
dry wood	ėrob
other	ȯttȯk
far	karak̭pho
sharp	kȯrôpho
blunt	ekokheƖa
alive	ȯntȯbuk̭
dead	ėmphiƖ̭u
short	ȯkatta
fat	biṇoye
thirsty	phaye
tired	ṭuk̭iñe
lame	ṭėṭėr
sad	ṭȯtbok̭ayė
happy	ṭȯtbonȯƖ
empty, house is empty	ṭiṭȯwo
hurry	g̬ero
slow	ėrėntėk̭he
strong, tight	ėtƖam
weak	iƖėyaṭėṭ/ḍiṇaƖo
angry	ȯtwotarak̭e
quiet	ėnȯƖ tȯk̭o
sleepy	ubeno
young	erȯkhuyi
pregnant	araḍeƖo
having a full stomach	araphėṭ
hard	ȯṭṭariwe
soft	ėrƖam
sweet	iyȯm
bitter/sour	kėrėb
wise, busy	ȯtbȯƖwebinu
foolish, dumb	ȯkȯbuƖu
alone	ṭȯntȯbƖȯ/ṭėrƖa
selfish	ṭȯtwok̭ayėwe
dear	ėkrȯk̭he
active	ewureṭȯtƖam
poor, worthless	ėrƖeya
foreign (person) not one's own	ñȯttȯkwe
shy	ug̬ethaƖ
handicapped	ėṭėṭėr
cunning	akakėƖ
wide (path)	ėrkhuro ... ñȯtȯ

ADJECTIVES/ADVERBS

high	itƖȯḍȯmu
low	irakatta
sloping	k̭ȯrȯye
loose	ėg̬irȯpho
bright	atra
raw	ḍob
tame	ėṭaṭaƖiṇ
barren (woman)	uthirepho
infertile	ėṭȯṇṭȯwo
famous	akag̬ek̭epho
different	ėttȯk̂
same, alike	ėttȯṇkȯ
easy	ṭiyonȯƖ
lie/secret	akag̬ekhe
true	akag̬ekhephoṇ
slippery	ukhoƖȯyiñȯ
rough, uneven, dangerous	ėkȯrȯpho
closed, shut	ėrėmarbeno
scattered	ėpheƖėtra
enough/no more	ḍekho

VERBS

eat	ig̬okė
drink	ikhuwe
stand/get up	rȯytȯ/ȯytȯ
sit	ȯñȯ
speak	k̭ȯƖe
walk	ėk̂ȯƖė
call out	k̂huro
I eat	ṭuyig̬okȯm
run	ṭȯbȯƖė
take	iña
take!	kuwe
I'll take	ṭuwokȯm
give	k̭ė
give him	umokė
break	ittarḍuke
drop	ȯytaboṭȯ
fall	itaboṭė
hit, beat	ėbok̭he
save	yani
sleep	beno
lie (I am lying on the ground)	ṭarambeno
cry	ñȯƖȯ
cook (that food)	irak̭hekė
blow fire	eraborakė
jump	ȯnthėwe
be afraid	inƖaṭemam
laugh	khȯƖėwe
scratch	ṭuyiñawȯm
throw	ittarṭȯy

VERBS

swim	ñȯṭȯ
wash (oneself)/ enter into water	ṭȯttȯk
look for	ṭuwenṭikwȯɽȯm
smell	ek̭hȯwȯy
bow	ṭuṇburaṇ
make a bow	ṭokȯwe kȯtȯyikȯm
go	ṭȯk̭anewȯm
come	ṭuɽiwȯm
come quickly	khuro
climb	ekarakȯm
climb down	ṭȯɽėwȯm
hide	ėk̭amȯ
catch	wȯkȯ/uwokȯ
turn (intr.)	ṭamphorȯwȯm
put (in hand)	i̇tėk̭he
put (on shoulder)	uṭuṇ
push	ṭuwe ṭėrėkȯm
pull	ṭuweṭėno
bite	yibeɽėṇo
vomit	ėyi
cough	kȯthȯ
sneeze	k̭erpho
spit	i̇ṇ
break wood	ṭȯyėttarḍukȯm
cut wood	ṭȯk̭hėrėwȯm
stop! wait!	i̇takhe
remember	ṭȯtwobiɽėpho
forget	ṭȯtwobiɽėkȯ
enter	ṭȯtaraɽȯṭa
go outside	ṭutėrthu
bury	ėmėṭo
make a hole in the ground	ṭȯṭibirpho
insult	etmȯk̭ȯ
swallow	ikhuwe
pour out	ṭuyik̭o
charge/attack	ȯtmȯkė
replace	etatėrkȯɽȯyiñe
be unable	urephopho ėɽėya
tie	ṭȯyik̭owȯm
draw water	ṭȯyetėnȯm
lift	okė
dig ground	phoṇ
burn	ikhubikė
die	ėphiɽ
bring	uwe
carry	itmȯk̭ȯñe

VERBS

grab	ittaratėwoɽė
hear	muḍewe
see	iyoɽė
want,need	taṭuɽokė
like	g̬iye
sing	g̬o
steal	ėṭȯwe
ask	ȯkȯwȯye
tickle	ṭug̬ethe wȯm
send	itaroɽė
scold	ituḍuɽė
search	inȯne
cover	utñirokė
uncover	utekhe
dance,circle	g̬irȯy
finish	i̇taṇraɽiye
wave	phaɽ̇
dive	ñe
miss,lose	eraɽiyo
shoot (an arrow)	ṭȯwetȯɽȯm
kill (with an arrow)	ṭuwebuwarṭȯɽ
kick	ṭȯwe ṭrėk̭hȯm
pinch	irėṇam
dodge,cheat	atayikhe
spear	phonmo
hiccup	ñet
whistle	uɽuyi
grow	atathu
bend	uk̭hoɽito
shiver	g̬uruɽ
feed	okȯkhuwo
make a new thing	ėnȯɽeyime ėbanė
embrace	ėṭṭėrkorme
kiss	ėrṭėñe
rake	ṭuweg̬irakham
float	utebeno
meet	k̭erphoṇ
tremble	ug̬ireɽam
swell	akadikhe
flow	tede
spill,overflow	ekantek̭ȯkho
hate	akag̬ek̭he
(wind) blows	bȯrtark̭e
(sun) rises	(ḍiyu) wikarakȯm
(sun) sets	(ḍiyu) araɽėkho
(moon) rises	(ḍuɽa) wikarakȯm
(moon) sets	(ḍuɽa) wiraɽėkȯm

3.2 Phrases and sentences

my/our father	ṭamaye
your mother	ñamimi
his younger brother	arabėɽȯ k̬hikuwe
our younger brother	ṭarabėɽȯ kuwe
their younger sister	arabėɽȯ k̬hikuwe
our younger sister	ṭarabėɽȯ k̭hikuwe
your baby	ñuthire
our baby	ṭuthire
their baby	uthire
my head	ṭėrk̭o
your ear/ears	ñėrbuwo
dog's two ears	ak̭awor(do)buwo
pig's two ears	r̂atar(do)buwo
dog's two eyes	akawo(do)ėruɽu
man's two eyes	(do)ñeruɽu or (do)mėṇėruɽu
woman's two legs do (Hindi) = *two*	(do)mėṇmȯṭȯ
bird's nest/nests	tag̬ew tutbotarak̭a
dog's home/homes	ḳawo tutño
one white dog	ê̇ntȯbɽo ėk̭awo (*one dog*)
white dogs	ėṭȯɽȯtmo ê̇kawo
small girl	iɽėwo khayê̇bikhu
two small girls	(do) nėbikhu
I am hot	ṭutkhirme wo
I am cold	ṭȯthȯwowȯm
he/she is tired	du we maɽaye
he/she is sick	du we itėbeno
my hand is alright	ṭuṇkȯrȯnȯɽwe
I am alright	ṭėrmiñe nȯɽwe
my everything is alright	ṭėnȯɽwe
this flower is red	di g̬uke itbiraṇ
that cloth is not red	du îtbiraṇpho
these flowers are white	di g̬uke ittȯɽȯṭmo
those clothes are not white	du g̬uke ittȯɽȯṭmopho
both those flowers are red	du g̬uke ittȯɽȯṭmo
both these flowers are white	di etėɽȯṭmo
both those flowers are not white	du ikakhoba eṭɽaṭmopho
give me a red flower	ṭibiraṇ kaytėk̬he
don't give me a red flower	ṭibiraṇ kay tėk̬him
give him/her a white dog	du iyak̬awo ṭȯɽȯbutėk̬he
give that girl a white dog	du we îbukhuke ig̬iṭȯ̂ɽobutẽk̬he
give that boy a white dog	du we itharo kay ig̬iṭȯɽȯbutėk̬he
see her	du weɽė or du weyȯɽė
see him	du weyȯɽė aṭȯṭa
give us a red flower	di itbiraṇ kay retėk̬he
don't give us a white flower	mulṭit taɽȯtmo kaytėk̬he wo
give them a fish	ni tag̬ew tėk̬he or ni ėntȯbɽȯ tėk̬he
don't give them two fish	ni iraɽik̂ȯm
my house is nice	ṭȯtño yinȯ̂ɽwe
your eye is not bad	ṭėruɽu ḳayė phowe
her bow is not big	ik̬hokȯ ṭutkhu ḍuṇpho we
small eye	ėruɽuɽėwo
my eye is not small	ṭėruɽuɽėwo phowe

their houses are big	ȯtño ṭėrkhuḍu
my house is not big	ṭȯtño ʔėwowe
this house of mine is good	di ṭȯtñonȯʔwe
this house of yours is not bad	di ȯtñok̭ayė phowe
this eye of mine was good	di ṭėrûʔu nȯʔweʔȯ
this eye of his/hers was not good	du ėruʔu nȯʔpho
this dog of yours was not good	ñik̭ho âkawo ėnȯʔphoʔȯ
that food is not bad	du rėphe ėk̂ayė phoʔȯ
that food was not bad	du rėphe ėkayėpho
this wood is not good	di ṭȯkho ėk̂ayė phuʔȯ
that wood was not good	du ṭȯkho ėnȯʔ phuʔȯ
this wood was not good	di ṭȯkho ėnȯʔ phuʔȯ
that wood is not good	du ṭȯkho ėnȯʔ phuʔȯ
this/these are my flowers	di ṭik̭o imutarȯph
this is not your house	di ȯtñ̂o phowe
that is not your flower	du ñik̭he mutarȯpho we
these are her clothes	di ik̭he mutaʔȯṭa
this is his/her knife	di ik̭he k̂ėwo
those are not my houses	du ṭutñȯpho we
don't give me my father's stick	du utik̭o ñoyek̭hu ṭȯkhowutėk̭him
who will come with me?	ña k̭hiwuṭė uk̭ȯnewȯm?
I (she) will go with you	ȯṭuk̭ȯnewȯm
put the fish on the fire	tagêw aṭʔa tėk̭he
do you have some nice thing?	ñâk̭o k̭ayėnȯʔwe?
I did not dig anything	ṭuk̭ay we phuṇ phuʔȯ
go and cook your food	khûʔi wirėphe wirak̭huwe
has food been cooked?	dekho iboya?
bring some coconut for me	ṭunkhider we k̭awoy
a boy is climbing on a tree to pick a coconut	aṭȯṭa khider ŵembėphȯm
chop some wood for me	tunṭȯkho wetphuye
light a fire	aṭ ḍikubike
is the fire burning well?	aṭʔuru nȯʔwe?
is that wood heavy?	batutkhu ḍuṇḍi?
(no), it is very light	di yobʔe
who is cutting the bush?	ak̭himu bira buk̂o k̭hėrėwȯm?
ask him to bring more wood	egirakėwo bȯy k̂awo
I am going to light a fire	ṭuway bikhu bink̭ekȯm
can we get food here?	bȯʔmu ṭirėphe wîtek̭hȯm?
what kind of food is in your village?	ñȯtño kay wirėphe?
do you like this food?	k̂awo dimug̭imum?
come on, we will find something else	k̂hawo ṭȯy nėni
a woman has/women have brought some good food	ebukhe ėnȯʔ kharėphe wik̭awo
this is not black man's food	diyo ḍirim tėk̭he g̣iyopho
I can't eat that	baṭu îgipho
what kind of tree is that?	du k̭awȯ ṭondi?
that is a coconut tree	du k̂hider ṭonwe
fruit does not come on this tree	di ṭon nok̭ȯphu
how are you?	ėnȯʔwe?
I am sick	ėtėbenowe
he is sick	k̭eyiye
this man is sick	di utebeno
my hand is sore	tėk̂ȯn we
he fell down and got hurt	ibȯṭȯʔ ėmbȯʔȯ

no, I am not well today	ṭȯtbu k̭ok̭ay we
his foot is swollen	unėnȯya
I fell from the tree	ṭubo ṭȯwo
what is he eating?	uk̭ay k̭aṭo?
he has a stomach ache	ėkotra yiye
he broke his arm	ėnṭȯyokȯ ḍuko
he has a sore leg	di ṭėphar Ɩėwopho
flick the fly out of his eye	phuƖimu we okoƖė
flies are bothering me	phuƖimu etepho
kill those mosquitoes	ėƖñe ėtbaṭe
he is scared because he is sick	aramƖaṭȯm eyiye khude
he went into the forest because he was sick	ėtėbenȯ khude ṭimikhe iyoƖȯ
his eye is sore/red	ñėruƖu tutbiraṇ
my foot is sore	ṭėṭȯye we k̭emo
is this a good path?	di ñȯtȯ ėnôƖ
where does this path go?	k̭atñȯtȯ khidi g̭ono?
rain spoiled it	g̣iker we ebėwo
where is the water?	k̭aƖino we?
show me the path	ṭi ñȯtȯ we ėrȯƖaye
follow me	ṭake baye
you should go today	takha ñȯk̭ȯne we
I will give you your ration	ṭuñiƖe k̭ay wi rėphe
you can go ahead	ñėren taraƖo we
our eyes are the same	ṭėruƖu ėntȯbƖȯ
our hair is different	ṭȯtbėyik̭ tar yik̭hu phuwe
he spoke for a long time	temuṭiye oyek g̭irako
he laughed for a long time	ėnṭȯṭȯ khoƖėphoƖȯ
I waited for him a long time	tȯ ȯtkhȯ ṭoko
I waited for a while for him	ṭe ikhañȯtȯ taraƖiyo
I hit him hard	ṭwa taṭėƖe mik̭ȯƖ
have you finished your work?	dekho ñoṇ tarâƖiyo?
is that true?	etek̭o?
my friend came and he said ...	ṭėmôkoye phirag̭u Ɩȯko
what are you going to do?	ñuk̭ay we k̭aṭȯm?
can you speak?	ñuk̭ay wiƖitėmȯm?
tell them	du^we g̣irakė
is your mother alive?	amimi k̭uphuk̭ we?
how many children do you have?	ñuthire kȯnêrȯk Ɩepho?
this man wants to marry	g̣iwe emboye k̭ekȯm
here is flour, fish, bird	di tag̭ew we
wait for me here	ṭiṭi bitñȯƖė
you can go ahead	ñȯtrėta we
where can we sleep?	khiƖeƖ tȯṭubeno wȯm?
pull the boat on to the bank of the river	buƖiwu ukowak̭ mȯmuƖi we
push it again	ittarthuḍe
I want to go to the river	buƖiwu ṭėyiñȯ we
why do you want to go?	ñȯk̭ay wink̭ekȯm?
there are crocodiles in the river	buƖiwutėwô we
the current is very fast	tatara kȯr we
the river is full	buƖiwu tėrkhuro we
I am going for a walk	tȯ ñȯtȯ wȯm
I am going outside	kȯƖ ṭėyiñȯ we

I saw him wandering	ṭaraṇ khig̬ire tayoñʔa
this place is not good	ṭi k̭ayė we
we should go ahead	ṭu tuṇku iʔuwȯm
they are seated	duwakawȯnȯm
they will not come back today	bowakañiʔepho
I can see smoke	ṭuʔe ḍirteḍȯm
where will we get the water?	k̭aʔ ṭino witunk̭ȯwȯm?
the old man hasn't come yet	ê̇phowa kha awophuʔȯ
why hasn't he come?	kay khude awophuʔȯ?
perhaps he is sick	tėyiyekophaʔo
make a hole here	ʔeʔ ṭiwir diṭi
who made this hole?	ak̭hiryur diṭo?
I cannot bring it	ṭwe kawopho
bring that stone	ḍu meño we kȯy
cut the tree	ṭȯn birak̭hėrėwe
be careful, it is falling	ñ̇ȯnȯʔ we iboṭȯm
sort out that wood	iko kattake
let it dry in the sun	akhe ḍiwuʔe phaye
tell them to come in	ne g̬irakė nȯrȯme
what did you tell them/him?	ñuni k̭ay roʔȯ?
send them a message	ne k̭owak tėkho tėrȯʔė
what shall we do?	ñu k̭ay we k̭aṭȯm?
say that again	bȯye g̬irakė
we will hunt pigs tomorrow	boṭȯ tėrkȯṭȯʔ k̭hiḍ wȯm k̭awone
today we will hunt wild dogs	it tetekhamo boṭȯ k̭hiḍ wȯm k̭awone
have you seen a pig?	ñu k̭ay wirayʔa?
I have not seen (it)	ṭȯyoʔė phuʔȯ
I see a snake on the stone	ṭumiñȯ tȯk̭o k̭hubir wirteḍum
I killed it	ṭȯ etphowo
try to kill it from behind	i̇t botatphowe
we have covered it	dekho ṭo itphuʔȯ
now we shall take it out	ṭo iphokȯm
keep a lookout for turtles	k̭okbi birtėḍe
is this a boat?	di k̭ay rowȯ
where are the paddles?	k̭aʔ phȏtmȯ we?
the paddle is in the boat	phȯtmȯ wȯkȯ g̬iwo
the boat is out of order	rowȯ bink̭aya
who came in that boat?	ḍu rowȯ ʔak̭hu awo?
my mother came in that boat	ṭamimi ḍu rowȯ ʔawo
this boat is better than that	ḍi rowȯ dunȯ rowa(k̭he)ėnȯʔ
	se (Hindi) = *from, than*
these people are not good	ḍi ye ėnȯʔpho
what has happened?	k̭ay k̭aṭo?
I want to see a dance	ṭug̬irȯy wirteḍum
what dance is that?	ḍi k̭hitam g̬irȯy we?
now men are dancing	thȃronu g̬irȯy wȯm
now singing has stopped	g̬o bira ʔiʔe kȯm
women are not allowed to see this	i̇bukho nȯr tedepho
no, but I will ask this girl	akhe khudi ṭoko bȯye
alright, she is a smart girl	ediye ėnȯʔ
the children are swimming	khire ñȯtȯ wȯm
give me this	di ṭi itėk̭he
father gave me this	amaye di ṭi itėk̭ha
he did not give this to you	diyo ñi itėk̭he phuʔȯ
father will give you something else	amaye buṭi itėk̭hȯm

I am sitting here	ʔeʔ ṭawo ño wȯm
what is that?	duk̭ay we?
give me some rope	ṭik̭ay boʔwe ṭėk̭he
I have brought some rope	ṭuboʔ we kawo
go to him	khuti ik̭owa phok̭ȯne
tell me	ṭeg̭ira we
go outside	ȯk̭ȯne wȯm
what are you looking for?	ñi k̭ay birtėḍum?
give me	ṭitėk̭he
who is that?	du wa k̭hubi?
where are you going?	k̭a ñu k̭ȯnȯm? or k̭a phuk̭ȯne wȯm?
come to me	ṭėk̭o akawo we
come inside	khutra ko kawo
I need that	du ṭu mokė
call him	khudi untėʔe
tell him	eg̭irakė
I am going, you stay here	ṭȯk̭ȯne wȯm ṭokėre wȯm
he and I are going	khudi ȯṭėwok̭ȯnam
they and I are going	khudi utėka ȯṭėnȯk̭ȯne wȯm
he or they and I are going, you stay here	khudi ȯṭėnk̭ȯne wȯm ñiyoweka kėre
you and I'll go	khudi ȯṭėnȯk̭ȯne wȯm
I don't know	ėbopho, ṭėmphe
wind blows	bȯr we ėrėñk̭e kȯm

3.3 Text

A boy went to the forest for hunting.
aṭȯṭa uk̭hiḍek ṭimikhek̭eʔ or ṭimikhek̭ȯkȯ

There were lots of trees in the forest.
ṭimikhu tarakamu beʔȯ

There were birds in some trees.
ṭȯkho tȯṭṭȯṇ toṭkataʔ tag̭ew totbek̭ayė birañe

He did not find a pig anywhere.
k̭aʔȯ rak̭ȯṇ phoʔȯ

Then he went to catch fish in the river.
ukuntȯ boʔȯʔ ubuʔiwek tag̭ew tȯk̭ȯre erbuʔiṇ bink̭eʔ/ṭȯtbėyik̭ nȯnk̭ekum

Even after a long time he could not find fish.
ṭibura ʔiʔe meʔȯṇ uṇk̭ayė phoʔ

Then he thought of catching a turtle.
boʔ k̭okbi motombȯye ḍeʔok̭hara

He caught a turtle.
boʔ k̭okbi nȯneʔȯwe krėko

This turtle was very heavy, therefore he tied the turtle to a tree and placed
k̭okbi wik̭e ėk̭ȯrėkhomoye kokomėthe mawophe khawo ėkrėko ṇkhumeʔo
a heavy stone on top of the turtle.
ṭȯkho ʔeb iraṭṭayer k̭obȯyeʔo ʔetʔeyamiṇ k̭okbi totaraʔo phurumu miyȯta ėtėkheʔ

Now it was night.
irṭi bateʔ

Then he climbed up a tree and slept
iṭṭi kumbuīumeīo ṭȯkha karėphoī ṭȯkho ṭȯṇwakweka ṭȯṇiī binuī

Next day when he woke up he found that the turtle was not there.
boī akaṇi khirekȯyiī k̭okbi bikhe itėboīoyȯṭ

The boy was very sad.
aṭȯṭa karkhaye aṭȯṭatumwȯ bik̭ayė raṭiī

He said that now he would not go hunting by himself.
utuṇo taṭiḍu ṇrame ṭėrėmna ṭėrėmīe amėbo ṭėrėm īak̭hitphuwi koyeī twayė k̭hikawoṇ

Then he went towards his home.
karkha wo ṭȯyiño akuñi

On his way he met his father.
uṇṭaīa kamayo k̭ȯṇiī

Then both together went hunting.
butamayeī narkhanu k̭hiṭ

Then both of them together hunted down a pig.
baṭamayeīu k̭hiḍiīoṇora ranȯña wuyik̭hiṭ

And they returned home happy.
tenu tumbȯnȯīeīu (untubȯnȯīeku) ñiyowak

All the people together ate the catch.
ñtuṇ tarñi ra eg̭iye

One man had a stomach-ache.
untȯbīȯkȯtra iyeī

A girl got a stomach-ache.
akaṭa ñtȯbīȯ we kȯtra iyeī

Then the girl went to a doctor.
ukaṭa yeīab tarenk̭eṇ

The doctor gave her medicine.
ḍakṭare davaye tėk̭ha
ḍakṭara (English) = *doctor*, davā (Hindi) = *medicine*

And the doctor said: "Come again tomorrow".
ebuī bowa ḍaktareī ñak̭hirbuwa wowiī

Next day the girl didn't go.
akaṭa bowa kambi khiro k̭ȯnephowe tėk̭hiī

Then the doctor went to the girl's house.
ḍakṭare akaṭatñok akuk̭ȯniī wawokȯtėk̭hiī

But the girl was not even at home.
kok̭akaṭa ñoīiphoweīo

He just could not find the girl anywhere.
akaṭa k̭e aīok̭ȯṇ phuīȯ

NOTES

1. I would like to thank my main informant, Mr Pik̂ar, and the Andaman Administration, especially Mr Bakhtawar Singh. I am indebted to the A.R.G.S. for the financial assistance enabling me to undertake this research. I would also like to thank Mrs Kari Barz for her valuable suggestions when reading the introduction, and Miss Betty Kat for all her assistance in the preparation of this paper, and, finally, my special thanks are due to Dr L.A. Hercus who inspired me to commence this research and who gave tremendous assistance in the preparation of this paper.

2. For details see Radcliffe-Brown 1964:7.

3. In Masefield 1954:347.

4. See Sri Probhat Kumar Sen 1962:5.

5. See Man 1932:2.

6. Refer to the text of Bradley 1983.

7. Man states "It is to be understood that, unless otherwise stated, the descriptions given here refer to the bǒjig-nagǐji (more especially the ǎkǎ-Běa, i.e. the South Andaman tribe) of Great Andaman in whose territory the Indian Penal Colony is situated."

8. Portman says: "In the following system of transliteration for the language of the Andamanese I have followed the alphabet used by Mr Man in writing the aka-bea language ...." (1898:23).

9. Although Man mentions two different t consonants, t as in *ten* and t as in *tear* (Man 1932:174).

10.

English	Man South Andamanese	Portman Aku-Bea South Andamanese	Radcliffe-Brown	mine
head	chē·ta	ót-chéta-da	ot- čo	ėrk̂o
mouth	bang	báng-da	-	ṭaphoṇ
mother	dab châ·nola	chána-da	t'a-mimi	amimi
body	chàu	chāō-da	-	ṭuṇk̂homo
child	ablī·ga	áb-líga-da	ot-tire	aṭôṭa

11. "The sound written p in some of the North Andaman languages is really p̌" (Radcliffe-Brown 1914:37).

12. Quoted from the Introduction in Dutta 1978. 'The Great Andamanese and Onges' could only be counted from 1961 onwards. Other groups are only rough estimates.

13. Twenty-four G.A. and 94 Onge are enumerated, and figures for Jarawa and Sentinelese are estimates. These figures have been obtained from a pamphlet published by the Andaman and Nicobar Administration, 1979.

14. The Japanese occupied the Andaman Islands from March 1942 to October 1945.

15. See p.127 of *India Year Book 1979*.

16. Belonging to the Andaman Administration the boat is called *Milāle*, a Jarawa word meaning *friend*.

17. From the *Indian Express*, September 1, 1982: "With the new birth the total number of members in the tribe now stands at 28."

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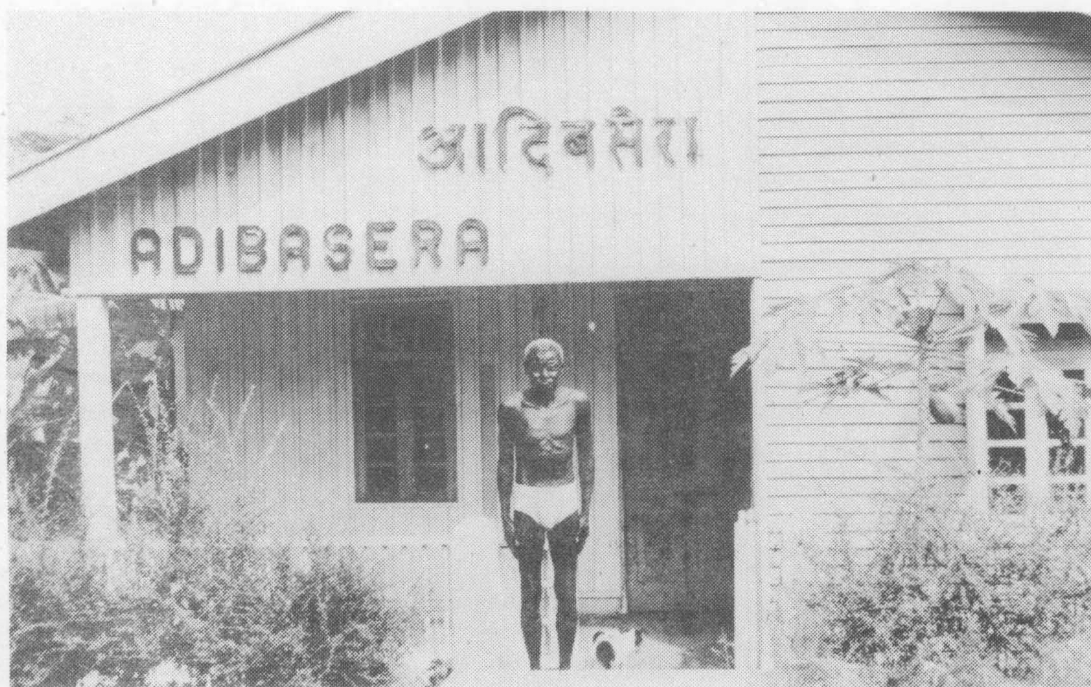
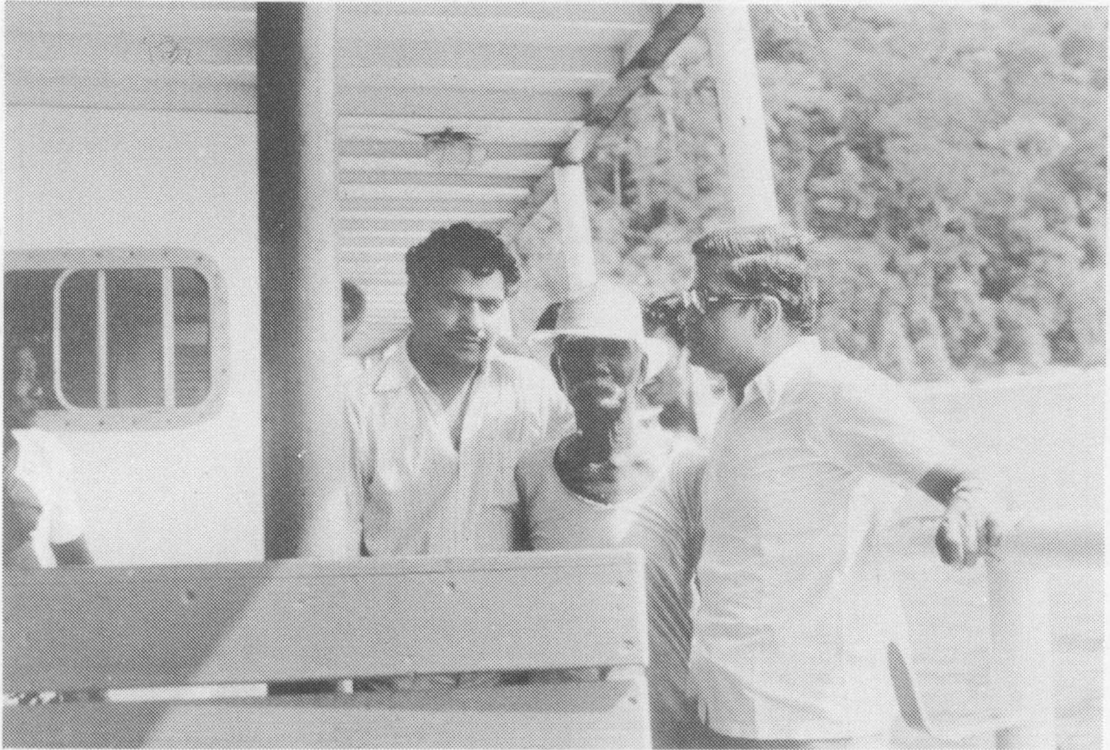
The Great Andamanese on Strait Island



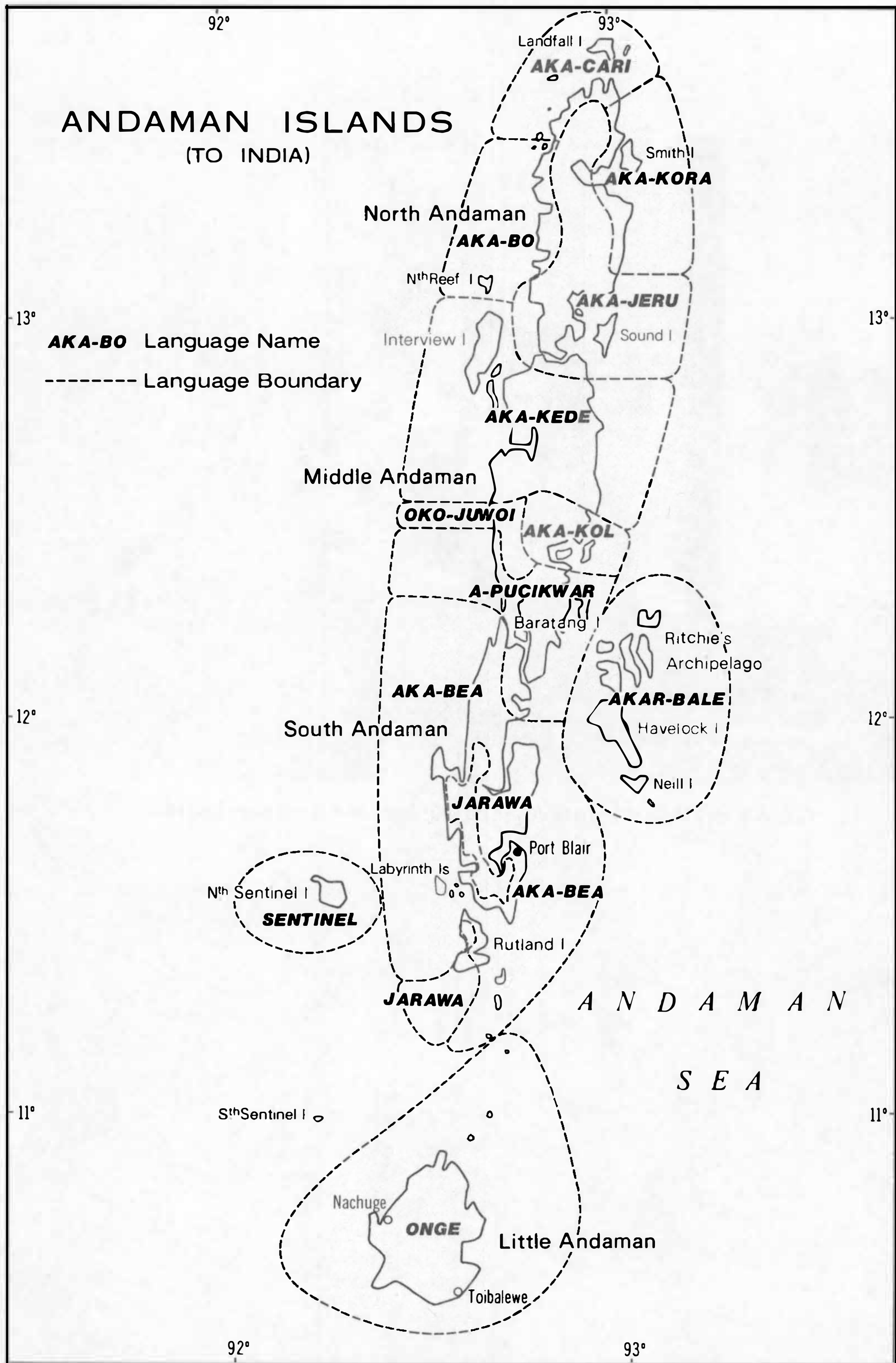
Pik̭ar at Ādibaserā in Port Blair

The Great Andamanese women in front of their house on Strait Island

The Great Andamanese on Strait Island with author



Loka (with hat) farewelling author and another Indian



Yadav, Y. "Great Andamanese: a preliminary study". In Bradley, D. editor, *Papers in Southeast Asian Linguistics No. 9: Language policy, language planning and sociolinguistics in South-East Asia.*
A-67:185-214. Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1985. DOI:*10.15144/PL-A67.185*
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