

# **A Comparison of Classifiers in Standard-Thai & Tai-Phake**

**Wilaisak Kingkham**

## **1. Introduction**

Tai-Phake is a minority language spoken in ten villages - Nam-Phake, Tipam-Phake, Bor-Phake, Muanglang, Ningkam, Phaneng, Manmo, Nonglai, Long and Lungkung – in Assam, India. The Indian Census Report of 1971 gives 1,800 as the number of speakers of this language. The main data for this analysis have been collected from the native speakers of both languages. The analysis of Tai-Phake presented here is based on the data collected in two field-trips – one in April 1990 and the other in October 1990 – in which I contacted twenty informants of different sex, age, and educational background in Nam-Phake and Tipam-Phake. After the first draft of my analysis I managed to bring two informants from Nam-Phake in March 1991 and had extensive interviews and talks with them .

Standard-Thai is the official or National language of Thailand, and spoken in the central region of Thailand including Bangkok, the capital, and the surrounding provinces.

---

Dr. Wilaisak Kingkham , Instructor, Dept. of the Thai Language

ดร. วิไลศักดิ์ กิ่งคำ อาจารย์ ภาควิชาภาษาไทย

## LIST OF IMPORTANT SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS USED

### 1. List of symbols

' '	= Phonemic Transcription
( )	= Optional
→	= Rewritten as
-	= All compound words
< >	= Meaning components
┘	= Mid-to-rising tone
\	= Low tone
/	= High tone
^	= Falling tone
∨	= Rising tone
+	= Presence of the component
-	= Absence of the component

Note : Mid tone is unmarked

### 2. Abbreviations

Cla.	= Classifiers
ST	= Standard-Thai
TP	= Tai-Phake

## 2. Classifiers

A classifier is either preceded by a plural numeral or followed by a singular numeral or demonstrative in both varieties.

## 3. Classifier Types

The classifiers in both varieties are of two types as follows:

1. Semantically restricted classifiers
2. Lexically restricted classifiers

### 3.1 Semantically Restricted Classifiers for TP & ST

Semantically restricted classifiers are those where the nouns that can occur with them share some semantic features. Some features will be listed at the beginning of each classifier. These features sometimes look like primitive semantic markers ; sometimes, however, they look like semantic distinguishes (Katz 1972).

(i)	<b>TP</b> /kǔ/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /khú:/
	<+ pair><+ wearing>	<pair> <+wearing>

**Comparison**

- 1) This classifer is the same in both varieties.

(ii)	<b>TP</b> /khon/ or /kᵒ/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /khon/
	<+ human>	<+ human>

**Comparison**

- 1) This classifier is the same in both varieties.
- 2) The TP classifiers /khon/ or /kᵒ/ are synonymous.
- 3) The classifier is not used with the words /càwmun/(TP), /phrá? phíksù/ (ST) **Buddhist monk** and /càwsǎ:n/(TP), /sǎ:mmaṇe:n/(ST) **novice** as these words have special classifiers /pá:/ in TP, and /rû:p/ in ST.

(iii)	<b>TP</b> /tòn/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /tᵒn/
	<+vegetation>	<+vegetation>

**Note:**

- 1) This classifier does not go with /mǎy-sá:n/ (TP), /mǎy-phày/(ST) **bamboo tree** though the words indicate a tree. The words take a special classifier /lam/ in both varieties.

(iv)	<b>TP</b> /tó/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /tua/
	<+ animate>	<+animate><+furniture><+toys>
		<+garments><+safety-pins>

**Note:**

- 1) In TP the letters in the writing system have names of animals. Example K is a letter for the sound /k/ and /kǎy/ means **hen** . Therefore by extension /tó/ is used for letters in the Tai-Phake script as well as the word /lik/ which means a list of letters.
- 2) This classifier does not go with the noun /chá:n/ **elephant** in ST, which has

a special classifier /chuak<sup>^</sup>/, whereas in TP, it occurs.

3) The ST classifier /tua/ has four different sets of features.

(v)	<b>TP</b> /ka:n <sup>^</sup> /	<b>corresponding ST</b> /ka:n <sup>^</sup> /
	<- animate><+ wooden>	<-animate><+wooden>
	<+ small> <+ short>	<+small> <+short>

**Note:**

1) This classifier is the same in both varieties.

(vi)	<b>TP</b> /kon <sup>^</sup> /	<b>corresponding ST</b> /kon <sup>^</sup> /
	<-animate><+soil><+shape>	<-animate><+soil><+shape>

**Note:**

1) This classifier is the same in both varieties.

(vii)	<b>TP</b> /met/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /met/
	<-animate><+small><+round>	<-animate><+small><+round>
	<+mass> <+detachable>	<+mass> <+ detachable>

**Note:**

1) This classifier is the same in both varieties.

(viii)	<b>TP</b> /kip/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /chin/
	<-vegetation><+eatable>	<-vegetation><+eatable><+part>
	<+ part>	<+ instrument>

## Comparison

1) This classifier can be used for eatables such as /phõnlámáy/ **fruit** /khànõmpan/ **bread** in ST, but not in TP.

2) This classifier can be used for instruments such as /khrúan<sup>^</sup>-mu: / **tool** in ST only, whereas it takes other classifier in TP.

3) The ST classifier /chin/ has one different set of feature.

(ix)	<b>TP</b> /lan <sup>^</sup> /	<b>corresponding ST</b> /lan <sup>^</sup> /
	<+building><+abode, resting place for human beings>	<+building><+ abode, resting place for human beings>

**Note:**

- 1) This classifier is the same in both varieties.

(x)	<b>TP</b> /phǎn/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /phǎ:n/
	<+cloth>	<+cloth>

**Comparison**

- 1) This classifier can go with the noun /phǎn-lìk/ **book** in TP, but not in ST, the word /phǎn-lìk/ originally meant a piece of cloth on which sacred texts were written. Therefore the classifier /phǎn/ was used with it.
- 2) This classifier cannot go with nouns /ka:n̩ke:n̩/ **trousers** and /sua/ **coat** in ST which have a special classifier /tua/, whereas it can go with those nouns in TP.

(xi)	<b>TP</b> /khǝ/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /khǝ :/
	<+ joint>	<+ joint>
	<+ set or sequence of members>	<+ set or sequence of members>

**Comparison**

- 1) This classifier cannot go with the nouns /nítha:n/ **tale** and /phle:n/ **song** in ST
- 2) The classifier /khǝ / (TP), /khǝ :/ (ST) is used for parts of body-parts that have joints – and also for a set of sentences, answers etc. It shows how these sets are perceived as a thing with joints.

(xii)	<b>TP</b> /sèn/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /sèn̩̂/
	<-animate><+length><+string>	<-animate><+length><+string>

**Comparison**

This classifier cannot go with the noun /thàʔnǝn̩/ **road** in ST, which has a special classifier /sǎ:y/ whereas it can do so in TP.

(xiii)	<b>TP</b> /sǎ:y/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /sǎ:y/
	<-animate><+flow>	<-animate><+direction>
	<+liquid><+direction>	<+extension><+length>

**Comparison**

- 1) In TP the nouns that go with /sǎ:y/ seem to be items that flow. In ST that is not the case. But a road goes on and like a river. Therefore the semantic features for /sǎ:y/ are different.

(xiv)	<b>TP</b> /law/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /law/
	<+artifact><+hollow>	<+artifact><+hollow>
	<+round><+short>	<+round> <+short>

### Comparison

- 1) This classifier does not go with the noun /pɤ:n/ **gun** in ST which has a special classifier /kràʔbò:k/ whereas it can do so in TP.

(xv)	<b>TP</b> /lêm/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /lêm/
	<+artifact>	<+artifact> <+ flat>
	<+sharp, pointed edge>	<+ sharp, pointed edge>

### Comparison

- 1) The feature of this classifier /lêm/ in ST, has one different set.
- 2) This classifier does not go with the nouns /lěŋŋó/ **cart** in TP and /rua/ **boat** in ST.

(xvi)	<b>TP</b> /lam/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /lam/
	<-animate> <+ length>	<-animate><+ length>
	<+height><+vertical><+straight>	

### Comparison

- 1) The TP classifier /lam/ has three different sets of features.

(xvii)	<b>TP</b> /kʰót/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /khò:t/
	<+ threadlike><+wound>	<+threadlike><+wound>

### Note:

- 1) This classifier is the same in both varieties.
- 2) This classifier is used with threadlike substance that is rolled up. When it is not rolled up the noun takes another classifier. For example, /mǎy/(TP,ST) **thread** takes the classifier /sèn/(TP), and /sên/(ST) when it is not rolled up, /mǎy/ with /kʰót/(TP) or /khò:t/ (ST) indicates the rolled up state of /mǎy/. The features listed above are not the features of nouns; they are assigned by the classifier.

(xviii)	<b>TP</b> /hǒ/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /hò:/
	<+packet><+bundle>	<+packet><+bundle>

**Note:**

- 1) This classifier is the same in both varieties.
- 2) Any nouns indicating items that can be put into a bundle or packet—big or small—can go with this classifier.
- 3) The classifier indicates a bundle.

(xix)	<b>TP</b> /phɛ̃n/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /phɛ̃:n/
	<-animate><+ plank>	<-animate><+plank>

**Note:**

- 1) Any nouns that indicate substance which can be in the form of a plank can occur with this classifier.
- 2) This classifier is used also as a noun in compounds such as /phɛ̃n-mây/(TP) /phɛ̃:n-máy/(ST) **wooden plank** etc.
- 3) This classifier does not go with the nouns /cê/ **paper** and /há:ṇ/ **picture** in TP, which have special classifiers /má:ṇ/ for /cê/ and /ʔán/ for /há:ṇ/

(xx)	<b>TP</b> /k' /	<b>corresponding ST</b> /kɔ:/
	<+vegetation>	<+vegetation>
	<+cluster, group>	<+ cluster,group>

**Note:**

- 1) This classifier is the same in both varieties.
- 2) The classifier can go with any plants that grow in a bunch. The classifier indicates a bunch.

(xxi)	<b>TP</b> /hɔ̃y/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /phuani/
	<+ chain>	<+ chain>

**Note:**

- 1) Nouns indicating items that can be put into a chain occur with this classifier. This classifier indicates the state of items in a chain. In shops one can find fish or meat-balls put into a string making a chain.
- 2) This classifier does not occur with the noun /sɔ̃ / **key** in TP, which has a special classifier /yũm/.

(xxii)	<b>TP</b> /múk/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /klùm/
	<+ human><+ group>	<+human><+group>

**Note:**

This classifier is the same in both varieties.

xxiii) <b>TP</b> /phan/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /phàw/
<+ community>	<+ community>

**Note:**

- 1) This classifier is the same in both varieties.
- 2) The community may be identified by race, religion, or geographical area.

(xxiv) <b>TP</b> /phók/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /fǔ:n/
<+ animate><+ group>	<+ animate><+ group>

**Note:**

- 1) This classifier indicates the group of animals.
- 2) This classifier cannot go with the noun /chá:n/ **elephant** in ST, which has a special classifier /khlǒ:n/ whereas it can do so in TP.

(xxv) <b>TP</b> /lǔ/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /dò:k/
<-animate><+ flower>	<-animate><+ flower>

**Note:**

- 1) The features are the same in both varieties.
- 2) Mushroom is seen as a flower.
- 3) This classifier cannot go with the noun /da:w/ **star** in ST, which has a special classifier /duan̩/.

(xxvi) <b>TP</b> /pâ:/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /khâ:n̩/
<+ parts of body>	<+ parts of body>
<+ occurring in pairs>	<+ occurring in pairs>

**Note:**

- 1) The features are the same in both varieties.
- 2) The corner is perceived as a pair of wall.

(xxvii) <b>TP</b> /thúp/	<b>corresponding ST</b> /klǒn̩/
<+ container><+ big size>	<+ container><+ big size>

**Note:**

- 1) The features are the same in both varieties.
- 2) Any items that can be wrapped in a cover or can go into a box take this classifier.



The number of nouns therefore is not restricted.

3) /thúp/ or /klòŋ/ also means **box**.

(xxviii) **TP** /tì/

<+ plane surface>

<+ ground>

**corresponding ST** /thiː/

<+ plane surface>

<+ ground>

**Note:**

This classifier is the same in both varieties.

(xxix) **TP** /ʔán/

<-animate><+furniture>

<+ instrument><+ major parts

of a construction>

**corresponding ST** /ʔan/

<-animate><+small devices>

<+ better result>

**Note:**

1) The TP classifier /ʔán/ has three different sets of features.

2) This classifier has a wide range of nouns that occur with it in TP whereas it occurs a few nouns in ST.

### 3.1.1 Additional Semantically Restricted Classifier in TP

(xxx) **TP** /hǒy/

<-animate> <+ container> <+ horizontal>

<+round> <+ moveable>

**Note:**

1) This classifier does not occur in ST.

2) This classifier has a wide range of nouns that occur with it.

3) The features listed therefore need not be present in all nouns. They, however, help in distinguishing nouns from nouns that do not take /hǒy/.

4) /hǒy/ occurs with all sorts of fruit. It seems that both /tá:/ **eye** and /khǎy/ **egg** are perceived as fruits.

### 3.1.2 Additional Semantically Restricted Classifiers in ST

(xxxi)

**ST** /khan/

<-animate><+ holder><+ shape, moveable>

(xxxii)

**ST** /duan/

	<-animate><+ brightness>
(xxxiii)	ST /pà:k/
	<-animate><+ catcher><+ spreading>
(xxxiv)	ST /ba:n/
	<- animate><+ frame>
(xxxv)	ST /bay/
	<-animate><+ container>
(xxxvi)	ST /hũa/
	<+ vegetation><+ food stem><+ underground>
(xxxvii)	ST /ton/
	<+ supernatural powers><+ supernatural>
(xxxviii)	ST /chà?bàp/
	<+ document><± printed>
(xxxix)	ST /khraan̩/
	<+ gadget>
(xxxx)	ST /muán/
	<+ threadlike>
	<+ wound>

**Note:**

This classifier is used with threadlike substance that is rolled up.

(xxxxi)	ST /ruan̩/
	<+ verbal art-form>
(xxxxii)	ST /?on̩/
	<+ sacred><+ belonging to Buddha or king>

## 4. Lexically Restricted Classifiers for TP & ST

Lexically restricted classifiers occur with a limited number of nouns in both the varieties. The nouns form closed systems.

(i)	TP	ST
	/kam/	/kham/

This classifier occurs only with /kha:m/(TP) -/kham/(ST) **word**.

(ii)	TP	ST
	/cuñ/	/tray/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /sǎŋka:n/ (TP) /phâ:tray/(ST) **monk's dresses** when one wants to indicate a set of monk's dresses.

The ST classifier /tray/ can become a qualifying noun + noun. That is, /tray/ can function both as a classifier as well as the first noun of a compound noun phrase whereas the TP classifier/cun/ does not occur.

(iii)	TP	ST
	/pa:/	/rû:p/

This classifier occurs with two nouns only /càwmun/(TP)/phra phiksù/(ST) **Buddhist monk** and /càwsǎ:n/ (TP), /sǎ:mmáne:n/ (ST) **Buddhist novice**.

(iv)	TP	ST
	/mák/	/khân/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /hòklǎy/(TP),/banday/(ST) **staircase-steps**.

(v)	TP	ST
	/niw/	/níw/

This classifier occurs only with the nouns /níw-mu/(TP),/níw-mu:/(ST) **finger** and /níw-tín/(TP),/níw-tháw/(ST) **toe**.

(vi)	TP	ST
	/nòn/	/dun/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /phun/(TP), /fu:n/ (ST) **fire-wood**.

(vii)	TP	ST
	/wǐ/	/wǐ:/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /kôy/(TP),/klûay/(ST) **banana** when one wants to indicate a bunch of banana.

(viii)	TP	ST
	/lúk/	/lu:k/

This classifier occurs only with the nouns /noy/(TP),/phu:khǎw/(ST) **mountain**, /fútɔ:n/(ST) **ball** and /phònlámáy/ **fruit**.

(ix)	TP	ST
	/sî/	/sî:/

This classifier occurs with the noun /khèw/ in TP, whereas in ST with the two nouns as /fan/ **tooth** and /liwrót-càkkàya:n/ **bicycle's spoke**.

(x)	TP	ST
	/núť/	/muan/

This classifier occurs with the noun /silik/(TP),/buri:/(ST) **cigarette**.

(xi)	TP	ST
	/há:p/	/há:p/

This classifier is used with /muñ/ **pitcher, basket** only when pitchers are tied to the two ends of a bamboo in order to carry them on one's shoulder in TP.

**Note:**

This classifier is homonymous with a verb in both varieties.

#### 4.1 Additional Lexically Restricted Classifiers in TP

(xii)	TP
	/tɛ n̄/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /sǎw/ **post, pillar** and takes place only in TP, whereas in ST takes another classifier which is a semantically restricted classifier /tôn/.

(xiii)	TP
	/má:n̄/

This classifier occurs only with two words /cê/ **paper** and /mɔ̃-mây/ **leaf** in TP, in ST the classifier for /bay-máy/ **leaf** is a semantically restricted classifier /bay/.

(xiv)	TP
	/mɔ̃/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /phâ:/ **big knife** in TP and it corresponds with the /lêm/ which is a semantically restricted classifier in ST.

(xv)	TP
	/sú/

This classifier occurs only with two nouns /thá:t/ **pagoda** and /càw-phlá?/ **Buddha-statue**.

(xvi) TP  
/lǎ:n̩/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /còn/ **umbrella**.

(xvii) TP  
/yũm/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /sɔ/ **key** when one wants to indicate a bundle of keys, whereas in ST it takes another classifier that is /phan̩/.

#### 4.2 Additional Lexically Restricted Classifiers in ST

(xviii) ST  
/chũak/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /chá:n̩/ **elephant** and compares /tó/(TP) which is a semantically restricted classifier with /chũak/.

(xix) ST  
/rɛan/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /na:lí?ka/ **watch**. Compare /hǒy/(TP) which is a semantically restricted classifier with this classifier.

(xx) ST  
/pũ:n̩/

This classifier occurs with the two nouns only /lũay/ **saw** and /tò:k/ **strip of bamboo for wearing**. Compare /?án/ (TP) which is a semantically restricted classifier with this classifier.

(xxi) ST  
/khà?buan/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /rótfay/ **train**. Compare /?án/(TP) which is a semantically restricted classifier with this classifier.

(xxii) /thɛ̃ːn/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /dinsǎː/ **pencil**. Compare /ʔán/(TP) which is a semantically restricted classifier with this classifier.

(xxiii) /khlǎːn/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /cháːn/ **elephant** when one wants to indicate a group of elephants. Compare /phók/(TP) which is a semantically restricted classifier with this classifier.

(xxiv) /fɔːn/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /khàː/ **egg**. Compare /hǎy/(TP) which is a semantically restricted classifier with this classifier.

(xxv) /dâːm/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /pàːkkaː/ **pen**. Compare /ʔán/(TP) which is a semantically restricted classifier with this classifier.

(xxvi) /wɔ̃ːn/

This classifier occurs only with the nouns /wǎːn/ **ring** and /kamlay/ **bangle**. Compare /hǎy/(TP) which is a semantically restricted classifier with this classifier.

(xxvii) /kràːbòːk/

This classifier occurs only with the nouns /khâːwǎːm/ **bamboo rice** and /puːn/ **gun**. Compare /law/(TP) which is a semantically restricted classifier with this classifier.

(xxviii) /kɪ̃ːn/

This classifier occurs only with the nouns /nâːcháːn/ **ivory** and /kɪ̃ːn-máy/ **a branch of tree**. Compare /ʔán/(TP) which is a semantically restricted classifier with this classifier and this classifier shows the branches or twigs of tree and ivory which divides from tusk.

(xxix) /khǎːn/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /sǎːn/ **conch**.

(xxx) /fɔ̃ːn/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /mát-yâː/ **bunch of grass**. Compare /phók/(TP) which is a semantically restricted classifier with this classifier.

(xxxi) /klàk/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /klò̃n-máy-khì:t-fay/ **match-box**. Compare /phák/(TP) which is semantically restricted classifier with this classifier.

(xxxii) /thǎw/

This classifier occurs only with the noun /pinto:/ tiffin. Compare /hǒy/(TP) which is a semantically restricted classifier with this classifier.

## Occurrence

The position of the classifier in noun-phrases in both varieties is the same and the restrictions on the occurrence of classifiers are also almost the same. The comparison shows that Standard-Thai has a larger number of classifiers than Tai-Phake. The correspondences and the erosion of subtle distinction marking classifiers in Tai-Phake are striking. Many additional classifiers in Standard-Thai that do not occur in Tai-Phake and both have similar functions. That is the base language perception in both varieties is the same.

Table 1

Classifier type	TP	ST
Semantically restricted classifiers	/kũ/ /k'ó / /k'ót/ /kâ:n/ /khon/ /k'ôn/ /khò/ /tòn/ /tó/ /tì/ /phan/ /phẽ'n/ /phun/ /lẽ m/ /lam/ /law/ /lǎn/ /sèn/ /sǎ:y/ /mêt/ /h'ó / /?án/	/khũ:/ /kɔ:/ /khò:t/ /kâ:n/ /khon/ /k'ɔ:n/ /kh'ò:/ /tôn/ /tua/ /thi:/ /phàw/ /phẽ:n/ /phǎ:n/ /lêm/ /lam/ /law/ /lǎn/ /sên/ /sǎ:y/ /mêt/ /h'ò:/ /?an/
Total	22	22



**Table 2**

Classifier type	TP	ST
Lexically restricted classifiers	/sî/ /wǐ/ /nǐw/ /nòn/ /kam/ /lúk/ /há:p/	/sî:/ /wi:/ /nǐw/ /dũn/ /kham/ /lũ:k/ /hà:p/
Total	7	7

Formally different but functionally similar classifier in TP & ST

**Table 3**

Classifier type	TP	ST
Semantically restricted classifiers	/lũ/ /kíp/ /hǒy/ /múk/ /phók/ /pâ:/ /thúp/	/dỳ:k/ /chín/ /phuañ/ /klùm/ /fũ:n/ /khâ:ñ/ / klòñ/
Lexically restricted classifiers	/cun/ /pá:/ /mák/ /nút/	/tray/ /rũ:p/ /khân/ /muan/
Total	11	11

**Table 4**

Classifiers type	TP	ST
Semantically restricted classifiers	/hốỷ/	/khan/ /duan̩/ /pà:k/ /ba:n/ /bay/ /hũa/ /ton/ /chà?báp/ /khr̩uan̩/ /ruan̩/ /?on/ /mũán/
Lexically restricted classifiers	/tɛn̩/ /má:n̩/ /mɔ̌/ /lă:n̩/ /yũm/ /sũ/	/thề :n̩/ /klàk/ /ch̩uak/ /pũ:n/ /kra?buan/ /dâ:m/ /won̩/ /kin̩/ /khỏ:n/ /fôn/ /fɔ:n̩/ /thăw/ /ruan/ /khlỏ:n/
Total	7	26

Table 5

TP	NOUNS		ST
Semantically restricted classifier	/hǒy/	/na:li/ clock	/ruan/
		/tá: / eye	/duan/
		/lɛ̃m-phay/ lamp	
		/mák-tɔ̃/ ball	/lú:k/
		/lɛ̃n̄lom/ car	
		/lɛ̃n̄ʔɔ̃n/ scooter	/khan/
		/lɛ̃n̄thip/ cycle	
		/khǎy/ egg	/fɔ:n/
		/thũn̄/ bag	
		/mɔ̃/ pot	/bay/
		/phê/ dish	
		/mák-mây/ fruit	
		/thúp/ box	
Lexically restricted classifier			
	/tɛ̃n̄/	/sǎw/ post	/tôn/
	/má:n̄/	/cê/ paper	/phê:n/
		/mɔ̃-mây/ leaf	/bay/
	/mɔ̃/	/phâ:/ big knife	/lêm/
	/sũ/	/càw-phlá?/ Buddha	/ʔon̄/
		/thâ:t/ pagoda	
	/lǎ:n̄/	/còn/ umbrella	/khan/
	/yũm/	/sɔ̃/ key	/phuân/

# Bibliographies

Dhongde, R.V. & Wilaisak Kingkham, 1992. "A Comparison of Phonology and Morphology in Standard-Thai and Tai-phake." In **Pan-Asiatic Linguistics, the third International Sympoisum on Language and Linguistics**. Bangkok : Chulalongkorn University Press.

---

., 2534. "Classifiers in Tai-phake." **ภาษาและภาษาศาสตร์** 10,1  
(กรกฎาคม-ธันวาคม) : 20-46.

Hass, Marry R. 1942 **The Use of Numeral Classifiers in Thai Language**. XVIII. pp. 201-205

Katz, Jerrold J. 1972. **Semantic Theory**. Marper International Edition. New York : Harper and Row.

Ruangdej P. 1976 **A synchronic - comparative study of Modern Thai and Modern Lanna**. Diss.

Wilaisak Kingkham 1992. **A Comparative study of Standard-Thai and Tai-Phake spoken in Assam (India)**. Diss. University of Poona.