A COMPARISON OF CLASSIFIER USAGE AMONG THREE GENERATIONS IN THAI DIALECT OF UBON RATCHATHANI

SIRISUDA THONGCHALERM

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS (LINGUISTICS)
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
MAHIDOL UNIVERSITY
2008

Thesis
Entitled

A COMPARISON OF CLASSIFIER USAGE AMONG THREE GENERATIONS IN THAI DIALECT OF UBON RATCHATHANI

……..……..……
Miss Sirisuda Thongchalerm
Candidate

……....
Prof. Somsonge Burusphat, Ph.D.
Major-Advisor

…….
Assoc. Prof. Sujaritlak Deepadung, Ph.D.
Co-Advisor

……..……
Asst. Prof. Sukhuma-Vadee Khamhiran, M.A.
Co-Advisor

……
Asst. Prof. Auemphorn Mutchimwong, Ph.D
Acting Dean
Faculty of Graduate Studies

……
Miss Sumittra Suraratdecha, Ph.D.
Chair
Master of Arts Programme in Linguistics
Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development

Thesis
Entitled

A COMPARISON OF CLASSIFIER USAGE AMONG THREE GENERATIONS IN THAI DIALECT OF UBON RATCHATHANI

was submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies, Mahidol University

for the degree of Master of Arts (Linguistics)

on

April 30, 2008

……...…….…….
Miss Sirisuda Thongchalerm
Candidate

……...…..……
Assoc. Prof. Thanyarat Panakun, Ph.D
Chair

…….
Prof. Somsonge Burusphat, Ph.D.
Member

……..……..
Asst. Prof. Sukhuma-vadee Khamhiran
M.A.
Member

……...……..
Assoc. Prof. Sujaritlak Deepadung, Ph.D
Member

……
Asst. Prof. Auemphorn Mutchimwong, Ph.D
Acting Dean
Faculty of Graduate Studies
Mahidol University

…….……
Assoc. Prof. Sophana Srichampa, Ph.D.
Director
Institute of Language and culture
for Rural Development
Mahidol University

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Dr. Somsonge Burusphat, my principle supervisor for her invaluable advice, guidance, and correction on this thesis.

I would like to express my warmest thanks to Associate Professor Dr. Sujaritlak Deepadung for patient and valuable guidance including correction my thesis, and Assistant Professor Sukhuma-Vadee Khamhiran for valuable comments and useful suggestion.

I would like to thank Associate Professor Dr. Thanyarat Panakul, my external examiner of the thesis defense who gives me valuable comments including encouragement for further working.

I would like to record my gratitude to Ajarn Richard Hiam who gave me much help in correcting my English throughout this thesis.

I wish to express my sincere appreciate to all my teachers for their teaching, and advising during my graduate study at Mahidol University

My special thanks also go to my graduate study classmates at Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development, Mahidol University for their friendship, will and understanding.

Warmest thanks also extended to my colleagues at Ubon Ratchathani Rajabhat University for their kindness and encouragement.

I also thank the Thesis grant of Faculty of Graduate Studies, Mahidol University which supports me a fund.

I am deeply indebted my family and relatives, especially my mother, for their ultimate love, care, supporting and encouragement.

Many people whose names have not been mentioned here have given their support to me during conducting this thesis; I would like to thank them all.

Without the helps from those mentioned, this thesis would never have been completed.

Sirisuda Thongchalerm

A COMPARISON OF CLASSIFIER USAGE AMONG THREE GENERATIONS IN THAI DIALECT OF UBON RATCHATHANI

SIRISUDA THONGCHALERM 4636034 LCLG/M

M.A. (LINGUISTICS)

THESIS ADVISORS: SOMSONGE BURUSPHAT, Ph.D. (LINGUISTICS),
SUJARITLAK DEEPADUNG, Ph.D. (LINGUISTICS),
SUKHUMA-VADEE KHAMHIRAN, M.A. (TEEL)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this investigation was to study the variations of classifier usage in the Thai sub-dialect of Ubon Rachathani among three generations.

It was found that there are 88 classifiers used in the Ubon Ratchathani sub-dialects. Componential Analysis theory was used to analyze the classifiers; it revealed that the use of classifiers can reflect the perception of the speaker toward objects. There are four major causes for the variation regarding the use of classifiers: (i) the semantic components of the nouns used with classifiers share some features in common; (ii) the influence of Central Thai classifiers on the use of UB classifiers; (iii) speakers have different perception towards the objects; (iv) new classifiers are created including the uses of repeater and general classifiers.

The comparison of classifiers used in Rachathani, Nakhorn Rachasima, Khon Kaen and Lao shows there are 20 classifiers that speakers in all four regions use with the same nouns.

The results of the study do not support the hypothesis and results from other studies because the number of specific classifiers used by a middle-age speaker is higher when compared to other generations. The study reveals that the variations in the language used in each area are caused by internal factors such as the speakers themselves and external factors such as the dialect spoken in nearby dialects.

KEY WORDS: COMPARISON / CLASSIFIER / THREE GENERATIONS / UBON RATCHATHANI.

119 pp.

การเปรียบเทียบการใช้คำลักษณนามของคนสามระดับอายุในภาษาไทยอีสานสำเนียงอุบลราชธานี

(A COMPARISON OF CLASSIFIER USAGE AMONG THREE GENERATIONS IN THAI DIALECT OF UBON RATCHATHANI)

สิริสุดา ทองเฉลิม 4636034 LCLG/M

ศศ.ม. (ภาษาศาสตร์)

คณะกรรมการควบคุมวิทยานิพนธ์ : สมทรง บุรุษพัฒน์, Ph.D., สุจริตลักษณ์ ดีผดุง Ph.D., สุขุมาวดี ขำหิรัญ M.A.

บทคัดย่อ

การวิจัยครั้งนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาการแปรการใช้คำลักษณนามสามช่วงอายุคนในภาษาไทยถิ่นอุบลราชธานี พบว่า มีการใช้คำลักษณนาม 88 คำ

จากการวิเคราะห์อรรถลักษณ์ของคำนามที่ใช้กับคำลักษณนาม ผลการวิเคราะห์พบว่า การใช้คำลักษณนามสามารถสะท้อนโลกทัศน์ของผู้พูดที่มีต่อวัตถุ

การแปรการใช้คำลักษณนามมีสองประเภทคือผู้พูดใช้ลักษณนามสองและสามประเภทกับคำนามคำเดียว การแปรการใช้คำลักษณนามมีสาเหตุมากจาก ลักษณนามสองคำสามารถใช้กับคำนามที่มีอรรถลักษณ์บางประการร่วมกัน, อิทธิผลการใช้คำลักษณนามของภาษากลาง, ผู้พูดมีโลกทัศน์ต่อวัตถุต่างกัน และการคิดคำลักษณนามขึ้นใหม่ รวมทั้งมีการใช้ลักษณนามซ้ำคำและลักษณนามทั่วไปเป็นจำนวนมาก

การเปรียบเทียบการใช้ลักษณนามในภาษาถิ่นจังหวัดอุบลราชธานีกับจังหวัดนครราชสีมา, ขอนแก่น และภาษาลาวพบว่ามีการใช้คำลักษณนามกับคำนามเหมือนกัน 20 คำ

การศึกษาแย้งกันสมมติฐานและการศึกษาอื่นเนื่องจากพบว่าผู้พูดวัยกลางคนมีการใช้คำลักษณนามเพราะมากกว่าวัยเด็กและวัยผู้ใหญ่

การศึกษาแสดงให้ให้ว่าการแปรการใช้ภาษาในท้องถิ่นหนึ่งขึ้นอยู่กับทั้งปัจจัยภายในเช่นตัวผู้พูดภาษาเองและปัจจัยภายนอกเช่นอิทธิผลของภาษาที่พูดบริเวณใกล้เคียง

119 หน้า

CONTENTS

CONTENTS (CONT.)

CONTENTS (CONT.)

LIST OF TABLES

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

cl. : Classifier

G1 : Generation One (young generation)

G2 : Generation Two (middle age generation)

G3 : Generation Three (old generation)

UB : Ubon Ratchathani province

KK : Khonkaen province

NR : Nakhorn Ratchasima province

◌̀ : Low Tone

◌̂ : Falling Tone

◌́ : High Tone

◌̌ : Rising Tone

◌̃ : High Glide Tone

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale

A classifier is a word that is used after ordinal numbers in order to modify the preceding nouns to enumerate the nouns and it is an areal feature of Southeast Asian languages including Thai. A numeral phrase cannot be complete without a classifier.

Most classifiers are composed of the semantic components of the nouns they refer to. Therefore, nouns which have many components may be classified with more than one classifier. In Thai, classifier usage differs from one place to another depending on society, culture and world view of the speakers.

Previous studies have found that classifier usages in each place are different and vary with the age and occupation of the speaker. Sarawanee (1999) studied the use of classifiers in modern Standard Thai by speakers of different ages. She has found that the younger generation seems to use classifiers which are assigned by the Royal Institute more than other generations. That is, in contrast to her hypothesis that the older generation uses classifiers which are assigned by the Royal Institute more than the younger generation. Other studies such as Naruemon's1985 finds many uses of general classifier especially classifier /ʔan/ which affects the use of classifiers in the society nowadays. So the researcher is interested in studying in the variation of classifiers used in order to find out whether the result of the study will agree with the previous studies and to know how the use of classifiers has been changed including to know the tendency of the classifiers to be used in the future which may lead to the language change in the near future.

Since there is no study on classifier usage in Ubon Ratchathani province, and as a native speaker of Ubon Ratchathani dialect, the researcher wants to study the variation of classifier usage to find out whether age is a social variable which causes the language variation in our society. The focus is on classifier usage among three

generations and the variation of classifier usage. The componential analysis is used to study the semantic components of the nouns used with a classifier.

This study will also compare the variation on classifier usage at present to the variation found in previous studies of other sub-dialects which were done almost twenty years ago.

1.2 Objectives of the study

1. To study classifiers used in Ubon Ratchathani province by speakers of different age groups.
2. To study whether age is a variable in different use of classifiers.
3. To compare the classifiers used in UB with classifiers found in other parts of Northeastern Thailand and Laos which have been studied by other researchers.
4. To indicate the variation in classifiers used in Northeastern Thai at present.
5. To learn the tendency of classifier usage in Ubon Ratchathani sub-dialects.

1.3 Benefits of the study

1. To know the classifiers used in UB
2. To know whether the age of the speaker is a social variable that causes the variation in the classifier usages.
3. To know the differences of classifier usage in UB and other sub-dialects.
4. To know an overall view of classifier usage in Northeastern Thailand.
5. To know the variation in the uses of classifiers in the society at present.
6. To know the tendency in the uses of the classifier in the society.
7. To give information on classifier usage in Ubon Ratchathani province which can be used for further study.

1.4 Scopes of the study

1. Only numeral classifiers which are used by the speakers in Muang district, Ubon Ratchathani province are studied.
2. Classifiers which are used with verbs such as /ti:/ in the sentence /ti: sɔ̂ːŋ tʰiː/ 'hit two times' are excluded from the study.
3. The phonological variation of the classifiers used will not be studied.
4. The syntactic patterns of the sentences containing numeral classifiers are not included in the study.

1.5 Hypothesis

The total number of specific classifiers used in the society has decreased because the younger generation tends to use some classifiers more broadly especially general classifiers and repeater classifiers.

1.6 General information on Ubon Ratchathani province

1.6.1 Geography

Ubon Ratchathani Province is located in the northeastern part of Thailand, close to Laos. It was formerly the largest province in the country before Yasothon and Amnat Charoen districts were separated and promoted to be two provinces. It is 15,517 square kilometers in size. The province consists of 22 districts and 3 sub-districts.

1.6.2 Boundary

Ubon Ratchathani borders Amnatcharoen province in the north, Bantat Mountain in the south, Sisaket province and Yasothon in the west, and the Mae Khong River in the east.

1.6.3 Brief history of Ubon Ratchathani province

Before Ubon Ratchathani was established, Ubon and nearby areas were home to many groups of people including people from Laos. During his reign, King Rama I planned to establish cities in order to bring together people who lived separately far apart. The monarch proclaimed that he would install as the governor the person who could assemble most people. In 1786 AD, Phra Pathumsurarat led the people from Laos and settled at Tambon Jaramae which nowadays is called Ban Thabo, Amphoe Muang, Ubon Ratchathani province.

In 1794 AD Phra Pathumsurarat of Ban Huay Jaramae and his armies fought against Aai Chiangkaew and won the battle. Phra Pathumsurarat established Ubon Ratchathani as a colony of Bangkok. Phra Pathumsurarat was appointed governor of Ubon Ratchathani province on Monday July 1692 AD and Tambon Jaramae became a colony of Bangkok.

Map I : Ubon Ratchathani province

Source: http://www.thailandmaps.net/ubonratchathani/ubonratchathani.html

1.7 Northeastern Thai Dialect

The northeastern Thai Dialect is spoken in the northeastern part of Thailand which covers 19 provinces as shown in Map I. It belongs to the Lao Branch of Southwestern Tai. It is generally called “Lao Isan” or simply “Lao”. The dialect is more closely related to the Lao language spoken in Laos than to Standard Thai. Since it is spoken by the people in the northeast, which covers a huge area, the dialect spoken in each province or part is referred to as sub-dialect and has regional variation. Therefore, the name of the sub-dialects are generally called Lao and followed by the place where it is spoken such as “Lao Ubon” (dialect spoken in UB and “Lao Khonkaen” (dialect spoken in Khonkaen).

Brown (1965) sub-divides the 60 dialects in Southwestern Tai into 7 groups, Shan, Northern Thai, Puan, Central Thai, Phu Thai, Lao and Southern Thai based on the genetic and geographical relationship between the dialects.

The following diagram shows the similarity of 5 dialects. Since this study also discusses the difference of classifier usage between UB sub-dialects which belong to Lao Branch and Central Thai, the diagram shows how Lao and Central Thai are close to each other.

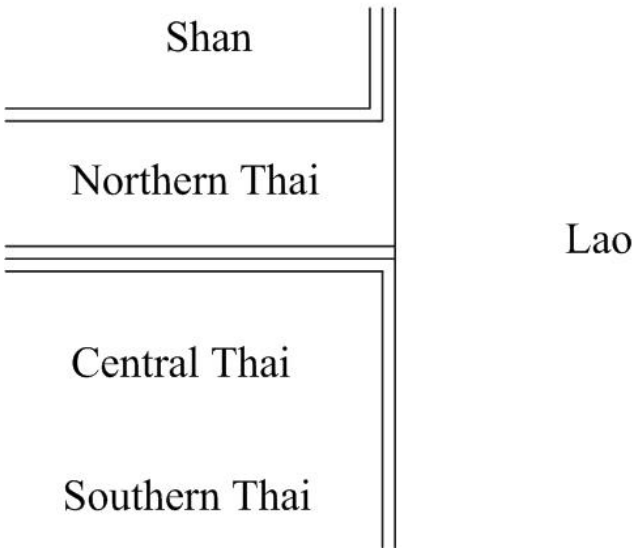


Diagram I: Grouping of Southwestern Tai by Brown (1965: 92)

Lao Group can be further divided as shown in Diagram II:

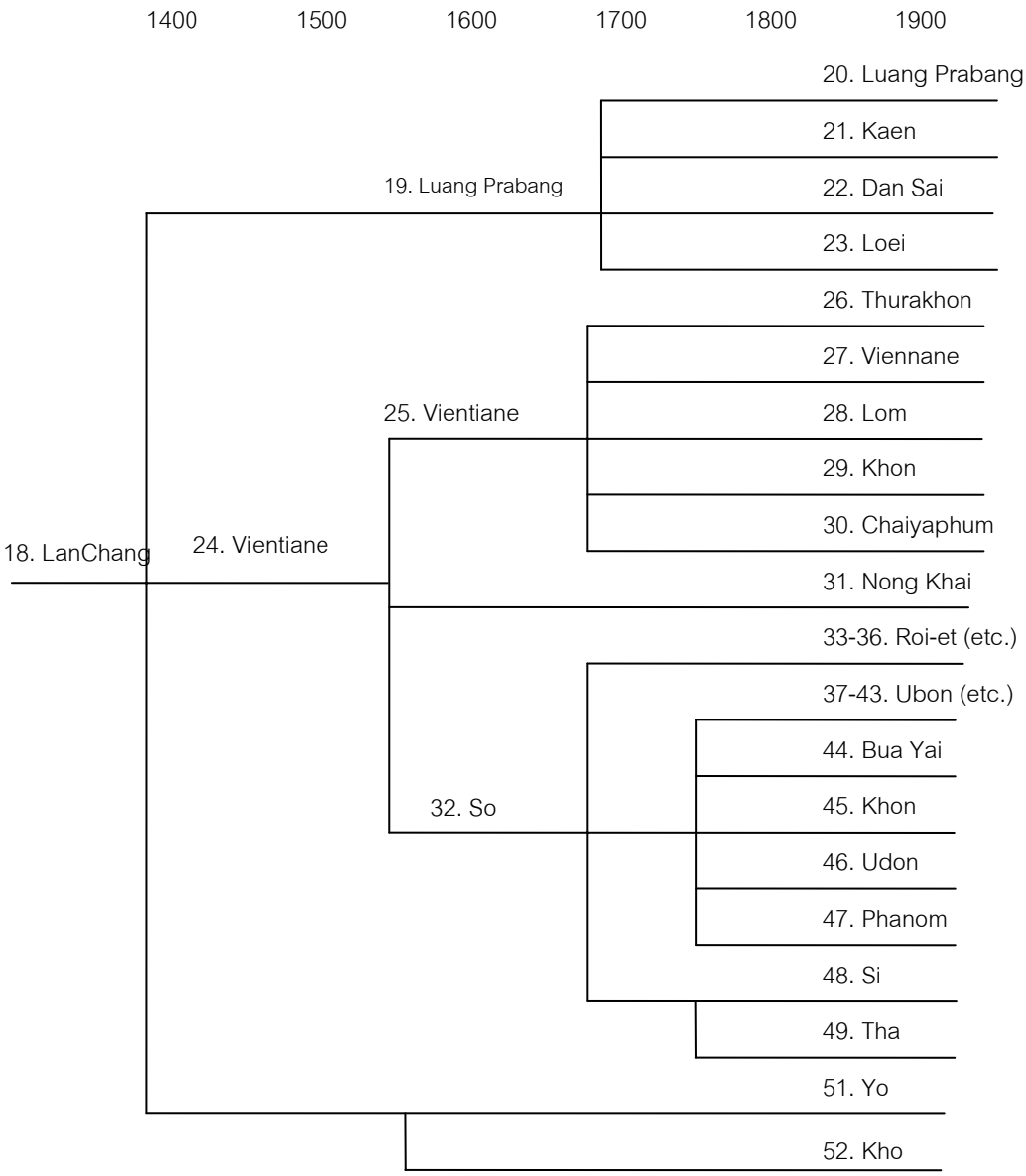


Diagram II: The division of Lao group and the relation between Lao language and other Thai dialects by Brown (1965: 144)

Hartmann (1980) sub-divides South Western Tai into 3 groups based on tone split; bipartition and tripartition.

1. Lower Southwestern Tai (tripartition) consists of Luang Prabang, Loei, Vientiane, Roi-Et, Ubon, Khorat, Bangkok, Chumphon and Saek.
2. Upper Southwestern Tai (bipartition) consists of Red Thai, Black Thai, White Thai, Lue Chieng Tung (Li), Lue Chieng Rung, Shan (north)
3. Middle Southeastern Tai consists of Shan Kengtung, Khuen Kengtung, Lue Moeng Yong, Chiangrai, Chiangmai, Nan, Phrae, Prayao, Tak.

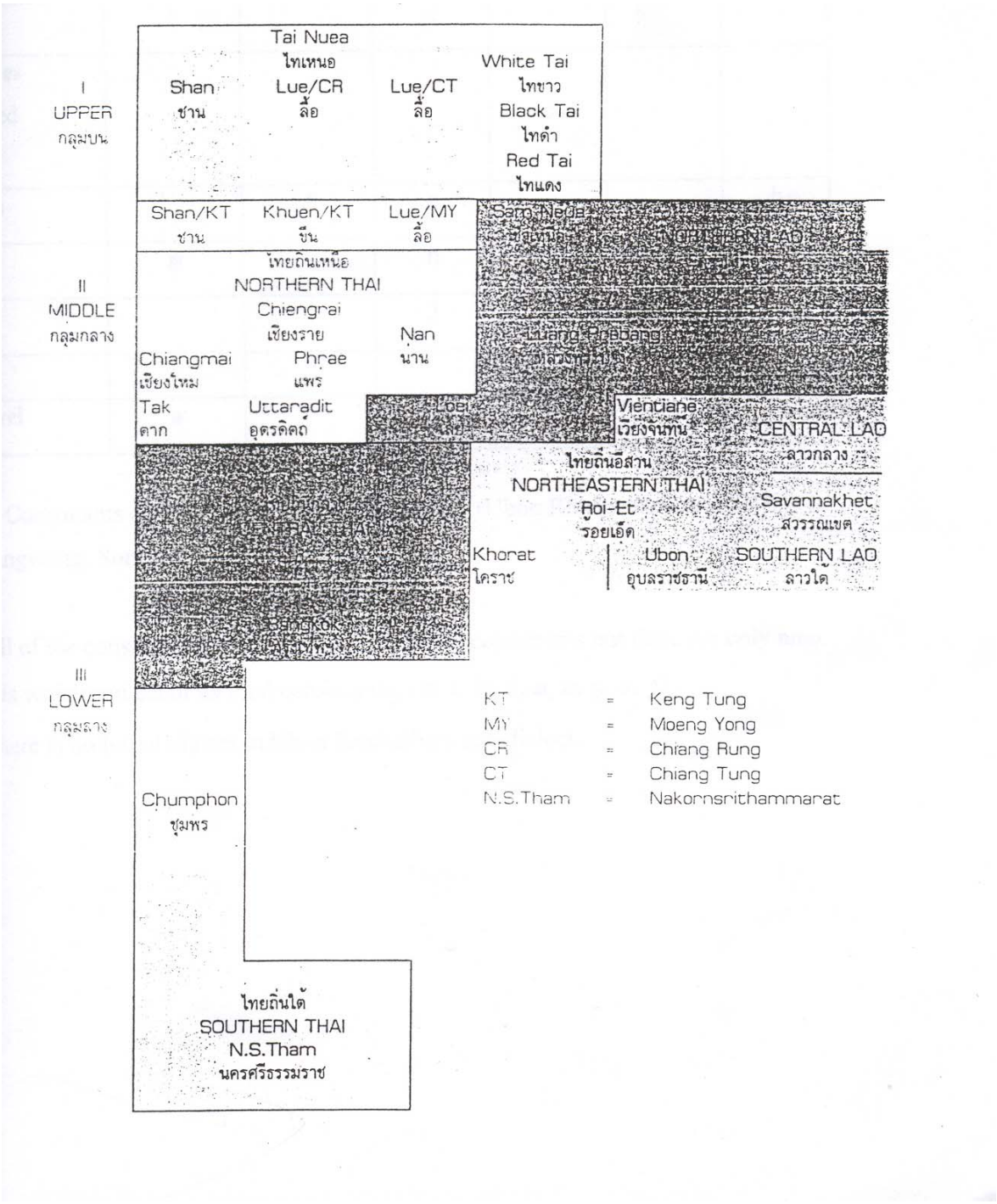


Diagram III: The division of southwestern Tai by Hartmann (1980:2)

The three Diagrams presented show how Ubon Ratchatthani dialect is closely related to other dialects in Thailand and also the Southwestern Tai Dialects.

1.8. Phonology of Ubon Ratchathani dialect.

Consonants

There are 20 consonants phonemes in Ubon Ratchathani sub-dialect as follows:

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glotal
Stop						
Vl. Unaspirated	p		t		k	ʔ
Vl. Aspirated	p^h		t^h		k^h	
V. unaspirated	b		d			
Affricatives						
Unaspirated				c		
Aspirated						
Fricatives		f	s			h
Nasals	m		n	ɲ	ŋ	
Lateral			l			
Tap						
Semi-vowel	w			j		

Chart I : Consonants of Ubon Ratchathani sub-dialect. (Paanchiangwong, 1999: 26)

All of the consonants shown on Chart I can occur as initial consonants but only nine can occur as final consonants; /p, t, k, ʔ, m, n, ŋ, w, j/.

There is no initial cluster in Ubon Ratchathani sub-dialect.

Vowels

There are 18 single vowels and 2 diphthongs in Ubon Ratchathani sub-dialect:

Position of the tongue Tongue High	**Lip- Unrounded**		**Lip - rounded**
	Front	**Central**	**Back**
High	i i:	ɨ ɨ:	u u:
Mid	e e:	ə ə:	o o:
Low	æ æ:	a a:	ɔ ɔ:

Chart II : Ubon Ratchathani Subdialect (Songgot Paanchiangwong, 1999: 27)

Actually there are two diphthongs, i.e, /iə/ and /uə/ in Ubon Ratchthani sub-dialect in the previous studies but /ɨə/ is additionally found in this study.

Tones: There are 6 tones in Ubon Ratchathani sub-dialect as follows;

Symbols [1]	*Tones*
	Mid tone
`	Low tone
ˆ	Falling tone
´	High tone
ˇ	Rising tone
˜	High glide tone

(Songgot Paanchiangwong, 1999: 28)

[1] ˜ mark is normally used for nasalized sound. In this study it is used for 'high glide tone'.

This chapter presents the introduction of the study; rationale, objectives, benefits, scopes, hypothesis and the information of Ubon Ratchatthani Province. The next chapter presents the previous studies related to the study.

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents the related studies. Since this study is a comparison of classifier usage among three generations in UB, the related studies on classifiers can be divided into three parts;

1) Definition of classifiers
2) Classification of classifiers
3) Previous Studies of Classifier Usage
   3.1) Central Thai
   3.2) Lao
   3.3) Northeastern Thai.

2. 1 Definition

Classifiers have been defined and described as follows:

Banchob Phanthumetha (1979) states that a classifier plays an important role in Thai which is a monosyllabic language. Using adjectives, numeral or ordinal number without the classifier may cause the sentence to be incomplete. However, it is still understandable in spoken language.

A classifier is a word that is used after ordinal numbers in order to enumerate the preceding noun to indicate the shape or type of the noun.

Function of classifiers

1) To enumerate the numeral words or adjectives and to precede demonstratives such as /*nîː*/ ‘this’ /*nán*/ ‘that’ which may be followed or preceded by the nouns.

2) To indicate whether the nouns are animate or unanimate and also indicate the shape of those nouns.

3) To specify the phrase, especially with the demonstrative words.

4) To represent nouns.

Most classifiers used in Thai are nouns, pronouns and adjectives. Some classifiers are set up for use with a specific noun, e.g. /***rɨən***/ is used only with /***na:ríka:***/ ‘a watch’.

As stated in Banchob’s (1979: 225) there are only three classifiers in the King Ramkhamhaeng Inscription. They are /***kʰon***/, /***tuə***/ and /***ʔan***/. The classifier/***kʰon***/ is used with humans, /***tuə***/ is used with animals and /***ʔan***/ is used with inanimate objects both big and small. When new words are created, new classifiers used for them also need to be created.

Nowadays, especially in informal speech, remembering the appropriate classifier for nouns is difficult, therefore, the classifier /***ʔan***/ is used. If possible, some people may want to use /***ʔan***/ for all inanimate objects as in the King Ramkhanhaeng period.

Kamchai Thonglor (1994: 215-216) considers a classifier as a noun following another noun to indicate feature or quality of a modified noun in order to make the noun clear such as /***rót nìŋ kʰan ban tʰók kʰon sì: kʰon***/ ‘a car carries four people’. Classifiers can be a repetition of the preceding noun itself such as /***kʰôn sǎ:m kʰôn***/ ‘three people’ or other words that show a specific feature such as /***wǽ:n nɯ̃:ŋ wôŋ***/ ‘a ring’.

A noun may be used with more than one classifier depending on the speakers. Some nouns must be classed with many specific classifiers. For example, flat objects can be classed with classifiers /***bay***/, /***pɨ̌:n***/ and /***pʰɛ̀n*** / such as / ***baymây nɯ̃ŋ bay*** / ‘one leaf’, / ***kàdà:t nɯ̃ŋ pʰɛ̀n*** / ‘one piece of paper’, /***lɯ̃əy nɯ̃ŋ pɨ̌:n*** / ‘one saw’.

2.2 The classification

There are many ways to classify classifiers. The following classifications may differ from each other depending on the criteria of classifications.

Noss (1964) mentions that a classifier is used after numerals such as / *hà: sô:ŋ*/ ‘five envelopes (cl.)’ and precedes demonstratives /*sô:ŋ nán*/ ‘envelope (cl.) that’ in order to modify the nouns. The head noun may or may not relate to the classifier.

Based on the classifier relationship with other lexeme categories, he classifies classifiers into four types:

1. A unit classifier is a classifier which has a specific relationship with concrete nouns.
2. A metric classifier is a classifier which occurs with mass nouns, predicatives and containers.
3. A general classifier is a classifier which does not have specific relationship with either concrete noun or mass nouns.
4. An imitative classifier is a classifier which is onomatopoetic. It rarely modifies the noun but is a predicate.

Praya Upprakitsillapasarn (1968) says that a classifier is a word which is used for indicating a feature of nouns. He classifies classifiers into six groups:

1. Classifiers which indicate the types of nouns such as /*ʔoŋ*/

2. Classifiers which indicate the group of nouns such as /*kɔ:ŋ*/

3. Classifiers which indicate the shape of nouns such as / *thêŋ*/

4. Classifiers which indicate the metric of nouns such as / *kʰû:*/ /*lǒ:*/

5. Classifiers which indicate the arrangement of nouns such as / *muən* /, /*mát*/

6. Classifiers which are a repeated word of the noun that is indicated such as / *klòŋ nɨ̀ŋ klòŋ* / ‘a box’.

Allan (1977) says that classifiers are defined on two criteria:

a) they occur as morphemes in surface structure under specifiable conditions

b) they have meaning in the sense that a classifier denotes some salient perceived or imputed characteristics of the entity to which an associated noun refers (or may refer).

He classifies classifier languages into 4 types;

1. Numeral classifier language, this type of classifier occurs in quantity phrase such as in Thai /*kru: sǎ:m kʰon* / 'three teachers'

   teacher three human(cl.)

   Besides that, in those languages a classifier can be used instead of a noun such as when being asked

   /*mã: tua nãy*/ 'which dog'

   dog body(cl.) which

   a reply sentence is

   /*tua nán*/ 'that dog'

   body (cl.) that

2. Concordial classifier languages are languages which have classifier as affix. Most classifiers are infix combined with a noun, modifier, predicates or proforms.
3. Predicate classifier languages are languages which have classifiers as predicates.
4. Intra-locative classifier languages are languages which have classifiers in locative phrase.

Allan believes that classifiers are meaningful because using different classifiers with a noun communicates different meaning. According to him, there are three ways to decide whether classifiers are meaningful: using native intuition, using intuition of a foreign observer and noticing classifier use of native speakers with new items.

Most classifiers indicate a significant feature of the modified noun. Many nouns can occur with more than one classifier. Each classifier emphasizes different characteristics, so classifier usage depends on the perception of the speaker toward nouns.

The relationship between nouns and classifiers in a classifier language is usually explainable but sometimes not.

Allan (1977) proposes seven categories of classification. The seven categories can be used in componential analysis. A classifier may have two or more components. The seven categories are:

1. Material Category which can be divided into three subcategories: animacy, abstract and verbal nouns, and inanimacy
2. Shape Category which can be divided into dimensional and non-dimensional subcategories. The dimensional subcategory can be further divided into one dimensional (long), two dimensional (flat) and three dimensional (round). The non-dimensional subcategory is also further divided into prominent curved exterior, hollow and annular.
3. Consistency can be divided into three subcategories: flexible, hard and rigid and non-discrete.
4. Size can be divided into two subcategories: big and small.
5. Location does not indicate any feature or characteristic of the noun.
6. Arrangement can be divided into three subcategories: classifiers used with folded or pleated objects; classifiers used with things appearing in specific location such as objects in a row; and classifiers indicating groupings of objects.
7. Quanta can be divided into four subcategories namely: measure, volume, weight and time. This classifier occurs with mass nouns, predicatives and containers.

Somsonge Burusphat (2005) compares Lao numeral classifiers with Central Thai. Her study is based on the works of Adam and Conklin (1973), Denny (1976) and Allan (1971). Her classification of classifiers is diagramed below.

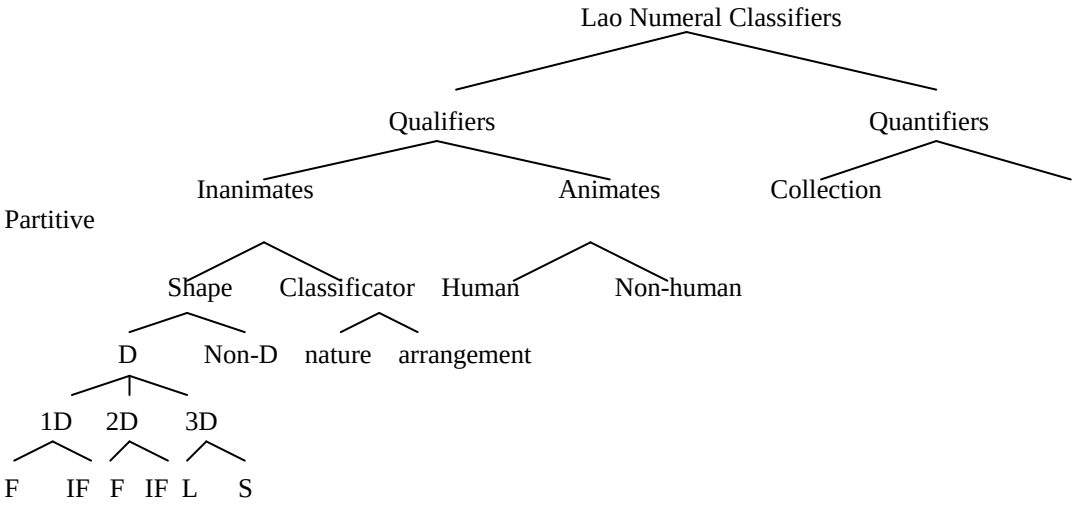


Diagram IV: Classification of Classifiers (Burusphat, 2005:3)

Her comparison of classifiers used in Lao and Central Thai shows that there are similarities and differences. The differences relate to innovative classification of nouns and are also caused by the perception of speakers towards nouns. For example, Lao people classify a chair, a table in the round class, whereas the Central Thai classifies them in the animal class because they have legs like an animal.

Moreover, she mentions that Lao uses general classifiers with more objects than Central Thai. For example, Lao uses the classifier /ʔan/ with inanimate objects in any size whereas in Central Thai it is used with small inanimate objects. In addition, the classifiers used in Lao are more conservative than in the Central Thai. For example, the classifier /nũəy/ is used widely in Lao and other Thai dialects such as Northeastern and Southern Thai but it is absent in Central Thai.

2.3 Previous Studies of Classifier Usage

Since classifiers are an areal feature of Southeast Asian languages including Thai, there are many previous studies of classifier usage in society. Those studies deal with occurrences of classifiers and nouns as well as variation of classifier usage. They can be classified into three groups based on regional dialects.

2.3.1 Central Thai

The studies on classifiers, which are used in the central region of Thailand or the studies on Central Thai classifiers are as follows:

Angkarb Palakornkul (1976) defines a classifier as a noun occurring with numerals, adjectives, adverbs and demonstratives. The classifier occurs in the following structures:

NP = N + Cl + numerals
+ adjectives
+ demonstratives

She divides classifiers into 4 types as follows:

1. Characteristic classifiers which characterize the referred nouns.
2. Specific classifiers which are used with specific nouns.
3. Metric classifiers which indicate the metric of nouns.
4. General classifiers which are used with general nouns without referring to any feature or characteristic of those nouns.

She also mentions that classifier variation is caused by:

1. The speakers who have different views toward things.
2. The speakers who have more than one noun for one object.
3. The speakers who use a new term for a noun.
4. The speakers who use general classifiers instead of specific ones.

5. The speakers who use new classifier instead of the old ones.
6. The speakers who change word order in speaking.
7. The speakers who use general classifier/ʔan/ widely.

She concludes that there are two types of classifier variations;

1. *Free variation* Speakers use different classifiers without realizing the difference between those classifiers such as /lû:k/ and /bay/.
2. *Conditioned variation* The different use of classifiers is caused by society. The classifier usage depends on the situation and role of the speakers.

She emphasizes that the use of numeral classifiers in Thai is changing, that is, repeaters and the general classifier, /ʔan/ are often used instead of various classifiers.

Kantima Wattanaprasert (1983) compares classifier usage in Chiang Mai and Bangkok. She gathered the data from dictionaries, theses and informants. She defines the classifier as a modifier. They can modify both nouns and verbs.

The position of the classifiers in noun phrase and verb phrase are;

NP: Noun + Numeral + Classifier

VP: Verb + Numeral + Classifier

The results of her study indicate that the function of a classifier is to classify things. There are both similarities and differences in the use of classifier in each place depending on the perspectives and the perception of the speakers.

Sujaritlak Deepadung (1997) studies the extension in the usage of the Thai classifier /tuə/. Generally, the classifier /tuə / is used only with animals, but the use of /tuə/ is increasing. /tuə/ is used with other nouns which share some features with animals such as chairs and trousers because they have legs. Moreover, /tuə/ is also used with alphabets, numbers and clothes because they share their shape and function with trousers.

In addition, the classifier /tuə/ is widely used, especially in informal speech, by people in general. For example, they use /tuə/ with stock, products and so on.

Moreover, a few classifiers such as /kʰon/, /tuə/ and /ʔan/ are widely used for counting. Nowadays, the system of common speech or in rural Thai dialects is simple and more flexible and it is possible that people may return to the simple use of classifiers.

Sarawanee Sangkhaburanurak (1999) studies the use of classifiers in modern standard Thai by speakers of different ages to find out the co-occurrence of classifiers and nouns, and noun phrase patterns containing classifiers. She also investigated whether a classifier used in standard Thai varied with the age of the speakers by collecting data from talk shows on television and conversations of people under 25 years old and those over 40 years old. She found that:

1. Although specific classifiers are mostly used, general classifiers and repeater classifiers were also found.
2. Classifiers occur with numerals, cardinals, ordinals and adjectives in noun phrases.
3. Speakers under 25 years old use classifiers assigned by the Royal Institute rules more often than speakers over 40 years old. This may be because the younger generation speakers are at the studying age, so they are more familiar with the grammatical rule than the older generation. The older generation tries to standardize classifier usage by comparing nouns with those they are familiar with. For example, the older generation use classifier /tõː/ with /pʰátlôm/ ‘electric fan’ instead of classifier /kʰɨ̃əŋ/ which most of the speakers especially the younger generation use for the machine operated objects, so the older classifier usage does not follow the Royal Institute’s guidelines. However, the older generation also uses specific classifiers more than general and repeater classifiers.

Moreover, when there are new nouns, both the younger and the older generations tend to use repeater and general classifiers instead of specific ones. This study shows that the use of classifiers should be more flexible because speakers do not concentrate on the characteristics or shapes of nouns.

2. 3.2 Northeastern Thai

The studies on classifiers which are used in the northeastern region of Thailand or the studies on northeastern Thai classifiers are as follows:

Narumol Jantharasupphawong (1985) studies classifiers in Korat Thai spoken in Ban Bung Thap Prang, Thambol Krathok, Amphoe Chok Chai, Nakhon Ratchasima province. The purpose of her study is to find out whether classifier usages in the village vary with age and occupation of the speakers. She finds 166 classifiers used in the village. Both variable and non-variable classifiers are found. The variations result from different perspectives of the speakers toward objects, the use of general classifiers and the borrowed classifiers from Central Thai. Some classifiers, however, vary without any condition. The result of the study indicates that there are ten categories of classifiers, namely animation, inanimation, human, animals, place, organs, tree parts, vehicle and shape. The use and number of classifiers used in the village vary with the age and occupation of the speakers.

She also mentions the classifier /ʔan/ and that there are various classifiers which vary with /ʔan/. Frequency in the uses of classifier /ʔan/ are high by teenage farmers and middle aged vendors. So the use of classifier /ʔan/ is a significant factor which affects the number of other classifiers used, that is, the more the speakers use /ʔan/, the fewer the number of the classifiers they use.

Arunee Rattanakul (1985) studies classifiers used in Chiangmai, Khonkaen, Saraburi, and Surathani. Both similarities and differences of form and meaning of classifiers in each dialect are found:

1. The meanings and forms of classifiers are the same.
2. The meanings of classifiers are the same but their forms are different.
3. The meanings of classifiers are different but their forms are similar.
4. Both meanings and forms of classifiers are different.

In addition, the different use of classifiers in each dialect reflects varying concepts and perspectives of the speakers of each dialect.

Their different usage is caused by speakers having different or broader interpretation of nouns and different attitudes toward them. Broader interpretation means the speakers of one dialect classify objects less elaborately than speakers of other dialects, so the objects in some categories are more numerous than speakers of other dialects.

To conclude, a classifier is a noun used to modify the preceding noun and usually occurs with a numeral in order to enumerate the noun and indicate the shape of the noun. The classifiers which are used in Thai are numeral classifiers. There is no fixed rule in classifier usage because some nouns can be used with more than one classifier. Classifiers are meaningful because using different classifiers with the same noun communicates different meanings.

Previous studies of classifiers in Thai show that Thai classifiers can be grouped according to different criteria as follows:

1. Classifiers which have some relationship with the nouns or refer to the characteristic of the nouns.
2. Classifiers which can be used generally without any relationship with the nouns.
3. Classifiers which occur with mass nouns, predicatives and containers.
4. Classifiers which are the repeated words of the referred nouns.
5. Classifiers which are onomatopoetic.

Classifiers are used after numerals, adjectives and demonstratives but this study focuses only on the numeral classifiers. They are used not only to enumerate a noun but also to indicate the characteristic of the noun. Moreover, they can also represent nouns, for example, /*tʰæ̀ŋ sǐː dam*/ ‘the black one’, the answer of the question /*nǎy dinsɔ̌ː kʰɔ̌ːŋ tʰəː*/ ‘which one is your pencil’. In the answer sentence, the noun is omitted and replaced by the classifier /*tʰæ̀ŋ* /.

There are both similarities and differences in classifiers used in each dialect in Thailand. The similarities and the differences are found both in form and meaning.

Many studies have found variations in classifier usage; free variation and conditioned variation. Most of the variations are caused by the speakers having different perspectives toward things and using many repeaters and general classifiers. Also, the variations of classifier use are also caused by the speech situations and the roles of the speakers. In informal speech, the speakers may use classifiers differently from formal speech even when using with the same noun. Classifier usage also varies with the age and occupation of the speakers. The use of repeaters and general classifiers are increasing. It seems that the system of classifier use in Thai is more flexible than in the past.

CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this study is as follows:

3.1 Informant Selection

People who are now residing in Jaramae canal have migrated from different places including Laos. Ban Thabo is one of the villages situated on the banks of the canal. In this study, people of Ban Thabo have been chosen to represent Ubon Ratchathani people because they or their ancestors have been living in Ubon Ratchathani province for a long time. There are few people have moved in so language usage in the village has been little influenced by other dialects. Therefore, the people in this village were ideal informants.

The informants are divided into three generations;

a. The first generation, representing the young generation, consists of informants who are between 10-15 years old.
b. The second generation, representing the middle aged people, consists of informants who are 35-40 years old.
c. The third generation, representing the older people, consists of informants who are 60-65 years old.

The interval between each generation is 20 years so that the differences in classifier usage are more noticeable.

3.1.1 Education

All the informants must have finished Prathom 6 and not studied beyond that level because with higher education the informant may have been influenced by the use of classifiers in Central Thai dialect.

3.1.2 Birthplace

All the informants must have been born in Ubon Ratchathani province and been living in Ban Thabo ever since.

3.1.3. Number of Informants

Due to the qualification requirement of the informants of this study, there are not many informants who have met these requirements; therefore, there are only 12 informants in this study. All the informants are female, as they seem to be aware of classifier usage more than their male counterparts.

3.2 Data Collection

3.2.1 Preparation

1. Nouns that are used in daily life have been gathered from Northeastern Thai dialect dictionaries and from the other studies to make sure that the nouns were more varied so that the classifiers used with these nouns could be elicited.
2. The researcher classified the nouns into different categories based on their semantic components.
3. The researcher used those nouns to interview the informants to discover what classifiers they used with those nouns.

3.2.2 Data Collection

A prepared wordlist to interview the informants was used.

3.3 Data Analysis

The data analysis is based on the work of Allen (1977) presented in Chapter II as follows:

1) After eliciting the classifiers used with nouns in each category, the nouns have been grouped according to the classifiers that they were used with. That is, the nouns that occur with the same classifier were grouped together.

2) The nouns that belong to the same group share the same semantic components, that is, they have the same characteristic therefore the following step is to analyze the semantic components of the nouns in each group using the following componential analysis:

There are two basic principles:

(1) Word meaning is composed of many sub-meanings called semantic feature or semantic component.

(2) Each semantic component can take on the meaning of the word and it may be found in many nouns, hence, the semantic component shows the relation in meaning of words. (Peansiri Wongwiphanon (2525:35))

There are three types of semantic components.

I Semantic markers The semantic component shows a feature of classifier. This type of classifier is universal, that is, it appears in many languages and it occurs with numerous nouns. Moreover, the semantic component shows grouping of classifiers which share some meaning such as the semantic component (+ alive) appears with classifiers /kʰon/, /ʔoŋ/ and /tõ:/.

II Distinguishers The semantic component shows the particular feature of a classifier which can distinguish a classifier from others such as the component (+respected) distinguish the classifier /kʰon/ from classifier /ʔoŋ/.

III Selectional Restriction The semantic component which indicates co-occurrence of a classifier and a noun such as classifier /pî:n/ is used only with the nouns/lɨ̃əy/ ‘saw’.

This study uses contrastive feature and distinctive feature to analyze the component of the nouns used with each classifier.

a) Contrastive feature

There are binary values:

\+ (marked)

\- (unmarked)

The plus sign + means the presence of semantic components.

The minus sign – means the absence of semantic components.

b) Descriptive feature

There is only one value:

The plus sign (+) is used to describe the semantic component of nouns (Cited in Arunee Rattanakul (1986: 22-24))

This study uses both contrastive and descriptive features to analyze the data.

3) After that the variations of classifiers used among three generations are studied:

If the informants from different generations use different classifiers with a noun, the classifiers have variation.

If all informants use the same classifier with a noun, the classifier has no variation.

4) The classifiers which have no variation are separated from classifiers whichhave variation.
5) The classifiers which have variation are grouped.
6) The classifiers which have no variation are analyzed.
7) The difference in number of classifiers used by each generation is counted.
8) Whether the age of the speakers is a social variable that causes variation on classifier usage will be analyzed.
9) The classifiers used in Ubon Ratchathani dialect are compared with other classifiers used in other places from the previous study and discussed.
10) Conclusions and discussion are made.

CHAPTER IV
CLASSIFIER USAGE IN UBON RATCHATHANI SUB-DIALECT

This chapter presents the nouns used in this study and the classifiers used with the nouns.

Firstly, the nouns grouped in each category are presented, and then the classifiers used with nouns in each category will be presented with the semantic components of the nouns. The semantic components distinguish one classifier from others.

All the nouns used in this study can be classified into various categories based on the semantic components of the nouns. The classification used in this study has been adapted from that of Allen (1977) presented in chapter II.

The adapted classification is as follows:

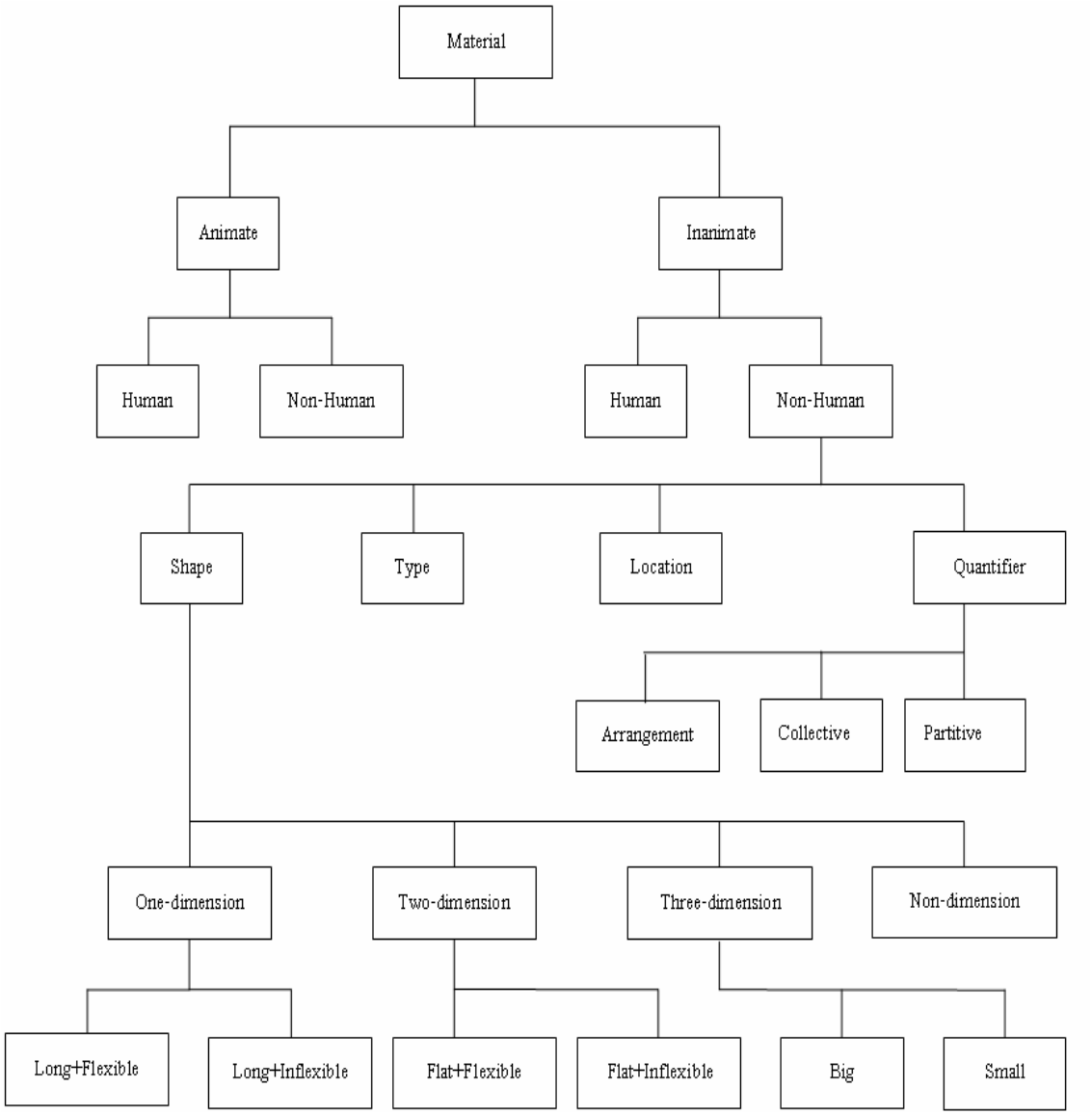


Diagram V: Categories of noun based on the semantic components

After gathering the nouns which will be used to collect classifiers, the nouns can be classified into categories based on the components of the nouns as follows:

4.1 Noun Classification

From diagram IV, samples of nouns in each category are:

4.1.1 Animate

Animate class refers to animals, people or the living.

1) human

a) individual

/dékn̂ːy/ ‘child’ /kàsát/ ‘king’

/tamlùət/ ‘policeman’ /pʰáʔ/ ‘monk’

/nák-hîən/ ‘student’ /sõp/ ‘corpse’

b) collective

/kũːm dékn̂ːy/ ‘children’

/kũːm kôn/ ‘group of people’

2) non-human

a) individual

/kõp/ ‘frog’

/kʰûəy/ ‘buffalo’

/paː/ ‘fish’

b) collective

/kũːmkʰuəy / ‘group of buffalos’

/kũːmnók/ ‘group of birds’

4.1.2 Inanimate

Inanimate class refers to noun-human nouns. There are many nouns that belong to this class; hence, they can be further classified into four sub-categories based on the shape of nouns:

1) Shape

a) Long: One- dimensional objects with long shape which can be divided into long and flexible, and long and inflexible.

i) Long and Flexible

/lûətnǎ:m/ ‘wire’	/pʰǒm/ ‘hair’
/ kô:ŋ/ ‘canal’	/sɔ̀y/ ‘necklace’
/sɨ̂ək/ ‘rope’	/ dâ:y/ ‘thread’
/mæ:nâ:m/ ‘river’	/tʰànǒn/ ‘road’
/pʰãkbûŋ/ ‘morning-glory	/hùəy/ ‘stream’
/tɔ̀:k/ ‘thin bamboo-stripes’	/tamlɨ̂ŋ/ ‘ivy ground’

ii) Long and Inflexible

/kʰîəw/ ‘sickle’	/lɨəy/ ‘saw’
/sǐəm/ ‘spade’	/fɨ̂:n/ ‘firewood’
/cóp/ ‘hoe’	/pɨ:n/ ‘gun’
/tʰǎy/ ‘plough’	/lûŋkinnâ:m/ ‘rainbow’
/kʰũy/‘flute’	/kʰɔ:n/ ‘log’
/pà:kka:/‘pen’	/lɔ̀:t/ ‘straw’
/dinsɔ̌:/ ‘pencil’	/lɔ̀:tfâ:y/ ‘bulb’
/pʰâ:/ ‘jungle knife’	/mî:t/ ‘knife’
/ kʰãykʰuəŋ / ‘screw driver’	/tʰappʰi:/ ‘ladle’
/kʰěm/ ‘pin’	/sɔ̃:n/ ‘spoon’
/tʰû:p/ ‘joss stick’	/pĩnto:/ ‘tiffin carrier’

/wǎ:y/ ‘feature lower grass’ /lẽk / ‘iron’

/tʰiən/ ‘candle’ /tônmây/ ‘tree’

/săw/ ‘pole’ /mâykʰì:t/ ‘match’

/ kʰô:n / ‘hammer’ /ŋã:mây / ‘tree branch’

/bàkkʰã:m / ‘tamarind’ /kʰàwpʰô:t / ‘corn’

/ló:tfây/ ‘train’ / kĩən / ‘cart’

/ cákkàyâ:n / ‘bicycle’ /kʰɨəŋbin/ ‘plane’

/lɨ̂ə/ ‘boat’ /lótyôn/ ‘car’

b) Flat : Two- dimensional objects with flat shape which can be divided into flat and flexible, and flat and inflexible.

i) Flat + Flexible

/bæ̂ŋ/ ‘banknote’ /sô:ŋ/ ‘envelop’

/cótmã:y/ ‘letter’ /sìn/ ‘Thai sarong’

/sánŋa:/ ‘contract’ /sà:t/ ‘mat’

/mûŋ/ ‘mosquito net’ /kàpăw/ ‘bag’

/tŭə/ ‘ticket’ /tʰŭŋpʰá:ttĩk/‘plastic bag’

/kàsɔ̀:p/ ‘gunny bag’ /lû:ppʰâ:p/ ‘picture’

/hæ̌:/ ‘fishing net’ /baytɔ:ŋ/ ‘banana leaf’

/pʰàhom/ ‘blanket’ /pʰàsétto:/ ‘towel’

ii) Flat + Inflexible

/fã:/ ‘lid’ /nãŋsĩ:/ ‘book’

/kɔ̀plû:p/ ‘photo frame /kàdôŋ/ ‘rice winnowing’

/pàtu:/ ‘door’ / kʰiəŋ / ‘cutting board’

/nà:ta:ŋ/ ‘window’ / ca:n / ‘dish’

/kàcõk/ ‘mirror’ /lĭən/ ‘coin’

/tãŋ/ ‘bench’ /mâ:nãŋ/ ‘bench’

/tiəŋ/ ‘bed’ /tóʔ/ ‘table’

c) Three-dimensional objects having three dimensions (length, width, and height) which can be divided into small and big.

i) small

/kʰĭŋ/ ‘ginger’ /sĭw/ ‘pimple’

/kʰa:/ ‘galangal’ /fă̆y/ ‘mole’

/pík/ ‘chili’ /hŏ:m/ ‘onion’

/sàbu:/ ‘soap’ /kàdum/ ‘button’

/kô:nhĭn/ ‘rock /âŋpʰèŋ/ ‘honey nest’

/bàksída:/ ‘guava’ /âŋmót/ ‘ant nest’

/lùkʔom/ ‘candy’ /âŋnók/ ‘bird nest’

/ya:mét/ ‘pill’ /mètfŏn/ ‘drop of rain’

/métkʰàw/ ‘rice crop’ /lùkbɔ:n/ ‘ball’

/ tʰã:n / ‘coal’ /mùək/ ‘hat’

/kʰãy/ ‘egg’ /bàkmuəŋ/ ‘mango’

ii) big

/duəŋʔátít/ ‘the sun’ /duəŋcan/ ‘the moon’

/hŭəpi:/ ‘banana blossom’ /kàlàm/ ‘cabbage’

/mân/ ‘yam bean’ /tàkiəŋ / ‘lamp’

/mõ:n/ ‘pillow’ /kɔ:ŋ/ ‘drum’

/ʔa:ŋ/ ‘sink’ /tʰuəy/ ‘bowl’

/kâwʔî:/ ‘chair’ /cɔ:mpùək/ ‘termite hill’

/kʰă̆w/ ‘mountain’ /nalíka:/ ‘watch’

/*pʰátlôm* / ‘electric fan’ /*kâ:w*/ ‘glass’

/ *kàlàmâŋ*/ ‘basin’ /*tàkã:*/ ‘basket’

/ *hùət* / ‘bamboo-strip streamer’ /*tû:sɨ̀əpʰà:*/ ‘wardrobe’

/*wítthᵃáyũʔ*/ ‘radio’ /*kʰúʔ*/ ‘pail’

/*tawli:t*/‘electric iron’ /*kʰók*/ ‘mortar’

d) Non-dimensional

Non-dimensional objects are described as prominent curved exterior, hollow and annular.

/*wæ̌:n*/ ‘ring’ /*kamlây*/ ‘bracelet’

2) Type

Besides shape based nouns, there are specific classifiers which are used with nouns and do not refer to any component of the nouns they refer to. They are called type classifiers. They are presented in the following classes.

/*hẽt*/ ‘mushroom’ /*dɔ̀:kmây*/ ‘flower’

/*kɔ:ŋmâykʰi:t*/ ‘match box’ /*fî:n*/ ‘firewood’

/*dɔ̀:kbuə* / ‘lotus’ /*kuncæ:*/ ‘key’

3) Location

The nouns belong to this class are places or constructions or locative nouns.

/*bâ:n*/ ‘house’ /*hã:n*/ ‘shop’

/*wát*/ ‘temple’ /*tʰi:*/ ‘land’

/*lô:ŋnã:ŋ*/ ‘cinema’ /*tʰõ:ŋ*/ ‘field’

/*tàlà:t*/ ‘market’ /*kʰôkmũ:*/ ‘pigsty’

/*sũən*/ ‘garden’ /*kʰôkkã:*/ ‘chicken pen’

/*lô:ŋlĩən*/ ‘school’ /*lâwkã:*/ ‘chicken coop’

/*bɔ̀:t*/ ‘church’ /*pa:n*/ ‘birthmark’

The last category is ‘Quantifier’ which can be divided into arrangement, collective and partitive.

4) Quantifier

The nouns belong to this class show the amount of them that is being considered.

a) Arrangement

Nouns in this category refer to nouns arranged into many forms:

/sɔ̂:ŋyasù:p/ ‘a case of cigarettes’

/mũənfîm/ ‘a roll of film’

/mũənt^{h}ep/ ‘a cassette tape’

/cì:pmà:k/ ‘a folded areca nut’

b) Collective

/sæ̂:ŋbàkta:n/ ‘bunch of Toddy palm’ /tûmhũ:/ ‘earrings’

/sæ̂:ŋbàkp^{h}â:w/ ‘bunch of coconut’ /t^{h}uŋt^{h}âw/ ‘socks’

/sæ̂:ŋmà:k/ ‘bunch of areca palm’ /kè:p/ ‘shoes’

/sɔ̀:dɔ̀:k/ ‘bunch of flower’

c) Partitive

/tûmhũ:nɨ̃:ŋk^{h}à:ŋ/ ‘one side of earrings’

/t^{h}uŋt^{h}âwnɨ̃:ŋk^{h}à:ŋ/ ‘one side of socks’

/kè:pnɨ̃:ŋk^{h}à:ŋ/ ‘one side of shoes’

/tɔ̃:nnɨ̂ə/ ‘a piece of meat’

/tɔ̃:np^{h}ɔ̌nlamây/ ‘a piece of fruit’

/kì:pkàtiəm/ ‘a petal of garlic’

/kì:pdɔ̀:kmây/ ‘a petal of a flower’

After the nouns are categorized as presented above, the semantic components of nouns used with each classifier will be analyzed to indicate the different usages of each classifier for the nouns in each category.

4.2 Classifier Usage in Ubon Ratchathani Sub-Dialect

There are 88 classifiers used by speakers of UB sub-dialect. They will be presented with the semantic components of the nouns used with each classifier.

Semantic features used in this study are binary values:

+ (marked)
- (unmarked)

The plus sign + means the presence of semantic components.
The minus sign – means the absence of semantic components.

The semantic component of all the nouns used with each classifier cannot be analyzed because the uses of some classifiers do not relate to the nouns they refer to.

The classifiers used in UB sub-dialect are classified into three major categories including those that can be used with the nouns and have the semantic relation to the nouns:

(1) Specific Classifiers

Specific classifier is a classifier which indicates an attribute of the objects. Each classifier can be used with several nouns which share similar characters and some nouns may be used with more than one classifier.

(2) Repeaters

A repeater is a classifier which repeats the nouns they classify.

(3) General Classifiers

A general classifier is used when a specific one is deemed inapplicable.

The semantic component of the nouns that can be used with specific classifiers can be analyzed. The uses of repeater and general classifier do not refer to component of the nouns they are used with.

4.2.1 Specific Classifiers

Specific Classifiers used in UB sub-dialect can be classified into two major groups:

1) UB classifiers
   A) Original
   B) Extended

2) Central Thai Classifiers which are classifiers which are from Central Thai dialect but are used by speakers of UB sub-dialect.

4.2.1.1 UB Classifiers

UB classifiers include original classifiers and extended classifiers as discussed below.

A) Original classifiers are classifiers which are used in UB sub-dialect.

There are 48 specific classifiers used in UB sub-dialect. Based on the semantic component of the nouns used with these specific classifiers, the specific classifiers can be further divided into two major groups; animate and inanimate.

I Animate

1) human

There are four classifiers used with animate objects:

/*kʰôn*/ is used with nouns having the following components:

+ animates
+ human
- high status
+ individual

such as /*dékknô:y*/ ‘child’, /*nák-hîən*/ ‘student, /*tamlùət*/ ‘policeman’.

/ʔoŋ/ is used with nouns having the following components:

+animates

+human

+ high status

+individual

such as /kàsát/ ‘king’, /p^{h}áʔ/ ‘monk’.

/sûm/ is used with collective nouns having the following components:

+animates

+human

- high status

- individual

such as / sûm / ‘group of people’, /sûm dékn̂ːy/ ‘group of children’.

2) non- human

/mũː/ is used with collective nouns having the following components:

+ animates

- human

- high status

- individual

It is used for a group of animals e.g. /mũːpaː/ ‘a school of fish’ / mũːk^{h}uəy/ ‘group of buffalos’ and / mũːnók/ ‘group of birds’.

II Inanimate

Inanimate refer to all non-human nouns which are classified based on their shape as follow:

1) Shape

There are many objects that belong to inanimate class. This category can be further divided into sub-categories based on the shape of nouns:

a) Long: One dimensional

There are five classifiers in long category.

i) Long and Flexible

/*sèn*/ is used with nouns having the following components:

+ long

+ flexible

+ small

such as /*pʰǒm*/ ‘hair’, /*kʰémkʰãt*/ ‘belt’, /*sɨ̂ək*/ ‘rope’ and other rope-like objects.

/*sǎ:y*/ is used with nouns having the following components:

+long

+ flexible

- small

such as a /*mæ:nâ:m*/ “river’, a /*kʰô:ŋ*/ ‘cannel’, /*tʰànǒn*/ ‘road’.

ii) Long and Inflexible

There are nine classifiers used with nouns providing long component.

/*dâ:m*/ is used with nouns having the following components:

+long

- flexible

+ holder

-hollow

+ tool

such as /*mî:t*/ ‘knife’, /*bàkcóp*/ ‘hoe’, /*pɨ:n*/ ‘gun’.

/duəŋ/ is used with nouns having the following components:

+ long
- flexible
- holder
+ hollow
+ tool

such as nouns like /kʰîəw/ ‘sickle’, /lɨəy/ ‘saw’, /sǐəm/ ‘spade’.

Although /duəŋ/ and /dâ:m/ are used with nouns with the same components, Northeastern Thai dialects dictionary states that only /duəŋ/ is a classifier for a knife, a hoe, a spade, a plough. /dâ:m/ is defined as a part for holding or a holder, for example, /dâ:mmî:t/ mean the holder part of a knife. Then it is used as a classifier for objects with holder.

/lâm/ is used with nouns having the following components:

+long
- flexible
- holder
+hollow
- tool

such as /mâypʰãy /‘bamboo shoot’.

/tʰɔ:n/ is used with nouns having the following components;

+long
- flexible
- holder
- hollow
- tool

such as /tʰɔ:nmây / ‘wood’. /tʰɔ:nlẽ:k / ‘iron’

b) Flat : Two –dimensional

There are four classifiers in flat category.

i) Flat and Flexible

/*daːŋ*/ is used with nouns having the following components:

+ flat

+ tool

+ fabric

such as /*mûŋ*/ ‘mosquito net’, /*hæ̃ː*/ ‘fishing net’.

/*pʰæ̃ːn*/ is used with nouns having the following components:

+ flat

- tool

- fabric

such as / *pæ̂ːn*/ ‘plank’,/*kàdàːt* ‘paper’, /*tŭə*/ ‘ticket’, /*pʰâːp*/ ‘picture’.

/*toːŋ*/ is used with nouns having the following components:

+ flat

- tool

+ fabric

It is used only with /*sìn*/ ‘Thai sarong’ especially the ones ready to be worn.

ii) Flat + Inflexible

/*baːn*/ is used with nouns having the following components:

+ flat

- flexible

+ square or rectangle

such as /*pàtuː*/ ‘door’, /*nàːtaːŋ*/ ‘window’ and /*kàcõk*/ ‘mirror’.

c) Round : Three dimensional

/kôːn/ is used with nouns having the following components:

+round

-head part

- living

such as a /hǐn/ ‘rock’, a /sabuː/ ‘soap /lùkʔom/ ‘candy’

2) Type

Classifiers which belong in this class are used with specific nouns and do not refer to any semantic component of the nouns.

/kʰɨəŋ/ means ‘machine’ so it is used as a classifier with all kinds of machine operated nouns such as /pʰátlôm/ ‘electric fan’, /tʰiːwiː/ ‘TV’, /wíttʰáyũʔ/ ‘radio’.

/dôːn/ or /dûn/ are used only with /fɨ̂ːn/ ‘firewood’.

/kãp/ is used with /kɔŋmàykʰìːt/ ‘match box’.

/kʰân/ is used with all forms of vehicles such as ‘a plane’, ‘a car’.

3) Location

/bɔ̃ːn/ and /mɔ̀ŋ/ is used with nouns having the following components:

+building

-dwelling

such as /tàlàːt/ ‘market’, /lôːŋlîən/ ‘school’, /wát/ ‘temple’.

/mɔ̀ŋ/ and /bɔ̃ːn/ have nominal meaning ‘place’. They are used as classifiers for locative nouns such as a market, a building, a field. In addition, they are free

variation because there is no difference in the use and using both classifiers with the same noun conveys the same meaning.

/*pʰãn*/ is used with nouns having the following components:

-building

- dweling

such as /*tʰoŋ*/ 'field'.

/*lǎŋ*/ is used with nouns having the following components:

+building

+dwelling

such as /*bâ:n*/ 'house', /*bò:t*/ 'church'.

4) Quantifiers

The classifiers in this class show the amount of the nouns that are being considered.

a) Arrangement

Actually the classifiers which belong to this category do not refer to any of the component of the nouns to which they refer. Classifiers in this category are repeaters of the characteristics of the nouns such as /*mũən*/ meaning 'roll'. It is used as a classifier for cylindrical objects.

/ *mũən*/ means 'roll' and is used as a classifier for cylindrical objects such as /*mũənfîm* / 'a roll of film', / *mũəntʰepɔ̃* / 'a cassette tape'.

/ *cì:p* / means 'fold' and is used as a classifier with folded objects such as /*cì:pmà:k*/ 'a folded areca nut.

b) Collective

Collective classifiers in this class refer to classifiers which are used with collected objects in various forms such as a pair, a pile. Classifiers in this category do not refer to any semantic component of the nouns they are used with.

/kɔ:ŋ/ is used with piled objects such as /kɔ:ŋfîəŋ/ ‘pile of straws’.

/p^hây/ is used only with nouns such as /p^hâyŋà:/ grass fastened in a long wood’.

/p^hûəŋ/ is used with bunched objects appeared in round shape such as /ma:lây/ ‘garland’, /p^hûəŋlì:t/ ‘wreath’.

/sæ̂:ŋ/ is used with bunches of plants in the nut family such as /sæ̂ŋ bàkp^hâ:w/ ‘a bunch of coconut’ /sæ̂ŋ mà:k/ ‘a bunch of areca palms’.

/wǐ:/ is used only with bunches of bananas.

c) Partitive

The classifiers in this category are used with a part of paired objects.

/fĩəŋ/ or /pĩəŋ/ is used with nouns such as /kì:pkàtîəm/ ‘petal of garlic’ and a part of fruit.

/tõ:n/ is used with nouns such as /nîəmǔ:/ ‘piece of pork’, /nîəŋûə/ ‘a piece of beef’.

B) Extended Classifiers refer to classifiers which may originally be used with specific category of nouns, and then they are extended to be used with other nouns sharing some semantic components with the original nouns. There are six extended classifiers as follows:

1) / *tõ:* / is originally used with all kinds of animals. It is used with all kinds of animals but it is extended to be used with objects sharing some characters with animals. For example chairs and tables, have legs like animals so they are classed with / *tõ:* /.

2) /*kâ:n*/ means 'branch'. It is used as a repeater for a branch of objects, for example, 'tree branch'. Then it is extended to be used as a classifier for branch-like objects such as a /*sô:n*/ 'spoon'. The central Thai classifier /*kʰân*/ is also used by some young informants whereas old people use /*kâ:n*/.

3) / *bãy* / means "leaf' and is used as a classifier for leaf-like objects including paper. Then it is extended to be used with others object providing flat component such as a bowl, a sink. This usage is similar to Central Thai dialect.

4) /*pî:*/ is used with flat and literacy objects. According to the Northeastern Thai dialect dictionary /*pî:*/ means official sheet for a 20 year old man who pays the capitation. Then, it is used to refer to a small piece of paper such as /*cót mã:yn ô:y*/ 'small letter, /*tŭə*/ 'ticket'.

5) / *pʰɨ̃:n* / used with flat and flexible objects such as a /*pʰàsétto:ʔ*/ 'towel', /*sà:t*/ 'mat'. Then it is extended to be used with flat and inflexible objects in location category such as /*tʰi:* / 'land', / *tʰõ:ŋ* / 'field'.

6) /*nũəy*/ is used with only a fruit but then extended to be used with other objects having shape like a fruit including objects with round shape.

7) /*wôŋ*/ is originally used with such nouns as /*wǎ:n*/ 'ring'. It is extended to nouns having circular characteristics such as /*wôŋdonti:*/ 'music band' or 'orchestra'.

4.2.1.2 Borrowed Classifiers from Central Thai

The following classifiers are borrowed from Central Thai dialect. The evidence indicating that the classifiers are from Central Thai dialect is that other UB classifiers used with those nouns are also found.

1) /kĩŋ/ It is a partial repeater for /kĩŋmây/ ‘tree branch’ whereas, UB sub-dialect uses / ŋã:/ which is a partial repeater for / ŋã:mây/ ‘tree branch’.

2) /k^hà:ŋ/ is used with one side of a pair objects such as /lôŋt^hâwk^{h}à:ŋnĩŋ/ ‘piece of shoes’ (one side of shoes), /tûmhŭ:/ ‘an earring’.

3) /sábãb/ is used with flat and literary nouns such as /cótmă:y/ ‘letter’, /sánŋa:/ ‘contract’ whereas, UB sub-dialect use /bay/ which is a classifier used with flat and flexible objects, and general classifier /ʔan/.

4) /t^hæ̃:ŋ/ is used with long, small and inflexible objects such as /t^hiən/ ‘candle’, /pà:kka:/ pen, while UB speakers use /dâ:m/ or /duəŋ/ for those nouns.

5) /lèm/ is used with /k^hæ:w/‘teeth’ by the speaker in UB but some speakers in UB extend this classifier to be used as in Central Thai dialects. That is, UB speakers use classifier /lèm/ with sharp edged objects such nouns like, /k^hĕm/ ‘needle’, /t^hîən/ ‘candle.

6) /c^hô:/ is used with a bunch of flower whereas UB dialect uses /p^hûəŋ/.

7) /fák/ is used with long fruit such as /k^hàwpoî:t/ ‘corn’, /bàkk^{h}a:/ ‘tamarind’ but UB dialect uses / nũəy / with fruits.

8) /sì:/ is used only with /k^hæ:w/ ‘tooth’ which is borrowed from Central Thai because most of informants in UB dialect use /lèm/ with ‘tooth’.

9) /t^hŭŋ/ is used with all kinds of bag. UB dialect use classifier /t^hŏŋ/ with all kinds of bag.

4.2.2 Repeaters

Repeaters or repeater classifiers are classifiers which repeat the nouns they classify.

Repeaters used in Ubon Ratchathani dialects can be classified into seven groups as follows:

1) Nature

/*hũa*/ is used with ‘head’ as it is a repeater of the word / *hũa* / ‘head’. It is used

as a repeater to classify objects containing head part.

/*nɔ̃:*/ is used with /*nɔ̃:mây*/ ‘bamboo shoot’.

/*nă:m*/ is used with / *nă:m*/ ‘thorn’.

/*dɔ̀:k*/ is originally used with flowers as it is a partial repeater. Then it is extended to flower-like objects such as /*tàpu:*/ ‘nail’, but for /*dɔ̀:k*/ which is used with a /*kuncæ:*/ ‘key’ may be an influence from standard Thai.

/*hû:*/ is used with /*hû:*/ ‘hole’.

/*kʰăw*/ is used with /*kʰăw*/ ‘hill’.

/*pʰô:n*/ is used with /*pʰô:n*/ ‘small hill’.

/*pʰû:*/ is used with hill which is bigger than /*pʰô:n*/

/*põ:ŋ*/ is used with a hole which is bigger than /*hû:*/

/*hâŋ*/ is used with / *hâŋmót*/ ‘nest of ants’, /*hâŋpèŋ*/ ‘honey nest’, /*hâŋnók*/ ‘bird nest’.

/*mèt*/ is from the word /*málét*/ ‘seed’. It is originally used with a seed. Then it is extended to nouns sharing some characters with a seed such as /*kàdum*/ ‘button’ /*ya:mét*/ ‘pill’.

/*yót*/ is used with / *mètfõn*/ ‘drop of rain’.

/*kʰô:ŋ*/ is used with /*kʰô:ŋ*/ ‘canal.

2) Body part

/*tâw*/ is used with /*tâwnôm*/ ‘breast’

/*tũm*/ is used with /*tũm*/ ‘blister’.

3) Plant or plant part

/bâŋ/ has the nominal meaning ‘a section of the bamboo’. It is used for cooked rice in a bamboo section. It is the first syllable of the word /bâŋkàwlǎ::m/.

/bɔ̀:k/ is the part of the word /kàbɔ̀:k/ ‘cylinder’

/kàbɔ̀:k/ is used with a cylinder

/kõk/ is used with all trees such as a stick, a palm, a mango tree but this classifier is also extended to tree-like objects such as a concrete-pole.

/tôn/ is used with nouns having the components like /kõk/ but most informants use /kõk/. /tôn/ may be from central Thai.

4) Utensils

/pæ:ŋ/ is used with a toothbrush. It is the first syllable of the word /pæ:ŋsǐ:fan/ ‘toothbrush.

/lɔ̀:t/ is used with a /lɔ̀:t/straw.

/ca:n/ is used with /ca:n/ ‘dish’.

/fǎ:/ is used with/fǎ:/ ‘lid’.

/kæ̂:w/ is used with /kæ̂:w/ ‘glass’.

/kõŋ/ is used with /kæ̂:w/ ‘box’.

/kʰǎn/ is used with/kʰǎn/ ‘bowl’.

/pî:p/ is used with /pî:p/ ‘gasoline container’.

/tʰǎŋ/ is used with /tʰǎŋ/ ‘pail’.

/tʰǒŋ/ is used with all kinds of /tʰǒŋ/ ‘bag’.

/lû:p/ and /hû:p/ are used with a picture and photo. They come from the Central Thai classifier /rû:p/. Actually, the phoneme /r/ in central Thai is phoneme /h/ in UB sub-dialect and some speakers use /l/ instead of /h/.

/sô:ŋ/ is used with /sô:ŋ cótmǎ:y/ ‘envelope’, /sô:ŋya:sù:p/ ‘cigarette case’

/ *tŭə* / is used with / *tŭə* / ‘ticket’.

5) Construction

/*sàpʰâːn* / is used with /*sàpʰâːn* / ‘bridge’.

/*săw* / is used with /*săw* / ‘pole’.

6) Money

/*bæ̂ŋ*/ is used with a banknote. It is from English.

/*lɨ̌ən*/ is used with a /*lɨ̌ən*/ coin.

7) Others

/*kɔ̀ːp*/ is used with a flame.

4.2.3 General Classifier

/*ʔan*/ is used with inanimate objects which are small but now it is extended to inanimate objects both big and small such as /*mîːt*/ ‘knife’, /*pàːkkaː*/ ‘pen’ and /*kʰîəw*/ ‘sickle’.

To conclude, there are 88 Classifiers used in UB sub-dialect. There are 48 specific classifiers used including 7 specific classifiers which are borrowed from Central Thai. Moreover, there are 39 repeater classifiers and 1 general classifier used in this sub-dialect.

As presented in this chapter are classifiers used in UB sub-dialect. So the next chapter will present the comparison of classifiers usage among three generations in UB sub-dialect to see whether age of the speakers is a social variable causes the variation in the use of classifiers in UB sub-dialect.

CHAPTER V
CLASSIFIER USAGE AMONG THREE GENERATIONS IN UBON RATCHATHANI SUB-DIALECT

The study of classifier usage in speakers of different ages reveals the variation of classifiers used in society. Language variation at present may indicate language usage in the future.

Comparing the classifiers used among three generations in Ubon Ratchathani province, both similarities and differences are found.

The classifier which has no variation refers to the classifier which is used with a noun by all speakers.

The variation is found when two or more speakers use a different classifier with the same noun.

G1 refers to young generation

G2 refers to adult or middle age generation

G3 refers to old generation

This chapter presents:

1) Classifiers which are used by speakers of all generations.
2) Classifiers which are used differently by speakers of different ages.
3) Variations in classifiers used.
4) Causes of variation in classifier use.

5.1 Classifiers which are used by speakers of all generations

The classifier which has no variation refers to the classifier which is used with a noun by all speakers. (See table I)

Table I : Classifiers and nouns used by the speakers of all three generations.

Classifiers	Nouns used with the Classifiers
1. Specific Classifiers **1.1 Animate** **Human**	
/kʰon/	/dékno:y/ ‘child’, /tamlùət/ ‘policeman’ /nák-hîən/ ‘student’
/ʔoŋ/	/kàsát/ ‘king’ /pʰáʔ/ ‘monk’
Non-human **General Classifiers** /tõ:/	/kõp/ ‘frog’ /kʰûəy/ ‘buffalo’ /pa:/ ‘fish’
1.2 Inanimate **Long** /sèn/	/lûətnă:m/ ‘wire’, /pʰŏm/ ‘hair’, /sî̂ək/ ‘rope’ /sòy/ ‘necklace’
/să:y/	/tʰànŏn/ ‘road’, /mæ:nâ:m/ ‘river’ /sàpʰa:n/ ‘bridge’
/duəŋ/	/kʰĕm/ ‘pin’, /mî:t/ ‘knife’
/dâ:m/	/pà:kka:/ ‘pen’,/dinsŏ:ʔ/ ‘pencil’,/pʰâ:/ ‘jungle knife’
/lâm/	/kʰɨəŋbin/ ‘plane’ /lî̂ə/ ‘boat’
Flat /da:ŋ/	/tákʰâ:y/ ‘net’ /hă:ʔ/ ‘fishing net’
/pʰĩ:n/	/pʰàhom/ ‘blanket’, /pʰàsétto:ʔ/ ‘towel’
/bay/	/bêŋ/ ‘banknote’ /sánŋa:ʔ/ ‘contract’/tŭə/ ‘ticket’ /mùək/ ‘hat /kàsò:p/ ‘gunny bag’
/ba:n/	/kàcõk/ ‘mirror’ /pàtu:/ ‘door’ /nà:tã:ŋ/ ‘window’

Table I : Classifiers and nouns used by the speakers of all three generations (Continued).

Classifiers	Nouns used with the Classifiers
/hũə/	/kʰĭŋ/ 'ginger' , /kʰa:/ 'galangal', /mân/ 'yam bean' /hŭəpi:/ 'banana blossom', /kàlàm/ 'cabbage', /hŏ:m/ 'onion'
/tũm/	/fắy/ 'mole'
/kô:n/	/sàbu:ʔ/ 'soap' /kô:nhĭn/ 'rock'
Round /duəŋ/	/duəŋʔátít/ 'the sun' /duəŋcan/ 'the moon'
/mèt/	/lùkʔom/ 'candy', /kàdum/ 'button' /ya:mét/ 'pill' /métkʰàw/ 'rice crop'
/lû:k /	/bàksída:/ 'guava' /kʰắw/ 'mountain' /kuncæ:/ 'key'
/kʰɨ̃əŋ/	/wítt ʰáyũʔ/ 'radio'
Non-dimensional /wôŋ/	/wắ:n/ 'ring' /kamlây/ 'bracelet'
Type /kãp/	/kɔ:ŋmâykʰi:t/ 'match box'
Location /lăŋ/	/bâ:n/ 'house'
/mɔ̀ŋ/	/sŭən/ 'garden' /tàlà:t/ 'market'
Arrangement /tʰãw/	/tʰắ:wnáklîən/ 'a row of student'
/mûən/	/tʰe:p/ 'tape'
Collective /pʰûəŋ/	/pʰûəŋlì:t/ 'wreath'
2. Repeaters Inanimate Long /lɔ̀:t/	/lɔ̀:t/ 'straw'
/sãw/	/săw/ 'pole'
Three-dimensional /pʰû:/	/pʰû:/ 'hill'

Table I : Classifiers and nouns used by the speakers of all three generations (Continued).

Classifiers	**Nouns used with the Classifiers**
/tâw/	/tâwnôm/ 'breast'
/t^hãŋ/	/t^hăŋ/ 'pail'
Location /hâ:n/	/hâ:n/ 'shop'
/lâw/	/lâwkấy/ 'chicken pen'
/lô:ŋ /	/lô:ŋnăŋ/ 'cinema' /lô:ŋlîən/ 'school'
/k^hô:k/	/k^hô:kmŭ:ʔ/ 'pigsty'
/wát/	/wát/ 'temple'
General Classifiers /ʔan/	/k^háyk^huəŋ/ 'screw driver',/ʔuən/ 'seine' , /kàdum/ 'button', /kàpăw/ 'bag', /k^hĭəŋ/ 'cutting board', /tàkiəŋ/ "lamp'/sòyk^hô:/ 'necklace' /pĩ:/ 'oboe' /wă̌:n/ 'ring' /sĭw/ 'pimple' /k^hô:n/ 'hammer', /wĭ:/ 'comp', /nâ:m/ 'thorn' /nalíka:/ 'watch' /mâyk^hi:̀t/ 'match'

Since the classifiers and the nouns presented above are used by the speakers of all generations, use of these classifiers has no variation.

It is noticeable that both classifiers and nouns which are not varied as shown in the Table above have prominent features; therefore, the speaker can easily recognize the feature of the nouns and decide what classifiers they should use with those nouns. So there is no variation in the use of classifiers and the nouns presented above. It is also noticeable that nouns which have less variations in classifier usage have dominant features. For example, the dominant feature of the nouns /lûətnă:m/ 'wire' and /p^hŏm/ 'hair' is 'long'. So these nouns are used with the classifier /sèn/ by speakers of all three generations.

5.2 The Classifiers which are used differently by speakers of different ages

As mentioned above that the classifiers which have variation refer to the classifiers which are used differently with the nouns by one or more speakers. So the classifiers and the nouns which have variation will be presented in the following sections:

In Table II nouns are in the first column, lists of classifiers are in the second column and variations of classifiers used by the three generations are in the last column.

Table II : The classifiers which are used differently among three generations in Ubon Ratchathani province.

Nouns	**Classifiers**	**Used in**		
		G 1	**G 2**	**G 3**
Inanimate				
Long and flexible				
/tʰànŏn/ ‘road’	/săːy/	√	√	√
	/sèn/	√	-	-
/hùəy/ ‘stream’	/săːy/	√	-	-
	/hùəy/	-	√	√
Long and inflexible				
/kʰîəw/ ‘sickle’	/dâːm/	√	√	-
	/duəŋ/	-	-	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
/sĭəm/ ‘spade	/dâːm/	√	√	-
	/duəŋ/	-	-	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/cóp/ ‘hoe’	/dâːm/	√	√	-
	/duəŋ/	-	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-

Table II : The classifiers which are used differently among three generations in Ubon Ratchathani province (Continued).

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
/tʰǎy/ 'plough'	/duəŋ/	-	-	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
	/kʰân/	√	√	-
/pà:kka:/'pen'	/dâ:m/	√	√	√
	/tʰæ:ŋ/	√	-	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/dinsɔ̌:/ 'pencil	/dâ:m/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/kʰěm/ 'pin'	/duəŋ/	-	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/mî:t/ 'knife'	/dâ:m/	√	-	-
	/duəŋ/	√	√	√
/tʰû:p/ 'joss stick'	/dɔ̀:k/	√	√	√
	/lèm/	√	-	-
	/ʔan/	√	√	√
/kʰîəwǎ:y/ 'feature lower grass'	/kʰî̂ə/	√	√	√
	/tôn/	√	-	-
/tʰiən/ 'candle'	/lèm/	√	√	√
	/tʰæ:ŋ/	√	-	-
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
/pɪ:n/ 'gun'	/bɔ̀:k/	√	√	√
	/dâ:m/	√	-	-
	/kàbɔ̀:k/	√	√	-
/sǎw/ 'pole'	/tôn/	√	√	√
	/sǎw/	√	√	-
/kʰɔ:n/ 'log'	/tôn/	-	√	√
	/tʰɔ̃:n/	√	-	-
/fî:n/ 'firewood'	/dûn/	-	√	√
	/tʰɔ̃:n/	√	-	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	-

Table II : The classifiers which are used differently among three generations in Ubon Ratchathani province (Continued).

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
/lûŋkinnâːm/ 'rainbow'	/sǎːy/	√	-	-
	/sèn/	√	-	-
	/tõː/	-	√	√
/sôːŋ/ 'spoon'	/kâːn/	√	-	-
	/kʰân/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	√
/ŋãːmây / 'tree branch'	/kĩŋ/	√	-	-
	/ŋãː/	-	√	√
/tamlîŋ/ 'ivy ground'	/kʰîə/	-	√	√
	/tôn/	√	√	-
Flat and flexible				
/bêŋ/ 'banknote'	/bêŋ/	-	√	√
	/bay/	√	√	√
/sánŋaː/ 'contract'	/bay/	√	√	√
	/sábãb /	√	-	-
	/sǎnyâː/	√	√	-
	/ʔan/	-	-	√
/mûŋ/ 'mosquito net'	/daːŋ /	√	√	√
	/lǎŋ/	-	√	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/lûːppʰâːp/ 'picture'	/hûːp/	√	√	-
	/lûːp/	√	-	-
	/pʰæːn/	√	√	√
/tǔə/ 'ticket'	/bay/	√	√	√
	/pʰæːn/	√	-	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	√
/kàsòːp/ 'gunny bag'	/bay/	√	√	√
	/nũəy/	√	-	-

Table II : The classifiers which are used differently among three generations in Ubon Ratchathani province (Continued).

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
/hæ̌ː/ 'fishing net'	/daːŋ/	√	√	√
	/pʰɨ̃ːn/	-	√	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/sôːŋ/ 'envelop'	/sôːŋ/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
/sìn/ 'Thai sarong'	/tõŋ/	-	√	√
	/pʰɨ̃ːn/	√	√	-
/sàːt/ 'mat'	/pʰɨ̃ːn/	-	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/kàpǎw/ 'bag'	/bay/	√	-	-
/tʰŭŋpʰáːttɨ̄k/'plastic bag'	/nũəy/	-	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
Flat and Inflexible	/baːn/	√	√	√
/pàtuː/ 'door'	/ʔan/	√	√	-
/nàːtaːŋ/ 'window'	/baːn/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
/kàcõk/ 'mirror'	/baːn/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/fãː/ 'lid'	/fãː/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/kòplûːp/ 'photo flame'	/kòːp/	√	√	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	√
/caːn/ 'dish'	/bay/	√	√	-
	/caːn/	√	-	-
	/nũəy/	-	-	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/kàdôŋ/ 'rice winnowing'	/bay/	√	-	-
	/nũəy/	-	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-

Table II : The classifiers which are used differently among three generations in Ubon Ratchathani province (Continued).

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
Three dimensional and small /kôːnhǐn/ ‘rock	/kôːn/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
/bàksídaː/ ‘guava’	/lûːk /	√	√	√
	/nũəy/	√	-	-
/lùkʔom/ ‘candy’	/kôːn/	-	√	√
	/mèt/	√	√	√
/kàdum/ ‘button’	/mèt/	√	√	√
	/nũəy/	-	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	√
/mǒːn/ ‘pillow’	/bay/	√	-	-
	/nũəy/	√	√	√
/kʰãy/ ‘egg’	/bay/	√	-	-
	/lûːk /	√	-	-
	/nũəy/	√	√	√
/mètfǒn/ ‘drop of rain’	/mèt/	-	√	√
	/yót/	√	-	-
Three dimensional and big /kɔːŋ/ ‘drum’	/nũəy/	-	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/tʰiːwiː/ ‘TV’	/kʰɨəŋ/	√	-	-
	/tõː/	√	√	√
/lùkbɔːn/ ‘ball’	/lûːk /	√	-	-
	/nũəy/	-	√	√
/wíttʰáyũʔ/ ‘radio’	/kʰɨəŋ/	√	√	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	√
/kʰúʔ/ ‘pail’	/tʰǎŋ/	√	√	√
	/nũəy/	-	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-

Table II : The classifiers which are used differently among three generations in Ubon Ratchathani province (Continued).

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
/kʰăw/ ‘mountain’	/kʰăw/	√	√	-
	/lûːk/	√	√	√
	/nūəy/	√	√	-
/cɔːmpùək/ ‘termite hill’	/cɔːm/	√	-	-
	/pʰôːn/	-	√	√
/kæ̂ːw/ ‘glass’	/bay/	√	√	√
	/nūəy/	-	-	√
/tʰùəy/ ‘bowl’	/bay/	√	-	-
	/nūəy/	-	√	√
	/ʔaːŋ/	√	-	-
/ʔaːŋ/ ‘sink’	/bay/	√	-	-
	/nūəy/	-	√	√
	/ʔaːŋ/	-	-	-
/cɔːmpùək/ ‘termite hill’	/cɔːm/	√	-	-
	/pʰôːn/	-	√	√
/kæ̂ːw/ ‘glass’	/bay/	√	√	√
	/nūəy/	-	-	√
/tʰùəy/ ‘bowl’	/bay/	√	-	-
	/nūəy/	-	√	√
	/ʔaːŋ/	√	-	-
/pintoː/ ‘tiffin carrier’	/nūəy/	-	√	√
	/pʰûəŋ/	-	√	-
	/sǎːy/	-	√	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/kʰók/ ‘mortar’	/nūəy/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
Type				
/kɔŋmàykʰìːt/ ‘match box’	/kāp/	√	√	√
	/kɔːŋ/	√	√	-
Location				
/wát/ ‘temple’	/bɔ̃ːn/	√	-	-
	/mɔ̀ŋ/	√	-	-
	/wát/	√	√	√

Table II : The classifier which are used differently among three generations in Ubon Ratchathani province (Continued).

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
/lôːŋnăŋ/ ‘cinema’	/bõːn/	-	-	√
	/lôːŋ/	√	√	√
/tàlàːt/ ‘market’	/mɔ̀ŋ/	√	√	√
	/tìː/	√	-	-
/sũən / ‘garden’	/bõːn/	-	√	√
	/mɔ̀ŋ/	√	√	√
/lôːŋliən/ ‘school’	/bõːn/	-	√	√
	/lôːŋ /	√	√	√
	/mɔ̀ŋ/	√	√	√
/bòːt / ‘church’	/bòt/	-	√	√
	/lăŋ/	√	√	-
/tʰìː/ ‘land’	/pæːŋ/	-	√	√
	/pʰĩːn/	√	-	-
/sũən / ‘garden’	/bõːn/	-	√	√
	/mɔ̀ŋ/	√	√	√
/lôːŋliən/ ‘school’	/bõːn/	-	√	√
	/lôːŋ /	√	√	√
	/mɔ̀ŋ/	√	√	√
/tʰõŋ/ ‘field’	/pæːŋ/	√	-	-
	/pʰãn/	-	√	√
	/pʰĩːn/	√	-	-
/sàpʰâːn/ ‘bridge’	/săːy/	√	√	√
	/sàpʰâːn /	√	√	-
/lâwkãy/ ‘chicken pen’	/bõːn/	-	-	√
	/lăŋ/	√	-	-
	/lâw/	√	√	√
Arrangement /yaːsùːp/ ‘cigarette’	/kɔ̀ːk/	-	√	√
	/mũən/	√	√	-
	/mûən/	-	√	-

Table II : The classifiers which are used differently among three generations in Ubon Ratchathani province (Continued).

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
/kô:dâ:y/ 'row of thread'	/kô:/	√	√	√
	/mûən/	√	-	-
/cãpkàwpûn/ 'group of Thai rice noodle'	/càp/	√	-	-
	/mûən/	√	-	-
	/tîw/	√	√	√
Collective /pʰăp pʰà:/ 'clothes folded in a row'	/mûən/	√	-	-
	/pʰăp/	√	√	√
/pʰûəŋli:t/ wreath	/pʰûəŋ/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/sæ̂:ŋbàkpʰâ:w/ 'bunch of coconut'	/pʰûəŋ/	-	√	-
	/sæ̂:ŋ/	√	√	√
/sæ̂:ŋmà:k/ 'bunch of areca palm'	/pʰûəŋ/	-	√	-
	/sæ̂:ŋ/	√	√	√

Table II shows the different usage of classifiers by speakers of different ages. It is noticeable that the causes of different usages by the speakers of three generations are that some classifiers can be used with the nouns sharing some semantic component, the borrowed classifiers from Central Thai and the use of repeaters and general classifiers.

The classifiers which indicate the specific feature of the nouns such as /mûən/, indicate the 'roll' feature which is dominant component of the nouns that speakers can classify from other nouns. Therefore, these kinds of nouns have few variations in the use of classifiers.

When the focus is on the classifiers which are used differently by the speakers of different ages, it is found that nouns comprise many dominant features such as /kæ̂:w/ 'glass'. They possess 'hollow', 'round', 'annular' components so the speakers use the flat classifiers /bay/, the round classifier /nũəy/ and the general classifier /ʔan/ with this object.

The variations of classifier usage are not only caused by the speakers who do not concentrate on classifying the components of the nouns but also by the use of classifiers from Central Thai and the use of repeaters and general classifiers with this objects.

Variation in classifiers will be discussed to see the variation in the use of classifiers among three generations clearly.

5.3 The Variations in Classifier Usage

In this study, variation appears when two or more speakers, even in the same generation or different generations, use a classifier differently from other speakers. There are two major groups of variation:

I) Speakers use two classifiers with the same noun.

II) Speakers use three classifiers with the same noun.

I: Speakers use two classifiers with the same noun.

a) Speakers use two specific classifiers with the same noun, for example, the classifier /*bay*/ and the classifier /*lûːk*/ are used with the noun /*kʰãy*/ ‘egg’. And /*sǎːy*/, and /*sèn*/ can be used with /*hùəy*/ ‘stream’.

b) Speakers use a specific classifier and a repeater classifier with a noun.
e.g. /*kʰôːŋ*/ ‘canal’ is used with specific classifiers both /*sǎːy*/ and /*sèn*/. It is also used with a repeater classifier /*kʰôːŋ*/. Another example, /*tʰǔŋpʰáːttik*/ ‘plastic bag’, is used with the classifier /*bay*/ which is a specific classifier and it is also used with /*tʰǔŋ*/ which is a partial repeater of the word.

c) Speakers use a specific classifier and a general classifier with a noun such as the noun /*kàpǎw*/ ‘bag’. The informants use both /*bay*/ which is a specific classifier and /*ʔan*/ which is a general classifier.

d) Speakers use a repeater and a general classifier with a noun. The partial

repeater classifier /kɔ̀:p/ and the general classifier /ʔan/ are used with the noun /kɔ̀:plû:p/ ‘photo flame’ and /pí:p/ which is a repeater classifier and /ʔan/ which is the general classifier used with the noun /pí:p/ ‘kerosene can’.

II : Speakers use three classifiers with the same noun.

a) Speakers use two specific classifiers and a repeater classifier with a particular noun such as the speakers use the classifiers /bõ:n/, /mòŋ/ and /wát/ with the noun /wát/ ‘temple’. The first two classifiers are specific classifiers used with locative nouns and the third is a repeated word of the noun /wát/ ‘temple’ which is used as a classifier for a temple and is repeater from Central Thai. .

b) Speakers use two specific classifiers and a general classifiers with a noun such as classifiers /dɔ̀:k/, /lèm/ and /ʔan/ are used for the noun /tʰû:p/ ‘joss stick’. The first classifier is specific classifier used in NE Thai dialect. The second is a specific classifier borrowed from Central Thai and the last one is a general classifier.

c) Speakers use specific, repeater and general classifiers with a noun, for example, the speakers in G1 use /bay/ which is a specific classifier, /ca:n/ which is a repeater classifier and /ʔan/ which is a general classifier with the noun /ca:n/ ‘dish’. They use /pʰɛ̃:n/, /bay/ which are specific classifiers and general classifier /ʔan/ with the noun /hăe:/ ‘fishing net’. This kind of variation is found only in first generation speakers.

Besides the variation as stated, it is found that the informants in three generations sometimes use repeater classifiers or general classifiers with a noun without using specific classifiers.

It can be observed that it is difficult to match the specific classifiers with a noun, so the speakers use the general classifier /ʔan/ with nouns instead of specific ones. Moreover, the speakers tend to use the general classifier /ʔan/ with newly introduced items such as /sànɔ̀:t/ ‘land title deed’ and nouns having many components which can be used with many classifiers. For example, /ka:nâ:m/ ‘pot’ is used with the Central Thai classifier /bay/ or it may be used with /nuəy/ which is

used for round shaped objects. The speakers may also use the general classifier together with repeaters to class new items such as ‘a banknote’.

The number of classifiers which are used by all three generations can be concluded in the table below:

Table III : The types of classifiers used in three generations.

Types of classifier	Frequency of Classifiers Used in Each Generation		
	G1	**G2**	**G3**
1. Specific	64	89	101
2. Repeater	10	17	15
3. General	6	1	5
4. Specific and Specific	23	15	14
5. Specific and Repeater	10	9	4
6. Specific and General	28	14	10
7. Repeater and General	3	1	3
8. Specific and Specific and General	7	5	1
9. Specific and Specific and Repeater	3	2	-
10. Specific and Repeater and General	1	-	-

The data presented above shows the usage of classifiers with 178 nouns which are used in interviews with the informants to find out the classifiers they use with those nouns.

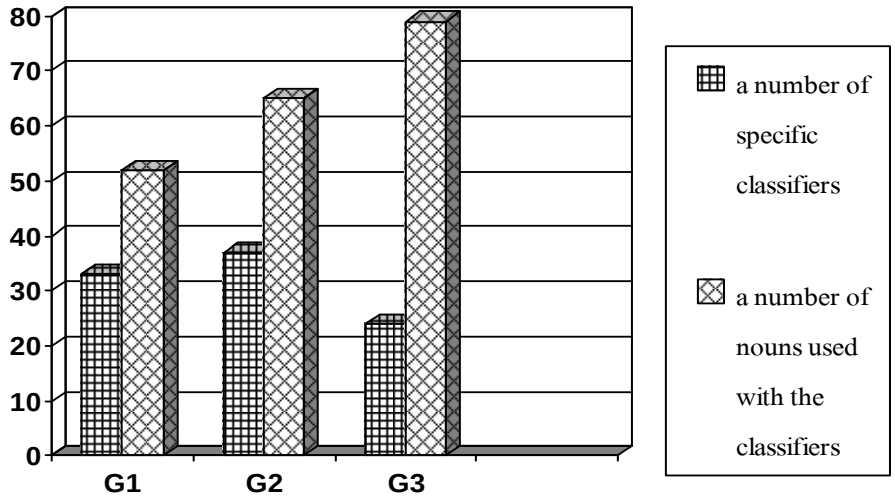
The number of classifiers used in each type reveals the variation in classifier usage as well. The number of specific classifiers used with nouns in G3 speakers is the most and decreased in G2 and G1 respectively. This shows that the older generations have preserved the use of specific classifiers more than other generations.

When focus is on the types of classifier used, the younger generations use more than one type of classifiers with a noun. The use of more than one type of classifiers with a noun is found in G1 speakers is the most decreased in G2 and G3 respectively.

This is further evidence supporting the fact that the age of the speakers is a variable in the variation in classifier usage in society.

The different usage of each type of classifiers used by three generations will be shown in the following graphs to illustrate the differences in classifier usage clearly:

Graph I: The percentage of specific classifiers used with nouns in each generation



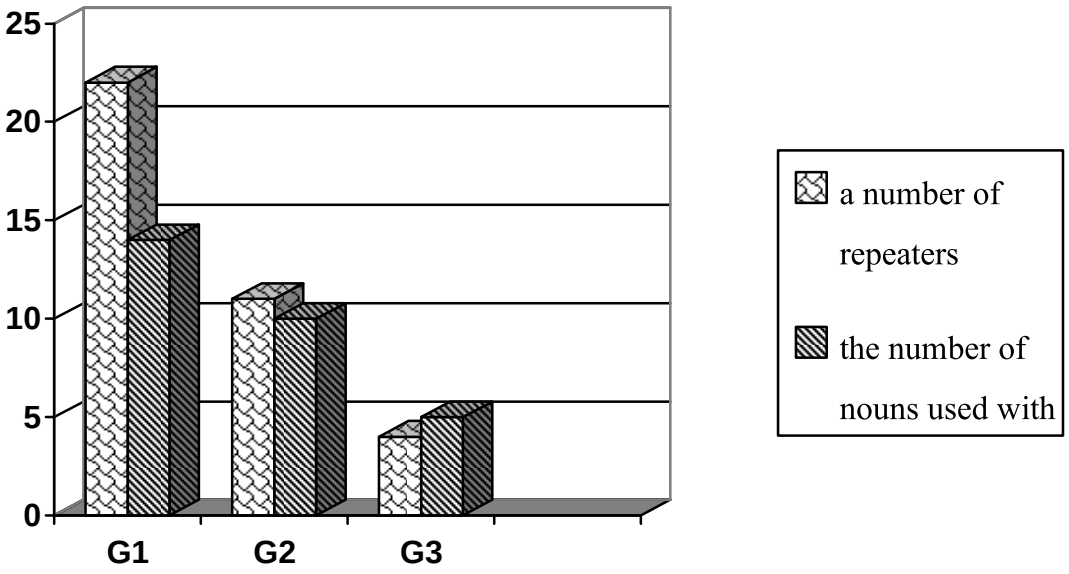
Graph I shows the percentage use of specific classifiers used by three generations. It shows that the number of specific classifiers exceeds the number of nouns in all generations. That is, specific classifiers can be used with a large number of nouns.

The number of specific classifiers used by G2 is the highest. This may be because G2 speakers use not only specific classifiers in Ubon Ratchathani dialect but also specific classifiers from Central Thai. The different usages between G2 and G3 speakers suggest that both new and prototype classifiers are used by G2 speakers, for example, for the noun /***ya:sù:p***/ 'cigarette', speakers in G2 use both /***mûən***/ and /***kɔ̀:k***/. The /***mûən***/ is from Central Thai as stated by the Royal Institute. /***kɔ̀:k***/ is a prototype classifier for /***ya:sù:p***/ 'cigarette' but only /***kɔ̀:k***/ is used in G3. Classifiers used in G2 are influenced from Central Thai more than those used in G3 speakers, e.g., G2 speakers use classifier /***bay***/ with a glass and a dish as in Central

Thai whereas G3 speakers use the classifier /nũəy/, which is extended from round shaped objects, with those nouns.

The specific classifiers are used least by G3 speakers but G3 speakers use them with a large number of nouns. This indicates that G3 speakers relate the specific classifiers which they are familiar to use with other nouns by recognizing the components of the nouns, therefore, specific classifiers are used by G3 speakers with a large number of nouns compared to speakers in other generations.

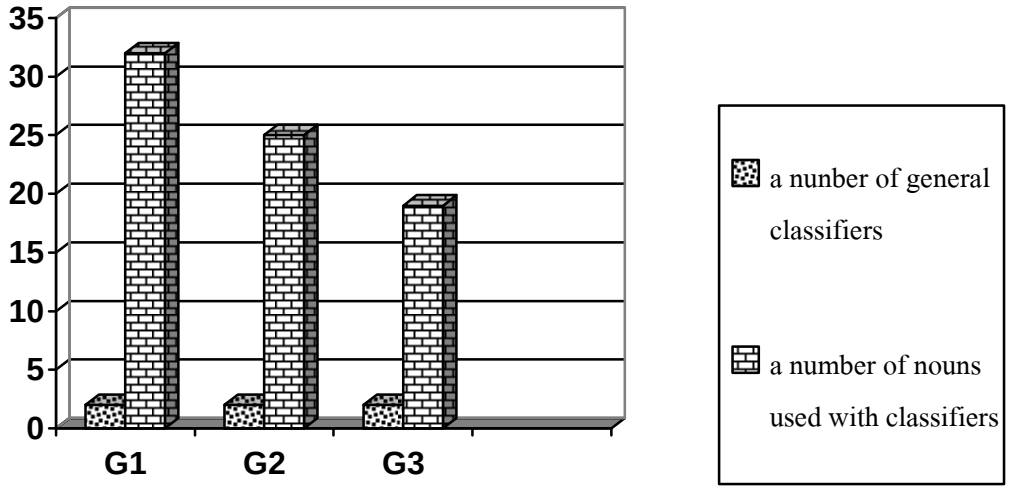
Graph II: The percentage of repeater classifiers used with nouns in each generation.



Graph II presents the repeaters and the nouns used by each generation. Repeaters are used most by G1 speakers and less by G2 and G3 speakers respectively. The number of repeaters used by G1 and G2 speakers is more than the number of nouns they used with them because the repeaters they used are both from Central Thai dialect and UB sub-dialect such as the Central Thai classifier /tʰŭŋ/ and the UB classifier /tʰŏŋ/ are used with the noun /tʰŏŋ/ 'bag' or the Central Thai classifier /kĩŋ/ and the UB classifier /ŋãː/ used as classifiers with the noun /kĩŋmây/ 'tree branch'. So the number of repeaters used by G1 and G2 are more than the nouns they

are used with. The repeaters used by G3 speakers are less than the nouns they are used with because, for nouns having the same components, they use a repeater such as classifier /*tôn*/ which is a partial repeater for the noun / *tônmây*/ 'tree', and /*tôn*/ is extended to be used as a partial repeater with /*tônsǎw*/ 'pole' and /*kʰõ:n*/ 'log' which shares long, and inflexible component as the tree, so the number of repeaters used in G3 is less than the nouns the classifiers are used with.

Graph III : The percentage of general classifiers used with nouns in each generation



Graph III shows the use of the general classifiers /*ʔan*/ and /*tõ:*/. They are used with nouns mostly by G1 speakers and less so by G2 and G3 respectively. It is noticeable that the use of general classifiers among three generations affects the use of specific classifiers. The more the speakers use general classifiers, the less they use specific classifiers.

According to the variations discussed above, the causes of the variation can be analyzed in the following sections:

5.4 The Causes of Variation

The causes of variation of classifier use found in this study are:

5.4.1 The semantic components of the nouns used with classifiers share some features in common.

The informants use two classifiers for one noun may be because the noun shares some semantic components of both classifiers. For example, /kʰɔ̂:ŋ/ ‘canal’ can be used with both /sǎ:y/ and /sèn/ which share the long component, or /lɛ̃k/ ‘iron’ can be used with /tʰæ:ŋ/ and /tʰɔ̃:n/ which also share the long component.

/tʰæ:ŋ/ and /tʰɔ̃:n/ are classifiers used with nouns having “long” component but /tʰɔ̃:n/ is used with sectioned objects. Some of the speakers cannot recognize this difference so they use both classifiers with nouns having long components.

If the speakers do not concentrate on classifying the difference of each classifier, these can cause the variation. This kind of variation is frequently found in society.

5.4.2 Influence of Central Thai classifiers on the use of UB classifiers

Central Thai Classifiers are borrowed by the young generation in Ubon Ratchathani province. For example, younger informants use the Central Thai classifiers /bay/ and classifier /lû:k/ for the noun /kʰãy/ ‘egg’. Most people of Ubon Ratchathani especially the older generation use the classifier /nũəy/ with the noun /kʰãy/ ‘egg’.

5.4.3 Speakers have different perception towards the objects.

The perception of speakers toward the objects causes variation in classifier usage in society. For example, it has been found that the speakers use both classifier /pʰûəŋ/ and /sǎ:y/ for the noun /pinto:/ ‘tiffin carrier’. The informants who use /pʰûəŋ/ regard the /pinto:/ ‘tiffin carrier’ according to its entire shape. It looks like

a bunch of fruit so they use /*pʰûəŋ*/ which is a classifier for a bunch of fruit and its nominal meaning is ‘bunch’. On the other hand, those who use /*sǎ:y*/ view it as a carrier. It is long so the speakers use /*sǎ:y*/ which is used for long objects. So they use /*sǎ:y*/ with tiffin carrier. Another example is for the noun /*tamlîŋ*/ ‘ivy ground’, the informants use both /*tôn*/ and /*kʰîə*/ with *tamlîŋ*/ ‘ivy ground’. The classifier /*tôn*/ is usually used with all kinds of tree and speakers who use the classifier /*tôn*/ with the noun /*tamlîŋ*/ ‘ivy ground’ view it as a tree. But those who use the classifier /*kʰîə*/ which means ‘vine’ can classify the vine separately from tree in general. This indicates that different perceptions of the speakers towards objects can cause variations in classifier usage.

In addition, it is noticeable that the older generation can classify different components of nouns and when they use new item nouns, they may try to relate the nouns to those they are familiar with such as for a noun /*métfõn*/ ‘a drop of rain’. The younger generation uses /*yõt*/ which means ‘drop’ and the older ones use /*mét*/ because they relate a drop of rain to small round objects so they use /*mèt*/ which is a classifier for small round objects. The speakers in G1 use a repeater classifier with /*bò:t*/ ‘church’ whereas the older generation speakers use /*lǎŋ*/. The speakers who use /*lǎŋ*/ try to relate the nouns with the nouns having similar components, so they use /*lǎŋ*/ which is used with a house. They may think that the shape and the use of church are like that of a house. It has a roof, hence, the classifier /*lǎŋ*/ is also used with a church.

Besides the variation stated earlier, it is found that the informants in three generations sometimes use repeaters or general classifiers with a noun without using specific classifiers.

It can be observed that it is difficult to match the specific classifiers with nouns, so the speakers replace them with the general classifier /*ʔan*/. Moreover, the speakers tend to use the general classifier /*ʔan*/ with newly introduced items such as /*sànò:t*/ ‘land title deed’ and nouns having many components which can be used

with many classifiers. For example, /*kaːnâːm*/ ‘pot’ is used with the Central Thai classifier /*bay*/ or it may be used with /*nuəy*/ which is used for round shaped objects. The speakers may also use the general classifier together with repeaters to class new items such as /*bæ̂ŋ*/ ‘a banknote’.

Furthermore, common usage of classifier between G1 and G2 speakers is greater than that between G2 and G3. This study also indicates that classifier usage in the older generation can reflect the perception of the speaker toward objects. Younger generation speakers use both specific classifiers and Central Thai classifiers including repeaters and general classifiers without recognizing the semantic components of the nouns.

These evidences can indicate that classifier usage in society is changing.

With the variations and the causes presented above, we can see the whole view of classifier use by the speakers of different ages in UB.

The hypothesis of this study is that ‘The number of specific classifiers used in the society is decreased because the younger generation tends to use some classifiers more broadly such as general classifiers and repeaters because it is easier than using specific ones.’ Sometimes remembering specific ones for a noun is difficult.

The results of the study partly support the hypothesis, that is, the number of specific classifiers which are used by the young generation is less than the older generation. The result does not support the hypothesis in so far as the total number of classifiers used by the younger generation is more numerous than the older generation because the younger generations use both UB and Central Thai specific classifiers including creating new classifiers for new nouns, repeaters and general classifiers, whereas the older generation speakers continue using the specific classifiers. They also relate the new nouns to the ones they are familiar with. Frequency in the use of specific classifiers with nouns is greater in the older generation; therefore, the total number of classifiers used by the speakers in the older generation is less than that used by the younger generation.

CHAPTER VI
COMPARISON OF CLASSIFIERS USED IN UBON RATCHATHANI SUB-DIALECT AND OTHER SUB-DIALECTS

This chapter presents a comparison of classifier usage in Ubon Ratchathani sub-dialect and Nakhon Ratchasima sub-dialect, Khonkaen sub-dialect and Lao language. The information on classifier usage in the last three locations is from previous studies by Naruemon (1985), Arunee (1986) and Somsonge (2000) respectively.

Since the word lists used in each study are different, the numbers of classifier use in each dialect cannot be compared. This chapter presents the classifiers which are used with the same nouns. The classifiers presented follow semantic categories as discussed below.

6. 1 Animacy Category

Table IV : Comparison of classifiers used in four sub-dialects in 'animate' category.

Nouns	Classifiers used in			
	UB	NR	KK	LAOS
/dékhnôːy/ 'child' /tamlùət/'policeman' /náklîən/ 'student'	/kʰôn/	/kʰôn/ /mɔ̃ː/ /krûː/	kʰôn/	/kʰôn/ /pʰũː/ /nâːy/
/kɔ̃p/ 'frog' /kʰûəy/ 'buffalo' /paː/ 'fish'	/tɔ̃ː/	/tuə/	/tɔ̃ː/	/tɔ̃ː/
/kàsát/ 'king' /pʰáʔ/ 'monk'	/ʔoŋ/	/ʔoŋ/	/ʔoŋ/	/ʔoŋ/

The classifiers used for 'animate' objects in four dialects are almost the same.

/kʰôn/ is a classifier for humans, UB and KK dialects mainly use this classifier for all humans whereas NR dialect also has classifiers deriving from occupation terms such as /mõ:/* for 'doctor', / kû:/* for 'teacher'. In addition to /kʰôn/, Lao also use partial repeaters such as /pʰu:/ for /pʰu:ɲîŋ/ 'woman' and /nâ:y/ for /nâ:ytamlùət/.

/tõ:/ is used with all kinds of animals in all four dialects. It has nominal meaning 'body'. The NR dialect uses this classifier with different form, i.e., /tuə/ which is borrowed from Central Thai dialect.

/ʔoŋ/ is used by speakers of all four dialects with sacred or having high status nouns both animates and inanimates such as a monk and a Buddha image.

6.2 Long Category

Table V : Comparison of classifiers used in four sub-dialects in 'long' category.

Nouns	**Classifiers used in**			
	UB	**NR**	**KK**	**LAOS**
Long and Flexible /tʰànŏn/ 'road'	/sǎ:y/ /sèn/	/sǎ:y/ /sèn/	/sǎ:y/	/sǎ:y/ /sèn/
/mæ:nâ:m/ 'river' /kʰô:ŋ/ 'canal'	/sǎ:y/	/sǎ:y/	/sǎ:y/	/sǎ:y/
/pʰŏm/ 'hair' /sî̂ək/ 'rope' /lûətnǎ:m/ 'wire' /sòy/ 'necklace' /kʰémkʰãt/ 'belt'	/sèn/	/sèn/	/sèn/	/sèn/
Long and Inflexible /mî:t/ 'knife'	/dâ:m/ /duəŋ/	/lèm/	/duəŋ/	/dâ:m/ /duəŋ/ /ʔan/

Table V : Comparison of classifiers used in four sub-dialects in 'long' category. (Continued)

Nouns	Classifiers used in			
	UB	**NR**	**KK**	**LAOS**
/kʰîəw/ 'sickle'	/dâːm/ /duəŋ/ /ʔan/	/lèm/	/duəŋ/	/duəŋ/ /ʔan/
/pà:kkaː/ 'pen'	/dâːm/ /tʰæ̃ːŋ/ /ʔan/	/dâːm/ /tʰæ̃ːŋ/ /lèm/	/duəŋ/	/kâːn/ /ʔan/
/dinsǒː/ 'pencil'	/dâːm/	/tʰæ̃ːŋ/	/tʰæ̃ːŋ/	/kâːn/ /tʰæːŋ/ /ʔan/
/fɨ̂ːn/ 'firewood'	/dôːn/ /dûn/	/dôːn/ /dûn/	/dûn/	/dôːn/ /dûn/
Long and Inflexible /sôːn/ 'spoon'	/kâːn/ /kʰân/ /ʔan/	/kʰân/	/kʰân/	/kâːn/
/lɨəy/ 'saw'	/kʰân/	/dâːm/ /pə̂ːn/	/kʰân/	/kʰân/
/mâykʰiːt/ 'match'	/kâːn/	/kâːn/	/tʰâːŋ/	/kâːn/
/sǎw/ 'pole' /sûŋ/ 'log'	/kõk/ /tôn/	/sǎw/ /tôn/	/sǎw/ /tôn/	tôn/ /kõk/
/pɨːn/ 'gun'	/kàbɔ̀ːk/	/kàbɔ̀ːk/	/kàbɔ̀ːk/	/kàbɔ̀ːk/
/fâysǎːy/ 'torch' /kʰũy/ 'flute'	/kàbɔ̀ːk/ /lâw/	/lâw/	/kàbɔ̀ːk/ /lâw/	/kàbɔ̀ːk/ /ʔan/
/kʰàwpoî̂t/ 'corn'	/fák/	/fák/	/nũəy/	/nũəy/
/kæ̂ːw/ 'tooth'	/sî:/	/sî:/	/lèm/	/lèm/
/kʰɨəŋbin/ 'airplane'	/lâm/	/kʰân/	/lâm/	/ʔan/
/lótyôn/ 'car'	/kʰân/	/kʰân/	/kʰân/	-
/hɨ̂ə/ 'boat'	/lâm/	/kʰân/ /lâm/ /ʔan	/lâm/	-

Table V : Comparison of classifiers used in four sub-dialects in 'long' category. (Continued)

Nouns	Classifiers used in			
	UB	NR	KK	LAOS
/pinto:/ 'tiffin carrier'	/sǎ:y/, /tʰǎw/	/sǎ:y/, /tʰǎw/	/sǎ:y/	/ʔan/

There are 19 classifiers appearing in the four dialects:

/sǎ:y/ and /sèn/, there is no overlap from speakers of the four dialects in the use of /sǎ:y/ with 'river' and /sèn/ for 'hair', 'belt' and 'rope'. This may be because those nouns represent dominant features so speakers can easily identify their components. The overlap use of /sǎ:y/ and /sèn/ is found in all four dialects for words such as 'road'. It can be assumed that /sèn/ is used with long small objects such as a rope, hair and /sǎ:y/ is used with long and big objects such as a river. If the speakers are not aware of the different sizes of objects such as a road which can be both small and big, the overlapped usages are found. /sǎ:y/ is used to classify nouns in the 'long' category. It is used with 'tiffin carrier' because some speakers focus on its carrier which is long and so the classifier /sǎ:y/ is used for 'tiffin carrier'. /tʰǎw/ is the classifier which overlap in use with /sǎ:y/ for 'tiffin carrier'. The lexical meaning of /tʰǎw/ is 'vine'. Some speakers compare the carriers with a 'vine' and so, /tʰǎw/ has become another classifier for tiffin carriers.

The classifiers /dâ:m/ and /duəŋ/ are used for a long tool with a shaped edge or holder. The overlap in the use of both classifiers is found in UB and Lao dialects while NR speakers use only /lèm/ and KK speakers use only /duəŋ/ so there is no overlapping usage in those two dialects.

/lèm/ is used for long, thin, small objects in NE dialects whereas Lao use only /dâ:m/ and /duəŋ/. The use of /lèm/ in NR is more frequent than in other sub-dialects.

/sîː/ and /lèm/ are used for ‘teeth’. The former is a new classifier used for only ‘teeth’. The latter is used for nouns containing long and sharp-edged such as a /kʰîəw/ ‘sickle’. Some speakers may consider ‘teeth’ to have long and sharp-edged, hence, ‘teeth’ are also classified with /lèm/.

/kâːn/ has the nominal meaning ‘stem’. It is used with spoons in Lao and UB whereas other dialects use /kʰân/. Moreover, /kâːn/ is also used with /mâykʰiː̀t/ ‘matches’ in all sub-dialects except KK which uses /tʰâːŋ/.

/tʰæ̃ːŋ/ is used with long, rigid objects such as pens and pencils. There is an overlap use of /tʰæ̃ːŋ/ and /dâːm/ in UB and NR. Lao uses only /kâːn/ for such nouns. KK speakers use /duəŋ/ with /pàːkkaː/ ‘pens’ but /tʰæ̃ːŋ/ with /dinsɔ̌ː/ ‘pencils’.

/tôn/ is used with a tree and tree-like objects in all fours dialects. /tôn/ is used interchangeably with /kõk/ in UB and Lao and with /sǎw/ in NR and KK. /sǎw/ is a repeater of the word /sǎw/ ‘pole’.

/kàbɔ̀ːk/ is used for long and cylindrical objects. It is used with ‘gun’ and ‘torch’ in all four dialects except NR which uses /lâw/ with ‘torch’. The classifier /lâw/ was originally used for only ‘flute’ in NE sub-dialects. NR people have extended the classifier /lâw/ to be used with ‘torch’.

For vehicles such as airplanes, cars, boats, /kʰân/ is used to classify them. But for boat and airplanes, /lâm/ is also used. /lâm/ was originally used for objects possessing ‘long’ and ‘hollow’ properties such as bamboo. Speakers who use /lâm/ with boats and airplanes may view them as long and hollow, thus, the use of classifier /lâm/ is extended for use with these types of vehicles.

/dôːn/ and /dûn/ are the same classifiers and are used with only ‘firewood’ in three dialects; UB, NR and Lao but only /dûn/ is used in KK.

/fák/ and /nuəy/ are used with long fruit such as a corn, a tamarind. /fák/ is used to classify long fruit but /nuəy/ is originally used with round fruit or vegetables.

Some speakers may perceive a corn as a round fruit or vegetable and then class it with /nuəy/ even though it is oval.

6.3 Flat Category

Table VI : Comparison of classifiers used in four sub-dialects in 'flat category'.

Nouns	Classifiers used in			
	UB	NR	KK	LAOS
Flat and Flexible /tŭə/ ticket	/bay/	/bay/	/bay/	/pîː/
/cótmăːy/ 'letter'	/sábãp/	/sábãp/	/sábãp/	/kâːn/
/baymây/ 'leaf'	/bay/	/bay/	/bay/	/bay/
/pæ̂ːn/ 'plank /kàdaːt/ 'paper	/bay/ /pʰæ̃ːn/	/bay/	/bay/	/bay/
/sàːt/ 'mat /pʰàséttõː/ 'towel'	/pʰɨ̃ːn/	/pʰɨ̃ːn/	/pʰɨ̃ːn/	/pʰɨ̃ːn/
/pʰàhom/ 'blanket'	/pʰɨ̃ːn/	/pʰɨ̃ːn/	/pʰóʔ/	/pʰɨ̃ːn/
/sɨ̀ə/ 'shirt' /kaŋkeːŋ/ 'trouser'	/tõː/	/tuə/	/pʰɨ̃ːn/ /tõː	/pʰɨ̃ːn/ /tõː
/hăː/ 'fishing net'	/daːŋ / /pàːk/	/daːŋ /	/daːŋ /	/pʰɨ̃ːn/
/mûŋ/ 'mosquito net'	/daːŋ / /lăŋ/	/daːŋ/ /lăŋ/	/daːŋ /	/daːŋ /
/sìn/ 'Thai sarong'	/toːŋ/	/tòːŋ/	/toŋ/	/pʰɨ̃ːn/
Flat and Inflexible /pàtuː/ 'door' /nàːtaːŋ/ 'window'	/baːn/	/baːn/	/baːn/ /pɔːŋ/	/pɔːŋ/
/caːn/ 'dish'	/bay/	/lûːk/	/bay/	/bay/

/bay/ is used with flat, flexible objects such as a ticket or banana leaf in all four sub-dialects except Lao which uses /pîː/ for small pieces of paper. /pʰæ̃ːn/ is also used for flat inflexible objects. An overlap in the use of /pʰæ̃ːn/ and /bay/ can be found. Moreover, /bay/ is extended to be used with inflexible objects such as

plates and then with other containers of all shapes such as bowls, basins, sinks and baskets.

/sábãp/ is used with written papers in NE sub-dialects whereas Lao uses /kâːn/ which has a nominal meaning ‘stem’, and is used as a classifier for objects having ‘stems’ such as banana leaf. Its use was then extended to objects like spoon and paper especially by Lao speakers.

/pʰɨ̃ːn/ is used with flat and flexible objects usually with objects made of cloth such as towels and is also used with T-shirts, trousers but not Thai sarongs. Moreover, an overlap in the use of /pʰɨ̃ːn/ and /tõː/ is also found. This is further evidence suggesting different perceptions between speakers by the usage of classifies in each dialect or sub-dialect. There is no overlaped use between /pʰæ̃ːn/ and /pʰɨ̃ːn/. Speakers do not use /pʰæ̃ːn/ for flat objects made of cloth. In addition, /pʰɔ́ʔ/ means ‘blanket’ in KK sub-dialect and is used as a classifier for ‘/pʰàhom/ ‘blanket’ in KK as a repeater.

/tõː/ and /tuə/ are the same classifier but the form and pronunciation are different. The form /tuə/ used in NR is similar to that of Central Thai. It was originally used with non-human living and then extended for use with clothes because speakers may view the clothes as having limbs as animals. So they extend the classifiers /tõː/ and /tuə/ to use as a classifier for clothes.

/toːŋ/, /tòːŋ/ and /toŋ/ are the same classifier but their pronunciation differs from sub-dialect to sub—dialect. These may be regional variations of phonology according to the vowel and tone which may differ from one place to another. All three classifiers are used with ‘Thai sarong’ in NE sub-dialects, whereas Lao speakers use /pʰɨ̃ːn/. Lao speakers view it as a cloth made object, so they class ‘Thai sarong’ with shirt or thousers.

/daːŋ/ is used with ‘mosquito net’ in all four sub-dialects. In UB and NK, this classifier is used interchangeably with the Central Thai classifier /lǎŋ/ which is used

for a house. Speakers who use /lǎŋ/ may regard mosquito net as a kind of house because when it is in use, its shape is like a house.

/baːn/ is used for 'window' in NE dialects but /pɔːŋ/ is used in Lao. /pɔːŋ/ means 'hole' and it is also used in KK. This use of classifiers can refer to the different perceptions of the speakers of each dialect. The speakers who use /baːn/ view a window as a hard flat object but those who use /pɔːŋ/ perceive 'window' as a hole.

6.4 Three Dimensional Category

Table VII: Comparison of classifier use in four sub-dialects in 'three dimension' category'.

Nouns	**Classifiers used in**			
	UB	**NR**	**KK**	**LAO**
Three dimensional and small /pík/ 'chili' /bàksída:/ 'guava' /bàkmuəŋ/ 'mango'	/nûəy/	/nûəy/	/nûəy/	/nûəy/
/kʰǐŋ/ 'ginger' /hŭəpi:/'banana blossom' /mân/ 'potato' /kàlàm/ 'cabbage'	/hũa/	/hũa/	/hũa/	/hũa/
/hǐn/ 'rock' /sàbu:/ 'soap'	/kô:n/	/kô:n/	/kô:n/	/nûəy/
/kàdum/ 'button' /métkʰàw/ 'rice grain'	/mét/	/mét/	/mét/	/mét/ /nûəy/
/tàkiəŋ/ 'lamp'	/ʔan/	/lû:k /	/nûəy/	/kʰân/
/wíttʰáyũʔ/ 'radio' /tʰi:wi:/ 'television'	/tõ:/	/lǎŋ/ /kʰɨəŋ/	/kʰɨəŋ/	/nûəy/

Table VII: Comparison of classifier use in four sub-dialects in 'three dimension' category. (Continued)

Nouns	Classifiers used in			
	UB	NK	KK	LAO
/tó?/ 'table' /kâw?î:/ 'chair' /tiəŋ/ 'bed'	/tõ:/ /tõ:/ /?an/ /tiəŋ/	/tuə/	/tõ:/	/nũəy/ /?an/
/khăw/ 'hill' /phô:n/ 'mountain'	/lû:k / /nũəy/	/khăw/	/nũəy/	/nũəy/
/mùək/ 'hat'	/bay/ /?an/	/bay/	/bay/	/hũa/ /?an/
/thùəy/ 'bowl' /?a:ŋ/ 'sink' /kàtã:/ 'basket'	/bay/ /nũəy/ /?a:ŋ/	/lû:k /	/lû:k /	/nũəy/ /bay/
/nalíka:/ 'watch'	/lɨ̂ən/	/rɨ̂ən/	lɨ̂ən/	/nũəy/

Most nouns representing round shaped objects also posses other features, therefore, the nouns for simple round shaped things are uncommon.

/bay/ is used with nouns in the 'flat' category but it is extended for use with hats and other nouns containing 'flat' characteristics.

/lû:k/ and /nũəy/ are usually used for nouns in the 'round' category'. They are extended for use with nouns containing a 'round' or annular part as in a mountain. /lû:k/ overlaps in use with /nũəy/ in UB and KK.

/nũəy/ is used for round objects especially fruit in all four dialects. It is obvious that Lao speakers extend /nũəy/ to be used with other objects possessing round characteristics such as rocks, soaps or balls. In NE dialects, /kô:n/, /mét/ and /lû:k / are also used for round objects. /kô:n/ is used for small, round and inflexible objects such as rocks, soaps. /mét/ means 'seed'. It is used as a classifier for seeds or seed-like objects such as grain and is also extended to be used with very small round shaped objects such as buttons.

The classifier /nũəy/ is interchangeable with the classifier /lûːk/ in UB whereas the classifier /lûːk/ is used in NR and KK. Speakers in NR and KK use /lûːk/ which was originally used for round objects such as fruit and balls. This classifier is a partial repeater of the word /lûːkbɔːn/ 'ball'.

/hũa/ has the lexical meaning, 'head'. It is used as a classifier for round objects especially for vegetables in the bean family and is used in all four dialects.

The lexical meaning of /kʰɨ̃əŋ/ is 'machine', therefore, it is used as a classifier for machine operated objects such as televisions and radios. Moreover, the overlap use of the classifier /kʰɨəŋ/ and the general classifiers /tõː/ and /nuəy/ are also found.

/tõː/ which is used with non-human livings is extended to be used with objects sharing some feature as animal such as a table, a chair and also used with such a noun like a TV or a radio.

/lɨ̂ən/ and /rɨ̂ən/ are the same classifiers. The first phonemes are different, since there is no the phoneme /r/ in almost of NE Thai dialects. It is replaced by phoneme/l/.

6.5 Non-dimensional Category

Table VIII: Comparison of classifier use in four sub-dialects in 'non-dimensional' category'.

Nouns	Classifiers used in			
	UB	NK	KK	LAO
/wǎːn/ 'ring'	/wôŋ/	/wôŋ/	/wôŋ/	/nũəy/ /ʔan/

/wôŋ/ has a lexical meaning of 'circle'. It is used as a classifier in all four sub-dialects for round, annular and hollow objects especially for 'ring' and has been

extended for use with ring-like nouns including nouns appearing ring-shaped such as a music band, or orchestra**.**

6.6 Type Category

Table IX : Comparison of classifiers used in four sub-dialects in 'type' category'.

Nouns	**Classifiers used in**			
	UB	**NK**	**KK**	**LAO**
/*hẽt*/ 'mushroom' /*dɔ̀:kmây*/ 'flower'	/*dɔ̀:k*/	/*dɔ̀:k*/	/*dɔ̀:k*/	/*dɔ̀:k*/
/*tàpu:*/ 'nail'	/*dɔ̀:k*/	/*dɔ̀:k*/	/*tõ:*/	/*dɔ̀:k*//*ʔan*/
/*kuncæ:*/ 'key'	/*dɔ̀:k*/ /*tõ:*/ /*ʔan*/	/*lû:k* /	/*dɔ̀:k*/	/*dɔ̀:k*/
bâ:n/ 'house'	/*lăŋ*/	/*lăŋ*/	/*lăŋ*/	/*lăŋ*/

/*dɔ̀:k*/ has a lexical meaning, 'flower'. It is used as a classifier for flowers and flower-like objects such as mushrooms and keys.

/*lăŋ*/ was originally used with 'house' and extended for use with nouns shaped like a house such as a TV and electronic machines.

6.7 Locative Category

There are a few nouns in the 'location' category which are used in all four sub-dialects. Some studies have found the same classifiers but those classifiers are used with different nouns. The classifiers in this category can be concluded as follows:

/*bõ:n*/ and /*mɔ̀ŋ*/ are classifiers which are used for the nouns in the location category. They are free variations because using either classifier with the same noun conveys the same meaning. Their lexical meaning is 'place'. They are used as classifiers for locative nouns such as markets, buildings or field.

A part of these two classifiers, most of the words used as classifiers for locative nouns are repeater classifiers such as /*bòt*/ for church, /*wát*/ for temple, and /*sàpʰâːn*/ for bridge.

Another classifier which is also used with locative nouns extended from the 'flat' category is /*pʰɨ̃ːn*/. It is used with land which is perceived as 'flat'. Some speakers may see land as a 'flat'' object.

6.8 Quantifier' Category

Table X: Comparison of classifiers used in four sub-dialects in 'Quantifier' category'.

Nouns	**Classifiers used in**			
	UB	**NK**	**KK**	**LAO**
Arrangement /*yaːsùːp*/ 'cigareete'	/*kɔ̀ːk*/ /*mɯ̃ən*/ /*mɯ̂ən*/	/*mɯ̃ən*/	/*kɔ̀ːk*/	/*kɔ̀ːk*/ /*mɯ̃ən*/
Collective /*pʰûəŋdɔ̀ːkây*/ 'bunch of flower'	/*pʰûəŋ*/	/*pʰûəŋ*/	/*pʰûəŋ*/	/*pʰûə*/
/*sæ̂ːŋbàkpʰâːw*/ 'bunch of coconut'	/*sæ̂ːŋ*/	/*tʰàlâːy*/	/*sæ̂ːŋ*/	-
/*wǐːkûəy*/ 'bunch of banana'	/*wǐː*/	/*wǐː*/	/*wǐː*/	/*wǐː*/
/*lòːtfây*/ 'train'	/*kʰàbuən*/	/*kʰàbuən*/	/*kʰàbuən*/	-
Partitive /*lôŋtʰâw nɨ̃ŋkʰàːŋ*/ 'one piece of shoe'	/*kɨ̃ŋ*/ /*kʰàːŋ*/	/*ʔan*/	/*kʰàːŋ*/	/*kɨ̃ŋ*/

/*kɔ̀ːk*/, /*mɯ̂ən*/ and /*mɯ̃ən*/ are derived from verb. They are used with 'cigarette'. The lexical meaning of /*mɯ̂ən*/ is 'roll', so it is used as a classifier for

objects appearing in ‘cylindrical’ shape such as a cigarette or a roll of film. /kɔ̀:k/ is absent in NK and /mũən/ is not found in KK.

The lexical meaning of /pʰûəŋ/ is ‘bunch’, so it is used to classify nouns arranged in a bunch such as a bunch of flowers. It is used in all four dialects.

/sæ̂:ŋ/ and /tʰàlâ:y/ are used only for bunches of nut-bearing trees such as bunches of coconut. It is noted that /sæ̂:ŋ/ appears only in NE Thai-dialects. /tʰàlâ:y/ is used in Central Thai dialects. It is also used in NR.

/kʰà:ŋ/ and /kĩŋ/ are used with a part of a pair such as a single shoe. /kĩŋ/ is used in UB and Lao. /kʰà:ŋ/ is used in UB and KK. The overlapping use of the two classifiers is found only in UB whereas KK use general classifier /ʔan/ with small items such as a single shoe.

/wĭ:/ is only used with bunches of bananas. /kʰàbuən/ is used with nouns arranged in long or line-like shapes, especially for trains. They are used in all four places without any overlap use with other classifiers.

It can be concluded that there are 20 classifiers which are used in all four places. The classifiers used in four dialects are used with the same nouns:

1. /ʔoŋ/ for sacred nouns such as a king, a monk, a Buddha image
2. /kʰôn/ for all human nouns such as a child, a policeman
3. /sǎ:y/ for a river
4. /sèn/ for hair, a rope, a. necklace and a belt
5. /tôn/ for trees
6. /kàbɔ̀:k/ for a gun
7. /da:ŋ / for a mosquito net
8. /pʰĩ:n/ for a mat and a towel
9. /hũa/ for a cabbage
10. /nuəy/ for fruit such as a mango, guava.

11. /*mét*/ for a grain, a seed and a button
12. /*bay*/ for a dish
13. /*kʰân*/ for a car
14. /*dɔ̀ːk*/ for flower and flower-like objects
15. /*lăŋ*/ for a house
16. /*wĭː*/ for a bunch of banana
17. /*tõː*/ and /*tuə*/ are the same classifier. Their lexical meaning is 'body'.The former is used in UB, KK and Lao, the latter in NK.
18. /*dôːn*/ and /*dûn*/ are the same classifier. There may be phonological variations in the sub-dialects. They appear in UB, NK and Lao but speakers in KK use only /*dûn*/. They are used with 'firewood'.
19. /*tʰŭŋ*/ and /*tʰŏŋ*/ are the same classifier. They are repeater classifiers for the word 'bag'. These are phonological variations. The first one is used in UB, KK, and NK and the second one is used in Lao.
20. /*pʰûəŋ*/ and /*pʰûə*/ have the same meaning. Their lexical meaning is 'bunch'. They are used to classify bunches of flower. The second one is used by Lao speakers whereas /*pʰûəŋ*/ is used by speakers in other sub-dialects.

Moreover, there are classifiers which are found in all four sub-dialects but they are used with diferent nouns such as /*tʰæ̃ːŋ*/. UB and NK speakers use it with pens whereas KK and Lao speakers use it with pencils.

According to the presented data, there are 20 classifiers which are used in all four places. The speakers in all four dialects use the same classifiers with the same nouns.

Some classifiers are similar in both form and meaning in all four sub-dialects whereas others have the same meaning but they are pronounced differently by the speakers of four different sub-dialects. For example /*tuə*/ and /*tõː*/, and /*pʰûəŋ*/ and /*pʰûə*/, have the same meaning but their pronunciation or forms differ.

The word lists used in each study are different; hence, the number of classifier use in each sub-dialect can not be compared. The number of classifiers used in Lao is fewer than in others sub-dialects. This may be because when there are new nouns, Lao speakers try to relate the nouns to those they are familier with. /nũəy/ seems to be another general classifier in Lao. Lao speakers use it with nouns having round components such as 'watch'. They also use genreral classifiers such as /ʔan/ and /tõ:/ with numerous nouns. New classifiers are found in other sub-dialects.

CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This study has focused on the variations on classifier usage in UB sub-dialect. Moreover, classifier usage in UB and others sub-dialects are also compared. The result of the study can be concluded as follow:

7.1 Conclusions

7.1.1 Classifier usage in Ubon Ratchathani Sub-dialect.

The noun categorization of this study is based on semantic components of the nouns which are adapted from the classification of Allan (1977). It uses componential analysis to analyze the classifiers and the uses of classifiers by speakers in UB with regard to the perception of the speakers toward objects or nouns.

There are 88 classifiers which are used in UB; forty-eight specific classifiers, thirty-nine repeaters, one general classifiers.

The prototype and Central Thai dialect classifiers including new classifiers are used by speakers of UB sub-dialect. The classifiers from Central Thai dialect play an important role in classifier usage in UB sub-dialect. The repeaters and general classifiers are used with numerous nouns. Speakers, especially in young generation, also create new classifiers for use with new nouns.

7.1.2 Comparison of classifiers used among three generations in Ubon Ratchathani province.

7.1.2.1 The use of classifiers among three generations.

Overall usage of classifiers

The number of classifiers found in G1 is the most and decreases in G2 and G3 respectively because G1 speakers use a lot of repeater classifiers and use general repeaters with numerous nouns. Therefore, the number of classifiers appears to be used by G1 the most.

Specific Classifiers

The specific classifiers are used by G2 speakers the most. Since G2 is a linking generation, G2 speakers use both original classifiers as used in G3 and also new classifiers, and classifiers from Central Thai as used by G1 speakers. Therefore, the number of specific classifiers used in G2 is the most.

Since the total number of classifiers used by G3 speakers is the least, the frequency in the use of each classifier is the most. In other words, G3 speakers or the older generation preserve the use of original classifiers more than other generations. They are rarely influenced by the use of classifiers from Central Thai and rarely create new classifiers to use with new nouns. When encountering new nouns they will try to relate the components of the nouns with the existing classifiers used. In addition, the classifier /***nũəy***/ seems to be another general classifier for G3 speakers. They extend the classifier /***nũəy***/ to be used with nouns possessing round, annular and curved features.

7.1.2.2 Types of Variations

The types of variations can be divided into two major groups based on the number of classifier variants:

1) The speakers use two classifiers with the same noun which can be further divided based on the types of classifier as follow:

a) Speakers use two specific classifiers with the same noun such as the classifier /***bay***/ and classifier /***lû:k***/ are used with the noun /***kʰãy***/ ‘egg’.

b) Speakers use a specific classifier and a repeater classifier for a noun such as for the noun /***kʰô:ŋ***/ ‘canal’, the classifiers /***sǎ:y***/ and /***kʰô:ŋ***/ are used.

c) Speakers use a specific classifier and a general classifier with a noun such as the noun /***kàpǎw***/ ‘bag’, both the classifiers /***bay***/ and /***ʔan***/ are used.

Speakers use a repeater and a general classifier with a noun. For example, classifier /***pí:p***/ and /***ʔan***/ are used with the noun /***pí:p***/ ‘kerosene can’.

2) The speakers use three classifiers with the same noun which can be further divided based on the types of classifier as follows:

a) Speakers use two specific classifiers and a repeater classifier with a

noun such as /bɔ̃ːn/, /mɔ̀ŋ/ and /wát/ for the noun /wát/ ‘temple’.

b) Speakers use two specific classifiers and a general classifier with a noun such as the classifiers /dɔ̀ːk/, /lèm/ and /ʔan/ used for the noun /tʰûːp/ ‘joss stick’.

c) Speakers use specific, repeater and general classifiers with a noun such as /bay/, /caːn/ and /ʔan/ for the nouns /caːn/’dish’.

Moreover, it is noticeable that speakers use the general classifier /ʔan/ with numerous nouns including new nouns.

7.1.2.3 The Causes of Variation

Four causes of variation are found in this study as follows:

1) The components of the nouns used with classifiers share some semantic features in common. For example, /tʰæːŋ/ and /tʰɔ̃ːn/ are classifiers used with nouns having a “long” component but /tʰɔ̃ːn/ is used with sectioned objects. For some speakers the ‘section’ component is not distinguished so they use both classifiers with nouns having long components.

2) The variation is caused by the influence of classifier use in Central Thai. Some classifiers are borrowed from Central Thai by the speakers in UB, for example, some informants, especially from the young generation, use the Central Thai classifiers /bay/ and /lûːk/ for the noun /kʰãy/ ‘egg’ whereas other speakers use / /nuəy/.

3) The variation is caused by different perceptions of the speakers towards objects. For example, it is found that the speakers use both classifiers /pʰûəŋ/ and /sǎːy/ for the noun /pintoːʔ/ ‘tiffin carrier’. The informants who use /pʰûəŋ/ perceive the entire shape of the /pintoː/ ‘tiffin carrier’ as a bunch of fruit so they use /pʰûəŋ/ which is a classifier for a bunch of fruit and its nominal meaning is ‘bunch’. On the other hand, those who use /sǎːy/ view it as a carrier which is long so the speakers use /sǎːy/ which is used for long objects including tiffin carriers.

4) The variation is in the classifier usage for new nouns. Some speakers may create new classifiers for those new nouns. Instead of creating new nouns other

speakers try to relate the new nouns to those they are familiar with then apply existing classifiers to the new nouns.

7.1.3 Comparison of classifiers used in Ubon Sub-dialects and other sub-dialects.

The information of classifier usages in NR, KK and Lao is from other studies. As the nouns or wordlists which were used in each study differ, therefore, the comparison of classifier use in the four sub-dialects can only apply to those nouns appearing in all four studies.

There are twenty classifiers which are used in the four sub-dialects. Twenty classifiers are used with the same nouns in all four sub-dialects. Sixteen classifiers are similar, both in form and meaning, and other four classifiers are cognate classifiers, in other words, they have the same meaning but their forms or pronunciations differ.

7.2. Discussion

7.2.1 Classifiers used in Ubon Ratchathani province

According to the study of classifier usage by using Componential Analysis to analyze the classifiers used in UB it has been found that the uses of classifiers depend on the perception of the speakers toward objects. The overlapping uses of classifiers used with nouns sharing some semantic components are also found. In addition, the speakers use repeaters and general classifiers with numerous nouns including classifiers from Central Thai. The speakers also create new classifiers for use with some nouns especially the new ones.

7.2.2 A comparison of classifiers used among three generations in Ubon Ratchathani province.

This study shows that the age of the speakers is a social variable that causes language variation or language change in the society. Classifiers used among three generations in UB are compared. When the classifier usage by each generation is considered, it is found that the number of classifiers used by G1 speakers or the young

generation is most and the number of classifiers used has decreased in G2 and G3 respectively. The number of classifiers used in G3 or the older generation is the least.

The reason that the total number of classifiers used by G1 is the most is that G1 speakers use UB classifiers and borrowed classifiers from Central Thai as well as creating new classifiers for use with some nouns. Moreover, they also use many repeaters with nouns. It may be said that they pay less attention to the use of classifiers as they use multiple repeaters to classify nouns. They may simply complete numeral sentences by using repeaters to classify nouns.

In addition, the young generation pays more attention to the media such as television and as they go to school so they use Central Thai classifiers. Therefore, the classifiers used by G1 speaker are more than those used by other generations.

When the focus is only on the number of specific classifiers, the number of specific classifiers used by G2 speakers is the most. Second is the G1 speakers, and G3 speakers use specific classifiers the least. The original classifiers and classifiers from Central Thai including new classifiers are used by G2 speakers; therefore, the number of specific classifiers used by G2 speakers is the most. G2 is like a linking generation between the older and the young generations, since G2 speakers learn original classifiers from the older generation and also new classifiers from Central Thai as well as new classifiers for new nouns. The older generation use only prototype or original classifiers. The borrowed classifiers from Central Thai dialects and new classifiers are rarely used by G3 speakers. The younger generation use repeater and general classifiers with many nouns, so there are few specific classifiers used by G1 speakers.

The G3 speakers use specific classifiers with most nouns when compared to the other generations. In other words, the frequency in the use of specific classifiers of G3 speaker is highest compared with other generations.

This means that the speakers in G3 can preserve the original classifiers as well. Even though they encounter new nouns, they apply existing classifiers with the new nouns by considering the components of the nouns and comparing with those they are familiar with. G3 speakers rarely create new classifiers and hardly use repeater classifiers and borrowed classifiers from Central Thai. Although the number of classifiers used by G3 is the least, they use specific classifiers with numerous nouns.

This shows that the classifier usage in UB sub-dialect has been changing. The hypothesis of this study is that “the number of specific classifiers used in the society has decreased because the younger generation tends to use some classifiers more broadly, such as general classifiers and repeater classifiers because it is easier than using specific ones”. This study has found that the number of specific classifiers used in G2 is the most. The result of this study does not support the hypothesis in that the number of specific classifiers used in society has increased because it is found that total number of classifiers used in G2 is the most, due to the fact that they use both UB classifiers and borrowed classifiers from Central Thai. Therefore, the number of classifiers used in G2 and G1 is more than used in G3 respectively. The reason why the result of the study does not support the hypothesis is that the study took place in Muang District. There are many influences from the Central Region of Thailand due to language contact and many mass medias which are factors that the people of UB are influenced from Central Thai both in culture and the spoken language. The Central Thai dialects are spoken in UB as well as UB sub-dialect. The results may support the hypothesis if the study takes place in other places such as other districts that are far from Muang district.

In addition, the speakers do not strictly assign classifiers to nouns. They use classifiers to just complete the numeral phrases or sentences. Furthermore, the listeners or the person who the speakers speak to do not correct the speakers for using unsuitable classifiers. These are factors affecting the results of the study which do not support the hypothesis. The result also contrasts with the result of Naruemon’s study (1985); she found that the number of classifiers used in older speakers (50 – 59 years old) is the most.

This study shows that age is a significant social variable that causes language variation or language change in society. Because people of different ages have different experiences, the older people have more experience than the younger ones; therefore, the perception or the though of the older speaker may differ from the younger. So the older can relate the use of specific classifiers which they are familiar to use with other nouns sharing some components.

The result of this study suggests that the use of classifier in the society remains but the forms of classifiers used in the future may differ from those used in the past.

New classifiers are created and the influences of classifiers used in Central Thai dialect, as a standard form or standard language, are factors affecting classifier change. Some classifiers used in the past or used by older speakers may eventually disappear.

7.2.3 A comparison of classifier usage in Ubon Ratchathani province and other sub -dialects.

Historically, the people living in NE region of Thailand migrated from Laos. In comparing the classifier usage in the four sub-dialects;UB, NR, KK and Laos, as noted, the wordlists used in each study are different. So there are twenty classifiers found when analyzing only those appearing with the same nouns. Some are similar in both forms and meaning, some are similar in meaning but different in forms. Others differ from sub-dialect to sub-dialect. The classifiers used in NR seem to differ from the other three sub-dialects. They are similar to those used in Central Thai both in form and meaning. This means that classifier usage in NR province has been influenced by Central Thai due to its geographical proximity. Even with the same classifiers such as /*tuə*/ and /*tõː*/ which are the same classifiers, /*tuə*/ is used in Central Thai and /*tõː*/ is NE Thai dialect. Speakers in NK use the former as in Central Thai. These were noted 20 years ago in Narumon's study.

The classifiers used in all four sub-dialects are closely related to each other. It is noticeable that the classifiers used in NR differ from those in other NE Thai dialects because NR is nearer the Central region of Thailand than it is to the other provinces; therefore, the classifiers used in NR are similar to Central Thai dialects. For example, the classifier /*tõː*/ and /*tuə*/ are the same classifiers, but /*tõː*/ is widely used in NE dialects whereas speakers from NK use /*tuə*/ which is used in Central Thai. Although Laos borders UB and it seems that classifiers used in these two sub-dialects are more similar than to other sub-dialects, there is still questionable with the case of classifier /*pɔːŋ*/. This classifier is used by the speakers of Laos and KK. It is not used in UB which is nearer to Laos than KK. It is surprising that some classifiers are used in dialects further removed geographically than those used in neighboring regions. It may

be possible that the speakers in these two sub-dialects simply have the same perception of the noun ‘window’, and so this classifier is used in both dialects.

Moreover, some of classifiers found in NE Thai dialect have disappeared in NR. In addition, since UB borders Laos, the classifiers used in UB are closely related to those used in Laos. It is noticeable that the number of classifiers used in Laos is the least compared to the other sub-dialects. Lao speakers rarely create new classifiers and are hardly influenced by other sub-dialects. When they encounter new nouns, they relate the components of those nouns to those they are familiar with then extend classifier usage to apply to those new nouns. For example, the classifier /*nuəy*/ is used with televisions and watches. This is evidence that the Lao speakers have been able to relate the prototype classifier for use with other nouns as well.

What is more, this study can assume that the classifiers typically used in NE Thai dialects are /*lèm*/, /*dâ:m*/ /*kʰân*/ /*lû:k* / /*lâm*/ /*lɨ̂ən*/ /*wôŋ*/ because these classifiers are not used by Lao speakers. The classifiers which can be assumed to be prototype classifiers in Lao are /*sæ̂:ŋ*/, /*kõk*/, /*pɔ:ŋ*/, /*kɔ̀:k*/ because they are used only in Lao and some sub-dialects in NE Thai. They also have cognate classifiers in Thai dialects such as /*sæ̂:ŋ*/ which is a cognate classifier with /*tʰàlâ:y*/ in Thai.

The language use in society reflects the perceptions of the speakers and affects the language variation which agrees with the studies of Kanthima and Suwattana (1983) and Arunee (1986). They found the uses of classifiers in different places are both similar and different depending on the dialect and the perception of the speakers.

Enfield (2004:123) studies a numeral classification in Lao and finds that “there are many cases of inter- and intra-speaker variation in choice of numeral classifier for certain nouns, depending on a range of factors.” The sources of variation are as follows:

a) The interaction of numeral classifiers with speech level phenomena.

b) New words for culturally non-traditional objects have no conventionalized classifier, resulting in various different classifiers being equally applicable on the basis of semantic appropriateness.

c) What aspect of the entity being counted is focused on by the speakers.

In conclusion, the age of the speakers is a social variable of language change in society. The variation of language use found at present can predict the language use in the future. Classifiers used in Thailand will remain in society but the forms and the usage may differ from those found currently. Some classifiers used in the past may be lost and new classifiers may be created due to social changes both culturally and technologically.

In brief, language change and language variation are not only caused by internal factors such as from the speakers themselves but also external influences such as from sub-dialects spoken nearby.

7.3 Suggestions

This study is a sociolinguistic study. The emphasis is on comparison of classifier usage among three generations in UB sub-dialect to find out the language variation in society. Therefore, there are some suggestions for further study in language use in the society.

7.3.1. Since limitation of this study is that the wordlists in each study are different, the study of classifier use in different sub-dialects in Northeastern region should be done using the same wordlists for interviews, with informants in each area.

7.3.2. From this study of classifier usage in Ubon Ratchathani province, phonological variations of the speakers is found, so a study of phonological variation of classifiers in Northeastern Thai dialects should be undertaken.

7.3.3. The interference of Central Thai dialects seems to be an important factor in language variation in Northeastern Thai. A study should be conducted into the interference of Central Thai dialects to Northeastern Thai dialect on phonology, syntactic as well as semantics.

7.3.4 While interviewing the informants the researcher found that the speakers in each generation referred to some nouns differently. A comparison of word usage

among the three generations should be done to identify the language variation in Northeastern Thai dialect.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam, Karen L. and Conklin, Mancy F. 1973. "Toward a theory of natural classification." Papers from the 9th Regional Meeting of the Chichaco Linguistics Society, 1-10.

Allan, Keith.1977. "Classifiers". Language. 53 (2):285-311.

Brown, J. Marvin. 1965. "From the ancient Thai to modern dialects". Bangkok: Social Science Association Press of Thailand.

Burusphat , Somsonge.2005. "Lao numeral classifiers in comparison to Central Thai" Presented Paper at the First International Conference on Lao Studies, May 20-22, Northern Illinois University, Dekalb, USA.

Deepadung, Sujaritlak. 1997. "Extension in the usage of the Thai classifier /tua/", Southeast Asian linguistic studies in honour of Vichin Panupong, pp.49-55. Chulalongkorn University Press.

Denny, Peter J.1976. "What are noun classifiers good for?" paper from the 12th International Meeting, Chicago Linguistic Society, 122-132.

Enfield, Nick. 2004. Nominal classification in Lao: a sketch. Sprachtypol. Unive, Forsch. (STUF), Berlin 57.2/3: 117-1443.

Hartmann, John. 1980. "A model for the alignment of dialects in Southwestern Tai." Journal of the Siam society. 68.1:72-86.Bangkok.

Hass, Mary R. 1942. 'Numeral Classifiers in Thai: Language. 18, pp 201-205.

Ngansathin, Premjit. 1991. Classifiers in Burmese. M.A. Thesis in Linguistic Mahidol University

Nida, Eugene A. 1975. Componential Analysis of meaning. Paris: The Hague, Mouton.

Noss, Richard.B. 1964. Thai Reference Grammar. Washington DC: U.S.Goverment Printing Office.

Paanchiangwong, Songgot. 2001. A study of interference of northeastern Thai dialect in Standard Thai : Case of Muang District, Ubon Ratchathani Province. M.A.Thesis in Linguistic, Mahidol University

Palakornkul, Angkab. “Some observations on Variation and Change in the use of Numeral classifiers in Thai” PASAA. 1&2 (October 1976): 186 – 197.

Placzek, James A. 1978. ‘Classifiers in Standard Thai; A study of semantic relations between Headwords and Classifiers.’ Master’s thesis, Department of Philosophy, Graduate School, The University of British Columbia.

กันทิมา วัฒนะประเสริฐ. 2525. การศึกษาเปรียบเทียบการใช้คำลักษณนามภาษาเชียงใหม่กับภาษากรุงเทพ. วิทยานิพนธ์มาหาบัณฑิต ภาควิชาภาษาไทย บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย.

กำชัย ทองหล่อ. 2525. หลักภาษาไทย. กรุงเทพฯ: บำรุงสาสน์.

นฤมล จันทรศุภวงศ์. 2528. คำลักษณนามในภาษาไทยถิ่นโคราชที่บ้านบึงทับปรางค์ ตำบลกระโทก อำเภอโชคชัย จังหวัดนครราชสีมา วิทยานิพนธ์มหาบัณฑิต, ภาควิชาภาษาศาสตร์ คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย.

เพียรศิริ วงศ์วิภานนท์. 2525. เอกสารประกอบการสอนและแบบฝึกปฏิบัติชุดวิชาภาษาไทย 3 หน่วยที่ 13. สาขาวิชาศึกษาศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลับสุโขทัยธรรมาธิราช. กรุงเทพ.

บรรจบ พันธุเมธา. 2522. ลักษณะภาษาไทย. กรุงเทพฯ: โรงพิมพ์มหาวิทยาลัยรามคำแหง.

ปรีชา พิณทอง. 2532. พจนานุกรมอีสาน-ไทย-อังกฤษ. ศิริธรรม: อุบลราชธานี.

ระลึก ธานี. 2546. อุบลราชธานีในอดีต (2335-2475) อุบลราชธานี: รุ่งศิลป์การพิมพ์อ๊อฟเซท

เรืองเดช ปันเขื่อนขัติย์. 2531. ภาษาถิ่นตระกูลไทย. กรุงเทพฯ: โรงพิมพ์มหาจุฬาลงกรณ์ราชวิทยาลัย.

มหาวีรวงศ์, สมเด็จพระ. 2515. พจนานุกรมอีสานภาคกลาง ฉบับปฏิธาน. กรุงเทพฯ: ไทยวัฒนาพานิช.

สมทรง บุรุษพัฒน์ 2543. ภูมิศาสตร์ภาษาถิ่น. กรุงเทพ. บริษัทเอกพิมพ์ไทจำกัด.

สมทรง บุรุษพัฒน์, สุจริตลักษณ์ ดีผดุง, โสภนา ศรีจำปา. 2537. รายงานการวิจัยเรื่องสถานภาพงานวิจัยภาษาศาสตร์ในประเทศไทย, สำนักงานคณะกรรมการการวิจัยแห่งชาติ.

สุขุมาวดี ขำหิรัญ. 2532. “หญิงกับชายใครเป็นใหญ่” วารสารภาษาและวัฒนธรรม. ปีที่ 8 ฉบับที่ 2. สถาบันวิจัยภาษาและวัฒนธรรมเพื่อพัฒนาชนบท.

สุวัฒนา เลี่ยมประวัติ และ กันทิมา วัฒนาประวัติ. 2536. รายงานการวิจัยเรื่อง การวิเคราะห์การใช้คำและการแปรของภาษาของคนสามระดับอายุในชุมชนภาษาลาวลุ่มน้ำท่าจีน. มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร.

ศรวนีย์ สรรคบุรานุรักษ์. 2542. การใช้คำลักษณนามในภาษาไทยมาตรฐานปัจจุบันของผู้พูดต่างวัย. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญามหาบัณฑิต ภาควิชาภาษาศาสตร์ คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์ มหาวิทยาลัย.

ศรินทิพย์ สถีรศิลปิน 2529. คำลักษณนามในภาษาล่าหู่นะ (มูเซอดำ) การวิเคราะห์ตามแนวอรรถศาสตร์ วิทยานิพนธ์ ปริญญามหาบัณฑิต ภาควิชาภาษาศาสตร์ บัณฑิตวิยาลัย จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย.

อมรา ประสิทธิ์รัฐสินธุ์. 2533. ภาษาศาสตร์สังคม. กรุงเทพฯ: โรงพิมพ์แห่งจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย.

อะรุณี รัตนกุล. 2529. คำลักษณนามในภาษาไทยถิ่น จังหวัดเชียงใหม่ ขอนแก่น สระบุรี และสุราษฎร์ธานี. วิทยานิพนธ์ปริญญามหาบัณฑิต ภาควิชาภาษาศาสตร์ บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย.

อุปกิตศิลปสาร, พระยา. 2514. หลักภาษาไทย. กรุงเทพฯ: ไทยวัฒนาพานิช.

APPENDIX I

Table I: The classifier usage among three generations in UB sub-dialect

I. Animate

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
Human **a) individual** /dékn̂ːy/ ‘child’ /kàsát/ ‘king’ /tamlùət/ ‘policeman’ /pʰáʔ/ ‘monk’ /náklîən/ ‘student’	/kʰon/	√	√	√
/sõp/ ‘corpse’	/ʔoŋ/	√	√	√
b) collective /kũːmdéknɔ̂ːy/ ‘children’ /kũːmkôn/‘group of people’	/sûm/ /kũm/	√ √	√ √	√ √
Non-human **a) individual** /kõp/ ‘frog’ /kʰûəy/ ‘buffalo’ /paː/ ‘fish’	/tõː/	√	√	√
b) collective / kũːmkʰuəy/ group of buffalos’ / kũːmnók/ ‘group of birds’	/sûm/ /fŭːŋ/	√ √	√ √	√ √

Table I: The classifier usage among three generations in UB sub-dialect

II: Inanimate

2.1) Shape

2.1.1 Long

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
Long and Flexible				
/lûətnǎ:m/ 'wire'				
/pʰǒm/ 'hair'	/sèn/	√	√	√
/sɨ̂ək/ 'rope'				
/sɔ̀y/ 'necklace'				
/ dâ:y / 'thread'				
/ kɔ̂:ŋ/ 'canal'	/sǎ:y/	√	-	-
	/kɔ̂:ŋ/	-	√	√
/tʰànǒn/ 'road'	/sǎ:y/	√	√	√
	/sèn/	√	√	√
/mæ:nâ:m/ 'river'	/sǎ:y/	√	√	√
	/sèn/	-	-	√
/pʰãkbûŋ/ 'morning-glory	/yɔ̂:t/	√	√	√
	/kʰɨ̂ə/	-	√	-
	/tôn/	√	-	-
/hùəy/ 'stream'	/sǎ:y/	√	-	-
	/hùəy/	-	√	√
/tɔ̀:k/ 'thin bamboo-	/sèn/	√	√	√
stripes'	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/tamlɨ̂ŋ/ 'ivy ground'	/kʰɨ̂ə/	-	√	√
	/tôn/	√	√	-

Table I: The classifier usage among three generations in UB sub- dialect (Continued)

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
Long and Inflexible				
/kʰîəw/ 'sickle'	/dâːm/	√	√	-
	/duəŋ/	-	-	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
/lɪəy/ 'saw'	/dâːm/	-	-	-
	/duəŋ/	-	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
/sǐəm/ 'spade'	/dâːm/	√	√	-
	/duəŋ/	-	-	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/fɨ̂ːn/ 'firewood'	/dûn/	-	√	√
	/tʰõːn/	√	-	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/cóp/ 'hoe'	/dâːm/	√	√	-
	/duəŋ/	-	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/pɪːn/ 'gun'	/bɔ̀ːk/	√	√	√
	/dâːm/	√	-	-
	/kàbɔ̀ːk/	√	√	-
/tʰăy/ 'plough'	/duəŋ/	-	-	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
	/kʰân/	√	√	-
/1lûŋkinnâːm/ 'rainbow'	/săːy/	√	-	-
	/sèn/	√	-	-
	/tõː/	-	√	√
/kʰũy/'flute'	/lâw/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	√
/kʰɔːn/ 'log'	/tôn/	-	√	√
	/tʰõːn/	√	-	-
/lɔ̀ːt/ 'straw'	/lɔ̀ːt/	√	√	√

Table I: The classifier usage among three generations in UB sub-dialect (Continued)

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
/ŋa:mây/ 'tree branch'	/kĭŋ/	√	-	-
	/ŋã:/	-	√	√
/pà:kka:/'pen'	/dâ:m/	√	√	√
	/tʰæ:ŋ/	√	-	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/dinsǒ:/ 'pencil'	/dâ:m/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/lɔ̀:tfâ:y/ 'bulb'	/lɔ̀:t/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	√
/pʰâ:/ 'jungle knife'	/dâ:m/	√	√	√
/kʰãykʰuəŋ/ 'screw driver'	/dâ:m/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	√
/kʰěm/ 'pin'	/duəŋ/	-	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/sõ:n/ 'spoon'	/kâ:n/	√	-	-
	/kʰân/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	√
/mî:t/ 'knife'	/dâ:m/	√	-	-
	/duəŋ/	√	√	√
/tʰappʰi:/ 'ladle'	/dâ:m/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	√
/tʰû:p/ 'joss stick'	/dɔ̀:k/	√	√	√
	/lèm/	√	-	-
	/ʔan/	√	√	√
/wǎ:y/ 'feature lower grass'	/kʰî̀ə/	√	√	√
	/tôn/	√	-	-

Table I: The classifier usage among three generations in UB sub-dialect (Continued)

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
/tʰiən/ 'candle'	/lèm/	√	√	√
	/tʰæːŋ/	√	-	-
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
/ tônmây/ 'tree'	/sǎw/	√	√	√
	/tôn/	√	√	√
/sǎw/ 'pole'	/sǎw/	√	√	√
	/tôn/	√	√	√
/mâykʰìːt/ 'match'	/kâːn/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	√
/kʰôːn / 'hammer'	/ʔan/	√	√	√
/bàkkʰãːm /'tamarind'	/fák/	√	-	-
	/nũəy/	√	√	√
/kʰàwpʰôːt / 'corn'	/fák/	√	√	√
	/nũəy/	-	√	√
/lóːtfây/ 'train'	/kʰân/	√	-	-
	/kʰàbuən/	√	√	√
/ kĩən / 'cart'	/kʰân/	√	√	√
	/lèm/	√	√	√
/kʰɨəŋbin/ 'plane'	/lâm/	√	√	√
/ cákkàyâːn / 'bicycle'	/kʰân/	√	√	√
/lɨ̂ə/ 'boat'	/lâm/	√	√	√
/lótyôn/ 'car'	/kʰân/	√	√	√

Table I: The classifier usage among three generations in UB sub-dialect

(Continued)

2.1.2 Flat

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
Flat and Flexible				
/bæ̂ŋ/ ‘banknote’	/bæ̂ŋ/	-	√	√
	/bay/	√	√	√
/sô:ŋ/ ‘envelop’	/sô:ŋ/	√	√	√
	/sábãb /	√	√	√
/có:tmã:y/ ‘letter’	/sô:ŋ/	√	√	√
	/sábãb /	√	√	√
/sì:n/ ‘Thai sarong’	/tõŋ/	-	√	√
	/pʰĩ:n/	√	√	-
/sánŋa:/ ‘contract’	/bay/	√	√	√
	/sábãb /	√	-	-
	/sa̍nyâ:/	√	√	-
	/ʔan/	-	-	√
/sà:t/ ‘mat’	/pʰĩ:n/	-	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/mûŋ/ ‘mosquito net’	/da:ŋ /	√	√	√
	/lăŋ/	-	√	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/kàpăw/ ‘bag’	/bay/	√	-	-
	/nũəy/	-	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/tŭə/ ‘ticket’	/bay/	√	√	√
	/pʰæ̃:n/	√	-	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	√
/tʰŭŋpʰá:ttĩk/‘plastic bag’	/bay/	√	-	-
	/nũəy/	-	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/kàsò:p/ ‘gunny bag’	/bay/	√	√	√
	/nũəy/	√	-	-

Table I: The classifier usage among three generations in UB sub-dialect (Continued)

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
Flat and Inflexible				
/lûːppʰâːp/ ‘picture’	/hûːp/	√	√	-
	/lûːp/	√	-	-
	/pʰæ̃ːn/	√	√	√
/hæ̌ːʔ/ ‘fishing net’	/daːŋ/	√	√	√
	/pʰɨ̃ːn/	-	√	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/baytɔːŋ/ ‘banana leaf’	/bay/	√	√	√
	/ kâːn/	-	√	√
/pʰàhom/ ‘blanket’	/pʰɨ̃ːn/	√	√	√
/pʰàsétoːʔ/ ‘towel’	/pʰɨ̃ːn/	√	√	√
/fãː/ ‘lid’	/fãː/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/nãŋsɨ̃ː/ ‘book’	/lèm/	√	√	√
/mùək/ ‘hat’	/bay/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
/kòplûːp/ ‘photo frame	/kòːp/	√	√	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	√
/pàtuː/ ‘door’	/baːn/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
/nàːtaːŋ/ ‘window’	/baːn/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
/kʰiəŋ/ ‘cutting board’	/bay/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	√
/caːn/ ‘dish’	/bay/	√	-	-
	/nũəy/	-	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-

Table I: The classifier usage among three generations UB sub-dialect (Continued)

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
/kàcõk/ ‘mirror’	/ba:n/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/lĭən / ‘coin’	/lĭən /	√	√	√
/kàdôŋ/ ‘rice winnowing’	/bay/	√	-	-
	/nũəy/	-	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/tãŋ/ ‘bench’	/tõ:/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	√
/tóʔ/ ‘table’	/tõ:/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	√
/tiəŋ/ ‘bed’	/tõ:/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	√
/kâwʔî:/ ‘chair’	/tõ:/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	√

2.1.3 Three-dimensional nouns

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
Three-dimensional nouns small /k^hĭŋ/ ‘ginger’ /k^ha:/ ‘galangal’	/hũə/	√	√	√
/sĭw/ ‘pimple’	/tum/	√	√	√
	/hũə/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	√
/fǎy/ ‘mole’	/mèt/	√	√	-
	/tum/	√	√	√
/hǒ:m/ ‘onion’	/hũə/	√	√	√

Table I: The classifier usage among three generations in UB sub-dialect (Continued)

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
/*pík*/ 'chili'	/*mèt*/	-	√	√
	/*nuəy*/	√	√	√
/*sàbu:*/ 'soap'	/*kô:n*/	√	√	√
	/*mèt*/	√	√	√
/*kô:nhǐn*/ 'rock	/*kô:n*/	√	√	√
	/*ʔan*/	√	√	-
/*hâŋp^{h}èŋ*/ 'honey nest' /*hâŋmót*/ 'ant nest' /*hâŋnók*/ 'bird nest'	/*hâŋ*/	√	√	√
/*lùkʔom*/ 'candy'	/*kô:n*/	-	√	√
	/*mèt*/	√	√	√
/*bàksída:*/ 'guava'	/*lû:k*/	√	√	√
	/*nũəy*/	√	-	-
/*mètfǒn*/ 'drop of rain'	/*mèt*/	-	√	√
	/*yót*/	√	-	-
/*ya:mét*/ 'pill' /*métk^{h}àw*/ 'rice crop'	/*mèt*/	√	√	√
/*lùkbɔ:n*/ 'ball'	/*lû:k*/	√	-	-
	/*nũəy*/	-	√	√
/*mõ:n*/ 'pillow'	/*bay*/	√	-	-
	/*nũəy*/	√	√	√
/*t^{h}ã:n*/ 'coal'	/*kô:n*/	√	√	√
	/*ʔan*/	√	√	-
/*k^{h}ãy*/ 'egg'	/*bay*/	√	-	-
	/*lû:k*/	√	-	-
	/*nũəy*/	√	√	√
/*bàkmuəŋ*/ 'mango'	/*lû:k*/	√	√	√
	/*nũəy*/	√	-	-

Table I: The classifier usage among three generations in UB sub-dialect (Continued)

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
Three-dimensional nouns big /duəŋʔátít/ 'the sun'	/duəŋ/	√	√	√
/duəŋcan/ 'the moon'	/duəŋ/	√	√	√
/hŭəpi:/ 'banana blossom' /kàlàm/ 'cabbage' /mân/ 'yam bean'	/hũə/	√	√	√
/tàkiəŋ / 'lamp'	/duəŋ/ /nũəy/	√ √	√ √	√ √
/kɔ:ŋ/ 'drum'	/nũəy/ /ʔan/	- √	√ -	√ -
/ tû:sɨ̀əp^{h}à: / wardrobe	/tõ:/ /ʔan/	√ √	√ √	√ √
/cɔ:mpùək/ 'termite hill'	/cɔ:m/ /p^{h}ô:n/	√ -	- √	- √
/ʔa:ŋ/ 'sink'	bay/ /nũəy/ /ʔa:ŋ/	√ - -	- √ -	- √ -
/k^{h}ăw/ 'mountain'	/k^{h}ăw/ /lû:k / /nuəy/	√ √ √	√ √ √	- √ -
/ t^{h}uəy / 'bowl'	bay/ /nũəy/ /ʔa:ŋ/	√ - √	- √ -	- √ -
/k^{h}ók/ 'mortar'	/nũəy/ /ʔan/	√ √	√ √	√ -

Table I: The classifier usage among three generations in UB sub-dialect (Continued)

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
/kʰúʔ/ ‘pail’	/tʰăŋ/	√	√	√
	/nũəy/	-	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
/ nalíka / ‘watch’	/lɨ̂ən/	√	√	-
	/ʔan/	√	√	√
/ kâːw / ‘glass’	/bay/	√	√	√
	/nũəy/	-	-	√
/mùək/ ‘hat’	/bay/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
/kamlây/ ‘bracelet’	/wôŋ/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	√
/ kàlàmâŋ/ ‘basin’	bay/	√	-	-
	/nuəy/	-	√	√
	/ʔaːŋ/	-	-	-
/ tàkãː / ‘basket’	/bay/	√	-	-
	/nũəy/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
/ hùət / ‘bamboo-strip streamer’	/bay/	√	√	-
	/nũəy/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	-
/pʰátlôm /‘electric fan’	/kʰɨəŋ/	√	√	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	√
/tawliːt/‘electric iron’	/kʰɨəŋ/	√	√	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	√
/wíttʰáyũʔ/ ‘radio’	/kʰɨəŋ/	√	√	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	√

Table I: The classifier usage among three generations in UB sub-dialect

(Continued)

2.1.4. Non- dimensional nouns

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
/wǎ:n/ 'ring'	/wôŋ/	√	√	√
	/ʔan/	√	√	√

2.2) Type

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
/hẽt/ 'mushroom'	/dɔ:̀k/	√	√	√
/dɔ̀:kmây/ 'flower'	/dɔ:̀k/	√	√	√
/kɔ:ŋmâykʰi:̀t/ 'match box'	/kãp/	√	√	√
	/kɔ:ŋ/	√	√	-
/ fî:n/ 'firewood'	/dûn/	-	√	√
	/tʰõ:n/	√	-	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	-
/dɔ̀:kbuə / 'lotus'	/dɔ:̀k/	√	√	√
/kuncæ:/ 'key'	/dɔ:̀k/	√	√	√
	/nũəy/	√	√	√
	/lû:k/	√	√	√
	/nũəy/	√	√	√
/tàpu:/ 'nail'	/dɔ:̀k/	√	√	√
	/tõ:/	√	√	-
	/ʔan/	-	-	-

Table I: The classifier usage among three generations in UB sub-dialect

(Continued)

2.3) Location

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
/ *bâːn*/ ‘house’	/*lăŋ*/	√	√	√
/ *hãːn*/ ‘shop’	/*hâːn*/	√	√	√
/*tʰiː*/ ‘land’	/*pæːŋ*/ /*pʰɨ̃ːn*/	- √	√ -	√ -
/*wát*/ ‘temple’	/*bõːn*/ /*mɔ̀ŋ*/ /*wát*/	√ √ √	- - √	- - √
/*lôːŋnãːŋ* / ‘cinema’	/*bõːn*/ /*lôːŋ*/	- √	- √	√ √
/ *tʰõːŋ* / ‘field’	/*pæːŋ*/ /*pʰãn*/ /*pʰɨ̃ːn*/	√ - √	- √ -	- √ -
/*kʰôkmũː*/ ‘pigsty’	/*kʰôːk*/	√	√	√
/*tàlàːt* / ‘market’	/*mɔ̀ŋ*/ /*tìː*/	√ √	√ -	√ -
/*sũən* / ‘garden’	/*bõːn*/ /*lôːŋ* / /*mɔ̀ŋ*/	- √ √	√ √ √	√ √ √
/*kʰôkkãː*/ ‘chicken pen’	/*bõːn*/ /*lăŋ*/ /*lâw*/	- √ √	- - √	√ - √

Table I: The classifier usage among three generations in UB sub-dialect (Continued)

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
/lôːŋhĩən/ 'school'	/bõːn/	-	√	√
	/lôːŋ/	√	√	√
	/mòŋ/	√	√	√
/lâwkãy/ 'chicken coop'	/lâw/	√	√	√
/bòːt / 'church'	/bòt/	-	√	√
	/lăŋ/	√	√	-
/paːn/ 'birthmark'	/bõːn/	-	-	√
	/mòŋ/	√	√	-
	/ʔan/	√	-	-

2.4) Quantifier

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
Arrangement /sôːŋyasùːp / 'a case of cigarettes'	/kòːk/	-	√	√
	/mũən/	√	√	-
	/mûən/	-	√	-
/mũənfîm/ 'a role of film'	/mûən/	√	√	√
/mũənt^{h}epõ/ 'a cassette tape'	/mûən/	√	√	√
/cìːpmàːk/ 'a folded of areca nut'	/cìːp/	√	√	√
	/k^{h}âm/	√	√	√

Table I: The classifier usage among three generations in UB sub-dialect (Continued)

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
/*càpkʰàwpûːn*/ group of Thai rice noodle	/*càp*/ /*mûən*/ /*tîw*/	√ √ √	- - √	- - √
b) Collective /*sæ̂ːŋbàktaːn* / 'bunch of toddy palm'	/*pʰûəŋ*/ /*sæ̂ːŋ*/	- √	√ √	- √
/ *tûmhũː*/ 'earrings'	/*kʰũː*/	√	√	√
/*sæ̂ːŋbàkpʰâːw* / 'bunch of coconut'	/*pʰûəŋ*/ /*sæ̂ːŋ*/	- √	√ √	- √
/*sæ̂ːŋmàːk*/ 'bunch of areca palm'	/*pʰûəŋ*/ /*sæ̂ːŋ*/	- √	√ √	- √
/*tʰuŋtʰâw*/ 'socks'	/*kʰũː*/	√	√	√
/*sòːdòːk*/ 'bunch of flower'	/*sôː*/ /*pʰûə*/	√ √	√ √	√ √
/*kèːp*/ 'shoes'	/*kʰũː*/	√	√	√

Table I: The classifier usage among three generations in UB sub-dialect (Continued)

Nouns	Classifiers	Used in		
		G 1	G 2	G 3
c) Partitive /tûmhũ:nɨ̃:ŋkʰà:ŋ/ 'one side of earrings'	/kʰà:ŋ/	√	√	√
/tʰuŋtʰâwnɨ̃:ŋkʰà:ŋ/ 'one side of socks'	/kĩŋ/ /kʰà:ŋ/	√ √	√ -	√ -
/kə̀:pnɨ̃:ŋkʰà:ŋ/ 'one side of shoes'	/kĩŋ/ /kʰà:ŋ/	√ √	√ -	√ -
/tõ:nnɨ̂ə/ 'a piece of meat'	/tõ:n/ /ʔan/	√ √	√ √	√ -
/tõ:npʰǒnlamây/ 'a piece of fruit'	/kì:p/ /ŋïəŋ/	√ -	√ √	√ √
/kì:pkàtiəm/ 'a petal of garlic'	/kì:p/ /ŋïəŋ/	√ -	√ -	√ √
/kì:pdɔ̀:kmây/ 'a petal of a flower'	/kì:p/	√	√	√

APPENDIX II

Informants

G1

1. Miss Sukanya Phanthawee
2. Miss Rattanaporn Saywaw
3. Miss Rattana Boonsu
4. Miss Sajeeporn Sarakarn

G2

1. Mrs Warunee Utsa
2. Miss Sirirak Sonrak
3. Miss Boonsong Raksasri
4. Miss Prayong Natee

G3

1. Miss Yuppayong Natee
2. Mrs. Lameadsri Sarakarn
3. Mrs. Mun Phenpha
4. Mrs. Banjong natee

BIOGRAPHY

NAME	Miss Sirisuda Thongchalerm
DATE OF BIRTH	07 April 1979
PLACE OF BIRTH	Ubon Ratchathani, Thailand
INSTITUTIONS ATTENDED	Rajabhat Institute Ubon Ratchathani, 1997-2000 Bachelor of Arts (English) Mahidol University, 2003- 2007 Master of Arts (Linguistics)
RESEARCH GRANT	Faculty of Graduate Studies, Mahidol University 2006
HOME ADDRESS	422 / 2 Moo 11 Khamyai Sub-district Muang District, Ubon Ratchathani 34000
OFFICE	Faculty of Education, Ubon Ratchathani Rajabhat University, Muang District Ubon Rachathani Province 34000 Tel. 0-4535-2000-29 Ext. 1221 Position: Lecturer