Department of Linguistics, Payap University

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The social stratification of Standard Thai accents in Chiang Mai

Research No. 208

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Abstract

The social stratification of Standard Thai accents in Chiang Mai

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This paper is a report on research done on the pronunciation of Standard Thai consonant clusters by various female residents in Chiang Mai. Consonant clusters where the second element of the cluster is (r) and (l) are often simplified in casual speech so that the (r) or (l) is not pronounced. Such behavior has been studied in Bangkok Thai (Beebe, as reported in Smalley 1994) and related to the social class of the speaker. This project studied consonant clusters in the speech of fifteen employees of Payap University and several employees of three businesses in Chiang Mai. The research found a strong correlation between consonant cluster production and occupation, and a strong correlation between consonant cluster production and speech style.

บทคัดย่อ

การศึกษาการแปรเสียงคำควบกล้ำในภาษาไทยมาตรฐานในจังหวัดเชียงใหม่

พี. เดวิด เจฟฟรี

มหาวิทยาลัยพายัพ และ สถาบันนานาชาติ SIL

รายงานฉบับนี้ศึกษาการออกเสียงคำควบกล้ำในภาษาไทยมาตรฐาน โดยมีกลุ่มตัวอย่างเป็นเพศหญิงซึ่งอาศัยอยู่ในจังหวัดเชียงใหม่ พบว่าในภาษาพูดเสียงควบกล้ำ ร ล มักไม่ออกเสียง ซึ่งได้ผลตรงกับการศึกษาความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างการออกเสียงคำควบกล้ำในภาษาไทยกรุงเทพกับชั้นสังคมไทย (บีบี ใน สมอลลี 1994) งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ศึกษาการออกเสียงของพนักงานมหาวิทยาลัยพายัพจำนวน 15 คน และพนักงานห้างสรรพสินค้าอีกจำนวน 15 คน ผลวิจัยพบว่าอาชีพและวัจนลีลาเป็นตัวแปรสำคัญที่กำหนดการแปรของการออกเสียงนี้

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1. Introduction

1.1 Variation studies in sociolinguistics

Studies of the variability of language and its link to social factors have become one of most important sections of the research agenda of sociolinguistics (Chambers 2003:1). This sub-field of sociolinguistics began to a large measure with the groundbreaking work of William Labov and his colleagues in the 1960's in New York City (Labov 1966 and many others). Since then similar studies have been done in many locations around the world, such that the study of variation in language can now be called "the core of the sociolinguistic expertise" (Chambers et al 2002:1).

Variation studies focus on examining 'linguistic variables', phonological and/or grammatical alternation in language that correlates with social factors such as age, gender, education and social class. In Labov's 1962 study in New York City, the presence (or absence) of the linguistic variable (r) in the speech of people who worked in department stores was found to correlate closely with the social level of the store (Labov 1972). People who worked in higher-class stores produced more of the standard forms of the variable than those who worked in lower class stores.

Research on linguistic variables has also focused on their sensitivity to the style of speech. People tend to use more standard forms of language when style becomes more formal. When less formal styles are used there is a higher incidence of less standard forms. Trudgill found in his study of English accents in Norwich (Trudgill 1974) that each of the five social classes he tested produced more standard forms of the linguistic variable (ng) when reading a word list, a very formal style, than when they were using more casual styles such as reading a passage or informal conversation.

All languages contain such linguistic variables, and Standard Thai is no exception. Standard Thai is characterized by regular simplification of consonant clusters where /r/ and /l/ are the second consonant in the cluster (Higbie and Thinsan 2002:xvii). The standard or prestige pronunciation includes the /r/ or /l/, matching the orthographic form of the word, but the simplified pronunciation has only the initial consonant. For example, table 1 gives the full and simplified pronunciations of some common words.

Consonant cluster	Orthographic form	Full pronunciation	Simplified pronunciation	Meaning
pl	pla	pla	pa	fish
kl	klua	klua	kua	fear (verb)
p^hr	p^hrik	p^hrik	p^hik	spice
kr	krap	krap	kap	(masc. final particle)

Table 1. Full and simplified pronunciations of some common standard Thai words

Research has indicated that there is a link between consonant cluster simplification in Thai and social class. In his study of Standard Thai in Bangkok, Beebe (cited in Smalley 1994:29) analyzed interviews with people from five different social classes (his highest class was 'professional', then 'managerial', 'semi-professional', 'semi-skilled', and 'unskilled'). Beebe found that people whose occupational class was high pronounced many more full consonant clusters on average than people of lower social classes. Clusters where the second consonant was (w) were the most likely to be pronounced, followed by consonant clusters with (l) and

(r). Beebe's study examined interviews, which implies that only one style was examined, that of formal recorded interview. See figure 1.

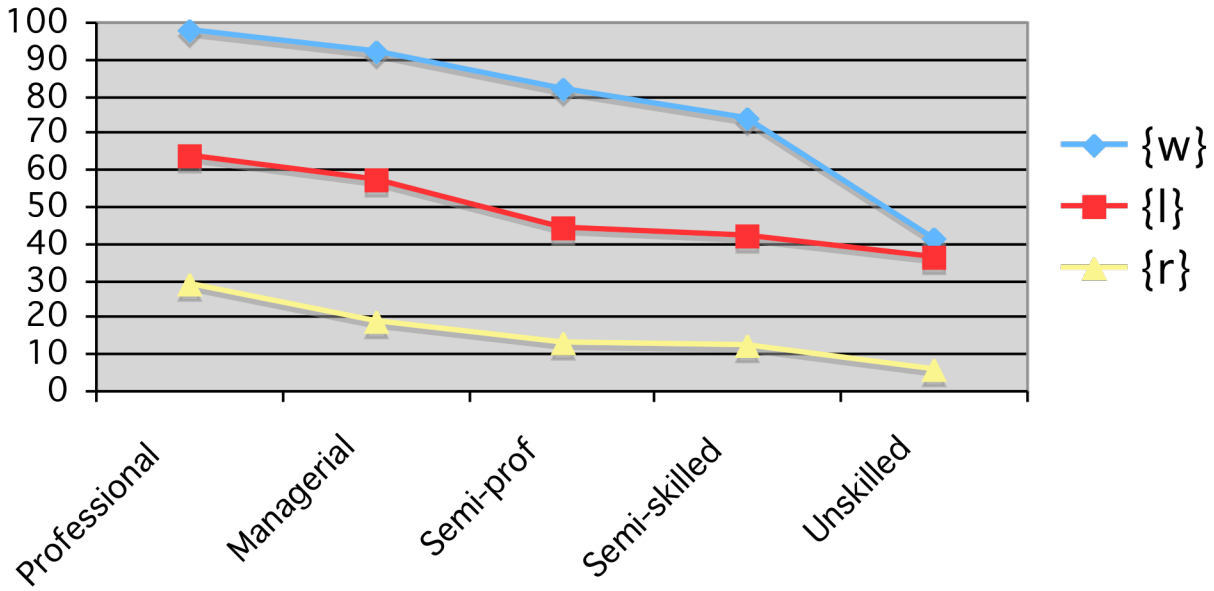

Figure 1. Comparison of occupational class and average consonant cluster production in recorded interviews (from Beebe, in Smalley 1994: 30)

Such consonant cluster simplification is common to other Tai languages. "Tai languages have long been undergoing cluster reduction that has been especially strong with {r} clusters, so that many Tai languages have no clusters of this kind left, and Standard Thai is headed in that direction" (Smalley 1994:30). A Tai language that has lost most of its consonant clusters is Kammuang, the Thai dialect spoken in northern Thailand. In words that are similar in Kammuang and Standard Thai, and the Standard Thai version has consonant clusters where the second consonant is (r) or (l), the Kammuang version will have only the first consonant. See Table 2.

English	**Ideal Standard Thai**	**Kammuang**
pepper sauce	namphrik	naamphik
family	khoopkhrua	khoopkhua
fish	plaa	paa
dare	klaa	kaa

Table 2. Comparison of similar Standard Thai and Kammuang words showing simplification of consonant clusters in Kammuang (from Smalley 1994:76)

Studying variation in Standard Thai in Chiang Mai means working with people whose ability in Standard Thai was learned in school and reinforced by media and literature. Virtually all educated Northern Thai people in the city of Chiang Mai speak Standard Thai at a high level of fluency. Higher education in the Thai school system would give more practice to people and would lead to more standard forms. As well, higher social class would lead people to adopt standard speech patterns. However, if Kammuang has fewer consonant clusters than Standard Thai, it would seem that when Kammuang speakers speak Standard Thai, there would be a tendency to simplify the clusters. So northern Thai speakers of Standard Thai

should display similar patterns of consonant cluster simplification as their Bangkok-based mother tongue Standard Thai cousins.

1.2 Introduction to the research project

This research project was designed as a class activity for AL608 Sociolinguistics students. Two classes were involved, the 2005 and 2006 classes. In what follows, Phase 1 describes the research done by the class of 2005, and Phase 2 the research done by the class of 2006.[1]

The project began with the following research question: Is there a link between the variable pronunciation of certain consonant clusters in Thai and the occupation of the speakers? Occupation was chosen as a straightforward way of inferring social class rather than a more elaborate index of education, income, etc.[2]

This research question led to the following research goals:

1. To see whether Standard Thai speakers in Chiang Mai demonstrate the same pattern of variation by social class as similar studies of Standard Thai in Bangkok.
2. To give students a chance to do real sociolinguistic research and see the process of data collection and data analysis.

The following two hypotheses were made prior to the research; first, higher-class speakers will produce comparatively more full clusters, whereas lower class speakers will produce comparatively fewer full clusters. Second, all speakers will produce more full clusters in more formal styles.

[1] I acknowledge here with gratitude the hard work of these two AL608 classes. Phase 1 participants were David Greninger, Anne Osborne, Hsar Shee, Khar Thuan, Eddie Clark and Gillian Day. Phase 2 participants were Vong Tsuh Shi, Emily Lewis, Kari Gustafson, Wendy Chamberlain, Upai Jasa, Krisda Tan, Tsuyoshi Midomaru, Jared Harper, and Tom Tebow. Aj. Prang Thiengburanathum was my T.A. for the 2006 session and was a great help in organizing interviews and accompanied one group of students.

[2] A number of recent studies (Chambers 2003:52-55) have discovered that occupation alone is a sufficient indicator of social class.

2. Methodology

2.1 Research instrument

A research instrument was prepared and used in both phases of this research.[3] The instrument was used in the course of an interview that was led by one of the student researchers. The instrument had three sections. Section 1 obtained demographic information on each subject, including education and occupation. Section 2 asked them to read a short story in Thai. Section 3 asked the subjects to read a list of words. Both the story and the word lists had many examples of the four linguistic variables chosen for study, (kl), (pl), (pr) and (p^hr). Interviews were taped so that they could be analyzed later. Appendix 1 has a copy of this research instrument, and Appendix 2 has a free English translation of the story.

For the benefit of some students who could not read Thai, the entire story was transliterated into IPA. A score sheet was prepared that highlighted the consonant clusters that were being analyzed. If a full cluster was pronounced, a check was placed on the score sheet. Total full clusters pronounced in the story reading and word list were summarized at the bottom of the score sheet. See Appendix 3. Scores were then entered into an Excel spreadsheet for analysis.

2.2 Research project, Phase 1

In phase 1 of this research, student teams interviewed three different groups of employees at Payap University. All subjects were female natives of northern Thailand (therefore, L1: Kammuang, L2: Standard Thai). 5 teachers, 5 secretaries, and 5 housekeepers were interviewed. See Table 3.

	Average Age	Average years in school
Teachers	39	18
Secretaries	39.6	15.6
Housekeepers	36.2	5.8

Table 3. Occupation, average age and average years in school for subjects in Phase 1.

2.3 Research project, Phase 2

In phase 2 of this research, student teams interviewed employees of three different businesses in Chiang Mai. All subjects were female natives of northern Thailand (therefore, L1: Kammuang, L2: Standard Thai). The subjects were five employees each from Robinson, Carrefour and a local Thai market called Talad Ruam Chowk. These three businesses are stratified as to social level, where Robinson is high class, Carrefour is middle class, and Talad Ruam Chowk is 'working' class.

	Average Age	Average years in school
Robinson	29	14.4
Carrefour	27.2	15.2
Talad Ruam Chowk	27	13

Table 4. Place of employment, average age, and average years in school for subjects in Phase 2.

[3] Aj. Prang Thiengburanathum was a great help in developing the Thai version of the story. Her grasp of Thai gave the story a natural quality that the subjects enjoyed.

3. Findings and Analysis

3.1 Phase 1: Findings

Tables 5, 6 and 7 give raw total scores and percentage of use of the standard forms of the consonant clusters in the text and word list for the teachers, secretaries and cleaning ladies respectively. We see in these findings significant differences in levels of production of full consonant clusters between the subjects in the three occupations. The teachers produce the greatest number of full clusters, followed by the secretaries, and the cleaning ladies produced the fewest number of standard forms.

	kl	pl	pr	p^hr
Reading story: total utterances of standard form	42/50	70/85	36/45	31/35
Reading story: percentage use of standard form	84.0	82.4	80.0	88.6
Word list: total utterances of standard form	25/25	25/25	24/24	25/25
Word list: percentage use of standard form	100	100	100	100

Table 5. Raw scores and percentage use of standard forms for 5 teachers

	kl	pl	pr	p^hr
Reading story: total utterances of standard form	30/50	62/85	31/45	29/35
Reading story: percentage use of standard form	60.0	72.9	68.9	82.9
Word list: total utterances of standard form	20/25	20/25	23/25	22/25
Word list: percentage use of standard form	80.0	80.0	92.0	88.0

Table 6. Raw scores and percentage use of standard forms for 5 secretaries

	kl	pl	pr	p^hr
Reading story: total utterances of standard form	11/50	16/85	4/45	9/35
Reading story: percentage use of standard form	22.0	18.8	8.9	25.7
Word list: total utterances of standard form	17/25	13/25	14/25	12/25
Word list: percentage use of standard form	68.0	54.2	56.0	50.0

Table 7. Raw scores and percentage use of standard forms for 5 cleaning ladies

Figures 2, 3 and 4 compare the percentage difference in the two speech styles for each occupation. In variationist sociolinguistics, the word list style is considered to be a more formal style than the reading story style. In each chart it is clear that more full clusters were produced when subjects were reading the word lists than when they read the story.

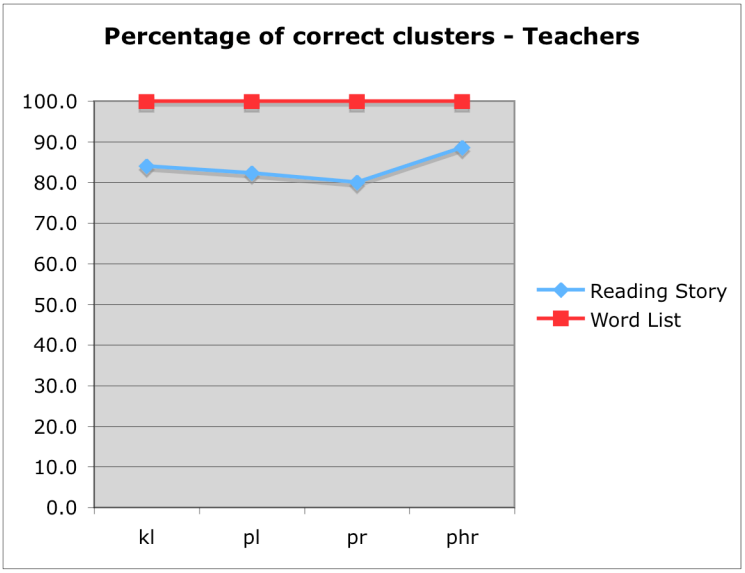

Figure 2. Percentage of full clusters, comparing styles, for teachers

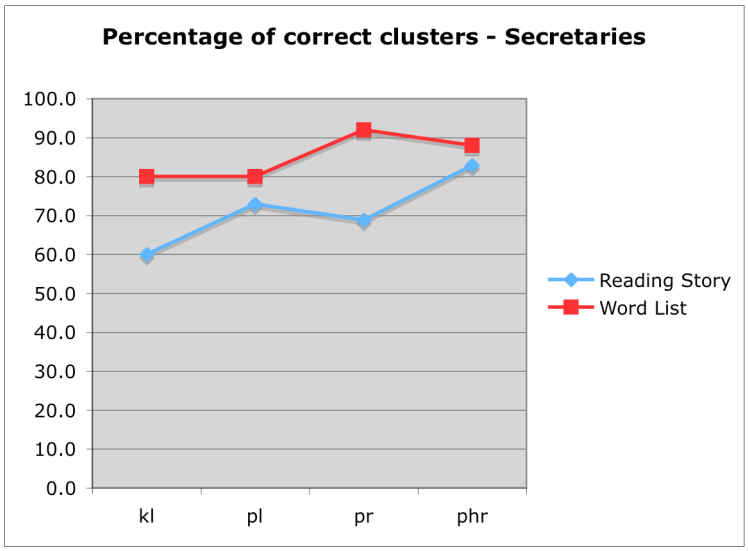

Figure 3. Percentage of full clusters, comparing styles, for secretaries

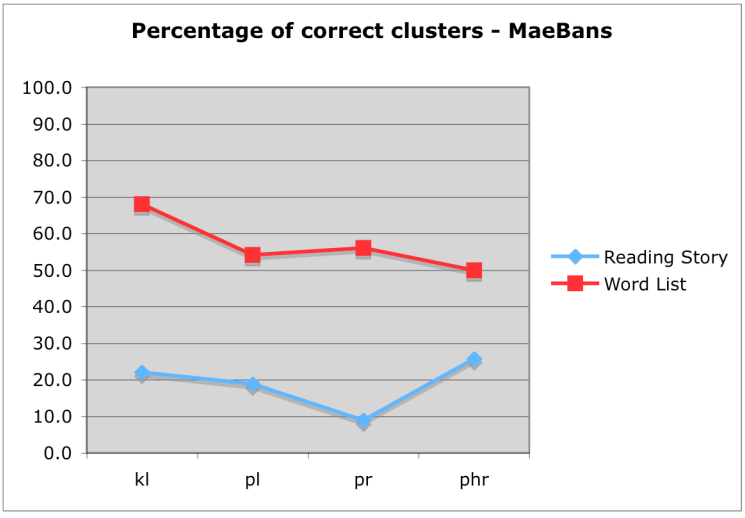

Figure 4. Percentage of full clusters, comparing styles, for cleaning ladies

When the three occupations were compared for each style, a clear stratification by occupation resulted. Figure 5 compares the percentage scores on reading the story and Figure 6 compares scores for the word list.

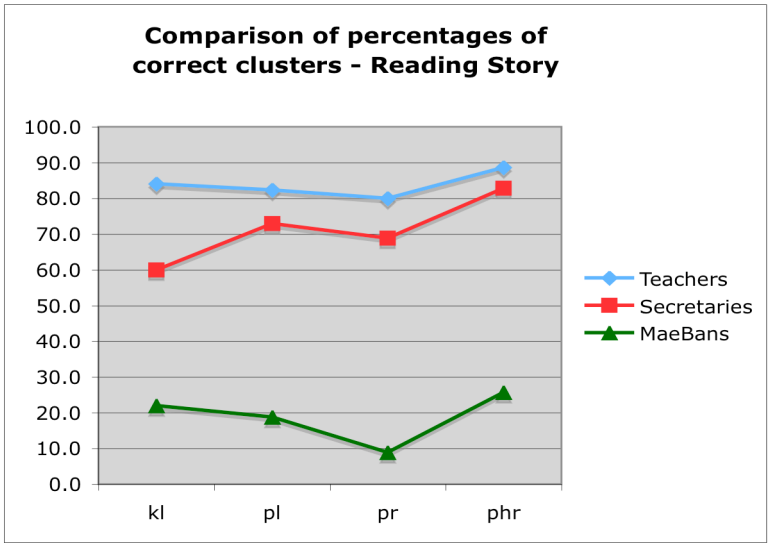

Figure 5. Comparison by occupation of percentage scores of full clusters on reading story

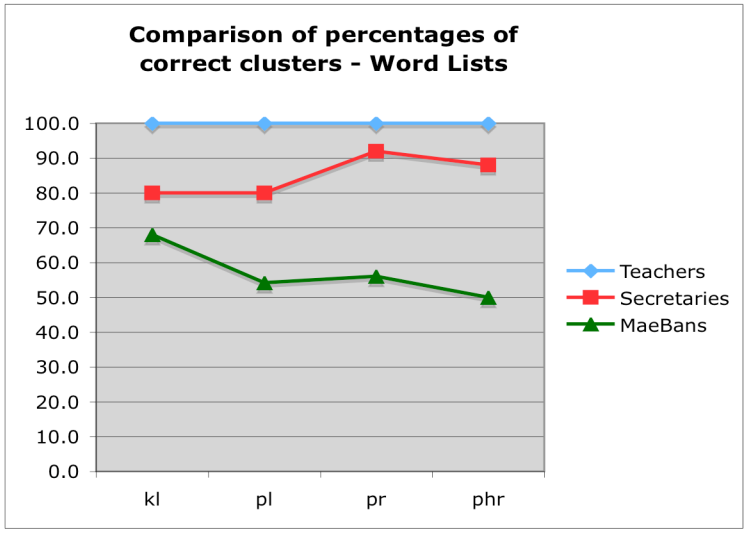

Figure 6. Comparison by occupation of percentage scores of full clusters on word lists

3.2 Phase 1: Analysis

The findings in Phase 1 of the research appear to support both hypotheses. Subjects in higher-class occupations, i.e. teachers, produced more full consonant clusters than those in the lower class occupations. All occupations produced more full consonant clusters when reading word lists than when reading stories.

Results of Phase 1 were also analyzed with respect to whether (r) or (l) was the second member of the consonant cluster. The scores for (kl) and (pl) were combined and compared with the scores of (pr) and (phr) combined. This was done to compare the findings of Phase 1 with Beebe's findings for Bangkok Thai (see Section 1.0), where clusters with (l) as the second member were more likely to be pronounced completely than consonants with (r).

Figure 7 shows the scores for all three occupations on the reading story style. Figure 8 shows scores for the word list.

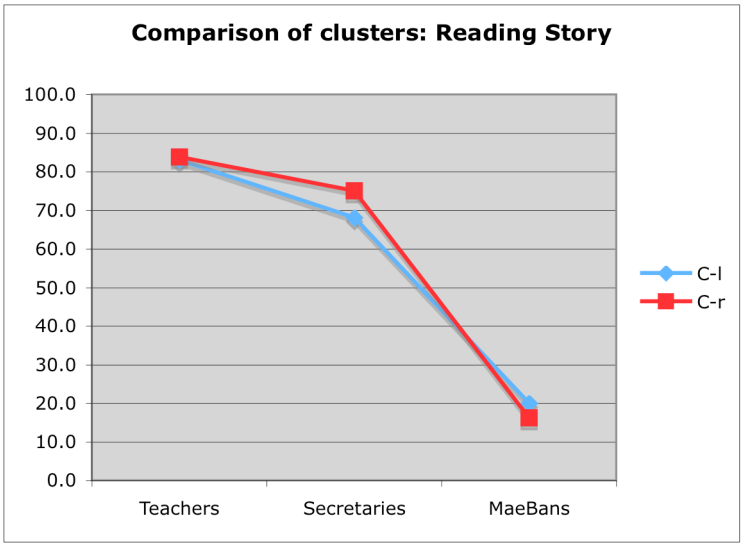

Figure 7. Comparison by occupation of percentage scores for (r) and (l) clusters on reading story

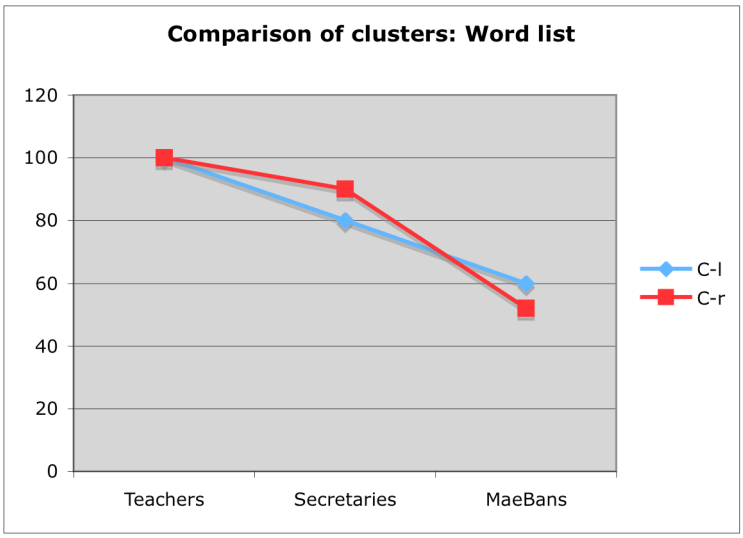

Figure 8. Comparison by occupation of percentage scores for (r) and (l) clusters on word list

It is evident that the subjects did not vary significantly in their frequency of pronunciation of clusters with (-l) as opposed to clusters with (-r). This is quite different from Beebe's findings for Bangkok Thai, where the clusters with (-l) were pronounced much more often than clusters with (-r). Possibly if more subjects were interviewed in Chiang Mai, the same pattern would emerge. It is also possible that Standard Thai spoken in Chiang Mai does not vary in the same way, and clusters with (-l) vary at approximately the same rate as clusters with (-r).

3.3 Phase 2: Findings

Tables 8, 9 and 10 give raw total scores and percentage of use of the standard forms of the consonant clusters in the text and word list for the employees at Robinson, Carrefour and Talad Ruam Chowk. We see in these findings relatively clear differences of production of full consonant clusters in the reading story section, where the Robinson employees scored higher than the Carrefour employees, who in turn had higher scores than those at Talad Ruam

Chowk. However, the word list results are quite different, the Carrefour employees performed at the highest level followed by the Robinson employees, with the Talad Ruam Chowk employees even scoring higher than the Robinson employees on production of (p^hr).

	kl	pl	pr	p^hr
Reading story: total utterances of standard form	27/50	37/85	28/45	24/35
Reading story: percentage use of standard form	52	43.5	62.2	68.6
Word list: total utterances of standard form	20/25	17/25	17/25	17/25
Word list: percentage use of standard form	80	68	70.8	68

Table 8. Raw scores and percentage us of standard forms for 5 employees at Robinson

	kl	pl	pr	p^hr
Reading story: total utterances of standard form	29/50	29/85	14/45	20/35
Reading story: percentage use of standard form	58	34.1	31.1	57.1
Word list: total utterances of standard form	21/25	22/25	23/25	25/25
Word list: percentage use of standard form	84	88	92	100

Table 9. Raw scores and percentage us of standard forms for 5 employees at Carrefour

	kl	pl	pr	p^hr
Reading story: total utterances of standard form	28/50	20/85	10/45	15/35
Reading story: percentage use of standard form	56	23.5	22.2	42.9
Word list: total utterances of standard form	14/25	13/25	17/25	23/25
Word list: percentage use of standard form	56	54.2	68	95.8

Table 10. Raw scores and percentage us of standard forms for 5 employees at Talad Ruam Chowk.

Figures 9, 10 and 11 compare the percentage difference in the two speech styles for each place of employment. In each chart it is clear that more full clusters were produced when subjects were reading the word lists than when they read the story, although in both the Robinson and Talad Ruam Chowk charts there is one place where the scores for both activities are actually identical.

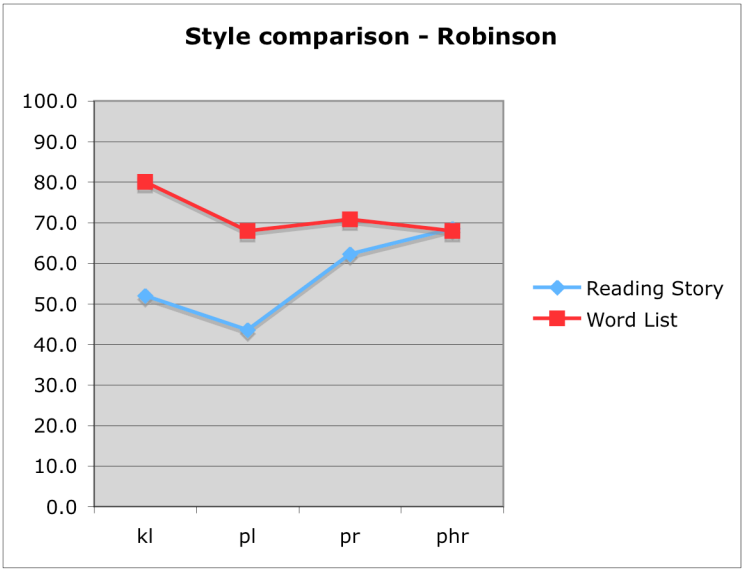

Figure 9. Percentage of full clusters, comparing styles, for Robinson employees

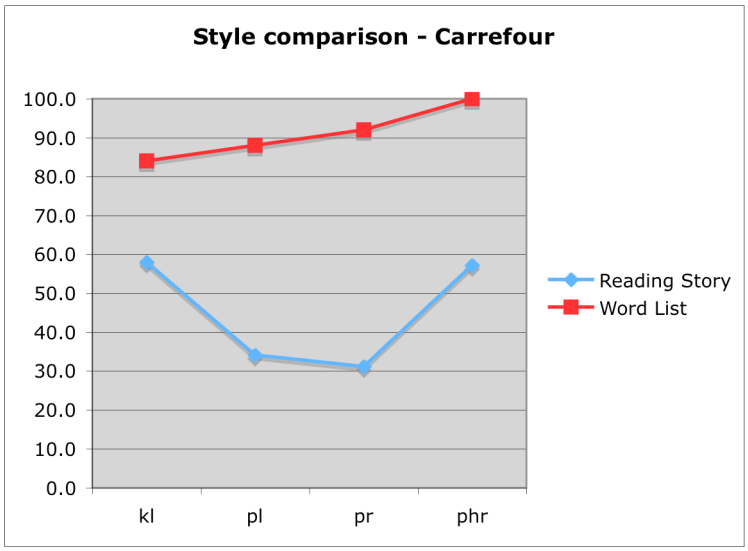

Figure 10. Percentage of full clusters, comparing styles, for Carrefour employees

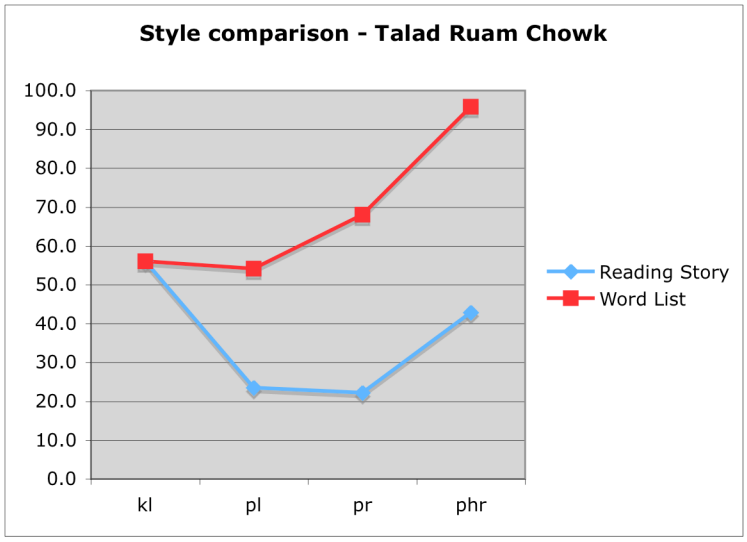

Figure 11. Percentage of full clusters, comparing styles, for Talad Ruam Chowk employees

When the three places of employment are compared for each style, some inconsistencies emerge. Figure 12 compares the percentage scores on reading the story, and here we see clear stratification by social level, with Robinson employees outperforming Carrefour employees on 3 out of 4 cluster scores, with Talad Ruam Chowk employees consistently below the other two. However, Figure 13, comparing the percentage scores on word lists, is quite different, with the Robinson employees scores winding in between the other two scores. Note that although the Robinson scores are inconsistent, the Carrefour scores remain higher than the Talad Ruam Chowk scores.

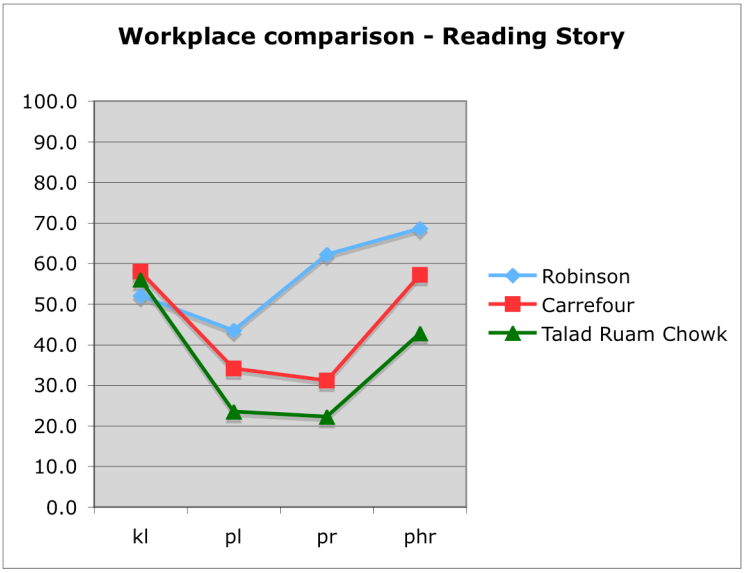

Figure 12. Comparison by place of employment of percentage scores of full clusters on reading story style

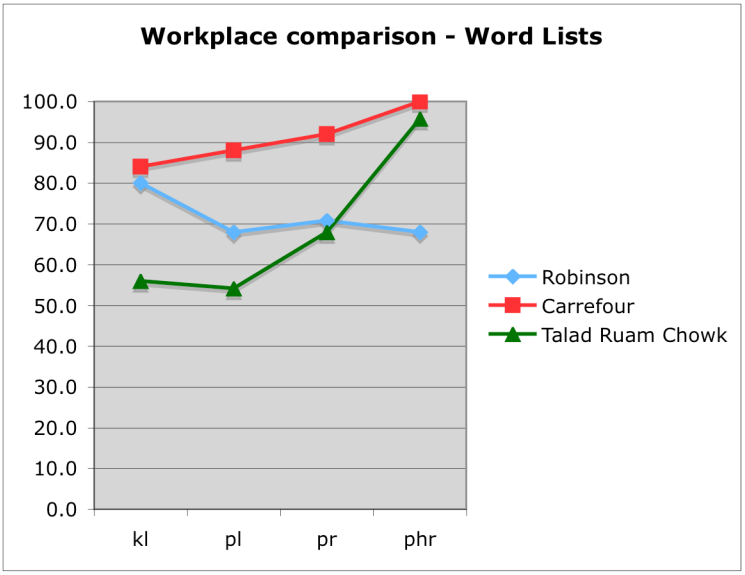

Figure 13. Comparison by place of employment of percentage scores of full clusters on word list style

At the suggestion of one of the student groups, the results of Phase 2 were reanalyzed using age of subject as a criterion. The average age of all subjects was 27 years, so the scores for all subjects were divided into two groups, those whose age was younger than 27 and those whose age was 27 and older. There were 8 subjects in the 27 and over group and 7 in the under 27 group. The class suggested the following hypothesis: older subjects will produce more standard forms of the linguistic variable in question than the younger subjects.

This regrouping led to a fair level of consistency in results, with the older group outperforming the younger. Figures 14 and 15 show the scores for each age group according to style. Both ages perform as expected, with scores on the more formal word list style higher than the reading story style.

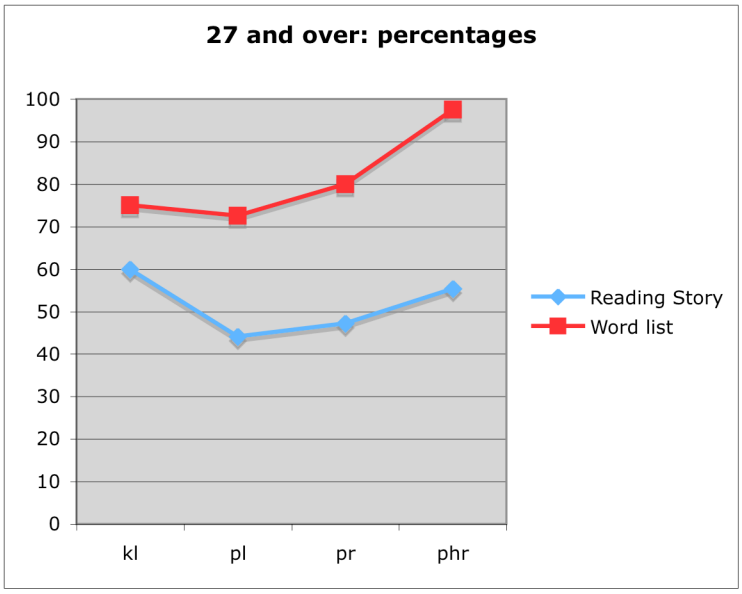

Figure 14. Percentage of full clusters, comparing styles, for 27 and over group

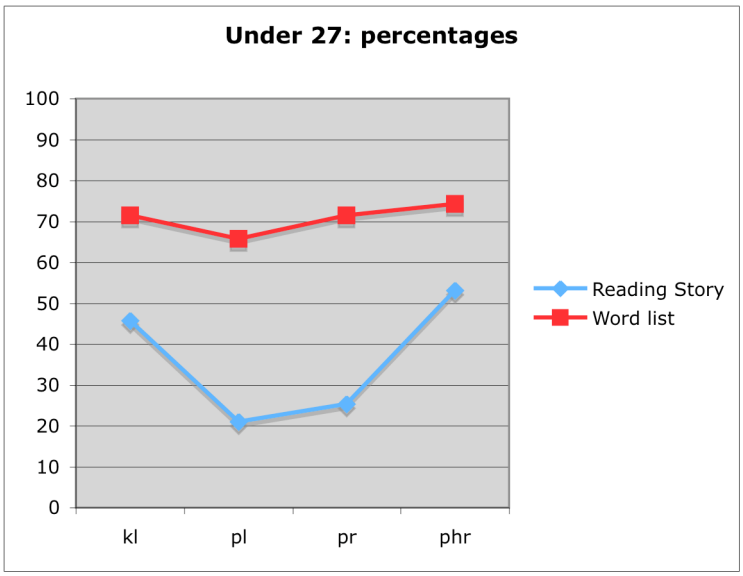

Figure 15. Percentage of full clusters, comparing styles, for under 27 group

When the two age groups were compared, the older group showed consistently higher percentage scores for both styles, although the scores were quite close. See Figures 16 and 17.

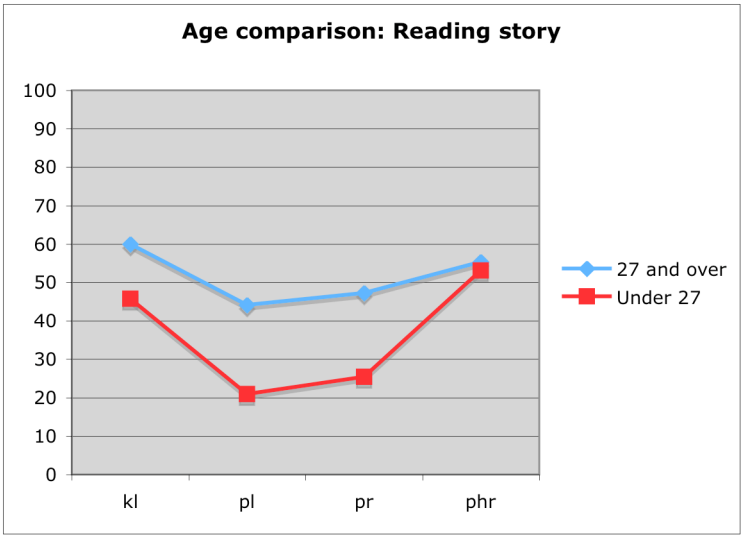

Figure 16. Percentage of full clusters, comparing age groups, for reading story

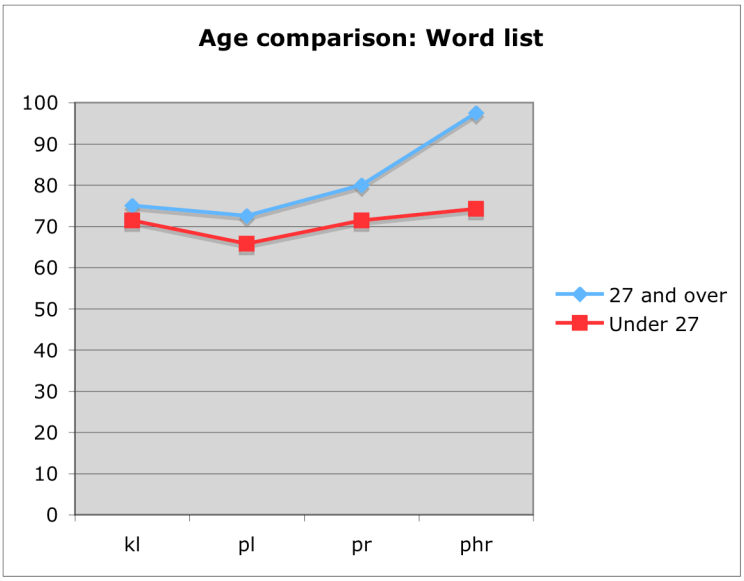

Figure 17. Percentage of full clusters, comparing age groups, for word list

3.4 Phase 2: Analysis

The data seems to offer modest support for the first hypothesis and strong support for the second hypothesis. The first hypothesis predicted that employees of Robinson would use more standard forms than employees from Carrefour, and that both groups would use more standard forms than employees of Talad Ruam Chowk. Figures 12 and 13 show that the scores from the subjects from Carrefour and Talad Ruam Chowk are arranged as anticipated, with the Carrefour subjects having consistently higher scores than the Talad Ruam Chowk subjects. The Robinson subjects did not behave as consistently, with the scores for Robinson subjects falling between and in one case lower than the other two sets of scores on the word list test in Figure 13. However, Figure 12 shows the Robinson subjects performing as expected, with higher scores than subjects at the other two businesses.

The reason for the inconsistent performance of the Robinson employees is not clear. One of the interview team at Robinson was himself from north Thailand, and his approach to the interview may have led the subjects to behave more casually, and produce fewer full

consonant clusters. The student group wondered if the low performance was due to the fact that most of the Robinson employees were quite young, and their age led to lower performance.

Figures 14 and 15 seem to support the second hypothesis. Subjects from all three businesses produced a higher rate of full consonant clusters in the word list style than in the reading story style. In two places the scores do overlap, with more subjects these scores may diverge more.

When the data for Phase 2 was reanalyzed according to age of subject, the resulting scores offer support for both hypotheses. The revised age hypothesis was that older subjects will produce more standard forms of the linguistic variable in question than the younger subjects, and Figures 16 and 17 demonstrate this pattern. Figures 18 and 19 show that both age groups differ according the style hypothesis, with scores for both groups on the word list style being higher than the scores on the reading story style.

4. Conclusions

4.2 Conclusions related to the research goals

The two phases of this research project demonstrate that Chiang Mai speakers of Standard Thai do show similar patterns of consonant cluster simplification as their Bangkok cousins. As well, the subjects demonstrated the difference in performance in different styles, with the more formal word list style leading to more full consonant cluster production than the reading story style.

Students also appreciated the opportunity to do guided research as a preliminary step before going on to independent research. Several students were amazed when the results conformed so well to the hypotheses.

4.2 Further research

This study has uncovered a number of topics worthy of further research. As all of the subjects in both Phases 1 and 2 were women, it would be interesting to see how male subjects pattern. Clark (2005) interviewed 15 male subjects at Payap University and found similar correlations between consonant cluster simplification and occupation and style.

Another area of future research would be to explore more casual styles. Formal interviews could be recorded, with discussion focusing on words containing the linguistic variables being studied. For this the assistance of several native Thai speakers would be required to conduct the interviews and analyze the recordings.

One more area of further research would be to explore further the link between age and consonant cluster simplification. The reanalysis in Phase 2 by age was not completely clear, with scores of both age groups remaining close. Further research may give clues as to the direction of sound change.

4.3 Final comments

Many parts of language are categorical, i.e. they do not vary from speaker to speaker. The meaning of the verb *sing*, the position of the English preposition in a prepositional phrase, and the declension of the verb *to have* are examples of fixed items in the English language. Other parts of language are variable, including phonological variables such as the form of the suffix *–ing* (-iŋ/-in) and grammatical variables such as the double negative (I don't have any/I ain't got none).

Both the categorical and the variable elements are part of a community's *communicative competence*, the way they actually talk (Chambers et al 2002: 8). Members of a speech community use their communicative competence to speak appropriately with the different people they meet. The variability encountered in language is a clue to social distinctions in the community. People talk like those with whom they identify, the speech community of which they consider themselves to be a part.

Variability in language is one way of categorizing people, of figuring out where they fit in the pecking order of life. Although both standard and non-standard forms of linguistic variables are part of the speech of all social classes, it is the *frequency* with which they are used that is distinctive and socially significant. Something like the following sequence seems to be behind our perception of such variability:

- People prefer to sound like the speech community they identify with (casual speech).

- People also learn a standard and can perform if necessary (formal style speech).
- But their performance is almost always imperfect. Factors like class, education, age, etc. seem to condition a person's actual ability.
- We learn certain combinations of social factors and their link to performance, and can use this knowledge to identify and classify the individuals we relate to.

How does such variability in language relate to language change? We have discussed earlier that many other Tai languages have lost their consonant clusters. Does consonant cluster simplification in Standard Thai mean that this language too will one day not pronounce its orthographic consonant clusters? Or will variability in pronunciation of consonant clusters be an enduring, lasting differential between social classes that will remain part of the social fabric of Thailand for many years to come? On the one hand, the fact that clusters have died out in other Thai languages makes it seem like this variability is part of an ongoing change in the language family to which Standard Thai will one day succumb. On the other hand, the fact that evidence for a similar variation was found in Bangkok almost 35 years ago, and is found today in a different speech community here in Chiang Mai, could mean something much more permanent. We trust that further research in the Tai languages can lead to a convincing answer to this question.

Appendix 1: Biodata and word list

Questionnaire for AL608 Sociolinguistics

Subject name (ชื่อ):_____ Gender: M/F Age (อายุ):_____
Birthplace (สถานที่เกิด):_____ Education (การศึกษา) _____
Occupation (อาชีพ):_____ Date of Interview:_____

Please read the following passage at normal speed. (กรุณาอ่านเรื่องข้างล่างนี้ด้วยระดับความเร็วปกติ) (separate page)

Please read the following words at normal speed. (กรุณาอ่านคำข้างล่างนี้ด้วยระดับความเร็วปกติ)

ประเทศ	ไกล	พร้อม	ปลา
พริก	ปลอด	ประตู	เกลี้ยง
กลาง	พรวด	ประมาณ	พระ
ปรับ	กลับ	ปลิง	ปล่อย
ปลง	ปราบ	กลัว	พราย

Score for word list: Check if full cluster is pronounced

ประเทศ	p□		ไกล	kl		พร้อม	p□□		ปลา	pl	
พริก	p□□		ปลอด	pl		ประตู	p□		เกลี้ยง	kl	
กลาง	kl		พรวด	p□□		ประมาณ	p□		พระ	p□□	
ปรับ	p□		กลับ	kl		ปลิง	pl		ปล่อย	pl	
ปลง	pl		ปราบ	p□		กลัว	kl		พราย	p□□	

Total full clusters:

p□	/5	p□□	/5	kl	/5	pl	/5

Appendix 2: English translation of *The Pastor and the Fish* story

On an island there was a village of fishermen. One day there was a big storm and many of the fishermen's boats were damaged. Only one boat was saved from the waves. The people were afraid that they would starve with only one boat to fish for everyone. The fishermen asked the pastor of the church to pray for them. The pastor said he would come with them in the boat and pray for them while they fished.

Near the village a fish was swimming in the ocean. The fish was big and strong and had escaped from the fishermen's nets many times. The big fish was proud and often told the other fish, I am smarter than men! Their nets will never catch me! That morning the big fish was busy feeding and did not notice the fishermen's boat. The boat was pulling a net and soon the big fish was caught in the net with many other fish. The other fish yelled to the big fish, Run and save yourself! The big fish gathered his strength and leaped out of the water. He leaped right into the boat.

Out of the water the fish could not breathe and began to die. He looked up and saw the pastor and thought he was a priest. The fish said to the pastor, "O priest, save me! Throw me back into the water!" The pastor said, "Why should I throw you back? I am praying that many fish will be caught today" The fish said, "Priests do not eat meat! Have mercy on me and save my life!" The pastor took out a knife and picked up the fish. The fish said, "What kind of priest are you?" The pastor said, "Don’t you know Christians eat meat? You should come to church more often."

Appendix 3: Thai version of the Pastor and the fish story

กาลครั้งหนึ่งนานมาแล้ว มีหมู่บ้านชาวประมงแห่งหนึ่งตั้งอยู่บนเกาะกลางทะเล
อยู่มาวันหนึ่งเกิดพายุลูกใหญ่พัดกระหน่ำหมู่บ้าน
สร้างความเสียหายให้กับเรือประมงของชาวบ้านอย่างใหญ่หลวง
มีเรือประมงอยู่เพียงลำเดียวเท่านั้นที่รอดพ้นจากมหันตภัยของคลื่นยักษ์นี้
ชาวบ้านต่างกลัวว่าพวกเขาจะต้องอดตายเพราะมีเรือจับปลาเหลืออยู่แค่ลำเดียว
ไม่พอที่จะหาปลามาให้ทุกคนกินได้
ชาวประมงคนหนึ่งจึงขอบาทหลวงที่โบสถ์ให้ออกเรือไปจับปลาด้วยกัน
เพื่อช่วยสวดมนต์อธิฐานต่อพระผู้เป็นเจ้าให้จับปลากลับมาได้เยอะๆ

ใกล้ๆหมู่บ้าน มีปลาตัวหนึ่ง ตัวมันทั้งใหญ่และแข็งแรง
ไม่ว่าจะถูกจับมากี่ครั้งต่อกี่ครั้งมันก็หนีลอดจากแหของชาวประมงได้เสมอ
เจ้าปลายักษ์แสนจะภาคภูมิใจในความเก่งกล้าของมัน เที่ยวอวดให้ปลาตัวอื่นๆฟังอยู่เสมอว่า
“ข้าฉลาดกว่าพวกมนุษย์ ไม่มีทางที่พวกมันจะจับข้าได้หรอก”

และเช้าวันนั้น ขณะที่เจ้าปลายักษ์กำลังเพลิดเพลินกับการหาอาหาร
ไม่ทันสังเกตเห็นว่าเรือประมงได้เข้ามาอยู่ใกล้ๆ ในที่สุดมันก็ถูกจับไปพร้อมกับปลาตัวอื่นๆ
“เจ้าปลายักษ์รีบว่ายหนีไปเร็ว” เหล่าปลาพากันตะโกนบอก
เจ้าปลายักษ์รวบรวมกำลังทั้งหมดดีดตัวกระโจนขึ้นเหนือน้ำ และร่วงหล่นลงตรงใจกลางเรือ

เมื่อไม่มีน้ำเจ้าปลาจอมโอ่ก็หายใจไม่ออกและกำลังจะตาย มันเงยหน้าขึ้นมอง
เห็นบาทหลวงนั่งอยู่เข้าใจผิดคิดว่าเป็นพระ
“โอ้พระคุณเจ้า โปรดช่วยข้าด้วย โยนข้ากลับลงทะเลด้วยเถิด”
“ทำไมเราต้องช่วยเจ้าด้วย เรากำลังอธิษฐานต่อพระเจ้าให้ชาวบ้านจับปลาได้มากๆวันนี้”
บาทหลวงตอบ
“พระนั้นไม่กินเนื้อสัตว์ได้โปรดเมตตาข้า ช่วยชีวิตข้าด้วยเถิด” เจ้าปลาอ้อนวอน

บาทหลวงคว้ามีดและหยิบปลาขึ้นมา “ท่านเป็นพระภาษาอะไรกัน” ปลายักษ์ร้อง
“อ้าว เจ้าไม่รู้หรอกหรือว่าคน คริสเตียนเขากินเนื้อกัน เจ้าน่าจะมาโบสถ์ให้บ่อยกว่านี้นะ”

Appendix 4: Score sheet and IPA transliteration of Thai version of The Pastor and the Fish

The fish and the pastor story Speaker: _____

1) kala kʰɾaŋ niŋ nan ma lɛu mi muban tɕʰau pɾamoŋ ❑ hɛŋ niŋ taŋ ju bon kɔʔ klaŋ ❑ tʰale

2) ju ma wan niŋ kət pʰaju luk jai pʰat kɾanam muban saŋ kʰwam siahaj kap ɾia pɾamoŋ ❑ kʰɔŋ tɕʰau ban jaŋ jai luaŋ

3) mi ɾia pɾamoŋ ❑ ju pʰiaŋ lam diau tʰaunan tʰi lət pon tɕak mahantapai kʰɔŋ kʰlin jak ni

4) tɕʰau ban taŋ klua ❑ wa puak kʰao tɕa tɔk ʔot tai pɾɔʔ ❑ mi ɾia tɕap ban pla ❑ lia ju kʰɛ lam diau mai pɔ tʰi tɕa ha pla ❑ ma hai tʰuk kʰon kɯn dai

5) tɕʰau pɾamoŋ ❑ kʰon niŋ tɕiŋ kʰɔ bat luaŋ tʰi bot hai ʔɔk ɾia pai tɕap pla ❑ duaikan pʰia tɕʰuai suat mon ʔatʰɪtʰan tɔ pʰɾa ❑ pʰu pen tɕau hai tɕap pla ❑ klap ❑ ma dai jə jə

6) klai ❑ klai ❑ muban mi pla ❑ tua niŋ tua man tʰaŋ jai lɛ kʰɛŋɾɛŋ

7) mai wa tɕa tʰuk tɕap ma ki kʰɾaŋ tɔ ki kʰɾaŋ man kɔ ni lət tɕak hɛ kʰoŋ tɕʰau pɾamoŋ ❑ dai samə

8) tɕau pla ❑ jak sɛn tɕa pʰak pʰum tɕai nai kʰwam keŋ kla ❑ kʰɔŋ man tʰiau ʔuat hai pla ❑ tua ʔin ʔin faŋ ju samə wa "kʰa tɕʰalat kwa pʰuak manut mai mi tʰaŋ tʰi pʰuak man tɕa tɕab kʰa dai lɔk"

9) lɛ tɕʰau wan nan kʰana tʰi tɕau pla ❑ jak kamlaŋ pʰlət pʰlən kap kan ha ʔahan

10) mai tʰan saŋkɛt hen wa ɾia pɾa ❑ moŋ dai kʰau ma ju klai ❑ klai ❑ nai tʰisut man kɔ tʰuk tɕab pai pʰɾɔm ❑ kap pla ❑ tua ʔin ʔin

11) "tɕau pla ❑ jak ɾip wai ni pai leu" lau pla ❑ pʰa kan takon bɔk tɕau pla ❑ jak ɾuap ɾuam kamlaŋ tʰaŋmot dit tua kɾatɕon kʰin nia nam lɛ ɾuaŋ lon loŋ tɾoŋ tɕai klaŋ ❑ ɾia

12) mia mai mi nam tɕau pla ❑ tɕɔm ʔo kʰɔ hai tɕai mai ʔɔk lɛ kamlaŋ tɕa tai man ŋia na kʰin mɔŋ

13) hen bat luaŋ naŋ ju kʰau tɕa pʰit kʰit wa pen pʰɾa ❑

14) "o pʰɾa ❑ kʰun tɕau pɾɔt ❑ tɕʰuai kʰa duaj jon kʰa klap ❑ loŋ tʰale duaj tʰət"

15) "tammai ɾau tɔŋ tɕʰuai tɕau duaj ɾau kamlaŋ ʔatʰitʰan tɔ pʰɾa ❑ tɕau hai tɕʰau ban tɕap pla ❑ dai mak mak wanni" bat luaŋ top

16) "pʰɾa ❑ nan mai kɯn nɨa sat dai pɾɔt ❑ metta kʰa tɕʰuai tɕʰiwit kʰa duaj tʰət" tɕau pla ❑ ʔɔn wɔn

17) bat luaŋ kʰwa mit lɛ siəb pla ❑ kʰɨn ma "tʰan pen pʰɾa ❑ pʰasa ʔaɾai kan" pla ❑ jak ɾɔŋ

18) "ʔau tɕau mai ɾu lɔk ɾɨ wa kʰon kʰɾitsətian kʰau kɯn nɨa kan tɕau na tɕa ma bot hai bɔi kwani na"

Sentence	kl	pl	pɾ	pʰɾ
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
Total:	/10	/17	/9	/7

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