

CHAPTER 4

Syntactic structure of the secret phonological patterns

It is obvious that the language of the Thai blind is different from the language used by other Bangkok Thai speakers. We have mentioned in Chapter 3 that the secret language of the Thai blind consists of a mixture of normal Thai words and words of their own invention. It is certain that they use normal Thai words in their conversations but some words in their utterances are deviated from their natural forms in normal Thai. There is still a question of how they determine when they should use normal Thai words or words of their own invention in their utterances. In this chapter, we will look at the syntactic structure of an occurrence of the secret sound patterns in the utterances of the Thai blind.

In the preceding chapters, I have cited a variety of examples from the natural conversations of Thai blind. Those examples explicitly bring up a distinctive feature of the special language which needs further discussion. Those examples show that the Thai blind do not apply the secret sound patterns in every word in their conversations. Of course, there are certain rules governing the application of the secret sound patterns in the slot of a sentence in the speech of the Thai blind. The data provides evidence that there is a clear boundary in the separation of their utterances into small units and applies the secret sound patterns with certain kinds of words in those units. It is apparent that the Thai blind apply their in-group phonological patterns with content words rather than function words in their utterances.

In this chapter, we will first discuss the content and function words. Then, we will explore the syntactic structure of an occurrence of the secret sound patterns in an NP construction. Finally, we will proceed with a discussion of the occurrences of the sound patterns in a VP construction.

4.1 General concepts concerning content and function words

I have pointed out in Chapter 1 that Thai blind do not convert all words in their utterances into their in-group sound patterns to convey secrets among their peer members. The question of when they should transform the Thai words through the use of their in-group sound patterns and when they will retain the original forms remains. I hypothesized that the Thai blind will apply the secret sound patterns only with content words in the utterances. Before we discuss this point, let us discuss the

two concepts, content and function words, and then we will apply these concepts in our analysis later on in this chapter.

We can classify words in a language into two categories: Content Words and Function Words. Function words are closed class words while content words are open class words.

Random House Webster's Electronic Dictionary and Thesaurus (1988) describes a content word as "a word, typically a noun, verb, adjective, or adverb that carries semantic content, bearing reference to the world independently of its use within a particular sentence."

The dictionary defines a function word as "a word, such as a preposition, conjunction, or article, that chiefly expresses grammatical relationships and has little semantic content of its own."

Generally, we cannot indicate whether a single word is a content word or a function word without examining its function in an utterance. The following table provides a rough sketch of each subclass of content and function words in English and also gives some examples of the subclass.

Table 4.1 Types and examples of function words in English.

(Adapted from <http://www.speech.psychol.ucl.ac.uk/training2/intro.htm>)

CATEGORIES	SUBCLASSES	EXAMPLES
CONTENT WORDS	NOUNS	John, room, answer, Selby
	ADJECTIVES	happy, new, large, gray
	FULL VERBS	search, grow, hold, have
	ADVERBS	really, completely, very, also, enough
	NUMERALS	one, thousand, first
	INTERJECTIONS	eh, ugh, phew, well
	YES/NO ANSWERS	yes, no (as answers)
FUNCTION WORDS	PREPOSITIONS	of, at, in, without, between
	PRONOUNS	he, they, anybody, it, one
	DETERMINERS	the, a, that, my, more, much, either, neither
	CONJUNCTIONS	and, that, when, while, although, or
	MODAL VERBS	can, must, will, should, ought,

		need, used
	AUXILIARY VERBS	be (is, am, are), have, do
	PARTICLES	no, not, nor, as

It should be noted that the same lexical word can function as either content or function word depending on its function in an utterance. Look at the following examples:

(1)

A: I have come to pick her up. (have" is a function word (auxiliary verb)).

B: They have three cars. (have" is a content word (full verb)).

(2)

A: One has one's own idea. (one" is a function word (pronoun))

B: She has one computer. (one" is a content word (numeral))

(3)

A: My friend has no more money. (no" is a function word (a negative PAR))

B: No. I am not coming. (no" is a content word (Yes/No answer))

Another point which I will raise here is that there are different perspectives in classifying content words and function words. For example, the word "no" which functions as appearing in (3) B is viewed as function word (Fries 1952: 102-103).

4.2 Secret sound patterns in NP constructions

Generally, an NP construction can occur before or after a verb or after a preposition, and play different syntactic roles in accordance with its occurrence in a sentence. Also, the construction may contain a single or a series of words. The collected data gives evidence that the Thai blind usually modify the last word in the NP construction of their utterance. However, more than one word member in an NP construction may be transformed into a form of the secret sound patterns, depending on the semantic content of that word member. Here are some general principles in the application of words under this construction.

4.2.1 Secret sound patterns with modifiers in NP construction

As discussed earlier, the blind usually modify the last word with their in-group phonological patterns. In a construction containing a head noun and its modifier (only one-word modifier was found in the data), the Thai blind usually leave the head noun alone, but apply the secret sound patterns with the modifier, instead. Let us look at the following example:

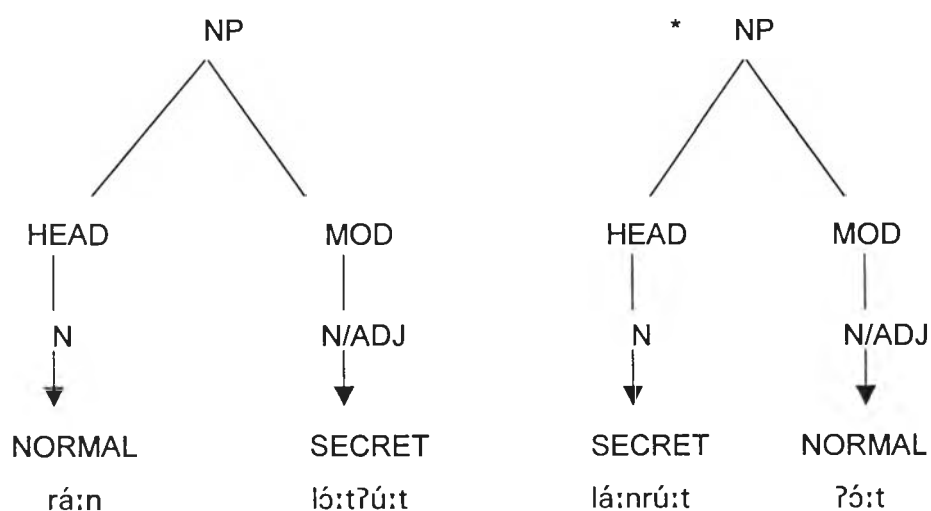
(4) /bà:	khraj	ca?	rú:	wâ:	luú:
/bà:	khraj	ca?	rú:	wâ:	luú:
PAR	who	will	know	that	you
ca?	ma:	rá:n	<u>lót?ú:t</u>	lâw/	
ca?	ma:	rá:n	?ó:t	lâw/	
will	come	shop	odd	PAR	

"Well! Who knows you will come to Odd's shop."

We can see that in the sentence above, the word /?ó:t/, the name of a person, is a modifier of the head noun /rá:n/ in the NP construction. Obviously, the head noun still takes its natural form in normal Thai, but the modifier under the same NP construction is transformed into /lót?ú:t/, as shown in (1).

The following illustrates the occurrence of the secret sound patterns as exemplified in (4) above.

Figure 4.1 Secret sound patterns with modifiers.



In some cases, however, the modifier still remains in standard Thai word form, but the word transformation occurs with the head noun. We will discuss this point in the next section.

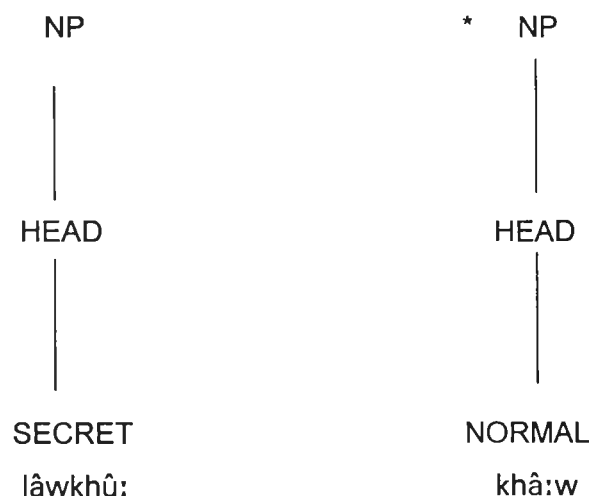
4.2.2 Secret sound patterns with head nouns

Generally, a noun with no modifier can occur in an NP construction. The data suggests that when that linguistic phenomenon takes place in the conversation of the Thai blind, the head noun of an NP construction is usually modified through the in-group sound patterns. Let us look at the following example:

- (5) /lék lâwkhû: mâj hěn ma: lə:j wâ:/
 /lék khâ:w mâj hěn ma: lə:j ná?/
 name rice not see come PAR PAR
 "Lek! Why has my food not been served yet?"

The extracted part of the conversation above is an example of an NP construction which does not contain a modifier. It should be noted that the word /khâ:w/ is the only member of the NP construction which functions as a subject of the sentence. In this case, the word is transformed through the application of the secret sound patterns. The blind speaker, therefore, uses the word /lâwkhû:/ to replace the word /khâ:w/ in this type of construction.

Figure 4.2 Secret sound patterns with head nouns.



In addition, it is apparent that the Thai blind use their phonological patterns with a head noun which is regarded as improper for mention in the conversation—no matter whether those nouns appear alone or have a modifier in an NP construction. The data clearly suggests that they use words of their own invention with nouns which are prohibited in Thai society, especially among educated people or are tabooed in their group so as to reduce the offensiveness to their listeners and, at the same time, conceal secrets from outsiders (see section 5.2). Let us consider the following example:

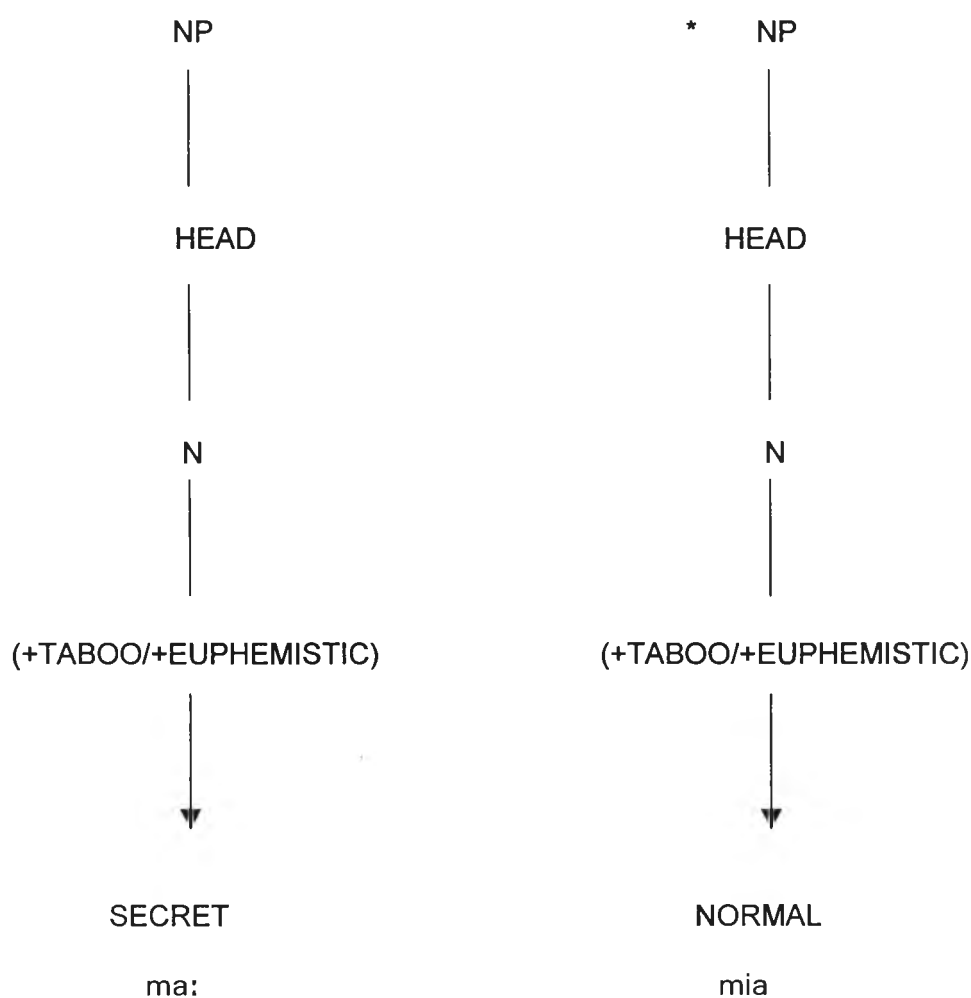
(6)	/...tɔ:nŋi:	man	ca?	hǎ:	<u>ma:</u>	dâ:j
	/... tɔ:nŋi:	man	ca?	hǎ:	mia	dâ:j
	Presently	he	will	find	wife	already
	rũ:	jaŋ	mâj	rú:/		
	rũ:	jaŋ	mâj	rú:/		
	or	not yet	not	know		
	"I don't know whether he can find someone to be his wife now."					

The word /ma:/ is derived from the word /mia/ (= "wife" in normal Thai) which is a noun. In (6), this word functions as the head of the NP construction. Generally, Thai people do not use the word /mia/ in public, but use other words such as /phanrà?ja:/ or /fæ:n/ as its euphemism. The blind also avoid using the taboo word /mi:a/ by deviating the sound of the normal Thai word. They usually use the word /ma:/ as a euphemism to refer to word "wife" among themselves.

There are a variety of words which takes such a linguistic action as illustrated in (6). The reason why such constructions occur in their speech is quite simple. There are a variety of taboo words in normal Thai acting as nouns in sentences. To pronounce those words in public is usually regarded to be improper. To avoid the direct utterances of the words, the Thai blind create in-group euphemisms by modifying the taboo words using the in-group phonological patterns. Consequently, there are a lot of NP constructions having head nouns derived from the modification of sounds of the source taboo words in the conversation of blind speakers.

Not only do the Thai blind apply their in-group phonological patterns with Thai tabooed words but they also transform Thai euphemisms into their secret sound patterns. The data suggests further that they also modify the head noun which are euphemisms in Thai to reduce the offensiveness of the intradicted objects or actions especially for concealing their secrets from their outside members. Undoubtedly, we will see a lot of head nouns as such in NP constructions in the special language of the Thai blind.

Figure 4.3 Secret sound patterns in head nouns containing taboo content.



As discussed in the previous section, the Thai blind usually leave the head noun unchanged, but apply a modifier of an NP with their phonological patterns. Yet, in some cases, a head noun is, in turn, transformed into secret patterns while a modifier remains in its original Thai form. For a clearer insight of this syntactic pattern, let us look at the following example.

(7)	/ma:	man	nǎ:	paj	nǎj	ʔâw/
	/mi:a	man	nǎ:	paj	nǎj	làʔ/
	wife	he	escape	go	where	PAR

"Where did his wife go after escaping from him?"

There are some circumstances where a modifier in an NP construction still takes the original form. In an NP construction in which a modifier is a pronoun, especially in the genitive case, that pronoun still takes its natural form, but the head noun is modified, instead. As shown in (7), we can see that the word /ma:/ is modified by using the secret sound pattern, but the word /man/ (informally used to mean his or her in Thai) still takes the form of the original Thai word.

It may be unclear from this standpoint that the modifier, as illustrated in (7), has an impact on the modification of a head noun in the NP construction. It may be argued that the word /ma:/ is not affected by the occurrence of a genitive-case pronoun in an NP construction but by the word /ma:/ itself which is derived from a tabooed word /mi:a/ in Thai. Such an argument is not wrong. From the data, however, there are some NP constructions containing head nouns which are not tabooed words and its modifiers are pronouns in the genitive case. Still, the head nouns are transformed into the secret sound patterns. This point can be clarified by the following example:

(8)	/mâj	nâê:	râʔcá:n	kháw	ʔà:tcàʔ	sà:kà:pà:
	/mâj	nâê:	râ:n	kháw	ʔà:tcàʔ	sà:kà:pà:
	not	sure	shop	he	maybe	dirty

mâ:k kwà: kô:dâ:j/

mâ:k kwà: kô:dâ:j/

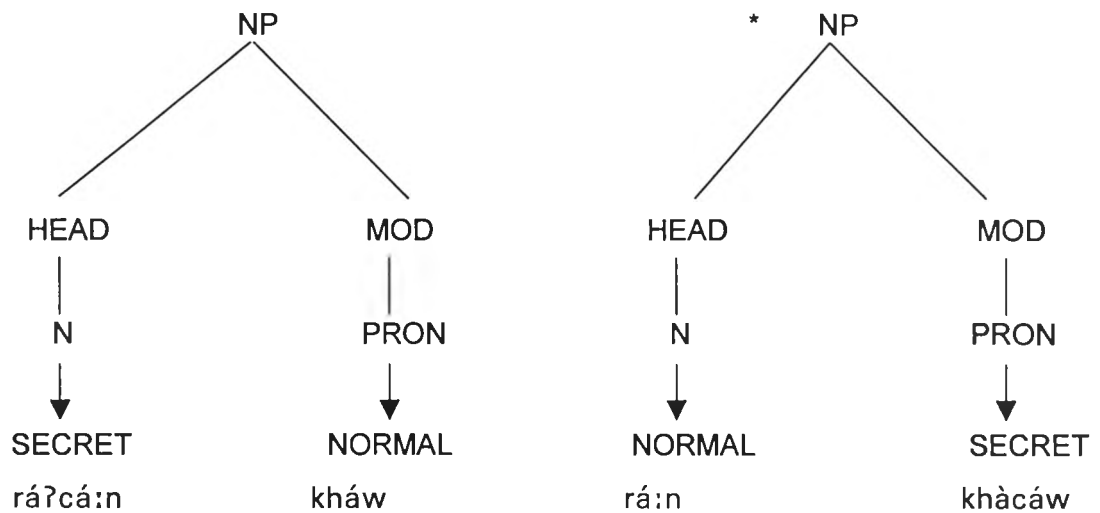
much COMPARATIVE AUX

"His shop may be dirty, I think."

The head noun of the NP construction in the above example contains the word /râʔcá:n/, equivalent to /râ:n/, meaning "shop" in normal Thai. Semantically, this word is not a tabooed word but it still takes the form of the secret sound pattern. Most

NP constructions in the data clearly suggest that when an NP containing a head noun with a pronoun modifier appears the head noun usually takes the linguistic form constructed from the secret sound patterns but the pronoun of a genitive case acting as a modifier of an NP construction still takes its regular form in normal Thai.

Figure 4.4 Secret sound patterns with head nouns in NP constructions containing pronoun modifiers.



Still, there are a few points that should be emphasized here. Besides a pronoun in genitive case as discussed earlier, a pronoun in the nominative case (acting as a head noun in an NP construction) is never modified through the application of the secret sound patterns. Let us look at the following example:

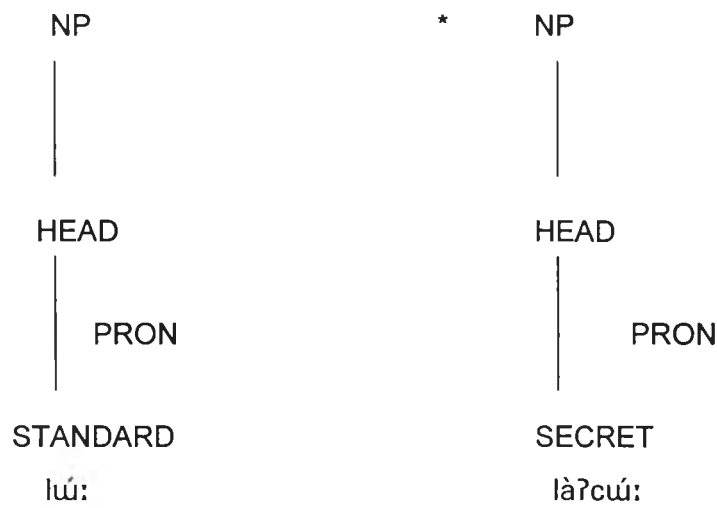
- (9) /lú: cǎp we:la: dí? ?áw man
 /lú: cǎp we:la: sí? man
 you catch time PAR PAR It
 rà?cew máj hǎ:/
 rew máj ná?/
 fast PAR PAR

"Could you time it if it is long enough?"

In the conversation, the two blind interlocutors are discussing the food that they have ordered. One blind man suspects that the vendor may serve them leftover, so he tells the other man to verify that the time of cooking is sufficient.

We can see from the above data that the utterance contains two NPs which have pronouns acting as head nouns: The first pronoun /lú:/ is used as a second-person pronoun (the hearer) while the other pronoun /man/ is used to refer to the cooking. The data shows that if there is a pronoun inside an NP construction, the pronoun is usually left unchanged in its natural form in normal Thai.

Figure 4.5 Normal Thai with pronouns.



Additionally, the collected data indicates that some kinship terms and the names used as first and second personal pronouns are always left unchanged, i.e., they still take their natural word forms in normal Thai. However, the name of the third person is usually modified through the application of the secret sound patterns, simply for the purpose of hiding secrets from outsiders. Let us compare the following NP constructions in (10) and (11) below:

(10)	/tòkloŋ	<u>p</u> hĩ:	<u>ch</u> át	cà?	paj	rǔ:	plà:w
	/tòkloŋ	pĩ:	chát	cà?	paj	rǔ:	plà:w
	Agree	brother	Chat	will	go	or	not

hǎ:	paj	sú:	múan	<u>sá:</u>	kan/
là?	paj	sú:	múan	sék	kan/
PAR	go	buy	cassette	sex	together

"Will you go with me? Let's go to buy a cassette of sex sounds together."

- (11) /pĥi: bằ?ci: rá?cú: rá?cúaŋ rŭ: jaŋ hằ:/
 /pĥi: bi: rú: rŭaŋ rŭ: jaŋ là?/
 Brother Bee know matter or not yet PAR
 "Did brother Bee know about this matter?"

In everyday conversations, some Thai speakers use the name of a person as a first or second person pronoun to show intimacy. The NP /pĥi: chát/ in (10), for example, is used as a second person pronoun to address the listener. The data shows that when this type of NP takes place in the conversation of the Thai blind, the NP remains in its normal Thai form because the first and second personal pronouns are considered as given information, apparently known to the conversational participants and can not be disguised. On the other hand, the name of the third person is usually mentioned among blind speakers in their in-group phonological patterns since the names of the third persons are regarded as new information and can be disguised from the out group members (see section 5.1). In (11), the /pĥi:bằ?ci:/, derived from /pĥi: bi:/, is in the form of the secret sound pattern since the speaker does not want outsiders to know whom he is gossiping about.

It should be noted that the secret sound patterns in NP constructions alone are inadequate to keep the Thai blind in their private world. To ensure their security from not being intruded upon by outsiders, some words in VP constructions must be deviated from their normal forms. In the next section, we will discuss the occurrences of the secret sound patterns with those words in VP constructions.

4.3 Secret sound patterns in VP constructions

In the previous section, we discussed the application of secret sound patterns with an NP construction. Yet, the data suggests that the sound patterns also occur with VP constructions also. In this section, we will discuss the occurrence of the in-group sound patterns within this construction.

4.3.1 Secret sound pattern with main verbs

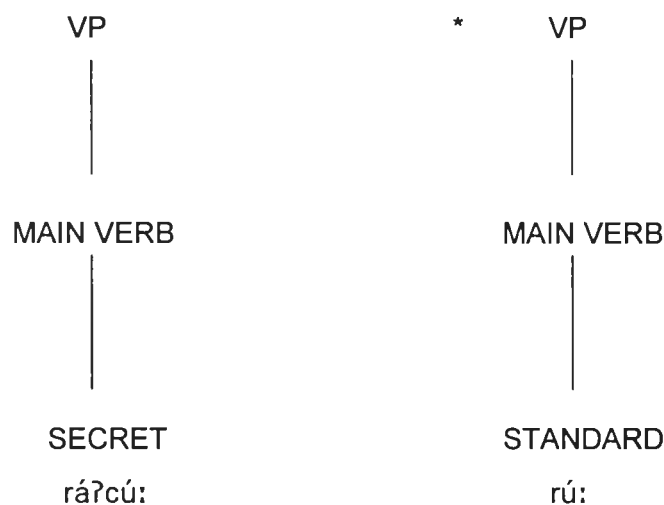
Verbs are regarded as one of the most crucial components in a sentence since it is a component which states an action, state, etc. of the subject of a sentence. As far as the secrets are concerned, the component is a semantic entity which should

not be open to outsiders. Also, certain verbs should not be stated directly among the in-group members since those words may refer to a state or action which are tabooed in Thai society or the blind communities.

The data suggests that the Thai blind usually apply in-group sound patterns with the main verb in a VP construction. Such linguistic phenomenon is demonstrated by the following example:

- (12) /phĩ: bàʔci: ráʔcú: ráʔcúaŋ ruǎ: jaŋ hǎ:/
 /phĩ: bi: rú: ruǎŋ ruǎ: jaŋ hǎ:/
 brother Bee know matter or not yet PAR
 "Did brother Bee knows about this matter?"

Figure 4.6 Secret sound patterns with main verbs.



It should be noted that the extracted part of the conversation above is not sufficient to exemplify the linguistic process which occurs with a main verb since the sentence consists of only a single verb in the VP construction. It is apparent that in a sentence containing more than one verb, the main verb of a sentence is still modified through the application of the secret sound patterns while other verbs such as pre-verbs, post-verbs or AUX verbs remain in their original forms.

Before we proceed with our discussion, let us look at the following utterances recorded from the conversations of some sampled groups:

(13) /hə:j læ:w lú: caʔ paj lúachəŋ
 /hə:j læ:w lú: caʔ paj chuâ
 we Then you will go believe

lèkdəŋ man dâ:j jaŋŋaj lâw/
 dèk man dâ:j jaŋŋaj làʔ/
 child he can how PAR
 "Well! How can you believe what the child tell you?"

(14) /lú: lə:kəŋ paj k̩i: láʔkhəŋli:dəŋ læ:w
 /lú: kə: paj k̩i: kháʔdi: læ:w
 you make go how many mistakes already

lú: láʔjəŋ kwà: ʔúa jaŋ/
 lú: jəʔ kwà: ʔúa jaŋ/
 you many comparative I not yet

"How many mistakes did you make? Did you make more mistakes than me?"

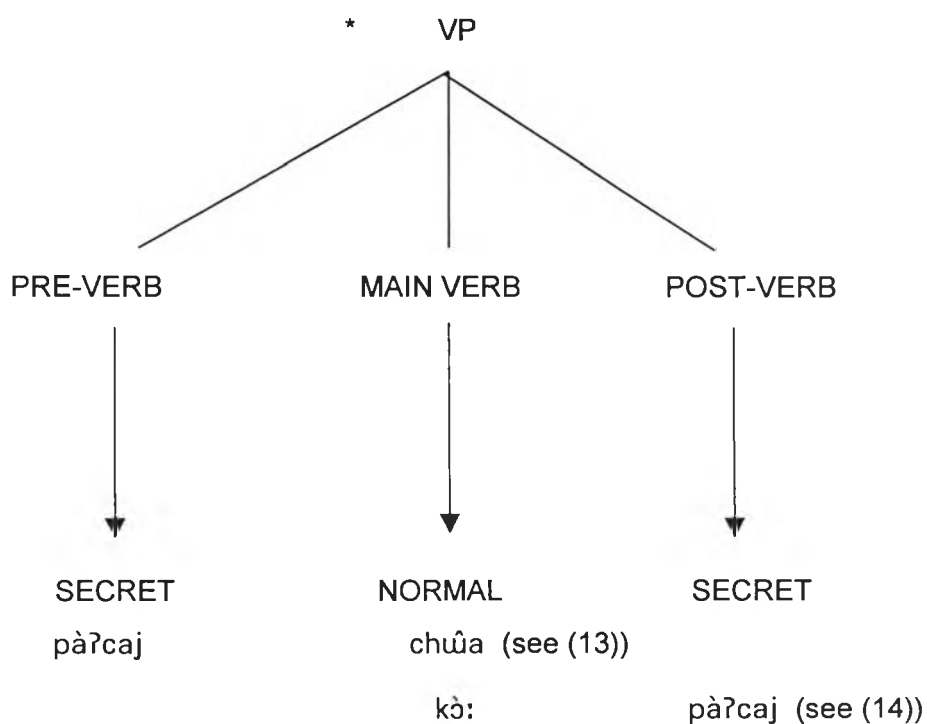
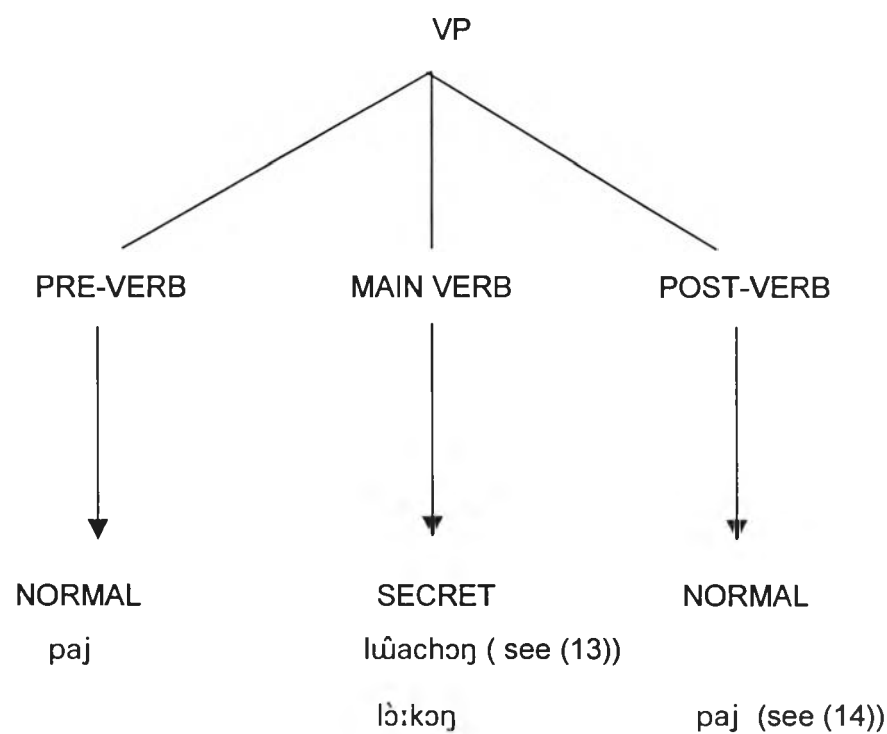
Obviously, the main verbs in (10) and (11) are still in the form of a secret sound pattern; however, there is a clear distinction between the two utterances. Let us see the occurrences of the word /paj/ in the two items above. We can see that the word /paj/ in (13) precedes the main verb /lúachəŋ/ (derived from /chuâ/, meaning "to believe" in normal Thai) while this word comes after the main verb /lə:kəŋ/ (equivalent to the word /kə:/, meaning "to make" in normal Thai) in (14).

Panupong (1990: 59-60) defines the word occurring in the position prior to a main verb as a "pre-verb". According to her analysis, words falling under this class include the following two words: /paj/ and /ma:/. Panupong also defines the word occurring in the position after a main verb as a "post-verb". In her view, post-verbs include the following words: /paj/, /ma:/, /khûn/, /loŋ/, /khâw/, /ʔə:k/, /s̩ia/, /wáj/, /ʔaw/, /hâj/ and /du:/. Notably, she counts these two word classes as function words.

It is clear from this stand point that pre-verbs and post-verbs of the sentences in the natural speech of the Thai blind are usually left unchanged; in turn, the regular

sounds in the main verbs are generally transformed into the secret sound patterns, instead. The following illustrates the occurrence of the secret sound patterns in this type of construction.

Figure 4.7 Secret sound patterns with main verbs.



The data also suggests that AUX verbs occurring in the speech of the Thai blind usually take their natural forms in standard Thai. Let us look at the following example:

- (15) /kæ: cǎʔ lǎŋfɔŋ naj lǔŋhɔŋ wâ: lajkhɔŋ
 /kæ: cǎʔ faŋ naj hɔŋ wâ: khraj
 she will listen in room that who

 wâ: jaŋŋaj/
 wâ: jaŋŋaj/
 say how

"She will try to listen to what people say in her room."

- (16) A: /lék lâ:wkhû: mâj hěŋ ma: lə:j wâ:/
 /lék khâ:w mâj hěŋ ma: lə:j là/
 Lek rice not see come PAR PAR
 "Lek! How come my food has not been served yet?"
 B: /lǎtphɔŋ jù: máŋ/
 /phát jù: máŋ/
 fry AUX PAR

"They may be still cooking it."

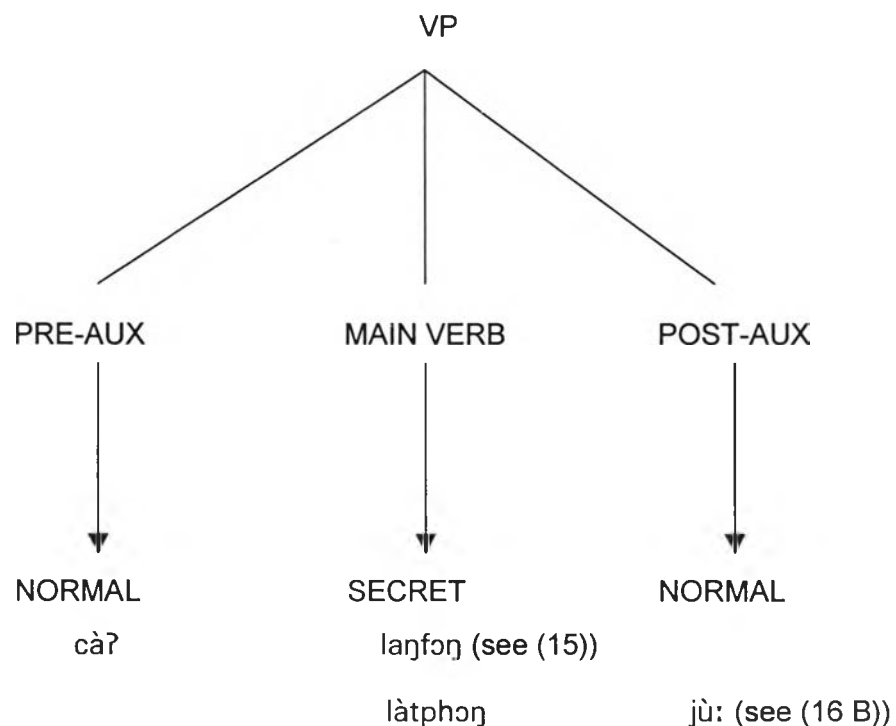
We can see that the main verbs of the two examples above are in the form of the secret sound patterns. The word /lǎŋfɔŋ/ in (15) and the word /lǎtphɔŋ/ in (16) both act as the main verbs of the sentences and both words take the form of the secret sound patterns.

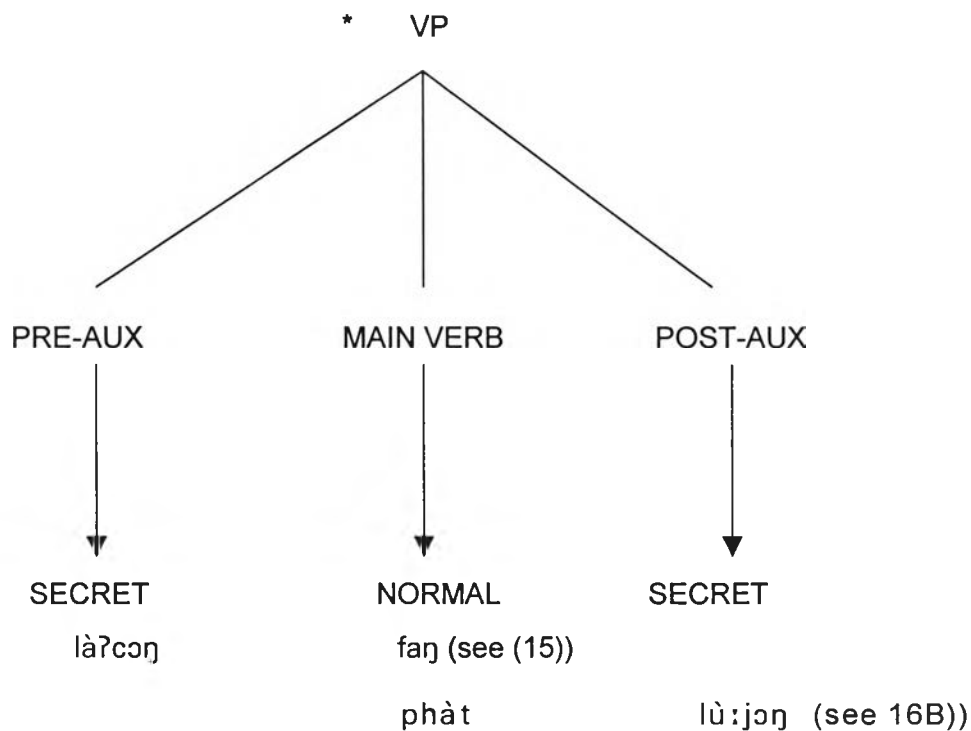
According to Panupong (1990: 56-58), AUX verbs in Thai can be classified into two categories: pre-AUX and post-AUX verbs. Pre-AUX verbs are verbs appearing in the position of the word /kamlɔŋ/ in the frame sentence / fǔŋ kamlɔŋ tòk/ (It is raining). This verb category including 31 words can be classified by their co-occurrence with the word /mǎj/ (= not) into three subcategories: pre-AUX verbs occurring before, after, and before/after the word /mǎj/. Post-AUX verbs are AUX

verbs which can appear in the position of /læ:w/ in their frame sentence /fǒn tòk læ:w/ (It has rained), including the following three words: /læ:w/, /jù:/ and /jù:læ:w/.

The data illustrated in (15) and (16) are examples of AUX verbs coming before and after main verbs. We can see that the word /càʔ/ in (15) is an AUX verb preceding the main verb /lanʔɔŋ/. While the word /jù:/ in (16) functions as an AUX verb which follows the main verb /làtphɔŋ/. The data from the blind communities clearly suggests that the Thai blind usually leave out the AUX verbs, no matter whether they come before or after main verbs, and let them remain in their original forms. The following figure illustrates the syntactic pattern as discussed above:

Figure 4.8 Secret sound patterns with main verbs.





As we have discussed, two types of grammatical words, pre-verbs and post-verbs and AUX verbs (coming before or after main verbs), usually remain in the original forms while main verbs are transformed in to secret sound patterns. However, the data provides evidence that in cases where two verbs are in adjacent positions one of which is not included in the two types, the two verbs are usually modified through the application of the secret sound patterns. The following speech of a blind student gossiping about someone with his friend in the playground in front of the Bangkok School for the Blind exemplifies this syntactic pattern:

(17) /tə:n thĩ: jù: paj klàp màjmàj ʔàʔ thammaj
 /tə:n thĩ: jù: paj klàp màjmàj ʔàʔ thammaj
 the moment that stay go return just PAR why

phǒm jók lâ:wkhû: khâw paj thũthũ: dâ:j lǎ:j klòŋ
 phǒm jók khâ:w khâw paj thũthũ: dâ:j lǎ:j klòŋ
 I carry rice enter go uncaringly can many box

thi:diaw man bə:k thammaj fiwhəŋ lù:thəŋlù:thəŋ læwkô:

caŋ man bò:k thammaj hīw thū:thū: læwkô:
 quite they say why carry uncarlingly then

bò:k jaŋŋaj mâ: tɔ:nræ:k ma: jà:ŋthammá?da: dia
 bò:k jaŋŋaj rú: máj tɔ:nræ:k ma: jà:ŋthammá?da: là?
 say how PAR firstly come simply PAR

læ:wkô: læ?wú? lû:njɔŋ hâj ta: ñi:tɔŋ kô:
 læ:wkô: wæ? jû:n hâj ta: ñi: kô:
 then stop by give in hand to TITLE NAME however

ŋâj hěn thǎ:m ?à?raj læ:j wâ: kæ: bò:k lò:pkhù:plajcuŋ
 ŋâj hěn thǎ:m ?à?raj læ:j wâ: kæ: bò:k khò:pcaj
 not see ask what at all PAR he say thank you

"When I began to commute to school (no longer staying at the school dormitory), why can't I carry many boxes of food to school without being afraid of the teachers punishment? They (his friends) asked how I could carry them uncaringly. Do you know? Firstly, I just simply came in, and then stopped by and handed the food to grandfather Tee. He said nothing but ""Thank you.""

We can see that in this conversation, the two verbs /wæ?/and /jû:n/ are in adjacent positions, and both verbs play the same syntactic role.

In addition, the data and the information obtained from the interviews of the blind groups show that the semantic content of a verb also plays a vital role in determining the form of the verb in an utterance. In a normal case, the main verb of a sentence takes its natural form in standard Thai while other words are transformed through the application of the in-group sound patterns, especially in the sentence containing a VP construction which has an adverb following the main verb (see section 4.2.2). However, if a sentence containing a verb which is deemed to be tabooed in Thai society or in the blind group itself, the verb is automatically transformed into the secret language patterns so as to reduce the offensiveness of

the word to its listener, and, at the same time, may disguise the fact from the outsider. Let us look at the following example:

- (18) A: /lú: dâ:j já: rǔ plà:w/
 /lú: dâ:j jét rǔ: plà:w/
 you AUX have sex or not
 "Did you have a chance to have a sexual intercourse with someone?"
- B: /ʔúa já: ma: lú: ɲaj lâwʔ/
 /ʔúa jét mia lú: ɲaj làʔ/
 I have sex wife you how PAR
 "I have a sexual intercourse with your wife. Don't you know that?"

In the conversation, the blind intimates were having a private chat. Both blind speakers made fun of each other. We can see that both sentences of the adjacent pair contain the main verb /já:/, equivalent to /jét/ (taboo word = to have a sexual intercourse) in normal Thai. Of course, it is improper to utter the word directly although both speakers know each other well. To avoid using the offensive term, they transform the word into their in-group phonological pattern. As a result, the main verbs of the two sentences possess a word form of the secret sound pattern.

Besides the application of secret phonological patterns with verbs stating actions or states which are not usually mentioned in the conversations, the Thai blind also transform verbs which are euphemisms into their secret sound patterns to reduce the offensiveness of taboo actions or states and conceal secrets from the outsiders. We will see a lot of main verbs as such in VP constructions in the special language of the Thai blind, as illustrated by the following example:

- (19) /thâ: pen phǒm dàʔcâ:j kô:ta:m thèʔ
 /thâ: pen phǒm dâ:j kô:ta:m thèʔ
 if be me have a sexual intercourse somehow PAR
- phǒm caʔ paj bò:k khon ʔù:n thammaj hă: man
 phǒm caʔ paj bò:k khon ʔù:n thammaj làʔ man
 I will go tell people other why PAR It

mâj châj rûaŋ ka:nkhuj kô: na: sàʔdæ:ŋ wâ:
 mâj châj rûaŋ ka:nkhuj kô: rò:k sàʔdæ:ŋ wâ:
 not be matter talking proud PAR show that

khăw jáʔcɔ:m hâj raw ʔàʔcaw nùŋ
 khăw jɔ:m hâj raw ʔaw nùŋ
 she allow to us have a sexual intercourse one thing

khăw tôŋ cháʔcô:p raw bâ:ŋ thuŋcàʔ mâj cháʔcô:p
 khăw tôŋ chô:p raw bâ:ŋ thuŋcàʔ mâj chô:p
 she must like us somewhat although not like

raw bæ:p pen fa: tæ: kháw cháʔcô:p khwamsàʔnùk
 raw bæ:p pen fæ :n tæ: kháw chô:p khwamsàʔnùk
 us like be boyfriend but she like happy

kàp raw na: kháw tôŋka:n jà:kcàʔ
 kàp raw nàʔ kháw tôŋka:n jà:kcàʔ
 with us PAR she want desire

lɔ:nnu:n kàp raw/
 nɔ:n kàp raw/
 sleep with Us

"If somehow I make love to someone, why should I tell other people? It is not a proud story. It shows that she allows us to make love to her because she must like us somewhat. Although she does not like us as her boyfriend, she must have a desire to have fun with us. She wants to sleep with us. ..."

It is apparent from the data that the Thai blind usually use their in-group sound patterns with Thai euphemisms. As illustrated in the above example, there are 3 euphemistic words referring to "make love": /daʔcâ:j/, /ʔaʔcaw/ and /lɔ:nnu:n/. The three words are derived from the three euphemistic terms /daʔj/, /ʔaw/ and /nɔ:n/ in normal Thai respectively. The data suggests that although the Thai blind use

euphemisms to refer to some tabooed states or actions, they still apply their in-group secret sound patterns with those words to avoid irritating listeners. That has much impact on the syntactic structure of the language use of the Thai blind. Therefore, we find that the main verbs containing Thai euphemisms in the speech of the Thai blind are usually transformed into the secret sound patterns.

4.3.2 Secret sound pattern with adverbs

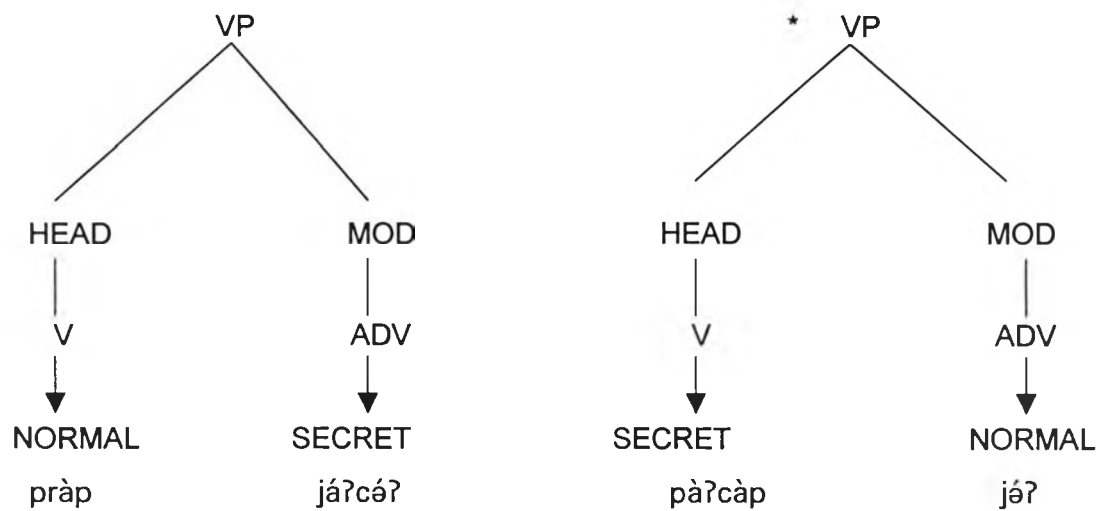
In the previous section, we stated that the Thai blind usually apply their in-group phonological patterns to main verbs of a sentence in cases where there are one or more verbs in sequence.. However, I have discovered from the data that the Thai blind usually apply their secret sound patterns to adverbs which appear after main verbs. This linguistic occurrence acts like an adjective which follows a noun in an NP construction, as discussed in 4.1.1. This linguistic phenomenon can be illustrated by the following example:

- (20) /ʔó:j ʔaŋkà: tɔŋ pràp jáʔcáʔ càt nɔ:/
 /ʔó:j ʔaŋkít tɔŋ pràp jéʔ mâ:k náʔ/
 INT English must adjust much very PAR
 "Oh! I think her English awfully needs to be improved."

We can see that the word /jáʔcáʔ/ is an adverb immediately following the main verb /pràp/. The word /jáʔcáʔ/ is the derivational form of the word /jéʔ/ in normal Thai. In this case, we can see that the adverb /jáʔcáʔ/ is transformed into the secret sound pattern while the immediately preceding verb /pràp/ remains in its form in normal Thai. My data proves that such linguistic action usually occurs in the speech of the Thai blind. If the utterance contains a main verb followed by an adverb, the adverb will take a form of the secret sound pattern while the main verb will remain unchanged in normal Thai.

This is illustrated in the following diagram.

Figure 4.9 Secret sound patterns with adverbs.



4.4 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, we have proven that the Thai blind usually apply their secret sound patterns to content words rather than function words. We began our discussion of the syntactic structure in an NP construction. In an NP which contains a head noun and its modifier, the head noun usually remains in a Thai standard form while the modifier is transformed into a secret sound pattern. In some cases, the head noun takes the form of the secret sound pattern; especially if it appears alone in an NP construction or it is a tabooed word or a euphemism. In terms of the occurrence of the secret sound patterns in a VP construction, the blind usually apply their secret sound patterns with main verbs, but if there is an adverb following the main verbs, the adverb is usually in the form of a secret sound pattern. Still, if there are a series of verbs (not pre-verbs, post-verbs or AUX verbs) in adjacent positions, those verbs are usually transformed in the secret phonological patterns. Also, a verb which signifies a tabooed state or action or a euphemism is automatically transformed into a secret sound pattern to reduce the offensiveness to its hearers and to conceal secrets from outsiders.

There is still a question of whether the Thai blind use the normal Thai to communicate among their peer group in their daily lives. If they do, why do they need to modify normal Thai words with newly-invented language patterns in their conversations? In the next chapter, we will speculate on the motivations behind the use of these phonological deviants.