

LEXICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF PROTO-PATANI: THE CASE OF NARATHIWAT VARIANTS

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ABSTRACT

The Patani Malay is one of the dialects spoken in southern Thailand. Its distribution covers the region of Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat, as well as parts of Songkhla, including the Sebayoi, Thepa, Nathawi, and Chana. Based on studies on the Patani Malay discussed earlier, it can be concluded that no studies have been conducted on the proto form of the Patani Malay, especially in the Narathiwat region. Therefore, this study aims to reconstruct the lexical form of the Patani Malay of Narathiwat (PMN) to obtain its proto form. The approach used in this study is a descriptive qualitative method based on a historical linguistic approach. This research applies two central studies to obtain linguistic information and data: library and field research. The study involved six villages as a study location, namely Kampung Kresor (KRS), Buketa (BKT), Puyok (PYK), Munok (MNK), Benae Luwas (BNL) and Aikubu (AKB). The PPMN lexical reconstruction shows that it sometimes has a similar form of the word with the Proto-Malayic (PM) and sometimes exists as a direct inheritance of PM. However, the similarity of the PPMN still exists as a proto dialect with its own lexical. Therefore, the findings of this study are beneficial as input for the subsequent research of classifying the PPMN to determine the distant-close relationships between the dialect variants.

Keywords: Proto form; historical linguistics; lexical; Patani Malay of Narathiwat; reconstruction.

REKONSTRUKSI LEKSIKAL PATANI PROTO: ANALISIS VARIAN NARATHIWAT

ABSTRAK

Dialek Melayu Patani merupakan dialek yang dituturkan di bahagian selatan Thailand. Penyebaran dialek ini meliputi wilayah Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, serta sebahagian daripada Songkhla, termasuk daerah Sebayoi, Thepa, Nathawi dan Chana. Berdasarkan kajian-kajian mengenai dialek Melayu Patani yang telah dibincangkan sebelum ini, dapat disimpulkan bahawa masih belum ada kajian yang melakukan rekonstruksi bentuk purba dialek Melayu Patani, khususnya di wilayah Narathiwat. Sehubungan itu, kajian ini bertujuan untuk merekonstruksi bentuk leksikal dialek Melayu Patani Narathiwat (DMPN) bagi memperoleh bentuk purbanya. Pendekatan yang digunakan dalam kajian ini ialah metode kualitatif deskriptif berdasarkan pendekatan linguistik sejarawi. Penyelidikan ini menggunakan dua kajian utama untuk mendapatkan maklumat dan data linguistik, iaitu kajian kepustakaan dan kajian lapangan. Kajian ini melibatkan enam buah kampung sebagai lokasi penelitian iaitu kampung Kresor (KRS), Buketa (BKT), Puyok (PYK), Munok (MNK), Benae Luwas (BNL) dan Aikubu (AKB). Secara keseluruhannya, rekonstruksi leksikal DMPNP menunjukkan bahawa adakalanya memiliki kesamaan bentuk kata dengan bahasa Melayik Purba (MP) dan adakalanya wujud sebagai pewarisan lansung daripada MP. Namun begitu, keutuhan DMPNP tetap wujud sebagai satu dialek purba yang memiliki leksikalnya yang tersendiri. Justeru, dapatan kajian ini bermanfaat sebagai input bagi penyelidikan seterusnya dalam mengklasifikasikan DMPNP untuk menentukan hubungan jauh-dekat antara varian dialek tersebut.

Kata Kunci: Bentuk purba; dialek Melayu Patani Narathiwat; leksikal; linguistik sejarawi; rekonstruksi

INTRODUCTION

The state of Patani was initially known as Langkasuka, according to Chinese visitors in connection with the states of Southeast Asia, a state known as Langkasuka or Lang-Ya-Shiu (Paul Wheatley, 1961 in Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud, 2006) already existed in the second century AD. European historians posit that the Patani state was originally situated on the eastern Malay Peninsula, between Songkhla Province and Kelantan, with its capital in the Yarang District of present-day Pattani (Nik Anuar Nik Mahmud, 2006).

1816 Patani was divided into seven smaller states, collectively known as the “Seven Malay States.” These states included Rangek, Raman, Yala, Yaring, Saiburi, Nongchik, and Pattani. Based on their names, some of these states have since been designated as provinces, while others are districts within Thailand’s administrative system. Yala and Pattani are now provinces in southern Thailand, whereas Saiburi, Yaring, and Nongchik are districts within Pattani Province. Similarly, Raman is a district in Yala Province, while Rangek is a district in Narathiwat Province (Ruslan Uthai, 2011). In 1902, during the reign of King Chulalongkorn, Patani was formally incorporated into Siamese rule and became part of the Siamese-administered states (Nanthawan, 1978, in Ruslan Uthai, 2011). In 1906, these seven smaller states were reorganized into four central states: Pattani, Saiburi, Yala, and Bangnara. Later, in 1915, the name Bangnara was changed to Narathiwat (Worawit Baru, 1990). Also, in 1906, all of these states were consolidated and placed under the administration of Monthon Patani (Nanthawan, 1978, in Ruslan Uthai, 2011). Subsequently, in 1916, the Siamese administrative system transitioned from the Monthon system to the Changwat (Province/Region) system (Worawit Baru, 1990). Since 1916, the Malay state known as Patani was reclassified as Pattani Province, now part of southern Thailand (Ruslan Uthai, 2011).

Two terms are associated with Patani and Pattani, which are often used interchangeably. This can be observed in the usage of the terms Patani Malay and Pattani Malay, both of which refer to the Malay dialect spoken in the Pattani region, Yala, Narathiwat, and parts of the Songkhla region (Ruslan Uthai, 2011). However, Paitoon M. Chaianara (2005) provides a more precise distinction between these terms. According to his study, 'Patani' encompasses a broader geographical area, including the Pattani region and its surrounding areas, namely Yala, Narathiwat, and parts of the Songkhla region. In contrast, 'Pattani' refers explicitly to the region alone without extending to the surrounding areas.

The Patani Malay is one of the dialects spoken in southern Thailand. Its distribution covers the provinces of Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat, as well as parts of Songkhla Province, including the districts of Sebayoi, Thepa, Nathawi, and Chana. Several studies on the Patani Malay have been conducted in southern Thailand, including those by Paitoon M. Chaianara (2005), Ruslan Uthai (2011), Ibrohim Malee (2016; 2023), Sareeyah Star (2016), Shahidi A. Hamid & Mumad Chelaeh (2020), Suraiya Chapakiya (2020), Angsana Na Songkhla & Ilangko Subramaniam (2021), Rahim Aman et al. (2021), and Abdonloh et al. (2022). Based on previous research, previous scholars have not yet undertaken a reconstruction study of the Patani Malay of Narathiwat. However, studies in phonology, morphology, dialectology, acoustics, and sociolinguistics have been widely conducted, significantly enriching the inventory of the Patani Malay. Nonetheless, previous research has undeniably made substantial contributions and serves as a foundational reference for researchers to explore new studies that are more detailed and comprehensive. Accordingly, this study aims to reconstruct the lexical forms of the Patani Malay of Narathiwat (PMN) to obtain the Proto-Patani Malay of Narathiwat (PPMN). Proto-Patani is the parent or source dialect that has given rise to various contemporary variants spoken by communities in the Narathiwat region. Therefore, lexical reconstruction is carried out to determine the proto-lexical forms of the Patani Malay of Narathiwat based on eight main semantic domains.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Several studies on the Patani Malay have been conducted in southern Thailand, including those by Paitoon M. Chaianara (2005), Ruslan Uthai (2011), Ibrohim Malee (2016; 2023), Sareeyah Star (2016), Shahidi A. Hamid & Mumad Chelaeh (2020), Suraiya Chapakiya (2020; 2021), Rahim Aman et al. (2021), and Abdonloh et al. (2022). Paitoon M. Chaianara (2005) examines the reformation of a new morphophonological system in the Pattani Malay, arguing that this transformation results from the modification of the suprafix element—precisely, the long consonant, which corresponds to falling tone phonemes in Thai. He posits that this suprafix modification plays a more significant role in shaping the morphophonological system than factors such as the necessity for new word formation or the preservation of original meanings.

Ruslan Uthai (2011) identifies several distinctive features that characterize Patani Malay, including monosyllabic words, nasal vowels, aspirated consonants, and long consonants. These features are considered unique linguistic elements that differentiate Patani Malay from other Malay dialects. This study focuses on the existence and distribution of these distinctive features across the sub-dialects of Patani Malay. Based on data from the research sites, the Patani Malay can be categorized into ten variations, each exhibiting significant differences in phonology and semantics. The findings indicate that specific consonantal phonemes and diphthongs are not uniformly distributed across all dialectal variations. Among the phonemes with limited distribution are the consonantal phoneme /f/, the consonantal phoneme /x/, aspirated consonants, long consonants, and diphthong phonemes, which are only present in specific variations.

Ibrohim Malee (2016; 2023) discusses geographical dialect mapping issues, examining dialect alignment and distribution based on phonological and lexical aspects in the Yaha variant of the Patani Malay. This study also analyses the similarities and differences between the variants spoken in the Yaha area. The researcher applies geographical dialect mapping methods within the field of dialectology, employing a synchronic dialectological approach descriptively. The analysis reveals the alignment and distribution of vowel and consonant phonological systems across several villages in Yaha. In terms of lexical data, the study finds variations among villages in Yaha, reflecting differences in vocabulary usage. The study concludes that the Patani Malay in the Yaha district can be classified into three main groups: the original Yaha variant, the migrant variant, and the mixed dialect variant.

Sareeyah Star (2016) examined the phonological aspects of the Patani Malay, focusing on the inventory of consonant and vowel phonemes and phonological processes in the Saga and Tannyung subvariants. This study employed the Structural Phonology approach to determine segmental characteristics, including identifying vowel, consonant, and diphthong sounds in both subvariants. The same approach was also applied to analyse the phonological processes occurring in the Saga and Tannyung subvariants. The findings indicate that both subvariants contain 21 consonant phonemes, eight vowel phonemes, and one diphthong, namely [au]. Additionally, this study identified the influence of the Thai language, particularly in transforming the [t] sound into [t^h] in these subvariants. Furthermore, one of the phonological processes identified is the change from diphthongs to monophthongs. In this phenomenon, the diphthongs [ai] and [au] in the final position of words transform, becoming the low vowel [a] and the mid-low vowel [ɛ], respectively, in both subvariants.

Shahidi A. Hamid and Mumad Chelaeh (2020) discuss issues related to acoustic phonetics by examining the production of sounds and the phonetic realisation of long consonants in Patani Malay. This study employs an acoustic phonetics approach to analyse the phenomenon of consonant lengthening, particularly in the context of plosive sounds that undergo lengthening in the initial position of words in this dialect. This study also compares long and regular consonants used by speakers in the Patani Malay community. The analysis results indicate that consonant lengthening does exist in Patani Malay; however, its occurrence is limited to specific sounds only. This study also finds that only voiced plosive sounds conform to the concept of consonant lengthening in Patani Malay.

Suraiya Chapakiya (2020) conducted a study to analyse the phonological aspects of the Patani Malay, covering the inventory of vowel phonemes, consonant phonemes, and the phonological processes that occur in this dialect. The findings indicate that the Patani Malay has 12 vowel phonemes, which can be classified into three types: oral, derived, and nasal. Meanwhile, the consonant system in this dialect consists of 28 phonemes, categorised into three main groups: native consonants, aspirated consonants, and borrowed consonants. Regarding syllable structure, the Patani Malay follows a third-type syllable pattern, specifically the KV(K) pattern. Additionally, this study identifies several phonological processes in this dialect, including deletion, assimilation, glottalisation, vowel nasalisation, vowel change, and monophthongisation.

Angsana Na Songkhla and Ilangko Subramaniam (2021) discuss consonantal changes in loanwords from Sanskrit in Thai and Patani Malay. This study utilises a list of 210 words as its primary data. The findings indicate that consonantal changes occur in both languages, namely Thai and Patani Malay. Several types of consonantal changes identified in Sanskrit loanwords include consonant deletion, consonant insertion, devoicing, voicing, and consonant substitution. Overall, all the consonantal change processes discussed in this study demonstrate assimilation in Thai and Patani Malay speech, and this phenomenon continues today.

Rahim Aman et al. (2021) discuss issues related to geographical dialect mapping by examining the alignment and distribution of dialects based on phonological and lexical aspects in the Waeng district, Narathiwat province. This study employs geographical dialect mapping methods applied in dialectological research and a synchronic dialectological approach in a descriptive manner. The findings indicate that the alignment of phonological aspects in this dialect is more structured and systematic than that of lexical forms. Regarding lexical elements, most of the word lists analysed exhibit an inconsistent and scattered distribution pattern. Overall, the alignment and distribution of dialectal variations in Waeng can be classified into three main categories: the original Waeng variation, the external or migrant variation, and the mixed dialect variation.

Abdonloh Khreedah et al. (2022) reviewed loanwords from the Thai language in the Patani Malay, examining semantic changes by comparing their original meanings with their meanings in the dialect. The findings indicate that some loanwords have retained their original meanings while others have undergone semantic changes. Loanwords that have experienced semantic shifts have assimilated into the Patani Malay to the extent that they have become an integral part of everyday usage, leading speakers to be unaware that these words originate from Thai. This study identifies two main categories of Thai loanwords in the Patani Malay: loanwords that retain their original meanings and loanwords that have undergone semantic changes. Loanwords with altered meanings can be further classified into three types of semantic change: meaning expansion, meaning narrowing, and meaning shift. Overall, borrowing Thai words fulfils the daily communication needs of Patani Malay speakers and enriches the dialect's corpus and vocabulary.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study aims to reconstruct the proto form of the Patani Malay, particularly in the Narathiwat region. This study employs a descriptive qualitative method based on the historical linguistic approach. Two main research methods are applied to obtain comprehensive linguistic data and information: library and field research. The library studies collect secondary data on the Patani Malay, sourced from various academic materials such as books, theses, journals, and other scholarly texts. Meanwhile, field research is conducted to gather empirical data on linguistic phenomena within the community (Asmah Hj. Omar, 2015). The field research method also encompasses various aspects, including selecting research locations, selecting informants, collecting data, analysing data, and systematically presenting research findings.

This study was conducted in the Narathiwat region, focusing on three central districts as research locations: Waeng, Sungai Kolok, and Sungai Padi. A total of six villages were selected as the study areas, namely Kresor (KRS), Buketa (BKT), Puyok (PYK), Munok (MNK), Benae Luwas (BNL), and Aikubu (AKB). The selection of these villages was based on the fact that most of their residents consist of the original community members who still speak the Patani Malay, particularly in its original form, which has been passed down through generations. Additionally, a few Buddhist residents in these areas use a mixed language, combining Patani Malay with the local Thai language. These three districts were also identified as regions that continue to preserve the authenticity of Malay culture in terms of language and the context of culture, lifestyle, and local traditions.

This study's informants selection was based on the NORM (Non-mobile, Older, Rural, Male) criteria. However, in some instances, informants were selected contrary to these criteria using the NORF (Non-mobile, Older, Rural, Female) criteria to obtain more authentic and natural data (Chambers J.K. & Trudgill P., 1998). This study employed two main data collection methods: verification and elicitation (Mahsun M. S., 2005). The data collection techniques

implemented included notetaking, interviews, recordings, picture elicitation, and using a word list. The word list used in this study comprised 300 vocabulary items categorized into eight main semantic domains: times, numeral system, environment and colours, household equipment, kinship terms and pronouns, human body parts, animals and their body parts, and verbs and adjectives. All data were transcribed into phonetic transcription using phonetic symbols for data analysis and presentation. Subsequently, the data were analysed using the comparative linguistic approach, precisely the reconstruction method, to determine the proto forms of particular lexical items.

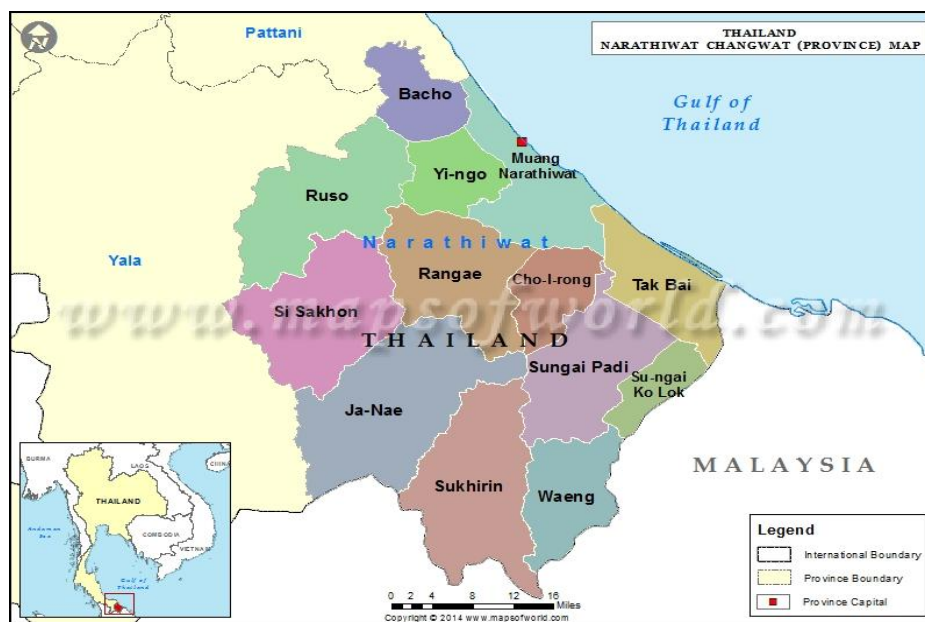


FIGURE 1. Map of Narathiwat region

RESEARCH APPROACH

Historical linguistics is a branch of linguistics that examines the development and changes in language diachronically. This study compares linguistic data to trace the evolution and transformation over a specific period. This field has been developed to reconstruct the proto form of a language, particularly for languages that do not have written records. The lexical reconstruction method shares similarities with the phoneme reconstruction method but has distinct procedures and approaches. Furthermore, the lexical reconstruction method has the following criteria (Crowley & Bower, 2010; Rahim Aman, 2017):

- i. The first step is determining the cognate words from the descendant languages being compared.
- ii. Once the cognate words are obtained, the next step is to arrange the sound correspondence sets for all these cognate words. This arrangement of sound correspondences must be done to get the ancient phonemes from each set.
- iii. After the ancient phonemes are determined (ancient phonemes are marked with the symbol asterisk (*)), the ancient form of the words from the descendant languages being compared can be obtained. The following is an example of the lexical item 'angkat' in the PMN variant, reconstructed according to the guidelines established by Crowley & Bower (2010). Refer to Table 1 and Table 2 below:

- i. Determine the reflex forms of the word.

TABLE 1. Reflex forms of the word ‘angkat’

KRS	a	k	e	ʔ
BKT	a	k	a	ʔ
PYK	a	k	e	ʔ
MNK	a	k	a	ʔ
BNL	a	k	e	ʔ
AKB	a	k	e	ʔ

- ii. Determine the correspondence set.

TABLE 2. Correspondence set of ‘angkat’

KRS	BKT	PYK	MNK	BNL	AKB	
/a:	a:	a:	a:	a:	a:/	*a
/k:	k:	k:	k:	k:	k:/	*k
/e:	a:	e:	a:	e:	e:/	*e
/ʔ:	ʔ:	ʔ:	ʔ:	ʔ:	ʔ:/	*ʔ

- iii. Determine the ancient word form.

The ancient word form for the root word ‘angkat’ in PPMN is *aket. The PPMN word *aket is derived from the combination of ancient phonemes that were previously reconstructed.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section reconstructs the proto-lexical forms of the Patani Malay of Narathiwat (PMN). The word list used in this study is based on the lexical list from Rahim’s (2017) study on the Bidayuh language, *Linguistik Bandingan Bahasa Bidayuhik*. This list serves as a fundamental reference and has been modified to suit the context of the studied community. This section discusses eight main semantic domains: times, numeral system, environment and colours, household equipment, kinship terms and pronouns, human body parts, animals and their body parts, and verbs and adjectives. These eight semantic domains are selected based on a dataset comprising 300 lexical items. However, this study will not reconstruct all lexical items within these eight semantic domains. The following section will elaborate on the linguistic reconstruction of PMN according to the designated semantic domains.

Times

PM *pagi ‘morning’ > PPMN *pagi; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB pagi^j

PM *hari ‘day’ > PPMN *hayi; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB hayi^j

PM *bulan ‘month’ > PPMN *bulɛ; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB bulɛ
PM *ma-lə(hø)əm ‘night’ > PPMN *malɛ; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB malɛ
PM *kələ(hø)əm ‘evening’ > PPMN *pətɛ; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB pətɛ

Based on the above presentation, five words refer to the semantic field of ‘times’ reconstructed here: ‘morning’, ‘day’, ‘month’, ‘night’, and ‘evening’. The terms ‘morning’ and ‘day’ are reconstructed as *pagi (PM *pagi) and *hayi (PM *hari) in PPMN. The word *pagi is directly and systematically derived in all PMN variants, namely KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL, and AKB, as /pagi/. Similarly, the word *hayi is directly and systematically derived in all PMN variants, namely KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL, and AKB, as /hayi/. The words ‘month’ and ‘night’ are reconstructed as *bulɛ (PM *bulan) and *malɛ (PM *ma-lə(hø)əm) in PPMN. The word *bulɛ is directly and systematically derived in all PMN variants, namely KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL, and AKB, as /bulɛ/, with the omission of PPMN *n in the final position of the word. This is because all words that end with a nasal consonant, namely /m/, /n/, /ɲ/, and /ŋ/, in PMN, will be omitted, and the preceding vowel will be replaced with the vowel /ɛ/. Similarly, the word *malɛ is directly and systematically derived in all PMN variants, namely KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL, and AKB, as /malɛ/. In contrast, the word ‘evening’, which underwent innovation in PPMN, is represented as *pətɛ replacing the PM form *kələ(hø)əm. In the PMN, the sound /ə/ in the word *pətɛ (PM *kələ(hø)əm) is classified as a mid-high central vowel /ə/.

Numeral System

PM *əsaʔ ‘one’ > PPMN *sə; KRS, PYK, BNL and AKB sə; BKT and MNK satu^w
PM *dua(?) ‘two’ > PPMN *duwə; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB duwə
PM *təlu ‘three’ > PPMN *tigo; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB tigo
PM *əmpat ‘four’ > PPMN *pak; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB paʔ
PM *limaʔ ‘five’ > PPMN *limə; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB limə
PM *ənəm ‘six’ > PPMN *nɛ; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB nɛ
PM *tujuh ‘seven’ > PPMN *tudʒoh; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB tudʒoh
PM *dua(?) alap-an ‘eight’ > PPMN *lapɛ; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB lapɛ

Based on the above presentation, eight words refer to the semantic field of the ‘numeral system’ that are reconstructed here, namely ‘one’, ‘two’, ‘three’, ‘four’, ‘five’, ‘six’, ‘seven’, and ‘eight’. The numeral ‘one’ for the KRS, PYK, BNL, and AKB variants is /sə/, while for the BKT and MNK variants, it is /satu^w/. The reconstruction of the word ‘one’ in PPMN is determined as *sə (PM *əsaʔ). The numerals ‘two’, ‘three’, ‘four’, ‘five’, ‘six’, ‘seven’, and ‘eight’ are reconstructed as *duwə (PM *dua(?)), *tigo (PM *təlu), *pak (PM *əmpat), *limə (PM *limaʔ), *nɛ (PM *ənəm), *tudʒoh (PM *tujuh), and *lapɛ (PM *dua(?) alap-an) in PPMN. The words *duwə, *tigo, *pak, *limə, *nɛ, *tudʒoh, and *lapɛ are directly and systematically derived in all PMN variants, namely KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL, and AKB, as /duwə/, /tigo/, /paʔ/, /limə/, /nɛ/, /tudʒoh/, and /lapɛ/. Based on this reconstruction, it is evident that the word ‘three’ has undergone innovation in PPMN, where *tigo replaced PM *təlu.

Environment and Colors

PM *dahan ‘branch’ > PPMN *dehɛ; KRS, BKT, PYK and MNK dehɛ; BNL and AKB dahe
PM *akar ‘root’ > PPMN *aka; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB aka
PM *batu ‘stone’ > PPMN *batu; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB batu^w

PM *urəm ‘cloudy’ > PPMN *d̥ʒoŋ; KRS, BKT, PYK and MNK d̥ʒoŋ; BNL j̥oŋ and AKB jaŋ

PM *hitəm ‘black’ > PPMN *hitɛ; KRS, BKT, PYK and MNK hitɛ; BNL and AKB itɛ

PM *hijaw ‘green’ > PPMN *hid̥ʒa; KRS, BKT, PYK and MNK hid̥ʒa; BNL and AKB id̥ʒa

Based on the above presentation, six words referring to the semantic field of ‘environment and colours’ are reconstructed here: ‘branch’, ‘root’, ‘stone’, ‘cloudy’, ‘black’, and ‘green’. The word ‘branch’ is reconstructed as *dɛhɛ (PM *dahan) in PPMN. The word *dɛhɛ is directly and systematically derived in the KRS, BKT, PYK, and MNK variants as /dɛhɛ/. The reflex of PPMN *dɛhɛ in the BNL and AKB variants is /daɦɛ/ (a sporadic change occurs when PPMN *ɛ > [a] in the middle position of the word). The words ‘root’ and ‘stone’ are reconstructed as *aka (PM *akar) and *batu (PM *batu) in PPMN. The word *aka is directly and systematically derived in all PMN variants, namely KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL, and AKB, as /aka/. Similarly, the word ‘stone’ is directly and systematically derived in all PMN variants, namely KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL, and AKB, as /batu^w/. In contrast to the word ‘cloudy’, which underwent innovation in PPMN, the form *d̥ʒoŋ replaced the PM form *urəm. This reconstruction indicates that *d̥ʒoŋ is the original form in the PMN. This is evidenced by the presence of *d̥ʒoŋ in all the examined variants, despite phonetic variations such as /d̥ʒoŋ/, /j̥oŋ/, and /jaŋ/. Therefore, based on this analysis, the form *d̥ʒoŋ is reconstructed as the proto form for PMN.

Regarding the essential colour words, ‘black’ and ‘green’ are reconstructed as *hitɛ (PM *hitəm) and *hid̥ʒa (PM *hijaw) in PPMN. The word *hitɛ is directly and systematically derived in the KRS, BKT, PYK, and MNK variants as /hitɛ/. Meanwhile, the reflex in the BNL and AKB variants is /itɛ/, where a sporadic change occurs due to the phoneme *h- deletion in the initial position of the word. Similarly, the word *hid̥ʒa is directly and systematically derived in the KRS, BKT, PYK, and MNK variants as /hid̥ʒa/. Meanwhile, the reflex in the BNL and AKB variants is /id̥ʒa/.

Household Equipment

PM *rumah ‘house’ > PPMN *ɣuməh; KRS, BKT, PYK and MNK ɣuməh; BNL uməh; AKB ɣəməh

PM *tihan ‘pillar’ > PPMN *tijɛ; KRS, BKT, PYK and MNK tijɛ; BNL and AKB t^hijɛ

PM *jarum ‘needle’ > PPMN *d̥ʒayon; KRS, BKT, PYK and MNK d̥ʒayon; BNL and AKB jaŋon

PM *sira ‘salt’ > PPMN *gayɛ; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB gayɛ

Based on the above presentation, four words referring to the semantic field of ‘household equipment’ are reconstructed here: ‘house’, ‘pillar’, ‘needle’, and ‘salt’. The word ‘house’ is reconstructed as *ɣuməh (PM *rumah) in PPMN. The word *ɣuməh is directly and systematically derived in all PMN variants, although some phonetic differences exist. The KRS, BKT, PYK, and MNK variants appear as /ɣuməh/. The reflex of PPMN *ɣuməh in other variants is as follows: in BNL, it is /uməh/ (a sporadic change occurs due to the deletion of the phoneme *ɣ- in the initial position of the word), and in AKB, it is /ɣəməh/ (a sporadic change occurs when PPMN *u > [ə] in the middle position of the word). The word ‘pillar’ is reconstructed in PPMN as *tijɛ (PM *tihan). The word *tijɛ is directly and systematically derived in the KRS, BKT, PYK, and MNK variants as /tijɛ/. The reflex of PPMN *tijɛ in the BNL and AKB variants appears as /t^hijɛ/, where a sporadic change occurs due to the addition of an aspirated consonant at the beginning of the word.

Next, the word ‘needle’ is reconstructed as **d̥ʒayon̩* (PM **jarum*) in PPMN. The word **d̥ʒayon̩* is directly and systematically derived in the KRS, BKT, PYK, and MNK variants as /*d̥ʒayon̩*/. Meanwhile, the reflex in the BNL and AKB variants is /*ʒayon̩*/, where a sporadic change occurs when PPMN **d̥ʒ* > [j] is in the initial position of the word. The word ‘salt’ is reconstructed as **gayɛ* in PPMN. The word **gayɛ* has been directly and systematically inherited in all PMN variants, namely KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL, and AKB, as /*gayɛ*/. This reconstruction indicates that the word has undergone innovation in PPMN compared to the PM form **sira*. This change occurs because **gayɛ* is a form originating from the Malay language, in contrast to PM, which tends to adopt lexical items from other languages, such as Iban, Seraway isolect, Minangkabau, Jakartanese Malay, Standard Malay, and Banjarese Malay.

Kinship Terms and Pronouns

PM *(ə)ma(?) ‘mother’ > PPMN **mək*; PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB *mɛʔ*; KRS and BKT *mɔʔ*
 PM **bini* ‘wife’ > PPMN **biniŋ*; KRS, PYK, BNL and AKB *biniŋ*; BKT and MNK *biniʃ*
 PM **ipar* ‘in-law’ > PPMN **ipa*; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB *ipa*
 PM **anak* ‘child’ > PPMN **anək*; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB *anɔʔ*
 PM **adiʔ* ‘younger sibling’ > PPMN **adek*; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB *adeʔ*
 PM **aku* ‘I’ > PPMN **kitɔ*; BKT, BNL and AKB *kitɔ*; PYK and MNK *kawɛ*; KRS *kumɔ*
 PM **kau(?)* ‘you’ > PPMN **dɛmɔ*; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB *dɛmɔ*

Based on the above presentation, seven words referring to the semantic field of ‘kinship terms and pronouns’ are reconstructed here: ‘mother’, ‘wife’, ‘in-law’, ‘child’, ‘younger sibling’, ‘I’, and ‘you’. The word ‘mother’ is reconstructed as **mək* (PM *(ə)ma(?)) in PPMN. The word **mək* is directly and systematically derived in the PYK, MNK, BNL, and AKB variants as /*mɛʔ*/. The reflex of PPMN **mək* in the KRS and BKT variants appears as /*mɔʔ*/, where a sporadic change occurs when PPMN **ɛ* > [ɔ] in the middle position of the word. The word ‘wife’ is reconstructed as **biniŋ* (PM **bini*) in PPMN. The word **biniŋ* is directly and systematically derived in the KRS, PYK, BNL, and AKB variants as /*biniŋ*/. The reflex of PPMN **biniŋ* in the BKT and MNK variants appears as /*biniʃ*/, where a sporadic change occurs due to the deletion of the *-ŋ phoneme in the final position of the word. The word ‘in-law’ is reconstructed as **ipa* (PM **ipar*) in PPMN. The word **ipa* is directly and systematically derived in all PMN variants, namely KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL, and AKB, as /*ipa*/, where the PPMN **r* in the final position of the word is deleted. All words ending with /-r/ in PPMN undergo deletion. Next, the words ‘child’ and ‘younger sibling’ are reconstructed as **anək* (PM **anak*) and **adek* (PM **adiʔ*) in PPMN. The word **anək* is directly and systematically derived in all PMN variants KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL, and AKB as /*anɔʔ*/, whereas **adek* is also directly and systematically derived in all PMN variants as /*adeʔ*/.

Regarding pronouns, the word ‘I’ is reconstructed as **kitɔ* (PM **aku*) in PPMN. The word **kitɔ* is directly and systematically derived in the BKT, BNL, and AKB variants as /*kitɔ*/. Meanwhile, the PYK and MNK variants have /*kawɛ*/, and the KRS variant has /*kumɔ*/, which are not cognates with the compared PMN variants. The word ‘you’ is reconstructed as **dɛmɔ* (PM **kau(?)*) in PPMN. The word **dɛmɔ* is directly and systematically derived in all PMN variants KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL, and AKB as /*dɛmɔ*/. The word **kitɔ* in Patani Malay originates from the word ‘kita’ in Malay, which originally referred to the first-person plural pronoun, meaning ‘we’ or ‘us’. However, in Patani Malay, this word underwent a semantic shift and is used as a first-person singular pronoun, meaning ‘I’ or ‘me’. This change was accompanied by a phonological shift in the final vowel, where [a] changed to [ɔ]. The word **dɛmɔ* in the Patani Malay is likely an internal innovation that evolved from an older form such

as ‘dian’, which meant ‘he/she’ or ‘you’. Additionally, it cannot be ruled out that *dēmō may be an original form in the Patani Malay that has undergone its own phonological and semantic development.

Human Body Parts

PM *uraŋ ‘person’ > PPMN *ɔŋɛ; KRS, BKT, PYK and MNK ɔŋɛ; BNL and AKB uŋɛ
PM *u(n)tək ‘brain’ > PPMN *ɔtək; KRS, BKT, PYK and MNK ɔtəʔ; BNL and AKB utoʔ
PM *urat ‘tendon’ > PPMN *ɔyat; KRS, BKT, PYK and MNK ɔyaʔ; BNL and AKB uyaʔ
PM *pərut ‘stomach’ > PPMN *pəyot; KRS, BKT, PYK and MNK pəyotʔ; BNL and AKB p^həyotʔ
PPMN *mukɔ ‘face’ > KRS, BKT, PYK and MNK mukɔ; BNL and AKB muk^hɔ
PM *dilah ‘tongue’ > PPMN *lidɔh; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB lidɔh
PM *lihər ‘neck’ > PPMN *təkək; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB təkəʔ
PM *hulu(?) ‘head’ > PPMN *p:alɔ; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB p:alɔ

Based on the presentation above, eight words referring to the semantic field of “human body parts” are reconstructed here, namely ‘person’, ‘brain’, ‘tendon’, ‘stomach’, ‘face’, ‘tongue’, ‘neck’, and ‘head’. The words ‘person’, ‘brain’, and ‘tendon’ are reconstructed as *ɔŋɛ (PM *uraŋ), *ɔtək (PM *u(n)tək), and *ɔyat (PM *urat) in PPMN. The word *ɔŋɛ is directly and systematically derived in the KRS, BKT, PYK, and MNK variants as /ɔŋɛ/. Meanwhile, its reflex in the BNL and AKB variants is /uŋɛ/, where a sporadic change occurs when PPMN *ɔ > [u] is in the middle position of the word. Similarly, the words *ɔtək and *ɔyat are directly and systematically derived in the KRS, BKT, PYK, and MNK variants as /ɔtəʔ/ and /ɔyaʔ/. Meanwhile, their reflex in the BNL and AKB variants is /utoʔ/ and /uyaʔ/, where a sporadic change occurs when PPMN *ɔ > [u] in the initial position of the word.

The words ‘stomach’ and ‘face’ are reconstructed as *pəyot (PM *pərut) and *mukɔ in PPMN. The word *pəyot is directly and systematically derived in the KRS, BKT, PYK, and MNK variants as /pəyotʔ/. Meanwhile, its reflex in the BNL and AKB variants is /p^həyotʔ/, where a sporadic change occurs when PPMN *p > [p^h] is in the initial position of the word. Similarly, the word *mukɔ is directly and systematically derived in the KRS, BKT, PYK, and MNK variants as /mukɔ/. Meanwhile, its reflex in the BNL and AKB variants is /muk^hɔ/, where a sporadic change occurs when PPMN *k > [k^h] is in the middle position of the word. Next, the words ‘tongue’, ‘neck’, and ‘head’ are reconstructed as *lidɔh (PM *dilah), *təkək (PM *lihər), and *ppalɔ (PM *hulu(?)) in PPMN. The words *lidɔh, *təkək, and *ppalɔ are directly and systematically derived in all PMN variants, namely KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL, and AKB, as /lidɔh/, /təkəʔ/, and /ppalɔ/. Based on this reconstruction, it is evident that these three words have undergone innovation in PPMN compared to PM *dilah, PM *lihər, and PM *hulu(?).

Animals and Their Body Parts

PM *hayam ‘chicken’ > PPMN *hajɛ; KRS, PYK, BNL and AKB hajɛ; BKT and MNK ajɛ
PPMN *gadʒɔh ‘elephant’ > KRS, BKT, PYK and MNK gadʒɔh; BNL and AKB ɣadʒɔh
PM *ikur ‘tail’ > PPMN *ɛkɔ; KRS, BKT, PYK and MNK ɛkɔ; BNL and AKB ikɔ
PM *sayap ‘wing’ > PPMN *sajap; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL and AKB sajaʔ

Based on the above presentation, four words referring to the semantic field of “animals and their body parts” have been reconstructed here: ‘chicken’, ‘elephant’, ‘tail’, and ‘wing’. The word ‘chicken’ is reconstructed as *hajɛ (PM *hayam) in PPMN. The word *hajɛ is directly

and systematically derived in the KRS, PYK, BNL, and AKB variants as /hajɛ/. Meanwhile, the reflex in the BKT and MNK variants is /ajɛ/, where a sporadic change occurs due to the phoneme *h- deletion in the initial position of the word. The word ‘elephant’ is reconstructed as *gadʒoh in PPMN. The word *gadʒoh is directly and systematically derived in the KRS, BKT, PYK, and MNK variants as /gadʒoh/. Meanwhile, the reflex in the BNL and AKB variants is /ʎadʒoh/, where a sporadic change occurs due to the shift of PPMN *g > [ʎ] in the initial position of the word.

Next, the word ‘tail’ is reconstructed as *ɛkɔ (PM *ikur) in PPMN. The word *ɛkɔ is directly and systematically derived in the KRS, BKT, PYK, and MNK variants as /ɛkɔ/. The reflex of PPMN *ɛkɔ in the BNL and AKB variants is /ikɔ/, where a sporadic change occurs due to the shift of PPMN *ɛ > [i] in the initial position of the word. The word ‘wing’ is reconstructed as *sajap (PM *sayap) in PPMN. The word *sajap is directly and systematically derived in all PMN variants: KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, BNL, and AKB as /sajaʔ/. Based on this reconstruction, it is clear that the word ‘wing’ is a direct retention from PM *sayap.

Verbs and Adjectives

PM *buan ‘throw-away’ > PPMN *tɔhok; KRS, BKT, PYK and MNK tɔhoʔ; BNL tahoʔ; AKB taha^uʔ

PM *gigit ‘bite’ > PPMN *kəkoh; KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK and BNL kəkoh; AKB kike

PM *simpan ‘keep’ > PPMN *tayoh; KRS, BKT, PYK, BNL and AKB tayoh; MNK sipe

PM *k/anan ‘right (direction)’ > PPMN *kanɛ; KRS, BKT, PYK and MNK kanɛ; BNL and AKB k^hanɛ

PM *kA-iri ‘left’ > PPMN *kiyi; KRS, BKT, PYK and MNK kiyi; BNL and AKB k^hiyi

Based on the above presentation, five words referring to the semantic field of “verbs and adjectives” have been reconstructed here: ‘throw-away’, ‘bite’, ‘keep’, ‘right’, and ‘left’. The word ‘throw-away’ is reconstructed as *tɔhok (PM *buan) in PPMN. The word *tɔhok is directly and systematically derived in all PMN variants, despite some phonetic differences: in the KRS, BKT, PYK, and MNK variants, it appears as /tɔhoʔ/. The reflex of PPMN *tɔhok in the BNL variant is /tahoʔ/, where a sporadic change occurs due to the shift of PPMN *ɔ > [a] in the middle position of the word. In the AKB variant, it appears as /taha^uʔ/, where two sporadic changes occur: PPMN *ɔ > [a] in the middle position and *o > [a^u] in the final position.

The word ‘bite’ is reconstructed as *kəkoh (PM *gigit) in PPMN. The word *kəkoh is directly and systematically derived in the KRS, BKT, PYK, MNK, and BNL variants as /kəkoh/, whereas in the AKB variant, it appears as /kike/, which is not cognate with the compared PMN variants. Similarly, the word ‘keep’ is reconstructed as *tayoh (PM *simpan) in PPMN. The word *tayoh is directly and systematically derived in the KRS, BKT, PYK, BNL, and AKB variants as /tayoh/. In contrast, the MNK variant appears as /sipe/, which is not cognate with the compared PMN variants. Based on this reconstruction, it is evident that the words ‘throw-away’, ‘bite’, and ‘keep’ have undergone innovation in PPMN compared to PM *buan, PM *gigit, and PM *simpan. Next, the words ‘right’ and ‘left’ are reconstructed as *kanɛ (PM *k/anan) and *kiyi (PM *kA-iri) in PPMN. The word *kanɛ is directly and systematically derived in the KRS, BKT, PYK, and MNK variants as /kanɛ/. The reflex of PPMN *kanɛ in the BNL and AKB variants is /k^hanɛ/, where a sporadic change occurs due to the addition of an aspirated consonant at the beginning of the word. Similarly, the word *kiyi is directly and systematically derived in the KRS, BKT, PYK, and MNK variants as /kiyi/. The reflex of PPMN *kiyi in the BNL and AKB variants is /k^hiyi/, where a sporadic change occurs due to the addition of an aspirated consonant at the beginning of the word.

CONCLUSION

This study discusses the lexical reconstruction of the Proto-Patani Malay of Narathiwat (PPMN) based on the lexical reconstruction method proposed by Crowley & Bown (2010). This reconstruction process involves eight main semantic domains: lexicon related to times, numeral system, environment and colours, household equipment, kinship terms and pronouns, human body parts, animals and their body parts, and verbs and adjectives. Overall, the results of the lexical reconstruction of PPMN have successfully formed proto-words, indicating that in some cases, PPMN shares lexical similarities with Proto-Malayic (PM), while in other cases, it exists as a direct inheritance from PM. Nevertheless, the uniqueness of PPMN remains intact as an ancient dialect with its distinct lexical system. Therefore, the findings of this study are beneficial as input for the subsequent research of classifying the PPMN to determine the distant-close relationships between the dialectal variants.

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