THAI PRONOUNS AS INTERPERSONAL RESOURCES SIGNIFYING 'INVOLVEMENT' AND 'ATTITUDE'

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the roles of Thai pronouns as interpersonal resources within the scope of Systemic Functional Linguistics. Based on the samples of pronominal usage collected from forty Thai contemporary novels, the writer has illustrated the relationship between Thai pronominal reference and the two Tenor variables—'status' and 'contact'. It is these two Tenor variables and affective involvement between interlocutors which influence their pronominal choice. The writer has further proposed a model for analysing Thai pronouns under two interpersonal discourse semantics—'involvement' and 'appraisal'. Regarding the system of 'involvement', Thai pronominal resources can be 'unmarkedly' utilised to realise six different features of 'intimate' interpersonal relation, namely: (1) 'familial solidarity', (2) 'pseudo kinship', (3) 'solidarity', (4) 'endearment', (5) 'deference' and (6) 'politeness'. These linguistic resources can also construe three features of 'non-intimate' interpersonal relation including (7) 'formality', (8) 'neutrality' and (9) 'uncalled-for solidarity'. With respect to the system of 'appraisal', a Thai pronoun has to be analysed as an 'attitudinal token' through which an interlocutor's 'attitude' can be encrypted. Therefore, to decipher the encoded 'attitude', contextual clues are indispensable. The writer has suggested that only the 'affect' component of 'attitude' is realisable through the two kinds of 'marked' pronominal usage, viz. 'discriminatory pronominal choice' and 'expressive pronominal switching'.

KEY WORDS: APPRAISAL/ATTITUDE/ INTERPERSONAL/INVOLVEMENT/
MARKED/PRONOUN/SWITCHING/ UNMARKED

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การใช้สรรพนามไทยในฐานะที่เป็นทรัพยากรเชิงบุคคลสัมพันธ์ในการสื่อสัมพันธภาพและเจตคติระหว่างบุคคล

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บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้มุ่งศึกษาบทบาทหน้าที่เชิงบุคคลสัมพันธ์ของคำสรรพนามไทย โดยอิงหลักทฤษฎีไวยากรณ์ระบบหน้าที่ ผู้ศึกษาได้วิเคราะห์ตัวอย่างข้อมูลการใช้สรรพนามที่เก็บจากนวนิยายไทยร่วมสมัยสี่สิบเรื่อง และได้นำมาวิเคราะห์ให้เห็นถึงความสัมพันธ์ของการใช้สรรพนามไทยกับตัวแปรของ Tenor ซึ่งประกอบด้วย 'สถานภาพ' และ 'ความข้องเกี่ยว' ซึ่งสองปัจจัยนี้รวมทั้งความรู้สึกร่วมระหว่างผู้พูดกับผู้ฟัง มีอิทธพลต่อการใช้สรรพนามในภาษาไทย ผู้เขียนยังได้นำเสนอรูปแบบการวิเคราะห์การใช้สรรพนามไทยที่ใช้ในการสื่อ 'สัมพันธภาพ' และ 'เจตคติ' ระหว่างบุคคล การใช้สรรพนามไทยใน 'สภาวะปกติ' เพื่อสื่อสัมพันธภาพนั้น ผู้พูดสามารถแสดงมิติความสัมพันธ์ได้สองลักษณะคือ 'สนิทสนม' และ 'ไม่สนิมสนม' โดยมิติความสนิทสนมนั้นประกอบไปด้วยรูปแบบปฏิสัมพันธ์ดังนี้คือ (1) 'แบบครอบครัว' (2) 'แบบฉันท์ญาติ' (3) 'แบบกันเอง' (4) 'แบบเอ็นดู' (5) 'แบบเคารพ' (6) 'แบบสุภาพ' และปฏิสัมพันธ์ในมิติที่ไม่สนิทสนมมีดังนี้ (7) 'แบบทางการ' (8) 'แบบเป็นกลาง' (9) 'แบบถือวิสาสะ' การใช้สรรพนามไทยเพื่อสื่อเจตคติของผู้พูดนั้นจัดว่าเป็นการใช้ใน 'สภาวะพิเศษ' ซึ่งสรรพนามไทยถือเป็น 'อรรถรหัส' เชิงเจตคติ ดังนั้นการถอดรหัสสารที่แฝงในสรรพนามไทย จึงจำเป็นอย่างยิ่งที่จะต้องพึ่งบริบทรอบข้าง รหัสสารที่สะท้อนผ่านการใช้สรรพนามไทยได้นั้นมีเพียงประเภทเดียวคือ 'อารมณ์ความรู้สึก' ของผู้พูด อนึ่งการใช้สรรพนามในสภาวะพิเศษนี้สามารถทำได้สองวิธีคือ 'การใช้เชิงแบ่งแยก' และ 'การใช้เชิงปรับเปลี่ยน'

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale and significance of the study

Thai pronouns and their usage reflect a complex system of social relations between or among interlocutors participating in exchanging communicative texts. Scholars with published works on the Thai pronouns such as Baron (1998), Cooke (1968), Hoonchamlong (1992), Iwasaki and Horie (1995), Kanittanan (1984), Palakornkul (1972), Prasithrathsint (2001), Simpson (1997), to name but a few, have all recognized this significant aspect that Thai pronouns are linguistic resources which plays an important role in marking social and interpersonal relations in communication.

According to Levinson (1983, p. 61-68), there are different kinds of pragmatic deixis: person, time, place, discourse and social. The following two kinds are, in my view, clearly interpersonal relational, namely person and social deixis. Person deixis refers to grammatical resources for personal referencing in a conversation, whereas the latter concerns social relationship between the interlocutors. The Thai pronominal system comprises several dozens of lexical items functioning as both referent and social deixis which are semantically characterized by different socio-cultural factors as elaborated by Cooke (1968,) and especially by Palakornkul (1972). Thai pronominal strategies of each individual are derived from a long-term process of learning development through daily socialisations with his family members, peer groups, friends, co-workers and others in the society surrounding him. A Thai native speaker naturally adopts an appropriate pronominal strategy on the course of his socialisation with another people to clearly mark a referent as well as to identify his social roles or role relationships with his conversational partner(s) in every communicative context or situation type. Due to variations in pronominal usage and the huge inventory of Thai pronouns, it is necessary for a Thai individual to firstly evaluate his relationships with others and then to make the appropriate choice of pronoun so as to accurately carry such attitudes enveloped in his messages to the

receivers. For such a purpose, he needs to take into consideration different socio-cultural factors of his and the conversational partners such as age, sex, social status or position, degree of familiarity. Thanks to individual socio-cultural differences, at times, it is possible that variations in pronominal usage can hardly be standardized across every individual. Some individuals may utilise some pronominal items and never resort to some selected pronouns (currently in use by others) throughout their lives. And some Thai speakers may use certain pronouns speaking to some particular acquaintances, and some other pronouns to another circle of familiar people. For example, one of my female colleagues has never, in her life, communicated with any friends, acquaintances, kin or family members using the 1st person pronoun /ku:/ 'I' and the 2nd person pronoun /mɯŋ/ 'you', both of which are, according to Cooke (1968), non-restraint pronominal terms owing to their possible negative impressions on the hearer. While another female colleague uses these two pronouns with only some close friends but not with other intimate friends, despite her long-term relationships with both groups are more or less not very different. Likewise, variations in pronominal usage abound in Thai fictions. In the present study, I will demonstrate that some Thai novelists are different in their views on some identical sets of pronouns as reflected in their pronominal choices by identifying the different dimensions of interpersonal relations and attitudes expressed among characters.

Another issue on Thai pronominal system is the role as a politeness-marker. Pragmatic politeness as viewed by western academia such as Lakoff (1977), Levinson (1983), depends mainly on how speech acts or how speech functions are executed rather than on usage of politeness-marking lexical items or speech-level markers as coined by Iwasaki and Horie (1995). However, for Thai speakers, the locus of politeness is additionally expressed by politeness-markers such as polite particles, alternate vocabulary as well as personal reference terms (personal pronouns proper and terms of address). And the absence or presence of such politeness-markers is significant to the form of informal or formal language respectively. According to Iwasaki and Horie (1995), pronominal choice including pronouns and address terms, sentence particles are significant speech level markers or linguistic cues of register coding. The presence of these linguistic resources can affect the degree of language formality. According to this view, it seems that such politeness-marking lexis take

precedence with respect to assessing the level of language formality. Studies by other scholars such as Cooke (1968), Hoonchamlong (1992), and Palakornkul (1972) echo the similar concept of normative usage that this 1st–person pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ is specifically associated with 'formality' which entails 'distance. Hence, it can be viewed that the pronoun is considered as a determinant of a formal language situation. As a matter of fact, however, in Thai fictions, there are cases whereby the presence of a particular pronoun, for example the 1st person pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ 'I', currently reserved only for use by a female speaker, is not necessarily always associated with a formal or distant communicative situation especially when it is used in a context whereby both interlocutors are socially equal. This pronoun is used frequently in both informal or casual and formal conversations in various Thai novels. It is a misconception that this particular pronoun is consistently determinate of formality or distance.

In the novel /pi:-sà:t/ or 'The Ghosts' as translated by Barang (1994), the leading female character Ratchani /rát-cháʔ-ni:/ consistently uses the pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ when speaking to both her male and female colleagues, including Sai /să:i/ with whom she afterwards has become in love. According to the traditional view, this pronominal form is associated with the specific prescriptive usage in a formal situation as generally interpreted on the syntactic level. It would be so misleading if her usage of /dìʔ-chăn/ could only be interpreted as a marker of formality which signals a non-intimate or distant relationship. It would be rather odd and paradoxical that her relationship with Sai was considered 'distant' in spite of their being in love with each other. The re-interpretation of such pronominal choice is needed by relying on the context of usage rather than only on form to lead us to a better conclusion of her role relationship with her lover. The association of a pronominal form to the concept of 'formality' vs. 'non-formality' or 'form' determines 'language situation' needs to be reviewed. In my study, I will contend that such conception of pronominal reference is not an absolute key norm. The term 'pronominal' is used in this study as an 'adjective' follows the definition in Cooke (1968, p.1) meaning "*pertaining to personal pronouns, or occurring in first or second person contexts and with first or second person meanings in much the same way as personal pronouns do*". I will illustrate that it is

the context of pronominal usage which significantly determines the relationship-marking role of a pronoun.

Furthermore, as suggested by Palakornkul (1972), there exists another interpersonal aspect which a pronoun can strategically entail—the speaker's emotional manifestation. Generally perceived as a means of venting the speaker's anger or dissatisfaction is the usage of such pronouns as /ku:/ and /mɯŋ/, which are socially stigmatised as impoliteness markers. The role of exhibiting the expressive or affective aspect in one's speech behaviour is not limited to only usage of the above pronominal pair but is also extended to other pronouns which are not normatively used by the speaker—a means of the so-called switching of pronouns, which will be further discussed in this thesis. The expressive marking attribute of a Thai pronoun has additionally undermined the inadequacy of the salient prescriptive rules of Thai pronominal usage and the conception that 'form' determines 'language situation'.

These two significant roles as a social-relationship marker and an expressive marker in the Thai pronominal system are lacking in the current English pronominal system. English pronouns are analysed as interpersonal resources of person referencing as Subject—an element in the Mood system or verbal or a prepositional objects. Thanks to the limited role of interpersonal realisation in the English pronominal system, in Systemic Functional Linguistics, the two other significant interpersonal aspects of pronominal resources have not been taken into account. Consequentially, such a method of pronominal analysis has spread its influence over the study of the Thai language, which will be pointed out below.

The very pioneer of Systemic Functional Grammar on the Thai language owns its existence to Patpong (2006). Her study explores the metafunctions of the three components of the Thai language system—Field (executing the experiential function), Tenor (the interpersonal function) and Mode (the textual function) and lexicogrammatical structures of Thai by analyzing narrative tales on the clausal basis. The second attempt is on discursive analysis of Thai journalistic texts by Arunsirote (2012), the very first thesis on Appraisal in Thai. My study will be targeted on pronominal referencing resources, in which I will demonstrate how this kind of linguistic resources significantly contributes to construal of the interpersonal metafunction in Thai, which has not been addressed in either of these studies.

I will look at pronoun with a different perspective that Thai pronominal usage is a means of realising Tenor register category, which conveys another important facet of interpersonal meaning rather being just Subject to confirm or reject a proposition in a clause. In other words, in my study, a Thai pronoun has multiple functions of enacting different aspects of role-relationship between two or among different interlocutors. In addition to being a Subject of a clause who takes part in different speech roles or speech functions or a grammatical object, a Thai pronoun, regardless of its position in a clause, can be by itself indicative of the interpersonal relations and attitudes between the participants in a conversation.

In order to achieve the above purposes, in this current study on Thai pronouns, I will propose a new framework of analyzing Thai pronouns in situational context, partially based on the framework of Tenor system proposed by Poynton (1990) and the 'appraisal' theoretical approach by Martin and White (2005), an affiliation of Systemic Functional Linguistics. According to Martin and White (2005), interpersonal meaning can be conceptually structured with three different systems of discourse semantics—'negotiation', 'appraisal' and 'involvement'. Since their theory was developed in the context of modern English whereby its pronominal system is far less sophisticated than Thai, a pronominal choice in modern English does not obviously reflect the speaker's personal attitude toward or interpersonal relation with the hearer. Rather, it functions of making deictic referencing of 'who does what' as elaborated in the discourse semantic system of Negotiation. And the aspect of 'who does what' has already been partly addressed in the pioneer study by Patpong, which is not within the scope of this current study. English pronouns are not considered as playing any roles of expressing any interpersonal relationships in the system of 'appraisal' and 'involvement'. In the Thai language, one's pronominal choice is not only tied to a grammatical function but also a part of social behaviour. It is a linguistic strategic competence which is influenced by one's social interactions with others and attributable to the speaker's language ideology as I will discussed in the following chapter. Thai pronouns can be part of expressions of individual attitudes and interpersonal relations. As briefly mentioned above, the 'appraisal' theory does not take into consideration pronominal resources as part of its lexicogrammatical resources. Moreover, the discourse semantics of 'involvement' which is concerned

with negotiation of tenor relations has not involved pronominal referencing as part of the system. As mentioned in Martin and White (2005, p. 33), "*Involvement complements appraisal by focusing on non-gradable resources for negotiating tenor relations, especially solidarity.*" Address terms used as Vocatives are considered as part of the system. The Thai language does have Vocative resources, some of which are in pronominal forms, and similarly function as those in English to express interpersonal attitudes and relations between interlocutors, which is not the issue to be addressed in this currently study. The current study is to address the social differentiation and expressive functions of Thai pronouns used for person referencing, not as Vocatives. As a matter of fact, Patpong (2006) does recognize the role of pronoun as social-role marker but functioning as a Vocative. By giving two different examples of 2nd person pronoun /kæ:/ and /ʔeŋ/ 'you', she does not move further to elaborate their social-marking roles, especially in the 2nd example whereby the pronoun /ʔeŋ/ does not obviously function as a Vocative but as a Subject of the element.

(a) /kæ: wan-ní: dâ:i ʔàʔ-rai ma: làʔ /
You! What did you get today?
(b) /ʔeŋ cam wái náʔ/
You! Remember! (Patpong, 2006, p. 385)

The writer follows the analytical approach as laid down for English in which Vocative does not have a transitivity role, which is also true in Thai.

> "*Unlike the Subject, Compliment, and Adjunct, the Vocative does not have a transitivity role. Therefore, its role is not interpreted as part of the Negotiatory/Remainder structure. A Vocative may occur in either the initial or final position in the clause."* (Patpong, 2006, p. 384).

However, in the second clause, the pronoun /ʔeŋ/ can be read as a Subject instead of a Vocative. In a natural speech, when a pause exists right after the nominal group preceding the transitivity, it is considered as a Vocative rather than a Subject like the pronoun /kæ:/ in the first clause which is followed by a natural pause because the nominal group and the transitivity is separated by a Circumstantial Adjunct.

Nevertheless, she has acknowledged the role a social-relation markers of both Vocative and pronoun that,

> "*…One of the most important factors in categorising vocatives is the social-tenor relationship between speaker and listener…Strategies of using vocative in exchanges are relatively similar to the use of pronouns*." (Patpong, 2006, p. 386).

It will be my attempt to demonstrate with literary evidence how Thai pronouns can fit in these two systems of interpersonal discourse semantic resources deployed to construe participants' social and expressive relations in a text. Bearing in mind that the 'appraisal' approach was initially established in order to tackle the English language of which the pronoun system is far less complex than the Thai one. Therefore, the theory was by no means developed in order to purposively analyze Thai pronouns rather than other evaluative linguistic resources. However, I will further elaborate that Thai pronouns, in addition to their intrinsic semantic properties of person referencing and social differentiation, can be evaluative like some other attitudinal adjective-like predicates in Thai. And these linguistic resources clearly underlie the message sender's attitude toward the message recipient as well as the targeted individual of the speaker's criticism. It may as well be said that in an evaluative text, there are always two facets of interpersonal meaning—the primary one is obviously directed at the targeted referent, and the secondary one underpins the social and affective relationship between the participants in the conversation.

As mentioned earlier the Tenor discourse semantic system of 'involvement' is meant to account for negotiating tenor relations, especially solidarity, such as address terms, expletives and interjections, slang, technical and specialized lexis. I will argue in my thesis that Thai pronominal choice must also be included as part of this system. Also as earlier mentioned, the use of different pronouns in Thai is not necessarily restricted to only the notional cline of language choice of expressing closeness or intimacy vs. distance or non-intimacy, formality vs. informality or politeness vs. impoliteness. In additional to its significant role of marking interpersonal social relations, a pronoun can be deployed to express an individual's affective state of mind.

The text below, features a dialogue between Fak /fák/--the leading male character, and another male character Kamnan /kam-nan/ 'the head or the leader of a group of villages' is an excerpt from the novel 'The Judgement' (p. 224). In the text, the pronoun /phŏm/ 'I' and 'Kamnan' /kam-nan/ a pronominally-used rank term, and /ʔeŋ/ 'you' mark the role relationship between these two male characters while the following 3rd person singular pronominal terms meaning 'him' or 'her' /kæ:/, /khău/ and /man/ express the interpersonal relationship between the first speaker and another character not present the scene. From the first set of pronouns, the first interlocutor clearly express his respect toward the second one through usage of the deferential pronominal term /phŏm/, while the other interlocutor expresses his superiority over the former via the selection of the 2nd person pronoun /ʔeŋ/. Through the second set of the 3rd person pronouns, the first speaker manifests his emotional attitude toward the 3rd character evolving from the non-negative domain to the negative domain. The pronoun 3rd-person /kæ:/ signals a non-distant relationship. /khău/ is a general 3rd person pronoun. And /man/ is in general not used as the 3rd person pronoun to refer to a socially superior unless the speaker intends to express a negative attitude.

Fak: /khru:-jài ko:ŋ ŋɤn **phŏm/**
The headmaster's cheated me outa my money.

Kamnan: **/ʔeŋ** wâ: ʔàʔ-rai náʔ mûɤ-kî:/
What was it you said just now?

Fak: **/phŏm** wâ: khru:-jài ko:ŋ ŋɤn **phŏm/** /ko:ŋ ŋɤn thî:
fà:k wái/ **/kæ:** ko:ŋ mòt lɤ:i khráp/ /kam-nan chûai
hai **khău** khɯ:n phŏm dûɤi/ **/phŏm** wăŋ kam-nan/
/kam-nan ʔau khɯ:n hâI **phŏm** dûɤi/
I said the headmaster's cheated me outa my money. The headmaster took my money—he's cheated me outa the money I gave him to look after for me. He's tricked me outa the whole lot--the whole lot, sir. Please ask him to give it back to me, kamnan. You're my last hope, kamman. Please help me get it back.

Kamnan: **/ʔeŋ** mau nî: wà:/
You're stinkin' drunk.

Fak: /kam-nan chûɤi **phŏm** dûɤi/ **/phŏm** wâ:i/ /man ko:ŋ **phŏm** ciŋ ciŋ/ **/phŏm** fà:k **man** wái hâ:-phan-sŏ:ŋ/ /kam-nan chûɤi thuɤŋ dûɤi/ **/phŏm** wâ:i là?/

Kamnan, please help me. I beseech you. He really cheated me. I gave him five thousand two to look after for me. Kamnan, help me get it back, please. I implore you.

Kamnan: **/ʔeŋ** pai wâ: khru:-jài sòŋ-dè:t/ /rá?-waŋ cà? tìt tà?-ra:ŋ/

If you carry on heaping abuse like this on the headmaster, you'll find yourself in jail.

(The English text is translated by Phongdeit Jiangphatthanarkit, 1995, p. 233-234.)

It can be seen from the above dialogical text that while the first character is expressing his deference toward the second by using the deferential 1st personal pronoun /phŏm/; the former simultaneously reveals his lack of respect toward the third character not present in the scene without using any other attitudinal lexis except the pronoun /man/. And Thai readers can readily recognize his negative attitude as signaled by his choice of this pronoun. Evidently, between the source text and the translated text, the roles of the two pronominal systems are significantly different with respect to identifying a role relationship and signifying an interpersonal attitude. While, these functions are lacking in the English pronominal system, they are regarded as outstanding features in the Thai language. It is, therefore, important that these features of such linguistics resources be explored in order to address the gap of investigating the interpersonal metafunction of the Tenor component in the Thai language system. I believe that the study could complement the existing interpersonal discourse semantic system within the scope of Systemic Functional Linguistics.

1.2 Objectives

This study is aimed at achieving the following objects:

1.2.1 to demonstrate how variations of pronominal usage in Thai novels can mark social as well as affective or attitudinal relations between interlocutors in communicative situations,

1.2.2 to propose a new framework of analyzing Thai pronominal reference by identifying the multiple roles that a pronoun can perform as part of the interpersonal component of the language system within the framework of System Functional Linguistics.

1.3 Research questions

1.3.1 What are the roles that Thai pronouns play in negotiating Tenor relations between conversational interactants?

1.3.2 How can social and affective meanings as construed through Thai pronominal reference be analysed by using the System Functional framework?

1.4 Expectations

It is expected that my study will be able to identify:

1.4.1 the relationship between Tenor variables and Thai pronominal reference,

1.4.2 the relationship between the discourse semantics system of 'involvement' and Thai pronominal usage,

1.4.3 the relationship between the discourse semantics system of 'appraisal' and Thai pronominal usage.

1.5 Scope of the study

My primary concern will be to demonstrate how Thai pronominal resources can be employed in conveying interpersonal meanings and to identify their

possible interpersonal dimensions enacted in communications. The point is not about how many pronominal terms I will include in my study. It is not my intention to provide the comprehensive or definitive list of Thai pronominal inventory of all forms. Neither do I intend to discuss their meanings, nor to describe the function or any socio-cultural aspect of every single pronominal form existing in Thai pronominal system. That kind of information can be found in extensive studies on Thai pronouns, some of which I will review in the following chapter. My primary focus will be on collecting supportive evidence to substantiate my claim as early mentioned that Thai pronouns are used as linguistic resources to express interpersonal emotions or attitudes and to identify interpersonal social relationships between two interlocutors. The evidence of pronominal usage will be drawn from different contemporary Thai novels and be analyzed to reach an inference of possible attitudinal or behavioural categories pertaining to negotiation of interpersonal relationships. Given the second concern, I will expound on how Thai pronouns can be linguistically investigated within the Systemic Functional framework to adequately address their interpersonal aspects in communicative texts. The targeted pronominal terms and pronominally-used nouns of Bangkok standard Thai to be considered for analysis include:

1) 1st, 2nd and 3rd personal pronouns proper
2) kinship terms
3) personal names or nicknames
4) occupation, rank and status terms

Ethnically-derived pronominally-used terms used by Thai native speakers in Bangkok will also be taken into consideration such as the 1st person pronoun /ʔúʁ/ and the 2nd personal pronoun/lúː/ which have their origin in a Chinese dialect widely spoken in Chinese communities in Bangkok. Some kinship terms such as /pǎː/ and /páʔ/ meaning 'father' do not have their origin in Thai either but are commonly used as part of Bangkok standard Thai's lexicon. The former is influenced by the Chinese dialect while the latter is used in Thai Muslim communities. These terms will also be included in my analyses.

The 3rd person non-human pronoun /man/ functioning as a 'dummy subject' will not be included in my analysis, for /man/ itself neither expresses the speaker's evaluative attitude toward the addressee nor signals their relationship status.

A ‘dummy subject’ refers to a subject which has no clear discourse referent (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom, 2005, p. 372).

1.6 Phonemic transcription

Throughout my study, phonemic transcription of personal pronouns proper and names is based on deliberate reading of its spelling alphabets as well as auditory judgement. It is quite common that some words in Thai though without lexical roots from other languages are not pronounced in accordance with their reading forms or written alphabets. For example, the 1st person polite pronoun for female speakers ‘ดิฉัน’ is colloquially pronounced as /di-chán/ which does not phonetically conform to its spelling alphabets. By form, the word should be deliberately read as /dìʔ-chăn/. The presence of the glottal stop /ʔ/ as transcribed in the first syllable is purely ascribed to auditory judgement. In a natural utterance, despite its non-existing corresponding alphabet in writing, the /ʔ/ sound is commonly present in the coda of a Thai syllabic structure whereby the nucleus is accompanied by the low tone such as ‘จะ’ /càʔ/ (Thai auxiliary verb ‘will’) or the high tone such as ‘ละ’ /láʔ/ (a verb meaning ‘omit’ or a final particle or an aspect marker indicating completion of an action). However, in pronunciation, the /ʔ/ sound can be audibly perceived after those vowel and tone. In another instance of deliberate reading, such a phenomenon of pronunciation with the /ʔ/ sound following the short vowel sound /a/ and the low tone can also occur irrespective of the presence of the vowel’s written form ‘-ะ’ in a syllable of a word. For example between the following two personal names: ‘ภารดา’ or Pharada: /pha:-ráʔ-da:/ and ‘ภาระดี’ or Pharadi /pha:-ráʔ-di:/, by deliberately reading, the vowel sound of the second syllables of both words is identically pronounced as /a/ accompanied by the high tone and the glottal stop /ʔ/ becoming /-ráʔ-/.

With respect to a character’s personal name in a novel, its appearance in the subsequent chapters of the thesis will be transcribed based on the Thai-English Romanisation principles as laid down by ‘ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน’ /ra:t-cháʔ-ban-dìt-tàʔ-jáʔ-

sàʔ-thăːn/ or the Royal Institute (1999). Only its first appearance will be accompanied by an IPA phonemic transcription. Even if the name has already been romanised elsewhere in a published English-translated work, it will be re-romanised in accordance with the Royal Institute's tradition. For example, the personal name for the leading female character 'รัชนี' in the novel 'The Ghosts' is phonemically transcribed as /rát-cháʔ-niː/ and according to the Royal Institute, is romanised as 'Ratchani'. Though the name has already been transcribed as 'Ratchanee' by Marcel Barang (1994, p. 242); its romanised scripts will be different in my study. However, in case the name of the leading character in a novel is used and translated as part of the title, the romanised transcription used by the translator will be used as their name for discussion. For example, the name 'ปริศนา' /prìt-saʔ-năː/ is romanised as 'Prisana' and is used as the title of the novel, so during my discussion about this character, I will use 'Prisana' instead of 'Pritsana'.

1.7 Presentation of terminology

(a) A term referring to the concept of a discourse semantics or a systemic component or domain such as 'negotiation', 'involvement', 'appraisal', 'judgement', 'condescension', 'aloofness' will be labelled with inverted commas in order to distinguish them from their usual meanings and functions. For example the term 'attitude' refers to a component of the 'appraisal' system; without inverted commas, it means a feeling or opinion about something or someone.

(b) A rank or a status term will be presented with a capital initial letter within inverted commas such as 'Kamnan' /kham-nan/, 'Khunchai' /khun-chaːi/, 'Khunying' /khun-jĭŋ/, 'Mom Chao' /mɔ̀ːm-câːu/. Khunchai Pharada /khun-chaːI phaː-ráʔ-daː/. The last example has the status term 'Khunchai' preceding the name Pharada, so there is no need to use inverted commas.

(c) A pronominal pair in my discussions denotes a co-occurrence of a 1st person and a 2nd person pronominal terms used by an individual interlocutor. The two pronouns will be presented side by side in accordance with their indexical function but

with a hyphen in the middle, for example, /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/. /dìʔ-chăn/ is in the 1st person position, and /khun/, the 2nd person position.

(d) A pronominal pattern in my discussions refers to an exchange of two pronominal pairs between two conversational participants in a communicative situation. The two pairs of pronouns will be presented as follows: /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ vs. /phŏm/-/khun/. The 1st pronominal pair is spoken by one interlocutor, and the 2nd pair by the other interlocutor.

CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Extensive studies on Thai pronouns are available in different linguistic disciplinary areas, such as historical linguistic, semantics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, to name but a few. In this chapter I am to review some previous research studies in order to see an overview of different aspects of Thai pronouns that have been investigated. All along I will discuss on some issues of these studies that are relevant to the assessment of Thai pronominal reference in different novels that I have explored. Some issues are relevant to the theoretical framework that I will employ in this study. In addition, I will illustrate how social behaviour and language ideology are mediated through Thai pronominal reference.

2.1 Studies on evolution of Thai pronouns

Thai pronominal system has undergone a long history of evolution—pronominal forms, their usage, grammatical functions as well as meanings. The study by Oiamjinda (1991) provides an account of the evolution of Thai pronominal system from Sukhothai period until present. Relying on different kinds of historical documents as well as classical and contemporary proses and novels, the writer compares the grammatical functions of different pronouns and their variations in meaning and usage as influenced by socio-economic and political changes of different periods. His study is focused on pronominal variants, variations in grammatical function, in meaning and in usage as well as in signifying social relationship, but not in the affective aspect. According to his study, there are two 1st person pronouns which have caught my attention—/khâ:/ and /rau/. The writer suggests that the 1st person pronoun /khâ:/emerged during Sukhothai period and was originally derived from the word /khâ:-thá:t/ meaning ‘slave or servant’. It thus possessed a semantic property of signifying the interlocutor’s self-humbleness and simultaneously

expressing deference toward the conversational partner. It was used by an inferior to represent himself when interacting with a superior. Until Rattanakosin period, its usage varied—its quality of marking the interlocutor's self-humbling altered; King Rama IV addressed himself with this pronoun in his writing to a courtier in spite of his utmost superior status in the kingdom. However, since the reign of King Rama VI, the semantic feature of /khâ:/ has evolved to become a pronominal marker of intimacy used among group members in an informal setting and has been collocated with the 2nd person pronoun /ʔeŋ/. Unfortunately the writer has not explored further whether the usage of this pair of pronouns involves the interactants' social status differences or not. In fact, this pair of pronoun /khâ:/ and /ʔeŋ/ have been explored in more detail in some other studies by Cooke (1968) and Palakornkul (1972), on which I will discuss afterwards.

Given the 1st person pronoun /rau/, its original semantic property of both singularity and plurality has never changed even at present, though its semantic feature of identifying interactants' social statuses has evolved. Being the 1st person singular pronoun, /rau/ was used by a princely ruler or a king or by a superior speaking to an inferior. He suggests that this aspect of usage is found in translated documents and Chinese translated literature /săːm-kók/or 'The Three Kingdoms', which might be influenced by 'Royal we' in European languages when Siam opened itself to establish diplomatic and economic relationships with the West. This is contradictory to his own research which reveals that King Narai of Ayutthaya used this pronoun to represent himself in his writing to King Louis XIV of France. According to Kullavanijaya (2000), the 1st person singular /rau/ is probably a derived form of the 1st person plural, /rau/, which conforms to Brown and Gilman's notion that plurality is a ubiquitous metaphor for power. And this aspect of 'power' semantic has been in existence in Thai literature prior to the Rattanakosin period as found in the literary masterpiece /phráʔ-lɔː/ written between the years of 1448-1553. The semantic feature of the 1st person singular /rau/, nevertheless, has been additionally modified to be indicative of relationship closeness and used among commoners as well during the period of or after the reign King Rama VI. Its feature of power semantic remains optional for the king when addressing an audience in public. It can be noted here that the notion of power semantic of plurality is not uncommon in Thai pronominal system.

In addition, as compiled by Oiamjinda, from the Sukhothai period until the year of 2534 B.E. or 1991, found the emergence of different pronouns during different periods to express social-class differentiation and group membership as well as to express deference. For example, /khâ:/ was earlier used to replace /ku:/ in order to mark the interlocutor's self-humbleness. Later on in the early Rattanakosin period, it was used by a king to express his superiority. Afterwards, King Rama V used another pronoun /chăn/ as a substitute, but it remained being used by a master to refer to himself when he spoke to a servant. Since the reign of King Rama VI, it was also used to signal solidarity between intimate equals. It is thus undeniable to contend that Thai pronominal system has its long historical development of semantic characterisation manipulated by 'power' and 'solidarity', which was shaped by socio-cultural factors during its course of evolution. The notion of 'power' and 'solidarity' semantic will also be discussed afterwards.

Another example of historical research on Thai pronominal system is the study by Haruethaivinyoo (2002) concerning the evolution of Thai pronominal system in the Rattanakorn period, which she divides into 4 different time spans of political changes—before (1868-1931) and after the democratic revolution (1932-1957), before and after World War II (1958-1972) and 1973-2001. Her data were collected from different novels and plays. One of her findings, which is socio-linguistically related, indicates that pronominal usage is dependent of interpersonal relationships between interlocutors as determined by four different social factors including age, social status, economic status and intimacy. Her finding is consistent with some previous studies by Cooke and by Palakornkul, which are not historically oriented, and by Oiamjinda as cited earlier. Her study also explores the aspect of reciprocity and non-reciprocity in Thai pronominal system as enacted by a husband and his wife through pronominal choice. Her finding suggests that their pronominal usage change has geared toward the reciprocal level, reflecting the social tendency of a closer marital relationship in general. In this respect, her study is aligned with the findings of a research on Thai address terms by Tingsabadh and Prasithrathsint (1986) that marital relationship gap has socially become smaller through the change of usage of such linguistic devices, some of which can be used pronominally. This assumption seems to have two implications. On one hand, by addressing his wife by name, and his wife returns by

his noble rank; the husband considers himself superior to his wife. On the other hand, by addressing each other by name, both are considered more intimate as being socially equal. Obviously in quite a number of Thai novels featuring male characters with noble ranks, such as /phû:-di:/ 'The Person of Quality', /sì: phæ̀n-din/ 'Four Reigns', /bâ:n sa:i-thɔ:ŋ/ 'Golden Sand Mansion', /thûŋ má̱ʔ-hă:-râ:t/ 'The Field of the Great', and /rûʁŋ khɔ̌:ŋ can-da:-ra:/ 'The Story of Jandara', it is a convention that Thai female characters would address their husbands by their ranks and also use these address terms for pronominal referencing purposes. In return, the wives are usually referred to with their names or feminine pronouns, irrespective of their economic statuses. Such a linguistic phenomenon would, from the perspective presented in the above two research studies, reflect non-reciprocity in terms of social relationship and status between husband and wife which entails a relationship gap. However, it is my observation that even between male characters, by convention, there is no exception for them to address and refer to one another by their noble ranks instead of using a pronominal term. Even their sisters or female acquaintances or female friends would so address them. It is quite a common practice, though not mandatory, that after acquiring his noble rank, the man would be referred to by his rank instead of his name by his circle of friends and family members including his parents as found in those novels. Why would such linguistic behaviour that a wife addresses her husband by rank be considered as an indication of a less intimate relationship with her spouse? If so, would his relationships with his friends and other family members need to be re-evaluated as well?

Considering that addressing or referring to a man by his rank is a means of expressing respect or deference, such an assumption seems to place respect or deference and intimacy in an inverse relationship. The increase of interpersonal closeness is at the expense of deference? In the old days of Thai society, culturally, men were considered socially superior to women, regardless of whether they spent their lives together as husband and wife or not. And a virtuous wife was expected to be respectful to her husband regardless of his rank. In case her husband acquired his title or rank after their marriage, and she changed his reference term, would that be indicative of her being respectful of his rank rather than of him? And would his acquired title or rank make him consider his wife inferior to him? Or could we look at it from another angle? From his wife's perspective, she could possibly hold her

husband in higher regard and refer to him by rank with more affection than before. I, therefore, would rather contend that by addressing a man with his noble rank was merely a communicative strategy of expressing one's appreciation of his social achievement. Deference and intimacy may as well co-occur in a relationship. In their view, Iawasaki and Horie (1995) contend that deference and intimacy can co-exist. However, their concept of deference is conditioned by a non-reciprocal relationship whereby such social factors as age and social positions place the two interlocutors in two different unequal roles

> "*Deference embodies a special bond that exists between two individuals who are not equal in terms of age, social rank and/or occupation but who feel affection for each other. This affection can be an intimacy coalesced with respect that an inferior has for the superior or fondness that a superior feels for an inferior. By definition, deference does not exist between two equals or between two strangers*", (Iwasaki & Horie, 1995, p. 95).

They seem to restrict this kind of attitude to a superior-inferior relationship, not to a marital relationship whereby husband and wife is deemed to be on an equal status. Even so, their definition of deference is not at all inapplicable to account for the enactment of deference vs. intimacy over a marital relationship in the previous Thai society whereby the status of a wife was socially inferior to that of her husband. Especially after her husband acquired a rank, his position would be socially elevated further. By expressing her deference to her superior spouse, it does not necessarily mean that her relationship with him would be gapped apart. And if we further explore the said definition of deference, it is concerned with two dimensions of affection enactment--an inferior shows respect to his superior, in return, the superior feels fondness for him. Apparently, this concept of deference does not apply to account for a one-way vertical-like top-down or bottom-up relationship. It has to be a bi-directional relationship between a social superior and a social inferior. Should intimacy and deference be not able to co-exist in a relationship, after acquiring his rank or tile and so addressed, the superior husband must, by default, have felt less and less affectionate for his inferior wife.

Now let us turn to the couple of which the husband was just a commoner without any rank, how would they address each other? What reference term would the wife use with the husband? Without any rank or position, she might use a personal pronoun proper or her husband's name as the 2nd person pronoun referring to him. Addressing or referencing by name is regarded as an indication of intimacy. Then how would it be different between a marital relationship in the old days and in the present days? Based on the novels I have explored, I have not found any convincing evidence that addressing one's husband by rank or position significantly affects a marital relationship in the sense that it would be less intimate. Rather, it is the characters' behaviour and personalities which lend colour to their relationships in a negative way. In 'The Story of Jandara' (p. 111), in spite of keeping vocatively or pronominally addressing her promiscuous husband by his rank as 'Khun Luang' /khun lŭ:ɤŋ/, Wat /wâ:t/, one of his concubines, so naturally submissive, who had been treated so unfairly, once raised her voice against him when he was expelling her nephew from his house. Her relationship with him was already sour because of his illicit sexual conducts with their maids. And she addressed him by his rank even before they began their sexual relationship. In other novels, such as 'Golden Sand Mansion', Siwipha /sĭ:-wíʔ-pha:/ chatted intimately with her husband while addressing him pronominally by his rank as 'Khun Luang'. In the novel 'Four Reigns', after being promoted to a 'Phraya' /phráʔ-ja:/, a very high noble rank, I do not see any change of behavior between the two main characters Prem /pre:m/ and Phloi /phlɔ:i/ his wife. In short, to investigate an interpersonal relationship by means of pronominal usage without taking into consideration the context of situation could entail misinterpretation. Especially in the case whereby the data are collected from various historical documents and literary fictions, the count of frequency of occurrences may not accurately reflect the attitudinally or expressively-laden feature of the pronominal terms.

2.2 Studies on socio-cultural aspects of Thai pronouns

Thai pronominal system as suggested in the studies discussed above historically involved different socio-cultural factors during its long course of

development. The social and cultural aspects in Thai pronominal usage are among necessary components constituting the entire system. In day-to-day interactions, communicative participants intrinsically need to take heed of these components to ensure interpersonal acceptance when deploying pronominal resources. The following two studies by Cooke (1968) and Palakornkul (1972) address in detail the social and the cultural aspects in Thai pronominal usage.

Cooke (1968) provides a detailed descriptive account of Thai pronominal system—forms, semantic distinctions, and variations in usage as well as takes into consideration significant socio-cultural factors—age, social status and interpersonal relationship that influence pronominal choices made by Thai native speakers who spend their lives in a hierarchical society. The data of his study were based on the materials which were documented by Professor Mary Haas, a renowned Thai-language scholar who compiles the Stanford University's version of 'Thai-English Student's Dictionary'. Cooke also collected data from Thai informants and his acquaintances.

He has suggested that there exist two groups of outstanding features of Thai pronominal semantic distinctions. The primary features include status and intimacy, non-restraint, while the secondary ones are deference and assertiveness. Status and intimacy are interrelated. The former is governed by the social factors such as age, rank and contact. The younger is deemed to show respect to the older. A person with a noble rank or a royal title is to be treated with deference and considered socially superior. A casual acquaintance or a stranger is to be treated with regard. All such behaviour is expressed by means of appropriate pronominal forms. The latter intimacy encompasses such interpersonal attitudes as affection and endearment or camaraderie and freedom. Pronominal forms used may vary in accordance with the attitudinal involvement enacted between the interlocutors. Camaraderie and freedom mostly exist between utmost intimate equals, which give way to the condition of non-restraint whereby the impoliteness-marking pronominal forms such as /khâ:/ and /ʔeŋ/ or especially /ku:/ and /mɯŋ/ come into play.

Non-restraint is a feature inherent in a number of personal pronouns proper…

> "*used to express a certain defiance of or nonconformity to underlying standards of more proper usage, and expressing also a certain sense of*

> *ego-freedom. Such defiance, non-conformity, or freedom is countenanced, provided it does not exceed certain bounds. Or, to express it in another way, there are situations in which the speaker does not have to be polite, refined, cultured, gracious. If, however, the non-restraint terms are used without regard to specified limitations, they usually become very much more rude, coarse, or non-restrained. Nonrestraint varies both in kind and degree*" (Cooke, 1968 p. 57).

Deference is derived by status as discussed above, which is associated with those pronominal forms deemed appropriate to express respectfulness. The degree of deference as attached to different pronouns may vary, and the interlocutor needs to deploy the most suitable pronouns so as to ensure that his attitude toward the targeted individual is accurately encoded and delivered across. A noteworthy remark made by Cooke is about expressing obsequious deference whereby deferential usage is overdone and becomes mock deference instead. This kind of pronominal usage is a pronominal strategy used in novels to lend an air of facetiousness or sarcasm, which can also happen in real life

As for assertiveness, according to Cooke, the pair of /khâ:/ 'I' and /ʔeŋ/ 'you' are considered non-restraint terms used to express assertiveness which he explains how they are to be used as follows:

> "*This may be defined as an attitude which a speaker takes when he pits himself, either in anger or good-naturedly, against an addressee. This attitude is usually assumed in some situation, such as an argument or contest of wills that calls for self-assertion. It also may be assumed by forceful, assertive, or outgoing persons as a general stance affecting many interpersonal contacts. It implies competitiveness and superiority, not so much in status as in personality….Finally, assertiveness, for some speakers may be expressed by the use of the pair /kh*â*:/and /ʔeŋ/ . Here the assertive flavor is no doubt derived from the status implications of the same pair used especially in speech master-to-servant. However, these two forms are the only superior-to-inferior terms which are also used assertively to intimate equals in this particular way….But the forms /kh*â*:/ and /ʔeŋ/ when so used convey not only non-restraint and intimacy, but*

> *also a definite assertiveness, and they are used for this very reason. These two forms, therefore, could perhaps be considered as being assertive in a way that no other forms are.*" (Cooke, 1968, p. 37).

His view of 'assertiveness' as a feature of Thai pronominal system that is associated with a person's strong personality could be partially right. In the novel 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow, the pronominal pair /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ is used by a young male speaking to an older male with a hostile attitude, which could be considered as expressing 'assertiveness'. However, in the same novel, this pronominal pair is reciprocally used between young male friends to show their intimate relationship without any indication of the speaker's 'assertiveness'. It is possible for a speaker to express himself as being superior to another person by using non-restraint pronouns, especially by a master to a servant as found in the novel 'A Person of Quality', 'The Golden Sand Mansion', or by a monk speaking to some laypersons as in the novel 'Red Bamboos'. However, in some novels such as 'The Judgement', the pronoun pair /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ is used by an old adult male speaking to a younger an adult male without any sense of assertiveness as defined by Cooke above (see page 29 of this thesis).

Cooke has further elaborated that inappropriate usage of pronouns without taking into consideration of different social factors and social relations between the conversational interactants is considered as being impolite. Especially, the violations of such norms by usage of pronouns associated with the feature of assertiveness or non-restraint can be very rude and disrespectful, for example, usage of /khâ:/ and /ʔeŋ/ or /ku:/ and /mɯŋ/ when speaking to a casual senior acquaintance. In fact, violations of such norms by using unrestrained pronouns may happen to an individual as a means of emotional charge—expressing assertiveness, downright anger, which is naturally very unpleasant to perceive. In my opinion, the feature of 'assertiveness' is not only associated with unrestrained pronominal terms but could also temporarily and purposively signaled by a perceptually neutral pronoun /chăn/ or even a deferential pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/, which will be discussed later in Chapter V.

Last but not least, Cooke has pointed out that thanks to the complexity of Thai pronominal system, variations in pronominal usage are unavoidable. Such variations in pronominal usage can exist at two different levels—at a given individual and between two individuals. Variations in the usage of a given individual include

differences in the speech in a variety of situations or at different periods of his life. Such differences are influenced by his daily socialisation with others in which all socio-cultural factors as well as interpersonal relationship interplay resulting in both temporary change and long-range patterns of change as demanded by the society to which he belongs. His lexicon of pronoun can be modified and his pronominal usage can vary at different stages during the course of his development from childhood to adulthood. Variations in pronominal usage between one individual and another are a result of such accumulated language experience and are also prescribed by personality and background.

> "*It is probably safe to say that every speaker has his own unique patterns of pronominal usage. Each person's patterns are conditioned by the various norms which we have attempted to describe, but they are also affected by factors of personality and background.*" (Cooks, 1968, p. 65)

Two different individuals can possibly possess their own uniqueness of pronominal usage patterns, which is not only conditioned by those key socio-cultural factors as already discussed but also influenced by the speaker's social background and personality. This accounts for why two different communicative participants can resort to different pronominal strategies.

Cooke's noteworthy remarks about the usage variation within and without an individual bear some resemblance with Halliday's (1978) conception about the relationship between language and social structure.

> *"…All human being put language to certain types of use, and all of them learn a linguistic system which has evolved in that context; but what aspects of the system are typically deployed and emphasized in one type of use or another is to a significant extent determined by the culture—by the systems of social relations in which the child grows up, including the roles he himself learns to recognize and to adopt. All children have access to the meaning potential of the system; but they may differ, because social groups differ, in their interpretation of what the situation demands.*" (p. 27).

Halliday has pointed that different children learning a language have access to the same language system, but they may differ in terms of deployment or

usage owing to their backgrounds and social roles and relations all of which are elements constituting one social's structure which defines one's ideology. And it is this ideology which configures one's group or personal identity as in his language use. This, for now, may be sufficient to help explain why different Thai native speakers may have different patterns of pronominal usage.

The development of pronominal usage pattern in an individual is subject to different socio-cultural factors and experiences of socialising with different social groups, one's background, all of which contribute to the shaping of one's set of belief about the Thai pronominal strategy for a communicative purpose. The ideas, the beliefs or the ways of thinking that one has about his own language use in which the pronominal pattern of usage plays a part can be viewed as a reflection of one's ideology about language. Perhaps the following definition could help sum up what language ideology concerns:

> "…*Thus linguistic ideology may be understood as a set of beliefs or assumptions about language and what it should be like that are both inferred directly, through metapragmatic commentary, and enacted in everyday linguistic practices. Furthermore, linguistic ideologies are not neutral cultural constructions but are, rather, sources of social power*." (Simpson, 1997, p.39)

As discussed, the key factors constituting one's language ideology about pronominal usage pattern include socio-cultural factors, socialisation with one's peers and others, the expression of camaraderie, one's cognition of connection between language and social relationship expression, all of which are recognized as contributing to one's pronominal strategies in day-to-day interactive communications. As thus, the linkage between each individual's language ideology and his pronominal choices is apparent. This may account for why my two female colleagues as mentioned in Chapter 1 do have different approaches of using the non-restraint pronouns /ku:/ and /mɯŋ/. Both of them have a similar educational background—graduated with a bachelor. The former (who does not use the two pronouns) was raised up in a provincial city; the latter, in Bangkok. They belong to different families and different circles of friends with whom they socialise. With different social experiences, they have developed their own uncommon language ideologies which

manipulate their different views on the two non-restraint pronouns. This has countenanced the point made by Cooke that variations in pronominal usage exist at two different levels—(1) within an individual and (2) between two individuals. Within an individual, developmental changes of pronominal usage are conditioned by age, sex and day-to-day contacts with others. As time goes by, one may be or is obliged to adjust his pronominal strategies and modify his pronominal inventory for the betterment of communicative purpose. Such strategic and inventorial modification consequently embodies uniqueness of his pronominal system and differences. It is not uncommon, therefore, that such differences can create misunderstanding and awkwardness between two interlocutors, which requires strategic adjustment in order to have the conversation successfully completed. Otherwise, the communication has to be disrupted if one is to maintain his own system. Cooke's (1968, p.68) conclusion can well describe such remarkable characteristics of Thai pronominal resources as thus:

> "*…the Thai pronominal system is one of remarkable vigor, vitality and versatility. In a striking way it mirrors some of the more important features of Thai culture; and at the same time it provides considerable scope for the expression of individual attitudes and personality."*

Simpson's (1997) findings on her study of some impolite Thai pronouns have indicated that their usage of /mɯŋ/ and /ku:/ is tied to Thai people's metapragmatic awareness of the accepted norms of use which underpins the role of their language ideology. Some of her subjects, who are both male and female Thai students, acknowledge the non-restraint of these two pronouns and avoid using them in predefined role-play conversations but not in their natural chats. She explains this kind of behaviour as 'false embarrassment'; they deny that these terms are unacceptable but they do not refuse to use them among intimate friends. She further explains such a phenomenon from the point of view of language ideology based on Bourdieu's notion of 'symbolic dominion' or 'symbolic violence that "*one may recognize a linguistic form as stigmatized and perpetuate that stigma, while at the same time using it in one's own speech*" (p. 55). These students' language ideology about usage of /mɯŋ/ and /ku:/ is not uncommon among Thai native speakers. Despite they seem to know and understand whether these unrestrained pronouns should be used or not, some may use them for a specific purpose of expressing their

emotional outburst. The feature of assertiveness in Thai pronouns can be considered as an attitudinally-laden aspect of these interpersonal linguistic resources.

Palakornkul (1972) has addressed three different aspects of Thai pronominal systems in her study on contemporary Thai pronominal usage. Firstly, she elaborates on eight socio-cultural factors and social variables that affect an individual's pronominal choice. Secondly, she has in detail documented socio-sematic features of Thai pronouns. Unlike Cooke, who presents the semantic distinctions of Thai pronouns in pair between 1st person and 2nd person, Palakornkul elaborates them one by one. Her 1st-hand data for such analyses are based on interviews from Thai native speakers. Thirdly, she has presented another role of Thai pronoun, which is pronoun switching—normal, etiquette, and expressive switching.

The eight determinant socio-cultural factors of social roles include (1) power and status, which are evaluated by birth, monkhood, official position, authority, wealth, education, rank, title. (2) kinship and family relationship, (3) age, (4) friendship, (5) occupation, (6) ethnic-religious groups, (7) sex and (8) genealogical distance. In a day-to-day socialisation, as one individual can assume more than one social roles, such as being a son at home, a student in school, a friend to someone, it is the first five factors which are most significant for adjustment of one's social roles when the situation type changes. Altogether there are nine social variables that affect role relationships between interlocutors: (1) intimacy, (2) respect, (3) solidarity, (4) formality, (5) presence of child, (6) presence of non-acquaintances, or person with power and status, (7) length of time of acquaintance, (8) condescension and (9) emotional manifestations. For example, a student should show respect to a teacher, so he needs to choose the most appropriate pronominal forms when talking to his teacher. In this regard, he needs to take into consideration the variable of respect or formality when making his pronominal choice.

The findings of her study with respect to socio-cultural factors that are determinant of one's pronominal choice seem to be significantly different from those suggested by Cooke. For him, it is status and intimacy that determines how two individuals verbally react to each other by means of pronominal usage. Another factor—non-restraint is relevant to emotional exhibition through unrestrained pronouns. Status, by Cooke's definition, is evaluated by age, rank, kin relationship.

And status is measured by the degree of distance or non-intimacy between interlocutors, for example a non-acquaintance should not be treated as inferior to the speaker. The factor of intimacy is determinant of one's pronominal choice, for example, between a colleague and a close friend, one may use different pronominal terms to express different intimate attitudes.

Apparently both scholars consider these socio-cultural factors affecting pronominal usage from different perspectives. While Palakornkul puts her focus on possible factors determinant of one's social roles which subsequently affect his pronominal usage, Cooke analyzes factors affecting one's pronominal usage. All of these are variables constituting interlocutors' statuses that determine their vertical relationships. Such a vertical relationship can be associated with Brown and Gilman's concept of 'power' semantics, which I will elaborate in the next chapter. In essence, Cooke's factor of status is synonymous to Brown and Gilman's 'power'. Differences in status determine their different levels of 'power'.

As we look further to Palakornkul's nine social variables impacting a role-relationship between two interlocutors, we can see that all these are the factors determining the criteria for selection of an appropriate pronoun to reflect the degree of familiarity between them. In short, all of them are determinant of how a degree or a level of closeness between the interlocutors could be signified through pronominal choices. Such relational closeness or intimacy can be linked to Brown and Gilman's concept of 'solidarity' semantics, which will be discussed in Chapter III. The notion of 'solidarity' semantics is not the same as 'solidarity' discussed in Palakornkul's study. In her study, it is defined as a social variable affects a role relationship and manipulates one' choice of pronoun. In other words, the factors of 'power' and 'solidarity' set criteria of pronominal choice. Palakornkul's view on intimacy, respect, 'solidarity', 'condescension' and 'manifestations of emotion' as factors affecting role-relationships seems to be set from this perspective. My methodology of analysis will be set from both perspectives. I will need to analyze characters' inter-relationships based on their language outputs or their pronominal usage in order to infer their interpersonal attitudes. At the same time, I will need to rely on the contextual clues as provided by the authors as regards the characters' social structures or social categories which influence their pronominal usage as well. By this method, it will be more likely

for me to effectively infer interpersonal attitudes among characters in case they apply pronominal usage variations.

The following factors—presence of child, presence of non-acquaintances or another person with power and status and length of time of acquaintance are external factors so different from the others. All these factors may contribute to one's pronominal choice, but they can hardly be differentiated by the third person's perception if read from the second perspective as discussed above. Conclusively both Cooke and Palakornkul are not essentially different in terms of their views on the socio-cultural factors that have influence over an individual pronominal usage. Obviously, both studies have adopted the concepts of 'power' and 'solidarity' as the key players in Thai pronominal system.

The second main aspect of her study involves analyses of socio-semantic features of each different pronominal form. As already mentioned, she does not present her analyses of pronominal features in parallel between 1st and 2nd pronoun which usually co-occur as counterparts, such as /chăn/-/thɤ:/, /khun/-/phŏm/, /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/, /ku:/-/mɯŋ/. She contends that co-occurrence in pronominal paring may not necessarily be consistent depending on the social roles and role relationships between interlocutors, which is considered as the co-variation type, for example /chăn/ can be used in pair with /khun/ or /thɤ:/ or /kæ:/. Fixed co-occurrence or co-relation type includes pronominal forms used with royalty. Palakornkul (1972, p. 85 and 89) based her analyses on the collected data by means of interview with ninety-five different Thai informants of different social backgrounds. However, her findings of socio-semantic features face an issue of non-consistency as found in the following pair of pronouns /khâ:/ and /ʔeŋ/. The usage features of the 1st person pronoun /khâ:/:

- informal use by intimate friends, male or female
- informal use by uneducated parents to their children
- informal use between uneducated spouses
- informal use by older adults to younger adults or children
- use by a superior to an inferior

The usage features of the 2nd person pronoun /ʔeŋ/ :

- informal use by intimate friends, male or female
- informal use by between uneducated siblings

- informal use between uneducated relatives
- informal use by an old monk to a temple boy

Considering that both pronouns can be used in pair, it seems that synchronization is lacking in her semantic descriptions between the two pronouns.

- While an uneducated father use /khâ:/ to represent himself talking to his boy, would he not use /ʔeŋ/ to refer to the son?
- Between an uneducated couple, would the husband use /khâ:/ to refer to himself when he talks to his wife without using /ʔeŋ/ to referring to her?
- In a casual conversation between two uneducated sisters or cousins, would the older one not use /khâ:/ to refer to herself but use /ʔeŋ/ to refer to the younger one?
- Likewise, would an older man talk to a younger man or a master to a servant using /khâ:/ as the 1st person pronoun without referencing the hearer as /ʔeŋ/?
- And would a monk not use refer to himself as /khâ:/ but call the temple boy as /ʔeŋ/?

Some might argue that in Thai pronominal system, another pronoun such as /kæ:/could as well replace /ʔeŋ/, or a kin term could be used as a 1st or 2nd person pronoun. This is absolutely right, but a native Thai speaker can recognize that it is also grammatically and semantically correct if both pronouns are used in pair in all the above scenarios. Notably, the social aspects of both pronouns are not much different as described in the three studies above. They share certain similarities that both pronouns are used contemporarily among intimate interactants in an informal situation.

A contemporary Thai novel, 'The Judgment' finds the manners in which both pronouns are used not exactly compliant to what has been described in these studies. The below example is an excerpt from the said novel (p. 128), a conversation between Fak /fák/and the undertaker Khai /khài/. After the cremation ceremony of his father, Fak hands two 100-baht notes over to Khai as payment for his service:

Khai: /ʔàʔ-rai/
What's this for?

Fak: /khâ:-nɯ̀ʁi khɔ̌:ŋ luŋ/
For your labour.

Khai: /hɤ́i ʔeŋ kèp ʔau wái chái thɤ̀ʔ/
You must be joking! Keep it for yourself.

Fak: /ʔau pai thɤ̀ʔ man pen khɔ̌:ŋ luŋ/
Take it, uncle. It belongs to you.
Khai: /ʔɔ̂ thâ: ŋán khâ: khɔ̌: tham bun lo:ŋ sòp dûɤi khon
lǽu kan/ /ŋɤn ham bun ʔeŋ mâi ráp mâi dâ:i náʔ/
In that case, let me use it to make merit.
You can't turn down an offering, can you!

(The English translation belongs to Phongdeit Jiangphatthanarkit, 1995, p. 138-139)

The undertaker Khai refers to himself as /khâ:/and to Fak, who is younger, as /ʔeŋ/. Both are uneducated but are not genealogically related. The younger one addressed the old man using the kinship term /luŋ/ meaning 'uncle' despite they are not relatives, which is a pronominal strategy so salient in Thai culture. Such usage is called displaced kinship term by Cooke or pseudo kin term by Palakornkul. And throughout the novel, readers cannot see the undertaker as possessing any assertive personality as defined by Cooke above. On the contrary the old man was extremely different from the other villagers. While the others were so ruthless and unkind to Fak; the old man unwaveringly shared his empathy over Fak's distress and expresses a sincere sympathy over his tragic fate.

The point I want make here is that in terms of social relationship marking, prescriptive usage of a pronoun may change over time due to language evolution as seen in the study by Oiamjinda and variations in usage are possible as seen in the studies by Cooke and Palakornkul. The informants that they interviewed may not necessarily have shared the same experience and language ideology; as thus variations in usage across different individuals are unavoidable. Moreover, in considering interpersonal relationships as enacted through interlocutors' pronominal choice, it can hardly always be generalizable that a particular pronoun or a set of pronouns consistently function as they are deemed to do. The interpersonal relationships between the two characters mentioned above as expressed through the pronouns /khâ:/ and /ʔeŋ/ are entirely different from Cooke's observations. Alternatively, to infer social and interpersonal relationships as enacted through pronominal choice, the contexts in which pronouns are utilised are fairly indispensable, without which the result of evaluation can be misleading.

The third significant aspect of Palakornkul's study concerns pronoun switching. There are three types of switching. Firstly, the normal one is a common behavior that one may apply more than one pronoun to refer to himself or to refer to his identical conversational partner without necessarily affecting their relationship or without expressing any reactive emotion. In this respect, it substantiates her notion of co-variation characteristic of some pronominal forms that are not restrictively used in pair. For example, the pronominal term /khâ:/ can be either paired with the pronoun /ʔeŋ/, /kæ:/ or a deferential 2nd person pronoun /thâ:n/ including a kin term as presented earlier. It can be seen that the pronoun /khâ:/ can co-occur with different pronouns expressing different role-relationships. Therefore, to associate some certain usage features to such a pronoun without considering its co-variation could be misleading. Etiquette switching is use in the presence of others. Expressive switching is a means of emotional manifestation, in which the speaker changes pronouns that he uses regularly to some others so as to convey his feelings to the other interactant. Usually the pronominal forms to express one' downright anger are unrestrained as categorised by Cooke. By switching, the speaker can also resort to some pronouns with deferential features to express sarcasm or facetiousness— being obsequious, the term used by Cooke (see page 21 of this thesis). Again both studies by Cooke and Palakornkul are in parallel with respect to the expressive function of Thai pronouns. Both studies provide evidential suggestions that Thai pronouns are conditionally attitudinally laden, which is contextually dependent. Pronouns can be perceived by the hearer as emotionally or attitudinally laded provided that the speaker violates his norms of pronominal usage or switch from regular pronominal forms to others. This puts forth an implication that to interpret the evaluative aspect of a pronoun, the situational context in which it is used is indispensable.

2.3 Discursive and pragmatic studies on Thai pronouns

Thai pronominal usage has long been associated with the notion of politeness and formality, especially the following pronominal forms: /kràʔ-phŏm/, /phŏm/, /dìʔ-chăn/, /khun/, /thân/. However, both formality and politeness are not

always dependent on each other. According to Lakoff as cited by Iwasaki and Horie (1995),

> "*…conversation participants employ three rules of politeness: 1. Formality, 2. Deference, and 3. Camaraderie. Formality makes interlocutors "keep aloof" from each other, while Camaraderie makes interlocutors show sympathy with each other and recognize in-group membership. Deference recognizes the existence of both participants and their relationship*."

They further explain that formality and camaraderie can never co-exist; but deference can possibly accompany either of them. From this point of view, it is implied that being formal does not necessarily mean being respectful. And being intimate is not always indicative of being disrespectful. It is necessary, therefore, to be precautious when interpreting the interpersonal relationship as enacted through one's pronominal choice. For example, the pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ has obviously been associated with both formality and deference, considering the following descriptions of this pronoun:

> "*the form /dìʔ-chăn/ has more restricted use and is normally used in formal situations, such as in public speaking or when formally talking to a non-acquaintance. To many women, the word /dìʔ-chăn/ seems to denote a high degree of formality and seems to put some social distance between the speaker and the addressee"*. (Hoonchamlong, 1992, p. 196),
>
> "*…nonintimate deferential term used by (adult) females speaking to superiors, or formally to equals, polite persons*". (Cooke, 1968, p. 12)

And here is a summary of pronominal usage features of */dìʔ-chăn/* in the study by Palakornkul (1972, p. 85):

- used by female, speaking to a non-acquaintance adult
- used by female, speaking to a non-intimate colleague
- used by female adult, speaking to a person with high authority to express respect and formality
- used by female, speaking to a superior to express respect and formality
- used by female, speaking to a monk

Among the above three scholars, they share commonality as regards realisation of formality and distance through usage of the pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/. While Hoonchamlong seems to restrict its usage to a formal situation to signal distance; both Cooke and Palakornkul suggest an additional aspect of its usage to express deference or respect. According to Cooke, deference can co-exist with distance, and formality with politeness. For Palakornkul, deference or respect can accompany formality. Conception of all these semantic properties as perceptually associated with the pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ is not inconsistent with Lakoff's rules of politeness as mentioned above that the co-occurrence between formality and respect or deference can be expected. This means that a Thai female native speaker can use this pronoun speaking to a non-acquaintance as a means of expressing politeness. However, respect or deference can also co-occur with camaraderie or intimacy to embody politeness. In this respect, it is also possible that the same woman uses this pronoun speaking to someone with whom she is well familiar in order to show that she is being 'polite'. This can well remind us of the case between Ratchani /rát-cháʔ-ni:/ and Sai /săːi/, the two main characters in the novel 'The Ghost'. From the very beginning of their relationship as two non-acquaintances until they became very intimate and in love with each other, Ratchani kept using the pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ as her self-reference term in all her conversations with him. Her usage of could be explained in terms of politeness but on three different stages of relationship development—from the state of their being non-acquaintances to acquaintances or friends, and thereafter. When they had just been introduced to each other and before they became closer and closer, for the sake of politeness Ratchani's pronominal choice of /dìʔ-chăn/ could be entirely because of formality. Without knowing him well, it could not make much sense to claim that she does it out of deference toward Sai. Once they got to know each other better, it was possible that she developed a respectful attitude toward him, which did not affect her pronominal choice though. At this stage of relationship development, intimacy or closeness gradually took its toll and superseded distance. While Ratchani maintained her 'polite' verbal behaviour by using /dìʔ-chăn/, formality had yielded to both deference and camaraderie. After he won her heart, her level of verbal politeness did not decline perceptually; the very same pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ remained in use. It was both deference and camaraderie that were entwined in her expression of politeness.

Such re-interpretation of the interpersonal meaning as realised through the pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ was not without empirical supportive evidence. In a comparative study of Thai pronouns by Jiahong (2010, p.72), her survey findings indicate that the normally-perceived as very formal pronominal terms such as /kràʔ-phŏm/ and /dìʔ-chăn/ may be used in one's speaking to an intimate acquaintance as well as to be used on a formal occasion. Her findings were based on a questionnaire survey without involving situational contexts. This suggests that Thai native speakers' perceptions about usage of /dìʔ-chăn/ do not entirely conform to what has been described in the aforementioned studies. Hence, one's choice of the pronoun /kràʔ-phŏm/or /dìʔ-chăn/ does not definitely signal only both formality and deference or either of them. In the case of /dìʔ-chăn/, the speaker could mean only to 'keep aloof' from the other party, which is already polite enough. Or perhaps, it is meant to express respect to the other in spite of their intimate relationship. As demonstrated, in construal of the interpersonal meaning conveyed by a pronoun based on the principles of politeness, it is important to take into consideration all the three rules: formality, deference and camaraderie. To apply these rules, however, a context of situation in which the pronominal choice occurs is indispensable, without which it is fruitless to appropriately assess the relationship between two conversational interactants.

Not only pronominal forms and usage are tied with expressing politeness, but omission of pronoun or a zero pronoun is also considered as a strategic expression of politeness in association to Brown and Levinson's concept of 'face-saving' as demonstrated by Runggeratigul (2004) in comparison with Japanese language. Pronoun dropping is, in fact, a salient feature of the Thai language. In a communicative context when deictic referencing is unambiguous without any shifting, the participants spontaneously leave out pronominal terms in their utterances. This study suggests that zero pronouns in Thai mainly aim for 'positive face' expressing a unity between the speaker and the addressee, whereas in Japanese a pro-drop is meant for 'negative face' or personal isolation expressing respect but not solidarity. For Thai, 'negative face' without omitting a pronoun is usually reserved for expressing deference toward superiors or those in higher social positions. It is considered polite to for a social inferior to keep a certain distance between him/herself and a superior by choosing the appropriate pronominal terms. For Japanese, it is the other way round,

towards a social superior, dropping pronoun is socially appropriate. The findings show that Thai people usually omit their self-reference rather than those pronouns referencing their conversational partners; while the Japanese use the opposite strategy.

There exist, nevertheless, some situations, in which pronominal drop is intended or on purpose. According to Palakornkul (1968, p. 28), such situations are subject to one or more of the following conditions:

- the social role of the conversational counterpart is or cannot be identified,
- the interpersonal relationship between interlocutors is multi-bonded or with roles in conflict causing confusion about which pronominal form is appropriate,
- in the presence of someone who could be affected by the speaker's pronominal choice as being rude or absurd.

Based on the 'face-saving' politeness concept, 'positive-face' with pronominal omission in these scenarios is explicable. Towards a non-acquaintance or a stranger, to leave out pronominal reference is a means to save faces so as neither of the conversational participants would be embarrassed or offended should pronominal forms used be considered inappropriate. For the last two scenarios, 'positive-face' is to maintain the intimate relationship between the interlocutors without feeling awkward and at the same without offending the third party.

2.4 Thai pronouns and social behaviour

Some socio-linguistic oriented studies have demonstrated relationships between Thai pronominal usage and social behaviour. As earlier discussed, language ideology and language use share a mutual relationship; language ideology is shaped by one's social structures which has been constituted by different socio-cultural factors and background as well as language experience. Language ideology also governs the way we use language including pronominal usage. In view of social psychology, language and social structure are seen as having a mutual relationship. "*Just as language use pervades social life, the elements of social life constitute an intrinsic part of the way language is used.*", (Krauss & Chiu, n.a., p. 2). We use language in day-to-day socialisation or interactions, and in turn, such social experience also

influences the way we use language. Indeed, in my opinion, if we consider that social behaviour including language use play a part in constituting one's social structure which in turn forms his language ideology, the in return his language ideology also influences his language behaviour which is part of his social behaviour. It is not far-fetched to conclude that language ideology, social behaviour and language are interrelated.

A study on Thai address terms by Kanittanan (1984) has suggested that it is possible to infer one's social category based on his language behaviour of address term usage. In Thai, address terms include both noun and pronoun. It is very common that the grammatical functions of both noun and pronoun as address term and pronoun are interchangeable. She collects her data by observing casual conversations enacted by thirty five informants (fifteen teachers, ten administrative officers, and ten janitors) working at a university. The results reveal that pronominal usage patterns vary across the three groups. Such variations exist at two different levels—within group and between groups. For example, the group of teachers is addressed and referred by title, the group of administrative officers by /khun/+first name, and the group of janitors, by name or kinship term. Conclusively, within each social category, the pronominal usage pattern has its own uniqueness. The findings are in alignment with Brown and Gilman's (1960, p.273) suggestion that,

> *"…Behaviour norms are practices consistent within a group. So long as the choice of a pronoun is recognized as normal for a group, its interpretation is simply the membership of the speaker in that group. However, the implications of group membership are often very important; social class, for instance, suggests a kind of family life, a level of education, a set of political views, and much besides. These facts about a person belong to his character. They are enduring features which help to determine actions over many years. Consistent personal style in the use of the pronouns of address does not revel enough to establish the speaker's unique character but can help to place him in one or another large category*."

This proves that social category and pronominal choice behaviour are related. The different patterns of pronominal usage across the three groups serve as

evidence for association between language and social behaviour as mentioned by Krauss and Chiu (n.a., p.32), "*Speech contains information about the social categories to which a speaker belongs, and serves as a rich source of data for impression formation*." We may also look further to the linkage between language and ideology. It could also be concluded that different social categories have their own unique language ideologies which are accountable for their variations in pronominal usage patterns.

A study by Banthuchai (2006) is also subject to an implication concerning the relationship between Thai pronoun and social behaviour. He investigates 1st and 2nd person pronominal usage by department store male vendors by dividing his subjects into three different tiers in accordance with level of department store where they work—lower, middle and upper. His findings indicate that the significant differences in pronominal usage among the three groups that the 1st- and the 2nd-tier vendors refer to themselves with 1st person pronoun /phŏm/; while the 3rd-tier prefer kinship terms. The pronoun /phŏm/ is in general considered the polite term used by males speaking to superiors or equals or non-acquaintances. Kinship terms are pronominally used to address or to refer to non-kin or non-acquaintances signaling a friendly or an intimate relationship. The writer states that the upper and the middle tier vendors want to express politeness and formality towards their customers; meanwhile the lower tier seek to establish friendly relationships or familiarity with their customers. Now let us look from another perspective. Different classes of department store have different target groups of customer. Different groups of customer belong to different social classes and categories. And different social categories have different norms of social behaviour in which language plays a part. And those vendors need to take heed of their pronominal choice in order to suite these classy customers who may demand for formality and politeness of verbal behaviour. Simultaneously, the customers of the lower tier department stores are apt to have a more congenial relationship; and usage of kinship terms by the vendors would be more suitable for the purpose. Considering the methodology of his study, the questionnaire is meant to elicit the subjects' language output without probing into their motivation behind their language behaviour. My argument for reinterpreting this study by

considering the connection between language and social behaviour would need further investigation; it cannot as yet be considered definitive.

A study on pronominal usage by Thai female and male-to-female transgender individuals or 'kathoey' /kàʔ-thɤ̌i/ by Saisuwan (2011) has suggested a relationship between language and social identity. From her study, 'kathoeys' refer to themselves by using the 1st person female pronominal form /dìʔ-chăn/ when posting messages on internet web-boards. While female individuals prefer not to use this term as it is considered too formal and is used only for an emphatic purpose. Such usage of /dìʔ-chăn/ by a 'kathoey' is considered a means of maintaining their identity to be in alignment with females. According to Krauss and Chiu (n.a., p.39), in social psychology, language has a role as marker of social identity. And Thai pronominal usage can play a role of marking one's social identity—another linkage to social behaviour.

As seen above, I have already provided some examples to elucidate the connection between Thai pronoun and social behaviour with respect to inferring one's social category or marking one's social identity. In fact, other roles of pronoun within the scope of social behaviour have already been expounded on by Cooke, Palakornkul and other scholars, such as to convey interpersonal attitudes, to express interpersonal relations, to signal solidarity, etc. In addition, Thai pronominal usage is highly culturally driven. All of these roles that Thai pronoun can perform clearly mark the relationship between language and social behaviour. In other words, Thai pronominal usage is a reflection of social behaviour.

To generalize usage of a particular pronoun as signaling a same kind of attitude over a relationship across different individuals has to be done with caution. Different individual may have different perceptions about Thai pronominal usage. "*Thus, the societal attitudes towards certain linguistic variants can have the effect of producing different degrees of variation in pronoun usage...*" (Hoonchamlong, 1992, p. 198) Consequently, some may avoid using or rarely use certain pronominal forms. This is again attributable to one's language ideology. It would be important to re-iterate here that in assessment of the interpersonal aspects of a relationship as mediated through pronoun, two reading perspectives that I discussed earlier should be considered—(1) social role and relationship, (2) pronominal usage in context. As found, the consistencies among different studies in terms of pronominal usage features

could be ascribed to the focus only by language output or by pronominal forms used. It can be very misleading if one's association of a particular pronominal form with some prescriptive features as dictated by his own language ideology is used as the base for evaluation of interpersonal aspect enacted by someone else through that very pronoun. In short, one's perception of a pronoun is unavoidably influenced by his language ideology. Without taking into consideration such factors as interpersonal relationships between interlocutors and their relationship background and the context in which it is employed, the assessment could be subject to misinterpretation, such as the cases of the pronouns /khâ:/, /ʔeŋ/ and /dìʔ-chăn/. To judge whether these pronominal forms are purported to express intimacy or 'assertiveness' and formality, distance or deference, one cannot just focus on their forms and associated them to what they believe about these pronouns. Instead they needs to look beyond the scope of form and read them from the contexts in which they are used—how they are used, why they are used and what happens when they are used.

2.5 A new approach to study Thai pronouns

As already discussed, Thai pronominal system has undergone a long history of evolution in which different pronouns have foregone changes of semantic properties triggered by socio-cultural development over different periods of time. Thus variations of pronominal usage can hardly be definitive over time. In addition, normative principles of pronominal usage may vary across different individuals as well as different social categories. Differences in terms of pronominal strategies could be ascribed to different language ideologies which are shaped by different social structures to which different individuals are attached. Perhaps, it is true that prescriptive knowledge of pronominal usage is generally considered as adequate to build a base of a pillar of language norm. However, perception wise and practice wise do not necessarily always go hand in hand as illustrated by some examples of pronominal usage above. 'Form' and 'intended meaning' implying a relationship status may not consistently be in alignment. Generalisation that a particular pronominal term is linked to a specific interpersonal meaning without taking into count the socio-cultural factors and its environment of use can be unfair to its user.

Usage of one identical pronoun across different groups of people in different periods of time may convey different intents of those speakers. Pronominal usage of a rank term does not always signal an unequal status of a relationship between the two interlocutors. Being polite does not necessarily imply a distant relationship. Usage of /dìʔ-chăn/ does not consistently indicate the speaker's distant attitude toward the hearer. Usage of the non-restraint /ku:/ and /mɯŋ/ does not guarantee a closer friendship than does usage of /chăn/ and /kæ:/. To make it clear and fair, the context of situation in which a pronoun is utilised as an interpersonal resource needs to be looked at. Most previous studies of Thai pronouns pay more attention on their prescriptive rules, semantic properties as well as pragmatic use. Although context of emotive usage of pronouns has not been overlooked in her study, Palakornkul's focus is on the socio-cultural features and variant rules rather than investigating interpersonal relations as realised through different pronominal choices.

The Systemic Functionalists are interested in '*how people use language with each other in accomplishing everyday social life'* (Eggins, 2004, p.3). As a result, Systemic Functional Linguistics has adopted the following views about language:

(i) language use is functional

(ii) language use is semantic; its function is to make meanings

(iii) language use is contextual; the meanings are influenced by the social and cultural context in which they are exchanged

(iv) language use is semiotic; the process of using language is a semiotic process—a process of making meanings by choosing.

According to Eggins (2004), the Systemic Functional approach seeks to answer the following questions about language use (a) how people use language and (b) how language is structured for use, both which are based on the four main points above.

(a) Language use is a purposeful behaviour. People use language in order to achieve a purpose. And in reality it is very seldom that every communicative objective can be fulfilled within only one or few sentences. Under a normal communicative circumstance, a success can only be considered based on not only what the speaker says but also the verbal or physical response he receives from the other conversant or on the complete linguistic interaction (either spoken or written) between both communicative participants which is called a text. It is from the linguistic patterns in the text that we can

figure out the context of language use. In other words, 'context' is part of 'text'. And it is the aspects of context which determine how the text was produced. Without taking into consideration the contextual information, it is hardly possible to tell how people are using language and which meaning is being made. With this conception, the Systemic Functional approach focuses to investigate language together with its use in context. Context is composed of three significant dimensions of register variables—mode (role of language and the medium of how it is communicated), tenor (role relationship between interlocutors) and field (topic or focus of activity) which will be further discussed in the next chapter. Last but not least, Systemic Functional Grammar also sees language use is a representation of the speaker's view of the world. In other words, language use or text as produced by the speaker is shaped by his ideological positioning as influenced by his upheld social values and culture. Identification of ideology encoded in text is another approach to investigating meanings of language use. Suffice it to say that Systemic Functional Grammar equally emphasises the importance of both context and ideology in language use. '*Just as no text can be freed of context, so no text is free of ideology*' (Eggins, 2005, p.10).

(b) People interact through language use in order to make meanings. It thus can be said that the overall purpose of language is a semantic one, and each text that we produce simultaneously involves the following three different types of meanings--ideational, interpersonal and textual (which will be discussed in the next chapter) that are made in a particular context. And people identify these different types of meanings through a semiotic process. Language is viewed as a semiotic system whereby meanings are realised or encoded in words that are made available in finite sets of choices. In short, "*language is described as a semiotic system because it involves sets of meaningful choices or oppositions"* (Eggins, 2004, p.15). All the choices are dependent on culturally established conventions about the dimensions of meaning. For example, in Thai pronominal system, Thai native speakers recognize the gender difference between the 1st person pronouns /phŏm/ and /dìʔ-chăn/, or the polite and the impolite semantic feature between the 2nd person pronouns /mɯŋ/ and /khun/ or /thân/, or that it is inappropriate for a child to refer to any of his teacher using the 3rd person pronoun /man/. In their meaning-making interactions, Thai native speakers have to compare and contrast different relevant pronominal terms available in their

lexicons and make the most suitable choices as culturally prescribed by language conventions. In addition, pronominal variations in different individuals can be expected due to their different language ideologies as earlier discussed (see page 25 and 37). In this respect, I would hereby reiterate that language choice is as well subject to language ideology. Not only does a language incorporate systems of lexical choice but also systems of grammatical choice. The order and the arrangement of grammatical roles that the words are playing or the grammatical structures have to be taken into account in each language choice. Considering that language is a system of semiotic signs, a language choice is made based on the two semiotic dimensions—content and expression, to which a sign symbol can be associated. To describe both dimensions using Ferdinand de Saussure's terms, content is equivalent to 'signifí' (signified), and expression to 'signifiant' (signifier). As for language, content refers to meanings and wordings which include both words and structures; while expression refers to sounds and letters. The figures below describe these dimensional levels or strata of language using Systemic Functional Grammar's terminology:

	Layperson terms	**Technical terms**
Content	meanings ↓	discourse-semantics ↓
	wordings ↓	lexico-grammar ↓
Expression	sounds/letters	phonology/graphology

Figure 2.1: Levels or strata of language (adapted from Eggins, 2004, p.19)

Each downward pointing arrow represents a realisation relationship. From the above diagram, it can be read that meanings are realised as wordings, and wordings are realised by sounds or letters. Technically speaking, discourse-semantics is realised through the lexico-grammar, which is then realised through the phonology or graphology.

It can be seen that Systemic Functional Linguistics explores language functions by the meanings that are made in contexts through different sets of lexical and grammatical choices. Given the role of Thai pronouns as linguistic resources encoding interpersonal relations in texts, selection of available pronominal options are governed by socio-cultural influence. Therefore, a study on Thai pronouns as regards

their interpersonal meanings, both social and affective, must be undertaken by exploring their usage in contexts. It is hoped that this study will shed light on Thai pronominal reference from another perspective of linguistic study.

CHAPTER III
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I will discuss the relationships between Thai pronominal reference and the Tenor register of Systemic Functional Linguistics as well as its relationships with the 'appraisal' system, and the 'involvement' system, which will be used as the framework to analyse Thai pronominal usage.

3.1 Thai pronouns and the Tenor register

Systemic Functional Linguistics investigates language and meaning in context. A context of situation is structured with three different semiotic components: Field, Tenor, and Mode, which are realised through three different lexico-grammatical systems. The term lexico-grammar is derived from the combination between lexicon and grammar. Eggins (2004, p. 116) has suggested that it is the lexico-grammar which allows us to realise the meaning of what we intend to communicate by providing us with the means to combine different phonological structures into words. With different words, we can combine them into different grammatical structures to express variable meanings. The context of Field is realised through the lexico-grammatical system of Transitivity to convey ideational and experiential meaning—it tells what happens. The context of Tenor is realised through the lexico-grammatical system of Mood to signify the role-relationship between the interlocutors in a conversation—it tells who does it. With respect to identifying a role-relationship, it is Tenor that directly concerns pronoun as one of its lexico-grammatical elements, which will be further elaborated. The context of Mode is realised by the system of Theme to identify the textual meaning or how it is being done.

The context of Tenor concerns the role-relationship of the interlocutors, which involves the two variables--power (or status) and solidarity (or contact). The configuration of Tenor was originally proposed by Poynton (1990), which was partly

influenced by the classical work of Brown and Gilman (1960), "The pronouns of 'power' and 'solidarity'". The alternate terms 'status' and 'contact' have been introduced to respectively replace 'power' and 'solidarity'. I will use the terms 'status' and 'contact' when discussing on these two concepts from the perspective of System Functional Linguistics.

Brown and Gilman (1960) have established the notion of 'power' semantics with the pronoun usage in old English and four different European languages—French, German, Italian and Spanish. They symbolicise T (derived from the French 2nd person pronoun 'tu') to represent the pronoun of reciprocity whereby both speakers are of an equal status and use it for mutual referencing. V (derived from the French 2nd person pronoun 'vous') represents the pronoun of non-reciprocity in which one speaker with a lower status uses to refer to his counterpart that is on a higher rank. 'Power' dictates a non-reciprocal relationship between two persons, for both cannot be equal in terms of exercising power in the same area of behavior. As such, when one speaker uses the V pronoun, the other can use only the T pronoun. The factors which equip one speaker with a higher power than the other include physical strength, age, sex, birth, family relationship or kinship, and profession. In my opinion, these factors can be categorised into two different aspects. The physical aspect encompasses strength, age, sex, while birth, family relation and profession can be subsumed under the social one. Solidarity is established when both speakers are equal in terms of their social structures, or in other words, 'power'. And the V pronoun is replaced by T. The use of V pronoun indicates the great distance between the speakers or the decline of solidarity. However, both dimensions of 'power' and 'solidarity' can be entwined as pointed out by Brown and Gilman (1960, p. 258), *"Power superiors may be solidary (parents, elder siblings) or not solidary (officials whom one seldom sees). Power inferiors, similarly, may be as solidary as the old family retainer and as remote as the waiter in a strange restaurant."* This concept of 'power' and 'solidarity' semantics has also been extended to explain the social meanings in English address terms (Brown & Gilman, 1964; Dickey, 1997) or Vocatives in Systemic Functional Linguistics (Poynton, 1990) as well as address terms in some other languages such as Chinese (Lee, 2011), Korean (Hwang, 1991) and Dagbanli—an African language (2010).

With the notion of reciprocity and non-reciprocity, the concept of 'power' and 'solidarity' semantics may not be adequate to explain Thai pronominal usage. Among friends or intimate equals, reciprocity of pronominal usage is applicable; they can exchange the same set of pronouns in communication. Of course, gender differentiation is not considered as non-reciprocal as there are approximately equivalent forms between male and female. However, under normal circumstances, between parents and children, between older and younger relatives, between senior and junior acquaintances, between teachers and students, reciprocity does not apply. It is culturally inappropriate for the younger to address, in return, the older with the same set of pronouns. In order to explain the linguistic phenomena of Thai pronouns, the notion of reciprocity need to be excluded when the social roles of the interlocutors are not equal. The concept of 'power' and 'solidarity' is still valid to account for pronominal variations in Thai. However, the term 'power' may be misleading for some as it refers to superiority or higher authority. Age can also be a factor of power-marking, an old man is consider having power or a higher status than a young man provided that everything else is socially equal between the two. And for Thai pronominal usage, reciprocity will not apply to 'solidarity' when 'power' is not equal. For example, no matter how close a father and his son are, the son will never use the same 2nd person pronoun as his father does speaking to him. If the father uses the pronoun /kæ:/ to refer to his son, the son will not return this 2nd person pronoun to his father because it is usually used between two intimate equals or by a superior speaking to an inferior.

Furthermore, Brown and Gilman have explored the other facet of pronominal choice to express a transient attitude.

> "*Behaviour norms are practices consistent within a group. So long as the choice of a pronoun is recognized as normal for a group, its interpretation is simply the membership of the speaker in that group…Sometimes the choice of a pronoun clearly violates a group norm and perhaps also the customary practice of the speaker. Then the meaning of the act will be sought in some attitude or emotion of the speaker.*" (p. 273).

From this view, to express affective reaction, one may temporarily use a pronominal form that he does not regularly use speaking with his group members. This is

consistent with what Cooke (1968, p. 34-36) has mentioned about Thai pronominal usage of non-restraint forms in which pronominal norm violation is enacted as a means of emotional expression. Palakornkul (1972, p. 103) uses the term 'expressive switching' for the same pronominal behaviour in emotionally-charged conversations.

Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990, p. 131-167) have argued against the concept of 'power' and 'solidarity' semantics as inadequate to explain pronominal usage in, for example, Russian, Greek, German, Polish and Japan. They argue that in Russian, T-pronoun is for emotional expression. In Greek and German, T-pronoun is for intimates and V-pronoun is formal without non-reciprocity of usage. In Polish, there are more than two 2nd person pronominal forms with specific usage for different social classes. They have proposed the concept of 'markedness' and 'unmarkedness' T-pronoun is considered as marked, for its usage is more specific for signaling intimacy and emotional expression. V-pronoun is considered unmarked. As for Japanese, he explains that all honorific pronominal forms are marked as they are used for an emphatic purpose. The omission of pronoun or pro-drop which is salient in Japanese is the unmarked form.

The concept of 'marked' and 'unmarked' is worth considering in the context of the Thai language. However, this concept by itself can hardly be adequate to explain the complexity of Thai pronominal system. In fact, Japanese pronominal system is not less complex than Thai. In Thai, pronominal omission is not unusual. In fact, it is salient in daily casual conversations and even in a formal speech as well as in writing. Why do I not completely agree with Mühlhäusler and Harré and adopt such a concept to explain Thai pronominal usage as they have done for Japanese? For Japanese language, I am not in the position to support or argue with them, but for Thai, being a native speaker, I could share my thoughts. Thai pronominal system is absolutely culturally relevant in which social status, age, and some other socio-cultural factors are entwined as reflected on variations of pronominal usage. In addition to a commoner's language, pronominal and address terms as contained in the Royal Thai vocabulary are intrinsically 'power' laden as evidenced in various studies such as Jampa (2010) and Nasawat (2009). In general, to acquire the competence of royalty-relevant pronominal usage is by all means more demanding than the pronominal system for a commoner. In communication, under normal circumstances, through his

language ideology, one would need to apply the appropriate pronominal terms to align with the contextual situation. There are always the speaker and the addressee' statuses to be considered in one's pronominal choice coupled with the level of intimacy. During the course of conversation, it is natural that subconsciously one drops out pronouns when indexical referencing is clearly unmistakable. Despite the disappearance of pronominal forms, the flavor of interpersonal relations as enacted through them does not evaporate! It remains intact unless there is a shift to emotional expression. According to the speakers' consciousness, their perceptions of the pronominal existence and roles have never tainted. They still exist perceptually without being uttered and stay active throughout the whole course of conversation. It is not that we utter a pronoun always only for an emphatic purpose. There are times when we utter a pronoun or an address term to attract the conversational partner's attention. But the practice of not dropping a pronoun does not always mean that the speaker needs the hearer's attention. In fact, the practice of dropping a pronoun may depend on whom one is interacting with as discussed in the previous chapter. Furthermore, Thai social context is hierarchical by nature. Age and social class, for example, must be treated with appropriate manners. There is etiquette of social interaction that needs to be observed. Naturally, the concept of 'power' is intrinsically borne in Thai pronominal system. Reciprocity of usage is possible but has restricted areas of application. 'Solidarity' is valid among both equals and non-equals for whom reciprocity or non-reciprocity is interfered by 'power'.

In case of zero pronouns, with all different scenarios of pronominal avoidance as discussed in the previous chapter (p. 34-35), how should we consider such linguistic phenomena? Should they be considered marked or unmarked? Since they could be purposively dropped, according to the criteria set by Mühlhäusler and Harré, they should be considered as 'marked'. Moreover, dropping pronoun is a means of 'positive face' signaling solidarity, which is in contrast with Japanese. If that is the case, then usage of pro-drop or zero-pronoun has to be categorised as 'markedness' in Thai. I wonder how Mühlhäusler and Harré can would provide any explanation for this phenomenon. At this stage, I do insist that the 'power' and 'solidarity' semantics can to a certain extent cope with Thai pronominal system. In my opinion, the concept of being marked can help explain the role of pronouns as

expressions of emotionally-driven attitudes in the same fashion as it has been used to explain, for example, Russian T-pronoun. I would propose that any pronominal usage compliant to the norms of the system is considered unmarked. Therefore, pronominally expressive switching is considered as an act of 'markedness'. There are two subsystems involved in the process of pronominal usage in Thai. On one hand, 'power' and 'solidarity' work hand-in-hand simultaneously for strategic processing of appropriate pronominal choice. On the other hand, 'markedness' is activated only under the condition of being emotionally expressive; otherwise 'unmarkedness' prevails in all normal situations. In other words, 'markedness' and 'unmarkedness' cannot co-exist; while co-occurrence between 'power' and 'solidarity' is mandatory.

It can be noted that 'power' and 'solidarity' are interpersonal factors that come in to play upon exercising one's pronominal choice. Both are external entities that are not completely possessed by an individual. They are socio-culturally driven entities that are interpersonally acknowledged by conversational interactants as indicating their interpersonal positioning in their relationships. Unlike 'power' and 'solidarity', 'markedness' and 'unmarkedness' are subject to each individual's internal processing of pronominal selection in a particular context of situation. These are two dimensions of internal cognition that leads to one's choice between compliance to or violation of pronominal usage norms. 'Power' and 'solidarity' can be viewed as interpersonal components that work actively hand in hand to govern the appropriate pronominal choice in all contexts of situation. Meanwhile, 'markedness' and 'unmarkedness' are intrapersonal components, either of which drives the pronominal usage to be compliant or non-compliant to norms in a particular context of situation. Basically, 'markedness' and 'unmarkedness' never occur at the same time in the same context of situation. Figure 3.1 illustrates the interrelationship between the interpersonal factors of 'power' & 'solidarity' vs. the instrapersonal options of 'markedness' & 'unmarkedness' that are simultaneously activated at the time of pronominal choice processing.

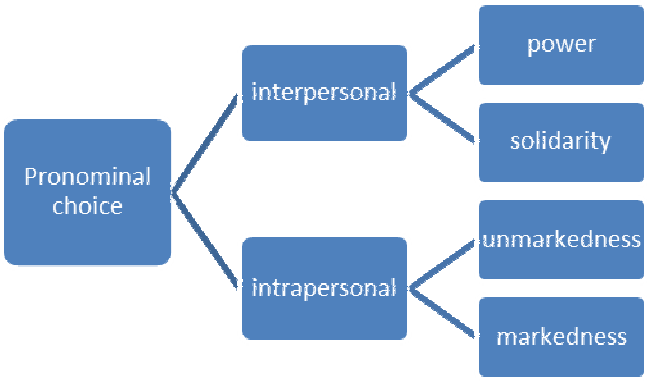

Figure 3.1 Different components of pronominal choice processing

Poynton (1990), basing her work on the 'power' and 'solidarity' semantics, has established a new perspective of defining variables of Tenor register. 'Power' and 'solidarity' or 'status' and 'contact' in the System Functional view are not just conceptual semantics for pronouns. Rather they are two different variables constituting the Tenor component in a contextual situation. In a speech situation, the interlocutors or interactants need to determine whether their social roles and interpersonal relationship put forth as their language behaviours are in alignment with these two variables and how to enact them. As defined by Halliday (1978, p. 223), "*since it* (Tenor) *refers to the participants in the speech situation, and how they related to each other both permanently and temporarily, influences the speaker's selection of mood (his choice of speech role: making statements, asking questions and so on) and of modality (his assessment of the validity of what he is saying); it also helps to determine the key in which he pitches his assertions (forceful, hesitant, gnomic, qualified and so on) and the attitudes and feelings he expresses,"* Tenor in Systemic Functional Linguistics directly involves the system of Thai pronominal reference. With regard to realization this interpersonal metafunction, the status of pronoun in English is being treated like a noun or a nominal group, being an element of the Mood structure and assuming the position of Subject which affirms or denies a proposition in a clause (Halliday, 1994) or a verbal or prepositional object. However, a pronoun in Thai can function more than just being a referential subject or object in a clause. As

reviewed above, a Thai pronoun is responsible for both indexing a referent and marking interpersonal relationships between the communicative participants. In English, the aspect of conveying interpersonal relationship between interlocutors is applicable to Vocatives in English; *"…the function of the Vocative is more negotiatory: the speaker uses it to mark the interpersonal relationship, sometimes thereby claiming superior status or power.*" (Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 134). As a consequence, the analysis of the role of Thai pronoun as only Subject in the Mood system or a grammatical object needs to be reviewed. The current study will supplement the previous study by Patpong (2006) in regard to analyzing interpersonal meaning in Thai as mentioned in Chapter 1. The system of Mood is not adequate to describe the roles and functions of Thai pronouns which are referent-marking as well as social and affective marking like Vocatives. In English, a Vocative such as an address term, is not part of the Mood system in a clause. There is an exception though in a baby-talk situation in which a parental kinship term (e.g. daddy or mommy) may be used as a pronominal subject or object. However, in Thai, kinship and other address terms can function as both a Vocative and a pronominal subject or object. And Thai personal pronouns proper can do likewise. In her study, Patpong (2006) has only focused on the discourse semantics of Negotiation dealing with speech function and dialogical exchange. The other interpersonal aspects of marking social differentiations and conveying affective meanings of Thai pronouns need also be brought into light.

Poynton (1990) has suggested three different dimensions of a Tenor relation which shaped the level of language usage. They include 'power', 'distance' and 'affect'. 'Power' is defined by social 'power' that is acknowledged between the two conversational interactants; and 'distance' concerns their interpersonal 'solidarity'. The influence of both 'power' and 'distance' goes beyond just the choice of vocative. The scope of their influence encompasses different kinds of language resources as well as choice of contents and turn-taking. Non-reciprocity in a relationship enables the superior to have more options of language use than the inferior. And 'distance' refers to the frequency of interactions or the degree of intimacy and closeness between two interactants. These two dimensions are entwined to form a social distance between them both; and the smaller of social distance exists between them, the more meanings

they have available to exchange with less efforts. 'Affect' is concerned with the emotional dimension of their social interactions, which is an optional variable unlike the other two that are always involved in construing Tenor. These three Tenor dimensions were later been termed as 'power', 'contact' and 'affective involvement' as appearing in Eggins (2004, p. 99-103). They interactively contribute to manipulating the variations of language use in different individuals, resulting formal vs. informal language choice.

Table 3.1 Formal vs. informal situation (Eggins, 2004, p. 101)

TENOR: typical situation of language use	
Formal	**Informal**
Equal power	Unequal, hierarchic power
Frequent contact	Infrequent, or one-off contact
High affective involvement	Low affective involvement

However, in Thai, classification of the two language usage situation as 'formal' and 'informal' can be problematic in explaining some linguistic instances of pronominal choice in Thai such as the usage of /dìʔ-chăn/ by Ratchani in the novel 'The Ghosts'. The notion of 'formality' is usually associated with language form. In terms of form, this pronoun is generally considered 'formal', but the context in which it appears is not necessarily a formal one. In addition, it can be used for an emotionally expressive purpose, which will be elaborated in the subsequent chapters. The interpersonal meaning realised through a pronoun has to be considered not only within the scope of its form but also its surrounding context. Hence, it would be inadequate to analyse Thai pronominal usage by considering 'form' as part of language use situation. The form is not necessarily dependent on the situation of language use.

In Martin and White, (2005), the term 'power' was substituted by 'status' but both essentially refer to the same concept in relation to configuration of a Tenor environment. However, Martin and White considered 'affect' or 'affective involvement' as a different categorical element of Tenor configuration. In their appraisal theory, they repositioned this third dimension as a discourse semantic system

and renamed it as 'attitude', which was meant for emotional assessment and attitudinal evaluation of Tenor relations.

According to the study of Tenor register by Poynton (1990, p. 90), there are three different dimensions of social distance which position interlocutors as equal or unequal, close or distant, with or without affective involvement. Equality and inequality in a relationship are determined by the variable 'status' (originally 'power') which results in reciprocity and non-reciprocity of a verbal interaction or language choice in a particular language, be it exclusive or inclusive of pronominal choice. This Tenor variable is considered as the key determinant of the vertical dimension of a social distance between two individuals. Given the statuses of different interactants, they can thus be categorised into three different groups, i.e. (1) the social superior, (2) the social inferior and (3) the social equal. In a hierarchical Thai society, the important factors that play a significant role of conditioning 'status' include relative age, social position, and non-intimacy (Cooke, 1968, p. 58). These factors are vital to influence one's pronominal choice as well as other language forms. With age difference, the older is always treated with respect by the younger. Without interference by other social factors, two individuals on the same relative age would treat each other as equal. For example, two non-managerial male colleagues working in the same company would interact with each other as socially equal and exchange the same set of non-deferential pronominal or informal forms or even strongly impolite forms if they are close enough. Unless one is relatively senior than the other in terms of age, the younger one may show his courtesy towards the older by pronominally reference him as an elder brother and avoid using any non-restraint pronoun. In many other different situations, however, the age factor may lose its significance in conditioning one's status; it can be overridden by the factor of social position. One's social position is defined by his relationship role in a role set that he is part of. As suggested by Palakornkul (1972, p. 69-70) an individual can play different relationship roles depending on the role sets that he or she is involved as a role player. For example, at home, a man can play the role of 'father' in the role set of which he and his child are the members. His role relationship with his child is a 'father-son' relationship. A father is by familial hierarchy superior than his child. At his work place, he may play the role of 'supervisor' or 'manger' in the role set of

which he and his direct reports are the members. His role relationship with his subordinates is a 'superintendent-subordinate' relationship. A manager is by position in the office has a higher authority than his direct reports. One's relationship role may be shaped by different social factors such as birth (royalty vs. commoner), religious, officialdom, rank, title, occupation, wealth, education as well as family relationship. A royalty member earns a superior social status by birth right as compared to a commoner regardless of seniority. A Buddhist monk, young or old, is always revered by the Buddhist laymen. A general has a higher authority than an officer. A young master can demand obedience from a senior servant. A student should show courtesy to his or her teacher. A patient usually holds his doctor in high regards. The rich usually have an influence over the poor who are financially dependent on them. A well-educated person is more often treated with respect by an under-educated person. A mother is respected by her children. In a traditional couple relationship, the husband has a louder say than his wife. Therefore, apart from age, it is the relationship role which differentiates one's social position as superior, equal or inferior. In an asymmetrical relationship, there exists a vertical dimension of interpersonal relation cline maneuvered by the social hierarchy. Hence, between the superior and the inferior, there is always a vertical distance or a vertical gap in their relationship. To make a simple analogy, along the vertical cline, the superior is placed in a higher spot above the inferior, meanwhile two social equals are placed on the same position. Depending on their relationship roles and the role set, their relationship gap on the vertical cline could be small or big or even mapped onto each other depending on socio-cultural factors and social structures. And both parties shall observe the communicative protocol choosing the language forms appropriate for their levels, such as pronoun, address term, final particle or politeness particle, etc. In terms of pronominal choice, the superior and the inferior do not reciprocate the same pronominal pattern. In fact, the social superior, in a conversation with the inferior, mainly use the pronouns that are applicable to a social equal. However, the inferior, according to the appropriate social standards, will not return the same pronouns in his speech. It is this social relationship gap that dictates the social inferior's language choice to encode his acknowledgement of the other's superior status or acceptance of his own social inferiority.

The other Tenor variable that conditions the positioning of interlocutors as close or distant is 'contact' (originally 'distance'). This variable is in other words concerned with the horizontal dimension which is in contrast with the vertical dimension of social distance. Poynton modelled 'distance' as a choice between the two features of intimacy and distance on a horizontal relationship cline. In a conversational interaction, not only does the speaker have to take into account the status differences, but also the degree of closeness or distance between himself and the addressee. Moreover, it may happen that… "*Through particular configurations of linguistic choices, interactants may lay claim to a greater intimacy or distance than the actual circumstances of their relationship would predict*:…" (Poynton, 1990, p. 90). In Thai culture, it is not uncommon that one may address a non-kin acquaintance or a stranger as though the addressee was his own relative by using a displaced kinship term (Cooke 1968, p. 50), which I would call a 'pseudo kinship' term. Such a strategy of flagging uncalled-for intimacy is a means of establishing a good rapport or solidarity. As pointed out by Poynton, in a western culture, such claims of uncalled-for intimacy through usage of an intimacy-oriented address term could be subject to acceptance or rejection by the addressee, which is also possible in Thai culture depending on each individual. Cooke considered non-intimacy as a cultural feature of Thai pronominal system, which can indeed be viewed as part of the elements that define the Tenor variable 'contact'. In Thai culture, in a situation whereby intimacy does not exist in a relationship, the speaker should address the casual acquaintance or the stranger involved in a conversation with deference or respect by means of polite verbal interactions especially when the latter's social position is ambiguous although the person may not necessarily be socially superior. Even though intimacy does exist in a relationship, one's pronominal choice remains subject to the conditions of age and social position factors. Deference or respect must remain when one verbally interacts with someone older or socially higher. To be precise, to flag solidarity or camaraderie in his or her speech, the speaker needs to take heed of these status-related factors in addition to the degree of familiarity or intimacy. Otherwise, it could result in an unacceptable verbal behaviour. Regardless of their mutual intimacy, it is socially appropriate for a social inferior to keep a vertical distance far below a superior by identifying himself as lower in status which can be realised through different

pronominal forms. To highlight, interpersonal social relations are always manipulated by 'status' and 'contact' respectively represented by a vertical and a horizontal cline. A vertical gap is always present in an asymmetrical relationship but does not exist when the interlocutors are socially equal or it is very marginal if they both relatively are socially on a par with each other. And the gap is socially static in each role relationship under normal circumstances. On the horizontal cline between intimacy and distance, the positioning of their relationship can either gear closely toward the former. And the degree of intimacy is dynamic and can change overtime. Therefore, in a newly established asymmetrical relationship, the vertical dimension is socially defined and firmly set; while the horizontal gap towards the intimacy end on the cline may be large in the beginning, but once their relationship has positively developed, the gap could become smaller and smaller. Between two intimate equals, there is no vertical nor horizontal gap existing in their relationship. However, if both social equals are not familiar with each other, though the vertical gap does not exist, the horizontal distance can be.

With these two Tenor variables pulling strings behind, in terms of pronominal usage, the superior and the inferior, regardless of their intimate relationship, can never enjoy reciprocal pronominal choice. Under normal circumstances, the range of pronominal selection as enjoyed by the social superior is very different from the pronominal resources available for the social inferior. In an unfamiliar relationship, the former may resort to deferentially-used or formality-related pronominal terms in order to show courtesy. However, in a close relationship, the former has more freedom to decide whether to use politeness-related pronominal terms or not, but the latter is obliged to use pronominal terms with a deferential flavour though with a mild degree. Pronominal choice can be reciprocated provided that both interlocutors are socially equal. Gender difference is not considered as asymmetrical factor, for there are pronouns which are corresponding partners for both sexes. Unlike some European languages, solidarity may take precedence and thus enables the social superior and the inferior to mutually gain access to the T-pronoun.

In summary, in a context of situation, the Tenor relations between two interactants are determined by two variables, namely, 'status' and 'contact. For example, under normal circumstances, between a father and a son, in their speech

interactions, both of them do take into consideration their positioning within these two dimensions. The father by his role, of course assumes a higher status than the son; both them also interact with each other in accordance with their role relationship as 'parent' and 'child' 'Status' in their Tenor context will be static, as a father is always a father; a son is always a son. The former is culturally, morally and socially acknowledged as superior to the latter, but not vice versa. The latter is deemed to respect his father and position himself in the appropriate level of the family relationship hierarchy. The componential features of their Tenor relationship can be presented as follows: the father [+status +contact] vs. the son [-status +contact]. The plus [+] sign preceding 'status' signifies a person's superiority, while the minus [-], inferiority. As regards 'contact', [+] denotes high frequency of contact, and [-] refers to low frequency. Both can be integrated to constitute one Tenor context on the course of their interactions as [±status +contact]. So in realisation of their Tenor relationship, they will utilise the lexicogrammatical resources available in their language system to project their interpersonal relationship that both are unequal in status [: [±status] but are intimate by blood and family connection [+contact] —a father and a son. So when the father wants to address his son, he may choose the available address terms or pronouns which can express his relationship with his son. He may opt for the pronoun /kæ:/ or a kinship term /lú:k/ or even his nickname depending on what he thinks about his boy. The son, in return, will not use the pronoun /kæ:/ or /mɤŋ/, which are socially stigmatized as 'impolite, rude, or vulgar to be used speaking to one's parent. Being fully aware of his father's higher status, he may choose to use a kinship term /phɔ̂:/ or the same kin term but being preceded by the referential title /khun+phɔ̂:/, depending on their interpersonal relationship.

'Affect' addresses the affective dimension of social distance. Poynton suggested two types of language choice as conditioned by 'status', namely marked and unmarked choice. The marked choice is concerned with expressive manifestation of one's state of mind or an evaluative attitude, which can be flagged as positive or negative. Meanwhile, the unmarked choice is related to the repression of such emotional manifestation. The social superior is generally privileged to enjoy the freedom of either choice, while the inferior is left with only the unmarked choice. The notion of marked and unmarked echoed some similarities to pronominal

markedness and unmarkedness as proposed by Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990, p.131-167) in their argument against Brown and Gilman's 'power' and 'solidarity' as already discussed. Based on my proposed model of pronominal choice processing as discussed on the page 48-49 of this thesis, there are two kinds of processing components working in parallel in the process of pronominal usage in Thai. On one hand, 'status' and 'contact' work hand-in-hand to manipulate strategic processing of appropriate pronominal choice, they are mandatory to condition Tenor relations. On the other hand, 'markedness' is activated only under the condition of being emotionally expressive; otherwise 'unmarkedness' prevails in all normal situations. Both are not social factors shaping one's pronominal choice but they represent the two different approaches of pronominal strategy which are optional as to deliver or not to deliver emotional expressiveness. In the context of situation whereby the speaker expresses a transient attitude through a pronominal behaviour non-compliant to his group norm, he has an intention to mark the message in order to emotionally attract the receiver's attention. Without such a need, he would interact with the receiver normally through unmarked pronominal choice. In this respect, these two notions can together with 'power' and 'solidarity' be integrated with the Systemic Functional Linguistics framework of Tenor variables 'status' and 'contact' to be accountable for pronominal phenomena in the Thai language system. When the Tenor conditions are not well respected, a behaviour norm of pronominal usage can be violated, resulting in the linguistic phenomenon of markedness. 'Markedness' for expressive or emphatic usage can complement Poynton's concept of 'marked affect'. According to her study, the choice of 'marked affect' or expression of any attitude towards or evaluation on someone or something can be equally enjoyed between two social equals. To signal one's affective involvement with others in association with different kinds of 'attitude', involves two different perspectives—'emotion' and evaluation' (Poynton 1990, p. 85). 'Emotion' focusses more on the personal aspect or internal affective states of the speaker. 'Evaluation' focusses on judgment or assessment of behaviour such as good or bad, right or wrong, which can be associated with one's beliefs, values, and ideologies. The latter is basically more socially than personally oriented. Figure 3.2 illustrates the system network of Tenor devised by Poynton (1990, p. 89).

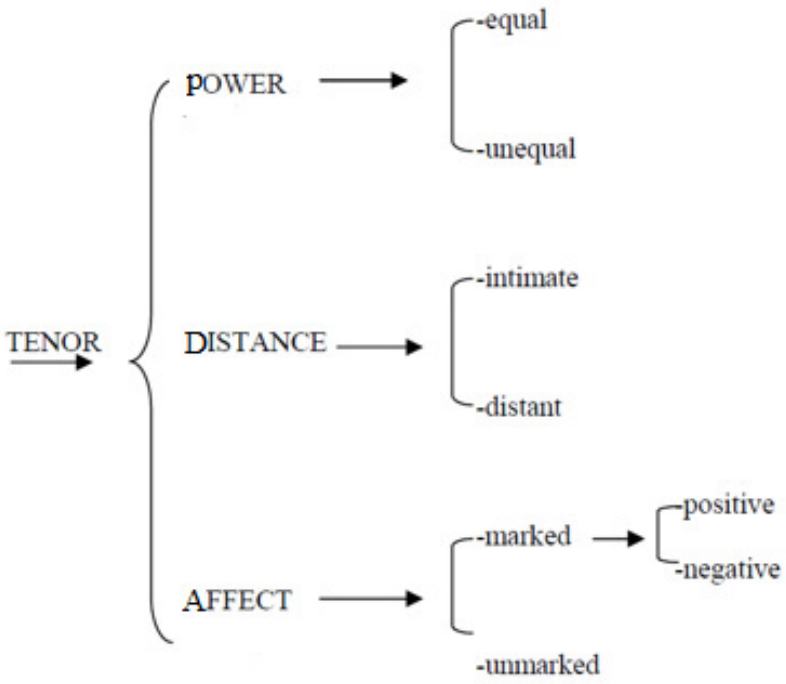

Figure 3.2 The system network of Tenor (Poynton, 1990, p. 89)

However, in an unequal relationship, it is the social superior who has the privilege of doing so especially when the target is the inferior himself. The social inferior is supposed to behave deferentially putting on 'unmarked affect' in which overt manifestation of any negative attitude or reacting emotionally towards the superior is inhibited. There seems to be an interrelationship between 'markedness' vs. 'unmarkedness' and 'marked affect' vs. 'unmarked affect'. The former two are concerned with pronominal behaviour, while the latter deal with the positive and the negative aspects of interpersonal relations. It can be stated that as regards realization of interpersonal relationship by pronouns, marked pronominal choice is meant to signal 'marked affect', and unmarked pronominal choice, to construe 'unmarked affect'.

Nevertheless, it has to be noted that only under normal circumstances in which all socio-economic differences between the social superior and the inferior are well respected and not overlooked that the latter does restrict himself to display only 'unmarked affect' . When social or group norms are violated, Tenor environment will consequentially be ignored temporarily and it is possible that the social inferior will resort to a 'marked' pronominal choice to express 'marked affect'. There, however,

lies an implication here about violation of or compliance to one's social or group norms. Language choice which is non-compliant to one's group norms could be notionally considered as marked usage. And the choice which follows the group norms could be regarded as unmarked usage. Standard norms of one group could be different from those of other groups. Therefore, bench-marking of appropriate pronominal choice for one group may not be able to apply to another group. And language group norms are the results contributed by different individuals who share common language ideologies. Meanwhile, let's get back to the notions about marked and unmarked language usage, specifically in connection with pronominal usage. Poynton (1990, p. 95) has further suggested that there is a cross-dependency between an intimate relationship and 'marked affect', and between a distant relationship and 'unmarked affect'. The most obvious dependency is founded on the intimacy end on the horizontal cline of relationship. An intimate relationship should generally be characterized by positive 'affect'. Based on such an assumption, there lies an implication that in an intimate relationship, expressing positive attitude or evaluation is regarded as the choice of 'unmarked affect', and signaling negative 'affect' is considered as marked choice. Therefore, in a role relationship between a mother and a daughter, for example, the mother's expression of her intimate affection over her daughter is considered as a normative or unmarked behaviour. On the contrary, her manifestation of a distant attitude towards her child can be viewed as a marked behaviour. In Thai, it is possible that a motherly affection is realised through a certain set of pronominal pairs, while a distant relationship can be construed via a different set of pronominal terms. As such, a mother's pronominal choice to express distance in her relationship with her child can be considered as marked usage. If this mother has two daughters, and she feels affectionately close to one but contemporaneously distant from the other, she can make use of different sets of pronominal pairs to distinguish between her two opposite kinds of 'affect'. With this pair of pronominally-used kinship terms /mɛ̂:/-/ lû:k:/ (meaning 'mother'-'child'), she can clearly highlight her affectionate attitude toward one daughter. Meanwhile, with the other pair of personal pronouns proper /tɕhǎn/-/kæ:/ , she obviously discriminate against the other daughter of her own. The first type of usage is considered unmarked, and the second one is

marked. This thus leads to a conclusion that marked pronominal usage does not apply only to expressive pronominal switching but also to discriminatory pronominal choice.

3.2 Thai pronouns vs. 'involvement' and 'appraisal'

Martin and White (2005) has expanded the scope of analyzing Tenor by introducing two more different systems of discourse semantics in addition to the one initially suggested by Halliday (1994). The initial focus of analyzing Tenor through the Mood system was focused on how the conversational interlocutors execute their negotiation in terms of their speech roles or the speech functions as present in the clauses in exchange. This has been categorised under the discourse semantics of Negotiation which includes speech function and exchange. Two additional discourse semantics contain 'appraisal' and 'involvement'. What is discourse semantics?

> *"…it is concerned with meaning beyond the clause (with texts in other words). This level is concerned with various aspects of discourse organisation, including the question of how people, places and things are introduced in the text and kept track of once there (identification); how events and states of affairs are linked to one another in terms of time, cause, contrast and similarity (conjunction); how participants are related as part to whole and sub-class to class (ideation); how turns are organised into exchanges of goods, services and information (negotiation); and how evaluation is established, amplified, targeted and sourced (appraisal)."* (Martin & White, 2005, p. 9).

In essence, discourse semantics concerns the way people use language to convey meanings in communications, the way they interact in exchanging language. 'Negotiation' concerns the way people ask and answer questions, making requests, taking turns on the conversation floors. 'Appraisal' concerns the way people use language for evaluation or expressing feelings or attitudes. And 'involvement' deals with negotiating intimate or distant relationships. All these three systems simultaneously co-occur during an on-going discourse of communicative interaction. In the context of Thai language, specifically pronouns, it is 'status' and 'contact' that determine the interlocuters' roles and relationships all of which define the Tenor

environment. With so designated Tenor, based on their discretion (perhaps, language ideologies), the interlocuters will then realise their interpersonal attitudes by choosing the language levels, such address terms, pronouns, particles, appropriate to that contextual situation.

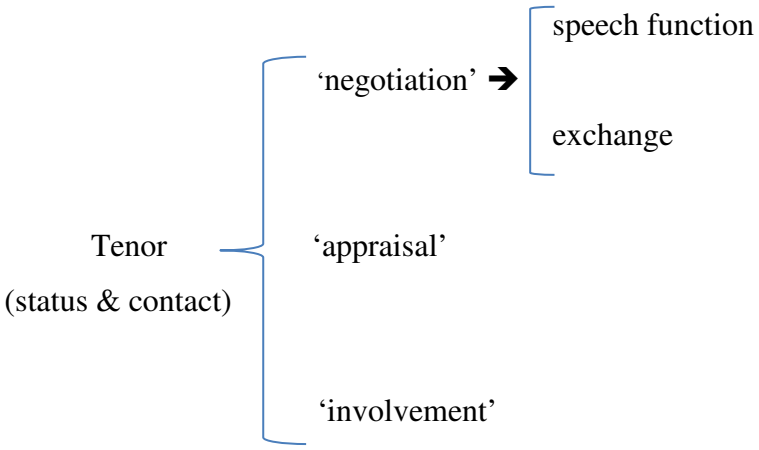

Figure 3.3 Tenor and its discourse semantics

In their 'appraisal' theoretical framework, Martin and White (2005, p. 34-35) considered only 'status' and 'contact' as two major manipulators of a Tenor register. And these two variables are necessary for textual analysis for all three discourse semantic system—negotiation, appraisal and involvement. The relationships between the two Tenor variables and the three discourse semantics are illustrated in Figure 3.3 above. Obviously, the optional dimension of 'affect' in Poynton's tenor model has been moved from the register level to a discourse semantic level as resources for realizing Tenor. In fact, Poynton recognized the different aspects between the first two variables and 'affect' in such a way that the latter was a function of the former two and was dependent on them (Poynton, p. 93). Any choice pertaining to 'affect' was made in consideration of 'status' and 'distance' and it did not imply the speaker's positioning of the addressee as did the choices from the other two variables. She elaborated these three Tenor dimensions together with thorough analysis of English address terms. Martin and White considered that English address terms were linguistic resources for construing a discourse semantic system called 'involvement'. As briefly mentioned in Martin and White (p. 33), "*Involvement complements*

appraisal by focusing on non-gradable resources for negotiating tenor relations, especially solidarity." The discourse semantic system 'involvement' is meant to account for resources for negotiating tenor relations, especially solidarity, such as address terms, expletives and interjections, slang, technical and specialized lexis. In other words, it can be said that 'involvement' deals with linguistic choice construing between intimacy and distance in interpersonal relations. Given the appraisal theory, this discourse semantic system is established on the ground of analyzing attitudinal or evaluative lexis which are gradable. It seems that Poynton's third dimension of a Tenor relation has been repositioned as two different discourse semantic systems, namely 'involvement' and 'appraisal'. Both system are intended towards analyzing the interpersonal resources realizing affective dimension of Tenor relations but focused on different kinds of lexical choice and usage.

Address terms are considered as part of the 'involvement' system and used as vocatives. The Thai language does have vocative resources, not only do they include nominal address terms but also personal pronouns proper; and they all function as do English vocatives to express interpersonal attitudes and social relations between interlocutors. It can also be stated that the pronominal system and the vocative system in Thai share the common linguistic resources. Since both Thai personal pronouns proper and nominal address terms can function as vocatives which are linguistic resources negotiating tenor relations, Thai pronouns are by default the interpersonal resources construing 'involvement'. Both Thai pronouns and address terms, irrespective of being Vocatives or being person referents, always signify their associated social meanings in the context in which they appear. To determine the interpersonal meanings as realised through pronominal usage, by considering only the pronominal terms together with their semantic features will not be sufficient. Some pronominal terms may collocate with different pronominal partners depending on 'status' and 'contact' and thus signal different kinds of affective involvement or attitudes. Especially when the mechanism of switching is employed which may result in a change of either 1st person or 2nd person form or both, the two Tenor variables can be temporarily ignored and the usage may counter the usual social relations or the role relationship between the speaker and the addressee. Therefore, in analyzing a text to identify the interpersonal aspects of pronominal usage, it is necessary to take into

account the contextual clues and pronominal choice in pair for 1st and 2nd person pronoun (not for a 3rd person form as it stands alone) used in the interlocutors' verbal interactions. When pronominal switching takes place, the usual interpersonal relationship between the speaker and the addressee as realised through their usual pronominal choice will be automatically suspended and momentarily replaced by a new relationship opposite to the usual one. For example in the novel 'The Judgement', Fak /fák/, a school janitor, was cheated out of his money by the school headmaster. Being so frustrated and enraged, Fak was so emotionally uncontrollable that he changed his pronominal choice from the deferentially-used pair /phŏm/ ('I')-/khru:-jài/ ('head master') to the strongly impolite forms /ku:/-/mɯŋ. With his job position, he is socially inferior to the school headmaster. And his former pronominal choice is appropriate for their relationship roles. However, the change to the impolite pair is utterly unacceptable, not aligned with the social norms. Their original congenial relationship was, at that moment, turned negative because of Fak's crude verbal behaviour. If the system of involvement is meant to assess solidarity in a relationship, viz., from a positive or a close relationship to a negative or a distant one as reaslised through Fak's pronominal switching, how can we address the state in Fak's mind that drove him to such an emotional outburst? As a matter of fact, pronominal switching is triggered by an internal state of mind which is usually emotionally driven. And the emotional state can either be positive or negative. If it is negative, it will consequentially drive pronominal choice configured with perhaps, impolite forms, which perceptually impacts the usual relationship in a negative way, turning away from intimacy to distance, from a friendly relationship to a non-congenial one. By closely determining such negative pronominal choice, we can see that such a non-compliant linguistic behaviour is a main representation of the speaker's negative emotion. In this case, the switching to the impolite pronominal forms by Fak represented his extreme displeasure or anger that he was cheated by the head master of his money. From the perspective of 'involvement', Fak's pronominal approach set the horizontal distance between them so far apart from the pole of intimacy, turning a congenial relationship to a very unpleasant one. And how could we explain the emotional aspect of his linguistic behaviour? In this respect, the system of

involvement seems to fall short to adequately account for the emotional layer of interpersonal meaning associated with Fak's unusual pronominal choice.

'Appraisal' is a discourse semantic system which is intended toward analyzing attitudinal or psychological involvement in a text. Martin and White (2005) have subcategorised the discourse semantics of appraisal into three different domains, namely 'attitude', 'engagement' and 'graduation'. 'Attitude' is concerned with emotional feelings and reactions of the speaker, judgement of behavior and evaluation of things. 'Engagement' deals with source positioning of his/her attitude toward someone or something. 'Graduation' is meant to identify the intensification of amplification of one's attitude in the on-going discourse.

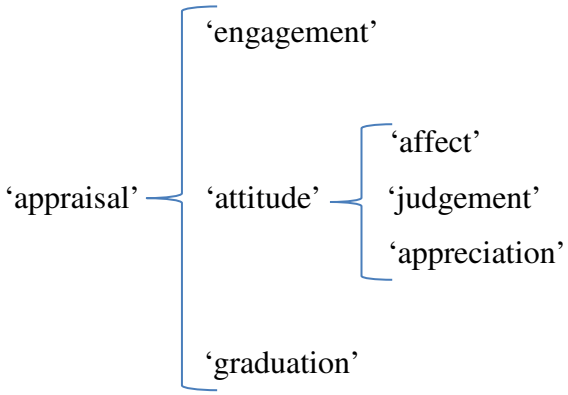

Figure 3.4 The 'appraisal' system and its components

The 'attitude' system involves three different dimensions of feeling or…"*three semantic regions covering what is traditionally referred to as emotion, ethics and aesthetics*" (Martin & White, p. 42)—'affect', 'judgement' and 'appreciation'. 'Affect' is concerned with evaluation of positive and negative feelings as express in texts, such as unhappiness, sadness, anger, fear, etc. 'Judgement' deals with attitudes toward behaviour, which we admire or criticize, praise or condemn. 'Appreciation' involves evaluations of 'things', natural phenomena, natural objects, state of affairs and processing, anything not related to human's emotions or behaviours.

The summary of their definitions by White (2006, p.2) can be very helpful to help grasp the concept of 'attitude':

> *Positive and negative evaluations can be divided into those which involve (a) emotional reactions (what the appraisal framework terms'), (b) assessments of human behaviour and character by reference to some system of conventionalized or institutionalized norms (what the appraisal framework terms 'judgement') and (c) assessments of artefacts, texts, natural objects, states of affairs and processes in terms of how they are assigned value socially…)*".

Considering the system network of Tenor register proposed by Poynton (1990, p. 93-93), the dimension 'affect' is split between marked and unmarked choice. And it is through the marked choice that 'attitude' is realised. Moreover, 'attitude' can be looked from two different perspectives—'emotion' and 'evaluation' (Poynton, 1900, p. 85) as mentioned earlier. The focus of her study is more on interrelations between people not things. Conceptual wise, her 'emotion' and 'evaluation' of 'attitude' could be mapped onto 'affect' and 'judgement'—the two components the subsystem of 'attitude' under the 'appraisal' framework. And they have no connections with 'appreciation' which concerns things, not people. Indirectly, therefore, it could be possible to state that the 'attitude' subsystem in the appraisal theory basically deals with 'marked affect' expressed between people. And pronominal switching as well as discriminatory pronominal usage in Thai are marked choice to express 'marked affect' or 'attitude' in the scope of 'appraisal'.

Martin's appraisal theory itself has not taken into consideration pronouns as part of system of the evaluative semantics. And, in fact, Thai pronominal resources are not by themselves evidently evaluative unless they are contextually used. White (2006) has proposed a new framework for assessment of evaluative semantics in journalistic discourse based on the 'appraisal' theory. In this new framework, he has categorised the linguistics resources used to convey those three dimensions of 'attitude', both explicitly and implicitly as attitudinal inscription vs. attitudinal token respectively. Here are their definitions:

> "*Attitudinal inscription applies to the use of locutions which carry an attitudinal value (positive or negative assessment) which is largely fixed and stable across a wide range of contexts.…'attitudinal token' is applied to formulations where there is no single item which of itself and*

> *independently of its current co-text, carries, a specific positive or negative value. Rather, the positive/negative viewpoint is activated via various mechanisms of association and implication*." (White, 2006, p.2).

Basically, attitudinal inscription include those explicit evaluative lexis as already mentioned. Meanwhile, attitudinal tokens are those that are not by themselves carry any explicit expressive meanings which can only be interpreted through their surrounding contexts. In other words, the meanings associated with them are implicit and contextually dependent and can be subject to interpretation. It is apparent that Thai pronouns do not really fit in either of these definitions, for most pronouns are not attitudinally-laded by themselves, as pointed out earlier, they are contextually dependent. However, a closer look at the characteristics of an attitudinal token, it refers to different kinds of linguistic mechanisms such as metaphor, analogy or style of writing as well as other contextual information without involving any explicit attitudinally-related lexis. In contexts, pronouns can be resources that construe certain affective or emotive aspects of interpersonal relations regardless of usage types—with or without switching. In a fiction or a conversation, it is the context in which these linguistics resources are employed to realise the writer's or the speaker's intended meanings and the reader or the addressee can make use of the contextual clues to decipher the gist of the conveyed messages. It is possible for the message sender to make use of different mechanisms to signal different kinds of interpersonal meaning. For example, he may abruptly divert his pronominal choice from the social norms or his group norms to signal a change of his mood. He may also adopt variations in his pronominal usage to differentiate between favourable and unfavourable relationships with different targeted receivers. And the receivers can interpret the conveyed messages partly based on his linguistic competence, and partly his past experience of interaction with the sender and the contextual clues. Reading a novel, the readers can abide by the narrative descriptions about the characters' interpersonal relations provided by the writer to analyse their interpersonal meanings embedded in their pronominal choices. In this respect, Thai pronouns can be categorised as attitudinal tokens. Clearly, this kind of linguistic option is a means to assess the speaker's view expressed in his speech by determining how the participants involved in a conversational situation are referred to. Moreover, through all such

behaviours manifested via narrative descriptions and dialogues, it would also be possible for the readers to comprehend the author's characterization.

When reading a novel, the readers could infer the authorial view about the characters participating in a dialogue through his pronominal choice. For example, usage of two different pronominal pairs /phɔ̂:/-nickname and /tɕhăn/-/kæ:/ by a father speaking to two different sons indicates the speaker's favouritism towards one son and prejudice against the other. Through a linguistic mechanism of contrastive pronominal choice, the writer has realistically illustrated the picture of an unfair father. Another example is that usage of non-restraint /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ by a socially inferior character speaking to a social superior signals not only the speaker's disrespectful attitude towards the addressee but also the writer's intention to depict the speaker as a defiant, aggressive or uncultured character. In a dialogical text in a Thai fiction, pronominal terms used by the writer can serve two purposes. On one hand, the readers can form a picture of the characters' tenor relations through their pronominal selections, of course, with support from all the contextual clues. In this regard, the interpersonal relations as linguistically realised through pronominal usage are the major concern of the semantic system of 'involvement'. On the other hand, the readers can also infer the characters' personalities which is part of the authorial technique of characterisation. The relationship between pronominal choice and personality needs to be further explored, which is not within the scope of this thesis.

CHAPTER IV
METHODOLOGY

The corpus for my study will include different contemporary popular novels. The use of fictions as a source of data collection has been done by different scholars such as both Palakornkul (1972) in her study of Thai pronominal strategy and M.R. Kalaya Tingsabadh and Amara Prasithrathsint (1986) in their survey of Thai address terms. One advantage of using fictions lies in the fact that the socio-cultural backgrounds of the characters involved have been made available by the authors. With respect to literary techniques, it is necessary that the characters' motivations of both their linguistic and physical behaviours as well as any kind of interpersonal involvement are to be unfolded along the narrative descriptions to justify their emotional manifestations or reactions. Such backdrops underlying their attitudinally involved interactions are indispensable for verifying whether their pronominal choices are part of their strategic linguistic behaviours. Their social roles and role relationships as conditioned by social structures or socio-cultural factors in combination with Tenor variables 'status' and 'contact' involved in different situational contexts can conveniently be identified.

Although, in fictions, pronominal choices can be ascribed to authorial linguistic stylistics, they can simultaneously be interpreted as reflecting authorial language ideology. It would be arguable that the data collected from fictions cannot truly be representatives of actual pronominal strategies as adopted by native Thai speakers. In fact, the intent of my study is to bring into light the attitudinally linguistic aspect of Thai pronouns which are actually available in Thai dialogical texts. And fictions are written linguistic outputs produced by native speakers of Thai whereby dialogues taken part by fictitious interlocutors are close, but by no means perfect, simulations of the natural Thai utterances. Undeniably, they are, however, linguistic evidence to prove that emotional charge as expressed through pronominal choices is possible in the Thai language system.

Furthermore, emotionally-driven linguistic behaviours as presented in fictions, though found in real-life dialogical texts such as daily conversations, interviews, public speeches, can hardly be recorded as evidence. In a real-life situational context, when someone unfamiliar or a non-acquaintance is present or approaching, the interlocutor by default usually refrains from making any obvious emotional manifestation. In other words, in the presence of public, an individual's emotional reactions are usually constrained. In a public political propaganda speech, it is quite common that linguistic stratagems abound purposively so as to obtain approval from audiences. In my view, pronominal choice must be adopted as one of those stratagems. However, for a real-life verbal interaction, phonological prosodic features naturally play an extremely important role of amplifying interlocutors' affective involvement. This notion is unanimously noted by the Systemic Functional linguists as a natural linguistic feature of Tenor relationship actualisation (Halliday, 1997; Poynton, 1990; Martin & White, 2005). When mockery or irony is disguised in the form of a pronominal choice, it can usually be accompanied by some outstanding phonologically prosodic features such as a louder pitch. To analyze these texts would then unavoidably includes phonological features which is beyond the scope of this study. To analyze such texts in print with all the phonological descriptions would not significantly contribute to any difference from working on fictions. Especially for public speaking, when the speaker is not skillful enough to unmask indirect realisation of attitude through a pronominal choice with an appropriate pitch, the intended message could escape the audience's perception. And if the speech was made possible in print without sufficient phonological information, the pronominal choices could be misinterpreted.

The targeted texts taken into my analysis will cover only conversational or dialogical texts. However, free direct speech in which a character does a self-talk (or soliloquy) will also be taken into consideration. In fictions, the pronominal choice for free direct speech vary among different writers although the characters share resemblance social backgrounds. In this respect, such linguistic phenomena could be attributed to authorial language ideology in relation to pronoun. I will take into account only pronominal resources in standard or Bangkok Thai. Other pronouns prevalent in other Thai dialects will not be considered.

4.1 Process and criteria of novel selection

4.1.1 Selection process and conditions:

4.1.1.1 Only the novels on the following lists of reading recommendation are candidates for selection:

(a) the 121 Recommended Books for Young Thai Readers 2008, selected by Krungthai Bank (หนังสือดีสำหรับ เยาวชนคัดเลือก ๑๒๑ เล่ม ๒๕๕๑ โดย บลจ. ธนาคารกรุงไทย),

(b) the 100 Recommended Books for Thai Readers 1999, selected by the Thailand Research Fund (หนังสือดี ๑๐๐ เล่มที่คนไทยควรอ่าน ๒๕๔๒ โดย สำนักงานกองทุนสนับสนุนการวิจัย),

(c) the 100 Recommended Books for Young Thai Readers 2001, selected by the Thailand Research Fund (หนังสือดี ๑๐๐ ชื่อเรื่องที่เด็กและเยาวชนไทย ควรอ่าน ๒๕๔๔ โดย สำนักงานกองทุนสนับสนุนการวิจัย),

(d) the 500 Recommended Books for Young Thai Readers 1999, selected by the Association of Organisations of Book and Reading Development (๕๐๐ เล่มหนังสือดีสำหรับเด็กและเยาวชน ๒๕๔๒ โดย สมาพันธ์องค์กรเพื่อพัฒนาหนังสือและการอ่าน),

(e) The 101 Favourite Books of Thai Writers and Readers 2010, selected by the Thai Writers' Society (๑๐๑ เล่มในดวงใจนักเขียนและนักอ่าน ๒๕๕๓ โดย สมาคมนักเขียนแห่งประเทศไทย),

(f) The 20 Best Novels of Thailand selected by Marcel Barang (1994).

4.1.1.2 Any novel of which the length exceeds 1,500 pages in print will not be considered.

4.1.1.3 Any historical novel of which the time setting is far back beyond the reign of King Rama V will be excluded.

4.1.1.4 Any novel of which the spoken language used for the majority of dialogical text is not the standard or Bangkok Thai will be barred from the study.

4.1.1.5 In addition to novels appearing in the above recommended book lists, I have taken the liberty to include some of my favourite novels in this study, which will be listed altogether afterwards.

All the novel candidates in 4.1.1.4 will be scored with respect to its popularity. The minimum score of 4 is the requirement to qualify each candidate. In other words, only a candidate earning a total score of 4 will be considered as a source for my data analysis. The benchmark score of 4 is derived from the conceptualization that popularity is realised by means of four different qualitative aspects, which will be elaborated hereafter. However, it is not mandatory that every qualified candidate needs to obtain a score in each of every aspect. The benchmark is focused on the total score.

4.1.2 Criteria of popularity assessment

4.1.2.1 The popularity of each novel candidate will be measured in four different aspects as follows:

(a) its recognition by an official or a private institution

(b) its credential as a quality novel

(c) its frequency of adaption into a different form of public entertainment

(d) its scope of circulation to non-Thai speakers

4.1.2.2 The score of popularity will be assigned to each novel candidate in the following manners:

(a) each novel will earn 1 point for each appearance on any of the aforementioned list of recommended books,

(b) each novel will earn 1 point for winning each of the following prizes: SEATO or SEA Write for the Best Novel and National Book Award for the Best Novel,

(c) each novel will earn 1 point for each single adaptation into a film, a TV drama, a staged play or a musical,

(d) each novel will earn only 1 point for its translation into another or different languages.

In addition, I have included some of my favourite novels in this study, which will also be listed in the following section.

4.2 Thai novels included in the study

The results of selection are shown with derived scores in Table 4.1 below. The year of the first printing in a book form of each novel has been provided in the square bracket [-]. In case it is non-definitive, a question mark will be included. For those novels that have not been translated into English, I have taken the liberty to translate their titles by myself, which are marked with an asterisk (*). I have also included the information about the source of each novel I will use in my study as well as about the English version if available. The underlined titles are to be excluded despite their qualified scores, since these four do not meet the requirements of the 2nd, the 3rd or the 4th conditions as specified above. Consequently, there will be thirty out of thirty-four titles from the above list to be used in my study.

Table 4.1 The popular novels and their scores

The novel of popularity		Score
/phon níʔ-kɔ:n kim-ŋŭɤn/ [1939-1968] พล นิกร กิมหงวน ของ ป. อิทรปาลิต	*Phon, Nikorn, Kim-nguan by P. Intharapalit	18
/khû:- kam/ [1969] คู่กรรม ของ ทมยันตี	*Star-crossed Lovers by Thommayanti	14
Version studied: 1978, 2 volumes, Bangkok: Silapabannakhan (สำนักพิมพ์ ศิลปาบรรณาคาร)		
/sì: phæ̀:n-din/ [1951] สี่แผ่นดิน ของ ม.ร.ว. คึกฤทธิ์ ปราโมช	Four Reigns by Kukrit Pramoj	13
Version studied: 1988, 3rd edn., 4 volumes, Bangkok: Siamrath (สำนักพิมพ์ สยามรัฐ) English translation by Tulachandra, 1981, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books		
/kham- phíʔ-phá:k-sǎ:/ [1981] คำพิพากษา ของ ชาติ กอบจิตติ	The Judgement by Chart Korpjitti	10
Version studied: 1982, 2nd edn., Bangkok: Tonmak (สำนักพิมพ์ ต้นหมาก)		

Table 4.1 The popular novels and their scores (cont.)

The novel of popularity		Score
English translation by Phongdeit Jiangphatthanarkit, 1995, Bangkok: TMC		
/phû:-jài li: kàp na:ŋ ma:/ [1968] ผู้ใหญ่ลีกับนางมา ของ กาญจนา นาคนันท์ Version studied: 2004, Bangkok: Bannakit (สำนักพิมพ์ บรรณกิจ)	*Master Li and Miss Ma by Kanchana Nakkhanan	9
/we:-la: nai khuɤt-kæ̂:u/ [1985] เวลาในขวดแก้ว ของ ประภัสสร เสวิกุล Version studied: 1990, 6th edn., Bangkok: Dokya (สำนักพิมพ์ ดอกหญ้า) English translation by Phongdeit Jiangphatthanarkit & Marcel Barang, 1996, Bangkok: TMC	Time in a Bottle by Praphartsorn Seiwikun	8
/khâ:ŋ-lăŋ phâ:p/ [1936] ข้างหลังภาพ ของ ศรีบูรพา Version studied: 1975, 8th edn., Bangkok: Khlangwitthaya (สำนักพิมพ์ คลังวิทยา) English translation by David Smyth, 1995, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books	Behind the Painting by Siburapha	8
/pi:-sà:t/ [1957] ปีศาจ ของ เสนีย์ เสาวพงศ์ Version studied: 1990, 13th edn., Bangkok: Anthai (สำนักพิมพ์ อ่านไทย) English translation of the title by Marcel Barang (1994)	The Ghosts by Seinee Saowaphong	8
/phû:-cháʔ-náʔ sìp-thít/ [1939] ผู้ชนะสิบทิศ ของ ยาขอบ	*The Invincible by Yakhop	8
/lû:k ʔi:-săn/ [1979] ลูกอีสาน ของ คำพูน บุญทวี English translation by Susan Fulop Kepner, 1991, Bangkok: D.K. Book House	Child of the Northeast by Kampoon Boontawi	8
/prìt-sàʔ-năː/ [1951] ปริศนา ของ ว. ณ ประมวลมารค Version studied: 2011, Bangkok: Saengdao (สำนักพิมพ์ แสงดาว) English translation by Tulachandra, out of print	Prisana by V. na Pramuanmarg	7
/thá̱ʔ-wíʔ phóp/ [1987] ทวิภพ ของ ทมยันตี Version studied: 1991, 5th edn., Bangkok: Ruamsan (สำนักพิมพ์ รวมสาส์น)	*The Two Worlds by Thommayanti	7
/còt-măːi càːk mɯɤŋ-thai/ [1970] จดหมายจากเมืองไทย	Letters from Thailand by Botan	7

Table 4.1 The popular novels and their scores (cont.)

The novel of popularity		Score
Version studied: 1979, 6th edn., Bangkok: Bannakit (สำนักพิมพ์ บรรณกิจ) English translation by Susan Fulop, 1982, Bangkok: D.K. Book House		
/khău chûː kaːn/ [1971] เขาชื่อกานต์ Version studied: 1973, 3rd edn., Bangkok: Khlangwitthaya (สำนักพิมพ์ คลังวิทยา)	*Doctor Kan by Suwanni Sukhontha	6
/mæ̂ː-bîɤ/ [1987] แม่เบี้ย ของ วาณิช จรุงกิจอนันต์ Version studied: 2008, 4th edn., Bangkok: Praew Books (แพรวสำนักพิมพ์) English translation of the title by Marcel Barang (1994)	The Hood of the Cobra by Wa-nit Jarungkit-anan	6
/phĭː-sûːɤ lǽʔ dɔ̀ːk-máːi/ [1978] ผีเสื้อและดอกไม้ ของ นิพพาน Version studied: 1985, 5th edn., Bangkok: Karat Book House (สำนักพิมพ์ กะรัต)	Butterflies and Flowers by Nipphan	6
/thûŋ mā̱ʔ-hăː-râːt/ [1954] ทุ่งมหาราช ของ เรียมเอง Version studied: 2006, Bangkok: Bannakit (สำนักพิมพ์ บรรณกิจ) English translation by Phongdeit Jiangphatthanarkit, 1995, Bangkok: TMC	The Field of the Great by Riam-eng	6
/tàʔ-lìŋ sŭːŋ suŋ nàk/ [1988] ตลิ่งสูงซุกหนัก ของ นิคม รายวา Version studied: 1984, Bangkok: Ton mak (สำนักพิมพ์ ต้นหมาก) English translation by Richard C. Lair, 1991, Ringwood: Penguin Books Australia	High Banks, Heavy Logs by Nikom Rayawa	6
/phûː-diː/ [1937] ผู้ดี ของ ดอกไม้สด Version studied: 1976, Bangkok: Bannakit (สำนักพิมพ์ บรรณกิจ) English translation by Phongdeit Jiangpharthanarkit, 1995, Bangkok: TMC	A Person of Quality by Dorkmai Sot	6
/láʔ-khɔːn hæ̀ːŋ chiː-wít/ [1927] ละครแห่งชีวิต ของ ม.จ. อากาศดำเกิง Version studied: 1981, 26th edn., Bangkok: Phraewitthaya (สำนักพิมพ์ แพร่วิทยา) English translation by Phongdeit Jiangpharthanarkit, 1995, Bangkok: TMC	The Circus of Life by Momchao Arkartdamkeung	6
/khâːu nɔ̂ːk naː/ [1973] ข้าวนอกนา ของ สีฟ้า	*Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields by Sifa	6

Table 4.1 The popular novels and their scores (cont.)

The novel of popularity		Score
Version studied: 1992, 2 volumes, Bangkok: Ruamsan (สำนักพิมพ์ รวมสาส์น)		
/prà?-cha:-thíp-pà?-tai bon sên khà?-nă:n/ [1997] ประชาธิปไตยบนเส้นขนาน ของ วินทร์ เลียววาริณ Version studied: 2003, Bangkok: 113 Company Limited English translation by Prisna Boonsinsukh, 2003, Bangkok: 113 Company Limited	Democracy, Shaken & Stirred by Win Lyovarin	6
/khwa:m-sùk khɔ̌:ŋ kà?-thí?/ [2003] ความสุขของกะทิ ของ งามพรรณ เวชชาชีวะ Version studied: 2006, 25th edn., Bangkok: Praew Books (แพรวสำนักพิมพ์) English translation by Prudence Borthwick, 2006, Bangkok: Praew Juvenile Books	The Happiness of Kati by Jane (Ngamphan) Vejjajiva	5
/lă:i chi:-wít/ [1951] หลายชีวิต ของ ม.ร.ว. คึกฤทธิ์ ปราโมช Version studied: 2001, 3rd edn., Bangkok: Dokya (สำนักพิมพ์ ดอกหญ้า) English translation by Meredith Borthwick, 1995, Silkworm Books, Chiang Mai	Many Lives by Kukrit Pramoj	5
/phài-dæ:ŋ/ [1955] ไผ่แดง ของ ม.ร.ว. คึกฤทธิ์ ปราโมช Version studied: 1990, 15th edn., Bangkok: Siamrath (สำนักพิมพ์ สยามรัฐ) English translation available but out of print	Red Bamboos by Kukrit Pramoj	5
/we:-la:/ [1994] เวลา ของ ชาติ กอบจิตติ Version studied: 2001, 10th edn., Nakhon Rachasima: Howling Books English translation by Marcel Barang, 2000, Nakhon Rachasima: Howling Books	Time by Chart Korbjitti	5
/ba:ŋ-rá?-can/ [1938] บางระจัน ของ ไม้ เมืองเดิม	*The Heroes of Bangrachan by Mai Mueangdoem	5
/rûɤŋ khɔ̌:ŋ can-da:-ra:/ [1966] เรื่องของจันดารา ของ อุษณา เพลิงธรรม Version studied: 1991, 4th edn., Bangkok: Thap nangsue (สำนักพิมพ์ ทับหนังสือ) English translation by Phongdeit Jiangpharthanarkit, 1995, Bangkok: TMC	The Story of Jandarra by Utsana Phleungtham	5
/phan mă: bâ:/ [1988] พันธุ์หมาบ้า ของ ชาติ กอบจิตติ Version studied: 1988, 1st edn., Bangkok: Khonwannakam (สำนักพิมพ์ คนวรรณกรรม)	Mad Dogs & Co. by Chart Korbchitti	5

Table 4.1 The popular novels and their scores (cont.)

The novel of popularity		Score
English translation by Marcel Barang, 2002, Nakhon Rachasima: Howling Books		
/khɔ̌: mɔ̌:n bai nán thî: chăn făn ja:m nŭn/ [1991]	*My Sweet-Dream Pillow	
ขอหมอนใบนั้นที่ฉันฝันยามหนุน ของ ประภัสสร เสวิกุล	by Praphartsorn Seiwikun	4
Version studied: 2011, 19th edn., Bangkok: Nanmee Books (สำนักพิมพ์ นานมี)		
/jĭŋ khon chûʁ/ [1937]	The Prostitute	
หญิงคนชั่ว ของ ก. สุรางคนางค์	by K. Surangkhanang	4
Version studied: 1988, Bangkok: Odeon Store (สำนักพิมพ์ โอเดียนสโตร์)		
English translation by David Smyth, 1994, New York: Oxford University Press		
/phla:i mā̱ʔ-líʔ-wan/ [1946]	An Elephant Named Maliwan	
พลายมลิวัลลิ์ ของ ถนอม มหาเปารยะ	by Thanorm Maha-paoraya	4
Version studied: 2000, Bangkok: Bannakit (สำนักพิมพ์ บรรณกิจ)		
English translation by Phongdeit Jiangpharthanarkit, 1995, Bangkok: TMC		
/pu:n pìt-thɔ:ŋ/ [1985]	Gold-Pasted Cement	
ปูนปิดทอง ของ กฤษณา อโศกสิน	by Krisna Asoksin	4
Version studied: 1982, 2 volumes, Bangkok: Ruamsan (สำนักพิมพ์ รวมสาส์น)		
English translation edited by Ezra Erker, 2014, Bangkok: Praphansarn		
/ʔàʔ-mā̱ʔ-tàʔ/ [2000]	*Immortality	
อมตะ ของ วิมล ไทรนิ่มนวล	by Wimon Sainimnuan	4
Version studied: 2000, Bangkok: Siamprathet (สำนักพิมพ์ สยามประเทศ)		

I have also included ten additional novels, which I selected out of my own interest; they are listed on Table 4.2. Finally, there will be altogether forty novels to be analysed.

Table 4.2 Additional selected novels

The novel of my choice	
/bâ:n-sa:i-thɔ:ŋ/ [1950]	*Golden Sand Mansion
บ้านทรายทอง ของ ก. สุรางคนางค์	by K. Surangkhanang
Version studied: 1979, 10th edn., Bangkok: Khlangwitthaya (สำนักพิมพ์ คลังวิทยา)	

Table 4.2 Additional selected novels (cont.)

The novel of my choice	
/phót-càʔ-ma:n sàʔ-wà:ŋ-woŋ/ [1951]	*Photchaman Sawangwong
พจมาน สว่างวงศ์ ของ ก. สุรางคนางค์	by K. Surangkhanang
Version studied: 1978, Bangkok: Khlangwitthaya (สำนักพิมพ์ คลังวิทยา)	
/chûʁ fá:ʔ din sàʔ-lă:i/ [1951]	*From Here to Eternity
ชั่วฟ้าดินสลาย ของ เรียมเอง	by Riam-eng
Version studied: 1999, 5th edn., Bangkok: Krathom (สำนักพิมพ์ กระท่อม)	
/sàʔ-wăn bìʁŋ/ [1967?]	*A Diverted Way to Paradise
สวรรค์เบี่ยง ของ กฤษณา อโศกสิน	by Krisna Asoksin
Version studied: 2007, Bangkok: Phueandi (สำนักพิมพ์ เพื่อนดี)	
/phæ̀n-din khɔ̌:ŋ rau/ [1951]	*Our Land
แผ่นดินของเรา ของ แม่อนงค์	by Mae Anong
Version studied: 1990, 6th edn., Bangkok: Ruamthat (สำนักพิมพ์ รวมทรรศน์)	
/lam-nau pà:/ [1984]	*Edge of the Forest
ลำเนาป่า ของ ศิเรมอร อุณหธูป	by Sirem-on Unnahathup
Version studied: 2006, 7th edn., Bangkok: MatichonBook (สำนักพิมพ์มติชน)	
/ka:-wàu thî: ba:ŋ-phle:ŋ/ [1989]	*The Blackbirds at Bangphleng
กาเหว่าที่บางเพลง ของ ม.ร.ว. คึกฤทธิ์ ปราโมช	by Kukrit Pramoj
Version studied: 1989, 1st edn., Bangkok: Siamrath (สำนักพิมพ์ สยามรัฐ)	
/fá:ʔ plìʁn sĭ:/ [1974?]	*Colourful Skies
ฟ้าเปลี่ยนสี ของ เพ็ญแข วงศ์สง่า	by Phenkhae Wongsa-nga
Version studied: 1974, 2 volumes, Bangkok: Silapabannakhan (สำนักพิมพ์ ศิลปาบรรณาคาร)	
/kha:u ná:m-khá:ŋ/ [1987]	*A Stench of Dew
คาวน้ำค้าง ของ กฤษณา อโศกสิน	by Krisna Asoksin
Version studied: 2002, 3rd edn., Bangkok: Double Nine	
/láp-læ: kæ̀:ŋ-khɔ:i/ [2009]	The Brotherhood of Kaengkhoi
ลับแล แก่งคอย ของ อุทิศ เหมะมูล	by Uthis Hemamool
Version studied: 2009, 4th edn., Bangkok: Praew Books (แพรวสำนักพิมพ์)	
English translation by Peter Montalbano, 2012, Bangkok: Amarin Publishing	

The pronouns employed in these selected novels will be classified in accordance with the role relationships of interlocutors or characters in the novels as follows:

- parent-child
- senior-junior relative
- siblings and cousins
- lovers/spouses
- master-servant
- friends
- acquaintances, casual and non-acquaintances

The classification of pronoun is based on the varied degree of relational intimacy of different role relationships. Family and immediate family members are naturally genealogically closer to one another than distant relatives. The social roles between spouses or lovers will be treated separately from the family and kinship categories as they are connected by loving bonds or marriage commitments rather than by genealogical closeness. Friends and acquaintances are socially more familiar with one another than casual acquaintances or strangers. Some particular significant pronominal choice or usage and patterns utilised by the authors through characters of different social roles will be compared and analyzed to categorise different possible domains of interpersonal relationships as enacted through their conversations, dialogues or soliloquys. And the inference will be drawn to conclude the representational domains of closeness and distance dimensions which constitute the 'involvement' system. Emotionally affective or evaluative pronouns will be analyzed and categorised as part of the 'attitude' discourse semantics under the 'appraisal' system.

4.3 Data selection and analyses

4.3.1 All pronominally-used terms, except dummy subject /man/, in conversational or dialogical texts including monologues were taken into consideration for the study.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	Character1	Character2	Pronoun1	Pronoun2	Status 1-2	Role Set	Usage
2	Mom Phannarai	Pharadi	ฉัน /chăn/	ตัว /tuv/	2>1	parent>child	unmarked
3	Mom Phannarai	Pharadi	ฉัน /chăn/	แก /kæ:/	2>1	parent>child	unmarked
4	Mom Phannarai	Pharadi	ฉัน /chăn/	เรา /rau/	2>1	parent>child	unmarked
5	Mom Phannarai	Pharadi	ฉัน /chăn/	เธอ /thv:/	2>1	parent>child	unmarked
6	Mom Phannarai	Pharadi	แม่/mâ:/ (p.556)		2>1	parent>child	marked
7	Pharadi	Mom Phannarai	หญิง /jĭŋ/	คุณแม่ /khun mâ:/	1<2	child<parent	unmarked
8	Pharadi	Mom Phannarai	ลูก /lúk/	คุณแม่ /khun mâ:/	1<2	child<parent	unmarked
9	Mom Phannarai	Phawini	แม่ /mâ:/	ลูก /lúk/	2>1	parent>child	unmarked
10	Mom Phannarai	Phawini	แม่ /mâ:/	หญิง /jĭŋ/	2>1	parent>child	unmarked
11	Phawini	Mom Phannarai	หญิง /jĭŋ/	แม่ /mâ:/	1<2	child<parent	unmarked

Figure 4.1 The worksheet for pronominal data collection (part 1)

4.3.2 Both 1st and 2nd person pronouns were listed manually in pair on excel sheets together with the characters' names (both the speakers and the addressees) together with their statuses, relationship roles and the type of usage (marked vs. unmarked) as shown on Figure 4.1 above.

When a conversation between two characters involved a third character, the first speaker's usage of the 3rd person pronoun was also recorded on the same excel sheet in additional columns as follows:

	A	B	H	I	J	K	L
1	Character1	Character2	Character3	Pronoun3	Status 1-3	Role Set 1-3	Usage
2	Mom Phannarai	Pharadi	Photchaman	มัน /man/	1>3	senior>junior relative	unmarked
11	Phawini	Mom Phannarai	Photchaman	มัน /man/	1>3	older >younger cousin	unmarked

Figure 4.2 The worksheet for pronominal data collection (part 2)

4.3.3 Pronoun listing was done for each individual novel in separation.

4.3.4 Any repetitious or duplicate occurrence of the same reciprocal pairs of pronouns exchanged between or among the same characters in each novel was ignored.

4.3.5 Any inconsistency or variation in pronominal usage exchanged by the same people in 4.3.4 was also recorded and remarked for 'markedness' with page number referencing. However, for some novels, it happened that inconsistency was not derived as part of marked pronominal usage. Rather, it could be ascribed to authorial or editorial erroneousness. For example, in Chapter 2 of the novel 'From Here to Eternity', when Yupphadi /júp-phá?-di:/ first meets Sangmong /sà:ŋ-mɔ̀ŋ/--her

husband's nephew, she uses the 1st person /dìʔ-chăn/ and the 2nd person /thɤ:/ speaking to him. In the second half of Chapter 3 (pp. 36-39), as the story develops, in her two conversations with Sangmong, she switches her self-reference form to /chăn/ then back to /dìʔ-chăn/ and vice versa without any implicit or explicit emotional or affective motivation. Either is there any clue in these contexts indicating her intention or her confusion of doing so. However, from Chapter 4 onward, she keeps using only /chăn/ in all her verbal interactions with him until the story ends. Realistically speaking from the perspective of a Thai native speaker, her permanent change in pronominal usage from /dìʔ-chăn/ to /chăn/ is no doubt reasonable, for it could be read as an indication of intimacy between the two characters. According to the contextual information, they have become more and more familiar with each other as time went by and ultimately committed an illicit sexual affair. There is no evidential clue or surrounding information which can justify her use of /dìʔ-chăn/ as being motivated by an emotional purpose. Neither is it justifiable to ascribe such inconsistency to the author's intention to depict an incident of her confusion with her own pronominal strategic change during a developmental stage of their intimate relationship. I would contend that her use of /dìʔ-chăn/ as pinpointed above is a result of either authorial or editorial erroneousness. In terms of interpretation of their relationship, by relying on the contexts, either of both pronouns does not have any significant effect on their being intimate with each other. The use of /dìʔ-chăn/ could perceptually accentuate her being constantly polite over her verbal interactions with Sangmong irrespective of their relationship change, which is not uncommon for an upper-middle or high class or a well-educated female like Yupphadi in Thai society during that period of time. Meanwhile, the use of /chăn/ could apparently underline a developmental change in their relationship to be a closer one, which is also a realistic pronominal choice.

A similar instance of pronoun switching between /dìʔ-chăn/ and /chăn/ without any emotive motivation of the speaker can be found in the novel 'The Hood of the Cobra'. In different conversational situations between the two leading female and male characters, Mekkhala /mék-khàʔ-lă:/ keeps using these two pronouns interchangeably for self-reference speaking to Chanachon /cháʔ-náʔ-chon/ even after he has had an affair with her.

Another similar example is found in the novel 'Gold-Pasted Cement' but between two middle-aged characters, a female and a male upper-middle class acquaintances who have later become friends--Saithong /săːi-thɔːŋ/ and Buri /bùʔ-riː/. She uses both /dìʔ-chăn/ and /chăn/ inconsistently speaking to him.

Some obviously erroneous pronominal choices which evidently are not manifestations of any emotional or affective attitude are found in the novel 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields'. In different situations, Khemmawan /khĕm-máʔ-wan/ uses different pairs of 1st and 2nd person pronouns as reference forms for herself and her husband, Danaithon /dàʔ-nai-thɔːn/ such as /dìʔ-chăn/ vs. /khun/ (vol. I pp. 37) or their nicknames /khĕːm/ vs. /dàʔ-nai/ (vol. I, pp. 253-254). In one single situation, he refers to himself as /phîː/ meaning 'older brother' (vol. I, pp. 254), but then on the following page (vol. I, pp. 255) he changes to /phŏm/ to represent himself and /khun/ for his wife. In these contexts, the pronominal pair /phŏm/ vs. /khun/ could be reciprocally in exchange with their counterpart /dìʔ-chăn/ vs. /khun/ and possibly with the pair /khĕm/ vs. /dàʔ-nai/. However, when the wife uses her husband's nickname /dàʔ-nai/ as the 2nd person reference form for him, in return he would never reciprocally refer to himself as /phîː/ or vice versa. He could possibly use /phŏm/ instead. Usage of /phîː/ as 1st person reference form by her husband Danaithon would be possible if Khemmawan addressed him as /khun+phîː/ or /phîː+dàʔ-nai/. (The term 'khun' is a deferential title preceding a name, a kinship term or an occupation term and applicable to both male and female.) Therefore, it could be concluded that the usage of /phîː/ in this situation is purely an error. Apart from this kinship term, variations in their pronominal usage do not affect their marital relationship, except perceptual differences. Based on the contextual descriptions, both are a lovely couple. Usage of nickname simply makes their relationship sound more affectionate than usage of a personal pronoun proper and provides a hint that both of them relatively had the same age.

4.3.6 Pronouns used by different characters of each particular role-relationship across different novels were grouped together in separation from other role-relationships. For example, pronominal pairs used by different 'parent-child' characters in different novels would be put together.

4.3.7 The grouping would enable the writer to identify distinctive patterns of pronominal usage for each particular role-relationship. For example, the grouping

of all variable reciprocal pronominal pairs used between 'parent' and 'child' in different novels would facilitate the visibility of unique patterns of pronominal usage that were different from other role-relationships.

4.3.8 Comparative evaluation in terms of 'intimacy' or 'distance' as realised through different reciprocal pairs of pronouns used by different pairs of characters either within the same novel or across different novels would not be made. For example, the level of relationship 'intimacy' between 'Nat' /nát/ and his father (in the novel 'Time in the Bottle') would not be compared with that between 'Wayu' /wa-júʔ/ and his father (in the novel 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow) by taking into account their variations in pronominal usage, for both pairs of characters do not exist in the same novel.

4.3.9 In each novel, a comparative assessment of relationship differences between particular pairs of characters within the same role-relationship is made on the condition that there has to be one identical character in each of those pairs. For example, the comparison of relationship 'intimacy' between the father and his two sons—'Wayu' and 'Ki' /kî:/ in the novel 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow' could be made possible as both sons have the same father. Differences of pronouns used by the father speaking to the two sons could be viewed as signaling his different attitudes toward them. And only with support from contextual descriptive evidence, such relationship differences could be interpretatively categorised as being close or being distant.

4.3.10 Features of interpersonal involvement would be inferred from different patterns of pronominal usage in different contexts of situation partly based on the socio-cultural factors and the interactions between interactants in situational contexts. Pronominal behaviours would be analyzed in relation to the Tenor variables 'status' and 'contact' and the state of 'intimacy' as well as their moods or affective states of mind as inferred from the contexts. For example, 'deference' is considered as a behavioural feature expressing closeness together with respect by an inferior to a superior. Between two familiar equals, their positive interaction would be considered as an expression of 'solidarity'. When a superior acquaintance expresses his/her 'intimacy' to an inferior acquaintance with some affectionate 2nd person pronominal term such as /nŭ:/, which feature should this kind of verbal behaviour be categorised? Should it be 'solidarity' or 'endearment'? 'Solidarity' would also be a possible option.

However, in such a situation, the semantic function and property of the term /nŭ:/ will be used as a criterion for categorisation. This term signal an additional attitude on top of intimacy. It also reflects affectionately the speaker's pleasant attitude towards the addressee, for this term is usually used to refer to a young kind or young women much younger than the speaker. Hence, such a feature of pronominal behaviour will be categorised as 'endearment' instead of 'solidarity'.

4.3.11 Inconsistencies of pronominal usage by an individual character in speaking to one particular character in each novel would be investigated if they were motivated by any 'marked' or 'unmarked' condition. For example, in the novel 'Golden Sand Mantion', when 'Photchaman' and 'Pharada' first met, she used the 1st person pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ for self-reference. As the story has developed, their relationship have become amicable. She then replaces her former self-reference with her nickname 'Phot' /phót/. After their marriage, it happens a few times that she uses the former pronoun for self-reference. The occurrences of /dìʔ-chăn/ before and after their marriage are subject to different conditions. The early occurrences of /dìʔ-chăn/ are meant to encode her distant attitude toward him as they do not know each other very well. And she has the impression that she is not being welcome by his family members. It could be considered as a strategy of habitual politeness for 'formality' sake rather than 'respect' is the goal, which is not her usual behaviour when interacting with a person older than she especially a relative. The speaker's intention is to politely exploit such linguistic properties of this pronoun as means to distance herself from them. So such phenomena of /dìʔ-chăn/ are 'unmarked' rather than 'marked'. Her change of self-reference to her nickname 'Phot' reflects her positive change of attitude toward him as their relationship amicably developed, which should not be assessed as being marked either, since it was not triggered by any emotional outburst or caused by any temporal evaluative attitude or affective involvement. After their marital union, her occasional self-reference as /dìʔ-chăn/ is conditioned by her emotional disturbances or grief over the loss of her beloved cousin, which could but be considered as 'marked' usage.

CHAPTER V
THAI PRONOUNS AND 'INVOLVEMENT'

Based on the examples of pronominal usage drawn from over 40 contemporary Thai novels, Thai pronominal forms used for encoding interpersonal relationships include both personal pronouns proper and noun-like pronouns such as kinship terms, rank terms, title terms, occupation and status terms. In the following tables, I have presented different types of pronominal forms, both deferentially- and non-deferentially used personal pronouns proper as well as pronominal nouns as found used in the studied novels. The collected data will be presented and discussed in accordance with different role relationships as mentioned in Chapter III. I have attempted to point out how they have been used in relation to Tenor variables—'status' and 'contact'. I will try to associate each pair with the different linguistic features of interpersonal involvement based on the model of a dichotomy between 'intimacy' and 'distance' as governed by the 'contact' variable. Having said that, it must be noted that the two dimensions of 'intimacy' and 'distance' are virtually located on the horizontal cline of a relationship which is a continuum, not a binary entity that can be split into two exclusive independent halves. However, for the purposes of illustration and demonstration of how Thai pronominal reference can linguistically define interpersonal relations, it is necessary that my discussions have to be associated with the binary concept of 'intimacy' and 'distance'. In my classifications, to be qualified as an intimate relationship, the interactants must exhibit their positive interpersonal relations. And a distant relationship is evaluated based on the interactants' negative attitudes as well as unfavourable interactions. The relationship background information is also necessary for such evaluation. Therefore the degree of intimacy as manifested by different characters could vary from one relationship to another. The dimension of intimacy or closeness of a relationship is not only influenced by the frequency of 'contact' between two individuals but also their mutual affective involvement. 'Intimacy' ensues familiarity but not the other way

round. Familiarity comes by time or as a result of frequent 'contact', but closeness or 'intimacy' is a produce of the chemistry between two familiar individuals. Two familiar individuals may not like each other and thus have a distant relationship as they do not bother to bridge smaller the horizontal gap in their role relationship. Familiarity is, therefore, indirectly a base on which mutual intimacy is developed. Familiarity among immediate kin members is dominated by familial bond, while among others, it is shaped through their socialisations. In parallel with the growth of familiarity, there comes the formation of interpersonal attitude (in the general sense, not 'attitude' in appraisal), which fosters their level of intimacy. Therefore the relationship dimension of 'distance', in this study, could be defined as a concept of a virtually distant relationship between two interactants in a situational context regardless of their familiarity, which is opposite to 'intimacy'—a virtual closeness in a relationship as influenced by positive affective involvement.

As discussed in the previous chapter, 'involvement' is concerned with the unmarked 'affect' which is realised through unmarked pronominal choice and is relational to interpersonal intimacy, a positive relationship. In case of an unfamiliar relationship, it is not considered as being tied to 'distance', a negative relationship. In this study, usage of deferentially oriented pronominal forms is considered as part of the social proprieties and is thus treated as a means of upholding social formality, which is not necessarily has to be branded as either 'intimate' or 'distant'. According to Halliday (1978), the term 'formality' can be used in two different senses. "*On one hand, it refers to the use of forms of the language—words, grammatical structures—that are conventionally associated with certain modes. On the other hand it is used to refer to the degree of respect that is shown linguistically to the person who is being addressed:…"* (Halliday 1978, p.224). 'Formality', therefore, refers to a respectful attitude and the sense of compliance to social proprieties. Towards non-acquaintances or strangers, as said earlier, in Thai culture, it is quite common to treat them with polite behaviour. And usually, deferential pronominal forms are considered very appropriate for such a purpose. However, in Thai fictions as well as in reality, it is not uncommon that intimate interlocutors exchange deferential pronominal forms in order to culturally observe politeness or show courtesy towards the familiar as well as the unfamiliar addressees. Therefore, 'formality' applied to the case of a non-

acquaintance and the case of an intimate equal or superior does not have the same connotation. In order to make distinctions among them, 'formality' is used to refer to a mode of polite verbal interactions with any unfamiliar or non-intimate as required by social etiquettes. In this respect, this kind of usage is not considered as 'marked', for it is part of social norms and by default is not accompanied by a sense of distance. In this study, any formality of pronominal reference extended towards an unfamiliar addressee is considered as a coding of non-intimacy, which is a neutral relationship. 'Formality' may also apply to the situation in which parents have to show respect towards their sons who have been ordained as monks. In this context, the monkhood takes precedent over the parent-child relationship and culturally obliges the parents to communicate to their sons with 'sacred' pronominal forms. Last but not least, any pronominal usage by means of expressive switching or discriminatory choice meant to express any negative 'affect' towards a familiar or unfamiliar addressee will by default contribute to a distant relationship, which falls within the scope of the appraisal system of 'attitude'.

5.1 Pronominal usage in realisation of 'involvement' in accordance with role relationship

5.1.1 Role-relationship of 'parent-child'

The role-relationships between parents and children are never on a symmetrical basis, for the status of 'parent' is socially regarded as higher than or superior to the status of 'child'. The features of the Tenor relationship between 'parent' and 'child' consist of two different unsynchronized integrations of 'status' and 'contact' variables, which can be summarized as follows: [±status +contact]. The 'status' pole can be either higher or lower depending on the role of each player in the relationship—whether he is a parent or a child. Through family bondage, 'parent' and 'child' are by nature two key players in an established asymmetrical relationship.

Parents and children are in general involved in negotiating close interpersonal relationships. Parents can affectionately express their intimate relationships with their

children by means of pronominal referencing. In addition to that, children' are expected to respect their parents, which can be as well realised through pronominal variations as shown in Table 5.1. Kinship terms identifying clear parent-child relationship roles are used pronominally within these two role-sets, underlying such an asymmetrical aspect of their social relationships. In general, a parent can express his or her 'being solidary' with the children through certain unique patterns of pronominal choice primarily including the parental kinship terms /phɔ̂:/ and /mæ̂:/. Hence, the first pronominal behavioural feature through which a parent can express his or her relationship with his or her child(ren) by deploying pronominally used parental kinship terms can be categorised as 'familial solidarity'. In conversations among family members, the father can verbally realised such 'familial solidarity' through usage of the kinship term /phɔ̂:/ meaning 'father' or 'daddy' or its variant forms such as /páʔ/ or /pă:/ as his self-referential term; and the mother, /mæ̂:/ meaning 'mother'. They can as well show their affection to their children, which is not just a transient or temporary emotional expression. Rather it is an enactment of a static interpersonal relationship that a parent can feel towards his or her children. To do so, the parents can use the kinship term /lû:k/ meaning 'child' as the 2nd person pronouns in pair with the two kinship terms above. They can also specifically use the term /nŭ:/, literally meaning a 'mouse', to pronominally referring to any of their daughters.

Interesting to note is that in the pronominal inventory used by 'parent', there exist the following non-restraint pronouns—the 1st person form /ku:/ and the 2nd person form /mɯŋ/ or the less non-restraint pairs like /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ and the mild non-restraint 2nd person /kæ:/. Non-reciprocal usage of such non-restraint pronouns by a parent clearly marks his or her superior status over the child's in the familial hierarchical relationship in the Thai society. In the selected novels under study, the usage occurrence of the pronominal pair /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ or /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ in a parent's verbal interactions with his or her child is relatively rare as compared to the usage of other 1st and 2nd person pronominal pairs including kinship terms such as /phɔ̂:/-/kæ:/, /mæ̂:/-/kæ:/, /chăn/-/kæ:/ or /phɔ̂:/-/ʔeŋ/, /mæ̂:/-/ʔeŋ/. The pair of non-restraint forms /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ can also be used to express transient attitudes, especially anger as appearing in the novel 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields' and 'Gold-Pasted Cement', which will be further discussed in Chapter VI. There are also some exceptions, for

example, in 'Butterflies and Flowers', Huyan's /hu:-jan/ uneducated father, who is extremely economically destitute and is positioned so low in the social class hierarchy, always referred to himself as /páʔ/ (a variant form of /phɔ̂:/ spoken in Thai Muslim communities) and used the 2nd person form /mɯŋ/ speaking to all his kids despite his fatherly love and care.

Table 5.1 Inventory of pronouns for 'parent-child'

Speaker	**Addressee**		**Speaker**	**Addressee**	
Mother	**Son**	**Daughter**	**Father**	**Son**	**Daughter**
/ku:/	/kæ:/	/kæ:/	/ku:/	/kæ:/	/kæ:/
/chăn/	/cha:i/	/câu/	/khâ:/	/câu/	/câu/
/mæ̂:/	/phɔ̂:/	/tu:ɤ/	/chăn/	/nŭ:/	/thɤ:/
/jo:m/	/mɯŋ/	/jĭŋ/	/páʔ/	/mɯŋ/	/lû:k/
	/lû:k/	/thɤ:/	/phɔ̂:/	/rau/	name
	/ʔeŋ/	/mæ̂:+nŭ:/		/lû:k/	
	/khun/	/nŭ:/		/ʔeŋ/	
	name*	/rau/		name	
		/lû:k/			
		/ʔeŋ/			
		name			
Daughter	**Father**	**Mother**	**Son**	**Father**	**Mother**
/chăn/	/khun+phɔ̂:/	/khun/	/kràʔ-phŏm/	/khun+phɔ̂:/	/khun+mæ̂:/
/dìʔ-chăn/	/câu-khun+phɔ̂:/	/khun+mæ̂:/	/khâ:/	/páʔ/	/mæ̂:/
/jĭŋ/	/pă:/	mæ̂:	/chăn/	/phɔ̂:/	/mɔ̀:m+mæ̂:/
/nŭ:/	/phɔ̂:/	/mɔ̀:m+mæ̂:/	/phŏm/		
/lû:k/			/lû:k/		
name			name		

**Note: a name in this table and others to follow refers to a person's nickname or given name unless specified otherwise.*

Another rarely used 2nd person pronoun is /câu/, which is found in 'Four Reigns'. It is an archaic affectionate term used only by a superior speaking to an inferior or by an adult to a younger adult (Cooke, 1968, p. 15; Palakornkul, 1972, p. 89)

or to a child. Both Phloi's /phlɔ:i/ father or mother uses this pronoun in speaking to her and use the parental kinship terms to refer to themselves. Both of them, though being separated, love her dearly. Based on the studied novels, however, children, regardless of their ages or social statuses, never return any of these personal pronouns proper in their conversations with their parents.

Usage of pronominal pairs like /phɔ̂:/-/kæ:/, /mæ̂:/-/kæ:/, /chăn/-/kæ:/ or /phɔ̂:/-/ʔeŋ/, /mæ̂:/-/ʔeŋ/, /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ are as salient as usage of /phɔ̂:/-/lû:k/, /mæ̂:/-/lû:k/ or, especially to 'daughter' /phɔ̂:/-/nŭ:/ and /mæ̂:/-/nŭ:/. The other popular patterns also include /phɔ̂:/-child's nickname or /mæ̂:/-child's nickname. All are possible alternatives used by 'parents' speaking to their 'children', not only in fictions but also in real life. And very frequently, parents may use the 2nd person pronoun /lû:k/ interchangeably with their child's nickname. With respect to social behaviour, it is possible to differentiate among pronominal usage distinctions in accordance with the speakers' social categories. In novels, these pronouns are variably used across different social-class members, except the non-restraint ones which are mostly used by lower class characters. Given the level of interpersonal involvement, usage of the kinship term /phɔ̂:/ or /mæ̂:/ as the 1st person form by a parent signals the expression of 'familial solidarity' between a father or a mother and his or her child irrespective of the 2nd person form that the parent uses to represent the child. Especially in a rural community or within a lower middle-class social category, usage of the 2nd person /ʔeŋ/ by a parent speaking to his/her son can also be indicative of 'familial solidarity' provided that it is paired up with a parental kinship term. In the novel 'Mad Dogs & Co.', Thai's mother used this pronominal pair /mæ̂:/-/ʔeŋ/ in her conversation with him. Likewise, Otto's father speaks to him using this pair of pronouns interchangeably with the pair /phɔ̂:/-/ʔeŋ/. In the novel 'The Brotherhood of Kaengkhoi', the father of Laplae and Kaengkhoi talks to them using the pronominal pair /phɔ̂:/-/ʔeŋ/. Even while he is expressing a melancholic mood that Laplae is the only one son left (pp. 339).

Here are some examples of usage variations expressing relatively close relationships between different pairs of 'mother' and 'son'. In 'Mad Dogs & Co.', Thai's /thai/ mother, whose ethnic background is Chinese, used the pronominal pair /mæ̂:/-/ʔeŋ/ speaking to him. They lived as a family in a rural community. In 'Time in

the Bottle, Nat /nât/ or Uan's /ʔuân/ mother, who is quite a strong-willed woman, interchangeably referred to herself using the terms /mɤ̂:/ (and purposively using /chăn/ under certain circumstances, which will be discussed in Chapter VI) and referred to him as /kæ:/. Both belonged to a middle-class family residing in Bangkok. In 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow', Wayu's /wa:-júʔ/ mother, who is fairly submissive, call herself as /mɤ̂:/ and her son, /lû:k/. They both had moved from Bangkok to a rural area. In 'The Circus of Life', Wisut /wíʔ-sù:t/ speaks to his mother using /phŏm/ and /khun+mɤ̂:/; and, in return his mother uses /mɤ̂:/-/kæ:/ and /mɤ̂:/-/lû:k/ interchangeably. She was the principal wife of a 'Phraya' who begot her son--Wisut. She and her husband has come to separation after twenty years of marriage as he has got a few concubines. She and Wisut then had to move out of the luxurious household to which she and her son once belonged and have to spend an unhealthy life. Wisut is fully empathetic with his mother for all her grieves and emotional sufferings. As discussed in Chapter II, language and social behaviour do have a bilateral relationship. In real life, an individual's social background and personality could contribute to formation of one's language ideology. Such distinctions in pronominal usage among these different women could be attributed to their social backgrounds or personalities. In the three novels, however, such distinctions are manipulated by two different authors whose language ideologies may vary resulting in pronominal usage variations. Considering such usage variations as being associated with different interpersonal meanings, it is hardly generalizable as regards the degree of Closeness realised by these different patterns of pronominal usage. Across different individuals, to evaluate the level of closeness in their interpersonal involvement with other individuals purely through their pronominal choices can be misleading. As already discussed, such usage variations could be subject to their different language ideologies. One may argue that the usage of the pronominal pair /mɤ̂:/-/lû:k/ is an indication of a closer relationship thanks to the associated feature of familial affection of the term /lû:k/. This could be true should the evaluation be merely perceptually based and not contextually based. For example, how should the pronominal usage by Wisut's mother be interpreted? She uses both /mɤ̂:/-/kæ:/ and /mɤ̂:/-/lû:k/. This second pronominal pair is different from the other pairs because the kinship term /lû:k/ is used as the 2nd person form instead of a personal pronoun proper. Perceptually, the term itself gives rise to an air of affectionately closer parent-child relationship while /kæ:/ and

/ʔeŋ/ do not. Comparing between the two remaining pronominal pairs, it is hardly conclusive as to whether the pair of the pronouns /mɤ̂:/-/kæ:/ denote a higher level of interpersonal closeness than do the pronouns /mɤ̂:/-/ʔeŋ/ or vice versa. Usage of both pronominal patterns occurs in the mother-son role-relationship, but the speakers are different and they belong to different social categories. With socio-cultural differences of the speakers involved, both sets of pronouns can be considered as variants in the mother-child contexts. In other words, they constitute usage variations across two different individuals taking an identical relationship role as 'mother' but with different social backgrounds and environments. They both negotiate more or less the same kind of interpersonal involvement. To evaluate the different interpersonal relationships prescribed by variations in usage of pronouns across different individuals in the parent-child role set is thus hardly generalizable. However, usage of a pronominal pair by a parent without any parental kinship term involved can be considered as signaling a less intimate relationship than when either /phɔ̂:/ or /mɤ̂:/ or any of their variant forms is used. Comparing the pronominal pair /mɤ̂:/-/kæ:/ with the pair /chăn/-/kæ:/, it would not be difficult for a Thai native speaker to favour the first pair over the second one in the sense that, by perception, the latter could possibly entail a less close relationship than the former.

However, affective distinctions realised through variations in pronominal usage within each individual are well perceivable. In the novel 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields' (pp. 277), Dalin's /dàʔ-lin/ mother, Rose, a retired prostitute, on her first unexpected meeting with her older daughter after long years of deserting her two daughters, cunningly uses the pronominal pair /mɤ̂:/- /lû:k/ in the presence of others such as police and her other daughter's adoptive parent in order to belie her true attitudes towards her daughter Dalin whom she cares so less. Such usage creates the public perception of her motherly affection towards her daughter. Once out of their sights, she turns to Dalin and changed the pronoun abruptly to /chăn/-/kæ:/ (pp. 283). It is the factor of being in the presence of other persons that made her adopt a different pronoun. This kind of pronoun switching is not for an expressive purpose, rather it can be regarded as etiquette switching as proposed by Palakornkul (1972, p. 101). Such distinctive variations of usage clearly reveal the speaker's conceptual association of these pronouns to different levels of interpersonal involvement between a mother

and a child. In anticipation that the first pair must have been perceptually pleasing to others and putting on surface her role as a loving mother, she so uses them on purpose. Not only both pairs of pronouns are different in terms of semantic features, but to her (or to the author) they perceivably mark distinctions of affective qualification in negotiation of interpersonal meanings. The pronominal pair of kinship terms /mɤ̂:/-/lû:k/ perceptually signal affection that a mother had for her child, while the pair of personal pronouns proper /chăn/-/kæ:/ are generic forms usable as person reference between any two intimate equals or for a social superior speaking to an inferior. Considering in terms of applicability, the pronominal pair of /mɤ̂:/-/lû:k/ are obviously marked with motherly affectionate attitude felt for the referred child. Meanwhile the pair of pronouns /chăn/-/kæ:/ are clearly not role-identifiable, nor do they bear any affectionate attitude like the other pronominal pair. And the author intentionally used both pairs for a discriminatory purpose to distinguish between an ideal motherly affection and a distant attitude. As a consequence, there comes a general attitude towards usage of kinship terms as signifying a higher level of closeness in a relationship. Another possible option of realising motherly affection is found in the usage of the pronominal term /nŭ:/. Between Rose's other daughter Duean /duɤn/ and her adopted mother Khemmawan /khĕ:m-máʔ-wan/ who is a refined well-to-do woman, the latter always refers to herself as /mɤ̂:/ and to the girl, whom she loves and doted on, as /nŭ:/ which is generally reserved to refer only to one's daughter, not a son. The author seems to have intentionally assigned different pronominal choices to both female characters who are taking the same relationship role as a mother but were extremely in contrast in regard to their different behaviours between an ideal mother and a selfish mother. Usage of /lû:k/ is applicable for a parent to use speaking to his or her child, be it a son or a daughter. Interchangeable usage between the pair /mɤ̂:/-/lû:k/ and /mɤ̂:/-/nŭ:/ is adopted by some mothers to refer to their daughters. It is improbable that the former pair signifies a higher degree of motherly affection than the latter or vice versa. Variations of pronominal usage reveal the inequality among different possible instantiations of expressing a mother-daughter relationships; while /mɤ̂:/-/lû:k/ or /mɤ̂:/-/nŭ:/ contextually are meant to express motherly affection, the pair /chăn/-/kæ:/ create a feeling of coolness. Strategically, the author has sought to

employ these different pronominal pairs in different situations with a view to realistically creating an emotional impact on her readers.

A similar example of discriminatory usage of pronoun to signal different attitudes is also found in the novel 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow'. Wayu's father always uses the pronominal pair /chăn/-/kæ:/ speaking to him, meanwhile to his younger brother his father speaks using the pair /phɔ̂:/-/lû:k/ or calling his nickname. In the novel, Wayu and his father has a very sour relationship. His father has a very strong prejudice against Wayu, which is in very sharp contrast with his affectionate attitude towards the younger son. His usage of /chăn/-/kæ:/ clearly marks his distant relationship with Wayu.

It has also been found that the use of /chăn/-/kæ:/ is not always as marked choice or as a token of negative relationship. In the novel 'Our Land', Phraya Winitchanapakorn /phráʔ-ja: wíʔ-nít-càʔ-náʔ-pàʔ-kɔ:n/, a high-ranking noble and an upright magistrate, always appears to put on a distance between him and his son Naren /náʔ-re:n/. Never had he shown any affection for his son nor demonstrated any kind of emotional manifestation in front of his son. However, his 'neutrality' is also expressed verbally through his normative pronominal choice of /chăn/-/kæ:/ which cannot be reciprocated by his son. The father uses the pronouns /chăn/-/kæ:/ speaking to the son irrespective of being with or without any emotional involvement. He has never used any kinship term at all. His neutral attitude has inspired a sense of awe in Naren and simultaneously gained his son's utmost respect and admiration. Such pronominal usage is his normative choice, which clearly suggests that /chăn/-/kæ:/ are perceptually associated with a sense of parental authority rather than any negative attitude in this case.

In comparison with another family in the same novel, Phra Woranat /phráʔ wɔ:-ráʔ-na:t/, an upper middle-class man with the noble title of 'Phra'/phráʔ/, the 3rd-level aristocrat rank after 'Chaophraya' and 'Phraya', is so amiably close to his daughters. He uses the term /phɔ̂:/ as his self-referential term when speaking to them and refers to them using their nicknames as the 2nd person forms. Both families are well familiar with each other, for Naren is the fiancé of his oldest daughter--Atchara /ʔàt-chàʔ-ra:/. The pronominal choices made by each of the two fathers are so different that each father's choice of pronoun distinctively corresponded to his own

contrastive behaviour towards his son or towards his daughters respectively. And such distinctive types of behaviour can be respectively well described as 'marked' for the former and 'unmarked' for the latter.

Similarly, in the novel 'Behind the Painting', Momratchawong Kirati's /mɔ̀:m-rát-cháʔ-woŋ ki:-ráʔ-tìʔ/ father, who is a 'Momchao' /mɔ̀:m-câ:u/ or a prince born with a royalty rank of the lowest level, loves and cares so much for her, speaks to her using the pronominal pattern /phɔ̂:/-/lû:k/ expressing solidarity and endearment, or /phɔ̂:/-/thɤ:/ expressing solidarity.

In the novel 'The Ghosts', Ratchanee's parents use the pronominal pair /chăn/-/kæ:/ speaking to her as well. Her father, having a high-ranking noble title of 'Phraya', and her mother are not being portrayed as empathetic parents who feel strong concerns for their children's mental well-being. They are extremely caste-conscious and demanded that their daughters followed their wish to uphold the family nobility status by marrying a wealthy man or a man of high-class gentility regardless of his morality. In a sharp contrast, the devoted mother of Ratchanee's friend, Kingthian /kìŋ-thi:ɤn/, always uses the kinship term /mæ̂:/ for self-reference and uses the affectionate terms /lû:k/ or -/nŭ:/ or her nickname /kìŋ/ to represent her daughter in their conversations. Even so, the usage of /chăn/-/kæ:/ by Ratchani's parents is not meant to realise the distance of interpersonal involvement like the other preceding examples. It is similar to the case of 'Our Land'. Based on her conversations with her parents in which she is asking them to allow her to work in a bank, readers can infer from their interpersonal relations that she is very close to them. And it is beyond her expectation that they both, especially her father, do not oppose to the idea, despite he does not like any of his daughters to go out for their livelihoods. Although they do not express their affection towards Ratchani by pronominal usage in the same way as Kingthian's mother does to her friend, Kingthian, she always realises how much her parents could be kind to her. Their pronominal choice cannot be considered as signifying intimacy nor signaling distance. Instead, on the façade, it is perceptually an unmarked choice of flagging a non-intimate or neutral relationship as compared to the pronominal choice made by her friend's mother.

Another evidence of discriminatory usage of different pronominal patterns with and without a kinship term included can be found in the following examples

between the group of /chăn/-/tu:ɤ/, /chăn/-/rau/, /chăn/-/thɤ:/ and the group of /mæ̂:/-/jĭŋ/ and /mæ̂:/-/lû:k/ employed in the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion'. These are the pronominal terms used by Mom Phannarai /mɔ̀:m phan-náʔ-ra:i/ with her two daughters—Pharadi /pha:-ráʔ-di:/ and Phawini /pha:-wíʔ-ni:/. Mom /mɔ̀:m/ is a title used to address the wife of a Momchao/ in this novel. It is quite evident that her relationship with her eldest daughter is completely different from that with the youngest daughter. Her different attitudes towards her two daughters are not only clearly enacted through her relations with them but also embedded through her pronominal choices. On one hand, readers can clearly perceive the distance at which she kept her first daughter. On the other hand, they can feel 'closeness' of her relationship with the younger one. Though she applies different pronominal pairs interchangeably but the variations used as the pronouns indexing Pharadi belongs to the group of these three pronominal pairs: /chăn/-/tu:ɤ/, /chăn/-/rau/ and /chăn/-/thɤ:/; in the meantime those for Phawini are always within the group of /mæ̂:/-/jĭŋ/ and /mæ̂:/-/lû:k/. Her pronoun switching can be considered as a kind of normal switching (Palakornkul, 1972, p. 101), for it is done without the purpose of transient emotional manifestation. It is possible that one may employ more than one pronominal term in referring to one single person as long as the switching is not intended to express any emotional charge, which will be discussed in the next chapter. The 2nd person forms /tu:ɤ/ and /thɤ:/ are similarly used mostly between two intimate female equals or by a male speaking to a female friend. Both pronouns together with another pronoun /rau/ can also be used to address an inferior younger than the interlocutor him/herself. Usage of these three pronominal pairs /chăn/-/tu:ɤ/, /chăn/-/rau/ and /chăn/-/thɤ:/ is not uncommon among acquaintances, especially by a senior speaking to a junior. However, the co-variation of the three pronouns /tu:ɤ/, /rau/ and /thɤ:/ in pair with /chăn/ as used by a mother speaking to her particular daughter could produce a similar effect of 'being distant' on the listener as could the usage of /chăn/-/kæ:/ in the novel 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields', which is in alignment with Mom Phannarai's relationship with Pharadi. In comparison with /mæ̂:/-/jĭŋ/ /mæ̂:/-/lû:k/, the previous three pronominal pairs used by this character speaking to her first daughter primarily lack the family-role identification, which could be perceived as lacking the quality of 'familial solidarity', although they do not sound so unpleasant as does the non-

restraint pronoun /kæ:/. As noted, Mom Phannarai has never used this pronoun speaking to any of her kinsmen except to her servants and to Photchaman as well as the girl's sister. Readers could feel that her pronominal choices do signal the speaker's remoteness towards the referent. The pairs of /mɛ̂:/-/jĭŋ/ and /mɛ̂:/-/lû:k/ are distinctively composed of the mother-child role identifier. The term /jĭŋ/ is a 1st person or 2nd person form for a lady born as a 'Momchao' herself or as a daughter of a 'Momchao', hence earning the title Momratchawong /mɔ̀:m-rát-cháʔ-woŋ/. Its usage is the same fashion as that of a nickname but it is reserved for referring to only a lady born from a royal lineage, which reflects the speaker' affectionate attitude towards the referent. And the term /lû:k/ is apparently encoded with the quality of 'endearment'. However, to fine-tune the usage of the 1st person pronoun by replacing /chăn/ with the kinship term /mɛ̂:/ in the following three pronominal pairs: /chăn/-/tu:ɤ/, /chăn/-/rau/ and /chăn/-/thɤ:/ could significantly alter the tone of voice to signify a solidary relationship. It can be deduced that it is the 1st person kinship term /phɔ̂:/ or /mɛ̂:/ used by the parent that plays a more significant role of encoding 'familial solidarity' between the parent and the child in a text than does a 2nd person form. The presence of either of both parental terms in pair with such 2nd personal pronouns proper as /kæ:/, /mɯŋ/, /rau/, /thɤ:/, /ʔeŋ/ are usually the pronominal choices adopted by parent-role characters in speaking to their children against whom they do not have any prejudice. (I have not found any evidence of the pairing between the 1st person kinship term phɔ̂:/ or /mɛ̂:/ and the 2nd person pronoun /tu:ɤ/.) Frequently, choices of these 2nd person pronouns together with the 1st person pronoun /chăn/ are markedly meant to beckon a parent's coolness towards the child,

Another of marked pronominal choice is found in the novel 'A Diverted Way to Paradise'. Khit /khít/, a very wealthy man, loved and spoiled his only son, Khawi /kha:-wi:/, used /phɔ̂:/ as his self-referential term and /kæ:/ as the 2nd person pronoun referring to his son. Only when the father gets furious with his son that he will change the 1st person pronoun from /phɔ̂:/ to /chăn/ (pp. 79). The different usage between /phɔ̂:/-/kæ:/ and /chăn/-/kæ:/ by the author suggests the different interpersonal meanings that are associated with both pairs of pronouns. The pronominal pair including the kinship term father is supposed to demonstrate the speaker's 'familial

solidarity' with his son, while the other is used to signal the former's transient emotional distance towards the latter.

So far, I have identified three main different pronominal structures of 1st and 2nd person pronominal pairs which can be utilised by a parent to signify some features of interpersonal involvement with his or her child(ren), namely (a) a personal pronoun proper used in pair with another personal pronoun proper (b) a kinship term used in pair with a personal pronoun proper (c) a kinship term used in pair with the kinship term /lû:k/, or a pronominally-used noun such as /nŭ:/, nickname or the title term /jĭŋ/. Apparently, pronominal pairs in the first group are very different from the other two groups in the sense that no kinship term is involved. And the pronominal pairs in this group can be associated with a either a distant or a close relationship, while in the latter two, a close relationship. Between the second and the third group, despite both do perceptually signal closeness in a parent's attitude towards his or her child, the degree of affection seems to be vary. Although in both patterns, it is the 1st person form (a parental kinship term) which predominantly designates 'familial solidarity', the 2nd person form does play a significant role in boosting the speaker's sense of affection which is not so obviously perceived in the second group. Of course, the degree of interpersonal intimacy between 'parent' and 'child' may not significantly be different though. I would be inclined to categorise such pronominal behaviour of using the 3rd pattern to convey a fatherly or motherly affection as an independent feature 'endearment'.

One unusual pronominal choice, which is worthy of discussion, is the usage of /khun/ by a mother to address and refer to her little son. In 'Four Reigns', Phuang /phu:ɤŋ/, a servant in the household of Phloi's /phlɔ:i/ father, had born a son of Phloi's elder brother, Chit /chít/. Being just a servant and not a wedded wife, her social position is inferior to her son who is a grandson of a 'Phraya' /phráʔ-ja:/--a very high noble rank; therefore, she is obliged to use a deferential pronoun speaking to him. In one's perception, the way that she addressed her son by the deferential title term /khun/ marks her social status as inferior to the boy. As yet, it cannot be conclusive that her relationship with her son would be a distant one. By practice, he might not treat his mother as an inferior; it could be just a convention of address. Unfortunately, the novel does not provide any further information about their relationship. This case

of /khun/ as used by a mother to pronominally refer to her son could be considered as a means of expressing politeness in the form of 'formality' without 'deference' or 'respect'. In Thai society, it is required that a mother shows respect to a son only when he is in a monkhood. Phuang could just refer to her son using the term /khun/ as a code of verbal behaviour as required of a person of her own status. However, being a mother and a son, the relationship that she has with her kid, regardless of his grandfather's nobility, does not have to be aligned with the façade of her own verbal behaviour. In short, her choice of a deferential pronoun would not necessarily contradict her inner feelings as a loving mother. The 'formality' that she expressed by words is part of the official etiquette as upheld by people in general to politely beckon distance. Her pronominal choice could be meant to outwardly signal 'formality', a means of expressing a perceptually non-intimate relationship with her own son. However, simultaneously in her actual interactions with her son, there could be no relationship gap but only her affection for the child. Her only purpose is to politely recognize her son's status as socially higher than hers.

Children use pronominal terms which underlie their inferior status to their parents, but at the same time, such usage does not necessarily keep any distance between them. All the 2nd-person pronominal terms used by the characters playing their roles as sons and daughters to address and refer to their parents include both kin parental terms /phɔ̂:/ and /mæ̂:/ meaning 'father' and 'mother' respectively. Meanwhile, the frequently-used 1st-person pronominal terms may include /phǒm/, /lû:k/, /nŭ:/ or a (nick)name. Combination of these pronominal terms is employed to signal 'familial solidarity' between children and their parents. Some terms as presented in Table 3 above also have the same root words of /phɔ̂:/ and /mæ̂:/ but preceded by the deferential term /khun/ or by a rank term 'Chaokhun' /câu-khun/ or a royalty-related title 'Mom' /mɔ̀:m/. It is a convention that a person with a noble or a royalty rank is so addressed, which was culturally salient in Thai society, especially before the democratic revolution in 2475 B.E. And the pronoun /khun/ preceding the root pronominal terms /phɔ̂:/ and /mæ̂:/ is a general deferential term. All such combinations are meant to express respect which is a feature of politeness. According to Cooke (1968, p. 60), any noun-type pronominal terms preceded by titles are considered less intimate than those without. However, based on a number of pronominal usage cases in the novels, a parental kinship term following the title /khun/

could possibly be meant to express the speaker's respectful attitude towards their parent in addition to their intimate relationship. And such usage at times involves social differentiation. Taking into consideration their social categories, those characters using such pronominal combinations as /phŏm/-/khun+phɔ̂:/, /lû: k/-/khun+mæ̂:/, /nŭ:/-/khun+mæ̂:/ belong to the middle or the upper class in the society. An observation about the combination between the pronoun /khun/ and the terms /phɔ̂:/ and /mæ̂:/ is noteworthy. As discussed, such combinations are meant as 2nd person deferential forms for parents. With no combination, in general, it is still considered acceptable for one to pronominally refer to his father and mother as /phɔ̂:/ and /mæ̂:/ respectively. However, in the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion' (pp. 112), the author has made it a point that by addressing one's mother as /mæ̂:/ without the title /khun/ preceding is not appropriate for a refined lady. The author's implication here seems to emphasize the importance of a child's deferential behaviour towards his/her parents which has to be duly expressed even verbally through his/her lexical choice in addressing or referring to his/her father and mother. Additional evidence that supports my observation is that throughout the novel, all major characters such as Pharadi, Pharada, Photchaman or her friends like Nakun /náʔ-kun/ and Momchao Wimonsuda /mɔ̀:m-câ:u wíʔ-mon-sùʔ-da:/ always address their parents by using the deferential term /khun/ or the title /mɔ̀:m/ if applicable. They have never addressed their parents using only the kinship term /phɔ̂:/ or /mæ̂:/.

There is one exceptional instance whereby the pronoun /khun/ is used on its own as a 2nd person for one's mother. This is indeed quite extraordinary. Under normal circumstances, one should not call their mother by using such a pronoun as a standalone term, even though this term is a deferential 2nd person pronoun used in general addressing a social superior (but not one's parent) or to intimate equals. The phenomenon appears in the novel 'A Person of Quality' in which the heroine, /wíʔ-mon/ has been brought up soon after birth not by her own fresh and blood mother, but by her father's former wife. Despite she is fully aware of the truth as it has never been kept as a secret to her, she does adore and love the lady, who has been taking care of her from babyhood so much so that she wholeheartedly keeps addressing her as /khun mæ̂:/ at all times. In order to avoid confusion of referring to either of them, Wimon uses the term /khun/ to nominally address and pronominally refer to her own flesh and blood mother. Given this strategic usage in this novel, the pronominal term /khun

mæ̂:/ is associated with a close bond between Wimon /wíʔ-mon/ and her 'non-kin' mother, which is much stronger than the bond between her and her own natural mother. And the pronoun /khun/ is used in this novel to indicate a 'non-intimate' relationship with a sense of 'formality' between Wimon and her real mother.

The noun-like pronoun /jĭŋ/ is used as a 1st or 2nd person form for a lady born as a 'Momratchawong' or a 'Momchao', which is an informal term functioning like a nickname used as a substitute for herself in a conversation with family members as well as close acquaintances. Only her parents, older siblings, senior relatives or superior close acquaintances would call her as /jĭŋ/ and use it as the 2nd person pronoun in referencing her.

There appear only four personal pronouns proper, namely /chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/, /phŏm/, /kràʔ-phŏm/ used as self-referential terms by children speaking to their parents. The pronoun /chăn/ can be used by both men and women. According to Cooke (1968, p. 12), it is used by a superior speaking to an inferior, or to an intimate equal in pair with some 2nd personal pronouns such as /kæ:/, /khun/, /thɤ:/. In fact, in quite a number of novels, children or adults regardless of their ages use this pronoun in pair with the 2nd person kinship terms /phɔ̂:/ and /mæ̂:/ in their dialogues with their parents without considering them as equal. In the novel 'Master Li and Miss Ma', a story involving social life in a rural setting, The leading male character /phû:-jài li:/ or the village leader Li, who is well-educated and has assumed the position of the village head or leader, uses this 1st person form /chăn/ in his conversations with his mother, his sisters, his inferiors as well as with other senior adults in the village and other rural communities. He would use another pronoun /phŏm/ speaking to those non-acquaintances or casual acquaintances or visitors coming from Bangkok. The pronoun /phŏm/ is a general polite pronominal term used by men in conversation with someone superior or equal. So in the context of parent-child relationship, such usage of /chăn/, especially in a rural community, should not be considered inappropriate. Moreover, it could be viewed as a means of social category differentiation. In speaking to different groups of people, his pronominal choice would vary in accordance with their social categories. The pronouns /dìʔ-chăn/ and /kràʔ-phŏm/ usually are considered very formal and connote a distance between two conversational participants. However, in Thai novels, that notion is purely misleading. In fact, as acknowledged by native Thai

speakers, these two pronouns are also associated with politeness. As discussed in Chapter II about the features of politeness from Lakoff's perspective, politeness can be associated with 'deference', 'formality' or 'camaraderie'. In the realm of politeness, co-occurrence between 'formality' and 'camaraderie' is not possible, though either of them can co-exist with 'deference'. The terms /dìʔ-chăn/ and /lûːk/ pronominally appear interchangeably in pair with the noble rank term /câu-khun phɔ̂ː/ in the novel 'Four Reigns' which details the social, political and cultural development of Thai society from the reign of King Rama V to King Rama VIII, before and after the Democratic Revolution. The pronominal term /kràʔ-phŏm/ can also be paired with /khun+mâː/ as used by the leading male character, Luang Akkharathep /lŭːʁŋ ʔàk-kháʔ-ráʔ-théːp/ who spends his life during the reign of King Rama V in the novel 'The Two Worlds'. His mother is a Khunying /khun-jĭŋ/--a title conferred to a lady whose late husband was a 'Phraya' /phráʔ-jaː/ or a 'Chaophraya' /càu-phráʔ-jaː/. Both are very high-ranking noble titles, but the latter is superior to the former. In those days, it was not uncommon for the upper class to use such terms as self-referential terms in addressing their parents as deemed being 'polite' and 'deferential' in all situations, not necessarily a 'formal' one. The same usage of 1st person /kràʔ-phŏm/ by a son speaking to his father is found in the novel 'Our Land'. In return to his father's pronominal choice as discussed above, Naren uses the pair of /kràʔ-phŏm/ and /khun+phɔ̂ː/ speaking to him, which is a reflection of his very high regard of his own father.

To discuss further about the deferential feature of pronominal behaviour, I have put together some examples of pronominal pairs that are considered as denoting 'deference':

(a) /kràʔ-phŏm/ or /dìʔ-chăn/ (or /ʔìʔ-chăn/) in pair with /khun+phɔ̂ː/ or /khun+mâː/ or /câu-khun+phɔ̂ː/

(b) /phŏm / or /nŭː/ or /lûːk/ in pair with /khun+phɔ̂ː/ or /khun+mâː/

The first set of pronouns is often used in the context whereby the parent has a very high social status such as the case of Luang Akkharathep and his mother, the case of Phloi and her father, and the case of Naren and his father, and such usage is at present very rare and even obsolete. However, could the pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ as appearing in the novel 'Four Reigns' and used by a female character be a mistake?

Prior to and during the period of King Rama V the term was used by a male not by a female. The similar term used by females is /ʔìʔ-chăn/ to signify the speaker's deferential attitude towards the other interlocutor who is socially superior to her, such usage has been clearly mentioned in the novel 'The Two Worlds'. Since the reign of King Rama VI, /dìʔ-chăn/ has become in use widely by middle- or upper-class and educated females and /ʔìʔ-chăn/ has become its variant form. Meanwhile, the second set is generally but not mandatorily employed by the middle-class social category and above.

For a son speaking to his father, the pronoun /khâ:/ is paired up with the term /phɔ̂:/ as used by the main character Fak in the novel 'The Judgement' which has its setting in a rural location. It is quite a general term used by less educated male adults as well as monks in that society. Such usage is different from what Cooke and Palakornkul have described in their studies as previously discussed in Chapter II. It is probably comparable to the term /chăn/ used by villagers in the novel 'Master Li and Miss Ma'. They both could be considered as variants of each other but in different contextual situations.

Another pronominal pairs are formed by combining a name or nickname as the 1st person pronominal form with either /phɔ̂:/ or /mæ̂:/ as the 2nd person form. Usually such usage is widely adopted by young children or young adult females; it is meant to amicably denote a close relationship with their parents. Lastly, the pair of /jo:m phɔ̂:/ are used as the 2nd person form by a mother speaking to her son who is in a monkhood. The pronoun /jo:m/ by itself can be used as 1st person referential term by a parent speaking to a monk who is his/her son. It can also be used by the monk as the 2nd person form for either of his parents. It is called a 'sacred' pronoun (Smyth, 2002, p. 46). The term /phɔ̂:/, literally meaning 'father', is used as the 2nd person pronoun used by a mother speaking to her son who is in the monkhood. In this context, it does not mean his mother refers to him as a father, it is just a form of addressing as well as pronominal referencing for an adult male in the old days. When a parent addresses his or her son who has been ordained as a monk, it is a traditional requirement that sacred pronominal terms are to be exchanged in their conversations. For Thai Buddhists, monks are regarded as highly respectable and sacred individuals. Every Thai Buddhist from all walks of life, regardless of their social statuses—a royalty member or a

commoner alike, must pay respect to a monk, no matter he is younger or older. And there must always be a distance kept between a monk and a secular. Similar to royalty, the special unique status of a monk is reflected in different 'sacred' lexical items. There are verbal protocols exclusively reserved for these religious individuals and those who interact with them. The status of a parent is no exception when interacting with a son who is in the monkhood; the former is socially inferior to the latter. Under no circumstances, it is considered appropriate for parents to show any affection towards their ordained son. They have to behave towards their son with 'deference'. Likewise, the monk must not outwardly express any filial affection towards his parents. Given his interactions with them, he must publicly as well as privately observe 'formality' in his verbal behaviours and manners. Their relationship can only be non-reciprocally-based. Given that pronominal usage signaling 'distance' is considered 'marked' thus negative, such usage of observing 'formality' is not a negative verbal behaviour but rather a cultural norm. In this respect, it can be considered as flagging 'non-intimacy' in a relationship which is neither positive nor negative, neither close nor distant.

To sum up, from the parents' perspective, in spite of their superior social status, they can always make their children aware of how close they feel towards them. And they have access to various pronominal options of which usage can also be subject to their social backgrounds. In some particular cases, a parent can also enact his or her distant interpersonal relationship with a particular child as well. However, some particular identical pronominal terms may serve to reveal different levels of closeness when employed by different individuals. All in all, differences in pronominal usage are deemed to express relativity of closeness rather than to identify a close or a distant relationship in an objective or measurable discrete unit. One's perception of being close or being distant may not be measurably matched with the definitions of closeness or distance held by others. To realise comparable levels of 'involvement', two different parents may employ different pronominal pairs in their conversations with their children. For example, between two different fathers, to express 'familial solidarity', one may use the pronominal pair /páʔ/-/mɯŋ/, while the other, /phɔ̂:/-/kæ:/. The first speaker may consider that the pronouns are adequate to convey his fatherly involvement with his son, while the other will never use the same

pair for such a purpose. As said, usage variations are also maneuvered by social background and language ideology.

Table 5.2 Involvement features and examples of pronominal pair for 'parent-child'

Interpersonal Feature	Person	Pronouns used by parents	Pronouns used by children
Familial Solidarity	1st	/mæ̂:/, /páʔ/, /phɔ̂:/, /phɔ̂:/, /mæ̂:/, /mæ̂:/, /phɔ̂:/	/chăn/, /jĭŋ/, /khâ:/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, name, name
	2nd	/ʔeŋ/, /mɯŋ/, /thɤ:/, /kæ:/, /cha:i/, /jĭŋ/, /ʔeŋ/	/mæ̂:/, /mæ̂:/, /phɔ̂:/, /phɔ̂:/, /páʔ/, /phɔ̂:/, /mæ̂:/
Endearment	1st	/phɔ̂:/, /phɔ̂:/, /phɔ̂:/, /pă:/, /mæ̂:/, /mæ̂:/, /mæ̂:/, /phɔ̂:/,	
	2nd	/lû:k/, /câu/, /nŭ:/, /nŭ:/, /nŭ:/, /mæ̂:+nŭ:/, nickname, nickname	
Deference	1st	*/jo:m/*	/dìʔ-chăn/, /kràʔ-phŏm/, /lû:k/, /phŏm/, /jĭŋ/, /lû:k/, /nŭ:/, nickname/, phŏm/
	2nd	*/jo:m phɔ̂:/*	/câu-khun+phɔ̂:/, /khun+mæ̂:/, */khun/,* /khun+mæ̂:/, /khun+mæ̂:/, /khun+mæ̂:/, /khun+phɔ̂:/, /khun+mæ̂:/, /mɔ̀:m mæ̂:/
Neutrality	1st	/chăn/	ø
	2nd	/kæ:/	*/jo:m/*
Formality	1st	ø	
	2nd	*/khun/*	
Distance	1st	/chăn/, /khâ:/, /ku:/, /chăn/, /chăn/, /chăn/	
	2nd	/kæ:/, /ʔeŋ/, /mɯŋ/, /thɤ:/, /tu:ɤ/, /rau/	

In table 5.2, I have compiled different examples of pronominal patterns and categorised them in accordance with the 'involvement' levels that they represent.

The 1st and the 2nd pronominal terms for each feature are presented in respective order of pairing. When the 1st person pronoun has been dropped, not available in the text in which the 2nd person pronoun appears, I have placed a zero (ø) instead.

As seen in the above table, under normal circumstances, parents encode their relationships with their children by unmarkedly employing appropriate pronominal strategies to realise different types of intimate relationship: (1) 'familial solidarity' (2) 'endearment'. They may not express any intimacy or distance by putting on a non-intimate or neutral relationship but simultaneously exercising their 'superiority' over their children. They can also resort to 'marked' pronominal usage to signal 'distance' which are related to negative 'attitude' which will be further discussed in the next chapter about 'appraisal'. Usage of parental kinship terms for self-reference by parents significantly indicates 'familial solidarity' of familial involvement with their children. Both kinship terms can be paired with different personal pronouns proper as well as the children's names or nicknames. However, it depends on the social structure to which the speaker is connected, usage of the pronominally pair /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ or /chăn/-/kæ:/ by a parent can designate a non-intimate or a distant relationship with their offspring. Usage of a 2nd person noun-like pronoun such as /lû:k/ or /nŭ:/ as well as some obsolete affectionate terms like /câu/ and /mæ̂: nŭ:/ is clearly perceived as being tied to the parental affection towards the addressed child(ren)—a sense of 'endearment', which is not applicable to be expressed by a person playing the child role. These affectionate pronominal terms are usually used in pairs with the 1st personal kinship terms 'father' and 'mother'. To express 'deference' towards their children is quite sporadic among parents unless it is required by a social or traditional convention. A son who has become a monk is socially regarded as superior to his secular parents and deserves their respect. A servant mother is obliged to be verbally polite to her son who was born from a noble lineage. A signal of 'being less close' is only initiated by the communicative player taking the parental role, which is realisable through a pronominal pair including just 1st and 2nd person personal pronouns proper, both restraint and non-restraint ones without involving either kinship term /phô:/ or /mæ̂:/ as the 1st person form. Such pronominal usage perceptually imbues a relationship with the feeling of 'being aloof or distant'.

From the children's perspective, they can express their close relationships with their parents through pronominal usage: (1) 'familial solidarity' and (2) 'deference'. Thanks to their non-reciprocal relationships with their parents, children can express less interpersonal features of 'involvement' than their parents. By means of pronominal choice, they can make use of the kinship terms 'father' and 'mother' as the 2nd person forms referring to their parents in pair with any 1st person pronoun proper except the non-restraints ones to share 'familial solidarity' with them. With respect to grammaticality, it can be noted that parental kinship terms are placed in the 2nd position of person referencing, not the 1st one as used by parents. For children, the parental kinship terms play the most significant role in encoding the 'familial solidarity' with their parents but as the 2nd person forms. In the opposite, for parents, the parental kinship terms play exactly the same role but as their 1st person forms. Parents can also use non-kin 2nd person pronominal terms in realising solidary relationships with their children and simultaneously designating their superior status over them. In addition, children can express their respects towards their parents by resorting to pronominal resources that combine the parental kinship terms with the polite-marking term /khun/ becoming /khun+phôː/ and /khun+mæ̂ː/ or with a royalty-related title or a noble rank. These combined pronominally used terms can be paired up with any 1st person forms (excluding non-restraint pronouns) substituting the children. They can also use these deferential pronouns /dìʔ-chăn/ and /kràʔ-phŏm/ as their 1st person forms when speaking to their parents who are socially important, but it is in reality quite rare and out-of-date at present days. These two terms are considered as pronouns of politeness signifying the child's 'deference' towards the parent on top of their close parent-child relationship. In relationship roles between parents and their children, in Thai pronominal system, there is no 'marked' usage available to the children to express any negative 'attitude' towards their parents. 'Formality' could be applicable only in case the son is in monkhood which requires him to keep a distance with his parents who are considered socially inferior to him, which is, however, not linked to an expression of 'distance' nor to 'intimacy'. Rather, such usage of sacred pronominal forms is considered as an expression of 'formality' which is not biasing towards either of the two relationship dimensions. The state of 'non-intimacy' is then, as I am proposing, a feature of the third dimension of relationship, whereby the speaker does not linguistically manifest any positive

or negative affective involvement. This may also apply to account for the case in which the mother is socially inferior to her child.

Last but not least, in negotiation of 'involvement' between parents and their children, variations in pronominal usage are subject or can be ascribed to different individuals' social backgrounds and language ideologies. As thus, to assess different interpersonal impacts as conveyed by such variations across different individuals could be rather unrealistic. Assessment of relative interpersonal impacts but not in an absolute discrete unit of measurement could be possible unless the comparison is made between different pronominal choices made by an individual in the contexts of situation by which the interlocutor plays his or her part in an identical relationship role. As pointed out, without contextual comparison and a clearly defined relationship role, it is hardly identifiable as to which pronominal term can reflect a closer or a more distant relationship attitude

Considering the three layers of simultaneous meanings that are associated with three different three discourse parameters—Field, Tenor and Mode, pronouns are exclusively interpersonal resources that are significantly concerned with Tenor and the layer of interpersonal meaning. Based on the literary evidence analysed in my study, a pronominal choice made by an individual is entirely dependent on his or her relationship with the person with whom he or she interacts in one particular context of situation. In all dialogical or conversational texts (which are a form of Mode) in the novels under study, parents maintain their usage of pronouns speaking to their children regardless of what kind of action they and their children participate in without taking into consideration the Field parameter. There could be a situation in which a parent is obliged to select a particular pronominal choice speaking to his or her child for fear of offending other people in presence rather than actually considering the interpersonal relationship with the child. That instance is, however, a consequence of the speaker's personal attitude towards the third party involved in the text like the case of Dalin and Rose her mother in the novel 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields'. The pronominal choice made by Rose is meant to signal an amicable relationship with her daughter in order to please the police and the news reporters, who she thinks are crucial to her personal interest acquisition, rather than to realise any ideational or experiential meaning in her face-to-face conversation with Dalin. Switching of pronoun occurs in

accordance with the interpersonal relationships between parents and children involved in the contexts which may be affectively or emotionally driven. It is the interpersonal aspects of a relationship between the interlocutors that determine their pronominal usage.

5.1.2 Role-relationship of 'senior-junior relative'

'Senior relative' in my study refers to any blood kin member who is genealogically on the same level as one's parents or above, such as 'aunt', 'uncle' and 'grandparent' or 'great grandparent'. 'Junior relative' simply includes 'nephew', 'niece' or 'grandchild' or 'great grandchild'.

In Thai society, elder kin are well respected as one's parents as seen from Table 5.3 that the non-restraint pronominal terms /ku:/, /mɯŋ/, /kæ:/, /ʔeŋ/ do not exist in the inventory of 'junior relative'. In addition, the deferential pronouns such as 1st person /dìʔ-chăn/ and /khun/ preceding kinship terms as 2nd person pronouns are in parallel with the pronouns in Table 5.1. There is an exception in case the junior kin has a royalty lineage, born as a 'Momchao', all the maternal senior relatives must address and refer to him using the 2nd person deferential pronoun /thâ:n/ plus a kinship term or his given name, such as in the novel 'Prisna', in the conversations between Momchao Photchanapricha /mòm-câ:u phót-càʔ-náʔ-pri:-cha:/ and his maternal aunt, the latter used this pair of pronouns /ná:/-/thâ:n lă:n/ speaking to him. And she got the following pairs in return: /chăn/-/ná:/+name. The term /ná:/ is a kinship term referring to an aunt or an uncle who is the younger sibling or younger cousin of one's mother; and the generic kinship term /lă:n/ is equivalent to 'grandchild', 'grandniece', 'grandnephew', 'niece' and 'nephew'. The deferential term /thâ:n/, in addition to being a 2nd person pronoun by itself, can be used as a status term preceding a name or a kinship term when the referred interactant is a 'Momchao'.

Undoubtedly, the relationship between a senior and a junior kin is not on a reciprocal basis. The Tenor parametres between a senior and a junior relative can be represented as [±status +contact]. It can be noted, however, that there exists a slight difference in terms of pronominal usage; a kinship term can be followed by a personal name and used as a 2nd person form for a senior kin. For example, /ná:+da:/ or Auntie Da is derived from the combination between the kinship term /ná:/ and a personal nickname of Kathi's maternal aunt in the novel 'The Happiness of Kathi'. Senior and

junior kin can express their interpersonal relationships through pronominal choice in a similar fashion as between a parent and a child.

Considering the following three pairs of pronouns, /ja:i/-nickname, /ja:i/-/lă:n/, /ja:i/-/lû:k/, can possibly be used by a maternal grandmother speaking to a granddaughter. The kinship term /ja:i/ is equivalent to 'maternal grandmother'. Indeed, these three pairs are interchangeably in use by a grandmother who loves and is devoted to her granddaughter, Punhom /pu:n-hɔ̌:m/, so much in the novel 'A Stench of Dew'.

Table 5.3 Inventory of pronouns for 'senior-junior relative'

Speaker	**Addressee**		**Speaker**	**Addressee**	
Sr. female	**Jr. female**	**Jr. male**	**Sr. male**	**Jr. female**	**Jr. male**
/chăn/	/kæ:/	/kæ:/	/khâ:/	/mɯŋ/	/ʔeŋ/
/ná:/	/thɤ:/	/thâ:n lă:n/	/ta:/	/nŭ:/	
/pâ:/	/nŭ:/	/thɤ:/	/luŋ/	/nŭ:/+name	
/ja:i/	/rau/	/phɔ̂: cha:i/		/lă:n/	
/ʔa:/	/lă:n/	name			
/jâ:/	/lɔ̀:n/				
	/lû:k/				
Jr. female	**Sr. female**	**Sr. male**	**Jr. male**	**Sr. female**	**Sr. male**
/dìʔ-chăn/	/khun+ja:i/	/khun+ta:/	/chăn/	/khun+nă:/	/khun+ta:/
/nŭ:/	/mɔ̀:m+pâ:/	/khun+pù:/	/phŏm/	/ná:/+name	/khun+ʔa:/
/lă:n/	/ja:i/	/khun+ʔa:/		/ʔa:/	
name	/khun+pâ:/				

The 1st person pronominally-used kinship term /ja:i/, like any other kinship term /phɔ̂:/, /mæ̂:/ or /ná:/, signals 'familial solidarity' between the speaker and the listener. Usage of a nickname as the 2nd person pronoun also indicated a close relationship between the two interlocutors. Likewise, usage of /lă:n/ or /lû:k/ as a 2nd person form clearly suggests an affectionate attitude on the part the grandmother towards the granddaughter. In another novel, 'Master Li and Miss Ma', the first two pairs were used by Granny Wan /wan/ who rarely saw her granddaughter Malini /ma:-líʔ-ni:/ when she was alive, only on her deathbed that she had a letter written using both pronominal pairs and addressed to her granddaughter who unknowingly would

inherit from her all assets and properties. Readers will later on find out that the letter was actually written by Linawat /li:-náʔ-wát/ himself, not by Granny Wan. He wrote the letter out of his own imagination after the old woman had already passed away without full awareness of the actual relationship between the grandmother and the granddaughter. The tone of voice in the letter marked a very close and caring relationship that Granny Wan could have had with her granddaughter--Malini. In fact, while Granny Wan was alive and her granddaughter was just a young girl, very seldom did they meet each other. The girl lived with her mother in Bangkok while Granny Wan lived in the countryside of another province. Once they met, the old woman used the pronoun pattern /chăn/-/kæ:/ speaking to Malini without using any kinship term for referencing. From the different contexts in the novel, it can be concluded that Malini did not know her grandmother very well and even somehow regretted that she did not have a close relationship with Granny Wan while the old woman was alive. Comparing the impact between the two sets of pronominal usage as spoken by Granny Wan and as written by Linawat, both pairs are read as signifying different types of relationship between these two female characters. In the pronominal pair /ja:i/-/lă:n/, the 1st person form /ja:i/ or grandmother conveys the speaker's solidary familial relationship with the referent, meanwhile the 2nd person form--the kinship term /lă:n/ or 'grandchild' distinctively expresses the speaker's 'endearment' or fondness towards the referent. All such sentimental qualities are missing from the usage of /chăn/-/kæ:/ which do not include any kinship term at all and consequentially gives rise to an air of 'being distant' between the grandmother and the granddaughter.

The usage pattern that contains a kinship term as the 1st person form and a personal pronoun proper as the 2nd person form to express a solidary familial relationship for this type of role relationship are also prevalent. Both of the following examples have a kinship term and the 1st person form and /kæ:/ as the 2nd person form: /ja:i/-/kæ:/ and /pâ:/-/kæ:/. The first pair is used in the novel 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields' by a senior woman speaking to her adopted granddaughter, for whom she did not truly share her sympathetic concern. The second pair is used in the novel 'Prisna' by a senior school teacher speaking to her niece. The term /pâ:/ means 'aunt' who is an elder sister of one's mother. Such pronominal usage creates an atmosphere of close relationship between the senior and junior relatives despite the older ones are not

practically very congenial to the younger ones. Usage of the 1st person forms which are kinship terms echoes the speakers' recognition of the ties of kinship between them and the referred relatives they speak to. However, the 2nd person pronoun /kæ:/ does not carry along a perception of the speakers' affectionate attitude towards the referents.

The pronominal pair /ʔa:/-/rau/ or /ʔa:/-/thɤ:/ are used by Songmueang's /sɔ̌:ŋ-mɯɤŋ/ paternal aunt speaking to his younger sister—Rueangram /rɯɤŋ-ra:m/ in the novel 'Gold-Pasted Cement'. And the pair /ta:/-/ʔeŋ/ were used by Jan's /can/ grandfather speaking to him in the novel 'The Story of Jandara'. Both senior relatives do not distinctively exhibit any kind of affectionate interpersonal relationship with their young kin, but readers do not detect any distant relationships among them either.

The following two pairs /chăn/-/kæ:/ and /pâ:/-/nŭ:/ are extremely in contrast with each other, being used by an upper class senior lady Mom Phannarai speaking to her two different nieces in the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion'. Her different attitudes towards the two teenage girls, Photchaman /phót-càʔ-ma:n/ and Saengsom /săe:ŋ-sŏ:m/ are obviously distinguishable by such variations in her pronominal usage. While Photchaman is a distant relative of hers—a daughter of her late cousin whom she dislikes even after his death, Saengsom is the daughter of her own blood sister. The lady speaks to Photchaman using the pronominal pair /chăn/-/kæ:/, and to Saengsom, /pâ:/-/nŭ:/. As discussed above, the pair /chăn/-/kæ:/ could realise a distant relationship. Furthermore, the pronoun /kæ:/ is usually used in this novel as the 2nd person pronoun referring to a maid or a male servant or to an intimate male or a less educated female. Her usage of /chăn/-/kæ:/ is on purpose, which is not only meant to distance Photchaman but also to discriminate against her as a non-kin inferior. Meanwhile, usage of /pâ:/ as the 1st person form indicates her 'familial solidarity' with Sangsom and the 2nd person pronoun /nŭ:/ sounds very affectionate, which are in accord with their relationship. Undoubtedly through such usage, the readers could perceive her distant relationship with Photchaman—a kind of distant behaviour. In fact, in those days, it was not uncommon for a senior of a high social status to use the 2nd person pronoun /kæ:/ speaking to an intimate inferior including one's own kin, especially the younger ones, but with a kinship term as the 1st person referential term. As such, their relationship would not have been perceived as being so distant. The Tenor components over their relationship can be illustrated as [±status

+contact]. However, in this novel, the author seems to intentionally draw a sharp contrast between her relationships with the two girls and also portrays her as an ill-natured and prejudiced character by assigning her such pronominal choice. Mom Phannarai purposively alienates Photchaman as none of her kin by inflicting inferiority on the girl and her parents and simultaneously upholds her own superiority over the poor distant niece. The Tenor relationship between the two can be represented as [±status -contact]. In the novel 'The Happiness of Kathi', Auntie Da refers to own herself as /ná:/ and affectionately pronominally calls her niece--Kathi as /nŭ:/. This pronominal pair is the same as what Mom Phannarai uses speaking to Sangsom.

However, usage of a pronominal pair without any kinship term may occur in the contexts whereby the interlocutors have very close relationships. In the novel, 'The Field of The Great', Sutchai /sùt-cai/'s aunt who has taken care of her since she is just a small kid uses the non-restraint terms speaking to the young woman: /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ or /ku:/-/mɯŋ/. Although there seems to be authorial inconsistency of usage between either pair of pronouns by this character, her relationship with Sudchai is consistently solidary. Her aunt is a strong-willed, composed independent old woman. The social category to which both characters belongs to is entirely different from the one that Mom Phannarai or Kathi were associated with. Both Sutchai and her aunt are less educated and spend their lives in a very remote rural area. Moreover, the chronological setting of the story is far back in the past--the reign of King Rama V.

In the novel 'Four Reigns', a character named Sai /săi/ always speaks to her niece Choi /chɔ́:i/ using the pronominal pair /chăn/-/kæ:/ or /chăn/-/lɔ̀:n/ in spite of their very close relationship. In this novel, it seems quite a common practice that the female characters address one another using names or kinship terms as the 2nd person pronominal forms, and /chăn/ as their 1st person pronoun. Usage of the 2nd person pronoun /kæ:/ or /lɔ̀:n/ is quite rare. The pair /chăn/-/kæ:/ are used by the older speaking to the younger, designating a distant relationship or a transient emotional attitude. Although the female 2nd person form /lɔ̀:n/ is in fact generally used during the reign of King Rama V until approximately World War II, especially in fictions and plays, to refer to a young female or a maiden without any negative connotation, usage of this pronoun in novels thereafter is quite restricted to denoting discrimination and insult. It can be noted that the author of this novel has used the pronoun /lɔ̀:n/ in

conversations between two female intimate equals or it is used by an older female speaking to a younger female but not vice versa to signal their familiar relationship. Sai's usage of both /chăn/-/kæ:/ and /chăn/-/lɔ̀:n/ is not intended to signify any distance or negative attitudes towards Choi her niece. Rather, it is part of Sai's verbal reactions to witty Choi's flippant and funny talks. However, in comparison with her pronominal usage of /pâ:/-Phloi speaking to Phloi whom she is extremely fond of although she is not her biological niece but her beloved friend's daughter. Readers cannot help but feel a significantly different relationship that the speaker has with the young woman. The latter pronominal pair imbues her attitudes towards Phloi with 'endearment', which actually corresponds to the young beauty's lovable and refined demeanour. Both Choi and Phloi are two contrastive characters but two very best friends; the former is extremely outspoken, playful and witty, while the latter is very reserved, refined and submissive. According to the Thai social standards in those days, a woman like Phloi would be very dear to her circle of friends and senior acquaintances. As for Choi, her characters would just make people feel entertained and cheerful. Readers could find her talks with Sai very funny and would not find Sai's prejudiced usage of pronoun therein a serious discriminatory bias against Choi.

In the novel 'Time', Grannie Nuan /nu:ɤn/, in her conversations with her grandchildren, switches her pronominal usage between the pair /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ and /jâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ (the kinship term /jâ:/ means a paternal grandmother) without any negative emotional manifestation. She is so happy and excited that her grandchildren have come over to visit her at the care home where she is staying.

Examples of usage from these three novels provide substantial evidence that pronominal choice could be purposively deployed to convey the speaker's interpersonal relationship with his conversational counterpart; however, perceptual wise, it might not be an accurate manifestation of their actual relationship without taking the context of occurrence into account. In these three examples, usage of non-kinship terms, or to be exact, non-restraint pronouns can be regarded as non-reciprocal 'solidarity' in which only the older or senior speaker's verbal reactions are coded with lexical choices appropriate for talking to an intimate equal, which signify a closeness between the older and the younger interlocutors. Anyway, the younger counterpart is socially not in the position to reciprocate the usage of the same pronominal choice.

This kind of pronominal behaviour is meant by the senior to realise the Involvement feature of 'solidarity'. Given the usage of these non-restraint pronouns, Cooke's concept of 'assertiveness' that has been discussed in Chapter II, page 22, may well describe their pronominal behaviours which reflect their characters and personalities, especially Sutchai's aunt and Choi's aunt.

The pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ is generally regarded as a deferential 1st person form, a politeness-marking pronoun presently used by only female speakers. However, in 'Golden Sand Mansion', the pronoun is strategically used as a means of expressing 'distance' with politeness. In different contexts of this novel, being an unwelcome distant relative and treated so unfairly, Photchaman uses this pronoun in her several verbal interactions with her older relatives, no matter they are in a formal or an informal situation. She even uses this self-referential term in a retaliating speech against her aunt's bitter remarks about her parents in the presence of the old lady's guests at an afternoon tea party. She also employs this 1st person pronominal form in all other informal situations speaking to her aunt and other relatives in her household, which is by etiquette considered very appropriate and polite but unseemly distant for a relative. In a way, this is adopted by Photchaman as a means of showing her defiance—unyielding to unfairness and simultaneously distancing herself. Readers can see that when Photchaman's attitudes towards some of her relatives has changed, she also changes her 1st person form from the pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ to her own nickname Phot /phót/. For example, realising that her aunt has not welcome her visit and how she has a very negative attitude towards her father and all his family, she uses the following pronominal pair /dìʔ-chăn/-/mɔ̀:m+pâ:/ in her conversations with Mom Phannarai. Only towards the end of 'Photchaman Sawangwong', the sequel to this novel, when Photchaman has got pregnant and thus tried to reconcile her relationship with the old lady, she adopts her new self-reference as Phot, her nickname. She also makes the same pronominal choice in dealing with her older cousins, which will be discussed in the following section. In one scene (pp. 585), when her different relatives are present in her granduncle's room, she refers to her own self using this pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ while declaring her motives of coming to Goden Sand Mansion. However, when she speaks specifically to her dying granduncle with whom she shares her sympathy, she switches her pronominal choice to her nickname instead. In addition,

she uses this 1st person deferential form to refer to herself in her conversations with older non-intimate others, which will be further discussed when we come to the role-relationship between acquaintances or non-acquaintances. Photchaman will use her nickname for self-reference when interacting with her friends and acquaintances, older or same age, royalty and commoners alike. In fact, her pronominal usage of /dìʔ-chăn/-/mɔ̀:m+pâ:/ sounds very respectful. However, according to different contexts of her pronominal choice as briefly mentioned, it can be deduced that the author purposively uses this pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ to be a courtesy marker but at the same time to keep a distant relationship. It has been used for the sake of indicating 'distance' rather than signaling a true feeling of respect by a niece towards her aunt.

In the same novel, expressing 'deference' or respect towards a senior relative is realised by pronominal usage of a deferential personal pronoun or a kinship term preceded by the deferential term /khun/ as seen in the following pairs: /lă:n/-/khun+ta:/ (used by Pharadi speaking to her grandfather), Phot-/khun+pù:/ (used by Photchaman speaking to her granduncle). The kinship term /ta:/ means 'maternal grandfather or granduncle', and /pù:/, 'paternal grandfather or granduncle'. Pharada pronominally addresses Photchaman's mother who is also his aunt-in-law as /khun+nă:/. Photchaman, shortly prior to her marrying Pharada, has changed her 1st personal form from /dìʔ-chăn/ to Phot /phót/ her nickname and kept /mɔ̀:m+pâ:/ as the 2nd personal pronominal terms for her aunt Mom Phannarai. This phenomenon of pronominal change suggests Photchaman's attempt to bridge the gap of her relationship with Mom Phannarai by showing her respect to the mother of the man whom she loves. In 'A Person of Quality', Wimon speaks to her uncle using the pair /lă:n/-/khun+ʔa:/. In 'From Here to Eternity', Sangmong uses the pair /phŏm/-/khun+ʔa:/ speaking to his uncle Phapo /pháʔ-pó:/. In 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Field', Duean /duɯɤn/ respectfully speaks to Khachit /khàʔ-cìt/--the mother of her adoptive mother using the following pronominal pair /nŭ:/-/khun+ja:i/. In 'Four Reigns', Choi speaks to her aunt, Sai, using the pair /chăn/-/khun+ʔa:/.

A junior relative, in negotiating 'familial solidarity' with a senior relative, usually makes use of a 1st person pronoun or his/her nick(name) in pair with a designated kinship. For example, in the novel 'Letters from Thailand', Mengchu /mêŋ-cu:/ speak to her maternal aunt Angbuai /ʔâŋ-búɤi/ by using the pair /nŭ:/-/ná:/.

In 'A Stench of Dew', Punhom uses her nickname as her 1st person pronoun and calls her maternal grandmother /ja:i/. In 'Gold-Pasted Cement', Songmueang refers to himself as /phŏm/ and always pronominally refers to his paternal aunt as /ʔa:/. In 'The Story of Jandara', Jan uses /phŏm/ as his self-referential term and pronominally refers to his aunt as /ná: wá:t/ or Auntie Wat.

Table 5.4 Involvement features and examples of pronominal pair for 'senior-junior relative'

Involvement feature	Person	Pronouns used by senior relatives	Pronouns used by junior relatives
Familial solidarity	1st	/jâ:/, /ta:/, /ʔa:/, /luŋ/, /pâ:/	/chăn/, /nŭ:/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, name, /phŏm/, name
	2nd	/ʔeŋ/, /rau/, /nŭ:/, /thɤ:/, /kæ:/	/ná:/, /ná:/, /ʔa:/, /jâ:/, /ja:i/, /ná:/+name, /ná:/+name
Endearment	1st	/pâ:/, /pâ:/, /ja:i/, /ja:i/, /ná:/, /ta:/	
	2nd	/lă:n/, /nŭ:/+name, /lû:k/, /nŭ:/, nickname, /phô: cha:i/	
Solidarity	1st	/chăn/, /chăn/, /khâ:/, /ku:/	
	2nd	/kæ:/, /lɔ̀:n/, /ʔeŋ/, /mɯŋ/	
Deference	1st	/ná:/	/nŭ:/, /chăn/, /lă:n/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, nickname, nickname, name
	2nd	/thâ:n lă:n/	/khun+ja:i/, /khun+ʔa:/, /mɔ̀:m+pâ:/, /khun+ta:/, /khun+nă:/, /khun+ʔa:/, /khun+pù:/, /mɔ̀:m+pâ:/, /khun+pâ:/
Distance	1st	/chăn/	/dìʔ-chăn/
	2nd	/kæ:/	/mɔ̀:m+pâ:/

Examples of different pronominal usage representing different 'involvement' features have been provided in Table 5.4. Like Table 5.3, all the pronouns are listed in respective order of pairing within each individual feature.

From the discussion on the pronominal usage in this group, there emerge six possible different involvement features for negotiation of 'involvement' between 'senior relative' and 'junior relative' as summarized in the table above. The Involvement features of 'endearment', 'familial solidarity', 'solidarity' and 'deference' are associated with closeness. Between a senior and a junior relative, 'familial solidarity' is realised by different pronominal pattern involving at least one kinship term. The senior relative uses a kinship term as his/her 1st person pronoun and uses a personal pronoun proper or a (nick)name to represent the younger-kin referent. In certain socio-culturally specific contexts, usage of some personal pronouns proper by senior relatives in pair, i.e. /chăn/-/kæ:/ or /lɔ:n/, /ku:/-/mɯŋ/, /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ may be considered as signaling 'solidarity'. Meanwhile, The junior relative signals 'familial solidarity' through usage of his/her (nick)name or a personal pronoun proper (excluding a non-restraint one) for self-reference and usage of a kinship term accompanied by a (nick)name as the 2nd personal form for his or her senior relative. 'Endearment' can only be expressed by the older towards the younger relatives. It can be encoded by usage of a kinship term designating the speaker's kin status as his/her 1st person form in pair with another kinship term /lă:n/ or /lû:k/ or the term /nŭ:/ optionally preceding (nick)name as the 2nd person form for the junior one. To express 'deference' is normally exercised by a junior relative towards a senior one through usage of a 1st person pronoun such as /chăn/ or /phŏm/ or the kinship term /lă:n/ or the term /nŭ:/ in pair with a 2nd person pronominal term composed of /khun/ plus a kinship term such as /khun+ta:/, meaning 'maternal grand-father' /khun+ja:i/, /khun+pù:/, meaning 'paternal grand-father' and /khun+nă:/, meaning 'maternal aunt or uncle'. A senior relative may show respect to a junior kin provided that the latter is has a royalty rank.

Creating an atmosphere of 'being distant' can be enacted by a junior relative (but not by a senior relative) using a 1st personal deferential pronoun such as /dìʔ-chăn/. Interpretative distinction between 'deference' and 'distance' need to cover other linguistic elements in the communicative situation, contextual information of

their mutual relations, attitudes and behaviour. The verbal behaviour of signifying 'distance' can be performed by a senior relative (but not by a junior one) through usage of personal pronouns proper as 1st and 2nd person forms without including any kinship terms. Again, the group of non-kin personal pronouns proper, usually non-restraint terms, can also be used by a superior kin to realise 'solidarity' as well as marking 'distance'. More contextual clues are needed in order to justify whether the speaker is enacting 'marked' or 'unmarked' affect.

5.1.3 Role-relationship of 'sibling-sibling' and 'cousin-cousin'

The pronominal inventories as presented in Table 5.5 and 5.6 are comparatively different owing to the limited data of interactions among characters playing the cousin relationship-role in the novel studied. However, in reality, both 'sibling' and 'cousin' are, genealogically speaking, on the same level, although siblings are by blood closer to one's self than are cousins. The pronominal terms used in both groups of role-relationship are identical or very similar. Within each group, relative age is the important factor of determining the non- reciprocity with regard to one's pronominal choice. The younger is expected to respect the older.

Among cousins, the age factor is, in principle, less important than their parents' sibling relations. If one's father or one' mother is the elder brother or elder sister, he or she will be considered senior in status than his cousin who, though is older by age, was born by the younger uncle or the younger aunt. Even so, more often than not, reciprocity may prevail over the said genealogical principle especially in case of a pair of siblings or two cousins having more or less the same relative age. Some royalty-related ranks need to be observed and respected, which is realised through the pronominal terms such as /câu-phî:/, meaning 'royal elder brother' or /thâ:n phî:/ used by a younger sibling as 2nd person pronouns to refer to his or her older brother or sister. The younger siblings or cousins need to address the older kin by the term /phî:/, meaning 'elder brother or sister' and the older, in return, address them by the kinship term /nɔ́:ŋ/, meaning 'younger sibling', or their given names or nicknames. The Tenor variables for this group can be represented as thus: [±status +contact].

In the novel 'Four Reigns', especially during the reign of King Rama V, siblings, either the older or the younger, did not need to address each other using such

kinship terms as /phîː/ ‘elder brother or sister’ and /nɔ́ːŋ/ ‘younger brother or sister’. Instead, they usually use /chăn/ as their 1st person forms and address each other by the status terms Pho /phɔ̂ː/ for males, Mae /mæ̂ː/ for females followed by their names. Both terms are identical to the ‘father’ and the ‘mother’ kinship term with regard to spelling and pronunciation. However, their meanings and functions are different. These two status terms can be used on their own as addresses terms without denoting

Table 5.5 Inventory of pronouns for ‘sibling-sibling’

Speaker	**Addressee**		**Speaker**	**Addressee**	
Older sister	**Younger sister**	**Younger brother**	**Older brother**	**Younger sister**	**Younger brother**
/kháu/	/kæː/	/kæː/	/khâː/	/kæː/	/kæː/
/chăn/	/tuːɤ/	/tuːɤ-ʔeːŋ/	/chăn/	/thɤː/	/thɤː/
/phîː/	/thɤː/	/thɤː/	/phîː/	/rau/	/naːi/
/rau/	/nɔ́ːŋ/	/nɔ́ːŋ+klaːŋ/		/lɔ̀ːn	/ʔeŋ/
	/nɔ́ːŋ+jĭŋ/	/nŭː/		name	name
	/nɔ́ːŋ+lék/	/ʔeŋ/		/mæ̂ː/+name	
	/naːi/	name			
	/nŭː/				
	/thɤː/				
	/mæ̂ː/+name				
	name				
Younger sister	**Older sister**	**Older brother**	**Younger brother**	**Older sister**	**Older brother**
/kháu/	/khun+phîː/	/câu-phîː/	/khâː/	/khun+phîː/	/naːi/
/chăn/	/khun/+name	/thâːn+phîː/	/chăn/	/phîː/	/phîː/
/dìʔ-chăn/	/tuːɤ/	/phîː/	/phŏm/	/phîː+jài/	/phîː/+name
/jĭŋ/	/phîː/	/phîː/+name	name	/phîː/+name	/ʔeŋ/
/nɔ́ːŋ/	/phîː+jĭŋ+jài/	/phɔ̂ː/+name			
/nŭː/	/phîː+jài/				
/rau/	/phîː/+name				
/ʔìʔ-chăn/	/naːi/				
name	/phîː/				
	/phîː+klaːŋ/				

Table 5.6 Inventory of pronouns for 'cousin-cousin'

Speaker	Addressee		Speaker	Addressee	
Female	**Female**	**Male**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**
/chăn/	/kæ:/	/khun/	/chăn/	/thɤ:/	/khun-cha:i/
/dìʔ-chăn/	/khun/	/khun-cha:i/	/phî:/		/thɤ:/
/phî:/	/khun-jĭŋ/+name	/thɤ:/	/phŏm/		
name	/tu:ɤ/				
	/thɤ:/				
	/nɔ́:ŋ/+name				
	/lɔ̀:n/				

any parental connection and can also be used as tittles preceding given names for commoners. In the novel, between half-siblings born in a high-ranking noble family, those who were born by the principal wife would be pronominally addressed by their half siblings using the deferential title /khun/ followed by their names. For example Phloi /phlɔ:i/, born by a minor wife and a bit younger, and Choei /chɤ:i/, born by the principal wife, in their verbal interactions, both respectively exchange the following patterns of pronominal choice: /chăn/-/khun+chɤ:i/ and /chăn/-/mâ: phlɔ:i/. In case the referent is older, the younger brother or sister would use the term /phî:/ preceded by /khun/, hence /khun+phî:/. For instance, Phloi uses this phrasal kinship term to pronominally address her older half-brother Chit /chít/, who is also Choei's elder brother. Between siblings born by the same principal wife, the older may address the younger as Pho+name or Mae+name. With a big gap of age difference, the younger refer to the older using the term /khun+phî:/ to show their respect. Or else, the 2nd person form to address the older could be in the form of /khun/+name. Therefore, to determine closeness from such usage, one needs to take into consideration the cultural context which makes it different from the regular pronominal usage of kinship terms. The 2nd person forms used between Phloi and Choei, perhaps, could be viewed as status differentiating markers rather than discriminatory ones. The term /khun+chɤ:i/ by its form expressed Phloi's recognition of her half-sister's superior social status over hers; and hence, her respect for Choei. In return, Choei's addressing her half-sister using Mae Phloi signifies the speaker's solidary relationship with the referent. In the

novel, the pronominal terms do not have any impact on their mutual interpersonal relationship except to mark their social status difference. When they grow up and marry, Phloi's social and economic status outstandingly is elevated to excel Choei's; as yet the former always addresses the latter the same way as she did as a young girl, and vice versa. Both are intimately on good terms until the end of their days. So, in this specific case, pronominal terms mark their social role distinctions. Unlike her much older half-sister, Un /ʔùn/, who is so unkind and disliked Phloi, uses the 2nd person pronoun /kæ:/ speaking to Phloi, while referring her own blood sister as Mae Choei. Her pronominal usage obviously marks her unfavourable attitude towards Phloi and thus keeps a distant relationship between her and her half-sister. In return, with due respect, or Un's superior social status, Phloi uses the pair /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun+phî:/ or /ʔìʔ-chăn/-/khun+phî:/ in their conversational interactions. As the story moves on, owing to her declining economic and financial status, Un has to seek help from Phloi's wealthy husband. So impressed by her younger half-sister's genuine sympathy and kindness, Un completely adopts a new positive attitude towards Phloi. As a consequence, she changes her pronominal choices for interacting with Phloi: her 1st person form /chăn/ is changed to /phî:/ and the 2nd person pronoun /kæ:/, to /thɤ:/ or to Phloi's name. Her change of pronominal choice clearly reflects her acceptance of Phloi as one of her kin—an establishment of 'familial solidarity'.

Similarly, in the novel 'A Person of Quality', Wimon /wíʔ-mon/, daughter of a 'Phraya' and his principal wife, and her half-younger-brother, Manop /ma:-nóp/ respectively uses the following pronominal pattern in their conversations: /phî:/-/kæ:/ vs. /phŏm/-/khun+phî:/. Instead of using the 1st person /chăn/ like Khun Un does to young Phloi, Wimon chooses the kinship term /phî:/. Her pronominal choice is perceptually quite aligned with her close relationship with her half-brother whom she loves and cares so much. And her younger brother does show his respect for her. Her choice of a kinship term for self-reference helps alleviate the negative influence perceptually associated with the non-restraint /kæ:/ making her relationship with him sound familiarly close as compared to the pair /chăn/-/kæ:/. In the novel, one may notice that Wimon used two different 2nd person forms referring for her different half-brothers and half-sisters, who were all younger than she, by taking into consideration of age and gender. She uses the pronoun /kæ:/ for Manop, a teenage male. For a Mali

/ma:-li:/, who is a bit older than Manop but is a female, she uses the pronoun /thɤ:/. And she speaks to the other two small half- siblings, Ot /ʔɔ́:t/, a boy and Paew /pǎeu/, a girl, using the identical pronoun /nǔ:/. It may, therefore, be concluded that in the context of this novel, the 2nd person pronoun /kæ:/ and /thɤ:/ are significantly different in terms of distinguishing the gender of the speaker's half-siblings but not signaling her different attitudes towards them. They are both equally determinant of her solidary relationships with Manop and Mali. And the pronoun /nǔ:/ does an extra job of signaling her 'endearment' towards the two small half-siblings.

Now I will discuss on some of the pronominal patterns in accordance with the conversational participants' roles:

Pattern A (from the novel 'A Person of Quality'):

(a) Mali: /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun+phî:/

(b) Wimon: /phî:/-/thɤ:/

Mali and Wimon are half-sisters. Mali's mother is a minor wife but Wimon, who is older, was born by the principal wife. The 1st and 2nd person pronouns exchange in their conversation are not reciprocal. The younger one uses the deferential forms /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun+phî:/ speaking to the older, while the older one uses the kinship term /phî:/ to represent herself and refers to the younger one as /thɤ:/. In the novel, the elder sister takes good care of her younger sister, being very concerned to ensure that the latter will properly marry her fiancé and has a good family life. In terms of their interpersonal relations as realised by their pronominal choices, Mali shows her respect for Wimon, and the latter fosters their solidary sisterhood.

Pattern B (from the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion'):

(c) Phawini: /jĭŋ/-/phî:+jĭŋ+jài/ or /nɔ́:ŋ/-/phî:+jài/

(d) Pharadi: /phî:/-/nɔ́:ŋ+jĭŋ/ or -/nɔ́:ŋ/ or -/jĭŋ+lék/

In this case, no deferential terms or personal pronouns proper are used between these two female characters. However, both sibling kinship terms /nɔ́:ŋ/ and /phî:/ play their parts in identifying the sisterhood between the two female characters, Phawini who is younger, and Pharadi who is older. Usage of /nɔ́:ŋ/ as the 1st person form by the younger, and /phî:/ as the 2nd person pronoun referencing the older signifies the speaker's solidary attitude towards the other interlocutor. In parallel, the

usage of /phî:/ as the 1st person form by the older, and /nɔ́:ŋ/ as the 2nd person form for the younger creates an impression of 'endearment'. The term 'Ying' /jǐŋ/ literally meaning 'female' is used as a self-referential term by a lady born with the lesser royalty rank--'Momchao' /mɔ̀:m-câ:u/ or a daughter bigoted by a 'Momchao' then entitled to the title of 'Momratchawong' /mɔ̀:m-ra:t-cháʔ-woŋ/. It is shortened from the address term 'Khunying' /khun-jǐŋ/-- an unofficial title of a female 'Momratchawong', and 'Thanying' /thâ:n-jǐŋ/--a female 'Momchao'. For a male, whether he be a 'Momchao' or a 'Momratchawong', the term /cha:i/ literally meaning 'male' is used instead. It is the short form of the address term /khun-cha:i/--the unofficial title of a male 'Momratchawong', and 'Thanchai' /thâ:n-cha:i/--a male 'Momchao'. The term /jǐŋ/ can also be used by an intimate equal or superior as the 2nd person form to address her. It can be preceded by the sibling term /phî:/ or /nɔ́:ŋ/ and used among her kin such as /phî:+jǐŋ/ or /nɔ́:ŋ+jǐŋ/. In general, kinship terms can be followed by some modifiers such as /jài/ meaning 'big', /rɔ:ŋ/ 'second', /kla:ŋ/ 'middle', /lék/ 'small' to form phrasal kinship terms such as /phî:+jài/ meaning 'the big sister or brother', /phî:+kla:ŋ/, 'the middle elder brother or sister', /nɔ́:ŋ+kla:ŋ/, 'the middle younger brother or sister', and /nɔ́:ŋ+lék/ 'the youngest sister or brother'. Among siblings of the 'Momratchawong' level, both male and female, such phrasal kinship terms may be used in combination with the term /jǐŋ/ or /cha:i/ such as /phî:+jǐŋ+jài/, /phî:+cha:i+kla:ŋ/ and /nɔ́:ŋ+jǐŋ+lék/. The pronominal structures used between the two should reflect a respectfully or affectionately solidary relationship. However, in the novel, despite their gap of age difference, Phawini does not really respect her elder sister Pharadi. In response, the latter does not have a favourable opinion about her younger sister either. Basically the pronominal patterns used by both female characters, Pharadi and Phawini, are designative of their mutually acknowledged royalty-related sisterhood, which is a norm of their pronominal and Vocative referencing system without any implicating their interpersonal relations.

Comparing to the other two sisters, Daruni /dàʔ-núʔ-ni:/, the older, and Ratchani, the younger, in the novel 'The Ghosts', they exchange the following patterns of pronouns:/phî:/-/nɔ́:ŋ+lék/ vs. /lék/-/phî:+kla:ŋ/. The term /lék/ literally means 'small'. Here it denotes 'the youngest sister'. The pronominal structures are quite similar to the two sisters' above in the sense that they contain kinship terms and sibling rank

identifiers. Both Daruni and Ratchani do not have any relationship problem like Pharadi and Phawini. And their pronominal usage perceptually reflects a similar solidary sisterhood.

Pattern C (from the novel 'Time in a Bottle'):

(e) Ning /nǐŋ/: /nǐŋ/-/phî: nât/

(f) Nat /nât/: /phî:/-/nǐŋ/

Both Nat and Ning were brother and sister. The girl uses her nick-name as her self-referential term and refers to her elder brother using the kinship term /phî:/ combined with his nickname. Her elder brother refers to himself as /phî:/ and calls his own sister by her nickname. Such a usage pattern is quite similar to Pattern B with respect to identifying their sibling statuses. However, both Nat and Ning love and care for each other so much in the novel. They have a closer and more amiable relationship than do the two sisters in 'Golden Sand Mansion'.

According to the above four pronominal usage patterns, it could hardly be possible identify the speakers' actual sentimentality of their interpersonal relations. Under certain circumstances, variations in pronominal usage across different individuals may only serve to identify participants' social relations as regards their relative age and biological connection. The 1st speaker in Pattern A showed clearly her respect for the 2nd speaker as a 'superior' sister, who in turn expresses a solidary familial relationship with the former as a younger sister. Meanwhile, in Pattern B and C, the speakers perceptually signal their solidary relationships as siblings by using their nicknames or the royalty-related substitute term /jǐŋ/ and the kinship term /nɔ́:ŋ/ or /phî/ in combination with sibling rank identifiers.

Pattern D (from the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion'):

(g) Pharadi: /chăn/-/lɔ̀:n/ ➔ /chăn/-tu:ʁ/

(h) Photchaman: /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun-jǐŋ+jài/➔/phót/-/khun-jǐŋ+jài/

When Photchaman has just arrived at her aunt's house, one of her older cousins, Pharadi, uses the pronominal pair /chăn/-/lɔ̀:n/ speaking to her, signaling a non-intimate neutral relationship. Later on as their relationship has developed to be less distant, Photchaman changes her pronominal self-reference from /dìʔ-chăn/ (which is marked choice in this case to flag 'distance') to Phot /phót/ which sounds very intimate. And upon her younger cousin's request, Pharadi also changes the 2nd

person form from /lɔ̀:n/ to /tu:ɤ/. The girl views that the use of pronoun /lɔ̀:n/ seems to keep a distance between them as if they were no kin at all. In fact, prior to the Democratic Revolution in 2475 B.E. or 1932, this pronoun was used to formally as well as informally address a young woman in general without any negative connotation of contempt or insult as found in different fictions and plays composed or translated by King Rama VI such as /ráʔ-dèn-ran-dai/ Radenrandaim, first published in 1905, an episode of 'the Adventures of Thong-in', /hŭɤ-cai nák-róp/ or 'The Heart of a Warrior', in 1913, /sĭɤ-sàʔ-làʔ/ or 'A Sacrifice', in 1921, /hă: mi:ɤ hâi phŭɤ/ or Her Husband's Wife, in 1921 as well as Shakespear's Romeo and Juliet, in 1913. It is also used in some translated fictions by Sthirakoses published after the Democratic Revolution such as 'Zoraida: the Romance of the Harem and the Great Sahara', in 1942 and 'Falcon' (the year of the 1st publishing unknown) as well as in a contemporary historical novel 'The Two Worlds'. Such changes of pronominal usage evidently indicates a change in their relationship that the gap between them has become smaller. Even so, usage of the 2nd person pronoun /tu:ɤ/ has not perceptually solidified their relationship as cousins, for a person of her social status is expected to refer to a younger cousin as /nɔ́:ŋ/ instead or call herself as /phî:/. And Photchaman should address her in return with the kinship term /phî:/. That these kinship terms are intentionally ignored is understandable and could partially be ascribed to their unfamiliar relationship with each other. Inspite of her sympathy, Pharadi, who keeps herself and takes prides in her dignitary status, might feel awkward to acknowledge Photchaman as her cousin by calling her /nɔ́:ŋ/, for they had barely known each other until her sixteen year old cousin first introduced herself. Her newly adopted pronominal choice could be perceived as a means to compromise a closer relationship between two non-kin acquaitances rather than between two cousins. Her choice of pronouns implies her status as superior to her younger cousin but simultaneously sounded non-distant and solidary. Meanwhile, Photchaman would not take Pharadi for granted by addressing her as /phî:/ thanks to their different social statuses. To compromise, both agreed on a mutual change of their pronominal referencing. Photchaman's change of her pronominal choice signifies a new stage of her interpersonal relations with Pharadi from 'formality' to 'politeness' which has bridged the previously existing relationship gap between the two. Her pronominal change,

however, does not truly accord with a cousin-to-cousin relationship between herself and Pharadi, for she does not use any kinship term at all. Her usage of Phot-Khunying Yai /phót/-/khun-jǐŋ+jài/ is not conventional between two cousins. Her self-reference does not signal 'familial solidarity'; and the 2nd person form is formally deferential but non-kin. As the story develops, such discordance of their kindly relationship has been resolved by Pharadi's sincere empathy for Photchaman, and the girl's genuine respect for her. However, her pronominal choice of Phot-Khunying Yai perceptually does not reflect any kin involvement. Essentially, such pronominal usage negotiating the interpersonal involvement in a non-kin relationship reflects the speaker's respectful and solidary attitude towards the referent but without a sense of biological connection. In this respect, this pronominal pair do not perceptually signify 'familial solidarity'. Rather, they convey a respectful and close relationship between two non-kin acquaintances of unequal statuses—a feature of respectful involvement. The similar situation also happen between Photchaman and Pharada who is Pharadi's younger brother. When they first met, Photchaman used the pronominal pair /dìʔ-chăn/-Khunchai speaking to him, which sounded very formal but matched her initial distant attitude towards him. Sometimes, she even used the 2nd person /khun/ referring to him. The term 'Khunchai' is the counterpart of 'Khunying', reserved for a male 'Momratchawong'. And she changes them to a new pair: Phot-Khunchai after her attitude towards him has positively changed. The representation of the Tenor variables of their newly developed relationship to become less and less distant can be set as follows: [±status +contact] regardless of their avoidance of kinship term usage.

Pattern E (from the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion'):

(i) Phawini : /chăn/-/kæ:/ ➔ /chăn/-/tu:ɤ/

(j) Photchaman: /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun-jǐŋ+lék/➔/dìʔ-chăn/-/khun-jǐŋ+lék/

Comparing with the usage in Pattern D, we can clearly see different attitudes between Phawini and her elder sister Pharadi towards Photchaman, their distant cousin. From the start, Phawini uses the pronominal pair /chăn/-/kæ:/ when talking to Photchaman, which are the same pair that her mother Mom Phannarai uses speaking to the poor girl. Pharadi might keep this young cousin at a distance in the beginning, but Phawini has done further by inflicting on Photchaman's status as non-kin through her marked pronominal choice.

Afterwards, in order to please her elder brother, Pharada, who patronizes Photchaman, and to hatch a plot against her, Phawini promised him that she would take care of the girl while he is away from home travelling abroad. She has managed to chang her verbal behaviour towards the girl using the pronominal pair /chăn/-/tu:ɤ/ which are the same pair used by Pharadi. Such usage by her is obviously meant to belie her true feelings towards her cousin, flaunting a new relationship with the girl. Nevertheless, Photchaman has not changed her way of referencing by keeping her 'distance' intact. The girl's language choice clearly is determinant of her distant relationship with Phawini. The Tenor variables in their relationship are lacking of equilibrium in terms of 'contact', as the younger cousin does not align her pronominal usage with Phawini's change as she has done to Pharadi. The Tenor variables of their relationship remain as [±status –contact]. Clearly, a change in relationship can be achieved provided that both participants must be mutually involved in the development. Between Pharadi and Photchaman, the changes of pronominal usage happen in on a mutual basis, whereas with Phawini, the younger cousin does not bother to cooperate.

Reciprocity between siblings and cousins can be reflected through pronominal usage as found in the following example of pronominal pairs:

(k) /chăn/-/na:i/ are exchanged between two brothers, Wayu /wa:-júʔ/ and his younger brother Ki /kî:/ in the novel 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow'.

(l) /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ are exchanged between two brothers, Thai and his 2nd elder brother in the novel 'Mad Dogs & Co.'

(m) /rau/-/na:i/ are exchanged between two sisters, Netnaphit /né:t-náʔ-phít/ and her younger sister Nutnaphang /nút-náʔ-pha:ŋ/ in the novel 'Colourful Skies'.

(n) /rau/-/tu:ɤ/ are exchanged between a pair of older sister and younger brother Somthawin /sŏm-tha-wĭn/ and Somphan /sŏm-phan/ in the novel 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields'

(o) /chăn/-/thɤ:/ are used between two female cousins, Wimon /wíʔ-mon/ and Sutchai /sùt-cai/ in the novel 'A Person of Quality'

(p) /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ are used between two half-brothers, Laplae /láp-læ:/ and Kaengkhoi /kæ̀ŋ-khɔi/, in the novel 'The Brotherhood of Kaengkhoi'. As a matter fact, their interpersonal relations are purely illusionary as Kaengkhoi died so young at the

age of 5 before Laplae was born. Laplae has hallucinated that he frequently undergoes undesirable experiences with his dead half-brother and that they consistently exchange the two non-restraint pronouns.

(q) 'name-name' is used only by Prisna to address all her older sisters in the novel 'Prisna'.

(r) In the novel 'Four Reigns', there is an equilibrium pattern of personal referencing between Phloi and Phoem /phɤ̂:m/, her elder brother. They speak to each other using the following pronominal pattern without any kinship term to identify their relationship as siblings:

Phoem: /chăn/-/mæ̂:/+name (Phloi)

Phloi: /chăn/-/phɔ̂:/+name (Phoem).

The terms Mae /mæ̂:/ and Pho /phɔ̂:/ are not parental kinship terms. They each function as a title preceding a given name of a commoner having no noble or aristocratic rank and to differentiate between female and male, which is very common in those days. Such mutual referencing structures look as though both interlocutors were not kindly related and were equal in status.

Certainly, in reality, it is possible between two siblings or cousins to reciprocate their relationship by exchanging the identical forms of pronouns on the course of their speech interactions regardless of their genealogical statuses. From the examples that I have discussed above, the characters are usually of the same relative ages—the age gap is not so large. It may also be noted that to have a symmetrical relationship, the usage of pronominal terms must be mutually reciprocated by means of exchanging identical pronominal terms between the two interlocutors. The Tenor variables in this context can be represented as thus: [=status +contact]. However, to have an equal relationship does not necessarily mean that they are de facto so close to each other. In the first example (k), both characters are not on good terms with each other, with the younger one, Ki /kî:/, always despising the older, Wayu. In the second example (l), the two brothers do not have any negative attitude towards each other. In the third one (m), there exists a closeness between the two sisters. As for the two siblings in the fourth example (n), they are just teenagers; the sister criticizes the brother in front of another girl that he is not good at studying. Between the two cousins in the example (o), Sutchai deeply is not fond of Wimon at all. In the example

(p), Laplae has formed an illusion of a close but painful relationship with his dead half-brother. By perception, it is hardly possible to identify which pronominal pair can be indicative of a closer relationship than the others. The distinctive features of these variations of pronominal usage pattern do not involve any kin-status terms or given names; only personal pronouns proper are mutually exchanged between two siblings, which give rise to an air of equality between two siblings or cousins. In other words, two siblings or cousins, in spite of their unequal age, may opt for equalising their relationship roles, establishing a symmetrical relationship by reciprocally exchanging identical patterns of pronominal usage.

The case of 'Prisna' in the example (q) is worth mentioning. The way Prisna addresses all her older sisters is rather unusual. She refers to herself and her older sisters by their given names without any sibling identifiers, a similar manner of addressing a friend. It can be considered as the speaker's 'unilateral equalization' as it is not correspondingly accorded by her sisters. In my opinion, this possibly could be an authorial strategy to give her a quality of 'uniqueness'. Prisna was brought up in the United States and came back home at the age of eighteen or nineteen years old. Her attitudes, behaviour and manners were remarkably in contrast with young women of her age at that time (before World War II). In U.S., siblings are considered equal in status and they do not address each by identifying who is older or younger. And the case of Phloi and Phoem, who mutually exchange the same-level of pronominal choice, is traditionally specific to the society of a by-gone era.

Realisation of relationship involvement within the two relationship roles as 'sibling' and as 'cousin' can be enacted in seven different Involvement features as listed in Table 5.7. 'Familial solidarity', in principle, can be realised by usage of the kinship terms such as /phîː/. Between two interactants taking either of these two roles, the older one uses /phîː/ as his self-referential term, while the younger one also uses it in return as the 2nd person form representing his counterpart. However, in some cases kinship terms may be intentionally avoided owing to non-familiarity or less closeness. Enactment of a cousin relationship in such a situation is compromised by other pronominal choices resulting in non-familiar 'solidarity'.

Table 5.7 Involvement features and examples of pronominal pair for 'sibling-sibling' and 'cousin-cousin'

Interpersonal Feature	Person	Pronouns used by senior siblings/cousins	Pronouns used by junior siblings/cousins
Familial solidarity	1st	/phîː/ (applied to all)	/chăn/, /jĭŋ/, /nɔ́ːŋ/, /lék/, /phŏm/, name
	2nd	/kæː/, /rau/, /thɤː/, /tuːɤ/, /ʔeŋ/, /mæ̂ː/+name	/phîː/, /phîː jài/, /phîː jĭŋ jài/, /phîː klaːŋ/, /phîː jĭŋ jài/, /phîː/+ name
Solidarity	1st	/chăn/	
	2nd	/tuːɤ/	
Solidarity	1st	/chăn/, /chăn/, /khâː/, /kuː/, /rau/, /chăn/, /rau/, khău, /chăn/, /chăn/	/chăn/, /chăn/, /khâː/, /kuː/, /rau/, /chăn/, /rau/, khău, /chăn/, /chăn/
	2nd	/kæː/, /naːi/, /ʔeŋ/, /mɯŋ/, /naːi/, /thɤː/, /tuːɤ/, /tuːɤ-ʔeːŋ/, /mæ̂ː/+name, /phɔ̂ː/+name	/kæː/, /naːi/, /ʔeŋ/, /mɯŋ/, /naːi/, /thɤː/, /tuːɤ/, /tuːɤ-ʔeːŋ/, /mæ̂ː/+name, /phɔ̂ː/+name
Endearment	1st	/phîː/ (applied to all)	
	2nd	/nɔ́ːŋ/, /nɔ́ːŋ+jĭŋ/, /nɔ́ːŋ lék/, /nɔ́ːŋ klaːŋ/, /nɔ́ːŋ/+name, /nŭː/, nickname	
Deference	1st		/jĭŋ/, /jĭŋ/, /dìʔ-chăn/, /nɔ́ːŋ/, /phŏm/, /ʔìʔ-chăn/, /nŭː/, /chăn/, nickname
	2nd		/câu-phîː/, /thâːn phîː/, /khun+phîː/, /khun+phîː/, /khun+phîː/, /khun+phîː/, /khun+phîː/, /khun/+name, /khun-chaːi/, /khun-jĭŋ+jài/
Neutrality	1st	/chăn/	
	2nd	/lɔ̀ːn/	
Distance	1st	/chăn/,	/dìʔ-chăn/
	2nd	/kæː/, /lɔ̀ːn/	/khun/, /khun-chaːi/, /khun-jĭŋ+jài/, /khun-jĭŋ+lék/

Reciprocal exchange of identical patterns of pronominal choice percetually designates an equal status between two siblings or cousins. 'Endearment' is signaled through the older's usage of the kinship term /phîː/ as their 1st person form, and /nɔ́ːŋ/ or /nŭː/ as the 2nd person form for the younger. In return, the younger can show their respect for the older by using any of the following pronominal patterns (1) /nɔ́ːŋ/ or /nŭː/ as their 1st person form and /phîː/ optionally combined with a deferential title such as /khun/ as the 2nd person form for the older, (2) a personal pronoun proper as their 1st person form and the kinship term /phîː/ in combination with /khun/ or another deferential title as the 2nd person form for the older. Marked usage by a younger cousin to signal 'distance' can be in the form of a deferential personal pronoun proper or a non-kin term. An older cousin may designate 'distance' through marked pronominal choice of non-kin and non-restraint forms.

5.1.4 Role-relationship of 'husband-wife' and 'lover-lover'

The structures of pronominal patterns across both groups are almost similar; in fact, they can be identical as seen in Table 5.8 and 5.9 below. From a courting stage until marriage, a couple may or may not change their mutual pronominal reference once they have become spouses. It can be noted that a couple relationship, whether it is between lovers or spouses, can be either perceived as reciprocal or non-reciprocal depending on their pronominal choices as presented in the following table. Usually, in the context of an asymmetrical relationship, it is the male partner that assumes a higher status than the female. The interplay of Tenor variables on such a relationship can be illustrated as follows: [±status +contact]. In the case of a reciprocal relationship, they can be revised as follows: [=status +contact].

Reciprocity of pronominal usage can be actualised through usage of the following pronominal patterns by male and. female interactants:

(a) /phŏm/-/khun/ vs. /chăn/-/khun/ phŏm/-/khun/ vs. /dìʔ-chăn/ -/khun/

All such 1st person pronouns as /phŏm/, /chăn/ and the 2nd person /khun/ could be considered as standard personal pronouns in Thai. They are frequently used mostly among non-kin acquaintances as well as non-acquaintances. The 1st person pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ has its unique usage functions which will be discussed in more

Table 5.8 Inventory of pronouns for 'husband-wife'

Speaker	Addressee	Speaker	Addressee
Wife	**Husband**	**Husband**	**Wife**
/khâ:/	/khun/	/chăn/	/khun/
/ku:/	/kæ:/	/khâ:/	/kæ:/
/chăn/	/khun+phî:/	/phî:/	/nɔ́:ŋ/
/dìʔ-chăn/	/khun-cha:i/	/phŏm/	/thɤ:/
/ʔìʔ-chăn/	/khun/+name		/mæ̂:/+name
name	/khun/+rank		/rau/
	/phî:/		/ʔeŋ/
	/phî:/+name		name
	/thɤ:/		
	/mɯŋ/		
	name		

Table 5.9 Inventory of pronouns for 'lover-lover'

Speaker	Addressee	Speaker	Addressee
Female	**Male**	**Male**	**Female**
/khâ:/	/khun/	/ku:/	/khun/
/chăn/	/khun/+rank/	/khâ:/	/khun/+name
/dìʔ-chăn/	/phî:/	/chăn/	/khun-jĭŋ/
/jĭŋ/	/phî:+thít/	/phŏm/	/tu:ɤ/
/ku:/	/phî:/+name	/phî:/	/thɤ:/
name	/khun/+name	name	/mɯŋ/
	/thâ:n/		/mæ̂:/+name
	/thâ:n cha:i/		/ʔeŋ/
	/thɤ:/		name
	/mɯŋ/		
	name		

details. The 1st person pronoun /chăn/ and the 2nd person pronoun /khun/ can be used referring to a male or a female. The 1st person /phŏm/ is specifically used by a male speaker, and /dìʔ-chăn/ by a female. The 1st person /dìʔ-chăn/, which was originally grammatically valid for a male speaker, has replaced the 1st person female-specific pronoun /ʔìʔ-chăn/ and become a normative pronoun used by middle- and upper-class females speaking to social equals or non-royalty male or female superiors since the period of King Rama VI as found in his several plays. In several contemporary novels, the usage function of the pronoun /ʔìʔ-chăn/ has been mostly in use by old women of certain social categories when speaking to a social superior. The roles that these women play usually include 'servant', 'rural villager'. The pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ can be used in both formal and informal situation. In my view based on its contextual functions in several novels, this pronoun possesses two significant pragmatic features marking interpersonal relations. On one hand, it could be viewed as a courtesy marker, for the speaker uses this 1st person pronoun speaking to a social superior or equal, but not a social inferior, regardless of closeness between them. Among kin folks, it is quite sporadic but possible to find usage of this pronoun spoken by a female to her parent or senior relative who has a high social rank as discussed earlier. In a couple relationship, such usage is also possible in Thai fictions, which will be elaborated with relevant examples below. On the other hand, /dìʔ-chăn/ can be used speaking to social non-intimate as well as intimate equals. In a number of novels, upon their first encounter or introduction, a female character usually uses this pronoun speaking to a male or a female whose social status is perceptually unambiguous. The intent is to express 'formality' rather than 'deference'. More examples of usage of this type will be presented when it comes to the role-relationship of acquaintances. Meanwhile, let us get back to the role-relationship of lovers or husband and wife.

In Thai novels, the pronominal pair /chăn/-/khun/ are usually used by a female character, who is not so much younger than her lover or husband; and the man does not have any royalty or nobility connection, nor is he a high-ranking officer. For example, in the novel 'Doctor Kan', Haruethai /hàʔ-rúʔ-thai/ uses this pair of pronouns speaking to her husband, a doctor, who is not so much older than she is. In return, he uses the pair /phŏm/-/khun/. In 'The Star-crossed Lovers', Angsumalin /ʔaŋ-sùʔ-ma:-lin/ also uses /chăn/-/khun/ interchangeably with /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ in her

conversations with Kobori /ko:-bo:-rí?/, a Japanese military officer who consistently uses the pair /phŏm/-/khun/ speaking to her. The frequency between Angsumalin's usage of /chăn/ and /dì?-chăn/ is relatively comparable so I have excluded it from my analysis in regard to pronominal switching, for I am uncertain of the intent thereof.

Ratchani, the heroine in the novel 'The Ghosts', uses the pair of pronouns /dì?-chăn/-/khun/ in her conversations with every characters including Sai who has afterwards become her lover, except for her own family members, intimate friends and servants. She comes from an aristocrat family, well-educated. The said pronoun utilised in that novel seems to be a norm for educated or elite-class females in that particular period of time. In some contemporary novels of a later period such as 'The Hood of the Cobra', Mekkhala /mê:k-khà?-lă:/, the leading female character also uses this pair of pronouns talking to Chanachon /chá?-ná?-chon/, the leading male character from their very first meeting until after they have become lovers. Both Sai and Chanachon use the same pronominal pair /phŏm/-/khun/ in their conversations with their female counterparts.

All these four cases are examples of reciprocity in a couple relationship whereby the male and the female exchange pronouns that, though not identical, are on the same level of marking social relations. In these novels, between lovers or spouses, the females do not necessarily always reflect any deferential attitudes towards the males. It is most likely that both patterns in (a) contain the pronominal terms that have become norms of social interactions, especially, among casual acquaintances or non-acquaintances. No matter in the world of fiction or in reality, before two characters or two individuals become lovers or husband and wife, they may start their relationship as casual acquaintances. So these pronominal terms are the common ones they use in addressing and pronominally referring to each other unless there are some other social factors involved, such as age or social position. These pronouns play their roles as politeness markers during an initial social interaction which is usually a 'formal' one. Even after their relationships have further developed to be a married couple, such polite pronominal usage may be continued and remain intact. Despite the change in their relationships, the linguistic deferential forms may not necessarily be replaced. Their linguistic qualities of expressing politeness as initiated from the very beginning of their relationships have been maintained throughout. Therefore, their distant

relationship as realised through pronominal choice during their initial meeting has to be redefined and be associated with a new level of 'involvement'. Such a practice of courtesy by an intimate couple can be considered as a realisation of mutual politeness whereby both male and female conversant equally exchange deferential forms of pronominal reference in spite of mutual closeness in their relationship.

There are also cases whereby the couple change their pronominal choices in talking to each other before and after they have mutually developed their loving relationship. In the novel 'Prisna', when Prawit /prà?-wít/ and Anong /?à?-noŋ/ first met each other, they utilized the following pattern as their mutual pronominal reference /phŏm/-/khun/ vs. /dì?-chăn/-/khun/. When their familiarity and intimacy has been established, their pronominal choices have also changed to mark their evolved interpersonal relations. Prawit uses his own name for self-reference and the term /khun/ or /khun/+Anong as the 2nd person pronominal term referring to her. Likewise, Anong uses her own name as the 1st personal pronominal term, and /khun/ or /khun/+Prawit as the 2nd person pronoun.

(b) /phŏm/-/khun/ vs. /chăn/-/khun/, name-/khun/+name

(c) /phŏm/-(/khun/)+name vs./chăn/-/khun/,name-/khun/, name-name

The patterns in (b) and (c) are generally used by characters of these two role-relationships in the contemporary novels of later periods. A name used as a pronominal term can be either an official given name or a nickname. However, there exist some different interpersonal meanings between usage of personal name and personal pronoun proper in marking a relationship. In the novel 'Doctor Kan', Kan /ka:n/ has changed the 2nd personal pronoun speaking to Haruethai /hà?-rú?-thai/ from /khun/ to her name after their relationship status has developed from the status of casual acquaintances to lovers. This implies that usage of /phŏm/-/khun/ and usage of /phŏm/-name in this instance is aimed at differentiating the different stage of 'involvement', a move from 'formality' (by using /phŏm/-/khun/) to 'reciprocal solidarity' (by using /phŏm/-/hà?-rú?-thai/). However, Haruethai has not change her pronominal usage, using /chăn/-/khun/ speaking to him as well as to her ex-boyfriend, Tomon /to:-mɔ:n/. Her usage suggests that the level of politeness she has enacted in her verbal interactions with her husband before and after their couple relationship have not changed, despite a move from non-intimacy to intimacy in their actual relations.

This also implicitly suggests that her 'attitude' towards Dr. Kan has not changed. In (b), usage of /chăn/-/khun/ is similar to /phŏm/-/khun/ in the sense that both pairs encode the interpersonal involvement of social equality and reciprocal courtesy. However, usage of the pronominal structure with the female speaker's name as her 1st person form and with the male's name as part of the 2nd person form is perceptually tied to a higher degree of intimacy and is simultaneously viewed as a form of amiable politeness. In the novel 'The Hood of the Cobra', between Chanachon and his wife, Maikaew /măi-kǽ:u/, they exchange the following pattern of pronouns: /phŏm/-/khun/ vs. Mai /măi/-/khun/ in which Mai is her nickname. In the novel 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields', Duean /dɯɤn/ and her boyfriend, Waiphop /wai-phóp/, exchange the following pronominal pattern: /phŏm/-/khun/ vs. /dɯɤn/-/khun/+Waiphop. Both female characters are respectively portrayed as a loving wife and a lovable and innocent maiden. Their pronominal usage is very typical among females in this relationship role. Nevertheless, between two non-intimate equals, usage of such patterns could also be initiated by the female interlocutor to facilitate a friendly and pleasant rapport, despite usage of the speaker's nickname as the 1st person pronoun is not, by convention, a formal form. This evidence suggests that in Thai pronominal system, a pronominal form is not always compatible with the context of its use. Meanwhile the 2nd person pronoun /khun/+name can be treated as either a formal or an informal pronominal form and is usually not used for very senior referents. The name can be either a nick name or an official given name.

In the novel 'Master Li and Miss Ma', once they have become intimate acquaintances, Linawat and Malini change their pronominal choices from /phŏm/-/khun/ vs. /chăn/-/phû:-jài/ to /phŏm/-/khun/+Ma vs. Ma-/khun/. Finally they have fallen in love with each other and planned to get married. The term 'Phuyai' /phû:-jài/ is a local administrative rank, meaning a village leader or the head of a village, which will be discussed afterwards. The term 'Ma' is Malini's nickname. The former pattern of the two pairs sounds rather formal, while the latter sounds very casual and intimate. Usage of /khun/ followed by a nickname as a 2nd person form indicates that both the speaker and the addressee are well familiar with each other. Likewise, when someone uses his or her nickname as his or her self-referential term, the person is signaling familiarity or closeness in the relationship with the conversational partner.

When the term /khun/ precedes a nickname and is used between two intimate equals, its effect of signifying 'formality' has faded. The pronoun 1st person /phŏm/ used by Linawat and the 2nd person /khun/ used by Malini similarity no longer became fully functioning in terms of indicating 'formality' when they are paired up with a nickname. This is another example of signifying a relationship change through pronominal reference.

In the novel 'My Sweet Dream Pillow', between Wayu, alias Chun /cún/, and Nit /nít/, a school girl on whom he had a clutch when he is just a teenager, they exchange the following pronominal pattern: /phŏm/-Nit (her nickname) vs. Nit-Chun (his nickname). Pronominal choices by both characters can be considered as mutually equal and close.

(d) /phŏm/-/thɤ:/ vs. /chăn/-/thɤ:/

The above pattern is found in the novel 'Butterflies and Flowers' used between the two teenagers Huyan and Mimpi /mim-pi:/. They both are school friends and, as implied in the novel, towards the end of the story have developed their relationship further beyond just a friendship. Their pronominal exchange is on a reciprocal basis of a solidary relationship.

(e) /chăn/-/thɤ:/ vs. /dìʔ-chăn/-/thɤ:/, /chăn/-/thɤ:/ phŏm/-/khun/ vs. /dìʔ-chăn/-/thɤ:/

In the novel 'Our Land', when Naren first came upon Phakkhini /phák-khíʔ-ni:/, she was struggling with her car having an engine problem. She asked him for help using the 2nd person pronoun /thɤ:/ in her request but then suddenly changed it to /khun/ as though she had made a slip of her tongue using an inappropriate pronoun. Naren agreed to help and used the following pronominal pair /chăn/-/thɤ:/ in their dialogue. Likewise, Phakkhini used /chăn/ for self-reference. Later on, when he has officially been introduced to her as her half-sister's fiancé, Phakkhini has changed her self-reference to /dìʔ-chăn/ and kept using it even after they have had an affair and eloped together. Phakkhini's alteration of her pronominal choice from /chăn/ to /dìʔ-chăn/ suggests an implication that both pronouns are associated with different interpersonal pragmatic properties. In this novel, /dìʔ-chăn/ is pragmatically tied to the feature of being more polite than /chăn/, but they do not seem to be different in terms of signaling the status of a relationship. Between Naren and his fiancée, Atchara

/ʔàt-chàʔ-ra:/, they reciprocally exchange the pronominal pair /chăn/-/thɤ:/ and both are relatively at the same. Phakkhini's sister, Atchara, does not use /dìʔ-chăn/ speaking to Naren. Perhaps, it could be because of the age factor, for Phakkhini is much younger than both Naren and Atchara. The evidence of the two women's pronominal usage of /chăn/ and /dìʔ-chăn/ speaking to the same man whom they loved seems to support that both pronouns are not different in terms of signaling interpersonal distance between two lovers. But they could be different in designating the pragmatic aspect of politeness; otherwise, Phakkhini would not have changed her self-reference as mentioned above. In addition, both she and Naren belong to the same social class of nobility.

Another point that I would like to make here is about Phakkhini's sudden alteration of one 2nd personal pronoun to another, a change from /thɤ:/ to /khun/. In this novel, the 2nd person pronoun /thɤ:/ is used only among intimates, such as by a husband to reference his wife or between two lovers. For example, it is used by Thamrong /tham-roŋ/ speaking to his very young wife, Phakkhini and her half-sisters who are much younger than he is, and used by Luang Thakeung to his wife, Suda. After they have got married, Thamrong is about forty years old already, while Phakkhini is barely eighteen years of age. It is also used by Chaokhun Winit, a respectable high ranking noble, speaking to his wife. It is exchanged between Naren and his fiancée, Atchara who is also Phakkhini's elder half-sister. Phakkhini's immediate self-correction of pronominal choice of the 2nd person form provides additional supportive evidence that there is a distinction between these two 2nd person pronouns--/thɤ:/ and /khun/. The former signals intimacy, which is only appropriate to refer to someone familiar with or close to the speaker. Usage of such a pronoun by a young woman speaking to a male stranger relatively slightly older or about her age could be considered as inappropriate for a 'lady' of her status. To presume perceptually an intimate relationship with a stranger could be misinterpreted as an insinuating clue. The pronoun /khun/, is regarded as a generic deferentially designated form which is valid for a variety of relationship roles, notwithstanding a spouse, a lover, an acquaintance or a stranger as found in different novels.

As for Naren, knowing that Phakkhini is Atchara's half-sister, he has changed his self-reference from usage of /chăn/-/thɤ:/ to /phŏm/-/khun/. His change of

pronoun also suggests an implication that his usage of /chăn/-/thɤ:/ speaking to a non-intimate female is inappropriate for a woman like Phakkhini, who is socially on a par with him. His previous verbal behaviour could be deemed as unseemly, taking her for granted. Although she is obviously younger but not very much, since Naren is in his early or mid-twenties. Their small age difference would not, by default, allow him to treat her, a non-intimate female whose social status is similar to his, so lightly as he did upon their first meeting. By using /thɤ:/, he is imposing solidarity on a relationship with Phakkhini who is his fiancée's half-sister and they are not well familiar with each other at that time. Naren could have used pseudo sibling kinship terms in this situation, for it would not be taken as inappropriate as he would soon become her brother-in-law, but he (actually the author) does not. Therefore, the most appropriate pronoun for his choice would be /khun/ as it can be used in both formal and informal communication with people of different statuses. And its 1st person counterpart which is the best match for a male speaker is /phŏm/ as this pronoun by itself relatively has a deferential or politeness-marking connotation as compared to /chăn/ which has a neutral tone especially when spoken by a male. An instance of the difference between usage of /phŏm/ and /chăn/ will be discussed afterwards in this chapter. Afterwards, Phakkhini has eloped with Naren and lived together as husband and wife. Their pronominal usage pattern has changed from /phŏm/-/khun/ vs. /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ to /chăn/-/thɤ:/ vs. /dìʔ-chăn/-/thɤ:/. This is another example of a pronominal change upon a role-relationship change. The change in their pronominal choices is in alignment with their intimate relationship, which is not always the case in some other novels as already discussed in (a) above. Their new pronominal choices, however, make their interpersonal relations sound significantly intimate and equal. Their mutual change from /khun/ to /thɤ:/ suggests that the former is associated with a less intimate relationship than is the latter. It seems the usage of the 2nd person pronoun /thɤ:/ by both characters has equalised their statuses, readers could perceive that the male is not distinctively socially superior to the female. The influence of the 2nd person /thɤ:/ has eventually blurred the role of the 1st person /dìʔ-chăn/ as a formality or deference signifier, leaving only the indication that it pronominally represents a 'gentlewoman'.

Another usage example of /dìʔ-chăn/-/thɤ:/ can be found in the novel 'From Here to Eternity'. When Yupphadi /júp-pháʔ-di:/ has been first introduced to Sangmong /sàŋ-mòŋ/ her middle-aged husband's nephew, perceiving that he is relatively about her age, she speaks to him using this pair of pronoun. She also repeats the same pronominal usage even when they are alone together. Her usage of such pronominal pairs gives rise to an impression that she is not too close but at the same time not too distant from him, and more importantly, they are on an equal level. Even she is more or less as old as he, she is his aunt-in-law. Her pronominal usage has not been reciprocated by the young man, for he returns the following pronominal pairs: /phŏm/-/khun/ and, sometimes awkwardly, /phŏm/-/khun ʔa:/. The kinship term /ʔa:/ in this context means 'paternal aunt', for she is his paternal uncle's wife. After all, she is too young to be his aunt! His pronominal choice, by perception, creates a gap between her and him, lowering his status to inferior to her. Nonetheless, it is not appropriate for him to use the same pronominal forms as Naren does to Phakkhini, which could be considered as taking her, his aunt-in-law, for granted, and might offend his own uncle.

Usage of /dìʔ-chăn/ in the contexts of these novels has totally lost its function as a marker of 'formality'; it is not purely a distant-relationship marker as generally perceived to be especially when it is used in pair with the 2nd person pronoun /thɤ:/.

(f) /chăn/-/kæ:/ vs. /chăn/-/kæ:/

(g) /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ vs. /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/

(h) /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ vs. /ku:/-/mɯŋ/

Expressing 'solidarity' on a socially equal basis is also realisable through the mutual exchange of some non-restraint pronominal forms which are not gender-specific as shown in (f), (g) and (h). Such patterns are mostly welcome by lower class characters as appearing in the novel 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields' or novels set in a rural community or society like 'The Judgement', 'The Field of the Great' and 'Doctor Kan'. At present, in some movies, the exchange of /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ between male and female as a couple is no longer restricted to only a selected social category. In a GTH's film production of /rák săːm sâu/ or 'A Love Triangle' directed by Yutthaloet Lippaphak /jút-tháʔ-lɤ́:t líp-pàʔ-phá:k/ , both leading male and female characters, who

are middle-class people, used these two pronouns in their dialogues despite being in love with each other. The pair of /chăn/-/kæ:/ are also used by two college students who are in love with each other in another GTH's film /phûɤn sàʔ-nìt/ or 'An Intimate Friend' directed by Khomkrit Triwimon /khom-krìt tri:-wíʔ-mon/.

Non-reciprocity perceived in a loving or marriage relationship is not uncommon as reflected in the following non-balanced pronominal patterns:

(i) /chăn/-/thɤ:/ vs. name-Khunchai, /chăn/-/khun/+rank, name-/phî:/ +rank, name-/khun/+kinship term, /dìʔ-chăn/-/thâ:n/, /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/, /chăn/-/khun/

Usually the male characters using /chăn/-/thɤ:/ have higher social statuses than do the female. In the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion', Pharada /pha:-ráʔ-da:/ was born as a 'Momratchawong' and is approximately ten years older than Photchaman. She uses her nickname for self-reference and pronominally referred to him using his unofficial royalty-related title 'Khunchai'. Pharada's usage of /chăn/-/thɤ:/ is contextually appropriate; as an older cousin, he is assuming superiority over this younger distant female relative signaling solidarity without any indication of 'distance'. When his love for her has been reciprocated and both have got married, he does not change his pronominal usage in his talks with her, for it is still congenially valid for a husband to use this pair of pronoun speaking to his wife, no matter she is at his age or younger. Photchaman's pronominal choice of Phot-Khunchai in response to his is signaling intimate courtesy as she is much younger than he, which sounds very different from the pair /dìʔ-chăn/-Khunchai that she used earlier in terms of signifying 'distance'. However, whenever she has got frustrated, she will switch her 1st person form from Phot back to the formal form /dìʔ-chăn/. This is considered a form of expressive switching to flag a negative feeling which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Another character in the same novel, Siwipha /sĭ:-wíʔ-pha:/ addresses her husband by his rank /khun lŭ:ɤŋ/ and uses /chăn/ as her self-referential term. It used to be a common practice in Thai society under the absolute monarchy system. The ranking address terms were carried forward in use even after the democratic revolution. Although the traditional noble ranking system was revoked under the democratic system, the ranking title of each individual conferred on him prior to the revolution remained intact but officially without any associated privileges. It is also possible for

a wife to pronominally address her husband by combining the kinship term 'elder brother' with his noble rank such as /phîː/+/lŭːɤŋ/ as used by Suda /sù-daː/ a character in the novel 'Our Land' speaking to her husband, Luang Thakoengdecha /lŭːɤŋ thàʔ-kɤŋ-deː-chaː/. In both cases, their husbands use the pronominal pair /chăn/-/thɤː/ in return, which clearly mark their superior status and closeness in the relationships with their wives.

In the novel 'Our Land', Phakkhini married Thamrong /tham-roŋ/, a friend of her father's who is twice of her age. Before they have developed a loving relationship, when they were introduced to each other, being her father's close acquaintance, a younger friend, she showed her respect for him as a senior kin and deferentially addressed him as /khun/+/ʔaː/ meaning 'uncle'. In her conversations with him, she used her nickname Phak as her self-referential term and referred to him using the same pseudo kinship term. When their relationship has turned to be an intimate one with mutual affection, she does not change their pronominal choice, while her husband uses the same pair /chăn/-/thɤː/ speaking to her. Their asymmetrical relationship is realised through their non-reciprocal pronominal usage. Thanks to their significant age difference, the young wife keeps her deferential referencing in association with kinship, and the husband shows his intimacy towards his young wife with no kinship term involved but with intimacy and implicit superiority.

In the novel 'Colourful Skies', Netnaphit refers to herself as /dìʔ-chăn/ when speaking to General Kawin /kàʔ-win/ her bride-to-be who is approximately fifteen-year older and assumes a very high position in the army. Actually, she has kept using this self-referential term ever since she met him from the very beginning of the novel until the status of their relationship has changed from 'non-acquaintances' to 'lovers'. Along the continuum of their relationship development, it can be roughly divided into three different stages with three different role-relationships of their interpersonal relations. From the start, it is 'non-acquaintance'; then it is followed by the stage of being acquaintances, which finally leads to their mutual intimate relationship as lovers. Upon their first meeting, thanks to his high-ranking military position and obviously higher seniority, Netnaphit opted for the pronominal pair /dìʔ-chăn/-/thâːn/ in her conversation with him, which sounded very 'formal'. Being a

well-educated female, she is fully aware of the appropriate social etiquette of addressing a socially superior figure and simply acted out to show her courtesy. Using the pronominal pair /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ or /chăn/-/khun/ would be regarded as inappropriate for his social position. Being much younger than he is and just a college student, for her to refer to him as /khun/ could be considered disrespectful for his seniority and social rank. It is purely a matter of 'formality' of social interaction, which obliged her to observe the proprieties by showing her courtesy for him. In this situation, it is a means to keep a social distance between her and the man whom she barely knew. After being familiar with each other, more and more, she has developed a true respectful attitude towards this man and an intimate affection for him; her consistent usage of the same set of pronouns remains in her subsequent verbal interactions with him. Therefore, her usage of such pronouns could not be interpreted otherwise but that it is no longer aimed at maintaining a distant relationship which, on the contrary, has got closer and closer. The interpersonal 'formality' of her relations with him from the beginning has shifted to 'deference' in which her feelings about him has turned very positive but she would not take him for granted by equalizing her social status with him through pronominal reference. She has maintained the level of politeness in her conversations with him, which in turn is not perceived as being distant, for readers can deduce from different contexts that her previous rigid behaviour in his presence has gradually changed to the opposite direction. According to Lakoff's politeness principles (Iwasaki & Horie, 1995), expressing 'deference' is one among them, and a closeness must also exist in the relationship. Therefore, it could be viewed that by using /dìʔ-chăn/-/thâ:n/ in the context of her relations with Kawin, Netnaphit is practicing politeness in which 'deference' is embedded. In this respect, usage of /dìʔ-chăn/ is a marker of a non-reciprocally-based relationship. However, in return, the general constantly uses the following pair /chăn/-/thɤ:/, which is extremely in contrast with her pronominal choice. General Kawin's usage of /chăn/-/thɤ:/ speaking to her despite their initial distant relationship is not inappropriate thanks to his apparent seniority and superior social status. It could be said that prior to the start their relationship, Kawin initiated 'solidarity' by using /chăn/-/thɤ:/ advancing a non-distant relationship with Netnaphit, who is socially inferior and obviously much younger despite they were completely strangers. As time goes by, their relationship

has become intimately affectionate. Due to his age and social rank, he has no need to change his pronominal choice speaking to her, which is comparable to Pharada's pronominal strategy in 'Golden Sand Mansion', he is playing the role of a supportive lover and a bride-to-be—enacting a solidary relationship with her but at the same time maintaining his demographic qualities which are socially superior to hers.

In the novel 'The Prostitute', Ruen /rûːn/, a prostitute, has met and been in love with Wit /wít/ one of her clients who appears to be a kind and nice upper-middle class young man. When she first saw him in the brothel, she is very impressed by his physical appearance and his behaviour, so different from other clients. When he approached her in the brothel, they exchange the following pronominal pattern: /chăn/-/thɤː/ vs. /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/. Their pronominal choices are quite similar to General Kawin's and Netnaphit's, except for one different pronoun--/khun/. Being fully aware of their social differences, it is understandable that Wit has adopted the pronominal pair /chăn/-/thɤː/ speaking to Ruen. In such an environment, 'formality' is not required of a male visitor. Why would they bother to observe social proprieties in a brothel? However, his usage of such pronouns could not be considered as being rude or taking her for granted despite they are relatively on the same age. On the contrary, all his behaviour show that he is not despising her, establishing a pleasant rapport with her. However, for Ruen, it is different. To be rude to a male client, who by status is always considered superior to her, would not accord with her occupation. She has to observe the principles of politeness. Especially for a nice man who is so pleasing to her, she would promptly and willingly use the pair /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ out of her professional as well as social proprieties. In the novel, Ruen uses the 1st person pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ only after she has become a prostitute. Before coming to Bangkok, she used only /chăn/ as her self-referential term even upon her first meeting with her first lover who had a similar social status as Wit. Along their subsequent intimate conversations, they finally have switched their pronominal choices to /chăn/-Ruen vs. Ruen-/khun/. Wit has continued visiting her quite a few times and eventually has managed to get her out of the brothel and spend their lives together as a couple.

In the same novel, prior to her becoming a prostitute in Bangkok, Ruen lived in a rural district in another province, where she met Wichai /wíʔ-chai/ and was seduced by him. He deceived Ruen to elope with him and finally hoaxed her to

become a prostitute in Bangkok. When they had just met, Wichai and Ruen respectively exchanged the following pronominal pattern in their conversations: /chăn/-/thɤ:/ vs. /chăn/-/khun/. Being a naïve maiden in the countryside, she was so easily excited by a presence of a man from Bangkok like Wichai, who was held in high regards by the villagers as a classy gentleman, a son of a 'Phra' --the 3rd-level noble rank after 'Chaophraya' and 'Phraya'. And she was just one of the country folk. It can be seen that they both exchanged the same 1st personal pronoun, which suggests that this pronoun is a generic form of self-reference by both male and female in that context without any negative connotation of insinuating inappropriate advancement. However, she used the term /khun/ to refer to Wichai as a means of appropriately showing her courtesy for his status. Apparent, it is the 2nd person form that matters for signaling courtesy in this case. Their first pronominal usage pattern indicate a non-reciprocal relationship between two non-acquaintances, the female accepted the male's superior status over hers but he behaved differently. He did not need to observe any formal proprieties in his verbal interactions with her when he was first approaching her partly due to age and social status differences. On the contrary, she recognized his social superiority and chose the pronoun /khun/ to accord with his status. The pronoun /chăn/ seems to be a generic term used by both genders as their 1st person pronominal forms. It does not seem to be associated with any implication of signaling any intimate advance or any reciprocal relationship between the interlocutors, which is very similar to the way it is used by male and female characters in the novel 'Four Reigns'. In this respect, it can be considered to have only a 'neutral' function of self-referencing used by both males and females among kin, casual acquaintances, intimate friends or familiar acquaintances, between husband and wife who do not have any royal or noble titles. After both Wichai and Ruen had become very intimate as lovers, they replaced those pronouns with displaced or pseudo kinship terms /phî:/-/nɔ́:ŋ/ vs. /nɔ́:ŋ/-/phî:/. Usage of pseudo kinship terms to indicate an intimate relationship between a man and a woman can be found in some other novels which will be seen later. The novel 'The Prostitute' was first published prior to World War II. The pronominal patterns that the two characters employed in the initial conversations could be quite obsolete for Thai native speakers of a later generation. In modern days, it is quite uncommon for a male to speak to a non-acquaintance or a non-kin acquaintance

using /chăn/ especially in an urban community. And exchanging the pronoun /phîː/ and /nɔ́ːŋ/ between two lovers or a husband and a wife is also rare at present.

In the novel 'A Diverted Way to Paradise', from his first few conversations with Narin, Khawi uses the pair /phŏm/-/khun/ speaking to Narin. Upon their arguments, he changes them to /chăn/-/thɤ̌ː/. And she responds with the pair /chăn/-/khun/. She speaks to him using /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ once when he comes to her workplace as a customer. Later on, after being raped by him, he only uses /chăn/-/thɤ̌ː/ speaking to her. In fact, between a male and a female of their statuses, it would not be so appropriate for him to use such a pair of /chăn/-/thɤ̌ː/ speaking to her unless they have a close or familiar relationship. Other middle-class male characters such as Phawan /pháʔ-wan/ and Khawi's friend, Supphachit /sùp-pháʔ-cìt/, speak to Narin using the pair /phŏm/-/khun/ and receive /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ from her. Khawi himself, in his conversations with his girlfriend, Ratchada /rát-cháʔ-daː/, also uses /phŏm/-/khun/ for referencing. Khawi's verbal behaviour towards Narin could be considered as being not so polite for a non-intimate relationship. It is not appropriate for a male adult to address a non-intimate female adult who is not economically or socially dependent on him using the pair /chăn/-/thɤ̌ː/. Under normal circumstances, between two non-intimate male and female, usage of the pair /chăn/-/thɤ̌ː/ by the male speaker could be considered as an instance of insinuating 'uncalled-for intimacy' whereby the speaker initiates 'solidarity' with the addressee at the very early stage of their relationship which could be viewed as unseemly by the female conversational participant, for he could be considered as taking her for granted by presuming himself as superior to her with a right to manipulate an intimate relationship at will despite being without any close contact at all. By presuming an intimate relationship, the speaker is inconsiderate of observing social proprieties and thus makes use of non-deferential or non-restraint pronominal terms speaking to a non-acquaintance, either male or female, as if the latter did not deserve any social courtesy. In order to differentiate between a relationship dimension, viz. intimacy, non-intimacy and distance, and the linguistic feature of interpersonal involvement, I will rename such a verbal behaviour as 'uncalled-for solidarity'. Paradoxically, by imposing such a noncalled-for solidary relationship, the former is alienating the latter, keeping a vertical distance between them. In this situation, Khawi could be viewed as being

imposing on Narin his superior status over her. He is inconsiderate of her status when they are in heated arguments in which he is emotively involved. Between two non-intimate interlocutors of different sexes, a male and a female about the same relative age, the negotiation of distance as realised through the usage of the 1st person /chăn/ by the male interlocutor could be indicative of his undue disrespect for her. Khawi's intended verbal behaviour of not treating her as a non-intimate equal is, however, a reflection his contemptuous attitude towards her entailed by his hostile attitude towards her elder sister who has become his step-mother. His usage of such pronouns can be considered as an instance of discriminatory choice with unfavourable connotation. However, later on, he has raped and fallen in love with Narin. He still has kept using /chăn/-/thɤ:/ in his conversations with her. In this situation, it is different now, for his attitudes and feelings for her have already changed. He has a very intimate relationship with her. His continued usage of /chăn/-/thɤ:/ signals his intimacy with her as a husband like Pharada and General Kawin do to their wives.

As for Narin, her pronominal choice of /chăn/ instead of /dìʔ-chăn/ when she interacts with Khawi from the beginning also has an implication. In the context of 'A Diverted Way to Paradise', it is very common that female adults use the pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ speaking to non-intimate male adults and do not change it even after they have become more and more acquaint with one another, which is the same practice as found in the novel 'The Ghosts'. Usage of /dìʔ-chăn/ signifies both 'formality' between unfamiliar interactans and 'politeness' between familiar interlocutors in both novels. In 'A Diverted Way to Paradise', /chăn/ as used by Narin speaking to Khawi is pragmatically an indication of her 'personal sanction' against a man so arrogant and spoiled as he is. It is a generic neutral pronoun without signaling any courtesy like /dìʔ-chăn/ as used by Ruen in the novel 'The Prostitute' speaking to Wichai. However, the subtlety of her choice of this pronoun cannot be ignored. While she maintains using /dìʔ-chăn/ in her conversations with other male acquaintances, she does not use it speaking to Khawi except when he bought some bouquets of flowers from her workplace. Being a decent woman, it is improbable that she makes use of those non-restraint pronouns such as /ku:/ or /khâ:/, since it will not be compatible with her own personality, her (or to be specific, the author's) language ideology. Her pronominal change to a neutral one implies her rejection of his unpleasant behaviour and negative

attitude about her sister by ignoring the norms of societal proprieties. In fact, according to her norm of pronominal usage, /chăn/ could be considered 'less formal' than /dìʔ-chăn/. As such, it is 'less deferential or less polite', which, perhaps for her, accords to Khawi's behaviour. To her, he does not deserve a /dìʔ-chăn/ from her. Since, in her context, /chăn/ is 'less formal' and 'less polite' as compared to /dìʔ-chăn/, it could trigger a perception that it entails a 'less vertical distant' relationship as well. She does not need to observe any proprieties in her verbal interactions with him by considering him as not vertically higher than her. However, in terms of 'contact', she and Khawi are not close at all. In this respect, there seems to be a contradiction between her verbal behaviour and her attitude towards him. On one hand she intentionally verbally treated him in a 'less distant' manner, which should be, by tradition, applicable to a rather close relationship. On the other hand, she tries by all means not to socialise with him, keeping a distance between them. To account for this linguistic phenomenon, probably we need to take an inductive approach. Narin's contention could be that she does not want to be ceremonially very polite towards Khawi. To be polite is associated with the notion of keeping a gap of vertical social distance, which means the speaker is conceptually inferior to the addressee. Between the two pronouns /dìʔ-chăn/ and /chăn/, the latter is 'not too polite' than the former. Being not too polite by using /chăn/ would mean that she does not stand on any ceremony. By not standing on ceremony, she does not need to maintain any appropriate vertical distance due to a non-intimate addressee. By not keeping a vertical distance, both Khawi and she are on the same social level; he is not conceptually superior to him. Narin's pronominal usage of /chăn/ in this context can also be considered as a discriminatory choice. As the story develops and their relationship has turned sweet, an implication of a negative sanction finally gradually lost its significance, and /chăn/ became a generic or neutral pronoun exchanged between two intimate equals. Her usage of /chăn/-/khun/ could be viewed as a transfer of 'noncalled-for solidarity' in their initial relationship to 'solidarity' in an equal relationship with Khawi, which is likewise for Khawi's pronominal choice.

Nowadays, the usage of /dìʔ-chăn/ by Thai women is comparatively rare. They do not feel so comfortable using this pronoun, for they consider it too formal (Hoonchamlong, 1992). Based on the examples from different novels that I have

discussed so far, it can be stated usage of this pronoun, which once was formality-driven, has changed as a result of the evolution of Thai pronominal system. In the past, the pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ had a different usage function. It could be assumed that once the term /dìʔ-chăn/ was in general used by women in an urban society speaking to a social superior or equal. The pronoun is used by different authors, male and female, as part of the verbal behaviours of their female characters in different situations both formal and informal alike. In fact, mostly in these fictions, it is used in informal conversations. In some specific cases, the pronoun had an implication of a distant attitude, but in some other cases, it is an indication of courtesy as well as 'interpersonal acceptance'.

The above evidence substantially suggests that the correlation between pronominal reference and the two register variables could be on a reverse direction, which breaks the norms of social proprieties due to a non-intimate relationship. The pronominal choices made by both Khawi and Narin do not appropriately follow the conditions of the existing vertical social distance governed by 'status' and a horizontal social distance influenced by 'contact' which are surrounding them. Non-formal forms may be intentionally used in spite of the existence of both the vertical and the horizontal social distance', which consequentially insinuates in the speaker's mind a greater 'virtual distance' in their relationship. On the contrary, formally-used forms can be used to uphold a vertical distance in spite of a smaller gap of horizontal distance in order to convey the speaker's consideration for the addressee.

Another example of asymmetrical love relationship is found in the novel 'Prisna'. Prisna is just a middle-class young woman while the man whom she loves is a 'Momchao'. In their conversation, Prisna always use her own given name for self-reference and pronominally addresses him as /thâ:n-cha:i/ showing her respect for his royalty rank. In return, he uses /chăn/-Prisna to express his solidary involvement with her.

(j) /chăn/-Mae+name, /chăn/-Khunying vs. /dìʔ-chăn/-Chaokhun

Sometimes, a husband with the rank of 'Phraya' /phráʔ-ja:/ or 'Chaophraya' /câu-phráʔ-ja:/ may pronominally addresses his wife by her name or by her title 'Khunying' which is not her royalty-lineage title but conferred on her after his promotion to one of these ranks. And the wife can address the husband with the title

'Chaokhun' /câu-khun/. In the novel 'Our Land', Naren's parents exchange the above pattern of pronouns in their conversations. His father pronominally refers to his mother as Mae Phoem /mæ̂:+phr̂m/ and sometimes switches to 'Khunying'. Usage of 'Khunying' as an honourific term to address his wife does not traditionally reflect the speaker's true deferential attitude towards her. (It must be noted that the address term Khunying can also be used for a female 'Momratchawong' by her birth right.) In fact, in this novel, Phoem's title is not acquired by her own doing or by her own birth right but as an honour bestowed on her thanks to her husband's rank. In addition, comparing between the pair /chăn/-Khunying used by the husband and the pair /dìʔ-chăn/-'Chaokhun' used by the wife, the former does not sound so respectful as does the latter. To eqaulise the impact, /chăn/ would need to be altered to /phŏm/ becoming /phŏm/-Khunying vs. /dìʔ-chăn/-Chaokhun, but this would make their relationship sound a bit unnaturally formal. The speaker, however, uses the pronominal pair /chăn/-Khunying to honour his wife's title but simultaneously keeps the closeness in his relationship with her. His usage of the other pair /chăn/-Mae Phoem is the same as Khun Prem used to address Phloi in the novel 'Four Reigns' as if they were equal in status. However, his wife, Mae Phoem, does not react in a reciprocal fashion. She observes the proprieties of recognizing her husband's social superiority by deferential using the pronominal pair /dìʔ-chăn/-Chaokhun. Considering that usage of /dìʔ-chăn/ is a norm of elite Thai women in the past to interact with a social superior or equal, in her position, such usage should not be interpreted as her intention to keep 'distance' in their relationship. And her referring to him with his title 'Chaokhun' is not an uncommon practice by a wife in those days to deferentially address her husband using his noble rank designator.

The pair /phŏm/-Khunying is used by Nopphon /nóp-phɔ:n/ in his verbal interactions with 'Khunying' Kirati in the novel 'Behind the Painting'. In this context, he is much younger than Kirati who is a daughter of a 'Momchao' and is married to a 'Chaokhun'. As socially she is a senior superior, it is appropriate for him to show his courtesy for her. And Kirati, from their first meeting, she is so congenial that, being older and socially superior, she uses the pronouns /chăn/-/thɤ:/ speaking to Nopphon flagging a solidary relationship. Hence, once they have got familiar with each other, she has no need to change her pronominal choice. Their pronominal choices are in

contrast with the patterns in (i) above. Regardless of their mutual affection, both have not changed their pronominal choices.

(k) /chăn/-Mae+name or -/lɔ̀:n/ vs. /ʔìʔ-chăn/-/khun/+rank

The pronoun /ʔìʔ-chăn/, which is currently considered as a variant form of /dìʔ-chăn/ spoken by senior females (Sirindhorn, 1991), was used by females before and during King Rama V, regardless of their age or social statuses to address a social superior, her lover or her husband with a noble rank as found in the novel 'The Two Worlds'. In return the male could address her by her name following the term Mae or by using the 2nd personal pronoun /lɔ̀:n/. During King Rama VI, the pronoun /ʔìʔ-chăn/ became a variant form of /dìʔ-chăn/ and was seldom used by educated or middle- or upper-class females.

(l) /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ vs. /chăn/-/phî:/ or /chăn/-/phî:+thít/ or /chăn/-/phî:/+name

(m) /phî:/-/thɤ:/ or /phî:/-/nɔ́:ŋ/ vs. /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun+phî/ & /phî:/-/nɔ́:ŋ/ vs. /nɔ́:ŋ/-/phî:/

(n) /phî:/-name vs. name-/phî:/+name

/khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ were used in the novel 'The Field of the Great' with a historical setting in Kamphaengphet during the reign of King Rama V. With Ruen /rûˑ:n/ being older, Sutchai /sùt-cai/ uses the kinship term /phî:/ with or without his name as the 2nd person form for him. She also refers to him as /phî: thít/. The term /thít/ is generally used to address a male who had been ordained as a monk and already left the monkhood. This is, in fact, quite common in Thai culture that a woman addressed her lover or her husband who is older by the kinship term /phî:/. In the novel 'A Person of Quality', in their conversations, Phraya Phonlawat /phráʔ-ja: phon-láʔ-wat/ and his wife Saisawat /săˑ:i-sàʔ-wàˑ:t/ use the pronominal patterns in (m) involving both personal pronouns and kinship terms for self-reference as though they were brother and sister. It so happens that a couple, who have developed their relationship from acquaintances to lovers, may keep using the same address terms or pronominal terms without changing. In the novel 'Gold-Pasted Cement', Bali /baˑ:-liˑ:/ use the term /phî: mɯɤŋ/ or Brother Mueang as an address term as well as a referential term for Songmueang /sɔ̌:ŋ-mɯɤŋ/ who is her elder brother's friend and later has become her lover. In return, Songmueang uses the pseudo kinship term /phî:/ as his 1st person pronoun and addresses her by her nickname. Exchange of the sibling terms

/phî:/-/nɔ́:ŋ/ vs. /nɔ́:ŋ/-/phî:/ between two lovers has already been discussed above in (a) with the example of the relationship between Wichai and Ruen in the novel 'The Prostitute'. Usage of displaced or pseudo kinship terms between husband and wife or between lovers are quite common in the world of fiction as found used in several novels.

Although there exists non-reciprocity of pronominal referencing between lovers or between 'husband' and 'wife', such differences may not necessarily be indicative of non-equilibrium in their loving or marriage relationships. In some novels, usage of some pronouns such as /chăn/-/thɤ:/, /chăn/-/mæ̂:/+name, /chăn/-/lɔ̀:n/ and /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ by the male characters could be interpreted as conveying solidary relationships with their wives or their female partners. Of course, sematic features of /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ are different as being non-restraint, but they are used in a rural community in the historical novel 'The Field of the Great'. The pair /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ in the context of this novel can be regarded as variant forms of /chăn/-/thɤ:/ expressing the same interpersonal meaning by a husband towards his wife. However, the female, in return, does not enact exactly the same kind of relationship. Thanks to age difference, they may adopt a 'kin-like solidarity' approach of designating the pseudo kinship term 'elder brother' /phî:/ to address their male counterparts. They may also express a deferential attitude towards their husbands or partners by using some deferential terms, titles and their noble ranks in combination.

The pronominal pair /chăn/-/kæ: / are used in the novel 'The Brotherhood of Kaengkhoi' by Laplae's father speaking to his mother, who is a Laotian and much younger than her husband. In the novel, his father, in many instances, dominates his mother in several ways, expressing his superiority over her and even treating her so offensively. His pronominal choice of /chăn/-/kæ:/ marks a distant attitude rather than an intimate one, suggesting their unsound couple relationship.

The 'involvement' features as realised through pronominal usage for the role relationship between lovers or between husband and wife can be divided into two main groups in accordance with pronominal reciprocity. In a symmetrical relationship, the features of involvement include 'solidarity' and 'politeness'. The former may be encoded through usage of purely non-deferentially-used or non-formal form, or usage of a combination between a deferentially-used form and a non-formal form or a

mixture of a deferentially-used form and the referent's nickname. And the latter can be expressed through the choice of deferentially-used forms, except for the 2nd person /thâ:n/ which signify the referent's superior status. A asymmetrical relationship is realised when the inferior partners do not return the same type of pronominal form as used by the superior partners. Rather, they opt for usage of deferentially-used forms

Table 5.10 Involvement features and examples of pronominal pair for 'husband-wife' and 'lover-lover' .

Interpersonal feature	Person	Pronouns used by husband/male lover	Pronouns used by wife/female lover
Pseudo kinship	1st	/phî:/ (applied to all)	/chăn/, /khâ:/, nickname /chăn/
	2nd	/nɔ́:ŋ/, /thɤ:/, nickname	/phî:/, /phî: thít/, /phî:/+nickname, /phî:/+rank
Solidarity	1st	/chăn/, /chăn/, /ku:/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, name, /chăn/, /khâ:/	/dìʔ-chăn/, /chăn/, /chăn/, /ku:/, (nick)name, nickname, nickname, nickname
	2nd	/kæ:/, /mæ̂:/+name, /mɯŋ/, /thɤ:/, /khun/+nickname, name, /thɤ:/, /ʔeŋ/	/thɤ:/, /thɤ:/, /kæ:/, /thɤ:/, /mɯŋ/, (nick)name, /khun/, /khun-cha:i/, /khun/+name
Deference	1st	/phŏm/	/dìʔ-chăn/, /ʔìʔ-chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/, /chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/, /jĭŋ/, name
	2nd	/khun-jĭŋ/	/cáu-khun/, /khun+phî:/, /thâ:n/, /khun/+rank, /khun/+rank, /thâ:n/, /thâ:n-cha:i/
Politeness	1st	/phŏm/, /chăn/,	/chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/
	2nd	/khun/, /khun/+(nick)name, /khun-jĭŋ/	/khun/, /khun/, /khun/+name
Distance	1st	/chăn/, /chăn/	/chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/
	2nd	/kæ:/, /thɤ:/	/khun/, /, /khun-cha:i/

and/or the addressees' ranks or titles to show 'deference' or displaced kinship terms to express 'pseudo familial solidarity'. The inferior spouse, usually female, may express 'solidarity' with her superior better half by using her name/nickname for self-reference.

Logically there should no distance between 'husband' and 'wife' or between 'lovers' unless the couple relationship has turned sour.

5.1.5 Role-relationship of 'master-servant'

The relationship between 'master' and 'servant/maid' can never be symmetrical, the former is always considered socially and economically superior to the latter. In many Thai novels, the relationship between a master and a servant is entirely different from the one between an employer and an employee. Depending on his socio-economic status, a master may hire one or several servants to take care of his household chores, cooking as well as attending on him and his family members, friends and guests for the sake of their personal comforts. Servants or maids are expected to serve or provide for the needs of their master, mistress as well others in his household with strict obedience. The servants are not expected to challenge the wishes of their master and his family members. They need to be respectful and humble in front of their master and his family. In return, the master will provide them with food and shelter together with their wages and in some cases with necessary basic welfare benefits and education. Out of generosity and kind consideration, some masters may be able to sustain their servants' loyalty and devotion and develop long-term kin-like relationships. And such patronage may be extended to the servants' offspring or kin living in the same household. These people are also considered belonging to the social category of servant. Unlike an employer-to-employee relationship, the employee is not necessarily socially or even economically inferior to his or her employer. The employee is not expected to serve the employer's and his family members' personal needs for comfort beyond the scope of his job and responsibilities unless he is specifically employed for that purpose. The interactions between 'master' and 'servant' are marked with the following Tenor componential relationship: [±status ±contact]. It can be noted that 'contact' is marked with '±' indicating the probability that a master has the privilege to enact a closeness in his relationship with a servant meanwhile maintaining his superior status—a one-way relationship of 'solidarity'. However, the latter may or may not negotiate a close relationship with the former by practicing 'deference' or 'formality'; in all cases, the servant is required to always show respect for his master and his family members.

And the servant is obliged to perform his duty in accordance with the hire he has obtained out of his service. Unlike the other roles above, master-servant relationships are neither biologically bound nor affectionately involved. In my following discussions, 'master' represents a master and his wife as well as his family members that are biologically connected to him whom the servant is hired to serve.

Table 5.11 Inventory of pronouns for 'master-servant'

Speaker	**Addressee**		**Speaker**	**Addressee**	
Mistress	**Maid**	**M. servant**	**Master**	**Maid**	**M. servant**
/ku:/	/kæ:/	/na:i/+name	/ku:/	/phî:/+name	/kæ:/
/khâ:/	/tu:ɤ/	/phî:/+name	/khâ:/	/thɤ:/	/na:i/
/chăn/	/nŭ:/	/mɯŋ/	/chăn/	name	/mɯŋ/
/nŭ:/	/phî:/+name	/luŋ/	/phŏm/	/pâ:/	/ʔeŋ/
	/pâ:/	/ʔeŋ/			
	/mæ̂:/+name				
	/rau/				
	/lɔ̀:n/				
	/ja:i/				
Speaker	**Addressee**		**Speaker**	**Addressee**	
Maid	**Mistress**	**Master**	**M. servant**	**Mistress**	**Master**
/chăn/	/khun/	/khun/	/kràʔ-phŏm/	/khun/	/câ:u-na:i/
/dìʔ-chăn/	/khun-na:i/	/khun luŋ/	/khâ:/	(/nŭ:/)	/thâ:n/
/bà:u/	/khun/+name	/khun/+name	/chăn/		/na:i/
/pâ:/	/thâ:n/		/phŏm/		
/nŭ:/			(luŋ)		
/ʔìʔ.chăn/					
name					

Thanks to their asymmetrical relationships, the pronominal patterns used in interactions between 'master' and 'servant' in the novels in my study are not reciprocal including all possible non-restraint pronouns to be in use by the masters or the mistresses to enact their superior but solidary relationships with their servants. As

seen in Table 5.11, no deferentially-used pronouns exist in the inventory for 'master', but there are a quite a few deferential forms available for 'servant'. In the following novels: 'Golden Sand Mansion', 'A Person of Quality', 'Prisna' and 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields', for example, the pronominal pair /chăn/-/kæ:/ are saliently used by a mistress speaking to a maid, or a master to a male servant. The pair /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ are also used in 'Golden Sand Mansion' and 'A Person of Quality' but by a mistress of an older generation. In 'Golden Sand Mansion', Mom Phannarai used them speaking to male servants only, not to female. In 'A Personal of Quality', Saisawat, a lady of an elite class in her thirties, uses them speaking to her maid. It may be noted that both 2nd person pronouns proper /kæ:/ and /ʔeŋ/ are considered non-restraint used between intimate equals or by a superior speaking to an inferior. Therefore, usage of such pronouns is not considered as being offensive and uncommon for a master to use speaking to his servants or maids. Usage of the pair /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ is quite rare but possible as found in the novel 'A Person of Quality', when Wimon's father got drunk, he uses this pair speaking to a maid.

Non-restraint pronouns do not exist in the inventory of 'servant/maid', which emphatically identifies their inferior status. In addition, the pronominal forms they use when interacting with their 'master' or 'mistress' are semantically marked with deferential features, for example, /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ or /ʔìʔ-chăn/-/khun/, /kràʔ-phŏm/-/thâ:n/, /bà:u/-/khun/. The 1st person pronoun /ʔìʔ-chăn/ is a variant of /dìʔ-chăn/. The term /bà:u/ means a servant, a groom or young man. It is commonly used as the 1st personal form by a servant, both male and female alike, speaking to his master or his family members. Such usage can be found in the novel 'A Person of Quality' and 'Four Reigns'. In essence, between a master and a servant, closeness is not necessarily negotiated. The former does not need to 'solidify' his relationship with the latter. However, the latter is obliged to maintain a respectful behaviour in the presence of his master or mistress.

In the novel 'Doctor Kan', there exists a corrupted district officer who hires a man called Choet /chɤ́:t/ to serve him in his illegal businesses. He uses the non-restraint pronominal pair /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ speaking to Choet who, in return, speak to him using the pair /chăn/-/câ:u-na:i/ or uses his official rank 'Nai Amphoe' /na:i-ʔam-phɤ:/ or 'sheriff' for the superior referent. The term /câ:u-na:i/ means 'master'.

Though Choet is not his servant, but his relationship with the district officer went beyond just an employer and an employee. The corrupted /na:i-ʔam-phɤ:/ has entrusted all his illegal confidentiality to Choet who does everything for the sake of money helping him operate all his unlawful businesses including assassinating Dr. Kan in the final chapter of the novel. The pattern of their pronominal usage /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ vs. /chăn/-/câ:u-na:i/ reveals a significant status difference between the two. The district officer privately shows his unofficial authority over Choet, underlining his superior status but simultaneously signaling his close relationship with him. Being a government officer, it is inappropriate for him to publicly address someone with such non-restraint pronouns. The latter privately accepts the former's superiority by addressing him as a master, which is not required of an ordinary citizen. His usage of /câ:u-na:i/ is seen as a means of accepting the sheriff's authority over him. And his usage of /chăn/ speaking to his unofficial master is considered neither non-deferential nor distant, a generic form as discussed earlier. Usage of this pronominal pair portrays the speaker's attitude that is non-distant but at the same time respectful.

(a) /chăn/-/kæ:/ vs. /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ or /ʔìʔ-chăn/-/khun/

(b) /chăn/-/kæ:/ vs. /nŭ:/-/khun-na:i/

Comparing between the two pronominal patterns above, when the pronominal term /nŭ:/ replaces the pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ or /ʔìʔ.chăn/, the situation of interaction between the mistress and her maid seems to be less formal.

In the novel 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields', Charunsi /càʔ-ru:n-sĭ:/ is a maid serving Pranomsi /pràʔ-nɔ:m-sĭ:/, a middle class woman running a small household business of her own. She uses the pronominal pair /nŭ:/-/khun-na:i/ speaking to her mistress. The status term 'Khunnai' /khun-na:i/ is roughly equivalent to 'mistress' in English, and usually refers to a senior woman. While Pranomsi, her mistress, uses the pair /chăn/-/kæ:/ in return, enacting 'solidarity'. In the same novel, Dalin also uses the pronoun /nŭ:/ as her self-referential term speaking to her mistress, Pranomsi and her children. The girl addresses her mistress as 'Khunnai' and her children by their nick names preceded by the deferential title /khun/. The usage of noun-like pronoun such as /nŭ:/ does sound significantly less formal than /dìʔ-chăn/ or /ʔìʔ-chăn/ and /kràʔ-phŏm/ as generally used by servants in the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion' and 'A Personal of Quality'. The term /nŭ:/ is generally used by a young

female or a girl speaking to her parents, senior kin, older acquaintances or social superiors signaling affectionately the speaker's own status as humbler or inferior to the addressee. Their choice to use it in pair with 'Khunnai' does lessen the strain of 'formality' that is tied to the typical pronominal pairs that the servants in other noble households use. However, the term 'Khunnai' remain a formal linguistic resource which has yet been substituted. Therefore the whole structure of this pronominal pair is half informal and half formal indicating the mixture between 'intimacy' and 'respectfulness' in their relationships with Mistress Pranomsri. By their pronominal usage, the gap of relationship between these two servants and her mistress is perceived not to be so big as compared to the relationships between the servants and their masters or mistresses in the households of nobility. It could be interpreted that due to her mistress's insignificant social status, Charunsi feels less 'awe-inspiring' towards her and thus opts for that status term /nŭ:/ for self-reference. Meanwhile, the master or mistress characters in the other novels 'Golden Sand Mansion', 'The Personal of Quality' belong to higher social categories. Therefore, their servants are obliged to use /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ or /kràʔ-phŏm/-/thâ:n/. In the novel 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields', Charunsi does not appear to be rigidly uncomfortable in her interactions with her mistress, Pranomsi. Unlike the maids in the other two novels whose behaviours are fully ceremonial. However, in the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion', a maid named Toep /tɤ̀p/ uses her given name as her 1st person pronoun and the deferential 2nd person pronoun /thâ:n/ speaking to her young mistress who was born as a 'Momchao'. She could have formally used /dìʔ-chăn/ as her self-referential term like other maids in the household of Mom Phannarai. Usage of her name as the self-referential term has toned down the atmosphere of formality, minimizing the gap of horizontal distance between her and her young mistress, while the term /thâ:n/ signals her respectful attitude towards the latter.

As said earlier, realisation of 'intimacy' between a master or a mistress and a servant is usually initiated by the superior. Sometimes, it is the superior condescend themselves to be relatively on the same level as the inferior as if they were intimates or kin In the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion', interestingly Pharadi never uses the 2nd person non-restraint form /kæ:/ speaking to anyone including the servants in the household. She uses either /lɔ̀:n/ or /tu:ɤ/ speaking to her maids. As mentioned earlier,

/lɔ̀:n/ is a 2nd person pronoun once used to address a young woman or a maiden without any negative connotation. However, Pharadi uses this pronoun in the plural form /phúɤk-lɔ̀:n/ in the situation whereby she is reprimanding some maids for their gossiping. Her usage of /tu:ɤ is also non-discriminatory, for this pronoun /tu:ɤ/ is also exchanged between two intimate young females such as been Photchaman and her school friends. Based on what I have discussed earlier about Pharadi's usage of these two pronouns speaking to Photchaman, the pronoun /tu:ɤ/ signifies a closer or less distant relationship between the speaker and the referent than does the pronoun /lɔ̀:n/. In comparison with /kæ:/, usage of /lɔ̀:n/ in the context of this novel, nevertheless, creates an impression that the speaker does not discriminatorily treat the other interlocutor as distantly inferior to her, a form of expressing 'solidarity'. By using /tu:ɤ/, Pharara is descending herself to these female servants to form a solidarity relationship with them.

In the novel 'Prisna', Momchao Photchana Pricha speaks to his servant and driver, Son /sŏn/, using the pronominal pair /chăn/-/na:i/ as though the latter is his intimate equal like a friend, or his intimate inferior like a younger brother or a younger cousin, but not his servant. Such usage signals the speaker's condescending verbal choice signaling a closer relationship with the other, treating him as a non- servant. The term /na:i/ can also be used as an official title for every male commoner. To use it as part of an address term or a pronoun in an informal situation, in addition to some examples as mentioned already, there are some rules to consider. For instance, it can be used as a stand-alone address term and as a 2nd person pronoun to unofficially refer to one's boss, employer or master. In the novel, 'An Elephant Named Maliwan', Old Mui /múi/, a labourer working for a logging company, uses the term /na:i/ as a 2nd personal pronoun to refer to Momchao Suriya, who has disguised himself as a commoner, and uses /phŏm/ for self-reference. Although Momchao Suriya is totally a stranger to him, but he treats him to liquor which they both enjoy to their heart's content. Momchao Suriya uses the following pronominal pair in speaking to Mui /chăn/-/na:i/+Mui. Comparing between the two pronominal pairs, we can see that Momchao Suriya, despite his disguise, assumes a higher status than Mui. Both of them uses the same term /na:i/ as a mutual referential term but with a slight difference. While Mui uses /na:i/ as a standalone term to refer to Momchao Suriya, the latter uses

it as a title term, hence /na:i/+Mui. Both terms are not equivalent in terms of designating their role statuses. In this novel, the term /na:i/ by itself seems to be equivalent to /khun/ and used by a country folk or a villager to refer to a man with a superior status; however, the term /na:i/+name is used in the opposite way. The term /na:i/ can be used as a stand-alone 2nd pronoun, but not as an address term, to refer to an intimate male inferior or equal. The term /na:i/ can also be combined with a given name to be used as a Vocative as well as a 2nd person for a male who is not socially superior to the speaker. In the novel 'The Ghosts', Ratchani also uses /chăn/-/na:i/ speaking to his father's driver named Phun /phu:n/ by adding his given name as part of the 2nd person form, hence, /na:i/+Phun. The pronominal forms that Momchao Suriya use referring to Old Mui and Ratchani, to Phun are of exactly the same structure, enacting a solidary relationship. Although Ratchani is more familiar with Phun, for he has works for her father as his driver, Momchao Suriya has just met Old Mui but they have 'made friends' so quickly by drinking together the whole first night. And both Phun and Old Mui respond to their respective conversational partners using the same category of pronominal choice though with different terms, /phŏm/-/khun/ and /phŏm/-/na:i/ respectively. As I have pointed out, /na:i/ can be considered as a variant of /khun/. So both Phun and Old Mui respond to them with the same involvement feature of expressing respect.

In the novel 'The Story of Jandara', Jan speaks to Khen, the son born by a maid in his uncle-in-law's household, using the pair /kan/-/kæ:/. When the non-restraint /kæ:/ is paired up with the 1st personal pronoun of an intimate equal /kan/, the tone of 'superiority' has disappeared resulting in a perception of equality between the two interactants. The pair can be exchanged between two intimate equals. Such usage by Jan signifies his condescendingly non-discriminatory attitude towards Khen. However, the latter remains semi-formally respectful to Jan treating him as a friend and as a young master at the same time by using the pair /khâ:/-/na:i/ speaking to him. The term /na:i/ in this context meant 'boss' or 'master'. However, Khen does not use this pair speaking to other superiors in the household. Such a pronominal pattern used between the two indicates a close relationship between Jan and Khen though not on a symmetrical basis but obviously quite an intimate one.

In the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion', despite being the mistress of the house, Photchaman always addresses and pronominally refers to her maids as /phî: cæ̀:m/ 'Elder Sister Chaem' and /phî: fák/ 'Elder Sister Fak'. By using the pseudo kinship term /phî:/ meaning 'elder sister' and followed by their names, she verbally condescends to a lower position than the two maids signaling kin-like relationships with them. Though younger in age, her social status is higher, she is not obliged to 'elevate' their positions or 'lower' her superior status to use such pronominal forms speaking to them. Such 'condescension' clearly reflects her favourable attitudes towards the two maids, and simultaneously is indicative of her personality of being non-discriminatory. On the contrary, through usage of another pattern as /chăn/-Mae+name such as Mae Saichai /mæ̂:+săi-cai/ or Mae Em /mæ̂:+ʔe:m/, her tone of voice makes her relationships with another two maids sound in a very different way. In fact, Saichai is not a maid but being employed as a house-keeper, but Em is an old servant of Mom Phannarai. 'Mae+name' is an address term used speaking to a common woman in general as found in the novel 'Four Reigns' and 'A Person of Quality'. However, in 'Golden Sand Mansion', it seems to be reserved for addressing an adult or middle-aged woman, not necessarily a maid. Because of her younger age, though being a mistress, Photchaman has never exercised her verbal authority over maids or servants by using the 2nd non-restraint pronoun /kæ:/ talking to them; she uses the referents' names as the 2nd person forms instead. The only one instance that she uses /kæ:/ is when she speak to a young teenage maid Bunruean /bun-ruʉn/ who is very close to her sister but not to her. Comparing to the wet-nurse Thip, whom she always addresses as /pâ:/ meaning 'auntie', or another maid, Long /lŏŋ/ whom she always calls /ja:i/ meaning 'grannie'. Her variations of pronominal usage clearly distinguishes her different relationships with these women. The usage of pseudo or displaced kinship term is highly associated with a 'closer' relationship than the usage of 'Mae+name' which in fact is intended to express the speaker's 'distance' in her relationship with the referent. This can be considered as another instance of discriminatory choice of pronominal reference.

It can also happen that the pronominal usage involving kinship terms is used on a mutual basis between 'master' and 'servant'. In the novel 'The Hood of the Cobra', Mekkhala and /luŋ thim/ or Uncle Thim (/luŋ/ means 'uncle'), who has been

in service for her family for a very long time even before her birth, exchange the following pronominal pattern: /nŭ:/-/luŋ/ vs. /luŋ/-/nŭ:/ in their conversations. The usage is so identical to a pronominal exchange between a junior and a senior relative. According to Cooke (1968, p. 61),

> *"…Servants who live with the family, particularly those who have been with the family over a longer period of time, are treated as intimate inferiors, but with due respect to age by much younger members of the family. Thus, nicknames are possible, and displaced relationship terms (uncle, aunt, grandparent, nephew, niece, and grandchild).*"

On the young mistress's part, this could also be considered as 'condescension' which is meant to negotiate 'intimacy' in the relationship. On the servant's part, his self-reference /luŋ/ and the status term /nŭ:/ for his young mistress may suggest their close contact with kin-like interpersonal relations.

Another example of a kin-like relationship between a master and a maid is found in the novel 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow'. In his conversation with his father's old female servant Lamchiak /lam-cìɤk/, Wayu addresses and pronominally refers to her as /pâ:/ or 'auntie' and uses /phŏm/ as his self-referential term. His usage of such pronouns reveals his respectful attitude towards the old woman despite she is just a maid. And it has never appeared in the novel that he ever treats her like a maid or an employee of his father. His close relationship with her is similar to the one between a young and a senior acquaintance. In return, she refers to him as /khun/ and herself as /pâ:/. It can be noted that although she calls herself as 'auntie', she semi-formally maintains her courtesy in her relations with him by using the deferential form /khun/ addressing him, showing her recognition of his superior status but simultaneously sharing a solidary relationship.

In the novel "Gold-Pasted Cement", there is a case that a young maid Thom /thŏm/ uses a kinship term to address and to refer to her master's father, Thawi /thá?-wi:/ as /luŋ/ or 'uncle' and uses a substitute term /nŭ:/ for herself, while he condescendingly uses the following pair /chăn/-/thɤ:/ as though he was not speaking to a maid or a servant. This is an example of non-reciprocal usage of kinship term by a servant to a master. Despite non-reciprocity, such pronominal exchange contributes to

an ambience of a kin-like relationship. Meanwhile, his sister speaks to Thom using the pair /chăn/-/rau/ like an adult speaking to a child, not a mistress to a maid. And the

Table 5.12 Involvement features and examples of pronominal pair for 'master-servant'

Involvement feature	Person	Pronouns used by masters/mistresses	Pronouns used by servants
Pseudo kinship	1st	/nŭ:/, /phŏm/, /chăn/,/chăn/, /chăn/, /chăn/, /chăn/, /chăn/, /chăn/, /chăn/, /chăn/, /kan/	/luŋ/, /nŭ:/, /pâ:/
	2nd	/luŋ/, /pâ:/, /ja:i/, /na:i/, /na:i/+name, /nŭ:/, /thɤ:/, /phî:/+name/, /rau/, /tu:ɤ/, name, /kæ:/	/nŭ:/, /khun luŋ/, /khun/
Solidarity	1st	/chăn/, /chăn/, /chăn/, /khâ:/, /ku:/	
	2nd	/kæ:/, /lɔ̀:n/, /mæ̂:/+name, /ʔeŋ/, /mɯŋ/	
Deference	1st		/bà:u/, /dìʔ-chăn/, /ʔìʔ-chăn/, phŏm/, /kràʔ-phŏm/, chăn/, /khâ:/, /nŭ:/, /nŭ:/, name
	2nd		/khun/, /khun/, /khun/, /khun/, /thâ:n/, /câ:u-na:i/, /na:i/, /khun-na:i/, /khun/+name, /thâ:n/
Distance	1st	/chăn/, /ku:/	
	2nd	/mæ̂:/+name, /mɯŋ/	

maid responds to her using the pair /nŭ:/-/khun/--an instance of half intimate half respectful behaviour. Though their pronominal usage do not include any kinship term, but the superior's pronominal choice and the inferior's semi-formal pronominal usage echo an adult-child familiar relationship rather than a mistress-maid relationship.

To conclude, interpersonal relations between 'master' and 'servant' can be negotiated through different pronominal strategies which also encode different types of interposal 'involvement'. By a 'master' to a 'servant', pronominal usage can realise the

following relationships: 'pseudo kinship' and 'solidarity' which are encouraged by the 'master' who plays a significant role of verbal condescension to make them happen. With 'solidarity' encoded through non-restraint forms, the 'master' simultaneously shows their authority over the 'servant' instead of condescendingly fostering intimate involvement with the latter. On the part of the 'servant', their pronominal choice is mainly meant to signify their respect for the 'master'. Even with usage of displaced kinship term, the 'servant' always keeps a vertical distance of respect between them and their 'master'.

Between an employer and an employee, unlike the relationship between a master and a servant, the protocols of behaviour as required of an employee is very different. Although the incentive of service provided by a servant or an employee is mainly concerned with emolument, the types of service are different in terms professionalism. An employee is mostly hired for the sake of his or her skills or expertise in a particular area that may or may not require years of educational or academic training, which is necessary to enable or facilitate the employer's business operations. In some situations, an employee is hired for the sake of his or her expertise or skills in professional care so as to sustain or maintain the employer's personal convenience or comfort without any business-oriented purpose. Thanks to his or her professionalism, an employee may earn the employer's respect and is held in high regard. Employees basically earn their livings by 'trading' their knowledge, skills or expertise for 'money'. And the gap of socio-economic difference between an employer and an employee may not be so large as compared to that between a master and a servant. However, in case of an employee who is hired for labours, he may or may not be treated by his employer similarly to a servant. In the novel 'Letters from Thailand', Angbuai speaks to one of her father's male workers using the pronominal pair /chăn/-/thɤ:/. Wengkim and a female child worker exchange the non-restraint 2nd person pronoun /kæ:/ when they quarrel. The girl employee uses this pronoun with no fear of offending him, treating him as a boy socially equal to her. Her behaviour is very different from Dalin's in the novel 'The Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields'. When Dalin is maltreated by her mistress's children, she has never used such a pronoun speaking them, no matter how frustrated she can be. In the novel, 'From Here to Eternity', Phapo uses the pronominal pair /chăn/-/thɤ:/ speaking to Thip /thíp/ whom he employs to manage his logging business. Meanwhile he speaks to his nephew,

Sangmong, and other uneducated labourers using the pronominal pair /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/. In the novel, 'Immortality', Phrommin /phrom-min/ speaks to Spencer, a scientist whom he employs for a cloning experimentation project, courteously using the pronouns /phŏm/-/khun/. In return, the scientist uses /phŏm/ as his person reference and the English term 'boss' to refer to his employer.

On the contrary, the service provided by a servant to a master is meant for his personal comfort as well as his family's, which does not necessarily require any particular skills or expertise or years of professional or educational training. The social status of servants is usually considered very low and their well-being is generally at the mercy of their masters. In my opinion, after the eradication of the slavery system by King Rama V, a freed slave was hired to be a servant. This could account for why the status of a servant is hardly treated with any regard. However, it could also be possible that a master treats his servants with kindness and care.

5.1.6 Role-relationship of 'friend-friend'

The Tenor relationship variables between two friends can be presented as thus: [=status +contact]. Friends are socially equal as regards their mutual linguistic expressions or choices. To consider someone as a friend, there must be a certain level of closeness in the relationship, otherwise one would not consider it as a friendship. To the best, perhaps, they can only be acquaintances, not friends, even though 'contact' is not minus. However, when royalty is involved, the status between the two friends will be placed in a non-equilibrium position. So their Tenor features need to be revised as follows: [±status +contact]. The level of language use cannot be reciprocal, which will be discussed later in this section. I would also like to make a remark here on how I have categorised different characters in the novels in my study as being friends. In addition to their interpersonal relations and the authors' descriptions of their relationships, one important factor that I have used to identify that they are friends is their relative age and pronominal choices. They must be relatively of the same age or else their address terms and pronominal choices in referring to one another must not involve any kinship terms such as /phî:/ and /nɔ́:ŋ/. Otherwise, they will be considered as close acquaintances.

In my study, two interlocutors are considered as friends only when their pronominal usage is reciprocated. In the novels under my study, although two female and male friends resort to different sets of pronouns owing to gender specificity but their usage is still considered as reciprocally-based. The inventory of pronominal forms used among friends is shown in Table 5.13 below.

Table 5.13 Inventory of pronouns for 'friend-friend'

Speaker	Addressee		Speaker	Addressee	
Female	**Female**	**Male**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**
/ku:/	/kæ:/	/khun/	/kràʔ-phŏm/	/kæ:/	/kæ:/
/kan/	/tu:ʁ/	/tu:ʁ/	/kan/	/khun/	/thâ:n/
/khău/	/thâ:n/	/na:i/	/ku:/	/tu:ʁ/	/na:i/
/chăn/	/thâ:n jĭŋ/	/mɯŋ/	/khâ:	/thʁ:/	/thʁ:/
/jĭŋ/	/thâ:n/+name	name	/khău	/na:i/	/mɯŋ/
/mɔ̀:m-chăn/	/thʁ:/		/chăn	/mɯŋ/	/lúː/
/rau/	/mæ̂:+name		/phŏm/	/lɔ̀:n/	/ʔeŋ/
/dìʔ-chăn/	/mɯŋ/		/mɔ̀:m/	name	name
	/ʔeŋ/		/rau/		
	name		/ʔúːʁ/		

Between two female friends, the following pronominal pairs are reciprocally exchanged to express their mutual camaraderie:

(a) /chăn/-/thʁ:/ as used by different female characters such as between Wimon and Chanphen /can-phen/ in 'A Personal of Quality', between Photchaman and Saowarat /său-wáʔ-rát/ in 'Golden Sand Mansion', between Malini and Walai /wáʔ-lai/ in 'Master Li and Miss Ma', between Manichan and Kunlawong /kun-láʔ-woŋ/ in 'The Two Worlds', between Phloi and Choi in 'Four Reigns'

(b) /chăn/-/kæ:/ as used between Maikaew and her friend, Phensaeng /phen-sǽŋ/ in 'The Hood of the Cobra'

(c) /chăn/-name as used between Phloi and Choi in 'Four Reigns'

(d) /kan/-/ʔeŋ/ as used between Sutchai and Champa /cam-pa:/ in the novel 'The Field of the Great'

(e) /rau/-/tu:ɤ/ or /rau/-(nick)name as used by different female characters such as between Photchaman and Saowarat in 'Golden Sand Mansion', between Ratchani and Kingthian in 'The Ghost', between Manichan and Kunlawong in 'The Two Worlds', between Haruethai and Somsuk /sŏm-sùk/ in 'Doctor Kan'. Obviously, between two intimate females, they may exchange more than one pattern of pronouns. For example, between Photchaman and her very close friend, Saowarat, they use /chăn/-/thɤ:/ interchangeably with /rau/-/tu:ɤ/ or /rau/-nickname.

In the case of two female friends, when one is a royalty and the other is socially inferior or is a commoner, the patterns of pronominal usage are non-symmetrical. The following examples are taken from the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion'

(f) /jĭŋ/-/thɤ:/ vs. /mòm-chăn/-/thâ:n-jĭŋ/ as used by Momchao Ying Nopmani /nóp-máʔ-ni:/ and Siwipha respectively

(g) /chăn/-/thɤ:/ vs. /ĵiŋ/-/thâ:n+tĭu/ as used respectively by Momchao Ying Piyachatsopha /pìʔ-jáʔ-chàt-sŏ-pha:/ and her friend, Phawini. Tiu /tĭu/ is the nickname of Momchao Piyachatsopha.

(h) /chăn/-/tu:ɤ/ vs. /chăn/-/thâ:n/ or /rau/-/thâ:n as used respectively by Momchao Ying Wimonsuda and her friend, Saowarat

Between two male friends, the following pronominal pairs are mutually used in their conversations:

(i) /kan/-/kæ:/ as used between Wisut and Pradit /pràʔ-dit/ in 'The Circus of Life'. The author, however, was inconsistent in using pronouns for these two male characters. In addition to this pair, they exchange another pair /phŏm/-/khun/ (pp. 42-43) and /kan/-/thɤ:/ (pp.60-61). Both Anon and Prawit in the novel 'Prisna' also use this pronominal pair in their conversations. In the novel 'Four Reigns, Praphan /pràʔ-phan/ or An /ʔân/ and his friend, Sewi /sĕ-wi:/, use /kan/ for self-reference but refer to each other by their name or nickname.

(j) /rau/-/na:i/ as used between Wayu and his school-friend Prawet /pràʔ-wé:t/ in 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow', between Songmueang and Sapha /sàʔ-pha:/ in 'Gold-Pasted Cement', between Kawi and Supphachit in 'A Diverted Way to Paradise', between Huyan and Adel in 'Butterflies and Flowers'

(k) /chăn/-/kæ:/ as used between Nat and his friends Ek /ʔèk/ and Chai /chai/ in 'Time in a Bottle', and between Khamngai /kham-ŋa:i/ and his friend in 'High Banks, Heavy Logs'

(l) /ʔú:ɤ/-/lú:/, Chinese-borrowed pronouns as used among Sai's male colleagues such as Choet /chɤ́:t/ and Chittin /cìt-tin/ in the novel 'The Ghosts', and between Supphachit and Phawan in the novel 'A Diverted Way to Paradise'

(m) /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ as used between Wayu and his childhood friend Nok /nók/, between Kan and his friend, Chamnot /cam-nót/ in 'Doctor Kan', between Linawat and his college friends in 'Master Li and Miss Ma'

(n) /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ as used among Otto and his friends such as Thai and Kae /kæ̀:/ in the novel 'The Mad Dogs & Co.'

(o) /chăn/-/kæ:/ vs. /mɔ̀:m/-/thâ:n/ as used between two male friends who were not equal in their social statuses: Momchao Aneknoppharat /mɔ̀:m-câ:u ʔàʔ-nèk-nóp-pha-rát/ and Sutthiphong /sùt-thíʔ-phoŋ/ in the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion'. Their usage of pronominal pattern in their dialogues or conversations is not on a reciprocal basis. However, it can be noted that the royalty-related term used as 1st person form by Sutthiphong is an abridged form of /kràʔ-mɔ̀:m/ that is the formal one. Considering that his friend had a princely rank, unless their friendship is solidified, he would not use such an informal term in the presence of his royal friend. His pronominal choice conveys his recognition of the royal status of his friend, and at the same time indicates his closeness to him. Meanwhile, the other uses the pronominal pair /chăn/-/kæ:/ as used among intimate equal males, but thanks to his superior status, his verbal choice can be viewed as a realisation of 'solidarity'.

Between a female and a male, despite their equality in status, mostly they exchange different sets of pronominal terms due to the gender difference. The following examples include different pronominal patterns that a female friend and a male friend can employ in speaking to each other:

(p) /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ vs. /phŏm/-khun/ as used between Ratchani and her male friends including Sai in the novel 'The Ghosts', as well as between Narin and Phawan or Supphachit in the novel 'A Diverted Way to Paradise'.

(q) /chăn/-/khun/ vs. /phŏm/-khun/ as respectively used between Mekkhala and Phot /phót/ in 'The Hood of the Cobra'.

(r) /chăn/-/thɤ:/ vs. /phŏm/-/thɤ:/ as respectively used between Mimpi and Huyan who are school friends and afterwards, as implied by the author, will become lovers.

(s) nickname-nickname vs. /phŏm/-nickname as respectively used between Nit and Wayu in 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow'. In the novel 'Time in a Bottle', Nat, while talking to a female school friend, referred to himself as /phŏm/ and to her as 'Chom' /cɔ̆m/. In return, she uses the pair of pronouns /rau/-/na:i/. By comparison with his pronominal choice /chăn/-/kæ:/ that he uses to speak to his tomboyish friend Pom /pɔ̂m/, it could be inferred that his relationship with Chom is different from the one he has with Pom. In several contexts, it is apparent that Nat has a very close friendship with Pom and somehow equally treats her as their other male friends. Meanwhile, his attitude towards Chom is beyond just a pure friendship. Given Chom's pronominal choice of /rau/-/na:i/, her usage is not in parallel with Nat's. She could have used her and his nickname for pronominal referencing like Nit does to Wayu. Instead, she purely uses two personal pronouns proper /rau/-/na:i/ which are used among intimate equals in general. Chom's pronominal usage suggests an implication about her attitude towards Nat. While Nit and Wayu mutually have a mild affection for each other beyond a friendship of school friends, Nat's similar feelings for Chom has not been reciprocated.

(t) /khâ:-phá?-câ:u/-nickname vs. /phŏm/-nickname as respectively used between Taengkwa /tæŋ-kwa:/ and Wayu in 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow'. It can be noted that the usage of /khâ:-phá?-câu/ is unusual. Usually this pronoun is used by either male or female on a very formal occasion such as public speaking, or in official writing. Perhaps, it is used here just to make her a unique public-spirited character; she is very friendly and always ready to help others. She also works as a disc jockey on a radio programme. Her usage of such pronoun certainly is meant to attract her audience. Not only has she used this pronoun to her audience and acquaintances but also to her female and male friends.

(u) name-/khun/+nickname vs. /chăn/-nickname as used between Prisna and Anon in the novel 'Prisna'. Prisna uses her own name as her self-referential term and referred to Anon as 'Khun Non' /khun+non/; in the meantime, Anon used the

pronominal pair /chăn/-Pris in return. Though both employed different structures of pronominal usage, they are meant for expressing friendship.

(v) reciprocal usage of /chăn/-/kæ:/ as exchanged between Nat and Pom /pôm/ in 'Time in a Bottle'. Nat always treated Pom, being tomboyish, as though she is a male like him.

(w) reciprocal usage of /rau/ or /khău/-/tu:ɤ/ as exchanged between Angsumalin /ʔaŋ-sùʔ-ma:-lin/ and Wanat /wáʔ-nát/ in 'The Star-crossed Lovers'

(x) reciprocal usage of /chăn/-/thɤ:/ as exchanged between Wimon and Udom /ʔùʔ-dom/ in 'A Personal of Quality', between Photchaman and Nakun /náʔ-kun/. Aside from this pair, Photchaman also sometimes uses her nickname for self-reference when speaking to him.

(y) reciprocal usage of a given name as the 1st and the 2nd person form, which happens between Prawit and Prisna in the novel 'Prisna', they both refer to each other using their given names, Prawit-Prisna vs. Prisna-Prawit respectively.

In terms of differentiation of level of intimacy among friends through their pronominal choices, it can hardly be pin-pointed. Among males or even females, especially teenagers, such usage of /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ is considered most solidary and applies to only circle of intimate friends (Cooke, 1968; Palakornkul, 1972; Simpson, 1997). Such usage is available in the novel 'Mad Dogs & Co.', when Thai /thai/ had just been introduced to 'Otto' and his friends, he used the pronoun /rau/-/na:i/ and later has changes them to /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ when they have become very close friends. Wayu or Chun /cún/, the leading character in the novel 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow' uses /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ with someone that is not his close friend. With his close friends, he uses /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ or /rau/-/na:i/. However, taking into consideration the equality of status between two individuals being friends, it is possible that they consistently mutually exchange the identical sets of pronouns in their conversations irrespective of their gender difference. In this respect, their relationship is truly equal and solidary. The identical set of exchanged pronouns may not necessarily include only non-restraint forms such as /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ or /chăn/-/kæ:/. From this view point, I would propose a new approach of evaluating the level of closeness in a relationship between two friends depends on their consistency of bi-directional pronominal usage. As a consequence, exchange of non-identical pronominal choice would result in a 'less solidary' friendship.

Between a male and a female friend, they may also exchange the following pairs of pronouns in their conversations: /phŏm/-/khun/ vs./chăn/-/khun/ or /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/. This kind of language behaviour is found among middle and upper class people or among educated people in such novels as 'Gold-Pasted Cement', 'A Diverted Way to Paradise' and 'The Ghost'. In my opinion, such pronominal usage is considered as a means of expressing 'politeness' among adult friends.

Between a 'Momchao' and a commoner, regardless of their closeness, the non-royalty friend always show his or her respect towards the royalty friend by using royalty-designated terms such as the generic pronominal pair /mɔ̀:m-chăn/-/thâ:n/ which are indeed applicable to female speakers. However, in fictions, there exists evidence that the 1st person pronoun for representing the non-royalty speaker may not always be a deferential term such as /chăn/ or /rau/ as used by Photchaman's friends replacing the 1st person form /mɔ̀:m-chăn/ in their conversations with their intimate royalty classmate, Momchao Wimonsuda. However, the 2nd person pronoun referring to the princess is still the deferential form /thâ:n/. Such usage which is informally deferential reveals a very close friendship among these teenage girls in the novel. Phawini's usage of /jĭŋ/ for self-reference instead of /mɔ̀:m-chăn/ also reflects a close relationship with her friend, Momchao Piyachatsopha, whose royalty status is socially higher than her own.

Among friends, it is the involvement feature of 'solidarity' which is most prevalent. In spite of a close friendship, appropriate deferential term may be necessary when royalty is involved. Even so, some informal royalty-related terms may reflect a very close tie between two friends whose social statuses are different. Between different groups of friends, the degree of camaraderie is possible to vary from one friendship to another, which may not be necessarily always realised through some particular patterns of pronominal choice. This depends on their social categories and backgrounds. However, there must always be a threshold of closeness for establishing a friendship between two persons. Under certain circumstances, along the path of friendship development, two individuals could adopt different pronominal choices at different stages of their relations. For example, between Thai and Otto in 'Mad Dogs & Co.', before getting familiar with each other, they use the pronominal pair /rau/-/na:i/ in their conversations. After becoming close friends, they have replaced their

previous pronominal choices with /ku:/-/mɯŋ/. Another example is from the novel 'Prisna', upon the initial stage of making acquaintance, Anon /ʔa:-non/ spoke to Prisna using the pronominal pair /phŏm/-/khun/. Once they have become intimate friends, he has changed his self-referential term to /chăn/ and pronominally referred to Prisna as 'Pris', her nickname. Apart from 'solidarity', 'politeness' could also be part of verbal socialization among intimate social equals especially among adults. 'Deferene' is reserved to only royalty friends. A summary of the possible features of 'involvement' as enacted between friends as well as their pronominal choices is provided in the table below:

Table 5.14 Involvement features and examples of pronominal pair for 'friend-friend'

Involvement feature	Person	Pronouns used by male friends	Pronouns used by female friends
Solidarity	1st	/ku:/, /chăn/, /khâ:/, /khău/, /chăn/, /kan/, /rau/, /phŏm/, /ʔú:ɤ/, /phŏm/, /chăn/, /kan/, name, /chăn/	/ku:/, /kan/, /chăn/, /chăn/, /khău/, /rau/, /chăn/, name, /chăn/, /chăn/, /tu:ɤ/, /thɤ:/
	2nd	/mɯŋ/, /kæ:/, /ʔeŋ/, /tu:ɤ/, /thɤ:/, /kæ:/, /na:i/, /thɤ:/, /lúː/, nickname, nickname, name, name, /kæ:/	/mɯŋ/, /ʔeŋ/, /kæ:/, /mæ̂:/+name, /tu:ɤ/, /na:i/, /thɤ:/, name
Deference	1st	/mɔ̀:m/	/mɔ̀:m-chăn/, /mɔ̀:m-chăn/, /chăn/,/rau/, /jĭŋ/, name
	2nd	/thâ:n/	/thâ:n/, /thâ:n jĭŋ/, /thâ:n/, /thâ:n/, /thâ:n/+nickname, /khun/+nickname
Politeness	1st	/phŏm/	/chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/,
	2nd	/khun/	/khun/, /khun/

5.1.7 Role-relationship of 'acquaintance-acquaintance', 'casual-casual acquaintance', and 'non--non-acquaintance'

The last group to be discussed include different social roles and relationships of which the variables of Tenor--'status' and 'contact' are greatly influenced by different socio-cultural factors as suggested by both Cooke (1968) and Palakornkul (1972), which have been already discussed in Chapter II. The Tenor variables can be illustrated in this manner: [±status ±contact].

Table 5.15 Inventory of pronouns for 'acquaintance-acquaintance', 'casual-casual acquaintance', and 'non--non-acquaintance'

Speaker	Addressee		Speaker	Addressee	
Female	**Female**	**Male**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**
/chăn/	/kæ:/	/kæ:/	/krà?-phŏm/	/khun/	/kam-nan/
/khâ:/	/khun/	/khun/	/krà?-mɔ̀:m/	/khun-jǐŋ/	/kæ:/
/khău/	/khun khru:/	/khun phî:/	/ku:/	/khun-na:i/	/khru:/
/khru:/	/khun-jǐŋ/	/khun luŋ/	/khâ:/	/khun ja:i/	/khru:-jài/
/dì?-chăn/	/khun nom/	/khun ?a:/	/khru:/	/khun ?a:/	/khun/
/jǐŋ/	/khun/+rank	/khun/+name	/chăn/	/khun/+name	/khun mɔ̌:/
/pâ:/	/khun pâ:/	/khun/+rank	/cha:i/	/cé:/	/khun luŋ/
/phî:/	/khun phî:/	/câu-khun/	/phŏm/	/thɤ:/	/khun ?a:/
/nŭ:/	/khun+phî:/+name	/thâu-kæ̀:/	/phî:/	/ná:/	/khun/+name
/mæ̂:/	/khun/+name	/thâ:n/	/mɔ̀:m/	/ná:/+name	/khun/+rank
/mɔ̀:m-chăn/	/khun-na:i/	/thâ:n+phû:-jài/	/luŋ/	/pâ:/	/cà:/
/jâ: thû:ɤt/	/khun ?a:/	/thâ:n/+rank	/?a:/	/phî:/+name	/câu/
/jo:m/	/cé:/	/thɤ:/	/?à:t-tà?-ma:/	/mæ̂:/	/câu-khun/
/rau/	/câu/	/na:i/+name	/lŭ:ɤŋ-phɔ̂:/	/mæ̂:/+name	/ta:/
/lă:n/	/tu:ɤ/	/phɔ̂: thít/		/ja:i/	/ta:/+ /phû:-jài/
/?a:/	/thâ:n /	/phɔ̂:/+name		/?eŋ/	/tâ:i-thá:u/
/?ì?-chăn/	/thɤ:/	/phî:/		/jo:m/	/thâ:n/
name	/nɔ́:ŋ/+name	/phî:/+name		/khun/	/thâ:n kam-nan/
	/na:i/	/phî: thít/		/prà?-sòk/	/thâ:n phrá?-khru:/
	/nŭ:/	/mɔ̌:/		/sĭ:-ka:/	/thâ:n sŏm-pha:n/
	/phî:/	/rau/		/?a:-?í:/	/thɤ:/
	/phî:/+name	/luŋ/			/ná:/
	/pâ:/	/luŋ kam-nan/			/ná:/+name
	/mɯŋ/	/luŋ/+name			/na:i/
	/mæ̂:/+name	/sŏm-pha:n/			/na:i-hâ:ŋ/
	/ja:i/	/?a:/+name			/na:i/+name
	/rau/	/?eŋ/			/bɔ́:t/
	/sà?-dèt/				/phû:-jài/
	/?a:-ca:n/				/phû:-mù:ɤt/
	/?eŋ/				/fà:-bà:t/
	/nom/				/phrá?/+name

Table 5.15 Inventory of pronouns for 'acquaintance-acquaintance', 'casual-casual acquaintance', and 'non--non-acquaintance' (cont.)

Speaker	Addressee		Speaker	Addressee	
Female	**Female**	**Male**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**
	name				/phɔ̂: lă:n cha:i/
					/phɔ̂:/+name
					/phî:/
					/phî:/+name
					/mɔ̌:/
					/mù:/
					/rau/
					/luŋ/
					/lŭ:ɤŋ-phɔ̂:/
					/lŭ:ɤŋ-phî:/
					/ʔa:/
					/ʔa:-ca:n/
					/ʔeŋ/
					/hi:ɤ/
					/mɯŋ/
					/nùm/
					name

In Table 5.15, we can see a variety of pronominal terms, most of which are also applicable to the previous groups. In reality, prior to the firm establishment of any of the above non-kin role-relationships such as friendship, love relationship, marital relationship, two individuals involved in each role-relationship usually go through a process of different stages of interpersonal relations until the relationship is fully reciprocated. However, not every individual must fulfill all the stages as illustrated in the following figure before their mutual relationship is fully developed. And the duration of development from one stage to another may not be equal depending on several factors, both intrapersonal and interpersonal, which are not within the scope of this study.

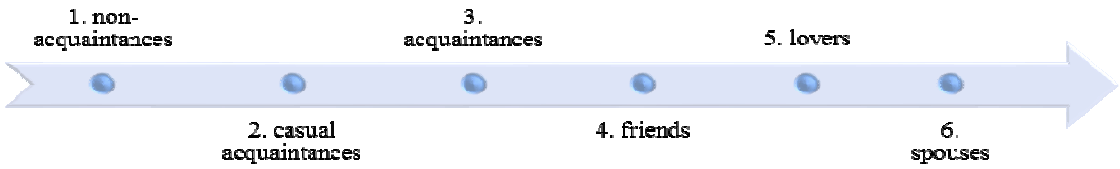

Figure 5.1 Different stages of a relationship developmental process

For example, between two friends, Stage no. 4 is the completion of the process. Between two lovers, Stage no. 1, no.2 and no.3 may altogether take a very short period of time and then they combine Stage no.4 and no.5 together. Some people may just know each other briefly and will never meet again, so they just have reached Stage no.2. The relationship between General Kawin and Netnaphit in the novel 'The Colourful Skies' has gone through all the first three stages, and advanced to Stage no.5. Their mutual affection started approximately at Stage no.3 after getting familiar with each other better. In addition, thanks to their demographic differences, age gap and social status, she would never assume to be his friend, which is not always necessary for two lovers to go through this stage before their affection has become full-blown. Two lovers do not need to be friends. Furthermore, more often than not, when a man and a woman hit it off from their very first glimpse of each other, they would expect to advance their relationship to a more intimate status than just a relationship. And sometimes, if their affectionate feelings have not been reciprocated, their relationship may just fall back to Stage no.4 and remain there for good. However, Netnaphit herself has never expected that she would fall in love with Kawin, for they are so different. She has recognized her love for him only after her feelings have overwhelmed her despite he has never been so close to her as a friend. On the contrary, they both always keep a certain amount of distance for social proprieties. Unlike with Chiwin /chi:-win/ her college friend, whose affectionate feelings for her have developed out of their friendship. However, his feelings has never been reciprocated by Netnaphit.

In the novel 'Butterflies and Flowers', the story begins where both Huyan and Mimpi has already reached Stage no. 4 as school friends. And the novel ends

when their affectionate feelings gradually are advancing towards Stage no.5 but not completely there yet.

In the novel 'The Judgement', Fak and Undertaker Khai are just two casual acquaintances when the former's father passed away, he hires the latter to take care of the funeral ceremony and the cremation. As the story moves on, the old man on a few occasions willingly shares his empathy and sympathy for Fak's emotional suffering and offer him his moral support. Hence, they have become very close acquaintances.

Now let us get back to the matter of pronominal usage. What I have mentioned above is meant to demonstrate that for a non-kin relationship, it usually starts from where the two persons are two complete strangers and bit by bit have developed new attitudes towards each other and move along together to reach one or more of the different stages of the developmental process. Therefore, it depends on how they start or what their initial expectations are as well as socio-cultural factors that are surrounding them, their pronominal choices will take to accord with their aims. And once the relationship has reached its target, some linguistic elements or resources in their verbal interactions may or may not completely been adjusted as I have pointed out in my discussions about friendship and loving or marital role-relationship. Therefore, pronominal usage for both role-relationships during their initial stage of development e.g. being non-acquaintances or casual acquaintances before becoming friends or lovers will not be repeated here.

In Thai culture, to address other people who are not biologically related to the speaker by using displaced kinship terms is very common. The usage of pseudo kinship terms is prevalent in Thai society as well as in Thai fictions. So there will be no surprise to see that in the following inventory of pronoun for both acquaintances and non-acquaintances, not only it shares similarities with the role-relationship between friends and between lovers/spouses but also the three kin-related role-relationships that I have discussed from the very beginning of this chapter.

In the pronominal inventories used by the group of acquaintances and non-acquaintances, however, there exist some striking differences as regards status terms (Cooke, 1968, p.50), which include both occupation terms and monk terms used as pronouns. Pertaining to different role sets, age and social positions are very important factors of determining the componential features of Tenor relationship. In Thai

society, it is typically salient that these people, though not related by blood, pronominally refer to one another using kinship terms regardless of their intimacy or relationship closeness. This kind of linguistic phenomenon can happen at different stages of relationship developmental process, from Stage no.1 until Stage no. 3 or even the final stage. That kinship terms used between husband and wife is not uncommon. In novels, to communicate with a non-kin or non-friend, when his seniority is obvious, the protocol of usage appropriate for senior relatives or siblings will apply. In some cases, the pronominal terms used for one's parents are also employed to convey the speaker's respectfulness towards the referent. For example in 'Gold-Pasted Cement', Songmueang had a very close relationship with his friend's family. And he also loves and respects his friends' parents so much so that he addresses them as /phɔ̂:/ and /mæ̂:/. Such usage of pseudo or displaced kinship terms is meant for expressing 'pseudo kinship' in their relationships. Even between two casual acquaintances or two strangers, usage of kinship terms as initiated by the speaker is generally intended to establish a positive rapport in spite of their unfamiliar relationship.

In the novels, when the social status factor is unknown, usage of the 2nd person /khun/, and the 1st person /phŏm/, /chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/ pronouns is very common among characters whose relative age is unidentifiable. Out of the situation in which both conversational participants barely know each other, politeness is usually necessitated by default; 'formality' will then prevail in their interactions with each other. Among acquaintances, mostly in the novels under study, usage of non-restraint pronouns /ku:/, /mɯŋ/, /kæ:/, /khâ:/, /ʔeŋ/ is rather specific to selected social categories such as the lower class, outlaws, teenagers, rural villagers. Usage of such pronouns among acquaintances of these social categories is considered a means of 'solidifying' a relationship. In other social categories, however, usage of such pronouns by individuals with authority speaking to his subordinates is not sporadic and is on an asymmetrical basis.

In case the communicative participants have some specific occupations such as 'doctor', 'teacher', 'police' and some local administrative officials such as 'Kamnan' /kam-nan/ (the head or the leader of a group of villages) or 'Phuyai' /phû:-jài/ (the head or the leader of a village or a village headman), these people will be referred to using their occupation terms by the conversational counterparts. In other

words, their occupation terms will be employed as 2nd person forms for them by their non-kin conversational partners. Such occupation terms as found in the novels include: /mɔ̌:/ (a doctor); /khru:/ (a teacher), /khru:-jàì/ (a school head master), /ʔa:-ca:n/ (a lecturer); /kam-nan/ (the head of village group); /phû:-jàì/ (the head of a village); /phû:-mù:ɤt/ (a lieutenant), /mù:/ (a police officer); /thâu-kæ̀:/ or /na:i-hâ:ŋ/ (a business owner). Occupation terms are used as pronouns in the same manner as rank terms. They can be preceded by the deferential title term /khun/ or /thâ:n/. Depending on their role sets, people with different occupations have taken into account their social roles and relationships with whom they will interact. What is different from the other roles is that these people are usually or frequently addressed or referred to by others using their occupation terms. 'Teacher' and 'doctor' are more special in the sense that these occupation terms can also be used as 1st person, 2nd person and 3rd person pronouns. However, their statuses in terms of Tenor componential features are not static. They can be as dynamic as the others depending on the social roles of the other conversational participants.

5.1.7.1 Pronominal usage between acquaintances with age difference

When the relationship between two acquaintances is pleasant, especially between a senior and a younger one, displaced or pseudo kinship terms may be utilised to express closeness as if both belonged to the same family. In the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion', Khunnai Lamun /khun-na:i láʔ-mun/ is extremely fond of Photchaman and wishes that she marry her only son. They always address each other using kinship terms. Khunnai Lamun uses /pâ:/ or 'aunt' to represent herself and /nŭ:/ or /lû:k/ to refer to the girl; while the latter referred to herself as /phót/ or /nŭ:/, and former as /khun pâ:/. Through these pronominal patterns, the senior expresses her 'endearment' towards the junior, and the latter displays her respectful attitude in return. The same kind of usage behaviour is also applied to the novel 'Gold-Pasted Cement'. Songmueang loves and respects his friend's parents so much that he addresses them as /phɔ̂:/ and /mæ̂:/, meaning 'father' and 'mother' respectively signifying his earnest familial closeness with them. Some kinship terms are derived from Chinese, especially the Caozhou dialect and are used in several Thai fictions. In the novel 'My Sweet-

Dream Pillow', Wayu addresses her mother's beloved friend as /ʔa:-ʔí:/ meaning 'auntie' to express his solidary relationship with her as though she is one of his relatives. He also addresses the elder brother of his girlfriend, Nit, as /hi:ɤ/ meaning 'elder brother' although the man does not welcome his presence at all. Nit's brother uses the following Chinese-derived pronouns in response to Wayu: /ʔú:ɤ/-/lứ:/. In the novel 'Mad Dogs & Co.' Otto has been employed by Daeng to work in his nightclub. In their conversations, Otto uses the pronominal pair /phŏm/-/phî:/, while Daeng uses /ʔú:ɤ/-/lứ:/. It can be noted that the Chinese pronominal pair /ʔú:ɤ/-/lứ:/ are used not only by a Thai-Chinese character but also by a Thai, usually a male. They are comparatively less unrestrained than ku:/-/mɯŋ/. This pronominal pair is usually used among intimate equals to signify 'solidarity' or by a superior speaking to an inferior to express 'solidarity'. However, between two casual acquaintances or non-intimate equals, who are native Thai speakers, usage of such pronouns could be considered as quite rude. In this situation, the speaker could only mean to express 'uncalled-for solidarity' in an unrestrained way, which could be interpreted as signaling an unfavourable attitude.

In 'Many Lives', in the episode of 'Loy the Bandit', Loy /lɔ:i/ uses the Chinese term /cé:/ meaning 'elder sister' as the 2nd personal form to address Thongkham /thɔ:ŋ-kham/, a wealthy widow much older than him, whom he had a sexual affair with and finally murdered. He used /chăn/ as his self-referential term. In return, she used the pronominal pair /cé:/-/ʔeŋ/. It can be seen both use a Chinese-derived term in pair with a Thai pronoun. The term /cé:/ used by a Thai native speaker is not truly equivalent to the Thai kinship term /phî:+săːu/ 'elder sister' in the sense that it is more intended to identify the female addressee as being older and having a Chinese lineage rather than signify the speaker's attitude of kin solidarity. Sometimes, this Chinese term could be associated with a mildly derogatory or a jocular remark. In the novel 'The Prostitute', Ruen has a very close relationship with Samon /sàʔ-mɔ̌:n/, who is a bit older. In their conversations, Ruen uses /chăn/ as her self-referential term and referred to Samon as /phî:/+/mɔ̌:n/ or 'Elder Sister Mon', while Samon /phî:/ as her self-referential term and uses Ruen's name as the 2nd person form. Before they have got very familiar with each other, Samon uses the following pair speaking to her:

/chăn/-Mae Wan /mæ̂:+ wă:n/ which is her previous name. Once they are very close to each other, they have changed their pronominal usage to reflect a kin-like relationship.

Between two acquaintances not related by blood, when their relationship has changed, their pronominal usage can also vary. In the novel, 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow', Wayu or Cun /cún/, after realising that an acquaintance named Thongseng /thɔ:ŋ-sěŋ/ has become his mother's new husband, he is extremely unhappy. Prior to that, he and Thongseng respectively exchanged the following pronominal pattern: /phŏm/-/ná:/ vs. /ná:/-/cún/. The term /ná:/ means 'uncle'. Once in a brawl because Thongseng assaulted his mother, Wayu has stabbed him and run away. When Thongseng and Wayu have later met again, their pronominal usage is no longer the same. On their last face-to-face encounter, taken by surprise, Thongseng slips out the non-restraint pronoun /ʔeŋ/ speaking to Wayu, who aggressively returns the pair /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/. Being desperate and in need of the young man's money, Thongseng changes the pronominal terms back to /ná:/-/cún/, while Wayu maintains his aggressive verbal action using the pair /chăn/-/kæ:/ in negotiation with him for his mother's freedom (pp. 359). There exist two acts of expressive pronominal switching here. After their becoming unfriendly, the switching of their pronouns reflects their hostile attitudes towards each other. When Thongseng switches back again to the previously-used pair, he does it out of 'insecurity'—another expressive switching. However, Wayu switches to another pair of /chăn/-/kæ:/ showing no respect for Thongseng as an older acquaintance. By breaking his norm of pronoun usage, he is expressing his dissatisfaction over and complete disregard for Thongseng. Obviously, the interactions between these two characters involved different features of interpersonal relationship. From the start, it is mutual 'pseudo kinship', and finally it has been downgraded to a very hostile and distant relationship.

Sometimes, it also possible that a senior individual speaks to a junior using differential pronominal terms despite the speaker is not a servant or an employee or an inferior officer or an office subordinate. In the novel 'A Diverted Way to Paradise', Narin's mother, Lawan /la:-wan/ used the pronominal pair /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/+Khawi in her conversations with Khawi. And he uses /phŏm/ as his 1st person reference speaking to her. Being a mother of his young step-mother, she lives together with her daughters in his father's household, the same place as he does. Out of

consideration for his status as the owner's son, though she is relatively as old as his father, she humbly behaves herself. Once she asks if he might care to eat some food that she has prepared for him. Somehow she is expecting that he could have been indiscreet enough to use the 1st person /chăn/ instead of /phŏm/ to respond to her offer. And he could simply do it to wield his superiority over her without anyone to blame him (pp. 156). But he has not! This implies the different interpersonal meanings attached to these two different pronouns. By using /chăn/, he could have instantly become her social superior, which would sound very rude for a person of his age to speak to a senior woman like her, though she is economically inferior but not dependent on him. His usage of /phŏm/ instead of /chăn/ makes him appear to be a man of senses who observes social proprieties, not just a spoiled young man. He basically responds to her offer by reciprocating 'politeness' instead of being rude. This incident reminds us of the discriminatory usage of /chăn/ by both Narin and Khawi as discussed earlier, which inflicts a virtual 'distance' between the two.

Usage of non-restraint pronouns by an older acquaintance speaking to a younger acquaintance could be indicative of closeness rather than distance. In the context of a rural society or among the less educated people as in the novel 'The Judgement', 'The Field of the Great', some episodes in 'Many Lives' as well as 'The Rice plants off the Paddy Fields', the usage of the pronominal pair /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ or even ./ku:/-/mɯŋ/ by a senior male or female in his or her verbal interactions with someone relatively younger without any official title or with someone much younger is a norm of expressing 'solidary' rather than an enactment of distancing an addressee. However, in return, the younger one, out of courtesy, often employs a pseudo kinship term as a 2nd person form for the senior as though they were as close as kin and do not use any non-restraint pronouns speaking to an older one under normal circumstances. There could be, however, an exception. In the novel 'Judgement', Fak has been mistakenly condemned of having a sexual affair with his step-mother who has a mental illness. Being the victim of circumstance, he has to undergo unjust social sanctioned by his neighbours and other people in the village where he lives. Even once a kid is bold enough to angrily speak to him using the non-restraint 1st person pronoun /ku:/. What the kid does is normally unacceptable—another instance of expressive pronominal switching. However, the case of Fak is a bit different; he has

been morally banished from his society. He has completely lost his dignity and other people's respect. Adults and children alike consider him an outcast and thus treat him with no respect.

Sometimes, pseudo kinship terms are not at all necessary for a non-reciprocal relationship between two intimate acquaintances with a big age gap. In the novel 'Master Li and Miss Ma', when Malini first met Pid /pí:d/, who is a 10-year old boy, they greet each other using the following pronominal pattern /chăn/-/thɤ:/ vs. /phŏm/-/khun/. While the boy makes a very formal choice, Malini opts for an informal one. Through their different usage, it can be perceived that Malini took a superior but informal role in her interaction with the boy making the boy feel at ease with a solidary relationship. When they have got to know each other better, he changes the deictic reference for her from just only /khun/ to /khun ma:/. Although both terms sound deferential, the latter is less formal thanks to the combination with her nickname, Ma /ma:/. It seems that the boy has toned down his pronominal usage designating 'formality' to signaling 'deference' which corresponds to their on-going relationship. Afterwards, when their relationship have become much closer, they both exchange the identical pronominal terms but in opposite order. The boy uses the following pair Pid-/khun/+Ma, and Malini, /khun/+Ma/. Both terms are their nicknames with no personal pronoun proper in use. However, there still exists non-reciprocity in their usage, for there is the term /khun/ preceding Malini's nickname. The term /khun/ is needed for the 2nd personal form that the boy uses to refer to Malini. Without the term /khun/, the boy would seem to be very presumptuous to identify his conversational partner which is an adult as being equal to him. His new pronominal usage of Pid-/khun/+Ma sounds quite informal but courteous and remarkably signifies his very close relationship with Malini. It is very interesting to see that Malini uses /khun/+Ma for self-reference. Normally, one does not use this deferential title as part of their 1st person form, nor would the speaker use it in combination with their own nickname to make a self-referential form. Nonetheless, Malini uses her 1st person referential term which is a combination between /khun/ and her nickname. Her pronominal usage is very informal but unusual. The term /khun/+Ma itself, as used by Malini, does not sound so deferential as when it is used by Pid. On the contrary, it could be perceived as increasing the level of closeness in her relationship with the boy. It gives an

impression that she is mimicking the way Pid addresses her, which is delightful to hear. When she refers to herself, she repeats what Pid would do to address her, which is the same way a mother would generally do when speaking to her small son, or an elder sister to her much younger brother like baby talk. For example, a mother would use /mæ̂/ 'mother' for self-reference, and simultaneously, her son would use the same term to refer to his mother, which is but to express her solidary and affectionate relationship with the boy. Yet, because of that, the non-reciprocal relationship between Malini and Pid remains. Being an adult, Malini, by convention, is not obliged to use the same level of language choice as the boy in order to identify the status difference between her and Pid. She could have used some other pronominal terms for this purpose. Her usage of self-reference echoes the way Pid addresses her, which is in a way amusing as if she was calling herself on behalf of the boy. Such a verbal behaviour could be seen as an equalization of her status with the boy by leveling their social differences. However, it cannot be considered as an equality relationship, for the pronominal structure is not equal between the 1st and the 2nd person pronominal terms, there is a /khun/ preceding one's nickname but not the other's, which causes a state of imbalance between the two terms, since they do not both equally designate a reciprocal relationship. As said, by doing so, she seems to level their status difference, which means she condescendingly is moving from her higher position to be on the same level as the boy to establish closeness in their relationship. Since Pid is just a young boy, not only Malini's pronominal choice reflects her lowering of status but also her language level which is usually not hers. Consequently, I would contend that her 'condescension' is also accompanied by an additional degree of her fondness towards the boy. In this respect, her verbal relations with the boy could be viewed as an indirect relisation of 'endearment' as she does not actualise it directly by using such affectionate pronominal terms as / nŭ:/ or / lû:k/ but through her bably-talk pronominal choice.

5.1.7.2 Pronominal usage between acquaintances of the same relative age

The interpersonal 'involvement' as realised through the personal referencing system of the characters in this group can be categorised with the

following two features, namely 'solidarity' and 'politeness'. According to the different examples to be discussed hereunder, it can be seen that each relationship between two interlocutors of this role-relationship is designated as reciprocal or symmetrical as evaluated through of their variations in pronominal usage. Instances involving royalty or specific occupations terms will be covered in the subsequent sections.

To enact 'solidarity' between two acquaintances about the same relative age, different social groups or categories may use different sets of pronouns which are identical to the pronouns used among friends. In fact, sometimes, to draw a line between a friendship and an acquaintance relationship through pronominal usage is almost, if not entirely, impossible. To differentiate between these two types of relationship, contextual information is utterly important. Here are some examples of pronominal usage from different novels:

(a) /rau/-/na:i/ are used between different pairs of young or teenage age male characters such as between Wayu and Bung in the novel 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow', and between Huyan and Adel /ʔa:-del/ or Nakha /na:-kha:/ in 'Butterflies and Flowers'.

(b) /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ are used between a schoolgirl and a schoolboy, Dalin and Det /dèt/, who are not on good terms with each other in the novel 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields'. The pronoun pair are also used in the novel 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow' between two young male acquaintances, Wayu and Ne /nè/.

(c) chăn/-/kæ:/ are used between two nightclub female singers, Dalin and Soifa /sɔ̂:i-fá:ʔ/, in the novel 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields' and between two male co-workers, Khamngai /kham-ŋa:i/ and Bunham /bun-ham/, in the novel 'High Banks Heavy Logs'.

'Politeness' between two acquaintances is realised through the following pronominal pairs:

(d) /phŏm/-/khun/ are used between two middle-class male adults, Songmueang and Amon, in the novel 'Gold-Pasted Cement'

(e) /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ are used between Ratchani, an elite-class young woman and Choetchawi /chɤ̀:t-chàʔ-wǐ:/, a middle-class young woman//, her colleague in the novel 'The Ghosts'.

(f) /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ vs. /phŏm/-/khun/ are the pronouns exchange respectively between Rati /ráʔ-ti: / and Wasan /wáʔ-săn/ in the novel 'Prisna'.

(g) /chăn/-/khun/ vs. /phŏm/-/khun/ are used respectively by Dalin and Trueang /trɯəŋ/ in the novel 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields'. They both have met in a marijuana den.

Below is an example of pronominal pattern realising 'formality' in a less formal way between two adult acquaintances: a male and a female.

(h) /phŏm/-/khun/+nickname vs. /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/+ nickname

In the novel 'Gold-Pasted Cement' between Songmueang and Wirawan, the pronominal usage pattern that they exchange in their conversations is /phŏm/-/khun wi:/ vs. /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun+mɯəŋ/.

(i) /chăn/-Mae /mæ̂:/ or /khun/+Mae

(j) /dìʔ-chăn/-Mae or /khun/+Mae

(k) /ʔìʔ-chăn/-Mae or /khun/+Mae

In the novel 'Time', in the conversations among the senior women in the care home, the pair of /chăn/-Mae are used by Grannie Nuan, while /dìʔ-chăn/-Mae are used only by Grannie Bunruean /bun-rɯən/, and /ʔìʔ-chăn/-Mae are used by Grannie Oep /ʔɤ̀p/,Grannie Thapthim /tháp-thim/, Grannie Chan /can/. Grannie Son /sɔ̌:n/ use both 1st person form /chăn/ and /ʔìʔ-chăn/ but on different occasions. She would use /chăn/ when speaking to other senior women in the care home, and /ʔìʔ-chăn/ to the female staff who take care of them. Grannie Bunruean switches to /chăn/ only when she is upset and frustrated. When she speaks to someone she is familiar with and socially superior to, she will also use /chăn/. All these senior women use /khun/+Mae as the 2nd person form for the staff of the care home. In the old days, the term 'Mae' is used as a title term or a 2nd person form referring to a female commoner. In this novel, it is used an address term and 2nd person pronoun among these old women. It can be noted that among the above six pronominal pairs, the characteristic of being 'formal' is maneuvered by the 2nd person pronominal terms rather than the 1st person pronouns. 'Mae' and /khun/+Mae are used with different target addressees. The former signals an intimate or non-distant relationship, but the latter, deferential and more polite. It seems that the primary function of these 1st

person pronouns in this novel is not to distinguish between 'formal' or 'informal' pronominal usage. Rather usage of these different pronouns is implicitly meant to distinguish different types of personality and attitude of the characters in the novel. The pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ signal the speaker's pride in her past social background as she was born and brought up in a noble family. And her pride is expressed in the form of verbal politeness through pronominal choice. The 1st person form /ʔìʔ-chăn/ signifies the speaker's submissiveness and self-perception of being socially inferior which is encoded in the form of respectful verbal behaviour. And /chăn/ is a reflection of the speaker's assertive personality in which she is equal and no inferior to anyone—a sense of solidarity.

5.1.7.3 Pronominal usage between acquaintances with different social statuses, ranks, titles or official positions

Between two acquaintances, a commoner and a royalty ember, the former always uses a royalty-related term. In 'Golden Sand Mansion', Pharada pronominally refers to himself as /mɔ̀:m/ and to Momchao Aneknoppharat as /thâ:n/ or /fà:-bà:t/, a semi-formal situation. In return, the latter politely uses /phŏm/ and /khun/ speaking to the former, a form of condescending politeness. In fact, Pharada is a lineal descendent from a 'Momchao'. His rank, 'Momratchawong', is therefore inferior to Momchao Aneknoppharat whose rank is on the same level as Pharada's father. It must also be noted that between both of them, Pharada is older than Aneknoppharat. Their pronominal usage suggests that the rank factor takes precedent over the age factor in determining superiority between two interlocutors of unequal social ranks.

In the same novel, between Photchaman and Momchao Aneknoppharat, they exchange the following pronominal pattern Phot-/than/ vs. /than/-Phot. Photchaman's pronominal usage is very informal in speaking to a prince, which is also reciprocated by the other party. Their mutual pronominal usage clearly signifies a very close relationship between the two. However, it must be noted that his self-reference is not his nickname like the way Photchaman refers to herself, but it is the identical 2nd person pronoun that Photchaman uses in referencing him. In fact, he is using the 2nd person pronoun as a 1st person pronoun, which is a very unusual way of pronominal usage; yet it leaves no room for ambiguous referencing. Readers know

that he is referring to himself, not Photchaman. First of all, Photchaman is just a teenage girl, and he himself is a royalty member, an adult. The term /thâ:n/ could by no means be associated with anyone else but him in that context of situation. Moreover, in different conversational situations that they participate, he (or the author herself) has the capability to index appropriately different referents so as to avoid confusion. His way of pronominal usage is similar to the way a father or an uncle would speak to his daughter or his niece respectively using a kinship term, which also reminds us of how Malini pronominally refers to herself when speaking to Pid in the novel 'Master Li and Miss Ma'. Socially higher as this prince is, being a royalty member and older than Photchaman, the way he does makes him appear to be a very approachable person, comfortable to be with as though he was not a person of that status and she was just a young little girl. He has condescended himself to her and interacted with her in such a very friendly manner like an adult would behave towards a child—an instance of 'endearment'. His pronominal usage is less likely to be perceived as insinuating his true affectionate feelings for her.

In 'Many Lives', the episode of 'Prince Lek', Thawin /thàʔ-wĭn/, the woman whom Momchao Lek or Prince Lek has fallen in love with, after knowing his actual rank, pronominally refers to him as /fà:-phráʔ-bà:t/ and to herself as /mɔ̀:m-chăn/. Meanwhile, an acquaintance named Soem /sɤ̌:m/, who is older than him, refers to his own self as /kràʔ-mɔ̀:m/ and the same /fà:-phráʔ-bà:t/ as the 2nd person form representing Momchao Lek in their conversations. The levels of formality attached to the pronominal choices made by Photchaman and by Thawin or by Soem are very different, although they are all expressing courtesy towards the royal addressees. In the latter case, their usage is extremely formal, while the former is utterly informal.

In the novel 'Four Reigns', the king's half-sister, who patronises Phloi and Choi, is deferentially addressed and pronominally referred to as /sàʔ-dèt/. She speaks to Phloi using the pair of /khâ:/-/câu/ not only due to her superior status but also as a signal of her affectionate attitude towards the girl. The term /sàʔ-dèt/ is specifically used to address a king's half-sister or daughter whose mother is merely a commoner.

When two interlocutors have equal social ranks, the factor of age or seniority will be determinant of one's superiority over the other. In the novel 'An Elephant Named Maliwan', Momchao Niphon /níʔ-phon/ is older than Momchao Suriya /sùʔ-ríʔ-ja:/, so their pronominal pattern used in their conversations is as follows: /chăn/-/thɤ:/ vs. /mɔ̀:m-chăn/-/fà:-bà:t/. The former signals his superior status and solidary relationship with the latter, who, in turn, shows his respect towards him by using deferential royalty-specific pronominal terms.

Between a commoner and a nobleman, the former's pronominal choice is usually deferentially designated thanks to the title of the conversational counterpart. In the novel 'The Field of the Great', Ruen uses the pair of pronouns /kràʔ-phŏm/ and /tâ:i-thá:u/ in his conversations with both Phraya Kamphaengphet /phráʔ-ja: kam-phæ:ŋ-phét/ and Luang Ratchaboriphan /lŭ:ɤŋ rá:t-cháʔ-bɔ:-ríʔ-pha:n/. The term /tâ:i-thá:u/ means 'being under your feet' or in other words 'being on the top of my head' which is used by an inferior to formally address a superior to show his respect that the referent is highly respected and is held in a position above the speaker's head. The term /tâ:i-thá:u/ is generally used to designates the speaker's humbleness in addressing a high-ranking individual, be it a male or a female. To show his respect for both noblemen, Ruen utilises a very formal pronominal choice. However, that his attitudes towards them both are different, though he uses exactly the same terms. He truly respects the 'Phraya' but not the 'Luang'. So Ruen enacts 'deference' to express a very respectful relationship with Phraya Kamphaengphet, but his polite behaviour towards Luang Ratchaboriphan is a matter of 'formality' as required for a protocol of a non-intimate relationship. In return, the 'Phraya' condescendingly speaks to Ruen using the pronominal pair /chăn/-/phû:-jài/. The term /phû:-jài/ or 'Phuyai', in this context, refers to an official title of the head or the leader of a village. However, the 'Luang' displays his dislike by using the non-restraint 2nd person pronoun /kæ:/ addressing Ruen. In fact, Ruen has also got an official position; though it is lower than the other two, yet he does not deserve such a derogatory pronominal form. With respect to superiority, the title 'Phraya' is two-level higher than 'Luang'. It is the title 'Phra' /phráʔ/ that has its place between the two. Their different choices of 2nd person pronominal term in referring to Phuyai Ruen clearly mark their different attitudes towards the referent. The 'Phraya' who is higher in

status addresses Ruen with due courtesy, reflecting his pleasant and warm relationship with the 'Phuyai'. On the contrary, the 'Luang', who is lower in status, uses the non-restraint pronoun /kæ:/ referring to Ruen, indicating his negative feelings for Ruen and a distant relationship—another example of discriminatory choice.

In the novel 'A Personal of Quality', the term /tâ:i-thá:u/ is used by Phraya Phonlawat to address Madame Sae /sǎ:/, Wimon's stepmother, knowing that she is older and her late husband was also a 'Phraya'. This suggests that seniority or age is another significant factor governing one's pronominal strategy in addition to social status.

In the novel, 'The Two Worlds', in his conversations with Lady Sae, Chaukhun Wisan /câ:u-khun wí?-să:n/ uses /krà?-phŏm/ for self-reference and the 2nd person pronoun /thâ:n/, not /tâ:i-thá:u/, as the 2nd person form referring to her. Although her late husband was a 'Phraya' like him but they both are relatively at the same age. She also pronominally refers to him as /thâ:n/; but being a woman, she uses /?ì?-chăn/ to represent herself. In the novel "The Person of Quality', Phraya Phonlawat speaks to Manop, an 18-year-old lad whose late father was also a 'Phraya', using the pronominal pair /phŏm/-/khun/. Considering the factors of age and social status, we can see that Phraya Phonlawat is considerably superior to Manop. The man is very well-off and is paying a rent for Manop's house with quite high an amount. In addition to his being senior in age, his noble rank is as high as Manop's late father's. On the contrary, the lad is still a student and does not have any official rank or title and is being constrained by the financial situation of his family. As a consequence, his elder sister, Wimon, has to let their house out to the 'Phraya] so as to earn some money to support their elder brother's education abroad. Despite all his superiority, Phraya Phonlawat treats Manop with courtesy by using deferential formal pronouns in their conversations. By doing so, he is virtually stepping down from his superior status to the same level as Manop and observes politeness in his relations with the young lad.

Given government officials or military officers, the pronominal strategy is dependent of the level of their authorities or positions, which is quite similar to the level of aristocracy. In the novel 'Democracy, Shaken and Stirred', Prime Minister Marshal Plaek /plæ̀k/ uses the pronominal pair /chăn/-/kæ:/ speaking to

Pol. Maj. Tui /tûi/. After becoming Pol. Lt. Col. Tui, he serves Prime Minister Marshal Sarit /sàʔ-rìt/ who speaks to him using the non-restraint pronominal pair /ku:/- /mɯŋ/. Marshal Sarit's conversational approach is quite similar to Marshal Plaek's in the sense that both use non-restraint pronouns, though with different choices, to show their superior authorities but at the same time being close to Tui. However, a minister named Suthin, though higher in position, adopts a condescending approach by politely employing the pronominal pair /phŏm/-/khun/ in his conversations with Tui who by then is already a police major general. Consistently, Tui responds to all the three superiors with the pair /phŏm/-/thâ:n/. It is hard to evaluate whether Tui does it out of 'formality' or 'deference' due to insufficient contextual information. But one thing is clear that Tui is socially inferior to the above three political figures whose verbal interactions with him are also different. Tui himself also has a similar experience but in the opposite way. Despite his higher rank, Pol. Maj. Gen. Tui uses the pronominal pair /phŏm/-/khun/ when he has a conversation with Pol. Maj. Chakrit, and receives /phŏm/-/thâ:n/ from him in return.

Interpersonal relations as enacted through pronominal reference among this group of people can be grouped into three different features according to their verbal 'involvement'. The social inferior are obliged to show respect to the superior, which is enacted by means of pronominal usage which contain deferential terms such as the pair /phŏm/-/thâ:n/ or /kràʔ-mɔ̀:m/-/fà:-phráʔ-bà:t/. Non-deferential forms can possibly be used by the superior speaking to the inferior to flag their affectionate attitudes. Non-restraint forms can also be used to signal a close relationship with the inferior addressees. However, such usage could also be ascribed to the speakers' negative attitudes to signal a distant relationship. Usage of politeness-marking pronouns such as /phŏm/-/khun/ by a social superior speaking to an inferior is a realisation of 'politeness'.

5.1.7.4 Pronominal usage between acquaintances with different occupations

Usage of an occupation term as a 2nd person form for an addressee could not be generally considered as a realisation of 'deference'. To evaluate their relationship, the 1st person self-referential pronoun used by the speaker

must be considered as well as the pronominal choice of the addressee and other contextual clues involved in the communicative situation, and it is not exactly the same as evaluating a noble title associated with the person as an entitlement. For some noble ranks such as 'Phraya' and 'Chaophraya', there is protocol of addressing these members of nobility using a specific deferential term 'Chaokhun' which can also be used pronominally. There are some other terms that can also be used pronominally in parallel with the term 'Chaokhun', which are /tâ:i-thá:u/ and the deferential 2nd person pronoun /thâ:n/ which are semantically deferential. Based on the novels, their noble ranks are by default address terms as well as pronominal terms for these noble or aristocrat referents. They are distinguished from commoners. However, usage of occupation terms as address terms or pronominal terms, perhaps except for 'teacher' and 'doctor', are optional. And there is no protocol or convention of showing courtesy to occupations. In my opinion, to pronominally refer to someone, using an occupation term is done out of the consideration for the addressee's professionalism rather than the person himself. The way occupation terms are used as pronominal terms is similar to deferentially-used forms, which could be for the sake of 'formality' between two non-intimates or 'deference' expressed by a social inferior to a superior, or 'politeness' between two intimate equals.

Speaking about 'teacher', it is one most respectable occupation in Thai culture. Students are supposed to behave respectfully towards or in front of their teachers including language behaviour. Young school students normally pronominally address their teachers by their occupation to show respect such as /phŏm/-/khun khru:/ used by boys, /nŭ:/-/khun khru:/ used by girls as in the novel 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields' or /phŏm/-/khru:/as in 'Butterflies and Flowers' and 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow'. And teachers, in these novels, respond to them the following pronominal pairs /khru:/-/thɤ:/ for either boys or girls. Variations in pronominal choice can also signify different relationships among characters in the novels. For example, in 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields', Dalin applies the pair /nŭ:/-/khun khru:/to all her teachers alike. And she receives the pair /khru:/-/thɤ:/ from all teachers except from 'Teacher Sompong' /khru: sŏm-po:ŋ/, who speaks to her with the pronominal pair /khru:/-/nŭ:/ ('endearment') interchangeably with /khru:/-/rau/ ('solidarity'). In the novel, he is empathetic with her inferiority complex that she was

born 'half-nigger' and so he is very kind to her in particular. However, between the two female teachers—'Teacher Duangkaew' /khru: du:ɤŋ-kæ̂u/ and 'Teacher Chan' /khru: can/. Although the latter is very strict in the class, she is kind to Dalin and recognized her singing talents. But Dalin's relationship with her is not so close as with Teacher Sompong. As for Teacher Duangkaew, she does not like the girl so much partly due to her appearance and strong character. Even so, both female teachers use the same pronominal terms when interacting with Dalin. Apparently, variations in pronominal usage between 'teacher' and 'student' reflect their non-reciprocal statuses. The students show their respectfulness towards their teachers, meanwhile the teachers express a patronizing attitude by means of 'solidarity' or 'endearment'. The pronominal pair of /khru:/-/thɤ:/ seem to be common among teachers but do not necessarily encode any attitudinal differences that they have towards a particular student, while the other pair /khru:/-/nŭ:/ could serve to distinguish a closer relationship.

When two teachers of the same relative age participate in a conversation, they will address each other using the term /khru:/ or /ʔa:-ca:n/ and use the pronouns /phŏm/ or /dìʔ-chăn/ as their self-referential terms as found in the novel 'The Blackbirds at Bangphleng' when three teachers, Yupha /júʔ-pha:/, Somsak /sŏm-sàk/ and Siri /sìʔ-rìʔ/ are discussing the weird condition of pregnancy happening to all single females in the community. Their pronominal choices could be considered as expressions of politeness among socially equal acquaintances. However, as the two teachers Yupha and Somsak are husband and wife, assuming another role set, they do not need to use either of these occupation terms as pronominal forms between each other.

'Doctor' is also another respectable occupation. A doctor is usually addressed by others as /mɔ̌:/ literarily meaning 'doctor' or /khun/+/mɔ̌:/ The term /mɔ̌:/ and /khun/+/mɔ̌:/ can be preceded by a kinship term to designate a familial solidary relationship such as /phî: mɔ̌:/ or 'Brother Doctor'. It can also be combined together with /khun/ and a kinship term such as /khun luŋ mɔ̌:/ meaning 'Uncle Doctor'. These two terms /mɔ̌:/ and are used as pronominal forms specifically for all medical practitioners as found in these three different novels 'Doctor Kan', 'An Elephant Named Maliwan' and 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields'. It has not appeared

that any of their acquaintances outside their circle of intimate friends and family members have used any 1st or 2nd person non-restraint pronouns in their face-to-face verbal interactions regardless of their social statuses—royalty or nobility. In the novel, 'An Elephant Named Maliwan', in the conversation between Momchao Niphon and a doctor, they respectively exchange the following pronominal pattern: /chăn/-/khun+mɔ̌:/ vs. /kràʔ-/mɔ̀:m/-/fà:-bà:t/. The royalty member adopts a 'politeness' strategy in his pronominal choice speaking to the doctor, and the latter, a strategy of expressing 'deference'. By social status, Momchao Niphon is superior to the doctor, but he addresses the doctor with his occupation term to show his courtesy. In the novel, it can be seen that the prince indeed is not a snob. Since Niphon is a 'Momchao', by convention, he has to stand on ceremony and be respectful. However, when a 'Momchao' is also a doctor himself, such as Momchao Photchanapricha in the novel 'Prisna', he is not pronominally referred to as /khun+mɔ̌:/ or /thâ:n+mɔ̌:/. Instead he is pronominally referred to as /thâ:n/, /thâ:n cha:i/ or /fà:-bà:t/ by other characters in the novel.

In their verbal interactions, a doctor and a policeman may address and refer to each other by using their own occupations. In the novel 'Doctor Kan', for example, Pol. Lieutenant Damkoeng pronominally refers to Dr. Kan as /mɔ̌:/ or 'doctor' without the deferential title /khun/ preceding, and Dr. Kan responds to him by calling him /phû:-mù:ɤt/ which is his official police position. They both refer to their own selves as /phŏm/. Their pronominal usage could be viewed as a verbal enactment of expressing 'politeness'.

There are two official titles, affiliated with the provincial administration, 'Phuyai' or the head or the leader of a village and 'Kamnan' /kam-nan/ meaning the leader or the head of a group of villages, which are used as 2nd person pronouns in Thai novels such as 'Master Li and Miss Ma', 'The Field of The Great', 'The Judgement', 'Red Bamboos', 'The Star-crossed Lovers' and 'The Blackbirds at Bangphleng'. In the novel, 'Master Li and Miss Ma', after realising that Linawat is a 'Phuyai', she uses the following pronominal pair /chăn/-Phuyai in her conversations with him, who returns the pair /phŏm/-/khun/. Their mutual pronominal exchange suggests 'formality' as they are not very well familiar with each other at that stage.

The two terms can be preceded by the deferential pronoun /thâ:n/ becoming /thâ:n kam-nan/ or /thâ:n phû:-jài/ as found in 'The Field of the Great'. They can also follow a pseudo kinship term, for example, /luŋ kam-nan/ or 'Uncle Kamnan' as used by Angsumalin to reference Kamnan Num /nûm/ in 'The Star-crossed Lovers' or /ta: phû:-jài/ or 'Granddad Kamnan' which Linawat uses to refer to Phuyai Mot /mò:t/ in 'Master Li and Miss Ma'. By combining the term 'Phuyai' with a kinship term, he is establishing a 'pseudo kinship' with Phuyai Mot.

Another occupation term which is saliently used as both an address and a pronominal term is /nom/--a contracted form of /mɛ̂:-nom/ or 'wet nurse'. A wet nurse's position is in fact superior to a servant and is treated with courtesy by her employer and his family members as well as other servants in his household. In the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion', the wet nurse Thip /thíp/ is always politely addressed and pronominally referred by her employer and his family as /nom/ and respectfully by the maids or the male servants as /khun+nom/. However, Photchaman uses the following terms instead /pâ:/, meaning 'auntie' or /pâ:+nom/ to address her, honouring her as a senior kin member.

5.1.7.5 Pronominal usage between acquaintances with different economic statuses

Verbal interactions between two different individuals whose economic interdependence dominates their interpersonal relationships may involve non-reciprocal pronominal usage. For example, in the novel 'The Field of the Great', despite being a 'Phuyai' /phû:-jài/ or the leader of the village, Phun /phu:n/ is treated as inferior to Phapo, a wealthy and influential businessman. Phuyai Phun formally uses the pair /phŏm/-'Naihang'/na:i-hâ:ŋ/ 'business owner' speaking to Phapo, but the latter refers to himself as /chăn/ and to Phun as /kæ:/ instead of his official rank as a 'Phuyai'. Phun is kind but not capable, lack of administrative acumen and is thus not so highly regarded by Phapo. So his pronominal choice keep a distance between himself and Phuyai, realising the speaker's negative attitude. Despite, they are quite well familiar with each other, Phapo does not appreciate Phuyai Phun; otherwise he would not use the non-restraint pronoun /kæ:/ speaking to him. His pronominal choice is without consideration for his official title 'Phuyai' which should be used as a

Vocative or a pronominal term according to the norms. Unlike Ruen who is much younger, this business man uses a different 2nd personal pronoun, 'rau' or Ruen's own name to refer to him as if Ruen is one of his intimates, an instance of 'solidarity'. By the way, Phapo is indeed older than him. He has quite a high opinion of Ruen and so is always very friendly with the man. Ruen always speaks to Phapo using the same set of pronouns as used by Phuyai Phun, a practice of 'deference'.

In the novel 'Dr. Kan', in the conversations between Pol. Lt. Damkoeng and Yong /jóŋ/, the former uses the non-restraint pronominal pair /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ while the latter returns his pronominal choice of /phŏm/-/phû:-mù:ɤt/. The informal police rank term /phû:-mù:ɤt/ refers to 'lieutenant'. In fact, Yong has a better financial status than Damkoeng; however, his illicit business operations depend on the latter's help. So he offers bribes to this police officer in order to have him turn a blind eye to his illegal business. For the sake of his own interests, he has to be very acquiescent to please Damkoeng, let alone courteous pronominal usage. The 1st person pronoun /phŏm/ is, by default, a generic politeness-marking term suitable for a male speaker in either formal or informal conversations. His usage of Damkoeng's rank as the 2nd person form, which is considered as an occupation term, is quite common for an ordinary citizen to address or refer to a police by his rank or position. Since they are so well familiar with each other, his practice is an instance of 'politeness' marking. However, Damkoeng's pronominal usage is entirely on the opposite end. He uses the non-restraint pronouns /ku:/-/mɯŋ/. The novel does not provide more information in regard to their relations prior to his acceptance of bribery from Yong. Definitely, in real life, a police lieutenant shall not speak to a citizen using such pronominal terms without being well acquainted with. Therefore, Damkoeng's usage of /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ in his conversations with Yong suggests two implications. Firstly, they both must be well acquainted with each other; otherwise the police office would not dare to take bribes from him. Secondly, his usage of such pronouns could be ascribed to his relationship with Yong in which he is the one holding an ace up his sleeve. Yong's business lies in the palm of his hand. Without his help, Yong could be in trouble. So it is no surprise that he would assume Yong to be his inferior intimate, an enactment of 'solidarity'.

5.1.7.6 Pronominal usage between casual acquaintances or non-acquaintances

Non-acquaintances or casual acquaintances should be treated with deference as their social roles or backgrounds are not always made known to the speakers (Cooke, 1968, p. 59). To use non-restraint pronominal terms such as /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ or /kæ:/ speaking to them is considered utterly rude. It is quite common that the deferential pronominal terms are used instead, such as /phŏm/, /chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/, /khun/. This is meant to observe 'formality' rather than to express 'deference' in earnest.

In the novel 'A Diverted Way to Paradise', both Narin /na:-rin/ and Lila /li:-la:/ used the terms /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ casually speaking to their acquaintances regardless of how familiar they are. In the novel 'Gold-Pasted Cement', it is quite common that the middle or the upper class women used the pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ interchangeably with /chăn/ in their day-to-day interactions, regardless of their relationships. Such usage of deferential pronouns between relatively socially equal acquaintances is considered as a practice of 'politeness', in which polite or deferential pronouns suitable for all formal interactions are used in casual conversations among acquaintances in spite of their close relationships.

In the novel 'Photchaman Sawangwong', Niwet /níʔ-wê:t/, who is the ex-lover of Photchani /phôt-càʔ-ni:/-- Photchaman's younger sister, comes to visit her the very first time. Uncertain of his background, Photchaman receives him as a guest and refers to herself as /dìʔ-chăn/ and addresses him as /khun/. During the course of the conversation, after knowing who he is and displeased, she has not changed her pronominal reference, keeping using it until he leaves. On the contrary, Pharadi, coming across Niwet during his second visit looking for Photchani, speaks to him using the pronominal pair /chăn/-/thɤ:/ after his self-identifying. The two women's different linguistic choices could be ascribed to the age factor; Photchaman is younger than Niwet, while Pharadi is older than him. In addition, her social status is superior to his, being a daughter of a 'Momchao' and economically well off. In spite of knowing his background and his relationship with Photchani, she does not discriminate against him, neither does she have a high regard of him. Usage of /chăn/-

/thɤ:/ in this context could be viewed as a realisation of 'uncalled-for solidarity', an enactment of presuming a familiar relationship without any obvious negative attitude.

In the novel 'The Edge of the Forest', in an encounter with her boyfriend's aunt named Auntie On /ʔɔ̀:n/ and elder sister named Chomphu /chom-phû:/ , despite being treated so impolitely, Lamnau /lam-nau/ maintains her calmness and her usage of /dìʔ-chăn/ throughout their course of interaction. In fact, she keeps using this pronoun speaking to his sister from their first introduction to each other. Given her two visitors, they both initially use the pronominal pair /chăn/-/thɤ:/ speaking to her. Being not so well familiar with her, the two older women's usage of /chăn/-/thɤ:/ seems to signify uncalled-for solidarity with the younger referent. However, it implies their unfavourable attitude towards Lamnau—a stance of discriminatory pronominal usage, but it is still socially acceptable. Only a while after their verbal argument, Chomphu has suddenly changed the 2nd person pronoun from /thɤ:/ to /lɔ̀:n/ out of her emotive reaction. The pronoun /lɔ̀:n/ in this context is very different from its use by Pharadi speaking to Photchaman in the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion'. Her message encoded through this pronoun /lɔ̀:n/ violently exhibits her utterly unpleasant feelings for the referent. In this situation, Chomphu's pronominal choice has gone beyond the threshold of societal acceptability in the context between two casual acquaintances. However, Lamnau calmly sticks to her pronominal usage of /dìʔ-chăn/ distancing away herself but in a civilized way.

In the novel 'Master Li and Miss Ma', when Malini meets Linawat the first time and mistakes him for Wao /wàu/, one of his male employees, who has come to help her plough her rice fields, she uses the pronominal pair /chăn/-/thɤ:/. By doing so, she could be perceived to assume herself not to be on the same level as him or, to be exact, simply superior to him, which is understandable as he is understood to be just a worker employed by Phuyai Li to help her. But she does not sound rude though. Misunderstanding that he is an employee of Phuyai Li, she does not extend to him any courtesy but a non-discriminatory and solidary verbal choice—'uncalled-for solidarity'. And he does likewise, which signals equality in his relations with her. It is not my expectation that Linawat (in disguise) would return this identical pair of pronoun in his conversation with Malini. Instead, I thought that he would say /phŏm/-/khun/ with a view to showing his courtesy for a pretty young woman from

Bangkok. By using /chăn/-/thɤ:/, he does sound like a country folk and perceptually less gentlemanly. He could be quite disappointed that this young pretty woman mistook a man like him for his employee, Wao whose appearance and personality are no match for him. And in order to not to make her feel embarrassed, he accepts the imposed identity, though. His response with reciprocal pronominal usage makes their relationship become symmetrical.

In the novel 'Our Land', as discussed early on page 139 about the relationship between Naren and Pakkhini and their pronominal usage, when they first met, Naren kept using the pronominal pair /chăn/-/thɤ:/ speaking to her. However, Phakkhini changed her pronominal choice to /chăn/-/khun/, which makes the relationship suddenly become perceptually non-reciprocal. His continues using the pair /chăn/-/thɤ:/ could presumably suggest that he is establishing 'uncalled-for solidarity'. Shortly afterwards, they have been officially introduced to each other by her elder half-sister. Upon realising who they really, Naren has changed his pronominal choice to /phŏm/-/khun/, adopting 'formality' in his verbal action. And Phakkhini has resorted to the deferential 1st personal pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ replacing /chăn/ and maintained it throughout the rest of the novel. In this very instance, /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ sounds as equally formal as /phŏm/-/khun/. This example suggests that misuse of pronoun could occur when the two interlocutors do not know the social background of each other. After their social identities have been clarified, pronominal adjustment may be necessary. Between two strangers, when their social backgrounds are unidentifiable, both participants might opt for inappropriate pronominal usage. However, in Thai culture, a stranger should be treated in a polite or courteous manner so as to avoid possible awkwardness or embarrassment of interpersonal relations especially when his or her social status is ambiguous. What happens between Naren and Phakkhini is an awkward situation after their introduction, which entails their pronominal adjustment.

To reiterate, such usage variations of /dìʔ-chăn/ as discussed above provide substantial evidence that this 1st personal pronoun has not been used in conversations only on a very formal occasion as in a public gathering or to any respectable persona. It can be utilised in an informal situation involving two intimates

as well as a means to realise one's distant positioning in any of these forms of interpersonal involvement--'formality', 'deference' or 'politeness'.

While /dìʔ-chăn/ is used for self-reference by females, the deferential pronoun /kràʔ-phŏm/ is used by a male speaker for the same purpose but very rare now. It is used to speak to a social superior with a high rank or position. In some novels, when an inferior male has been introduced to a high-ranking superior, he would use this pronoun for self-reference. In the novel, 'The Ghosts', Sai uses this pronoun together with /thâ:n/ in his conversation with Ratchani's father, a high-ranking noble, when she introduces him to her father. In the novel 'Democracy, Shaken and Stirred', Pol. Sub-Lt. Tui /tûi/ use /phŏm/-/thâ:n/ speaking to his superior, Director General Phra Komon Phiphat /phráʔ ko:-mon phíʔ-phát/ when the latter identifies himself. This pronoun can be used for the sake of 'formality' or out of 'deference' depending on the relationships between the superior and the inferior.

Sometimes, when one's socio-economic status is clearly identifiable, for example, in the case between the rich and the poor, pronominal usage can reflect a vertically distant relationship between them. In the novel 'Many Lives', Phanni's /phan-ni:/ mother, Riu /ríu/, due to poverty, has to sell her daughter to work as a servant for a well-to-do woman whom she barely knows except that she is so rich. She addresses her as 'Khunnai' /khun-na:i/ meaning 'mistress' and refers to herself as /ʔìʔ-chăn/, signifying her inferior status and at the same time showing her courtesy for the rich woman. In return, she receives the following pronominal pair /chăn/-/kæ:/, which conveys the speaker's thought about her inferior status. While the destitute woman is enacting 'formality', the rich 'Khunnai' is exercising 'uncalled-for solidarity', which is obviously a non-reciprocal relationship. Similarly, in the novel 'The Field of the Great', Ruen addresses and refers to Lamiat, who, based on his perceptual judgement, is economically far superior to him despite they have not known each other before, as 'Khunnai', and uses /phŏm/ for self-reference. And Lamiat returns the pronominal pair /chăn/-/phô:/+Ruen, which was a common way of addressing a male commoner during the period of King Rama V as used in the novel 'Four Reigns'. Both pronouns /ʔìʔ-chăn/ and /phŏm/ as well as the address term 'Khunnai' sound deferential. Using such pronominal terms, both Riu and Reun seem to admit that they are socially inferior to their conversational partners. However, their

partners' verbal reactions are very different. While the 'Khunnai' responds to Riu with a discriminatory tone using /chăn/-/kæ:/, Lamiat returns to Ruen her pronominal choice of the common pronominal terms appropriate for a male commoner, although they are non-deferential as he seems to be about her age and has not identified himself as having any official rank or noble title. Lamiat' reaction to Ruen signifies her superiority over him though. In fact, it is Ruen who has placed her on a superior position which she could not reciprocate in the same fashion. It would not be possible for her to use /ʔìʔ-chăn/ or /dìʔ-chăn/ for self-reference in this context, for she has no reasons nor see any social factors that makes her perceive herself to socially inferior to him. Those terms, during the period of King Rama V, could be used to address only a social superior, but not to a country folk like Ruen. Nor could she refer to Ruen as /khun/ which is not a common term to address any individual unless the referent is a superior or has a nobility connection. If Ruen, instead of using /phŏm /, referred to himself as /chăn/, that would then make their relationship perceived as reciprocal but it would not be deferential. Therefore in this case, Ruen could be considered as observing 'formality', while Lamiat is enacting 'uncalled-for solidarity'.

In the novel 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields', when Khemmawan has discovered that Rose is peeking outside the gate of her house, with suspicion of her motive, she asks Thian /thi:ɤn/, an old gardener to find out. In fact, he has noticed Rose's presence already and is not very pleased with her suspicious behaviour. When he approaches Rose, he bluntly asks her using the following pronouns /chăn/-/kæ:/. His pronominal choice could be partly a result of his evaluation of her social category. Although he barely knows who she is, he does not hesitate to put her on a par with him in terms of social class due to her suspicious demeanour. In addition, he is obviously her senior by years. Considering the two factors of social category and age, it is he who is socially superior to her. Therefore, he does not hesitate to exercise 'uncalled-for solidarity'. In the same novel, Auntie Samon /sàʔ-mɔ̌:n/, who has raised her two daughters, also speaks to her using this pronominal pair. Rose herself also exchanges this pair of pronouns with her latest lover. So for certain social categories, usage of non-formal pronouns such as /chăn/-/kæ:/ could be not uncommon. However, between two non-acquaintances, like Thian

and Rose, in this situation, he could be considered as taking her for granted even if they belong to the same social class.

More frequently, with a non-acquaintance or a stranger, it is very common in Thai culture that he is addressed by a pseudo or displaced kinship term. In the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion', when Nakun /náʔ-kun/, a friend of Photchaman's, comes across a car crash accident, he asks questions of a man on the spot, addressing him as /phîː-chaːi/. By addressing the man as 'elder brother', Nakun placed the man into a higher but 'solidary' position over him in spite of a 'non-intimate' relationship. As he wanted to ask the man for some information, doing so would help 'solidifying' a relationship between them despite they barely know each other. The practice of such is considered as imposing an 'uncalled-for solidarity' on a non-intimate individual, which sounds so different from the usage of informal personal pronoun proper as already found above. What Nakun has done is less likely to be viewed as unpleasant verbal behaviour in Thai culture. Usage of displaced kinship terms speaking a stranger is very common and usually does not connote any negative interpersonal meaning.

Negotiating 'uncalled-for solidarity' can sometimes be found between two people of middle-class category having just met for the first time as in the novel 'Photchaman Sawangwong'. On Photchaman's wedding day, Photchani comes to see her elder sister, the bride. Coming upon a guest named Siri-on /sìʔ-rìʔ-ʔɔːn/, who asks of her purpose of coming to Golden Sand Mansion. Photchani identifies who she is and asks for her elder sister. Hearing that, Siri-on changes her pronominal choice from /chăn/-/lɔ̀ːn/ to /chăn/-/thɤː/. And the girl uses /dìʔ-chăn/ for self-reference. Siri-on's change of pronominal term signals the speaker's repositioning the girl's status from 'nobody' to 'someone' related to a person known to her, a kind of etiquette switching, from expressing 'neutrality' associated with 'non-intimacy' to expressing 'uncalled-for solidarity'. Apparently she is much older than Photchani, and the referent is just a teenage girl and a sister of the new owner of Golden Sand Mansion whom she is not so acquainted with. Her amendment of pronominal choice is meant to improve her rapport with the girl because of her sisterhood with Photchaman, despite deeply Siri-on herself might not really care for the girl and her sister.

Towards a casual acquaintance, politeness in socialisation is required as social etiquette. The deferential pronoun /phŏm/ is a general term for a male speaker referring to himself, which is perceived as being polite or being respectful towards the conversational partner. However, some people may be too reluctant to say it under certain circumstances. In the novel 'Doctor Kan' (pp.278), when Dr. Kan /ka:n/ is introduced to Yong /jóŋ/ a local merchant in the rural community where he has just moved in. Realising that Yong is practicing bribery, he has intentionally refrained from using the pronoun /phŏm/ and has used /chăn/ speaking to him instead, thinking that the guy does not deserve it. It seems that Dr. Kan wants to keep the merchant at a distance vertically lower than him through his usage of /chăn/ instead of /phŏm/ which he usually uses talking to any one including the poor villagers. The novel does not give any reason why he has picked /chăn/ and not any other pronoun. Kan's language ideology about usage between these two pronouns is worth discussion. As Dr. Kan is always polite to the villagers and his patients by using the pronoun /phŏm/, this could be attributed to the notion that it is a deferential-marking pronoun. In my view, unlike the pronoun /phŏm/, the term /chăn/ can be considered as a neutral pronoun. On one hand, it does not carry any deferential-marking characteristic and can be used in an informal situation. And Yong is not socially superior to him, which would require him to seriously observe any 'formality'. On the other hand, the term /chăn/ is not one of those non-restraint pronouns. Using it, though with a casual male acquaintance whom he has just met, would not be taken as offensive and rude. In addition, it is the pronoun used widely among the villagers, men and women alike. To be compared with the non-restraint term /ku:/ that Damkoeng, who is also present in the scene, uses speaking to the same person, Kan's usage of /chăn/ is relatively more acceptable. Perhaps, usage of the pronoun /chăn/ instead of /phŏm/ in this case implies that Dr. Kan has considered Yong morally inferior to other villagers and his patients and not worth associating with. In a way, by using /chăn/ as his 1st person reference, he is distancing himself from Yong, a kind of discriminatory usage. Kan's strategic choice of /chăn/ seems to have similar linguistic consequences as implied in the pronominal reference between Narin and Khawi in the novel 'A Diverted Way to Paradise' as already discussed on page 148-150 of this

thesis. The similar view is also shared by Lawan as implied in her thought about usage of this pronoun (see page 182-183 of this thesis).

In the novel 'Master Li and Miss Ma', when Linawat comes across Pradit /pràʔ-dìt/, who is an ex-boyfriend of Malini, the very first time, no matter how jealous he is as Malini has now become his beloved woman, he has no choice but to suppress his jealousy and nicely formally exchanges the pronominal pair /phǒm/-/khun/ with him. Dr. Kan has also once got into a similar situation. When his wife Haruethai got an accident, he has to hurriedly come to take care of her in Bangkok only to find that Tomon her ex-boyfriend is already taking that job. Though both are uncomfortable and unhappy with the presence of each other, they maintain 'formality' in their conversations using the pronominal pair /phǒm/-/khun/.

In the novel 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow', Wayu, being very upset that an acquaintance of his was bullied and attacked by some co-workers, he has rushed over to see them and challenged them for a fight. In so doing, barely knowing any of them, he angrily speaks out the non-restraint pair /ku:/-/mɯŋ/. Under normal circumstances, this kind of verbal behaviour could be considered extremely offensive and rude. However, in this situation, Wayu's reaction is simply an outburst of righteous anger knowing that someone he knows vulnerably fell victim to a gang of bullies. And he is so determined to 'pay them back'. A similarity can be found in the novel 'The Field of the Great', when Ruen and Aen /ʔæ:n/ are searching for Unruean /ʔùn-rɯʏn/ who has been kidnapped. They came across one of bandits who kidnapped her, and Ruen, in the brawl, is able to subdue him. In the whole scene, Ruen uses the non-restraint pair /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ threateningly questioning him about her whereabouts. Both Wayu and Ruen's language behaviours in these contexts reflect their relentless courage and determination to 'right the wrong' or to rescue a kidnapped victim. In both situations, the two men are so bold and fearless to take aggressive actions against others whom they barely know. In these two situations, both of them are acting out of emotionally-driven motives rather than normal interpersonal involvement, utlising pronominal resources for expressive discriminatory purposes.

In the world of fiction, writers can also employ pronouns to 'personify' non-human beings or animals. In the novel, 'The Hood of the Cobra', there exists a mystic cobra in Mekkhala's traditional Thai house in Ayutthaya. She

firmly believes that the snake is the one that she saw during her childhood. She is not scared or intimidated by the sight of it. She even talks to it with the following pronominal pair /nŭ:/-/khun/. Such usage mirrors her positioning of the Tenor variables from her viewpoint as [-status +contact]. Her assigned 'superiority' to the snake simply come from the reason that it is supposed to be older than she is and she virtually respects it. She deeply is confident that the snake would not harm but protect her. So she on her own assumes a close and respectful relationship with that cobra.

5.1.7.7 Pronominal usage between monks and laymen

Now let us have a look on some pronominal terms or sacred terms used by monks or by laypeople talking to monks. Some 1st and 2nd person monk terms are as follows: /ʔà:t-tàʔ-ma:/, /chăn/, /ku:/, /khâ:/ and /sĭ:-ka:/, /pràʔ-sòk/, /jo:m/, /khun jo:m/, /mɯŋ/, /ʔeŋ/. Some 2nd person terms to address a monk are also included: /lŭ:ɤŋ-phô:/ /lŭ:ɤŋ-phî:/ /phráʔ/+name/ and /sŏm-pha:n/. Now, I am going to demonstrate how a monk makes his pronominal choices in his communicative interactions with different people.

In the novel 'Red Bamboos', we can see variations in pronominal usage by the monk Somphan Krang /sŏm-pha:n krà:ŋ/ or Abbot Krang in his conversational interactions with different people:

(a) between Abbot Krang and Kamnan Chiam /kam-nan ci:ɤm/:
/chăn/-/thâ:n+kam-nan/ vs. /phŏm/-/sŏm-pha:n/ or
/chăn/-/kam-nan/ vs. /phŏm/-/thâ:n/
(b) between Abbot Krang and Kwaen /kwæ̀:n/:
/chăn/-name vs. /phŏm/-/sŏm-pha:n/
(c) between Abbot Krang and Thom
/thŏm/:/khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ vs. /phŏm/-/sŏm-pha:n/
(d) between Abbot Krang and Monk Charun /phráʔ+càʔ-ru:n/:
/phŏm/-/khun/ vs. /phŏm/-/thâ:n sŏm-pha:n/
(e) between Abbot Krang and Thiam /thi:ɤm/:
/ku:/-/mɯŋ/ vs. /chăn/-/thâ:n sŏm-pha:n/
(f) Abbot Krang speaking the villagers at a gathering using:
/ʔà:t-tàʔ-ma:/-/jo:m/

Evidently through the different pronominal patterns as listed above, the monk is placed in a superior position than any others. His self-referential terms included /chăn/, /khâ:/, /ku:/ when he talks to laymen, except in (d) that he speaks to another monk. He uses /chăn/ in his conversations with someone older or at his age such as /kam-nan ci:ɤm/ (a) and his friend, /kwɛ̀n/ (b). He addresses /kam-nan ci:ɤm/ by his occupation as a 2nd person form with a deferential term /thâ:n/. To both, he uses 1st person pronoun /chăn/. On his courses of interactions with two younger male villagers (c & d), he uses non-restraint pronouns /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ (c) and /ku:/-mɯŋ/ (e). However, when he has a conversation with another monk, he uses /phŏm/-khun/ (d). Everyone, in return, addresses him with all deferential pronouns using his rank as 2nd person forms. In the last one, he uses formal monk pronouns /ʔà:t-tàʔ-ma:/-/jo:m/ in a gathering with villagers. With such a superior position, his role sets could vary depending on whom he interacts with. He has to take into consideration as regards age, rank and the context of situation—formal vs. informal. Even the social role of 'monk' does not prevent him from considering the Tenor variables so that he could adjust his language behaviours in his day-to-day contacts with people of other social roles. His negotiations of 'involvement' with different people through variations of pronominal usage could be categorised as follows:

(i) expressing 'politeness' as in (a) and (d)
(ii) expressing 'solidarity' as in (b), (c), (e)
(iii) 'formality' as in (f)

When a layperson talking to a monk, he may respectfully address and pronominally refers to the monk using the latter's religious title or positon such as 'Phrakhru' /phráʔ-khru:/ or 'Somphan' /sŏm-pha:n/, which can also be preceded by the deferential term /thâ:n/ becoming /thâ:n/+Phrakhru or /thâ:n/+Somphan. In the situation of (a), it is interesting to note that both the 'Somphan' and the 'Kamnan' are addressing each other using their status terms (either an occupation or a position) together with the deferential term /thâ:n/. Obviously, the 2nd person forms they use are also most equivalent in terms of structural components with deferential features. However, one significant difference which clearly marks their unequal identities is their 1st person forms. While Kamnan is using /phŏm/, the monk, /chăn/, which substantiates that a monk is regarded as socially higher than a

layperson. The former is signifying 'deference' though he is senior in age, while the latter, 'politeness', for they both are quite familiar with each other. In the situation of (d), both monks are exchanging the same 1st person form /phŏm/ but using different 2nd person forms. The abbot or 'Somphan' is senior in age and holding a higher position. The young monk encodes his respect towards the former in his pronominal choice, and the senior monk by treating him with courtesy despite his superiority, he is condescendingly polite to the other.

The noun /nùm/ which literally means 'young man' is used by a monk as a 2nd person pronoun for a layman. In the novel 'The Brotherhood of Kaengkhoi', a monk pronominally refers to Laplae as /nùm/ without expressing or manifesting any emotional concern, while he uses 'Luang Pho' /lŭ:ɤŋ-phɔ̂:/ or roughly equivalent to 'Reverend father' in English as his 1st person referential form. This could be considered as a stance of expressing 'solidarity' as well.

After leaving his monkhood, the man will usually be addressed with the title /thít/ as a deferential recognition for his experience as a monk. The term can be used in combination with a displaced kinship term as an address term or as a 2nd person pronoun. For example, in the novel 'The Field of the Great', Ruen is pronominally addressed by Champa and Sutchai as /phî:+thít/ and by Sutchai's aunt as /phɔ̂:+thít/.

An individual's communicative interactions with acquaintances, casual acquaintances or non-acquaintances are both similar to and different from the protocol of pronominal usage applicable to the other role relationships that have been earlier discussed. For those non-kin with seniority, they could be treated like senior relatives or older siblings. And likewise for those younger, they could be treated like junior relatives or younger siblings. Usage of pronominal patterns in terms of realisation of 'pseudo kinship' is in general not significantly different among familiar or unfamiliar conversational participants. Even in case of a non-intimate addressee, pronominal usage of displaced kinship term to express 'uncalled-for intimacy' is culturally most welcome. Deferentially-used pronominal forms are usually in use to express 'deference' in a familiar relationship with a social superior and to maintain

Table 5.16 Involvement features and examples of pronominal pair for 'acquaintance', 'casual acquaintance', and 'non-acquaintance'

Involvement feature	Person	Pronouns used by males	Pronouns used by females
Pseudo kinship	1st	/chăn/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /ná:/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /khâ:/, /chăn/, /luŋ/, /phŏm/, /chăn/, /phŏm/, /chăn/, /phŏm/	/cé:/, /ná:/, /chăn/, /ja:i/, /nŭ:/, /nŭ:/, /nŭ:/, /chăn/, /nŭ:/, /jâ: thûɤt/, /chăn/, /chăn/, /phî:/, name, name, /chăn/, /nŭ:/, /pâ:/
	2nd	/cé:/, /luŋ/, /ná:/, /ʔa:-ʔí:/, name, /mæ̂:/, /phɔ̂:/, /hi:ɤ/, /luŋ/, /phî:/, /mæ̂:/+nickname, /ná:/+name, /ja:i/, /khun+ja:i/, /phî:/+name, /khun+ʔa:/,	/ʔeŋ/, nickname, /ja:i/, /ʔeŋ/, /ja:i/, /ná:/, /luŋ kam-nan/, luŋ/, /pâ:/, /ʔeŋ/, /jâ: thûɤt/, /phî:/+name/, /mæ̂:/+name, /khun+pâ:/, khun+ʔa:/, /phî: thít/, /phî:/, name
Solidarity	1st	*/chăn/, /khâ:/, /ku:/, /na:i/, /chăn/, /ʔú:ɤ/, /chăn/, /khru:/, /chăn/, /lŭ:ɤŋ/ +phɔ̂:/*	/chăn/, /chăn/, /khâ:/, /chăn/, /chăn/, /khău/, /khâ:/, /chăn/, /khru:/, /chăn/, /khâ:/, /chăn/
	2nd	/kæ:/, /ʔeŋ/, /mɯŋ/, /rau/, /thɤ:/, /lúu:/, /na:i/+name, /rau/, name, */nùm/*	/kæ:/, /mæ̂:/+name, /ʔeŋ/, /na:i/+name, /phɔ̂:/+name, /tu:ɤ/, /rau/, /ʔeŋ/, /thɤ:/, /phɔ̂:/+ name, /ʔâ:i thít/, /phɔ̂:+thít/
Deference	1st	/kràʔ-mɔ̀:m/, /kràʔ-mɔ̀:m/, /mɔ̀:m-chăn/, /phŏm/, /kràʔ-phŏm/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/,/phŏm/ , /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /kràʔ-phŏm/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /mɔ̀:m/, */phŏm/*	/chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/, */mɔ̀:m-chăn/*, /ʔìʔ-chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/, /nŭ:/, /dìʔ-chăn/, /ʔìʔ-chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/, /ʔìʔ-chăn/, /chăn/, /chăn/, /ʔiʔ-chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/, nickname
	2nd	/fà:-bà:t/, /fà:-phráʔ-bà:t/, /fà:-bà:t/, /câu-khun/, /thâ:n/, /tâ:i-thá:u/, /khun+mɔ̀:/, /khun-jĭŋ/, /lŭ:ɤŋ-phî:/, /lŭ:ɤŋ-phɔ̂:/, khun/+rank, /thâ:n phráʔ-khru:/, thâ:n phráʔ-khru:/, /thâ:n/+rank, /kam-nan/, /khru:-jài/, /khru:/	/câu-khun/, /khun-jĭŋ/, */sàʔ-dèt/*, /thâ:n sŏm-pha:n/, /thâ:n/+rank, /khun khru:/, /khun nom/, thâ:n/, /thâ:n/, /khun/+rank, /thâ:n phû:-jài/, /thâ:n sŏm-pha:n/, /thâ:n/, /câu-khun/, /thâ:n/

Table 5.16 Involvement features and examples of pronominal pair for 'acquaintance', 'casual acquaintance', and 'non-acquaintance' (cont.)

Involvement feature	Person	Pronouns used by males	Pronouns used by females
		/thâ:n/, */sŏm-pha:n/*	
Endearment	1st	/khru:/, thâ:n/	/khâ:/, /khun/+nickname, /chăn/,
	2nd	/nŭ:/, nickname	/câu/, nickname, /nŭ:/
Politeness	1st	/chăn/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /chăn/, /chăn/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /kràʔ-phŏm/, /phŏm/, /chăn/, /chăn/, /phŏm/, chăn/, /phŏm/, /chăn/, */phŏm/*	/chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/, /chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/, /chăn/, /chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/
	2nd	/cà:/, /kam-nan/, /khru:-jài/, /khru:/, /khun/, /khun/+name, /ʔa:-ca:n/, /mù:/, /na:i-hâ:ŋ/, /phû:-jài/, /phû:-mù:ɤt/, /thâ:n/, /phû:-jài/+name, /kam-nan/, /na:i/, /bɔ́:t/, /mɔ̌:/, /khun+mɔ̌:/, /khun/+name, */phráʔ/+name*	/khun/, /câu-khun/, /khun-jĭŋ/, /khun/, /thâu-kæ̀:/, /sŏm-pha:n/, /khun/+name
Uncalled-for Solidarity	1st	/chăn/	/chăn/
	2nd	/thɤ:/	/thɤ:/
Fomality	1st	/phŏm/, /chăn/, /ʔà:t-tàʔ-ma:/, /ʔà:t-tàʔ-ma:/, /ʔà:t-tàʔ-ma:/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/, /phŏm/,	/chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/, /ʔiʔ-chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/,
	2nd	/khun-jĭŋ/, /khun/, /jo:m/, /pràʔ-sòk/, /sĭ:-ka:/, /khun-jĭŋ/, /khun-na:i/, /khun/,	/khun/, /khun/, /khun-na:i/, /câu-khun/, /khun mɔ̌:/, /khun/+name
Neutrality	1st		/chăn/
	2nd		/lɔ̀:n/
Distance	1st	/chăn/, chăn/, /ku:/, /ʔú:ɤ/	/chăn/
	2nd	/thɤ:/, /kæ:/, /mɯŋ/, /lứ:/	/khun/

'formality' with an unfamiliar individual regardless of their social status. 'Politeness' among familiar social equals as well as towards a social inferior can also be realised through deferentially-related pronominal forms. Unlike kinship terms, usage of non-

deferential forms or non-restraint forms speaking to an unfamiliar individual for the purpose of flagging 'uncalled-for solidarity' is usually considered as expressing the speaker's negative view about the addressee and considered as a form of discriminatory pronominal usage. A social superior may also express an affectionate attitude towards a social inferior by selecting certain pronominal forms such as /nŭ:/ or /câu/. Monks are always placed in the highest social position with respectability. However, they still need to observe Tenor variables in their conversations with senior or junior monks as well as with laypeople. The summary of the possible features of 'involvement' of these groups of interactants together with their pronominal choices as discussed in this subsection is provided in Table 5.16.

The role of the 1st person pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ as a linguistic resource encoding 'formality', 'politeness' or 'deference' is not completely static, nor is it restricted to only signaling a distance between the female speaker and the 2nd person referent. It can as well designate a deferential and solidary relationship between the speaker and the hearer. On the contrary, the 1st person pronoun /chăn/ used either by a male or a female, though perceptually is relatively 'less formal' than /dìʔ-chăn/, may be employed to encode the speaker's negative attitude towards the 2nd person referent, which signals a virtual distance in the relationship concerned.

5.2 1st and 2nd person pronouns in realisation of 'involvement'

Based on the above examples of pronominal usage drawn from the 40 contemporary Thai novels, Thai pronominal reference can realise interpersonal relations between two individuals, signifying their social differences, suggesting their level of relationship as well as signaling their affective involvement. Social differentiation is governed by the Tenor variable 'contact', which is reflected on the pronominal forms selected for realization. The pronominal forms concerned are usually distinguishable by their semantic features as to whether they are deferentially related or not. The deferentially-used forms are mainly for addressing social superiors as well as social equals. In addition, noun-like pronouns such as status, rank, title and occupation terms can also be used for such a purpose when applicable. After all, their common purpose is to designate a vertical distance between the speaker and

the addressee. Between two social equals, it is not uncommon for them to observe a vertical gap in their relationship though. In each category of pronominal term as distinguished by form, there exist different pronominal choices which speakers can make to identify appropriately the vertical dimension of a relationship. And selection of each pronoun in each category is also subject to the level of interpersonal relations, which is influenced not only by the other Tenor variable 'contact' but also possibly by affective involvement between the interlocutors.

In the following tables, I have presented different pairs of both deferentially- and non-deferentially used personal pronouns proper according to their pairing usage as found in the novels. I have attempted to point out how they are used in relation with Tenor variables—'status' and 'contact'. In relation to 'status', I have grouped interlocutors of different relationship roles as discussed earlier into three different levels: social superior, social equal and social inferior. As regards 'contact', it will be dealt with in the form of relationship dimension and the form of 'involvement' feature. Both are relational components constituting the realization of 'contact' through pronominal reference. As discussed earlier, a relationship in this study can be roughly categorised based on the following three different dimensions, namely 'intimacy', 'non-intimacy' and 'distance'. 'Distance' is associated with negative affective involvement or 'marked affect' and has not been considered here as part of the system of 'involvement'. While construal of the other two dimensions is based on 'unmarked' pronominal usage, 'distance' can be encoded by means of discriminatory pronominal choice, which is a means of 'marked' usage. With respect to the 'involvement' feature, it can be subdivided into different features in parallel with the two relationship dimensions—'intimacy' and 'non-intimacy' as follows:

The features of 'involvement' in relation to 'intimacy' include:

'familial solidarity', 'pseudo kinship', 'solidarity', 'deference', 'politeness', and 'endearment'.

The features of 'involvement' in association with 'non-intimacy' are:

'formality', 'neutrality' and 'uncalled-for solidarity'.

'Familial solidarity' is intended towards identifying a kinship connection between two interlocutors who are related by blood. All kinship terms can be used to realise 'familial solidarity' in a relationship as standalone terms or in combination with

the referent's given name or nickname. Pronominal usage by a senior speaking to a junior, the role of kinship identification significantly lies in the 1st person referent. On the contrary, for usage by a junior speaking to a senior, it is the 2nd person referent that significantly plays the role of signifying the relationship roles of both the speaker and the targeted addressee. For example, a father could use the following pronominal pairs to identify his role relationship with his son: /phɔ̂:/-/kæ:/, /phɔ̂:/-/ʔeŋ/, /phɔ̂:/-/lú:k/. By removing the 1st person pronoun from the first and the second pair and respectively replacing them by /chăn/ and /khâ:/ in the first two pronominal pairs, their kinship role identification feature will disappear, invalidating the encoding of 'familial solidarity'. As for the third pair, /chăn/ or /khâ:/ does not collocate with the kinship term /lú:k/. This kinship term can collocate with only a senior-kin term; with any other choice, it will be ungrammatical. Interestingly to note in this context that, in the third pair, it is the 2nd person referent which signals an additional feature of 'involvement'—'endearment' which a father expresses towards his son provided that it is used in pair with the kinship term. Given the son's role, he can construe his parental-child relationship with his father by focusing on the 2nd person pronominal term to reference his father using a parental kinship term such as /phŏm/-/phɔ̂:/, /chăn/-/phɔ̂:/, /khâ:/-/phɔ̂:/. By removing the 2nd person pronoun and changing it to a non-kinship term, the 'familial solidarity' feature will be invalidated, such as /phŏm/-/khun/, /chăn/-/kæ:/, /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/, which is contextually inapplicable and unusable. When a child speaks to their parent, or a junior relative speaks to a senior relative, the 2nd person form has to be a senior-kin term only, but the 1st person form can be a 1st person informally-used personal pronoun proper or a junior-kin term.

'**Pseudo kinship**' refers to usage of a kinship term as a means to trigger or to reinforce a close or solidary relationship with a spouse or non-kin individual, either younger or older, regardless of his or her social status or biological connection with the speaker. The speaker is meant to convey the sense of a kin-like relationship in his verbal choice to acknowledge the addressee as though the latter was one of his family members. When a kinship term is used to address a non-kin individual, it is called a pseudo- or displaced kinship term. Usage of all forms of pseudo- or displaced kinship terms with or without combining with a deferential title such as /khun/+/ta:/ or with an occupation term such as /ta:/+'Phuyai' is possible to be construed as 'pseudo kinship'.

'**Deference' (or respect)** concerns how an individual whose social status is lower encodes his respect or esteem toward a social superior referent through pronominal usage. In this study, 'deference' does not exist between two socially equals (only from an 'inferior' to a 'superior'), nor between non-acquaintances. There are two perspectives as regard development of 'deference' in an individual. From the perspective of a kin relationship, 'deference' is bound by biological or genealogical connection and relationship role. Children show respect for their parents. Younger siblings show respect for their elder brothers or sisters. In terms of pronominal usage, senior-kin terms can be in use as 2nd person forms following the title /khun/ or /thâ:n/ to express the younger kin's 'deference'. From a non-kin perspective, 'deference' is gained or earned through socialisation between two unequal individuals. A teacher can gain respect from her student(s) through her professionalism. A superintendent can earn respect from his subordinate(s) through his administrative as well as functional or technical capability. Between two strangers or non-acquaintances, therefore, 'deference' cannot readily exist at their first sight, it takes time to develop. However, toward a public figure, such as a politician, one may develop his respectful attitude towards him without direct socialisation or interaction with him, for the person's background and profile are publicly well-known. To demonstrate courtesy for a senior kin member, the speaker can make use of combining one of the following pronouns which is suitable to the addressee's social status: /khun/ and /thân/ or some rank or tittle terms such as 'Mom', 'Chaokhun', 'Khunying' with the appropriate kinship designator to form the 2nd person referent. And he can use one of the following terms that matches his gender and social status as his self-referent: /lû:k/, /nŭ:/, /phŏm/, /krà?-phŏm/, /dì?-chăn/.

To express his 'deference' towards a non-kin superior through verbal interactions, the speaker can make use of pronominal terms of which the forms are deferentially-marked. Deferentially-marked pronominal terms are generally used to convey politeness or used in a formal situation. Therefore, all the pronominal patterns and structures, which can be utilised in demonstrating 'formality' are applicable to designating 'deference' as well. In other words, in Thai pronominal system, deferentially-marked pronominal terms can be employed in expressing 'formality' and 'deference'. There seems to be a conflict of usage for these two different purposes. On

one hand, ‘formality’ can be associated with ‘non-intimacy’ in a relationship. On the other hand, ‘deference’ only coalesces with ‘intimacy’. When those deferentially-marked pronominal terms are used, how could one differentiate whether the speaker’s choice is bound for ‘formality’ or for ‘deference’? For determining the speaker’s purpose, contextual information is thus necessary. To focus only on form can only lead to misinterpretation. Regarding the pronominal forms, there exists a relationship between ‘formality and ‘deference’. ‘Deference’ as a feature of enacting one’s respect toward a non-kin superior through pronominal choice can be considered to be a subsequent stage of relationship development. Upon their introduction, in order to observe social proprieties, the inferior needs to choose the most appropriate pronominal terms to match the addressee’s social status. After getting more acquaint with the superior, the speaker has developed a respectful attitude towards him. However, since the relationship has changed positively, the inferior could continue showing his courtesy his superior using the same pronominal choice. It may not be necessary for him to change his pronominal choice, for it is probably the most appropriate one. Perceptually, his verbal behaviour does not change. The quality of politeness that he has expressed through his verbal behaviour, by perception, does not change. What has changed is his interpersonal relationship with the addressee, which cannot be differentiated through the pronominal system. In fictions, to evaluate whether the socially-inferior speaker enacts ‘formality’ or ‘deference’, to determine only pronominal terms may not be adequate. The contextual descriptions of their relations need to be considered. However, between two blood relatives, ‘formality’ is, by default, superseded by ‘deference’. As mentioned earlier their interpersonal relations are defined by a familial hierarchical connection. ‘Deference’ is predetermined through familial lineage; the younger shows courtesy for the older. And it does not need to take much time to be firmly established. In parallel, pronominal choice is predefined by their kinship roles before they have been in contact with each other; and it takes a only a short time to be validated and settled and hardly needs further adjustment afterwards, though. Unlike between two non-kin individuals, in a formal situation, the superior will need to observe some proprieties and evaluate the best possible choice to designate the inferior’s status in their very first interactions; and the junior does the same. Afterwards, a possible adjustment may be needed to fit

their enhanced relationship. There could be some exceptions, though, especially between two distant relatives, such as the case between Potchaman and Mom Phannarai in 'The Golden Sand Mansion' in which 'deference' is challenged by a feeling of being distant. Based on contextual information, it is not hard to pinpoint that Potchaman's pronominal choice is acted out of an unpleasant attitude rather than a respectful one.

'Solidarity' is different from 'familial solidarity' in the sense that the speaker does not associate the closeness in his or her relationship with the addressee to a kin connection. When the relationship between the two is on a reciprocal basis, both participants in the conversational situation are **socially equal or are intimate equals.** The two participants must be well familiar with each other and reciprocate each other's pronominal usage or mutually exchange the same-level of pronouns. They may or may not be relatives, cousins or even siblings, or they may be just close acquaintances. Between two siblings or cousins, despite their age difference, may opt for a reciprocal relationship in which they can mutually exchange the same pair of pronominal terms (non-restraint pronouns can be included) or the same level of pronominal choice in which two different pronominal terms are considered as equivalent in terms of signaling interpersonal meaning but are gender-specific. Kinship terms and deferential pronominal forms are not involved. The most popular forms may include non-restraint form, informal form and nickname.

In the case that one speaker is superior to the other, either in terms of social status or of age without any biological involvement, it is the superior who is, by default, given the privilege to exercise a control over the realisation of 'solidarity' by using informal non-referential pronominal forms or non-restraint forms, excluding kinship, rank and occupation terms. However, the inferior can never reciprocate the same pronominal choice that they make or else they will be considered disrespectful or rude.

'**Politeness'** refers to the extending of verbal courtesy by a social superior to an inferior or between two non-kin social equal intimates who are also relatively at the same age to conform with social proprieties. The mostly-used pronominal terms in realisation of this feature of 'involvement' between social equals are /dì-chăn/, /khun/, /phŏm/ and rank or occupation term. It can be said that 'politeness' is a shifting of the speaker's pronominal behaviour that he used to exercise 'formality' during the initial

stage of relationship development to a subsequent stage where his relationship with the addressee has advanced to a level of closeness. Similar to 'deference', in terms of differentiation between 'formality' and 'politeness' more contextual information is indispensable. There is no clear-cut distinction between 'formality' and 'politeness' in terms of pronominal form but not marginal in terms of pragmatic usage which can be supported by contextual clues or other linguistic elements such as final or polite particles, pitch and tone of voice, etc. so as to precisely pinpoint the relationship dimension between the speaker and the addressee.

'Endearment' refers to usage of interpersonal resources to convey someone's affectionate attitude toward another as part of negotiating a close relationship. It is a one-way demonstration of non-carnal affection that a social superior can encode his feelings for a social inferior in his pronominal behaviour. The relationship roles between a social superior and a social inferior may include parent-child, brother-sister, grandparent-grandchild, teacher-student, master-servant, employer-employee, senior-junior colleague, adult-child acquaintance, etc. The widely-used pronominal resources to signal the speaker's affection towards the addressee are rather limited, which include the status term /lû:k/ or /nŭ:/ used as a 2nd person pronominal term. Usage of the referent's nickname as the 2nd person pronominal term can also be indicative of the speaker's affection provided that he uses a kinship term as his 1st person reference. Between cousins or siblings, usage of the kinship term /nɔ́:ŋ/ by the older as the 2nd person referent for the younger can also be perceived as expressing the speaker's fondness towards the other. The 2nd person pronoun /câu/ can also be used in reflecting the speaker's affection towards his intimate inferior, which is used only in historical fictions.

'Formality' refers to such interactions in any formal situation whereby some social etiquettes have to be upheld and proprieties to be observed, such as in public place, in a public ceremony. It also includes the first meeting between two people. 'Formality' seeks not only to encode how two non-kin individuals interact through language choice in a formal situation but also through a non-formal situation in which two non-kin interlocutors observe language formalities as a means to keep a proper distance between him and the referent or the conversational partner, either because of observing proprieties or unfamiliarity. 'Formality' may also insinuate the

speaker's disassociation from the addressee in a polite manner, which can be transformed to 'distance'.

Given usage of pronominal pairs between two non-kin interlocutors, both the 1st and the 2nd person forms, to enact this 'involevment' feature generally include those deferentially-associated pronouns, such as /phŏm/, /kràʔ-phŏm/, /chăn/, /dìʔ-chăn/, /khun/, /thân/. To signal 'formality, /khun/ can be used to combined with a given name (but not a nickname), and /thân/, a rank or position to address the 2nd person referents. Others may also include address and occupation terms such as /tâ:i-thá:u/, 'Chaokhun', 'Khunying', 'Khunchai', 'Thanying', 'Thanchai', /cà:/ 'sergeant', /mù:/ 'police officer', /phû:-mù:ɤt/ 'lieutenant'. Some specific occupation terms—/khru:/ 'teacher' and /mɔ̌:/ 'doctor', 'Phuyai' and 'Kamnan' can designate 'formality' in a non-intimate relationship. Royalty-related pronouns such as /mɔ̀:m-chăn/ 'I', /kràʔ-mɔ̀:m/ 'I', /fà:-bà:t/ 'your highness' as well as monk-related pronouns such as /ʔà:t-tàʔ-ma:/ 'I' and /jo:m/ 'you' are also included as part of these interpersonal resources. The above royalty-related terms can also be used for expressing respect if the speaker is well familiar with the royal addressee. However, the two sacred terms are used by monks speaking to laypeople, so they are not considered deferentially-related. No kinship terms are included.

In a parent-child relationship, 'formality' as construed by linguistic choice is less likely to happened, for it is a norm for a child to use a parental kinship term to address their father or mother. In a novel, however, this norm does not apply, which is the case of 'A Personal of Quality' in which a daughter addresses her mother as /khun/ as already discussed in the beginning of this chapter. As also found in the novel 'The Four Reigns', a mother calls her son as /khun/. 'Formality' can also apply when a monk son addresses his parents with monk terms.

'Neutrality' in a relationship is found in very few novels, such as 'Our Land' (between Naren and father), 'Ghosts' (Ratchani and her parents) and 'Golden Sand Mansion' (Siri-orn and Photchani) maintained by a social superior speaking to a familiar or an unfamiliar inferior. The speaker does not intend to signal any positive or negative affective involvement in the relationship with the addressee. They do not want to be rude nor want to be warmly approachable. They seem not to care for fostering any intimacy with the addressee.

'Uncalled-for solidarity' happens in a non-intimate relationship between two social equals as well as two social unequals. However, the available pronominal resources vary in accordance with the speaker's 'status' as seen the chart below. The reason this feature has been located in the dimension of 'non-intimacy' is because by do this, the speaker has the possibility of directing his rapport with the addressee towards either ends of the relationship cline in an unrestrained way or in an informal manner. And usually this state may last very shortly and may develop itself to be negative or positive depending on the 'chemistry' between interlocutors whereby further pronominal adjustments may be necessary.

When initiated by a social superior, based on the literary evidence, with non-deferential or non-restraint personal pronouns proper, there could be a negative connotation, which can be categorised as a discriminatory choice such as the case between Chomphu and Lamnau in 'The Edge of the Forest'. By using a displaced kinship term as self-reference or the status term /nŭ:/, the speaker is usually making a positive rapport, which could be viewed as insinuating respectively a pseudo familiar solidarity or 'endearment' with the inferior addressee.

Between two social equals, 'uncalled-for solidarity' may be viewed as negative or positive. Being with a negative intent, the speaker may make use of non-deferential or non-restraint personal pronouns proper without respecting the level of 'intimacy' with the addressee such as the case between Khawi and Narin in the novel 'A Diverted Way to Paradise', which could also be considered a discriminatory pronominal strategy. In case, the social status is ambiguous, and a senior-kin term is used to pronominally refer to the addressee, the strategy is quite welcome without being perceived as having any hidden agenda. Such usage of displaced kinship term by a social inferior is usually subject to a positive perception.

'**Condescension**' can be considered as a secondary feature of 'involvement'. It can be tied to 'politeness', 'solidarity' and 'pseudo kinship'. It is about what the superior 'can mean' by making familiar or intimate non-kin inferior feel appreciated. After a relationship has been established, the two interlocutors have got to know each other better, still the superior stick at demonstrating 'formality' through his polite pronominal choice in their conversations, be they formal or informal. As already mentioned, the deferential-marking pronominal forms used to express

'formality' can be used by the superior to show his courtesy for the inferior despite having a relationship already quite close or not distant. Similar to 'deference', condescension bears a connection with 'formality'. It is a subsequent stage of relationship development, but with a focus on the social superior's pronominal behaviour. For example, Phraya Phonlawat uses the pronominal pair speaking to Manop in the novel 'A Personal of Quality'. 'Condescension' can also be in place between 'master' and 'servant'. When a master does not use any non-restraint pronouns such as /ku:/-/mɯŋ/, /chăn/-/kæ:/, /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ speaking to his servant, the speaker is perceived to be nice, not predominantly imposing his superiority over his servant in signaling 'solidarity'. He may resort to address the servant by his name instead of using the non-restraint pronoun /kæ:/. Usage of the following 2nd person pronouns proper by a master speaking to a servant who is younger or about the same relative age can also be considered as a practice of 'condescension' such as /tu:ɤ/, /thɤ:/, /na:i/, /rau/. Momchao Photchanapricha, in the novel 'Prisna', speaks to his male servant using /chăn/-/na:i/. Or a younger master may use a 'pseudo kinship' term to address or pronominally refers to an older servant. All these instances of pronominal behaviour can be considered as beckoning 'condescension' by the superior. For example, Ratchani uses the following pronominal pair /chăn/-/na:i/+Phun in her conversations with her father's driver. Potchaman refers to one of her maid as /phî:/+Chaem. Such pronominal usage creates a perception of a lesser hierarchical gap between the superior and the inferior.

In conclusion, by 'condescension', from a vertical relationship viewpoint, the superior gets out of his own status and climbs down the hierarchical social ladder to a level closer to the inferior's status, making him more approachable to the inferior. In other words, the gap of the vertical relationship between the superior and the inferior is more closely linked by the former himself, and, hence, a congenial atmosphere for relationship development.

The inter-relationship between Tenor variable, relationship dimension and feature of 'involvement' as construed via Thai pronominal reference can be summarized in Figure 5.2. Pronouns with deferential form include all deferentially-used or formally-used forms such as those personal pronouns proper like /dìʔ-chăn/, /ʔìʔ-chăn/, /kràʔ-phŏm/, /phŏm/, /khun/, /thâ:n/, royalty-related and sacred pronouns, etc.

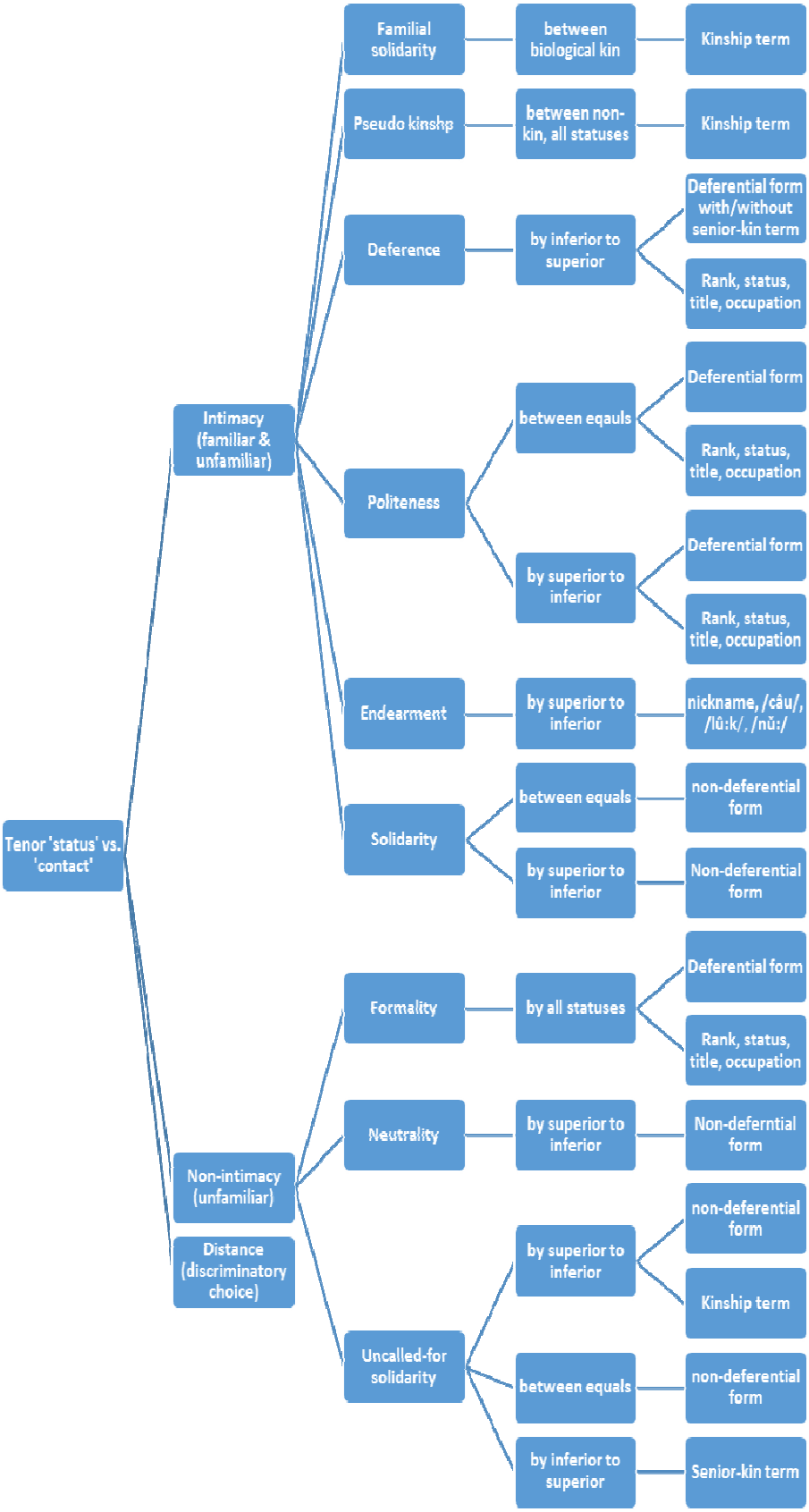

Figure 5.2 Relationship between Thai pronominal usage and 'involvement'

as well as noun-like terms—rank, occupation, title, status or senior-kin terms preceded by a deferential title, e.g. /khun/ or /thâ:n/. Non-deferential pronominal forms include all informally-used personal pronouns proper including non-restraint forms, name or nickname.

5.3 Usage of 3rd person pronouns in realisation of 'involvement'

The inventory of 3rd person forms in Thai pronominal systems also contains names, noun-like pronouns and personal pronouns proper. Being different from pronominally-used nouns, the role of the 3rd person pronouns proper in identifying social and role relationships as well as affective involvement between the speaker and the 3rd-party referent, perhaps, are not so distinctive as that of 1st person and 2nd personal pronouns proper. These pronouns are in use as a standalone term without pairing like the other two pronominal kinds. To refer to a third person, by default, the speaker must associate his role-relationship with the referent based on his face-to-face experience with him or the referent's social background information that he has received. For example, in referring to their father, two siblings can identically use one of these pronominal terms: /kæ:/, /khău/, /thâ:n/ or only the kinship term /phɔ̂:/, or combined forms such as /phɔ̂:+kæ:/, /khun+phɔ̂:+thâ:n/, a form of resumptive or shadow pronoun (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom, 2005, p. 368). The same set of personal pronouns proper can also be used to refer to their mother or a senior relative or any adult acquaintance regardless of the referent's gender, except the kinship term has to be altered to match the referent. Knowing their relationship, one would not hesitate to associate usage of these terms to 'familial relationship'. Despite, usage of /kæ:/ is generally associated with a close relationship, which is very normal between a junior and a senior kin. However, the term /kæ:/ can also apply to a junior kin such as a son or a daughter. Unless, it is a resumptive or shadow pronoun which can be preceded by a kinship term or a name, usage of /kæ:/ on its own in referring to someone, to evaluate the speaker's relationship with the 3rd person not taking part in the conversations, one needs more contextual information for interpretation of what level of 'involvement' it is signaling. It is true that this pronoun signals closeness or familiarity, but it may not always be true. When two interlocutors talking to each

other about their parents, they may refer to each other's father using this pronoun /kæ:/ despite they have never met the 3rd person referent. The usage of /kæ:/ in this situation is more influenced by the interpersonal closeness between these two interlocutors rather with the 3rd party. It would be impossible to evaluate this pronoun without considering the other factors that I have mentioned.

There are some 3rd person pronouns that are or can be attitudinal or evaluative lexis such as /thâ:n/, /man/ and /lɔ̀:n/, and therefore, can also be part of expressive resources, which will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The pronoun /thâ:n/ is highly deferentially oriented. Once it is said, the speaker is deemed to be showing his respect for the referent. This pronoun is only used to refer to a social superior. Usage of this pronoun can promptly be related to a deferentially-driven feature such as 'deference' or 'formality' and 'politeness'.

The pronoun /man/ can be used as a 3rd person form for only an intimate equal or an inferior. Or else, it is considered a non-restraint term expressing the speaker's disrespect when used as a referential term for an adult, a superior or a non-acquaintance. In short, this pronoun is itself not completely an attitudinally-driven lexical item, it is more functionally-oriented to be classified as realising a distance-oriented or a closeness-oriented attitude. In case it is used to refer to a social equal or an inferior, like other 3rd person pronouns, more contextual information would be necessary for evaluation.

Usage of /khău/ could be subject to a neutral or a distant attitude. In general it is a generic 3rd person form used to refer to any referent regardless of their social class except royalty and monk. However, it could be interpreted with a negative attitude if used as a standalone term to refer to an older kin. Usually it is used as a resumptive pronoun, following a kinship term or a name like others. In the novel, 'The Edge of the Forest', Chot uses this pronoun as the 3rd person form referring to Lamnau when speaking to his sister, Chomphu.

The term /thɤ:/ usually is used to refer to a female equal. In the novel 'Letters from Thailand' Tan Suang-u /tan sù:ɤŋ- ʔŭ:/ uses the pronoun /thɤ:/ referring to Mui Eng /mŭi-ʔeŋ/, his wife, and her sister, Ang Buai. It can also refer to a 3rd person male as an expression of the speaker's courtesy for the referent.

In determining the role of signaling an interpersonal relationship, usage of a 3rd person form is subject not only to the relationship between the speaker himself and the third party not involved in the conversation, but also his relationship with the conversational partner. While the speaking is talking about someone else with one attitude, he may have a different attitude or relationship with the second person.

- Realisation of 'deference' by using 3rd person pronoun:

In the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion', the wet nurse Thip or Nom Thip /nom thíp/ and others, in her conversations, pronominally refers to Pharada as /thɤ:/ or /thâ:n/, and to his mother, Mom Phannarai, as /thâ:n/. Their usage implies the distinctions between the two pronouns that the former is a deferential form but not for a senior superior. When Nom Thip speak to other maids in the household about Pharada, she did not hold any respectful attitude towards the conversational participants; rather she is superior to them.

When Phloi, in the novel 'Four Reigns' talking about her half-siblings, Khun Un, Khun Chit and Khun Choei, she always uses the term /thɤ:/ referring to them.

- Realisation of 'distance' by using a 3rd person pronoun

All the following examples are considered discriminatory usage of 3rd person forms in realization of distant relationships between the speakers and the 3rd person referents.

When the 3rd person pronoun /man/ is used to reference a senior adult or a superior, such usage can be perceived as being disrespectful as found in the novel 'Photchaman Sawangwong' (pp. 349). In her conversation with her elder sister Photchaman, Photchani fusses about how Mom Phannarai, their aunt, mistreats them. She purposively refers to the senior lady as /man/ without regard for her status as their senior relative—she clearly declares that she does not like the referent.

In the novel, 'Dr. Kan', the corrupted district officer or 'sheriff', being mistaken that Dr. Kan has reported on him about his illicit businesses, uses the pronoun /man/ referring to the doctor in his conversation with Choet, his associate, while the latter uses the pronoun /khău/ referring to the doctor. Similarly, the sheriff would not use /man/ to refer to Kan if, for example, he is talking to Phumuat Damkoeng, who is not his associate.

In the novel, Gold-Pasted Cement, being heart-broken, as Bali his girlfriend has broken off with him, Amon comes over to Songmueang and talks to him about her past sexual behaviour in a contemptuous way, using the pronoun /lɔ̀:n/ referring to her. In the conversation with Songmueang, he is using polite pronominal terms, but at the same time referring to his ex-girlfriend in a very offensive way.

In the same novel, Songmueang, who comes from a broken home, has had a bitter impression on his own mother. When his friend's mother, whom he loves and admires, asks him about her, he replies with the 3rd person /khău/ in referring to her instead of using /kæ:/ or the kinship term /mæ̂:/ (Volume I, p. 30). His usage of /khău/ is perceived by some that he has a sour relationship with his mother. This suggests some affective differences associated with these pronouns. In his talk with his friend's mother whom he called 'mother', Songmeaung is enacting 'familial solidarity', and 'distance' when referring to his own mother.

In her conversations about Photchaman with her daughters, Pharadi and Phawini, Mom Phannarai always use the pronoun /man/ referring to this distant relative, suggesting a distant attitude towards the girl. However, some may argue that usage of /man/ is not necessarily tied to a negative attitude of the speaker. This pronoun can be used by a social superior referring to a 3rd person inferior with a neutral tone, for example, two parents talking about their child not present in the scene.

- Realisation of 'mild mockery' on the 2n person by using the 3rd person pronoun /câu-lɔ̀:n/

This pronoun /câu-lɔ̀:n/ is used to reference a young female whom the speaker does not know or have any contact with. It is used in the novel 'A Personal of Quality' when Wimon questions her younger half-brother about his girlfriend that she has never met. It is also used in the novel 'Prisna' by Momchao Photchanapricha when talking to Prawit about the latter's infatuation with a young woman named 'Anong' whom the speaker has never seen. It carries sense of mild mockery not directly on the 3rd person referent, but on the 2nd person himself.

As seen from above examples, realisation of interpersonal relationship between the speaker and another person, who is not participating in the conversation, couldn be implemented through usage of 3rd person pronouns proper as well. Variations of usage can suggest different degrees of closeness between both parties.

CHAPTER VI
THAI PRONOUNS AND 'ATTITUDE'

In the Thai language, in terms of negotiating tenor relations between two characters in a fiction or between two interlocutors in a real life situation, there could be more than just one dimension of interpersonal meaning involved. Under normal circumstances, for example, a social inferior ought not to speak to a social superior using the non-restraint pronominal pair /ku:/-/mɯŋ/. Usage of such pronouns by the former, however, is most likely triggered by an emotional drive. It could be an abrupt verbal manifestation of sudden extreme unhappiness or anger caused by the speaker's undesirable feeling toward the latter. This kind of linguistic phenomenon in which the social etiquette of negotiating a tenor relation has been overridden by an emotion cause cannot be adequately accounted for by the system of 'involvement'. The interpersonal meaning as realized in the speaker's utterances is beyond just the classification that the context is a formal or an informal situation and that both interlocutors have an intimate or non-intimate relationship. By considering only his pronominal choice of non-restraint forms, it could be right that the speaker and the addressee are very familiar with each other. However, by identifying their social backgrounds, if the speaker is socially inferior to the addressee, such pronominal usage cannot be decoded as conveying a solidary relationship. According to social norms, such pronominal choice is totally and unacceptably crude. Deciphering of the true interpersonal meaning as encrypted in the usage of such pronouns must involve contextual information, social background of both conversational participants. Without taking into consideration these factors, interpretative analysis of the pronominal choice could be inaccurate. Owing to contextual dependency, pronominal forms can be considered as part of attitudinal tokens encoding 'attitude' especially if they are 'markedly' used. Thai native speakers would promptly grasp the intended affective meanings encoded through these resources should the other interlocutors utter them in an unusual way, which as well signifies the dimension of their

contemporaneous relationship at that particular moment. 'Intimacy' may momentarily turn to be 'distance' or vice versa depending on how unusual the speaker's pronominal choice has been made to convey positive or negative attitude.

According to Brown and Gilman (1960, p. 273), the mechanism of utilizing pronominal resources to emotionally express one's transient attitude towards someone else relies on the switching between T and V pronouns. Depending on the usage norm, a change from a usual choice to an unexpected choice indicates the speaker's contemporaneous feeling or attitude. They suggest that variation of pronominal choice which is not consistent with the speaker's customary practice is a means of expressing his or her emotional involvement:

> *"Behavioural norms are practices consistent within a group. So long as the choice of a pronoun is recognized as normal for group, its interpretation is simply the membership of the speaker in that group. Sometimes the choice of a pronoun clearly violates a group norm and perhaps also the customary practice of the speaker. Then meaning of the act will be sought in some attitude or emotion of the speaker...The general meaning of an unexpected pronoun choice is simply that the speaker, for the moment, views his relationship as one that calls for the pronoun used. This kind of variation in language behaviour expresses a contemporaneous feeling or attitude. These variations are not consistent personal styles but departures from one's own custom and the customs of a group in response to a mood"*

This clearly suggests that the significance of express one's emotional attitudes through pronominal choice lies in such language behaviour that there must be an abrupt or unexpected change of his style of pronominal choice, and the change or departure from one's norm of pronominal usage only lasts temporarily. There are two kinds of breaking the pronoun norms—breaking the norms of 'power' and the norms of 'solidarity'. "Breaking the norms of power generally has the meaning that a speaker regards an addressee as his inferior, superior, or equal, although by usual criteria, and according to the speaker's own customary usage, the addressee is not what the pronoun implies," (Brown & Gilman, p. 274), which indicates that while expressing his emotional attitudes, the speaker chooses a pronoun that does not accord

to the addressee' actual social position or social role. *"…Breaking the norms of solidarity generally means that the speaker temporarily thinks of the other as an outsider or as an intimate; it means that sympathy is extended or withdrawn,*" (Brown & Gilman, p. 274). This suggests that the speaker's expressed emotional attitudes towards the addressee could be either positive or negative. The positive ones are displayed side by side with 'intimacy', while the other are tied to 'distance'. The unconventional pronominal behaviour is in alignment with Poynton's concepts of marked language usage, while the customary pronominal usage corresponds to the concept of unmarked choice. By respecting the Tenor conditions, the speakers have to adopt unmarked language forms or behaviours especially when the addresses are socially superior. Expressions of obvious negative attitudes or feelings or 'marked affect' have to be inhibited. To do otherwise, they have to ignore the Tenor conditions.

Such a mechanism is also valid in Thai pronominal system as supported by Palakornkul (1972, p. 101). According to her study about pronouns in standard Thai, there are three types of pronominal switching, namely normal, etiquette and expressive switching. Normal switching is about shifting of pronouns that are applicable for a particular role set and role relationship. As regards Tenor variables, the speaker switches between pronominal terms that are appropriate for the conditions of 'status' and 'contact' between him and the addressee. The switching is not a result of any change of his mood nor it will cause any change in the degree of closeness in his relationship with the addressee. For example, in quite a number of novels, a motherly affection towards her child may be pronominally expressed through usage between the child's nickname and the kinship term /lû:k/ or the status term /nŭ:/ to signify her intimacy and affection with her offspring. The second type is about changing of pronominal choice in the presence of someone else for the sake of politeness or impressiveness. This kind of switching is also employed in Thai novels, such as 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields', the case of a retired prostitute named Rose and her long-forsaken daughter named Dalin as discussed in the previous chapter. The third type is expressive pronominal switching, a kind of linguistic behaviour adopted as an impermanent emotive reaction to a psychological cause rather than a social one. The speaker essentially is psychologically provoked by the target referent and so

momentarily violates the norms of pronominal behaviour by intentionally selecting pronominal choices that do not conform to the proper standards as governed by the existing Tenor conditions. In the novel 'The Judgement', Fak /fák/, a school janitor, has been cheated out of his money by the school headmaster. Being so frustrated and enraged, Fak is so emotionally uncontrollable that he changes his pronominal choice from the deferentially-used pair /phŏm/-/khru:-jài/ ('head master') to the non-restraint forms /ku:/-/mɯŋ when demanding for his money back. With his job position, he is socially inferior to the school headmaster. And his former pronominal choice is appropriate for their relationship roles. However, the change to the non-restraint pair is considerably crude and not aligned with the social norms. In addition, while he is behaving with such an unusual manner for his pronominal choice, he is simultaneously reshaping his relationship with the school headmaster to a very distant one, completely losing all his 'deference' for the addressee. His usual interpersonal 'intimacy' with the 'Khruyai' is at that particular moment has shatteringly fallen apart. The contemporaneous emotion of extreme 'dissatisfaction' has entirely consumed him and swept away his conscience and consciousness. At that very moment, he just wants to give vent to his feelings of utter displeasure. His choice of non-restraint pronominal forms are the tokens strategically used to represent his momentarily raging anger. Without taking into consideration the Tenor conditions and other contextual information, by just focusing on Fak's pronominal usage and the deictic function of the pronominal forms, the interpretation will be inadequate that the interpersonal relations that Fak has reshaped are beyond just demanding for his rightful money back. The two pronouns by themselves are explicitly marking his negative emotive reaction, but their encoded meanings have to be analysed by means of association to the Tenor variables in conjunction with the context of use in order to accurately construe what they really are meant to imply. They just function like other types of attitudinal token of which, according to White (2006, p. 2) negative or positive viewpoints can be construed via various mechanisms of association and implication.

In the novel, 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow', Wayu is very unhappy when his divorced mother has got him a stepfather who is an acquaintance in the neighbourhood. Thanks to their age difference, he and the man respectively exchange the following pronominal pattern: /phŏm/-/ná:/ and /ná:/-/cún/ (his nickname). The term /ná:/ in this

context means 'uncle', an instance of displaced kinship. Once in a brawl because his stepfather assaulted his mother, Wayu stabs him and runs away. When they later meet again, the young man aggressively changes his pronominal choice to /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ speaking to his ex-stepfather. With respect to his ex-stepfather's seniority, his usage of this pronominal pair can be considered very rude and disrespectful. However, his verbal behaviour is provoked by his memory of how his mother was maltreated by her second ex-husband. The young man has done it on purpose out of disrespect towards to the older man and was once his stepfather.

It is also possible that expressive switching be operated without any violation of acceptable social or group norms. Being emotionally provoked, some individuals may resort to particular pronouns that are distinguishable from the other pronouns that are used on a regular basis, despite they all are equally qualified in terms of fulfilling the status conditions of the interactants' relationships. This kind of switching can be considered as a violation of one particular individual's pronominal norm or a departure from his usual pronominal choice for a particular role set. For example, in the novel 'A Diverted Way to Paradise', in one situation, Khit /khít/--Khawi's father is so enraged by his only son's crude verbal attacks on his newly-wed young-as-daughter wife, Lila, who is Narin's elder sister. He berates his spoiled son heatedly. One of his linguistic strategies used is the switching of his own regular self-referential term from /phɔ̂:/ 'father' to /chăn/. His usual pronominal pair used in speaking to his son are /phɔ̂:/-/kæ:/ which are changed to /chăn/-/kæ:/ when the speaker is in a bad mood. In terms of the tenor conditions, his status as a father is socially superior to his son's. Usage of either the paternal kinship term or the personal pronoun proper does not violate any acceptable social norms of pronominal choice for a role set between a father and a son. However, in terms of 'involvement', he normally uses the kinship term to signal a regular congenial relationship with Khawi; but when he gets angry, he switches it to /chăn/. The father's strategic choice of pronoun is a means to promptly flag a distant attitude with his son as a consequence of his anger over his improper behaviour.

In the novel Photchaman Sawangwong (the sequel to 'The Golden Sand Mansaion'), Photchaman has already been using her nickname for self-referencing purpose when speaking to her husband--Pharada, who is about ten years older, her

distant cousin and a royalty-related descendant. Prior to their developed loving relationship, she used the 1st person deferentially-used form /dì-chăn/ instead and did not have very favourable attitude about him. Only after he had proved to be a truly respectable man, she changed her opinion about him and loved him. After their marriage, there have been a lot of familial hiccups and problems that upset both of them. Whenever Photchaman gets stressed or frustrated partly because of her misunderstanding about him, she will switch her self-reference to /dì-chăn/ like she used before. By doing so, she is reviving a distance between her and him as if he was temporarily not her significant other. When they first met in the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion', she did not have a favourable opinion about him and she used this personal pronoun proper when speaking to him in order to formally signal a distance between her and him. Her expressive pronominal switching has not countered any norm of acceptable pronominal choice but is a marked choice of her own as temporarily triggered by an emotional motive.

The motive triggering expressive pronominal switching could also be ascribed to a positive attitude. In the novel, 'Photchaman Sawangwong', after Photchani having discovered the truth that her elder sister Photchaman, whom she never likes, has been so caring for her and doing all possible to secure her well-being, she bursts out in tears and, in her soliloquy, replaces her usual pronominal pair /tɕăn/-/phî:-jăi/ 'the eldest sister' with the kinship term /nɔ́:ŋ/ 'younger sibling', hence /nɔ́:ŋ/-/phî:-jăi/. She is regretting that she has all along been very jealous of her elder sister's marriage and social status and has behaved so disrespectfully towards her sister and even has falsely accused her of committing an adultery, while her elder sister always loves and is so supportive of her. Her regret is a result of her new positive attitude on her elder sister. Both /tɕăn/ and /nɔ́:ŋ/ are acceptable 1st person pronominal terms used by a younger sibling speaking to an older sibling. Nevertheless, by identifying herself as /nɔ́:ŋ/, the speaker humbly and intimately acknowledges her own inferior status and simultaneously placing her elder sister horizontally higher with heartfelt respect. Her change from a personal pronoun proper to a kinship term signifies a very intimate sisterhood together with her appreciation of her elder sister's love for her. Such pronominal switching is the opposite way to what Fak has done in the novel 'The Judgement' in which he has lowered the status of his superior.

The 3rd person pronoun /man/ can also be used to realise the speaker's negative emotional outburst. In the novel 'A Stench of Dew', a young adolescent girl—Punhom, having been sexually abused by Suepphong /sùː:p-phoŋ/, an adult male acquaintance, she uses this pronoun referring to him in her conversation with her grandmother. Her usage is very unusually offensive and impolite for a young teenage girl like her in referring to an adult whom she used to address as a 'pseudo uncle'. However, her pronominal change is aroused by her inner turmoil of humiliation and disgust which has transformed her previous respect to hatred and anger.

To reiterate, it is quite common in fictions that writers make use of pronominal resources in expressing a character's positive or negative transient attitudes towards others. By changing from a regularly-used pronominal pattern to a different one, the speaker's intention is to abruptly convey an evocative or provocative attitude towards the addressee or the referent. Expressive pronominal switching could be either violation of standard norms or an individual's irregular usage of pronominal patterns. In other words, it could be compliant to either 'status' or 'contact' of the Tenor environment. Anyhow, in real life, expressive pronominal switching is only an optional linguistic device which is not indispensable to every individual. Some individuals may react emotionally without changing their pronominal behaviours.

6.1 Thai pronouns and 'affect'

As already introduced in Chapter III, the 'appraisal' system deals with evaluative semantics, which comprises of three different subsystems-- 'attitude', 'engagement' and 'graduation'. It is the subsystem 'attitude' which directly concerns evaluative lexis. Within 'attitude', there exist three different components, namely 'affect', 'judgement' and 'appreciation'. 'Affect' concerns emotional reactions, 'judgement' focuses on evaluation of human behaviour and character, and 'appreciation' is related to assessments of qualities of the non-living 'stuffs'. Although Thai pronouns are considered resources construing interpersonal relations, there are also cases in which pronominal reference in conversations between two individuals is made in association with the non-living. Usually the 3rd-peson /man/ is used to serve the purpose. In novels, it is also possible that a character speak to, for

example, a house as if it was a human being. In the novel 'The Golden Sand Mansion', Photchaman twice, in her soliloquy, speaks to the big mansion using the 2nd person 'câu' implying her inner thought about it. However, the usage is meant to personify the house, which is a literary technique. The house is being portrayed as a person, not a thing, which can have a mystic power over all its inhabitants. The speaker's affective involvement with it is painted in such a way so as to create an emotional effect on the readers, which is quite similar to the relationship between Mekkhala and the big cobra in the novel 'The Hood of the Cobra'. As far as Thai pronominal resources are concerned, their linguistic consequences with respect to emotional reactions are directed towards human beings or 'personified' animals or things. Thai pronouns are not used by means of expressive switching or discriminatory choice to directly convey any sense of 'appreciation' for the non-living things or animals.

Now there remain two subsystems of 'attitude' which could concern Thai pronominal reference. 'Affect' is obviously an area to which Thai pronouns belong as found in different emotionally-related examples as already discussed above and in the last chapter. The examples have been found to activate 'distance' between speakers and addressees. In most cases, the pronouns are used in the situations whereby the speakers are in a very bad mood or take a dislike or antipathy to someone, such as the case between Khawi and his father or Narin and Khawi in 'A Diverted Way to Paradise', between Photchaman and her aunt or Pharadi and her mother in 'The Golden Sand Mansion', between Wayu and his father in 'My Sweet Dream Pillow', between Kan and Yong in the novel 'Dr. Kan', between Fak and the school headmaster in the novel 'The Judgement'. Those cases of pronominal reference are in the form of either discriminatory choice or expressive switching. But how about the component 'judgement'? In the novel 'The Judgement', some readers may consider that Fak's expressive pronominal switching to the extreme non-restraint forms /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ could be ascribed to his negative 'judgement' about the 'Khruyai', who has immorally cheated him out of his money. However, when using those pronouns speaking to him, Fak reacts in a very emotionally unrestrained manner. In this situation, his uncontrollable frustration has been triggered by the fact that the 'Khruyai' is cheating him out of his money, which drives him to vent on the dishonest referent by making the impolite language choice, violating all the norms of social

proprieties. In Fak's mind, the addressee's dishonesty truly deserves his insulting and berating. His pronominal reference is just part of his furious verbal attack on the cheater for his despicable deed. In the case between Khawi and his father, the latter expresses his anger by means of pronominal switching to the 1st person /chăn/ as a result of his disapproval of his son's improper behaviour of being rude to his young stepmother. These two examples are instances of expressive pronominal switching. Now let's turn to the following two examples of discriminatory pronominal choice. Between Photchaman and her aunt, Mom Phannarai, the senior lady discriminatorily uses /chăn/-/kæ: not to continually show her anger but mainly to express her antipathy towards the girl. Similarly, Wayu's father uses the same pronominal pair speaking to him not due to endless emotional frustrations but because of his dislike to this second son. All the above examples provide support that interlocutors can emotively activate their indignation, annoyance or anger through an abrupt change of unusual pronominal choice. They can also strategically utilize a selected pronoun(s) to unveil their disfavour or hatred of someone, which normally they do not use in referencing someone whom they have a positive opinion about. As elaborated, these examples of pronominal behaviour suggest that in addition to their deictic function, Thai pronouns can be markedly employed as attitudinal tokens to activate emotional reactions or feelings rather than assessments of human behaviour or character. Construal of the speakers' encrypted affective meanings through their pronominal choice needs to take into consideration their norms and conventions of their unmarked pronominal usage.

To conclude, Thai pronouns are not resources for construing 'judgement' nor for 'appreciation'. Suffice it to propose that the affective aspect of a pronoun which is contextually dependent can be analyzed and evaluated in the 'appraisal' framework as an indirect realisation of 'affect' a component of the subsystem 'attitude' in the form of 'attitudinal token'.

Martin and White (2005, p. 49-53) categorised their typology of different kinds of attitudinal or evaluative lexis and proposed the following three domains of 'affect':

(a) 'Un/happiness' include such feelings or attitudes as 'misery', 'antipathy', and the opposite, 'cheer', 'affection', for example, sad, heart-broken, unhappy, joyless, depressed, hate, love, adore, cheerful, like.

(b) 'In/security' include such feelings or attitudes as 'disquiet', 'surprise', and the opposite, 'confidence', 'trust', for example, anxious, surprised, startled, confident, comfortable, assured.

(c) 'Dis/satisfaction' include such feelings or attitudes as 'ennui', 'displeasure' and the opposite 'interest', 'pleasure', for example, angry, furious, bored with, fed up with, satisfied, absorbed, impressed, thrilled.

I am now going to illustrate how Thai pronominal reference can construe 'affect' with more examples of expressive pronominal switching and discriminatory choice which are marked usage.

6.2 Expressive pronominal switching expressing 'affect'

6.2.1 Expressing dis/satisfaction: anger, dislike or hatred

(a) between 'parent' and 'child'

In the novel, 'Prisna' (pp. 236), her mother usually uses /mæ̂:/ as her 1st person pronominal referent, and pronominally refers to her daughters by their names and or the term /lû:k/. Once, she is very upset that her youngest daughter, Prisna, arrives home very late at night. When she shows up, her mother asks where she has been by using the mild non-restraint /kæ:/ in referring to Prisna instead. The speaker's change of pronominal choice is a result of her dissatisfaction over her daughter. Her change from /lû:k/ or Prisna to /kæ:/ is a token representing her anger.

A similar case can be found in the novel 'Gold-Pasted Cement. When Songmueang's father, Thawi /thá?-wi:/, has realized that his second son, Yamplot /ja:m-plɔ̀:t/ is robbing his own brother's house, he is so furious that he immediately switches the 2nd person pronoun /kæ:/ to /mɯŋ/ and used /ku:/ for self-reference (pp. 419-421). It is interesting to see that, in this case, the speaker changes his pronominal choice from a mild non-restraint form /kæ:/ to the strongest non-restraint form /mɯŋ/. In the novel, the speaker and this second son have a very

unhealthy relationship, which is opposite to his relationship with the first son--Songmueang whom he usually addresses by his nickname. Thawi's pronominal choices in speaking to Songmueang and to Yamplote are considered as marked, an instance of discriminatory choice which will be discussed in the next section. When this incident happens, the speaker's distant relationship with Yamplot has even got worse as reflected on his pronominal choice by switching.

(b) between 'siblings'

In the novel 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow' (pp. 272), both Wayu or Chun /cún/ and his younger brother Ki /kî:/ reciprocally exchange this pair of pronouns/chăn/-/na:i/. Once they has a bitter quarrel, they mutually change the pronouns to /ku:/-/mɯŋ/. Their reciprocal relationship is reflected on their mutual exchange of the same pronominal pair /chăn/-/na:i/. However, their pronominal change to /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ is emotionally motivated.

In the novel, 'Photchaman Sawangwong' (pp. 528), Pharada, being so frustrated by his younger sister, Phawini's bitter remarks about his wife--Photchaman, he changes his usual 1st person form from /phî:/ to /chăn/ to make her aware of his being unhappy with her unkind words.

(c) between 'lovers'

In the novel 'Edge of the Forest' (pp. 24), after becoming lovers, /lam-nau/ changes her 1st person form to her nickname Nao /nau/ and uses /khun/ addressing her boyfriend Chot. Once he insists to marry her, she gets upset and has changed her self- reference to the pronoun /chăn/. Her usage of nickname is a result of her intimate feelings for him. By changing to /chăn/-/khun/, she sounds very distant, which is clearly accompanying her displeasure

(d) between 'husband' and 'wife'

As mentioned earlier, in the novel 'Photchaman Sawangwong' (pp. 479), after their marriage, Pharada and Photchaman respectively use the following pronominal patterns in their conversations: /chăn/-/phót/ or /thɤ:/vs. /phót/-/khun-cha:i/. Once out of her her frustration, she changes her 1stperson referential term from her nickname Phot to the deferential form /dìʔ-chăn/. Photchaman's pronominal strategy is very similar to Lamnua's as presented above. Basically, they both use almost an identical method of pronominal referencing to temporarily signal a distance with their

male partners by switching their pronominal usage from a nick name to a personal pronoun proper. Usage of the speaker's nickname for self-reference does pragmatically capture a nuance of amicable expression, which has contributed to a significant change of tone when the 1st person form is changed. When compared with the pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/, the speaker's amicability has entirely been removed and replaced by a sense of being distant albeit the sense of 'deference' has not really disappeared.

In the novel 'The Brotherhood of Kaeng Khoi', Laplae's father scolds the boy's mother while she is trying to coax her son to leave his father and to live with her somewhere else. Laplae's father usually uses the pronouns /chăn/-/kæ:/ speaking to his wife.. But in that situation, he is so disgruntled that he switches his pronominal choice to /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ (pp. 340-342).

(e) between 'master' and 'servant'

In the novel 'A Person of Quality' (pp. 395-396), Khunying Saisawat /khun-jĭŋ+săːi-sàʔ-wàːt/, being so jealous of her husband's attention on her beautiful neighbour, Wimon, she vents her anger on her maid, Phiu /phĭu/, changing the 2nd person form from /ʔeŋ/ to /mɯŋ/.

With the 1st person referent being omitted, in this case, it is not difficult to find one, because the pronoun/ʔeŋ/ collocates with /khâː/ and /mɯŋ/, with /kuː/. Considering that the first pronominal pair is meant for realizing 'solidarity' between a mistress and her maid, the second pair could make no difference should there be no frustration coming out from the speaker herself along the change. Her abrupt change of the pronoun is by all means a vent to her frustration over the poor maid who is not able to read her mind which was at that very moment imbued with jealousy. How the 'Khunying' behaves towards her maid could be considered as temporarily distancing herself from her. Her change of pronominal term is marked usage which is a result of her angry mood.

(f) between acquaintances or casual acquaintances

In the novel 'The Judgement', being cheated of his money, Fak gives vent of his frustration and anger towards the school head master by changing the 1st and the 2nd person forms from his regularly used pair /phŏm/-Khruyai to the non-restraint terms /kuː/-/mɯŋ/. The change is quite dramatic, for the speaker has

transformed his pronominal behaviour from a deferential one to a very aggressive one, involving a drastic change from 'intimacy' to 'distance'. The first pair can be categorised as an enactment of 'deference', for both Fak and the school master are well familiar with each other. Fak has worked for him as a janitor and trusted him so much so that he asked the school master to help keep all his salary for his savings. Based on the first pronominal pair, the two terms apparently are deferential designators and a bit formal. As for the second pair /ku:/-/mɯŋ/, they are both non-restraint terms, which are applicable to signifying 'solidarity' between two social equals or by a social superior to an inferior. His choice of this pronominal pair is marked usage without respecting social norms with an intent to send across marked negative 'affect' to the addressee.

In the novel 'Rice Plants off the Paddy Fields', when Dalin gets angry with a school boy of her age at school, both exchange the non-restraint terms /ku:/-/mɯŋ/ (pp. 115), which is sanctioned by their teachers. However, when being displeased or upset with Pranomsi /pràʔ-nɔ:m-sĭ:/--another maid who is older than she, Dalin uses the pronoun /khău/ as self-reference (pp. 188); otherwise she would use the pronoun /nŭ:/. The 1st person pronoun /khău/ is usually used among intimate equals or someone about the same relative age. The pronoun /nŭ:/ is a status term and can be used in signaling the speaker's respectful attitude towards the addressee in an informal or intimate fashion, but /khău/ is more suitable for realizing 'solidarity' with a friend or a social equal. Because Dalin is much younger than Pranomsri, her usage of a pronoun appropriate for a friend could be viewed as being not so polite. So it could possibly be interpreted that Dalin signals lessened 'deference' for the other maid by using the 1st pronoun which is not appropriate to be spoken by a young girl to a woman. She has broken her pronominal norm so as to signal a temporary distant attitude towards Pranomsri.

In the novel 'The Hood of the Cobra' (pp. 364-366), Maikaew /măi-kǽ:u/, realizing that her husband is having an affair with Mekkhala /mé:k-khàʔ-lă:/, she comes to see the latter in her office. Being their first meeting, they exchange the following pronominal pair /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/. Towards the end of their conversation, getting frustrated, she changes the 1st person form to /chăn/.

Being their first meeting as well as knowing that Mekkhala bedding her husband, Maikaew indeed is patient enough to communicate with her in

such a politely manner—'formality' which is generally an appropriate approach for a non-acquaintance. However, before ending their conversation, she changes the 1st person pronoun, resulting in a lower level of formality, which is indicative of her change of mood. In this respect, her change of the first-person pronoun clearly encodes her degrading view of Mekkhala, beckoning that the speaker is no longer standing on ceremony between two non-acquaintances. The vertical gap that a non-acquaintance deserves in interpersonal communication has been withheld. The dimension of 'non-intimacy' has been shifted towards 'distance' influenced by negative 'affect' in the speaker's mind. Unlike in each of the previous examples, there is a temporary move from 'intimacy' to 'distance' upon the change of pronominal choice.

A similar situation is also found in the novel 'Time', Grannie Bunruean, who always uses the pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ as her self-referential form speaking to anybody in the care home. Once Grannie Chan /can/, who occupies a bed next to her, has lost her money and implied that someone nearby stole her money. Being disgruntled, Grannie Bunruean acrimoniously confronts Grannie Chan and denies her involvement in the latter's stolen money. In this part of her conversation, she switches her usual pronoun choice of /dìʔ-chăn/ to /chăn/. However, she has not changed the 2nd person form of 'Mae' or Mae Can.

In the novel 'Edge of the Forest' (pp.166), Chomphu /chom-phû:/ and Aunty On/pâ:+ʔɔ̀:n/ comes over to see Lamnao /lam-nau/, trying to persuade her to formally go through a wedding ceremony with her brother instead of just living together without marriage. Disdainfully, Lamnao refuses to do so. Her response enrages Chomphu so much so that she changes the 2nd person reference for Lamnao from /thɤ:/ to /lɔ̀:n/ and turns to her aunt screamingly complaining how disrespectful the younger woman is. Doing so, she uses the 3rd person form /man/ to vent her anger right in front of Lamnao.

In this novel, before this incident, when Chomphu had first met Lamnao, she did not really have a good attitude towards her. Her pronominal choice of /chăn/-/thɤ:/ in the first place seemed to be suggestive of 'uncalled-for solidarity' which she did without any regards for Lamnao. When they met again, having got out of control, she breaks into the pronoun /lɔ̀n/, a 2nd person non-restraint form for female.

Her choice of the 2nd person pronoun referring to Lamnao is also clearly an expression of her displeasure. Though the pronoun could be used for a female inferior referent in the old days but its connotation has significantly changed to signal contempt or discrimination. Especially when it is used in a context of mood change, it highlights her animosity against Lamnao. Moreover, her usage of the 3rd person pronoun /man/ has added fuel to the fire. Based on its usage function, it is inappropriate for her to use this pronoun referring to Lamnao, especially right into her face. The pronoun is nowadays seldom used to refer to an intimate equal or inferior. Although she might consider Lamnao younger than she is, but they are not so intimate that she could speak to her using this pronoun for whatever reason. Her choice of the pronoun /man/ underscores her presumption that Lamnao is not socially worthy of being treated with politeness.

In the novel 'A Stench of Dew' (pp. 214), Punhom /pu:n-hɔ̌:m/, after having been raped by Suepphong /sù:p-phoŋ/, has got back on her own to her grandmother. Being unaware of the happening, she asks her granddaughter about him, using the 3rd person pronoun /khău/. But the girl opens up her mouth with the 3rd person /man/ out of disgust for the guy. So surprised as she is, she asks the girl of the cause. Upon her disclosure of only half-truth that he was just trying to kiss her, collapsing in dismay, the grandmother changes the pronoun referring to him as /man/ too.

In this scenario, both the girl and her grandmother does not necessarily share the same feeling. The usage of the 3rd person pronoun /man/ served to realize two different attitudes. On one hand, being sexually harassed, the girl herself must have felt so disgusted with Suepphong. On the other hand, being told that the man was trying to kiss her beloved granddaughter, the grandmother must have been so enraged.

Considering the usage function of the 3rd person pronoun /man/, it is applicable to a social equal for inferior, unlike /khău/, which is a generic term used referring to a social superior, equal or inferior. Punhom's usage of this pronoun /man/ clearly is a marked choice which has been triggered by the thought of his sexual abuse on her. Under normal circumstances, such usage by a junior referring to a senior is extremely offensively aggressive. Meanwhile, her grandmother's usage of

the same pronoun in referencing Suepphong is considered very offensive for a man of his social status. Moreover, they are not kin.

In the novel 'Gold-Pasted Cement', Amon /ʔàʔ--mɔ:n/, heartbroken and humiliated, come to see Songmueang whom he is suspicious of being infatuated with his ex-girlfriend, Bali. He tells Songmueang about their breaking up and how promiscuous she used to be. Being so irate, Songmueang asks him to stop insulting her and rebukes him for not being a gentleman. But Amon keeps going on and once mentions about her using the 3rd person pronoun /lɔ̀:n/ and afterwards changes it back to /khău/ as usual, (volume I, p. 330). His usage of /lɔ̀:n/ is a token of his anger as a consequence of his being 'dumped' by Bali. And to use such a pronoun to insult her in front of his contestant for her hand as a means of compensation for his defeat in the game of love.

After he has left the scene, Songmueang's aunt enters the room and asks about Amon using the 3rd person /khău/. Furious as he is, Songmueang emphatically uses the 3rd person /man/ referring to him through his dialogue with her (volume I, p. 336-338). In the context, it is clear that his behaviour is influenced by enragement. After days have passed, he calms down and when he speaks about Amon, he uses /khău/ referring to him in his conversations with others (volume I, p.369). Clearly, based on their usage functions, both /lɔ̀:n/ and /man/ can explicitly capture the speakers' negative views of the persons whom they refer to. Usage of either of these two pronouns apparently is a manifestation of the speaker's negative emotional reaction. In fact, these two pronouns are attitudinally-driven lexis. While the former is connotative to a negative view, the latter is functionally negative in the sense that it will carry a derogatory meaning when it is used by a social inferior to refer to a social superior.

6.2.2 Expressing un/happiness: sadness, distress or regret and facetiousness

In the novel 'Photchaman Sawangwong' (pp. 545-550), after the decease of her husband's youngest brother whom she loved so dearly, Photchaman, in her distress, pleads her husband to send her to her mother's home. In their dialogue, she keeps using the 1st person pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ instead of /phót/ and /khun-cha:i/. In fact, she is feeling that her husband does not love her enough or as much as she

loves him and that she has no one whom she can mentally rely on. Her usage of such 1st person pronoun is a result of her distress partly due to the death of her youngest brother-in-law and her husband indifference to her.

To continue from above, after Photchaman left for her mother's home, Photchani has incidentally found out a letter between her own ex-lover and her elder sister. After reading the letter, she has eventually realised how much her elder sister loves and cares for her. Almost collapsing in remorse for misjudging Photchaman, the young girl in her regretful soliloquy, refers to herself as /nɔ́:ŋ/ replacing the 1st person pronoun /chăn/ which she normally uses speaking to Photchaman and usually uses the kinship term /phî:/ or /phî:+jài/ as the 2nd person form to pronominally refer to her.

However, the feature of 'familial solidarity' has not been changed. The kinship terms still play the vital role of defining their kinship roles. Taking into account what her feeling towards her sister is all about after discovering the truth, apparently, it is absolutely a great surprise to her. In the mean time she could not help but feel regretful for her own misbehavior of degrading her own sister who secretively always is so caring for her. Her grief is not caused by her own anger or displeasure but is triggered by her penitence mingling with her gratefulness towards her 'just-now' darling sister. Indeed, it is a very positive feeling. Her self-reference as /nɔ́:ŋ/ just makes her feel close to her sister than she used to. This kinship term is the best choice in solidifying their sisterhood. She is showing her respect not only through the 2nd person form but also the 1st person form.

In the novel 'Time in a Bottle', Nat's mother normally uses the pronominal pair /mâ:/-/kæ:/ talking to him and his sister. However, there exist two situations in which she was very unhappy and switched the kinship term 'mother' to /chăn/. The first situation happened when she found out that some money had got stolen, in which she was very frustrated (pp. 168). In the second one, Nat and his sister wanted to go out to join an anti-dictatorship rally with their friends. Being very concerned with their safety, she blocked their way from leaving the house. Ning, her daughter, being extremely frustrated, berated her for being so selfish. Hearing that, she disappointingly admitted that she was being selfish and told them how hard it was for her to bring them up on her own and she would never let them go out and perish. In these emotional utterances, she used the pronominal pair /chăn/-/kæ:/ (pp. 257). In

order to effectively stop them, she finally threatened to take her own life if they got out. Her emotional reaction to her daughter's bitter remark about her could be partly caused by her stress over the safety of their lives and in the meantime partly by her disappointment over their lack of empathy for her love and care. In that situation, instead of showing her emotional concern by purely using kinship pronominal terms like /mæ̂:/-/lû:k/, which could have aroused their sympathetic feelings, she did not plead for their sympathy. She chose to be assertive as a rightful mother demanding for her children's obedience by temporarily suspending affective 'familial solidarity' through her language choice. At that crucial moment, she dissociated herself from them by not pleading for any shared sympathy in an amicable way but assertively demanding for their compliance in a distantly forceful manner. Her strategy of maneuvering her children is reflective of her strong and determined character rather than an emotionally weak and helpless woman.

Expressing facetiousness is included in this category of 'affect' as the speaker is good-naturedly meant to create an atmosphere of joyfulness in the speech situation. In the novel 'Two Worlds' (pp. 137), Manichan happens to give her friend, Trong /trɔ:ŋ/, a ring very late at night insisting on seeing him. To pacify her, he is trying to make fun out of her unusual behaviour, in which he uses the deferential pronoun /kràʔ-phŏm/ speaking to her. After he comes over to see her, he uses the usual pair /rau/-/tu:ɤ/ instead. The 1st person pronoun /kràʔ-phŏm/ is itself highly deferential and used to signal the speaker's respect for a respectable or high-ranking socially superior addressee. Under normal circumstances, between two intimate equals, the male speakers will never use this pronoun as their 1st person form in their conversations. Trong's use of this pronoun is not a normal practice. Considering the other pronominal pair /rau/-/tu:ɤ that they usually use, they are undoubtedly two intimate friends. These two pronouns can be used to realise 'solidarity' between two social equals. In fact, by changing of his pronominal choice, the speaker is shifting the interpersonal 'involvement' feature from 'solidarity' without vertical distance to 'deference' with a big vertical gap between him and his friend. The shift is moved from an equal intimate level to a deferential level, which could be interpreted as showing a respectful attitude. However, from the context, it is very obvious that he has done it out of fun, not seriousness. The speaker does not intend to lower himself from her in term of his

status. He just facetiously shows that she is socially superior to him partly because of her temperament.

6.2.3 Expressing in/security

An example of this type of 'attitude' has already been mentioned. It is taken from the novel "My Sweet-Dream Pillow' (pp.359). Toward the end of the novel, when Thongseng and Wayu sees each other again after their brawl years ago, both are so aggressive towards each other exchanging non-restraint pronouns /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/. And Wayu eventually has changed them to /chăn/-/kæ:/ expressing his extreme dissatisfaction. After a short while, realizing that his ex-stepson is physically stronger and that he is no match for the young man , he changes his tone of voice asking him what his business is all about by using the kin term /ná:/ or 'uncle' as self-reference and the latter's nickname Chun to address his opponent. It is the very intimate pronominal reference that he used in the past before their relationship has become irrevocably unfriendly. The first pronominal pair signals Thongseng's unfriendliness towards Wayu as compared with the other pair that he used before. However, having been maneuvered to negotiate for his own well-being, he momentarily has to adopt an entirely opposite pronominal strategy. His pronominal switching to include a kinship term and a nickname totally overturns his negative attitude, becoming full of sense of camaraderie as if they were next of kin, adopting the 'familial solidarity' approach as a result of a sense of insecurity.

One interesting point worthy of making a note here is that the pronominal strategy adopted by Wayu is an instance of expressive switching from usage of /phŏm/-/ná:/ to /khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/ and finally to /chăn/-/kæ:/ manifesting his emotional outburst and extreme antipathy towards Thongseng. By doing so, he has violated all the social norms and Tenor conditions because the latter is much older than him and was once his stepfather. Should he continue pronominally addressing him as such for good, such a behaviour would not be meant for only expressing a transient attitude but also marking his permanent negative attitude towards the man. This kind of marked usage would become discriminatory. The target would become the object of ridicule and contempt, since such pronominal choice should not be employed to address any adult older than the speaker. Therefore, it can be stated that there is a connection between expressive switching and discriminatory pronominal referencing. Pronominal choice by means of switching can become a resource for discriminatory choice.

Table 6.1 Expressive pronominal switching construing 'affect'

Speaker's status	Previous relation-ship	1st-2nd person pronominal reference		Attitude
		from unmarked usage	to marked usage	Affect
equal	intimacy	(i) /rau/-/tu:ɤ/	/kràʔ-phŏm/-	happiness (funniness)
	non-intimacy	(ii) /chăn/-/na:i/	/ku:/-/mɯŋ/	dissatisfaction (anger)
		(iii) /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/	/chăn/-/khun/	
superior	intimacy	(iv) /phɔ̂:/-/kæ:/	/chăn/-/kæ:/	
		(v) /mæ̂:/-/kæ:/	/chăn/-/kæ:/	
		(vi) /ná:/-nickname	/khâ:/- /ʔeŋ/	
		(vii) /phî:/-/nɔ́:ŋ/ +(nickname)	/phî:/-/thɤ:/	
		(viii) /chăn/-kæ:/	/ku:/-/mɯŋ/	
	non-intimacy	(ix) /chăn/-/thɤ:/	/tɕhăn/-/lɔ̀:n/	
	distance	(x) /khâ:/- /ʔeŋ/	/ná:/-nickname	
inferior	intimacy	(xi) /phŏm/-/khru:- jài/	/ku:/-/mɯŋ/	
		(xii) /phŏm/-/ná:/	/khâ:/-/ʔeŋ/	
		(xiii) nickname-/khun-cha:i/	/dìʔ-chăn/-/khun-cha:i/	Unhappiness (distress)/dissatisfaction (frustration)
		(xiv) /chăn/-/phî:/	/nɔ́:ŋ/-phî:/	unhappiness (regret)
		(xv) /nŭ:/-	/khău/-	dissatisfaction (anger)
		3rd person pronominal switching		
		(xvi) /ná:/	/man/	dissatisfaction (anger)
equal	intimacy	(xvii) nickname	/lɔ̀:n/	

From the table above, I have put together the example of pronominal switching used in different novels to realise different kinds of 'attitude'. From the collected examples, usage of pronominal switching occurs mainly as a result of dissatisfaction (anger or frustration), unhappiness (regret or distress), and insecurity (worry), here are some examples of usage patterns:

1. Switching from an informal personal pronoun proper to a deferentially-used form as in Example (1)

2. Switching from an informal personal pronoun proper to a non-restraint one as in Example (ii), (viii), (ix)

3. Switching from a mild non-restraint personal pronoun proper to a strong non-restraint one as in Example (viii)

4. Switching from a deferentially-used personal pronoun proper to a non-restraint one as in Example (iii), (ix)

5. Switching from a kinship term to an informal personal pronoun proper such as Example (iv), (v), (vi), (vii)

6. Switching from a kinship term to a non-restraint personal pronoun proper as in Example (xii), (xvi)

7. Switching back from a non-restraint personal pronoun proper to a kinship term as Example (x)

8. Switching from an occupational term to a non-restraint personal pronoun proper as in Example (xi)

9. Switching from a nickname to a non-restraint personal pronoun proper as in Example (vi)

10. Switching from a nickname to a deferentially-used personal pronoun proper as in Example (xiii)

11. Switching from an informal personal pronoun proper to a kinship term as in Example (xiv)

By inference, the different patterns of pronominal switching can be concluded as follows depending on the relationship between the speaker and the addressee:

(a) Pronominal switching can apply to only one pronominal term, either 1st or 2nd person forms or both.

(b) The switching can happen across different categories of pronominal terms--from a noun-like pronominal term to a personal pronoun proper in order to indicate an unfavourable attitude, which can be performed in the following manners:

- from a pronominally-used noun (kinship term, nickname or occupational term) to a non-restraint personal pronoun proper, applicable to negative feelings or attitudes. By adopting such a pronominal practice, the speaker is consciously distancing himself away from the addressee. From the social superior's perspective, it eliminates the sense of intimacy or expand significantly the horizontal gap between him and the addressee. From the inferior's point of view, in addition to widening the horizontal relationship gap, it also lowers the addressed superior's status to his level.

- from a kinship term or nickname to an informal or non-restraint personal pronoun proper. From the superior kin's perspective, it minimizes the sense of intimacy or maximizes the horizontal gap between him and the inferior kin. From the inferior's point of view, in addition to widening the horizontal relationship gap, it also lowers the addressed superior's status to his level.

- from a nickname to a deferentially-used personal pronoun proper, decreasing the sense of intimacy or increasing 'distance' in a relationship between non-kin individuals.

(c) The switching may involve only personal pronouns proper from a deferentially-used term to a non-deferentially used one resulting in the lower degree of politeness or the complete lack of politeness. This could happen between non-kin participants in a conversation.

(d) To signal a positive attitude, the switching can apply in the reverse direction, namely from a personal pronoun proper to a noun-like pronominal term or to be precise a kinship term.

For switching of a 3rd person pronoun to express a negative emotional affect is usually found in the use of the pronoun /man/ especially in the case that the referent's social status is superior or equal to the speaker's. The 3rd person /lɔ̀:n/ can also be used for the same purpose but for a female referent.

By means of 'expressive switching of pronoun' or 'breaking of pronoun norms', conversational participants or communicative interlocutors can realize their 'attitude' toward one another. Depending on whether the expressed 'attitudes' are negative or positive, the switching to change of one's style of pronominal usage can be geared 'upward' or 'downward'. 'Upward' refers to the switching to usage of the deferential or polite pronouns such as /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/. It can also refers to the change from a personal pronoun proper to a kin term, e.g. from /chăn/ to /nɔ́:ŋ/. 'Switching downward' means switching to usage of such non-restraint forms as /ku:/ and /mɯŋ/. 'Switching downward' can also mean by 'lowering' the pronoun status such as from the referential form to a generic one, namely from /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ to /chăn/, or from an intimate one to a distant one such as from /na:i/ to /kæ:/.

6.3 Discriminatory pronominal choice expressing 'affect'

In addition to functioning as interpersonal resources of expressing a temporary or a casual feeling by means of switching, Thai pronouns can as well be markedly employed to signal a long-standing negative affective dimension of an interpersonal relationship. Likewise, in this regard, the speaker may or may not violate any proper pronominal standards of usage or any acceptable pronominal norms. Here are some examples of discriminatory pronominal choice to express negative 'affect', which have already been discussed in Chapter V and above.

(a) spoken by a social equal to an equal

As already discussed in the previous chapter about the relationship between Narin and Khawi in the novel 'A Diverted Way to Paradise', the woman subtly displays her different attitudes towards the man and towards her other male friends through different usage of the pronominal pairs /chăn/-/khun/ and /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ respectively in her conversations with them. Narin's marked pronominal choice of /chăn/ can be seen as a device to mark her dislike towards Khawi.

In the novel 'Dr. Kan', Kan's usage of the 1st person form /chăn/ instead of /phŏm/ in his conversation with Yong is due to the speaker's lack of regards for him because of his 'unclean' business. In the same novel, when the

corrupted 'Nai Amphoe' and Choet talk about Kan, the former refers to him as /man/ and the latter, /khău/. The 'Nai Amphoe' does not like Kan at all, for the doctor does not always follow his wish. However, Choet has neither a negative nor a positive attitude towards Kan.

In the novel 'Our Land', the case between Naren and Phakkhani about their initial pronominal reference of /chăn/-/thɤ:/ could be interpreted as 'uncalled-for solidarity' which is not appropriate for their social statuses in the context of this novel. Such usage could be ascribed to their having no regards for each other in spite of their non-intimacy. According to their norms, they should exchange the following pronominal pattern /phŏm/-/khun/ vs. /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/.

(b) spoken by a social superior to an inferior

In the novel 'My Sweet-Dream Pillow', Wayu's father uses the pronominal pair /chăn/-/kæ:/ speaking to him. But when talking with his youngest son, he refers to himself as /phɔ̂:/ and uses his nickname, Ki, as the 2nd person form. From the very beginning of the novel, he obviously shows his dislike towards Wayu in contrast with his endearment for his favourite youngest son.

Similarly, in the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion', Mom Phannarai uses the following pronominal pairs speaking to Pharadi, her oldest daughter: /chăn/-/tu:ɤ/, /chăn/-/rau/, /chăn/-/thɤ:/ and employs /mæ̂:/-/jĭŋ/ or /mæ̂:/-/lû:k/ in her conversations with Phawini, her youngest daughter. It is very clear to the readers that Mom Phannarai's relationship with her first daughter is completely different from that with the youngest daughter. Her attitudes towards her two daughters are totally different, which are reflected on her pronominal choices. She is very fond of the younger daughter but does not seem to like the older one.

In the same novel, Mom Phannarai uses the following pairs: /chăn/-/kæ:/ and /pâ:/-/nŭ:/ speaking to her two different nieces. The term /pâ:/ means 'aunt or auntie'. Variations in pronominal usage by Wayu's father and by Mom Phannarai portrays contrastive pictures of between the positive and the negative affective dimensions of their relationships with their inferior family members or relatives. Apparently in these two examples, the pronoun /chăn/-/kæ:/ are used to signal distant and non-congenial relationships, showing the speakers' prejudices against the referents. This is considered as marked usage for expressing negative

'affect'. While the other two pairs involving kinship terms are unmarkedly used to encode endearment or affection in addition to solidarity which are regular features of familial relationship within the scope of 'involvement'.

Photchaman also uses different pronominal patterns in speaking to some of the maids in her household. For Chaem and Fak, her faithful maids, she always pronominally addresses them /phî: cæ̀:m/ 'Elder Sister Chaem' and /phî: fák/ 'Elder Sister Fak' respectively. For senior maids, she prefixes the following kinship terms /ja:i/ 'granny' or /pâ:/ 'auntie' to their names for reference. However, for Em, she always calls her Mae Em /mæ̂: ʔe:m/ signaling her unpleasant attitude.

In the novel 'The Field of the Great', Ruen uses the pair of pronouns /kràʔ-phǒm/ and /tâ:i-thá:u/ in his conversations with both Phraya Kamphaengphet and Luang Ratchaboriphan. In return, the 'Phraya' politely speaks to Ruen using the pronominal pair /chăn/-Phuyai which is the official title of the leader of a village. However, the 'Luang' displays his dislike by using the non-restraint 2nd person pronoun /kæ:/ addressing Ruen. Their different choices 2nd person pronominal term in referring to Phuyai Ruen clearly mark their different attitudes towards the referent.

(c) spoken by a social inferior to superior

Towards the end of the novel 'Photchaman Sawangwong', Photchaman has got pregnant. A sense of elations is spreading all over the mansion. Pharada is trying his best to bring about reconciliation between his mother and his dear wife. To follow his wish, Photchama proactively invites her mother-in-law to a dinner party. She also takes this opportunity to amicably ask for the old lady's forgiveness for any of her inappropriate behaviour. In the scene, she uses her nickname for self-reference instead of the pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ and addresses the other as usual using the term /mɔ̀:m+pâ:/. Her switching of pronoun from /dìʔ-chăn/ to her nickname can be considered as an act of etiquette switching. Usage of nickname as the 1st person form makes the speaker sound very amiable. It is very different from /dìʔ-chăn/ which sounds comparatively distant.

In the novel 'The Judgement' (pp. 99), Fak comes over to consult the 'Kamnan' but sees his little grandson who greets him with the pronoun /kæ:/ instead of addressing him 'uncle' by using a displaced senior-kin term which he would normally do to other adults. Young as the boy is, it is so inappropriate or rude

of him to speak to an adult with such a 2nd person pronoun. Such a verbal behaviour is breaking the norms of 'status'. But it is understandable in the context of this novel that most villagers believe in the rumor that Fak has an illicit sexual relationship with his stepmother, which is considered immoral. The child uses that pronoun to explicitly convey his antipathy towards Fak by insulting him using the 2nd person /kæ:/ as if he was socially equal to the referent.

In the novel 'Gold Pasted Cement', when Songmueang talks about his mother to someone, he refers to her as only /khău/. Usually one does not pronominally refer to his/her parent using this pronoun unless it is a resumptive pronoun following a kinship term such as /mæ̂:/+/khău/. He could also use other 3rd person form /kæ:/ on its own or as a resumptive form such as /mæ̂:/+/kæ:/. Hearing such pronominal reference for his mother, the other interactant immediately senses his negative attitude towards his own mother who abandoned him, his brother and sister when they were just kids.

In table 6.2, I have put together the examples of pronominal reference discussed above and comparatively summarized their relationships with 'status' and 'contact' as well as their roles of construing 'involvement' or 'attitude'.

Given attitude as expressed through expressive pronominal switching, the purpose of such pronominal choice involves double coding of both 'involvement' and 'attitude'. As frequently found in the novels, expressive pronominal switching or marked pronominal choice is usually triggered by a sudden spell of anger or displeasure, distress or sadness. In order to give vent to his or her feelings, the speaker chooses to switch from a usual pronominal term(s) to a provocative term(s), either a non-restraint one or a deferential or formal one, so as to make the targeted referent aware of his or her emotional reactions and thus distance himself from the latter. On the contrary, in case of expressing positive 'affect', the quantum of 'intimacy' could be added.

Discriminatory pronominal usage focuses on the realizations of negative attitudes or feelings which are not momentarily and not necessarily non-compliant to the norms of 'status' and 'contact'. It is benchmarked based on the principle that under normal circumstances in every role relationship, the interactants are deemed to be positive towards each other, or to be neutral in the case of 'non-intimacy'. Their standards of language usage govern unmarked language choices to

Table 6.2 Comparison between non-discriminatory and discriminatory pronominal choice construing 'involvement' and 'attitude'

Speaker's status	Non-discriminatory pronominal choice	Discriminatory pronominal choice	Affective involvement		
			Involvement (unmarked)		Attitude (marked)
	Unmarked usage	Marked usage	Intimacy	Non-intimacy	Distance
equal	1./dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/	/chăn/-/khun/	politeness	formality	dislike
	2./phŏm/-/na:i/+name	/chăn/-/na:i/+name		formality	dislike
	3./phŏm/-/khun/	/chăn/-/thɤ:/	politeness	formality	dislike
	4./khău/ (3rd)	/man/ (3rd)			
superior	5./phô:/-nickname	/chăn/-/kæ:/	familial affection		dislike
	6./pâ:/-/nŭ:/	/chăn/-/kæ:/	familial affection		dislike/ antipathy
	7./mæ̂:/-/lû:k/ or nickname	/chăn/-/thɤ:/ or tu:ɤ	familial affection		dislike
	8./chăn/-/phî:/+name	/chăn/-/mæ̂:/+name	pseudo kinship		dislike
	9./chăn/-/phû:-jài/	/chăn/-/kæ:/	politeness	uncalled-for solidarity	dislike
inferior	10. nickname-/mɔ̀:m+pâ:/	/dìʔ-chăn/-/mɔ̀:m+pâ:/	deference		
	11. senior-kin (2nd)	/kæ:/ (2nd)	pseudo kinship		antipathy
	12./mæ̂:/ or /kæ:/ (3rd)	/khău/ (3rd)	solidarity		dislike

express unmarked affect, which are relevant to realisations of 'involvement' as discussed in the previous chapter. To express any negative affective meanings not appropriate for the relationship roles they play is considered as an enactment of discrimination. Hence, pronominal choice for such a purpose is considered as unmarked usage. This suggests that to express 'affect', there must be a presupposed 'involvement' feature as a benchmark for the speaker to invoke a new feeling or attitude. The benchmarking works essentially by means of comparing pronominal choice applied to construe 'involvement' and to negative 'affect' between different interacts in the same or similar kind of role relationship.

Positive feelings or attitudes such as love, fondness, happiness, joy, gratitude, appreciation, are linked to 'intimacy', and negative ones such as anger, hatred, unhappiness, dissatisfaction, distress, sadness, insecurity, insult, contempt, dislike, etc. are naturally associated with 'distance'. With love, of course, the participants must be very close to each other. But if they hate each other, they must keep a distance relationship. The two interactants have different possibilities of encoding their feelings and have them delivered across and interpreted accordingly. When a novelist wants to describe a dramatic interaction between two characters, he could make it realistic by creating a convincing dialogue or conversation in which pronominal strategy plays its significant role. And pronominal switching as well as discriminatory pronominal reference are also part of it. To illustrate that two characters are in a bad or good mood through dialogical texts, the novelist, at times, needs to resort to the pronominal patterns that are either intimacy-oriented or distance-oriented. Likewise, in real life, two Thai native speakers can express their mutual emotional frustration or excessively sentimental attraction by momentarily adopting a 'special pronominal tactic' to virtually distance or get closer to the conversational counterpart.

To conclude, 'attitude' complements 'involvement' in the sense that it helps explain the linguistic phenomenon in which an individual, in a certain situational context, has abruptly changed his usual language behaviour as predetermined by Tenor variables ('status' & 'contact') in his interpersonal relations with a particular targeted referent. 'Attitude' comes into play to account for the occurrences of this kind of linguistic phenomenon as to how interlocutor's motivated

language choice can be attributed to an emotional cause. It also helps distinguish the marked linguistic choice expressing negative 'affect' which is inappropriate to a particular role relationship. To be relevant to this study, the subsystem of 'affect' concerns investigating not only the interlocutor's unprecedented pronominal usage or 'marked' usage which has been affectively driven or triggered by an emotional cause, but also the occurrence of negative 'involvement'. By the way, 'involvement' is concerned with describing an interpersonal relationship between the interlocutor and his conversational counterpart, which is realized through their language choice under the influence of their 'status' and 'contact'. The affective dimension of their relationship is perceptually non-negative and being norm-compliant. To be precise, 'involvement' examines an interpersonal relationship as encoded through 'unmarked' pronominal usage. Even when a relationship between the two individuals has changed by gradually or quickly moving along the developmental process as mentioned in the previous chapter causing shifting of relationship dimension. As long as there are no emotive transformations of attitude or negative emotional reactions, the change is accounted for as an unmarked or normal relationship.

CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

7.1 Conclusion

It has been my attempt to propose a System Functional framework of analysing interpersonal relations as realised through Thai pronouns. The proposed framework is intended to supplement the current approach of System Functional Linguistics to analysing the Tenor component of a situational context and its metafunction of expressing interpersonal meanings. Thai pronominal system is highly culturally-driven; Thai pronouns are self-evident of performing dual functions in a clause. Apart from indexing referents, they also identify interlocutors' social roles. However, their function of construing attitudinal or affective meanings in a relationship is contextually depended. It is evident that Thai pronouns can be employed to realise the interlocutors' affective or transient emotional involvement, another dimension of interpersonal relation.

My study is different from previous studies on Thai pronouns in the sense that it deals with investigating these interpersonal linguistic resources not as standalone terms but as part of a situational context. It explores different pronominal forms based on their usage in forty contemporary Thai novels. By evaluating the interpersonal function of a Thai pronominal term on its own without taking into account its context of usage and the Tenor variables 'status' and 'contact' which influence the language situation between two conversational participants, such an analysis would be inadequate. For example, the female 1st person pronoun /dìʔ-chăn/ is generally perceived as being so formally deferential and distance-oriented (Cooke, 1968, Hoonchamlong, 1992, Iwasaki & Horie, 1995, Palakornkul, 1972). However, it has been found in different Thai novels that this pronoun is not always used for signaling formality or conveying a respectful attitude or keeping a distance between the speaker herself and her conversation partner. Rather, it has been used in pair with different 2nd person pronominal form to realise the two dimensions 'intimacy' and

'distance' of an interpersonal relationship. By using the following pronominal pair /dìʔ-chăn/-/thɤ:/, the speaker is intended to signal politeness with a non-distant attitude towards her conversational partner, usually to a socially equal, or politely showing 'solidarity' between the two. With /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/, depending on the Tenor variables ('status' and 'contact') between the two individuals, the speaker may either flag 'formality' towards a casual or non-acquaintance male or female, or 'politeness' to designate her interpersonal involvement with a male or female acquaintance at her age. By the way, although the pronoun /chăn/ is, by perception, least likely to be associated to a distant relationship and is quite a general and neutral term used by both male and female (Cooke, 1968; Iwasaki & Horie, 1995; Palakornkul 1972), it has been found in use to signal the speaker's unfavourable attitude towards his or her conversational partner. Although it is a general term used by a superior speaking to an inferior or between two socially equals, but in many novels it is used to construe the speaker's displeasure or coolness, be it a temporary or a long-term attitude. This interpersonal aspect of /chăn/ is in alignment with Sirindhorn (1991) who suggested that this pronoun could be used to express the speaker's dissatisfaction or that the speaker considers the other interlocutor inferior to him.

Some of my findings have suggested that in Thai novels, a particular pronominal form does not constantly represent a fixed dimension of relationship attitude across different individuals. In other words, the pronominal form does not always stick to or represent only one single sense of interpersonal meaning when expressed by different speakers. It is, therefore, improbable to generalize different degrees of intimacy over a relationship through specific patterns of pronominal usage. For example, the following 2nd person referents /kæ:/, /ʔeŋ/, /mɯŋ/ are considered unrestrained and not so polite, used among intimate individuals (Cooke, 1968; Palakornkul, 1972). They can be, in fact, used to express both positive and negative attitudes and feelings. Especially, when they are paired with a 1st personal parental kinship term, their perceived negative semantic features are overshadowed by familial solidarity that a father or a mother could express towards his or her son. And it as yet indecisive as to which pronominal term or pair can trigger the most intimate relationship attitude between a parent and a child. All in all, it depends on the

speaker's social background which is tied to his language ideology that influences his own language choice.

To validly analyse an interpersonal aspect of Thai pronominal system, therefore, contextual information is highly indispensable. Within the frame work of System Functional Linguistics, a Thai pronominal term, in addition to its indexical feature, must be looked at from two different perspectives in accordance with its usage— who is using and to whom as well as whether its use is 'marked' or 'unmarked'. The context of Tenor needs to be fully taken into consideration upon analysis. In terms of interactants, their 'status' and 'contact' are crucial factors that greatly influence their pronominal choice. Given 'markedness' or 'unmarkedness', it is determined by their customary usage and their compliance to group norms as influenced by their own language ideologies. Based on their usual pronominal usage, the two of them can interact to construe different features of 'involvement' which can be categorised into two main groups: intimacy-oriented and non-intimacy-oriented. The former includes (1) 'familial solidarity', (2) 'solidarity', (3) 'endearment', (4) 'politeness', (5) 'deference' and (6) 'pseudo kinship'. And the latter consists of (7) 'formality', (8) 'neutrality' and (9) 'uncalled-for solidarity'. Each feature characterizes interpersonal relations through strategic pronominal reference which represents the speaker's state of mind and is meant to be perceived by the listener. Depending on their mutual relations as maneuvered by the two Tenor variables--'status' and 'contact', the speaker can utilise the existing resources in Thai pronominal system to accord with the interpersonal meanings that concern their social roles and attitudinal relationship.

Between these two individuals, it is possible that their relationship is incidentally interrupted on a temporary or a long-term basis owing to an unexpected affective or emotional cause. As a result of this incident, the usual domain of their interpersonal involvement can be suspended and a new one will be temporarily adopted. Or, perhaps, it could possibly be entirely changed if the new attitude is mutually reinforced by both relationship stake-holders. Thanks to the domain shifting, language choice, or to be precise, pronominal choice will also be strategically changed beyond the recipient's expectation so that the speaker can send across a message to im more effectively but simultaneously expressively. And in order to instantly create a

distinctive impact on the targeted receiver, the speaker's selection of a pronominal term or more can purposively or probably unconsciously be pushed beyond his normative verbal behaviour. In this respect, 'involvement' will not adequately be able to account for such a linguistic phenomenon whereby an emotionally-driven motive is abruptly playing its role. This shifting pattern of language behaviour could be addressed within the scope of the system of 'attitude'. Such language outcomes that have been emotively manifested can be systematically explained and categorized in association with 'affect' or 'judgement'. The major concern of the 'involvement' system is not to account for any kind of sudden emotional charge but to define and describe different domains of unmarked pronominal usage behaviour that is performed on a regular basis in order to maintain the established relationship between two individual. It also deals with describing change of language choice as a consequence of a gradual change in an interpersonal relationship, for example from a distant one to a close one depending on the stage of relationship development without being invoked by any outwardly emotive verbal behaviour. Therefore, to evaluate pronominal usage within the scope of 'involvement' will be inadequate when expressive pronominal switch takes place. 'Attitude' provides the framework for analysing this kind of emotive aspect associated to marked pronominal behaviour.

Given the pronominal resources themselves (excluding sacred and royalty-related terms) based on my findings, their linguistic forms and features pertaining to construal of interpersonal relations can be categorized as follows:

(a) Being semantically self-evident in terms of specifying relationship roles of the speakers is the significant feature of noun-like or pronominally used nouns. For example, usage of senior-kin term as 1st person form signify the speaker's social superiority over the listener. And vice versa, usage of junior-kin term or the status term /nŭ:/ indicates that the speaker is socially inferior to the listener. They are mostly indicative of 'intimacy' or positive 'involvement'. Unlike kinship terms, occupation terms do not always designate the 'status' between interactants. For example, to pronominally address someone as 'doctor' or 'teacher' does not mean that the speaker is socially inferior or superior to the addressee. Although these terms denote a sense of respect or courtesy, they are not representations of social inferiority. Therefore, more contextual information is required for accurate interpretation.

(b) Being deferentially-related by form are those personal pronouns proper that are in general considered as politeness markers such as /phŏm/, /kràʔ-phŏm/, /diʔ-chăn,/, /khun,/ and /thâ:n/ (2nd- & 3rd-person). They can indeed be used in either a formal or an informal situation as linguistic resources construing 'formality', 'politeness', 'deference' but not necessarily are associated with 'distance'.

(c) Non-deferentially-related personal pronouns proper such as /chăn/, /khâ:/, /ku:/, /rau/, /na:i/, /khău/ (2nd- & 3rd-person), /kæ:/ (2nd- & 3rd-person), /tu:ɤ/, /ʔeŋ/, /mɯŋ/, /lɔ:n/ (2nd- & 3rd-person) and /man/ are used in any informal situation. However, they do not all the times signal 'intimacy' or specifically 'solidarity'.

Actually, as illustrated with various examples in the last two chapters, it is the last two categories of pronouns that play a vital role in terms of encoding marked 'affect'. For most of expressive switching cases, the speakers markedly change from noun-like pronouns to any pronominal form of these two kinds to temporarily signify a negative feeling or attitude which entails a momentary distant relationship. As for discriminatory pronominal reference, negative marked 'affect' is construed through usage of any of these personal pronouns proper, which is, in terms of marking interpersonal relations, sharply contrastive with usage of a pronominally-used noun especially a kinship term.

7.2 Limitations and suggestions

(1) To further validate my proposed framework, its application to investigate the interpersonal aspects of these linguistic resources is necessary. Although my study is based on data collected from Thai novels, it is also encouraged that the proposed framework will also be applied to exploring non-fictitious conversations as well as naturally occurring dialogical texts.

(2) Furthermore, the novels used in my studies were written between 1929 and 2009, a time span of eighty years. During such a long period of time, socio-cultural changes would undoubtedly have significantly influenced the developmental changes of the Thai language. It would not be overstated that the pronominal system must have as well undergone a multitude changes during the past eight decades. As my analyses of pronominal usage did not take into consideration the time factor which

possibly contributed to variations of pronominal usage in different novels written during different periods of time. Pronominal norms could be subject to change when one's language ideology has been modified through time. In order to validly identify pronominal structures which encode different domains of interpersonal involvement in the Thai language communications, an analytical classification of variations in pronominal usage over different periods of time would help bring into light a more reliable and comprehensive picture of the interpersonal features associated to Thai pronominal system. With categorisation of different fictions into different periods, analyses could be made to explore if some certain sets of pronouns were deployed to consistently realise a particular domain across time.

(3) Another point that I would like to make concerning interpersonal features of the Thai language is that there are some other kinds of linguistic resource which are as attitudinally-driven as are Thai pronouns, such as polite and final particles, address terms. According to my observations, especially polite particles and address terms, they indeed very often appear alongside some courtesy-related pronominal terms but not on a consistent basis. It would be worth investigating to find out whether usage of certain polite particles accompanying such a kind of pronominal term would result in clear-cut definitions between different 'involvement' domains to which certain sets of pronouns can be associated. Could it be possible that the linguistic resource of polite particle act as additives to distinctively foster an existing interpersonal relationship or to indicate a transitional change of a relationship attitude?. For example, the pronominal pair /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ can signal both 'formality' and 'casual formality' between the speaker and her conversational partner. With a co-occurrence of the polite particle /khâ/, would that confirm whether the speaker intend to signal closeness of 'casual formality' rather than distance of 'formality'? In the novel 'Golden Sand Mansion', Photchaman, holding a hostile attitude towards Pharada, she did not use this polite particle in her first face-to-face conversation with him, she used /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/, though (pp. 282-286). Not long afterwards they had another conversation, even she kept using /dìʔ-chăn/-/khun/ speaking to him, the frequency of her usage of the polite particle '/khâ/' grew remarkably (pp. 307-314), appearing in several utterances . Of course the number of her utterances was higher in the second situation, but her usage of /khâ/ could be counted up to ten while in the first situation,

there was none. And readers could make an inference that in this second context, Photchaman was on a process of developing a positive attitude towards Pharada. Does my observation tally with my assumption? Further investigation into this phenomenon is needed so as to bring into light if any other linguistic elements or factors could be accountable for this difference.

In Thai, address terms can interchangeably be used as pronominal terms. They basically share the identical forms. However, it also happens that, for example, a nickname is used as both an address term and a noun-like pronoun. When a nickname is used in both instances by a father speaking to a daughter, usually, the 1st person pronoun that collocate with a nickname is /phɔ̂:/ or any of its variants. Such pronominal pair and address term are not in conflict with each other in terms of signaling the father's affectionate attitude towards his daughter. However, if the same nickname is used as an address term but the 2nd personal pronoun is a different term like /kæ:/, then the domain of 'involvement' will not be the same. In the novel 'Gold-Pasted Cement' (vol. 2, p. 404), Thawi seeing that his daughter Reuangram, whose nickname was /ʔíɤm/, was about to go out Songmueang's house where they temporarily stayed, he asked,

"/ʔíɤm, ma: nî: kɔ̀:n/ (Iam, come here.)

/nân kæ: càʔ pai nǎi?" (Where are you going?)

He used her nickname as the address term only and substituted her name by the unrestrained pronoun /kæ:/. Let's suppose that he had used the same nickname in referencing with her, then his utterance would have become

"/ʔíɤm, ma: nî: kɔ̀:n/ (Iam, come here.)

/nân ʔíɤm càʔ pai nǎi?" (Iam, where are you going?)

Without taking into account the contextual information, the two utterances give rise to different types of perception and impression about the father's attitude towards his daughter. Readers would feel that in the second situation, the father's tone of voice sounds more affectionate than in the first one. If such was the case, it would be interesting to investigate and comparatively analyse the interpersonal roles between an address term and a pronoun whether they equally function to encode interpersonal meanings in a relationship. Or else, how differently is an address used in encoding a relationship attitude?

(4) With respect to language studies, it is hoped that the different dimensions of 'involvement' that I have proposed can help differentiate behavioural potentials of interpersonal relationship that can be realised through Thai pronouns. Such understanding would be helpful for translation of texts from another language to Thai, especially when the language of the source text has a simpler or less complex pronominal system than does Thai. To be able to analyse the source text in order to have a clear picture of all the interpersonal aspects would help one's selection of the appropriate pronominal term(s) in Thai to encode the interpersonal meanings as closer to the source text as possible. For example, in English, if the source text is full of slangs and informal language in a conversation between two young school friends—a boy and a girl; to translate pronouns in to Thai, one needs to make the appropriate choice between /chăn/-/thɤ:/ and /chăn/- /kæ:/or, perhaps, between /rau/-/na:i/ and /ku:/-/mɯŋ/. I have herewith provided a comparative summary of 1st and 2nd person pronominal choices appearing in different Thai-translated versions of three different English-language novels as shown in Table 7.1 below. It can be seen that different translators have variations in pronominal usage in translating the English pronouns 'I' and 'you'. The point I want to make here is that which choice or which pair of pronouns would best represent the interpersonal relations between each pair of characters in those three novels. The following questions would need to be considered: (1) What factors or criteria should be taken into consideration for evaluation of these pronominal usage variations? (2) Can pronominal usage be kept entirely consistent across each whole novel upon translation? (3) What could be the possible deviation of interpersonal meaning if a pronominal choice was inappropriate in the target text?

Likewise, to translate a Thai text or a novel to, let say, English, there may need to be some particular grammatical elements or language form to be considered form so that the interpersonal meanings at the discursive level can be translated across more accurately. For example, the pronominal terms /phî:/-/nĭŋ/, and /chăn/-/kæ:/ can be used by an elder brother speaking to his younger sister named /nĭŋ/. In translation to English, both pairs can be literally translated as 'I' and 'you'. However, in terms of interpersonal meaning, both pairs do not realise equally the relationship between the two siblings. The translator would need to keep this in mind and find out other linguistic tools in English to help bring into light the interpersonal aspect of the

Table 7.1 Comparison of 1st and 2nd person pronouns in Thai-translated novels

Novel	Translator	1st -2nd person pronouns used in Thai versions		
		Character	'I'	'you'
The Old Man and the Sea by Ernest Hemingway	Wit Siwasariyanon /wít sìʔ-wáʔ-sàʔ-ríʔ-ja:-non/ (1991)	Santiago	/khâ:/	/câu/
		The Boy	/chăn/	/luŋ/
	Asa Khochitmet /ʔa:-să: khɔ̌:-cìt-mé:t/ (1976)	Santiago	/luŋ/	/kæ:/
		The Boy	/chăn/	/luŋ/
Jonathan Livingston Seagull by Richard Bach	Kukrit Pramoj /khúk-rít pra:-mó:t/ (1973)	Jonathan Chiang	/phŏm/ ø	/thâ:n/ /thɤ:/
		Jonathan Sullivan	/phŏm/ /chăn/, /khru:/	/khru:/ /thɤ:/
	Chanwit Kasetsiri /cha:n-wít kàʔ-sè:t-sìʔ-rìʔ/ (2003)	Jonathan Chiang	/chăn/ /chăn/	/thɤ:/ /thɤ:/
		Jonathan Sullivan	/chăn/ /chăn/	/thɤ:/ /thɤ:/
	Narubon Sirimongkhon /náʔ-rúʔ-bon sìʔ-rìʔ-moŋ-khon/ (2010)	Jonathan Chiang	/phŏm/ ø	/thâ:n/ /câu/
		Jonathan Sullivan	/phŏm/ /phŏm/	/khun/ /khun/
Jane Eyre by Charlotte Bronte	Juliet (2013)	Jane Mrs. Fairfax	/dìʔ-chăn/ /chăn/	/thâ:n/ /thɤ:/
		Jane Mr. Rochester	/dìʔ-chăn/ /chăn/	/thâ:n/ /thɤ:/
		Jane Adela	/dìʔ-chăn/ ø	/khru:/ /thɤ:/
	Sotsai /sòt-săi/ (2007)	Jane Mrs. Fairfax	/dìʔ-chăn/ /dìʔ-chăn/	/khun/ /khun/
		Jane Mr. Rochester	/dìʔ-chăn/ /phŏm/	/khun/ /khun/
		Jane Adela	ø /nŭ:/	/nŭ:/ /khun/

original text as much as possible. It would be a challenge to employ this proposed framework to comparatively analyse some translated conversational texts in order to evaluate if the interpersonal meanings as construed by pronouns have been adequately transfer from the source to and the target texts.

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