Some Observations on phŏm *and* dichăn: *Male and Female 1st Person Pronouns in Thai*

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Introduction

This paper presents some observations on the status and usage of, as well as some peculiarities of, *phŏm* and *dichăn*, the "polite" first person male and female pronouns in Thai.[1] The paper is divided into three sections. The first section provides general background on Thai pronominal references, drawing mainly from three studies on Thai pronominals. The second part imparts some observations and "guesses" on the history of these two pronouns that are considered to be recent innovations in the Thai language. It is suggested that changes in society might have had some influence on reinforcing the gender-specific features of these pronouns. The third section discusses some peculiarity in the distribution of usage of these two pronouns. It also shows that social attitudes influence the imbalance in distribution of these "paired" pronouns.

General Background to Thai Pronominal Reference

ในการเขียนเรื่องชนิดนี้ความลำบากขั้นแรกคือจะใช้สรรพนามสำหรับผู้เขียนว่าอย่างไร ทุกครั้งที่เขียนบทความชนิดที่เป็นสารคดี ข้าพเจ้าต้องเสียเวลาในการชั่งใจวินิจฉัยแล้วตัดสิน เรื่องเอกลักษณ์ของไทยอันนี้ไปบางคราวก็หลายวัน สำหรับเรื่องนี้ก็เช่นกันถ้าใช้ผู้เขียน บางโอกาสก็ทำให้เกิดความขรุขระ และฟังดูห่างเหินจากผู้อ่าน จะใช้ดิฉันผู้อ่านส่วนมากก็คงจะเป็นคนในฐานะศิษย์ดังที่กล่าวไว้แล้ว ในที่สุดจึงตัดสินใจใช้ ข้าพเจ้า เพราะว่าเป็นคำที่มี

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[1] The phonetic transcription for Thai words in this paper follows the transcription described in Brown (1968), except for the words or data quoted from other sources, in which case the original transcription is retained.

ความหมายอ่อนน้อมมาแต่เดิม และใช้เป็นคำกลาง ๆ ในปัจจุบันนี้ จะหาคำใดมาใช้ให้เกิดความสนิทสนมกับท่านผู้อ่านยิ่งกว่านี้ ก็ไม่ได้ ขอให้ท่านผู้อ่านเปลี่ยนสรรพนามกันเองตามที่ท่านต้องการ สำหรับท่านผู้เป็นที่เคารพ บังเอิญได้อ่านหนังสือเล่มนี้ก็โปรดตีความสรรพนามนั้นไปในทางอ่อนน้อม ตามความหมายเดิมของคำนั้นด้วย

> In writing on this kind of subject, the first problem is to choose the appropriate pronoun to refer to the author. Every time that I write an article such as this one, I have to spend some time evaluating and making decisions about this "unique Thai [linguistic] characteristic." As for this particular book, if I used *phûukhĭan* ('the author'), on some occasions it would sound inappropriate and distant from the readers. If I used *dichăn*, [it would not be appropriate since] most of the readers would probably be my former students. I finally decided to use *khâaphacâw* because it originally signified respect and nowadays is used as a neutral pronoun. I could not find any other word that would convey some closeness to the readers better than this one does. The readers may change this pronoun to whatever they feel would be appropriate. As for those whom I respect, if you should happen to read this book, please interpret the meaning of that pronoun (*khâaphacâw*) as showing respect, as it originally did.... (Bunlua 1971: 13, translated by the author)

The above is extracted from the preface of an autobiography by M. L. Bunlua Thepyasuwan, a well-known Thai scholar and writer. She intended the book to be a gift to be distributed to her colleagues and friends, some of whom were her former students, on the occasion of her 60th birthday. This short paragraph from her work reflects, to some degree, the complicated system of self-reference and other dimensions of pronominal usage in Thai, with the numerous pronominal variants determined by the social roles and the role relationships of speech participants, which, in turn, are governed by social and cultural factors.

Thai pronominal usage has been discussed in some detail by a few scholars of the Thai language. The works specifically dealing with Thai pronouns and other pronominal usage are by Cooke (1968), Campbell (1969), Angkab (1972), and Hatton (1978). All four studies mentioned here deal primarily with spoken Bangkok Thai, exclusive of dialect varieties.

Types of Pronominally Used Forms in Thai

In Thai, forms other than personal pronouns can be used pronominally to refer to addresser, addressee, or referent. Cooke (1968) classified them into three general types: personal pronouns, kin-type nouns, and name nouns. Angkab (1972) further divided them into eleven categories, which can still fall into the three types discussed by Cooke. Following Hatton (1978: 44), five types of pronominal elements that can be used to refer to the speaker are discussed here:

1. Personal Pronouns Proper
2. Names
3. Titles
4. Kinship Terms
5. Zero

Personal Pronouns Proper. We can classify the personal pronouns proper into three groups according to a defined set of forms used for the three main social hierarchies in Thailand:

1. The Royalty
2. The Buddhist Monks
3. The Commoners

Up until 1932, Thailand was governed by an absolute monarchy. The Thai Kingdom was founded in the early 13th century. In the 14th century, under cultural influences from the Khmer Kingdom, the Thai kings adopted the practice of divine kingship. The Thai court adopted elaborate court language, etiquette, and rituals. At the beginning of the Ayutthaya Period, King U Thong introduced the palace law that formally endowed the King with divine rights and registered the royal family into a hierarchy of rank and statuses (Angkab 1972: 60; Cooke 1968: 35). The *râachasàp* 'royal vocabulary' was set up for the commoners and noblemen to use in speaking to the royal family. This royal language is based on Sanskrit, with strong Khmer and Pali influences. At the same time, the Buddhist monkhood was also granted special status. Special vocabulary was also created to be used by monks in speaking to non-monks and vice versa. In each set of the special vocabularies, there are different forms for different degrees of nobility or sacredness. It has been noted by many scholars that in the royal vocabulary, the highest respect shown towards the second person, that is the King, is reflected in the literal meaning of the forms used as first person pronouns. Cooke (1968: 9) states:

> First person forms often denote, literally, the head or some related part of the body, such as the crown of the head, or the

hair. Many deferential second person forms denote 'the sole of the foot' or 'underneath the foot'. The significance of these expressions, at least from a historical point of view, seems to be that the inferior speaker places the sole of his hearer's foot, or the dust beneath the foot, on a par with his own head or hair—the most respected and highest part of the body.

In this paper, only the first person pronouns used among commoners in everyday life will be discussed. References to the royal vocabulary will be made when relevant to the discussion.

The commonly used first person pronouns in Bangkok Thai are as follows:

1. *phŏm*	2. *dichăn*	3. *kraphŏm*	4. *khâaphacâw*
5. *chán, chăn*	6. *khâa*	7. *raw*	8. *kháw, khăw*
9. *kan*	10. *kuu*	11. *nîi*	12. *tua ʔeeŋ*
13. *nŭu*			

There are also two loanwords used as first person pronouns:

14. *ʔúa* (from Chinese) singular 15. *ʔay* (from English) singular

Of these variants, only three forms seem to have an inherent feature denoting the sex of the speaker:

dichăn denotes a female speaker
phŏm, kraphŏm denotes a male speaker

The rest of the forms carry no gender distinctions. Speakers of either sex can use these other forms, the choice of which depends on other socio-cultural factors such as status, intimacy, solidarity, and so on. However, certain variants are preferred by one sex. For example, *nŭu* is more frequently used by female speakers than by male speakers.

It should also be noted here that *chăn*, which is related to *dichăn*, is not gender specific.

Names. It is common for Thais to use names as self-reference forms. Both nicknames and given names are used for this purpose.

In Thailand, a nickname is normally given to a child before an appropriate given name can be decided upon. Most nicknames are monosyllabic. They may be meaningful, indicating smallness or some other physical characteristics, or they may not have any intrinsic meaning and are used only because they sound pleasant. Thai children normally use their nicknames as self-reference when talking to acquaintances in informal situations, since nicknames are felt to have a friendly or affectionate connotation (Nantana 1983).

A shortened given name can be used as a first person pronoun in place of a nickname if the speaker does not have a nickname. For example, the boy's name Somboon might be shortened to "Boon," the girl's name Malinee to "Nee."

Titles. Certain professional titles can be used commonly as self-reference in Thai. Angkab (1972: 40) lists the following as occupational terms that are used pronominally in first person :

ʔaacaan	'professor'
châŋ	'craftsman'
khruu	'teacher'
mɛ̂ɛkháa	'female peddler'
mɔ̌ɔ	'doctor'
phayaabaan	'nurse'

Kinship Terms. Basic kin terms are used as pronouns in Thai in all persons (see appendix 1), especially within the family and among close acquaintances. Kin terms can sometimes be followed by nicknames or shortened names, such as *phìi* (elder brother) Boon, and *nɔ́ɔŋ* (younger sister) Nee.

Kinship terms can generally be extended for use with non-kin or non-acquaintance, as Angkab (1972: 38) observes: "....the former usage is to solidify interpersonal relationship, and the latter is to establish congenial personal relationship." However, usage of kin terms is more common among non-kin acquaintances, for example, among colleagues.

Omission of Pronoun. Even though Thai has a large set of first and second person pronouns, they are not used in every sentence. Campbell (1969: 23) noted that in a dyadic interaction, as long as both the speaker and addressee are cognizant of the "actors" and "goals" involved in the discourse, the personal pronouns are omissible.

Hatton (1978) suggests that pronominal forms are used only when the speaker himself is "new information." Once the speaker identifies himself, pronominal forms can be omitted.

Another case of pronoun omission that is well noted is that pronominal forms will be avoided when confusion in usage arises in dyadic interaction or when there is uncertainty or ambiguity in the choice of forms.

Factors Governing the Choice of Pronominal Forms

Angkab (1972: 57) describes the choice of pronominal forms as influenced and determined by the social role of the sender and of the receiver, as well as the role relationship of the speech participants (see appendix 2).

Some Observations on the History of *phŏm* and *dichăn*

The inherent gender distinction in Thai first person pronouns proper have been noted frequently. Mary Haas (1978: 8), in her well-known article discussing men's and women's speech, wrote:

> The first of these differences is seen in the use of the pronoun *phŏm* 'I' by men and the use of the pronoun *dichăn* by women. There are many other pronouns that can be used, depending on the relative rank of speaker and hearer, the degree of intimacy between speaker and hearer, or the kinship between speaker and hearer. The pronouns *phŏm* and *dichăn* are used in ordinary polite conversation (not intimate) when speaker and hearer are of equal rank.

However, this is true only in Bangkok or Standard Thai, and there are reasons to believe that the ascribed gender distinction in the first person pronouns is a recent innovation. By contrast, data from some other southwestern Tai dialects still spoken in certain parts of Thailand show no gender distinction in first person pronouns.

In Phu Thai, a dialect spoken by descendants of the Phu Thai group in some areas in Northeast Thailand, as reported by Wilaiwan Khanittanan (1975), there are four first person pronouns.[2]

1. [*khaa*^{5}-*nɔ́*^{2}]
2. [*khɔ́*^{5}]
3. [*hau*^{3}]
4. [*kuu*^{1}]

[*khaa*^{5}*nɔ́*^{2}] is used when the speaker wants to express high respect to an intimate or non-intimate elder. Nowadays it is rarely used.

[*khɔ́*^{5}] is a polite form used when the addressee is an elder or an older non-acquaintance.

[*hau*^{3}] is used when speaking to a person about the same age, or to an intimate, or an acquaintance. It is widely used among friends.

[*kuu*^{1}] is used when speaking to a younger person or an intimate of the same age. It is the term that most adults use when speaking to a child or an individual who is much younger.

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[2] The numbers represent the tones Wilaiwan reported (pp. 379–380) for Phu Thai, and I have translated them as follows:

1. Low Rising
2. High Falling (glottalized)
3. Mid Falling
4. Mid Rising
5. High

Wilaiwan (1975: 381–382) explains further, "There is no male-female distinction in Phu Thai personal pronouns. Each pronoun can be used by both sexes." Wilaiwan also says:

> Nowadays a male speaker adopts the use of *phŏm* as first person pronoun from Bangkok Thai. This word is used especially when a non-acquaintance is among the addressees, and in government offices. This is the only pronoun in use that is different between male and female speakers. (translation mine)

In Northeast Thailand, Lao dialects are spoken that are similar to dialects of Lao spoken in Laos. The following data are taken from Gething (1976: 103). The data are "based on a Vientiane idiolect and are restricted to common, secular use."

The Lao forms given for first person pronouns are:

1. *khɔ̂j*
2. *khanɔ̀ɔj*
3. *háw*
4. *kuu*

The plural forms are formed by adding *phùak* 'group' in front of the singular pronouns above. Again, there exists no inherent gender distinction in the first person pronouns. Gething's analysis of these pronouns in terms of semantic features is presented in appendix 3.

It has been noted that change and innovation in the pronoun sets are not uncommon among Southeast Asian languages. William Gedney (1976: 67) comments: "Apparently in the traditional stratified social situation, polite pronouns rather rapidly got 'worn out,' so to speak, tending to become less polite, with the result that new, fresher, more polite pronouns had to be introduced from time to time."

This has been the case with Thai pronouns. For example, *kuu*, which is nowadays considered to be vulgar, crude, and impolite and can only be used as a non-restraint term among intimates in an informal situation, once was used generally and possibly had the connotation of expressing authority, superiority, or commandment, as attested in the first part of the King Ramkamhaeng inscription dated 1283 A.D., in which he used *kuu* as self-reference.[3]

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[3] See Bradley (1909).

พ่กูขื่สรี ีนทราทีตย แม่กูขื่นางเสือง พี่กูขื่บานเมือง

phɔ̂ɔ kuu chɯ̂ɯ sǐi?intharaathít mêɛ kuu chɯ̂ɯ naaŋ sǎaŋ phîi kuu chɯ̂ɯ baan mɯaŋ

My father's name is Si Intharaathit, my mother's name is Lady Syang, my elder sibling's name is Baanmyang.[4]

In addition to the politeness factor in Thai, pronominal change is the innovation of a semantic distinction as to the sex of a speaker.

Both *dichăn* and *phŏm* or *kraphŏm* are innovative pronoun forms. Due to insufficient data, a detailed history of the use of these forms will not be attempted here. The following are some speculations about what might have happened.

Some time during the 18th century, *dichăn* already appeared in some literary works and was used as a non-gender specific pronoun. An example of this usage can be found in *Khun Chang–Khun Phaen* (National Library 1970). Moreover, as I investigated pronouns found in old dictionaries, I discovered discrepancies in the definitions of *dichăn*. For instance, in the introduction to Pallegoix's dictionary (1896: 12), *dichăn* (written as "dixan, dexan") and *chăn* (written as "xan") are described as follows:

> *xan* — 'I, me', are the most used in ordinary conversation, between persons of equal rank and also when addressing inferiors.
> *dixan, dexan* — are more humble and show more deference than *xan*. (translation mine)

No mention is made about the sex of the speaker. Pallegoix gives the following definition for *phŏm* and *kraphŏm*:

> *kraphom, phom* ('hair')—is the term used by inferiors to superiors....This pronoun is also used by noblemen talking together.

The following is taken from a list of first person pronouns in the dictionary compiled by Çuaz (1903: 13):

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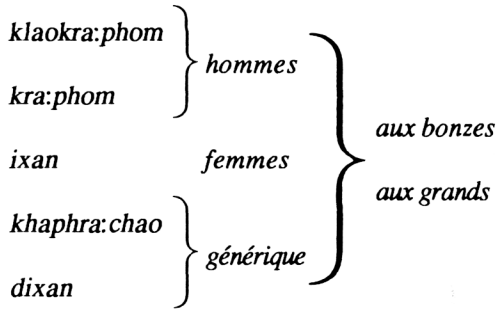
[4] From the Karawek Publisher's 1977 version of the inscription quoted in Kamthon Sathirakun (1983: 57). The original placement of the vowels in the old Thai script from the inscription has been changed slightly to accommodate the Thai computer font.



It seems that during Çuaz's time *kraphŏm* was already identified with a male speaker, whereas there were still fluctuations in the preferred usage of the variant forms of *dichăn* (*dixan, xan*). As indicated in Çuaz's chart, both men and women could use *dixan*, whereas *ixan* was used only by women. In the second edition of a dictionary published by the Ministry of Education in 1927, *dichăn* was still defined as "a personal pronoun used by a superior when talking to an inferior: substitutes for *raw, khâa, chăn*" (quoted in Bunyamanopphanit 1961: 113). This term is also described as used by some noblemen in speaking to commoners.

Another example of the fluctuations in usage of this word can be found in a discussion of pronouns in the royal vocabulary by Uppakitsinlapasaan (1962: 120). The term *dichăn* was described as an archaic first person pronoun used by superiors to inferiors or monks; *?ichăn* was described as a pronoun used by female inferiors to superiors who are not royalty. Note that formerly *dichăn* could be used by both males and females as a first person pronoun, whereas *?ichăn* could be used only by females.

As pointed out earlier, gender distinction in first person pronoun usage by commoners apparently is an innovation. In the royal and nobility group, however, there existed and still exists some degree of gender distinction in the first person pronouns in the royal language that is Khmer influenced. This probably developed as part of language etiquette used in the court. There have also been some changes and modifications in the first person pronoun forms and usage over time.

The following chart is based on the information provided in charts from Cooke (1968: 25, 40, 56):

1st Person Form	Male	Female	Spoken to
khâaphráphútthacâw 'Your Majesty's slave, servant'	√	√	King and highest rank of royalty
klâawkramɔ̀m 'crown of the head' *klâawkramɔ̀mchăn* 'crown of the head of me'	√	√	High rank royalty
kramɔ̀m 'crown of the head' *kramɔ̀mchăn/mɔ̀mchăn* 'crown of the head of me'	√	√	Lesser royalty
klâawkraphŏm 'hair of the head'	√		High non-royalty

In addition to the forms presented by Cooke, there are also other variations in usage of royal pronouns. In some books on the royal language, for example, Uppakitsinlapasaan (1962: 120), *kramɔ̀mchăn*, *kramɔ̀m*, and *mɔ̀mchăn* are described as non-gender specific, first person pronouns used by high royalty or high noblemen when speaking to inferiors; or they may be used between royalty of equal rank. The form *klâawkramɔ̀m* is also described as a non-gender specific, first person pronoun used by inferiors when speaking to high royalty.

The deferential male pronoun term *klâawkraphŏm* 'hair of the head' used when speaking to high ranking noblemen is probably adapted from the first person deferential pronoun used by male commoners in speaking to high royalty. This pronoun distinction was needed because noblemen could not be spoken to as though they were equal to the members of the royal family. Similarly, *dichăn, chăn* may have been derived from *mɔ̀mchăn.* These terms (*kraphŏm, phŏm, dichăn, ʔichăn, chăn*) later became extended and were used by commoners when speaking to a superior to express respect and politeness in formal conversation. In non-formal contexts, other variants are used in speaking to friends and acquaintances, equals or superiors. However, today *kraphŏm* seems to be better established and widely used, whereas the use of *dichăn* seems to be more restricted.

Some mention of Thai society in the past might be relevant here. Up until the so-called modernization or Westernization of Thailand around the end of 19th century, the proper place for elite women was in the household, looking after the family. At that time, women did not have many social roles outside the sphere of their family and relatives. Later, many social changes and some restructuring of the society occurred partly resulting

from Westernization. The spread of mass education and changes in society brought urban women out of their family sphere and engaged them in different occupations, giving them more active roles in society. Consequently, there existed new possibilities for social interaction between women and men, as well as for the establishment of new identities and relationships in society.

It might be this social trend that reinforced the use of *dichăn* as a proper or polite first person pronoun for a female speaker in formal situations, when speaking to non-acquaintances or superiors, for other pronominals would have been considered crude or inappropriate for women. For example, kinship terms would be too intimate and the use of other common pronouns would be considered impolite in this situation. Trudgill (1979: 88-89) writes:

> Different social attributes, and different behavior, is expected from men and women, and gender varieties are a symbol of this fact. Using a female variety [in this case, pronoun] is as much a case of identifying oneself as female and of behaving 'as a woman should,' as is, say, wearing a skirt.

This statement can also be applied to the case of *dichăn* ascribed as the proper, polite first person pronoun for female speakers. The emerging role of women in society outside the family, which used to be considered as the men's sphere, may have had an influence on this semantic development.

The Current Urban Usage of *phŏm* and *dichăn*

Though *phŏm* and *dichăn* are normally described as polite first person pronouns for male and female speakers, respectively, their distribution of usage as a pair is quite different. The form *dichăn* 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 *dichăn* seems to denote a high degree of formality and seems to put some social distance between the speaker and the addressee. Thus, many women feel uncomfortable using *dichăn* as self-reference; hence, the avoidance of using the word if possible, unless the situation and social pressure call for it. In writing or in formal speeches, women can use *khâaphacâw,* which is derived from *khâaphráphútthacâw.* However, *khâaphacâw* is rarely used in dyadic speech for the first person pronoun.

The structure of Thai sentences readily allows omission of first person pronouns. Besides, in a less formal situation, sometimes *nîi* 'this' or *tua ʔeeŋ* 'self' can be substituted for *dichăn.* In other speech styles in everyday conversation—for example, when talking to colleagues or acquaintances—nicknames, kinship terms, the diminutive pronoun *nŭu* 'mouse' or professional terms are widely used among women. To give a specific

example: a female teacher refers to herself as *khruu* 'teacher' or *ʔaacaan* 'professor' when speaking to students. She uses her nickname when speaking to colleagues or acquaintances who are equal or older in age. She uses *nŭu* when speaking to an older or a well-acquainted superior. The form *phīī* 'older sibling' is normally used when speaking to a younger acquaintance.

Among intimate friends, nicknames, kin terms and other pronoun variants showing intimacy such as *raw, kan, kuu, khâa, kháw* are also used, depending on the choice or habit of the speaker. If the speaker is from a region other than Central Thailand, local dialectal intimate pronouns are then used when speaking to friends from the same locality: for example, a female speaker speaking Northern dialect will generally use the local, *pôn* when speaking to a local intimate female friend (*pôn* in this usage is a first person pronoun, though in most other situations it is the polite third person pronoun); a male speaker speaking northern dialect will generally use *haa* as the first person pronoun when speaking to a local intimate male friend.

Male speakers use *phŏm* more extensively than female speakers use *dichăn* in many speech situations, both formal and informal. Cooke observed that *phŏm* is "now replacing some of the more formal or deferential terms such as *khâaphacâw, klâawkraphŏm,* and *kraphŏm* in the usage of the younger generation" (1968: 14). In other informal situations, such as in speaking to colleagues or friends, where women prefer to use nicknames or kin terms, men still use *phŏm.* Besides, *phŏm* is also used even in the family when speaking to the elders in the family, though kin terms or nicknames are commonly used, too. Kin terms are normally only used by the elder male to the younger. Nicknames are sometimes used by a young or adolescent male when speaking to his elder relatives, but this practice is rare in adult males.

Among close male friends, *phŏm* can also be used. However, other pronouns such as *kan, kuu, khâa, ʔúa,* and *raw* are used to show intimacy and solidarity. As for speakers from other regions of the country, the local pronoun variants are preferred when talking to acquaintances from the same locality in informal situations. It should be noted here that both *phŏm* and *dichăn* are pronouns that children acquire later, generally in school. For a young child, a nickname or *nŭu* 'mouse, little one' is normally used for self-reference. Angkab (1972: 128) notes:

> Since Bangkok Thai is used as a medium of instruction in schools all over the country, school children are taught the sociolinguistic rules and the rules of language usage as part of their Thai grammar lessons; these include appropriate pronominal usage, honorific nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, honorific terms of address, and proper sentence-ending particles....

Boys normally adopt the use of *phŏm* in place of nicknames as self-reference and also extend the use of *phŏm* at home when talking to parents or relatives, in addition to using *phŏm* to talk to teachers, schoolmates, and others. However, some boys still keep nicknames to use when speaking to their parents or close relatives. But girls never adopt *dichăn* for everyday use. They still use *nŭu* when talking to teachers, distant elders, or even older strangers, and nicknames when talking to friends, family members, or relatives. Nicknames and *nŭu* continue to be used in informal situations by women regardless of age.

What happens here might be that nicknames and sibling terms and *nŭu* have connotations or associations with femininity, intimacy, and childishness. Once boys start using *phŏm,* it soon becomes the dominant pronoun for almost all occasions, probably because it indicates some formality and also grown-up feelings. They learn that there is a particular kind of language that is appropriate to them and that they should stop using terms that are regarded as childish or feminine. Thus, the societal attitudes towards certain linguistic variants can have the effect of producing different degrees of variation in pronoun usage, as in the case of *phŏm* and *dichăn.*

Closing Remarks

The use of Thai pronouns has gone through many stages of change. Society is always changing, and, consistent with that change, the norms of pronoun usage in Thai are also gradually changing.

I have presented here my observations on a particular pair of polite pronouns, *phŏm* and *dichăn*, which stand out from other pronoun variants in Thai in that they are explicitly defined as male and female pronouns. Some speculations on how this might have come about have been discussed, drawing examples from some other related Tai dialects and from the use of these pronouns in Central Thai in the past. Some possible sociological factors that might have influenced the change have been suggested. And finally, the present-day usage of both pronouns, also influenced by social attitudes, has been discussed.

The observations and data presented here are limited. A detailed, extensive study of historical use and change in the pronoun system in Thai from various kinds of documents from the past (letters, chronicles, and literature) needs to be done in relation to the historical development of Thai society before one can say anything conclusive or make any absolute claims about male and female first person pronouns in Thai.

Appendix 1

Semantic Features of Thai Kin Terms
(Angkab 1972: 37)

	Sex	Age	Genealogical Distance	Paternal/ Maternal Side	Lineality
phɔ̂ɔ	+m		1		1
mêɛ	-m		1		1
phîi		+a	0		1
nɔ́ɔŋ		-a	0		1
lûuk			-1		1
lăan(1)			-1		2
lăan(2)			-2		2
lěen			-3		2
pâa	-m		1		2
luŋ	+m		1		2
náa			1	-p	2
ʔaa			1	+p	2
pùu	+m		2	+p	2
yâa	-m		2	+p	2
taa	+m		2	-p	2
yaay	-m		2	-p	2
thûat			3		2

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lăan (1) means niece or nephew
lăan (2) means grandson or granddaughter

Appendix 2

Social Categories that Underlie and Determine an Individual's *Social Roles:* *(Angkab 1972: 68-69)*

Power and Status	
Birth:	Royalty, commoner
Religion:	Monk, non-monk, supreme patriarch, temple boy
Officialdom:	Bureaucrat, non-bureaucrat
Subordination:	Superior, inferior
Wealth:	Wealthy, non-wealthy
Education:	Educated, non-educated
Rank:	High-ranking, low-ranking, equal ranking
Title:	With a title, without a title
Age	Older, younger, same age
Kinship and Family Relationship	
Kinship:	Kin, non-kin, parents, offspring, relative, sibling
Family Relationship:	Member of the same family, spouse, dependent, master of the house, servant, master's offspring
Friendship:	Friend, non-friend, acquaintance, non-acquaintance, kin's friend, friend's kin
Ethnic-Religious Groups	Thai, non-Thai, Chinese, Muslim, English-speaking Westerner
Occupation:	Colleague, teacher, student, doctor, nurse, peddler, bus driver, bus conductor, shopkeeper, passenger, customer
Sex:	male, female
Genealogical Distance:	Of older generation, of younger generation, of same generation

Social-Cultural Factors Conditioning Role Relationships:
(adapted from Angkab 1972: 74-76)

1. Intimacy
2. Respect
3. Solidarity
4. Formality
5. Presence of Child
6. Presence of Non-acquaintance with Power and Status
7. Length of Time of Acquaintance
8. Condescension
9. Emotional Manifestation

Appendix 3
Significata of Some Lao Personal Pronouns (Gething 1976: 104)

	Person	No.	Sex	Age	Relation	Status	Solidarity	Specificity	Inclusive Exclusive
1. *khɔ̂j*	1	s	m, w	q, y	f, i	e, l	n	d	x
2. *khanɔ̀ɔj*	1	s	m, w	o, q, y	f, i	g	n	d	x
3. *háw*	1	s	m, w	o, q, y	f, i	g, e, l	n	d	x
4. *kuu*	1	s	m, w	o, q, y	i	e, l	r	d	x

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Person	1	(first person)
Number	s	(singular)
Sex	m	(male)
	w	(female)
Age	o	(older than interlocutor/referent)
	q	(equal to interlocutor/referent)
	y	(younger than interlocutor/referent)
Interpersonal Relationship	f	(formal)
	i	(informal)
Status	g	(greater than interlocutor/referent)
	e	(equal to interlocutor/referent)
	l	(less than interlocutor/referent)
Solidarity	r	(used only between same sex)
	n	(used with same sex and/or opposite sex)
Specificity	d	(specific or definite person(s))
	v	(indefinite or vague, other person(s))
Inclusivity	x	(exclusive of person addressed)
	c	(inclusive of person addressed)

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