KHAM MUANG ANAPHORA AND ITS SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

CHAIYATHIP KATSURA

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
PROGRAMME IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

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ABSTRACT

This study has concentrated on structurally, semantically, and ethnographically analysing Kham Muang anaphora and discussing its social and cultural significance. The structural analysis was conducted based on Bauer's (1983) framework for morphological analysis, which could be applied to lexical as well as phrasal constructs, and the semantic analysis was based on the componential analysis framework. The ethnographic analysis was an application of the ethnography of communication framework to the study of use patterns of Kham Muang anaphors in authentic conversation events, in order to describe features of Northern Thai social and cultural significance. Of the 11 ethnographic elements of communication, this study applied 4, namely, inter-participant relationship, age, generation, sex, and occupation, as the controlled factors.

To acquire data, the researcher, with the help of the language associates, selected a total of 24 native Kham Muang speakers divided equally into three age groups and for each age group equally divided into males and females. These native-speaking informants, primary participants, were then encouraged to have conversations amongst themselves and also with 7 other Kham Muang speakers, secondary participants, in a general private setting, under the topic of auspicious events. Throughout the conversation events, the researcher was present as a passive observer. Their conversations were tape-recorded for further analysis in terms of anaphoric terms used and their choice for first-person, second-person, third-person anaphora, as well as for addressing purposes.

Based on the morphological and semantic analyses, commonly used Kham Muang anaphora included pronouns, names, kinship terms, career or status terms, and phrasal anaphors. These types of anaphora displayed social and cultural bearings in terms of degrees of formality to be observed in communication, socio-historical backgrounds, role of seniority and kin-based relationships, social expectations of certain professions, and indication of social hierarchy. The application of the ethnography of communication to this study was for the purpose of examining how each of the controlled factors could influence speakers' choice of anaphors and what cultural significance it represents.

The study revealed that kinship terms were the most commonly used anaphoric terms in Kham Muang both amongst kinspersons and non-kinspersons. In addition, the factor of generation, which was central to Kham Muang kinship terms, was generally the principal factor that influenced the speaker's anaphoric choice, followed by age and occupation. The factor of sex functioned in complementation of generation and age. The factor of inter-participant relationship, however, was found to take precedence over all factors only amongst closely related participants. Similarly, the factor of occupation could take precedence over all factors only in case a participant pursued any of the four socially honoured professions. According to the findings, the process of Kham Muang anaphora selection reveals Northern Thai socially and culturally significant values, namely, respect for elderliness, politeness through avoidance of excess directness, profession-related honour, and adherence to Buddhist faith.

This study contributes to both the fields of linguistics and social sciences in that it reinforces the inseparable interrelation between language, society, and culture. Social and cultural factors or concerns supply contextual information for the understanding of linguistic features and their meanings, whilst linguistic factors or features, in turn, may serve as a ground for the understanding of—or as a reflection of—socio-cultural phenomena or characteristics.

Key words: anaphora / semantics / ethnography of communication / address / reference

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in many parts of this dissertation.

PC	Particle (e.g., /kɔ̀ː/, /k^{h}áp/)
PPC-Q	Question Post-Particle (e.g., /kɔ̀ː/, /kaː/, /bɔ̌ː/, /ʔíʔ/, /lɔː/)
PPC-D	Doubt Post-Particle (e.g., /kâː/)
PPC-R	Request Post-Particle (e.g., /tɜ́ʔ/, /nɔ̄ː/, /nɜ̄ː/)
PPC-C	Command Post-Particle (e.g., /lǣː/, /kàː/, /lɔː/)
PPC-P	Pleading Post-Particle (e.g., /nɜ̄ː/)
PPC-PL	Polite Post-Particle (e.g., /tʃâw/, /k^{h}áp/)
PPC-CX	Counter-expectation Post-Particle (e.g., /hɔ̌ʔ/)
PPC-PM	Permission Post-Particle (e.g., /tɜ́ʔ/)
PPC-E	Emphasis Post-Particle (e.g., /nāːkàː/)
PPC-A	Affirming Post-Particle (e.g., /lɔː/, /lɔ̄ː/, /nɔ́ʔ/, /kàː/, /naː/)
PPC-I	Informing Post-Particle (e.g., /nɜ̄ː/)
PC-EXC	Exclamation Particle
NCL	Nominal Classifier
Gen.	Generic
Spcf.	Specific
E	Elder
Y	Younger
Cmpd.	Compounded
Fa	Father
Mo	Mother
Br	Brother
Si	Sister
So	Son
Da	Daughter
Hu	Husband
Wi	Wife

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Language is to a society what the mouth is to a human being. Language is perhaps the most important channel through which a society has its social and cultural characteristics exchanged, communicated and disseminated both amongst its members and to outsiders. The relationship between language and society is therefore not just intricate; it is inseparable. Just as language is a multi-level macro-structure consisting of various sets of features or forms (e.g., sentences, clauses, phrases, etc) that perform different functions or represent different meanings, so does a society in the sense that it is made up of coherent, bounded and fundamentally relational constructs. These constructs function like organisms, with their various parts (social institutions) working together to maintain and reproduce them. The various parts of society are assumed to work in an unconscious, quasi-automatic fashion towards the maintenance of the overall social order and equilibrium (Barnard, 2000). Moreover, just as a linguistic 'sign' consists of 'a signifier' (a word and its phonemes) and 'a signified' (a concept) (de Saussure, 1922, cited in Bloomfield, 1961, p. 80), a society, argued Lévi-Strauss (1969), who applied de Saussure's signifier-signified concept to structuralism, has meanings that are produced and reproduced through various practices, phenomena, and activities that create systems of signification.

It definitely is through language—that is, its various linguistic devices—that such systems of signification are transferred amongst a society's members, from one generation to the next. Amongst such linguistic functioning forms and systems of signification is anaphora.

1.1 Significance and Rationale

Anaphora is a type of reference, which is a common process in most forms of communication. According to Halliday and Hasan (1987), reference is classified into exophora (extracontextual or extralinguistic reference) and endophora (intracontextual reference). Exophoric reference is made to whatever entity that is not within the immediate communication context. An example of exophoric reference is the mention of 'that man' in the following conversational exchange.

Example 1: Endophoric Reference

A: When do you think this product can be launched?
B: The soonest is next month…[a man happens to be walking by]…Look at that man!

Endophoric reference, on the other hand, refers to whatever entity within the immediate communication context. Endophora is then divided into anaphora (backward reference) and cataphora (foreward reference). Example 2 below illustrates the difference between anaphora and cataphora.

Example 2: Anaphoric and Cataphoric Reference

Anaphoric Reference	**Cataphoric Reference**
Jeff seems unfriendly, but he is indeed very honest.	He seems unfriendly, but **Jeff** is indeed very honest.

As shown above, anaphoric reference is seen in the use of the pronoun 'he' to refer backwards to the previously mentioned person named 'Jeff'. In cataphoric reference, by contrast, the pronoun 'he' is used before the entity to which it refers—'Jeff'; so 'he' serves to refer forwards to an entity yet to be mentioned.

Of these different kinds of reference, it is anaphora that is the primary focus of this study. As discussed above, anaphora can be defined as the process or result of the use of a linguistic unit to refer back to a unit or concept (e.g., a person, an object or a place) previously expressed, serving to mark the identity between what is being mentioned and what has been previously mentioned (Crystal, 1985, p. 17).

This study focuses on identifying and describing patterns of Kham Muang[1] anaphoric reference in actual conversational contexts for the purposes of, firstly, structurally classifying Kham Muang anaphoric forms, secondly, describing semantic and socio-cultural features that underlie each of the anaphoric forms, and thirdly, investigating ways in which social and cultural variables interplay with anaphoric usages in actual communicative events, based on the ethnography of communication framework. The term 'anaphora' used in this study refers to linguistic constructs of whatever forms and their functions as terms of backward reference to the first, second, and third persons during a communicative event, in which it is often the case that the third person referred to is not present. Thus address terms, which carry the sense of 'the manner of referring to someone in direct linguistic interaction' (Crystal, 1985, p. 6), will also be called in this study 'second-person anaphors'.

The significance of this study is highlighted by a number of reasons. Firstly, the majority of previous studies related to anaphora have concentrated on single, individual domains and persons, particularly the domain of pronouns in the first, second, or third person (Brown & Gilman, 1960; Uyeno, 1971; Harada, 1976; Enfield 2005).

[1] The Kham Muang language, typologically classified as 'Tai Yuan, is currently spoken as a native language by the majority of people of the upper northern part of Thailand. Although Kham Muang, like most other languages, has several local varieties with slight differences in vocabulary and accents, the variety chosen for my research is the Chiang Mai variety. Since this research focuses on social and cultural significance of the anaphora of the language, the term 'Kham Muang' refers hereinafter to the language, and the term 'Northern Thai' to the people, society, and culture.

But because anaphora involves backward reference, it is logical for the researcher to hypothesise that anaphora subsumes various linguistic constructs other than pronouns, such as kinship terms (e.g., /luŋ/ 'uncle'), titles (e.g., /pɔ̄ːlŭaŋ/ 'headman'), names (e.g., /pan/) and combinations of these (e.g., /luŋ pɔ̄ːlŭaŋ pan/ 'uncle headman Pan'). Secondly, for Tai languages, most of the earlier anaphora-related studies, whether based on sociolinguistic or text-linguistic theories, have been conducted on Central Thai (Palakornkul, 1972; Hoonchamlong, 1991; Vongvipanond, 1994), hence leaving many regional varieties underexplored. In the case of Kham Muang, only a few anaphora-related studies have been conducted, of which one adopts the ethnosemantic approach to analyse kinship terms (Prapuntasiri, 1992) and another applies the location-based comparative sociolinguistic method to study the use of address terms (Chanta, 1992). The researcher therefore realises the need for a thorough investigation of anaphora by applying the ethnography of communication, which could reveal a more complete usage pattern of Kham Muang anaphora and its social and cultural relationship. Thirdly, with regard to methodology, most earlier studies in address terms and anaphora (pronouns and reference terms) were based on data elicited through interviews (Prapuntasiri,1992; Chanta, 1992), questionnaires (Chanta 1992) or unparticipatory observation (Hassaphanu, 2002); studies conducted on the basis on spontaneous or natural speech data have hardly been documented. Although collecting natural speech data could be time-consuming, its obvious advantage over other forms of informed elicitation (i.e., elicitation of which the subject has been pre-informed) is that the natural speech data represent the subject's authentic use of language, less likely to be hampered or distorted by the subject's knowledge of the researcher's intentions. Thus the researcher's chances of obtaining 'goodwill', 'helping' or 'pleasing' data could be minimised. Finally, this study could contribute not only to society-related fields of linguistics but also to language-related fields of social sciences. Involving the inseparable trio of society, culture, and language, this study attempts to present a more complete social and cultural description of Kham Muang speakers' treatment of interpersonal relationships as reflected by their use of anaphora. For this reason, the researcher will acquire data from actual communicative events in which the researcher plays the role of a participant-observer in the attempt to investigate relationships between anaphoric patterns and social and cultural backgrounds as well as the relative role of such backgrounds in communicative events. However, the researcher's participation in a conversation event will be kept to a minimum to ensure maximum authenticity of the data obtained. Previous related studies are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

1.2 Objectives

This study is intended to fulfil these objectives:

1.2.1 To conduct structural and semantic analyses of Kham Muang forms used as anaphors for the purpose of discussing their social and cultural connections;

1.2.2 To examine, by applying the ethnography of communication framework, variables that determine the choice of anaphors in actual conversation events.

1.3 Hypotheses

This study is conducted on the basis of the following hypotheses.

1.3.1 Kham Muang anaphora consists not only of a class of pronouns but also terms of various morphological and syntactic structures, namely, compounded words, complex words, and noun phrases;

1.3.2 Kham Muang anaphors can be composed of lexemes from the semantic domains of kinship, occupation, social status, age, sex, and combinations of these, and their semantic properties are related to and can represent Northern Thai society and culture; and

1.3.3 Conversation event participants' choice of anaphors can be conditioned or determined by the age, generation, sex, status, and career of all the three parties—namely, the speaker, the addressee and the referent, and these conditions are indicative of Northern Thai social and cultural characteristics.

1.4 Scope

This study was conducted within the scope set hereunder.

1.4.1 The variety of Kham Muang under study is that of Chiang Mai, which has been codified in the forms of dictionaries and language-learning textbooks, and the geographical area where data are to be collected is the inner city of Chiang Mai (within the moat). The reason for selecting this city area of Chiang Mai as the study field is because it represents a paradox where, on the one hand, it is a rapidly changing society and, on the other, its language-conserving dynamism is well orchestrated. Thus it is worth examining its linguistic features amidst the on-going social changes.

1.4.2 The data on anaphora are to be gathered from spontaneous conversation events in which the researcher is an observer. The topic of each conversation event is restricted to the domain of 'auspicious events', which include festivals (e.g., traditional New Year, international New Year, etc), house-warming, wedding, and so forth. Such events, which naturally involve a wide variety of participants, are generally considered pleasant to discuss. The language of every conversation event is Kham Muang. The contexts of place and time will be considered as unique or relative to each communicative event.

1.4.3 The term 'anaphora' in this study refers to lexical items functioning as terms of address and terms of reference for the first person, the second person, and the third person human participants and referents in spontaneous daily conversation events, so it does not include the royal vocabulary, which is under specific use constraints.

1.4.4 Although focusing on Kham Muang, this study will consider anaphoric terms borrowed from other languages (e.g., formal pronouns) as possible anaphoric usages, and will label such terms accordingly. In addition, this study concentrates only on currently used Kham Muang anaphors; however, reference to and explanation of formerly used or outdated terms will be provided wherever necessary.

1.4.5 Zero anaphora will not be included in this study for two reasons. First, being zero, it cannot be structurally analysed. Second, its use is subject equally to

discourse and contextual constraints, so that examining its context but not its discourse may provide only a half complete use pattern.

1.4.6 Where pronouns, in the grammatical sense of the word, are involved, this study focuses only on personal pronouns and exclude those of other types, namely, possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, reflexive pronouns, indefinite pronouns, and relative pronouns.

1.4.7 The term 'conversation event' in this study refers to a spoken exchange that involves two or more participants, who are present throughout, talking about themselves and third parties. This study will focus on conversation events that concern auspicious events and that take place in a general setting. A conversation event is terminated when at least one of the participants leaves the event, when a new participant joins the event, or when the topic of the conversation changes. The conversation that continues (i.e., with the absence of a participant, with the new participant or with the new topic) will be regarded as another conversation event. If there is a shift into a new topic, but at some point thereafter there is a shift back into the original topic, each shift signals a new conversation event. However, if a participant leaves the event and returns shortly thereafter to resume his/her role in the event (such as going to the restroom or answering a phone call), or if there happens to be a quick shift into a new topic and back into the original (such as when the participants exchange a few clauses about a sudden rain), the conversation event is not considered terminated.

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1.4.8 This study is conducted qualitatively and does not include any statistical calculation relating to social variables, but such variables (e.g., age, sex) will be considered as participants' role-relationships local to the immediate context of each communicative event (Saville-Troike, 1997, p. 142). The variables to be analysed in each communicative event are limited to each participant's age, sex, career and status as relative to those of the other participants in the event

1.4.9 This study attempts to identify and explain Kham Muang anaphora from social and cultural perspectives; therefore, it will not address the data in relation to discoursal or grammatical analysis.

1.5 Expected Outcome

The principal outcome that this study, as a social science dissertation, aims to create is two-fold. Linguistically, this study expects to increase the awareness of the importance of linguistic investigation on the basis of spontaneously acquired data, in addition to formally elicited data. It also expects to shed more light into the area of sociolinguistics and linguistic pragmatics, in both of which cases certain linguistic features can better be examined in actual contexts of communication. Besides, it aims to encourage linguistic documentation of regional varieties of a language, particularly those varieties without orthographies. This could contribute to the conservation of such varieties' certain linguistic characteristics which may be subject to increasing interference from the seemingly more prestigious standard language. With regard to its social science dimension, this study expects not only to reaffirm the significance of the relationships between a society and its members' language, but also to reveal attitudes, values and worldviews characteristic of Northern Thai people and their society, by investigating its linguistic features through which social and cultural characteristics can be reflected—whether obviously or subliminally.

1.6 Terminology Definitions

The terms defined hereunder are arranged in an alphabetical order, according to the key word of each entry.

'**Anaphora**' refers to the process or a linguistic unit, called an '**anaphor**' (e.g., a word, a phrase, or an expression), used to refer back to some previously expressed unit or meaning. Anaphora is often contrasted with '**cataphora**' (forward reference) and sometimes distinguished from '**exophora**', in which the reference is made to an extralinguistic entity (Crystal, 1985, p. 17).

An '**auspicious event**' refers to an event, a festival, a ceremony, or a rite of passage marking a delightful moment, celebrating an important event, or congratulating an achievement. Examples of auspicious events include the New Year celebration, a house-warming, a wedding, and a birthday.

The term '**career**' or '**occupation**' or '**profession**' subsumes a variety of domains. Examples of well-known occupational domains are 'educatorship', 'craftsmanship', and 'health care'. Educatorship refers to a career that involves teaching, training, and/or impartation of academic, vocational, or religious knowledge and skills, whether for remuneration or for charity, and regardless of the type of workplace (i.e., a home, a temple, a church, a kindergarten, a school, a technical college or a university). Craftsmanship refers to a career that requires practically accumulated skills in producing or creating pieces of handiwork or work of art. Craftsmanship could therefore be associated with people with such skills as house-building, carpentry, wood-carving, silverware, and the like. The domain of health care includes such professionals as physicians, nurses, and other specialists, whose responsibility is to help people maintain or regain good health, or recuperate from physical or mental disorders.

The '**general setting**', in which conversations will be observed and recorded, refers to an unceremonious, informal circumstance under which a conversation of any kind may take place without requiring its participants to be too wary of or too worried about etiquettes or their conduct. Examples of a general setting are one's home, a common area of one's workplace (but not in the office area), and a marketplace.

The term '**interpersonal relationship**' covers various types of relationship between people. Examples of well-known types of interpersonal relationship are 'kinship', friendship', 'neighbourhood', and 'acquaintanceship'. Kinsmen display a kinship relationship, friends may display an intimate relationship, neighbours may display a semi-intimate relationship, whilst acquaintances may display a distant relationship.

'**Morphological and syntactic structures**' are linguistic units whose formation is explicable in terms of morphological or syntactic processes. For instance, different terms that serve the same purpose in the same communicative context, such as reference terms, may have different morphological and syntactic structures; one may be a simple noun (e.g., 'police'), another a compound (e.g., 'policeman') and the other a noun phrase (e.g., 'police officer').

'**Semantic components**', also called '**semantic features**' or '**semantic properties**', are the meaningful elements that are combined to constitute (or lexicalise) the consummate meaning or concept of a word (Saeed, 2003, p. 247). Semantic components determine the domains to which semantically related lexical items belong, as well as serve to distinguish between semantically related lexical items. For example, kinship terms (e.g., 'uncle' and 'aunt'), which are classed within the same semantic domain (i.e., kinship), share the same components of age and parental laterality but are contrasted on the basis of sex.

'**Semantic domains**', also called '**semantic fields**', are areas into which the vocabulary items of a language are organised. Within these domains or fields, words interrelate and define each other in various ways (Crystal, 1985, p. 274). The words denoting kinship—or kinship terms—are frequently cited as an example of a semantic domain in which the precise meaning of a kinship term (e.g., 'uncle') can be identified only if the semantic components of the term are examined in relation to those of the other terms that also demarcate the kinship system of a given language.

'**Social factors**' and '**cultural factors**' are features that exert tacit and largely irrepressible effects on the behaviour, including linguistic behaviour, of members of a society (Chambers, 2003, p. 7). Social factors usually pertain to the institutionalised organisation of society, which in turn subtly underlies the roles and duties of individuals in the society. Generally, social factors frequently studied in conjunction with linguistic behaviour include social status, age, sex, occupation, to name a few. Very closely related to and inseparable from social factors are cultural factors, which tacitly and subtly impose the institutionalised norms or practices on individuals sharing the same culture, thereby functioning as behaviour-directing mechanisms. An obvious example of a cultural factor with regard to communication is silence. In some Western cultures, silence during certain communicative events, such as a meeting or a lecture class, is regarded as a sign of unresponsiveness, which could be equated to impoliteness; in some Eastern cultures, by contrast, silence in the same situation is a way of showing respect and of recognising the authority of the speaker.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Previous Relevant Studies

Since this study attempts to present a thorough description of Kham Muang anaphora and a social and cultural explanation thereof based on the ethnography of communication framework, most of the works selected for review hereunder are those pertaining to the domains of anaphora, sociolinguistics, and ethnolinguistics, and closer attention will be paid to works related to any aspect of Kham Muang anaphora.

Because the most common form of anaphora is the pronoun, most of the previous studies in the anaphoric systems of various languages have centred on their pronominal systems. Classical reference to works in the domain of anaphora is often made to the 'tu-vous' (informal and formal 'you') distinction in many Latinate languages of Europe. In medieval times, the pronouns 'tu' and 'vous' were not used reciprocally by participants of different social statuses, and such usage symbolised a 'power' relationship. For instance, a student was supposed to use 'vous' to address his teacher, and the teacher would tend to address the student with 'tu', as in example 3 below.

Example 3: Power Relationship in 'Tu' and 'Vous'

Teacher: Tu vas bien, Marc?
'How are you, Marc?'
Student: Très bien, merci. Et vous?
'Very well, thank you. And you?'

In modern societies, however, the two terms are used reciprocally in various contexts and signify 'politeness' (Brown & Gilman, 1960). Two close friends, for example, may address each other by using 'vous' in stead of 'tu' during a company's meeting, to display politeness which the situation expects. Lambert and Tucker (1976) observe varying patterns of 'tu-vous' usage amongst French-speaking children in France and Quebec, Canada, and report that main determining factors include participants, their roles and statuses, age, and degrees of acquaintanceship or familiarity. Brown and Levinson (1979) postulate that the 'tu-vous' usage is primarily dependent on kinds of social relationship, and that the T-exchange between members of low-status groups is a means to maintain equality and solidarity. Members of the working class, for example, tend to address one another with 'tu', regardless of age or degree of familiarity, since such address is perceived as a mechanism that 'binds' or 'unites' them together. Vigner (1978) applies this information on 'tu-vous' patterns to his book 'Savoir-vivre en France' ('Know how to live in France'), which gives foreigners advice on appropriate usages of the two address terms. Those studies on the two-way distinction

of second-person pronouns seem relatively uncomplicated when compared with pronominal systems with greater complexity in Southeast Asian languages, but such studies nonetheless serve as foundations for subsequent explorations in other languages' pronominal systems.

Anaphora-related works have also been conducted to account for some Asian languages. For person reference, Uyeno (1971) and Harada (1976) describe Japanese pronouns as distinguishable with respect to sex of the speaker, social status of the referent, and the degree of intimacy with the referent. Brown and Levinson (1988) report that village Tamil has as many as six singular second-person pronouns, whose usages depend on the degree of relative rank between the speaker and the addressee. Moreover, Simpson's (1997) investigation of Thai pronouns shows a complex system of person-referring expressions, indicating relationships between social structures, language use, and language ideologies. Similarly, Martin (1964) discusses the elaborate use of addressee honorifics in Japanese and Korean, explaining close relationships between social structure and language levels. Geertz (1960), in his studies of Javanese, a principal language of Indonesia, states that everything said in Javanese could bear the indication of the social relationships between the speaker and the listener in terms of status and familiarity. Most significantly, a recent study of Lao, a language closely related to Kham Muang, by Enfield (2005), reveals the distinctive semantic content of pronouns and the added meanings of inferential, linguistically and socially governed interpretation as two sources of core cultural information with which a person's social relationship and social place are concerned. These studies, however, focus only on the domain of pronouns, which are the most common—but not the only—form of anaphora. It is my argument that Kham Muang utilises a wide range of diverse linguistic constructs as anaphors and that such anaphors represent some aspects of Northern Thai social and cultural characteristics, which can be observed more accurately through observing actual communication events than through informant or respondent elicitation.

Most of the anaphora-related studies of Tai languages have been centred on Standard Thai. Available are works both in the area of sociolinguistics and in other linguistic fields. Research by Tingsabhat and Prasitrathsint (1989) describes morphological and syntactic structures of address terms (second-person anaphors) in the Ratanakosin Era Thai and discusses relationships of their social backgrounds. Their study, based on data collected from dialogues in a selection of novels and short stories, reveals some significant socially related changes. Firstly, after the 1932 revolution, terms used by an inferior to address a superior became more neutral, which signalled a tendency towards equality. Secondly, terms used by a superior to address an inferior remained largely unchanged. Thirdly, address terms used amongst equals displayed an increasing degree of intimacy. However, data from fiction sources might have contained language styles representative of the literary tradition of its era (which could be different from every-day use of language), or reflective of its era's demand for social changes (which had not taken place yet at the time of writing). In addition, this work presents a historical perspective of changes in address terms as influenced by certain high-impact events in Thai society, not a synchronic description of the actual use of such terms, as my study aims to present.

Also historical in nature is Iamjinda's study of the evolution of Thai personal pronouns from the Sukhothai era to the present time (1991). Iamjinda based his study

on pronoun data that appeared in stone inscriptions, chronicles, and literary works, and explained the usages of these pronouns in grammatical and social terms. This study discusses significant changes in the Thai pronominal system from the Sukhothai, Ayudhaya, early Ratanakosin (from King Rama I to King Rama V), and contemporary Ratanakosin eras (from King Rama VI to the present King). Firstly, the Sukhothai-era pronouns included terms of royal address (those used to address the monarch) and terms signifying commendation or respect, both of which had been absent in ancient Tai society. Secondly, pronouns of the Ayudhaya era not only contained terms borrowed from other languages via literary, religious, and political channels, but also included specific terms used with and by monks (e.g., /ʔàːtamap^{h}âːp/ 'I') and terms for formal address (e.g., /k^{h}âːp^{h}átʃâw/ 'I'). In early Ratanakosin Thai, the feature of duality disappeared from the first-, second-, and third-person pronouns, whilst the more clearly defined social hierarchy played an important role in designating types of pronouns to be used with and by speakers of different social classes. Finally, in contemporary Ratanakosin Thai, both duality and plurality have ceased to be a significant semantic feature in pronouns, whilst the male-female distinction has become more clearly defined. However, Iamjinda's study does not include other lexical items with pronoun-like functions, which I shall hypothesise as being equally common.

Another work with more direct focus on social aspects of Thai pronouns is by Palakornkul (1972), which explains sociolinguistic variables that determine Bangkok Thai speakers' strategies for selecting pronouns. Based on data elicited from informants from various walks of life (including monks), as well as from novels, Palakornkul finds that Central Thai employs ten types of nouns (e.g., kinship terms, career terms, etc), in addition to pronouns, for reference purposes. Palakornkul concludes her study with a postulation of grammatical and social rules, the former being rules for plurality and modification and the latter for social, contextual, and situational factors to be taken into account when one chooses a pronoun. Though comprehensive, the findings of this study are based primarily on elicitation rather than participatory observation, and on documentary materials rather than on spontaneous speech. Since different methods of data gathering may yield different results, I consider it necessary to conduct an experiment based on spontaneously produced linguistic materials obtained by way of researcher's participatory observation.

A more recent work is by Truwichien (1985). Using respondent-based data collection, this study concentrates on variation of address and reference terms in Central Thai and their sociocultural significance. This study adopts three semantic analysis tools to examine meaning variation in the use of such terms: (i) the 'semantic oppositions' tool, which specifies the array of meanings each form communicates; (ii) the 'semantic spectra' tool, which indicates relations between semantic oppositions; and (iii) the 'semantic profiles' tool, which displays similarities and differences between the forms of address and reference. Based on these semantic analyses, two patterns related to the conditions of use can be observed. The first is the traditional pattern of use, which reflects the importance of interpersonal relationship and social status. The other pattern is non-traditional and less common, which reveals the placement of interpersonal relationship over social status.

A sociolinguistic study which is ethnographic in nature is that by Vongvipanond (1994). Discussing the significance of appropriateness and context to communication,

Vongvipanond argues that 'appropriateness' is a central feature of verbal interactions amongst Thais, who in general have high regard for the attitude of /kaːlá? tʰeːsà?/, meaning 'appropriateness of time, place, and other people in relation to one's words and deeds'. She illustrates this using the paradigm of honorifics in Central Thai, in which certain pronouns (e.g., /tʃʰăn/, /kʰâː/) are used with equals or intimates, some (e.g., /pʰŏm/, /đitʃʰăn/) with strangers, and some (e.g., /kràpʰŏm/) on formal occasions or with non-intimates with a superior status. Her discussion also includes the use of some kinship terms for addressing and referencing (anaphoric) purposes. This usage, especially in rural communities, not only is common amongst acquaintances but also can be extended to strangers. Ethnographically, Vongvipanond's study explains cultural aspects of contexts considered by the language user in making his/her choices of honorifics.

With regard to context, Vongvipanond, using the term 'speech situation', offers a brief discussion of the different levels of vocabulary. She notes that contexts (speech situations) vary on a parameter of formality, and each context requires different lexical variants of the same word. A highly formal speech style requires 'official and pleasant' vocabulary, and is usually without final politeness/courtesy particles for expressing politeness and courtesy on the part of the speaker. Because the purpose of Vongvipanond's work is to use various linguistic features of Thai to demonstrate its underlying cultural significance, her treatment of Thai pronouns and kinship terms is only to illustrate speech situation appropriateness, not to elaborate on the entire anaphoric system of Thai.

Meanwhile, a detailed study of Standard Thai anaphora using a grammatical/ discoursal approach is one by Hoonchamlong (1991). Based on the Government and Binding framework, this research adopts a grammatical analysis approach focusing on a syntactic linkage whereby a word or word-class requires another word or word-class to have a specific morphological form. In this text-based study, syntactic variation regarding the distribution and properties of Thai anaphora is discussed in relation to three issues: the Binding Theory, which seeks to explain the co-referentiality of two or more linguistic units, and noun phrase types in Thai; null (zero) objects in Thai; and Licensing and Identification principles for Thai null pronominals. This study claims that Thai null pronominals do not have to be licensed, and that their reference is identified in the same way as those of overt pronouns. Such findings confirm that the pronominal choice of Thai, an isolated language without grammatical endings, is not subject to morphosyntactic government or licensing in the same manner as many European languages are. Although this study contributes directly to the field of discourse analysis in that it discusses intradiscoursal conditions that pertain to the reference identification, it indirectly reaffirms the need to explore extralinguistic entities that determine the choice of anaphora in a language like Thai.

Works in areas relevant to the anaphora of Kham Muang, the language under study, are few. Related in part to this study is Prapuntasiri's (1992) ethnosemantic study of Kham Muang kinship terms. Based on four informants, each representing Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lamphun, and Lampang, Prapuntasiri employs componential analysis to examine Kham Muang kinship terms and established that the Chiang Mai and Lamphun varieties display five dimensions—or distinctive semantic components—in their kinship terms: generation, lineality, age, sex, and parental link. She also observes that kinship terms used as pronominals and address terms amongst kinsmen and non-kinsmen are mostly those representing upper generations and older age, reflecting the

significance of seniority in Northern Thai culture. Moreover, Prapuntasiri reveals that the use of maternal terms, which was formerly predominant, is being mixed with the use of paternal terms, a sign, she interprets, of decreasing significance of matrilineality in Northern Thai society. Prapuntasiri's findings provide many relevant insights into the Kham Muang kinship system and terms thence derived for anaphoric use.

However, Prapuntasiri's componential analysis reveals only two socially and culturally significant factors amongst Kham Muang speakers, namely, seniority and matrilineality. Of these two factors, the seniority claim is valid and reflective of Northern Thai culture, as seniority is commonplace in most Asian cultures. As to the claim that maternal kinship terms are predominantly used due to matrilineality, it is worth observing whether such social organisation remains or is changing, and if it is changing, how it affects or is reflected by the patterns of anaphoric use. Besides, whereas the data in Prapuntasiri's study were collected via interviews, this research will be based on authentic speech data obtained from actual communicative events. It is expected that such spontaneous data will reveal certain uniquely Northern Thai social and cultural characteristics as far as social interactions via communication are concerned. For instance, whilst it is true, as claimed above, that seniority is valued by Kham Muang speakers, it may also be possible that the Kham Muang age-encoded anaphors are used to widen or narrow social gaps between conversation participants, or to signify a participant's attitude towards any of the parental lines.

Also closely related is Chanta's sociolinguistic study of Kham Muang address terms (1992). Chanta focuses only on address terms used pre-conversationally (that is, before a conversation is started) and examines their use in relation to personal factors (e.g., age, sex), pragmatic factors (e.g., intimacy), contexts, and other factors. Data were collected from one urban community and one rural community for comparison, and were mainly collected through questionnaires, each consisting of 100 items divided into 46 items on terms used in the family, 26 on terms used at school, 16 on terms used at the temple, and 12 used in the market. Chanta's study displays four major types of address terms, namely, names (e.g., /wít/ 'Wit'), kinship terms (e.g., /ʔâːj/ 'elder brother'), titles (e.g., /kʰuːɲàj/ 'headmaster'), career terms (e.g., /mɔ̌ː/ 'physician') and pronouns (e.g., /sŭː/ 'you'), which can be preceded by a prefixal lexeme (e.g., /ʔiː/ before a female addressee) and/or followed by a suffixal lexeme, which is a politeness particle (e.g., /kháp/ by a male addresser; /tʃâw/ by a female addresser). A person's choice of address terms and of prefixal or suffixal lexemes is determined by a combination of the four factors stated above. Chanta also remarks that more borrowed address terms (e.g., from Central Thai or Chinese) are found in the urban community than in the rural community, probably as a result of the growing interactions between Chiang Mai and Bangkok.

In fact, Chanta's study gives a detailed description of Kham Muang address terms and their sociolinguistic relationships. However, the use of questionnaires as a means of data elicitation could have affected the authenticity and naturalness of the choice of address terms. Furthermore, Chanta's concentration on these terms only as they are used before a conversation starts—that is, as 'calling terms'—not as they are used during or throughout a conversation could have resulted in an incomplete picture of anaphoric usages. Normally, a speaker may not use the same address term to address the same person throughout the conversation, let alone in different conversations. As illustrated in example 4 below, the speaker A first addresses the

speaker B by using a combination of a career term and a name (i.e., /mɔ̌ː săk/ 'Dr Sak'). Then in his next statement the speaker A refers to the speaker B again, but this time by using the kinship term /ʔâːj/ 'elder brother'. In a longer conversation, greater diversity of anaphors can be anticipated.

Example 4: Different Address Terms (Second-Person Anaphors) in the Same Dialogue

A: mɔ̌ː săk tʃà mɨa bâːn kîʔ moːŋ kʰáp
'Dr Sak, what time are you going home?'
B: hâː moːŋ kʰáp
'Five o'clock.'
A: ʔán pʰɔ̌m pík toːj ʔâːj dâj kɔ̀ː
'Could I have a ride with you?'

Besides, Chanta's focus only on address terms means that only the second-person anaphora is examined. In actual communication, however, the use of anaphora is normally tripartite, involving the first person or party (the speaker), the second person or party (the addressee), and the third person or party (the referent), more or less simultaneously. Even in monologues, the speaker frequently makes reference to himself/herself, to the audience, or to other people from time to time.

In sum, although a number of studies have been conducted in anaphora-related issues, there remain some areas yet to be explored. Firstly, in addition to formally elicited data, it is also necessary to examine language use principally on the basis of actual, spontaneous speech. Secondly, studies on the actual interplay of first-, second-, and third-person anaphors, especially as observed from actual communication, have yet to be undertaken. And thirdly, studies of such natures as stated above have been focused on Central Thai, whereas regional varieties of Thai have remained largely underexplored.

2.2 Language Profile

Kham Muang is spoken predominantly by approximately six million people of the northern provinces of Thailand, namely, Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lamphun, Lampang, Phayao, Phrae, Nan, and parts of Mae Hong Son, Sukhothai, Tak, and Uttaradit (Ethnologue: Languages of the World, 14th Edition, 2000). Kham Muang is a Tai language of the Tai-Kadai stock, and is related to Laotian as well as many other Tai languages spoken in Southern China, such as Tai Khoen and Cuang. For reasons stated in section 1.4.1, this research will focus on the Chiang Mai variety, whose phonological, morphological and syntactic backgrounds are presented below.

2.2.1 Phonology

Kham Muang has a segmental phonology of 21 consonants, 18 monophthongs, and 3 diphthongs, as presented in Figures 2.1 and 2.2.

Place of articulation / Manner of articulation			**Bilabial**	**Labio-dental**	**Alveolar**	**Alveo-palatal**	**Palatal**	**Velar**	**Glottal**
	Voiced		b		d				
Plosives	Voice-	Unasp.	p		t			k	ʔ
	less	Asp.	p^h		t^h			k^h	
Fricatives				f	s				h
Affricates						tʃ			
Nasals			m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
Lateral approximants					l				
Approximants			w				j		

Figure 2.1 Kham Muang Consonants (adapted from The Lanna Thai-Standard Thai Dictionary: The Mae Fah Luang Edition, 1990)

Monophthongs	Front		Central		Back	
	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
High	i	iː	ɨ	ɨː	u	uː
Mid	e	eː	ɜ	ɜː	o	oː
Low	æ	æː	a	aː	ɔ	ɔː

Diphthongs		
	High Front-Low Central	ia
	High Central-Low Central	ɨa
	High Back-Low Central	ua

Figure 2.2 Kham Muang Monophthongs and Diphthongs (adapted from The Lanna Thai-Standard Thai Dictionary: The Mae Fah Luang Edition, 1990)

In addition to these consonant and vowel segments, the Chiang Mai variety—as well as most other varieties—of Kham Muang has six tonemes. In Kham Muang, tones can be classified into two register tones and four contour tones, as described below.

The mid-level register tone involves a middle pitch level whose timbre remains rather constant throughout a syllable.[2] In the phonemic transcriptions in this study, this tone will be unmarked. Some examples of Kham Muang words with this tone are /man/ 'it; he; she', /ɲaːn/ 'loose', and /haw/ 'I; we; me; us'.

The low-level register tone involves a pitch level which is relatively lower than that of the mid-level tone, and which remains constant throughout the syllable. In the phonemic transcriptions in this study, this tone will be marked by the diacritic '̀' over the vowel or the syllabic unit. Some examples of Kham Muang words with this tone are /màn/ 'hard-working; often', /ʔɔ̀j/ 'to drizzle', and /sàːt/ 'mat'.

The rise-falling contour tone begins at a pitch level slightly higher than the beginning level of the mid-level tone, but instead of remaining constant, it glides to a level nearly as low as the ending level of the low-level tone. In the phonemic transcriptions in this study, this tone will be marked by the diacritic '̄' over the vowel or the syllabic unit. Some examples of Kham Muang words with this tone are /mân/ 'firm', /kʰāːw/ 'beam', and /ɲwāːm/ 'to grab'.

The high-falling contour tone begins at a pitch level slightly higher than the starting point of the rise-falling and glides to an abrupt, almost imperceptible drop if the syllable ends in a nasal or glottal closure or if the syllable ends in a vowel or any other continuant. In the phonemic transcriptions in this study, this tone will be marked by the diacritic '̂' over the vowel or the syllabic unit. Some examples of Kham Muang words with this tone are /mân/ 'to be engaged', /kʰâːw/ 'rice', and /lâw/ 'liquor'.

The high-rising contour tone begins at a pitch level slightly higher than the beginning level of the mid-level tone, and rises to end at an even higher pitch level. This tone, when occurring in a syllable with an obstruent coda (i.e., /p/, /t/, /k/, and /ʔ/), has an allotone of a high-level pitch, which starts at a pitch level higher than the beginning point mentioned above, and ends at the same level. In the phonemic transcriptions in this study, this tone will be marked by the diacritic '́' over the vowel or the syllabic unit. Some examples of Kham Muang words with this tone are /máːn/ 'sun-burned', /háː/ 'fermented fish', and /tʃíŋ/ 'steep', whilst examples of words with its allotone include /hák/ 'to love', /kɨ́t/ 'to think', and /pʰɨ́k/ 'chilli'.

The low-rising contour tone starts at approximately the same pitch level as that of a low-level tone, and glides upwards to end at a level slightly higher than the mid-level tone. In the phonemic transcriptions in this study, this tone will be marked by the diacritic '̌' over the vowel or the syllabic unit. Some examples of Kham Muang words with this tone are /tʃǎːŋ/ 'tasteless', /lǎw/ 'crushed', and /bɨ̌t/ 'later'. The Northern Thai [Kham Muang] Dictionary (1996) distinguishes these six tones through the following set of words, which accompanies Figure 2.3.

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[2] A syllable usually has a vowel in its nucleus, but can also have a consonant functioning as the nucleus of a syllable, like a syllabic consonant. A very common Tai Yuan word consisting of only a syllabic consonant followed by a final glottal is /ʔm̩̆ʔ/ (also pronounced [ʔɨʔ]), which means 'no' or 'not'.

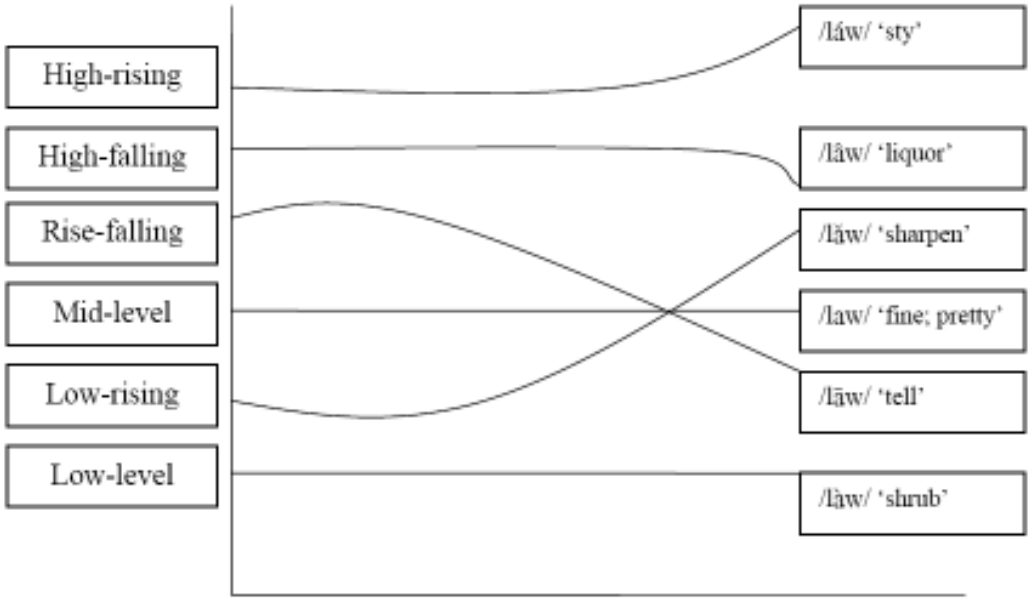

Figure 2.3 Kham Muang Tonemes (adapted from The NorthernThai Dictionary, 1996)

2.2.2 Morphology

Like other languages in the Tai family, Kham Muang is a language of an analytic, isolating morphology. Despite having a syntactic structure resembling that of Standard Thai, some words in the Kham Muang lexicon resemble those in its Standard Thai counterparts (i.e., 'to steal' is /lák/ in both Kham Muang and in Standard Thai), some share the same form but differ in meaning (i.e., /k^{h}ăn/ is a 'pedestal' in Kham Muang but a 'water bowl' in Standard Thai), and others are completely different (i.e., 'ceiling' is called /t^{h}ɜːŋ/ in Kham Muang but /p^{h}eːdaːn/ in Standard Thai). Of all the word-classes in Kham Muang, the one on which this study shall concentrate is the class of word-forms that function as anaphors, which include pronouns and other linguistic constructs used for first-, second- and third-person reference purposes.

2.2.3 Syntax

Kham Muang is a language of the SVO typology. Nouns are normally post-modified, usually by prepositional phrases (often with the preposition elided), such as /săːw bâːn nɨ̆a/ 'girl (from) the northern village', by adjectival phrases (e.g., /lɔ́ː lŭʔ/ 'broken down cart'), and by relative clauses (e.g., /luŋ t̄íː maː k^{h}ɪŋ tàwaː/ 'the uncle who came to see you yesterday'). Verbs may take adverbial modifiers for specific time (e.g., /tàwaː/ 'yesterday'), specific frequency (e.g., /tɨŋwan/ 'every day'), and specific place (e.g., /naj hɨan/ 'in the house'), which can be either pre-verbal or post-verbal, whereas adverbials of unspecified frequency (e.g., /lɜːŋ/ 'frequently'), place (e.g., /pún/ 'over there'), and manner (e.g., /wɜj/ 'quickly') are usually post-verbal.

Adjectives normally take post-modifiers (e.g., /ŋaːm k^{h}ɜ̀ʔnàːt/ ‘very beautiful’; /lŭak ŋāːw/ ‘damn clever’).

2.3 Analytical Frameworks

The principal goal of this study is to expound the relationship between Northern Thai social and cultural characteristics and their manifestations in the anaphora of the language. To reach that goal, it is necessary that anaphoric data obtained from the subjects be analysed structurally and componentially (that is, semantically). These first two steps are necessary because the pronouns and other lexical constructs functioning as anaphors can be composed of socially and culturally significant meaning components, and such meaning components may correspond to certain social or cultural factors in one context, and contradict them in another, for some reason. The structural and componential analysis steps will be a basis for the ultimate and most significant step, which is to apply—not adopt—the ethnography of communication framework to analyse and explain Northern Thai social and cultural significance as reflected through its anaphoric terms and their usages in relation to the context of each conversation event.

2.3.1 Structural Analysis of Anaphors

It has been hypothesised that Kham Muang anaphora can consist of word-forms of various morphological structures, in addition to pronouns. Once a sizeable corpus of anaphoric terms has been collected, the anaphoric terms will be classified into categories, such as pronouns, names, and others. Each category will then be structurally examined based on the framework for word-formation analysis postulated by Bauer (1983; 2001).

Using English as a model, Bauer classifies word-formation processes into 11 categories, namely, compounding, neoclassical compounding, prefixation, suffixation, conversion, back-formation, clipping, blending, acronymy, word manufacture, and mixed formation. However, not every language displays the use of all of these processes in its word formation; some may employ all of the processes whilst others may adopt only certain processes.

Although Bauer’s framework does not include some processes of high morphological productivity in languages of the Tai family (e.g., reduplication, semi-reduplication, and synonymous compounds), it adequately serves the purpose of classifying anaphoric terms. Firstly, this study concentrates on anaphors, which by function include pronouns and other word-forms serving anaphoric purposes. In an isolating language like Kham Muang (and even Standard Thai), the most productive word-formation process used to create such word-forms is highly likely to be compounding, which Bauer classifies on the basis of the form classes of the elements of the compound. Bauer’s reason for using this system, with which I agree, is that it also contributes to the discussion of semantic relationships between the elements of a compound. Secondly, this structural classification on the form-class basis, when applied to words formed by other processes unaccounted for by Bauer, can also facilitate analyses of semantic relationships between the word-form’s elements. Since this study focuses primarily on social and cultural aspects of

Kham Muang anaphora, this analytical framework also serves as a bridge to the subsequent stage, which involves analyses of the anaphors on the basis of their semantic properties.

2.3.2 Semantic (Componential) Analysis

It has been hypothesised that Kham Muang anaphors can display varying degrees of semantic complexity. After their structural classification, the anaphors of each category will be analysed in terms of their semantic components.

Componential analysis in semantics involves 'the analysis of the sense of a lexeme into its component parts' (Lyons, 1995, p. 107). Developed from the kinship vocabulary studies conducted by American anthropologists during the 1950s, this approach employs a finite set of components (or semantic features) to analyse lexical items, especially pronominal systems and kinship terminologies. In this analytical framework, lexical items of a given domain are assigned a set of binary semantic features (using the + and – symbols). One item is proved to be in contrast with another if there is one or more distinctive feature between the two items. For example, the English terms 'brother' and 'sister' contrast on the basis of sex, in that the former is described as [+ male] and the latter as [– male], whereas the Thai terms /ʔaː/ and /náː/, both of which refer to younger siblings of parents, contrast according to their parental sides, that is, the former being paternal and the latter maternal.

Semantic features are 'packaged' or 'encoded' into lexical items of a given language (but if a single lexical item is 'too small' to contain the semantic features needed to express a concept, formation of new words becomes necessary, hence compounding, affixation, and the like, confirming the necessity for the structural analysis). The way semantic features are encoded varies from language to language, and is related to the social and cultural background of the speakers of the language. It is therefore worthwhile to approach componential analysis from a Thai linguist's perspective.

Vongvipanond (1994) explains that componential analysis comprises two basic principles. Firstly, the meaning of a lexical item can be analysed into sub-meanings, which are called semantic features or semantic components. Secondly, each of the semantic features that constitute the meaning of a lexical item is not found only in that lexical item, but also found in other lexical items. The pan-lexical presence of semantic features enables us to see the relationship between lexical items within (and sometimes without) the same semantic domain. Using the Thai words for 'father' and 'mother', Vongvipanond illustrates the analysis of their components as follows.

/pʰɔ̂ː/ 'father'	**/mæ̂ː/ 'mother'**
+ human	+ human
+ parent	+ parent
+ male	– male

Figure 2.4 Componential Analysis of /pʰɔ̂ː/ ('father') and /mæ̂ː/ ('mother')
(Reproduced and translated from Vongvipanond 1982)

According to Vongvipanond, words display varying degrees of semantic relationship between them. Some words have close semantic relationship. The Thai words for 'boy' and 'girl' can serve to illustrate her point. The words /dɛ̀ktʃʰaːj/ ('boy') and /dɛ̀kj̃ɪŋ/ ('girl') are semantically closely related, as they share three semantic features, namely, [+animate], [+human], and [–adult], and the only one component differentiating between them is sex, the former being [+male] and the latter [–male], as can be seen below.

/dɛ̀ktʃʰaːj/ 'boy'	**/dɛ̀kj̃ɪŋ/ 'girl'**
+ animate	+ animate
+ human	+ human
– adult	– adult
+ male	– male

Figure 2.5 Componential Analysis of /dɛ̀ktʃʰaːj/ ('boy') and /dɛ̀kj̃ɪŋ/ ('girl') (Reproduced and translated from Vongvipanond 1982)

On the contrary, there are also words with distant semantic relationship, which I shall use the Thai words /nók/ ('bird') and /jâː/ ('grass') to illustrate. Whilst /nók/ ('bird') is fundamentally mobile, aerial, and can be terrestrial and aquatic, /jâː/ ('grass') is immobile, non-aerial, whilst it can be terrestrial and aquatic. The semantic features that contrast the two words are mobility and aeriality, whereas the features shared by the two words are animacy, terrestriality, and aquaticity, which classify both 'bird' and 'grass' as belonging to the domain of living organisms.

/nók/ 'bird'	**/jâː/ 'grass'**
+ animate	+ animate
+ mobile	– mobile
+ aerial	– aerial
+ terrestrial	+ terrestrial
+ aquatic	+ aquatic

Figure 2.6 Componential Analysis of /nók/ ('bird') and /jâː/ ('grass')

It is possible that one semantic feature, notes Vongvipanond, may imply another. The terms /p^hɔ̂ː/ (‘father’) and /mæ̂ː/ (‘mother’) in Figure 2.4 above do incorporate another semantic feature, which is [+ animate]. But since both terms share the feature [+ parent], which applies only to animate entities, the feature of animacy is implied and therefore does not need to be stated.

One major application of componential analysis has been to the study of kinship terms. In many languages, like Thai (Prasithrathsint, 1990), the use of kinship terms is extended beyond kin-circles and serves as a common addressing and referencing mechanism whereby some social and cultural characteristics can be observed. Hypothetically, the anaphora of Kham Muang may encompass terms of various semantic categories, and these terms, in one way or another, manifest certain aspects of Northern Thai culture. This intermediate stage of componential analysis is therefore a necessary complement to the social and cultural explanation of communicative events, which is based on the application of the ethnography of communication approach.

2.3.3 The Ethnography of Communication Framework

As one of the most fundamental functions of language is ‘interactional’, that is, to maintain social relationships (Halliday, 1973 in Wardhaugh, 1986, p. 241), to sufficiently understand ways in which language is used in actual communication requires more than describing its structural composition or identifying its propositional (semantic) content (Wardhaugh, 1986, p. 241). This condition is explained as ‘communicative competence’, which is different from ‘linguistic competence’ in that ‘linguistic competence covers the speaker’s ability to produce grammatically [linguistically] correct sentences [but] communicative competence describes his ability to select, from the totality of grammatically correct expressions available to him, forms which appropriately reflect the social norms governing behaviour in specific encounters’ (Gumperz, 1972, p. 205). From the perspective of the ethnography of communication, which will form the second main discussion of this study, the scope of communicative competence can be elaborated to cover not only linguistic and sociolinguistic rules for communication but also shared rules for interaction and cultural rules and knowledge serving as the basis for the context and content of communicative events and interaction processes (Saville-Troike, 1997, p. 3).

Before proceeding to describe the ethnography of communication framework, I consider it necessary to define domains in which this discipline, sociolinguistics, and anthropological linguistics resemble and those in which they differ. Like sociolinguistics, the ethnography of communication examines patterns of language use by taking into consideration such social factors as the age, sex, status, and/or class of each participant of a communicative event. However, instead of regarding such factors as being ‘static’, which is often the case in sociolinguistics, the ethnography of communication considers them as being ‘relative’—to those of the other participants in the communicative event, to the setting of the communicative event, to the subject with which the communication is concerned, to the norms of interaction, to name some.

For example, sociolinguistic research may be focused on finding out what third-person anaphors are most frequently used by male speakers aged between 30 and 50 when referring to a female elderly superior. The ethnography of communication, on the other hand, observes and anlyses these same participants and their variables within

an actual communicative event, and explains the anaphoric pattern with respect to the factors of the communicative event. Sociolinguistics may give us a linguistic pattern that the subject uses at the time of data elicitation, but it does not account for communicative event factors, which changes with each communicative event.

Similar to anthropological linguistics, the ethnography of communication focuses on providing generalised descriptions of communication patterns in relation to the speakers' social and cultural backgrounds. Such backgrounds include the speakers' beliefs, attitudes, values, kinship norms, and so forth. But rather than attempting to describe merely the relationships between such social and cultural backgrounds and the linguistic features in the relevant domains, the ethnography of communication includes such backgrounds as significant variables capable of determining linguistic features adopted by the participants in a communicative event, frequently interplaying with social factors mentioned above.

As an illustration, anthropological linguistics attempts to discuss the significance of kinship as reflected in linguistic features like kinship terms. It may conclude, for instance, that a language exhibits widespread use of maternal kinship terms to address non-kinsmen because its society is principally matrilocal. But in the ethnography of communication, the use of kinship terms is not explained only in terms of their social and cultural backgrounds but also in relation to the many factors of each communicative event. For example, in a communicative event concerned primarily with the topic of 'complaints about fathers', the participants may switch to paternal kinship terms so as to correspond to the topic.

In short, then, the ethnography of communication overlaps with sociolinguistics in terms of the inclusion of social factors, with anthropological linguistics in terms of the investigation of social and cultural traits, but with neither in that the ethnography of communication analyses social factors and social and cultural traits as relative—not static—variables that play an integral part in determining each participant's linguistic patterns suitable for each type of actual communicative event. In other words, the ethnography of communication serves as a 'bridge' connecting sociolinguistics to anthropological linguistics, allowing another vantage point for all the three disciplines to view language use in actual communicative contexts from a different perspective. If sociolinguistics is one river bank and anthropological the opposite, then the ethnography of communication is the bridge where all the three parties—sociolinguists, anthropological linguists, and ethnographers of communication—can converge and examine communication (that is, the river) from above, not just from either bank.

The ethnography of communication framework takes into consideration multiple variables, or components, relevant to a communicative event. Hymes (1974) presents an octofactorial framework, using the acronym S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G as a mnemonic, for ethnographic analysis of communicative events. The eight factors consist of (1) the setting and scene; (2) the participants; (3) the ends, or goals or purposes; (4) the act sequence; (5) the key; (6) the instrumentalities; (7) the norms of interaction and interpretation; and (8) the genre. Currently, the scope has been extended to include another three variables—the topic, the message content, and the rules for interaction—so the eleven components salient to a communicative event can be viewed as follows (Saville-Troike, 1997, pp. 138-139).

1. The **genre**, or type of event (e.g., story, sermon, conversation, etc);
2. The **topic**, or referential focus;

3. The **purpose** or **function**, both of the event in general and with regard to the interaction goals of individual participants;
4. The **setting**, whether temporal, seasonal, spatial or even physical;
5. The **key**, or emotional tone of the event;
6. The **participants**, including their age, sex, ethnicity, social status or other relevant categories, and their relationship to one another;
7. The **message form**, including code used and both vocal and non-vocal channels;
8. The **message content**, or what aspect of the topic is concerned;
9. The **act sequence**, or the actual form and content of what is said, that is, the precise words used, the way they are used and the relationship of what is said to the actual topic at hand;
10. The **rules for interaction**, or the issues of appropriateness that should be observed;
11. The **norms of interpretation**, including the common knowledge, the relevant cultural presuppositions—or shared understandings—which enable members of a speech community to draw inferences concerning what is being said in a communicative event.

This ethnography of communication procedure will be applied to the investigation of Kham Muang anaphora, which involves the use of address and reference terms, in social interaction contexts. In the majority of such contexts, many participants are involved whose interactions are determined by their roles (which in turn are related to their statuses). Therefore, to analyse such anaphoric usages, a framework will be necessary.

Levinson (1983) has formulated a framework of **participant-roles** to help indicate how and to what extent such roles may govern a participant's anaphoric choice in a given communicative event. Participant-roles are marked by different methods, quite often falling into distinct sets, one for reference and the other for address. However, as previously stated, this study will discuss both address and reference terms as being subsumed by anaphora, on the premise that reference can be made to all of the three 'persons' involved in a communicative event—as first-person reference (addresser), as second-person reference (addressee), and as third-person reference (referent). Where a term is used primarily for addressing purposes (e.g., when calling for somebody's attention), it will be treated as such.

In addition to participant-roles, anaphoric usages are also determined by social situations or contexts, which Levinson refers to as aspects of language structure that encode social identities of participants (domain of participant-roles), or the social relationship between them, or between one participant and persons and entities referred to (p 89). Some obvious examples of such social encoding are polite pronouns, honorifics, titles of address, and forms of reference (Brown & Levinson, 1988).

Levinson also states that socially encoded information in languages round the world seems to be of two basic types: **relational** and **absolute**. Of these two, it is the former that is most significant, typically expressing relations between (p. 90):

1. speaker and referent (e.g., referent honorifics);
2. speaker and addressee (e.g., addresser and addressee honorifics);
3. speaker and bystander (e.g., bystander or audience honorifics); and
4. speaker and setting (e.g., formality levels).

The other type of socially deictic information, the absolute type, can be manifested in a number of ways. There are forms that are reserved for certain speakers—called 'authorised speakers'. Levinson cites Haas' (1964 in Levinson, 1983, p. 90) example of Thai, in which the polite particle 'khrap' is reserved for male speakers and 'kha' by female. Many languages have forms for 'authorised recipients', with restrictions on most titles of address (e.g., 'Your Honour', 'Mr President', etc). For languages with honorifics, moreover, 'honorific concord' can be an intricate aspect in morphology (e.g., Japanese; see Harada, 1976), particle system (e.g., Thai; see Haas, 1964), segmental phonology (e.g., Basque; see Corum, 1975), suprasegmental phonology (e.g., Tzeltal honorific falsetto; see Brown & Levinson, 1988), and frequently a combination of these features.

Whilst many sociolinguistic studies are quantitatively conducted, this research adopts the ethnography of communication approach with the aim of presenting qualitative descriptions of anaphora in relation to social and cultural characteristics, instead of focusing on the statistic frequency of the distribution of particular linguistic features with regard to particular social variables. It is true that such social variables as age, sex, or class correspond to a certain degree to patterns of language use, change, and variation, but it should also be noted that in actual social interactions and communicative events, such variables are relative rather than static. Linguistic devices like pronouns and honorifics, common in Japanese, Javanese, Korean and Thai, are subject to such relativity and function as markers of the relative status of speakers in dyadic [or even polyadic] role-relationships (Saville-Troike, 1997, p. 90).

Thus, to focus solely on how the majority of the representatives of a particular age group, sex, class, and/or career group use a particular feature of their language will be to take only one of the several possible dimensions of communication into consideration. This may cause a sociolinguist to overlook how such variables interplay with the immediate context of communication, and a bigger picture—that of how social and cultural meanings underlie linguistic features chosen for a particular communicative act—may be obscured. Just as a code can be chosen or mixed during one communicative event, features within that code—whether they be sounds, words, or anaphors—may also be chosen or even mixed in the light of the event's immediate context. In a communicative event (a conversation event), the same participant may use a 'conventionally wrong' phoneme (e.g., */lew/ instead of /rew/ for 'fast' in Thai) or a 'conventionally impolite' address term (e.g., /ʔeŋ/ instead of /k^{h}un/ 'you') with one participant, and may switch to a 'conventionally correct' phoneme or a 'conventionally polite' address term when turning to speak with another participant.

Since my research seeks to provide social and cultural explanation of Kham Muang anaphora, not to analyse the structure of an entire communicative act or event, I shall limit my application of the ethnography of communication to the genre of conversation, the topic of auspicious events, and the setting of general dialogue situations involving a minimum of three participants. My focus will be particularly on the variables related to the participants of each conversation event: interpersonal relationships, age, generation, sex, and occupation.

Although certain features, such as sex and age, could be found to function as both semantic features and social and cultural variables, I deem it necessary to examine such features under both topics. Theoretically, an anaphor may consist of specific sex and age information, such as [+ male] and [+ older], which corresponds to the social

variables of sex and age accordingly; for example, a male speaker uses a particular anaphor to address an older female participant. However, cases may be observed where the said social variables are superseded or violated, and the choice of anaphor conditioned, by certain other factors in a given communicative event, such as its topic and purpose. In such cases, a chosen anaphor could be inconsistent with the conventional pattern, and could only be explained if the particular context of the communicative event is taken into consideration.

2.4 Socio-Historical Backgrounds

Since this research attempts to a Kham Muang linguistic feature (i.e., anaphora) as an indicator of Northern Thai social and cultural characteristics, it is necessary that works related to Northern Thai socio-historical backgrounds be reviewed. According to Ongsakul, expert on Lanna (Northern Thai) history, some significant characteristics of Lanna society (1986, pp. 114-122) can be noted. From a historical point of view, the 158 years between Chiang Mai's expulsion of Burma in 1774 AD (2317 BE), which ended the 216-year Burmese occupation, and Thailand's declaration of democracy in 1932 AD (2475 BE), which ended absolute monarchy, was an important period to observe. During this transitional period, Lanna society displayed a strong hierarchical system which separated the noble-feudal class from the ordinary class. Members of the noble-feudal class were defined as those with a privilege over ordinary people; members of the ordinary class included peasant servants, slaves and commoners. Religious figures, such as monks and novices, belonged to a separate class, and people who were ex-monks or ex-novices were generally accorded with high recognition; besides, slaves who were ordained as monks or novices would be set free after leaving monkhood or novitiate.

During this period, Lanna social hierarchy played a principal role in social organisation, in which the people's sex, generation, occupation, and relationship were interrelated. The noble-feudal status, which was accorded by birth-right (i.e., hereditary) or by appointment, was mainly patriarchal. Within this class, rights and privileges were transferred to kin beneficiaries according to their generation, consanguineous relationship, and affinal relationship (Ongsakul 1986:114). Members of the noble-feudal class usually had in their employ subjects or subordinates of both sexes, all of whom belonged to the ordinary class. According to Ongsakul (1986:119), these subjects or subordinates were assigned to different kinds of work and therefore were accorded with varying levels of recognition.

In present-day Lanna society, such social hierarchy may no longer be apparent. The society is seemingly undergoing rapid changes induced by increasingly advanced systems of telecommunication and transportation. However, the underlying social structure remains observable through certain means. One such means, I assert, is the language, and the linguistic aspect that I have chosen as a means to examine Northern Thai social and cultural characteristics is anaphora.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Pilot Survey

The preliminary stage of this research is the pilot survey. During this stage, the researcher will randomly participate in actual conversations with native speakers of Kham Muang. The purpose of such participation is to enable the researcher to identify potential target subjects, qualifications of the target subjects, conversation topics in which the potential subjects will be willing to engage themselves, settings where the potential subjects will be comfortable to have conversations, the manageable number of conversation events in which each target subject will be involved, and possible variables that can determine the anaphoric usages. The pilot survey will be conducted in locations and communicative situations similar to those where research data will be collected.

3.2 Target Subjects

The subjects from whom data are to be collected are divided into two groups. There are approximately twenty primary subjects whose linguistic, schooling, and residential backgrounds conform to the subject-selection criteria, which are given at the end of this section. These primary Kham Muang speaking subjects are equally divided into male and female, and are from three age groups that represent three different generations. Each age group will consist of five to six subjects. The subjects of the first group are aged 25 or below, those of the second group are aged 40 to 45, and those of the third group are aged 65 or higher. These three age groups represent young Kham Muang speakers' generation, middle-aged speakers' generation, and elderly speakers' generation, respectively. The reason for separating these groups by twenty years is to ensure generational distinction.

The secondary subjects are those who happen to participate in each conversation event, whom or to whom conversation event participants address or refer; therefore, their quantity and backgrounds may vary. Such possibility of background variation amongst the secondary participants is considered as a factor that increases contextual authenticity of a conversation event, for in reality communication can take place anywhere and can be performed by anyone. A secondary subject, whether as an addressee or a referent, will be studied in relation to the primary subjects on the basis of these conditions: (i) his/her age and generation; (ii) his/her sex; (iii) his/her career and (iv) his/her relationship to the primary participant and to any of the referents.

Concerning the factors of occupation and interpersonal relationship, the primary subjects will be chosen regardless of their careers and relationship. The career-related and relationship-related data, which is likely to vary amongst the participants, will be classified into categories and analysed in order to discuss their social and/or cultural significance, as well as how they interplay with the other variables.

There are, however, basic criteria that both the primary and secondary subjects will have to meet in order for increased validity and authenticity of the data to be established.

1. Birthplace: within the Muang District, Chiang Mai Province;
2. Childhood: mostly spent in Chiang Mai Kham Muang speaking environments;
3. Schooling: in the Muang District area of Chiang Mai Province;
4. Family's domicile: with parents born and raised in Chiang Mai Province;
5. Residence: mainly in Kham Muang speaking environments; and
6. Marriage (if applicable): to a Kham Muang speaking spouse.

Each of the primary and secondary subjects will then be profiled according to the criteria above. His/her personal information will be entered into the profiling form as shown in Figure 3.1 below (see also Appendices C and D).

Subject number: _____

Sex: male / female

Age group: 25 / 45 / 60

Occupation: _____

Birthplace: _____

Childhood spent in: _____

Schooled in: _____

Family's domicile: _____

Current residence: _____

Marriage (if applicable): _____

Figure 3.1 Subject Profiling Form

3.3 Data Collecting Procedure

The data used in this study will be collected from spontaneous dialogues. Prior to data collection, the researcher will acquaint himself with each of the subjects and request permission to tape-record some of the subsequent conversation events (see Appendix A for the English-language consent form and Appendix B for its Thai

translation). In cases where the researcher is already familiar with the subjects, the acquaintanceship step will be omitted. However, to ensure naturalness of the data, the subjects will not be informed as to what elements or portions of the subsequent conversation events will be examined. In addition to the subjects, I shall also involve three elderly native Kham Muang speakers as language associates, whose role will be to authenticate, verify, or explain linguistic and cultural issues when and where necessary. The medium whereby the researcher and the subjects will communicate, both during the acquaintanceship period, during all of the subsequent conversation events, and whenever necessary, is Kham Muang.

In each conversation event, there must be at least one primary subject from any age and occupational group and one secondary subject present as participants. It is the primary subject's use of anaphora that will receive the researcher's principal attention. As to the secondary subjects, if the researcher can establish, with the help of a language associate, that their linguistic, schooling, and residential backgrounds do not deviate from the criteria (in other words, it can be established that the subjects are 'native Chiang Mai Kham Muang speakers'), their anaphoric usages will also be examined. And their consent will also be sought whenever appropriate, most likely after the conversation event.

After consent has been obtained, I as an observer shall participate in conversation events or, if necessary, initiate a scenario for a conversation event. My participation will be mostly passive, and my conversation will be kept to a minimum, except when none of the participants is aware of my professional identity, in which case I may increase my interlocution with the participants.

In any case, however, my preliminary role is to direct the conversation event towards (i) a general setting, to ensure spontaneous speech; and (ii) a topic that concerns an auspicious event, to increase willingness and a casual flow of language use. In this study, a general setting is defined as a setting in which conversations about private and interpersonal matters most frequently take place and can take place freely and casually. Such a setting could be a private place like a dwelling place, or a public place like a school ground, a park, and the like. An auspicious event refers to an event that involves people in celebrating a culturally important occasion, such as both the traditional and international New Year celebrations, a house-warming, a wedding, and so forth. The reason for choosing an auspicious event as the domain of conversation is two-fold; firstly, each such event can draw at least 2 or 3 participants, and secondly, most participants tend to find the topic pleasant to discuss, whether with people they know well or with those whom they are only fairly acquainted.

During each conversation event, the researcher will observe the subjects (i.e., participants) as they talk to the other participants and about other people (or referents), who may be of either sex, belong to any of the three previously stated career groups, be related to the primary subject in any of the four previously stated ways, and be of a younger, older, or equal age, and of the same, the younger, or the older generation compared with the primary subject, the other participants (if any), and the referents. If necessary, the researcher may intervene 'unobtrusively' in order to initiate a reference to a second person and/or third person.

The focus of this stage is on both the anaphora used for the initial mention of a referent or an addressee (i.e., as a deictic) and also on the anaphors made thereafter to the same referent or addressee. It will be during this step that anaphoric data are gathered

for subsequent social and cultural analyses. In total, each primary subject will be involved in at least 5 conversation events,[3] and the anaphoric data thence obtained will be recorded onto the data-recording form, which shows his/her personal data and relationship with the other participants, like the following example (see also Appendix E).

	Sex		**Age & Gen**			**Career**	**Relationship**
	Male	**Female**	**Ygr**	**Eql**	**Odr**		
Participant: B		X	X (same gen)			Carpenter (Craftsmanship)	Neighbour
Participant: C	X				X (same gen)	Teacher (Educatorship)	Acquaintance
Referent: X	X			X (same gen)		Physician (Health care)	Acquaintance (Patient)

Figure 3.2 Sample Participant-Data Recording Form
Primary Subject A—sex: male; age: 45; career: electrician

The anaphoric data will then be transcribed phonetically, based on the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) convention. When any data are illustrated in context in this study, they will be accompanied by interlinear English glosses and idiomatic English translation. As the Kham Muang writing system is not in current use, corresponding data representations in the Kham Muang script will not be provided. However, to ensure tonal, phonemic, and semantic accuracy, the data will be cross-checked with two Chiang Mai-variety-based Kham Muang dictionaries, namely, 'The Northern Thai Dictionary' and the 'Lanna Thai-Standard Thai Dictionary: The Mae Fah Luang Edition'. The anaphoric data will be recorded onto a form like the following (see also Appendix F).

[3] During the pilot survey process, some significantly recurring patterns could not be observed unless the subject was involved in at least 3 or 4 conversation events. Therefore, to ensure sufficiency of usage specimens, the number of conversation events was set at a minimum of 5.

	First-person anaphor (Self-Reference)	**Second-person anaphor (Address and Reference)**	**Third-person anaphor (Reference)**
With participant: B	haː	kʰiŋ	–
With interlocutor: C	pʰŏm	ʔâːj, ʔaːtʃǎːn	–
About referent: X	–	–	mɔ̌ːsǎk

Figure 3.3 Sample Anaphoric-Data Recording Form
As used by participant: A

After all the subjects' anaphoric usages have been recorded onto the forms like the above, the data will then be transferred onto the template worksheets. These worksheets will list the anaphors used by all of the subjects and classify the anaphoric data into first-person, second-person, and third-person anaphoric usages. Each worksheet will pertain to one career group of the addressees and referents and one kind of relationship that the subjects have with the addressees and referents. On each worksheet, the forms used by every subject of each sex and age group as first-, second-, or third-person anaphors—that is, to refer to himself/herself, to address the addressee, and to refer to the referents—will be recorded. A sample template worksheet is given in Figure 3.4 below (see also Appendix G).

Secondary subjects' career: _____ Secondary Subjects' Sex: ___ MALE / ___ FEMALE
Primary subject's relationship with secondary subject: _____

			Age and Generation	Anaphors used				
_____ person anaphors used by:	Primary subjects, aged _____, male	To: Address	Equal					
			Younger					
			Older and of the same generation					
			Older and of the parental generation					
			Older and of the grand-parental generation					
			Age and Generation	Anaphors used				
		To: Refer to	Equal					
			Younger					
			Older and of the same generation					
			Older and of the parental generation					
			Older and of the grand-parental generation					
	Primary subjects, aged _____, female		Age and Generation	Anaphors used				
		To: Address	Equal					
			Younger					
			Older and of the same generation					
			Older and of the parental generation					
			Older and of the grand-parental generation					
			Age and Generation	Anaphors used				
		To: Refer to	Equal					
			Younger					
			Older and of the same generation					
			Older and of the parental generation					
			Older and of the grand-parental generation					

Figure 3.4 Sample Anaphora Template Worksheet

3.4 Data Analysis

The data collected will be analysed in three major stages. Firstly, they will be analysed and categorised according to their structures, for example, into various kinds of compounds. Secondly, for each morphological and syntactic structure, the word-forms used as, or used to construct, anaphors will be analysed componentially in order to discuss their semantic features. In cases where an anaphor takes the form of a phrase, componential analysis will be performed on both the head and its endocentric modifier(s). For example, in the phrase /luŋ sàlàː kʰam/ (literally 'uncle'-'craftsman'-'Kham'), meaning 'uncle Kham, the craftsman'), the analysis will concern the words /luŋ/ (head), /sàlàː/ (modifier), and /kʰam/ (modifier), all of which denote or refer to the same person.

The final stage of analysis will apply the ethnography of communication approach. The main purpose for this analysis is to investigate characteristics of Northern Thai society and culture that are represented by its anaphora and that can determine a participant's choice of anaphors, both for referencing and addressing functions, in the communicative events.

Based on the ethnography of communication approach reviewed above, the data gathered from each conversation event will be analysed according to the template in Figure 3.5 (see also Appendix H), which will help provide the researcher with greater completeness of the immediate context of communication. Of these variables, I shall concentrate only on the participant-related variables in the light of the predetermined genre of conversation, topic of auspicious events, and general setting.

COMMUNICATIVE EVENT TEMPLATE

SYNOPSIS: (brief description of the event)

Example: Participant A engages participants B and C in a talk about the recently held house-warming and its participants, some of whom contributed whole-heartedly and some reluctantly.

TOPIC:

Example: house-warming

FUNCTION/PURPOSE:

Example: to discuss different kinds of participants

SETTING (place, time, season, etc):

Example: at a participant's home, in the evening, at supper

KEY (serious, casual, humorous, etc):

Example: casual

PARTICIPANTS:

Example:

Researcher as a passive observer

P1: Name, status, age, sex, etc

P2: Name, status, age, sex, etc

P3: Name, status, age, sex, etc

MESSAGE FORM (anaphoric usages):

Example:

P1: (using anaphor ___ to address ___; using ___ to refer to ___; etc)

P2: (using anaphor ___ to address ___; using ___ to refer to ___; etc)

P3: (using anaphor ___ to address ___; using ___ to refer to ___; etc)

ACT SEQUENCE (order of speech):

Example:

1. P1
2. P3
3. P2
4. P3

RULES FOR INTERACTION (asking permission, apologising, etc):

Example:

a) P2, to ask permission, addresses P1 using ___

b) P3 apologises to the researcher, addressing as ___

NORMS OF INTERPRETATION:

Example:

Anaphor X is used by participant A to address ___/refer to ___ when, because, if ___.

Anaphor Y is used by participant B to address ___/refer to ___ when, because, if ___.

Anaphor Z is used by participant C to address/refer to the researcher when, because, if ___.

Figure 3.5 Communicative Event Template

CHAPTER 4

STRUCTURAL AND SEMANTIC ANALYSES

As stated earlier in the sections on objectives, hypotheses, and theoretical frameworks, the Kham Muang anaphoric data will be investigated in three aspects: structural, semantic, and ethnographic. This chapter presents structural and semantic analyses of Kham Muang anaphors. It starts with the classification of Kham Muang anaphoric forms into lexical categories (e.g., pronouns, names, and so forth). For each category, three features will be discussed, namely, structural analysis, which aims to describe the morphological and syntactic shapes of the forms in each lexical category, semantic discussion, which will focus not only on the meaning components of each individual form (where applicable), but also on the lexical items constituting compounded and complex forms as well as on the semantic relationships such forms represent, and, finally, social and cultural discussion of significant characteristics manifested through each of the anaphoric categories studied.

According to the spontaneous conversation event data collected, Kham Muang anaphors can be classified into five principal lexical categories: pronouns, names, kinship terms, career terms, and status terms. In addition to these categories, anaphors formed by means of compounding elements from different lexical categories, it was observed, are also commonly used. One is the category of compounded anaphors made up of forms from two or more of the fundamental categories. The other is the category of simple or non-simple anaphors preceded by prefix-like particles. These categories of anaphors will be discussed structurally and socio-semantically in the following sections.

4.1 Pronouns

Current Kham Muang pronouns occur in three appropriateness-oriented styles: casual, general, and formal styles. The concept of 'appropriateness' refers to the lexical (in this case, anaphoric) choice in accordance with a communicative context, which determines the appropriate style of anaphors used. Appropriateness may—but not necessarily does—involve politeness. Thus casual, general, and formal styles can be appropriate in their own right as far as each context of communication and its elements (e.g., participants, settings, topic, etc) are concerned (Levinson, 1983). Besides, the notions of casualness and formality must not be taken to be constant or static (Kempson, 1995, p. 85); neither are they to be compared or equated to the corresponding notions in the more socially stratified Central Thai. Rather, each pronoun is regarded as displaying relatively greater or lesser casualness or formality than the other pronouns of the same domain (i.e., first-person, second-person, or third-person domain). Such stylistic difference is similar in part to what Geertz (1960) terms 'styleme' to refer to

sharp stylistic distinction that corresponds to social divisions amongst speakers of Javanese. In Kham Muang, however, whereas such triadic stylistic difference is seen in its pronominal system, it extends to few other linguistic domains, amongst which are utterance-final particles.

4.1.1 First-Person Pronouns

Current Kham Muang possesses both singular and plural pronouns. The singular casual pronouns include /haː/ and /kʰâː/, which are used by both male and female speakers. The singular general pronoun /pɜ̄n/ is also commonly used by speakers of both sexes. The formal style is the only style where male-female pronoun distinction is evident. The singular pronoun /pʰŏm/, which is borrowed from Central Thai, is used by male speakers, whereas the Kham Muang pronoun /tʃâw/ or /kʰâːtʃâw/ is used by female speakers. For plurality, Kham Muang exhibits only one pronoun that is used by both male and female speakers and for all of the three appropriateness-oriented styles: /haw/.

4.1.1.1 Structural Analysis

Structurally, the casual pronouns /haː/ ('I') and /kʰâː/ (literally 'servant'), and the general pronoun /pɜ̄n/ ('I'), are morphologically simple. The borrowed first-person formal pronoun used by male speakers—/pʰŏm/ ('I')—is also morphologically simple. However, its female counterpart—/tʃâw/—is the shortened or clipped form of the compound made up of /kʰâː/ (literally 'servant') and /tʃâw/ (literally 'lord'), and both the shortened and the clipped forms are in current use. The plural first-person pronoun /haw/ ('we') is morphologically simple.

For emphatic purposes, however, Kham Muang depends on a compounding device. The word /mùː/ (literally 'group') is added in front of each of the above pronouns, forming /mùːhaː/, /mùːkʰâː/, /mùːpɜ̄n/, /mùːpʰŏm/, /mùːtʃâw/ or /mùːkʰâːtʃâw/, all of which literally mean 'my group', and /mùːhaw/, which literally means 'our group'.

4.1.1.2 Semantic Analysis and Social and Cultural Discussion

The investigation of Kham Muang first-person pronouns displays relationships between the pronouns' semantic properties and their underlying social significance.

1. The Singular Casual Pronouns /haː/ and /kʰâː/

The Kham Muang singular casual pronouns /haː/ and /kʰâː/ can denote both male and female speakers. The two terms can entail intimacy, affection, casualness, and anger. What differentiates between the two pronouns is that /kʰâː/ contains an additional connotation of mock authority, whereas /haː/ does not. A componential analysis of these two Kham Muang first-person singular pronouns can be presented as in Figure 4.1 below.

	/haː/	/kʰâː/
Singular	+	+
Male	+	+
Female	+	+
Honouring	–	–
Formal	–	–
Intimate	+	+
Affectionate	+	+
Casual	+	+
Angry	+	+
With mock authority	–	+

Figure 4.1 Componential Analysis of /haː/ and /kʰâː/

In Example 5 below, note that participant 2 (P2) responds to participant 1 (P1) by using the pronoun /haː/, showing intimacy and casualness. Yet when P1 responds to P2's answer, which indicates where she intends to go on New Year's eve, P1 uses the pronoun /kʰâː/ as an intimate and casual term to express mock authority over P2.

Example 5: /haː/ and /kʰâː/ in Context

P1:	wan	pʰūːk	kʰiŋ	paj	taːŋ	daj.		
	day	next	you	go	way	which		
	'Where are you going tomorrow?'							
P2:	haː	tʃǎʔ	paj	ʔæw	pàtŭː	tāːpʰæː.	paj	kʰáwdaːw
	I	will	go	tour	gate	Tha Phae.	go	count down
	toj	pɜ̄n.						
	with	other						
	'I'll go to Tha Phae Gate to count down with other people.'							
P1:	tǎːm	sàbaːj	tɜ́ʔ.	kʰâː	tɨŋ	bɔ̀ː	paj.	
	as	comfort	PPC-PM.	I	no matter	not	go.	
	kʰāj	lăp.						
	want	sleep.						
	'As you please. I won't go, no matter what. I want to sleep.'							

Of the two first-person pronouns in this category, the casual pronoun /kʰâː/ is indicative of a semantic change as a result of social change. Originally, this pronoun was defined as a 'first-person pronoun used when speaking with somebody of a superior status' (The Northern Thai Dictionary; Lanna Thai-Standard Thai Dictionary: The Mae Fah Luang Edition). This definition conforms to the historical fact concerning slavery in the Northern (Lanna) Thai region, which continued until King Rama V's abolition of slavery took complete effect nationwide in 1900 (Ongsakul, 1986, p. 135). During the time of slavery, the pronoun used by a servant or a slave to refer to himself was the word 'servant' (/kʰâː/) itself.

At present, as the society has become more egalitarian and social hierarchy has considerably abated, the meaning of the pronoun /kʰâː/ has consequently changed. This pronoun currently signifies the concept that the speaker wishes to casually ridicule or disapprove of an intimate's opinion or to express mock authority over an intimate. In other words, the direction with which the pronoun is used has been reversed; formerly, it was used as a self-addressing term by an inferior when speaking to a superior, but presently, it is used as a self-addressing term by one when speaking to an equal or an inferior in a mock-authority fashion. (More detailed discussion on the use of this pronoun in actual communicative contexts will be presented in Chapter 6.)

2. The Singular General Pronoun /pɜ̄n/

The first-person pronoun /pɜ̄n/ can be used by both males and females. This term entails honour, intimacy, and affection. The Northern Thai Dictionary indicates that this pronoun may be used 'by a wife when speaking to her husband, by a woman when speaking to a close friend, and by a child when speaking to an adult', as illustrated in Figure 4.2.

	/pɜ̄n/
Singular	+
Male	+
Female	+
Honouring	+
Formal	–
Intimate	+
Affectionate	+
Casual	–
Angry	–
With mock authority	–

Figure 4.2 Componential Analysis of /pɜ̄n/

Since all of the semantic properties that this pronoun entails are positive, it is currently being used as the most generic and most common first-person pronoun by Kham Muang speakers. In the conversation excerpt (Example 6) below, the three participants (P1, P2, and P3) are of different ages and from different lines of profession; P1 and P2 are female, whilst P3 is male. All of them use /pɜ̄n/ as a first-person pronoun when speaking to each other.

Example 6: /pɜ̄n/ in Context

P1:	tàk^{h}ɨːn	pɜ̄n	hăn	pùːmăːn	t̄iː	ŋaːn	pɔːj	toːj.	
	last night	I	see	grandpa Maan	at	fair	celebration	too	
	‘Last night I saw Old Maan at the temple celebration too.’								
P2:	man	maː	toːj	p^{h}ăj.	pɜ̄n	bɔ̀ː	dâj		
	it	come	with	who	I	not	can		
	paj	sák	kam.						
	go	even	time						
	‘Who was he with? I couldn’t make it to the fair.’								
P3:	ʔán	p^{h}ăj	tʃăʔ	paj	k^{h}ɨːn	níː	bɔ̀ːk		
	so	who	will	go	night	this	tell		
	pɜ̄n	toːj	nɜ̄ː.						
	I	too	PPC-P						
	‘Well, if any of you will go tonight, let me know.’								

3. The Singular Formal Pronouns /p^{h}ŏm/ and /tʃâw/ or /k^{h}âːtʃâw/

The pronoun /p^{h}ŏm/ is distinct from the other two on two counts. Firstly, the self-reference term /p^{h}ŏm/ is used mainly by male speakers and /tʃâw/ or /k^{h}âːtʃâw/ by female speakers. Secondly, /p^{h}ŏm/ is a pronoun borrowed from Central Thai, whilst /tʃâw/ or /k^{h}âːtʃâw/ is of Kham Muang origin (Lanna Thai-Standard Thai Dictionary: The Mae Fah Luang Edition). Other than these, all of the three pronouns contain the core concepts of honour, formality, and somewhat distant relationship (i.e., without intimacy or affection). As stated earlier regarding /tʃâw/ and /k^{h}âːtʃâw/, in current Kham Muang, both the full form /k^{h}âːtʃâw/ and the clipped form /tʃâw/ are common and may be used interchangeably.

The conversation excerpt below (Example 7) illustrates the use of these pronouns. In this conversation, participant 1 (P1), a male employee, refers to himself as /p^{h}ŏm/ when speaking to his boss. Similarly, participant 3 (P3), a female colleague of P1’s, refers to herself as /k^{h}âːtʃâw/ when speaking to her boss.

Example 7: /pʰŏm/ and /tʃâw/ or /kʰâːtʃâw/ in Context

P1:	hŭanâː	kʰáp	pʰŏm	paj	t̄iː	tʃăt	ŋaːn	kɔ̀ːn	nɜ̄ː.
	boss	PC	I	go	at	arrange	party	before	PPC-P
	‘Boss, I’ll go to the fair venue first. OK?’								
P2:	paj	tɜ́ʔ.	kàdiaw		p̄iː	toːj	paj.		
	go	PPC-PM	moment		sister	accompany	go		
	‘Do go. I’ll follow you shortly.’								
P3:	ʔán	kʰâːtʃâw	tʃăʔ	paj	toːj	hŭanâː	nɜ̄ː.		
	so	I	will	go	accompany	boss	PPC-P		
	‘Well, then I’ll go with you, boss.’								

Figure 4.3 below shows the semantic properties of /pʰŏm/ and /tʃâw/ or /kʰâːtʃâw/.

	/pʰŏm/	/tʃâw/ or /kʰâːtʃâw/
Singular	+	+
Male	+	–
Honouring	+	+
Formal	+	+
Intimate	–	–
Affectionate	–	–
Casual	–	–
Angry	–	–
With mock authority	–	–

Figure 4.3 Componential Analysis of /pʰŏm/ and /tʃâw/ or /kʰâːtʃâw/

With regard to social bearings, it is worth noting here that for this formal style, the first-person pronoun used by male speakers (i.e., /pʰŏm/) is one borrowed from Central Thai. The pronoun used by female speakers (/tʃâw/ or /kʰâːtʃâw/), on the other hand, is one of Kham Muang origin, made up of lexemes dating back to the slavery

period, with /kʰâː/, literally meaning 'servant', being compounded with /tʃâw/, literally meaning 'lord'. This female pronoun in its full form thus literally means 'my lord's servant'. This brings us back to the casual first-person pronoun /kʰâː/, which, as earlier discussed, also dates back to the slavery period.

Here an explanation is necessary, as to what may have become of these two slavery-related pronouns. The Northern Thai Dictionary defines /kʰâː/ primarily as 'a servant, an attendant, or a slave' and /kʰâːtʃâw/ as 'a servant or an attendant belonging to a master'. Both /kʰâː/ and /kʰâːtʃâw/ are also defined as first-person pronouns, with the former referring to oneself when speaking to adults and the latter referring to oneself when speaking to superiors or monks. These definitions imply that both terms can be used by male and female speakers alike. However, the spontaneous data collected have revealed that in current Kham Muang the term /kʰâːtʃâw/ is used almost exclusively by female speakers.[4] One distinction can be made here concerning the original meanings of the two terms. Although the two terms refer to servants, the term /kʰâːtʃâw/ more explicitly signifies a servant-master bond than does the term /kʰâː/.

In the light of such servant-master bond, a historical synopsis may shed some light to the change in meaning and use of these two pronouns. Slavery and conscripted labour were an essential aspect of King Kawila's re-establishment of post-Burmese-occupation Chiang Mai, from 1782 (the year in which Bangkok was established as capital of Siam) to 1796. Known as the period of the Great Restoration (literally 'filling the basket with vegetables, filling the city with slaves'), this was the time when people were persuaded, conscripted, or forced to leave their hometowns and migrate to Chiang Mai as conscripted workers, servants, or slaves. Such workers included both males and females, who were required to provide services similar to those offered by conscripted workers in Central Thailand. That is to say, whilst most male servants were subject to hard physical work, most of the female servants were assigned to accompany and take care of their mistresses, without being subject to labour work (Ongsakul, 1986, pp. 119-121). Such work condition indirectly served to strengthen the bond between the female servant and her mistress, and consequently the term /kʰâːtʃâw/ was commonly used by female servants.

Evidently, both of these terms have outlived the period with which they were originally associated. The term /kʰâː/, which can be used by both male and female speakers, has undergone an important semantic change as described in A above. On the other hand, the term /kʰâːtʃâw/, which is used predominantly by female speakers, has retained its original meaning. Such a sex-related semantic change is not an unusual sociolinguistic phenomenon. In most societies, observes Trudgill (1983, pp. 83-84), the female variety of a language is usually more conservative and norm-abiding.

4. The Plural First-Person Pronoun /haw/ and the Emphatic Forms

The most generic plural first-person pronoun in present-day Kham Muang is /haw/. This pronoun, which contains a general concept of 'we', can be used by male and female speakers of any age and with any social status. It can be inclusively dual

[4] The term /kʰâːtʃâw/ is frequently used by male transvestites, who are not included in the scope of this study.

(including only the speaker and the addressee), inclusively plural (including the speaker and several addressees), exclusively plural (speaker not included), as well as singular (speaker only).

Of special note, this pronoun can sometimes be used as a singular first-person pronoun in lieu of /pɜ̄n/, to signal the speaker's effort to avoid sounding self-centred or self-important, or to make the addressees feel 'included'. For this reason, when plurality needs to be emphasised, the lexeme /mùː/ is added (or 'prefixed', so to speak) to the pronoun /haw/, yielding /mùːhaw/, which is unmistakably plural. The context given in the conversation excerpt below (Example 8) can illustrate the above usages. In this excerpt, participant 1's (P1) first use of /haw/ is meant to refer to both herself and participant 2 (P2)—that is, inclusively), but to prevent misunderstanding, she switches to the plural emphatic form /mùːhaw/ at her second inclusive reference.

Example 8: /haw/ and /mùːhaw/ in context

P1:	tɔ̌ːn	tʃáw		haw	tʃǎʔ	paj	làpuːn	kɔ̀ːn.
	when	morning		we/I	will	go	Lamphun	first
	lǽːw	kɔ̄j	paj	kǐn	kʰâwtɔ̌ːn		fīː	lampaːŋ.
	then	just	go	eat	lunch		at	Lampang
	'In the morning we'll go to Lamphun first. After that we'll have lunch in Lampang.'							
P2:	tŭa	tʃǎʔ	paj	kʰondiaw	ka:.			
	you	will	go	alone	PPC-Q			
	'You'll go on your own?'							
P1:	wāː	paj	ɬiaj.	kɔ̀ː	paj	kǎn	mùːhaw	
	say	go	nonsense	PC	go	together	our group	
	tiŋ	mŏt	nāːkàː.					
	whole	all	PPC-E					
	'You must be joking. All of us will go together.'							

Besides /haw/, any other first-person singular pronoun can be preceded by the lexeme /mùː/ (literally 'group'), hence /mùːhaː/, /mùːkʰâː/, /mùːpɜ̄n/, /mùːpʰŏm/, and /mùːtʃâw/ or /mùːkʰâːtʃâw/. Semantically, this pluralising lexeme denotes the concept of 'group', but it also connotes the concept of 'belonging to' or 'being part of' that particular group and hence 'not belonging to' or 'not being part of' a different group.

The fact that /mùː/ can be compounded with every first-person pronoun (as well as with the majority of anaphoric forms, as will be further discussed) represents a social characteristic. Whilst cooperation is a principle widely treasured in Northern Thai society, as can be seen in such a practice as /ʔawmíː/ ('to receive other people's help to accomplish a task, usually a task of growing or harvesting rice'), which the receiver of the united help must reciprocate by performing the act of /sâːjmíː/ ('to return the favour to the people who have given it'), group adherence or group solidarity is commonplace. On the one hand, whereas such concept promotes group spirit, or esprit de corps, it may, on the other hand, become a social barrier to any larger-scale esprit de corps, whether in a community culture or organisational culture, if it is over-emphasised.

5. Overall Features of First-Person Pronouns

Kham Muang displays a simple system of singular first-person pronouns. Male and female speakers normally use the same pronouns in casual and general situations. Only in a formal situation do male and female speakers use different pronouns; the male form is a term borrowed from Central Thai and the female form dates back to the period of slavery. The regular plural first-person pronoun system is even simpler; /haw/ can be used in any situation, by both male and female speakers alike. However, Kham Muang emphatic plural pronouns display a significant social feature, that the principle of group solidarity remains prevalent. All of the pronouns used in current Kham Muang are shown in Figure 4.4 below (an asterisk indicates a borrowed term).

	Singular ('I')		**Plural ('We')**		**Emphatic Plural ('Emphatic 'We'')**	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Formal	pʰǒm*	tʃâw, kʰâːtʃâw	haw, mùːhaw		mùːpʰǒm	mùːtʃâw, mùːkʰâːtʃâw
General	pɜ̄n	pɜ̄n			mùːpɜ̄n	mùːpɜ̄n
Casual	haː, kʰâː	haː, kʰâː			mùːhaː, mùːkʰâː	mùːhaː, mùːkʰâː

Figure 4.4 Kham Muang First-Person Pronouns (* a borrowed term)

Within this domain, all of the first-person basic pronouns can be comparatively demonstrated in terms of their semantic properties in Figure 4.5.

	/haː/	/kʰâː/	/pɜ̄n/	/pʰǒm/	/tʃâw/ or /kʰâːtʃâw/	/haw/
Singular	+	+	+	+	+	–
Male	+	+	+	+	–	+
Female	+	+	+	–	–	+
Honouring	–	–	+	+	+	+
Formal	–	–	–	+	+	+
Intimate	+	+	+	–	–	+
Affectionate	+	+	+	–	–	+
Casual	+	+	–	–	–	+
Angry	+	+	–	–	–	–
With mock authority	–	+	–	–	–	–

Figure 4.5 Semantic Comparison of Kham Muang First-Person Basic Pronouns

4.1.2 Second-Person Pronouns

Second-person pronouns may have two pragmatic-cum-discourse functions. They may function as address terms or as reference terms. An address term is a word or phrase used to call a person's attention, either before an ensuing statement or a conversation or before a focus shift during a conversation. A reference term is a word or phrase used to refer back to a person, an object, or an entity that has been mentioned before. Example 9 below illustrates the two different functions of the Kham Muang second-person pronoun /tŭa/, which serves as an address term in the opening statement and as a reference term in the second statement.

Example 9: /tŭa/ as an address term and a reference term

P1:	tŭa	wan	níː	paj	kʰɯ̄n	hɨan	màj	ʔâːj		
	you	day	this	go	up	house	new	elder brother		
	kʰam	kɔ̀ː.	tʰâː	tŭa	bɔ̀ː	paj	pɜ̄n	paj	toːj	ʔiː
	Kham	PPC-Q	if	you	not	go	I	go	with	PPC-Q
	naːŋ	nɜ̄ː.								
	Nang	PPC-P								

'You, today are you going to Kham's housewarming? If you aren't, I'll go with Nang.'

Although this research concentrates on anaphora, which deals primarily with reference, this section, and any relevant section hereafter, treats second-person pronouns (and anaphors) as performing both addressing and referencing functions, unless the two functions display linguistically significant differences. In most cases, as the data reveal, the pronoun used to address a person is likely to be the pronoun used thereafter to refer to that person.

Unlike the first-person pronouns, Kham Muang second-person pronouns occur in only two appropriateness-oriented styles, namely, casual and general styles, whilst the formal style adopts Central Thai pronouns. According to the data, the casual singular second-person pronoun /kʰiŋ/ may be used by both male and female speakers, as may the general-style pronoun /tŭa/. The formal style, as previously mentioned, adopts the term /kʰun/, which is a pronoun borrowed from Central Thai, for use by both male and female speakers. For plurality, the Kham Muang pronoun /sŭː/, or its compounded variant /sŭːkʰăw/, can be used for both the casual and general styles, whilst the Central Thai form /pʰûakkʰun/ is often used to signal formality.

4.1.2.1 Structural Analysis

In structural terms, both the casual pronoun /kʰiŋ/ ('you') and the general pronoun /tŭa/ ('you') are morphologically simple. The plural second-person pronoun /sŭː/ ('you, plural') is also morphologically simple, but its alternative variant /sŭːkʰăw/ is a compound made up of /sŭː/ ('you, plural') and the Central Thai lexeme /kʰăw/ ('he; she; they').

The second-person plural emphatic forms adopt the same compounding device as that adopted by their first-person counterparts. The word /mùː/ (literally 'group') is added in front of /kʰiŋ/, /tŭa/, and /sŭː/ to form /mùːkʰiŋ/, /mùːtŭa/, and /mùːsŭː/, with the literal meanings of 'you and your group (casual)', 'you and your group (general)', and 'all of you and your group', respectively.

4.1.2.2 Semantic Analysis and Social and Cultural Discussion

The second-person pronouns' semantic properties and their underlying social significance can be discussed as follows.

1. A. The Singular Casual Pronoun /k^{h}iŋ/

The second-person singular pronoun /k^{h}iŋ/ can be used by both males and females. This term can entail intimacy, affection, casualness, and anger, similar to the first-person pronoun /haː/, its casual-style counterpart. The meaning components of this pronoun are shown in Figure 4.6 below.

	/k^{h}iŋ/
Singular	+
Male	+
Female	+
Honouring	–
Formal	–
Intimate	+
Affectionate	+
Casual	+
Angry	+

Figure 4.6 Componential Analysis of /k^{h}iŋ/

2. The Singular General Pronoun /tŭa/

The pronoun /tŭa/ denotes the concept of 'you' as used by one to address or refer to someone intimate (Lanna Thai-Standard Thai Dictionary: The Mae Fah Luang Edition). This term entails positive concepts of honour, intimacy, affection, and casualness, and can be used by both male and female speakers who know each other well. Figure 4.7 represents the concepts encoded by the pronoun /tŭa/.

	/tŭa/
Singular	+
Male	+
Female	+
Honouring	+
Formal	–
Intimate	+
Affectionate	+
Casual	+
Angry	–

Figure 4.7 Componential Analysis of /tŭa/

3. The Singular Formal Pronoun /k^{h}un/

For the formal style, no pronouns of Kham Muang origin are in current use. If a pronoun is needed, the Central Thai pronoun /k^{h}un/ is the preferred choice. Semantically, this pronoun subsumes obligatory concepts of honour and formality and is devoid of sex restriction, intimacy, affection, casualness, and anger, as shown in Figure 4.8

	/k^{h}un/
Singular	+
Male	+
Female	+
Honouring	+
Formal	+
Intimate	–
Affectionate	–
Casual	–
Angry	–

Figure 4.8 Componential Analysis of /k^{h}un/

4. The Plural Second-Person Pronoun /sŭ:/ or /sŭ:k^{h}ăw/ and the Emphatic Forms

The pronoun /sŭ:/ can serve as the plural variant for /k^{h}iŋ/ and /tŭa/. However, whereas /k^{h}iŋ/ and /tŭa/ are distinguished in terms of casual versus general styles, /sŭ:/ can be used for both. For the formal style, on the other hand, the Central Thai compound /p^{h}ûakk^{h}un/ (‘you and your group’) is preferred, just as for the category of singular second-person pronouns.

In present-day Kham Muang, /sŭ:/ is often compounded with /k^{h}ăw/, a Central Thai third-person pronoun meaning ‘he’, ‘she’, or ‘they’, to form /sŭ:k^{h}ăw/, and both terms are used interchangeably. The pronoun /sŭ:/—as well as its variant /sŭ:k^{h}ăw/—contains an obligatory concept of plurality, can entail honour, intimacy, affection, casualness, and anger. This pronoun can be used by and can refer to both males and females. Figure 4.9 displays the meaning components of this pronoun.

	/sŭ:/
Singular	–
Male	+
Female	+
Honouring	+
Formal	–
Intimate	+
Affectionate	+
Casual	+
Angry	+

Figure 4.9 Componential Analysis of /k^{h}un/

For emphatic purposes, the lexeme /mù:/ (literally ‘group’) can be ‘prefixed’ to each of the Kham Muang second-person pronouns, resulting in /mù:k^{h}iŋ/ (‘you, plural and casual—implying ‘your group’, /mù:sŭ:/ (‘you, plural and general—implying ‘your group’), and /mù:tŭa/ (‘you, plural and formal—implying ‘your group’). Like first-person pronouns, the /mù:/-prefixed second-person emphatic forms denote or reflect the idea of group adherence or group solidarity, which is prevalent in Northern Thai society (see section 1.1.2, D). Note that in Example 10 below, participant 1 (P1) first refers to participant 2 (P2) and participant 3 (P3) by using /sŭ:/, but in the next reference P1 switches to the emphatic form /mù:sŭ:/, signalling her discontent at P2’s and P3’s display of group adherence.

Example 10: /sŭː/ and /mùːsŭː/ in Context

P1: kʰɨ̄n hɨan màj ʔâːjkʰam sŭː paj
up house new elder brother Kham you go
tʃǎt dɔ̀ːkmáj kɔ̀ː. pɜ̄n bɔ̀ː wāːŋ paj.
arrange flower PPC-Q I not free go
'Are you going to arrange flowers at Kham's housewarming? I'm not free to go.'

P2: tŭa bɔ̀ː paj kɔ̀ː dâj.
you not go PC can
'You don't have to go.'

P3: mǣn lǽːw. ʔâːjkʰam man hɔ́ːŋ haw
right already elder brother Kham it (he) call we
sɔ̌ːŋ kʰon táʔáʔ.
two NCL only
'That's right. Kham only called the two of us.'

P1 ʔɜː ʔán mùːsŭː paj kăn
PC-EXC so you & your group go together
kʰondiaw tɜ́ʔ.
alone PPC-PM
pɜ̄n tɨ̄ŋ tʃǎʔ bɔ̀ː paj bâːn man
I no matter will not go house it (he)
hæ̆m kam sám.
again time repeat
'Well, then the two of you go alone. I won't go to his place again, ever.'

P1 hŏʔ ʔiːlaj haw ʔûː lēn bàdaːj. tæ̀ŋ kʰòːt.
PC-EXC Lai we say play only pretend angry
'Come on, Lai! We were just joking and you got angry!'

5. Overall Features of Second-Person Pronouns

Kham Muang second-person pronoun system is simple. The singular pronouns occur only in casual and general styles, each having one pronoun used by speakers of both sexes. For plurality, only one pronoun (with its free variant) is used for both the casual and general styles, also by both male and female speakers. For the formal style, however, Kham Muang adopts Central Thai singular and plural pronouns, and each type is used by both male and female speakers too.

At this point, it may look as though Kham Muang possessed only few pronominal devices, particularly for formal contexts of communication. But in fact Kham Muang speakers usually resort to other anaphoric devices, such as a kinship term or a status term, in contexts where formality is required. This will be discussed in further detail later in this chapter and in Chapter 6. All Kham Muang second-person pronouns are shown in Figure 4.10 below.

	Singular ('you')		Plural ('you')		Emphatic Plural ('Emphatic 'you'')	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Formal	kʰun*	kʰun*	pʰûakkʰun*		pʰûakkʰun*	pʰûakkʰun*
General	tŭa	tŭa	sŭ:, sŭ:kʰăw**		mù:tŭa, mù:sŭ:	mù:tŭa, mù:sŭ:
Casual	kʰiŋ	kʰiŋ			mù:kʰiŋ, mù:sŭ:	mù:kʰiŋ, mù:sŭ:

Figure 4.10 Kham Muang Second-Person Pronouns

Notes. * a borrowed term
** a borrowed and mixed term

Semantic comparison of all of the second-person base pronouns is given in Figure 4.11 below.

	/kʰiŋ/	/tŭa/	/kʰun/	/sŭ:/
Singular	+	+	+	–
Male	+	+	+	+
Female	+	+	+	+
Honouring	–	+	+	+
Formal	–	–	+	–
Intimate	+	+	–	+
Affectionate	+	+	–	+
Casual	+	+	–	+
Angry	+	–	–	+

Figure 4.11 Semantic Comparison of Kham Muang Second-Person Base Pronouns

4.1.3 Third-Person Pronouns

Similar to the first-person pronouns (except the female singular form) and the second-person pronouns, Kham Muang third-person pronouns occur in a two-style distinction, between casual and general styles. The casual pronoun is /man/ and the general pronoun is /pɜ̄n/, which is homonymous to /pɜ̄n/ used as a first-person singular pronoun. For the formal-style, the Central Thai loanword /kʰăw/ is most commonly used. Whereas the first-person and second-person pronoun systems include plural forms, the third-person pronoun system does not. The pronouns /man/ and /pɜ̄n/—as well as the Central Thai loan pronoun /kʰăw/—can refer to both singular and plural referents. However, the emphatic plural forms can still be formed by the addition of the lexeme /mù:/ to each of the pronouns.

Based on the data, Kham Muang third-person pronouns can function as pronouns *per se* or as complements in noun-pronoun couplets called shadow pronouns or double pronouns. The former means the use of a third-person pronoun by itself—or alone—as a single term to refer back to a previously mentioned entity, person, or object, whether as a subject or as an object, as illustrated by the pronoun /pɜ̄n/ (‘he’) in Example 11. The latter, on the other hand, is the juxtaposition of a third-person pronoun immediately after a noun representing its referent, whether the referent is a subject or an object, as illustrated by the couplet /luŋpɜ̄n/ (‘uncle he’) in Example 12, which is an equally common alternative way of making the statement in Example 11. (More detailed discussion of such a combination will be provided later in this chapter.)

Example 11: The Use of a Third-Person Pronoun *Per Se*

tàwaː	luŋwan	pǎʔ	pʰǒm.	pɜ̄n	híʔ	tʃǎʔ	tʃuan
Yesterday	uncle Wan	meet	I	he	wish	will	persuade
haw	paj	ʔæ̀w	nāːn	toːj	pɜ̄n	tít	nâː.
we	go	travel	Nan	with	he	week	next

'Yesterday Uncle Wan met me. He tried to persuade us to travel to Nan with him next week.'

Example 12: The Use of a Third-Person Pronoun in a Noun-Pronoun Couplet

tàwaː	luŋwan	pǎʔ	pʰǒm.	luŋ	pɜ̄n	híʔ	
yesterday	uncle Wan	meet	I	uncle	he	try	
tʃǎʔ	tʃuan	haw	paj	ʔæ̀w	nāːn	toːj	
will	persuade	we	go	travel	Nan	with	
luŋ	pɜ̄n	tít	nâː.				
uncle	he	week	next				

'Yesterday Uncle Wan met me. He tried to persuade us to travel to Nan with him next week.'

4.1.3.1 Structural Analysis

In structural terms, every pronoun in this category, namely, /man/, /pɜ̄n/, and /kʰǎw/, is morphologically simple. Each could mean 'he', 'she', 'it', or even 'they'.

The third-person plural emphatic pronouns are formed by the same compounding device as that used in the formation of their first-person and second-person counterparts. The word /mùː/ (literally 'group') is added in front of /man/, /pɜ̄n/, and the loanword /kʰǎw/ to form /mùːman/, /mùːpɜ̄n/, and /mùːkʰǎw/, with the literal meanings of 'him/her/it/them and his/her/its/their group (casual)', 'him/her/it/them and his/her/its/their group (general)', and 'him/her/it/them and his/her/its/their group (formal)', respectively.

4.1.3.2 Semantic Analysis and Social and Cultural Discussion

The third-person pronouns' semantic properties and their underlying social significance can be discussed as follows.

1. The Casual Pronoun /man/

The Kham Muang third-person casual pronoun /man/ can be both singular and plural, can be used by and can refer to both males and females, and can entail intimacy,

casualness, anger. The pronoun's semantic properties are displayed in Figure 4.12 below.

	/man/
Singular	+
Plural	+
Male	+
Female	+
Honouring	–
Formal	–
Intimacy	+
Affectionate	–
Casual	+
Angry	+

Figure 4.12 Componential Analysis of /man/

2. The General Pronoun /pɜ̄n/

A homonym of the first-person general singular pronoun, /pɜ̄n/ entails a core concept of honour, connoting that the speaker somehow honours the referent. The pronoun also entails intimacy and affection, and can refer to a singular or plural referent of either sex. This pronoun is comprised of the following semantic properties (Figure 4.13).

	/pɜ̄n/
Singular	+
Plural	+
Male	+
Female	+
Honouring	+
Formal	–
Intimacy	+
Affectionate	+
Casual	–
Angry	–

Figure 4.13 Componential Analysis of /pɜ̄n/

3. The Formal Pronoun /k^{h}ă̌w/

Like /p^{h}ŏ̌m/ and /k^{h}un/, first-person and second-person pronouns borrowed from Central Thai, /k^{h}ă̌w/ is generally used in formal-style Kham Muang ordinary speech. This borrowed pronoun can be both singular and plural, and can entail honour and formality, but not intimacy, affection, casualness, or anger. It can be used to refer to referents of both sexes. The semantic properties of /k^{h}ă̌w/ is presented in Figure 4.14

	/k^{h}ă̌w/
Singular	+
Plural	+
Male	+
Female	+
Honouring	+
Formal	+
Intimacy	–
Affectionate	–
Casual	–
Angry	–

Figure 4.14 Componential Analysis of /k^{h}ă̌w/

4. The Emphatic Forms

Similar to the first-person and second-person emphatic plural pronouns, each of the third-person pronouns, including the Central Thai loanword /k^{h}ăw/, can be compounded with the lexeme /mùː/ to form emphatic plural pronouns. Such compounding results in forms that denote or reflect the idea of group adherence or group solidarity amongst Northern Thais.

Example 13 illustrates the distinction between /mùːman/, /mùːpɜ̄n/, and /mùːk^{h}ăw/, all of which could mean 'they' but connote the sense of 'their group' rather than just 'they'. Note that after participant 1's (P1) introduction of Sing and his friends, participant 2 (P2) first refers to them using /man/, then switches to /mùːman/ when emphasising Sing and his group of friends. For the same purpose, P2 first refers to Aunt Pan and Miss Bua by using /pɜ̄n/, before switching to /mùːpɜ̄n/, and refers to Aunt Pan's and Miss Bua's friends and section heads as /mùːk^{h}ăw/, in both instances to stress the group-belonging sense.

Example 13: /mùːman/, /mùːpɜ̄n/, and /mùːk^{h}ăw/ in Context

P1:	bàːsĭŋ	kăp	pɨan	miː	năj	hân.		
	Sing	with	friend	have	where	PC		
	'Where on earth are Sing and his friends?'							
P2:	man	paj	hoːŋŋaː		púːn.	mùːman	kĭnlíaŋ	kăn.
	it (he)	go	hospital		there	they	party	together
	'They are at the hospital. They have a party.'							
P1:	pâːpăn		kăp	nóːŋbua		lɔː.		
	aunt Pan		with	sister Bua		PPC-Q		
	'What about Aunt Pan and Miss Bua?							
P2:	pɜ̄n	kɔ̀ː	jùː	bon	hɨan	nāːkàː.	mùːpɜ̄n	tʃă?
	they	PC	be	on	house	PPC-E	they	will
	tʃàlɔ̌ːŋ		kăp	mùː	hŭanâː	pʰànæ̀ːk.	mùːkʰăw	
	celebrate		with	group	head	section	they	
	bɔ̀ː	dâj	kĭn	kʰâw	toːjkăn	mɜːn	lǽːw.	
	not	can	eat	rice	together	long	already	
	'They are in the house—where else? Their friends and section heads are here to visit them. They haven't had dinner together for a long time.'							

5. Overall Features of Third-Person Pronouns

Kham Muang also displays a simple third-person pronoun system. Only two pronouns are used, one for the casual style and the other for the general style. Both pronouns can be used to refer to singular or plural, and male or female, referents. For the formal style, Kham Muang adopts a Central Thai pronoun, which conforms to the same conditions as do the casual and the general pronouns. The emphatic plural pronouns are formed by way of compounding the lexeme /mù:/ with each of the base pronouns, producing terms that signal a sense of group belonging or group adherence.

As stated earlier in the hypotheses, pronouns are only one of the many devices Kham Muang adopts for anaphoric purposes. Whilst the third-person pronoun system looks relatively simple, many other forms can be employed as third-person anaphors, performing pronoun-like functions in situations where mere third-person pronouns (and all of the other pronouns) cannot sufficiently fulfil social, situational, or contextual requirements. More discussion of these will take place later in this chapter and in Chapter 5. All Kham Muang third-person pronouns are displayed in Figure 4.15 below.

	Singular & Plural ('he; she; it; they')		**Emphatic Plural ('Emphatic 'he; she; it; they'')**	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Formal	k^{h}ăw*	k^{h}ăw*	mù:k^{h}ăw**	mù:k^{h}ăw**
General	pɜ̄n	pɜ̄n	mù:pɜ̄n	mù:pɜ̄n
Casual	man	man	mù:man	mù:man

Figure 4.15 Kham Muang Third-Person Pronouns

Notes. * a borrowed term
** a borrowed and mixed term)

All Kham Muang third-person base pronouns and their semantic properties are displayed in Figure 4.16 below.

	/man/	/pɜn/	/kʰăw/
Singular	+	+	+
Plural	+	+	+
Male	+	+	+
Female	+	+	+
Honouring	–	+	+
Formal	–	–	+
Intimacy	+	+	–
Affectionate	–	+	–
Casual	+	–	–
Angry	+	–	–
Human	+	+	+

Figure 4.16 Semantic Comparison of Kham Muang Third-Person Base Pronouns

4.2 Names

A second class of words commonly used as anaphors in Kham Muang is that of names. According to the data, names used as anaphors by Kham Muang speakers belong to two major categories—given names and nicknames—whilst surnames are not used at all.

Before further discussion, it must be pointed out that although many Kham Muang speakers' names (as well as Central Thai speakers' names in general) are not morphologically simple (that is, they tend to be compounded or even complex), in this study they are treated as though they were so. The main reason for such treatment is that a name is a minimal unit of reference to a person. It therefore stands as a lexeme, which is 'a basic lexical unit of a language consisting of one or several words, the elements of which do not separately convey the meaning of the whole' (Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English). In the case of given names, their elements are rarely or never taken into account when reference is made to the people to whom the names belong, whether self reference, second-person reference, or third-person reference. For instance, when a speaker whose name is Saimai uses her name to refer to herself, hardly anybody—herself included—pays attention to the literal meanings of the two elements that constitute the name (i.e., 'sai' (/săj/) meaning 'thread' and 'mai' (/măj/) meaning 'silk'). However, the data reveal some word-formation processes to which attention should be paid, and they will be discussed in the relevant sections.

4.2.1 Given Names

The use of given names as anaphors is common in Kham Muang, and names can be used as first-person, second-person, and third-person anaphors. The use of given names for anaphoric purposes can be found in two patterns. The first pattern is the use of full given names, such as 'Boonmaa', 'Phatcharaa', and so forth. The second pattern involves the word-formation process called 'shortening' or 'clipping', whereby a certain element of a name is retained and the rest is discarded, such as 'Maa' for 'Boonmaa', 'Phat' for 'Phatcharaa', and so forth. Before discussing anaphoric use of these two types of given names, I shall present a cultural overview concerning the naming process adopted by speakers of Kham Muang as well as those of Central Thai in general.

By tradition, the parents of a new-born child asks a Buddhist monk to name their child. However, some parents now name their child by themselves. In many cases, personal beliefs and/or superstitions play a part in the process of child-naming. It is believed that if the name of a person, whether in terms of the meaning of each lexeme constituting the name, the consonants it contains, or the presence or absence of certain vowels, conforms to traditional Northern Thai astronomical tenets, the person bearing the name will live a successful, prosperous, and moral life. For this reason, some people who believe that their 'given' names play a part in whatever failures they have encountered in their lives may have their given names changed, often during adulthood, for a variety of reasons, such as superstition, religious belief, or even aesthetics. It is not uncommon to find a person who has had his/her name changed twice or more.

4.2.1.1 Full Given Names

Generally, a Kham Muang speaker's full given name can be used as an anaphor for first-person, second-person, and third-person reference. A full given name may be monosyllabic, disyllabic, or polysyllabic, and, due to widespread language mixing, may consist of Kham Muang lexemes, Central Thai lexemes, Pali/Sanskrit lexemes, or a combination of lexemes from different languages. Currently, monosyllabic names consisting of Kham Muang lexemes are becoming less common, and tend to be replaced by names created from two or more Pali/Sanskrit lexemes or a combination of lexemes from other foreign languages, resulting in polysyllabic names. Anyway, regardless of how a name is made up, it can fully perform anaphoric functions. In Example 14, participant 1 (P1) uses full given names to refer to herself and the addressee (participant 2: P2), who in turn uses the same anaphoric device to refer to the third party (the referent).

Example 14: Full Given Names Used as Anaphors

P1:	wípʰaː	kàlaŋ	lúk		hoːŋhian	maː
	Wipha	now	arrive from		school	come
	bàdiawníː.	sŏmpʰɔːn	miː	ʔàɲǎŋ	kɔ̀ː.	
	now	Somphorn	have	what	PPC-Q	
	kamdiaw	wípʰaː	tʃǎʔ	paj	bâːn	panŋaː.
	shortly	Wipha	will	go	house	Panya

'I've just arrived from school now. What can I do for you? I'm about to go to Panya's house.'

P2:	sŏmpʰɔːn	kʰāj	fàːk	pǎkàtɨːn	paj	hī̀ː
	Somphorn	wish	leave	calendar	go	give
	panŋaː	bàdaːj.				
	Panya	only				

'I only want you to take a calendar to him.'

P1:	ʔán	ʔaw	maː	lǣː.
	so	bring	come	PPC-C

'Bring it to me then.'

4.2.1.2 Clipped Given Names

Polysyllabic given names are usually clipped or shortened to one syllable for purposes of convenience and economy, such as 'Kan' (/kaːn/) from 'Kanjana' (/kaːntʃànaː/ 'gold') or 'Wan' (/wan/) from 'Suwan' (/sùwan/ 'gold'). Although many cases of given-name clipping is a matter of personal preference, the question of which syllable of a polysyllabic name will be retained and which will be removed is of linguistic and cultural importance.

Linguistically, Kham Muang phonology displays a right-footed metre, meaning that in a lexeme of two adjacent syllables, the syllable on the right is relatively more prominent than that on the left (Goldsmith 1990:171). Therefore, the right-hand—usually final—syllable of a disyllabic or polysyllabic name is usually retained and used as an anaphor, provided that the syllable is semantically appealing or pleasant-sounding, such as 'da' (/daː/ 'to offer'), 'nee' (/niː/ 'lady'), or 'phorn' (/pʰɔːn/ 'blessing'). In such cases, the final syllable is likely to be retained and used anaphorically, regardless of whether the name is morphologically simple (e.g., 'Da' /daː/ from 'Kanda' /kaːndaː/),

compounded (e.g., 'Phorn' /pʰɔːn/ from 'Phermphorn' /pʰɜ̄ːmpʰɔːn/), or complex (e.g., 'Nee' /niː/ from 'Wisunee' /wísùniː/).

However, according to the data, any syllable, instead of the final syllable, may be retained. The preference of retaining one syllable instead of another and using it for anaphoric purposes involves cultural factors. Firstly, if any syllable, when pronounced or written in isolation, is semantically unappealing or unpleasant-sounding, that syllable is unlikely to be retained, and another syllable that sounds more semantically appealing tends to be retained instead.[5] For example, many ladies' names end in the syllable 'ra' (/raː/ as in 'Monthira' /montʰíraː/; 'Janjira' /tʃantʃiraː/, 'Phathira' /pʰátʰiːraː/), which primarily refers to 'fungus' when said (in Central Thai pronunciation) or written in isolation. Consequently, hardly any women with such given names as the above would refer to themselves—or would be satisfied to be referred to—as 'Ra' /raː/; instead, they refer to themselves, and usually prefer to be referred to, by any other syllable of the name (i.e., 'Mon' /mon/, 'Jan' /tʃan/, or 'Phat' /pʰát/), which sounds more semantically pleasant, referring to the concepts of 'beauty', 'moon', and 'excellence', respectively.

Secondly, in most Thai names, some syllables, when uttered in isolation, are often associated with male-related concepts and others to female-related concepts. For this reason, when a person's shortened name is mentioned, quite often it is possible to guess the sex of the person in question. A name like 'Yos' (/jót/), meaning 'rank' (e.g., from 'Somyos' /sŏmjót/ 'one's deserved position'), for example, is usually associated with a male and 'Lak' (/lák/), meaning 'feature' (e.g., from 'Suphalak' /sùpʰálák/ 'good feature') with a female. A mismatch may occur, though, if a man's name consists of a syllable connected to a female-related feature, and vice versa. For instance, a male with the name 'Thosaphorn' (/tʰósàpʰɔːn/), meaning 'ten blessings', is unlikely to refer to himself, or to be referred to, as 'Phorn' (/pʰɔːn/ 'blessing'), which conveys a feminine overtone, but rather as 'Thos' (/tʰót/ 'ten'), which sounds more masculine.[6]

Thirdly, a semantically appealing syllable may be homophonous to a syllable denoting a semantically negative or situationally unwelcome concept. In such a case, the homophonous syllable is generally avoided, and another syllable of the name is retained for anaphoric use. An example is a female's name 'Wimaan' (/wímaːn/ 'paradise'), whose final syllable is homophonous to the word for 'demon' or the word for 'pregnant' (/maːn/). Thus this final syllable is unlikely to be retained for anaphoric use; instead, the first syllable (i.e., /wíʔ/) is preferred.

The following example (Example 15) illustrates the use of clipped given names for self-reference (P1 refers to himself), addressee reference (P2 refers to P1), and third-person reference (P1 refers to third persons).

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[5] Culturally, this is different from speakers of English, who maintain the use of their clipped or shortened first names despite their seemingly unpleasant meaning, such as 'Rob' for 'Robert' and 'Dick' for 'Richard'.

[6] Transvestites' or transsexuals' name-clipping patterns may be different and can be a subject worth further researching.

Example 15: Clipped Given Names Used as Anaphors

P1:	pɔ̄ː	pʰoŋ	tʃă?	paj	nánpʰú?hɔ́ːn	tʃâːsɔ́ːn	nɜ̄ː.
	Dad	Phong	will	go	hot spring	Jae Sorn	PPC-P
	hŭanâː		hī̆ː	paj			
	boss		give	go			
	pʰɔ̀ː	tīː	tʃăt		ŋaːn	pǐːmàj.	mon
	look	place	arrange		party	New Year	Mon
	kăp	tʃĭt	kɔ̀ː	paj.			
	with	Jit	too	go			

'Dad, I'm leaving for Jae Sorn hot spring now. My boss asked me to take a look at the New Year's party venue. Mon and Jit are also going.'

P2:	pʰoŋ	pěn	kʰon	kʰă̆p	rót	kaː.	kɔ̄ːj
	Phong	be	person	drive	car	PPC-Q	slow
	paj	nɜ̄ː.					
	go	PPC-P					

'Are you the driver? Go slowly, OK?'

4.2.1.3 Nicknames and Monikers

Nicknames are a very common anaphoric device in Kham Muang and can be used as first-person, second-person, and third-person anaphors. A person's nickname may have two kinds of origin. The person may be given a nickname by his/her parents or elder relatives during his/her childhood. This type of nickname is usually a product of sheer imagination or preference by the name-giver, which may be related to the personality or physical appearance of the person named. In addition, this kind of nicknaming may be inspired by sounds or words from any language, such as 'Bee' (English), 'Lin' (Chinese), 'Yoko' (Japanese), and so forth, or even a non-meaningful syllable like /næːn/ or /tŭm/. Therefore, generally, a person's nickname is in no significant way related to his/her given name, unless it is a clipped part of a full given name, in which case it will be treated as a clipped given name, as discussed above.

There is a second type of nickname, which I shall call 'moniker' hereinafter to differentiate it from the first kind of nickname. A moniker may be given to a person when s/he grows and begins to come into contact with an outer circle of society, viz., people other than his/her parents, relatives, and kinspersons. A moniker may be related to any characteristic of a person, whether physical (e.g., /tûj/ 'fat'), habitual (e.g., /ɬiam/

'smart-aleckiness'), or emotional (e.g., /m̄iŋ/ 'angry'). Most people acquire their monikers from neighbours, schoolmates, or colleagues. Thus it is possible for one person to be referred to by two or more monikers, each by one group of acquaintances.

4.3 Kinship Terms

Cultural anthropologists and anthropological linguists have been studying kinship terminology amongst various peoples worldwide and have documented a substantial amount of research work describing social structures and cultural traits of a given people as manifested by their kinship terminology. In Kham Muang, kinship terms are not only nouns denoting kinspersons, but they are also commonly used as anaphors—that is, in lieu of pronouns—to refer to the speaker (first-person reference), the addressee (second-person address and reference), and the referent (third-person reference). Northern Thai society is one in which, as Burling (1970:19) puts it, its members can assign kinship terms to anyone they meet, regardless of whether any real genealogical relationship can be established. Such anaphoric assignment of kinship terms, as hypothesised, could reveal significant characteristics of Northern Thai society, whether through the investigation of their semantic properties, as will be discussed in this section, or through the examination of their use in actual communicative events, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

To investigate Kham Muang kinship terms, first we shall classify Kham Muang kinship terms into three major categories: **lineal** kinship terms, **collateral** kinship terms, and **affinal** kinship terms. According to Webster's New World Dictionary and Thesaurus (1998), lineal kinship terms denote people in a direct line of descent or ancestry, such as a father and a son, collateral kinship terms those descended from the same ancestors but in a different line, such as a cousin, and affinal kinship terms those related by marriage, such as an in-law.

For each category, an analysis of kinship terms into **basic** (i.e., morphologically simple) and **compounded** terms will be presented along with an analysis of their semantic properties in terms of **generation** (i.e., the ego's (0), parental (+1), grandparental (+2), great-grandparental (+3), first filial (–1), second filial (–2)) **parental side** (i.e., paternal, maternal, or either), **relative age** (i.e., equal to, younger, or older than kinsmen of the same generation), and **sex** (i.e., male, female, or either). Where applicable, discussion of important social and cultural representations characteristics will be presented.

4.3.1 Lineal Kinship Terms

Based on the data, lineal kinship terms in present-day Kham Muang extend over six generations, namely, the ego's (0), parental (+1), grandparental (+2), great-grandparental (+3), first filial (–1), and second filial (–2). These terms can be classified into basic terms and compounded terms.

4.3.1.1 Basic Lineal Kinship Terms

Kham Muang possesses basic (i.e., morphologically simple) lineal kinship terms for all of the six generations stated above. These basic lineal terms will be discussed as follows.

1. Semantic Analysis

The terms referring to the ego's siblings (generation 0) are age-contrasted: older and younger. The ego's older sibling is further contrasted in terms of sex; /ʔâːj/ refers to the ego's elder brother (EBr) whilst /p̄iː/ refers to the ego's elder sister (ESi). On the other hand, the ego's younger sibling is referred to by a single, ambiguous term, /nɔ́ːŋ/, regardless of the sibling's sex (YBr or YSi).

For the parental (+1) generation, the two terms used are /pɔ̄ː/ and /mǣː/, referring to 'father' (Fa) and 'mother' (Mo), respectively.

The grand-parental (+2) generation is a more complex domain consisting of two tiers of terms. The first is the single-term tier that consists of the cover term /ʔúj/. This is a generic term that may refer to a grandparent of either side and either sex: father's father (FaFa), father's mother (FaMo), mother's father (MoFa), or mother's mother (MoMo). The other tier consists of four specific terms according to side and sex, namely, /pùː/ (father's father: FaFa), /ɲāː/ (father's mother: FaMo), /tǎː/ (mother's father: MoFa), and /ɲaːj/ (mother's mother: MoMo).

The great-grandparental (+3) generation is a single-term domain. The only basic kinship term for this generation is /mɔ̀n/, which could refer to any great-grandparent of either side and either sex, namely, father's father's father (FaFaFa), father's mother's father (FaMoFa), mother's father's father (MoFaFa), mother's mother's father (MoMoFa), father's father's mother (FaFaMo), father's mother's mother (FaMoMo), mother's father's mother (MoFaMo), or mother's mother's mother (MoMoMo).

For the ego's generation (generation 0), sex contrast is found between /ʔâːj/ and /p̄iː/, which denote the ego's elder brother (EBr) and elder sister (ESi) respectively. On the contrary, the term denoting the ego's younger sibling, /nɔ́ːŋ/, is neutral, and hence can refer to a younger sibling of either sex.

Terms referring to the ego's posterity extend over two generations: the first filial generation (–1) and the second filial generation (–2). For the first filial generation, current Kham Muang possesses only one generic term, /lūːk/, which can refer to either a son (So) or a daughter (Da). Similarly, a single generic term, /lǎːn/, can denote a member of the ego's second filial generation of either sex, which could be son's son (SoSo), son's daughter (SoDa), daughter's son (DaSo), or daughter's daughter (DaDa).

Figures 4.17 and 4.18 below show the semantic properties of all of the basic lineal kinship terms discussed above. Shaded areas (Figure 4.17) and NA (Figure 4.18) denote inapplicability.

Parental side / Generation		Paternal		Maternal	
		Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Great-grandparental (+3)		mɔ̀n [FaFaFa, FaMoFa, MoFaFa, MoMoFa, FaFaMo, FaMoMo, MoFaMo, MoMoMo]			
Grandparental (+2)	Gen.	ʔúj [FaFa, FaMo, MoFa, MoMo]			
	Specf.	pùː [FaFa]	ɲāː [FaMo]	tǎː [MoFa]	ɲaːj [MoMo]
Parental (+1)		pɔ̄ː [Fa]		mǣː [Mo]	
Ego's siblings (0)	Elder	ʔâːj [EBr]	pīː [ESi]		
	Younger	nɔ́ːŋ [YBr]	nɔ́ːŋ [YSi]		
First filial (–1)		lūːk [So, Da]	lūːk [So, Da]		
Second filial (–2)		lǎːn [SoSo, SoDa, DaSo, DaDa]			

Figure 4.17 Kham Muang Basic Lineal Kinship Terms

Kinship Terms	Generation						Lineal	Col-lateral	Affinal	Parental Side		Relative Age			Sex	
	−2	−1	0	+1	+2	+3				Pat-ernal	Mat-ernal	Youn-ger	Equal	Older	Male	Fe-male
mɔ̀n	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	–	–	+	+	NA	NA	NA	+	+
ʔúj	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	–	–	+	+	NA	NA	NA	+	+
pùː	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	–	–	+	–	NA	NA	NA	+	–
ɲāː	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	–	–	+	–	NA	NA	NA	–	+
tăː	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	–	–	–	+	NA	NA	NA	+	–
ɲaːj	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	–	–	–	+	NA	NA	NA	–	+
pɔ̄ː	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	–	–	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	+	–
mǣː	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	–	–	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	–	+
ʔâːj	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	–	–	NA	NA	–	–	+	+	–
pī̀ː	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	–	–	NA	NA	–	–	+	–	+
nɔ́ːŋ	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	–	–	NA	NA	+	–	–	+	+
lūːk	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	–	–	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	+	+
lăːn (–2)	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	–	–	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	+	+

Figure 4.18 Kham Muang Basic Lineal Kinship Terms by Semantic Properties

Note. NA: Not Applicable

2. Social and Cultural Discussion

Some social and cultural observations may be given here regarding the grandparental and great-grandparental generations. The presence of both a generic term and four specific terms that denote grandparental generation kinspersons is worth noting for two reasons. Firstly, although an increasing number of Northern Thai families today are 'physically' moving away from being traditional extended families, tight familial bonds still prevail, and constant contact between kinspersons is practised on a regular basis. In a society where the spirit of extended families is still in regular practice, specific terms therefore play an important role in responding to kinspersons' differentiating needs. That is to say, a person who has four living grandparents who may come into frequent contact with one another must have a way to distinguish between them, and the specific terms serve that purpose. Secondly, in Northern Thai society, people are usually married young, so pentagenarians (i.e., people in their 50s) or hexagenarians (i.e., people in their 60s) may already become grandparents. At such age, grandparents of Northern

Thai families are generally not only ‘grandchildren’s caretakers’. The higher respect they acquire through their seniority, the more community activities and expectations await them. As a result, they are involved in a wide range of community activities, whether they be birthdays, house-warmings, weddings, ordainments of novices and monks, merit-makings or funerals. These elderly people’s participation in such activities means they come into frequent contact with a variety of people most of whom are unaware of these seniors’ kin statuses but need to address or refer to them properly with due respect. The generic term /ʔúj/ aptly serves this purpose.

The great-grandparental generation, which generally belongs to those 70 years of age and older, reflects a different picture of social change in progress. In current social conditions, chances that great-grandparents live in the same household or are in regular touch with their great-grandchildren are getting slimmer. Hardly are there any households shared by more than three generations; great-grandparents’ third-generation posterity usually detach themselves from their ancestral family for a number of reasons, mostly for reasons related to their careers and marriages. In many families, although the /mɔ̀n/ are still alive, there may be nobody around to address or refer to them as such, inasmuch as many young Kham Muang speakers today are unaware of—perhaps also oblivious to—this term’s existence in the Kham Muang lexicon—let alone using it. And in the cases where great-grandparents and great-grandchildren are still in regular contact, many current-generation speakers resort to using the Central Thai term /tūat/ (‘great-grandparent’) instead. Not only are /mɔ̀n/ as the people gradually disappearing from Northern Thai families, but /mɔ̀n/ as a word is also gradually fading way from present-day young Kham Muang speakers’ lexicon, especially in urban communities.

The terms denoting the ego’s elder siblings (i.e., /ʔâːj/ ‘elder brother’ and /p̄ìː/ ‘elder sister’) also deserve attention as they indicate both sex and relative age, contrary to those denoting the ego’s younger siblings, children and grandchildren, all of which are both sex-neutral and age-neutral. In typical Northern Thai families, elder siblings are supposed to take care of, or nurture, younger siblings, yet male and female siblings are by tradition entrusted with different responsibilities. A male elder sibling (i.e., /ʔâːj/) may enjoy more privilege of freedom but is expected to become breadwinner for (i.e., taking physical care of) his younger siblings if not for the entire family. A female sibling, on the other hand, is not entitled to as much freedom but is supposed to nurture her younger siblings emotionally, mentally, and socially. The distinctive terms /ʔâːj/ and /p̄ìː/ bear some relationship with such gender-based role percussion. Nonetheless, as the society is changing and receiving enormous external influence, such percussion is taken all the more lightly. As for the lexical distinction, many current speakers of Kham Muang even use the term /p̄ìː/ to address or refer to an elder sibling of either sex, and some even replace it with the Central Thai pronunciation (i.e., /pʰi̱ː/).

Like in many other languages of Southeast Asia, certain lineal and collateral kinship terms in Kham Muang are used to call or refer not only to kinspersons but also to non-kinspersons. In this function, these kinship terms are used in three major ways. Kinship terms denoting older generations are used to convey respect or acceptance of the addressee’s or referent’s seniority, those denoting an equal generation to indicate

familiarity or intimacy, whilst those denoting younger generations to express kindness or affection.

The generic term denoting a grandparental kinsperson, /ʔúj/, is used to address or refer to an elderly person, usually with respect. The terms /ʔâːj/, /p̄īː/, and /nɔ́ːŋ/, which literally refer to the ego's elder brother, elder sister, and younger sibling respectively, are widely used to address or refer to a non-kinsperson, with /ʔâːj/ used with a male who seems slightly older than the speaker, /p̄īː/ used with a female who seems slightly older than the speaker, and /nɔ́ːŋ/ used with a male or female who seems slightly younger than the speaker. These three equal-generation terms characterise the mutually acknowledged familiarity between the addresser and the addressee or between the speaker and the referent. Lastly, the younger-generation terms /lūːk/ and /lǎːn/, which literally means 'child' and 'grandchild' respectively, can be used to address or refer to a young person, usually with an implication of kindness or affection.

It should be noted that the terms /pɔ̄ː/ and /mǣː/, meaning 'father' and 'mother' respectively, are rarely used to address or refer to any non-kinsperson, except in few special cases. Yet Kham Muang has a mechanism for the address of or reference to a non-kinsperson who appears to be of the speaker's parents' age. In lieu of /pɔ̄ː/ and /mǣː/, the collateral terms /luŋ/ ('father's or mother's elder brother'), /pâː/ ('father's or mother's elder sister'), /náː/ ('father's or mother's younger sister'), or /ʔaː/ ('father's or mother's younger brother') can be used.

From the structural-functional perspective, such application of lineal and collateral kinship terms to address or refer to non-kinspersons serves a social function. In its basic structure, Northern Thai society is hierarchical in nature; that is, the different groups of people in the society are more or less 'placed' in a vertical array. Such vertical array or hierarchy may be marked by many determinants, such as statuses, wealth, careers, and so forth. However, these determinants are impermanent and subject to unpredictable change (i.e., one's status or wealth may change overnight). The one most inherent, most natural, and most permanent quality to maintain such hierarchy is seniority. As Kham Muang kinship terms clearly exhibits age and generation distinction, they function as the most effective device to mark such a seniority-based hierarchical structure.

3. Special Use of the Terms /pùː/ and /ɲāː/

Of the Kham Muang basic kinship terms, there are two terms which can be used in different semantic senses. These two terms are /pùː/ and /ɲāː/, which literally refer to a parental grandfather (FaFa) and a parental grandmother (FaMo), respectively. However, /pùː/ and /ɲāː/ are also widely used by Kham Muang speakers to address and/or refer to a person—male and female respectively—who is relatively older than the speaker in a playful or disapproving or disrespectful manner, depending on the relationship of the speaker with the addressee or referent.

Structurally, these two terms are hardly used in isolation; that is, they are usually compounded with a name, a determiner, a modifier, or all these combined. Their compounded forms will hence be discussed in section 4.5.1.4.

The extended semantic senses in which these terms are used, however, portray the perception of paternity by people in Northern Thai society. Whereas maternal kinship terms are rarely—if ever—used in any extended sense, these two paternal terms

are used as part of the names of many ghosts in traditional Northern Thai animistic belief. Well-known amongst such ghosts are /pʰɤ̄ːpùːɲāː/[7], which refers to the ancestral ghosts, and /pʰɤ̄ːpùːsǎʔɲāː sǎʔ/[8], which is Chiang Mai's protective ghost.

It is Kham Muang speakers' choice of these two paternal—not maternal—kinship terms to be part of such spirits' names that deserves our attention. In Northern Thai animistic belief systems, as well as in most such systems, a ghost is regarded as a spiritual being capable of causing people both virtue, if well pleased, and vice, if displeased. In other words, a ghost is regarded as being unpredictable and can be both benevolent and malevolent, depending on how people please it and whether or not it is satisfied with people's offering. Such unpredictably ambivalent characteristics have been associated with /pùː/ and /ɲāː/, which denote elderly (grandparental) kinspersons of the paternal side, and never with /tǎː/ and /ɲaːj/, which are their maternal counterparts.

This paternal-side association could reflect, to a certain extent, a social attitude towards fathers in general. Whereas mothers are perceived to represent love and kindness, fathers are seen to be both extremely benevolent—that is, as families' breadwinners—and occasionally terrifying—that is, in the case family members displease them. The term /pùː/ or /ɲāː/ has come to be used to connote a man or a woman of considerable age whose behaviour suggests, in one way or another, that s/he may troublesome or difficult to deal with or satisfy.

4. Overall Features of Basic Lineal Kinship Terms

A total of six generations are covered by the basic lineal kinship terms in Kham Muang. The generation for which the terms are most semantically specific is the grandparental generation (+2). Not only are there four specific terms differentiated according to their parental sides and sexes, but there is also a generic term that can refer to any of these kinspersons. Socially, this is a generation that commands respect from, and also exerts much influence on, the family and the community. The other generation to which specific properties of relative age and sex are ascribed is that of the ego, referring to the ego's male and female elder siblings. This pattern stresses the importance of seniority and sex-related percussions and expectations of relatively senior kinspersons in Northern Thai society. Moreover, the terms denoting paternal grandparental kinspersons are also used in a quasi-metaphorical manner. This special use could be reflective of Kham Muang speakers' different perceptions of fathers and mothers in general.

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[7] The ancestral ghost is believed to be the spirit of a deceased ancestor from whom members of the same clan have descended. The major role of the ancestral ghost is to unite related kinsmen together and settle dispute amongst them. In the Northern Thai (or Tai Yuan) culture, as well as in 7 other Tai tribes, the worship of the ancestral ghost is transmitted only by a female member, who is a mother, in one's paternal line. Each household is supposed to worship the ancestral ghost by regularly providing him/her with food and drink. Failure to do that, it is believed, will anger the spirit, and the spirit will put the entire household in trouble; for example, young children will become ill. Conversely, proper regular worship will please the spirit, and the spirit will protect the household and bring its members good luck (Nernhad, 2004).

[8] The worship of the 'Puu Sae Yaa Sae' ghosts has been in practice by Chiang Mai people since former times. These ghosts, which according to ancient legends are of Lawa origin and are the guardian spirits of Chiang Mai, are believed to be capable of either making the land prosper, if the people worship them properly, or bringing disasters to the land, if the people fail to do so (http://www.kmitl.ac.th/northern/article/traditional/ leangdong.html).

4.3.1.2 Compounded Lineal Kinship Terms

Except for the parental generation, Kham Muang possesses compounded terms to refer to lineal kinspersons of the five other generations, namely, the grandparental (+2), the great-grandparental (+3), the ego's (0), the first filial (–1), and the second filial (–2) generations. These will be discussed as follows.

1. Semantic Analysis

As seen in the previous section, the only basic lineal kinship terms that denote sex differentiation are /pɔ̄ː/ ('father': Fa), /mǣː/ ('mother': Mo), /pùː/ ('father's father': FaFa), /ɲāː/ ('father's mother': FaMo), /tă̄ː/ ('mother's father': MoFa), and /ɲaːj/ ('mother's mother': MoMo); none of the other lineal kinship terms indicates the kinsperson's sex. Therefore, the major purpose of these compounded terms is to supply an additional semantic property of sex to the domains where such property is absence. In other words, it responds to the need—if any—to specify the sex of the kinspersons in each generation.

For the grandparental generation, the sex-specific parental terms /pɔ̄ː/ ('father': Fa) and /mǣː/ ('mother': Mo), which are terms from the previous generation, are compounded with—added in front of—the generic term /ʔúj/ ('grandparent') to form sex-specific grandparental terms /pɔ̄ːʔúj/ ('grandfather') and /mǣːʔúj/ ('grandmother'), respectively, regardless of whether they are from the paternal or maternal side.

The great-grandparental generation displays a similar compounding pattern. Here two of the previous (grandparental) sex-specific terms, namely, /pùː/ ('father's father': FaFa) and /ɲāː/ ('father's mother': FaMo), both of which are paternal terms, are compounded with—added in front of—the generic term /mɔ̀n/ ('great-grandparent') to form sex-specific terms /pùːmɔ̀n/ ('great-grandfather') and /ɲāːmɔ̀n/ ('great-grandmother'), respectively, to refer to both paternal and maternal great-grandparents.

The following table (Figure 4.19) summarises the compounded lineal kinship terms in Kham Muang.

Parental side / Generation		Paternal		Maternal	
		Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Great-grandparental (+3)	Sex Specf.	pùːmɔ̀n [FaFaFa, FaMoFa, MoFaFa, MoMoFa]	ɲāːmɔ̀n [FaFaMo, FaMoMo, MoFaMo, MoMoMo]	pùːmɔ̀n [FaFaFa, FaMoFa, MoFaFa, MoMoFa]	ɲāːmɔ̀n [FaFaMo, FaMoMo, MoFaMo, MoMoMo]
Grandparental (+2)	Sex Specf.	pɔ̄ːʔúj [FaFa, MoFa]	mǣːʔúj [FaMo, MoMo]	pɔ̄ːʔúj [FaFa, MoFa]	mǣːʔúj [FaMo, MoMo]
Parental (+1)					
Ego's siblings (0)	Elder Cmpd..	ʔâːjbàːw [EBr]	pī̀ːsǎːw [ESi]		
	Younger Cmpd.	nɔ́ːŋbàːw [YBr]	nɔ́ːŋsǎːw [YSi]		
First filial (–1)	Cmpd.	lūːkbàːw [So]	lūːksǎːw [Da]		
Second filial (–2)	Cmpd.	lǎːnbàːw [SoSo, DaSo]	lǎːnsǎːw [SoDa, DaDa]		

Figure 4.19 Kham Muang Compounded Lineal Kinship Terms

Figure 4.20 below features the compounded lineal kinship terms according to their semantic properties.

Kinship Terms	Generation						Lineal	Col-lateral	Affinal	Parental Side		Relative Age			Sex	
	−2	−1	0	+1	+2	+3				Pat-ernal	Mat-ernal	Youn-ger	Equal	Older	Male	Fe-male
pùːmɔ̀n	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	NA	NA	NA	+	+
ɲāːmɔ̀n	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	NA	NA	NA	+	+
pɔ̄ːʔúj	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	NA	NA	NA	+	−
mǣːʔúj	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	NA	NA	NA	−	+
ʔâːjbàːw	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	NA	NA	−	−	+	+	−
p̄ɪːsǎːw	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	NA	NA	−	−	+	−	+
nɔ́ːŋbàːw	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	NA	NA	+	−	−	+	−
nɔ́ːŋsǎːw	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	NA	NA	+	−	−	−	+
lūːkbàːw	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	+	−
lūːksǎːw	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	−	+
lǎːnbàːw	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	+	−
lǎːnsǎːw	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	−	+

Figure 4.20 Kham Muang Compounded Lineal Kinship Terms by Semantic Properties

Note. NA: Not Applicable

2. Social and Cultural Discussion

Such use of the paternal grandparental terms exhibits two culturally significant characteristics amongst the Northern Thais. Firstly, although their marital custom is matrilocal (i.e., the husband leaves his family and lives with his wife's family), their predominant descent system is fundamentally patrilineal (i.e., through the father's line). Secondly, amongst the Northern Thais, patrilineality is more prominent than matrilocality; that is, the line of descent is regarded as more important than the custom of post-marital settlement.

The dominance of the paternal line is also seen in the compounding of the terms /pùː/ (FaFa) and /ɲāː/ (FaMo)—in addition to /tǎː/ (MoFa) and /ɲaːj/ (MoMo)—with nouns of other types for anaphoric purposes. Although all of these four grandparental terms also exist in Central Thai, it is the maternal terms (i.e., /tǎː/ (MoFa) and /ɲaːj/ (MoMo)) that are widely used as address and reference terms or compounded with other nouns for use as anaphors. Their paternal counterparts (i.e., /pùː/ (FaFa) and /ɲāː/ (FaMo) are by far less often used in Central Thai. In Kham Muang, however, not

only can all of these four terms function as address and anaphoric terms, but the compounding of the paternal terms /pùː/ (FaFa) and /ɲāː/ (FaMo) is also commonplace and bear different semantic senses from those of the maternal terms /tǎː/ (MoFa) and /ɲaːj/ (MoMo). The compounding patterns involving these grandparental terms and their semantic implications will be discussed later in this chapter.

For kinspersons belonging to the ego's (0), the first filial (–1), and the second filial (–2) generations, one compounding pattern can be observed that serves the same sex-indicating purpose. Although the basic terms denoting the ego's older siblings, namely, /ʔâːj/ ('elder brother': EBr) and /p̄ɪːː/ ('elder sister': ESi), are already sex-contrasted, these terms can still be compounded with the sex-indicating lexemes /bàːw/ (literally 'young or teenage male') and /sǎːw/ (literally 'young or teenage female'), forming /ʔâːjbàːw/ ('elder brother': EBr) and /p̄ɪːsǎːw/ ('elder sister': ESi). Due to the age-related semantic property of /bàːw/ and /sǎːw/, these two lexemes cannot be compounded with kinship terms denoting generations above the ego; thus a compound like */mɔ̀nbàːw/ or */ʔújsǎːw/ is not permitted. The compounded terms are seemingly synonymous to the basic terms, but a difference in use can be noted. For addressing and second-person referencing purposes, only the basic terms are used, whether or not the addressee is kin-related, as in (a) and (b) in Example 16. For third-person referencing purposes, both the basic and the compounded terms apply mainly to kinspersons (i.e., the speaker's elder brother or elder sister), as in (c) in Example 16.

Example 16: Basic and Compounded Terms for Ego's Siblings

(a) /ʔâːj/ and /p̄ɪː/ to address a kinsperson:

ʔâːj/p̄ɪː	pɔ̄ː	miː	nǎj.
elder brother/elder sister	father	have	where

'Elder brother/elder sister, where is dad?'

(b) /ʔâːj/ and /p̄ɪː/ to address a non-kinsperson:

ʔâːj/p̄ɪː	pǎːtʰuː	tŭa	tāwdaj.
elder brother/elder sister	mackerel	NCL	how much

'Elder brother/elder sister, how much is a mackerel?'

(c) /ʔâːj/, /p̄ɪː/, /ʔâːjbàːw/, and /p̄ɪːsǎːw/ to refer to a kinsperson:

pʰŏm	tʃǎʔ	wǽʔ	háp	ʔâːj/ʔâːjbàːw/p̄ɪː/p̄ɪːsǎːw	kam.
I	will	stop	pick up	elder brother/elder sister	moment

'I'll make a quick stop to pick up my elder brother/elder sister.'

Since the basic term for the ego's younger sibling, /nɔ́ːŋ/, is sex-neutral, it may be compounded with the sex-indicating lexemes /bàːw/ and /sǎːw/ in order for sex distinction to be made explicit. The same principle applies to the terms denoting the first filial and the second filial generations, deriving sex-specific terms /lūːkbàːw/ and /lūːksǎːw/ ('son' and 'daughter') from sex-neutral /lūːk/ ('child') and /lǎːnbàːw/ and /lǎːnsǎːw/ ('grandson' and 'granddaughter') from sex-neutral /lǎːn/ ('grandchild'), respectively. The general use patterns for these basic and compounded terms resemble those of the terms denoting the ego's elder siblings.

3. Overall Features of Compounded Lineal Kinship Terms

The major purpose of the application of compounding to basic lineal kinship terms is to derive sex-specific terms from sex-neutral terms. Since most of the basic terms feature age or relative age, not sex, as a primary property, the addition of the property of sex where necessary is done by means of compounding. This conforms to the fact that age is usually prioritised over sex in Northern Thai society.

4.3.2 Collateral Kinship Terms

Present-day Kham Muang possesses collateral kinship terms denoting two generations: the parental (+1) and the first filial (–1) generations. Kinspersons of the other generations are referred to by either the basic or compounded lineal terms. Collateral kinship terms occur in both basic and compounded forms, as will be discussed as follows.

4.3.2.1 Basic Collateral Kinship Terms

Basic collateral kinship terms in current Kham Muang occur in the parental and first filial generations, as presented below.

1. Semantic Analysis

The collateral terms denoting collateral kinspersons of the parental generation are divided by age relative to that of the ego's parents. Elder collateral kinspersons of either parental side are referred to by sex-contrasted terms; the term /luŋ/ denotes the ego's father's or mother's elder brother (FaEBr, MoEBr) and /pâː/ the ego's father's or mother's elder sister (FaESi, MoESi).

On the other hand, collateral kinspersons younger than the ego's parents are divided according to their parental sides, but without sex differentiation. The father's younger sibling of either sex is referred to as /ʔaː/[9] (FaYBr, FaYSi) and its maternal counterpart is referred to a /náː/ (MoYBr, MoYSi).

For the ego's collateral kinspersons of the first filial generation, only one generic term is used, for either sex and either parental side. This term, /lǎːn/, which, it should be noted, is identical to the term referring to the ego's grandchild (second filial generation), can refer to a son or a daughter of any sibling of the ego's father or mother, theoretically capable of designating a maximum of 16 kinspersons (i.e., nephews and/or nieces).

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[9] The term /ʔaːw/ was used by one subject to refer to 'father's younger brother', in contrast with /ʔaː/, which this particular subject defines as 'father's younger sister'. Since no other subjects used /ʔaːw/ is any of the dialogues studied, the term is not included in this analysis.

All of the basic collateral kinship terms are given in Figure 4.21, in which shaded areas denote absence of terms. The semantic properties of these terms are then given in Figure 4.22

Parental side / Generation		Paternal		Maternal	
		Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Great grandparental (+3)	Gen.				
Grandparental (+2)	Gen.				
	Specf.				
Parental generation (+1)	Elder.	luŋ [FaEBr]	pâː [FaESi]	luŋ [MoEBr]	pâː [MoESi]
	Younger	ʔaː [FaYBr, FaYSi]		náː [MoYBr, MoYSi]	
Ego's cousins (0)	Elder Gen.				
	Younger Gen.				
First filial (–1)	Gen.	lăːn [FaEBrSo, FaEBrDa, FaYBrSo, FaYBrDa, FaESiSo, FaESiDa, FaYSiSo, FaYSiDa]		lăːn [MoEBrSo, MoEBrDa, MoYBrSo, MoYBrDa, MoESiSo, MoESiDa, MoYSiSo, MoYSiDa]	
Second filial (–2)	Gen.				

Figure 4.21 Kham Muang Basic Collateral Kinship Terms Functioning as Anaphors

Kinship Terms	Generation						Lineal	Col-lateral	Affinal	Parental Side		Relative Age			Sex	
	−2	−1	0	+1	+2	+3				Pat-ernal	Mat-ernal	Youn-ger	Equal	Older	Male	Fe-male
luŋ	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
pâː	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
ʔaː	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
náː	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
lăːn	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	NA	NA	NA	+	+

Figure 4.22 Kham Muang Basic Collateral Kinship Terms by Semantic Properties

Note: NA: Not Applicable

2. Social and Cultural Discussion

Although Kham Muang collateral kinship terms apply to only two generations, they represent some significant characteristics of Northern Thai society. To begin with, elderliness or seniority is an essential norm for the classification of kinship terms denoting one's parents' siblings, just as it is for the classification of one's siblings. As analysed earlier, the terms for one's (the ego's) siblings are divided into two referring to elders and one referring to a younger, and the terms for the elders into male and female, whilst the one for the younger is sex-neutral. The collateral terms see the same pattern applied to the parental generation, where one's parents' siblings are classified based on the same system of male-female contrasting terms denoting elder siblings and one term denoting a younger sibling of either sex. The pattern of seniority and sex differentiation, which characterises the ego's generation, is reinforced in the parental generation in a parallel manner, as illustrated in Figure 4.23

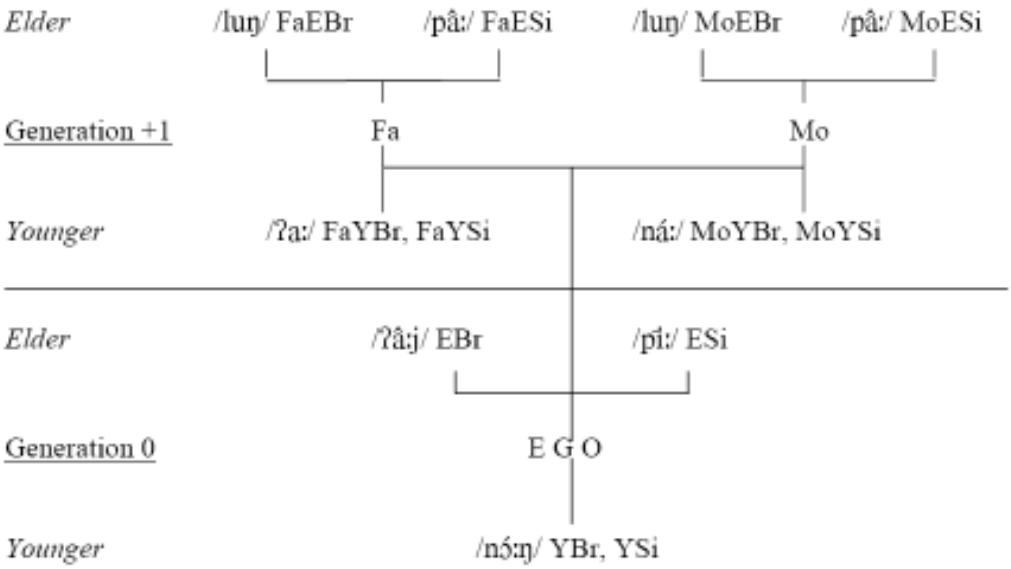

Figure 4.23 Parallel Patterns of Sibling Seniority and Sex Differentiation

Another pattern of social significance relates to the use of /lă:n/. As discussed in the previous section on lineal kinship terms, this term denotes a lineal kinsperson of the second filial generation (–2), that is, the ego's grandson or granddaughter. This identical term is also used to denote a paternal or maternal nephew or a niece of the ego (any one of the possible sixteen), who is a member of the first filial generation (–1). What purpose does the use of one term for kinspersons of two generations serve?

To answer this question requires a quick review of a couple of features pertinent to Northern Thai social background. Firstly, most Northern Thai families are matrilocal and extended. As a result, female members tend to remain with the families, whereas male members are likely to settle down in their wives' communities, which are usually in reachable proximity. Moreover, being extended, a Northern Thai 'family' tends to have two or more parental nodes (parent-child units) sharing the same household or the same compound, and members of such families may belong to as many as three different generations. Secondly, Northern Thai women typically get married young and are likely to start having children shortly thereafter. Many Northern Thai mothers give birth to their first and last children twenty years or so apart. In such a case, it is possible for one's son or daughter to be as old as or older than his/her brother or sister. Then, there are two people who are of approximately the same age but belong to two different generations. If these two people live in the same household, there may not be any serious problem because the other kinspersons can remind them of the hetero-generational fact. On the contrary, if these two people live in two communities in reachable proximity, which is often the case, such a reminder in the form of a kinship term could serve as a mechanism that prevents a haphazard condition, that is, incest. The kinship term /lă:n/, which as a lineal term signifies two descending (vertical) generational distances (twice removal), serves this generation-differentiating purpose well as it is

used to signify two kinship distances (twice removal), one descending (vertical) distance and one collateral (horizontal) distance. Through the recognition of this term, one can be reminded of the presence of his/her one-generation-younger blood relation who may be of the same age as s/he is and will not end up in a wrong relationship by accident.

3. Overall Features of Basic Collateral Kinship Terms

The basic collateral terms exist only in the immediately older and immediately younger generations than the ego's. The parental generation (i.e., that of the ego's parents' siblings) exhibits a three-way semantic contrast: (a) between elder and younger siblings; (b) for the elder siblings of either parental side, between male and female; and (c) for the younger siblings of either sex, between paternal and maternal sides. This shows different emphases assigned to siblings of different relative ages. Conversely, the only collateral term for the first filial generation is generic in terms of relative age, sex, and parental side, but it is adequately specific in terms of generation. Just like its use for the second-filial generation, the domain whence borrowed, this term represents the ego's twice-removal state, that is, from his/her niece or nephew, serving as a linguistic reminder of generational difference possibly possessed by two kinspersons of the same age, whereby incest may be prevented.

4.3.2.2 Compounded Collateral Kinship Terms

In current Kham Muang, the process of compounding applies to both the parental generation and the first filial generation. For both these generations, compounding serve the purpose of sex differentiation.

1. Semantic Analysis

For the first filial generation, the term /lă:n/ is compounded to distinguish between male and female collateral members. The lexemes /bà:w/ and /să:w/ are compounded with /lă:n/ to give sex-specific terms /lă:nbà:w/ and /lă:nsă:w/, meaning 'nephew' and 'niece' respectively.

For the parental generation, sex differentiation applies only to the parents' younger siblings. The sex-differentiating lexemes most commonly used are /pɔ̄:tʃa:j/ and /mǣ:ɲiŋ/, which means 'male' and 'female' respectively, resulting in the compounds /ʔa:pɔ̄:tʃa:j/ ('father's younger brother': FaYBr), /ʔa:mǣ:ɲiŋ/ ('father's younger sister': FaYSi), /ná:pɔ̄:tʃa:j/ ('mother's younger brother': MoYBr), and /ná:mǣ:ɲiŋ/ ('mother's younger sister': MoYSi). For these kinspersons, the sex-indicating lexemes /bà:w/ and /să:w/, which literally means 'young man' and 'young woman', cannot be used because the denoted kinspersons are one generation older than the ego; it would be unnatural if older kinspersons were referred to by terms denoting a younger age.

These compounded collateral kinship terms are demonstrated in Figures 4.24 and 4.25 below.

Parental side / Generation		Paternal		Maternal	
		Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Great grandparental (+3)	Gen.				
Grandparental (+2)	Gen.				
	Specf.				
Parental generation (+1)	Elder.				
	Younger	ʔaːpɔ̄ːtʃaːj [FaYBr]	ʔaːmǣːɲiŋ [FaYSi]	náːpɔ̄ːtʃaːj [MoYBr]	náːmǣːɲiŋ [MoYSi]
Ego's cousins (0)	Elder Gen.				
	Younger Gen.				
First filial (–1)	Gen.	lắːnbàːw [FaEBrSo, FaYBrSo, FaESiSo, FaYSiSo]	lắːnsắːw [FaEBrDa, FaYBrDa, FaESiDa, FaYSiDa]	lắːnbàːw [MoEBrSo, MoYBrSo, MoESiSo, MoYSiSo]	lắːnsắːw [MoEBrDa, MoYBrDa, MoESiDa, MoYSiDa]
Second filial (–2)	Gen.				

Figure 4.24 Compounded Collateral Kinship Terms Functioning as Anaphors

Kinship Terms	Generation						Lineal	Col-lateral	Affinal	Parental Side		Relative Age			Sex	
	−2	−1	0	+1	+2	+3				Pat-ernal	Mat-ernal	Youn-ger	Equal	Older	Male	Fe-male
ʔaːpɔ̄ːtʃaːj	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
ʔaːmǣːɲiŋ	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
náːpɔ̄ːtʃaːj	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
náːmǣːɲiŋ	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
lăːnbàːw	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	NA	NA	NA	+	−
lăːnsăːw	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	NA	NA	NA	−	+

Figure 4.25 Kham Muang Compounded Collateral Kinship Terms by Semantic Properties

Note. NA: Not Applicable

2. Social and Cultural Discussion

For collateral kinship terms, compounding serves to add the semantic feature of sex, which is otherwise absent in the basic terms. As in many other Kham Muang kinship terms, this corresponds to the society's placement of emphasis on age over sex as far as the hierarchy of recognition is concerned.

3. Overall Features of Compounded Collateral Kinship Terms

Compounded collateral kinship terms are only found in reference to parents' younger siblings and to the children of any sibling of a parent. The function of this compounding is to add the feature of sex to the sex-neutral basic terms. The lexemes used in this compounding differ according to the two generations involved: /pɔ̄ːtʃaːj/ and /mǣːɲiŋ/ for the parental generation (+1) and /bàːw/ and /săːw/ for the first filial (–1) generation

4.3.3 Affinal Kinship Terms

In current Kham Muang, affinal kinship terms apply to a total of four generations: the ego's (0), the parental (+1), the first filial (–1), and the second filial (–2) generations. Almost all of the terms referring to affines are compounded. The only basic, morphologically simple affinal terms are those denoting the ego's husband or wife.

4.3.3.1 Basic Affinal Kinship Terms

The only basic affinal kinship terms in current Kham Muang are /pʰŭa/ ('husband': Hu) and /mia/ ('wife': Wi).

1. Semantic Analysis

Both /pʰŭa/ and /mia/ are semantically simple, denoting the ego's male or female spouse. In former times, the terms used to carry a stronger implication of a formal wedding. But nowadays this implication is no longer regarded as necessary. The implications of sexual intercourse and cohabitation seem to have taken precedence, particularly amongst young speakers.

2. Social and Cultural Discussion

These spousal terms may generally be used in so restricted a manner (i.e., can only be used in reference to specific persons) that their social or cultural entailments are far from apparent. Nevertheless, it is the change in their semantic properties that is worth discussing in the light of the currently changing society.

As stated above, the term in former times more strongly carried an implied sense of formal marriage. That is to say, in the traditional Northern Thai society, the ascription of each of these spousal terms was mostly conditioned by a formal marriage, which did not mean an extravagant one but rather one to which relatives of both parties consented and gave approval and recognition. The express use of these terms would, therefore, 'proclaim' the formally and socially accepted married status of the couple. In the present society, on the other hand, marriage by adults' consent, approval, and/or recognition is becoming comparatively rarer. Premarital sex and cohabitation, euphemistically called 'trials to prevent errors', are receiving widespread popularity, in urban and rural areas and amongst the educated and uneducated alike. Such practices, once uncommon and hardly socially accepted, have become so common that those practising them adopt the spousal terms all the more frequently to refer to their 'partners', emphasising that they are in spouse-like relationships. The terms /pʰŭa/ and /mia/, as a result, have undergone a change in their semantic implication which sees the concept of formal marriage declining in its importance and the concepts of premarital sex and cohabitation dominating over it. In the long run, should such practices continue unchecked, their impacts on families will be worth investigating.

3. Overall Features of Basic Affinal Kinship Terms

Kham Muang possesses only two basic affinal kinship terms, which are also called spousal terms according to the persons they denote. These terms *per se* are both morphologically and semantically uncomplicated. But the semantic change that the terms are undergoing seems to be pointing to a social change in progress which may have long-term effects on the family as a fundamental social institution.

4.3.3.2 Compounded Affinal Kinship Terms

Two kinds of compounded affinal kinship terms are used as anaphors in current Kham Muang: those referring to an affine's lineal kinspersons and those referring to an affine's collateral kinspersons.

1. Semantic Analysis

Compounded terms denoting an affine's lineal kinspersons apply to four generations: the ego's (0), the parental (+1), the first filial (–1), and the second filial (–2) generations. Two patterns of compounding are found. The first pattern involves the use of the lexeme /tʰâw/ ('elderly') and applies only to the terms referring to the ego's spouse's father (/pɔ̄:tʰâw/ 'father-in-law': WiFa or HuFa) and mother (/mǣ:tʰâw/ 'mother-in-law': WiMo or HuMo). The lexeme /tʰâw/, which connotes veneration that duly accompanies elderliness, is never compounded with any other affinal terms. (This

lexeme is compounded with the word /k^{h}on/ ‘person’ to form / k^{h}ont^{h}âw/, a compound used to refer to one’s father, mother, or both, which will be discussed in the section on compounded anaphors.)

The other compounded terms refer to affines related to the ego’s collateral kinspersons of the parental generation, the ego’s elder and younger siblings, the ego’s son and daughter, the ego’s grandson and granddaughter, and the ego’s niece and nephew. Every term is derived from a basic lineal or collateral kinship term compounded with the affinal lexeme /k^{h}ɜ̆ːj/ (‘husband of a female kinsperson’) to denote a male affine and /páj/ (‘wife of a male kinsperson’) to denote a female affine.

Figure 4.26 presents all of the affinal kinship terms in Kham Muang. And Figure 4.27 features them according to their semantic properties.

Type / Generation		Lineal		Collateral			
		Male	Female	Paternal		Maternal	
				Elder	Younger	Elder	Younger
Great-grandparental (+3)							
Grandparental (+2)							
Parental (+1)		pɔ̄:t^{h}âw [WiFa, HuFa]	mǣ:t^{h}âw [WiMo, HuMo]	Male: luŋk^{h}ɜ̆:j [FaESiHu] Female: pâ:páj [FaEBrWi]	Male: ʔa:k^{h}ɜ̆:j [FaYSiHu] Female: ʔa:páj [FaYBrWi]	Male: luŋk^{h}ɜ̆:j [MoESiHu] Female: pâ:páj [MoEBrWi]	Male: ná:k^{h}ɜ̆:j [MoYSiHu] Female: ná:páj [MoYBrWi]
Ego's (0)	Elder sibling's spouse	ʔâ:jk^{h}ɜ̆:j [ESiHu]	pī:páj [EBrWi]				
	Spouse	p^{h}ŭa [Hu]	mia [Wi]				
	Younger sibling's spouse	nɔ́:ŋk^{h}ɜ̆:j [YSiHu]	nɔ́:ŋpáj [YBrWi]				
First filial (–1)		lū:kk^{h}ɜ̆:j [DaHu]	lū:kpáj [SoWi]	lă:nk^{h}ɜ̆:j [FaEBrDaHu, FaYBrDaHu, FaESiDaHu, FaYSiDaHu, MoEBrDaHu, MoYBrDaHu, MoESiDaHu, MoYSiDaHu]		lă:npáj [FaEBrSoWi, FaYBrSoWi, FaESiSoWi, FaYSiSoWi, MoEBrSoWi, MoYBrSoWi, MoESiSoWi, MoYSiSoWi]	
Second filial (–2)		lă:nk^{h}ɜ̆:j [SoDaHu, DaDaHu]	lă:npáj [SoSoWi, DaSoWi]				

Figure 4.26 Kham Muang Affinal Kinship Terms Functioning as Anaphors

Kinship Terms	Generation						Lineal	Col-lateral	Affinal	Parental Side		Relative Age			Sex	
	−2	−1	0	+1	+2	+3				Pat-ernal	Mat-ernal	Youn-ger	Equal	Older	Male	Fe-male
pɔ̄ːtʰâw	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	+	−
mǣːtʰâw	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	−	+
luŋkʰɜ̆ːj	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−
pâːpáj	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
ʔaːkʰɜ̆ːj	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−
ʔaːpáj	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
náːkʰɜ̆ːj	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−
náːpáj	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+
ʔâːjkʰɜ̆ːj	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	NA	NA	−	−	+	+	−
pī̆ːpáj	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	NA	NA	−	−	+	−	+
pʰŭa	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	+	−
mia	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	−	+
nɔ́ːŋkʰɜ̆ːj	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	NA	NA	+	−	−	+	−
nɔ́ːŋpáj	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	NA	NA	+	−	−	−	+
lūːkkʰɜ̆ːj	−	+		−	−	−	−	−	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	+	−
lūːkpáj	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	−	+
lă̆ːnkʰɜ̆ːj (−2)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	+	−
lă̆ːnpáj (−2)	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	−	+
lă̆ːnkʰɜ̆ːj (−1)	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	NA	NA	NA	+	−
lă̆ːnpáj (−1)	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	NA	NA	NA	−	+

Figure 4.27 Kham Muang Compounded Affinal Kinship Terms by Semantic Properties

Note. NA: Not Applicable

2. Social and Cultural Discussion

Just as represented by the other kinship terms, the emphasis on elderliness in Northern Thai society is featured through its affinal kinship terminology. This is seen in the exclusive assignment of lexeme entailing elderliness-attached respect (i.e., /tʰâw/) to the basic kinship terms for the ego's spouse's father and mother to create /pɔ̄ːtʰâw/ and /mǣːtʰâw/, meaning 'father-in-law' and 'mother-in-law', respectively. No affines of the other members of the parental generation and of any other generation are entitled to this lexeme. Other relevant affinal kinspersons who are of ordinary statuses are normally referred to by compounds made up of basic lineal or collateral terms and the affinal terms /kʰɤ̆ːj/ and /páj/.[10]

3. Overall Features of Compounded Affinal Kinship Terms

Kham Muang compounded affinal kinship terms extend over four generations and apply to both lineal and collateral kinspersons. The terminology displays distinction between venerated and ordinary affines, who are referred to by different compounded terms, the former by terms suggesting respect and the latter by the regular affinal terms. Such distinction again stresses the placement of importance on one's parents and the respect duly accorded to them.

4.4 Career and Status Terms

Before proceeding in the discussion, it is necessary that the terms 'career' and 'status' as used in this study be defined, as in some cases confusion or ambiguity may arise between the two. With reference to a human being, Concise Oxford Dictionary defines a career as 'an occupation [a job or profession] undertaken for a significant period of a person's life, usually with opportunities for progress', and a status as 'relative social or professional standing'. Thus a clear dividing line between a career and a status is that the former is basically pursued in return for remuneration and for a considerable length of one's life, whereas the latter is not fundamentally financially related (but may to a certain degree involve financial or material rewards) and achieved through respect or acceptance that accompanies a social role or, in some cases, certain professions.

4.4.1 Career Terms

Due to the diversity of careers and their terms used in present-day Kham Muang, many of which have been borrowed from Central Thai and some from other languages, it is necessary to identify careers with lasting or permanent social recognition and those without. The main criterion used was long-lastingness or permanence, in order to identify career terms that are generally used to address or refer to people even when they no longer practise the careers. Such careers, and hence their terms, are likely to bear deeper social or cultural significance than others.

Based on the data, there are only four such terms commonly used in present-day Kham Muang: /kʰuː/ and /ʔaːtʃă̆ːn/ ('teacher'), /mɔ̆ː/ ('physician'), and /sàlàː/ ('craftsman'). These terms represent three professional domains of education, health

[10] This is in contrast to the well-known example of the English term, 'in-law', which is assigned to all affinal relatives.

care, and craftsmanship, respectively. Each of these four terms, once used to address or refer to a person, or once 'appended' to a person's name, tends to remain in use throughout the person's life or, in many cases, even posthumously. A medical doctor, for example, is addressed or referred to as /mɔ̌ː/ ('physician') even after s/he retires and usually until s/he dies. Other career terms, by contrast, are not subject to this pattern of use. For instance, a nurse, whilst pursuing the profession, may be addressed or referred to by the term /pʰáɲaːbaːn/ ('nurse'), but when s/he retires or leaves the profession, s/he is no longer addressed or referred to as such.

4.4.1.1 Structural Analysis

All of these four career terms are morphologically simple. However, each term may be compounded with other lexemes, and the resulting compounds can also be used as anaphors. Such compounds will be discussed in section 4.5.

4.4.1.2 Semantic Analysis

Denotatively, the terms /kʰuː/, /ʔaːtʃǎːn/, /mɔ̌ː/, and/sàlàː/ can be perceived literally as 'teacher' (for both /kʰuː/ and /ʔaːtʃǎːn/), 'physician', and 'craftsman', respectively. The first two terms, /kʰuː/ and /ʔaːtʃǎːn/, denotatively mean 'a teacher' or 'an instructor', both commanding respect. Connotatively, the term /kʰuː/ is more generic and generally used to refer to a learned person with the ability to impart knowledge to or provide instructional guidelines for other people, whereas the term /ʔatʃǎːn/ is more specific and hence is used to refer to a person with a specialised qualification who can perform special tasks or, in religious terms, holy rituals. Since both of these terms connote respectability due to learnedness, knowledge-imparting ability, and specially trained skills, they can be used in reference to a person considered to possess such qualifications, even though that person has never practised formal 'teaching'. For example, the term /ʔaːtʃǎːn/ can be used to respectfully address or refer to a shaman or a sorcerer because s/he is believed to be capable of performing specific spiritual rites or paranormal activities.

The term /mɔ̌ː/, also commanding respect, denotes a 'physician'. The term also connotes remedial or corrective ability, as well as compassion, which is a highly cherished virtue in Northern Thai society. Just like the terms /kʰuː/ and /ʔaːtʃǎːn/, the term /mɔ̌ː/ can function as terms referring to a non-practitioner provided that s/he is believed to possess 'remedial' or 'corrective' powers and compassion of any kind. The term is often applied to refer to soothsayers (called /mɔ̌ːmɨ̄a/, in its full form), whose 'duties' in Northern Thai society include not only predicting what may befall a person in the future but also, as a crucial element, giving recommendations or performing rituals believed to have powers to rectify the predicted misfortune.

The final term, /sàlàː/, denotes a 'craftsman' or a 'builder', and primarily commands commendation and recognition rather than respect. Based on the data, this term is most often understood by young Kham Muang speakers only in its denotative sense, that is, as referring to a house-builder, and no distinction is made between a skilled and an unskilled one. But to speakers of older age groups, those aged approximately 40 years or older, the term signifies its connotative sense as well. First of all, the term /sàlàː/ can only be ascribed to a male. Secondly, the term /sàlàː/ is related, but not limited, to building or house-building. This term directly pertains to the domain of craftsmanship, which subsumes diverse areas of skills, one of which is house-building. In addition, the term connotes a concept of a 'creator', which entails creativity, rather

than a 'builder', which does not have such an entailment. The term /sàlàː/ is therefore used to signify supreme commendation or recognition accorded to a person recognised as a 'highly skilled and creative craftsman' or, as The Northern Thai Dictionary also described, an 'expert in a particular area'. Thus an expert silversmith, for example, is usually referred to as a /sàlàː/ (/sàlàːŋɜn/, literally 'silver craftsman'), and so can an expert carpenter or wood-carver be called /sàlàːmáj/ (literally 'wood craftsman').

4.4.1.3 Social and Cultural Discussion

Based on the data, the researcher's observation of communicative events, and the language advisors' explanation, these four careers are perceived by Kham Muang speakers as deserving high social esteem. They are regarded as inherently virtuous and beneficial to fellow humanity as well as to the society as a whole. Therefore, if a person is to earn any of these career terms, s/he must truly deserve it, as the term adheres to him/her for the rest of his/her life. Based on Ongsakul (1986), accordance of esteem to such professions can be traced back to the mid-24th Buddhist century (early 19th century), when aristocrats and noblemen began keeping practitioners of professions similar to these four in their employ and patronised them with due honour.

Whilst these careers are seen as careers of sacrifice, some of them may turn out to be lucrative, such as the medical profession. However, the society accepts such lucrativeness as justifiable in the light of the sacrifice these careers usually offer. Moreover, the esteem or honour ascribed to these professions may also be extended to their non-practitioner personnel as well. That is to say, an officer of a hospital or a school, who is not a medical doctor or a teacher (such as a receptionist or accountant of a hospital, a school or a university), tend to be accorded with greater respect than those holding the same offices in other professions.

The significance of these four careers can also be seen in keeping with the Northern Thai social attitude that still places much importance on the four essentials of life. The /k^{h}uː/ and /ʔaːtʃǎːn/ professions characterise the impartation of skills and knowledge needed for the making of food and clothing, amongst others. The /sàlàː/ profession signifies the technical expertise needed for the building of a dwelling place. Finally, the /mɔ̌ː/ profession represents the necessity of medicine. Thus calling these four Kham Muang career terms 'terms of honour' would not be an exaggeration.

4.4.2 Status Terms

Status terms, on the other hand, are already normally attributed to people with significant social recognition. Like career terms, many status terms used in current Kham Muang are from various sources, such as academic, religious, and corporate. Because not all status terms display social or cultural bearings, it is necessary to first identify those that do and those that do not. Based on the criterion used with career terms, which stipulates that only the terms that remain in use even after the person is no longer in office or no longer holds the said position be included for analysis, Kham Muang anaphors derived from socially significant status terms have been identified as originating only from the domain of religion. The religious status terms commonly used as anaphors in Kham Muang include /nǎːn/ ('ex-monk') and /nɔ́ːj/ ('ex-novice'), which are used to mean a person who used to be a monk or a novice, respectively.

4.4.2.1 Structural Analysis

In the religious domain, both /nă:n/, which refers to an ex-monk, and /nɔ́:j/, which refers to an ex-novice, are basic, monomorphemic terms.

4.4.2.2 Semantic Analysis

The terms, /nă:n/ and /nɔ́:j/, can be said to be 'socially derived' from /túʔ/ ('monk') and /ne:n/ ('novice'), respectively. The term /nă:n/ is used to address or refer to a male who used to be ordained as a monk. The term /nɔ́:j/, on the other hand, is used to address or refer to a male who used to be ordained as a novice. According to Noppadol (2008), the lexeme /nă:n/ in its literal meaning may have been syncopated from the word /k^{h}ànă:n/, which means 'great' or 'parallel' and refers to the ancient Lankan tradition of monk ordainment in which a man was to be ordained on a raft floating mid-river parallel to the shore, and the literal meaning of /nɔ́:j/ is 'small', and hence this word is used to refer to a man ordained young or having spent a short period of time in the temple. The social significance represented by these two terms is discussed in section 4.4.2.3 below.

4.4.2.3 Social and Cultural Discussion

The slightly different degrees of social recognition of a person called /nă:n/ and /nɔ́:j/ are associated with the religious position formerly held by a /nă:n/ or a /nɔ́:j/. As previously introduced, a /nă:n/ means a man who used to be ordained as a /túʔ/ ('monk') and a /nɔ́:j/ means a man who used to be ordained as a /ne:n/ ('novice'). In Buddhism, monkhood and novitiate are different on many counts. The first major distinguishing feature is the age of ordainment. A man who can be ordained as a /túʔ/ must be at least 20 years of age, whereas a man under 20 can only be ordained as a novice. The second major distinguishing feature is the number of precepts required of a /túʔ/ and a /ne:n/ to keep. A /túʔ/ is required to keep as many as 227 precepts, whilst a /ne:n/ is required to keep only 10 precepts. Therefore, a man under 20 who is ordained as a novice may decide to remain a novice even after he turns 20, should he prefer to be subjected to only 10 precepts. These two terms can be analysed based on their major semantic features as shown in Figure 4.28

	/túʔ/	/ne:n/
Sex	Male	Male
Age of ordainment	Under 20	20 or over
Number of precepts	227	10
	Socially Derived Terms	
	/nă:n/	/nɔ́:j/

Figure 4.28 Componential Analysis of /túʔ/ and /ne:n/ and Their Derivatives

Due to the strict Buddhist sangha discipline, once a man leaves monkhood or novitiate, he cannot—and will not—be called, addressed, or referred to as /túʔ/ or /neːn/ any more. However, the society still highly honours and respects such religious statuses as signifying the fulfillment of one of the most important duties in a man's life, that is, repaying his parents a debt of gratitude and thereby dignifying his birth. With the prohibition of the terms /túʔ/ and /neːn/, a recourse is made to the coinage and adoption of lexemes that would serve the purpose of maintaining a former monk's or novice's religious honour without using the prohibited words. Thus the terms /năːn/ and /nɔ́ːj/ have come into use; the former refers to an ex-monk and the latter an ex-novice. The use of these terms of honour signifies the recognition that the society attributes to men who have been ordained as monks or novices to the extent that, even after they have exited such statuses, they are still regarded by the society as worthy of such honour. In particular, ex-monks in Northern Thai society are frequently involved in or entrusted with many religious roles and functions from which men never having been ordained as monks are prohibited. Further discussion of ex-monks common roles is in Chapter 6.

Perhaps the most obvious illustration of how much significance and recognition Northern Thai society attributes to once-ordained men, both /năːn/ and /nɔ́ːj/, was the historic incident involving the execution of 'Naan Chai' and 'Noy Suriya'. Although these two men, the former an ex-monk and the latter an ex-novice, became Christians, they were still referred to by Northern Thais as /năːn/ and /nɔ́ːj/ in recognition of their former monkhood and novitiate until they were executed, because they professed their faith and did not reject it no matter how much coercion the authorities of that time imposed on them, on 14 September 1869 at Paa Yaa Naam Lep Maew, Mae Puu Khaa Village, San Kam Phaeng District of Chiang Mai Province (Phong-udom, 2009).

4.5 Phrasal Anaphors

In addition to the previously discussed categories of lexical items, Kham Muang also possesses anaphors in the form of phrases, which I shall term 'phrasal anaphors'. The differentiation of phrasal anaphors from the previously discussed compounded anaphors is based on a semantic criterion. The development of a compound involves to a certain extent the institutionalisation of its meaning; that is to say, the meaning of a compound usually becomes more or less 'established' (Bauer, 1983, pp. 49-51). In many cases a compound's meaning may not be analysed literally according to the meaning of each of the elements used to form the compound. Furthermore, in certain sets of compounds, such as those involving the Kham Muang kinship terms, there are terms that are collocationally restricted to a fixed domain of lexical items. The terms /k^{h}ɜ̌ːj/ and /páj/, which denote male and female affines, are obvious examples. These two terms, which are restricted to the domain of kinship and used only to form compounded kinship terms, cannot be used to form phrases of any other type.

Based on the data, Kham Muang phrasal anaphors belong to three major structural categories. The first category includes phrasal anaphors formed by means of concatenation of two or more basic anaphoric terms. The second category involves the formation of anaphors by means of attaching prefix-like particles to a lexical item, which may be a

basic anaphor or another lexical item. Lastly, there is also a category of phrasal anaphors formed by adding a modifying lexical item in front of or at the end of a basic anaphor.

4.5.1 Concatenation of Basic Anaphors

In present-day Kham Muang, two or more basic anaphors of all kinds except pronouns can be concatenated to function as anaphors. Anaphors of this category have a greater degree of content-density than do basic anaphors alone. Therefore, their use is related to the amount of information shared by the participants of a communicative event (which will be discussed in the Chapter 5). Concatenated anaphors may have any of the following structures.

4.5.1.1 Kinship Term + Name

This kind of phrasal anaphor is composed of a kinship term and a name. The kinship terms used for this purpose are simple kinship terms belonging almost exclusively to the domains of lineal and collateral relationships, whilst the names could be either full given names, nicknames, or monikers. Note that in Example 17 the speaker (P1) uses the kinship term /ʔâːj/ (‘elder brother’) and the given name /sùwan/ (‘Suwan’) to address the listener (P2), who in turn refers to the third persons by using anaphors of the same kind, that is, /luŋ/ (‘uncle’) and /pâː/ (‘elder aunt’) together with the nickname /mǎːj/ (‘Maai’) and the moniker /kʰæ̀ːk/ (‘Khaek’), respectively.

Example 17: Anaphors Composed of Kinship Terms and Names

P1:	...	ʔâːjsùwan		paj	ŋaːnlɨ́duːnǎːw	mɨ̄adaj	
	…	elder brother Suwan		go	winter fair	when	
	bɔ̀ːk	toːj	nɜ̄ː.				
	tell	also	PPC-P				
	‘…Elder brother Suwan, when you go to the winter fair, please tell me.’						
P2:	wannɨ́ː	bɔ̀ː	paj	ɬ̄a.	tæ̀ː	luŋmǎːj	kǎp	pâːkʰæ̀ːk
	today	not	go	yet	but	uncle Maai	with	aunt Khaek
	tʰāː		tʃǎʔ	paj	ɲùː.			
	probably		will	go	still			
	‘I won’t go today. But Uncle Maai and Aunt Khaek probably will.’							

Besides the above discussed phrasal anaphors, Kham Muang also exhibits a special use of the kinship terms /pùː/ and /ɲāː/ together with names, nicknames, and monikers. As stated earlier, in their extended sense, these two terms carry an implication of troublesomeness or implacability on the part of the addressee or referent, without much regard for his/her age. Thus when these terms are attached to people’s names,

nicknames, or monikers to form anaphors, it can imply that the people being addressed or referred to with such forms are seen by the speaker or addresser as being more or less troublesome or implacable in one way or another. In Example 18 below, the speaker (P1) and the listener (P2) call the referent and her husband, both of whom are of the same age as the speaker, by using anaphors of this structure.

Example 18: Anaphors Composed of /pùː/ and /ɲāː/ and Names

P1:	...	kʰiŋ	dâj	pǎʔ	ɲāːwǐː	pʰɔ̄ŋ	kɔ̀ː.	kʰǎw
	…	you	get	see	(Ms) Wee	any	PPC-Q	they
	wāː		ɲāːwǐː		paj	mɨaŋnɔ̄ːk.		
	say		Ms Wee		go	abroad		
	'…Have you seen (Ms) Wee at all? They say she has gone abroad.'							
P2:	tàwaː		haː	kɔ̀ː	pǎʔ	lɔː	kǎp	pùːsǎmlaːn
	yesterday		I	also	see	PPC-A	with	Mr Samran
	hān	nɔ́ʔ.	pùːsǎmlaːn		kɔ̀ː	bɔ̀ː	wāː	tʃàdaj lɔː.
	that	PPC-A	Mr Samran		PC	not	say	anything PPC-A
	'I saw he just yesterday, with (Mr) Samran, that is. But (Mr) Samran did say a thing.'							

4.5.1.2 Career or Status Term + Name

This kind of phrasal anaphor is composed of a career term and a name. The career terms used for this purpose can be from any of the three domains of highly esteemed careers, namely, health care, education, and craftsmanship. The status terms are those from the religious domain. The names could be either full given names, nicknames, or monikers. Example 19 below illustrates the use of such anaphors as the speaker (P1) calls the listener (P2), a retired physician, by using the phrase /mɔ̌ːsùlásǎk/ ('Dr Surasak') and refers to the referents by using the phrases /nǎːnkʰam/ ('ex-monk Kham') and /sàlǎːmoŋkʰon/ ('craftsman Mongkhol'), whilst the listener (P2) reciprocates by calling the speaker (P1) /ʔaːtʃǎːntʰáwát/ ('teacher Thawat').

Example 19: Anaphors Composed of Career or Status Terms and Names

P1:	...	kĭn	k^{h}âwlæːŋ	lǽːw	kaː.	p^{h}ŏm	tʃăʔ	tʃuan
	…	eat	supper	already	PPC-Q	I	will	persuade
	mɔ̆ːsùlásăk	paj	ʔæwhăː		nắːnk^{h}am		kăp	
	Dr Surasak	go	visit		ex-monk Kham		and	
	sàlắːmoŋk^{h}on		sák	kam.	mɔ̆ːsùlásăk	wāːŋ	kɔ̀ː.	
	craftsman Mongkhol		for	while	Dr Surasak	free	PPC-Q	

'…Have you had supper? I'd like to persuade you to visit Mr Kham the ex-monk and Mr Mongkhol the craftsman for a while.'

P2:	sùmăː	tɕ́ʔ	ʔaːtʃắːnt^{h}áwát.		kam	diaw	k^{h}onk^{h}âj	tʃăʔ
	sorry	PPC-R	teacher Thawat		while	once	patient	will
	maː	hắː.	ʔaːtʃắːnt^{h}áwát	paj	k^{h}ondiaw		kɔ̀ːn	nɔ̄ː.
	come	see	teacher Thawat	go	alone		first	PPC-R
	tʃūaj	bɔ̀ːk	nắːnk^{h}am		kăp	sàlắːmoŋk^{h}on		toːj
	help	tell	ex-monk Kham		and	craftsman Mongkhol		also
	wāː	p^{h}ŏm	tʃăʔ	paj	ʔæwhăː	wanp^{h}ūːk.		
	that	I	will	go	visit	tomorrow		

'I'm extremely sorry, teacher Thawat. A patient will come to see me in a moment. I'm afraid you have to go alone this time. And please tell Mr Kham the ex-monk and Mr Mongkhol the craftsman that I will visit them tomorrow.'

4.5.1.3 Kinship Term + Career or Status Term

This kind of phrasal anaphor is composed of a kinship term and a career or status term. The kinship terms used for this purpose are simple kinship terms belonging almost exclusively to the domains of lineal and collateral relationships, whilst the career terms can be from any of the three domains of highly esteemed careers, namely, health care, education, and craftsmanship, and the status terms are those from the religious domain. Like the phrasal anaphors consisting of kinship terms and names, the kinship terms /pùː/ and /ɲāː/ in their extended sense of disapproving connotation can also be used in this structure. Examples of anaphors of this structure are /luŋsàlàː/ ('elder uncle craftsman') and /ʔâːjmɔ̆ː/ ('elder brother physician') in Example 20.

Example 20: Anaphors Composed of Kinship Terms and Career or Status Terms

P1:	...pʰǒm	kɔ̀ː	wāː	ʔâːjmɔ̌ː	miː	nǎj.
	…I	PC	say	elder brother physician	have	where
	luŋsàlàː	ʔaw	líntʃiː	maː faːk.		
	elder uncle craftsman	get	lychee	come give		
	'…I was wondering where you were. Elder uncle craftsman has brought you some lychees.'					
P2:	loŋ	paj	bàdiawníː	lǽːw.	luŋsàlàː	
	descend	go	now	already	elder uncle craftsman	
	maː kʰondiaw	ka:.				
	come alone	PPC-Q				
	'I'm coming down right now. Did elder uncle craftsman come alone?'					

4.5.1.4 Kinship Term + Career or Status Term + Name

This kind of phrasal anaphor is composed of a kinship term and a career or status term. The kinship terms used for this purpose are simple kinship terms belonging almost exclusively to the domains of lineal and collateral relationships. Like the phrasal anaphors consisting of kinship terms and names, the kinship terms /pùː/ and /ɲāː/ in their extended connotation of disapproval can also be used in this structure. The career terms can be from any of the three domains of highly esteemed careers, namely, health care, education, and craftsmanship, and the status terms are those from the religious domain. The names could be either full given names, nicknames, or monikers. This is illustrated in the reference term /luŋsàlàːpeŋ/ ('elder uncle craftsman Peng') in Example 21 below.

Example 21: Anaphors Composed of Kinship Terms, Career or Status Terms, and Names

P1:	...pǎʔ	luŋsàlàːpeŋ	tīː	bâːnmàj	tàkʰiːn.
	…see	elder uncle craftsman Peng	at	housewarming	last night
	'…I saw elder uncle Peng the craftsman at the housewarming last night.'				
P2:	bâːn	ʔâːjkan	mǣn	kɔ̀ː.	
	house	elder brother Kan	correct	PPC-Q	
	'Was it elder brother Kan's house?'				
P1:	mǣn	lǽːw.	ʔíŋnǎŋ.		
	correct	already	why		
	'Correct. Why?'				
P2:	luŋsàlàːpeŋ		hápmǎw	lɔ̄ː	
	elder uncle craftsman Peng		contract	PPC-A	
	'It was elder uncle Peng the craftsman that was contracted to build it.'				

4.5.1.5 Social and Cultural Discussion

The quasi-fictive use of lineal and collateral kinship terms in Kham Muang plays a primary role in the formation of concatenated phrasal anaphors. The concatenation patterns allow two observations to be made in social and cultural terms. Firstly, a phrasal anaphor is a phrasal construct, and, in terms of its surface structure, it is basically composed of a head and a modifier. The head, in syntactic terms, refers to the word that 'governs all the other words in a phrase in which it is used' (Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English). Most of the concatenated phrasal anaphors possess kinship terms as heads (Figure 4.29 (a)). Although career and/or status terms may function as heads (Figure 4.29 (b)), they are almost always followed by names. When occurring with kinship terms, career or status terms are subordinated to the role of modifiers (Figure 4.29 (c)). A phrasal anaphor with a career term as head, preceding a kinship term, is non-existent, as illustrated in the asterisked example in Figure 4.29 (c). Priority, it is apparent, is placed on kin or kin-like relationships.

Head	Modifier
/luŋ/ ‘father’s or mother’s elder brother’ (Kinship Term)	/tʃăn/ ‘Jan’ (Nickame)
/ʔâːj/ ‘ego’s elder brother’ (Kinship Term)	/k^hoŋsăk/ ‘Khongsak’ (Name)

Figure 4.29 (a) Concatenated Anaphors with Kinship Terms as Heads

Head	Modifier
/k^huː/ ‘teacher’ (Career Term)	/maːliː/ ‘Malee’ (Name)
/mɔ̌ː/ ‘physician’ (Career Term)	/noŋlák/ ‘Nonglak’ (Name)

Figure 4.29 (b) Concatenated Anaphors with Career or Status Terms as Heads

Head	Modifier
/luŋ/ ‘father’s or mother’s elder brother’ (Kinship Term)	/ʔaːtʃăːn/ ‘teacher’ (Career Term)
/ʔâːj/ ‘ego’s elder brother’ (Kinship Term)	/mɔ̌ː/ ‘physician’ (Career Term)
*/mɔ̌ː/ ‘physician’ (Career Term)	*/ʔâːj/ ‘ego’s elder brother’ (Kinship Term)

Figure 4.29 (c) Concatenated Anaphors with Kinship Terms and Career/Status Terms

Moreover, an analysis of the deep (semantic) structure of such phrasal anaphors also indicates Kham Muang speakers' implied recognition of kin-like relationship with non-kinspersons. The sense that underlies the head's relationship with the modifier in each of the phrasal anaphors above can be described in the topic-comment-relation paradigm (Larson, 1984, p. 194). In this paradigm, the topic refers to the principal concept in focus, the comment to the thing or attribute used to describe the topic, and the relation to the means whereby the topic and the comment are related. The concatenation of kinship terms or career and/or status terms and names can be described as consisting of the kinship term (or career or status term) as the topic in focus and the name as the comment, based on the relation of naming. The underlying meaning of this concatenation pattern reads 'a kinsperson or quasi-kinsperson (or career practitioner) who is called by this name'. Meanwhile, the concatenation of kinship terms and career and/or status terms can be described as consisting of the kinship term as the topic in focus and the career or status term as the comment, based on the relation of professional or social role. The underlying meaning of a concatenation of a kinship term and a career term is 'a kinsperson or quasi-kinsperson who practises this career or who takes this role'. The role of kinship terms as reflected by this deep-structure paradigm and its surface-structure manifestations signifies the importance of kin-like acknowledgement of non-kinspersons as a mechanism that governs a seniority-based interpersonal relationship, which in turn contributes to the maintenance of social order or social hierarchy, in Northern Thai society.

4.5.2 Attachment of Prefix-Like Particles to Basic Anaphors or Other Lexemes

Kham Muang possesses three prefix-like particles. These particles, namely, /bàː/, /ʔàj/, and /ʔiː/, are prefix-like in that they are bound morphemes (i.e., cannot be used in isolation) that can only be attached to the beginning of a lexical base.

Because this type of anaphoric formation involves the use of morphemes never previously discussed, it is more practical to begin with a semantic analysis of these prefix-like particles so as to establish their denotative and connotative senses, which, as we shall see, will both denotatively and connotatively determine the meaning of the entire anaphoric constructs formed in this process. The particles /bàː/ and /ʔàj/ ordinarily denote a male addressee or referent. Both connote the addresser's or speaker's attitude that the addressee or referent is inferior. However, if these two particles are used amongst intimates or close kinspersons, they usually imply casualness and affection on the addresser's or speaker's part. And it is when these particles are used amongst intimates or close kinspersons that the distinction between them becomes apparent: /ʔàj/ can be used to address or refer to a female, whilst /bàː/ cannot. In brief, then, /bàː/ and /ʔàj/ have two usages: ordinary and intimate usages. In the former, both /bàː/ and /ʔàj/ refer to a male viewed as being inferior to the speaker; in the latter, only /ʔàj/ can be used to refer to either a male or a female whom the speaker knows intimately and hence can communicate with in a casual manner.

The particle /ʔiː/ is subject to the same semantic and functional conditions as the particle /ʔàj/. In fact, it can be said that /ʔiː/ and /ʔàj/ are counterparts. In its ordinary usage, /ʔiː/ denotes a female addressee or referent, signalling the speaker's implication that the addressee or referent is inferior. But, like /ʔàj/, /ʔiː/ can be used amongst intimates

and close kinspersons, in which case it can also be used to address or refer to a male. A semantic analysis of these particles is presented in Figure 4.30 below.

Particles / Semantic Features	/bàː/	/ʔàj/	/ʔiː/
	Ordinary Usage		
Sex	Male	Male	Female
Attitude	Inferiority	Inferiority	Inferiority
Style	Casual	Casual	Casual
	Intimate Usage		
Sex	Male	Either	Either
Attitude	Affection	Affection	Affection
Style	Casual	Casual	Casual

Figure 4.30 Componential Analysis of /bàː/, /ʔàj/, and /ʔiː/

Structurally, anaphors formed by this process belong to two main groups; such particles can be attached to basic anaphors, and to lexemes of other kinds to form anaphors.

4.5.2.1 Prefix-Like Particles + Basic Anaphors

The first group contains anaphors formed by placing /bàː/, /ʔàj/, or /ʔiː/ in front of basic anaphors. The particle /bàː/, /ʔàj/, or /ʔiː/ can be added in front of a given name (e.g., /bàː/ + /wít^{h}uːn/ 'Withun'), a nickname (e.g., /ʔàj/ + /pɔ̌ŋ/ 'Pong'), a moniker (e.g., /ʔiː/ + /tûj/ 'Tui' meaning 'fat'), a kinship term of an equal or younger generation (e.g., /ʔàj/ + /ʔâːj/ 'elder brother'), a career term (e.g., /bàː/ + /sàlàː/ 'craftsman'), or a status term (e.g., /bàː/ + /nǎːn/ 'ex-monk'). These combinations mainly function as terms of address and third-person anaphors. As illustrated in Example 22 below, after the first participant's (P1) mention of /bàːtʃǎn/, the second participant uses this term to refer to him.

Example 22: Anaphors Composed of /bàː/, /ʔàj/, or /ʔiː/ and Basic Anaphors

P1:	...haː	tʃăʔ	paj	wát	kam.	tʰâː	bàːtʃăn	maː	hăː
	…I	will	go	temple	while	if	Jan	come	meet
	hɨ̂ː	man	toːj	paj	hăː	haː	tîː	wat.	
	let	he	join	go	meet	I	at	temple	

'…I'll go to the temple for a while. If Jan comes to see me, tell him to go see me at the temple.'

P2:	dâj	kàː.	tæː	bàːtʃăn	tɨŋ	lúk	kʰwăːj.	man	bɔ̀ː
	can	PPC-A	but	Jan	anyway	rise	late	he	not
	maː	ŋāːj.							
	come	easy							

'Sure. But Jan gets up late, no matter what. He won't come soon.'

There is, however, a special intimate usage of the particle /ʔiː/. This particle is used to prefix the kinship terms /pɔ̄ː/ ('father') and /mǣː/ ('mother'). The resulting anaphors, namely, /ʔiːpɔ̄ː/ and /ʔiːmǣː/, can be used as terms of address (second-person anaphora), self-reference (first-person anaphora), and reference (third-person anaphora). As illustrated in Example 23 below, the mother (P1) refers to herself using the term /ʔiːmǣː/ and to her husband using /ʔiːpɔ̄ː/, whilst the daughter also uses /ʔiːpɔ̄ː/ to refer to her father.

Example 23: Anaphors Composed of /ʔiː/ and /pɔ̄ː/ or /mǣː/

P1:	...wannís	ʔiːmǣː	paj	tʰànǒnkʰondɜːn	nɜ̄ː.
	…today	mother	go	shopping street	PPC-I
	'Today I'll go to the shopping street.'				
P2:	ʔiːpɔ̄ː	paj	toːj	kɔ̀ː.	
	father	go	with	PPC-Q	
	'Will daddy go with you?'				
P1:	ʔiːpɔ̄ː	bɔ̀ː	paj.		
	father	not	go		
	'No, he won't.'				

P2:	ʔán	pɜn	tʃǎʔ	tʃuan	ʔiːpɔ̄ː	paj	nâː	mɔː	nɜ̄ː.
	then	I	will	persuade	father	go	before	university	PPC-I
	'If so, I'll persuade daddy to take me to in front of [Chiang Mai] University.'								

4.5.2.2 Prefix-Like Particles + Other Lexemes

The second group contains anaphors formed by placing /bàː/, /ʔàj/, or /ʔiː/ in front of lexemes of other kinds. In this process, the particle /bàː/, /ʔàj/, or /ʔiː/ can be added in front of a spatial demonstrative, /n̄īː/ ('this; here') or /hân/ ('that; there'), forming /bàːn̄īː/, /ʔàjn̄īː/, or /ʔiːhân/, or in front of a diminutive word, /nɔ̄ːj/ ('small; young') or /lâː/ ('youngest; seemingly youngest'), forming /ʔàjnɔ̄ːj/ or /ʔiːlâː/. These forms mainly function as terms of address and third-person anaphors.

Example 24: Anaphors Composed of /bàː/, /ʔàj/, or /ʔiː/ and Demonstratives or Diminutives

P1:	...bàːnīː	nāŋ	ɲùː	bàdaːj.	maː	tʃūaj	ʔâːj	pǎːŋ
	…this guy	sit	stay	only	come	help	elder brother	make
	tuŋ	kam	lɔː.					
	banner	while	PPC-C					

'…You're sitting here doing nothing. Come help me make banners.'

P2:	ʔâːj	ɲǎŋ	bɔ̀ː	hɔ́ːŋ	ʔiːlâː	maː	tʃūaj.
	elder brother	why	not	call	youngest one	come	help

'Why don't you call youngest sister to help?'

4.5.2.3 Social and Cultural Discussion

The use of the Kham Muang prefix-like particles /bàː/, /ʔàj/, and /ʔiː/ with intimates or close kinspersons and with non-intimates or non-kinspersons serve different social purposes, somewhat functionally akin to the use of 'tu' in Latinate languages (Brown & Gilman 1960; Lambert & Tucker 1976; Brown & Levinson 1979). Amongst intimates and close kinspersons, these prefix-like particles function as a mechanism to reinforce group solidarity. Persons addressed or referred to with these particles take such address or reference to be a sign of being accepted as a group's member or insider. In informal conversations between close kinspersons and intimates, these particles are so commonly used that their absence could sometimes be regarded as a sign of attitudinal change in one or more of the conversation participants, for instance, from casualness to matter-of-factness. On the contrary, the use of these prefix-like particles to address or refer to non-kinspersons or non-intimates serves to indicate the hierarchical distance that the addresser or referrer wishes to signal to the addressee or referent. Nonetheless, whether used amongst intimates/close kinspersons or non-intimates/non-kinspersons, the use of the particles /bàː/, /ʔàj/, and /ʔiː/ is conditioned by the factor of seniority in a non-reciprocal manner; that is, it is generally more socially appropriate for a person of an older age and/or generation to use /bàː/, /ʔàj/, and /ʔiː/ to address or refer to one of a younger age and/or generation than vice versa. Such condition demonstrates the hierarchical order of Northern Thai society.

4.5.3 Other Phrasal Anaphors

Other phrasal anaphors commonly used in Kham Muang include regular noun phrases and possessive noun phrases.

4.5.3.1 Regular Noun Phrases

A regular noun phrase is composed of a head noun with or without a post-nominal modifier. Figure 4.31 gives a structural illustration of this phrase type.

+ Head	± Modifier
+ Noun	± Adjective, Noun
Example	
/k^{h}on/ ‘person’	/t^{h}âw/ ‘elderly’

Figure 4.31 Regular Noun Phrase

Regular noun phrases commonly used as anaphors in Kham Muang include /k^{h}ont^{h}âw/, /pùːt^{h}âw/, /ɲāːt^{h}âw/ and /làʔɔ̀n/. The phrase /k^{h}ont^{h}âw/ is made up of /k^{h}on/, which means ‘human’, and /t^{h}âw/, which means ‘elderly’ or ‘old’. This term is commonly used to refer to one’s father or mother or both, and by parents to address each other, but not by children to address their parents.

The terms /pùːt^{h}âw/ and /ɲāːt^{h}âw/ consist of the kinship terms /pùː/ (literally ‘paternal grandfather’) and /ɲāː/ (literally ‘paternal grandmother’) in their extended implication of ‘implacability’ or ‘troublesomeness’ and the word /t^{h}âw/, which means ‘elderly’ or ‘old’. These forms may be used in two ways, amongst close kinspersons or intimates to affectionately address or refer to one’s father and mother, and by people in general to refer to someone regarded as implacable or troublesome.

Finally, the term /làʔɔ̀n/ literally means ‘children’. The term may be used by parents to address or refer to their own children. It can also be used to address or refer to young children in general, for example, by a middle-aged person to address or refer to a schoolboy.

4.5.3.2 Possessive Noun Phrase

A possessive noun phrase is made up of a head noun followed by a possessive genitive phrase, often in a reduced form. This type of phrasal anaphor usually contains a lineal, collateral, or affinal kinship term as the head noun. Although a career term is a possible head, it is not as common. The possessive genitive phrase, which functions as a post-nominal modifier, is made up of the optional genitive word /k^{h}ɔ̌ːŋ/ (often omitted) and an obligatory noun phrase, which may consist of an obligatory basic or compounded anaphor and an optional post-nominally modifying noun or adjective. Figure 4.32 gives a structural illustration of this phrase type.

+ Head	+ Possessive Genitive Phrase		
	± Genitive	+ Noun Phrase	
+ Noun	± Genitive Word	+ Noun	± Modifier
Examples			
/pɔ̄ː/ 'father'	(/k^{h}ɔ̌ːŋ/) ('of')	/ʔaː/ 'father's younger sibling'	/tʃɔːj/ 'Joy'
/luŋ/ 'uncle'	(/k^{h}ɔ̌ːŋ/) ('of')	/ʔâːj/ 'elder brother'	/dæːŋ/ 'Daeng'
/p^{h}ŭa/ 'husband'	(/k^{h}ɔ̌ːŋ/) ('of')	/p̄iː/ 'elder sister'	/mon/ 'Mon'
/mia/ 'wife'	(/k^{h}ɔ̌ːŋ/) ('of')	/ʔàjnɔ̄ːj/ 'young'	/dɜ̂ːŋ/ 'tall and thin'

Figure 4.32 Possessive Noun Phrase

4.5.3.3 Social and Cultural Discussion

It is worth noting that Kham Muang regular noun phrases functioning as anaphors are all age-oriented or generation-oriented. The phrases /k^{h}ont^{h}âw/ ('elderly person') and /làʔɔn/ ('child') perform a socially related duty of emphasising age distance and hence the different roles associated with and expected of each of the polar age groups. In Kham Muang, the term /k^{h}ont^{h}âw/ entails the speaker's respect, meaning that the speaker in the presence of his/her parents can refer openly to them as such, and the term causes absolutely no offence to the parents. The term /làʔɔn/, on the other hand, functions not as a subordinating term but as an affectionate reminder. It serves to remind the addressee or referent that s/he is still considered relatively 'younger' when compared with certain other people in a given context of communication.

If /k^{h}ont^{h}âw/, which has a positive connotation, signifies respectability, the terms /pùːt^{h}âw/ and /ɲāːt^{h}âw/, which may have a somewhat negative connotation, serve to demonstrate an opposite attitude. As stated earlier (in section 4.3.1.1, 3), the kinship terms /pùː/ and /ɲāː/ reflect the common view of the paradoxical characteristics usually associated with the paternal side. The phrases /pùːt^{h}âw/ and /ɲāːt^{h}âw/ by association represent the society's view that seniority can be both respectable and somewhat daunting, and that it is wiser for younger people to respect and please elderly people than to come into conflict or confrontation with them. Again, this is a discreet social order device.

The possessive noun phrase is a somewhat less direct anaphoric device. The head component of this device, which is almost exclusively from the familial or kinship

domain, is used on the basis of the addressee's or referent's relationship—whether lineal, collateral, or affinal—with his/her particular kinsperson, not with the addresser or speaker. This device serves dual culturally related purposes. Whilst it is a means whereby people with considerable social distance may address or refer to each other in a less formal and friendlier way than, say, the pronominal or kinship term device, it simultaneously functions as a mechanism to maintain indirectness. A common tendency in Northern Thai culture of verbal communication, indirectness is practised not to risk undermining the relationship, but rather to 'build relationship and avoid any possible embarrassment, insults, or conflicts' (Samovar, Porter & McDaniel, 2006, p. 175).

One communicative circumstance in which this device is used with great frequency is when one needs to refer to his/her family obligations, whether for a refusal, explanatory, or other reason. For example, if a married woman is being invited out for supper by a male acquaintance, such as a friend or a colleague, it is not customary for her to refuse by giving such a direct reply as /diaw t^{h}ă:m p^{h}ŭa pɜ̄n kɔ̀:n nɜ̄:/ ('I need to ask my husband about that first'), because it is usually misconstrued as being 'uncompromising', 'unsociable', or 'inconsiderate'.[11] In stead, if she replies by saying /diaw t^{h}ă:m pɔ̄: nɔ́:ŋ bɔ:j kɔ̀:n nɜ̄:/ 'I need to ask Nong Boy's father about that first', she is not only saying that she needs to consult somebody first, but also indirectly informing the inviting party that she indeed already has a husband and a child. And the inviting party, if being a native Kham Muang speaker, is likely to understand her implication immediately and refrain from further troubling her. In Northern Thai society, this type of phrasal anaphor performs what Brown and Levinson (1988) call a 'face-saving' function, that is, by avoiding embarrassment on the listener's part.

[11] This explanation is based on the language associates' view. Because all of the language associates are 55 years old or higher, their view regarding this usage is relatively conservative and may differ from that of younger speakers, who tend to use direct terms more freely.

CHAPTER 5

ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION ANALYSIS

This chapter discusses Kham Muang anaphors based on the application of the ethnography of communication. It addresses the use of Kham Muang anaphors in genuine conversation events by taking into account multiple factors which include the addressee's or the referent's relationship with the speaker, the addressee's or the referent's generation in relation to that of the speaker, the addressee's or the referent's age in relation to that of the speaker, the addressee's or the referent's occupation, and the addressee's or the referent's sex in relation to that of the speaker.

In order to explain how participant-related factors condition the choice of anaphors in Kham Muang authentic conversation events, the ethnography of communication framework has been applied to both the data-gathering and data-analysing procedures. The five participant-related factors included in the ethnography of communication analysis, as stated in the hypotheses, are (1) the addressee's or the referent's relationship with the speaker; (2) the addressee's or the referent's generation and age in relation to that of the speaker; (3) the addressee's or the referent's sex in relation to that of the speaker; and (4) the addressee's or the referent's occupation in relation to that of the speaker.

According to the data, each of the factors can be discussed in terms of its sub-conditions that also play an important part in determining the speaker's choice of anaphors. For the factor of inter-participant relationship, the speaker may be related to the addressee and the referent in three major ways: (i) their relationships may be close (e.g., between intimates or close kinspersons), (ii) medial (e.g., between neighbours), or (iii) distant (e.g., between acquaintances). For the factor of relative generation, the speaker's generation may be related to that of the addressee and referent in five major ways: (i) belonging to the same generation as the speaker; (ii) belonging to the first filial generation compared with the speaker; (iii) belonging to the second filial generation compared with the speaker; (iv) belonging to the parental generation compared with the speaker; and (v) belonging to the grand-parental generation compared with the speaker. For the factor of relative age, the speaker's age may be related to that of the addressee and referent in three major ways: (i) having the same age as the speaker; (ii) having a younger age than the speaker; and (iii) having an older age than the speaker. For the factor of occupation, three lines of high-esteemed profession, namely, healthcare, education, and craftsmanship (see section 1.4 on career terms), are discussed in the light of their influence on the choice of anaphors made by the speaker to address or refer to participants in each of these lines of profession. Finally, for the factor of sex, the speaker may be of the same sex as or the opposite sex to the addressee and the referent.

In the authentic contexts of communication, however, these factors hardly operate independently of one another. Rather, these factors are all taken into account by the speaker, who, after processing them, makes his/her most appropriate choice of anaphora

for a given conversation event and its participants. In an actual communicative event, it is possible for the speaker to treat any one of these factors as the principal or primary basis for his/her choice of anaphora and treat the other factors as supporting bases. In other words, each and every factor is capable of functioning both as the principal basis and as a supporting basis upon which the speaker will make his/her anaphoric choice. In one situation, for example, the addressee's or the referent's age may be the principal basis on which the speaker will select the proper anaphora to address or refer to him/her, whereas in another, it may be the addressee's or the referent's relationship with the speaker that matters most. Therefore, the following sections will discuss each of these factors in its role as the principal determinant of each type of anaphora and socially and culturally significant characteristics of which it is indicative.

In the sections that follow, each of the factors will be discussed in terms of how it plays a part in the speaker's choice of anaphora and what types of anaphora can be commonly used as a result of that factor. These types of anaphora will be examined as whether common or uncommon, based on the determining criterion of frequency of use, that is, the percentage of instances each type of anaphora were used in relation to each controlled factor. An anaphoric device with 80% of use or higher per factor would be considered common, whereas one that did not reach 80% would be regarded as uncommon. Therefore, those devices that are possible but only are occasionally used are not included in this analysis as they may be subject to a wide range of factors other than those established for this study, such as personal reasons, personal agreements, superstitions, special relationships, conversation topics, and so forth.

5.1 The Addressee's or the Referent's Relationship with the Speaker

Based on the data, the three major kinds of relationship that the speaker may have with the addressee and the referent include close relationship, medial relationship, and distant relationship. In case that the speaker regards his/her relationship with the addressee or the referent as the principal condition, each type of anaphora tends to be subject to the following conditions.

5.1.1 In Relation to Choice of Pronouns

The speaker's relationship with the addressee and the referent plays an important part in the selection of pronouns. The process whereby such a relationship may condition the choice of pronouns is discussed below in relation to its social and cultural bearings.

5.1.1.1 Use Patterns

If the addressee or the referent has a close relationship with the speaker, such as being intimates or close kinspersons, the speaker is likely to adopt a casual or general pronoun to refer to himself/herself (i.e., as a first-person anaphor), to address and refer to the addressee (i.e., as a second-person anaphor), and to refer to the referent (i.e., as a third-person anaphor). This is illustrated in Example 25 below, in which the two participants (P1 and P2) who are close and long-time friends address and refer to one another and refer to a third person, a very close friend of theirs, using casual and general pronouns. (The pre-fixed name /ʔàjt^{h}aː/ is used to introduce the referent; thus it is not considered an anaphor here.)

Example 25: Close Relationship and Use of Pronouns

P1:	...	kʰiŋ	haː	tʃǎʔ	paj	kàːtnát.	paj	toːj	haː	bɔ̌ː.
	…	you	I	will	go	flea market	go	with	I	PPC-Q
	'…You, I'll go to the flea market. You want to come with me?'									
P2:	ʔàjtʰaː	lɔː.		kʰiŋ	tʃuan	man	paj	toːj	lǣː	
	Mr Tha	PPC-Q		you	persuade	he	go	with	PPC-C	
	'What about Mr Tha? You'd better ask him to join you.'									

But if the addressee or the referent has a medial or distant relationship with the speaker, for example, being neighbours or working in the same organisation, the speaker is likely to choose a general or formal pronoun as a first-person anaphor to refer to himself/herself, as a second-person anaphor to address and refer to the addressee, and as a third-person anaphor to refer to the referent. The sex-based and number-based sub-choice of pronouns will then be determined by the speaker's, the addressee's, and the referent's sexes and by the respective numbers of the first-person party, the second-person party, and the third-person party. In Example 26, the two participants who know each other as colleagues at the same organisation, use only general pronouns to refer to themselves and formal pronouns to refer to some of the organisation's administrators, whom they know distantly.

Example 26: Medial and Distant Relationship and Use of Pronouns

P1:	...	læːŋ	níː	tŭa	tʃǎʔ	paj	kǐnlíaŋ	kʰɔ̌ːŋ
	…	evening	this	you	will	go	dinner party	of
	pʰûːbɔːlíhǎːn	kɔ̀ː.						
	administrator	PPC-Q						
	'…Will you go to the administrators' dinner party this evening?'							
P2:	pɜ̄n	bɔ̀ː	paj.	kʰǎw	bɔ̀ː	dâj	tʃuan	pɜ̄n	lɔː
	I	not	go	they	not	get	persuade	I	PPC-A
	'I won't. They didn't invite me.'								

The influence of inter-participant relationship on the choice of pronouns can be summarised as in Figure 5.1 below.

Pronoun / **Type of Relationship**	**Pronouns**		
	Casual	**General**	**Formal**
Close	Common	Common	Uncommon
Medial	Uncommon	Common	Common
Distant	Uncommon	Common	Common

Figure 5.1 Inter-Participant Relationships and Pronoun Choice

5.1.1.2 Social and Cultural Discussion

The choice of pronouns as conditioned by the relationship of the speaker to the addressee and the referent is related to the nature of politeness in Northern Thai society. The relationship the speaker has to the addressee and the referent is a social mechanism that controls the distribution of politeness, that is, who is supposed to be polite to whom. The choice of pronouns that conforms to the above-stated relationship results in explicit communication of politeness to whom politeness is due, as 'politeness has to be communicated, and the absence of politeness may, *ceteris paribus*, be taken as absence of the polite attitude' (Brown & Levinson, 1979, p. 5). Apparently, the greater the distance of relationship, the higher degree of politeness is expected, and hence the corresponding choice of pronouns. For this reason, other things being equal, it is considered disrespectful and impolite for one to use a casual pronoun to address or

refer to another whom s/he only distantly knows; conversely, for closely related people to address or refer to one another using formal pronouns would also be regarded as inappropriate in that it may imply insincerity, which is a form of 'impoliteness'.

5.1.2 In Relation to Choice of Names

The choice of names—full or clipped given names, nicknames, or monikers—is also subject to the relationship of the speaker with the addressee and the referent. The influence of such relationship on choice of names is discussed as follows, together with its social and cultural significance.

5.1.2.1 Use Patterns

Generally, a speaker who is closely related to the addressee and the referent tends to use nicknames or monikers to refer to himself/herself, to address and refer to the addressee, and also to refer to the referent. Example 27 demonstrates the use of nicknames by the speaker (P1) to refer to herself and to the referent (/niw/ and /lǐn/, respectively), whilst using the moniker /tûj/, which means 'fat', to refer to the addressee. All the three of them have close relationship with one another.

Example 27: Close Relationship and Use of Nicknames and Monikers

P1:	...	niw	tʃǎʔ	paj	tʃūaj	lǐn	tæ̀ŋ	weːtʰiː	nɜ̄ː.
	…	New	will	go	help	Lin	decorate stage		PPC-I
	tûj	kɔ̀ː	tʃǎʔ	paj	bɔ̀ː	tʃāj	kaː.		
	Tui	PC	will	go	not	yes	PPC-Q		

'…I'm going to help Lin decorate the stage. You're going there too, aren't you, Tui?'

P2:	paj	kàː	niw.	kàdiaw	tûj	tʃǎʔ
	go	PPC-A	New	instant	Tui	will
	lūat		paj	sɨ́ː	kʰɔ̆ːŋtʃʰamlūaj	
	take an opportunity		go	buy	keepsake	
	hɨ̃ː	lǐn	toːj.			
	give	Lin	too			

'I am, New. Then I will take the opportunity to go buy keepsakes for Lin.'

In case the speaker's relationship with the addressee and the referent is of medial proximity, nicknames or clipped given names are likely to be used as first-person, second-person, and third-person anaphors, whilst monikers are avoided for they are regarded as disrespectful and hence a potential cause of offence. The two active participants (P1 and P2) and the referent in Example 28 below know each other as colleagues in the same organisation, but their relationship is only of medial proximity. Participant 1 refers to participant 2 by using participant 2's clipped given name, Nan, and refers to the referent also by using the referent's clipped given name, Phorn, whilst participant 2 also refers to participant 1 by using participant 1's clipped given name, Lee.

Example 28: Medial Relationship and Use of Nicknames and Clipped Given Names

P1:	...	tʰâː	nan	lǽːw	kǎːn	mɨ̄adaj	paj	tʃūaj	pʰɔːn
	…	if	Nan	finish	work	whenever	go	help	Phorn
	pæ̌ːŋ		kàtʰoŋ		bɔ̌ː.				
	make		float		PPC-Q				

'… If you finish your work, why don't you help Phorn make floats?'

P2:	sǎk	kam	nɔ̄ː	liː.	ɲáʔ	bantʃʰiː	lǽːw	kɔ̀ːn	nɜ̄ː
	just	moment	PPC-R	Lee	do	account	finish	first	PPC-I

'In a moment, Lee. Let me finish this account first.'

Amongst participants with distant-proximity relationship, the names used for anaphoric purposes are likely to be full or clipped given names, rather than nicknames. Monikers, on the other hands, are usually avoided so as not to offend the addressee or the referent. Such use is demonstrated in Example 29 underneath, in which the distantly known participants (P1 and P2) who work in different departments of the same company refer to each other by using clipped given names and to the referent, who works in another department of the same company, by using the referent's full given name.

Example 29: Distant Relationship and Use of Full and Clipped Given Names

P1: ... tʰâː pʰoŋ pǎʔ sǔntʰɔːn wannímː bɔ̀ːk wíʔ kam nɜ̄ː
… if Phong see Sunthorn today tell Wi moment PPC-R
'… If you see Sunthorn today please let me know.'

P2: tʰāː tʃǎʔ bɔ̀ː pǎʔ kʰáp. sǔntʰɔːn bɔ̀ː maː ɲákǎːn.
Probably will not see PC Sunthorn not come work
wíʔ kʰoŋ tôŋ tʰoː paj hǎː kʰáp.
Wi may must phone go meet PC
'I probably won't see him. Sunthorn is not in today. You may have to phone him.'

The influence of inter-participant relationship on the choice of names can be summarised as in Figure 5.2 below.

Name / Type of Relationship	Names			
	Full Given Names	**Clipped Given Names**	**Nicknames**	**Monikers**
Close	Uncommon	Common	Common	Common
Medial	Uncommon	Common	Common	Uncommon
Distant	Common	Common	Uncommon	Uncommon

Figure 5.2 Inter-Participant Relationships and Name Choice

5.1.2.2 Social and Cultural Discussion

The choice of names used as anaphors is an indicator of distance of relationship in Northern Thai society and serves as a mechanism to mark politeness or absence thereof. The use of monikers amongst closely related people is deemed appropriate and 'polite' in that it signals intimacy and solidarity. The use of nicknames and clipped given names serves a general addressing and referencing purposes and is regarded as polite and appropriate for people with all kinds of relationship. Full given names, on the other hand, mark increased politeness that is expected amongst distantly related people. Thus, other things being equal, the use of full given names to address or refer to somebody closely related is often deemed as insincerity on the addresser's or referrer's part, whereas the

use of a moniker to address or refer to somebody distantly related is usually regarded as absence of due respect and absence of politeness.

5.1.3 In Relation to Choice of Kinship Terms

Unlike pronouns and names, kinship terms, as the data reveal, function as the most common type of anaphora in Kham Muang as far as the speaker's relationship with the addressee and the referent is concerned. That is to say, the use of kinship terms as first-person, second-person, and third-person anaphors is common regardless of whether the speaker and the addressee and/or the referent are in close-proximity, medial-proximity, or distant-proximity relationship. However, differences in the choice of kinship terms may be observed between their addressing and referencing functions as well as between addresses and references made to kinspersons and non-kinspersons.

Of special note, there is an intonational characteristic, that is, the intonational pitch, that may accompany or mark the addressing function of a kinship term. Although Kham Muang is a tone language in which tones are used to contrast meanings and the syllables of each word are assigned particular tones, it also makes use of intonation by superimposing an intonational pitch onto an existing tone. According to Cruttenden (1986), this can be done in four major ways: (i) rising or lowering of the pitch level of the whole utterance; (ii) downdrift in the absolute value of tones; (iii) narrowing or widening of pitch range; and (iv) modification of the final tone of the utterance in one way or another.

As the data reveal, it is frequently found that a kinship term being used for an addressing purpose undergoes rising of the pitch level of its tone. In other words, the rising intonational pitch overrides the tone of the kinship term being used to refer to a person, whether pre-conversationally or inter-conversationally. The pitch difference caused by the superimposed intonation may be subliminal in the case of kinship terms already having a high or rising tone, such as /nɔ́ːŋ/ ('younger sibling'), but is obvious in the case of kinship terms with a high-falling or mid tone, such as /ʔâːj/ ('elder brother'). The following spectrographic representation (Figure 5.3) demonstrates the intonational pitch superimposed on the kinship term /ʔâːj/ for the addressing function. The two pitch-lines on the left represent the non-intonated pronunciation of the term /ʔâːj/, whilst the two pitch-lines on the right represent the pronunciation of the same term with an intonational pitch superimposed for the addressing function.

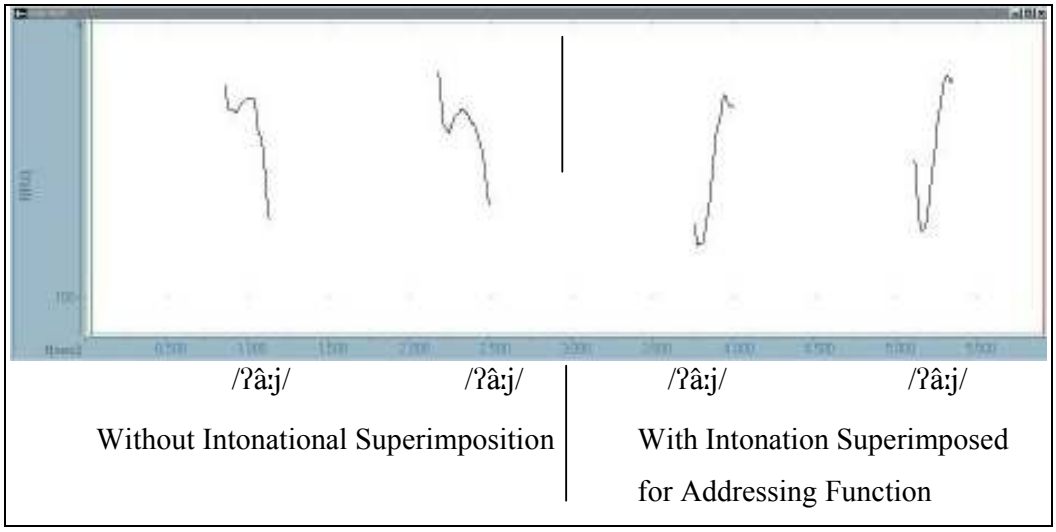

Figure 5.3 Intonational Superimposition For Addressing Function

5.1.3.1 Use Patterns by Kinspersons

In the case of addresses made to close, medial, or distant kinspersons, the speaker usually adopts the kinship term that represents the actual type of kin-relationship that the speaker has to the kinsperson in question. For this purpose, all Kham Muang basic kinship terms can be used in accord with the kin-relationship, that is, the basic lineal terms /mɔ̀n/ (‘great-grandparent’), /ʔúj/ (‘grandparent’), /pùː/ (‘father’s father’), /ɲāː/ (‘father’s mother’), /tǎː/ (‘mother’s father’), /ɲaːj/ (‘mother’s mother’), /pɔ̄ː/ (‘father’), /mæ̀ː/ (‘mother’), /ʔâːj/ (‘elder brother’), /pīː/ (‘elder sister’), /nɔ́ːŋ/ (‘younger sibling’), /lūːk/ (‘child’), and /lǎːn/ (‘grandchild’), and the basic collateral terms /luŋ/ (‘parent’s elder brother’), /pâː/ (‘parent’s elder sister’), /ʔaː/ (‘father’s younger sibling’), /náː/ (‘mother’s younger sibling’), and /lǎːn/ (‘niece; nephew’). In Example 30 below, participant 1 (P1) address her mother’s elder brother (P2) and her mother’s father (P3) by using the terms /luŋ/ and /taː/ respectively.

Example 30: Lineal Kinship Terms Used to Address Lineal Kinspersons

P1: ... luŋ læːŋ níː paː taː

… parent's elder brother evening this take mother's father

paj ŋaːnpɔːj wát haw bɔ̌ː. taː paj toːj

go temple fair temple we PPC-Q mother's father go with

luŋ nɔ̄ː.

parent's elder brother PPC-R

'… Uncle, this evening why don't you take grandfather to the fair at our temple? Grandfather, why don't you go with uncle?'

P2: dâj kàː. luŋ tɨŋt ʃǎʔ paj ɲùːlǽːw.

can PPC-A parent's elder brother no matter will go surely

'Of course. I will surely go there anyway.'

P3 paj kàː.

go PPC-A

'I certainly will.'

However, if the speaker and the addressee are affinally related, such as being spouses or in-laws, lineal kinship terms are normally employed in lieu of affinal terms. In the Example 31, participant 1 (P1) addresses his wife, participant 2 (P2), by using the term /nɔ́ːŋ/, which literally means 'younger sibling', in stead of /mia/, which literally means 'wife'. Participant 1 then addresses his wife's mother, participant 3 (P3), by using the term /mǣː/, which literally means 'mother', in stead of /mǣːtʰâw/, which means 'mother-in-law'.

Example 31: Lineal Kinship Terms Used to Address Affinal Kinspersons

P1:	...	wannír nɔ́ːŋ		tʃǎʔ	paj	kʰɪ̄nhɨanmàj	kɔ̀ː.
	…	today	younger sibling	will	go	housewarming	PPC-Q

'… Are you going to the housewarming today?'

P2:	paj	kàː.	
	go	PPC-A	

'Of course.'

P1	mǣː	lɔː.	paj	toːjkǎn	bɔ̌ː.
	mother	PPC-Q	go	together	PPC-Q

'How about you? Why don't you come with us?'

The use of kinship terms for kinsperson-referencing purposes is described as follows. Basically, like in the addressing function, people who are kinspersons, whether closely, medially, or distantly related, tend to choose the kinship terms for anaphoric purposes on the basis of the actual kin-relationship that they have with the referents. To understand this process clearly, we need to examine such anaphoric use of kinship terms by focusing on first-person, second-person, and third-person anaphora.

For first-person anaphora, in a given conversation event in which all of the participants present are kinspersons, the speaker (which can be anyone and everyone of the participants) may refer to himself/herself by using many possible lineal or collateral kinship terms. The choice is made according to the kinsperson-participant to whom s/he is speaking and the actual kin-relationship s/he has with that particular kinsperson-participant. In Example 32 below, all of the three participants and the referent are kinspersons. Participant 1 (P1) is participant 2's (P2) elder sister, and participant 3 (P3) is the mother of participants 1 and 2. Participant 1 refers to herself using the term /pī:/ ('elder sister') when speaking to her younger sister and the term /lū:k/ ('child') when speaking to her mother. Participant 2, when speaking to her elder sister, uses the term /nɔ́:ŋ/ ('younger sibling') to refer to herself. And their mother, participant 3, uses the term /mǣ:/ ('mother') to refer to herself when speaking to her children.

Example 32: Kinship Terms Used by Kinspersons as First-Person Anaphors

P1: ... tàwaː pīː paj ŋaːn wankɜ̀ːt tʃǔm. tʃǔm
… yesterday elder sister go party birthday Jum Jum
tʰǎːm tʰɤ̌ŋ nɔ́ːŋ toːj.
asked to younger sibling too
'… yesterday I went to Jum's birthday party. She asked about you too.'

P2: nɔ́ːŋ kɔ̀ː kʰāj paj ɲùː tæ̀ː nɔ́ːŋ
younger sibling PC want go still but younger sibling
tʃěphŭa.
headache
'I did want to go but I had a headache.'

P3: mǣː kɔ̀ː lɜːj wāː bɔ̀ː paj kɔ̀ː dâj.
mother PC so say not go PC can
'So I said she didn't have to go.'

P1: ʔɤ́ː lūːk kɔ̀ː bɔ̀ː húː wāː nɔ́ːŋ bɔ̀ː sàbaːj.
PC-EXC child PC not know that younger sibling not well
tʰâː húː lūːk tʃǎʔ dâj bɔ̀ːk tʃǔm. nɔ́ːŋ
if know child will can tell Jum younger sibling
ʔán pīː tʰoː bɔ̀ːk tʃǔm nɜ̄ː
so elder sister phone tell Jum PPC-I
'Oh dear! I didn't know she was unwell. If I'd known that, I would have told Jum so. So, little sis, I'll phone Jum to let her know now.'

Second-person anaphora used by kinspersons is normally based upon the actual kin-relationship that each addressee has to the speaker in a given conversation event. Like in first-person reference, the kinship terms used for second-person reference purposes are almost exclusively lineal and collateral terms, even if the reference is being made to an affinal kinsperson. In the conversation event excerpt below (Example 33), the speaker (P1) addresses and refers to each of the other participants by using a lineal and collateral kinship term according to his/her kin-relationship with him, using /ʔúj/

(‘grandparent’) to address and refer to participant 2 (P2), who is his father’s father, /luŋ/ (‘mother’s elder brother’) to address and refer to participant 3 (P3), who is his mother’s elder sister’s husband, and /náː/ (‘mother’s younger sister’) to address and refer to participant 4 (P4), who is his mother’s younger sister.

Example 33: Kinship Terms Used by Kinspersons as Second-Person Anaphors

P1: ... ʔúj ɲĩːpeŋ pĭː níː ʔúj
… grandparent floating festival year this grandparent
tʃăʔ tʃūaj wát păːŋ pàtŭːpàː kɔ̀ː.
will help temple build foliar archway PPC-Q
‘… Grandfather, will you help our temple make a foliar archway for this year’s floating festival?’

P2: păːŋ kàː. ʔúj păːŋ kúʔ pĭː lɔː.
build PPC-A grandparent build every year PPC-A
‘I sure will. I build it every year.’

P1: luŋ kɔ̀ː tʃăʔ paj tʃūaj păːŋ toːj kâː.
mother’s elder brother PC will go help build with PPC-D
ʔán pɜ̄n tʃūaj náː păːŋ kàtʰoŋ nɜ̄ː.
so I help mother’s younger sister build float PPC-I
‘You’ll help grandpa build it too, right, uncle? If so, I will help aunt make floats.’

P4: diː lǽːw. náː tằː bɔ̀ː kʰɔ̄j diː.
good then mother’s younger sister eye not quite good
‘Good. My eyes are not so good now.’

P3: luŋ tɨŋ paj tʃūaj.
mother’s elder brother no matter go help
‘I’ll go help, no matter what.’

P1: luŋ pʰɔ̀ː ʔúj diːdiː nɜ̄ː
mother’s elder brother look grandparent well PPC-R
‘Uncle, do take good care of grandpa.’

In cases of third-person anaphora, the speaker's choice of kinship terms is also based upon the actual relationship s/he has to the kinsperson to whom s/he refers. A slight difference should be noted, though, between the use of kinship terms for third-person anaphora and for first-person and second-person anaphora. Whereas the kinship terms used for first-person and second-person anaphora are almost exclusively from the lineal and collateral domains, third-person anaphora also allows affinal terms in addition. In Example 34 below, the speaker (P2), whilst talking to the other participant (P1), refers to three referents, one being the speaker's wife, another the speaker's younger sister, and the other his younger sister's husband, to whom the speaker refers by using the affinal term /mia/ ('wife'), the lineal term /nɔ́ːŋsǎːw/ ('younger sister') and the affinal term /nɔ́ːŋkʰɜ̌ːj/ ('younger sister's husband'), respectively.

Example 34: Kinship Terms Used by Kinspersons as Third-Person Anaphors

P2:	...	pǐːmàj	paj	wát	toːj	pʰǎj.			
	…	New Year	go	temple	with	who			
	'… For the New Year, who will you go to the temple with?'								
P1:	paj	kǎp	mia.	lǽːw	kɔ̀ː	nɔ́ːŋsǎːw	kǎp		
	go	with	wife	then	PC	younger sister	with		
	nɔ́ːŋkʰɜ̌ːj			tʃǎʔ	pík	bâːn.	kɔ̀ː	paj	toːjkǎn
	younger sister's husband			will	return	home	PC	go	together
	mŏt	nāːkàː							
	all	PPC-E							
	'With my wife. Also, my younger sister and brother-in-law will come back home. So we will all go together.'								

The use of kinship terms for addressing and referencing purposes is not only on the basis of the actual kin-relationship that each kinsperson has to another. There is another pattern commonly found amongst kinspersons. In this pattern, which applies to both addressing and referencing anaphors, the choice of kinship terms used in a conversation event is conditioned not by each participant's actual kin-relationship with another, but in stead by the type of kin-relationship of the one participant who is the 'centre of attention' of a given conversation event or of the entire family or household. In many cases observed, the so-called 'centre of attention' is likely to be a son or a daughter (or a grandson or a granddaughter) of the family. To address and refer to his/her kinspersons, the centre-of-attention person naturally chooses the kinship terms according to his/her actual kin-relationship with his/her kinspersons. When the centre-of-attention person is present, together with his/her kinspersons, in a conversation event, the other kinspersons usually adopt the kinship terms used by this centre-of-

attention person. Over time, such centre-of-attention-person-based choice of anaphora tends to become the anaphoric norm of the family or household even in the absence of the centre-of-attention person in question. Such an anaphoric choice tends to continue perhaps until the emergence of a new centre-of-attention person.

This may explain why it is possible for a Kham Muang speaker to refer to a kinsperson of his/hers by using a kinship term that seems to 'contradict' the actual kin-relationship. A case has been observed, for instance, where a female child refers to her father's younger sister by using the term /náː/ ('mother's younger sibling') in stead of /ʔaːː/ ('father's younger sibling'). Further observation has revealed that her father does have an elder sister, making a total of three siblings: the eldest is female, the second male, and the youngest female. The eldest (female) has a son, who once was the centre of attention of the household. The second (male) has a daughter. And the youngest (female) is unmarried. Thus the son of the eldest one would naturally address and refer to both the second and the youngest ones as /náː/, as they are his mother's younger siblings. The use of this term has been established in the household and adopted also by the second one's daughter in addressing and referring to the youngest one. In other words, between these two cousins, the elder cousin has made an anaphoric choice based on his relationship with his elder relatives, and the younger cousin assumes that choice even though it 'contradicts' the real relationship between her and her father's younger sister.

In one of the conversation events observed, the participants included the father (P2), the mother (P3), and the daughter (P1), who were all planning to pay a visit to the father's mother. The daughter, who was apparently the centre-of-attention person, referred to her father's mother by using the term /ʔúj/ ('grandparent'), which precisely represented the relationship. The father also adopted the term /ʔúj/—in stead of /mǣː/, which meant 'mother' and represented the actual relationship between him and his mother—to refer to his own mother; also, the mother adopted the same term, /ʔúj/, to refer to her mother-in-law, as illustrated in the following excerpt (Example 35).

Example 35: Centre-of-Attention Person's Use of Kinship Terms as Third-Person Anaphors

P1: ... wannír paj háp ʔúj paj kǐn kʰâw bǒː.
… today go pick grandparent go eat rice PPC-Q
'… Why don't we take grandmother out for a meal today?'

P2: kɔ̀ː dâj. pɔ̄ː tʃǎʔ paj sɨ́ː kʰua pǐːmàj poːdiː.
PC can father will go buy thing New Year meanwhile
haw háp ʔúj paj toːj lɜːj nɔ̄ː.
we pick grandparent go with take the chance PPC-R
'Why not? I have to do some New Year shopping anyway. So let's pick grandmother up first and we will all go together.'

P3: ʔán mǣː tʰoː bɔ̀ːk ʔúj nɔ̄ː. ʔúj
so mother phone tell grandparent PPC-R grandparent
tʃǎʔ dâj tiamtŭa.
will can prepare
'Then I will call grandmother now to let her know, so that she will get ready.'

These patterns of kinship terms usage by kinspersons can be summarised as in Figure 5.4 below.

Function / Type	Function-Based Usage			
	Address	**First-Person Reference**	**Second-Person Reference**	**Third-Person Reference**
Lineal	Common	Common	Common	Common
Collateral	Common	Common	Common	Common
Affinal	Uncommon	Uncommon	Uncommon	Common

Figure 5.4 Use of Kinship Terms by Kinspersons

5.1.3.2 Use Patterns by Non-Kinspersons

The extended use of kinship terms as terms of address and reference amongst non-kinsperson Kham Muang speakers is a common practice. Kinship terms are widely used as such by non-kinspersons, regardless of whether the speaker and the addressee or the referent are in close-proximity, medial-proximity, or distant-proximity relationship. However, the following patterns concerning the addressing and referencing functions can be observed.

For addressing purposes, it is common for Kham Muang speaking non-kinspersons, regardless of the proximity of relationship, to address one another by using kinship terms. However, it should be noted that not all kinship terms can be used to serve this purpose. According to the data, the kinship terms commonly used by non-kinspersons to address one another include the lineal terms /ʔâːj/ (‘elder brother’), /p̄iː/ (‘elder sister’), /nɔ́ːŋ/ (‘younger sibling’), and /ʔúj/ (‘grandparent’), and the collateral terms /luŋ/ (‘parent’s elder brother’) and /pâː/ (‘parent’s elder sister’). In Example 36 below, the speaker (P1), who is visiting a temple fair, addresses a couple, who are complete strangers, by using the terms /luŋ/ (‘parent’s elder brother’) and /pâː/ (‘parent’s elder sister’). (The concatenation of kinship terms and names is also common and will be discussed in its relevant section.)

Example 36: Lineal Kinship Terms Used as Address Terms

P1:	...	pâː	tʃâw	mīːkʰànǒmsên	
	…	parent’s elder sister	PPC-PL	fried Northern Thai noodles	
	pɜ̄n	kʰǎːj	taːŋdaj	tʃâw.	
	they	sell	where	PPC-PL	
	‘... Auntie, where could I buy friend Northern Thai noodles?’				
P2:	làːj	tàwantŏk	kʰɔ̌ːŋ	wíhǎːn	tʃâw.
	side	sunset	of	vihara	PPC-PL
	‘At the west side of the vihara.’				

P1:	pâː	tʃâw	luŋ		tʃâw
	parent’s elder sister	PPC-PL	parent’s elder brother		PPC-PL
	nɔ́ːŋ	ɲindiː	tʃát	nák	tʃâw
	younger sibling	thanks	so	much	PPC-PL
	‘Thanks a lot, auntie and uncle.’				

For referencing purposes, first-person and second-person reference involves a somewhat different use pattern from third-person reference. In a conversation event, the kinship terms that can be used by non-kinspersons usually include /ʔâːj/ (‘elder brother’), /p̄iː/ (‘elder sister’), /nɔ́ːŋ/ (‘younger sibling’), and /ʔúj/ (‘grandparent’), and the collateral terms /luŋ/ (‘parent’s elder brother’) and /pâː/ (‘parent’s elder sister’), just like in the addressing function. The exchange of utterances Example 37 below is the continuation of the conversation presented in the previous example. Here, in the on-going conversation, the speaker (P1) refers to herself using the term /nɔ́ːŋ/ and to the newly met couple using the terms /luŋ/ and /pâː/. In response, the elderly couple refer to themselves using the terms /luŋ/ (P3) and /pâː/ (P2) and to the speaker using the term /nɔ́ːŋ/.

Example 37: Lineal Kinship Terms Used as First-Person and Second-Person Reference Terms

P2: ... nɔ́ːŋ maː ʔæ̀w kʰondiaw kaː.
… younger sibling come travel alone PPC-Q
‘… Have you come to this fair alone.’

P1: bɔ̀ː tʃâw. maː toːj pɔ̄ː kă̱p mǣː tʃâw.
no PPC-PL come with father with mother PPC-PL
‘No, I am with father and mother.’

P2: pâː kɔ̀ː wāː. pâː bɔ̀ː
parent’s elder sister PC say parent’s elder sister not
lām hă̱n mǣːŋniŋ ʔæ̀w kʰondiaw mī̱akʰɨːn.
often see woman travel alone at night
‘So I think. I have hardly seen a woman going to a fair alone at night.’

P3: luŋ wāː nɔ́ːŋ kʰàtʃă̱j paj hă̱ː
parent’s elder brother say younger sibling hurry go meet
pɔ̄ː kă̱p mǣː tɘ́ʔ. pɜ̄n tʃă̱ʔ kɔːŋ hă̱ː.
father with mother PPC-R they will look search
‘I think you should hurry back to be with your parents. They are probably looking for you.’

For third-person anaphora, on the other hand, non-kinspersons, whether closely, medially, or distantly related, rarely use kinship terms in isolation as terms of reference. The only possible exception is when the third-person in question is present in the communicative event, in which case it is contextually obvious that the person being referred to is a non-kinsperson. A third-person not present in the communicative event is usually referred to by a concatenated form made up of a kinship term and a name. Such distinction in use is a mechanism that marks referential contrasts between references made to kinsperson and those made to non-kinspersons.

As an illustration, if one refers to another (not present in the conversation event) by using a kinship term like /p̄i:/ ('elder sister'), it is automatically assumed that s/he is referring to his/her own elder sister. If the one to whom s/he is referring is not his/her kinsperson, s/he is supposed to use a concatenated form consisting of /p̄i:/ ('elder sister') and a name, such as /p̄i:dæ:ŋ/, which means 'elder sister by the name of Daeng'. However, such a concatenated form may also serve a defining purpose when used by kinspersons.

These patterns of kinship terms usage by non-kinspersons can be summarised as in Figure 5.5 below.

Function / Type	Function-Based Usage			
	Address	**First-Person Reference**	**Second-Person Reference**	**Third-Person Reference**
Lineal (i.e., /ʔâ:j/, /p̄i:/, //nɔ́:ŋ/, /ʔúj/)	Common	Common	Common	Uncommon
Collateral (i.e., /luŋ/, /pâ:/)	Common	Common	Common	Uncommon
Affinal	Uncommon	Uncommon	Uncommon	Uncommon

Figure 5.5 Use of Kinship Terms by Non-Kinspersons

5.1.3.3 Social and Cultural Discussion

The use of kinship terms in Kham Muang as terms of address and reference both by kinspersons and non-kinspersons signifies certain aspects of Kham Muang speakers' society and culture. The use of lineal and collateral kinship terms and the avoidance of affinal kinship terms amongst kinspersons, regardless of the proximity of their relationship, correspond to Northern Thai society's nature, whose principal form of organisation involves patriarchy and patrilineality but whose marriage custom is matrilocal. In this type of social organisation, when a man—a father-to-be—gets married, he moves to live with his wife's community, but he usually maintains control over the social institutions and the dominant ideology. Despite being in the surrounding originally not his own, the man becomes a central figure—a figure of authority, influence, and

recognition—in such a way that a new kinship circle, one involving the man, is established viricentrically, that is, with the man being the centre of this new circle. It is customary that the man's wife and her relatives accept him as though he were a lineal or a collateral kinsperson, rather than an affine. Therefore, in such a matrilocal condition, into which a man is wedded and where he has assumed the customary patriarchal and patrilineal status and been acknowledged as a blood relative, the necessity for the use of affinal kinship terms is minimised.

Meanwhile, non-kinspersons' use of kinship terms as terms of address and terms of first-person and second-person reference, regardless of their relationship proximity, characterises the function of kinship as a mechanism to maintain social harmony and order. The importance of Kham Muang kinship terms lies not only in their denotative concepts but also in their socio-connotative meanings. Structured in such a way that seniority is emphasised, the Kham Muang kinship system and its terms serve as a reminder of seniority-based social hierarchy. When one uses a kinship term to address or refer to a non-kinsperson or a stranger, s/he is not primarily communicating the term's denotative meaning, but rather its socio-connotative sense, which represents Kham Muang speakers' friendly attitudes towards non-kinspersons as well as their respect and anticipation of reciprocated respect—like that typically exchanged amongst kinspersons—conveyed in an implied manner through the use of kinship terms. For instance, when one addresses a male stranger using the term /ʔâːj/ ('elder brother'), s/he is conveying due respect to the addressee, implying acknowledgement that because the addressee is likely to be senior to him/her, the addressee is therefore worthy of a kind of respect that a real elder brother normally deserves. In return, the addressee, the man called /ʔâːj/, would normally respond by referring to the addresser by using the term /nɔ́ːŋ/ ('younger sibling'), which implicitly conveys like friendliness and affection, with a hint of authority or superiority. This function of kinship terms helps preserve the closely knitted nature of Northern Thai society, contributing to the maintenance of social harmony and order.

5.1.4 In Relation to Choice of Career/Status Terms

The choice of career or status terms for anaphoric purposes is also determined by the relationship of the speaker to the addressee and the referent. The process whereby such relationship may condition the choice of career or status terms is discussed below in relation to its social and cultural significance.

5.1.4.1 Use Patterns

If the addressee or the referent has a close relationship with the speaker, career or status terms are seldom used, whether as terms of address or terms of first-person, second-person, and third-person reference. In stead, other anaphoric forms, such as pronouns, names, and kinship terms, are preferred. That is to say, it is uncommon for very close friends or close relatives to address or refer to each other using such terms as /mɔ̌ː/ ('physician'), /sàlàː/ ('craftsman'), /ʔaːtʃǎːn, kʰuː/ ('teacher'), or /nǎːn/ ('ex-monk').

Next, if the speaker has a medial-proximity or distant-proximity relationship with the addressee and the referent, s/he is likely to use career or status terms for addressing and second-person and third-person referencing purposes. The use of career or status terms as first-person anaphors has been seldom found in ordinary situations, but it is common only in the case that the speaker (first person) and the addressee (second

person) are in a occupationally reciprocal relationship, such as physician-patient, teacher-student, and craftsman-client relationships.

In Example 38 below, participants 1 and 2 (P1 and P2), who are in medial-proximity relationship, as neighbours, address and refer to each other using the career terms /sàlàː/ (‘craftsman’) and /kʰuː/ (‘teacher’), according to their respective occupations. During the conversation, both participants refer to a third party, a physician who is also their neighbour and whom they only slightly know (distant-proximity relationship), by using the term /mɔ̌ː/ (‘physician’).

Example 38: Medial and Distant Relationship and Use of Career/Status Terms

P2:	...	kʰuː	kʰáp	kʰɨ̃nhɨanmàj		kʰuː	tʃǎʔ	tʃɜːn
	…	teacher	PPC-PL	housewarming		teacher	will	invite
	kʰæːk	nák	kɔ̀ː	kʰáp.				
	guest	many	PPC-Q	PPC-PL				
	‘Teacher, are you going to invite many guests to your housewarming?’							
P1:	tʃɜːn	kâː	tʃâwmùː	fíː	sànɨ̌t	táʔáʔ	sàlàː.	wāːtæ̀ː
	invite	just	friend	that	close	only	craftsman	by the way
	sàlàː	kɨ́t	wāː	pʰɔ̌m	tʃɜːn	pʰǎj	hǎm	diː.
	craftsman	think	that	I	invite	who	else	good
	‘I’m going to invite only close friends of mine, craftsman. By the way, who else do you think I should invite?’							
P2:	kʰuː	tʃɜːn	mɔ̌ː	kɔ̀ː.				
	teacher	invite	physician	PPC-Q				
	‘Will you invite the physician?’							
P1:	bɔ̀ːk	pɜ̄n	lǽːw	naː	tæ̀ː	bɔ̀ː	húː	pɜ̄n	tʃǎʔ
	tell	he	already	PPC-A	but	not	know	he	will
	maː	kɔ̀ː.	tʰâʔ	sàlàː	pǎʔ	mɔ̌ː	bɔ̀ːk	pɜ̄n	
	come	PPC-Q	if	craftsman	meet	physician	tell	he	
	hǎm	kam	dâj	kɔ̀ː.					
	again	time	can	PPC-Q					
	‘I told him already, but I don’t know if he will come. If you see him, could please you remind him?’								

P2: dâj kàː kʰuːˑ.
can PPC-A teacher
'Certainly, teacher.'

The influence of inter-participant relationship on the choice of career or status terms can be summarised as in Figure 5.6 below.

Career/Status Terms / Relationship	Function-Based Usage			
	Address	**First-Person Reference**	**Second-Person Reference**	**Third-Person Reference**
Close	Uncommon	Uncommon	Uncommon	Uncommon
Medial	Common	Uncommon	Common	Common
Distant	Common	Uncommon	Common	Common

Figure 5.6 Inter-Participant Relationships and Career/Status Term Choice

5.1.4.2 Social and Cultural Discussion

As can be seen, career and status terms are widely used as anaphors in Kham Muang, especially in medial-proximity and distant-proximity relationships. As discussed earlier, occupational roles, together with the behaviour with which they are associated, are socially defined. In Northern Thai society, the highly honoured careers and religious statuses, from which anaphoric forms derive, are accompanied by particular social expectations; that is, teaching or educating is expected to be part of a teacher's role, diagnosing or giving health advice part of a physician's role, building or fixing things part of a craftsman's role, and presenting religious teachings part of a former monk or former novice. The anaphoric application of terms denoting these careers or statuses inevitably signals the social expectations these career or status terms connote and functions as a mechanism that maintains social order through respectful recognition of honoured careers and statuses.

However, the use of career or status terms almost has no place in close-proximity relationships. Addressing or referring to somebody by using such terms is not only a means of recognising the addressee's or referent's role as such, but also an implicit way of demanding social behaviour of which the carrier of such role is expected. As a result, in close-proximity relationships, the maintenance of such expectations is usually regarded as counterproductive, as such expectations normally widen interpersonal gaps. According to Dodd (1991, p. 47), in close interpersonal relationship, personal stress caused by social roles and their expectations can be generally reduced once role-related gaps are narrowed.

5.1.5 In Relation to Choice of Phrasal Anaphors

The influence of the speaker's relationship with the addressee and the referent on the choice of phrasal anaphors is examined under three categories according to the structures of phrasal anaphors. Thus the different degrees of inter-participant relationship will be discussed in terms of their effects on the choice of concatenated basic anaphors, particle-prefixed anaphors, and other phrasal anaphors.

5.1.5.1 Use Patterns of Concatenated Basic Anaphors

Generally, in all kinds of inter-participant relationship, namely, close-proximity, medial-proximity, and distant-proximity relationships, whether amongst kinspersons or non-kinspersons, concatenated anaphors made up of kinship terms and names can be used for addressing, second-person reference, and third-person reference functions, but hardly for first-person reference function, except perhaps amongst close kinspersons. Below (Example 39) is an excerpt of a conversation in which the speaker (P1), the addressee (P2), and the referent know one another very well, as the addressee and the referent are cousins. Note that all of them employ concatenates of kinship terms and names as terms of address and reference.

Example 39: Close Relationship and Use of Concatenates of Kinship Terms and Names

P1: ... kamdiaw pīːnan tʃǎʔ wǽʔ sɨ́ː

… moment elder sister named Nan will stop buy

k^{h}ɔ̌ːk^{h}wǎn wankɜ̀ːt hɨ̄ː náːp^{h}oŋ

present birthday give mother's younger sibling named Phong

kɔ̀ː.

PPC-Q

'Are you going to stop at a shop to buy a birthday present for Uncle Phong?'

P2: wāː tʃǎʔ tʃuan nɔ́ːŋsǎːj

say will persuade younger sibling named Saay

pɔːdiː.

incidentally

'I was about to ask you to come along.'

The following excerpt (Example 40) illustrates a medial or distant relationship and its influence on the use of forms made up of kinship terms and names. In this excerpt, the speaker (P1) and the addressee (P2), who know each other distantly in the customer-vendor capacity, both adopt this type of phrasal anaphor to address each other and refer to a third party, whom they know in the capacity of a fellow vendor. Note that this type of phrasal anaphor is not commonly used for first-person reference in these relationships; in stead, kinship terms are preferred.

Example 40: Medial and Distant Relationship and Use of Concatenates of Kinship Terms and Names

P1:	...	nóːŋmon		pǎːtʰuː		miː	pʰǎw	saːw
	…	younger sibling named Mon		mackerel		have	reach	twenty
	kʰèŋ	kɔ̀ː.	ʔâːj	kʰāj	dâj	paj	ɲam	
	tray	PPC-Q	elder brother	wish	get	go	mix	
	lía̯ŋ	pī̀an	ʔâːj	kàsǐan.				
	treat	friend	elder brother	retire				
	‘Mon, have you as many as 20 trays of mackerels? I want them for my spicy salad to treat a friend of mine who has just retired from work.’							
P2:	kʰɔːŋ	nɔ́ːŋ		miː	tík	sǐpsɔ̌ːŋ	kʰèŋ	táʔáʔ.
	of	younger sibling		have	only	twelve	tray	just
	ʔâːjtʃæ̂ː			lɔːŋ		paj	tʰǎːm	
	elder brother named Jae			try		go	ask	
	luŋsɔ̌ːn				bɔ̌ː.			
	parent's elder brother named Sorn				PPC-Q			
	‘I have as many as 12 trays. Why don’t you go ask Uncle Sorn?’							
P1:	ʔán	ʔâːj	ʔaw	sǐpsɔ̌ːŋ	kʰèŋ.	hǎ̌m	pæ̀ːt	tʃǎʔ
	so	elder brother	get	twelve	tray	other	eight	will
	paj	ʔaw	tīː	luŋsɔ̌ːn.				
	go	get	at	parent's elder brother named Sorn				
	‘Then I’ll get 12 from you and the other 8 from Uncle Sorn.’							

The use of anaphors composed of kinship terms and names in relation to inter-participant relationship can be summarised as in Figure 5.7 below.

Kinship Terms + Names / Relationship	Function-Based Usage			
	Address	**First-Person Reference**	**Second-Person Reference**	**Third-Person Reference**
Close	Common	Uncommon	Common	Common
Medial	Common	Uncommon	Common	Common
Distant	Common	Uncommon	Common	Common

Figure 5.7 Inter-Participant Relationships and Use of Phrasal Anaphors Composed of Kinship Terms and Names

The concatenated forms containing career or status terms, on the other hand, are commonly used by participants with medial-proximity and distant-proximity relationships and are hardly found to be employed by closely related participants. Such forms may be composed of career/status terms and names, kinship terms and career/status terms, or kinship terms plus career/status terms and names. Like phrasal anaphors made up of kinship terms and names, the forms in this group are almost never used for first-person reference. The excerpt below (Example 41) illustrates the use of anaphors of this type, by the speaker (P1) and the addressee (P2) and the person to whom they refer, all of whom are medially related, as neighbours.

Example 41: Medial and Distant Relationship and Use of Concatenates of Kinship Terms and Names

P1: ... wanp^{h}ūːk sàlàːwăj maː k^{hr}ɨnhɨanmàj

… tomorrow craftsman named Wai come housewarming

p^{h}ŏm kɔ̀ː.

I PPC-Q

'Tomorrow will you come to my housewarming?'

P2: maː kàː. ʔatʃăːnbun miː ɲăŋ hɨ́ː

come PPC-A teacher named Boon have what give

p^{h}ŏm tʃūaj kɔ̀ː.

I help PPC-Q

'I surely will. Is there anything I can do to help you?'

P1: t^{h}âː sàlàːwăj păʔ nămːnk^{h}oŋ

if craftsman named Wai meet ex-monk named Khong

tʃūaj bɔ̀ːk nămːnk^{h}oŋ wāː p^{h}ŏm

help tell ex-monk named Khong that I

tʃăʔ paj háp túːtʃâw k^{h}ondiaw. hɨ́ː

will go pick monk by myself give

nămːnk^{h}oŋ t^{h}āː fɨ́ː bâːn p^{h}ŏm nɜ̄ː.

ex-monk named Khong wait at house I PPC-R

k^{h}ɔ̀ːpk^{h}un tʃāːt nák.

thank you so much

'If you see Khong the ex-monk, please tell him that I will pick up the monks by myself, and ask him to wait at my house. Thanks a lot.'

The use of anaphors concatenated forms containing career or status terms in relation to inter-participant relationship can be summarised as in Figure 5.8 below.

Anaphors with Career/Status Terms / Relationship	Function-Based Usage			
	Address	**First-Person Reference**	**Second-Person Reference**	**Third-Person Reference**
Close	Uncommon	Uncommon	Uncommon	Uncommon
Medial	Common	Uncommon	Common	Common
Distant	Common	Uncommon	Common	Common

Figure 5.8 Inter-Participant Relationships and Use of Phrasal Anaphors with Career/ Status Terms as Components

5.1.5.2 Use Patterns of Particle-Prefixed Anaphors

Inter-participant relationship plays an important part in determining the use of particle-prefixed anaphors, applying both to those consisting of particles and basic anaphors (i.e., /bàː/, /ʔàj/, and /ʔiː/ plus basic anaphors) and those consisting of particles and other lexemes (i.e., /bàː/, /ʔàj/, and /ʔiː/ plus other lexemes). The prefixal particles used in forming anaphors in this group (namely, /bàː/, /ʔàj/, and /ʔiː/) may entail different attitudes towards the addressee or the referent, depending on whether they are used in their ordinary sense or intimate sense; therefore, their usages are strictly conditioned by the proximity of inter-participant relationship.

Generally, close-proximity relationships allow the use of these particle-prefixed anaphors, but only as terms of address and third-person reference. In such relationships, the anaphors are considered to convey a sense of intimacy or affection, and hence no offence is caused. This is illustrated by the excerpt below (Example 42), in which two university contemporaries (P1 and P2) are talking about another contemporary of theirs.

Example 42: Close Relationship and Use of Particle-Prefixed Anaphors

P1:	...	bàːsǎn	kʰiŋ	tʃǎʔ	paj	pʰɔ̀ː	kàtʰoŋ	ɲàj
	…	‘Mr’ San	you	will	go	watch	float	big
	toːj	haː	kǎp	ʔiːdaːw		ʔiːkěː	kɔ̀ː.	
	with	I	with	‘Ms’ Dao		‘Ms’ Kay	PPC-Q	

‘San, will you join me and Dao and Kay to see the big floats?’

P2:	paj	kàː.	ʔàjtʃɔːn	kɔ̀ː	paj	lɔː.
	go	PPC-A	‘Mr’ Jon	PC	go	PPC-A

‘Certainly. Jon will also go.’

Moreover, close relationships amongst kinspersons also allow the use of terms made up of the particle /ʔiː/ attached to the lineal kinship term /pɔ̄ː/ (‘father’, hence /ʔiːpɔ̄ː/), /mǣː/ (‘mother’, hence /ʔiːmǣː/), /p̄iː/ (‘elder sister’, hence /ʔiːp̄iː/), or /nɔ̄ːŋ/ (‘younger sibling’, hence /ʔiːnɔ́ːŋ/). These terms, which signal kinship intimacy and affection, can be used both as terms of address and as terms of first-person, second-person, and third-person reference. (See Example 23.)

Conversely, people in medial-proximity or distant-proximity relationships usually avoid using these forms to address or refer to others, unless it is their intention to imply that the addressee or the referent is inferior, in the terms used, should they be heard or overheard, can offend or displease the addressee or the referent.

5.1.5.3 Use Patterns of Other Phrasal Anaphors

Kham Muang phrasal anaphors belong to two major types: regular noun phrases and possessive noun phrases. Regular noun phrases are generally not subject to any inter-participant condition, and thus can be used as terms of address and as third-person anaphors in close, medial, and distant relationships.

However, it must be noted that the special use of terms composed of the kinship terms /pùː/ (‘paternal grandparent’) and /ɲāː/ (‘maternal grandparent’) plus names (e.g., /pùːwǎj/), career/status terms (e.g., /pùːmɔ̌ː/), determiners (e.g., /ɲāːhān/), or modifiers (e.g., /ɲāːtûj/), is conditioned by the proximity of inter-participant relationship. In their special (non-literal) sense, the terms /pùː/ and /ɲāː/, hence their concatenated derivatives, imply troublesomeness or implacability (see section 1.3.1.1, 3). When used by people with a close-proximity relationship, these forms usually indicate troublesomeness on the part of the addressee or the referent, but in a playful or affectionate manner, so there is no offence caused. Conversely, people in medial-proximity or distant-proximity relationships usually avoid using these forms to address or refer to others, unless they intend to communicate their disapproving attitude towards the addressee or the referent, in which case offence or discontent can result if the terms used are heard or overheard.

Possessive noun phrases, almost all of which comprise kinship terms as the head elements, are commonly found in two usages as far as inter-participant relationships

are concerned. Firstly, and most frequently, this anaphoric device is used by closely related people—whether kinspersons or non-kinspersons—as a means to lessen the obviousness of relationships, especially those relationships that may imply the tabooed topic of sex. It is therefore not unusual for Kham Muang-speaking man, for example, to address or refer to his wife by using a phrase that means 'Little Kay's mother' in lieu of expressions equivalent to 'honey' (as a term of address) and 'my wife' (as a term of reference).

For medially or distantly related people, on the other hand, this anaphoric device is used as a means of identifying or specifying the addressee or the referent in case they do not know one another closely enough to address or refer to them by using applicable kinship terms or their names. Moreover, it can also be used as a polite means of maintaining social distance.

5.1.5.4 Social and Cultural Discussion

The anaphors discussed in this section can be associated with certain characteristics of social or cultural significance. To begin with, the widespread use of concatenated anaphoric terms containing kinship terms as the head elements functions as a de facto mechanism of maintaining social order. As seniority plays an important part in the Northern Thai social hierarchy, the age-oriented nature of Kham Muang lineal and collateral kinship terms serves as a sociolinguistic device that reminds communicators of such age-based social order. That said, it is therefore worth noting further that the perception of kin-like relation as an order-maintaining mechanism appears to underlie Northern Thai cultural values to the extent that very few addresses or references would be made without regard to kin-related seniority or juniority.

Quite contrary to the application of kinship terms, concatenated anaphors containing career or status terms tend reflect social recognition of each respective career or status. This, in other words, is society's mechanism that accords due recognition to career and statuses that are worthy of honour and respect. Meanwhile, it is a device that implies inter-participant distance, whether genuine or intended. Thus, if a Kham Muang-speaking person, in a general, informal situation, addresses someone with whom s/he has a close relationship by using a phrasal anaphor that begins with a career/status term, such address could be construed as a sign of the addresser's displeasure or annoyance.

Also of note is the Kham Muang use of possessive noun phrase as anaphors by closely related kinspersons or non-kinspersons in the presence of medially or distantly related people. Such use is not for identifying or specifying purposes, as there are many other anaphoric devices capable or better serving these purposes. This use is likelier related to the attitude of indirectness, which is regarded as a norm of politeness in Northern Thai society. That is, the anaphoric forms of this class function as euphemistic terms of address and reference in lieu of certain terms associable with quasi-taboo concepts. The terms that explicitly denote marital relationships, namely, /p^{h}ŭa/ ('husband') and /mia/ ('wife'), tend to be avoided as they carry a slight sexual overtone. Consequently, such terms are replaced with 'euphemistic' phrasal anaphors, mostly those containing the 'politer', more respectable, or more connotatively positive kinship terms like /pɔ̄ː/ ('father') and /mǣː/ ('mother').

5.2 The Addressee's or the Referent's Age and Generation in Relation to that of the Speaker

Based on the data, age and generation display a close co-functioning relationship. The speaker's age in relation to the addressee's and the referent's may be younger, equal, or older. In addition, there may be as many as five generational relationships in which the speaker and the addresser or referent may be related. These generational relationships include the same, the first filial, the second filial, the parental, the grandparental, and the great-grandparental generations. In case that the speaker regards his/her age and generational relationships with the addressee or the referent as the principal condition, each type of anaphora tends to be subject to the following conditions; however, certain types of anaphora may not be subject to the influence of all of the five generational factors.

5.2.1 In Relation to Choice of Pronouns

The influence of generational relationships on the speaker's choice of pronouns can be observed in two dimensions: firstly, whether the speaker is as old as, older than, or younger than the addressee or the referent; and secondly, whether the speaker is of the same generation as, an older generation than, or a younger generation than the addressee or referent. In terms of generation-pronoun correlations, the first and second filial generations can be combined as a younger generation, and the parental, grandparental, and great-grandparental generations as an older generation.

5.2.1.1 Use Patterns

In the majority of cases, generation-age conformity can be expected; that is, a person who is older by generation is also older by age. Based on the age and generation factors, *ceteris paribus*, if the speaker is as old as or older than, or belongs to the same generation as, or to an older generation than, the addressee and the referent, the speaker is expected to choose a casual or general pronoun as a term of address and also a term for first-person, second-person, and third-person reference. Formal pronouns, on the other hand, are rarely used. In Example 43, the two participants (P1 and P2), who are close friends of the same generation and approximately the same age, use the casual pronouns /haː/ ('I') and /kʰiŋ/ ('you') to refer to each other; also, they refer to a same-generation close friend of theirs (whose name is Maan) using the casual pronoun /man/ ('he'; 'she'; or 'it').

Example 43: Use of Pronouns with Addressee and Referent of the Same or a Younger Age and Generation

P1:	...	wan	pʰūːk	kʰiŋ	paj	taːŋ	daj.	
	…	day	next	you	go	way	which.	
	'… Where are you going tomorrow?'							
P2:	haː	tʃăʔ	paj	ʔæ̀w	pàtŭː	tāːpʰæːˑ	paj	kʰáwdaːw
	I	will	go	tour	gate	Tha Phae.	go	count down
	toj	pɜ̄n.						
	with	other						
	'I'll go to Tha Phae Gate to count down with other people.'							
P1:	ʔàjmă̄ːn	kɔ̀ː	kʰā̀j	paj.	kʰiŋ	tʃuan	man	paj	toːj	lǣː
	Maan	PC	want	go	you	persuadehe	go	with	PPC-C	
	'Maan wants to go too. Why don't you take him along?'									

On the contrary, a speaker who is of a younger age and/or generation than the addressee and the referent is likely to face more restrictions. For self-reference (first-person reference), the speaker is expected to use a general or formal pronoun. To refer to an older-generation referent, the speaker is also supposed to use a third-person general or formal pronoun. Casual pronouns are rarely used as they are considered impolite or disrespectful. However, it is worth noting that pronouns are rarely used for addressing and second-person referencing purposes; instead, a different anaphoric device, such as a kinship or a career term, may be preferred. In the excerpt below (Example 44), participant 1 (P1) uses the formal first-person pronoun /pʰŏm/ to refer to himself, the Central Thai borrowed abbreviated position term /pʰŏːʔɔː/ ('director') to refer to the older-age and older-generation addressee (P2), and the general pronoun /pɜ̄n/ to refer to the older-generation referent.

Example 44: Use of Pronouns with Addressee and Referent of an Older Age and Generation

P1:	...	pʰŏm	tʃăʔ	kʰɔ̌ː	pʰɔ̌ːʔɔː	paj	tʰàːjhūːp	ŋaːn
	…	I	will	ask	director	go	photograph	ceremony
	ʔintʰákʰɤ́in		kʰáp.					
	Inthakhil		PPC-PL					

'… I'd like to ask you, Mr Director, to allow me to go and take photos of the Inthakhil Ceremony.'[12]

P2:	kɔ̀ː	luŋdaː	paj	lǽːw	bɔ̀ː	tʃāj	kaː.
	PC	uncle Da	go	already	not	yes	PPC-Q

'Isn't Uncle Da there already?'

P1:	mǣn	kʰáp	pʰɔ̌ːʔɔː.	pʰŏm	kʰāj	paj	toːj
	correct	PPC-PL	director	I	want	go	with
	ɒ̱ɜ̄n.	kʰāj	kwæ̀n	ɲàːŋ	ɒ̱ɜ̄n	kʰáp.	
	he	want	deft	as	he	PPC-PL	

'That's correct, sir. I just want to join him—to be skillful like him.'

P2:	ʔán	kɔ̀ː	paj	tɜ́ʔ.
	then	PC	go	PPC-PM

'Then you may go.'

P1:	kʰɔ̀ːpkʰun	tʃátnák	kʰáp.
	thanks	very much	PPC-PL

'Thanks a lot.'

In rarer cases where the speaker is as young as or even younger than, but belongs to an older generation than, the addressee or the referent, and all the three are aware of this fact, it is the relative generation—not age—that determines the speaker's choice of pronouns. The speaker, therefore, is to comply with the same expectation as is a speaker who is both age-older and generation-older than the addressee or the referent. In the same way, if the speaker is as old as or even older than, but belongs to a younger generation than, the addressee or the referent, and all the three are aware of this fact, it

[12] The traditional Northern Thai ceremony of celebrating the city's foundation stone.

is also the relative generation—not age—that conditions the speaker's choice of pronouns. In such a case, the speaker is expected to comply with the same restrictions as is a speaker who is of a younger age and generation than the addressee or the referent.

The influence of the speaker's age and generation in relation to that of the addressee and the referent on the choice of pronouns can be summarised as in Figure 5.9 below.

Pronoun Type / **Speaker's Age and Generation in Relation to Addressees' or Referent's**	**Pronouns**		
	Casual	**General**	**Formal**
Younger	Uncommon	Common	Uncommon
Same	Common	Common	Uncommon
Older	Common	Common	Uncommon

Figure 5.9 Relative Age and Generation and Pronoun Choice

5.2.1.2 Social and Cultural Discussion

The choice of pronouns as conditioned by the factors of age and generation emphasises the expectation in Northern Thai society that a generation-wise and age-wise junior shall pay due respect to a generation-wise and age-wise senior by means of avoidance of casual pronouns. The use of casual pronouns by a younger-age and younger-generation speaker to address or refer to an older-age and older-generation person is regarded as disrespectful and hence culturally unacceptable, since seniority, whether by generation or by age, is an important means of maintaining order in Northern Thai society. Conversely, the fact that a speaker who is older by age and generation than, or who is older than but belongs to the same generation as, the addressee or the referent may use casual pronouns indicates authority or social superiority duly accorded to older-generation people. Furthermore, in cases where the speaker and the address or the referent are of a more or less equal age but belong to different generations, it is the factor of generation that supersedes the factor of age. If this fact is known to all the three parties involved in a communicative event, the system discussed in the previous paragraph shall apply. That is to say, the Northern Thai culture, through this age-generation interaction system, does not allow one to regard an older-generation person as an equal just because they both happen to be of an equal age. Yet conversely, one who belongs to an older generation is generally given authority over another who is of a younger generation, even though they happen to be of the same age. This can be viewed as a system of mutually complementing processes imposed on members of

different age levels and/or generations and manifested in so subtle a pattern of pronoun usages.

5.2.2 In Relation to Choice of Names

As in the case of pronouns, the influence of relative age and generation on the speaker's choice of names can be observed in three ways: whether the speaker is of the same, an older, or a younger age and generation as or than the addressee or referent. Here also, the first and second filial generations are combined as a younger generation, and the parental, grandparental, and great-grandparental generations as an older generation.

5.2.2.1 Use Patterns

The four types of names can be used for these anaphoric functions. All of these types are commonly used as terms of address and third-person reference, whilst clipped given names and nicknames are common for first-person and second-person reference.

The most important use pattern to note is in fact a proscription pattern. As a Kham Muang rule of thumb, under hardly any circumstance should a speaker of a younger generation—whether being as old as or even older than the addressee or the referent—address and refer to a person belonging to an older generation by using any of the person's names. If the use of a name happens to be necessary, the speaker must append a generation-suitable or age-suitable kinship term (e.g., /ʔújsǎː/ 'grandmother Sa'), or a relevant career (e.g., /mɔ̌ːsǎk/ 'doctor Sak') or status term (e.g., /nǎːnpan/ 'ex-monk Pan'), to the person's name. The use of a name alone is deemed very impolite, disrespectful, and culturally detestable. However, if the speaker is of the same generation as or an older generation than, and is as old as or older than, the addressee and the referent, the speaker commonly uses clipped given names, nicknames, or monikers as terms of address and reference.

In cases where the speaker is as young as or even younger than, but belongs to an older generation than, the addressee or the referent, and all the three are aware of this fact, it is the relative generation that determines the speaker's choice of names, overriding the factor of age. Similarly, if the speaker is as old as or even older than, but belongs to a younger generation than, the addressee or the referent, and all the three are aware of this fact, it is also the relative generation—not age—that conditions the speaker's choice of names.

In the following multi-participant scene (Example 45), participants 1 and 2 (P1 and P2), who are of the same age and generation, address and refer to one another by using clipped given names and refer to their same-generation friend by using his nickname. They then address and refer to participants 3 and 4 (P3 and P4), who are of younger (first filial and second filial) generations respectively, by using participants 3's and 4's nicknames.

Example 45: Use of Names with Same-Generation and Younger-Generation Addressee and Referent

P1: ... pʰɔːn tŭa húːtʃăk tʃāŋsɔː tʃíː kʰáná? ... kɔ̀ː.

… Phorn you know performer name band … PPC-Q

'… Phorn, do you know the 'Sor'[13] troupe called … (name omitted)'

P2: húːtʃăk kàː. ŋăŋ kʰwăn

know PPC-A why Khwan

'I do. Why, Khwan?'

P1: kɔ̀ː mæːw sĭaw haw nāːkàː man ʔaw

PC Maew contemporary we PC he get

kʰáná? níː maː kʰăp naj ŋaːn kʰr̃ɨnhɨanmàj.

band this come sing in party housewarming

'Maew, our contemporary—you know—has hired this band to perform at his housewarming.'

P3: kʰr̃ɨnhɨanmàj wan daj tʃâw.

housewarming day what PPC-PL

'When is the housewarming?'

P1: wanhɨː. kʰāj paj kaː puj. tʃák hŏŋ

day after tomorrow want go PPC-Q Pui drag Hong

paj toːj lǣː.

go with PPC-C

'You want to go? Why don't you drag Hong along?'

P2: diː lɔː. mæːw kɔ̀ː húːtʃăk puj kăp hŏŋ lɔː

good PPC-A Maew PPC-A know Pui and Hong PPC-A

(Speaking to Khwan) 'That's good. Maew knows Pui and Hong too.'

[13] 'Sor' (/sɔː/) is a traditional Northern Thai performance, usually a duet, featuring a responsive, melodious dialogue by a pair of male and female performers, with a band of wind and stringed instruments in the background.

The influence of the speaker's generation in relation to that of the addressee and the referent on the choice of names can be summarised as in Figure 5.10 below.

Name Type / **Speaker's Age and Generation in Relation to Addressees' or Referent's**	**Names**			
	Full Given Names	**Clipped Given Names**	**Nicknames**	**Monikers**
Younger	Uncommon—proscribed	Uncommon—proscribed	Uncommon—proscribed	Uncommon—proscribed
Same	Uncommon	Common	Common	Common
Older	Uncommon	Common	Common	Common

Figure 5.10 Relative Age and Generation and Name Choice

5.2.2.2 Social and Cultural Discussion

An obvious cultural significance revealed by the factor of age and generational differences lies not only in the use patterns of names but also—more interestingly—in the proscription of the use of names. Here a cultural norm is clearly represented: with all things being equal, as far as age and generational differences are concerned, names can be used anaphorically only if the speaker as old as or older than, and belongs to the same generation as or older generation than, the addressee and the referent; and members of a younger generation, or one who is younger despite belonging to the same generation, shall not address or refer to anyone of an older age or generation by using any of his/her names. This restricted use of names, according to this norm, supports the significance of seniority-based social hierarchy, which is also signalled by the use of other anaphoric devices and which serves as a mechanism to maintain peace and order in Northern Thai society.

5.2.3 In Relation to Choice of Kinship Terms

Kinship terms exhibit the closest relationship with the age levels and generations of the speaker, the addressee, and the referent. These terms, therefore, have to be examined in conjunction with all of the six generations involved, namely, the same, the first filial, the second filial, the parental, the grandparental, and the great-grandparental generations, as well as with the relative age, that is, younger, equal, or older. Because kinship terms are commonly used by both kinspersons and non-kinspersons for anaphoric

purposes, their use patterns have to be investigated separately in relation to these two groups of users.

5.2.3.1 Use Patterns by Kinspersons

Basically, kinship terms denoting different lines, generations, and relative age may correspond to different anaphoric functions. Basic lineal kinship terms denoting all except the second filial generation are commonly used for addressing, first-person referencing, and second-person referencing purposes. For third-person referencing, basic lineal terms denoting all generations can be used. Compounded lineal terms of all except the second filial generation are common for addressing and second-person referencing purposes, although none is used for first-person anaphora. For third-person referencing, however, all compounded lineal terms can be used.

Collateral kinship terms are subject to similar patterns. Basic collateral terms denoting all except the first filial generation are commonly used for addressing, first-person referencing, and second-person referencing purposes. The compounded terms, as well as the first filial generation basic and compounded collateral terms, are common only for third-person anaphora.

Affinal kinship terms of any forms are hardly used for addressing, first-person referencing, and second-person referencing purposes. They are commonly used only for third-person anaphora. These are summarised in Figure 5.11 below.

Anaphoric Functions	**Kinship Terms**					
	Lineal		**Collateral**		**Affinal**	
	Basic	**Compounded**	**Basic**	**Compounded**	**Basic**	**Compounded**
Addressing	Yes, except second filial	Yes, except second filial	Yes, except first filial	Rare for all generations	Rare for all generations	Rare for all generations
First-Person	Yes, except second filial	Rare for all generations	Yes, except first filial	Rare for all generations	Rare for all generations	Rare for all generations
Second-Person	Yes, except second filial	Yes, except second filial	Yes, except first filial	Rare for all generations	Rare for all generations	Rare for all generations
Third-Person	Yes to all generations	Yes to all generations	Yes to all generations	Yes to all generations	Yes to all generations	Yes to all generations

Figure 5.11 Kinship Terms and Anaphoric Functions

In ordinary situations, kinspersons' anaphoric use of kinship terms in relation to the relative age and generation is relatively straightforward. The speaker is expected to select the exact kinship terms that correspond to the actual age and generation of the addressee or the referent in relation to those of the speaker. Thus the use of kinship terms is relative—rather than static—in the sense that each of the participants in a conversation event may hold two or more kin statuses in relation to the other participants in the event.

In the three-participant dialogue below (Example 46), participant 1 (P1) is a younger sister to participant 2 (P2) and a niece to participant 3 (P3); participant 2 is an elder brother to participant 1 and a nephew to participant 3; and participant 3 is an uncle to both participants 1 and 2. In short, participants 1 and 2 belong to the same generation and are of the first-filial generation to participant 3, who is of the parental generation to participants 1 and 2. During their dialogue, they also refer to a person of the grandparental generation to participant 3, hence of the great-grandparental generation to participants 1 and 2. Note how these three participants refer to themselves and one another.

Example 46: Use of Kinship Terms in Relation to Age Levels and Generations of the Addressee and the Referent

P1:	...	wannír	tʰâː	ʔâːj		tʃăʔ	paj	ŋaːnpɔːj
	…	today	if	elder brother		will	go	temple celebration
	hóːŋ	nɔ́ːŋ		toːj	nɜ̄ː.			
	call	younger sister		too	PPC-R			
	‘Today, if you go to the temple’s celebration, please call me.’							
P2:	ʔɜː	lǽːw	ʔâːj	tʃăʔ	hóːŋ.			
	OK	then	elder brother	will	call			
	‘OK, I will.’							
P3:	tʃăʔ	paj	năj	kăn.				
	will	go	where	together				
	‘Where are you going together?’							
P1:	nɔ́ːŋ	nāːkàː		kʰěː	pʰǒm	paː	ʔæ̀w	ŋaːnpɔːj
	younger sister	PPC-E		force	I	take	tour	temple celebration
	‘You know, she forced me to take her to the temple’s celebration.’							
P3:	luŋ	kɔ̀ː	tʃăʔ	paj.	tʃăʔ	paː	ʔúj	paj ʔæ̀w.
	uncle	PC	will	go	will	take	grandparent	go tour
	ʔendùː	ʔúj.						
	pity	grandparent						
	‘I will go too. I will bring grandmother too. I pity her.’							

P2:	ʔán	nɔ́ːŋ	kăp	ʔâːj	tʃăʔ	tʃūaj
	then	younger sister	with	elder brother	will	help
	tʃŭːŋ		mɔ̀n			ʔeːŋ.
	take by the hand		great-grandparent			by oneself

'Then my brother and I will help take great-grandmother by the hand.'

There are, however, cases where two or more kinspersons may appear in an age-generation conflict. One kinsperson may be of a higher age than another but belongs to a younger generation. For instance, a nephew and his uncle (e.g., mother's younger brother) may both be, say, 33 years old, but they belong to different generations. The opposite is also possible, such as a 23-year-old uncle (e.g., father's younger brother) and his 25-year-old nephew. In cases like these, the speaker's choice of kinship terms is conditioned by the factor of relative generation, not the factor of age. Therefore, the nephews in both examples above are supposed to address and refer to his uncle by using the collateral kinship terms /náː/ ('mother's younger sibling') and /ʔaː/ ('father's younger sibling') respectively, whilst the uncles usually address their nephews by their names and refer to them by using the same first filial collateral term /lăːn/ ('nephew' or 'niece'). For self-reference, the uncles commonly use the kinship terms /náː/ and /ʔaː/, whilst the nephews may choose from different anaphors other than kinship terms, such as pronouns and names.

5.2.3.2 Use Patterns by Non-Kinspersons

The use of kinship terms to address or refer to non-kinspersons is conditioned differently, and the range of kinship terms allowed for such use is much narrower than that allowed to be used by kinspersons. Nonetheless, this class of lexical items does serve as an important source of anaphoric terms that can be applied by non-kinspersons to address or refer to people belonging to three generations, namely, the grandparental generation, the parental generation, and the ego's generation.

The influence of age and generation on the use of kinship terms by non-kinspersons is not conveniently predictable. Basically, in a communicative event where one has to use kinship terms to address or refer to non-kinspersons, s/he needs to subconsciously treat himself/herself as an ego and choose kinship terms based on the addressee's and the referent's appearance and their likely age levels and generations in comparison with the age of the speaker himself/herself or with the speaker's immediate or close relatives, such as the speaker's father, mother, or siblings. In fact, each speaker may—and tends to—have immediate or close relatives at different age levels, so his/her age-wise and generation-wise judgment of a non-kinsperson addressee or referent usually varies. For instance, two 25-year-old men may use different kinship terms to address or refer to a 40-year-old lady; one may use the ego's generation term /pīː/ ('elder sister') because he compares the lady to his elder sister, who is in her mid-thirties, whereas the other may compare the lady to his own mother, whose age is, say, 45, and hence addresses or refers to the lady by using the parental generation term /náː/ ('mother's younger brother' or 'mother's younger sister').

The use of kinship terms by non-kinspersons can, therefore, have varying patterns. In case the addressee or the referent appears to belong to the grandparental generation, hence being undoubtedly older, the generic term /ʔúj/ (‘grandparent’) is most commonly used as a term of address and a term of first-person, second-person, and third-person reference. Its derived compounds /pɔ̄ːʔúj/ and /mǣːʔúj/, which also commonly serve all these addressing and referencing purposes, are preferred when there is a need for male-female differentiation, with /pɔ̄ːʔúj/ used with a male and /mǣːʔúj/ with a female. The speaker, on the other hand, may use the term /nɔ́ːŋ/ (‘younger sibling’) or other anaphoric forms for self reference.

An address and reference to a person likely to belong to the parental generation, also undoubtedly older, are commonly made through the use of the basic collateral terms /luŋ/ (‘father’s elder brother’ or ‘mother’s elder brother’), /pâː/ (‘father’s elder sister’ or ‘mother’s elder sister’), and /náː/ (‘mother’s younger brother’ or ‘mother’s younger sister’). These parental generation collateral terms are used on the basis of the speaker’s perception or expectation of the addressee’s and the referent’s probable age in relation to that of the speaker’s father or mother. The first two terms perform the added function of sex differentiation and are distinguished from the last term on the basis of age, that is, the first two denoting seniority to parents and the last denoting juniority to parents. Again, the speaker may refer to himself/herself as /nɔ́ːŋ/ (‘younger sibling’) or by using other anaphors.

In case that an addressee or the referent probably belongs to the same generation as the speaker, three basic lineal kinship terms are available for use, namely /ʔâːj/ (‘elder brother’), /p̄ìː/ (‘elder sister’), and /nɔ́ːŋ/ (‘younger sibling’). The term /ʔâːj/ or /p̄ìː/ is commonly used to address and refer to a male or a female who is likely to belong to the speaker’s generation but who is or appears to be older. The term /nɔ́ːŋ/, on the other hand, is commonly used to address and refer to either a male or a female who is likely to belong to the speaker’s generation but who is or appears to be younger. Conversely, if the speaker belongs to an older generation, s/he is likely to use the term /nɔ́ːŋ/ (‘younger sibling’) with the addressee and the referent, regardless of how much younger the addressee and the referent are than the speaker. It should also be noted that this term is, in most situations observed, is commonly used as a self-address term by the speaker belonging to any younger generation than the addressee or the referent.

This is illustrated in Example 47 below, in which participants 1 and 2 (P1 and P3), 26-year-old and 28-year-old women respectively, are speaking with participant 3 (P2), a 68-year-old man whom they know as a neighbour. Note the kinship terms used as anaphors by these participants.

Example 47: Grandparental Generation Kinship Terms Used by Non-Kinspersons

P1:	...	pɔ̄:ʔúj	$k^hāj$	dâj	ɲǎŋ	kɔ̀:.	nɔ́:ŋ
	…	grandfather	want	get	what	PPC-Q	younger sibling
	paj	$t^hànǒnk^hondɜ:n$		to:j	p̱ī:	pɜ̄n.	
	go	shopping street		with	elder sister	she	

'… Do you want anything? I will go to the shopping street with her.'

P2:	bɔ̀:	pěn	ɲǎŋ	nɔ́:ŋ		hɜ̌:j.	mæ̀:ʔúj	
	no	be	what	younger sibling		PC	grandmother	
	kɔ̀:	paj.	pɔ̄:ʔúj	fà:k	sɨ́:	$k^hànǒm$	kǐa	lǽ:w.
	too	go	grandfather	leave	buy	snack	salt	already

'It does not matter, young ladies. Grandmother will go too. I have already asked her to buy some snacks.'

The generation-based and age-based choice of kinship terms as commonly made by non-kinspersons is demonstrated in Figure 5.12 below.

Kinship Term	Structure & Type	Genera-tion & Age	Anaphoric Function			
			Address	First-Person	Second-Person	Third-Person
			With Grandparental-Generation Addressees and Referents			
ʔúj	Basic Lineal	+2	Common	Common	Common	Common
pɔ̄:ʔúj	Compound Lineal	+2	Common	Common	Common	Common
mǣ:ʔúj	Compound Lineal	+2	Common	Common	Common	Common
			With Parental-Generation Addressees and Referents			
luŋ	Basic Collateral	+1	Common	Common	Common	Common
pâ:	Basic Collateral	+1	Common	Common	Common	Common
ná:	Basic Collateral	+1	Common	Common	Common	Common
			With Ego's Generation Addressees and Referents			
ʔâ:j	Basic Lineal	0, Older	Common	Common	Common	Common
pɨ̄:	Basic Lineal	0, Older	Common	Common	Common	Common
nɔ́:ŋ	Basic Lineal	0, Younger	Common	Common	Common	Common

Figure 5.12 Basic Lineal Kinship Terms and Anaphoric Functions as Used by Non-Kinspersons

5.2.3.3 Social and Cultural Discussion

Covering a total of three generations, the nine Kham Muang kinship terms discussed above conveniently facilitate inter-generational communication amongst society's members not related by kin. The three generations covered starts with the generation of the ego and ascends by two generations, up to the grandparental generation. On the contrary, terms from the first filial generation (that is, the term meaning /lūːk/ ('son' or 'daughter')) and second filial generation (that is, the term meaning /lăːn/ ('grandson' or 'granddaughter')) are not common. Here cultural complementarity can be exhibited. On the one hand, such application of kinship terms serves to strengthen social structure and order by means of emphasising the need to acknowledge the elderly, duly according them the respect that deservedly accompanies their respective generations. On the other hand, the fact that younger generation terms are hardly applied to non-kinsperson address and reference, hence somehow 'obliging' older people to address

or refer to a person one or two generations younger by using the term /nɔ́ːŋ/ (‘younger sibling’) rather than the more ‘physically accurate’ terms /lūːk/ (‘son’ or ‘daughter’) and /lằːn/ (‘grandson’ or ‘granddaughter’), demonstrates lighter cultural emphasis on the elderly’s approach to the younger. That is to say, whilst a Kham Muang speaker is expected to show due respect to those belonging to older generations, s/he is also expected not to display any condescending attitude towards those of younger generations, as might otherwise be implied by the use of the first filial or the second filial generation terms.[14]

5.2.4 In Relation to Choice of Career/Status Terms

Whilst age and generation display an influential relationship with kinship terms, they hardly function in conjunction with career and status terms. Pursuers of the three culturally honoured careers, namely, teachers (/kʰuː/) or instructors (/ʔaːtʃằːn/), physicians (/mɔ̌ː/), and craftsmen (/sàlàː/), as well as holders of culturally respected statuses of former novitiate and monkhood (/nɔ́ːj/ and /nằːn/ respectively), are likely to be addressed and referred to by these career and status terms, regardless of their relative age levels and generations in comparison with those of the other participants in a given communicative event.

5.2.5 In Relation to Choice of Phrasal Anaphors

The influence of the addressee’s and the referent’s age and generation in relation to those of the speaker on the choice of phrasal anaphors is examined under three categories according to the structures of phrasal anaphors. The factors of age and generation will be discussed in terms of their effects on the choice of concatenated basic anaphors, particle-prefixed anaphors, and other phrasal anaphors.

5.2.5.1 Use Patterns of Concatenated Basic Anaphors

Concatenated basic anaphors can be classified into two major structures: one consisting of a kinship term as head of the phrase and the other consisting of a career or status term as head of the phrase (see section 4.5.1.2). In each of such anaphoric constructs, it is the head that designates the use conditions and reflects the social and cultural significance. Consequently, as far as the participants’ age levels and generations are concerned, concatenated basic anaphors that contain kinship terms as heads are subject to the same use conditions and indicative of the same social and cultural significance as are kinship terms. By contrast, concatenated basic anaphors with career or status terms as heads normally function independently of the factors of age and generation.

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[14] It is true that the first filial and the second filial generation terms may be used by elderly people to affectionately address or refer to younger people or children, but such use is found only in certain specific inter-personal relationships, such as by a teacher to a student or by a father to a friend of his son’s, or by a person whose speech is influenced by Central Thai, as such use of the first filial and the second filial generation terms with younger non-kinspersons is common in Central Thai. In Kham Muang, however, other anaphors, such as /nɔ́ːj/ and /lâː/ (‘young child’), are the preferred means of non-kinsperson addressing and referencing, in addition to use of the kinship term /nɔ́ːŋ/. The specific relationships stated above, though not within the scope of this research, are worth examining in conjunction with anaphoric patterns and/or speech-act pragmatics.

5.2.5.2 Use Patterns of Particle-Prefixed Anaphors

The influence of participants' age levels and generations on particle-prefixed anaphors is unidirectional. As all of the Kham Muang particles prefixable to anaphors, namely, /bàː/, /ʔàj/, and /ʔiː/, signal the speaker's somewhat condescending attitude towards the addressee or the referent (except when used amongst closely related participants, as discussed in section 4.5.2.1), forms prefixed with these particles are generally used only to address or refer to somebody belonging to the same or a younger age or generation, and never to address or refer to anybody of an older age or generation. Therefore, it is not uncommon for a grand-parental generation Kham Muang speaker to address or refer to a person one or more than one generation younger, hence automatically having a younger age, by using an anaphor prefixed with /bàː/, /ʔàj/, or /ʔiː/. On the contrary, using such an anaphor to address or refer to anybody being of an older age or generation is considered unbecoming and severely in violation of the cultural norm that requires that older or elderly people be treated with honour and respect.

5.2.5.3 Use Patterns of Other Phrasal Anaphors

Age and generation play a part in determining the anaphoric use of both regular noun phrases and possessive noun phrases in Kham Muang. In its general sense, the regular noun phrase /kʰontʰâw/ ('old person') is commonly used as a term of third-person reference in case the addressee or the referent belongs to an older generation (hence automatically being older) than the speaker, whether the parental, grandparental, or even great-grandparental generation. In its specific sense, /kʰontʰâw/ is used only as a third-person reference term for somebody's father or mother, or both, hence in the light of only the parental generation. The noun phrases /pùːtʰâw/ ('old grandfather') and /ɲāːtʰâw/ ('old grandmother'), possibly carrying a disapproving connotation and denoting male and female respectively, may also function as terms of address and second-person and third-person reference in case the addressee or the referent is as old as or older than the speaker, or belongs to the same generation as or an older generation than, the speaker. Lastly, the term /làʔɔn/ ('child') serves as an address and second-person and third-person reference term commonly used with a person with an obviously younger age or belonging to a younger generation than the speaker. This is illustrated in Figure 5.13 below.

Generation		Regular Noun Phrase Anaphors				
		/k^{h}ont^{h}âw/		/pù:t^{h}âw/	/ɲā:t^{h}âw/	/làʔɔn/
		General	Specific			
Great-grandparental		Common	Uncommon	Common	Common	Uncommon
Grandparental		Common	Uncommon	Common	Common	Uncommon
Parental		Common	Common	Common	Common	Uncommon
Ego's	Older	Uncommon	Uncommon	Common	Common	Uncommon
	Younger	Uncommon	Uncommon	Uncommon	Uncommon	Common
First filial		Uncommon	Uncommon	Uncommon	Uncommon	Common
Second-filial		Uncommon	Uncommon	Uncommon	Uncommon	Common

Figure 5.13 Generations and Use of Regular Noun Phrase Anaphors

Possessive noun phrases, on the contrary, are subject to different age-based and generation-based conditions. These forms are usually composed of a lineal, collateral, or affinal kinship term as the head noun followed by a genitive phrase—full or reduced—denoting kin-relationship with the head. A career term is a possible head, but it is much less common. As a consequent, the age-related and generation-related use patterns of possessive noun phrases conform to the same conditions and are indicative of the same social and cultural significance as are kinship terms, whereas those with career or status terms as heads normally function independently of the factors of age and generation.

5.2.5.4 Social and Cultural Discussion

Although the Northern Thai culture is one that honours and respects older or elderly people, whether or not they are related to the speaker by kin, the language (Kham Muang) does provide a younger or younger-generation speaker with a means of expressing disapproval or displeasure in a not-so-offensive or not-so-aggressive manner. The phrasal anaphors /pù:t^{h}âw/ and /ɲā:t^{h}âw/, as well as concatenated anaphors made up of /pù:/ or /ɲā:/ and basic anaphors, serve as such a means. Because the head words /pù:/ and /ɲā:/ command respect in spite of their slightly negative overtone, such phrasal anaphors serve as a culturally and sociolinguistically permissible device that a speaker of a younger age or generation may use in order to make known his/her somewhat negative attitude towards a certain older or elderly person. Besides, terms beginning with /pù:/ or /ɲā:/ sound 'mild' in contradistinction with the terms beginning with the particles /bà:/, /ʔàj/, or /ʔi:/, with which an older or older-generation speaker may rightfully address or refer to somebody of a younger age or generation. These anaphoric use patterns are opposite, yet they function complementarily in maintaining social hierarchy and order, honouring the older or the elderly whilst scrupulously and tactfully allowing the young's discontent to be expressed in a non-confrontational way, a highly appreciated norm in Northern Thai culture.

5.3 The Addressee's or the Referent's Sex in Relation to that of the Speaker

In terms of the factor of sex, three types of relationship may be observed between the speaker and the addressee and the referent. The speaker and the addressee or the referent may be both male, both female, or of opposite sexes. These will be discussed in relation to each type of anaphora.

5.3.1 In Relation to Choice of Pronouns

If sex alone is the deciding factor for the choice of pronouns, its influence may be observed in two ways. Whilst, evidently, it can influence the speaker's choice of sex-specific pronouns, it may as well influence the speaker's choice of some sex-neutral pronouns.

5.3.1.1 Use Patterns

For first-person (self) reference, both male and female speakers can use the casual pronouns /haː/ and /kʰâː/ (Example 48) and the general pronoun /pɜ̄n/ (Example 49), depending on whether the communication situation allows a casual exchange or requires a somewhat politer interaction. Only when the situation requires somewhat greater formality must the speaker use a formal pronoun, in which case the Central Thai borrowed term /pʰǒm/ is to be used by a male and /kʰâːtʃâw/ or /tʃâw/ by a female (Example 50).

Example 48 (Reproduction of Example 5): Use of /haː/ and /kʰâː/

P1:	wan	pʰūːk	kʰiŋ	paj	taːŋ	daj.		
	day	next	you	go	way	which.		
	'Where are you going tomorrow?'							
P2:	haː	tʃǎʔ	paj	ʔæ̀w	pàtŭː	tāːpʰæː.	paj	kʰáwdaːw
	I	will	go	tour	gate	Tha Phae.	go	count down
	toj	pɜ̄n.						
	with	other						
	'I'll go to Tha Phae Gate to count down with other people.'							
P1:	tǎːm	sàbaːj	tɜ́ʔ.	kʰâː	tiŋ	bɔ̀ː	paj.	
	as	comfort	PPC-PM.	I	no matter	not	go.	
	kʰāj	lăp.						
	want	sleep.						
	'As you please. I won't go, no matter what. I want to sleep.'							

Example 49 (Reproduction of Example 6): Use of /pɜ̄n/

P1:	tàkʰɨːn	pɜ̄n	hăn	pùːmăːn	fīː	ŋaːn
	last night	I	see	grandpa Maan	at	fair
	pɔːj		toːj.			
	celebration		too			
	‘Last night I saw Old Maan at the temple celebration too.’					
P2:	man	maː	toːj	pʰăj.	pɜ̄n	bɔ̀ː	dâj
	it	come	with	who	I	not	can
	paj	sák	kam.				
	go	even	time				
	‘Who was he with? I couldn’t make it to the fair.’						
P3:	ʔán	pʰăj	tʃăʔ	paj	kʰɨːn	níː	bɔ̀ːk
	so	who	will	go	night	this	tell
	pɜ̄n	toːj	nɜ̄ː.				
	I	too	PPC-P				
	‘Well, if any of you will go tonight, let me know.’						

Example 50 (Reproduction of Example 7): Use of /pʰŏm/ and /tʃâw/ or /kʰâːtʃâw/

P1:	hŭanâː	kʰáp	pʰŏm	paj	fīː	tʃăt	ŋaːn	kɔ̀ːn	nɜ̄ː.
	boss	PC	I	go	at	arrange	party	before	PPC-P
	‘Boss, I’ll go to the fair venue first. OK?’								
P2:	paj	tɜ́ʔ.		kàdiaw	pīː	toːj		paj.	
	go	PPC-PM		moment	sister	accompany		go	
	‘Do go. I’ll follow you shortly.’								
P3:	ʔán	kʰâːtʃâw		tʃăʔ	paj	toːj	hŭanâː		nɜ̄ː.
	so	I		will	go	accompany	boss		PPC-P
	‘Well, then I’ll go with you, boss.’								

However, the data also revealed another pattern concerning the use of the general pronoun /pɜ̄n/ by male Kham Muang speakers. This pronoun is used by a male speaker only in relationships involving love affairs, such as with his girlfriend, lover, mistress, or wife. Male speakers almost never use this pronoun as a self-reference term when speaking to another male, but selects a first-person anaphor from the wide range of other possible terms.

The influence of sex on the choice of pronouns for second-person address and reference resembles that on the choice of pronouns for first-person reference. However, for each level of formality, male and female speakers normally use the same pronoun to address or refer to the addressee. In other words, no sex differentiation is made within each level of second-person pronouns in Kham Muang. Commonly used by speakers of both sexes, /kʰiŋ/ suits a casual situation (Example 48 above), /tŭa/ a general situation (Example 51), and the Central Thai borrowed term /kʰun/ a formal situation (Example 52).

Example 51 (Reproduction of Example 9): Use of /tŭa/

P1:	tŭa	wan	níː	paj	kʰɯ̄n	hɨan	màj	ʔâːj		
	you	day	this	go	up	house	new	elder brother		
	kʰam	kɔ̀ː.	tʰâː	tŭa	bɔ̀ː	paj	pɜ̄n	paj	toːj	ʔiː
	Kham	PPC-Q	if	you	not	go	I	go	with	PPC-Q
	naːŋ	nɜ̄ː.								
	Nang	PPC-P								

'You, today are you going to Kham's housewarming? If you aren't, I'll go with Nang.'

Example 52: Use of /kʰun/

P1:	...	læːŋ	nîː	kʰun	maː	tʰàːjhūːp	kʰàbuanhæ̀ː
	…	evening	this	you	come	photograph	procession
	pʰáʔ		kʰɔ̌ːŋ	bɔːlǐsăt	dâj	nɔ̄ː.	
	Buddha image		of	company	can	PPC-R	

'This evening, you can take photos of the company's Buddha image procession, can't you?'

P2:	dâj	kàː	kʰáp.
	can	PPC-A	PC

'Certainly.'

Parallel to the use of /pɜ̄n/ as a self-reference term, its second-person counterpart /tŭa/ may be used by male speakers only in relationships involving love affairs, that is, with his girlfriend, lover, mistress, or wife. It is almost never used by a male to address or refer to another male.

Lastly, for third-person reference, both male and female speakers may use the pronouns /man/, /pɜ̄n/ and the Central Thai borrowed term /kʰăw/ to refer to the referent. Like the first-person and the second-person pronouns, these third-person pronouns correspond to different situations: casual (Example 53), general (Example 54), or formal (Example 55).

Example 53: Use of /man/ for Third-Person Reference

...	sŏmsăk	tʰoː	maː.	kamdiaw	man	tʃăʔ	maː
…	Somsak	phone	come	moment	he	will	come
ʔæ̀whăː.	haː	paj	sɔ̌ʔ	bia	hîː	man	kɔ̀ːn.
visit	I	go	find	beer	give	he	first

'… Somsak just called, saying he would come here for a visit. I will go get some beer for him now.'

Example 54 (Reproduction of Example 11): Use of /pɜ̄n/ for Third-Person Reference

tàwaː		luŋwan		pǎʔ	pʰǒm.	pɜ̄n	híʔ	tʃǎʔ	tʃuan
yesterday		uncle Wan		meet	I	he	wish	will	persuade
haw	paj	ʔæ̀w	nāːn	toːj	pɜ̄n	tít	nâː.		
we	go	travel	Nan	with	he	week	next		

'Yesterday Uncle Wan met me. He tried to persuade us to travel to Nan with him next week.'

Example 55: Use of /kʰǎw/ for Third-Person Reference

...	kamlǣːk		pʰǒm	ʔûː		kǎp	kʰunjom.	pʰǒm	tʃǎʔ
…	at first		I	talk		with	Mr Yom	I	will
hɬ̄ː	kʰǎw	paj	tʃūaj	kʰun	tʰàːjhūːp.		tæ̀ː	kʰǎw	
let	he	go	help	you	photograph		but	he	
paj	bɔ̀ː	dâj.	lūːk	kʰǎw	mɜ̄ːj.				
go	not	can	child	he	ill				

'… At first, I talked with Mr Yom. I wanted him to help you take photos. But he cannot join you this evening because his son is ill.'

The patterns of the use of pronouns as influenced by the factor of sex is summarised in Figure 5.14 below.

	First-Person Reference		Second-Person Reference and Address		Third-Person Reference	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Formal	pʰŏm*	tʃâw, kʰâːtʃâw	kʰun*	kʰun*	kʰăw*	kʰăw*
	Common	Common	Common	Common	Common	Common
General	pɜ̄n	pɜ̄n	tŭa	tŭa	pɜ̄n	pɜ̄n
	Uncommon	Common	Uncommon	Common	Common	Common
Casual	haː, kʰâː	haː, kʰâː	kʰiŋ	kʰiŋ	man	man
	Common	Common	Common	Common	Common	Common

Figure 5.14 Sex and Use of Pronouns

Note. * a borrowed term

5.3.1.2 Social and Cultural Discussion

In the light of the relationship between the factor of sex and the choice of pronouns, the following socially significant points could be noted. Firstly, in the typical Kham Muang pronominal system, all casual and general pronouns may be used by speakers of both sexes. Although such a pattern is not fully indicative of equality between males and females, it suggests that the designation of males' and females' roles in Northern Thai society has not been very rigid since former times. In other words, addresses and references can be made by equal means regardless of the sexes of the persons involved. A relevant historical fact may at least in part support this argument. A high proportion of Chiang Mai natives have descended from common or ordinary people gathered from various townships to contribute to the re-development of Chiang Mai during the Great Restoration (1782-1796). Most of those ordinary people were conscripted, and paid, to perform various kinds of tasks as deemed suitable by their masters. In those days, male and female commoners were assigned to different tasks, such as males to physical work and females to domestic or household chores, but they were treated on a more or less equal basis (Ongsakul, 1986, pp. 119-122). The fact that female commoners in general were entrusted to household chores implies that they served their masters' wives and families closely. This could be a socio-historical reason why the formal first-person female pronoun /kʰâːtʃâw/ or /tʃâw/, which literally means 'my lord's or my master's servant', is the only formal Kham Muang pronoun that has survived the complete abolition of slavery and conscripted labour in 1900 during the reign of King Rama V.

The second point worth noting concerns the common reciprocal use of the general first-person pronoun /pɜ̄n/ and its second-person counterpart /tŭa/ by female speakers but very rarely by male speakers. In present-day Northern Thai society (and also probably in many others), this sociolinguistic device of gender indication is being

compromised by the rapid increase of lady-boys and lady-men, who attempt to imitate most aspects of females' language usages. Although such use pattern is not within the scope of this study, it may be worth further research, as a potential cause of language change.

5.3.2 In Relation to Choice of Names

The influence of participants' sexes on the choice of anaphorically used names can be discussed in terms of use patterns below.

5.3.2.1 Use Patterns

The most obvious use pattern influenced by conversation participants' sexes and the anaphoric use of names is the difference between male and female speakers' choice of names for first-person reference. An adult male Kham Muang speaker hardly refers to himself by using his own name—whether his nickname, his full given name, or his clipped given name. On the contrary, it is quite customary for a female Kham Muang speaker to refer to herself by using her own name; in this practice, the use of the speaker's nickname or clipped given name is very common.

Despite not being within the scope of this study, there is a point worth discussing concerning male speakers' use and avoidance of names for first-person reference. In fact, a male speaker in his boyhood may use his own nickname as a term of self-reference. But such use is likely to be discontinued upon the boy's reaching puberty and is almost completely avoided as of adulthood.

For addressing, second-person referencing, and third-person referencing purposes, no significant sex-influenced patterns are apparent. Regardless of the speaker's and the addressee's and the referent's sexes, the choice of names used in the address or reference is likelier to be made on the basis of other factors, such as interpersonal relationship or age.

5.3.2.2 Social and Cultural Discussion

Female speakers' preference and adult male speakers' avoidance of names for self-reference may serve a social function. Amongst Kham Muang speakers, self-reference by means of a person's own name is associated with children and women. Therefore, for male speakers in general (not including lady-boys), changing the self-reference form—from using one's nickname to a different anaphoric device—is an important indication of transition from boyhood into puberty and eventually to adulthood. Even when the speaker is having a conversation with a very close relative, like his own father or mother, he tends to avoid using his own name as a self-reference term; some young male adults (i.e., those in their 20s) may occasionally use this device when speaking with their parents, but male older adults completely discard it. A male adolescent or adult who still refers to himself by using any of his names is considered puerile or a 'suckling', or, in present-day society, inclined towards transsexualism. Thus, in this case, it is the sex-related (and also partly age-related) disuse—not use—of an anaphoric device that is indicative of a social norm observed amongst Kham Muang speakers.

5.3.3 In Relation to Choice of Kinship Terms

The way the factor of sex influences the choice of kinship terms is quite straightforward as many Kham Muang kinship terms, especially those denoting relative seniority, are sex-specific. As before, the use of kinship terms have to be discussed in the light of the two different groups of users: kinspersons and non-kinspersons.

5.3.3.1 Use Patterns by Kinspersons

Amongst kinspersons, the speaker of either sex may refer to himself/herself by using a simple sex-specific kinship term that corresponds to his/her relative age and generation. The kinship term used may be a lineal or collateral term, but seldom an affinal one. Therefore, a speaker of either sex may refer to himself/herself by using, for example, the lineal term /ʔúj/ ('grandparent') with his/her grandchild, the collateral term /ʔaː/ ('mother's younger sibling') with his/her niece or nephew, or the lineal term /ʔâːj/ ('elder brother'), if male, or /p̈iː/, if female, with a younger relative. However, whilst it is very common for a female speaker to refer to herself as /nɔ́ːŋ/ ('younger sibling') when speaking to an older or older-generation kinsperson, a male speaker almost never uses this term for the same function; in stead, a different anaphor, such as a pronoun, is preferred.

For addressing and second-person referencing purposes, a speaker of either sex may use a simple lineal or collateral kinship term that corresponds to his kinsperson's (addressee's) sex, relative age, and relative generation. Affinal kinship terms, on the other hand, are very seldom used. Even in cases where the speaker and the addressee are indeed affinally related, for example, as in-laws, lineal or collateral terms are preferred. Thus a male speaker usually adopts the lineal term /ʔâːj/ ('elder brother') or the collateral term /pâː/ ('mother's or father's elder sister') as the address and second-person reference term to use with his brother-in-law or aunt-in-law, respectively.

Finally, to make a reference to a third-person kinsperson, a speaker of either sex may use a lineal, collateral, or affinal kinship term that corresponds to his kinsperson's (addressee's) sex, relative age, and relative generation. In cases where the referencing requires sex-differentiating properties which a certain kinship term, such as /nɔ́ːŋ/ ('younger sibling'), may not possess, then the speaker has to resort to a sex-specific compounded counterpart, such as /nɔ́ːŋbàːw/ ('younger brother').

5.3.3.2 Use Patterns by Non-Kinspersons

Amongst speakers not related by kin, sex and its influence on the choice of kinship terms may be observed as follows. For first-person reference, a male speaker may use the lineal term /ʔúj/ ('grandparent') or /ʔâːj/ ('elder brother'), or the collateral term /luŋ/ ('mother's or father's elder brother') or /náː/ ('mother's younger sibling'), depending on his age and generation in comparison with those of the addressee or the referent. A female speaker may use the lineal term /ʔúj/ ('grandparent'), /p̈iː/ ('elder sister'), or /nɔ́ːŋ/ ('younger sibling'), or the collateral term /pâː/ ('mother's or father's elder sister') or /náː/ ('mother's younger sibling'), depending on her age and generation in comparison with those of the addressee or the referent. It should be noted again that although the lineal term /nɔ́ːŋ/ is neutral, it is commonly used only by female speakers for self-reference.

For addressing and second-person referencing purposes, if the addressee is male, the lineal term /ʔúj/ ('grandparent'), /ʔâːj/ ('elder brother'), or /nɔ́ːŋ/ ('younger sibling'), or the collateral term /luŋ/ ('mother's or father's elder brother') or /náː/ ('mother's younger sibling') is commonly used, depending on his age and generation in comparison with the speaker's. If the addressee is female, the lineal term /ʔúj/ ('grandparent'), /p̈iː/ ('elder sister'), or /nɔ́ːŋ/ ('younger sibling'), or the collateral term

/pâː/ (‘mother’s or father’s elder sister’) or /náː/ (‘mother’s younger sibling’) is commonly used, depending on her age and generation in comparison with the speaker’s. This use is illustrated in Example 56 below.

Example 56 (Reproduction of Example 37): Lineal Kinship Terms Used as First-Person and Second-Person Reference Terms

P2:	...	nɔ́ːŋ		maː	ʔæ̀w	k^{h}ondiaw	kaː.	
	…	younger sibling		come	travel	alone	PPC-Q	
	‘… Have you come to this fair alone.’							
P1:	bɔ̀ː	tʃâw.		maː	toːj	pɔ̄ː	kǎp	mǣː	tʃâw.
	no	PPC-PL		come	with	father	with	mother	PPC-PL
	‘No, I am with father and mother.’								
P2:	pâː		kɔ̀ː	wāː.	pâː		bɔ̀ː	
	parent’s elder sister		PC	say	parent’s elder sister		not	
	lām	hǎn	mǣːŋniŋ		ʔæ̀w	k^{h}ondiaw	mɨ̄ak^{h}ɨ̄ːn.	
	often	see	woman		travel	alone	at night	
	‘So I think. I have hardly seen a woman going to a fair alone at night.’							
P3:	luŋ		wāː	nɔ́ːŋ		k^{h}àtʃǎj	paj	hǎː
	parent’s elder brother		say	younger sibling		hurry	go	meet
	pɔ̄ː	kǎp	mǣː	tɜ́ʔ.	pɜ̄n	tʃǎʔ	kɔːŋ	hǎː.	
	father	with	mother	PPC-R	they	will	look	search	
	‘I think you should hurry back to be with your parents. They are probably looking for you.’								

Lastly, for third-person reference, if the referent is male, the lineal term /ʔúj/ (‘grandparent’), /ʔâːj/ (‘elder brother’), or /nɔ́ːŋ/ (‘younger sibling’), or the collateral term /luŋ/ (‘mother’s or father’s elder brother’) is commonly used, depending on his age and generation in comparison with the speaker’s. If the referent is female, the lineal term /ʔúj/ (‘grandparent’), /pɨ̄ː/ (‘elder sister’), or /nɔ́ːŋ/ (‘younger sibling’), or the collateral term /pâː/ (‘mother’s or father’s elder sister’) is commonly used, depending on her age and generation in comparison with the speaker’s.

5.3.3.3 Social and Cultural Discussion

In a manner corresponding to male Kham Muang speakers' use and disuse of names for self-reference, it is worth noting here also that male Kham Muang speakers display a sex-oriented (and partly age-related) social norm through their choice of anaphors for self reference. This norm concerns the use of the lineal kinship term /nɔ́ːŋ/ ('younger sibling'). Generally, whilst at a young age, a Kham Muang speaker of either sex may commonly use this term, but upon reaching adolescence, only female speakers continue using it, whereas male speakers discontinue it almost completely. Males' termination of such use, like the discontinued use of one's name for self-reference, is an important sign of transition from boyhood to adolescence and finally to adulthood.

This pattern can also be viewed in the light of a male's readiness to start his own family, to assume the role of being the 'older' of the couple and potentially fathering his children. Therefore, of the younger-older pair (/ʔâːj/ and /nɔ́ːŋ/) only the former remains in use by males as it signifies seniority as well as dominance that accompanies it. Although the term /nɔ́ːŋ/ does not have any negative connotation, it lacks dominance. For this reason, a Northern Thai man normally addresses and refers to his wife as /nɔ́ːŋ/ ('younger sibling'), even if his wife is physically older than he is. This custom is to fulfil the social expectation associated with male dominance in family affairs. With today's widespread exercise of women's liberation, this customary anaphoric pattern may gradually give way to more 'egalitarian' anaphors, such as the Central Thai loan pronouns /phǒm/ (male 'I') or /tʃʰǎn/ (female 'I') and /kʰun/ (neutral 'you') in lieu of the traditional /ʔâːj/ and /nɔ́ːŋ/.

5.3.4 In Relation to Choice of Career/Status Terms

The influence of participants' sexes on the choice of anaphorically used career/status terms can be discussed in terms of use patterns below.

5.3.4.1 Use Patterns

First of all, with regard to sex, it is necessary to differentiate between career/status terms that are sex-specific and those that are sex-neutral. Terms that are sex-specific include the career term /sàlàː/ ('craftsman') and the religion-related status terms /nǎːn/ ('ex-monk') and /nɔ́ːj/ ('ex-novice'), all of which refer to males. The other terms, namely, /ʔaːtʃǎːn/ ('instructor'), /kʰuː/ ('teacher'), and /mɔ̌ː/ ('physician') are sex-neutral and hence may refer to a person of either sex.

The indigenous exclusively masculine career/status terms are commonly used as terms of address and terms of second-person and third-person reference. Under extremely rare circumstances, if at all, are these terms used for first-person reference. The sex-neutral terms, on the other hand, are commonly used by both male and female speakers for all anaphoric functions, that is, addressing as well as first-person, second-person, and third-person referencing. These use patterns of Kham Muang career/status terms are illustrated in Figure 5.15 below.

First-Person Reference		Second-Person Reference and Address		Third-Person Reference	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Sex-Specific Terms: /sàlàː/, /nắːn/, and /nɔ́ːj/					
Uncommon	N/A	Common	N/A	Common	N/A
Sex-Neutral Terms: /ʔaːtʃắːn/, /kʰuː/, and /mɔ̌ː/					
Common	Common	Common	Common	Common	Common

Figure 5.15 Sex and Use of Career/Status Terms

Note. N/A: Not Applicable

The following example (Example 57) illustrates the use of the above discussed career/status terms. In this example, participant 1 (P1), a female physician, refers to herself by using the career term /mɔ̌ː/, and addresses and refers to participant 2 (P2), who is an ex-monk, by using the status term /nắːn/. Both participants refer to the referent, who is a teacher, by using the career term /kʰuː/.

Example 57: Sex and Use of Career/Status Terms

P1: ... nắːntʃoŋ wannís mɔ̌ː bɔ̀ː dâj paj ŋaːntæ̀ŋ

… ex-monk Jong today physician not can go wedding

kʰuːsɔ̌m nɜ̄ː. hoːŋŋaː pɜ̄n tʰoː maː hɔ́ːŋ

teacher Som PPC-A hospital it phone come call

bàdiawníː. nắːn bɔ̀ːk kʰuː hîː kam nɜ̄ː.

now ex-monk tell teacher give time PPC-R

'Jong, today I cannot go to Som's wedding. The hospital has just called me to be there now. Could you tell him for me?'

P2: bɔ̀ːpěnŋắŋ kʰáp. diaw pʰɔ̌m bɔ̀ːk kʰuː hîː kʰáp.

no problem PPC-P soon I tell teacher give PPC-P

'No problem. I will let him know.'

5.3.4.2 Social and Cultural Discussion

The major difference in use patterns between sex-specific career/status terms and those that are sex-neutral concerns the first-person referencing function. The Kham Muang sex-specific career/status terms exclusively denote males. Whilst one (i.e., /sàlàː/) denotes highly skilled craftsmanship, the other two (i.e., /nǎːn/ and /nɔ́ːj/) are deeply 'culturalised' in religious (Buddhist) traditions. What all these three terms have in common is that they entail substantial amounts of training, discipline, and physical and mental maturity on the part of the man undertaking the relevant role. Therefore, a man deservedly called a /sàlàː/, /nǎːn/, or /nɔ́ːj/ is traditionally subject to greater social expectations than pursuers of other occupations because of his apparently higher experience, maturity, and integrity. Corresponding to adult male speakers' avoidance of names and the connotatively subordinate kinship term /nɔ́ːŋ/ for self reference, the terms /sàlàː/, /nǎːn/, and /nɔ́ːj/ are an 'indicator' of adulthood and maturity and consequently are never used by adult Kham Muang speakers for first-person reference.

On the other hand, the sex-neutral terms /ʔaːtʃǎːn/, /k^{h}uː/, and /mɔ̌ː/ have not undergone such religiously deep 'culturalisation'. Although these occupations denote honour and respect deservedly accorded to their practitioners, their concepts have not been as culturally refined and institutionalised as have those of the sex-specific terms. These careers are regarded in Northern Thai society as honourable or even noble careers, but their recognition in modern Northern Thai society is associated with present-day ways of living, unlike the craftsmanship career and the religious statuses, of which the association with traditional customs remains strong.

5.3.5 In Relation to Choice of Phrasal Anaphors

The influence of the communication participants' sexes on the choice of phrasal anaphors is examined under three categories according to the structures of phrasal anaphors. The factor of sex will be discussed in terms of its effects on the choice of concatenated basic anaphors, particle-prefixed anaphors, and other phrasal anaphors.

5.3.5.1 Use Patterns of Concatenated Basic Anaphors

Concatenated basic anaphors include those having a kinship term as head of the phrase and those having a career or status term as head of the phrase (see section 4.5.1.2). In each of such anaphoric constructs, it is the head that designates the use conditions and reflects the social and cultural significance. Consequently, concerning the participants' sexes, concatenated basic anaphors that contain kinship terms as heads are subject to the same use and avoidance conditions and indicative of similar social and cultural significance as are kinship terms. Similarly, concatenated basic anaphors with career or status terms as heads are used in the same patterns, and perform the same sex-related cultural function, as the career or status terms *per se*, as discussed in sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2 above.

5.3.5.2 Use Patterns of Particle-Prefixed Anaphors

Kham Maung particle-prefixed anaphors operate in close relation to the factor of sex, as denoted by each of the particles in its ordinary usage; that is /bàː/ and /ʔàj/ denote a male and /ʔíː/ denotes a female. In its intimate usage, however, /bàː/ exclusively denotes a male, whereas /ʔàj/ and /ʔíː/ may denote a person of either sex.

In both ordinary and intimate usages, a particle-prefixed anaphor, which may contain a name (e.g., /bàːsăn/), a demonstrative (e.g., /bàːhān/), or a diminutive word (e.g., /ʔiːlâː/), is oriented only towards the addressee (i.e., used as an address and second-person reference term) or the referent (i.e., used as a third-person reference term) and is never used as a self-reference term. Thus the choice of particle-prefixed anaphors is made on the basis of the addressee's or the referent's sex; those prefixed with /bàː/ and /ʔàj/ basically address or refer to males and those prefixed with /ʔiː/ to females. Example 58 below, reproduced from Example 22, illustrates the use of one of these anaphors.

Example 58 (Reproduction of Example 22): Ordinary Use of Particle-Prefixed Anaphor

P1:	...	haː	tʃăʔ	paj	wát	kam.	t^{h}âː	bàːtʃăn	maː	hăː
	…	I	will	go	temple	while	if	Jan	come	meet
	hɨ̄ː	man	toːj	paj	hăː	haː	tīː	wat.		
	let	he	join	go	meet	I	at	temple		
	'…I'll go to the temple for a while. If Jan comes to see me, tell him to go see me at the temple.'									
P2:	dâj	kàː.	tæː	bàːtʃăn	tɨŋ	lúk	k^{h}wăːj.	man	bɔː	maː	ŋāːj.
	can	PPC-A	but	Jan	anyway	rise	late	he	not	come	easy
	'Sure. But Jan gets up late, no matter what. He won't come soon.'									

However, in its special intimate usage, the particle /ʔiː/ (cf. section 4.5.2.1) is used to prefix kinship terms like /pɔ̄ː/ ('father'), /mǣː/ ('mother'), or /p̄īː/ ('elder sister'). Such anaphors can be used as terms of address and second-person reference, self-reference (first-person anaphora) and third-person reference. Here the choice of particle-prefixed anaphors is determined by the sex denoted by the kinship term attached, not by sex denoted by the particle /ʔiː/. As a reproduction of Example 23, Example 59 below illustrates /ʔiːpɔ̄ː/ and /ʔiːmǣː/ in their special intimate usages.

Example 59 (Reproduction of Example 23): Anaphors /ʔiːpɔ̄ː/ and /ʔiːmǣː/ in Special Intimate Usages

P1: ...wannímː ʔiːmǣː paj tʰànŏnkʰondɜːn nɜ̄ː.
…today mother go shopping street PPC-I
'Today I'll go to the shopping street.'

P2: ʔiːpɔ̄ː paj toːj kɔ̀ː.
father go with PPC-Q
'Will daddy go with you?'

P1: ʔiːpɔ̄ː bɔ̀ː paj.
father not go
'No, he won't.'

P2: ʔán pɜn tʃăʔ tʃuan ʔiːpɔ̄ː paj nâː mɔː nɜ̄ː.
then I will persuade father go before university PPC-I
'If so, I'll persuade daddy to take me to in front of [Chiang Mai] University.'

5.3.5.3 Use Patterns of Other Phrasal Anaphors

Regular Kham Muang noun phrases already lexically established as anaphors include /kʰontʰâw/, /pùːtʰâw/, /ɲāːtʰâw/, and /làʔɔn/. Like the particle-prefixed anaphors, these regular noun phrases never function as first-person reference terms, and hence can be used by a speaker of either sex as terms of address, second-person reference, and third-person reference.

With regard to the factor of sex, these noun phrases can be divided into two groups. The first group consists of /kʰontʰâw/ and /làʔɔn/, both of which are sex-neutral. These two terms are therefore commonly used to address and refer to either males or females (in accord with their age levels and generations). The other group comprises the sex-specific terms /pùːtʰâw/ and /ɲāːtʰâw/, one of which denotes and is used to exclusively address or refer to a male, and the other a female.

The other type of Kham Muang phrasal anaphors, namely, the possessive noun phrase, mostly contains a kinship term as the head. This type of phrasal anaphors is commonly used as a term of address, second-person reference, and third-person reference, and does not perform the first-person reference function at all. Thus the influence of the factor of sex on the choice of possessive noun phrases is apparent in the cases of addressing, second-person referencing, and third-person referencing, where the speaker must choose based on the sex indicated by the head-word of the possessive noun phrase being used, which in most cases is a kinship term.

It should also be noted that a possessive noun phrase is widely used in reference to one's family obligations, especially with or in the presence of non-intimates, as discussed earlier in section 4.5.3.3. For this purpose, a possessive noun

phrase is used as an indirect means of reference, and is preferred over a more direct noun phrase. For instance, the less direct possessive noun phrase /pɔ̄ː nɔ́ːŋ bɔːj/ (‘little Boy’s father’) is preferred over the more direct noun phrase /pʰŭa pɜ̄n/ (‘my husband’), although both phrases point to the same referent. The use of possessive noun phrases for such a purpose of indirectness as this is more common amongst female Kham Muang speakers than amongst their male counterparts.

5.3.5.4 Social and Cultural Discussion

Of all the functions of phrasal anaphors, it is the indirectness function that most significantly communicates a cultural message. Brown and Levinson (1988) refer to this mechanism as a ‘face-saving’ strategy intended to avoid embarrassment or offence, be it on the speaker’s or the addressee’s or the referent’s part. Certain Kham Muang anaphoric possessive noun phrases perform such a pragmatic function by mitigating the implication or tabooed overtone that may otherwise be conveyed should a more direct anaphor, such as an affinal kinship term or a noun phrase, be used.

That this device is more commonly used by female speakers is not surprising. Many previous studies (Trudgill, 1983; Wardhaugh, 1986; Chambers, 2003) have documented a tendency that female speakers of languages resort to indirectness more frequently than male speakers do, whether for reasons of taboo avoidance, confrontation evasion, or emphasised politeness. Northern Thai women are similarly subject to such cultural expectation, whilst it is acceptable for men to be more direct or more confrontational. Thus this linguistic tool for indirectness is commonly adopted by female speakers of Kham Muang. Meanwhile, it should also be noted that a female speaker who does not conform to this cultural expectation—whether by mistake or by intention—would tend to be considered somewhat blunt or tactless.

5.4 The Addressee’s or the Referent’s Occupation in Relation to that of the Speaker

Based on the data, this final factor of occupation has relatively little influence on the choice of most types of anaphors. The current size and on-going expansion of Chiang Mai, as well as many other Northern Thai cities, have resulted in an ever widening range of occupations, most of which are presently regarded more as a means of sustaining livelihood and earning income than as publicly beneficent. The general view of occupations, therefore, is neither inclined towards admiration nor associated with any particular virtue, unlike the four traditionally honoured professions of teaching, instructing, medicine, and craftsmanship. As a consequent, a Kham Muang speaker is not likely to take seriously what the career of the addressee or the referent is—whether s/he is, say, a banker (/pʰánákŋaːntʰánaːkʰaːn/), an accountant (/nákbantʃʰiː/), an engineer (/wítsàwákɔːn/), or a photographer /tʃāŋpʰāːp/—and the choice of anaphor to address or refer to him/her is rarely influenced by his/her career, but definitely by some or all of the four factors already discussed. For instance, whether a speaker addresses an engineer with /kʰiŋ/ (casual ‘you’) or /ʔâːj/ or with a name is not mainly because he is an engineer. In fact, the word /wítsàwákɔːn/

('engineer'), as well as other words referring to present-day occupations, is hardly ever used as an address or second-person reference term. Thus, for example, it is common and natural to say to the addressee who is an instructor /ŋaːn tæ̀ŋ lūːk pʰǒm ʔaːtʃǎːn tôŋ maː nɜ̄ː/ ('You (instructor) must come to my daughter's wedding'), whilst it is weird, unnatural, and awkward to say to the addressee who is an engineer */ŋaːn tæ̀ŋ lūːk pʰǒm wítsàwákɔːn tôŋ maː nɜ̄ː/ ('You (engineer) must come to my daughter's wedding').

The factor of occupation may influence the choice of only two types of anaphors: the career terms and the concatenated basic anaphors containing career terms. In the case of career terms, if the speaker is a teacher, an instructor, or a physician, s/he can refer to himself/herself as /kʰuː/, /ʔaːtʃǎːn/, or /mɔ̌ː/, respectively. The term /sàlàː/ ('craftsman') is almost never used as a first-person reference term. If the addressee pursues one of these careers, s/he is usually addressed and referred to (as the second-person) by that career term. Likewise, a referent pursuing one of these careers is commonly referred to by that career term.

A similar influence is apparent in the choice of concatenated basic anaphors containing career terms, that is, anaphors made up of career terms and names. These phrasal anaphors are commonly used as terms of address, second-person reference, and third-person reference if the addressee or the referent is in one of these professions. A speaker who pursues any of these professions may use the term for self-reference as well.

Although the factor of occupation does not exert much influence on most anaphors, it serves to highlight general viewpoints towards occupations in Northern Thai society. Firstly, no special significance is attached to ordinary occupations. They are viewed as compulsory daily routines performed to earn a living. In general, little consideration is accorded to them in terms of their contribution or benefits to the community or society, and hence they are hardly ever subject to any social expectations. Next, Northern Thai society in general thinks highly of the traditionally honoured professions, namely, teaching, instructing, medicine, and craftsmanship. But that also means greater social expectations and pressure are mounted on their pursuers, who are faced with two major codes of conduct. Not only must they conform to the written code of conduct of their own professions but they are also subject to the social code of conduct. For instance, a designer or accountant involved in a scandalous love affair is likely to receive only social criticism, which may not last more than a few days. By contrast, if a physician or master craftsman is involved in such a scandal, the society is likely to demand that a penal course of action be taken against him/her, so much so that his/her guilt—if proven—may turn into a stigma. Thus, pursuers of these honoured professions, especially teaching, instructing, and medicine (as the number of true craftsmen is decreasing and the term is changing its denotative meaning to refer to builders in general), are generally respected, but one wrong deed may see them dejected. This social attitude plays a part in 'grooming' or 'socialising' a person by attempting to 'guarantee' the conduct of those people working in areas that closely affect essential aspects of life, as teachers and instructors represent education and livelihood, physicians represent medication, and craftsmen represent home-building.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION, SUGGESTIONS, AND LIMITATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

This study is to be concluded in two related areas. The first area relates to the structural and semantic analyses of forms used by Kham Muang speakers as anaphoric terms, as well as their social and cultural importance. The second pertains to the patterns of use of these anaphors in authentic conversation situations in the light of the controlled factors of interpersonal relationships, generation and age, sex, and occupation, through the application of the ethnography of communication framework.

6.1.1 Structural and Semantic Analyses

Kham Muang forms commonly used as anaphors are classified into five major categories. In addition to pronouns, other types of commonly used anaphora include names, kinship terms, career or status terms, and phrasal anaphors. Each type subsumed varying morphological and syntactic structures, namely, simple forms (e.g., a simple pronoun), compounded forms (e.g., a compounded kinship term), complex forms (e.g., a particle-prefixed form), and phrases (e.g., phrasal anaphors). Besides, in every type of Kham Muang anaphora, there are terms that denote semantic domains of kin-relation, socially honoured occupations and statuses, sex, and also combinations of these domains. These findings support this study's hypotheses concerning Kham Muang anaphor's structural diversity and semantic properties. Moreover, this study has also identified one unhypothesised morphological construct, that is, the clipped given name, which is widely used as an anaphoric term.

6.1.2 Ethnography of Communication Analysis

The ethnography of communication framework has been applied to this study of Kham Muang anaphora in order to test the communicative event factor hypothesis. According to the study, each factor influences the speaker's choice of each type of anaphora in the following ways. To begin with, the factor of inter-participant relationship influences the choice of pronouns, names, and phrasal anaphors, but hardly has any influence on the choice of kinship terms and career or status terms. Next, the influence of the factor of age and generation is mainly on the choice of pronouns, names, kinship terms, and phrasal anaphors, but hardly on the choice of career or status terms. The factor of sex has most influence on the choice of pronouns, names, and some phrasal anaphors, but hardly influences the choice of kinship terms and career or status terms. Lastly, the factor of occupation only influences the choice of career terms, but rarely influences any other type of anaphora.

6.2 Discussion

The results of this study can be discussed in two major aspects relating to social and cultural characteristics of Northern Thai society, as set forth in the objectives and hypotheses: from the semantic perspective and from the ethnography of communication perspective. A further aspect of the discussion concerns potential contribution of this study to the fields of linguistics and social sciences.

6.2.1 Social and Cultural Significance from the Semantic Perspective

The semantic findings, through the structural analysis, have revealed the following major aspects of Northern Thai society. First is the value of collectivism. Collectivism can be best illustrated by the current system of Kham Muang pronouns, in which the presence and frequent use of the emphatic plural pronouns is commonplace, often in contradistinction to the basic plural pronouns, which may also be used in a singular sense. In general, Northern Thais are known to be tightly attached to whatever 'group' of which they are members, and the group's interest, decisions and/or consensus normally take precedence over—yet in the long run benefit—individuals' matters. One obvious example for this value is the customs called /ʔawmíː/ and /sâːjmíː/. The former term refers to an individual's act of seeking and receiving help from other members of the 'group' in planting and harvesting his/her crops, which may be rice, wheat, corn, or beans. The 'group' in question does not necessarily refer to the entire community but rather to a smaller circle of community members agreeing to help one another for a certain purpose. Once a member of the 'group' has received the others' help, it is imperative that s/he host a dinner to thank all of the contributors and be ready to return their favour by helping them with their cultivations and harvests come their rounds—the act referred to by the latter term.

Next is the aspect of power-distance perception. This aspect is demonstrated by the relative correlation between name-types used as anaphors and the varying degrees of power and intimacy, as possessed by each of the conversation participants. The different types of names whereby a person can be referred to function as an indicator of varying power distances perceived by different people with whom the person is in contact. According to the anthropologist Hofstede's culture-assessing framework (2005), the average power distance maintained amongst Thais in general is relatively high, at the ranking of 64, which is slightly lower than the Asian average ranking of 71.

However, such an average ranking only gives an overall index of power-distance perception by a certain portion of the population, and by no means should it be taken to be the case for each individual under all circumstances. In actual social interactions, a person's power-distance perception can vary depending on a number of factors, such as the proximity of relationships, age, sex, amongst others. For example, a person's usual degree of power-distance perception may be close to the country-average index, but when the person has developed better relationships with the people with whom s/he is in contact, s/he is likely to perceive the distance of power as becoming smaller. The use of different name-types for anaphoric purposes is not an indicator of participants' power itself, but rather of the varying degrees of power-

distance perception each participant holds towards the others. The use of full given names, for example, is usually indicative of a condition in which high power distance is perceived by one or more of the participants in a communicative event, whilst the use of less formal name-types often marks lowering degrees of power-distance perception.

The next aspect shown in this study pertains to the maintenance of social order and harmony. The major linguistic device used for this purpose is the kinship terms, which are used both amongst kinspersons and non-kinspersons for addressing and referencing functions. The meanings of generation and relative age, which are salient features of most Kham Muang kinship terms, are essential markers for the age and generational distinction, as well as respect duly accorded to each term on the basis of relative age and generation. Such embedded features serve two-fold functions. On the one hand, they serve to maintain social cohesion on the basis of quasi-kin relationships. Members of Northern Thai society generally treat one another as though they were kin-related or members of the same big, extended household. At the same time, these features function as controllers of social order and harmony, defining the boundary of familiarity which a person may or may not be allowed to cross, so as to prevent such quasi-kin relationships from breeding inconsideration and disorder.

The final aspect portrays Northern Thai society's inseparable relationship with Buddhism. The status terms /nɔ́ːj/ and /nǎːn/, meaning 'ex-novice' and 'ex-monk', respectively, convey a sense much deeper than the superficial concept of 'former novice' or 'former monk'. As analysed in Chapter 4, these two terms' semantic entailments not only connote the physical properties of age and sex but also, as their most important part, the number of precepts that a novice or a monk is required to practise during his novitiate or monkhood (10 versus 227 respectively). That these terms of respect are used to address or refer to Northern Thai men formerly in novitiate or monkhood signifies the society's long-lasting recognition of the role of Buddhism in directing individuals and the society.

Ex-novices and ex-monks are considered men who have, at a certain period of their lives, voluntarily subjected themselves to Buddhist disciplinary conduct for the purpose of attaining spiritual and intellectual enlightenment. For this reason, such men—particularly a /nǎːn/—are regarded with honour and respect, along with heavy expectations by the society in behavioural, spiritual, and intellectual terms. Firstly, behaviourally, they are expected to be role-models for younger men both in daily life and religious terms. Secondly, in the spiritual realm, they are often entrusted with ceremonies or rituals relating to rites of passage concerning one's birth, ordainment, house-building, house-warming, or death. According to Payomyong, a professor-emeritus of Lanna Thai culture, a man eligible to assume the status of a 'learned elderly teacher' (/pùːtʃǎːn/ as shortened from /pùːʔaːtʃǎːn/, literally 'grandfather teacher') must only be a /nǎːn/; in other words, he must have been ordained as a monk and must have left monkhood voluntarily—that is, not forced to leave monkhood. Intellectually, they are viewed as supposedly well learned or properly educated people. Although the shift of educational role from temples to educational institutes has caused the saliency of this intellectual image to gradually recede, as present-day parents prefer enrolling their sons in schools to having them spend a few years at a temple, native Northern Thais in general still look up to ex-monks (sometimes ex-novices too) when they need somebody to consult with. This is because the people

consider local ex-monks as not only learned in religious and worldly affairs but also knowledgeable about the cultural background, understanding, values, or traditional beliefs held by the locals. Based on interviews with the language associates, a man must possess five major qualifications to be recognised as a 'learned elderly teacher': (i) being a /năːn/; (ii) having righteous and respectable behaviour; (iii) having leadership personality; (iv) having mental and physical agility; and (v) sacrificing personal time.

In fact, the present-day terms denoting honoured professions, namely, /kʰuː/ ('teacher'), /ʔatʃăːn/ ('instructor'), and /mɔ̌ː/ ('physician'), have been derived semantically from the religious domain, as can be seen in the case of /pùːtʃăːn/ discussed above. In former times, before formal education and modern medicine were introduced to Northern Thai society, the centre of learning, teaching, and traditional healing was the temple. Novices and monks were the people with the opportunity to study worldly subjects, religious doctrines, and traditional healing practices. Traditionally, the term /kʰuː/ was used to refer to learned men with the ability to impart knowledge to others, /ʔatʃăːn/ to those qualified to perform holy rituals, and /mɔ̌ː/ to those with specialised skills in a particular area. At present, whilst these terms have been applied to people with modern, formal training in the educational and medical fields, they owe their connotation of long-lasting respect and honour to their originally religious denotations.

Such deeply rooted relationship between Northern Thais and Buddhism in Northern Thai society can be discussed in historical terms. Buddhism in the Lanna Kingdom took a pivotal turn in 1355 AD (1898 BE) during the reign of King Kue Na, which is known as the Prosperous Age of the Lanna Kingdom (Ongsakul 1986:29). The sixth king of the Lanna Dynasty, King Kue Na adopted Lankanese Buddhism[14] from Sukhothai to replace the existing Burmese sect of Buddhism, and gathered anchoretic monks in Chiang Mai as the main figures by whom religious rituals would be performed (Kayasit 1985). Believing in the purity of Lankanese Buddhism, King Kue Na welcomed Phra Sumana Dhera, a dominant monk of the Lankanese order of Buddhism, from Haribhunchai (Lamphun) and invited him to dwell at Bupharam Temple. Phra Sumana Dhera played an important role in laying and strengthening the foundation of Lankanese Buddhism in Chiang Mai, so much so that even after his demise in 1389 AD (1931 BE), Bupharam Temple continued to be centre of Lankanese Buddhism, or a Buddhist Seminary, where monks from many regions, such as Chiang Saen (presently a district of Chiang Rai Province of Thailand) and Keng Tung (presently a town in Myanmar), gathered to study Buddhist doctrines (Annals of Buddhism: The Pa Daeng Temple Edition). Thenceforth, the locals' interest in Buddhism and desire to attain intellectual enlightenment through Buddhist practice were kindled, and Chiang Mai succeeded Haribhunchai (Lamphun) as a new centre of Buddhism in the Lanna Kingdom.

[14] This is an alternative term for the Maha Nikaya order of Theravada Buddhism.

6.2.2 Social and Cultural Significance from the Ethnography of Communication Perspective

The ethnography of communication framework has been applied to investigate how Kham Muang anaphoric patterns are influenced by the factors of inter-participant relationship, age, generation, sex, and occupation, through actual communicative events. In real conversations, these factors hardly operate in isolation, meaning that the speaker subconsciously considers each factor in conjunction with the other factors before deciding which anaphoric term to use with a certain person in each communicative event. Based on the observations, each of these factors is normally considered according to the order of its importance in relation to one another, and probably in relation to other factors not included in this study also. The interplay of these factors can be discussed as follows.

Firstly, when in an encounter or a conversation with and about other people, the speaker's first (usually subconscious) attempt is to judge the addressee's and the referent's probable generations. If the addressee or the referent belongs to a senior or a junior generation, the factor of age is unnecessary, the factor of inter-participant relationship is abated, and the factor of occupation is generally ignored. The choice of anaphora can be made based principally on the factor of generation.

But if the addressee or the referent belongs to the same generation, the speaker's next consideration is whether the addressee or the referent is approximately as old as, older than, or younger than himself/herself. Having identified this, the speaker can then make a choice as to what anaphor would be appropriate. This age-based consideration also overrides the factors of occupation and inter-participant relationship.

In case the addressee or the referent is of the same age as the speaker, then the speaker needs to resort to the next factor, inter-participant relationship, which concerns the relationship between the speaker himself/herself and the addressee or the referent. The choice of anaphors would then be based on whether the participants in question have close, medial, or distant relationships to one another. This factor, too, takes precedence over the factor of occupation.

However, in case any of the participants is a pursuer of one of the honoured professions (i.e., being a teacher, an instructor, a physician, or a craftsman), of which the terms have been institutionalised as anaphors, the factor of occupation usually becomes dominant, overriding the factors of age and generation. It is, therefore, not unusual for a 60-year-old of either sex to address or refer to a 25-year-old teacher by using the career term /$k^{h}u$:/ ('teacher'), or a combination of this term with the addressee's name, instead of any other age-based or generation-based anaphor.

The only factor that generally has greater influence on the choice of anaphors than the factor of honoured profession is that of inter-participant relationship. In case the conversation event participants are closely related, their occupations are immaterial, and they are usually addressed and referred to by other anaphoric terms, chosen by recourse to the above factors.

In this entire process of anaphor selection, the factor of sex plays a parallel role in every step, enabling the speaker to choose between male-denoting and female-denoting anaphors that are available in each type of anaphora. That is, if generation, age, or inter-participant relationship determines that a kinship term (or a pronoun, or a

phrasal anaphor) is to be used, the speaker needs to select the kinship term that correctly denotes the addressee's or the referent's sex.

This entire process and pattern of anaphor selection observed in authentic conversations reveal some significant characteristics of Northern Thai society. Firstly, elderliness or seniority, whether due to one's older age or generation, is one of the most important social and cultural foundations. A highly respected quality amongst Kham Muang speakers, seniority serves as a basis on which social order is maintained and as the core of most cultural traditions having been observed since former times.

Next to elderliness is the societal acceptance of male dominion or patriarchy. Despite the widespread practice of matrilocality, males are still generally considered more authoritative than females in most Northern Thai households. Even in present-day society where the trend of gender equality is particularly strong, men still seem to have a slight advantage over women when tasks, roles, or positions requiring leadership or authority are considered.

Finally, much importance is also placed on professions of high esteem, so much so that they often predominate even over seniority. The life-long respect or honour accorded to beneficial or charitable professions can be traced back at least to the period of the Great Restoration of Chiang Mai in the mid-19th century, when skilled or experienced pursuers of similar occupations played an essential role in re-establishing Chiang Mai as the centre of the Lanna Kingdom.

6.2.3 Contribution

The potential contribution of this study to the fields of linguistics and social sciences is complementary in nature. As language is a device used by the society and its members to communicate and transfer concepts, ideas, and various kinds of information, both intrasocially (i.e., within the society), intersocially (i.e., between societies), synchronically (i.e., at a certain period of time), and diachronically (i.e., through different periods of time), the society itself functions as a context for such forms of communication to achieve optimal effectiveness. The findings of this study reinforce the tri-faceted relation between the concrete form (i.e., the anaphora as a linguistic form), the abstract meaning (i.e., the underlying concepts signified by the anaphora) and the context (i.e., the very communicative act and, for this study, factors accompanying its participants). All these three interconnected elements of communication are based on underlying social and cultural presuppositions shared by people involved in a given communicative act, as illustrated in Figure 6.1 below.

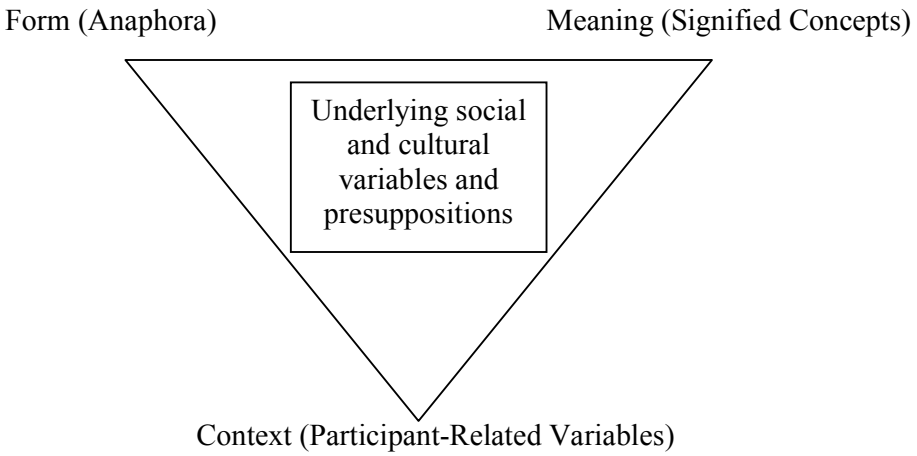

Figure 6.1 Tri-Faceted Relation of Communication

Many of the previous studies in sociolinguistics or ethnolinguistics have focused primarily on the form and meaning, whereas the context has received relatively little attention. Surprisingly, such incomplete focus still exists in the learning of such a popular language as English, causing learners to have a fragmentary grasp of forms and meanings and a lack of skills needed to put them into use in a contextually appropriate manner. This study has reinforced the fact that only in contexts can language be better examined, taught, learned, and used.

Another aspect of this study's contribution is in terms of data-gathering methodology. Whilst it may be true that a methodology that employs a laboratory setting for data collection may ensure a maximum input of data, the naturalness or authenticity of data, especially in cases of language-usage data, is questionable, as there is no solid contextual ground for the verification of the actual use of the data. On the other hand, the method of gathering data in real contexts, that is, in actual communicative events, may not yield the broadest input range, but it can ensure greater naturalness and authenticity of linguistic features as used by native speakers in a given context.

6.3 Suggestions

This study, which has presented structural, semantic, and ethnographic analyses of Kham Muang anaphora, may relate in varying proportions to a number of other areas worth investigating. First of all, as it is likely that Kham Muang is being affected by the rapidly increasing popularity of Central Thai, particularly in urban areas, it is worthwhile to focus further studies on co-usages of Kham Muang and Central Thai anaphora as a form of code-switching. Such studies may take into consideration variables other than those used in this study, for example, superstition, the topic under discussion, different communication situations, interpersonal relationship in a given professional realm, and the like.

Secondly, to keep up with the increasing practice and societal acceptance of transvestism or lady-boyishness, as well as lesbianism, in which certain linguistic devices are used as a means of marking 'insidership' or 'group solidarity', studies in Kham Muang anaphora can be oriented towards patterns that are characteristic of or used to mark the identities of such groups of speakers.

Thirdly, Kham Muang anaphoric use can also be investigated in discourse analysis frameworks, with an emphasis on discourse functions of anaphors, so as to establish what I may term an 'anaphoric grammar' of Kham Muang based on each of the various types of discourse, such as the narrative, the procedural, or the hortatory discourse.

Finally, as this study has very slightly addressed, anaphora may operate in conjunction with certain phonetic or phonological features, such as accent (herein referring to phonetic stress) or intonation, further in-depth investigation of acoustic properties associated with certain anaphoric functions would provide a more complete picture of the spoken communication of the language.

6.4 Limitations

The method of gathering data in actual communicative settings, which has been employed for this study, provides an advantage of authentic linguistic data. However, as hinted in the preceding section, this method tends not to supply the researcher with the broadest range of possible linguistic data, but only the range of features commonly used by native speakers in the focused context. To acquire a broader range of data means the context-related scope needs to be expanded.

Another limitation encountered in the course of this research is that certain potential factors could not be effectively put to test. Certain participant-related factors, such as education level and income, could have significant impact on the study's outcome, but information pertaining to such factors is so sensitive that attempts to elicit it could mar the already well established rapport between the researcher and the subjects, and could jeopardise the authenticity of the data as a consequence. During the pilot stage, many potential subjects expressed reluctance to reveal information relating to their education and/or income. For this reason, and for the reason that this study is to be based upon spontaneous, authentic data, these two factors, which are common in most sociological studies, were excluded from this research.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CONSENT FORM (ENGLISH)

Consent Form

Consent given at: _____

Date: _____

I, Mr/Miss/Mrs _____, have permitted Mr Chaiyathip Katsura, A Ph D candidate whose dissertation topic is 'Kham Muang Anaphora and Its Social and Cultural Significance', of the Social Sciences Programme, School of Liberal Arts, Mae Fah Luang University, to record and/or transcribe some or all of my conversations which have taken place immediately before, and/or which will take place at any time after, this consent is given, to be used only for his research, dissertation writing, and any academic articles required for his degree fulfilment.

Incidentally, Mr Chaiyathip has agreed that only my conversations that pertain to the topic 'auspicious event' will be transcribed and/or recorded, and that under no circumstances shall (i) my real name, surname, and other personal information be disclosed without my specific permission and/or instructions; (ii) any portions of my conversations not pertaining to the topic 'auspicious event' be revealed by any means or to anyone without my specific permission and/or instructions; and (iii) the contents of my conversations, which are used for his research, dissertation writing, and any academic articles required for his degree fulfilment, be used in any other way or for any other purpose.

_____
(_____)
Giver of consent

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM (THAI)

แบบแสดงความยินยอม

ให้ความยินยอมที่: _____

วันที่: _____

ข้าพเจ้า นาย/นาง/นางสาว _____ อนุญาตให้นายชัยทิพย์ คัดสุระ นักศึกษาปริญญาเอก หลักสูตรสังคมศาสตร์ สำนักวิชาศิลปศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยแม่ฟ้าหลวง ซึ่งเขียนดุษฎีนิพนธ์ในหัวข้อ “คำเรียกขานอ้างอิงในภาษาคำเมืองและนัยยะสำคัญทางสังคมและวัฒนธรรม” สามารถบันทึกเสียง และ/หรือ ถอดความเป็นตัวอักษร ซึ่งการสนทนาบางส่วนหรือทั้งหมดของข้าพเจ้า ที่เพิ่งเกิดขึ้นก่อนหน้าการให้ความยินยอมนี้ และ/หรือ ที่จะเกิดขึ้นในเวลาใดๆก็ตามภายหลังการให้ความยินยอมนี้ เพื่อให้นายชัยทิพย์ คัดสุระใช้ในการศึกษาวิจัย การเขียนวิทยานิพนธ์ และการเขียนบทความทางวิชาการใด ๆ ก็ตามที่จำเป็นต่อการสำเร็จการศึกษาระดับปริญญาเอกของเขา

ทั้งนี้ นายชัยทิพย์ได้ยอมตกลงว่า เฉพาะการสนทนาของข้าพเจ้าที่เกี่ยวข้องกับหัวข้อ “เหตุการณ์อันเป็นมงคล” เท่านั้นที่จะถูกถอดความเป็นตัวอักษร และ/หรือ ถูกบันทึกเสียง และจะไม่มีกรณีใด ๆ ที่ (๑) ชื่อจริง นามสกุล หรือข้อมูลส่วนบุคคลอื่นๆ จะถูกเปิดเผยโดยไม่ได้รับการอนุญาต และ/หรือ คำสั่งอย่างเจาะจงจากข้าพเจ้า (๒) เนื้อหาส่วนใดๆก็ตามในการสนทนาของข้าพเจ้าที่ไม่เกี่ยวข้องกับหัวข้อ “เหตุการณ์อันเป็นมงคล” จะถูกเปิดเผยโดยวิธีการใดๆก็ตาม หรือแก่บุคคลใดก็ตาม โดยไม่ได้รับการอนุญาต และ/หรือ คำสั่งอย่างเจาะจงจากข้าพเจ้า และ (๓) เนื้อหาในการสนทนาของข้าพเจ้า ที่ใช้สำหรับการศึกษาวิจัย การเขียนวิทยานิพนธ์ และการเขียนบทความทางวิชาการของเขา ซึ่งจำเป็นต่อการสำเร็จการศึกษาระดับปริญญาเอกของเขา จะถูกนำไปใช้ในลักษณะอื่น หรือเพื่อจุดมุ่งหมายอื่น

_____

(_____)

ผู้ให้ความยินยอม

APPENDIX C

SUBJECT PROFILING FORM: PRIMARY SUBJECT

Subject number: _____

Sex: male / female

Age group: 25 / 45 / 60

Occupation: _____

Birthplace: _____

Childhood spent in: _____

Schooled in: _____

Family's domicile: _____

Current residence: _____

Marriage (if applicable): _____

APPENDIX D

SUBJECT PROFILING FORM: SECONDARY SUBJECT

Subject number: _____

Sex: male / female

Age group: 25 / 45 / 60

Occupation: _____

Relationship with primary subject: _____

Birthplace: _____

Childhood spent in: _____

Schooled in: _____

Family's domicile: _____

Current residence: _____

Marriage (if applicable): _____

APPENDIX E

PARTICIPANT-DATA RECORDING FORM

Primary Subject _____; sex: _____; age: _____; career: _____)

	Sex		Age & Gen			Career	Relationship
	Male	Female	Ygr	Eql	Odr		
Participant: B							
Participant: C							
Referent: X							

APPENDIX F

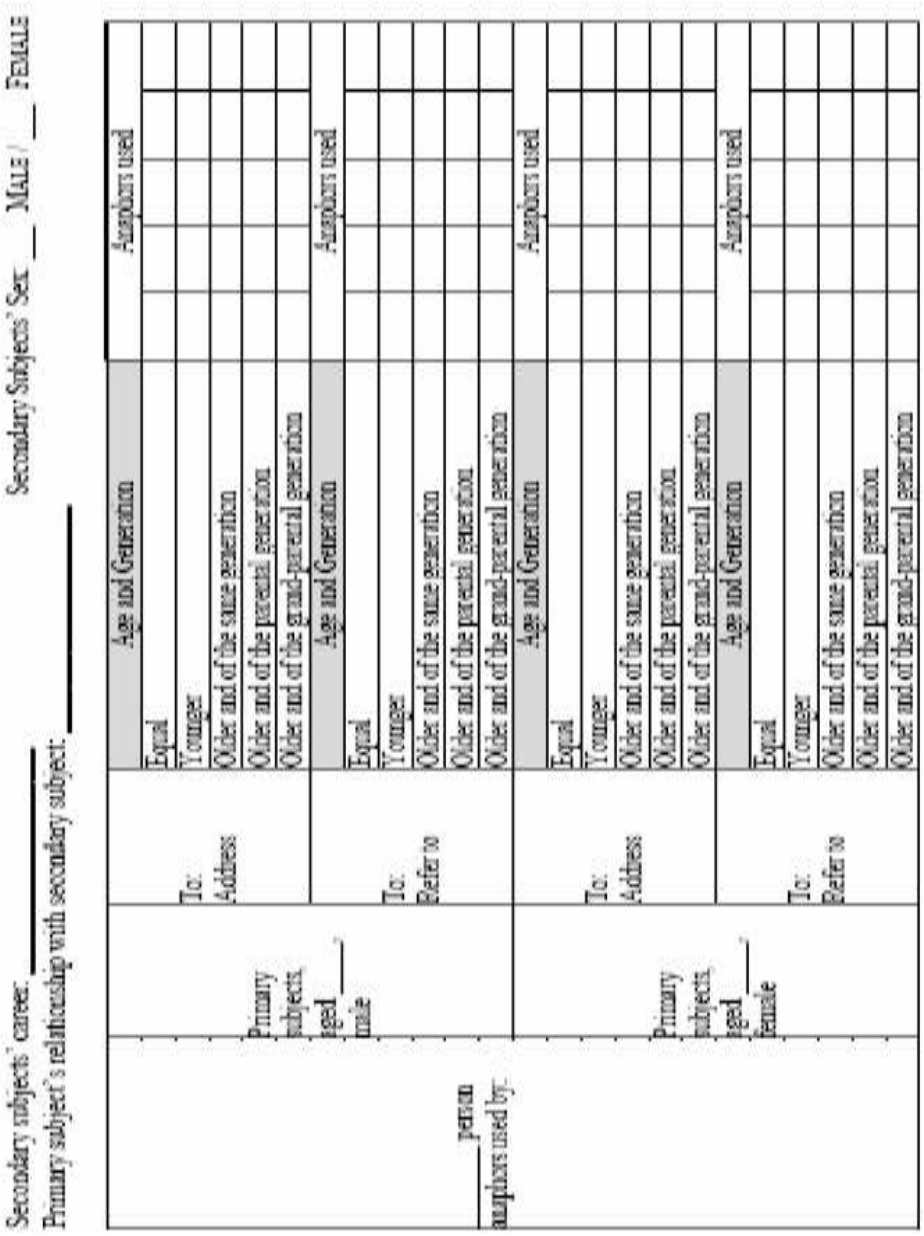
ANAPHORIC-DATA RECORDING FORM

As used by participant: _____

	First-person anaphor	Second-person anaphor	Third-person anaphor
With participant: B			
With interlocutor: C			
About referent: X			

APPENDIX G

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SUBJECTS



APPENDIX H

COMMUNICATIVE EVENT TEMPLATE

COMMUNICATIVE EVENT TEMPLATE

SYNOPSIS: (brief description of the event)

TOPIC:

FUNCTION/PURPOSE:

SETTING (place, time, season, etc):

KEY (serious, casual, humorous, etc):

PARTICIPANTS:

P1: Name, status, age, sex, etc

P2: Name, status, age, sex, etc

P3: Name, status, age, sex, etc

MESSAGE FORM (anaphoric usages):

P1: (using anaphor ___ to address ___; using ___ to refer to ___; etc)

P2: (using anaphor ___ to address ___; using ___ to refer to ___; etc)

P3: (using anaphor ___ to address ___; using ___ to refer to ___; etc)

ACT SEQUENCE (order of speech):

RULES FOR INTERACTION (asking permission, apologising, etc):

NORMS OF INTERPRETATION:

Anaphor X is used by participant A to address ___/refer to ___ when, because, if ___.

Anaphor Y is used by participant B to address ___/refer to ___ when, because, if ___.

Anaphor Z is used by participant C to address/refer to the researcher when, because, if ___.

CURRICULUM VITAE

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME	Mr. Chaiyathip Katsura
DATE OF BIRTH	3 December 1966
ADDRESS	167 Moo 4 Wiang Chai Subdistrict, Wiang Chai District, Chiang Rai 57210 Thailand.

EDUCATION BACKGROUND

1994	Master of Arts (Linguistics) Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand.
1990	Bachelor of Arts (English) Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand.

WORK EXPERIENCE

2003-to date	Instructor of English and linguistics (Appointed to Assistant-Professorship of English in 2006), English Department, School of Liberal Arts, Mae Fah Luang University, Chiang Rai, Thailand.
1994-2003	Instructor of English and linguistics, English Department, Faculty of Humanities, Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand.