

การเปลี่ยนแปลงที่กำลังดำเนินอยู่ของระบบบรรณารักษณามในภาษาไทยที่พูดในประเทศ
ไทย ประเทศสาธารณรัฐประชาธิปไตยประชาชนลาว และประเทศสาธารณรัฐประชาชนจีน



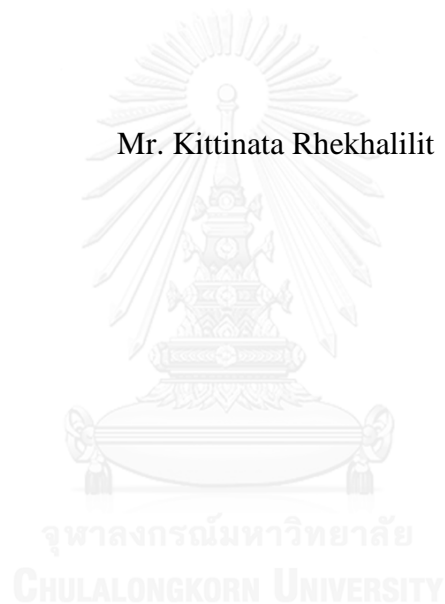
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ON-
GOING CHANGE OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUN SYSTEM IN TAI LUE SPOK
EN IN THAILAND, THE LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Mr. Kittinata Rhekhalilit



A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy Program in Linguistics

Department of Linguistics

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กิตติเนา เชาวลิต : การเปลี่ยนแปลงที่กำลังดำเนินอยู่ของระบบบุรุษสรรพนามในภาษาไทลื้อที่พูดในประเทศไทย ประเทศสาธารณรัฐประชาธิปไตยประชาชนลาว และประเทศสาธารณรัฐประชาชนจีน (ON- GOING CHANGE OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUN SYSTEM IN TAI LUE SPOKEN IN THAILAND, THE LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA) อ.ที่ปริกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: ศ. กิตติคุณ ดร. อมรา ประสิทธิ์รัฐสินธุ์, อ.ที่ปริกษาวิทยานิพนธ์ร่วม: ศ. ดร. ทอม อิบเนอร์, 201 หน้า.

บุรุษสรรพนามหมายถึงคำที่บ่งชี้บทบาทของผู้ร่วมสนทนา ในภาษาบางภาษาเช่น ภาษาฝรั่งเศส ภาษาทมิฬ และ ภาษาไทย การเลือกบุรุษสรรพนาม ไม่ได้ถูกกำหนดโดยความหมายทางไวยากรณ์ เช่นบุรุษ เพศ และ พจน์เท่านั้น หากยังถูกกำหนดโดยความหมายทางสังคมเช่น สถานะทางสังคมของผู้พูด และความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างผู้พูดและผู้ฟัง

ภาษาไทลื้อเป็นอีกหนึ่งภาษาที่บุรุษสรรพนามมีความหมายทางสังคมซึ่งสัมพันธ์กับการแปรในการใช้บุรุษสรรพนาม ผู้วิจัยมีข้อสงสัยว่าการแปรดังกล่าวบ่งบอกถึงการเปลี่ยนแปลงที่กำลังดำเนินอยู่หรือไม่ และยังไม่พบการศึกษาใดที่ให้คำตอบไว้ ดังนั้นจึงมีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อวิเคราะห์ความหมายทางไวยากรณ์และทางสังคมของบุรุษสรรพนามในภาษาไทลื้อ นอกจากนี้ยังมุ่งศึกษาการแปรของบุรุษสรรพนามตามลักษณะทางสังคมของผู้พูดและความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างผู้พูดและผู้ฟังเพื่ออนุมานกระบวนการการเปลี่ยนแปลงที่กำลังดำเนินอยู่ของระบบบุรุษสรรพนามดังกล่าว

กลุ่มตัวอย่างของการศึกษานี้คัดเลือกมาจากผู้พูดภาษาไทลื้อที่อาศัยอยู่ในชุมชนไทลื้อในประเทศไทย สาธารณรัฐประชาธิปไตยประชาชนลาวและสาธารณรัฐประชาชนจีน ผู้วิจัยเก็บข้อมูลโดยการสัมภาษณ์ผู้บอกภาษาสามรุ่นอายุได้แก่ รุ่นอายุมาก (60ปีขึ้นไป) รุ่นอายุกลาง (35-50ปี) และ รุ่นอายุน้อย (ต่ำกว่า 25ปี)

ผลการศึกษาพบว่าบุรุษสรรพนามในภาษาไทลื้อถูกกำกับด้วยความหมายทางไวยากรณ์สามประการ ได้แก่ บุรุษ เพศ และ พจน์ และความหมายทางสังคมสี่ประการ ได้แก่ รุ่นอายุ เพศของผู้พูด ความสัมพันธ์เชิงสถานภาพ ระหว่างผู้พูดและผู้ฟัง และความสนิทสนมของผู้ร่วมสนทนา นอกจากนี้ ยังพบการแปรของบุรุษสรรพนามตามอายุของผู้พูด พบว่าผู้พูดรุ่นอายุมากมักใช้บุรุษสรรพนามตามความหมายทางไวยากรณ์ ในขณะที่ผู้พูดรุ่นอายุน้อยมักใช้บุรุษสรรพนามตามความหมายทางสังคมการแยกต่างตามอายุดังกล่าวตีความได้ว่าระบบสรรพนามในภาษาไทลื้อกำลังมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงที่กำลังดำเนินอยู่

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KITTINATA RHEKHALILIT: ON- GOING CHANGE OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUN SYSTEM IN TAI LUE SPOKEN IN THAILAND, THE LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. ADVISOR: PROF. AMARA PRASITHRATHSINT, Ph.D., CO-ADVISOR: PROF. THOM HUEBNER, Ph.D., 201 pp.

Personal pronouns refer to words that denote the participant's role in a conversation. In some languages, such as French, Tamil, and Thai, the choice of personal pronouns are not determined only by grammatical meanings, such as person, gender, and number, but also by social meanings, such as the social status of the speaker, and the relationship between the speaker and the addressee.

Tai Lue is another language in which personal pronouns have social meanings, which are related to variation in the use of the pronouns. The researcher suspected that such variation might signify change in progress, and none of the past studies have provided the answer. Therefore, this study aims at analyzing the grammatical and social meanings of Tai Lue personal pronouns. It also focuses on the variation in the use of the pronouns according to the social characteristics of the speaker and the relationship between the speaker and the addressee in order to infer the process of change in progress in the system of Tai Lue personal pronouns.

The sample of informants is from three Tai Lue communities in three countries, namely, Thailand, The Lao PDR and The People's Republic of China. The data were collected by interviewing the Tai Lue informants from three generations: old (over 60), middle (30-50) and young (less than 25).

The results of the analysis show that Tai Lue personal pronouns are marked by three grammatical meanings: person, gender, and number, and four social meanings: age and gender of the speakers, and the relative status and intimacy between the conversation participants. The analysis of age differentiation shows that the old generation tends to use personal pronouns according to the original grammatical meanings while the young generation adopts new social meanings. This pattern of age differentiation is here interpreted as change in progress in Tai Lue pronominal system.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale

Apart from a means of communication, one primary function of language is to establish and maintain the relationships between conversation participants. One way in which these relationships are encoded is through the use of pronouns.

Consider the following sentences from Standard Thai and English.

- 1) *phǒm jàak dâaj náam.taan*
- 2) *di.chán jàak dâaj náam.taan*
- 3) *kuu jàak dâaj náam.taan*
- 4) *“I want some sugar.”*

The above sentences look quite similar except the choice of personal pronoun in the first three sentences, even though these sentences share the same core meaning, ‘I want some sugar.’ Those who understand Standard Thai will surely recognize the difference among them. The first sentence 1) differs from the second 2) in terms of the speaker’s gender. It is spoken by a male speaker while the second should be spoken by a female speaker. The third sentence is supposedly spoken by someone when talking to an intimate addressee. In contrast, when considering sentence 4) from English, the reader cannot predict or infer the characteristics or the social relationship between the speaker and the addressee. These examples show that the choice of personal pronouns in Standard Thai implies some social characteristics and social relationships between the participants.

A large number of studies (Agha, 2007; Brown & Gilman, 1960; Siewierska, 2004); agree that the appropriate use of personal pronouns in many languages requires not only grammatical knowledge of how pronouns are put in sentences but also the social knowledge of how pronouns are selected in appropriate situations based on the social relations between the participants, including the third party involved. In other words, native speakers of those languages would select personal pronouns according to social contexts, and those in Southeast Asia are no exception.

Personal pronouns in many languages belong to a closed word class in which new members are not readily added into the inventory, and they are arranged systematically in a paradigm. Siewierska (2004) defines “paradigm” as a group of members sharing the same syntactic properties and they normally occur in complementary distribution. Some examples of personal pronoun paradigms in German and Spanish are shown below.

Table 1.1: German personal pronoun paradigm (Sangaramreung, 2005)

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st person	<i>ich</i>	<i>wir</i>
2 nd person	<i>du, Sie</i>	<i>ihr, Sie</i>
3 rd person	<i>er(m.), sie(f.), es(n.)</i>	<i>sie</i>

**Table 1.2 : Nominative Spanish personal pronoun paradigm
(Publishing & Turk, 2009)**

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st person	<i>yo</i>	<i>nosotros/nosotras</i>
2 nd person	<i>tu (informal), usted (formal)</i>	<i>vosotros/ vosotras(informal), ustedes(formal)</i>
3 rd person	<i>el(m.), ella (f.), ello</i>	<i>ellos(m.)/ ellas (f.)</i>

The above examples show that personal pronouns in many languages can be arranged into an orderly system. In addition, as the members of pronoun systems occur in a complementary distribution, they do not occur in the same sentence. For example, if the Spanish pronoun *tu* ‘you.informal’ occurs in a sentence, its counterpart *usted* ‘you.formal’ or *vosotros* ‘you.all.informal’ tend not to occur in the same sentence.

In addition, pronouns can be subdivided into several subclasses. For example, Campbell (1969) classified pronouns in Thai into four types namely 1) Personal pronouns, 2) Relative pronoun, 3) Definite pronoun and 4) Interrogative and Indefinite pronouns. These four types of pronouns have different functions and behaviors. The pronouns which function to refer to the participant roles in

conversation and also imply their relationship are personal pronouns. As a result, they are very interesting in terms of grammatical and social properties. In this study, *personal pronouns* are defined as a set of words in a particular language functioning to identify the participant roles of a conversation such as the speaker, the addressee and the third party, and including their social relationship. It should be noted that this study focuses on the proper personal pronouns, and excludes the pronominal terms such as kinship terms, occupational terms and also address terms because they are not inherently marked by grammatical categories.

In terms of grammatical studies, there are four main approaches to the studies of personal pronouns. The first approach classifies the personal pronouns into an independent class and function to substitute other words to avoid redundancy such as Bloomfield (1933), Sweet (1892), Campbell (1969), Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990), and Crystal (1999). Another approach believes that personal pronouns are a bundle of features such as Thomas (1993) Harley & Ritter 2002, Givon (1984). In the bundles of features approach, personal pronouns consist of inherent semantic features. Some common features are 1) participant deixis, 2) Number, 3) inclusion/exclusion, 4) class/gender 5) spatial deixis, and 6) case role. In Lexibase (such as Savetamalya (1989) and (Prasithratsint, 2000) treated a subclass of nouns due to some similar syntactic behaviors.

Another approach in studying personal pronouns is the continuum scale. Some linguists (such as Sugamoto, 1989 and Siewierska (2004) analyze pronouns on the pronominality scale as illustrated in Figure 1.1 below.

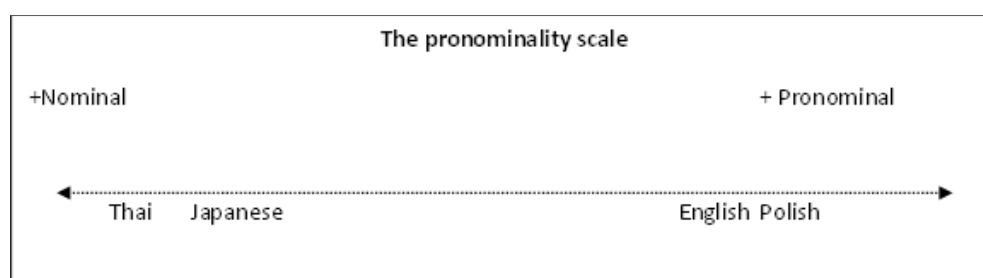


Figure 1.1: The pronominality scale of personal pronouns (Siewierska, 2004)

Figure 1.1 visualizes the status of pronouns in four different languages, that is, Polish, English, Japanese, and Thai. The figure suggests that pronouns in Thai and Japanese behave syntactically like nouns while those in English and Polish behave differently. To sum up, pronouns in different languages apparently have distinctive behaviors (see page 15).

However, studying pronouns in terms of grammar may not be sufficient in some languages because when the speaker chooses appropriate pronouns in a conversation, some sociocultural factors should be carefully considered, as Muhlhausler & Harre (1990: 27) stated “*pronominal grammar (personal pronoun) provides a window to the relationship between selves and the outside world.*” That is, pronouns express the relationship between the speaker and the society.

Take personal pronouns *I* and *you* in English as an example. As mentioned earlier, the example 4) *I want some sugar* above does not imply the relationship between the speaker and the addressee.

In contrast to English, many Asian languages have more complex pronominal system such as in Tamil in Table 1.3 below.

Table 1.3: Tamil personal pronouns (Siewierska 2004: 216)

Person	Singular	Plural	Honorific
1person incl.		<i>naampa/naama</i>	
excl.	<i>naan</i>	<i>naaga</i>	<i>naama</i>
2person	<i>nii</i>	<i>niinga</i>	<i>niinga/niir</i>
PROX 3person			
M	<i>ivan</i>	<i>ivanga</i>	<i>ivanru</i>
F	<i>iva</i>	<i>ivanga</i>	<i>ivanga</i>
N	<i>idu</i>		
DIST 3person	<i>avan</i>		
M	<i>ava</i>	<i>avanga</i>	<i>avaru</i>
F	<i>adu</i>	<i>avanga</i>	<i>avanga</i>

N			
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Table 1.3 shows the Tamil personal pronoun system which can be divided into two subsets, the regular set (singular and plural) and the honorific set. The latter system is used as a social marker indicating the deference of the speaker to the addressee. It is also noticed that plural pronouns are related to those in the honorific system (such as *avanga* and *ivanga*).

A classic account by Brown and Gilman (1960) gives an explanation in European second personal pronouns T and V. The study reveals that in European languages, specifically Italian, German, and French, the second person pronouns T and V were different in terms of number distinction. Originally, T pronoun was singular and V was only plural. Later, these pronouns shifted in meaning. The pronoun V was used in a conversation to a King [+singular, + power], and it is now used to convey the power inequality between the participants, while the pronoun T is used in a conversation between the participants who share solidarity. We can draw a conclusion that the meaning has shifted from grammatical (number) to social (power and solidarity).

Another study of the relationship between the grammatical meanings and social indicators is that of Head (1978). In his work, Head compares personal pronoun systems from several languages and establishes the pattern of grammatical variation and the social distinction of pronoun usage. In many languages, the non-singular forms (dual and plural) can shift to convey the sense of social distance and respect in pronoun systems such as Yoruba, Fijian and Arabic. These two studies imply that the grammatical meanings of personal pronouns are related to social relationships between the conversation participants.

In Tai languages, Strecker (1984) reconstructs the personal pronoun system in Proto-Tai by collecting data from several Tai languages representing three branches of Tai language family such as Tai Lue, Siamese (Bangkok/Standard Thai), Kam Muang (Kham Mueang/ Northern Thai dialects), Longzhou, and Saek. The findings can be summarized in Table 1.4 below.

Table 1.4: Proto-Tai Personal pronouns (Strecker, 1984: 14)

Person	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive
First	*kuu ^A /*kau ^A	*ph(r)uua ^A	*raa ^A	*pruu ^A	*rau ^A
Second	*muuu ^A /*mau ^A	*khruu ^A		*suu ^A	
Third	*min ^A /*mun ^A /*man ^A	Animate		inanimate	
		*khrau ^A		*min ^A /*mun ^A /*man ^A	

Table 1.4 presents the Proto-Tai personal pronoun system, which consists of three grammatical features, namely person, number and inclusive/exclusive distinction. While the gender and other social indicators cannot be found, maybe as a result of the inadequacy of literature on Proto-Tai society.

Giaphong (2007) studied the Thai personal pronoun system from literature, specifically that used in “*Lilit Phra Lor*”, a traditional Thai literature, as a representative of Thai in the early Ayutthaya period. She finds that the personal pronoun system in the selected literature is similar to that spoken in the Sukhothai period rather than to that spoken in the late Ayutthaya period. The system can be summarized in the table below.

Table 1.5: Personal pronoun system in Lilit Phra Lor**(Adapted from Giaphong, 2007)**

Person	Relative status	Singular	Dual	Plural
First	Higher	<i>riam</i> <i>kuu</i> <i>raw</i>	<i>raa</i> <i>phũa</i>	<i>raw</i> <i>tuu</i>
	Equal			
	Lower	<i>khâa</i> <i>raw</i> <i>khâa.phra</i>	<i>phũa.khâa</i> <i>phũa</i>	<i>tuu</i> <i>tuu.khâa</i>
Second	Higher	<i>câw</i>	<i>khũa.phũi</i>	<i>sủ</i>
	Equal			

	Lower	<i>câw.phîi</i> <i>thâan.câw</i> <i>câw.kuu</i> <i>câw.khâa</i>	<i>khũa. khâa</i>	<i>thâan.tháj</i> <i>thâan</i>
Third	Higher			<i>khǎw</i>
	Equal			
	Lower	<i>thâan</i> <i>phra.ʔəŋ.thâan.</i>		

Comparing the pronoun forms in Table 1.3 and Table 1.4 suggests that there are some pronoun forms in the Thai of the early Ayutthaya period possibly derived from those in proto-Tai, such as *raa* and *ph(r)ua^A*. However, it is noticeable that the pronoun system in *Lilit Phra Lor* also involves social factors such as the relationship between the conversation participants. For example, proto-Tai **kuu^A*, first person singular pronoun, from Table 1.4 develops into Ayutthaya pronoun *kuu* in Table 1.5, indicating the higher status of the speaker. (According the author, it is only used by the king.) Another example is the pronoun **suu^A*. In Table 1.4, it is merely a second person plural pronoun, referring to a group of addressees. It then developed into pronoun *sũu* later in the Ayutthaya period, indicating the higher or equal status of the speaker.

Another group of diachronic studies of Thai personal pronouns are those by Sangsod Sangsod (1988), Jemjinda (1991) and Haruethaivinyoo (2002). These three studies share the same pattern of pronoun change in Thai by which the grammatical meanings of the Thai personal pronoun system has been simplified while the social meanings of pronouns have increased in complexity due to the change in social structure.

My study of the first and second person pronouns in Kam Mueang and Tai Lue (Rhekhallit, 2010) compares pronouns in Kam Mueang and Tai Lue by using componential analysis and finds that the speakers from different generations tend to use personal pronouns with different meanings. In Kam Mueang, some old generation speakers tend to use the pronoun *haw* 'we' distinctly from the pronoun *mùu.haw* 'group.we' by which the former is the first person dual pronoun referring to two referents while the latter is the first person plural pronoun referring to a group of speakers. However, the speakers from the young generation do not distinguish the difference anymore. Similarly, the personal pronouns in Tai Lue are also used with different meanings between the participant; for example, the paired personal pronouns *haa* 'I' and *khij* 'you'. In the study by Ampornphan (1986) these two pronouns were used by either males or females only. To be specific, the former was used to refer to either a male speaker '*I.male*' or male addressee '*you.male*' while the latter refers to either a female speaker '*I.female*' or a female addressee '*you.female*'. In contrast, my finding contradicts the result of Ampornphan (1986). In Lam Pang Tai Lue, the personal pronouns *haa* 'I (m/f)' and *khij* 'you(m/f)' refer to different participant roles of the conversation by person distinction and are used by both males and females. It can be interpreted from this study that the personal pronouns of Kam Mueang and Tai Lue are facing change in progress which can be observed by the variation of speakers from different age levels, or *change in apparent time*. The speakers from the young generation tend to use innovative variants while the old generation tends to be more conservative and use the original forms.

In this study, I would like to determine how the personal pronouns in Tai Lue develop by observing the variation chosen by speakers from different generations and to show the pattern of personal pronoun change from the grammatical meanings to the social meanings. Tai Lue is chosen in this study because it is a language spoken by a large number of speakers in many countries; however, it is considered only a vernacular and is still not standardized or codified. As a result, it is possible to detect the change in progress more obviously than the well-established such as in Standard Thai or Vientiane Lao .

1.2 Purpose

The objectives of this study are as follows

- 1) To analyze Tai Lue personal pronouns spoken in Thailand, The People Democratic Republic of Lao and The People Republic of China with a focus on their grammatical meanings and social contexts;
- 2) To analyze age differentiation of the personal pronouns in each Tai Lue dialect;
- 3) To compare the use of Tai Lue personal pronouns in all the age groups to infer change in progress of the pronoun system.

1.3 Hypotheses

- 1) Personal pronouns in Tai Lue are differentiated by four grammatical features, namely person, number, gender, and inclusive/exclusive distinction.
- 2) Personal pronouns in Tai Lue vary according to these social factors; i.e. age and gender of the participants, formality and social relationships between the speakers and the addressee.
- 3) The personal pronoun systems are influenced by age of the speakers. Specifically, The older speakers have a smaller number of pronouns in their system than the young generation. In addition, the old generation's pronouns are differentiated by grammatical meanings, whereas the young generation's pronouns are differentiated by social meanings.
- 4) The three dialects share the same direction of change in progress. That is, the grammatical meaning of the Tai Lue personal pronoun system is becoming less important as the social meanings become more salient.

1.4 Contributions

- 1) This study provides guidelines for study of change in apparent time of Tai pronominal system.
- 2) It also shows a tendency of change in pronominal systems in Tai languages and the social system reflected in the language of Tai speakers.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter focuses on the review of previous studies related to this study. It is divided into three main parts: previous studies on personal pronouns, studies of change in progress and studies concerning the Tai Lue language.

2.1 Previous studies on personal pronouns

Personal pronouns have been widely studied in linguistics, as reflected in a large number of published research articles and accounts, which can be subdivided into five groups as follow.

- 2.1.1 Pronouns in syntactic theories and typology
- 2.1.2 The semantics and pragmatics of pronouns
- 2.1.3 Pronouns in diachronic studies
- 2.1.4 Pronouns in dialectology
- 2.1.5 Pronouns in sociolinguistics
- 2.1.6 Conclusion

2.1.1 Pronouns in syntactic theories and typology

Pronouns are studied by many schools of grammarians; therefore, there are many approaches to analyze them. However, the status of pronouns is still controversial amongst syntacticians. From the literature, there are four main grammatical approaches to studying pronoun status: 1) pronouns as an independent class from other word classes; 2) pronouns as related to other classes; 3) pronouns as a word class on the continuum scale; and 4) pronouns as produced by transformational rules.

The first grammatical approach to the study of pronouns, for example that of Traditional Grammarians (Chanwangsa & Fieg, 2006; Wardhaugh, 1995); classifies pronouns as an independent class, apart from other word classes. This approach treats pronouns as equal to other word classes, such as nouns, adjectives and so on.

Following this approach, Schachter (1985) considers pronouns as an independent word class. He divides word classes into two types: open and closed class. The former

includes word classes to which new members can be readily added, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives. The latter is limited to classes to which it is harder to add new members. These include conjunctions, adpositions, noun adjuncts and verb adjuncts, as well as pronouns and other pro-forms.

When pronouns are classified into an independent class, they should have their own functions. Traditional grammarians often consider pronouns as a substitution of a particular noun, and pronouns are treated as an independent word class commonly divided into several subclasses by considering their grammatical function and meaning (see, for example, Chanwangsa & Fieg, 2006; Wardhaugh, 1995; (Silpasarn, 1989)

- 1) Personal Pronouns constitute a pronoun set referring to a person such as *you and I* in English.
- 2) Reflexive Pronouns constitute a pronoun set referring to objects co-referential with the subject of the same clause such as *myself, himself, and themselves*, etc.
- 3) Demonstrative Pronouns are a set indicating definiteness such as *this, that, those* etc.
- 4) Indefinite Pronouns comprise a set with no specific referents, such as *everyone, someone, all, and both*.
- 5) Interrogative Pronouns constitute a set used to ask questions, such as *who* and *what*.
- 6) Relative Pronouns function to connect relative clauses to their head nouns, such as *which* and *who*.
- 7) A reciprocal pronoun is a pronoun indicating mutual action or relationship such as *each other, one another*, etc.

For the Thai pronoun system, which he labels as ‘*Noun Substitutes*’, Campbell (1969) finds 4 subclasses of pronouns: 1) personal pronoun; 2) relative pronoun; 3) Demonstrative pronoun; 4) Interrogative and indefinite pronoun. Moreover, apart from pronouns, he also finds other noun substitutes functioning to replace nouns such as numeral classifiers as found in (1).

(1) ผม มี หนังสือ สาม เล่ม เล่ม นี้ ดีกว่า สอง เล่ม

phǒm mii nǎŋ.sǎi sǎm lēm lēm nii dii.kwàa ʔwəŋ lēm
 I have book three CLF CLF this better two CLF
 'I have three books. This one is better than the other two.'

In the above example, the classifier เล่ม in the second clause is used to refer to the antecedent, book, in the previous clause. Moreover, it is possible to omit the noun substitute, or zero pronoun, which can occur in specific environment as in the comparison statement in (2).

(2) ถ้า หาก ๑ ว่า จะ ต้อง เมากัน
 thâa haàk ɔ wâa caʔ tɔŋ maaw kan
 ละก็ เมารัก เห็น จะ ดีกว่า
 la.kɔ̌w maaw rak hǎn caʔ dii.kwàa
 'If ๑ has to be drunk, it's better to let us get drunk by love.'

In addition, Campbell finds that Thai pronouns sometimes cannot co-occur with modifiers as found in *มันใหญ่กินเนื้อ *man jàj kin nɯa* (*big it eats meat) or *เขาดีนั้นเป็นครู *kháw dii nán pen khruu* (*good he is a teacher) As a result, it is seen that Thai pronouns have different syntactic behavior from that of nouns.

There are also some linguists (e.g., Sweet, 1892; Bloomfield, 1933; Muhlhauser and Harre, 1990; Crystal, 1999; and Finkelstein, 2006) who agree that pronoun is a group of words used as a substitution for other units, especially noun phrases or a particular noun in order to avoid redundancy. For example,

(3) **The man** is going down. **He** is going to meet the captain.

Pronoun *he* is used to refer to the antecedent *the man* in the previous sentence to avoid repetition as found in

(4) **The man** is going down. **The man** is going to meet the captain.

For Bloomfield, there are two subtypes of pronouns; the dependent and the independent forms. The former has to co-occur with the antecedent while the latter

does not (such as in (5) **It's** raining. There is no antecedent co-occurring in the same utterance).

A second approach to the study of pronouns points that pronoun is closely related to other word classes; that is, it is considered a subclass of others such as nominals and determiners. Panupong (1989), a Thai structural grammarian, employs *test frames* to classify word class in Thai and considers Thai pronouns as a subclass of nouns due to their similar syntactic environment. For example, test frames a) _____ มาแล้ว *maa léew*, both noun and pronoun can be added to complete the environment as a) *mêe maa léew* 'Mother came' and b) *chán maa léew* 'I came', etc. Moreover, test frames can be used to classify other types of pronouns.

Similar to Structural grammar, by adopting a Tagmemics approach, Thomas (1993) also insists that many languages may avoid repetition by using pronouns as a substitution. He treats pronouns as a subclass of nouns because they can function as a Head of a phrase, so-called "Pronoun phrase" as a subclass of nominal phrase. For example,

- 1) the three of us Def – Quant – Link: of – Head
- 2) you who are ready to go Head – Qual

Some linguists in Lexicase Grammar (Starosta , 1988; Savetamalya , 1989; Prasithratsint , 2000) also classify pronouns as a subclass of nouns. Starosta (1988) purposes the Subcategorisation Rules (SIRs) to divide nouns; that is,]+prnn] and]-prnn] by applying the following subcategorization rule.

- 1) SR-4 [+N] \longrightarrow [±prnn]

From rule 1), nouns can be divided into two subclasses: nouns, indicated by feature [-prnn]; and pronoun, indicated by feature [+prnn]. Although both are categorized into the same class, they can behave differently in terms of syntactic environment; that is,

a word with the feature [+prnn] has to be also indicated by a feature [-[+Det]] because a pronoun cannot co-occur with a determiner, as formularized into the rule 2).

$$2) \quad [+prnn] \quad \longrightarrow \quad [-[+Det]]$$

Savetamalya (1989) also studies nouns and noun phrases in Thai by adopting Lexicase Dependency Grammar. She classifies pronouns as a subclass of nouns and also divides it into two types: impersonal pronouns and personal pronouns. In addition, pronouns in Thai can also be subdivided into two different subclasses by feature *autonomous* or [\pm tmns], indicating dependency of pronouns; autonomous [+tmns] and non- autonomous [-tmns]. Pronouns in Thai belong to the former group as shown in the figure 2.1 below.



As seen in figure 2.1, Savetamalya includes the feature [\pm spkr], to indicate the role of conversation participants: [+spkr] indicating the speaker while its counterpart [-spkr] indicating the addressee. In her study of the Thai pronoun system, she employs several features to distinguish pronouns. It is an effective way to show differences in a complex pronoun system such as that in Thai.

Apart from nouns, some linguists regard pronoun as a subclass of determiners. Consider the following sentences.

- (6) We do not earn enough.
- (7) We linguists do not earn enough.
- (8) The linguists do not earn enough.

These three sentences illustrate that not only can pronoun ‘we’ occur with a following noun, as found in (6), but it can also precede a noun as found in (7), similar to a determiner ‘the’ in (8). Thus, pronouns have been analyzed as a subclass of determiner, so-called intransitive determiners. (Abney , 1987 cited in Panagiotidis, 2002; Tallerman , 2005).

The third approach to the status of pronoun is to treat it on a continuum of word classes. Within this approach, pronouns do not definitely belong to a particular word class, specifically nouns; on the other hand, they are not absolutely distinct from nouns either. For example, Sugamoto (1989) compares pronouns in Japanese and in English by considering many linguistic aspects, i.e. morphological structure, semantics, syntactic environment, reference, and implicature. She found that pronouns in Japanese tend to have more characteristics close to nouns than those in English. Subsequently, Siewierska (2004) has applied the concept of the pronominality scale to study pronouns in several languages, apart from English and Japanese as summarized in Figure 2.2 below.

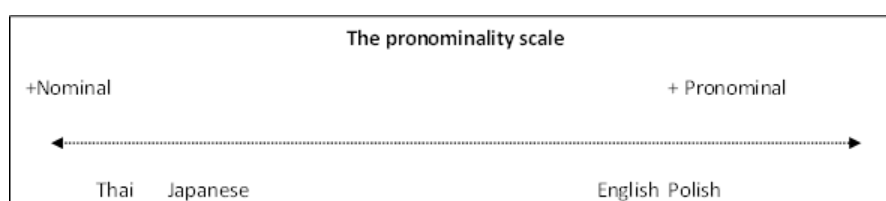


Figure 2.2: Pronominality scale (Siewierska, 2004)

From Figure 2.2, it is clear that pronouns in both Thai and Japanese are on the left side of the continuum while those in English and Polish are on the right. This reflects the fact that pronouns in Asian languages behave similarly to nominals; that is, they tend to have more nominal characteristics. In contrast, pronouns in European languages, in this case English and Polish, tend to behave differently from nominals. In addition to the Pronominality scale concept, Wiese and Simon (2002) also treat pronouns on the continuum between nominals and complementisers based on their linguistic characteristics. In this analysis, pronouns share some characteristics of both nouns and complementisers. That is, nouns and pronouns can be used to refer to an object; however, unlike nouns, a pronoun does not contain a descriptive content in itself, similar to complementisers. For example, English pronoun 'she' in (9) *She is beautiful*, unlike nouns which have specific descriptive content in them, can refer to any individual female referent (such as Jane, My sister, Alexis, and The singer) highly dependent upon context, either linguistic or non-linguistic. In other words, pronoun interpretation unavoidably requires context. Complementisers, like pronouns, also contain no inherent descriptive content, and require context to interpret the meaning; however, they do not have referring functions.

The final approach in studying pronoun status is one in which pronouns are the result of a specific transformational rule, so-called pronominalization rule. It is applied to transform a noun in the deep structure of a sentence to a pronoun at the surface level.

The pronominalization rule consists of two conditions;

- I. Forward Pronominalisation is unconditional.
- II. Backward Pronominalisation is allowed only if the first of the two coreferential NPs is in a subordinate clause that does not dominate the second.

(Kuno, 1987 p.32)

For example,

Deep structure: [[If John_i is around], John_i will do it]

Pronominalisation rule

- i) Forward :If John_i is around, he_i will do it.

- ii) Backward: If he_i is around, $John_i$ will do it.

Aux-movement rule

- iii) Applied to i): He_i will do it if $John_i$ is around.
 iv) Applied to ii): $John_i$ will do it if he_i is around.

It can be seen that there is a co-reference between two nouns in the deep structure; *John* in the first clause and *John* in the second clause. If we apply the pronominalisation rule to the deep structure, it will become (i) and (ii). Then when applying aux-movement rule, they will become (iii) and (iv) respectively. This example

Subsequent arguments against the pronominalisation rule have pointed out its defects. For example, in sentence (10) *He* will do it if John is around, it is possible that ‘he’ in the first clause does not always refer to John in the second clause. In addition, consider the following sentences.

(11) A picture of $John_i$ upset him_i .

(12) He was upset by picture of John.

(From Prasithrathsint, *A. et al*, 2003)

Above examples illustrate that pronoun *him* refers to the proper noun *John* because it is derived from the deep structure “A picture of John upset John” by the pronominalisation rule to become sentence (11). However, sentence (12) is different. Pronoun *he* in (12) is placed before the proper noun ‘John’; as a result, pronoun ‘he’ does not obligatorily refer to the following ‘John’. Instead, its referent can be someone else. So, some linguists argue that the pronominalisation rule is not efficient enough to explain pronouns. In addition to these examples, there are more cases in a noun- referring expression without pronoun forms as seen in the following examples.

(13) Sue hit **Bill_i**, and Fred kicked **the poor guy_i**.

Example (13) shows that the proper noun ‘Bill’ and the noun phrase ‘the poor guy’ both refer to the same referent, a man called ‘Bill’, but the pronominalisation rule cannot explain this kind of reference because there is no pronoun appearing in the sentence. This finally resulted in the creation of Government-Binding Theory (GB theory)

In GB theory, the term ‘pronominal’ is preferred to the older term ‘pronoun’, and the concept of interpretivism is now added to interpret the reference of the pronoun (Jackendoff, 1972). The concept of interpretivism is the concept believing that pronoun is not the result of the transformational rule, but appears in the deep structure at the beginning. In addition, interpretation is important to understand the pronoun reference.

According to Kuno (1987), there are three conditions of interpreting pronominals as follow.

Condition A: An anaphora is bound in its governing category.

Condition B: A pronominal is free in its governing category.

Condition C: An R-expression is free.

(Kuno , 1987 p.58)

Condition A states that an anaphora is applied to the formation of reflexive pronouns which obligatorily refers to its closet parent NP or S. For example,

(14) John_i criticized himself_i

Reflexive pronoun ‘himself’ in sentence (14) obligatorily refers to the antecedent ‘John’, functioning as the subject of the sentence.

Condition B states that pronominals cannot refer to a noun or NP, which c-commands them For example,

(15) John criticized him.

In sentence (15) pronoun ‘him’ cannot refer to the proper noun ‘John’. However, the sentence (16) is different.

(16) John_i’s brother criticized him_i

The sentence (16) above shows that pronoun ‘him’ cannot refer to the NP ‘John’s brother’ but to the proper noun ‘John’ instead.

Condition C refers to the free R-expressions or the referring expressions which are non-pronominal NPs such as John, Mary, brother, etc. That is, NP₂ is independent of NP₁ when NP₁ c-commands NP₂ as shown in the following sentence.

(17) [John_i's mother]₁ adores [John_i]₂

In sentence (17), there are two NPs; John's mother and John. Since *John* in NP₁ does not c-command NP₂, it is possible that *John* in NP₂ can co-refer to same referent, a man called *John*. The analysis of pronominal reference has been a major cause in the development of GB theory.

Additionally, Haspelmath (2002) and Givon (1984) mutually agree that pronouns in languages can be divided into two subtypes, according to their dependency. The first type is free pronouns, which are able to occur independently in a sentence as either the subject or the object. The other type is bound or clitic pronouns, which normally appear as a part of other words. By way of contrast, free pronouns can occur in the same position as other ordinary nouns. For example, '*She* is my friend.', or 'I have never seen *it* before'. However, pronouns may not occur in some syntactic environments as nouns do. For example,

(18) A. Turn *the radio* on.

B. Turn on *the radio*.

(19) A. Turn it on.

B. *Turn on it.

It is seen that sentence (18) A and (18) B are both grammatically correct; they show the possible positions of NP in English sentences. In contrast, in (19) only sentence A is correct while sentence B is reflecting the different syntactic behavior between nouns and pronouns in English.

In French, bound pronoun 'Il' behaves differently from pronoun 'he' in English as found in sentences (20) and (21) below

(20) A. *Il* commençait à jouer.

B. *C'est *il* qui commençait à jouer.

(21) A. *He* starts to play.

B. It's *he* who starts to play.

Sentence (20) in French shows that only (20) A is grammatically correct while its cleft sentence (20) B is not because the bound pronoun 'il' is not allowed to occur in such environments. Compared to that in French, free pronoun 'he' in English can occur in both environments as seen above.

Another example from French below also shows that a bound pronoun cannot occur independently in a sentence, unlike a noun.

- (22) A. Je vais l'acheter pour vous
 I will PRON.to buy for you
- B. *Je vais acheter le pour vous
 I will to buy PRON for you
 "I will buy it for you."
- (23) Je vais acheter **le pain** pour vous.
 I will buy bread for you
 "I will buy the bread for you."

Sentence (22) and (23) clearly show that bound pronoun 'le' in (22) has to occur as a part of the infinitive verb '*acheter*', meaning to buy whereas in (23) the NP '*le pain*' can occur independently.

Interestingly, free personal pronoun functioning as the subject in some languages such as in Spanish can be deleted (Krisanamit, Petcharak, & Tippayasak, 2005) because the main verb in the sentence is normally marked by a case marker indicating the actor. As a result, free subject pronoun is used in the case of emphasis and ambiguity avoidance. Take (24) as an example,

- (24) (Yo) soy Ana.
 I to.be Ana
 "(I) am Ana."

Sentence (24) shows that free subject pronoun can be readily omitted because the copula verb 'soy' is already marked to indicate the subject.

To conclude, these examples show the different characteristics of pronouns in several languages. Pronouns can be divided into free and bound pronoun according to its dependency.

Givon (1984) studied semantic features in personal pronoun systems by adopting a Functional-Typology approach and found a group of typical features shared in several languages as follows.

- 1) *Person* : first (speaker), second (addressee), and third (non-participant)
- 2) *Number* : singular, dual, and plural
- 3) *Inclusion/Exclusion*: include or exclude the addressee in the first person plural pronoun
- 4) *Class/Gender*: masculine, feminine and neutral, normally found in third person pronoun
- 5) *Spatial Deixis* : indicating the distance or visibility of the referent, normally found in third person pronoun
- 6) *Case-role*: indicating the relationship between pronoun and other words in the sentence.

He finds that a large number of languages clearly distinguish the role of conversation participants; that is speaker, addressee and referent. Other features normally found only in third person pronouns include class/ gender and spatial deixis. Givon claims that since speaker and addressee are clearly involved in the conversation, they are not necessarily marked by some features. However, I disagree with his idea because in some languages such as in Thai first and second person pronouns are obligatorily marked by some social indices, especially in face- to -face conversations.

It should be noted at this point that even though the status of personal pronouns is not directly relevant to this study, the review of the personal pronoun is still important to provide an overview of personal pronouns and give some basic concepts of personal pronouns.

2.1.2 The Semantics and Pragmatics of Pronouns

A large number of studies agree that pronouns, particularly personal pronouns, in several languages can be arranged into systems or pronoun *paradigms*, which are different in each language. Siewierska (2004) defines “paradigm” as a group of members sharing the same syntactic properties and they normally occur in complementary distribution. Some examples of pronoun paradigms from German and Mandarin are shown below

**Table 2.1: Nominative personal pronoun paradigm in German
(from Sangaramreung (2005): 90)**

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st person	ich	Wir
2 nd person	du, Sie	ihr, Sie
3 rd person	er(m.), sie(f.), es(n.)	Sie

Table 2.2: : Personal pronoun paradigm in Mandarin (Kroeger, 2005:141)

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st person	wo	wo men
2 nd person	ni	Nimen
3 rd person	ta	Tamen

Ingram (1978) studies personal pronoun systems in 71 different languages and finds 21 patterns of person distinctions among these languages, such as three-person systems, six-person systems, seven-person systems, nine-person systems, and eleven-person systems. The table below summarizes the six-person system.

Table 2.3: six-person system (Ingram, 1978)

Six-person system	
I	We
Thou	You
He	They

Table 2.3 shows that languages with a six-person system distinguish personal pronouns based on their grammatical categories, person and number. The former can be divided into three; that is, according to the role of participant, first refers to a speaker, second refers to an addressee, and third refers to a non-participant. The latter is divided into two: singular and plural. Languages with this system are, for instance, Mandarin, Sumarian, Finnishm, Hopi, and Latin. However, some languages may contain eleven-person system which is summarized in Table 2.4 below.

Table 2.4: eleven-person system (Ingram, 1978)

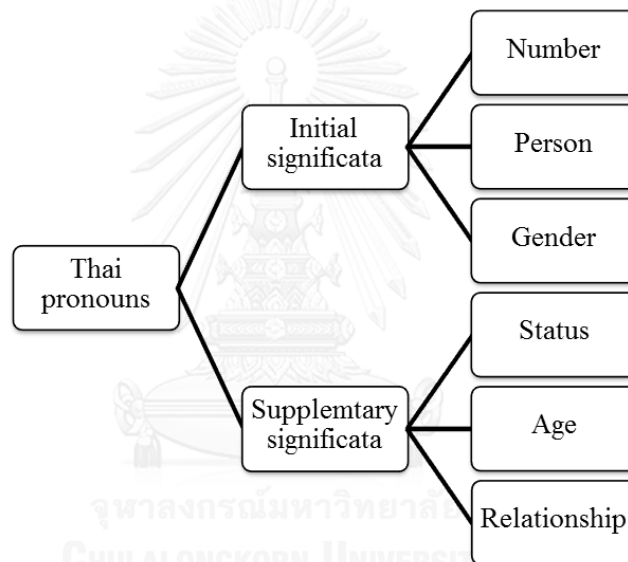
Eleven-person system		
I	We -2-incl.	We-incl.
	We-2-excl.	We-excl.
Thou	You-2	You
He	They-2	They

Table 2.4 shows that the eleven-person system is different from the six-person system in that the grammatical categories, namely inclusiveness distinction and dual number, are added to the system. Such languages with eleven-person systems are Hawaiian, Chinook, and Shoshoni.

Studies on the semantics and pragmatics of personal pronouns mainly focus on the word meaning and interpretation. Unlike nouns and other content words, a large number of pronouns in languages do not contain definite meanings in themselves. In recent years, there are increasing numbers of studies on pronoun interpretation. The

main approach in pronoun meaning is that pronoun is analyzed as a bundle of features. Pronoun is formed by different features.

For example, Gething (1972) studied Thai pronouns by collecting data from both spoken and written styles and classified pronoun as a restricted set. In addition, he analysed pronoun inherent meaning by employing *componential analysis*. The analysis is divided into two stages; the initial significata and the supplementary significata. The former consists of number, person, and gender whereas the latter consists of status, age and relationship. To sum up, Thai pronouns consist of six dimensions of contrast as summarized in Figure 2.3 below.



**Figure 2.3: Dimensions of contrast in Thai pronoun system
(summarized from Gething, 1972)**

Also employing componential analysis, Rhekhalilit (2010) analysed and compared personal pronoun systems in Tai Lue spoken in Lampang and Kam Meung spoken in Chiang Mai and found different dimensions of contrast in these two languages. In Kam Mueang, there are eight dimensions of contrast: 1) person, 2) number, 3) gender, 4) exclusiveness, 5) relative status, 6) intimacy, 7) deference, and 8) the presence of monk. Similarly, the personal pronoun system of Tai Lue spoken in Lampang contains the eight dimensions of contrast: 1) person, 2) number, 3) gender of speaker, 4) gender of addressee 5) formality, 6) relative status, 7) intimacy and 8)

the presence of monk. Both my study and Gething's agree that studying pronouns in some languages has to involve not only grammatical categories, but also social meanings.

Apart from studying inherent meanings of pronouns, modern semantic studies pay attention to pronoun interpretation in context. As mentioned earlier, pronouns lack descriptive content so context is required to interpret the meanings.

Wiese and Simon (2002) purpose four different means of pronoun interpretation, namely morpho-semantic mean, discourse-pragmatic mean, morpho-syntactic mean, and syntactic mean. The first means, morpho-semantic, is simply the consideration of inherent features of the pronoun itself. This implies that Wiese and Simon believe that pronoun is a composition of features. For example, in English, pronoun is believed to consist of a set of features, including number, person and gender; for example pronoun 'I' differs from 'you' because of person distinction. Take the sentence 'Rose asked *me* about the movie' as an example. Pronoun 'me' is interpreted due to its inherent features, namely first person and singularity; as a result it is automatically refers to an individual speaker.

However, sometimes it is found that in some contexts, morpho-semantic features alone are insufficient to interpret the referent of a pronoun. For example, in sentence (25) below

(24) Oh dear- Look at *him*!

The addressee can interpret from the sentence that pronoun 'him' is referring to an individual man who is neither the speaker nor the addressee. At this point, discourse-pragmatic means are required to interpret the meaning of pronoun 'him' (such as reading non-linguistic clues, particularly body movement, gesture, pointing or eye contact) to successfully specify the pronoun referent. Another example is in sentence

(26) Elizabeth married last Tuesday. *He* is Italian.

Even though, there is no possible antecedent of pronoun 'he', it is possible to interpret its meaning by applying world knowledge, by which we assume that in the wedding

ceremony, there must be bride and bridegroom. So, pronoun ‘he’ in (26) should refer to the bridegroom. Interpreting pronoun reference by discourse-pragmatic means is believed to be more effective than by morpho-semantic means only because the pronoun itself contains no descriptive content as summarized in the following figure.

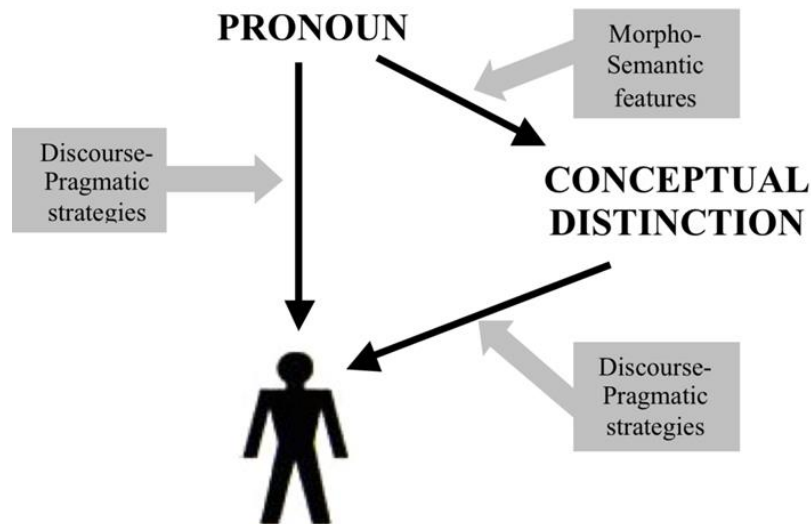


Figure 2.4: How to identify a discourse object of pronoun
(Wiese&Simon, 2002: 5)

Figure 2.4 shows two possible ways of pronoun interpretation; 1) by direct discourse-pragmatic means, or 2) by morpho-semantic means applied to the conceptual distinctions and then again applying the discourse-pragmatic means. Both routes finally acquire the same interpretation.

In addition, when considering example (27), it is seen that pronoun ‘*She*’ in the second sentence does not refer directly to the world object, but to the NP *Steve’s aunt* as its antecedent in the first sentence. The relation, so-called anaphora, between the NP referent and the pronoun reflects in the syntactic agreement feature (3rd singular female). This is the so-called the morpho-syntactic strategy.

(27) Steve’s aunt married last Thursday. *She* is Italian.

Take another example (28) from French below.

(28) A. John apportera **le livre** avec lui
“John will bring **the book** with him.”

- B. Je vais **le** lire
 “I will read **it**.”
- C. **John** apportera le livre avec lui
 “**John** will bring the book with him.”
- D. Je l’ai vu marcher ici
 “I saw **him** walking here.”

The above example (28) B and (28) D both contain pronoun *le (l’)* marked by features singular, third person, masculine, and accusative. However, it seems that morpho-semantic and syntactic means alone are not sufficient to interpret the meaning of pronoun *le*. In sentence D, it should refer to ‘John’ rather than the book because it is not possible to see the book walking. As a result, interpreting pronouns through their antecedents may also require pragmatic interpretation as illustrated in figure 2.5.

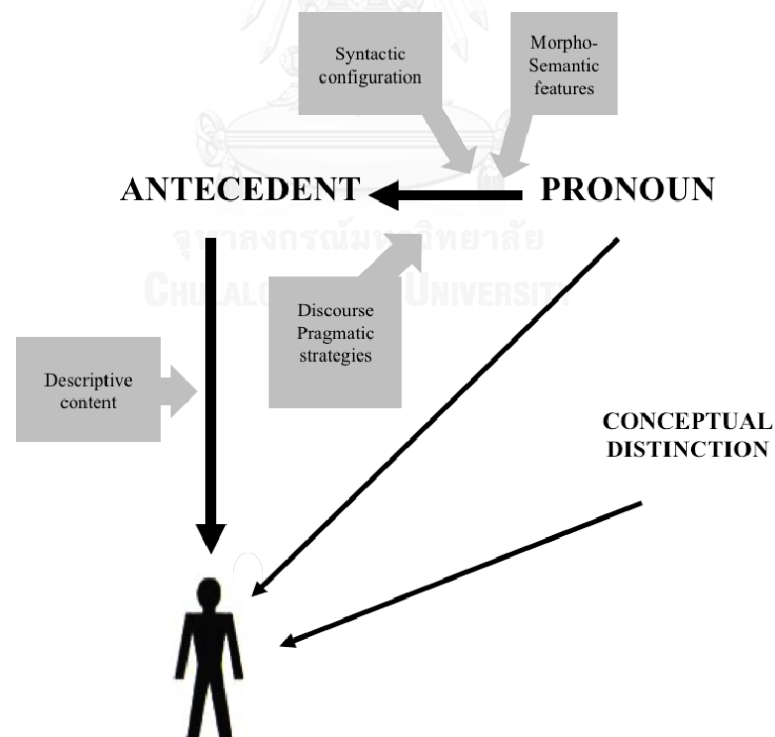


Figure 2.5: How to identify a discourse object via an antecedent
 (Wiese & Simon, 2002:7)

The above figure shows that to specify the pronoun referent in the context may require these three means to be understood.

Another interesting pragmatic aspect of pronoun is its deictic function. Hongladarom and Choksuwanich (2008) classify pronouns as person deixis, used to indicate the role of participants in conversation. However, there are some linguists who include only first and second person pronoun into person deixis since third person pronoun is not significant in the conversation.

In several languages, personal pronouns also function as social deictic expressions, indicating relationship between conversation participants. Take Standard Thai as an example. A Thai speaker obligatorily selects an acceptable choice of pronoun to match his/her addressee. For example, when talking to a close friend, a male speaker tends to use pronoun *kuu* to refer to himself and pronoun *miη* to refer to his friend as an addressee. Pronouns in languages like Thai, cannot be separated from social meanings.

Hongladarom and Choksuwanich (2008) also mention the differences between deictic and referring functions of pronoun. Both functions require context for interpretation; the deictic function requires non-linguistic contexts while the referring function requires linguistic contexts. For instance,

(27) Julie bought *him* that book yesterday.

(28) *Julie_i* was a cheerleader, but *she_i* is not anymore.

In sentence (27), the pronoun *him* is a deictic expression because world knowledge and experience is required to specify which person is being talked about. In sentence (28), on the other hand, pronoun *she* is a referring expression because it refers to the antecedent *Julie* in the previous clause.

Apart from deixis, pronouns are also related to the concept of politeness. In many languages, pronoun is a method to express politeness in conversation. Employing the concept of politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1978), Sumnienggam (2001) studies Thai pronoun usage by interviewing Thai native speakers from different occupations.

He sets up situations in which two unknown participants are involved in activities such as talking to a stranger on train, talking to a police officer, or talking to a taxi driver. The result shows that female speakers tend to refer to themselves as *nǐu* or use kinship terms and nicknames to show positive face politeness. In contrast, male speakers tend to refer to themselves as *phóm* 'I.male' to show negative face politeness because pronoun *phóm* 'I.male' is considered formal. In addition, he also finds that a large number of Thai speakers tend to employ positive face politeness strategies when talking to either older or younger addressee, but when talking to a participant of the same age, they tend to use negative face politeness strategies. Finally, it is concluded that Thai native speakers normally keep proper distance to show politeness in conversation, neither too far nor too close.

These studies suggest that to interpret and understand pronoun reference, inherent semantic features alone many not be sufficient. Some linguists, consequently, turn their attention to linguistic contexts to explain interpretation. However, this seems still inadequate in some other languages. Finally, social, or non-linguistic contexts become important in studying the interpretation of pronouns.

2.1.3 Pronoun in comparative and historical linguistics

There is a large body of diachronic studies of pronouns or pronominal systems, but at this point I mainly discuss those in Tai and Thai as shown below.

Strecker (1984) reconstructs the Proto-Tai pronoun system by gathering data from its daughter languages from three branches (Northern Tai, Central Tai, and Southwestern Tai) and summarizes the system into Table 2.5 below

Table 2.5: : Proto-Tai pronoun system (adapted from Strecker 1984)

Person	Singular	Dual		Plural	
		Exclusive	Inclusive	Exclusive	Inclusive
First	*kuu ^A /*kau ^A	*ph(r)ua ^A	*raa ^A	*pruu ^A	*rau ^A
Second	*muur ^A /*mau ^A	*khruu ^A		*suu ^A	

Third	*min ^A /*mun ^A /*man ^A	Animate	inanimate
		*khräu ^A	*min ^A /*mun ^A /*man ^A

The reconstructed pronoun system in proto-Tai language as presented in Table 2.5 consists of grammatical categories, namely 1) number, which can be divided into singular, dual and plural; 2) person, which can be divided first, second and third; 3) addressee inclusion, which can be divided into inclusive and exclusive; and 4) animacy, found only in third person pronoun, which can be divided into animate and inanimate. It is noticed that gender is not included in the grammatical categories of the Proto-Tai pronoun system. The daughter languages of Proto-Tai do not seem to maintain the same set of personal pronoun grammatical categories as those of their mother language. Furthermore, these daughter languages tend to preserve grammatical categories differently from each other. However, this account of the Proto-Tai pronoun system says nothing about social meanings of the pronoun system since comparative reconstruction offers little information about the society in which Proto-Tai was spoken.

Giaphong (2007) studied the personal pronoun system from literature, specifically that used in “Lilit Phra Lor”, a traditional Thai literature, as a representative of Thai in the early Ayutthaya period. She found that personal pronoun in the selected literature is similar to that spoken in the Sukhothai period rather than to that spoken in the late Ayutthaya period. The system can be summarized in the table below.

Table 2.6: : Personal pronoun system in Lilit Phra Lor
(Adapted from Giaphong, 2550)

Person	Relative staus	Singular	Dual	Plural
First	Higher	<i>riam</i> <i>kuu</i> <i>raw</i>	<i>raa</i> <i>phũa</i>	<i>raw</i> <i>tuu</i>
	Equal			

	Lower	<i>khâa</i> <i>raw</i> <i>khâa.phra</i>	<i>phũa.khâa</i> <i>phũa</i>	<i>tuu</i> <i>tuu.khâa</i>
Second	Higher	<i>câw</i>	<i>khũa.phũa</i>	<i>sũa</i>
	Equal			
	Lower	<i>câw.phũa</i> <i>thâan.câw</i> <i>câw.kuu</i> <i>câw.khâa</i>	<i>khũa.khâa</i>	<i>thâan.tháj</i> <i>thâan</i>
Third	Higher			<i>khắw</i>
	Equal			
	Lower	<i>thâan</i> <i>phra.๑๓.thâan.</i>		

Comparing the pronoun forms in Table 2.5 and Table 2.6 suggests that there are some pronoun forms in the Thai of the early Ayutthaya period possibly derived from those in proto-Tai, such as *raa* and *ph(r)ua*^A. However, it is noticeable that the pronoun system in *Lilit Phra Lor* also involves social factors such as the relationship between the conversation participants. For example, proto-Tai **kuu*^A, first person singular pronoun, from Table 2.5 develops into Ayutthaya pronoun *kuu* in Table 2.6, indicating the higher status of the speaker. (According the author, it is only used by the king.) Another example is the pronoun **suu*^A. In Table 2.5, it is merely a second person plural pronoun, referring to a group of addressees. It then developed into pronoun *sũa* later in the Ayutthaya period, indicating the higher or equal status of the speaker. In addition to the analysis of the pronoun system found in *Lilit Phra Lor*, the *Kham Meuang Dictionary* by Kamchan (2008) states that pronoun *sũa* in Kham Mueang is used to refer a unfamiliar higher addressee, comparable to pronoun *thâan* in Standard Thai, while in a textbook named *Northern Thai Dialect*, Wimolkasem

(2006) insists only that it can be used by either male or female without any relative status marking.

The studies by Sangsod (1988) and Haruethaivinyoo (2002) both focus on the diachronic description of Thai personal pronoun usage. Sangsod (1988) studied Thai pronoun usage from the Sukhothai period, through the Ayutthaya period, the reigns of King Rama I-III, and finally to the reigns of King Rama IV- VII. Haruethaivinyoo (2002) mainly emphasizes only the system in the Bangkok era, divided into several periods according to the political situations. Both of these studies give overviews of pronoun usage in detail. The first mainly describes the change in number of personal pronouns in each period and discovers that in Sukhothai and Ayudhaya periods there are three classes of number, singular, dual and plural, while in the early Bangkok period, the dual class has been lost, resulting in two number distinctions between only singular and plural. The second highlights the pronoun usage in society and culture in the Modern Bangkok period.

Apart from these studies, there is another historical linguistic account of Thai personal pronouns by Iemjinda (1991), which is somehow different from the above-mentioned studies. This account pays more attention to the pronoun system rather than the word-by-word usage. It reports that the system in the Sukhothai period is highly complex in grammatical categories, especially in number, which is divided into singular, dual, and plural. Later on, in the Ayutthaya period, the pronoun system develops its social meanings such as relative status between participants. For example, pronoun *raw* in Sukhothai period is only a first person plural pronoun, but in Ayutthaya period it becomes a singular pronoun indicating higher status of the speaker such as the king talking to his servants. In addition, it is also claimed that during the period of King Rama I – V there are some influences from Western culture in the Thai pronoun system. For instance, the pronoun *di.chán* was spoken by royal families in order to avoid using pronoun *kuu* which, at that period, was used amongst the commoners or villagers. Iemjinda (1991) reports that later, during the period of King Rama VI to the present, the inventory of Thai pronouns is increasing in number; that is, more pronoun

forms have been created. At the same time, the grammatical number has been simplified to only the singular and plural distinction. Moreover, this study also claims that the choice of personal pronouns is highly influenced by social marking such as politeness, intimacy, formality, gender, ethnicity, and relative status, rather than grammatical agreement as found in previous periods. It seems that over time the personal pronoun system in Thai reflects the social complexity in the period where it is spoken.

To conclude, the aforementioned historical linguistic studies of the personal pronoun system agree that the grammatical aspects seem to be less significant over time, but the social meanings are more prominent in modern languages.

2.1.4 Pronouns in dialectology

Dialectologists also pay attention to pronoun systems because the speakers in each dialect tend to use different systems of pronouns. For example, Trudgill (1999) exemplifies the variation of English pronoun *you* in several dialects. As pointed earlier, pronoun *you* in Standard English has no number distinction, unlike that in other European languages, particularly in French, Spanish and Italian. Trudgill found that some dialects of English often fill in the gaps left by the inadequacy of the standard system. For instance, in Liverpool dialect, which is influenced by Irish English, there is pronoun *youse* as second person plural pronoun, in contrast to its singular counterpart, *you*. In some dialects, it is found that the distinction between second person pronouns *thou* and *you* is still kept in the speech community; the former is used to refer to an intimate single addressee such as in Northern Cumbria, Durham, Lancashire and Staffordshire. In some western dialects it is reported that singular pronoun *thee* is still used.

In addition to second person pronoun, there is also variation in the third person pronoun in English. It is commonly known that Standard English third singular pronouns, such as *he*, *she*, and *it* are used differently. Pronouns *he* and *him* refer to a masculine individual referent while *she* and *her* refer to its feminine counterpart. And *it* is used for non-human referents.

However, in some dialects, particularly in Southwestern England, it is found that *he* is commonly used to refer to countable nouns as found in

(31) *he's* a good hammer.

In contrast, a mass noun such as bread, butter and milk is referred to by pronoun *it* as found in

(32) I like this bread – *it's* very tasty.

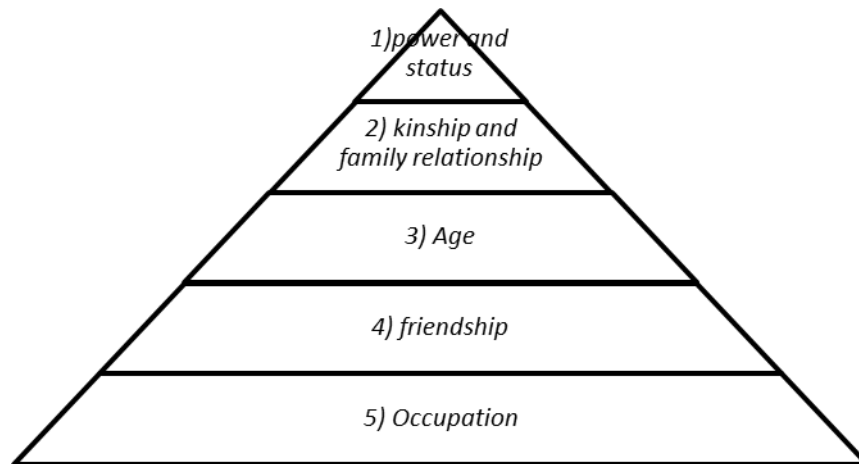
2.1.5 Pronouns in sociolinguistic studies

The previous sections in this chapter mention a large number of pronoun studies from many languages, especially European (e.g. English, Spanish, and French) and Tai languages (e.g. Standard Thai, Tai Lue, and Proto-Tai). It has been noted that pronouns in many languages are marked by the social markers mutually shared in a particular speech community. As mentioned earlier, pronouns are a kind of social deixis in many languages. In these languages, the role and relationship of conversation participants play an important role in pronoun selection in conversation. Prasithrathsint (2007) states that “(*pronoun*) is a word class that particularly shows social interactions”. One of the earliest studies of pronouns is the classic account of European pronouns T and V by Brown and Gilman (1960). This study found that in the past, second person pronoun T in European languages was used to refer to an individual addressee, in contrast with its counterpart V, which was used to refer to a group of addressees. That is, these two pronouns differed in terms of number. Later, pronoun V was used when specifically addressing the king, along with his queen and servants. As a result, pronoun V became a second person pronoun indicating the higher status of the individual addressee without regard to grammatical number. Later still, the norms of European society shifted from power to solidarity, so pronoun T is now used to address a conversation participant who shares solidarity with the speaker. To sum up, it seems that grammatical number in European pronouns T and V has changed to indicate other social meanings, in this case power and solidarity.

A classic study of pronouns in Southeast Asian languages was conducted by Cooke (1968) This study gives an insightful explanation of personal pronoun systems in three SEA languages, namely Standard Thai, Burmese and Vietnamese and finds that

the personal pronoun systems in these three languages cannot be separated from social markers at all. Pronouns in these languages have noticeably different morphological structures and syntactic behaviors. For example, pronominals in Thai and Vietnamese are not obligatorily marked for case, but nouns in Burmese have to be marked by case marker *-q* to acquire pronominal functions. Furthermore, unlike Thai, in Vietnamese and Burmese, marking plurality in pronouns is definitely required (such as a pluralizing marker *-chúng* in Vietnamese and *-dowq* in Burmese). Finally, pronouns in Thai can function to modify a noun as an apposition but those in Burmese cannot. However, when compared to each other, it is found that pronouns in these three languages are all marked by social factors such as gender, age, relative status, and intimacy. In addition, it is also noticed that pronoun forms in these languages may originate from servant terms such as *ข้า* *khâa* 'slave' in Thai.

Another classic account of the Standard Thai personal pronouns system is Palakornkul (1972). This classic account explains pronoun choice by establishing transformational rules to clearly show the pronominal strategy. This study divides pronominals into two groups; personal pronouns proper and pronominally used nouns such as kinship terms, occupational terms, and names. The componential analysis shows that the Thai personal pronoun system consists of eight dimensions of contrast, specifically first person, second person, third person, gender, animacy, proximity, humanity and number. Palakornkul creates a set of transformational rules explaining some syntactic behaviors of pronouns such as pronoun deletion, emphasis of pronoun, and pronoun inversion. Interestingly, this study also highlights the socio-cultural factors of pronoun strategies in Thai. She claims that pronoun selection in Thai conversation is highly influenced by seven socio-cultural factors, namely 1) *power and status*, 2) *kinship and family relationship*, 3) *friendship*, 4) *occupation*, 5) *ethnic-religious groups*, 6) *age*, and 7) *genealogical distance*. These factors can be rearranged as a hierarchy based on their significance as shown in figure 2.6.



**Figure 2.6: The hierarchy of socio-cultural factors in Thai pronominal strategies
(Adapted from Palakornkul, 1972)**

Figure 2.6 shows us that the power and status factor is the strongest one. Palakornkul claims that when talking to an addressee who is one's boss and who is also a relative, a Thai native speaker tends to choose a pronoun form indicating politeness and formality such as *phǒm* rather than kinship terms because power and status is stronger than the kinship and family relationship in pronoun selection. In addition, there are also some minor factors, such as the presence of a child, the presence of monk, intimacy, respect, formality and so on. Finally, Palakornkul's account provides a clear and insightful description of the highly complex personal pronoun system in Thai, and it has become a model for pronoun studies in several Tai languages (e.g. in Tai Song by Pongsombat (1990)).

Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005) focus on only two social factors, namely formality and gender. Pronouns in Figure 2.7 are arranged in the continuum 1) male to female and 2) higher formality to lower formality. For example, in the first person pronoun system, pronoun *phóm* 'I.male', placed on the left, is markedly masculine, opposed to pronoun *dì.chán*, placed on the right. This shows gender distinction. In addition, the formality hierarchy, from higher formality to lower formality, indicates the level of formality in situations of conversation. For instance, pronoun *phóm* 'I.male' is

considered more formal than pronoun *kuu* 'I'. This notion is also applied to the analysis of second and third person pronouns.

Speaker = Higher formality	Male	Male/Female	Female
↑ ↓ lower formality		khâa.pha.câw	
	kraphǒm		di.chán
	phǒm	chán raw	
		kuu	khǎw tua.ʔeeŋ

**Figure 2.7: Standard Thai First person pronouns
(Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom, 2005)**

The study by Kongtrakool (1995) reveals how gender plays an important role in first person pronoun choice. By selecting undergraduate students, whose sexual orientation are heterosexual male and female and homosexual male, the study finds that heterosexual male students mainly choose pronoun *phǒm* and nicknames when referring to themselves while heterosexual female students tend to use a variety of pronoun choice such as *nǐu*, proper names, *di.chan*, and kinship terms. The writer claims that the choice of male-exclusive pronoun in male students is motivated (?) by covert prestige. Unexpectedly, the homosexual male subjects tend to choose more male-exclusive forms than female-exclusive one. Otherwise, they tend to employ gender-neutral pronouns instead.

This finding contradicts that of Agha (2007), who claims that even though pronouns *phǒm* and *di.chan* in Thai are typically used by heterosexual males and females, they are frequently used among homosexual females and males respectively. Agha points out that these pronouns are strongly marked by gender features. That is, pronoun *phǒm* is strongly marked by masculinity while pronoun *di.chan* is marked by femininity. As a result, he claims homosexual females tend to select pronoun *phǒm* to emphasize their masculinity and vice versa among homosexual males. The choice of pronoun is likely to convey extra social meanings when spoken by a speaker whose gender does not match with gender-indexing forms. This behavior is becoming more common in a small particular sub-group within the society.

In conclusion, these two studies provide an overview and explanation of pronoun choice and gender of the speakers. It can be interpreted that gender in the Thai pronoun system is not absolutely gender-exclusive especially among sexual minorities rather; it may be probably on a continuum scale.

2.1.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have a number of pronoun studies from several linguistic perspectives, including syntax, typology, semantics, pragmatics, historical linguistics, dialectology, and sociolinguistics. Chapter Two began by summarizing four different syntactic approaches to the study of pronoun status, 1) the concept of pronouns as an independent word class; 2) the concept of pronouns as a subgroup of other classes, especially nouns; 3) the concept of pronouns as on a continuum scale and 4) the concept of pronoun as a result of transformational rules. In the second part of the chapter, the study of pronoun meanings was emphasized to understand how pronouns are interpreted to get their meanings within or without context. The third and the fourth parts review some previous studies in historical linguistics and dialectology. The final part discusses some sociolinguistic studies highlighting social factors involved in the selection and use of pronouns. This review highlights the fact that most studies of pronouns in both European and Asian languages agree that social factors are important in selecting acceptable pronoun forms.

2.2 Studies concerning change in progress

The second section of this chapter aims at shedding light on the main approach related to this current study, the concept of change in progress by William Labov. Labov's interest in change in progress, influenced by Uriel Weinreich (Murray, 1998) began by challenging traditional approaches to the study of languages.

The traditional ideological barrier consists of three important assumptions, 1) that diachronic linguistics and synchronic linguistics should be separated and they should have a clear boundary; 2) that sound change cannot be directly observed; and 3) that free variation is unexplainable and should be ignored from language study. Against these concepts, Labov was interested in the relationship between language and society and on the relationship between language variation and change, particularly sound change.

The variation of linguistic units can be an important indicator of language change. As Tagliamonte (2006) states, if one linguistic form can occur as a variant replacing the other form and correlating to some social contexts, this may be a marker of language change in progress. For example, if the speakers from different age groups employ the distinctive linguistic units, it may be evidence showing the on-going change of a subpart of the grammatical system in that language.

According to Milroy and Milroy (1985) there are two main approaches to study language change. The first one is that of traditional comparative studies, which compare the use of language in one state to its use through different periods of time, the so-called diachronic approach, by reconstruction of the proto-language based on historical records. This kind of study mainly focuses on the feasibility of change as achievement. The other approach in studying language change highly involves the use of quantitative sociolinguistics to explain the process of language change affected by social practices. It gathers data exhibiting variation across subgroups within a society to detect and predict the direction of language change.

When considering any language, there are no permanent linguistic patterns or features common to all uses. That is, variation in language is unavoidable. However, studying language change through real time seems to be a life-long task. Some sociolinguists (such as Labov 1972, 1994, 2001; Romaine, 2001; Milroy and Milroy, 1985, 1992) propose a method, based on the uniformitarian principle. They observe change manifested in synchronic variation in a period of time, so-called *observations in apparent time*. In other words, sociolinguists can use the variation observed during one particular period of time to foretell the direction of language change, either that which has already occurred or that which will possibly occur in the future. Milroy and Milroy (1992):1, for example, “...in the study of linguistic change, this heterogeneity of language is of crucial importance, as change in progress can be detected in the study of variation.” This principle is summarized in the following figure.

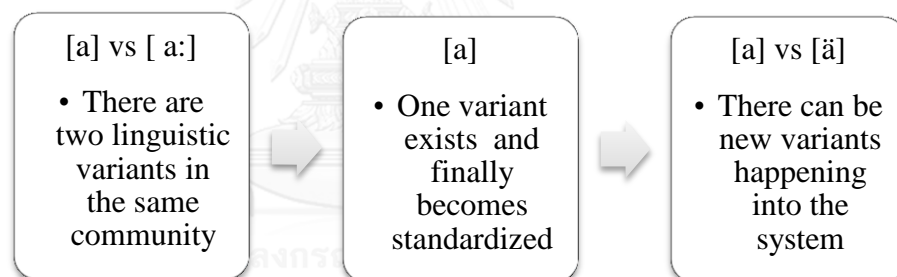


Figure 2.8: Language variation leading to language change

Figure 2.9 above shows that at the first stage, there are two (or more) possible linguistic variants; one spoken by the older generation (such as [a:], and the other spoken by younger generation (such as [a]). As time passes, the form spoken by the older generation possibly vanishes through time, and only the innovative form spoken by the younger generation is left. This form may be standardized and become the norm of the society. At this point, the phonological system has finally changed from [a:] to [a]. Later on, there might be another variant (such as [ä]) appearing in the society and the cycle begins anew.

Apart from phonological variation, lexical variation is also a common interesting topics in studying language change. This section will review some literatures of lexical variation.

Akharawatthanakun (2012) studies lexical and phonological variation and change in five dialects, including Tai Lue, spoken in Nan province. The study compares the variation across three generations, namely the oldest generation over the age of 60, the middle generation aged between 35-50, and the young generation aged between 15- 25. The result of the study shows the similar pattern of preferred vocabulary in all five dialects in which the informants from the first generation tend to use the original words more than the second and the third generations do. In addition, the third generation is likely to use new words borrowed from other languages with which they have contact such as Standard Thai. For example, the old generation of Tai Lue speakers is likely to use the original word *naj* 'to melt' while the middle and the young generation tend to prefer *la.laaj* 'to melt' which is borrowed from Standard Thai. This comparative study across generations shows the change in progress of Tai dialects of Nan province as a result of language contact of other languages.

The study of Rapeeporn and Tingsabash (2008) also shows a similar phenomenon. They study the tonal variation and lexical variation in Thai Khorat based on two social variables, age of the speakers and ease of communication. The data were collected from two villages from Non Thai District in Nakorn Ratchasima province, Thailand. The findings of this study are two folds. The first finding focuses on the lexical variation of speakers and concludes that the lexical borrowing from Standard Thai is significantly higher in the young age groups than the other two generations. In addition, the young speakers from the village with easy access of communication seem to use significantly higher proportions of borrowed Standard Thai words than those in the village with more difficult access to communication. In contrast, the tonal variation of Thai Khorat in the selected villages is not undergoing change. It remains constant in all age levels of the speakers. The researchers conclude that the lexical variation in Thai Khorat occurs faster than tonal variation.

Another study of lexical variation is the study conducted by Burusphat and Thongchalerm (2008). This study is different from those previously described in that it focuses only on the preferred classifiers of Lao Ubon speakers from three generations. The finding reveals that Lao Ubon speaker from the different age levels use different patterns of classifiers. Among the single classifiers, the number of the specific classifiers is decreasing among the speakers from the young generation as they use them with boarder meanings such as general repeater classifiers due to their easy usage. In contrast, the speakers from the old generation tend to retain the original classifiers with specific entities. In addition, it is found that the young generation tends to borrow some classifiers from Standard Thai due to the intense contact as a medium of communication in education.

Otheguy, Zentella, and Livert (2010) study the pronominal usage of Spanish spoken in New York City to establish the correlation between pronominal variation and the generations of the speakers. This study focuses on the presence (such as *yo canto* ‘I sing’) known as the *overt pronoun* and absence of subject pronoun (such as *canto* ‘I sing’) known as *null pronoun* across the generations of Spanish immigrants to NYC. The findings clearly show that those who have been raised in New York (NYR) significantly use the overt subject pronoun in all grammatical contexts due to the intense contact with English because they are more fluent English – Spanish bilingual.

Kivik (2010)’s study in Estonian personal pronoun variation (such as *mina- ‘I’* and *ma- ‘I’*) also shows the similar result to the abovementioned studies. In this study, the variation of Estonian personal pronouns was examined across the generations of Estonian native speakers in USA. They were divided into three groups based on their duration of exposure to English: those who are the late bilingual older WWII refugees, those who are early bilingual younger WWII refugees and those who are recent immigrants. The study found that all of the selected informants retain the long/short distinction in personal pronouns. However, the older refugees tend to prefer the long form (*mina- ‘I’*) as a result of the contact with the monolingual society before they immigrated to USA. In contrast, when considering the use of overt personal pronouns in linguistic contexts, a significant differentiation among the

informants is found. Statistical analysis shows that the Estonian speakers who have a more intense contact with English (such as through education) demonstrated higher proportion for overt pronouns as an indicator of contact-induced language change in pronouns.

To conclude, there are a large number of studies within a sociolinguistic framework explaining change in progress through the synchronic point of view. However, most of the studies in Tai languages mainly focus on the lexical variation of nouns and verbs. There is a need to study more complex linguistic elements, for example the Tai personal pronoun system, to show the change in progress and to give an insightful overview about the change in Tai languages.

2.3 Some Linguistic Background about Tai Lue

At this point, a brief background of the Tai Lue language , including some relevant linguistic studies in Tai Lue is reviewed to provide its overview.

Tai Lue is a literary language spoken by an approximate 700,000 speaker group known as the “Lüe” or “Tai Lue” (also referred to as Lü and Dai). It is mostly spoken in Southern China especially in the Xishuangbanna Autonomous Prefecture of Yunnan Province (hereafter XAP) and also in large areas of Southeast Asian, such as in Luang Prabang Laos, and in some northern provinces of Thailand, as well as in some areas of Burma and Vietnam. In spite of its large number of speakers, Tai Lue is commonly considered only a minority vernacular in the countries where it is spoken. In Thailand, for example, it is considered a displaced language (Prasithratsint Prasithratsint (2005), Smalley (1994)).It is mostly spoken in family and friendship domains as a vernacular, and most of its speakers are bilingual in Tai Lue and another main language in the country where they live

As mentioned earlier, Tai Lue is a language with alphabetical writing systems. According to Casas (2011), there are two writing systems in Tai Lue: the traditional version, namely Old Tai Lue script, and the modern version, namely New Tai Lue script. The former has been mainly used for religious purposes. Originally, this script

was brought to Sipsongpanna regions by the contact with Chiengtung (nowadays Shan state), a region where Tai Khyn was spoken. The old script was used as a means of teaching, since in the past the education in XAP was given in temples until the establishment of public schools in the region. In 1922 the Chinese government set up a national program to revive minority written scripts, including that of Tai Lue. As a result, the New Tai script has been formed and used as a replacement of the traditional version, especially in the educational system. Nowadays the new Tai Lue script is widely used in several domains, including the official domain. According to the regional language policy, Tai Lue script has been written above that of Mandarin in official public signs as shown in the following figure.



Figure 2.9 :A traffic sign in Jinghong, the capital of XAP

This policy may reflect the status of Tai Lue as the language spoken by the largest minority group in the region, which is supported by the authority.

Tai Lue is also classified as a member of the Southwestern Tai Language branch of the Tai language family. According to Weroha (1975) and Li (1977) , Tai Lue is a tonal language with six distinctive tones as summarized below

- 1) High level tone (55), indicated in this study by (')
- 2) Falling tone (31), indicated by (`)
- 3) High rising tone (45), indicated by (ˇ)
- 4) Mid level tone (33), no indication

5) Low level or low rising tone (11 or 13), indicated by (^) and

6) Mid low level tone (22), indicated by (-)

Syntactically speaking, Tai Lue is an S-V-O language with head-modifier construction; that is the modifier follows a head noun in a noun phrase. Burusphat (2007) finds two general classifiers in Tai Lue, namely *ʔan* and *noi*⁵. The former is applied for small entities and newly entities introduced in language while the latter is used for round objects, generalized from its original use for fruit. Weroha (1992) compares the semantic variation of some words in Lue and Kham Mueang to show how they are helpful to understand the inscription better.

In addition to the above-mentioned studies, there is some work on the Tai Lue personal pronoun system. For example, Ampornphan 's Tai Lue grammatical sketch (1986) provides an overview, including the sound system, word formation, and basic syntactic structure, of the Tai Lue spoken in Nan province, Thailand. She found 15 personal pronoun forms, as shown below¹.

1. 1st person pronoun

kuu is used to refer to the speaker (not impolite) when talking to people of the same age or younger.

pxn6 is used to refer to the speaker, indicating politeness, when talking to people of the same age or older, whether intimate or not.

haw2 is used to refer to the speaker, indicating politeness, when talking to people of the same age, whether intimate or not, or it is used to refer to a monk as the speaker.

haa2 is used to refer to a male speaker.

khij2 is used to refer to a female speaker when talking to a female addressee.

khɔɔj6 is used to refer to the speaker when only talking to a monk.

¹ In her work, Ampornpan (1986) used a single digit number indicating tone; however, in this study, the tone marker is employed as shown above.

muu5haw2 is used to refer to a group of speakers when talking to people of the same age or older.

2. 2nd person pronoun

muuwɨ2 is used to refer to an addressee of the same age as the speaker or younger.

kɛɛ1 is used to refer to an addressee of the same age as the speaker or younger.

taan4 is used to refer to an addressee who is a monk or a highly-respected person.

suu1 is used to refer to an addressee both in the singular and plural, indicating politeness.

haa2 is used to refer to a male addressee.

khɨɨ2 is used to refer to a female addressee.

3. 3rd person pronouns

kaw1 is used to refer to people of the same age or younger, indicating politeness.

taan4 is used to refer to older or respected people.

man2 is used to refer to people, animals, or things.

muu5khaw1 is used to refer to a group of people of the same age or younger, indicating politeness.

In her analysis, Ampornphan (1986) reveals that pronoun *haa2* and pronoun *khɨɨ2* are marked by a gender distinction, not grammatical person. That is, they can refer to either the first or second person, but only to males or females respectively.

As mentioned earlier, Rhekhalilit (2010) provides a componential analysis of the semantic features of the personal pronoun systems of Kham Mueang and Tai Lue as spoken in Lampang Province in Thailand. It reveals 14 personal pronoun forms in that variety of Tai Lue. The study suggests 8 dimensions of contrast in the personal pronoun system; namely 1) person, 2) number, 3) gender of speaker, 4) gender of addressee, 5) formality, 6) relative status, 7) intimacy, and 8) the presence of a monk. Another work by Rhekhalilit (2013) also shows an analysis on Tai Lue personal pronoun spoken in Xishuangbanna using componential analysis to provide an account of pronoun meaning. The study reveals two main groups of semantic features as follows: 1) *grammatical features*, namely person and number, and 2) *social factors*, divided into two groups: inherent features, namely gender and status; and interpersonal features, namely relative status, deference, and intimacy. Moreover, this study also compares pronoun variation in Tai Lue to other two Tai languages, namely Standard Thai and Standard Lao to make implications about diachronic change in the Tai pronoun system. Interestingly, when compared to the study of Ampornphan in Nan province, the findings share similar usage of pronoun *haw* which is used exclusively by a monk when referring to himself.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter is divided into three main parts. The very first section collects the studies on pronouns from several linguistic perspectives, including syntax, typology, semantics, pragmatics, historical linguistics, dialectology, and most importantly sociolinguistics. These studies provide many analytical approaches for studying pronouns. The second part includes the relevant theory involved in this current study, namely change in progress. Finally, the last section provides some brief background and related studies in Tai Lue.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains the research procedures employed in this study. It is presented in four sections, namely 1) theory and concepts, 2) data collection, 3) data processing, and 4) data analysis.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

This study focuses on the synchronic variation of the Tai Lue personal pronoun system spoken by different age groups. The main theory adopted in this study is *change in progress* introduced by William Labov (such as in 1972 and 1994), who studied language change by observing the synchronic language variation as a representative of change in apparent time. This section will briefly describe the theories and explain how it is adopted in this study.

Change in progress

Previously, many linguists believed that the phenomenon of language change is impossible to be observed (such as Bloomfield 1933 and (Hockett (1958))). However, William Labov disagreed. He insisted that it is possible to observe language change by studying language variation at a particular period of time.

In order to study change in progress, the task of study is divided into three stages of problems as presented below (Labov's terms are in italic)

- 1) *The transition problem* refers to the concern of how an old linguistic unit changes to a newer form such as the diphthongs [ai] and [au] to become [əu] and [əi] in Martha's Vineyard.
- 2) *The embedding problem* refers to the interrelation between the linguistic variables and social variables of the speakers and to predict the direction of subsequent change such as the correlation between gender of the speakers and pronunciation.

- 3) The *evaluation problem* refers to the focus on the attitude of the speakers in the society about the change.

By addressing these three problems, it is possible to explain the direction of language change in terms of “*cause, mechanics and adaptive function*” of the change. (Labov, 1972: 161)

Labov (1972) states that the most convenient way to study change in progress is the observation the language use of the speakers across generations, or simply the study of age- based variation of different generations. In this approach, the language of the older generation represents the language of the past, which is predicted to be replaced by the newer forms used by the younger generations.

3.2 Data Collection

The process of data collection is divided into two stages. The first stage is the preparation of data collection, and the second stage is the actual fieldwork.

3.2.1 The preparation of data collection

Before going out to the fieldwork, I set up a tool to systematically collect data. First of all, I selected the research sites according to their easy accessibility and then set the criteria of the informant selection as described below.

In this study, I selected the three research sites where Tai Lue has been widely spoken, specifically

- 1) LuangNuea village, DoiSaket District, Chiang Mai, Thailand
- 2) Pha Nom village, LuangPrabang Province, Lao PDR.
- 3) Tai Lue village, Jing Hong, Xishuangbanna Autonomous Prefecture, PR. Of China.

These three villages represented the speech community of Tai Lue in major countries where it is spoken.

Selected site background

What follows is a brief introduction to the Tai Lue communities where I collected data, to be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8.

a. Luang Nuea Village, DoiSaket

Luang Nuea village is located 4 km. from the center of Doi Saket District in Chiang Mai. In this village, the oldest temple, named Wat Sri Mung Mueang, is the site where religious and cultural activities are regularly organized. From the written records of this temple and from interviews, most villagers strongly believe that their ancestors originally migrated from the Sipsongpanna region of China (the former name of Xishuangbanna Autonomous Prefecture) long ago as a result of a war. Now most of them work as farmers and laborers.

Nowadays, Luang Nuea village is well known for its Tai Lue culture. In Doi Saket district, there are two cultural centers established to maintain Tai Lue culture and lifestyle. Moreover, the only primary school, Ban Luang Nuea School, in the village also organizes a program in Tai Lue language and cultural maintenance for the students. This program invites Tai Lue elders from the village to teach students about Tai Lue culture, including cooking, traditional dancing and singing, and also Tai Lue language.

However, despite the attempt to maintain the Tai Lue culture and language, the number of Tai Lue speaking children is decreasing as a result of intercultural marriages and contact with Standard Thai as the means of education. Tai Lue in Ban Lunag Nuea is now spoken in family and friendship domains.

b. Pha Nom village, LuangPrabang

Pha Nom villange or Ban Pha Nom is a village located to the east of central LuangPrabang. It is very-well known as a Tai Lue community. According to my interviews, it is also believed that this village was established when Tai Lue- speaking

residents migrated from Sipsongpanna. Villagers in Ban Pha Nom are very famous for their weaving technique. As a result, hand-woven goods for sale to tourists have become their main industry.

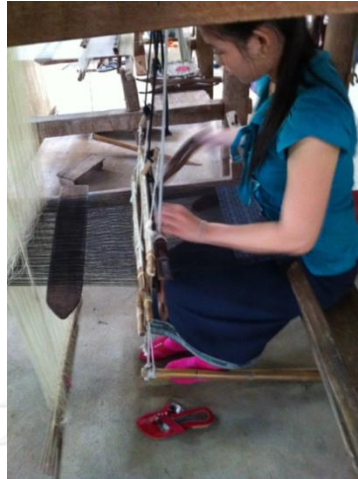


Figure 3.1 : a weaving female Tai Lue villager

Ban Pha Nom has been identified as a national cultural center. As a result, it has become famous as a tourist attraction among foreign visitors, especially since Luang Prabang was accredited as UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1995 (UNESCO., 2004)



Figure 3.2: Pha Nom: Baan Wattanatham (Pha Nom: Cultural Centre)

Despite attempts to preserve local Lao cultures, many Thai Television programs are regularly broadcasted in Lao PDR. As a result, Tai Lue villagers in Ban Pha Nom are

familiar with Standard Thai, which is the means of mass communication in Thailand. Moreover, since Luang Prabang is also a very famous tourist attraction, a large number of tourists, both Thai and westerners, visit there all year round. From observation during the fieldwork, the adult Tai Lue speakers can speak Lao, and some can speak and understand Standard Thai especially those who are merchants in the night market, which is a famous market for tourists. This will be discussed further in Chapter 8 for the social impact on language change.

c. Jing Hong, Xishuangbanna

As mentioned earlier, interviews show that Tai Lue- speaking ethnic groups in Thailand and in Lao PDR strongly believe that their ancestors originally migrated from Sipsongpanna, which is now officially known as Xishuangbanna Autonomous Prefecture. It is widely believed that Jing Hong, the capital city of the kingdom of Sipsongpanna, was the origin of the Tai Lue- speaking group. Recently, this city has been developed as a national tourist attraction of PRC and there are large numbers of tourists visiting.



Figure 3.3: a traditional Tai Lue house

Despite its vast number of speakers, Tai Lue is still considered a minority ethnic group in China. According to Casas (2011), the Tai Lue language was formerly a lingua franca among the Sipsongpanna region before the massive intrusion of Han migrants and of the Chinese government. It was also the means of formal education taught in temples. During a conflict between the national government and the local community, the Buddhist temples were destroyed or damaged. As a result, the

teaching in the temples was finally cancelled. This resulted in the introduction of formal schools in the local area, in which Mandarin was employed as the media of instruction. Moreover, according to Nam, my interpreter, in the past there was a newspaper published in Tai Lue, and Standard Thai television programs could be transmitted to Xishuangbanna, but currently there are only a few radio channels which broadcast in Tai Lue. It can be inferred that Tai Lue language does not now serve as a means of teaching or mass communication. Its social environment will be discussed later in Chapter 8.

However, unlike the other two communities, in Jing Hong, one might be surprised to see the Tai Lue script used for shop names and in traffic signs. (See Figure 3.5) This is the result of the ethnic tourism policy of the Chinese government in 1992 (Hasegawa , 2000) This plan develops tourism based on Tai Lue culture and folkways such as temples, costumes, and language to show the diversity of ethnic groups in China. As a result of this development, there are increasing numbers of construction sites, including hotels, shops, roads and even an airport. This phenomenon results in many non-Tai workers coming to the communities and many Tai Lue villagers abandon their original farming occupation and turning to the tourist industry. (Hasegawa , 2003: 295)



Figure 3.4: : A traffic sign in Xishuangbanna where Tai Lue script is written

Overall, Tai Lue dialects spoken in three countries where I collected data all share the minority status as a vernacular within communities. However, they differ in terms of their opportunities for contact with other languages, the prominence of the written

language in the public space, and the attempts at language maintenance. These factors are expected to play a role affecting the language variation of the local speakers in different age groups. To address this issue, I will discuss their influences in a later chapter. (Chapter 7)

3.2.2 Informant selection criteria

After selecting sites of fieldwork, I also set up criteria for a representative sampling of Tai Lue in these three communities. According to Tagliamonte (2006), there are many approaches to sampling strategies. One such strategy is the random sampling by which anonymous informants are selected as the representatives of the target group. It has been employed in several sociolinguistic studies, including the classic study of (r) in New York by Labov (1966). However, this sampling strategy can lead to some problems while collecting data. One of these is the difficulty to find the informants who perfectly represent the wanted population group (Tagliamonte, 2006:22).

To address this problem, stratified random sampling, also known as quasi-random or judgment sampling, is used in many sociolinguistic studies, including this current one. In contrast to normal random sampling, judgment sampling is a way by which the researcher sets up criteria for the stratification of the subjects based on social factors such as age, gender, or race before selecting the subjects or going out in the field to collect data (Tagliamonte, 2006; Schilling (2007). Adopting this sampling technique, I established some criteria for systematically selecting my informants before the actual fieldwork as stated below.

- 1) The informants had to be Tai Lue native speakers.
- 2) They could be bilingual, but Tai Lue vernacular was definitely required.
- 3) They were expected to live in that village for more than half of their life.
- 4) Since this study mainly focuses on the variation of Tai Lue personal pronouns across generations, the informants were divided into three age groups; 1) those who were less than 25 years old, representing the younger age group, 2) those

who were between 30-50, representing mid adulthood and 3) those who were older than 60 years old, representing the oldest speakers. For each research site, three native speakers were selected as representatives for each group, totaling nine informants for each site and 27 informants in all. Other social factors such as gender, educational level, or occupation were recorded.

According to these criteria, I chose the informants with the assistance of local villagers, who introduced me to the target informants. The selected informants can be summarized in Table 3.1 below.



Table 3.1: distribution of selected informants

Informants Number	Dialect	Age	Gender	Occupation	Education	Duration of living in the village (years)	Approx. Duration of the interview (min.)	Remark
1	CML	10	M	Student	Primary	10	55	
2	CML	11	F	Student	Primary	11	45	
3	CML	11	M	Student	Primary	11	57	
4	CML	29	F	Housewife		29	39	
5	CML	33	F	School teacher	Bachelor Degree	25	55	
6	CML	29	M	School teacher	Bachelor Degree	29	40	
7	CML	61	F	School teacher	Bachelor Degree	40	68	
8	CML	70	F	Retired	Primary	70	55	
9	CML	69	M	Retired	Primary	65	58	
10	LPL	17	F	Student	Secondary	17	40	
11	LPL	18	F	Student	Secondary	18	45	
12	LPL	21	M	Student	University	21	59	
13	LPL	33	F	Seller	Primary	30	40	
14	LPL	41	F	Seller	Primary	41	65	
15	LPL	45	M	Employee	Primary	45	57	
16	LPL	66	F	Seller	Primary	60	74	
17	LPL	68	F	Retired	Primary	68	82	
18	LPL	75	M	Retired	Primary	73	43	Spent 2 -year period in Thailand
19	XBL	18	F	Student	Secondary	18	35	
20	XBL	18	M	Employee	Primary	18	66	
21	XBL	22	M	Employee	Primary	22	54	
22	XBL	33	F	Housewife	Bachelor Degree	29	65	Married to a Thai Spent 4 years in a college in Thailand
23	XBL	50	F	Housewife	Primary	50	49	
24	XBL	49	M	Employee	Primary	49	35	
25	XBL	62	F	Retired	Primary	62	44	
26	XBL	65	M	Monk	Bachelor Degree	40	66	Can speak Thai
27	XBL	71	M	Retired	Primary	71	75	

3.2.3 Tool preparation

This section describes the tools used in this fieldwork data collection. Because this current study's main methodology was interviewing, the two main tools were 1) a table of data collection and 2) an MP3 sound recorder.

The table of data collection was designed to record the personal pronouns in Tai Lue elicited from the informants. It was divided into two parts; 1) the interviewee's personal information and 2) the table of record as illustrated below. (Please note that the actual table used in the fieldwork was designed and written in Thai. This is the translated version)

Part I

Personal information

NAME AGE SEX: M/F

OCCUPATION EDUCATION

MARITAL STATUS: Married/ single

DURATION YEARS

DIALECT: Chiang Mai (CML)/ LuangPrabang (LPL) / Xishuangbanna (XBL)

Part II

Personal pronoun usage

Table 3.2: Data collection form

ADDRESSEE	First person	Second person	Third person
When talking to/ of	(Self)	(Addressee)	(Referent)
1. Grandparents			
2. Parents			
3. Children			
4. Grandchildren			
5. Niece/Nephew			
6. Husband/Wife			
7. Teacher (of your child)			
8. Older sibling			
9. Younger sibling			
10. Close friend/ neighbor			
11. Older friend/ neighbor			
12. Younger friend/ neighbor			
13. Stranger			
14. Shopkeeper			
15. Employer			
16. Employee			
17. Authority / community leader			

While interviewing, I filled in the data elicited from the informants myself for further analysis. When an informant used a pronoun in a conversation, I recorded its usage in the table. For example, when an informant used pronoun *haw* to refer to himself while talking to his close neighbor, I noted its usage in the table as illustrated below.

Table 3.3: Example of the personal pronoun *haw* data collection

ADDRESSEE When talking to/ of	First person (Self)	Second person (Addressee)	Third person (Referent)
Close friend/ neighbor	<i>haw</i>		
Older friend/ neighbor			
Younger friend/ neighbor			

During the fieldwork, I set up three different topics to control the situations and content of the interviews so that the informants talked about the same content and the controlled topics also represent the different situations of conversation. The conversation topics consisted of 1) Religion, mostly concerned with monk-laymen conversation, representing the situation in which deference was shown in conversation, 2) Family, mostly concerned with family conversations such as between father and son, representing a situation in which both deference and intimacy were involved, and 3) Friendship, mostly concerned with conversations between classmates, or colleagues, representing situations in which intimacy was clearly involved. The following section provides a translation of some of the questions used in the interviews.

Conversational Topics

Topic1 Religion

1. Would you please tell me how villagers invite monks on special occasions, such as wedding ceremonies or new house celebration ceremonies?
2. When you meet an old monk in a temple, how do you call him? And how does he call himself?
3. How many monks are normally invited to a holy ceremony?
4. If your son entered the monkhood, how would you address him?

Topic 2 Family

1. Let's imagine you are talking to your spouse about a new house celebration ceremony, or almsgiving. How would you ask for his/her opinion?
2. Would you please tell me more about your children (or other family members)?
3. If you would like to invite your older relatives to a new house celebration ceremony, how would you ask them?
4. If you would like to ask your younger brother or sister to help you prepare the ceremony or almsgiving, what would you say to them?
5. Normally, how many monks are invited to a wedding ceremony?

Topic 3 Friendship

1. Would you please tell me about your friends (or classmate)?
2. If you would like to invite your neighbors to a new house celebration ceremony, how would you ask them?
3. If you want your friend to accompany you to ... (a name of place), how would you ask them?

Direct questions

1. How would you call yourself and your addressee when talking to ... (children/ teacher/ monk and so on)?

It should be noted, however, that apart from the set up conversation and the direct interview, the participants were also observed in their choice of personal pronouns when they talked in their daily lives. For example, during the interview, it sometimes happened that a party or non-participant interrupted the interviewees and they would turn their attention to create a new conversation. These conversations were also included for the data collection as a set of spontaneous data. As Milroy and Gordon (2003):65 point out the most interesting speech for sociolinguists is the casual speech,

often called vernacular, as a representative of the natural language of the speaker. Understandably, the sociolinguistic interview seems like a very unnatural method to elicit such casual speech from the interviewees. To solve such problems, the modifications to the dynamics of one-on-one interviewing were applied, basically by allowing more than one participant to be interviewed at a time. For example, when I gathered data in Ban Pha Nom in Luang Prabang, I was introduced to a group of informants at once. The interview then was conducted to a main interviewee whose characteristics matched the established criteria. However, the other participants were not excluded from the interview. Indeed, they encouraged the main interviewee to speak more casually and naturally. In some cases, there were two or more interviewees at a time (See figure 3.5 below).

3.3 Actual fieldwork

This section describes the interviewing process in the actual fieldwork and the verification of elicited data after the interview.

3.3.1 Interviewing process

- 1) Firstly, I was introduced to the informants by local villagers who were also my interpreter when we found a villager whose characteristics matched the established criteria. After that, I interviewed the informants myself, along with the assistance of the interpreters.
- 2) After introducing myself and asking for permission to record the interview, I asked the informants to introduce themselves, including names, age, educational background, marital status, and the duration of stay in the village.
- 3) Then, they were asked to narrate about the given topic according to their experience. After that, they were asked to create or translate a set-up conversation on the related topic, which was set to control the relationship of the participants. For example, during the interview of an informant aged 18, she was asked to introduce herself, and then to narrate about her background. Then I chose a topic as mentioned previously to begin the interview. In this

case, the informant was asked to talk about her family as the first topic. During the interview, I might ask her some questions to make the story continue. I also asked the informant to create some conversations with the controlled topics so that I could gather the personal pronouns in context and see how they were used in sentences. For example,

I: If you would like to invite your classmates to come to your place to join an almsgiving. How would you say?

The informant: I would say “*haa ca? mii taan.bun tii bǎan ,khiŋ maa tooj nǎə*” (*I will arrange an almsgiving at my place. Please come*)”



Figure 3.5: Interviewing a Tai Lue informant in Xishuangbanna

- 4) Finally, they were asked directly how they would refer to themselves or to an addressee or even third person in the conversation. For instance, “How do you refer to yourself while talking to your parents?” or “How do you refer to your friend at school,” etc.
- 5) During the actual fieldwork, the interviews were recorded so that I could check the interviews again and could count the frequency of the spoken pronouns later. Overall the interviews took a total of about 1471 minutes. The longest interview took about 84 minutes while the shortest one took about 35 minutes. The average of the interview length was 54.481 minutes.

3.3.2 Data verification

After the interview, the data were verified using a test frame in which the interviewer used the elicited personal pronouns to fill in a set of sentences to check their acceptability. For example, “Can we use X to talk about Y?” or “Can we say X, which is a dog, is coming?” to verify the data collection as to whether a pronoun could be used to refer to Y or not.

For example,

1. Can we call a dog ‘*man*’ (‘*it*’)?
2. Can we call a monk ‘*man*’ (‘*it*’)?
3. Can we call a parent ‘*man*’ (‘*it*’)?
4. Can we call a child ‘*man*’ (‘*it*’)?

Apart from the test frame completion, observation was used to verify information on the use of Tai Lue personal pronouns in the selected community. Participant observation is another primary sociolinguistic method of ethnography (Johnstone, 2000). As Stocking (1983) has indicated, an important element of participant observation is for the researcher to enter the selected community as a stranger and to investigate the native’s point of view as reflected in the way he or she behaves. In the present study, while I was interviewing the informants, I was also observing the natural use of the personal pronouns of the native speakers, not only those that were being interviewed but also the surrounding participants at the time of the interview in order to confirm the use acquired from the interview. However, the data from these observations were not included in the data analysis. They were collected in the fieldwork notes and used to confirm the data findings. In a few cases, if I found Tai Lue speakers used a personal pronoun differently from the selected interviewees, I asked them or other Tai Lue speakers (mostly my translator) to clarify the situations or the relationship between the participants.

3.4 Data processing

After collecting the data from the interview, I systemized them for convenience in the analysis process in the next stage. The interview data were divided into three groups based on the age groups of the informants, namely the oldest, the middle and the youngest generation. Then the personal pronouns in each group were organized in the table to distinguish their usage as shown below.

Table 3.4: Example of the data processing table

Personal pronoun forms	Gloss	Age of speaker	Speaker	Addressee	Conversation participants			Number		Talk to	Deferent	Intimate
			M/F	M/F	1	2	3	One referent	More than one			

From the data collection, the conversation and the interviews were transcribed and the personal pronouns were extracted from the conversation and were recorded in Table 3.4. Firstly, the personal pronoun forms were listed in the first column and its gloss was given in the next. Then I considered the social characteristics, specifically the age of the speaker and the gender of both the speaker and the addressee. After that, the role of the conversation participants was added to the table: speaker, column 1; the addressee, 2; and the third party, 3 respectively. The next columns refer to the number of the referent(s), singular or plural. Then the situational context of the conversation was included. The role of the addressee was given in the column *talk to* such as friends, teachers, monks, and so on. The last two columns were for deference and intimacy respectively. They were determined by the participant roles in the

conversation. For example, when talking to a class teacher, the speaker was likely to show deference in a conversation. If the deference was present in the conversation, I put a tick in the column *deference*. In contrast, if the form used was considered offensive, I put a cross. For neutral situations, the column was left blank. In some cases, which the speaker showed intimacy, such as an informal greeting in a conversation between neighbors or friends the tick was put in the *intimate* column. If the sense of intimacy was absent, the column was left blank.

For example, personal pronoun *haw* was extracted from the conversation. It was spoken by a female informant when she was talking to her friend. Both were females, so the F was put in the columns gender of the speaker and gender of the addressee. In this interview, the speaker referred to herself as *haw*. Thus, the conversation participants' column was marked in *1*. Furthermore, it referred only to herself, so the number of referent was one. No indication of deference was found, so the column was left blank. Finally, the situation showed social proximity between the participants, so a tick was put in the column *intimate*.

Table 3.5: Example of data processing

Personal pronoun forms	Gloss	Age of speaker	Speaker	Addressee	Conversation participants			Number		Talk to	Deferent	Intimate
			M/F	M/F	1	2	3	One referent	More than one			
<i>haw</i>	I	18	F	F	✓			✓		friend		✓

3.5 Data analysis

The procedure of the data analysis can be divided into two stages. The first stage is the analysis of personal pronoun forms, in which each personal pronoun was analyzed for usage and meaning. The latter stage was the statistic analysis, which was sub-

divided into two steps, namely the frequency of the personal pronouns used, and the relationship between personal pronoun choice and the generation of the speaker.

3.5.1 Semantic analysis of personal pronouns

After collecting data from the fieldwork interview, I analyzed the gathered personal pronouns to identify their usage in terms of grammatical meanings (Chapter 4) and social indices (Chapter 5)

- 1) Firstly, the personal pronoun was analyzed to find out its grammatical meanings, namely person and number. Take pronoun *haw* as an example. If it was used to refer to an individual speaker, it was marked first person and singular as its grammatical meaning.
- 2) After that, the personal pronouns were studied to identify their social meanings such as gender of speaker, intimacy, politeness, and relative status of the conversation participants. For example, if pronoun *haw* was used in a conversation between the intimate participants, it was marked “intimacy” as its social meaning.

After the gathered personal pronouns were analyzed to establish their meanings, they were summarized into systems, so-called personal pronoun systems into table form as shown below.

Table 3.6: Example of table of analysis

Pronoun forms	Gloss	Grammatical meaning	Situations of person deixis
<i>khəj</i>	I	1st singular gender neutral	Used mostly while speaking to higher addressee
<i>khâ</i>	I	1st singular gender neutral	Used mostly while speaking to a stranger or an acquaintance
<i>kūu</i>	I	1st singular gender neutral	Used primarily by males in an intimate conversation reciprocal to <i>mij</i>

- 4) Then the personal pronoun forms elicited from the interviews were compared based on independent variables, specifically 1) across regions and 2) across generations of the speakers, to identify the similarities and differences, and the statistical analysis was used to confirm the result.
- 5) Finally, I summarized and discussed the change of personal pronouns spoken in Tai Lue as stated in the purpose of the study.

3.5.2 Statistical analysis

In order to compare the change in progress of Tai Lue personal pronouns, it is necessary to apply statistics to confirm the difference between the selected age groups of the informants. In this study, I chose the descriptive statistic tool to compare the use of personal pronoun forms in different age groups of Tai Lue speakers to predict

the change in progress, specifically percentage and the inferential statistics, namely chi-squared test.

Percentage

The first statistical tool employed in this current study is the *percentage*, mainly used to compare the proportion of linguistic variables found in the study. According to Woods, Fletcher, and Hughes (1991) percentage is quite common when showing data in proportion, especially when studying the distribution of a particular linguistic variable in relation to some social variables. In this study, percentage is mainly used to show the frequency of personal pronouns elicited from the interviews. After the data were elicited from the interviews and analyzed to deconstruct their meanings, they were counted to identify how often they were chosen and were listed in the table. Table 3.8 exemplified how the frequency of personal pronouns was recorded. For example, personal pronoun *haw* 'we' was counted when the interviewees spoke it. If the speakers were in the oldest generation, the frequency was put in the column "oldest". It was also applied in the same way for the middle and the youngest speakers. Then the frequency was calculated as a percentage to figure out the proportion of the personal pronoun forms and recorded in a table shown below.

Table 3.7: The observed frequency and percentage of *haw* [+plural]

Meaning	Old		Middle		Young	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<i>haw</i> [+plural]	45	31.69	47	33.10	50	35.21

Table 3.7 exemplifies the observed frequency and the calculated percentage of the plural pronoun *haw* in Tai Lue spoken by three age groups. The oldest speakers chose the unmarked plural pronoun *haw* 45 times while the middle and the youngest speakers used it 47 and 50 times respectively. Then the frequency was calculated into the percentage as 31.69, 33.10 and 35.21 respectively. In some cases, the data were

presented in a bar chart or a pie chart to compare the result clearly as illustrated in Figure 3.6 below.

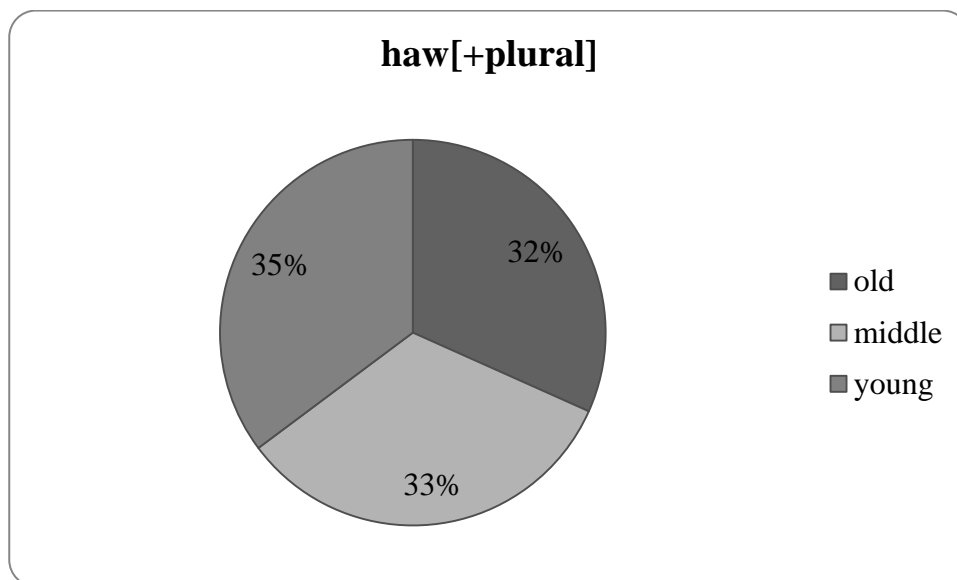


Figure 3.6: The percentage of plural pronoun *haw* ‘we’ by age group

The chi-squared test

After the percentage calculation, some cases required the chi-squared tool to confirm the analysis. According to Rasinger (2008), the chi-squared test is a statistical tool essentially based on the comparison of the observed values with the appropriate set of expected values and is used to study the correlation between two or more variables. In this present study, the chi-squared distribution was selected in order to confirm the correlation between the choice of personal pronouns and the generations of the speaker. I adopted Microsoft Excel program to calculate this statistic tool.

The following table (Table 3.8) exemplifies the presentation of the chi-squared distribution of four Tai Lue personal pronouns based on the generations of the speakers in this current study.

Table 3.8: The comparisons of the paired personal pronouns *hāa* 'I(m/f)'- *khiŋ* 'you(m/f) and *kuu* 'I(m/f)'- *miŋ* 'you(m/f) by age groups

Forms	Old		Middle		Young	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<i>hāa</i> 'I(m/f)'+ <i>khiŋ</i> 'you (m/f)'	65	38.7	80	45.5	104	55.9
<i>kuu</i> 'I(m/f)'+ <i>miŋ</i> 'you (m/f)'	103	61.3	96	54.5	82	44.1
Total	168	100.0	176	100.0	186	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 10.75 \text{ d.f. } 2 \text{ p} < 0.01$$

Table 3.8 shows the observed frequency of two pairs of personal pronouns, namely the first person pronouns *hāa* 'I(m/f) and the second person pronouns *khiŋ* 'you(m/f)' and *kuu* 'I(m/f)' and *miŋ* 'you(m/f)'. It is seen that the each generation tends to use these four personal pronouns with different frequency. When calculated by the chi-squared test, the result reveals that the age groups and the choice of personal pronouns were significantly correlated ($\chi^2 = 10.75$, d.f. 2 $p < 0.01$). It is interpreted that the age of the speaker as an independent variable significantly influences the choice of personal pronouns as a dependent variable.

3.6. Limitations in this study

This section provides the limitations that I encountered before and during the fieldwork and how they were solved.

The first problem was my lack of proficiency in Tai Lue. I can neither speak nor read Tai Lue. As a result, I had to conduct the interviews by using Standard Thai when gathering data in Chiang Mai where Standard Thai is the common lingua franca in the neighborhood. In Luang Prabang, the interviews were conducted by Standard Thai

only when the interviewees could clearly understand it. Otherwise, the interviews were conducted in Tai Lue when the interviewees did not clearly understand Standard Thai, especially when interviewing those from the oldest generation. In these cases, interpreters were required. Finally, in the fieldwork in Xishuangbanna, only a few informants could understand Standard Thai. As a result, the interviews were mostly conducted through the help of the Tai Lue interpreter. This limitation of interviews in languages other than Tai Lue, may influence the results of the study. However, to solve this issue, during the interviews, the results from one informant were rechecked or verified by other informants to ensure the validity of the results.

The second problem was my presence as an outsider. According to Milroy and Gordon (2003:49), sociolinguists are expected to collect data naturally in a spontaneous and casual style, but they could face the observer's paradox, in that their status as an outsider may be a hindrance to spontaneity. It could prevent the expected natural language spoken by the informants. In order to solve this issue, I adopted the modifications on one-on-one interviews as described earlier. It resulted in the easier flow of the conversation.

However, the modifications of the interviews might cause other problems in the fieldwork. Especially, when interviewing the speakers in the youngest generations, I found that when the interviewees were asked about their choice of personal pronouns in front of their parents, they were likely to be monitored by their parents and to choose some forms unnaturally. To address this issue, I encouraged the main interviewees to choose the forms they used in daily lives. To prevent the errors of the data caused by this influence, I conducted the interview off record again in more private situations.

To sum up, this chapter explains how data collection was prepared and conducted in this present study. The first part briefly discusses the theories and explains how they were adapted in this study. The second part included the preparation of data collection and the actual fieldwork description in detail. The third part involved how the obtained data were organized. The final part was divided into two parts, the linguistic

analysis and the statistical analysis. The former included the analysis of the grammatical variation and the semantic variation of Tai Lue personal pronouns to determine the linguistic variables. The latter part focused on the statistic tools employed in this study selected to confirm the hypothesis.

The next chapter will mainly focus on the results of the data analysis of linguistic variables or the personal pronouns in terms of grammatical meanings to provide the overall picture of the personal pronoun system spoken in Tai Lue.



CHAPTER 4

GRAMMATICAL MEANINGS OF TAI LUE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

One purpose of this study is to analyze grammatical meanings of Tai Lue personal pronouns. Based on previous studies of personal pronouns in other Tai languages such as (Cooke (1968)), Campbell (1969), Palakornkul (1972), Noss (1964) and Ampornphan (1986), it was hypothesized that Tai Lue personal pronouns are marked by three grammatical features; namely, person, number and inclusive/exclusive distinction. However, the data analysis reveals that the different grammatical features of Tai Lue personal pronouns are *person*, *gender*, and *number*. This chapter is presented in three sections. The first section describes the pronoun inventory of Tai Lue personal pronouns in three different regions. The second part involves the detailed explanation of three distinguishing features of the grammatical meanings. The third part provides the syntactic behaviors of Tai Lue personal pronouns.

4.1 Inventory of Tai Lue personal pronouns

First of all, I will present the comparison among the three regions of Tai Lue in order to give an overview of their personal pronoun systems. What follows is a presentation of the systems of personal pronouns according to regional varieties of the speakers, regardless of the different generations of the speakers. The following table summarizes the personal pronoun forms in three regions of Tai Lue. Note that the gender of the referent is indicated by (m) for males, (f) for females, and (m/f) for forms that can refer to either males or females.

Table 4.1: Tai Lue Personal pronouns spoken in three different regions

	Chiang Mai	Luang Prabang	Xishuangbanna
First person	<i>haa</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>kuu</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>khòɔj</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>phóm</i> 'I (m)' <i>khā.cāw</i> 'I (f)' <i>ʔeeŋ</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>p̀̀n</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>haw</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>haw</i> 'we'	<i>haa</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>kuu</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>khòɔj</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>khâa.nòj</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>p̀̀n</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>haw</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>haw</i> 'we'	<i>haa</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>kuu</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>khòɔj</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>khàa</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>tuu</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>haw</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>haw</i> 'we'
Second person	<i>khiŋ</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>m̄iŋ</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>tóo</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>sùu</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>phu.cáw</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>cáw</i> 'you (m/f)' จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย	<i>khiŋ</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>m̄iŋ</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>tóo</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>phu.cáw</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>cáw</i> 'you (m/f)' จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย	<i>khiŋ</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>m̄iŋ</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>sùu</i> 'you (m/f)' จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
Third person	<i>p̀̀n</i> 'he/she' <i>man</i> 'it' <i>tāan</i> 'he/she'	<i>p̀̀n</i> 'he/she' <i>man</i> 'it' <i>khāw</i> 'he / she'	<i>p̀̀n</i> 'he/she' <i>man</i> 'it'

Table 4.1 summarizes the pronoun forms found in this study divided into three grammatical persons according to the role of the referent in the conversation.

When we consider the collected forms in each dialect, we can find that personal pronouns in Tai Lue can be divided into three groups based on their appearance in dialects, as described below. The first group consists of those found in all three dialects. The second group consists of personal pronouns that can be found in only two dialects, and the final group includes the personal pronouns which are uniquely found in only one dialect as arranged in the following diagram.

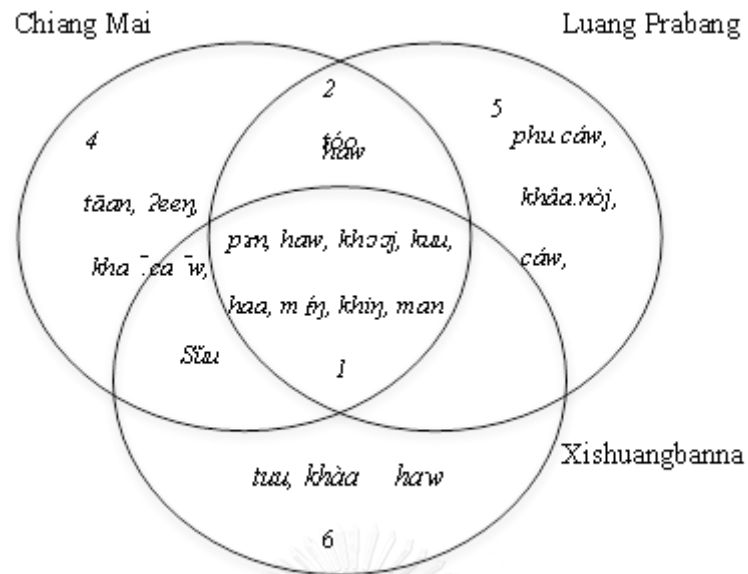


Figure 4.1: Distribution of Tai Lue personal pronouns in three dialects

Figure 4.1 summarizes the distribution of Tai Lue personal pronouns spoken in three regions. The number 1 in the middle represents the group of personal pronouns shared among all three dialects as listed below.

1) *khəj* 'I (m/f)' *haa* 'I (m/f)' *kuu* 'I (m/f)' *haw* 'we'
khiŋ 'you (m/f)' *mɛ̃j* 'you (m/f)' *pən* 'he/she' *man* 'it'

The second group includes those only spoken in two dialects, namely

2) *táo* 'you (m/f)' and *haw*₂ 'I (m/f)' spoken in Chiang Mai and Luang Prabang

3) *sǔu* 'you (m/f)', spoken in Chiang Mai and Xishuangbanna

The final group consists of those spoken uniquely in one dialect as listed below. Pronouns in-group 4) are spoken only in Chiang Mai, while those in 5) and 6) are spoken in Luang Prabang and Xishuangbanna respectively.

- 4) *ʔeeŋ* ‘I (m/f)’ *phóm* ‘I(m)’ *khā.cāw* ‘I(f)’ *tāan* ‘he/she’
 5) *khāa.nòj* ‘I (m/f)’ *cáw* ‘you (m/f)’ *phu.cáw* ‘you (m/f)’ *khāw* ‘he/she’
 6) *khàa* ‘I (m/f)’ *tuu* ‘I (m/f)’ *haw³* ‘I (m/f)’

From this observation, we can hypothesize that the pronoun forms in the first group, which can be found in all three dialects, may be maintained from the Tai Lue systems in the past. In addition, the pronoun forms in 2) and 3) may be also derived from the Tai Lue in the past but they have been lost in one Tai Lue dialect. For instance, pronoun *sùu* ‘you (m/f)’, which can be found in Chiang Mai Tai Lue and Xishuangbanna Tai Lue, may be lost in the Luang Prabang dialect in the past. In contrast, those in 4), 5) and 6), which can be exclusively found in only one dialect, may be borrowed from the neighboring languages in the communities. For example, pronoun *phóm* ‘I (m)’ and pronoun *tāan* ‘he/she’ are borrowed from Standard Thai, the main lingua franca in the community. However, a further in-depth study is still required to find out more about this observation.

In addition, the first person pronoun *haw* ‘I (m/f)’ can be found in two groups, *haw₂* ‘I (m/f)’ in the group 2 and *haw₃* ‘I (m/f)’ in the group 6. It should be noted that the use of these two pronouns are different in contexts as mentioned further in Chapter 5.

4.2 Three distinctive features of grammatical meanings of Tai Lue personal pronouns

This section analyzes the grammatical meanings of Tai Lue personal pronouns. From the data collection, it is found that Tai Lue personal pronoun system consists of three aspects, specifically *person*, *gender*, and *number*, as described in details below.

4.2.1 Person

The most basic grammatical distinguishing feature of Tai Lue personal pronouns is person. Person refers to a grammatical meaning which denotes the role of the conversation participants. The first person basically refers to the speaker(s) of the utterance. The second person mainly refers to the addressee(s) or the conversation interlocutor(s) who is spoken to. The third person refers to the third party referent or the non-interlocutor(s) who may be present or absent from the time of the conversation and spoken of in the conversation. The data analysis reveals that the personal pronoun systems of Tai Lue in three regions mutually share the person grammatical meanings.

4.2.1.1 First person pronouns in Tai Lue

First person pronouns are those used as self-referring terms by the speaker. They denote the role of speaker. From the data collection, there are 12 first person pronoun forms in Tai Lue as summarized in Table 4.2

The following section provides sample sentences to show how first person forms are used in sentences.

1) *kuu bə̀w h̄i m̄iŋ kin*

I.(m/f) NEG give you eat

“I don’t let you eat (something).”

Sentence 1) is in a conversation between two male students. The speaker is trying to stop his friend from taking his snacks. The speaker referred to self by using the first pronoun *kuu* ‘I (m/f)’.

2) *khə̀wɔ̀j càʔ maa ni.mun t̄u.pi*

I.(m/f) will come invite monk

“I am coming to invite monks.”

Sentence 2) shows the use of the first person pronoun *khə̀wɔ̀j* ‘I (m/f)’ when the speaker referred to himself.

- 3) *khàa ca? maa khôv nām kin*
 I.(m/f) will come request water eat

“I’m coming to ask for some drinking water.”

Sentence 3) is another example of the first person pronoun in sentences. The speaker refers to himself by using pronoun form *khàa* ‘I (m/f)’ to refer to himself.

4.2.1.2 Second person pronouns in Tai Lue

The data collection reveals 6 forms of Tai Lue personal pronouns. The examples below show how second person pronouns are used in context.

- 4) *kuu bòk miη lēw bǝv*
 I.(m/f) tell you already PART

“I told you, didn’t I?”

In Sentence 4) the speaker addresses the interlocutor by using the personal pronoun *miη* ‘you (m/f)’. The speaker selects the first person pronoun *kuu* ‘I (m/f)’ when referring to himself, and chooses the form *miη* ‘you (m/f)’ when referring to his son.

- 5) *haw hǝu wāa tóo bǝv maa*
 I.(m/f) know COMP you.(m/f) NEG come

“I know you didn’t come.”

In sentence 5) above, the speaker chose to address the addressee, her classmate, with the personal pronoun *tóo* ‘you (m/f)’ while she refers to herself as *haw* ‘I (m/f)’, the first person pronoun form.

4.2.1.3 Third person pronouns in Tai Lue

The data collection shows 4 forms of the third person pronouns, and this section provides some sentence examples showing how third person forms are used in context

- 6) *mǎa man bǝv khòp*

dog it NEG bite

“The dog, it doesn’t bite.”

Sentence 6) repeated above illustrates how pronoun *man* ‘it’ was used. It is spoken by an informant when he was mentioning a neglected dog. The speaker refers to the dog by using the third person forms *man* ‘it’.

7) *ɲaw* *jaa* *hɨ̄* *tāan kin*
 take medicine give he eat

“I came to bring him medicine.”

Again, sentence 7) shows that the speaker refers to the third party, a monk who was mentioned in the conversation, even though he was absent from the conversation. As a result, the speaker selected the pronoun form *tāan* ‘he/she’ when mentioning him.

In summary, Tai Lue personal pronouns can be marked by the grammatical meaning, person, indicating the role of the conversation participants. The first person denotes the speaker role; the second person denotes the addressee role; and the third person refers to the third party or non-interlocutor. The following table (Table 4.2) presents the pronoun inventory of Tai Lue by the grammatical person.

Table 4.2: Tai Lue personal pronoun forms by grammatical person

First	Second	Third
<i>haa</i> 'I (m/f)'	<i>khiŋ</i> 'you (m/f)'	<i>tāan</i> 'he/she'
<i>kuu</i> 'I (m/f)'	<i>miŋ</i> 'you (m/f)'	<i>man</i> 'it'
<i>phóm</i> 'I (m)'	<i>sùu</i> 'you (m/f)'	<i>p̀̀n</i> 'he/she'
<i>khā.cāw</i> 'I (f)'	<i>tóo</i> 'you (m/f)'	<i>khāw</i> 'he/she'
<i>khòɔj</i> 'I (m/f)'	<i>phu.cáw</i> 'you (m/f)'	
<i>khāa.nòj</i> 'I (m/f)'	<i>cáw</i> 'you (m/f)'	
<i>khàa</i> 'I (m/f)'		
<i>tuu</i> 'I (m/f)'		
<i>ʔeeŋ</i> 'I (m/f)'		
<i>p̀̀n</i> 'I (m/f)'		
<i>haw</i> 'I (m/f)'		
<i>haw</i> 'we'		

4.2.2 Gender

Another grammatical distinguishing feature of Tai Lue personal pronouns is the grammatical gender. Even though Bhat (2004):109 and Dixon (2010):200-201 claim that the gender distinction in pronoun systems is commonly found in third person pronouns such as in English and in Kannada and is less common found in second person pronouns such as in Khmu (Premsirat 1987 cited in Bhat 2004: 109) and in Pero (Frajzyngier 1989: 122 cited in Bhat 2004: 110), this study found that the gender distinction of Tai Lue personal pronouns, similar to Standard Thai, is only found in the first person pronouns.

Standard Thai contains the gender distinction in the choice of first person pronouns such as pronoun *phǒm* 'I (m)' and *di.chǎn* 'I (f)' spoken by males and females respectively (Palakornkul, 1972 and Hatton, 1978: 69). The use by the opposite gender is considered ungrammatical. For example,

Standard Thai

- 8) **phǒm mii sǎa.mii léew*
 I.masc. have husband already
 “I already have a husband.”

Sentence 8) is considered unaccepted because it violates the grammatical gender rule of Standard Thai by which the person *phǒm* ‘I (m/f)’ are obligatorily spoken by males. Similar to that in Standard Thai, the Tai Lue pronoun system distinguishes gender only in the first person forms. In addition, the only dialect in which the gender distinction is found is that spoken in Chiang Mai, specifically in pronoun *phóm* ‘I (m)’ spoken by only males and pronoun *khā.cāw* ‘I (f)’ spoken by only females. For example,

- 9) *phóm ca? mii taan.bun tii bǎan*
 I.(m) will have almsgiving place house
 “I am going to organize an almsgiving at my place.”

Example 9) was spoken by a male speaker when talking to his class teacher when inviting the latter to come to his place. It is common that a young male speaker uses the first person pronoun *phóm* ‘I.(m)’ when referring to self in a conversation. In contrast, if the above example were spoken by a female informant, it would be considered ungrammatical.

- 10) *khā.cāw ?aw khāw maa hǐ*
 I.(f) take rice come give
 “I brought (you) some rice”

Pronoun *khā.cāw* ‘I (f)’ is chosen by a female speaker to refer to self when she is bringing a village leader some rice. In contrast to the use of pronoun *phóm* ‘I (m)’, if the first person pronoun *khā.cāw* ‘I (f)’ were spoken by a male, it would be ungrammatical.

As previously mentioned, the gender distinction in Tai Lue pronoun system is uniquely found in Chiang Mai Tai Lue, only in pronouns *phóm* ‘I (m)’ and *khā.cāw* ‘I (f)’ while other forms of pronouns are basically gender- neutral without specific

gender marker. In addition, the analysis also shows that the grammatical gender in the pronoun system is not found in other two dialects (Luang Prabang Tai Lue and Xishuangbanna Tai Lue). In other words, only gender-neutral pronouns are found in these two varieties. It is hypothesized that the pronoun forms *phóm* 'I (m)' and *khā.cāw* 'I (f)' are the result from pronoun borrowing from Standard Thai and Kam Meuang respectively due to their long contact as will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

In summary, the grammatical gender distinction in Tai Lue pronoun system is divided into two types, namely the marked masculine pronoun form *phóm* 'I (m)' and the marked feminine pronoun form *khā.cāw* 'I (f)', as summarized in Table 4.3 below. However, during the fieldwork, it was noticed that in a real life conversation, some pronoun forms are frequently chosen by speakers of one or the other gender, resulting in the gender preferential variation of personal pronoun in Tai Lue as further discussed in Chapter 6.

Table 4.3: Tai Lue personal pronouns by grammatical gender

	Gender specific forms		Gender neutral forms
	Masculine pronoun	Feminine pronoun	
First person	<i>phóm</i> 'I (m)'	<i>khā.cāw</i> 'I (f)'	<i>khòɔj</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>ʔeeŋ</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>haa</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>kuu</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>khāa.nòj</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>khàa</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>tuu</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>haw</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>pʔn</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>haw</i> 'we'
Second person	<i>khij</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>sùu</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>mij</i> 'you (m/f)'		

	<p><i>tóo</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>phu.cáw</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>cáw</i> 'you (m/f)'</p>
Third person	<p><i>tāan</i> 'he/she' <i>man</i> 'it' <i>p̀̀n</i> 'he/she' <i>khāw</i> 'he/she'</p>

4.2.3 Number

Number, basically denoting the quantity of referent, is the other grammatical distinguishing feature of Tai Lue personal pronouns. According to Ingram (1978) and Dixon (2010), number in many languages is tentatively sub classified into singular and plural, and Tai Lue is no exception to this categorization. The former refers to the minimum quantity of referent, or basically one, while the latter refers to the 'more than one' or a group of referents. The Tai Lue pronoun forms are summarized in Table 4.4 below.

The analysis shows that the majority of Tai Lue pronouns spoken in all three regions are singular. However, these singular pronouns can optionally be turned into plural by adding a plural marker (free morpheme) as described in 4.3.2.2. A number of second person pronouns are also primarily used with singular meanings. In the following section, I will firstly analyze the plural pronoun *haw* 'we' and then other singular pronouns will be later discussed.

4.2.3.1 Plural pronoun

From the data collection, the only plural pronoun in Tai Lue is pronoun *haw* 'we'. It carries the plural meaning without an obligatory plural marker. For example,

11) *haw* *tiŋ.mót*

We all.together

“all of us”

Example 11) shows that personal pronoun *haw* ‘we’ can precede the collective expression *tij.mót*, meaning ‘all together’, implying the plurality of the pronoun *haw* ‘we’.

The following sentences exemplify how the plural pronoun *haw* ‘we’ is used in context as in sentence 12) and 13)

12) *haw cà?* *ni.mun tîu.pîi* *kîi* *túun*
 we will invite monk how many CLF

“How many monks will we invite?”

Sentence 12) above was spoken by a male informant when talking to his wife. The interpretation of the sentence suggests that the first plural pronoun *haw* ‘we’ in this sentence refers to the speaker, the male informant, and the addressee, his wife. To prove that personal pronoun *haw* in the example 12) is marked with plurality, the enumeration can be inserted after the pronoun as seen in sentence 13).

13) *haw s’oj.kun* *cà?* *ni.mun tîu.pîi* *kîi* *túun*
 we two.people will invite monk how many CLF

“How many monks will both of us invite?”

Because the example 13) is accepted to be grammatical, the personal pronoun *haw* ‘we’ have a plural meaning accordingly.

However, in many cases pronoun *haw* ‘we’ can co-occur with a plural marker, either *muu* or *phuak*, to emphasize the plurality of the referents as seen in the following sentence.

14) *múu.haw* *síp* *kun*
 Group.we ten CLF

“We ten people”

4.2.3.2 Singular pronouns forms

The singular forms are those denoting the minimum number of referent, or one. As mentioned earlier, the unmarked number of Tai Lue pronouns is singular unless a

plural marker is added to form a plural counterpart. In this study, the pluralized forms are not included in the analysis. From the data collection, there are 19 singular pronouns found as summarized below.

Table 4.4: Personal pronouns in Tai Lue by number distinction

	Singular	Plural
First person	<i>phóm</i> 'I (m)' <i>khā.cāw</i> 'I (f)' <i>khòɔj</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>ʔeeŋ</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>haa</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>kuu</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>khâa.nòj</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>khàa</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>tuu</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>haw</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>p̄n̄</i> 'I (m/f)'	<i>haw</i> 'we'
Second person	<i>khij</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>sùu</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>mij</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>tóo</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>phu.cáw</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>cáw</i> 'you (m/f)'	
Third person	<i>tāan</i> 'he/she' <i>man</i> 'it' <i>p̄n̄</i> 'he/she' <i>khāw</i> 'he/she'	

Syntactically speaking, singular pronouns in Tai Lue do not co occur with the collective expressions, like *tij.mót*, meaning ‘all together’. For example,

- 11) **phóm tij.mót*
 I.(m) all.together
 “I all together”

In addition, singular pronoun forms in Tai Lue do not co-occur with an enumeration phrase like *sám.kun*, literally meaning three people. For example,

- 15) **phóm sám.kun*
 I.(m) three.people
 “Three of me/ I, three people”

In contrast to the common singular pronouns, the pronoun with the intrinsic plural meaning, *haw*, can allow the enumeration phrase to co-occur as seen in the example below.

- 16) *haw sám.kun*
 we three.people
 “three of us”

The example 16) above is considerably accepted in Tai Lue. It shows that pronoun *haw* ‘we’ can be followed by an enumeration modifier *sám.kun*.

In contrast, it is found that singular personal pronouns can co-occur with an enumeration phrase indicating the minimum number like *kun.dɛɛw*, meaning ‘one person’ as found in the following example.

- 17) *kuu kun.dɛɛw*
 I.(m/f) one.person

“Only me”

This following section provides some sentence examples illustrating how singular forms of Tai Lue personal pronouns are used in conversation.

- 18) *khâa.nòj bǝǝ mii pháj lěŋ luk hìi*
 I.(m/f) NEG have who take care of child give

“I have no one who takes care of my child.”

Sentence 18) was spoken by a male informant when talking to his employer in a conversation about the former’s family. It is seen that the speaker refers to himself by using the singular pronoun *khâa.nòj*.

- 19) *khij nap lik daj káa*
 you.(m/f) count number acquire PART

“Can you count (a number)?”

Sentence 19) shows the use of the second person pronoun *khij* ‘you (m/f)’ in a conversation between friends at school. The speaker asked his classmate teasingly if he could count a number. It shows the singular meaning of the pronoun *khij* ‘you (m/f)’ when used to address only one interlocutor.

When referring to a group of referents (more than one referent), singular pronouns can be compounded with a plural marker either *mūu* or *phuak*, literally meaning ‘group’, before the pronominal stem.

- 20) *múu.sǝu pin kun tii.naj*
 group.you to be people where

“Where are you from?”

In sentence 20), the speaker addressed to the group of the interviewers by using the plural pronoun *múu.sǝu* ‘all of you’, which was derived from the singular form *sǝu*.

- 21) *phuak.cáw cà? maa ʔaw saŋ*
 Group .you will come take what

“What do you want (from me)?”

In sentence 21), the village leader asked the villagers what they were looking for. He selected the pronoun form *phuak.cáw* ‘all of you’ when addressing the group of villagers. It was derived from the singular pronoun *cáw*.

The plural markers in Tai Lue are not limited to the pronoun system. They can be normally compounded with other nouns when referring to a group. For example,

22) *mūu la.ʔɔn lin kan taŋ.nɔk*
 group child play together outside

“Children played together outside.”

Example 22) shows that the plural markers in Tai Lue are commonly compounded with nouns when referring to plural entities. As a result, the compounded plural forms of Tai Lue pronouns are not included in the current study.

To sum up, there are three distinguishing features of grammatical meanings of Tai Lue personal pronouns; namely 1) person referring to the role of the referent in the conversation, 2) gender referring to the grammatical gender of the speaker, and 3) number referring to the quantity of the referent. The grammatical gender is only found in Chiang Mai Tai Lue but not in the other two regions while the grammatical person and number are shared among the three regions.

Table 4.5: Tai Lue personal pronoun by grammatical meanings

	Singular			Plural
	Masculine pronoun	Feminine pronoun	Gender neutral forms	

First person	<i>phóm</i> 'I (m)'	<i>khā.cāw</i> 'I (f)'	<i>khòj</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>ʔeej</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>haa</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>kuu</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>khâa.nòj</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>khàa</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>haw</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>p̄xn</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>tuu</i> 'I (m/f)'	<i>haw</i> 'we'
Second person	<i>khij</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>sùu</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>mij</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>tóo</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>phu.cáw</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>cáw</i> 'you (m/f)'			
Third person	<i>tāan</i> 'he/she' <i>man</i> 'it' <i>p̄xn</i> 'he/she' <i>khāw</i> 'he/she'			

4.3 Syntactic functions of the Tai Lue personal pronouns

This last section briefly introduces an overview of some general syntactic functions of Tai Lue personal pronouns found in this study. Behaving similarly to other noun phrases, Tai Lue personal pronouns can have various syntactic functions according to their position and their distribution in a sentence as described further below.

4.3.1 Subject

According to Prasithratsint (2010), pronouns are considered a subclass of nouns in Standard Thai as they share similar syntactic environments such as occurring before a

verb as the subject. Similarly, in Tai Lue, personal pronouns can function as the subject of a clause when they occur preceding a verb.

23) *kuu jaak jɛʔ ʔəm cin lɛŋ tɯu.pɿi*

I.(m/f)want make name of curry meat take care of monk

“I want to cook meat curry for monks (in the almsgiving).”

Sentence 1) shows that first person pronoun *kuu* functions as a subject of the verb *jaak jɛʔ*, meaning ‘want to make’.

24) *khā.cāw ʔaw khàw maa hɿ*
I take rice come give

“I brought (you) some rice.”

Sentence 24) also exemplifies the use of personal pronoun as the subject of the verb *ʔaw*, meaning ‘to take’.

25) *tóo càʔ paj kin kàp pɿn káʔ*
you will go eat with I PART

“Will you have a meal with me?”

Sentence 25) shows that the second person pronoun *tóo* ‘you (m/f)’ can also function as the subject of the serial verb construction *càʔ paj kin*, meaning ‘will have a meal’.

4.3.2 Direct object

Personal pronouns in Tai Lue can be found in the direct object position when it is dominated by a transitive verb such as *tii*, ‘to hit’ as seen in the examples below.

26) *mɿŋ jǎa paj tii man*

you.(m/f) NOT go hit it

“Don’t hit it.”

Sentence 24) above shows that personal pronoun *man* ‘it’, in this case referring to a dog, can occur after a transitive verb *tii* meaning ‘to hit’ and function as the direct object.

27) *hàn.càj kuu dɛɛ*

sympathize I.(m/f) PART

“Please be kind to me.”

28) *wan.phuk khiŋ maa cōj haa pēēŋ*
 tomorrow you.(m/f) come help I.(m/f) make
kap.khàw lěŋ túu.pǐ nǎə
 food take care of monk PART

“Tomorrow please come to help me prepare food for monks.”

Sentence 27) and 28) show the direct object position of personal pronoun. They occur after transitive verbs, specifically *hàn.càj*, meaning ‘to sympathize’ and the verb *cōj*, meaning ‘to help’.

4.3.3 Indirect object

According to Van Valin, (2001), indirect object is the recipient argument of a ditransitive verb such as *hìi*, meaning ‘to give’. In Tai Lue, personal pronouns can be found in indirect object position as shown below.

29) *lùŋ mīi hìi phǎa.kaa.máa kuu maa sōj phìin*
 uncle Name give towel I.(m/f) come two CLF

“Uncle Mii gave me two pieces of towels.

Sentence 27) shows the occurrence of first person pronoun *kuu* ‘I (m/f)’ as the indirect object of the clause as it is the recipient of the ditransitive verb *hìi* while the noun *phǎa.kaa.máa* functions as the direct object of the verb.

30) *khu: hìi káan.bǎan haw laaj nak*
 teacher give homework we many PART

“The teacher assigned us a lot of homework.”

In Sentence 30) personal pronoun *haw* is the indirect object of the verb *hìi*, meaning to give while the noun *káan.bǎan* is the direct object.

4.3.4 Object of a preposition

In some cases, personal pronouns can be found after prepositions such as *kàp*, ('with') and *kèe* ('to'). Similar to prepositions in Standard Thai (Prasithratsint, 2010) as exemplified in sentence 29) and 30), those in Tai Lue also require noun phrase or personal pronouns as seen in the following sentences.

Standard Thai

- 31) *chán mōɔp raan.wan kèe kháw*
 I.(m/f) give reward to he
 "I give the reward to him."

- 32) *kháw maa phúut ʔa.raj kàp thəə*
 he come talk what with you
 "What did he talk to you?"

Sentence 31) and 32) represent the Standard Thai personal pronouns that occur after prepositions *kèe* and *kàp* as the object of a preposition.

- 25) *tóo càʔ paj kin kàp p̄n káʔ*
 you.(m/f) will go eat with I.(m/f) PART
 "Will you have a meal with me?"

Sentence 25) repeated above shows the occurrence of personal pronoun *p̄n* 'I (m/f)' after the preposition *kàp* 'with', forming a prepositional phrase.

4.3.5 Pronoun in apposition

Personal pronouns in Tai Lue sometimes can occur in apposition after a noun. Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005) realize this position of pronoun as 'shadow pronoun'. The example 33 shows how it is used in apposition.

- 33) *nam.phik man bəɔ lam*
 chili paste it NEG delicious
 "The chili paste is not delicious."

Sentence 33) also shows that third person pronoun *man* 'it' can occur in an appositive position after the head noun. It is seen that pronoun forms *man* is a common pronoun that can occur in appositive position. Apart from pronoun *man* 'it' other third person pronouns such as *p̄n* and *khāw* 'he/she' can be found in apposition to the preceding nouns as exemplified below.

34) *mēē* *p̄n* *h̄i* *m̄iŋ* *paj* *cōj* *j̄p̄* *phǎa*
 mother she give you go help saw cloth
 “Mother wants you to help (her) to saw the cloth.”

35) *l̄uŋ* *m̄i* *khāw* *khǎw* *paj* *naj* *m̄əŋ*
 uncle Name he enter go in town

4.3.6 Possessive

Similarly to Standard Thai pronouns in Palakornkul (1972), personal pronouns in Tai Lue can be used to mark the possession of the noun after which it occurs as found in the examples below.

36) *h̄x̄n* *khōŋ* *khā.cāw*
 house belong to I.(f)
 “My house”

37) *kha.num* *khōŋ* *tóo*
 snack belong to you.(m/f)
 “your snack”

38) *luk* *khōŋ* *p̄n*
 child belong to he/she
 “His child”

The examples 36), 37) and 38) exemplify the use to other personal pronoun forms in genitive position. Personal pronouns *khā.cāw* 'I (f)', *tóo* 'you (m/f)' and *pān* 'he/she' can be marked by the preposition *khəwŋ* to indicate the possession on the preceding noun.

However, the preposition *khəwŋ* can be omitted without making the shift of meaning as seen in the example 39)

- 39) *mɛ̄* *kuu* *jaak* *kin* *ʔəm* *cin*
- Mother I.(m/f) want eat name of curry meat
- “My mother wanted to eat meat curry.”

In the above example, pronoun *kuu* 'I (m/f)' occurs after the head noun *mɛ̄* 'mother'. It marks the possession of the speaker to the preceding noun without the preposition. It should be realized at this point that the apposition pronoun and the genitive pronoun are different in two respects. The first difference is that the apposition pronoun is normally a third person pronoun form such as *man* 'it' or *khaw* 'he/she' while the genitive pronoun can be first, second or third as shown in the examples above. The second difference is that the pronoun apposition is co-referential to the preceding noun but the genitive noun is not.

To summarize, personal pronouns in Tai Lue can have similar functions as other noun phrases. They can function as core arguments; that is subject, direct object, and indirect object. In addition, they also function as object of preposition, pronoun in apposition, possessive and sometimes they are avoided and zero forms are used. Generally, personal pronouns can co-occur with pluralizing morphemes *mūu* and *phuak*, and are used to refer to a group of participants.

4.4 Summary

This chapter analyzed the grammatical meanings of Tai Lue personal pronouns elicited from the data collection. The result reveals the inventory of personal pronoun forms in three regions. Among them, the Chiang Mai dialect's system contains more pronoun forms than the other two dialects, possibly due to borrowing from some in Kam Meuang or Standard Thai (See Chapter 8 for discussion). Regarding the

grammatical meanings of personal pronouns, the data analysis shows three aspects of grammatical meanings, *person* denoting the role of the participants in a conversation, *gender* indexing the speaker's gender, and *number* denoting the number of referent(s). The last section presents the syntactic behaviors of Tai Lue personal pronouns. Like those in other Tai languages, Tai Lue personal pronouns can function as the subject of a verb, a direct and an indirect object. It can also occur after a noun either in appositive position or the possessive position. In addition, it is possible for a Tai Lue to indicate an entity of more than one item by adding a free morpheme in front of a pronoun, but those compounds are not considered to be “plural” pronouns in Tai Lue.

It should be noted that during the fieldwork I noticed that the informants from different generations tend to choose personal pronouns differently in the interviews. For example, the informants from the middle and the young age groups tend to choose first person pronoun *khā.cāw* 'I (f)', but those from the old age group do not. The next chapter will focus on the variation of Tai Lue personal pronouns according to the speakers' social characteristics.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL VARIATION OF TAI LUE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

In this chapter, I will present the interrelation between the personal pronoun choice and the social characteristics of the speakers. This chapter is divided into five sections: The first section compares and contrast the personal pronoun systems from the three areas of speaking, and the second sections focuses on the correlation between the age of the speakers. The third section provides an analysis of personal pronoun variation among speakers of different genders. The fourth section describes a personal pronoun indicating the status of monkhood of the speakers. The next section provides the change in progress of personal pronouns *haw* 'we' and *p̀̀n* 'he/she' as reflected in the data analysis. Finally, the last section summarizes the result of this chapter.

5.1 A comparison of Tai Lue personal pronouns in three regions

In this section, I will compare the personal pronouns from the three areas where the interviews were conducted. As described in Chapter 3, the data of this study were collected from three different regions, namely Chiang Mai, Luang Prabang, and Xishuangbanna.

5.1.1 The contrast in the numbers of pronouns

The data collection found the different number of pronoun forms in the selected three regions as summarized below.

There are 16 personal pronouns spoken in Chiang Mai

<i>haa</i> 'I (m/f)'	<i>kuu</i> 'I (m/f)'	<i>kh̀̀ẁ̀j</i> 'I (m/f)'	<i>haw</i> ₁ 'we'
<i>ph̀̀m</i> 'I(m)'	<i>kh̄a.cāw</i> 'I(f)'	<i>ʔeeŋ</i> 'I (m/f)'	<i>p̀̀n</i> ₁ 'I (m/f)'
<i>haw</i> ₂ 'I (m/f)'	<i>tóo</i> 'you (m/f)'	<i>kh̄iŋ</i> 'you (m/f)'	<i>s̀̀u</i> 'you (m/f)'
<i>m̄iŋ</i> 'you (m/f)'	<i>man</i> 'it'	<i>tāan</i> 'he/she'	<i>p̀̀n</i> ₂ 'he/she'

There are 15 personal pronouns spoken in Luang Prabang

haa 'I (m/f)' *kuu* 'I (m/f)' *khòj* 'I (m/f)' *haw₁* 'we'
khâa.nòj 'I (m/f)' *pàn₁* 'I (m/f)' *haw₂* 'I (m/f)' *cáw* 'you (m/f)'
phu.cáw 'you(m/f)' *tóo* 'you (m/f)' *khij* 'you (m/f)' *mij* 'you (m/f)'
pàn₂ 'he/she' *man* 'it' *khāw* 'he / she'

There are only 12 personal pronouns spoken in Xishuangbanna

haa 'I (m/f)' *kuu* 'I (m/f)' *khòj* 'I (m/f)' *haw₁* 'we'
tuu 'I(m/f)' *khàa* 'I(m/f)' *haw₃* 'I (m/f)' *mij* 'you (m/f)'
sùu 'you (m/f)' *khij* 'you (m/f)' *pàn₂* 'he/she' *man* 'it'

To sum up, the data collection found that the personal pronoun system spoken in the Chiang Mai dialect contain the most number of the pronouns, 16 pronouns, while that in the Xishuangbanna dialect contains the least number, only 12 pronouns. The Luang Prabang dialect consists of 15 pronouns. The number of the personal pronouns can be summarized in Table 5.1 below

Table 5.1: Number of personal pronouns in three dialects of Tai Lue

	CML	LPL	XBL
First	9	7	7
Second	4	5	3
Third	3	3	2
Total	16	15	12

5.1.2 The contrast in the originality of pronouns

The analysis shows the regional distribution of the personal pronouns found in this study as summarized in Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2: Distribution of Tai Lue personal pronouns according to the areas of speaking

Person	Spoken in all three regions	Shared between two regions			Spoken uniquely in only one region		
		CML & LPL	CML & XBL	LPL & XBL	CML	LPL	XBL
First	<i>haa</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>kuu</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>khòj</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>haw₁</i> 'we'	<i>p̄n₁</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>haw₂</i> 'I (m/f)'			<i>phóm</i> 'I(m)' <i>Khā.cāw</i> 'I(f)' <i>ʔeeŋ</i> 'I (m/f)'	<i>khâa.nòj</i> 'I (m/f)'	<i>tuu</i> 'I(m/f)' <i>khàa</i> 'I(m/f)' <i>haw₃</i> 'I(m/f)'
Second	<i>khij</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>mij</i> 'you (m/f)'	<i>tóo</i> 'you (m/f)'	<i>sùu</i> 'you (m/f)'			<i>phu.cáw</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>cáw</i> 'you (m/f)'	
Third	<i>p̄n₂</i> 'he/she' <i>man</i> 'it'				<i>tāan</i> 'he/she'	<i>khāw</i> 'he / she'	

Table 5.1 emphasizes the areal distribution of the Tai Lue personal pronouns. Based on the areas where they are spoken, pronouns are divided into three groups. The first group is those spoken commonly among the three regions. The second group is the pronouns shared between only two dialects; in addition, the data reveal no personal pronouns shared between Tai Lue in Luang Prabang and in Xishuangbanna. The last group is uniquely spoken only in one dialect. The next section will describe the personal pronouns in this group to give their overview.

5.1.3 Personal pronouns spoken only in the Chiang Mai dialects

In this section, I will describe the personal pronouns found in the CML dialects as follows

phóm 'I(m)' is a self-referring term spoken only by males when talking to a person of higher status such as a boss or a teacher. It may be borrowed from Standard Thai.

khā.cāw 'I(f)' is also a self-referring term spoken by females when talking to a person of higher status. It can be found in a conversation between asymmetrical participants, specifically when speaking to an addressee of higher status such as when speaking to a community leader, boss, or employer. From the data collection, it is only found in the Tai Lue dialects of Chiang Mai so it is thought that it is borrowed from Kam Meuang.

ʔeey 'I (m/f)' is a self-referring term mostly spoken by the old generations only in a family conversation showing social closeness between the family members.

tāan 'he/she' is the third person pronoun used to refer a person of higher status. It may be borrowed from Standard Thai.

5.1.4 Personal pronouns spoken only in the Luanag Prabang dialect

There are 4 personal pronouns found uniquely found in the LPL dialect.

khâa.nòj 'I(m/f)' is a term used in a conversation between the asymmetrical participants with a strong deference of the speaker.

phu.cáw 'you (m/f)' is a term only found in LPL referring to an addressee of higher status showing strong deference of the speaker towards the addressee. It is normally paired with the first person pronoun *khâa.nòj* 'I(m/f)'.

cáw 'you(m/f)' is a term found in LPL referring to an addressee who is equal or lower than the speaker.

khāw 'he/she' is a term used only in TLL referring to a referent whose social status is equal to that of the speaker. It may be borrowed from Lao.

5.1.5 Personal pronoun spoken only in the Xishuangbanna dialect

There are 3 personal pronouns in the XBL dialect as follows.

tuu is a term referring to the speaker when talking to a person of non-superior such as a stranger or an acquaintance.

khàa is a term employed in a conversation to show moderate deference of the speaker to the addressee.

haw3 'I(m/f)' is a term only used by a monk in Xishuangbanna.

This section provides the description of the Tai Lue personal pronouns spoken by the speakers in different regions. At this point, it is noted that this study mainly focuses on the general trend of Tai Lue pronoun system instead of a particular dialect. Accordingly, the personal pronouns in Tai Lue gathered together to discuss the general pattern of personal pronoun usage. The next chapter will provide the analysis of Tai Lue personal pronouns according to the generations of the speaker to find out their correlation.

5.2 Age-based variation of Tai Lue personal pronouns

In the past a large number of studies have been conducted to compare the linguistic variation of Tai languages spoken by different age groups e.g. in Lao Ubon by Burusphat and Thongchalerm (2008), in Thai Khorat by Rapeeporn and Tingsabash (2008), in Tai dialects spoken in Nan province by Akharawatthanakun (2012), etc. They agree that in Tai speaking communities, the younger generations of Tai native speakers tend to use new language forms adopted from Standard Bangkok Thai, while the older generation tends to maintain the original forms. They conclude that these synchronic variations predict language change in progress. However, those studies have mainly focused on phonological variation and variation of nouns and verbs, and no study has been done on Tai pronominal variation. In this study, personal pronouns are the focused linguistic variables, and they are compared across generations to predict the direction of language change in progress in Tai Lue.

As described in Chapter 3, the selected informants are representatives of three different generations, namely the old generation aged over 60, the middle generation aged between 30-50, and the young generation aged lower than 25. The data analysis

reveals that the speakers from three age levels prefer different choice of personal pronouns.

5.2.1 The distribution of Tai Lue personal pronouns by age of speakers

From the data analysis, Tai Lue personal pronouns are divided into 3 subclasses according to their distribution across age groups.

- 1) Personal pronoun forms exclusively used by one generation
- 2) Personal pronoun forms used only by two successive generations
- 3) Personal pronoun forms shared among three generations

5.2.1.1 Personal pronoun forms used exclusively by one generation

Some personal pronoun forms are only found spoken by one generation but not by other generations as demonstrated below. The model below represents the distribution pattern of personal pronouns across generations. The first column refers to the choice by the old generation. The second and the last columns represent the pronoun choice by the middle and the young generations respectively. The letter A and B represent the totally different forms of personal pronouns.

Old	Middle	Young
A	B	B
A	A	B
A	B	A

In the above pattern ABB, the old speakers tend to choose the form A while the middle and the young speakers do not recognize it any longer, and prefer to choose pronoun form B to replace the pronoun form A. While the pattern AAB focuses on the situation in which the young generation prefers to choose a new variant differently from those shared between the old and the middle generations. The last pattern ABA represents the situation in which the middle generation chooses a new form whereas the old and the young use the same form.

The only form that is found used by one generation is the personal pronoun *ʔeɛŋ* 'I (m/f)'. It is an endearing term used by a female speaker. It is only spoken in the old

generation. One of my informants, aged over 60, insisted that she used it, referring to self, when speaking to her older relatives, such as her grandparents, and her father. It seems that children, both males and females, used it in her generation but now those in the middle and young generations do not use it any longer; they tend to refer to themselves by using kinship terms instead. From a study by Compton (2002), pronoun *peey* 'he/she' is sometimes used as a third person pronoun in Lao when referring to other participant in a Lao performance. However, the data collected in this study does not reveal the personal pronoun forms used only by the middle generation or by the young generation. On the other hand, there is no form which is used exclusively by young generation or exclusively by the middle generation.

5.2.1.2 Personal pronoun forms used by two successive generations

Some personal pronoun forms are used by only two successive generations; that is, they are shared between the old and the middle, or between the middle and the young as demonstrated below.

Old	Middle	Young
A	A	B
A	B	B

Pattern AAB in the above table illustrates the situation in which pronoun form A is chosen by the old and the middle generations, but the young generation prefers the pronoun B instead. At the same time, as mentioned in 5.2.1.1, ABB pattern refers to the situation in which the same pronoun form is commonly used between the middle and the young generations.

The most obvious example of this pronoun type is the first person pronoun *phóm* 'I(m)', commonly used by male speakers when showing deference to the addressee of higher status such as in a conversation between students and teachers. From the data analysis, the middle and the young generations choose pronoun *phóm* 'I(m)', but it is not found that the old generation uses this personal pronoun form.

5.2.1.3 Personal pronoun forms used by all three generations

The last group of pronoun forms is those shared by all three generations. However, these personal pronouns are divided into two subtypes. The first group is those shared in all three generations with the similar meaning while the second group is those shared with different shade of meanings as presented below.

Old	Middle	Young
A	A	A
A ₁	A ₁	A ₂
A ₁	A ₂	A ₂

The above formula shows that in some cases, personal pronoun forms are used by all three generations of the speaker as seen in the first row. The old, middle and young speakers all agree to use the same form of personal pronoun represented by A. In other cases, the pronoun forms are used by three generations, but with different shades of meanings represented by A₁ and A₂. For example, the first person pronoun *khòj 'I (m'f)'* is used differently by the speakers from three age groups. The old and the middle generations tend to use it when talking to an intimate person of higher status while the younger generation uses it more extendedly to a person of higher status with or without social intimacy.

To sum up, the personal pronoun forms of Tai Lue in this study are divided into three groups. The first group is those used by only one generation. The second is those shared between two successive generations either the old and the middle or the middle and the young. The final group is those shared in three generations whether they agree in meanings or not. The speakers' age- based distribution of Tai Lue personal pronouns is summarized in the following figure.

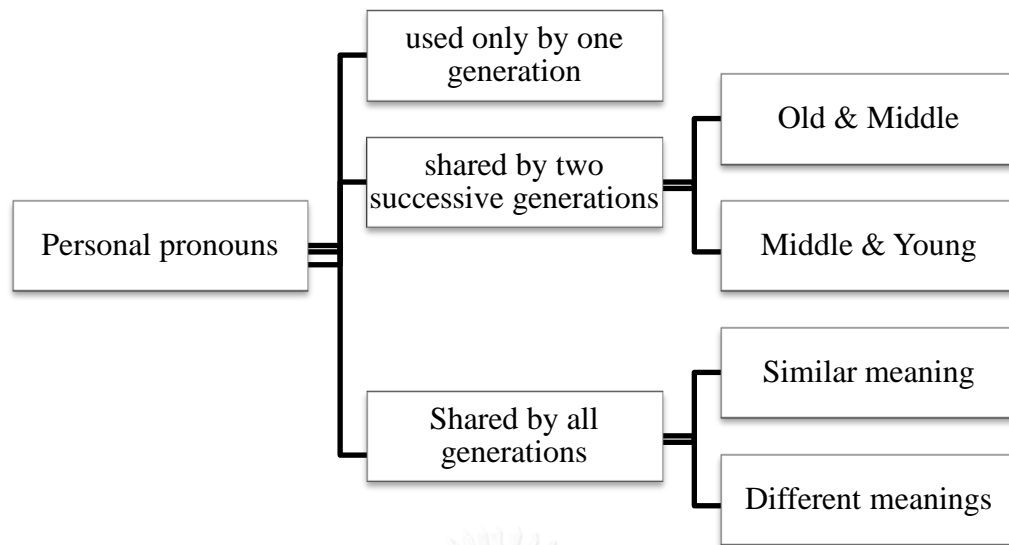


Figure 5.1: The age-based distribution of Tai Lue personal pronouns

The following table (Table 5.2) classifies all collected forms of Tai Lue personal pronouns into three groups based on their distribution across the generations of the speakers.

Table 5.3: Pronominal distributions across age groups

Distribution across age groups		Person	Forms
Personal Pronoun used by only one generation		1	<i>ʔeɛŋ</i> 'I (m/f)'
		2	
		3	
Personal pronouns shared by two successive generations (2)	Old and middle	1	<i>khâ.nòj</i> 'I (m/f)''
		2	
		3	<i>tāan</i> 'he/she'
	Middle and young	1	<i>phóm</i> 'I(m)' <i>khā.cāw</i> 'I(f)' <i>pỳn</i> 'I (m/f)'
		2	<i>tóo</i> 'you (m/f)'

		3	
Personal pronouns shared by all three generations (3)	Same Meaning	1	<i>khàa</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>hāa</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>tuu</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>kuu</i> 'I (m/f)'
		2	<i>phu.cáw</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>khij</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>sìu</i> 'you (m/f)' <i>mij</i> 'you (m/f)'
		3	<i>man</i> 'it' <i>khāw</i> 'he/she' <i>p̄n</i> 'he/she'
	Different meanings	1	<i>haw</i> 'I (m/f)' <i>khòj</i> 'I (m/f)'
		2	<i>cáw</i> 'you (m/f)'
		3	

Table 5.2 compares the personal pronoun forms found in the fieldwork into three groups, based on their distribution. (1) The only personal pronoun, which is spoken by one generation, is the first person pronoun *ʔeeŋ* 'I(m/f)'. It is found only spoken by the old generation in Chiang Mai. (2) The second group is those shared by two successive generations. Merely two pronouns, namely *khā.nòj* 'I(m/f)' and *tāan* 'he/she', are shared between the old and the middle generations while there are four personal pronouns shared between the middle and the young, specifically three first person pronouns *phóm* 'I(m)', *khā.cāw* 'I(f)', *p̄n* 'I(m/f)' and one second person pronoun *tóo* 'you (m/f)'. (3) The rest of personal pronouns are shared among the three generations. Some of them express similar meanings such as *kuu* 'I(m/f)' and *mij* 'you (m/f)' while others are used in different situations such as *khòj* 'I(m/f)' and *cáw* 'you(m/f)' as discussed further in Chapter 6. The next section provides an analysis of personal pronouns according to the speakers' age levels.

5.2.2 Age-preferential first person pronouns

This section mainly focuses on the interrelation between the preferred personal pronouns and the age levels of the speakers. It is divided into two parts: the first part focuses on the use of the first person plural form while the second part mainly deals with the variation of the first person singular pronouns across generations.

5.2.2.1 First person plural pronoun

As described early in Chapter IV, the only inherent first person plural form in Tai Lue is pronoun *haw* ‘we’. It can co-occur with an enumeration phrase such as *saam.kun* ‘three people’ as seen in example 1) below.

- 1) *haw saam.kun*
 we three.people
 “three of us”

The data analysis shows that the speakers from three age groups mutually agree to choose the first person pronoun *haw* ‘we’ when referring to a group of speakers as seen in sentence 2) below.

- 2) *haw cà?* *ni.mun tûu.pîi* *kîi* *túun*
 we will invite monk how many CLF
 “How many monks will we invite?”

Example 2) was spoken by a male informant when talking to his wife. The speaker used the first person plural pronoun *haw* ‘we’ when referring to self along with the addressee.

5.2.2.2 First person singular pronouns

Unlike the plural pronoun *haw* ‘we’, the data reveals the 11 different forms of the first person singular pronouns in Tai Lue as summarized in Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.4: First person singular forms

First person singular forms		
<i>khòj</i> ‘I(m/f)’	<i>haa</i> ‘I(m/f)’	<i>kuu</i> ‘I(m/f)’
<i>khâa.nòj</i> ‘I(m/f)’	<i>khâa</i> ‘I(m/f)’	<i>tuu</i> ‘I(m/f)’
<i>phóm</i> ‘I(m)’	<i>khā.cāw</i> ‘I(f)’	<i>ʔeeŋ</i> ‘I(m/f)’
<i>haw</i> [-plural]	<i>pàn</i> [+first]	

The above list shows the first person pronouns found in this study. Interestingly, the personal pronoun *haw* and *p̀̀n* are found being used as the first person singular pronouns. From now on, I will label these two variants as *haw* [+plural] for the first person plural pronoun ‘we’ and the other *haw* [-plural] when it is used with singular meaning. Also, I will label the personal pronoun *p̀̀n* variant as *p̀̀n*[+third] when it is used to refer to the third party of the conversation, and pronoun *p̀̀n* [+first] when it is marked by the grammatical first person, referring to the speaker.

The following table (Table 5.5) shows the overall observed frequency of the first person pronouns by age groups of the speakers. In this table, I counted the total number of occurrence of the first personal and find out the percentage of each form as seen below.

Table 5.5: The overall frequency of preferred first person pronouns by age groups of speakers

	Old		Middle		Young	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<i>khò̀̀j</i> ‘I(m/f)’	11	7.7	9	3.72	46	15.33
<i>haa</i> ‘I(m/f)’	29	20.3	34	14.05	38	12.67
<i>kuu</i> ‘I(m/f)’	47	32.9	42	17.36	30	10.00
<i>phóm</i> ‘I(m)’	0	0.0	19	7.85	27	9.00
<i>khā.cāw</i> ‘I(f)’	0	0.0	30	12.40	26	8.67
<i>khāa.nòj</i> ‘I(m/f)’	17	11.9	21	8.68	0	0.00
<i>haw</i> [-plural]	16	11.2	45	18.60	69	23.00
<i>p̀̀n</i> [+first]	0	0.0	26	10.74	53	17.67
<i>khàa</i> ‘I(m/f)’	13	9.1	9	3.72	6	2.00
<i>tuu</i> ‘I(m/f)’	4	2.8	7	2.89	5	1.67
<i>ʔeeŋ</i> ‘I(m/f)’	6	4.2	0	0	0	0.00
Total	143	100	242	100	300	100.00

Table 5.5 above summarizes the frequency of first person pronouns spoken by speakers from different age levels, calculated from the total number of the first person elicited from the interview. Overall, the three generations share the majority of first person pronoun forms, but some of them are shared between two successive generations such as *khā.cāw* 'I(f)', which is spoken by only the middle and the young generations, and only one form, *ʔeeŋ* 'I(m/f)', is uniquely spoken by the old generation. After this, I will present the personal pronoun choice of each age group in order to give a clear overview from the different groups to identify their most common pronoun forms and then I will compare the finding of each generation.

Firstly, focusing on the preferred personal pronouns by the old generation, I have found a difference in personal pronoun choice from the other two generations. Figure 5.2 includes only the personal pronoun forms spoken by the old generation while other forms, such as the first person pronoun *khā.cāw* 'I(f)', are excluded. As shown in Figure 5.2, the speakers of the old generations tend to choose the first person *kuu* 'I(m/f)' and it is also found that pronoun *ʔeeŋ* 'I(m/f)' is uniquely spoken in the old generation as illustrated in the figure below.

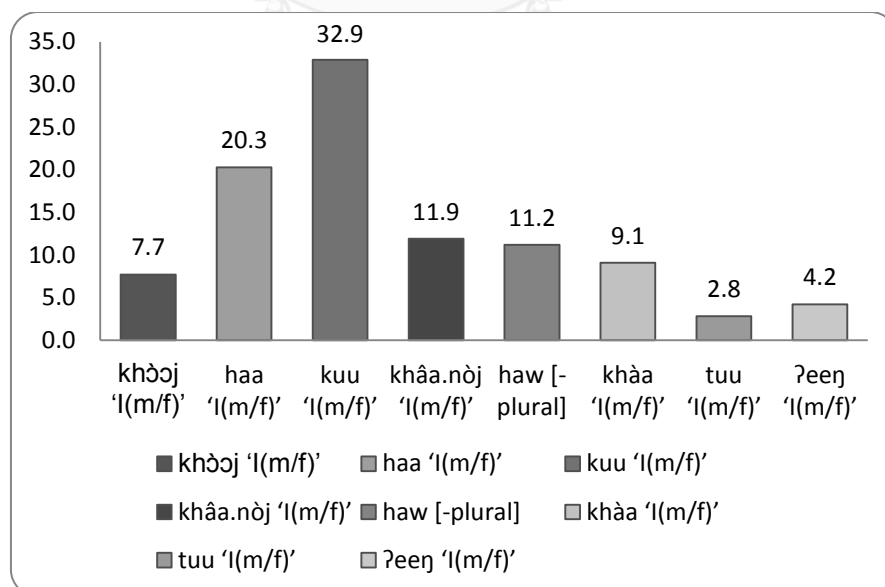


Figure 5.2: First person pronouns spoken by the old generation

In contrast to the old generation, the middle and the young generations prefer the first person pronoun *haw* [-plural] when referring to self as shown in Figure 5.3 and 5.4 below. Again, the personal pronoun forms included in both figures are those chosen by the middle and the young speakers respectively. That is, those with no observed frequency, such as the first person pronoun *ʔeeŋ* 'I(m/f)', were excluded. It is noticed that the first person pronoun *haw* [+plural] in the conversation was not used with plural meaning or referring to a group of the speakers, but rather to the speaker him/herself as found in the example 1) below.

1) *haw hũu wāa tóo bɔ̀ maa*
 I know COMP you NEG come
 “I knew you didn’t come.”

It is also interesting that some pronoun forms especially in CML, namely the first person pronoun *phóm* 'I (m)' and the first person pronoun *khā.cāw* 'I (f)', not found spoken by the old generation, were spoken by these two younger age groups.

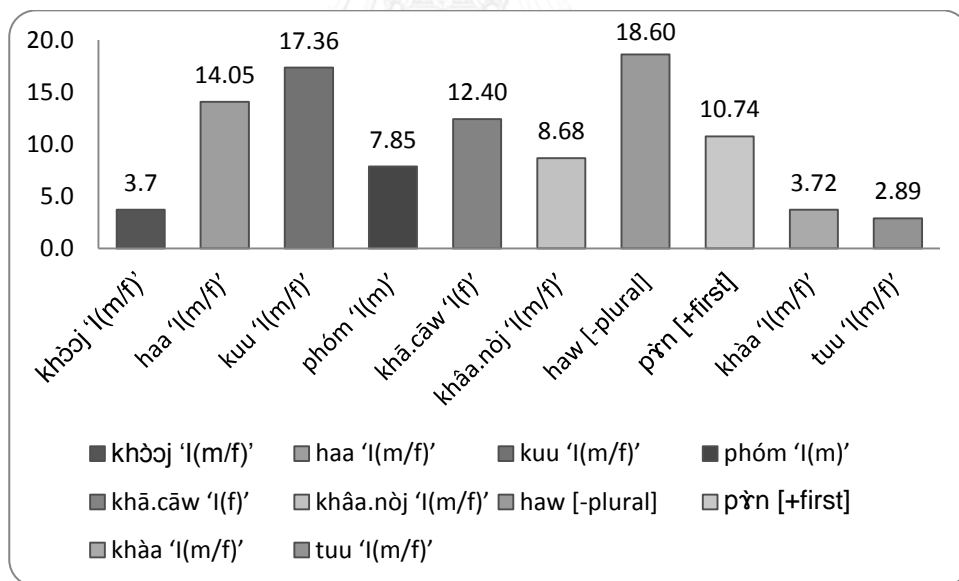


Figure 5.3: First person pronouns spoken by the middle generation

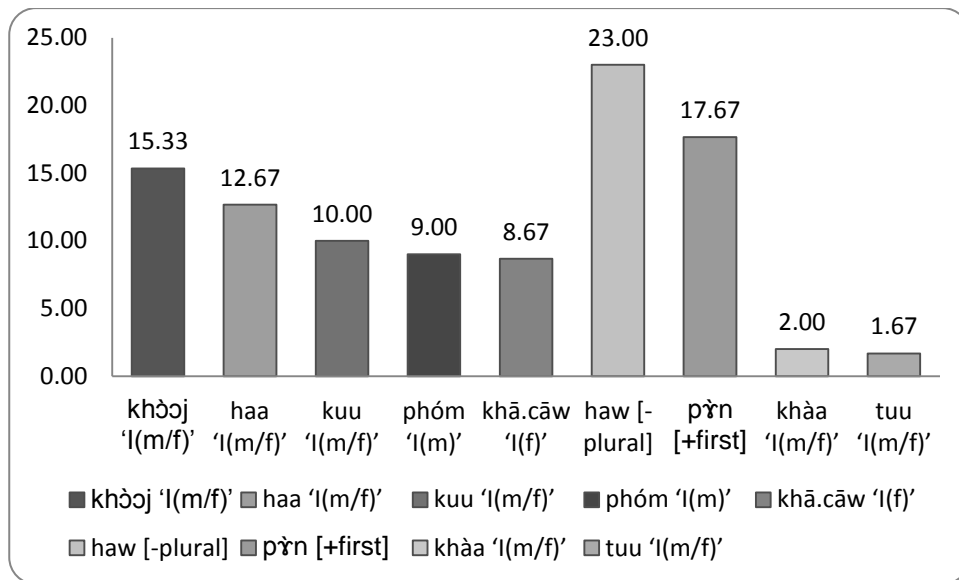


Figure 5.4: First person pronouns spoken by the young generation

The figures above show the preferred first person singular pronouns chosen by each generation. That is, which forms are highly chosen by the speakers and also show the least common forms among them. Finally, Figure 5.5 below compares the overall percentage of the first person singular forms, as shown in Table 5.2 above, according to the age levels of the speakers.

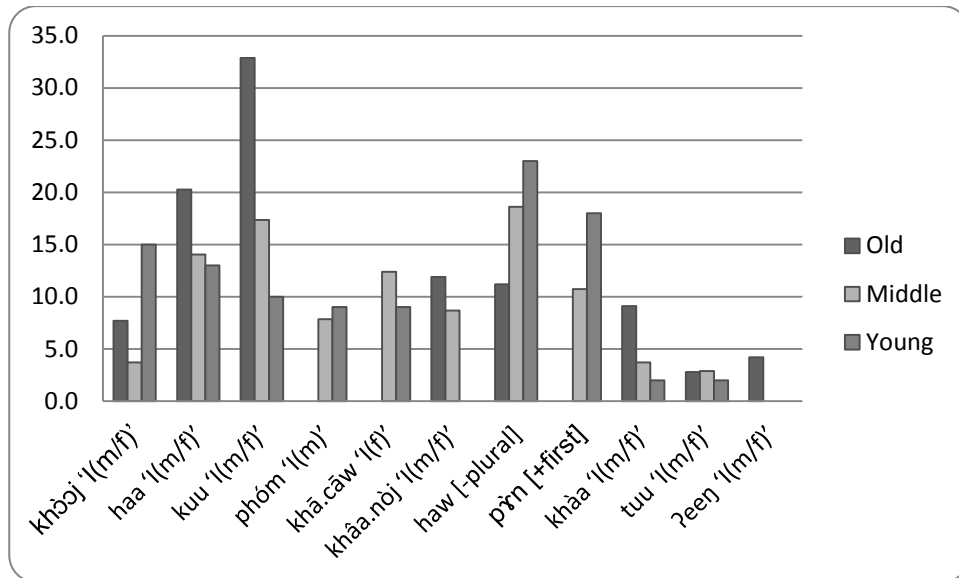


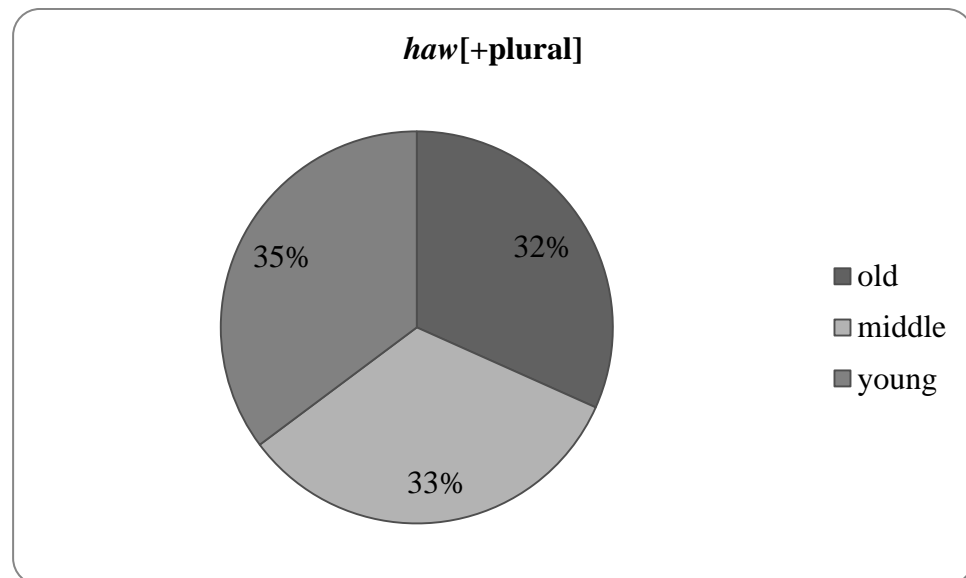
Figure 5.5: The comparison of preferred first person pronouns in Tai Lue by age groups

We can draw some conclusions about the age preferential pronouns in Tai Lue as described below.

- 1) The speakers from all three generations commonly share the same first person plural pronoun *haw* 'we', but they prefer different choices of the singular pronoun entity.
- 2) The speakers from the old generation, mostly prefer the following first person pronouns, namely *kuu* 'I(m/f)', *haa* 'I(m/f)', *khâa.nòj* 'I(m/f)', and *khâa* 'I(m/f)'. The difference of these pronouns is mainly in the situations of usage which is further explained in the next chapter (See Chapter 6).
- 3) In addition, the most obvious marker of the old generation is the first person pronoun *ʔeen* 'I(m/f)'m, in a family conversation talking to an older relative, since it is exclusively spoken by the old generation but not by the other two generations. However, from the interviews, the informants admitted that they used it during their childhood until their early adulthood, but not any longer, while the informants from the middle and the young generations have never used it.
- 4) The middle and the young speakers share the same pattern of preferred personal pronouns. They highly use the first person pronoun *haw* [-plural]

with singular meaning while the old generation rarely uses it as illustrated in Figure 5.6.

a.



b.

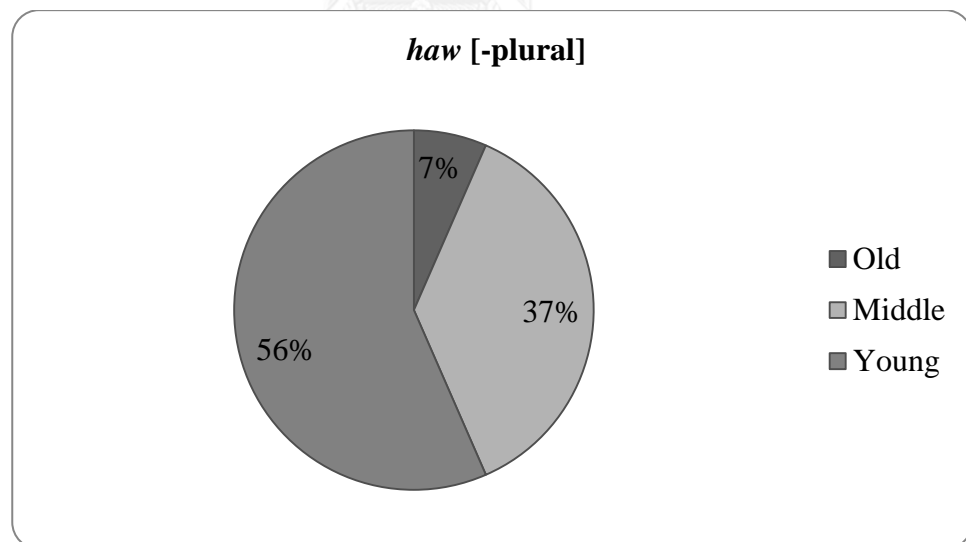


Figure 5.6a., 5.6 b.: The comparative percentage of the first person *haw* [+plural] and the first person *haw* [-plural] by age groups

Figure 5.6a shows the equal proportion of the first person plural *haw* [+plural] used by the speakers among three generations while Figure 5.6b compares the percentage of the first person pronoun *haw* [-plural] among three age levels. It

seems that the young speakers use the most frequently the first person pronoun form *haw* [-plural] with singular meaning while the middle is in the second place and the old speakers rarely use it (only 7%). (See section 5.4 below for more details).

- 5) Apart from the first person pronoun *haw* [-plural], the common pronouns used among the middle and the young generation are the first person pronouns *phóm* 'I(m)' and *khā.cāw* 'I(f)'. They are uniquely employed only by the middle and the young generations as the result of intense contact with Standard Thai and Kam Meuang (See Chapter 8 for further discussions). Moreover, it is noted that the middle and young generations use the third person pronoun *p̀̀n* 'he/she' as a self-referring term while the old generation does not. (See section 5.4 below for more information)
- 6) From Figure 5.4 above, it seems that the young generation use the first person pronoun *kh̀̀j* 'I(m/f)' more than the other two older generations, but when considering the situations of pronoun use, it is found that the first person pronoun *kh̀̀j* 'I(m/f)' was used in different situations between the young speakers and the other two older ones. (See Chapter 6 for further discussions)
- 7) Only one pronoun form, *tuu* 'I(m/f)', is used in nearly equal proportion among three generations. When considering the age differentiation of the first person pronouns in the three dialects of Tai Lue, I found that the CML and LPL share the very similar pattern of variation; that is, the old speakers tend to choose the personal pronouns different from those chosen by the young generation as seen in Figure 5.7a and 5.7b. It is noted that the percentage of the pronouns was calculated from the total pronouns in each generation. For example, the pronoun *kh̀̀j* 'I(m/f)' was counted as only 7% out of the total number of pronouns spoken by the old speakers in the Chiang Mai Dialect.

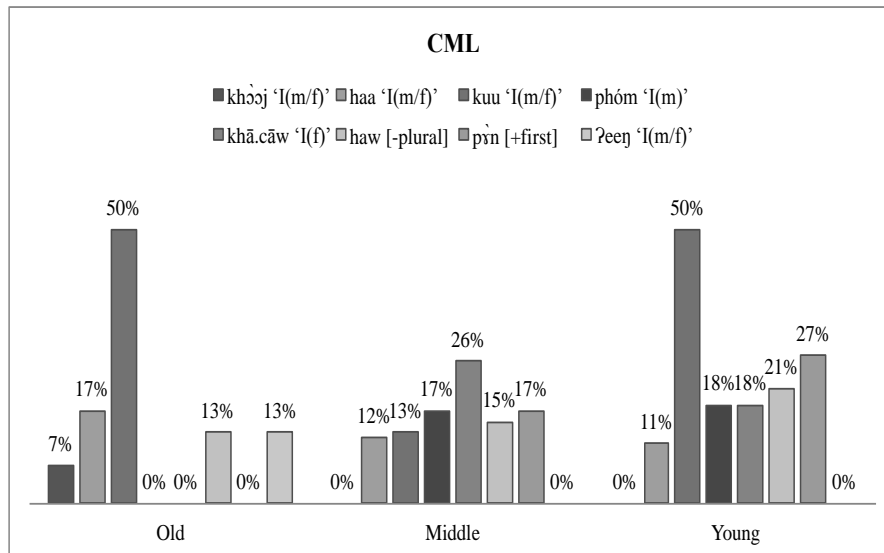


Figure 5.7: The percentage of the first person pronouns that vary according to age in CML

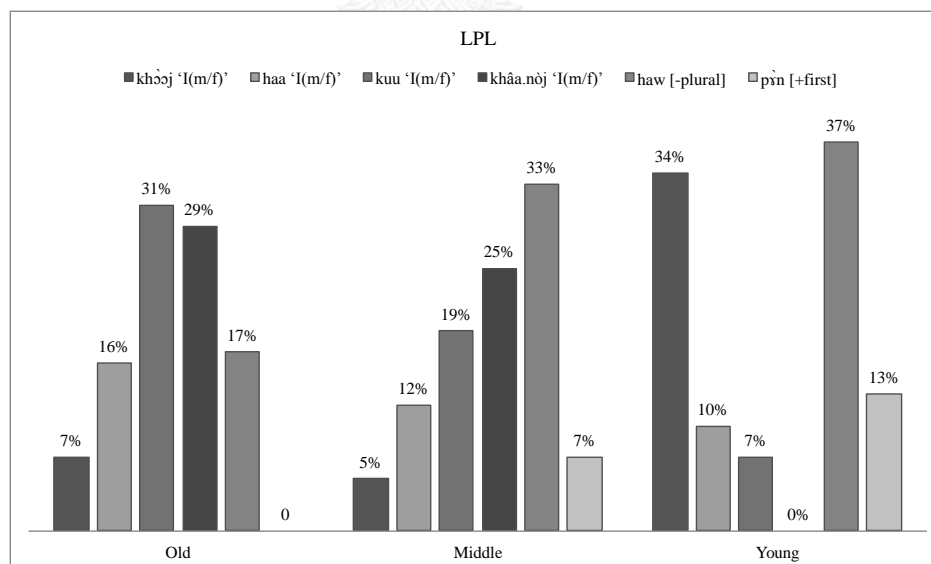


Figure 5.8: The percentage of the first person pronouns that vary according to age in LPL

From the above figures, it is seen the speakers from CML and LPL share the same pattern of variation in a number of pronouns. Overall, the old speaker and the young speakers tend to choose pronouns differently. namely *haw* [-

plural], *p̀̀n* [+*first*], *hāa* 'I (m/f)', and *kuu*'I (m/f)'. From both dialects, the speakers from the old generation tend to prefer the first person pronoun while the young prefer to choose the pronoun *In* addition, only the middle and the young generations from both dialects choose the pronouns *haw* [-*plural*] and *p̀̀n* [+*first*], as the first person forms. Figure 5.9 will compare the frequency of the first person pronouns shared among the speakers in the CML and LPL dialects.

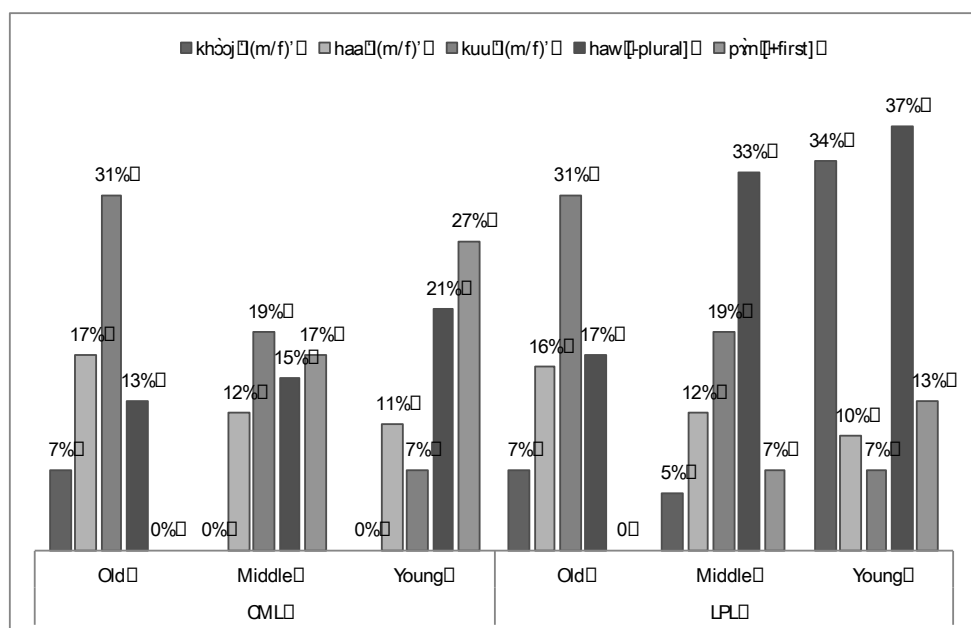


Figure 5.9: The frequency of the shared first person pronouns according to age between the CML and LPL dialects

In contrast, the pronoun variation of the XBL dialect seems different from the other two dialects. In XBL, the speakers from the old generation tends to prefer the first person pronoun *haa* 'I(m/f)' in preference to the first person pronoun *kuu* 'I(m/f)' while the young generation adopts the inverse direction.

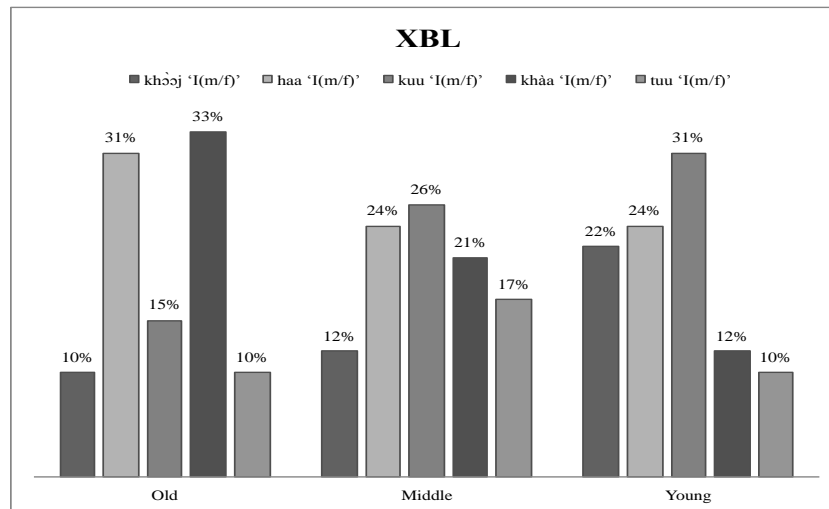


Figure 5.10: The frequency of the first person pronouns that vary according to age in XPL

To conclude, when differentiating the generational variation by the regions of speaking, the result shows two different patterns of pronoun choice. The speakers from Chiang Mai and Luang Prabang share the same pattern while the speakers from Xishuangbanna adopt the inverse direction.

It can be interpreted that personal pronouns in the Chiang Mai and Luang Prabang dialects are facing change in progress in the same direction probably as a result of the contact with Standard Thai and the Lao language as the lingua franca in the communities, while the Xishuangbanna dialect does not change from the contact with other languages. (See chapter 8 for more discussion).

Next, I will present how the second person pronouns are selected by the speakers from different generations.

5.2.3 Age-preferential second person pronouns

Similar to the first person pronouns, the second person pronouns are chosen differently from the speakers in three generations. Table 5.3, calculated from the total number of the second person pronouns found in the interview, summarizes the observed frequency along with the overall percentage of the second person pronouns in Tai Lue. Again, I will focus on each generation, and then the overall trend of the

second person pronoun, calculated from the total second person pronoun forms found in the interview.

Table 5.6 The overall frequency of preferred second person pronouns by age groups of speakers

	Old		Middle		Young	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<i>khiŋ</i> 'you (m/f)'	36	29.51	46	27.38	66	31.132
<i>miŋ</i> 'you (m/f)'	56	45.90	54	32.14	52	24.528
<i>sùu</i> 'you (m/f)'	13	10.66	11	6.55	5	2.358
<i>tóo</i> 'you (m/f)'	0	0.00	16	9.52	39	18.396
<i>phu.cáw</i> 'you (m/f)'	6	4.92	24	14.29	29	13.679
<i>cáw</i> 'you (m/f)'	11	9.02	17	10.12	21	9.906
Total	122	100.00	168	100.00	212	100.000

When focusing each generation's choice of second person pronouns, it is found that the old and the middle generation speakers tend to choose the second person pronoun *miŋ* 'you (m/f)'' more than other forms. However, the middle generation also uses the second person pronoun *tóo* 'you (m/f)'' while the old speakers do not. The following figures (5.7 – 5.10) summarize the second person pronouns chosen by the speakers from the different generations.

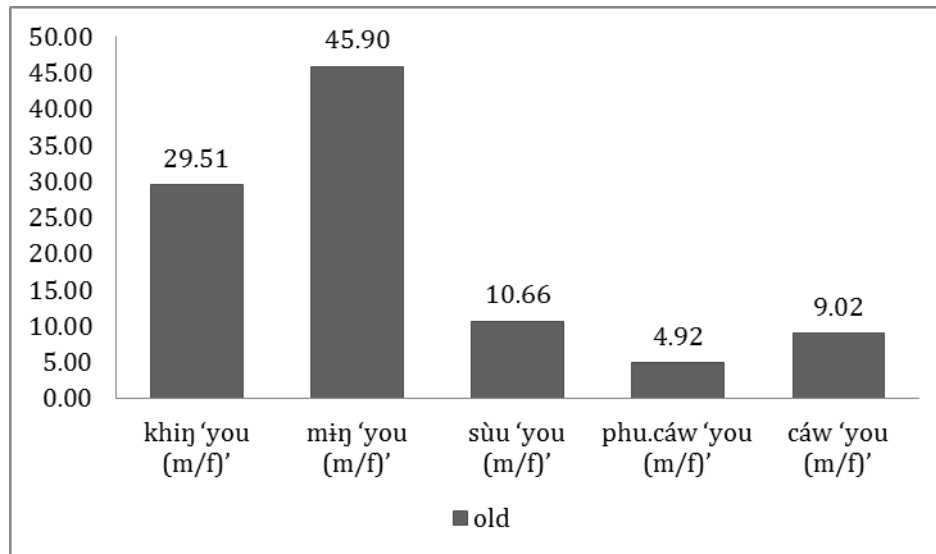


Figure 5.11: Second person pronouns spoken by the old generation

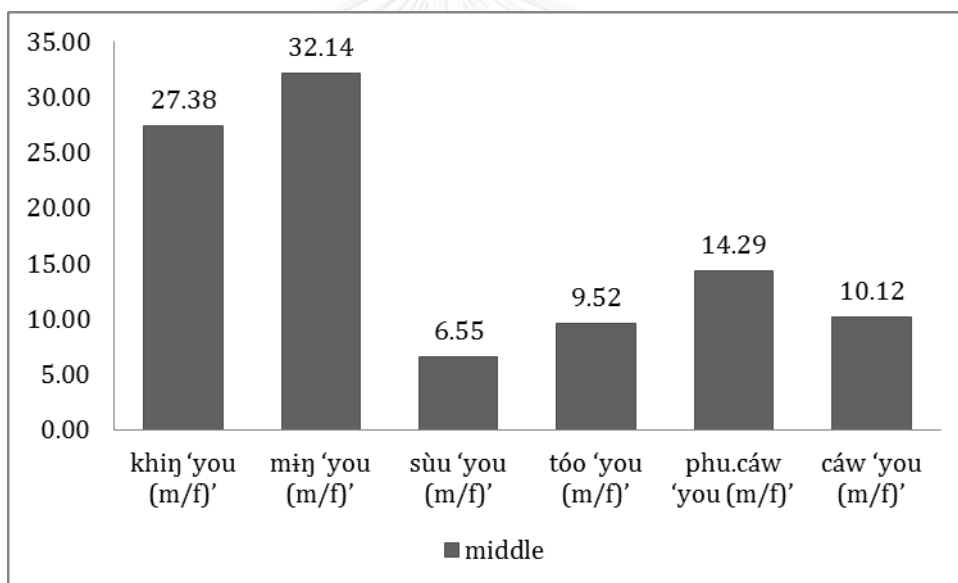


Figure 5.12: Second person pronouns spoken by the middle generation

Similar to the middle generation, the young speakers also use the second person pronoun *tóo* 'you (m/f)', but in general, they tend to select the second person pronoun *khiṅ* 'you (m/f)'.

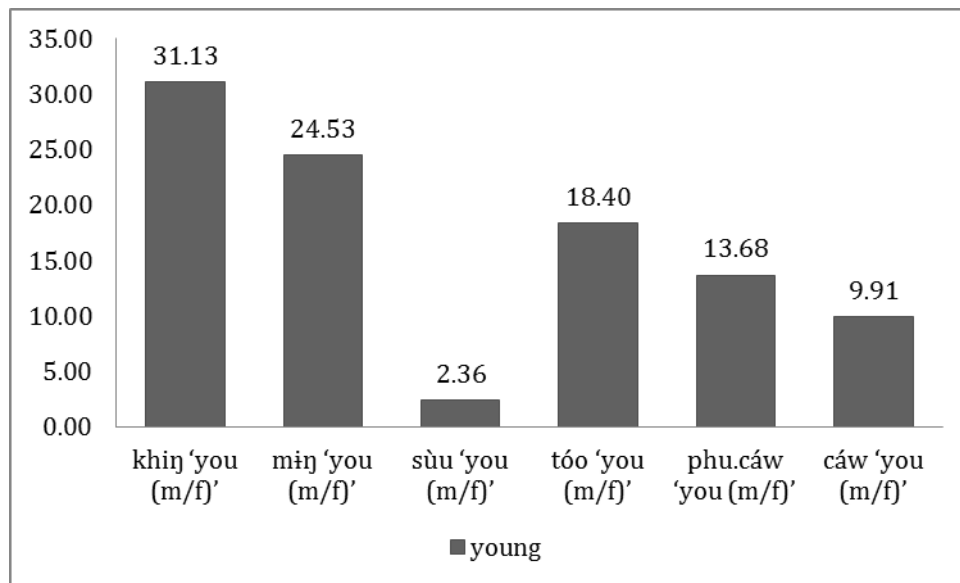


Figure 5.13: Second person pronouns spoken by the young generation

To summarize, the second person pronouns in Tai Lue are chosen by the speakers of different generations. The old and the middle generations jointly prefer to choose the second person pronoun *miŋ* 'you (m/f)', but the young speakers tend to use the second person pronoun *khiŋ* 'you (m/f)'. However, it is found that the second person pronoun *sùu* 'you (m/f)' is the least frequently used among three generations. Also, the finding suggests the second person pronoun *tóo* 'you (m/f)' which is mostly spoken by the middle and the young age groups.

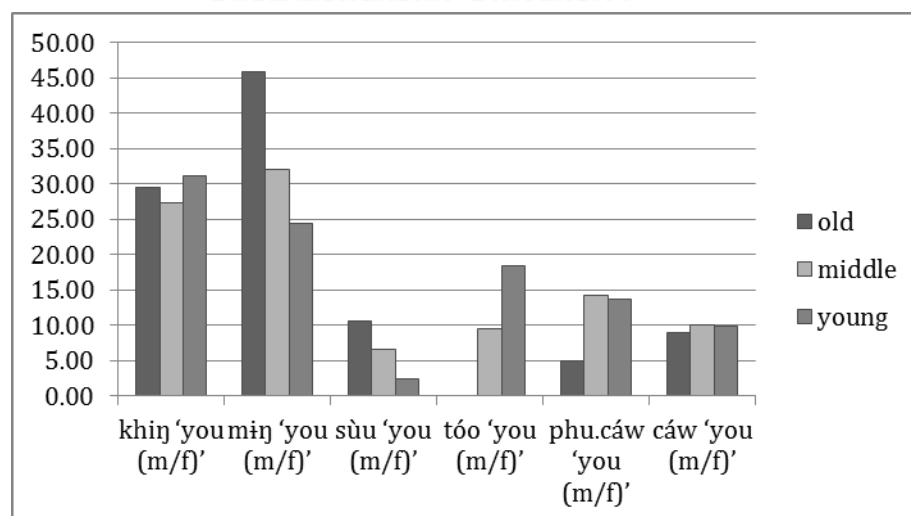


Figure 5.14: The comparison of preferred second person pronouns in Tai Lue by age groups

From the findings from each generation and the comparison among them, some conclusions can be made as follows.

- 1) The second person pronoun forms commonly used by the old generation are *m̄iŋ* 'you (m/f)', *khiŋ* 'you (m/f)' and *s̄u* 'you (m/f)', especially the former one was used up to 45% of all second person forms by the old generation.
- 2) In contrast, the young generation prefers to choose the second person pronoun *khiŋ* 'you (m/f)' with higher proportion than other forms. In addition, the most obvious pronoun form in the young speaker's choice is the second person pronoun *tóo* 'you (m/f)'.
- 3) The middle age group is the bridging generation between their parental generation and their descendants. The middle generation tends to share the second person choice from both the old and the young. Firstly they choose the second person pronouns *m̄iŋ* 'you (m/f)' and *khiŋ* 'you (m/f)' in a nearly proportion. They also use the second person *tóo* 'you (m/f)' similar to the young generation. Again, both the middle and the young generations tend to use the second person pronoun *phu.cáw* 'you (m/f)' in a nearly proportion (nearly 15%) while the old generation uses it slightly (only 5%).
- 4) When combining the frequency of the regular pairs of personal pronouns among age groups, statistical analysis confirms that the difference in choice of paired personal pronouns *hāa* 'I(m/f)'- *khiŋ* 'you(m/f)' and *kuu* 'I(m/f)'- *m̄iŋ* 'you(m/f)' chosen by speakers from different generations is statically significant (see Table 5.6 below). As a result, it can be interpreted that the age levels of the speakers play an important role in these two pairs of personal pronouns. The first pair *hāa* 'I(m/f)'- *khiŋ* 'you(m/f)' and *kuu* 'I(m/f)' are preferred by the young generation while the second pair *kuu* 'I(m/f)'- *m̄iŋ* 'you(m/f)' are mostly spoken by the old generation. On the other hand, the middle generation tends to use these two pairs equally.

Table 5.7: The comparisons of the paired personal pronouns *hāa* 'I(m/f)'- *khiŋ* 'you(m/f) and *kuu* 'I(m/f)'- *miŋ* 'you(m/f) by age groups

Forms	Old		Middle		Young	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<i>hāa</i> 'I(m/f)'+ <i>khiŋ</i> 'you (m/f)'	65	38.7	80	45.5	104	55.9
<i>kuu</i> 'I(m/f)'+ <i>miŋ</i> 'you (m/f)'	103	61.3	96	54.5	82	44.1
Total	168	100.0	176	100.0	186	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 10.75 \text{ d.f.} 2 \text{ p} < 0.01$$

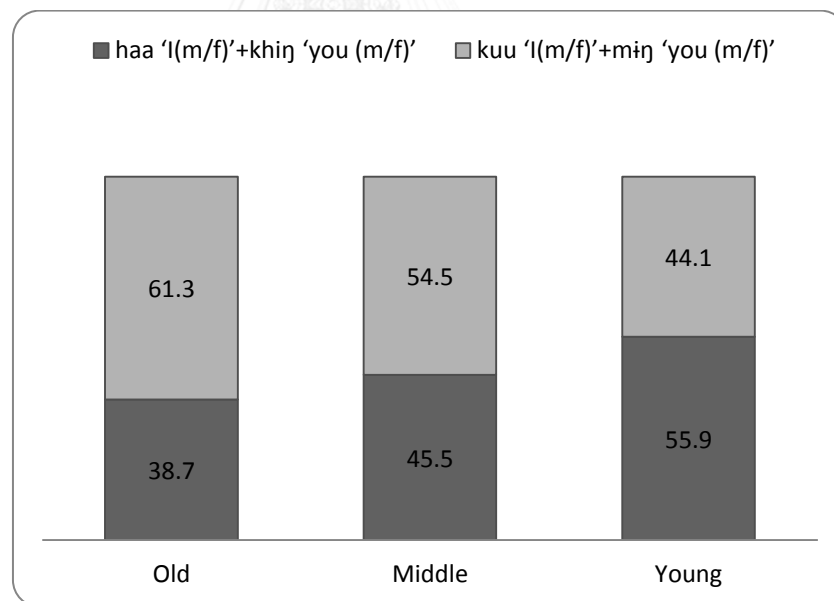


Figure 5.15: Comparative percentage of paired pronouns *kuu* 'I(m/f)'- *miŋ* 'you(m/f)' and *hāa* 'I(m/f)'- *khiŋ* 'you(m/f)' by age groups

- 5) The only personal pronoun *cāw* 'you (m/f)' is used by all generations in an nearly proportion. However, the analysis shows that the speakers from

different generations use it in different situations. (See Chapter VI for further discussion).

- 6) When focusing on the variation of the personal pronouns according to the age of the speaker in three regions, the result shows the different choice of the second person pronouns. The speakers from Chiang Mai tend to use the second person pronoun differently according to the age groups. The old speakers are likely to prefer to use the pronoun *miŋ* 'you (m/f)' (65%) but the young speakers are likely to use the pronoun *khiŋ* 'you (m/f)' (48%) while the speakers from the middle generation tend to use both of the forms in an almost equal proportion (33% and 39% respectively) as summarized in Figure 5.15.

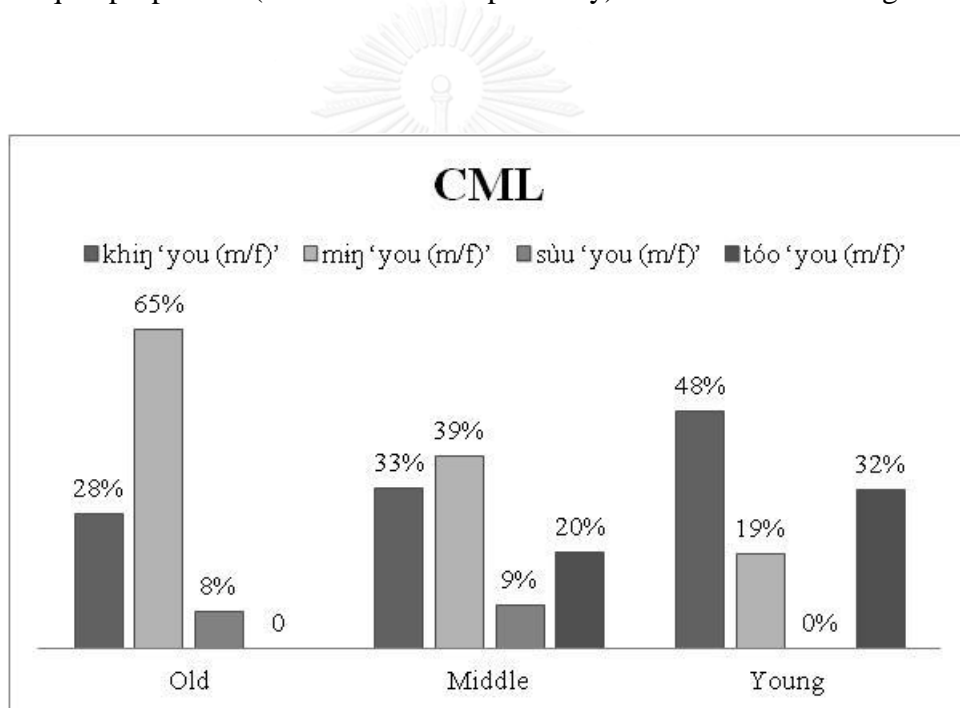


Figure 5.16: The percentage of the second person pronouns that vary according to age in CML

The speakers from the Luang Prabang dialect have a different pattern of pronoun choice from those in Chiang Mai as summarized in Figure 5.16

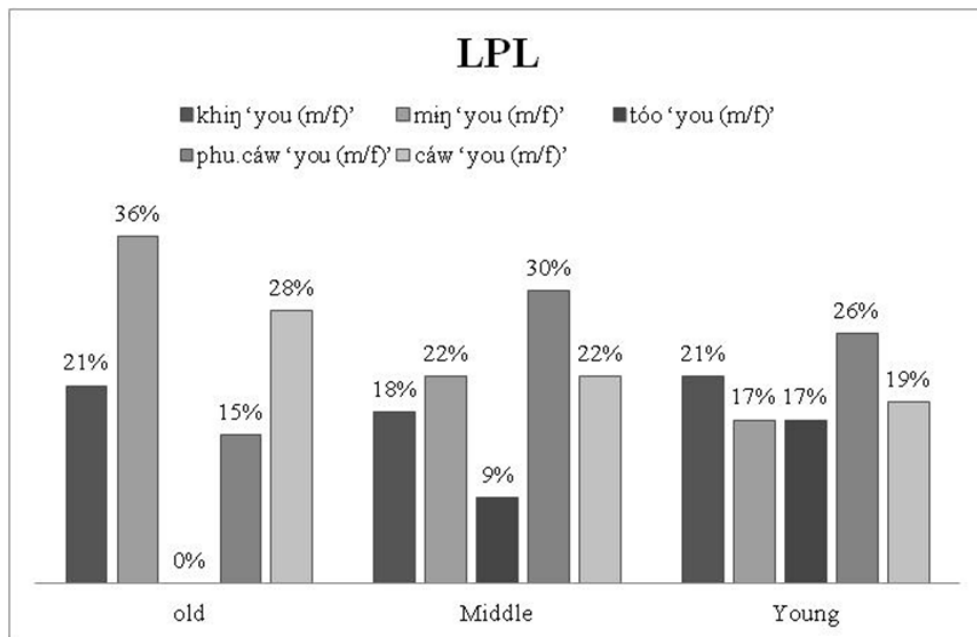


Figure 5.17: The percentage of the second person pronouns that vary according to age in Luang Prabang

The old speakers from the Luang Prabang dialect tend to choose the pronoun *miṅ* 'you (m/f)' up to 36% while the middle and the young generations use it only 22% and 17% respectively. The young generation uses the second person pronouns *miṅ* 'you (m/f)' and *tóo* 'you (m/f)' in an equal proportion at 17% but the next section will describe the difference in these two pronouns due to the gender of the speakers.

Lastly, the second person pronoun variation among the XBL speakers shows the different result from those found in the other two dialects. The young speakers are likely to choose the pronoun *miṅ* 'you (m/f)' (up to 55%) and use the pronoun *khiṅ* 'you (m/f)' only 32% while the old and the middle generation use the pronoun *khiṅ* 'you (m/f)' equally at 40% as summarized in Figure 5.17.

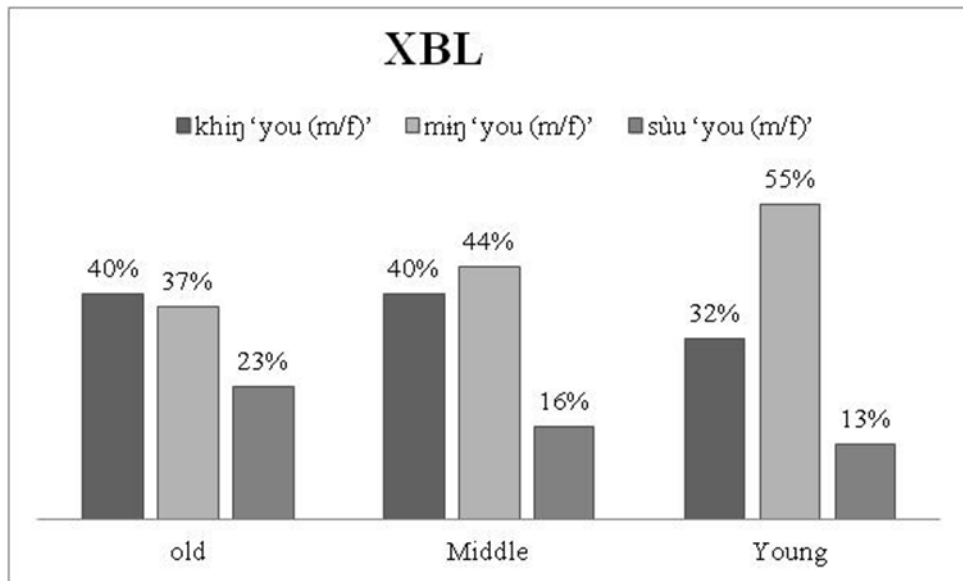


Figure 5.18: The percentage of the second person pronouns that vary according to age in XBL

To sum up, the analysis of the age-preferential second person pronouns in Tai Lue from three regions shows two different patterns of pronoun choice. Among the speakers from Chinag Mai and Luang Prabang., the old generations prefer to choose the pronoun *miŋ* 'you (m/f)' highly up to 65% and 36% while the young speaker tend to choose the pronoun *khiŋ* 'you (m/f)'. In contrast to these two dialects, the spekaers from Xishuangbanna adopt the opposite direction in which the old generation choose the pronoun *khiŋ* 'you (m/f)' while the young ones prefer the *miŋ* 'you (m/f)'.

5.2.4 Age-preferential third person pronouns

Apart from the first and the second person pronouns, the age levels of the speakers also affect the choice of the third person pronouns in Tai Lue. The data analysis shows that there are 4 third person pronouns as listed below

pàn 'he/she' *man* 'it' *tāan* 'he/she' *khāw* 'he or she'

Table 5.6 summarizes the observed frequency of the third person pronouns by age distribution. It is seen that the young generation does not use the third person pronoun *tāan* 'he/she', but only the old and the middle speakers do. In general, it is observed that the speakers of different generations share the same pattern of the third

person pronoun by which the highest selected is the third person pronoun *p̀̀n* ‘he/she’ as illustrated in Figure 5.12 below. Overall, the speakers tend to share the same pattern of the third person pronoun choice by which the most common pronoun is *p̀̀n* ‘he/she’ while the least common one is *khāw* ‘he or she’ (found spoken only in Luang Prabang)

Table 5.8: Third person pronouns in Tai Lue by age groups

	Old		Middle		Young	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<i>p̀̀n</i> ‘he/she’	50	46.30	48	52.2	42	53.8
<i>man</i> ‘it’	38	35.19	30	32.6	31	39.7
<i>tāan</i> ‘he/she’	16	14.81	12	13.0	0	0.0
<i>khāw</i> ‘he or she’	4	3.70	2	2.2	5	6.4
Total	108	100.00	92	100.0	78	100.0

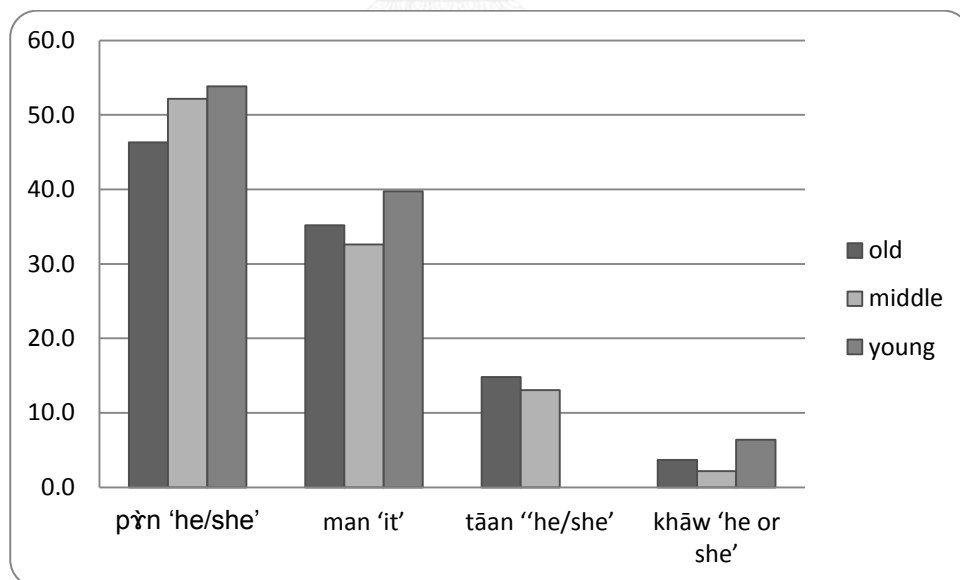


Figure 5.19: the percentage of preferred third person pronouns in Tai Lue by age groups

To conclude, the personal pronouns preferred by the old generation are considered representative of the conservative group in the use of Tai Lue while the young age

group is likely to be the most innovative group. They are prompted to use new personal pronoun forms such as those borrowed from Standard Thai and Kam Mueang. The middle age group is the bridging group, connecting the old and the young generations. They tend to use personal pronoun forms in-between the system of the old and the young. This finding shares the similar pattern of the lexical variation in other previous studies such as Rapeeporn and Tingsabash (2008) and Akharawatthanakun (2012).

5.3 Gender-based variation of Tai Lue personal pronouns

Chapter 4 describes the grammatical gender of Tai Lue personal pronouns, namely the male-exclusive pronoun *phóm* 'I (m)' and the female-exclusive pronoun *khā.cāw* 'I (f)'. However, from the interviews and observations during the fieldwork, it was noticed that speakers from different gender have their own preference of personal pronouns. This section will provide the variation of Tai Lue personal pronouns selected by male and female speakers. Speaker gender is also a social factor determining the choice of personal pronouns in Standard Thai (see, for example, Cooke , 1968: 24-25 and Palakornkul , 1972: 68). The distinction of gender in Tai Lue personal pronouns can be divided into three subtypes: male, female, and neutral. Some pronouns are gender-exclusive and gender preferential, but most of them are gender neutral. The gender- exclusive pronouns are those strictly used by only one gender according to their grammatical inherent features. The opposite use is considered ungrammatical or unacceptable. In contrast, the gender- preferential pronouns are those used mainly by one gender in an ordinary situation, but the use by the opposite gender can be found in some contexts. Apart from male and female pronouns, it should be noted that most personal pronouns in Tai Lue are gender - neutral forms; that is, they are not marked by gender of the referent. The following paragraphs will explain how personal pronouns are selected by the speakers of different genders.

5.3.1 Male exclusive pronouns

Based on the data collected, the most obvious male exclusive form is the pronoun *phóm* ‘*I(m)*’, which is probably borrowed from Standard Thai because it is found only in the Chiang Mai dialect of Tai Lue but not in Luang Prabang or Xishuangbanna, and it is similar to its equivalent form *phǒm* in Thai, marking the masculinity of the speaker. Tai Lue pronoun *phóm* is spoken only by male speakers to refer to self as illustrated in sentences 2)

2) *phóm* *caʔ* *mii* *taan.bun* *tii* *bǎan*
 I.(m) will have almsgiving place house

“I am going to organize a almsgiving at my place.”

Sentence 2) illustrates the use of pronoun *phóm* ‘*I(m)*’ by a male speaker when talking to his class teacher to invite her to join the ceremony at his place. In contrast, if sentence 2) were spoken by a female, it would be considered ungrammatical.

5.3.2 Male- preferential pronouns

The interviews also reveal that some pronouns, namely the first person pronoun *kuu* ‘*I(m/f)*’ and the second person pronoun *miiŋ* ‘*you (m/f)*’ are typically used by male speakers, but when used by females or children, they are considered impolite and vulgar. According to Cooke ’s generalization (1968:24), pronoun *kuu* and pronoun *miiŋ* in Standard Thai are commonly spoken among male adolescents and adults as strong nonrestraint forms and are not common when being spoken by females and children. We can draw a conclusion that these male preferential pronoun forms in Standard Thai are correlated to notions of impoliteness or offensiveness.

Pronoun *kuu* ‘*I (m/f)*’ and pronoun *miiŋ* ‘*you (m/f)*’

3) *kuu* *càʔ* *jɛʔ* *taan.bun*
 I will make almsgiving

“I will hold a almsgiving (at home)”

The speaker of sentence 3) intentionally refers to himself by the pronoun *kuu* 'I (m/f)' when talking to his close friend. This is a typical situation of pronoun *kuu* 'I (m/f)' and its counterpart second person pronoun *miη* 'you (m/f)' spoken by male Tai Lue speakers.

However, it should be noted that when used by female or young speakers, pronoun forms *kuu* 'I (m/f)' and *miη* 'you (m/f)' are considered offensive in some dialects as shown in sentence 4) below.

- 4) *miη man ηǎw khòot*
 you. it stupid very.much
 “you are too stupid.”

Sentence 4) is spoken by a female student when talking to her classmate teasingly. From the observation, most interviewees agree that the use of pronoun *kuu*. 'I (m/f)' and *miη* 'you(m/f)' is not appropriate when used by females.

Table 5.7 and Figure 5.13 exhibit the percentage of the paired pronoun forms *kuu* 'I (m/f)' and *miη* 'you (m/f)' chosen by speakers of different genders. The result shows that the male speakers tend to use this pair of pronouns more than the female speakers do.

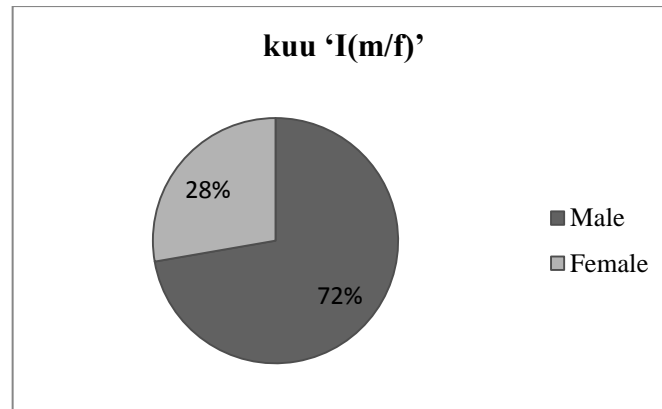
Table 5.9: a. Gender variation of the first person pronoun *kuu* 'I (m/f)'

Form	Male	Female	Total
<i>kuu</i> 'I(m/f)'	86	33	119
%	72.27	27.73	100.00

b. Gender variation of the second person pronoun *miη* 'you (m/f)'

Form	Male	Female	Total
<i>miη</i> 'you (m/f)'	119	43	162
%	73.5	26.5	100.0

a.



b.

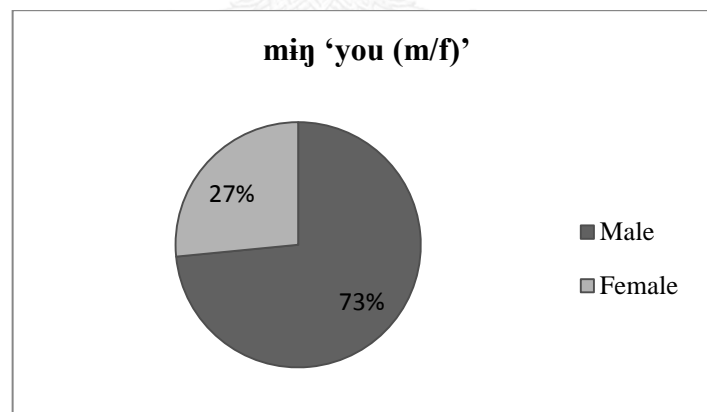


Figure 5.20a., 5.13 b.: The comparative percentage of the personal pronouns *kuu* 'I (m/f)' and *miŋ* 'you (m/f)' by gender of the speakers

5.3.3 Female- exclusive pronouns

From the interviews, a female exclusive first person form, *khā.cāw* ‘*I (f)*’ is not found spoken by males, but only by female speakers to refer to self as exemplified below in sentence 5).

5)	<i>khā.cāw</i>	<i>ɔaw</i>	<i>khàw</i>	<i>maa</i>	<i>hìi</i>
	I.(f)	take	rice	come	give
	“I brought (you) some rice”				

Pronoun *khā.cāw* ‘*I (f)*’ is chosen by a female speaker to refer to self when she is bringing a village leader some rice.

However, this first person pronoun is not found in other dialects of Tai Lue where the interviews were conducted, but found in Kam Meuang instead (Rhekhallilit, 2010). It is hypothesized that this pronoun form has been borrowed from the Kam Meuang dialect due to their intense contact because Kam Meuang is a medium of communication as a lingua franca between Tai Lue and non-Tai Lue villagers in Northern Thailand. It is also hypothesized that the first person pronoun *khā.cāw* ‘*I (f)*’ is borrowed to fulfill the semantic gap in the pronoun system of Tai Lue in Chiang Mai. As the male speakers in the community borrow the first person pronoun *phóm* ‘*I(m)*’ from Standard Thai, the female speakers tend to borrow the pronoun *khā.cāw* ‘*I (f)*’ from Kam Meuang instead probably due to the less exposure to Standard Thai pronoun *dī.chǎn* ‘*I(f)*’. The female interviewees mainly housewives and do not work outside the community so they are more familiar to the Kam Meuang dialect. As a result, they are likely to borrow the Kam Meuang pronoun which is commonly found in a conversation between the non- Tai Lue speakers as a lingual franca.

5.3.4 Female -preferential pronouns

In contrast to those male- preferential pronouns, some pronoun forms in Tai Lue are typically spoken by females. However, they can still be used by males in some atypical situations as described further below. These are called female –preferential

pronouns, namely pronoun *p̀̀n* ‘I (m/f)’ and pronoun *tóo* ‘you (m/f)’ which are mostly spoken by females in the Chiang Mai and Luang Prabang dialects as shown in sentence 6). Interestingly, the personal pronoun *p̀̀n*, typically used as the third person meaning, can be used with a self-referring meaning by female speakers in many cases. (See Chapter 8 for further discussion)

- 6) *tóo ɔ̀aw ɲ̀̀n p̀̀n paj káa*
 you take money I go PART

“You took my money, right?”

Pronouns *p̀̀n* ‘I (m/f)’ and *tóo* ‘you(m/f)’ are chosen in a conversation between two siblings when a female speaker is asking her sister if the latter has taken her money.

Nevertheless, pronouns *p̀̀n* ‘I (m/f)’ and *tóo* ‘you (m/f)’ can be found spoken by males in atypical situations. For example,

- 7) *tóo cà? paj kin kà? p̀̀n ká?*
 you will go eat with I PART

“Will you have a meal with me?”

Sentence 7) is spoken by a male speaker who is asking his female friend to join his lunch. They are friends in the same school and he chooses to use pronoun *p̀̀n* [+first] and *tóo* ‘you (m/f)’. As a result, the paired personal pronouns *p̀̀n* [+first] and *tóo* ‘you(m/f)’ are not exclusive for females because the male speakers can sometimes employ them in a conversation as illustrated in Figure 5.14. The female speakers commonly use the first pronoun *p̀̀n* [+first] and *tóo* ‘you(m/f)’ while the male speakers tend to use it only marginally (only 20%).

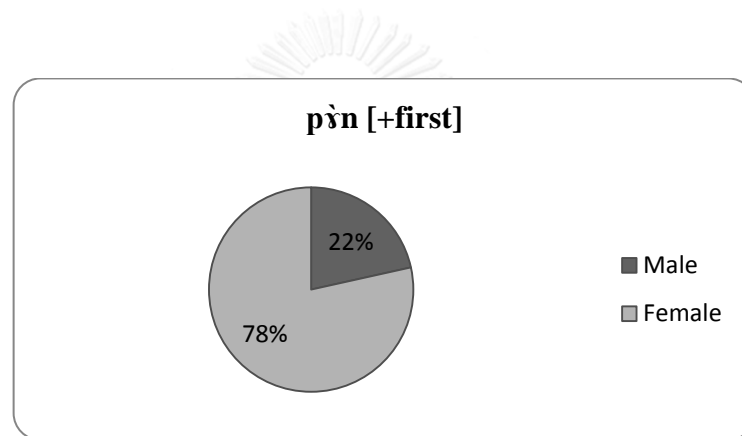
Table 5.10: a. Gender variation of the first person pronoun *p̀̀n* [+first]

Form	Male	Female	Total
<i>p̀̀n</i> [+first]	17	62	79
%	21.5	78.5	100

b. Gender variation of the second person pronoun *tóo* 'you (m/f)'

Form	Male	Female	Total
<i>tóo</i> 'you (m/f)'	7	48	55
%	12.73	87.27	100.00

a.



b.

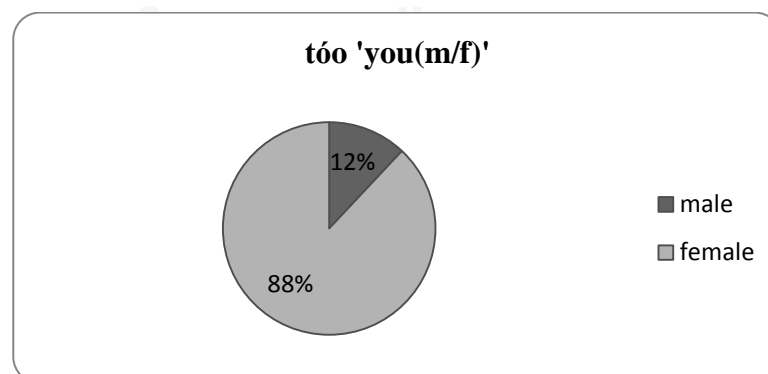


Figure 5.21 a., 5.14 b.: The comparative percentage of the personal pronouns *p̀̀n* [+first] and *tóo* 'you (m/f)'. by gender of the speakers

To conclude, analysis of the data suggests that pronouns *p̀̀n* ‘I (m/f)’ and *tóo* ‘you (m/f)’ are spoken mainly by females speaking to both male and female addressees, but they are also likely to be used by males when talking to female addressees only. As a result, it is assumed that pronouns *p̀̀n* ‘I (m/f)’ and *tóo* ‘you (m/f)’ are typically used by female speakers, but in some cases, male speakers can accommodate their choice of pronouns when speaking to females in order to make the conversation more polite when talking to the female interlocutors.

5.3.5 Gender-neutral pronouns

Gender-neutral pronouns refer to some personal pronouns which are neither marked by the grammatical gender of the speakers nor chosen by a particular gender. A very famous example is the English pronoun *I* and *you* which do not indicate the gender of the speaker. As mentioned earlier, the majority of Tai Lue personal pronouns are not affected by the gender distinction, but mainly by other social factors. They can be used by both males and females in equal proportion. For example, pronoun *hāa* ‘I (m/f)’ and its counterpart second pronoun *khiŋ* ‘you (m/f)’ are used by both genders as illustrated below.

- 8) A: *khiŋ* *cà?* *bòk* *sǎŋ* *hāa*
 you will tell what I
 “what are you telling me?”
- B: *hāa* *cà?* *jε?* *taan.bun*
 I will make almsgiving

The conversation 8) exemplifies the use of pronoun *hāa* ‘I(m/f)’ and *khiŋ* ‘you (m/f)’. The male informant A is speaking to his classmate, the female informant B. He asked her what she is telling him by calling himself, *hāa* and calling his addressee, *khiŋ* ‘you (m/f)’. At the same time, the informant B refers to herself with the personal pronoun *hāa* ‘I(m/f)’. It can be assumed that neither pronoun is affected by the gender distinction of the speaker, but rather by the social relationship between speaker and hearer, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. Table 5.9 below

summarizes the observed frequency of the first personal pronoun in Tai Lue by gender distinction. Statistical analysis shows that the gender of the speaker does not significantly influence choice with this group of pronouns ($p > 0.05$).

Table 5.11: : a. The frequency of the first personal pronoun by gender distinction

First person pronouns	Male	Female	Total
<i>khɔ̀ɔj</i> 'I(m/f)'	30	36	66
<i>haa</i> 'I(m/f)'	54	47	101
<i>khâa.nòj</i> 'I(m/f)'	15	23	38
<i>haw</i> [-plural]	66	64	130
<i>khàa</i> 'I(m/f)'	18	10	28
<i>tuu</i> 'I(m/f)'	9	7	16
Total	192	187	379

$\chi^2 = 1.79$, d.f. 5, $p > 0.05$

b. The frequency of the second person pronoun by gender distinction

Second person pronouns	Male	Female	Total
<i>khij</i> 'you (m/f)'	77	71	148
<i>sùu</i> 'you (m/f)'	16	13	29
<i>phu.cáw</i> 'you (m/f)'	26	33	59
<i>cáw</i> 'you (m/f)'	21	28	49
<i>Total</i>	140	145	285

$\chi^2 = 0.62$, d.f. 3, $p > 0.05$

c. The frequency of the third person pronoun by gender distinction

Third Person pronouns	Male	Female	Total
<i>pỳn</i> 'he/she'	69	71	140

<i>man</i> 'it'	54	45	99
<i>tāan</i> 'he/she'	12	16	28
<i>khāw</i> 'he or she'	7	4	11
Total	142	136	278

$$\chi^2 = 2.1, \text{ d.f. } 3, p > 0.05$$

In conclusion, Table 5.11 summarizes the personal pronouns in Tai Lue by the genders of the speakers. As the data suggest, the personal pronouns in Tai Lue can be divided into three groups. The gender-exclusive pronouns are those marked by grammatical gender as found in *phóm* [+male] and *khā.cāw* [-male]. The gender-preferential forms, namely *kuu* 'I (m/f)' - *mīŋ* 'you (m/f)' for male –preferential pairs and *p̀̀n* [+first] - *tóo* 'you (m/f)' for female-preferential and the last group is the gender-neutral, pronouns not significantly affected by the gender of the speaker.

Table 5.12: Personal pronouns in Tai Lue by gender distinction

Forms		Gender of speaker
First person	Second person	
<i>phóm</i> 'I(m)'	-	Only male
<i>khā.cāw</i> 'I(f)'	-	Only female
<i>kuu</i> 'I(m/f)'	<i>mīŋ</i> 'you(m/f)'	Male
		Female (in atypical situations)
<i>p̀̀n</i> [+first]	<i>tóo</i> 'you(m/f)'	Female
		Male (in atypical situations)
<i>hāa</i> 'I(m/f)'	<i>khīŋ</i> 'you(m/f)'	
<i>tuu</i> 'I(m/f)'	<i>sùu</i> 'you(m/f)'	
<i>haw</i> 'I(m/f)'	<i>phu.cáw</i> 'you(m/f)'	
	<i>cáw</i> 'you(m/f)'	

<i>khòj</i> 'I(m/f)'		Neutral
<i>khàa</i> 'I(m/f)'	Third person	
<i>ʔeeŋ</i> 'I(m/f)'	<i>man</i> 'it' <i>p̀̀n</i> 'he/she' <i>khāw</i> 'he/she' <i>tāan</i> 'he/she'	

5.4 Monkhood

Another social meaning affecting the choice of personal pronoun in Tai Lue is the monkhood status of the speaker. In Tai speaking communities, Buddhism has a major influence on people's lives, including language use. According to Palakornkul (1972) and Hatton (1978), the monkhood status of the speaker or the participants always affects the choice of personal pronouns in Standard Thai. Palakornkul (1972: 62) claims that Buddhist monks share the same social class as the royal family, the aristocrats, or the elites as marked by the feature [+power and status]. Hatton (1978) agrees with Palakornkul's analysis. In his analysis, the social identity of the speaker is also marked by religion or whether they are members of religious orders. Similar to Standard Thai, Tai Lue also has the personal pronoun uniquely employed with Buddhist monks.

5.4.1 Monk-exclusive pronoun

In the Xishuangbanna dialect, first person singular pronoun *haw* is used exclusively by a monk when referring to self as shown in the following example,

- 8) *haw càʔ tɻ́n b̀̀k cāw*
I will warn tell you

“I will explain and tell you.”

It is seen from sentence (8) that a monk refers to himself as *haw* when talking to villagers. From the data collection, the native XBL interviewees mutually agree that pronoun *haw* is only spoken by a monk. It is forbidden for women and lay men to use

that form when referring to themselves. This choice of personal pronoun is also found in Ampornphan (1986)'s study of Tai Lue in Nan province as found in the following example 9).

9)	<i>haw</i>	<i>tɔ̃ɲ</i>	<i>páj</i>	<i>sán</i>	<i>phêen</i>	<i>tiì</i>	<i>bãan</i>
	<i>nɿɿʔ</i>						
	I	must	go	eat	brunch	at	house
	north						

“I have to go for brunch at the north village.”

In contrast, when laymen refer to self when talking to a Buddhist monk, they do not have a form, but they tend to use deferential forms, similar to those spoken to an addressee of higher status as further described in the next section.

5.5 Variation of personal pronouns *haw* ‘we’ and *pɿn* ‘he/she’ according to age

Previously Chapter 4 describes the grammatical meaning of Tai Lue personal pronouns, namely person, gender and number. It can be concluded that the personal pronouns in Tai Lue are marked by a rigid set of grammatical features. For example, the personal pronoun *khiɲ* ‘you(m/f)’ is marked by the second person, referring to an addressee and by the grammatical singular number along with the neutral grammatical gender. These grammatical features seem tightly woven into the personal pronoun system.

However, data analysis reveals that two personal pronouns in Tai Lue, specifically the pronoun *haw* ‘we’, marked by grammatical feature [+plural] and *pɿn* ‘he or she’, marked by grammatical person [+third], can be used with different grammatical features when being used by speakers of different social backgrounds.

5.5.1 Variation of first person pronoun *haw* [+plural] to *haw* [-plural]

As described in detail in the previous chapter, the first person pronoun *haw* ‘we’ is the only inherent plural form among Tai Lue personal pronouns. That is, it can refer to a group of referents without co-occurring with a plural marker (See Chapter 4 for further details). However, when observing the use of personal pronoun *haw* [+plural]

during the interviews, it was found that *haw* can refer to an individual referent with singular meaning as summarized in Table 5.12 below.

Table 5.13: Variation of personal pronoun *haw* by age groups of speakers

Meaning	Old		Middle		Young	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
haw [+plural]	45	73.77	47	51.09	50	42.02
haw [-plural]	16	26.23	45	48.91	69	57.98
Total	61	100.00	92	100.00	119	100.00

$$\chi^2 = 16.366 \quad \text{d.f.} = 2 \quad p < 0.01$$

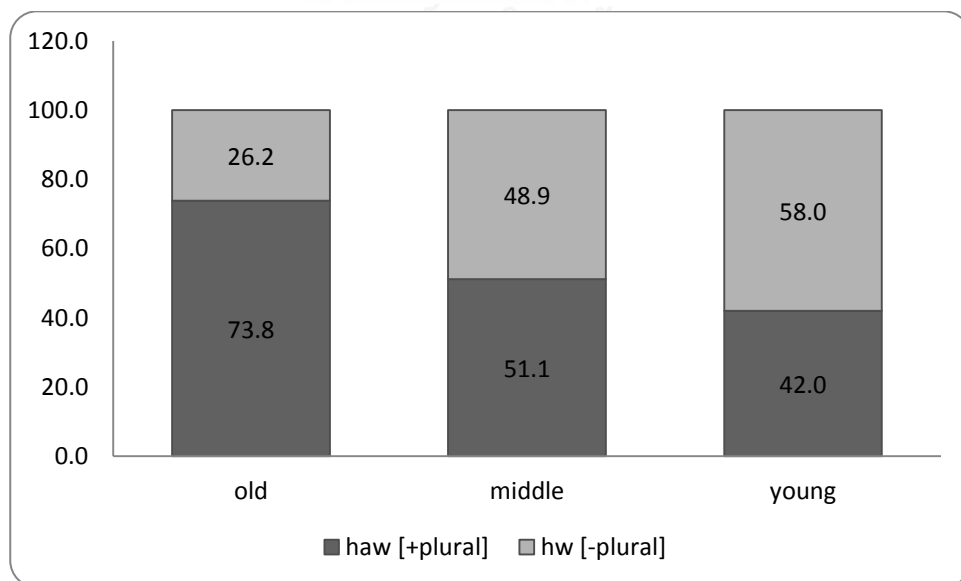


Figure 5.22: Variation of personal pronoun *haw* 'we' by age groups of speakers

Statistical analysis reveals that the speakers from different generations significantly select the first person pronoun *haw* with two different grammatical numbers, the original plural meaning ‘we’ and the innovative singular meaning ‘I(m/f)’. The speakers from the old generation seem to maintain the original plural pronoun *haw* ‘we’ while the young generation tends to choose the innovative usage with singular meaning *haw* ‘I(m/f)’. Finally, the middle generation speakers tend to use both of the meanings in nearly equal proportion.

In addition, it is found that the first person pronoun *haw* ‘we’, when being used with the singular meaning in the Xishuangbanna dialect, conveys the status of monkhood of the speaker. All of the informants involved in the interviews mutually agree that it is exclusively used by the monks as described in 5.3.

5.5.2 Variation of the pronoun *p̀̀n* [+third] to *p̀̀n* [+first]

The other pronoun with notable variation is the personal pronoun *p̀̀n* ‘he/she’. As described in Chapter 4, Tai Lue native speakers can use personal pronoun *p̀̀n* ‘he/she’ when referring to a third party. However, observing its use by the speakers in the three communities, I have found that the personal pronoun *p̀̀n* can sometimes be used as the first person pronoun.

When referring to self, pronoun *p̀̀n* ‘I(m/f)’ is paired with the second person pronoun *tóo* ‘you(m/f)’. It is also found that females are more likely to use it, but in some cases, males also employ such forms when talking to a female addressee to accommodate his speech to make the conversation more intimate, as noted in Section 5.3. In contrast, when used to refer to a third party, or non-participants, pronoun *p̀̀n* [+third] is used as a gender-neutral form. Figure 5.16 summarizes the grammatical meanings of personal pronoun *p̀̀n*.

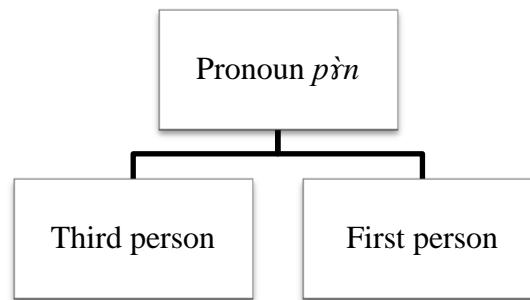


Figure 5.23: Variation of personal pronoun *pɔ̀n*

Table 5.14 shows the frequency of personal pronoun *pɔ̀n* [+third] when used by different generations of Tai Lue speakers.

Table 5.14: Variation of personal pronoun *pɔ̀n* [+third] by age groups

Grammatical person	Oldest		Middle		Young	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
[+third]	50	100.00	48	64.86	42	44.21
[+first]	0	0.00	26	35.14	53	55.79

As seen in Table 5.14, personal pronoun *pɔ̀n* 'he/she' is used with different grammatical meanings by the three age groups. The oldest generation does not use the personal pronoun *pɔ̀n* [+third] as the first person pronoun, but only in the third person, while both the middle and the young generations are likely to use it as both third and first person as seen in Figure 5.17.

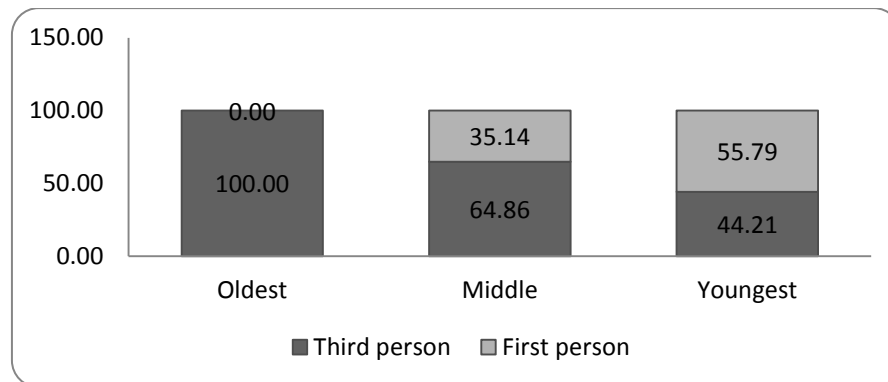


Figure 5.24: The percentage of Tai Lue personal pronoun *pɔ̀n* [+third]

Comparison among the three generations reveals that the young tend to use the personal pronoun *pɔ̀n* [+third] with both meanings in a nearly equal proportion. The Middle generation tends to use the third person meaning more frequently than the first person meaning. As I have stated above, no speaker from the oldest generation uses personal pronouns *pɔ̀n* [+first] as the first person. This variation can imply the possible change in progress in which the variation across age levels can lead to language change. In this case, it is possible that personal pronoun *pɔ̀n* 'he/she' can undergo a shift of grammatical person from first to third.

To summarize, personal pronouns spoken among different age groups of Tai Lue speakers differ somewhat in terms of grammatical meanings. The personal pronoun *haw* [+singular] is used either with plural and singular meaning while the personal pronoun *pɔ̀n* [+third] is used to refer either to the speaker or to a third party. The comparison between age groups reveals that the use by the young generation varies the most while the oldest seems to retain the older pronominal system as illustrated in Figure 5.18 below.

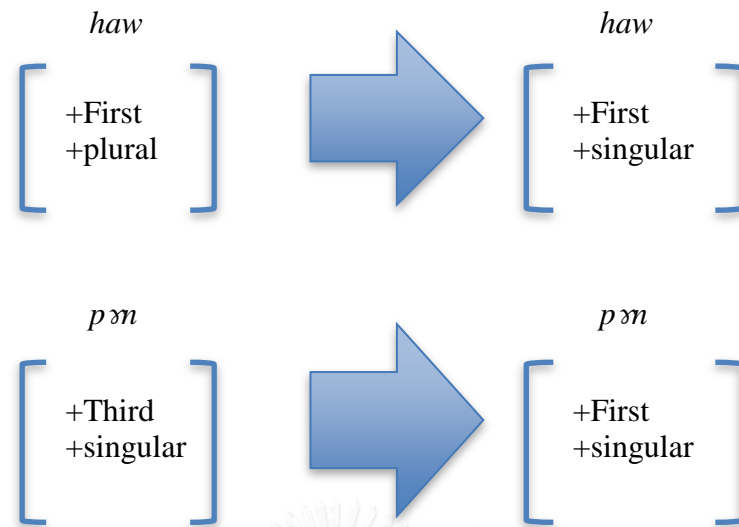


Figure 5.25: Change in progress of grammatical meanings of personal pronouns *haw* ‘we’ and pronoun *pɔ̀n* ‘he/she’

In light of the foregoing, I conclude that ongoing change is taking place in Tai Lue personal pronoun system, specifically with respect to the first person pronoun *haw* [+plural] and the third person pronoun *pɔ̀n* [+third]. As illustrated in the analysis, the old speakers as the representative of the more conservative system tend to maintain the original grammatical meanings of both forms [+plural] for the pronoun *haw* and [+third] for the pronoun *pɔ̀n*, while the other two younger generations tend to use two forms with different grammatical features, specifically [-plural] for pronoun *haw* and the feature [+first] for the pronoun *pɔ̀n*.

5.6 Summary

This chapter provides an analysis of the correlation between the linguistic variables, specifically personal pronouns and the social characteristics of the speakers, specifically age and gender of the speakers. The findings show that speakers from the three age groups have different preferred choices of personal pronouns. The data analysis reveals the age-exclusive pronouns and age-preferential pronouns. The first person pronoun *ɔ̀eɛŋ* ‘I (m/f)’ is exclusively spoken by the old age group while the middle and the young generation tend to use the first person pronoun *phóm* ‘I(m)’ and

the first person pronoun *khā.cāw* 'I(f)' exclusively. Moreover, the old generation prefers to choose the paired personal pronoun *kuu* 'I(m/f)' and *mīŋ* 'you(m/f)' while the middle and the young generations prefer the paired pronoun *hāa* 'I(m/f)' and *khīŋ* 'you(m/f)'

In addition, the analysis shows the on-going change of personal pronouns in Tai Lue; that is, the first person plural pronoun *haw* 'we' includes its variant *haw* [+plural] as the first person plural form and *haw* [-plural] as the first person singular form. The third person singular *p̄n* 'he/she' includes its variant *p̄n* [+third] as the third person pronoun and *p̄n* [+first] as the first person pronoun, denoting the speaker role of the referent. The statistical analysis also suggests change in progress in Tai Lue personal pronouns due to the distribution across generations of the speakers. The old generation is likely to use the personal pronoun with its original grammatical features [+plural] for *haw* and [+third] for *p̄n* while the middle generation and the young generation tend to use them with newer grammatical features, [-plural] for *haw* and [+first] for *p̄n*.

The analysis also finds that pronouns can be divided into two groups based on the speakers' gender, namely gender-exclusive and gender-preferential pronouns. The former refers to those strictly used by either male or female and the use of opposite gender seems unacceptable while the latter refers to those typically used by one gender, but occasionally used by the opposite gender. The data also suggest that apart from the inherent characteristics of the speakers, the social relationship between the conversation participants also plays a crucial role in Tai Lue personal pronoun selection. The next chapter will describe the correlation between interpersonal factors and the pronominal choice and how personal pronouns are marked by social situations. This will shed light on the mechanism of change in progress of Tai Lue pronouns.

CHAPTER 6

SITUATIONAL VARIATION OF TAI LUE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The previous chapter describes the interrelation between the speakers' personal pronoun choice and their inherent social characteristics, namely age, gender and status of monkhood. In this chapter, I will analyze the correlation between the preferred personal pronoun forms and the social relationship between conversation participants. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part analyzes the correlation between the pronominal choice and the relative status of the participants. The second part examines the preferred pronoun choice between intimate participants, and then the final part summarizes the combination of social factors determining pronominal choice in Tai Lue.

6.1 Pronominal choice according to the relative status between the participants

One social dimension which determines the speaker's choice of personal pronoun is the relative status of the conversation participants. In this study, relative status is basically defined as hierarchical relationship between the speaker and the addressee and between the speaker and the third party participant(s). It is divided into superior, equal and inferior (Cooke, 1968). *Speaking to superior* refers to the situation in which a speaker is talking to a participant or about a referent with a higher position, such as when talking to or about parents, boss, and monk. *Speaking to inferior* refers the opposite situation where the speaker is talking to or about participants in a lower social status, such as when talking to or about children, one's students and other subordinates. Moreover, *Speaking to equal* includes a condition in which the participants are equal such as classmates, strangers in the same generation, or neighbors. As a result, it can be concluded that relative status of participants is determined by the power of the participants. In general cases, the participants with more power are clearly considered higher than the participants with lower power. According to Brown and Gilman (1960) and Hatton (1978), power is the determinant

of non-reciprocal pronoun use. In the case which the participants have unequal power, those inferior are not allowed to use the same forms as the superior use.

Palakornkul (1972)'s analysis of pronominal strategies in Standard Thai does not directly mention the relative status, but it is obviously implied from the inherent power and status of the participants involved in the conversation. In contrast to Palakornkul, Hatton (1978) directly mentions the comparison of *social status* of the participants as grade. Grade is the sub-component of the social status in which the social identity and relative age of the conversation participants are compared and defined by the factor of subordination as superior, equal and lower. This social status comparison is another major aspect of personal pronoun selection in Standard Thai, and so is in Tai Lue. The higher status of participants can be determined by the assigned power of the participants; for example, the Buddhist monks have more power than villagers or ordinary laymen as they are assigned power in terms of religious status. Similarly, the teachers and community leaders or *phû.jâj.bâan* are normally considered higher than the students and villagers or *luuk.bâan* due to the former's dominant power. The following section will describe the variation of some personal pronoun choice in Tai Lue which is determined by the relative status between participants.

First of all, it should be noted that I divided personal pronouns in this chapter into two groups. The first group is the first person pronouns frequently co-occurring with a particular second person pronouns and the second group is those occurring without a particular counterpart including the third person pronouns as summarized in Table 6.1. This chapter firstly analyzes the paired personal pronouns, and then the single pronouns will be discussed later.

Table 6.1: Paired and single personal pronouns

Paired personal pronouns		Single personal pronouns	
First person	Second person	First person	Third person
<i>khâ.nôj</i> 'I(m/f)'	<i>phu.câw</i> 'you (m/f)'	<i>ʔeeŋ</i> 'I(m/f)'	<i>tāan</i> 'he/she'
<i>khòɔj</i> 'I(m/f)'	<i>câw</i> 'you (m/f)'	<i>phóm</i> 'I(m)'	<i>man</i> 'it'
<i>p̄̀n</i> [+first]	<i>tóo</i> 'you (m/f)'	<i>khā.cāw</i> 'I(m/f)'	<i>p̄̀n</i> 'he/she'

<i>tuu</i> 'I(m/f)'	<i>sùu</i> 'you (m/f)'	<i>khàa</i> 'I(m/f)'	<i>khāw</i> 'he/she'
<i>kuu</i> 'I(m/f)'	<i>mīj</i> 'you (m/f)'	<i>haw</i> [-plural]	
<i>haa</i> 'I(m/f)'	<i>khij</i> 'you (m/f)'		

6.1.1 Pronominal choice when talking to/ about a person of superior status

As mentioned above, relative status is one major determinant affecting the choice of personal pronouns in the Tai Lue language. When speaking to a person of different status, it is common to choose different forms of pronouns. For example, when speaking of a person whose status is higher than that of the speaker, a speaker tends to choose the third person pronoun *tāan* 'he/she' to refer to the non-participant. In contrast, when speaking to a person of lower status such as a child or an inferior subordinate including animals, the third person pronoun *man* 'it' is commonly chosen. In general, when talking to a person of superior status such as teachers, monks, or village leaders, it is common for Tai Lue speakers to choose these pairs pronoun forms, namely 1) *khā.nòj* 'I(m/f)' and *phu.cáw* 'you (m/f)', and 2) *khòj* 'I(m/f)' and *cáw* 'you (m/f)' as presented in Table 6.2 below.

Table 6.2: The frequency of the paired personal pronouns used when speaking to a person of superior status

Forms	Frequency	%
<i>khā.nòj</i> 'I(m/f)' and <i>phu.cáw</i> 'you (m/f)'	97	46%
<i>khòj</i> 'I(m/f)' and <i>cáw</i> 'you (m/f)'	115	54%
Total	212	100%

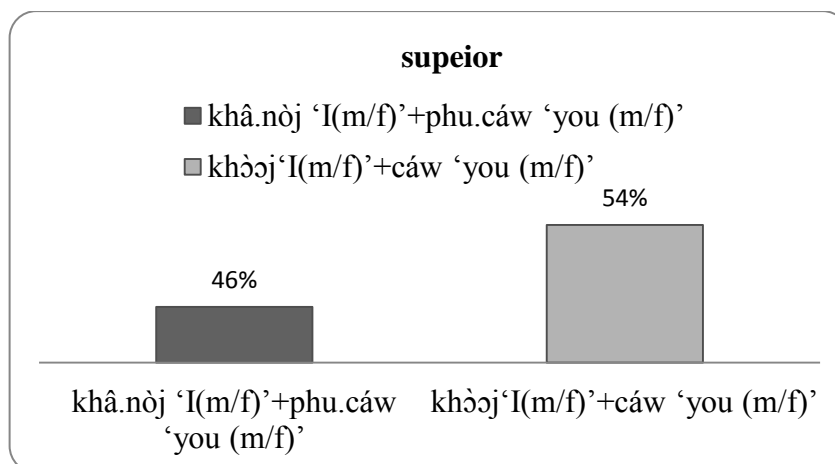


Figure 6.1: The frequency of the paired personal pronoun used when speaking to a person of superior status

From the above table and figure, we can draw some conclusions that between the two pairs of personal pronouns, the more common pair when talking to the addressee of higher status is the personal pronouns *khòj* 'I(m/f)' and *cáw* 'you (m/f)' (up to 54%) while the other pair *khâ.nòj* 'I(m/f)' and *phu.cáw* 'you (m/f)' is less common (only 46%). The following are some example to show how these personal pronouns were used.

Pronouns *khòj* 'I(m/f)' and *cáw* 'you (m/f)' are mainly found when talking to a higher addressee as illustrated in sentence 1)

1) *khòj cáw? maa ni.mun túu.pii*

I will come invite monk

“I am coming to invite monks.”

Sentence 1) shows that pronoun *khòj* 'I(m/f)' is spoken by a male speaker when he is talking to a monk who is considered higher than the speaker due to his membership to Buddhist society.

2) *cáw kin saŋ juu nii*

you eat what stay PART

“What are you eating?”

khòj ɣaw kɛ̃ɛŋ maa hɪ̃
 I bring curry come give

“I brought (you) some curry.”

Sentence 2) illustrates the use of pronoun *cáw* ‘you (m/f)’ as spoken by a young female speaker when asking her father what he is eating and referred to himself as *khòj* ‘I(m/f)’. It clearly seems that pronoun *cáw* ‘you (m/f)’ is mainly used to address the superior interlocutors.

Pronouns *khâ.nòj* ‘I(m/f)’ and *phu.cáw* ‘you (m/f)’ are also used when talking to a superior addressee as shown below.

3) *luk khâ.nòj cɛ̃p.tɔ̃ŋ*
 child I stomachache

“My child has a stomachache.”

Sentence 3) shows that a male Tai Lue speaker chooses pronoun *khâ.nòj* ‘I(m/f)’ when talking to his employer, considered socially higher than the speaker himself. This shows that pronoun *khâ.nòj* ‘I(m/f)’ is used to show the asymmetrical relationship between the conversation participants.

Another example pronoun forms *khâ.nòj* ‘I(m/f)’ and *phu.cáw* ‘you (m/f)’ used to address an interlocutor of higher status in a conversation as illustrated in sentence 4) below.

4) *phu.cáw cà? hɪ̃ khâ.nòj het saŋ*
 you will give I do what

“What do you want me to do?”

Sentence 4) shows the use of pronoun *phu.cáw* ‘you (m/f)’, which is commonly paired with first pronoun *khâ.nòj* ‘I (m/f)’. The speaker chooses the pronoun *phu.cáw* ‘you (m/f)’ when asking her boss, who is considered higher in social status than the speaker

herself. It should be noted that the difference between these two pairs is the intimacy between the speaker and the addressee as discussed further in 6.2.

6.1.2 Single personal pronouns when talking to/ about a person of superior status

In addition to the previously mentioned paired personal pronouns, it seems that gender exclusive pronouns *phóm* 'I (m)' and *khā.cāw* 'I(f)' are also related to the relative status between the conversation participants. They are used when talking to superior addressees to show the speaker's respect as in the following examples 5) and 6); sentence 5) was spoken to the class teacher while sentence 6) was spoken to a village leader. Both addressees are considered higher than the speakers in term of social status.

5) *phóm ca? mii taan.bun tii bǎan*
 I will have almsgiving place house

"I am going to organize an almsgiving at my place."

Sentence 5) illustrates the use of pronoun *phóm* 'I (m)' by a male speaker when talking to his class teacher to invite her to join the ceremony at his place. The speaker chooses the form *phóm* 'I (m)' to show respect to the addressee, in this case his teacher.

6) *khā.cāw ɔaw khàwmaa hìi*
 I take rice come give

"I brought (you) some rice"

Pronoun *khā.cāw* 'I (f)' is chosen by a female speaker to refer to self when she is bringing a village leader some rice.

Apart from first and second person pronouns, a third person pronoun *tāan* (he/she), similar to the finding of Ampornpan (1986), is used to refer to a referent of higher status in a conversation as shown in sentence 7)

7) *ɔaw jaa hìi tāan kin*

take medicine give he eat

“(I) came to bring him medicine.”

Sentence 7) is spoken by a CML speaker who is talking about a monk at the temple. Even though the addressee in the example is a monk, whose status is very high in Buddhist society, the pronoun *tāan* ‘he/she’ is regularly used to address a non-monk. The third person pronoun *tāan* ‘he/she’ is commonly used in the dialect of Chiang Mai to show an asymmetrical relationship between the speaker who is lower and a referent that is higher in terms of rank or age.

To sum up, Table 6.3 summarizes the personal pronouns in a situation of speaking to a superior addressee.

Table 6.3: Personal pronouns when talking to a person of superior status

Forms	First	Second	Third
Paired personal pronouns	<i>khāa.nòj</i> ‘I(m/f)’	<i>phu.cáw</i> ‘you (m/f)’	-
	<i>khòɔj</i> ‘I(m/f)’	<i>cáw</i> ‘you (m/f)’	
Single personal pronouns	<i>phóm</i> ‘I (m)’	<i>khā.cāw</i> ‘I (f)’	<i>tāan</i> ‘he/she’

6.1.3 Pronominal choice when talking to a person of non-superior status

The addressee of non- superior status refers to those whose status is equal or lower than that of the speakers. In contrast to the forms selected in the conversation to a person of higher status, the personal pronouns frequently chosen in conversation between the equal participants or when talking to a person of lower status, the Tai Lue speakers tend to choose these pairs of pronouns 1) *tuu* ‘I(m/f)’ and *sùu* ‘you (m/f)’ 2) *kuu* ‘I(m/f)’ and *miŋ* ‘you (m/f)’ 3) *haa* ‘I (m/f)’ and *khij* ‘you (m/f)’ as summarized in Table 6.4 below.

Table 6.4: The frequency of the paired personal pronouns when talking to a person of non-superior status

Forms	Frequency	%
<i>tuu</i> 'I(m/f)' and <i>sùu</i> 'you (m/f)'	45	8%
<i>haa</i> 'I (m/f)' and <i>khij</i> 'you (m/f)'	249	43%
<i>kuu</i> 'I(m/f)' and <i>mij</i> 'you (m/f)'	281	49%
Total	575	100%

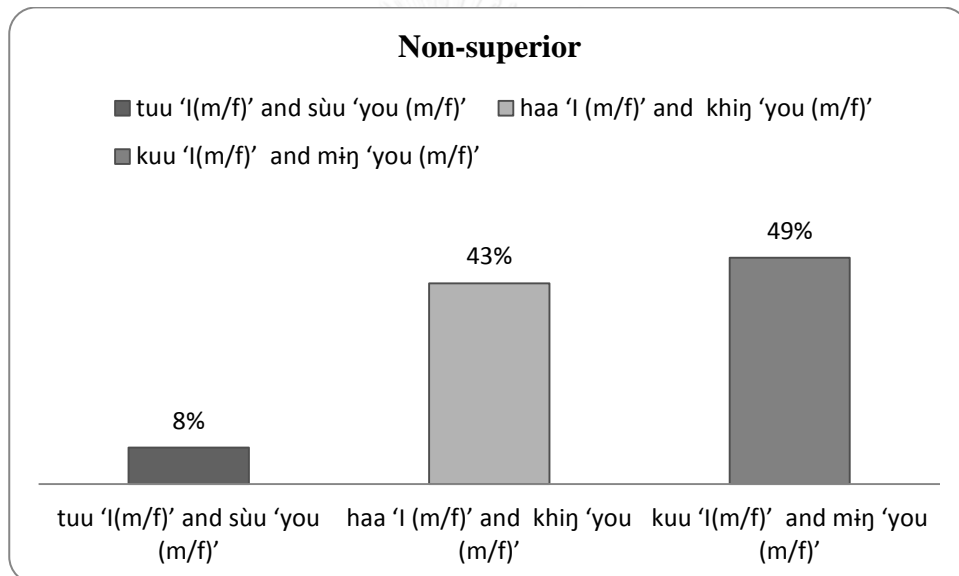


Figure 6.2: The frequency of the paired personal pronouns when talking to a person of non-superior status

From the above table, the most common paired personal pronouns in a conversation to an addressee of non-superior status is the paired personal pronouns *kuu* 'I(m/f)' and *mij* 'you (m/f)' (up to 49%) and the least common pair is *tuu* 'I(m/f)' and *sùu* 'you (m/f)'. The following sentences are some examples showing how these pairs of pronouns used in a conversation.

Pronouns *kuu* 'I(m/f)' and *mij* 'you (m/f)' are the most common pair of first and second person pronouns respectively when talking among friends of equal status. They are

more frequently spoken among young male speakers such as among friends and co-workers. For example,

- 8) *kuu bɔɔ hɛi miŋ kin*
 I NEG give you eat
 “I don’t let you eat (something).”

Sentence 8) is in a conversation between two male students. The speaker is trying to stop his friend from taking his snacks, so he chooses the pronouns *kuu* ‘I(m/f)’ and *miŋ* ‘you (m/f)’ because the speaker and the addressee are in a symmetric relationship as classmates.

From the interviews and observations, it was found that these first and second person pronouns *kuu* ‘I(m/f)’ and *miŋ* ‘you (m/f)’ when spoken by the middle or the old generations, are frequently used when talking to an inferior addressee. For example,

- 9) *kuu bɔɔk miŋ lɛw bɔɔ*
 I tell you already PART
 “I told you, didn’t I?”

Sentence 9) is spoken by a father who is telling to his son that he had warned him before he made a mistake. The speaker tends to use pronouns *kuu* and *miŋ* in order to emphasize the asymmetrical relationship in which the addressee, the son, is younger than the speaker, or the father. However, it should be noted at this point that, from the interviews, the use of pronouns *kuu* ‘I (m/f)’ and *miŋ* ‘you (m/f)’ in a family conversation is not considered rude or aggressive.

Another pair of personal pronoun commonly found in a conversation between the equal participants are *haa* ‘I (m/f)’ and *khiŋ* ‘you (m/f)’

- 10) *khiŋ nap lik daj káa*
 you count number acquire PART
 “Can you count (a number)?”

Sentence 10) was spoken by a primary student when asking his classmate teasingly if the latter can count or not. In this case, the participants are considered equal in terms of social rank, namely primary students of similar age; they are both about 10 years old.

Sentence 11) shows the use of the pronouns *haa* 'I (m/f)' and *khiŋ* 'you (m/f)' in a conversation to a person of lower status as exemplified in the following sentence.

- 11) *khiŋ maa cɔ́j haa jɛʔ taan.bun*
 you come help I make almsgiving
 “You come to help me organize the almsgiving (please).”

Sentence 11) was spoken when the speaker asked her worker to come to help her arrange the almsgiving at home.

According to Figure 6.2 above, it is seen that the two pairs of personal pronouns *haa* 'I (m/f)' - *khiŋ* 'you (m/f)' and *kuu* 'I (m/f)' - *miŋ* 'you (m/f)' are used with a nearly equal proportion (43% and 49% respectively). However, when focusing on the age of the speakers in Chapter 5, statistics analysis ($\chi^2 = 10.75$ d.f.2 $p < 0.01$) confirms that the speakers of different generations have their preferred personal pronouns as repeated in Figure 6.3 below. (See 5.1.3 for further details.)

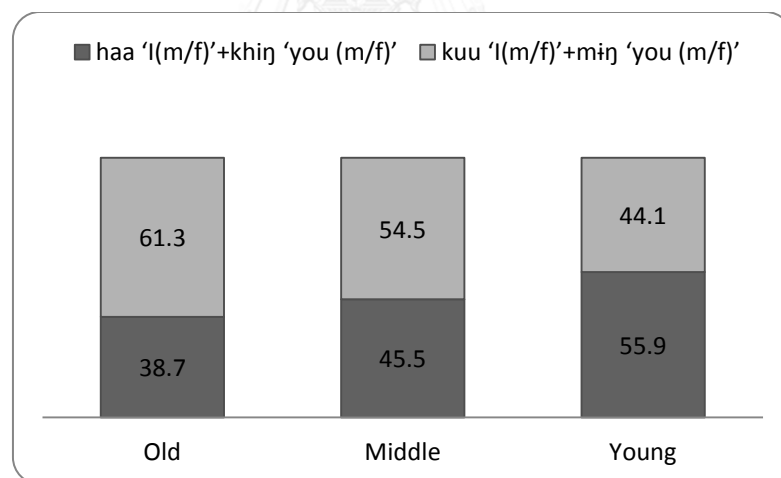


Figure 6.3: percentage of paired pronouns *kuu* 'I(m/f)'- *miŋ* 'you(m/f)' and *hāa* 'I(m/f)'- *khiŋ* 'you(m/f)' by age groups

This finding helps us differentiate these pairs of personal pronouns in Tai Lue. The personal pronouns *kuu* 'I (m/f)' - *miŋ* 'you (m/f)' are used in preference to the other pair by the speaker of the old generation. In contrast, the young generation tends to prefer the personal pronouns *haa* 'I (m/f)' - *khiŋ* 'you (m/f)' to the *kuu* 'I (m/f)' - *miŋ* 'you (m/f)'. To address this issue, I have noticed that during the fieldwork, when the young speakers used the pronouns *kuu* 'I (m/f)' and *miŋ* 'you (m/f)', they were

stigmatized by their parents (the middle generation). As a result, they prefer to choose the pronouns *haa* 'I (m/f)' and *khiŋ* 'you (m/f)' while the old generation, admitting during the interviews, suggested that the pronouns the *kuu* 'I (m/f)' - *miŋ* 'you (m/f)', especially in a family conversation, are not related to negative attitude or offensiveness. This finding is similar to that of Ampornpan (1986) which stated that the personal pronoun *kuu* 'I (m/f)' is not considered impolite or rude.

Another pronoun pair which is found in Tai Lue is the first person pronoun *tuu* 'I (m/f)' and the second person *sùu* 'you (m/f)', uniquely found in Xishuangbanna, and they are commonly used in a conversation between participants of equal status as shown in the following example.

- 12) *tuu caʔ ʔaw cin ʔaw phàk paj hìi*
 I will take meat take vegetable go give
 "I will bring (you) meat and vegetable."

Sentence 12) illustrates the use of pronoun *tuu* 'I(m/f)' by a XBL speaker when talking to an equal participant, her neighbor in the same village, when the latter asked her to come to the almsgiving. They are in the same generation and have known each other for several years.

6.1.4 Single personal pronouns when talking to/ about a person of non-superior status

The third person pronouns found in the situation when talking to a person of non-superior are 1) *khāw* 'he/she' 2) *man* 'it'. The first personal pronoun refers to a referent whose status is equal to that of the speaker while the third person pronoun *man* 'it' refers to a referent of lower status than that of the speaker. The following examples show how these single pronouns are used in a conversation.

Pronoun *khāw* 'he/she', found only in the Luang Prabang dialect, is a third person pronoun referring to a referent whose social status is equal to that of the speaker. For example,

- 20) *khāw bə̀ɔ mak hen lik*
 he NEG like study number

6.1.5 General pronouns

From the data analysis, it is found that paired personal pronouns *p̀̀n* [+first] and *tóo* ‘you (m/f)’ are not affected by the status of the addressee but, as mentioned formerly in chapter 5, by the gender of the speakers instead.

Pronoun *p̀̀n* [+first] and *tóo* ‘you (m/f)’ are female-preferential pronouns in Tai Lue. They can be used when talking to an addressee of both superior and non-superior status as confirmed in Table 6.6 below.

Table 6.6: The frequency of the personal pronouns *p̀̀n* [+first] and *tóo* ‘you (m/f)’ as general pronouns

Forms	Superior Addressee		Non-superior addressee	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<i>p̀̀n</i> [+first] - <i>tóo</i> ‘you (m/f)’	48	36%	86	64%

In a conversation to a person of superior status, the paired person pronouns *p̀̀n* [+first] and *tóo* ‘you (m/f)’ can be used as exemplified in example 22) below

- 22) *p̀̀n maw.hoo khoot*
 I dizzy INTENSIFIER
 “I felt terribly dizzy (today).”

Sentence 22) spoken by a younger female siblings when talking to her older relative that she had a terrible headache.

Personal pronouns *p̀̀n* [+first] and *tóo* ‘you (m/f)’, more common among female speakers, can be used in conversations such as between friends whose status is equal as illustrated below.

- 23) *p̀̀n hũu tóo b̀̀o mak kin jaa*
 I know you NEG like eat medicine
 “I know you don’t like to take medicine.”

Sentence 23) is spoken in a conversation between two female cousins who are about at the same age (at their early twenties).

Sometimes pronouns *p̀̀n* [+first] and *tóo* ‘you (m/f)’ are found in a conversation to an interlocutor of lower status, but from the observation, they were mostly found in family conversations.

24) *tóo ɔaw ɲ̀̀n p̀̀n paj káa*
 you take money I go PART

“You took my money, right?”

Pronouns *p̀̀n* [+ first] and *tóo* ‘you (m/f)’ were chosen in this conversation (24) between two siblings when a female speaker is asking her younger sister if the latter has taken her money.

Another general pronoun is the third person *p̀̀n* [+third]. It is used to refer of a third party whose status is either superior or non-superior to that of the speakers as exemplified in the following examples.

25) *khuu p̀̀n h̄̀i maa wān.phűk*
 teacher he give come tomorrow

“Teacher (she) asked to come tomorrow.”

Example 25) was spoken by a student when mentioning his teacher. The third person pronoun *p̀̀n* was used to refer to the teacher as a noun in apposition. Other two examples are shown below when the third person pronoun *p̀̀n* [+third] can be used to refer to a third party whose status is equal or lower than the speaker.

26) *P̀̀n pī́.wā̄ b̀̀ ̄̀ maa*
 he to.be.cold NEG come

“He got cold and didn’t come (to school).”

27) *P̀̀n paj ɔaw kã̄p maa ka?*
 He go take shoes come Question

“He went to take his shoes?”

Sentence 26) was spoken by a Tai Lue speaker talking about his classmate who was absent from the class that day since he got cold. While sentence 27) was spoken by a parent mentioning about her daughter and choose the third person pronoun *Pɔ̀n* when mentioning her son.

In summary, the general pronouns in Tai Lue consist of the paired pronouns *pɔ̀n* [+ first] and *tóo* 'you (m/f)' and the third person pronoun *pɔ̀n* [+ third].

6.2 Personal pronouns differentiated by intimacy between the participants

Intimacy is the other major interpersonal factor determining the choice of personal pronouns. According to Cooke (1967: 27), intimacy refers to “*the interpersonal closeness felt or expressed by one’s use of terms*”. It may include the feeling of affection and endearment in some cases. It should be noted that there are various degrees of intimacy (Cooke, 1967 and Palakornkul, 1972). Palakornkul (1972) divides the degree of intimacy into three levels marked by features [+very intimate], [+intimate] and [-intimate]. They are reflected in the choice of pronouns in Standard Thai. In a conversation between two friends, the personal pronoun forms *khun* ‘you (m/f)’ and *phǒm* ‘I(m)’ can be found if their relationship is non-intimate. If they are intimate enough, the personal pronouns would become various such as *kháw* ‘I (m/f)’ and *kɛɛ* ‘you (m/f)’, *raw* ‘we’ and *thəə* ‘you (m/f)’, etc. Finally, if they are very intimate, they tend to apply pronouns *kuu* ‘I(m/f)’ and *miŋ* ‘you (m/f)’ in the conversation.

The degree of intimacy may be implied from two aspects between the participants, the length of time of acquaintance (Palakornkul, 1972:76) and solidarity. It is assumed that longer the participants know each other; the higher the degree of intimacy is applied. Moreover, solidarity also marks the degree of intimacy. If the participants share solidarity such as classmates at the same room, they tend to be more intimate than those from different classrooms. This implication is also applied to Tai Lue society. In this study, the intimacy of the participants is determined by the role of the speakers by their length of time of acquaintance and solidarity. In other words, if the participants know each other for a long time and also share the solidarity such as classmates or neighbors or among family members, they are assumed to be intimate.

As mentioned above, the paired personal pronouns *khəj* ‘*I(m/f)*’ and *cáw* ‘*you (m/f)*’, used in a conversation to an addressee of higher status, can show the intimate relationship between the participants such as in a family conversation, as exemplified in sentence 2) repeated below

2) *cáw* *kin* *saŋ* *juu* *nii*
 you eat what stay PART

“What are you eating?”

khəj *ɣaw* *kɛɛŋ* *maa* *hɛi*
 I bring curry come give

“I brought (you) some curry.”

Sentence 28) is another example of the paired personal pronoun *khəj* ‘*I(m/f)*’ and *cáw* ‘*you (m/f)*’

The first personal pronoun *khàa* ‘*I(m/f)*’ referring to the speaker when talking to an intimate addressee as illustrated in sentence 13) spoken by a XBL speaker below.

13) *khàa* *caʔ* *maa* *khəj* *nām* *kin*
 I will come request water eat
 “I’m coming to ask for some drinking water.”

Sentence 13) was spoken by a male XBL speaker when asking to an older neighbor. It is noticed that the speaker selected the first person pronoun *khàa* ‘*I(m/f)*’ to show their intimacy between the participants even though the addressee, his neighbor, was older than him. It is possible that the relationship between them is symmetrical due to the power equality. Even though the speaker is younger than the addressee, he did not consider himself as lower in status since they are neighbors, not subordinates. In contrast, he chose the first person pronoun *khàa* ‘*I(m/f)*’ because they have known each other for a long time.

Pronoun *ʔeeŋ* 'I (m/f)' is uniquely found only in the TL dialect of Chiang Mai. It is commonly used to show affection and endearment when talking to older intimate addressee, mostly to family members. For example,

- 29) *ʔeeŋ càʔ paj looŋ.lian léw*
 I will go school already
 "I am leaving to school."

Sentence 29) is spoken by a female Tai Lue speaker when talking to her father to let him know that she is leaving to school. The speaker chose the pronoun *ʔeeŋ* 'I(m/f)' to show endearment towards her father.

Another interesting personal pronoun in an intimate conversation is the first person pronoun *haw* [-plural]. When being used to denote an individual speaker, pronoun *haw* [-plural] conveys a sense of intimacy in CML and LPL, as exemplified in the sentence below.

- 30) *haw hǔu wāa tóo bǎ̀ maa*
 I know COMP you NEG come
 "I know you didn't come."

Sentence 30) shows that pronoun *haw* [-plural] can denote an individual speaker as a self-referring term. The speaker, a 10- year- old CML informant, is talking to his close friend after his friend said he could not go to the informant's place. From the interview, they have been classmates for years, so the informant decides to use pronoun *haw* [-plural] in the conversation to show their social closeness. By calculating from the overall tokens of the first person pronoun *haw* gathered from the interview, Table 6.7 compares the frequency of the first person pronoun *haw* between the feature [+plural] and the feature [-plural] indicating the intimacy between the participants.

Table 6.7: The frequency of two variants of personal pronoun *haw*

Forms	Frequency	Percentage
<i>haw</i> [+plural]	142	53.79%
<i>haw</i> [-plural] [+intimate]	122	46.21%
Total	264	100.00%

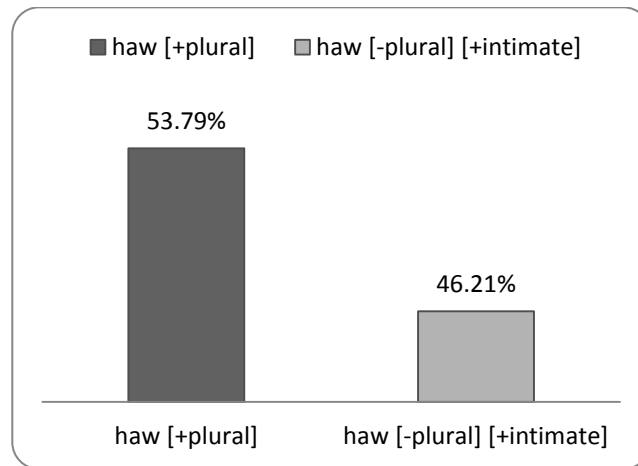


Figure 6.4: The frequency of two variants of personal pronoun *haw*

Even though the first person plural [+plural] is more common than the singular [-plural] indicating the intimacy, it is obviously seen that the Tai Lue speakers choose the latter to show social relationship between them.

To conclude, intimacy is another major factor determining the pronominal choice in a conversation. It shows social closeness between participants including the speaker's affection or endearment towards the addressee. However, it seems that the intimacy factor does not influence the choice of third person pronouns. The use of intimate pronouns in Tai Lue can be summarized into the following table.

Table 6.8: Intimate pronouns in Tai Lue

First Person	Second person	Situation
<i>khəj</i> 'I(m/f)'	<i>caw</i> 'you(m/f)'	Spoken to a person of higher status
<i>khàa</i> 'I(m/f)'	-	Only found in XBL
<i>ʔeeŋ</i> 'I(m/f)'	-	Only found in a family conversation in CML No longer used by

		the middle and young generations
<i>haw</i> [-plural] [+intimate]	-	Found only in CML and LPL Only spoken by the middle and the young generations

6.3 Summary

This chapter mainly describes the correlation between the social relationships of the conversation participants, namely relative status and the intimacy between the speakers and the addressee, and the Tai Lue pronominal choice. However, the data analysis shows that in the real-life conversation, the pronominal choice is affected by both the social characteristics, described in chapter 5 and the social relationship, described in this present chapter. I will conclude the social factors affecting the pronoun choice of Tai Lue speakers.

Table 6.9: Semantic features of Tai Lue personal pronouns

<i>Grammatical features</i>	
Person	Meanings
+first	Speaker
+second	Addressee
+third	Third party
Grammaticalgender	Meanings
+masculine	Marked by masculinity
-masculine	Marked by femininity
+neutral	Unmarked by grammatical gender
Number	Meanings
+plural	A group of referents
-Plural	Single entity
<i>Social factors</i>	
Generation	Meanings

(-/+) old	(not) Preferred by the old generation
(-/+) middle	(not) Preferred by the middle generation
(-/+) young	(not) Preferred by the young generation
Gender-preferential	Meanings
+male preferential	Preferred by male speakers
-male preferential	Preferred by female speakers
+mixed	Used by both genders
Relative status	Meanings
+superior	Spoken to a person of higher status
-superior	Spoken to a person of equal and lower status
+general	Spoken in general context
Intimacy	Meanings
+intimate	Showing intimate relationship
-intimate	Not showing intimate relationship

Table 6.9 summarizes the meanings of componential analysis of Tai Lue personal pronouns. There are two important factors, namely grammatical features as fully described in chapter 4 earlier. The other is the social factor as described in Chapter 5 and 6. The inherent social characteristics include the region of the speakers, the generation and the gender of the speakers while the social relationship consists of the relative status and the intimacy between the speakers. The following table (Table 6.10) analyzes the componential analysis of Tai Lue personal pronouns to deconstruct the meanings and the usage.

Table 6.10: Componential analysis of Tai Lue personal pronouns

Grammatical Features			Generation				Situation	
Person	Gender	Number	Generation			Gender-preferential	Status	Intimacy
			Old	Middle	Young			
+first	+neutral	-plural	+old	+middle	+young	+mixed	+superior	+intimate
+first	+neutral	-plural	+old	-middle	-young	+mixed	+general	+intimate
+first	+neutral	-plural	-old	+middle	+young	+mixed	-superior	+intimate
+first	+neutral	-plural	+old	+middle	-young	+male preferential	-superior	+intimate
+first	+neutral	-plural	-old	+middle	+young	+mixed	+general	+intimate
+first	+masculine	-plural	-old	+middle	+young	+male preferential	+superior	-intimate
+first	-masculine	-plural	-old	+middle	+young	-male preferential	+superior	-intimate
+first	+neutral	-plural	-old	+middle	+young	-male preferential	+general	+intimate
+first	+neutral	-plural	+old	+middle	-young	+mixed	+superior	-intimate
+first	+neutral	-plural	+old	+middle	+young	+mixed	-superior	+intimate
+first	+neutral	-plural	+old	+middle	+young	+mixed	-superior	-intimate
+first	+neutral	+plural	+old	+middle	+young	+mixed	+general	
+second	+neutral	-plural	-old	+middle	+young	+mixed	-superior	+intimate
+second	+neutral	-plural	+old	+middle	+young	+mixed	-superior	-intimate
+second	+neutral	-plural	+old	+middle	-young	+male preferential	-superior	+intimate
+second	+neutral	-plural	-old	+middle	+young	-male preferential	+general	+intimate
+second	+neutral	-plural	+old	+middle	-young	+mixed	+superior	-intimate
+second	+neutral	-plural	+old	+middle	+young	+mixed	+superior	+intimate
+third	+neutral	-plural	+old	+middle	-young	+mixed	+superior	
+third	+neutral	-plural	+old	+middle	+young	+mixed	-superior	
+third	+neutral	-plural	+old	+middle	+young	+mixed	+general	
+third	+neutral	-plural	+old	+middle	+young	+mixed	-superior	

To conclude, this chapter analyzes how the social relationship between the participants affects the pronominal choice of Tai Lue speakers. The first factor is the relative status between the speakers divided into a conversation to 1) superior addressee whose status is higher than that of that speaker and 2) non-superior addressee whose status is equal or lower than that of the speakers. The other factor refers to the intimacy between the participants indicating their social closeness.

The next chapter will talk about change in progress of Tai Lue personal pronouns across age groups to predict the patterned direction of change.

CHAPTER 7

CHANGE IN PROGRESS IN TAI LUE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

In chapter 4, I presented the results of the analysis of the inherent grammatical meanings of Tai Lue personal pronouns. However, it was observed that only the inherent grammatical features were not enough to differentiate all the Tai Lue pronouns because they also have social meanings. Therefore, in Chapters 5 and 6, I analyzed the social meanings of Tai Lue pronouns, and found the social dimensions that distinguish one pronoun from the others are the relative status and the intimacy between the participants. In this chapter, I will interpret change in progress from the findings of the social variation of Tai Lue pronouns in the previous chapters.

Observing the personal pronoun choice of speakers from three generations, we can see that they have their preferred personal pronoun forms. We can infer from this generational difference that the Tai Lue personal pronouns are facing change in progress. For example, the first person pronoun *haw* 'we', when being used by the old generation, is commonly used with the plural meaning referring to a group of referents while among the middle and young generations it is used with singular meaning indicating the intimate relationship between the conversation participants. The next section will describe the pattern of change in progress in Tai Lue personal pronouns.

7.1 Social factors determining the Tai Lue personal pronouns

Previously Chapter 5 and 6 show how social factors influence the choice of personal pronouns in Tai Lue as summarized in Figure 7.1 below.

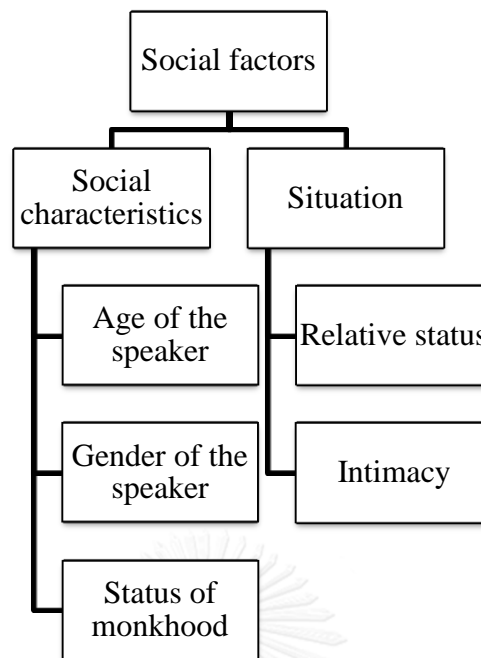


Figure 7.1: Social factor influencing Tai Lue personal pronouns

The above figure (7.1) summarizes the social meanings of Tai Lue personal pronouns found in this study. They can be divided into two types, namely the social characteristics of the speakers including age and gender of the speaker, and status of monkhood and the social relationship between the speaker and the other participants including relative status and intimacy. The relative status refers to the hierarchical relationship between the speaker and the addressee, divided into superior when talking to a person of higher status and non- superior when talking to a person of equal or lower status. The other factor is intimacy which refers to the social closeness between the participants. These social factors differentiate the personal pronouns in Tai Lue as summarized in Figure 7.1 a and b.

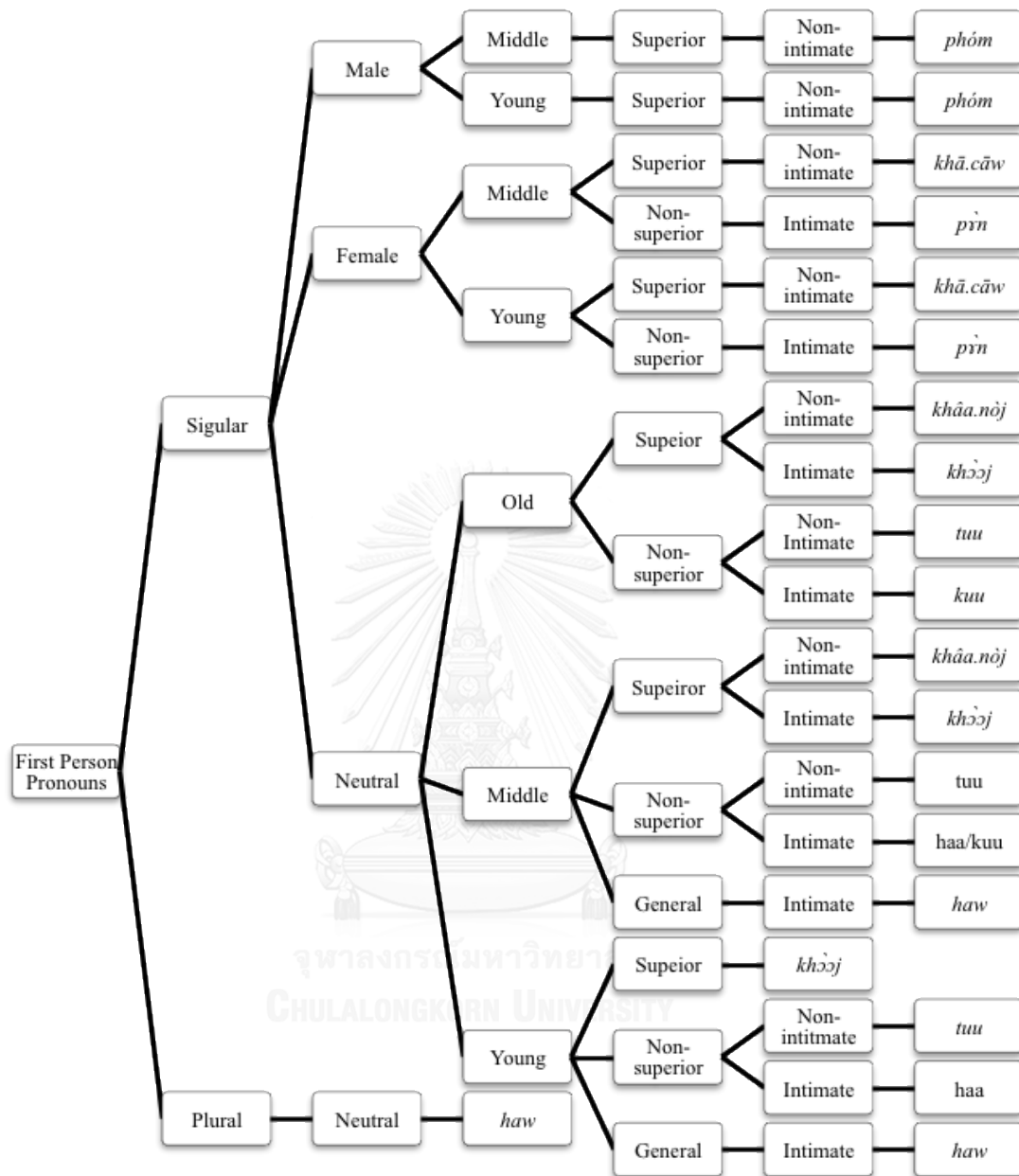


Figure 7.2: a. Componential Analysis of the first person pronouns

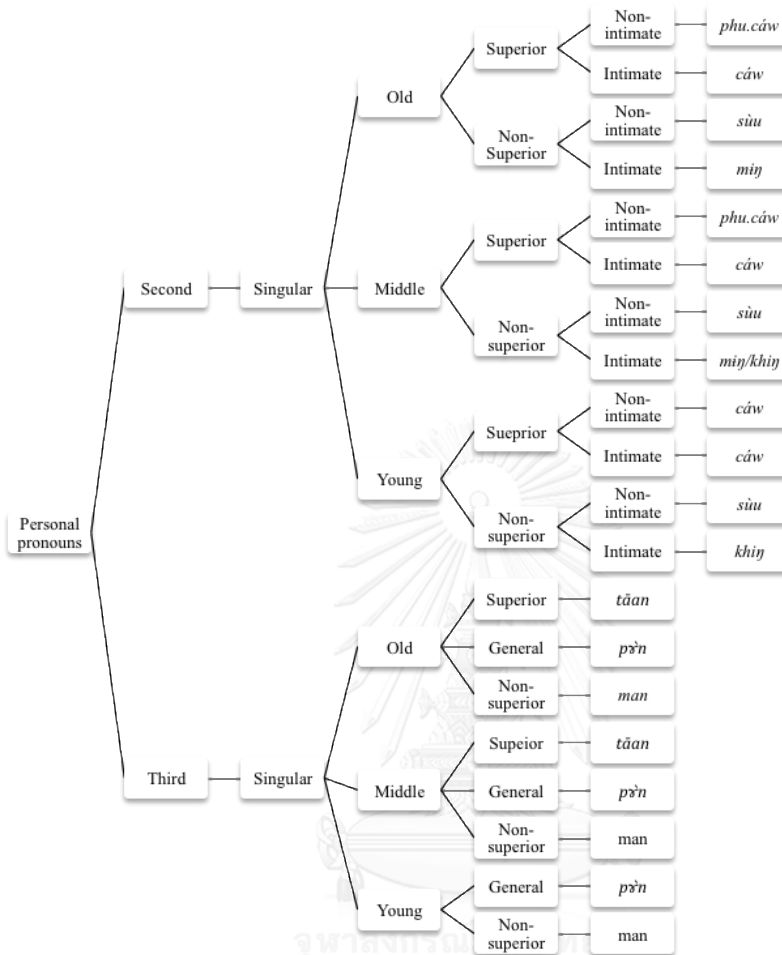


Figure 7.2 : b. Componential Analysis of the second and the third person pronouns

The diagrams above summarize the componential analysis of the Tai Lue personal pronoun. In a dyadic conversation, these features do not separately influence the choice of personal pronouns by the speakers, but they occur as a bundle of features determining the right and appropriate choice of personal pronouns. However, in some conversations, the speaker tends to adjust himself in a proper way to match the relation to the addressee or the situation of the speaking (Palakornkul, 1972). In Tai Lue, the adjustments of the decisive features in pronoun selection are presented as follows.

- 1) Intimacy
- 2) Relative status
- 3) Generations of the speakers

It is interpreted that the speakers tend to choose the right choice of pronouns based on the intimacy between the conversation participants. For example, in a conversation to an addressee of higher status, a middle-aged speaker from Luang Prabang has to consider the social proximity between them. If they are intimate such as a situation talking to an older intimate relative, the speaker tends to choose the first person pronoun *khòj* 'I(m/f)', but when talking to a distant person of higher status, he prefers to choose the pronoun *khâa.nòj* 'I(m/f)' when referring to himself. To conclude, the intimacy plays a role in choice of personal pronouns in Tai Lue as it is a decisive feature determining the right choice of pronoun in a dyadic conversation. However, it is also noticed that in some conversations such as in a formal situation the choice of personal pronouns may be influenced by other prevailing features. For example, in a conversation between two female intimate teachers of equal status, the speaker and the addressee may use the pronouns *pàn* [+first] and *tóo* 'you (m/f)', but when there is a presence of a student in the conversation, the participants may choose other pronominal strategies instead such as using pronouns *khòj* 'I(m/f)' or *khā.cāw* 'I(m/f)' using occupation terms or even using zero form. However, these pronominal strategies require more in-depth studies to clarify and discuss the significance of these spontaneous features.

7.2 Pattern of pronominal change: from grammatical meaning to social focus

One common assumption in studying language change is that it is not possible to observe language change, especially unconscious change (Bright, 2000:83). However, Labov (1972) disagrees with this idea. He insists that language change can be observed through the change in apparent time or the study of language variation of speakers from different age levels. Adopting Labov's point of view, I conducted the study to compare the pronominal choice to predict the language change in Tai Lue spoken by three different age groups.

A large number of studies of personal pronouns such as Head (1978), Siewierska (2004), Agha (2007) agree that the grammatical variation of personal pronouns is related in their social meaning. For example, personal pronouns in Tamil are summarized in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1: Tamil Personal pronouns (Siewierska 2004: 216)

Person	Singular	Plural	Honorific
1person incl.		<i>naampa/naama</i>	<i>naama</i>
excl.	<i>naan</i>	<i>naaga</i>	
2person	<i>nii</i>	<i>niinga</i>	<i>niinga/niir</i>
PROX 3person			
M	<i>ivan</i>	<i>ivanga</i>	<i>ivanru</i>
F	<i>iva</i>	<i>ivanga</i>	<i>ivanga</i>
N	<i>idu</i>		
DIST 3person			
M	<i>avan</i>	<i>avanga</i>	<i>avaru</i>
F	<i>ava</i>	<i>avanga</i>	<i>avanga</i>
N	<i>adu</i>		

Tamil personal pronouns are divided into two sets. The first set is the group used in general contexts, and the second set shows high deference of the speakers, known as the honorific forms. It is seen that the members of the plural forms are commonly

used to show social respect to the addressee or the referent such as the second person *niinga* ‘you’ used to address a single person showing social respect. In European languages, Brown and Gilman (1960) also find a similar pattern in which the second person pronouns T and V are used to indicate the solidarity and power inequality respectively between the participants. (See Chapter 2 for further details). This current study also finds the same pattern in which the grammatical meanings have been simplified and shifted to social meanings as described below.

7.2.1 Personal pronoun *haw* ‘we’

Previous chapters (Chapter 5 and 6) show us the influence of social factors to pronominal change in Tai Lue. For example, the first person plural *haw* [+plural] is significantly used with singular meaning [-plural] by the middle and the young generations to show some sense of intimacy. Table 7.3 e can conclude that the use of the personal pronoun *haw* with two different meanings. The first person plural pronoun ‘we’ [+plural] and the first person singular pronoun ‘*I(m/f)*’ [-plural] indicating the intimacy between the participants [+intimate]

Table 7.2: The frequency of the pronoun *haw* [-plural] [+intimate] across generations

Meaning	Old	Middle	Young
Singular with intimacy	8	45	69
Percentage	6.56	36.89	56.56

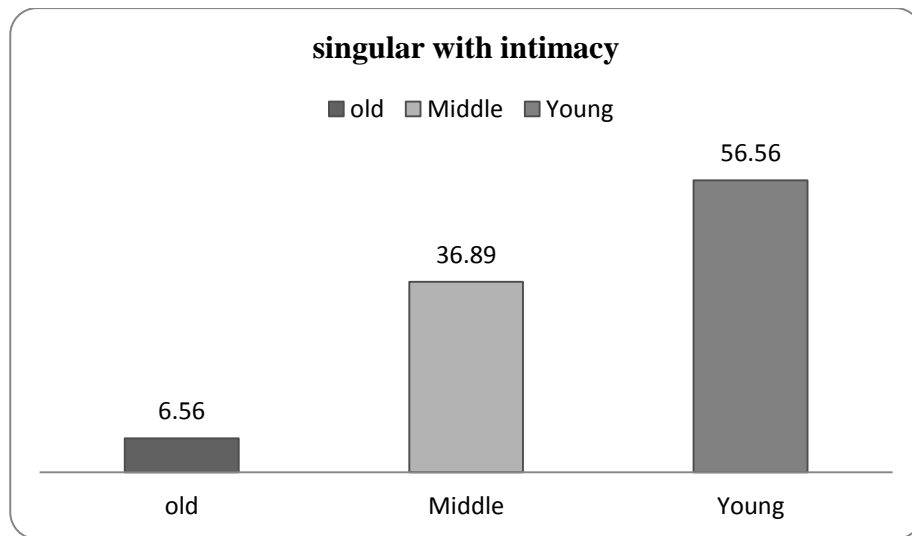


Figure 7.3: The frequency of the pronoun *haw* [-plural][+intimate] across generations

Table 7.3 and Figure 7.2 compare the use of the first person singular *haw* 'I (m/f)' indicating intimacy among the participants. The result shows that the young generation tends to use it with the highest frequency (up to 56% of all the singular pronoun *haw*) while the old generation uses it with less than 7% of all singular pronoun *haw*. The middle generation uses it about 37% of all singular pronoun *haw*. When comparing the frequency of the personal pronoun *haw* with the two meanings 'we' and 'I (m/f)' across generations, the speakers from three generations use it in different proportions as summarized in Table 7.3 and Figure 7.4. The old generation use the first person singular *haw* indicating intimacy only 15% while the young generation use it with very high frequency at 58% and the middle use it at 49%.

Table 7.3: The frequency of the first person pronoun *haw* [+plural] and *haw* [-plural][+intimate] across three generations

Meaning	Old		Middle		Young	
	<i>haw</i> [+plural]	45	85%	47	51%	50
<i>haw</i> [-plural] [+intimate]	8	15%	45	49%	69	58%

Total	53	100%	92	100%	119	100%
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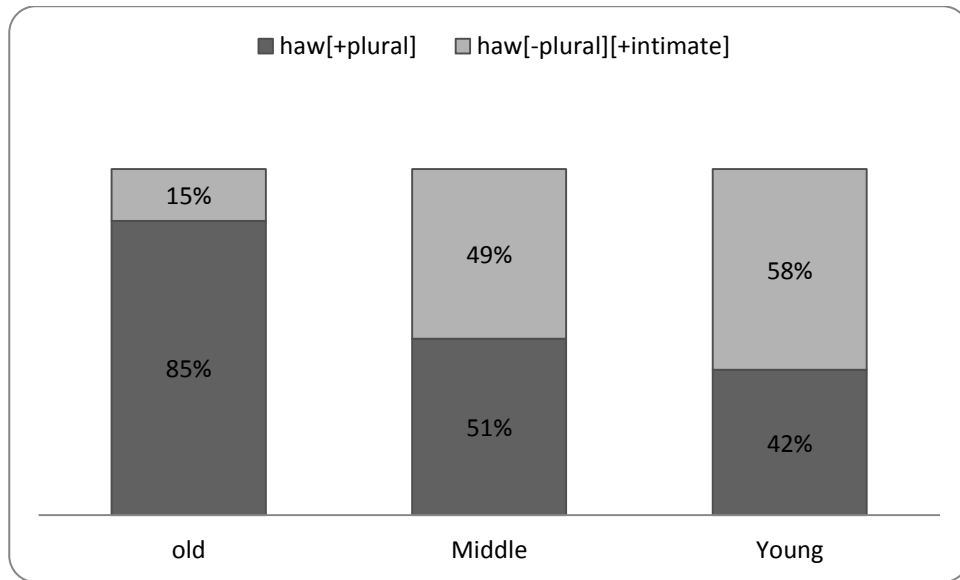


Figure 7.4: The frequency of the first person pronoun *haw* [+plural] and *haw* [-plural][+intimate]

From the data analysis, it can be inferred that the generational difference between three age groups of Tai Lue speakers can lead to change in Tai Lue personal pronoun system, and we can assume that the grammatical meanings (i.e., number) are in the process of shifting to social meanings (i.e., intimacy) in Figure 7.5.

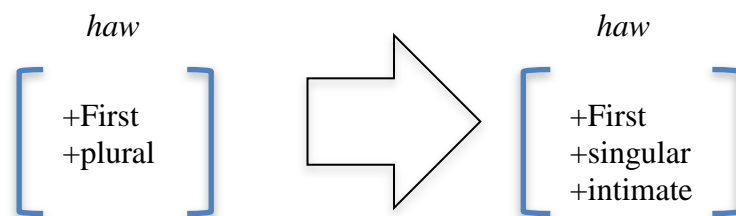


Figure 7.5: On-going change from grammatical meanings to social meanings of pronoun *haw*

The empirical study reveals that the speakers from different generations differ significantly in their use of the personal pronouns *haw* [-plural] to indicate intimacy between participants. This difference across generations in pronominal choice is an indication of change in progress in Tai Lue pronouns.

This semantic pattern is not exclusive to Tai Lue. In other Tai languages, the first person plural *raw* ‘we’ in Standard Thai (Cooke, 1968; Higbie & Thinsan, 2003; Kullavanijaya, 2000; Simpson, 1997) the plural pronoun *haw* ‘we’ in Lao (Enfield, 1966) and the first person pronoun *yau*³¹ (Kullavanijaya, 2009). These pronouns share the similar pattern of semantic shift. They all acquire new social meanings as summarized in the following table 7.4.

Table 7.4: A comparison of Tai first person plural pronouns

Meaning	Standard Thai <i>raw</i>	Standard Lao <i>haw</i>	Debao Zhuang <i>yau</i> ³¹	Tai Lue <i>haw</i>
First person plural	✓	✓	✓	✓
First person singular indexing intimacy	✓		✓	✓
First person singular indexing status of monkhood				✓
First person singular lowering formality in a conversation	✓	✓		
Second person singular indexing lower status	✓		✓	

of the addressee				
Generic meaning	✓			

Table 7.4 summarizes the meanings of the first person plural pronoun in four Tai languages. All of them are the first person plural pronouns, but they can be used with singular meaning with some social meanings. Pronouns *raw* ‘we’ in Standard Thai, Debao Zhuang *rau31* ‘we’, and Tai Lue *haw* ‘we’ share the same meaning pattern in which they can be used to refer to a single referent and indicate the intimacy between the participants. But the Standard Thai *raw* ‘we’ and Debao Zhuang *rau31* ‘we’ can also be used as the second person pronoun showing the lower status of the addressee; In Tai Lue that is not possible. The pronoun *haw* in Standard Lao is unique among the three languages. When used with singular meaning by children, it functions to lower the formality in a family conversation (Enfield, 1966). We can draw a conclusion that the first person plural pronouns in Tai languages are shifting to acquire different shades of social meanings.

7.2.2 Personal pronoun *pɔ̀n* ‘he/she’

Another personal pronoun which is used differently by the speakers from three generations is the personal pronoun *pɔ̀n* whose primary meaning is the third person pronoun ‘he/she’. The finding in this study reveals the shift of meaning from the grammatical person to some social meanings. It seems that the personal pronoun *pɔ̀n* ‘he/she’ is basically the third person pronoun [+third], used by all three generations in all three selected areas of fieldwork. However, when being used by the middle and the young generations mostly by females, it is used with singular meaning [+first] in general contexts [+general] and indicating some sense of intimacy.

Table 7.5 and Figure 7.6 compare the use of the personal pronoun *pɔ̀n* ‘he/she’ by speakers from different age groups. Speakers from the old generation do not use the personal pronoun *pɔ̀n* ‘he/she’ as the first person pronoun but only as the third person,

while the speakers from the middle and the young generations use it as the first person at 35% and 55% respectively.

Table 7.5: The frequency of the first person pronoun across three generations

Grammatical meanings	Old		Middle		Young	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<i>p̀̀n</i> [+third]	50	100.00	48	64.86	42	44.21
<i>p̀̀n</i> [+first] [-male] [+intimate]	0	0.00	26	35.14	53	55.79
Total	50	100.00	74	100.00	95	100.00

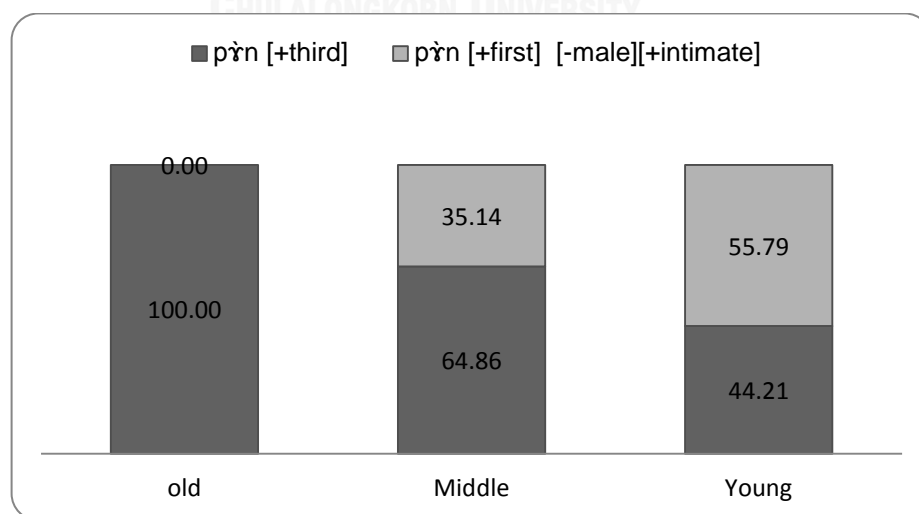


Figure 7.6: The frequency of the first person pronoun across three generations

The pattern of the semantic shift shows how the third person pronoun *p̀̀n* [+third] used in the general context [+general] shifts its meaning to the first person [+first] preferred by female and also indicates some sense of intimacy [+intimate].

This pattern of semantic shift is similar to the third person pronoun *khǎw* ‘he/she’ (with its variant *kháw*) in Standard Thai. According to Cooke (1968) and Haruethaivinyoo (2002), the personal pronoun *khǎw* ‘he/she’ can be used to refer to the speaker as the first person pronoun [+first] normally indexing the intimate relationship between the conversation participants such as between husband and wife (Haruethaivinyoo 2002:165). In addition, Cooke (1968) also states that the use of pronoun *khǎw* [+first] is common by female speakers. As a result, we can conclude that the third person pronoun in some Tai languages can be used as the first person when being used in an intimate conversation by female speakers. However, this gender- preferential usage resulting the shift of meaning requires some in-depth studies to better understand this phenomenon. Figure 7.7 below summarizes the process of shifting of the personal pronoun *p̀̀n* from the third person pronoun [+third] to the first person pronoun [+first].

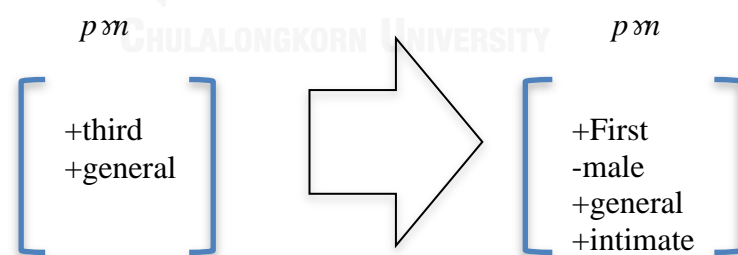


Figure 7.7: On-going change from grammatical meanings to social meanings of pronoun *p̀̀n* ‘he/she’

7.2.3 Personal pronouns *hāa* ‘I(m/f)’- *khin* ‘you(m/f)’ and *kuu* ‘I(m/f)’- *min* ‘you(m/f)’

Apart from the personal pronouns *haw* and *p̀̀n*, the findings in chapter 5 also confirm the generational difference of the paired personal pronouns *hāa* ‘I (m/f)’- *khin* ‘you

(*m/f*) and *kuu* 'I (*m/f*)'- *miŋ* 'you (*m/f*)' as shown ($\chi^2= 10.75$ d.f.2 $p< 0.01$) in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6: The comparisons of the paired personal pronouns *hāa* 'I(*m/f*)'- *khiŋ* 'you(*m/f*) and *kuu* 'I(*m/f*)'- *miŋ* 'you(*m/f*) by age groups

Forms	Old		Middle		Young	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<i>hāa</i> 'I(<i>m/f</i>)'+ <i>khiŋ</i> 'you (<i>m/f</i>)'	65	38.7	80	45.5	104	55.9
<i>kuu</i> 'I(<i>m/f</i>)'+ <i>miŋ</i> 'you (<i>m/f</i>)'	103	61.3	96	54.5	82	44.1
Total	168	100.0	176	100.0	186	100.0

Table 7.6 shows the comparison of the paired pronouns *hāa* 'I (*m/f*)'- *khiŋ* 'you (*m/f*)' and *kuu* 'I (*m/f*)'- *miŋ* 'you (*m/f*)'. The statistical analysis confirms that the speakers from the old generation use the personal pronouns *kuu* 'I (*m/f*)'- *miŋ* 'you (*m/f*)' while the young generation significantly prefers the personal pronouns *hāa* 'I (*m/f*)'- *khiŋ* 'you (*m/f*)'. The possible explanation may be drawn from the fieldwork experience. When I was interviewing the speaker from the young generation, I noticed that the informants often avoided using the personal pronoun *kuu* 'I (*m/f*)'- *miŋ* 'you (*m/f*)', and they admitted that these two pronouns are considered impolite and aggressive. In addition, their parents (who belong to the middle generation) always criticize them when they use such forms. As a result, they select the paired pronouns *hāa* 'I (*m/f*)'- *khiŋ* 'you (*m/f*)' in preference to avoid such stigmatized forms. In contrast, when interviewing the speakers from the old generation, they did not consider these forms *kuu* 'I (*m/f*)'- *miŋ* 'you (*m/f*)' impolite or aggressive. Ampornpan (1987) also found the same result that the pronoun *kuu* 'I (*m/f*)'- *miŋ* 'you (*m/f*)' were not impolite in Tai Lue in Nan province. At this point, we can draw a conclusion that for the old generation, the pronouns *kuu* 'I (*m/f*)'- *miŋ* 'you (*m/f*)' are not stigmatized as impolite and aggressive while for the middle and the young generation tend to avoid using them and prefer to choose the *hāa* 'I (*m/f*)'- *khiŋ* 'you (*m/f*)' I hypothesize that the

attitude of the middle and the young generation towards the personal pronouns *kuu* 'I (m/f)' - *miη* 'you (m/f)' is influenced by the contact of Standard Thai in which the same pair of pronouns are considered vulgar and inappropriate.

7.2.4 Personal pronoun *khə̀əj* 'I(m/f)'

The data analysis shows that the personal pronoun *khə̀əj* 'I(m/f)' can be used with different social meanings when being spoken by the informants from different age levels. In Ampornphan (1986), it is used only when speaking to a monk by a layperson. In this present study, I found that it is used in a conversation to a person of higher status. However, when being used by the speakers from the old and the middle age groups, the personal pronoun *khə̀əj* 'I(m/f)' is used only in an intimate conversation while the young generation tends to employ it in a boarder contexts either with an intimate addressee [+intimate] or a non-intimate one [-intimate]. Table 7.7 and Figure 7.8, counted from the total frequency of only the pronoun *khə̀əj* 'I(m/f)' found from the interview, compare the use of personal pronoun *khə̀əj* 'I(m/f)' across generations.

Table 7.7: The comparison of the personal pronoun *khə̀əj* 'I(m/f)' by age groups

	Old		Middle		Young		Total
	-intimate	+intimate	-intimate	+intimate	-intimate	+intimate	
<i>khə̀əj</i> 'I(m/f)'	0	11	0	9	22	24	66
Percentage	0%	17%	0%	14%	33%	36%	100

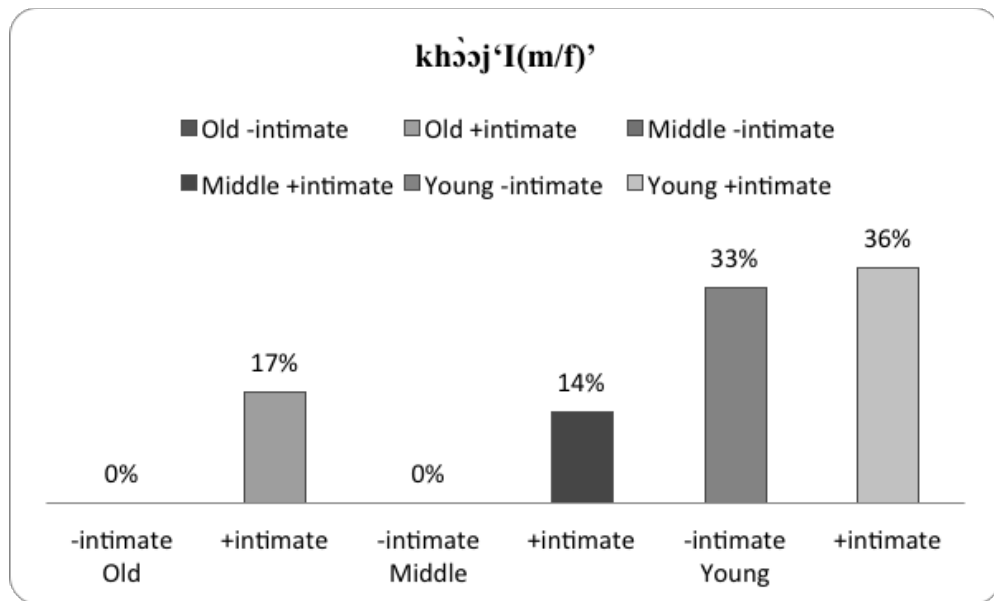


Figure 7.8: The comparison of the personal pronoun *khဲၵ်း 'I(m/f)'* by age groups

In conclusion, the personal pronoun *khဲၵ်း 'I(m/f)'* is used with different shades of meaning by the speakers from different age groups. The old and the middle tend to use it to show intimacy when talking to a person of higher status while the young speakers also use it when talking to a person of higher, but the intimacy is not the major determinant. It can be interpreted that the personal pronoun *khဲၵ်း 'I(m/f)'* is facing an on-going change in its meaning as illustrated in Figure 7.9.

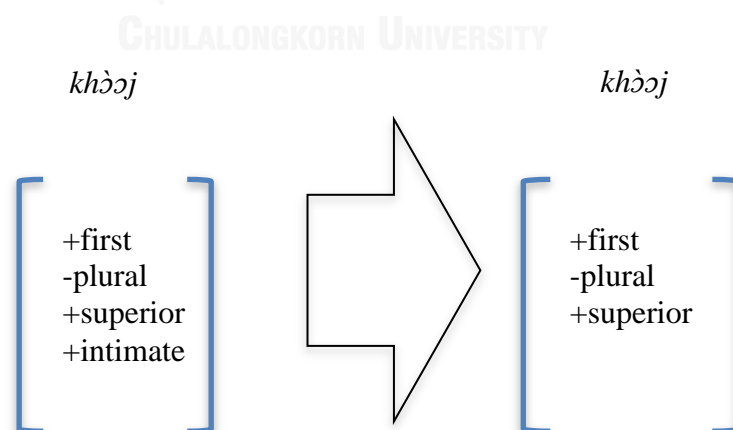


Figure 7.9: The on-going change of the personal pronoun *khဲၵ်း 'I(m/f)'*

Overall, this study of Tai Lue personal pronouns shows the generational difference between the speakers from three age levels. The findings show that the social factors of pronominal choice are the determinant triggering the change in progress of personal pronouns (See chapter 8 for further discussion). We can infer the pattern of change in progress of personal pronouns in which the grammatical meanings become less important and the social meanings become more salient as hypothesized.

7.3 The diachronic study of Tai Lue personal pronouns.

While the synchronic variation of language can predict the language change in progress (Labov 1972, 1994), the diachronic study through two different periods of time is still a useful way to study language change. In this section, I will compare the findings of previous literature on Tai Lue personal pronouns to establish the direction of change over time.

I have selected three previous studies from the past representing the language spoken by the people in that period as follows.

- 1) A PhD thesis, entitled *Proto-Tai Personal pronouns*, written by Strecker, D. written in 1984. It represents the system found in the proto-Tai language, reconstructed from eighteen Tai dialects in three branches of Tai language family such as Tai Lue, Siamese (Bangkok/Standard Thai), Kam Muang (Kham Mueang/Northern Thai dialects), Longzhou, and Saek.
- 2) A comparative dictionary in four Tai languages: Bangkok Thai, Kam Mueang, Tai Lue, and Black Tai, published by Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University (written in Thai) in 1982. It is a collection of comparative Tai languages collected by interviewing informants from four Tai dialects. Its Tai Lue informants were migrants from Xaignabouli province in Lao PDR. (Leerawat, 1982.)
- 3) A Master's Degree thesis, entitled *A Description of The Tai Lü Dialect in Tambon Pakha Amphoe Thawangpha, Nan Province*, written in 1986. It was collected by interviewing Tai Lue in Nan province in Thailand (Ampornphan, 1986).

4) My published article, entitled *Semantic Components of First- and Second-person Pronouns in Kham Mueang and Tai Lue*, written in Thai in 2010 (Rhekhhalilit, 2010) and based on the data from Lampang province. It is noted that these collected studies gathered information from different regions of Tai Lue, and the article mainly focused only on first and second person pronouns. The third person pronouns were excluded from the analysis.

The following table will compare the forms of personal pronoun found in these four studies including the result from this present study. Please note that the transcriptions of the earlier studies remain the same as in the original for the sake of accuracy in pronunciation. In addition, it should be noted that the previous studies in 2) and 3) were not conducted to focus on the pronoun systems.



Table 7.8: The comparison of personal pronoun forms in Proto-Tai and Tai Lue from previous studies and the present study

Proto-Tai	1980s		2010s	
	Tai Lue 1982	Tai Lue 1986	Tai Lue 2010	Present study
*kuu/*ka u 'I'	ku:7 'I'	ku:1 'I'	ku:24 'I'	kuu 'I(m/f)'
muuu/ mau 'you'	mij1 'you'	muj2 'you'	mij33 'yo u'	mij 'you (m/f)'
*ph(r)ua 'both of us (excl.)'	-	-	-	-
*pruu 'all of us (excl.)'	-	-	-	tuu 'I(m/f)'
*raa 'both of us (incl.)'	-	ha:2 'I'	ha:33 'I'	haa 'I(m/f)'
*rau 'we'	haw1 'we'	haw2 'we'	haw33 'we'	haw 'we' haw 'I(m/f)'
*khrua 'both of you'	-	-	-	-
*suu 'all of you'	su:7 'you'	su:1 'you'	-	suu 'you (m/f)'
*min/*m un/*man	man1 'it'	man2 it'	-	man 'it'
*khräu 'two of them'	xaw7 'he/she'	khaw1 'he/she'	-	khāw 'he/she'
-	pən4 'he/she'	pən6 'he/s he'	pə:n423 'I'	pən 'he/she' pən 'I(m/f)'
-	-	kɛ:1 'you'	-	-
-	-	ta:n4 he/she'	ta:n45 'you'	tān 'he/she'
-	-	khij2 'you'	khij33 'you'	khij 'you (m/f)'
-	-	khɔ:j6 'I'	-	khəj 'I(m/f)'
-	-	-	phom24 'I'	phóm 'I(m)'
-	-	-	to:24 'you'	tóo 'you (m/f)'
-	-	-	-	ʔeɛj 'I(m/f)'
-	-	-	-	khā.cāw 'I(f)'
-	-	-	-	khāa.nəj 'I(m/f)'
-	-	-	-	khāa 'I(m/f)'
-	-	-	-	phu.cāw you (m/f)'
-	-	-	-	cāw 'you (m/f)'

Table 7.8 is a compilation of the personal pronoun forms in Tai Lue from previous studies. It is divided into three stages: the ancestor Proto-Tai, the Tai Lue language spoken 30 years ago (1982 and 1986), and the present Tai Lue language including

Rhekhallit (2010) and this current study. The marker – indicates the absence of the forms or its equivalent. The comparison shows differences in personal pronoun systems in various aspects as discussed below.

The most obvious difference between the system in the Proto-Tai language and Tai Lue is the number of pronouns. Overall, among three stages, the present Tai Lue language contains more personal pronoun forms than those found in the earlier studies. In this present study, 20 personal pronouns were found in the analysis while 10 forms were proposed by Strecker (1984) when reconstructing the Proto-Tai pronoun system. The increase of personal pronoun forms in the present study may imply a situation in which the personal pronoun system in Tai Lue is facing change from the past; that is, there are personal pronouns newly added to the system such as personal pronouns *phóm* ‘I(m)’, *tóo* ‘you(m/f)’ and *khā.cāw* ‘you(m/f)’, resulting in the increased number in the pronoun inventory in Tai Lue. This linguistic phenomenon will be discussed in the next section. On the other hand, some forms in Proto-Tai are not found in Tai Lue. For example, first person dual pronoun **ph(r)ua* and second person dual pronoun **khrua* are not found among Tai Lue speakers.

Another difference is the simplification of grammatical features in the personal pronoun system. As described in Chapter IV, grammatical meanings of Tai Lue in this study are basically singular, while the plural forms are occasionally generated through the process of pluralizing. The only genuine plural pronoun found in this study is the first person pronoun *haw* ‘we’.

In contrast to present-day Tai Lue, the reconstructed Proto-Tai personal pronoun system consists of a three-way number distinction, namely singular referring to one referent, dual referring to merely two referents and plural referring to a group of referents. For example, there were three different forms of first person pronouns in Proto-Tai differentiated in terms of number; the first person singular **kuu*, the first person inclusive dual **raa* and the first person plural **rau*. Also, with respect to second person, there were three different forms, namely the second person singular

pronoun **muuu/ *mauu*, the second person dual **khrua*, and the second person plural **suu*.

It can be concluded that present-day Tai Lue lost its grammatical meanings, specifically duality and plurality (the only exception goes to the first person pronoun *haw* ‘we’), but retains only singularity in its system.

In addition to the number distinction, the other grammatical change in the Tai Lue personal pronoun system concerns the inclusiveness and exclusiveness distinction. Strecker (1984) maintains that the Proto-Tai personal pronoun system distinguishes the inclusive/ exclusive pronouns in the first person. The first person dual exclusive was **ph(r)ua* while its inclusive counterpart was **raa*, and the first person exclusive plural was **pruu* while its inclusive counterpart was **rau* as summarized in the following table (Table 7.9). However, the inclusive / exclusive distinction cannot be found in Tai Lue, its daughter language.

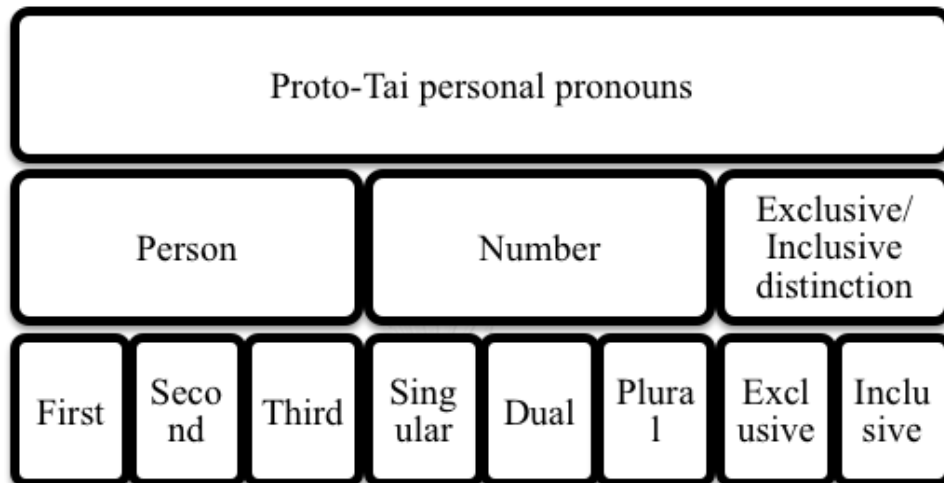
Table 7.9 The first person dual and plural pronouns in Proto-Tai
(adapted from Strecker, 1984)

	Dual	Plural
Inclusive	<i>*raa</i>	<i>*rau</i>
Exclusive	<i>*ph(r)ua</i>	<i>*pruu</i>

In conclusion, when comparing the personal pronoun systems of Proto-Tai and Tai Lue, we find different sets of grammatical meanings. In terms of the person distinction, referring to the role of the participants, both Proto-Tai and Tai Lue share three distinctions, specifically first, second and third person. On the other hand, they differ in terms of number distinctions. Proto-Tai pronouns are marked by the categories singular entity; dual entity and plural entity while Tai Lue pronouns are marked only by singular. Lastly, the inclusive/exclusive distinction can be found in

the Proto-Tai pronoun system, but not in Tai Lue. In short, the complexity of grammatical meanings in Proto-Tai pronouns has been simplified in its daughter language as summarized in Figure 7.10 below.

A



B

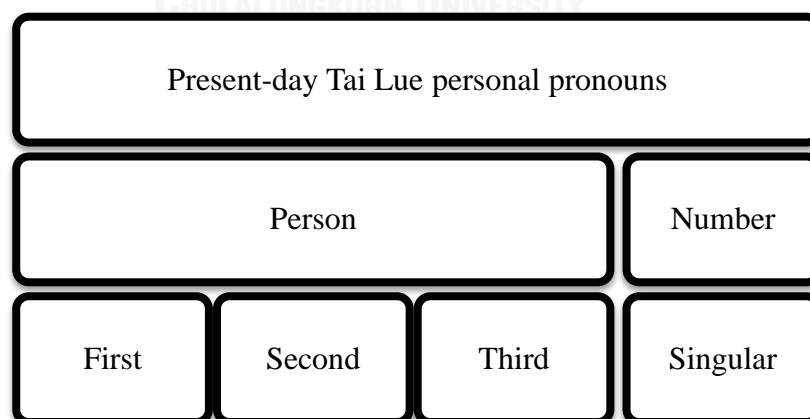


Figure 7.10 : a. Grammatical features in Proto-Tai personal pronouns and b.in present-day Tai Lue

Figure 7.10a shows the grammatical complexity of the Proto-Tai personal pronoun system while Figure 7.10b reveals that of present-day Tai Lue. The comparison of personal pronouns in Proto-Tai and Tai Lue from both periods also shows the result of meaning shift. There are some pronoun forms whose meanings are different when being used in Proto-Tai and in Tai Lue between two periods. As mentioned in the previous section, the grammatical complexity in Proto-Tai has been simplified in its daughter language, Tai Lue. However, when focusing on their social meanings, I find that they tend to acquire more social complexity as illustrated by some pronouns as described in details below.

1) Personal Pronouns *kuu* 'I' and *miŋ* 'you'

These two personal pronouns are shared in both Proto-Tai and Tai Lue. In Proto-Tai, the pronoun form **kuu/ *kau* was used as the first person singular pronoun paired with its second person counterpart **muuu/ *mauu*. Strecker (1984) does not speculate on their social meanings in the Proto-Tai language.

However, when used by Tai Lue speakers, they tend to index some social meanings between conversation participants. As Ampornpan (1986) found, pronouns *kuu* 'I' and *miŋ* 'you' were commonly used in a regular conversation. It is very common for the speaker to refer to himself/ herself by using *kuu1* 'I' while its paired pronoun *muŋ2* 'you' is used when talking to an addressee of equal status or lower status. The result in this present study is still different from that found in Proto-Tai and that of Ampornpan's study. As fully described in Chapter V, the male-preferential personal pronouns *kuu* 'I (m/f)' and *miŋ* 'you (m/f)' are commonly used to index the relative status and intimacy between the conversation participants such as when a father talks to his son.

It seems that pronouns *miŋ* 'you (m/f)' conveys further social meanings in Tai Lue, apart from only grammatical meanings as found in their ancestors in Proto-Tai as demonstrated in Figure 7.12 below.

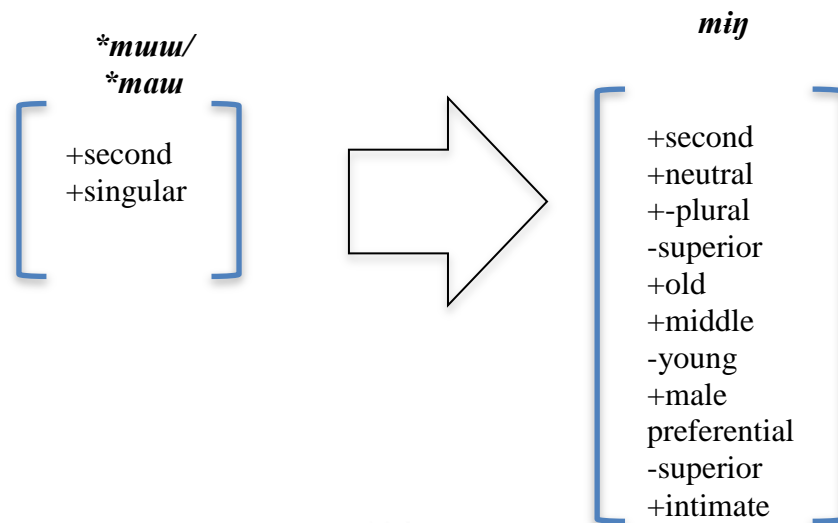
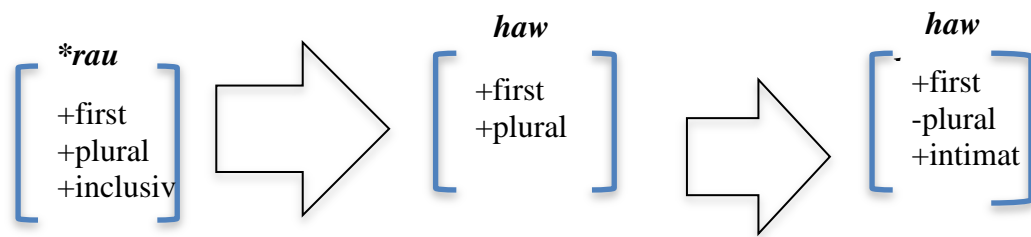


Figure 7.11: The semantic shift of Proto- Tai second person pronoun **muuu/*mau* to Tai Lue pronoun *miŋ*

2) Personal pronoun *haw*

Another good example to illustrate the semantic shift in Tai Lue personal pronoun is the first person pronoun *haw*. As fully described in Chapter V, the first person pronoun *haw* can be marked by two grammatical number, singular '*I(m/f)*' and plural '*we*'. With plural meaning, it is used to refer to a speaker along with other participants. When being used to refer to an individual speaker, it also conveys some sense of social meanings in conversation. In CML and LPL, it is mainly used to show intimacy between participants while in XBL, it is used to show the monkhood status of the speaker, similar to the finding in Ampornpan's analysis of Tai Lue in Nan province (1986). When considering its ancestor in Proto-Tai, pronoun **rau* was used as the first person plural inclusive. To conclude, the grammatical meaning of personal pronoun **rau* in Proto-Tai has been weakened while its social meaning has become more prominent as summarized in Figure 7.12 below.



**Figure 7.12: :The possible path of development of the personal pronoun
*rau to the personal pronoun *haw* ‘we’ in Tai Lue**

The figure above (Figure 7.12) visualizes the development path of Proto-Tai **rau* from the first person plural inclusive pronoun to Tai Lue pronoun *haw* ‘we’ in this study. It seems that pronoun *haw* ‘we’ can be marked by two grammatical numbers, plural and singular. Even though they share the grammatical plural number, the pronoun **rau* in Proto-Tai and pronoun *haw* ‘we’ in Tai Lue are different in terms of inclusiveness. In addition, when being used with singular meaning, it also indexes different social meanings, specifically intimacy in CML and LPL. In conclusion, personal pronoun *haw* ‘we’ undergoes the shift in grammatical meaning and also acquires new social meanings in different regions.

The reason why the first person pronoun *haw* is ready to the semantic shift lies behind its inherent grammatical features. As shown in Figure 7.10, the proto-Tai pronoun **rau* consists of a complex set of grammatical features [+first] as a self-referring term, [+plural] denoting the number of the entity, and [+inclusive] indicating the addressee inclusion of the referent. Kullavanijaya (2000) believes that the power of the speaker and the intimacy between the participants play a role in the semantic shift of the pronoun *raw* in Standard Thai. As summarized in Table 7.8, the Standard Thai first person pronoun *raw* is used with different shades of meanings, especially when

referring to a single referent. According to Kullavanijaya (2000), the personal pronoun *raw* can be marked by two different features either [+detached] or [+intimate]. When being marked by the [+detached] feature, the pronoun *raw* indicates the power of the speaker such as the royal *raw* spoken by King Bhumiphol. In contrast, when being marked by the [+intimate] feature, it implies the social proximity between the conversation participants. Kullavanijaya (2000: 86) claims that the first person pronoun *raw* develops from two selections, 1) [+power] □ [+detached] because power always puts people in isolation and 2) [+inclusion] □ [+intimate] since the inclusion can imply intimacy.

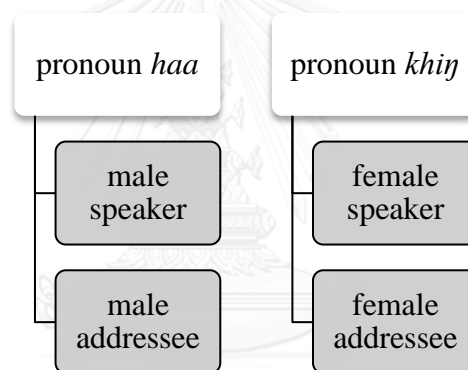
Similar to the Standard Thai *raw*, the first person pronoun *haw* in Tai Lue also develops into two different paths. In CML and LPL, it takes the intimacy path developing the [+inclusive] feature to the [+intimate] feature when referring to a single entity. In contrast, the pronoun *haw* in the XBL dialect takes the other path of detachment. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the pronoun *haw* in Xishuangbanna is exclusively used only by monks. It shows that this pronoun is reserved to the speaker of higher power than that of the ordinary laymen in the village. To sum up, this current study shows that the inherent grammatical features of the pronoun *haw* can shift to the social meanings similar to the pronoun *raw* in Standard Thai.

3) Personal pronouns *haa* 'I (m/f)' and *khij* 'you (m/f)'

Another semantic change in the pronoun system of Tai Lue can be found in the use of personal pronouns *haa* 'I (m/f)' and *khij* 'you (m/f)'. It is believed that personal pronoun *haa* has developed from the first person dual inclusive pronoun **raa* in Proto-Tai. In Tai Lue, it becomes the first person singular, referring to an individual speaker. In contrast, personal pronoun *khij* 'you (m/f)' was not found in the Proto-Tai pronoun system.

When considering the meanings of this pair in two periods of Tai Lue, however, personal pronouns *haa* 'I(m/f)' and *khij* 'you(m/f)' have been used differently. In Ampornphan (1986)'s grammatical analysis, pronouns *haa* 'I(m/f)' and *khij* 'you(m/f)' can be marked by two grammatical persons. On the other hand, both of

them can be used to refer to the speaker when being used as the first person pronoun 'I' and to refer to the addressee when being used as the second person pronoun 'you'. In her study, Ampornphan found that in a conversation between equal participants of different gender, pronoun *haa* could be used as the first person pronoun when being spoken by a male speaker 'I.male' and also as the second person pronoun when referring to a male addressee 'you.male'. On the other hand, personal pronoun *khij* was spoken by only female as the first person pronoun 'I.female' and also used as a second person pronoun to address a female participant 'you.female'. In short, these two pronouns are marked by gender distinction between males and females. Pronoun *haa* was used to refer to both male speaker and male addressee while the personal pronoun *khij* was used to refer to both female speaker and female addressee as summarized in Figure 7.14 as follows.



**Figure 7.13: : Personal pronouns *haa* and *khij* in Tai Lue Nan
(Created from Ampornphan, 1986)**

However, the findings of this present study and in my previous study in Tai Lue Lampang (2010) differ from Ampornphan's findings. In chapter 4, personal pronouns *haa* 'I(m/f)' and *khij* 'you(m/f)' were shown to be marked by different grammatical person. The pronoun *haa* 'I(m/f)' is used only as the first person pronoun and the pronoun *khij* 'you(m/f)' is used only as the second person pronoun in conversations between equal participants. In addition, the most different aspect is that in my analysis these two pronouns are gender -neutral forms.

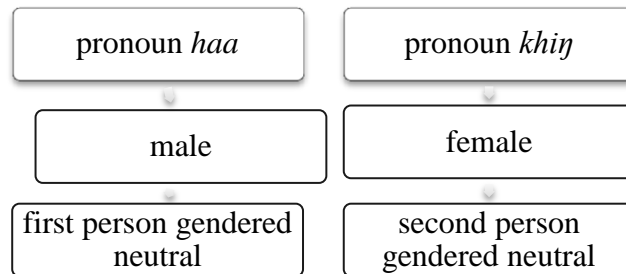


Figure 7.14 :The semantic shift of personal pronouns *haa* and *khij*

Figure 7.15 summarizes the semantic shift of the pronouns *haa* 'I(m/f)' and *khij* 'you(m/f)' in Tai Lue in two periods. It seems that in Ampornphan's analysis, pronouns *haa* 'I(m/f)' and *khij* 'you(m/f)' are mainly marked by different genders of the referents, while in my studies, they are gender-neutral forms, not being marked by the gender of the referent.

7.4 Interpretation from the observations in real time

This study aims at analyzing the personal pronoun system spoken by Tai Lue speakers at different age groups to detect change in progress in the system. The finding of the study reveals the generational difference in personal pronoun usage. The analysis shows that the informants from different age groups tend to choose personal pronouns differently due to the social variation.

The observation in real time clearly supports the result of the finding of change in apparent time. The result of the observation in apparent time in the Tai Lue personal pronoun system reveals that some pronouns can be marked by different grammatical meanings, specifically pronoun *haw* 'we' and pronoun *pɔ̀n* 'he/she'. The former can be marked by either singular or plural meaning while the latter can be marked by

either first or third person. The pronoun *haw* 'we' can be used with singular meaning and the pronoun *pɔ̀n* 'he/she' is used as the first person pronoun to index the intimacy between the conversation participants. It is assumed that these pronouns face the shift in grammatical meaning and acquire the new social meaning, in this case, intimacy between the interlocutors. As seen in the previous section, the shift of meaning is also found in the observation in real time in Proto-Tai and Tai Lue pronoun system such as the personal pronoun **rau* and its descendent *haw*.

In Standard Thai, many diachronic studies also found the same pattern of change in personal pronouns. Sangsod (1988), Iemjinda (1991) and Haruethaivinyoo (2002) study personal pronouns in Standard Thai in different periods of time. They agree that pronouns in different periods gain meanings due to the changing social structure. In the Sukhothai period, similar to those in Proto-Tai (Strecker, 1984), pronouns in Thai were marked by several obligatory grammatical meanings such as singular, dual and plural meanings. However, pronouns in Sukhothai period were also marked by some social meanings. For example, in terms of relative status, the first person singular pronoun *kuu* 'I (m/f)' was different from the first person singular pronoun *khâa* 'I(m/f)', literally 'a slave or servant', in that the pronoun *kuu* 'I (m/f)' were used by a speaker of high status such as King but the pronoun *khâa* 'I (m/f)' were mostly spoken by an inferior speaker such as a servant when talking to his master. Later, the pronouns in Standard Thai acquired more social meanings when the social complexity increases.

This shift of meaning in the pronoun system is not unique to Tai Lue, but is also found in other languages. The classic account of European pronouns T and V by Brown and Gilman (1960) also finds the second person pronouns undergo the shift of grammatical meaning, specifically number to gain more social meanings, specifically power and solidarity between conversation participants. Formerly the distinction between pronoun T (such as pronoun *tu* in French) and pronoun V (such as pronoun *vous* in French) is based on their grammatical number. The former is marked by singularity while the former is marked by plurality. Later on, the pronoun V commonly refers to an addressee with power such as the members of the royal family and the feudal while the pronoun T commonly refers to an addressee sharing the solidarity with the speaker such as family members.

In short, the evidence from change in real time and the change in apparent time in pronominal usage is also consistent with the pattern of personal pronouns in which the grammatical meaning has been shifted to social meanings. This study provides the synchronic view of the language change in apparent time. However, the study of change in real time should be conducted to confirm the prediction of change made here.



CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

8.1 Summary

This study aims to analyze the grammatical and social meanings of personal pronouns in Tai Lue spoken in Chiang Mai province, Thailand, Luang Prabang province in the Lao PDR, and in the autonomous prefecture of Xishuangbanna in The PR of China. It also attempts to interpret change in progress in the Tai Lue pronoun system from the age differentiation of certain pronouns.

The main research questions driving the examination asked these questions: 1) What features differentiate the Tai Lue personal pronouns in terms of grammatical and social meanings? 2) Do the age levels of the speaker influences the pronominal change in Tai Lue personal pronouns by which their grammatical features have been shifted and acquire the new social meanings in a dyadic conversation? The data were collected from the Tai Lue informants from three generations; the old generation, aged over 60, the middle generation age between 30 and 50 years old, and the young generation, aged lower than 25 years old in three different regions, namely Chiang Mai, Luang Prabang, and Xishuangbanna.

An empirical approach was adopted to collect data by the using the controlled-topic interviews and the data were verified by two methods, the fieldwork observations and the test frame completion test. Next, the findings of this study are divided into two folds as described below.

The first fold includes the analysis of personal pronouns with a focus on grammatical meanings and social contexts. The data analysis reveals the grammatical meanings as, a bundle of inherent features in the personal pronouns and the social meanings constructed by the use in a real conversation.

The analysis found three important grammatical features, namely *person* denoting the role of conversation participants, *gender* denoting the gender of the speakers, and *number* denoting the number of the speakers, the addressee and the referent. This finding contradicts the hypothesis, based on the analysis of the proto-Tai personal pronoun system (Strecker, 1984) that the grammatical meanings of Tai Lue personal pronoun system involve person, number and inclusive/exclusive distinction. Also, the finding shows that there is no contrast in inclusive and exclusive second person pronouns.

In addition, the study uncovers the social factors influencing the pronominal choice of Tai Lue, divided into intrapersonal features and interpersonal features. The intrapersonal features include the social characteristics of the speakers, namely the *age* and *gender of the speakers* while the interpersonal features include the social relationship between participants: that is, *relative status* and *intimacy*.

The second part mainly studies the correlation between the choice of personal pronouns and the age levels of the speakers. Focusing on the preferred personal pronouns of the speakers from different age groups, I have found the different pattern of pronoun choice in which the speakers from the old generation prefer to choose personal pronouns with their inherent grammatical meanings while those from the young generation tends to use them with more social meanings.

The comparison of preferred personal pronouns between age groups shows that the speakers old generation prefer the paired *kuu* 'I(m/f)' and *miŋ* 'you(m/f)' while those from the young generation prefer the personal pronouns *haa* 'I(m/f)' and *khiŋ* 'you(m/f)', and the informants from the middle generation tend to use both of them in an equal proportion.

In addition, the evidence from the analysis also found that some personal pronouns namely personal pronouns *haw* 'we' and *pən* 'he/she', has shifted their grammatical meanings and acquire new social meanings. The speakers from the middle and the young generations also employ the personal pronouns by such social meanings

Moreover, the comparison of personal pronoun across age groups shows that the different age groups of the informants tend to use different personal pronoun systems. The old generation is likely to retain the basic grammatical meanings of the pronoun and reserve the original forms in the system while the young tends to use pronoun with new meanings and introduces new forms of pronouns into the system. The middle generation is the connecting generation between the old and the young. This generational difference in personal pronoun system is obviously leading to the change in progress in Tai Lue as previously occurring in other languages such as in some European languages (Brown & Gilman, 1960) and in Standard Thai (Haruethaivinyoo, 2002; Iemjinda, 1991; Sangsod, 1988).

8.2 Discussion

8.2.1 Different patterns of pronominal variation from previous studies

This study finds a different pattern of the variation in grammatical number from other studies. Head (1978) collected data on a number of languages and compared the grammatical variation in personal pronoun systems. He found that the variation in number of several languages could express the degree of respect of the speaker. Similarly, Siewierska (2004) also claims “*non-singular number is typically associated with greater social distance, status, or respect than the singular*” (p.216). In contrast, this study found a different result. Instead of conveying the deferential meaning of the speaker towards the addressee, the first person plural *haw*, being used with singular entity, conveys the sense of intimacy between the conversation participants. This finding can be found in other Tai languages such as in Lao *haw* ‘we’ (Enfield, 1966), and in Standard Thai *raw* ‘we’ (Cooke, 1968; Higbie & Thinsan, 2003; Kullavanijaya, 2000; Simpson, 1997).

Apart from grammatical number, the variation in grammatical person in Tai Lue is also different from other languages. Normally, the use of third-person forms as an address form is related to the level of formality or the lack of familiarity such as in

Danish (Allan, Holmes, & Lundskaer-Nielsen, 1995; Siewierska, 2004:222) as illustrated in the following example

- 1) *Har de kjolen i en anden farve?*
 Have they dress in an other color
 ‘Have you got the dress in a different color?’
- 2) *Farr, kan du læne mig en tje*
 Daddy can you lend me a tenner
 ‘Daddy, can you lend me ten kroner?’

The example 1) use the third person plural *de* to address the conversation participants to show deference, compared to sentence 2) in which the speaker shows her intimacy to the father by using the second person *du*.

Again, the findings of this study show a different pattern. When being used by females in the middle and the young age groups, the third person pronoun *pən* ‘*he/she*’ is used to refer not to the addressee but to the speaker, and it signals the sense of intimacy instead. This shift of meanings can be compared to that of third person pronoun *kháw* ‘*he/she*’ in Standard Thai which is sometimes used as a self-referring term (Cooke, 1968; Higbie & Thinsan, 2003). When referring to the speaker, the third person *kháw* [+first] in Standard Thai reflects the intimate relationship between participants, especially in a conversation between the young lovers or between young intimate female participants. It is hypothesized that the female Tai Lue speakers adopt the same pattern from the female speakers of Standard Thai or Kam Mueang as a result of the intense contact. The female speakers from the middle and the young generations adopt this shift of pronoun in order to make the conversation more intimate and somewhat ‘cute and sweet’ (Cooke, 1968:14). However, from the interview, the third person pronoun *kháw* ‘*he/she*’ is not found spoken as the first person pronoun in Tai Lue.

8.2.2 The role of intimacy in pronominal variation

This study mainly focuses on the social influence determining the synchronic variation of the Tai Lue personal pronouns spoken by the speakers from three different generations. This study finds out that the major social factor creating the preferred choice of pronouns in different generations is the intimacy relationship between the conversation participants. In this study, the analysis shows that the speakers involved in the interview tend to choose the personal pronouns *haw* 'we' and *pɔ̀n* 'he/she' as a self-referring term only in a conversation between intimate participants, especially among the middle and the young generations. This can imply the significance of the intimacy factor as the decisive role in grammatical variation. According to many sociolinguists (Hudson, 1980; Labov, 1972; Sankoff & Thibault., 1981), the variation of language is a hint of language change so it is believed that the pronominal variation can imply the pronoun change in progress. As a result, it can be inferred that the intimacy between participants can lead to the pronominal change.

8.2.3 The shift from grammatical focus to social meanings

The findings of this present study reveal the generational variation in the personal pronoun system of Tai Lue. It seems that personal pronouns spoken by the old generation are marked by the strict grammatical meanings while a shift of meanings is found in the system spoken by the young generation. That is, the young speakers do not pay much attention to the grammatical restriction in pronoun use, but they tend to be more careful in social context of the conversation such as the relationship between themselves and the interlocutors.

This finding is not unique to in Tai Lue. Bavin and Shopen (1991)'s study of the pronoun system of Warlpiri also reports a similar trend of variation. In their study, Bavin and Shopen collected data from Warlpiri speakers, a language spoken in desert

communities in Australia, in different age groups. They find that the younger speakers tend to simplify and reduce the grammatical meaning in the personal pronoun system. Specifically, the young speakers in Warlpiri are losing the inclusive/exclusive distinction and dual number in their pronoun system, resulting in a reduction of the pronoun inventory of Warlpiri. For example, the old generation in Warlpiri has three distinct forms of second person pronoun: *n*, *npa* and *nku* while the younger speakers have only one form *npa*. Bavin and Shopen believe that this grammatical variation in the pronoun system is caused by internally motivated changes toward greater semantic transparency and less opposition.

It seems that the generational difference in personal pronoun usage is not only limited to Tai languages, but also in other non-Tai languages such as personal pronoun system in Warlpiri. Based on the present study and the findings of previous research, such as Brown and Gilman (1960), Bavin and Shopen (1991) and other abovementioned studies in historical linguistics of Standard Thai languages, it may be assumed that the weakening of grammatical meanings and acquisition of social meanings in personal pronouns commonly occur in many language families.

8.2.4 Pronoun borrowing

The result of this study also shows the different forms of personal pronoun spoken in three age groups of informants. Known as lexical variation in this study, some pronouns are found only in the system of the middle and the young speakers, but not found in the system of the old. It is assumed that those pronouns are newly introduced to the Tai Lue system of personal pronoun through the process of pronoun borrowing from Standard Thai and Standard Lao. For example, the first person pronoun *phóm* ‘(m)’ is commonly used among the middle and the young generations, but not by the old. In addition, it is not found in the previous studies of the Tai Lue pronoun system. Pronoun *phóm* ‘I(m)’ is clearly borrowed from Standard Thai.

According to (Thomason (2001)) and Thomason and Everett (2001) pronoun borrowing is very common in Southeast Asian languages. A large number of studies (e.g. Palakornkul, 1972; Cooke, 1968, and so on) confirm that English pronoun I and

pronoun you can be found spoken in Standard Thai or the borrowed pronouns from Chinese 你 and 他. In addition to the first and second person pronouns, my previous studies (Rhekhallit, 2011; Rhekhallit & Huebner, 2012) also show that the English third person pronouns she and he can be found in Standard Thai, especially in informal style. Apart from Standard Thai, the Indonesian pronoun system also borrows some pronouns from Sanskrit and English (Flannery, 2009 (Flannery, 2009)).

The process of pronoun borrowing can be reflected through the different forms of pronoun used by speakers of different age levels. A study of the possessive pronoun in Albanian (Derhemi, 2006:42-43) shows the generational difference between the old and the young speakers. According to his data collection, an 83-year-old informant produced a pronoun inventory of 28 forms while a younger informant produced only seven forms of pronouns. In addition, these forms are not found in the system of the old generation at all. It seems that the younger speakers tend to borrow pronouns from other languages. This present study provides another example of pronoun borrowing in a minority Tai language which has been long influenced by Standard Thai.

8.2.5 The different pace of pronominal change in three dialects

When comparing the finding of this present study with the previous literature, the personal pronoun system in the Xishuangbanna region seems very similar to that of Ampornphan (1986) especially the use of first person singular pronoun *haw* [+singular] indexing the monkhood status of the speaker. It may be interpreted that the personal pronoun system of XBL is changing at a slower pace than those found in CML and LPL, encountering the overwhelming contact with Standard Thai and Lao.

However, it has to be noted that the informants selected in this study may not be good representatives of the general Tai Lue speakers in Xishuangbanna. According to Wang (2004), the Tai Lue citizens in the Xishuangbanna region are the majority group which dominates the economy in the area, apart from the Han residents.

However, some informants who involved in this study were in the working class with the low level of education. As described in Chapter 3, most of my informants from Xishuangbanna completed only primary school and they mostly work in the village where Tai Lue is widely spoken. As a result, this may cause a limitation of the exposure to the Mandarin language or other non-Tai languages. According to Chanhom (1994) and the interview of my interpreter during the fieldwork, most schools in villages are only primary schools where local languages such as Tai Lue are commonly spoken. When children finish their primary degree, they have to attend the secondary schools outside the village where only Mandarin is used as a means of education. As a result, the informants who attend only primary level may have a limited exposure to other languages. Accordingly, their choice of personal pronouns is still consistent across generations of the speakers.

While in Chiang Mai and Luang Prabang, the middle and the young generations have more chance to expose other languages during their daily life. For example, the middle generations of the speakers in Luang Prabang are the hand-made cloth sellers in the famous market for tourists, mostly from Thailand. In addition, they have a chance to contact with Standard Thai through the mass media transmitted from Thailand (Enfield, 1999). As a result, they accelerate the pronoun variation as a result of the intense contact of Standard Thai. However, more in-depth study should be conducted to address this issue.

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APPENDIX



จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
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VITA

Kittinata Rhekhalilit was born on the seventh of May in 1984, in Tak. He was graduated his Bachelor's degree (1st class honor) from English Department, Faculty of Humanities, Chiangmai University and continued studying Ph.D. at Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University in 2006.

