

Pronominal Reference in Thai, Burmese, and Vietnamese

By

Joseph Robinson Cooke

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A.B. (Biola College, Los Angeles) 1952

A.B. (University of California) 1961

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this work is to discuss what we have called "pronominal reference" in Thai, Burmese, and Vietnamese. These three languages have been chosen because they represent three important language groups in Southeast Asia. Thai belongs to the Tai or Daic family of languages, Burmese to the Tibeto-Burman, and Vietnamese to the Annamite or Annam-muong group. The wider relationships of these languages are still a matter of dispute. The following are some of the groupings which have been proposed: Daic, Tibeto-Burman, and Chinese (or Sinitic) grouped together to make up the Sino-Tibetan language family;¹ Annamite grouped with Thai and perhaps Sino-Tibetan;² Thai, Kadai, and Indonesian grouped with Mon-Khmer and Annamite, and perhaps Miao-Yao under Proto-Austriac.³ Of ~~the~~ ^{these} proposed groupings, probably the first is the one most widely held by competent scholars, but it is our opinion that none of the three has been conclusively demonstrated in the literature presently available. In any case it is obvious that Thai, Burmese and Vietnamese are only distantly related to each other, if at all, and it is for this reason that these languages have been selected for our investigation.

By "pronominal reference" we mean phenomena relating to personal pronouns and such other forms as are similarly used in reference to individuals in first and second person contexts. The term "pronominal" therefore is used here to

mean either "pertaining to personal pronouns," or "occurring in first and second person contexts or with first and second person meanings, just as many personal pronouns do." It does not mean "belonging to the class of pronouns in general" and it is not limited to personal pronouns as formally defined.

An attempt is here made to describe pronominally used forms (as delineated by our definition of the word "pronominal") both formally and semantically, and to discuss some of the cultural and personal aspects of their use.

In each language our discussion of pronominal reference centers first of all upon personal pronouns. These are formally defined insofar as is possible--though the Thai formal definition is rather a loose one. They are also semantically identified in each language as forms which, for the most part, have differentiation of person (first, second or third) as a part of their class meaning.

Forms other than personal pronouns (i.e. certain types of nouns) are considered only if they can occur readily in both subject and object position in the sentence with either first or second person meanings or both. Also, discussion of forms which do so occur is largely restricted to phenomena relating to first and second person usage. It should be emphasized, however, that our treatment of personal pronouns proper is not limited in this way. Third person forms and usage are considered in the case of true personal pronouns, but are largely ignored in the case of

other substantives.

Specifically excluded from consideration are forms used merely as vocative topics, as for example in the English sentence, "Becky, Mother (=I) said to stop that." Here the word "Becky" is a vocative topic, and it is not used "pronominally." But the word "Mother" is the subject of the sentence, and it is used in the first person. It therefore falls within the scope of our definition of pronominal reference.

In all three languages we find that pronominal usage includes not only personal pronouns, but also kintype nouns (i.e. kin terms, and status terms) and name nouns. As a matter of fact, the same might be said of English, as in the following sentences: "Mommy (=I, mother speaking) told you not to do that"; or "Was Jimmy (=were you) a good boy today?"; or "Will your lordship (=you) deign to consider the plea of your humble servant (=my plea)?" However, usage of this sort is rather peripheral in English pronominal reference, while it is quite central and basic in Thai, Burmese and Vietnamese. In these languages, pronominal usage of kintype nouns and name nouns is very much a live option--sometimes the only option--in a rather wide variety of contexts.

Distinctions between the types or classes of pronominally used forms (i.e. personal pronouns, kintype nouns and name nouns) are not always clear. For example, in Thai and Burmese it is often difficult to distinguish personal

pronouns from pronominally used status terms. Thai has no elements or particles that mark either type of form, and the Burmese pronominal plural suffix / dowq/ follows both types. The result is that in both languages there exists a gradually changing continuum between the two types. The extremes indeed are fairly clearly distinguishable, but intermediate areas merge together in such a way that any dividing line is at best somewhat arbitrary. We therefore define the differences as best we can, explaining the reasoning that underlies some of our more arbitrary decisions.

The present treatment of pronominal reference in the three languages is by no means an exhaustive one. Not even personal pronouns are listed in their entirety in each language, much less other pronominally used forms. Archaic or seldom used personal pronouns may be listed (usually without further discussion), but they may also be omitted altogether. Kin terms are ignored if pronominal usage is rare, as for instance in the case of terms denoting kin three or more generations removed from ego. Pronominal status terms constitute a more open class than either personal pronouns or pronominally used kin terms. Forms of this type are therefore listed and discussed if they are quite common in pronominal reference, but otherwise treatment is representative rather than exhaustive. Discussion of name nouns is necessarily restricted to general patterns of usage.

Most of the information contained in this work has

been derived from informants, although some use has been made of available literature, particularly in Vietnamese. The chapter on Thai is based largely on material gathered from several informants, and it has the added perspective of a fair personal knowledge of the language as a whole. It has therefore been possible to go further into detail in this portion of the discussion. My personal knowledge of the Burmese language is more superficial, and of Vietnamese even more so. Fortunately, Burmese patterns of pronominal usage are somewhat less complicated than Thai, and I have had the advantage of the help of two Burmese informants. As for Vietnamese, I have been obliged to rely upon only one informant (happily an excellent one), but a considerable amount of published material has been available to me. In any event, it is to be expected that the present treatment of Burmese and Vietnamese pronominal reference will suffer from lack of perspective and background; but every effort has been made to insure that the information given is accurate.

It should be understood that the present work is essentially a descriptive and contrastive presentation of data. During the course of our study it will become evident that there are remarkable similarities in pronominal reference in these three languages. It is to be hoped that eventually someone will provide a comprehensive explanation of this phenomenon. Perhaps the information contained in this present study will serve as raw material for some

future areal and historical investigation that will account for the features of pronominal usage which these, and perhaps other, languages have in common.

CHAPTER TWO

PRONOMINAL REFERENCE IN THAI

100. Prefatory discussion.

110. Thai dialects. Thai is the official language of Thailand, a country of some 28,835,000 inhabitants,¹ bounded on the south by Malaya and the Gulf of Thailand, on the west and northwest by Burma, on the east and north-east by Laos, and on the southeast by Cambodia. The country is divided into several dialect areas, the most important of which are spoken in the areas surrounding Nakhon Sithammarat in the south, Chiangmai in the north, Roi-et in the east, and Bangkok in central Thailand.² The present analysis and discussion is concerned with the Bangkok dialect, which is used in official circles and is taught in all the schools throughout the country. The term "Thai" as used below is to be understood as referring specifically to Bangkok Thai.³

120. Literary tradition. Thai is a fairly ancient literary language, the earliest written document being dated back as far as 1293 A.D.⁴ Writing was first introduced by Prince Ram Khamhæng of Sukhothai, who probably borrowed and adapted a Cambodian script,⁵ which in turn was descended from the Sanskrit devanagari. Much of the religious and cultural vocabulary of Thai, including many pronominal forms, has been borrowed from Sanskrit and Pali, and there are also many borrowings from Cambodian and Chinese.

130. Sources of information. The information for

the following discussion of Thai pronouns comes from a number of sources. First are Professor Mary Haas's published and unpublished materials, especially her Thai-English Student's Dictionary, published by the Stanford University Press, 1964. This work includes a brief but very helpful descriptive summary of Thai (pp. xi-xxii), and also a wealth of information under individual pronoun entries. In a number of cases definitions are taken directly from it.

Another important source of information consists of personal notes obtained from a number of native speakers of Thai who were resident in the area during the time this present study was in progress. These have given invaluable service, often functioning more as collaborators than as informants. The following persons have all assisted me to a greater or lesser extent: Dr. Ruchira Mendiones, Miss Praditta Sukhum, Miss Kamalee Sukosol, Mrs. Boonsiri Donom, Dr. Haris Sutabutra, Mr. Vibhavin Vichit-Vadakan, Mr. Vicharat Vichit-Vadakan, Mr. Thep Himathongkham, Mr. Chai Donom, Mr. Suwit Suwanakhajorn, Mr. Vallobh Vimolvaniich, and Mr. Banphot Virasai.

I myself have lived in Thailand for a period of about three years, and I spent about half of that time in formal study of the language. I have also spent two and one half years under Professor Haas's direction assisting with the compilation of the Thai-English Student's Dictionary and making use of the very extensive files accumulated in

connection with the dictionary project.

Other sources to which I am indebted for information are listed in the Bibliography.

140. Phonemic transcription. The phonemic transcription used here is that developed by Professor Haas of the University of California. It has been used in essentially the same form in many of her publications during the past two decades (particularly her Spoken Thai, Books I and II, 1946-48), and it has been refined and explicitly summarized in her Thai-English Student's Dictionary (see pp. xi-xv). The phonemes are charted in Figure 1. For further details concerning Thai phonology, reference may be made to the above-mentioned Student's Dictionary.

150. Grammatical summary. The following summary leans heavily upon Professor Haas's brief description, and several examples are taken directly from it.⁶

151. Morphology. The morpheme and the word are very often coextensive, though polymorphemic words having bound constituents do occur. The great majority of morphemes are monosyllabic, as also are a large proportion of words-- particularly nonliterary ones. Morphemes combine readily into compounds: e.g. /rod¹faj²/ 'train' (fire¹ vehicle²), /khâw¹caj²/ 'understand' (enter¹ heart²); and there are many types of reduplication, e.g. /rewrew/ 'quickly' (</rew/ 'to be quick, quickly'), /khégkhég/ imitative form representing the sound of coughing, /phlŭnphlăn/ 'hastily,






CONSONANTS		Bilabial	Post-dental	Palatal	Velar	Glottal	
Stops	voiced un aspirated	b	d		-g		
	voiceless un aspirated	p-	t-	c-	k-	ʔ	
	voiceless aspirated	ph-	th-	ch-	kh-		
Spirants		f-	s-			h-	
Semivowels		w		j			
Nasals		m	n		ŋ		
Lateral			l-				
Trill or retroflex			r-				
VOCALIC NUCLEI		Front Unrounded	Central	Back Rounded			
High		i, ii, ia	y, yy, ya	u, uu, ua			
Mid		e, ee	ɛ, ɛɛ	o, oo			
Low		ɛ, ɛɛ	a, aa	ɔ, ɔɔ			
TONES	Mid	Low	Falling	High	Rising		
Symbol	(none)	ˊ	ˋ	ˊ	ˋ		
Pitch high mid low							
STRESS: There is a contrast between weak and strong stress. The latter is marked by the symbol (ˊ) following the stressed syllable.							

Figure 1. Thai phonemes

precipitately' (an ablauting type of reduplication).

Forms are not inflected for number, case, or tense. Thus the form /khon/ may mean either 'person' or 'persons'. Similarly, /paj/ may mean 'go', 'goes', or 'went', depending on the context.

The basic morpheme types are substantives (nouns, numerals, classifiers, pronouns), verbs (many of which can also follow and modify nouns and other verbs), adverb auxiliaries (which precede the verb), prepositions, conjunctions, particles, and exclamatives. All forms used in pronominal reference are substantives--usually nouns of some type, or noun expansions, or pronouns. Most nouns and pronouns, whether pronominally used or not, occur freely as the subject or object of a sentence: e.g. /dég¹chōb²mamūaŋ³./ 'Children¹ like² mangoes³'.

152. Substantive and verb expressions. These consist of a substantive or verb head which may be accompanied by various types of attributes. In both types of expressions, the head usually precedes the attribute:

/khon¹dii²/ 'good² person¹,

/mêε¹khōŋ²kháw³/ 'his mother' (mother¹ of² him³)

/nágrian¹sāam²khon³/ 'three students' (student¹ three² classifier for persons³)

/phūujīŋ¹thīi²sýy³khōŋ³/ 'women¹ who² shop³,

/wīŋ¹rew²/ 'run¹ fast²,

/chūaj¹mâj²dâaj³/ 'cannot help' (help¹ not² can³)

However, adverb auxiliaries precede the head in verb

expressions:

/jaŋ¹mâj²rúu³/ 'don't know yet' (still¹ not² know³)

/ʔaad¹ca²chúaj³dâaj⁴/ 'might be able to help' (might¹
will² help³ can⁴)

The relevant forms above are /jaŋmâj/ and /ʔaadca/.

153. The sentence. The typical sentence pattern is subject + verb + object:

/khâw¹sýy²nýa³./ 'He¹ buys² meat³.'

However, subjects--especially pronoun subjects--are often omitted (1st example below). Also, certain types of subjectless sentences occur (2nd example):

/paj¹nâj²./ 'Where² are (you) going¹?'

/mii¹khon²mâag³thiinfi⁴./ 'There are¹ lots of³
people² here⁴.'

Another important type of sentence has no verb. Sentences of this type usually have a demonstrative pronoun as subject or predicate of the sentence:

/ni¹nansýy²khõõŋ³khraj⁴./ 'Whose book is this?'
(This¹ book² of³ whom⁴)

/nân¹ʔaraj²./ 'What² ('s) that¹?'

200. Pronominally used forms and meanings.

Pronominal forms include personal pronouns, kintype nouns, and name nouns. The usage of each may be illustrated by the following examples, each of which translates as "I love you."

1) Personal pronouns: /chán¹rág²thæe³./ 'I¹ love²

you³, (man speaking to woman).

2) Kintype nouns: /mêε¹rág²lûug³./ (literally, 'mother¹ loves² child³'; mother speaking to child).

3) Name nouns: /thiam¹rág²dεεη³./ (lit. 'Thiam¹ loves² Dang³'; older girl named Thiam speaking to little boy nicknamed Dang).

210. Personal pronouns.

211. General description.

211.1. Definition. It is difficult to arrive at a formal definition of personal pronouns that is simple and consistent. In general, they may be said to constitute a class of substantives which never occur followed and modified by nouns or verbs, and very seldom by clauses (see 211.3.). Some personal pronouns, particularly monosyllabic ones, also have a slightly greater tendency to occur unstressed than do nouns of otherwise comparable syllabic value. However, stress is a somewhat variable criterion, and in the case of longer forms (e.g. /khâaphacâw/ 'I, me (public speech form)'). it is rarely applicable.⁷

Personal pronouns may also be defined semantically as forms which have differentiation of person as the main feature of their class meaning. That is, they denote first, second or third person. In this respect they differ from pronominally used nouns. For example /phǒm/ 'I (deferential term, man speaking)' always denotes first person, whereas /phôo/ 'father' may denote first, second or third, depending on the context. However, some forms which we

identify as personal pronouns are ambiguous as to person. These are exceptions and will be discussed later.

Third person pronouns may also be distinguished from substantives in general by the fact that they have an anaphoric substitution value. That is, they may substitute for nouns in contexts where repeated mention is made of a given referent; but they are not themselves subject to such substitution: e.g. /dègkhonnán¹ chôob² paj³ roonriian⁴, tɛɛ⁵ kháw⁶ májchôob⁷ thamnaan⁸./ 'That child¹ likes² to go³ to school⁴, but⁵ he⁶ doesn't like⁷ to work⁸'.

A few third person pronouns are further identifiable as such by the fact that they may occur immediately following and in apposition to nouns in subject position: e.g. /ʔaacaan¹ kɛɛ² máj³ chôob⁴./ 'The professor didn't like it.' (professor¹ he² not³ like⁴). However, usage of this type is not always acceptable with all third person forms.⁸

211.2. Constituents of personal pronouns. A large number of personal pronoun forms are monomorphemic. A few seem to be partially analyzable, but they contain residues not clearly identifiable. For example, /dichǎn/ 'I, me (deferential, woman speaking)' seems to be made up of /chǎn/ 'I, me (male or female speaking to equals or inferiors)' plus a preposed syllable /di-/ which has no independent existence or obvious meaning. Similarly, /kraphǒm/ 'I, me (highly deferential, man speaking)' could be analyzed as /phǒm/ 'I (deferential, male speaking)' plus preposed /kra-/, a syllable with no definite meaning and

which occurs initially in a large number of Thai words.

Several personal pronouns--especially highly deferential ones--are set phrases which are conventionally used for personal reference. For example, the expression /tâajtháaw/'you (highly deferential, speaking to superior)' is made up of the forms /tâaj/ 'underneath' plus /tháaw/'foot'; and the form /tâaj¹fàa²la³phrá³bàad⁴/ 'you (speaking to the king)' means literally 'underneath¹ sole² dust³ of royal foot⁴'. Forms of this sort are treated here as complex single units and their constituent morphemes are identified in the inventory (see 212.).

An examination of many of the more deferential first and second person forms, their constituents, and their meanings reveals an interesting pattern. First person forms often denote, literally, the head or some related part of the body, such as the crown of the head, or the hair: e.g. /phǒm/ 'hair'; /kraphǒm/' < /phǒm/ 'hair'; /klâaw¹kraphǒm²/ 'hair² of the head¹'; /kramòm/ 'crown (of the head)'; /klâaw¹kramòm²/ 'crown² of the head¹'. Many deferential second person forms denote "the sole of the foot" or "underneath the foot" (or "the underneath of the foot"): e.g. /tâaj¹tháaw²/ 'underneath¹ foot²'; /fàa¹bàad²/ 'sole¹ of foot²'; /fàa¹phrá²bàad³/ 'sole¹ of royal² foot³'; /tâaj¹fàa²phrá³bàad⁴/ 'underneath¹ sole² of royal³ foot⁴'; /tâaj¹fàa²la³phrá⁴thúlii⁴phrá⁵bàad⁶/ 'underneath¹ sole² dust^{3,4} (of) royal⁵ foot⁶'. The significance of these expressions, at least from a historical point of view, seems

to be that the inferior speaker places the sole of his hearer's foot, or the dust beneath the foot, on a par with his own head or hair--the highest and most respected part of his body.⁹ Thus, terms denoting the sole of the foot, etc. are used for second person, and those denoting the head, hair, etc. are used for first person. However, it is doubtful that all these terms, particularly the more commonly used ones, are always associated with their literal meanings in present-day usage. The term /phǒm/, for instance, is simply a general polite pronoun used in a wide variety of contexts where a man may be speaking to an equal or superior.

211.3. Occurrence in larger constructions. Personal pronouns, like nouns, occur readily as the subject or object of a sentence (1st example below), but they are often omitted in contexts where the meaning is clear without them. Such omission is most likely when the subject or object has been previously identified, especially in the immediate context, or when the subject or object would denote first or second person. Also, second person forms are often omitted following a vocative topic (2nd example). Deference or politeness does not necessarily require that pronouns be used. In fact, most speakers would, for example, avoid use of first and second person pronouns in addressing high-ranking royalty.

1) /phǒm¹hěn²khun³/ 'I¹ see² you³.'

2) /khun¹bunliang²khǎb³, paj⁴nǎj⁵maa⁶./ 'Mr.

Boonliang, where have(you) been?' (Mr.¹ Boonliang² polite word³, go⁴ where⁵ come⁶?)

Personal pronouns also occur as objects of prepositions (3rd example), and as possessive modifiers of nouns (4th example). They may be modified by numerative phrases (examples 5,6) and occasionally by demonstratives (7th example), and in literary language by complete clauses (8th example). They do not occur modified by nouns or verbs.

3) /khǒŋ¹kháw²/ 'his' (of¹ him²)

4) /naŋsŷy¹phǒm²/ 'my² book¹,

5) /raw¹thán²lǎaj³/ 'we all' (we¹ all² several³)

6) /kháw¹sǎam²khon³/ 'they three' (they¹ three²
classifier for persons³)

7) /phǒm¹nǐi²/ 'I, me' (I¹ this one²)

8) /raw¹sŷŋ²pen³khon⁴ruaj⁵/ 'we¹ who² are³ rich^{4,5},
(lit. who are rich⁵ persons⁴)

First and second person forms often appear in prescribed contexts in co-occurring pairs (see 215.): e.g. /phǒm/ 'I, me' with /khun/ 'you', a polite pair used by males; /kuu/ 'I, me' with /myŋ/ 'you', a nonrestraint pair also used chiefly by males. However, pairings are often flexible, and personal pronouns are frequently paired with pronominally used kintype nouns or name nouns. Mixed pairings of this type are especially common between first person pronouns and kintype or name nouns used for second person: e.g. /phǒm/ 'I, me' paired with /phôo/ 'you (father)', used by a son speaking to his father.

A few second person forms occur also as titles placed before names (see /khun/, /thân/, and /câw/ in the inventory,

section 212.2.). Third person forms make anaphoric reference to a previously mentioned referent. Also, several of the third person forms may occur immediately following and in apposition to nouns in subject position (see 211.1.).

212. Inventory of forms and their meanings. The inventory (below) is subdivided into first, second, and third person headings, each form being listed alphabetically under the appropriate heading. It includes the more commonly used forms and their more important meanings and usages. Some rarer forms are also given, but the listing is not exhaustive.

Items marked by a preceding asterisk are forms which do not quite fit our definition of personal pronouns, either because they are somewhat ambiguous as to the category of person, or because they have a meaning and usage which makes it difficult to distinguish them from nouns. The first person form /nîi/ is marked by a double asterisk. It is actually a demonstrative form rather than a personal pronoun, but it is included here for convenience, since pronominal usage of /nîi/ is too unusual to warrant treatment under a separate heading. Items enclosed in parentheses are terms used in addressing various levels of royalty. Such forms are not discussed in detail in this paper since reliable information concerning their usage is so difficult to obtain. Most of these forms do not constitute a part of the normal speaking vocabulary of any available informants.

Several forms have alternate^{ive} rising and high tone

pronunciations: for example, /dichǎn/ and /dichán/; /chǎn/ and /chán/; and /khǎw/ and /kháw/. The rising tone form in each case is usually used in citation or in more deliberate speech, and the high tone form in normal or rapid speech. The former of the two alternatives is the one used in the citation of forms throughout this study.

Special remarks about usage are included in the inventory. Where such remarks are preceded by a dash (--) they are intended to refer to all preceding listed meanings or uses of the form in question. Otherwise, comments refer only to the numbered item under which they are made. Some of the more common pairings of first and second person forms are given, but there are many possible pairings other than these listed here. For more detailed discussion of pairings, see section 215.

For convenience of reference, Roman numerals are placed immediately following each pronoun form to indicate first (I), second (II) and third (III) person meanings respectively.

212.1. First person forms.

/ʔàadtamaa/ (I) Buddhist priest speaking to layman or lower ranking priest, or formally to equal priest. (This is actually a Buddhist term meaning 'the self, the individual', but this noun meaning and usage is foreign to most informants.) Paired with /joom/, and /khun/.

/ʔàadtamaaphâab/ (I) highly formal term, Buddhist priest speaking to layman or lower-ranking priest, or more formally to equal priest; somewhat rare. Cf. /ʔàadtamaa/.

/ʔaahǎn/ ~ /ʔaahán/ (I) dialectal variant of /dichǎn/,
sometimes considered to be uncultured.

/ʔaj/ (I) (from Eng. 'I') speaking to friend who, together
with the speaker, forms part of a fairly close-knit
group affecting identity with English speech and
culture, e.g. a group of students who are personal
friends and are living or have lived together in an
English-speaking community. Paired with /juu/.

/ʔichǎn/ ~ /ʔichán/ (I) dialectal variant (especially rustic
or uncultured) of /dichǎn/, q.v.

/ʔihán/ ~ /ʔián/ ¹⁰ (I) rapid speech variant of /ʔichǎn/
or /dichǎn/, q.v. Often considered to be uncultured.

/ʔúa/ (I) (from Chinese) 1. speaking to lower class Chinese
such as shopkeepers, waiters, etc. 2. mild nonrestraint¹¹
term, male speaking to intimate male equal, expressing
camaraderie, relaxed freedom. Occasionally used by or
to females expressing a tomboyish or male-like comradeship,
but usually not quite socially acceptable in this
latter sense. --Paired with /lýy/.

/chǎn/ ~ /chán/ (I) 1. adult or adolescent male speaking to
inferior or to spouse. 2. woman or child speaking to
intimate equal, or to inferior, esp. to husband, sibling,
friend, acquaintance, servant, child. Used by some, esp.
mature or older women, as a fairly general and neutral
term. Some, esp. younger women, hesitate to use /chǎn/
to nonintimate equals, particularly if male. --Paired
with /kεε/, /khun/, /thəə/.

/dichǎn/ ~ /dichán/ (I) (< /di-/ (?) + /chǎn/, q.v.) non-intimate deferential term used by (adult) females speaking to superiors, or formally to equals. Also used in a wider range of situations by undemonstrative or habitually polite persons. Approximately equivalent in deferential range to the male terms /phǒm/, /kraphǒm/, and /klâawkraphǒm/, q.v., but less general and more deferential than /phǒm/. Paired with /khun/, /thân/, and /tâajtháaw/. Variant forms of /dichǎn/ are: /ʔaahǎn/, /ʔichǎn/, /ʔihán/, /dihán/. Of these, the first three are often considered rustic or uncultured; /ʔihán/ and /dihán/ are rapid speech forms.

/dihán/ ~ /dián/ ¹² (I) rapid speech variant of /dichǎn/, q.v.

/kan/ (I) term used chiefly speaking to intimate equal of the same sex; only used by a limited number of speakers (including members of the rising generation), and considered by others to be rustic or archaic. Paired with /naaj/ and /kεε/.¹³

/klâaw¹kramòm²/ (I) (lit. 'crown² of the head¹') male commoner addressing royalty of any but the highest ranks. Cf. /klâawkramòm'chán/.

/klâaw¹kramòm²chán³/ (I) (lit. 'crown² of the head¹ of me³') female commoner addressing royalty of any but the highest ranks. Cf. /klâawkramòm/.

/klâaw¹kraphǒm²/ (I) (lit. 'hair² of the head¹')¹⁴ highly deferential, male addressing highranking nonroyalty. Increasingly being replaced by /phǒm/. More formal and

deferential than /kraphǒm/, q.v. Cf. /dichǎn/, the female counterpart.

/kramòm/ (I) (lit. 'crown of the head') male addressing lesser royalty. Cf. /kramòm'chán/, /mòmchán/, equivalent female terms.

/kramòm'¹chán'²/ ~ /mòmchán/ (I) (lit. 'crown of the head¹ of me²') female addressing lesser royalty. Cf. /kramòm/, the equivalent male term.

/kraphǒm/ (I) (< /kra/ (?)¹⁴ + /phǒm/ 'hair of the head') highly deferential, male addressing highranking non-royalty or addressing someone deferentially in a very formal situation. Increasingly being replaced by /phǒm/. Less deferential than /klâawkraphǒm/. Cf. /dichǎn/, the equivalent female term.

/kuu/ (I) 1. strong nonrestraint¹⁵ term, especially male speaking to intimate male, ~~and~~ particularly among adolescents, or among friends from adolescent days. Sometimes used as an assertive term, especially in anger. Usually considered crude and ideally not used in the presence of women or children. Used in a broader sense by rustic or uncultured folk. Occasionally used by or to females in particularly unrestrained or assertive situations, or female to female among close intimates, but always with a strong nonrestraint flavor. Paired with /myŋ/. 2. term used in exclamatory utterances directed at no one in particular. May be used in this sense even in the presence of females or superiors,

or interposed in the midst of formal speech; see example.
 /kuu¹taaj²lá³waa⁴/ an exclamation of surprise or
 dismay; lit. 'I¹ die² [plus sentence final particles^{3,4}]'.

/khâa/ (I) (lit. 'servant, slave') 1. speaking to inferior,
 especially master to servant. Paired with /ʔeŋ/,
 /kεε/, /câw/. Now passing into disuse. 2. assertive
 and nonrestraint term, male speaking to intimate male;
 used especially in arguing, contending, expressing
 annoyance--often good-natured. Occasionally expresses
 anger to nonintimates. Also used by or to females in
 particularly unrestrained situations. --In meanings
 1 and 2, considered by some as obsolete or rustic.
 --Used by rustics in a wider sense, including speech
 to one's spouse, and without special restrictions
 relating to sex (cf. meaning 3). --Paired with /ʔeŋ/.
 3. literary and archaic general term speaking to
 superior, equal or inferior. Paired with a variety of
 second person forms which signal the status relationship.

/khâaphacâw/ (I) (lit. 'lord's servant' < /khâa/ 'servant'
 + /câw/ 'ruler' (?))¹⁶ 1. formal term used in public
 address, or in writing addressed to readers in general.
 Now increasingly replaced by /phôm/. Paired with
 /thân/ 'you' or /thânthánlăaj/ 'you, you all'. 2. term
 used by Christians addressing God in prayer. Paired
 with /phráʔoŋ/.

*/khâa¹phráphúd²thacâaw²/ (I) (lit. 'Lord Buddha's²
 servant¹', or '(your) Majesty's² servant¹,')¹⁷ commoner

addressing the king and highest ranks of royalty.

*/khǎw/ ~ /kháw/ (I) 1. child or young woman speaking to intimate: sibling, friend, fiancé, husband. Often endearing. Usually somewhat "cute" and often accompanied by corresponding change in tone of voice, especially when used by young women. Paired with /tua/ and other intimate forms. 2. child or young woman speaking to intimate (sibling, friend, fiancé, husband) in anger, expressing a sense of injury and implying a disavowal or impersonalization of the close relationship; in this sense, /khǎw/ sometimes replaces some other habitual nonambiguous intimate usage such as a kinterm or nickname. Paired with /tua/ in meaning (2). 3. oblique term used as a device for saving face. In this sense used also by adolescent or adult males or older people. For example, A urges some request upon B; B refuses, but finally yields to continued pressure; A acts pleased with himself, as if he has scored a victory; B replies: /kháw¹sǒnsǎan'²rǒg³wá'⁴./ 'I¹ just³ took pity² (on you) [final particle⁴]' --as if to say, "Well, a fellow has to take pity on his friends when they get into difficulty." --Cf. the third person form /khǎw/; meanings (2) and (3) above are probably a special extension of third person usage.

/mǒmchán/ (I) see /kramǒm'chán/.

**/nǐi/^(I)_^ a demonstrative form meaning 'this, this one', used

by certain young women as a last resort in speaking to male nonintimate equals, no other form being felt to be appropriate. Usually accompanied by some clarifying gesture, such as pointing to oneself, in order to insure understanding.¹⁸

/phǒm/ (I) (lit. 'hair of the head') general polite term used by males speaking to equals and superiors. Now replacing some of the more formal or deferential terms (such as /khâaphacâw/, /klâawkraphǒm/, and /kraphǒm/) in the usage of some of the younger generation. Less deferential than /dichǎn/, the approximately corresponding female term. Paired with /khun/.

/raw/ (I) 1. 'we, us, our', a general first person term functioning as the plural of most singular first person forms. 2. a more restricted singular term used as follows: (a) king speaking to subjects in public address. Formerly also king speaking to individual subject, and paired with /câw/.¹⁹ (b) superior speaking to inferior, especially employer to employee. Somewhat rare in this usage, and considered by some to be a little distant. Not necessarily associated consciously with meaning (a) above. Paired with /khun/. (c) fairly general term used especially between friends of the same sex, but also used male to female, particularly by adolescents who have or have had frequent and normal day-by-day contacts with females their own age. According to some informants, /raw/ and its

second person counterpart /naaj/ are rarely used female to male, but one informant states that they are now being increasingly used by young adult or adolescent girls to male friends and schoolmates. In such usage, /raw/ fills a gap in the system in situations where the alternatives /dichǎn/ and /chǎn/ are felt to be inappropriate. Some speakers use /nfi/, q.v., in such situations; others avoid pronouns. (See also a discussion of this problem under section 320.).

Paired with /thəə/, /naaj/, and /tua/. (d) term used in speaking to oneself.

/riam/ (I) (from an archaic term meaning 'elder brother', but no longer used as a noun) man speaking to sweetheart. Used chiefly in poetry with an ancient or rustic setting, or else humorously.

212.2. Second person forms.

/ʔen/ (II) 1. speaking to inferior, especially master to servant. Now increasingly passing into disuse.
 2. assertive and nonrestraint term, male speaking to intimate male; used especially in arguing, contending, expressing annoyance--often goodnatured. Occasionally used to express anger to nonintimates. Also used by or to females in particularly unrestrained situations.
 --In meanings 1 and 2, considered by some to be obsolete or rustic. --Used by rustics in a wider sense, including speech to one's spouse. --Paired with /khâa/.

*/câw/ (II) 1. affectionate term speaking to inferior or equal. Now usually literary and archaic rather than spoken. Paired with /khâa/. 2. (obsolete) king speaking to subject. Paired with /raw/. Cf. also the following uses of /câw/ or /câaw/.²⁰ a) (a noun) 'prince, lord'. b) (a noun) 'guy, fellow, gal'. c) title placed before the first name of a child or inferior.

/fâa¹bâad²/ (II)(lit. 'sole¹ of foot²') speaking to royalty, especially of the medium or lower ranks.

/fâa¹phrá²bâad³/ (II) (lit. 'sole¹ of royal² foot³') speaking to royalty, especially of the higher ranks.

*/joom/ (II) (lit. 'supporter') Buddhist priest speaking to supporter, parent, or older person. Some speakers are familiar with /joom/ chiefly or only in second person usage, and are unaware of any noun meaning in the sense of 'supporter'; hence listing here as a personal pronoun. Other speakers are familiar also with first person and noun usage; see /joom/ as a kintype noun (section 222.2.). Paired with /ʔaadtamaa/.

/juu/ (II) (from Eng. 'you') speaking to friend who together with the speaker forms part of a fairly close knit group affecting identity with English speech and culture, e.g. a group of students who are personal friends and are living or have lived together in an English-speaking community. Paired with /ʔaj/.

*/kεε/ (II) 1. speaking to inferior. Paired with /chăn/.

2. nonrestraint term used especially by females, but occasionally also by males. Impolite if used to kin or nonintimates. Implies greater lack of restraint if used to the opposite sex. Paired with /raw/ and occasionally /kan/. --Used by rustics in a broader sense, including speech to one's spouse. --Cf. /kεε/ as a third person pronoun.

*/khun/ (II) (probably related to the form /khun/ as a noun meaning 'virtue, merit') general polite term used chiefly to equals and superiors. Paired with /phǒm/, /dichǎn/, and /chǎn/. Cf. also the following uses of /khun/: (a) as a noun meaning approximately 'lady, gentleman'; (b) as a title meaning 'Mr., Mrs., Miss'. Listed here as a personal pronoun because pronoun usage predominates over noun usage and is semantically distinct from it.

*/lòn/ (II) 1. royalty speaking to common woman. 2. intimate term, adult speaking to child. Not widely used in this sense. 3. adult speaking impatiently to girl or young woman; usually in trying to hurry someone along. Probably more widely used in this sense than in meaning (2). --Cf. /lòn/ as a third person pronoun.

/lýy/ (II) (from Chinese) 1. speaking to lower class Chinese such as shopkeepers, waiters, etc. 2. mild nonrestraint term, male speaking to intimate male equal, expressing camaraderie, relaxed freedom. Occasionally used by or to females expressing a tomboyish or male-like

comradeship, but usually not quite socially acceptable in this latter sense. --Paired with /ʔúa/.

/myn/ (II) strong nonrestraint term, especially male speaking to intimate male, ~~and~~ particularly among adolescents, or among friends from adolescent days. Sometimes used as an assertive term, especially in anger. Usually considered crude and ideally not used in the presence of women or children. Used in a broader sense by rustic or uncultured folk. Occasionally used by or to females in particularly unrestrained or assertive situations, or female to female among close intimates, but always with a strong nonrestraint flavor. Paired with /kuu/.

*/naaj/ (II) (lit. 'master, mistress') 1. general friendly term used by males especially to male equals, but also male to female, especially by adolescents who have or have had normal day-by-day contacts with females of their own age. 2. more intimate and slightly tomboyish term used by females, chiefly to female equals. --According to most informants, /naaj/, with its first person counterpart, /raw/, is rarely used female to male, but one informant states that it is now being increasingly used by young adult or adolescent girls to male friends or schoolmates. The distinction between meanings (1) and (2) is largely lost for such speakers, and /naaj/ becomes a fairly general friendly term without special connotations as to sex of speaker or addressee. --Paired with /raw/. --Cf. /naaj/ as a

kintype noun (section 222.2.). Listed here as a personal pronoun because pronominal usage is semantically distinct from nominal.

*/phanáʔʔthân/ (II) (< /phanáʔʔ/ (?) + /thân/ deferential second person pronoun, q.v.) highly deferential term addressing high-ranking nonroyalty, especially ministers in the government. Also occurs as a title preceding names of persons of high ranking nonroyalty.

*/phráʔoŋ/ (II) 1. term used by royalty in addressing other royalty of approximately equal rank; usually not used by commoners to royalty. 2. term used by Christians addressing God in prayer. Cf. also /phráʔoŋ/ as a third person pronoun and as a noun or classifier denoting high ranking royalty, deity, or the Buddha. Listed here as a personal pronoun because pronoun usage predominates over unambiguous noun usage.

/raw/ (II) term suggesting identification of speaker with addressee, and used chiefly speaking to inferiors, especially adults to children in the family. May be used either affectionately and/or playfully or in rebuke, disapproval. A special extension of first person usage (see /raw/, first person), similar to English use of "we" for second person.

/tâaj¹fâa²laʔoŋ³phrá⁴bâad⁵/ (II) (lit. 'dust³ underneath¹ sole² of royal⁴ foot⁵') speaking to royalty, especially persons next in rank to the king.

/tâaj¹fâa²laʔoŋ³thúlii⁴phrá⁵bâad⁶/ (II) (lit. 'dust^{3,4} under¹ sole² of royal⁵ foot⁶') speaking to

the king.

/tâaj¹fàa'²phrá³bàad'⁴/ (II) (lit. 'underneath¹ sole² of royal³ foot⁴') speaking to high ranking royalty.

/tâaj¹tháaw'²/ (II) (lit. 'underneath¹ foot²') highly deferential term used in addressing high ranking superiors. Increasingly disappearing from use, except perhaps in writing. Paired with /kraphǒm/, /klâawkraphǒm/, and /dichǎn/.

/tua/ (II) (lit. 'body, self') 1. affectionate or intimate term, speaking to equal or to inferior not older than the speaker, especially between female friends or to one's spouse, or older to younger loved ones. Paired with /chǎn/, /raw/, and /khǎw/. 2. child or young woman speaking to intimate (sibling, friend, fiancé, husband) in anger, expressing a sense of injury, and implying a disavowal or impersonalization of the close relationship; in this sense /tua/ sometimes replaces some other habitual nonambiguous intimate term such as /thəə/, /kɛɛ/, kinterm or nickname. Probably an extension of /tua/ in the noun sense, meaning 'body, self'. Paired with /khǎw/ (2).

*/thân/ (II) 1. highly deferential term speaking to superiors such as priests, high officials, and others to whom one wishes to show special respect. 2. speaking to royalty, especially of lower rank. --Note: some speakers consider meanings (1) and (2) to be two completely different uses of /thân/; others less

acquainted with royal speech may equate them. --Used also as a third person pronoun with meanings as in (1) and (2). --Cf. also the following uses of /thân/: (a) as a noun or classifier denoting highly respected persons, or denoting royalty of middle or lower rank. (b) as a title placed before rank terms denoting respected persons, or before names or kin terms denoting royalty of lower rank. --Listed here as a personal pronoun because pronominal usage predominates markedly over unambiguous noun usage.

*/thəə/ (II) 1. speaking to inferior, especially female teacher to pupil, or older to younger kin. Paired with /chǎn/. 2. speaking to intimate equal, especially by or to female. Paired with /chǎn/ and raw/. --Usually not male to male. --Cf. /thəə/ as a third person pronoun.

212.3. Third person forms.

*/kɛɛ/ (III) 1. term used by some speakers in referring to respected persons such as parents and teachers, or respectfully referring to equals. 2. term used by other speakers as a rather informal and familiar term, speaking of a wide range of referents, including both superiors and inferiors. According to some informants, this usage implies a degree of intimacy with the referent and is otherwise slightly disrespectful. --Note: the forms /kɛɛ/ and /khǎw/, q.v., together cover an area of meaning ranging from slightly formal

and respectful to informal and occasionally slightly disrespectful.²¹ Usage with regard to the two forms and the borderline between them varies between different speakers. The meanings listed under /kɛɛ/ and /khǎw/ represent the two extremes of usage in each case. Those who use /kɛɛ/ in meaning (1) are likely to use /khǎw/ in meaning 1; and those who use /kɛɛ/ in meaning (2) are likely to use /khǎw/ in meaning (2).²² There are also speakers who fit into neither pattern, and who draw the dividing line in a different place. The total picture is not yet clear. Perhaps further investigation would reveal some area of meaning that is peculiar to each form in the speech of most speakers of Bangkok Thai. --According to some informants, both /kɛɛ/ and /khǎw/ may take /khǎw/ 'they' for the plural, but one informant insists that only /phûagkɛɛ/ 'his (her) group' is possible. In any case, /kɛɛ/ alone is never used with plural meaning.

- * /khǎw/ ~ /kháw/ (III)
1. general term used by some speakers in referring to both intimates and nonintimates who are being spoken of without particular respect or disrespect.
 2. restricted term used by other speakers in referring to intimates or nonintimates not too far removed in status (friends, acquaintances, siblings) in nonintimate or somewhat formal situations.
 3. term used by some speakers as the third person plural of both /khǎw/ itself and /kɛɛ/. --See note under /kɛɛ/ above.

*/lòn/ (III) 1. form used in written language, especially novels, stories, etc., as a general anaphoric referent for a girl or young woman. 2. royalty speaking of common woman. 3. adult speaking of child.

--Obsolescent in meanings (2) and (3).

/man/ (III) 1. speaking of animals and occasionally of inanimate objects. 2. nonrestraint term used informally speaking of intimates or inferiors, especially males or children, or in a derogatory sense of a wide range of referents including nonintimates, adult females, superiors (e.g. teachers) and foreigners.

*/phíkæ/ (III) (< /phii/ 'elder sibling' + /kæ/ 'he') mildly disrespectful or humorous term used informally speaking of a very wide range of referents including both inferiors and superiors (parents, high officials, and occasionally even royalty). Less disrespectful than /man/ when used of superiors.

*/phrá'ón/ (III) speaking of high ranking royalty, deities, or the Buddha. Cf. also /phrá'ón/ as a second person form (~~Christians addressing God~~), and as a noun or classifier denoting high ranking royalty, deities, the Buddha. Listed here as a personal pronoun because anaphoric third person usage predominates.

*/thân/ (III) 1. highly deferential term speaking of superiors such as parents and other older kin, priests, high officials, and others to whom one wishes to show special respect. 2. speaking of royalty, especially of lower rank. --Cf. notes and comments under /thân/

as a second person form.

*/thəə/ (III) elegant and respectful term; cf. /thəə/ as a second person pronoun.

213. Semantic distinctions. The most important are those which relate to the category of person, and those which involve speaker, addressee, and referent relationships-- particularly as regards differences of status and intimacy. Other distinctions include those relating to sex, age, and (to a limited extent) number. Case is signalled by syntactic position rather than by the addition or substitution of overt case forms, and it is therefore not discussed here.

213.1. Number. Personal pronouns, like nouns, do not have number as an obligatory formal category, but not all forms are ambiguous as to number. As a general rule, first person forms are used only with singular meaning. Exceptions include the forms /klâawkrəphǒm/, /raw/, and /khâaphacâw/. A number of second person forms are similarly restricted to usage with singular meanings.

The forms /raw/ (first person) and /khǎw/ (third person) occur freely in either singular or plural usage, with or without overt plural expressions accompanying them. Note, however, that in singular usage /raw/ is a somewhat restricted first person form used chiefly by royalty speaking to commoners, or between intimate equals (see inventory). In plural usage it is a general term which may serve as the corresponding plural of all first person singular forms except terms used to royalty and perhaps /khâaphacâw/. In

a somewhat similar fashion /khǎw/ (third person) is used in the singular as a more restricted term, and in the plural (by some speakers) as a general term serving as the corresponding plural of both /khǎw/ and /kɛɛ/.

Other forms are usually singular unless accompanied by plural expressions of some kind. However, such plural expressions are occasionally omitted if the plural meaning is clear without them.

We may say, then, that forms not restricted to singular usage are more or less ambiguous with respect to the category of number, but that only /raw/ and /khǎw/ are used freely in the plural without overt expressions to mark plural meaning.

The plural may be expressed by means of two types of construction:²³ a) by the addition of an enumerative type of expression immediately following the pronoun: e.g. /kháw¹sǎam²khon³/ 'they¹ three² (classifier for persons)³'; /raw¹thán²lǎaj³/ 'we, we all' (we¹ all² several³). This type of plural expression does not occur with forms that are restricted to singular meaning. b) by means of a preceding form /phúag/ 'group', or /lǎw/ 'group' (a more elegant term): e.g. /phúag¹khun²/ 'you' (lit. your² group¹); /lǎw¹kramòm²/ 'we (speaking to royalty)' (lit. my² group¹). In this usage pronouns function as possessive modifiers of /phúag/ or /lǎw/. This type of plural expression may occur with almost all personal pronouns, whether they be basically singular in meaning or ambiguous.

When /phûag/ or /lâw/ is used with a first person singular form, the resulting expression excludes the addressee. Thus, /phûag¹phôm²/ means 'we, my² group¹' (not including 'you'). When used with a first person form that is ambiguous as to number, the resulting expression may or may not include the addressee. Thus /phûag¹raw²/ may mean either 'we, my² group¹' (e.g. speaking to intimate), or 'we, our² group¹'.

The various possible types of plural usage with each pronoun form are charted in Figure 2. The symbol x marks pluralizations which occur readily. The same symbol in parentheses indicates that the pluralization in question is rare, or that not all informants are agreed as to the possibility of its occurrence. Forms marked with an asterisk are those used speaking to royalty.

The following additional clarification should be made concerning first person plural usage in addressing royalty. First, /lâw/ as an elegant term is more appropriate than /phûag/ for denoting 'the speaker and others' exclusive of the royal addressee. Second, it is not considered appropriate for a speaker to include himself in the same grouping as the royal addressee, unless the group is a large, impersonal one. If the speaker wishes to refer to himself and royalty, he must use the conjunction /lé/ plus the appropriate first person form: e.g. /tâajfâa'phrabâad¹lé²klâaw'kramòm³/ 'you¹and² I³'. But if the group referred to is a large, impersonal one including both the royal addressee, the speaker, and others, it may be permissible

FIRST PERSON FORMS	Followed by /thánlǎaj/	Preceded by /lǎw/ (addressee excluded)	Plur. raw' or /phûagraw/ (large group addr. incl.)
*khâa' phraphúd' thacâaw'		x	(x)
*klâawkramòm' (chán')		x	x
*kramòm' (chán')		x	x
		Pr. by /phûag/ (addr. excl.)	/raw/ or /phûagraw/ (incl. or excl.)
klâawkraphôm'	x	[x (incl. or ex.)]	x
kraphôm'		x	x
dichăn'		x	x
khâaphacâw'	x	[x (incl. or ex.)]	x
ʔàadtamaa'	ʔ	x	x
phôm'		x	x
chăn'		x	x
raw'	(general plural)	[x (incl. or ex.)]	x
kan'		x	x
khâa'		x	x
kuu'		x	x
khǎw'		ʔ	x
ʔúa'		x	x
ʔaj'		x	x
riam'		x	x
SECOND PERSON FORMS	Followed by /thánlǎaj/	Preceded by /lǎw/	Occur alone as plur. ʔ
*tâajfàa' la' ʔɔɔŋ' thú- lǐi' phrábàad'			
*tâajfàa' phrábàad'	ʔ	(x)	(x)
*fàa (phrá) bəad'	ʔ	(x)	(x)

Figure 2. Possibilities for expressing plural with personal pronouns.

SECOND PERSON FORMS (Continued)	Followed by /thánlǎaj/	Preceded by /phúag/	Occur alone as plur.
tâajtháaw'	(x)	x	(x)
thân'	x	x	x
phráʔon'		ʔ	
khun'	x	x	x
thee'	(x)	x	(x)
naaj'		x	
kee'		x	x
câw'	(x)	x	
ʔen'		x	
myŋ'		x	ʔ
tua'		x	
lýy'		x	
juu'		x	x
lòn'		x	
THIRD PERSON FORMS			
phráʔon'	(x)	x	
thân'	x	x	(x)
thee'	(x)	x	
kee'	(kháwthánlǎaj)	x	(khǎw')
khǎw'	x	x	x
phîkee'	(x)	x	x
lòn'	(x)	x	(x)
man'		x	x

Figure 2. (Continued)

to use /phûag¹raw²/ 'we, us, our² group¹', or perhaps occasionally /raw/ 'we, us', the latter especially to lesser royalty. The terms /raw/ and /phûagraw/ when used in addressing royalty will ordinarily be inclusive of the addressee in this general sense. When the same terms are used speaking to non-royalty they may either include the addressee or not.

213.2. Person. Personal pronouns have been listed in the inventory above in terms of person distinctions. Most forms are restricted as to this category, but seven of them are ambivalent in that they can be used to refer to more than just first, just second, or just third person. These forms are set forth in Figure 3, and their usage in alternate person contexts is summarized and charted.

Note that most cases of ambivalence involve second and third person; but note also that in most cases there are variations of meaning that are concomitant with usage in one person as against usage in another. Only /thân/ is really parallel in second and third person usage. The form /lôn/ is partially parallel in second and third person usage, but the pertinent third person meanings are obsolete; written usage also sets third person apart from second. Second person usage of /raw/ is no doubt a special extension of general first person plural usage, and retains the first person connotation (just as English "we" does in second person usage). In the case of /phrá'ón/, second person usage is more restricted than third. With /kεε/,

Form	First person	Second person	Third person
raw'	sg. several meanings	adult identifying with child	
khăw'	pl. general term female or child to intimate, "cute"		a. fairly general b. slightly formal
kee'		a. speaking to inferior b. nonrestraint, esp. female speaking	a. mildly respectful b. informal and may be slightly disrespectful
lôn'		a. royalty to common woman b. intimate, adult to child	a. (written) ref. to girl or young woman b. (obsolete) same as 2nd person
phrá'ơn'		a. sp. to royal equal or near equal b. Christians in prayer to God	speaking of royalty, deity, Buddha
thân'		a. to highly respected persons b. to royalty	same as 2nd person
thêe'		to inferior or intimate	elegant and respectful term

Figure 3. Personal pronouns which are ambivalent as to person

the slightly disrespectful third person use approaches the semantic range of nonrestraint²⁴ second person use, but there is still a difference, and in any case, not all speakers use the third person form in this way. The forms /khǎw/ and /thəə/ are semantically quite distinct as between usage in one person and in another.

Not listed in Figure 3 are the forms /câw/, /khun/, /joom/, and /naaj/, which also have both a second and a third person usage. Of these, /câw/ and /khun/ are taken to be nouns rather than pronouns when they occur in third person contexts. (See comments under these forms in section 212.2.) The forms /joom/ and /naaj/ are each taken to have two types of usage, one as second person pronouns (see under 212.2.) and another as status terms (see under 222.).

213.3. Sex. Distinctions of sex vary in importance and kind in different parts of the personal pronoun system. Some forms are restricted to certain sex differentiations; others are partially restricted, and still others are not restricted at all. Also, some semantic distinctions as to sex are primary. That is, they are not the result or corollary of some other semantic feature. Other distinctions or restrictions are secondary, being derived from semantic features that may be considered as more basic and determinative. For example, strong nonrestraint²⁴ language is considered to be inappropriate for women or children, and it is therefore restricted chiefly, or at least ideally, to use between adolescent or adult males. Here the

nonrestraint feature is primary, and the sex-oriented restrictions are secondary.

Primary sex distinctions are charted in Figure 4. Symbols used here and in Figure 5 are explained as follows:

aM	adult male
aaM	adolescent or adult male
F	female
Fc	woman or child
M	male
Opp	opposite sex from speaker
Same	same sex as speaker
X	either sex

The distinctions as shown in Figure 4 reflect a simple contrast between forms restricted to use by males and forms restricted to use by females. Forms with secondary distinctions and unrestricted forms are here ignored.

Secondary sex distinctions are of several types, and their patterns may be summarized as follows:

a) priestly usage, M to X because all priests are male: /ʔaadtamaa/ 'I, me' and /joom/ 'you' (speaking especially to parent, supporter)

b) certain nonrestraint usage, chiefly aM to aM because nonrestraint usage of this type is ideally appropriate only between adolescent or adult males: /kuu/ and /myŋ/, a general nonrestraint first and second person pair; /khâa/ and /ʔeŋ/ (both under meaning (2) in the inventory; see 212.) assertive and nonrestraint pair; /ʔúa/ and /lŷy/

M to X	F to X	Situational context
phǒm'	dichǎn'	speaking to equal or superior, deferential
kraphǒm'		sp. to high-ranking superior, or formally to equal, more deferential
klêawkraphǒm'		Ditto, still more deferential
kramòm'	mòmchán'	sp. to lesser royalty
	kramòm'chán'	
klêawkramòm'	klêawkramòm'chán'	sp. to higher royalty

Figure 4. Primary sex differentiation
in personal pronouns

(both under meaning 2) a mild nonrestraint pair used in camaraderie.

c) certain intimate usage, chiefly Fc to X because otherwise too unmasculine or childish; also often endearing or "cute": the first person form /khǎw/ (meanings 1 and 2).

Some forms, including the ones mentioned in b) and c) above, have somewhat varying meanings or connotations depending on concomitant variations in sex usage. Variations of this sort are charted in Figure 5. Numbers in parentheses refer to numbered definitions listed in the inventory (212.). Distinctions summarized on the chart apply only to the numbered meanings of the forms in questions. Forms listed in neither Figure 4 nor Figure 5 may be considered to be largely unrestricted as to use by, to, or of either sex.

213.4. Age. In evaluating age as a factor in the usage of personal pronouns, it is important to differentiate between absolute and relative age. Absolute age relates to restrictions or distinctions involving speakers and addressees as children, adolescents, or adults. Relative age is concerned with whether the speaker is older, younger, or the same age as the addressee. Since relative age is inseparably linked with the problem of the relative status of speaker and addressee, it will be dealt with under Section 213.5. Here we will consider only absolute age.

In this sense, age is not one of the more important factors in the use of personal pronouns. There are indeed age-linked restrictions affecting a number of forms, but

1st pers.	2nd	3rd	aaM to aaM	Fc to Fc	X to Opp
kuu' (1)	myn'		(normal usage) Non-restraint	More unrestrained, Or low class, Or (F to F, rare) very intimate	Extremely rude and unrestrained
khâa' (2)	ʔen' (2)		(normal usage) Assertive and nonrestraint	In other sp.- addr. sex combinations: Very unrestrained	
ʔúa' (2)	lýy' (2)		M to M (normal usage) Mild nonrestraint	Places female in position of male camaraderie	
chăn'			aaM to X Implies more speaker superiority	Used more freely to equals	
khăw' (1 and 2)			aaM to X Somewhat effeminate or childish	Affectionate, cute, or expresses anger	
	naaj'		Less intimate	More intimate; usually tomboyish	
kan'			X to Same Intimate	X to Opp More intimate	
	kee' (2)		Nonrestraint	More intimate, or else rude	
		man'	Usually more intimate or nonrestraint sp. to or of females		

Figure 5. Sex-linked semantic variations in personal pronoun usage

most of these seem to be secondary. That is, they arise from other semantic features of the forms in question. These restrictions are summarized in Figure 6. Forms not listed on the chart are indeterminate as to absolute age. Symbols used are explained below. Note that the terms "child", "adolescent" and "adult" are defined linguistically (on the basis of pronominal usage) and not biologically or psychologically. The dividing lines between the various age groupings are somewhat flexible.

- A adults (late teenage and up)
- AA adolescents (early and mid-teenage) and
adults
- C children (below teenage)
- CA children, adolescents, and young adults
up to about the age of thirty
- X age indeterminate
- * age restrictions loose and somewhat for-
tuitous
- ** somewhat restricted as specified except
in private

213.5. Speaker-addressee-referent relationship.

Undoubtedly the most important and generally applicable semantic distinctions between personal pronouns are those which involve the relationship between speaker, addressee, and, in the case of third person forms, referent. Usage may reflect this relationship as an objective one involving such cultural phenomena as relative status, kin relationship, friendship ties, etc., or it may reflect it subjectively,

Age re- strictions	First Person	Second Person	Situational context	Explanation of age restriction
A to A	khâa- phacâw'		esp. public address	Too formal for use by or to child, adolesc.
A to X	khâa'(1) raw'(2b) dichăn'	?eŋ'(1)	esp. master to servant esp. employer to employee female sp. to equal or superior	Somewhat obso- lescent Employers are usually adults Too formal for child., adolesc.
AA to AA	khâa'(2) kuu'(1) *?aj' *?aadta- maa'	?eŋ'(2) myŋ' *juu'	assertive, non- restraint nonrestraint affecting English culture Buddhist priest speaking	Too crude for children Ditto Child less likely to move in Eng. circle Priests and supporters not ²⁵
AA to X		*joom' câw' *Most royal terms	priest to support- er or parent sp. to inferiors sp. to royalty	usu. children Somewhat pat- ronizing Child less likely to know royal terms
A to C		raw'	identifying with addressee	Somewhat pat- ronizing
CA to CA	khăw'(1)	**tua' (1)	intimate and affec- tionate	Somewhat child- ish and cute

Figure 6. Age-linked distinctions in personal pronoun usage

expressing respect, affection, disrespect, camaraderie, nonrestraint, assertiveness, etc. The two types of relationship are inextricably intertwined, but it is helpful to consider them separately.

213.5.1. Objective relationships are of two main types: relative status, and associative ties. Relative status is measured chiefly in terms of the age or rank of the addressee or referent in comparison with that of the speaker. Associative ties are those of kinship or friendship, or those resulting from other contacts such as in business or at school. These ties may be close (as between nuclear kin, friends of long standing, etc.) or they may be more distant (as between strangers, business associates, formal contacts).

Figures 7 and 8 chart and summarize these objective relationships insofar as they determine usage. Figure 7 shows first and second person usage, Figure 8, third person usage. Both charts are set forth according to a similar scheme. Forms are listed from top to bottom in terms of relative status. At the top are forms used speaking to or of superiors;²⁶ below are those used speaking to or of equals; and next are those used to or of inferiors. ~~The type of relationship is summarized in the left hand column.~~ Forms are also placed from right to left on the charts in accordance with the relative closeness of association implied by the usage. To the left are forms which reflect a less

Identity of speaker and addressee		Forms		Type of association			
		- Intimacy or closeness of assoc.	+	IK	K	NK	S
commoner to king	Speaking to Royalty	khâa' phraphúđ' thacâaw' tâajfâa' la' ʔəŋ' thúlii' phrábâad'					
commoner to lower royalty		kramòm' (male speaking) thân' (2) ↓ / fâabaad'				?	
com. to high nonroy., or very deferential	Speaking to Equal or Sup.	kraphôm' (male sp.) / dichăn' (female sp.) ↓ thân' (1) ↑			X X	<u>X</u> <u>X</u>	(X) X
female sp., defer.		dichăn' ↑			X	<u>X</u>	X
m. sp., general def. m. or f. sp. " "		phôm' → khun' →		(X)	X (X)	<u>X</u> <u>X</u>	X (X)
female or child sp.	Speaking to Equal	chăn' (2) ↓		X	X	X	X
male or female sp.		raw' (2c) ↓ naaj' (m.sp.) naaj' (f.sp.)		X (X)	X X	X X	X X
ditto (but somewh. rare)		kan' (to same sex) ↓ kan' ↑ (to opp.sex)		X (X)	X (X)	X X	 ?
esp. by or to women or children		thee' (2) ↓		X	X	X	X
friend to friend affecting Engl. association		ʔaj' juu'		? ?	? ?	X X	? ?
young woman or child sp. to intimate		khăw' ↓ tua' ↓		X X	X X	X X	X X
sp. to intimate, obs. esp. f. sp. (nonrestr.)		câw' (1) ↓ kee' (1)		? ?	X X	X X	X X

Figure 7. Status, intimacy, and associative ties in first and second person personal pronouns

Identity of speaker and addressee		Forms		Type of association				
		- Intimacy or closeness of assoc.	+	IK	K	NK	S	
male to male (camaraderie)	Speaking to Equal		ʔúa' (2) ↓ lýy' (2) ↓	x	x	x	(x) (x)	
male to male (nonrestraint)			kuu' myŋ	x	x	x	rustic	
male to male (assertive)				khâa' (2) ↓ ʔeŋ' (2) ↓	x	x	x	rustic
esp. emplr. to employee (rare)	Speaking to Inferior		raw' (2b) ↑↓			x		
priest speaking priest sp. to supporter			← ʔaadtamaa' → joom'	x x	x x	x x	(x) (x)	
m. to inf., or to f. int.			chăn' ↑	x	x	x	x	
sp. to lower status Chinese			ʔúa' (1) ↑ lýy' (1) ↑		? ?	x x		
esp. tea. to pupil, par. to ch. sp. to inferior (obs.)			thee' (1) ↑ caw' (1) ↑	x	x x	x x	x x	
esp. master to servant			khâa' (1) ↑ ʔeŋ' (1) ↑		(x) (x)	x x	rustic	
sp. to inf. (general)			← kee' (1) ↑ →	x	x	x	"	
sp. to slightly inferior addressee				khăw' ↑ tua' ↑	x x	x x	x x	
adult to child				lòn' (2) ↓	(x)	x	x	
royalty to f. commoner king to subject (obs.)				lòn' (1) ↑ raw' (2a) ↑ caw' (2) ↑			x x x	

Figure 7. (Continued)

Identity of referent		- Intimacy +
speaking of royalty, deity, Buddha	Speaking of Royalty	phrá'ou'
speaking of royalty		thân'(2)
speaking of high-ranking nonroyalty	Speaking of Equal or Superior	thân'(1)
sp. of respected persons (elegant)		thee'
sp. disrespectfully of eq. and sup.		phíkee'
sp. of referents in general (mildly respectful)		khăw'(2)
sp. of ref. in gen. (neutral as to respect)	Speaking of Equal or Inferior	khăw'(1)
ditto (informal and sometimes slightly disrespectful)		kee'(2)
sp. of int. or inferior (moderate nonrestr., or disrespectful)		man'

Figure 8. Status and intimacy in third person personal pronouns

close relationship, and to the right a more close one.²⁷ Slash marks separate forms which should occupy approximately the same right-to-left position on the chart. Relative positioning in this regard should be interpreted on the basis of the left extremity (or beginning) of each listed form or set of forms.

In Figure 7, upward or downward arrows to the right of cited forms indicate that the same form appears elsewhere (either above or below) on the chart, but with a different meaning, either as regards status or association or both. Arrows pointing to the right or left indicate that the form in question has a range of meaning in the dimension of closeness of association. Underlined forms denote second person; others are first person. The remaining abbreviations and symbols used are explained as follows:

IK	immediate kin (parents, siblings, or children)
K	other kin
NK	nonkin
S	spouse

Possibilities of use to kin (see columns headed IK and K) must be interpreted in accordance with status restrictions. For example, forms listed under "speaking to equal" should be understood as being used to siblings and cousins (and perhaps uncles and aunts) who are approximately the same age as the speaker.

Several facts emerge from an examination of the charts

(Figures 7 and 8). First, in comparing the two, we note that first and second person forms are much more highly differentiated than third. This follows, no doubt, from the fact that, given a status-oriented pronoun system, it is naturally much more important to observe proper respect and deference in speaking to a person than in speaking about him. Thus, the slightly disrespectful form /phîkεε/ may be used in speaking of superiors, but no such disrespect may be shown to superiors in direct address.

An examination of Figure 7 reveals, among other things, a certain differentiation of status levels and degrees of deference in forms used to superiors. In fact, a fuller listing of forms used to royalty would reveal several levels of usage to different ranks of royalty. Note also that, of the forms used to superiors, not one expresses closeness of association, although /phǒm/ 'I, me' and /khun/ 'you' have a fair range of meaning in this regard. Forms used in addressing inferiors are differentiated not so much in degree of status difference as in kind (e.g. teacher to pupil, employer to employee, master to servant). Also this distinction as to kind of status difference is clearly linked to the type and closeness of associative ties. In fact, all forms used to inferiors may also be used intimately to equals. We might say that intimacy or inferiority leave the ego exposed to the approach of other persons, for status and nonintimacy create a protective wall which cannot be lightly penetrated.²⁸ However, it should be noted that not

all forms used to closely associated equals are also used readily to inferiors; see especially /kan/ 'I, me' and the pairs /kuu/ - /myn/, and /ʔaj/ - /juu/, which are used chiefly to equals. Also, certain forms have markedly different implications when used to equals and when used to inferiors; see especially /raw/ 'I, me', and the pairs /ʔua/ - /lýy/, and /khâa/ - /ʔen/.

Third person forms (Figure 8) are differentiated along lines similar to first and second person forms, but there are fewer distinctions and contrasts. However, usage reflects more than one single relationship (as between speaker and addressee). Rather it is the product of three relationships--speaker to referent, addressee to referent, and speaker to addressee. This three-way relationship is probably best explained by considering the speaker-referent relationship as primary, with the possibility (or sometimes the necessity) of adjustment by the speaker to accommodate the addressee-referent relationship. The accommodation or lack of it would then be an expression of the speaker-addressee relationship.

Adjustment takes place under certain circumstances in which the addressee-referent relationship contrasts with the speaker-referent relationship. Thus, in speaking of one's father to one's brother, one might use the familiar /kæ/ (meaning 2), with no necessity of adjustment, because one's brother is also entitled to use the familiar term. But in speaking of one's father to a servant, one might use the

deferential /thân/, especially if one's father is a high status person, since this term would be appropriate for the servant to use. Another possibility in the same situation would be the title-plus-kin term, /khun¹phô²phôm³/ 'my³ (respected)¹ father²'. Again, in speaking of a younger male acquaintance, one might ordinarily use the nonrestraint form /man/, but in speaking of him to his fiancée or in her presence, one would probably change to some other form such as /khăw/ or /kεε/. The fact that the addressee might use intimate or disrespectful language speaking of an intimate referent does not give a speaker license to do likewise. Thus, a woman might use /kεε/ (meaning 2) speaking of her husband, but a person speaking to her would not use it of him in return.

The general rule regarding adjustment is: 1) to adjust to the addressee-referent relationship along the respect dimension if the addressee is obliged to show more respect than the speaker, or if the addressee has closer ties of intimacy and emotional involvement; 2) to not adjust along the intimacy dimension if the addressee-referent relationship is more intimate unless one is sure it will cause no offense.

213.5.2. Subjective relationships between speaker, addressee, and referent involve four main types of attitude that may be expressed by the speaker: deference, nonrestraint, assertiveness and intimacy.

Deference is shown by using such pronouns as are appropriate for speech to or of superiors, i.e. the first

six items in Figure 7. Deferential forms should be used to all superiors, to strangers (except children and other obvious inferiors), and to equals in formal situations. In general, ~~Generally speaking~~ speakers feel less bound by obligations concerning deference in third person than in first or second person use, except when adjustment to the addressee is necessary.

Degrees of deference may be shown by using forms higher or lower on the addressee or referent status scale. For example, /kraphǒm/ 'I, me' (speaking to high ranking superior) is more deferential than /phǒm/ 'I, me' (speaking to equal or superior). The former would therefore only be used to an equal in exceptionally formal situations. Deferential usage may also be obsequious if overdone, or it may express mock deference. Almost any superior addressee form may be used in the latter sense.

Pronoun usage can also reflect absence of deference. All but the first six items in Figure 7 may be considered as non-deferential. This does not mean that they are disrespectful. In fact, all forms may be considered as expressing such respect as is proper to the occasion, provided they are used in accordance with the norms laid down by society, i.e. superior addressee terms to superiors, intimate terms to intimates, etc. Disrespect can be expressed by violating these norms.

Nonrestraint is a feature inherent in a number of terms used to express a certain defiance of or nonconformity

to underlying standards of more proper usage, and expressing also a certain sense of ego-freedom. Such defiance, non-conformity, or freedom is countenanced, provided it does not exceed certain bounds. Or, to express it in another way, there are situations in which the speaker does not have to be polite, refined, cultured, gracious. If, however, the nonrestraint terms are used without regard to specified limitations, they usually become very much more rude, coarse, or nonrestrained.

Nonrestraint varies both in kind and degree. Figure 9 summarizes the essential and distinguishing features of the various nonrestraint forms and their usage in various situations.

Assertiveness may be defined as an attitude which a speaker takes when he pits himself, either in anger or good-naturedly, against an addressee. This attitude is usually assumed in some situation, such as an argument or contest of wills, that calls for self-assertion. It also may be assumed by forceful, assertive, or outgoing persons as a general stance affecting many interpersonal contacts. It implies competitiveness and superiority, not so much in status as in personality.

As a general rule, assertiveness is a secondary or derived feature. It is often expressed, for example, by the use of nonrestraint terms, especially the pair /kuu/ and /myŋ/, and also /kεε/ 'you', and /man/ 'he, him, she, her', and occasionally the pair /?úa/ and /lýy/. However,

Forms			Degree of nonrestraint	Distinctive flavor or type of nonconformity	Limitations upon usage	Effect when used beyond limitations
First person	Second person	Third person				
kuu' (1)	myŋ'		strong	coarse; expresses freedom from necessity of refinement	m. to m. int. (rare f. to very close f. int.)	very rude and very coarse
khâa' (2)	ʔeŋ' (2)		strong (esp. because assertive)	assertive, coarse; expresses freedom from refinement	male to male intimate	very rude and very coarse
	keε' (2)		moderate to strong	unrefined	to int. same sex (rare to opp. ")	rather rude
	naaj' (2)		mild	slightly tomboyish	(a nonrestraint form only if used f. sp., otherwise merely intimate or friendly)	
ʔúa' (2)	lýy' (2)		mild	expresses relaxed m. camaraderie; slang	male to male intimate	reduces femininity
ʔaj'	juu'		mild	Westernizing, foreign	--	--
		man'	moderate	informal and intimate or disrespectful	esp. of male inf. or child	rather disrespectful
		phîkee'	mild	informal and slightly disrespectful	--	--
		keε' (2)	very mild	informal, and may be slightly disrespectful	--	--

Figure 9. Nonrestraint personal pronouns

in the pair /khâa/ and /ʔeŋ/ (both meaning 2), assertiveness is primary--although it is perhaps less used now in this sense than formerly. Another device for expressing anger or assertiveness is that of switching from an intimate usage customary between speaker and addressee (e.g. the pair, /raw/ and /tua/, husband speaking to wife) to more formal terms (e.g. /phǒm/ and /khun/).

Intimacy as a subjective element in personal pronoun usage may be defined as a speaker's subjective evaluation of the closeness of his relationship with a given addressee and/or referent. The degree of closeness as expressed by one's choice of pronouns can be ascertained from Figures 7 and 8.

There are also implications as to kind of intimacy. First, there is the intimacy of camaraderie and freedom--freedom to ignore social niceties, to be oneself, to express oneself in unrestrained fashion without fear of being misunderstood. Presumably, in all languages this is one of the ways in which intimacy is felt and expressed. Of interest here is the fact that in Thai this intimacy of freedom is expressed so markedly in the use of various personal pronouns (see Figure 9). It is noteworthy, too, that the more strongly nonrestraint forms imply a greater degree of intimacy--or else they are rude.

Second, there is the intimacy of friendship, affection, and endearment. This type of intimacy may be said to characterize all intimate forms in Figures 7 and 8 which

are not characterized by some degree of nonrestraint (see Figure 9). The less intimate of these may be considered as indicating everyday friendliness or affection, i.e. /chǎn/ (meaning 2) and other forms placed vertically below it in Figure 7. Somewhat more intimate forms ^{may} express more definite affection (see /kan/, speaking to the same sex; also the second person form /thæ/ and the other forms aligned vertically with it). The most intimate terms often have an element of endearment (see /kan/ speaking to the opposite sex, et.al.). The form /kæ/ (meaning 1) 'you' (speaking to inferiors) varies between neutral (to strangers) and quite affectionate (to kin).

214. General analysis of semantic features.

Figure 10 summarizes the various semantic features of personal pronouns which have been discussed so far. Semantic features are divided into three types: those relating to speaker, to addressee or referent, and to attitude of speaker. For convenience, relative speaker-addressee (or referent) status is treated as an addressee (or referent) feature (see "Superior" column), and the objective aspect of intimacy (what we have called "associative ties") is ignored. Items are segregated according to the category of person and listed alphabetically under each head. Royal terms are omitted. Semantic features are evaluated in terms of ideal or normal usage, not unusual

Forms	Semantic Features								Additional Comments
	Speaker		Addressee			Attitude			
	Age	Sex	Age	Sex	Addressee Superiority	Respect	Nonrestr.	Intimacy	
1st person									
ʔàadtamaa'	/+	+	/+		/-		-	-	priest speaking
ʔaj'	/+	+?	/+	+?	/	-	+	F	(from English)
ʔúa'(1)					-	-			(to low stat.Chinese)
ʔúa'(2)		+		+	/	-	+	F	
chăn'(1)		+			-	-			
chăn'(2)					/-	-			
dichăn'	+	-			/+	+	-	-	
kan'	+		+		/	-		+	more int. to opp. sex
kraphôm'		+			/+	++	-	-	
kuu'	/+	+	/+	+	/	-	++	F++	
khâa'(1)	+				-	-		+	esp. to servant
khâa'(2)	/+	+	/+	+	/	-	A++	F++	
khâapha-câw'	+					+	-	-	
khăw'(1)	/-		/-		/	-		++	cute(esp. w. or child sp.)
khăw'(2)	/-		/-		/	-	+	F?	angry (ditto)
phôm		+			/+	+	-	-	
raw'(2a)	?	+			-	-	-	-	king speaking
raw'(2b)	+				-	-	-	-	esp.to employee
raw'(2c)					/	-		+	rare f. to m.

Figure 10. Semantic features of personal pronouns (1st person forms)

Forms	Semantic Features								Additional Comments
	Speaker		Addressee			Attitude			
	Age	Sex	Age	Sex	Addressee Superiority	Respect	Nonrestr.	Intimacy	
<u>2nd person</u>									
ʔeŋ'(1)	+				-	-		+	esp. to servant
ʔeŋ'(2)	/+	+	/+	+	/	-	A++	F++	
câw'(1)	+				/-	-		+	obsolescent
joom'	/+		/+		-		-		priest to sup.
juu'	/+	+?	/+	+?	/	-	+	F	(from English)
kεε'(1)	+?				-	-			
kεε'(2)					/	-	+	F++	
khun'					/+	+	-	-	
lòn'	+		-		-	-	-	+	
lýy'(1)					-	-			to lower stat. Chinese
lýy'(2)		+		+	/	-	+	F	
myŋ'	/+	+	/+	+	/	-	++	F++	
naaj'(1)		+			/	-		+	
naaj'(2)		-			/	-	+	+	
phráʔoŋ'(2)			(+)	(+)	+	++	-	-	prayer to God
phráʔoŋ'(1)	+?		+?		/	+	-	-	roy. to equal
tâajtháaw'	/+		+		+	++	-	-	
thân'(1,2)					/+	++	-	-	
thæə'					/+	-	-	+	esp. to ch. or servant

Figure 10. Semantic features of personal pronouns (continued) (2nd person forms)

Forms	Semantic Features						Additional Comments
	Speaker	Referent		Attitude			
		Sex	Referent superiority	Respect	Nonrestraint	Intimacy	
<u>3rd person</u>							
kεε' (1)			/+	+	-	-	
kεε' (2)				-	(+)	+	
khăw' (1)				-			
khăw' (2)				(+)			
lôn'		-			-	+	esp. in novels
man'			/-	-	+	F	more readily used of males
phîkεε'			/+	-	(+)	F	
phrá'øn'			+	++	-	-	of royalty
thân'			/+	++	-	-	
thæə'				+	-	-	(rare)

Figure 10. Semantic features of personal pronouns
(continued)(3rd person forms)

or special-effect usage.²⁹ Symbols are to be interpreted as follows:

- (no symbol): semantic feature is irrelevant;
may be present or absent depending
on context.
- + semantic feature is present.
- ++ high degree of semantic feature is present.
- opposite of semantic feature is present;
in the deference column, this means only
nondeference, not disrespect; disrespect
is expressed by exceeding norms indicated
on chart.
- / halfway between positive and negative; in
the adult speaker or addressee columns
this means adolescent as opposed to adult
(+) or child (-); in the superior addressee
column this means equal addressee.
- A feature of nonrestraint is derived from
assertiveness.
- F feature of intimacy is that of freedom
(derived from intimacy plus nonrestraint).

215. The pairing of forms. First and second person forms whose semantic areas overlap may co-occur in the speech of one person to another in any situation covered by the area of overlap. There is a very large number of possible pairings, including not only personal pronouns, but also kintype nouns and name nouns. Different pairings vary

as to the degree of overlap involved between the two forms in question. For example, the form /ʔúa/ in its various uses covers almost exactly the same semantic range as /lýy/, except that /ʔúa/ is first person and /lýy/ is second. These two forms then constitute a completely natural pair. Then the forms /phǒm/ and /khun/ overlap in a substantial portion of the semantic range of each, both being commonly used in slightly deferential everyday speech to equals and superiors. But /phǒm/ is used only by males, /khun/ by either sex; and /khun/ is not ordinarily used to superior kin, while /phǒm/ is. These forms therefore constitute a natural pair when used by males in everyday speech with equals or with superior nonkin. Then again, there are pairings which are possible, but rare--often acceptable to some speakers but not to others. And finally there are pairings which are absurd or impossible.

Possible pairings are summarized in Figure 11 under two separate, independent lists placed side by side for convenience of reference. To the left are first person forms numbered 1,2,3 etc., and to the right are second person forms, itemized by letters of the alphabet (a,b,c). They are loosely ordered, one below another, on a descending addressee status scale; but various meanings of the same form are listed together. Numbers immediately following a form and enclosed in parentheses indicate meanings as numbered in the inventory (section 212.). In the next column opposite each form are listed the numbers

First person forms	Possible pairings	Second person forms	Possible pairings
1. khãa'phraphud'thacãaw' (to highest roy.)	<u>a</u> <u>b</u> (c d)	a. tâajfãa'la'pou'thú- lii'phrábãad' (to king)	<u>1</u>
2. klãawkramòm' (m. sp. to high roy.)	<u>c</u> <u>d</u> e h	b. tâajfãa'la'pou'phrá- bãad' (to hst.roy.)	<u>1</u>
3. klãawkramòm'chán' (f. sp. to high roy.)	<u>c</u> <u>d</u> e h	c. tâajfãa'phrábãad' (to high roy.)	(1) <u>2</u> <u>3</u> (4 5)
4. kramòm' (m. to roy.)	(c) d <u>e</u> <u>h</u> (i)	d. fãa'phrábãad' (to high roy.)	(1) <u>2</u> <u>3</u> 4 5
5. kramòm'chán' mòmchán' (w. sp. to roy.)	(c) d <u>e</u> <u>h</u> (i)	e. fãabãad' (to roy.)	2 3 <u>4</u> <u>5</u> (6)
6. klãawkraphõm' (m. sp. to high nonroy.)	<u>g</u> (h) i (e); Ngt (Nnt S) <u>St</u>	f. phrá'pou' (to God)	<u>11</u>
7. kraphõm' (defer.m.sp.)	<u>g</u> (h) <u>i</u> ; (K) Kt <u>Ngt</u> Nnt S St	g. thân'(1) (to highly resp. sup.)	<u>6</u> <u>7</u> <u>8</u> <u>9</u> <u>10</u> ; Nn (f.sp.) S (nũu')
8. dichãn' (defer. w. sp.)	<u>g</u> <u>i</u> <u>j</u> ; (K) Kt (Ng) <u>Ngt</u> Nnt S St	h. thân'(2) (to roy.)	2 3 <u>4</u> <u>5</u>
9. phõm' (general defer., m. sp.)	<u>g</u> (i) <u>j</u> (l); K <u>Kt</u> Ng <u>Ngt</u> Nn Nnt S St	i. tâajthãaw' (to high nonroyalty)	(4 5) 6 <u>7</u> <u>8</u> (9); Nn (f.sp.) S (nũu')
10. khãaphacãw'(1) (esp. pub. address)	<u>g</u> (j); (K) Kt (Ng) Ngt (Nn Nnt)	j. khun' (defer.)	<u>8</u> <u>9</u> <u>12</u> <u>13</u> <u>14</u> 16 17; (K) (Ng,f.sp.) Nn S(nũu')
11. khãaphacãw'(2) (prayer to God)	<u>f</u>	k. joom' (priest to supporter or par.)	<u>12</u> (13); Kt (e.g. lũaphõc')
12. 'ãadtamaa'	<u>j</u> <u>k</u> (n)	l. naaj'(1) (m. sp.)	(9 13) <u>17</u> (18); (Nn)

Figure 11. Possible ^{pronominal} pairings

First person forms	Possible pairings	Second person forms	Possible pairings
13. chǎn' (1) (m.sp.)	<u>j l n o r s</u> (x z) za (zb); K (Kt) <u>Ng</u> (Ngt) <u>Nn</u> <u>Nnt</u> <u>S</u> (nǔu') St (khunnǔu')	m. naaj' (2) (f. sp.)	14 <u>17</u> (18 25); Nn
14. chǎn' (2) (f. sp.)	<u>j</u> (m) <u>n o r s</u> (x) z za zb; K Kt Ng Ngt <u>Nn</u> <u>Nnt</u> <u>S</u> (nǔu') St (khunnǔu')	n. thee' (1) (to inf.)	(12) <u>13</u> <u>14</u> 15 16; K Ng Nn <u>S</u>
15. raw' (2a) (king sp.)	<u>n</u> (q) za; Ng Nnt S St	o. thee' (2) (to eq. esp. by or to f.)	<u>13</u> <u>14</u> <u>17</u> (18) 25 26; K Ng Nn
16. raw' (2b) (to inf.)	<u>j n r</u> ; Ng (Ngt) Nn (Nnt)	p. cǎw' (1) (to eq. or inf.)	<u>23</u> 24
17. raw' (2c) (to equal int.)	(j) <u>l m o s z</u> ; K (e.g. phíi') Kt <u>Ng</u> Ngt <u>Nn</u> <u>Nnt</u> S (e.g. cǎwkun')	q. cǎw' (2) (king sp.)	(15) 23
18. ken' (to int.)	<u>l</u> (m o v r y) <u>s</u> ; K (Kt) Ng (Ngt) <u>Nn</u> <u>Nnt</u>	r. kee' (1) (to inf.)	<u>13</u> <u>14</u> (16 23); K Nn b
19. kuu' (nonrestr.)	(s) <u>t</u> (v x y); (K Ng) <u>Nn</u>	s. kee' (2) (non-restr. to eq.)	(13) 14 (<u>17</u> <u>18</u> (19 21 24) (25); K (phíi') Nn
20. ?úa' (1) (to Chin.)	<u>u</u> ; K	t. myi' (nonrestr.)	<u>19</u> (21 23) 24
21. ?úa' (2) (to eq.)	(s t y) <u>v</u> ; (K Ng Nn)	u. lýy' (1) (to Chin.)	<u>20</u> ; (K)
22. ?aj' (fr. Eng.)	<u>w</u>	v. lýy' (2) (to eq.)	<u>21</u> (18 19); K (e.g. phíi') (Ng Nn S)
		w. juu' (fr. Eng.)	<u>22</u>
		x. ?en' (1) (to inf.)	(13 14 19) <u>23</u> ; K S (e.g. khruu', in anger)
		y. ?en' (2) (assert.)	(18 19) <u>24</u> ; (K Nn)

Figure 11. (Continued)

First person forms	Possible pairings	Second person forms	Possible pairings
23. khâa'(1) (to inf)	p q r t <u>x</u> ; (Nn) Nnt(?âj + Nn)	z. tua' (to int. eq. or inf.)	14 17 <u>25</u> ; K(phîi') Nn S(nũu')
24. khâa'(2) (assert.)	(Nn) Nnt(?âj + Nn); ↵ (p) s t <u>y</u>	za. lôn'(1) (roy. to commoner)	13 14 15
25. khăw'(1,2) (esp. w.or child sp.)	m o s <u>z</u> ; K (Kt) Ng <u>Nn</u> Nnt S(nũu')	zb. lôn'(2) (adult to child)	(13) 14; <u>K</u> (Nn) S

First person forms	Possible pairings
K	<u>K</u> Kt Ng (Ngt) <u>Nn</u> <u>Nnt</u>
Ng	<u>K</u> Kt <u>Ng</u> <u>Ng</u> t Nn Nnt <u>S</u> <u>St</u>
Nn	<u>K</u> <u>Kt</u> Ng (Ngt) <u>Nn</u> <u>Nnt</u> S St
Nnt	<u>K</u> Kt Ng (Ngt) <u>Nn</u> <u>Nnt</u> S(nũu')
S	K(when S is nũu') Kt(ditto) <u>Ng</u> Ng Nn Nnt S(with nũu') St(with nũu')

Figure 11. (Continued)

or letters of the alphabet representing forms in the opposite list which may be paired with it. Underlining indicates that semantic overlap is substantial and that pairing is very natural. Parentheses in this column indicate that overlap is minimal, and pairing is unusual or perhaps unacceptable to some informants. Symbols neither underlined nor in parentheses indicate acceptable pairings that are less common or natural than those indicated by underlining.³⁰ Other symbols used in Figure 11 are:

K	kin term (see 221.)
Kt	title + kin term
Ng	given name (see 231.)
Ng ^t	title + given name
Nn	nickname (see 232.)
Nn ^t	title + nickname
S	status term (see 222.)
S ^t	title + status term

220. Kintype nouns. These may be defined here as noun forms which denote either blood kin folk, or persons possessing a given status or rank in society, and which are also used in pronominal reference. They differ from personal pronouns in that they are used both nominally and pronominally, and both usages are closely linked semantically.

As nouns, forms of this type for the most part readily fill the empty position in frames such as the following:
 /khon¹nán²pen³_____phöm⁴./ 'That² person¹ is³ my⁴

_____ (e.g. 'brother')', or /kháw¹pen²_____/ 'He¹ is² a _____ (e.g. 'teacher')'. Also, as nouns, they have greater privileges of expansion by modifiers of various types (see 152.; cf. 211.3.).

In pronominal usage, kintype nouns are indeterminate as to the category of person--whether first, second, or third--although a number of forms do not occur in the first person. Also, kintype nouns retain their nominal referential meaning in pronominal usage. Thus, the form /phôo/ 'father' refers to someone who is a father, or is treated as such, regardless of whether the term is used in first, second, or third person contexts.

Complete reciprocal pairing of kintype nouns (cf. Burmese 220.) is somewhat rare, because lower status members of potential pairs are seldom used in the first person. Thus, an older sibling might use /phîi/ 'older sibling' for 'I' and /nóon/ 'younger sibling' for 'you' in addressing his younger brother; and the latter in return might use /phîi/ for 'you', but he would be unlikely to use /nóon/ for 'I'. Instead, he would probably use his nickname, or the pronoun /phóm/ 'I, me'.

Many kintype nouns may also function (both in nominal and pronominal usage) as titles preceding name nouns. In such constructions they are usually unstressed: e.g. /phîi¹phim²/ 'older sister¹ Phim²'; /khruu¹bunliang²/ 'Teacher¹ Boonliang²'.

In pronominal usage, kintype nouns are pluralized

chiefly by means of the preposed term /phûag/ 'group', or occasionally by reduplication.

221. Pronominally used kin terms.

221.1. General description. Pronominally used kin terms are nouns, most of which have a primary meaning denoting persons who are blood kin. The same forms often have also a displaced pronominal usage referring to nonkin who are in some sense treated as kin. For example, /luŋ/ 'elder uncle' is also used with reference to any man who is approximately the age of one's father or older.

Certain kin terms may be reduplicated, chiefly in second person usage, to express the plural: e.g., /phîiphîi/ 'elder siblings' (< /phîi/ 'elder sibling'). Forms susceptible of such reduplication are: /phîi/, /nóŋ/ 'younger sibling', /náa/ 'younger maternal aunt or uncle', /lûug/ 'offspring, child', and /lăan/ 'grandchild, nephew, niece'.

Most kin terms denoting elder kin can be preceded by titles in pronominal usage: e.g. /khun¹phô²/ 'father' (lit. 'Mr.¹ Father²', or better, 'respected¹ Father²'). Also certain kin terms denoting males older than ego may be preceded by a preposed bound modifier /lŷaŋ/ (lit. 'great')³¹ in speaking to an elder relative or to a fairly close older acquaintance who is a priest: e.g., /lŷaŋphîi/ (lit. 'great elder sibling') 'you' (speaking to a priest who is one's elder brother, or who is a close acquaintance slightly older than oneself). And many kin terms may also function as

titles preceding names or nicknames: e.g. /phîi¹nóoj²/
'older sibling¹ Noy²'.

A few forms may combine together in pronominal usage in additive pairs: e.g. /phôo¹mêe'²/ 'parents' (lit. 'father¹ mother²'), or /khun¹phôo'²khun³mêe'⁴/ 'respected^{1,3} parents^{2,4}'. This is actually rather common in nominal usage, but rather rare pronominally.

221.2. Inventory of pronominally used kin terms.

Kin terms commonly used in pronominal reference are listed below. These forms include all common terms referring to nuclear blood kin, and also ~~to~~ several terms denoting Chinese or part Chinese kin. Elegant kin terms such as /bidáa/ 'father' are not used pronominally. Neither are terms for spouse or affinal kin. The list includes only terms denoting kin from the second ascending to the second descending generation. Presumably, other terms such as /chúad/ 'great grandparent' and /l'een/ 'great grandchild' would be used pronominally in appropriate situations, but these are less basic in pronominal reference than other terms, and no firsthand examples of such usage are reported by informants.

Terms listed are used for both first and second person in all meanings, unless limitations are stated. Roman numerals I and II refer to first and second person usage respectively.

/ʔaa/ younger paternal uncle or aunt (i.e. father's younger brother, sister, or cousin). --Often preceded (II) by

the title /khun/ to indicate proper respect.

/ʔaamáa/ Chinese grandmother

/cée/ 1. Chinese older sister. 2. non-Chinese older sister (slightly more informal and less respectful than /phîi/; chiefly II). 3. affectionate and informal term used by friends to a girl or woman who is slightly older than the rest in the group (chiefly II, but for some speakers not used pronominally in this sense).

/hia/ 1. Chinese older brother. 2. non-Chinese older brother (slightly more informal and less respectful than /phîi/; chiefly II).

/jâa/ 1. paternal grandmother; paternal great-aunt (in this sense usually identified by modifier /lég/ 'little (i.e. younger)', or /jàj/ 'big (i.e. older)', or by name). --In meaning 1 often preceded (II) by the title /khun/ to indicate proper respect. --Also occurs as a title before the given name or nickname of a paternal grandmother or great-aunt (chiefly II).

/jaaj/ 1. maternal grandmother; maternal great-aunt (in this sense usually identified by modifier /lég/ 'little (i.e. younger)', or /jàj/ 'big (i.e. older)', or by name). 3. affectionate and somewhat humorous term used by friends to a girl or woman who is the oldest of their group (chiefly II). --Often preceded (II) by the title /khun/ to indicate proper respect. --Also occurs (chiefly II) as a title before the nickname or given name of persons as in 1,2 and 3, or occasionally of any

woman with whom one is on fairly intimate terms.

/kǒŋ/ Chinese grandfather

/lǎan/ 1. nephew, niece; grandchild. 2. child about 30 years younger than ego, or more. --Also occurs as a title used before the given name or nickname of persons as in 1 and 2. --Chiefly II; rarely I in any of the above uses.

/luŋ/ 1. elder uncle (i.e. elder brother or male cousin of father or mother). 2. any man (including servants) of approximately the age of one's parents or older. 3. term used (chiefly II) somewhat humorously by friends to a boy or man who is the oldest of the group, or who acts older than the others. --Often preceded (II) by the title /khun/ to indicate proper respect. --Also occurs (chiefly II) as a title used before the nickname or given name of persons as in 1,2 and 3.

/lûug/ 1. child (i.e. offspring). 2. friend's child, or child's friend (especially woman speaking to child). --Chiefly II, but occasionally I (/lûug/ + nickname) in writing a letter.

/mêε/ 1. mother. --Often preceded (II) by the title /khun/ to indicate proper respect. --Also occurs as a title used before first names of girls, but not as a title preceding the name with reference to one's mother. --Also occurs (II) as the first element in several affectionate status terms used in addressing female children: e.g. /mêεkhun/ and /mêεthuun'húa/; /mêε/

functions here as a sort of agentive for females; see these entries in the examples listed under 222.

/náa/ 1. younger maternal uncle or aunt (i.e. mother's younger brother, sister, or cousin). 2. any person (but especially female) about 10 to 30 years older than ego who seems to be younger than one's mother. --Often preceded (II) by the title /khun/ to indicate proper respect. --Also occurs as a title before the given name or nickname of persons as in 1 and 2.

/nóon/ 1. younger sibling or cousin. 2. friend or schoolmate several years younger than speaker (especially female to female). 3. wife (usually one younger than the husband).³² --Chiefly II and even then somewhat rare in pronominal usage except, perhaps, in meaning 3; implies greater status difference than /phii/ in pronominal usage. --Also occurs as a title, especially before the nicknames of younger siblings; in this sense more readily used pronominally even in the first person than in non-title use.

/pâa/ 1. elder aunt (i.e. elder sister or female cousin of father or mother). 2. any woman of approximately the age of one's parents (but not usually an elderly servant, who is likely to be called /jaaj/). --Often preceded (II) by the title /khun/ to indicate proper respect. Also occurs as a title before given names or nicknames of persons as in 1 and 2.

/pâa/ ~ /pâpâa/ (perhaps from English "Pa, Papa")³³
father (an affectionate and somewhat informal term).

/pùu/ 1. paternal grandfather; paternal great-uncle (in this sense usually identified by modifier or by name). 2. affectionate and somewhat humorous term used by friends to a boy or man who is the oldest of their group (chiefly II). --Often preceded (II) by the title /khun/ to indicate proper respect.

/phii/ 1. older sibling or cousin. 2. slightly older schoolmate (male three to four or more grades above ego, or female one to two or more grades above ego). 3. husband (usually one older than the wife).³² 4. slightly older priest (used by younger priest; chiefly II). --Also occurs (chiefly II, but occasionally also I) as a title before first name or nickname of persons as above.

/phôo/ 1. father. --Often preceded (II) by the title /khun/ to indicate proper respect. --Also occurs as a title before the first names of boys, but not used as a title preceding the name with reference to one's father. --Also occurs (II) as the first element in several affectionate terms used in addressing male children; e.g. /phôokhun/ and /phôothuun'hũa/; /phôo/ functions here as a sort of agentive for males; see these entries in the examples listed under 222.

/taa/ 1. maternal grandfather; maternal great-uncle (in this sense usually identified by modifier or by name). 2. any elderly man (including servants) old

enough to be one's grandfather. --Often preceded (II) by the title /khun/ to indicate proper respect.

--Also occurs as a title before the nickname or given name of persons as in 1 and 2 (chiefly II).

/t̄ia/ 1. Chinese father. 2. non-Chinese father (chiefly II); in this sense somewhat disrespectful, and used by child (especially male) who has a sufficiently free and easy relationship with his father to allow the taking of liberties.

221.3. The semantic structuring of pronominally used kin terms.

221.3.1. Literal meanings. Most kin terms have both a literal and displaced meanings. From the point of view of literal meanings, there are two sets of kin terms, each with its own semantic structure. These are the common Thai terms, and also a few terms borrowed from Chinese and used with reference to Chinese or part Chinese kin. The term /p̄aa/ 'father' (from English) stands alone as a part of neither set.

The structure of the common Thai kin terms is summarized in Figure 12. Diagonal lines divide terms distinguishing paternal (upper left) from maternal (lower right) meanings; vertical ~~dotted~~^{broken} lines separate terms distinguishing male (left) from female (right); and horizontal ~~dotted~~^{broken} lines divide older (above) from younger (below). Note that each generation level has a separate set of distinctions. The

Generation Level	Other Distinctions	
	Male	Female
G + 2	pùu' / taa'	jâa' / jaaj'
	Lineal	Collateral
	Male Female	Male Female
G + 1	phôo' mêe'	luŋ' pâa'
		?aa' / náa'
G + 0	EGO	phîi' / nóoŋ'
G - 1	lûug'	
G - 2		lăan'

Meanings of terms

?aa'	'younger paternal uncle or aunt'	náa'	'younger maternal uncle or aunt'
jâa'	'paternal grandmother'	nóoŋ'	'younger sibling'
jaaj'	'maternal grandmother'	pâa'	'elder aunt'
lăan'	'nephew, niece, grand-child'	pùu'	'paternal grandfather'
luŋ'	'elder uncle'	phîi'	'elder sibling'
lûug'	'offspring'	phôo'	'father'
mêe'	'mother'	taa'	'maternal grandfather'

Figure 12. Semantic distinctions of common Thai blood kin terms

second ascending generation ($G + 2$) distinguishes paternal-maternal and male-female, but not older-younger or lineal-collateral. The parental generation ($G + 1$) distinguishes collaterality, and relative age with respect to parents, but older aunt and uncle terms distinguish male-female, whereas younger ones distinguish paternal-maternal--a rather interesting skewing of the structure of semantic features. Ego's generation ($G + 0$) distinguishes only older and younger collateral kin. The first descending generation ($G - 1$) distinguishes lineal as opposed to collateral; but the next generation ($G - 2$) makes no distinctions between individuals. For most practical purposes, it is safe to say that $G - 1$ and $G - 2$ terms between them make only a single binary distinction: immediate descendants, as opposed to linked descendants, the link being either one's offspring or one's sibling.³⁴

The structure of the Chinese terms is summarized in Figure 13. The terms are borrowed from Chinese, and do not include all nuclear kin. Only two basic distinctions prevail: generation level (ego's, parents', and grandparents'), and sex (male-female).

221.3.2. Affinal meanings and usages. The same terms are used (I and II) with respect to affinal kin as to blood kin. In such usage, the affinal kinsman usually assumes the same position in the system as the spouse link, but retains his own sex and his own age, wherever such

Generation Level	Sex Distinctions	
	Male	Female
G + 2	kǒŋ' 'grand-father'	?aamáa 'grand-mother'
G + 1	tia' 'father'	máa' 'mother'
G + 0	hia' 'elder brother'	cée' 'elder sister'

Figure 13. Semantic distinctions of "Chinese" blood kin terms

distinctions are pertinent. Thus, the husband of one's /pâa/ 'elder aunt' is addressed as /luŋ/ 'elder uncle', and the wife of one's /luŋ/ as /pâa/. The husband or wife of one's /ʔaa/ 'younger paternal uncle or aunt' is addressed as /ʔaa/, and that of one's /náa/ 'younger maternal uncle or aunt' as /náa/. Similarly, one's stepmother is called /mêe/ 'mother' in pronominal usage, and one's stepfather is called /phôo/. (However, step-parents are also sometimes addressed by uncle and aunt terms.) If a husband is married to the younger of two siblings, and is older than both, he is usually considered as /phii/ 'older sibling' to his sibling-in-law, not as /nôoŋ/ along with his wife.

221.3.3. Displaced meanings and usage. All the common Thai kin terms may be used (I and II) with reference to individuals who occupy a close kin-like relationship to ego: e.g. intimate friends of close kin or kin of close friends. In such usage, parent terms imply a much closer relationship than other terms do.

Several "Thai" kin terms also have a much wider meaning and usage denoting friendliness and respect to nonkin in general. This wider range of meaning occurs in both first and second person usage, and also in use (usually II) as titles. Terms of this type are: those denoting maternal grandparents (/taa/ male, and /jaaj/ female), elder uncles and aunts (/luŋ/ and /pâa/ respectively), younger maternal

uncles and aunts (/náa/), and elder siblings or cousins (/phii/). The emphasis upon 'maternal' and 'older' is noteworthy here.

"Chinese" kin terms have rather interesting limitations upon displaced usage which perhaps reflect the degree of assimilation of the terms into the language. Grandparent terms, /kõŋ/ (male) and /ʔaamáa/ (female) are used of Chinese (or partly Chinese) grandparents but not of non-Chinese, and /kõŋ/ is more common than /ʔaamáa/. The form /máa/ 'mother' is likewise used only of Chinese mothers and is rare. The terms for 'father' /tìa/ and 'older brother' /hia/ are used for both Chinese and (disrespectfully) for non-Chinese fathers or brothers, but not for nonkin. The term /cée/ 'older sister' is used for both Chinese and non-Chinese older sisters, and also for non-sisters.

222. Pronominally used status terms. In this category are grouped all nouns which are used pronominally but which do not qualify as kin terms. Forms of this type denote individuals in terms of their status or rank-- usually persons of superior status, but a few terms denote inferiors. Only a limited number of status terms are used pronominally with any appreciable frequency.

The examples below include the common pronominally used status terms, and also a number of less common ones, but the list is by no means exhaustive. A number of forms

are derived from agentives such as /mêε/ (female agentive, lit. 'mother'), /phôo/ (male agentive, lit. 'father') and /phûu/ 'person'. Others are made up of titles plus rank terms (see entries beginning with /khun/ and /thân/). Many rank terms are used pronominally only when preceded by titles (especially /thân/), and then only in the second person. There is a fairly large number of forms of this type, only a few of which are included here.

Unless otherwise specified (by means of appropriate Roman numerals) listed forms are largely restricted in pronominal usage to second (II) or third (III) person--the latter anaphorically. Also, unless otherwise stated, all forms may be used as titles preceding given names, but chiefly in the second person even in the case of terms otherwise used freely in the first person. And most forms may be preceded by titles such as /khun/ and /thân/ to show added respect. Items marked with an asterisk are borderline nouns.

/ʔaacaan/ professor, teacher--properly, one who has a degree. . Occasionally used also I, especially by older professors speaking to their students; somewhat paternalistic in this usage. Also /thânʔaacaan/ (II) expressing marked deference.

/câwkhun/ (< agentive + ^{/khun/} 'sir, gentleman, lady') 1. term denoting males of the two highest ranks of conferred nobility (/phrajaa/ and /câwphrajaa/). 2. term

denoting high ranking ladies at court. 3. abbot of a monastery.

/joom/ one who supports a priest, a term used chiefly with reference to parents or older people who support a priest. Many speakers are familiar with this term only as a second person pronoun, not as a noun.

/khèæg/ Indian (i.e. native of India). Somewhat rare in pronominal usage, since it usually has a disrespectful connotation.

/khruu/ teacher. Also used I by teachers speaking to their students. Usually /khunkhruu/ (II) expressing deference.

/khunjǐn/ (title + /jǐn/ 'woman, female person') term denoting the wife of a /phrajaa/ (the second highest rank of conferred nobility) or of a premier or outstanding minister. According to one informant, a woman can now have the title /khunjǐn/ conferred upon her in her own right.

/mahǎa/ term for a person who has attained a certain level in Buddhist theological studies.

/máasêə/ (probably from English "master") term used to address male teachers at Assumption College, and perhaps other Catholic day schools for boys. Not often used pronominally.

/mêəkhun/ (< female agentive + /khun/ "madam, lady") affectionate term used addressing a female child or

a female adult considerably younger than ego. Not ordinarily used as a title. See also /thuunhũa/. Cf. /phôthũun'hũa/.

/mđỏ/ doctor, medical practitioner. Occasionally used also (I) by doctors speaking to their patients. Also /khunmđỏ/ (II) expressing deference.

/naaj/ 1. master, mistress, boss, or other respected person. 2. servant or other low status person; in this sense used also (I). 3. title placed before the given name of a man ^{in this usage} (probably related to meaning 1, but in some dialects used as a title before the name, especially of a low status person as in meaning 2).

/naaj¹ampəə²/ (lit. 'Amphur² master¹') head official of an amphur.³⁵

*/nũu/ (lit. 'rat, mouse') depreciatory and friendly or intimate term denoting a child, or sometimes an adult female younger than ego, and occasionally even an adult male younger than ego. Used I, II and III with reference to a child when an adult is the other party in the conversation. Ordinarily used (II) to young male children, or to females (II) up to adolescent age; also often used (I) by female adults speaking to older persons, especially females, even those only slightly older than themselves. Also /khunnũu/ servant speaking to master's child. Also used as a title preceding given names or nicknames of children.

It should be noted that /nũu/ is not used as an ordinary noun denoting a child as, for example, in the frame /kháwpen____/ 'He is a ____'. It is, however, entirely indeterminate as to person, being used with reference to children in all three persons.

/phôokhun/ (< male agentive + /khun/ 'sir, gentleman') affectionate term used addressing a boy or a male adult considerably younger than ego. Not ordinarily used as a title.

/phôothuun'hũa/ (< male agentive + /thuunhũa/ 'to be beloved, adored') 'beloved boy', an affectionate term used addressing a boy or a male adult considerably younger than ego. Not ordinarily used as a title. See also /thuunhũa/. Cf. /mêsthunhũa/.

*/phrá¹khun²câaw³/ (lit. 'revered¹ sir² lord³) highly deferential term used speaking to priest.

/phûu¹càd²kaan³/ (lit. 'person¹ manage² work³) manager (as of factory). Not ordinarily used as a title.

*/phûu¹mùu²/ (lit. group² person¹) term used in addressing a corporal or a sergeant. Note: there is a series of forms similar to this for use to various ranks of military personnel: e.g. /phûumùad/ (for lieutenants or captains), /phûuphan/ (for majors), /phûukooŋ/ (colonels), /phûukaan/ (generals (?)). These are not the usual noun terms for these ranks, and they are chiefly used pronominally rather than nominally.

/thân[?]àthíbodii/ director general, department head. Not used pronominally without the title. Note: in this and other entries beginning with /thân/ below, the /thân/ is a deferential title. The meaning of the remainder of the expression in each case is the same as that given for the whole expression. However, some of the forms are not used pronominally without the title. There is a rather large number of forms of this type in the language.

/thânbàadlũaŋ/ Roman Catholic priest. Ordinarily not used pronominally without the title.

/thâncâwkhun/ see /câwkhun/

/thânkhâalũaŋ/ governor (as of a changwat), commissioner.

Ordinarily not used pronominally without the title.

/thânmahăa/ see /mahăa/

/thânradthamontrii/ minister (of the government).

Ordinarily not used pronominally without the title.

/thuunhũa/ 'beloved one', an affectionate term used speaking to a child or considerably younger adult.

Not ordinarily used as a title. See also

/phôothuun'hũa/, /mêethuun'hũa/.

230. Name nouns. These are nouns used to denote particular individuals. As a rule, individuals have both a given name and a surname or family name. In using a person's full name, the given name precedes the surname, and the whole expression may be preceded by a title: e.g. /khunbanphód'càgkraphan/ 'Mr. Banpot Chakrapan';

/naanphim'rágthaj/ 'Mrs. Pim Rakthai'. For most ordinary, everyday purposes, all that is used is the title + first name, or in more familiar or intimate situations with equals or inferiors, simply the first name alone: e.g. /khunbanphód/ 'Mr. Banpot', or simply /banphód/. Some polysyllabic first names may be abbreviated to one syllable: e.g. /phód/ for /banphód/, /ríd/ for /haríd/, etc. Then, in addition to given name and surname, most people also have a nickname, usually monosyllabic, that is used by family or friends. Both abbreviated names and nicknames may be preceded by titles, especially the title /khun/.

Pronominal usage includes given names (including abbreviated names) and nicknames. Both types may be used either in the first or second person, and both are readily preceded by titles, except that given names are not preceded by titles in the first person.

231. Given names. These are names given to a child by his parents shortly after birth, usually after consultation with a priest or astrologer. They may be of one or more syllables, and often have meanings relating to things precious, beautiful, powerful, or good: e.g. /kamalaa/ 'beautiful maiden', a name for a woman taken from mythology; /thoŋkham/ 'gold' and /wícìd/ 'splendid', names for men; /bun¹mii'²/ 'merit¹ exists²(?)', a name for either a man or a woman.

Given names are most often used pronominally in the second person. In such usage they are often preceded by

titles, especially in speech to superiors or nonintimates, or in formal speech. They may also occur alone without titles in speech to intimates or inferiors, but injudicious or inappropriate omission of titles may cause offense. First person use of given names also occurs, especially in the speech of children or young women, always without titles. Such usage has a definite childish or feminine quality.

Most titles used before given names have approximately the same semantic value, when used pronominally, as do their noun or pronoun counterparts; but usage varies, depending on the type of title used. Probably the most common title used in title-plus-given name constructions is the form /khun/. As a pronoun, this is a mildly deferential second person form used to equals or superiors. As a title preceding a given name, it is used chiefly to friends and acquaintances--ordinarily those with whom it is not appropriate to use more intimate or nonrestraint language--and it has a respectful, pleasant, and friendly flavor. Other titles with personal pronoun counterparts (e.g. /thân/) are somewhat rare in pronominal title-plus-given name contexts.

Titles having kin term counterparts may be used pronominally before given names, but with the following qualifications: 1) they are not ordinarily used to kin of whom there is only one designated by the term in question. This automatically excludes parents, and usually also grandparents, but not necessarily great-

uncles and great-aunts, since these latter may be identified by name to distinguish them from grandparents; 2) they are not used to kin to whom one customarily shows respect by the use of /khun/ plus kin term. In more proper families, for example, uncles and aunts would always be addressed /khunluŋ/ 'respected older uncle', /khunnáa/ 'respected younger maternal aunt (or uncle)', etc. In such cases, /luŋ/ plus name would be impossible for the second person. But in other families where informal patterns are acceptable, /luŋ/ plus name would be permissible, though less likely than plain /luŋ/ or /ʔaa/ without the name (see 4 below); 3) they are not used in situations where habit, affection and informality call for nicknames or perhaps abbreviated names, as especially between siblings, or in speaking to younger kin, and occasionally also to older kin; 4) they are less commonly used than plain kin terms or /khun/ plus kin terms. However, one fairly common use of kin term title plus given name is in addressing elderly servants: /jaaj/ ('maternal grandmother') plus given name for women, /taa/ ('maternal grandfather') or /luŋ/ ('elder uncle') plus given name for men.

Status term titles have essentially the same semantic values as their noun counterparts but are rarely used pronominally preceding given names. Ordinary usage calls for the status term alone (e.g. /khruu/ 'teacher') or preceded by a title (e.g. /khunkhruu/ 'respected teacher').³⁶

Abbreviated names may be used in much the same way

as given names, except that they usually have a more informal and intimate meaning. They may, in fact, be used with something of the flavor of nicknames, especially in the case of persons who have no nicknames, or who dislike their nicknames. They are probably best considered as something halfway between given names and nicknames.

232. Nicknames. These are informal names usually given to children by their parents--often before the given name has been decided upon. Almost everyone has a nickname, and it is almost invariably of one syllable. Most nicknames have quaint, depreciatory, or onomatopoetic meanings, or indicate smallness or some other physical characteristic; e.g. /dæŋ/ 'red', /taw/ 'turtle', /lég/ 'small', /ʔúud/ (the noise a pig makes). And sometimes all the children in a family have nicknames beginning with the same letter of the alphabet: e.g. /tìŋ/ 'appendage', /túm/ 'swelling, bump', /tôj/ 'small', /tuan/ 'to scoop'. Occasionally a person acquires an additional nickname from his friends, such as /ʔúan/ 'fat' or /tía/ 'short', but usually his first nickname follows him throughout life.

Nicknames usually have a friendly or affectionate connotation, but occasionally individuals dislike their nicknames, and hence prefer that they not be used. Sometimes also, family and very close friends may use them freely, whereas others would be taking liberties to do so.

Nicknames are used most readily in the second person and without titles. Such usage is common in speech to siblings, younger kin, and friends. However, second

person usage with preceding titles is also fairly common, as follows: /khun/ plus nickname, speaking to siblings and friends with a friendly but slightly deferential flavor; kin term title plus nickname--especially the title /phîi/ 'elder sibling' and occasionally other "Thai" kin terms (except /phôo/ 'father' and /mêe/ 'mother'), all in rather intimate usage.

Nicknames are used in the first person, usually without titles, and chiefly speaking intimately and affectionately to kin, or by children or young women speaking also to friends. Occasionally nicknames are used in the first person with titles--especially /phîi/ 'elder sibling' plus title, speaking to younger siblings. If any speaker uses a nickname in the first person, it is usually acceptable for the addressee to use it for second person in return.

300. Cultural and personal aspects of usage.

310. Interpersonal relationships. The manner in which different personal pronouns reflect interpersonal relationships has been discussed above at some length (213.5.). It remains to investigate these relationships more directly, and to assess their affect upon pronominal usage in general. Figure 14 lists a number of speaker-addressee situations and certain forms which might be used in them. Positioning on the chart is arranged according to a status-intimacy scheme similar to that used in Figures 7 and 8, and items are numbered for ease of reference below. First person forms are listed on the first line of each

Relative Status		Intimacy		
		-	+	
1. commoner to king	S P E A K I N G	khâa' phraphúd' thacâaw' /zero tâajfâa' la' ʔɔŋ' thúlii' phrábâad' /zero		
2. commoner to high roy.		klâawkramòm' (m. sp.) tâajfâa' phrábâad' /thân' (meaning 1)		
3. ordinary citizen to high nonroyalty		klâawkraphôm' (m. sp.) /dichăn' (w. sp.) tâajthâaw' /thân' (meaning 2)		
4. layman to priest		phôm' (m. sp.) phôm' thân' lúanphîi' (lit. 'great elder sibling')		
5. student to teacher	T O	phôm' (m. sp.) phôm' /nũu' (stat. term esp. w. or ch. sp.) khun + khruu' khruu' (khruu' means 'teacher')		
6. employee to employer		phôm' thân' /khun' /status term (e.g. phûucàdkaan' 'manager')		
7. servant to mistress		phôm' (m. sp.) /dichăn' (w. sp.) phôm' khun' /khun + name /stat. term kin term /title + nickname		
8. younger to considerably older man	S U P E R I O R	phôm' khun + taa'	phôm' taa' (taa' means 'grandfather')	
9. younger to slightly older man	S U P E R I O R	phôm' khun	phôm' phîi' 'elder sibling'	
10. child to adult			nũu' (status term for children) pâa' 'elder aunt' /luŋ' 'elder uncle'	
11. nephew to eld. aunt		phôm' khun + pâa'	phôm' pâa' (pâa' = 'elder aunt')	
12. high rank yg. man to low rank old man		phôm' khun	phôm' luŋ' 'elder uncle'	chăn' (less respectf., thee' familiar)
13. low rank old man to high rank yg. man		phôm' thân' /khun' /status term		

Figure 14. Examples of status and intimacy usage
(speaking to superior)

Relative Status		Intimacy				
		-		+		
14. male to male	SPEAKING TO EQUALS	phǒm' / khun' + name	raw' / naaj' / name	raw' / nickname	ʔúa' / lýy'	kuu' / myŋ' or khâa' / ʔeŋ'
15. female to female		dichǎn' / khun' + name	chǎn' / raw' / thee' / name	raw' / naaj' / tua' or nickname	raw' / nickname	khǎw' / tua'
16. male to female		phǒm' / khun' + name	chǎn' / raw' / thee' / naaj' / name	kan' / kee' / nick-name	phîi' / nǒŋ' 'elder sib.' 'ygr. sib.'	khǎw' / tua'
17. female to male		dichǎn' / zero / khun' / khun' + name	chǎn' / thee' / name	chǎn' / nickname	raw' / naaj'	khǎw' / tua'
18. royalty to commoner	SPEAKING TO	raw' / cǎw'	chǎn' / khun' / thee'	??		
19. high to low ranking person		chǎn' / khun'	chǎn' / thee' / kee'			
20. priest to layman		ʔaadtamaa' / khun'	ʔaadtamaa' / joom'			
21. teacher to stud.	TO		chǎn' / thee'	khruu' / name	'teacher'	
22. employer to employee		phǒm' / khun'	phǒm' / chǎn'			
23. mistress to servant			chǎn' / thee' / name / nickname / kee'		khâa' / ʔeŋ' / kee'	
24. older to ygr.man	INFERIORS	chǎn' / khun'	luŋ' / khun' / name / kee'		'elder uncle'	
25. adult to child					phîi' / nǚu' 'elder sib.', or other kin term (status term for child)	
26. elder aunt to nephew					pâa' / name / nickname / nǚu' (stat. term for child)	'elder aunt'

Figure 14. Examples of status and intimacy usage (continued) (sp.to equals and inferiors)

numbered item, and second person forms paired with them are listed on the line directly beneath them. Slash marks separate forms which are considered as occupying the same left-right position on the chart. Forms identified by gloss are kintype nouns; those followed by the expression " + name" are titles; and unidentified forms are personal pronouns.

311. Status. The important factors in evaluating status in the Thai community are age, rank, kin relationship (an amalgam of age and rank), and, in a measure, non-intimacy.

In general, age must be respected (see Figure 14, items 8,9). An older person that is definitely inferior in rank may, however, be addressed as an inferior, but he may also be addressed respectfully by the displaced use of terms denoting older kin (item 12).

Relative age is particularly important in addressing kin. In fact, all kin terms have relative age implications. Thus, even a twin brother is older or younger than ego, and he is therefore called either /phîi/ 'older sibling' or /nóon/ 'younger sibling' accordingly. However, uncles and aunts who are younger than the parental link (/ʔaa/ paternal uncle or aunt, and /náa/ maternal) may also be younger than ego. In such situations, uncles and aunts may still be addressed as /ʔaa/ or /náa/ respectively, and if the day-by-day relationship is not a close one, they are treated with a certain deference which is due them as

higher ranking kin, even though younger. But if the relationship is intimate, they may be treated as equals (as in items 14-17). So also may siblings and cousins that are close to the same age. Cousins who are the children of older uncles (/luŋ/) or aunts (/pâa/) are considered to have higher kin rank, but if they are younger than ego they may sometimes, nevertheless, be treated as equal or even inferior.

Social position or rank other than that conferred by age or kin relationship must also be treated with proper deference. Positions of status include the following: employer, master or mistress, government officials of varying ranks, doctors, teachers, professors and well-educated persons, priests and religious teachers, conferred nobility of various ranks, and various levels of royalty. Generally speaking, wealth as such is not an important factor in the determination of status.

An employer, master, or mistress has status primarily to his or her subordinates, but not to others unless he or she also possesses status of another kind--either age or rank. Generally speaking, government officials have status, particularly those at the level of /naajamphur/ 'head of an amphur'³⁷ or above. However, certain lower level officials, particularly policemen, tend to arrogate status to themselves, and they are often treated with respect, at least outwardly. Doctors, teachers, professors, and all highly educated persons (including those with academic

degrees) are treated with much greater deference than is common in occidental cultures. Most Westerners are treated as educated persons, or as belonging to the managerial employer class. Also, priests and religious teachers are on a status plane removed from lay folk. This applies in a measure even to boys temporarily in the priesthood, and also, as a rule, to foreign missionaries in Thailand. Many of the latter, for example, are called /'aacaan/ 'professor, teacher', even when they do not have an academic degree.

There are several ranks of nobility³⁸ that may be conferred by the king upon worthy individuals. The most common ranks in descending order are: /câwphrajaa/, /phrajaa/, /phrá?/, /lũaᅇ/ and /khũn/. The first two are addressed pronominally as /câwkhun/, and all may be addressed as /thân/.

There are also five ranks of royalty, stratified in terms of generation distance from the king.³⁸ Any person six generations removed from royalty automatically is ranked as a commoner. The ranks in descending order are: /sǒmdèd'câwfáa/ 'child of the king and queen'; /phrá?oncâaw/ 'child of /sǒmdèd'câwfáa/ or of the king by a lesser wife; /mòm'câaw/ 'child of /phrá?oncâaw/'; /mòm'râadchawon/ 'child of /mòm'câaw/'; /mòm'lũaᅇ/ 'child of /mòm'râadchawon/. There is no exact correspondence between the ranks of royalty and the pronouns used in speaking to persons of each rank, except that the highest ranks merit the highest pronouns, and the lower ranks the lower ones. (See Figure 11, section 215. for

an ordered list of pronouns used in addressing royalty). However, royal language is not ordinarily used to persons below the rank of /mòmçâaw/.

Persons with inferior rank or social position (other than younger persons or inferior kin) include commoners or ordinary citizens (as opposed to royalty, nobility, government officials, priests, educated persons, etc.), pupils (as opposed to teachers), market and food vendors, pedicab operators, illiterate people, Chinese (if engaged in lower occupations such as small shopkeeping, food vending, barbering, etc.), Indians, tribal folk, and beggars. All may be addressed by means of pronominal forms appropriate to inferiors. Note that there is less variety of status differentiation in one's choice of forms to inferiors than to superiors.

Occasionally, the criteria of relative age and rank conflict. If the difference in rank is pronounced, such as between commoner and royalty, the rank criterion prevails. However, it is almost always permissible to use displaced kin terms (such as /jaaj/ 'maternal grandmother') to show friendly respect to age.

Non-intimacy is a factor in relative status in that strangers or distant acquaintances should be treated with deference. In cases of conflict between superior non-intimacy status and inferior rank status, some speakers--especially young people--will avoid pronouns altogether (see 320.).

It remains now to discuss the rigidity of the status factor in determining pronominal usage. Generally speaking, the status criterion is rather unyielding. Relative age may only be ignored if strongly counterbalanced by considerations of relative rank, or if the age difference is minimal. Thus, friends may treat each other as equals despite an age disparity of two or three years--sometimes more, in the case of non-kin adult intimates. But kin status may only be ignored if the age difference is minimal--say a year or two--and then only if kin are on intimate terms.³⁹ In such cases, equal-to-equal language is permissible; but if kin terms are used, as is very often the case, the inequality immediately becomes evident. Some speakers who are on familiar terms with elders may omit the deferential /khun/ in addressing parents or other older relatives, but here strictly equal-to-equal language is impossible.

The status factor of social rank has yielded slightly to democratic pressures, but no major change appears to be taking place. Thus, in the rising generation, /phǒm/ 'I, me' (common deferential term, male speaking), is more and more replacing /kraphǒm/ and /klâawkraphǒm/. The pair /khâa/ and /ʔeŋ/ is also passing out of use to inferiors, as being not only rather archaic, but also somewhat autocratic. However, the pressure of the system is still strong. Thus, for example, most young moderns would avoid use of

pronouns in speaking to the king, partly because they are not free with royal language, but partly also because the more deferential non-royal terms (Figure 14, item 3), or the less cumbersome terms for lesser royalty (e.g. item 2), are not sufficiently respectful. Similarly, they would avoid using pronouns to very low status non-intimates because they do not feel free to address them either as inferiors or as equals.

Herbert Grether⁴⁰ summarizes the situation aptly in the following words:

It is true that under the influence of democratic ideas and ideals, which have been abroad in the land especially since the absolute monarchy was set aside in 1932 in favor of a constitutional monarchy, some of the old forms have been virtually sloughed off, and some have come to be used less frequently than before. Nevertheless, there has been no serious assault on the basic system. The use of a variety of pronoun forms for various purposes is so much a part of the Thai mind that an attack upon the system has been taken on occasion to be an assault on freedom and democracy! During World War II the Premier of Thailand advocated reducing pronouns to one set for expressing the "I-you" relationship. The attempt failed. The people did not have the courage to address even the Premier himself in the way he proposed.

312. Intimacy. Some of the possibilities for expressing various degrees of intimacy have been shown in Figure 14. Note that apart from the degree and kind of intimacy implied by choice of personal pronouns (see especially Figures 7 and 8), differences of intimacy can also be expressed by one's choice of kintype nouns and name nouns. Thus, kin terms are usually more intimate than status terms, the form /nũu/ (referring to children) being a notable exception. In fact, status terms in general tend to be non-intimate and deferential. Kintype nouns without titles are usually more intimate than those with titles. Nicknames with or without titles are more intimate than given names.

The chief factor defining and affecting intimacy and therefore intimate language is the kind and degree of close day-by-day association. This association is conditioned in various ways by kinship, friendship, sex and age. Members of the immediate family are of course necessarily placed in close day-by-day relationship. This includes those kin who live together--parents, siblings, children, and often, grandparents and grandchildren, and occasionally, uncles, aunts and their families. These are addressed as intimates, but the age factor must always be considered. Thus, the necessity of respect to elders (especially persons of parents' age or older) inhibits the free usage of intimate language--no equal-to-equal terms, no non-restraint language, proper titles where respectful habit requires, etc. The only appropriate forms for intimate

language to kin of superior generation levels are kin terms, or occasionally nicknames (but not to parents). To approximately equal or inferior kin, there is no restraint in the matter of intimate pronominal usage, except that strong non-restraint language is not ordinarily used to children.

Other kin who are not a part of the immediate family--cousins, aunts, uncles, etc.--may also be treated as intimates, particularly if they are in repeated or constant contact with the family. They are more readily addressed as intimates than non-kin who are as closely or as distantly associated in day-by-day contacts.

Servants who live with the family, particularly those who have been with the family over a long period of time, are treated as intimate inferiors, but with due respect to age by much younger members of the family. Thus, nicknames are possible, and displaced relationship terms (uncle, aunt, grandparent, nephew, niece, grandchild). The personal pronoun pair /khâá/ and /ʔeŋ/ is used specifically to servants (though now falling into disuse), and although it usually implies intimacy, it is not used to actual members of the family (see Figure 14, item 23).

Others living in the family often take on the usage of members of the family who are of comparable status to themselves. Thus, a friend of one of the children, staying with the family for a long period of time, might address the parents as /khunphôo/ '(respected) father', /khunmêe/

'(respected) mother'. Similarly, close friends of kin or kin of close friends are often addressed with appropriate kin terms.

Friends are, of course, addressed in intimate language, but factors of age and sex also enter in. Adolescent males are much quicker to adopt non-restraint intimate language than others. For example, adolescent male schoolmates of only moderate intimacy might begin to use the pair /kuu/ and /myŋ/ to each other, whereas male friends acquired in adulthood, even if quite close, might never get on a /kuu/ and /myŋ/ basis. And properly brought up females might never use those terms at all.

Certain forms are more intimate to the opposite sex than to the same sex; e.g. the pair /kan/ and /kææ/. Females are, in some respects, more free to use intimate language (but not non-restraint language) than males. In this respect, we may note the wider use of nicknames by females in the first person, and also of /nũu/.

313. Non-restraint. This is an aspect of one's relationship to society, and to certain members in society, that expresses itself primarily in one's choice of personal pronouns rather than in kintype noun or name noun usage. It has, therefore, been discussed in some detail above (see 213.5.2.). Suffice it to repeat here that non-restraint is the individual's felt and expressed defiance or disregard of certain standards of proper,

polite, or refined usage laid down by society. As such, it constitutes a very important kind of ego freedom, for nonrestraint forms may be used to express uninhibited intimacy, assertiveness, or downright anger. But this freedom is still rather strictly circumscribed, since these forms are not used to strangers or superiors, and certain forms are restricted as to use by or to females (see especially Figure 9 under 213.5.2.); and misuse is nearly always rude, or even crude.

It is noteworthy that, apart from rural or uncultured speakers, the heaviest use of non-restraint forms is made by adolescents. At this age, new friendships quickly acquire non-restraint privileges, while friendships formed at other ages do not. Furthermore, habits of non-restraint usage formed between particular individuals in adolescence are usually retained in later years for as long as friendship continues.

320. Points of confusion. The system of pronominal reference in Thai is so extensive and varied and yet, to a certain extent, so rigid, that confusion often arises as to usage. This confusion may result from unfamiliarity with part of the system (i.e. royal language), or from conflicting elements in the relationship, or from misunderstanding between speaker and addressee.

The usual expedient for situations where the speaker does not know what forms to use is avoidance. Thus, instead

of saying /phǒm¹hěn²khun³mýawaan⁴/ 'I¹ saw² you³ yesterday⁴', a speaker would say /hěn¹mýawaan²/ literally 'saw¹ yesterday²'. This is entirely acceptable in Thai and makes perfectly good sense in its proper context. If omission of pronouns is particularly awkward or ambiguous, one resorts to circumlocution of some kind. For example, it would be impossible to say literally 'Is this yours?' without including a pronoun, as in the sentence /nii¹khǒn²khun³châj⁴máj⁵/ (lit. 'this¹ of² you³ is so⁴ question word⁵'). A possible solution would be to say /nii¹tham²khǒn³hâaj⁴rý⁵plàaw⁶/ 'Here, (did you) lose this?' (Here¹ make² thing³ lost⁴ or⁵ not⁶).

Language for use in addressing various levels of royalty presents a problem to most people. Educated speakers are usually familiar with the different forms, but they are uncertain as to application--much as speakers of English might have trouble with the proper use of forms such as "your Majesty", "your Grace", "your Eminence", "your Holiness." And even where the correct forms are known (such as those for addressing the king), awkwardness and embarrassment is likely to preclude proper usage. The usual solution is avoidance of pronominal forms.

Another type of confusion may arise where conflicting feelings or criteria make it difficult for a speaker to evaluate the relationship or choose a satisfactory form. A case in point would be the dilemma of a person who has

imbibed democratic ideals but finds himself obliged to speak to a person of considerably lower status,⁴¹ for example, a pedicab man. Here the solution would be avoidance of pronouns. Another ambiguous situation might arise upon meeting a friend of adolescent days with whom one has lost contact for several years. Does one dare to use the once natural non-restraint forms /kuu/ and /myŋ/? Or will the former friend feel insulted if one reverts to the more deferential /phǒm/ and /khun/? Here one might well choose deferential language, and then change as the relationship thaws.

One informant reports that a younger brother avoids pronouns to him because the younger brother wishes to consider him as a friend rather than an older brother, but he does not feel free to ignore the kin status difference. ~~Another informant avoids pronouns to his older sister because the personal relationship is not a close one, but non-intimate forms are unsuitable to such close kin.~~

Some modern girls or young women face an awkward problem with respect to non-intimate usage to peers of the opposite sex. The form /dichǎn/ is too deferential and formal; /chǎn/ for some speakers is not quite deferential enough, being more appropriate to intimates or inferiors; one's name or nickname would be satisfactory if one had developed the habit of such usage, but not otherwise. Thus, for certain individuals there is no really appropriate term.

Avoidance of pronouns is again the normal expedient, but situations of this sort are common enough to make continual avoidance rather difficult. A few speakers actually go so far as to use the demonstrative form /nīi/ 'this, this one', with appropriate gestures such as pointing to oneself, in order to insure that the meaning is clear. This is such a far-fetched solution to the problem that it may earn the speaker a jibe or two.

The examples above give some idea of the ambiguities and confusion that sometimes beset the speaker. Given such problems, and the repeated necessity for evaluating and expressing one's relationships with others, it is to be expected that there will occasionally be misunderstandings on the part of the addressee. Thus, for example, a high (female) official from the Ministry of Education recently addressed a young Thai female student in the United States as /thəə/, (a somewhat patronizing term used speaking to inferiors, especially teacher to pupil). The student was upset because she conceived herself to be an adult due proper respect. Some of her fellow-students agreed with her, but others could not understand her reaction. In the thinking of the latter, the student was inferior to the visiting minister, and as a student, she was definitely under the patronage of the Ministry of Education. Here, then, democratic ideals and the traditional status structure were at variance.

330. Variations in pronominal usage. The range

and complexity of the Thai pronominal reference system gives rise to considerable variations in usage. These include differences in the speech of any given individual in varying situations or at different periods of his life; also, differences between one individual and another, as dictated by personality and background; and, finally, differences arising from general trends in the development of the language.

331. Variations in the usage of an individual.

These include the ordinary, everyday variations that are conditioned by age, sex, and the objective and subjective aspects of interpersonal relationships as developed in detail above. They also include long-range changes in the habits of an individual as one develops from childhood on through adolescence and mature adulthood. For example, a young boy would start out using language proper for a child, with heavy use of intimate language: to superiors, the status term /nǔu/ (lit. 'rat'), or his nickname, for first person, and the title /khun/ plus kin term (showing respect to parents or other older kin) or simply kin term or kin term plus nickname (especially to older siblings) to indicate second person; then, to equals the intimate pair /khǎw/ and /tua/, or again, nicknames (for both first and second person). Other usage might include the deferential /phǒm/ 'I, me', paired with /khun/ plus displaced kin terms, or the status term /khruu/ 'teacher' to superiors, and also such equal-to-equal terms as the moderately intimate

pair /raw/ - /naaj/, and/or /chăn/ - /thəə/, and perhaps /ʔúa/ - /lýy/. The more formal pair /phǒm/ and /khun/ is also possible, but less likely for very young boys in equal-to-equal situations.

Usually the status term /nũu/ ('rat') drops quickly out of a boy's vocabulary as he grows older. Occasionally, a comparatively dependent or very affectionate child will use the term even up to the age of eleven or twelve, but most speakers consider this childish after about seven or eight. Other usage continues comparatively unchanged until adolescence, except that the pairs /phǒm/ - /khun/ and /ʔúa/ - /lýy/ are used increasingly.

At adolescence the strong non-restraint forms often enter the male vocabulary--the pair /kuu/ and /myŋ/ and, for some speakers, the assertive /khâa/ and /ʔeŋ/. Uncontrolled children or those from less cultured families may, of course, start using such language earlier, but with the advent of adolescence these forms become more acceptable, provided they are used within the prescribed limits. More reserved male adolescents are more likely to settle on /raw/ - /naaj/ for use among most friends, and perhaps /ʔúa/ - /lýy/ for more relaxed situations, and /phǒm/ - /khun/ for less intimate use. The intimate terms /khăw/ and /tua/ begin to drop out, except perhaps in speech to close female intimates.

Following adolescence, there is an increasing tendency toward the use of deferential language (e.g. /phǒm/ and

/khun/) in a much wider range of contacts. Strong non-restraint usage may be retained with friends from adolescent days, but new friends, even if quite intimate, will not be addressed thus. However, the milder non-restraint forms such as /ʔúa/ and /lýy/ may become possible with new friends in relaxed situations. Also, contacts with professors, officials, employers, etc., necessitates increasing use of status terms or title plus name for the second person. The intimate and somewhat childish /khãw/ and /tua/ disappear. Then the acquisition of family and servants leads to increasing use of superior-to-inferior language.

Female speakers have a similar development in pronominal usage from childhood to maturity, but the dividing lines are less clear. The inferior status term /núu/ ('rat') may continue in first person use well into adulthood, especially as a continuation of an earlier pupil-to-teacher or child-to-parent relationship, or occasionally in expressing respect to an older superior. For example, one informant of about 40 years of age habitually uses the term for first person⁴² to a friend who holds a Ph.D. degree and is only three or four years her senior. In fact, it may happen that a woman will continue to use /núu/ to her former teacher, even after she herself has attained a higher status position than the teacher.

Mild or moderate non-restraint terms are used more often in adolescence, especially the tomboyish /naaj/

and the stronger non-restraint /kεε/, both second person forms. But the age restriction is not sharp. Occasionally, also, adolescent girls may use the strong non-restraint terms /kuu/ and /myŋ/ to close intimates. The childish or youthful /khăw/ and /tua/ are dropped with increasing maturity or early middle age.

332. Variations in pronominal usage between individuals. It is probably safe to say that every speaker has his own unique patterns of pronominal usage. Each person's patterns are conditioned by the various norms which we have attempted to describe, but they are also affected by factors of personality and background.

For instance, as regards personality, a reserved person will often use deferential language in a rather wide range of contexts, whereas a less inhibited person may be freer with intimate or non-restraint language. Similarly, a forceful or assertive person may use the assertive pair /khâa/ and /ʔeŋ/ much more freely than is the normal rule.

With regard to background, a person, for example, who has had comparatively free social contacts with the opposite sex during adolescence (whether in a coeducational school or elsewhere) will react differently to certain tendential cross-sex restrictions than others will. Thus, the pair /raw/ and /naaj/ is fairly natural for male-to-female speech in adolescent coeducational contexts, but speakers without some such background consider this usage

rare, or perhaps even strange or unmasculine.

Other aspects of background affecting usage include such factors as the following: cultural level (upper class persons, for example, are more sensitive about the observation of non-restraint restrictions); frequency of contacts with high status or royal persons; the existence of kin who are partially or completely Chinese (and consequent use of Chinese kin terms); rural as opposed to urban background;⁴³ thorough acquaintance with literature (and consequent freedom with somewhat obsolescent terms); etc.

Some idea of the possible variations between individuals is given in Figure 15. Each example here shows the habitual private usage which might be practised between the two members of some given close, intimate male-female pair--either husband and wife, or man and fiancée or sweetheart. In each case special situations (such as anger, playfulness, camaraderie, etc.) might, of course, lead to the choice of some alternate form or forms. Also, not all possible combinations are given. For instance, a husband might habitually address his wife as in item 5 and she might ordinarily reply as in item 6.

340. Conclusion. It is readily seen that Thai pronominal usage reflects an immensely complex structure of interpersonal relationships compounded chiefly of factors of status, intimacy and nonrestraint. To a

Male to Female		Female to Male		Comment
1.	phôm' khun'	dichăn'	khun'	exceptionally formal
2.	chăn' khun'	chăn'	khun'	rather formal
3.	chăn' name/nickname	chăn' name/nickname	name/nickname	intimate
		name/nickname	name/nickname	
4.	chăn' thee'	chăn'	thee'	intimate
5.	raw' thee'	raw'	thee'	intimate
6.	khăw' tua'	khăw'	tua'	endearing, youthful or childish
7.	kan' kee'	kan'	kee'	quite intimate
8.	phôo' mēe' 'father' 'mother'	mēe' 'mother'	phôo' 'father'	couple with children (esp. in child's pres.)
9.	phii' nố๓η' 'elder sibling' 'younger sibling'	nố๓η' 'younger sibling'	phii' 'elder sibling'	usually male older than female
10.	khâa' ?eη'	khâa'	?eη'	rustic

Figure 15. Pairs habitually used by different intimate male-female couples

truly remarkable degree, distinctions as to these factors are expressed in one's choice of a wide range of personal pronouns, and also in one's use of kin-type nouns and name nouns. The boundaries of proper and acceptable usage are rather strict and unyielding, yet there is room for considerable latitude within the prescribed limits. In fact, the latitude is such that one finds an astonishing degree of individual variation. Every speaker thus inevitably reveals all kinds of information as to his attitude, personality and background.⁴⁴

It is important to realize, however, that the possibilities of self-expression do not exist so much in spite of the massive structure of interpersonal relationships, but because of it. It is the norms of the structure which give the individual variations and transgressions their meaning. Thus, respectful terms are respectful because they are the terms usually used to superiors, or to equals in more formal situations. Non-restraint terms are crude, or careless, or intimate, as the case may be, because there are contrasting norms of proper, refined, deferential usage.

This is undoubtedly one reason why democratization has not greatly influenced the over-all structure of the pronominal system. A wholehearted assimilation of democratic ideals into the system would perhaps set every man free to be equal to his neighbor, but it would destroy some of the areas in which he could be at liberty to express himself as a unique individual. Hence, no doubt, the reaction quoted

earlier (see 311.) that levelling of pronouns would destroy democracy.

In short, the Thai pronominal system is one of remarkable vigor, vitality and versatility. Changes occur; forms become obsolescent; and new forms take their place;⁴⁵ but the system as a whole retains its unique and fascinating flavor.

CHAPTER THREE

PRONOMINAL REFERENCE IN BURMESE

100. Prefatory discussion.

110. The Burmese language. Burmese is the official language of Burma, a country with an estimated population of 23,664,000.¹ The present analysis is concerned primarily with data on the type of language spoken in the capital city, Rangoon, but occasional reference will be made to rural and areal speech outside of Rangoon.

120. Literary tradition. The Burmese writing system probably came from a type of Devanagari script used near Goa around 300 A.D. The development of the script may then be traced through early inscriptions made by the Pyu people in Burma around 500 A.D. Later the script was borrowed by the Mon or Talaing people of Burma, and then by the Burmese, who used the script in chronicles dating back as early as the fifteenth century.

130. Sources of information. Data have been obtained for the most part from two native speakers of Burmese, U Ba Min and U Tin Aung. The former was born in Sandoway and spent most of his life in Rangoon. Differences between the dialects of these two informants were minimal.

For general information on Burmese I am largely indebted to data elicited and analyzed during a linguistics field methods course directed by Professor Mary R. Haas. Other sources of information are included in the bibliography.

140. Phonemic transcription. The transcription used here is that suggested by Professor Mary R. Haas.² The system may be changed to that of William Cornyn³ by making the following conversions: ty = c; thy = ch; dy = j; hy = š; v = ' ; x = ^; q = `; syllable final ? = ? or stop assimilated to the following consonant; vowel + y or w offglide = vowel + i or u. Phonemes are charted in Figure 1.

Transcription of Burmese forms cited in this study is phonemic rather than morphophonemic, but it should be borne in mind that forms beginning with voiceless stops or spirants often have morphophonemic voiced alternates. In very general terms these voiced forms usually occur when the form in question immediately follows a syllable ending in tone /-v/, /-x/, /-q/ or the vowel /-a/ (no tone symbol) with close juncture.⁴

150. Grammatical summary.

151. Morphology. The majority of morphemes are monosyllabic. They may combine readily into compounds; e.g. /mix¹yathax²/ 'train' (fire¹ vehicle²). In many cases they admit of reduplication: e.g. /phyeyxbyeyx/ 'slowly' (< /phyeyx/ 'slow'), /θaxθax/ 'sonny' (< /θax/ 'son').⁵ The basic morpheme types are substantive and verb roots, and affixes.⁶

152. Substantive expressions. These consist of a substantive head with or without attributives and/or affixes. Attributives consisting of other substantive expressions or of modifying clauses (which include both a subject and

CONSONANTS	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal	
Stops					
vl. unasp.	p	t	k	ʔ	
vl. asp.	ph	th	kh		
voiced	b	d	g		
Spirants					
vl. unasp.		θ	s	h	
vl. asp.			sh		
voiced		ð	z		
Semivowels					
voiced	w		y		
voiceless	hw		hy		
Nasals					
voiced	m	n	ŋ		
voiceless	hm	hn	hŋ		
Lateral					
voiced		l			
voiceless		hl			
VOCALIC NUCLEI	Vowels		Diphthongs		
	i	u			
	e	o	ey	ow	
	a		ay	aw	
NASALIZATION	(indicated by /-n/ following a vowel diphthong)				
TONES	Long low	Long falling	Half-long falling checked	Short high checked	Short neutral
Symbol	-v	-x	-q	-ʔ	(none)
Pitch (utterance final)	—	↘	↘	—	—

Figure 1. Burmese phonemes

a predicate) usually precede the head, while those consisting of non-clause verb expressions or of numeral-classifier expressions usually follow:

/ʔapheyq¹savʔowʔ²/ 'father's¹ book²,
 /zeyx¹dexgaq² ʔiʔpinv³/ 'the tree³ in² the market¹,
 /ʔuv¹wevgeqdeq² savʔowʔ³/ 'the book³ he¹ had bought²,
 /tyawnv¹dyix² ʔownx³gawnv⁴/ 'three big cats' (cats¹
 big² three³ classifier for animals⁴)

Substantival affixes include both prefixes and suffixes, but the latter are more common. Suffixes usually follow postposed attributives:

/sayaq¹gowv²/ 'teacher¹ (obj. case suffix)²,
 /khweyx¹byuv²gowv³/ 'the white² dog¹ (obj. case)³,
 /sayav¹ ʔownx²yawʔ³kowv⁴/ 'three teachers' (teachers¹
 three² classifier for persons³ obj. case suffix⁴)

153. Verbal expressions. These consist of one or more verbs which form the verbal complex or center (see first two examples below) and these may be accompanied by attributives and/or affixes. Attributives usually precede the verb or verbal complex (3rd and 4th examples). Prefixes (chiefly the negative form /ma-/) immediately precede the verbal center and suffixes follow (5th example):

/pyeyx¹winv²ʔwax³dev⁴/ 'ran in' (run¹ enter² go³
 nonfuture suffix⁴)
 /lowʔ¹thyinv²dev³/ 'want to do (it)' (do¹ want to²
 nonfuture suffix³; the first two morphemes
 constitute the verbal complex).

/phyeyxbyeyx¹ pyoxdev²/ 'speak² slowly¹,
 /θey¹ myinq²dev³/ 'is very high' (very¹ is high²
 nonfuture suffix³)
 /ma¹low²thyinv³doq⁴bav⁵bux⁶/ 'don't^{1,6} want to³
 do (it)² any more⁴ (deferential suffix)⁵,

154. The sentence. The typical Burmese sentence has the pattern subject + object + verb:⁷

/tyunvdov¹ sayaqgow² tweyqdev³/ 'I¹ saw³ the
 teacher².'

However, subjectless sentences do occur:

/lay²kheqbav/ 'come along (with me).'
 /bav¹ pyoxdalex²/ 'What¹ did (you) say²?'

Another important sentence type is the equational which has no verb:⁸

/θuv¹ sayav²/ 'He¹ (is) a teacher².'

155. Tonal alternation. There is a type of morphological tonal alternation which affects nouns and pronouns and therefore needs to be discussed here. Substantives which denote persons (as opposed to animals and things), and which end in tone /-v/ when functioning as the subject of a sentence, have an alternate oblique or non-subject form ending in tone /-q/⁹ which occurs as follows:

1) whenever the substantive in question functions as a possessive attributive preceding a noun, except when the possessive suffix /-yeq/ or /-²iq/ is present: e.g. /_ayav/ 'teacher', /sayaq¹apheyv²/ 'teacher's¹ father²';

/tyunvdov/ 'I', /tyunvdoq¹ʔapheyv²/ 'my¹ father²'; but /sayav¹yeq²ʔapheyv³/ 'teacher's father' (teacher¹ gen. possessive² father³), /tyunvdov¹ʔiq²ʔapheyv³/ 'my father' (ego¹ literary possessive suffix² father³).

2) whenever the substantive is a personal pronoun (see 210.) or is a kintype noun used in first or second person (see 220.), and is immediately followed by any one of several suffixes having a non-nominative or oblique function. Examples of such suffixes are: /-kowv/ 'object marker', /-bowq/ 'for', /-hmav/ 'on (one's) person, with (one)'. /-v/ tone kintype nouns used in the third person also usually undergo tonal change if the noun in question is used of a specific referent whose identity is clear, and if the noun is not accompanied by modifiers. For example, compare /tyunvdov/ 'I' and /tyunvdoqgowv/ 'me'. Compare also the forms /sayav/ and /sayaq/ for 'teacher' in the following sentences: /θuv¹ sayav²/ 'he¹ is a teacher²'; /tyunvdov¹ sayaq²gowv³ tweyqdev⁴/ 'I¹ saw⁴ the teacher³ (obj. case)²', or 'I¹ saw⁴ you^{2,3} (speaking to a teacher)'; /sayav¹gowv² yowvθevyaqmev³/ '(One) should respect³ (one's) teacher¹ (obj. case)²' (identity unspecified).

3) whenever such substantives as are described in 2) above occur in contexts where non-nominative particles are omitted but nevertheless implied. For example, /tyunvdoq¹lex²/ 'me¹ too²' may, depending on the context, imply either /tyunvdoq¹gowv²lex³/ 'me¹ (obj.)² too³', or /tyunvdoq¹bowq²lex³/ 'for² me¹ too³'. In both cases,

the longer form is also correct. On the other hand, the construction /tyunvdov¹lex²/ 'I¹, too²', indicates the ego as subject, and no change of tone takes place with /tyunvdov/.

200. Pronominally used forms and meanings. Pronominal forms include personal pronouns, kintype nouns, and name nouns. Their usage may be illustrated by the following examples, each of which may translate as "I saw you."

1) Personal pronouns: /tyunvdov¹ khinvbyaxgowv² tweyqdev³./ 'I¹ saw³ you (obj.)².' (Male speaking to nonintimate equal).

2) Kintype nouns: /pheyvpheyv¹ θaxgowv² tweyqdev³./ (literally 'father¹ saw³ son (obj.)²'; father speaking to son).

3) Name nouns: /nivniv¹ baqbaqgowv² tweyqdev³./ (literally 'Red¹ saw³ Da-da (obj.)²'; boy nicknamed "Red" speaking to intimate adult whom he has nicknamed /baqbaq/, a reduplicated form of /ʔabaq/ 'father').

210. Personal pronouns.

211. General description. Personal pronouns may be defined as a class of substantives which are pluralized always and only by the postposed form /dowq/.¹⁰ They differ in this respect from certain nouns denoting persons which may also be pluralized by /dowq/. Such nouns are pluralized thus in certain contexts¹¹ but are otherwise pluralized by the nominal plural form /-tweyv/. Personal pronouns have no such alternative possibilities. Also, personal pronouns

retain the plural marker even when accompanied by numeral-classifier constructions, whereas nouns do not: e.g. /tyunvdov¹dowq² θownx³yaw⁴/ 'we three (ego¹ group² three³ persons⁴); but /sayav¹ θownx²yaw³/ 'three teachers' (teacher¹ three² persons³).

Personal pronouns may be defined semantically by the fact that, unlike pronominally used nouns, they unambiguously denote first, second or third person. Thus, /tyunvdov/ 'I (male speaking)' always denotes first person, never second or third; but /[?]ux/ 'uncle' may denote first, second or third; depending on the context.

The third person form /θuv/ 'he, she' is further defined by the fact that it has an anaphoric use, often substituting for nouns in contexts where repeated mention is made of a given referent. This use is exemplified in the following sentence: /tyunvdov¹ sayaqgowv² tweyqdev³ davbeyvmeq⁴ θuvgaq⁵ tyunvdoqgowv⁶ matweyqbux⁷./ 'I¹ saw³ the teacher², but⁴ he⁵ didn't see⁷ me⁶.'

Structurally, personal pronouns may comprise a stem of one, or occasionally more, morphemes. All personal pronoun forms, whether monomorphemic or polymorphemic, that have a subject form ending in tone /-v/ have an alternate oblique form ending in tone /-q/. In this respect personal pronouns are similar to other substantives denoting persons. (See 155.)

A few personal pronoun forms denoting females end with the element /-maq/ 'female'; cf. /dabeqdvov/ 'I (male speaking to priest)', /dabeqdvovmaq/ 'I (female speaking to priest)'. Compare also the noun forms /tuv/

'nephew', /tuvmaq/ 'niece'; /tyax/ 'tiger', /tyaxmaq/ 'tigress'. Note that the contrasting male and female forms show male sex to be the unmarked category.

Other recurrent morphemes that may go to make up personal pronouns include /tyunv/ 'slave' and /dov/ 'royal'. Both of these morphemes occur in several different first person forms: /tyunvdov/ 'I (male speaking to equal or superior)'; /tyamaq/ (< /tyunv/ 'slave' + /maq/ 'female') 'I (female speaking to equal or superior)'; /dabeqdov/ (< /dabeq/ 'disciple' + /dov/ 'royal') 'I (male speaking to priest)'. A few other constituents can be segmented out from personal pronoun forms, but these do not conform to any particularly significant pattern. All segments are identified in the inventory below (see 212.). Personal pronouns are often followed by numeral-classifier expressions (first example) but only rarely by other types of attributes (second example):

/tyunvdovdowq¹ θownx² yaw³/ 'we three' (we¹ three² persons³)

/khinxbyax¹ dyix²/ 'big² you¹'

They also occur freely with nominal suffixes much as nouns do.

/tyunvdovq¹ gowv²/ 'me' (ego¹ obj. marker²)

/tyunvdovq¹ bowq²/ 'for² me¹'

/tyunvdov¹ dowq² bowq³/ 'for us' (ego¹ group² for³)

/tyunvdov¹ dowq² bowq³ gox⁴/ 'what about⁴ (something) for³ us^{1,2}'

Preposed attributives and prefixes do not occur with personal pronouns.

212. Inventory of forms and their meanings. The inventory (below) of personal pronouns is subdivided into first, second and third person headings, each form being listed alphabetically under the appropriate heading. It includes the more commonly-used forms and gives their more important meanings and usages. Information is also provided concerning the pairing of first and second person forms in the speech of given speakers in given situations. (For further discussion on pairing, see 215.) Forms marked with an asterisk skirt the borderline separating personal pronouns from nouns. Roman numerals are used to indicate first (I), and second (II) person forms.

212.1. First person forms.

/ʔatyanowq/ (I) usually /tyowq/, q.v. below.

*/dabeqdov/ (I) (< /dabeq/ 'disciple' + /tov/ 'royal') male speaking to Buddhist priest or nun (including one who is a novice). Paired with kintype nouns. Note: the forms /dabeqdov/ and /dabeqdovmaq/ (immediately below) apparently retain some of their nominal meaning, since Christians and Mohammedans avoid using the term in speaking to Buddhist priests or nuns. (see section 314.) However, the terms in present-day usage are strictly limited as to the category of person. They are not used with reference to Buddhist lay people in either the second or third person.

*/dabeqđovmaq/ (I) (< /dabeq/ 'disciple' + /tov/ 'royal' + /maq/ 'female') female speaking to Buddhist priest or nun (including one who is a novice). Paired with kintype nouns. See note under /dabeqđov/ above.

*/kowv/ (I) (literally 'body, self') term used especially in urban areas and by the rising generation, and chiefly between friends of the same sex. Not used speaking to kinfolk. Paired with /minx/, and occasionally /khinvbyax/. Note: the form /kowv/ ('body, self') occurs as a noun, but in unambiguous noun usage in the meaning 'self, body', it almost never occurs as a sentence subject, and it is usually preceded by a possessive modifier: e.g. /minq¹gowv²-gowv³ minx⁴ dax⁵ hyaqmeyqđev⁶./ 'you cut yourself.' (your¹ body² object marker [here optional]³ you⁴ knife⁵-cut⁶); /tyunvđoq¹gowv²bovhmav³ ?anavđweyv⁴ hyeyqđev⁵./ 'There are⁵ sores⁴ on³ my¹ body².' It is not clear that the form /kowv/ is ever used pronominally in the meaning 'self, body'. In any case, unambiguous pronominal usage is restricted to the first person, and so the form is treated here as a personal pronoun.

/ŋav/ (I) assertive or nonrestraint term used speaking to intimates and/or inferiors. Used more readily by males than females. Ideally not used speaking to children. Paired with /minx/, /nyix/, /ninv/.

/tyamaq/ (I) (< /tyunv/ 'slave' + /-maq/ 'female')¹² general

deferential term, female speaking to equal or superior;
paired with /hyinv/.

/tyanov/ (I) rapid speech form of /tyunvdov/, q.v. below.

/tyanowq/ (I) (< /tyunv/ 'slave' + /nowq/ 'menial')¹² usually
contracted to /tyowq/, q.v. below.

/tyowq/ (I) (contracted from /tyanowq/, q.v. above) general
socially acceptable assertive term, male speaking to
equal or inferior. Often used in arguing, or when a
speaker is annoyed but does not wish to be disrespectful.
Often used in the plural in public address to express
group solidarity. Paired with /khinvbyax/, /minx/ or
/nyix/.

/tyunvdov/ ~ /tyanov/ (I) (< /tyunv/ 'slave' + /tov/ 'royal;
pertaining to royalty')¹² general deferential term,
male speaking to equal or superior. Paired with
/khinvbyax/.

212.2. Second person forms.

/hyinv/ (II) (lit. 'lord, master') general deferential
term, female speaking to equal or superior. Paired
with /tyamaq/.

*/kowvdov/(II) (< /kowv/ 'body + /tov/ 'efficient, effica-
cious') term sometimes used addressing a Buddhist
priest. Note: status terms (see 222.) are most
often used in addressing priests. The form /kowvdov/
retains something of its nominal meaning in pronoun
usage, but it is used pronominally only in the second

person.

/khinvbyax/ ~ /khinvmyax/ (II) (< /khinv/'friend' + /byax/
restricted bound form) general polite term, male
speaking to male equal or inferior. Paired with
/tyunvdov/.

/minx/ (II) (lit. 'king') speaking to male intimate equal
or male inferior. Paired with /kowv/, /nav/.

/ninv/ (II) non-restraint term used speaking to intimates
and/or inferiors. Especially used when alone with
friends, or when angry or impatient. Used more readily
by males than females. Ideally not used speaking to
children. Implies greater non-restraint--to the
point of crudeness, vulgarity--than its first person
counterpart /nav/, and is therefore seldom used by
cultured persons. Paired with /nav/.

/nyix/ (II) term used especially in rural areas speaking to
female intimate equals, or to female inferiors. Paired
with /nav/.

212.3. Third person forms.

/θuv/ 'he, she'

/θuvmaq/ 'she' (< /θuv/ '3rd person' + /-maq/ 'female')
form used in literature, chiefly novels. In the
spoken language there is no distinction between male
and female third person pronouns, /θuv/ being used
for both.

~~213. Semantic distinctions. Certain semantic~~

~~...~~

213. Semantic distinctions. Certain semantic distinctions are signalled by overt formal features. These include distinctions which relate roughly to the concepts of number and case. (See discussion of /dowq/, 211. and of oblique /-q/ tone forms, 155.) Other semantic distinctions do not have such obvious formal correlates, but they are nevertheless of primary significance in Burmese pronominal usage. These include distinctions of person (first, second and third), sex (both of speaker and of addressee) and speaker-addressee relationships (especially those relating to intimacy and status).

213.1. Number. The category of number in personal pronouns is marked by the presence or absence of the postposed form /dowq/ 'group'. The form must be used wherever reference is made to more than one individual. Occasionally /dowq/ occurs alone as a first person plural form, here functioning as an optional variant of a longer construction composed of a first person pronoun plus /dowq/. Any construction containing a first person pronoun plus /dowq/ can always be expanded by the addition of an appropriate preposed first person form.

When other semantic categories co-occur with the plural, those pronominal stems are selected which are appropriate for use between the speaker himself (not some other member of the speaker's group) and some specific individual whom the speaker singles out of the addressee group. Thus, a woman will use the feminine /tyamaq/ plus

/dowq/ for 'we' (i.e. 'my group') even though all other members of her group are men. And if, for example, a country woman is addressing a man and two women in an informal or friendly situation, she may use either /minxdowq/ 'you (plural, male)' or /nyixdowq/ 'you (plural, female)', depending on whether she chooses to address the man and his group, or one of the women and her group.

213.2. Case. Distinctions of case do not apply throughout the Burmese nominal system, but it is possible to set up a nominative-oblique dichotomy for person nouns and pronouns which alternate between tone /-v/ (nominative) and tone /-q/ (oblique). (See 155.) Otherwise, distinctions of subject, object, possessive, etc. are handled simply in terms of syntactic position.

213.3. Person. Personal pronouns are semantically defined in terms of their unambiguous denotation of first, second or third person (211.). Forms have been listed (212.) in terms of these distinctions, and Figure 2 also summarizes them. Other important distinctions are shown in the same figure, particularly those relating to sex and to ego-addressee relationship. It will be observed that these other distinctions take place almost entirely in first and second person forms. The third person is differentiated as to sex of referent only in writing, never in speech.

213.4. Sex. Distinctions relating to sex are summarized in Figure 3. It will be observed that sex of

First person forms		Second person forms		3rd pers. forms		Contextual situation
Male sp.	Female sp.	Male sp.	Female sp.			
tyunvdov	tyamaq	khinvbyax	hyinv			polite speech
tyowq						general assertive
dabeqdov	dabeqdovmaq					sp. to Buddhist priest or nun
Male or female sp.		Male or female sp.				
kowvdov		ninv				sp. to Bud. priest
nav						assertive, nonrestr.
		Sp. to m.	Sp. to f.	Sp. of m.	Sp. of f.	
		minx	nyix (esp. rur.)			sp. to intimate
kowv (esp. urban)				əuv	əuvmaq	written language (chiefly in novels)
				Sp. of m. or f.		
				əuv		general, spoken lg.

Figure 2. Distinctions of person in personal pronouns

Type of sex distinction	Person	Sex		Contextual situation
		Male	Female	
Sex of speaker	1st	tyunvdov dabeqdov tyowq	tyamaq dabeqdovmaq	sp. to equal or superior sp. to Bud. priest or nun general assertive
	2nd		hyinv	sp. to equal or superior
Sex of speaker <u>and</u> addressee	2nd	khinvbyax		sp. to equal
Sex of addressee	2nd	minx	nyix (esp. rural)	sp. to intimate
		kowvdov		sp. to Buddhist priest
Sex of referent .	3rd	əuv	əuvmaq	chiefly in novels
No basic distinction	1st		*kowv *ηav	sp. to intimate, esp. urban assertive, nonrestraint
	2nd		*ninv	assertive, nonrestraint
	3rd		əuv	general spoken usage

Figure 3. Distinctions of sex in personal pronouns

speaker is significant in quite a number of forms, particularly those denoting first person. Sex of addressee is significant in ~~two~~^{three} forms, and sex of both speaker and addressee in one--the second person form /khinvbyax/. Sex of referent is significant only in the written language--chiefly in novels.

Five forms are more or less neutral with respect to sex. However, of these, three (marked with an asterisk) have secondary restrictions in usage between sexes. The form /kowv/ 'I (speaking to friend)' is used chiefly between members of the same sex. It is avoided in usage male speaking to female because of possible confusion with a homonym /kowv/ 'darling' (< /ʔakowv/ 'older brother'), a kintype noun used speaking to one's wife or sweetheart. The personal pronoun /kowv/ is also rather rare in female to male usage. The assertive forms /ŋav/ and /ninv/ are more likely to be used by men than women.

213.5. Age. There are certain restrictions upon usage which relate to the absolute age¹³ of speaker or addressee, or both. These restrictions suggest a childhood-adult dichotomy with childhood terminating and adulthood beginning approximately at the age of puberty. Figure 4 summarizes the distinctions involved. Forms marked with an asterisk are ones in which the age distinction is a secondary one. They are usually restricted to use between adults because assertive language is appropriate to adults rather than to children.

Age of Speaker	Age of Addressee	1st Person	2nd Person	Situational Context
Adult	Adult	kowv (urban) *ɲav *tyowq	hyinv nyix (rural) *ninv	polite, female to eq. or superior familiar, esp. to eq. assert., nonrestr., to equal or inferior general assertive
Adult	Indeterminate		khinvbyax minx	polite, m. to m. equal or inferior sp. to male eq. or inf.
Indeterminate	Indeterminate	dabeqdov dabeqdovmaq tyunvdov tyamaq	kowvdov	m. sp. to priest or nun f. " " " " " sp. to priest polite, m. sp. to equal or superior polite, f. sp. to equal or superior

Figure 4. Distinctions in personal pronouns relating to absolute age

213.6. Ego-addressee relationship. Distinctions of this type involve features of relative status (chiefly in terms of age and/or rank), intimacy, assertiveness and non-restraint.

213.6.1. Status and intimacy. Pronoun distinctions of this type are summarized in Figure 5. Here forms are arranged vertically according to three levels of relative addressee status: superior, superior-or-equal, and equal-or-inferior. They are also arranged from left to right in increasing order of speaker-addressee intimacy or familiarity as implied by the use of the form in question. Underlined forms denote second person, and the remaining forms denote first person.

Section A in the chart defines those addressees to whom respect or deference is due: that is, to superiors and to less intimate adults. The forms enclosed in this section may therefore be considered as deferential, respectful, or polite. Sections B and C define addressees to whom deference is not expected: that is, intimates and inferiors. Forms in B, however, are neutral as regards respect and may be used without offence to acquaintances who are equals, and also to inferiors. Forms in C, on the other hand, are assertive, and often imply disrespect, and are therefore tolerated only when used to closest intimates and definite inferiors.

Note that there is a correlation between the features

Addressee Status	- Intimacy +	Additional information
Superior	dabegdov dabegdovmaq <u>kowvdov</u>	m. to Buddhist priest f. to Buddhist priest sp. to Buddhist priest
Superior or Equal	tyunvdov A tyamaq <u>hyinv</u>	male speaking female speaking Female speaking
Equal or Inferior	<u>khinvbyax</u> tyowq kowv B <u>minx</u> <u>nyix</u> nav C <u>ninv</u>	male to male general assertive chiefly to equal of same sex (urban) sp. to male sp. to female assertive, nonrestr. assertive, nonrestr.

Figure 5. Distinctions in personal pronouns relating to status and intimacy

of status and intimacy. The form /tyunvdov/ 'I (male speaking)' and the pair /tyamaq/ and /hyinv/ (female speaking), all used to superiors, are also used to non-intimate equals; and the forms used to inferiors ^{are} ~~and~~ also used to intimate equals. The forms /nav/ and /ninv/ do not, however, necessarily imply intimacy when used to inferiors.

213.6.2. Assertiveness and non-restraint. The forms /nav/ 'I' and /ninv/ 'you' often have implications not only of status and intimacy, but also of assertiveness (i.e. self-assertion, pushing oneself forward), and of non-restraint (i.e. freedom from the restraints of polite and proper usage). They may be used, for example, between intimates to express anger or annoyance, or superior to inferior in order to put a subordinate in his place. Usage between intimates does not necessarily imply anger or annoyance, but it does imply a closeness of relationship that allows mutual freedom and the taking of liberties. Usage by a superior does not necessarily imply an overbearing attitude, but the flavor of the terms is such that an inferior may nevertheless notice and appreciate their omission. For example, ^{one informant} ~~XXXXXX~~ has expressed appreciation of the fact that his elder sister rarely, if ever, used these terms to him. At the same time he did not object to their use by his elder brother, since such usage is an elder sibling's right. Usage beyond prescribed limits-- e.g. to superiors, to non-intimate equals, or by children--

is coarse and unrefined, and often rude or arrogant.

It should be emphasized here that the second person form /ninv/ is a stronger term than the corresponding first person form /nav/. In any comparable context, /ninv/ always implies more speaker superiority, more intimacy, more assertiveness, more freedom from restraint, more crudeness or rudeness, or more arrogance. Thus, a speaker might use /nav/ rather freely (pairing it with the milder second person form /minx/), but still use /ninv/ only rarely if at all.

The form /tyowq/ 'I (male speaking)' is also assertive, but it lacks the implications of non-restraint or disrespect that are associated with /nav/ and /ninv/. It may be used with either equals or inferiors without offence. It is often used when one is annoyed or angry but does not wish to be rudely disrespectful. It is also often used in the plural /tyowq Dowq/ in public address, and it is here a forceful way of expressing group solidarity--either inclusive or exclusive of one's hearers.

214. General analysis of semantic features. It is possible to analyse the semantic features of personal pronouns into three main types: those relating to speaker, to addressee, and to relationship or attitude implied between the two. Under these main headings, particular features may be singled out which specify distinctions of age, sex, respect, intimacy, etc. Figure 6 provides a list of first

Forms	Semantic features									
	rel. to Speaker			relative to Addressee				relative to Attitude		
	Sacerdotal	Male	Adult	Sacerdotal	Male	Adult	Superior	Respectful	Assertive	Intimate
<u>1st person</u>										
dabeqdov		+		+			(+)	(+)	(-)	
dabeqdovmaq		-		+			(+)	(+)	(-)	
kowv	-		+	-		+	/			+
nav			+	-		+	/-	-	+	(+)
tyamaq	-	-		-			/+	+	-	
tyowq	-	+	+	-		+	/-		+	-
tyunvdov	-	+		-			/+	+	-	
<u>2nd person</u>										
hyinv	-	-	+	-		+	/+	+	-	
kowvdov				+	+		(+)	(+)	(-)	
khinvbyax	-	+	+	-	+		/-	+		
minx	-		+	-	+		/-	-		+
ninv	-		+	-		+	/-	-	+	(+)
nyix	-		+	-	-	+	/-	-		

Figure 6. Semantic features of personal pronouns

and second person forms, each of which is defined in terms of these features. Symbols are to be interpreted as follows:

- (no symbol): semantic feature is irrelevant;
may be present or absent depending
on context.
- + semantic feature is present.
- opposite of semantic feature is present;
in the deference column this need not mean
disrespect, only non-respect.
- / halfway between positive and negative; hence
indicates that addressee is equal to ^{speaker}superior;
note that most forms have a double use, some
to both equals and superiors, others to both
equals and inferiors.
- () feature is a secondary one conditioned by
some other feature which is considered as
primary.
- feature is a primary one which conditions some
other secondary feature (indicated in
parentheses).

215. The pairing of forms. First and second person forms often co-occur in the speech of a given individual in a given situation. Thus, a woman in addressing a superior will use /tyamaq/ for 'I' and /hyinv/ for 'you'. These forms may therefore be considered as a natural co-occurring pair. /tyamaq/ and /ninv/, on the other hand, do not

constitute a pair, since they are contradictory, the one being respectful, the other disrespectful and assertive; hence they do not co-occur in any normal conversational situation. We may formulate a rule, then, that any two first and second person forms may be paired if they do not have contradictory semantic components. In terms of the semantic component chart (Figure 5), this means that two forms may be paired, provided that there are no component columns where one form registers plus and the other minus. The sum of non-contradictory positive or negative components then specifies the situations in which they can co-occur.

An inspection of the chart reveals the following acceptable pairs:¹⁴

/dabeqdov/ or /dabeqdovmaq/ and /kowvdov/ pair used speaking to a Buddhist priest.

/tyunvdov/ and /khinvbyax/ polite pair used by males speaking to equals. (Note that this pair cannot be used speaking to superiors, since /khinvbyax/ does not share the superior addressee component, but has instead a contradictory inferior addressee component).

/tyamaq/ and /hyinv/ polite pair used by females speaking to equals or superiors.

/tyowq/ and /khinvbyax/, /minx/ (speaking to males) or /nyix/ (speaking to females--rural) socially acceptable assertive pair used by males, speaking to equals or inferiors.

/kowv/ and /minx/ pair used chiefly between adult friends of

the same sex.

/nav/ and /minx/ (speaking to males), /nyix/ (speaking to females--rural), or /ninv/ (very assertive) assertive pairs used speaking to intimates or inferiors.

A testing of conceivable pairings against the chart (Figure 6) reveals the fact that /tyunvdov/ has no second person counterpart for speaking to superiors. This form and others may be paired readily with kintype nouns and name nouns.

220. Kintype nouns. These may be defined as noun forms, most of which denote either blood kinfolk or persons possessing a given status in society, and which are also used in pronominal reference.

When used pronominally, they are pluralized only by means of the postposed pronominal plural form /dowq/, but in nominal use they ordinarily take the nominal pluralizers /tweyv/ 'group' or /myax/.¹¹¹ When they are pluralized by /dowq/, they always have the meaning 'x plus group'. Thus, the expression /ʔapheyv¹dowq²/ (lit. 'father¹ group²) used in the second person does not mean 'you fathers', but rather, 'you, father, and those with you', or 'you, father, and all you others'.

Pronominally used kintype nouns ending in /-v/ tone, unlike other nouns, are subject to /-v/ tone /-q/ tone alternation when immediately followed by oblique particles such as /-kowv/ 'object marker' (see 155.).

A number of kintype nouns have corresponding forms

which function as titles preceding name nouns. For example, the form /ʔux/ 'uncle' occurs as a title in the expression /ʔux¹nuq²/ 'Mr.¹ Nu²'. Often two titles co-occur preceding a name noun: e.g. /yexbox¹ ʔux²hlaq³/ 'comrade¹ Mr.² Hla³', /ʔakowv¹kowv²hlaq³/ '(my) elder brother¹ Mr.² Hla³'. Possibilities of occurrence in expressions of this type define two types of titles--primary and secondary. Primary titles occur only directly preceding name nouns, and they have conventional meanings comparable to English, "Mr., Mrs., Master, Miss." Secondary titles may--in fact, usually do--occur preceding primary titles, and they have ordinary nominal meanings such as kintype nouns have elsewhere. (See examples above.) Title plus name noun expressions occur pronominally chiefly in the second person (see 230. and 231.).

Kintype nouns differ semantically from personal pronouns in that they are indeterminate with reference to the category of person. That is, they do not in all contexts signal only first person or only second or only third. Their meaning in this sense can only be determined by knowledge of the context--who is speaking to whom or about whom. For example, the personal pronoun form /ŋav/ always signals first person regardless of context, but the kintype noun /ʔaphowx/ 'grandfather' may mean 'I', 'you', or 'he', or simply 'grandfather', depending on whether someone's grandfather is speaking, spoken to, or spoken about.

Furthermore, kintype nouns have a basic core of

meaning which persists unchanged in both nominal and pronominal usage. Thus, /ʔaphowx/ denotes a person who is a grandfather, or is in some sense treated as a grandfather, regardless of whether the term is used for first, second or third person.

This retention of a constant meaning element in varying "person" contexts gives rise to a phenomenon which we may term "reciprocal pairing." That is, certain terms, such as /ʔapheyv/ 'father' and /θax/ 'son' may be paired together in given conversational contexts, such that a father speaking to his son, for example, will use /ʔapheyv/ for 'I' and /θax/ for 'you', while his son in return will use /θax/ for 'I' and /ʔapheyv/ for 'you'. It should be noted, however, that such pairing is not mandatory, for a father may use the term /ʔapheyv/ 'I (father)' in conjunction with /minx/ 'you', and the son may in return use /tyunvdov/ 'I' and /ʔapheyv/ 'you (father)'. (For further discussion of reciprocal pairs, see 223.)

Kintype nouns used in pronominal reference may be divided into two main types, kin terms and status terms.

221. Pronominally used kin terms.

221.1. General description. Kin terms are nouns, most of which have a primary meaning denoting persons who are blood kin. The same forms often have an extended or displaced meaning denoting persons who, out of respect or affection, are treated in speech as occupying a position comparable to that of blood kin. For example, /ʔaphowx/

'grandfather' may be used not only of one's grandfather, but also of an elderly gentleman of comparable age to one's grandfather.

Most kin terms may also be reduplicated to express endearment or kindly respect: e.g. /θaxθax/ 'sonny' (< /θax/ 'son'). A few reduplicated kin terms may also be used as nicknames. This is true of the example just cited. Forms beginning with initial /ʔa-/ drop this syllable when reduplicated: e.g. /phowxphowx/ 'grandpa' (< /ʔaphowx/ 'grandfather'). Note also that reduplicated kin terms are not subject to the usual voiced-voiceless alternations of syllable initial consonants following certain tones (see 140.): e.g. /phowxphowx/ 'grandpa' (not /phowxbowx/), /θaxθax/ 'sonny' (not /θaxðax/).

Most forms may be modified in pronominal usage by a following /tyix/ 'big, great', to express added respect on the part of the speaker, or by /-leyx/ 'little' to express added intimacy or less status difference between speaker and addressee: e.g. /ʔux¹dyix²/ '(respected)² uncle¹'. The modifiers /tyix/ and /-leyx/ are also occasionally used as modifiers distinguishing one referent from some other similar kinsman with whom the former is compared. Thus, /tyix/ marks the referent as the elder or bigger of those compared, and /-leyx/ marks him as the younger or smaller: e.g. /θax¹-leyx²/ 'younger² son¹'.

Kin terms denoting persons younger than the speaker are often preceded by the pronominal possessive modifier /naq-/

'my', in pronominal usage: e.g. / η aq¹θax²/ 'you, my¹ son²', / η aq¹myeyx²/ 'you, my¹ grandchild²'. Kin terms are not preceded by pronominal possessives other than / η aq-/ in pronominal reference. However, a kin term may on occasion be preceded by a nominal possessive modifier. The form / ?apheyv / 'father' is especially susceptible to such treatment: e.g. / $\text{bowxdyix}^1\text{?apheyv}^2$ / 'you (captain's¹ father²)'.

Certain kin terms also have corresponding forms which function as primary and/or secondary titles prefixed to name nouns (see 220.). Kin terms functioning as primary titles and having initial / ?a- / drop this syllable from the title form: e.g. / $\text{kowv}^1\text{baqminx}^2$ / 'Mr. Ba Min' (/ kowv / < / ?akowv / 'older brother'). Title-plus-name combinations are used pronominally chiefly in the second person.

221.2. Inventory of pronominally used kin terms. The forms listed below are commonly used in pronominal reference. Not all nouns denoting kinfolk are so used. For example, / ?abaq / 'father' is used only as a regular noun, and never denotes first or second person. Other kin terms are limited in pronominal use. For example, / mawnv / 'younger brother of a female' is not used pronominally between brothers and sisters, but it is so used between husband and wife or between lovers. The meanings and qualifying statements given below are intended to apply specifically to pronominal usage. Unless otherwise specified, the forms are used in both first and second person with the meanings listed here. Roman numerals indicate first (I) and

second (II) person usage.

/ʔabowx/ 1. grandfather. 2. elderly gentleman of about the age of one's grandparents. --Also reduplicated. --A dialectal variant used chiefly in rural areas; cf. /ʔaphowx/.

/ʔabwax/ 1. grandmother. 2. elderly woman of about the age of one's grandparents. --Also reduplicated. --A dialectal variant used chiefly in rural areas; cf. /ʔaphwax/.

/ʔadov/ 1. aunt. 2. older woman of about the age of one's parents. --More often reduplicated than not. --/dov.../ Mrs. ..., Miss ..., a title used (II) before the name of an older woman, or formally before the name of any adult woman. Also reduplicated to express friendliness, intimacy.

/ʔakowv/ 1. elder brother. 2. male slightly older than oneself (in this sense used especially between a female and a slightly older male). --Reduplicated chiefly in speech between an older brother or male and a child.

--/kowv.../ Mr. ..., a title used especially before the name of a young man. Ordinarily used pronominally (II) speaking to individuals whose age differs not more than about ten years in either direction from one's own.

/ʔamaq/ 1. older sister. 2. female slightly older than oneself. --Usually reduplicated. --May cause offense

if used to an adult non-sister who wishes to be considered as youthful and is therefore sensitive about her age.

--/maq .../ ~ /maqmaq .../ Miss ..., Mrs. ..., a title used (II) especially before the name of a girl or young woman.

/ʔameyv/ 1. mother. 2. older woman of about the age of one's mother; used only occasionally in this sense.

--Ordinarily reduplicated only in the meaning 'mother'.

--Reciprocally paired with /θax/ 'son' or /θamix/ 'daughter'.

/ʔapheyv/ father. Very rarely displaced (with reference to a man of about one's father's age). Ordinarily reduplicated only in the meaning 'father'. Reciprocally paired with /θax/'son', or /θamix/ 'daughter'.

/ʔaphowx/ 1. grandfather. 2. elderly gentleman of about the age of one's grandparents. --Also reduplicated.

--Cf. /ʔabowx/.

/ʔaphwax/ 1. grandmother. 2. elderly woman of about the age of one's grandparents. --Also reduplicated.

--Cf. /ʔabwax/.

/ʔux/ 1. uncle. 2. older man of about the age of one's parents.

--/ʔux .../ Mr. ..., a title used (II) before the name of an older man, or formally before the name of any adult man. Never reduplicated.

/dyixdov/ (perhaps derived from /tyix/ 'big' + /tov/

'related') 1. elder aunt. 2. older woman of about one's parents' age, especially one who is a close friend of the family. Note that the syllable /dov/ (< /tov/) here is not the same as the second syllable of /'adov/ 'aunt'. The two forms are spelled differently in the Burmese orthography.

/kowv/ (derived from /'akowv/ 'elder brother') husband, lover. Also reduplicated. ~~Also reduplicated.~~ Reciprocally paired with the status term /khinv/ 'darling' (see 222.2.).

/mawnv/ 1. younger brother of a female; in this sense not used pronominally. 2. husband, lover (a somewhat more romantic term than /kowv/); in this sense reciprocally paired with the status term /khinv/ 'darling' (see 222.2.).

--/mawnv .../ Master ..., Mr. ..., a title used (II) especially before the name of a boy or young man and implying inferior status; ordinarily used in the second person to individuals considerably younger than ego.

/myeyx/ grandchild. Used pronominally only II with preceding /naq-/ 'my', or I and II with following /tyix/ 'big', or /-leyx/ 'little'.

/nyiv/ 1. younger brother of a male. 2. male several years younger than female ego.--Used pronominally only II with preceding /naq-/ 'my', or ^{I and II} with following /tyix/ 'big' or /-leyx/ 'little'. --Reduplicated chiefly as a nickname.

/nyivmaq/ 1. younger sister of a male. Preceded by /naq-/ 'my' in pronominal usage. 2. girl or young woman several years younger than male ego. Followed by /-leyx/ 'little' in pronominal usage. Chiefly II in both meanings.

/tuv/ nephew. Used pronominally only II with preceding /naq-/ 'my' or I and II with following /tyix/ 'big', or /-leyx/ 'little'.

/tuvmaq/ niece. Used pronominally with the same restrictions as /tuv/ (see above).

/θax/son. Also reduplicated. May also be used pronominally of non-sons, but with the same restrictions as /tuv/ (see above), and not reduplicated in this sense. Reciprocally paired with /ʔameyv/ 'mother', or /ʔapheyv/ 'father'.

/θamix/ 1. daughter. 2. child of about a daughter's age (only II). --Also used pronominally the same as /tuv/. --Not reduplicated. --Reciprocally paired with /ʔameyv/ 'mother', or /ʔapheyv/ 'father'.

221.3. Possibilities of pronominal occurrence of kin terms. An examination of the above inventory reveals a variety of possibilities and restrictions upon usage of the different forms. These include literal and displaced usage; also occurrence alone, reduplicated, or with accompanying modifiers (i.e. with preceding /naq-/ 'my' or following /tyix/ 'big' or /-leyx/ 'little'); and usage as titles. Of the three phenomena--reduplication, modification by

preceding /ŋaq-/ , and modification by following /tyix/ or /ɬeyx/ -- no two co-occur in pronominal usage.¹⁵ Also, /ŋaq-/ 'my' is the only first person pronoun that is attached to pronominally used kin terms.

A general summary of some of the possibilities of occurrence of kin terms in pronominal usage is provided in Figure 7. The letter "x" indicates that the form in question does occur under the conditions specified. Parentheses around the x-mark show that occurrence is rare. A blank space indicates that the form in question does not occur in the given situation--unless perhaps in very exceptional cases or in dialectal speech. Other symbols are explained as follows:

- ch "child"; occurs chiefly in situations where the second person in the conversation is a child.
- dis "displaced"; occurs chiefly displaced.
- grl "girl"; usage occurs chiefly in situations where the second person in the conversation is a younger girl or woman.
- n "nickname"; usage occurs chiefly as a nickname rather than as a genuine kin term.
- w/s "Wife or sweetheart"; usage occurs chiefly in situations where the second person in the conversation is a wife or sweetheart.

Restrictions as to the identity of the second person in a conversation (see the symbols ch, grl, and w/s on the

Kin term	Gloss	Possibilities of occurrence														
		Alone				Reduplicated				Prec.by /ḡaḡ-/		Foll. by mod.		As title		
		Lit.		Displ.		Lit.		Displ.		Lit.	Displ.	/tyix/ /-leyx/		Pr.Sec.		
1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	
?aphowx	grandfather	x	x	x	x	x	x	ch	ch							x
?aphwax	grandmother	x	x	x	x	x	x	ch	ch							x
?apheyv	father	x	x	(x)	(x)	x	x					dis	dis			
?ameyv	mother	x	x	x	x	x	x					dis	dis			
?ux	uncle	x	x	x	x							x	x	x		x x
?adov	aunt	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			dis	dis	x		x x
dyixdov	elder aunt	x	x	x	x											x
?akowv	elder brother	x	x	grl	grl	ch	ch	ch	ch			x	x	x		x x
kowv ¹⁶	(husband,lover)			w/s	w/s			w/s	w/s							
?amaq	elder sister	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x		x x
nyiv	male's yg.bro.					(n)	(n)			x	x	(x)	(x)	x		
mawnv ¹⁶	(husband,lover) (lit.f's y.bro.)			w/s	w/s			w/s	w/s			(x)	(x)	x		x
nyivmaq	male's yg.sis.									x	x		dis	dis		
θax	son	x	x			ch	ch			x	x	x	x	x		
θamix	daughter	x	x		x					x	x	x	x	x		
tuv	nephew									x	x	x	x	x		
tuvmaq	niece									x	x	x	x	x		
myeyx	grandchild									x	x	x	x	x		

Figure 7. Possibilities of occurrence of pronominally used kin terms

chart) may be explained by referring to the form /ʔaphowx/ 'grandfather' under the first and second person columns headed "displaced, reduplicated." Here the symbol ch (i.e. child) appears in both columns. This indicates that the reduplicated form /phowxphowx/ in the displaced meaning 'elderly gentleman' ordinarily occurs in the first person only when an elderly man is speaking to a child, and in the second person only when a child is speaking to an elderly man.

On the basis of the data revealed in Figure 7 it is possible to make the following generalizations as to pronominal usage of kin terms:

1) Forms denoting persons older than ego are not preceded by first person modifiers--this because /ŋaq-/ , the only modifier used before pronominal kin terms is a non-restraint or assertive form and is therefore disrespectful to use with one's elders.

2) Forms denoting non-collateral older kin (parents and grandparents) are comparatively unrestricted as to occurrence alone or reduplicated, but are otherwise rather restricted.

3) With the exception of /dyixdov/ 'elder aunt', forms denoting collateral older kin are comparatively unrestricted as to occurrence alone, or reduplicated, or with following /tyix/ or /-leyx/, or as primary titles. This group has the widest range of possibilities of occurrence.

4) Forms denoting persons younger than ego are comparatively restricted as to occurrence alone or reduplicated,¹⁷ or as titles, and are otherwise comparatively unrestricted.

5) Only kin terms denoting collateral kin have corresponding forms used as primary titles: /ʔux/ 'uncle' (cf. /ʔux .../ 'Mr. ...'), /ʔadov/ 'aunt' (/dov .../ 'Mrs. ...', Miss ...'), /ʔamaq/ 'older sister' (/maq .../ or /maqmaq .../ 'Miss ...', Mrs. ...'), and /mawnv/ '(female's) younger brother' (/mawnv .../ 'Mr. ...', Master ...'). These include all but one of the terms for older collateral kin, and only one for younger kin, the form /mawnv/.

6) Only kin terms denoting persons older than ego are used as secondary titles.

In addition to the possibilities of occurrence of kin terms as summarized in Figure 7, there is also a pronominal use of kin terms to affinal kin. Such kin are designated by the same terms as blood kin, there being no special pronominally used terms for in-laws. Here the selection of terms is made in accordance with the spouse's kin position and ego's age. For example, the husband of one's aunt is /ʔux/ 'uncle', and the elder brother of a man's wife is /ʔakowv/ 'elder brother' if the brother-in-law is older than ego, and /ŋaɣnyiv/ 'my younger brother' if he is younger than ego and on fairly intimate terms. Brother and sister terms are avoided, however, between brother- and sister-in-law, since such terms are reserved for husband and wife.¹⁸

Kin terms in displaced pronominal usage may denote

close friends of kin, and kin of close friends, and also individuals accepted into the family. They may also denote friends, acquaintances, and even strangers. Wider displacement of this sort occurs with most kin terms that admit of displacement at all (see Figure 7). However, /ʔapheyv/ 'father' is not so used, and terms for mother, son and daughter imply greater intimacy. Wider displacement is very common with the grandparent, uncle/aunt, and elder sibling terms.

In using kin terms to non-kin (i.e. in displaced usage), those forms are selected which are appropriate to the sex of the referent, and they are in accordance with the relative age implications of the term in question. Thus, /ʔaphwax/ 'grandmother' is appropriate for an elderly woman who seems to be old enough to be one's grandmother. It would not be used by one elderly person to another.

221.4. Semantic structuring of kin terms. All terms have a literal or primary meaning denoting blood kin. The semantic structuring of these terms is summarized in Figure 8. Solid horizontal lines separate the various generation levels, and ^{broken} ~~dotted~~ horizontal lines divide older from younger siblings. A solid vertical line divides lineal kin (left) from collateral (right); and ^{broken} ~~dotted~~ vertical lines separate male (left) from female (right). Diagonal lines separate siblings of males (lower left) from siblings of females (upper right).

The chart is not strictly drawn up according to

	Male		Female	
G + 2	ʔaphowx		ʔaphwax	
	Lineal		Collateral	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
G + 1	ʔapheyv	ʔameyv	ʔux	ʔadov
G + 0	EGO		ʔakowv	ʔamaq
			mawnv	hnamaq
			nyiv	nyivmaq
G - 1	əax	əamix	tuv	tuvmaq
G - 2	myeyx			

Meanings of terms

ʔadov	'aunt'	mawnv	'female's ygr. bro.'
ʔakowv	'elder brother'	myeyx	'grandchild'
ʔamaq	'elder sister'	nyiv	'male's ygr. bro.'
ʔameyv	'mother'	nyivmaq	'male's ygr. sis.'
ʔapheyv	'father'	tuv	'nephew'
ʔaphowv	'grandfather'	tuvmaq	'niece'
ʔaphwax	'grandmother'	əax	'son'
ʔux	'uncle'	əamix	'daughter'
hnamaq	'female's y.sis.'		

Figure 8. Semantic distinctions of kin terms

pronominal usage. The form /hnamaq/ 'female's younger sister' is not used pronominally, and several others (e.g. /mawnv/ 'female's younger brother', /tuv/ 'nephew') are so used only when modified in some way (see Figure 7). Also, terms more than two generations removed from ego are omitted as being peripheral to pronominal reference.

Note that out of five generation levels, there are four separate sets of distinctions. The second ascending generation ($G + 2$) distinguishes only male and female. The parental and offspring generations ($G + 1$, and $G - 1$ respectively) add the distinction of lineal as opposed to collateral. Ego's generation ($G + 0$) adds the further distinction of older than ego versus younger, and ego's younger siblings are further distinguished in terms of the sex of ego. The grandchild generation ($G - 2$) makes no obligatory distinctions apart from that of generation.

The types of sex distinction deserve further comment here. All forms except /myeyx/ 'grandchild' distinguish the sex of the kinsman in question. Younger sibling terms further distinguish sex of ego, although the two terms for younger sister (/nyivmaq/, male's, and /hnamaq/, female's) are now becoming confused. In most cases, sex is an unmarked category, but sibling and nephew terms are marked for female (/maq/) but not for male. The term /myeyx/ 'grandchild' may be marked for female (/myeyxmaq/), but not in pronominal usage.

222. Pronominally used status terms.

222.1. General description. In the sense used here, status terms include all nouns other than kin terms or name nouns which may be used for pronominal reference. They constitute an indefinite number of forms, most of which denote individuals in terms of their rank, status, or social position.

Many status terms may be modified in pronominal usage by the attributives /-maq/ 'female', /tyix/ 'big, great, head' (implying respect), and /-leyx/ 'small' (implying intimacy, affection): e.g. /sayavmaq/ 'lady teacher' (< /sayav/ 'teacher' + /-maq/ 'female'); /sayav maqleyx/ 'little lady teacher'.

Status terms denoting persons of prestige may be followed in pronominal usage by a special bound form, /-gadov/ meaning 'wife': e.g. /minxdyix¹gadov²/ 'head official's¹ wife²'; /sayav¹gadov²/¹⁹ 'teacher's¹ wife²'.

Occasionally status terms serve as possessive attributes of other nouns, the whole expression being used pronominally: e.g. /bowx¹dyix²?apheyv³/ '(you) captain's father' (officer¹-big² father³); /sayaq¹?apheyv²/ '(you) teacher's¹ father²'.

Most status terms may occur as secondary titles, but none occur as primary ones--the latter being a phenomenon restricted to a few kin terms. Unlike kin terms, status terms are not reduplicated¹⁷ and in pronominal usage they are not modified by possessives. Also they are not

ordinarily used in the first person, except in the case of /sayav/ 'teacher', and certain terms denoting priests.

222.2. Examples of pronominally used status terms. These are listed below. Many more examples could be adduced, for terms of this type constitute a fairly open class. However, the more important forms are included, and these should be sufficient to make the patterns of usage clear. Unless otherwise specified, forms below are used pronominally chiefly in the second person. Forms marked by an asterisk are restricted status terms which skirt the borderline separating nouns from personal pronouns.

*/?ahyinvphayax/ (lit. 'living Buddha or lord') a term

used chiefly II in addressing a Buddhist priest.

Not used as a secondary title. Note: this term is not used I by a priest, and it is not ordinarily used

III. However, the latter usage may occur where the identity of the referent is clear from the context:

e.g. /?ahyinvphayaxgowv¹ maneyqgaq² tweyqdev³/ '(I) saw³ him (the priest)¹ yesterday².' Furthermore, the noun meaning of the form seems to be a basic factor in its present-day usage and meaning. It is therefore listed here as a status term.

/?uxbazinx/ Buddhist priest. Used both I and II.

*/?dagavdyix/ (lit. 'big supporter') a term used chiefly in the second person by Buddhist priests speaking to male lay persons; also used as a secondary title.

Note: /dagavdyix/ and /dagamaqdyix/ (immediately below) are not ordinarily used I, or as nouns denoting ones who support priests, and certainly not as nouns denoting lay people in general (as might be implied by their second person usage, priests or nuns speaking to lay folk). However, first person usage is possible, though rare, and both forms can occur as titles preceding name nouns--a fact that is true of many status terms, but of no unambiguous personal pronouns.

*/dagamaqdyix/ (lit. 'big female supporter') a term used chiefly in the second person by Buddhist priests speaking to female lay persons; also used as a secondary title. See note under /dagavdyix/ above.

/hyeyqneyv/ lawyer.

/kowvyinv/ novice (in the Buddhist priesthood). Used both I and II.

/khaleyx/ child. Not used as a secondary title.

*/khinv/ 'darling, sweetheart', a term used (both I and II) with reference to a man's wife or sweetheart, Reciprocally paired with either /kowv/ or /mawnv/, both of which are kin terms used with reference to a woman's husband or lover. Not used as a secondary title. Note: /khinv/ does not usually occur as an ordinary noun, but it is not completely restricted as to the category of person, since it occurs freely both I and II.

/maneyxdyax/ manager, employer.

/minxdyix/ head official (e.g. postmaster, police chief, etc.). Often also used to show respect to lesser officials.

/pavmaw[?]khaq/ professor (i.e. chairman of a department, as per British usage).

/sayav/ teacher. Used, II, to anyone who is a teacher, even including one's employer, or any other individual who is in a position to give one instructions concerning some task or skill. Used, I, chiefly teacher speaking to pupil.

/sayavdov/ ('efficacious teacher') abbot, head priest (in a Buddhist monastery). Used both I and II.

/sayavleyx/ (lit. 'little teacher') 1. a friendly or affectionate term used for teachers with whom one has a friendly or intimate relationship. 2. Buddhist nun.

/sayavdyix/ older teacher; headmaster.

/sayavmaq/ lady teacher. Used both I and II.

/sayeyx/ clerk.

/sayeyxdyix/ older clerk, head clerk.

*/tyunv/ ~ /[?]atyunv/ 'slave'. A term used, I, chiefly in popular songs speaking to one's lover or sweetheart. Not used as a secondary title. Note: of the forms used between lovers, namely /tyunv/ 'slave', /[?]akhinv/ 'master', and /[?]akhinvmaq/ 'mistress', /tyunv/ is used only I and the others only II.

They are not used pronominally between masters or mistresses and servants. Also in usage between lovers they are restricted as to the category of person, but it is clear, nevertheless, that they here retain their nominal meanings. We take them to be pronominally used nouns applied with extended meanings by lovers.

*/θakhinv/ 'master', a term used, II, chiefly in popular songs by a woman speaking to a man who is her lover. Not used as a secondary title. See note under /tyunv/ above.

*/θakhinvmaq/ 'mistress, owner' a term used, II, chiefly in popular songs by a man speaking to a woman who is his sweetheart. Not used as a secondary title. See note under /tyunv/ above.

223. Reciprocal pairs. Certain kin terms and status terms occur in reciprocal pairs (see discussion, 220.). Several commonly occurring pairs of this type are listed below. Underlined forms are status terms, and the remainder are kin terms:

/ʔapheyv/ 'father' paired with /θax/ 'son' or /θamix/ 'daughter'.

/ʔameyv/ 'mother' paired with /θax/ 'son' or /θamix/ 'daughter'.

/kowv/ 'husband, lover' or /mawnv/ (idem) paired with /khinv/ 'darling (wife or sweetheart)'

/tyunv/ (lit. 'slave') 'sweetheart (either a man or woman)'

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paired with /əakhinv/ (lit. 'master') 'lover, sweetheart (ref. to a man)' or /əakhinvmaq/ (lit. 'mistress') 'darling, sweetheart (ref. to a woman)'.

It should be noted that not all pairs of kintype nouns with reciprocal meanings (uncle-nephew, older brother-younger brother, etc.) can occur as reciprocal pairs, but only those in which both members of the pair occur freely in both the first and the second person. An examination of Figure 7 will show whether or not a given pair of kin terms qualifies as a reciprocal pair. For example, the pair /ʔux/ 'uncle' and /tuvleyx/ 'little nephew' meets the conditions because both terms are used for both first and second person. The pair /ʔux/ 'uncle' and /tuv/ 'nephew' (unmodified) does not, since /tuv/ does not occur either in the first or second person. It will be seen that several reciprocally paired kin terms occur which have not been listed above. Reciprocally paired status terms other than those listed are less common.

230. Name nouns. These are a class of substantives that occur freely in subject or object position, and with following ^{suffixes} ~~particles~~, and occasionally with modifying expressions. They are perhaps best defined semantically as substantives which identify specific persons by name. They are of two main types, given names and nicknames. Both are commonly used in the second person,

but seldom in the first, except by children or older persons speaking to children, and occasionally by young women.²⁰ In pronominal usage, name nouns are pluralized by the pronominal plural form /dowq/ (with the resultant meaning "x plus x's group"; cf. 220.), but they are not subject to tonal alternation when followed by oblique particles such as /-kowv/.

231. Given names. These are names given to children at birth. They may be either monosyllabic or polysyllabic, but names of one or two syllables are probably the most common. Most given names are made up of forms which have ordinary lexical meanings: e.g. /hlaq¹dyiv²/ 'beautiful¹ clear²', /baq¹minx²/ 'father¹ king²'. Many consist of reduplicated forms: e.g. /hlaqhlaq/ 'beautiful' (< /hlaq/ 'beautiful'); /kowvkowv/ 'older brother' (< /[?]akowv/ 'older brother'). Such reduplication is much more common with women's names than men's. Unreduplicated given names are almost always preceded by titles: e.g. /maqhlaqdyiv/ 'Miss Hla Ji'; /[?]uxnuq/ 'U Nu (i.e. Mr. Nu, referring to a mature adult, or formally to a younger man); /kowvbaqminx/ 'Mr. Ba Min' (referring to a young man). Title-plus-name combinations are pronominally used chiefly in the second person.

Generally speaking, it is not permissible to substitute part of a given name for the whole. If one uses a given name, either in pronominal reference or otherwise, it usually is necessary to use the whole name, even if

the name is five syllables long.

232. Nicknames. These are special names by which a person is known to particular individuals or groups of individuals. They may be used among intimates of any age, but particularly between individuals of the same age and sex, or by adults in addressing children. They are not usually preceded by titles. Many nicknames are of the reduplicated type. The following are a few examples:

/baqbaq/ (< /ʔabaq/ 'father') Da-da, a nickname given to one informant by his nephew.

/nivniv/ (< /niv/ 'red') Red, a common nickname for both boys and girls.

/naqkhweyx/ (lit. 'my dog') an affectionate nickname given by an adult to a child.

/shinvgaleyx/ (lit. 'baby elephant') a nickname given to a fat person by his schoolmates.

/θaxθax/ (< /θax/ 'son') 'Sonny', a nickname given to one of the children in a family (and used by all members of the family, not just the parents).

300. Cultural and personal aspects of usage.

310. Interpersonal relationships. Pronominal usage is to a large extent a reflection of certain interpersonal relationships, especially of those involving factors of status and intimacy. Figure 9 illustrates usage with respect to these factors by listing a

Relative status	-	Intimacy	+
<u>Sp. to Superior</u>			
1. man to high official	tyunvdov minxdyix 'head official' / ?ux + name		
2. young man to older man	tyunvdov ?ux + name	tyunvdov ?uxleyx 'little uncle'	
3. young man to older woman	tyunvdov dov + name / ?adov 'aunt'	tyunvdov dovdov 'auntie'	
4. son to father	tyunvdov ?apheyv 'father'	θaxθax 'sonny' pheyvpheyv 'daddy'	
5. yg. woman to older man	tyamaq ?ux + name	tyamaq ?uxleyx 'little uncle'	
6. ygr. to older brother	tyunvdov ?akowv 'elder bro.' nickname	tyunvdov	
7. ygr. f. servant to older mistr	tyamaq ?adov 'aunt'	tyamaq dovdov 'auntie'	tyamaq ?ameyv 'mother'
8. layman to priest	dabeqdov ?ahyinvphayax (lit. 'living lord') / ?uxbazinx 'priest' / kowvdov		
9. male pupil to teacher	tyunvdov sayav 'teacher'	tyunvdov sayavleyx 'little tea.'	
<u>Speaking to Equal</u>			
10. male to male	tyunvdov khinvbyax	tyunvdov kowv + name	kowv minx/nickname
11. female to female	tyamaq hyinv	tyamaq maq + name	kowv maq + name nyix/ninv /nyix/nickname
12. m. to female	tyunvdov (zero)	tyunvdov maq + name	kowv 'beloved' khinv 'darling'
13. f. to male	tyamaq hyinv	tyamaq kowv + name	kowv (ram) khiinv 'darling' kouv 'beloved'

Figure 9. Examples of status and intimacy usage (speaking to superiors and equals)

Relative status	-	Intimacy	+
<u>Speaking to Inferior</u>			
14. high off. to com. citizen	ŋav minx	ʔuxleyx 'little uncle' minx/mawnv + name	
15. older man to yg. man	ŋav minx	ʔuxleyx 'little uncle' minx/mawnv + name	
16. older woman to yg. man		ŋav/ʔadov 'aunt' ʔameyv 'mother' ŋaqtuv 'my nephew' ŋaqθax 'my son' /mawnv + name	
17. older to ygr. bro.	ŋav minx/ninv	ʔakowv 'elder brother' nickname	
18. father to son	ŋav ninv	ʔapheyv 'father' pheyvpheyv 'daddy' minx θaxθax 'sonny'	
19. older man to yg. woman	ŋav maq + name	ʔuxleyx 'little uncle' ŋaqnyivmaq 'little sister'	
20. older mistr. to young f. servant	ŋav ninv	maqmaq 'elder sister' ninv	
21. priest to layman	ŋav minx	ʔuxbazinx 'priest' dagavdyix 'supporter'	
22. teacher to male pupil	ŋav minx	sayav 'teacher'	

Figure 9. (Continued) Examples of status and intimacy usage (speaking to inferiors)

number of speaker-addressee situations and setting forth some of the forms which may be used in them. Positioning of forms on the chart is arranged according to a status-intimacy scheme similar to that used in Figure 5, and items are numbered for ease of reference below. First person forms are listed on the first line of each numbered item, and second person forms paired with them, ^{are listed directly below them.} Slash marks separate forms which are considered as occupying the same left-right position on the chart. Forms identified by gloss are kintype nouns; those followed by the expression " + name" are titles; and unidentified forms are personal pronouns.

311. Status. Status may be defined in terms of age, and also in terms of rank or position. Either superior age, or superior rank gives a person superior status and entitles him to speak or be spoken to with such pronominal usage as reflects this superiority. Thus, a young man addressing an older man, or an ordinary citizen addressing a high official, will always use the deferential and respectful /tyunvdov/ for 'I', and appropriate kintype nouns or title plus name for 'you' (see Figure 9, items 1 and 2). In a conversation between a young man of high rank and an old man of low rank, each will ordinarily use respectful language to the other. The young man will use /tyunvdov/ for 'I' and /'ux/ + name for 'you', or perhaps the second person form

/khinvbyax/, a respectful term for speaking to equals. The old man will probably use the same forms in return, except that he is not likely to use /khinvbyax/, since he would not feel free to treat a person of higher rank as an equal.

The principle that age gives status carries throughout one's social contacts both inside and outside the family (see items 2-7 and 15-20). Thus, one may address younger siblings using /ŋav/ 'I' and /minx/ or /ninv/ 'you', but not older siblings, unless the age difference is minimal. Outside the family, those of approximately the same age address each other as equals, the permissible age difference widening as age increases.

Rank or position also confers status, with consequent deference reflected in pronominal usage. Positions of positive status include Buddhist priests (see items 8 and 21), professors and teachers (items 9 and 22), and high officials (1 and 14).

Respect is due, then, to both age and rank. It is also due to strangers, and one can, in certain situations, show respect even to inferiors by using /tyunvdov/ and /khinvbyax/ in speaking to them. This is done particularly in employer-employee situations, or in formal contacts outside the home. Such usage, in effect, places one's inferiors in the position of equals, and it is a mark of at least outward humility or graciousness. It may be appreciated by one's inferiors, but it is not to be expected

by them.

312. Intimacy. Figure 9 also shows some of the possibilities of variation in pronominal reference arising from greater or lesser degrees of intimacy. It should be observed that intimacy may be that of endearment (as between lovers, or between parents and children) or of personal freedom (as is expressed in the use of assertive language between friends) or of friendliness (as between acquaintances, or even between strangers who use familiar rather than formal speech upon meeting one another.).

Variation in intimacy is reflected both by one's use of pronouns and also by one's choice of kintype nouns and name nouns. In general we may say that in a given situation kin terms are more intimate than title + name. Terms denoting closer kin, such as /ʔameyv/ 'mother', are more intimate than those denoting more distant kin, such as /ʔadov/ 'aunt'. Nicknames are more intimate than given names. And reduplicated forms, whether nicknames or kin terms, are more intimate than unreduplicated forms. Assertive pronouns imply intimacy when used to equals, but not when used to inferiors.

There are several factors that define and affect the intimacy of one's social relationships. These include kinship, close or prolonged association, age, and sex. Kinfolk, especially those of one's immediate family, are of course treated as intimates. Thus, kin terms, whether used to kin or non-kin, imply a degree of intimacy.

Close or prolonged association also makes for intimacy and, therefore, intimate pronominal usage. Thus, a guest who stays for a period of time in one's home will, in a measure, take on the pronominal usage of the household. He will address the grandparents as /ʔaphowx/ 'grandfather' and /ʔaphwax/ 'grandmother', and the mother as /ʔameyv/, and similarly for most other members of the family, though probably not for the father. A young servant in the home will do the same. Also, friends who spend much of their time together will use familiar speech, such as nicknames for second person, and the assertive pronouns /ŋav/ 'I' and even /ninv/ 'you'.

In the matter of age, we find, as might be expected, that children often speak and are spoken to in intimate language, particularly by the use of reduplicated forms--both nicknames and kin terms. Then as children grow older, such usage is largely dropped between them and their elders, except perhaps within the immediate family. Intimates of the same age may continue to use nicknames, restricting their use, however, to the second person.

Sex affects intimate pronominal usage in several ways. As might be expected, equals are less likely to use intimate language to each other if they are of opposite sexes, unless they are lovers, or husband and wife. Then if one addresses a little girl, or an older woman, one is more likely to use intimate language than with little boys or older men. For example, one may use the respectful

yet friendly /dovdov/ 'you; auntie' (rather than the non-reduplicated form /ʔadov/) in addressing an elderly woman who is a total stranger. /ʔux/ 'uncle', on the other hand, is never reduplicated. And, finally, males are more likely than females to use /ŋav/ and /ninv/ to each other, presumably because the disrespect factor is considered to be less appropriate for females.

Generally speaking, there is much less variation in the intimacy of pronominal usage to superiors or inferiors than to equals. In fact, in speech to superiors there is not a great deal of difference between the least intimate pronominal forms and the most intimate ones, ^{as} for example, in the above-mentioned reference to the use of the more intimate or friendly "auntie" in speech, even to a total stranger.

320. Points of confusion. There are a few situations in which a speaker is at a loss to know how to properly address a person in terms of status or intimacy usage. Generally speaking, it is always safe to use deferential language to a person whose status is not known; but care must be taken to avoid ascribing too great an age to a woman, especially one who is approaching or has reached middle age. When in doubt as to the degree of intimacy to assume, it is usually safe to use friendly language (such as kin terms), but not endearing or assertive language.

But there are still problems. For example, a Christian or a Mohammedan does not feel free to use the terms /dabeqdov/ or /dabeqdovmaq/ for the first person in

addressing a Buddhist priest or nun, since these terms imply that the speaker is a Buddhist. On the other hand, one cannot use /tyunvdov/ (man speaking) or /tyamaq/ (woman speaking), because these would be highly disrespectful to a priest or nun. The only alternative is to avoid the first person pronoun altogether--an expedient which will be adhered to even if it necessitates circumlocution or lack of clarity.

Another awkward situation arises in speech with a beggar. The beggar as a stranger is entitled to respect, but as a definite inferior he is not. The usual recourse is to avoid speech with beggars altogether, or otherwise to avoid usage of pronominal forms.

A third problem arises in situations where a man addresses a woman who is a stranger of approximately his own age and rank. The proper form for second person use would be /maq/ + name, but he may not know her name. The solution is to avoid use of the second person form until he learns what her name is.

The above are a few examples of confusion between the linguistic and social systems, but in general such problems are rare.

330. Variations in pronominal usage.

330.1. Variation in the usage of an individual.

It is readily seen that an individual speaker of Burmese has a considerable range of pronominal usage at his

disposal. This gives room for variation in usage depending upon both the individual inclinations of the speaker, and the general restrictions which society places upon him. Thus a speaker may, if he wishes, express warmth and affection by the use of intimate language--especially kin terms, nicknames, and reduplicated forms. Or if he prefers he may revert to formal speech--/tyunvdov/ 'I', /khinvbyax/ 'you', and title plus given name combinations. Similarly he may express superiority to his inferiors by using /nav/ 'I' and /minx/ or /ninv/ 'you'; or he can be gracious and treat his inferiors as equals, using /tyunvdov/ 'I' and /khinvbyax/ 'you', etc. And again he may use non-restraint assertive language (/nav/ 'I', and /ninv/ 'you') to close friends if he so desires, or he may largely avoid such usage.

But there are limits as to what the speaker is free to do. For example, it is almost unthinkable--though theoretically possible--that a speaker should use superior language to superiors, or non-restraint assertive language to non-intimates, or ordinary language to priests. And these circumscribed limits are themselves the cause for variations in the pronominal usage of a speaker between one situation and another. This socially conditioned variation has been exemplified in part in Figure 9 above, but it may prove illuminating to illustrate it further by following the usage of a person as he develops from

childhood to maturity.

During a person's childhood (i.e. from first speech to puberty) nearly everyone is a superior, so a speaker quickly learns to use /tyunvdov/. Other first person forms will include /θaxθax/ 'sonny' (speaking to parents), or one's nickname. For the second person a speaker will, for the most part, use kin terms both to parents and older non-kin, often selecting the reduplicated forms, particularly in his earlier years. To his teachers he will use the status term /sayav/ 'teacher'. To his playmates he will most often use nicknames for both first and second person. He may occasionally use /ηav/ 'I', and /ninv/ 'you' to intimates and inferiors, but if he comes from a proper home, he will be rebuked often enough by his superiors that this usage does not become a habit.

At puberty, or shortly thereafter, the situation changes and he begins to take on the pronominal habits of adolescence. He stops using his name or nickname for the first person, and quickly acquires freedom in using the forms charted in Figure 4. The polite form /khinvbyax/ 'you (speaking to equals)' probably comes first. Later on, the assertive forms /ηav/ 'I', and perhaps /ninv/ 'you' are added, and also the familiar /kowv/ 'I', and /minx/ 'you'. Then, finally, the language of love: /kowv/ 'husband, lover' (< /?akowv/ 'elder brother')

or /mawnv/ 'husband, lover' (lit. 'female's younger brother') for first person, and /khinv/ 'darling' for second person.

Then as our subject matures, his social world changes little by little, and along with it his pronominal usage. His non-intimate world expands as he begins to deal with the outside world in his everyday work, so he continues to use /tyunvdov/ for first person, and makes heavier use of title + name, and of rank terms for the second person. To intimates of his own age, however, he continues the usage of his youth.

Other changes in usage revolve about his growing family. At first he uses the language of endearment in speaking to his wife. And in speaking to his children he uses /'apheyv/ 'father', or /pheyvpheyv/ 'Daddy' for the first person, and /θax/ 'son', /θaxθax/ 'sonny', /θamix/ 'daughter', or nicknames for the second person. This he does not only to express intimacy and verbalize the parent-child relationship, but also to insure that his children not learn to use assertive terms, for these are too rude and uncouth for children's speech. Then, with the passage of time, the language of familiarity and self-assertion gradually replaces that of affection. /nav/ 'I' and /minx/ or even /ninv/ 'you' begin to replace the earlier endearing terms in speech to his wife. A similar replacement occurs in speech to his

children as the latter pass from childhood to adolescence and presumably need to be put in their place more often. His servants are likewise addressed in the language of superiority or assertiveness. The man has, as it were, come into his kingdom and he addresses his subjects accordingly.

330.2. Variation between speakers. In view of the variety of forms at a person's disposal, it is only to be expected that different speakers will develop different habits of usage. These varying habits reflect not only differences of local dialect--such as the use of /kowv/ 'I' (lit. 'self, body') in urban areas, or /nyix/ 'you' (sp. to female intimates or inferiors) in rural areas--but also differences in personality and social background. An extrovert, for example, will be freer with intimate language, whereas an introvert will be more formal. A person from a less "proper" home will be free with assertive language, while a properly brought up person will be very slow to acquire it. One informant, for example, at the age of 24, states that he has never used /ninv/, and has seldom, if ever, used /ηav/.

340. Conclusion. Burmese pronominal usage suggests a picture of society in which the individual's personal freedom and his obligation to society are interestingly counter-balanced. On the one hand we can infer that personal freedom is restricted by the demand for always

showing proper deference to age and rank--a demand which the individual cannot ignore, since his pronouns must reflect his position relative to others in the society, and he is thus reminded of his situation continually.

This is not to suggest that a person is overtly aware of the pressure to conform, much less that he resents it, but it would seem that the individual's freedom is definitely circumscribed by a society that puts him in his place and keeps him there.

On the other hand, linguistic usage suggests that there are compensations for these restrictions upon the individual. First, there is the freedom to express friendliness and intimacy, even after adulthood and to non-kin, particularly by the displaced use of kin terms. Here again the necessary repetition of pronominal use reinforces the warmth of the relationship. Perhaps more important is the freedom of the ego to cast aside the shackles of obligatory respect in associations with intimates and inferiors, without causing undue offence. The use of / η av/ and / η inv/ seems to be a safety valve for the liberation of the circumscribed ego.

In general, we may conclude that Burmese pronominal usage appears to be in a state of comparative equilibrium with respect to the tensions between the individual and society. Situations in which a speaker does not know what

forms to use are rare, and the guideposts of status and familiarity which determine usage are relatively clear and unchanging.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRONOMINAL REFERENCE IN VIETNAMESE

100. Prefatory discussion.

110. The Vietnamese language. Vietnamese is the official language of both North Vietnam, population 16,200,000 (1962 estimate), and also of South Vietnam, population 15,317,000 (U.N. estimate, 1963),¹ both located in the eastern part of the Indochinese peninsula. The vast majority of the populations of both countries speaks some form of Vietnamese as its native language. The language may be divided into two main dialects: one, with subdialects, spoken in both the north (Tonkinese) and the south (Cochin-chinese); and the other spoken in the central area (Haut-Annam), also comprising several subdialects. Tonkinese and Cochinchinese are the chief prestige dialects and are only mildly differentiated from each other. The present study includes information from both of them.

120. Literary tradition. Chinese was the medium of writing for officialdom and the intelligentsia from some time before the ninth or tenth century A.D. and has continued in use almost to the present. Along with the Chinese characters there also existed an adapted Chinese or demotic system of writing, the earliest demotic inscription dating back to 1343 A.D. Then in the seventeenth century, a Roman transcription was invented and introduced by Catholic missionaries. Since its inception this

transcription has been increasingly adopted by the people and it is now in almost universal use.

130. Sources of information. More printed material is available on Vietnamese pronouns than on either Thai or Burmese. Three works in particular have been used extensively both as sources of information and as catalytic agents for further investigation. These are, first, Professor M.B. Emeneau's treatment of pronouns in his Studies in Vietnamese (Annamese) Grammar; second, Nguyen Dinh Hoa's doctoral dissertation entitled Verbal and Non-verbal Patterns of Respect-Behavior in Vietnamese Society: some Metalinguistic Data; and third, a prepublication draft of a Vietnamese Grammar kindly made available to me by Professor Laurence C. Thompson.

Another source of data has been a Vietnamese informant, Tran Tat Lanh, who was born in North Vietnam, near the town of Hanam, not far from Hanoi. At the age of eleven he moved with his parents to Saigon, where he attended high school and university. He then came to the University of California and had been in the United States about nine months when he began to help me with my study of pronominal reference. He has been an alert, helpful, and conscientious informant, always ready to do more than was expected of him.

140. Transcription. The transcription used here is the official Roman script which is in general use throughout Vietnam today. In this script, single phonemes are

sometimes represented by alternative spellings. Some of these are conditional alternations; others are not. Since alternatives of this sort lead to no confusion in the reading of forms to be cited in this work, no further explanation is made here. However, there are cases where the same symbol or group of symbols has alternate readings. Most alternations of this type are predictable, but not quite all. These will be duly explained below.²

Symbols used in the official transcription are phonetically charted in Figure 1 in accordance with the pronunciation of Mr. Tran Tat Lanh. The underlying phonemic analysis, however, is essentially that of Nguyen Dinh Hoa, as suggested in his book, Speak Vietnamese. Slash marks separate alternate symbols used to represent a given phoneme or phoneme cluster.

Predictable alternative readings of consonant symbols are as follows: ch and nh are palatals (č and ñ) in syllable initial position, and velars (k and ŋ) in final position; gi is a voiced alveolar spirant (z); g alone (i.e. not followed by i) is a velar spirant (g) which has a voiced stop allophone occurring immediately following a syllable final velar. In one case, alternative readings are not predictable: syllables beginning with giê may be read either [ziə] as in the word giêng 'January', or [zə] as in giếng 'a well'. This ambiguity affects only a few forms.³

The chart of vocalic nuclei does not include onglides







INITIAL CONSONANTS		Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	voiceless un aspirated		t	ch/tr	c/k/q	
	voiceless aspirated		th			
	voiced implosive	b	ɗ			
Spirants	voiceless		ph	s/x	kh	h
	voiced		v	d/g/gi/r	g/gh	
Nasals		m	n	nh	ng/ngh	
Lateral			l			
FINAL CONSONANTS						
Stops		-p	-t		-c/-ch	
Nasals		-m	-n		-ng/-nh	
VOCALIC NUCLEI		Front	Central		Back	
High		i/y	ɯ		u/o	
High-low Clusters		iê/ia/yê/ya	uô/ua		uô/ua	
Mid		ê	o		ô	
Short low			ă/(a/o)		â/(ê/ô)	
Low		e	a		o	
TONES	Mid level	High rising	Low falling	Low rising	High broken	Low broken
	Symbol	(none)	ˊ	ˋ	ˆ	ˊ
Pitch						

Figure 1. Vietnamese alphabetical symbols

(high back) and offglides (high front and back). These are spelled in the official transcription with one or another of the high vowel symbols given on the chart. Predictable alternative readings of vowel symbols may be explained as follows. The various symbols for the second members of all clusters on the chart are alternate spellings for one and the same low central vowel (ʌ). Of the symbols for short low vowels, a and ê are pronounced with high front offglides, and o and ô with high back offglides, when they precede syllable final velar consonants. The letter o as an offglide or onglide is read as a high back glide (^u). Apart from the above predictable alternative readings, vowel symbols have their standard (charted) phonemic values.

150. Grammatical summary. The following summary is partially based upon Professor Emeneau's Studies in Vietnamese (Annamese) Grammar, and a few examples are taken directly therefrom.

151. Morphology. The morpheme and the word are very often co-extensive, and the majority of morphemes and words are monosyllabic--especially common non-literary ones. Compounding is common: e.g. xe¹ hỏa² 'train' (fire²-vehicle¹); ông¹ bà² 'grandparents' (grandfather¹-grandmother²), vâng¹ lời² 'obey' (assent to¹ words²). Reduplication is also common, a basic syllable being either preceded or followed by a second syllable which is either completely or partially similar to it: e.g. xanh xanh 'greenish' (< xanh 'green'); biêng biếc 'bluish'

(< biếc 'blue'); phũ phàng 'ungrateful' (< phũ idem).⁴

Professor Emeneau lists the major word classes as: substantives (nouns, classifiers, numerators, pronouns and others); verbs; conjunctions; final particles; and interjections.⁵ Forms used in pronominal reference are substantives--usually nouns of some type, or noun expansions, or pronouns.

152. Substantive and verb expressions. Substantive expressions comprise a substantive head which may be accompanied by modifiers of various kinds. Classifier expressions or numerators precede the head (first and last examples), whereas other types of modifiers follow: ..

hai¹ người² lính³ 'two soldiers' (two¹ persons²
soldiers³)

anh¹ tôi² 'my² brother¹,

cây¹ lớn² 'big² tree¹,

qua² tôi² ăn³ 'the fruit¹ I² ate³,

ba¹ con² mèo³ lớn⁴ này⁵ 'these⁵ three¹ big⁴ cats³
(classifier)²,

Verb expressions comprise a verb or verb complex which functions as the head. The head may be preceded by verbal elements, both bound and free, having a roughly auxiliary function, and/or followed by adverbial type modifiers:

không¹ thể² đi³ 'cannot go' (not¹ able² go³)

chạy¹ nhANH² lấM³ 'run¹ very³ fast²,

153. The sentence. The typical sentence has the form subject + verb + object:

Tôi¹ nhìn² thấy³ ông⁴ ấy⁵. 'I¹ saw^{2,3} that⁵ man⁴.'

However, subjectless sentences do occur:

Đi¹ đâu² đây³? 'Where^{2,3} are [you] going¹?'

Another important type of sentence has a substantive subject and predicate and no verb:

Chúng¹ nó² đây³. 'Here they are.' (They^{1,2} [are] here³).

Hôm¹ nay² ngày³ mấy⁴? 'What's the date?' (This² day¹ [is] how-many-eth⁴ day³?).

200. Pronominally used forms and meanings.

It is possible to divide pronominally used forms into three classes on the basis of formation of the plural: personal pronouns, pluralized by preposed chúng; kintype nouns, pluralized by preposed các--though certain of this class are pluralized both by các (second person usage), and by chúng (first person usage); and a miscellaneous group comprising name nouns and other forms which are not pluralized at all. Such a classification seems to be satisfactory for our purposes, except that grouping name nouns with other forms in the third class above is awkward. Furthermore, three of these other forms are already plural in meaning, and most of the remainder are rather rare even in singular usage, so that pluralization does not seem to be a useful criterion in their case. Such forms are handled here as belonging to a separate subclass of personal pronouns.

We therefore have personal pronouns, kintype nouns, and name nouns all used in pronominal reference. The three types of usage are illustrated in the following examples, all of which translate as "I saw you yesterday."

1) Personal pronouns: Tao¹ nhìn² thấy³ mày⁴ hôm⁵ qua⁶.
'I¹ saw^{2,3} you⁴ yesterday^{5,6}.' (Friend speaking to intimate of the same sex).

2) Kintype nouns: Anh¹ nhìn² thấy³ em⁴ hôm⁵ qua⁶.
(Lit. 'elder brother¹ saw^{2,3} younger sibling⁴ yesterday^{5,6}'; elder brother speaking to younger sibling, husband to wife, et al.).

3) Name nouns: Lanh¹ nhìn² thấy³ Hà⁴ hôm⁵ qua⁶.
(Lit. 'Lanh¹ saw^{2,3} Hà⁴ yesterday^{5,6}'; young man named Lanh speaking to close female friend named Hà).

210. Personal pronouns.

211. General description. Personal pronouns may be divided formally into two subclasses. The first includes those forms which may be pluralized by preposed chúng; e.g. mày 'you (singular non-restraint form)'; chúng mày 'you (plural)'; nó 'he, she, it'; chúng nó 'they'. The second comprises the collective or pluralizing form chúng, and also several other forms which do not occur accompanied by pluralizers. The form chúng may precede and pluralize forms of the first subclass above, or it may stand alone as a pronoun meaning "they." This dual function distinguishes chúng from other members of the second subclass.

All personal pronouns except minh and chúng (when it

functions as a preposed pluralizer) are semantically restricted as to the category of person. That is, each form denotes only first, only second, or only third person. There is less restriction as to number. Some forms are singular, some are plural, and some may be either, depending on the context (see 213.).

Personal pronouns may occur in subject or object position in the sentence (see first example under 200. above) or as possessive attributes following a substantive expression: e.g. anh¹ tôi² 'my² elder brother¹'; ông¹ bà² mày³ 'your³ grandparents^{1,2} (i.e. grandfather¹ grandmother²)'. They may also occur following and in apposition or partial apposition to substantive expressions containing paired noun compounds. In constructions characterized by partial apposition (see examples 2,3) the pronoun is usually a singular form in apposition to one of the two nouns of the paired compound--which one being determined by the context.

1) anh¹ em² chúng³ nó⁴ 'the brothers and sisters^{1,2}, they^{3,4}, (lit. 'elder brother(s)¹ (and) younger sibling(s)² (namely) the group³ of them⁴)'.

2) anh¹ em² tôi³ 'we brothers and sisters' (lit. 'elder brother(s)¹ (and) younger sibling(s)² (one of which is) I³'). In this expression, the speaker might be either anh 'elder brother' or em 'younger sibling', depending on the context.⁶ The total expression would be used with

exclusive first person plural meaning; that is, the addressee would not be included in the elder brother-younger sibling group.

3) hai¹ bố² con³ mày⁴ 'you⁴ two¹, father² (and) son³, (lit. two¹ (persons consisting of) father² and son³ (one of whom is) you⁴). This expression might be used to either the father or the son, provided the speaker has the right to use the familiar nonrespect term mày. For example, a grandmother might speak thus to her son (here the father), or to her grandson, upon meeting the two of them together; or the son's friend might accost the son this way in the presence of the father, but he would not address the father himself in this way.

4) hai¹ vợ² chồng³ mình⁴ 'we⁴ two¹, husband³ and wife², (lit. two¹ (persons consisting of) wife² (and) husband³ (namely) we⁴). This expression would be used either husband to wife, or vice versa.⁷

Numeral constructions constitute yet another place in which personal pronouns may occur. In such expressions the numeral plus classifier may often either precede or follow the personal pronoun. In this respect, personal pronouns differ from nouns, which must always be preceded by the numeral construction (see example under 152.). When the numeral precedes the pronoun, the classifier is usually optional. In the examples below, the forms chúng nó 'they', chúng ta 'we', and tôi 'I' are personal pronouns:

1) ba¹ (người²) chúng³ nó⁴ 'they three' ((three¹ classifier (here optional)² group³ of them⁴); also chúng¹ nó² ba³ người⁴ 'they three' (group¹ of them² three³ classifier⁴; here the classifier is obligatory).

2) tất¹ cả² bốn³ (người⁴) chúng⁵ ta⁶ 'all four of us' (all^{1,2}, four³ classifier (here optional)⁴ group⁵ of us⁶); also (less likely) chúng¹ ta² tất³ cả⁴ bốn⁵ người⁶ 'all four of us' (classifier obligatory).

3) một¹ minh² tôi³ 'I alone, only me' (one¹ body² I³).

212. Inventory of forms and their meanings. Personal pronoun forms are listed alphabetically below under the two subgroupings mentioned previously: forms pluralized by preceding chúng, and forms not so pluralized. They are identified here respectively as personal pronouns proper, and absolute personal pronouns.⁸ Roman numerals I, II, and III indicate first, second, and third person usage respectively. Distinctions as to person are discussed further under 213.2. It should be noted that in the case of several personal pronoun forms there exists a corresponding noun of identical phonemic shape; cf. tôi 'I, me', and tôi 'servant'. Obviously the pronominal and nominal forms are historically related. However, in nominal use, such forms are pluralized by preceding các 'group' rather than chúng.

212.1. Personal pronouns proper. These are forms which may be pluralized by chúng. With one exception (minh) they are restricted as to the category of person. Note also the predominance of first and second person forms.

This group may be termed personal pronouns proper.

bay ~ bây (II) 1. dialectal variant of mày, q.v. 2. term used in the standard dialect chiefly in the plural with chúng (see immediately below).

--chúng bay second person plural term used chiefly in expressing disrespect, anger, impatience; cf. mày (2).

mày ~ mây (II) 1. term used chiefly to equal intimates of the same sex, or to inferior intimates (esp. adult to child, older to younger sibling; occasionally older master or mistress to considerably younger servant, but in this sense now much less common than formerly); not readily used to nonrelated mature equal or approximate equal intimates; also rarely used to inferiors other than as specified above, except arrogantly (as in meaning 2). 2. arrogant term implying strong disrespect or gross addressee inferiority; often used in quarreling. --Note that usage to any but equal or inferior intimates will ordinarily be understood as in meaning 2, and is therefore very offensive even to definite inferiors. --Paired with tao 'I, me'.

--chúng mày ~ chúng mây term used speaking to more than one individual in contexts as defined under mày above.

minh (lit. 'body, self') 1. first person term (I) used chiefly by females speaking to close intimate equals of either sex; usage by males as an unambiguous first person singular term is somewhat rare. 2. second person

term (II) used chiefly speaking to spouse, or occasionally to fiancé(e) or very close intimate of the opposite sex. 3. term used speaking to oneself; in this sense perhaps related to meaning 5 below, ego being both speaker and addressee; hence 'we'.

4. impersonal term used much like English 'one, you'; e.g. mình¹ làm² gì³ được⁴ 'What³ should one¹ (I, you, a person) do^{2,4}?'. In such usage the term may refer in an indefinite way to speaker, addressee, or even to referent, or to no one in particular.

5. inclusive plural first person term (i.e. 'you and I') used speaking to equal or slightly inferior intimates; used in this sense chiefly where context makes meaning clear, otherwise chúng mình. --Note that mình also has a reflexive function as in the expression rửa¹ mình² 'to bathe, wash oneself' (lit. wash¹ (one's) body²). This is taken to be a nominal rather than a pronominal usage of the term.

--chúng mình same as mình (5) above, but more clear as to first person inclusive meaning.

nó (III) term used speaking of things, animals, or children, or of adults (including especially friends of the same sex) to whom no respect is intended; implies disrespect (often anger or displeasure) when used of superiors, strangers, or one's spouse.

--chúng nó plural of nó

ta (I) 1. arrogant term formerly used by strong men such

as generals, champions, etc., glorifying the self and depreciating one's opponent; now used chiefly humorously or in braggadocio. 2. term used in speaking to oneself. 3. plural term used especially in serious or formal situations when making suggestions, or offering advice, or making serious statements of fact. 4. general and inclusive first person plural expression (i.e. 'I and you'); not ordinarily used speaking to a superior, unless the latter is one of a fairly large heterogeneous group; often used in this sense as an inclusive first person plural possessive modifier emphasizing the idea of 'ours, Vietnamese', as opposed to 'theirs, foreign': e.g. nuóc¹ ta² 'our² country¹'; táo¹ ta² 'our² apple¹' (i.e. jujube), as opposed to táo¹ Tây² 'occidental² apple¹'; also used as a possessive modifier following kin terms, especially in displaced meanings and often with a slightly humorous air: e.g. ông¹ ta² 'our² grandfather¹' (referring to an elderly man); apart from possessive use as above, ta is less common in inclusive plural use than chúng ta, below, unless context makes the meaning clear.

--chúng ta same as ta (4) above, but more clear as to first person plural inclusive meaning. However, ta without chúng is used for the possessive modifier function.

tao (I) 1. term used chiefly to equal intimates of the same sex, or to inferior intimates (esp. adult to child,

older to younger sibling; occasionally older master or mistress to considerably younger servant, but in this sense now much less common than formerly); not readily used to nonrelated mature equal or approximate equal intimates; also rarely used to inferiors other than as specified above, except arrogantly (as in meaning 2). 2. arrogant term implying strong disrespect or gross addressee inferiority; often used in quarreling. --Note that usage to any but equal or inferior intimates will ordinarily be understood as in meaning 2, and is therefore very offensive even to definite inferiors. --Paired with mày 'you'.

--chúng tao plural of tao, but ordinarily not used parent to child.⁹

tôi (I) (lit. 'servant') general and fairly neutral or mildly respectful term used between friends, acquaintances, people in general; ordinarily not used between adults and children (in either direction) or between close blood kin, unless somewhat distantly or formally. Paired with a wide variety of kintype nouns.

--chúng tôi exclusive plural of tôi (i.e. 'I and he, she, or they').

tớ (I) (lit. 'servant') term formerly used especially in North Vietnam speaking to one's schoolmates; paired with đằng ấy (lit. 'this side').

--chúng tớ exclusive plural of tớ

212.2. Absolute personal pronouns. These are forms which are pluralized neither by chúng nor các. They include the pluralizer chúng itself, and also several other forms. Three forms, chúng, các, and choa, are plural in meaning, and the remaining forms are only singular. All forms are restricted as to the category of person. Third person forms all have an anaphoric value. Many of the forms are rare or archaic, and available sources occasionally differ as to their meanings and usage. Such forms are listed in parentheses, and are not discussed further here.

(bâu) (II) second person singular feminine form.

(choa) (I) archaic first person plural term; perhaps arrogant.

chúng (III) preposed pronominal pluralizer; used alone as a third person plural term equivalent to chúng nó (see nó under 212.1.), used speaking of groups of objects, animals, or children, or of persons to whom no respect is intended. Usually the fuller expression chúng nó is preferred to chúng alone, unless the identities of the referents have been clearly defined by the immediately preceding context.

(hấn) (III) comparatively rare term used speaking of males as follows: 1. bad men (e.g. robbers, criminals), persons to whom disrespect is intended. 2. unrelated persons; used in this sense chiefly by rustics or uncultured folk, but occasionally by others. Perhaps also used of females.

họ (III) (lit. 'family')^{general} term used speaking of a group of persons; neutral as to respect or deference, but more respectful than chúng nó (see nó under 212.1.).

(mi) (II) dialectal variant of mày, q.v., used in central Vietnam; otherwise archaic.¹⁰

(min) (I) archaic first person singular form.

moa (I) (< French 'moi') term used especially between male friends. Paired with toa.

(nghi?) (III) archaic third person singular term.

Người (III) term used speaking of gods, kings, or highly respected persons, i.e. a personage. Usually capitalized in the written language. Cf. also the form người which occurs as follows: a) as a noun or classifier denoting persons in general. b) as a somewhat rare status term used in the second person (see 222.). In both uses above (a and b), người may be pluralized by các, and there is no special implication of respect. The form người in meaning "b" is less disrespectful than ngươi, q.v. also under 222. Người as a highly respectful anaphoric is not pluralized.

(qua) (I) archaic first person singular form.

(thiếp) (I) (lit. 'wife') archaic term used wife speaking to husband or fiancé. Perhaps also used by women to persons other than husband or fiancé.

toa (II) (< French 'toi') term used especially between male friends. Paired with moa.

(trẫm) (I) archaic first person form used by a king or

emperor.

(va)(III) rather rare term used chiefly in rural areas of South Vietnam, usually speaking of males. Perhaps also used with reference to females.

(y) (III) somewhat rare term used speaking of male or female non-relatives to whom no respect is intended; used especially by newswriters or by rustics in South Vietnam.

213. Semantic distinctions. These include distinctions of person, of ego addressee and/or referent relationship, and of number, and to a certain extent, also age and sex.

213.1. Number. Distinctions of number (and also person) are shown in Figure 2. It should be noted that two forms, ta and mình, are ambivalent as to number. That is, they may be either singular or plural in meaning, depending on the context. However, other semantic distinctions do not remain constant between singular and plural usage of these forms. Thus mình in the singular may be first, second, or unspecified as to person. In the plural it is only first person. Also, first person singular use of mình is chiefly restricted to use by females to intimates, whereas first person plural is used by either sex to equal or slightly inferior intimates.

Underlined forms in the chart are those which do not take the pluralizer chúng. The remaining forms do, and their resultant meanings when so pluralized are summarized in the lower portion of the chart. It is noteworthy that

Number	1st person		2nd person	3rd person	Person unspecified	Additional information
Singular	tôi					general, mild defer. term
	tớ					sp. to schoolmate
	tao		mày	nó		to or of inf. or eq. intimate
	ta (1,2)			<u>Người</u>		1, arrogant; 2, sp. to self
	mình (1)		mình (3)		mình (4)	sp. of gods, kings, highly respected persons
						1, f.to int.; 3, to spouse; 4, impersonal
Plural	Incl.	Excl.				
	without <u>chúng</u>			<u>họ</u>		general terms, or (<u>ta</u> 4) serious and respectful
	mình(5)			<u>chúng</u>		to or of inf. or eq. intimate
with <u>chúng</u>	ta	tôi				general terms (<u>tôi</u> mildly deferential)
	mình	tao	mày	nó		to or of inf. or eq. intimate
		tớ				sp. to schoolmate
			bay			chiefly in anger

Figure 2. Distinctions of number and person in personal pronouns

forms preceded and pluralized by chúng do not necessarily have the same speaker-addressee meanings or restrictions as the same forms not so preceded. The most important new factor in pluralized forms is the distinction between inclusive and exclusive first person meanings. The forms chúng mình and chúng ta are inclusive of the addressee, and therefore mean 'you and I', whereas chúng tôi, chúng tớ, and chúng tao are exclusive, and refer to a group containing the speaker and some person or persons other than the addressee, i.e. 'I and he, she, or they'.

There are also other differences in meaning between singular forms and the same forms preceded and pluralized by chúng. The singular ta (see meaning 1) is arrogant, while the plural chúng ta is neutral as to respect. The singular mình (first and second person) is not ordinarily used to inferiors; chúng mình may be used to persons slightly inferior. Tao is used by parents to children; chúng tao is not. Bay is chiefly a dialectal variant of mày; chúng bay is used in the standard dialect, but chiefly in arrogant or disrespectful usage comparable to chúng mày as in mày meaning 2.

Apart from the added inclusive-exclusive element in the first person plural, other forms are more strictly comparable in meaning between singular and plural usage. The plural forms mình (meaning 6) and ta (meaning 4) are probably best considered as being derived or reduced from the longer forms preceded by chúng.

213.2. Person. Figure 2 charts distinctions of person as well as those of number. Here it is noteworthy that of all forms given, only mình is ambivalent with respect to this category. That is, it is not restricted as to person, since it can be used for first and second person, and impersonally. However, the ambivalence is not complete, since each type of usage in the different person categories has its own restrictions.

213.3. Sex. Sex-determined restrictions are summarized in Figure 3. Those relating to the usage of personal pronouns proper are of relatively minor importance, and the few distinctions which do exist are in the nature of tendencies rather than rigid rules. Figure 4 summarizes these. Restrictions upon absolute forms involve mostly archaic or seldom-used forms. Also, in a few cases, sources of information disagree. This is indicated by a question mark following the form in question. For further detail see inventory (212.2.).

213.4. Age. Absolute age is likewise a relatively minor feature in personal pronoun use. The intimate pair tao (I) and mày (I) is usually not used by very elderly persons, or between mature persons, even though intimate. Similarly, mình as a first or second person form speaking to intimates (see meanings 1 and 2) is not used by elderly folk. Otherwise, forms may be used without particular restrictions upon the absolute age of speaker or addressee. Norms of relative status (including relative age) as

Type of sex distinction	Person			Additional information
<u>Personal pronouns proper</u>	1st	2nd	3rd	
Chiefly female speaking	mình (l)			speaking to intimates
Chiefly to same sex	tao	mày		limitation applies in speech to intimate equals
Chiefly male to male	ta (l)			champion speaking, or brag-gadocio
<u>Absolute personal pronouns</u>				
Chiefly male to male	moa	toa		sp. to intimates (from French <u>moi</u> and <u>toi</u>)
Denoting males	qua (?)		ng ^h h ^h (l)	archaic speaking of criminals, bad men
			va (?)	chiefly So. Vietnam (rare)
Denoting females	thiếp	b ^h (?)		archaic

Figure 3. Distinctions in personal pronouns relating to sex

between speaker, addressee, and occasionally referent must, however, be observed.

213.5. Speaker-addressee-referent relationship.

Semantic distinctions of this type are summarized in Figure 4. They relate chiefly to features of status and intimacy, which are represented by the positioning of forms on the chart: top to bottom indicating four descending levels of relative status of addressee or referent as compared to that of the speaker, and left to right for increasing degrees of intimacy as implied by the usage of the forms in question.

Section A indicates forms that imply some degree of respect (in the case of tôi 'I, me', quite mild). Forms in section B are neutral as to respect, that is, the question of respect or nonrespect is irrelevant. The primary feature is intimacy, and inappropriate usage does not imply disrespect, but merely undue intimacy. Forms indicated by the letter C (including forms in D) imply nonrespect or absence of respect. Those in section D imply normal and appropriate nonrespect when used to intimate equals or inferiors, but gross disrespect when used to superiors or to non-intimates even if inferior.

One important principle of status and respect usage is the fact that inferior speakers usually do not use plural forms that necessitate including themselves in the same group as their superiors, unless the status difference is relatively minor (as between younger and older sibling),

Relative status of addr. or ref.	- Intimacy +	Additional Information
Superior	III Người	sp. of gods, kings, highly resp.pers.
Indeterminate	I tôi A	general, mildly respectful
	I ta (3)	serious, offering advice
	I chúng ta ta	general incl.plur.
	III họ	general plural
Equal	I <u>moa</u>	esp. m. to m.
	B II <u>toa</u>	" " " "
	I <u>tó</u>	to schoolmates (obsolescent)
	I mình (1)	esp. f. sp.
	II mình (2)	esp. to spouse
Equal or Inferior	I ta (1) C	champion sp.
	II chúng bay	chiefly in anger
	I chúng mình	inclusive plur.
	I tao	
	D chúng tao	excl. plur.
	II mày	
	chúng mày	
III nó	sp. of things, children, non-resp. persons	
	chúng nó	

Figure 4. Distinctions in personal pronouns relating to status and intimacy

or unless the group is a large, impersonal one.

Distinctions as to intimacy are chiefly those between non-intimate or somewhat formal forms and intimate ones, as indicated in Figure 4. In a few cases, type of intimacy is also a factor. Thus, mình as a second person form (see meaning 2) is used chiefly between man and wife or fiancée. The pair moa and toa is used chiefly between male friends, and tớ (especially formerly) to schoolmates. In the case of the third person nó, the chief implication of the intimacy is that of familiarity.

Nonrestraint is not a primary semantic feature of any of the most commonly used personal pronouns. Forms in section D (Figure 4) may indeed be used to express anger or disrespect, but non-restraint is not inherent in ordinary usage--as is seen from the fact that children may use the forms freely even in the presence of their elders.¹¹ The plural form chúng bay, however, usually implies disrespect, and so also do some of the less common absolute pronouns: hắn 'he, him' (meaning 1), and probably choa 'I, me', nghi[?] 'he', 'him', and perhaps others.

214. General analysis of semantic features. Figure 5 summarizes the semantic features inherent in the various personal pronouns. Forms are divided into groupings of first, second, and third person, and listed alphabetically under each group. Semantic features are charted in terms of sex and speaker-addressee or speaker-referent relationship. It should be noted, however, that restrictions as to sex usage

Forms	Semantic Features						Additional Comments
	Sex		Sp.-addr. rel.				
	Speaker	Addressee	Addressee sup.	Respect	Intimacy	Inclusive Plural	
<u>First person</u>							
mình (1)	-		/		+		
chúng mình ~ mình (5)			/-		+	+	
<u>moa</u>	+	+	/		+		
ta (1)	+	+	-	-	-		champion speaking
chúng ta ~ ta (4)						+	general term
ta (3)				+		+	esp. making sug., offering advice
tao			/-	-	+		otherwise very arrogant
chúng tao			/-	-	+	-	" " "
tôi			+	+	-		very mild in all features
chúng tôi			+	+	-	-	very mild in all features
tớ			/		+		esp. to schoolmate
chúng tớ			/		+	-	" " "

Figure 5. Semantic features of personal pronouns (first person forms)

Forms	Semantic Features					Additional Comments
	Sex		Sp.-addr.rel.			
<u>Second person</u>	Speaker	Addressee	Addressee Superiority	Respect	Intimacy	
chúng bay			/-	-		chiefly in anger; plur.
mày			/-	-	+	otherwise very arrogant
chúng mày			/-	-	+	otherwise v.arrog.; plur.
mình (2)			/		+	chiefly to spouse
<u>toa</u>	+	+	/		+	esp. to schoolmate

Forms	Semantic Features			Additional Comments
	Sp.-referent rel.			
<u>Third person</u>	Referent Superiority	Respect	Intimacy	
<u>chúng</u>		-	+	plural; see under nó below
<u>họ</u>				plural, general term
<u>Người</u>	+	+		sp. of gods, kings, highly resp. persons
nó		-	+	more disrespectful when used of superiors or nonintimate equals
chúng nó ~ <u>chúng</u>		-	+	

Figure 5 (Continued). Semantic features of personal pronouns (second and third person forms)

are not rigid. Plural forms are listed immediately below their corresponding singular forms, where such exist. ~~In the case of first person plural forms, the meaning with regard to addressee exclusion or inclusion is stated in the right-hand column headed "Comments."~~ Absolute pronouns are underlined, and the rarer forms are omitted. Symbols (plus, minus, slash) are used as in the similar Thai and Burmese charts.

215. The pairing of forms. First and second person forms may be paired together in given speaker-addressee situations that are appropriate to both forms so paired. The most completely natural personal pronoun pairs are tao - mày (nonrespect pair used especially to equal or inferior intimates) and moa - toa (pair used especially between male equal intimates, derived from French). A few other personal pronoun pairings are possible, and pairings also take place between personal pronouns (especially tôi) and kintype nouns (symbolized below by K for kin terms, and S for status terms), or between one kintype noun and another. Occasionally, also, pairings occur involving name nouns (N). The various possible pairings are summarized in Figure 6. Common or completely natural pairings are indicated by underlining in the right-hand column. Less common pairings are unmarked. Some forms are cited in parentheses immediately following the letter K or S. Forms so cited are examples of kin terms or status terms which constitute appropriate pairings for the items

First person forms	Possible second person pair-complements
mình (1)	<u>K</u> (esp. anh 'elder brother', and <u>chị</u> 'elder sister'), <u>S</u> , N
moa	toa
ta (1)	<u>S</u> (người)
<u>chúng ta</u>	<u>K</u>
tao	<u>mày</u> , chúng bay, N
tôi	<u>K</u> , <u>S</u> , mình
tớ	<u>S</u> (đằng ấy)
<u>K</u> (ông 'gr.father', bà 'gr.mother')	<u>mày</u>
<u>K</u> (anh 'elder bro.', chị 'elder sis.', em 'ygr. sib.')	mình (2), N
<u>K</u>	various kin terms to form reciprocal pairs (see 221.1.)
<u>N</u>	<u>N</u>

Figure 6. Possible pronominal pairings

in question.

220. Kintype nouns. These are noun forms which denote kin folk or persons possessing a given status or rank in society, and which are also used in pronominal reference. They are distinguished from personal pronouns by the fact that they are used both nominally and pronominally; and in both types of usage they may be pluralized by the preposed form các 'group'; e.g. các¹ anh² '(you) older brothers' (group¹ older siblings²). A few kin terms are ordinarily pluralized by the pronominal pluralizer chúng when used in the first person (see "Pluralization" under 221.1. below), but these same forms are not otherwise pluralized by chúng, even in second person usage, and other kintype nouns never take chúng. Also, pronominally used kintype nouns may be preceded by numeratives: e.g. hai¹ ông² '(you) two¹ grandfathers²'; mấy¹ đồng chí² 'you comrades' (lit. (you) several¹ comrades²).

Pronominal usage of kintype nouns with preceding các or with numeratives is distinguishable from nominal usage in that pronominal constructions never have classifiers between các or the numerator and the noun, whereas nominal constructions may or may not have a classifier, depending on the construction in question. Note, for example, the following contrasting expressions: hai¹ anh² '(you) two¹ older brothers²', and hai¹ ngươi² anh³ 'two¹ older brothers²', (ngươi is a classifier for persons).

In pronominal usage, kintype nouns are indeterminate

as to the category of person, although certain forms, especially status terms, are partially restricted in this regard in that they do not occur in the first person. Also, kintype nouns retain something of their nominal referential meaning when used pronominally. Thus, the term ông 'grandfather' refers to a grandfather, or to someone treated as such, whether used in first, second, or third person.

Kintype nouns may be further distinguished from other nouns by the absence of classifiers in anaphoric third person usage with the demonstrative ấy 'that', or đó 'that': e.g. anh ấy 'that elder brother, that man, he'; các anh ấy 'those older brothers, those men, they'; đồng chí đó 'that comrade, he'. Comparable anaphoric usage with ordinary classifiable nouns demands the use of classifiers: e.g. người¹ lính² ấy³ 'that³ (classifier¹) soldier²'; các¹ người² lính³ ấy⁴ 'those soldiers' (group¹ classifier² soldiers³ those⁴). It should be borne in mind, however, that not all kintype nouns occur readily in anaphoric expressions of this type. For example, it is considered disrespectful to refer to superior lineal kin in this manner, and inferior lineal kin terms rarely occur thus. In these cases, a following modifier tôi 'my' is more natural. Unmodified kintype nouns (i.e. unmodified by ấy 'that', tôi 'my', or numeral expressions, etc.) usually occur only in first or second person usage.

A number of kintype noun forms function also as titles

preceding names: e.g. ông¹ Thành² 'Mr.¹ Thanh²'; đồng
chí¹ Mồ² 'Comrade¹ Mo²'. However, constructions of this
type (except in the case of kin numerative expressions;
see 230.) are rarely used pronominally.

221. Pronominally used kin terms.

221.1. General description. These are nouns, most of
which have a primary meaning denoting blood kin. One or two
denote affinal kin, and one--the word thầy 'master'--is a
non-kin form which has been largely assimilated into the
kinship system as a term often used in place of one of
the words for 'father'.

Displacement. Kin terms are used pronominally with
reference to both blood kin and affinal kin, and most forms
also have a displaced usage denoting non-kin. One of the
most important aspects of displaced pronominal usage of
kin terms is the custom of attributing increased status
to one's addressees. Thus, for example, the term ông
'grandfather' is used not only to one's grandfather, or
to an elderly man of one's grandfather's age, but even to
mature adults younger than the speaker, especially in for-
mal situations. On the other hand, ông is ordinarily used
in the first person only by a man speaking to his grand-
child, or to some child treated affectionately as such;
otherwise, first person usage of this term is arrogant and
very disrespectful, and as such is used chiefly in quarrel-
ing.

Pluralization. All kin terms are pluralized by các in second person usage, and all except em 'younger sibling', con 'offspring', and cháu 'grandchild, nephew, niece', are likewise pluralized by các in first person usage. The three terms just mentioned--comprising all of the commonly used terms denoting younger kin--are pluralized by chúng in first person usage.¹²

Appositional usage. Like personal pronouns, kin terms may occur pronominally following and in apposition or partial apposition to paired noun compounds: e.g. chị¹ em² bà³ 'you, elder sister(s) and younger sibling(s)' (elder sister(s)¹ (and) younger sibling(s)² (one of whom is you) grandmother³; a somewhat intimate expression used, for example, by an adult speaking to a mature or elderly woman of about the speaker's age); chị¹ em² các³ bà⁴ 'you elder sister(s) and younger sibling(s)†' (elder sister(s)¹ (and) younger sibling(s)² (namely) the group³ (of you) grandmothers⁴; a somewhat intimate expression that might be used speaking to a group of mature or elderly women of about the speaker's age); hai¹ cha² con³ cháu⁴ 'you two, father and son' (two¹ (persons, consisting of) father² (and) child³ (one of whom is you) nephew⁴; an expression used by an older person addressing the son; could also be used to mean 'we two, father and I'--literally 'two¹ (persons consisting of) father² and son³ (one of whom is) (nephew or grandchild⁴, namely) I⁴; child or young man speaking to older person).

Additive pairs. The above examples also illustrate the occurrence of kin terms in additive pairs, the ordering of such pairs being fixed: e.g. ông bà 'grandfather (and) grandmother'; anh em 'elder brother(s) and younger sibling(s)'. The total number of possible pairings is quite large,¹³ but for the most part only pairs denoting persons who are in husband-wife relationship to each other occur independently in pronominal usage: e.g. ông bà (above); bố mẹ 'father-mother'; anh chị 'elder brother-elder sister' (a pair used pronominally chiefly in displaced reference to a husband and wife). However, all pairs (and for that matter, ^{many} ~~may~~ non-kin paired nouns, too) may be used pronominally in constructions where some pronominal form follows the pair in apposition or partial apposition to it. (See previous paragraph, and also 211.). In such constructions, the paired nouns may be considered as strictly nominal forms, the pronominal meaning of the entire expression being derived from the appositional term which follows the pair.

Longer additive constructions. Some kin terms occur also in longer additive sets: e.g. anh¹ chị² em³ 'brothers and sisters' (older brothers¹ and sisters² and younger siblings³); ông¹ bà² chú³ bác⁴ 'grandparents, uncles and aunts' (grandfather¹, grandmother² and father's younger brothers³ and older brothers⁴). Of these, the former can be used pronominally in the second person addressing a fairly large heterogeneous group, but larger constructions

of this kind are usually strictly nominal rather than pronominal.

Anaphoric and tonal ablaut. Yet another interesting phenomenon relating to kin terms is seen in the Southern Vietnamese derivation of third person anaphorics from kin terms by means of tonal ablaut. In this usage, most kin terms, except forms having high tone (´) or stopped finals, may in spoken language be changed into third person anaphorics by replacing the normal tone with a rising tone (ʔ):¹⁴ e.g. anh 'elder brother, male equal', anh 'he, the elder brother or male previously mentioned'; me 'mother', me 'she, the mother'.

Reciprocal pairing. Reciprocal pairing of kin terms in given conversational situations is quite common. Thus, a grandfather speaking to his grandchild might use ông 'grandfather' and cháu 'grandchild' for 'I' and 'you' respectively, whereas the grandchild in return will probably use the same terms for 'you' and 'I' respectively. Reciprocal pairs include terms for grandparent-grandchild, uncle/aunt-nephew/niece, parent-child, and older sibling-younger sibling.

221.2. Inventory of pronominally used kin terms. Such terms are listed alphabetically below. First and second person usage are indicated by the use of Roman numerals. Note that the custom of attributing increased status to addressees results in considerable semantic variation between first and second person usage.

anh I and II: 1. elder brother or cousin, or husband of elder sister or cousin. 2. husband (especially one who is a young man).

I: 3. rather intimate term used by a man speaking to an addressee several years younger than himself.

II: 4. general term addressing male equals.

5. general and slightly formal term addressing a young man, especially an unmarried person (e.g. somewhat older person to young man; teacher or professor to male high school or university student; student to teacher of approximately his own age; parent to grown child).

ba I and II: father, a familiar term used especially in urban areas of South Vietnam in families where the parents are youthful. See má 'mother'.

bà I and II: 1. grandmother, great aunt. 2. ranking stepmother (i.e. a woman married to one's father before one's mother, even if younger than mother). 3. friendly or intimate term denoting a woman of about one's grandmother's age.

I: 4. arrogant term used by women especially in quarreling; implies gross addressee inferiority.

II: 5. general formal term used to address a married woman, or a mature adult female, especially one of forty years of age or more, but also used in more formal situations to younger women.

bác I and II: 1. father's elder brother or cousin. 2. parent's elder sibling or cousin, or spouse of same. 3. somewhat intimate term for a person of age comparable to that of a parent's elder sibling.

II: 4. friendly and respectful term addressing an elderly person (ranging in relative age from a few years younger than speaker to slightly younger than speaker's grandparents).

bố I and II: 1. father, a term used especially in rural areas in families where the parents are youthful.

II: 2. humorous term used addressing a boy or young man.

bu ~ u See u.

cậu I and II: 1. mother's brother or male cousin.

2. mother's younger brother, or cousin, or husband of mother's younger sister or cousin.

I: 3. intimate or friendly term used adult to child.

II: 4. intimate or informal term for an adolescent boy or young man (e.g. used adult to boy, older person to younger man, female to male intimate, wife to husband, servant to master); often used of the young (adult) and idle rich.

cha I and II: 1. father or stepfather; in this sense somewhat rare pronominally. 2. Roman Catholic priest.

cháu I and II: 1. grandchild, nephew, niece, grandnephew, grandniece. 2. person one or two generations younger

than ego; in this sense used especially in the first person.

chi I and II: 1. elder sister or cousin, or wife of elder brother or cousin. 2. lower ranking stepmother (i.e. a woman married to one's father after one's mother, even if older than mother).

I: 3. rather intimate term used by a woman speaking to an addressee several years her junior.

II: 4. general term addressing female equals.

5. general and slightly formal term addressing a young woman, especially unmarried (e.g. somewhat older person to young woman; teacher or professor to female high school or university student; parent to grown child).

chú I and II: 1. father's younger brother or cousin, or husband of father or mother's younger sister or cousin. 2. informal and friendly term denoting a male adult (addressing or addressed by a child).

II: 3. informal term used speaking to inferiors or lower status persons (e.g. clerks, employees, waiters, Chinese, Indians); also used speaking to a novice in the Buddhist priesthood).

con I and II: 1. child (i.e. offspring); in some families used also with reference to grandchildren. 2. child, individual a generation or so younger than ego; usually somewhat intimate in this sense.

l: 3. term used by inferiors addressing highly respected superiors: e.g. younger person to respected elder; student (esp. male) to teacher or Catholic priest; person praying to ancestors, a Buddha image or deity.

cô I and II: 1. father's sister or cousin. 2. father or mother's younger sister or cousin, or wife of father's younger brother or cousin. 3. young woman, young female teacher (addressing, or addressed by a child or pupil).

II: 4. friendly or informal term used addressing a young woman, especially if unmarried (e.g. somewhat older person to young woman, parent to grown daughter, male to female intimate); also used speaking to midwives, witches.

cụ I and II: 1. great-grandparent. 2. very elderly person addressing or addressed by a child or young person.

II: 3. term used speaking to a very elderly person by persons of any age. --Note: cụ is not used as a first person term by mature adults.

đì I and II: 1. mother's younger sister (a formal term; cf. cô). 2. lower ranking stepmother (i.e. a woman married to one's father after one's mother, even if older than mother).

đượng I and II: stepfather; but 'father' terms are also

used (see thầy, cha, etc.).

đẻ[?] (lit. 'to give birth') I and II: mother; rare, and used chiefly in North Vietnam.

em I and II: 1. younger sibling. 2. wife or close female intimate; chiefly used by youthful couples. 3. somewhat intimate term denoting an individual, especially female or child, who is several years younger than ego; in this sense used also by or to a student (esp. female) in speech with a teacher or professor; usually quite intimate when used between adults, but less so in rustic speech. --Note that ordinarily em will not be used by or to a woman who is close enough to ego's wife's age to give rise to misunderstanding.

gia I and II: mother's elder sister or cousin. According to my informant this term is rarely used pronominally.

má I and II: mother, a familiar term used especially in urban areas of South Vietnam in families where the parents are youthful. See ba 'father'.

mẹ I and II: 1. mother, a term used especially in rural areas in families where the parents are youthful.

II: 2. humorous term used addressing a girl or young woman. See bố 'father'.

mợ I and II: 1. wife of cậu, i.e. of mother's brother, or more particularly of mother's younger brother or cousin. 2. term used by some families, especially in North Vietnam, instead of 'mother'.

II: 3. familiar or informal and rural term used

especially in North Vietnam addressing woman of about 40 years.

ông I and II: 1. grandfather, great uncle. 2. friendly or intimate term denoting a man of about one's grandfather's age.

I: 3. arrogant term used by men, especially in quarreling; implies gross addressee inferiority.

II: 4. general formal term used to address a married man, or a mature adult male, especially one of forty years of age or more, but also used formally to younger men.

thầy (lit. 'master') I and II: 1. term used most commonly for 'father'. 2. term used by or to master (speaking with servant), or a male teacher (especially speaking with students of high school age or younger).

II: 3. formal and respectful term addressing males, including older persons, teachers (both by students and non-students), policemen, oriental doctors, fortunetellers, et al.¹⁵

thím I and II: wife of father's younger brother or cousin; somewhat rare; usually cô, q.v.

u ~ bu I and II: mother, used especially in rural North Vietnam and of an aged parent.

221.3. Semantic structuring of kin terms.

221.3.1. Literal meanings. Most pronominally used kin terms have a literal or primary meaning denoting blood kin. Three forms (duyợng 'stepfather', mợ 'wife of mother's

younger brother', and thim (rare) 'wife of father's younger brother') have primary meanings denoting affinal kin.

Blood kin. The semantic structuring of pronominally used blood kin terms is summarized in Figure 7 in accordance with the usage of Mr. Lanh, my informant. Figure 8 summarizes a somewhat different structuring of terms for uncles and aunts. This second scheme represents a "correct" or accepted usage which is reflected in most dictionaries and discussions of kinship terminology.¹⁶ However, from comments here and there in Hoa's treatment of kin terms, one gathers that the scheme of Figure 7 is at least as widely used as that in Figure 8.¹⁷

The following discussion is based entirely upon the scheme shown in Figure 7, since Mr. Lanh was of necessity my chief source of information on pronominal usage.

Diagonal lines in both charts separate terms according to whether they denote paternal (upper left) or maternal kin (lower right). Vertical ^{broken}~~dotted~~ lines separate male (left) from female (right); and horizontal ^{broken}~~dotted~~ lines distinguish older than parent or ego (above) from younger (below). Solid vertical lines separate lineal (left) from collateral (right), and solid horizontal lines separate the different generation levels. An item in parentheses, e.g. (= thim), denotes the wife of the individual specified by the term immediately above it.

Note that each generation has a separate set of distinctions. The third ascending generation (G + 3) makes

Generation Level	Other distinctions	
G + 3	cụ	
G + 2	<u>Male</u> ông	<u>Female</u> bà
G + 1	<u>Lineal</u> <u>Male</u> thầy cha etc.	<u>Collateral</u> bác <u>Male</u> chú (=cô/thím) cậu (=mợ) <u>Female</u> mẹ etc. cô (=chú) cô/dì (=cậu)
	G + 0	EGO anh em chị
G - 1	<u>Immediate</u> con	<u>Linked</u>
G - 2	cháu	

Meanings of terms

anh	'elder brother'	cô	'parent's younger sister' (also wife of chú)
bác	'parent's elder sibling'	cụ	'great-grandparent'
cậu	'mother's ygr. bro. (also husband of cô or dì)	dì	'mother's younger sister'
cha	'father'	em	'younger sibling'
cháu	'niece, neph., grandchild'	mẹ	'mother'
chị	'elder sister'	mợ	(wife of cậu)
chú	'father's younger bro.' (also husband of cô)	ông	'grandfather'
con	'offspring'	thầy	'father' (lit. 'master')
bà	'grandmother'	thím	(wife of chú)

Figure 7. Semantic distinctions of blood kin terms (as per my informant)

		Male		Female		
Elder	<u>Paternal</u>	bác (=bác)	cậu (=mợ)	cô (=chú)	già (=bác)	Elder
	Younger	chú (=thím)		dì (=chú)	Younger	
		<u>Maternal</u>		<u>Maternal</u>		

Meanings of terms

bác	'father's elder bro.'	cô	'father's sister'
	(also wife of bác, or husband of già)	dì	'mother's ygr. sis.'
cậu	'mother's brother'	già	'mother's elder sis.'
chú	'father's ygr. bro.'	mợ	(wife of cậu)
	(also husband of cô or dì)	thím	(wife of chú)

Figure 8. Semantic distinctions of terms for uncles and aunts (as per "accepted" usage)

no semantic distinction apart from generation level. The second ascending generation ($G + 2$) adds the distinction between male and female; and the next generation ($G + 1$) further distinguishes collaterality (i.e. lineal as opposed to collateral), age (older than linking parent as opposed to younger, but making no sex differentiation between older aunts and uncles), and paternal as opposed to maternal (but only for younger aunts and uncles). Ego's generation decreases distinctions to older-younger, and male-female, the latter obtaining only for older siblings. The next two generations ($G - 1$, $G - 2$) together register only a single obligatory distinction: immediate kin (children) as opposed to linked (grandchildren, nephews and nieces).

In nominal usage it is possible to make distinctions other than these summarized above by adding various postposed modifiers; e.g. ông¹ nội² 'paternal² grandfather¹', ông¹ ngoại² 'maternal² grandfather¹'. However, in pronominal usage kin terms are not modified in this way.

It should be noted that all forms not strictly limited to lineal kin (i.e. all but parent and child terms) have indefinite limits of application to collateral kin. For example, the terms for siblings are also applicable to cousins, or even second cousins; the grandparent terms are applicable also to siblings or cousins of grandparents; etc.

Affinal kin. For the most part, affinal kin are

denoted in pronominal reference by the same terms as blood kin, their position in the kinship system being determined by that of the linking spouse. (Thus, one's siblings-in-law would be termed anh 'elder brother', chị 'elder sister', or em 'younger sibling', depending on whether the linking spouse is older or younger than ego). Similarly, an elder uncle's wife, or an elder aunt's husband would be termed bác, in accordance with the blood kin position of the uncle or aunt who stands as the affinal link. It is important to realize here that when relative age is involved, it is the age of the linking blood kinsman that is of critical importance, not that of ego. Thus, the wife of anh 'elder brother' is chị 'elder sister', even though she be younger than ego.

However, not all affinal kin usage is explainable in the above terms. For example, a lower ranking stepmother (i.e. one married to father after mother) is denoted not by one of the regular terms for 'mother', but by the term dì 'mother's younger sister' or chị 'elder sister'. Furthermore, three of the terms--duyong, mợ, and thím--have primary reference to affinal kin (though one of these, mợ 'wife of mother's younger brother' is sometimes used for one's own mother). Terms used by or to affinal kin of the parental generation are charted in Figure 9. Usage for other affinal kin is identical to that for blood kin.

Teknonymy.¹⁸ Kin terms are applied in the second person to kin (either consanguineal or affinal) according

Spouse of parent		Spouses of aunts and uncles	
Step-father	Step-mother	Elder	bác (=bác)
duyong	bà		
	dì/chị	Younger	
		Male	Female
		Paternal	Paternal
		chú (=cô)	cô/thím (=chú)
			câu (=cô/dì)
		Maternal	mợ (=câu)
			Maternal

Meanings of terms

- bà ranking stepmother (lit. 'grandmother')
- bác affinal elder uncle or aunt (lit. 'elder u. or a.')
- câu husband of mother's ygr. sis. ('mother's ygr. bro.')
- chị lower ranking stepmother ('elder sister')
- chú husband of father's ygr. sis. ('father's ygr. bro.')
- cô wife of father's ygr. bro. ('father's ygr. sister')
- dì lower ranking stepmother ('mother's ygr. sister')
- duyong 'stepfather' (also addressed by "father" terms)
- mợ 'wife of mother's younger brother'
- thím 'wife of father's younger brother'

Figure 9. Terms used pronominally with reference to affinal kin of the parental generation

to one's children's relationship with the kinsman in question rather than one's own. Thus, a married person may address his siblings by uncle and aunt terms that would be appropriate for his own children to use: e.g. calling his elder brother bác 'elder uncle' instead of anh 'elder sibling'.¹⁹ Similarly, older couples with married children (but not necessarily with grandchildren) may call each other ông 'grandfather' and bà 'grandmother'--thus using terms their grandchildren would use. And a married person may call the parents of his spouse ông or bà. Parent terms are also used between husband and wife for second person, but only accompanied by some phrase which also specifies the child in some way: e.g. mẹ¹ con² Hà³ '(you) mother¹ of child² (named) Hà³'; bố¹ no² '(you) his² father¹'.

221.3.2. Displaced meanings and usage. All pronominally used blood kin terms may have a displaced pronominal usage with reference to persons who occupy a close kin-like relationship to ego: e.g. intimate friends, or persons who have been accepted into the bosom of the family. In such usage, parent terms imply a much closer relationship than other terms do.

In addition, many kin terms have a wider range of displaced usage between persons in day-by-day contacts. Such wider usage is summarized in Figure 10. Note that meanings are listed in columns according to possibilities or restrictions upon first and second person usage. Meanings listed in the columns headed I and II are those used freely in

Term	Literal meaning	Displaced meanings		
		I and II	I	II
cụ	great-grand-parent	very elderly person (by or to yg.pers.)		very elderly person
ông	grandfather	male about gr.par.'s age	arrogant (addr.grossly inferior)	mature or married man (general and formal)
bà	grandmother	female about grandpar.age	arrogant (addr.grossly inferior)	mature or married woman (general and formal)
bác	par. elder bro.or sis.	person about par. age		pers.speaker's age or above (less common term)
chú	father's ygr. brother	male adult (by or to child)		inferior status adult
cậu	mother's ygr. brother		adult (to child)	adolescent or young man
cô	parent's ygr. sister	yg.woman (by or to child)		young woman (informal)
mợ	wife of mother's y.bro.			woman about 40 (familiar, esp. rur.No.Vietnam)
thầy	'master' (used for father, teacher)			respected person having community status
cha	father	Catholic pr.		
bố	father			yg.man (humorous)
mẹ	mother			yg.woman (")
anh	elder bro.	husband; older male (by or to ygr.pers.)(int.)		male equal; yg. man (esp. unmarried)(gen.term)
chị	elder sis.	older f.(by or to ygr.pers.)		female equal; yg. w.(esp.unmarried) (general term)
em	ygr. sibling	wife; person ygr.than ego (intimate)		
con	offspring	person about offspr. age	humble inf. (e.g. addr. teach., deity)	
cháu	grandchild, neph.,niece	person child or gr.ch.age		

Figure 10. Displaced meanings of kin terms

either first or second person. These always imply a reciprocal and complementary two-way relationship between speaker and addressee: husband-wife, old-young, adult-child, etc. For example, the term ông 'grandfather' as a term used freely in both first and second persons, implies a reciprocal relationship between an elderly man and a child or young person about two generations younger. In situations of this sort, one is likely to find reciprocal pairing of forms (ông and cháu 'grandchild').

Meanings listed under the separate columns I and II are restricted chiefly to first or second person usage respectively. They imply a noncomplementary one-way relationship between speaker and addressee, since the addressee does not follow along with the speaker's implied status evaluation, but changes it or even reverses it. Thus, if a speaker uses ông arrogantly for first person in speaking to an equal, the addressee will probably use it for first person in return, thus reversing the relative status positions implied by the first speaker's usage. Similarly, a male speaker might address a male equal as anh 'you, elder brother', and the addressee will in return address the first speaker as anh--again a reversal of the implied relationship.

Note further that all terms on the chart which denote superior kin have a displaced meaning which implies an exaggeration of the addressee's relative status. Thus, ông may be used for second person to a mature man, or

formally even to a young man, and the speaker may be older than the addressee. In fact, all meanings listed in the far right-hand column could conceivably be applied to addressees younger than the speaker. Such usage by implication raises the relative status of the addressee far beyond what the literal meaning of the term in question suggests. It also, in effect, lowers the relative status meaning of terms; for a form such as anh no longer signifies necessarily that the person referred to is really older. It is interesting to note in this regard that the terms for parents' younger siblings (chú, cậu, cô) turn out to imply a relative status as low or lower than that implied by the elder sibling terms (anh, chị). Other related results of the exaggeration of addressee status are the conventionalizing of meanings, and the existence of absolute rather than relative meanings.

It is noteworthy that the conventionalized meanings of kin terms used pronominally in the second person are comparable to the meanings of the same terms used as titles. For example, anh 'elder brother' is used as a formal term for addressing any young man, especially if unmarried, and the same term is used for "Mr." (plus given name) with reference to a young unmarried man.

222. Pronominally used status terms. These comprise forms other than kin terms which are pluralized by preposed các,²⁰ and they are used in second and/or first person reference. Most forms of this type denote individuals

in terms of their status or rank--usually higher status persons such as doctors, teachers, lawyers, generals, captains, government officials, etc. Nouns denoting persons of lower occupational status are usually considered derogatory if used pronominally (second person) and are consequently restricted in usage.²¹

Only a comparatively small proportion of nouns denoting status position are used pronominally, but the total inventory of pronominally used status terms is not inconsiderable. Most terms of this sort are used pronominally chiefly in the second person. However, terms denoting Buddhist priests of varying ranks are used also in the first person. The list given below includes many of the commonly used pronominal status terms, but it is representative rather than exhaustive.

Many of the terms in the list are compounds, and certain of their constituent forms recur in more than one item. Some recurring constituents are: su 'priest' or 'teacher, instructor' which occurs as the first member (i.e. the head) in compounds denoting various ranks of priests or nuns, and as the second member (or attribute) in compounds denoting certain learned professions; đại 'great, high in rank' as first member of a compound; tuông '(army) general' as the second member; etc. Also worthy of note is the use of kin terms in both first position (as titles) and second: ông chủ 'master' (lit. 'grandfather master'); bà chủ 'mistress' (lit. 'grandmother mistress');

bác-sĩ 'doctor' (lit. 'elder uncle scholar'); sư bác 'Buddhist monk' (lit. 'monk elder uncle'); also other similar terms for Buddhist monks having the form sư + kin term.

bà¹ chủ² (lit. grandmother¹ boss or mistress²) mistress (servant addressing mistress); chiefly II; also bà alone.

bác¹ sĩ² (lit. elder uncle or aunt¹ scholar²) doctor; chiefly II.

bạn friend; chiefly II

chủ[?] see bà chủ[?], ông chủ[?]

đại¹-đức² (lit. great¹ virtue²) I and II. Buddhist priest next in rank below thượng tọa; for summary of ranks of priests see hòa-thượng

đại¹-úy² (lit. great¹ awe²) (military) captain; chiefly II.

đẳng ấy (lit. side that) expression formerly used especially in North Vietnam for the second person speaking to school friends; paired with the personal pronoun tớ.

đồng¹ chí² (lit. united¹ will²) comrade; chiefly II.

giáo¹ sư² (lit. education¹ teacher²) teacher, professor (usually on the high school or university level); chiefly II. Note that this is an absolute rather than a relative term, and it is therefore used by persons other than the professor or teacher's own students; the latter would use thầy 'master'.

hòa¹-thượng² (lit. supreme² peace¹) I and II. Buddhist

priest of the highest rank. The successive ranks from top to bottom are: hòa-thượng, thượng-tọa, đại-úy, sư tổ (lit. ancestor priest), sư cụ (great grandfather priest), sư ông (grandfather priest), sư bác (elder uncle priest), sư chú (younger uncle priest, i.e. a novice). A similar series of forms is used for nuns (including sư bà, lit. grandmother nun, and others). All such forms are used pronominally (I and II).

lão very old person--an unassuming term used chiefly in the first person; archaic in the second person.

luật¹-sư² (lit. law¹ teacher²) lawyer; chiefly II.

ngài formal term used speaking to or (anaphorically) of a highly respected person. Note: ngài is also used as a classifier for respected persons.

ngươi a disrespectful term used II; usually written or archaic. Pluralized by các, but not ordinarily used nominally.

ngươi (lit. person) a nonrespect term used (II) in addressing equals or inferiors; more respectful than ngươi above; cf. Ngươi as a respectful third person absolute pronoun (usually capitalized). Note: ngươi is also used as a nonrespect classifier for persons.

ông¹ chủ² (lit. grandfather¹ boss or master²) master (servant addressing master); chiefly II; also ông alone.

sư Buddhist priest; used (I) by any priest above the rank of novice (sư chú), or (II) to a lower ranking priest (chiefly sư bác: sư chú 'novice' is too low

to be properly considered a priest; others are too high to address merely as su); used (I and II) as the first member of compounds denoting various ranks of priests (see under hòa-thượng).²²

thuyền¹ trưởng² (lit. ship¹ chief²) shipmaster, captain; chiefly II.

thượng¹-tọa² (lit. seated² peace¹(?)) I and II. Buddhist priest next in rank below hòa-thượng; q.v. for summary of ranks of priests.

tiên¹-sinh² (lit. born² before or first¹) master, sir, madam, a very formal term used (II) especially in higher society addressing persons to whom one wishes to show special respect.

tổng¹-thống² (lit. governing² head¹) president (as of a republic, state); chiefly II. Note: most other terms for "president" are not used pronominally.

tuớng general--a term used pronominally only as the second member of a compound denoting a general of some particular rank, and then used chiefly II. The different ranks of general from top to bottom are: thống-tuớng, đại-tuớng, trung-tuớng, thiếu-tuớng, chuẩn-tuớng.

230. Name nouns. These are substantives denoting particular individuals. As Hoa states, "Vietnamese names are usually composed of three elements appearing in the following order: first, the family or clan name (họ);

second, the middle name (chữ đệm or chữ lót 'cushion word'); and third, the given name (tên)."²³ Two examples are: Nguyễn-ván-Mỗ (a man's name), Phạm-thị-Thoa (a woman's name). In regular, everyday usage, individuals are referred to by means of title-plus-given name: e.g. ông Mỗ 'Mr. Mo'; giáo sư Lý 'Teacher Ly'. But in pronominal usage, ordinarily only the given name is used without the title.

Also used in pronominal reference are kin numerative expressions (which we take to be a type of name noun construction), and nicknames. Generally speaking, however, name nouns do not seem to be used pronominally with such freedom in Vietnamese as in Thai and Burmese.

231. Given names. These are names conferred upon children by their parents, and they occur in the last position in the full name. They are used pronominally chiefly in the second person, but also in the first person by young women and children. In pronominal usage, given names almost always stand unaccompanied by the rest of the name, and without a title. Since a name without title implies non-respect, usage of this sort is chiefly between intimates (especially children or adolescents, sibling to sibling, cousin to cousin), and also adult speaking to child. Cross-sex usage between adolescents or adults is usually very intimate and affectionate. Wives, however, rarely employ names in speech to their husbands.

232. Kin numerative expressions. Often children are

identified by numbers in accordance with the order of their birth in the family, the numeral in each case being preceded by an appropriate kin term title: e.g. anh¹ Ba² 'elder brother¹ Three²', or 'Mr.¹ Three²'; ông¹ Tu² 'grandfather (or Mr.)¹ Four²'. In North Vietnam the eldest child is called Cả² 'Eldest' or Trưởng² 'Chief, Head', and the next child is Hai 'Two', and the third is Ba 'Three', etc. (all terms being preceded by appropriate titles). In South Vietnam, the first child is Hai 'Two', and the second is Ba 'Three', etc. The numerals used are the ordinary cardinal numbers, except that the form tư replaces bốn, the regular numeral for four. In both the Northern and Southern kin numerative systems, numbers follow consecutively regardless of the sex of the child. Thus, anh Năm 'elder brother Five' may be the first male child in a family, but he is called number 'Five' because he is the fourth (South Vietnam) or fifth (North Vietnam) child. The last child may be called Út 'Last, Smallest'.

Most kin terms may occur as titles preceding kin numeratives, but parent terms are not so used.²⁴ The resulting expressions may be used to both kin and non-kin and are used pronominally chiefly in the second person, expressing friendliness, affection, intimacy. However, expressions of this type are not used to lineal superiors in the family, since it is not proper to use names to such persons. Displaced usage of the kin term titles in :

expressions of this type covers approximately the same range of meanings as the same kin terms in ordinary pronominal second person usage (see second person columns in Figure 10).

Occasionally kin numerative expressions are used indiscriminately without reference to the addressee's actual numbered position in his family. For example, a speaker will address someone as cậu¹ Ba², 'Younger maternal uncle (or Mr.)¹ Three²', when the addressee is not the second or third sibling in his family. The speaker may have forgotten which sibling the addressee was, or he may never have known; he simply chooses a number out of his head and uses the kin numerative expression as an intimate or affectionate form of address.

233. Nicknames. These are names given by parents or others in addition to one's regular name. Usually they are descriptive terms of some sort, and are often slightly derogatory; e.g. nhỏ[?] 'small'; phê 'fat'; thộn 'stupid'. They are used chiefly in the second person speaking to children or adolescents.²⁵

300. Cultural and personal aspects of usage.

310. Interpersonal relationships. Pronominal usage is to a large extent a reflection of interpersonal relationships involving factors of status and intimacy. Figure 11 illustrates status and intimacy usage by listing a number of speaker-addressee situations and setting forth some of the first and second person forms which might be used in them.

Relative status	-	Intimacy	+
<u>Sp. to superior</u>			
1. person to high official	tôi ngài (respected person)/other appropriate status term)		
2. younger to older man	tôi ông 'gr.father'	cháu 'gr.child' ông 'gr.father'	
3. child to adult		cháu 'gr.child' ông 'gr.father' /bà 'gr.mother'	
4. child to father	tôi (esp. grown con, 'offspring' cha child sp.) 'father'	thầy (lit. 'master')	
5. younger to older bro.		em 'ygr.sibling' anh 'elder bro.'	
6. student to teacher		con (lit. 'offspring') thầy 'master'	
7. layman to priest		con (offspring) sư bác / other stat.term for priest	
<u>Speaking to equal</u>			
8. male to male	tôi ông 'gr.fa.'	tôi anh 'eld.bro.'	tôi name tao mày
9. female to female	tôi bà 'gr.mo.'	tôi chị 'eld.sis.'	name/mình name tao mày
10. male to female	tôi bà 'gr.mo.'	tôi chị 'eld.sis.'	tôi cô 'ygr.aunt' name name/mình em 'ygr.sib.'
11. female to male	tôi ông 'gr.fa.'	tôi anh 'eld.bro.'	'eld.bro.' anh name or name or mình em anh anh 'eld.bro.'

Figure 11. Examples of status and intimacy usage (speaking to superiors and equals)

Relative status	- Intimacy +	
<u>Sp. to inferior</u>		
12. high official to ordinary citizen	tôi kin term (selected according to age of addressee)	
13. older to younger man	tôi anh 'eld. bro.'	anh 'elder bro.' câu 'mo.'s ygr. bro.' /chú 'fa.'s ygr. bro.'
14. adult to child		ông 'gr. fa.' / câu 'fa.'s y. bro.' cháu 'gr. child, nephew, niece'
15. father to child		thầy (lit. 'master') con 'offspring' /anh 'eld. bro. (esp. to grown child)
16. older to ygr. brother		anh 'elder bro.' em 'ygr. sibling'
17. teacher to student	tôi/thầy 'master' anh 'elder bro.' / chi 'elder sis.' /em 'ygr. sibling'	tao mày
18. priest to layman	sư bác ông 'gr. fa.'	sư bác (or other stat. term for priests) anh 'elder bro.'

Figure 11. (Continued) Examples of status and intimacy usage (speaking to inferior)

Positioning on the chart is according to the usual status-intimacy scheme.

311. Status. The chief factors for evaluating status are age, social rank, kin rank, and to a certain extent, non-intimacy.

Age confers status, and this status is usually reflected in pronominal usage (see Figure 11, items 2-5, 13-16). Note especially the frequent second person use of kin terms denoting grandparents.

Social rank or position also confers status. Apart from age and kin status, chief positions of positive or superior status are occupied by the following: one's employer; also, government officials (see Figure 11, items 1 and 12), doctors, teachers (especially one's own teachers, as in items 6 and 17), and other well-educated persons; and priests and religious teachers of various ranks (items 7 and 18).

For all status persons such as those listed above, the proper second person forms are status terms. If the status difference is minimal, or if a certain degree of friendliness or intimacy exists, kin terms are permissible. For first person, tôi is usually acceptable. However, where the relationship is a particularly dependent and subordinate one (as between child and teacher), the term con 'child, offspring' should be used.

The most marked feature of social rank is the definite

respect for learning, both religious and secular. Wealth per se is not an important factor in determining status.

Kin rank. In speech with kin, another factor besides age enters into the determination of relative status-- that of kin rank. Ordinarily, the factors of kin rank and age amount to the same thing. It makes little difference, for example, whether one's older brother (anh) is superior by virtue of his kin position, or of his age. However, in cases where there is an intervening affinal or collateral link between two kinsmen, their relative kin rank positions are of critical importance. In such cases, the relative status between ego and linked affinal or collateral kinsman is always determined by the relative age of position of the linking kinsman or kinsmen, not that of ego. Thus, an older brother's wife is addressed as chi 'elder sister' regardless of whether she is older or younger than ego, because the linking kinsman anh 'elder brother' is older than ego. Similarly, a cousin who is the child of a parent's younger brother is em 'younger sibling' even if the cousin is older than ego, because of the relative ages of the two parents.

In cases where the age difference makes the 'proper' kin term absurd, the speaker often adjusts the term up or down to make the usage more reasonable. Thus, if one's great uncle is about one's own age, he might be termed chú 'younger uncle' instead of ông 'grandfather, great

uncle'.²⁶ Or if one's elder cousin (i.e. the child of a parent's elder sibling) were 20 years younger than ego, one might substitute em 'younger sibling' for anh 'elder brother'. In such a case one might also use the pair tao and mày.

Non-intimacy is a factor in determining status or respect usage in that strangers are usually treated with respect.

Negative status. Negative or inferior status is obviously the reverse of positive or superior status, and when a speaker uses a superior addressee pronominal form to a superior, he implies his own inferiority. However, there are limitations upon pronominal usage, superior to inferior. Inferior kin may always be treated as inferior by the use of appropriate inferior kin terms, or even the pair tao and mày; but when inferior kin are grown up, they are often addressed with respect, for example by using anh 'elder brother' or chi 'elder sister' for second person. Similarly, adults may treat children as inferiors, and older people may do the same with younger people, especially if the age difference is pronounced. Here again, status difference is expressed by appropriate kin terms, or by tao and mày if the relationship is a close one; but when the inferior is an adult, tôi 'I, me' paired with anh or chi is always acceptable.

Generally speaking, people are not addressed as

inferiors merely because they are low status persons-- uneducated persons, laborers, employees, students (unless children), etc.

In cases where there are contradictory status factors between speaker and addressee, as when a young man of high rank addresses an older man of low rank, each usually defers to the status of the other.

312. Intimacy. Some of the possibilities for expressing various degrees of intimacy are shown in Figure 11. Varying degrees or kinds of intimacy may be expressed by one's selection of personal pronouns, kintype nouns, or names.

Kin terms in literal usage may be considered as intimate. In complementary, two-way, displaced usage (see Figure 10, the column headed I and II), they may be considered as intimate, or merely friendly, depending on the context. In such usage they retain some of the flavor of the literal kin meanings. In conventionalized second person usage (see Figure 10, the column headed II) most kin terms become more formal; but there are degrees of formality. Cụ (lit. great-grandparent), ông (grandfather) and bà (grandmother) are quite formal; bác (elder uncle), anh (elder brother) and chị (elder sister) are less so, but are still not informal or intimate; chú (younger paternal uncle), cậu (younger maternal uncle), cô (younger aunt), and em (younger sibling) are all rather informal and friendly

or intimate.

Generally speaking, kin terms are more intimate than status terms, and name nouns are also intimate, whether they be given names or kin numeratives.

The chief factor affecting intimacy is the kind and degree of close day-by-day association, which in turn is determined by factors such as kinship, friendship, status (especially relative age) and sex. Pronominal usage to kin is usually intimate, as expressed particularly by the use of kin terms, but also by the use of intimate pronouns, and name nouns. To friends (see Figure 11, items 8-11) one expresses intimacy by the use of appropriate pronouns, especially the pair tao, mày (to friends of the same sex), the form mình, or names.

Status is a factor affecting intimacy and the use of intimate language, as is seen from the range of possibilities for intimate usage to equals (Figure 11, items 8-11). Age status is seen to be relevant from the use of intimate language to children, the pair tao, mày being permissible, and also names for second person. Note also that children do not ordinarily use tôi to their parents (Figure 11, item 4) until after they are grown up.

The effect of sex upon intimate usage may be seen from contrasting items 8-11 in Figure 11. Note the female use of mình and names for first person, the use of anh 'elder brother' and em 'younger sibling' between intimates of the

opposite sex, and the avoidance of cross-sex usage of tao and mày.

313. Nonrestraint. This is not a primary factor in the usage of any pronominal forms. However, disrespect or anger may be expressed by using the pair tao and mày to non-intimates, or to the opposite sex. Also, ông 'grandfather' and bà 'grandmother' may be used in the first person for the same purpose. The corresponding second person term is then usually mày or (in the plural) chúng bay or chúng mày.

320. Points of confusion. Vietnamese pronominal usage does not appear to be subject to quite the degree of possible ambiguity or confusion that may be observed in Thai. For one thing, the first person pronoun tôi is close enough to neutral in meaning that it can be used without awkwardness in a wide variety of situations. Also the custom of exaggerated respect makes deference acceptable in many circumstances where it would not be appropriate in Thai.

However, a few minor points of confusion may arise. For example, if a young man wishes to address a young married woman, he may feel that the kin term bà 'grandmother' is too formal and respectful, but that the alternative chị 'elder sister' is inappropriate because it is ordinarily used to an unmarried person. Again, when a young woman speaks to a young man two or three years her senior, she may feel that ông 'grandfather' is too respectful and formal, but anh 'elder brother' might be considered too forward because it

is commonly used by women to husbands or close male intimates. In such cases, the speaker chooses what he feels to be the more acceptable alternative and lets it go at that.

Another type of awkwardness arises when the status factors of relative kin rank and of age are so contradictory as to lead to absurdity. Kin terms may be adjusted accordingly (see discussion of kin rank under 311.); but if the age discrepancy is not too great, kin rank overrules age.

330. Variations in pronominal usage. It is readily seen that Vietnamese pronominal usage allows for considerable variation in accordance with the situation or with the speaker's personal reactions and attitudes. Hoa²⁷ calls attention to a Vietnamese story which illustrates some of the possibilities:

A young man named Loc had just confessed to his mother his love for a young woman whom he wished to marry. She then began to address him by means of the affectionate terms mẹ 'mother' and con 'son', inquiring about his health. Next she "burst out with tao - mày [a disrespectful pair] when told that the young woman was pregnant, then used tôi - cậu [a more neutral pair used to young men] when she told Loc how a young man should marry the girl selected by his parents..., went back to mẹ - con when she wanted to sow suspicion in his mind, then back to tao - mày and tôi - anh [a pair used parent to grown child] when she tried

to talk him into marrying some other mandarin's daughter."

Variations in usage from childhood to old age are not quite as clear-cut in Vietnamese as in either Thai or Burmese. For one thing, Vietnamese places fewer limitations upon childhood use of pronominal forms. Children may use tao and mày, and other common personal pronouns, and they may use kin terms, or status terms, or names. The chief characteristics of children's usage are the greater tendency to use intimate terms such as tao and mày, or names (including first person usage), and the necessity for treating a large proportion of daily contacts as superiors.

With adolescence, males begin to drop the more childish habit of using names for first person, but otherwise no major changes take place. Then, with adulthood comes increasing use of more formal language. Ông 'grandfather' and bà 'grandmother' gradually replace anh 'elder brother' and chị 'elder sister' for second person terms to acquaintances. There is also more occasion to use a wider variety of status terms. Intimate usage decreases in speech to persons (other than children) outside the family, there being less use of tao and mày and of names. And there is increasing use of superior to inferior usage, as increasing age and status make this appropriate.

340. Conclusion. Vietnamese pronominal usage, like Thai and Burmese, reflects a marked orientation to the status and intimacy structure of the society in general. It is also

characterized by considerable versatility of self-expression within the status and intimacy framework. Furthermore, this framework appears to be a fairly stable one. Almost from birth, children are taught the proper terms of address for various situations, and there is no significant breakdown of the pronominal status-intimacy patterns, despite the influences of Communism or westernization.

One of the most notable factors in Vietnamese usage is the central position of kin terms in the pronominal system. It is the kin terms rather than the personal pronouns which largely account for the versatility of the system and the richness of expression. Notable also is the very wide displaced usage of kin terms, their conventionalized meanings, and the exaggeration of deference to one's addressees in employing them.

The total picture of the pronominal system and usage is of a large and stable framework structured chiefly in terms of status and intimacy, within which individuals freely express themselves in a richly varied manner.

CHAPTER FIVE

COMPARISONS AND CONTRASTS

100. Over-all similarity. Probably the most obvious phenomenon revealed by a comparison of pronominal reference in Thai, Burmese, and Vietnamese is the frequent use that all three languages make of a variety of personal pronouns, kintype nouns, and name nouns. There are, of course, particular similarities and contrasts between the languages with regard to each of the three types of usage, but the over-all similarity is a significant one.

A question may arise, however, as to whether these three types of usage have been "analyzed into" the languages simply for the purpose of making possible a unified treatment of the subject matter. The answer to this question hinges upon whether we are justified in distinguishing pronominal from nominal use of nouns, and in setting up the three classes of forms in each of the languages. This justification we have attempted to provide under our treatment of each language.

To recapitulate, both Burmese and Vietnamese formally distinguish pronominal from nominal usage by the use of plural forms: Burmese postposed /dowq/ for pronominal usage as opposed to the nominal form /tweyv/; and Vietnamese preposed pronominal chúng or các without classifiers, as opposed to nominal các with classifiers where appropriate. Thai pronominal and nominal usage are not so easily distinguished by formal criteria, but there are differences in

the expandability of pronominal as opposed to nominal forms, the latter being more widely susceptible to modification. Perhaps more to the purpose is the fact that all the languages freely use all three types of forms (except third person pronouns) in first and second person contexts, whereas the majority of nominal forms in each language are not so used.

As for distinguishing three types of pronominally used forms, we may note that Burmese distinguishes personal pronouns from kintype nouns by the fact that the former may be pluralized only by /dowq/, the latter by either /dowq/ or /~tweyv/ depending on whether they are used pronominally or nominally. Vietnamese, likewise, distinguishes personal pronouns from kintype nouns by restrictions upon pluralization: chúng or zero for the two types of personal pronouns, and các for kintype nouns. Thai personal pronouns are not so easily distinguished formally from kintype nouns. However, the former do not occur with the same privileges of expansion as the latter. And the semantic structuring of forms--especially the status-intimacy distinctions, and the pairing patterns--places personal pronouns in a class apart. Also, in all three languages, personal pronouns are distinguished by the fact that they are restricted as to the category of person and tend to have non-concrete meanings. By contrast, kintype nouns are ambivalent as to person and have specific concrete meanings which carry through largely unchanged in first, second or third person use. Name nouns

are obviously distinguishable in all three languages.

200. Particular comparisons. The details as to similarities and contrasts of form, meaning, and usage in pronominal reference are presented in chart form immediately following. Then in sections 210.-230. are a few general comments summarizing the more important features of similarity and contrast.

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Phenomena compared	Thai	Burmese	Vietnamese
<u>1. Personal pronouns</u>			
Pluralization	plural not an obligatory formal category; may be indicated by numerative expressions, or preposed /phûag/ 'group' (213.1.)	plur. an obligatory category; marked by postposed /dowq/ 'group', as with other pronom. used forms, but unlike reg. nominal plural (211.)	plur. marks 2 classes of pers. pronouns: 1. pers. pron. proper, plur. by preposed <u>chúng</u> 'group' 2. absolute pers. pron., not pluralized (211.)
Case distinctions	syntactically expressed	oblique case indicated by -q tone alternant in -v tone pronominally used forms (211.; see also 155.)	syntactically expressed
Modification	limited range of possibilities; modification by numeral expressions possible in all three languages, but in Vietnamese (see 211.) such modification for pronouns differs from that for nouns		
Appositional usage (pronoun foll. and in apposition to subst.)	occurs with certain 3rd person forms (211.1)	no such usage	forms of all 3 persons used in complete or partial apposition to paired noun compounds (211.)
Constituents	inventory includes both monomorphemic and polymorph. forms; the latter have no clear general patterns (211.2.)	inv. includes both monomorph. and polymorph. forms; /-maq/ 'female' is a fairly common constituent (211.)	inventory includes mostly monomorphemic forms

Phenomena compared	Thai	Burmese	Vietnamese
1. <u>Personal pronouns</u> (cont.)			
Cooccurring pairs	extensive pairing of pers. pronouns with each other, and also with kintype nouns and name nouns (215.)	moderate range of possibilities between personal pron.; also common with kintype nouns and name nouns (215.)	limited range of poss. between pers. pron., but fairly extensive with kintype n. (esp. <u>tôi</u> 'I' with various kt. nouns); moderate pairing with names (215.)
Size of inventory	very large (212.)	fairly large (212.)	fairly large, but quite a few of the forms are somewhat rare (212.)
Literal meanings (see inventories sections numbered 212.)	All 3 languages include terms without special literal meanings other than strictly pronominal ones, but there are parallels in all 3 relating to some forms which do have more particular referential meanings		
a. terms for 'servant', 'slave' all used in 1st person	the form /khâa/: 1) archaic general term 2) assertive form, or sup. to inf. (esp. sp. to servant) several pers. pron. forms have khâa as a constituent	several forms contain the constituent /tyunv/ (sometimes contracted) meaning 'servant': /tyunvôv/ and /tyamaq/ (male and female def. forms), /tyanowq/ (male assertive form)	the forms <u>tôi</u> (mildly deferential term), and <u>tô</u> (term formerly used sp. to schoolmates)

Comparisons and contrasts (continued)

Phenomena compared	Thai	Burmese	Vietnamese
<u>Personal pronouns</u> (cont.)			
Lit.mngs.(cont.)			
b. terms for 'body', 'self' all used to intimates	/tua/: 2nd pers.form sp.to equal or inf. intimate, esp. used by or to women or children	/kowv/: 1st pers. form sp. to intimates, chiefly of the same sex, and esp. by the rising generation	<u>minh</u> : 1st pers. form, esp. f. to int.; 2nd pers., esp. sp. to spouse; also general impersonal term
c. other terms	several deferential 1st pers.forms denote lit. 'head', 'hair', etc.; 2nd denote 'foot', 'sole', etc. (211.2.)		
Semantic features			
Number	majority of forms basically singular (esp. 1st pers.), but several forms ambiguous as to number (213.1.)	unmarked forms singular; plur. always marked by /dowq/ (211.)	pers.pron.proper: most unmarked forms sing., but <u>ta</u> and <u>minh</u> are ambiguous; abs.pers.pron.: number unmarked; some forms sing., some plur. (211., 213.1.)
Person	many forms in all 3 pers.; most forms unambiguous as to pers., but not all; most ambig.forms overlap between 2nd and 3rd pers., but usu.with other semantic diffs. (213.2.)	several 1st and 2nd person forms, but only <u>əuv</u> for 3rd in spoken lg.; all forms unambig.as to person (213.3)	several forms in all 3 persons, but commonly used selection not wide; all forms unambiguous as to pers. except <u>minh</u> (213.2.)

Phenomena compared	Thsi	Burmese	Vietnamese
<u>Personal pronouns</u>			
Sem.feat.(cont.)			
Sex	a few forms have primary dist. as to sex of speaker; several have secondary dist. (various types, esp. male to male, same to same); many forms ambiguous (213.3.)	several forms have primary dist.; sex of speaker (mostly 1st pers. forms, but also 2 2nd person forms); sex of addr.; of ref. (only writ. lg.); a few ambig. forms; female sex often marked by /-maq/ (213.4.)	a few forms have secondary distinctions (213.3.)
Age	chiefly secondary dist., many of which result from primary restr. upon usage by or to children (213.4.)	(as in Thai) (213.5.)	negligible distinctions, and chiefly secondary (213.4.)
Ego-addr.-ref. relationship	marked differentiation of forms acc. to rel.status (sup., eq., inf.); considerable overlap of forms used to inf.and to eq.int. (213.5.; esp. Fig. 7)	definite status diff., but limited selection of forms for sp. to sup.; some overlap of inf. and equal int. forms (213.6.; esp. Fig. 5)	definite status diff., but little choice for speech to sup. (only <u>tôi</u> , mildly def., for 1st pers., kin type nouns for 2nd); some overlap of inf. and equal int. forms (213.5.; esp. Fig. 4)
a. status and deference			

Phenomena compared	Thai	Burmese	Vietnamese
1. <u>Personal pronouns</u> (cont.)			
Semantic features (cont.)			
b. intimacy	marked differentiation as to int., esp. sp. to equals; many of same forms used sp. to inferiors (213.5.; Fig. 7)	definite diff. as to intimacy, esp. to equals; some of same forms used sp. to inferiors (213.6.; Fig. 5)	(as in Burmese) (213.5.; Fig. 4)
c. nonrestraint and assertiveness	chief forms: /kuu'/ and /myŋ'/ used ch. to int. eq. ideally restricted to male to male adolescents or adults proper use basically implies nonrestraint improper use is coarse and rude; use to nonint. inf. rude, but does not nec. imply stat. difference /kuu'/ and /myŋ'/ equivalent in meaning there are sev. other nonrestr. forms, incl. assert. /khaə'/ and /ʔeŋ'/ (see inventory 212.; also 213.5.; Fig. 9)	chief forms: /ŋav/ and /ninɿv/ used to inf. and int. eq. ideally restr. to speech betw. adol. or adults, but not as to sex prop. use implies nonrestr. and assertiveness, or speaker sup. improp. use is coarse and arrogant; use to nonint. inf. rude, and implies status diff. /ninɿv/ is a much stronger term than /ŋav/ no other nonrestr. forms, but /tyowq/ is assertive (212.; also 213.6.2.)	chief forms: <u>tao</u> and <u>mây</u> used to inf. and int. eq. ideally restr. to same sex, but may be used by or to children proper use implies intimacy and/or speaker superiority improp. use is coarse and very arrogant; use to less int. inf. very offensive, and implies gross addressee inferiority <u>tao</u> and <u>mây</u> equivalent in meaning other nonrestr. forms include <u>chúng bay</u> and perh. nonresp. 3rd pers. forms; cf. also arrog. use of gr. par. terms (313.) (see 212.; also 213.5.)

Phenomena compared	Thai	Burmese	Vietnamese
2. <u>Kintype nouns</u>			
Kin terms and status terms	the 2 types differentiated chiefly by semantic criteria (kin as opposed to nonkin); kin terms used more freely both I and II; also often displaced (see also below)	differentiated both semantically and formally; kin terms occur redupl., and as primary titles, and both I and II, and displaced (see also below)	differentiated both semantically and formally; kin terms often occur appositively, and also in additive pairs, more freely both I and II, and displaced (see also below)
Pluralization	no special plural marker	pluralized by postponed dowq in pron. usage (220.)	pluralized by preposed <u>các</u> without intervening classifier in pron. usage (220.)
Use as titles	both kin terms and stat. terms used as titles; no conventionalization of mngs. with kin term titles (220., 231.)	both kin and stat. terms used as titles; the former may have conv.mngs., and occur as both primary and sec. titles; stat. terms occur as sec. titles, but rarely pronominally (220.)	both kin and stat. terms used as titles; the former may have conv. meanings as titles; titles rarely occur pronominally except with kin numeratives (220., 232.)

Comparisons and contrasts (continued)

Phenomena compared	Thai	Burmese	Vietnamese
2. <u>Kintype nouns</u> (cont.)			
Kin terms	modified by numerative expr., but usu. not by possessive pron. or verb modifiers such as 'big', 'small' (except in nickname-like usage	modified by num.expr., possessive prons. (sp. to inf. kin), or vb. expr. such as 'big', 'little' (221.1., 221.3., Fig. 7)	modified by numerative expr., but usu. not by possessive pron. or verb expressions (220.)
modification in pron. usage			
reduplication	a few forms reduplicated in 2nd pers. usage expressing plural (221.1.)	many forms redup. to expr. added friendliness or intimacy (221.1., Fig. 7)	no reduplication of forms
1st and 2nd pers. usage	1st pers. usage of inf. kin terms rare (except perhaps as kin title preceding nickname); (220., 221.2.) otherwise kin terms occur both 1st and 2nd	inferior kin terms not used pron. (except 'son' and 'daughter') unless modified; otherwise mostly occur both 1st and 2nd (221.3.)	used rather freely (esp. in primary meanings) both 1st and 2nd (221.2., Fig. 10)
reciprocal pairing	rare because of restrictions upon 1st person use (220.)	fairly common, but restricted by above limitations upon 1st person use (223.)	very common (221.1.)

Comparisons and contrasts (continued)

Phenomena compared	Thai	Burmese	Vietnamese
2. <u>Kintype nouns</u> (cont.)			
Kin terms (cont.)			
literal meanings	(221.3.1., Fig. 12)	(221.4., Fig. 8)	(221.3.1., Fig. 7)
a. grandparent terms	distinguish male-female paternal-maternal	dist. only male-female	dist. only male-female
b. uncle-aunt terms	dist. older-younger older: male-female ygr.: pater-mater.	dist. only male-female	dist. older-younger older ygr.: male-female pater.-mater.
c. sibling terms	dist. older-younger	dist. older-younger older: male-female ygr.: male-female referent male-female ego	dist. older-younger older: male-female younger
d. terms for ch. and gr.ch. generation	dist. only lineal (children) and linked (gr.ch., nephew, niece)	dist. children: m.-f. sib.'s ch.: m.-f. and linked grandchildren	dist. only lineal and linked
affinal usage	no special terms for aff. kin occur pron.; kin terms used in accord. with spouse's kin position and ego's age (221.3.2.)	(as for Thai) (221.4.)	a few terms denoting aff. kin occur pron.; also blood kin terms are used for aff. kin acc. to both position and age of spouse (221.3.1., Fig. 9)

Phenomena compared	Thai	Burmese	Vietnamese
2. <u>Kintype nouns</u> (cont.)			
Kin terms (cont.)			
a. displaced usage	In all three languages most kin terms are used of close friends of kin and kin of close friends, or of an individual accepted as one of the family (see Thai 221.3.3., Burmese 221.3., Vietnamese 221.3.2., Fig. 10)		
	wider displacement occurs with terms denoting maternal gr.-parents, elder aunt, elder uncle, and ygr. maternal aunt	wider displ. occurs with most terms (but not father) which admit displacement at all	wider displacement occurs with most terms
	kin terms retain their approximate relative age implications when displaced (see inventory, 221.2.)	(as for Thai, except that kin terms used as primary titles have conventionalized mngs., and therefore lose some of their rel. age impl.) (221.2.)	many kin terms in displacement have mngs. extending beyond rel. age implications, including absolute and conventionalized mngs.; age often exaggerated in choice of terms (221.3.2.)
sibling terms used for spouse	/phii/ 'elder sibling' used for 'husband', /nóu/ 'ygr. sibling' for 'wife' (chiefly if husband is older than wife) (221.2.)	/kowv/ (< 'akowv 'elder 'bro.')	anh 'elder bro.' used for 'husband', em 'ygr. sibling' for 'wife', irrespective of their relative ages (221.2.)
		and /mawnv/ 'female's ygr. bro.' both used for 'husb.' (but mawnv is not used pron. for 'bro.')	
		(221.2.)	

Phenomena compared	Thai	Burmese	Vietnamese
2. <u>Kintype nouns</u> (cont.)			
Kin terms (cont.)			
teknonymy	husband and wife may refer to each other as father and mother (See Fig. 15)	no teknonymy	teknonymy is quite extensive, and includes usage other than between husband and wife (221.3.1.)
Status terms (see sections numbered 222.)	In all 3 languages stat. terms include an indefinite number of forms usually denoting high status persons. They occur chiefly in the second person, but some also in the first. Note the following:		
	/khruu/ 'teacher' (both I and II, relative (i.e. ego's teacher) and absolute)	/sayav/ 'teacher' (both I and II, relative and absolute)	thầy (lit. 'master', used for father and male teacher) (both I and II, rel. and absolute)
	/ʔaacaan/ 'professor, teacher' (chiefly II, absolute)	/pavmawʔkhaq/ 'prof.' (chiefly II, abs.)	giáo sư 'teacher, prof.' (chiefly II, abs.)
	/câwkhun/ 'abbot' (chiefly II)	/sayavdov/ 'abbot' (I and II); other priest terms also used pronominally	hòa-thượng 'priest (of highest rank)' (I and II); also other terms for priest
	/mǎɔ/ 'doctor' (chiefly II)	/sayav/ (</sayavwunv/ 'doctor') term addr. doctor (I and II)	bác sĩ 'doctor' (chiefly II)
	/naaj/ 'master, sir' (chiefly II)	/əakhinv/ 'master' (chiefly II, woman to lover, popular songs)	ông chủ 'master' (chiefly II)

Comparisons and contrasts (continued)

Phenomena compared	Thai	Burmese	Vietnamese
2. Kintype nouns (cont.)			
Status terms (continued)	--	/hyeyqneyv/ 'lawyer' (chiefly II)	luật sư 'lawyer' (chiefly II)
	--	/yexbov/ 'comrade' (ch. II to comr. in arms)	đồng chí 'comrade' (chiefly II)
	/nũu/ (lit. 'rat') a term used I and II for children	/khaleyx/ 'child' (chiefly II)	--
3. Name nouns			
Types of pronom- inally used names	given names (231.) abbrev. names (231.) nicknames (232.)	given names (231.) nicknames (232.)	given names (231.) kin num. expr. (232.) nicknames (233.)
Given names	pronom. usage fairly general; chiefly II except by yg.women and childr.; usually preceded by titles except to int. or inferior.	pronom. usage fairly general; chiefly II except by yg.women and childr.; usually preceded by titles unless name is a reduplicated one	usage chiefly to int.; chiefly II except by yg. women and children; almost always occur without titles in pronominal usage
Nicknames	very common, esp. among intimates; chiefly II except by yg.women and childr.; may be preceded by titles	fairly common, esp. among intimates; chiefly II except by yg.women and childr.; not usually preceded by titles	not very common; kin num.expr.used much as Thai and Burmese use nicknames; kin num. expr.chiefly II, and always prec.by titles

Comparisons and contrasts (continued)

210. Personal pronouns. Similarities in the personal pronoun systems of the three languages include the following: the rather large number of pronoun forms in all three languages; the use of nonrestraint language (but there are notable differences); the status-intimacy structuring common to each; the use of terms for 'servant' and 'body' as pronouns; etc. For differences between the languages, we may note that Thai personal pronouns are most remarkable for the number and diversity of their forms and meanings; and they differ from Burmese and Vietnamese pronouns also in that they take no special pronominal ~~pronominal~~ plural markers. Burmese personal pronouns have proportionately more forms which make primary sex distinctions; and, in the spoken language, Burmese makes no semantic differentiation at all for the third person. Vietnamese stands apart in differentiating personal pronouns proper from absolute forms on the basis of pluralization, and also in distinguishing between inclusive and exclusive first person plural meanings.

220. Kintype nouns. Certain striking similarities in pronominal usage of kintype nouns are worth noting: the frequent use in all the languages of both kin terms and status terms for pronominal reference; the use of both types of forms as titles; the frequent displacement of kin terms; the use of sibling terms between husband and wife; and the semantic similarity of several of the pronominally used status terms. We may also note a few significant contrasts. First, Thai is unique in its common use of kintype

nouns following titles to indicate proper respect. Also, complete reciprocal pairing in Thai is rare. Burmese is remarkable in the variety of constructions that are possible with kin terms, especially reduplication and various types of modification. Vietnamese is remarkable for its very extensive displaced use of kin terms. Probably in any normal 'day's contacts for the average speaker, kin terms will be used very much more often than any personal pronouns except tôi 'I, me', and perhaps nó 'he, she, it's. The Vietnamese exaggeration of addressee status implied in the choice of kin terms is also significant.

230. Name nouns. Similarities include the prevalence of second person usage and the tendency to limit first person use to the speech of women or children. Burmese and Thai are similar in their use of titles with names, whereas Vietnamese generally omits titles in pronominal usage. Vietnamese also stands alone in its pronominal use of kin numeratives.

300. Cultural and personal aspects of usage. Comparison reveals a rather marked over-all similarity between Thai, Burmese and Vietnamese, with certain significant differences.

The pronominal systems of all three languages are strongly oriented toward distinctions of status, and the factors contributing to status are similar in each: namely, age, kin rank, social rank, and non-intimacy. In all three cultures, age is very much more important and worthy of

respect than in any western society. Kin rank is also of paramount importance in all three languages, but most of all in Vietnamese, where kin rank even takes precedence over age. Social rank is defined similarly in each language, respect being shown particularly to learned or educated persons, and to Buddhist priests. Thai, however, has a royal hierarchy which affects respect behavior and pronominal usage. In no case is wealth important, per se; and in all cases, non-intimacy merits respect behavior. Vietnamese stands apart from Thai and Burmese in its exaggeration of status usage and in its restriction against addressing lower social classes as inferiors.

Intimacy is defined in much the same way in all three languages, being dependent upon factors of family or friendship associations, sex, and relative age. Each language has pronominal forms for both intimate and non-intimate usage. Also, each language uses pronominal forms among intimates that would be coarse or arrogant to non-intimates.

In all three languages, the status-intimacy system as it affects pronominal usage is a fairly pervasive and stable one. Probably Thai registers the most fluidity in the various parts of the system, and Burmese the least, but all remain comparatively unchanging for the most part, despite the inroads of democratization. Thai probably allows for the greatest personal freedom of expression within the prescribed limits of the system; but all allow for considerable individual variation.

400. Conclusion. The comparison of the phenomena of pronominal reference in Thai, Burmese and Vietnamese reveals a number of interesting similarities and contrasts. Perhaps most interesting of all is the fact that three languages so far removed genetically from each other should manifest so many striking similarities in pronominal usage. To ask why these similarities exist is to open the door for a whole new series of questions and investigations. How many other languages share these similarities? Which languages share them and which do not? Are these similarities shared only by languages which function as the medium of communication for the more highly developed and organized societies? How, when and where did the various phenomena of usage arise, develop and spread? It is to be hoped that the future will see further studies of pronominal reference in the languages of Southeast Asia, and that eventually it will become possible to find comprehensive and definite explanations of pertinent phenomena in a wide variety of languages in the area.

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FOOTNOTES

Chapter 1 (Introduction)

¹ See for example, Sten Konow, in Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. III (by Sir G. Grierson); Przyluski in Les langues du monde (1952) (by Meillet and Cohen); Robert Shafer, Classification of Sino-Tibetan Languages. Word, 11 (1955), pp. 94-111.

² See Maspero in Les langues de monde (1924) (by Meillet and Cohen); A.G. Haudricourt, Les phonèmes et le vocabulaire du thai commun. Journal Asiatique 236 (1948), pp. 197-238.

³ See P.K. Benedict, Thai, Kadai and Indonesian. A New Alignment in Southeast Asia. American Anthropologist 44 (1942), pp. 576-601. Cf. also Father Schmidt's views as summarized by Sebeok, An Examination of the Austroasiatic Language Family. Language 18 (1942), pp. 206-217; also Joseph Greenberg, Historical Linguistics and Unwritten Languages. Anthropology Today (1953), pp. 265-286.

Chapter 2 (Thai)

1

U.N. estimate, 1963. See The World Almanac, 1965.

2

In addition to the various Thai dialects, there are several tribal languages spoken in various parts of Thailand. These include Karen, Meo, Lisu, Lahu, Yao, Akha and others, which do not here concern us.

3

This usage is common throughout the literature. In fact, in speaking of other dialects or of the whole family of languages and dialects, the spelling "Tai" is often used. The term "Daic" has been used by Shafer and others in referring to the larger language family.

4

This is the date given for the earliest known inscription in Thai--a stone inscribed by Prince Ram Khamhæng of the Sukhothai dynasty. The inscription is described, transliterated and translated in an article by Cornelius Beach Bradley, The Oldest Known Writing in Siamese: the Inscription of Phra Ram Khamhæng of Sukhothai, 1293 A.D. Journal of the Siam Society 6 (1909), pp. 1-69.

5

Cornelius Beach Bradley argues convincingly for the Cambodian origin of the Thai script in his article, The Proximate Source of the Siamese Alphabet, TAPA 43 (1912), pp. 23-33. Also JSS 10 (1913), pt. 1, pp. 1-12.

6

Mary R. Haas, Thai-English Student's Dictionary, pp. xv-xxii.

(Thai footnotes, cont'd.)

⁷ Richard Noss, in his Thai Reference Grammar, p. 98, makes weak stress the definitive characteristic of pronouns. We are not prepared to go this far.

⁸ The forms /kɛɛ/, /khǎw/ and /man/ frequently occur thus. Other third person forms occur appositionally in the speech of some informants. In fact, I was able with one informant to elicit acceptable appositional usage for all forms listed in the inventory (212.3.). However, there was consensus only for the three forms given here.

⁹ In Thai culture, the head is still the highly respected part of the body, and the feet the lowly part. People are still careful, in fact, to avoid raising their heads above the heads of their superiors, or to reach over the heads of others, or to step over others, or even to allow their feet to point toward others.

¹⁰ The forms /ʔían/ and /dián/, q.v., are disyllabic forms with stress on the second syllable. We take them to be variants of /ʔihán/ and /dihán/ respectively, with the /h/ dropped in extra rapid speech.

¹¹ The term "nonrestraint" is used to describe forms that imply a degree of freedom from the restraints of more proper usage. The phenomenon of nonrestraint as a feature in pronoun usage is discussed under 213.5.2.

(Thai footnotes, cont'd.)

12

See footnote 10.

13

Of the informants I have questioned, only one male and one female use /kan/ freely in their own speech. The former insists that he seldom uses it paired with any second person form.

14

The syllable /kra-/ remains unaccounted for here. It occurs elsewhere as the initial syllable of a very large number of Thai forms, both substantives and verbs. The form /phǒm/ occurs as both a first person pronoun and as a noun meaning 'hair'. The form /kraphǒm/ occurs independently only as a first person pronoun. By way of contrast, /kramǒm/ occurs both as a first person pronoun and as a noun meaning 'crown (of the head)'.

15

See footnote 11.

16

The syllable /pha-/ is not accounted for here. Perhaps /phacâw/ is related to /phracâw/ 'ruler, king, lord'.

17

/phra¹phúd²thacâw³/ is the common word for Buddha (lit. 'royal (or divine)¹ Lord³ Buddha²'), but it is probable that in the pronoun form /khâaphrphúd²thacâw/, immediate reference is to the king as Buddha's representative.

18

One informant gave the following as a natural utterance for herself in the circumstances outlined here:

(Thai footnotes, cont'd.)

/mýawaa'nii¹ hěn² nīi³ rý⁴ plàaw⁵/ '(Did you) see² me³ yesterday¹ [or⁴ not⁵]?' Another (female) informant considered such usage as completely impossible.

19

I have been unable to obtain reliable information as to the present king's usage to individual subjects. The consensus of opinion among informants is that he would probably avoid first and second person forms altogether.

20

The personal pronoun /câw/ and also these other forms, transcribed /câw'/ and /câaw'/ are all spelled identically in the Thai script.

21

It is possible that the disrespect element in /kεε'/ as a third person form arises through the interference of /kεε'/ as a nonrestraint second person form.

22

One would expect that the discrepancy between meanings 1 and 2 of /kεε'/ and /khăw'/ would occasionally lead to misunderstanding. I have not heard of any such problem, but this is perhaps explained by the fact that here the respect-disrespect confusion centers upon third rather than second person usage, and would therefore be less likely to result in injured feelings.

23

Possibly a third means of overtly expressing plural could be included here: that of reduplication. Most informants do not accept reduplication as a normal and natural means for pluralizing personal pronouns, but

(Thai footnotes, cont'd.)

one informant who had been away from Thailand for many years insisted that the majority of forms in the inventory could be reduplicated in this way. The only pertinent widely accepted reduplicated expression is /khunkhun/, (see /khun/ under 212.2.), but some informants accept this only in the third person usage with reference to respected persons, and most agree that this reduplicated expression has more of the flavor of the noun /khun/ 'sir, gentleman, lady, respected person' than of the pronoun.

24

See footnote 12.

25

However, novices may sometimes be of pre-teen age, and according to some informants, they are entitled to use /ʔaadtamaa/ and /joom/.

26

Note that only a few representative first and second person forms are given for speech in addressing royalty. More are listed in the inventory (212.), and still more are found in the language as a whole. A complete listing would include rather a large number of forms and would need to cover several different levels of royalty. Unfortunately, information is not available for making finer differentiations in meaning and usage. In particular, almost no data is at hand concerning speech between different members of royalty, either of the same or of differing status. Forms for addressing royalty are therefore analyzed strictly from

(Thai footnotes, cont'd.)

the point of view of the commoner. They are also given in terms of the (educated) commoner's recognition vocabulary rather than his actual speech, since most speakers would either avoid pronouns altogether, or perhaps select one or two forms (e.g. /klâawkramòm/ to do service for all.

27

It should be recognized here that it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to disengage objective and subjective criteria in measuring closeness of association. For our present purpose, we refer to the objective aspect as 'closeness of association', and to the subjective as 'intimacy'. In general, however, we use the term 'intimacy' in both senses.

28

For a discussion of linguistic usage in terms of protective walls, see Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, pp. 248-260.

29

In certain cases where an evaluation as to the presence, absence or irrelevance of a feature was in doubt, recourse was had to information about the possibility or impossibility of pairing the doubtful form with a non-doubtful one (see 215.). The assumption was that a feature-positive form cannot be paired with another form that registers negative as to the same semantic feature, but can be paired with a form that registers the feature as irrelevant-- provided no other contradictions result from the pairing.

(Thai footnotes, cont'd.)

30

It should be understood that naturalness of pairing between two forms will usually be evaluated equally (by underlining, no underlining, or parentheses) under both the first and second person lists of the chart. Thus, item 9 (/phǒm/) in the left-hand first person list shows item "j" (/khun/) underlined as a natural second person pair complement. Similarly, item "j" in the right-hand second person list shows item 9 underlined as a natural first person pairing form. However, in a few cases where one form has a much wider area of meaning than the other, the evaluation will be different in the two lists. For example, item 17 (/raw/ first person form speaking to equals) has a fairly wide range of meaning and the second person form /kεε/ (item "s") is not underlined, since it constitutes one of the less natural pair complements. But the form /kεε/ (item "s") in the right-hand column has a narrower range of meaning than /raw/. and registers the latter (item 17) as a natural pairing form, there being no pairings that are really any more natural.

31

Of the kin terms used in this way, one, /lǔaŋphô/ is used also in speaking to or of any venerable priest who commands special respect by virtue of age, office, or reputation. For one informant, /lǔaŋphô/ was the only familiar example of the /lǔaŋ/-plus-kin term construction. Another informant felt that such usage was limited to the

(Thai footnotes, cont'd.)

forms /phîi/ 'elder sibling', /phôo/ 'father' and /taa/ 'maternal grandfather'. A third accepted this construction with all the common terms denoting elder kin. The personal pronoun /thân/ is actually the form most commonly used to both older and younger priests.

32

According to some informants, the age of the husband was irrelevant, but no firsthand examples of usage by or to younger husbands is at hand. Most informants felt that if the husband were younger than the wife, some other pronominal usage would be selected. In any case, the wife would never be called /phîi/.

33

Almost all informants insist that this form is from English. If this is the case, the rising tone is rather odd, since borrowings from English rarely occur with this tone.

34

Technically speaking, a child of /lăan/ 'grandchild; nephew, niece' should be /lăen/, and the child of /lăen/ (according to some informants) is /lŏon/; so that the term for ego's G - 2 is the same as that for ego's sibling's G - 1, and ego's G - 3 as sibling's G - 2, etc. To accommodate such a system, it would probably be simplest to redefine G minus in terms of generation levels starting with either offspring or sibling as G-- 1. However, informants are often hazy as to whether a grandnephew is

(Thai footnotes, cont'd.)

/lǎan/ (same as 'grandchild') or /lǎen/ (great-grandchild), and are likely to use /lǎan/ indiscriminately.

35

The amphur is approximately equivalent to the American county.

36

It should be noted that a very much larger number of status or rank terms can occur as titles before names than can occur alone pronominally.

37

See footnote 35.

38

For a more detailed discussion of terms for ranks of conferred nobility, and of royalty, see Mary R. Haas, The Declining Descent Rule for Rank in Thailand: A Correction, *American Anthropologist* 53.585-587 (1951).

39

One informant reports that he has become personal friends with a friend and equal of his younger brother, and now he treats this younger friend as his own equal; but his relationship with his younger brother is still a superior-inferior one.

40

H.G. Grether in the Readers' Corner, *The Bible Translator* 8.4.212 (1957).

41

The king himself is perhaps just such a person. The ambiguity in his position is no doubt one reason why most informants find themselves unable to predict what the king

(Thai footnotes, cont'd.)

might use in a given situation.

42

Second person usage of /nũu/ is less frequent for addressees who have reached adolescence or beyond.

43

Rural usage is not directly dealt with here because it is taken to be chiefly a matter of dialectal variation, which is beyond the scope of our present study. However, there is continual contact between rural areas and urban, and certain speakers of Bangkok Thai may be affected to a greater or lesser degree by it. Thus, children of families only recently established in Bangkok may consider the use of the pair /khâa/-/?eŋ/ to inferiors as fairly natural, whereas others might consider it rather archaic.

44

This self-expression was often particularly obvious in informant sessions ^{in which} ~~where~~ I closely questioned a speaker as to why he used one form rather than another, or as to what feelings or attitudes made a given form appropriate for him, whereas another speaker used some other term. I often half-jokingly apologized to an informant for "analyzing" him. It was at such times that I particularly appreciated the good will and continued careful thought and cooperation of the many Thai friends who ~~helped me~~ ^{helped me} with these problems.

45

One notable example of the rise of new forms is the widespread use that has come to be made among male intimates

(Thai footnotes, cont'd.)

of the pair /ʔúɑ/ and /lǎy/ (from Chinese) in the past
twenty years or so.

Chapter 3 (Burmese)

1

U.N. estimate; see the World Almanac, 1965.

2

See Mary R. Haas, The Use of Numeral Classifiers in Burmese, Semitic and Oriental Studies, U.C. Publications in Semitic Phil. 9.191-200.

3

See William S. Cornyn, Outline of Burmese Grammar, Language Dissertation No. 38.

4

For further detail on morphophonemic alternation, see Robert B. Jones and U Khin, The Burmese Writing System, pp. 4,5.

5

Note that reduplicated nouns are not subject to the usual voiced-voiceless morphophonemic alternations.

6

The class of affixes corresponds roughly to Cornyn's "particles". There are objections to either term, but we prefer the term "affix" because such forms are bound rather than free.

7

Occasionally for the purpose of emphasis the object is placed before the subject.

8

See Cornyn, Outline of Burmese Grammar, pp. 12,13.

9

For some speakers, personal pronouns ending in tone /-x/ (as well as forms ending in tone /-v/) have an oblique form ending in tone /-q/: e.g. /minx/ 'you', /minq¹?apheyv²/

(Burmese footnotes, cont'd.)

'your¹ father²'; /khinvbyax/ 'you (subject)', /khinvbyaq-gowv/ 'you (object)'. For other speakers this alternation is optional. Occasionally, also, /-v/ tone nouns denoting non-persons have a possessive /-q/ tone form; e.g. /ʔeynv/ 'house', /ʔeynq¹hyinv²/ 'householder' (lit. house's¹ master²). This alternation is likewise an optional one.

10

The pronunciation /dowq/ is the usual one, even when this form occurs in utterance initial position--this in spite of the fact that in the Burmese script, it is spelled with a voiceless consonant.

11

Nouns are pluralized by /dowq/ as follows: 1) always when used pronominally (see 220., 230.): e.g. /tyunvdov¹ ʔux²dowq³gowv⁴ tweyqdev⁵/ 'I saw you' (I¹ (you) uncle²-group³-obj. case⁴ saw⁵). 2) sometimes when functioning as nominal possessive attributives: e.g. /tyunvdoq¹ miqbaq² dowq³ ʔeynvhmav⁵/ 'at⁵ my¹ parents'^{2,3} (lit. mother-father² group³) house⁴'.

12

The form /tyunv/ 'slave' can be segmented out from three of the first person forms: /tyamaq/ (deferential, woman speaking), /tyanowq/ (general assertive term, man speaking), and /tyunvdov/ (deferential, man speaking). The form is always contracted to /tya-/ in the case of /tyamaq/ and /tyanowq/, while /tyunvdov/ may be pronounced either with contraction (/tyanov/ in rapid and also ordinary

(Burmese footnotes, cont'd.)

speech) or without it. The form /tyanowq/ is very often contracted further to /tyowq/.

13

See remarks on absolute and relative age under Thai 213.4. Note for example that /tyunvdov/ is identified in Figure 4 as being indeterminate as to absolute age of speaker; but in the matter of relative age, it is restricted, for it would not be used adult to child. Confusion may be avoided by interpreting the absolute age distinctions in the light of the restrictions specified in the right-hand column of the chart.

14

According to Figure 6, /kowv/ and /nyix/ would make an acceptable pair. However, this pairing does not usually occur, since /kowv/ is used chiefly in urban speech, and /nyix/ in rural. If the chart were restricted to one local dialect, the two forms would not both appear on it, and this confusion would be avoided.

15

This limitation holds good for such eliciting and checking as I have been able to do with U Ba Min. It is possible that more complete data might reveal exceptions.

16

The forms /kowv/ and /mawnv/ (husband, lover) are listed independently here, but should probably be considered as particular types of displacement of the forms /ʔakowv/ 'elder brother' and /mawnv/ 'younger brother'. It should be noted that /mawnv/ is not used pronominally

(Burmese footnotes, cont'd.)

of one's younger brother.

17

Limitations upon reduplication are in part due to the fact that complete syllable reduplication occurs in Burmese only with monosyllables, and with disyllables whose first syllable is /ʔa-/, the /ʔa-/ being dropped in reduplicated forms.

18

Actually /kowv/ 'husband' is used rather than /ʔakowv/ 'elder brother' to denote one's husband; but the two forms are related, and also easily associated together. Both are therefore avoided between male and female in-laws of approximately the same age.

19

Note that /sayav/ 'teacher' does not take /-q/ tone in this construction. This suggests that /sayav/ is not here treated as a preposed possessive modifier (see 155.). /sayav/ does, however, take /-q/ tone preceding /-gadov/ if /sayav/ is being used pronominally: e.g. /sayaq¹ gadov²/ 'your¹wife²' (i.e. the wife² of you the teacher¹).

20

One informant stated that he considered such usage by women as a little childish.

Chapter 4 (Vietnamese)

¹ See The World Almanac, 1965.

² For detailed conversion rules between a phonemic script and the official spelling, see Emeneau's Studies in Vietnamese (Annamese) Grammar, pp. 29-31.

³ See Emeneau, op. cit., p. 30.

⁴ For a fairly detailed treatment of reduplication, see Emeneau, op. cit., pp. 159-200.

⁵ Ibid., p. 45.

⁶ In an altogether different context this same utterance might be translated 'my¹ elder brother(s)² and younger sibling(s)³'. In such a case, the form tôi functions as a possessive modifier, not as part of an appositional construction.

⁷ Since the plural mình always includes the addressee (see discussion under 213.1.), this expression would not be used by either husband or wife to a third individual.

⁸ The term absolute pronoun is suggested by Laurence C. Thompson in the pre-publication draft of his Vietnamese grammar, 10.44. However, he excludes chúng from the grouping, placing it in a class by itself.

⁹ I have been unable to discover what there is about chúng tao that makes it inappropriate for use parent to child.

(Vietnamese footnotes, cont'd.)

10

We follow Thompson, *op. cit.*, in listing mi as an absolute form. However, my informant states that it may be pluralized by các (which would make the form a kintype noun), but he insists nevertheless that it is otherwise the exact counterpart of the personal pronoun mày. Also, the form mi has no clearly relevant nominal referential meaning. I am unable to account for the peculiarities of this form.

11

Note that this is not the case with the comparable Thai and Burmese nonrestraint terms.

12

Nguyen Dinh Hoa, in his *Verbal and Non-Verbal Patterns of Respect Behavior in Vietnamese Society*, p. 138, also lists ông 'grandfather' and bà 'grandmother' (both in arrogant usage), and anh 'elder brother' as being pluralized by chúng in first person usage. My informant does not accept this.

13

See Hoa, *ibid.*, pp. 26,31,32,47,48.

14

See Thompson, *op. cit.*, 7.3, for a discussion and listing of anaphorics of this type. It should be noted that certain forms other than kin terms--especially demonstratives--may be formed into anaphorics by this tonal ablaut.

15

For a rather full list of persons addressed as thầy,

(Vietnamese footnotes, cont'd.)

see Hoa, op. cit., pp. 114-115. My informant states that such extensive use of thầy is found chiefly in South Vietnam.

16

See Hoa, *ibid.*, pp. 18-50; Emeneau, op. cit., p. 118; and Robert Spencer, The Annamese Kinship System, *SW Journal of Anthr.* 1.283-309.

17

Note, for example, the following statements from Hoa, op. cit.: "[cô] usually applies only to the relative [i.e. sister] who is younger than one's father" (p. 35); "in actual use [cậu] applies only to a younger brother of one's mother" (p. 36); "if the [maternal] uncle is older than the speaker's mother, bác ... may be used instead of cậu" (p. 88).

18

I am indebted to Hoa, *ibid.*, pp. 92, 96, 99, 100 for most of the information recorded here.

19

According to Hoa, *ibid.*, a married person may address siblings by means of uncle/aunt terms even before he has children, but my informant disagrees.

20

My informant registers a certain amount of hesitation with regard to pluralization by các in many of the higher status forms. So far as I can tell, this hesitancy is due not so much to grammatical limitations as to the difficulty of conceiving oneself as addressing a group of professors, generals, or high ranking priests, etc.

(Vietnamese footnotes, cont'd.)

21

For example, Emeneau, op. cit., p. 115, cites a sentence in which bếp 'cook' is used as a second person form. My informant refuses to accept such usage on the grounds that it is altogether too disrespectful.

22

Hoa, op. cit., p. 129, states that chú, bác, ông, etc. are used in addressing various levels of Buddhist clergy. It is not clear whether or not he means to say that they stand independently in such contexts (i.e. without preceding su as in su chú, su bác, etc.). My informant insists that the longer form (with su) is necessary even in pronominal usage.

23

Ibid., p. 51. See also the whole chapter for a discussion of Vietnamese names.

24

For a complete charting of restrictions upon use of kin terms with numeratives, see Hoa, p. 50.

25

I have been unable to elicit any information that would suggest that nicknames are used by Vietnamese with anything like the freedom and naturalness which characterize Burmese and Thai usage, whether pronominal or nominal. I am not sure whether this altogether reflects the true situation in Vietnamese. My informant feels that nicknames are usually derogatory and therefore somewhat restricted in usage. Perhaps kin numerative expressions occupy a place in the Vietnamese system which

(Vietnamese footnotes, cont'd.)

is filled by nicknames in the other languages.

²⁶

My informant tells of a situation arising among his relatives in which a great-uncle, who was younger than his own grandnephew, visited the latter in his office and used the nonrespect pronoun mày 'you' to him. The grandnephew was simply furious at his great-uncle for taking such unwarranted advantage of his superior kin rank.

²⁷

Ibid., p. 81, footnote 1.