Self-Reference in Japanese and Thai: A Comparative Study

Voravudhi Chirasombutti

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April, 1995
Acknowledgments

The number of people who have influenced me in the production of this thesis is impossibly large. I would therefore like to express my thanks to all those who have taken the time to help me through their contributions and support.

I would also like to express my thanks to many people. I am


Statement

Except where otherwise acknowledged, this thesis is entirely my own work

Voravudhi Chirasombutti

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April 1995
Acknowledgments

The number of people who have influenced me in the production of this thesis is impossible to count. I would therefore like to express my thanks to all those who have taken the time to help me through their contributions and support.

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All errors in this thesis, of course, remain my own.
Abstract

This study sets out to investigate the self-reference systems in spoken Japanese and Thai with a view to comparing and contrasting the two. The study is primarily concerned with self-reference in the metropolitan varieties of spoken Japanese (Tokyo) and Thai (Bangkok). After a review of previous treatments of self-reference terms and pronouns in Japanese and Thai, four types of self-reference terms - pronouns, status terms, personal names and other nouns - are analysed to show their meanings and ranges of usage.

The analysis is based on data from a combination of sources:
(a) an extensive self-report questionnaire survey organised especially to highlight three types of speaker contrast: Japanese/Thai, student/employee and male/female speakers;
(b) examples of Japanese/Thai natural conversation, for example, mass media extracts;
(c) personal observations and informal interviews with representative native speakers.

In most cases (b) and (c) confirmed the data collected in (a), suggesting the general validity of questionnaire results of this type.

The self-reference systems in Japanese and Thai are discussed from a comparative perspective. The comparison shows differences and similarities in formal categories and in patterns of usage. In general, relationships of intimacy and power in the Japanese and Thai self-reference case are more problematic and complex than was proposed in the two-dimensional model by Brown and Gilman (1960), involving parametric variation referred to there as "power" and "solidarity". While these high-level variables can furnish a first approximation to the Japanese and Thai cases and provide relevant insights, more specific factors such as gender, age, kinship relationship, occupation, formality, overhearer presence and emotional switch were found to be important in arriving at a fuller picture of how self-reference operates in the two languages. In particular, age and gender were found to be especially important factors in self-reference term selection but they do not operate exactly the same in the two languages. The notion of pronoun scope has been used in this study to account for how certain pronominal forms are selected and also to facilitate intra-language and cross-
language comparisons. Substantial diachronic change has marked both the Japanese and Thai systems. Overt prescriptive training was found to have some effect on speaker’s choices - more so in Japanese than in Thai. These and other sources of variation to the general picture outlined in this study are considered.
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2. Birthplace of Japanese respondents

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References
Introduction

Self-reference in both Japanese and Thai is a complicated matter. This is not only because there are many words from which to choose but because sometimes there is no word appropriate for the speaker to use to a particular listener. When I started studying Japanese as a first year student at university in 1980, the first self-reference term I encountered in the textbook was watashi. When I used watashi with the Japanese teacher in conversation class, I was told that boku suited me better. However, another Thai teacher who was fluent in Japanese and had spent four years in Japan told me that boku was not polite enough and encouraged me to use watashi. I was confused at that time. As a native speaker of Thai, there are times when I feel awkward because there is no suitable self-reference term to use in that language. For example, when I am introduced to a person who is two or three years younger than me, I feel that calling myself phôm shows a lack of good feeling towards him/her. If I call myself phi:, it shows good feeling but it shows intimacy too, and I am not sure whether the listener will be happy about it or not.

1 General aim and scope of the study

The purpose of this study is to describe the self-reference systems of spoken Japanese and spoken Thai. Written language will be discussed only when it is relevant to the argument. The study covers an analysis of the self-reference system in both languages, and the social and cultural factors underlying linguistic usage. Variation among native speakers is also investigated. This dissertation also attempts to make a comparative study of Japanese and Thai self-reference systems.

This study is primarily concerned with self-reference in the metropolitan varieties of spoken Japanese and Thai. Spoken Japanese refers to the modern prestige variety based on the educated dialect of Tokyo. Spoken Thai refers to the standard spoken language of Thailand which is based on the dialect of Bangkok. Terms employed in speaking to and by royalty will be excluded, although the so-called royal language (see Roenpitya, 1973 for more detail of royal usage) will be mentioned when it is relevant to the argument.
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2 Data

The data for this study were obtained in four ways:

1. Questionnaires (total: 404)
2. Informant interviews
3. Data from natural conversation
   3.1 Television talk show programmes (total: approximately 31 hours)
   3.2 Radio programmes (total: approximately 7 hours)
   3.3 Conversation in sections of interviews and discussions in newspapers and journals
   3.4 Transcriptions of natural conversation (total: approximately 36 hours)
3.5 Observation
4. Comparison of translated works and originals in both Japanese and Thai.

My own knowledge as a native speaker of Thai is also drawn upon as data.

2.1 Japanese data

1. Questionnaires

Two Japanese questionnaires investigating subjects' self-reference were distributed randomly to 212 informants divided into students and employed persons (hereafter 'employees'). Four questionnaires which were answered by non-natives and seven questionnaires which were erroneously filled in were excluded from the data.

1.1 Content of questionnaire

The questionnaires asked how the subjects referred to themselves when speaking to various people. For students two main categories were investigated: addressees in the family and addressees at the university. The latter were divided into various categories such as lecturer, senior student (sempai) (hereafter 'senior'), friend (tomodachi) and junior student (koohai) (hereafter 'junior'), and further classified in terms of intimacy and gender\(^1\). Usage in formal situations such as seminar presentations was also investigated. For employees the two main categories were addressees in the family and addressees at

---
\(^1\)In Japan most university lecturers are men. This is the reason why lecturers are not subcategorized by gender. From my observations as a postgraduate student in Japan at Tsukuba University during 1986-1989, there were no differences in self-reference usage by students to their lecturer according to the lecturer's gender. My observations at Osaka University during 1992 confirmed the same usage.
Introduction

work, either co-workers or customers. Company addressees were subcategorized by status, gender and intimacy and, in some cases, by age. Usage in formal situations such as conference presentations was also investigated. A copy of each questionnaire appears in Appendix 1.

The questionnaire method has some limitations. Respondents may respond with what they think they should say but not what they really use. They may not be able to recall what they say because they use the language subconsciously. The questionnaires were designed to be short in order not to overburden the informants, so that it was in any case not possible to get detailed and subtle information. For instance, when a respondent answers that s/he used two self-reference terms to a particular listener, we cannot know in which situations these are chosen. Nevertheless, the questionnaires do point up some novel information. For example, they suggest that in both languages some uncles and aunts call themselves 'older brother' or 'older sister' to their nieces and nephews. In Japanese, 7 answers out of 82 from male respondents indicated that they call themselves oniisan 'older brother' and oniichan 'older brother' to their nieces and nephews, and 6 answers out of 36 from female respondents revealed oneesan 'older sister' and oneechan 'older sister'. In Thai 13 answers out of 63 from male respondents and 5 answers out of 43 from female respondents were phi: 'older siblings'. Without these results from the questionnaires such usages may be neglected.

1.2 General information on informants

a. Occupation, sex and age

The Japanese who served as informants can be divided into two groups: students and employees. The following chart summarises the details:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Rank of employees

**Male**

- High-level management: 11
- Middle-level management: 9
- Low-level management and non-management (*hirashain*): 29
- Unknown (no information): 18

**Female**

- Low-level management and non-management (*hirashain*): 11
- Unknown (no information): 18

**TOTAL**: 96

### Sex and age of informants

**Students**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>unknown</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19-20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51+</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Employees**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19-20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51+</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL**: 67

The students were from Meikai University, a private university located in Chiba Prefecture, and Hitotsubashi University, a national university in Tokyo. The employees were from Toshiba Engineering Company located in Kanagawa Prefecture.

### b. Birthplace

The region of birth of the Japanese informants are as follows:

**Students**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kanto</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chubu</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chugoku</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokkaido</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyushu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shikoku</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tohoku</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okinawa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

2 Department chief (*buchoo*) is classified as high, section chief (*kachoo*) as middle and *shunin, shuji* and their assistants and *tantino* as low level management.
Introduction

Female

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kanto</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chubu</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinki</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyushu</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okinawa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokkaido</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tohoku</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Employees

Male

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kanto</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tohoku</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyushu</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chubu</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinki</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chugoku</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokkaido</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shikoku</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Female

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kanto</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyushu</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tohoku</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chubu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL 201

All informants lived in the Kanto region. (N.B. See appendix for birthplace details)

2. Interviews

2.1 Follow-up interviews

Six informants (4 men and 2 women) were selected for follow-up interviews from among the employees who had answered the questionnaire. To find out weak points in the questionnaire and to check informants' understanding of the questionnaire, I began each interview by asking their opinion of the questionnaire. During the interviews, parts of the same questions that had appeared in the questionnaire were asked in detail with the aid of a native participant-assistant. The answers obtained in these interviews provide additional information to those from the questionnaire. Each interview lasted approximately 20 minutes. All interviews were tape-recorded. I was introduced to the first informant as a language teacher who was investigating "proper language usage"; thereafter, I simply explained that I was investigating the various forms
of self-reference terms and how they are used, and that I was not interested in whether a term was considered a good word or a bad word.

2.2 Formal interviews

Three informants (2 men, 46 and 60 years old and 1 woman, 60 years old) were asked about how their self-reference terms had changed through their lifetime. Each interview lasted approximately 30 minutes.

2.3 Informal interviews

Informal interviews consisted of casual discussions including questions on usage of self-reference. After I had examined all the questionnaires and taking into account my own observations, I conducted additional informal interviews focussing on points of usage where I had some doubt.

3. Natural conversation

3.1 Television talk show programmes: 16 hours (1992)

These mainly consisted of the talk show programme *Tetsuko no heya* hosted by Tetsuko Kuroyanagi.

3.2 Radio programmes: 7 hours (1992)

These mainly consisted of talk-back programmes involving NHK announcers, medical and other experts, and members of the public.

3.3 Interviews and discussions in newspapers and journals

Written versions of interviews and discussions were collected.

3.4 Transcriptions of natural conversation

This consisted primarily of a transcription of a tape-recorded conversation of a 49 year-old middle class housewife and her interlocutors recorded in August 1982 over one week. This work was conducted by Ide and others (1984) as a part of a research project on other topics. A further transcription was of a tape recorded conversation of a boy and his parents and sister conducted by the National Language Research Institute during 1975-1978. This conversation is approximately 36 hours.

---

3 *Nippon Hoso Kyoukai*. A government-funded broadcasting service comparable to the BBC in Britain and the ABC in Australia.
3.5 Observation

Everyday encounters among university students, students and lecturers both in class and in informal situations such as in pubs, at canteens and so on were observed. Situations varied from very formal situations, such as an academic conference, to language in family life.

4. Comparison of translated works and originals

As data for the contrastive analysis, examples were also collected from spoken language sections of novels in Thai and in Japanese and in their translated versions.

2.2 Thai Data

1. Questionnaires

Two Thai questionnaires investigating subjects' self-reference were distributed randomly among students and employees (total: 203 informants). Two questionnaires which were answered by persons who were not born in Bangkok and had stayed in Bangkok less than one year were excluded. Two questionnaires which were erroneously filled in were also excluded from the data.

1.1 Content of questionnaire

Like the Japanese questionnaires, the Thai questionnaires asked how the subjects referred to themselves when speaking to various people. For students, two categories were investigated: addressees in the family and addressees at the university. These latter were divided into the various subcategories of lecturer, senior student (hereafter 'senior'), friend and junior student (hereafter 'junior'). Intimacy was also used as a classificatory criterion. Senior, friend and junior were also subcategorized by gender. Usage in formal situations such as in seminar presentations was also investigated. For employees the two main categories were addressees in the family and co-workers or customers. Co-workers were subcategorized by status, gender and relationship to the informant. Age was included in one question to ascertain what takes priority when a respondent is younger than a person who works under him/her. Usage in formal situations, such as conference presentations, was also investigated.
1.2 General information on informants

a. Occupation, sex and age

The Thai students were from Chulalongkorn University and the National Institute of Development Administration, national universities in Bangkok, and from Silapakorn University located in Nakhorn Pathom. The employees were from the Esso and Thai Tokyu companies located in Bangkok. The following chart summarizes the details:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank of the employees</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-level management</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-level management</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low-level management</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-level management</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-level management</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low-level management</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sex and age of informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students</th>
<th>15-19</th>
<th>20-25</th>
<th>26-29</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 Rank for employees in the ESSO was classified by an informant working in that company. For Tokyu, managers are classified as high, supervisors and their assistants as middle, administrators as low level management.
Introduction

Employees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>17-20</th>
<th>21-30</th>
<th>31-40</th>
<th>41-50</th>
<th>51-</th>
<th>unknown</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Birthplace

The hometowns of the Thai informants are as follows:

Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Bangkok</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Employees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Bangkok</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL 199

All informants lived in Bangkok.

2. Interviews

Interviews consisted of casual discussions including questions on usage of self-reference. Lecturers, a teacher in a kindergarten located in a slum area, housewives and employees were interviewed.

3. Natural conversation

3.1 Television talk show programmes: 15 hours (1993)

3.2 Radio talk-back programmes: 2 hours (1994)

3.3 A transcription of parts of the video-tape of the conversation from the television talk show programmes in 3.1.

3.3 Observation

Everyday encounters among university students, students and lecturers both in class and in informal situations such as at the canteen and so on were observed. Situations varied from very formal situations, such as an academic conference,
to language in family life. Language usage in a hospital, at a public seminar and at parliamentary debates was also observed.

4. Comparison of translated works and originals

As described for the Japanese component.

3 Organization

This thesis is organized as follows: Chapter 1 presents a general frame of reference for discussion of self-reference. A brief review of relevant research on self-reference by Western, Japanese and Thai scholars is presented, followed by a description of the treatment of self-reference terms and other concepts in this study. Chapter 2 deals with pronouns in Japanese and Thai. Chapter 3 discusses self-reference nouns in the two languages. Chapter 4 considers variation in the self-reference systems in Japanese and Thai. Chapter 5 compares the self-reference system of the two languages. In chapter 6, the concluding chapter, the main findings of the study are summarised. A discussion of future prospects concludes the chapter and the study.

4 Notational conventions

The following abbreviations are used:

+in  intimate       -in  non-intimate
asp. aspect       caus. causative
cop. copular       dat. dative
dim. diminutive     defr. deference particle
F   female          H   listener
Jp.  Japanese       illoc. illocutionary particle
lit. literally       M   male
neg. negative       nom. nominalizer
obj. direct object   past. past tense
plu. plural          poss. possessive
prog. progressive   quest. question word
S   speaker         subj. subject
5 Transcription

a. Japanese

The basic transcription system used for Japanese in this thesis is a variant of the Hepburn system. Its additional features are that long vowels are written double (aa, etc.). This system is employed throughout in citing Japanese linguistic forms and examples; these appear in italics. Ordinary Japanese place names appearing as part of the English text also follow the Hepburn system, but without indication of long vowels (Tokyo, Osaka etc.).

b. Thai

A phonemic transcription is used for Thai. The phonemic inventory assumed for Bangkok Thai is as follows:
### Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced unaspirated</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless unaspirated</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless aspirated</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirants</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill or retroflex</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unrounded</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i, i;</td>
<td>u, u:</td>
<td>u,  u:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e, e:</td>
<td>a, a:</td>
<td>o, o:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>æ, æ:</td>
<td>a, a:</td>
<td>ø, ø:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Diphthongs

| ia      | ua    |

### Tones

| Mid      | not marked |
| Low      |          |
| Falling  |          |
| Rising   |          |
| Falling-rising |  |

The above system is employed throughout in citing Thai linguistic forms and examples; these appear in italics. /:/: indicates long vowels. Thai names (Nakhorn Pathom etc.) appearing as part of the English text employ a simpler system and do not include tones and long vowels.
Chapter 1

Frame of reference

In this chapter we first review relevant literature relating to self-reference, followed by consideration of the scope and realization of self-reference as the term is used in this thesis. We then divide self-reference in Japanese and Thai into four types for the purposes of analysis. The chapter concludes with a detailed discussion of parameters that govern the usage of self-reference in the two languages.

1.1 Literature review

This section will explore how self-reference is treated in general linguistics, and how self-reference terms are treated in Japanese and Thai. The importance of research on self-reference in Japanese and Thai will also be discussed.

1.1.1 General theoretical perspectives on address and reference

In Indo-European languages work on self-reference is found mainly in research on personal pronouns. Related theoretical perspectives can be found in works on address terms. Huddleston (1988:102) defines pronouns as follows:

"The general definition of pronoun is that it is a grammatically distinct class of noun-like words (typically a subclass of noun) whose most central members are characteristically used either anaphorically or deictically."

In the category of deixis we can divide pronouns according to the concept of person into first, second and third person. The first person form refers to the speaker/writer, i.e. is used for self-reference. In European languages the first person pronouns are the main forms for self-reference, and their sole function is to indicate that self is the speaker/writer: in English, apart from special circumstances, I is the only self-reference term. Therefore, the sociolinguistic study of self-reference terms in these languages has not been greatly pursued.

Looking at languages other than European ones, however, Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 70-75) clearly show that some pronoun systems encode gender, kinship status and social status in self-reference terms. They give examples of Papuan languages and Hottentot where both the speaker's and addressee's gender are signalled in pronouns;
some Australian Aboriginal languages where kinship status is marked in pronominal forms; and Chinese, Japanese, Malay and Korean where social status is marked. They also note that the marking of social status is found in a large number of geographically and historically distant language groups, suggesting a very strong relationship between personal deixis and relations of social hierarchy (1990: 74).

By contrast with self-reference, listener-reference has been widely studied in European languages. Brown and Gilman (1960) propose that second person pronoun usage in French, German, Italian, and Spanish is governed by two semantic features, which they call power and solidarity. They (1960: 306) explain that:

"one person may be said to have power over another in the degree that he is able to control the behavior of the other. Power is a relationship between at least two persons, and it is nonreciprocal in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area of behavior."

They suggest that the bases of power are several, such as physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalized role in the church, the state, the army, or within the family. With regard to solidarity, Brown and Gilman (1960: 309) say

"Now we are concerned with a new set of relations which are symmetrical; for example, attended the same school or have the same parents or practice the same profession."

They suggest that not everything people share counts for solidarity (1960: 309-310). While eye colour and shoe size are not factors in solidarity, they suggest that like-mindedness or similar behavioural dispositions can be; factors of solidarity ordinarily are such things as political membership, shared family, religion, profession, sex, and birthplace.

The American English address system has been analysed more widely by Brown and Ford (1964). They find two principal formal choices in American English: 1. first name and 2. title + last name. The three usage patterns that are possible with these forms are 1. the mutual exchange of first name 2. the mutual exchange of title + last name and 3. the non-reciprocal pattern in which one person gives a first name and gets a title + last name. The two reciprocal patterns are governed by a single dimension, ranging from acquaintance to intimacy. The non-reciprocal pattern is governed by age and occupational status.

In a later study, Ervin-Tripp (1972) presents the address form system as a series of
choices, using the computer flow chart format. This is reproduced below (cf. Ervin-Tripp, 1972: 219).

*Flow chart representation of one American address form system*

This is a logical model designed to include all the critical information organised in a way that gives the right results.

While such studies exemplify major approaches to address forms, and are suggestive of some of the general factors at work, they highlight the corresponding neglect of the study of self-reference in general linguistics.

1.1.2 Previous studies of Japanese personal reference

Japanese grammarians initially accepted the Western concept of pronouns which Shigenobu Tsurumine called *daimeigen* in 1831 (Kokugogakkai, 1980: 580). It is interesting to note that while words like *I* in English are normally assigned to a distinct (grammatical) word class of pronoun, their separate status is much less clear in Japanese (Hinds 1971, Backhouse 1993: 67). The concept of personal pronouns in Japanese is controversial. Tokieda (1950) and Hashimoto (1959), although differing in details, agree that there are pronouns in Japanese; Teramura (1982: 60) does not accept the concept of pronouns in Japanese and treats word like *watashi* (I) and *anata* (you) as nouns.

Within traditional work, Japanese terms such as *jishoo* (self-reference) were used
Chapter 1 Frame of reference

as a subcategory of pronouns (Sakuma, 1959, Yamada, 1979). Fischer's (1964) study of "words for self and others" in Japanese, however, marked the initial interest in self-reference as a specific topic. He divides what he calls self-reference and address terms within the family into 1. personal pronouns; 2. kin terms; 3. age status terms; 4. personal names; and 5. a zero form (1964: 117).


"Since the so-called Japanese personal pronouns in the narrow sense do not form an independent word group either morphologically or functionally, there is no reason for treating them separately. Rather, they should be classified, together with kinship terms, position terms, etc., into the categories of all words used by the speaker with reference to himself and to the addressee. These categories will not be dominated by pronominal forms and may be more adequately called jishooshi 'terms of self-reference'

Suzuki (1976) further conducts a study of words for self and words for others. He finds that both in intrafamilial and extrafamilial situations, the concept of superior and inferior governs the usage of these words. He also recognizes what he calls "empathetic identification". Empathetic identification is a phenomenon whereby a speaker refers to him/herself or others, or addresses others, from the point of view of another. For instance, a wife addresses her husband as papa from the point of view of her child. He discovers that in Japanese self-definition or the speaker's linguistic self-identification is conducted from the viewpoint of the addressee or third parties and of a person's role. Cases of a person who calls himself papa within the family, or a schoolteacher who calls himself sensei when he speaks to his students, illustrate this.

Kurokawa (1972) investigates some usages of the first and second person "pronouns" in the framework of the axes of power and solidarity. He also observes that despite constant discouragement against using ore at school and home, there is a high rate of use of this pronoun to show what he calls "manliness". In terms of degrees of politeness, he arranges pronouns from higher to lower as watakushi, watashi, boku, ore by men, in contrast with watakushi, watashi, atashi by women. He shows that men use more variants of personal pronouns than women do, especially in informal situations. He adds that kinship terms and personal names are also used like first person pronouns.

Nagura (1992) observes individuals' verbal behaviour. In her study of the use of
address terms between Japanese spouses, she finds that contrary to the general tendency, a few men use *watashi* even in the private domain. She discovers that none of these men use *boku*. She states that their preference for *watashi* or their avoidance of *boku* has something to do with their self-identification or aesthetic sense: for these men *boku* has a youngish and somewhat immature connotation and *watashi* is more likely to be used as a means to express the maturity of the speaker, and not for the sake of politeness. (Nagura 1992: 61). She also suggests that the connotations or associations people have concerning address terms tend to differ slightly from region to region or from individual to individual. She says:

"After experiencing various social interactions, a person might have developed different opinions or interpretations about address terms, or he might have found himself applying a different variety of reference terms." (1992: 47)

**1.1.3 Previous studies of Thai personal reference**

As with Japanese, work on self-reference can be found mainly in research on pronouns, and on address or politeness which share some theoretical perspectives with self-reference terms.

Upakit-Silapasan (1953: 78) recognizes pronouns as a grammatical class in Thai. His work is known as a grammar which applies English-derived grammatical concepts which are then assigned Sanskritic names and illustrated with Thai examples (Diller, 1988: 298). However, he notes that, apart from pronouns, nouns such as kinship terms and personal names are also used in first, second and third person reference (Upakit-Silapasan, 1953: 125).

Cooke's (1968) comparative Southeast Asian study shows that speaker and listener's status and intimacy play a large role in Thai pronominal reference, as well as in Vietnamese and Burmese. Cooke's parameters incorporate the semantic distinctions of number, person, sex, age and speaker-addressee (-referent) relationship. He explains the speaker-addressee (-referent) relationship in terms of status and intimacy, nonrestraint, deference and assertiveness. He explicates the semantic features of "speaker" in terms of gender, and the semantic features of "addressee" in terms of gender and superiority. "Attitude" is analysed in terms of +/- intimate and +/- nonrestraint. Cooke's componential
analysis is useful for preliminary investigation, and he also describes variations in usage. However, his explanation of reference terms is limited and he does not focus on issues of variation. His informants may have represented a narrow range of native speakers.

Campbell (1969) concentrates on the grammatical distribution of pronouns and noun substitutes. He notes that names, status and kinship terms are widely used in personal address/reference in Thai. However, he makes no attempt to account for their meanings or for variations of meaning (Truwichien, 1985: 7).

Palakornkul (1972) classifies so-called "pronouns" into:

1. Personal pronouns proper
2. Kin terms
3. Pseudo kin terms
4. Teknonymy
5. Personal names
6. Friendship terms
7. Occupation terms
8. Foreign loan words as pronouns
9. Titles
10. Words referring to spouses
11. Words used in speaking to and by monks

She proposes that power and status, age, kinship and family relationship, friendship, ethnic-religious groups, occupation, sex and genealogical distance determine social roles. She states that apart from social roles, e.g. monk, teacher or father, there are nine features affecting role relationships which determine the choices of pronominals. These are intimacy, respect, solidarity, formality, presence of a child, presence of non-acquaintances or persons with power and status, length of time of acquaintance, condescension and emotional manifestations (see further discussion of Palakornkul (1972) in 1.4.1 b.).

Hatton (1978), based on written texts, considers personal pronouns, names, titles and kin terms as "PRO forms" in Thai and considers them to be a surface level realization of the semantic components of SELF, ADDRESSEE or REFEREE. He divides speech styles into casual and consultative. He finds that in the casual style SELF is realized only when it is new information. On the consultative level, when SELF is new information, it is realized just as on the casual level, but "appropriateness" forces speakers to realize

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1 Teknonymy is a process to simplify language to help children understand certain patterns during their language acquisition period. It is usually practiced by parents and relatives in the presence of a child, for example, a father may call his sister "Aunt" imitating his children's usage (Palakornkul 1972: 39).
2 Non-interlocutor
SELF as old information with greater frequency than on the casual level.

Pumpruk (1982) studies the use of the first and second address/reference terms by the academic community in Lopburi province. She shows that the use of pronouns varies according to situation and interlocutor. She also states that social factors such as personal relationship, status, educational background as well as location of schools have proved to be influential.

Khanittanan (1984) investigates the use of second person address terms among three groups of 35 informants working in the Faculty of Liberal Arts at Thammasat University. Group I consists of fifteen lecturers, group II of ten administrative officers, and group III of ten janitors. She discovers that her findings are consistent with Slobin et al. (1968) in that first names are used between equals and in addressing subordinates; unequal status is reflected in a nonreciprocal address pattern in which the superior receives "Title" or "Title + first name" and the subordinate receives first name or khun + "first name". In addition, she finds that in the group of lecturers age is not as important as in the group of janitors when choosing an address term. While the janitors classified people into at least two generations among intimates, the lecturers, who are the most influenced by Western culture, classified people only in the same generation. Her finding of a difference in the age dimension among the two groups is also relevant to the usage of self-reference terms. Age difference affects the usage of self-reference terms in various groups differently.

Tingsabadh and Prasithrathsint (1986) investigate changes in the use of address terms in Bangkok Thai during 200 years of the Rattanakosin (Bangkok) Period. They find that the use of three forms of address, name, pronominal + name, and pronominal, are determined by the degree of "respect" and "intimacy" the speaker expresses toward the addressee. They interpret "respect" as the inverse of Brown and Gilman's power and "intimacy" as similar to their solidarity. However, these two parameters may be not enough to explicate the usage of address terms in Bangkok Thai, and it seems likely that they interact with a further category, such as formality.

Khanittanan (1988) considers politeness in Thai and categorises words referring to listener and speaker in terms of what she refers to as three complex, interacting
dimensions. The first includes a number of features such as sex and the relationship between the speaker and listener and speech setting. Her second dimension involves age and kinship relations. The third relates to social position.

Hoonchamlong (1992) considers the modern usage of phôm and dichán, first person pronouns for male and female speakers. She finds that their distribution is quite different: while dichán has a more restricted use and is normally used in formal situations, phôm can be used both formally and informally even in the family when speaking to elders. She finds that gender distinction is a recent innovation. Due to social change, dichán has gone through a semantic development from a pronoun used by high class men to a first person pronoun used by women and associated with the establishment of new identities for women.

Finally, Truwichien (1985) studies variations in meaning attributed to the forms of address and reference based on questionnaire data from twenty-five respondents. She provides a starting point for a semantic study of variation across individual respondents and variation across individual forms. She describes the repertoire and classification of address and reference terms of the individual respondents. She also presents the meaning that various respondents attribute to each of the seventy forms. Truwichien reports disagreement among respondents, for example, over whether or not certain forms denote "close" or "not close" relationships. This suggests that certain forms are in transition.

To summarize the perspectives of studies of Thai, work related to self-reference in Thai began under the heading of "pronouns" (Upakit-Silapasan, 1953 and Campbell, 1969). Cooke (1968) and Palakornkul (1972) deal with the whole system of person reference. While Cooke (1968) compares Thai, Burmese and Vietnamese, Palakornkul (1972) describes the usage of Thai personal reference in greater detail. Hatton (1978) studies under what circumstances self-reference is specified in written texts. Pumpruk (1982) studies the usage of personal reference among the academic community. Khanittanan (1984) treats interacting variables and finds that the age dimension operates differently between lecturers and janitors. Even though she concentrates on the use of second person address terms, her findings regarding the age dimension also illuminate the study of self-reference terms. Khanittanan (1988) sets out parameters that govern
Chapter I Frame of reference

words referring to listener and speaker. Tingsabadh and Prasitrathsint’s (1986) study is only of indirect relevance here, showing changes took place in the use of address terms in Bangkok Thai over 200 years. Hooncharnlong (1992) gives historical reasons why the distributions of self-reference pronouns phôm and dichán are different. Finally, Truwichien (1985) focuses on variation among person reference terms, including zero anaphora.

1.1.4 Previous comparative studies of self-reference in Japanese and Thai

Kaenjak (1989) is the single comparative study noted dealing inter alia with address and reference in Japanese and Thai. Her research is based on a questionnaire of 87 respondents (Japanese: 41, Thai: 46) and on usage in Japanese and Thai novels. She observes that Japanese do not use same-generation kinship terms (denoting siblings, cousins) or younger-generation kinship terms (denoting children, grandchildren, nieces and nephews) for self-reference or addressee reference. She finds that unlike in Japanese, kinship terms in Thai are used equally for self and addressee reference. She adds, however, that the usage of Th. nóż:ŋ ‘younger sibling’ is found more fictively as self and addressee reference among non-family members than among actual siblings. According to Kaenjak, in addition to power (jooge) and solidarity (shinso kankei) as proposed by Brown and Gilman (1960), the relationship of miuchi ‘in-group’ or gaibu ‘out-group’ is also an important factor in determining the usage of address in Japanese, but not an important factor in Thai. She further cites Palakornkul’s (1972) concepts of phi:nó:ŋkan ‘sibling relationships’ and phû:ankan ‘friendship’ as factors creating intimacy among Thais. Kaenjak points out three main factors that determine the relationship between S and H in Japanese and Thai; Japanese men have to be more sensitive to this relationship than women because they have more pronouns to choose from. The first factor is age. In Japanese age is important primarily if S or H is a child, and not so generally important as in Thai. The second is gender. According to Kaenjak, gender, especially of S, is an important factor both in Japanese and Thai. The third is social position: S’s occupation and rank is important in both Japanese and Thai. However, Kaenjak does not give
definitions of terms such as *me-ue* 'higher status' and *shitashii* 'intimate' used to explain address systems in Japanese and Thai. All of these terms are based on Japanese cultural values, and therefore may not be directly applicable to Thai. She also concentrates more on second than first person reference. For instance, when she compares the usage of rank and names in Japanese and Thai (83-86) she ignores self-reference usage. Even though her data also suggest that there is variation among native speakers, she does not treat this topic in her study.

1.1.5 The importance of research on self-reference in Japanese and Thai

As mentioned earlier, the study of self-reference has been neglected in general linguistics, and it is hoped that this study will offer some contributions to this field. Earlier works on self-reference in both Japanese and Thai treated it largely as an aspect of the syntactic structure of the language. Later, meaning and usage began to be investigated. Fischer (1964) and Suzuki (1971, 1973, 1976) in Japanese and Cooke (1968) and Palakornkul (1972) in Thai expanded the study of self-reference in Thai beyond the scope of pronouns to include other forms of address and reference. However, it is not until Nagura (1992) studied the use of address terms between Japanese spouses and Truwichien (1985) studied address and reference in Thai that forms of address and reference in both languages have been observed in detail showing variation among native speakers. This thesis will provide a further investigation of meaning of self-reference terms and variation across native speakers. This thesis also discusses cross-linguistic comparison, and in particular the comparative study of self-reference in Japanese and Thai.
1.2 **Scope of self-reference in this study**

In this study self-reference is defined as the use of expressions to refer to the speaker. In Japanese and Thai, terms used in self-reference will be categorized into pronouns and nouns. Nouns will be classified semantically into status terms (kinship terms, occupational and positional terms), personal names and other nouns. This thesis is restricted to singular self-reference. It will not treat "we" and deals with plural forms (e.g. Th. rau) only insofar as they are being used in a singular sense.

1.3 **Realization of self-reference**

Furthermore, there are times when speakers can omit self-reference terms in conversation. Both Japanese and Thai are generally characterized by a high degree of ellipsis when compared with English (see Hinds, 1982 for more details of ellipsis in Japanese). Backhouse (1993: 175) explains that there is a widespread principle in Japanese that, broadly speaking, if an element can be understood from the context, it is omitted. He adds that other linguistic means function to reduce the possibilities of vagueness. These means include:

1) verbal trans- or intransitivity;

2) subjective and objective expressions, e.g. in adjectives: urenshii 'I am glad', urenshii soo da '(Someone) looks glad'; and

3) linguistic expressions that incorporate social information and serve to circumscribe reference, e.g. honorifics and verb of giving etc.

(Backhouse, 1993: 177-178).

Similarly Onishi (1994: 362) states that in Japanese there are usually enough other clues for the addressee to know whom the speaker is referring to; one can easily carry on a conversation without using any pronouns.

Palakornkul (1972: 26-29) proposes five situations (four influenced by social factors and one by grammatical factors) where nouns and pronouns in Thai are omitted. Diller (1988: 278) points out that omission of explicit self-reference terms in Thai is not always simply a matter of textual construal and understood information because there are times when none of the available forms is deemed appropriate. Although there seems to
be more research needed in this area, the omission of self-reference is beyond the scope of this thesis.

There are times when self-reference terms in Japanese and Thai need to be specified, to clarify vagueness or for other reasons. This thesis will thus investigate the explicit use of self-reference terms in Japanese and Thai.

1.4 Categories of self-reference in Japanese and Thai

Self-reference terms in Japanese and Thai will be classified into pronouns, status terms, personal names and other nouns.

1.4.1 Pronouns

Pronouns have been defined in different ways. A traditional definition is "a word used as a substitute for a noun or noun phrase" (Schachter, 1985: 25). However, this definition ignores one of the main functions of pronouns, namely indexing or what Lyons (1977) and Levinson (1983) call the "deictic function".

Note that some pronouns, for example, in:

\[ (1) \quad I \text{ was born in London and this/that is where I lived all my life.} \]

can simultaneously be used anaphorically and deictically as pointed out in Lyons (1977: 676). Huddleston (1988: 98 - 99) comments on "anaphora" and "deixis" as follows:

"An expression is used **deictically** when its interpretation is determined in relation to certain features of the utterance-act: the identity of those participating as speaker/writer and addressee, together with the time and place at which it occurs. The reference of \textit{I}, for example, is to whoever fills the participant role of speaker/writer for the utterance containing it. .......... An expression is used **anaphorically** when its interpretation derives from that of an antecedent in the same text. For example, in the natural interpretation of \textit{I asked John to help me but he wouldn't} the pronoun \textit{he} refers to John: it is interpreted thus by virtue of its anaphoric relation to the antecedent \textit{John}.”

However, some linguists have treated anaphora as a subclass of deixis, namely deixis within a text. Levinson's (1983) model of deixis may be diagrammed as follows:

```
\[ \text{Deixis} \]
\[ \text{Person, Place, Time, Social deixis (pointing in reality)} \]
\[ \text{Discourse deixis (pointing in text)} \]
```

24
In this study we deal with pronominal functions which Huddleston treats as deixis and which Levinson treats as person and social deixis.

In Indo-European languages information relating to such categories as case, number, and gender is commonly encoded in pronouns by means of inflection, and inflectional properties have been used to separate pronouns from nouns in traditional grammar. In languages like Japanese and Thai, however, a separate grammatical status for personal pronouns is less clear, as there are no distinguishing inflectional criteria. The pronominal classes in these languages are more noun-like.

To classify all these words clearly into pronoun and noun in these languages is problematic. Some words have both pronominal and nominal properties. For Japanese and Thai, the difference between nouns and pronouns is not clear-cut but is a continuum. In any case, for the purposes of this thesis we do not need to pursue criteria for an absolute distinction.

An attempt to set out the characteristics of prototypical nouns as opposed to prototypical pronouns can be found in Sugamoto (1989: 287). According to Sugamoto (1989) the characteristics of prototypical nouns include:

1. Open class

   The class of nouns is a nonfinite set of words, whereas the class of pronouns is typically a paradigmatic set of a limited number of words.

2. Morphological properties

   Nouns tend to be more constant in form. Unlike nouns, pronouns in English decline for case, and have suppletive forms for different numbers (e.g. subj.: he, obj.: him, poss. his, plu.: they). Japanese pronouns are less pronominal in this respect (Sugamoto, 1989: 269).

3. Semantic properties

   Nouns are a lexical category whose primary function is to name an entity, whereas the primary function of pronouns is to refer to an entity. Therefore, nouns tend to have more specific meaning than pronouns. Among nouns Sugamot shows that the meaning of *seinen* 'young man' is more specific than *otoko* 'man' and *otoko* is more specific than *hito* 'person'. She claims that in this limited semantic aspect of
pronominality, it can be said that *hito* is more pronominal than *otoko*, which is more pronominal than *seinen*. The lexical semantic content of pronouns is limited to some broad features. Thus, *watashi* has no gender feature and it is non-specific in this respect compared to *boku*. *Watashi* can therefore be considered more pronominal than *boku*.

4. Implicational properties

According to Sugamoto (1989: 273) most Japanese pronouns have some sociolinguistic and/or stylistic (e.g. [± formal]), performative (e.g. [± deferential], [± humble]) implications. These implications are in most cases direct or indirect consequences of the words' original nominal meanings. For her *watakushi* is higher in nouniness than *watashi* because *watakushi* has a humble implication.

5. Grammatical number

For languages (e.g. English) where nouns and pronouns are clearly distinguished, noun morphology and pronoun morphology typically differ as regards number marking. For example, there are few languages that form 'we' by adding the regular nominal pluralizer to 'I'. In Japanese the number of a noun is not generally made explicit. It may have a singular or plural interpretation. In English, nouns have their number indicated by the presence or absence of a determiner and the suffixation of a plural morpheme. Pronouns in Japanese and English have lexicalized grammatical number (e.g. *watashi/I*: singular). As a result, unlike nouns, the number of pronouns in Japanese needs to be obligatorily indicated (e.g. *watashi-tachi* - plu.). English has suppletive forms for plural pronouns (e.g. *we, they*).

6. Modifiers

Nouns have the capacity to take modifiers, such as adjectives, deictics, genitives, articles, or relative clauses.

Prototypical pronouns differ from prototypical nouns in respect of all the above criteria. Intermediate cases occur on the continuum. In English pronouns are differentiated according to morphological case while in Japanese and Thai there is no morphology to distinguish nouns and pronouns. Therefore, the situation varies across languages. We agree with Sugamoto (1989) that a noun-pronoun continuum exists. However, if we try to rank all terms according to their degree of nouniness, we will find
that it is very complicated because they do not fall on a straight line continuum as proposed by Sugamoto (1989). The ranking is more complicated. For example, Sugamoto states that watakushi is more pronominal than watashi because watashi has no humble implication. She claims that watashi is also more pronominal than boku because boku has the additional semantic feature of gender while watashi is gender-neutral. Does watakushi then share the same degree of pronominality as boku? As a further example, watashi used by men has implicational properties. Does this mean that watashi used by men is less pronominal compared to watashi used by women? Although there is a need for further study of the characteristics of nouns and pronouns and the noun-pronoun continuum, detailed consideration of this issue is beyond the scope of this thesis.

The main concern of this thesis is to analyse self-reference terms from a sociolinguistic point of view. Having drawn attention to the difficulties of clear classification, in this study we follow Japanese and Thai grammarians' traditional concept of pronouns and will treat the following self-reference terms as singular pronouns: Jp. watakushi, watashi, atakushi, atashi, washi, boku, ore and Th. khā:phacău, klāukraphōm, krāphōm, phōm, ā:ttama(:)pha:p, ā:ttama:, dichān, nū:, rau, chān, khāu, āa, khā:, ku:. We are aware that many of these developed from nouns, and that they may thus preserve some noun-like characteristics. Following the mainstream treatment, we will treat self-reference terms from my data Jp. kotchi, kochira, uchi, jibun and Th. tua-e:n, nī: as nouns. The reason for this is that we agree that they have nominal properties but we notice that at the same time they also function to refer to an entity, a primary characteristic of pronouns. These terms are nouns which are lower in nouniness than prototypical nouns.

a. Pronouns in Japanese

As noted in 1.1.2, the Western concept of pronouns was initially generally accepted by Japanese grammarians. However, there are many differences between Western pronouns and their Japanese counterparts:

1. In Japanese pronouns do not inflect for case.
2. There are no possessive pronouns. In Japanese a genitive particle no is used to

2 See more details of the development of Japanese and Thai pronouns in Chapter 2 section 2.1 and 2.3.
Chapter I Frame of reference

show possession, as in:

(2) watashi no hon
    I poss. book
    'my book'

3. There are no relative pronouns. In Japanese relative clauses are placed directly in front of the noun:

(3) watashi ga katta hon wa doko desu ka
    I subj. bought book top. where cop. quest.
    'Where is the book I bought?'

4. With few exceptions adjectives may not modify pronouns in English:

(4) *unhappy I
(5) *beautiful she

Most examples are found in exclamative expressions:

(6) poor me!
(7) silly me!
(8) lucky you!

However, in Japanese one can say:

(9) fukoona watashi
    unhappy I
    'I, who am unhappy'
(10) kokoroboso watashi
    helpless I
    'I, who am lonely/helpless.'
(11) utskushii kanojo
    beautiful she
    'she, who is beautiful'

5. Whereas personal pronouns may not be modified by demonstrative pronouns in English:

(12) *This I

in Japanese one can say:

(13) kono watashi
    this I

Such differences between the grammatical features of pronouns in Japanese and Indo-European languages may have led Teramura (1982: 60) to claim that there are no pronouns in Japanese. He treats words like watashi 'I' and anata 'you' as nouns and demonstrative words as a separate class of 'indicating words' (shijishi). He proposes that
if the concept of pronoun existed in Japanese only the noun-substitute no should be considered as pronoun (Teramura, 1984: 306):

(14) *sono ookii no o kudasai.*

that big one obj. give

'Please give me that big one'.

(15) *watashi ga hoshii no wa sono ookii no da*

I subj. want one top. that big one cop.

'What I want is that big one.'

His explanation implies that his concept of pronoun is that of a substitute for nouns.

There are some grammatical distinctions between nouns and pronouns in Japanese as pointed out in Hinds (1971: 150-151). Nouns in Japanese do not show distinct forms for singular and plural:

(16) *sensei ga ikimasu*

teacher subj. go

'The teacher is going. / The teachers are going.'

The interpretation depends on the context. However, with pronouns singular and plural are formally distinguished, as noted above:

(17) *boku ga ikimasu*

'I am going.'

(18) *wareware ga ikimasu*

we subj. go

'We are going.'

(19) *boku-tachi ga ikimasu*

I-plu. subj. go

'We will go.'

In short, the singular/plural distinction is inherently expressed in pronouns.

b. Pronouns in Thai

Upakit-Silapasan (1953: 78) in his Thai grammar defines pronouns as words substituting for a name. He calls pronouns *säpphanam,* a quasi-Sanskrit version of *sarvanama* (lit. 'name for everything').

Palakornkul (1972: 34) defines pronouns as

"terms that are used to refer to a sender, receiver of a message or a referent referred to in a message in speech communication."

She classifies pronouns into Personal Pronouns Proper and others. The scope of her "pronouns" is very broad. She notes that there are differences between what she calls Personal Pronouns Proper and other terms that are used "pronominally" such as kinship,
friendship and occupation terms. However, she fails to make clear what her Personal Pronouns Proper are. She explains (1972: 34) that they comprise:

"words which are generally monosyllabic; they have been considered by a number of Thai grammarians as the only pronouns in Thai. This is due to the fact that they have different forms in first, second, and third person with a few exceptions of homophonous forms"

This ignores the fact that pronouns such as rau (1st and 2nd person), khāu (1st and 3rd person), kae (2nd and 3rd person), nū (1st and 2nd person), thā: (2nd and 3rd person) and than (2nd and 3rd person) retain the same form in different persons. In her list of Personal Pronouns Proper there are many words that she also subcategorizes into other categories. For example. attama and attamaphā:p also appear in her category 11. special vocabulary used in speaking to and by monks. Ai, yu:, úa and lū: also appear in category 8. foreign loanwords used as pronouns. Thān, khun, nū:, cāu also appear in her category 9. titles as pronouns.

Panuphong (1983: 64-65) defines pronouns on the basis of distributional criteria as a subclass of nouns:

(20) mā: ma: lā: u
mother come asp.
'Mother came.'

(21) khāu ma: lā: u
he come asp.
'He came.'

She shows that pronouns differ from nouns in that they cannot be modified by adjectives.

(22) dēk ūan mák kin cū
child fat often eat a lot
'A fat child tends to eat a lot.'

(23) *thā: ūan mák kin cū
she fat often eat a lot
'She who is fat tends to eat a lot.'

Not being able to be modified by adjectives is the one main criterion to separate pronouns from nouns in Thai (see also Campbell 1969, Cooke 1968). Hatton (1978: 71) points to number as another grammatical property which distinguishes pronouns from nouns. Whereas nouns in Thai can generally have both singular and plural reference:
(24) khru: ma: lâ:u
    teacher come asp.
    'A/The/T/teacher(s) came/is coming/are coming.'

pronouns will not have plural reference unless they carry an explicit pluralizing word:

(25) phôm ma: lâ:u
    I come asp.
    'I have come.'

(26) phûak phôm ma: lâ:u
group I come asp.
    'We have come.'

However, number is not an adequate general criterion to distinguish nouns from pronouns in Thai. This is because pronouns like raun, khâu and than can have either singular or plural applications.

Another syntactic feature of pronouns is that it is difficult to topicalize object pronouns in sentence-initial position while we can easily topicalize other noun phrases:

(27) khon yâ:ngni: mai mi: khrai chûa
    person this kind neg. have who believe
    'This kind of person, no one believe him/her.'

(28) *phôm mai mi: khrai chûa
    I neg. have who believe
    'I, no one believe me.'
Chapter 1 Frame of reference

1.4.2 Status terms

Status terms are words which denote individuals in terms of their status. They can be divided into kinship terms and occupational and positional terms.

1.4.2.1 Kinship terms

Kinship terms are words expressing a blood relationship. Terms showing a relationship by marriage such as husband and wife will not be treated as kinship terms in this thesis. Concepts commonly used to explain kinship terms are ego, father, mother, generational distance, collateral distance and genealogical distance (cf. Burling, 1970: 22-9).

'Ego' is the speaker or the person focussed on in relation to kinship terms. When we say:

(29) My father died last year,

father expresses a blood relationship with ego who is the speaker. But in

(30) John's father died last year,

father expresses a blood relationship with ego who is John, not the speaker.

'Generational distance': A person who has the same mother and/or father as ego will be considered to belong to ego's generation. Ego's father and mother are first generation above ego. First generation above ego's father or mother is considered as the second generation above ego. A person whose father or mother is ego belongs to the first generation below ego. A person whose father or mother is in the first generation below ego belongs in the second generation below ego. English kinship terms can be diagrammed according to generational distance as follows:

| Second generation above ego | grandfather, grandmother |
| First generation above ego  | father, mother            |
| Ego's generation            | brother, sister           |
| First generation below ego  | son, daughter             |
| Second generation below ego | grandson, granddaughter   |
Chapter I Frame of reference

The generation of other persons is calculated by using his/her father or mother as the centre: the person will be one generation below his/her father or mother. For example, *aunt* will be considered first generation above ego because her father and mother are second generation above ego. This dissertation will be concerned only with the five generations described above.

Collateral distance: Collateral distance expresses the relationship among people in the same generation. People in the same generation having the same mother and/or father will be considered one step apart in collateral distance. Cousins are two steps apart in collateral distance. English kinship terms can be diagrammed according to collateral distance as follows:

\[
\text{ego} \quad \text{---} \quad 1 \text{ step} \quad \text{-------} \quad 2 \text{ steps} \\
\text{ego} \quad \text{---} \quad \text{brother, sister} \quad \text{-------} \quad \text{cousin}
\]

'Genealogical distance' is a combination of generational distance and collateral distance. Any step from ego either in generational distance or collateral distance will be considered one step from ego. English kinship terms can be grouped according to genealogical distance as follows:

\[
\text{ego} \\
\mid \\
\text{one step from ego} \quad \text{father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter} \\
\mid \\
\text{two steps from ego} \quad \text{grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, niece, nephew, grandson, granddaughter, cousin}
\]

This thesis will be concerned only with kinship terms within two steps from ego in genealogical distance.

Concepts that govern the kinship term system in Japanese are

1. Generational distance
2. Collateral distance
3. Gender
4. Seniority

Concepts that govern the kinship term system in Thai are

1. Generational distance
2. Collateral distance
Chapter 1 Frame of reference

3. Genealogical distance

4. Gender

5. Seniority

6. Lineage

a. Kinship terms in Japanese

Kinship terms in Japanese within two steps from ego in genealogical distance are:

otoosan, oyaji (san), papa, chichi 'father'
okaasan, ofukuro (san), mama, haha 'mother'
oniisan, ani, aniki, anchan 'older brother'
oneesan, ane, aneki 'older sister'
otooto (san) 'younger brother'
imooto (san) 'younger sister'
ojiisan, sofu 'grandfather'
obaasan, sobo 'grandmother'
oji (san) 'uncle'
oba (san) 'aunt'
kodomo (san), okosan 'child'
musuko (san), botchan 'son'
musume (san), ojoosan 'daughter'
mago, omagosan 'grandchild'
oi, oigosan 'nephew'
mei, meigosan 'niece'
itoko (san) 'cousin'

The above terms can be divided into two types. Firstly, terms which can be used to refer to other persons' kin: otoosan, oyajisan, okaasan, ofukurosan, oneesan, obasan, obaasan, ojisan, ojijisan, papaji, mama, oniiisan, oneesan, otootosan, imootosan, kodomosan, okosan, musukosan, ojoosan, omagosan, oigosan, meigosan and itokosan; these are mainly terms which have suffix -san, showing respect. Secondly, terms mainly used to refer to one's own kin: chichi, oyaji, haha, ofukurosan, ani, ane, otooto, imooto, sofu, sobo, oji, oba, kodomo, musuko, musume, mago, oi, mei and itoko.
Japanese kinship terms have no maternal or paternal distinctions. Seniority in the same generation is distinguished only in ego's generation one step in lateral distance. Gender distinctions are important: apart from mago, omagosan, kodomo (san) and itoko (san) all terms have gender distinction. The system of Japanese kinship terms can be displayed as in figure 1 (Kinship term diagram conventions in this chapter are adapted from Keesing (1985: 218)). To simplify the diagrams only general terms used in third person reference to a listener's kin are selected for each kinship status.

This thesis will be concerned only with kinship terms which can be used in self-reference. In Japanese, kinship terms referring to persons who are born after ego, i.e. ootoo (san), imooto (san), kodomo (san), musuko (san), musume (san), mago and omagosan cannot be used in this way.
Figure 1: Japanese kinship term system

- Male
- Female
- No sex distinction
- Siblings (older in higher position)
- Married persons
- Parent and child
b. Kinship terms in Thai

Kinship terms in Thai within two steps from ego in genealogical distance are:

- **phɔː, pā:** 'father'
- **mā:** 'mother'
- **phi:** 'older brothers and older sisters'
- **nɔːŋ:** 'younger brothers and younger sisters'
- **pù:** 'paternal grandfather'
- **yā:** 'paternal grandmother'
- **ta:** 'maternal grandfather'
- **yaːi:** 'maternal grandmother'
- **luŋ:** 'father/mother's older brother'
- **pā:** 'father/mother's older sister'
- **a:** 'father's younger brother/sister'
- **nā:** 'mother's younger brother/sister'
- **lùːk:** 'child'
- **lāːn:** a person in a younger generation who is two steps removed from ego in genealogical distance:
  1. 'niece or nephew'
  2. 'grandchild'

Some terms in the generation above ego incorporate lineage distinctions. Kinship terms in Thai are sensitive to birth-time rank. In the first and second generations above ego, kin one step removed in collateral distance are distinguished by birth-time rank. Sex distinctions are found with persons who are born before ego's father and mother but not in persons who are born after them: there are no gender distinctions in basic terms for persons in ego's generation and the generation below. However, we can make such distinctions by adding the suffixes -sāːu for females and -chaːi for males. Interestingly, terms for persons two steps in genealogical distance below ego share the same form: lāːn. That is to say, 'grandchild' and 'niece/nephew' are denoted by the same word in Thai. Less
information is encoded in kinship terms for persons who are born after ego. The system of Thai kinship terms can be displayed as in figure 2.

In Thai all kinship terms except \( \text{lu:k-phi-:lu:k-nö:t} \) can be used in self-reference. This term will therefore be excluded from our study.
Chapter 1 Frame of reference

Figure 2: Thai kinship term system

- Male
- Female
- No sex distinction
- Siblings (older in higher position)
- Married persons
- Parent and child
Chapter I Frame of reference

From my questionnaire and informant data two other systems of kinship terms have been found. One system is used among Chinese Thai and the other is used among Malay Thai (see further details in 3.1.1.5).

1.4.2.2 Occupational and positional terms

Non-kinship terms are mainly occupational terms (showing what people do for a living), and a few are positional terms (showing role relationship to the listener). In Thai and Japanese these terms are employed in reference to first, second and third persons, although use in self-reference is the most limited.

a. Occupational and positional terms in Japanese

These are occupational terms. Occupational terms used for self-reference in Japanese are child-oriented. That is to say, one can use occupational terms in self-reference when one talks to children or treats one's listeners as children. The occupational terms which will be discussed in this dissertation are sensei 'teacher', oishasan 'doctor' and omawarisang 'policeman'.

b. Occupational and positional terms in Thai

The use of non-kinship terms in Thai is not child-oriented. Female peddlers can refer to themselves as mò:kha 'female peddler' to an elderly person. Non-kinship terms which are used in self-reference are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khru:</td>
<td>'teacher'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A:ca:n</td>
<td>'teacher'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Má:tso:</td>
<td>'male teacher in Catholic school for boys'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mít</td>
<td>'female teacher in Catholic school for girls'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bra:dá:</td>
<td>'Catholic brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sístá:</td>
<td>'Catholic sister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó:</td>
<td>'doctor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phaya:ba:n</td>
<td>'nurse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prá:çâu:yù:hùa</td>
<td>'king'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phe:sát</td>
<td>'pharmacist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Châng</td>
<td>'craftsman'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter I Frame of reference

$m\ddot{e}:kh\dot{a}$ 'female peddler or small business merchant'

$na:i$ 'boss'

$yo:m$ 'one who supports a monk'

4.3.1 Personal names in Japanese

1. Family names

Japanese use family names, not given names, in addressing non-intimate persons. Women are commonly addressed by friends or by their given name. Keiko-sensei etc. However, men are more commonly addressed with family names than women, even by friends. According to Japanese law, married people generally use the same family name; therefore, a wife has to change her family name to that of her husband or vice versa. The father's name is the general practice in Japan. A child is given their parents' family name.

2. Given names

Given names are mainly used within the family circle. Outside the family, given names can be used among close friends.

3. Nicknames

Nicknames are used to show intimacy and are used in informal situations.

There are two kinds of nicknames in Japanese:

3.1 Modified names

Three different types must be distinguished from a morphological standpoint:

A. Constructed given names:

- Miss
- Miss
- Miss

Four
1.4.3 Personal names

There are three kinds of personal names in Japanese and Thai. The first are family names (or surnames). One inherits one's family name from one's parents and shares it with one's brothers and sisters. The second kind of personal names are given names. Given names are given as an individual name to each family member. The third kind of personal names are nicknames. Nicknames are used in informal situations. The word order of given and family name in Thai is the same as in English: Phânida: ThamsoIJsana, while in Japanese it is reversed: Takebayashi Kazushi.

1.4.3.1 Personal names in Japanese

1. Family names

Japanese use family names, not given names, in addressing non-intimate persons. Women are commonly addressed by friends by their given name: Keikosan etc. However, men are more commonly addressed with family names than women, even by friends. According to Japanese law a married couple must have the same family name, therefore, a wife has to change her family name to that of her husband or vice versa. The former is the general practice in Japan. A child is automatically given his/her parents' family name.

2. Given names

Given names are mainly used within the family circle. Outside the family circle given names can be used among close persons.

3. Nicknames

Nicknames are used to show intimacy and are used in informal situations only. There are two kinds of nicknames in Japanese.

3.1 Modified names

Three different types must be distinguished from a morphological standpoint:

A. Contracted given names:

\[ \text{Masa} \quad \text{from} \quad \text{Masayoshi etc.} \]
\[ \text{Tomo} \quad \text{from} \quad \text{Tomokazu etc.} \]
Chapter 1 Frame of reference

B. Modified given names:

- Akko from Atsuko etc.
- Matchi from Masahiko etc.

Some of these cannot stand alone but must be followed by the diminutive suffix-\textit{chan}:

- Kat-chan from Kazushi, Katsuko etc.
- Maa-chan from Mamiko, Masae, Masako, Mayumi, Munemasa etc.
- Hii-chan from Hiroko, Hisako etc.
- Kaa-chan from Kayoko etc.
- Kii-chan from Kiyoko etc.
- Mii-chan from Mieko, Midori etc.
- Noo-chan from Nobuo, Nozomi etc.
- Chii-chan from Chiemi etc.
- Non-chan from Noriko etc.

A few will be longer than given names and are not common:

- Miporin from Miho
- Yuumin from Yumi
- Yukki from Yuki

Another method of modification is to change the native Japanese readings (\textit{kun-yomi}) of the Chinese characters (\textit{kanji}) into Sino-Japanese readings (\textit{on-yomi}) or vice versa:

- Shooei from Masahide etc.
- Buu-chan from Takeshi etc.
- Shoo-chan from Teruo etc.
- Gan-chan from Iwao etc.
- Megu-chan from Keiko etc.

C. Contracted family names

Short names contracted from given names followed by the diminutive suffix -\textit{chan} (\textit{Katchan}, etc.) carry the meaning of a special relationship (such as that of lovers), unless they are used by persons who knew this person when s/he was
very young e.g. childhood playmates (osananajimi). People who want to show that they
know this person well may use short family names:

- **Take (san or chan)** from Takebayashi
- **Kusa (chan)** from Kusanagi
- **Maru (chan)** from Maruyama
- **Nomi (san)** from Oonomi

The above forms show some degree of intimacy through using the shortened form and
the diminutive suffix -chan but also keep some distance by using family names, not given
names. Short family names are not used in self-reference.

Names used in self-reference will not be followed by the honorific -san; however, they can be followed by the diminutive -chan and kinship terms:

(31) **Chot chan iku**
Chot dim. go
'I will go.'

(32) **Kakko obachan ni choodai**
Kakko auntie dat. give
'Give it to me.'

3.2 Nicknames which are not based on names

An example of these names are: **Pu:san, Buta**, used to refer to fat persons. Most are names of animals or express/denote personal characteristics.

Japanese uses nicknames in two different ways.

1. Affectionate (aishoo)

These are used to express the speaker's good feeling toward the name's owner. They are mainly modified names; however, nicknames which are not based on names can also be used to show good feeling.

2. Deprecatory (adana)

Nicknames which are not based on names are mainly used to express deprecatory meaning towards the name's owner. Because of this they are not generally used in self-reference.


Chapter 1 Frame of reference

1.4.3.2 Personal names in Thai

1. Family names (naːmsakun)

Family names in Thai are a relatively new concept. Thai persons were first obliged to have family names in 1913. Family names are not normally used in address and cannot be used in self-reference; therefore, Thai family names will be excluded from this thesis.

2. Given names (chû: )

Given names can be used in address but seldom occur in self-reference. However, one-syllable first names such as nát can have the same pragmatic level as nicknames, and can be used in self-reference.

3. Nicknames (chû: lèn)

Nowadays many persons have long first names based on Sanskrit, and nicknames are widely used. Nicknames are used to show intimacy and in informal situations only. There are three kinds of nicknames. All except deprecatory nicknames show good feeling to a name's owner. Nicknames are mainly monosyllabic.

3.1 Contracted given names

First names can be shortened to one-syllable nicknames:

- cintana: can be shortened to cin
- wîcitra
- wiːrawan
- wɔːrawút
- rótsalin
- chalɔːmkhwăn

3.2 Special names

A special name is given to a person usually by parents or grandparents (sometimes by friends during childhood or colleagues in the workplace). This name is not related to given or family names and normally is a one-syllable word. Examples of popular groups of this type are words meaning 'small': nît, nɔi, nɔi, lék, cîu, cɔi, tît, tîu, and some kinds of animal: mæːu 'cat', kɔp 'frog', mû: 'pig', nôk 'bird', pu: 'crab', kwaːŋ 'deer', mî: 'bear', sûa 'tiger', kûŋ 'prawn'. English words which have been adapted in
Thai as male names include O (letter of alphabet), boy, golf, bird, ball; as female names: Ann, apple\(^4\), as unisex names: A, B and C (letters of alphabet). These have recently gained popularity as special names.

3.3 Deprecatory nicknames

Deprecatory nicknames express a deprecatory meaning to the name’s owner. Because of this they are not generally used in self-reference or in second person address. An example of Thai names of this type are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\hat{a}i & \quad \hat{l}a:n \\
\text{fellow bald}
\end{align*}
\]

1.4.3.3 The scope of personal names in this thesis

This thesis will be concerned only with names used in self-reference. Deprecatory names in Japanese and Thai, and Thai family names will thus be excluded.

1.4.4 Other nouns


\[\]
1.5 Parameters that govern self-reference usage

Attributes involved in the usage of self-reference terms used in this study are

a. Japanese

1. Basic parameters

(i) Gender (sei)  (ii) Age (nenrei)  (iii) Kinship (shinzokukankei)  (iv) Occupation (shokugyoo)

2. Dependent parameters

(i) Power (joogekankei)  (ii) Refinement (teineisa)  (iii) Intimacy (shitashisa)

3. Situational parameters

(i) Formality (aratamari)  (ii) Emotional switch (kimochi no henka)  (iii) Overhearer presence (daisansha no sonzai)

b. Thai

1. Basic parameters

(i) Gender (pê:thê)  (ii) Age (a:yû)  (iii) Kinship (khwa:m-pen-yâ:t)  (iv) Occupation (a:chi:p)

(v) Ethnicity (chû:achá:t)

2. Dependent parameters

(i) Power (amnâ:t)  (ii) Refinement (suphâ:p)  (iii) Intimacy (sanit)

3. Situational parameters

(i) Formality (pen-tha:g-ka:n)  (ii) Emotional switch (pli:an a:rom)  (iii) Overhearer presence (mi:-biikon-thî:-sâ:m)

(iv) Personal Engagement (pen-sàun-tua)

The attributes have been categorized into three groups: 1. basic parameters 2. dependent parameters and 3. situational parameters. Basic parameters are permanent or long-term attributes of an individual that are subject to relatively objective modes of identification. Dependent and situational parameters are used in this thesis in the senses discussed below.

5 Thai terms are not necessarily nouns as their English counterparts are. Some may be adjectives. They are approximate equivalents, not absolute.
Chapter 1 Frame of reference

1.5.1 Basic parameters

Basic attributes are mutually independent. Attributes that a person obtains by birth are gender, age, ethnicity and kinship relationships that people are born with. Acquired attributes are occupation (e.g. monk, teacher) and some kinship relationships (e.g. as a father). Basic parameters have some effect on other parameters, and these relationships will be discussed below.

1.5.1.1 Gender

Trudgill (1974: 78) writes:

"It is known from linguistic research that in many societies the speech of men and women differs."

He discusses sex difference in various languages including a Thai example of how gender differentiation extends to the first person pronoun (Trudgill 1974: 82). He writes:

"...it seems that the larger and more inflexible the difference between the social roles of men and women in a particular community, the larger and more rigid the linguistic differences tend to be. .. Different social attributes, and different behaviour, is expected from men and women, and sex varieties are a symbol of this fact." (1974: 88-89)

He adds that society lays down different roles for men and women, and that men and women therefore speak as they do because they feel a particular kind of language to be appropriate to their gender (Trudgill, 1974: 95).

Some self-reference terms can be used by males or females only. The gender of the addressee also affects the usage of self-reference: there is linguistic evidence to suggest that Thai males show gentleness to intimate female rather than to intimate male friends.

In this study we treat gender in a traditional way, i.e. in terms of a sharp distinction between biological gender. However, we are aware of more complicated problems because gender seems in many instances to interact, for example, with class. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) have challenged several assumptions common in gender and language studies: that gender can be isolated from other aspects of social identity and relations, that gender has the same meaning across communities, etc. In this study we have found evidence that sexuality (homosexuality and heterosexuality) affects self-reference decisions both in Japanese and Thai (see 2.2.7 and 2.4.10).
Chapter 1 Frame of reference

1.5.1.2 Age

There are two age dimensions that govern self-reference usage: 1. speaker age 2. listener age.

1. Speaker age

When a speaker is a child s/he will use child language. This kind of language can continue until the speaker is adult but this generally occurs when s/he talks to a person with whom s/he has been very close since childhood, as for example, to his/her parents.

It cannot be generalized until what age a person is still considered a child. This varies among persons and cultures. A Japanese regards a person as a child until s/he is about 13 or having finished primary school. Status as a junior high school student strongly encourages the adult image. Junior high school in Japan is compulsory and students wear a uniform distinguished from primary school. The official definition of an adult in Japan is at the age of 20, when people gain the right to vote and are allowed to drink and smoke. This is marked by an annual ceremony called *seijin-shiki*, held on 15 January, a national holiday.

A Thai person regards a person as a child until s/he is about 15-19. There are two main legal regulations associated with age. The first concerns titles. The legal title *dékcha:i* 'boy' and *dékying* 'girl' are changed to *na:i* 'Mr' and *na:nsǎːu* 'Miss' on the first of January in the year they turn fifteen. The second concerns legal adult status (*nitiphaːwǎ*). In the normal case a person will have adult status (*nitiphaːwǎ*) after s/he turns twenty, and gain the right to vote and to make legal contracts. The legal age distinguishing children and adults is controversial. Voting age becomes an issue almost every time the constitution is drafted or amended. It seems that there are two groups of people: the first group prefers the age of 18 for the right to vote; the other group prefers the age of 20.

In Thai *dék* 'child' is also used in a relative sense. A fifty year-old professor may consider a 30 year old lecturer *dék*. Undergraduate students are often referred to as *dék* both by university staff and by postgraduate students. Independence is also a factor in judging adultness. A 14 year-old boy who relies on his parents (e.g. lives with his parents) and still goes to school may be considered a child. In contrast, a second 14 year-
old boy who works and gives money to his parents may receive treatment as an adult. This may affect the self-reference terms he uses and the self-reference terms with which he is addressed.

2. Listener age

Another dimension of age is listener age. When the listener is a child, a speaker may use child-oriented self-reference terms. There are also some self-reference terms, for example Jp. *watakushi*, Th. *dichán* and Th. *àttama*; which will not be used to a child.

### 1.5.1.3 Kinship

Position in a kinship hierarchy can affect the usage of self-reference. Kinship status can be obtained by birth (e.g. younger sibling, son, grandchild) or acquired later in life (e.g. father, older sibling, aunt/uncle, grandparent) (see Burling, 1970 for discussion of kinship terminology); see also 1.4.2.1.

### 1.5.1.4 Occupation

Persons in some occupations have their own self-reference terms. These can be special pronouns or overt occupational terms. Occupation also refers to a position in an inherently hierarchical structure. In Thailand Buddhist monks have a special place in society. They are supposed to be respected. They are treated differently from lay people. They have no rights to vote and are exempted from the military draft if they have acquired specified qualifications. There are 227 rules for them to observe. Monks have special self-reference pronouns used to lay people. However, in monastic society they use the same rules of self-reference usage as lay people when they talk among themselves. Japanese monks do not have special reference pronouns in modern colloquial Japanese.

Japanese formerly had a special first pronoun for the rank of Emperor, namely *chin*, but this is no longer used. The Thai King's usage of self-reference terms differs from that of commoners (see p. 102, footnote 6).

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6 Approximately twenty-seven of these no longer apply. Some are not applicable in modern times and nine rules are not prototypical rules because no punishment is set when the rules are broken (Buddhadasa, 1986 a: 174).
Chapter 1 Frame of reference

1.5.1.5 Ethnicity

Trudgill (1974: 53) writes that although there is no inherent or necessary link between language and race, it remains true that in many cases language may be an important or even essential concomitant of ethnic-group membership. He explains that the connection between language and ethnic group may be a simple one of habitual association, reinforced by social barriers between the groups, where language is an important identifying characteristic (Trudgill, 1974: 53).

In Thai some speakers of Chinese (Chaozhou) and Malay origin speak Thai with native competence but their Thai reflects the influence of their ancestral language. Chinese Thais use many Chinese-origin words but some of their Chinese words are pronounced differently from the source items and some usages are different from Chinese (see Khanittanan, n.d. for more details of Chinese loanwords in Thai). For example, when they use Chinese-origin kinship terms for self-reference, they apply Thai rules rather than Chinese rules. Thus a Chinese Thai uncle calls himself kū: to his nieces and nephew in the same way as nā: is used in Thai, whereas when talking to nieces and nephews (especially adult) in Chinese pronominal ūa would be used. This usage, however, is restricted to Chinese-background interlocutors, and this holds in general for ethnic group differences in Thai.

The reason why the words "Chinese-background" or "Malay-background" are used instead of Chinese or Malay in this study is that we would like to include members of later generations and also persons who may have one parent from another ethnic background.

From my data there is no evidence of self-reference usage affected by ethnicity in Japanese.

1.5.2 Dependent parameters

Dependent parameters refer to attributes which depend on basic parameters. Basic and dependent parameters are thus seen as interacting, not as mutually exclusive. Dependent parameters in this study are power, intimacy and refinement.
Chapter 1 Frame of reference

1.5.2.1 Power

What is power? Brown and Gilman (1960: 306) explain that:

"One person may be said to have power over another in the degree that he is able to control the behavior of the other. Power is a relationship between at least two persons, and it is nonreciprocal in the sense that both cannot have power in the same area of behavior."

They suggest that the bases of power are several, such as physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutionalized role in the church, the state, the army, or within the family. It seems likely that the power semantic can be considered as universal. However, the bases of power vary in different cultures.

In Japanese, the bases of power that govern self-reference usage include:

1. Speaker and listener's age difference: the older person has more power.

In self-reference usage in Japanese and Thai, age difference has to be acknowledged. There is evidence that age difference affects power-associated self-reference decisions somewhat differently in Japanese and Thai (see Chapter 5). Kaenjak (1989) observes that in Thai this is an important factor in determining address usage while in Japanese age is important primarily only to the extent that speaker and listener are children or adult.

2. Social position.

A person of high position, e.g. the president of a company or a cabinet minister, has more power than his/her subordinates. Occupation can thus be one factor in determining power. According to Ide (1982) professors, teachers, doctors, lawyers, politicians as well as high-ranking members of government agencies and leading corporations are socially recognized as powerful in Japan. A person of noble family background can be considered higher in power. The Emperor, his family and the extended royal family are considered as the best families (Ide, 1982). Wealth is one attribute of social position. A person who has more money and/or property has more power. A person who is in the role of supplying money such as a customer usually has power over a merchant (Ide, 1982). When it is not known whether people have high social position or not, some Japanese may judge from belongings, for example, what kind of house they live in (e.g. a house with a garden) or what kind of clothes they wear. Speakers may differ as to what they regard as giving higher prestige. A person from a
noble family may regard himself as higher than a richer person from a lower class background. In Japanese relative seniority/length of service (e.g. *sempai/koohai* in a company) may contradict age and will take priority in governing language usage.

In Thai, the speaker-listener age factor essentially resembles the Japanese situation above, as do many considerations regarding occupation. A monk is higher in power than a lay person. Higher education leads to high prestige positions. A Ph.D. holder has a higher social position than an M.A. holder. A person of noble family background (*phū:di*), for example, a descendant of the royal family or a high ranking official in the former absolute monarchy system or a person who has been decorated with a title of honour, can be considered higher in power.

Similarly to Japanese, wealth is one attribute of social position. A person who has more money and/or property has more power. When it is not known whether a person has high social position or not, Thais may judge from a person's belongings, for example, what kind of clothes the person wears or what kind of car s/he uses. As with Japanese, speakers may differ as to what they regard as higher prestige. A person in a high position such as a provincial governor may be regarded as higher than a richer person. Sometimes conflicts occur between the power of money and the power of authority. Relative speaker/listener differentials in an institutionally-defined framework, for example monk/lay, teacher (lecturer)/student, government official/client, senior/junior in an educational hierarchy (school, college and university but not at graduate level), create power differences. In graduate school, where there are more chances that age can conflict with school year, age seems to carry priority for power.

Traditionally Thai speakers regard a person with moral goodness (*khun ga:m khwa:mdi*) as occupying a high prestige position. Mulder (1992: 18-19) give examples of goodness in Thai culture as:

(i) the self-sacrificing attachment of a mother to her children;

(ii) the considerable self-sacrifice for the good of his pupils by the teacher;

(iii) pure virtue in the Buddhist sense that lies beyond the human order of passion and prejudice (*kile:t*)
All of these examples share one common characteristic: that a person who displays moral goodness does not require any return. However, the recipient is obliged to acknowledge bunkhun (gratitude) towards figures of moral goodness. Such profound bunkhun relationships are expressed in honouring parents, elders, and teachers etc. (see Mulder, 1992: 19-21 for moral goodness in Thai symbolic representations). In modern society materialism has made rapid inroads in Thailand (Mulder, 1992: 132). Often clashing with consumerism and materialism, virtue in a Buddhist sense is seen as carrying lesser prestige in the eyes of many Thais. However, the concept of bunkhun still plays an important role in modern Thai society. Recipients regard persons who have goodness or usefulness towards them as greater in power. Bunkhun seems to fit within the culture of consumerism and materialism. If a person receives something from someone or receives a favour, s/he has to return it or if s/he wants something from a particular person s/he will give that person something or will do a favour expecting to receive what s/he wants in return.

There are non-verbal "kinesic signals" that correlate with what we are calling power. People are not treated as equals in Japanese and Thai societies. It has been found that a person with less power will usually show respect kinesically to a person who has more power. A Japanese will bow to show respect to a person higher in power when they meet. A lower person tends to bow first and to a lower degree than the higher one. Gakken (1987: 109) says:

"The angle at which the head is lowered indicates the degree of politeness of the bow."

A Thai person will wā:i bowing his/her head and put his/her hands together on the chest to show respect to a person higher in power (see Cooper and Cooper, 1982: 2-8, Horie, 1991: 100-101, Kummer, 1992: 325-326 for more details of wā:i). Cooper and Cooper (1982: 2) explain:

"The wai may be thought of as a respect continuum. The lower the head comes down to meet the thumbs of both hands, pressed palms together and held finger upwards, the more respect is shown."

A Thai monk does not wā:i any lay person, even the king, whereas a Japanese monk may give a bow before the emperor does or may bow to a lower degree than the
Chapter 1 Framework of reference

emperor. Judging from this greeting, we may conclude that monks in Thai society are placed in a special group higher than in Japanese society.

In self-reference terms the power difference is expressed through humility encoded in some terms, i.e. putting the speaker below the listener (e.g. Jp. watakushidomo, Th. nū; etc.). Some self-reference terms such as Jp. watakushi and Th. klaukraphôm carry the meaning that H is higher in power than S.

1.5.2.2 Refinement

Refinement here refers to the level of language from LOW to HIGH. Using language from the HIGH level of refinement is one way of expressing politeness.

Brown and Levinson's (1987) principles of politeness (which they claim to be universal) rely mainly on the abstract notion of "face" and "face threatening act". However, Ide (1989) shows that in Japanese, politeness is employed even where neither the speaker's nor the addressee's "face" has anything to do with the utterance, unless the concept of "face" is broadened considerably beyond normal usage. And this is also true for Thai. In what are apparently non-face threatening situations, such as would be normal for the following Thai sentence:

(33) phôm ca păi yîpûn duan nā: khrâp
I will go Japan next month defr.
'I will go to Japan next month.'

a polite self-reference pronoun phôm and a polite particle khrâp are used. Ide (1989: 225) defines polite language as

"the language usage associated with smooth communication, realized 1) through the speaker's use of intentional strategies to allow his or her message to be received favorably by the addressee, and 2) through the speaker's choice of expressions to conform to the expected and/or prescribed norms of speech appropriate to the contextual situation in individual speech communities."

Matsumoto (1989) points out that Brown and Levinson neglect the importance of social context. She states that Brown and Levinson's discussion of politeness, and especially their concept of "negative face", is not a promising foundation for a description of Japanese conversational practice. Matsumoto (1989: 218) says:

"To be accepted in the society or in the group, it is likely that a Japanese has to acknowledge his/her understanding of the situation and of the relation
among the conversational participants and must indicate that understanding by
the choice of appropriate honorifics and **speech level**." (my emphasis)

One way of being polite (using strategies according to prescribed forms) is to use
a **HIGH** level of language. Speech level plays the major role in determining politeness in
Thai and Japanese. Diller (1985: 52) says

"........there is really no absolute high-low bifurcation of Thai into two
discrete languages or styles (and this appears to be the case at least for Greek
as well). On the other hand, virtually any native speaker of Thai can quite
effortlessly classify a great range of phonological, lexical and even syntactic
material in the language, including paired variants, into 'relatively higher' and
'relatively lower' categories."

In Japanese the situation appears to be like Thai. Speakers have to choose a high
or low form in the continuum scale according to their mood and their topic or whom they
are talking to (see Martin, 1964 on speech levels in Japanese). When a person talks to
someone whose power is greater than the speaker's, a very polite form of Japanese or
'high Japanese' is required.

**HIGH** and **LOW** language in this thesis are different from Ferguson's (1959)
concept of high and low in diglossia. It is not a question of separate levels but of a
continuum of language, and only certain parts of the language (for example some
vocabulary items) have variant forms. **HIGH** level language in this thesis can thus occur in
ordinary conversation, whereas Ferguson's (1959: 245) high language is not used by any
sector of the community for ordinary conversation. For the purpose at hand our intention
is to classify only the language level of self-reference terms. The approach taken here is
to distinguish degrees of politeness by reference to sets of typical situations that speakers
would tend to agree could be distinguished in terms of politeness variables. These
situations, in turn, are closely linked to normal selection patterns involving self-reference
terms as well as certain speech-act particles and other linguistic markers. Interestingly,
this approach leads to a slight difference in the details of scaling in Japanese and Thai,
requiring the recognition of some extra subcategorizations for Thai. In both Japanese and
Thai there are three levels: **"HIGH"**, **"MIDDLE"** and **"LOW"**. The basis for the classification is
determined by speakers' judgements (see also Ide's (1982) slightly different classification
of Japanese first person pronouns).
Chapter 1 Frame of Reference

a. Japanese

1. Level "LOW" is determined by whether the item can be used to convey anger when people are quarrelling. This is because one way to insult people is to put addressees down by using LOW words. Terms which non-intimate persons (S is same or lower than H) will not otherwise use will be classified in this level. Terms at this level cannot be used in formal speaking.

Words of this level normally co-occur with sentence-final predicates in the plain form and cannot occur with the hyperpolite form -degozaimasu. Native speakers often refer to this level of language as kitanai 'ugly', or gehin 'low class'.

2. Level "MIDDLE" is a level which is not as refined as the HIGH level and does not fall into LOW level. A Japanese person normally acquires MIDDLE level language before HIGH level.

Words at this level can co-occur with sentence-final predicates in both the plain and -desu-/masu forms but cannot occur with the hyperpolite form -degozaimasu.

3. Level "HIGH" is determined by whether it can be used to a person greater in power. Terms which persons use in formal speaking will fall in this level. Intimate persons will not use HIGH forms in informal settings.

HIGH words can occur with the humble plural suffix -domo and can occur with the hyperpolite form -degozaimasu. Chapter 2 will discuss findings relating to the use of HIGH self-reference terms. Native speakers often refer to this level of language as kirei 'beautiful', joohin 'high class' senren sareta 'refined', teinei 'polite' or keigo 'polite language'. Table 3 shows how speakers of Japanese classify self-reference pronouns by level.
Chapter I Frame of reference

Table 3: Levels of refinement in Japanese self-reference pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refinement</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>watakushi</td>
<td>watakushi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>watashi</td>
<td>atakushi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDDLE</td>
<td>boku</td>
<td>watashi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>atashi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>washi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Thai

1. Level "LOW" is determined by usage in the expression of anger, for instance, when people are quarrelling. In addition, forms classified as "LOW" would not normally be used to higher-status persons or to non-intimates, at least as surveyed in this study (see Chapter 2). Thai informants mentioned that if forms associated with this level were spoken to a policeman, the policeman might fine the speaker. The subcategorization of "very LOW" is probably warranted for Thai because informants agree that there is a level distinction relevant for the two LOW forms ku: and khâ:, with the former classified as the lower. In situations where LOW words are not welcomed, e.g. in TV drama/film, ku: is often replaced by khâ:.

Words at this level can co-occur with the speech-act particle wá, a particle described by Cooke (1989:27) as unrestrained or coarse or familiar; they also may convey aggressiveness or anger. LOW words will not be used with the polite marker khráp/khâ. Native speakers refer to items of this level as khamyà:p 'rude words', phà:sä:-pà:k 'mouth language', phà:sä:-talà:t 'market language' or phà:sä:-cha:u-bà:n 'villager language'. Some refer to it as tâm 'low'.

2. Level "MIDDLE"

For this study, the level "MIDDLE" is defined essentially by default. This is the level informants report as not being so high as "HIGH", but higher than "LOW". MIDDLE level words are not high enough to be used in formal speech. However, unlike LOW words, they are safe to be used in the presence of higher power overhearers without offending them.
3. Level "HIGH"

Terms that an announcer or host on television or radio will use will be classified as "HIGH". HIGH words can be used to higher persons. Terms which persons will use in formal speaking will fall into this level.

Words at this level can co-occur with the polite marker khráp/khā. HIGH words will not occur with the particle wá. They can be subcategorized because all informants agree that the longer and fuller terms are appropriately used in situations typically characterized as "HIGHER" than situations appropriate for the shorter forms. That is to say klah:uktaphom is HIGHER than kraphom which is HIGHER than phom and à:ttama(:)phâ:p is HIGHER than à:ttama. Native speakers often refer to this level of language as sü: 'high', or pha:sä:-phû:di: 'high class people language'. Some refer to it as pha:sä:haŋka:n 'formal language' or pha:sä:-klh:an/nâjsû: 'written language'. Table 4 shows how speakers of Thai classify self-reference pronouns by level.
### Table 4: Levels of refinement in Thai self-reference pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refinement</th>
<th>Self-reference terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>khā:phacāu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>klā:ukraphōm</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kraphōm</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>à:ttama(:)phā:p</td>
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<td></td>
<td>phōm</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>à:ttama:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>dichán</td>
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<tr>
<td>MIDDLE</td>
<td>nū:</td>
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<td>rau</td>
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<td>ûa</td>
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<td>LOW</td>
<td>ûa</td>
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<td>khā:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ku:</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Tables 3 and 4 show that both in Thai and Japanese the morphological form of self-reference items correlates with Haiman's (1985: 151) iconicity principle, which states that the more polite the register, the longer the message.

#### 1.5.2.3 Intimacy

Wierzbicka (1991: 105) defines intimacy as follows:

"Intimacy refers to a readiness to reveal to some particular persons some aspects of one's personality and of one's inner world that one conceals from other people; a readiness based on personal trust and on personal 'good feeling'."

In Japanese notions of social intimacy or closeness are expressed by shitashii 'intimate' or naka ga ii 'get on well with' and in Thai by sanit 'intimate'.

The term "intimacy" refers to a continuum stretching from intimate or close to non-intimate, non-close or distant. In this study the term is used in a rather inclusive
sense which allows coverage of concepts represented both by Jp. shitashii and by Th. 
*sanit*, as used in the questionnaires and interviews. The required meaning would be close 
to the formulation provided Wierzbicka above. Note that in other works "intimacy" may 
be used in various more restricted senses.

In Thai and Japanese there are two types of social intimacy. The first is intimacy 
that is assumed in the culture as compulsory in a social relationship. The other is intimacy 
that is not assumed as compulsory in the relationship. Although both Thai and Japanese 
share the same concept of these two types of intimacy, they vary in the assumptions as to 
which relationships require intimacy as compulsory.

a. Japanese

Japanese speakers interviewed in the present study were able to describe certain 
relationships effortlessly using the term shitashii which in some cases might be translated 
as 'intimate' and in others as 'close'. However, in other cases they reported a close 
relationship which could not be described by this word since intimacy was seen as 
necessary.

Speakers reported that it was incorrect or inappropriate to use shitashii in the 
following relationships because it *must* exist in the relationship:

(i) parents-children
(ii) husband-wife
(iii) grandparents-grandchildren
(iv) siblings
(v) lovers

In relationships of the five types above it is assumed that all the basic attributes of 
intimacy are present. Therefore, Japanese speakers do not say that a husband and his 
wife are shitashii to each other. However, other relatives are not be placed in this 
category. An aunt can be shitashii to her niece. In Japanese we can say:

(34) *Katchan to obasan wa shitashi-soo ne*  
*Katchan and aunt top. close seem illoc.*  
'Katchan seems very close to her aunt, doesn’t she.'

*Shitashii* is similar to the other term *naka ga ii*, but the two can be distinguished. 
Thus the above five types of relationship can be described by *naka ga ii* 'get on well
with' Unlike shitashii, naka ga ii conveys the nuance that persons get on well with one another and often do things together such as in relationships between colleagues. It does not necessarily show that they are close in private life. Apart from the five relationships mentioned above, intimacy is not regarded as compulsory. For example, a student can be shitashii 'intimate/close' or not to his/her teacher.

b. Thai

In a similar way, Thai speakers interviewed in this study reported that some relationships can be readily characterised as sanit or not sanit, while in other cases the distinction is not an appropriate or relevant one to make. Thus for the following relationships, Thai speakers tended to report that the sanit 'intimate/close' characterization was assumed and was therefore inappropriate to assert:

(i) husband-wife
(ii) lovers

In these relationships it is assumed that the couple must be sanit, and it would not be apt to state this overtly.

In a relationship where intimacy is not assumed, Thai speakers can say that A and B are sanit or not sanit. Outside the above relationships, intimacy is not regarded as compulsory. Parents and children, for example can be sanit or not sanit.

The next point is how intimacy is expressed in each culture. For Japanese, it is useful to distinguish between "type 1 (requiring intimacy as compulsory)" and "type 2 (not requiring intimacy as compulsory)" relationships. For type 1, speakers in an intimate relationship are allowed to use verbs, adjectives and the copula in plain forms in sentence-final predicates regardless of power differences. For type 2, speakers are allowed to use these forms only to same level or lower persons7. To rephrase this, in Japanese persons in type 1 relationships can show intimacy on the linguistic level regardless of power differences while for persons in a type 2 relationship S must not be lower in power than H.

7 In type 2 relationship using these forms in sentence-final predicates also involves other attributes. For example, a higher person can use plain forms in sentence-final predicates to show power, not intimacy. When a male customer uses plain forms to shop assistants whom he hardly knows, he does not show intimacy but higher power.
**Table 1: Ability of persons to show intimacy through linguistic level in Japanese**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of relationship</th>
<th>Restriction of power differences of S &amp; H</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>S is same power or higher power than H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Thai regardless of the type of intimate relationship S is allowed to use low words and does not have to use polite ending particles when talking to a same or lower status H.

**Table 2: Ability of persons to show intimacy by using low words in Thai**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of relationship</th>
<th>Restriction of power differences of S &amp; H</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 and 2</td>
<td>S is same power or higher power than H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

People of all types of relations in Thai can show intimacy by using kinship terms or informal words, e.g. นี่: 'I'.

Another parameter which has been widely discussed in the literature is solidarity. As we have seen, solidarity is used by Brown and Gilman to explain the usage of T and V in European languages. Their concept of solidarity is an independent concept which contrasts with power. Brown and Gilman (1960: 309) say

"Now we are concerned with a new set of relations which are symmetrical; for example, attended the same school or have the same parents or practice the same profession. If A has the same parents as B, B has the same parents as A. Solidarity is the name we give to the general relationship and solidarity is symmetrical."

Brown and Gilman (1960) suggest that not everything people share counts for solidarity. They gave examples of eye colour and shoe size. These two things are not factors in solidarity. They suggest that like-mindedness or similar behaviour dispositions can be factors of solidarity. Factors of solidarity ordinarily are such things as political membership, family, religion, profession, sex, and birthplace. What Brown and Gilman refer to as the "semantics" of power and solidarity in their study provides useful first approximation to how similar parameters work in Thai, but there are important culture-specific differences too. Brown and Gilman emphasise symmetrical relations in defining solidarity. In line with this, identity of gender and similarity of power and age are important aspects of Thai solidarity, as is a high degree of intimacy. However, for Thai
we see below that there is no single set of terms to be selected only on the basis of solidarity. Men among themselves and women among themselves have different sets of high-solidarity forms and strategies available and there is evidence that different age groups too make somewhat different high-solidarity selections, e.g. children among themselves or older adults among themselves. As we will see in Chapter 2, Thai high-solidarity self-reference forms used among male friends of similar age and power include more than one form, each with separate nuances (e.g. ku:, úa, khâ:). "Solidarity" following the Brown and Gilman analysis, based on rather different European second-person data, is thus a necessary starting point, but is not sufficient in itself to account for the complexity of Thai selectional factors.

In Japanese self-reference terms, there is no evidence of words marked specifically by solidarity.

1.5.3 Situational parameters

Situational parameters are aspects of human behaviour which are influenced by the situation. Situational parameters in this study are: formality, emotional switch, overhearer presence, and personal engagement.

1.5.3.1 Formality

A conversation between siblings in their home while they are watching a TV drama is an example of an informal situation while a speech at a graduation ceremony in a university is an example of a formal situation.

Labov (1972: 113; cited in Levin and Garrett (1990: 513)) writes that formal language requires that the speakers pay particular attention to its formation. By comparison with the vernacular, Levin and Garrett (1990: 514) explain that formal speech requires the speaker to pay attention to the choice of words, their pronunciation, grammatical form, and so forth. While Labov, Levin and Garret are interested in the degree of attention paid to linguistic form, some linguists e.g. Wierzbicka (1991) are interested rather in how speakers feel or interact with each other.

Wierzbicka (1991: 112) roughly defines informality as follows:
(a) you don't have to show 'overt respect to me'
(b) I want you to speak to me as people do when they think:
(c) we know one another well
(d) we feel something good towards one another
(e) we can speak to one another in the same way
(f) I know: people can't always speak like this to other people

However, defining informality as not having to show overt respect would not apply in
Thai. Thai speakers report that they must show overt respect to a person higher in power
even in informal situations. For example, a girl refers to herself as วุ: when she talks to
an older person. วุ: is used in informal situations but also shows overt respect to the
listener. One can say

\[(35) \text{วุ} \quad \text{e}: \eta \quad \text{CA} \]
'It's me.'

CA, which conveys the meaning 'intimate', 'affectionate', 'endearing' (Cooke, 1989: 7),
is a particle used in informal situations only. Thai speakers typically show overt respect
to an older person even though the situation is informal. Wierzbicka's components (a)
and (e) are thus language/culture specific.

Labov's criterion for determining formal language mentioned earlier is whether a
speaker pays overt attention to linguistic material or not. A reverse approach is to
investigate how language in formal situations differs from that in informal ones. Irvine
(1979) observes how language is used in formal situations. She proposes four aspects of
formality which often co-occur in the same occasion (Irvine, 1979: 776-779). These are

1. Increased code structuring

In a formal situation, linguistic and other behavior will show increased
structuring. This may be additional or elaborated structuring in such areas as intonation,
phonology, syntax, the use of particular sets of lexical items, fixed-text sequences or turn
taking.

2. Code consistency

Irvine states:

"At many different levels of linguistic organization and in other avenues of
communicative expression as well, speaker select from among alternatives
Chapter 1  Frame of reference

that have contrasting social significance. Co-occurrence rules provide for the extent to which these choices must be consistent. In the kinds of discourse that ethnographers have labeled more formal, consistency of choices (in terms of their social significance) seems to be greater than in ordinary conversation, where speakers may be able to recombine variants to achieve special effects. Code inconsistency, then, may be a process of framing or undercutting one message with another that qualifies it and indicates that in some sense, or some point of view, it doesn't really count (cf. Bateson 1972; Goffman 1961, 1974). In contrast, the code-consistent message has to count; it has to be taken "seriously" because no alternative message or social persona is provided."

The above distinctions also apply to Japanese and Thai. Joking and laughing are examples of "it really doesn't count". However, Japanese culture seems to value formality more than Thai culture. Embree (1950) writes that Japanese behaviour conforms closely to formal social patterns of human relations while he describes the Thai case as a loosely structured social system. Although many researchers have questioned parts of his analysis (e.g. Suvanajata, 1984), it seems to me essentially valid.

3. Invoking positional identities

Formal occasions invoke positional and public, rather than personal, identities. Positional and public identities are part of a structured set likely to be labelled and widely recognized in a society. Personal identities, on the other hand, are individualized and depend more on the particular history of an individual's interactions.

4. Emergence of a central situational focus

Irvine writes:

"A fourth aspect of formality concerns the ways in which a main focus of attention - a dominant mutual engagement that encompasses all persons present (see Goffman 1963: 164) - is differentiated from side involvements. An American cocktail party, for example, is usually decentralized, with many small groups whose conversations are not meant to concern the gathering as a whole; but a lecture is centralized even if members of the audience mutter asides to each other during the lecturer's performance. Participation in the central, focal activity is regulated and structured in special ways."

There are non-verbal physical parameters that correlate with what we are calling formality. In formal situations Japanese usually sit with legs tucked under the body\(^8\)\((seiza)\) (see also Gakken, 1987: 109). In formal situations a Thai typically sits with the legs tucked back on one side of the body or the other \((nág-pháp-phiap)\)\(^9\). This Thai

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\(^8\) This traditional sitting posture is used on straw mats \((tatami)\) in a Japanese-style room, not in Western-style chairs.

\(^9\) This rule of sitting does not apply to monks who are invited to lay people's ceremonies.
Chapter I Frame of reference

traditional sitting posture, however, also involves the power attribute. In informal situations a person greater in power usually sits cross-legged while it is normal for a lower person to nāŋ-phāp-phīap.

According to Ide (1982) formality in Japanese society is determined by factors such as relating among the participants (absence of solidarity, intimacy), occasions (ceremonies), and topics (serious).

Due to the fact that many polite forms of sentences and words are used in formal settings, some linguists treat formality as a part of politeness or do not distinguish formality from politeness. Levinson (1983: 91) regards the so-called masu-style in Japanese as a type of morpheme-marked formality. However, Ide (1982, 1989) explains that polite forms are just one way of showing formality. Backhouse (1993: 168-173) refers to plain form + desu/masu as formal style, and notes that others may refer to this as 'polite/distant'.

While in many or most situations formality implies politeness, there are also polite forms of sentences and words that are normally used in informal settings. For example, in Japanese keikan or keisatsukan are words for 'policeman' which are more formal than omawarisan. However, the less formal one, omawarisan, is considered higher (more polite) when used as a vocative or an address form. In a natural conversation when a woman talks to her husband in an informal setting, polite forms may be heard. A wife told her husband that the tape recorder she used could record only voices which have carried far:

(36) tooi tokoro made no koe shika kikoenai far place until poss. voice only hear-neg.

n desu yo
nom. cop. illoc.
'We can only hear voices which have carried far.'
(Ide et al., 1984: 219)

This usage is not uncommon, especially among older women.

There are times when people use plain forms to express informality, not impoliteness. In an NHK television talk-back programme, a specialist gave advice to callers. One specialist even used plain forms in his speech more than desu/masu forms. He asked a mother concerned about her aggressive child:
Chapter I Frame of reference

(37) kono otooto o ijimeru koto aru
this younger brother obj. bully nom. have

ranboosuru koto aru
use violence nom. have

'Does he sometimes bully or use violence to his brother?'
(Terebidenwasoodan, NHK, 10/92)

(38) dandan wakatte kita keredomo kono booya wa
gradually understand asp. and this boy top.

ne ano mawari no kankyoo ni ne
illos. err.. surroundings poss. environment to illoc.

tekioo no ne tekioo no shikata no
adaptation poss. illoc. adaptation poss. way poss.

osoi ko na no ne tabun
slow child cop. nom. illoc. probably

'I think I gradually got it. This boy is probably a very slow child in adapting .. in adapting to his surroundings.' (Terebidenwasoodan, NHK, 10/92)

The specialist criticised another caller for how she perceived her son's problem:

(39) Specialist: doomo okaasan mo ne
somehow mother too illoc.

'somehow you too....'

Caller: hai
humhuh

Specialist: okosan mo ne ane benkyoo dake de ima
child too illoc. err. study only cop. now

no tsurai jootai ga okotte iru tte iiuuni
poss. hard condition subj. occur prog. that like

kaishakushiteru n ja nai ka tte-iu kanji
be interpreting nom. cop. neg. quest. that feeling

gasuuyo no subj. strong nom.

'I have a strong feeling that you and your child think of this hard time as being just because of the study.'

Caller: hai
yes. (Terebidenwasoodan, NHK, 10/92)

This interaction gave the impression of an informal talk which showed an attitude of real concern for the caller's problem, and no Japanese would regard it as impolite even
though the specialist used plain forms of language. This evidence suggests that informality does not necessarily mean being impolite.

In spite of the preceding argument, there is clearly a close typical relationship between formality and politeness. I also think that the degree of co-occurrence of politeness and formality may vary among cultures. For Japanese self-reference, there seems to be a strong tendency for factors relating to politeness to co-occur with those relating to formality.

In Thai one way of being formal is to avoid the expression of feeling (i.e. invoking positional identities or being impersonal), for example by not using certain modality particles. In a seminar presentation when a speaker concentrates on his/her topic the interaction of speaker and listeners seems to be one-way; therefore, use of the politeness marker (*khráp/khā*) will be less than in a personal talk. In government announcements which are formal we usually see a total lack of politeness markers (*khráp/khā*). Self-reference terms which express personal engagement will not be used.

1.5.3.2 Emotional switch

Emotional change can affect self-reference usage. Palakornkul (1972: 76) writes on expressive switching in Thai:

"Emotional manifestations affecting switching of pronouns are: anger, affection, emphasis on friendship relation, facetiousness, insult, reproach, and sarcasm." (See also Palakornkul (1972: 108-120))

My Thai data confirm Palakornkul's analysis. In addition, my data suggest that there are two kinds of what Palakornkul calls affection. The first one is what we may call for convenience "normal affection". This affection according to Palakornkul results in switching from pronouns to kin terms. The other is "special affection" expressed in Thai as *3:n*, and may be described in English as a state of dependence and the desire to be loved. Typical relationships involving *3:n* are that of a child towards his/her parents (especially mother) and that of lovers. *5:n* affection can be expressed by using the self-reference pronoun *khâu* or using child language.

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10 *5:n* is close to Japanese *amaeru*. The difference between these concepts is beyond the scope of this thesis.
Chapter 1 Frame of reference

In Thai at the beginning of a formal speech S tends to be formal. After talking for a while s/he may become more relaxed and use less formal pronouns (see 2.4.3 and 5.2.1).

Japanese informants report that they use self-reference kinship terms more than usual when they want to emphasise the relationship (e.g. parents, siblings) to adult listeners. They often give the example of giving advice (see 3.1.1.1 a and c.).

1.5.3.3 Overhearer presence

Palakornkul (1972: 75-76) states that the presence of a child or non-acquaintances or persons with power and status affects role relationships in Thai society.

The concept of overhearer presence or listening participant is necessary in Japanese and Thai because the presence of an overhearer can affect the language usage of S. It is quite common that when a Japanese man becomes aware of the presence of someone higher in position than himself he may change his self-reference to his colleague from ore to watashi or watakushi. A Japanese schoolboy may change his self-reference to his classmate from ore to boku because of his teacher's presence. Similarly, a Thai schoolboy who usually refers to himself as ku: to his close friend will change his self-reference to phôm when he realises that his teacher is within hearing distance.

1.5.3.4 Personal engagement

In Thai most pronouns are used to show personal engagement. That is to say, these pronouns normally show that S is talking to H as individual to individual. There are, however, pronouns such as khâ:phacâu which lack personal engagement: with this pronoun, S is talking in a formal situation and H is mainly the public. Pronouns which lack personal engagement only occur in HIGH forms. One characteristic of formality in Thai is expressed through the absence of a personal relationship. Khâ:phacâu and dichân are examples of pronouns that lack personal engagement. In Japanese LOW pronouns show a high degree and HIGH pronouns a low degree of personal engagement.
Chapter 2

Self-reference pronouns in Japanese and Thai

In this chapter we first briefly review the history of self-reference pronouns, since understanding some basic features of their diachronic development provides a useful background for describing current usage. After the historical review we then look at the present usage of each pronoun in Japanese and Thai respectively.

2.1 Some observations on the history of self-reference pronouns in Japanese

The following observations are based on Ikegami (1972) with consideration of Oono et al. (1957), Martin (1975), Katoo (1981) and Morino (1985).

According to Martin (1975: 1075) in the ancestral language of the Japanese there appears to have been a self-reference pronoun $ba[nu]$, forms of which are still current in some Ryukyu dialects of Okinawa. According to Oono et al. (1957) before $na$ was used as a second person pronoun in the eighth century it was once used as self-reference term\(^1\). Switch of person in the history of Japanese pronouns is quite common.

2.1.1 Nara Period (646-794)

In the Nara Period there were perhaps four self-reference pronouns: $a$, $are$, $wa$, $ware$. According to Ikegami (1972: 125-126) these terms can be categorized by grammatical function: $a$ and $wa$ could be marked by the case marker $ga$ to modify a following noun while $are$ and $ware$ could not be used in this way. He states that $are$ and $ware$ were often used in the nominative case without the case marker $ga$, while it was very rare for $a$ and $wa$ to be used in this way. Compound nouns beginning with $a$ were found in the Nara Period, while compound nouns beginning with $wa$ are not found until the later Heian Period. Therefore, Ikegami concludes that $a$ and $are$ came into usage before $wa$ and $ware$. There is no evidence concerning social norms that governed the usage of self-reference pronouns in the Nara Period. The Nara Period situation for these terms is summarized in table 1.

---
\(^1\) Some scholars such as Ogino (1984) disagree with this mainstream hypothesis.
Table 1: Self-reference pronouns in the Nara Period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modifying forms</th>
<th>Independent forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a/wa + ga + N</td>
<td>*are/ware + ga + N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>ware</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It also seems that maro was in the process of pronominalization in the Nara Period. Maro was used in the Nara Period as a noun, probably meaning 'person' or 'fellow'; it was also used as a suffix following a personal name. As described below it was used more as a pronoun in the Heian Period (see Ikegami, 1972: 126 for more details).

2.1.2 Heian Period (794-1185)

In the Heian Period a and are had lost their usage as self-reference pronouns, and wa and ware were more used than in the Nara Period (Ikegami, 1972: 127). There were also two new self-reference pronouns used by high class persons in this period: nanigashi and mizukara. Among high class persons gender played a more important role. Nanigashi was used by high class men to both men and women in rather formal situations (Morino, 1985). Nanigashi was also used as a hearer address term. Mizukara was apparently used by high class women. Mizukara was also used as a reflexive pronoun in this period (Ikegami, 1972: 127). Ikegami (1972: 127) claims that onore was used for self-reference as well as as a second person and reflexive pronoun, and that maro was used by both men and women² of all classes (see table 2 below).

---
² Royall Tyler (personal communication) does not find evidence for women's use of this form.
Table 2: Self-reference pronouns in the Heian Period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No class distinction</th>
<th>High class S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>Male S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ware</td>
<td>nanigashi (mainly to higher H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onore</td>
<td>Female S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maro</td>
<td>mizukara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.3 Kamakura Period (1185-1336)

In the Kamakura Period the scope of usage of *maro* became narrower, and it was mainly used by high class persons (Ikegami, 1972: 128). *Waraha* was used by women mainly from a military family (*buke*) background. The emperor had his own self-reference pronoun, *chin*, and monks had their own self-reference term *gusoo*. Contrary to Ikegami (1972), Oono et al. (1957) state that *soregashi* was mainly used to the same level hearer. If Oono is correct, it seems to show that a new parameter is arising. The former pronoun *wa* was not used in the Kamakura Period (see table 3). According to Oono et al. (1957), *ore* was found used for self-reference in this period.

Table 3: Self-reference pronouns in the Kamakura Period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No class distinction</th>
<th>High class S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ware</td>
<td>maro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onore</td>
<td>Male S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ore</td>
<td>chin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gusoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nanigashi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>soregashi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mizukara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>waraha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2 Self-reference pronouns in Japanese and Thai

2.1.4 Muromachi Period (1336-1568 or 1573)

According to Ikegami (1972), *watakushi* and *ore* came into common usage as self-reference pronouns in this period. Martin (1975: 1075) notes that *watakushi* is said to be derived from *ware o tsukushi* 'exhausting myself' (i.e. 'all of me'). *Mi* was also used in this period by men to same or lower status. In the Muromachi Period the self-reference pronoun *ware* was also used as second person pronoun.

*Table 4: Self-reference pronouns in the Muromachi Period*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No class distinction</th>
<th>High class S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ware</em></td>
<td><em>maro</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>onore</em></td>
<td><em>Males S</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ore</em></td>
<td><em>chin</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>watakushi</em> (to higher H)</td>
<td><em>gusoo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>nanigashi</em> (to higher H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>soregashi</em> (to higher H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Female S</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mizukara</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>waraha</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.5 Edo Period (1603-1868)

According to Ikegami (1972) in the first half of the Edo Period *ore* was used without gender distinction. Women often used *watakushi* while men used it only in formal situations. *Watashi*, a contracted form of *watakushi*, appeared in this period. Military men used *soregashi* and *midomo* while women in military families used *mizukara*. *Washi*, which is probably a contracted form of *watakushi*, also appeared in this period and was mainly used by women. In the second half of the Edo Period *ore* was used mainly by men.
Table 5: Self-reference pronouns in the Edo Period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No class distinction</th>
<th>High class S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ware</td>
<td>Male S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onore</td>
<td>chin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ore (mainly male)</td>
<td>gusoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watakushi (to higher H)</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watashi (to higher H)</td>
<td>nanigashi (to higher H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female S</td>
<td>soregashi (to higher H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>washi</td>
<td>midomo (to higher H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female S</td>
<td>mizukara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>waraha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.6 Meiji Period (1868-1912)

According to Katoo (1981) the usage of boku was already found in the late Edo Period, and this usage was expanded in the Meiji Period. Boku is a self-reference term borrowed from a Chinese word meaning 'servant' and it was first used by educated samurai-class males. According to Katoo (1981: 508-511), during the early Meiji Period (1868-1887) boku was used to friends or lower persons and could not be used to higher persons. Between 1887 and 1907 boku's territory expanded, and it became available for use to girlfriends (koibito) and fiancees (konyakusha). After 1907 it could be used to higher persons. The speaker group was also expanded. In early Meiji boku was used by military men; between 1887 and 1907 its territory expanded and it came to be used by students and government officials. After 1907 its usage spread widely: painters, teachers, doctors, journalists, stationmasters, foremen etc. could use boku. Nagura (1992: 48) observes of the modern usage of boku:

"It should be noted that boku has expanded its territory recently. It is more often accepted on formal occasions than before. Nonetheless the reference is not prescribed as adequate in formal speech."

75
Table 6: Self-reference pronouns in the Meiji Period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No class distinction</th>
<th>High class S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ware</td>
<td>Male S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onore</td>
<td>chin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watakushi (to higher H)</td>
<td>gusoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watashi (to higher H)</td>
<td>mi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male S</td>
<td>nanigashi? (to higher H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ore</td>
<td>midomo? (to higher H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boku (to higher H)</td>
<td>Female S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female S</td>
<td>mizukara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>washi</td>
<td>waraha?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.7 Present

As section 2.2 will document in more detail, in modern Japanese there is no clear distinction relating to the class of the speaker in self-reference usage. However, there is still a gender distinction (in the case of boku, ore, atashi etc.). There are differences in meaning between the same term when the speaker is male or female: e.g. watashi. The formality of the situation also seems to play an important role in the choice of self-reference pronouns.
### Table 7: Self-reference pronouns in modern Japanese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formality</th>
<th>No distinction</th>
<th>Distinction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ Formal</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Formal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender distinction</th>
<th>No gender distinction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watashi</td>
<td>boku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atakushi</td>
<td>washi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watashi</td>
<td>atakushi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atashi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As summarized in table 8, Japanese self-reference terms have changed considerably through time; modern terms are *watakushi, watashi, atakushi, atashi, boku, washi* and *ore*. *Ore* is the oldest and dates from the Kamakura Period.

### Table 8: Development of modern self-reference terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kamakura</td>
<td><em>ore</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muromachi</td>
<td><em>ore</em> watakushi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edo</td>
<td><em>ore</em> watakushi watashi washi boku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mainly M M formal mainly F H = friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F no distinction only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meiji</td>
<td><em>ore</em> watakushi watashi washi boku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern</td>
<td><em>ore</em> watakushi watashi washi boku atakushi atashi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>only M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2 Self-reference pronouns in Japanese

This section treats the terms in table 9 individually, by presenting "first-approximation profiles" of usage patterns, based on data at hand. More details of variation are discussed in Chapter 4. Table 9 and figure 1 below summarize the system of self-reference pronouns in modern Japanese.

**Table 9: Refinement level of Japanese pronouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refinement</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>watakushi</td>
<td>watakushi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>watashi</td>
<td>atakushi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDDLE</td>
<td>boku</td>
<td>watashi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>atashi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>washi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 1: Degree of intimacy, refinement and H's status**

a. Male speaker

```
Refinement
HIGH Non-intimacy watakushi
watashi

Low status H boku

High status H

LOW ore

Intimacy
```
Chapter 2 Self-reference pronouns in Japanese and Thai

b. Female speaker

Refinement

Low status H

High status H

Non-intimacy

watakushi

Intimacy

watakushi

Table 10 below shows that the majority of employees reported using watakushi while only a minority of students reported using this form. This pronoun is also reported as being used more commonly by females than males.

Table 10: Percentage of students and employees reporting using watakushi

a. students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>addressee</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>senior</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-intimate friend</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junior</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public speaking</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. employees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>addressee</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>company president</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-intimate colleague</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subordinate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>customer</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public speaking</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncle</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aunt</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandfather</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandmother</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. S male

Refinement HIGH

S age adult
Chapter 2 Self-reference pronouns in Japanese and Thai

H gender  no distinction
H age      adult
S & H relations  1. If in formal setting then no distinction
                2. If in informal setting then H is higher status or not close
Setting     suitable for formal speech

Watakushi used by males is a self-reference pronoun showing that S and individual H are distant and that S and H are adult. It is used mainly in formal situations. Men use this word with strong conscious self-monitoring. Men tend to use this word more after having finished school and started working. In public speaking only some male students reported using watakushi while a majority of employees reported using it.

No informants interviewed reported using watakushi to their immediate family members. However, to distant kin who are higher than S watakushi is allowed. For example, one male employee reported using watakushi to grandparents. However, this use is not common, and no students reported using it in these circumstances.

No informants interviewed reported the usage among colleagues and friends, whether intimate or non-intimate.

When talking to a person much higher than S or when H is very distant from S watakushi can be used. Apart from formal situations such as in conferences where H is not addressed individually a boss will not use watakushi to his subordinates especially when they are female and younger than himself. Same-level colleagues will not use watakushi in personal discourse because it is appropriate for distant persons.

In a bank or a company when employees talk to a client they are encouraged to use watakushi. 53% of employees reported using watakushi to customers of the company. When talking to clients or persons from other companies sometimes the plural suffix showing humility -domo (addressee exclusive) is added. Watakushi is suitable for public speaking because it is a very HIGH word.

Summary of speaker's attitude

watakushi = I; I am talking to you as an adult to an adult. You are not closely acquainted with me and/or are very much higher than me. When I am talking to you I
have to be careful with my language usage. I have to use polite forms and honorific forms to you.

b. S female

Refinement  HIGH
S age       adult
H gender    no distinction
H age       adult
S & H relations
1. If in formal setting then no distinction
2. If in informal setting then H is higher or not close
Setting     suitable for formal speech

As in the case of male speakers, *watakushi* is a HIGH word for females and can be used in formal situations. *Watakushi* usage in the family circle is not found. Few women use *watakushi* to their non-intimate friends, and there was no report of employees using *watakushi* to intimate friends or colleagues at all.

In a company office women employees are encouraged to use *watakushi* especially to customers and higher status H. *Watakushi* is also suitable for public speaking because it is a HIGH word. 38% of female students reported using *watakushi* when presenting papers in class or speaking at a conference, and a majority of female employees also reported using *watakushi* when speaking at a conference.

Summary of speaker's attitude

*watakushi* = I; I am talking to you as an adult to an adult. You and I are distant because you are higher than me and/or not closely acquainted with me. When I am talking to you I have to be careful with my language usage. I have to use polite forms and/or honorific forms to you.

2.2.2 *atakushi*

Refinement  HIGH
S gender    female
S age       adult
H gender    no distinction
Chapter 2 Self-reference pronouns in Japanese and Thai

Hage

S & H relations not close

Setting no distinction

Atakushi is regarded as a corruption of watakushi. This form is stigmatised by some people. Harada (1976: 511) says that atakushi sounds snobbish. Only one person (a student) out of 84 surveyed reported using atakushi.

The question is: why do some people still use atakushi despite this stigmatisation placed on it by different groups? The answer appears to be that women (of middle class) who subconsciously desire to be viewed as being of high class may choose to use this word. Other groups of people may regard the atakushi user as snobbish.

As stated, only one female student reported using atakushi to friends and close teachers. They were no reports of female employees using atakushi at all. Atakushi is not used in the family circle and is not normally used to friends. Usage was typically to distant persons such as children's teacher, student's parents, members of Parents and Teachers Association, or in a cooking class of housewives (atakushi can be used both by female teachers and students).

Atakushi can be used in public speaking because it is a HIGH word. However, watakushi is more suitable.

Ide et al.'s (1984) data show that middle class housewives as well as one female university lecturer used this pronoun. From the sparse questionnaire responses and from Ide et al.'s limited data, it would be difficult to conclude much about limitations on addressees. Here, a housewife is speaking with a PTA member:

(1) demo sono ken ni-kanshite wa ano ken o
but that matter about top. err... ticket obj.

motta kata ni nomi kenri aru mondeshukara te osshatte
have person to only right have because that say

nakanaka no tsuyoki de nee atakushi mo daibu achira
rather poss. strength cop. illoc. I too rather that side

no kakarinokata ni nantoka tte onegaishita n desu
poss. officer to somehow that requested nom. cop.

keredomo
but
'But speaking about that matter, the officer said only persons with the tickets will have the right. The officer is very strong. Even though I tried my best to request it.' (Ide et al., 1984: 86)

The same housewife talks to her students in cooking class:

(2) demo ne atakushi uchi de tamani ano karee nanka
     but illoc. I home at occasionally err.. curry something like
     o tsukuru tokini wa ne ano raado de oyasai
     obj. make when top. illoc. err. lard with vegetable
     nanka itamemasu yo
     something like fry illoc.

'But when I make curry at home, I fry vegetables in lard' (Ide et al., 1984: 169)

This housewife's students used atakushi to her too. One student said:

(3) A: ano furansugo ga ichiban nanka atakushi nanka kiite
     er French subj. most something I something listen
     te mo ne
     prog. even illoc.

'French for me is the most........'

B: Housewife: ee
  yeh

A: nanka boin ga koo are desho nanka hatsuon ga
  something vowel subj. like this that cop. something pronunciation subj.
  sugoku are de oboe nikui no
  very hard cop. remember difficult nom.

'terebi nanka mite te mo ne
TV something like watch prog. even illoc.

'Vowels are difficult. It is difficult to learn the pronunciation. When I watch the television I cannot catch them.' (Ide et al., 1984: 158)

Summary of speaker's attitude

atakushi = I; I am talking to you as an adult to an adult. I want to show you that I am the kind of person who uses HIGH or refined words. You and I are not close. When I am talking to you I have to be careful with my language usage but not as much as when I call myself watakushi.

2.2.3 watashi

Watashi is a widely used pronoun. As table 11 indicates, employees reported using it slightly more than students.
Table 11: Percentage of employees and students reporting using \textit{watashi}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is obvious that when a person enters the workforce there are more chances that s/he will have contact with an increased variety of people. There are more occasions that s/he will have to speak within a formal setting, for example when talking to persons in various positions in the occupational hierarchy, as well as to strangers. This is the main reason why employees used \textit{watashi} more than students.

a. S male

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refinement</th>
<th>HIGH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S age</td>
<td>adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H age</td>
<td>adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H gender</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S &amp; H relations</td>
<td>closer than using \textit{watakushi} but not close as \textit{boku}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For terms \textit{lower} in refinement level than \textit{watashi}, men have a choice of pronouns to use: \textit{boku}, \textit{ore}. Women have, however, only one word which is \textit{lower} than \textit{watashi}, namely \textit{atashi}, but the difference between \textit{atashi} and \textit{watashi} is not as great as the difference between \textit{boku}, \textit{ore} and \textit{watashi}.

\textit{Watashi} is a \textit{high} word for men while it is a normal word for women. There were no reports of male students using \textit{watashi} to their parents, brothers or sisters. Only a small percentage of employees interviewed reported using \textit{watashi} to their parents and even fewer reported using it to siblings.

\textit{Watashi} can be used by male speakers to friends but it is not so common as \textit{boku} or \textit{ore}. Less than 10% of students reported using \textit{watashi} to their friends.

\textit{Watashi} is widely used in the workplace. \textit{Watashi} is used to higher persons and non-close persons. When talking to close colleagues and close subordinates (both men and women) more men use \textit{ore} than \textit{boku} or \textit{watashi}. 17% of employees reported using \textit{watashi} to close male colleagues, and 40% reported using it to non-intimate male colleagues.
Watashi is suitable for public speaking because it is a HIGH word for men. If it is a very formal situation more people will use watakushi than watashi: 45% reported using watashi while 55% reported using watakushi in public speaking.

Summary of speaker's attitude
watashi = I; I am talking to you as an adult to an adult. I do not want to show that we are close.

b. S female

Refinement  MIDDLE
S age  no distinction

H gender  no distinction
H age  no distinction
S & H relations  no power distinction
Setting  no distinction

Watashi for Japanese women is the least sociolinguistically marked self-reference form. That is to say, its scope of usage is the broadest.

Watashi is widely used in the family circle. Girls were observed to start using watashi at a very young age, much younger than for boys. I observed a 9 year old girl using watashi when talking to her mother:

(4) watashi  ni  mo  nanika  nomimono  choodai
   I  dat. too something  drink  give
   'Please give me something to drink too.'

Her mother said that before this girl entered primary school she used her nickname, Katchan, for self-reference. At primary school she was told by her teacher that calling herself by her name was childish and she began to use watashi after that.

Watashi is widely used among friends. The majority of female students and employees reported using watashi to their friends.

Watashi is widely used in the workplace. However, when talking to a distant higher person such as the president of the company or to clients, more women reported using watakushi than watashi. When formality is needed as when presenting papers at a conference, watakushi was more used than watashi.
Women use *watakushi* more than *watashi* in public speaking because *watashi* for women is not regarded as a *HIGH* word. The *watakushi/watashi* contrast functions differently for male and male speakers. *Watashi* used by women does not show that H is higher than S. To show that a female speaker is polite *watakushi* is required. Talking to a customer in a hotel, in a bank, or in a company *watakushi* is required. The reason for the use of *watakushi* by women more than men may lie in the fact that men do not have to use *watakushi* in many cases because they can use *watashi*: unlike for women, *watashi* is a *HIGH* word for men.

**Summary of speaker's attitude**

*watashi* = I; I want to talk to you as girls/women talk. I do not want to talk to you as though you are a person who is not close to me.

### 2.2.4 *boku*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refinement</th>
<th>MIDDLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S gender</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S age</td>
<td>widely used from boyhood to middle-age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H gender</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H age</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S &amp; H relations</td>
<td>closer than <em>watashi</em> but not as close as <em>ore</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting</td>
<td>informal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among Japanese first person pronouns, the usage of *boku* was found to lack general consensus. This may be because it is new\(^3\); therefore, its usage is not as established as that of older forms like *ore* or *watashi*.

**Table 12: Percentage of male respondents reporting using *boku***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inside family</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside family</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the components of the meaning of *boku* is 'boyish'. This explains why students used it more than employees. Employees used *boku* more within rather than

---

\(^3\) See 2.1 for more detail.
outside of the family. This may be because family members have known speakers since they were born and may still treat them as boys. A male adult can still be considered as a boy within the family. Employees reported using *boku* as a self-reference form inside and outside the company:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inside company</th>
<th>Outside company</th>
<th>Customers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Employees reported using *boku* more to persons in the company because they are encouraged to use higher pronouns to persons outside the company. They used *boku* to regular clients twice as frequently as to customers: this may be because although regular clients are persons outside the company, their high frequency of contact means that they are treated more like persons within the company.

A person will drop his frequency of using *boku* once he has been through company training and has been working in the company for a length of time. However, occupation-specific tendencies were observed: some university lecturers and actors were found to maintain *boku*-usage throughout their lives.

*Boku* can be used by men of all ages. However it is particularly associated with young age and regarded by many Japanese as a boyish word. It is widely held that *boku* is not suitable for the elderly. In fact, that was my working assumption before this investigation. However, this assumption was not confirmed. Many aged university professors use *boku* in class. A retired director of the National Language Research Institute used it in a seminar. An 86 year-old actor used *boku* in a television talk show programme. The oldest case I found was in an 89 year-old person's conversation as it appeared in the Asahi Shimbun newspaper (1/6/1992: 13). It can be concluded that a man who is or was in a company will be trained to use a higher self-reference term such as *watashi* and his degree of using *boku* in talking to the public will drop. On the other hand, in a job without company training such as lecturer, actor or self-employed shop owner, the maintenance of using *boku* will be high. The other reason why *boku* is used by some old persons may be because *ore* is too close and *low* while *watashi* is too high. Therefore, using *boku* will solve this problem.
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For students *boku* was widely used to senior persons. The highest percentage (60%) reported was when talking to teachers. The highest percentage (35%) reported by employees was to their aunts and uncles.

*Boku* is also used in the immediate family circle but not so much as *ore*. When talking to parents or to family members of the same generation, closeness seems to be the first priority. This is the reason why more people will use *ore* when talking to their parents. When talking to grandparents, uncles and aunts, more people will use higher words. For this reason, male students report using *boku* with their aunts, uncles and grandparents more frequently than with their parents.

19% of employees reported using only *boku* to their wives. Persons who do not like low words prefer to use *boku* rather than *ore* when talking to their wives. Below is an example of the usage of a middle class husband. He asked his wife to make tea for him:

(5) *boku wa koocha moraoo ka na*

I top. tea receive-vol. quest. illoc.

'Can I have tea?' (Ide et al. 1984: 194)

This person always used *boku* to his wife.

While *boku* can be used to friends, when talking to close friends (both men and women) *ore* is much more widely used. Only 6% of students reported using only *boku* while 76% reported using only *ore* to close male friends. When talking to close female friends only 8% reported using only *boku* while 70% reported using only *ore*.

From an interview with a Toshiba Engineering Company manager we know that the company will train new employees (*shinnyuushain*) not to use *boku* or *ore* and to use *watashi* or *watakushi*. *Boku* is widely used among colleagues. However, the usage of *boku* was rare to customers. Only 5% of employees reported this usage.

*Boku* can be used in public speaking because it is not a low word but in a formal conference it is avoided because it is not a high word.

Although *boku* is a term for boys and men, I have observed one female informant (Waseda University student, 20 year-old) using *boku* to her mother:

(6) *kore boku no*

this I poss.

'Is this mine?'

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She said that she sometimes used this word to her intimate female friends. However, no other report of using *boku* from 55 female students and 29 female employees was found. This kind of usage may be regarded as transitory. It may occur during the rebellious period (*hankooki*) of some teenage girls.

**Summary of speaker's attitude**

*boku* = I; I do not want to use LOW words with you. I do not want to show that you and I are not close.

### 2.2.5 *atashi*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refinement</th>
<th>MIDDLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S gender</td>
<td>female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S age</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H gender</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H age</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S &amp; H relations</td>
<td>no clear distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting</td>
<td>informal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Atashi* is regarded as a corruption of *watashi*. *Atashi* is acceptable in an informal setting.

**Table 14: Percentage of females reporting using *atashi***

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One housewife in her early sixties informed me that she mainly used *atashi*. I have known her for five years and had spent a number of months living with her family. Throughout that time I found that she never used *watashi*. This may be one example of a person who has never been trained to use *watashi* because she had never worked outside the home. In her formal speech used on occasions such as her attendance at a YWCA conference, which she voluntarily joined, she recalled that she used *watakushi*.

*Atashi* can be used in the family circle, and among friends. Among employees it is used to intimate friends more than to non-intimate friends. 27% reported using *atashi*
with close female colleagues and 7% with non-intimate female colleagues. 18% reported using *atashi* with close male colleagues and 7% with non-intimate male colleagues.

A lady in charge of training new "office ladies" at Toshiba Engineering Company said that she teaches trainees not to use *atashi* but to use *watakushi*. According to this informant *watakushi* is generally acceptable form but at conferences *watakushi* is highly recommended.

*Atashi* is not considered a suitable word to use in formal situations. *Watakushi* is highly recommended when talking to non-colleagues (e.g. customers) in the workplace. *Atashi* is not considered a good word to use in public speaking because it is not a HIGH word.

**Summary of speaker's attitude**

*atashi* = I; I do not have to be careful with my language usage when I talk to you. I want to talk to you as a person who is close to me.

### 2.2.6 washi

Refinement: MIDDLE

- **S gender**: male
- **S age**: over 50
- **H gender**: no distinction
- **H age**: same or younger than S
- **S & H relations**: H is lower than S
- **Setting**: informal

*Washi* is probably a short form of *watashi*. In Tokyo speech only older persons will use this form. The usage is very rare and was found only in television dramas. An 80 year-old male informant even insisted that no one uses it nowadays, including his friends who were old. In dramas we found *washi* usage among the elderly.

S can use *washi* to lower H. A 23 year-old informant, however, reported that his 56 year-old father used *washi* at home.

Many informants said that *washi* sounded arrogant. One informant suggested that a president of a small company who acted in a high and mighty manner would possibly
use *washi*. To be able to use *washi* a speaker must be approximately 50 years old or over. It is not considered a good word to use in public speaking because it shows that H is not higher than S.

**Summary of speaker's attitude**

*Washi* = I; I am talking to you as an old man; you are not higher than me.

### 2.2.7 *ore*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refinement</th>
<th>LOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S gender</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S age</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H gender</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H age</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S &amp; H relations</td>
<td>1. If H same level then close or  2. H is lower than S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Setting**

informal

**Table 15: Percentage of males reporting using *ore***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intimate M junior</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intimate M colleague</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger brother</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Ore* is a LOW word and it is used to close persons or persons lower in power. It was to younger brothers that most men used *ore*. Younger brothers are a typical case of male listeners who are close and younger.

*Ore* is the most widely used self-reference term when speaking to the same or older generation family members: among siblings, sons to parents, and husbands to wives where intimacy is the first priority. As seen in table 15, the majority of male students as well as employees reported using *ore* to their parents.

*Ore* is regarded as an item of male language and is used by men to both men and women (cf. Kurokawa, 1972: 231). In an advertisement inviting young men to become national defence force officers a picture of young men carries the caption:
A homosexual male explained in his autobiography that when he entered high school he pretended to act like his straight friends but he found that he was uncomfortable using *ore*:

"However, no matter how hard I tried I could not use one word. That was the first person pronoun *ore*. I don't know the reason, but I am not used to it."

(Nagano, 1992: 160) (my translation)

The reason why he does not like to use *ore* may be because he thinks of himself as a different kind of person (not possessing masculinity). Nagano also observes that many of his gay friends told him that they never use *ore*.

Because *ore* is a LOW word some persons do not use it in the family circle. A 60 year-old high class informant reported no use of *ore* in his family circle. He had used *boku* with his parents, he used *boku* with his wife, and kinship terms and *boku* to his daughters. High class persons tend not to use LOW words (see further details in Chapter 4).

Among employees *ore* is widely used to close colleagues and subordinates (both men and women). It is not common to use *ore* to persons outside the company. However, if the persons know each other very well and their groups are close, as when their companies have been doing business together for a long time, they can use *ore*. 4% of 63 employees reported using *ore* to regular clients of their company.

_Ore_ cannot be used in public speaking because it is considered a LOW word.

**Summary of speaker's attitude**

*ore* = I; I am talking to you as a male. I do not have to show that you are higher than me because I know you well or you are lower than me.
2.3 **Some observations on the history of Thai self-reference pronouns**

The following observations are based on Iamchinda (1992), Pallegoix (1896), Cooke (1968), Hoonchamlong (1992) and Diller (forthcoming).

In Proto-Tai there are possibly five self-reference pronouns: \(^*\text{ku:}\), \(^*\text{ph(r)wa}\), \(^*\text{tu:}\), \(^*\text{ra:}\) and \(^*\text{rau}\) (Diller, forthcoming). The terms can be categorised by number and as hearer-inclusive or, -exclusive.

### 2.3.1 Proto-Tai

**Table 16: Self-reference pronouns in Proto-Tai**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>H exclusive</strong></td>
<td>(^*\text{ku:})</td>
<td>(^*\text{ph(r)wa})</td>
<td>(^*\text{tu:})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H inclusive</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(^*\text{ra:})</td>
<td>(^*\text{rau})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.3.2 Sukhothai Period

The earliest written language found is from the Sukhothai Period (1292-1536). Sukhothai self-reference pronouns still preserve the characteristics of Proto-Tai: singular, dual, plural and hearer-inclusive and -exclusive (Iamchinda, 1992: 79-80). However, the system has developed to distinguish the status of S and H. Below is the table of possible self-reference pronouns in the Sukhothai Period.

### 2.3.3 Ayuthaya Period

In the Ayuthaya Period (1350-1767). This society became more complex and the richer Ayuthaya monarchs developed. Below is the term of possible self-reference pronouns in Ayuthaya Period.
Table 17: Self-reference pronouns in the Sukhothai Period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H exclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No power distinction</td>
<td><strong>ku</strong></td>
<td><strong>phúa</strong></td>
<td><strong>tu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher H</td>
<td><strong>khá</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ku:khá</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>khá:phacau</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>khá:phracau</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>khá:phraphúthtacau</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>khá:phrabà:t</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>khá:phra-oŋ</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H inclusive</td>
<td><strong>ra</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>rau</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To show that H is higher than S in Sukhothai Thai, the word *khá: 'slave'* was used in self-reference and was grammaticalized as a pronoun. *Khá:* was also added to the existing pronouns *ku:* and *tu:* to indicate that H is higher. Sukhothai society was influenced by Buddhism, as reflected in the use of the words *khá:phacau, khá:phracau, khá:phraphúthtacau* 'slave of the Buddha'.

There were three patterns of new self-reference pronoun formation:

A. *khá:* Using a noun 'slave'.

B. *khá:phacau, khá:phrácau, khá:phráphúthtacau, khá:phrabà:t, khá:phrá-oŋ*

   Preposing A to another noun.

C. *ku:khá:, tu:khá:phacau* Postposing A or B to existing pronouns.

2.3.3 Ayudhaya Period

In the Ayudhaya Period (1350-1781), Thai society became more complex and the richer Ayudhaya pronoun system developed. Below is the table of possible self-reference pronouns in Ayudhaya Period.

---

4 Bold letters are used with terms which evolved from nouns.
Table 18: Self-reference pronouns in the Ayudhaya Period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H exclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No power distinction</td>
<td>ku:</td>
<td>phūua</td>
<td>tu:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male S only?</td>
<td>tu:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher H</td>
<td>ri:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>â:ttama(:)phā:p</td>
<td>phūakhā:nō:i</td>
<td>tu:khā:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>â:ttano:</td>
<td></td>
<td>tu:khā:nō:i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khā:</td>
<td></td>
<td>tu:khā:phacāu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ku:khā:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khā:phacāu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khā:phrācāu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khā:phrāphūtthacāu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khā:phrābā:t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khā:phrā-oŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H inclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td>ra:</td>
<td>rau.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compared to the Sukhothai system, the Ayudhaya system was less restricted with respect to number: the original plural pronouns *tu:* and *rau* could be used as singular and plural. Some new pronouns were formed. The social status of monks became stratified as monks developed their own new self-reference pronouns (Iamchinda, 1992: 81). There were more terms for use to higher H than in the Sukhothai Period. Some terms appear to have been in use for only a short time; for instance, *â:ttano:* was found only in notes and letters (1688) written by Kosapan, a high ranking official, addressed to similar French officials (Kosapan, 1688). He also used it in travel notes intended for Thai readers in Ayudhaya including King Narai (Kosapan, 1686).

2.3.4 Rattanakosin Period (I) 1782-1910

In the Rattanakosin reigns of Kings Rama I-V (1782-1910) Bangkok Thai lost some self-reference pronouns but gained new terms. Some terms survived with changed
Table 19: Self-reference pronouns in the Rattanakosin Period (I) 1782-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No power distinction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ku:</td>
<td>rau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dichan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aa:ttama(:)ph:ph:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aa:ttama:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kh:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No gender distinction</td>
<td>kh:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kh:phacau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kh:phracau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kh:phraphtthacau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kh:phra-0ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kramomcham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male S</td>
<td>kla:ukramomcham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kla:ukraphom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kraphom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pronouns in this period no longer distinguish duality, as a change in the number system had occurred during the Ayudhaya Period. The new terms chan, dichan, kramom-cham, and kla:u-kramom-cham etc. were formed in the royal court and were used among high society. Kh: went through a meaning change among high society speakers, where it lost the meaning of higher H (see Iamchinda, 1992: 54-55 for more details). The H-inclusive and -exclusive distinction was not found in this period.
2.3.5 Rattanakosin Period (II) 1911-present

From the reign of Rattanakosin King Rama VI (1910-1925) to the present the self-reference pronoun system became maximally complicated, probably due to rapid social change.

Table 20: Self-reference pronouns in the Rattanakosin Period (II) 1911-present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Power Distinction</th>
<th>Gender Distinction</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No power distinction</td>
<td>No gender distinction</td>
<td>ku:</td>
<td>rau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khâ:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>chán</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khâu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male S</td>
<td></td>
<td>phôm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ûa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>âttama(:)phâ:p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>âttama:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female S</td>
<td></td>
<td>dichân</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher H</td>
<td>No gender distinction</td>
<td>khâ:phacâu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khâ:phraphútthacâu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>khâ:phra-öng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kramôm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kramômchân</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>klâ:ukramôm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>klâ:ukramômchân</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nû:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male S</td>
<td></td>
<td>klâ:ukraphôm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kraphôm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Self-reference pronouns in modern Thai have developed many terms that show gender distinctions: e.g. dichan, phôm and kraphôm. Dichan was first used by royal men and high class men. Lamchinda (1992) and sources mentioned therein have traced this in some detail. Dichan is used by men at least until 1882: a drama script written in 1882 by Prince Pitibtreekorn has a dialogue in which a lower ranking official refers to himself as dichan to a high ranking military officer. However, in modern Thai only women use dichan. According to Hoonchamlong (1992: 105) klah:ukraphôm used when speaking to high ranking noblemen is probably adapted from the self-reference term used by male commoners in speaking to high royalty. When talking to royalty a commoner has to use special terms such as khâ:phráphûthacâ:u (lit. 'slave of the Buddha'). She says that kraphôm, phôm, dichan, ichân, chan were needed because a commoner could not speak to a nobleman as though s/he were speaking to the royal family. These terms later became extended and were used by commoners when speaking to superiors to express respect and politeness in formal conversation.

Phôm appeared in Pallegoix's dictionary published in 1854 glossed as 'ego' and I' (Pallegoix, 1854: 573). Pallegoix (1896: 704) gives a definition for phôm in his more complete Siamese-French-English Dictionary:

phôm
I, me (towards the superiors or showing his respect).

Pallegoix's explication suggests that only men used the form in 1896. If Pallegoix is right we can schematise the expansion of the meaning of phôm as follows:

1896 (Pallegoix) H is higher status than S (male?)
1968 (Cooke) H is higher or same status as S (male)
1993 1. H (family circle) is higher or same status as S (male)
2. H (outside family circle) can be higher or lower status than S (male) or same status as S (male)

In khâu we see a third person pronoun adapted for first person reference and in nû: a common noun.

During World War II, Prime Minister Phibulsongkram attempted to restrict by legislation the use of pronouns to one set for expressing the "I-you" relationship (chân for I and than for you). The attempt failed (Cooke 1968: 60, Kummer 1992: 333).
Chapter 2 Self-reference pronouns in Japanese and Thai
government at this time furthermore censored novels and forced writers to use reformed
language. Many famous writers such as Yakob and Mae Anong stopped writing novels.
(Bunkhachorn, 1980: 162).

Formerly common terms such as ku: and khâ: shifted downwards and came to be
regarded as unrefined in polite society. New refined terms, e.g. phôm and dichán,
became more popular. Foreign pronouns such as ùa have been borrowed into the Thai
pronominal system, and in restricted groups ai (from English) is also used. Khanittanan
(n.d.: 11) is the first person who attempted to explain why ùa was borrowed from
Chaozhou (Teochiu) into Thai. Her explanation is that Thai-speaking males find it useful
to have a self-reference term not so polite as phôm, but not so rude as ku: and khâ:.
The Chaozhou form ùa seems to fit the need, and avoids the crude connotations of ku:.
Khanittanan gives examples of interviews with senior military and police officials in
which they used ùa to reporters. She observes that this usage ended after the 14 October
1973 "student revolution", when a civil government was established. This is probably
because military power decreased and media reporters gained more power. Ùa will have a
meaning of lower H if S and H are not intimate; therefore, it is not appropriate for
officials to use to reporters in a democratic society. However, ùa is still used by some
men when they talk to their close male friends.

At present there is evidence that the self-reference pronoun system is still changing.
Thus, the pronoun phôm has become more neutral, in that it can be used to some extent
to a person with the same level of power or to a lower person. More men use names as
self-reference than in the past. Therefore, the frequency of using pronouns such as phôm
has decreased. Dichán used as female self-reference form is currently showing signs of
increased acceptance, especially among professional women, although its usage is not yet
so widespread as that of phôm among corresponding professional males.

In this section we have seen various changes in the Thai self-reference pronoun
system. Number and inclusive/exclusive distinctions have decreased. Status and gender
marking through newly formed pronouns has increased. Old pronouns have tended to
become lower in refinement level when newer ones developed.
2.4 Self-Reference pronouns in Thai

This section treats the Thai pronouns set out in the table below by presenting "first approximation profiles" of usage patterns based on the data. Further details of variation are discussed in Chapter 4. Tables 21, 22 and figure 2 below summarize the pronoun system in Thai.

Table 21: Refinement level of Thai self-reference pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Monk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khā:phacāu</td>
<td>khā:phacāu</td>
<td>khā:phacāu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klāukraphōm</td>
<td>klāukraphōm</td>
<td>klāukraphōm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kraphōm</td>
<td></td>
<td>kraphōm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phōm</td>
<td>dichān</td>
<td>phōm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDDLE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nū:</td>
<td>nū:</td>
<td>chān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chān</td>
<td>chān</td>
<td>chān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rau</td>
<td>rau</td>
<td>rau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khāu</td>
<td>khāu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>úa</td>
<td></td>
<td>úa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khā:</td>
<td>khā:</td>
<td>khā:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku:</td>
<td>ku:</td>
<td>ku:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22: Power distinction of Thai self-reference pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Monk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Higher H</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klāukraphōm</td>
<td>klāukraphōm</td>
<td>klāukraphōm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kraphōm</td>
<td></td>
<td>kraphōm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phōm</td>
<td>nū:</td>
<td>phōm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H same as S</td>
<td>rau</td>
<td>rau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khāu</td>
<td>rau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower or same H</td>
<td>chān</td>
<td>chān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>úa</td>
<td>úa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khā:</td>
<td>khā:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ku:</td>
<td>ku:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>phōm</td>
<td>a:ttama(:)phā:p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>khā:phacāu</td>
<td>khā:phacāu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dichān</td>
<td>phōm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 2: Degrees of intimacy, refinement and power distinction of Thai self-reference pronouns.

a. Male speaker

Non-intimacy

Refinement
HIGH

Lower status H
MIDDLE
rau
chân
khâu
nū:

Higher status H

Refinement

HIGH

khâ:phâcaû

klâ:ukrâphom

phôm

krâphom

b. Female speaker

Non-intimacy

Refinement
HIGH

Lower status H
MIDDLE
rau
chân
khâu
nū:

Higher status H

Refinement

HIGH

khâ:phâcaû

dichân

Intimacy

ku:, khâ:, ūa

2.4.1 khâ:phâcaû

Refinement
HIGH

S gender
no distinction

S age
adult

H
public, not individual \(^5\)

\(^5\) In written language both public and individual.

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In modern Thai, *kха:phacаu* does not show that H is higher than S as it once did (see also Iamchinda, 1992). It is a very high word used in formal communicative situations, occurring more frequently in written than spoken language, though our main concern here is with its spoken usage. Persons who have no chance to talk in public may not actively use it in their lives.

**Table 23: Respondents reporting using *kха:phacаu***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>kха:phacаu</em></th>
<th><em>kха:phacаu &amp; phом</em></th>
<th><em>kха:phacаu &amp; other</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male employees</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female employees</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male students</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female students</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Kха:phacаu* can be used when talking to a group of persons at a conference, a meeting or in public speaking. As table 23 indicates, however, only a few male employees reported using *kха:phacаu* along with *phом* in a conference situation. A few female students also reported using *kха:phacаu* and some reported using *khaft:phacаu* along with other choices when talking to a class. There was no report of usage by female employees or male students. In situations where *khaft:phacаu* can be used, the majority of men reported a preference for *phом* and the majority of women preferred *dichаn*.

*Khaft:phacаu* is also the self-reference term used by the King and members of the royal family to refer to themselves when talking to the public.

*Khа:phacаu* can often be found in formal written language such as contracts and academic papers. Below is an example from an academic paper.

(8) *Khа:phacаu*  *май*  *ру*:  *ва*:  *ка:нрака:i*  *кʰонг*  *радап*
I neg. know that distribution of level

education in group believer rituals this how

---

6 In less formal conversation the king uses *рау* and *phраcаu:yа:hаа* (see King’s interview in Athit Khauphiset 846, 1993). This may be because *khaft:phacаu* is a very high word. *Krарphом* is the other very high word but is not used by the King and members of the royal family when talking to the public because it encodes that H is higher than S.
'I do not know the distribution of education level among believers of this ritual' (Nithi Leosriwong, 1993, my translation)

In Thai, school pupils are also taught to refer to themselves in essays (riajkwaːm) as khâːphacāu.

Summary of speaker's attitude

khâːphacāu = I; I am talking to you all, not to an individual. When I am talking I have to be careful with my language usage because this is supposed to be formal. I have to use HIGH words.

2.4.2 klâːukraphōm

Refinement HIGH

S gender male

S age adult

H status high-ranking officials or those once associated with the absolute monarchy system or high monks

H age adult

S & H relations H is higher than S

Setting no distinction

Klâːukraphōm (lit. 'hair of the head') indicates that H is higher than S and is a very HIGH word used only by men. The term is rarely used nowadays, and was found to be used with two types of listeners only: when talking to high ranking officials in the absolute monarchy system or to high-ranking monks.

During the absolute monarchy period klâːukraphōm was used by commoners or low-ranking officials to high-ranking officials. When the absolute monarchy was abolished in 1932 the system of ranks was also changed and klâːukraphōm is not widely used in the new system. Speakers interviewed reported that it sounds old-fashioned in modern Thai. The most recent situation in which this usage could be identified in this study was an interview in 1966 of Phraya Udornthanee, a high ranking official in the absolute monarchy, by Sulak Sivaraksa, a conservative social critic.

Usage is more common when talking to high-ranking monks. Not only a layperson but also a lower ranking monk reported this usage. Buddhadasa, a well-known
monk, said in an interview that he referred to himself when talking to Somdetphuttakosacharn, a high-ranking monk, as *krphm* and sometimes as *klāukrphm* (Buddhadasa, 1986 b: 384). Although the ranking system associated with the absolute monarchy has been officially discontinued, monastic ranking, which in many respects parallels the former secular system, still continues. This accounts for the use of *klāukrphm* in current monastic contexts.

**Summary of speaker's attitude**

*klāukrphm* = I; you and I are distant because you are a high ranking person in the institution. I have to show respect to you.

### 2.4.3 *krphm*

**Refinement**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S gender</th>
<th>male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S age</td>
<td>adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H gender</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H age</td>
<td>adult</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**S & H relations**

1. If talking to individual H is higher than S
2. If talking to public no S & H distinction

**Setting**

suitable for formal speech

*Krphm* is a very high word indicating that H is higher than S (cp. *phm*). This term is more likely to be used at the beginning of a formal speech, after which the speaker normally switches to *phm*. For example, in a speech by Professor Prawase Wasi on development issues in Thailand in a seminar at Chulalongkorn University in 1990, he started with the self-reference term *krphm* once and then used *phm* 36 times (Wasi, 1991).

*Krphm* is not normally used in the family circle, or to friends or colleagues, because it is too high. There were no reports of usage to immediate family members. Only one male employee reported using *krphm* to his grandfathers and maternal grandmother. The data show that no employees used *krphm* to their colleagues, and no students reported using *krphm* to their friends, seniors or juniors. *Krphm* can,
however, be used in the workplace when H is much higher than S, as when a janitor talks to his boss. 3% of employees reported using it to their boss.

*Kraphom* can thus be used to individuals but it is more used in talking to the public when formality is required. 2% of male students reported using it while another 2% reported using *kraphom* along with *phom* when talking to teachers and classmates in the classroom. In public speaking, 6% of employees reported using *kraphom* and 9% reported using *kraphom* along with *phom*. However, the term is not used in formal writing where personal engagement should not be expressed, such as in announcements.

In formal writing to particular persons such as in a letter to the boss, there is no problem with using *kraphom*.

**Summary of speaker’s attitude**

*kraphom* = 1: you and I are distant because

a) you are much higher than me or

b) you are the public and I have to be very formal.

### 2.4.4 *phom*

**Refinement**

- HIGH

**S gender**

- male

**S age**

- no distinction

**H gender**

- no distinction

**H age**

- adult

**S & H relations**

1. If H is a family member then S is of the same or a younger generation

2. If H is outside the family then there is no clear meaning of power distinction

**Setting**

- no distinction

*Phom*, which is widely used by male speakers, is a HIGH word that, in some situations, means H is higher than S and in others that there is no power distinction between S and H. The term can therefore be used in a wide range of situations, and is a rather neutral form of male self-reference.
Phŏm is widely used by male speakers only. The term can be used to a person lower in power. The Prime Minister can also use phŏm to a janitor in his office. Many male lecturers also refer to themselves as phŏm when talking to their students. In educational institutions where the difference between teacher and students is not emphasized and where an age conflict between young lecturers and students who are older may occur, as in graduate school, phŏm can be used by lecturers to students. However, in primary school no teacher would use phŏm to his pupils, preferring to refer to himself as khru: 'teacher'.

In the family circle, however, phŏm will not be used to an H of a younger generation. No father reported calling himself phŏm to his child, nor grandfather to his grandchild. A son can use phŏm to his parents, and similarly a grandchild to his grandparents or a nephew to his aunts and uncles. A man can use phŏm to his wife. Although phŏm can be used to parents and grandparents, (nick)names are more widely used among younger-generation speakers (approximately 15-29 years old).

From my fieldwork observations, the present generation of teenagers appears to use this term less frequently than the over-30's generation did when they were teenagers. The younger generation extend the usage of names outside the family circle and keep on using nicknames to intimate persons outside the family circle. From the questionnaire data, over 40% of employees reported using phŏm to their parents while less than 20% of male students did so. Among the older generation, phŏm is preferred over names.

Nowadays some husbands call themselves phŏm to their wives and some men also call themselves phŏm to their girlfriends. Therefore, phŏm can be used to intimate persons. Phŏm is also widely used among friends. To show intimacy, phŏm may be replaced by other terms: e.g. rau or names. To show solidarity phŏm will be switched to terms such as ku: or kha:. Even though phŏm has become a widely used pronoun it still does not carry the covert prestige of showing solidarity among men. Moreover, because it is a high word some groups do not appreciate this word. A head teacher in a kindergarten where all pupils came from the Klongtoey slum reported that she taught her male pupils to call themselves phŏm or use nicknames as self-reference. But when the pupils returned home and started using phŏm to their parents, they were scolded and were
accused of being ]\textit{dàtcari} 'scornful'. The teacher also reported that in her kindergarten she was successful in controlling her pupils' language usage but when they entered primary school in the slum area all used what she called \textit{khamyà:p} 'rude language'. She reported that they used \textit{ku} instead of \textit{phôm} even when the teacher was in hearing distance.

For males, \textit{phôm} is also the most widely used self-reference term in public speaking because it is a HIGH word. However, in formal writing \textit{khà:phacâu} is preferred.

\textbf{Summary of speaker's attitude}

\textit{phôm} = I; you are adult. If you are my family member you are not younger than me.

\textbf{2.4.5.} \textit{à:ttama(:)phâ:p}

Refinement \hspace{1cm} \textit{HIGH}

S status \hspace{1cm} monk

H \hspace{1cm} lay-people

H gender \hspace{1cm} no distinction

H age \hspace{1cm} adult

S & H relations \hspace{1cm} no personal engagement

Setting \hspace{1cm} formal

A monk will use \textit{à:ttama(:)phâ:p} to lay-people mainly in formal situations, to the King as well as to commoners. In public speaking, as in a sermon, conflict can occur if other monks are also listeners. In that situation, a monk will prioritize his role as a monk teaching lay-people and will use self-reference terms appropriate to a monk. In a sermon given by Prayut Payutto, then of the rank of Phradepvedi, a famous monk Buddhadasa Bhikku was also among listeners, yet the sermon was begun as follows:

"I will use \textit{à:ttamaphâ:p} for self-reference as if I am talking to lay-people even though there are monks in this place to listen to the talk. Monks have a duty to give sermons and monks here will also be willing to teach you and to share this talk by listening with you." (Depvedi, 1991, my translation)

As with the pair \textit{kraphôm} and \textit{phôm}, \textit{à:ttama(:)phâ:p} is more likely to be used at the beginning of a sermon, with a subsequent shift to \textit{à:ttama}. In discourse, it is normal to start with \textit{à:ttama(:)phâ:p} and then use the short form which is less formal.
Chapter 2 Self-reference pronouns in Japanese and Thai

Theravada Buddhism practiced in Thailand (also in Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Laos and Cambodia) has no female monks, although Mahayana Buddhism (practiced in China, Japan, Korea) still does. In Thailand, therefore, monks are thought of as male not as female. However, one case has also been found of *à:ttama:phâ:p* being used by a female, Woramai Kabilsing, who was ordained as a Mahayana monk abroad. Below is an extract from her book *Sakayathida*:

"It is nearly 24 years since I (*a:ttamaphâ:p*) was ordained. During this period (I) have written over three hundred books on Buddha's teaching. (I) have never charged any money for my work." (Kabilsing, 1979) (My translation)

Summary of speaker's attitude

*a:ttamaphâ:p* = I; I am talking to you as a monk to a lay-person. This is a formal talk.

2.4.6 *à:ttama:*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refinement</th>
<th>HIGH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S rank</td>
<td>monk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H gender</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H age</td>
<td>adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S &amp; H relations</td>
<td>no personal engagement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

À:ttama: is a short form of *à:ttama:phâ:p* and is less formal than it. However it would be wrong to say that the word is informal.

When monks are talking among themselves the same rules of self-reference usage will apply as for lay-people. To lay-people (children included) monks can use kinship terms combined with *lûang* 'royal' such as *lûang phi*: 'older sibling' or *lûang phô*: 'father' to express positive feeling and to lessen formality. In a women's magazine interview, Panyanantha, a Buddhist monk, answered a question about ghosts as follows:

"I(*lûang phô:*) do not believe that ghosts exist. There is no ghost that we can see. A ghost actually is evil. Ghosts like gambling or drugs exist in the mind. Ghosts that people talk about do not exist." (Phimsi, 25/8/1990: 158) (my translation)
Chapter 2 Self-reference pronouns in Japanese and Thai

Summary of speaker's attitude

$\text{а:ттама: = I; I am talking to you as a monk to a lay-person.}$

2.4.7 $\text{дичан}$

Refinement: HIGH

S gender: female

S age: adult

H age: adult

H gender: no distinction

S & H relations: S and H are somewhat distant (non-intimate)

S acknowledges that H's status is somewhat important

Setting: Suitable for formal speech

$\text{Дичан}$ is written $\text{дичан}$ but it is pronounced $\text{дичан}$, and is a term used only by women. $\text{Дичан}$ is widely used in public speaking. 71% of employees reported using $\text{дичан}$ in conferences. In parliamentary debate, $\text{дичан}$ is the only self-reference term a female member of parliament can use because formality is regarded as highly important in the parliament. A female who has no opportunity to speak in public often finds $\text{дичан}$ awkward to use.

The acquisition of $\text{дичан}$ is rather late. Some girls start to use $\text{дичан}$ in secondary school and most female students have opportunities to use $\text{дичан}$ at university when they give a talk to the class. 78% of female students reported using $\text{дичан}$ when talking to a class. 7% of female students reported using $\text{дичан}$ to non-intimate lecturers while only 1% reported using it to intimate lecturers. The frequency of using $\text{дичан}$ is much higher when women go to graduate schools because they have more opportunity to talk in public, such as when presenting papers at seminars.

Unlike when talking to the public, $\text{дичан}$ is less used when talking to an individual. In the family $\text{дичан}$ cannot be used because it is reserved for persons who are somewhat distant. It lacks the nuance of good feeling conveyed by kinship terms and the informality conveyed by names, so that situations in which it is used are quite restricted.

When talking to subordinates in the company women mainly call themselves $\text{phi: 'older}$
sister'. When her subordinates are older than she is, she mainly uses nicknames for self-reference. One questionnaire respondent reported that she used *dichán* to solve this conflict.

It is generally assumed that *dichán* is not used to a higher status H. A lecturer in her thirties reported that she could not use *dichán* to the vice chancellor of her university because it showed no respect; instead she used *nū*: to show her respect. However, she said if she were fifty five years old and talking to a fifty year-old vice-chancellor she could not use *nū*: and she would use *dichán*. She also added that she tried to avoid using *dichán* because she thought that a person using *dichán* was *datcarit* 'scornful'. She reported that the only situation in which she might be forced to use *dichán* may be when she talked to a non-familiar person on a business issue e.g. non-academic staff at the university. No other suitable term was available in that situation.

Despite the general assumption that *dichán* is not appropriately used to a higher status H, some women interviewed in this study reported using it in these circumstances. Some informants also said that they used *dichán* to older people (one informant said she used it to a person ten years older or more), with addressees restricted to *plē:k nā*: (lit. 'strange face') persons only. 17% of employees reported using *dichán* to non-intimate bosses, while only 2% reported using it to intimate bosses.

Among professional women the usage of this term to a slightly lower status H is not uncommon, though not as popular as when talking to the public. One informant reported that she used *dichán* to her students at the Faculty of Economics, Thammasat University even in personal talks. Among conservative groups of lecturers as, for example, at the Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, lecturers' usage of *dichán* to undergraduate students cannot be found. They mainly use *khru*: 'teacher'. In graduate school many female lecturers refer to themselves as *dichán* to their graduate students.

I have observed one foreigner using *dichán* to her older servant. She was thought to be using the word inappropriately by other Thai persons. Two Thai female informants said that the foreigner should use *chán* to her servant. This is because *dichán* is too formal and is suitable only in a professional setting.
Chapter 2 Self-reference pronouns in Japanese and Thai

Dian, di-an, i-han, ichan, han and dan are shorter variants of dichan. According to Khanittanan (1988) reduced forms like ichan and han have come into usage perhaps in order to reduce the formality and distance between speaker and listener, or simply because of dislike of, or inexperience with, dichan (Khanittanan, 1988: 355).

Because of its formality it is widely used in written language. Dichan is the self-reference term used in all letters sent by women to ask questions about health problems in Moh-chao-ban, a health magazine (Moh-chao-ban, 1993 a, 1993 b, 1994 a, 1994 b).

Summary of speaker's attitude

dichan = I; you and I are not close or I am talking to the public. This can be a formal talk.

2.4.8 nui:

Refinement

1. S gender

   S age   no distinction
   S & H relations   H higher
   H age   adult
   H gender   no distinction
   Setting   informal

2. S gender

   H

   Higher generation family member: parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles
   H gender   no distinction
   Setting   informal

Nui: is used to a higher persons both in the family (parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles) and outside the family. 14% of female students and 25% of female employees reported using nui to their parents. Nui: as a self-reference term used by men can be found only in traditional Thai families; it is not used in Chinese Thai nor in families of other ethnic backgrounds. This usage is rare: only 3% of 43 male students reported using nui: to their mothers, and men do not use it outside the family circle. 93%
of female students reported using นิ: to their teachers and 17% of female employees reported using it to their bosses.

In the workplace นิ: can be used to a higher person but it is informal. It is not appropriate for use in a formal conference or in writing a report. Female employees, however, used names more than นิ: . There are two possible explanations for why only 17% of female employees used นิ: to their bosses. The first is that นิ: conveys the connotation of a small girl, and it is obvious that a student is closer to this image than is an older employee. The second is that นิ: emphasizes that H is higher than S. Some bosses do not like to be distant in the way that teachers are from students. In addition some workers do not wish to show respect to their bosses in this way because of their lack of age difference, etc.

Usage of นิ: in public speaking is rare because it is informal. However, if the speaker is a small girl นิ: is permitted because she cannot use adult formal terms. 3% of female employees and 4% of female students reported using นิ: in public speaking.

**Summary of speaker's attitude**

นิ: = I; I am younger than you and respect you as a small child respects an adult.

### 2.4.9 ร้าว

**a. Singular**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refinement</th>
<th>MIDDLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S gender</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S age</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S status</td>
<td>same as S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H gender</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H age</td>
<td>same as S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S &amp; H relations</td>
<td>close</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Setting** informal

**R้าว** can be used to a family member in the same generation. A husband can use it to his wife and vice versa when age difference is not obvious. 4% of female employees reported using ร้าว to their boyfriends/husbands and 3% of male employees reported
using it to their girlfriends/wives. Rau is also widely used among friends, especially females. It is also used to same-level colleagues. Rau shows that S is close to H and can be used only in informal situations. It cannot be used in public speaking because of its informal status.

When a speaker expresses his/her feeling as if to him/herself rather than directly to a particular listener, s/he may use rau. One person may express disappointment at a friend's failure to believe one as follows:

\[(9)\text{thi: rau bɔ:k māi chū:a when I tell neg. believe 'When I told him/her, s/he didn't believe me'}\]

The above sentence can be spoken to any H regardless of H's status.

**Summary of speaker's attitude**

rau = I; you and I are not distanced. We talk as people talk in informal situations.

b. Plural

Rau is normatively considered a plural form, e.g. it is so identified in the official Thai dictionary (Thai Royal Institute, 1982). Rau (plural) shares the following characteristics with the singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refinement</th>
<th>MIDDLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S gender</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S age</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S status</td>
<td>same as S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H gender</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apart from number the singular the plural rau differs from rau (singular) in the three features below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H age</th>
<th>no distinction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S &amp; H relations</td>
<td>no power or distance distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting</td>
<td>no distinction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rau can be used as a self-reference term by S and spouse to their parents or grandparents or aunts and uncles, and by siblings to their parents or grandparents or uncles and aunts or anyone lower or the same as S.
Rau can be used to refer to more than one person (S +) to any H. Rau is widely used to refer to S and his group both inclusively and exclusively to public H.

**Summary of speaker's attitude**

rau = we

### 2.4.10 chan

**Refinement**

**MIDDLE**

- **S gender**
  1. If S is male then mainly female H
  2. If S is female then no distinction of H gender

- **S status**
  same or higher than H

- **S & H relations**
  1. If S is same status as H then intimate
  2. If S is higher than H then no distinction

- **Setting**
  informal

*Chan* is written *chän* but it is pronounced *chán*. This term may be used when (a) H has the same power or age as S and they are close, or (b) H's power is lower than that of S. Kinship terms are preferred, however, when S is older than H. In special cases such as when S is angry at H s/he will use *chán* as self-reference, or again the term may be used when S wants to minimise the distance of age or power with H.

Some women do not like to be spoken to with the self-reference term *chán* because they regard it as meaning that H's power is lower than that of S. These women prefer to be addressed with the self-reference term rau or with names. In this survey, women showed a preference for using *chán* with close friends of either sex, while men tended to prefer to use ku: to express solidarity with each other and *chán* with female friends.

I have observed no usage of *chán* in the workplace by men, with the exception of one case that must be regarded as influenced by a dialect other than Bangkok Thai. Similarly to singular rau, *chán* cannot be used in public speaking.

Homosexual men tend to use *chán* among their close friends more than heterosexual men do. In a drama script *Chan phù:cha:i nà yă 'I am a man' written by Seri Wongmontha, there are eight characters. Two are heterosexual men who never use *chán*
in the drama. Of the other six homosexual characters, five who are described as effeminate use ชาน when talking to their friends. The only man who does not use ชาน is described sometimes as bisexual and acts in a masculine manner.

**Summary of speaker's attitude**

ชาน = I; you are the same or lower in status than me. We talk as people talk in an informal situation.

### 2.4.11 ข้าว

**Refinement**

MIDDLE

- **S gender**
  - 1. If H is a family member or lover, no distinction
  - 2. If H is outside the family, then female

- **S age**
  - no distinction

- **H gender**
  - no distinction

- **H age**
  - close to S

- **S & H relations**
  - no power distinction and close

**Setting**

informal

ข้าว is a special extension of ข้าว in third person usage (Cooke, 1968: 14). It conveys a childlike nuance and shows affection. The term can be used to the same and older generation members of the family. Some men use ข้าว to their girlfriends and wives:

(10)ข้าว катка:น ส่ง แฟก พิธีสมัคร มา: ห้าว ล้ม:ู น้า
    'I have sent an application form by fax.' (A letter from a husband to his wife)

Some women also use ข้าว to close friends or to close colleagues when their relationship has developed into a close friendship. 11% of female employees reported using ข้าว to close female colleagues and 7% to close male colleagues. ข้าว cannot be used in public speaking because of its informality and childlikeness.

**Summary of speaker's attitude**

ข้าว = I; you and I are close. I can show affection to you like a small child does to someone s/he likes. We are talking in a very informal situation.
2.4.12 .ua

a. Thai

Refinement  LOW
S gender  mainly male
S age  adult
H gender  male
H age  same as S
H status  same or lower
S & H relations  1. If S is same status as H then intimate
                        2. If S is higher no distinction of intimacy
Setting  informal

.ua was borrowed from Chinese (Chaozhou, also known as Teochiu). The strongest flow of Chinese emigrants to Thailand started in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There are now probably about three million people of Chinese origin in Thailand, but many of the total population have some Chinese blood, as there has been a great deal of intermarriage with the Thais. The Teochiu were the largest group of migrants, others including Hainanese, Hokkien, Cantonese and Hakka (Baker, 1987:30-31). Recent Chinese vocabulary in Thai has mainly been introduced through Chaozhou (Khanittanan, n.d.: 1). When Thai borrowed .ua the tone was changed to high tone úa.

.ua is restricted mainly to male usage. The term can be used in two situations: (1) when S has the same power as H and they are close, or (2) when S has higher power than H. .ua is not generally used in the family circle, and it cannot be used in public speaking because it is a LOW word and informal. The term is used in informal situations where H (male) is on the same level as S and close to S, or when H (male) is lower. The usage is particularly popular where masculinity is regarded as important, such as in the military and in the police.

Summary of speaker's attitude
.ua =  I; I don't have to show respect to you because
   a. you and I are close or
   b. you are lower than me.
Chapter 2 Self-reference pronouns in Japanese and Thai

I can talk to you as men do to their close male friends.

b. Chinese (ua)

Refinement: MIDDLE
S ethnicity: Chinese Thai
S gender: no distinction
S age: no distinction
H gender: no distinction
S age: no distinction
S & H relations: mainly relative of S,
no power distinction
Setting: informal

Usage of the gender-neutral self-reference term ua is most popular among ethnic Chaozhou. The term is also used by some members of the second generation, who are mostly bilingual (most speak Thai more than Chinese and receive education in Thai), especially when they talk to persons in the family. The pronunciation of this term has tended to change to ọa among third generation speakers as their Chinese language maintenance has deteriorated.

Some Chinese Thai will use ọa mainly to persons in the family. 19 out of 183 questionnaire respondents reported using ọa (ua), reflecting their Chinese background. Ọa can be used to any H but usage to children is low because kinship terms are preferred here.

When Chinese Thais make friends outside the family circle or work in the same place and become close they may use some Chinese terms. For example, they will use the Chinese term aŋms: to refer to Westerners. This preference, however, does not extend to self-reference terms. They usually prefer not to use ọa (ua) but to use Thai self-reference terms with other Chinese Thai as well as other Thais. Ọa is not used in the workplace except in a Chinese family enterprise. The term ọa is not used in public speaking because it is too low, too informal and restricted mainly to family H.

Summary of speaker’s attitude

ọa = I; I can talk to you as people of Chinese background talk to each other.
2.4.13 \textit{khâ:}

Refinement \textit{LOW}

S gender mainly male
S age no distinction
H gender same as S (except siblings)
H status same or lower
S & H relations 1. If S is same status as H then intimate
2. If S is higher no distinction of intimacy

Setting informal

Although originally \textit{khâ:} meant 'slave' and was used to a higher person to show humility, its meaning has now changed and it is used to a lower H. For most Bangkok speakers \textit{khâ:} has an old fashioned flavour or is associated with rural usage. It is still used, however, among some men to show solidarity, though less than 7\% of questionnaire respondents reported using the term. It is considered a \textit{LOW} word but not so \textit{LOW} as \textit{ku:}.

A few students reported using \textit{khâ:} to their siblings and some male employees reported using it to their close male colleagues. Questionnaire data also show that the term can be used to close male friends but it is not as popular as \textit{ku:}. \textit{Khâ:} cannot be used in public speaking because it is too low.

Summary of speaker's attitude
\textit{khâ:} = I; I do not have to show respect to you because

a. we are same status close persons, or

b. you are lower than me

I can use \textit{LOW} words with you.

2.4.14 \textit{ku:}

Refinement \textit{LOW}

S gender mainly male
S age no distinction
H gender same as S
Chapter 2 Self-reference pronouns in Japanese and Thai

H age no distinction
H status same or lower
S & H relations 1. If S is same status as H then intimate
2. If S is higher no distinction of intimacy
Setting informal

*Ku* is the oldest self-reference in Bangkok Thai. Its form is reconstructed in Proto-Tai as *kuw/kau* (Iamchinda, 1992). This term is a LOW word but it has covert prestige and is often used by men to their close male friends or their siblings (mainly brothers). 76% of male students reported using *ku* to their close male friends.

The use of *ku* was reported more among same-sex siblings than among those of the opposite sex. 38% of male students reported using *ku* to their younger brothers while 22% of male students reported using it to their younger sisters. Similarly, while 30% of male students reported using *ku* to their older brothers only 20% of male students reported using this term to their older sisters.

*Ku* is widely used among close male friends, but, from my observations, some women also use this word to their close female friends. One informant reported that she heard this usage during her school days in her all-female school but not in her co-educational school. There is a possibility that in co-educational schools girls have to act in a more feminine way than in all-female schools. A university lecturer reported that female students have begun to use *ku* in recent years. She stated that in her time as a student (1970) no female student used *ku*: 8% of female students reported using *ku* to their close female friends.

*Ku* can be used to a very close colleague of the same or lower status than S. However, it is more difficult to use *ku* to a friend made in adulthood than to friends known since childhood or adolescent days: many male informants reported that when talking to male friends who became close when they were adults they found it difficult to use *ku* and often would replace it with *khà* or *úa*. 30% of male employees reported using *ku* to close male colleagues while 76% of male students reported using it to close male

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7 Older siblings with less age difference can be treated as persons of the same level of power.
friends. *Ku:* cannot be used in public speaking because it is a very low word. Sometimes when S is angry *ku:* and other low words are used.

**Summary of speaker's attitude**

*Ku:* = I; I do not have to show respect to you because

a. we are same status close persons, or

b. you are lower than me

I can use low words with you as close people do when they know each other well.

### 3.1.1 Kinship terms

As discussed in section 1.4.2.1, kinship terms as defined here are words expressing an inherited blood relationship. In this section we will first review kinship terms in Japanese followed by Thai kinship terms.

#### 3.1.1.1 Japanese kinship terms

Kinship terms used in self-reference that are listed in my data are as follows:

a. *otousan*1 (Father)

*Otosan* is widely used by Japanese fathers to their children. However, a father can also use the noun *papa* in pronouns to his children. The majority of male employees reported using *otousan* while some reported using *papa* with the pronoun *han* and are.

When children become adults a father tends to use pronouns more than nouns. In a situation where the role of the father is emphasized (e.g., giving advice) he may use *otousan* more than pronouns.

b. *papa*  

*Papa* is a loanword from English and is considered as child language. 10% of male employees reported using *papa* to their children. One informant said that his daughter did not like him to call himself *papa* when she reached the age of puberty.

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1 The polite prefix a- can be dropped with kinship terms when close relatives (see 4.2).

2 The suffix -san can be dropped with kinship terms when close relatives (see 4.2). It can also each terms in self-reference.
Chapter 3

Self-reference nouns in Japanese and Thai

In the previous chapter we have explained the usage of self-reference pronouns. In this chapter, we analyse data to see how status terms (kinship terms, occupational and positional terms), names and other nouns are used in self-reference.

3.1 Status terms

Status terms will be divided into kinship terms and occupational and positional terms.

3.1.1 Kinship terms

As discussed in section 1.4.2.1, kinship terms as defined here are words expressing an inherited blood relationship. In this section we will first review kinship terms in Japanese followed by Thai kinship terms.

3.1.1.1 Japanese kinship terms

Kinship terms used in self-reference that are found in my data are as follows:

a. otoosan¹,² 'father'

Otoosan is widely used by Japanese fathers to their children. However, a father can also use the noun papa or pronouns to his children. The majority of male employees reported using otoosan while some reported using papa and the pronouns boku and ore. When children become adult a father tends to use pronouns more than otoosan. In a situation where the role of the father is emphasized (e.g. giving advice) he may use otoosan more than pronouns.

b. papa 'father (H is a small child)'

Papa is a loanword from English and is considered as child language. 10% of male employees reported using papa to their children. One informant said that his daughter did not like him to call himself papa when she reached the age of puberty.

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¹ The polite prefix o- can be dropped with kinship terms longer than three moras (see 4.2).
² The suffix -san can be changed to -chan to show affection (see also 4.2). S can use such terms in self-reference.
Therefore, he had changed his self-reference to *otoosan* and sometimes to *ore*. However, from my observation he still sometimes used *papa* when showing affection to his daughter.

c. *okaasan*  
*Okaasan* is widely used by Japanese mothers to their children. However, a mother can also use the noun *mama* and the pronouns *watashi* and *atashi* to her children. When children become adult a mother tends to use pronouns more than *okaasan*. In a situation where the role of the mother is emphasised (e.g. giving advice) she may use *okaasan* more than pronouns.

d. *okaasama*  
A mother who prefers using HIGH words can use *okaasama*, a more respectful variant of *okaasan*. This usage has been found in Ide et al.’s (1984) data. The housewife who mainly called herself *okaasama* to her daughters was described by Ide et al. as a 49 year-old middle class (chuuryuu) housewife, employed with two daughters, one a fourth year-university student and the second a third-year high-school student.

(1) **konogoro okaasama ki o tsuketeru kara tsukaranai wa yo now mother be careful because be caught-neg. illoc. illoc.**

'I am careful these days, so I won't be caught.' (Ide et al. 1984: 199)

In households characterised by polite usage a mother may call herself *okaasama* to train her children to address her in that way and she may continue using the term even when they have grown up. It is worth noting that the husband of the housewife mentioned above referred to himself as *otoosan*, not *otoosama*, a higher form equivalent to *okaasama*.

(2) **konoida otoosan mita toki i thought time good father saw nom.**

'anoo take mo ii shi ne err. length too good too illoc.**

'When I saw it last time I thought it was great. er... the length is good, too.' (Ide et al. 1984: 189)

e. *mama*  
*mama*  
H is a small child
Chapter 3 Self-reference nouns in Japanese and Thai

*Mama*, like the word *papa*, is a loanword from English and is considered as child language. Some mothers change their self-reference from *mama* to *okaasan* or to the pronouns *watashi* and *atashi* when their children become older.

**f. oniisan** 'older brother'

An older brother can use *oniisan* to younger siblings. However, it is not common among adults except in a situation where the role of the older brother is emphasised (e.g. giving advice). 5% of male students reported using *oniisan* to younger brothers and 14% to younger sisters. No employees surveyed reported using *oniisan* to younger brothers and only 3% reported using it to younger sisters.

**g. oneesan** 'older sister'

An older sister can use *oneesan* to their younger siblings. However, among adults except in a situation where the role of the older sister is emphasised (e.g. giving advice) pronouns are more commonly used. Only 3% of female students reported using *oneesan* to younger brothers and 10% to younger sisters. 27% of female employees reported using it to younger brothers and 26% to younger sisters.

**h. ojiisan** 'grandfather'

If H is a small child, a grandfather will mainly use *ojiisan*.

**i. obaasan** 'grandmother'

If H is a small child, a grandmother will mainly use *obaasan*.

**j. ojisan** 'uncle'

49% of employees reported using *ojisan* to their niece/nephew. The word *ojisan* conveys the impression that the speaker is a male of at least middle age. Therefore, many young persons do not like to use it, and only 4% of male students reported using *ojisan* to their niece/nephew. One informant said that he called himself *nobu-niichan* (name + older brother) because his niece/nephew is still small. When his niece/nephew got older he said he would change to *ojiisan*.

**k. obasan** 'aunt'

The word *obasan* conveys a similar impression of speaker's middle age. Therefore, many young persons do not like to use it. Only 4% of female students reported using *obasan* to their niece/nephew. One respondent interviewed later in this
study reported that she avoided using this term because she was still young from her	niece's perspective. She reported that if she used obasan she would confuse her niece by
referring to herself with a term conveying middle-age, and added that when her niece
became older and understood that obasan was a kinship term and not just a term
expressing age, she would start using it.

3.1.1.2 The fictive use of Japanese kinship terms

Some kinship terms have extended uses indicating family-role or age rather than
the literal biological relationship among S and H.

a. To family members

A father can call himself otoosan to his wife as well as to his children, and even to
his parents, although this is rare. A mother can call herself okaasan to her husband as
well as to her children. I did not find the use of okaasan to H in an older generation. This
may be because the role of mother is overshadowed by that of a daughter-in-law whose
traditional role is to serve the husband's parents. Children in a family with younger
siblings may also use oniisan 'older brother' and oneesan 'older sister' to their parents.

Many young uncles and aunts also call themselves oniisan and oneesan to their
nieces/nephews because the age difference is small. 15% of male students reported
calling themselves oniisan and nii and 15% of female students reported calling themselves
oneesan to their nieces/nephews. 7% of male employees reported calling themselves
oniisan while 6% of female employees reported calling themselves oneesan to
nieces/nephews.

b. To non-family members

Kinship terms used to non-family members are ojiisan, obaasan, ojisan, obasan,
oniisan and oneesan. The terms are governed by S's age.

Approximate age of S

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ojiisan, obaasan</td>
<td>Over 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ojisan, obasan</td>
<td>30 - 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oniisan, oneesan</td>
<td>Under 30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When S uses self-reference kinship terms to non-family members, the listener must be a child or be considered to be a child by S. This usage shows good feeling towards H. I have observed a woman in her 30's who worked in a university canteen calling herself obasan to a teenage student when she said she would bring some more food:

(3) obachan motte kuru kara
  aunt bring come because
  'I will bring it for you.'

Her role was somewhat similar to that of a mother bringing food to a child.

3.1.1.3 Thai kinship terms

Self-reference kinship terms in Thai can be divided into three groups based on the generation/age relation between S and H.

1. S is in a higher generation

When talking to a person in a lower generation S will normally use kinship terms as self-reference.

a. phā: 'father'

A father mainly calls himself phā: to his children. Unlike in Japanese, a Thai person who is one generation older than H will normally use only kinship terms as self-reference. If a person switches to pronouns, this shows that the relationship has changed, such that S is angry, etc.

b. pā: 'father'

Pā: is probably a loanword from Chinese. This usage can be found among Chinese Thai. It is more often used by second or later generations of Chinese Thai. The first generation mainly use pa: or papā (see 3.1.1.5 a.).

c. mā: 'mother'

A mother mainly calls herself mā: to her children. A Thai mother will normally use only kinship terms for self-reference. When a mother switches to pronouns, it shows that the relationship has changed, such that S is angry or has a special feeling of closeness at the time.

d. lug 'parent's older brother'

e. pā: 'parent's older sister'
f. **a:** 'father's younger sibling

g. **ná:** 'mother's younger sibling'

h. **pù:** 'paternal grandfather'

i. **yà:** 'paternal grandmother'

j. **ta:** 'maternal grandfather'

k. **ya:i** 'maternal grandmother'

All persons in older generations will mainly call themselves by kinship terms according to their relation with H. They will use pronouns only on special occasions such as showing anger.

2. S is in the same generation but older than H

It is widespread, although optional, for older siblings to use kinship terms for self-reference.

a. **phî:** 'older sibling'

An older brother or sister can call him/herself phî: to younger siblings. Approximately half of the female respondents who have younger siblings reported using phî:. As the figure below shows, more females used phî: to their younger siblings than males; men use pronouns or names to their younger siblings especially when the age difference is not great.

*Figure 1: Percentage of respondents with younger siblings reporting using phî:*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>to younger sister</th>
<th>to younger brother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female employees</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female students</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male students</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male employees</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. S is younger than H

It is optional for S to use kinship terms for self-reference but few persons do this.

a. \( n\ddot{\text{o}}:\eta \) 'younger sibling'

Only a few male (4%) and a few female (3%) employees reported using \( n\ddot{\text{o}}:\eta \) to their older siblings. 6% of female students reported using \( n\ddot{\text{o}}:\eta \) to their older brother and 8% reported using it to their older sister. There was no report of male students using \( n\ddot{\text{o}}:\eta \) to older siblings.

b. \( l\ddot{\text{u}}:k \) 'child'

6% of male employees reported using \( l\ddot{\text{u}}:k \) to their father and 9% to their mother. 9% of female employees reported using \( l\ddot{\text{u}}:k \) to their parents. Only 1% of female students and no male students reported using \( l\ddot{\text{u}}:k \) to their parents. I have observed a person who uses \( l\ddot{\text{u}}:k \) to parents also being addressed as \( l\ddot{\text{u}}:k \) by them. This phenomenon is found more with only children, when there is no ambiguity. When parents have more than one child they will call them by name or "\( l\ddot{\text{u}}:k + \text{name} \)" to distinguish them.

c. \( l\ddot{\text{a}}:n \) 'grandchild'

Only 3% of male employees reported using \( l\ddot{\text{a}}:n \) to their maternal grandfather and none reported using this term to other grandparents. 2% of female students and no female employees or male students reported using \( l\ddot{\text{a}}:n \) to their grandparents.

3.1.1.4 The fictive use of Thai kinship terms

a. To family members

Three types of fictive usage of this kind have been found:

1. Spouses may use self-reference kinship terms from the perspective of their child. Thus, a husband can call himself \( p\ddot{\text{h}}: \) 'father' to his wife and a wife can also call herself \( m\ddot{\text{a}}: \) 'mother' to her husband.

2. A younger child may use self-reference kinship terms from the perspective of older brothers/sisters to parents, aunts, uncles or grandparents: \( n\ddot{\text{o}}:\eta + \text{name} \). This usage is found more among women than men. 1% of female students reported using \( n\ddot{\text{o}}:\eta + \text{name} \) to their father and 3% to their mother. 2% of female employees reported using \( n\ddot{\text{o}}:\eta + \text{name} \) to their father and 3% to their mother.
Chapter 3 Self-reference nouns in Japanese and Thai

+ name to their parents and 3% to their paternal grandparents and maternal grandfather. No men reported this kind of usage.

3. Young uncles and aunts may call themselves phi: to their niece/nephew. 32% of male students reported calling themselves phi: and 48% of female students reported employing it to their nieces/nephews. 14% of male employees and 16% of female employees reported this usage.

b. To non-family members

Kinship terms used to non-family members are luŋ 'father/mother's older brother', pâ: 'father/mother's older sister', a: 'father's younger brother/sister', ná: 'mother's younger brother/sister', pù: 'paternal grandfather', yâ: 'paternal grandmother', ta: 'maternal grandfather', ya:i 'maternal grandmother', phi: 'older siblings' and n5:ŋ 'younger sibling'. Use of the these terms is governed by (a) S's age, (b) the age difference between S and H, and (c) whether S is closer to the paternal or maternal side of the parents/grandparents of H.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approximate age of S</th>
<th>Approximate age difference between S and H</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pù:, yâ:, ta:, ya:i</td>
<td>Over 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luŋ, pâ:, a: ná:</td>
<td>30 - 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phi:</td>
<td>No restriction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n5:ŋ</td>
<td>No restriction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This usage of kinship terms shows good feeling towards H. Kinship terms are widely used as self-reference in Thai society especially by female speakers whose self-reference pronoun system lacks a wide-scope item.

Self-reference kinship terms are used to non-family members generally according to S/H conditions, e.g. approximate age of S/H, membership of a shared institutional framework (same place of work, etc.), how well the interlocutors are acquainted, etc. Normally maternal terms are used when both maternal and paternal terms are available. In a typical case S is a friend of H's parents/grandparents and has to choose maternal or paternal terms according to his/her relationship with them. Situations like the following were commonly reported: S who is a few years younger than H's father and knows the father, not the mother, of H will use a: 'father's younger sibling' not ná: 'mother's
younger sibling' to H. If S knows both the father and the mother s/he will use self-reference terms from the closer side. Conflict may occur when S is close to both of H's parents. One female informant said that two of her classmate friends were married to each other. She always used the maternal kinship term nā: to her friends' child. The father of the child complained to her that she should use a: to his child some of the time.

In Catholic society, a priest will call himself phò: to lay people, Catholic brothers and sisters. Lay people can call themselves lû:k to a priest. A priest reported that people outside Bangkok used lû:k more than Bangkok speakers.

3.1.1.5 Kinship terms of other ethnic groups

From my questionnaire and informant data two further systems of kinship terms have been found in Thailand. One system is used among Chinese Thai and the other among Malay Thai.

a. Chinese Thai

The kinship term system of Chinese Thai is as follows:

- kōg: 'grandfather'
- mà: 'grandmother'
- pa:, papá: 'father'
- mà:, mà: mà: 'mother'
- pè 'father's older brother'
- ùm 'father's older brother's wife'
- cèk 'father's younger brother'
- sim 'father's younger brother's wife'
- ko: 'father's sister'
- tìa 'father/mother's sister's husband'
- i: 'mother's sister'
- kū: 'mother's brother'
- kim 'mother's brother's wife'
- hìa 'older brother'
- sò: 'older brother's wife'
Self-reference kinship terms used by Chinese Thai are influenced by the Thai self-reference system. Originally Chinese kinship terms were not widely used as self-reference except in talking to children, and the pronoun ăa was used as the main self-reference term. However, among second and later generation Chinese Thai, Chinese kinship terms are widely used for self-reference within the family. For example, an uncle told his nephew:

(4) \textit{kū: māi saba:i}  
\textit{uncle neg. good}  
'I do not feel well.'

b. Malay Thai

The kinship terms of Malay Thai that are reported to be used as self-reference are as follows:

\textit{pā:, pō}  
'father'

\textit{mā, mō}  
'mother'

\textit{ki:}  
'grandfather'

\textit{tō}  
'grandmother'

\textit{cu:}  
'uncle or aunt younger than father or mother'

\textit{wō}  
'uncle or aunt older than father or mother'

\textit{bāj}  
'older brother'

\textit{nī}  
'older sister'

The terms have been found to be used in the family only.

3.2 Occupational and positional terms

Non-kinship terms are mainly occupational terms (showing what people do for a living), occasionally positional terms (showing role relationships to the hearer). In Thai and Japanese, these terms are employed as reference for all persons, although usage in self-reference is the most limited.
Chapter 3 Self-reference nouns in Japanese and Thai

3.2.1 Japanese terms

Japanese terms are occupational, and are child-oriented. That is to say, one can use occupational terms in self-reference when one talks to children or treats one's listeners as children. The terms discussed here are sensei 'teacher', oishasan 'doctor' and omawarisan 'policeman'.

a. sensei 'teacher'

Japanese teachers in kindergarten will call themselves sensei to their pupils. One teacher said to her pupils:

(5) akagumi-chan shirogumi-chan sensei no hoo
red-group-affect. white-group-affect. teacher poss. side
mite kudasai
look please
'Pupils in red group and white group please look at me'

Teachers in primary school can call themselves sensei too. However, the older the pupils are, the less teachers will use sensei to them. For a teacher to call him/herself sensei is considered inappropriate in secondary school. However, I have found that a private tutor (a housewife in her 50s) called herself sensei to her high-school pupils. She said that she used sensei when the topic of the conversation was about academic things such as disagreeing on how the students solved mathematical problems:

(6) sensei nara koo shinai
teacher if this do-neg.
'If it was me I wouldn't do that.'

When she talked about her personal private matters she would switch to a pronoun:

(7) atashi raigetsu chuugoku itchau kara nikai
I next month China go because twice
yasumu no ne
take leave nom. illoc.
'I will go to China next month, so I have to cancel two classes.'

b. oishasan 'doctor'

A doctor will normally use oishasan as self-reference to a small child.

c. omawarisan 'policeman'.

A policeman will normally use omawarisan as self-reference to a small child. A policewoman will use a kinship term such as oneesan rather than omawarisan in this situation.
3.2.2 Thai terms

The use of non-kinship terms in Thai is not child-oriented. For instance, female peddlers can refer to themselves as *mæ:khá* 'female peddler' to an elderly person. Non-kinship terms which are commonly used in self-reference are as follows:

- **khru:** 'teacher'
- **a:ca:n** 'teacher'
- **mātsá:** 'male teacher in Catholic school for boys'
- **mít** 'female teacher in Catholic school for girls'
- **bra:dā:** 'Catholic brother'
- **sístā:** 'Catholic sister'
- **mās:** 'doctor'
- **phaya:ba:n** 'nurse'
- **phrácâuyū:hūa** 'king'
- **phe:sát** 'pharmacist'
- **chāŋ** 'craftsman'
- **mæ:khá** 'female peddler or small business merchant'
- **na:i** 'boss'
- **yo:m** 'one who supports a monk'

There are four words for teacher that can be used as self-reference. Traditionally the role of teacher is a prestigious occupation. It is regarded as very important, second only to one's parents. This may be one reason why terms for teacher are widely used among teachers when they talk to their students. Thus, in a recent study of pronominal usage (Pumpruk, 1982), it was found in the sample that when talking to their students teachers used status (occupational) terms more than other self-reference terms. Pumpruk (1982: 37-38) also found that 88.62% of university teachers, 89.09% of vocational school teachers, 97.48% of secondary school teachers and 99.53% of primary school teachers used status terms when talking formally to their students.

a. **khru:** 'teacher'

Many teachers are proud of using this word. They regard the term as marking the status of a person with knowledge and morality. A teacher is a giver to students and
his/her role is to mold an ignorant person into an educated person or a wiser one. The term is the most widely used self-reference form for teachers to students. (*Khru:* is also widely used among conservative groups of female university lecturers, cf. p. 110.)

b. *a:ca:n*  'teacher'

This term is used less often than *khru*. Teachers at all levels can be referred to as *khru* and *a:ca:n*. However, university lecturers can be referred to as *a:ca:n* only. Among teachers, university lecturers use *a:ca:n* as self-reference the most, but the usage is still limited.

c. *mátsɔː:*  'male teacher in Catholic school for boys'

There are many Catholic boys' schools in Thailand: e.g. Saint Gabriels's College, Assumption College. Most of the schools carry saints' names. Male teachers are called *mátsɔː:* (from English 'master') and they call themselves by this term too. In formal situations *mátsɔː:* often becomes *máːstɔː:*.  

d. *mit*  'female teacher in Catholic school for girls'

Similarly, Catholic girls' schools in Thailand such as Saint Joseph Convent College and Mater Dei College, usually carry saints' names. Female teachers are called *mit* (from English 'miss') and they call themselves *mit* too. The pronunciation varies from *mis* to *mit*.

e. *braːdɔː:*  'Catholic brother'

Although the original term is a kinship term in English, it has a status-related usage among Catholic people. Catholic brothers in Thailand mainly work in schools, either as teachers or administrators. They will use *braːdɔː:* as self-reference when talking to students in Catholic schools and to Catholic people. They can also use *braːdɔː:* to a priest.

f. *sístɔː:*  'Catholic sister'

Catholic sisters in Thai mainly work in schools either as teachers or administrators, or in medical institutions such as hospitals. They will use *sístɔː:* as self-reference when talking to students in Catholic schools or to other lay people and they can also use *sístɔː:* to a Catholic priest.
Chapter 3 Self-reference nouns in Japanese and Thai

g. $mō$: 'doctor'

A doctor can use $mō$: to patients and staff in his workplace. Female doctors tend
to use $mō$: more than male doctors because women do not have a wide-scope pronoun
like $phōm$ for men.

The remaining terms can also be used as self-reference but they are not so widely
used as the above:

h.  $phaya:ba:n$ 'nurse'

This term can be used to a patient.

i.  $phrácâuyû:hūa$ 'king'

The king sometimes uses $prácâuyû:hūa$ in informal talk to subjects.

j.  $phe:sât$ 'pharmacist'

One pharmacist working in a department store reported that she sometimes used
$phe:sât$ to her customers.

k.  $châŋ$ 'craftsman'

A craftsman can use this term to his customers.

l.  $mâ:khâ$ 'female peddler or small business merchant'

A female peddler or small business merchant in the street or market can call
herself $mâ:khâ$ to her customers.

m.  $na:i$ 'boss'

An employer of servants in the house can use this term to them. The term is not
used in organisations.

n.  $yo:m$ 'one who supports a monk'

A lay Buddhist can call herself $yo:m$ to a monk. From my observations I found
that only women used the word.
3.3 Personal names

The purpose of this section is to discuss how names are used in self-reference. We will also touch on aspects such as variation among people of different gender or age.

3.3.1 Japanese names

As indicated in 1.4.3.1, there are three kinds of personal names in Japanese: family names, given names and nicknames. All three kinds can be used as self-reference.

a. Family names

Family names are the least used as self-reference among the three and the usage is not common. Respondents reported using names as follows:

Table 1: Percentage of respondents reporting using family names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This usage is especially rare among young people. From my questionnaire data for students, there is only one case (2%) where a male student reported using his family name for self-reference. The respondent reported this usage when talking to intimate male friends. Female students reported no usage of family names in self-reference. A few employees reported using family names for self-reference:

Table 2: Percentage of employees reporting using family names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Listener</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>non-intimate boss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>intimate same sex colleague</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>non-intimate same sex colleague</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>non-intimate opposite sex colleague</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>intimate same sex subordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>non-intimate same sex subordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>intimate opposite sex subordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>non-intimate opposite sex subordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>younger boss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>older boss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>regular trader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>customer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>department chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>section chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>female clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>public speaking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A person will use family names for self-reference only when s/he talks to a person outside the family. This usage is greatest when talking to regular clients and to customers.
The common factor in both relationships is that interaction with neither of these groups is in regard to personal matters and affairs.

During the Second World War military men used family names (sometimes with rank) for self-reference in the army. In 1991 a Japanese magazine interviewed an ex-military officer who has been living in Thailand since the war. In the interview he sometimes slipped into use of his family name for self-reference when excited.

(8) **fujita wa ima soo kangaete-oru n desu**

Fujita top. now that think asp. nom. cop.
'That is what I think now.' (Asahi Shimbun weekly newspaper, 1991)

(9) **fujita wa nihon ni kaeritakatta n desu**

Fujita top. Japan to return-wanted nom. cop.
'I wanted to return to Japan' (ibid.)

This usage also serves to inform the listener of the speaker’s name. Nowadays we find a similar form of usage in formal conversation when a speaker refers to him/herself while concurrently informing listeners of his/her name. A moderator in an academic conference announced:

(10) **shikai wa kokuritsukokugokenkyujo no**


**kobayashi ga tsutome-sasete itadakimasu**

Kobayashi subj. work caus. receive

'I, Mr. Kobayashi, of the National Language Research Institute will serve as moderator'

Examples (11) and (12) show a different usage, where S's name is known by H.

A lecturer put a note in front of his door informing his class cancellation:

(11) **shibuya no tsugoo de yasumimasu**

Shibuya poss. convenience because take leave
'There is no class today because of my personal business'

A candidate for a union leader told the union committee:

(12) **kono komori tomoyuki ano futatabi kumiaichooo**

this Tomoyuki Komori err... again union leader

**toshite hataraka-sete itadakitai to omoimasu**

as work caus. receive-want that think
'Tomoyuki Komori (I) would like to serve you as union leader again'

Note that both are formal uses, with (11) being written language.

b. Given names and nicknames

Given names and nicknames are more widely used than family names. Below are
percentages of respondents reporting using given names and nicknames in self-reference:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given names</td>
<td>Nicknames</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the research data I found that employees, who are generally older in age, used given names and nicknames more than students. Gender is also strongly linked to the use of both given names and nicknames, with female employees reporting using these names four times more than their male counterparts. Men are more commonly addressed with family names than women, and this may be one of the factors why men do not use given names and nicknames as self-reference to the same extent.

Close friends and colleagues can use given names and nicknames as self-reference to each other. Members of the same family of the same or younger generation can also use given names and nicknames to those in the same or older generations. Children use given names and nicknames as self-reference more than adults. As mentioned above, one informant reported that when her daughter entered primary school she was told by her teacher that calling herself by name is childish and she began to use *watashi* after that. A person who is high in power will not normally use given names and nicknames as self-reference to a person lower in power.

From male student questionnaires, only a small minority of male respondents (2%) reported using given names to parents, and nicknames to close male friends. Male usage of names for self-reference is clearly not common. Female students, however, reported using given names and nicknames to 18 categories of people (see table 4).
### Table 4: Percentage of female students reporting using given names and nicknames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Given name</th>
<th>Nickname</th>
<th>Listener</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Listener</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>non-intimate male friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>intimate female friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>intimate male junior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>intimate female junior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>non-intimate female junior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>older brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>older sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>younger sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>boyfriend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>niece/nephew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of cases where female students used these names is in addressing boyfriends: 25%. The second most common case is to older brothers: 17%. There seem to be a number of similarities between boyfriends and older brothers: both are males of the same generation as S, with boyfriends typically being older; and both are expected to act as protectors of girls.

The questionnaire data revealed that employees used given names and nicknames for self-reference to the following persons:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Given name</th>
<th>Listener</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>same and older generation family members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>same and older generation family members, nieces/nephews, boyfriends, intimate colleagues and subordinates both male and female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nickname</th>
<th>Listener</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>girlfriends and intimate colleagues and intimate female subordinates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>intimate colleagues, parents, younger brothers, nieces/nephews.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data show that employees used these names when conversing with female siblings more than when conversing with male siblings. However, this does not apply in the case of students.
Table 5: Percentage of respondents reporting using given names and nicknames

| Speaker | Employees | Male | Female | | Listener |
|---------|-----------|------|--------| |          |
|         |           | Given names | Nicknames | | colleague M +in |
|         |           | 0 | 1 | 4 | 7 | |
|         |           | 0 | 2 | 3 | 7 | |
|         |           | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | |
|         |           | 0 | 2 | 4 | 0 | |
|         |           | 10 | 0 | 25 | 4 | |
|         |           | 11 | 0 | 25 | 4 | |
|         |           | 8 | 0 | 14 | 0 | |
|         |           | 12 | 0 | 40 | 0 | |
|         |           | 6 | 0 | 18 | 9 | |
|         |           | 9 | 0 | 51 | 0 | |
|         |           | 11 | 0 | 27 | 0 | |
|         |           | 9 | 0 | 27 | 0 | |
|         |           | 13 | 0 | 36 | 0 | |
|         |           | 12 | 0 | 31 | 0 | |
|         |           | 0 | 4 | 33 | 0 | |
|         |           | 0 | 0 | 33 | 50 | |
|         |           | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | |

| Students | Male | Female | | Listener |
|----------|------|--------| |          |
|         | Given names | Nicknames | Given names | Nicknames |
| 0 | 2 | 7 | 2 | friend M +in |
| 0 | 0 | 9 | 4 | friend F +in |
| 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | junior F +in |
| 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | junior F -in |
| 0 | 0 | 10 | 6 | father |
| 2 | 0 | 13 | 4 | mother |
| 0 | 0 | 17 | 0 | older brother |
| 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | older sister |
| 0 | 0 | 9 | 0 | younger brother |
| 0 | 0 | 5 | 9 | younger sister |
| 0 | 0 | 9 | 2 | uncle |
| 0 | 0 | 11 | 2 | aunt |
| 0 | 0 | 12 | 2 | grandfather |
| 0 | 0 | 11 | 2 | grandmother |
| 0 | 0 | 25 | 9 | boy/girlfriend |
| 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 | niece/nephew |

Overall, it is clear that the use of nicknames in self-reference is narrower in scope than that of given names.

3.3.2 Thai names

As stated in 1.4.3.2, as in Japanese there are three kinds of personal names in Thai: family names, given names and nicknames (cf. Nacaskul, 1987). Family names are not used as self-reference, and nicknames are the most common. Given names are seldom used, except one-syllable given names.

There are three kinds of nicknames in Thai: contracted given names, special names
and deprecatory nicknames (see 1.4.3.2 for examples). Given names and nicknames used as self-reference can co-occur with kinship terms (e.g. ภิ: ปง 'sister + name'). Normally they will not co-occur with titles indicating that the speaker is higher in power. However, a monk can use title ท่าน in front of his name. A monk told one of his radio listeners on air:

\[(13)\] ท่าน ชาน ด้วย pen ภูาน kap khun

'I have became friends with you.'

Nicknames were commonly observed in self-reference among Thai speakers within the family and in other informal situations. Use of the full given name for this purpose was rare. Both types are subsumed under 'name' in what follows.

**Table 6: Percentage of respondents reporting using names as self-reference**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thai speakers will use names in a friendly manner and not in a formal setting. Names as self-reference were not used with lower status listeners. The use of names is also affected by the gender and age of speakers. Women reported using names more than men, and younger men more than older ones. Men over thirty will normally not use names outside the family, but many men under twenty-five do so. Outside the family (boy/girlfriend excluded) the highest reported percentage for men using names was only 28% but for women it was 93%. Men rarely reported using names in company meetings while at least half of the women reported using it. One reason for this may be that women lack wide-scope pronouns. However, at academic conferences, names are considered as inappropriate for self-reference; when female scholars present papers or lead discussions in formal seminars they cannot use names as self-reference.

a. Talking to higher status H

One may use names in self-reference to both intimate and non-intimate persons; however, they are more widely used with intimate ones (see tables 7 and 8).
Female students did not use names as much as female employees and generally used the pronoun นิ้ว: (see more detail of นิ้ว: in 2.4.8).

When age conflicts with rank Thai women tend to prioritize age. 65% of employed women reported using names more than three times as often with older subordinates than with younger subordinates (see table 9). In addressing older subordinates, they thus choose to refer to themselves in the same way as they do to their colleagues and non-intimate bosses.

To their grandparents, parents, aunts, uncles, and older siblings as well as to people outside the family (boy/girlfriend excluded) women use names as self-reference more than men.

b. Talking to same status H

When intimate same-sex friends/colleagues were talking among themselves the percentage of speakers using names increased among female respondents but decreased among male respondents (see table 10).
Table 10: Percentage of names used for self-reference to same-sex friends/colleagues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female Employees</th>
<th>Female Students</th>
<th>Male Employees</th>
<th>Male Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-intimate</td>
<td>Intimate female friends/colleagues</td>
<td>Non-intimate</td>
<td>Intimate male friends/colleagues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Females tend to use names for self-reference when speaking to intimate females; among informants interviewed there are no pronouns which express solidarity among women. Males tend not to use names with intimate males; here, pronouns exist which express solidarity among men. In addition, names also express a gentleness which may be viewed as an important female characteristic. We may therefore conclude that when talking to a same-sex, intimate listener women prefer to use names while men prefer to use pronouns.

Table 11: Percentage of names used for self-reference by males to intimate friends or colleagues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Intimate friends/colleagues</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As noted above, men tend to use names to close female friends rather than to close male friends. Again, this is probably because men will use pronouns expressing solidarity to men whereas these same pronouns are in fact LOW words which would be regarded as inappropriate for men to use with women. As mentioned above, names express gentleness. Men are encouraged to express gentleness towards females but not to friends of the same sex. However, fewer women use names in self-reference to their younger siblings than men do: gentleness is less important for older female siblings than power in this situation.

It is not common to use names for self-reference to lower status people. Only a few students reported using names to juniors and only a few employees reported using names to a lower status person. We may interpret this as indicating that using names when conversing with a person of lower status amounts to treating them as of the same status.

Thais regard names as especially sensitive indicators of levels of respect.
Chapter 3 Self-reference nouns in Japanese and Thai

Tingsabadh and Prasithrathsint (1986: 71) report that address by name expresses (a) intimacy and (b) power of S over H or disrespect. They explain that a person of higher status will address someone of lower or similar status by name; people of the same status may use names to address each other, in order to show intimacy. However, a person of lower status will not normally address a person of higher status by name alone; they may use names following titles, kinship terms and occupational terms, but it is seen as more respectful not to use names at all. Tingsabadh and Prasithrathsint (1986: 71) give the example of:

(14) mō: khráp
    doctor defr.
    'Doctor'

as displaying greater respect towards Doctor Santi than

(15) mō: sānti khráp
    doctor Sānti defr.
    'Doctor Sānti'

Thai children will thus be very angry if their friends say their parents' names because this displays a lack of respect towards their parents. On this basis, we may conclude that using names for self-reference shows that a speaker acknowledges him/herself as of lower or similar status to the listener.

Occasionally speakers were observed to use given name or title plus given name in what could be called a "third person perspective". This usage differs from the cases mentioned above in that it can be used in a formal setting and does not show good feeling or intimacy. In this pattern, the exact functions of which are still far from clear, speakers seem to be treating themselves indirectly as "content items" apart from their direct role of discourse interlocutor. Most observed instances involved mass-media interviews. For example, in a television programme the moderator asked Mr. Anand Panyarachun, the Prime Minister at the time, which party he would support after the next election. He answered indirectly:

    person who clever asp. top. if know
    Mr. Anand top. so should know that Mr. Anand
Chapter 3 Self-reference nouns in Japanese and Thai

*ni: e:n-iäŋ pai thagdå:n dai*

top. lean towards side which

'Any smart person who happened to know Mr. Anand (i.e. me) would know which side Mr. Anand (i.e. I) supports'
(Mongtangmum, Channel 11, 9/1992)

Mr. Chalerm Yubamrung, a member of Parliament, defended himself from the charge that he bought votes in the recent election:

(17) **phöm mâi khɔ:i wà: prachac hon sü: dâ:i tæ:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I neg. did accuse people buy can but</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baŋkhon phæ: lâaktâŋ lè: u mi: khɔ:-äŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>someone lost election then have excuse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'I never claimed that people could be bought but some losers in the election have made this charge as an excuse for losing. This is not what Chalerm (i.e. I) has done.' (Mongtangmum, Channel 11, 5/9/1992)

A monk (Panyanantha Bhikku) criticized Thais in a sermon for not working efficiently. He commented on how slowly Thai people worked and how long they spent in meetings; in meetings they talked about unrelated topics and the chairperson enjoyed smoking cigarettes. He added:

(18) **ann: yà: hâ: wà lûan phö: pany: phù:t yè: khon**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>this don't that monk Panya speak tease person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nän khon ni: khwa:m ciŋ man pen chênnâñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this person that the truth it cop. that</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'In this case, don't blame Monk Panya (i.e. me) for making jokes about so-and-so; this is how it actually is.'
(Songkwamsukpeemai 'New Year greeting', (Thepwisutthimethi, n.d.)
3.4 Other nouns used in self-reference

There are some additional nouns that are also used for self-reference in both Japanese and Thai.

3.4.1 Japanese nouns

In Japanese, in addition to pronouns, status terms and names, there are four words, kochira 'this way', kotchi 'this way', jibun 'self', and uchi 'inside' that sometimes function in self-reference.

a. kochira

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refinement</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>S/H relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>formal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>distant</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>H</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>(no constraint)</td>
<td>(no constraint)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>(no constraint)</td>
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</table>

Kochira is used when S is presented as opposed to another person or group. Kochira can refer to the speaker and his/her group, and can be both listener inclusive and exclusive.

b. kotchi

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refinement</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>S/H relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>MIDDLE</td>
<td>informal</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>H</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>(no constraint)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>(no constraint)</td>
<td>(no constraint)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Kotchi is an informal variant of kochira; it is also more frequently used.

A lecturer opened a facility room for a postgraduate student to use and said:

(19) kotchi mo tsukau kara
    this side too use because
    'I will use the room, too.'

A lady complained about her husband always calling her in a loud voice in public:
**Chapter 3 Self-reference nouns in Japanese and Thai**

(20) *sorede moo densha no naka demo yobaretari-suru to*

Then well train poss. inside such as be called when

*chotto kotchi ga hazukashikute itsumo hoomu anoo*

little this side subj. embarrassed always platform err..

*sharyoo o betsu-ni-shite dokka dekaketari-shite*

train car obj. separate somewhere go out

'When he called out to me, for example, in the train, I was quite embarrassed. Every time I went out I would go to a separate platform. er.. a separate carriage.' (Mako Nakamura in Tetsuko no heya, n.d.)

In a discussion with another writer, a novelist described his experience in writing:

(21) *sore ga motto kyokutan ni naru to shujinkoo ga that subj. more extreme dat. become when hero subj. katteni ugoite-shimatte kotchi wa doo-shite*

self-willed move this side top. how-do

*kureyoo to omoi-nagara dondon shujinkoo*

give-vol. that think while quickly hero

*ni hippararete-shimau*

by be drawn

In a more extreme case, the hero will move of his own free will. As I think what I should do, I am seduced by the hero.' (Narumi and Kitakata, 1992: 17)

**c. uchi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>S/H relation</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>S</th>
<th>H</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(no constraint)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(no constraint)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>S</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(no constraint)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(no constraint)</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>H</th>
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</table>

_Uchi_ originally means 'inside' or 'one's home'.

(22) *sonokoro uchi binboo deshita kara ne*

that time my home poor past. because illoc.

*oba no ie ga gasudai ga atta n desu*

aunt poss. house subj. gas stove subj. had nom. cop.

*kedo uchi wa gasudai nakatta n de*

but my home top. gas stove have not nom. cop.
Chapter 3 Self-reference nouns in Japanese and Thai

shichirin de yaite-ta n desu ne cooking stove with cook-asp. nom. cop. illoc.

'At that time my family was poor. My aunt's house had a gas stove but my family did not have one and we cooked on a charcoal stove.' (Ai Sazaki in Tetsuko no heya, n.d.)

In Tokyo Japanese uchi as self-reference is used mainly in possessive constructions as in:

(23) uchi no musume nanka mo watashi no koto I poss. daughter such as too I poss. affair

o jitsuzoo ijoo-ni yoku kakimasu kara ne obj. real image more well write-polite. because illoc.

'My daughter writes about me better than my true self.' (Ai Sazaki in Tetsuko no heya, n.d.)

(24) uchi no musume mo ukagatte orimasu keredomo I poss. daughter too hear prog. but

'My daughter also heard that but... .' (Ide et al. 1984: 114)

(25) uchi no haha to depaato itta tte iu kara I poss. mother and department store went that said because

nani tabete-kita tte itara okoranai tte iu kara what eat-came that say-when angry-neg. that say because

nani tte itara ekiyobara tte what that say-when station noodle that

'My children said they went to a department store with my mother, so, I asked what they ate. When I said I would not get angry, they answered "noodle at the railway station".' (Ai Sazaki in Tetsuko no heya, n.d.)

Uchi can refer to the speaker (and his/her group), either including or excluding the hearer.

d. jibun

<table>
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<tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>H</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>adult</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>mainly male</td>
<td>(no constraint)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>(no constraint)</td>
<td>(no constraint)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Chapter 3 Self-reference nouns in Japanese and Thai

_Jibun_ originally means 'one’s self'.

(26) A: sugoi umai ku aru
very good phrase have
'There is a very good poem.'

B: _jibun_ no dattari-shite
self poss. happen
'May be it is yours.'

C: _otoko_ dake _no_ _kukai_ to _chotto_
man only poss. Haiku meeting from little
ichigau na. _iropposa_ ga aru
differ illoc. sexiness subj. have
'It is different from a men-only haiku meeting. Somewhat sexier.'

D: _jibun_ no _ku_ o _erabanai_ yoo
self poss. phrase obj. choose-neg. try
'Try not to choose your own verse' (Sandee Mainichi Shimbun weekly newspaper, 1992)

During World War Two _jibun_ was used as a self-reference term among military officers. According to Sugiura, when the military system was abolished, this usage became wider in groups with a strong hierarchical structure, such as martial arts clubs in universities (1993: 36). Sugiura points out a similarity: both in the military and martial arts clubs people come from various parts of the country. The fact that the usage of _jibun_ developed such strongly hierarchical settings may explain why men use _jibun_ more than women. In our data no female employees, and only 2% of female students reported using _jibun_, while 16% of male students reported using _jibun_ to seniors and 12% to teachers.

A former officer of the National Defence Force, who retired at the age of 55, reported that only a few people in the National Defence Force used _jibun_ as self-reference. There were 2 groups that used _jibun_: the first group were persons older than himself; the other group were young officers who had a strong desire to join the National Defence Force. The reason why some old officers used _jibun_ may be because of the influence of traditional military culture. Similarly, young officers may have used it because they wanted to be identified as military officers in the traditional way.
Only 2% of male students reported using *jibun*, to their mothers. Apart from this case, no students or employees reported using *jibun* to parents and siblings. Few people will use *jibun* to intimates and same level listeners.

In addition to the above four nouns, the word *hito* which means 'person' can sometimes be used to refer to first person and second person in informal situations (cf. Kindaiichi, 1988).

A younger sister is talking to her elder sister who is making a cake:

(27) Younger sister:

\[
\text{yamete kudasai yo} \\
\text{stop please illoc.}
\]

'Stop doing that'

Elder sister:

\[
\text{nani hito ga isshokenmei yatte-ru noni} \\
\text{what person subj. whole-heartedly do-prog. though}
\]

'What? I devote myself in doing this but...'

However, this usage is restricted to contexts of complaint of this kind. Unlike *kochira*, *kotchi* and *jibun*, one cannot say:

(28) *hito ga ikimasu*

human subj. go
'I will go'

### 3.4.2 Thai nouns

As discussed in section 2.3, nouns have frequently been borrowed into Thai from other sources and some of these have come to be used for pronominal reference. Also, in some cases, pronouns have been borrowed directly. Diller (forthcoming) and sources mentioned therein have traced nouns which have come to take on some grammatical functions of pronouns in some detail. In this section *tua-e:ŋ* and *niː*, the only two that occur in my data, will be discussed.

#### a. *tua-e:ŋ*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refinement</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>S/H relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>(no constraint)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 3 Self-reference nouns in Japanese and Thai

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>S</th>
<th>H</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>adult</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>mainly female</td>
<td>(no constraint)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(no constraint)</td>
<td>(no constraint)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_Tua-e:_η, a noun in origin meaning 'self', can be used in self-reference in formal situations such as speaking at a conference. A speaker will not use _tua-e:_η to an individual person but to the public. In formal talk some women do not like to use _dichán_ and use _tua-e:_η instead.

In an academic seminar on linguistics I observed four female linguists using _tua-e:_η as self-reference:

(29) A:

_tua-e:_η  kɔː  lɔː:_η tham wicai  leklék du:
self   so  try  do  research  small  see
'I tried to do research on a small project.'

B:

_tua-e:_η  māː  sāː:mad  bɔː:k  dāː:i  iː:k  tɔː:paː  lēː:u
self  neg.  can  tell  can  again  continue  asp.
'I cannot tell any more (which sentence is all right).'

C:

_tua-e:_η  rāp  māː  dāː:i
self  accept  neg.  can
'I cannot accept that sentence.'

D:

_tua-e:_η  niː  chɔː:p  thː  aːcaː:n  ca  au  thː  ceːneːralais  dāː:i
self  top.  like  that  teacher  will  take  that  generalize  can
'I like the way she categorized them so as to make one able to generalize them.'

Similarly, I have observed that many female lecturers use _tua-e:_η as a self-reference term.

(30) A:

pha-ɔːn  wannān  tua-e:_η  kɔː  la:
happen  that  day  self  so  take  leave
'I happened to be off that day.'

pha-ɔːn  phûː:t  dāːi  phrō  tua-e:_η  pen  kammakaːn  khon  niŋŋ
happen  talk  can  because  self  cop.  committee  person  one
'I can explain because I am one of the committee.'
Chapter 3 Self-reference nouns in Japanese and Thai

B:

\[ \text{thi:cinlæ:w} \quad \text{tua-} e:γ \quad \text{mâi} \quad \text{chɔ:p} \quad rò:k \]
Actually self neg. like at all
'Actually I don't like it at all.'

I have observed no usage of \text{tua-} e:γ by males.

b. \text{ni}: 'this'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Refinement</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>S/H relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MIDDLE</td>
<td>informal</td>
<td>distant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\text{Nǐ}: 'this' probably originates from the deitic \text{thi:ni}: 'here' (see example of the usage of \text{thi:ni}: 'here' for self-reference in Sivaraksa, 1966: 146).

I have observed \text{ni}: used in self-reference mainly by women and it is not very common. For example, a woman called herself \text{ni}: to younger male friends while she used kinship term to younger female friends, although the reason is not clear.
Chapter 4

Variation in the use of self-reference terms

Chapters 2 and 3 have provided an introduction to the general meanings and usages of self-reference pronouns and nouns. In this chapter, the discussion will focus on how self-reference terms are distributed and how they vary among native speakers of Japanese and Thai. The main objectives of this chapter are twofold: 1) to detail the reported usage patterns for the various terms; 2) to identify variations among different speakers to determine how the usages of native speakers vary.

The chapter is divided into two parts covering Japanese and Thai use respectively. First, the varied usages of Japanese pronouns will be discussed, followed by discussion of status terms and a general review of all Japanese terms. This same procedure is repeated for the second part which focuses on Thai usage.

4.1 Japanese pronouns

The pronouns covered in this section are watakushi, watashi, atakushi, boku and ore; washi has not been included because of lack of data. Table 1 below sets out the percentage of respondents reporting using self-reference pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Students</th>
<th></th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watakushi</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atakushi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watashi</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boku</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atashi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ore</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows first that a majority of employees reported using watakushi, while only a minority of students reported using this form. One reason for this, discussed further below, is that people in the workforce are trained to use pronouns higher on the refinement scale. The table also shows that the pronoun was more commonly used

---

1 In the case of addressing husbands, a 100% response was obtained, but this involved only one respondent.
among females. The findings for watashi-mirror those for watakushi; with the former pronoun, however, the numbers of reported usages were much higher.

As mentioned in 2.2.2, atakushi is generally regarded as a stigmatised form. It is, therefore, understandable that the usage of this pronoun among respondents was extremely low for students and no employees reported using it. From the sparse questionnaire data, there is not enough evidence to reveal variation in the usage of this pronoun.

More students than employees reported using boku. The frequency of using this term decreases once a person has been through company training and has been working for a company for a length of time. As mentioned in 2.2.4, there is however a tendency for professionals such as lecturers or actors to maintain the use of boku all their lives, even in public speaking. This tendency is probably due to the prescriptive nature of company training as regards language usage. As a component of the meaning of boku is 'boyish', this might be a further reason for students' frequency of usage, as suggested in chapter 2. In contrast with employees, students reported using boku less inside the family than outside the family.

Atashi was mainly used by female students and female employees to intimate persons.

The data reveal notable differences (10%+) between male students' and employees' usage of ore in several contexts: 1) friends and colleagues, 2) parents, 3) younger sisters, 4) aunts and uncles, 5) girlfriends, and 6) nieces/nephews. These differences are illustrated below.
Figure 1: Percentage of students and employees reporting using *ore*

Figure 1 shows clearly that students favoured *ore* more than employees, who as company-trained adults in the workforce may have been pressured not to use this low level term in certain situations. In particular, male employees reported using *ore* to non-intimate colleagues much less than male students reported using it to non-intimate friends. This indicates that in the company intimacy is a much more important factor than among university students in determining the usage of *ore*. The other significant difference between students and employees was when talking to nieces/nephews, where only a minority of employees reported using *ore*, and mainly used kinship terms (mostly *ojisan* 'uncle'). This may be because the employees were older and had reached the age image of *ojisan*, a term referring usually to a middle aged man.

### 4.1.1 Japanese male students' usage of pronouns

The above questionnaire data support the view that there are pronoun variations among different speakers. What follows is a more detailed breakdown of pronoun usage.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

by occupation and gender. Figure 2 shows the percentage distribution of Japanese male students' usage of pronouns in twenty-seven different communicative situations.

Figure 2: Percentage distribution\(^2\) of Japanese male students' usage of pronouns

The distribution order of pronouns used among male students is *ore*, *boku*, *watashi*, and finally *watakushi*.

\(^2\) Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding and may exceed 100 due to the fact that a person can use more than one pronoun or can use terms other than pronouns in one situation.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

a. watakushi

The main usage of watakushi was in public speaking (15%).

b. watashi

Watashi too was used mainly in public speaking (58%), and not used at all to immediate family members or to girlfriends. However, over 10% of respondents reported using this term to seniors and teachers as well as in public speaking. The data also show that watashi was used more frequently by students in non-intimate rather than in intimate situations. This reveals that watashi shows a low degree of intimacy. Interestingly, it was reported to be used more to male seniors than to female seniors in the same situation. This seems to suggest that for some speakers male seniors are felt to have more power than female seniors.

c. boku

Being intermediate in refinement among self-reference pronouns, boku is the only pronoun which was reported to be used in all 27 communicative situations in the questionnaire. It was used mainly with seniors (38%+), uncles and aunts (51%), grandparents (56%) and teachers (69%+). The usage of boku was lowest to younger siblings and girlfriends (12%-). Usage of boku is higher to higher status H, which suggests that boku used by students also shows some power distinction.

d. ore

Ore was reported to be used in 26 situations but not at all in public speaking. The highest figures (87%+) were for younger siblings, girlfriends, intimate male friends and intimate male juniors. Regardless of H's gender and the intimacy between S and H, the majority of male students (64%+) reported using ore to friends and juniors, to whom Japanese male students vary their usage of self-reference pronouns less than when they talk to their seniors. This may be because a person is encouraged to use HIGH words to a higher H, especially a non-intimate one, while there is no need to use HIGH words to a person of the same or lower status. Compared with usage when talking to an intimate male senior, the usage of ore decreased from 50% to 28% with non-intimates. It may be that persons who reported using ore to seniors may not be sensitive to power or may not regard senior and junior relationships as involving a great difference in power. Significantly, more
students reported using *ore* to female rather than to male seniors. This may suggest that some male students regard male seniors as having higher status than their female counterparts. Conversely, *ore* was used slightly more by male students to male friends and juniors than to female friends and juniors. The data suggest that around 10% of students exhibit intimacy towards male more than towards female friends and juniors.

The majority of male students reported using *ore* (70%+) to parents and siblings. This indicates that in the close relationship of a family, intimacy plays a greater role than power for the majority of male students. In addition, in talking to younger siblings, more male students reported using *ore* (87%+). *Ore* was used slightly more by male students when they talked to male siblings than to female siblings, which again suggests gender considerations in choice of terms.

From the data we see two trends in the use of *ore*. Firstly, it can be clearly seen that *ore* was used to intimate persons. The second trend is less clear: the higher the status of H, the less *ore* was used. Thus, it was used more to younger brothers than to older ones, more to juniors than to seniors, and more to uncles/aunts than to grandparents.

Further insight into variant usage and functions of self-reference pronouns is gained through a comparative analysis of individual terms; this procedure is followed below, and in later sections of this chapter.

e. *ore*/*boku*

Apart from its usage in public speaking more students reported using *boku* to non-family members than to family members, to non-intimate than to intimate and to higher status than to same/lower status listeners, while the reverse is true of the usage of *ore*.

In talking to intimate male friends and juniors, 88% of male students reported using *ore*, while the figure for *boku* was only 16%. A majority of male students also showed a preference for *ore* with non-intimate male friends and juniors. More used *boku* to non-intimate male friends (34%) and to non-intimate male juniors (22%) than to intimate ones. This suggests that there are two types of respondents. The first type (persons who reported using *boku*) prioritise power over intimacy; the second type (those who reported using *ore*) prioritise intimacy over power.

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3 Male students use *jibun* slightly more to male seniors than to female seniors.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

One result may, however, be skewed because of the absence of a gender distinction. The majority of male students (69%+) reported using *ore* to nieces and nephews while 22% reported using *boku*. If we had distinguished the gender differences of niece and nephew, we may have expected to find that more men would use *ore* to nephews than to nieces in the same way as when talking to male friends, juniors and siblings than to members of the opposite sex.

f. *ore/watashi*

Intimacy affects the usage of *ore* and *watashi*. To non-intimate teachers, very few students (4%) reported using *ore* while more students (28%) reported using *watashi*.

g. *boku/watashi*

The usage of *boku* to teachers is fairly consistent: 69% to non-intimates and 71% to intimate teachers. As pointed out above, however, intimacy affects the usage of *watashi*, with more students reporting using *watashi* to non-intimate teachers.

h. *ore/watakushi*

*Ore* and *watakushi* appear as opposites in the percentage distribution in the sense that while the highest reported usage of *watakushi* (15%) was in public speaking, *ore* was not used in this situation at all.

i. *ore/boku/watashi*

In talking to an H outside the family who is higher status than S, the majority of Japanese male students reported using either *boku* or *watashi*. It should be pointed out here that it is not common to use *ore*, a term on the LOW level of refinement, in the above situation. This is due to attitudes towards HIGH and LOW words influenced by social class, and native dialect (see full discussion in 4.3).

Over 10% of all respondents reported using *ore*, *boku* and *watashi* in talking to seniors and teachers. There appear to be two related reasons for variation here: usage can be affected by the degree of intimacy existing between seniors and juniors, teachers and students; regardless of the level of intimacy, usage may also be affected by status considerations.

The distribution was more uneven when these three pronouns were used with nieces/nephews, uncles, aunts and grandparents. 2 to 8% reported using *watashi* while
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

over 10% reported using *ore* and *boku*. In talking to parents and siblings, however, *watashi* was not used at all. This may be because relationships with non-immediate family members are not felt to be as close as relationships with parents and siblings.

4.1.2 Japanese female students' usage of pronouns

Following is a discussion of variation of pronouns usage among female students in twenty-seven different communicative situations. The discussion is based on the results of the questionnaire data presented in figure 3 below.
As seen in figure 3, the most widely used pronouns among female students were *watashi* and *atashi* followed by *watakushi*. This narrower range of pronoun usage contrasts with that of male students.

a. *watakushi*

Female students reported using *watakushi* more than their male counterparts. This confirms the common assumption that women use high-level forms more than men (see...
also Ide, 1982). *Watakushi* is used significantly only in public speaking, to non-intimate teachers and to non-intimate male seniors (10%+). There is, however, a marked gender orientation in the use of this pronoun in that it was used twice as much to non-intimate male seniors as to non-intimate female seniors. As suggested by the data for male students, female students seem to regard male seniors as having more power than female seniors.

b. *watashi*

The data show that *watashi* is the pronoun with the broadest use for women. It was reported to be used in all 27 situations in the questionnaire by the majority of female students while only some male students reported using it. Usage was lowest to nieces and nephews (50%), where a proportion of female students (16%) reported a preference for kinship terms.

c. *atashi*

While the questionnaire data results do not reveal much distinctive information concerning the usage of *atashi*, the term was least used in public speaking. It is also clear that slightly more female students reported using *atashi* to intimate seniors than to non-intimate ones, and to intimate teachers than to non-intimate teachers. *Atashi* is the only pronoun used by women that carries associations of intimacy, unlike with men where *ore* overtly conveys intimacy.

d. *atashi/watakushi*

The data show that the higher the status of H, the more respondents reported using *watashi* and the less they reported using *atashi*.

e. *atashi/watakushi*

*Atashi* and *watakushi* are opposed in usage in that, in public speaking, *watakushi* has the highest reported usage (38%), and *atashi* the lowest (4%).
4.1.3 Japanese male employees' usage of pronouns

The following is an interpretation of variation in pronoun usage among male employees in thirty-five different communicative situations. Again, the discussion is based on the results of the questionnaire data, as presented in figure 4 below.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

Figure 4: Percentage distribution of Japanese male employees' usage of pronouns

- grandchild
- son
- daughter
- older sister
- spouse
- younger brother
- older brother
- younger sister
- niece/nephew
- father
- mother
- girlfriend
- colleague M +in
- sub M +in
- sub F +in
- grandmother
- colleague F +in
- sub F -in
- sub M -in
- aunt
- grandfather
- uncle
- colleague F -in
- colleague M -in
- female clerk
- younger boss
- boss +in
- section chief
- regular client
- older boss
- boss -in
- department chief
- public speaking
- customer
- company president

Legend:
- ore
- boku
- watashi
- watakushi
Male employees reported making significant use of *ore*, *watashi* and *boku* followed by *watakushi*. Compared with male students, they made more extensive use of the refined pronouns, *watashi* and *watakushi*.

a. *watakushi*

*Watakushi* was used mainly (15%+) to company presidents, department and section chiefs, bosses, regular clients, customers and in public speaking. It was mostly used to company presidents (61%) and equally to customers (55%) and in public speaking (55%). These addressees are persons to whom employees have to show the highest respect. *Watakushi* was not used in the family, or with girlfriends, intimate male colleagues and subordinates. Notably, male employees reported using *watakushi* much more than did male students (15%: 61%). This seems to be the result of job training. Informants also reported that Japanese were trained to speak more politely and to use set expressions taught by companies.

b. *watashi*

The majority of male employees reported using *watashi* in public speaking and to company presidents, department and section chiefs, bosses, customers, regular clients, non-intimate male colleagues and subordinates. Usage of *watashi* was low to parents, some siblings and nieces/nephews (10%-), and it was not used at all to older sisters, children and grandchildren. This suggests a low degree of intimacy when *watashi* is used. Many informants volunteered the information that they started to use *watashi* some time in their adulthood. As with *watakushi*, male employees reported using *watashi* more than did male students (58%: 74%). This suggests that employees prefer to use HIGH words.

c. *boku*

The highest reported figures (38%+) for *boku* were to grandparents, aunts and uncles. Addressees in this group are members of the family who are higher than S. Usage was lowest (10%-) to two groups of listeners: 1) children and grandchildren (where the use of kinship terms was preferred); 2) customers, company presidents, department and section chiefs, non-intimate bosses and in public speaking (where other higher level pronouns were favoured). There seem to be two reasons why employees...
used *boku* less than students. The first is that *boku* is not HIGH enough for employees who prefer to use HIGH words. The second is that *boku* conveys a 'boyish' meaning which does not suit older employees.

d. *ore*

The majority of male employees reported using *ore* to intimate colleagues and subordinates, parents, siblings, wives and girlfriends. While the highest reported figures (76%+) were for intimate male colleagues and brothers, the term was not used to customers, company presidents and in public speaking.

e. *ore/watakushi*

*Ore* and *watakushi* were opposed in usage here as with male students. While the highest (55%+) use of *watakushi* was to company presidents, customers and in public speaking, *ore* was not used in these situations.

### 4.1.4 Japanese female employees’ usage of pronouns

The following is an interpretation of variation of pronoun usage among female employees in thirty-two different communicative situations. The discussion is based on the result of the questionnaire data presented in figure 5 below.
Figure 5: Percentage distribution of Japanese female employees' usage of pronouns

- niece/nephew
- younger sister
- younger brother
- older sister
- grandmother
- boyfriend
- grandfather
- older brother
- mother
- father
- aunt
- uncle
- colleague F +in
- sub F +in
- colleague M +in
- sub M +in
- colleague M - in
- spouse
- colleague F - in
- sub M - in
- sub F - in
- boss + in
- female clerk
- younger boss
- older boss
- section chief
- department chief
- regular client
- boss - in
- public speaking
- company president
- customer

Legend:
- atashi
- watashi
- watakushi
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

As with female students, female employees reported using a narrower range of pronouns than males - *watashi, watakushi*, and *atashi*.

a. *watakushi*

Whereas a majority (78%) of female employees reported using *watakushi*, only 38% of female students reported using it. The data also show that the majority of female employees used *watakushi* to customers, company presidents, regular clients, non-intimate bosses and in public speaking. Another notable area of usage (20%+) was to higher status persons in the company. Even though low in percentage, respondents also reported using *watakushi* to lower status persons in the company. All of these lower status listeners were non-intimates. It thus appears that S does not use *watakushi* to intimate lower status H. As with males, female employees reported using *watakushi* much more than female students. As women, female employees were expected to be more polite than men and thus reported using *watakushi* more than their male counterparts.

b. *watashi*

Being the neutral self-reference pronoun for women, *watashi* was reported to be used in all 32 situations in the questionnaire. The highest figure (93%) was for intimate bosses. *Watashi* was used less in two situations: 1) when talking to higher status listeners (where more speakers reported using *watakushi*); 2) when talking to kin or boyfriends (where more speakers reported using names or kinship terms). The lowest reported figure (17%) was to nieces/nephews where the majority reported using names.

c. *atashi*

The data show that some female employees used *atashi* to intimate colleagues, intimate subordinates, family members and boyfriends. Few reported using it to bosses, department and section chiefs, non-intimate colleagues and subordinates and female clerks. It was not used at all to non-intimate bosses, company presidents, customers, regular clients and in public speaking. Only one respondent reported using it to a spouse. 33% of respondents reported using *atashi* to boyfriends. The data suggest two

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4 Three situations were excluded because they were not applicable to these respondents, who did not have sons, daughters and grandchildren.
5 This response of 100% for spouse was from only one respondent and thus too low to draw any significant conclusion.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

main characteristics of atashi usage. The first point is that it shows a high degree of intimacy and was not reported to be used to customers or in public speaking. The second point is that atashi was reported to be used less to higher status H.

4.2 Japanese status terms

As we have seen, Japanese also use status terms and names as self-reference. Among status terms, only kinship terms will be discussed in this section because this research provides no evidence of variation among occupational terms in Japanese.

Two types of variation in the usage of kinship terms have been found.

1. HIGH and LOWER

Kinship terms have HIGH forms (o-....-sama) as well as normal forms (o-....-san). Additionally, in some terms the prefix o- can be omitted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HIGH</th>
<th>Normal</th>
<th>Shortened</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>otoosama</td>
<td>otoosan</td>
<td>toosan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okaasama</td>
<td>okaasan</td>
<td>kaasan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oniisama</td>
<td>oniisan</td>
<td>niisan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oneesama</td>
<td>oneesan</td>
<td>neesan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ojiisama</td>
<td>ojiisan</td>
<td>jisan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obaasama</td>
<td>obaasan</td>
<td>baasan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ojisama</td>
<td>ojisan</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obasama</td>
<td>obasan</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HIGH forms are the least used type. Persons of high social class and persons who want to give an impression of refinement tend to use these forms. Mixed usage of HIGH and normal forms, however, is not uncommon. Ide's data contains an example of a mother using both okaasama and okaasan to her daughters.

(1) okaasama zettai kotchi no hoo ga ii yoona ki mo suru kedo 'father' tomo completely this poss. side subj. good seem feeling too do but 'I am sure this one is better.' (Ide et al., 1984: 19)

(2) un so okaasan ga ita no wa kono iro um right mother subj. said nom. top. this colour
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

For all kinship terms, affectionate variants can be made by changing the phoneme /s/ of-sama and -san to -/č/, resulting in -chama and -chan. The use of diminutive normal and shortened words is common while diminutive HIGH words are very rare. This may be because of the contrast between HIGHER forms which create distance between S and H and diminutive terms which lessen this distance.

2. Native words vs English loanwords

As we saw in 3.1.1.1, Japanese use two terms borrowed from English as self-reference kinship terms: papa and mama. Two factors appear to affect speakers' use of these loanwords: 1) speaker's age, use being more common among young parents; 2) addressee's age, where papa and mama are less commonly used as self-reference terms when talking to adult children. Informants with adult children reported changing to Japanese kinship terms or pronoun usage in preference to English loanwords. From the data from male employees with children, the usage of English loanwords is low, as shown below:

Table 2: Percentage of self-reference terms used by fathers to children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>otoosan</th>
<th>papa</th>
<th>pronouns</th>
<th>pronouns &amp; otoosan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>son</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fact that fathers in table 2 reported using papa more to sons than to daughters suggests that the gender of the addressee may affect usage.

4.3 Basic attitudes that cause variation in the usage of HIGH and LOW terms in Japanese

Among the six pronouns and kinship terms discussed in this chapter, usage apparently varies among groups of persons. The meaning of self-reference terms and gender differences have been discussed in detail in Chapters 2 and 3. However, this is not enough to explain why all people do not use certain pronouns or kinship terms in the
same situation. Why is there variation, for example, among men in how they refer to themselves when talking to their wives (see table 3 below)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>watashi</th>
<th>boku</th>
<th>boku</th>
<th>boku</th>
<th>ore</th>
<th>Kin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two wider social factors highlighted in the data for this study may be mentioned as affecting this variation: social class, and native dialect.

1. Social class

Persons of a high social class tend to use HIGH words and get used to using them. An obvious example is the language usage of members of the imperial family. An informant from the Tokugawa family who was interviewed both confirmed and followed this pattern himself, even though he was a university lecturer (see table 4, informant a.). This suggests the predominance of social class over social group in the choice of self-reference terms.

2. Native dialect

In an interview a lecturer born in Toyama, explained his attitude towards self-reference pronouns. The first pronoun which he acquired was ora which does not exist in the standard language. When he used the LOWEST pronoun in standard Japanese, ore, he consciously or subconsciously monitored his language use, and felt that ore was HIGHER than the equivalent in his own dialect, ora. Consequently, he considered boku to be HIGH enough for almost any situation. In a situation where particularly HIGH words are required, he will use watashi, while watakushi is a form which he used very infrequently (see table 4, informant b.). Both informants are university lecturers; a, from a high class Tokyo family, was in his early 60s; b was in his 40s.

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6 This shogunate family ruled Japan in the Edo period (1603-1868).
### Table 4: Variation of two male informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a.</th>
<th>b.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>watakushi</td>
<td>boss (in boss' office) colleagues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watashi</td>
<td>boss (in the bus) colleagues janitors students</td>
<td>boss (if not close)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boku</td>
<td>parents brothers older sister wife daughters students</td>
<td>boss colleagues janitors students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ore</td>
<td>students (when drinking) probably also to parents when moody</td>
<td>parents younger brother wife daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oresama</td>
<td>wife (when showing off: <em>ibatte-iru</em>)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ora</td>
<td></td>
<td>parents (formerly) younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otoosan</td>
<td>daughters</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4.4 Variation of overall usage in Japanese

The purpose of this section is to present an overall report of how self-reference pronouns, status terms, names and other nouns are distributed in various situations among four groups of native speakers.
4.4.1 Japanese male students' usage of self-reference terms

Following are the results for self-reference terms among male students and some interpretations of this usage. As seen in figure 6, the vast majority of male students (83%+) reported using pronouns in all situations. Some reported using the noun *jibun* and kinship terms. In only three situations, a few reported using names.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

Figure 6: Percentage distribution of Japanese male students’ usage of self-reference terms

As with the usage of pronouns, percentage may not total 100 due to rounding and may exceed 100 due to the fact that a person can use more than one type of self-reference term.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

4.4.1 Male students’ usage of self-reference terms

a. Pronouns

A high percentage of male students reported using pronouns as self-reference in all situations. All respondents reported using pronouns when talking to older siblings, for which there are two possible reasons. The first is that this is a close relationship within the family among persons of the same generation; in a similar relationship, but with persons outside the family such as friends, another term, *jibun* was also used but this was not reported to be used at all to siblings. The second reason is that in Japanese, unlike when talking to younger siblings where the percentage usage of kinship terms was 14%, speakers will not normally use kinship terms in self-reference to older siblings.

b. Names

An extremely low percentage of respondents (4%–) reported using names. Given names were used only to parents (2%), and family names and nicknames only to intimate male friends (2%). It is apparent that the usage of names is restricted to intimate persons.

c. Kinship terms

Kinship terms are not widely used. The highest (19%) reported usage was with nieces/nephews. Consequently pronoun usage when talking to this group is at the lowest figure of 83%. The data also show that some male students used kinship terms to younger sisters. Kinship terms were not used to persons outside the family or in public speaking. Even in the family these terms were not used to older generation family members except, for example, when making a joke. A characteristic of Japanese self-reference kinship terms is that they are not normally used to older generation family members.

d. *jibun*

Some respondents (10%+) reported using *jibun* to seniors, teachers and in public speaking.
4.4.2 Japanese female students' usage of self-reference terms

Figure 7 below shows that the vast majority of female students (73%+) use pronouns in all 27 situations. The usage of names was also reported especially with family members. A few reported using kinship terms.

*Figure 7: Percentage distribution of Japanese female students' usage of self-reference terms*
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

a. Pronouns

All female students reported using pronouns to teachers, seniors, non-intimate friends, non-intimate male juniors and in public speaking. Most female students (98%+) reported using pronouns when talking to juniors. There was a slight drop in the usage of pronouns (91%-) when talking to family members and boyfriends. The lowest reported figures were for younger sisters (78%) and nieces/nephews (73%) respectively. These correlate with kinship term usage, which was reported to be highest with younger sisters (14%) and nieces/nephews (16%).

b. Names

Female students reported using names much more than male students did (34%: 4%). This may be because names are associated with childlikeness and femininity and also because of the smaller range of pronouns which women have. The highest reported figure was when talking to boyfriends. This seems to suggest a special relationship towards boyfriend, at least for some speakers. Notably, names also have a marginal use (10%+) to parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, older brothers and female intimate friends. Names were mainly used to intimate persons and were not used to seniors, non-intimate friends, non-intimate male juniors, teachers and in public speaking. Few female respondents (10%-) reported using nicknames.

c. Kinship terms

Kinship terms were reported as being used only to kin, the highest usage being to younger sisters (14%) and to nieces/nephews (16%).

d. jibun

Compared with male students, usage of jibun by female students was insignificant and only 2% reported this usage. As with male students, it was used only to non-family members.

4.4.3 Japanese male employees' usage of self-reference terms

As seen in figure 8, male employees reported using pronouns in all situations. Usage of names was also reported in most situations but at low percentages. The use of
variation in the use of self-reference terms

kinship terms was reported by the majority when talking to younger generation family members.
Figure 8: Percentage distribution of Japanese male employees’ usage of self-reference terms

- son
- daughter
- grandchild
- niece/nephew
- spouse
- grandfather
- grandmother
- younger sister
- younger boss
- section chief
- father
- older boss
- colleague M -in
- sub M -in
- colleague F +in
- older sister
- uncle
- aunt
- colleague F -in
- regular client
- mother
- older brother
- younger brother
- department chief
- female clerk
- public speaking
- customer
- sub M +in
- sub F +in
- colleague M +in
- boss -in
- boss +in
- company president

Legend:
- Kin
- Name
- Pronouns
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

a. Pronouns

The highest reported pronoun usage among male employees was to those outside the family (94%+) and to older family members (92%+). Usage was markedly less to family members of younger generation: nieces/nephews (41%), grandchildren (33%), and children (19-22%).

b. Names

Given names are reported to be used at figures higher than 10% only to parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles. This usage may be a continuation of child language preserved into adulthood, since all of the above addressees have known the respondents since childhood. As mentioned previously, no male employee reported using given names to persons outside the family, most likely because using given names is associated with childlikeness and femininity. The data show that only a few male employees (4%) reported using nicknames, with these being used only to intimate colleagues, subordinates and girlfriends. The usage of family names in the family was not reported. Again, there was only marginal usage (4%) of family names when talking to non-family persons.

c. Kinship terms

Male employees, as well as the majority of Japanese respondents, reported using kinship terms only to younger generation family members. Around 80% of male employees reported using kinship terms to children, 67% to grandchildren, and 58% to nieces/nephews. 3% reported the usage to younger sisters and 6% reported referring to themselves as otoosan 'father' to their wives. Kinship terms, however, are not reported outside the family circle.

d. jibun

The usage of jibun among male employees was extremely low (3%+) and will not be considered further.
4.4.4 Japanese female employee's usage of self-reference terms

As with other groups, female employees reported using pronouns in all situations. Names were also widely used. Kinship terms, however, were reported only in four situations.
Table 4.1: Percentage distribution of Japanese female employees' usage of self-reference terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>80</th>
<th>100</th>
<th>120</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>younger sister</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niece/nephew</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older sister</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandfather</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandmother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boyfriend</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aunt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older brother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>customer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regular client</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female clerk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub M +in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub F +in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colleague F +in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colleague M +in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger boss</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>section chief</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub M -in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub F -in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colleague M -in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older boss</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boss -in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colleague F -in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>department chief</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public speaking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spouse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boss +in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>company president</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:
- Kin
- Name
- Pronouns
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

a. Pronouns

The vast majority (90%+) of female employees reported using pronouns to colleagues in the company. As with male employees, usage was lowest to younger family members: younger brothers (54%), younger sisters (38%) and nieces/nephews (34%).

b. Names

Among students and employees, female employees reported using names the most. The highest reported figure (83%) was when talking to nieces/nephews, the second highest to sisters (51% to younger sisters and 40% to older sisters). Some reported using names to intimate colleagues, female clerks, family members and boyfriends. Significantly, female employees reported using names much more than their male counterparts (83%: 13%). With family names the only reported usage was to persons in the company though this was low. While given names were reported to be used to parents, grandparents, siblings, aunts, uncles, nieces/nephews and boyfriends, they were not used to bosses, non-intimate colleagues and subordinates, regular clients, customers, section and department chiefs, company presidents and in public speaking. These data confirm the social expectation that given names will be used in informal situations. As regards nicknames, many respondents (50%) reported using these only to nieces/nephews, which may signify a deliberate avoidance of using kinship terms in these situations.

c. Kinship terms

As seen in figure 9, kinship terms tend to be used only to parents and younger siblings, with some subjects reporting their usage to younger sisters (26%) and younger brothers (27%). Although used by very few, the kinship term oneechan (older sister), which is commonly used to younger siblings, was also reported as being used to parents. The term obasan 'aunt', which an aunt may use to her nieces/nephews, conveys the impression that the speaker is at least a middle-aged female. As no female respondents were middle-aged, this term did not show up in the data.
4.5 Thai pronouns

The pronouns covered in this section are khā:phacāu, kraphom, phom, dichán, nū:, khāu, rau, chān, khā:, úa and ku:. Klāukkraphom, ă:tūma(:)phā:p and ă:tūma: have not been included because of a lack of data. Table 5 below sets out the percentage of respondents reporting using self-reference pronouns:

Table 5: Percentage of respondents reporting using pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Students</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khā:phacāu</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kraphom</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phom</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dichán</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nū:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khāu</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rau</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chān</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khā:</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>úa</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku:</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen in table 5, there are many self-reference pronouns to choose from in Thai and usage is complex. As expected, men reported using phom the highest. The majority of male students as well as female students reported using rau. However, this is not the case for employees. As mentioned in 2.3, rau was historically used only as a plural term in the Sukhothai Period and many persons in conservative groups were not happy with the usage of rau as a singular self-reference pronoun; this conservative concept influenced language education in school in the old days. One reason why women reported using rau more than men is that men are allowed to use the lower word ku: while women are not expected to use it.

Between students and employees, men show a less varied pattern of usage than women. There seems to be no significant difference in pronoun usage among men except for rau as mentioned above. Female employees, however, differ significantly from female students in the usage of the following four pronouns. The first is khā:phacāu. It is noticeable that 16% of female students reported using khā:phacāu while no female employees reported the usage: when female students talk in class it is not uncommon to use khā:phacāu because of its strong link to written academic contexts; for female
employees, however, using *khā:phacāu* in a meeting or conference is not common since these do not involve written academic contexts or state affairs. The second pronoun is *nū*: Younger persons commonly have more opportunity to use *nū*: than older persons because *nū*: is used to older addressees. Thirdly *rau*, as mentioned above, was reported to be used less by students. Finally, when talking to close friends/coworkers, the majority of female employees reported using names while female students reported using *chān*. There are two possible reasons for this. The first is that the time in one's life when a relationship begins affects the subsequent selection of self-reference forms: women tend to use *chān* to friends mainly if they started using it as younger girls, but not if they only came to know each other in later life. The second reason, mentioned in 2.4.10, is that some women regard *chān* as meaning that H’s power is lower than that of S; it seems that older generation women or women in the workforce are more sensitive to this meaning.

This table also shows that of all four groups female students reported using *khā:phacāu* the most. Possible reasons for this are: 1) men can use *phôm* and *kraphôm* which are equivalent on the refinement scale to *khā:phacāu*; 2) as mentioned earlier, it is not common for female employees to use *khā:phacāu*; the surveyed data shows that they used *dichān* instead of *khā:phacāu* in formal situations and names in informal situations.

Only a few men reported using *kraphôm*, with the vast majority of male respondents using *phôm*. A majority of female employees reported using *dichān* but to a lesser extent than *phôm* for males; in addition, female students reported using other pronouns more than *dichān*.

Gender affects the usage of virtually all self-reference pronouns as table 5 shows. As assumed, women reported using *khāu* more than men. The data also shows that women used *chān* much more than men. There is a difference in *rau* usage between men and women: more men than women reported using *rau* to intimate friends.

The questionnaire data support the view that there is pronoun variation among different speakers. What follows is a more detailed breakdown of pronoun usage by occupation and gender.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

4.5.1 Thai male students' usage of pronouns

Figure 10 shows the percentage of Thai male students' usage of pronouns in thirty-one different communicative situations.
### Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

*Figure 10: Percentage distribution of Thai male students' usage of pronouns*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paternal grandmother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maternal grandmother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maternal grandfather</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paternal grandfather</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's younger sibling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's younger sibling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parents' older sister</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parents' older brother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niece/nephew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junior F +in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junior F -in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junior M -in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junior M +in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger brother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger sister</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend M +in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older sister</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older brother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girlfriend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend F +in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend M -in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend F -in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senior M +in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senior F -in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senior F +in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>senior M -in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher +in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher -in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public speaking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** The diagram shows the percentage distribution of Thai male students' usage of various pronouns, with terms such as mother, father, paternal grandmother, and so on, along with their respective frequency bars.
Significant pronouns used among male students were *phôm* followed by *rau, ku:* and *úa.* Usage of *chán, khâu, khá:* and *krphôm* was found to a lesser extent.

a. *krphôm*

Informants reported that there was not much opportunity to use *krphôm.* The situation where *krphôm* is appropriate is when H is very much higher in power or the situation is very formal. Only a few reported the usage, to teachers and in public speaking.

b. *phôm*

Male students reported using *phôm* the most. This shows that it is a wide-scope pronoun. The main usage was to seniors, teachers and in public speaking. *Phôm* was also used by the majority of male students to grandparents, uncles and aunts and non-intimate friends. The use of *phôm,* however, was not popular to lower status H, and in particular was not used to younger siblings.

c. *rau*

The second most popular pronoun was *rau,* especially when talking to friends. The term was reported to be used to intimate friends more than non-intimates.

d. *chán*

The term was reported to be used mainly to females, such as intimate female friends and girlfriends. This usage, however, was not so popular among male S as female S; one female informant stated that she asked her boyfriend to stop using *chân* to her because it sounded effeminate.

e. *khâu*

*Khâu* shows low degree of formality. While *krphôm, phôm, rau,* and *chân* were reported to be used in public speaking, *khâu* was not reported to be used at all in this situation. A few reported using *khâu* to girlfriends, older sisters, aunts, uncles, parents and grandparents. As mentioned in 2.4.11, *khâu* conveys a childlike nuance. There seems to be a similarity between child language and language used among lovers.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

f. khā:

A few subjects reported using khā. It was used only to friends and male siblings.

g. ūa

Some male students reported using ūa, mainly when talking to parents and grandparents of Chinese background. A few reported using it to male friends. The usage to friends was perhaps not among people of Chinese background; our data, however, do not distinguish these two usages.

h. ku:

The majority of male students reported using ku: only to intimate male friends. Some reported the usage to non-intimate friends or female friends. The usage of ku: was also found among siblings, more to male siblings than to female siblings.

i. cháñ/rau

The scope of cháñ is narrower than rau. It was reported to be used less than rau when conversing with higher status H. Chán suggests greater status similarity between S and H than is the case with rau.

4.5.2 Thai female students' usage of pronouns

Following is a discussion of variation of pronoun usage among female students in thirty-one different communicative situations. The discussion is based on the results of the questionnaire data presented in figure 11 below.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

Figure 11: Percentage distribution of Thai female students' usage of pronouns

junior F -in
junior M -in
niece/nephew
junior F +in
junior M +in
friend M+ in
friend F+in
friend F -in
friend M -in
boyfriend
older brother
older sister
younger sister
younger brother
senior F +in
senior M +in
mother
father
mother's younger sibling
father's younger sibling
parents' older brother
parents' older sister
maternal grandmother
paternal grandfather
maternal grandfather
paternal grandmother
senior M -in
senior F -in
teacher +in
teacher -in
public speaking

ku:
úa
khâ:
khátu
chán
rau
nû:
dichán
khâphacâu
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

Female students reported using pronouns much less than male students. There were only three types of situation where the majority of female students reported using pronouns: to friends, to teachers, and in public speaking.

a. khâ:phacāu

Khâ:phacāu was used by some female students, only in public speaking.

b. dichān

The majority of female students reported using dichān only when talking to the public. It was not reported to be used to higher status individuals. This was probably because speakers felt the form did not encode sufficient respect and/or indication of power distinction.

c. nū:

The majority of female students reported using nū: to teachers. Some reported using the term to seniors, parents, aunts, uncles and grandparents. A few used it to older brothers and in public speaking. Nū: was reported to be used to older status H and not to lower status H. Nū: shows a power distinction more clearly than is the case for dichān.

d. rau

Rau was popular when talking to friends. Many female students also reported using the term to boyfriends. A few used rau to siblings.

e. chān

As with rau, chān was mainly used to friends. Female students reported using chān much more than males. The majority of female students preferred to use chān to intimate friends.

f. khāu

Female students reported using khāu five times more than their male counterparts. Khāu was mainly used among siblings. A few reported using this term to intimate female friends and boyfriends.

g. khâ:

The usage of khâ: among female students was rare. Only a few reported using the term, to siblings.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

h. ńa

As with male students, some female students reported using ńa. Usage was mainly when talking to aunts, uncles, parents and grandparents of Chinese background.

i. ku:

Female students reported using ku: less than men. The main use was among siblings and when talking to intimate male friends.

j. chán/rau

It is noticeable that intimacy affects the usage of chán and rau among females. While more female respondents reported using chán, less of them reported using rau to intimate friends.

4.5.3 Thai male employees' usage of pronouns

The following is an interpretation of variation of pronoun usage among male employees in thirty-one different communicative situations. Again, the discussion is based on the results of the questionnaire data, as presented in figure 12 below.
Figure 12: Percentage distribution of Thai male employees' usage of pronouns

- colleague M +in
- younger brother
- older brother
- older sister
- younger sister
- niece/nephew
- colleague F +in
- colleague M -in
- colleague F -in
- wife/girlfriend
- mother
- father
- mother's younger sibling
- father's younger sibling
- parents' older sister
- parents' older brother
- sub F +in
- sub F -in
- sub M +in
- sub M -in
- sub older
- paternal grandmother
- maternal grandmother
- paternal grandfather
- maternal grandfather
- customer
- boss +in
- boss -in
- public speaking

- ku:
- úa
- khâ:
- chán
- rau
- phôm
- kraphôm
- khâ:phacâu
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

The most significant pronoun used among male employees was \textit{phôm} followed by \textit{ku}. Usage of \textit{khâ:phacău}, \textit{kraphôm}, \textit{chân}, \textit{khâu}, \textit{khâ} and \textit{úa} was also found but to a much lesser extent. The data show that there is more pronoun variation when H is a sibling, intimate colleague or wife/girlfriend. This may be because, unlike talking to higher status H, these relationships allow S to use low terms. The interesting point is that male employees reported using pronouns more than male students because they did not use names to persons outside family members. Pronouns are not used to children and grandchildren.

a. \textit{khâ:phacău}

As with female students, the usage of \textit{khâ:phacău} by male employees was solely in public speaking.

b. \textit{kraphôm}

A few male employees reported using this to bosses, customers, grandparents and in public speaking. \textit{Kraphôm} suggests that S is lower than H.

c. \textit{phôm}

Like male students, male employees reported using \textit{phôm} the most. The data also show that the majority used \textit{phôm} in most situations, except when talking to siblings, wives/girlfriends and younger generation family members.

d. \textit{rau}

Even though the usage of \textit{rau} was not popular among employees, as with male students the main usage was when talking to colleagues. Employees, however, reported the highest use of the term to intimate male colleagues while male students reported the highest usage to intimate female friends.

e. \textit{chân}

The main usage was to siblings and female colleagues, subordinates and wives/girlfriends. The usage, however, is low.

f. \textit{khâu}

Usage was reported to parents, siblings, aunts, uncles and grandparents. \textit{Khâu} was mainly used to persons who know a speaker since childhood, as an extension of
child language. Usage was also found when talking to wives/girlfriends, reflecting one function of child language to show gentleness and affection.

**g. khā:**

Usage of *khā* was not popular. A few reported using it to intimate friends, male subordinates, siblings and wives/girlfriends.

**h. ūa**

Some male employees reported using *ūa*, mainly to siblings, parents and grandparents. A few also reported using the term to intimate bosses, male colleagues and male subordinates.

**i. ku:**

The highest reported figure (48%) for *ku* was to younger brothers. The data also show that many male employees reported using it to intimate male colleagues. Another notable area of usage (22%) was to older brothers and younger sisters. Even though not a high percentage, 11% of respondents reported using it to nieces/nephews.

### 4.5.4 Thai female employees' usage of pronouns

The following is a discussion of variation of pronoun usage among female employees in thirty different communicative situations. The discussion is based on the result of the questionnaire data presented in figure 13 below.
Figure 13: Percentage distribution of Thai female employees' usage of pronouns

- husband/boyfriend
- younger sister
- younger brother
- colleague M +in
- colleague F +in
- niece/nephew
- older brother
- older sister
- parents' older sister
- parents' older brother
- father's younger sibling
- mother's younger sibling
- mother
- father
- maternal grandmother
- maternal grandfather
- paternal grandfather
- paternal grandmother
- sub F +in
- sub M +in
- sub F -in
- sub M -in
- sub older
- colleague F -in
- colleague M -in
- boss +in
- boss -in
- customer
- public speaking

- ku:
- ûa
- kháu
- chán
- rau
- nū:
- dichán
Significant pronouns among female employees were dichán, nū:, rau, cháń, kháu. Usage of úa and ku: was also found but to a lesser extent.

a. dichán

The majority of female employees reported using dichán to customers and in public speaking. Respondents also reported the usage to bosses, non-intimate colleagues, non-intimate subordinates and older subordinates. It was not used at all to family members.

b. nū:

The highest reported figures (24%+) for nū: were to parents and grandparents. In fact, it was the only term reported used to maternal grandparents. Interestingly, to paternal grandparents, other forms were reportedly used as well. This seems to suggest a subtle cultural difference in grandparents relationships, at least for some speakers. The term was also notably used to older sisters, uncles, aunts and bosses. All addressees are higher status H. The data suggest a low degree of formality because only 3% of female employees reported using nū: in public speaking. Female employees used nū: three times less than female students; because they are older than students, their age difference and power difference with addressees are not as great as for students with teachers.

c. rau

As with male employees, the main usage was to colleagues. However, of all four groups of respondents, usage of rau to grandparents was found only with a few female employees (9%). All are of Chinese background.

d. cháń

The data show that some women reported using cháń to colleagues, subordinates, siblings, nieces/nephews, husbands/boyfriends. Cháń was used less to bosses, customers, parents and in public speaking. The term was not reported to be used at all to children, aunts, uncles and grandparents.

e. kháu

The highest reported figure (22%) was to husbands/boyfriends. As with female students, kháu suggests special affection. It was also used to older family members. Female employees reported usage of this term more than their male counterparts.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

f. úa

Usage was reported only when talking to siblings, parents and paternal grandparents of Chinese background. The lack of any cases of usage in speech to maternal grandparents may be due to the fact that more of the respondents had maternal grandparents from a Chinese background.

g. ku:

Ku: was reported only to intimate colleagues and siblings. Usage is much less than for their male counterparts.

h. chán/khâu

Chân can be used to lower status H outside the family while khâu was not reported to be used to lower status H such as subordinates. This suggests that chán has a broader meaning than khâu.

4.6 Thai status terms

Variation will be discussed first in kinship terms, then in some occupational and positional terms.

4.6.1 Kinship terms

Two types of variation in the usage of kinship terms have been found.

1. HIGH and MIDDLE

As discussed in 3.1.1.3, there are three groups of self-reference kinship terms in Thai, of which only the first group used to H in a lower generation can make HIGH forms by preposing the title khun. The main purpose of using HIGH forms is to give an impression of refinement. Many adults also used HIGH forms to children to teach them to address them back in HIGH forms.

2. Native words and loanwords

As seen in table 6, speakers of Chinese background reported using loan words from Chinese.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

Table 6:

- **A: Percentage of self-reference kinship terms used by fathers to children**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thai</th>
<th>Chinese-borrowed</th>
<th>Combination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phō:</td>
<td>pa:</td>
<td>phō: and pa:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **B: Percentage of self-reference kinship terms used by mothers to children**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thai</th>
<th>Chinese-borrowed</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>māːː</td>
<td>māːːmaːː</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The usage of loanwords in self-reference was also found by aunts, uncles, grandparents and siblings.

### 4.6.2 Occupational and positional terms

The most noticeable variation in occupational terms that has been found is among teachers (see 3.2.2). Male teachers in Catholic schools for boys mainly use māːːtsōː and female teachers in Catholic school for girls mainly use mīː. There are two more terms for teachers, khruː and aːcaːn. From my interviews and observations, khruː was used by school teachers more than university lecturers. Among university lecturers khruː was used by women more than men. The reverse was the case for aːcaːn.

It is worth noting that only some occupational and positional terms are used as main self-reference terms. These are terms for teachers, doctors and Catholic brothers and sisters all of which are respected occupations. The majority of teachers when talking to their students, doctors when talking to their patients, and Catholic brothers and sisters when talking to Catholics mainly use occupational and positional terms for self-reference. Other terms for nurses, kings, pharmacists, craftsmen, female small business merchants, employers and persons who support a monk (yoːm) are also used for self-reference but not as widely by members of the groups as the above cases.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

4.7 Variation of overall usage in Thai

Among clear overall trends in Thai, men reported using pronouns more than women, women reported using names more than men, and male students reported using names more than male employees.

4.7.1 Thai male students' usage of self-reference terms

Following are the result for self-reference terms among male students and some interpretations of usage. As seen in figure 14, pronouns and names were reported to be used in all situations. Kinship terms were the least used.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

Figure 14: Percentage distribution of Thai male students' usage of self-reference terms

- junior F +in
- niece/nephew
- junior F -in
- junior M -in
- junior M +in
- younger sister
- younger brother
- girlfriend
- friend F +in
- friend F -in
- older brother
- senior F -in
- senior F +in
- senior M +in
- senior M -in
- mother
- father
- maternal grandmother
- maternal grandfather
- paternal grandmother
- paternal grandfather
- older sister
- father's younger sibling
- mother's younger sibling
- parent's older sister
- parent's older brother
- friend M -in
- friend M +in
- teacher +in
- teacher -in
- public speaking

Legend:
- Kin
- Name
- Pronouns
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

a. Pronouns

All male students reported using pronouns to intimate teachers and in public speaking. Pronouns were reported to be used to persons outside the family more than to persons in the family. Pronouns are less used to younger siblings, nieces/nephews and juniors.

b. Names

The majority of male students reported using names to parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts. This suggests the continuation of childlike usage. Generally male students reported using names to females more than to males and to intimates more than non-intimates. It seems that men tend to use childlike usage more to women and more to intimates.

c. Kinship terms

Kinship terms were mainly used to younger persons, either junior students or younger siblings and nieces/nephews. The majority of male students preferred to use kinship terms with junior students, sisters and nieces/nephews. They were not reported to be used at all to male friends, teachers, parents, uncles, aunts or in public speaking.

d. Pronouns and kinship terms

Pronouns and kinship terms appear as opposites in the percentage distribution in the sense that while the highest reported usage of pronouns was in public speaking and to non-intimate teachers, kinship terms were not used in these situations at all. By contrast, when talking to intimate female junior students, kinship terms have the highest reported usage (95%) and pronouns the lowest (10%).

4.7.2 Thai female students' usage of self-reference terms

As seen in figure 15, female students reported using pronouns less and names more than their male counterparts. Pronouns are reported to be used in all situations, followed by names. Kinship terms were the least used among female students as well as male students.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

Figure 15: Percentage distribution of Thai female students' usage of self-reference terms
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

a. Pronouns

Even though female students reported using pronouns less than male students, all female students reported using pronouns to non-intimate teachers. The majority reported using them to persons outside the family. Many (23%-42%) reported using them to uncles, aunts, grandparents, siblings and boyfriends, while the least percentage (20%-) reported using pronouns to juniors, seniors and nieces/nephews.

b. Names

As with male students, names were reported as being used more to older persons than to younger ones, and more to intimates than to non-intimate ones. The highest (81%) reported figure was with maternal grandfathers and intimate male seniors. As the questionnaire results indicate, the majority of female students preferred using names when talking with grandparents, uncles, aunts, seniors, parents, boyfriends and older siblings. Some (14-32%) reported usage to friends, intimate teachers and nieces/nephews and a few (1-11%) to younger siblings, intimate juniors and in public speaking. Names were not reported to be used at all to non-intimate juniors and non-intimate teachers. Using names suggests a high degree of intimacy. On the other hand, names were reported to be used to seniors more than to friends. This may be because female students found appropriate pronouns to use to friends (e.g. chán, rau) more readily than to seniors.

c. Kinship terms

Unlike the case of male students, kinship terms were widely used and in fact were reported to be used in 25 situations. The vast majority of female students reported using kinship terms to juniors followed by younger siblings and nieces/nephews. No usage was reported to friends and teachers.

d. Pronouns and kinship terms

As with male students, pronouns and kinship terms appear as opposites in the percentage distribution. While one of the highest reported usage of pronouns was to non-intimate teachers, kinship terms were not used at all in this situation. By contrast, with non-intimate female juniors, kinship terms has the highest reported usage (98%) and pronouns the lowest (1%).
4.7.3 Thai male employees' usage of self-reference terms

As seen in figure 16, male employees reported using mainly pronouns in 27 out of 31 situations. They were found not to use names as much as students. Kinship terms were reported to be used in some situations. Only a few used tua-e:ŋ, in two situations.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

Figure 16: Percentage distribution of Thai male employees' usage of self-reference terms
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

a. Pronouns

Male employees reported using mainly pronouns except when talking to younger brothers and nieces/nephews. Pronouns were not reported to be used at all to children and grandchildren.

b. Names

Of all four groups, male employees reported using names for self-reference the least. This may be because the usage of names shows gentleness which is normally associated with femininity or childlikeness. The data show, however, that male students used names more than male employees who are typically older. Older males reported that they seldom used their name for self-reference because of connotations of childishness or femininity.

The highest reported figures (20%+) of name use were with two groups of addressees. The first group is parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts; addressees in this group have known S since childhood and S can use terms showing gentleness as a child would do to them. The second group is intimate female colleagues, younger sisters and wives/girlfriends: they are intimate women to whom S may show gentleness.

c. Kinship terms

Unlike the case of male students, kinship terms were widely used and from present results they were reported to be used in 21 situations. The highest (100%) reported figure was to children and grandchildren. The majority (87%) of male employees preferred using kinship terms when talking to nieces/nephews. Kinship terms also have lower (17%-38%) use to younger siblings, wives/girlfriends and subordinates. Kinship terms were not used to bosses, uncles, aunts, grandfathers, paternal grandmothers and in public speaking. All of these addressees are of higher status than S.

d. tua-e:ŋ

A few subjects reported using tua-e:ŋ to customers and in public speaking. This may be because in these situations other terms were not felt to be appropriate and tua-e:ŋ was used to resolve the conflict.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

e. Pronouns and kinship terms

As with students, male employees' usage of pronouns and kinship terms was opposed or almost in complementary distribution. While the highest (100%) use of pronouns was to non-intimate bosses and in public speaking, kinship terms were not used in these situations. On the other hand, while the highest (100%) use of kinship terms was to children and grandchildren, pronouns were not used in these two situations.

4.7.4 Thai female employees' usage of self-reference terms

Figure 17 below shows that the majority of female employees reported using names. The usage of pronouns was widely reported followed by some use of kinship terms. A few reported using other nouns. 3% of female employees reported being conscious of avoiding self-reference terms when talking to customers. Nouns were used probably because no pronoun seemed appropriate.
Figure 17: Percentage distribution of Thai female employees' usage of self-reference terms

- child
- sub M +in
- sub F +in
- sub F -in
- sub M -in
- niece/nephew
- younger brother
- younger sister
- sub older
- parents' older sister
- parents' older brother
- father's sibling
- maternal grandmother
- maternal grandfather
- mother's sibling
- older brother
- paternal grandfather
- paternal grandmother
- mother
- father
- colleague F -in
- older sister
- husband/boyfriend
- colleague F +in
- colleague M +in
- colleague M -in
- public speaking
- customer
- boss +in
- boss -in
a. Pronouns

Females, especially employees, reported using pronouns less than males. The highest reported figure (80%) was when talking to customers. The majority of female employees preferred using pronouns to male colleagues and in public speaking. Usage was low when talking to subordinates and nieces/nephews. These addressees were younger than S. Like their male counterparts, female employees reported no usage of pronouns to children.

b. Names

The highest reported figure (93%) was to intimate bosses. Notably, names were used in a high percentage (69%) when talking to uncles, aunts, intimate colleagues and maternal grandparents. The majority of female employees also reported using names to parents, older siblings, non-intimates colleagues, older subordinates, non-intimate bosses, paternal grandparents and husbands/boyfriends. Names are not much used to younger H: usage was low (16%) to younger siblings, nieces/nephews and subordinates, and was not reported at all to children.

c. Kinship terms

As with the other three groups, the main usage of kinship terms was to younger H. All female employees reported the usage to their children. The majority of female employees preferred using kinship terms with subordinates, nieces/nephews and younger siblings. There was no report of using kinship terms at all to bosses. It seems that kinship terms for self-reference are not appropriate to use to authority figures such as bosses (and teachers in the case of students).

d. Nouns

The percentage of using nouns was low (8%). Of all four groups, however, female employees reported using nouns the most. Only two situations were reported, to customers and to husbands/boyfriends; in these situations some women might find no pronouns suitable to use.
Chapter 4 Variation in the use of self-reference terms

e. Pronouns and kinship terms

Pronouns and kinship terms were opposed in usage here as with all other groups of respondents. While the use of kinship terms was highest (100%) to children, pronouns were not reported here at all.
Chapter 5

Comparison of the use of self-reference terms in Japanese and Thai

This chapter explores the main similarities and differences in the usage of self-reference terms in Japanese and Thai. We will provide an overview first based on formal categories and then on other characteristics.

As we have seen, both in Japanese and Thai, pronouns, status terms (kinship, occupational and positional terms), names and other nouns are used in self-reference. The following section will provide a brief review of the distribution of these four categories in both languages, followed by detailed comparison of each type of self-reference in Japanese and Thai.

5.1 Comparison of formal categories

This section considers the claim that Japanese mainly use pronouns for self-reference while Thais, especially women, make wider use of status terms and names than Japanese.

5.1.1 Pronouns

The Japanese self-reference pronoun system contains fewer forms than the Thai. Paradoxically this may be one reason why Thai people do not use pronouns as much as Japanese. Figures 1 and 2, which repeat for convenience data discussed in chapter 4, show clearly that Japanese speakers report using pronouns much more than Thai speakers do.

There is a noticeable difference in how S's gender affects the realization of self-reference in Thai and Japanese. In Japanese, the self-reference pronoun system for males is more complicated than that of females. Men generally have to distinguish the usage of
Figure 1: Percentage distribution of the usage of self-reference terms

Japanese male students
- grandchild
- niece
- daughter
- son
- self
- grandmother
- grandfather
- aunt
- uncle
- younger sister
- younger brother
- older sister
- older brother
- mother
- father
- customer
- sub-F
- sub-M
- colleague-F
- colleague-M
- boss-M
- boss-F
- public speaking

Japanese male employees
- grandchild
- niece
- daughter
- son
- self
- grandmother
- grandfather
- aunt
- uncle
- younger sister
- younger brother
- older sister
- older brother
- mother
- father
- customer
- sub-F
- sub-M
- colleague-F
- colleague-M
- boss-M
- boss-F
- public speaking

Thai male students
- niece
- child
- mother’s younger sibling
- father’s younger sibling
- parent’s older sister
- parent’s older brother
- younger sister
- younger brother
- older sister
- older brother
- mother
- father
- junior F
- junior M
- friend F
- friend M
- senior F
- senior M
- teacher F
- teacher M
- public speaking

Thai male employees
- niece
- child
- mother’s younger sibling
- father’s younger sibling
- parent’s older sister
- parent’s older brother
- younger sister
- younger brother
- older sister
- older brother
- mother
- father
- junior F
- junior M
- friend F
- friend M
- senior F
- senior M
- teacher F
- teacher M
- public speaking
Figure 2: Percentage distribution of the usage of self-reference terms

Japanese female students

Japanese female employees

Thai female students

Thai female employees

Notes: Japanese uses the term "self" frequently and in a variety of contexts, whereas Thai uses it less frequently and more in a formal context. The use of terms like "self" in Japanese can be seen as a reflection of a more individualistic cultural perspective, whereas Thai tends to use more collective terms.

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Chapter 5 Comparison of the use of self-reference terms in Japanese and Thai

four pronouns: watakushi, watashi, boku and ore. Usage is determined primarily by two factors, intimacy and the attitude of speakers towards refinement in language. Women generally use three pronouns, watakushi, watashi and atashi (all having the same historical origin). Watashi, however, is the most used because it is the least sociolinguistically marked pronoun for women. Japanese men do not possess the same kind of wide-scope pronoun.

The situation is reversed in Thai. Men possess a wide-scope pronoun which can be used in many situations while multiple pronouns for women are highly sociolinguistically marked. The claim here is that this is the reason why Thai women use other forms more than men. In effect, Thai women are avoiding the highly-specific role relationships implied by available pronouns through using other non-pronominal options for self-reference. For the men’s system the availability of a wide-scope pronoun reduces the need to use non-pronominal forms. As we have seen, many male pronouns developed among high class men during the early Rattanakosin Period (1782 - circa 1900) for use to the royal family and to high ranking noblemen. Among these, phōm, the humble pronoun expanded its usage first to commoners and later as a wide-scope pronoun. Until the end of the 19th century, women had few social roles outside the sphere of their family and relatives (Hoonchamlong, 1992). The fact that women gained active roles in society more than a hundred years later than men helps to account for why their pronoun system appears not yet to have developed to suit the status of women who work outside their family sphere. Hoonchamlong (1992: 196) states that new possibilities for social interaction as well as for the establishment of new identities and relationships in society have reinforced the use of dichăn as a polite first person pronoun for female speakers when speaking to non-acquaintances or superiors in formal situations, in which other pronouns would be considered crude or inappropriate. However, this term is still restricted in use, although perhaps expanding.

Even though in traditional times Japanese women generally worked at home, their pronoun system has developed an essentially neutral pronoun. Unlike Thai men, Japanese men do not possess wide-scope pronouns. The explanation given for the Thai case does not seem to work well for the Japanese case. In Japanese, especially since the
Chapter 5 Comparison of the use of self-reference terms in Japanese and Thai

Meiji Period, women are expected not to use low words like men. The result has been that the middle pronoun *watashi* has expanded its scope more widely than the same pronoun as used by men.

Both Japanese men and Thai women thus lack a wide-scope pronoun, but Japanese men still use pronouns. Thai women in many situations prefer kinship terms and names or avoidance of pronouns. This is because the scope of each pronoun for Thai women is narrower than that of pronouns for Japanese men. For example, a Japanese 30-years old man may use *watashi* to his older colleague's wife who is also 30-years old, *boku* to his friend's wife and, *ore* to his subordinate. In similar situations, a Thai 30-year-old woman has no appropriate pronoun to use at all: she would use names to her older colleague's wife and her friend's wife, and the kinship term *phi*: 'older sister' to her subordinate. Figure 1 below presents a comparison of the scope of pronouns for Japanese men and Thai women.

![Comparison of the use of self-reference terms in Japanese and Thai](image)

To further clarify similarities and differences in how pronouns are used in Japanese and Thai, it is useful to consider the following seven pairs of comparable items.

1. Jp: *ore* / Th: *in*

They share the following similarities:

1. Low level of interaction
2. High degree of equality between J and Th
3. Informal setting
To further clarify similarities and differences in how pronouns are used in Japanese and Thai, it is useful to consider the following seven pairs of comparable items.

1. Jp. ore/Th. ku:

They share the following similarities:

1. LOW level of refinement
2. High degree of intimacy between S and H
3. Informal setting
4. Both are used most when talking to intimate male friends and younger brothers. However, as figure 3 indicates, the range of use of *ore* is much broader than that of *ku*. *Ore* was reported to be used frequently in more than twenty situations while *ku* was reported to be used only occasionally to intimate bosses and seniors, friends and colleagues, siblings and nieces/nephews. *Ore* can be used to higher status persons such as parents and teachers but *ku* definitely cannot be used to in such cases. This suggests that the parameters of power and intimacy operate differently for these forms, with Thais selecting *ku* under much greater influence from the power parameter than Japanese selecting *ore*. *Ore* and *ku* are also slightly different in that while *ore* is regarded as a male pronoun, *ku* is still used by some women.
Figure 3: Percentage distribution of the usage of Jp. ore and Th. ku.

Percentage distribution of the use of ore:

Japanese male students

Thai male students

Percentage distribution of the use of ku:

Japanese male employees

Thai male employees
Chapter 5 Comparison of the use of self-reference terms in Japanese and Thai

2. Jp. atashi/Th. ちゃん

They share the following similarities:

1. MIDDLE level of refinement
2. Low degree of formality
3. High degree of intimacy

While atashi is used exclusively by Japanese women, ちゃん is also used by approximately 10% of Thai men. No differences were reported among Japanese students and employees in their frequency of using atashi. However, Thai female students reported using ちゃん three times more than Thai female employees. This is because ちゃん suggests status similarity between S and H, or for some speakers, even that S is higher than H. Thai female employees may thus find less appropriate situations to use ちゃん: for example, some of their colleagues may feel offended by its use. On the other hand, atashi does not focus on status similarity but suggest low degree of formality. Thus, Japanese female students and employees use the term similarly in non-formal situations.

3. Jp. atashi/Th. ข้าง

They share the following similarities:

1. MIDDLE level of refinement
2. Low degree of formality
3. High degree of intimacy

It is not uncommon for Japanese young girls to use atashi and Thai young girls to use ข้าง. However, while ข้าง conveys a childlike nuance, atashi does not. This is the reason why it is uncommon to use ข้าง to younger addressees except when talking to younger siblings or showing affection to younger girlfriends, etc. While atashi is used exclusively by Japanese women, ข้าง is also used by approximately 10% of Thai men. Atashi and ข้าง are both used mainly in informal situations.

4. Jp. boku/Th. พระ

These two terms share the following similarities:

1. They are not LOW words.
2. Both are used exclusively by males.
However, *boku* suggests a lower degree of formality than *phôm* and the scope of using *boku* is much narrower. *Phôm* is a HIGH word that Thai announcers and politicians use to the public, while in the same situations higher words than *boku* are necessary in Japanese. While *boku* is associated with young age, *phôm* is not. Some Thai teenagers and young men prefer nicknames for self-reference, and this results in a lower frequency of *phôm* usage among young Thais.


They share the following similarities:

1. HIGH level of refinement
2. Formal setting

Although the two terms show a high degree of formality, Thais use *khà:phacàu* much less than Japanese use *watakushi* even in formal situations. This is because *khà:phacàu* cannot be used to individual listeners. It lacks personal engagement. Even in a conference it is not common to use *khà:phacàu*. Appropriate situations are restricted, for example, to ceremonial speeches probably read from prepared written papers.


They share the following similarity:

1. HIGH level of refinement

While *watakushi* is used by both men and women, *kraphôm* is exclusively used by men. However, Japanese men use *watakushi* more than Thai men use *kraphôm* since the latter prefer the wider scope pronoun *phôm*. By contrast, Japanese men do not have a wide-scope pronoun. Therefore, in a very formal situation or when a male S wants to show clearly that H is higher he has to use *watakushi*.

7. Jp. *watakushi* / Th. *dichân*

They share the following similarities:

1. HIGH level of refinement
2. Formal setting

While *watakushi* is used by both men and women, *dichân* is exclusively used by women. *Watakushi* differs from *dichân* in that it suggests that H is higher while *dichân* does not. It is difficult, therefore, for Thai women to find appropriate terms to use in a formal
setting when conversing with higher H. Thai women may use "nū" to higher H to show a distinction of power. However, "nū" shows a low degree of formality, unlike "watakushi" for Japanese women.

5.1.2 Status terms

Self-reference status terms in Thai are widely used to persons of all ages, whereas in Japanese they are restricted to children. Even when talking to children many Japanese use pronouns instead of status terms.

a. Kinship terms

Thais use kinship terms for self-reference much more than Japanese do. In Thai an older S mainly uses kinship terms to kin while in Japanese s/he may use pronouns.

In Japanese it is very rare to use kinship terms for self-reference to non-kin apart from small children. From the questionnaire data, only one out of 201 Japanese respondents reported the usage to non-kin. In Thai, on the other hand, kinship terms may be used for self-reference to non-kin addressees of all ages. In fact, the majority of women and also many men use kinship terms to younger H. However, kinship terms younger than S (e.g. "nō:η" 'younger siblings' and "lō:k" 'child') are not used in self-reference to non-kin.

Even though Japanese uses kinship terms less than Thai, both share the same feature in that they use them more to younger addressees. It is interesting that Thai respondents preferred to use "phī" 'older sibling' to younger persons who are not their siblings more than to their actual younger siblings. This is because, unlike ties with younger persons, the sibling relationship starts when both are very young and the relationship normally is longer than that with younger friends, colleagues, subordinates etc. Informants who were older siblings reported that they feel comfortable using pronouns to younger siblings because they know that their younger siblings would not be offended by the pronouns they use. However, it was more difficult to find a suitable pronoun for self-reference when talking to younger non-kin persons. They reported that if they used the same pronouns as they used with their younger siblings, it might sound too intimate or as though H were being treated as a person lower in power.
From the data discussed we also found that a few Japanese men as well as few Thai men reported using terms for 'father' (so-called teknonymy) when talking to their wives. From my questionnaire data I did not find evidence of women using terms for 'mother' when talking to their husbands in either language. However, one Thai informant reported this usage; this informant also observed a childless wife referring to herself as mû: mother' to her husband.

b. Occupational and positional terms

Japanese use only occupational terms but Thai use both occupational and positional terms as self-reference. While Japanese use occupational terms only to children, Thai use occupational and positional terms to both children and adults. It is common for a Thai high school teacher to use khru: 'teacher' to his/her students but it would be odd for a Japanese high school teacher to use sensei 'teacher' to his/her students. It is not unusual for a Thai medical doctor to call him/herself mû: 'medical doctor' when talking to a patient but a Japanese doctor would use oîshasan 'medical doctor' only to children.

It appears that while Japanese occupational terms have restricted use, Thai occupational and positional terms are still changing, with usage expanding to take in new terms. From my questionnaire data a female respondent reported using phe:sût 'pharmacist' in self-reference to her customers, and I have observed a female political candidate who held a doctoral degree call herself dûktû: 'doctor' in an election campaign. These two examples are not as well established as some other occupational and positional terms (e.g. khru: 'teacher'), and the candidate who called herself dûktû: was criticized as unusual by some native speakers.

5.1.3 Names

Thai cannot use family names for self-reference as Japanese do. Given names and nicknames can be used in both languages but nicknames are more widely used in Thai. Given names and nicknames in both Japanese and Thai convey childlike and feminine nuances: children used them more than adults and women reported their usage more than men. Thai respondents, however, generally reported using nicknames much more than
their Japanese counterparts. Adult women may use names to older H. As mentioned earlier, in Thai there exist rigid boundaries delimiting the situations in which female self-reference pronouns may appropriately be used. Using names for self-reference is one way of showing that S is younger or that, compared to H, S is still a child.

Age factors influence the usage of given names and nicknames both in Thai and Japanese but in a different way. From my observation and questionnaire data we have seen that young Thai men (not over 25) use nicknames and some given names to addressees outside the family more than older ones. This suggests that the usage of nicknames (and some given names) is currently changing, with usage expanding to addressees outside the family circle among the younger generation. Among Japanese, unlike Thai, people in the older generation were found to use names more than younger ones. Japanese male employees reported a higher usage of given names than male students. Approximately 10% of male employees preferred to use given names with parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts, while only 2% of male students reported using given names to parents and none reported the usage to grandparents, uncles and aunts. The reason for this is, however, unclear. In Thai family names are not used for self-reference as in Japanese. Japanese family names are used without showing childlikeness or femininity, unlike given names or nicknames. Family names were reported to be used by Japanese male employees in 14 situations while only in one situation by a Japanese male student.

5.1.4 Other nouns

In this study "other nouns" refers to nouns that share some characteristics with pronouns and it is not always a straightforward matter to distinguish them (cf. the discussion in 3.4). They are Jp. kochira, kotchi, uchi, jibun, Th. tua-e:n and ni:. Uchi has no semantic equivalent in Thai, and only Jp. jibun/Th. tua-e:n and Jp. kochira, kotchi/Th. ni: are directly comparable. These forms have a comparatively low frequency of use.
Chapter 5 Comparison of the use of self-reference terms in Japanese and Thai


These two terms are similar in their basic meaning 'self'. It is noticeable that Japanese men, who lack a wide-scope pronoun, tend to use *jibun* more than women; in like manner Thai women, who also lack wide-scope pronouns, tend to use *tua-e:ŋ* more than men. It is also worth noting that situations where Japanese respondents reported using *jibun* are similar to those where Thai respondents reported using *tua-e:ŋ*: usage was reported more when talking with an H higher in power and in public speaking in both languages. Both forms have a comparatively low frequency of use.

2. Jp. *kochira, kotchi* (lit. 'this way') and Th. *ni*: 'here'

Jp. *kochira, kotchi* and Th. *ni*: are similar in that their original meanings are deictic, pointing to place. Whereas Japanese has two forms differing in formality. Thai has only informal *ni*: Japanese use *kochira* and *kotchi* to emphasize the opposition of S and H. *Ni*: in Thai, on the other hand, does not have this meaning, and is often used in a situation where S cannot find another appropriate self-reference term. For example, a female university lecturer reported that a female student in graduate school who was older than her was used *ni*: to her. Other forms typically used by female students to teachers (especially *nū*: ) seemed inappropriate in this case.

5.2 Comparison of Japanese and Thai patterns of usage

In further comparing Japanese and Thai patterns of self-reference, the following three issues appear important: situational switch, avoidance of full forms, and parameters.

5.2.1 Situational switch

a. To be more polite

In both Japanese and Thai, speakers switch to HIGH forms to show extra politeness. A Japanese male pupil using *ore* with his friends may change to *boku* when the teacher enters the room to be more polite. Similarly, Thai schoolboys may switch from *ku:* to *phōm* when a teacher enters. In Thai, apart from employing HIGH self-reference terms, switching from LOW to MIDDLE terms makes S sound more polite. It is
interesting to note that in Thai a switch upward, however, is considered 'scornful' by some informants (see an example of this in 2.4.4), where as this reaction does not seem widespread in Japanese.

b. To be more or less formal

Japanese speakers especially men, switch their pronouns more often than in Thai when the situation becomes more or less formal at a particular time. For example, in a round-table discussion (zadankai) with the national swimming team, the moderator who was an ex-national team swimmer began the talk by using watashi. After he had talked for a while and seemed to be more involved with the topic of competition and wished he could join the team he switched to ore(Swimming and Water Polo magazine, 1992). In another discussion between two university lecturers, one lecturer referred to himself as watashi 11 times and then switched to boku 3 times. After that he mixed both, using watashi 6 times and boku 9 times. It is noteworthy that we can find both pronouns even in one sentence:

(1) watashi no kanai wa kookoo ga owaru made I poss. wife top. high school subj. finish till

wakayama de sugoshita mono desu kara
Wakayama at spend time nom. cop. because

boku no kotoba to chigau tokoro ga takusan
I poss. language from differ place subj. many

aru n desu have nom. cop.
‘My wife lived in Wakayama until she finished her high school, so her language differs from mine a lot’ (Kangotenboo, 1992 b)

In a situation where people relax such as when drinking, a Japanese may switch his/her self-reference pronouns to lower forms.

Similarly, in Thai at the beginning of a formal speech S tends to be formal. After a person talks for a while s/he may be more relaxed and use less formal pronouns. Thus, Thai men who use kraphôm at the beginning of a speech sometimes switch to the shorter form phôm subsequently (see 2.4.3):

(2) kraphôm râ:süuk sänkè:t hên pra:kôtka:n
I feel notice see phenomenon
Chapter 5 Comparison of the use of self-reference terms in Japanese and Thai

I noticed that at the end of seminars after people had talked a lot they tended to ask me to say something' (Wasi, 1991: 181)

This also applies to monks' usage of аттама(:)пать and аттама:, and Thai women often call themselves дичан at the beginning of a formal speech. I have observed a female lecturer who switched from дичан to чан after she had talked for a while at a faculty meeting. In both Japanese and Thai the typical switch is to lower terms.

c. To express a particular emotion

It is not uncommon for Japanese to use pronouns to adult kin. When S wants to emphasize a kinship relationships S may switch to kinship terms.

In Thai switching from kinship terms and occupational terms to pronouns may have the effect of indicating, at least temporarily, a lessened degree of intimacy. One informant who is a university lecturer reported that her adviser as an undergraduate student always referred to herself as кхру: but once switched to дичан when they had a conflict in a meeting. A director of a department reported that she recalled switching from фи: 'older sibling' to the pronoun чан when she got very angry with her subordinates.

A Thai male doctor switched from the occupational term м5: to пхом when he was not satisfied with his patient in asking for his letter of recommendation for sick-leave.

(3) Doctor: .... ma: bû:k arai kàp m5: là come tell what with doctor illoc.
yût phâk là:u ca pai tham arai stop rest then intend go do what

'Why did you tell me? What are you going to do when you take sick-leave?'

Patient: râksâ: tua heal body
'Rest and get well'

Doctor: ca phâk na:n thâurai intend rest long how many
'How long do you want to take a rest?'

'It depends on your kindness'
Both in Thai and Japanese, speakers may switch to lower pronouns than their usual usage with particular speakers to show anger or dissatisfaction. This is because using low words in the two languages does not show respect and indicates that H is lower than S. Interestingly, a switch to higher forms than normal usage also can express anger by creating more distance in both Japanese and Thai. When intimate persons switch their reference terms to higher forms, it indicates a lessened degree of intimacy. A Japanese husband who always calls himself ore may switch to watashi when quarrelling with his wife. In Thai when spouses are quarrelling, S may stop using self-reference terms showing intimacy such as kinship terms or names. However, the switch probably would occur more in address terms rather than self-reference. S may change his/her address terms towards H, for example, by adding khun, a title normally used to a non-intimate or a higher status H. When khun is added before H’s name in such a case it may show anger or dissatisfaction by reducing the degree of intimacy.

5.2.2 Avoidance of full forms

We have seen that variants can occur for some high and formal forms in both Japanese and Thai. Thus, Jp. atakushi developed from watakushi and Th. di-án, i-hán, i-chán, dán, and hán from dichán. These variants may have come into usage to reduce formality. It is interesting that these phenomena occur in women’s pronouns in both languages and are disliked by some groups of native speakers.
5.2.3 Parameters

a. Gender

S's gender govern the usage of self-reference both in Japanese and Thai. While it is clear that H's gender also affects the usage of self-reference terms in Thai this is less clear in Japanese. For example, Thai males show gentleness by using names as self-reference to intimate female rather than to intimate male friends.

Half of the Japanese husbands surveyed reported using boku with wives. Nagura (1992) relates this to social class, finding that professionals\(^1\) (50%) and white-collar males (40.4%) reported using boku more than self-employed (17.7%) and blue-collar males (12%). For Thai there seems to be a similar set of differences coded by self-reference terms. Rural and urban blue-collar working class males tend to use only ku: with wives, but educated upper-class ethnic Thai and white-collar urban Thai mainly use phi:. Some use chan or, increasingly, nicknames. This suggests that gender-influenced language usage differs across various social groups in a loosely similar way in Japanese and Thai.

An absolute male/female distinction in pronouns in Thai is found only among HIGH words. By contrast, pronouns used only by males in Japanese are LOW and MIDDLE words. It is known that Japanese pronouns have shown a gender distinction at least since the Heian Period (794-1186), probably among high class people. In modern Japanese gender distinctions in self-reference pronouns are also characteristic of LOW level pronouns i.e. those used only by men. According to Ide (1982: 378), Japanese men dominate women in social status, and women are expected to be more polite than men. Ide (1982: 378-382) examines what makes Japanese women's speech more polite and finds an explanation for this in their frequent use of HIGH-level/formal forms. Similarly, women's speech is said to be more polite because women do not normally use vulgar expressions. Men's speech has such deprecatory personal pronouns as ore but women's speech lacks such pronouns.

For Thai, the situation is somewhat different. Before 1782 Thai men and women may perhaps have spoken in a way more similar than in modern Thai. Gender

\(^1\) Nagura does not provide information on how she classified respondents into professionals, white-collar, self-employed and blue-collar.
distinctions in self-reference pronouns in Thai, unlike Japanese, occur mainly in high level pronouns (e.g. phôm and dichán). These terms developed after 1782 and were at first used by upper class people. Later, among commoners, especially in the middle classes, Thai men and women adopt the aristocratic usage and they used more and more of the high language forms. However, some Thai women, especially in the lower class, still use low words as formerly. Although gender-oriented language is general in modern urban Thai, we found that lower class language showed the least gender difference.

b. Age

While, there is some trace of age difference in the Japanese self-reference pronoun system, in Thai we can get clearer information of age difference between a speaker and a listener. This may be because Thai culture is more sensitive to age than Japanese culture. Kinship self-reference terms in Thai are also marked by age and are more widely used than Japanese kinship terms. In Japanese age as an adult or child is primarily important while in Thai age difference between S and H is more important.

Another aspect of age involves the age at which a relationship began. In intimate relationships S is allowed to use low words both in Thai and Japanese. The time in one's life when a relationship began affects the subsequent selection of self-reference forms. Men interviewed in this study reported that they felt more comfortable using ku: to intimate male friends mainly if they started using it as younger boys, but not if they only came to know each other in later life (see 2.4.14). This also applies to Thai women's usage of chan and Japanese usage of ore as well as to the usage of names in both languages.
Chapter 6

Conclusion

The purpose of this study has been to present a comparative descriptive framework for showing how Japanese and Thai speakers typically refer to themselves under different situational conditions. Through application of the framework, it has been possible to identify key similarities and differences in self-reference usage characteristics both between Thai and Japanese speakers in general and also across selected comparable groups of speakers in the two language communities. The findings should be of interest in descriptive sociolinguistics, since they contain some new information about the use of the respective languages. Also, in applied linguistics, the findings should be of direct use in several ways, for example, in language teaching.

In striking contrast to European languages, a rather large number of first-person pronouns and other self-reference items are regularly used in both Japanese and Thai. Although both of these languages show much more self-referential complexity than English or other European languages, a conclusion of this study is that Thai speakers use a somewhat more proliferated and variable system of self-reference than is the case for Japanese. Thai has more self-reference terms in regular use than Japanese, and also Thai choices show a higher degree of variation across speakers.

Empirical input crucial for the framework presented here has come from a combination of sources:

(a) from an extensive self-report questionnaire survey organised especially to bring out three types of speaker contrast: Japanese/Thai, student/employee and male/female speaker; data collected and analysed included a number of additional factors, such as age, kinship relations and occupational status;

(b) from a study of comparable Japanese/Thai mass media extracts, especially television talk show programmes;

(c) more anecdotally, from personal observations and from informal interviews with representative native speakers.

In most cases (b) and (c) confirmed the self-report data collected in (a), suggesting the general validity of questionnaire results of this type; that is, Japanese and Thai speakers
do appear to have conscious access to their self-reference systems, and they can make rather reliable reports. The non-quantitative sources did however provide deeper insights into how speakers made self-reference decisions in particular cases and these insights were useful in evaluating questionnaire results.

6.1 Findings

Significant among the findings of this research are the following seven points:

(i) In general, relationships of intimacy and power in the Japanese/Thai self-reference case are more problematic and complex than was proposed in the two-dimensional model proposed Brown and Gilman (1960), involving parametric variation referred to there as "power" and "solidarity". While these high-level variables can furnish a first approximation to the Japanese and Thai cases and provide relevant insights, more specific factors such as speaker and hearer gender, age, kinship relations, occupation, formality of speech situation, overhearer presence and emotional switch were found to be important in arriving at a fuller picture of how self-reference operates in the two languages. Notions of degree of intimacy and refinement have been developed to account for some of this detail. For example, each language has terms appropriate for both intimate and non-intimate usage. The languages permit use of pronominal forms among intimates that would be coarse (low refinement level) to non-intimates, regardless of other general power/solidarity considerations.

This research establishes that Suzuki's (1971) notion of "empathetic identification" in Japanese, a phenomenon whereby a speaker refers to first, second or third person, from the point of view of the other, extends to Thai. Of further relevance is Palakornkul's (1972) findings that the presence of a child or a non-acquaintance or a person with power and status affects the use of person reference in Thai. This notion of "overhearer presence" is also applicable to the use of Japanese self-reference terms as shown in this study (5.2.1 a). The notions of "assertiveness" (Cooke, 1968) and "emotional manifestations" (Palakornkul, 1972), expressed for example when a speaker is angry, have been shown to apply in Thai. The research data further show that there are levels of refinement in the self-reference terms used in different situations in both
Japanese and Thai. This accords with the views of Japanese self-reference pronouns adopted by Kurokawa (1972) and Ide (1982) and builds on Diller's (1985) account of the ways in which Thai personal pronouns indicate level-sensitive variation.

(ii) In particular, age and gender were found to be especially important factors in self-reference term selection but they do not operate exactly the same in the two languages (5.2.3). Kaenjak's (1989) claim that age difference is more important in Thai than in Japanese is confirmed by this research. Whether an addressee is a child or an adult is more important in Japanese than in Thai. Self-reference choices are also affected by gender, perhaps with ultimate links to the Brown & Gilman power dimension. This study has indicated that social change involving new roles for women is linked to some of the variation and complexity in women's self-reference, especially in Thai. Speaker's gender was found to govern usage patterns of self-reference strongly both in Japanese and Thai. In contrast to this, hearer's gender was found to affect only moderately the usage of Thai self-reference terms and to have an even lesser effect in Japanese.

(iii) The notion of pronoun scope has been used in this study to account for how certain pronominal forms are selected and also to facilitate intra-language and cross-language comparisons. For example, Japanese men were found to lack what is referred to in this study as a wide-scope pronoun. Thai women similarly lack a single pronoun of such a sort. However, usage patterns are still very different. Japanese men still use their pronouns for self-reference relatively frequently, and much more than they use other forms. This contrasts sharply with the characteristic situation for Thai women, where pronouns are used less frequently. In terms of the present account, this is because the scope of each pronoun for Thai women is much narrower than that of the corresponding items used by Japanese men. For a Thai woman, to use a pronoun is to commit herself to one rather specific role-relationship—a selection that she may feel is not appropriate for a given situation. For Japanese males, on the other hand, there are several pronouns available but they are relatively wide in scope and for most situations an appropriate one would be available.

(iv) Substantial diachronic change has marked both the Japanese and Thai systems. Indications are clear that at present the Japanese self-reference system is more
stable and less dynamic and variable than the Thai system. Some developments have been parallel in Japanese and Thai. Both use terms originally meaning 'servant' (originally nouns) as self-reference pronouns. Similarly, both use reflexive-like nouns meaning 'self' (jibun and tua-e:ŋ) as self-reference. Relating to the question of scope discussed in (iii) above, jibun was found more frequently used by Japanese men, who lack a single wide-scope pronoun, than by Japanese women, who have one. Similarly, tua-e:ŋ is more commonly used by Thai women, who also lack a wide-scope pronoun (5.1.4).

(v) Pronouns, however, are not the only type of self-reference terms. Thais use names and status terms for self-reference more than Japanese do. In Thai society older speakers speaking to younger ones were found to use kinship terms to a great extent. Thais seem more apt to think of themselves as older siblings when relating to younger hearers. The present study has further shown that in Japanese, occupational terms tend to be fixed and static and have restricted use. Conversely, Thai terms of this type tend to be dynamic and changing. This again illustrates the experimental potential and flux in the Thai system.

(vi) The general picture outlined above is subject to considerable variation, however. Both Japanese and Thai usage of self-reference terms is not always determinate, in that the selectional behaviour of a particular speaker can rarely be predicted absolutely, except in a few well-defined cases. Typically, for a given situation several forms were found to be used, sometimes, but not always, with slightly different feelings or personality factors associated with specific alternates. There are some situations in which people tend to vary their usage more than in others. For example, speakers were found to vary their usage more when talking to a hearer of the same or lower status.

(vii) Overt prescriptive training was found to have some effect on speaker's choices—more so in Japanese than in Thai. Japanese forms of self-reference are introduced by way of institutional training. Correct language use has been a matter of keen public interest in Japan at least since the Second World War. For example the Ministry of Education issued instruction in 1941 and again in 1952 to guide people's use
of language, which included terms for self-reference (Coulmas, 1992). After the war through education Japanese self-reference usage was influenced by the Ministry of Education's policy. Thai government and formal education authorities issued less specific policy pronouncements concerning self-reference usage, except that low words are not acceptable in formal situations. There is some censorship of language use in the media such as radio and television but this seems not to affect everyday language usage. Children in both Japanese and Thai society are sometimes taught in schools to use appropriate terms for self-reference. For adults, Japanese society tends to teach people directly to use particular terms, for example, in training new employees in a company situation. By contrast, in Thai society social norms of self-referential use were found to be more naturally acquired, rather than explicitly taught. This latter point ties in with finding (iv), that, in general, the Japanese self-reference system is more established than the Thai system. As more differences are located in the different age groups among Thais and there is less prescriptive regulation, the Thai system can be seen more clearly to be in a state of change as indicated above.

6.2 Future prospects

A number of problems remain for further study.

(i) Syntactically and structurally, more research on the noun/pronoun distinction in Japanese and Thai is called for, especially with attention to the problem of grammaticalised nouns coming to be used more and more as pronouns.

(ii) Functionally, interrelationships among notions like power, solidarity, intimacy, formality, deference, politeness and refinement need more study and cross-language theoretical analysis than has been possible in this study, which has focused on empirical description in only two specific languages. A crucial problem is the extent to which notions such as these need to be defined locally for each culture or whether more general or universal definitions are possible. This study has attempted to show that at least for Japanese and Thai it is possible to make empirical comparisons using a fairly consistent framework, but the approach could be tested with more languages. In terms of more formal definitions, there may be no entirely rigorous cross-language way of
comparing particular items of the sort treated in this study. If they are deductively
defined, it would be insofar as the signals involved in the respective definitions are
language-specific (Krzeszowski, 1990: 117).

(iii) In this study I make no attempt to discuss plural forms, which would also be
a fascinating topic for further investigation. From the data at hand we found that when
phûak 'group' is prefixed to Thai self-reference pronouns, the pronouns have listener-
exclusive meaning only. Weerawong (1994) points out that phûak-chân 'group - I', may
also mean 'members of my group excluding myself'. In Japanese, by contrast, when a
plural suffix such as -tachi is added to self-reference pronouns, the resulting pronouns
may have either listener-inclusive or -exclusive meaning, depending on the context.
Japanese also has suffixes showing humility such as -domo, which of course behave in a
different way.

(iv) Literary comparisons of competent Japanese and Thai translations would be a
further resource for analysing how the self-reference systems differ. For example, some
insight could be gained into the inclusive-exclusive issue raised in (iii) above by
considering how Thai novels translated into Japanese. Data from the novel Lai Chiwit,
by Kukrit Pramoj, and its Japanese translation, illustrate clearly this contrast between the
two languages. When a Thai male speaker in the novel uses a LOW pronoun kʰâː to his
friend, this is translated as ore, which is also a LOW pronoun. When the Thai speaker
says 'we' (listener-inclusive) to his friend he uses a MIDDLE pronoun raː; he cannot, in
this case, use phûak-kʰâː because this would change the meaning to listener-exclusive. In
the Japanese translation of raː, the term was still translated by using a LOW pronoun ore
with a plural suffix -tachi showing plurality. More generally, the most appropriate
translation for each form may be determined by the role relationship of speaker and
hearer in particular situations rather than any ad hoc set of equivalents of particular pairs
of forms in the two languages. How a skilful translator accomplishes this would be well
worth studying.
Appendix 1. Japanese Questionnaire

アンケート(学生用)

名前

性別 男/女

年齢

県

東京滞在期間 年

大学

学年 年生

所属しているクラブ

次の1-27の人と話しをする時、自分を何と呼びますか。当てはまるところに(○)をつけて下さい。2以上使う場合はすべて(○)をつけて下さい。1-27のうち実際に当てはまる人がいない場合は何も書かないでおいて下さい。ここにあがっている項目以外の語形を使う場合(例[あたし],[にいちやん])はその他のところに具体形を書いて下さい。

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どうもありがとうございました。

236
あなたが現在の職場は何ですか。

次のか1-35の人がと話しをする時、自分を何と呼びますか。当てはまるところに(〇)をつけて下さい。2以上使う場合はすべて(〇)をつけて下さい。1-35のうち実際に当てはまる人がいない場合は何も書かないと

donno ありがとうございます。
### Appendix 2: Birthplace of Japanese respondents

#### Students

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#### Employees

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TOTAL | 201 |
Appendix 3 Thai Questionnaire

แบบสอบถาม ตัวเรียกตัวเอง

เพศ ชาย อาสา ปี
เกิด在哪一天________ ประสบการณ์ทั่วไป________

ก่อนเรียกตัวเองทางบางอย่างทั้งบุคคลทั่วไปในแนวทิศทั่วไปจะสังเกตตัวเอง และสอบถามถึง
ความรู้สึก ถ้าท่านใช้เพื่อวิจัยตัวเองมากกว่าท่านจะค้นหลักบุคคลทั่วไปไม่รู้ว่าจะตอบบุคคลทั่วไป
ในการค้น

ทั้งบุคคลทั่วไปเช่นกันท่านไม่ต้องสะอาดเวลานั้นว่าจ้างว่า เวลาตอบหน้าสอบถามที่มานะเกิด

1. รู้จักกันผ่านสิทธิ์

ถาม หมู่ กัน ท่าน รู้ เรา ไหน(ชื่อ) หนุ่ม ไม่ มอง ลอก หน้า
ชื่อจริง ชื่อเล่น(นามสกุลชื่อจริง) อื่นๆ(โปรดระบุ) _________

2. รู้จักผ่านสิทธิ์ไม่สนิท

ถาม หมู่ กัน ท่าน รู้ เรา ไหน(ชื่อ) หนุ่ม ไม่ มอง ลอก หน้า
ชื่อจริง ชื่อเล่น(นามสกุลชื่อจริง) อื่นๆ(โปรดระบุ) _________

3. รู้จักผ่านสิทธิ์สนิท

ถาม หมู่ กัน ท่าน รู้ เรา ไหน(ชื่อ) หนุ่ม ไม่ มอง ลอก หน้า
ชื่อจริง ชื่อเล่น(นามสกุลชื่อจริง) อื่นๆ(โปรดระบุ) _________

4. รู้จักผ่านสิทธิ์กินไม่สนิท

ถาม หมู่ กัน ท่าน รู้ เรา ไหน(ชื่อ) หนุ่ม ไม่ มอง ลอก หน้า
ชื่อจริง ชื่อเล่น(นามสกุลชื่อจริง) อื่นๆ(โปรดระบุ) _________

5. เลื่อนหน้าสายกินไม่สนิท

ถาม หมู่ กัน ท่าน รู้ เรา ไหน(ชื่อ) หนุ่ม ไม่ มอง ลอก หน้า
ชื่อจริง ชื่อเล่น(นามสกุลชื่อจริง) อื่นๆ(โปรดระบุ) _________

6. เลื่อนหน้าสายกินสนิท

ถาม หมู่ กัน ท่าน รู้ เรา ไหน(ชื่อ) หนุ่ม ไม่ มอง ลอก หน้า
ชื่อจริง ชื่อเล่น(นามสกุลชื่อจริง) อื่นๆ(โปรดระบุ) _________

239
1. เสนอแนะเกี่ยวกับสถานะ

อารมณ์ ผม กิน ข้าว ฮิว เวลา ฉันซื้อหนัง ผม ใช้ นั่ง อุ้ม หลาน

ช่างใจ ชื่อเล่น (ล้วนอะไรที่จริง) อ่าน (โปรดเรียน)

2. เสนอแนะเกี่ยวกับสถานะ

อารมณ์ ผม กิน ข้าว ฮิว เวลา ฉันซื้อหนัง ผม ใช้ นั่ง อุ้ม หลาน

ช่างใจ ชื่อเล่น (ล้วนอะไรที่จริง) อ่าน (โปรดเรียน)

3. เรื่องษาการติดสิน

อารมณ์ ผม กิน ข้าว ฮิว เวลา ฉันซื้อหนัง ผม ใช้ นั่ง อุ้ม หลาน

ช่างใจ ชื่อเล่น (ล้วนอะไรที่จริง) อ่าน (โปรดเรียน)

4. เรื่องษาการติดสิน

อารมณ์ ผม กิน ข้าว ฮิว เวลา ฉันซื้อหนัง ผม ใช้ นั่ง อุ้ม หลาน

ช่างใจ ชื่อเล่น (ล้วนอะไรที่จริง) อ่าน (โปรดเรียน)

5. เรื่องษาการติดสิน

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6. เรื่องษาการติดสิน

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ช่างใจ ชื่อเล่น (ล้วนอะไรที่จริง) อ่าน (โปรดเรียน)

7. เรื่องษาการติดสิน

อารมณ์ ผม กิน ข้าว ฮิว เวลา ฉันซื้อหนัง ผม ใช้ นั่ง อุ้ม หลาน

ช่างใจ ชื่อเล่น (ล้วนอะไรที่จริง) อ่าน (โปรดเรียน)

8. เรื่องษาการติดสิน

อารมณ์ ผม กิน ข้าว ฮิว เวลา ฉันซื้อหนัง ผม ใช้ นั่ง อุ้ม หลาน

ช่างใจ ชื่อเล่น (ล้วนอะไรที่จริง) อ่าน (โปรดเรียน)

9. เรื่องษาการติดสิน

อารมณ์ ผม กิน ข้าว ฮิว เวลา ฉันซื้อหนัง ผม ใช้ นั่ง อุ้ม หลาน

ช่างใจ ชื่อเล่น (ล้วนอะไรที่จริง) อ่าน (โปรดเรียน)

10. เรื่องษาการติดสิน

อารมณ์ ผม กิน ข้าว ฮิว เวลา ฉันซื้อหนัง ผม ใช้ นั่ง อุ้ม หลาน

ช่างใจ ชื่อเล่น (ล้วนอะไรที่จริง) อ่าน (โปรดเรียน)

11. เรื่องษาการติดสิน

อารมณ์ ผม กิน ข้าว ฮิว เวลา ฉันซื้อหนัง ผม ใช้ นั่ง อุ้ม หลาน

ช่างใจ ชื่อเล่น (ล้วนอะไรที่จริง) อ่าน (โปรดเรียน)

12. เรื่องษาการติดสิน

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ช่างใจ ชื่อเล่น (ล้วนอะไรที่จริง) อ่าน (โปรดเรียน)

13. เรื่องษาการติดสิน

อารมณ์ ผม กิน ข้าว ฮิว เวลา ฉันซื้อหนัง ผม ใช้ นั่ง อุ้ม หลาน

ช่างใจ ชื่อเล่น (ล้วนอะไรที่จริง) อ่าน (โปรดเรียน)

14. เรื่องษาการติดสิน

อารมณ์ ผม กิน ข้าว ฮิว เวลา ฉันซื้อหนัง ผม ใช้ นั่ง อุ้ม หลาน

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15. เรื่องษาการติดสิน

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16. เรื่องษาการติดสิน

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17. เรื่องษาการติดสิน

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19. เรื่องษาการติดสิน

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อารมณ์ ผม กิน ข้าว ฮิว เวลา ฉันซื้อหนัง ผม ใช้ นั่ง อุ้ม หลาน

ช่างใจ ชื่อเล่น (ล้วนอะไรที่จริง) อ่าน (โปรดเรียน)

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อารมณ์ ผม กิน ข้าว ฮิว เวลา ฉันซื้อหนัง ผม ใช้ นั่ง อุ้ม หลาน

ช่างใจ ชื่อเล่น (ล้วนอะไรที่จริง) อ่าน (โปรดเรียน)

24. เรื่องษาการติดสิน

อารมณ์ ผม กิน ข้าว ฮิว เวลา ฉันซื้อหนัง ผม ใช้ นั่ง อุ้ม หลาน

ช่างใจ ชื่อเล่น (ล้วนอะไรที่จริง) อ่าน (โปรดเรียน)
Appendices

01.

รวม ผู้ กิน ข้า ตัว เรา นั่น(เช่น) หนึ่ง หนึ่ง นอก หาน

02.

รวม ผู้ กิน ข้า ตัว เรา นั่น(เช่น) หนึ่ง หนึ่ง นอก หาน

03.

รวม ผู้ กิน ข้า ตัว เรา นั่น(เช่น) หนึ่ง หนึ่ง นอก หาน

04.

รวม ผู้ กิน ข้า ตัว เรา นั่น(เช่น) หนึ่ง หนึ่ง นอก หาน

05.

รวม ผู้ กิน ข้า ตัว เรา นั่น(เช่น) หนึ่ง หนึ่ง นอก หาน

06.

รวม ผู้ กิน ข้า ตัว เรา นั่น(เช่น) หนึ่ง หนึ่ง นอก หาน

07.

รวม ผู้ กิน ข้า ตัว เรา นั่น(เช่น) หนึ่ง หนึ่ง นอก หาน

08.

รวม ผู้ กิน ข้า ตัว เรา นั่น(เช่น) หนึ่ง หนึ่ง นอก หาน

09.

รวม ผู้ กิน ข้า ตัว เรา นั่น(เช่น) หนึ่ง หนึ่ง นอก หาน

10.

รวม ผู้ กิน ข้า ตัว เรา นั่น(เช่น) หนึ่ง หนึ่ง นอก หาน
 Appendices

๑๒. ส้า

กรม มณ ภัก กิ่ง ข้า ติ หว่า นิน(เช่น) หนะ ๔ นอย่ ถก หลาน

๑๖. สา

กรม มณ ภัก กิ่ง ข้า ติ หว่า นิน(เช่น) หนะ ๔ นอย่ ถก หลาน

๑๗. สิน

กรม มณ ภัก กิ่ง ข้า ติ หว่า นิน(เช่น) หนะ ๔ นอย่ ถก หลาน

๔๔. พาน(อภิชานหันน้อง)

กรม มณ ภัก กิ่ง ข้า ติ หว่า นิน(เช่น) หนะ ๔ นอย่ ถก หลาน

๔๗. ผืน(ผิว)

กรม มณ ภัก กิ่ง ข้า ติ หว่า นิน(เช่น) หนะ ๔ นอย่ ถก หลาน

๕๐. ผัว(ผิว)

กรม มณ ภัก กิ่ง ข้า ติ หว่า นิน(เช่น) หนะ ๔ นอย่ ถก หลาน

๕๑. ผัวและผู้หญิงในห้องเรียนแสดงความคิดเห็นหรืออภิปรายพันธุ์ที่เป็นเรื่องทั่วไป
## แบบสอบถาม ตัวเรียกตัวเอง

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>เล่ม หญิง</th>
<th>ชาย...ปี</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

บาท เภศ ผง

#### เกิดที่วังหวิด________

วัน ระหว่างการอภิปราย...ปี

ท่าน เรียกตัวเองท่านเองดังไร้บุคคลดังๆในหน้าอักษรหนังสืออักษรและสมานการมี

สามารถ ทำท่านเรียกตัวเองมากกว่านำมาวาจาพิเศษเหล่านั้นๆกรุณาตอบกล่าว ในกรณี

ท่านมีผลดีในหน้าอังกฤษท่านได้พิมพ์ในนั้นมาว่าท่านได้ในนั้นกว่า เวลาตอบคำถามเรื่องกิจวัตร

หน้า ทำท่านใช้

#### 0. รุ่นชายสกุลนิก

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ดำเนิน บุคคล</th>
<th>กุณฑ ฆาต นิร และ เฉพาะ ชน ฉะบัด ผู้</th>
<th>นั่ง โลก พลวน</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ชื่อจริง</td>
<td>ชื่อเล่น(หรือส่วนของชื่อจริง)</td>
<td>อ่าน(โปรดระบุ)</td>
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#### 1. รุ่นหญิงสกุลนิก

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#### 2. รุ่นหญิงสกุลนิก

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</table>

#### 3. รุ่นหญิงสกุลนิก

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<th>กุณฑ ฆาต นิร และ เฉพาะ ชน ฉะบัด ผู้</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### 4. ผู้ชายสกุลนิก

<table>
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<th>ดำเนิน บุคคล</th>
<th>กุณฑ ฆาต นิร และ เฉพาะ ชน ฉะบัด ผู้</th>
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</table>

#### 5. ผู้หญิงสกุลนิก

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#### 6. ผู้หญิงสกุลนิก

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</table>
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๑. ไป


๒. มาก


๓. ลด


๔. หาย


๕. หลาน (อภ. จ. นั้น ชั่ว นอง นัก พ้น)


๖. ผ่าน (ดิบ)


๗. และ (ฉัน)


๘. มีชื่อ (เนื่อง)


๙. มีชื่อ (เนื่อง)


๑๐. มีชื่อ (เนื่อง)


๑๑. มีชื่อ (เนื่อง)


๑๒. มีชื่อ (เนื่อง)


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๓๔. มีชื่อ (เนื่อง)


๓๕. มีชื่อ (เนื่อง)


๓๖. มีชื่อ (เนื่อง)
แบบสอบถาม ค่าเรียนพิเศษ

เพศ ________ อายุ ________ ลักษณะ ________

เกณฑ์ชั้นพิเศษ ________ ระยะเวลารอการรับagner ________

ก่อนเริ่มต้นสอนท่านเองอย่างไรทุกครั้งให้เริ่มทันทีทันใจและกลมกลืนชื่อ

สาหรณ์เวลา ณ สถานที่เรียนวิชาเริ่มสอนมากกว่าหนึ่งครั้งว่ามีหลักยุทธนั้นๆถูกต้องหรือไม่ ดังนี้

ท่านไม่มีหลักในที่สอนให้มีหลักและมีวิธีการสอนในที่เรียนนั้นว่าที่ เวลาสอนภาษาจุ้ยและการที่สอนดังนี้

1. มีการเปลี่ยนช่างสอนที่

ผ่าน (ผ่าน) ผ่าน (ผ่าน) การสอน แทน หน้า เฟื้อง เห็น หน้า

2. มีการเปลี่ยนช่างสอนที่

ผ่าน (ผ่าน) ผ่าน (ผ่าน) การสอน แทน หน้า เฟื้อง เห็น หน้า

3. เนื่องร่วมงานผู้สอนที่

ผ่าน (ผ่าน) ผ่าน (ผ่าน) การสอน แทน หน้า เฟื้อง เห็น หน้า

4. เนื่องร่วมงานผู้สอนที่

ผ่าน (ผ่าน) ผ่าน (ผ่าน) การสอน แทน หน้า เฟื้อง เห็น หน้า

5. เนื่องร่วมงานผู้สอนที่

ผ่าน (ผ่าน) ผ่าน (ผ่าน) การสอน แทน หน้า เฟื้อง เห็น หน้า

6. เนื่องร่วมงานผู้สอนที่

ผ่าน (ผ่าน) ผ่าน (ผ่าน) การสอน แทน หน้า เฟื้อง เห็น หน้า

7. เนื่องร่วมงานผู้สอนที่

ผ่าน (ผ่าน) ผ่าน (ผ่าน) การสอน แทน หน้า เฟื้อง เห็น หน้า

8. เนื่องร่วมงานผู้สอนที่

ผ่าน (ผ่าน) ผ่าน (ผ่าน) การสอน แทน หน้า เฟื้อง เห็น หน้า

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7. ฉันเห็นว่าท่านได้พิจารณาว่าท่าน


8. ฉันเห็นว่าท่านได้พิจารณาว่าท่าน


9. ฉันเห็นว่าท่านได้พิจารณาว่าท่าน


10. ฉันเห็นว่าท่านได้พิจารณาว่าท่าน


11. ฉันเห็นว่าท่านได้พิจารณาว่าท่าน


12. ฉันเห็นว่าท่านได้พิจารณาว่าท่าน


13. ฉัน


14. ฉัน


15. ฉัน


16. ฉัน


17. ฉัน
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37. ตัว
แผ่น(เลือก) ฉัน(เจ้า) การจะ แม่ กิน ข้า โอ ว่า เรา ฝ่ายเอง เผ่า ทน

ผ่าน ลูก หลาน ผ่าน แม่ ชีวิตรึเรื่อง (หรือส่วนของชีวิตรึเรื่อง) อื่นๆ (โปรดระบุ) —

38. ชาย
แผ่น(เลือก) ฉัน(เจ้า) การจะ แม่ กิน ข้า โอ ว่า เรา ฝ่ายเอง เผ่า ทน

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39. หญิง
แผ่น(เลือก) ฉัน(เจ้า) การจะ แม่ กิน ข้า โอ ว่า เรา ฝ่ายเอง เผ่า ทน

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40. ชาย
แผ่น(เลือก)

แผ่น(เลือก) ฉัน(เจ้า) การจะ แม่ กิน ข้า โอ ว่า เรา ฝ่ายเอง เผ่า ทน

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42. ชาย
แผ่น(เลือก)

แผ่น(เลือก) ฉัน(เจ้า) การจะ แม่ กิน ข้า โอ ว่า เรา ฝ่ายเอง เผ่า ทน

ผ่าน ลูก หลาน ผ่าน แม่ ชีวิตรึเรื่อง (หรือส่วนของชีวิตรึเรื่อง) อื่นๆ (โปรดระบุ) —

43. หญิง
แผ่น(เลือก)

แผ่น(เลือก) ฉัน(เจ้า) การจะ แม่ กิน ข้า โอ ว่า เรา ฝ่ายเอง เผ่า ทน

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44. ชาย
แผ่น(เลือก)

แผ่น(เลือก) ฉัน(เจ้า) การจะ แม่ กิน ข้า โอ ว่า เรา ฝ่ายเอง เผ่า ทน

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45. หญิง
แผ่น(เลือก)

แผ่น(เลือก) ฉัน(เจ้า) การจะ แม่ กิน ข้า โอ ว่า เรา ฝ่ายเอง เผ่า ทน

ผ่าน ลูก หลาน ผ่าน แม่ ชีวิตรึเรื่อง (หรือส่วนของชีวิตรึเรื่อง) อื่นๆ (โปรดระบุ) —
Appendix 4: Questionnaire results

A. Japanese Male Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Watakushi</th>
<th>Watashi</th>
<th>ore</th>
<th>Watashi</th>
<th>ore</th>
<th>Boku</th>
<th>jibun</th>
<th>Watashi</th>
<th>ore</th>
<th>Boku</th>
<th>ore</th>
<th>Boku</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 senior M +in</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 senior F +in</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
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| boss +in              | 55      | 6       | 3       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| boss -in              | 47      | 5       | 2       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| colleague M +in       | 6       | 1       | 6       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| colleague M -in       | 40      | 3       | 3       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| colleague F +in       | 14      | 2       | 5       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| colleague F -in       | 37      | 5       | 3       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| sub M +in             | 13      | 3       | 11      |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| sub M -in             | 32      | 5       | 8       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| sub F +in             | 18      | 5       | 7       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| sub F -in             | 32      | 5       | 7       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| younger boss          | 58      | 2       | 4       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| older boss            | 51      | 5       | 2       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| regular client        | 63      | 3       | 2       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| customer              | 41      | 3       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| public speaking       | 43      | 2       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| father                | 3       | 2       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| mother                | 3       | 2       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| older brother         | 3       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| older sister          | 3       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| younger brother       | 3       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| younger sister        | 13      | 3       | 3       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| uncle                 | 13      | 3       | 3       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| aunt                  | 13      | 3       | 3       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| grandfather           | 11      | 3       | 5       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| grandmother           | 9       | 2       | 5       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| spouse                | 4       | 8       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| girlfriend            |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| son                   | 2       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| daughter              | 2       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| niece/nephew         | 2       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| grandchild            | 41      |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| company president     | 41      |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| department chief      | 51      |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| section chief         | 55      |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| female chief          | 27      | 7       | 5       |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |

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- "นักเรียน" (n.Eng. student)
- "น้อง" (n.Eng. younger brother/sister)
- "ลูก" (n.Eng. child)
- "ผู้สอน" (n.Eng. teacher)
- "ภาษาจีน" (n.Eng. Chinese)
- "เรียน" (n.Eng. study)
- "เรียน" (n.Eng. study)
- "เด็ก" (n.Eng. child)
- "คน" (n.Eng. person)
- "พ่อ" (n.Eng. father)
- "แม่" (n.Eng. mother)
- "พ่อแม่" (n.Eng. parents)
- "พี่สาว" (n.Eng. sister)
- "พี่ชาย" (n.Eng. brother)
- "คousin/nephew" (n.Eng. cousin/nephew)
- "boyfriend" (n.Eng. boyfriend)
- " PUBLIC speaking" (n.Eng. speaking)

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*Note: The table above represents the degrees of kinship and age distribution among Thai male employees.*
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### H. Thai Female Employees

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**Note:** The numbers represent the count of employees in each category.
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