Language in Society **29**, 519–554. Printed in the United States of America

Creating speech register in Thai conversation

SHOICHI IWASAKI

East Asian Languages and Cultures, UCLA
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1540
iwasaki@humnet.ucla.edu

PREEYA INGKAPHIROM HORIE

Tokyo Gakugei University
4-1-1 Nukui-kitamachi, Koganei
Tokyo 184-8501, Japan
preeya@u-gakugei.ac.jp

ABSTRACT

Upon engaging in a speech event, participants mutually try to create the most appropriate speech register for that occasion. Special formality-marking particles, pronominals, names, kin terms, titles, and pragmatic particles are some linguistic signs that are available for Thai speakers for this purpose. Through varied frequencies and combinations of different signs, various shades of speech register are created. The type and quality of speech register are largely predictable when the participants are familiar with the speech situation because of their past interactional history, or with the protocol required for a particular type of interaction. However, when the participants are thrown into an unfamiliar situation with strangers, they must find a middle ground in their register and adjust their speech behavior to achieve a balanced speech interaction. In this essay, we analyze four different conversations, both quantitatively and qualitatively, in order to observe how speech register is created in different types of interaction, thereby going beyond simple taxonomic description of sociolinguistic signs. (Thai, conversation, speech register, indexicality, contextualization, formality marking particles, pronominals, names, kin terms, occupational titles, pragmatic particles)*

Participants in conversation are aware of the types of social interaction in which they are engaged, and through such awareness they create the sociolinguistic notion of speech register. This is essentially a pretheoretic notion that refers to the overall sociolinguistic impression of a speech event (e.g. a friendly chat, business-like meeting, or formal talk); it is sensitive to various sociolinguistic variables such as the interlocutors' ages, their occupations, the nature of their previous relations, and the purpose of interaction. In the actual creation of speech register, these variables are interpreted in terms of more generalized parameters of formality, social distance, and psychological distance.

© 2000 Cambridge University Press 0047-4045/00 $9.50

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

On some occasions, speech register is set a-priori because the participants have already established their social relationship prior to the current interaction, and they are engaged in an interactional routine familiar to them. We call this the "pre-set speech register." The exact social relationship among the participants in a pre-set speech register, e.g. equal or non-equal relationship, further determines the details of the register. Some "pre-set" registers may, alternatively, be predetermined by socio-culturally established protocols (the "protocol register"), which guide the participants to behave appropriately. But on still other occasions, speech register is not pre-set. This happens when participants have little or no past interactional history, and no clear protocols are available. We call this the "adaptive speech register." In this type of register, the participants place themselves on the middle ground; they must continuously monitor the process of interaction and modify their behavior accordingly, resulting in fluctuation of register.

For the purpose of constructing these various types of register, Thai speakers use a rich array of linguistic signs. In this essay, we first discuss different types of register in details. Then, using the notions of indexicality (cf. Peirce 1931–58, Jakobson 1960, Silverstein 1976, Lyons 1977, Ochs 1988) and of sociolinguistic contextualization (Gumperz 1982), we discuss register-creating signs such as pronominals, formality-marking particles, personal names, occupational titles, kin terms, and pragmatic particles. These signs traditionally have been treated independently in a taxonomic fashion; but from the viewpoint of creation of register, it is crucial to investigate their dynamic collaborative interaction. Thus, in later sections, we analyze how these signs appear in distinct types of conversation recorded during various speech activities. We demonstrate, both quantitatively and qualitatively, that not only the employment of certain linguistic signs, but also their various combinations, along with the frequencies of these signs used in the entire conversation, determine the total configuration of the speech register.

TYPES OF SPEECH REGISTER

The pretheoretical notion of speech register may be approached by deconstructing it into different dimensions, as has been done in similar sociolinguistic research in general (e.g. Brown & Gilman 1960, Hymes 1972), and in Thai sociolinguistic research in particular (e.g. Cooke 1968, Palakornkul 1972, Khanittanan 1989). The important dimensions for the analysis of register creation in Thai are those of distance and formality.

The distance dimension is further defined by the two criss-crossing axes of social distance and psychological distance between participants. The social distance axis is determined by the roles that conversational participants have in respect to each other in the society. Some relationships on this axis are reciprocal (e.g. friends, colleagues with the same rank), while others are not (e.g. monk–layman, teacher–student, doctor–patient). In the former case, the social distance is small; in the latter, it is large. The psychological distance axis is determined by

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

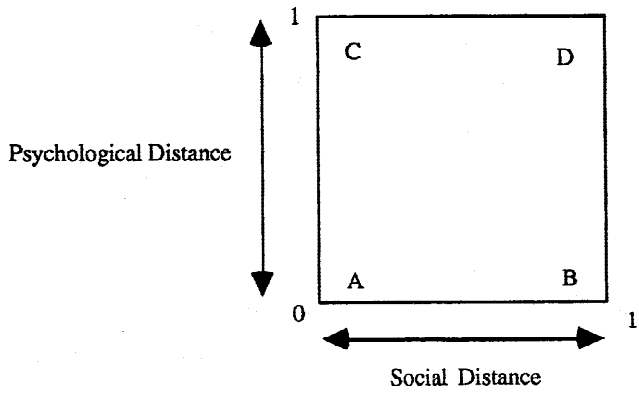


FIGURE 1: Distance domain in speech register.

the interpersonal closeness between the participants. The distance dimension may be represented as in Figure 1.

In this figure, both the social distance and psychological distance are scaled from zero (the closest distance) to one (the most remote distance). The four corners shown as A, B, C, and D depict representative register spaces for participants with different relationships. When the psychological distance is large (near the top line of the box in Fig. 1, between C and D), participants have no or little social relationship. When it is small, they have a particular kind of social relationship. The combination of small psychological distance with small social distance (near area A) is the basis for the relationship of "camaraderie." In contrast, the combination of small psychological distance with large social distance (near area B) is the basis for the "deference/patronage" relationship: participants with the subordinate role have "deference" towards those with the superior role, and those with the superior role supply "patronage" for the subordinates.[1]

Speech registers associated with all areas, except that near the top line of the box in Fig. 1 (interaction with complete strangers), are set a-priori: they are "pre-set" registers. That is, if participants have some level of familiarity with each other, they have a notion of the appropriate speech register to create. Pre-set register may allow and require an involved interaction, as among close friends – or a detached interaction between superficial acquaintances, like neighbors on terms of simple greeting. Speech registers for areas near C and D have no pre-set parameters; this is the adaptive speech register. For example, participants who may seem close in social distance, but who have not established psychological closeness (area C), must proceed in the middle ground, without many clues as to what speech register is best for them. In some cases, socially established protocols may be available; then the participants may interact in the "protocol register," which constitutes a sub-set of the pre-set register. We will provide examples below.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

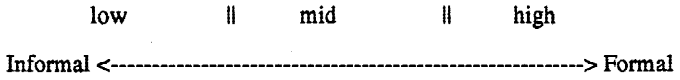


FIGURE 2: Formality domain in speech register.

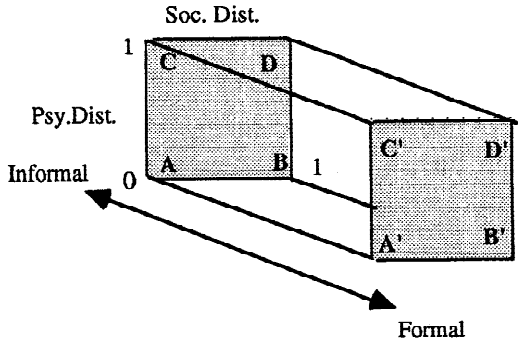


FIGURE 3: Speech register configuration.

Superimposed on the distance domain is that of formality of situation. The formality of situation is defined not only by the spatial and temporal environment in which participants interact, but also by the topic of conversation, the goal of the interaction, and the degree of respect toward one's interlocutors. As will be discussed later, respect toward one's interlocutor is distinct from deference; it is quite possible to show respect (formality) and deference simultaneously.

Three levels of formality of situation are posited here: "high," "mid," and "low." A high-formality situation is most readily observed when the context is official or professional, and a low-formality situation when it is relaxed and playful. In fact, linguistic tokens involved in formality reveal much finer distinctions, and the formality scale might better be viewed as a continuum; however, the three-way division is useful in describing co-occurrence restrictions for certain tokens. As will be shown later, tokens belonging in the same level, or those belonging to the contiguous levels (i.e. high and mid, or mid and low), can be mixed in some situations; but those belonging to non-contiguous levels (i.e. high and low) cannot. The formality domain is shown in Figure 2. The distance and formality of situation domains shown in Figures 1 and 2 are superimposed to create an overall configuration of speech register, which can be presented in Figure 3. Participants in conversation use the speech register that is located somewhere in the rectangular parallelepiped shown in this figure. Among the three axes, social distance is a relatively more stable parameter which continues to exist over time between participants, while the formality of situation fluctuates from one inter-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

action to another between them. Psychological distance is relatively stable, but it may be influenced by both social distance and formality level.

It is now possible to define speech register in a more rigorous way than before. A "pre-set speech register" is observed in three distinct situations definable in Fig. 3. First, it is established by the combination of small social and psychological distances with low formality of situation (area A). For example, when close friends meet in their natural setting, as in a school yard or in their favorite noodle shop, their register is set a-priori, and their speech register varies little, if at all. This is a "reciprocal pre-set" speech register among participants who have a camaraderie relationship. Second, register is established by a smaller psychological distance, which overrides a larger social difference in a lower-formality situation (near area B); this is a "non-reciprocal" pre-set speech register. For example, suppose that the head of a household and his/her servant, who have become close through their long interactional history, are interacting with each other at home. Their use of language is pre-set but non-reciprocal (with the "deference/patronage" relationship), in that the servant has to show some degree of deference, and the head of household shows patronage. A third type of pre-set register may be observed when high formality predominates over the distance domain (areas A′, B′, C′ and D′). This happens when people, whether they are close acquaintances or strangers, talk in a highly conventional formal setting, such as in a court-house session or a religious ceremony. This is a case of "protocol register," where some socially established norms of interaction are available.[2]

The "adaptive speech register" is observed as interlocutors move away from those areas which induce pre-set speech registers. More specifically, they interact in an adaptive speech register when values in the domain of distance and/or formality are ambiguous or in conflict. Typical examples include the following: Participants try to negotiate their psychological distance by speaking more formally at one time, and less formally at another, when they have larger psychological distance at the beginning of interaction despite their smaller social distance (area between C and C′); or when they are speaking with a higher degree of formality than usual because of the presence of a less familiar third participant in conversation; or because of the choice of topic (area between A and A′, or B and B′). In another situation, participants with great psychological and social distance who interact in a setting that is neither very formal nor very informal may vary their speech between more and less formal varieties (area between D and D′). As the interaction proceeds, it is possible that the quality of register may shift from pre-set to adaptive, and back to pre-set, due to the shift in topic of conversation. These types of register are indicated in Figure 4.

LINGUISTIC SIGNS AND SPEECH REGISTER CREATION IN THAI

Speech register is created in part by various "indexical" signs (or "indexicals");[3] these indicate social information such as the social identities of speaker and ad-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

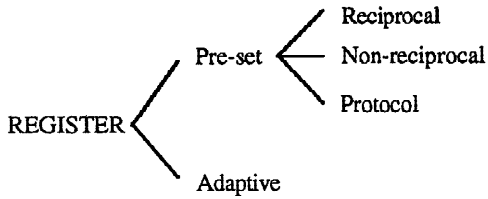


FIGURE 4: Types of register.

dressee, the relationship between them, and the nature of their speech activities. Some are "referential indexicals," which build up a proposition within a sentence while indexing a particular communicative context. Prime examples of referential indexicals are the 1st and 2nd person pronouns, which refer to the speech act participants. These pronouns contribute to the denotational meaning of a sentence (e.g. marking an agent), while they index the existence of the speaking self and addressee in the immediate communicative context (Benveniste 1971). Furthermore, 1st and 2nd person pronouns in languages that have more than one form of these pronouns (such as Thai) index the participants' concern for their mutual social relationship. In contrast, "non-referential indexicals" have the sole purpose of conveying a particular social meaning, which may be indexed either directly or indirectly (Ochs 1988, Cook 1992).[4]

Among the various resources of which speakers avail themselves, pronominals (PROs), formality-marking particles (FMPs), person-referring labels (PRLs), and pragmatic particles (PPs) are particularly important for Thai speakers.[5] PROs and FMPs mainly code formality – which reflects, as mentioned earlier, spatial, temporal, topical, and respect variables, among others. PRLs, in contrast, mainly code social and psychological distances, although some forms of PRO and FMP may code this dimension as well. PPs are different from FMPs and PROs in that they do not directly code the domains of speech register; instead, they express speakers' epistemological concerns, such as the degree of confidence with which the message is transmitted, and interactional concerns, such as the speaker's stance toward the addressee in the communication process. Nonetheless, PPs must be considered when the quality of speech register is assessed, as will be discussed later. These register-creating signs are summarized in Table 1.

Marking of "formality of situation"

Formality-marking particles (FMPs). The particles *khâ* (or *khá* with a question) and *khráp* (and its variant *kháp*) appear at the end of a clause, and sometimes at the end of a phrase. (We use *khâ* and *khráp* to represent variant forms except when a specific form is required.) These particles directly index both speaker sex

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 1. *Speech register-creating signs in Thai.*

Social meanings	Referential Signs	Non-referential Signs
Formality	PRO	FMP
Distance	PRL (PRO)	(FMP)
Epistemology and interaction		PP

and formal speech level; *khâ* indexes the female sex of the speaker as well as high formality level, while *khráp* indexes the male sex of the speaker as well as the high formality level.[6] The variables of speaker sex and high formality associated with these signs are inseparable. In contrast, the particles *há* (and *hà* in some cases, or *há* with a question) and *há?* create the mid level of formality. The varieties without a glottal stop are used by a female speaker, and the one with a glottal stop by a male speaker. (We use *hâ* and *há?* to represent variant forms except when a specific form is required.) However, some young female speakers may use the male variety (Peyasantiwong 1981:44–45), blurring the sex distinction. We should also mention another FMP, namely *câ* (or *cá* with a question), which can be used by either sex. This particle is like *hâ* and *há?* in that it indexes the mid level of formality; but unlike any other FMP, it also indexes the close psychological distance which is usually coded by person-referring labels (PRLs). Cooke describes *câ* as "intimate and affectionate or endearing. Chiefly used by or to women and children" (1989:7). Thus *câ* is best viewed as a complex sign with double indices (i.e. a portmanteau morpheme). Our discussion of *câ* is limited in this article because it did not appear in our data. It should be also noted that zero marking may be employed to avoid specifying the level of formality. The following example shows a typical sentence with the formality-marking particles (m = male; f = female; H = high level formality; M = mid level formality).

(1) (Constructed example)[7]

arɔ̀y	*máy*	*khá*	*/khráp*	*/há*	*/há?*	*/cá*	*/∅*
tasty	Q	FMP	/ FMP	/ FMP	/FMP	/FMP	/ zero marking
		(f-H)	/(m-H)	/(f-M)	/(m/f-M)	/(m/f-M)	/(unspecified)

"Is it tasty?"

In addition to the markers of high and mid formality, there are formality markers which index a low level of formality. The description of each particle is from Cooke (1989:27).

wá unrestrained, or coarse, or familiar … may convey aggressiveness … Chiefly used between males but occasionally used by or to females.

wóoy unrestrained or coarse, or familiar … used chiefly between males.

These particles convey not only low-level formality, but also the intensity of message (i.e. "aggressiveness" in Cooke's description above), so they are usually

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

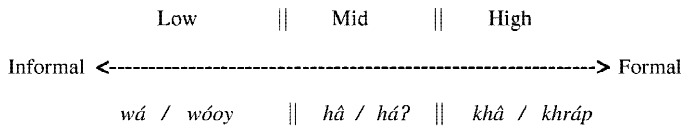


FIGURE 5: Formality scale and formality marking particles (FMP).

used in such expressions such as *arai wá* 'What is this!? What the hell are you talking about!?' Nevertheless, since they cannot co-occur with any other FMP, they are considered primarily as low-level particles of this class.[8] What should also be noted in Cooke's description is that these particles tend to indicate the sex of the speaker who uses them. Although this form/sex correspondence is similar to that found in markers of high formality, the process of revealing sexual identity is quite different at the two formality levels. In the low formality level, the "male voice" is revealed indirectly by use of the vulgar particles *wá* and *wóoy*; recall Ochs's discussion (1988:216) of the Japanese particles *ze* and *wa*, mentioned in note 4. Since the sex is directly indexed in the case of *khráp* and *khâ*, a male speaker may not use *khâ*, nor a female speaker use *khráp*;[9] but sex is only indirectly indexed in the case of *wá* and *wóoy*, which makes crossing the sexual boundary possible. In fact, the use of *wá* and *wóoy* by young women has been increasing in recent years, as a result of attitudinal changes among women; but they still do not use *khráp*, which directly indexes male sex.[10] Figure 5 summarizes different FMPs arranged in terms of their level of formality.

FMPs may thus be classified into three levels, but it should be stressed that the actual creation of overall formality level for a particular conversation is complex. Theoretically, it is possible to add a FMP at the end of every clause in conversation, if not at the end of every phrase; but such profuse marking is not practiced even in very formal conversation. The alternation between marking with particles and non-marking is the norm rather than the exception.[11] Also, alternation between FMPs in contiguous speech levels (e.g. between *khráp* and *há?*) is quite common.[12] The alternation of particles and their actual frequency add a dynamic aspect in setting the formality level in discourse. It should also be noted that, when two socially non-equal participants converse, the non-reciprocal use of FMPs is striking.[13]

Pronominals. First and second person pronominals are words which primarily code formality levels. (Other reference terms for speech act participants, such as kin terms, code distance domain, as will be shown below.) Various forms are available which specifically set the formality level. It should be also noted that speakers may and quite frequently do choose what is called the "zero pronominal form" to refer to self and the addressee, when they wish actively to avoid register specification (Palakornkul 1972:28–9). To a limited extent, the 3rd person pro-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

nominals participate in speech register creation as well; but we restrict this discussion of pronominals to the 1st and 2nd person pronominals (speech act participant reference terms).[14]

(a) First person pronominals: Typical 1st person pronominals used in a normal situation (i.e. not in a conversation with a monk or royal personnel) can be divided into the same three dimensions on the following formality scale. (For a complete list of possible 1st person pronouns, see Cooke 1968.)

The description of each of the 1sg. pronominals below is a modification of Cooke's. The notations (m) and (f) refer to the sex of the speakers who may use the pronominal indicated.

HIGH FORMALITY LEVEL PRONOUNS
- *a. kraphŏm* (m): male addressing high-ranking non-royalty, or in a very formal situation.
- b. *phŏm* (m): general polite term used by males speaking to equals and superiors.
- c. *dichán* (f): female speaking to superiors; formally to equals.

MID FORMALITY LEVEL PRONOUNS
- *d. chán* (m/f): male speaking to inferior or female intimate; female speaking to an intimate equal or inferior.
- e. *raw* (m/f): superior to inferior; between friends of the same sex; referring to oneself in soliloquy.

LOW FORMALITY LEVEL PRONOUNS
- *f. kháw* (f): young woman speaking to an intimate. (This form is used also as a 3rd person pronominal.)
- g. *kuu* (m/f): non-restraint form, male speaking to a close male friend; female to female among close intimates.

The organization of 1st person pronominals shows a striking similarity to that of the FMPs. Formal pronominals directly index the sex of the speaker and the formality level. Thus the pronominal *phŏm* indexes a male speaker and high formality, while *kraphŏm* indexes a male speaker and extreme formality, and *dichán* indexes female sex and high formality.[15] Crossing the sex boundary is not permitted. At the mid formality level, however, the sex of the speaker is not revealed in the choice of pronoun; thus, both sexes can use *chán* and *raw* to refer to themselves. In other words, these mid-level pronominals are like *cá* and *há* in the FMP system. At the low formality level, *kuu* is used by male speakers, and to a lesser extent by female speakers; *kháw* is used by female speakers. It should be stressed, however, that *kuu* is preferred by male speakers not because it indexes a male speaker, but because it indexes vulgarity, while *kháw* is preferred by a female for its indexed softness. In other words, the use of these pronominals is exactly parallel to the FMPs *wá* and *wóoy*. The use of *kháw* as the 1st person pronoun will be discussed again shortly with another pronominal, *thəə*, a 3rd person pronoun used as a 2nd person pronoun.

We have so far discussed the system of FMPs and the 1st person pronominals. The following example, taken from a natural conversation, shows how these signs jointly index this utterance with a high formality level, using the 1st person male pronominal *phŏm* and the high formality marker *kháp*. Notice also that the

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press



FIGURE 6: Formality scale and 1st person pronominals.

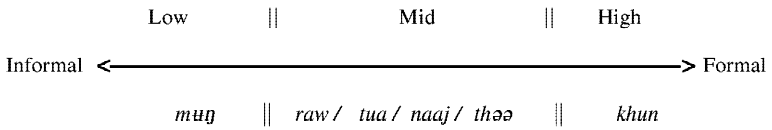


FIGURE 7: Formality scale and 2nd person pronominals.

elegant vocabulary item *sâap* 'know' is used (see note 5) instead of the normal *rúu* 'know'.

(2) (Parent-Teachers)
133 F: *phŏm kɔ̂ mây sâap ná kháp*
1st-m HP NEG know PP FMP-m
'I don't know either.'

Although the "co-occurrence rule" (Ervin-Tripp 1972) will generally prohibit a mixture of signs from the high formality and low formality levels, the signs within the same level, as well as those in the contiguous levels in the domains of FMPs and pronominals, are often mixed to create the level and shade of speech formality that participants wish.

(b) Second person pronominals: Commonly used 2nd person pronominals can be divided into the same three levels along the formality scale set up for the FMPs and the 1st person pronominals; see Figure 7. Each pronominal is described as follows by Cooke 1968. The notations (m) and (f) refer to the sex of the speaker who may use the pronominal indicated (not the addressee).

HIGH FORMALITY LEVEL PRONOUNS
khun (m/f): general polite term used to equals and superiors.

MID FORMALITY LEVEL PRONOUNS
thəə (f/m): speaking to inferiors or intimate equals, especially by or to female.
naaj (m/f): general friendly term used by male to male and female equals. (This form is becoming a more general term used by females as well, and thus becoming a term of mid formality.)
tua (f): between female friends, or to intimates.
raw (m/f): speaking to inferiors.[16]

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

LOW FORMALITY LEVEL PRONOUNS
mɯŋ (m/f). male speaking to intimate male; occasionally used by or to females.

Second person pronominals present a somewhat different pattern than to 1st person pronominals and FMPs because they never index speaker sex directly. However, speaker sex is predictable indirectly in the lower formality level. The most formal 2nd person pronominal is *khun*, which can be used by either sex. The pronominal of low-level formality, *mɯŋ*, directly indexes vulgarity, and indirectly the male voice. The mid-level pronominals, *thəə* and *tua*, are used more readily by female speakers, and *naaj* by male speakers; but the sex boundary may be crossed. The pronominal *raw*, however, is used equally by both sexes. These pronominals that indicate mid-level formality seem to include some element of closer psychological distance. Recall that we have mentioned the FMP *câ*, which marks both formality and close psychological distance. That is, some pronominals are complex signs embodying both formality and distance.

Pronominal *thəə* is a 3rd person pronominal, but it is sometimes used as a 2nd person pronominal at the mid formality level. This person-crossing phenomenon should be considered together with the use of another 3rd person pronominal, *kháw*, used as the 1st person pronoun at the low formality level by a female speaker (see the previous section). To understand this "pronominal transposition," we should first understand the sociolinguistic meanings associated with these two signs as 3rd person pronouns. Cooke (1968:18–19) describes them as follows (emphasis added).

kháw (3SG): *general* term used by some speakers in referring to both intimates and non-intimates who are being spoken of *without particular respect or disrespect*.
thəə (3SG): *elegant and respectful* term. More often used speaking of females.

These two pronominals contrast with each other in degree of respect toward the 3rd person referent. This semantic distinction is transferred to the domain of the speech act participants: The more elegant *thəə* is assigned to the addressee for an elevating effect, while a general or less elegant *kháw* refers to the speaker herself for a humbling effect. A further motivation for the use of these 3rd person pronominals as 1st and 2nd person pronominals will be given in the next section.

As in the case of FMPs, the use of pronominals shows non-reciprocity when the social status of participants is very disparate. That is, while a boss may refer to himself as *kuu* (low formality), his servant must refer to himself as *phǒm* (high formality), regardless of the length of their relationship and intimacy. This means that, for the lower-status person, greater social distance always demands higher formality. However, what is interesting in Thai is that there is an array of other linguistic signs which make it possible to indicate intimacy while speaking at a high formality level. This is done by combining signs of high formality and close psychological distance, as will be discussed in the following section.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Marking of Distance: Participant-referring labels

The domain of distance is marked by Participant Referring Labels (PRLs). This type of sign is not indexical, but is a symbolic sign that refers to particular individuals in interaction. The three different types of PRLs discussed here are personal names, occupational titles, and kin terms. We will show that these signs encode psychological and/or social distance, creating camaraderie and deference/patronage among interlocutors, and greatly affecting the quality of speech register.

(a) *Personal names* are symbolic signs which work to indicate greater psychological closeness by showing the speaker's familiarity with the addressee's identity. In addition to given names (GN) and surnames, many Thai people have nicknames (NN) and/or abbreviated given names (AGN). A surname is rarely used even in formal situations, except when two individuals with the same given name must be identified in formal settings. In conversation at the mid and low formality levels, especially the latter, a GN, NN, or AGN may be used instead of 1st or 2nd person pronouns. Consider the following examples from our database:

(3) (Students)
K: *ʔûm yù troŋ nǎy ʔà*
(NN) stay where PP
"Where have you been?"

(4) (Earthquake)
lék kô nú̱k wâ kháw bèp … kháw khəy-khəəy yùu lέεw
(NN) HP think COMP they like they used-to ASP ASP
"I thought they were used to (earthquakes)."

Ex. 3 is taken from a conversation between two university classmates. Here a male student uses the female addressee's nickname (*ʔûm*) instead of a 2nd person pronoun. This use of personal name reflects their intimacy. Ex. 4 is taken from a conversation between college students who have just met. Here one of the female students uses her own nickname (*lék*) instead of a 1st person pronoun, thereby trying to create intimacy.

Closer psychological distance is signaled through names – because names, if used alone without a title, are neutral to age and status. Furthermore, the same name can refer to the same individual no matter who uses it. This can be contrasted with pronominals; different pronominal forms must be used to refer to the same person, depending on who is using the pronominal. For example, a person (Mr. A) is referred to as *khun* '2nd person pronominal' by his interlocutor, but as *phǒm* 'male 1st person pronominal' by Mr. A himself. This usage variation results from the pronominals' nature as "shifters" (Jakobson 1957). The neutral characteristic of names allows participants to stand on a par, thereby creating solidarity and contextualizing psychological closeness. At the phrase level, it is possible to mix psychological closeness with formality by prefixing *khun* to a given name or nickname (e.g., *khun aphichâat* '*khun* + GN' or *khun lék* 'khun + NN'). (The prefix *khun* is the same word used as the formal 2nd person pronominal).[17]

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

At this point, we should recall the 3rd person pronominals used as reference terms for 1st person (*kháw*) and 2nd person (*thəə*). In the light of sentences like 3 and 4, the motivation for the use of these 3rd person pronominals is easily understood: If a speech act participant can be referred to by using a personal name, as in 3 and 4, then it is also possible to refer to them by 3rd person pronominals.

(b) *Occupational titles and kin terms*, like personal names, are not indexicals; they are signs that acknowledge the speaker's familiarity with the addressee's identity, or his belief in the addressee's familiarity with the speaker's identity. In other words, occupational titles and kin terms are like personal names, and they contextualize psychological closeness. However, they are also different from personal names: While names simply code mutual personal recognition, kin terms and occupational titles code mutual "social" recognition as well. That is, with the occupational titles and kin terms, an awareness of age and/or disparity in social rank or power is also coded. This awareness creates the relationship of "deference/patronage" that exists between socially unequal individuals. Such a relationship prescribes that the more powerful party acknowledge his responsibility to help and protect the less powerful ("patronage"), and the less powerful in return shows his willingness to be guided ("deference").[18] "Deference" may be expressed through tokens which directly place the addressee above the speaker (exaltated-deference), or through tokens which lower the status of the speaker (humble-deference), as we will see shortly. "Patronage" is also expressed through tokens which acknowledge an interlocutor's senior or junior status.

Occupational titles are chiefly employed as 2nd person reference terms, but occasionally they are used for 1st person reference. Exemplary titles are *mɔ̌ɔ* 'doctor', *khruu* 'teacher', and *ʔaacaan* 'professor'. University students almost always use *ʔaacaan* as the 2nd person reference term when talking to their teacher. The teacher in turn uses *ʔaacaan* as the 1st person reference term when talking to them. In such an exchange, students show social distance and psychological closeness simultaneously, since *ʔaacaan* refers both to a high professional rank and to a person who takes care of them in the school setting.[19]

Kin terms are used as both 1st and 2nd person reference terms. Certain kin terms – such as *phîi* 'older sibling', *lŭŋ* 'older brother of parents', and *pâa* 'older sister of parents' – are used in a fictitious family structure as well. Observe the following constructed examples in which a kin term, *phɔ̂ɔ* 'father', is used as a PRL:

(5) (Constructed example)
phɔ̂ɔ cà sɯ́ɯ maa hây
father ASP buy come BEN
'I will buy it for you (e.g. son).'

(6) (Constructed example)
phɔ̂ɔ cà sɯ́ɯ maa hây ləə̌ khráp
father ASP buy come BEN Q FMP
'Are you going to buy it for me, Father?'

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

In ex. 5, a father is talking to his son, using the term *phɔ̂ɔ* 'father' as the 1st person reference term. In ex. 6, a child is talking to his father, using the same term as the 2nd person reference term. What the kin terms signal is the psychological closeness through the mutual familiarity of identity and the social difference, i.e. the "deference/patronage" relation between two individuals. For example, a younger speaker uses a kin term *phîi*, to denote age difference and his respect-deference toward the elder (who may or may not be a blood relative); but at the same time, he indicates the smaller psychological distance between them (cf. Cooke 1968:50). In this usage, the younger person may add NN or AGN after *phîi*, as in *phíi lék*, to emphasize his closer psychological distance. When used by an older speaker as a 1st person reference term, *phîi* acknowledges the senior status and responsibility associated with this status ("patronage"), as well as his fondness for his inferior (closer psychological distance). The term *nǔu* 'mouse', though not a kin term in a strict sense, is a counterpart to *phîi*, and refers to the younger party in an interaction. When used as a 2nd person reference term, it contextualizes social distance based on, again, age discrepancy and psychological closeness. When used as a 1st person reference term, it contextualizes humble-deference and psychological closeness from the younger to the elder.

Although the PRLs discussed here are independent of formality-marking signs, the concerns expressed by PRLs are more readily revealed in an informal situation, i.e. mid or low formality levels. This is because the high level of formality in principle keeps participants distant from each other.

Let us restate the foregoing discussion of formality-marking signs (PROs and FMPs) and distance-marking signs (PRLs) as a system of honorifics. The formality-marking signs are indexicals which respond to the need to show different levels of formality in a situation. We can thus call them "situation-based honorifics." They are similar to "addressee honorifics" if we understand the addressee as one parameter of a situational context. But of course it is not always the addressee per se that influences the choice of specific signs; one may actually select different pronominals to refer to the same addressee in different situations (compare points A and A′ in Fig. 3). The second set of signs, the PRLs which fulfill the need to show different types of interpersonal relations vis-à-vis the interlocutor, are essentially "referent honorifics," because it is the referents (the speech act participants in our current discussion) who receive special acknowledgment. Thus the system of Thai honorifics is typologically quite normal, with the two parameters of "situation (including addressee)" and "referent" defining the quality of speech register (cf. Miller 1967:270–71 on Japanese; Errington 1985 on Javanese). We must emphasize, however, that the referential honorific in Thai has its own internal complexity, defined by social and psychological axes.

Epistemology and interaction-marking signs: Pragmatic particles

Particles referred to here as "pragmatic particles" (PP) are distinguished from formality-marking signs and distance-marking signs. The function of PPs is di-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

rectly to index epistemological and interactional concerns, but their involvement in register creation is oblique; they code neither formality nor distance directly. This means that the distribution of pragmatic particles is not limited to any particular type of conversation. However, there is a clear tendency for pragmatic particles to appear in informal conversation between socially and psychologically closer individuals, rather than in formal conversation between unacquainted individuals. This is an indirect consequence of the greater freedom of expression granted to the speakers in informal conversations. In other words, the use of pragmatic particles is "symptomatic," rather than "strategic," in the sense of Hervey 1992.

PPs usually show up at the end of the sentence, though they may appear within a sentence (see Iwasaki 1996). When a pragmatic particle such as *ná* appears with a FMP such as *khâ*, it appears before the FMP, as in *ná khâ*. PPs in the present study correspond to part of Peyasantiwong's (1981) "mood particles" and Cooke's (1989) "sentence particles." The exact membership of the class of pragmatic particles is difficult to determine because of many phonological variants and similar functions shared by different groups of words. In this study, we will selectively examine the seven particles that appear most often in the conversations we examine. Brief descriptions of particles (a) through (d) and (g) are adapted from Cooke 1989. The analysis of (e) *nía* is from Peyasantiwong (1981:237), and that of (f) *ŋía* is our own analysis.

(a) *ná* agreement desired
(b) *nâ* minor, incidental matter
(c) *laʔ / láʔ / làʔ* critical point reached / sole-alternative indicator
(d) *ʔà* (short form of *nâ* or *laʔ*)
(e) *nía* (*níi* + *nâ/làʔ*): 'this + *nâ/làʔ*'
(f) *ŋía* (*yaŋ níi* + *nâ/làʔ*): 'like this + *nà/làʔ*'
(g) *ŋay* (known or rememberable referent)

Some pragmatic particles express the speaker's evaluation of the message. Thus *nâ* indicates that the speaker considers his message to be a rather minor point (Cooke 1989:16–17). Some other pragmatic particles express speaker's intention with respect to the communication process; e.g. *ná* shows that the speaker encourages the addressee to accept the message being transmitted.

Up to now, we have surveyed various signs that participate in speech register creation in Thai. We next turn to an examination of these signs as they are used in actual conversations, and we discuss exactly how register is created.

SPEECH REGISTER CREATION IN CONVERSATION

In creating an appropriate speech register, participants in conversation use various types of linguistic signs in different combinations and with different frequencies. Manipulation of linguistic signs for the purpose of speech register creation may be observed at both sentence and discourse levels. As an example of the

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

sentence-level register phenomenon in English, consider the following: "Hey, Dad, you have to go back to work, man" (*Los Angeles Times*, January 28, 1997). This is what Bill Cosby, an American comedian, was reported to say, imagining his late son, Ennis Cosby, talking to him. In this sentence, first, *Hey* sets the tone of camaraderie between friends; then *Dad* signals deference with the father–son relationship; and finally *man* again strongly signals equal camaraderie between friends. Thai grammar more systematically allows its speakers to code their various speech-register concerns at two prominent locations in a sentence: the subject position and the sentence-final position. In ex. 7, the subject *phîi*, a kin term, codes respect-deference and psychological closeness, while the formality-marking particle *há* codes mid-level formality. In ex. 8, *nǔu* shows humble-deference and psychological closeness, while the zero form in the formality-marking slot shows no commitment to formality level.

(7) (Teachers)
29 J: [*phîi*] *ca ʔaw ʔaray* [*há*]
older.sister ASP take what FMP
'What do you want?'

(8) (Teachers)
14 J: [*nǔu*] *mây mii kaaw* [∅]
mouse NEG have glue
'I don't have glue.'

At the discourse level, one type of utterance may be followed by a significantly different type of utterance to achieve what Brown & Levinson call "delicacy of interactional balance" (1987:231), as seen in their example: "Hey, Joe, let's go take in a flick tonight, OK? – I mean, if you're not too busy and would like to." In this sequence of utterances, the speaker starts his invitation with positive politeness, using selective vocabulary; then he quickly supplements it with a negative politeness strategy in the second utterance. In other words, this strategy "move[s] the speaker and addressee back and forth between approaching and distancing in their interaction" (Brown & Levinson 1987:231). Ferguson (1994:25) also provides an example of the variable use of signs in speech to achieve a similar goal:

> [A] speaker may at the beginning of a conversation use a form of address expressing a certain level of deference towards an addressee and then change the deference level in the course of the conversation even though the relative status of the interlocutors remains the same. The speaker may do this to achieve some communicative goal.

This type of discourse move is an important resource for the language users in their interaction with others. In the following, the actual creation of register will be examined from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 2. *Four conversations arranged by the relationships between interlocutors and their past interactional history.*

	Non-first encounter	First encounter
Equal	Students	Earthquake
Non-equal	Teachers	Interview

Data

We examine here four different speech events for their creation of speech register. The length of each speech event was measured in terms of intonation units (IU) (e.g. Chafe 1987, 1993, 1994, Iwasaki 1996), as indicated by the number in the parentheses in the following chart. Most IUs relevant for our discussion are of the clausal type. The lengths of the four conversations are not identical, but similar; and we do not make any adjustment in our quantitative analysis by calculating means, because some raw numbers are very small, and the impression gained from the raw number is sufficient for our discussion.

(i) *"Students"* (341 IU): A casual conversation between male and female students, recorded on campus at Mahidol University (Salaya, Thailand), 1993.

(ii) *"Interview"* (306 IU): A job interview between a male interviewer and a female interviewee who has applied for a waitress position at a hotel in Bangkok, 1992.

(iii) *"Teachers"* (210 IU): A conversation between a senior and a junior college teacher, both female, recorded in a school office in Bangkok, 1992.

(iv) *"Earthquake"* (285 IU): A conversation between two strangers (both students studying at colleges in Los Angeles), talking about their personal experiences during the Northridge earthquake of January 1994.

These four sets of data can be compared for their parameters of personal relationship (equal or non-equal) and of previous interactional history (first or non-first encounter); see Table 2.

Speech registers for "Students" and "Teachers" are pre-set by the previous interactional history between the interlocutors and the familiar setting in which they interact. More specifically, "Students" is a reciprocal pre-set register, while "Teachers" is a non-reciprocal pre-set register. Despite the lack of past interactional history, the speech register for "Interview" is also set – but, in this case, by a protocol associated with an activity known as a job interview, which is accessible to competent adult members of society. "Earthquake" is the only conversation with an adaptive speech register in the present database. Participants in this conversation did not have any past interactional history, and the speech situation in which they interact is an experimental setting, for which a clear protocol

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

like that for a job interview is not available. Based on these features of conversations, we can make certain predictions about their speech register:

(a) The formality parameter of the conversations with a pre-set speech register is determined by the particular relationship between the participants: higher formality in "Interview," lower formality in "Students," and mid formality in "Teachers."

(b) The formality of the conversations with an adaptive speech register cannot be known a-priori, but must be negotiated by the participants as they consider their relative social status, the objectives of the interaction, the setting, and so forth. Since the participants in "Earthquake" have similar social status (international students from Thailand studying in Los Angeles), and the setting is not too formal, we expect that the formality level aimed at is the mid level. We will examine (a) and (b) by analyzing the formality-marking particles (FMPs) and pronominals (PROs).

(c) The distance parameter of the conversations with a pre-set speech register is also determined by the personal relationship: a clear personal relationship of psychological and social equality in "Students," and of non-equality in "Teachers" and "Interview."

(d) The psychological distance parameter in the conversations with an adaptive speech register must be great (this, in part, influences the formality level); but the overall distance parameter is determined by considering social distance as well. Since the participants in "Earthquake" are close in age and social status, they attempt to move to a smaller distance. We will examine (c) and (d) by observing how personal reference labels (PRLs) are employed.

Formality marking by FMP and PRO

Table 3 shows a distribution of overt formality-marking particles (FMP) across the data sets. Each box shows the total number of tokens of FMP, followed by breakdowns in parentheses between the two participants. The first row, "High," refers to either *khâ* or to a *khráp/kháp* variety. The second row, "Mid," refers to *hâ / há?*. The third row, "Low," refers either *wá* or *wóoy*. Keep in mind that "Earthquake" is a conversation in the adaptive speech register, while the others have pre-set speech registers, and the register for "Interview" is guided by a protocol.

Table 3 indicates general patterns of formality marking in the conversations under investigation. As predicted, in "Earthquake" (an adaptive speech register conversation), the level of formality is set to mid by the use of *hâ / há?*; 12 of 15 overt markings by FMP are at this level. However, there are three occasions when a junior participant moves the formality level toward high formality. This fluctuation is a sign of adaptive speech register. In the next excerpt, Lek (the junior student) is describing a large new building which was completely demolished after the earthquake.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 3. *FMP distribution in the four conversations.*

	Pre-set Register			Adaptive Register
	Students Male/Female	Teachers Senior (F)/Junior (F)	Interview Int-er (M)/Int-ee (F)	Earthquake Senior (F)/Junior (F)
High (*khâ* etc.)	0 (0/0)	0 (0/0)	36 (2/34)	3 (0/3)
Mid (*hâ/há?*)	0 (0/0)	20 (3/17)	27 (22/5)	12 (0/12)
Low (*wá* etc.)	8 (7/1)	0 (0/0)	0 (0/0)	0 (0/0)
TOTAL	8 (7/1)	20 (3/17)	63 (24/39)	15 (0/15)

(9) "Earthquake"
→ 176 L: *hěn tɯ̀k toŋnía hà*
see building right.here FMP
'(I) saw the building right here'
177 L: *toŋ … bɛɛriŋtân .. kàp .. oolimpìk nîa bɛp*
here Barrington and Olympic PP like
'at Barrington and Olympic. It's like …'
178 T: *mmm*
uh huh
'uh huh'
179 L: *tɔɔn tɔɔn nán pay*
time time that go
'At that time I went …'
180 L: *tɯ̀k yày mày yùu lə̀əy*
building big new exist EMP
"the big building was still new."
180 L: *phɯ̀ɯn ŋíi hǐn ɔ̀ɔn yàŋ dii yuu phɔɔ kháw sàŋ thúp*
floor this stone soft still good ASP when they order strike
"The marble floor was still in good condition when they ordered it to be demolished."
181 L: (0.8) *bèp pay thŭŋ lέw*
like go arrive ASP
"like when (I) arrived there."
182 L: *âaw hăay pay nǎy* (LAUGH)
wow disappear go where
"Wow! Where has it gone?"
183 T: (LAUGH)
→ 184 L: *man tɯ̀k yày ŋay khá mŭan bèp*
it building big PP FMP same like
"It's big, you know. It was like …"
185 L: *pen .. mŭan pen tɯ̀k bèp* (0.5)
be same be building like
"like .. a building like"
186 L: *khɔ̌ɔŋ ɔfís phûak mɔ̌ɔ alay yàŋŋía*
of office group doctor what PP
"doctors' offices, or something like that"

Lek starts out an episode in mid-level formality, with *hà* in line 176. She then mainly uses zero marking for the rest of the story; but in line 184, when she justifies why she was surprised, she marks her utterance with a high-level formality marker, *khá*.

The table also confirms that the level of formality in the three pre-set speech register conversations is either low ("Students"), mid ("Teachers"), or high ("Interview"), depending on the particular interactional history. Because these are conversations in pre-set speech registers, the formality level does not fluctuate in "Student" (only low level) and "Teachers" (only mid level). "Interview," the only speech register pre-set by protocol, shows some interesting patterns in its formality marking. First, positive formality marking is strong; there are 63 instances of positive marking (compared to 8, 15, and 20 in the others). Second, positive marking is more or less equally divided between high and mid levels: 36 vs. 27. Third, high- and mid-formality markings are symmetrically distributed between the interviewer and interviewee: the interviewer (the more pow-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

erful participant in this conversation) uses *há?*, the mid-level formality marker, more frequently (22 times) than the interviewee (the less powerful), while the interviewee uses *khâ*, a high-level formality marker, more frequently (34 times) than the interviewer (*kháp* is the male version of *khâ*). This last fact stands out when we compare "Interview" with "Teachers" and "Earthquake": In "Teachers" and "Earthquake," the less powerful (junior) members use *hâ* often to mark the mid level of formality, and the more powerful (senior) members tend not to use any overt formality marking. Observe the beginning portion of interview.

(10) "Interview"
1 Interviewer: *yàak sâap chûu khráp*
want know name FMP
'(I)'d like to know your name.'
2 Interviewee: *chûu thanátsĭi khâ*
name Thanatsii FMP
'The name is Thanatsii.'
→ 3 Interviewer: *aray ná há?*
what PP FMP
'What is it?'

The interviewer in line 1 started the interview formally with the high-formality marker *khráp*, and used the elegant word *sâap* instead of the regular verb *rúu* 'know'. The interviewee expectedly responded with *khâ* in line 2. Right after the response, however, the interviewer switched the formality level to mid by using the mid-level formality marker *há?* in line 3.

This observation reveals that the same FMP, *há?*, has different values in different registers. It is used by the less powerful to raise the formality level when the level is set to mid ("Teachers"), or when the level is not set a-priori ("Earthquake"); but it is used by the more powerful to lower the formality in a high-formality discourse ("Interview"). Lowering the formality level even farther is observed in a low-formality pre-set discourse ("Students"). Here the male student, putatively more powerful, positively marks the conversation with the low-formality marking sign *wá* and *wóoy*; the female student remains constant with zero-formality marking, except for one occasion when she uses a low-formality token. In ex. 11, the male student is explaining that he had to climb up a wall to enter the house because he had forgotten his key. He does not use any FMP; but in line 296, when he ponders how he got into his room, he positively marks his speech with a low-formality FMP, *wá*.

(11) "Students"
293 M: *sèt lέεw kɔ̂ piin-khâw-pay ŋîa*
finish ASP HP climb-enter-go like.this
'then (I) climbed over the wall like this'
294 M: *tham yàaŋ ŋîap thíi sùt ləəy mây mii khlay rúu ləəy*
do ADV quiet most EMP NEG have anyone know EMP
'(I) did it as quietly as I could. That's why nobody knew about it."

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

295 M: *ʔaa::*
uhm
→ 296 M: *pay-thŭŋ hôŋ lέεw ŋay wá*
go-arrive room ASP how FMP
'When I got to my room, then uhm what …?'

These facts suggest that the personal relationship is not completely equal in any of the conversations under examination, whether pre-set or adaptive speech-register conversations; if it were equal, the distribution of sign tokens in Table 3 should be equal between the two participants. But in fact, only one of the participants tries to adjust the level of formality level through the manipulation of FMP.

Pronominals, as discussed earlier, are another type of sign that codes formality. Table 4 shows the frequencies of pronominals in the subject position found in the data. In each box, the total number of pronominals used in each conversation is indicated. This is followed by breakdowns in parentheses between the two participants. First person pronominals are divided into the high, mid, and low formality levels. Specific pronominal forms used in the data are directly indicated in the table.

The highest-formality conversation, "Interview," is the only one in the present data that contains the high formality pronominal (*phŏm*). The pronominals of mid-level formality (*chán* and *raw*) appear once or twice in all the conversations. The most striking feature of Table 4, however, is the extreme scarcity of pronominals: Only seven 1st person pronominals appear in the whole database, and 2nd person pronominals do not appear at all (compare this with 106 tokens of FMP in Table 3). We can conclude, then, that although pronominals are capable of contextualizing speech formality, it is FMPs that actively code this concern in the process of register creation. This results from a general tendency in Thai to favor zero pronominals (Chodchoey 1986). Table 5 summarizes the frequency of zero pronominals.

To summarize the discussion thus far, "Earthquake," a conversation in adaptive speech register, shows some fluctuation of formality, though it aims in general at the mid level. The formality levels of conversations in pre-set speech register, such as "Students" and "Teachers," are set by the interlocutors' past interactional history. The level of formality of a speech register pre-set by protocol, "Interview," lacks this past history, and thus some fluctuation of formality marking occurs. One common pattern of formality marking was observed in all four conversations examined, according to the participants' relative roles in interaction: The more powerful person actively marks the formality level lower than his/her interlocutor, while the less powerful person tries to keep the level constant at the higher level of formality.

Distance marking by PRL

In addition to the specific level of formality, the adaptive speech register shows a characteristic feature in the distance domain which is expressed through person-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 4. *Pronominals in the subject position in the four conversations.*

	Pre-set Register			Adaptive Register
	Students Male/Female	Teachers Senior (F) /Junior (F)	Interview Int-er (M)/Int-ee (F)	Earthquake Senior (F) /Junior (F)
1st PRO				
High	0 (0/0)	0 (0/0)	1 (1 (phŏm) /0)	0 (0/0)
Mid	1(1 (chán)/0)	1(0/1 (chán))	2 (0/2 (raw "I/we"))	2 (1 (raw "we")/1 (raw "I"))
Low	0 (0/0)	0 (0/0)	0 (0/0)	0 (0/0)
2nd PRO	0 (0/0)	0 (0/0)	0 (0/0)	0 (0/0)

TABLE 5. *Zero pronominals in the subject position in the four conversations.*

	Pre-set Register			Adaptive Register
Zero pronominal	Students Male/Female	Teachers Senior (F) /Junior (F)	Interview Int-er (M)/Int-ee (F)	Earthquake Senior (F) /Junior (F)
1st person reference	92 (49/43)	30 (23/7)	46 (6/40)	40 (21/19)
2nd person reference	13 (7/6)	12 (3/9)	25 (25/0)	3 (1/2)

referring labels (PRLs). In Table 6 (for speaker reference) and Table 7 (for addressee reference), the distributions of nicknames and kin terms in the subject position are indicated. Nicknames and certain kin terms (*phîi* and *nǔu*) are the only signs that appear in the current data sets.

Recall that nicknames contextualize camaraderie among social equals, while kin terms simultaneously contextualize camaraderie and deference/patronage. The most obvious fact in these tables is a lack of PRLs in "Interview." This is understandable because the participants in this interaction do not have the kind of personal relationship that allows PRLs. The lack of PRLs thus suggests a businesslike atmosphere.

Other conversations in the data show some uses of PRLs; however, there are interesting patterns of specific tokens among them. The participants in "Students" do not employ kin terms, which entail a non-reciprocal social relation. Instead, they use nicknames extensively, either as a 1st or 2nd person reference terms. The use of nicknames puts them on the same social level, thereby creating an intensely friendly atmosphere. In the following, K (the male student) uses the addressee's name, Um, to refer to her (line 1), and his own name, Kit, to refer to himself (line 35).

(12) (Students)
→ 1 K: *ʔûm yù troŋ nǎy ʔà*
(NN) stay where PP
'Where has Um (you) been?' (= Where have you been?)
2 U: *yù troŋ níi*
stay exact this
'(I) have been here!'
(Several lines omitted)
→ 35 K: *kǐt yɯɯn-yùu naan mɯ̌an-kan là*
(NN) stand-stay long same PP
'Kit (I) has been waiting for a long time, though.'
(= I have been waiting for a long time, though.)

The participants in "Teachers" do not use nicknames because of their social rank difference; but they use kin terms effectively (*phîi* as the 2nd person reference term, and *nǔu* as the 1st person reference term) to create a deferential yet friendly conversation:

(13) "Teachers"
→ 263 J: *phîi thaan kafɛɛ rɯ́ yaŋ*
o.sister drink coffee or not.yet
'Has phii (= you) already had coffee?'
264 S: *thaan lɛ́ɛw*
drink ASP
'(I) already have.'
→ 265 S: *a lɛ́ɛw nǔu thaan rɯ́ yaŋ*
oh CONJ mouse drink or not.yet
'Oh, and has nuu (= you) had some?'
266 J: *yaŋ ləəy hà*
not.yet EMP FMP
'Not yet.'

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 6. *Person reference labels (PRL) for the speaker in the four conversations.*

	Pre-set Register			Adaptive Register
	Students Male/Female	Teachers Senior (F) /Junior (F)	Interview Int-er (M)/Int-ee (F)	Earthquake Senior (F) /Junior (F)
Nickname	17 (4/13)	0 (0/0)	0 (0/0)	4 (0/4)
Kin terms	0 (0/0)	6 (0/6 (nŭu))	0 (0/0)	0 (0/0)

TABLE 7. *Personal reference labels (PRL) for the addressee in the four conversations.*

	Pre-set Register			Adaptive Register
	Students Male/Female	Teachers Senior (F)/Junior (F)	Interview Int-er (M)/Int-ee (F)	Earthquake Senior (F)/Junior (F)
Nickname	4 (4/0)	0 (0/0)	0 (0/0)	1 (1/0)
Kin terms	0 (0/0)	8 (1 (nŭu)/7 (phîi)	0 (0/0)	1 (0/1 (phîi))

Both the junior and senior teachers use the verb *thaan*, which is an elegant term for *kin* 'drink/eat' (see note 5). The junior calls the senior teacher *phîi* in 263, and the senior calls the junior teacher *nŭu* in 265. This shows a non-reciprocal use of person reference labels; but both participants behave similarly in coding their socially different yet psychologically close relationship. The junior teacher also uses *hà* in 266 to mark mid-level formality – a common FMP used by a less powerful participant in a non-reciprocal speech register, as discussed earlier.

The two female students in "Earthquake" exhibit some attempt to contextualize the camaraderie concern by the use of their nicknames (once as a 2nd person reference term and four times as a 1st person reference term) and by the use of kin terms (once as a 2nd person reference term):

(14) "Earthquake"
263 L: *rîak phîi dii máy khá*
call o.sister good Q FMP
'Is it okay if (I) call (you) "older sister"?'
264 T: *dâay*
can
'Sure.'
→ 265 L: *dii-kwàa ná / sŏŋsăy sŏŋsăy / phîi kɛ̀ɛ-kwàa*
better PP seem seem o.sister older
'(It's) better. (I) suspect that phíi (= you) is older.'
→ 266 T: *lék ayú thâwlay*
Lek age how.much
'How old is Lek (= you)?'
267 L: *yíip-èt eŋ .. hà*
twenty-one only FMP
'(I'm) only 21 years old.'
268 T: *yíip-hâa*
twenty-five
'(I am) 25.'
269 L: *ôo tôŋ líak phîi lɔ̀ɔy*
oh must call o.sister EMPH
'Oh, (I) really have to call (you) "older sister".'

Lek establishes the appropriateness of addressing Thip as *phîi* 'older sister' in lines 263 and 265, because of their suspected (slight) age difference, to code camaraderie and respect. However, she uses *phîi* 'older sister' only in this one instance during the entire conversation, suggesting an attempt to move the overall register to a socially more equal one from a non-reciprocal one. Again, the senior student, Thip, uses the junior student's nickname, Lek, in the subject position in line 266, to show her psychological closeness. However, she uses the nickname only this once, suggesting an attempt to move the register to a more middle social ground. Notice also that Lek mixes the high-formality marker *khá* (line 263) with the mid-formality marker *hà* (267) and the zero particle in 265 and 269 – a typical move in an adaptive speech register.

The predictions posed at the outset of this section have been generally supported. "Interview" is the most formal conversation, with frequent use of high-formality markers. It is also marked by the absence of tokens showing personal

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

relations. "Students" is the most informal conversation, with some use of low-formality makers. It is characterized by a frequent use of nicknames, which code the equal and intimate relationship. The formality level of "Teachers'" is, as expected, mid. It contains the most kin terms for deference/patronage marking in the data. "Earthquake," the only conversation in adaptive register, shows the mid level of formality, as predicted. Since the participants do not have a past interactional history, they have to discover the appropriate register. In fact, the junior participant in "Earthquake" tries most types of resources – different FMPs, nicknames, and a kin term – to express various concerns about the interaction and the addressee. However, the overall register in "Earthquake" approaches the mid ground.

Another finding in the ongoing analysis is the division of labor among FMPs, PROs, and PRLs. Though FMPs and PROs both mark formality levels, it is FMPs that usually assume this function. Where either PROs or PRLs can occupy the subject position, a PRL appears much more frequently than a PRO. In other words, though the PRO is an available sociolinguistic resource, it is not utilized to its full potential in register creation. A typical clause structure, then, may be represented as follows, with the distance marking at the beginning of a clause and the formality marking at the end of a clause:

← CLAUSE →		
[Subj. = PRL]	[referential content]	[Ending = FMP]
(distance marking)		(formality marking)

Epistemology and interaction marking by pragmatic particles

It was noted earlier that pragmatic particles are distinguished from formality-level particles. They do not mark formality but rather index "epistemological and interactional concerns." Further, pragmatic particles tend to appear more in informal conversations than in formal ones, because the speaker's presupposition of the addressee's knowledge and his stance toward interaction are more easily expressed in the less restricted kind of conversation. The nature of the conversations under discussion, then, enables us to make a few predictions regarding the use of pragmatic particles in them.

(a) "Students," the least formal conversation carried out between two socially and psychologically close friends, contains the most pragmatic particles.

(b) In contrast, "Interview," the most formal conversation in the data, contains the fewest pragmatic particles.

(c) "Earthquake" and "Teachers," which are conversations of mid-level formality, contain the middle range of pragmatic particles.

The result of the analyses of the seven pragmatic particles are shown in Table 8. As before, in each cell the total number is followed by the breakdown in parentheses. The following reference can be used for the identity of the participants in

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 8. *Number of pragmatic particles.*

	ná	nâ	làʔ	ʔà	nía	ŋía	ŋay	Total
"Students"	3 (1/2)	1 (1/0)	3 (3/0)	22 (8/14)	6 (4/2)	16 (6/10)	6 (3/3)	57 (26/31)
"Teachers"	17 (3/14)	0 (0/0)	1 (1/0)	13 (10/3)	3 (2/1)	2 (1/1)	2 (2/0)	38 (19/19)
"Interview"	9 (6/3)	2 (0/2)	3 (1/2)	16 (1/15)	5 (3/2)	6 (0/6)	2 (2/0)	43 (13/30)
"Earthquake"	1 (1/0)	2 (0/2)	1 (1/0)	0 (0/0)	1 (1/0)	5 (4/1)	2 (2/0)	12 (9/3)

the parentheses: "Students" (male/female), "Interview" (male/female), "Teachers" (senior/junior), "Earthquake" (senior/junior).

Table 8 only partially confirms our predictions. As predicted, "Students" contains the most pragmatic particles (57 tokens). What is not confirmed is our prediction regarding pragmatic particles in "Interview". This most formal conversation among the four should contain the fewest particles, but it actually contains 43 tokens (second to "Students"). We will explore the possible causes for this below.

In order for speakers to use pragmatic particles, they must consider questions such as "Can or will the addressee take it as known information?," "Can or will he/she take it as a minor point in the interaction?," or "Will he/she respond to my request to get involved in the message I am sending?" These questions must be constantly posed and assessed by the speaker, who considers the content of information and checks the addressee's knowledge and willingness to cooperate. When two strangers interact, as in "Earthquake," their amount of shared knowledge and information about each other's interactional patterns are limited, and thus the interlocutors do not use many PPs. But if the interlocutors are longstanding acquaintances, they can rely on a vast amount of shared knowledge and interactional predictability, and they can use PPs more freely. Consider the next excerpt from "Teachers," in which the pragmatic particle *ŋay* appears in line 30. Prompted by a junior teacher's question in 29, the senior teacher says that she is waiting for the nurse's room to open.

(15) "Teachers"

29 J: *phîi cà ʔaw ʔarai há*
o.sister ASP take what FMP
'What do you want?'

→ 30 S: *nát phûu-pòk-khrɔɔŋ dèk ŋay*
make.appointment parent kid PP
'I have an appointment with a parent of a student, as you know.'

31 J: *ʔǎɔ*
oh
"Oh."

32 S: *nát phûu-pòk-khrɔɔŋ maa cəə kan thîi hôŋ phayabaan.*
make.appointment parent come see together at room nurse
khɯɯ pen lǎan phîi-noŋ hà
be be niece o.sister-Nong FMP
'I told the student's parent to come to the nurse's room. (She) is Nong's niece.'

33 S: *lέw-kô*
CONJ
'And'

34 S: *baŋ-ʔəən nát phîi-noŋ. phîi-noŋ nát*
by.accident make.appointment o.sister-Nong o.sister.Nong make.appointment
wáy hây pὲɛt mooŋ nà
ASP BEN 8 o'clock PP
"(I) happened to make an appointment with Nong. She made an appointment for me at 8."

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

According to Cooke (1989:24), *ŋay* "signals that a given referent is identified or identifiable as or in terms of something previously mentioned, something rememberable, something either commonly or mutually known, something readily knowable." In other words, the information "I have an appointment with a parent of a student" is marked as obvious information with *ŋay*, despite the fact that J(unior) did not share this information at all at this point in conversation. (We know that the junior teacher does not have this information because, in 32–34, the senior teacher explains the background explicitly.)

The senior teacher uses *ŋay* in this context to demand that the junior teacher make a connection between why she is waiting and the "obvious" reason. Demanding of this sort would be inappropriate when the situation is formal, or when there is great psychological or sociological distance between participants; but it is tolerated in the informal conversation between close acquaintances in "Teachers." In other words, use of this pragmatic particle is crucially dependent on the correct assessment of socio-cultural assumptions. One must evaluate the knowledge of the addressee at the time an utterance is produced, as well as the demands imposed on the addressee regarding the message being displayed. Another example of *ŋay* is from "Students":

(16) "Students"
33 M: *khûn-pay kɔ̂ tɔ̂ŋ hěn*
go.up-go HP must see
'(I) would have seen you when I went upstairs.'
→ 34 F: *mây-chây nâŋ tó rêek tè ʔûm pay khâw hɔ̂ŋ-náam ŋay*
no sit desk first but (NN) go enter rest.room PP
'No, no, I sat at the front desk, but I went to the rest room as you know.'

M (= male student) and F (= female student) are very close friends. Before this exchange, M has been blaming F for not being at the place where they had agreed to meet. F says in line 30 (not shown here) that she was sitting at a desk waiting for M. But M confronts F, saying that he would have seen her if she had been sitting at the front desk when he went upstairs to meet her (line 33). Then F explains: "No, no. I was sitting at the front desk, but I went into the restroom, as you know." Speaker F attaches the pragmatic particle *ŋay* to this statement, thereby insisting on the connection between her absence and the "obvious" information "I went to the restroom."

We will now examine the "Interview" data in detail. Recall that this conversation contains an unexpectedly high frequency of pragmatic particles. To review the setting of this protocol pre-set conversation, a male interviewer (M in the transcript) is soliciting information from a female job applicant (F). The situation is very formal, and the relationship between the two interlocutors is non-equal. The male participant has the power not only to decide whether to give the applicant a job, but also to direct a conversation to satisfy his goal of getting relevant information on the applicant. This situation and relationship force the female applicant to mark many of her utterances with the highest formality marker for

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

female, *khâ*. Thus her use of *khâ* in line 9 in the next excerpt is according to the protocol; however, the native speaker's reaction to this utterance is not necessarily positive.

(17) "Interview"
7 M: *ʔə̂ə (mâi sâap)*
umm (NEG know)
'uhmm (I wonder)'
8 F: *mây pâay ní man*
no tag this it
'No! The name tag, …'
→ 9 F: (.2) *pâay chûu man hăay ʔà khâ*
tag name it lose PP FMP
'The name tag got lost, you know.'

In line 7, the interviewer started to ask about a name tag which F should be wearing but wasn't. In lines 8–9, F explains that it has been lost. Despite the fact that F attaches *khâ* at the end, line 9 does not accord well in this conversation. The reason for this discord is the use of *ʔà*, a phonologically reduced form of *nâ*. According to Cooke (1989:16), *nâ* "signals that some fact, event, consideration is a simple matter, a matter of minor or passing importance, something of incidental or low-key relevance, something that is no big issue, not out of the way, requires no major adjustment in the addressee's thinking or behavior." That is, F demands that M take this piece of information as trivial. But in reality, losing a name tag in a job interview may be considered a serious problem, and F herself knows it. (Notice she was quickly responding to M's bewilderment with *mây* 'No!" in line 8.)

A similar example is observed in line 27 in the next excerpt. Here the interviewer is asking about the interviewee's linguistic background, since she is from the provinces.

(18) "Interview"
25 M: *ʔâw lέw phasăa thay klaaŋ dây ma càk năy há*
oh CONJ language Thai center get come from where FMP
'Oh, then, how did you learn the standard Thai language?'
26 F: *kɔ̂ thî b–*
HP at b–
'Well, at b–'
→ 27 F: *sùanyày kɔ̂ phûut yàŋ ŋîi ʔà khâ*
most HP speak like this PP FMP
'Most of the time I speak something like this.'
28 M: *ʔɔ̌ lέw thîi bâan phûut phasăa năy há*
oh CONJ at home speak language which FMP
'I see. Then what dialect do you use at home?'
29 F: *phûut yàŋ-ŋía khâ pòkkatì*
speak like-this FMP usually
'We speak like this, you see, usually.'

M shows his surprise in line 25 (as demonstrated by *ʔâw*) at the fact that F can speak the standard dialect, though she is from the provinces. The expression in line 27, *yàŋ ŋîi ʔà khâ*, is formal because of *khâ* at the end; but it again demands

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

that M take this information as trivial – he should not be surprised. Notice here that we analyze *yàŋ-ŋîa* as *yàŋ nîi ʔà*, and the last pragmatic particle gives rise to the speaker's stance towards the message and her demand on the addressee. All of these uses of *ʔà*, a phonologically reduced variant of *nâ*, communicate F's stance: "Why do you make a big thing out of a small thing?" Our final excerpt from "Interview" is the following.

(19) "Interview"
33 M: *ʔəə* (.2) *rian phasăa ʔaŋklìt tâŋtɛ̀ɛ dèk dèk máy há*
uhm study language English from child child Q FMP
'uhm (0.2) Have you been studying English since you were small?'
→ 34 F: *tâŋtɛ̀ɛ mɔɔ-nùŋ máŋ khâ*
from seventh.grade probably FMP
'Probably since the seventh grade.'
→ 35 M *máŋ khâ*
probably FMP
'Probably?'

Answering M's question, "So, you've been studying English since you were small?," F says, "Since 7th grade," with *máŋ*. This word *máŋ*, though not included in the seven particles in the current study, is a pragmatic particle that signals a "tentative statement, a guess" (Cooke 1989:13). The interviewer was puzzled by this response ("You mean you are not sure?"), and in line 35 he requests clarification – "other-initiated repair," to use a term from Conversation Analysis (Schegloff et al. 1977) – by repeating part of F's preceding utterance.

The reason why the interviewee speaks the way she does is irrelevant in our study (she may be very nervous, or may never have had an opportunity to speak formally); but we can confidently assess that the interviewee is not creating the most appropriate (protocol) register in this conversation, and one cause for this is her inappropriate and excessive use of the pragmatic particles. This is in spite of the fact that she uses the formality marker *khâ* extensively.

However, it is not the case that a subordinate participant is not allowed to use pragmatic particles in conversation. In other words, the subordinate's use of pragmatic particles is not the reason why the interview data is slightly off the appropriate register. For example, in the next excerpt from "Earthquake," the junior student uses *ŋay*.

(20) "Earthquake"
187 L: *tʉ̀ʉn săay* (.) *lɛ́ɛw bèp phɔɔ bèp sèt lɛ́ɛw fay man*
wake.up late CONJ like when like finish ASP electricity it
dap ŋay há
go.out PP FMP
'I woke up late, and like when like it finished, then the electricity went out, as you know.'

Lek (junior) and Thip (senior) have just talked about a series of aftershocks of the major earthquake. Then, in line 187, Lek says: "I woke up late, and when it was

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

over, the electricity went out." She marks the information about the power outage with *ŋay* (accompanied by *há*). The two participants know that they experienced the earthquake, and Lek knows that the outage affected the whole city, so she can safely assume that Thip also knows this information. The demand that Lek makes with *ŋay* is thus justified.

To summarize, the principle behind the use of pragmatic particles is different from that for the use of markers for formality level (FMP and PRO) and distance (PRL). The markers of formality level and distance are more rigidly constrained by the context and the relationship between interlocutors; or to put it differently, what these markers contextualize is a simple, direct tie between the speaker and the situation, or between the speaker and the addressee. In contrast, the connection to which the pragmatic particles refer is a more complex relation among information, interaction, addressee, and speaker. The difference between these two types of sign can be characterized by "pragmatic salience" of linguistic signs, as described by Errington (1985:304). Markers of formality (FMP and PRO) and distance (PRL) are signs of high pragmatic salience and are subject to the speaker's manipulation. Pragmatic particles (PP), by contrast, are signs of low pragmatic salience and tend to be outside of the speaker's conscious manipulation. To repeat our earlier citation of Hervey 1992, FMP, PRO, and PRL are "strategic" signs, while PPs are "symptomatic" signs.

CONCLUSION

This essay has addressed a pretheoretical notion known as "speech register." As elusive as it may be, any socially adept person is aware of the importance of register, and in most cases is capable of creating the best register for a specific speech situation. We have identified distance and formality parameters of register; and linguistic signs such as formality-marking particles (FMP), pronominals (PRO), person-reference labels (PRL), and pragmatic particles (PP) have been examined, with respect to these parameters, in order to help grasp the ephemeral concept of register. We have also applied the conceptual framework to actual conversation data to see how Thai speakers use these linguistic resources to create the most appropriate register for each social encounter. We have identified several types of register. The configuration of a "pre-set" register is determined by the participants' previous interactional history; and depending on the particular social relationship between them, the register is identified as either a "reciprocal" or a "non-reciprocal" one. The register may, alternatively, be set by a protocol shared by the members of a particular society which guides the participants to a proper register. The "adaptive" register is observed when participants do not know each other, or when they find themselves in an unfamiliar interactional setting. This type of register shows some fluctuation in register formation, reflecting the participants' attempts to reach the most viable configuration through their interaction.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

NOTES

* We would like to thank Amy Meepoe Baron, Asif Agha, Kathy Howard, Anthony Diller, and Jack Bilmes, who have offered various suggestions to improve the quality of this article. Collection and transcription of the data were partially supported by the University of California's Pacific Rim Studies Grant (1993–95). We are grateful for assistance in obtaining and transcribing the data to Supa Chodchoey, Amy Meepoe Baron, Phensri Jenjantra, Kanok Singkharin, and Wichian Sittipraporn. We are, of course, solely responsible for any remaining theoretical and descriptive problems in the article.

Part of the discussion here was presented at the 21st Berkeley Linguistics Society Meeting and at the Pan-Asiatic Linguistics Conference: The Fourth International Symposium on Languages and Linguistics, and was published in their proceedings as Iwasaki & Horie 1995 and Horie & Iwasaki 1996.

[1] Notions like "camaraderie" and "deference" were introduced in the discussion of politeness by Lakoff 1976. Some relevant discussions related to the notion of "patronage" introduced here can be found in Matsumoto 1988 and Iwasaki & Horie 1998. Applicability of the "deference/patronage" relationship is culture-specific; thus it applies to a wider situation in Japanese society than in Thai society. See Iwasaki & Horie 1998 for a discussion.

[2] Actual success in talking in the required protocol may, of course, vary depending on the experience of the participants, but they are always aware of the need to conform to the rules of the protocol.

[3] Indexicals are one type of sign identified by Peirce (1931–58), along with "symbols" and "icons."

[4] The Japanese pragmatic particles *ze* and *wa*, for example, are non-referential indexicals. They directly index the social meaning of "affective intensity" and "affect of softness," respectively, and they indirectly index "male voice" and "female voice," respectively (Ochs 1988:216, Cook 1992).

[5] Lexical choice is another important resource for register creation. The first member of the following doublets (or triplets) is a common word, while the second (and third) is an elegant variety which works to create a more refined register: *rúu – sâap* 'know'; *mă̆a – sunák* 'dog'; *hŭa – sĭisà* 'head'; *kin – thaan/rápprathaan* 'to eat'. Much of the elegant vocabulary consists of loan words from Pali, Sanskrit or Khmer (Khanittanan 1989:354). There are also more specialized lexical forms called *rachaasàp* 'royal vocabulary,' used exclusively for royalty and monks. We will encounter some elegant vocabulary items in examples given later.

[6] *khrápphŏm* is an extremely formal variety of *khráp*.

[7] Abbreviations to be used for Thai sentences are as follow: ASP (aspect marker), ADV (adverbial marker), BEN (benefactive), COMP (complementizer), HP (highlighting particle), NEG (negative), NN (nickname), PP (pragmatic particle), FMP (formality-marking particle), Q (question marker).

[8] Peyasantiwong (1981:31–52) classifies *wá* and *wóoy* as "status particles," together with *khâ/khráp/hâ/há?/câ* varieties.

[9] Notable exceptions are transvestites' speech and baby talk. A female caretaker of a younger boy, for example, is often heard as using *kháp* when asking the boy a question. This reverse indexing is a result of taking the younger person's perspective. A male caretaker does not usually use *khâ* when conversing with a young girl. There is an interesting report, however, that a male speaker who has a daughter used *khâ* when conversing with a younger female. He may have been using this FMP as if he were talking to his daughter with the reverse indexing. (See also note 10 below.)

[10] This is an interesting trend which is similar to the language use of Japanese young women, as mentioned by Okamoto 1996. There is one exceptional Thai case in which a lower-ranking female speaker crosses the sexual boundary with the particle *khrápphŏm* (a direct index of male speaker; see note 6 above). In some limited situations (semi-formal and deferential context), a female college student may use *khrápphŏm* when responding to a female teacher with whom she has a close relationship. This use may be prompted because there is no FMP more formal than *khâ* for female speakers. (See also note 9 above.)

[11] In actual data, it is observed that utterances that carry a stronger face-threatening value (e.g. questions) are more frequently marked by high-formality speech level markers than are less threatening acts (e.g. descriptions).

[12] Alternation between non-contiguous levels, i.e. the high and low formality levels, is extremely rare. This may happen only when there is a dramatic shift during a conversation (e.g. an eruption of emotion during an otherwise formal conversation). This type of behavior is socially discouraged in Thai society, where calmness, as epitomized in the expression *cay yen* 'cool heat', is valued very highly.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

[13] In a TV interview show aired just before the November 1996 election, the former Prime Minister of Thailand, Chavalit Yongchaiyut, was interviewed by a male interviewer. (He had known Chavalit's family for a long time, and was younger than Chavalit.) In the interview, Chavalit talked mostly without FMPs (i.e. with zero marking), except for an occasional use of *há?*; but the interviewer used *khráp* extensively, and *há?* on very few occasions.

[14] The use of 3rd person pronoun *man* 'it' is usually reserved for an inanimate and non-human referent. If used for a human referent, it marks lower formality. See Baron 1999 for this point.

[15] The exact formality levels of *phǒm* and *dichán* are not identical; *dichán* is slightly more formal than *phǒm*, and slightly less formal than *kraphǒm*. Female 1st person pronouns like *ichán* and *hán* (or *ihán*), reduced forms of *dichán*, are used by some speakers to code a less formal level than the full form (e.g. Khanittanan 1988:355), though such uses are felt by some Thais to be unnatural. Again, transvestites cross the boundary; but a female caretaker will not use a male 1st person pronominal to refer to a young boy using a 1st person male pronoun, because there is no pronoun that can be used in a family situation for small children. This point will become clear when we discuss the use of kin terms.

[16] Pronominal *raw*, as noted earlier, is used as a 1st person pronominal. In addition, this pronominal is used for the 1st and 2nd person plural. In other words, this pronominal form refers either as "I," "we," "you (sg.)," or "you (pl.)" When it is used as a singular pronominal, either for the 1st person or 2nd person, the user assumes a higher social status.

[17] However, maintaining psychological closeness is overturned when more formal titles such as *naay* (Mr.), *naaŋ* (Mrs.), or *nǎaŋsǎaw* (Miss) are attached to GN (NN is not possible with these titles). In the latter case, names are simply formal labels attached to individuals and are not a sign of intimacy.

[18] Exceptions to the current discussion are purely official titles such as *rátthamontrii* "Minister." These rank titles only imply deference.

[19] Most occupational terms used as personal reference terms denote a social superior; but there are some occupational titles, such as *choofɔ̂ə* 'chauffeur', which refer to a non-superior. Such terms are useful when the speaker wishes to avoid using *khun*, which is a general 2nd person reference term but still carries a higher degree of formality.

REFERENCES

Baron, Amy Meepoe (1999). Tying techniques in Thai: The practices of personal reference. *Crossroads of language, interaction, and culture* (UCLA), 1:59–69.

Benveniste, Emile (1971). *Problems in general linguistics*. Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press.

Brown, Roger W., & Gilman, Albert (1960). The pronouns of power and solidarity. In Sebeok (ed.), 253–76.

Brown, Penelope, & Levinson, Stephen C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Chafe, Wallace (1987). Cognitive constraints on information flow. In Russell Tomlin (ed.), *Coherence and grounding in discourse*, 21–51. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

_____ (1993). Prosodic and functional units of language. In Jane A. Edwards & Martin D. Lampert (eds.), *Talking data: Transcription and coding in discourse research*, 33–43. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

_____ (1994). *Discourse, consciousness, and time: The flow and displacement of conscious experience in speaking and writing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Chodchoey, Supa (1986). Strategies in Thai oral discourse. Dissertation, Pennsylvania State University.

Cook, Haruko Minegishi (1992). Meanings of non-referential indexes: A case study of the Japanese sentence-final particle *ne*. *Text* 12:507–39.

Cooke, Joseph R. (1968). *Pronominal reference in Thai, Burmese, and Vietnamese*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

_____ (1989). *Thai sentence particles and other topics*. Canberra: Australian National University.

Errington, J. Joseph (1985). On the nature of the sociolinguistic sign: Describing the Javanese speech levels. In Elizabeth Mertz & Richard J. Parmentier (eds.), *Semiotic mediation: Sociocultural and psychological perspective*, 287–310. New York: Academic Press.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Ervin-Tripp, Susan (1972). On sociolinguistic rules: Alteration and co-occurrence. In Gumperz & Hymes (eds.), 213–50.
Ferguson, Charles A. (1994). Dialect, register, and genre: Working assumptions about conventionalization. In Douglas Biber & Edward Finegan (eds.), *Sociolinguistic perspectives on register*, 15–30. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
Gumperz, John J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
_____, & Hymes, Dell (1972), eds. *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
Hervey, Sándor (1992). Registering registers. *Lingua* 86:189–206.
Horie, Preeya Ingkaphirom, & Iwasaki, Shoichi (1996). Register and pragmatic particles in Thai conversation. In Thongdee (ed.), 4:1197–205.
Hymes, Dell (1972). Models of the interaction of language and social life. In Gumperz & Hymes (eds.), 35–71.
Iwasaki, Shoichi (1996). The syntactic and functional structures of intonation unit in Thai. In Thongdee (ed.), 2:750–76.
_____, & Horie, Preeya Ingkaphirom (1995). Creating the middle ground register in Thai conversations. *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 21:95–106.
_____, _____ (1998). The "Northridge earthquake" conversations: Conversational patterns in Japanese and Thai and their cultural significance. *Discourse & Society* 9:517–45.
Jakobson, Roman (1957). Shifters, verbal categories, and the Russian verb. Reprinted in his *Selected writings*, 2:130–47. The Hague: Mouton, 1975.
_____ (1960). Concluding statement: Linguistics and poetics. In Sebeok (ed.), 350–73.
Khanittanan, Wilaiwan (1989). Some observations on expressing politeness in Thai. *Language Sciences* 10:353–62.
Lakoff, Robin (1976). *Language and women's place*. New York: Octagon.
Lyons, John (1977). *Semantics, vols. 1–2*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
Matsumoto, Yoshiko (1988). Reexamination of the universality of face: Politeness phenomena in Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics* 12:403–26.
Miller, Roy Andrew (1967). *The Japanese language*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Ochs, Elinor (1988). *Culture and language development: Language acquisition and language socialization in a Samoan Village*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
Okamoto, Shigeko (1996). "Tasteless" Japanese: Less "feminine" speech among young Japanese women. In Kira Hall & Mary Bucholtz (eds.), *Gender articulated: Language and the socially constructed self*, 297–325. London: Routledge.
Palakornkul, Angkab (1972). *A socio-linguistic study of pronominal strategy in spoken Bangkok Thai*. Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.
Peyasantiwong, Patcharin (1981). *A study of final particles in conversational Thai*. Dissertation, University of Michigan.
Peirce, C. S. (1931–58). *Collected papers, volumes 1–8*, ed. by Charles Hartschorne & Paul Weiss. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Schegloff, Emanuel A.; Jefferson, Gail; & Sacks, Harvey (1977). The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language* 53:361–82.
Sebeok, Thomas A. (1960), ed. *Style in language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Silverstein, Michael (1976). Shifters, linguistic categories, and cultural description. In Keith Basso & Henry Selby, *Meaning and anthropology*, 11–55. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
Thongdee, Iam (1996), ed. *The proceedings of pan-Asiatic linguistics (The Fourth International Symposium on Languages and Linguistics*). Salaya, Thailand: Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development, Mahidol University.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500004024 Published online by Cambridge University Press