FIRST PERSON PRONOUNS IN THAI POLITICAL LANGUAGE

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บทคัดย่อ

งานวิจัยนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาความถี่ของการใช้สรรพนามบุรุษที่ 1 ในภาษาการเมืองไทย และวิเคราะห์ความหมายของการใช้สรรพนามบุรุษที่ 1 ของนักการเมืองไทย งานวิจัยนี้รวบรวมข้อมูลจากสุนทรพจน์ รายการสัมภาษณ์ทางเสียง แถลงการณ์ คำกล่าวในนโยบายและประกาศอภิปราย ผลการวิจัยแสดงให้เห็นว่า นักการเมืองไทยใช้สรรพนามบุรุษที่ 1 ทั้งสิ้น 7 คำได้แก่ ตน(ชาย ยกเว้นไม่รวมผู้ฟัง) กระผม (ชาย เอกพอร์ที่ไม่รวมผู้ฟัง เป็นทางการ) พวกผม(หญิง ยกเว้นไม่รวมผู้ฟัง) ดิฉัน (หญิง เอกพอร์ที่ไม่รวมผู้ฟัง) เรา(หญิง รวมผู้ฟัง) เรา2(หญิง ไม่รวมผู้ฟัง ไม่เป็นทางการ) พวกเรายกเว้นรวมผู้ฟัง) โดยความหมายของการใช้สรรพนามที่ 1 นี้อยู่ในข้อมูลจาก เอกพอร์ท การรวมผู้ฟัง และระดับความเป็นทางการ นอกจากนี้ ผลการวิจัยยังพบว่าการมีไวยากรณ์ภาษาการใช้สรรพนามบุรุษที่ 1 นี้มีเอกพอร์ทที่ไม่รวมผู้ฟัง) และเรา (หญิง รวมผู้ฟัง) ในความถี่สูงสุด จากข้อมูลด้านความถี่และข้อมูลด้านความหมายของ

ABSTRACT

This research aimed to investigate the frequency of the use of first personal pronouns in Thai political language, and to analyze the semantic components of the usage of first personal pronouns by politicians. The data were collected from speeches, media programs, interviews, official statements, policy statements and the declaration of the dissolution of parliament. The results indicated that Thai politicians typically use seven first personal pronouns: phôm ‘I (male singular excluding listeners)’ krâphôm ‘I (male singular excluding listeners showing formality)’ phûak phôm ‘we (plural excluding listeners)’ dichân ‘I (female singular excluding listeners)’ raw1 ‘we (plural including listeners)’ raw2 ‘we (female excluding listeners showing informality)’ and phûak raw ‘we (plural including listeners)’. The meanings of these first personal pronouns depend on factors including gender, number, including listeners, and the level of formality. Moreover, the results also found that phôm ‘I (male singular excluding listeners)’ and raw1 ‘we (plural including listeners)’ are the highest frequency pronouns used by politicians. The data concerning the frequency of use and the meaning of first personal pronouns were subjected to a componential analysis. The research found that personal pronouns reflect significant social roles, and that
political language is the language of solidarity.

**Introduction**

Political language can be characterized as the type of language used by politicians in order to interact with people and to take part in political activities. This type of language can be described as ‘the language of power’. Lakoff (2006) claimed that all political discourse is composed of deceptive language. This assertion is based on a belief that political language is primarily manipulative or persuasive. In other words, it is used to influence people, and that people are conditioned to accept and to believe the language and language patterns used in political speech. This concept originated with Amara Prasithrathsint (2007), who proposed in her work on sociolinguistics that there is no discrepancy between language and its objective. In other words, the language used by people reflects not only their objectives, but also reveals characteristic aspects of the language of power. Therefore, it can be claimed that the language used by politicians contains aspects of the individual objectives of politicians, as well as the more general language of power.

These ideas influenced two of my research papers (Nusartlert 2013, 2014) and supported the concept of the objectives of the use of political language. My two research papers revealed that the dominant characteristics of political language were related to the particular social attributes that the politicians wished to personify or represent. This can be seen in the way in which politicians typically use terms of address that are inclusive rather than exclusive and that show solidarity. Another characteristic of political language is the use of repetition during negotiations. Moreover, the study of power and political language is also closely related to these ideas. This can be seen in the research of Chaicharoen (2014) whose findings revealed that politicians typically used the verb khɔɔ (to ask for) in order to implicitly persuade people.

As a result, I became more interested in the demonstration of power through the use of political discourse, and as a dominant form of language use. The data from previous studies indicated that politicians use different first personal pronouns in public speeches, which are modified depending on the situation. This observation led to my decision to conduct research on power and the use of first personal pronouns.

The use of pronouns has long been a subject of interest to linguists in the area of semantics, in terms of the social relationships between the speakers, the variation of pronoun usage, and their statistical use. Kullavanijaya (2009) has conducted research on the semantics of pronoun, and the Zhuang personal pronoun system. The Zhuang dialects typically distinguish meaning based on gender, seniority, or the level of intimacy between the speakers. According to Rhekhaliilit (2012) in Tai Lue - the Southwestern dialect of the Tai language, there are obligatory grammatical categories and social factors, such as the person, number, or gender, used to distinguish meaning. Moreover, Rhekhaliilit also compared the variation in the usage of the first personal pronoun raw and haw, and suggested that these variations were the result of changes caused by hypostasis. These studies also revealed that semantics and variations also
caused such changes. Furthermore, a review of previous studies on the use of pronouns and power was conducted by Brown and Gilman (1960) with regard to the ‘pronouns of power and solidarity’. They collected data from a twenty-eight items of questionnaire about the usage of second person pronouns (T and V forms) by French, Italian and German students attending Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. They also found differences in terms of pronouns of address among these groups of adults. The research also suggested that the semantics of pronouns can also reveal distinctions such as social structure or group ideology, reflect social relationships between the speakers and the listeners, and identify characteristics of the speaker.

My own observations, in combination with a review of the literature, inspired me to attempt to answer such questions as these: How are first personal pronouns used by politicians?; What is the relationship between first personal pronouns and social roles?; What are the social implications of political language? Therefore, the objectives of my study are to investigate the frequency of the use of first personal pronouns in political language, to analyze the semantic components of the first personal pronoun used by politicians, and to analyze the significant social roles that are reflected in the choice and use of first personal pronouns.

Procedure

The data collection procedure involved the collection of 20,000 words of political language, taken from a variety of sources, including speeches, interviews on media programs, official statements, and the official declaration of the dissolution of parliament, which were published on public websites (See Table 1). I collected 10,000 words from males and 10,000 words from female politicians. They are representative of Thai politicians in general.

Following the first step of the data collection procedure, I established criteria for choosing first personal pronouns. Then I analyzed their semantic components through a componential analysis. Then I counted the frequency of the use of each first personal pronoun used in political language, calculated the frequency of the usage per 10,000 words, compared the frequency of the usage of each word, and analyzed the social attributes reflected from the most dominant first personal pronouns.

Results

The results of this study, as shown in Table 2, found that there are seven first personal pronouns used in Thai political language: phôm (male singular excluding listeners); krâphôm (male singular excluding listeners showing formality); phûak phôm (plural excluding listeners); dichân (female singular excluding listeners); rav1 (plural including listeners); rav2 (female excluding listener showing informality), and phûak rav (plural including listeners). Componential analysis found that these first personal pronouns contain four dimensions of contrast: gender, number, including listeners, and formality. I used a plus sign (+) to mark each feature which represented ‘to have’ or ‘to be’ in these dimensions and described the meaning of each pronoun. These dimensions of contrast and their features distinguish the meaning of each pronoun. I have provided a definition of each pronoun, and how each pronoun

First Person Pronouns in Thai Political Language
Table 1: The Source of the Data on Political Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of data</th>
<th>Frequency of data (words)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speeches</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews on media programs</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official statements, policy statement and the declaration of the dissolution of parliament</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>20,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Thai political first personal pronoun features

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>number</th>
<th>gender</th>
<th>inclusive listeners</th>
<th>formality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>phôm</td>
<td>Male singular excluding listeners</td>
<td>+sin</td>
<td>+ male</td>
<td>+excl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>krâphôm</td>
<td>Male singular excluding listeners showing formality</td>
<td>+sin</td>
<td>+male</td>
<td>+excl</td>
<td>+formal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>phûak phôm</td>
<td>Plural excluding listeners</td>
<td>+plu</td>
<td></td>
<td>+excl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>dichân</td>
<td>Female singular excluding listeners</td>
<td>+sin</td>
<td>+female</td>
<td>+excl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>raw₁</td>
<td>Plural including listeners</td>
<td>+plu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+incl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>phûak raw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>raw₂</td>
<td>Female excluding listeners showing informality</td>
<td>+female</td>
<td>+excl</td>
<td></td>
<td>+informal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4
can be distinguished from other pronouns by distinctive features in Table 2.

As can be seen in Table 2, each of the first personal pronouns has a different meaning. In order to paint a clearer picture, the meaning of each dimension, the meaning of each word, and examples of their usage, as follows:

**Number** is the first priority dimension of contrast, distinguishing the meaning of pronouns in order to indicate the number of plural features, while other first personal pronouns possess singular features. Speakers, divided into plural and singular. I found that ْدْحُمٌ (plural excluding listeners) and ْدحُمٌ (plural including listeners) are first personal pronouns, while other first personal pronouns possess singular features.

**Gender** refers to the sex of the speaker, i.e. male or female. This dimension is used to distinguish the meaning of ْحُمٌ (male singular excluding listeners) and ْكرُمٌ (male singular excluding listeners showing formality) from the meaning of ْدْتَر (female singular excluding listeners). It can be clearly seen that ْحُمٌ (male singular excluding listeners) and ْكرُمٌ (male singular excluding listeners showing formality) are first personal pronouns which indicate a male speaker; ْدْتَر (female singular excluding listeners) and ْروُر (female excluding listeners showing informality) are first personal pronouns which indicate female speakers, and ْدْحُمٌ (plural excluding listeners), ْدحُمٌ (plural including listeners) and ْدحُمٌ (plural including listeners) are can be used by male or female speakers.

**Including listeners** means that the speaker or speakers include the listeners, and encourage them to take action, either as a whole, or as individuals. These features can be divided into excluding or including listeners. This dimension is primarily used to distinguish between the meaning of the first personal pronouns ْدْحُمٌ (plural excluding listeners) and ْدحُمٌ (plural including listeners). It can also be seen in Table 2 that ْدْحُمٌ (plural excluding listeners) is a first personal pronoun which excludes the listener, while ْدحُمٌ (plural including listeners) is a first personal pronoun which includes the listeners.

**Formality** refers to the formality of the topic of conversation. This dimension is divided into formal and informal categories. It is used to separate the meaning of ْحُمٌ (male singular excluding listeners) from ْكرُمٌ (male singular excluding listeners showing formality). In other words, ْحُمٌ (male singular excluding listeners) is generally used in an informal situation, whereas ْكرُمٌ (male singular excluding listeners showing formality) is used in a more formal situation. Moreover, it can be used as an informal feature to show the meaning of ْروُر (female excluding listeners showing informality).

In order to make the meaning of each first personal pronoun obvious, a definition of each word and an example of the usage of each first personal pronoun in Thai political language appear in A-G.

**a. ْكرُمٌ (male singular excluding listeners)**

(1) ผมอยากร้องให้พวกอย่าได้ที่มันแล้วจะได้ เข้าใจ
As the first example shows, a male politician can use the first personal pronoun **phöm** (male singular excluding listeners). This term contains the features [+singular] [+ male] [+excluding listener], as indicated in Table 2.

**b. กรณี krâphpôm** (male singular excluding listeners showing formality)

(2) เข้าว่าสารวัจจุบันรุ่งสุญ ได้กล้าเล่า

c. ติณสิกDIC (female singular excluding listeners)

(3) ตินยนต์ตั้งใจว่าเมื่อย่างเมื่อได้รับการชื่นชม

It can be seen in example (3) that **dichân** (female singular excluding listeners) is generally used as a first personal pronoun by female politicians. Thus, the meaning of dichân (female singular excluding listeners) is [+singular] [+female] [+excluding listeners]

**d. ไร raw** (plural including listeners)

(4) แต่เดี๋ยวนี้ครับ เราคุยภัน ไปติณสิกที่คุยภัน ท้ายใจ

As the first example shows, **krâphpôm** (male singular excluding listeners showing formality) can also be used to indicate a singular male which excludes listeners. However, the difference between **phöm** (male singular excluding listeners) (from example 1) and **krâphpôm** (male singular excluding listeners showing formality) is that **phöm** (male singular excluding listeners)’ is used by politicians in more general situations, while **krâphpôm** (male singular excluding listeners showing formality)’ is used when a politician has a conversation in a more formal situation. It can clearly be seen that formality is an important dimension in terms of distinguishing the meaning of **phöm** from **krâphpôm**. Therefore, the features of **krâphpôm** include [+singular] [+ male] [+excluding listener] [+formal].
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‘but I confirm, we talk openly together, your feelings are like mine.’

From example (4), politicians use raw₁ (plural including listeners) in order to include listeners. Therefore, [+plural] [+including listener] are important in terms of showing the meaning of this pronoun.

e. ร้ํำ₂ (female excluding listeners showing informality)

(5) …แล้วความเป็นส่วนตัวๆ เรายังสนทนากัน

…leiwkw3 khwam-pen-siawntua

so NOM-private
taawt̄aawn raw ting lód

DET-all we have to decrease
weelaa siwan khong kr̴̩̂̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄̄...
The political use of *phûak raw* (plural including listeners) is as a plural form which includes listeners. This first personal pronoun is in contrast with *phûak phôm* (plural excluding listeners) as, for example in (6), which includes listeners. Therefore, the meaning of *phûak raw* (plural including listeners) is [+plural] [+including listener].

Based on the information above, I provide a definition and an example of each of the first personal pronouns used in political language. In order to compare the usage of each term, I have indicated the frequency of the first personal pronouns in Table 3 and Figure 1, and the frequency of the use of first personal pronouns is shown as follows:

The political use of *phûak raw* (plural including listeners) is as a plural form.

Table 3: The Frequency of First Personal Pronouns in Thai Political Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Political language first personal pronouns</th>
<th>Frequency of first personal pronouns (per 10,000 words)</th>
<th>Frequency of first personal pronouns (percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>phôm (male singular excluding listeners)</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>raw, (plural including listeners)</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>0.425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>dichân (female singular excluding listeners)</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>0.155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>raw, (female singular excluding listeners showing informality)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>phûak.raw (plural including listeners)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>krâphôm (male singular excluding listeners showing formality)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>phûak phôm (plural excluding listeners)</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen in Table 3 and Figure 1, the result of the study shows that Thai politicians use phosph (male singular excluding listeners) (0.56%) at the highest rate of frequency. When referring to singular first personal pronouns, it can be seen that there are 3 first personal pronouns which are marked by a singular meaning: phosph (male singular excluding listeners) kriphom (male singular excluding listeners showing formality) and dichan (female singular excluding listeners). It can be seen that Thai politicians use phosph (male singular excluding listeners) and kriphom (male singular excluding listeners showing formality) at higher rate (0.56%) and (0.015%) respectively whereas Thai politicians use dichan (female singular excluding listeners) at a lower rate (0.155%). This can be noticed that the frequencies of singular first personal pronouns marked by [+male] are higher than singular first personal pronoun marked by [+female]. From results of frequency and feature, it can be assumed that male politicians play an ascendant role in Thai politics.

When referring to singular first personal pronouns used by male speakers, Thai male politician use phosph (male singular excluding listeners) at higher frequency rate than kriphom (male singular excluding listeners showing formality), while indicates that phosph (male singular excluding listeners) is a more general first personal pronoun used by politician than kriphom (male singular excluding listeners showing formality). As Table 3 shows phosph and kriphom differ in the feature of formality. Politicians use kriphom (male singular excluding listeners showing formality) when discussing to more formal topics of conversation. Therefore, kriphom (male singular excluding listeners showing formality) is often used in a specific situation while phosph (male singular excluding listeners) is a more general first personal pronoun.
Moreover, the result shows that Thai politicians tend to use $raw_1$ (0.425) ‘we (plural including listeners)’ at a higher rate than $raw_2$ ‘we (female excluding listeners showing informality)’ (0.04). It can be observed from Table 3 that $raw_2$ ‘we (female excluding listeners showing informality)’ is used at lower rate by only female politician when referring to informal topic of conversation. On the other hand, $raw_1$ ‘we (plural including listeners)’ is general used at higher rate by both male and female politician when referring to including listeners.

It can be noticed that politicians use $raw_1$ with the same meaning as $phûa̋k raw$ (plural including listeners) but politicians tend to use $raw_1$ (plural including listeners) instead of $phûa̋k raw$ (plural including listeners) because the result shows that politician use $raw_1$ (plural including listeners) at a in higher rate whereas $phûa̋k raw$ (plural including listeners) is used at a lower rate.

As the result indicates when using a ‘we’ pronoun ($raw_1$ and $raw_2$), Thai politicians tend to use first personal pronouns which includes listeners more frequently than first personal pronouns which exclude listeners. To support this, it can be noticed that $phûa̋k phôm$ (plural excluding listeners) is the least frequently used first personal pronoun. Politicians tend to use $phûa̋k phôm$ (plural excluding listeners), which is excluding listeners, at the lowest rate of frequency.

It can be observed that Thai politicians use an array of first personal pronouns, from maximum to minimum frequency, as follows: $phôm$ (male singular excluding listeners) (0.56%), $raw_1$ (plural including listeners) (0.425%), $dic'hân$ (female singular excluding listeners) (0.155%), $raw_2$ (female excluding listeners showing informality) (0.04%), $phûa̋k phôm$ (plural excluding listeners) (0.03), $phûa̋k raw$ (plural including listeners) (0.02), $krâphôm$ (male singular excluding listeners showing formality) (0.02), and $phûa̋k phôm$ (plural excluding listeners) (0.005%).

From the result of this study above, I hypothesize that the frequency and features of first personal pronouns used by politicians may reveal social attributes characteristic aspects of the language of power which I will discuss in the next section.

**Conclusion and discussion**

This study revealed that Thai politicians use a distinctive pattern of first personal pronouns. From the results, it can be concluded that there are seven first personal pronouns used in Thai political language. Politicians typically use $phôm$ (male singular excluding listeners); $krâphôm$ (male singular excluding listeners showing formality); $phûa̋k phôm$ (plural excluding listeners); $dic'hân$ (female singular excluding listeners); $raw_1$ (plural including listeners); $raw_2$ (female excluding listeners showing informality), and $phûa̋k raw$ (plural including listeners). A summary of the componential analysis revealed that politicians typically use first personal pronouns with a meaning that depends on a number of factors: gender, number, including listeners, and formality. In terms of usage, it can be concluded that politicians use $phôm$ (male singular excluding listeners) (0.56%) and $raw_1$ (plural including listeners) (0.425%) the most frequently. The frequency and semantics of the use of first personal pronouns reflect a number of social attributes which I will discuss further.
The results of the study indicate that Thai politicians use \( \text{raw}_1 \) (plural including listeners) with at the second highest rate of frequency, to include both the speaker and the listeners. The fact that this form includes the listeners clearly demonstrates that the choice of first personal pronouns has social attributes, in the usage of \( \text{raw}_1 \) (plural including listeners) refers to a sense of solidarity between speaker and listeners. In other words, politicians use this particular pronoun in a manipulative fashion, in order to create a feeling of solidarity between themselves and the people that they are addressing.

Results also show that \( \text{phôm} \) (male singular excluding listeners) is the most frequently used. First personal pronoun \( \text{phôm} \) (male singular excluding listeners) is marked as a singular male speaker and demonstrates the exclusion of the listener. This indicates that \( \text{phôm} \) (male singular excluding listeners) is used generally by male speakers in both formal and informal situations. This is in contrast with \( \text{krâphôm} \) (male singular excluding listeners showing formality), which is used by male speakers when the focus is on the formality of the conversation topic. As in example b, a Thai male politician used \( \text{krâphôm} \) (male singular excluding listeners showing formality) to converse with monks. Another example I found in this study is that a Thai male politician used \( \text{krâphôm} \) (male singular excluding listeners showing formality) with the opening topic in an official policy statement when he mentioned the king. Although it can be said that political language is formal itself, the involvement of a higher status addressee in the topic makes political language more formal as the example shows.

Therefore, \( \text{phôm} \) (male singular excluding listeners) is the general first personal pronoun used by male politicians. The results of the study show that male politicians pay increased attention to formality, which reveals that politeness is highly valued as a social attribute.

The results of the study also indicate that Thai female politicians use \( \text{dìchân} \) (female singular excluding listeners) as a general first personal pronoun. However, it can be noticed that female politicians tend to use \( \text{dìchân} \) (female singular excluding listeners) at a lower rate than male politician use \( \text{phôm} \) ‘I (male singular excluding listeners) despite the equal number of males and females in the data collection. It can be noticed in this research that female politicians tend to use \( \text{raw}_1 \) (plural including listeners) and \( \text{raw}_2 \) (female excluding listeners showing informality) instead of \( \text{dìchân} \) (female singular excluding listeners). Therefore, \( \text{dìchân} \) (female singular excluding listeners) is used at a lower rate than \( \text{phôm} \) (male singular excluding listeners). This observation suggests a direction for further research.

There are two first personal pronouns used by female politicians: \( \text{dìchân} \) (female singular excluding listeners) and \( \text{raw}_2 \) (female excluding listeners showing informality). It can be observed that female politicians generally tend to use the first personal pronoun \( \text{dìchân} \) (female singular excluding listeners), while \( \text{raw}_2 \) (female excluding listeners showing informality) is typically used to discuss more informal topics. As can be seen in the example, a female politician used \( \text{raw}_2 \) (female excluding listeners showing informality) refer to herself as equivalent to the pronoun \( \text{dìchân} \) (female singular excluding listeners). In this research, \( \text{raw}_2 \)
‘we (female excluding listeners showing informality)’ is used by female politicians specifically when discussing what they consider to be an informal topic of conversation, such as an interview about family life. Similarly, research by Rhekhalilit (2013:37) showed that the pronoun haw in standard Lao is used as the first singular pronoun when referring to lower formality in a conversation. Moreover, he also showed that the pronoun raw in standard Thai is used as first person singular referring to index intimacy. The finding of raw₂ (female excluding listeners showing informality) in this study seems to support these ideas.

These findings reveal that politicians can ‘lower’ themselves in order to show intimacy or to discuss an informal topic. In this way, it can be claimed that political language is the language of both politeness and solidarity. Prasithrathsint (2010) proposed that language and objectives are closely related. This research seems to support this idea. The use of political language can clearly reveal the social attributes of politeness and solidarity that politicians want their listeners to associate with them through their power of language.

**References**


